PLUTARCH'S
MORALIA
IV
# CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Editors' Preface</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Traditional Order of the Books of The <em>Moralia</em></td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roman Questions—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text and Translation</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Greek Questions—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text and Translation</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek and Roman Parallel Stories—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text and Translation</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Fortune of the Romans—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text and Translation</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text and Translation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## CONTENTS

**Were the Athenians more famous in War or in Wisdom?—**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text and Translation</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>529</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EDITORS' PREFACE

Frank Cole Babbitt, the editor and translator of the first five volumes of the Moral Essays of Plutarch, laid down his task and departed this life on the 21st of September 1935, in his sixty-eighth year. There was no appreciable gap between the one act and the other, for almost to the end he continued to attend promptly and with his habitual scholarly acumen to the proofs of the present volume, having already finished with those of Volume V., which chanced to come first into the printer's hands. He foresaw his approaching end and carefully prepared for the continuation of his Plutarchean work, as his own preface indicates.

Professor Babbitt graduated from Harvard College in 1890, and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Harvard University five years later. The last thirty-seven years of his life he devoted to the teaching of Greek at Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. Having received his early training in the ancient classics under such men as Goodwin, Lane, White, Greenough and Wright, he was not only an accomplished grammarian but possessed a broad and intimate knowledge of the classical literatures, history, and institutions, to which he added, as Fellow of the American School of Classical vii
Editors' Preface

Studies at Athens, and later as Professor there, two fruitful years of travel and study in Greece. He had always found in Plutarch a congenial spirit, and from the time when he consented to edit the Moralia for the Loeb Classical Library he devoted all his leisure to intensive studies in that field. The five volumes which he was permitted to finish reveal his steady attainment of mastery in all the varied and difficult problems which confront the student of Plutarch; and in particular Volume V., which perhaps of the whole series of these Essays presents the most baffling problems of text and interpretation, best reveals his scholarly competence, resourcefulness, and judgement.

The Editors of the Loeb Classical Library not only found in Professor Babbitt a collaborator with whom it was always a pleasure to work, but also conceived for him a lasting friendship.

The Editors.
PREFACE

The title-page of this volume, like its predecessors, bears but one name, but another might well have been added. The first draft of the translation was prepared by Mr William Helmbold, of Trinity College, Hartford. This was then harmonized somewhat with the preceding volumes, typed, discussed, and harmonized again, so it is to be hoped that no great departures from the style of the other volumes may be noticed. Mr Helmbold provided also the greater part of the references.

The text was prepared from such information as was available in the editions of Wyttenbach, Hutten, and Bernardakis, with occasional consultation of facsimiles, and was sent to the printer before copies of the text of Vol. II. of the new Teubner edition (ed. W. Nachstädt—J. B. Titchener. Leipzig, 1934) had reached this country. Consequently, any additions based on the critical notes or the references in that edition had to be added in the proof. Fortunately these were not very numerous.\(^a\)

There remains the pleasant duty of recording the gracious generosity of Mr F. H. Sandbach of Trinity

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\(^a\) For further details and a somewhat adverse criticism see the editor's review of this edition to appear in *Classical Philology*, 1937.
PREFACE

College, Cambridge, who has kindly put at the disposal of the Editors of the Loeb Library the results of his work on Plutarch's *Moralia*, preferring that these should be incorporated here rather than published separately. Much of his work concerns the essays *De Stoicorum repugnantiss* and *De communibus notiss*, but there are included also notes on other essays, and some facsimiles of mss., for all of which due acknowledgement should be made.

F. C. B.

**Trinity College,**
**Hartford, Conn.**
**January 1935.**

Mr Helmbold must state his great obligation to Professor L. C. Barret of Trinity College for reading Volumes IV. and V. in proof, correcting a number of errors, and making numerous improvements of many kinds. Any errors which remain, however, must not be ascribed to him.
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER of the Books of the *Moralia* as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

1. De libris educandis (Περὶ παιδῶν ἁγωγῆς)  
Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat  
(Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκοῦειν)  
De recta ratione audiendi (Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν)  
Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatu.  
(Πῶς ἄν τις διακρίνει τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου)  
Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus  
(Πῶς ἄν τις αἰθοιτο ἐαυτὸ προκόπτοντος ἐπὶ ἁρετῆς)  

II. De capienda ex inimicis utilitate (Πῶς ἄν τις ὕπ’ ἐχθρῶν ὠφελοῖτο)  
De amicorum multitudine ((Περὶ πολυφιλίας)  
De fortuna (Περὶ τύχης)  
De virtute et vitio (Περὶ ἁρετῆς καὶ κακίας)  
Consolatio ad Apollonium (Παραμυθητικός πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον)  
De tuenda sanitate præcepta (Ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα)  
Coniugalia præcepta (Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα)  
Septem sapientium convivium (Τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν συμπόσιον)  
De superstitione (Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας)  

III. Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata (Ἀποφθέγματα βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν)  
Apophthegmata Laconica (Ἀποφθέγματα Λακωνικά)  
Instituta Laconica (Τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιτηδεύματα)
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

Lacaenarum apophthegmata (Δακαινῶν ἀπο-
θέγματα) .................................................. 240c
Mulierum virtutes (Γυναικῶν ἀρεταί) ................... 242E

IV. Quaestiones Romanae (Αἰτία Ρωμαϊκά).
Quaestiones Graecae (Αἰτία Ἕλληνικά) ................. 263b
Parallela Graeca et Romana (Συμμαχητικοι ἱστο-
ρίων παραληλών Ἕλληνικών καὶ Ρωμαϊκών). ..... 291D
De fortuna Romanorum (Περὶ τῆς Ρωμαίων
τύχης) .................................................................. 305a
De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute, li-
bri ii (Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἡ ἀρετής,
λόγοι β') .......................................................... 316b
Bellone an pace clariores: fuerint Athenienses
(Πότερον 'Αθηναίοι κατὰ πόλεμον ἡ κατὰ σοφίαν
εἰδοδότεροι) ..................................................... 326D

V. De Iside et Osiride (Περὶ Ἰσίδου καὶ Ὀσίριδος).
De E apud Delphos (Περὶ τοῦ Δι τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς) ..... 345C
De Pythiae oraculis (Περὶ τοῦ μῆ χράν ἐμμετρα
νόν τὴν Πυθίαν) ............................................... 384C
De defectu oraculorum (Περὶ τῶν ἐκτελουστῶν
χρηστήρων) .......................................................... 394D

VI. An virtus doceri possit (Εἰ διδάκτων ἡ ἀρετή).
De virtute morali (Περὶ τῆς θυκῆς ἀρετῆς) ........ 409E
De cohibenda ira (Περὶ ἀοργησίας) ................. 439A
De tranquillitate animi (Περὶ εὐθυμίας) ........... 440b
De fraterno amore (Περὶ φιλαδελφίας) ............. 452E
De amore prolis (Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἐγκυνὸν φιλο-
στοργίας) .......................................................... 464E

An vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat (Εἰ
αὐτάρκης ἡ κακία πρὸς κακοδαμονίαν) .......... 482E
Animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores
(Πότερον τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ τὰ τοῦ σώματος πάθη
χέρουνα) .......................................................... 493a

De garrulitate (Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας) ....................... 500b
De curiositate (Περὶ πολυτραγμοσύνης) ............ 502b

VII. De cupiditate divitiarum (Περὶ φιλοπλουτίας).
De vitioso pudore (Περὶ δυσωπίας) ................. 515B
De invidia et odio (Περὶ φθόνου καὶ μίσους) .... 523C
De se ipsum citra invidiam landando (Περὶ τοῦ
ἐαυτὸν ἑπανεὶν ἀνεπιθυμον) .............................. 528c
De sera numinis vindicta (Περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
θείου βραδέως τιμωρουμένων) ....................... 536e
De sera numinis vindicta (Περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
θείου βραδέως τιμωρουμένων) ....................... 539a
De fato (Περὶ εἰμαρμένης) .................................................. 568b

De genio Socratis (Περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου) .......... 575a

De exilio (Περὶ φυγῆς) ..................................................... 599a

Consolatio ad uxorem (Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα) .... 608a

VIII. Quaestio nes convivalium libri vi (Συμποσιακῶν προβλημάτων βιβλία 5')

I, 612c: II, 629b: III, 644e: IV, 659e: V, 672d: VI, 686a

IX. Quaestio nes convivalium libri iii (Συμποσιακῶν προβλημάτων βιβλία γ')

VII, 697c; VIII, 716d: IX, 736c

Amatorius (Ἐρωτικὸς) .................................................. 697c

X. Amatoriae narrationes (Ἐρωτικαὶ διηγήσεις)

Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum (Περὶ τοῦ ὁτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἥγεμον: δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι)

Ad principem ineruditum (Πρὸς ἥγεμόνα ἀπαίδευτον)

An seni respublica gerenda sit (Εἰ πρεσβυτέρῳ πολιτευτέων)

Precepta gerendae reipublicae (Πολιτικά παραγγέλματα)

De unius in republica dominatione, populari statu, et paucor um imperio (Περὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ ὁλιγαρχίας)

De vitando aere alieno (Περὶ τοῦ μη δεῖν δανεὶζεσθαι)

Vitae decem oratorum (Περὶ τῶν δέκα ῥήτορων)

Comparationis Aristophanis et Menandri compendium (Συγκρίσεως Ἀριστοφάνου καὶ Μενάδορου ἐπιτομή).

X. De Herodoti malignitate (Περὶ τῆς Ἡροδοτοῦ κακοθείας)

De placitis philosophorum, libri v (Περὶ τῶν ὅρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, βιβλία ε')

Quaestiones naturales (Ἀίτια φυσικά)

XII. De facie quae in orbe lunae apparat (Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφανομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης)

De primo frigido (Περὶ τοῦ πρῶτου ψυχροῦ)

PAGE

568b

575a

599a

608a

612c

697c

748e

771e

783a

798a

826a

827b

832b

853a

854e

874d

911c

920a

945e
Aquane an ignis sit utilior (Περὶ τοῦ πότερον ὑὸν ἦ πῦρ χρησιμώτερον) . . 955D
Terrestriane an aquatilia animalia sint callidiora (Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα τὰ χερσαία ἦ τὰ ἐνυδρα) . . 959A
Bruta animalia ratione uti, sive Gryllus (Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἄλογα λόγῳ χρήσθαι) . . 985D
De esu carnium orationes ii (Περὶ σαρκοφαγίας λόγοι β') . . 993A

XIII. Platonicae quaestiones (Πλατωνικὰ ξητήματα). De animae procreatione in Timaeo (Περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας) . . 1012A
Compendium libri de animae procreatione in Timaeo (Ἐπιτομὴ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας) . . 1030D
De Stoicorum repugnantiis (Περὶ Στοϊκῶν ἐναντιωμάτων) . . 1033A
Compendium argumenti Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere (Σύνοψις τοῦ ὅτι παραδοξότερα οἱ Στοικοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν λέγουσι) . . 1057C
De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos (Περὶ τῶν κομνῶν ἐνοικῶν πρὸς τοὺς Στοικοὺς) . . 1058E

XIV Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum ("Ὅτι οὐδ’ ἡδέως ζήν ἐστὶ κατ’ Ἐπίκουρον") . . 1086C
Adversus Colotem (Πρὸς Κωλώτην) . . 1107D
An recte dictum sit latenter esse vivendum Εἴ καλῶς εἰρηταὶ τὸ λάθε βιώσας) . . . 1128A
De musica (Περὶ μουσικῆς) . . . 1131A

XV. Fragments and Index
THE ROMAN QUESTIONS
(QUAESTIONES ROMANAE)
INTRODUCTION

The *Roman Questions* is an attempt to explain one hundred and thirteen Roman customs, the majority of which deal with religious matters. The treatise is one of three similar compilations of which two have been preserved and one, the *Quaestiones Barbaricae* (No. 139 in Lamprias's list), has been lost. Plutarch possessed a great desire to know the reason why: besides the many discussions of a similar sort contained in the *Symposiaca* (*Table Talk*), there is extant a discussion of *Physical Causes*, and the titles of other writings of the same sort have been preserved for us in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's writings.¹

The Greek title, which means "causes", is twice mentioned by Plutarch himself in the *Lives*, and we might call it "The Reasons Why." In nearly every case at least two and often more reasons are given: of these presumably not more than one can be right. Thus the other explanations will embody the results of Plutarch's researches on the matter or his own quaint speculations. Consequently the book, which is an important source for Roman

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¹ (149) Λίτια τῶν περιφερεμένων Στωικῶν: (160) Λίτια καὶ τόποι: (161) Λίτια ἀλλαγῶν: (167) Λίτια γυναικῶν.

² *Life of Romulus*, chap. xv. (26 e); *Life of Camillus*, chap. xix. (138 e).
THE ROMAN QUESTIONS

customs, especially for religious customs, has been of the greatest service to students of early Roman religion, a field in which so little is certain and which provides (even as it provided for Plutarch) such glorious opportunities for speculation that it has been somewhat overtilled in recent years. Anyone interested in such matters may observe the trend of this scholarship if he will examine F. B. Jevons' reprint of Holland's translation of the Roman Questions (London, 1892); or better, H. J. Rose, The Roman Questions of Plutarch, a New Translation with Introductory Essays and a Running Commentary (Oxford, 1924). Professor Rose might, indeed, have improved his translation by consulting some good Greek lexicon; but the essays and the commentary are very valuable, for they contain, among other matters of interest, a discussion of Plutarch's sources and of early Roman religion; the commentary is fortified with abundant references to ancient writers and to modern scholars. It is a scholarly work and the most important contribution to the study of the Roman Questions since Wyttenbach.

This treatise could hardly have been written by a person ignorant of Latin. Plutarch in his Life of Demosthenes, chap. ii., modestly disavows any profound knowledge of Latin; yet he had read a considerable amount in the language and had spent some time in Rome. Hence he was quite able to use Latin works in compiling the Roman Questions. Some Roman writers he mentions by name, especially Varro, and Verrius Flaccus, an antiquarian of the Augustan age. Livy is specifically cited but twice in the Moralia, once in the present work and once in De Fortuna Romanorum; yet he is referred
to no less than twelve times in the Lives, most of these citations being in the Marcellus and the Camillus. Perhaps Plutarch's more exact acquaintance with Livy, if he ever acquired this, dates from a time later than the period during which he was engaged in the compilation of the Roman Questions.

Other Roman authorities are mentioned occasionally, such as Cato the Elder, Nigidius Figulus, Antistius Labeo, Ateius Capito, and Fenestella; but no doubt they and others are used in accounts introduced by such expressions as "they say," "some say," "the story is told," and the like. Some of these references have, in fact, been traced by scholars to their originals. It has been remarked of Cicero that any statement found in that author's works appears, or has appeared, elsewhere. The same affirmation might be made of Plutarch with some confidence. Unless he specifically testifies to oral tradition or hearsay, we may be certain that his facts, like Cicero's, are drawn from his extensive reading.

Critics lay stress on a few mistakes which Plutarch made in interpreting Latin (these will be found noted in Rose and in Hartman), but against them must be set the unnumbered instances in which he is right. He did not, however, have to depend wholly on Latin writers, for he undoubtedly had at hand the Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st cent. B.C.) and the works of Juba, a the scholarly king of Mauretania, who as a youth had been brought to Rome in 46 B.C. to grace the triumph of Julius Caesar. Juba became greatly interested in Roman

THE ROMAN QUESTIONS

customs, and wrote a book in which he paralleled them with the customs of other peoples.

Many of the matters discussed in the Roman Questions are to be found treated elsewhere in Plutarch's work, particularly in the Roman Lives. The Lives of Romulus and of Numa are especially rich in parallel passages; for very many of the Roman customs were thought to go back to the earliest period of Roman history.

The book was probably published after the death of Domitian in A.D. 96, though this is a not quite certain inference from the text (276 e). The work is No. 138 in Lamprias's catalogue of Plutarch's works. The ms. tradition (on which see J. B. Titchener, University of Illinois Studies, ix., 1924) is good.
1. "Διὰ τι τὴν γαμομμένην ἀπτεσθαι πυρὸς καὶ ἕ ύδατος κελεύουσι;"

Πότερον τούτων ὡς ἐν στοιχείοις καὶ ἀρχαῖς τὸ μὲν ἀρρεν ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ θῆλυ, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖς κινή-σεως ἐνίσθι τὸ δ’ ὑποκειμένον καὶ ὕλης δύναμιν.

"Ἡ διότι τὸ πῦρ καθαίρει καὶ τὸ υδὼρ ἀγνίζει, δεὶ δὲ καθαρὰν καὶ ἁγνῆν διαμένει τὴν γαμηθείσαν;

"Ἡ ὁτι, καθάπερ τὸ πῦρ χωρίς ὑγρότητος ατροφὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ἔγρον τὸ δὲ υδὼρ ἀνευ θερμότητος ἀγονον καὶ ἀργόν, οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἀρρεν ἀδρανεῖς καὶ τὸ θῆλυ χωρίς ἀλλήλων, ἡ δὲ σύνοδος ἀμφοῖν ἐπιτελεῖ τοὺς γῆμασι τὴν συμβίωσιν;

"Ἡ¹ οὐκ ἀπολειπτέον καὶ κοινωνητέον ἀπάσης Γ τύχης, κἂν ἄλλου² μηδενὸς ἣ πυρὸς καὶ ύδατος μέλλωσι κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις;

2. "Διὰ τι οὐ πλείωνας οὐδ’ ἐλάττωνας ἀλλὰ πέντε λαμπάδας ἀπτοσιν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, ἃς κηρίωνας³ ονομάζουσι;""

1 ἧ| some mss. read ἦν, which may be right.
2 ἄλλον Τούρ: καλόν.
3 κηρίωνας] κηρίους (i.e. cercos) Helmbold: κηρίων Wyssenbach. In 280 e and 288 v also the mss. accuse Plutarch of making a mistake in his Latin inflexions.
THE ROMAN QUESTIONS

1. Why do they bid the bride touch fire and water? Is it that of these two, being reckoned as elements or first principles, fire is masculine and water feminine, and fire supplies the beginnings of motion and water the function of the subsistent element or the material?

Or is it because fire purifies and water cleanses, and a married woman must remain pure and clean?

Or is it that, just as fire without moisture is unsustaining and arid, and water without heat is unproductive and inactive, so also male and female apart from each other are inert, but their union in marriage produces the perfection of their life together?

Or is it that they must not desert each other, but must share together every sort of fortune, even if they are destined to have nothing other than fire and water to share with each other?

2. Why in the marriage rites do they light five torches, neither more nor less, which they call cereones?

a Cf. Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. 61. The genders are those of ignis and aqua, not those of the Greek words.

b Cf. Moralia, 650 b; Servius on Virgil, Aeneid, iv. 167; Lactantius, Institutiones Divinae, ii. 9. 21.
Πότερον, ὡς Βάρρων ἔλεγει, ὅτι τῶν στρατηγῶν τριών χρωμένων, εἰσὶν τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις πλείονες, παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἀγορανόμων ἀπτοσι τὸ πῦρ οἱ γαμοῦντες;

264 Ἡ διότι πλείστοι χρωμένων ἀριθμοῖς, πρὸς τὲ τὰ ἀλλα βελτίων καὶ τελείότερος ὁ περιττὸς ἐνομίζετο καὶ πρὸς γάμον ἀρμοδιώτερος; ὁ γὰρ ἄρτιος διαστασὶ θέχεται καὶ τὸ ἑσον αὐτοῦ μάχμον ἐστὶ καὶ ἀντίπαλον, ὁ δὲ περιττὸς οὐ δῦναι διασχισθῆναι παντάπασιν, ἀλλ' ὑπολείπει τι κοινὸν ἀεὶ μεριζόμενος. τοῦ δὲ περιττοῦ μάλιστα γαμήλιος ἡ πεινάς ἐστὶν τὰ γὰρ τρία πρῶτοι περιττός καὶ τὰ δύο πρῶτος ἄρτιος· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ϊσαρ πρὸς αἴρενοι καὶ θήλεος ἡ πεινάς μέμεικται.

Β Ὁ μάλλον, ἐπει τὸ φῶς γενέσεως ἐστὶν σημεῖον, γνωρὶ δ' ἄχρι πέντε τίκτεων ὅμοι τὰ πλείστα πέφυκε, τοσαύταις χρώνται λαμπάσιν;

"Ἡ ὅτι πέντε δείσθαν θεῶν τοὺς γαμοῦντας οἴοντα, Δίως τελείου καὶ "Ἡρας τελείας καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καί Πειθοῦς, ἐπὶ πάσιν δ' Ἀρτέμιδος, ἢν ταῖς λοχείαις καὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς αἱ γυναικεῖς ἐπικαλοῦται;

C 3. "Διὰ τί πολλῶν ὑπνόων ἐν Ῥώμῃ ναὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, εἰς μόνον τὸν ἐν τῷ καλομένῳ Πατρικίῳ στενωπῷ ἄνδρες οὐκ εἰσίασιν;"

1 εἰσὶν F.C.B.: όνιν.
2 πλείονες F.C.B.: πλείονας (omitted by E).

a Cf. the Lex Coloniae Genetivae, column 62 (C.I.L. i. 2 594 = ii. 5139), where it is specified that the aediles shall have the right and power to possess, among other things, "cereos".

b Cf. Moralia, 288 d–e, infra, 374 A, 429 A, and 388 A with the note on the last passage; Lydus, De Mensibus, ii. 1.
Is it, as Varro has stated, that while the praetors use three, the aediles have a right to more, and it is from the aediles that the wedding party light their torches?

Or is it because in their use of several numbers the odd number was considered better and more perfect for various purposes and also better adapted to marriage? For the even number admits division and its equality of division suggests strife and opposition; the odd number, however, cannot be divided into equal parts at all, but whenever it is divided it always leaves behind a remainder of the same nature as itself. Now, of the odd numbers, five is above all the nuptial number; for three is the first odd number, and two is the first even number, and five is composed of the union of these two, as it were of male and female.  

Or is it rather that, since light is the symbol of birth, and women in general are enabled by nature to bear, at the most, five children at one birth, the wedding company makes use of exactly that number of torches?

Or is it because they think that the nuptial pair has need of five deities: Zeus Teleios, Hera Teleia, Aphrodite, Peitho, and finally Artemis, whom women in child-birth and travail are wont to invoke?

3. Why is it that, although there are many shrines of Diana in Rome, the only one into which men may not enter is the shrine in the so-called Vicus Patricius?

Cf. *Moralia*, 429 f. A few authenticated cases of sextuplets have occurred since Plutarch's day. See also the passages of Aulus Gellius and Aristotle quoted in *Classical Journal*, xxx. p. 493.
4. "Διὰ τι τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀρτεμισίωις ἐπιεικῶς ἐλάφων κέρατα προσπαττάλευσα, τῷ δ' ἐν Ἀβεντύνῳ βοῶν;

"Η1 τοῦ παλαιοῦ συμπτώματος ἀπομνημονεύοντες; λέγεται γὰρ ἐν Σαβίνωι Ἀντρωνι Κορατίῳ βοῦς ἐκπρεπὴς ὦφει καὶ μεγέθει διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων γενέσθαι νόμτεως δὲ των αὐτῶν φράσαντος, ὅτι τοῦ κακαρευούσατος Ἀρτέμιδι τὴν βοῦν ἐκείνην ἐν Ἀβεντύνῳ πέπρωται μεγίστην γενέσθαι καὶ βασιλεύσαι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης τὴν πόλιν, ἐλθεῖν

1 μὲν εἰς Ρώμην τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὡς θύσοντα τὴν βοῦν· οἰκέτου δὲ κρύφα τῷ βασιλεί Σερούῳ τὸ μάντευμα φράσαντος, ἐκείνου δὲ Κορνηλίῳ τῷ ἱερεῖ, προστάξαι τοῦ Κορνήλιῳ τῷ Ἀντρωνι λούσασθαι πρὸ τῆς θυσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὥμμβρεως νενομίσθαι γὰρ σύνω τοὺς καλλιεροῦντας. ἐκείνου μὲν οὖν ἀπελθόντα λούσθαι,2 τὸν δὲ Σερούον φόβασανθε θύσαι τῇ θεῷ τὴν βοῦν καὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τὰ κέρατα προσπαττάλευσαν, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Ἦδηβας ἱστορήκει καὶ Βάρρων, πλὴν ὧτι τοῦνομα τοῦ Ἀντρωνος Βάρρων ὡς γέγραφεν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ Κορνηλίου φησί τοῦ ἱερέως ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωκόρου παρακρουσθήσαι τὸν Σαβίνων.

5. "Διὰ τί τούς τεθνάναι φημισθέντας ἐπί ἡμῆς

1 ἢ] Dübner would read ἢ here and elsewhere at the beginning of the first interrogation.
2 λούσθαι] λούσασθαι Basel ed. of 1574.
Is it because of the current legend? For a man attempted to violate a woman who was here worshipping the goddess, and was torn to pieces by the dogs; and men do not enter because of the superstitious fear that arose from this occurrence.

4. Why do they, as might be expected, nail up stags’ horns in all the other shrines of Diana, but in the shrine on the Aventine nail up horns of cattle?

Is it because they remember the ancient occurrence? For the tale is told that among the Sabines in the herds of Antro Curiaitius was born a heifer excelling all the others in appearance and size. When a certain soothsayer told him that the city of the man who should sacrifice that heifer to Diana on the Aventine was destined to become the mightiest city and to rule all Italy, the man came to Rome with intent to sacrifice his heifer. But a servant of his secretly told the prophecy to the king Servius, who told Cornelius the priest, and Cornelius gave instructions to Antro to bathe in the Tiber before the sacrifice; for this, said he, was the custom of those whose sacrifice was to be acceptable. Accordingly Antro went away and bathed, but Servius sacrificed the heifer to Diana before Antro could return, and nailed the horns to the shrine. This tale both Juba and Varro have recorded, except that Varro has not noted the name of Antro; and he says that the Sabine was cozened, not by Cornelius the priest, but by the keeper of the temple.

5. Why is it that those who are falsely reported to

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*Cf. Livy, i. 45; Valerius Maximus, vii. 3. 1.
Ε ὕσείδως, κἂν ἐπανέλθωσιν, οὐ δέχονται κατὰ θύρας, ἀλλὰ τῶν κεράμων προσβαίνοντες εἰσώ καθιάσοντες αὐτούς;

'Ο μὲν γὰρ Βάρρων αὐτίαν μυθικὴν ὁλως ἀποδίδωσι. φησὶ γὰρ, ἐν τῷ περὶ Σικελίαν πολέμῳ ναυμαχίας μεγάλης γενομένης καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν φήμης ὁμοίως ὡς ἀπολωλότων ῥυεύσης, ἐπανελθότας αὐτοῖς ὅλῳ χρόνῳ πάντας τελευτήσας, ἐνὶ δ' εἰσίντι τὰς θύρας ἀπαντήσας κλεισμένας ἀπ' αὐτομάτου καὶ μὴ χαλάν ἐπιχειροῦντος ἀνοίγε τὸν δ' αἰθρωπὸν αὐτοῦ καταδιρθόντα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπονυμίους ὑφισμοῦν ἔναυτῷ τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸ τέγος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν καθίμησιν ποιῆσαντα δ' οὕτως εὐτυχὴ γενέσθαι καὶ γηραιῶν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὸ ἔθος καταστήναι τοῖς ὑπεροις.

"Ὀρα δὲ μὴ καὶ ταῦτα τρόπον τινά τοῖς 'Ελληνικοῖς ἐδόκειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐνόμιζον ἀγνοῦς οὐδὲ κατεμείγνυσαν ἐαυτοῖς οὐδ' εἰσώ ἱεροῖς πλησιάζειν, οἷς ἐκφορὰ γεγόνει καὶ τάφος ὡς τεθνηκός. λέγεται δὲ τινα τῶν ἐνόχων ταύτη τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ γεγονότων 'Ἀριστίνων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστείλαντα δεῖσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παρατείσαθαι τὰς παρούσας αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπορίας· τὴν δὲ Πυθίαν εἶπειν

205 ὅσαπερ ἐν λεχέσοι γυνῇ τίκτουσα τελεῖται, ταῦτα πάλιν τελέσαντα δύνων μακάρεσοι θεοῖσιν.

τὸν οὖν 'Αριστίνων εὖ φρονήσαντα παρασχεῖν ἐαυτοῦν

1 καθιάσον. καθιμάσαν Abresch, from καθίμησιν, infra.
2 ἐπιχειροῦντος Helmbold: ἐπιχειροῦντων.
have died in a foreign country, even if they return, men do not admit by the door, but mount upon the roof-tiles and let them down inside?

Varro gives an explanation of the cause that is quite fabulous. For he says that in the Sicilian war there was a great naval battle, and in the case of many men a false report spread that they were dead. But, when they had returned home, in a short time they all came to their end except one who, when he tried to enter, found the doors shutting against him of their own accord, nor did they yield when he strove to open them. The man fell asleep there before his threshold and in his sleep saw a vision, which instructed him to climb upon the roof and let himself down into the house. When he had done so, he prospered and lived to an advanced age; and from this occurrence the custom became established for succeeding generations.

But consider if this be not in some wise similar to Greek customs; for the Greeks did not consider pure, nor admit to familiar intercourse, nor suffer to approach the temples any person for whom a funeral had been held and a tomb constructed on the assumption that they were dead. The tale is told that Aristinus, a victim of this superstition, sent to Delphi and besought the god to release him from the difficulties in which he was involved because of the custom; and the prophetic priestess gave response:

All that a woman in childbed does at the birth of her baby,
When this again thou hast done, to the blessed gods sacrifice offer.

Aristinus, accordingly, chose the part of wisdom and
(265) ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τικτόμενοι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀπολοῦσαι καὶ σπαργανώσαι καὶ θηλὴν ἐπισχεῖν, οὗτῳ τε δρᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾶς, ὑστεροπότμους προσ- ἀγορευμένους. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Ἀριστίνου ταύτα γενέσθαι περὶ τούς ὑστεροπότμους καὶ τὸ ἔθος εἶναι παλαιόν. οὐδὲν οὖν θανασίστων εἰ καὶ Ὄμωμαι τοῖς ὅσοι ἀπαξ τεθάφθαι καὶ γεγονέναι τῆς τῶν φθιτῶν μερίδος οὐκ ὄντο δεῖν παρεῖναι τῇ Β αὐλείᾳ, ἡ θύσιντες εξίσας καὶ θύσιντες εἰσίασιν, ἀλλ' ἀνωθεν ἐκέλευον εἰς τὰ ὑπαίθρα καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς καθαρμούς ἐπι- εἰκῶς πάντας ἐν ὑπαίθρω τελοῦσιν.

6. “Διὰ τί τούς συγγενεῖς τῷ στόματι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες;”

Πότερον, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι νομίζουσιν, ἄπειρημένου ἦν πάνων οὖν ταῖς γυναιξίν· ὅπως οὖν αἱ πιοῦσαι μὴ λανθάνωσιν ἄλλῳ ἐλέγχωνται περιτυγχάνουσιν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ἐνομίσθη καταφιλεῖν;

"Ἡ δὲ ἦν Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ φιλόσοφος αἰτίαν ἱστορηκε; τὸ γάρ πολυθρύλητον ἐκεῖνο καὶ πολ- 

C λαχοῦνες γενέσθαι λεγόμενον ὡς ἔουεν ἔτολμηθη ταῖς Τρωάσι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἡταλίαν. τῶν γὰρ ἀνδρῶν, ὡς προσεπλευσαν, ἀποβάντων ἐνέπρησαν τὰ πλοῖα, πάντως ἀπαλλαγήναι τῆς πλάνης δεόμεναι καὶ τῆς

1 τοῖς | all mss except E. have τότε.
2 πολλαχοῦ Wyttenbach: πολλοῦ.
delivered himself like a new-born babe into the hands of women to be washed, and to be wrapped in swaddling-clothes, and to be suckled; and all other men in such plight do likewise and they are called "Men of Later Fate." But some will have it that this was done in the case of such persons even before Aristinus, and that the custom is ancient. Hence it is nothing surprising if the Romans also did not think it right to admit by the door, through which they go out to sacrifice and come in from sacrificing, those who are thought to have been buried once and for all and to belong to the company of the departed, but bade them descend from the open air above into that portion of the house which is exposed to the sky. And with good reason, for, naturally, they perform all their rites of purification under the open sky.

6. Why do the women kiss their kinsmen on the lips? Is it, as most authorities believe, that the drinking of wine was forbidden to women, and therefore, so that women who had drunk wine should not escape detection, but should be detected when they chanced to meet men of their household, the custom of kissing was established? Or is it for the reason which Aristotle the philosopher has recorded? For that far-famed deed, the scene of which is laid in many different places, was dared, it appears, by the Trojan women, even on the very shores of Italy. For when they had reached the coast, and the men had disembarked, the women set fire to the ships, since, at all hazards, they desired to be quit of their wanderings and their sea-faring.

\[\text{Cf. Moralia, 243} \text{E and the note ad loc. (Vol. III. p. 480).}\]
(265) θαλάττης· φοβηθείσαι δὲ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἰσπαζοντο τῶν συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων μετὰ τοῦ καταφιλεῖν καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας. παυσα-μένων δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ διαλαγέντων, ἐξρώντο καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ταύτη τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ πρὸς αὐτούς. D "Ἡ μᾶλλον ἐδόθη τούτο ταῖς γυναιξίν ὡς τιμή ἀμα καὶ δύναμιν αὐταῖς φέρον, εἰ φαίνοντο πολ-λοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἔχουσαι συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους; "Ἡ, μη γενομισμένου συγγενίδας γαμεῖν, ἄχρι φιλήματος ἡ φιλοφροσύνη προηλθεν καὶ τοῦτο μόνον ἀπελεύθη σύμβολοι καὶ κοινώνιμα τῆς συγγενείας; πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἐγάμου τὰς ἀφ' αὔματος, ἀστερ οὔδε τὸν τηθίδας· οὐδ’ ἀδελφὰς γαμοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅισε συνεχώρησαν ἀνεφίας συνοικεῖν ἐκ τοιούτης αἰτίας· ἀνὴρ χρημάτων ἐνδεχετ’ τὰ δ’ ἀλλα χρηστός καὶ παρ’ ὀντυνοῦ τῶν δήμων τῶν πολιτευμένων ἀρέσκων, ἐπικληρον ἀνεφίαν ἔχων. E ἔδοξε καὶ πλουτεῖν ᾄτ’ αὐτῆς· ἐπὶ τούτω δὲ γενο-μείνῃς αὐτοῦ κατηγορίας, ὁ δῆμος ἄφεις τὴν αἰτίαν ἐλέγχειν ἐλυσε τὸ ἐγκλῆμα, ψηφισάμενος πᾶσιν ἔξειναι γαμεῖν ἄχρι ἀνεφίων, τὰ δ’ ἀνωτέρω κεκωλύσθαι.

7. "Διὰ τὶ δὲ δῶρον λαβεῖν ἀνδρὶ παρὰ γυναικὸς καὶ γυναικὶ παρ’ ἀνδρὸς ἀπείρηται;"

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1 τηθίδας Cobet: τηθίδας.
2 ἀδελφὰς ἀδελφὸς S. A. Naber (cf. Suetonius, Claudius, 26).
3 ἔχων F.C.B.: ἔχειν. 4 τὰ| τας Ε.

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a Hatzidakis objects to the form συγγενίδας; but the very fact that Pollux, iii. 30, characterizes it as ἐσχάτως βάρβαρον proves (as do inscriptions also) that it was in use.
b Cf. Tacitus, Annals, xii. 5-7.
But they were afraid of their husbands, and greeted with a kiss and a warm embrace such of their kinsmen and members of their household as they encountered; and when the men had ceased from their wrath and had become reconciled, the women continued thereafter as well to employ this mark of affection towards them.

Or was this rather bestowed upon the women as a privilege that should bring them both honour and power if they should be seen to have many good men among their kinsmen and in their household?

Or is it that, since it is not the custom for men to marry blood relations, affection proceeded only so far as a kiss, and this alone remained as a token of kinship and a participation therein? For formerly men did not marry women related to them by ties of blood, just as even now they do not marry their aunts or their sisters; but after a long time they made the concession of allowing wedlock with cousins for the following reason: a man possessed of no property, but otherwise of excellent character and more satisfactory to the people than other public men, had as wife his cousin, an heiress, and was thought to be growing rich from her estate. He was accused on this ground, but the people would not even try the case and dismissed the charge, enacting a decree that all might marry cousins or more distant relatives; but marriage with nearer kin was prohibited.

7. Why is it forbidden for a man to receive a gift from his wife or a wife to receive a gift from her husband? c

Cf. Moralia, 143 a.
Πότερον, ὡς Σόλων γράφας τὰς δόσεις κυρίας εἰναι τῶν τελευτώντων, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τις ἀνάγκη συνεχόμενος ἢ γνωακή πειθόμενος τὴν μὲν ἀνάγκην
F ὡς βιαζομένην ὑπεξείλετο, τὴν δ' ἤδην ὡς παραλογιζομένην, οὕτως ὑπενοήθησαν αἱ γνωακαὶ καὶ ἀνδρῶν δόσεις;

"Η φαυλότατον ἴγγογμενον σημεῖον εὐνοίας τὸ διδόναι (διδόσαι γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοτροι καὶ μὴ φιλοῦντες)
εκ τοῦ γάμου τὴν τοιαύτην ἀρέσκειαν ἀνείλον, ὡπως ἁμισθὸν ἢ καὶ προϊκα καὶ δι' αὐτὸ μὴ
di' ἄλλο τὸ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν;

"Η, οτι τῷ λαμβάνειν διαφθειρόμεναι μάλιστα
προσένται τοὺς ἄλλοτροὺς, σεμινὸν ἐφάνη τὸ μὴ
didόντας ἀγαπῶν τοὺς ἴδιον;

"Η µάλλον οτι δει καὶ γνωαξεὶ κοινᾳ τὰ ἀνδρῶν
266 εἶναι καὶ ἀνδράσι τὰ γνωακαὶ; μανθάνει γὰρ ὁ
λαβὼν τὸ δοθὲν ἄλλοτρον ἤγεισθαι τὸ μὴ δοθὲν,
ὡστ' οὐλὴν διδόντες ἄλληλοις τὸ παῦ ἀφαιροῦνται.

8. "Διὰ τί δὲ παρὰ γαμβροῦ καὶ παρὰ πενθεροῦ
λαβεῖν εκείνοις κεκώλυται δῶρον;"

"Η παρὰ γαμβροῦ μὲν, ἢν μὴ δόξῃ διὰ τοῦ
πατρὸς εἰς τὴν γνωακὴν περιχωρεῖν τὸ δῶρον; παρὰ
πενθεροῦ δὲ, οτι τοῦ μὴ διδόντα δίκαιον ἐφάνη
μηδὲ λαμβάνειν;

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* Cf. Life of Solon, chap. xxi. (90 a); [Demosthenes] xlvi. 14; Hypereides, Against Athenogenes, 17, 18.
Is it that, Solon having promulgated a law that the bequests of the deceased should be valid unless a man were constrained by force or persuaded by his wife, whereby he excepted force as overriding the free will, and pleasure as misleading the judgement, in this way the bequests of wives and husbands became suspect?

Or did they regard giving as an utterly worthless token of affection (for even strangers and persons with no kindly feelings give gifts), and so deprived the marriage relationship of this mode of giving pleasure, that mutual affection might be unbought and free, existing for its own sake and for no other reason?

Or is it that women are most likely to be seduced and welcome strangers because of gifts they receive from them; and thus it is seen to be dignified for them to love their own husbands even though their husbands give them no gifts?

Or is it rather that both the husbands' property should be held in common with their wives and the wives' with their husbands? For anyone who accepts what is given learns to regard what is not given to him as belonging to another, with the result that by giving a little to each other they deprive each other of all else that they own.

8. Why among the Romans is it forbidden to receive a gift from a son-in-law or from a father-in-law?

Is the father-in-law prevented from receiving a gift from his son-in-law, in order that the gift may not appear ultimately to reach the wife through her father? And is the son-in-law similarly prevented, since it is obviously just that he who may not give shall also not receive?
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

Β 9. "Διὰ τι, καὶ εὖ ἀγροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ξένης ἐπι发掘ος, ἐχοντες οἴκιοι γυναῖκας προσέμπουες
δηλοῦντες αὐταῖς ὅτι παραγιγονται;"

Πότερον ὅτι τοῦτο πιστεύοντος ἐστὶ τήν γυναῖκα
μηδὲν ῥαδίουργειν, τό δὲ ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως
ὁιον ἐνέδρα καὶ παρατήρησει, καὶ1 σπεύδουσιν ὡς
ποθοῦσαι καὶ προσδεχομέναις εὐαγγελίζεσθαι περὶ
αὐτῶν;"

"Η μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνων πυθέσθαι ποθοῦσιν,
eἰ σωζομένας καὶ ποθοῦσας ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας κατα-
λαμβάνουσιν;

"Η πλείονες ταῖς γυναιξίν οἰκονομίαι καὶ
ἀσχολίαι, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπόντων, τυγχάνουσι καὶ
diαφοραί καὶ ὁρμαί3 πρὸς τοὺς ἐνδον. ἵν' ὁν ἀπ-
αλλαγείσα τούτων ἀθόρυβον τῷ ἁνδρὶ παρέχῃ τήν
ὑποδοχήν καὶ ἥδειαν, ἡ προδήλωσις γίγνεται;

C 10. "Διὰ τί τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦντες ἐπικαλύ-
πτονταὶ τὴν κεφαλῆς, τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἀξίοις
τιμῆς ἀπαντώντες, καὶ τύχωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
ἐχοντες τὸ ἰμάτιον, ἀποκαλύπτοντα;"

Τοῦτο γὰρ έσικε κάκεινην ἐπιτείνευν τὴν ἀπορίαν.
eἰ μὲν ὅν ὅ περὶ Λίνείου λεγόμενος λόγος ἁληθῆς
ἐστὶν, ὅτι4 τοῦ Διομήδους παρεξίοντος ἐπικαλυψά-
μενος τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετελείσε, λόγον ἔχει καὶ ἀκο-
λουθεῖ τῷ συγκαλύπτεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ

1 καὶ added by F.C.B.
2 αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.
3 ὁρμαί] ὁργαί Wyttenbach.
4 ὅτι in E only; καὶ in other mss.

a Cf. Pliny, Natural History, xxviii. 17 (60).
9. Why is it that, when men who have wives at home are returning either from the country or from abroad, they send ahead to tell their wives that they are coming?

Is it because this is the mark of a man who is confident that his wife is not up to any mischief, whereas coming suddenly and unexpectedly is, as it were, an arrival by stratagem and unfair vigilance; and are they eager to send good tidings about themselves to their wives as if they felt certain that their wives would be longing for them and expecting them?

Or is it rather that the men themselves long to hear news of their wives, if they shall find them safe at home and longing for their husbands?

Or is it because during their husbands' absence the wives have more household duties and occupations, and also dissensions and outbursts against those of the household? Therefore the notice is given in advance that the wife may rid herself of these matters and make for her husband his welcome home undisturbed and pleasant.

10. Why is it that when they worship the gods, they cover their heads, but when they meet any of their fellow-men worthy of honour, if they happen to have the toga over the head, they uncover? a

This second fact seems to intensify the difficulty of the first. If, then, the tale told of Aeneas b is true, that, when Diomede passed by, he covered his head and completed the sacrifice, it is reasonable and consistent with the covering of one's head in the presence of an enemy that men who meet good

a Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, xii. 16.

b Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, xii. 16.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(266) τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ἐνυγχάνοντις ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἦδον ἐστιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου μεμένηκε τυροῦμενον.

Εἰ δ’ ἄλλο τι λέγειν χρῆ, σκόπει μὴ μόνον ἐκεῖνο δεῖ ξητεῖν, δι’ οὗ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνοῦντες ἐπικαλυπτοῦνται, θάτερον δ’ ἀκόλουθον ἔστι. τῶν γὰρ

Δ ἀνθρώπων ἀποκαλυπτοῦνται τοῖς δυνατωτέροις, οὐ τιμὴν αὐτοῖς προστιθέντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν φθόνον αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἀφαιροῦντες, ἢν μὴ δόξωσι τὰς αὐτὰς τοῖς θεοῖς τιμᾶς ἀπαιτεῖν μηδὲ ὑπομένειν μηδὲ χαίρειν θεραπευόμενοι παραπλησίως ἐκείνοις. τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς οὕτω προσεκύνουν ἣ ταπεινοῦντες ἐαυτοὺς τῇ ἑπικρύψει τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἢ μᾶλλον εὐλαβοῦμενοι των φωνῆν προσπέσειν αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν εὐχομένους ἀπαίσιον καὶ δύσφημον ἄχρι τῶν ἠτῶν ἀνελάμβανον τὸ ἰμάτιον· ὅτι γὰρ ἵσχυρος ἐνυλαττότον ταῦτα, δὴ λόγῳ ἔστι τῷ προσιόντας ἐπὶ μαντείαν χαλκωμάτων πατάγων περιψοφείσθαι.

Ε’ Ἡ ὡς Κάστωρ λέγει τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς συνισκεῖν, τὸν ἐν ἑκάτον δαιμόνα δεισθαι τῶν ἐκτὸς θεῶν καὶ ἱκετεύειν, τῇ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπικαλύψει τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰνιττόμενος1 ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐγκάλυψιν καὶ ἀπόκρυψιν.

11. “Διὰ τί τῷ Κρόνῳ θύουσιν ἀπαρακαλύπτω τῇ κεφαλῇ;”

1 αἰνιττόμενος F.C.B.: αἰνιττόμενον.


22
men and their friends should uncover. In fact, the behaviour in regard to the gods is not properly related to this custom, but accidentally resembles it; and its observance has persisted since the days of Aeneas.

But if there is anything else to be said, consider whether it be not true that there is only one matter that needs investigation: why men cover their heads when they worship the gods; and the other follows from this. For they uncover their heads in the presence of men more influential than they: it is not to invest these men with additional honour, but rather to avert from them the jealousy of the gods, that these men may not seem to demand the same honours as the gods, nor to tolerate an attention like that bestowed on the gods, nor to rejoice therein. But they thus worshipped the gods, either humbling themselves by concealing the head, or rather by pulling the toga over their ears as a precaution lest any ill-omened and baleful sound from without should reach them while they were praying. That they were mightily vigilant in this matter is obvious from the fact that when they went forth for purposes of divination, they surrounded themselves with the clashing of bronze.

Or, as Castor states when he is trying to bring Roman customs into relation with Pythagorean doctrines: the Spirit within us entreats and supplicates the gods without, and thus he symbolizes by the covering of the head the covering and concealment of the soul by the body.

11. Why do they sacrifice to Saturn with the head uncovered?
Πότερον ὁτι τὴν ἑγκάλυψιν Ἀινείας παρέδωκεν, ἢ δὲ τοῦ Κρόνου θυσία παμπάλαιός ἐστιν;

"Ἡ ὁτι τοῖς οὐρανίοις ἐπικαλύπτονται, τὸν δὲ Κρόνον ἱγοῦνται θεον ὑπουδαίοι καὶ χρόνιοι; ἢ ὁτι τῆς ἀληθείας οὐδὲν ἀπόκρυφον ἢ ἐπίσκιοι, ἀληθείας δὲ νομίζουσι Ρωμαίοι πατέρα τὸν Κρόνον εἶναι;

12. "Διὰ τι δὲ τὸν Κρόνον πατέρα τῆς ἀληθείας νομίζουσι;"

Πότερον, ὦσπερ ἔνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, χρόνον Ποιοῦντα τὸν Κρόνον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς εὐρίσκει χρόνος. ἢ τὸν μυθολογούμενον ἐπὶ Κρόνον βίον, εἰ δικαιότατος ἢν, εἰκός ἐστι μάλιστα μετέχειν ἀληθείας;

13. "Διὰ τι καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Ὄνωρει θύουσιν ἀπαρακαλύπτω τῇ κεφαλῇ; τὸν δὲ Ὄνωρεμ δόξαν ἃν τις ἢ τιμήν μεθερμηνεύσει.

Πότερον διότι λαμπρὸν ἡ δόξα καὶ περιφανὲς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένον, δι’ ἢν αἰτίαν τοὺς ἁγάθοὺς καὶ 267 τιμωμένους ἀνδράσιν ἀποκαλύπτονται, διὰ ταύτην καὶ τὸν ἐπώνυμον τῆς τιμῆς θεον οὕτω προσκυνοῦσιν;

14. "Διὰ τι τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκκομίζονσιν οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ συγκεκαλυμμένοι, αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες γυμναῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ ταῖς κόμαις λελυμέναις;"

Πότερον ὁτι τιμᾶσθαι μὲν ύπὸ τῶν ἁρρένων δεῖ

1 ἀπόκρυφον] all mss. but one have ἐπίκρυφον.
2 ἀπαρακαλύπτω E, as above at the beginning of no. 11: ἀκαλύπτω.
3 διότι Wytenbach: δὲ ὥσπερ.  
4 συγκεκαλυμμένοι some mss., as Petavius had conjectured: συγκεκαλυμμέναις.

24
THE ROMAN QUESTIONS, 266-267

Is it because Aeneas instituted the custom of covering the head, and the sacrifice to Saturn dates from long before that time? Or is it that they cover the head before the heavenly deities, but they consider Saturn a god whose realm is beneath the earth? Or is it that no part of Truth is covered or overshadowed, and the Romans consider Saturn father of Truth?

12. And why do they consider Saturn father of Truth?
Is it that they think, as do certain philosophers,\(^a\) that Saturn (Kronos) is Time (Chronos), and Time discovers the truth? Or because it is likely that the fabled Age of Saturn, if it was an age of the greatest righteousness, participated most largely in truth?

13. Why do they also sacrifice to the god called "Honor" with the head uncovered? One might translate Honor as "renown" or "honour."
Is it because renown is a brilliant thing, conspicuous, and widespread, and for the reason that they uncover in the presence of good and honoured men, is it for this same reason that they also worship the god who is named for "honour"?

14. Why do sons cover their heads when they escort their parents to the grave, while daughters go with uncovered heads and hair unbound?
Is it because fathers should be honoured as gods

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\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 363 d; Aristotle, De Mundo, chap. vii. ad init. (401 a 15); Cornutus, chap. vi. (p. 7 ed. Lang); Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 8. 7.
The first reason above: The father should be honoured as a god.

Cf. Cicero, De Legibus, ii. 22 (57).

Cf. 278 v, infra; Comparison of Lycurgus and Numa, iii. (77 c); Comparison of Theseus and Romulus, vi. (39 b); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, ii. 25. 7; Valerius Maximus, ii. 1. 4; Aulus Gellius, iv. 3. 2; xvii. 21. 44; Tertullian, Apol. vi., De Monogamia, ix.
by their male offspring, but mourned as dead by their daughters, that custom has assigned to each sex its proper part and has produced a fitting result from both?

Or is it that the unusual is proper in mourning, and it is more usual for women to go forth in public with their heads covered and men with their heads uncovered? So in Greece, whenever any misfortune comes, the women cut off their hair and the men let it grow, for it is usual for men to have their hair cut and for women to let it grow.

Or is it that it has become customary for sons to cover their heads for the reason already given? For they turn about at the graves, as Varro relates, thus honouring the tombs of their fathers even as they do the shrines of the gods; and when they have cremated their parents, they declare that the dead person has become a god at the moment when first they find a bone.

But formerly women were not allowed to cover the head at all. At least it is recorded that Spurius Carvilius was the first man to divorce his wife and the reason was her barrenness; the second was Sulpicius Gallus, because he saw his wife pull her cloak over her head; and the third was Publius Sempronius, because his wife had been present as a spectator at funeral games.

15. Why is it that they were wont to sacrifice no living creature to Terminus, in whose honour they held the Terminalia, although they regard him as a god?

\[d\] Cf. Valerius Maximus, vi. 3. 10.

\[e\] This is certainly not true of later times: cf. for example, Horace, \textit{Epodés}, 2. 59.
"Η 'Ρωμύλος μὲν οροὺς οὐκ ἔθηκε τῆς χώρας, ὅπως ἔξει προϊέναι καὶ ἀποτέμνεσθαι καὶ νομίζειν πᾶσαν ἱδίαν, ὥσπερ ὁ Λάκων εἶπεν, ἢς ἂν τὸ δόρυ ἐφικνήται, Νομᾶς¹ ἐς Πυμπίλιος, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ πολιτικὸς ὃν καὶ φιλόσοφος γενόμενος, τὴν τε χώραν ὑφίστατο πρὸς τοὺς γευτινῶντας καὶ τοῖς ὁροὺς ἐπιφημίσας τὸν Τέρμινον ὡς ἐπίσκοπον καὶ φύλακα φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης ᾤετο δεῖν αἰματος καὶ φόνον καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον διαφυλάττειν;

D 16. "Διὰ τί δούλαις τὸ τῆς Λευκοθέας ιερὸν ἀβατόν ἔστι, μίαν δὲ μόνην αἱ γυναῖκες εἰσάγουσαι παίουσιν ἔπι κόρρης καὶ ῥαπίζουσιν;

"Η τὸ μὲν ταυτήν ραπίζεσθαι σύμβολον ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ἔξειναι, κωλύουσι δὲ τὰς ἄλλας διὰ τὸν μῦθον; ἡ γὰρ Ἰνων ξηλοτυπήσασα δοῦλην ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ λέγεται περὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκμανῆναι: τὴν δὲ δούλην Ἐλληνες Αἰτωλίδα γένει φασίν εἶναι, καλεῖσθαι δ' Ἀντιφέραν. διὸ καὶ παρ' ἦμιν ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ πρὸ τοῦ σηκοῦ τῆς Λευκοθέας ὁ νεωκόρος λαβὼν μάστιγα κηρύττει, "μὴ δοῦλον εἰσιέναι μὴ δοῦλαν, μὴ Αἰτωλίδα μὴ Αἰτωλάν."

E 17. "Διὰ τί παρὰ τῇ θεῶ τauptη τοῖς μὲν ἱδίοις τέκνοις οὐκ εὐχονται τάγαθα τοῖς δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν;"

¹ Νομᾶς] Νομᾶς in some mss.

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¹ Cf. Moralia, 210 e with the note (Vol. III. p. 257).
² Cf. Life of Numa, xvi. (70 f); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, ii. 74. 2 ff.
³ Cf. Life of Camillus, v. (131 b-c); Ovid, Fasti, vi. 551 ff. with Frazer's note.
⁴ Ino is the Greek name for the Greek goddess Leucothea.
Is it that Romulus placed no boundary-stones for his country, so that Romans might go forth, seize land, and regard all as theirs, as the Spartan said,\textsuperscript{a} which their spears could reach; whereas Numa Pompilius,\textsuperscript{b} a just man and a statesman, who had become versed in philosophy, marked out the boundaries between Rome and her neighbours, and, when on the boundary-stones he had formally installed Terminus as overseer and guardian of friendship and peace, he thought that Terminus should be kept pure and undefiled from blood and gore?

16. Why is it that it is forbidden to slave-women to set foot in the shrine of Matuta, and why do the women bring in one slave-woman only and slap her on the head and beat her?\textsuperscript{e}

Is the beating of this slave but a symbol of the prohibition, and do they prevent the others from entering because of the legend? For Ino\textsuperscript{d} is said to have become madly jealous of a slave-woman on her husband’s account, and to have vented her madness on her son. The Greeks relate that the slave was an Aetolian by birth and that her name was Antiphera. Wherefore also in my native town, Chaeroneia, the temple-guardian stands before the precinct of Leucothea and, taking a whip in his hand, makes proclamation: “Let no slave enter, nor any Aetolian, man or woman!”

17. Why is it that in the shrine of this goddess they do not pray for blessings on their own children, but only on their sisters’ children?\textsuperscript{e}

before her violent death and deification; Matuta is the supposed Roman equivalent of both Greek names.

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Moralia, 492 d.

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Moralia, 492 d.
Πότερον ὁτι φιλάδελφος μὲν τις ἢ 'Ἰνῷ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἐπιθυμήσατο, αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῆς παίδας ἐδυστύχησεν ἢ καὶ ἄλλως ἥδικον καὶ καλὸν τὸ ἔθος καὶ πολλὴν παρασκευάζον εὐνοιαν ταῖς οἰκείοις;

18. "Διὰ τί τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ πολλοὶ τῶν πλουσίων ἐδεκάτευν τὰς οὐσίας;"

Πότερον ὁτι κάκεινος ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ τῶν Γηρυώνου Η βοῶν ἀπέθυσε τὴν δεκάτην, ἢ ὅτι 'Ῥωμαίως ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν δεκαεκατομβίους ἀπῆλλαξεν;

"Ἡ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀξιόπιστον, ὡς δ' ἀδηφάγῳ τοῖς τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ καὶ εὐθοίνῳ δαφιλῶς καὶ ἀφθόνος ἀπέθυνον;

"Ἡ μάλλον ὅς ἐπαχθῆ τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ὑπερβάλλοντα πλούτον κολούοντες καὶ καθάπερ εὐεξίας ἐπ' ἀκρον εὐσωματούσης ἀφαιροῦντες, οὓντο μάλιστα τμᾶσθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ χαῖρειν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἀποχρήσει καὶ συστολαῖς τῶν περιττῶν, εὐτελῆ καὶ αὐτάρκη καὶ ἀπέριττον τῷ βίῳ γενόμενον;

19. "Διὰ τί τὸν 'Ἰανουάριον μῆνα νέου ἔτους ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσι;"

268 Τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὁ Μάρτιος ἦρμιθείτο πρότερος, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς δῆλον ἐστὶ τεκμηρίως καὶ μάλιστα τῷ τὸν πέμπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρτίου Πέμπτον καὶ τὸν ἔκτον ἑκτὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς

1 αὐτῇ Patzig: ἢ. 2 ἔχει] ἔχε in some mss.

a Cf. Life of Sulla, chap. xxxv. (174 a); Life of Crassus, ii. (543 d), xii. (550 d).
Is it because Ino was fond of her sister and suckled her sister's son also, but was herself unfortunate in her own children? Or is it that, quite apart from this reason, the custom is morally excellent and produces much goodwill among kindred?

18. Why was it the custom for many of the wealthy to give a tithe of their property to Hercules? a

Is it because he also sacrificed a tithe of Geryon's cattle in Rome? Or because he freed the Romans from paying a tithe to the Etruscans?

Or have these tales no historical foundation worthy of credence, but the Romans were wont to sacrifice lavishly and abundantly to Hercules as to an insatiable eater and a good trencher-man?

Or was it rather in curtailing their excessive wealth, since it was odious to their fellow-citizens, and in doing away with some of it, as from a lusty bodily vigour that had reached its culmination, b did they think that thus Hercules would be especially honoured and pleased by such a way of using up and reducing overabundance, since in his own life he was frugal, self-sufficient, and free from extravagance?

19. Why do they adopt the month of January as the beginning of the new year? c

The fact is that, in ancient days, March was counted before January, as is clear from many different proofs, and particularly from the fact that the fifth month from March is called Quintilis, the sixth Sextilis, and

b Probably an allusion to the Hippocratic maxim quoted in Moralia, 682 f., 1090 b, and often by Galen.

c Cf. Life of Numa, xviii., xix. (71 ff.): Lucian, Pseudo-logista, 8; Varro, De Lingua Latina, vi. 33; Ovid, Fasti, iii. 99-166.
(268) ἄλλους ἐφεξῆς ἀχρὶ τοῦ τελευταίου, δὲ Δεκέμβριον καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρτίου δέκατον ἀρμιθμοῦμενον. εἰς οὖ ἄπο ἑαυτὸν τυχὼν οὐκ ἔσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅσον ὅπως ἰδιώτικα μησὶν ἄλλα δέκα συνεπλήρουν οἱ τότε Ρωμαῖοι τὸν ἐκατότον ἐνίοις τῶν μηνῶν ημέρας Β πλεῖονας τῶν τριάκοντα προστιθέντες. ἂλλοι δ' ἱστοροῦσι τὸν μὲν Δεκέμβριον ἀπὸ τοῦ Μαρτίου δέκατον εἶναι, τὸν δ' Ἰανουάριον ἑδέκατον, τὸν δὲ Φεβρουαρίου δωδέκατον, ἐν φιλαρμοίς τε χρῶνται καὶ τοῖς φθιμένοις ἐναγίζουσι τὸν ἐκατότον τελευτῶντος. μετατεθήμει δὲ τούτους καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἰανουάριον πρῶτον, ὅτι τῇ νομημαίᾳ τούτῳ τοῦ μηνός, ἢν ἡμέραν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσιν, οἱ πρῶτοι κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοί, τῶν βασιλέων ἐκπεσόντων.

Πιθανώτεροι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες ὅτι τὸν μὲν Μάρτιον ὁ Ῥωμύλος πολεμικὸς καὶ ἀρειμάνιος ὁ ὁ καὶ δοκῶν εἶς Ἀρεός γεγονέναι προέταξε τῶν μηνῶν ἐπώνυμον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρεοῦ. Νομᾶς δ' αὐθίς εἴ-

C ρημικὸς γενόμενος καὶ πρὸς ἐργα τῆς γῆς φιλο-

τιμοῦμενος τρέψαι τὴν πόλιν ἀποστῆσαι δὲ τῶν πολεμικῶν, τῶν Ἰανουαρίων τὴν ἱγεμονίαν ἐδωκε καὶ τὸν Ἰανὸν εἰς τιμᾶς προῆγαγε μεγάλας, ὡς πολιτικὸν καὶ γεωργικὸν μᾶλλον ἡ πολεμικὸν γειώ-

μενον. ὅρα δὲ μὴ μᾶλλον ὁ Νομᾶς τῇ φύσει προσήκουσαν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε τοῦ ἔτους ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐστὶ φύσει τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ περιφερομένων οὔτ' ἔσχατον οὔτε πρῶτον, νόμω

1) δ' ἄλλην ἄλλοι τοῦ χρόνου λαμβάνουσιν ἀρχὴν ἀριστα δ' οἱ τὴν μετὰ τροπᾶς χειμερινᾶς λαμ-

1 εἰνίοις Wyttenbach: εἰνίας.
2 Νομᾶς the better spelling (cf. 267 c): νομᾶς.

32
so on to the last, which they call December, since it is the tenth in order from March. Wherefore it has also naturally occurred to some to believe and to maintain that the ancient Romans completed their year, not in twelve months, but in ten, by adding more days than thirty to some of the months. Others state that December is the tenth from March, January the eleventh, and February the twelfth; and in this month they perform rites of purification and make offerings to the dead, since it is the end of the year. But the order of these months was altered, so they say, and January was put first because in this month on the day of the new moon, which they call the Kalends of January, the first consuls entered office after the kings had been expelled.

But more worthy of credence are they who maintain that it was because Romulus was a warrior and a lover of battle, and was thought to be a son of Mars, that he placed first the month which bore Mars' name. But Numa, in turn, who was a lover of peace, and whose ambition it was to turn the city towards husbandry and to divert it from war, gave the precedence to January and advanced the god Janus to great honours, since Janus\(^a\) was a statesman and a husbandman rather than a warrior. But consider whether Numa may not have adopted as the beginning of the year that which conforms to our conception of the natural beginning. Speaking generally, to be sure, there is not naturally either last or first in a cycle; and it is by custom that some adopt one beginning of this period and others another. They do best, however, who adopt the beginning

\(^a\) Cf. 269 \(\alpha\), infra.
20. "Διὰ τί τῇ γυναικείᾳ θεῶ, ἢν 'Ἀγαθῆν καλοῦσιν, κοσμοῦσα σηκὸν αἱ γυναίκες οίκου μυρσίνας οὐκ εἰσφέρουσι, καίτοι πάσι φιλοτιμούμεναι χρήσθαι τοῖς βλαστάνουσι καὶ ἄνθοσι;"

Πότερον, ὡς οἱ μυθολογούντες ἱστοροῦσιν, Φαῦνον donc. "Ι.Ι.β. καὶ καὶ μὴ λαθοῦσα δάδοις ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἐκολάσθη μυρσίνης, ὅθεν μυρσίνην μὲν οὐκ εἰσφέρον ποινοίν, οἶνον δὲ αὐτῇ σπένδουσι, γάλα προσαγορεύονται;

"Ἡ πολλῶν μὲν ἀγναῖ μᾶλιστα δ' ἀφροδισίων τὴν ίερουργίαν ἐκείνην ἐπιτελοῦσιν; οὐ γάρ μόνον ἐξουκίζουσι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν ἄρρεν ἐξελαύνουσι τῆς οἰκίας, ὅταν τὰ νεομισμένα τῆς θεῶ ποιῶσι. τὴν οὖν μυρσίνην ὅσ' ἰερᾶν Ἀφροδίτηςἀφισοῦνται καὶ γὰρ ἢν νῦν Μουρκίαν Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι, Μυρτίαν τὸ παλαιὸν ὡς έοικεν οἰνόμαξον.

21. "Διὰ τί τὸν δρυοκολάπτην οἱ Δατῖνοι σέβονται, καὶ ἀπεχονταὶ πάντες ἰχυρῶς τοῦ ὀρνίθως;"

2 κατὰ φύσιν F.C.B.: καὶ φύσιν.
3 Φαῦνον Meziriacus: φαῦλον.
4 Ἀφροδίτης Schellens: ἀφροδίτη.

a Cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 12. 21-28.
b Cf. 265 B, supra.
after the winter solstice, when the sun has ceased to advance, and turns about and retraces his course toward us. For this beginning of the year is in a certain way natural to mankind, since it increases the amount of light that we receive and decreases the amount of darkness, and brings nearer to us the lord and leader of all mobile matter.

20. Why is it that the women, when they adorn in their houses a shrine to the women's goddess, whom they call Bona Dea, bring in no myrtle, although they are very eager to make use of all manner of growing and blooming plants? Was this goddess, as the mythologists relate, the wife of the seer Faunus; and was she secretly addicted to wine, but did not escape detection and was beaten by her husband with myrtle rods, and is this the reason why they do not bring in myrtle and, when they make libations of wine to her, call it milk? Or is it because they remain pure from many things, particularly from venery, when they perform this holy service? For they not only exclude their husbands, but they also drive everything male out of the house whenever they conduct the customary ceremonies in honour of the goddess. So, because the myrtle is sacred to Venus, they religiously exclude it. For she whom they now call Venus Murcia, in ancient days, it seems, they styled Myrtia.

21. Why do the Latins revere the woodpecker and all strictly abstain from it?

*Cf. Life of Caesar, ix. (711 v), Life of Cicero, xix. (870 v); Juvenal, vi. 339.*

*d No doubt this means "from eating it" since they used to eat all small birds.*
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

F  Πότερον ὁτι τὸν Πίκον λέγουσιν ὑπὸ φαρμάκων τῆς γυναικὸς μεταβαλεῖν τὴν φύσιν καὶ γενόμενον δρυοκολάπτην ἀποφθέγγεσθαι λόγια καὶ χρησμω- 
δεῖν τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν;

"Η τούτῳ μὲν ἀπιστῶν ἐστιν ὄλως καὶ τερατώδες, ἀτερος δὲ τῶν μυθῶν πιθανώτερος, ὡς ἁρὰ τοῖς 
περὶ ᾿Ρωμύλον καὶ ᾿Ρώμον ἐκτεθείσαν οὐ μόνον 
λύκαινα θηλήν ἐσπείχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δρυοκολάπτης τις 
ἐπιφοιτῶν ἐφωμίζετ; ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν1 
τοῖς ὑπωρείοις καὶ δρμιόδεσι τόποις ὅποιοι φαίνεται 
δρυοκολάπτης, ἐκεῖ καὶ λύκος, ὡς Νυγίδιος2 ἱστορεῖ. 
"Η μᾶλλον, ὡς ἀλλον ἄλλον θεοῦ, καὶ τούτων 
Αρεος ἔρον νομίζον τὸν ὅριν; καὶ γὰρ εὐ-
269 
θαρσῆς καὶ γαύρως ἐστι καὶ τὸ βύγχος οὕτως ἔχει 
κραταιόν, ὦστε δρόσ ἀνατρέπειν, ὅταν κόπτων πρὸς 
τὴν ἐντετιώνην ἐξήκηται.

22. "Διὰ τί τὸν ᾿Ιανὸν διπρόσωπον οἶονται γε-
γονέαν καὶ γράφουσιν οὕτω καὶ πλάττουσιν;"

Πότερον ὁτι τῷ μὲν γένει "Ἐλλῆν ἐκ Περραβίας 
ῆν, ὡς ἱστοροῦσιν, διαβάς δὲ εἰς ᾿Ιταλίαν καὶ 
συνοικίσας τοῖς αὐτῶθι βαρβάροις μετέβαλε καὶ 
γλώτταν καὶ δίαιταν. ἦ μᾶλλον ὁτι τοὺς περὶ τὴν 
῾Ιταλίαν φυτοῖς3 ἀγρίοις καὶ ἀνόμοις χρωμένων 
ἐθεσιν εἰς ἐτερον βίου σχῆμα, πείσας γεωργεῖν καὶ 
pολιτεύεσθαι, μετέβαλε καὶ μετεκόσμησεν;

1 ἐν added by Bernardakis.
2 Νυγίδιος Xylander: νύγιδος.
3 φυτοῖς F.C.B. (σίτοις or σίτοις Kronenberg; ἀνθρώποις 
Abresch): αὐτῶς.

*Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, xiv. 320 ff.*
Is it because, as they tell the tale, Picus, transformed by his wife's magic drugs, became a woodpecker and in that form gives oracles and prophecies to those who consult him?

Or is this wholly incredible and monstrous, and is that other tale more credible which relates that when Romulus and Remus were exposed, not only did a she-wolf suckle them, but also a certain woodpecker came continually to visit them and bring them scraps of food? For generally, even to this day, in foot-hills and thickly wooded places where the woodpecker is found, there also is found the wolf, as Nigidius records.

Or is it rather because they regard this bird as sacred to Mars, even as other birds to other gods? For it is a courageous and spirited bird and has a beak so strong that it can overturn oaks by pecking them until it has reached the inmost part of the tree.

22. Why do they suppose Janus to have been two-faced and so represent him in painting and sculpture?

Is it because, as they relate, he was by birth a Greek from Perrhaebia, and, when he had crossed to Italy and had settled among the savages there, he changed both his speech and his habits? Or is it rather because he changed the people of Italy to another manner and form of life by persuading a people which had formerly made use of wild plants and lawless customs to till the soil and to live under organized government?

^ Cf. 278 c, 320 d, infra; Life of Romulus, iv. (19 f), vii (21 c).
^ Cf. 274 f, infra; Life of Numa, xix. (72 f); Athenaeus, 692 d; Lydus, De Mensibus, iv. 2; Macrobius, Saturnalia i. 7. 21, and i. 9.
23. "Διὰ τι τὰ πρὸς¹ τὰς ταφὰς πιπράσκουσιν ἐν Β τῷ τεμένει τῷ Λιβιτύνης νομίζοντες Ἀφροδίτην εἶναι τὴν Λιβιτύνην;

Πότερον καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Νομῶν τοῦ βασιλέως φιλοσοφημάτων ἐν ἑστιν, ὅπως μανθάνομεν μὴ δυσχεραίνειν τὰ τοιαῦτα μηδὲ φεύγειν ὡς μιασμὸν;

"Η μᾶλλον ὑπόμνησις ἐστὶ τοῦ φθαρτον εἶναι τὸ γεινητόν, ὡς μᾶς θεοῦ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς τελευτάς ἐπισκοποῦσης; καὶ γὰρ ἐν Δελφοῖς Ἀφροδίτης ἐπιτυμβίας ἀγαλμάτιον ἐστὶ πρὸς ὅ τοὺς κατοιχομένους ἐπὶ τὰς χοὰς ἀνακαλοῦνται.

24. "Διὰ τι τρεῖς τοῦ μηνὸς ἄρχας καὶ προθεσμίως ἔχουσιν, οὐ ταῦτα διάστημα τῶν ἡμερῶν μεταξὺ λαμβάνοντες;"

Πότερον, ὡς οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἱόβαν ἱστοροῦσιν, ὅτι ταῖς καλάνδαις ἐκάλουν τὸν δήμον οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ κατήγγελλον εἰς πέμπτην τὰς νόνας,² εἴδους δὲ ἡμέραν ιερὰν ἐνώμιζον;

"Η μᾶλλον ὅτι ταῖς τῆς σελήνης διαφοράς ὁρίζοντες τὸν χρόνον, ἐὼρων ἐν τρισὶ γυνομενήν διαφοράς τὴν σελήνην κατὰ μήνα ταῖς μεγάλισας, πρότη, μὲν ὅτε κρύπτεται σύννοδον ποιησμένη πρὸς ἡλιον, δευτέρα¹ δὲ ὅταν ἐκφυγοῦσα τὰς αὐγὰς τοῦ ἡλίου καταφαινήσα ἐπὶ δυσμῶν γένηται, τρίτη δὲ τῇ περὶ τὴν πληρωσιν αὐτῆς πανσελήνου ¹) γενομένης³; ὄνομαξον δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀφανισμὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν κρύψιν "καλάνδας," ὅτι πᾶν τὸ

1 πρὸς | peri in the Life of Numa, chap. xxii.
2 δὲ | F. Kurtz.
3 νόνας, etc., here and elsewhere; the mss. often have νώνας, etc.
4 πρότη ... δευτέρα Bernardakis: πρότη ... δευτέρα.

38
23. Why do they sell articles for funerals in the precinct of Libitina, whom they identify with Venus?*

Is this also one of the philosophic devices of king Numa, that they should learn not to feel repugnance at such things nor shun them as a pollution?

Or is it rather a reminder that whatever is born must die, since one goddess presides over births and deaths? For in Delphi there is a little statue of Aphrodite of the Tomb, to which they summon the departed to come forth for the libations.

24. Why have they in the month three beginnings or fixed points, and do not adopt the same interval of days between them?

Is it, as Juba⁵ and his followers relate, that on the Kalends the officials used to call the people and announce the Nones for the fifth day thereafter, regarding the Ides as a holy day?

Or is it rather because, since they measured time by the phases of the moon, they observed that in each month the moon undergoes three very important changes: first, when she is hidden by her conjunction with the sun; second, when she has escaped the sun's rays and becomes visible for the first time at sunset; and third, at the full moon, when her orb is completely round? The disappearance and concealment of the moon they call Kalendae, for every-

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*a Cf. Life of Numa, xii. (67 ε): Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, iv. 15. 5; Varro, De Lingua Latina, vi. 47.


c Cf. Old Latin calare, equated with Greek καλέω by Plutarch and by other writers.

⁵ γενομένης Madvig: γενομένης.
(269) κρύφα καὶ λάθρα "κλάμ" καὶ "κηλάρι" τὸ λαυθάνειν τὴν δὲ πρώτην φάσιν "νώνας" τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ τῶν όνομάτων, νομηνιαν οὖσαν καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ τὸ νεόν καὶ καυτὸν ώσπερ ἡμεῖς προσ-

αγορεύοντι· τὰς δ' "εἰδοὺς" ἡ διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ εἴδος ὀλοκλήρου καθισταμένης τῆς σελήνης ἡ τῷ Διὶ τήν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀποδιδόντες.⁴ οὐ δὲ οἱ δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἀκριβέστατον ἀριθμὸν διώκειν οὐδὲ τὸν παρ' ὀλγον συκοφαντεῖν, ὅπως καὶ νῦν ἐπίδοσιν τοσαύτην ἀστρολογίαν ἔχουσης, περιγύνεται τῆς ἐμπειρίας τῶν μαθηματικῶν ἡ τῆς κινήσεως ἀν-

ωμαλία διαφεύγουσα τῶν λόγων.

Ε 25. "Διὰ τὶ τὴν μετὰ καλάνδας ἡμέραν καὶ νώνας καὶ εἰδοὺς ἀνέξοδον καὶ ἀνεκδήμητον ἐτίθενται;"

Πότερον, ὥς οἱ πλείστοι νομίζουσι καὶ Λίβιος ἐστορεῖ, ὅτι⁶ μετὰ τὰς Κυντιλίας εἰδοὺς, ἃς νῦν Ἰουλίας καλοῦσιν, ἐξάγωντες⁷ οἱ χιλίαρχοι τὸ στράτευμα περὶ τῶν Ἄλλιαν⁸ ποσαμόν ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν μάχῃ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀπώλεσαν; νομο-

σθείης δὲ τῆς⁹ μετὰ τὰς εἰδοὺς ἀποφράδος προ-

ήγαγεν¹⁰ ἦσσι ὑσπερ φιλεὶ πορρωτέρω τὸ ἔθος ἡ δεισι-

¹ κηλάρι an obvious correction, first adopted by H. J. Rose:

κήλαρε or κήλάρε (Ε).

² φάσιν Polus and Leonicus: φασὶ.

³ νώνας, etc., here and elsewhere; the mss. often have

νόννας, etc.

⁴ ἀποδιδόντες] ἐπιδιδόντες in all mss. but E.

⁵ τὸ E. Kurtz: τὰ. ⁶ ὅτι omitted in most mss., but found in E.

⁷ ἐξάγωντες] ἐξαγαγόντες Helmbold.

⁸ Ἄλλιαν the usual spelling: Ἄλλιαν.

⁹ τῆς added by Meziriacus.

¹⁰ προήγαγεν Wyttenbach: προσταγέν.
thing concealed or secret is *clam*, and “to be concealed” is *celari.* The first appearance of the moon they call Nones, the most accurate since it is the new moon: for their word for “new” and “novel” is the same as ours. They name the Ides as they do either because of the beauty and form (*eidos*) of the full-orbed moon, or by derivation from a title of Jupiter. But we must not follow out the most exact calculation of the number of days nor cast aspersions on approximate reckoning; since even now, when astronomy has made so much progress, the irregularity of the moon’s movements is still beyond the skill of mathematicians, and continues to elude their calculations.

25. Why do they reckon the day that follows the Kalends, the Nones, or the Ides as unsuitable for leaving home or for travel?

Is it, as most authorities think and as Livy records, that on the day after the Ides of Quintilis, which they now call July, the military tribunes led out the army, and were vanquished in battle by the Gauls at the river Allia and lost the City? But when the day after the Ides had come to be regarded as ill-omened, did superstition, as is its wont, extend the custom

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*a* Much is made of Plutarch’s mistake in equating *celare* (mss.) with λανθάνειν rather than with κρύπτειν, but the mistake is more likely that of a scribe.

*b* This is true etymologically; but is Plutarch thinking of the syllable *nou* in νομιμος and *nous*?

*c* Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, i. 15. 14, where it is stated that *Idus* is derived from the Etruscan *Itis*, said to mean “Iovis fiducia.”


*e* Livy, v. 37; and vi. 1. 11.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

daimonia kai katasthetesin eis t'hn aut'hn euclidheian
t'hn te met' nwnas kai t'hn met' kalandas;

"H touto men exei pollas allogias; 
'alh te gar 
'humera t'hn makhn h'ttt'htesan, 
'hn 'Alvada2 dia ton
potamon kalostes afosioynitai, kai pollon apo-
phrados ousoyn ouk en panti mhn t'as
omophous paraphulastous, 
al' ekasiten en w synetuche, 
to te taix meta nwnas kai kalandas aplois
apases3
prostrhassa tin deisidaimonian apithanostaton.

"Ora dh mi', kathaper ton
olympios theois ierwosan, 
ton de deuteron 

270 oignomeinous enagiovin, ointw kai 
ton hmerwn t'as
men oion archax kai kurias wsper eirhtai treises
oussas eortasimous kai ieraxes ethento, 
tas d' efexis
daimosi kai philoteis epihymisantes
apofradas kai
apraktous einoimouan.

kai gar "Ellines en 

269 b, supra.

1 allogyas] antilogias in some mss.
2 'Alvada the usual spelling: 'Allada.
3 apases] all mss. but one have apases.
4 kai omitted in all mss. but E.

a The traditional date of the battle was July 18, 390 B.C.

b Cf. Life of Camillus, chap. xix. 8 (138 d).

c As the Kalends, the Nones, and the Ides have the same
names in every month.

d 269 b, supra.

e That is, the spirits of the men and women of the Heroic

42
further, and involve in the same circumspection the day after the Nones and the day after the Kalends?

Or does this contain many irrational assumptions? For it was on a different day that they were defeated in battle, a day which they call Alliensis from the river, and make a dread day of expiation; and although they have many ill-omened days, they do not observe them under the same names in each month, but each in the month in which it occurs; and it is thus quite incredible that the superstition should have attached itself simply to all the days that follow immediately after the Nones or the Kalends.

Consider the following analogy: just as they have dedicated the first month to the gods of Olympus, and the second, in which they perform certain rites of purification and sacrifice to the departed, to the gods of the lower world, so also in regard to the days of the month they have established three as festive and holy days, as I have stated, which are, as it were, fundamental and sovereign days; but the days which follow immediately they have dedicated to the spirits and the dead, and have come to regard them as ill-omened and unsuitable for business. In fact, the Greeks worship the gods on the day of the new moon; the next day they have duly assigned to the heroes and spirits, and the second bowl of wine is mixed in honour of the heroes and heroines.

And speaking generally, time is a sort of number; and the beginning of number is divine, for it is the monad. But after it is the dyad, antagonistic to the beginning number, and the first of the even numbers. The even numbers are imperfect, in-

Age who dwelt after death in the Isles of the Blest or in Hades.
(270) καὶ ἀτελές καὶ ἀόριστον, ὥσπερ αὖ τὸ περιττὸν ἀοριστεῖ καὶ περαιώνει καὶ τέλειον ἑστι. διὸ καὶ
νῦναι μὲν ἐπιβάλλουσι διὰ πέμπτης καλάνδαις,
nῦνας δ' εἶδοι δ' ἐνάτης. ὀρίζοντι γὰρ οἱ περιτ-
tοι τάς ἄρχας· οἱ δὲ μετὰ τὰς ἄρχας ἀρτίου ἔντες
οὐκ ἐχουσι τάξιν οὐδὲ δύναμιν, οἴκειν οὐκ ἄρχονται
πράξεως οὐδ' ἀποδημίας ἐν ταύταις.

"Η καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐχεῖ λόγον, ἐρήσαι
ποτὲ τὴν ὑστεραίαν πρὸς τὴν ἑορτήν, ἔκεινθις μὲν
ασχολίαν καὶ κόστον ἐχούσης πολὺν, αὐτὴν δὲ
παρέχουσαν 1 μετὰ σχολῆς καὶ ἱστοχίας ἀπολαύσαι
τῶν παρεσκευασμένων πρὸς τὴν ἑορτήν παροκρίνα-
σθαι 2 δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν ἑορτήν " ἄληθῆ λέγεις,
ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὴ γενομένης οὐδ' ἂν σοι ἦσαν" 3; ταῦτα
δ' οἱ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς τοὺς αὐθίς ἐλέγει στρατηγοὺς
tῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς οὐκ ἂν οὐδαμοῦ φανέντας, εἰ μὴ
τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἑσώσει.

'Επεὶ τούτων πᾶσα μὲν ἀξία σπουδῆς ἀποδημία
cαὶ πράξεις οἰκονομίας δεῖται καὶ παρασκευής,
'Ρωμαίοι δὲ τὸ παλαιόν ἐν ταὶς ἑορταῖς οὐδὲν
οἰκονόμουν οὔτ' ἐφροντίζον ἀλλ' ἡ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἡσυχολοῦντο καὶ τούτ' ἐπραττον, ὥσπερ ἔτι νῦν
προκρηττούσιν οἱ ιερεῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας βαδίζοντες,
eἰκὸτοις εὐθὺς οὐκ ἐξεδήμουν μετὰ τὰς ἑορτὰς οὖδ'
ἐπραττον (ἀπαράσκευοι γὰρ ἤσαν), ἀλλ' ἐκφροντί-

1 αὐτὴ δὲ παρέχουσα Bernardakis: αὐτὴ δὲ παρέχουσα.
2 ἀποκρίνασθαι Aldine edition: ἀποκρίνεσθαι.
3 ἦσαν 320 f., infra, and Life of Themistocles: ἦσ.

a Cf. 264 A, supra, also Moralia, 374 A, 387 f, 429 A,
1002 A, 1012 E.
b Cf. 320 f., infra; Life of Themistocles, xviii. (121 b).
The context of 315 c, infra, makes it very probable that
44.
complete, and indeterminate, just as the odd numbers are determinate, completing, and perfect. Wherefore, in like manner, the Nones succeed the Kalends at an interval of five days and the Ides succeed the Nones at an interval of nine days. For the odd numbers define the beginnings, but the even numbers, since they occur after the beginnings, have no position nor power; therefore on these days they do not begin any business or travel.

Or has also the saying of Themistocles some foundation in reason? For once upon a time, said he, the Day-After had an altercation with the Feast-Day on the ground that the Feast-Day had much labour and toil, whereas she herself provided the opportunity of enjoying in leisure and quiet all the things prepared for the festival. To this the Feast-Day replied, "You are quite right; but if I had not been, you would not be!" This story Themistocles related to the Athenian generals who succeeded him, to show that they would have been nowhere, if he himself had not saved the city.

Since, therefore, all travel and all business of importance needs provision and preparation, and since in ancient days the Romans, at the time of festivals, made no provision or plan for anything, save only that they were engaged in the service of their gods and busied themselves with this only, just as even to this day the priests cause such a proclamation to be made in advance as they proceed on their way to sacrifice; so it was only natural that they did not set out on a journey immediately after their festivals, nor did they transact any business, for they were the essay De Gloria Atheniensium began with this favourite story of Plutarch's.
D'ontes oukoi kai paraskeuazomenei t'En hmeran (270) ekeinov dieveloun.

"H kathaper eti vn prosovezaivnei kai proskunysaivtes ev tois iereis epiemenei kai kathizein eio-theasai, ouutos ouk evthis epexballo tin ierai hmeraias tas energhous, all' eipoion tin dialeimma kai diastigma, polla twn pragnmatwn duscerei kai aboulita fereontwv;

26. "Dia ti leuka phoroudwv en tois plnthesin ai gunaikes hmatia kai leukois kekryphalouvs;"

Poterov os tois magnous faoun, pros ton "Aidhn kai to skotos antitattomeinous, to de photeinw kai lamprw synexormoiountas eautous touto poiein;

"H, kathaper to shma to thevnikostos amphi-
E enynousi leukois, kai tois proshekontas axioousi; to
de shma kosmoousin ouitous, epeis mi dyvanta t'En
psychyn bouloontai 7' ekeinvn lamprain kai katharain
propepsewn, osa afemienh 7'dh kai dihronismenhn
megon agwina kai poikilov.

"H to m'en litoi en toautoi malisto kai to
aploiv prpeiei; twv de bapatwv ta m'en kai
poluteleivn emfainvei ta de periegianan ou
qar 7'nton esti pros to melan 7' to alourgun eipein,
G 'dolerap mev ta eimata, dolera de ta chrwmatan.'1

to 7' autokhroun melan oux upo thevhs all

1 xrimata Hatzidakis and S. A. Naber; cf. Herod. iii. 22
and Moraliva, 616 B and 863 E.

a Cf. Life of Numa, xiv. (69a-70 A); Propertius ii. 28. 45-
46; see also Lewy in Philologus, lxxxiv. p. 378.
unprepared; but that day they always spent at home making their plans and preparations.

Or is it even as men now, who have offered their prayers and oblations, are wont to tarry and sit a while in the temples, and so they would not let busy days succeed holy days immediately, but made some pause and breathing-space between, since business brings with it much that is distasteful and undesired?

26. Why do women in mourning wear white robes and white head-dresses?

Do they do this, as men say the Magi do, arraying themselves against Hades and the powers of darkness, and making themselves like unto Light and Brightness?

Or is it that, just as they clothe the body of the dead in white, they think it proper that the relatives should also wear this colour? They adorn the body thus since they cannot so adorn the soul; and they wish to send forth the soul bright and pure, since it is now set free after having fought the good fight in all its manifold forms.

Or are plainness and simplicity most becoming on these occasions? Of the dyed garments, some reflect expense, others over-elaboration: for we may say no less with reference to black than to purple: “These be cheating garments, these be cheating colours.” That which is naturally black is dyed not through art, but by nature; and when it is

\[^a\] Apparently a misquotation of Herodotus, iii. 22. 1: otherwise misquoted in Moralia, 616 n and 863 n. Cf. also Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, i. x. 48. 6 (p. 314 Potter).
27. "Διὰ τί πάν τεῖχος ἀβέβηλον καὶ ίερὸν

νομίζουσι, τάς δὲ πύλας οὐ νομίζουσιν;"

Πι καθάπερ ἔγραψε Βάρρων τὸ μὲν τεῖχος ίερὸν
dεὶ νομίζει, ὅπως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μάχωται προθύμως
cαὶ ἀποθνῄσκωσιν; οὔτω γὰρ δοκεῖ καὶ Ἡρωμύλος
ἀποκτείναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἄβατον καὶ ίερὸν τόπον
ἐπιχειροῦντα διαπηδάν καὶ ποιεῖν ὑπερβατόν καὶ
βέβηλον.

Τὰς δὲ πύλας οὐχ οἶδ᾽ οὐ εἰρωσία, δι᾽ ἄν

ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ τῶν ἁναγκαίων καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς
ἐκκομίζουσιν. οθὲν οἱ πόλεις ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς κτίζοντες
ὅσου ἄν μέλλωσιν τόπον ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἑπίσης ἀρό-
τρω, βοῦν ἄρρενα καὶ θήλειαν ὑποξεύσαντες, ὅταν
dὲ τὰ τεῖχη περιορίζοσι, τὰς τῶν πυλῶν χώρας
Β διαμετροῦντες τὴν ὑπὸ υφαίροσι, καὶ μεταφέρου-

1 κεκράτηται] κέκραται in some mss.
2 ἀμύητον] ἀμίκτον Meziriacus.

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a This apparently means: Naturally black wool may be
dyed purple or any other strong dark colour. It is possible,
however, that Plutarch wrote κέκραται (and so several mss.):
"it is modified when combined with a dark colour."

b Cf. Plato, Republic, 729 d-e.
combined with a dark colour, it is overpowered. Only white, therefore, is pure, unmixed, and uncontaminated by dye, nor can it be imitated; wherefore it is most appropriate for the dead at burial. For he who is dead has become something simple, unmixed, and pure, once he has been released from the body, which is indeed to be compared with a stain made by dyeing. In Argos, as Socrates says, persons in mourning wear white garments washed in water.

27. Why do they regard all the city wall as inviolable and sacred, but not the gates?

Is it, as Varro has written, because the wall must be considered sacred that men may fight and die with enthusiasm in its defence? It was under such circumstances, it seems, that Romulus killed his brother because he was attempting to leap across a place that was inviolable and sacred, and to make it traversable and profane.

But it was impossible to consecrate the gates, for through them they carry out many other objectionable things and also dead bodies. Wherefore the original founders of a city yoke a bull and a cow, and mark out with a plough all the land on which they intend to build; and when they are engaged in tracing the circuit of the walls, as they measure off the space intended for gates, they lift up the ploughshare and thus carry the plough across,

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{c} Müller, \textit{Frag. Hist. Graec.} iv. 498.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{d} Cf. \textit{Moralia}, 518 b.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{e} Cf. Varro, \textit{De Lingua Latina}, v. 143, \textit{Res Rusticae}, ii. 1.9; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, \textit{Roman Antiquities}, i. 88; Ovid, \textit{Fasti}, iv. 819 ff.} \]
\[ \text{\textsuperscript{f} Cf. \textit{Life of Romulus}, xi. (23 d).} \]
(271) συν οὖτω τὸ ἄροτρον, ὡς τῇν ἀροματήν πᾶσαν ἐρὰν καὶ ὀσυλον ἐσομείην.

28. "Διὰ τί τοὺς παιδας, ὅταν ὁμιλύσω τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καλύψων ὕπο στέγη τούτο ποιεῖν καὶ κελεύσων εἰς ὑπαίθρων προϊέναι;"

Πότερον, ὡς ἐνιὸ λέγουσιν, οὐκ οἰκουρίᾳ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χαίρειν ἀλλʼ ὑπαίθρῳ βίῳ καὶ θυρανλήιας νομίζουτες;

"Ἡ μάλλον, ὅτι τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἐπιχώριος οὖτος ἀλλὰ πόρρωθεν καὶ ξένος; οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Διόνυσον ὁμιλύσων ὑπὸ στέγης, ἡν οὖν ὄντα καὶ αὐτὸν, εἴπερ ἐστὶ ἀπὸ Νῦσης." 2

C "Ἡ ταῦτα μὲν λέγεται καὶ παίζεται πρὸς τοὺς παιδας, ἀλλως δʼ ἐπισχέσις ἐστὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον εὐχερείας καὶ ταχύτητος τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὡς Φαβωρίνος ἔλεγε; τὸ γὰρ ὠσπέρ ἐκ παρασκευῆς μέλλησιν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ βουλεύσασθαι δίδωσι. συμβάλοιτο δʼ ἂν τις τῷ Φαβωρίνῳ πρὸς τὸ μὴ κοινὸν ἀλλʼ ὄδιον εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐκ τῶν περὶ Ἡρακλέους λεγομένων. ἑστορεῖται γὰρ οὖτως εὐλαβῆς γεγονέναι πρὸς ὄρκον, ὥσθ' ἀπαξ ὀμόσαι καὶ μόνῳ Φυλεῖ τῷ Άγγειόν· διὸ καὶ τὴν Πυθίαν προφέρειν τὰ ὀρκία πάντα 4 Λακεδαιμονίως ὡς ἐμπεδοῦσι λῆσον εἶναι καὶ ἀμενον.

D 29. "Διὰ τί τῇν γαμομείνην οὖκ ἐδὼσιν αὐτὴν ὑπερβηναι τὸν οὐδὸν τῇς οἰκίας, ἀλλʼ ὑπεραίρουσιν οἱ προπέμποντες;"

1 στέγη as above: all mss. except E have στέγην.
3 οὖτως Wytenbach: οὖτος.
4 πάντα F.C.B.: ταῦτα.

50
since they hold that all the land that is ploughed is to be kept sacred and inviolable.

28. Why do they tell children, whenever they would swear by Hercules, not to do so under a roof, and bid them go out into the open air?²

Is it, as some relate, because they believe that Hercules had no pleasure in staying in the house, but rejoiced in a life in the open air and a bed under the stars?

Or is it rather because Hercules is not one of the native gods, but a foreigner from afar? For neither do they swear under a roof by Bacchus, since he also is a foreign god if he is from Nysa.

Or is this but said in jest to the children, and what is done is really a check upon over-readiness and hastiness to swear, as Favorinus stated? For what is done following, as it were, upon preparation produces delay and allows deliberation. Yet one might urge against Favorinus the fact that this custom is not common, but peculiar to Hercules, as may be seen from the legend about him: for it is recorded that he was so circumspect regarding an oath that he swore but once and for Phyleus, the son of Augeas, alone. Wherefore they say that the prophetic priestess also brought up against the Spartans all the oaths they had sworn, saying that it would be better and much more to be desired if they would keep them!³

29. Why do they not allow the bride to cross the threshold of her home herself, but those who are escorting her lift her over?⁴

⁴ Cf. Life of Romulus, xv. (26 D-E).
(271) Πότερον ὅτι καὶ τὰς πρῶτας γυναῖκας ἀρπάσαντες οὕτως εἰσήμενας, αὐταὶ δ’ οὐκ εἰσῆλθον;

"Η βούλονταί δοκεῖν εἰσεῖναι βιαζομένας οὐχ ἐκούσας, ὅπου μέλλουσι διαλύειν τὴν παρθενίαν;

"Η συμβολῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ μηδ’ εξεῖναι δι’ αὐτῆς μηδὲ καταλιπεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν, εἰ μὴ βιασθεῖν, καθάπερ καὶ εἰσῆλθε βιασθεῖσα; καὶ γὰρ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐν Βουλτίαι καίουσι πρὸ τῆς θύρας τὸν ἅξονα τῆς ᾠμαξῆς, ἐμφαίνοντες δὲν τὴν νύμφην ἐμμένειν ὡς ἀνηρρημένου τοῦ ἀπάξοντος.

30. "Διὰ τί τὴν νύμφην εἰσάγοντες λέγειν κελεύ-Ε ουσιν, ὁποῦ σὺ Γάιος, ἔγω Γαία’;”

Πότερον ὁσπερ ἐπὶ ρητοῖς εὐθὺς εἰσεισὶ τῷ κοινωνείν ἀπάντων καὶ συνάρχειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν δη-λούμενον ἐστιν "ὁποῦ σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης, καὶ ἐγώ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδέσποτα’; τοῖς δ’ ἀνόμασι τούτους ἄλλως κέχρηματι κοινοῖς ὡσπερ οἱ νομικοὶ Γάιον Σήμων καὶ Λούκιον Τίτιον, καὶ οἱ φιλόσοφοι Δίωνα καὶ Θέωνα παραλαμβάνουσιν.

"Η διὰ Γαίαν Κακιλίαν καλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν γυναῖκα, τῶν Ταρκινίου παῖδων ἐνε συνοικήσασαν, ἢς ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σάγκτου ἱερῷ χαλκοὺς ἀνδρίας ἐστηκεν; ἐκείτο δὲ πάλαι καὶ σανδάλια καὶ ἀτρακτος, τὸ μὲν οἰκουρίας αὐτῆς, τὸ δ’ ἐνερ-γείας σύμβολον.

1 Γάιος] all mss. except E have γαίς.
2 ἄλλος] all mss. except E have ἄλλος.

a “Ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia.”
b “John Doe and Richard Roe.”
c Cf. Moralia, 1061 c.
d Probably not the same as Tanaquil, wife of Tarquinius Priscus; but cf. Pliny, Natural History, viii. 48 (194).

52
Is it because they carried off by force also the first Roman brides and bore them in in this manner, and the women did not enter of their own accord?

Or do they wish it to appear that it is under constraint and not of their own desire that they enter a dwelling where they are about to lose their virginity?

Or is it a token that the woman may not go forth of her own accord and abandon her home if she be not constrained, just as it was under constraint that she entered it? So likewise among us in Boeotia they burn the axle of the bridal carriage before the door, signifying that the bride must remain, since her means of departure has been destroyed.

30. Why do they, as they conduct the bride to her home, bid her say, "Where you are Gaius, there am I Gaia" \(^a\)?

Is her entrance into the house upon fixed terms, as it were, at once to share everything and to control jointly the household, and is the meaning, then, "Wherever you are lord and master, there am I lady and mistress" \(^b\)? These names are in common use also in other connexions, just as jurists speak of Gaius Seius and Lucius Titius, \(^b\) and philosophers of Dion and Theon.\(^c\)

Or do they use these names because of Gaia Caecilia,\(^d\) consort of one of Tarquin’s sons, a fair and virtuous woman, whose statue in bronze stands in the temple of Sanctus? \(^e\) And both her sandals and her spindle were, in ancient days, dedicated there as tokens of her love of home and of her industry respectively.

\(^a\) We should probably emend to Sancus; the same mistake is made in the mss. of Propertius, iv. 9. 71-74, where see the excellent note of Barber and Butler.
F 31. "Διὰ τί ὁ πολυθρύλητος ἢδεται Ταλάσιος εἰν τοῖς γάμοις;"

Πότερον ἀπὸ τῆς ταλασίας; καὶ γὰρ τὸν τάλασιον τάλασσον¹ ὅνομαζοντι καὶ τὴν νῦμφην εἰςάγοντες νάκος ὑποστρωνύσασιν². αὕτη δ’ εἰσ-φέρει μὲν ἥλακάτην καὶ τὴν ἀτρακτον, ἐρίῳ δὲ τὴν θύραν περιστέφει τοῦ ἀνδρός.

"Η τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἀληθές, ὅτι νεανίας ἦν τὰς λαμπρὰς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς καὶ τάλλα χρηστῶς ὅνομα Ταλάσιος; ἐπεὶ δ’ ἠρπαξον οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοι τὰς τῶν Σαβίνων ψυγατέρας ἐβιούσας 272 ἐπὶ θέαν, ἐκομίζετο τῷ Ταλάσιῳ παρθένος ἐκ-πρεπῆς τὴν ὄψιν ὑπὸ δημοτικῶν των καὶ πελατῶν³ τοῦ Ταλάσιου, βοῶντων ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τοῦ μηδένα πελάζεων μηδ’ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς παιδός, ὡς Ταλάσιῳ γυνὴ φέροιτο. τιμῶτες οὖν οἱ λοιποὶ τοῦ Ταλάσιον καὶ συνενχόμενοι καὶ συνευφημοῦντες εὐποροντου καὶ παρέπεμπον· οὖν, εὐτυχοὺς γάμοι Β γενομένου, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλους εἰθίσθησαν ἐπιφωνεῖν τὸν Ταλάσιον, ὦσπερ 'Ἕλληνες τῶν 'Ὑμέναιον.

32. "Διὰ τί τοῦ Μαίου μηνὸς περὶ τὴν πανσέ-ληνον ἀπὸ τῆς ἔυλινης γεφύρας εἰδωλα ριπτοῦντες ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν 'Ἀργείου τὰ ριπτούμενα καλοῦσιν;"

"Η τὸ παλαιῶν οἱ περὶ τὸν τόπον οἰκοῦντες

1 τάλασσον Xylander: τάλαντον.
2 ὑποστρωνύσασι all mss. except E have ὑποστρωνύσασιν.
3 πελατῶν Wyttenbach: πελαστῶν.

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a The traditional Roman spelling seems to be with -ss-.
b Cf. Life of Romulus, xv. (26 c), Life of Pompey, iv. (620 f); Livy, i. 9. 12.
31. Why is the far-famed "Talassio" sung at the marriage ceremony? Is it derived from *talasia* (spinning)? For they call the wool-basket (*talaros*) *talasus*. When they lead in the bride, they spread a fleece beneath her; she herself brings with her a distaff and her spindle, and wreaths her husband's door with wool.

Or is the statement of the historians true? They relate that there was a certain young man, brilliant in military achievements and valuable in other ways, whose name was Talasius; and when the Romans were carrying off the daughters of the Sabines who had come to see the games, a maiden of particularly beautiful appearance was being carried off for him by some plebeian retainers of his. To protect their enterprise and to prevent anyone from approaching and trying to wrest the maiden from them, they shouted continually that she was being brought as a wife for Talasius (Talasio). Since, therefore, everyone honoured Talasius, they followed along and provided escort, joining in the good wishes and acclamations. Wherefore since Talasius's marriage was happy, they became accustomed to invoke Talasius in other marriages also, even as the Greeks invoke Hymen.

32. Why is it that in the month of May at the time of the full moon they throw into the river from the Pons Sublicius figures of men, calling the images thrown Argives? Is it because in ancient days the barbarians who

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∞ Cf. 285 a, infra, and Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 621 ff.; Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, v. 45; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, i. 38. 2-3. Plutarch means the *Argei*, the origin and meaning of which is a mystery (see V. Rose's edition, pp. 98 ff.).
(272) βάρβαροι τοὺς ἀλισκομένους Ἑλλήνας ὀὕτως ἀπώλυσαν; Ἡρακλῆς δὲ θαυμασθεὶς ύπ’ αὐτῶν ἔπαυσε μὲν τὴν ἕνοκτονίαν, ἐδίδαξε δὲ τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀπομιμομένους εἰδωλα ῥιπτεῖν, Ἀργείους δὲ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας οἱ παλαιοὶ πάντας ὀμαλῶς προσηγόρευον. εἰ μὴ νὰ Δία τῶν Ἀρκάδων πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν ἥγους μὲν, οἱ περὶ Εὐανδρόν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φυγόντες καὶ κατοικήσαντες αὐτοῖς τὴν μνησικακίαν καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν διεφύλαττον.

33. "Διὰ τί τὸ παλαιὸν οὐκ ἐδείπνουν ἐξω χωρίς τῶν νεῶν ἐτὶ τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν ἐχόντων;"

"Η τούτο μὲν καὶ Λυκοῦργος εἴθυσε, τοὺς παιδὰς ἐπεισάγων τοὺς φιδιτίους, ὡς ἐθίζωνται μὴ θηριωδῶς μὴν ἀτάκτως ἀλλὰ μετ’ εὐλαβείας ταῖς ἡδοναῖς προσφέρεσθαι, τοὺς προσβυτέρους οἷον ἐπισκόπους καὶ θεατὰς ἐχόντες; οὐκ ἔλαττον δὴ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον αἰδείσαθι καὶ σωφρωνεῖν τῶν νεῶν παρόντων ὡς γὰρ ἀναισχυντοῦσι γέρουντες, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἐνταῦθ’ ἀνάγκη καὶ νέους ἀναισχυντοτάτους εἶναι.

34. "Διὰ τί τῶν ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ Φε-

1) βροναρίῳ μην ποιομένων χαὸς καὶ ἐναγυμνοῦς τοῖς τεθνηκόσι Δέκιμος Βροῦτος, ὡς Κικέρων ῥήτορικεν, ἐν τῷ Δεκεμβρίῳ τοῦτ’ ἔπραττεν; ὡς δὲ τούτο καὶ τὸ Πλάτων, ἐνταῦθ’ ἀνάγκη καὶ νέους ἀναισχυντοτάτους εἶναι.

56
lived in these parts used to destroy thus the Greeks whom they captured? But Hercules, who was much admired by them, put an end to their murder of strangers and taught them to throw figures into the river, in imitation of their superstitious custom. The men of old used to call all Greeks alike Argives; unless it be, indeed, since the Arcadians regarded the Argives also as their enemies because of their immediate proximity, that, when Evander and his men a fled from Greece and settled here, they continued to preserve their ancient feud and enmity.

33. Why in ancient days did they never dine out without their sons, even when these were still but children?

Did Lycurgus introduce this custom also, and bring boys to the common meals that they might become accustomed to conduct themselves toward their pleasures, not in a brutish or disorderly way, but with discretion, since they had their elders as supervisors and spectators, as it were? No less important is the fact that the fathers themselves would also be more decorous and prudent in the presence of their sons; for "where the old are shameless," as Plato b remarks, "there the young also must needs be lost to all sense of shame."

34. Why is it that while the other Romans make libations and offerings to the dead in the month of February, Decimus Brutus, as Cicero c has recorded, used to do so in the month of December? This was

a Who were Arcadians; cf. Virgil, Aeneid, viii. 52-151.

b Laws, 729 c; also cited or referred to Moralia, 14 b, 71 b, 144 r.

c De Legibus, ii. 21. 34.
(272) δ' οὖτος ὁ Λυσιτάνειαν ἐπελθὼν καὶ πρῶτος ἐπέκεινα στρατῷ διαβᾶς τὸν τῆς Λήθης ποταμὸν."

Πότερον, ὥσπερ ἡμέρας ληγούσης καὶ μὴνος φθόνοντος εἰώθασιν ἐναγίζειν οἱ πολλοί, λόγον ἔχει καὶ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταστρέφοντος ἐν τῷ τελευταίῳ μηνί τιμᾶν τοὺς τεθνηκότας; ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν μηνῶν τελευταίων ὁ Δεκέμβριος.

"Η χθονίων μὲν αἳ τιμαὶ θεῶν, τιμᾶν δὲ τοὺς χθονίους ὤρατον ἐστὶ, τῶν καρπῶν ἀπάντων εἰλη-Ε φῶτων συντέλειαν;

"Η ὅτε κυνοῦσι τῇ γῇ ἄρχόμενοι σπόρου με-μνησθαί μάλιστα τῶν κάτω προσῆκει; "Η Κρόνω μὲν οὖτος ὁ μὴν ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαιῶν καθιέρωται, Κρόνον δὲ τῶν κάτω θεῶν οὗ τῶν ἀνω νομίζουσιν;

"Η μεγίστης αὐτοῖς ἐορτῆς τῶν Κρονίων καθ-εστώσης καὶ συνουσίας τε πλείοτας καὶ ἀπολαύσεις ἔχειν δοκοῦσης, ἐδοξέ καὶ ταύτης ἀπονέμει τινὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῖς τεθνηκόσιν;

"Η τοῦτο, τὸ 1 μόνον Βροῦτον ἐναγίζειν ἐν τῷ μηνὶ τούτῳ, καθόλου ψευδός ἐστι; καὶ γὰρ τῇ Λαρεντίᾳ ποιοῦσι τὸν ἐναγισμὸν καὶ χοᾶς ἐπιφέρουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων τοῦ Δεκέμβριον μηνός.

35. "Διὰ τὰ δὲ τῆς Λαρεντίαν, ἑταίραν γεγενή-Γ μένην, οὖτω τιμῶσιν;"

"Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἶναι Λαρεντίαν Ἀκκαν ἱστοροῦσι τῆς 'Ρωμύλου τροφόν, ἥν τῷ Ἀπριλίῳ μηνὶ 1 τοῦτο, τὸ Bernardakis: τοῦτο.

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\[a\] 136 B.C. Cf. Appian, Spanish Wars (72), 74; and Florus, Epitome, ii. 17, 12.

\[b\] That is, according to Brutus's reckoning. For the common people February continued to be the month of the 58
the Brutus who invaded Lusitania, and was the first to visit those remote places, and cross the river Lethē with an army.

Since most peoples are accustomed to make offerings to the dead at the close of the day and at the end of the month, is it not reasonable also to honour the dead in the last month at the turn of the year? And December is the last month.

Or do these honours belong to deities beneath the earth, and is it the proper season to honour these deities when all the crops have attained consummation?

Or is it most fitting to remember those below when men are stirring the earth at the beginning of seed-time?

Or is it because this month has been consecrated to Saturn by the Romans, and they regard Saturn as an infernal, not a celestial god?

Or is it that then their greatest festival, the Saturnalia, is set; and it is reputed to contain the most numerous social gatherings and enjoyments, and therefore Brutus deemed it proper to bestow upon the dead first-fruits, as it were, of this festival also?

Or is this statement, that Brutus alone sacrificed to the dead in this month, altogether a falsehood? For it is in December that they make offerings to Larentia and bring libations to her sepulchre.

35. And why do they thus honour Larentia who was at one time a courtesan?

They record that there was another Larentia, Acca, the nurse of Romulus, whom they honour in Parentalia, and February was once the last month (cf. 268 b, supra).

τιμῶσι. τῇ δ' ἐταῖρα Λαρεντίας Φαβόλαν ἐπίκλησιν εἶναι λέγουσιν, ἐγνωρίσθη δὲ διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. ξάκορόσ τις Ἦρακλέους, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἀπολαύσων σχολῆς ἔθος εἴχεν ἐν πεπτοῖς καὶ κύβοις τὰ πολλὰ διημερεύειν· καὶ ποτε, τῶν εἰωθότων παῖζειν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μετέχειν τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς κατὰ τύχην μηδενὸς παρόντος, ἀδημοῦν τὸν θεόν προν-καλεῖτο διαβαλέσθαι τοὺς κύβους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερ ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς, νικῆσας μὲν εὐρέσθαι τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ 273 χρηστόν, ἂν δὲ λειφθῇ, δείπνον αὐτὸς τῷ θεῷ παρασχεῖν καὶ μείρακα καλὴν συναναπαυσομένην. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοὺς κύβους προθέμενος, τὸν μὲν ύπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν ¹ δ' ύπὲρ τοῦ θεοῦ βαλὼν ἔλειφθη. ταῖς οὖν προκλήσεσιν ἐμμένων τράπεζαν τε λαμ-προτέραν παρεσκεύασε τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν Λαρεντίαν παραλαβὼν ἐμφανῶς ἐταίροῦσαν εἰστίασε καὶ κατ-ékλινεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰς θύρας ἀπείχω ἐκλεισε. λέγεται δὲ νῦκτωρ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῇ τὸν θεόν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνως καὶ κελεύσας βαδίζειν ἔωθεν εἰς ἀγοράν, ὃ δ' ἂν ἐντύχῃ πρότῳ, προσέχειν μάλιστα καὶ ποιεῖσθαι φίλον. ἀναστάσαν οὖν τὴν Λαρεντίαν βαδίζειν, καὶ συντυχεῖν τινὶ τῶν πλουσίων ἀγάμων δὲ καὶ παρηκμακότων ὄνομα Ταρρουτίφ. ² γνωρι-σθεῖσαν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἄντων ἄρχειν τοῦ οἴκου καὶ κληρονομήσαι τελευταίαστος· ὑπερον δὲ χρόνοις

¹ τῶν . . . τῶν] τῆν . . . τῆν in all mss. except E.
² Ταρρουτίφ] Carrutius in Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 10. 14 and 17.
the month of April. But they say that the surname of the courtesan Larentia was Fabula. She became famous for the following reason: a certain keeper of the temple of Hercules enjoyed, it seems, considerable leisure and had the habit of spending the greater part of the day at draughts and dice; and one day, as it chanced, there was present no one of those who were wont to play with him and share the occupation of his leisure. So, in his boredom, he challenged the god to throw dice with him on fixed terms, as it were: if he should win, he was to obtain some service from the god; but if he should lose, he was to furnish a supper for the god at his own expense and provide a comely girl to spend the night with him. Thereupon he brought out the dice, and threw once for himself and once for the god, and lost. Abiding, therefore, by the terms of his challenge he prepared a somewhat sumptuous repast for the god and fetched Larentia, who openly practised the profession of courtesan. He feasted her, put her to bed in the temple, and, when he departed, locked the doors. The tale is told that the god visited her in the night, not in mortal wise, and bade her on the morrow go into the forum, and pay particular attention to the first man she met, and make him her friend. Larentia arose, therefore, and, going forth, met one of the wealthy men that were unwed and past their prime, whose name was Tarrutius. With this man she became acquainted, and while he lived she presided over his household, and when he died, she inherited his estate; and later, when she herself

\[\text{Cf. Life of Romulus, chap. v. (19 ff.) ; Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 10. 11-17 ; Augustine, De Civitate Dei, vi. 7 ; Tertullian, Ad Nationes, ii. 10.}\]
(273) αὐτῇ τελευτῶσιν τῇ πόλει τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολιπεῖν
διὸ τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν ταύτας.

36. “Διὰ τὴν πύλην μέν εὐρύδικα καλοῦσι, τὴν γὰρ
‘φενέστραν’ τούτῳ σημαίνει, καὶ παρ’ αὐτῇ ὁ
καλούμενος Τύχης θάλαμός ἐστι;”

Πότερον ὁτι Σέρβιος ο βασιλεὺς εὐτυχέστατος
γενόμενος δόξαν ἠσχο τῇ Τύχῃ συνεῖναι φοιτώσῃ
C διὰ θυρίδος πρὸς αὐτόν;

“Η τούτῳ μὲν μῦθός ἐστιν, ἔπει δὲ Ταρκυνίου
Πρίσκου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποθανόντος ἡ γυνὴ Τανα-
κύλλις ἐμφρων οὐσα καὶ βασιλικὴ διὰ θυρίδος
προκύψασα τοῖς πολίταις ἑνέτυχε καὶ συνέπεσεν
ἀποδείξας βασιλέα τὸν Σέρβιον, ἠσχο ταύτῃ ὁ
τόπος τῆν ἐπωνυμίαν;

37. “Διὰ τὶ τῶν τοῖς Θεόσ ἀνατιθεμένων μόνα
τὰ σκῦλα γενόμεναι περιορὰν ἀφανιζόμενα τῷ
χρόνῳ, καὶ μήτε προκυνεῖν μήτ’ ἐπισκευάζειν;”

Πότερον ἦνα τὴν δόξαν οἰόμενοι τοῖς πρῶτοις
συνεκλιπεῖν ἄει τὸ πρόσφατον ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἀρετῆς
D ζητῶσι κομίζειν;

“Η μᾶλλον ὁτι τοῦ χρόνου τὰ σημεία τῆς πρὸς
τοὺς πολεμίους διαφορᾶς ἀμαυρώντως, αὐτοὺς ἀνα-
λαμβάνει καὶ κανονοποιεῖ ἐπιφθονόν ἐστι καὶ φιλ-
απέχθημον; οὐδὲ γὰρ παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν οἱ πρῶτοι

1 φενέστραν as in 322 f and elsewhere: φανέστραν.
2 σημαίνει] an obvious correction for σημαίνειν, the infinitive
and the indicative being not infrequently confused in the mss.
62
died, she left her property to the State; and for that reason she has these honours.

36. Why do they call one of the gates the Window, for this is what *fenestra* means; and why is the so-called Chamber of Fortune beside it? a

Is it because King Servius, the luckiest of mortals, was reputed to have converse with Fortune, who visited him through a window?

Or is this but a fable, and is the true reason that when King Tarquinius Priscus died, his wife Tanaquil, a sensible and a queenly woman, put her head out of a window and, addressing the citizens, persuaded them to appoint Servius king, and thus the place came to have this name? b

37. Why is it that of all the things dedicated to the gods it is the custom to allow only spoils of war to disintegrate with the passage of time, and not to move them beforehand c nor repair them?

Is it in order that men may believe that their repute deserts them at the same time with the obliteration of their early memorials, and may ever seek to bring in some fresh reminder of valour?

Or is it rather that, as time makes dim the memorials of their dissension with their enemies, it would be invidious and malicious to restore and renew them? Nor among the Greeks, either, do

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b Cf. 323 d, *infra*; Livy, i. 41.
c That is, to move them away before they fell to pieces; for the ancients used to clear out their temples periodically.

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3 προκυνεῖν F.C.B.; προσκαυνῶν Wyttenbach; προσκαττύειν (?) S. A. Naber: προσκυνεῖν.
38. "Διὰ τὴν Κόιντος Μέτελλος ἀρχιερεύς γενόμενος καὶ τάλλα δοκῶν φρόνιμος εἶναι καὶ πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ ἐκώλυνεν οἰωνίζεσθαι μετὰ τὸν Σεξτίλιον μήνα τὸν νῦν Λύγουστον προσαγορευόμενον;"

Πότερον ὅτι καθάπερ ἡμέρας ἀκμαζούσης ἡ ἀρχομένης πράττομεν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μηνὸς ἑσταμένου καὶ αὐξομένου, τὰς δ' ἀποκλίτοις ὡς ἄρχη-Εμαυστοὺς φυλαττόμεθα, παραπλησίως τὸν μετὰ μῆνα ὀκτώ χρόνον ὠσπέρν ἐσπέραν τινὰ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ δείλην ἀποκλίνοντος Ἠδῆ καὶ φθίνοντος ἐνομίζεων;

"Ἡ καὶ τοῖς ὀρνισὶ χρηστέων ἀκμαῖος καὶ τελείος; εἰδοὶ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ θέρους τοιοῦτον περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόταπτρον οἴ μὲν ἀσθενεῖς καὶ νοσώδεις, οἵ δὲ νεοτοῖ καὶ ἀτελεῖς, οἱ δὲ παντάπασι φρούδοι διὰ τὴν ὁραν ἐκτοπίζοντες.

39. "Διὰ τὴν τοῖς μη στρατευομένοις μὲν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ δ' ἄλλως ἀναστρέφομένοις οὐκ ἔξην ἀνδρα βαλεῖν πολέμιον οὔδὲ τρώσαι;"

Καὶ τούτῳ Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τινὶ δεδήλῳ, γράφων πρὸς τὸν νῦν καὶ κελεύων, εἰ Γ' παρεθείη τῆς στρατείας ἀποσπασμάτως τὸν χρόνον,

1 ἐνομίζεων Χυλάνδερ: νομίζεων.

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1 As did the Bocotians after Leuctra: Cicero, De Inventione, ii. 23 (69); cf. Diodorus, xiii. 24. 5-6. Of course this means substituting for the impromptu suit of armour, set on a stake, a permanent replica; but memorials of
they that first erected a trophy of stone or of bronze stand in good repute.

38. Why did Quintus Metellus, when he became pontifex maximus, with his reputation for good sense in all other matters as well as in his statesmanship, prevent divination from birds after the month Sextilis, which is now called August?

Is it that, even as we attend to such matters in the middle of the day or at dawn, or in the beginning of the month when the moon is waxing, and avoid the declining days and hours as unsuitable for business, so likewise did Metellus regard the period of time after the first eight months as the evening or late afternoon, so to speak, of the year, since then it is declining and waning?

Or is it because we should observe birds when they are in their prime and in perfect condition? And this they are before the summer-time; but towards autumn some are weak and sickly, others but nestlings and not full-grown, and still others have vanished completely, migrating because of the time of year.

39. Why were men who were not regularly enlisted, but merely tarrying in the camp, not allowed to throw missiles at the enemy or to wound them?

This fact Cato the Elder has made clear in one of his letters to his son, in which he bids the young man to return home if he has completed his term of service and has been discharged; or, if he should battles had been popular for many years before this time.

_Cf._ _Moralia_ 401 c-d.

_b_ Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, consul 80 B.C.

c _Cf._ Cicero, _De Officiis_, i. 11 (37).
υποστρέφειν· ἢ προσμένοντα λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸ ἐξεῖναι τρόφισαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν πολέμιον.

Πότερον ὅτι τὴν ἀνάγκην μόνην ἐξουσίαν εἶναι1 δεῖ τοῦ ἀνελεῖν ἀνθρωπον, ὅ δ' ἀνευ νόμου καὶ προστάγματος τοῦτο ποιῶν ἀνδροφόνος ἔστι; διὸ καὶ Χρυσάνταν ἐπέηνεσεν ὁ Κύρος, ὅτι μέλλων ἀναρεῖν πολέμιον καὶ τὴν κοπίδα δηημένος, ἀκούσας τὸ ἀνακλητικὸν ἀφήκε τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ οὐκ ἔπαισεν ὡς κεκωλυμένος.

"Ἡ δεὶ τὸν συνιστάμενον πολεμίοις καὶ μαχώ-274 μενον, ἀν ἀποδειλάτη, μὴ ἀνυπεύθυνον εἶναι μηδ' ἄθων; οὐ γὰρ οὗτῳ βαλῶν τινα καὶ τρώσας ὀφέλησεν, ὡς φυγών καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ἐβλαφέν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀφειμένοις στρατείας ἀπήλλακται τῶν στρατιωτικῶν νόμων· ὁ δ' αἰτησάμενος τὸ πρᾶττειν τὰ τῶν στρατευμένων πάλιν ἐαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ δεδωκεν.

40. "Διὰ τί τῶ θερεί τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ ἔξετων ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ ἀλείφεσθαι;"

Πότερον ὅτι καὶ παῖδας γυμνούσθαι πατρὸς ὑρών-τος καὶ πενθεροῦ γαμβρόν οὐχ ὀσιών ἢν οὐδὲ καλῶν, Β οὐδὲ συνελουόντο το παλαιὸν ἄλληλοις; πατὴρ δ' ὁ Ζεύς καὶ τὸ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μάλιστα πως εἶναι δοκεῖ τοῦ Διὸς ἐνώπιον.

"Ἡ, καθάπερ ἐν ναῷ καὶ θερῶ γυμνοῦ ἑαυτὸν ἀθέμιτον ἐστὶν, οὕτω τὸν ὑπαίθρων ἀέρα καὶ τὸν

1 εἶναι] δοῦναι E. Kurtz.

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a Cf. Xenophon, Cyropaedia, iv. 1. 3; and the note on Moralia, 236 e (Vol. III. p. 420).
b Cf. Aulus Gellius, x. 15.
stay over, to obtain permission from his general to wound or slay an enemy.

Is it because sheer necessity alone constitutes a warrant to kill a human being, and he who does so illegally and without the word of command is a murderer? For this reason Cyrus also praised Chrysantas who, when he was about to kill an enemy, and had his weapon raised to strike, heard the recall sounded and let the man go without striking him, believing that he was now prevented from so doing.

Or must he who grapples with the enemy and fights not be free from accountability nor go unscathed should he play the coward? For he does not help so much by hitting or wounding an enemy as he does harm by fleeing or retreating. He, therefore, who has been discharged from service is freed from military regulations; but he who asks leave to perform the offices of a soldier renders himself again accountable to the regulations and to his general.

40. Why is it not allowed the priest of Jupiter (Flamen Dialis) to anoint himself in the open air? Is it because it used not to be proper or decent for sons to strip in their father's sight, nor a son-in-law in the presence of his father-in-law, nor in ancient days did they bathe together? Now Jupiter is our father, and whatever is in the open air is in some way thought to be particularly in his sight.

Or, just as it is against divine ordinance to strip oneself in a shrine or a temple, so also did they scrupulously avoid the open air and the space beneath the

^ Cf. Cicero, De Oratore, ii. 55 (224), with Wilkins's note.
(274) ὑπουράνιον, ὄντα καὶ θεῶν καὶ δαμόνων μεστόν, ἐξευλαβοῦντο; διὸ καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὑπὸ στέγη δρώμεν ἐπικρυπτόμενοι καὶ ἐπικαλυπτό-μενοι ταῖς οἰκίαις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον.

"Ἡ τὰ μὲν μόνῳ τῷ ἱερεῖ, τὰ δὲ πᾶσι ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου προστέτακται διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως; διὸ καὶ παρ᾽ ἦμῖν τὸ μὲν στεφανηφορεῖν καὶ κομᾶν καὶ μὴ σιδηροφορεῖν μηδὲ τοῖς Φωκέων ὅροις ἐμβαίνειν θείᾳ λειτουργήματα τοῦ ἄρχοντός ἑστι; τὸ δ᾽ ὀπόρῳ μὴ γενέσθαι πρὸ ἱσθερίας μετοπωρυγῆς μηδ᾽ ἁμπελον τέμνειν πρὸ ἱσθερίας ἑαυτῆς ὁμοῦ τι πᾶσι δηλοῦται διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος· ἐκατέρου γὰρ ὁ καιρὸς ἐκείνος ἑστι.

Τὸν αὐτὸν οὖν τρόπον, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἱερέως ὑδίον ἑστι τὸ μὴ θ᾽ ὑπὸ χρῆσθαι μήτε πλείονας νύκτας ἀποδημεῖν τριῶν μήτ᾽ ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸν πύλον, άφ᾽ οὗ καὶ "φλάμεν" κέκληται.

D πολλὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα δηλοῦται πᾶσι διὰ τοῦ ἱερέως· ὅν ἐν ἑστι καὶ τὸ ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ μὴ ἀλείφεσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἡμεραλοιφεῖν ὑφεωρώντο Ῥωμαίοι σφόδρα, καὶ τὸ Ἐλλησίων οὐκταὶ μηδὲν οὕτως αἰτίων δουλείας γεγονέναι καὶ μαλακίας ὡς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς παλαιόστρας πολὺν ἄλλων καὶ σχολὴν ἐντικτούσας ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κακοσχολῶν καὶ τὸ παιδεραστεῖν

1 ἦ added by Meziriacus (καὶ in E).
2 μὴ added by Meziriacus.
3 ἐντικτούσας] ἐντεκούσας in all mss. except E.
4 κακοσχολῶν] Wytenbach suggests ἀδολεσχίαν.

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* Livy, v. 52. 13, says "not even one night." Cf. also Tacitus, Annales, iii. 58 and 71.
* Cf. Life of Numa, chap. vii. (64 c) ; Life of Marcellus, chap. v. (300 c) ; Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. 84 ; Festus, 68
heavens, since it was full of gods and spirits? Wherefore also we perform many necessary acts under a roof, hidden and concealed by our houses from the view of Divine powers.

Or are some regulations prescribed for the priest alone, while others are prescribed for all by the law through the priest? Wherefore also, in my country, to wear a garland, to wear the hair long, not to have any iron on one's person, and not to set foot within the boundaries of Phocis, are the special functions of an archon; but not to taste fruit before the autumnal equinox nor to prune a vine before the vernal equinox are prohibitions disclosed to practically all alike through the archon; for those are the proper seasons for each of these acts.

In the same way, then, it is apparently a special obligation of the Roman priest also not to use a horse nor to be absent from the city more than three nights nor to lay aside the cap from which he derives the name of flamen. But many other regulations are revealed to all through the priest, and one of them is the prohibition not to anoint oneself in the open air. For the Romans used to be very suspicious of rubbing down with oil, and even to-day they believe that nothing has been so much to blame for the enslavement and effeminacy of the Greeks as their gymnasia and wrestling-schools, which engender much listless idleness and waste of time in their cities, as well as paederasty and the ruin of the bodies of s.v. Flamen Dialis; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, ii. 64. 2. Varro's etymology is "Flamen quasi filamen"; Plutarch must have pronounced φλάμεν "ph(i)-lamen," with "ph" a true aspirate as in "uphill," else there would be no justification for the alternative derivation from pileus (Numa, vii.).
(274) καὶ τὸ διαφθείρειν τὰ σώματα τῶν νέων ὑπνοις καὶ
περιπάτοις καὶ κινήσεσιν εὐρύθμοις καὶ διαίταις
ἀκριβεσίν, ὥστε ἔλαθον ἐκρυντεῖς τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ
ἀγαπήσαντες ἄνθ' ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ὑπεύχων ἀγαθῶν
eυτράπελοι καὶ παλαιοστρῖται καλοὶ' λέγον. ταῦτα
Ε γοῦν ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀποφυγεῖν εἰς ὑπαιθρὸν ἀποδον-
μένους· οἱ δὲ κατ' οἰκίαις ἀλειφόμενοι καὶ θερα-
πεύοντες ἐαυτοῖς οὐδὲν ἀμαρτάνουσι.

41. "Διὰ τί τὸ παλαιόν νόμισμα πῇ μὲν εἶχεν
Ἰανοῦ διπρόσωπων εἰκόνα, πῇ δὲ πλοῖον πρύμναν
ἡ πρώραν ἐγκεκαραγμένην;"

Πότερον ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσιν ἐπὶ τιμή τοῦ
Κρόνου πλοῖω διαπεράσαντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν;

"Ἡ τοῦτο μὲν ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πολλῶν λέγεων, καὶ γὰρ
Ἰανὸς καὶ Εὐανδρὸς καὶ Λυνείας ἐκ θαλάττης
προσεκομίσθησαν, ἐκεῖνο δ' ἂν τις μᾶλλον εἰκάσειν
ὅτι τὰ μὲν καλὰ ταῖς πόλεσίν ἐστὶ τὰ δ' ἀναγκαῖα:
Ἱ καὶ μέγιστον τῶν μὲν καλῶν ἡ εὐνομία, τῶν δ' ἀναγκαῖων ἡ εὐπορία· ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν εὐκοσμίαν 2 μὲν
Ἰανὸς κατέστησεν αὐτοῖς ἐξημερώσας τὸν βίον,
άφθονίαν δὲ παρέχει τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὁ ποταμὸς
πλοῖμος ὡς καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς
χώρας κατακομβῶν, σύμβολον ἔσχε τὸ νόμισμα,
tοῦ μὲν νομοθέτου τὸ δημορφὸν ὡς εἰρηται διὰ τὴν
μεταβολήν, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ τὸ πορθμεῖον.

"Ετέρω δ' ἐχρήσαντο νομίσματι βοῶν ἔχοντι καὶ

1 καὶ | all mss. except E have καὶ καλοὶ.
2 εὐκοσμίαν | εὐνομίαν in some mss.
the young men with regulated sleeping, walking, rhythmical movements, and strict diet; by these practices they have unconsciously lapsed from the practice of arms, and have become content to be termed nimble athletes and handsome wrestlers rather than excellent men-at-arms and horsemen. It is hard work, at any rate, when men strip in the open air, to escape these consequences; but those who anoint themselves and care for their bodies in their own houses commit no offence.

41. Why did their ancient coinage have stamped on one side a double-faced likeness of Janus, on the other the stern or the prow of a ship?  

Is it, as many affirm, in honour of Saturn who crossed over to Italy in a ship?  

Or, since this might be said of many, inasmuch as Janus, Evander, and Aeneas all landed in Italy after a voyage by sea, one might rather conjecture thus: some things are excellent for States, others are necessary; and of the excellent things good government is the chief, and of the necessary things facility of provision. Since, therefore, Janus established for them an ordered government by civilizing their life, and since the river, which was navigable and permitted transportation both from the sea and from the land, provided them with an abundance of necessities, the coinage came to have as its symbol the twofold form of the lawgiver, as has been stated, because of the change he wrought, and the vessel as symbol of the river.

They also used another kind of coinage, stamped

a *Cf. Athenaeus, 692 e; Ovid, Fasti, i. 229 ff.; Pliny, Natural History, xxxiii. 3 (45); Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 7. 21-22.*

b 269 A, supra.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

πρόβατον καὶ ὑπ' παράσημον, εὐποροῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν θρεμμάτων μᾶλιστα καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν ἀπὸ τοὺ-
tων ἔχοντες: διὸ καὶ τὸν ὀνομάτων πολλά τοῖς 275 παλαιόῖς, Συύλλοιον ἡμῖν, καὶ Βουβολκόλ καὶ Πόρκιοι ἦσαν, ὡς Φενεστέλλας εὐρηκεν.

42. "Διὰ τὸ τῶν Κρόνου ναῷ χρῶνται ταμεῖών τῶν δημοσίων χρημάτων, ἀμα δὲ καὶ φυλακτηρίῳ τῶν συμβολαίων;"

Ἡ ὀνικρῶν εὐρέτης καὶ γεωργίας ἒγερμῶν θεός; ἦ γὰρ ἄρτη τούτῳ σημαίνει καὶ οὐχ ὥς γέγραφεν 'Αντίμαχος Ἡσιόδῳ πειθόμενος

λέχρις δὲ δρεπάνῳ τέμνων ἀπὸ μήδεα πατρὸς ὄψαινον Ἀκμονίδεω λάσιος Κρόνος ἀντιτύκτο.

καρπῶν δ' ἀφθονία καὶ διάθεσις γένεσις ἐστὶ νο-

Βιβλίοις: διὸ τὸν αἰτίον καὶ φύλακα ποιοῦνται τῆς εὐδαιμονίας. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ τάς ἀγομένας δι᾽ ἐννέα ἥμερῶν ἐπ᾽ ἀγορὰν συνόδους, νουνίνας δὲ καλουμένας, ἱερὰς τοῦ Κρόνου νομίζεσθαι πρά-

1 Συύλλοιον Χύλανδερ (cf. Life of Publicola, chap. xi.): Συύλλοιον.
2 Φενεστέλλας the proper spelling: φανεστέλλας.
3 ταμεῖόν, the regular form: ταμεῖον.
4 εὐρέτης several mss., as Bücheler had conjectured (cf. 956 λ); ἀγέτης Abresch: ἀρετῆς.
5 καὶ H. Richards: ἡ.
6 λέχρις Χύλανδερ: λέχρις.

a Is Plutarch thinking of the suovetaurilia? Mr E. T. Newell, President of the American Numismatic Society, has been kind enough to inform me that no early Roman coinage bears these symbols.
with the figures of a bull, a ram, and a boar, because their prosperity came mostly from their live stock, and from these they also derived their affluence. This is the reason why many of the names of the ancient families are such as the Suillii, Bubulci, Porci, as Fenestella has stated.

42. Why do they use the temple of Saturn as the public treasury and also as a place of storage for records of contracts?

Is it because the opinion and tradition prevailed that when Saturn was king there was no greed or injustice among men, but good faith and justice?

Or is it because the god was the discoverer of crops and the pioneer in husbandry? For this is what his sickle signifies and not as Antimachus, following Hesiod, has written:

Here with sickle in hand was wrought the form of rough Cronus
Maiming his sire at his side, who is Uranus, offspring of Acmon.

Now abundant harvests and their disposal are what give rise to a monetary system; therefore they make the god who is the cause of their good fortune its guardian also. Testimony to support this may be found in the fact that the markets held every eight days and called mundinae are considered sacred to

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b Cf. Life of Publicola, chap. xi. (103 b); Varro, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, p. 189. 21 (ed. Müller).


d Cf. Life of Publicola, xii. (103 c).

e Kinkel, Epicorum Graec. Frag. p. 287, Antimachus, Frag. 35.


g That is, the ninth day, by the Roman inclusive system of reckoning (cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 16. 34).
(275) seωs γὰρ καὶ ὃνης περιουσία καρπῶν ἀρχὴν παρέσχεν.

"Η ταύτα μὲν ἐστὶ παλαιά, πρῶτος δὲ ταμιείων ἀπέδειξε τὸ Κρόνιον, τῶν βασιλέων καταλυθέντων, Οὐαλέριος Ποπλικόλας πειθόμενος εὐερκῆ καὶ καταφανῆ καὶ δυσεπιβουλευτὸν εἶναι τὸν τόπον;

43. "Διὰ τὶ δ’ οἱ προσβεύοντες εἰς Ἄρωμην ὀποθένοις ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου ναὸν βαδίζοντες ἀπογράφονται πρὸς τοὺς ἑπάρχους τοῦ ταμιείου;"

Πότερον ὃς ξένου τοῦ Κρόνου γενομένου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῖς ξένοις χαίροντος, ἦ καὶ τοῦτο λύεται τῇ ἱστορίᾳ; τὸ γὰρ παλαιόν, ὡς έουκεν, οἱ ταμίαι ξένια τοῖς προσβεύονσι ἐπεμπον (ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ "λαύτια" τὰ πεμπόμενα), καὶ νοσοῦντων ἐπεμέλειον καὶ τελευτήσαντας ἑθαπτον ἢ δημοσίουν νῦν δ᾿ ὑπὸ πλῆθους τῶν ἀφίκουσιν τοῖς προσβεβευόμενοι ἐκλέεις τις ὁποίας, μὲνει δ᾿ ἐς τὸ τοῖς ἑπάρχους τοῦ ταμιείου προεντυχάνειν διὰ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς.

44. "Διὰ τὶ τῶν ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς οὐκ ἔξεστιν ὁμόσαι;"

Πότερον ὅτι βάσανός τις ἑλευθέρων δὀς ὄρκος ἐστὶ, δὲι δ᾿ ἀβασάνιστον εἶναι καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἱερέως;

D Ὁτι περὶ μικρῶν ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὸν τὰ θεῖα καὶ μέγιστα πεπιστευμένου οὐκ εἰκός ἐστὶν;

"Ἅ ὅτι πᾶσς ὄρκος εἰς κατάραν τελευτᾷ τῆς ἐπι-

1 λαύτια Abresch: λαύτεια.

a Presumably the quaestores aerarii.
THE ROMAN QUESTIONS, 275

Saturn, for it was the superabundance of the harvest that initiated buying and selling.

Or is this a matter of ancient history, and was Valerius Publicola the first to make the temple of Saturn the treasury, when the kings had been overthrown, because he believed that the place was well-protected, in plain sight, and hard to attack secretly?

43. Why do the ambassadors to Rome, from whatever country they come, proceed to the temple of Saturn, and register with the prefects of the treasury? Is it because Saturn was a foreigner, and consequently takes pleasure in foreigners, or is the solution of this question also to be found in history? For it seems that in early days the treasurers used to send gifts to the ambassadors, which were called lautia, and they cared for the ambassadors when they were sick, and buried them at public expense if they died; but now, owing to the great number of embassies that come, this expensive practice has been discontinued; yet there still remains the preliminary meeting with the prefects of the treasury in the guise of registration.

44. Why may not the priest of Jupiter (Flamen Dialis) take an oath? Is it because an oath is a kind of test to prove that men are free-born, and neither the body nor the soul of the priest must be subjected to any test? Or is it because it is unreasonable to distrust in trivial affairs him who is entrusted with holy matters of the greatest importance? Or is it because every oath concludes with a curse

Cf. Livy, xxxi. 50; Aulus Gellius, x. 15.
(275) ὠρκίας, κατάρα δὲ δύσφημον καὶ σκυθρωπῶν; ὡθεν
οὐδ’ ἄλλοις ἔπαρασθαι νομίζεται τοὺς ἱερεῖς. ἐπη-
νέθη γοῦν Ἀθήνας ἡ ἱερεία μὴ θελήσασα κατ-
αράσασθαι τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τῷ δήμου κελεύοντος·
ἐφη γὰρ εὐχῆς οὐ κατάρας ἱερεία γεγονέναι.

"Ἡ κοινὸς ὁ τῆς ἐπιορκίας κύδινος, ὃν ἀνὴρ
ἀσεβῆς καὶ ἐπιορκοὶ εὐχῶν καταρχηται καὶ ἱερῶν
ὕπερ τῆς πόλεως;

Ε 45. "Διὰ τι τῶν Οὐγενεραλίων1 τῇ ἑορτῇ πολὺν
οἶνον ἐκχέουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης;"

Πότερον, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, Μεζέντιος2 ὁ
Τυρρηνῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπεμψε πρὸς Αἰνείαν σπε-
νδόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ λαβεῖν τὸν ἐπέτειου οἶνον; ἀρ-
νησαμένου δ’ ἐκείνου, τοῖς Τυρρηνοῖς ὑπέσχετο
κρατήσας μάχη δώσειν τὸν οἶνον. Αἰνείας δὲ τὴν
ὑπόσχεσιν αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος τοὺς θεοῖς τὸν οἶνον
cαθέρωσε, καὶ μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι συναγαγὼν τὸ
καρπευθὲν ἐξέχεε πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς 'Αφροδίτης.

"Ἡ καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον ἔστι τοῦ χρηματιστοῦ
νήφοντας ἐορτάζειν ἄλλα μὴ μεθύονται, ὡς τῶν
θεῶν μᾶλλον τοῖς εἰρχόμενοι χαιρόντων τῶν πολὺν
ἀκρατον ἡ τοῖς

Γ 46. "Διὰ τι τῶν τῆς Ὀρτας ναὸν ἄνεργιμένων
cέχουν οἱ παλαιοὶ διὰ παντὸς;"

Πότερον, ὡς 'Αντίστιος Λαβεύων3 ἑστορήκε, τοῦ

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1 Οὐγενεραλίων] Οὐναλίων Ursinus.
2 Μεζέντιος Χύλανδε: βυζάντιος.
3 'Αντίστιος Λαβεύων Χύλανδε: 'Αντίστιχος Λάκων.

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a Cf. Life of Alcibiades, xxii. (202 f).
b Cf. Ovid, Fasti, iv. 877 ff.; Dionysius of Halicarnassus,
Roman Antiquities, i. 65; Pliny, Natural History, xiv.
76
on perjury, and a curse is an ill-omened and gloomy thing? This is the reason why priests may not even invoke curses upon others. At any rate the priestess at Athens who was unwilling to curse Alcibiades at the people’s bidding won general approval, for she declared that she had been made a priestess of prayer, not of cursing.

Or is it because the danger of perjury is a public danger if an impious and perjured man leads in prayer and sacrifice on behalf of the State?

45. Why on the festival of the Veneralia do they pour out a great quantity of wine from the temple of Venus?

Is it true, as most authorities affirm, that Mezentius, general of the Etruscans, sent to Aeneas and offered peace on condition of his receiving the year’s vintage? But when Aeneas refused, Mezentius promised his Etruscans that when he had prevailed in battle, he would give them the wine. Aeneas learned of his promise and consecrated the wine to the gods, and after his victory he collected all the vintage and poured it out in front of the temple of Venus.

Or is this also symbolic, indicating that men should be sober and not drunken on festival days, since the gods take more pleasure in those who spill much strong drink than in those who imbibe it?

46. Why did the men of old keep the temple of Horta continually open?

Is it, as Antistius Labeo has stated, that since “to

12 (88), where the authority cited is Varro. Plutarch speaks of the festival of Vinalia (April 23) as Veneralia perhaps because Venus (together with Jupiter) was the protecting deity of the vine.
παρορμάν "δρτάρι" λεγομένου, τήν οίνον ἐγκε
λευμένην πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ παρορμῶσαν θεοῦ
"Ορταν λεγομένην ἥκοντο δεῖν ώς ἑνεργὸν ἄει
μηδέποτε μέλλειν μηδ’ ἀποκεκλείσατι μηδ’ ἐλι
νύεν 1;
"Η μάλλον ὡς νῦν ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτὴν "Ωραν
μηκυνομένης τῆς προτέρας συλλαβῆς, ἐπιστρεφὴ
276 τινα καὶ πολυωρητικὴν θεῶν, ἣν διαφυλακτικὴν
καὶ φροντιστικὴν οὔςαν οὔδεποτε βάθυμον οὔδ’ ὀλυ
γωρον εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἐνόμιζον;
"Η, καθάπερ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ τούτῳ τῶν Ἐλ-
ληνικῶν ὄνομάτων ἑστὶ καὶ δηλοὶ θεῶν ἐπισκο-
ποῦν καὶ ἐφορῶσαν; δὴ ὡς ἀκοιμήτου καὶ
Αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς ἄνεωμένον ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῆς.
Εἰ μέντοι τῆν ὥραν ὅρθως ὁ Δαβεὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ
παρορμᾶν ἄνωμάσθαι δέδειχε, 2 σκόπει μὴ τοῦ
"ὁράτωρα 3" προτρπτικὸν τινα καὶ παρορμη-
τικὸν ὀντα σύμβουλον ἢ δημαγωγὸν οὖτως ὀνο-
μάσθαι φατέον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρᾶς καὶ εὐχῆς ὡς
ἐνιοὶ λέγουσιν.

Β 47. "Διὰ τὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἱερὸν ἕξω πό-
λεως ὁ Ἡρωμύλος ἱδρύσατο;"
Πότερον διὰ τῆν μυθολογομένην πρὸς Ἄρη
ἐρμοτυπίαν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου δι’ Ἀφροδήτην ύιὸς
ἐναι δοκῶν Ἄρεος οὐκ ἐποίησατο σύνοικον οὔδ’
ὁμότολοι αὐτῶν;
"Η τούτῳ μὲν ἄβελτερον, ὥκοδομήθη δ’ ὁ ναὸς
ἐξ ἀρχῆς συνεδρίων καὶ βουλευτηρίων ἀπόρρητον
αὐτῷ μετὰ Τατίου τοῦ συμβασιλεύσαντος, ὅπως
1 ἔλαυνεν Xylander: κλεινύεν.
2 δέδειχει δέδεικται in all mss. except E (δεδεκται Bernardakis).
3 ὁράτωρa F.C.B.: ὁράτορα.
urge on " is expressed by hortari, Horta is the goddess who urges us on, as it were, and incites us to noble actions; and thus they thought that, since she was ever active, she should never be procrastinating nor shut off by herself nor unemployed?

Or rather do they call her, as at present, Hora, with the first syllable lengthened, an attentive and very considerate goddess, who, since she was protective and thoughtful, they felt was never indifferent nor neglectful of human affairs?

Or is this too, like many other Latin words, a Greek word, and does it signify the supervising and guardian goddess? Hence her temple was continually open since she neither slumbers nor sleeps.

If, however, Labeo be right in pointing out that Hora is derived from "parorman" (to urge on), consider whether we must not declare that orator is thus to be derived, since an orator is a counsellor or popular leader who stimulates, as it were, and incites; and it is not to be derived from "imprecating" or "praying" (orare), as some assert.

47. Why did Romulus build the temple of Vulcan outside the city?

Was it in consequence of Vulcan's fabled jealousy of Mars because of Venus that Romulus, the reputed son of Mars, did not give Vulcan a share in his home or his city?

Or is this a foolish explanation, and was the temple originally built as a secret place of assembly and council-chamber for himself and his colleague Tatius,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{ Plutarch here (in hōra, hōrman, (h)ōrator), as often, makes havoc of etymology and quantity.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\text{ Cf. Homer, \textit{Od.} viii. 266-359.}\]
(276) συνιόντες ἐνταῦθα μετὰ τῶν γερόντων ἀνέυ τοῦ παρενοχλεύσθαι καθ’ ἡσυχίαν βουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων;

"Η πρὸς ἐμπρησμὸν ἀνωθεν ἐπισφαλῶς τῆς Ῥώμης ἔχουσης, ἐδοξε τιμᾶν μὲν ἐξοικίσαι δὲ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεόν;

C 48. "Διὰ τὴν τῶν Κωνσαλίων ἔορτή καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς καὶ τοὺς ὄνους στεφανοῦσι καὶ σχολάζειν ἐώσι;"

Πότερον ότι Ποσειδῶν μὲν ἄγουσι Ἰππείς τὴν ἔορτήν, δ’ ὄνος τῷ ἱππῷ συναπολαύει καὶ συμμετέχει τῆς ἀδείας;

"Η ότι, ναυτιλίας φανείσης καὶ κομιδῆς κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὑπήρξε τις ἀμωσγέτως ῥαστώνη καὶ ἀνάπαυσις τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις;

49. "Διὰ τὸ τοὺς παραγγέλλοντας ἀρχήν ἢν ἐν ἰματίῳ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἀχίτωνας, ως Κάτων ἱστόρηκε;"

Πότερον ἵνα μὴ δεκάζωσιν ἀργύριον ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ κομιέζοντες;

D "Η μᾶλλον ότι τοὺς ἄξιοὺς ἀρχεῖν οὐ γένεσιν οὔδὲ χρήμασιν οὔδὲ δόξαις ἀλλὰ τραύμασι καὶ ὁπελαῖς ἔκρινον; ὡπως οὖν ταῦτα καθορότῳ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ἀχίτωνες ἐπὶ τὰς παραγγελίας κατήσαν;

"Η καθάπερ τῷ δεξιούσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν καὶ ύποπίπτειν, οὕτω τῇ γυμνότητι ταπεινοῦντες ἐαυτοὺς ἐδημαγώγουν;

1 Κωνσαλίων Μεζιριάκος: Κωνσαλίων.
2 ἀρχήν Μεζιριάκος: ἀρχεῖν.
3 παραγγελίας Wyttenbach: ἐπαγγελίας.
that here they might convene with the senators and take counsel concerning public affairs in quiet without being disturbed?

Or was it that since Rome, from the very beginning, has been in great danger from conflagrations, they decided to show honour to this god, but to place his temple outside of the city? a

48. Why is it that at the festival of the Consualia they place garlands on both the horses and the asses and allow them to rest?

Is it because they celebrate this festival in honour of Poseidom, god of horses, b and the ass enjoys a share in the horse's exemption?

Or is it that since navigation and transport by sea have been discovered, pack animals have come to enjoy a certain measure of ease and rest?

49. Why was it the custom for those canvassing for office to do so in the toga without the tunic, as Cato has recorded? c

Was it in order that they might not carry money in the folds of their tunic and give bribes?

Or was it rather because they used to judge candidates worthy of office, not by their family nor their wealth nor their repute, but by their wounds and scars? Accordingly that these might be visible to those that encountered them, they used to go down to their canvassing without tunics.

Or were they trying to commend themselves to popular favour by thus humiliating themselves by their scanty attire, even as they do by hand-shaking, personal appeals, and fawning behaviour?

a Cf. Vitruvius, i. 7. 1.

b Cf. Life of Romulus, chap. xiv. (25 d).

50. "Διὰ τί οἱ ἱερεύς τοῦ Διός, ἀποθανοῦσης αὐτῶ τῆς ἱεραίας, ἀπετίθετο τῇ ἁρχῇ, ὡς 'Ατήμος ἤστορηκε;" ᾿Ατήμος ὑπονέντων τοῦ μὴ λαβόντος ἀποβαλομένου γυναίκας ἀρχέστερος; ὥσ τοῦ γεγομένον τούτοις ὅπως τῆς τέλειας ἁρχῆς ἀποβαλόντως οὐκ ἠτέλης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πεπηρωμένοι.

Ε ᾿Η συμερᾶται καὶ τοῖς ἱερεύσῃς πρὸς τῇ ἀνδρὶ, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἔστι δράσαι μὴ γαμετῆς συμπαρούσης, τὸ δὲ γαμεῖν εὐθὺς ἔτεραν ἀποβαλόντα τῇ ἁρχῇ προτέραν οὔτε ἐστὶ δεικτὸν διδυμοῦ ἀλλὰ ἐπιεικὲς; ἐδὲν οὐδὲν ἀποστείρων ἀποβαλόντα τῇ ἁρχῇ προτέραν ἐξῆλθαν, οὐδὲ νῦν, ως ἐστὶ, ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλὰ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐστὶν ἐντευκθεὶς Ἀυτικιανός. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς παραγένοντο τῇ τῶν γάμος διαλύειν, πολλὰ φρικώθηκαν καὶ ἀλλόκοτα καὶ σκυθρωπὰ δρώντες.

Ηττον δ' ᾿Αν τοῦτο θαυμάσαει προσικτορὴσας ὅτι καὶ τῶν τιμητῶν θατέρου τελευτησαντος ἐξει Σαι τοὺς ἑτερον ἀποστείρων τῇ ἁρχῇ ἀποβαλόντας δὲ τιμητῶν Λιβίου Δρούσου Σκιαρυδὸς Λιμίλιος συνάρχων οὐκ ἔβολετο τῇ ἁρχῇ ἀπειπορείας, μέχρι τῶν δημάρχων τινῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων εἰς τὸ διαμονητήριον ἀπάγεσθαι.

51. "Διὰ τί τῶν Λαρήτων, οὔτε ἰδίως 'πραιστίτεις' καλοῦσι, τούτως κῶνοι παρέστηκεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ κυνῶν διαθέματα ἀμπέχονται;" ᾿Η πραϊστίτεις μὲν οἱ προεστῶτες εἰσὶ, τοὺς δὲ "'Ατήμος Χυλάνδερ; τῆς.

1 Ατήμος Χυλάνδερ; τῆς.
2 ἑτερον] all mss. except F have ἑταίρον.

Cf. Aulus Gellius, x. 15.
50. Why did the priest of Jupiter (Flamen Dialis) resign his office if his wife died, as Ateius has recorded?\(^1\)

Is it because the man who has taken a wife and then lost her is more unfortunate than one who has never taken a wife? For the house of the married man is complete, but the house of him who has married and later lost his wife is not only incomplete, but also crippled.

Or is it because the wife assists her husband in the rites, so that many of them cannot be performed without the wife's presence, and for a man who has lost his wife to marry again immediately is neither possible perhaps nor otherwise seemly? Wherefore it was formerly illegal for the flamen to divorce his wife; and it is still, as it seems, illegal, but in my day Domitian once permitted it on petition. The priests were present at that ceremony of divorce and performed many horrible, strange, and gloomy rites.\(^2\)

One might be less surprised at this resignation of the flamen if one should adduce also the fact that when one of the censors died, the other was obliged to resign his office\(^3\); but when the censor Livius Drusus died, his colleague Aemilius Scaurus was unwilling to give up his office until certain tribunes ordered him to be led away to prison.

51. Why is a dog placed beside the Lares that men call by the special name of praestites, and why are the Lares themselves clad in dog-skins?\(^4\)

Is it because "those that stand before" are termed


\(^{2}\) Cf. Livy, v. 31. 6, 7; vi. 27. 4, 5; ix. 34.

\(^{3}\) Cf. Ovid, Fasti, v. 129 ff.
προεστώτας οίκου φυλακτικούς εἶναι προσήκει, καὶ
φοβεροὺς μὲν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις, ὥσπερ ὅ κύων ἐστίν,
ἡπίους δὲ καὶ πράους τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν;
"Ἡ μάλλον, ὅ λέγουσιν ἔνιοι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἀληθὲς
ἐστι καὶ, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ Χρύσιππον οὖνται
277 φιλόσοφοι φαίλα δαίμονα περινοστείν, οῖς οἱ θεοὶ
δημίους χρώνται καὶ κολασταῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνοσίους
καὶ ἄδικους ἀνθρώπους, οὕτως οἱ Λάρητες ἐρυνώ-
δεις τινές εἰς καὶ πούμοι δαίμονες, ἐπίσκοποι
βίων καὶ οἰκῶν; διὸ καὶ κυνῶν δέρμασιν ἀμπ-
έχονται, καὶ κύων πάρεδρος ἐστιν, ὅς δεινοῖς οὖσιν
ἐξιχνεύσαι καὶ μετελθέαν τοὺς πονηροὺς.

52. "Διὰ τῇ καλουμένῃ Γενείτη Μάνῃ κύνα
θύουσι καὶ κατεύχονται μηδένα χρηστῶν ἀποβῆναι
tῶν οἰκογενῶν;
"Ἡ ὅτι δαίμων ἐστὶν ἡ Γενείτη περὶ τᾶς γενέσεις
καὶ τᾶς λοχείας τῶν φθαρτῶν; ὡςιν γάρ τινα
σημαίνει τούνομα καὶ γένεσιν ἡ βέουσαν γένεσιν.
Β ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ "Ελληνες τῇ 'Εκάτη, καὶ τῇ Γενείτη
κύνα 'Ῥωμαῖοι θύουσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκογενῶν. Ἀρ-
γείους δὲ Σωκράτης φησὶ τῇ Εἰλιονείᾳ 2 κύνα θύειν
dιὰ τὴν βαστώνην τῆς λοχείας. τὸ δὲ τῆς εὐχῆς
πότερον οὖκ ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν οἰκογενῶν, μηδένα
χρηστὸν γενέσθαι ἀλλὰ κυνῶν; χαλεποὺς γὰρ εἶναι
dεῖ καὶ φοβεροὺς τοὺς κύνας.

1 καὶ added by Bernardakis.
2 Εἰλιονεία J Εἰλειθύια Amyot.

a Cf. Moralia, 361 b, 419 a, 1051 c.
b Cf. Pliny, Natural History, xxix. 4 (58).

84
praesides, and, also because it is fitting that those who stand before a house should be its guardians, terrifying to strangers, but gentle and mild to the inmates, even as a dog is?  

Or is the truth rather, as some Romans affirm, that, just as the philosophic school of Chrysippus\(^a\) think that evil spirits stalk about whom the gods use as executioners and avengers upon unholy and unjust men, even so the Lares are spirits of punishment like the Furies and supervisors of men's lives and houses? Wherefore they are clothed in the skins of dogs and have a dog as their attendant, in the belief that they are skilful in tracking down and following up evil-doers.

52. Why do they sacrifice a bitch to the goddess called Geneta Mana\(^b\) and pray that none of the household shall become "good"?

Is it because Geneta is a spirit concerned with the generation and birth of beings that perish? Her name means some such thing as "flux and birth" or "flowing birth."\(^c\) Accordingly, just as the Greeks sacrifice a bitch to Hecatê\(^d\), even so do the Romans offer the same sacrifice to Geneta on behalf of the members of their household. But Socrates\(^e\) says that the Argives sacrifice a bitch to Eilioneia by reason of the ease with which the bitch brings forth its young. But does the import of the prayer, that none of them shall become "good," refer not to the human members of a household, but to the dogs? For dogs should be savage and terrifying.


\(^c\) An attempt to derive the name from *genitus* (-a, -um) and *manare*.

\(^d\) *Cf.* 280 c, *infra.*
(277) "Η διὰ τὸ χρηστοὺς¹ κομψῶς² λέγεσθαι τοὺς
teleuτωντας αἰυττόμενοι διὰ τῆς εὐχής³ αὐτούνται
μηδένα τῶν συνοίκων ἀποθανεῖν; οὐ δέι δὲ τοῦτο
θαυμάζειν· καὶ γὰρ 'Αριστοτέλης ἐν ταῖς 'Αρκάδων
C πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους συνθήκας γεγράφθαι φησί
μηδένα χρηστὸν ποιεῖν βοηθείας χάριν τοῖς λακωνι-
ζουσι τῶν Τεγεατῶν, ὅπερ εἶναι μηδένα ἀπο-
κτινύναι.

53. "Διὰ τί τοῖς Καπετωλίους θέας ἁγοντες ἔτι
νῦν κηρύττουσι Σαρδιανοῦς ωοίους, καὶ γέρων τις
ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ προάγεται παιδικὸν ἐναψάμενος
περιδεραίο, δ’ καλοῦσι βούλλαν;"

"Η δὲ Ρωμύλω πολὺν χρόνον ἐπολέμησαν οἱ
λεγόμενοι Οὐήνου Τυρρηνών, καὶ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν
ἐσχάτην εἰλε, καὶ πολλοὺς αἱμαλώτους ἀπεκήρυξε
μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἑπισκόπτων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡλιθίο-
ντητα καὶ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν; ἐπεὶ δὲ Λυδιοὶ μὲν ἦσαν
οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ ἐξ ἄρχης, Λυδῶν δὲ μητρόπολις αἱ
Σάρδεις, οὕτω τοὺς Οὐήνους ἀπεκήρυττον· καὶ
μέχρι νῦν ἐν παιδία τὸ ἔθος διαφυλάττουσι.

54. "Διὰ τι τὰ κρεσπώλια 'μάκελλα' καὶ
'μακέλλας' καλοῦσι;"

Πότερον ἀπὸ τῶν μαγείρων τούνομα διαφθαρέν,
ὡσπερ ἄλλα πολλά, τῇ συνθείᾳ κεκράτηκε· καὶ
γὰρ τὸ κάππα πρὸς τὸ γάμμα συγγένειαν ἔχει παρ'

¹ χρηστοὺς Polus: ἀχρήστους.
² κομψῶς Xylander: καὶ κομψοὺς.
³ εὐχής ἄρχης some mss.
⁴ αἱ omitted in all mss. except E.

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² Frag. 592 (ed. V. Rose); cf. Moralia, 292 b, infra.
³ Cf. χρηστὲ χαὶρ on Greek tombstones.
THE ROMAN QUESTIONS, 277

Or, because of the fact that the dead are gracefully called “the good,” are they in veiled language asking in their prayer that none of their household may die? One should not be surprised at this; Aristotle, in fact, says that there is written in the treaty of the Arcadians with the Spartans: “No one shall be made good for rendering aid to the Spartan party in Tegea”; that is, no one shall be put to death.

53. Why do they even now, at the celebration of the Capitoline games, proclaim “Sardians for sale!”, and why is an old man led forth in derision, wearing around his neck a child’s amulet which they call a bulla?

Is it because the Etruscans called Veians fought against Romulus for a long time, and he took this city last of all and sold at auction many captives together with their king, taunting him for his stupidity and folly? But since the Etruscans were originally Lydians, and Sardis was the capital city of the Lydians, they offered the Veians for sale under this name; and even to this day they preserve the custom in sport.

54. Why do they call the meat-markets macella and macellae?

Is this word corrupted from mageiroi (cooks) and has it prevailed, as many others have, by force of habit? For c and g have a close relationship in

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So apparently Plutarch; but the Latin Sardi venales can mean nothing but “Sardinians for sale.” Plutarch, or his authority, has confused Sardi with Sardiani (Sardians).

d Cf. Life of Romulus, xxv. (33 e).

e This is quite contrary to the traditional account (cf. for example, Livy, vi. 21-23), according to which Veii was not captured until 396 B.C.
(277) αὐτοῖς· όψε γὰρ ἔχρησαντο τῷ γάμμα Καρβιλίου¹ Σπορίου προσεξευρόντος· καὶ τὸ λάμβδα πάλιν τοὺς ἀπολισθάνουσι τοῦ ρ δι’ ἀμβλύτητα τῆς γλώττης ὑπόκειται τραυλιζόμενον.

Ε ὉἩ καὶ τούτῳ λυτέον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ; λέγεται γὰρ ἐν Ῥώμη βίαιον ἀνδρα καὶ ληστρικὸν γενόμενον καὶ περικόησαντα πολλοὺς, Μάκελλον τούνομα, μόνις ἀλώνας καὶ κολασθήναι· ἓκ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ δημόσιον οὐκοδομηθήναι κρεοπώλιον ἀπ’ ἑκείνου κτησάμενον τῇ προσηγορίᾳ.

55. "Διὰ τί ταῖς Ἰανουαρίας εἰδοῖς περιεύει δέδοται τοῖς αὐληταῖς τὴν πόλιν ἑσθῆτας γυναι-κείας φοροῦντας;"

"Ἡ διὰ τὴν λεγομένην αἰτίαν; μεγάλας γὰρ, ὡς Ἐ ἤσικη, τιμᾶς ἐκαρποῦντο, τοῦ βασιλέως Νομᾶ δόντος αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θείον ὀσιότητα· ταύτας δ’ ὑστερον ἀφαιρεθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθυπατικῆς δεκαδαρχίας ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἢν οὖν ἐπιζήτησις αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς ἥπτετο δεισιδαιμονία τῶν ἱερέων ἀναυλα θυντών. ἑπεὶ δ’ οὐκ ἑπείθοντο μεταπεμπομένοις ἄλλ’ ἐν τῷ Τίβουρι² διέτριβον, ἀνήρ ἀπελεύθερος κρύφα τοῖς ἄρχοντοι ἐπηγγείλατο κατάξεων αὐτοῦ. καὶ παρασκευάσας θοῦν ἀφθονον ὡς τεθυκὼς θεοῖς ἐκάλεσε τοὺς αὐλητάς· καὶ γύναια παρῆν ἁμα τῷ πότῳ καὶ πανυχίς συνεκροτεῖτο παιζόντων καὶ χορευόντων. εἶτ’

¹ Καρβιλίου Xylander: Καρβειλίου.
² τῷ Τίβουρι Petavius: τῷ βουρίδι or βούρι.

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a Cf. 278 r., infra.
b Cf. Livy, ix. 30; Ovid, Fasti, vi. 653 ff.; Valerius Maximus, ii. 5. 4; see also Classical Weekly, 1921, p. 51. 88
Latin, and it was only after many years that they made use of \( g \), which Spurius Carvilius \(^a\) introduced. And \( l \), again, is substituted lispingly for \( r \) when people make a slip in the pronunciation of \( r \) because of the indistinctness of their enunciation.

Or must this problem also be solved by history? For the story goes that there once lived in Rome a violent man, a robber, Macellus by name, who despoiled many people and was with great difficulty caught and punished; from his wealth the public meat-market was built, and it acquired its name from him.

55. Why is it that on the Ides of January the flute-players are allowed to walk about the city wearing the raiment of women \(^b\)?

Is it for the reason commonly alleged? They used to enjoy, as it seems, great honours, which King Numa had given them by reason of his piety towards the gods. Because they were later deprived of these honours by the decemviri, who were invested with consular power,\(^c\) they withdrew from the city. There was, accordingly, inquiry made for them, and a certain superstitious fear seized upon the priests when they sacrificed without flutes. But when the flute-players would not hearken to those sent to summon them to return, but remained in Tibur, a freedman secretly promised the officials to bring them back. On the pretext of having sacrificed to the gods, he prepared a sumptuous banquet and invited the flute-players. Women were present, as well as wine, and a party lasting all the night was being celebrated with merriment and dancing, when

\(^a\) Consulari potestate.


56. "Διὰ τὸ τῆς Καρμέντης ἱερὸν ἐξ ἄρχης δοκοῦσιν αἱ μητέρες ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ νῦν μάλιστα σέβονται;"

Λέγεται γάρ τις λόγος, ὡς ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἱ γυναῖκες ἀχήμασι χρήσασθαι λευκτοῖς· συνέθεντο οὖν ἄλληλαις μὴ κυσκεθθαι μηδὲ τίκτειν, ἀμυνόμεναι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄχρις οὐ μετέγνωσαν καὶ συνεχώρησαν αὐταῖς· γενομένων δὲ παῖδων εὐτεκνοῦσα καὶ πολυτεκνοῦσα τὸ τῆς Καρμέντης ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο.

Τὴν δὲ Καρμένταν οἱ μὲν Ἐυάνδρον μητέρα Κλέγοσιν οὖσαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὁνομαζομένην Θέμιν, ὡς δὲ ἐννοι, Νικοστράτην· ἐμμέτρουσ δὲ χρησιμοὺς ἄδουσαν ὑπὸ τῶν Λατώνων Καρμένταν ὁνομάζεσθαι· τὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ "κάρμινα" καλοῦσιν.

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1 ταραττόμενος] ταραττόμενον Helmbold.
2 οὖν] in E only.
3 οἱ μὲν Wyttenbach: οἴμαι.

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90

Cf. Livy, v. 25. 9, and xxxiv. 1 and 8.
suddenly the freedman interrupted, saying that his patron was coming to see him, and, in his perturbation, he persuaded the flute-players to climb into wagons, which were screened round about with skins; to be conveyed back to Tibur. But this was a trick, for he turned the wagons around, and, without being detected, since the flute-players comprehended nothing because of the wine and the darkness, at dawn he had brought them all to Rome. Now the majority of them happened to be clad in raiment of feminine finery because of the nocturnal drinking-bout; when, therefore, they had been persuaded and reconciled by the officials, it became their custom on that day to strut through the city clad in this manner.

56. Why are the matrons supposed to have founded the temple of Carmenta originally, and why do they reverence it now above all others?

There is a certain tale repeated that the women were prevented by the senate from using horse-drawn vehicles; they therefore made an agreement with one another not to conceive nor to bear children, and they kept their husbands at a distance, until the husbands changed their minds and made the concession to them. When children were born to them, they, as mothers of a fair and numerous progeny, founded the temple of Carmenta.

Some assert that Carmenta was the mother of Evander and that she came to Italy; that her name was Themis, or, as others say, Nicostratê; and that because she chanted oracles in verse, she was named Carmenta by the Latins, for they call verses carmina.
57. "Διὰ τὶ τῇ 'Ρουμύνη θύουσαι γάλα καταστέφεισαι τῶν ιερῶν, οἴων δ' ού προσφέρουσιν;"  
"Η ροῦμαν Λατίνοι τὴν θηλὴν καλοῦσι, καὶ 'Ρουμυνάλων ὀνομασθήναι λέγουσιν, παρ' ὅσον ἡ λύκανα τῷ 'Ρωμυλῷ τὴν θηλὴν παρέσχεν; ὥσπερ δ' οὖν ἡμεῖς τὰς τρεφοῦσας τὰ παιδία γάλακτι θηλονάς ἀπὸ τῆς θηλῆς καλοῦμεν, οὕτως ἡ 'Ρουμύνα θηλὼ τις οὖσα καὶ τιθήμη καὶ κουροτρόφος οὐ προσίσται τὸν ἄκρατον ὦς βλαβερόν ὄντα τοῖς νηπίοις.

58. "Διὰ τὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοὺς μὲν πατέρας συγγεγραμμένους, τοὺς δ' ἀπλῶς πατέρας προσηγόρευον;"  
"Η τοὺς μὲν ἔξ ἄρχῆς κατανεμηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Ρωμύλου πατέρας ἐκάλουν καὶ πατρικίους, οἴων εὐπάτριδας ὄντας, πατέρας αὐτῶν ἔχοντας ἀποδείξαι τοὺς δ' ὑστερὸν ἐπεγγραφέντας ἐκ τῶν δημοτικῶν συγγεγραμμένους πατέρας ὄνομασαν;

1 'Ρουμυνάλων Bernardakis: ρουμάναλων.  
2 θηλονάς] θηλοῦ Valekenaer.  
3 θηλὼ τις Valekenaer: θηλωτίς (-ης)
But others think that Carmenta is a Fate, and that this is the reason why the matrons sacrifice to her. The true meaning of the name is "deprived of sense," by reason of her divine transports. Wherefore Carmenta was not so named from carmina, but rather carmina from her, because, in her divine frenzy, she chanted oracles in verse and metre.

57. Why do the women that sacrifice to Rumina pour milk over the offerings, but make no oblation of wine in the ceremony?

Is it because the Latins call the teat ruma, and assert that Ruminalis acquired its name inasmuch as the she-wolf offered its teat to Romulus? Therefore, as we call wet-nurses thelonai from thele (teat), even so Rumina is she that gives suck, the nurse and nurturer of children; she does not, therefore, welcome pure wine, since it is harmful for babes.

58. Why did they use to address some of the senators as Conscript Fathers, others merely as Fathers?

Is it because they used to call those senators originally assigned to that body by Romulus fathers and patricians, that is to say "well-born," since they could point out their fathers, while they called those who were later enrolled from the commoners conscript fathers?

a That is, carens mente.

b Cf. Life of Romulus, xxi. (31 a); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, i. 31; Strabo, v. 33, p. 230; Ovid, Fasti, i. 619 ff.

c Cf. 320 d, infra, and Life of Romulus, iv. (19 d); Ovid, Fasti, ii. 411 ff.

d Cf. Life of Romulus, xiii. (25 a).

e Cf. Livy, x. 8. 10.
59. "Διὰ τί κούνος ἢν βωμὸς Ἡρακλέους καὶ Μονώδων;"

Ε Ἐ ὁτι γράμματα τοὺς περὶ Εὐανδρον ἐδίδαξεν Ἡρακλῆς, ὡς Ἰὸβας ἱστόρηκε; καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα σεμνὸν ἐνομίζετο, φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς διδασκόντων. οὗ τοῦ ἢρξαντο μισθοῦ διδάσκειν, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέψε γραμματοδιδασκάλειον Σπόριος Καρβῖλιος, ἀπελεύθερος Καρβιλίου τοῦ πρώτου γαμετὴν ἐκ-βαλόντος.

60. "Διὰ τί, δυοῖν βωμῶν Ἡρακλέους ὄντων, οὐ μεταλαμβάνουσι γυναίκες οὐδὲ γενοῦται τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ μείζονος θυμομένων;"

Πότερον ὁτι τῶν ἱερῶν αἱ περὶ τὴν Καρμένταν Φ ἱστέρησαν, ἱστέρησε δὲ καὶ τὸ Πιναρίων γένος· οἴδεν εἰργόμενοι τῆς θοίνης ἱστιωμένων τῶν ἄλλων Πινάριων προσηγορεύθησαν. ἡ διὰ τὰ μυθολογούμενα περὶ τοῦ χιτῶνος καὶ τῆς Δημανέιρας;

61. "Διὰ τί τὸν θεῶν ἐκείνον, ὡς μάλιστα τῆς Ὄρμην σοφεῖν προσήκει καὶ φιλάττειν, εἰτ' ἐστὶν ἄρρην εἰτε θήλεια, καὶ λέγειν ἀπείρηται καὶ ζητεῖν καὶ ὅνομαζειν; ταύτην δὲ τῇ ἀπόρρησιν ἐξάπτουσι δεισιδαιμονίας, ἱστοροῦντες Ὀυαλέριον Σωραϊὸν ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς διὰ τῷ ἐξειπεῖν."

Πότερον, ὡς τῶν Ὄρμαικῶν τινες ἱστορῆκασιν,

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b Cf. 277 d, supra.
c Cf. 277 c, supra.
d An attempt to derive the word from Greek πευκ, "be hungry": see further Livy, i. 7; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, i. 40.
59. **Why did Hercules and the Muses have an altar in common?**

Is it because Hercules taught Evander’s people the use of letters, as Juba⁴ has recorded? And this action was held to be noble on the part of men who taught their friends and relatives. It was a long time before they began to teach for pay, and the first to open an elementary school was Spurius Carvilius,⁵ a freedman of the Carvilius ⁶ who was the first to divorce his wife.

60. **Why, when there are two altars of Hercules, do women receive no share nor taste of the sacrifices offered on the larger altar?**

Is it because the friends of Carmenta came late for the rites, as did also the clan of the Pinarii? Wherefore, as they were excluded from the banquet while the rest were feasting, they acquired the name *Pinarii* (Starvelings).⁶ Or is it because of the fable of Deianeira and the shirt? ⁶

61. **Why is it forbidden to mention or to inquire after or to call by name that deity, whether it be male or female, whose especial province it is to preserve and watch over Rome?** ⁷ This prohibition they connect with a superstition and relate that Valerius Soranus came to an evil end because he revealed the name.

Is it because, as certain Roman writers have

⁴ The shirt anointed with the blood of Nessus which Deianeira supposed to be a love charm. She sent the shirt to Heracles and thereby brought about his death; hence Heracles may be supposed to hate all women; see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, or Ovid, *Heroides*, ix.

έκκλησες εἰσὶ καὶ γοητεύει τβεῶν, αἷς νομίζοντες καὶ αὐτὸι θεοῦς τινας ἐκκεκλήσθαι παρὰ τῶν πολε-279 μίων καὶ μετωκηκέναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐφοβοῦντο τό αὐτὸ παθεῖν υφ’ ἑτέρων; ὁπεροὖν Τύριοι δεσμοὺς ἀγάλμασι λέγονται περιβαλεῖν, ἑτεροὶ δ’ αἰτεῖν ἐγγυητὰς ἐπὶ λουτρόν ἢ καθαρμόν τινα προπέμ-ποντες, οὕτως ὕσιν τῷ Ρωμαιοὶ τὸ ἀρρήτον καὶ τὸ ἀγιωστὸν ἀσφαλεστάτην εἶναι θεοῦ καὶ βεβαιοτάτην φρούραν.

"Ἡ καθάπερ Ὀμήρως πεποίηται τὸ γαῖα δ’ ἐπὶ ἐξυπνή πάντων ὅπως οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας σέβονται καὶ τυμῶσι τὴν γῆν κοινῶς ἔχοντας, οὕτως ἀπεκρύψαντο τὸν κύριον τῆς σωτηρίας οἱ παλαιοὶ Ῥωμαιοὶ, βουλόμενοι μὴ μόνον τοῦτον ἄλλα πάντας ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶσθαι;

Β 62. "Διὰ τὶ τῶν λεγομένων Φιταλέων, Ἕλλη-νιστὶ δ’ οἶον εἰρηνοτοιῶν καὶ σπονδοφόρων, ὁ καλούμενος 'πάτερ πατράτος' ἐνομίζετο μέγιστος; ἔστι δ’ οὕτως, ὃ πατὴρ ἥκη καὶ παῖδες εἰσών· ἔχει δὲ καὶ νῦν προνομίαν τινὰ καὶ πίστιν· οἱ γὰρ στρατηγοὶ τὰ δε' εὐμορφίαν καὶ ὁραν ἐπιμελεῖς δεόμενα καὶ σῶφρονοι φυλακῆς σώματα τοῦτοι παρακατατίθενται."

1 αὐτοὺς Ηατζίδακις: αὐτούς.
2 ἐπί Ηόμερος: ἐπὶ.
3 ἔχοντας Μεζιριάκεν: ἔχοντας.
4 Φιταλέων Βερνάρδακις: φιταλέων (-ίων Ε).
5 καὶ added by H. J. Rose.

a Cf., for example, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, xiii. 3; Livy, v. 21 (the evocatio of Juno from Veii); Macrobius, Saturnalia, iii. 9. 7 and 14-16.

96
recorded, there are certain evocations and enchantments affecting the gods, by which the Romans also believed that certain gods had been called forth\(^a\) from their enemies, and had come to dwell among themselves, and they were afraid of having this same thing done to them by others? Accordingly, as the Tyrians\(^b\) are said to have put chains upon their images, and certain other peoples are said to demand sureties when they send forth their images for bathing or for some other rite of purification, so the Romans believed that not to mention and not to know the name of a god was the safest and surest way of shielding him.

Or as Homer\(^c\) has written,

Earth is yet common to all,

so that mankind should reverence and honour all the gods, since they possess the earth in common, even so did the Romans of early times conceal the identity of the god who was the guardian of their safety, since they desired that not only this god, but all the gods should be honoured by the citizens?

62. *Why*, among those called *Fetiales*, or, as we should say in Greek, peace-makers or treaty-bringers, was he who was called *pater patratus* considered the chief? The *pater patratus*\(^d\) is a man whose father is still alive and who has children; even now he possesses a certain preferment and confidence, for the praetors entrust to him any wards whose beauty and youth require a careful and discreet guardianship.

\(^a\) Cf. Diodorus, xvii. 41. 8; Quintus Curtius, iv. 3. 21.
\(^b\) H. xv. 193.
\(^c\) Plutarch here mistakenly explains *patrimus* instead of *patratus*: contrast Livy, i. 24. 6; Tacitus, *Hist.* iv. 53.
Πότερον ὁτι τὸ αἰδείσθαι τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ φοβείσθαι τοὺς πατέρας πρόσεστιν· ἡ τούνομα τὴν αὐτίαν ὑπαγορεύει; βουλεῖται γὰρ εἶναι τὸ "πατρὸτον" οἶονει συμπεπερασμένον καὶ πεπερατωμένον, ὡς τελειοτέρον τῶν ἄλλων ὄντως ὡς συμβέβηκε πατέρα κεκτημένης πατρὶ γενέσθαι.

"Ἡ δεὶ τὸν ὀρκων καὶ εἰρήνης προοϊστάμενον "ἀμα πρόσω καὶ ὑπίσω" ἵππα "Ὀμηρον ὅραν; εἳθ δ' ἢ μάλιστα τοιοῦτος, ὡ παῖς ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ ὦ βουλεύεται, καὶ πατὴρ μεθ' ὦ βουλεύεται.

63. "Διὰ τὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ 'ῥήγῳ σακρύρουμι' (οὗτος δ' ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς ἱερῶν) ἀπείρηται καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ δημηγορεῖν;"

"Ἡ τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ βασιλεῖς τὰ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἱερῶν ἐδρων καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἔθυνον αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων; ἐπει δ' οὖκ ἐμετρίαζον ἄλλον ἔκσαν ὑπερήφανοι καὶ βαρεῖς, τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων οἱ πλείστοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν περειλόμενοι μόνον τὸ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπέλπιον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παντάπασι τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐκβαλόντες ἀλλον ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐταξάν, οὐτ' ἄρχειν ἐάσαντες οὔτε δημαγγεῖν, ὅπως μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἱεροίς βασιλεύσαντες δοκῶσι καὶ βασιλεῖαν διὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπομένειν. ἐστὶ γοῦν τις ἐν ἀγορᾷ θυσία πρὸς τῷ λεγομένῳ Κομιτίῳ πάτριος, ἢν θύεις ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τάχος ἀπειρίζει τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

1 πρόσω καὶ ὑπίσω Homer, Il. i. 343, Od. xxiv. 452.
2 βασιλεύσαντες Wytenbach: βουλεύεται.
3 Κομιτίω Bernardakis: Κομιτίω.

a Il. i. 343, Od. xxiv. 452; cf. Shakespeare, Hamlet, iv. iv. 37; Shelley, Ode to a Skylark (18th stanza).
Is it because there attaches to these men respect for their children and reverence for their fathers? Or does the name suggest the reason? For *patratus* means, as it were, "completed" or "perfected," since he to whose lot it has fallen to become a father while he still has a father is more perfect than other men.

Or should the man who presides over oaths and treaties of peace be, in the words of Homer, one "looking before and after"? Such a man above all others would be he that has a son to plan for and a father to plan with.

63. Why is the so-called *rex sacrorum*, that is to say "king of the sacred rites," forbidden to hold office or to address the people?  

Is it because in early times the kings performed the greater part of the most important rites, and themselves offered the sacrifices with the assistance of the priests? But when they did not practise moderation, but were arrogant and oppressive, most of the Greek states took away their authority, and left to them only the offering of sacrifice to the gods; but the Romans expelled their kings altogether, and to offer the sacrifices they appointed another, whom they did not allow to hold office or to address the people, so that in their sacred rites only they might seem to be subject to a king, and to tolerate a kingship only on the gods' account. At any rate, there is a sacrifice traditionally performed in the forum at the place called Comitium, and, when the *rex* has performed this, he flees from the forum as fast as he can.

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*b* Cf. Livy, ii. 2. 1-2; ix. 31. 12; xl. 42.  
*c* *Ibid.* iii. 39. 4.  
(279) 64. "Διὰ τὴν τράπεζαν οὐκ εἰσν ἀναιρεῖσθαι κενήν, ἀλλὰ πάντως τινὸς ἐπόντος;"

Ε Πότερον αἰνιττόμενοι τὸ δεῖν ἄει τι τοῦ παρόντος εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὑπολιπεῖν καὶ τῆς αὐρίουν ἐν τῇ σήμερον μυθομονεύειν, ἡ νομίζοντες ἀστειον εἶναι τὸ συστέλλειν καὶ ἀνέχειν τὴν ὀρέξιν ἐτὶ παρούσης τῆς ἀπολαύσεως; ὅττον γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦσι τῶν ἀπόντων ἔθισθέντες ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν παρόντων.

"Ἡ καὶ πρὸς οἰκέτας φιλάνθρωπον τὸ ἔθος; οὐ γὰρ οὔτω λαμβάνοντες ὡς μεταλαμβάνοντες ἁγα- πῶσι, κοινωνεῖν τρόπον τινὰ τραπέζης ἡγούμενοι τοῖς δεσπόταις.

"Ἡ τῶν ἑρῶν οὐδὲποτε δεὶ κενὸν οὔδὲπεριοράν, ἑρὸν δὲ ἡ τράπεζα;"

65. "Διὰ τὴν νύμφη τὸ πρῶτον οὐκ ἐντυγχάνει Ε μετὰ φωτὸς ὁ ἀνήρ ἀλλὰ διὰ σκότους;"

Πότερον ὅτι αἰδεῖται πρὶν ἡ συνελθεῖν ἀλλοτρίων νομίζων, ἡ καὶ πρὸς ἱδίαιν προσίεναι μετ’ αἰδούς ἔθιξόμενος;

"Ἡ, καθάπερ ο Ὁσλὼν ἔγραψε μῆλου κυδωνίου τῆς νύμφην ἐντραγοῦσαν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον βαδίζειν, ὅπως τὸ πρῶτον ἄσπασμα μὴ δυσχερές γενήται μηδ’ ἀχάριστον, οὔτως δὲ Ῥωμαιός νομοθέτης, εἴ δὴ τι προσήν ἀτοπον τῷ σώματι καὶ δυσχερές, ἐκρυψεν;

"Ἡ διαβολή τίς ἐστίν ἀφροδισίων παρανόμων τὸ

1 ο] in E only.

a Cf. Moralia, 702 d ff.
64. Why did they not allow the table to be taken away empty, but insisted that something should be upon it? a

Was it that they were symbolizing the necessity of ever allowing some part of the present provision to remain over for the future, and to-day to be mindful of to-morrow, or did they think it polite to repress and restrain the appetite while the means of enjoyment was still at hand? For persons who have accustomed themselves to refrain from what they have are less likely to crave for what they have not.

Or does the custom also show a kindly feeling towards the servants? For they are not so well satisfied with taking as with partaking, since they believe that they thus in some manner share the table with their masters. b

Or should no sacred thing be suffered to be empty, and the table is a sacred thing?

65. Why does the husband approach his bride for the first time, not with a light, but in darkness?

Is it because he has a feeling of modest respect, since he regards her as not his own before his union with her? Or is he accustoming himself to approach even his own wife with modesty?

Or, as Solon c has given directions that the bride shall nibble a quince before entering the bridal chamber, in order that the first greeting may not be disagreeable nor unpleasant, even so did the Roman legislator, if there was anything abnormal or disagreeable connected with the body, keep it concealed?

Or is this that is done a manner of casting infamy

γιγνόμενον, ὡς καὶ τοὺς νομίμους ἁισχύνης τινὸς προσούσης;

66. "Διὰ τὶ τῶν ἱπποδρόμων εἰς Φλαμίνιος καλεῖται;"

280 "Ἡ ὅτι, Φλαμίνιον τινὸς τῶν παλαιῶν τῇ πόλει χώραν ἐπιδόντος, ἐχρῶντο ταῖς προσόδοις εἰς τοὺς ἵππους ἀγώνας· ἔτι δὲ περιόντων χρημάτων, κατεσκέυασαν ὁδὸν, ἢν καὶ αὐτὴν Φλαμίνιαν προσηγόρευσαν;

67. "Διὰ τὶ 'λυκτώρεις' τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ὀνομάζομι;"

Πότερον ὅτι καὶ συνέδεον τοὺς ἀκολασταίνοντας οὕτω καὶ τῷ 'Ῥωμύλῳ παρηκολούθουν ἢμάντας εἰς τοὺς κόλπους κομίζοντες; τὸ δὲ δεσμεύειν "ἀλλιγάρε" λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ 'Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δὲ καθαρεύοντες εἰς τῷ διαλέγεσθαι "λιγάρε;"

"Ἡ νῦν μὲν παρέγκεσαι τὸ κ, πρότερον δὲ 'λυκτώρεις' ἐκαλοῦντο, λειτουργοὶ τινες ὄντες περὶ Β τὸ δημόσιον; ὅτι γὰρ λήτον ἄχρι νῦν τὸ δημόσιον ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν 'Ελλήνων νόμων γέγραπται, οὐδένα ὡς ἔπος εἰπεὶν λέληθε.

68. "Διὰ τὶ κύνα θύουσιν οἱ Δουπερκοὶ; Δουπερκοὶ δ' εἰσίν οἱ τοὺς Δουπερκαλίως γυμνοὶ διαιθέοντες εἰς περίζώμασι καὶ καθικνούμενοι σκύτει τῶν ἀπαντῶντων."

1 νομίμους Xylander and some mss.: νόμοις.

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a The consul defeated at Trasimene. The circus was built circa 221 B.C.; cf. Varro, De Lingua Latina, v. 154.

b The Via Flaminia ran from the Pons Mulvius up the
upon unlawful amours, since even lawful love has a certain opprobrium connected with it?

66. Why is one of the hippodromes called Flaminian?
Is it because a certain Flaminius long ago bestowed some land upon the city and they used the revenues for the horse-races; and, as there was money still remaining, they made a road, and this they also called Flaminian?

67. Why do they call the rod-bearers "lictors"?
Is it because these officers used both to bind unruly persons and also to follow in the train of Romulus with straps in their bosoms? Most Romans use alligare for the verb "to bind," but purists, when they converse, say ligare.

Or is the c but a recent insertion, and were they formerly called litores, that is, a class of public servants? The fact that even to this day the word "public" is expressed by leitos in many of the Greek laws has escaped the attention of hardly anyone.

68. Why do the Luperci sacrifice a dog? The Luperci are men who race through the city on the Lupercalia, lightly clad in loin-cloths, striking those whom they meet with a strip of leather.

Tiber Valley to Narnia in Umbria; later it was extended over the Apennines to the Port of Ariminum.

Cf. Life of Romulus, chap. xxvi. (34 A); Aulus Gellius, xii. 3.

Cf. Festus, s.v. lictores; Valgius Rufus, frag. 1 (Gram. Rom. Frag. i. p. 484).

Cf. 290 n, infra; Life of Romulus, chap. xxi. (31 b ff.); Life of Numa, chap. xix. (72 e); Life of Caesar, chap. lxi. (736 b); Life of Antony, chap. xii. (921 b-c); Varro, De Lingua Latina, vi. 13; scholium on Theocritus, ii. 12.
(280) Ηότερον ὅτι καθαρμός ἦστι τῆς πόλεως ἡ δράμενα; καὶ γὰρ τῶν μηνὰ "Φεβρονάριον" καθοδεύσας καὶ νη Δία τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην "φεβράτην," καὶ "φεβράφε" τὸ τῶν ³ σκυτῶν εἶδει ⁴ καθικνέσθαι, τοῦ ῥήματος τὸ καθαρέος σημαίνοντος, τῷ δὲ κυνὶ πάντες ⁵ ὡς ἔπος εἰσέβην Ἑλλήνης ἔχρωντο Σ καὶ χρώνατι γε μέχρι νῦν ἔνιοι σφαγώς πρὸς τοὺς καθαρμοὺς καὶ τῇ Ἐκάτη σκυλάκια μετὰ τῶν ἀλλων καθαρσίων ἐκφέρουσι καὶ περιμάττουσι σκυλακίως τους ἁγισμού δεομένους, περισκυλακισμὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος τοῦ καθαρμοῦ καλοῦντες.⁶

"Η λύκος μὲν ὁ λοιπὸς ἦστι καὶ Λύκαία τὰ Λουπέρκαλια, λύκω δὲ κύων πολέμιος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θύεται τοῖς Λυκαίοις;

"Η ὅτι τοὺς Λουπέρκους ὑλακτούσι καὶ παραλυτούσιν οἱ κύων ἐν τῇ πόλει διαθέοντας;

"Η Πανὶ μὲν ἡ θυσία γίγνεται, Πανὶ δὲ κύων προσφιλὲς διὰ τὰ αἰτόλια;

69. "Διὰ τῷ καλουμένῳ Σεπτομοῦντιῶν παρεφύλαττον ὁχήμασι ζευκτοῖς μὴ χρήσθαι, καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν μὴ καταφρονοῦντες παρα-ἀνακοινωνεῖ συναπειθεῖν τῷ ἐβδομοῦν ὁλοφον τῇ πόλει προσκατανεμηθῆναι καὶ τῇ Ῥώμην ἑπτάλοφον γενέσθαι." "

1 γὰρ in E only.
2 φεβράφε F.C.B.; φεβρονάριο P. Pantazides θερέων. ³ Helmbold for τὸ τῶν. ⁴ εἶδε Capps; θεοι. ⁵ πάντες/πάντως in all mss. except E. ⁶ καλοῦντες δηλοῦντες in one ms. at least (E).

"Cf. 277 b, supra, and 290 b, infra.

² That the puppies were later sacrificed we may infer from the practice elsewhere and on other occasions.

104
Is it because this performance constitutes a rite of purification of the city? In fact they call this month February, and indeed this very day, februata; and to strike with a kind of leather thong they call februare, the word meaning "to purify." Nearly all the Greeks used a dog as the sacrificial victim for ceremonies of purification; and some, at least, make use of it even to this day. They bring forth for Hecatē a puppies along with the other materials for purification, and rub round about with puppies b such persons as are in need of cleansing, and this kind of purification they call periskylakismos ("puppifracition").

Or is it that lupus means "wolf" and the Lupercalia is the Wolf Festival, and that the dog is hostile to the wolf, and for this reason is sacrificed at the Wolf Festival?

Or is it that the dogs bark at the Luperci and annoy them as they race about in the city?

Or is it that the sacrifice is made to Pan, and a dog is something dear to Pan because of his herds of goats?

69. Why on the festival called Septimontium c were they careful to refrain from the use of horse-drawn vehicles; and why even to this day are those who do not contemn ancient customs still careful about this? The festival Septimontium they observe in commemoration of the addition to the city of the seventh hill, by which Rome was made a city of seven hills.

(280) Πότερον, ός ἐνιοὶ τῶν 'Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐπινοοῦσιν, διὰ τὸ μήπως συνεξεῖχθαι τοῖς μέρεσι παντελῶς τὴν πόλιν;

"Η τούτο μὲν ἄλλως "οὐ πρὸς Διόνυσον" ἐστιν· ἔργου δὲ μεγάλου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν συνοικισμὸν ἐκ- τελεσθέντος, οἰόμενον τὴν πόλιν ὡδὴ πεπαῦσθαι προϊόντοι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν, ἔτανσαν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνέπαυσαν δὲ τῶν ὑποζυγίων τὰ συμπονήσαντα καὶ παρέσχον ἀπολαῦσαι τῇ σχολῇ τῆς κοινῆς ἔορτῆς;

Ε "Η πᾶσαι μὲν ἐβοῦλοντο κοσμεῖν αἰὲ καὶ τιμᾶν ἔορτὴν τοὺς πολίτας παρόντως, μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ συνοικισμῷ τῆς πόλεως ἀγομένην· ἢμ' οὖν τὴν πόλιν, ἦς ἔστω ἡ ἔορτὴ, μὴ ἀπολείπωσιν, οὐκ ἐφείτο χρῆσθαι ζεύγεσιν ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν;

70. "Διὰ τί τοὺς κατεγνωσμένους1 ἐπὶ κλοπαῖς ἡ δουλικοῖς τισών ἄλλοις ἀμαρτήμασι 'φουρκιφέρους'2 καλοῦσιν;"

"Η καὶ τούτο τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἐπιμελείας τεκμηρίων ἐστιν; ο μὰρ οἰκότριβος ἰδίου καταγγέλων μικρὸν ἐκεῖνον διστούν ξύλον, ὅ ταῖς ἀμάξαις υφιστάσιν, ἀράμενοι διὰ τῆς συνοικίας ἡ τῆς γειτνιάσεως διεξελθεῖν ὑπὸ πάντων ὁρώμενον,

F ὡπως ἀπιστοῖν αὐτῷ καὶ φυλάττοντο πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν· τὸ δὲ ξύλον ἡμεῖς μὲν στήριγμα,3 'Ῥωμαίοι

1 κατεγνωσμένους Wytenbach: ἀπεγνωσμένους.
3 στήριγμα Xylander: στήριτα.
Is it, as some of the Roman writers conceive, because the city had not yet been completely joined together in all its parts?  

Or has this "nothing to do with Dionysus"? But did they imagine, when their great task of consolidation had been accomplished, that the city had now ceased from further extension; and they rested themselves, and gave respite to the pack-animals, which had helped them in their labours, and afforded the animals an opportunity to enjoy the general festival with no work to do?

Or did they wish that the presence of the citizens should adorn and honour every festival always, and, above all, that one which was held in commemoration of the consolidation of the city? Wherefore in order that they might not leave the City, in whose honour the festival was being held, it was not permitted to make use of vehicles on that day.

70. Why do they call such persons as stand convicted of theft or of any other servile offences *furciferi*?  

Is this also evidence of the carefulness of the men of old? For anyone who had found guilty of some knavery a slave reared in his own household used to command him to take up the forked stick, which they put under their carts, and to proceed through the community or the neighbourhood, observed of all observers, that they might distrust him and be on their guard against him in the future. This stick we call a prop, and the Romans *furca* ("fork");

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*a* "Nothing to do with the case": cf. *Moralia*, 615 α, and Lucian, *Dionysus*, 5, with Harmon's note (L.C.L. vol. i. p. 55); see also *Moralia* 388 ε and 612 ε.  

71. "Διὰ τί τῶν κυριττόντων βοῶν ύπὲρ τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν ἐνυγχάνοντα χόρτον τῷ κέρατι προσδοὺσιν;":

"Ἡ διὰ κόρον καὶ πλησιμονὴν ἐξυβρίζουσι καὶ βόες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ὁνοὶ καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ, ὡς που καὶ Σοφοκλῆς πεποίηκε

οὐ δὲ σφαδάζεις πῶλος ὡς εὐφορβία,
γαστήρ τε γάρ σου καὶ γνάθος πλήρης πέλει."

διὸ καὶ Μάρκον Κράσσον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι χόρτον ἔχειν ἔφασαν: ἐφυλάττοντο γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ σπαράττοντες ως ἀμυντικοὶ καὶ δυσεπι-χείρητοι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ὑστερον ἐλέχθη πάλιν, ὅτι Κράσσον Καίσαρ ἀφηρήκει τὸν χόρτον. ἀντέστη γὰρ αυτῷ πρώτος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κατεφρόνησε.

72. "Διὰ τί τῶν ἐπ’ οἰωνοῖς ἱερέων, οὓς Ἀὔστι-κας πρότερον Ἀὔγουρας δὲ νῦν καλοῦσιν, ὡς τὸν δεῖν ἀεὶ τοὺς λαμπτήρας ἀνευγμένους εἶναι καὶ τὸ πῶμα μὴ ἐπικεῖσθαι;"

"Ἡ καθάπερ οί Πυθαγορικοὶ μικρὰ μεγάλων ἐποιοῦντο σύμβολα κωλύοντες "ἐπὶ χωνικὸς καθ-ήσαι" καὶ "πῦρ μαχαίρα μὴ σκαλεύειν," οὕτως Ὁ οἱ παλαιοὶ πολλοῖς αἰνίγμασιν ἔχρωντο καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς, οὗν ἔστι καὶ τὸ τοῦ λαμπτήρος;

1 πέλει added by Pearson (Cobet ᾧ ἂν: Ahrens ἀβρᾶς).

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108
wherefore also he who has borne it about is called \textit{furcifer} ("fork-bearer").

71. Why do they tie hay to one horn of vicious bulls to warn anyone who meets them to be on guard? Is it because bulls, horses, asses, men, all wax wanton through stuffing and gorging? So Sophocles\textsuperscript{4} has somewhere written,

\begin{quote}
You prance, as does a colt, from glut of food, \\
For both your belly and your cheeks are full.
\end{quote}

Wherefore also the Romans used to say that Marcus Crassus\textsuperscript{b} had hay on his horn: for those who heckled the other chief men in the State were on their guard against assailing him, since they knew that he was vindictive and hard to cope with. Later, however, another saying was bandied about, that Caesar had pulled the hay from Crassus; for Caesar was the first to oppose Crassus in public policy and to treat him with contumely.

72. Why did they think that the priests that take omens from birds, whom they formerly called \textit{Auspices}, but now \textit{Augures}, should always keep their lanterns open and put no cover on them? Were they like the Pythagoreans,\textsuperscript{c} who made small matters symbols of great, forbidding men to sit on a peck measure or to poke a fire with a sword; and even so did the men of old make use of many riddles, especially with reference to priests; and is the question of the lantern of this sort? For the

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. \textit{Life of Crassus}, chap. vii. (547 c); Horace, \textit{Satires}, i. 4. 34 "faenum habet in cornu; longe fuge!"

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. 290 E, \textit{infra}, and the notes on \textit{Moralia}, 12 d-e (Vol. I. p. 58).

109
(281) ἕοικε γὰρ ὁ λαμπτὴρ τῷ περιέχοντι τὴν ψυχήν σώματι. φῶς γὰρ ἔστων ἡ ἐντὸς ψυχῆ καὶ δει τὸ συνετὸν καὶ φρόνιμον ἀεὶ ἀναπεπταμένον αὐτῆς εἶναι καὶ δεδορκὸς καὶ μηδέποτε συγκεκλείσθαι μηδ' ἀποπτον μένειν.

Πνευμάτων δ' ὄντων, οὐκ εὑρέσθησιν οἱ ὀρνιθες οὔνδε βέβαια σημεῖα παρέχουσι διὰ τὴν πλάνην καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. διδάσκουσιν οὖν τῷ ἔθει μὴ πνευμάτων ὄντων ἀλλὰ νηµείας καὶ καταστάσεως ἐπὶ ταῦτα προϊέναι τοὺς οἰωνοπόλους, ὅτε δύνανται τοῖς λαμπτήροις ἀνεφεγμένους χρῆσθαι.

C 73. “Διὰ τὰ δ' ἀπείρητο τοῖς ἔλκοσ ἔχουσιν ἱερεύσων ἐπ' οἰωνὸν καθέξεσθαι;”

Πότερον καὶ τούτο σύμβολον ἐστὶ τοῦ μηδὲν δακνομένου μηδ' οἶδον ἔλκοσ ἰδιον καὶ πάθος ἔχοντας ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τὰ θεῖα χρηµατίζειν, ἀλλ' ἄλυπους καὶ ἀκεραίους καὶ ἀπερισπάστους ὄντας.

"Ἡ κατὰ λόγον ἐστὶν, εἰ μήθ' ἱερεὺς χρῆσαι' ἀν τις ἔλκος ἔχοντι πρὸς θυσίαν μήτ' ὀρνισὶ πρὸς οἰωνισμόν, ἐτί μάλλον ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν φυλάττεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ καθάρους γενοµένους καὶ ἁυνεῖς καὶ ὁλοκλήρους ἐπὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν σηµαινόµενα βαδίζειν; τὸ γὰρ ἔλκος ἐοίκη πήρωσὶς τις εἶναι D καὶ μιασµὸς τοῦ σώµατος.

74. “Διὰ τὰ µικρὰς Τύχης ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο Σε¬

ρούος Τούλλιος ὃς βασιλεὺς ἦν 'βρέβεµ' καλοῦσι‘;

Πότερον ὅτι µικρὸς ὄν ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ ταπεινὰ

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1 ἀποπτον μένειν F.C.B.: ἀποπνεοµένον.
2 καθέξεσθαι Wytenbach: καθέξεσθαι.
3 πήρωσὶς Meziriacus: πάρωσις.

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*a Cf. Moralia, 1130 b.*
lantern is like the body which encompasses the soul; the soul within is a light and the part of it that comprehends and thinks should be ever open and clear-sighted, and should never be closed nor remain unseen.

Now when the winds are blowing the birds are unsteady, and do not afford reliable signs because of their wandering and irregular movements. Therefore by this custom they instruct the augurs not to go forth to obtain these signs when the wind is blowing, but only in calm and still weather when they can use their lanterns open.

73. Why was it forbidden to priests that had any sore upon their bodies to sit and watch for birds of omen?

Is this also a symbolic indication that those who deal with matters divine should be in no way suffering from any smart, and should not, as it were, have any sore or affection in their souls, but should be untroubled, unscathed, and undistracted?

Or is it only logical, if no one would use for sacrifice a victim afflicted with a sore, or use such birds for augury, that they should be still more on their guard against such things in their own case, and be pure, unhurt, and sound when they advance to interpret signs from the gods? For a sore seems to be a sort of mutilation or pollution of the body.

74. Why did King Servius Tullius build a shrine of Little Fortune, which they call Brevis?

Is it because although, at the first, he was a man of little importance and of humble activities and the

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\text{Cf. Moralia, 383 b; Leviticus, xxii. 17-21.}
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\text{Hartman's theory that Plutarch is rendering Occasio = Fortuna Brevis) is very doubtful.}
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πράττων καὶ γεγονός ἐκ μητρὸς αἰχμαλώτου διὰ τὴν τύχην ἐβασίλευσε τῆς Ῥώμης. Ἡ αὐτή μὲν ἡ μεταβολὴ μέγεθος ἐμφαίνει τύχης μᾶλλον ἡ μικρότητα, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα Σερούνιος ἔοικε τὴν τῆς τύχης ἐκθειάσας δύναμιν ἐπιφημίσαι πράξεων Ἐ ἀπάσαις; οὐ γὰρ μόνον Τύχης εὐελπίδος καὶ ἀποτροπαῖον καὶ μειλιχίας καὶ πρωτογενείας καὶ ἀρρενος ἱερὰ κατεσκεύασεν, ἀλλ' ἐστιν ἱδίας Τύχης ἱερόν, ἔτερον δ' ἐπιστρεφομένης, ἄλλο1 παρθένου· καὶ τί ἂν τὶς ἐπεξίοι τὰς ἀλλὰς ἐπωνυμίας, ὅπου Τύχης ἱεροῖσι2 ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἡν βιοκάταν3 ὄνομα-ξουσίων, ὡς πόρρωθεν ἦµῶν ἀλισκομένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ προσισχομένων τοῖς πράγμασιν;

"Ορα δὴ μὴ καταμαθῶν τὸ παρὰ μικρὸν ἂεὶ τῆς τύχης μέγα δυνάμενον, καὶ ὅτι τῷ γενέσθαι τι μικρὸν ἡ μὴ γενέσθαι τι πολλάκις ὑπῆρξεν ἐνίοις τυχεῖν ἡ διαμαρτεῖν τῶν μεγίστων, μικρὰς Τύχης ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο, προσέχειν διδάσκοντο τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ μὴ καταφρονεῖν διὰ μικρότητα τῶν ἐντυγ-χανόντων.

75. "Διὰ τί λύχνον οὐκ ἐσβέννυσαν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ περιεύρων μαρανόμενον;"

Πότερον ὡς συγγενεῖς καὶ ἀδελφικὸν σεβόμενον τοῦ ἄσβεστον καὶ ἀθανάτου πυρός, ἥ καὶ τοῦτο σύμβολον ἐστὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν τὸ ἐμψυχον, ἃν μὴ

1 ἄλλο Dübner: ἄλλο δ' εὐελπίδος ἄλλο, apparently repeated from above.
2 ἱεροῖσι Stephanus (cf. 322 f): ἱεροῖσι.
3 βιοκάταν | βιοκατρίκη Meziriacus.

a Cf. 273 b, supra.
b Cf. 322 f, infra: the Latin equivalents here are perhaps
son of a captive woman, yet, owing to Fortune, he became king of Rome? Or does this very change reveal the greatness rather than the littleness of Fortune, and does Servius beyond all other men seem to have deified the power of Fortune, and to have set her formally over all manner of actions? For he not only built shrines of Fortune the Giver of Good Hope, the Averter of Evil, the Gentle, the First-Born, and the Male; but there is also a shrine of Private Fortune, another of Attentive Fortune, and still another of Fortune the Virgin. Yet why need anyone review her other appellations, when there is a shrine of the Fowler's Fortune, or Viscata, as they call her, signifying that we are caught by Fortune from afar and held fast by circumstances?

Consider, however, whether it be not that Servius observed the mighty potency of Fortune's ever slight mutation, and that by the occurrence or non-occurrence of some slight thing, it has often fallen to the lot of some to succeed or to fail in the greatest enterprises, and it was for this reason that he built the shrine of Little Fortune, teaching men to give great heed to events, and not to despise anything that they encountered by reason of its triviality.

75. Why did they not extinguish a lamp, but suffered it to go out of itself? Did they reverence it as akin and closely related to the inextinguishable and undying fire, or is this also a symbolic indication that we should not destroy Felix (?), Averrunca, Obsequens, Primigenia, Virilis, Privata, Respiciens, Virgo, Viscata.

Cf. 289 v., infra.

Cf. Moralia, 702 d ff.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

βλάπτη, διαφθείρειν μηδ' ἀναίρειν, ὡς ξώω τοῦ πυρὸς ἑοικότος; καὶ γὰρ τροφῆς δεῖται καὶ αὐτοκύητον ἐστὶν καὶ σβεννύμενον φωνήν ἀφίησιν ἄσπερ φονευόμενον.

"Ἡ διδάσκει τὸ έθος ἡμᾶς ὅτι δεῖ μήτε πῦρ μηθ' ὕδωρ μήτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων αὐτούς ἄδην ἔχοντας διαφθείρειν, ἄλλ' ἐὰν χρῆσθαι τοὺς δεομένους καὶ ἀπολείπειν ἑτέροις, ὅταν αὐτοὶ μηκέτι χρείαν ἔχωμεν;

282 76. "Διὰ τί ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς ὑποδήμασι σελήνιδας οἱ διαφέρειν δοκοῦντες εὐγενεία φοροῦσιν;"

Πότερον, ὡς Κάστωρ φησί, σύμβολον ἔστι τούτῳ τῆς λεγομένης οἰκήσεως ἐπὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν αὖθις αἱ ψυχαὶ τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ πόδας ἔξουσι, ἢ τοῖς παλαιστάτοις τοῦθ' ὑπῆρχεν ἐξαίρετον; οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Ἀρκάδες τῶν ἄπ' Ἐυάνδρου Προσελήνων λεγομένων.

"Ἡ, καθάπερ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ τούτῳ τοὺς ἐπαιρομένους καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντας ὑπομιμνήσκει τῆς ἐπ' ἀμφότερον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων μεταβολῆς παράδειγμα ποιομένους τὴν σελήνην, ὡς

B
eξ ἀδήλου πρῶτον ἔρχεται νέα πρόσωπα καλλύνουσα καὶ πληρομένη, χωταν περ αὐτῆς εὐπρεπεστάτη φαινη, πάλιν διαρρεῖ κατί μηδὲν ἔρχεται;

1 [ὁω Dübner: ξώου. 2 τῆς σελήνης Ε: ταῖς σελήναις.
3 ἀπε] ἐπε' Xylander and Kronenberg.
4 ὑπομιμνήσκει a patent correction: ὑπομιμνήσκες.
5 εὐπρεπεστάτη, Moralia, 517 D: εὐγενεστάτη (εὐγενεστάτη?
Pohlenz).
6 καπ'] keis το in the Life of Demetrius, chap. xlv.

a Cf. Isidore, Origines, xix. 34: Juvenal, vii. 192.

114
nor do away with any living thing, if it does us no harm, since fire is like a living thing? For it needs sustenance, it moves of itself, and when it is extinguished it gives out a sound as if it were being slain.

Or does this custom teach us that we should not destroy fire, water, or any other necessity when we have enough and to spare, but should allow those who have need of these things to use them, and should leave them for others when we ourselves no longer have any use for them?

76. Why do they that are reputed to be of distinguished lineage wear crescents on their shoes? a

Is this, as Castor says, b an emblem of the fabled residence in the moon, and an indication that after death their souls will again have the moon beneath their feet c; or was this the special privilege of the most ancient families? These were Arcadians of Evander’s following, the so-called Pre-Lunar d people.

Or does this also, like many another custom, remind the exalted and proud of the mutability, for better or worse, in the affairs of men, and that they should take the moon as an illustration e:

When out of darkness first she comes anew
Her face she shows increasing fair and full;
And when she reaches once her brightest sheen,
Again she wastes away and comes to naught?


c *Cf. Moralia*, 943 a ff.


e *Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 315, Sophocles, Frag. 787; or Pearson, no. 871: the full quotation may be found in *Life of Demetrius*, xlv. (911 c). *Cf. the variants there and in Moralia*, 517 D.

VOL. IV E 115
"Η πειθαρχίας ἐν μάθημα βασιλευομένους¹ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἡ σελήνη προσέχειν ἐθέλει τῷ κρείττονι καὶ δευτερεύειν, ἀδικεῖ παπταίνουσα πρὸς αὐγάς ἡμέρας κατὰ τὸν Παρμενίδην, οὕτω τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν ἄγας ἠμένους τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ τῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνου δυνάμεως καὶ τιμῆς ἀπολαύοντας;

77. "Διὰ τὶ τῶν μὲν ἐνιαυτόν τοῦ Διὸς νομίζουσιν, τοὺς δὲ μῆνας τῆς Ἡρας;"

"Η ὀτι τῶν μὲν ἀφατῶν θεῶν καὶ νοητῶν βασιλεύσοντι Ζεὺς καὶ Ἡρα, τῶν δ' ὀφατῶν ἡλίους καὶ σελήνης; ποιεῖ δ' ὁ μὲν ἡλίος τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, ἡ δὲ σελήνη τοὺς μῆνας. δει δ' μή νομίζειν ἀπλῶς εἰκόνας ἐκείνων τούτους, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν ἐν ὑλῇ Δία τὸν ἡλίον, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Ἡραν ἐν ὕλῃ τὴν σελήνην. διὸ καὶ Ἰονώνεμον εὐπομάζουσι τὴν Ἡραν, τὸ νέον ἢ τὸ νέωτερον ἐμφαίνοντος τοῦ ὄνοματος ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης· καὶ Λουκίων Ἡραν καλοῦσιν οὖν φωτεινὴν³ ἢ φωτίζουσαν· καὶ νομίζουσιν ἐν ταῖς λοχείαις καὶ ὤδηι βοηθεῖν, ὡσπερ καὶ τὴν σελήνην,

διὰ κυάνεουν⁴ πόλον ἀστρων

D

diά τ' ὕκυτόκοιο σελάνας:

εὕτοκείν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνους μάλιστα δοκοῦσιν.

¹ βασιλευομένους] βουλευομένων in some mss.
² Ἰονώνεμον an early correction (in the Vossianus according to Wytttenbach): Ἰονών.
³ φωτεινὴν] φαεινὴν in most mss.
⁴ κυάνεου] λαμπρῶν as quoted by Macrobius.

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¹ Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 162, Parmenides, no. 15.
² Timotheus, Frag. 28 (ed. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff); 116
Or was it a lesson in obedience to authority, teaching them not to be disaffected under the government of kings, but to be even as the moon, who is willing to give heed to her superior and to be a second to him,

Ever gazing in awe at the rays of the bright-gleaming Sun-god,
as Parmenides⁠a puts it; and were they thus to be content with their second place, living under their ruler, and enjoying the power and honour derived from him?

77. Why do they believe that the year belongs to Jupiter, but the months to Juno?
Is it because Jupiter and Juno rule the invisible, conceptual deities, but the sun and moon the visible deities? Now the sun makes the year and the moon the months; but one must not believe that the sun and moon are merely images of Jupiter and Juno, but that the sun is really Jupiter himself in his material form and in the same way the moon is Juno. This is the reason why the Romans apply the name Juno to our Hera, for the name means "young" or "junior," so named from the moon. And they also call her Lucina, that is "brilliant" or "light-giving"; and they believe that she aids women in the pangs of childbirth, even as the moon⁠b:

On through the dark-blue vault of the stars,
Through the moon that brings birth quickly;
for women are thought to have easiest travails at the time of the full moon.

78. "Διὰ τί τῶν οἰωνῶν ὁ καλούμενος ἀριστερὸς αὐτὸς;"

Πότερον οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτ’ ἄλληθες, ἀλλὰ παρακρούεται πολλοὺς ἡ διάλεκτος; τὸ γὰρ ἀριστερὸν "σίνιστρον" ὄνομαζομαι, τὸ δ’ ἐφείναι "σινε" καὶ "σίνη" λέγουσιν, ὅταν ἐφείναι παρακαλῶσι. τὸν οὖν ἐφείντα τῇ πρᾶξιν οἰωνὸν σινιστέρων ὅντα σίνιστρον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὄνομαζομαι.

"Ἡ, καθάπερ Διονύσιος φησιν, Ἄσκανίῳ τῷ Αἰνείῳ παραστατομένῳ πρὸς Μεξέντιον ἀστραπῆς Ἐ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ νικηφόρου γενομένης οἰωνισάμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτω παραφυλάττοουσιν; ἦ, ὡς ἀλλοι τινὲς, Αἰνείῳ τούτου συμπεσόντος; καὶ γὰρ ᾽Θηβαῖοι τῷ ἀριστερῷ κέρατι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ κρατήσαντες ἐν Δεύκτροις, διετέλεσαν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς μάχαις τῷ ἀριστερῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίαν ἀποδιδόντες.

"Ἡ μᾶλλον, ὡς Ἰόβας φησί, τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἀποβλέπουσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ γίγνεται τὸ βόρειον, ὁ δὴ τοῦ κόσμου δεξιῶν ἐνοῦ τίθενται καὶ καθυπέρτερον;

"Ορὰ δὲ μὴ φύσει τοῖς εὐνύμοις ἀσθενεστέροις οὖσιν οἱ προϊστάμενοι τῶν οἰωνῶν οὐδον ἀναρρων- 
F νύσσι καὶ ὑπερεῖδουσι τὸ ἐλλιπές τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπανισσοῦντες.

1 διάλεκτος| διαλεκτικός in practically all mss.
2 ἐφείναι Xylander: ἀφείναι.
3 οἰωνισάμενοι F.C.B.; οἰωνισάμενῳ Rose: οἰωνισάμενοι.
4 προϊστάμενοι Abresch, supported by one ms.: παριστάμενοι.

118
78. Why of birds is the one called "left-hand" a bird of good omen?

Is this not really true, but is it the peculiarity of the language which throws many off the track? For their word for "left" is sinistrum; "to permit" is sinere; and they say sine when they urge giving permission. Accordingly the bird which permits the augural action to be taken, that is, the avis sinisteria, the vulgar are not correct in assuming to be sinistra and in calling it so.

Or is it, as Dionysius a says, that when Ascanius, son of Aeneas, was drawing up his army against Mezentius, and his men were taking the auspices, a flash of lightning, which portended victory, appeared on the left, and from that time on they observe this practice in divination? Or is it true, as certain other authorities affirm, that this happened to Aeneas? As a matter of fact, the Thebans, when they had routed and overpowered their enemies on the left wing at Leuctra, b continued thereafter to assign to the left the chief command in all battles.

Or c is it rather, as Juba d declares, that as anyone looks eastward, the north is on the left, and some make out the north to be the right, or upper, side of the universe?

But consider whether it be not that the left is by nature the weaker side, and they that preside over auguries try to strengthen and prop its deficient powers by this method of equalization.

a Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, ii. 5. 5; Virgil, Aeneid, ix. 630, and Conington's note on Virgil, Georgics, iv. 7.

b Cf. Life of Pelopidas, xxiii. (289 d-e).

c Cf. Moralia, 363 e, 888 b.

"Πλούταρχος Μοραλίαι

"Ἡ τὰ ἐπίγεια καὶ θυντὰ τοὺς θυρανίους καὶ θείους ἀντικείσθαι νομίζοντες οὐκότο τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀριστερὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν προπέμπειν;

79. "Διὰ τί τοῦ θραμβεύσαντος εἰτ’ ἀποθανόντος καὶ καέντος ἐξῆν ὅστεον λαβόντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσφέρειν καὶ κατατίθεσθαι, ὡς Πύρρων ὁ Διπαραῖος ἀστόρηκεν;"

"Ἡ τιμὴς ἑνεκα τοῦ τεθνηκότος; καὶ γὰρ ἄλλος ἀριστεύει καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐδωκαν οὐκ αὑτοὺς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἐνθάπτεσθαι τῇ ἁγορᾷ, καθάπερ Οὐαλερίῳ καὶ Φαβρικίῳ. καὶ 283 φασί τούτων ἀποθανοῦσιν ἀποθανοῦσι καὶ κομμοθείσων εἰς ἁγορὰν ὑφίστασθαι δᾶδα καιομένην, εἰτ’ εὐθὺς αὔρεσθαι, χρωμένων ἀνεπιφέπνως τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τὸ ἐξεῖναι μόνον ἐκβεβαιομένων.

80. "Διὰ τί τοὺς θραμβεύσαντας ἐστιώντες ἐν δημοσίῳ παρῃτοῦντο τοὺς ὑπάτους, καὶ πέμποντες παρεκάλουν μή ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον;"

"Ἡ καὶ τότεν ἐδεί τῷ θραμβεύσαντι κλισίας τῶν ἐντυμοτατον ἀποδίδοσθαι καὶ προσομπηθῆν μετὰ τὸ δείπνων; ταῦτα δ’ οὗκ ἐξεστὶν ἑτέρῳ γέγνεσθαι τῶν ὑπάτων παρόντων, ἀλλ’ ἐκείνους.

81. "Διὰ τί περιπόρφυρον ὁ δήμαρχος οὖ φορεῖ, Β τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχόντων φοροῦντων;"

"Ἡ τὸ παράπαν οὐδ’ ἐστὶν ἄρχων; οὕδ’ γὰρ ῥαβδούχους ἐχουσί οὐδ’ ἐπὶ δίφρου καθήμενοι

1 κλισίας τῶν Κοβετ: καὶ σίαστον.

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b Cf. Life of Publicola, chap. xxiii. (109 d).
c Cf. Valerius Maximus, ii. 8. 6.
d The toga praetexta.
Or was it that they believed earthly and mortal matters to be antithetical to things heavenly and divine, and so thought that whatever was on the left for us the gods were sending forth from the right?

79. Why was it permitted to take up a bone of a man who had enjoyed a triumph, and had later died and been cremated, and carry it into the city and deposit it there, as Pyrrhon\(^a\) of Lipara has recorded? Was it to show honour to the dead? In fact, to other men of achievement, as well as to generals, they granted, not only for themselves, but also for their descendants, the right to be buried in the Forum, as they did to Valerius\(^b\) and to Fabricius; and they relate that when descendants of these men die and have been conveyed to the Forum, a lighted torch is placed beneath the body and then immediately withdrawn; thus they enjoy the honour without exciting envy, and merely confirm their prerogative.

80. Why was it that when they gave a public banquet for men who had celebrated a triumph, they formally invited the consuls and then sent word to them requesting them not to come to the dinner? Was it because it was imperative that the place of honour at table and an escort home after dinner should be assigned to the man who had triumphed? But these honours can be given to no one else when the consuls are present, but only to them.

81. Why does not the tribune wear a garment with the purple border,\(^d\) although the other magistrates wear it? Is it because he is not a magistrate at all? For tribunes have no lictors, nor do they transact business
(283) χρηματίζουσιν, οὐδ' ἔτους ἀρχῇ καθάπερ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀρχοντες εἰσίασιν, 1 οὐδὲ παύονται δικτάτωρος αἱρεθέντος ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνου μετατιθέντος εἰς έαυτὸν αὐτοὶ μόνοι διαμένουσιν, ὡσπερ οὐκ ὄντες ἀρχοντες ἀλλ' ἐτέραν τινὰ τάξιν ἐχοντες. ὡς δὲ τῶν ῥητόρων ἦνοι τὴν παραγραφήν οὐ βούλονται δίκην εἶναι, τούναντιν τῇ δίκῃ δρόσαν. ή μὲν γὰρ εἰσάγει καὶ ποιεῖ κρίσιν, ή δ' ἀναρεῖ καὶ λύει τὸν αὐτὸν πρότον οἴονται τὴν δημαρχίαν κώλυσιν ἀρχής μᾶλλον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἀρχήν ἀντίταξιν ἡ ἀρχήν. τὸ γὰρ ἔνστην πρὸς δύναμιν ἀρχοντος καὶ τὴν ἄγαν ἐξονσίαν ἀφελείων ἐξουσία καὶ δυνάμις ἐστὶν αὐτῆς.

"Η ταύτα μὲν ἂν τις εἶποι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα χρώμενος εὐρησιλογία: τῆς δὲ δημαρχίας τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου λαμβανούσῃ τὸ δημοτικὸν ἰσχυρὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μέγα τὸ μὴ μείζον φρονεῖν τῶν λοιπῶν ἀλλ' ὁμοιοῦσθαι καὶ σχῆματι καὶ στολῇ καὶ διαίτῃ τοῖς ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ γὰρ ὠγκος ὑπάτω προσήκει καὶ στρατηγῷ, τὸν δὲ δημαρχὸν, ὥς Γάιος Κουρίων ἔλεγε, καταπατεῖσθαι δεῖ, καὶ μὴ σεμνὸν εἶναι τῇ ὄψει μηδὲ δυσπρόσοδον μηδὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς χαλεπῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀοκνοῦ τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς εὔμεταχείριστον. ὢθεν οὖν οὐδ' οἰκίας αὐτοῦ κλείσθαι νενόμισται θύραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νύκτωρ ἀνέψυχε καὶ μεθ' ἦμεραν ὃσπερ λυμήν καὶ καταφυγῇ τοῖς δεομένοις. ὡς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκταπενοῦται τῷ

1 εἰσίασιν Meziriacus: εἰσώ.
2 ἀοκνὸν added by F.C.B. to fill a lacuna.

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They entered upon their office December 10th: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, vi. 89. 2; Livy, xxxix. 52.

122
seated on the curule chair, nor do they enter their office at the beginning of the year as all the other magistrates do, nor do they cease from their functions when a dictator is chosen; but although he transfers every other office to himself, the tribunes alone remain, as not being officials but as holding some other position. Even as some advocates will not have it that a demurrer is a suit, but hold that its effect is the opposite of that of a suit; for a suit brings a case into court and obtains a judgement, while a demurrer takes it out of court and quashes it; in the same way they believe that the tribuneship is a check on officialdom and a position to offer opposition to magistracy rather than a magistracy. For its authority and power consist in blocking the power of a magistrate and in the abrogation of excessive authority.

Or one might expound these matters and others like them, if one were to indulge in the faculty of invention; but since the tribunate derives its origin from the people, the popular element in it is strong; and of much importance is the fact that the tribune does not pride himself above the rest of the people, but conforms in appearance, dress, and manner of life to ordinary citizens. Pomp and circumstance become the consul and the praetor; but the tribune, as Gaius Curio used to say, must allow himself to be trodden upon; he must not be proud of mien, nor difficult of access nor harsh to the multitude, but indefatigable on behalf of others and easy for the multitude to deal with. Wherefore it is the custom that not even the door of his house shall be closed, but it remains open both night and day as a haven of refuge for such as need it. The more humble he is
(283) σχήματι,1 τοσούτω μάλλον αὐξεῖαι τῇ δυνάμει. κοινὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦσι τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐφικτὸν ὡσπερ βωμὸν εἶναι, τῇ δὲ τιμῇ ποιοῦσιν ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγιον καὶ ἁσυλον· ὅποιο κἂν βαδίζων ἐν δημοσίῳ πάθῃ τι,2 νόμος ἑστὶ καθαίρεσθαι καὶ ἁγνίζεσθαι τὸ σῶμα καθάπερ μεμιασμένον.

Ε 82. "Διὰ τι τῶν στρατηγῶν αἱ ράβδοι συνδεδε- μέναι προσηρτημένων τῶν πελέκεων φέρονται;"

Πότερον ὅτι σύμβολον ἑστὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν πρόχειρον εἶναι καὶ λευκόντην τὴν ὁργήν τοῦ ἄρχοντος, ἡ διατριβὴν καὶ μέλλησιν ἐμποιοῦν τῇ ὁργῇ τὸ λῦεν ἀτρέμα τὰς ράβδους πολλάκις ἐποίησε μεταγνώναι περὶ τῆς κολάσεως; ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς κακίας τὸ μὲν ἵσμον ἑστὶ τὸ δ’ ἀνήκεστον, αἱ μὲν ράβδοι νου- Γ θετοῦσι τὸ μεταθέσθαι δυνάμενον, οί3 δὲ πελέκεις ἀποκόπτουσι τὸ ἀνουθέτητον.

83. "Διὰ τι τῶν καλουμένοις Βλετονησίους βαρβάρους ὄντας ἄνθρωπον τεθυκέναι θεοῖς πυθό- μενον, μετεπέμψαντο τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ὡς κολάσοντες, ἔπει δὲ νόμῳ τῷ τοῦτ’ ἐφαίνοντο πεποιηκότες, ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπέλυσαν, ἐκώλυσαν δὲ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν; αὐτοὶ δ’ οὐ πολλοίς ἔτεσιν ἐμ- πρόσθεν δύο μὲν ἄνδρας δύο δὲ γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ βοῶν ἀγορᾶ λεγομένη, τοὺς μὲν Ἔλληνας, τοὺς δὲ Γαλά- τας, ζῶντας κατώρυξαν· φαίνεται γὰρ ἀτοπον

1 σχήματι Wyettenbach: σώματι.
2 πάθη τι suggested by Bernardakis: πᾶσι.
3 οἱ Bernardakis: αἱ.
in outward appearance, the more is he increased in power. They think it meet that he shall be available for the common need and be accessible to all, even as an altar; and by the honour paid to him they make his person holy, sacred, and inviolable. Wherefore if anything happen to him when he walks abroad in public, it is even customary for him to cleanse and purify his body as if it had been polluted.

82. Why are the rods of the praetors carried in bundles with axes attached? Is it because this is a symbolic indication that the temper of the official should not be too quick or unrestrained? Or does the deliberate unfastening of the rods, which creates delay and postponement of his fit of temper, oftentimes cause him to change his mind about the punishment? Now since some badness is curable, but other badness is past remedy, the rods correct that which may be amended and the axes cut off the incorrigible.

83. When the Romans learned that the people called Bletonesii, a barbarian tribe, had sacrificed a man to the gods, why did they send for the tribal rulers with intent to punish them, but, when it was made plain that they had done thus in accordance with a certain custom, why did the Romans set them at liberty, but forbid the practice for the future? Yet they themselves, not many years before, had buried alive two men and two women, two of them Greeks, two Gauls, in the place called the Forum Boarium. It certainly

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* Cf. Livy, iii. 55. 6-7.; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, vi. 89. 2-3.

b Of Bletisa in Spain, according to Cichorius, Römische Studien (Berlin, 1922).
taûta μὲν ποιεῖν αὐτοῦς, ἐπιτιμᾶν δὲ βαρβάροις ὡς οὐχ ὅσια ποιοῦσι.’’

Πότερον τὸ μὲν θεὸς θύειν ἀνθρώπους ἀνόσιων 284 ἡγούντο, τὸ δὲ δαίμοσιν ἀναγκαῖον· ἥ τοὺς μὲν ἔθει καὶ νόμων τούτου πράττοντας ἀμαρτάνειν ἐνόμιζον, αὐτοὶ δὲ προσταχθέντες ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων ἐπραξαν; λέγεται γὰρ Ἔλβιαν τινὰ παρθένου ὁχυμένην ἐφ’ ἵπτου βληθῆναι κεραυνῷ, καὶ γυμνὸν μὲν εὑρεθῆναι κείμενον τὸν ἵππον, γυμνὴν δ’ αὐτὴν ὡς ἐπίτηδες ἀνηγμένου τοῦ χιτώνος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπορρήτων, ὑποδημάτων δὲ καὶ δακτυλίων καὶ κεκρυφάλου διερρημμένων χωρίς ἄλλων ἀλλαχόθι, τοῦ δὲ στόματος ἔξω προβεβληκτότος τὴν Β γλώσσαν. ἀποφημανέμων δὲ τῶν μάντεων δεινὴ μὲν αἰσχύνη σαίς ἱεραῖς παρθένοις εἰναι καὶ γενήσεσθαι περιβόητον, ἀμεθαλεί τινα καὶ ἵππεων ὑβριν, ἐμῆνυσε βάρβαρος1 τινὸς ἵππικου θεράπιον τρεῖς παρθένους τῶν ἐστιάδων, Λιμιλίαν καὶ Λικυίαν καὶ Μαρκίαν,2 ὑπὸ ταῦτο διεφθαρμένας καὶ συνούσας πολὺν χρόνον ἀνδράς, ὄν εἰς ἣν Βετούτιος Βάρρος3 τοῦ μηνυτοῦ δεσπότης. ἐκεῖνα μὲν οὖν ἐκολασθήσαν ἐξελεγχθεῖσα, τῆς δὲ πραξεως δεινῆς φανείσης, εὐδεξεν ἀνερέσθαι4 τὰ Σιβυλλεία τοὺς ἱερεῖς. εὑρεθῆναι δὲ φασὶ χρησιμοὺς ταῦτά τε οἱ προδηλοῦντας ἡς ἐπὶ κακῷ γενησόμενα, καὶ προστάτον τὰς ἀλλοκότοις τοῖς δαίμοσι καὶ ξένους ἀποτροπῆς ἐνέκα τοῦ ἐπιόντος προεσθαι δύο μὲν

1 Βάρβαρος Madvig: βαρβάρου.
2 Μαρκίαν Wytenbach: μαρτίαν.
3 Βετούτιος Βάρρος Wytenbach: βούτετιος βάρβαρος (βετούτιος in some mss.).
4 ἀνερέσθαι Xylander: ἀναρείσθαι.
seems strange that they themselves should do this, and yet rebuke barbarians on the ground that they were acting with impiety.

Did they think it impious to sacrifice men to the gods, but necessary to sacrifice them to the spirits? Or did they believe that men who did this by tradition and custom were sinning, whereas they themselves did it by command of the Sibylline books? For the tale is told that a certain maiden, Helvia, was struck by lightning while she was riding on horseback, and her horse was found lying stripped of its trappings; and she herself was naked, for her tunic had been pulled far up as if purposely; and her shoes, her rings, and her head-dress were scattered apart here and there, and her open mouth allowed the tongue to protrude. The soothsayers declared that it was a terrible disgrace for the Vestal Virgins, that it would be bruited far and wide, and that some wanton outrage would be found touching the knights also. Thereupon a barbarian slave of a certain knight gave information against three Vestal Virgins, Aemilia, Licinia, and Marcia, that they had all been corrupted at about the same time, and that they had long entertained lovers, one of whom was Vetutius Barrus, the informer's master. The Vestals, accordingly, were convicted and punished; but, since the deed was plainly atrocious, it was resolved that the priests should consult the Sibylline books. They say that oracles were found foretelling that these events would come to pass for the bane of the Romans, and enjoining on them that, to avert the impending disaster, they should offer as a sacrifice to certain

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\[^{*}\text{Cf. Cicero, } Brutus, 46 (169)\;\text{ Horace, } Satires, 1. 6. 30, if the emendation is right.\]
84. "Διὰ τί τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχὴν ἐκ μέσης νυκτὸς λαμβάνουσιν;"

Πότερον ὅτι ἡ πολιτεία στρατιωτικὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ σύνταξιν εἰσέ, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ νύκτωρ ἐν ταῖς στρατεύσεωσι προλαμβάνεται τῶν χρησίμων; ἡ πράξεως μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀνατολὴν, παρασκευὴς δὲ τὴν νύκτα; δεῖ γὰρ παρασκευασμένους πράττειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρασκευαζέσθαι πράττοντας, ὡς Μύσων πρὸς Χίλωνα τὸν σοφὸν εἴπειν λέγεται ἐν χειμῶνι θρίαμβοι τεκτανώμενοι.

D "Ἡ καθάπερ ἡ μεσημβρία πέρας ἐστὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς τοῖς δὲ δημόσια καὶ σπουδαῖα πράττειν, οὕτως ἀρχὴν ἐδοξέ ἑορτασθῆναι τὸ μεσονύκτιον; τεκμήριον δὲ τούτον1 μέγα τὸ μὴ ποιεῖσθαι Ἡρωμαίον ἀρχοντα συνθήκας μηδ’ ὀμολογίας μετὰ μέσον ἡμέρας.

"Ἡ δύσει μὲν καὶ ἀνατολὴ λαμβάνειν ἀρχὴν ἡμέρας καὶ τελευτὴν οὔ2 δυνατὸν ἐστὶν; οὐ μὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῇ αἰσθήσει διορίζουσιν ἡμέρας μὲν ἀρχὴν τὴν πρώτην ἀνάσχεσιν τοῦ ἥλιου, νυκτὸς δὲ τὴν3 τελευταίαν ἀπόκρυφων λαμβάνοντες, οὐχ έξομεν Ἑἰσηγερίαν, ἀλλ’ ἂν μάλιστα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ νύκτα παραβολοῦσθαι δοκοῦμεν, αὕτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἑλάττων

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1 τούτου Wyttenbach: τοῦτο.
2 οὔ] Petavius’s conjecture, found in A only.
3 τὴν added by Bernardakis.
strange and alien spirits two Greeks and two Gauls, buried alive on the spot.\(^a\)

84. Why do they reckon the beginning of the day from midnight? \(^b\)

Is it because the Roman State was based originally on a military organization and most of the matters that are of use on campaigns are taken up beforehand at night? Or did they make sunrise the beginning of activity, and night the beginning of preparation? For men should be prepared when they act, and not be making their preparations during the action, as Myson,\(^c\) who was fashioning a grain-fork in winter-time, is reported to have remarked to Chilon the Wise.

Or, just as noon is for most people the end of their transaction of public or serious business, even so did it seem good to make midnight the beginning? A weighty testimony to this is the fact that a Roman official does not make treaties or agreements after midday.

Or is it impossible to reckon the beginning and end of the day by sunset and sunrise? For if we follow the method by which most people formulate their definitions, by their perceptions, reckoning the first peep of the sun above the horizon as the beginning of day, and the cutting off of its last rays as the beginning of night, we shall have no equinox; but that night which we think is most nearly equal to the day will plainly be less than that day by the diameter of

\(^a\) Cf. Life of Marcellus, chap. iii. (299 d); Livy, xxii. 57.

\(^b\) Cf. Pliny, Natural History, ii. 77 (188); Aulus Gellius, iii. 2; Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 3.

\(^c\) Similar foresight regarding a plough instead of a fork is reported by Diogenes Laertius, i. 106.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

φανείται τῷ τοῦ ἡλίου μεγέθει. ὃ δ' ἀδ' πάλιν οἱ μαθηματικοὶ ταύτην ὑώμενοι τὴν ἀτοπίαν τίθενται, τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου κέντρου, ὅταν ἄφηται τοῦ ὀρίζοντος, ἡμέρας διορισμὸν εἶναι καὶ νυκτὸς, ἀναίρεσις ἐστὶ τῆς ἐναργείας. συμβηκήσεται γὰρ, ἐτι πολλοὶ φωτὸς ὑπὲρ γῆν ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου καταλίμποντος ἡμᾶς, μηδέπω ἡμέραν ὁμολογεῖν ἀλλ' ἐτι νύκτα εἶναι. ἐπεὶ τούν πέν ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ δύσει τοῦ ἡλίου δύσληπτος ἔστιν ἡ ἅρχη διὰ τὰς εἰρημένας ἁλογίας, ἀπολείπεται τὸ μεσουρανὸν ἢ τὸ ἀντιμεσουρανὸν αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν ἅρχην. βέλτιον

Γ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον φέρεται γὰρ ἐκ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὰς δύσεις ἄφ' ἡμῶν, ἐκ δὲ μεσονυκτίου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς.

85. "Διὰ τὶ τὰς γυναῖκας οὔτ' ἀλείων εἰών οὔτ' ὀμοποιεῖν τὸ παλαιὸν;

"Η τὰς συνθήκας διαμνημονεύοντες, ὃς ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τοὺς Σαβάνους; ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἤρπασαν τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν εἰτα πολεμήσαντες διηλάγησαν, ἐν ταῖς ἀλλαῖς ὁμολογίαις καὶ τοῦτ' ἐγγάρφη, μὴ τ' ἀλείν ἄνδρι Ῥωμαίῳ γυναῖκα μήτε μαγειρεῦεν.

86. "Διὰ τὶ τοῦ Ματοῦ μὴνος οὔκ ἄγονται γυναῖκας;"

Πότερον ὅτι μέσος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀπριλίου καὶ τοῦ 285 Ἰουνίου μηνὸς, ὅν τὸν μὲν Ἀφροδίτης τὸν δ' Ἡρας, γαμηλίων θεὸν, ἱερόν νομίζοντες προλαμβάνουσι μικρὸν ἡ περιμένουσι;

1 ὑπὲρ Xylander: ὑπὸ.

* Long before Plutarch’s day the Greeks had calculated the angle subtended by the sun with an accuracy that stood the test of centuries, and was not modified until comparatively 130
the sun. But then again the remedy which the mathematicians apply to this anomaly, decreeing that the instant when the centre of the sun touches the horizon is the boundary between day and night, is a negation of plain fact; for the result will be that when there is still much light over the earth and the sun is shining upon us, we cannot admit that it is day, but must say that it is already night. Since, therefore, the beginning of day and night is difficult to determine at the time of the risings and settings of the sun because of the irrationalities which I have mentioned, there is left the zenith or the nadir of the sun to reckon as the beginning. The second is better; for from noon on the sun's course is away from us to its setting, but from midnight on its course is towards us to its rising.

85. Why in the early days did they not allow their wives to grind grain or to cook? Was it in memory of the treaty which they made with the Sabines? For when they had carried off the Sabines' daughters, and later, after warring with the Sabines, had made peace, it was specified among the other articles of agreement that no Sabine woman should grind grain for a Roman or cook for him.

86. Why do men not marry during the month of May? Is it because this month comes between April and June, of which they regard April as sacred to Venus and June as sacred to Juno, both of them divinities of marriage; and so they put the wedding a little earlier or wait until later?


131
"H οτι τω μηνι τουτω των μεγιστων πουουνται των καθαρμων, νων μεν ειδωλα ριππουντες απο της γεφυρας εις των ποταμων παλαι δ' ανθρωπους; διο και την Φλαμνικαν, ί εραν της 'Ηρας ειναι δοκουσαι, νενομισαι σκυθρωπαζειν, μητε λουμενην τηνικαυτα μητε κοσμουμενην.

"Η οτι πολλοι Δατυνων εν τω μηνι τουτω τοις Β κατοικομενοις έναγιζουσι; και δια τουτ' ισως Ερμην εν αυτω σεβονται και Μαιας επωνυμος εστιν.

"Η, καθαπερ ένοι λεγουσιν, ό μεν Μαίων απο της πρεσβυτερας, ό δε Ιουνιος απο της νεωτερας ηλικιας ανομισαι; γαμω δε αμοιδιωτερον το νεον, ως και Ευρυπιδης φησιν

αλλ' η το γηρας την Κυπριν χαιρειν ει, η τ' Άφροδιτη τοις γερουσιν αχθεται.

ου γαμοευς ουν εν τω Μαιω, περιμενοντες τον 'Ιουνιον, δε ευθυς εστι μετα τον Μαιον.

87. "Δια τι των γαμουμενων αειμη δορατιον την κομην διακρινουσιν;"

Αρα συμβολον εστι τουτο του βια και μετα το λεμου γαμηθησαι τας πρωτας, η μανθανουσιν ανδρας συνοικουσι μαξημοις και πολεμικοις αθρυππον και άθηλου και αφελη προσιεσθαι καλωπισμον; άσπερ ο Λυκοφρως απο πρωνος και

1 Φλαμνικαν ΝυλανΔερ: φλαμνιβαν.
2 η Κυιελα and F.C.B.: η.

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a Cf. 272 b, supra.
b The mother of Mercury.
Or is it because in this month they hold their most important ceremony of purification, in which they now throw images from the bridge into the river, but in days of old they used to throw human beings? Wherefore it is the custom that the Flaminica, reputed to be consecrate to Juno, shall wear a stern face, and refrain from bathing and wearing ornaments at this time.

Or is it because many of the Latins make offerings to the departed in this month? And it is for this reason, perhaps, that they worship Mercury in this month and that the month derives its name from Maia.

Or is May, as some relate, named after the older (maior) and June after the younger generation (junior)? For youth is better fitted for marriage, as Euripides also says:

Old age bids Love to take her leave for aye
And Aphrodite wearies of the old.

They do not, therefore, marry in May, but wait for June which comes next after May.

87. Why do they part the hair of brides with the point of a spear? Does this symbolize the marriage of the first Roman wives by violence with attendant war, or do the wives thus learn, now that they are mated to brave and warlike men, to welcome an unaffected, unfeminine, and simple mode of beautification? Even as Lycurgus, by giving orders to make the

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b The Sabine women.

c Cf. *Moralia*, 189 e, 227 c, 997 c; and the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xiii. (47 c); cf. also *Comment. on Hesiod*, 42 (Bernardakis, vol. vii. p. 72).
(285) πελέκεως κελεύσας τὰ θυρώματα ταῖς οὐκίαις ποιεῖν καὶ τὰς ὄροφας, ἀλλὰ δὲ μὴ χρῆσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἐργαλείως, πάσαν ἐξέβαλε περιεργίαν καὶ πολυτέλειαν.

"Ἡ τὴν διάστασιν αἰνίττεται τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὡς μόνω σιδήρω τοῦ γάμου διακριθησόμενον;

"Ἡ τὰ μὲν πλείστα τῶν γαμμίκων εἰς τὴν "Ἡραν ἀνήπτο"; Ὁρας δ' ἤερον τὸ δόρυ νενόμιστοι, καὶ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων αὐτῆς δόρατι στηρίζεται τὰ πλείστα καὶ Κυρίτις ἢ θεὸς ἐπωνύμισται, τὸ γὰρ Ἰ ὁ ὁρὸν "κύρων" ἕκάλουν οἱ παλαιοὶ διὸ καὶ φασὶ Κυρίνον ὀνομασθῆναι τὸν Ἑυνάλιον.

88. "Διὰ τι τὸ τελούμενον εἰς θέας Λοῦκαρ καλοῦσιν;"

"Ἡ οὖσι πολλὰ ἐστὶν ἀλοσὲ· περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνεμενα θεοῖς, οὐ καλοῦσι "λούκους," καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦτον πρόσοδον εἰς τὰς θέας ἀνήλισκον;

89. "Διὰ τί τὰ Κυρινάλια μωρῶν ἐορτὴν ὀνομάζουσιν;"

"Ἡ οὖσι τὴν ἡμέραν ταῦτην ἀποδεδώκεσαν, ὡς Ἰόβας φησί, τοῖς τὰς αὐτῶν φρατρίας ἀγνοοῦσιν; ἡ τοῖς μὴ θύσασιν, ὡσπερ οἱ λοιποί, κατὰ φυλάς ἐν τοῖς Φουρνυκαλίοις δι' ἀσχολίαν ἢ ἀποδημίαν ἢ ἀγνοιαν ἔδοθη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτη τῆς ἐορτῆς ἑκείνην ἀπολαβεῖν;

1 ἀνήπτο Ε.: ἀνήπτον.
2 κύρων Aldine ed. and Xylander: κοῦρων.
3 ἀλοσὲ Xylander: ἀλλα.

a See Roscher, Lexikon der gr. und röm. Mythologie, ii. coll. 588-592.
b Cf. Life of Romulus, chap. xxix. (36 v); Dionysius of
134
doors and roofs of houses with the saw and the axe only, and to use absolutely no other tool, banished all over-refinement and extravagance.

Or does this procedure hint at the manner of their separation, that with steel alone can their marriage be dissolved?

Or is it that most of the marriage customs were connected with Juno? Now the spear is commonly held to be sacred to Juno, and most of her statues represent her leaning on a spear, and the goddess herself is surnamed *Quiritis*; for the men of old used to call the spear *curis*; wherefore they further relate that Enyalius is called Quirinus by the Romans.

88. **Why do they call the money expended upon public spectacles *Lucar***?

Is it because round about the city there are, consecrated to gods, many groves which they call *luci*, and they used to spend the revenue from these on the public spectacles?

89. **Why do they call the Quirinalia the Feast of Fools***?

Is it because, as Juba states, they apportioned that day to men who did not know their own kith and kin? Or was it granted to those who, because of some business, or absence from Rome, or ignorance, had not sacrificed with the rest of their tribe on the Fornacalia, that, on this day, they might take their due enjoyment of that festival?


*Curiae.*
90. "Διὰ τι τῶν Ἡρακλεί̂ γεγνομένης θυσίας (285) ἀλλον οὐδένα θεῶν ὁνομάζουσιν οὐδὲ φαίνεται κύων ἐντὸς τῶν περιβόλων, ὡς Βάρρων ἱστόρηκεν;

"Η θεῶν μὲν ἂλλον οὐκ ὁνομάζουσι διὰ τὸ τοῦτον ἡμίθεον νομίζειν; ὡς δὲ φασὶν ἐνιοί, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἴνος ἐτί βωμὸν ἵδρυσασθαί τὸν Ἐυανδρον αὐτοῦ καὶ θυσίαν προσαγαγεῖν. κυνὶ δὲ πάντων μάλιστα τῶν ξύων ἐπολέμησε· καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὐτὸς αὐτῶ ἀεὶ πολλὰ πράγματα παρέσχε ὡς ο Κέρβερος· καὶ ἔπι πάσι, τοῦ Δικυμνίου παιδὸς Οἰωνοῦ διὰ κύνα φονευθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰπποκοωντιδῶν, ἀναγκασθεὶς μάχην συνάψας τῶν τ' ἂλλων φίλων πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον Ἰφικλέα.

91. "Διὰ τί τοῖς πατρικίοις οὐκ ἔζην περὶ τὸ Καπετῶλιον κατουκεῖν;"

Πότερον ὅτι Μάρκος Μάλλιος αὐτόθι κατοικών ἐπεχείρησε τυραννίδι, δι' ὃν ἀπώμοτον φασὶν εἶναι τῷ οἴκῳ μηδενὶ Μαλλίων ὁνομα Μάρκον γενέσθαι. "Ἡ παλαιὸς ἄν φόβος οὕτως; Ποπλικὸλαν γοῦν ἄνδρα δημοτικότατον οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο διαβάλλοντες μὲν οἱ δυνατοὶ δεδοτές ὅ ὦι πολλοί, μέχρι ὡς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτὸς κατέσκαψεν ἐπικείσθαι τῇ ἁγορᾷ δοκοῦσαν.

1 οὐτός] ὁ Ὄρθος Wehl.
2 ὡς Naber: καὶ.
3 Μάλλιος Bernardakis, as elsewhere: μάλιος.
4 δ' added by Meziriacus.
5 Μαλλίων Bernardakis, as elsewhere: μαλίω.

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a Cf. Pliny, Natural History, x. 29 (79).
b Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, i. 40. 2; Livy, i. 7. 12.
90. Why is it that, when the sacrifice to Hercules takes place, they mention by name no other god, and why is a dog never seen within his enclosure, as Varro has recorded? Do they make mention of no other god because they regard Hercules as a demigod? But, as some relate, even while he was still on earth, Evander erected an altar to him and brought him sacrifice. And of all animals he contended most with a dog, for it is a fact that this beast always gave him much trouble, Cerberus, for instance. And, to crown all, when Oeonus, Licymnius's son, had been murdered by the sons of Hippocoön because of a dog, Hercules was compelled to engage in battle with them, and lost many of his friends and his brother Iphicles.

91. Why was it not permitted the patricians to dwell about the Capitoline? Was it because Marcus Manlius, while he was dwelling there, tried to make himself king? They say that because of him the house of Manlius was bound by an oath that none of them should ever bear the name of Marcus. Or does this fear date from early times? At any rate, although Publicola was a most democratic man, the nobles did not cease traducing him nor the commoners fearing him, until he himself razed his house, the situation of which was thought to be a threat to the Forum.

\[c\] Cf. Apollodorus, ii. 7. 3 with Frazer's note (L.C.L. vol. i. p. 251).
\[d\] Cf. Life of Camillus, chap. xxxvi. (148 D); Livy, vi. 20. 13-14.
\[e\] Cf. Life of Publicola, chap. x. (102 c-d).
92. "Διὰ τὶ τῶν σώσαντι πολίτην ἐν πολέμῳ ἰδίοντι στέφανον;

Πότερον ὅτι πανταχὸν καὶ ῥαδίως ἔστων εὑ-πορῆσαι ἐπὶ στρατεύας;

"Ἡ ὅτι Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας ἔερος ὁ στέφανος ἔστων, οὐς πολιούχους νομίζουσιν;

"Ἡ παλαιὸν ἀπ’ Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἔθος, οίς ἔστι τις συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν ὅρνην; πρῶτοι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν ἐκ γῆς, ὃσπερ ἡ ὅρνη τῶν φυτῶν.

93. "Διὰ τὶ γυψὶ χρώνται μάλιστα πρὸς τοὺς οἰωνισμοὺς;

Πότερον ὅτι καὶ Ῥωμύλῳ δωδεκά γυῖπες ἐφάνησαν ἐπὶ τῇ κτίσει τῆς Ῥώμης; ἢ ὅτι τῶν ὀρνίθων ἥκιστα συνεχῆς καὶ συνήθης οὕτως; οὖδέ γὰρ νεοττια γυῖπος ἐντυχεὶν ῥαδίως ἔστων, ἀλλὰ πόρρω-Βθέν ποθεν ἐξαπίνης καταίρουσιν: διὸ καὶ σημειώθης ἢ ὥψης αὐτῶν ἔστων.

"Ἡ καὶ τούτο παρ’ Ἡρακλέους ἐμαθοῦν; εἰ λέγει ἀληθῶς Ἡρόδωρος, ὅτι πάντων μάλιστα γυψὶν ἐπὶ πράξεως ἀρχῇ φανείσαι ἔχαρεν Ἡρακλῆς, ἡγοῦ-μένος δικαίωτον εἶναι τὸν γὔπα τῶν σαρκοφάγων ἀπάντων πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄπτεται ζῶντος οὐδ’ ἀποκτίνωσιν ἐμφυχῶν οὐδὲν ὡς ἀετοὶ καὶ ἱέρακες καὶ τὰ νυκτίνωµα: χρήται δὲ τοῖς ἄλλως[A] ἀποθανοῦσιν. ἐπείτα καὶ τούτων τὰ ὀμόφυλα

1 ἄλλως Wyttenbach: ἄλλοι.

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*A* Cf. Life of Coriolanus, chap. iii. (214 e-f); Pliny, Natural History, xvi. 4 (11-14); Polybius, vi. 39. 6; Aulus Gellius, v. 6.

92. Why do they give a chaplet of oak leaves to the man who has saved the life of a citizen in time of war? 

Is it because it is easy to find an abundance of oak leaves everywhere on a campaign?

Or is it because the chaplet is sacred to Jupiter and Juno, whom they regard as guardians of the city?

Or is the custom an ancient inheritance from the Arcadians, who have a certain kinship with the oak? For they are thought to have been the first men sprung from the earth, even as the oak was the first plant.

93. Why do they make most use of vultures in augury?

Is it because twelve vultures appeared to Romulus at the time of the founding of Rome? Or is it because this is the least frequent and familiar of birds? For it is not easy to find a vulture's nest, but these birds suddenly swoop down from afar; wherefore the sight of them is portentous.

Or did they learn this also from Hercules? If Herodorus tells the truth, Hercules delighted in the appearance of vultures beyond that of all other birds at the beginning of any undertaking, since he believed that the vulture was the most righteous of all flesh-eating creatures; for, in the first place, it touches no living thing, nor does it kill any animate creature, as do eagles and hawks and the birds that fly by night; but it lives upon that which has been killed in some other way. Then again, even of these

Romulus, ix. (23 a-b); Pliny, *Natural History*, x. 6 (19); Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, ii. 46.
(286) παριήσων πετεινοῦ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐὼρακε γῆπα γενόμενον, ὡς ἀετοὶ καὶ ἔρακες μάλιστα τὰ συγγενῆς διάκονοι καὶ κόπτουσι. καὶ τοι καὶ Ὄσχύλον ὀρνιθὸς ὀρνις πῶς ἰν ἀγνεύοι φαγών; ἄνθρωπος δ’ ὡς ἐπος εἰπεὶ ἀβλαβέστατος ἐστίν, οὔτε καρπὸν ἀφανίζων οὔτε φυτὸν οὔτε ζῷον ἠμερον κακουργών. εἰ δ’, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι μυθολογοῦσι, θῆλυ πᾶν τὸ γένος ἐστὶ καὶ κυῖσκονται δεχόμενοι καταπνεύστατοι τῶν ἁπηλιώτην ὦστερ τὰ δένδρα τὸν ζέφυρον, καὶ παντάπασιν ἀπλανῆ τὰ σημεία καὶ βέβαια γίγνεσθαι πιθανὸν ἐστὶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἱ περὶ τὰς ὀχείας σοβήσεις ἐτὶ δ’ ἄρπαγαί καὶ φυγαί καὶ διώξεις πολὺ τὸ θορυβώδες καὶ ἀκατάστατον ἔχουσι.

94. “Διὰ τί τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξω τῆς πόλεώς ἐστι;”

D Πότερον ὅτι τὰς ἑξὼ διατριβάς ὑγιεινοτέρας ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τῶν ἐν ἄστει; καὶ γὰρ Ἔλληνες ἐν τόποις καὶ καθαροῖς καὶ ψηλοῖς ἑπιεικῶς ἴδρυμένα τὰ Ἀσκληπιεία ἔχουσιν.

“Ἡ ὅτι τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου μετάπεμπτον ἥκεν νομίζουσιν, Ἐπιδαυρίους δ’ οὐ κατὰ πόλιν ἄλλα πόρρω τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἐστίν;

“Ἡ ὅτι τοῦ δράκοντος ἐκ τῆς τρυφεροῦ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ἀποβάντος καὶ ἀφανισθέντος αὐτῶν ἰδρυμένη ἔφη χείρος ἐριστάσθαι τὸν θεόν;

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a Suppliants, 226.
b Cf. Pliny, Natural History, xxix. 1 (16); 4 (72); Livy, x. 47, Epitome, xi.
c The Insula Tiberina.

140
it leaves its own kind untouched; for no one has ever seen a vulture feeding on a bird, as eagles and hawks do, pursuing and striking their own kind particularly. And yet, as Aeschylus a says,

How can a bird that feeds on birds be pure?

And we may say that it is the most harmless of birds to men, since it neither destroys any fruit or plant nor injures any domesticated animal. But if, as the Egyptians fable, the whole species is female, and they conceive by receiving the breath of the East Wind, even as the trees do by receiving the West Wind, then it is credible that the signs from them are altogether unwavering and certain. But in the case of the other birds, their excitements in the mating season, as well as their abductions, retreats, and pursuits, have much that is disturbing and unsteady.

94. Why is the shrine of Aesculapius b outside the city?

Is it because they considered it more healthful to spend their time outside the city than within its walls? In fact the Greeks, as might be expected, have their shrines of Asclepius situated in places which are both clean and high.

Or is it because they believe that the god came at their summons from Epidaurus, and the Epidaurians have their shrine of Asclepius not in the city, but at some distance?

Or is it because the serpent came out from the trireme into the island, c and there disappeared, and thus they thought that the god himself was indicating to them the site for building?
(286) 95. "Διὰ τί νενόμισται τοὺς ἀγνεύοντας ὀσπρίων ἀπέχεσθαι;"

Πότερον, ὡς οἱ Πυθαγορικοί, τοὺς μὲν κνάμους ἀφωσιοῦντο διὰ τὰς λεγομένας αἰτίας, τὸν δὲ Ελάθυρον καὶ τὸν ἑρέβινθον ὡς παρωνύμους τοῦ ἑρέβους καὶ τῆς λήθης;

"Ἡ ὁτι πρὸς τὰ περὶδειπνα καὶ τὰς προκλήσεις τῶν νεκρῶν μάλιστα χρώνται τοὺς ὀσπρίους;

"Ἡ μᾶλλον ὁτι δεῖ πρὸς τὰς ἀγνείας καὶ ἀγιστείας καθαρὰ καὶ λιτὰ τὰ σώματα ἔχειν; ἦστι δὲ τὰ ὀσπρια πνευματώδη καὶ περίττευμα ποιεῖ πολλῆς καθάρσεως δεόμενον.

"Ἡ ὁτι καὶ πρὸς συνουσίαν παρορμᾷ διὰ τὸ φυσώδες καὶ πνευματικόν;

96. "Διὰ τί τῶν παναγῶν παρθένων τὰς δια-Γθαρείσας ἀλλως οὐ κολάξουσιν, ἀλλὰ ζώσας κατορύπτουσι;

Πότερον ὁτι καίονσι τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, θάπτειν δὲ πυρὶ τὴν τὸ πῦρ τὸ θεῖον ὅσιως μὴ φυλάξασαν οὐκ ἢν δίκαιον;

"Ἡ σῶμα ταῖς μεγίσταις καθωσιωμένον ἀγιστείαις ἀναίρειν καὶ προσφέρειν ἵππα γυναῖκι χείρας οὐ θεμιτὸν ἐνόμιζον; αὐτὴν οὖν ἀποθανεῖν μη-χανώμενοι δι' αὐτῆς, κατεβίβαζον ὑπὸ γῆν εἰς οὐκημα πεποιημένον, ὅπου καὶ λύχνος ἐκεῖτο καϊό-

\[a\] Cf. Pliny, Natural History, xviii. 12 (118-119); Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 12.

\[b\] Cf., for example, Juvenal, xv. 9 "porrum et caepe nefas violare et frangere morsu"; Horace, Satires, ii. 6. 63; Epistles, i. 12. 21.

\[c\] The numerous reasons suggested may be found in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, vol. iii. coll. 619-620.

\[d\] Plutarch elsewhere uses a similar expression (παρθένος
95. Why is it the customary rule that those who are practising holy living must abstain from legumes? Did they, like the followers of Pythagoras, religiously abstain from beans for the reasons which are commonly offered, and from vetch and chickpea, because their names (lathyros and erebinthos) suggest Lethe and Erebus?

Or is it because they make particular use of legumes for funeral feasts and invocations of the dead?

Or is it rather because one must keep the body clean and light for purposes of holy living and lustration? Now legumes are a flatulent food and produce surplus matter that requires much purgation.

Or is it because the windy and flatulent quality of the food stimulates desire?

96. Why do they inflict no other punishment on those of the Holy Maidens who have been seduced, but bury them alive?

Is it because they cremate their dead, and to use fire in the burial of a woman who had not guarded the holy fire in purity was not right?

Or did they believe it to be against divine ordinance to annihilate a body that had been consecrated by the greatest of lustral ceremonies, or to lay hands upon a holy woman? Accordingly they devised that she should die of herself; they conducted her underground into a chamber built there, in which had been placed a lighted lamp, a loaf of bread, ëpeia) for the vestal virgins, e.g. in his Life of Publicola, chap. viii. (101 b) or Moralia, 89 e.

Cf. Life of Numa, chap. x. (67 A-c); Ovid, Fasti, vi. 457-460; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, ii. 67. 4, viii. 89. 5; Pliny, Epistles, iv. 11. 6.
μενος καὶ ἄρτος καὶ γάλακτος τι καὶ ὑδατος· εἰτά 287 γῆ τὸ οἴκημα κατέκρυπτον ἀνωθεν. καὶ οὐδέ τούτων τὸν τρόπον ἄφοσισμάνειν τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐκπεφεύγας, ἀλλὰ μέχρι νῦν ἐναγίζουσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐκεῖ βαδίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον.

97. "Διὰ τί ταῖς Δεκεμβρίαις εἴδοις ἱππο-δρομίας γενομένης ὁ νικήσας δεξιόσειρος1 Ἀρει θύεται, καὶ τὴν μὲν οὐρὰν ἀποκόψας τις ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρηγίαν2 καλουμένην κομίζει καὶ τὸν βωμὸν αἰμάτ-τει, περὶ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ὀδοῦ λεγομένης οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀυβούρης3 κατα-βάντες διαμάχονται;

Πότερον, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἱππῶ τὴν Τροίαν ἠλωκέναι νομίζοντες ἱππον κολάζουσιν, ἀτε δὴ καὶ γεγονότες

Β Τρῶων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα μεμιγμένα παισὶ Λατίνων.

"Ἡ ὁτι θυμοειδὲς καὶ πολεμικὸν καὶ ἄρημον ὁ ἱππος ἐστὶ τὰ δὲ προσφιλή μάλιστα καὶ πρόσφορα θύνουσι τοῖς θεοῖς, δ' ὁ νικήσας θύεται διὰ τὸ νίκης καὶ κράτους4 οἴκειον εἶναι τὸν θεόν;

"Η μάλλον ὁτι τοῦ θεοῦ στάσιμον τὸ ἐργον ἐστὶ καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ μένοντες ἐν τάξει τοὺς μὴ μένοντας ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας, καὶ κολάζεται τὸ τάχος ὡς δειλίας ἐφόδιον, καὶ μανθάνουσι συμβολικῶς ὅτι σωτήριον οὐκ ἐστὶ τοῖς φεύγουσιν;

1 δεξιόσειρος Abresch: δεξιῶς ἱερὸς.
2 Ἐρηγίαν Life of Numa, chap. xiv.: ῥήγεων.
3 Συβούρης as elsewhere: οἰβούρης.
4 κράτους Meziriacus and Ἐ: κράτος.
and some milk and water. Thereafter they covered over the top of the chamber with earth. And yet not even by this manner of avoiding the guilt have they escaped their superstitious fear, but even to this day the priests proceed to this place and make offerings to the dead.

97. Why is it that after the chariot-race on the Ides of December a the right-hand trace-horse of the winning team is sacrificed to Mars, and then someone cuts off its tail, and carries it to the place called Regia and sprinkles its blood on the altar, while some come down from the street called the Via Sacra, and some from the Subura, and fight for its head? Is it, as some b say, that they believe Troy to have been taken by means of a horse; and therefore they punish it, since, forsooth, they are

Noble scions of Trojans commingled with children of Latins. c

Or is it because the horse is a spirited, warlike, and martial beast, and they sacrifice to the gods creatures that are particularly pleasing and appropriate for them; and the winner is sacrificed because Mars is the specific divinity of victory and prowess? Or is it rather because the work of the god demands standing firm, and men that hold their ground defeat those that do not hold it, but flee? And is swiftness punished as being the coward's resource, and do they learn symbolically that there is no safety for those who flee?

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a Presumably an error of Plutarch's: he means the tenth month, October: cf. Festus, s.v. October equus, p. 178. 5.

b Such as the historian Timaeus: cf. Polybius xii. 4b.

c A verse made in imitation of Homer, Il. xviii. 337 (or xxiii. 23), blended with a part of x. 424.
98. "Διὰ τί οἱ τιμηταὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν παραλαβόντες οὐδὲν ἀλλὰ πράττοισι πρότερον ἢ τὴν τροφὴν ἀπο- 

c μισθοῦσι τῶν ἱερῶν χηνῶν καὶ τὴν γάνωσιν τοῦ ἀγάλματος;"

Πότερον ἀπὸ τῶν εὐτελεστάτων ἀρχόμενοι καὶ 

μὴ πολλῆς δεομένων δαπάνης μηδὲ πραγματείας;

"Ἡ παλαια τις αὕτη χάρις ἀπομνημονεύεται τοῖς 

ζῷοις ἀπὸ τῶν Κελτικῶν, ὅτι τοὺς βαρβάρους 

ὑπερβαίνοντας ἢδη τὸ περιτείχισμα τοῦ Καπε-

τωλίου νύκτωρ οἱ χήνες ἅσθοντο τῶν κυνῶν καθ-

eυδόντων καὶ βοη τοὺς φύλακας ἐπήγειραν;

"Ἡ φύλακες οὔτε οἱ τιμηταὶ τῶν μεγίστων, καὶ 

προσήκοντα ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν αὐτοῖς 

ἱερὰ καὶ δημόσια καὶ βίους καὶ ἡθὴ καὶ διαίτας, τὸ 

φυλακτικώτατον ζῶον εὐθὺς ἐν λόγῳ τίθενται, καὶ 

άμα τῇ τούτων ἐπιμελείᾳ προτρέπονται τοὺς πολί-

δεῖ ταὶ μὴ ἄμελειν μηδὲ ῥάθυμεῖν τῶν ἱερῶν;

"Ἡ δὲ γάνωσι τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἀναγκαῖα: ταχύ 

γὰρ ἐξάνθει τὸ μιλτυνό, ὃ τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἀγαλ-

μάτων ἐχρωζὼν.

99. "Διὰ τί τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν τῶν καταδικα-

σθέντα καὶ φυγόντα παύοντες ἔτερον αἱροῦνται, 

tοῦ δ’ αὐγουροῦ, ἕως ζῆσα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις 

ἀδικήμασι καταγνώσω, οὐκ ἀφαιροῦνται τὴν ἱερω-

1 πρότερον Madvig: πρῶτων.

2 προσήκον] προσήκοντῶν in all mss. but one (προσήκοντος Meziriacus).

a Cf. Pliny, Natural History, x. 22 (51).

b The statue of Jupiter Capitolinus: Pliny, Natural History, xxxiii. 7 (112).

146
98. Why do the censors, when they take office, do nothing else before they contract for the food of the sacred geese \(^a\) and the polishing of the statue ? \(^b\)

Is it that they begin with the most trivial things, matters that require little expense or trouble ?

Or is this a commemoration of an old debt of gratitude owed to these creatures for their services in the Gallic wars ? \(^c\) For when in the night the barbarians were already climbing over the rampart of the Capitol, the geese perceived the invaders, although the dogs were asleep, and waked the guards by their clamour.

Or is it because the censors are guardians of the most important matters, and, since it is their duty to oversee and to busy themselves with sacred and State affairs and with the lives, morals, and conduct of the people, they immediately take into account the most vigilant of creatures, and at the same time by their care of the geese they urge the citizens not to be careless or indifferent about sacred matters ?

But the polishing \(^d\) of the statue is absolutely necessary; for the red pigment, with which they used to tint ancient statues, rapidly loses its freshness.

99. Why is it that, if any one of the other priests is condemned and exiled, they depose him and elect another, but the augur, as long as he lives, even if they find him guilty of the worst offences, they do not

\(^a\) Cf. 325 c-d, infra: Life of Camillus, xxvii. (142 d ff.);
\(^b\) Livy, v. 47; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, xiii. 7-8: Diodorus, xiv. 116.

\(^c\) The high polish of the Roman statues is very noticeable in contrast with the duller surface of Greek statues. This is one of the factors in the controversy over the genuineness of the Hermes of Praxiteles at Olympia.
(287) σύνην; 'αὔγουρας' δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰωνῶν καλοῦσι."  
Πότερον, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσι, βουλοῦνται μηδένα τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπόρρητα γιγνώσκειν, οὐκ ἐστιν ἱερεὺς;  
"Η κατειλημμένον ὁρκοὺς τὸν αὔγουρα μηδενὶ φράσειν τὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπολύσαι τῶν ὁρκῶν οὐ Ε ἠθέλουσιν ἰδιώτην γενόμενον;  
"Η τιμὴς οὐκ ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀρχὴς ἀλλ' ἐπιστήμης ὀνόμα καὶ τέχνης ο αὔγουρ; ὁμοίων οὖν τῷ τῶν μουσικῶν ἀποψηφίζονται μουσικὸν μή εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν ἰατρὸν τὸ κωλύειν μάντιν εἶναι τὸν μάντιν, ἀφελέσθαι μὴ δυναμένους τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ, κἂν ἀφελώνται τὴν προσηγορίαν. ἄλλον δ' οὐ καθιστᾶσιν εἰκότως τὸν ἐς ἀρχὴς ἀριθμὸν τῶν αὔγουρων φυλάττοντες.

100. "Διὰ τί ταῖς Ἀγνοούσταις εἴδοὺς, Σεξτιλίας δὲ πρότερον λεγομέναις, ἐορτάζουσιν αἱ τε δοῦλαι F καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι πάντες, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες μάλιστα ρύπτεσθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ καθαίρειν ἐπιτηδεύουσιν;"  
"Η διὰ τὸ2 Σεροῦνόν τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ ταῦτην τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς αἰχμαλώτον γενέσθαι θεραπανίδος ἀδειαν ἑργών ἥχουσιν ὁι θεράπουντες, τὸ δὲ πλῦνεν τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῶν θεραπανίδων διὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀχρὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων προῆλθεν;  

101. "Διὰ τί κοσμοῦσι τοὺς παιδάς τοῖς περι- 

1 καθαίρειν] καθαίρεσθαι in one ms. (E).  
2 τὸ Bernardakis and one ms.: τὸν.
They call "augurs" the men who are in charge of the omens.

Is it, as some say, because they wish no one who is not a priest to know the secrets of the holy rites?

Or, because the augur is bound by oaths to reveal the sacred matters to no one, are they unwilling to release him from his oath as would be the case if he had been reduced to private status?

Or is "augur" a name denoting, not a rank or office, but knowledge and skill? Then to prevent a soothsayer from being a soothsayer would be like voting that a musician shall not be a musician, nor a physician a physician; for they cannot deprive him of his ability, even if they take away his title. They naturally appoint no successor since they keep the original number of augurs.

100. Why is it that on the Ides of August, formerly called Sextilis, all the slaves, female and male, keep holiday, and the Roman women make a particular practice of washing and cleansing their heads?

Do the servants have release from work because on this day King Servius was born from a captive maidservant? And did the washing of their heads begin with the slave-women, because of their holiday, and extend itself to free-born women?

101. Why do they adorn their children's necks with amulets which they call bullae?

Was it, like many another thing, in honour of their

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*b* Cf. 323 B-c, *infra*.

*c* Cf. *Life of Romulus*, xx. (30 c); Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiii. 1 (10); Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, i. 6. 7-17.
όσπερ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ τούτ' ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς ἐξ αυτῶν γεννωμένωις ὑπάρχειν;

"Ἡ τήν Ταρκυνίον τιμῶντες ἀνδραγαθίαν; λέγεται γὰρ ἐτί παῖς ὅν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ πρὸς Λατίνους 238 ἀμα καὶ Τυρρηνοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπορρεῖς δὲ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους ἱταμώς ὑποστὰς ἐπιρρωσά τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους; γενομένης δὲ λαμπρᾶς τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων καὶ μυρίων ἐξαισχυνών ἀναίρεθέντων, τοῦτο λαβεῖν ἀριστείον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ βασιλέως.

"Ἡ τοῖς παλαιοῖς οἰκετῶν μὲν ἔραν ὦραν ἔχοντων οὐκ ἦν ἀδοξών οὐδ' αἰσχρόν, ὥς ἔτι νῦν αἱ κωμῳδίαι μαρτυροῦσιν, ἔλευθερων δὲ παῖδων ἰσχυρῶς ἀπείχοντο,1 καὶ ὅπως μηδὲ γυμνοὶ ἐντυχόντες Β ἀμφιγνωσεύων, ἐφόρουν οἱ παῖδες τὸ παράσημον;

"Ἡ καὶ πρὸς εὐταξίαν ἐστὶ φυλακτήριον τοῦτο, καὶ τρόπον των τοῦ ἀκολάστου χαλινός, αἰσχυνομένων ἀνδροῦσθαι πρῶν ἡ το παιδικὸν ἀποθέοσθαι παράσημον;

"Ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἱ περὶ Βάρρωνα λέγουσιν οὐ πιθανόν ἐστι, τῆς βουλῆς2 ὑπὸ Αἰολέων βόλλας προσαγορευμένης, τοῦτο σύμβολον εὐβουλίας περιτίθεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας.

'Αλλ' ορὰ μὴ καὶ τούτῳ διὰ τὴν σελήνην φοροῦσι. τὸ γὰρ φαινόμενον σχῆμα τῆς σελήνης, ὅταν Ἡ διχόμην, οὐ σφαιροειδὲς ἀλλὰ φακοειδὲς ἐστὶ καὶ

1 ἰσχυρῶς ἀπείχοντο| παντελῶς ἀπέσχοντο in one ms. (E), and παντελῶς may well be right.

2 βουλής Xylander and Meziriacus: βουλής.
wives, who had been made theirs by force, that they voted this also as a traditional ornament for the children born from them?

Or is it to honour the manly courage of Tarquin? For the tale is told that, while he was still but a boy, in the battle against the combined Latin and Etruscan forces he charged straight into the enemy; and although he was thrown from his horse, he boldly withstood those that hurled themselves upon him, and thus gave renewed strength to the Romans. A brilliant rout of the enemy followed, sixteen thousand were killed, and he received this amulet as a prize of valour from his father the king.

Or did the Romans of early times account it not disreputable nor disgraceful to love male slaves in the flower of youth, as even now their comedies testify, but they strictly refrained from boys of free birth; and that they might not be in any uncertainty, even when they encountered them unclad, did the boys wear this badge?

Or is this a safeguard to insure orderly conduct, a sort of bridle on incontinence, that they may be ashamed to pose as men before they have put off the badge of childhood?

What Varro and his school say is not credible: that since boule (counsel) is called bolla by the Aeolians, the boys put on this ornament as a symbol of good counsel.

But consider whether they may not wear it because of the moon. For the visible shape of the moon at the first quarter is not like a sphere, but like a lentil-

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a The so-called togatae, of which no complete specimen has survived; the palliatae of Plautus and Terence, being based on the Greek New Comedy, would prove nothing.
(288) δισκοειδές, ὡς δ’ Ἑμπεδοκλῆς οἴεται, καὶ τὸ ὑποκείμενον.

102. "Διὰ τι τῶν παίδων τοῖς μὲν ἄρρεσιν ἐνα- C ταῖς, τοῖς δὲ θῆλεσιν ὀγδοαῖοις τὰ ὀνόματα τίθενται;"

"Η τὸ μὲν προτέρους τοῖς θῆλεσιν αἰτίαν ἔχει τὴν φύσιν; καὶ γὰρ αὐξεῖ τὸ θῆλυ καὶ ἀκμάζει καὶ τελειοῦται πρότερον τοῦ ἄρρενος. τῶν δ’ ἡμε- ρῶν τὰς μετὰ τὴν ἐβδόμην λαμβάνουσιν· ἡ γὰρ ἐβδόμη σφαλερὰ τοῖς νεογνοῖς πρὸς τε τάλλα καὶ τῶν ὀμφαλῶν· ἐβδομαίος γὰρ ἀπολύεται τοῖς πλείστοις· ἐώς δ’ ἀπολυθῇ, φυτῷ μάλλον ἡ ζωή προσέοικε τὸ νῆπιον.

D "Η καθάπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι τοῦ ἀρίθμοῦ τοῦ μὲν ἄρτιον θῆλυν ἄρρενα δὲ τὸν περιττὸν ἐνόμιζον; γόνυμος γὰρ ἔστι καὶ κρατεῖ τοῦ ἄρτιον συν- τιθέμενος. καὶ διαρρομένων εἰς τὰς μονάδας ο̣ μὲν ἄρτιος καθάπερ τὸ θῆλυ χῶραν μεταξὺ κενὴν ἐνδίδωσι, τοῦ δὲ περιττοῦ μόριον ἀεὶ τὶ πλῆρες ὑπολείπεται. διὸ τὸν μὲν ἄρρεν τὸν δὲ θῆλει πρόσφορον νομίζουσιν.

"Η ὅτι τῶν ἄρθρων ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν ἐννέα πρώ- τος ἀπὸ τετράγωνος ἀπὸ περιττοῦ καὶ τελείου τῆς τριάδος, τὰ δ’ ὀκτὼ πρῶτος κύβος ἀπὸ ἄρτιον τῆς δυάδος; δεὶ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα² τετράγωνον εἶναι καὶ περιττοῦ καὶ τέλειον, τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα καθάπερ Ε τὸν κύβον ἔδραίοιν καὶ οἰκουρὸν καὶ δυσμετακίνητον.

1 δ’] δ’ ἄν Bernardakis, but not necessarily required.
2 ἄνδρα added by Polus and found in one ms.

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a Cf. Moralia, 891 c; Diogenes Laertius, viii. 77; Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 210, Α 60.

152
seed or a quoit; and, as Empedocles\textsuperscript{a} thinks, so also is the matter of which the moon is composed.

102. Why do they name boys when they are nine days old, but girls when they are eight days old?

Does the precedence of the girls have Nature as its cause? It is a fact that the female grows up, and attains maturity and perfection before the male. As for the days, they take those that follow the seventh; for the seventh is dangerous for newly-born children in various ways and in the matter of the umbilical cord; for in most cases this comes away on the seventh day; but until it comes off, the child is more like a plant than an animal.\textsuperscript{b}

Or did they, like the adherents of Pythagoras, regard the even number as female and the odd number as male?\textsuperscript{c} For the odd number is generative, and, when it is added to the even number, it prevails over it. And also, when they are divided into units, the even number, like the female, yields a vacant space between, while of the odd number an integral part always remains. Wherefore they think that the odd is suitable for the male, and the even for the female.

Or is it that of all numbers nine\textsuperscript{d} is the first square from the odd and perfect triad, while eight is the first cube from the even dyad? Now a man should be four-square,\textsuperscript{e} eminent, and perfect; but a woman, like a cube, should be stable, domestic, and difficult to remove from her place. And this should be added,

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Aulus Gellius, xvi. 16. 2-3.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. 264 A, supra.
\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Moralia, 744 A-B.
103. "Διὰ τί τοὺς ἀπάτωρας 'σπορίους' νιώθεις καλοῦσιν;"

Οὐ γὰρ, ὃς Ἐλληνες νομίζουσι καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ἰδιότεροι ἐν ταῖς δίκαιοις, συμφορητοῦ τινος καὶ κοινοῦ σπέρματος γεγόνασιν, ἀλλ' ἔστω ὁ Σπόριος τῶν πρώτων ὀνομάτων, ὡς ὁ Σέξτος καὶ ὁ Δέκιμος καὶ ὁ Γάιος. τὰ δὲ πρῶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐχ ὀλογραφοῦσιν ἀλλ' ἢ δι' ἐνὸς γράμματος, ὡς τὸν Τίτον καὶ τὸν Λουκιον καὶ τὸν Μάρκον, ἢ διὰ δυνών, ὡς τὸν Τιβέριον καὶ τὸν Γναίον, ἢ διὰ τριῶν, ὡς τὸν Σέξτον καὶ τὸν Σερούμον. ἔστω οὖν καὶ ὁ Σπόριος τῶν διά δυνῶ γραφομένων, τοῦ σι F καὶ τοῦ π. γράφουσι δὲ διὰ τούτων καὶ τοὺς ἀπάτωρας "σύνε πάτρε" οἴον ἀνευν πατρός, τῷ μὲν τὸ "σύνε" τῷ δὲ π τὸ "πάτρε" μὴ σημαίνοντες. τοῦτ' οὖν τὴν πλάνην ἑποίησε, τὸ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν γραμμάτων τὸ " σύνε πάτρε" καὶ τὸν Σπόριον γράφεσθαι.

Λεκτέων δὲ καὶ τὸν ἔτερον λόγον, ἔστι δ' ἀτοπώτερος: τοὺς γὰρ Σαβίνους φασὶ τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς αἰδοῖον ὀνομάζειν σπόριον, εἰθ' οἶον ἐφυβρίζοντας οὕτω προσαγορεῦει τὸν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀγάμου καὶ ἀνεγγύον γεγενημένον.

104. "Διὰ τί τὸν Διώνυσον 'Λίβερομπ Πάτρεμ' καλοῦσι;"

1 πάτρε an obvious correction: πάτρις.
that eight is the cube of two and nine the square of three; women have two names, men have three.

103. Why do they call children of unknown fathers *spurii*? a

Now the reason is not, as the Greeks believe and lawyers in court are wont to assert, that these children are begotten of some promiscuous and common seed; but Spurius is a first name like Sextus and Decimus and Gaius. They do not write first names in full, but by one letter, as Titus (T.) and Lucius (L.) and Marcus (M.); or by two, as Tiberius (Ti.) and Gnaeus (Cn.); or by three, as Sextus (Sex.) and Servius (Ser.). Spurius, then, is one of those written by two letters: Sp. And by these two letters they also denote children of unknown fathers, *sine patre,* b that is "without a father"; by the *s* they indicate *sine* and by the *p* *patre.* This, then, caused the error, the writing of the same abbreviation for *sine patre* and for Spurius.

I must state the other explanation also, but it is somewhat absurd: They assert that the Sabines use the word *spurius* for the *pudenda muliebria,* and it later came about that they called the child born of an unmarried, unespoused woman by this name, as if in mockery.

104. Why do they call Bacchus *Liber Pater* ("Free Father")? c

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a Cf. Gaius, *Institutiones,* i. 64; Valerius Maximus, *De Praenominiibus,* 6 (p. 590 of Kempf's ed.).

b The mss. have *sine patris:* did Plutarch, or some Greek copyist, confuse the Latin genitive and ablative, since they are one in Greek?

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Πότερον ὡς ἐλευθερίας πατέρα τοῖς πιοῦσι γιγ-289 νόμενον; γίγνονται γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ θρασεῖς καὶ παρρησίας ὑποπυλώνται περὶ τὰς μέθας· ἦ ὁτι τὴν λοιβὴν παρέσχεν· ἦ, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρός φήσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ 1 Ἐλευθερᾶς τῆς Βουκίας Ἐλευ-
θερέως Διωνύσου προσαγορευομένου;

105. "Διὰ τίνα αἰτίαι ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις ἔορται ἕθος οὐκ ἐστὶ γαμεῖσθαι παρθένους, αἰ δὲ χήραι γαμοῦνται;"

Πότερον, ὡς ὁ Βάρρων εἴρηκεν, ὦτι λυποῦμεναι μὲν αἰ παρθένου γαμοῦνται, χαίρουσαι 2 δ' αἰ γυ-

ναίκες, ἐορτῇ δὲ δει 3 μηδὲν λυποῦμένους ποιεῖν μηδὲ πρὸς ἀνάγκην;

"Ἡ μᾶλλον ὦτι ταῖς μὲν παρθένοις καλὸν μη Β ὠλίγων ταῖς δὲ χήραις αἰσχρὸν πολλῶν παρόντων 4
γαμεῖσθαι; ἦγιουτὸς γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος γάμος ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἀπευκταῖος· αἰσχύνονται γὰρ, ἃν ἔως τῶν προτέρων ἐτέρους λαμβάνωσιν, ὀδύρονται δὲ, ἃν ἀποθανόντων. ὅπεν ἦσυχα χαίρουσι μᾶλλον ἔ
θορύβους καὶ προπομπαῖς. αἰ δ' ἐορταὶ περισσῶσι

τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὥστε τοῖς τοιούτοις μὴ σχολάζειν.

"Ἡ ὦτι καὶ τὰς Σαβίνων θυγατέρας ἁρπάσαντες ἐν ἐορτῇ παρθένους οὐσας εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν,

ἐξουσίσαντο τὸ γαμεῖν παρθένους ἐν ιεραίς ἡμέραις;

1 peri] par' in one ms. (E).
2 χαϊρουσαι E: χαϊρουνι.
3 δὲ δει Wyttenbach: δὲ.
4 παρόντων Meziriacus: ὄντων.
Is it because he is the father of freedom to drinkers? For most people become bold and are abounding in frank speech when they are in their cups.\(^a\) Or is it because he has provided the means for libations? Or is it derived, as Alexander \(^b\) asserts, from Dionysus Eleutheræus,\(^c\) so named from Eleutherae in Boeotia?

105. For what reason is it not the custom for maidens to marry on public holidays, but widows do marry at this time?\(^d\)

Is it, as Varro has remarked, that maidens are grieved over marrying, but older women are glad, and on a holiday one should do nothing in grief or by constraint?

Or is it rather because it is seemly that not a few should be present when maidens marry, but disgraceful that many should be present when widows marry? Now the first marriage is enviable; but the second is to be deprecated, for women are ashamed if they take a second husband while the first husband is still living, and they feel sad if they do so when he is dead. Wherefore they rejoice in a quiet wedding rather than in noise and processions. Holidays distract most people, so that they have no leisure for such matters.

Or, because they seized the maiden daughters of the Sabines at a holiday festival, and thereby became involved in war, did they come to regard it as ill-omened to marry maidens on holy days?

\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 716 b.

\(^b\) Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. iii. p. 244; Alexander Polyhistor.

\(^c\) Cf. the inscription on the chair of the priest of Dionysus in the theatre at Athens, Ἱερέως Διονύσου Ἐλευθερέως.

\(^d\) Cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 15. 21.
106. "Διὰ τι Ἦρωμαιοι Τύχην σέβονται Πρωτογένειαν, ἢν ἄν τις εἴποι πρωτογένειαν;"

Ο Ἄρ' ὁτι Σερούῳ κατὰ τύχην, ὡς φασιν, ἐκ θεραπαινίδος γενομένω βασιλεύσαι τῆς Ἦρωμης ἑπιφανῶς ὑπήρξεν; οὕτω γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ Ἦρωμαιῶν ὑπειλήφασιν.

"Η μᾶλλον ὁτι τῆς Ἦρωμης ἡ τύχη παρέσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν γένεσιν;

"Η φυσικῶτεροι ἐξει λόγον τὸ πράγμα καὶ φιλοσοφῶτεροι, ὡς τὴν τύχην πάντων οὕσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τύχην συνισταμένην, ὅταν τισίν ὡς ἐτυχεὶν ἀποκειμένοις1 τάξις ἐγγένηται;

107. "Διὰ τι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίτας ἵστρίωνας Ἦρωμαιοι καλοῦσιν;"

"Η δὲ ἂν αἰτίαν Κλούβιος Ἦρουφος ἱστόρηκε; Δ φησὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πάντως παλαιοῖς χρόνοις Γαῖον τε Σουλπτικίου καὶ Λυκινίου Στόλωνος υπατευόντων, λοιμώδη νόσον ἐν Ἦρωμη γενομένην πάντας ὅμαλλως διαφθείραν τοὺς ἐπὶ σκηνὴν προερχομένους. δεηθεῖσαι οὖν αὐτοῖς ἐκ Τυρρηνίας ἐλθείν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τεχνίτας, ὅν τὸν πρωτεύοντα δόξῃ καὶ χρόνον2 πλείστον ἐνευμεροῦντα τοῖς θεάτροις "Ἱστρίωνας ἁπ' ἔκεινον προσαγορεύεσθαι.

1 ἀποκειμένοις] ἀποκειμένοις E. Kurtz.
2 χρόνον Dübner: χρόνῳ.
106. Why do the Romans reverence Fortuna Primigenia,\(^a\) or "First-born," as one might translate it?

Is it because by Fortune, as they say, it befell Servius, born of a maidservant, to become a famous king of Rome? This is the assumption which the majority of Romans make.

Or is it rather because Fortune supplied the origin and birth of Rome?\(^b\)

Or does the matter have an explanation more natural and philosophic, which assumes that Fortune is the origin of everything, and Nature acquires its solid frame by the operation of Fortune, whenever order is created in any store of matter gathered together at haphazard.

107. Why do the Romans call the Dionysiac artists\(^c\) histriones\(^d\) ?

Is it for the reason that Cluvius Rufus\(^e\) has recorded? For he states that in very ancient times, in the consulship of Gaius Sulpicius and Licinius Stolo,\(^f\) a pestilential disease arose in Rome and destroyed to a man all persons appearing on the stage. Accordingly, at the request of the Romans, there came many excellent artists from Etruria, of whom the first in repute and the one who for the longest time enjoyed success in their theatres, was named Hister; and therefore all actors are named histriones from him.

\(^a\) Cf. 281 f, *supra*, 322 f, *infra*; Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 11; Livy, xxxiv. 53.

\(^b\) Cf. 320 B ff., *infra*.

\(^c\) Cf. *Moralia*, 87 f.

\(^d\) Cf. Livy, vii. 2; closely followed by Valerius Maximus, ii. 4. 4.


\(^f\) In 361 B.C.
108. "Διὰ τὶ δὲ τὰς ἐγγὺς γένους οὐ γαμοῦσι;"
Πότερον αὐξεῖν τοῖς γάμοις βουλόμενοι τὰς οἰκείότητας καὶ συγγενεῖς πολλοὺς ἐπικτάσθαι,
Ε διδόντες ἐτέρους καὶ λαμβάνοντες παρ' ἐτέρων γυναῖκας;
"Ἡ φοβοῦμενοι τὰς ἐν τοῖς γάμοις τῶν συγγενῶν διαφορὰς ὡς τὰ φύσει δίκαια προσαπολλυόνται;
"Ἡ πολλών βοηθῶν τὰς γυναίκας ὀρῶντες δὴ ἀσθένειαν δεομένας, οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τὰς ἐγγὺς
gένους συνοικίζειν, ὅπως, ἂν οἱ ἄνδρες ἁδικῶσιν αὐτάς, οἱ συγγενεῖς βοηθῶσιν;

109. "Διὰ τὶ τῶν ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διός, ὃν Φλάμινα
Διάλων καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἔξην ἀλευρὸν βιγεῖν, οὐδὲ
ζύμης;"
"Ἡ τὸ μὲν ἀλευρὸν ἀτελῆς τροφῆ καὶ ἀπεπτός
ἐστιν; οὔτε γὰρ ὃ ἦν μεμένηκεν ὁ πυρὸς οὐθ' ὃ δεῖ
γενέσθαι γέγονεν ὁ ἄρτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν σπέρματος
δύναμιν ἀπολώλεκεν ἁμα καὶ τὴν σιτίον χρείαν οὐκ
ἔσχηκε. διὸ καὶ "μυλῆφατον" ὁ ποητής "ἀλφι-
tον" ἐκ μεταφορᾶς ἔσχηκεν ὁ σπερμόμενον
ἐν τῷ ἄλειτω καὶ φθειρόμενον.
"Ἡ δὲ ζύμη καὶ γέγονεν ἐκ φθορᾶς αὐτή καὶ
φθείρει τὸ φύγαμα μειγματίαι. γίγνεται γὰρ ἄτονον
καὶ ἀδρανὲς καὶ ὅλως ἑοίκε σῆμις ή ζύμωσις εἶναι. пλεονάσασα γοῦν ἀποξύνει παντάπασι καὶ φθείρει
tὸ ἀλευρὸν.

1 ὕνόμασεν] ὕνόμακεν in all mss. except E.

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a Cf. Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 19.
b Homer, Od. ii. 355: "mill-slaughtered."
c Cf. Moralia, 659 b.
108. Why do they not marry women who are closely akin to them?

Do they wish to enlarge their relationships by marriage and to acquire many additional kinsmen by bestowing wives upon others and receiving wives from others?

Or do they fear the disagreements which arise in marriages of near kin, on the ground that these tend to destroy natural rights?

Or, since they observed that women by reason of their weakness need many protectors, were they not willing to take as partners in their household women closely akin to them, so that if their husbands wronged them, their kinsmen might bring them succour?

109. Why was it not permitted for the priest of Jupiter, whom they call the Flamen Dialis, to touch either flour or yeast? a

Is it because flour is an incomplete and crude food? For neither has it remained what it was, wheat, nor has it become what it must become, bread; but it has both lost the germinative power of the seed and at the same time it has not attained to the usefulness of food. Wherefore also the Poet by a metaphor applied to barley-meal the epithet mylephatos, b as if it were being killed or destroyed in the grinding.

Yeast is itself also the product of corruption, and produces corruption in the dough with which it is mixed; for the dough becomes flabby and inert, and altogether the process of leavening seems to be one of putrefaction c; at any rate if it goes too far, it completely sours and spoils the flour.

161
110. "Διὰ τί καὶ σαρκὸς ύμῆς ἀπείρηται τῷ ἱερεὶ ψαίνειν;

Πότερον ωμοφαγίας πάνυ πόρρωθεν ἀποτρέπει τὸ ἐθος, ἢ δὲ ἢν τὸ ἄλευρον αἰτίαν ἁφοσιοῦνται καὶ τὸ 230 κρέας; οὔτε γὰρ ἐστὶ ξύων οὔτε ὁμον ἢδη γέγονεν. ἢ γὰρ ἐφήσις καὶ ὀπτήσις ἀλλοώσις οὐδα καὶ μετακόσμησις ἐξίστησι τὴν μορφήν, τὸ δὲ πρόσφατον καὶ υμῶν οὐδὲ τὴν ὁμον ἔχει καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον, ἀλλ' εἰδεχθῇ καὶ ἐλκώδη.

111. "Διὰ τί δὲ κυνὸς καὶ αἴγος ἐκέλευνον ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἱερεία, μήθ' ἀπτόμενον μήθ' ὀνομάζοντα;

Πότερον τῆς μὲν αἴγος βδελυττόμενοι τὸ ἀκόλαστον καὶ δυσώδες, ἡ φοβούμενοι τὸ νοσηματικὸν; δοκεῖ γὰρ ἐπιληψία καταλαμβάνεσθαι μάλιστα τῶν ξύων καὶ προσαναχρώνυσθαι τοῖς φαιγοῦσιν ἢθυγοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους ἐχομένης.1 αἰτίαν δὲ Β ἱερέως τῆς στενότητα τῶν πνευματικῶν πόρων πολλάκις ἐπιλαμβανομένων,2 τεκμαιρόμενοι τῇ λεπτότητι τῆς φωνῆς. καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὅσοις ἐπιληπτικόσι συμβαίνει φθέγγεσθαι, μηκασμῷ παραπλησίων φωνῆν ἀφίασθαι.

Τῷ δὲ κυνὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀκολάστου καὶ δυσώδους ἢπτον ὅσως μέτεστι καὶ τοῖς φαιγοῦσιν ἔνιοι μήτε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως ἐπιβαίνει κύνα μήτε τῆς Δηλίων νήσου διὰ τῆς ἐμφανῆ μείξιν, ὦσπερ βοῶν καὶ συών καὶ ἵππων ἐν θαλάμοις ἀλλ'

1 ἐχομένης] ἐχομένους in most mss.
110. **Why is this priest also forbidden to touch raw flesh?**

Is this custom intended to deter people completely from eating raw meat, or do they scrupulously repudiate flesh for the same reason as flour? For neither is it a living creature nor has it yet become a cooked food. Now boiling or roasting, being a sort of alteration and mutation, eliminates the previous form; but fresh raw meat does not have a clean and unsullied appearance, but one that is repulsive, like a fresh wound.

111. **Why did they bid the priest avoid the dog and the goat, neither touching them nor naming them?**

Did they loathe the goat’s lasciviousness and foul odour, or did they fear its susceptibility to disease? For it is thought to be subject to epilepsy beyond all other animals, and to infect persons who eat it or touch it when it is possessed of the disease. The reason, they say, is the narrowness of the air passages, which are often suddenly contracted; this they deduce from the thinness of its voice. So also in the case of men, if they chance to speak during an epileptic fit, the sound they make is very like a bleat.

The dog has, perhaps, less of lasciviousness and foul odour. Some, however, assert that a dog may not enter either the Athenian acropolis or the island of Delos because of its open mating, as if cattle and swine and horses mated within the walls of a chamber.

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*a* Contrast Pliny, *Natural History*, xxviii. 16 (226), who says that goat’s meat was given for epilepsy.

*b* Cf. *Comparison of Demetrius and Antony*, chap. iv. (95-97 a); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Dinarcho*, 3.

*c* Cf. Strabo, x. 5. 5, p. 684 (Meineke).
(290) οὐκ ἐμφανῶς καὶ ἀνέδην ὄχευόντων. τὴν γὰρ ἀληθινὴν αἰτίαν ἁγιοῦσιν ὅτι μάχιμον ὄντα τὸν Κύνα τῶν ἁσυλον καὶ ἀγίων ἐξειργοῦσιν ιερῶν, ἀσφαλῆ καταφυγῆ τοῖς ἵκεταις διδόντες. εἰκὸς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν ἱερὰ τοῦ Διὸς ὀσπερ ἐμψυχον καὶ ἱερὸν ἁγαλματισμὸν ἀνεῖθαι τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ ἱκετεύοις, μηδενὸς ἀπείροντος μηδὲ ἐκφοβοῦντος. διὸ κλαύδιον μὲν ἢν αὐτοῦ κείμενον ἐν τῷ θυρῶν τῆς οἰκλας· ο ἰ ἐν προσπεσῶν τοῖς γόνασι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἄδειαν εἴχε πληγῶν καὶ κολάςεως· εἰ δὲ δεσμώτης φθαίατρος προσελθὼν, ἐλύστε· τοὺς δὲ δεσμίους ἐκτὸς οὐ κατὰ θύρας ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ στέγους ἀπερρίπτων. οὐδὲν οὖν ὁ ὕφελος ἢν οὕτως αὐτὸν ἡμέρον παρέχειν καὶ φιλανθρωπον, εἰ κύων προεικτήκει δεδιπτόμενος καὶ ἀπερύκων τοὺς προσφυγεῖν δεομένους.

D Οὐ μὴν οὖν ἴατο καθαρευεῖν ὕποντα παντάπασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἵδον· καὶ γὰρ Ἰολυμπίων μὲν οὐδενὶ θεῶν καθιέρωται, χθονίας δὲ δείπνων 'Ἐκάτη πεμπόμενος εἰς τριῶν ἀποτροπαίων καὶ καθαροίς ἐπέχει μοῦραν. ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι τῷ φονικωτάτῳ θεῶν 'Εὐναλίων σκύλακας ἐντέμνουσι· Βοωτώτις δὲ δημοσία καθαρμός ἔστι κυνὸς διχοτομηθέντος τῶν μερῶν διεξελθέων· αὐτοὶ δὲ Ἱωμάντοι τοῖς Λυκαίοις, ἢ Λουπερκάλα καλοῦσιν, ἐν τῷ καθαροίς μηνί κύνα θύουσιν. οἴδεν οὖν ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς τὸν ἑπέρτατον καὶ καθαρώτατον εἰληφόσι θερα-

1 ἁγαλμα Dübner: καὶ ἁγαλμα or ἁγαλμα καὶ.
2 φθαίατρος] ἐφθαθ in one ms. (E).
3 καὶ γὰρ Ἰολυμπίων μὲν Wytenbach: (καὶ) ὀλυμπίων μὲν γὰρ.
4 εἰληφόσι] εἰληχόσι H. Richards and Kronenber*.
and not openly and without restraint! For these persons are ignorant of the true reason: because the dog is a belligerent creature they exclude it from inviolable and holy shrines, thereby offering a safe place of refuge for suppliants. Accordingly it is likely that the priest of Jupiter also, since he is, as it were, the animate embodiment and sacred image of the god, should be left free as a refuge for petitioners and suppliants, with no one to hinder them or to frighten them away. For this reason his couch was placed in the vestibule of his house, and anyone who fell at his knees had immunity from beating or chastisement all that day; and if any prisoner succeeded in reaching the priest, he was set free, and his chains they threw outside, not by the doors, but over the roof. So it would have been of no avail for him to render himself so gentle and humane, if a dog had stood before him frightening and keeping away those who had need of a place of refuge.

Nor, in fact, did the men of old think that this animal was wholly pure, for it was never sacrificed to any of the Olympian gods; and when it is sent to the cross-roads as a supper for the earth-goddess Hecatê, it has its due portion among sacrifices that avert and expiate evil. In Sparta they immolate puppies to the bloodiest of the gods, Enyalius; and in Boeotia the ceremony of public purification is to pass between the parts of a dog which has been cut in twain. The Romans themselves, in the month of purification, at the Wolf Festival, which they call the Lupercalia, sacrifice a dog. Hence it is not out of keeping that those who have attained to the office of serving the

\[ \text{a Cf. 277 b, 280 c, supra;} \text{ Life of Romulus, xxi. (31 e).} \]

\[ \text{b February; cf. 280 b, supra.} \]
δια τίνα δ’ αἰτίαν οὐδὲ κυττῶν θυγεῖν ἐσείτο τῷ ιερεί τοῦ Διός, οὐδ’ ὁδὸν διελθεῖν ἀναδεινόραδος ἀνωθεν διατεταμένην;”

"Ἡ τούτο μὲν ὁμοίον ἔστι τῷ "μὴ ἐσθῆνεν ἐπὶ δίφρου,": "μηδ’ ἐπὶ χοῦνικος καθήσασθαι," "μηδὲ σάρον ὑπερβαίνειν," οὐ ταῦτα τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν δεδιότων καὶ φυλαττομένων ἀλλ’ ἔτερα τούτων ἀπαγορεύοντων; καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὑπ’ ἄμπελον ὑποπορεύεσθαι τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸν οἶνον εἶχεν, ὡς οὐ θεμιτὸν τῷ ιερεί μεθύσκεσθαι. τῶν γὰρ μεθυσκόμενων ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ὁ οἶνος ἔστι καὶ πιέζονται καὶ ταπεινοῦνται, δέον ὑπερτέρους εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν ἀεὶ τῆς ἱδρυνῆς ταῦτης ἀλλὰ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι.

Τὸν δὲ κυττὸν πότερον ὡς ἀκαρπὸν καὶ ἀχρηστὸν ἀνθρώποις, ἀδρανὴ δὲ καὶ δι’ ἀσθένειαν ἐτέρων χοῦντων δεόμενον, σκιὰ δὲ καὶ χλωρότητος ὁ βείς γομτεύοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, οὐκ ὄντο τεῖν ἀσύμβολον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις μάτην ἐντρέφεσθαι καὶ περιπλέκεσθαι, βλαβερὸν δὴν τοῖς προσδεχομένοις 291 φυτοῖς; ἡ ὡς τῆς γῆς ἐχόμενον; διὸ τῶν μὲν ὡς ὁλυμπίων ιερῶν εἰργεται, καὶ οὔτ’ ἐν Ἡρας Ἀθήνης οὔτε Ὧβης ἐν Ἀφροδίτης ὑδαί τις ἀν κυττῶν Ἀγριωνίοις ὡς καὶ Νυκτελίοις, ὡν τὰ πολλὰ διὰ σκότους δρᾶται, πάρεστιν.

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1 ἐσείτο as in 291 b, infra: ἐφέτο.
2 ἐπὶ δίφρου as in 354 b: ἀπὸ δίφρου.
3 ἡ ὡς added by Titchener and Pohlenz.
4 Ἀγριωνίοι Meziriacus and Wytenbach: ἀγριών οὐς.

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a Cf. Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 12.
highest and purest god should be forbidden to make a dog their familiar companion and housemate.

112. For what reason was it forbidden the priest of Jupiter to touch ivy or to pass along a road overhung by a vine growing on a tree? 

Is this second question like the precepts: “Do not eat seated on a stool,“ “Do not sit on a peck measure,“ “Do not step over a broom”? For the followers of Pythagoras did not really fear these things nor guard against them, but forbade other things through these. Likewise the walking under a vine had reference to wine, signifying that it is not right for the priest to get drunk; for wine is over the heads of drunken men, and they are oppressed and humbled thereby, when they should be above it and always master this pleasure, not be mastered by it.

Did they regard the ivy as an unfruitful plant, useless to man, and feeble, and because of its weakness needing other plants to support it, but by its shade and the sight of its green fascinating to most people? And did they therefore think that it should not be uselessly grown in their homes nor be allowed to twine about in a futile way, contributing nothing, since it is injurious to the plants forming its support? Or is it because it cleaves to the ground? Wherefore it is excluded from the ritual of the Olympian gods, nor can any ivy be seen in the temple of Hera at Athens, or in the temple of Aphrodite at Thebes; but it has its place in the Agronia and the Nyctelia, the rites of which are for the most part performed at night.

b Cf. 281 a, supra: Moralia, 727 c.
c It clings to the earth, unless it finds support, and is therefore unacceptable to the higher gods.
d Cf. 299 f, infra.  
e Cf. Moralia, 364 f.
(241) "Η καὶ τοῦτο συμβολικὴ θιάσων καὶ βακχευ- 
μάτων ἀπαγόρευσις ἢν; αἱ γὰρ ἕνοχοι τοῖς 
βακχικοῖς πάθεσι γυναῖκες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κυττὸν 
fέρονται, καὶ σπαράττουσι δραττόμεναι ταῖς χεραῖ 
καὶ διεσθίουσι τοῖς στόμασιν· ἢστε μὴ παντελῶς 
ἀπιθάνους εἰναι τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι καὶ πνεύμα 
Β μανίας ἐχὼν ἐγερτικὸν καὶ παρακινητικὸν ἔξιστη 
καὶ ταράττει,1 καὶ ὅλως ἀοίνων ἐπάγει μέθην καὶ 
χαρᾶν2 τοῖς ἐπισφαλῶς πρὸς ἐνθουσιασμὸν ἔχουσι.

113. "Διὰ τι τοῖς ἰερεύνοι τοῦτοι ἄρχὴν οὐκ 
ἐφείτο λαβένι οὐδὲ μετελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ ῥαβδοῦχῳ τε 
χρῦται καὶ δίφρων ἤγεμονικὸν ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ παρα-
μύθια τοῦ μὴ ἄρχειν ἔχουσι;" 

Πότερον, ὡς ἐναχοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀντίρροπον 
ἡν τὸ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἄξιωμα πρὸς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας, 
καὶ μὴ τοὺς3 τυχόντας ἱερεῖς ἀπεδείκνυσαν;

"Η μᾶλλον ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἰερεύων ὀρισμένων πράξεις 
ἐχόντων τῶν δ' ἄρχόντων4 ἀτάκτους καὶ ἀορίστους 
οὐκ ἥν δυνατόν εἴς ἐν ἁμα τῶν καιρῶν συμπεσόν-
των ἐκατέρω παρεῖναι τὸν αὐτὸν, ἄλλα ἑδει θάτερα 
πολλάκις ἀμφοτέρων ἐπειγόντων ἀπολείποντα νῦν 
μὲν ἀσεβείω5 τοὺς θεοὺς, νῦν δὲ βλάπτειν τοὺς 
pολίτας;

"Η6 ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ἐνορῶντες ἄρχαις οὐκ ἐλάτ-
tονα τής ἐξουσίας τῆς ἀνάγκης προσούσαν, καὶ τὸν 
ἄρχοντα δήμου, καθάπερ Ἰπποκράτης ἐφη τὸν

1 ταράττει Wytenbach (cf. 136 c): σπαράττει.
2 χαρᾶν Wytenbach (κάρον Meziriacus): χάριν.
3 τοὺς added by F.C.B.
4 τῶν δ' ἄρχόντων seems to be required by the context. Meziriacus wrote τῶν δ' ἄρχων and one ms. has τῶν δὲ 
dημοσίων.
5 ἀσεβείω Xylander: εὐσεβείων. 6 ἢ] οἱ all mss. but one.
Or was this also a symbolic prohibition of Bacchic revels and orgies? For women possessed by Bacchic frenzies rush straightway for ivy and tear it to pieces, clutching it in their hands and biting it with their teeth; so that not altogether without plausibility are they who assert that ivy, possessing as it does an exciting and distracting breath of madness, deranges persons and agitates them, and in general brings on a wineless drunkenness and joyousness in those that are precariously disposed towards spiritual exaltation.

113. Why were these priests not allowed to hold office nor to solicit it, yet they have the service of a lictor and the right to a curule chair as an honour and a consolation for holding no office? Is this similar to the conditions in some parts of Greece where the priesthood had a dignity commensurate with that of the kingship, and they appointed as priests no ordinary men?

Or was it rather that since priests have definite duties, whereas officials have duties which are irregular and undefined, if the occasions for these duties happened to coincide, it was impossible for the same man to be present at both, but oftentimes, when both duties were pressing, he had to neglect one of them and at one time commit impiety against the gods, and at another do hurt to his fellow-citizens?

Or did they observe that there is implicit in the government of men no less constraint than authority, and that the ruler of the people, as Hippocrates said

\[^{a}\text{Plutarch's fullest treatment of the properties of ivy will be found in } \textit{Moralia}, \text{648 b–649 f.}\]

\[^{b}\text{Cf. Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 4.}\]

\[^{c}\text{In the } \textit{De Flatibus} : \text{vol. vi. p. 213 (ed. Chartier)}; \text{vol. i. p. 569 (Kühn)}; \text{cf. Lucian, } \textit{Bis Accusatus}, 1.\]
(291) ἰατρόν, δεινὰ μὲν ὅρων τα δεινών1 δ’ ἀπτόμενον, ἐπ’ ἄλλωσιν δὲ κακοῖς ἰδίαις λύπας καρπούμενον, οὐχ ὅσιον ἠγούντο θύειν θεοῖς καὶ θερών κατάρχεσθαι γενόμενον ἐν καταδίκαις καὶ θανατώσεσι πολιτῶν, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συγγενῶν καὶ οἰκείων, οία καὶ Βροῦτῳ συνέτυχε;

1 δεινών] ἄδοιν in both Hippocrates and Lucian, cited in note e on page 169.
of the physician, must see dreadful things and touch
dreadful things and reap painful emotions of his own
from the ills of other men? Did they, then, think it
impious for a man to offer sacrifice to the gods, and to
take the lead in the sacred rites, if he was concerned
in pronouncing judgements and sentences of death
upon citizens, and often upon kinsmen and members
of his household, such as fell to the lot of Brutus? a

a The first consul, who condemned his own sons to death; cf. Livy, ii. 5; *Life of Publicola*, chap. vi. (99 e-f).
THE GREEK QUESTIONS

(QUAESTIONES GRAECAE)
INTRODUCTION

In the Greek Questions, as in the Roman Questions, Plutarch endeavours to give the reason or explanation of fifty-nine matters concerned with Greek life. The vast majority of them are customs or names and, as the explanations are usually historical, they often go back to very early times. A full commentary may be found in W. R. Halliday, The Greek Questions of Plutarch (Oxford, 1928), an excellent work, embodying also much of the modern speculation in regard to primitive religion.

The sources for the information contained in this essay seem to be somewhat varied, but there is little doubt that Aristotle’s account of the numerous Greek Constitutions was Plutarch’s principal source. The matter is treated at length by Halliday.

J. J. Hartman (Mnemosyne, xli. p. 216, or De Plutarcho scriptore et philosopho, p. 139) is the only modern scholar who has doubted the authenticity of the attribution to Plutarch of this work; the author was not primarily interested in ethical matters, according to Hartman, and hence cannot be Plutarch. J. B. Titchener has promised a discussion of this

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1 "Sed praeterea totus liber mera est doctrinae ostentatio, . . . Chaeronomensi mentium medicnic prorsus indigna."

THE GREEK QUESTIONS

matter, but stylistic considerations alone seem to make it uncertain whether the work is correctly attributed to Plutarch.

A few of the topics treated in the Greek Questions appear also in other works of Plutarch, but the number naturally is not large.

The ms. tradition is good; the few difficulties found are generally with single words.

The work is No. 166 in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's works, where the title is given as Αἰτίων Ἐλληνῶν.
1. "**Tīnes oī en Ἐπιδαύρῳ κοινόποδες καὶ ἄρτυ-Ενοι;**"

Οἱ μὲν τὸ πολίτευμα ἔχοντες⁴ ὀγδοῆκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρες ἦσαν· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἤροῦντο βου-λευτάς, οὐς "ἀρτύνους" ἐκάλων· τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ πλείστον ἐν ἄγρῳ διέτριβεν· ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ "κοινόποδες," ὡς συμβαλέσαν ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ποδῶν γνωριζόμενοι κεκοιμημένων, ὁπότε κατέλθοιεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

2. "**Τίς ἡ παρὰ Κυμαίοις ὄνοβάτις;**"

Τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν ἐπὶ μοιχεία ληφθεῖσαν ἁγα-γόντες εἰς ἄγορὰν ἐπὶ λίθον τινὸς ἐμφανῆ πᾶσι καθίστασαν· εἰδ' οὕτως ἀνεβίβαζον ἐπὶ ὅνον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ περιαχθεῖσαν ἐδει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον καταστῆναι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄτμον διατελέων, "ὄνοβατιν" προσαγορευομένην. τὸν δὲ λίθον ἀπὸ τούτου οὐ καθαρῶν νομίζοντες ἀφ-ωσιοῦντο.

¹Ἡν δὲ καὶ φυλάκτου τις ἀρχῇ παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὁ δὲ ταῦτην ἔχων τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνου ἑτήρει τὸ

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¹ ἔχοντες Wyttenbach to fill a lacuna: Bernardakis prefers διέχοντες, and E. Capps διοικοῦντες.

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¹ This was the serf-class liberated by the tyrants: cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. iii. p. 554.

176
**THE GREEK QUESTIONS**

1. Who were the "dusty-feet" and the "directors" in Epidaurus?

There were one hundred and eighty men who directed the State. From these they used to elect councillors whom they called "directors." But the majority of the populace spent their life in the country. They were called "dusty-feet" since, as one may conjecture, they were recognized by their dust-covered feet whenever they came down to the city.

2. Who was the "woman that rode on a donkey" at Cumae?

Any woman taken in adultery they used to bring into the market-place and set her on a certain stone in plain sight of everyone. In like manner they then proceeded to mount her upon a donkey, and when she had been led about the circuit of the entire city, she was required again to take her stand upon the same stone, and for the rest of her life to continue in disgrace, bearing the name "donkey-rider." After this ceremony they believed that the stone was unclean and they used ritually to purify it.

The citizens of Cumae had also a certain office called the Guards. The man who held this office used to watch the prison most of the time, but he
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

desμωτήριον, εἰς δὲ τὴν βουλὴν ἐν τῷ νυκτερινῷ
292 συννόμῳ παριῶν ἔξιτε τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς χειρὸς
καὶ κατείχε, μέχρι περὶ αὐτῶν ἡ βουλὴ διαγνοῖν,
πότερον ἀδικοῦσιν ἢ οὐ, κρύβον δὲ φέρουσα τὴν
ψήφου.

3. "Τίς παρὰ Σολίοις ἡ ὑπεκκαύστρια;"
Τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἔρειεν οὖτω καλοῦσιν, ὅτι
ποιεῖταί τινας θυσίας καὶ ἔρωτρυγίας ἀποτροπαίας.

4. "Τίνες ἐν Κνίδῳ οἱ ἀμνήμονες καὶ τίς ὁ
ἀφεστήρ;"
Ἐξήκοντα προκρίτοις ἀνδράσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων
οἷον ἐπισκόποις ἐχρώντο διὰ βίου καὶ προβούλιοις
τῶν μεγίστων· ἐκαλοῦντο δ' ἀμνήμονες," ὡς ἂν
Βτις εἰκάσεις, διὰ τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία
πολυμνήμονές τινες ὄντες ὁ δὲ τὰς γνώμας
ἐρωτῶν "ἀφεστήρ;"

5. "Τίνες οἱ παρ' Ἀρκάσι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίως
χρηστοί;"
Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τεγεάταις διαλλαγέντες ἐποιή-
σαντο συνθήκας καὶ στήλην ἐπ' Ἀλφείω κοινὴν
ἀνέστησαν, ἐν ὃ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γέγραπται
"Μεσοπόνεοι ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καὶ μὴ
εξεῖναι 'χρηστοὺς' ποιεῖν." εξηγούμενοι οὖν ὁ
Ἀριστοτέλης τοῦτο φησὶ δύνασθαι τὸ μὴ ἀπο-

1 Σολίοι Wyttenbach: Σόλοις.
2 προκρίτοις ἀνδράσιν Meziriacus: προκρίτους ἀνδρας.

a W. R. Halliday, in Harvard Studies in Classical
Philology, xxxvi. 165-177, suggests that "cohen" (=priest)
may be contained in this word.
b Grote thus connected ἀφεστήρ with the Spartan apo-

178
came to the nocturnal assemblies of the council and led out the kings by the hand and kept them out, until by secret ballot the council had decided on their case, whether they had done wrong or no.

3. Who is She that Kindles the Fire (hypekkaustria) among the people of Soli?
This is the name which they give to the priestess of Athena because she performs certain sacrifices and ceremonies to avert evil.

4. Who were the Forgetful Ones (Amnemones) at Cnidus, and who was the Dismisser (Aphester)?
They were wont to employ sixty men chosen from the nobles, and appointed for life, as overseers and preliminary advisers in matters of the greatest importance. They were called the Forgetful Ones, one might conjecture, because they could not be held to account for their actions; unless, indeed, it was because they were men who remembered many things. He who asked them their opinions was the Dismisser.

5. Who are the "good" among the Arcadians and the Spartans?
When the Spartans had come to terms with the Tegeans, they made a treaty and set up in common a pillar by the Alpheius. On this, among other matters, was inscribed: "The Messenians must be expelled from the country; it shall not be lawful to make men good." Aristotle, then, in explaining this, states that it means that no one shall be put of Life of Lycurgus, chap. vi. (43 c); but the matter is very doubtful; cf. van Herwerden, Lex. Supp. Graec.

On the lucus a non lucendo principle, as Halliday well suggests; or else ἄμμυμόνες, as van Herwerden supposes.

Cf. frag. 392 (V. Rose); cf. 277 b-c, supra.
6. "Τίς ὁ παρ' Ὀποιντίοις κριθολόγος;"
Οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τὰς πάνω
παλαίας θυσίας ἐξρώντο ταῖς κριθαῖς, ἀπαρχομένων
tῶν πολιτῶν. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἔπι τῶν θυσιῶν ἄρχοντα
cαὶ ταῦτας κομιδόμενον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς "κριθο-
λόγον" ὠνόμαζον. δύο δ' ἦσαν ἱερεῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς,
ὁ μὲν περὶ τὰ θεία τεταγμένος, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὰ δαι-
mονία.

7. "Τίνες οἱ πλωιάδες νεφέλαι;"
Τὰς ύπόμβρους μάλιστα καὶ περιφερομένας
ἐκάλουν "πλωιάδας," ως Θεόφραστος ἐν τετάρτῃ
περὶ μεταροΐων εἰρήκη κατὰ λέξιν, "ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ
πλωιάδες αὐταί νεφέλαι καὶ αἱ συνεστῶσαι,
Δ' ἀκίνητοι δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρώμασιν ἐκλευκοί,
δηλοῦσι διαφοράν των τῆς ἴλης, ὡς οὖτ' ἐξυδατομένης
οὔτ' ἐκπνευματομένης.

8. "Τίς ὁ παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς πλατιοικέτας;"
Τοὺς οίκια γειτνιῶντας ἡ χωρίοις ὄμορφηνας
ἀιολίζοντες οὔτω καλόσσων ὡς τὸ πλησίον ἔχοντας.
παραθέσομαι δὲ λέξιν μίαν ἐκ τοῦ θεσμοφυλακίου
νόμου, πλείονών οὐσῶν.

9. "Τίς ὁ παρὰ Δελφοῖς ὁσιωτήρ καὶ διὰ τὶ
βύσιον ἕνα τῶν μηνῶν καλόσσων;"

1 πλατιοικέτας Bechtel: πλατυχαίτας.
2 πλησίον Wyttenbach: πλείστων.

a The copyist seems to have omitted the quotation.
to death because of assistance given to the Spartan party in Tegea.

6. Who is "he that selects barley" (krithologos) among the Opuntians?

For sacrifices of very ancient origin most of the Greeks used to employ barley, which the citizens offered as first-fruits of the harvest. Accordingly they called the officer who presided at the sacrifices and brought these first-fruits the Barley-selector. They had two priests: one appointed for sacrifices to the gods, the other for sacrifices to the spirits.

7. What were the "floating clouds"?

They used to call clouds "floating" which particularly threatened rain and were in constant motion, as Theophrastus has stated in the fourth book of his Meteorology. The passage reads thus: "Since also these floating clouds and these compact clouds, which are immovable and very white in colour, exhibit a certain difference of substance which is filled neither with water nor with wind."

8. Who is the "near-dweller" (platioiketas) among the Boeotians?

This is the name they give in the Aeolian dialect to persons who dwell in the next house or occupy adjoining property, signifying that they hold land near at hand. I shall add one phrase from the Edict of the Guardians of the Law, although there are several more...

9. Who is the Consecrator (hosiōtēr) among the Delphians and why do they call one of the months "Bysios"?
10. "Τί τὸ φυξίμηλον;"
Τῶν μικρῶν ἔστι καὶ χαμαιζήλων φυτῶν, ὡν

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1 ἀτε Xylander: ὁ, or οἱ or ὃς.
2 Βιλίππον Basel ed. of 1542: Βιλίππον γάρ.
3 τοῦτο Bernardakis: τό. 4 ἐννομον Weniger: ἐννοεῖν.
5 πολύφθοον Aldine edition: πολύφθοον.

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a Cf. Moralia, 365 Α, 437 Α.

b Ibid. 717 ν; for the connexion of the number seven with the birth of Apollo see Callimachus, Hymn iv. 251 ff.

182
They call the victim that is sacrificed Consecrator whenever an Holy One is appointed. There are five Holy Ones, who hold office for life; they do a great many things with the co-operation of the oracle-interpreters and with them take part in the holy rites, since they are thought to have descended from Deucalion.

The month “Bysios,” as many think, is the month of growth (physios); for it begins the spring and during it many plants spring up and come into bloom. But this is not the truth of the matter, for Delphians do not use b in place of ph (as Macedonians do who say “Bilip” and “balacros” and “Beronicê”), but in place of p; thus they naturally say “proceed” for “proceed” and “painful” for “painful.” Accordingly “Bysios” is “physios,” the month of oracular inquiry, in which men ask questions and obtain responses from the god; for this is the legitimate and traditional procedure. In this month, then, oracles used to be given and the seventh day of this month they consider the birthday of the god. They call this day the day of Many Utterances (Polyphthoös) not because they then bake cakes (phthoüς), but because it is a day when many inquire of the god and receive many oracles. For only recently have monthly oracles been given out to inquirers; formerly the prophetic priestess was wont to give responses but once a year on this day, as Callisthenes and Anaxandrides have recorded.

10. What is the “sheep-escaper”? It is one of the small plants that grow close to the

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*Cf. Athenaeus, 617 d, 502 b.*

11. "Τίνες οἱ ἀποσφενδόνητοι;"

Κέρκυραν τὴν νήσου Ἐρετριέως κατώκουν. Χαρικράτους ἔπλευσαν έκ Κορώνθου μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν πολέμων κρατοῦντος, ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς ὑπὸ τῶν ἔπινεμομένων,1 "φυξίμηλα" καλεῖται. τὸ δὲ μαρτύριον Αἰσχύλος.

12. "Τίς ἡ παρὰ Δελφοῖς Χάριλλά;"

Τρεῖς ἄγουσι Δελφοὶ ἐναστηρίδας κατὰ τὸ ἔξης, τὴν μὲν Σεπτήριον καλοῦσι, τὴν δ’ Ἡρωίδα, τὴν δὲ Χάριλλαν.2

Τὸ μὲν οὖν Σεπτήριον ἔσχε μόνη τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πώδωνα τοῦ θεοῦ μάχης εἶναι καὶ τῆς μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπὶ τὰ Τέμπη φυγῆς καὶ ἐκοιώξεως.

1 ἐπινεμομένων Wyttenbach and E: ἐπιγενομένων.
2 Χάριλλα . . . Χάριλλα Hatzidakis: Χάριλλα . . . Χάριλλα.
ground, whose shoots the grazing animals attack, cutting off the tops and injuring them and so spoiling the growth. But when these plants grow up and gain some size and escape injury from the flocks which graze upon them, then they are called "sheep-escapers." The evidence for this is Aeschylus.\textsuperscript{a}

11. Who are the "Men repulsed by slings"?

Men from Eretria used to inhabit the island of Corcyra. But Charicrates sailed thither from Corinth with an army and defeated them in war; so the Eretrians embarked in their ships and sailed back home. Their fellow-citizens, however, having learned of the matter before their arrival, barred their return to the country and prevented them from disembarking by showering upon them missiles from slings. Since the exiles were unable either to persuade or to overcome their fellow-citizens, who were numerous and inexorable, they sailed to Thrace and occupied a territory in which, according to tradition, Methon, the ancestor of Orpheus, had formerly lived. So the Eretrians named their city Methone, but they were also named by their neighbours the "Men repulsed by slings."

12. Who was "Charilla" among the Delphians?

The Delphians celebrate three festivals one after the other which occur every eight\textsuperscript{b} years, the first of which they call Septerion, the second Herois, and the third Charilla.

Now the Septerion seems to be a representation of Apollo's fight with the Python and the flight to Tempê and pursuit that followed the battle.\textsuperscript{b} Some indeed

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Moralîa, 421 c.

185
(293) οἱ μὲν γὰρ φυγεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ φασὶ χρήζοντα καθαρσίων, οἱ δὲ τῷ Πύθωνι τετρωμένου καὶ φεύ-γοντι κατὰ τὴν ὅδον, ἢν νῦν ἵππαν καλοῦμεν, ἔπακολουθεῖν καὶ μικρὸν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς τελευτῆς· κατέλαβε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἀρτὶ τεθνη-κότα καὶ κεκηδεμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς, ὃ ὅνομα ἦν Αἴξ, ὡς λέγουσι. το μὲν οὖν Σεπτῆριον τούτων ἥ τοιούτων τινῶν ἀπομιμήσις ἐστὶν ἐτέρων.

Τῆς δ’ Ἡρωίδος τὰ πλείστα μυστικὸν ἕχει λόγον, D ὁμοίως αἰ Θυνάδες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν δρωμέων φανερῶς Σεμέλης ἂν τις ἀναγγέλη τικάσει.

Περὶ δὲ τῆς Χαρίλλης¹ τουιαύτα τινα μυθολογοῦσι. λυμὸς ἐξ αὐξανοῦ τοὺς Δελφοὺς κατέσχε, καὶ πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως ἐλθόντες μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐκέτευν. ὅ δὲ τῶν ἁλφίτων καὶ τῶν χεδρόπων μετεδίδον τοῖς γνωριμιωτέροις αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἤν ἵκανα πάσιν. ἐλθούσης δὲ παιδὸς ἐς μικρὰς ὀρφανῆς γονέων καὶ προσλαμπρούσης, ἐρ-ράπισεν αὐτὴν ὑποδήματι καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ ὑπόδημα προσέρρυσεν· ἥ δὲ, πενηχρὰ τις οὐσα καὶ ἔρημος οὐκ ἀγεννης δὲ² τὸ ἢδος, ἐκποδῶν γενομένη Ε καὶ λύσασα τὴν ζώην ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτὴν. ἐπι-τείνοντος δὲ τοῦ λυμοῦ καὶ νοσμίατων προσ-γενομένων, ἀνεἶλεν ἡ Πυθία τῷ βασιλεί Χάριλλαν¹ ἐλάσκεσθαι παρθένου αὐτοθάνατον. μόλις οὖν ἀνευ-ρόντες ὅτι τούνομα τούτ’ ἦν τῇ ῥαπισθείσῃ παιδί, μεμείγμενην τινὰ καθαρμῶν θυσίαν ἀπετέλεσαν, ἦν

¹ Χαρίλλης . . . Χάριλλαν Ηατζίδακις: Χαρίλας . . . Χάριλαν.
² δὲ Ἡττον: τε ὠρ τις.

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² Cf. Moralia, 419 e-f.
affirm that Apollo fled because he desired purification as a consequence of the slaughter he had done, others that he was following the wounded Python as he fled along the road which we now call the Sacred Way, and was only a little late for the monster's death; for he overtook him when he had just died from the effects of the wound and had been buried by his son, whose name, as they say, was Aix. The Septerion, then, is a representation of these matters or certain matters of a similar nature.

The greater part of the Heroïs has a secret import which the Thyiads know; but from the portions of the rites that are performed in public one might conjecture that it represents the evocation of Semelē.

The story of Charilla which they relate is somewhat as follows: A famine following a drought oppressed the Delphians, and they came to the palace of their king with their wives and children and made supplication. The king gave portions of barley and legumes to the more notable citizens, for there was not enough for all. But when an orphaned girl, who was still but a small child, approached him and importuned him, he struck her with his sandal and cast the sandal in her face. But, although the girl was poverty-stricken and without protectors, she was not ignoble in character; and when she had withdrawn, she took off her girdle and hanged herself. As the famine increased and diseases also were added thereto, the prophetic priestess gave an oracle to the king that he must appease Charilla, the maiden who had slain herself. Accordingly, when they had discovered with some difficulty that this was the name of the child who had been struck, they performed a certain sacrificial rite combined with purification,
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

επιτελοῦσιν ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν δὲ ἐννέα ἐτῶν. προκάθηται μὲν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀλφίτων καὶ τῶν χειδρόπων ἐπιδίδουσι πᾶσι καὶ ξένοις καὶ πολίταις, κομιζέται δὲ τῆς Χαρίλλης¹ παιδικὸν εἶδωλον· ὦταν οὖν πάντες Λάβωσιν, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ῥαπίζει τῷ ὑποδήματι τὸ εἴδωλον, ἥ δὲ τῶν Θυιάδων ἄρχηγος ἀραμένη κομίζει πρὸς τινα τόπων φαραγγώδη, κἀκεῖ οὐχινῶν περιάγματες τῷ τραχήλῳ τοῦ εἰδώλου κατορύττουσιν, ὅπου τὴν Χάριλλαν² ἀπαγξιμένην ἔθαψαν.

13. "Τί τὸ πτωχικὸν κρέας παρ’ Αιναίσι;"
Πλείονες γεγόνασιν Αιναίνων μεταναστάσεις. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἰκούντες περὶ τὸ Δωτίον πεδίον ἔξεπεσον ὑπὸ Λαπίθῶν εἰς Λιθικὰς. ἐκεῖθεν τῆς Μολοττίας τὴν περὶ τὸν Αὖαν² χώραν κατέχον, ὁθὲν ἀνομάσθησαν Παραναίοι.³ μετὰ ταύτα Κίρραν 294 κατέσχον· ἐν δὲ Κίρρα⁴ καταλεύσαντες⁵ Οὐνοκλόν τὸν βασιλέα, τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος, εἰς τὴν περὶ τὸν 'Ιναχοῦ χώραν κατέβησαν οἰκομένην ὡς ἤνα ἤς ισ[n] θεον καὶ 'Αχαιῶν. γενομένου δὲ χρησμοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἄν μεταδώσῃ τῆς χώρας ἀποβαλεῖν ἀπόσαν, τοῖς δὲ ἄν λάβωσι παρ' ἐκόντων καθέσειν, Τέμων, ἀνὴρ ἐλλόγιμος τῶν Αιναίνων, ἀναλαβὼν ράκια καὶ πήραν ὡς⁶ προσαίτης ἤν ἀφίκετο πρὸς τοὺς 'Ιναχείς· ὑβρεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς γέλωτα τοῦ βασιλέως Ὁ βοῶλον ἐπιδοῦντος αὐτῷ, δεξάμενος εἰς τὴν πήραν

1 Χάριλλης . . . Χάριλλαν Ηατζίδακις: Χάριλας . . . Χάριλαν.
2 Αὖαν seems required by the ending of the adjective below rather than Αὖων (Xylander from Stephanus Byzantium): 'Αραοῦν.
3 Παραναίοι Xylander (as in Thuc. ii. 80, and elsewhere): Παραοῦναι.
4 Κίρρα Hatzidakis and Kontos: Κίρρη.
5 καταλεύσαντες Xylander: καταπλεύσαντες.
6 ὡς Wyttenbach: καὶ.

188
which even now they continue to perform every eight years. For the king sits in state and gives a portion of barley-meal and legumes to everyone, alien and citizen alike, and a doll-like image of Charilla is brought thither. When, accordingly, all have received a portion, the king strikes the image with his sandal. The leader of the Thyiads picks up the image and bears it to a certain place which is full of chasms; there they tie a rope round the neck of the image and bury it in the place where they buried Charilla after she had hanged herself.

13. What is the "beggar's meat" among the Aenianians?

There have been several migrations of the Aenianians. For first, when they inhabited the region about the Dotian plain, they were expelled by the Lapiths to Aethicia. From there they proceeded to take possession of the region of Molossia about the river Auas, from which they received the name Parauaei. After this they took possession of Cirrha. There, when they had stoned to death Oenoclus, their king, at the command of the god, they descended to the country about the Inachus, which was inhabited by Inachians and Achaeans. Since an oracle had declared that if the Inachians gave away any part of their country, they should lose it all, and that if the Aenianians received any part of the land from willing givers, they should gain possession of it, Temon, a notable man among the Aenianians, donned rags and wallet and came to the Inachians in the guise of a beggar. In scorn and mockery their king gave him a clod of earth, which Temon accepted,

a Cf. 297 B-c, infra.
(294) ἐνέβαλε καὶ καταφανῆς1 ἤν ἡγαπηκὼς τὸ δῶρον ἀπεχώρησε γὰρ εὔθεις οὐδὲν προσαιτήσας. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι θαυμάσαντες ἀνεμιμήσκοντο τοῦ χρησμοῦ, καὶ τῷ βασιλεί τροσίντες ἔλεγον μὴ καταφρονῆσαι μηδὲ προέσθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν. αἰ- αθόμενος οὖν ὁ Τέμων τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἁρμησε φεύγειν, καὶ διέφυγεν εὐξάμενος τῷ 'Απόλλωνι καθ' ἐκατόμβης.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου μονομαχοῦσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰναχιέων ὤπέροχον ὁ τῶν Αἰνάνων Φήμιος ὅρὼν μετὰ κινῶς αὐτῷ προσφερόμενον οὐκ έφη δίκαια ποιεῖν, δεύτερον ἐπάγοντα μαχόμενον· ἀπελαύνοντος δὲ τοῦ ὤπέροχον τὸν κῦνα καὶ μεταστρεφομένου, λίθω βαλὼν ὁ Φήμιος αὐτὸν ἀναρεῖ. κτησάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν, τοὺς Ἰναχιέις μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκεῖνον ός ἱερὸν σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱερείου τῶν δημῶν περικαλύπτουσιν. ὅταν δὲ τῷ 'Απόλλωνι τὴν ἐκατόμβην ἀποδιδόσι, τῷ Διὶ βοῶν καθιερεύσαντες, μερίδα τοῖς Τέμωνοις ἀπογόνοις ἐξαιρετον νέμουσι, καὶ "πτωχικὸν κρέας" ἐπονομάζουσι.

14. "Τίνες οἱ παρ' Ἰθακησίοις Κολιάδαι καὶ τίς ὁ φάγυλος;"

Τῷ Ὀδυσσεῖ μετὰ τὴν μνηστηροφονίαν οἱ ἐπι- τήδειοι τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπανέστησαν, μεταπεμ- φθεῖστι δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων διαμετηρίῳ Νεοπτόλεμος δ' ἐδικαίωσε τὸν μὲν Ὀδυσσέα μεταναστήναι καὶ φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ

1 καταφανῆς F.C.B.; ἐμφανὴς Meziriacus; οὐκ ἀφανῆς II. Richards (all amounting to the same thing): ἀφανῆς.

190
placed within his wallet, and was evidently satisfied with the gift; for he straightway withdrew without asking for anything more. The Inachian elders were astonished, but, recalling the oracle, they went to the king and told him not to make light of the fellow nor to let him get away. Temon, then, perceiving their intent, hastened his flight and made his escape after vowing a hecatomb to Apollo.

After this affair the two kings engaged in single combat, and Phemius, king of the Aenianians, observing the Inachian king, Hyperochus, advancing to meet him accompanied by a dog, said that Hyperochus was acting unfairly in bringing on a second combatant. But while Hyperochus was driving off the dog and had his back turned, Phemius hit him with a stone and killed him. The Aenianians gained possession of the country, driving out the Inachians together with the Achaean, and they revere that stone as sacred, and sacrifice to it and cover it round about with the fat of the sacrificial victim; and whenever they pay the hecatomb to Apollo, they sacrifice a bull to Zeus; and they set aside a select portion of the flesh for the descendants of Temon, and this they call the "beggar's meat."

14. Who are the "Coliadae" among the inhabitants of Ithaca and what is the phagilos?

After the slaughter of the suitors the relatives of the dead men rose up against Odysseus; but Neoptolemus was sent for by both parties to act as arbiter. He adjudged that Odysseus should depart from the country and be exiled for homicide from Cephallenia, Zacynthus, and Ithaca; and that the

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(294) Ἦθακης ἐφ' αἴματι, τοὺς δὲ τῶν μνηστήρων ἔταιρους καὶ οἰκείους ἀποφέρεν ποιήν Ὁδυσσεῖ τῶν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀδικημάτων καθ' ἔκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν εἰς Ἰταλίαν¹ μετέστη τὴν δὲ ποιήν τῶν νικηφόρωσας ἀποφέρει ἐκέλευσε τοὺς Ἰθακησίους. ἦν δ' ἄλφιτα οἷνος κηρία ἔλαιον ἄλες ἱερεία πρασβύτερα "φαγίλων". "φάγιλων" δὲ φήσω Ἀριστοτέλης τὸν ἄμμον εἶναι. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Ἕμμαιον ἑλευθερώσας ὁ Σηλέμαχος κατέμειξεν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ τὸ γένος ἐστὶ Κολιάδων² ἀπ' Ἕμμαιον καὶ Βουκολιδῶν³ ἀπὸ Φιλοτίου.

15. "Τίς ἡ ἐξυλήν κύων παρὰ Λοκροίς;

Ε Φυσκίου τοῦ Ἀμβρικτύνων νῦσ ἤν Λοκρός· ἐκ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Καβύθης Ὀσοῦς.⁴ πρὸς δὲν ὁ πατὴρ διενεχθεὶς καὶ συχνὰς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀναλαβῶν περὶ ἀποικίας ἐμαυτεύετο. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος κτῖσιν πόλιν ὀποιοποὺ ἄν τύχῃ δηχθεῖς ὑπὸ κυνὸς ἐξυλήνης, ὕπερβαινὼν εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν θάλατταν ἐπάτησε κυνόσβατον. ἐνοχληθεῖς δὲ τῇ πληγῇ διέτριψεν ἡμέρας αὐτὸθι πλείονας, ἐν αἷς καταμαθὼν τὸ χωρίον ἐκτισε πόλεις Φύσκον⁵ καὶ Φ. Οἰάνθειαν,⁶ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, ὅσα οἱ κληθέντες 'Οξόλαι Λοκροὶ κατωκησαν.

'Οξόλας δὲ Λοκροὺς οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν Νέσσον, οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸν Πύθωνα δράκοντα κληθῆναι λέγουσιν,

¹ Ἰταλίαν| Αἰτωλίαν Hartman.
² Κολιάδων Χυλάνδερ and one ms.: κολιδῶν.
⁴ Ὀσοῦς V. Rose (cf. Eustathius on II. ii. 531, p. 277): λοκρός.
⁵ Φύσκον F.C.B.: Φυσκεῖς is the gentile name. Cf. S.G.D.I.
⁶ Οἰάνθειαν F.C.B.: 'Υάνθειαν.
⁷ δὲ διὰ Bernardakis: δὲ.

192
companions and the relatives of the suitors should recompense Odysseus each year for the injuries which they had done to his estate. Odysseus accordingly departed to Italy; but the recompense he formally transferred to his son, and ordered the inhabitants of Ithaca to pay it to him. The recompense consisted of barley, wine, honeycombs, olive-oil, salt, and beasts for sacrifice that were older than phagiloi; according to Aristotle's\(^a\) statement, a lamb is a phagilos. Now Telemachus bestowed freedom upon Eumaeus and his associates, and incorporated them among the citizens; and the clan of the Coliadae is descended from Eumaeus, and that of the Bucolidae from Philoetius.\(^b\)

15. What is "the wooden dog" among the Locrians?

Locrus was the son of Physcius, the son of Amphyctyon. The son of Locrus and Cabyê was Opus. His father quarrelled with Opus and taking many of the citizens with him he went to seek an oracle concerning a colony. The god told him to found a city where he should chance to be bitten by a wooden dog, and, as he was crossing to the other sea, he trod upon a dog-brier.\(^c\) Greatly troubled by the wound, he spent several days there, during which he explored the country and founded the cities Physeus and Oeantheia and the other cities which the so-called Ozolian Locrians inhabited.

Some say that the Locrians are called Ozolian because of Nessus; others say that it is because of the serpent Python, since their bodies were washed up

\(^a\) Frag. 507 (ed. V. Rose).
\(^b\) Eumaeus was the swineherd and Philoetius the cowherd of Odysseus.
\(^c\) Cf. Athenaeus, 70 c-d.
295 ἕτοι τὸν πυριπυνοῦν Μάκυνναν ἐπανάν. ¹

16. "Τί τὸ καλούμενον ὑπὸ Μεγαρέων ἄφ-άβρωμα;"

Νίσος, ἀφ' οὗ προσηγορεύθη Νίσαια, βασιλεύον ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἐγγεμεν Ἀβρώτην, ² Ὁγχήστου θυγατέρα, Μεγαρέως δ' ἅδελφήν, γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ὡς ἔοικε περιττήν καὶ σώφρονα διαφεροντως. ἀποθανοῦσις δ' αὐτῆς, οἵ τε Μεγαρεῖς ἐπένθησαν ἐκουσίως καὶ ὁ Νίσος οἰδίαν τινὰ μνήμην καὶ δόξαν αὐτῆς καταστήναι ³ βουλόμενος ἐκέλευε ⁴ τὰς ἁστάς ⁵ Β φορεῖν ὅν ἐκείνην στολὴν ἐφόρει, καὶ τὴν στολὴν "ἄφαβρωμα" δι' ἐκείνην ὅνωμασε. δοκεῖ δὲ τῇ δόξῃ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ὁ θεὸς βοηθήσαι πολλάκις γὰρ τὰς ἐσθήτας ἀλλάξαι βουλομένας τὰς Μεγαρίδας χρησμῷ διεκόλυσε.

17. "Τίς ὁ δορίξεινος;" ²
Τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Μεγαρίς ὥσκετο κατὰ κώμας, εἰς πέντε μέρη νενεμημένων τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐκαλοῦντο

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¹ τὰν and ἐρανάν are necessary for τὴν and ἐρανήν of the mss. if the words are Doric.
² Ἀβρώτην Crönert: Ἀβρώτην.
by the sea and rotted away in the country of the Locrians. But some say that these men wear fleeces and goatskins and for the most part spend their time with herds of goats, and thus became evil-smelling. But some, on the contrary, assert that, since the country has many flowers, it acquired its name from sweet odour. Among these is also Archytas of Amphissa, for he has written thus:

Lovely Macyna, wreathed with clusters of grapes and fragrant with perfume.

16. What is it that the Megarians call aphabroma? When Nisus, from whom Nisaea acquired its name, was king, he took a wife from Boeotia, Habrotê, daughter of Onchestus, the sister of Megareus, a woman who, as it appears, was both exceptionally intelligent and remarkably discreet. When she died, the Megarians mourned her with one accord, and Nisus, wishing that her memory and her repute should be established everlastingly, ordered the women of the city to wear the garment that she used to wear; and because of her he called the garment aphabroma. Even the god seems to have furthered the repute of this woman, for often, when the Megarian women wished to make a change in their raiment, he prevented them by an oracle.

17. What is the "spear-friend"?
In days of old the Megarid used to be settled in village communities with the citizens divided into five groups. They were called Heraeîs, Piraeîs,

\footnotesize{\textit{a} Cf. Pausanias, x. 38.
\textit{b} Powell, \textit{Collectanea Alexandrina}, p. 23.}

5 \textit{tás áστά}s Bryan: \textit{tά ἄστα} (\textit{Μεγαρίδας} in two mss. can be defended).
6 \textit{δορύξενοs} δορύξενοs in nearly all mss.
(295) δ' Ἡραῖος καὶ Πιραῖος καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ Κυνοσοφεῖς καὶ Τριποδίσκιοι.¹ τῶν δὲ Κορινθίων πόλεμον αὐτοῖς ἐξεργασμένων πρὸς ἄλλην (ἄει γὰρ ἐπεβούλευον ύφ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσασθαι τὴν Μεγαρικὴν), Σ' ὁμως δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἡμέρας ἐπολέμουν καὶ συγ- γενικῶς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ γεωργοῦντας οὐδεὶς ἡδίκει τὸ παράπαν, τοὺς δ' ἀλησκομένους λύτρον τι τεταγμένον ἔδει καταβαλεῖν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐλάμβανον ἀφέντες, πρότερον δ' οὐκ εἰσέπραττον, ἀλλ' ὁ λαβὼν αἰχ- μάλωτον ἀπήγειν οὐκαδε, καὶ μεταδοὺς ἀλῶν καὶ τραπεξής ἀπέπεμπεν οὐκαδε. ὁ μὲν οὖν τὰ λύτρα κομίσας ἐπηνεῖτο καὶ φίλος ἀει διετέλει τοῦ λαβόντος ἐκ δοριδάντων "δορίζενος²" προσ- αγορευόμενος· ὁ δ' ἀποστήρισας οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὡς ἀδίκος καὶ ἀπίστος ἠδόξει.

18. "Τίς ἡ παλαιτοκία;"

Μεγαρεῖς Θεαγένη τὸν τύραννον ἐκβαλόντες, D ὁλίγον χρόνον ἐσωφρόνησαν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν· εἶτα πολλὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα καὶ ἄκρατον αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερίαν τῶν δημαγωγῶν οὐνομοῦντων, δια- φθαρέντες παντάπασι τὰ τ' ἄλλα τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀσελγῶς προσεφεροντο, καὶ παριόντες εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὐτῶν οἱ πένητες ἱξἴουν ἔστιασθαι καὶ δειπνεῖν πολυτελῶς· εἰ δὲ μὴ τυγχάνοιεν, πρὸς βίαν καὶ μεθ' ύβρεως έχρωντο πάσι. τέλος δὲ δόγμα θέμενοι, τοὺς τόκους ἀνεπράττοντο παρὰ τῶν

¹ Τριποδίσκιοι van Herwerden: τριποδισκαίων or τριπο- δισκοῦντοι. ² ὁρίζενος ὁρίζενος in nearly all mss.

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² Cf. 304 e, infra. ³ Cf. Thucydides, i. 126. ⁴ Cf. Plato, Republic, 562 d.

196
Megareis, Cynosureis, and Tripodiscioi. Although the Corinthians brought about a civil war among them, for the Corinthians were ever plotting to get Megara under their control, none the less, because of their fair-mindedness, they conducted their wars in a civilized and a kinsmanly way. For no one did any harm at all to the men working in the fields, and when anyone was captured, he but needed to pay a certain specified ransom; this his captors received after they had set him free, and did not collect it earlier; but he who took a prisoner conducted the man to his house and, after sharing with him salt and food, sent him home. He, accordingly, who brought his ransom, was highly regarded and continued thenceforward to be a friend of his captor; and, as a consequence of his capture by the spear, he was now called "spear-friend." But anyone who failed to pay the ransom was held in disrepute as dishonest and faithless, not only among his enemies, but also among his fellow-citizens.

18. What is "return-interest"? 

When the Megarians had expelled Theagenes, their despot, for a short time they were sober and sensible in their government. But later when the popular leaders poured a full and heady draught of freedom for them, as Plato says, they were completely corrupted and, among their shocking acts of misconduct toward the wealthy, the poor would enter their homes and insist upon being entertained and banqueted sumptuously. But if they did not receive what they demanded, they would treat all the household with violence and insult. Finally they enacted a decree whereby they received back again the
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(295) δανειστῶν οὐς δεδωκότες ἐτύγχανον, "παλιντοκίαν" τὸ γυνόμενον προσαγορεύσαντες.

19. "Τίς ἡ Ἀνθηδῶν, περὶ ἡς ἡ Πυθιᾶς εἶπε Ε ἡ πίν οἶνον τρυγίαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἀνθηδόνα ναῖεις'

(ἡ γὰρ ἐν Βοωτοῖς οὐκ ἔστι πολύωνος);"

Τὴν Καλαύρειαν ἦν Εἰρήνην τὸ παλαιόν ὄνομαζον ἀπὸ γυναικὸς Εἰρήνης, ἦν ἐκ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Μελανθείας τῆς Ἀλφειοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν. ὧστερον δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀνθουν καὶ Ὑπέραν αὐτὸθι κατοικοῦντοι, Ἀνθηδονίαν καὶ Ὑπέρειαν ἕκαλουν τὴν νήσουν. εἶχε δ' ὁ χρησμὸς οὕτως, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησί,

πίν' οἶνον τρυγίαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἀνθηδόνα ναῖεις οὐδ' ἔραν Ὑπέραν, οἴδι γ' ἀτρυγοῦν' οἶνον ἐπινειε.

Γ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης. ὁ δὲ Μνασιγείτων φησίν Ὑπέραν αἰδελφὸν ὄντα τὸν Ἀνθουν ἔτι νῆπιον ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τὴν Ὑπέραν κατὰ ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ πλανωμένην εἰς Φερᾶς πρὸς Ἀκαστον' ἐλθείν, ὦπον κατὰ τύχην ὁ Ἀνθος ἐδούλευεν οἰνοχοεὶν τεταγμένος. ὡς οὖν εἰστιῶντο, τὸν παϊδα προσφέροντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ τὸ ποτήριον ἐπιγνώναι καὶ εἴπειν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἱσυχῇ

πίν' οἶνον τρυγίαν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ Ἀνθηδόνα ναῖεις.

1 Καλαύρειαν the approved form, Bernardakis: Καλαυρίαν.
2 "Ἀνθος as below: Ἀνθην. (The genders are confused in the mss. "Ἀνθος is presumably masc. and Ὕπερα fem. but cf. Athenaeus, 31 c.)
3 Ὕπερα, etc., F.C.B.: Ὕπέρη, etc.
4 γ' ἀτρυγοῦν Wechel: ότι καὶ τρύγα.
5 Ἀκαστον Bryan: ἀκαστον ἡ ἀδραστον.
interest which they chanced to have paid to their creditors, calling the measure "return-interest."

19. Which is the Anthedon to which the utterance of the prophetic priestess refers:

Drink wine turbid with lees, since thou dwellest not in Anthedon,

for Anthedon in Boeotia is not rich in wine?

In days of old they used to call Calaureia by the name of Eirenê, from the woman Eirenê who, as legend has it, was born of Poseidon and Melantheia, the daughter of the Alpheius. But later, when the companions of Anthus and Hypera settled there, they called the island Anthedonia and Hypereia. According to Aristotle a the oracle ran as follows:

Drink wine turbid with lees, since thou dwellest not in Anthedon,

No, nor in Hypera holy; for wine without lees thou didst drink there.

This, then, is Aristotle’s version. But Mnasigeiton says that Anthus, the brother of Hypera, disappeared from home while he was still a child, and that Hypera, while she was wandering about in search of him, came to Pherae to the house of Acastus, where it chanced that Anthus was the slave appointed to be cupbearer. While they were feasting the boy recognized his sister, as he was bearing her cup to her, and said to her softly

Drink wine turbid with lees, since thou dwellest not in Anthedon.

a Frag. 597 (ed. V. Rose); cf. Frag. 596 and Athenaeus, 31 v-c.

199
20. "Τίς ὁ λεγόμενος ἐν Πρήμῃ παρὰ δρυὶ σκότος;"

296 Σάμιοι καὶ Πρηνεῖς πολεμοῦντες ἀλλήλους, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μετρίως ἐβλάπτουντο καὶ ἐβλαπτοῦν, μάχης δὲ μεγάλης γενομένης, χιλίους Σαμίων οἱ Πρηνεῖς ἀπέκτειναν· ἐβδόμῳ δ' ύστερον ἔτει Μιλησίων συμβαλόντες παρὰ τὴν καλουμένην δρυὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους ὀμοῦ τι καὶ πρώτους ἀπέβαλον τῶν πολιτῶν· ὅτε καὶ Βίας ὁ σοφὸς εἰς Σάμον ἐκ Πρήμης προσβεύσας εὐδοκίμησε. ταῖς δὲ Πρηνεῶν γυναιξὶν ὡμοί1 τοῦ πάθους τούτου καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔλεενής γενομένης, ἀρὰ κατέστη καὶ ὁρκὸς περὶ τῶν μεγίστων Β· ὁ παρὰ δρυὶ σκότος" διὰ τὸ παῖδας αὐτῶν καὶ πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας ἕκεῖ φονευθήναι.

21. "Τίνες οἱ παρὰ Κρῆτη λεγόμενοι κατακαύται;"

Τυρρηνοὺς φασί τὰς Ἀθηναίων θυγατέρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ Βραύρων χρήμασαι, ὁπηνίκα Λήμνον καὶ Ἰμβρον κατόκουν, εἰτ' ἐκπεσόντας, εἰς τὴν Δακωνικὴν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ γενέσθαι ἐπιμείξιν αὐτοὺς μέχρι παῖδων γενέσεως πρὸς τὰς ἐγχωρίους γυναίκας. εἰ δ' ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς πάλιν ἀναγκασθέντας2 ἐκλιπεῖν τῇ Δακωνικῇ, μετὰ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν εἰς Κρήτην κατάραι, C Πόλλων ἡγεμόνα καὶ Δελφῶν3 ἔχοντας. ἕκεῖ δὲ

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1 ὡμοί Madvig: ῥᾳμοί.
2 ἀναγκασθέντας Wytenbach: ἀναγκασθέντης.
3 Πόλλων ἡγεμόνα καὶ Δελφῶν Wytenbach, as attested elsewhere, cf. 247 D: πόλην ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ἄδελφον.

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20. What is it that is called in Priene "the darkness by the Oak"?

When the Samians and the Prienians were at war with each other, on the other occasions they suffered injuries and inflicted injuries to a moderate degree only; but when a great battle took place, the people of Priene slew one thousand Samians. Six years later they engaged the Milesians at a place called the Oak, and lost practically all the best and the foremost of their citizens. At this time also the sage Bias was sent on an embassy from Priene to Samos and won high repute. For the women of Priene this was a cruel experience and a pitiable calamity, and it became established as a curse and an oath in the most important matters to swear by "the darkness by the Oak," because of the fact that there their sons, their fathers, and their husbands had been slaughtered.

21. Who are they that are called "burners" among the Cretans?

They relate that the Tyrrhenians who, at the time when they inhabited Lemnos and Imbros, carried off the daughters and wives of the Athenians from Brauron, later, when they had been expelled from there, came to Sparta and consorted with the women of the country even to the begetting of children. But again, as the result of suspicions and false accusations, they were forced to leave the Spartan country. With their children and wives they effected a landing in Crete with Pollis and Delphus as their leaders. There, while they were fighting

\[ b \text{ Cf. Moralia, 247 A-F, and the note there (Vol. III. p. 496).} \]
(296) πολεμοῦντας τοὺς κατέχουσι τὴν Κρήτην, πολλοὺς
περιορὰν τῶν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποδινησκόντων ἀτάφους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἁσχόλους διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ὄντας καὶ τὸν κύνδυνον, ὕστερον δὲ φεύγοντας ἀπτεσθαί νεκρῶν ἐφθαρμένων ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ διερρυηκότων. τὸν οὖν Πόλλων ἐξευρόντα τιμᾶς τινας καὶ προνοίας καὶ ἀτελείας ἀποδοῦναι τὰς μὲν τοῖς ἱερεύσι τῶν θεῶν, τὰς δὲ τοῖς ταφεύσι τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ἐπιφημίσαντα καὶ ταῦτας δαίμονι χθονίως, ὅπως ἀναφαίρετοι διαμένουν· ὑνομασθήναι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἱερεύς, τοὺς δὲ “κατακαύτας.”

Εἶτα1 κλήρῳ διαλαχεῖν πρὸς τὸν Δελφὸν2 καὶ
D πολιτεύεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ’ αὐτοὺς, ἔχειν δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων φιλανθρώπων καὶ ἄδειαν ἀδικημάτων, οἷς οἱ ἄλλοι Κρήτες εἰώθασι χρήσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους ἄγοντες λαθραίως καὶ ἀποφέροντες· ἐκείνους γάρ οὐδὲν ἄδικείν οὐδὲ κλέπτειν οὐδὲν οὐδ’ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

22. “Τίς ὁ παίδων τάφος παρὰ Χαλκιδεύσι;”
Κόθος καὶ Αἰκλοσ3 οἱ Ξεύθου παίδες εἰς Εύβοιαν ἥκον οἰκήσοντες, Αἰολέων τότε τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς νήσου κατεχόντων. ἦν δὲ τῷ Κόθῳ λόγιον εἰ πράξειν καὶ περιέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων, ἐὰν πρῆται τῇ χώρᾳ. ἀποβᾶσι οὖν μετ’ ὀλίγων4 ἐνέτυχε παίζουσι παιδαρίοις παρά τὴν θάλατταν. Εἰ συμπαίζουν οὖν αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἔδειξε

1 The sentence εἶτα . . . Δελφὸν follows διαμένουεν in the mss. Transposed by Halliday.
2 Δελφὸν Wyttenbach, as attested elsewhere, cf. 247 D: ἄδελφον.
3 Αἰκλοσ Xylander: ἀρκλος.
4 ὀλίγων Meziriacus: ὀλίγον.
202
the possessors of the island, they suffered many of the men who had been slain in the battles to lie unburied, because at first they had no leisure to bury them because of the war and the danger, and later because they shrank from touching corpses that had been decomposed and putrefied by the lapse of time. Accordingly Pollis devised certain honours, privileges, and immunities, and some of these he bestowed on the priests of the gods, others upon them that buried the dead. These honours he put in the keeping of the spirits of the underworld in order that they might continue for ever irrevocable. The one class received the name of priests, and the other that of "burners."

Then Pollis made a division by lot with Delphus, and they governed separate and independent states; and, along with other humane provisions which they enjoyed, they had freedom from the injuries which the other Cretans are wont to inflict upon one another through stealthy plundering and pillaging. For to the Tyrrhenian communities they do no injury, nor do they steal anything from them or dispossess them of anything.

22. What is the "Children's Tomb" among the Chalcidians?

Cothus and Aeclus, the sons of Xuthus, came to Euboea to dwell at a time when the Aeolians possessed the greater part of the island. It had been prophesied to Cothus that he should have great success and get the better of his enemies if he bought the land. When he had landed on the island with a few men, he encountered little children playing by the sea. So he joined in their play, and in a kindly spirit showed them many playthings
παίγνια πολλὰ τῶν ξενικῶν. ὡς δ’ ἐώρα τοὺς παίδας ἐπιθυμοῦντας λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἐφησεν αὐτοῖς δῶσειν ἄλλως, εἰ μὴ τῆς γῆς λάβοι παρ’ αὐτῶν: οἱ δὲ παίδες οὕτως ἀναιρούμενοι χαμάθεν ἐδίδοσαν καὶ τὰ παίγνια λαβόντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. οἱ δ’ Αἰολεῖς αἰσθόμενοι τὸ γεγονός, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιπλέοντων, ὑπ’ ὀργῆς καὶ λύπης διεχρῆσαντο τοὺς παίδας. ἔταφησαν δὲ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἑ βαδίζουσιν ἐκ πόλεως ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐρυπον, καὶ ὁ τόπος “τάφος παίδων” καλεῖται.

23. “Τίς ο μιξαρχαγέτας ἐν Ἀργείᾳ καὶ τάς νυμφίτις αἰσθανόμενοι τὸν καλοῦσι καὶ νομιζοῦσι παρ’ αὐτοῖς τεθάρθαι τὸν δὲ Πολυδεύκην ὡς ἐνα τῶν Ὁλυμπίων σέβονται. τοὺς δὲ τὰς ἐπιληψίας ἀποτρέπειν δοκοῦντας “ἐλασίους” μὲν ὀνομάζουσι, δοκοῦσι δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξίδας τῆς Ἀμφιαράου υγατρὸς ἀπογόνων εἶναι.

24. “Τί τὸ παρ’ Ἀργείοις λεγόμενον ἑγκυμόσωμα;”
Τοῖς ἀποθαλασσοῖς τινα συγγενῶν ἡ συνήθων ἔθος ἐστὶ μετὰ τὸ πένθος εὐθὺς τῷ Ἀπόλλωνοι θεύειν, ἡμέραις δ’ ύπερον τριάκοντα τῷ Ἐρμῆ. νομίζουσι γάρ, ὡσπερ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποθανόντων δέχεσθαι τὴν γῆν, οὕτως τὰς ψυχὰς τὸν Ἐρμῆν.

297 τοῦ δ’ Ἀπόλλωνος τῷ ἀμφιτολίῳ κριθὰς διδόντες λαμβάνουσι κρέας τοῦ ἔρειον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ

1 χαμάθεν Pierson: χαμαίθεν.
2 μιξαρχαγέτας (-v) Xylander: μιξαρχαγεύτας (-v).

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from foreign lands. But when he saw that the children were desirous of having them for their own, he refused to give them unless he too should receive some earth from the children. So they picked up some from the ground and gave it to Cothus, and then, taking the playthings, departed. But the Aeolians discovered what had happened, and, when their enemies sailed against them, they made away with the children under stress of anger and grief. The children were buried beside the road which leads from the city to the Euripus, and the place is called the Children's Tomb.

23. Who is the "Associate-founder" (mixarchagetas) at Argos, and who are the "Averters" (elasioi)?

They call Castor the Associate-founder, and think that he is buried in Argive territory, but Polydeuces they reverence as one of the Olympians. Persons who have the reputed ability to turn away attacks of epilepsy they call Averters, and these are thought to be of the descendants of Alexida, the daughter of Amphiaraüs.

24. What is that which is called an enknisma (a roast) among the Argives?

It is the custom for those who have lost a relative or an intimate friend to sacrifice to Apollo immediately after the mourning, and again thirty days later to Hermes. For they believe that, just as the earth receives the bodies of the dead, even so Hermes receives their souls. They give barley to the priest of Apollo and receive some meat of the sacrificial

\[ ^a \text{ For "Apollo" Halliday suggests with some plausibility "Pluto"; but Apollo, as the god who cleanses from pollution (καθάρσιος), is almost a commonplace in Greek literature.} \]
(297) ἀποσβέσαντες ὅσ μεμιασμένον παρ' ἑτέρων δ' ἐν-
αυσάμενοι, τούτο τὸ κρέας ὀπτῶσιν "ἐγκυμόνα" προσαγορεύοντες.

25. "Τὸς ἀλάστωρ ἀλιτήριος παλαμναῖος;"
Οὐ γὰρ πειστέον τοῖς λέγουσιν "ἀλιτηρίους" κεκλήθαι τοὺς ἐπιτηροῦντας ἐν τῷ λιμῷ τὸν ἀλοῦντα καὶ διαρπάζοντας· ἀλλ' "ἀλάστωρ" μὲν κέκληται ὁ ἀληστα καὶ πολὺν χρόνον μνημονευ-
θησόμενα δεδρακώς; "ἀλιτήριος" δ' ὁν ἀλευσοθαί καὶ φυλάξασθαι διὰ μοχθηρίαν καλῶς εἶχε. ταῦτα, φησίν ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐν διδθέραις χαλκαῖς γεγρά-
φασι.

26. "Τίνος ἔχεται διανοίας τὸ τοὺς ἀπάγοντας εἰς Κασσιοπαίαν τὸν βοῶν ἔξ Λινίδος1 τὸς παρ-
θένος προπεμποῦσας ἐπάθειν ἀχρὶ τῶν ὀρων μῆποτε νοστήσατε φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν;"
Λινίαν ὅπο Λαπιθῶν ἔξαγαστάντες τὸ πρῶτον ὠκησαν περὶ τὴν Λιθικίαν,2 εἶτα περὶ τὴν Μολο-
τίδα καὶ Κασσιοπαίαν· οὔθεν δὲ χρηστὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἐχόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλεποῖς χρώμενοι προσ-
C οἴκοις εἰς τὸ Κιρραίον πεδίον ἦκοι, Ὀινόκλον3 τοῦ βασιλέως ἄγοντος αὐτοῦς. ἔκει δὲ μεγάλων αὐχ-
μῶν γενομένων, κατὰ χρησμὸν ὡς λέγεται τὸν

1 Λινίδος F.C.B., cf. Λινίδι S.G.D.I. 1431 (for Λινία;);
Λινίας Bernardakis; Λινίαν Wytenbach: Λινόν.
3 Οινόκλον . . . Οινόκλον] Οινόκλον . . . "Οινόκλον, most mss.
 Cf. 294 α.

a Cf. Moralia, 523 α-β. b Ibid. 418 b.
p. 498.
206
victim; and when they have put out their fire, since they believe it to be polluted, and have relighted it from the hearth of others, they proceed to roast this flesh which they call *enknisma*.

25. **What** is an *alastor*, an *aliterios*, a *palamnaeos*? We certainly must not believe those who say that persons who, during a famine, set a watch upon the miller and plunder him are called *aliterioi*. But he who has done unforgettable (*alesta*) things, things that will be remembered for a long time, is called *alastor*; and he whom it were well to avoid (*aleuasthai*) and to guard against because of his wickedness is called *aliterios*. These things, according to the statement of Socrates, they have written on tablets of bronze.

26. **What** is the intent of the custom by which the maidens who serve as an escort for the men who lead the bull from Aenis to Cassiopaea chant until they reach the boundary,

Never may ye return to the well-loved soil of your homeland?"d"

When the Aenianians had been driven out of their country by the Lapiths, they dwelt first of all about Aethicia, and later about Molossia and Cassiopaea. But, since they had no benefit from the country, and, in addition, had to deal with ungentle peoples on their borders, they came to the Cirrhaean plain under the leadership of Oenoclus, their king. But great droughts befell them there, and, as it is related, in accordance with an oracle they stoned

"d Adapted from Homer, *Od.* xviii. 148 (=xix. 298).
"c cf. 293 r–294 c, *supra.*

207
(297) Οὐνοκλον¹ καταλεύσαντες καὶ πάλιν πλανηθέντες, εἰς ταύτην ἀφίκοντο τῇν χώραν, ἧν νῦν ἔχουσιν, ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμφορον οὖσαν. οἶδαν εἰκότως εὐ-
χονταί τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς τὴν παλαιὰν πατρίδα μὴ ἐπανελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῖ καταμένειν εὐδαιμονοῦντας.

27. “Τί δήποτε παρὰ Ῥοδίων εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ὀκρι-
δίωνος ἤρων οὖν εἰσέρχεται κήρυξ;”

"Η ὡτι Ὁχίμος τῇν θυγατέρα Κυδίππην ἐν-
εγγύησεν Ὀκριδίωνι; Κέρκαφος δ’ ἀδελφὸς ὡν
Ὀχίμον τῆς δὲ παιδὸς ἔρων, ἐπεισε τὸν κήρυκα
D (διὰ κηρύκων γὰρ ἔθος ἦν τὸ μετέρχεσθαι τὰς
νύμφας), ὅταν παραλάβῃ τὴν Κυδίππην, πρὸς ἕαυ-
τον ἀγαγείν. τούτου δὲ πραξθέντος, ὁ μὲν Κέρ-
καφος ἐχὼν τὴν κόρην ἐφυγεν, ὄστερον δὲ τοῦ
Ὀχίμου γηράσαντος ἐπανήλθε. τοῖς δὲ Ῥοδίων
ἔθος² κατέστη κήρυκα μὴ προσέναι τῷ τοῦ Ὀκρι-
δίωνος ἤρωι διὰ τὴν γενομένην ἀδικίαν.

28. “Τί δήποτε παρὰ Τενεδίων εἰς τὸ τοῦ
Τένου ἱερὸν οὖν ἔξεστιν αὐλητὴν εἰσελθεῖν οὗδ’
Ἀχιλλεῖως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μνησθῆναι;”

"Η ὡτι τῆς μητρυᾶς τὸν Τένην διαβαλοῦσις ὡς
βουλόμενον αὐτῇ συγγενέσθαι Μόλπος³ ὁ αὐλητὴς
Ε τὰ ψευδὴ κατεμαρτυρήσεις αὐτοῦ, διὰ τούτο τῷ
Τένη συνέπεσε φεύγειν εἰς Τένεδον μετὰ τῆς
ἀδελφῆς; Ἀχιλλεὶ δὲ λέγεται τὴν μητέρα Θέτιν
ἰσχυρῶς ἀπαγορεύσας⁴ μὴ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Τένην ὡς

¹ Οὐνοκλον Ὁνοκλον most mss. Cf. 294 A.
² ἔθος is omitted in some mss.
³ Μόλπος Ἐμολπόσος Απολλодορος, Epitome, iii. 24.
⁴ ἀπαγορεύσας ἀγορέυσαι in all mss. but one.
Oenoclus. Then they wandered on and came to this country which they now possess, a goodly country, productive of all manner of crops; wherefore it is with good reason that they pray to the gods that they may not return again to their ancient fatherland, but may remain here in prosperity.

27. Why is it that among the Rhodians a herald does not enter the shrine of the hero Ocridion? Is it because Ochimus affianced his daughter Cydippē to Ocridion? But Cercaphus, who was the brother of Ochimus, was in love with the maiden and persuaded the herald (for it used to be the custom to use heralds to fetch the brides), when he should receive Cydippē, to bring her to him. When this had been accomplished, Cercaphus fled with the maiden; but later, when Ochimus had grown old, Cercaphus returned to his home again. But the custom became established among the Rhodians that a herald should not approach the shrine of Ocridion because of the wrong that had been done.

28. Why is it that among the inhabitants of Tenedos a flute-player may not enter the shrine of Tenes, nor may anyone mention Achilles’ name within the shrine? Is it that, when Tenes’ stepmother falsely accused him of wishing to lie with her, Molpus the flute-player bore false witness against him, and because of this it came about that Tenes had to flee to Tenedos with his sister? But as for Achilles, it is said that his mother Thetis straitly forbade him to kill Tenes, since

\[\text{Cf. 293 f–294 A, supra.}\]

\[\text{Cf. Apollodorus, Epitome, iii. 23-26, with Frazer’s notes (L.C.L. vol. ii. pp. 193 ff.).}\]
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

timómenon ὑπ’ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ παρεγγυῆσαι ἐν τῶν οἰκετῶν, ὡς ἰσοποιήσῃ καὶ ἀναμμηνήσῃ, μὴ λάθοι κτείνας ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς τὸν Τένην. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Τένεδον κατατρέχον ἐδώκε τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὸν
F Τένου καλὴν οὖσαν ἀπαντήσας θ’ ὁ Τένης ἦμυνέτο πρὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς, καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐξέφυγεν ὁ δὲ Τένης ἀνηρέθη. ὁ δ’ Ἀχιλλεὺς πεσόντα γνωρίσας1 τὸν
μὲν οἰκέτην ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι παρὼν οὖκ ἀνέμυησε, τὸν δὲ Τένην ἐθαψεν οὐν νῦν τὸ ἑρῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ οὔτ’ αὐλητῆς εἰσεισάν οὔτ’ Ἀχιλλέως ὑμοῖμαζεται.

29. "Τίς ὁ παρ’ Ἐπιδαμνίους πωλήτης;"
’Επιδάμνιοι γετινώντες ’Ιλλυρίωις ἱσθάνοντο τοὺς ἐπιμειγνυμένους αὐτοῖς πολίτας γιγνομένους πονηροὺς καὶ φοβούμενοι νεωτερισμὸν ἠροῦντο πρὸς
tὰ τοιαῦτα συμβόλαια καὶ τὰς ἁμείψεις καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνα τῶν δεδοκιμασμένων παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὃς ἐπιφοιτῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις παρῄξεν
298 ἀγορὰν καὶ διάθεσιν πᾶσι τοῖς πολίτασ ‘πωλήτης’ προσαγορευμένους.

30. "Τίς ή περὶ Ὁράκην Ἀραίνου2 ἀκτή;’"
’Ἀνδριοὶ καὶ Χαλκίδείς πλεύσαντες εἰς Ὁράκην
οἰκήσεως ἕνεκα Σάνην μὲν πόλιν ἐκ προδοσίας
cοινῇ παρέλαβον, τῇ δ’ ᾗ Ἀκανθὸν ἐκλελοίπεναι
tοὺς βαρβάρους πυνθανόμενοι, δῶς κατασκόπους
ἐπεμψαν. ώς δὲ τῇ πόλει προσιόντες παντάπασι
πεφευγότας ἤσθανόντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ο μὲν
Χαλκιδικὸς προεξέδραμεν ώς καταληψόμενος τοῖς
Χαλκίδευς τῇ πόλιν, ὃ δ’ Ἀνδριος οὐ συνεξανύτων

1 γνωρίσας] ἐγνώρισε in one ms. (E).
2 Ἀραίνου] Ἀραίου : Bernardakis; ἀραῦν, ἀράνου most mss.
210
Tenes was honoured by Apollo; and she commissioned one of the servants to be on guard, and to remind Achilles lest he should unwittingly slay Tenes. But when Achilles was overrunning Tenedos and was pursuing Tenes' sister, who was a beautiful maiden, Tenes met him and defended his sister; and she escaped, though Tenes was slain. When he had fallen, Achilles recognized him, and slew the servant because he had, although present, not reminded him; and he buried Tenes where his shrine now stands and neither does a flute-player enter it nor is Achilles mentioned there by name.

29. Who is the "Seller" among the Epidamnians? The Epidamnians were neighbours of the Illyrians and perceived that such of their citizens as associated with the Illyrians were becoming corrupted; and, since they feared a revolution, they used to select one of the most reputable of their fellow-citizens each year to conduct such commercial dealings and barter. This man visited the barbarians and provided them with a market and an opportunity for all the citizens to display what they had to sell: thus he was called the "Seller."

30. What is the "Beach of Araenus" in Thrace? When the Andrians and Chalcidians sailed to Thrace to settle there, they jointly seized the city of Sanê, which was betrayed to them; but when they learned that the barbarians had abandoned Acanthus, they sent out two scouts. When these were approaching the city, they perceived that the enemy had all fled; so the Chalcidian ran forward to take possession of the city for Chaleis, but the Andrian, since he could not cover the distance so rapidly as
31. "Διὰ τὶ τοῖς Θεσμοφορίοις αἱ τῶν Ἑρετρείων γυναῖκες οὐ πρὸς πῦρ ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ὀπτῶσι τὰ κρέα, καὶ Καλλιγένειαν οὐ καλοῦσιν;" 

32. "Τίνες οἱ ἀείναιται παρὰ Μιλησίοις;"

Τῶν περὶ Θόαντα καὶ Δαμασηνορα τυράννων καταλυθέντων, ἐταρεία δύο τὴν πόλιν κατέσχον, ὁ νὴ μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο Πλούτῆς ἢ δὲ Χειρομάχα.\(^3\) Κρατήσαντες οὐν οἱ δυνατοὶ καὶ τὰ πράγματα

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\(^1\) μέγα βοήσας Patzig: μετὰ βοής or βολῆς.

\(^2\) 'Αραίου] 'Αραίου? Bernardakis: ἄραο, ἀραίου most mss.

\(^3\) Χειρομάχα] Χειρομάχη?  

a Plutarch, or his source, imagined that this meant "Beach of Vowing."

b The name of the third and last day of this festival at Athens; probably also a cult title applied to some goddess, perhaps to Demeter.

c "Capital and Labour."
his rival, hurled his spear, and when it was firmly implanted in the city gates, he called out in a loud voice that by his spear the city had been taken into prior possession for the children of the Andrians. As a result of this a dispute arose, and, without going to war, they agreed to make use of Erythraeans, Samians, and Parians as arbitrators concerning the whole matter. But when the Erythraeans and the Samians gave their vote in favour of the Andrians, and the Parians in favour of the Chalcidians, the Andrians, in the neighbourhood of this place, made a solemn vow against the Parians that they would never give a woman in marriage to the Parians nor take one from them. And for this reason they called the place the Beach of Araenus, although it had formerly been named the Serpent’s Beach.

31. Why is it that at the Thesmophoria the Eretrian women cook their meat, not by fire, but by the rays of the sun; and why do they not call upon Calligeneia?  

Is it because it happened that the captive women whom Agamemnon was bringing home from Troy were celebrating the Thesmophoria at this place, but when conditions for sailing suddenly appeared favourable, they put out to sea leaving behind them the sacrifice uncompleted?

32. Who are the Perpetual Sailors among the Milesians?  

When the despots associated with Thoas and Damasenor had been overthrown, two political parties came into control of the city, one of which was called Plutis, the other Cheiromacha. When, accordingly, the men of influence gained the upper hand and
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(298) periosthsontes eis tēn ἐταυρεῖαν, ἐβουλεύοντο peri tōn meglōtōn ἐμβαίνοντες eis tā πλοῖα καὶ πόρρω D tīs γῆς ἐπανάγοντες кυρώσαντες δὲ τὴν γνώμην κατέπλεον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο “ἀειναῦταί” προσ-

ηγορεύθησαν.

33. “Τί δὴποτε Χαλκιδεῖς τὸν περὶ τὸ Πυρ-

σόφιον τόπον ‘ἀκμαίων λέοχην’ καλοῦσι;”

Τὸν Ναυπλιών φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαϊῶν διωκό-

μενον Χαλκιδεῖς ἱκετεῦσαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς

αἰτίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀντεγκαλεῖν τοῖς

Ἀχαιοῖς. εἰκεῖδονα μὲν αὐτῶν οἱ Χαλκιδεῖς οὐκ

ἐμέλλησαν· δεδίοτες δὲ μὴ δόλω φονευθῆ, φυ-

λακὴν ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας νεανίσκους

καὶ κατέστησαν εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὅπου συνῆσαν

ἀλλήλοις ἁμα καὶ τὸν Ναυπλιών παρεφύλαττον.

Ε 34. “Τίς δ’ ὁ βοῦν εὐεργετήθη θύσας;”

Πλοῖον ὄρμηε περὶ τὴν Ἰθακησίαν ληστρικόν,

ἐν ὧν πρεσβύτης ἐτύγχανε μετὰ κεραμίων ἐχόντων

πίτταν. τοῦτω 1 οὖν κατὰ τύχην προσέσχε πορ-

thèmeis Ἰθακησίου ὀνόματι Πυρρίας, καὶ τὸν πρεσ-

βύτην ἔρρυσατο μηδενὸς δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς

ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκτίρας· προσέλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν

κεραμίων, τοῦ πρεσβύτου κελεύσαντος. ἀπαλ-

λαγέντων δὲ τῶν ληστῶν καὶ γενομένης ἀδειάς, ὁ

πρεσβύτης τοῖς κεραμίωις τὸν Πυρρίαν προσαγαγὼν

1 τοῦτω] ταύτη in most mss.

a Possibly “sacrificed an ox to his benefactor”; but an animal sacrifice to a living man seems incredible.

214
brought matters into the control of their party, they used to deliberate about matters of the greatest importance by embarking in their ships and putting out to a considerable distance from the land. But when they had come to a final decision, they sailed back; and because of this they acquired the appellation of Perpetual Sailors.

33. Why do the Chalcidians call the neighbourhood of the Beacon "the Young Men's Club"?

They relate that Nauplius, when he was being pursued by the Achaeans, came as a suppliant to the Chalcidians; and on the one hand he defended himself in regard to the indictment brought against him, and on the other hand brought a counter-charge against the Achaeans. The Chalcidians had no intention of surrendering him; but, since they were afraid that he might be slain by treachery, they gave him a guard of young men in the prime of their youth and stationed them in this place, where they lived together and at the same time served as a guard for Nauplius.

34. Who was the man that slew an ox for his benefactor?

Anchored off the island of Ithaca was a pirate vessel in which there chanced to be an old man with earthenware jars containing pitch. By chance a ferryman of Ithaca, by name Pyrrhias, put off to the ship and rescued the old man without asking for any reward, but because he had been persuaded by the old man and pitied him. He did, however, accept some of the jars, for the old man bade him do so. But when the pirates had departed and there was nothing to fear, the old man led Pyrrhias to the jars,
35. "Τι δήποτε ταῖς κόραις τῶν Βοττιαίων ἔθος ἦν λέγειν χορευόντας 'Ἵωμεν εἰς 'Αθήνας';"

Κρῆταις φασιν εὐξαμένους ἀνθρώπων ἀπαρχῇ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστελλαί, τοὺς δὲ πεμφθέντας, ὡς 299 ἐώρων οὐδεμίαν οὐδαν εὐπορίαν, αὐτόθεν εἰς ἀποικίαν ὄρμησαί καὶ πρώτον μὲν ἐν Ἡσαύνια κατοικῆσαι, ἐπειτα τῆς Θράκης τοῦτον τὸν τόπον κατασχεῖν, ἀναμεμειγμένον αὐτοῖς 'Αθηναίων. ἐοικε γὰρ μὴ διαφθείρειν ὁ Μίνως οὐς ἑπεμπὸν 'Αθηναίοι κατὰ τὸν δασμὸν ἡθέους, ἀλλὰ κατέχειν παρ' ἐαυτῷ λατρεύοντας. εὖ ἐκείνων οὖν τινες γεγονότες καὶ νομιζόμενοι Κρῆταις εἰς Δελφοὺς συναπεστάλησαν. ὤθεν αἱ θυγατέρες τῶν Βοττιαίων ἀπομεμονεύουσαι τοῦ γένους ἦδον ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς "Ἵωμεν εἰς 'Αθήνας."

36. "Διὰ τὶ τὸν Διόνυσον αἱ τῶν Ἡλείων γυναῖκες ὑμνοῦσαι παρακαλοῦσι βοώς ποδὶ παρά-

Β γίγνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὰς; ἐχει δ' οὕτως ὁ ὕμνος.

1 οὔδεις] οὐδὲ εἰς Meziriacus.
2 κατοικῆσαι] κατοικεῖν all mss. but one (E), but cf., for example, 297 b.

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\[a\] Plutarch (Life of Theseus, chap. xvi. p. 6 e ff.) states that his source for this is Aristotle's Constitution of the Bottiaeans (Frag. 485 (ed. V. Rose)); cf. Edmonds, Lyra Graeca (in L.C.L. iii. 540).

\[b\] For Dionysus as a bull cf. e.g. Athenaeus 35 e, 38 e.
and in them showed him much gold and silver mixed with the pitch. So Pyrrhias, suddenly becoming rich, treated the old man well in various ways, and also slew an ox for him. Wherefore men make use of this as a proverbial expression: "No one but Pyrrhias has slain an ox for his benefactor."

35. Why was it the custom for the Bottiaean maidens to chant as they danced, "Let us go to Athens"?

They relate that the Cretans in accordance with a vow sent a consecrated offering of men to Delphi; but the men who had been sent, when they saw that there was no abundance there, set out from Delphi to found a colony. They settled first in Iapygia, but later occupied this region of Thrace. There were some Athenians included among them; for it appears that Minos did not destroy the young persons whom the Athenians sent him for tribute, but kept them by him as servants. Accordingly, some who were descended from these Athenians and had come to be considered Cretans were included in this company sent to Delphi. Wherefore the daughters of the Bottiaeans, in remembrance of their lineage, were wont to sing in their festivals, "Let us go to Athens."

36. Why is it that the women of the Eleans, when they sing hymns to Dionysus, call upon him to come to them "with the foot of a bull"? The hymn runs as follows:

'ἐλθεῖν, ἥρω Διόνυσε, Ἀλείον ἐσ ναὸν ἅγνον σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν ἐς ναὸν τῷ βοέω ποδὶ θύων.’

εἰτα δεὶς ἐπάδουσιν ‘ἀξιε παύρε.’

Πότερον ὅτι καὶ βουγενή προσαγορεύουσι καὶ ταύρον ἐνοί τοῦ θεὸν ἢ τῷ μεγάλῳ ποδὶ ‘βοέω’ λέγουσιν, ὡς “βο迮πω” ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν μεγαλόφθαλμον καὶ “βουγάιον” τὸν μεγάλαυχον;

"Ἡ μᾶλλον, ὅτι τοῦ βοὸς ὁ ποὺς ἀβλαβῆς ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ κερασφόρον ἐπιβλαβές, οὕτω τὸν θεὸν παρακαλοῦσι πράον ἀλθεῖν καὶ ἀλυποῦν;

"Ἡ ὅτι καὶ ἀρότου καὶ σπόρου πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀρχηγὸν γεγονέναι νομίζουσι;

C 37. "Διὰ τοῦ Ταναγραίου πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν Ἀχῖλλειον, τόπος οὕτω προσαγορευομενος; ἔχθρα γὰρ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἡ φιλία λέγεται γεγονέναι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἀρτάσαντι μὲν τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Ποιμάνδρου Στρατονίκην, ἀποκτείνατι δ' νῦν Ἐφίππου Ἀκέστορα."

Ποιμάνδρος τοῖνυν ὁ Ἐφίππου πατήρ, ἐτὶ τῆς Ταναγρικῆς κατὰ κώμας οἰκουμένης, ἐν τῷ καλοῦμένῳ Στέφοντι πολιορκούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὸ μὴ βουλῆσθαι συντρατεύειν, ἔξελιπτε τὸ χωρίον ἑκεῖνο νύκτωρ καὶ τὴν Ποιμάνδριαν ἐτείχισε.

1 Ἀλείον Cobet; Ἀλείων Bergk: ἄλιον.
2 ἐπάδουσι, Νάζιε Cobet.
3 ταύρον] κερασφόρον Kronenberg.
4 κερασφόρον] κέρας Kronenberg.
5 ἀρότου Wytenbach: ἀρότρου.
6 Ἐφίππου] Wytenbach would omit.
Come, O hero Dionysus,
To thy Elean holy
Temple, with the Graces,
To thy temple
With thy bull's foot hasting.

Then they chant twice the refrain: "O worthy bull."
Is it because some address the god as "kine-born" or as "bull"? Or by "ox-foot" do they mean "with thy mighty foot," even as the Poet used "ox-eyed" to signify "large-eyed," and "bully" for "loud-mouthed"?

Or is it rather because the foot of the bull is harmless, but the part that bears horns is harmful, and thus they call upon the god to come in a gentle and painless manner?

Or is it because many believe that the god was the pioneer in both ploughing and sowing?

37. Why do the people of Tanagra have before their city an Achilleum, that is, a place bearing this name? For it is related that Achilles actually had more enmity than friendship for the city, since he carried off Stratonice, the mother of Poemander, and slew Acestor, the son of Ephippus.

While the territory of Tanagra was still inhabited in village communities, Poemander, the father of Ephippus, had been besieged by the Achaeans in the place called Stephon, because of his unwillingness to join their expedition. But he abandoned that stronghold by night and fortified Poemandria.

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a Homer, Il. i. 551 and often.
b βουγάος, Il. xiii. 824: Od. xviii. 79.
c A grandson of Poemander.
d Against Troy.
e Cf. Pausanias, ix. 20. 1.
(299) παρὼν δὲ Πολυκρίθος ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων διαφαινόμενον τὰ

D ἐργά καὶ καταγελῶν ὑπερήλατο τὴν τάφρον. ὁργι-

σθεὶς ὁ Πούμανδρος ὀρμήσε ὄθεν ἐμβαλείν αὐτῷ

μέγαν, ὡς ἦν αὐτῷ κεκρυμμένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ, Νυ-

κτελίους ἱεροίς ἀποκείμενος1 τοῦτον ἀναστάσας ὑπ’

ἀγνοίας ὁ Πούμανδρος ἐβαλε, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Πολυ-

κρίθον διήματε, Δεύκιππον δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.

ἐδει μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας μετα-

στήμα, ἐφέστων καὶ ἱκέτην ἔγον2 γενόμενον· οὐκ

鳣 δὲ ῥάδιον, ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς τὴν Ταναγρικὴν

tῶν 'Αχαιῶν. ἐπεμήνεν οὖν Ἐφιππον τὸν υἱὸν

'Αχιλλέως δεσμόμενον. ὦ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον εἰσάγει

πείσας καὶ Τληπόλεμον τὸν Ἡρακλέους καὶ Πηρέ-

λεων τὸν Ἰππάλκμου, συγγενεῖς ἀπαντας αὐτῶν3

Ἑώρατο. ὑφ’ ὁ δὲ Πούμανδρος εἰς Χαλκίδα συν-

εκπεμφθεὶς καὶ καθαρθεὶς παρ’ Ἐλεφῆνορι τὸν

φόνον, ἑτίμησε τοὺς ἀνδρας καὶ τεμένη πᾶσιν

ἐξειλεν, ὡν τὸ Ἄχιλλέως καὶ τοῦνομα διατετήρηκεν.

38. “Τίνες οἱ παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ψολόεις καὶ τίνες

αἱ 'Ολείαι4;”

Τὰς Μνῆν θυγατέρας φασὶ Δεύκιππην καὶ

'Αρσινῆν καὶ 'Αλκαθῆν μανεῖσας ἀνθρωπίνων

ἐπιθυμήσαι κρεών καὶ διαλαχεῖν περὶ τῶν τέκνων

Δεύκιππης λαχοῦσης παρασχεῖν Ἱππάσον τὸν υἱὸν

diastásasai: κληθήναι τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρας αὐτῶν

δυσεματοῦντας ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πένθους “Ψολόεις,”

1 ἀποκείμενος Wyettenbach: ἐπικείμενος.

2 ἔγον] ἔγον E. Kurtz.

3 αὐτῶν E. Kurtz: αὐτῶν ou αὐτῶ (E).

4 αἱ 'Ολείαι Meziriacus: αἱολείαι ou αἱολιάι.

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1 These rites resembled those of the rending and resurrection of Osiris; cf. Moralia 367 f.

220
Polycrithus the master-builder, however, who was present, spoke slightly of the fortifications and, in derision, leaped over the moat. Poemander was enraged and hastened to throw at him a great stone which had been hidden there from ancient days, set aside for use in the ritual of the Nyctelia. This stone Poemander snatched up in his ignorance, and hurled. He missed Polycrithus, but slew his son Leucippus. According to the law, therefore, he had to depart from Boeotia and become a suppliant at a stranger's hearth. But this was not easy, since the Achaeans had invaded the territory of Tanagra. Accordingly he sent his son Ephippus to appeal to Achilles. Ephippus, by his persuasive words, brought to his father Achilles, as well as Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, and Peneleös, the son of Hippalcmas, all of them interrelated. Poemander was escorted by them to Chalcis, and there at the house of Elephenor he was purified of the murder. Therefore he honoured these heroes and set apart sacred precincts for them all, and of these the precinct of Achilles has still kept its name.

38. Who are the "Psoloeis" and who the "Oleiae" among the Boeotians?

They relate that the daughters of Minyas, Leucippê and Arsinoê and Alcathoê, becoming insane, conceived a craving for human flesh, and drew lots for their children. The lot fell upon Leucippê to contribute her son Hippasus to be torn to pieces, and their husbands, who put on ill-favoured garments for very grief and sorrow, were called "Grimy" (Psoloeis);

b Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, iii. 42; Antonius Liberalis, Metamorphoses, x. Ovid's account (Met. iv. 1 ff.; 389 ff.) is rather different and omits the murder of Hippasus.
αὐτὰς δὲ "'Ολειάς" οἶον ὀλοαῖς.\(^1\) καὶ μέχρι νῦν Ὁρχομένιοι τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους οὕτω καλοῦσι. καὶ γίγνεται παρ' ἐναυτῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀγριωνίως φυγῇ καὶ ὀλίγες αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διονύσου ἔφος ἔχοντος. ἔξεστι δὲ τὴν καταληφθείσαν ἀνελεῖν, καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐφ' ἧμῶν Ζωίλος ὁ ἱερεύς. ἄπεβη δ' εἰς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Ζωίλος ἐκ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐλκυδρίου\(^3\) νοσήσας καὶ 300 διασαπεῖς πολῦν χρόνον ἑπελεύθησεν, οἳ τ' Ὁρχομένιοι δημοσίας βλάβαις καὶ καταδίκαις περιπεσόντες ἐκ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἱερωσίνῃ μετέστησαν, ἐκ πάντων αἱρούμενοι τὸν ἅριστον.

39. "Διὰ τὶ τοὺς εἰς τὸ Λύκαιον εἰσελθόντας ἐκουσίως καταλεύσων οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἃν ὁ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, εἰς Ἑλευθερᾶς ἀποστέλλουσι;"

Πότερον ὡς ἑλευθερουμένων αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἀπόλυσιν ἔσχεν οἱ λόγος πίστιν, καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔστι τὸ "εἰς Ἑλευθερᾶς," οἶον τὸ "εἰς Ἀμελοὺς Βεργραγ" καὶ τὸ "ἡξεις εἰς Ἀρέσαντος ἐδος";

"Η κατὰ τὸν μῦθον ἐπεὶ μόνοι τῶν Λυκάνων\(^4\) παίδων Ἑλευθήρ καὶ Λέβαδος\(^5\) οὐ μετέχον τοῦ περὶ τὸν Δία μίᾶςματος ἀλλ' εἰς Βουστίαν ἔφυγον, καὶ Λεβαδεύσων ἐστιν ισοπολιτεία πρὸς Ἀρκάδας,

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\(^1\) aυτὰς ... ὀλοαῖς Meziriacus: τὰς αἰολείας (καὶ οἰωνολόας in E) οἰωνολόας.  
\(^3\) ἐλκυδρίου (the better attested form) Hatzidakis: ἐλκειδίου or ἐλκυδίου.  
\(^4\) Λυκάνων the usual form: Λυκάωνος.  
\(^5\) Λέβαδος the better spelling: Λεβεάδος.

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\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 717 A; 291 A supra.  
\(^b\) The serving of human flesh. Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, 209.
THE GREEK QUESTIONS, 299-300

but the Minyads themselves were called "Oleiae," that is to say, 'Murderesses.' And even to-day the people of Orchomenus give this name to the women descended from this family; and every year, at the festival of Agrionia, there takes place a flight and pursuit of them by the priest of Dionysus with sword in hand. Any one of them that he catches he may kill, and in my time the priest Zoïlus killed one of them. But this resulted in no benefit for the people of Orchomenus; but Zoïlus fell sick from some slight sore and, when the wound had festered for a long time, he died. The people of Orchomenus also found themselves involved in some suits for damages and adverse judgements; wherefore they transferred the priesthood from Zoïlus's family and chose the best man from all the citizens to fill the office.

39. Why do the Arcadians stone persons who voluntarily enter the Lycaeon; but if such persons enter through ignorance, they send them away to Eleutherae?

Is it because they were released and set free that this story gained credence, and is the expression "to Free Town" (Eleutherae) of the same sort as "to the land of Sans Souci" and "you will come to the Seat of Satisfaction"?

Or is it in accordance with the legend, since Eleuther and Lebadus were the only sons of Lycaon that had no share in the abomination prepared for Zeus, but instead they fled to Boeotia, and there is community of citizenship between the people of Lebadeia and the Arcadians, and do they accordingly

i. 163 ff. and Frazer's note on Apollodorus, Bibliotheca iii. 8. 1 (L.C.L. vol. i. pp. 390 ff.).
(300) εἰς Ἐλευθερᾶς οὖν ἀποπέμπουσι τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄβατῳ τοῦ Διὸς ἄκουσίως γενομένους;

"Ἡ ὁς Ἀρχίτιμος ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκαδικοῖς ἐμβάντας τινὰς κατ' ἄγνοιάν φησιν ὅπ' Ἀρκάδων παρα-
δοθῆναι Φλισίοις, ὦτο δὲ Φλισίων Μεγαρέως,
ἐκ δὲ Μεγαρέως εἰς Θῆβας κομιζομένους περὶ τὰς
'Ἐλευθερᾶς ὡδατι καὶ βρονταῖς καὶ διοσημιαίς
ἀλλαὶς κατασχεθέναι; ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸν τόπον
'Ἐλευθερᾶς ἐνιοῖ φασὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι.

C Τὸ μέντοι σκιὰν μὴ πίπτειν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐμβάντος εἰς τὸ Λύκαιον λέγεται μὲν οὐκ ἄληθώς, ἐσχηκῇ
dὲ πίστιν ἵσχυράν. πότερον τοῦ ἄερος εἰς νέφη
τρεπομένου καὶ σκυθρωπάζοντος ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰσιοῦσιν;
ἡ δὲ θανατοῦται μὲν ὁ ἐμβάς, τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων
οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ λέγουσιν τᾶς ψυχὰς μὴ ποιεῖν
σκιὰν μηδὲ σκαρδαμύττειν; ἡ σκιὰν μὲν ὁ ἡλιος
ποιεῖ, τὸν δ' ἡλιον ἀφαίρεται τοῦ ἐμβάντος ὁ νόμος;
Καὶ τοῦτοι αἰνιττόμενοι λέγουσιν καὶ γὰρ ἔλαφος
ὁ ἐμβάς καλεῖται. διὸ καὶ Καυθαρίωνα τὸν Ἀρκάδα
πρὸς Ἡλείους αὐτομολήσαντα πολεμοῦντας Ἀρκάδι
καὶ διαβάντα μετὰ λείας τὸ ἄβατον, καταλυθέντος
ὃ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ φυγόντα εἰς Σπάρτην, ἔξεδοσαν
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς Ἀρκάσι, τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύ-
σαντος ἀποδίδοναι τὸν ἔλαφον.

1 ἐσχηκῇ Wytenbach: ἐσχηκέναι.
2 καὶ] Hutten would omit.
send away to Eleutherae those who involuntarily enter the inviolate sanctuary of Zeus?

Or is it as Architimus a relates in his Arcadian History, that certain men who entered through ignorance were handed over by the Arcadians to the Phliasians, and by the Phliasians to the Megarians, and, as they were being conducted from Megara to Thebes, they were stopped near Eleutherae b by rain and thunder and other signs from heaven? Whence, in fact, some assert that the place acquired the name of Eleutherae.

The tale, however, that no shadow is cast by a person who enters the Lycaeon is not true, although it has acquired widespread credence. c Is it because the air turns to clouds, and lowers darkly upon those who enter? Or is it because he that enters is condemned to death, and the followers of Pythagoras declare that the spirits of the dead cast no shadow, d neither do they blink? Or is it because it is the sun which causes shadow, but the law deprives him that enters of the sunlight?

This too they relate allegorically: he that enters is called a "deer." Wherefore, when Cantharion the Arcadian deserted to the Eleans while they were at war with the Arcadians, and with his booty crossed the inviolate sanctuary, even though he fled to Sparta after peace had been made, the Spartans surrendered him to the Arcadians, since the god ordered them to give back "the deer."


b A town in Attica not far from the borders of Boeotia.

c Cf. Pausanias, viii. 38. 6; Polybius, xvi. 12. 7, whose source is Theopompus.

d Cf. Moralia, 564 d. See also Dante, Purgatorio, iii. 25-30, 94-97.
40. "Τίς Εὐνόστος ἦρως ἐν Τανάγρᾳ καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν τὸ ἀλὸς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκιν ἀνέμβατον ἐστίν;" Ἐλιέως τοῦ Κηφισοῦ καὶ Σκιάδος Εὐνόστος ἦν νιός, ὡς φασιν ὑπὸ νύμφης Εὐνόστας ἐκτραφέντι τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῦνομα. καλὸς ὁ μὲν καὶ δίκαιος ὁμὴ ἠττον ἦν σώφρων καὶ αὐτοτρῆσ. ἔρασθήναι δ' αὐτοῦ λέγουσιν Ὁχιναν, μὲν τῶν Κολωνίων θυγα-Ετέρων, ἀνεβιὰν ὦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρώσαν ὁ Εὐνό-στος ἀπετρέψατο καὶ λοιδορήσας ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κατηγορῆσων, ἐθασαν ἡ παρθένος τοῦτο πράξασα κατ' ἐκείνου καὶ παρώξυνε τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Ἐχεμον¹ καὶ Λέοντα καὶ Βουκόλον ἀποκτείναι τῶν Εὐνοστον, ὡς πρὸς βίαν αὐτῇ συγγεγενημένον. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἐνεδρεύσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Γνεανίσκον. ὡς ὁ 'Ελιέως ἐκεῖνος ἐδησεν· ή δ' Ὁχινη μεταμελομένη καὶ γέμουσα ταραχῆς, ἀμή μὲν αὐτήν ἀπαλλάξαι θέλουσα τῆς διὰ τὸν ἑρωτα λύπης, ἀμή δ' οἰκτίρουσα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐξήγγειλε πρὸς τὸν 'Ελιέα πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ Κολοῦν. Κολοῦν δὲ δικάσαντος, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ τῆς Ὁχινῆς ἐφυγῶν, αὐτῇ δὲ κατεκρήμνυσεν ἑαυτῇ, ὡς Μυρτίς ἢ Ανθηδονία ποιήτρια μελῶν ἰστόρηκε.
Τοῦ δ' Εὐνόστου τὸ ἥρων καὶ τὸ ἀλὸς οὕτως ἀνέμβατο ἐτηρεῖτο² καὶ ἀπροσπέλαστον γυναῖξιν, ἦστε πολλάκις σεισμῶν ἡ αὐχμῶν ἡ διοσημίων ἀλλων γενομένων ἀναζητεῖν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπιμελῶς τοὺς Τανάγραίους, ἡ λέληθε γυνὴ τῷ 301 τόπῳ πλησιάσασα, καὶ λέγειν ἐνιοῦς, ὅπως ὁ Κλεί-δαμος ἢν, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανῆς, ἀπηντηκέναι αὐτοῖς τῶν Εὐνόστον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν βαδίζοντα λουσόμενον, ὡς

¹ Ἐχεμον [ὁχεμον some mss.
² ἐτηρεῖτο Wyttenbach: ἐτήρει.
40. Who was the hero Eunostus in Tanagra, and why may no women enter his grove?

Eunostus was the son of Elieus, who was the son of Cephisus, and Scias. They relate that he acquired his name because he was brought up by the nymph Eunosta. Handsome and righteous as he was, he was no less virtuous and ascetic. They say that Ochnē, his cousin, one of the daughters of Colonus, became enamoured of him; but when Eunostus repulsed her advances and, after upbraiding her, departed to accuse her to her brothers, the maiden forestalled him by doing this very thing against him. She incited her brothers, Echemus, Leon, and Bucolus, to kill Eunostus, saying that he had consorted with her by force. They, accordingly, lay in ambush for the young man and slew him. Then Elieus put them in bonds; but Ochnē repented, and was filled with trepidation and, wishing to free herself from the torments caused by her love, and also feeling pity for her brothers, reported the whole truth to Elieus, and he to Colonus. And when Colonus had given judgment, Ochnē’s brothers were banished, and she threw herself from a precipice, as Myrtis, the lyric poetess of Anthedon, has related.

But the shrine and the grove of Eunostus were so strictly guarded against entry and approach by women that, often, when earthquakes or droughts or other signs from heaven occurred, the people of Tanagra were wont to search diligently and to be greatly concerned lest any woman might have approached the place undetected; and some relate, among them Cleidamus, a man of prominence, that Eunostus met them on his way to the sea to bath


227
41. "Πόθεν εν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ περὶ τὸν Ἑλεώνα ποταμὸς Σκάμανδρος ὠνομάσθη;"

Δημίαχος ὁ Ἑλεώνος οἶσ, ἑταῖρος ὣν Ἡρακλεός, μετέσχε τῆς ἐπὶ Τρολαν στρατείας· τοῦ δὲ πολέμου μήκος ὡς ἐουτε λαμβάνοντος, ἐρασθείσαν αυτοῦ Γλαυκίαν τὴν Σκαμάνδρον θυγατέρα προσδεξάμενος ἔγκυνον ἐποίησεν, εἰτ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἔπεσε β μαχόμενος τοῖς Τρωσίν· ἡ δὲ Γλαυκία φοβουμένη κατάφωρος γενέσθαι κατέφυγε καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ κατείπεν αὐτῆς τὸν ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν γενομένην πρὸς τὸν Δημίαχον ὁμιλίαν. ὡς' ἀμα μὲν οίκτω τῆς γυναικὸς ἄμα δὲ χαϊρών τῷ ὑπολείπεσθαι γένος ἀνδρός ἁγαθοῦ καὶ συνήθους, ἄνελαβε τὴν Γλαυκίαν εἰς τὰς ναύς, καὶ τεκοῦσαν νῦν ἁγαθών ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἑλεόνῳ καὶ τὸ παιδίον καὶ αὐτήν. ὠνομάσθη δ' ὁ παῖς Σκάμανδρος καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐβασίλευσε. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰναχὸν ποταμὸν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ Σκάμανδρον, τὸ δὲ πλησίον ἐνεμα Γλαυκίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνομασεν. Ἀκίδουσαν δὲ τὴν κρήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὸς, 'Εξ ἔσχε τρεῖς θυγατέρας, ἀς τιμῶσιν ἄχρι νῦν 'παρθένους' προσαγορεύοντες.

42. "Ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρρήθη τὸ παρομιώδες Ἀντα κυρία;" 

Δεῖνων ὁ Ταραντιῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀνήρ δ' ὄν

1 τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ stands before κατέφυγε in the mss.; transferred here by Helmbold.
2 ἀφ' αὐτοῦ Helmbold: ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
3 ἐρρήθη Bernardakis: ἐρρέθη or ἐρέθη.
because a woman had set foot within the sacred precinct. And Diocles also, in his treatise upon the *Shrines of Heroes*, quotes a decree of the people of Tanagra concerning the matters which Cleidamus reported.

41. From what cause was a river in Boeotia in the vicinity of Eleon called Scamander?

Deimachus, the son of Eleon and a companion of Heracles, took part in the expedition against Troy. But since, as it appears, the war was dragging on, he welcomed to his quarters Glaucia, the daughter of Scamander, who had fallen in love with him, and got her with child; then he himself fell in fighting against the Trojans. But Glaucia, fearing detection, fled for refuge, and told Heracles of her love and of her association with Deimachus. And he, both through pity for the woman, and for joy that the stock of a brave man who was his close friend should thus survive, took Glaucia on board his fleet; and when she gave birth to a son, he brought both the child and the mother, and delivered them to Eleon in Boeotia. The child was named Scamander, and he became the king of the country; and he named the Inachus river Scamander after himself, and the stream near by he called Glaucia from his mother. The spring Acidusa he named after his wife; and from her he had three daughters whom even to this day they honour under the name of the "Maidens."

42. Whence arose the proverbial saying, "This is valid"?

When Deinon of Tarentum, a brave soldier, was

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* Deioun Crönert: Δίων.

D 43. "Πόθεν ἢ τῶν Ἰθακησίων πόλεις Ἀλαλκομέναι προσηγορεύθη;"

Διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἀντίκλειαν ὑπὸ Σισυφὸν βιασθείσαν ἐν τῇ παρθενίᾳ τῶν Ὀδυσσέα συλλαβεῖν ὑπὸ πλειώνων δ' ἐστὶν εἰρημένοιν. Ἰστρὸς δ' ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρεὺς ἐν ὑπομνήμασι προσιστόρηκεν, ὅτι τῷ Λαέρτῃ δισθείσα πρὸς γάμον καὶ ἀναγομένη, περὶ τὸ Ἀλαλκομένοιν2 ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ τῶν Ὀδυσσέα τέκου, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἔκεινος ωσπερ μετροπόλεως3 ἀναφέρων τοῦνομα τῇ ἐν Ἰθάκῃ πόλιν οὕτω φησὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι.4

44. "Τίνες ἐν Ἀιγίνῃ ὁι μονοφάγοι;"

Ε Τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν στρατευσάντων Ἀιγυπτῶν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάχαις ἀπώλουτο, πλείους δὲ κατὰ πλοῦν ὑπὸ5 τοῦ χειμῶνος. ὅλιγος οὖν τοὺς περιλειπομένους οἱ προσήκοντες υποδέχαμενοι, τοὺς δ' ἀλλούς πολλαὶς ὀρέωντες ἐν πένθει καὶ λύπαις ὄντας, οὕτε χαῖρειν ὑπὸντο δεῖν φανερῶς

1 Ταραντίνοις F.C.B.: ἐν Ὕπτινῳ.
2 Ἀλαλκομένοιν the spelling elsewhere: ἀλαλκομένειον.
3 μετροπόλεως Stephanus: μεσοπόλεως.
4 φησὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι προσαγορεύσει Hutten.
5 ὑπὸ Wytenbach: ἀπό.
general, his fellow-citizens voted to reject a certain proposal of his. When the herald reported the prevailing majority, he held up his right hand and said, "But this is stronger." This is Theophrastus's a version of the story; but Apollodorus has a supplementary version, that when the herald of the Tarentines proclaimed, "These are in the majority," Deinon said, "But these are better!" and validated the vote of the minority.

43. For what reason was the city of the Ithacans called Alalcomenae?

Because Anticleia, while yet a virgin, was violated by Sisyphus and conceived Ódýssëus. This is related by several authorities b; but Íster c of Alexandria in his Commentaries has in addition recorded that when Anticlea had been given in marriage to Ólærëtes and was being conducted to his home, she gave birth to Odýssëus near the Alalcomenium in Boeotia. And for this reason, as though referring the name to that of a mother-city, he states that the city in Ithaca acquired its name.

44. Who were the "solitary eaters" in Aegina?

Of the Aeginetans who were engaged in the war against Troy many perished in the battles there, but even more were destroyed by the storm on the return-voyage. So there were but few who survived, and when their relatives had welcomed them home, and observed that the other citizens were in mourning and sorrow, they deemed it proper neither to rejoice

a Frag. 133 (ed. Wimmer).

b Cf. Sophocles, Philoctetes, 417, with Jebb's note; Frag. 567 (ed. Pearson), with the note.

οὔτε θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀλλὰ κρύφα καὶ κατ᾽ ὦκίαν ἐκαστοὶ τοὺς σεσωσμένους ἀνελάμβανον ἐστιάσει καὶ φιλοφροσύναις, αὐτοὶ διακονοῦμενοι πατράσι καὶ συγγενείς καὶ ἀδελφοίς καὶ οἰκείοις, ἀλλοτρίου μηδενὸς παρεισόντος. ταύτ' οὖν ἀπομιμούμενοι

F τῷ Ποσειδώνι θυσίαν ἁγιοῦσι τοὺς καλομένους "θιάσους," ἐν ἤ καθ' αὐτοῦ ἔφ' ἡμέρας ἐκκαίδεκα μετὰ σιωπῆς ἐστιάζονται, δοῦλος δ' οὗ πάρεστιν· εἶτα ποιήσαντες Ἀφραδίσια διαλύουσι τὴν ἐορτήν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου "μονοφάγοι" καλοῦνται.

45. "Διὰ τί τοῦ Λαβρανδέως¹ Διὸς ἐν Καρίᾳ τὸ ἀγαλμα πέλεκυν ἤρμενον οὐχὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον ἢ κεραινὸν πεποίηται;"

"Οτι Ἡρακλῆς Ἰππολύτην ἀποκτείνας καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὄπλων αὐτῆς λαβὼν τὸν πέλεκυν Ὄμφαλὴν δώρον ἔδωκεν.² οἱ δὲ μετ' Ὀμφάλην Λυδῶν βασιλείς ἐφόρουν αὐτὸν ὡς τι τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν ἐκ διαδοχῆς παραλαμβάνοντες, ἀρχὴν Ἐκανθίλης ἀπεξώσας ἐν τῶν ἑταίρων φορεῖν ἔδωκεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Γύγης ἀποστὰς ἐπολέμει πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἤλθεν Ἀρσηλίς ἐκ Μυλασέως,³ ἐπίκουρος τῷ Γύγῃ μετὰ δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸν τε Ἐκανθίλην καὶ τὸν ἑταίρον αὐτοῦ διέφθειρε,⁴ καὶ τῶν πέλεκυν εἰς Καρίαν ἐκόμισε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων λαφύρων. καὶ Διὸς ἀγαλμα κατασκευάσας τὸν πέλεκυν ἐνεχείρισε, καὶ

¹ Λαβρανδέως Wytenbach (from Herodotus, v. 119): λαβρανδέως.
² ἔδωκε Γ.Σ.Β.: ἔδωκεν.
³ Μυλασέως Xylander: μυλεων.
⁴ διέφθειρε Helmhold: διαφθείρει.
nor to sacrifice to the gods openly; but secretly and separately in their own houses they received with feasting and good cheer those who had reached home in safety. They themselves waited upon their fathers and kinsmen, their brothers and relatives, and no one outside the family was allowed to enter. It is, then, in imitation of this that they hold a sacrifice to Poseidon, which is called thiasoi, in which they feast by themselves in silence for sixteen days, and no slave is present. Then, when they have celebrated the Aphrodisia, they terminate the festival. For this reason they are called "solitary eaters."

45. Why is it that the statue of the Labrandean Zeus in Caria is fashioned holding an axe, but not a sceptre or a thunderbolt?

Because when Heracles had slain Hippolytē, together with her other arms he took her axe and gave it as a present to Omphalē. The Lydian kings who succeeded Omphalē used to carry it as a part of the sacred regalia, handing it down one to the other until it came to Candaules. He deemed it of little worth and gave it to one of his Companions to carry. But when Gyges revolted and was at war with Candaules, Arselis came from Mylasa with an army as an ally for Gyges and slew both Candaules and his Companion and brought the axe to Caria together with the other spoils. He therefore constructed a statue of Zeus and placed the axe in its hand, and

"Club-dinner."

Technically a Hellenistic court office, but Plutarch seems to assume such a relation in early Lydian history.

46. "Διὰ τί Τραγλιανοὶ καθαρτῆρα καλοῦσι τὸν Β' ὀρὸβον καὶ χρῶνται μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς ἀφοσιώσεις καὶ τοὺς καθαρμοὺς;"

"Ἡ ὅτι Λέλεγες καὶ Μυνᾶι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐξελάσαντες αὐτοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατέσχον; ὥστεν δ' οἱ Τραγλιανοὶ κατελθόντες καὶ κρατήσαντες, ὅσοι τῶν Λελέγεων οὐ διεφθάρησαν οὕτ' ἐφύγον ἀλλὰ δ' ἀμηχανίαν βίον καὶ ἀσθενείαν ὑπελειφθησαν αὐτοῖς, τούτων οὐδένα λόγον ἔχοντες οὔτε ζωτὸν οὔτ' ἀπολλυμένων νόμον ἔθεντο τὸν κτείναντα Μυνᾶν ἢ Λελέγην Τραγλιανῶν καθαρὸν εἶναι, μέδιμνον ὀρόβων ἀπομετρήσαντα τοῖς οἰκείοις τοῦ φονευθέντων;

47. "Διὰ τί παρὰ τοῖς Ἡλείοις παρομιῳδέσεις Κ ἐστὶ τὸ 'δεινότερα Σαμβίκου παθεῖν';"

"Λέγεται τινα Σάμβικον Ἡλείον ἔχοντα πολλοὺς ύφ' ἐαυτῷ συνεργοὺς πολλά περικόψαι τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ χαλκῶν ἀνάθημάτων καὶ ἄποδόσθαι, τέλος δὲ συλῆσαι τὸ τῆς ἐπισκόπου Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερόν· τούτο δ' ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν 'Ηλιδί, καλεῖται δ' Ἀριστάρχειον. εὐθὺς οὖν μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν ἀλόντα βασανίζονται δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν κεκοιμωνηκότων ἀνακρινόμενον, καὶ οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὴν παρομίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου πάθεσι γενέσθαι.

1 Λαβρανδέα Wyttenbach (from Herodotus, v. 119): λαβρανδέα.
3 Λελέγην] λέλεγα some mss.
called the god Labrandeus; for the Lydians call the axe labrys.\(^a\)

46. Why is it that the people of Tralles call vetch "purifier" and make particular use of it for expiations and purifications?

Is it because the Leleges and Minyae in days of old drove them out and took possession of their city and their land, and because later the Trallians returned and prevailed, and as many of the Leleges as had not been slain nor had fled away, but had been left behind there because of their destitution and weakness—of these they took no account either of their life or of their death, and they established a law that any Trallian who killed a Minyan or a Lelegian should be free from pollution when he had measured out a bushel of vetch to the relatives of the murdered man?

47. Why is there a proverb among the Eleans "to suffer more terribly than Sambicus"?

The story is told that a certain Sambicus, an Elean, at the head of a numerous group of confederates, cut many pieces from the bronze votive statues in Olympia and sold them, and finally he despoiled the shrine of Artemis the Guardian. This is in Elis and is called the Aristarcheum. Immediately, then, after this sacrilege, he was caught and tortured for a year, being interrogated about each of his confederates in turn; and in this manner he died and the proverb arose from his sufferings.

\(^a\) One is reminded of the many representations of the double axe on Cretan monuments.
(302) 48. "Διὰ τι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι παρὰ τὸ τῶν Λευκιππίδων ἔρον ίδρυται τοῦ Ὅδυσσέως ἥρων;"

'Εργῖνος, εἰς τῶν Δυομηδίους ἀπογόνων, ὑπὸ ΔΤημένου πεισθεὶς ἐξεκλεῖθη τὸ παλλάδιον ἐξ Ἀργούς, συνειδότος Λεάγρου καὶ συνεκκλέπτοντος· ἦν δ' οὖτος εἰς τῶν Τημένου συνήθων. Ὑστερον δὲ τῷ Τημένῳ γενόμενος δι' ὀργῆς ὁ Λεάγρος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα μετέστη τὸ παλλάδιον κομίζων. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς δεξάμενοι προθύμως ἔδρυσαντο πλησίον τοῦ τῶν Λευκιππίδων ἔρου, καὶ πέμψαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς διεμαντεύοντο περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φυλακῆς. ἀνελόντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἕνα τῶν υφελομένων τὸ παλλάδιον φύλακα ποιεῖσθαι, κατεσκεύασαν αὐτόθι τοῦ 'Οδυσσέως τὸ ἥρων, ἀλλωτε καὶ προσήκεν τῇ πόλει τὸν ἧρωα διὰ τὸν τῆς Πηνελόπης γάμον ὑπολοβόντες.

Ε 49. "Διὰ τί ταῖς Χαλκηδονίαις ἐθος ἐστίν, ὅταν ἀνδράσιν ἄλλοτρίους ἐντύχωσι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀρχοῦσι, τὴν ἐτέραν περικαλύπτεσθαι παρείαν;"

Πόλεμος ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς Βιθυνοὺς ἐκ πάσης παροξυσμοῦνος προφάσεως. Ζευτοίτου δὲ βασιλεύσαντο τούτων, πανορτιά, καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικουρίας προσγεμονής, ἐπιρρόλουν καὶ κατέτρεχον τὴν χώραν. ἐπιθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Ζευτοίτου περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Φάλλον αὐτοῖς, κακῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι διὰ θράσους καὶ ἀταξίαν ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίου ἀπέβαλον στρατιώτας· καὶ παντελῶς μὲν οὐκ ἀνηρέθησαν τότε, Ζευτοῖτον Βυζαντίους χαρισματένου τᾶς διαλύσεις· πολλῆς δὲ τὴν πολὺν ἐρημίας ἀνδρῶν

1 Ἐργῖνος Bernardakis: ἔργινος.
2 τούτων Helmbold: αὐτῶν.

236
48. Why at Sparta is a shrine of Odysseus built near the shrine of the daughters of Leucippus?

Erginus, one of the descendants of Diomedes, was persuaded by Temenus to steal the Palladium from Argos; this he did with the knowledge and help of Leagrus, who was one of Temenus's friends. But later Leagrus became incensed at Temenus and removed to Sparta, taking the Palladium with him. The Spartan kings received it eagerly, and gave it a place near the shrine of the daughters of Leucippus, and they sent to Delphi to obtain an oracle concerning its safety and preservation. When the god gave oracle that one of those who had purloined the Palladium should be made its guardian, the Spartans constructed there the shrine of Odysseus, especially since, because of his marriage with Penelope, they reckoned that this hero had close relations with their city.

49. Why is it the custom for the women of Chalcedon, whenever they encounter strange men, and especially officials, to veil one cheek?

The Chalcedonians were involved in a war against the Bithynians, to which they were provoked by all kinds of reasons. When Zeipoetes became king of Bithynia, the Chalcedonians, in full force and with the addition of Thracian allies, devastated the country with fire and sword. When Zeipoetes attacked them near the so-called Phalion, they fought badly through rashness and lack of discipline, and lost over eight thousand soldiers. It was only because Zeipoetes granted an armistice to please the Byzantines that they were not completely annihilated at that time. Since, then, there was a great scarcity of men

* The daughter of the Spartan Icarius.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

κατεχούσης, αἱ μὲν πλείσται γυναῖκες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἀπελευθέρωσιν καὶ μετοίκους συνώκησαν· αἱ δ' ἀνανδρίαι ἀντὶ τοιούτων ἔλομεναι γάμων, αὐταὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπραττόν ὅτου δεηθεῖεν παρὰ δικασταῖς καὶ ἄρχουσιν, ἀπάγουσιν θάτερον μέρος τοῦ 303 προσώπου τῆς καλύπτρας. αἱ δὲ γεγαμημέναι δὲ αἰσχύνην ἀναμμυοῦμεναι ταύτας ὡς ἑαυτῶν βελτίων εἰς ἐθος ὀμοιον κατέστησαν.

50. "Διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἀργήνωρος τέμενος τὰς οἷς προσελαίτοντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι βιβάζοντο;"
"Η ὁτι κάλλιστα προβάτων ὁ Ἀργήνωρ ἐπεμελήθη καὶ πλείστα ποίμνια τῶν βασιλέων ἐκτήσατο;"

51. "Διὰ τὴν Βαλλαχράδας ἑαυτοῦς Ἀργεϊων παίδες ἐν ἐορτῇ τινι παίζοντες ἀποκαλοῦσιν;"
"Η ὁτι τοὺς πρώτους ὑπ' Ἰνάχου καταχθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἄκρων εἰς τὰ πεδία ἄχρασι διατραφήναι λέγουσιν; ἄχράδας δὲ πρώτον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Β φανῆναι τοῖς "Ελλησῷ, ἐτι τῆς χώρας ἐκεῖνης Ἀπίας προσαγορευμένης· ὅθεν ἀπίοι αἱ ἄχράδες ἐπωνομάσθησαν;" "

52. "Τίς ἡ αἰτία, δι' ἥν Ἡλείοι τὰς ὀνοθόρους ῥήσαν ἐκτὸς ὀρῶν ἀπάγοντες βιβάζοντο;"
"Η ὁτι πάντων τῶν βασιλέων φιλιππότατος ὃν ὁ Οἰνόμας καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἵππον ἀγαπήσας τούτ'

1 αὐταὶ Dübner: αὐταί.
2 ἄκρων Madvig; ὀρῶν Wytenbach: ἄγρων.
3 αἱ Bernardakis: omitted in most mss, two having οἱ.
4 ἐπωνομάσθησαν F.C.B. omitted in nearly all mss.
5 ὀνοθόρους F.C.B.: ἑνόδας. (It seems almost certain that the first three letters of ἑνόδας must have been ὀνο-.)

238
throughout the city, most of the women were forced to consort with freedmen and resident aliens. But those women who preferred to have no husband at all rather than a marriage of this sort, themselves conducted whatever business they needed to transact with the judges or the officials, drawing aside one part of the veil that covered their faces. And the married women, for very shame, followed the example of these, who, they felt, were better than themselves, and also changed to a similar custom.

50. Why is it that the Argives drive their sheep to the precinct of Agenor when they wish to mate them? Is it because Agenor took most excellent care of his sheep and acquired more flocks than any other king?

51. Why is it that Argive children in a certain festival call themselves, in jest, "Pear-throwers"?

Is it because the first men that were led down by Inachus from the mountains to the plain lived, as they say, on wild pears? They also say that wild pears were first discovered by the Greeks in the Peloponnesus at a time when that country was still called Apia, wherefore wild pears were named apioi.

52. What is the reason why the Eleans lead their mares outside the boundaries of their country to mate them with asses? Is it because of all kings Oenomaüs was the most fond of horses, and, since he particularly loved

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*a Cf. Pausanias, ii. 5. 7; Aelian, Varia Historia, iii. 39.*

*b Cf. Herodotus, iv. 30; Pausanias, v. 5. 2; 9. 2; mules were not bred in Elis because of a curse, and this, seemingly, should be the meaning here; but the corruption in the text of one word, which should have designated asses, has made the mules somewhat dubious.*
(303) ἐπηράσατο πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ κατὰ τῶν ἵππων1 ὀχειόντων εἰς "Πλωδι, καὶ φοβοῦμενοι τὴν κατάραν ἐκείνην ἀφοσιώνται;

53. "Διὰ τί παρὰ Κνωσσίως ἔθος ἂν ἀρπάζειν τοῖς δανειζομένοις τὸ ἀργύριον;"

"Ἡ ὀπως ἀποστεροῦντες ἐνοχοι τοῖς βιαίοις ὅσι και μᾶλλον κολάζωνται;

C 54. "Τίς ἡ αὐτία, δι' ἂν εἰς Σάμω τὴν Δεξι-κρέοντος 'Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦσι;"

Πότερον ὅτι τὰς γυναίκας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τραφής καὶ ὑβρεως ἀκόλαστα ποιοῦσας Δεξικρέών ἀνήρ ἀγύρ-της καθαρμῷ χρησάμενος ἀπῆλλαξεν;

"Ἡ ὅτι ναύκληρος ὃν ὁ Δεξικρέων ἐπέλευσεν εἰς Κύπρον ἐπ' ἐμπορία, καὶ μέλλοντα γεμίζειν τὴν ναῦν2 ἢ Ἰφροδίτην ἐκέλευσεν3 ὕδωρ ἐμβαλόμενον καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πλεῖν τὴν ταχύτητι; πεισθεὶς δὲ καὶ πολὺ ὕδωρ ἐνθέμενος ἐξέπλευσεν, εἶτα νησείας καὶ γαλήνης ἐν τῷ πελάγει κατασχόυσας, δυσθαντος τοῖς ἐμπόροις καὶ ναύκληροις ὕδωρ πιπρά-σκων ἀργύριον πολὺ συνήθροισεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου

D κατασκευάσας τὴν θεον ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσεν. εἰ δὴ τούτ' ἄλλης ἐστι, φαίνεται οὐχ ἓνα πλουτίσαι, πολλοὶς δὲ σῶσαι δὴ ἐνὸς ἡ θεος θελήσασα.

55. "Διὰ τί τοῖς Σαμίωις, ὅταν τῷ Ἑρμῆ τῷ χαριδότηθεν θύσιν, κλέπτειν ἐφείται τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ λωποδυτείν; "

1 ἵππων Wytenbach: ἵππων or ἵππον.
2 τὴν ναῦν added by Wytenbach.
3 ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐκέλευσεν Wytenbach from E: τὴν Ἀφροδίτην κελεύειν.

240
this animal, he laid many terrible curses upon any
that should thus mate horses in Elis; and it is in fear
of that curse that they endeavour to keep clear of it?

53. Why was it the custom among the Cnossians
for those who borrowed money to snatch it?
Was it that if they defaulted they might be liable
to the charge of violence, and so be punished the
more?

54. What is the reason why in Samos they invoke
the Aphrodite of Dexireon?
Is it because a sorcerer Dexireon, making use of
a rite of purification, freed the women of Samos
from the unbridled licentiousness in which they in-
dulged because of their great luxury and wantonness?
Or is it because Dexireon was a shipmaster and
sailed to Cyprus on a trading voyage, and, when he
was about to freight his ship, Aphrodite bade him
put into it water and nothing else, and set sail as
quickly as possible? He obeyed and, putting much
water aboard the ship, sailed away; after a time the
wind died down and the ship was becalmed in the
open sea. To the other merchants and shipmasters,
who were athirst, he sold the water and amassed
much money. Wherefore he fashioned an image of
the goddess and called it by his own name. If this
is really true, it appears that the goddess wished not
to make one man rich, but to save the lives of many
through one man.

55. Why is it that whenever the Samians are en-
gaged in sacrificing to Hermes the Giver of Joy they
allow whoever so desires to steal from them and filch
their clothes?
"Οτι κατα χρησιμον εκ της νήσου μεταστάντες εις Μυκάλην ἀπὸ ληστείας δέκα ἐτη διεγένοντο· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πλεύσαντες αὖθις εἰς τὴν νήσου, ἐκράτησαν τῶν πολεμίων."

56. "'Απὸ τίνος Πάναιμα τόπος ἐν τῇ Σαμίων νήσῳ καλεῖται;"

"Η ὁτι φεύγουσαι Διόνυσουα αἰ 'Αμαζόνες εκ τῆς Ε Ἐφεσίων χώρας εἰς Σάμον διέπλευσαν· ὁ δὲ ποιησάμενος πλοῖα καὶ διαβάς μάχην συνήψε καὶ πολλὰς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, ὅν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ῥυέντος αἰματοὺς οἱ θεώμενοι Πάναιμα θαυμάζοντες εκάλουν; τῶν δὲ ἐλεφάντων ἀποθανεῖν τινες λέγονται περὶ τὸ Φλοῖον καὶ τὰ ὅστα δεῖκνυται αὐτῶν· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Φλοῖον ὑπ' ἐκείνων βαγῆμα φθεγγομένων μέγα τι καὶ διάτορον.

57. "'Απὸ ποιας αἰτίας ὁ ἀνδρῶν ἐν Σάμῳ πεδήτης καλεῖται;"

Τῶν γεωμόρων ἐχόντων τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ τὴν Δημοτέλους σφαγὴν καὶ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς ἐκείνου Γ μοναρχίας, οἱ Μεγαρεῖς Περυνθίους ἐπεστράτευσαν ἀποίκοις οὕτω Σαμίων πέδας κομίζοντες, ὅσ' λέγεται, ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ταῦτα δ' οἱ γεωμόροι πυνθανόμενοι βοηθείαν ἑπεμπον κατὰ τάχος, στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἀποδείξαντες ἐννέα, ναῦς δὲ πληρω-

1 ἐκείνων Ἑλμбόλδ: πολεμίων οἱ σάμιοι.
2 Διόνυσου ᾿Λυττένβαχ: διονύσιοι.
3 ἐλεφάντων Βιλαμουζίτς-Μόλεντόρφ (cf. Hermes, xxxiii. 528); φθειράντων Ἐ.Β.: φάντων.
4 ὑπ' Χάλλιτι καὶ ένει σίσ.: ἐπ'.

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a Cf. Pausanias, vii. 2. 7.  b "Allblood."
Because in obedience to an oracle they changed their abode from Samos to Mycalè and supported themselves by piracy there for ten years; and after this they sailed again to Samos and overcame their enemies.

56. From what does the place Panhaema on the island of Samos derive its name?

Is it because the Amazons sailed from the country of the Ephesians across to Samos when they were endeavouring to escape from Dionysus? But he built boats and crossed over and, joining battle, slew many of them near this place, which the spectators in amazement called Panhaema because of the vast quantity of blood shed there. And of the elephants some are said to have been slain near Phloeum, and their bones are pointed out there; but some relate that Phloeum also was cleft by them as they uttered a loud and piercing cry.

57. For what reason is the great hall in Samos called the Hall of Fetters?

After the murder of Demoteles and the dissolution of his monarchic government the Land-owners controlled the State, and at this time the Megarians made an expedition against the Perinthians, who were colonists of the Samians; as it is related, they brought with them fetters for their captives. When the Land-owners learned of this, they dispatched aid to the Perinthians with all speed, appointing nine

\[\text{Wilamowitz and Halliday emend to } \text{βλεφαντών}. \text{ This has, at first view, some plausibility, but completely lacks corroboration evidence. Nonnus, } \text{Dionysiaca, xxvi. 326 ff. is not by any means parallel.}\]

\[\text{Thucydides, viii. 21, recounts the later struggles of the Land-owners and the People.}\]
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

...[Greek text]...

58. "Διὰ τὶ παρὰ Κέως ὁ τοῦ Ἑρακλέους ἱερεὺς ἐν Ἀντιμαχείᾳ γυναικείαν ἐνδεδυμένος  

1 τισὶ Wyttenbach: τοῖς.  
2 τῶν σκελῶν Helmbold: αὐτῶν.
generals and manning thirty ships. Two of these ships, as they were sailing out, were destroyed by a thunderbolt in front of the harbour; but the generals kept on with the others, defeated the Megarians, and took six hundred of them alive. Elated by their victory, they conceived the project of overthrowing the oligarchy of the Land-owners at home. Now the officials in charge of the government had provided an occasion for undertaking this, by writing to the generals to bring back the captive Megarians bound in their own fetters. The generals, accordingly, took the letter, and secretly showed it to certain of the Megarians and persuaded them to join with themselves and free the city. When they took counsel together concerning the deed, they decided to knock loose the rings that fastened the fetters, and in this condition to put them on the legs of the Megarians, holding them up with thongs to their girdles, so that the fetters might not slip down and fall off when their legs became relaxed in walking. Having thus equipped the men and given a sword to each, they sailed back to Samos and disembarked, and there they led the Megarians through the market-place to the council-chamber, where practically all the Land-owners were sitting together. Then, at a given signal, the Megarians fell upon them and slew them. When the city had thus been freed, they made citizens of those Megarians who so desired; and they constructed a great building and dedicated the fetters there; and from this the building was called the Hall of Fetters.

58. Why is it that among the Coans the priest of Heracles at Antimacheia dons a woman's garb, and
(3.4) έσθήτα καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν ἀναδούμενος μίτρα κατ-άρχεται τῆς θυσίας.

'Ἡρακλῆς ταῖς ἔξι ναυσίν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἀναχθεὶς ἐχειμάσθη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων¹ διαφθαρεὶσῶν μιᾷ μόνῃ πρὸς τὴν Κών ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐλαυνόμενος ἐξέπεσε κατὰ τὸν Δακητῆρα καλούμενον, οὐδὲν Δ ἄλλο περισσός ἦ τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἐντυχὼν δὲ προβάτοις ἦτει κριὼν ἕνα παρὰ τοῦ νέμοντος· ὁ δ' ἀνθρωπὸς ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Ἀνταγόρας, ἀκμάζων δὲ τῇ ρώμῃ τοῦ σώματος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ² διαπαλαίσας τὸν 'Ἡρακλέα, κἂν καταβάλῃ, τὸν κριὸν φέρεσθαι. καὶ συμπεσόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ 'Ἡρα-κλέους ἐς χείρας, οἱ Μέροπες τῷ Ἀνταγόρα παρα-βοηθοῦντες, οἱ δ' Ἔλληνες τῷ Ἡρακλεί, μάχην καρτερᾶν συνήφαν, ἐν ἦ λέγεται τῷ πλῆθει κατα-πονούμενος ὁ 'Ἡρακλῆς καταφυγεῖν πρὸς γυναῖκα Ἐράτταν καὶ διαλαθεῖν ἔσθητι γυναικεία κατα-Ε κρύψας ἑαυτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Μερόπων αὖθις κρατήσας καὶ καθαρθεὶς ἐγάμει τῇ Χαλκίδῃ,² ἀνέλαβε στολήν ἄνθινην. διὸ θύει μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ὃπον τὴν μάχην συνεβή γενέσθαι, τὰς δὲ νῦμφας οἱ γαμοῦντες δεξιοῦνται γυναικείαν στολήν περι-θέμενοι.

59. "Πόθεν ἐν Μεγάροις γένος ἀμαξοκυλιστῶν;"

'Επὶ τῆς ἀκολότου δημοκρατίας, ἡ καὶ τὴν παλιντοκίαν ἐποίησε καὶ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν, ἐπορεύετο θεωρία Πελοποννησίων εἰς Δελφοὺς διὰ τῆς Με-

¹ ἄλλων E. Capps: νεων.
² αὐτῶ Dübner: αὐτῶ.
³ Χαλκίσῃ Wytenbach, from Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, ii. 7. 8: Ἀλκισίου.
fastens upon his head a woman's head-dress before he begins the sacrifice?

Heracles, putting out with his six ships from Troy, encountered a storm; and when his other ships had been destroyed, with the only one remaining he was driven by the gale to Cos. He was cast ashore upon the Laceter, as the place is called, with nothing salvaged save his arms and his men. Now he happened upon some sheep and asked for one ram from the shepherd. This man, whose name was Antagoras, was in the prime of bodily strength, and bade Heracles wrestle with him; if Heracles could throw him, he might carry off the ram. And when Heracles grappled with him, the Meropes came to the aid of Antagoras, and the Greeks to help Heracles, and they were soon engaged in a mighty battle. In the struggle it is said that Heracles, being exhausted by the multitude of his adversaries, fled to the house of a Thracian woman; there, disguising himself in feminine garb, he managed to escape detection. But later, when he had overcome the Meropes in another encounter, and had been purified, he married Chalciope and assumed a gay-coloured raiment. Wherefore the priest sacrifices on the spot where it came about that the battle was fought, and bridegrooms wear feminine raiment when they welcome their brides.

59. Whence came the clan of "Wagon-rollers" among the Megarians?

In the time of the unbridled democracy which brought about both the return-interest and the temple sacrilege, a sacred mission of Peloponnesians passed through the Megarid, on its way to Delphi and

\[a \text{ Cf. 295 c-d, supra.}\]
Γαρικής καὶ κατηνιλίσθησαν¹ ἐν Αἰγείροις παρὰ τὴν λίμνην μετὰ παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν ὡς ἔτυχεν ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις. τῶν δὲ Μεγαρέων οἱ θρασύτατοι μεθυσθέντες, ὤβρει καὶ ὠμότητι τὰς ἀμάξας ἀνακυλίσαντες εἰς τὴν λίμνην ἔνεωσαντο, ὡστε πολλοὺς ἀποφυγὴμα τῶν θεωρῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Μεγαρεῖς διὸ ἀναζίαν τῆς πολιτείας ἠμέλησαν τοῦ ἀδικήματος, οἱ δὲ Ἀμφικτύόνες, ἱερὰς τῆς θεωρίας οὐσίας, ἐπιστραφέντες τοὺς μὲν φυγῆ τοὺς δὲ θανάτῳ τῶν ἐναγῶν εξημέωσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους "ἀμαξοκυλισταῖ" προσηγορεύθησαν.

¹ κατηνιλίσθησαν Wytenbach: κατεκυλίσθησαν.
had encamped, as chance dictated, in their wagons, with their wives and children, in Aegeiri beside the lake. But the boldest spirits among the Megarians, inflamed with wine, in their insolence and savagery rolled back the wagons and pushed them into the lake, so that many members of the mission were drowned. Now because of the unsettled state of their government the Megarians took no notice of the crime; but the Amphictyonic Assembly, since the mission was sacred, took cognizance of the matter and punished some of the guilty men with banishment and others with death. The descendants of these men were called "Wagon-rollers."
GREEK AND ROMAN PARALLEL STORIES
(PARALLELA GRAECA ET ROMANA)
The Greek and Roman Parallel Stories (sometimes called the Parallela Minora) are a puzzle. The use of some strange and barbarous forms, the substitution of "the aforesaid" for the usual pronoun of reference (though this is, to be sure, a prominent characteristic of the work of Polybius), and above all the atrocious style in which the work is written make it impossible that this could reasonably be regarded as the work of Plutarch, though some scholars, fortunately unknown to Hartman, have actually regarded this work as one of the sins of Plutarch's otherwise stainless youth.

Yet a work of this name is included in Lamprias's list, No. 128 under the title Διηγήσεις Παράλληλοι Ελληνικαὶ καὶ Ρωμαϊκαὶ and several of these tales are quoted in full in almost the exact words of our ms. text by Joannes Stobaeus. But the excessive ineptitude of the language quite excludes the possibility that the work before us can be Plutarch's, if indeed he ever wrote a book of this sort.

S. Luria, in Rheinisches Museum, lxxviii. (1929) p. 94,

a On προειρημένος see W. Schmid, Der Atticismus, iii. pp. 147 ff.

b Contrariwise see Parthenius, translated by S. Gaselee, in the L.C.L. p. 289 note.

c Only the first, however, is assigned to Plutarch.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

has suggested that the Parallelia and the De Fluviis are parodies after the manner of Lucian’s True History; and both Hercher and Hartman have expressed the opinion that both works are by the same anonymous author, chiefly because it is difficult to imagine that two such fools as the author of each discloses himself to be could ever have lived! The confusion that the author (ingeniously?) introduces, the forced simplicity of his glaring misnomers, his many references to authorities that Hercher has attempted to show never existed, all have been thought to suggest that the Parallelia is a parody of the comparisons in the Lives; but J. Schlereth, in his excellent dissertation De Plutarchi quae feruntur Parallelia Minora (Freiburg, 1931), has with great learning and acumen attempted to disprove this thesis. His work may be consulted by anyone who may be curious about the sources, the language, or the purpose of the Parallelia Minora.

Wilhelm Schmid (Philologische Wochenschrift 1932, coll. 625-634) has reviewed Schlereth’s work with great care. Both Schmid and Nachstädtt hold that the citations from otherwise unknown authors are


b Plutarchi libellus de fluviis (Leipzig, 1851). Schlereth, however, has severely criticized Hercher’s conclusions. On the sources of De Fluviis see Atenstädt, Hermes, lvii. pp. 219 ff.

c Yet Müller receives them all as Fragmenta Historiorum Graecorum. It has not been thought worth while to include in the notes the references to Müller, since no additional information is to be found there. All the references, however, will be found in the recent Teubner edition.

d It must be noted that many of the points which Plutarch has selected for comparison in the Lives, that is, in the so-called ἡγκρίσεις, are very tenuous, not to say inept. They would lend themselves readily to parody. On the ἡγκρίσεις see further F. Focke, Hermes, lviii. pp. 327 ff.

251
genuine, not falsifications of the compiler. Nachstädt, accordingly in the Teubner edition of 1934, gives all the references, and also adds, for convenient comparison, the most important passages from Stobaeus, Lydus, and a *gnomologicum Parisinum*, published by Sternbach in 1893, which seem to have the same original as the text of the present work.
Τὰς ἀρχαῖας ἱστορίας διὰ τὰ παράδοξα τῆς πράξεως οἱ πλείστοι νομίζουσι πλάσματα καὶ μύθους
Β' τυχάνειν· εὐρών δ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἐν τοῖς νῦν χρόνοις γεγονότα ὁµοία, τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἡρωμαικοῖς καιροῖς
συµβεβηκότα ἑξελεξάµην, καὶ ἐκάστῳ πράγματι ἀρχαίῳ νεωτέραν ὁµοίαν διήγησιν ὑπέταξα, ἀναγράφας καὶ τοὺς ἱστορήσαντας ἄνδρας.

1. ΔΑΤΙΣ ὁ Περσῶν σατράπης μετὰ τριάκοντα μυριάδων εἰς Μαραθώνα παραγενόµενος, πεδίον τῆς
'Αττικῆς, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάµενος πόλεµον τοὺς ἐγχώριους κατήγγειλεν· Ἀθηναίοι δὲ τοῦ βαρ-
βαροῦ πλῆθους καταφρονήσαντες ἐνακισχυλῶς ἑπεµψαν, στρατηγοὺς ποιήσαντες Κυνέγειρον Πολύ-
C ζηλον Καλλίμαχον Μιλτιάδην. συµβληθείσης δὲ τῆς παρατάξεως, Πολύζηλος μὲν ὑπεράνθρωπον1
φαντασάνθε ϑεασάµενος τὴν ὀράσιν ἀτέβαλε καὶ τυφλὸς ἐγένετο2. Καλλίμαχος δὲ πολλοίς περιπεπαρ-
µένοις δόρασι καὶ νεκρὸς ἑστάθη· Κυνέγειρος δὲ Περ-
σικῆν ἀναγοµένην ναῦν κατασχὼν3 ἑχειροκοπήθη.

1 ὑπεράνθρωπον Bernardakis: ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον.
2 καὶ τυφλὸς ἐγένετο] καὶ τυφλὸς ὡν ἀνεῖλε τεσσαράκοντα ὀκτὼ
Stobaeus.
3 κατασχὼν] κατέχων Stobaeus.

256
GREEK AND ROMAN PARALLEL STORIES

The greater part of mankind think that tales of ancient events are inventions and myths because of the incredible elements which they contain. But since I have discovered that similar events have happened in this modern era, I have singled out crises of Roman history; and, to parallel each ancient happening, I have subjoined a more modern instance. I have also recorded my authorities.

1. Datis, the Persian satrap, came to Marathon, a plain of Attica, with an army of three hundred thousand, encamped there, and declared war on the inhabitants of the country. The Athenians, however, contemning the barbarian host, sent out nine thousand men, and appointed as generals Cynegeirus, Polyzelus, Callimachus, and Miltiades. When this force had engaged the enemy, Polyzelus, having seen a supernatural vision, lost his sight, and became blind. Callimachus was pierced with so many spears that, dead though he was, he stood upright; and Cynegeirus, seizing hold of a Persian ship that was putting out to sea, had his hand chopped off.

\[a\] Contrast Lucan, iv. 787 "compressum turba stetit omne cadaver"; Ammianus Marcellinus, xviii. 8. 12.

\[b\] Cf. Herodotus, vi. 114; Stobaeus, Florilegium, vii. 63 (iii. p. 328 Hense).
(305) "ΑΣΩΡΩΤΑΣ βασιλεὺς Σικελίαν καταλαβόμενος πόλεμον Ἦρωμαίοις κατῆγγειλε· Μέτελλος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου στρατηγὸς χειροτονθείς ἐγκρατῆς ἐγένετο τῆς νίκης ταύτης, ἐν ᾧ Λεύκιος Γλαύκων εὐγενής ἀνήρ, τὴν Ἀσδροῦβα κατέχων ναῦν, ἀμφοτέρας ἀπέβαλε τὰς χειρὰς· καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ Ἔρεξης Μιλήσιος ἐν πρώτῃ Σικελικῶν, παρ’ οὗ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐμαθεὶς Διονύσιος ὁ Σικελιώτης.

2. ΕΞΕΡΕΞΕ μετὰ πεντακόσιων μυριάδων Ἀρτέμισι προσορμίσας πόλεμον τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις κατῆγγειλεν· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ συγκεκυμένου κατάσκοπον ἐπέμψαν Ἀγησίλαον, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέους ἀδελφὸν, καὶ περί Νεοκλέους τὸν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ κατ’ ὅναρ ἐωρακότος ἀμφοτέρας ἀποβεβληκότα τὰς χειρὰς. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐν σχήματι Περσικῷ Μαρδόνιον ἐνα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀνέιλεν ὑπολαμβάνων ΕΞΕΡΕΞΕ εἶναι· συλληφθεῖς Ε δὲ πρὸς τῶν πέριξ δέσμως ἥχθη πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. βουθυτεῖν δὲ τοῦ προειρημένου μέλλοντος ἐπὶ τῶ τοῦ ἡλίου βαμμῷ, τὴν δεξιὰν ἐπέθηκε χεῖρα, καὶ ἀστενάκτως ὑπομείνας τὴν ἀνάγκην τῶν βασάνων ἥλευθρον τῶν δεσμῶν ἐπί τῶν, “πάντες ἐσμὲν τοιοῦτοι Ἀθηναῖοι· εἰ δ’ ἐπιστεῖς, καὶ τὴν ἀριστεράν ἐπιθῆσε.” φοβηθεῖς δὲ ὁ Ἔρεξης προφητεύσαι αὐτὸν προσέταξε· καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ Ἀγαθαρχίδης Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρα τῶν Περσικῶν.

ΠΟΡΣΙΝΑΣ Τούσκων βασιλεὺς πέραν ποταμοῦ Θύμβρεως στρατεύσας ἐπολέμησε Ἦρωμαίοις, καὶ Φ τὴν ἀπὸ σιτίων φερομένην εὐθυνίαν Ἦρωμαίοις

1 εἰς τοὺς β. | εἰς πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων Stobaeus.
2 εἶναι] ὑπάρχει Stobaeus.
Hasdrubal the king seized Sicily and declared war on the Romans. Metellus was elected general by the Senate and was victor in the battle in which Lucius Glauco, a patrician, seizing hold of Hasdrubal’s ship, lost both his hands. This Aristeides the Milesian relates in the first book of his Sicilian History; from him Dionysius Siculus learned the facts.

2. Xerxes with five million men anchored near Artemisium and declared war on the inhabitants. The Athenians were in confusion and sent Agesilaüs, the brother of Themistocles, as a spy, although his father Neocles had seen in a dream his son deprived of both his hands. Agesilaüs, arriving among the barbarians in Persian garb, slew Mardonius, one of the king’s bodyguards, supposing him to be Xerxes. He was arrested by the bystanders and led in bonds to the king. The aforesaid king was about to offer sacrifice at the altar of the Sun, and Agesilaüs placed his right hand upon the altar; and when he had endured the cruel torture without a groan, he was freed from his bonds, whereupon he declared, “All we Athenians are men of this sort; if you do not believe me, I will place my left hand also on the altar.” Xerxes was frightened and gave command that he be kept under guard. This Agatharchides the Samian relates in the second book of his Persian History.

Porsonna, king of the Etruscans, made a foray on the other side of the river Tiber and warred against the Romans; he intercepted their abundant supply

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Stobaeus, Florilegium, vii. 64 (iii. p. 330 Hense).

3 πρὸς τῶν πέρις ὑπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων Stobaeus.
4 ἀστενάκτως ἀστενάκτος some mss. and Stobaeus.
5 πάντες ἐσαμέν Bernardakis from Stobaeus: πάντες μὲν.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

méσην λαβὼν λιμᾶ τοὺς προειρημένους ἐτρυχε. τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου συγκεκχυμένης, Μοῦκιος τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνήρ λαβὼν τετρακοσίων ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ὁμήλικας ἐν ἰδιωτικῷ σχήματι τῶν ποταμῶν διήλθεν. ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν σωματοφύλακα τοῦ τυράννου τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διαδιδόντα τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ὑπολαβὼν αὐτὸν τὸν Πορσίναν εἶναι ἀνείλεν. ἀχθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τοῖς ἐμπύροις ἐπέθηκε τὴν δεξίαν

306 χεῖρα καὶ στέξας τὰς ἄλγηδόνας εὐφύχως ἐμειδίασεν εἰπών, "βάρβαρε, λέλυμαι, καὶ μὴ θέλης· καὶ ἵσθι ἡμᾶς κατὰ σοῦ τετρακοσίους ὀντας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, οἱ ἐν ἀνελεῖν ἔχοντες." οδ' ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς σπονδάς πρὸς 'Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησατο· καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ 'Ἀριστείδης ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν τρίτῃ ἱστορίῳ.

3. Ἀργείων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπὲρ Θυρεάτιδος χώρας πολεμοῦντων, οἱ Ἀμφικτύνοις ἐκρίναν πολεμήσαι τριακοσίους ἐκατέρων καὶ τῶν νικησάντων εἶναι τῷ χώραν. Λακεδαιμονίοι μὲν οὖν ὁ 'Οθρυάδην ἐποίησαν στρατηγὸν Ἀργείοι δὲ Θέρσανδρον. πολεμοῦντων δὲ δύο ἐκ τῶν Ἀργείων περιελίβθησαν, Ἀγήνωρ καὶ Χρόμως οὖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἠγειλαν τῆν νίκην. ἐρημίας δ' ὑπαρχοῦσης ὁ Ὀθρυάδης ἐπιζήσας καὶ ἡμικλάστοις δόρασιν ἐπερειδόμενος τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀρπάζων ἀσπίδας περιελείπο· καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ἐκ τοῦ ἱδίου

1 τριακοσίων (= τ') ἐκατέρων E. Kurtz, as in Herodotus and Stobaeus: ἐκατέρως.
2 Ἀγήνωρ, Ἀλκήνωρ Herod. i. 82; Stobaeus, Flor. vii. 67.
3 Χρόμως the mss. of some authors give χρόμιος.
4 ἐρημίας E. Kurtz, S. A. Naber, H. Richards: ἱπρεμίας, which, however, can be defended.

260
of grain and oppressed the aforesaid with famine. The senate was in confusion; but Mucius one of the nobles, with the consuls' authorization, took four hundred men of his own age in civilian dress, and crossed the river. He observed one of the tyrant's bodyguards distributing provisions to the officers and, supposing him to be Porsenna, killed him. When he was led to the king, he put forth his right hand into the sacrificial fire; and dissembling his torments with a stout heart, he said with a smile, "Ruffian, I am free, whether you will or no. Know that there are against you even now in your camp four hundred of us that seek to slay you." Porsenna was frightened, and made a truce with the Romans. This Aristeides the Milesian relates in the third book of his Histories.

3. When Argives and Spartans were contending for the Thyreatis, the Amphictyonic Assembly decreed that three hundred of each should fight, and the country should belong to the victors. The Spartans accordingly made Othryades their general, and the Argives made Thersander theirs. In the battle two of the Argives survived, Agenor and Chromius, who brought to their city the report of their victory. But when the battlefield was deserted, Othryades revived and, supporting himself on spear-shafts broken in two, despoiled and stripped the corpses of their shields; and when he had erected a trophy, he wrote

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\[ a \] This passage is repeated in 307 d, infra.
\[ b \] Cf. Livy, ii. 12.

\[ 5 \] \( \alpha \rho \tau \alpha \zeta \omega \nu \) \( \sigma \kappa \omega \lambda \nu \sigma \alpha \) Herodotus and Stobaeus; \( \alpha \pi \alpha \tau \tau \nu \omega \) some mss. The verbal variants in Stobaeus are too numerous to be recorded here. He has almost another version.
(306) αὕριον ἐπέγραψε "Διὸ τροπαίον" καὶ τῶν δύο ἑξάτοι, ἐξάτοι ἀμφικτύνοις αὐτόπαι γενόμενοι Δακεδαμιονίως προκρίνουσι: καθάπερ Χρύσιμος ἐν τρίτῳ Πελοποννησιακῶν.

Ῥομαιοὶ πρὸς Σαμνίτας πόλεμον ἔχοντες στρατηγὸν ἔχειρον ἐπιφέρον Ποστούμον Ἀλβίνον. οὗτος κατὰ τὰς καλουμένας φόρκουλας Καυνίδας (ἐστὶ δὲ τὸς Στενώτατος) ἐνεδρευθεὶς τρεῖς ἀπέβαλε λεγεώνας καὶ αὐτὸς καρφών πρωθείς ἐπεσε. βαθείας δὲ νυκτὸς ὁλίγον ἐπιζήσας περιελετό τῶν ἀνηρμένων πολεμίων τὰς ἀσπίδας, καὶ εἰς τὸ αἷμα τὴν χεῖρα βαπτίσας ἐστήσε τρόπαιον ἐπιγράψας "Ῥωμαιοὶ κατὰ Σαμνίτας Διὸ τροπαίον." Μάξιμος δὲ ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Λαίμαργος, στρατηγὸς περιθείς καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἱδὼν τὸ τρόπαιον τὸν οἰωνὸν ἀσμένως ἐδέξατο· καὶ συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε καὶ αἰχμάλωτον λαβὼν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς ὜μην ἐπέμψε· ὡς Ἀριστείδης ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐν τρίτῃ Ἰταλικῶν.

4. ΠΕΡΣΩΝ μετὰ πεντακοσίων μυριάδων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἑρχομένων, Λεωνίδας ἀμα τριακοσίοις δ ἐπέμφηθα εἰς Θερμοπύλας ὑπὸ Δακεδαμιονίων. εὐωχουμένους δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐπέκειτο τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος· καὶ ὁ Λεωνίδας εἶπεν ἱδὼν τοὺς βαρβάρους,

1 δήμων Pohlenz.
2 Ποστούμον Ἀλβίνον Guarinus and Xylander; Μισσίνων Ἀμβερσίου.
3 φόρκουλας Καυνίδας Holsten: φόρκοντας κλαυνίδας.
4 μάξιμος one ms.: Μάκος or Μάϊμος.
5 ἑρχομένων] φερομένων Stobaeus, Flor. vii. 64. Stobaeus has other minor variants besides those recorded below.
6 εὐωχουμένοις Dübner from Stobaeus: εὐωχουμένων or εὐωχουμένου.
with his own blood upon it: 'To Zeus, Guardian of Trophies.' And when the two peoples still disputed over the victory, the Amphietyonic Assembly, after a personal inspection of the battlefield, decided in favour of the Spartans.\textsuperscript{a} Thus Chrysermus in the third book of his \textit{Peloponnesian History}.

\textbf{The Romans} in a war with the Samnites elected Postumius Albinus general.\textsuperscript{b} He was ambushed at a place called the Caudine Forks (it is a very narrow pass) and lost three legions, and himself fell mortally wounded. But in the dead of night he revived for a little and despoiled the enemy's corpses of their shields. With these he set up a trophy and, dipping his hand in his blood, wrote upon it: 'The Romans from the Samnites to Jupiter Feretrius.' But Maximus, surnamed the Glutton,\textsuperscript{c} was dispatched as general and when he had come to the place and had seen the trophy, he gladly accepted the omen. He attacked the enemy and conquered, and taking their king prisoner, sent him to Rome. Thus Aristeides the Milesian in the third book of his \textit{Italian Histories}.

4. \textbf{When the Persians} were marching with five million men against Greece, Leonidas was sent by the Spartans to Thermopylae with three hundred men. While they were eating and drinking there, the barbarian host attacked them; and when Leonidas saw

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Herodotus, i. 82; Stobaeus, \textit{Florilegium}, vii. 68 (iii. p. 333, Hense); Valerius Maximus, iii. 2. ext. 4. Stobaeus quotes the story on the authority of Theseus, and, while his account has quite the same context, there is a great difference in wording.

\textsuperscript{b} He was consul 321 B.C. according to Livy, ix. 1. ff., but his death after his defeat was not so dramatic as is here depicted.

\textsuperscript{c} Guges; \textit{cf.} Macrobius, \textit{Saturnalia}, iii. 13. 6.
(306) "οὗτως ἀριστάτε ὡς ἐν "Lambda deipnôsountes." καὶ ὀρμήσας κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολλοῖς περιπαρεῖσ δόρασιν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν Ξέρξην1 καὶ τὸ διάδημα ἀφείλετο.2 οὐ ἀποθανόντος ο ἄρρητος τέμνει3 τὴν καρδίαν4 καὶ εὑρε δασείαν· ὡς Ἄριστείδης ἐν πρώτῃ Περσικῶν.

Ῥωμαίοι πρὸς Ποινοὺς πόλεμον ἔχοντες ἐπέμψαν τριακοσίους καὶ στρατηγὸν Φάβιον Μάξιμον. Ἐς συμβαλὼν δ' ἀπέβαλε πάντας, αὐτὸς δὲ καρτίως τρωθεὶς μεθ' ὀρμής ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἤνεχθη, καὶ καθελὼν τὸ διάδημα συναπέθανεν αὐτῷ, καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ Ἀριστείδης ὁ Μιλήσιος.

5. κατὰ Κελαινᾶ5 πόλιν τῆς Φρυγίας χάσμα μεθ' ὑδατος γενόμενον πολλὰς οἰκίας αὐτόνδρους εἰς τὸν βυθὸν εἰλκυσε.6 Μίδας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς χρησμὸν ἔλαβεν, ἐὰν τὸ τιμιώτατον ἐμβάλη, συνελεύσεθαί· ο δὲ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἐμβαλὼν Φούδεν ἐβοηθήσεν. "Αγχούρος δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Μίδα λογισάμενος μηδὲν εἶναι τιμιώτερον ἐν βίῳ ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, δοὺς περιπλοκας τῷ γεννησαντι καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Τιμοθέα, ἐφιπτος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ χάσματος ἤνεχθη. συνελθοῦσης δὲ τῆς γῆς χρύσεον βωμὸν ἐποίησεν 'Ἰδαίου Διὸς ἄφαμενος τῇ

1 ἀνέβη ... Ξέρξην] μεθ' ὀρμῆς ἐπὶ Ξέρξην ἤνεχθη Stobaeus.
2 τὸ διάδημα ἀφείλετο] περιελόμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ διάδημα πρὸ τῶν τραυμάτων κατεύχη καὶ αἰμορραγήσας ἐξέπνευσεν Stobaeus.
3 τέμνει] έκτέμνει van Herwerden.
4 τέμνει τὴν καρδίαν] ανατεμμένοι δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ προειρημένον τὸ στήθος ἑυρεν αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν τριχῶν γεμοῦσαν Stobaeus.
5 Κελαινᾶ Stobaeus, vii. 66: κελαινῶν.
6 εἰλκυσε] καθειλκυσε Stobaeus.
7 καὶ ἀποταξάμενος Stobaeus.
the barbarians, he said, "Eat your lunch now as if you were to dine in the other world." And when he rushed against the barbarians, and was pierced by many a spear, he made his way up to Xerxes and snatched off his crown. When he was dead the barbarian king cut out his heart and found it covered with hair. So Aristeides in the first book of his Persian History.

When the Romans were at war with the Carthaginians, they dispatched three hundred men and Fabius Maximus as their general. He attacked the enemy and lost all his men, but he himself, although mortally wounded, with a mad rush reached Hannibal and knocked down his crown, and so died with him. This Aristeides the Milesian relates.

5. At the city of Celaenae in Phrygia the earth yawned open, together with a heavy rain, and dragged down many homesteads with their inhabitants into the depths. Midas the king received an oracle that if he should throw his most precious possession into the abyss, it would close. He cast in gold and silver, but this availed nothing. But Anchurus, the son of Midas, reasoning that there is nothing in life more precious than a human life, embraced his father and his wife Timothea, and rode on his horse into the abyss. When the earth had closed, Midas made an altar of Idaean Zeus golden

\[ a \] Cf. Moralia, 225 d, and the note there (Vol. III. p. 350).

\[ b \] Cf. Stobaeus, Florilegium, vii. 65 (iii. 330 Hense); Lydus, De Mensibus 167 (p. 179 Wünsch).

\[ c \] Stobaeus says, "in the third."
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

χειρί. 1 οὗτος ὁ βωμὸς περὶ ἐκείνου τὸν καυρόν, ἐν ὃ τὸ χάσμα συνέβη γενέσθαι, λίθινος2 γίγνεται: τῆς δὲ ὁρισμένης προθεσμίας παρελθούσης, χρύσεως ὅραται: ὡς Καλλισθένης ἐν δευτέρῳ Μεταμορφώσεωι.

Διὰ μέσης τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἰένων ὁ Τίβερις διὰ μὴν Ταρπηίου3 Δίος μέγιστον ἀπέρρητε χάσμα: καὶ πολλὰς οἰκίας ἐβυθίσε: χρησμὸς δ' ἐδόθη λήξεσθαι, εἰς τὸ τίμιον ἐμβάλωσι. τῶν δὲ χρυσῶν καὶ ἄργυρων

307 ἐμβάλλοντων, Κοῦρτιος τῶν ἑπισήμων νέος τὸν χρησμὸν νόησας καὶ λογισάμενος τὴν ψυχὴν τιμωτέραν, ἐφιπτὼν ἐαυτὸν ἔρριψεν εἰς τὸ χάσμα καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἐξέσωσε τῶν κακῶν: ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἐν τετταράκοστῳ Ἱταλικῷ.

6. τῶν ἀμα Πολυνείκει εὐωχουμένων λοχαγῶν ἀετὸς καταπτᾶ τὸ Ἀμφιάρεω ἐβάστασε δόρυν εἰς ψυσι καὶ εἰσαε: τὸ δὲ παγέν ἐν γῇ δάφνῃ ἐγένετο. τῇ δ’ υπὸ τὴν ἀπομονών κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καταπόθης ὁ Ἀμφιάρεως ἀμα5 τῷ ἀρματὶ, ἐνθα νῦν πόλις Ἀρμα καλεῖται: ὡς Τρισίμαχος ἐν τρίτῳ Κτίσεωι.

Β ῬΩΜΑΙΩΝ πρὸς Πύρρον Ἡπειρώτην πολεμοντων Αἰμώλιος Παύλος χρησμὸν ἐλαβε νικῆσαι, βωμὸν

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1 χρύσεον βωμὸν... τῇ χείρι] Μῖδας βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο Δίος Ἰδαίου, διν χρύσον ἐποίησε ταῖς χερῶν ἀφάμενος Stobaeus, who has a clearer and fuller text.

2 λίθινος Stobaeus: λίθος.

3 Ταρπηίου S. A. Naber: ταρσίου.


5 ἀμα added by H. Richards.

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a The "golden touch" of Midas.
by a touch of his hand.\(^a\) This altar becomes stone at that time of the year when this yawning of the earth occurred; but when this limit of time has passed, it is seen to be golden.\(^b\) So Callisthenes in the second book of his *Metamorphoses*.

Because of the wrath of Jupiter Tarpeius\(^c\) the Tiber coursed through the middle of the Forum, broke open a very large abyss and engulfed many houses. An oracle was given that this would end if they threw in their precious possession. As they were casting in gold and silver, Curtius, a youth of noble family, apprehended the meaning of the oracle, and, reasoning that human life is more precious, he hurled himself on horseback into the abyss, and saved his people from their miseries.\(^d\) So Aristeides in the fortieth book of his *Italian History*.

6. When the captains that accompanied Polyneices were feasting, an eagle swooped down and carried the spear of Amphiaraiüs up to a height and then let it drop. The spear became fixed in the earth and was changed into a laurel. The next day, when the captains were fighting, at that very spot Amphiaraiüs was swallowed up with his chariot, where now is the city that is called Harma.\(^e\) So Trisimachus in the third book of his *Founding of Cities*.

When the Romans were fighting against Pyrrhus of Epeirus, Aemilius Paulus received an oracle that he should be victorious if he would build an altar where

\(^a\) Cf. Stobaeus, vii. 66 (iii. 331 Hense).
\(^b\) Cf. Stobaeus, vii. 66 (iii. 331 Hense).
\(^c\) That is, Capitolinus (e.g. Ovid, Fasti, vi. 34).
\(^d\) Cf. Livy, vii. 6; or Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, xiv. 11. The story is often referred to.
\(^e\) "City of the Chariot"; cf. Pausanias, ix. 19. 4, and the scholium on Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticus, ii. 11. 1.
7. πυραίνμης βασιλεὺς Εὐβοῖοι ἐπολέμησε Βοιω-
τοῖς. Ὅν 'Ἡρακλῆς ἔτι νέος ὅν ἐνίκησε· πῶλοι δὲ
προσδήσας καὶ εἰς δύο μέρη διελώ τὸν Πυραῖκην,
ἄταφον ἔρριψεν. Ὅν δὲ τότος προσαγορεύεται "πῶ-
λοι Πυραῖκου," κεῖται δὲ παρὰ ποταμὸν 'Ἡρά-
κλείου, χρεμετισμὸν δ' ἀναδίδωσι πινόντων ἱππῶν·
ὡς ἐν τρίτῳ περὶ Ποταμῶν.

τοῦτος Ὀστίλιος βασιλεὺς Ρωμαίοι ἐπολέμησεν
'Ἀλβανοῖς, βασιλεὺς οίντος Μετιόν Φουφετίου,2 καὶ
τὴν μάχην πολλάκις ύπερέθετο. οἱ δ' ὡς ἡθη-
μένου3 εἰς εὐωχίαν ἑτράπτησαν· οἰνωμένοι δ' ἐπέθετο,
καὶ τὸν βασιλέα δύο πῶλοι συξεῦξας δι-
εσπάραξεν· ὡς 'Αλέξαρχος ἐν τετάρτῃ Ἰταλικῶν.

8. φιλιππός Μεθώνη καὶ "Ολυνθοῦν βουλό-
μενος πορθῆσαι4 καὶ βιαζόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ Σανδάνῳ

1 Κριτόλαος Helmbold, as in 308 Α, infra: κριτόλας.
2 Μετίου Φουφετίου] Φουφετίου in some mss. and in Dionysius
consistently Metiōn Φουφετίου.
3 ἡθημένου F.C.B.: ήττωμένου. ὡς added by Dübner.
4 πορθῆσαι] λεγίλατεῖν Stobaeus.

a "Quis significetur, quaerere non est operae pretium"
he should see a man of the nobles with his chariot swallowed up in an abyss. Three days later Valerius Conatus in a dream saw a vision which commanded him to don his priestly raiment (he was, in fact, an expert augur). When he had led forth his men and slain many of the enemy, he was swallowed up by the earth. Aemilius built an altar, gained a victory, and sent back an hundred and sixty turretted elephants to Rome. The altar delivers oracles at that time of year when Pyrrhus was vanquished. This Critolaüs relates in the third book of his Epeirote History.

7. Pyraechmes, king of the Euboeans, was at war with the Boeotians. Heracles, while still a youth, vanquished him. He tied Pyraechmes to colts, tore his body into two parts, and cast it forth unburied. The place is called "Colts of Pyraechmes." It is situated beside the river Heracleius, and it gives forth a sound of neighing when horses drink of it. So in the third book of Concerning Rivers.\(^a\)

Tullus Hostilius, King of the Romans, waged war with the Albans, whose king was Metius Fufetius. And Tullus repeatedly postponed battle. But the Albans, assuming his defeat, betook themselves to feasting and drinking. When they were overcome by wine, Tullus attacked them, and, tying their king to two colts, tore him apart.\(^b\) So Alexarchus in the fourth book of his Italian History.

8. Philip wished to plunder Methone and Olynthus and, while he was attempting to force a crossing at (Wyttenbach); at any rate not the author of the De Fluviiis in Bernardakis, vol. vii.

\(^a\) Cf. Livy, i. 28, ad fin. or Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, iii. 30, ad fin.
(307) potamω διαβήναι πέραν,1 υπό τινος τῶν Ὀλυνθίων Ἀστέρως οὖν ματι ἐτοξεύθη τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν εἰπόντος, Ἀστήρ Φιλίππω θανάσιμον πέμπει βέλος·

ὁ δ’ ὀπίσω διανηξάμενος πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους σφίξε-

ταί ἀπολέσας2 τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· ὡς Καλλισθένης ἐν

τρίτῳ Μακεδονικὼν.

πορσινας Τούσκων βασιλεὺς πέραν Θύμβρεως3
potamου στρατεύσας ἐπολέμησε Ὄλυμπαίοις, καὶ τὴν

ἀπὸ συνίων φερομένην εὐθηνίαν μέσην λαβὼν λιμῷ
toὺς προειρημένους ἐπρυχεν. Ὁράτιος δὲ Κόκλης

Ε στρατηγὸς χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ξυλίνην κατελάβετο
gέφυραν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων διαβήναι

βουλόμενον ἐπείχε. πλευνεκτούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν

πολεμίων προσέταξε τοῖς ὑποτεταμένους κόπτειν
tὴν γέφυραν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων διαβήναι

βουλόμενον ἐκώλυσε. βέλει δὲ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν

πληγείς ρύπαι ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν, διενήξατο εἰς
toὺς οἰκείους· ὡς Θεότιμος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

9. ο περὶ τοῦ Ἰκαρίου μύθος, ω Διώνυσος
eπεξενώθη. Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῇ Ἡρώην.

κρόνος ἐπιεξωθεὶς γεωργῷ, ω ἦν θυγατὴρ καλὴ

Ἐντορία, ταύτην4 εβιάσατο5 καὶ ἐτέκνωσεν νῦν

ἐν Ἰανὸν Ὑμνον Φαύστων Φῆλικα. διδάξας οὖν τὸν

τρόπον τῆς τοῦ οἶνον πόσεως καὶ τῆς ἀμπέλου

1 πέραν] εἰς τὸ πέραν Stobaeus.

2 ἀπολέσας] ἀποβαλὼν Stobaeus. Stobaeus has some other

variants and a slightly amplified, but no better, text.

3 Θύμβρεως seems to be the preferred form of the genitive:

θύμβριος.

4 ταύτην Dübner: ἦν.

5 εβιάσατο] εβιάζετο most mss.

a Cf. Diodorus, xvi. 34. 5; Stobaeus, Florilegium, vii. 67

(iii. p. 332 Hense).

270
the Sandanus river, his eye was pierced by an arrow from the bow of a certain Olynthian named Aster, who uttered these words:

Aster to Philip sends this deadly shaft.

But Philip swam back to his friends and was saved, although he lost his eye. So Callisthenes in the third book of his *Macedonian History*.

Porsonna, king of the Etruscans, made a foray on the other side of the river Tiber and warred against the Romans, and, by intercepting their abundant supply of grain, he oppressed the aforesaid with famine.

But Horatius Coecles, who was elected general, took possession of the Wooden Bridge and checked the barbarian horde that sought to cross. But as he was being worsted by the enemy, he ordered his subordinates to cut down the bridge, and so thwarted the barbarian horde that sought to cross. When his eye was struck by an arrow, he threw himself into the river and swam across to his friends. So Theotimus in the second book of his *Italian History*.

9. The story of Icarius who entertained Dionysus: Eratosthenes in his *Erigoné*.

Saturn, when once he was entertained by a farmer who had a fair daughter named Entoria, seduced her and begat Janus, Hymnus, Faustus, and Felix. He then taught Icarius the use of wine and viniculture,
ηξίωσε καὶ τοὺς γείτονα μεταδοῦναι. ποιήσαντες δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ πιόντες παρὰ τὸ σύνθεις εἰς ὑπνὸν κατ- 
ημέχθησαν βωμότερον τοῦ δεόντος· οἱ δὲ πεφαρμα- 
κώθαι δόξαντες, λίθους βάλλοντες τὸν Ἰκάριον ἀπέκτειναν· οἱ δὲ θυγατρίδαι ἀθυμῆσαντες βρόχῳ 308 τὸν βίον κατέστρεψαν. λοιμοῦ δὲ κατασχόντος Ἡῳμαίον, ἔχρησεν ὁ Πύθιος λωφήσεις, ἐὰν εξ- 
ιλάσωνται τοῦ Κρόνου τὴν μῆνιν καὶ τοὺς δαίμονας 
tῶν ἀνόμως ἀπολομένων. Λουτάτιος δὲ Κάτλος, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπισήμων, κατεσκεύασε τῷ θεῷ τέμενος 
tὸ κείμενον σύνεγγυς τοῦ Ταρπηνίου ὄρους, καὶ 
tὸν ἄνω βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο τετραπρόσωπον ἣ διὰ 
tοὺς θυγατρίδας ¹ ἢ ὅτι τετραμερῆς ὃ ἐνιαυτός ἐστι, 
καὶ μῆνα κατέδειξεν Ἰανουάριον. ὁ δὲ Κρόνος 
pάντας κατηστέρεσεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν καλοῦνται προ- 
τρυγητῆρες, ὁ δ’ Ἰανὸς προανατέλλων· δεῖκνυται 
δ’ ὁ ἁστήρ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τῆς παρθένου· ὡς Κριτό- 
λαος ἐν τετάρτῃ Φαινομένων.

Β 10. περσών τὴν Ἑλλάδα λεηλατοῦντων Παυ-
σανίας ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στρατηγὸς πεντα-
κόσια χρυσοῦ τάλαντα παρὰ Ξέρξου λαβὼν ἐμελλε 
προδιδόναι τὴν Σπάρτην. φωραθέντος δὲ τούτου, 
Ἄγγειλαος ² ὁ πατὴρ μέχρι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χαλ-
κιοίκου συνεδίωξεν Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ 
tεμένους πλύνθω φράξας ³ λιμῷ ἀπέκτεινεν· ἤ

¹ θυγατρίδαι and θυγατρίδας would presumably be θυγατριδοῖ and θυγατριδοῖs in better Greek.
² Ἀγγείλαος | Ἅγγειλαος some mss. and Stobaeus; Κλεόμ-
³ βροτος in margin of one ms. of Stobaeus.

272
PARALLEL STORIES, 307–308

and told him that he should share his knowledge with his neighbours also. When the neighbours did so and drank more than is customary, they fell into an unusually deep sleep. Imagining that they had been poisoned, they pelted Icarius with stones and killed him; and his grandchildren in despair ended their lives by hanging themselves. When a plague had gained a wide hold among the Romans, Apollo gave an oracle that it would cease if they should appease the wrath of Saturn and the spirits of those who had perished unlawfully. Lutatius Catulus, one of the nobles, built for the god the precinct which lies near the Tarpeian Rock. He made the upper altar with four faces, either because of Icarius’s grandchildren or because the year has four parts; and he designated a month January. Saturn placed them all among the stars. The others are called Harbingers of the Vintage, but Janus rises before them. His star is to be seen just in front of the feet of Virgo. So Critolaüs in the fourth book of his Phaenomena.

10. When the Persians were plundering Greece, Pausanias, the Spartan general, accepted five hundred talents of gold from Xerxes and intended to betray Sparta. But when he was detected, Agesilaüs, his father, helped to pursue him to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House; the father walled up the doors of the shrine with bricks and killed his son by starva-

$a$ Cf. Aratus, Phaenomena, 138, who mentions only one star of this name, the Vindemiator, which ushers in the autumn.

$b$ A mistake for Cleombrotus.

$\pi\lambda\nu\theta\omega \phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\alpha}ς$ $\pi\lambda\nu\theta\omega\varsigma \epsilon\mu\phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\xi\acute{\alpha}ς$ Stobaeus, Flor. xxxix. 31.
11. ΔΑΡΕΙΟΣ ὁ Πέρσης ἐπὶ Γρανικόν πολεμήσας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ ἔπτα σατράπας ἀποβαλὼν καὶ ἀρματα δρεπανηφόρα δύο καὶ πεντακόσια, συμβαλέων ἐμέλλε τῇ ἔξης. Ἀριστομαχίαν δὲ ὁ νῦσσον συμπαθῶς διακείμενος πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρον ὑποχνεῖτο τὸν πατέρα προδώσειν. ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἐτραχηλοκόπησεν· ὥς Ἀρητάδης Κνίδιος ἐν τρίτῳ Μακεδονικῷ.

12. ΕΠΑΜΕΙΝΩΝΔΑΣ ὁ τῶν Θηβαίων στρατηγὸς

1 Ἰστορικῶν] Περικῶν Stobaeus. Stobaeus has a slightly fuller text, but derived from the same source, as the mistake of Agesilaüs (for Cleombrotus) shows.

2 Αὐξιλιαρίας Budaeeus: αὐξιληρίας.


5 ἐμφανέντας δὲ ἐτραχηλοκόπησεν Φ.Σ.Β., εφ. 312 ν: ἐμ- πεσόντων δὲ τραχηλοκόπησαι.
His mother also cast his body forth unburied. So Chrysermus in the second book of his *Histories*.

The Romans in their war with the inhabitants of Latium elected Publius Decius general. A certain poor, but noble, youth named Cassius Brutus wished to open the gates at night for a stated sum of money. He was detected and fled to the temple of Minerva Auxiliaria. Cassius Signifer, his father, shut him in, killed him by starvation, and cast him forth unburied. So Cleitonymus in his *Italian History*.

11. When Darius the Persian had fought with Alexander at the Granicus, and had lost seven satraps and five hundred and two scythe-bearing chariots, he intended to attack again on the next day. But Ariobarzanes, his son, who was kindly disposed toward Alexander, promised to betray his father. But the father fell into a rage and cut off his head. So Aretades of Cnidus in the third book of his *Macedonian History*.

Brutus, unanimously elected consul, drove into exile Tarquin the Proud, who was comporting himself despotically. Tarquin went to the Etruscans and began to wage war against the Romans. But Tarquin’s sons wished to betray their father. But they were detected, and Tarquin cut off their heads. So Aristeides the Milesian in his *Italian History*.

12. Epameinondas, the Theban general, when he

*Cf. Thucydides, i. 134; what Ps.-Plut. tells us here of Pausanias’ father is related of his mother Theano in Diodorus, xi. 45.6; Polyaeus, *Stratagemata*, viii. 51; Cornelius Nepos, *Life of Pausanias*, 5.*

*Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xxxix. 31 (iii. p. 728 Hense).*
Εχων προς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον καὶ ἀρχαιε-σιών ἁγομένων ἥκεν ἐς πατρίδα, παραγγείλας τῷ παιδὶ Στησιμβρότῳ μὴ συμβάλλειν. Λακεδαιμονίους μαθόντες τὴν ἀπουσίαν ἐβλασφήμουν τὸν νεανίαν ὡς ἄνανδρον. ὁ δὲ ἀγανακτήσας καὶ ἐτπΕλαθόμενος τοῦ πατρὸς συνέβαλε καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ βαρέως ἐνέγκας στεφανώσας ἐτραχηλοκό-πησεν, ὡς Κτησιφῶν ἱστορεῖ ἐν τρίτῳ Βοιωτικῶν.

Ῥωμαιοὶ πρὸς Σαμνίτας πόλεμον ἔχοντες ἐχειρο-τόνησαν Μάλλιον τὸν Ἐπιτάκτην ἐπικλήθεντα. οὗτος διὰ χειροτονίαν ὑπατικὴν εἰς Ὀἵμην πορευό-μενος τῷ νυκτὶ προσέταξε μὴ συμβαλεῖν. οἱ δὲ Σαμνίται μαθόντες ἐξουδενόν τὸν νεανίαν ὁ δὲ ταραχθεὶς ἐνίκησεν. Μάλλιος δ' αὐτὸν ἐτραχηλοκόπησεν καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ Ἀριστ-είδης Μιλήσιος.

Ῥωμαιοὶ πολεμοῦντες πρὸς Τούσκουςἐχειρο-τόνησαν Βαλέριον Τορκουᾶτον. οὗτος θεοσάμενος τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦνομα Κλουσίαν ἡτείτο παρὰ τοῦ Τούσκου τὴν θυγατέρα, μὴ τυχῶν δ' ἐπορθεὶ τὴν πόλιν. ἡ δὲ Κλουσία ἀπὸ τῶν 309 πύργων ἔρρυθεν ἐαυτὴν προνοιά δ' Ἀφροδίτης κολπωθείσης τῆς ἐσθήτος, διεσώθη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

1 συμβάλλειν] συμβαλεῖν Hatzidakis.
2 Μαλλώτης Herecher: μαλεώτης.
3 Τούσκους F.C.B.: τρούσκου.
was waging war against the Spartans, returned home at the season of the elections, giving orders to his son Stesimbrotus not to engage the enemy. But the Spartans learned of Epameinondas’s absence and taunted the youth with lack of manliness. He became indignant and, forgetting his father’s command, engaged the enemy and conquered. But his father being deeply offended, crowned the youth and cut off his head. This Ctesiphon relates in the third book of his Boeotian History.

When the Romans were engaged in war against the Samnites, they appointed Manlius, called Imperiosus, general. As he was journeying to Rome for the consular elections, he ordered his son not to engage the enemy. But the Samnites learned of this and insultingly called the youth a nobody. He was provoked and defeated them, but Manlius cut off his head. This Aristeides the Milesian relates.

13. Heracles failed in his suit for Iolê’s hand and sacked Oechalia. Iolê threw herself down from the wall; but it came about, since her garment was billowed out by the wind, that she suffered no harm. This Nicias of Mallus relates.

When the Romans were warring against the Etruscans, they elected Valerius Torquatus general. When he beheld the king’s daughter, whose name was Clusia, he asked the Etruscan for his daughter; but when he failed to obtain her, he attempted to sack the city. Clusia threw herself down from the battlements; but by the foresight of Venus her garment billowed out, and she came safely to the ground. The

\[ a \] Thus recognizing him as victorious.
(309) ἡν ὁ στρατηγὸς διέφθειρε, καὶ τούτων1 πάντων ἐνεκα ἐξωρίσθη κοινῷ δόγματι ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων εἰς Κόρικαν ῥήσον πρὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὡς Θεόφιλος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

14. ΠΟΙΟΝ καὶ Σικελιωτῶν τὴν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων Β συμμαχίαν ἐτοιμαζόντων, Μέτελλος στρατηγὸς μόνη τῇ Ἑστίᾳ οὐκ ἔθυσεν ἢ δὲ πνεῦμα ἀντ- ἐπενευσε ταῖς ναυσὶ. Γάιος δὲ Ἰουλίος μάντις εἶπε λωφῆσαι, ἐάν προθύσῃ τὴν θυγατέρα. ὁ δ’ ἀναγκασθεὶς Μετέλλαν2 τὴν θυγατέρα προσήγεν· ἢ δὲ Ἑστία ἐλεήσασα δάμαλων ὑπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὴν ἐκόμισεν εἰς Λανούιον,3 καὶ ἔρειαν τοῦ σεβομένου παρ’ αὐτοῖς δράκοντος ἀπέδειξεν· ὡς Πυθοκλῆς ἐν τρίτῃ Ἰταλικῶν.

Ἐν Αταίδι τῆς Βωστίας τὰ περὶ Ἰφιγένειαν ὅμοιως ίστορεῖ Μένυλλος4 ἐν πρώτῳ Βωστιακῶν.

15. ΒΡΕΝΝΟΣ Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς λεηλατῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Ἔφεσον ἠλθε, καὶ ἡράσθη παρθένου Δημονίκης·5 ἢ δὲ συνελθεῖν ὑπέσχετο, εάν τὰ ψέλλια καὶ τὸν κόσμον τῶν γυναικῶν6 δῶ αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν ΚΕ Ἔφεσον προδοῦναι· ὁ δ’ ἦξισε τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν κόλπον ὧν εἶχον χρυσὸν7 τῆς φιλαργύρου. ποιησάντων δὲ ὧπο τῆς δαμιλείας

1 διέφθειρε, καὶ τούτων F.C.B. (καὶ τούτων Hutten): ἐφθειρε καὶ δια τούτων.
2 Μετέλλαν Xylander: μεταλλαν or μεταλλαν.
3 Λανούιον Xylander and Bücheler: λαμούιον.
general violated her, and for all these reasons was banished by public decree of the Romans to Corsica, an island off Italy. So Theophilus in the third book of his *Italian History.*

14. **When the Carthaginians and Siceliots were negotiating an alliance against the Romans, Vesta was the only divinity to whom Metellus, the general, did not sacrifice.** She, accordingly, sent a contrary wind against his ships. Gaius Julius, the augur, said that it would abate if Metellus should sacrifice his daughter. Forced by necessity, he brought forward his daughter Metella. But Vesta took pity, substituted a heifer, transported the maiden to Lanuvium, and appointed her priestess of the serpent that is worshipped by the people there. So Pythocles in the third book of his *Italian History.*

The like fate of Iphigeneia at Aulis in Boeotia Menyllus relates in the first book of his *Boeotian History.*

15. **Brennus,** king of the Gauls, when he was ravaging Asia, came to Ephesus and fell in love with a maiden Demonice. She promised to satisfy his desires and also to betray Ephesus, if he would give her the Gauls' bracelets and feminine ornaments. But Brennus required his soldiers to throw into the lap of the avaricious woman the gold which they were wearing. This they did, and she was buried alive by

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5 Δημονίκης Stobaeus, x. 71: δημοτικῆς.
6 τὸν κόσμον τῶν γυναικῶν] καὶ τοὺς ὄρμους Stobaeus.
7 ὅν εἶχον χρυσὸν] τὸν χρυσὸν ὅσον εἶχον κόσμου χάριν (ut infra) Stobaeus.
(309) τοῦ χρυσοῦ ζώσα κατεχώσθη· καθάπερ ἵστορεῖ Κλειτοφῶν ἐν πρώτῳ Γαλατικῶν. ¹

Ταρπηία ² τῶν εὐσχημόνων παρθένων τοῦ Καπιτωλίου φύλαξ, Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Σαβίνους ³ πολεμοῦντων, ὑπέσχετο τῷ Τατίῳ δώσειν εἰσοδον εἰς τὸ Ταρπηίου ὦρος, ἐὰν μισθὸν λάβῃ τοὺς ὅρμους, οὐς ἐφόρουν κόσμον χάριν. Σαβίνοι δὲ νοῆσαντες ζώσαν κατεχόσαν· ὡς Ἀριστείδης Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἰταλικοῖς.

16. ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΙΣ καὶ Φενάταις χρονίου πολέμου

D γενομένου, ἐδοξεῖ ⁴ τριδύμους ἀδελφοὺς πέμψει τοὺς μαχηταμένους περὶ τῆς νίκης. καὶ Τεγεάται μὲν οὖν τοὺς Ῥηξιμάχου παῖδας, Φενεάται δὲ τοὺς Δημοστράτου προεβάλλοντο. ⁵ συμβληθείσης δὲ τῆς μάχης, ἐφονεύθησαν τῶν Ῥηξιμάχου δύο· δὲ δὲ τρίτος τοῦνομα Κριτόλαος στρατηγῆματι περιεγένετο τῶν δύο ⁶· προσποιητὴν γὰρ φυγὴν σκηφάμενος καθ’ ἐνα τῶν διωκόντων ἄνειλε. καὶ ἐλθόντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνεχάρησαν, μόνη δ’ οὐκ ἐχάρη ἢ ἀδελφὴ Δημοδίκη· πεφονεύκει γὰρ αὐτῆς τῶν κατηγορομένου ἄνδρα Δημοδίκου. ἀναξιοπάθησας δὲ ὁ Κριτόλαος ἄνειλεν αὐτῆς. φόνον δ’ ἀγόμενος

¹ ἐν πρώτῳ Γαλατικῶν] ἐκ τοῦ Ἐ.Τ.Ιταλικῶν Stobaeus. Stobaeus has also other unimportant variants and amplifications.
² Ταρπηία Turnebus: ταρσία, ταρτσία, οὐ ταρμισία.
³ Σαβίνους Schott: Ἀλβανοῦς.
⁴ ἐδοξεὶ συνεφώνησε Stobaeus, Flor. xxxix. 32.
⁵ προεβάλλοντο] ἐπεμψαν Stobaeus.
the abundance of gold. This Cleitophon relates in the first book of his Gallic History.

Tarpeia, one of the maidens of honourable estate, was the guardian of the Capitol when the Romans were warring against the Sabines. She promised Tatius that she would give him entry to the Tarpeian Rock if she received as pay the necklaces which the Sabines wore for adornment. The Sabines understood the import and buried her alive. So Aristeides the Milesian in his Italian History.

16. When a war between the Tegeans and the Pheneans had continued for a long time, it was agreed to send triplet brothers to determine the victory by their fighting. The Tegeans accordingly chose to represent them the sons of Rheximachus, and the Pheneans the sons of Demostratus. When battle was joined, two of Rheximachus’s sons were slain. But the third, Critolaius by name, by a stratagem succeeded in surviving his two brothers. For he devised the ruse of simulated flight, and so killed one after another of his pursuers. And when he came home all the rest rejoiced with him; but his sister Demodicè alone did not rejoice, for he had slain her betrothed, Demodicus. Critolaius, smarting under such undeserved treatment, killed her. He was prosecuted for murder by his

\[a\] Cf. Stobaeus, Florilegium, x. 70 (iii. p. 426 Hense).

\[b\] The usual specification was “what they bore on their left arms” (cf. Life of Romulus, xvii. (27 r–28 d); Livy, i. 11), but, to judge from Stobaeus’s version of the preceding paragraph, its source probably contained “necklaces,” and so a strict parallelism requires “necklace” here!

\[6\] τῶν δύο] τῶν ἀντιπάλων Stobaeus.

\[7\] μόνη δ’ οὐκ ἐχάρῃ] οὐ συνεχάρῃ μόνη τῷ προειρημένῳ, Stobaeus.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Ε ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀπελύθη τοῦ ἐγκλήματος. ὡς Δημάρατος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀρκαδικῶν.

ῥωμαιοὶ καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ πολεμοῦντες τριδύμοις προμάχους εἶλοντο, καὶ Ἀλβανοὶ μὲν Κουριάτους, Ῥωμαιοὶ δὲ Ορατίους. συμβληθεῖσι δὲ τῆς μάχης, οἱ Κουριάτους δύο τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνεῖλον· ὦ δὲ περίλυσος φυγῇ προσποιητῇ συμμάχῳ χρώμενος ἐφόνευσε καθ’ ἕνα τῶν ἐπιδιωκόντων. χαρέντων δὲ πάντων, μόνη ἡ ἀδελφὴ ὑπὸ συνεχάρη ὁ Ὀρατία τὸν κατηγορημένον ἄνδρα Κουριάτιον ἀνηρκότοι· ὦ δὲ ἐφόνευσε τὴν ἀδελφὴν· ὡς φησιν Ο Ἀριστείδης ὁ Μιλῆσιος ἐν Ἰταλικοῖς.

17. ἐν ἰαπὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμπρησθέντος, προσδραμών Ἡλίως τὸ δυσπέτας ἐρπασε παλλάδιον καὶ ἐτυφλώθη· οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν ὑπ’ ἄνδρος βλέπεσθαι· ὕστερον δὲ ἐξιλασάμενος ἀνέβλεψεν· ὡς Δέρκυλλος ἐν πρώτῳ Κτίσεσιν.

ΑΝΤΙΛΟΣ ᾧ ἅρ τῶν ἐπισήμων πορευόμενος εἰς τὸ προάστειον ὑπὸ κοράκων ἐπεσχέθη παιόντων ταῖς πτέρυξι. φοβηθεὶς δὲ τῶν οἰωνὸν εἰς ὑπέστρεψεν. Ίδὼν δὲ τὸ τέμενος τῆς Ἑστίας καιόμενον καὶ τὸ παλλάδιον ἐρπάσας ἐτυφλώθη· ὕστερον δὲ ἀνέβλεψεν ἐξιλασάμενος· ὡς Ἀριστείδης Μιλῆσιος ἐν Ἰταλικοῖς.

1 τοῦ ἐγκλήματος some mss. and Stobaeus: τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. Some other slight amplifications and variations may be found in the text of Stobaeus, but the two versions are often in exact agreement.

2 Κουριάτιους, etc., an obvious correction, Guarinus: κοπατιοὺς or κορατιοὺς.

3 ἐξῆν Wyttenbach: ἔδω.

4 Ἐν Αὐτίλος] Μέτελλος Basel ed. of 1542, and Guarinus.

282
mother, but was acquitted of the charge.\textsuperscript{a} So Demaratus in the second book of his \textit{Arcadian History}.

\textbf{When the Romans and the Albans were at war, they chose triplets as their champions, the Albans the Curiatii, the Romans the Horatii.} When the battle was joined, the Curiatii killed two of their opponents; but the survivor made use of simulated flight to help him, and killed one after another of his pursuers. Amid the universal rejoicing his sister Horatia alone did not rejoice with him; for he had slain her betrothed, Curiatius. So Horatius killed his sister.\textsuperscript{b}

This Aristeides the Milesian narrates in his \textit{Italian History}.

17. \textbf{When the shrine of Athena in Ilium was in flames, Ilus rushed up and seized the Palladium, a statue which had fallen from heaven, and was blinded: for the Palladium might not be looked upon by man.} But later, when he had placated the goddess, he regained his sight. So Dercyllus in the first book of his \textit{Foundations of Cities}.

\textbf{When Antylus,\textsuperscript{c} one of the noblemen, was on his way to the outskirts of the city, he was checked by crows which struck at him with their wings. Frightened by the omen, he returned to Rome.} He saw that the shrine of Vesta was on fire, seized the Palladium, and was blinded. But later he regained his sight when he had placated the goddess. So Aristeides the Milesian in his \textit{Italian History}.

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Stobaeus, \textit{Florilegium}, xxxix. 32 (iii. p. 729 Hense).

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Livy, i. 24-26.

\textsuperscript{c} Some would write "Metellus" and make it refer to Caecilius Metellus, the Pontifex Maximus; cf. Seneca Rhetor, \textit{Controversiae}, iv. 2; Pliny, \textit{Natural History}, vii. 43 (141); cf. also Livy, \textit{Periocha}, xix. and Ovid, \textit{Fasti}, vi. 437 ff.
18. Ὠραίκες Ἀθηναίων πολεμοῦντες χρησμοῖν ἐλαβον, ὡς, ἐὰν Κόδρου φείσωνται, νικῆσαι· ὁ δὲ δρέπανον λαβὼν ἤκεν εἰς τούς ἐναντίους ἐν εὐτελοῖς σχῆματι, καὶ ἐνα φοινύσας ὑπὸ θατέρου ἀνηρέθη· οὕτω τ' ἐνίκησαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι· ὡς Σωκράτης 1 ἐν δευτέρῳ Ῥακικῶν.

ποπλιος Δέκιος Ῥωμαῖος πρὸς Ἀλβανοὺς πολεμῶν ὄναρ εἶδεν, ἔαν ἀποθανεῖ, ρώμην προσ-
B ποησεων Ῥωμαίοις. ἐλθὼν εἰς μέσους καὶ πολλοὺς φοινύσας ἀνηρέθη. ὅμοιώς δὲ καὶ ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ Δέκιος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Γάλλους πολέμων τοὺς Ῥω-
μαίους διέσωσεν· ὡς Ἀριστείδης Μιλήσιος.

19. κτανιππος γένει Συρακούσιος μόνῳ Διονύσῳ οὐκ ἐθνεῖν· ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὅργισθεὶς μέθην ἐνέσκηψε, καὶ ἐν τότῳ σκοτεινῷ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐβίασατο Κυάνην. ἢ δὲ τὸν δακτύλιον περιελομένη ἐδὼκε τῇ τροφῇ ἐσόμενον ἀναγνώρισμα. λοιμωξάντων δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πυθίου εἰπόντος μὲν δεῖν τὸν ἁσβῆ τρο-
παίος θεὸς σφαγάσαι, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἀγνοοῦντων
C τὸν χρήσιμον, γνοὺσα ἡ Κυάνη καὶ ἐπιλαβομένη τῶν τριχῶν εἶλκε, καὶ αὐτῇ κατασφάξασα τὸν πατέρα ἐαυτῆν ἐπέσφαξε· καθάπερ Δοσίθεος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Σικελικῶν.

τῶν Διονυσίων ἐν τῇ 'Ρώμη ἀγομένων 'Αρούν-
tiōs' ἐκ γενετῆς ὑδροπότης ἐξουδένιζε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν· ὁ δὲ μέθην ἐνεβάλε, καὶ ἐβίασατο τὴν

1 Σωκράτης] Σώστρατος Stobaeus, vii. 67. Stobaeus's version differs greatly in its language, and is about twice as long.
2 'Αρούντιος Oswald: ἀρνοῦτιος or ἀρνοῦσιος.

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b Cf. Livy, viii. 9; x. 28; also Moralia, 499 b.
18. When the Thracians were at war with the Athenians, they received an oracle that they would be victorious if they should spare Codrus; but Codrus took a scythe and, in the guise of a poor man, went to meet the enemy. He slew one and was killed by the second, and thus the Athenians gained the victory. So Socrates in the second book of his Thracian History.

When Publius Decius, a Roman, was warring against the Albans, he saw in a dream that, if he should die, his death would bring strength to the Romans. He went into the thick of the battle, slew many, and was himself slain. In like manner did his son Decius also save the Romans in the war against the Gauls. So Aristeides the Milesian.

19. To Dionysus alone did Cyanippus, a Syracusan, omit to sacrifice. The god was angry and cast upon him a fit of drunkenness, in which he violated his daughter Cyanê in a dark place. She took off his ring and gave it to her nurse to be a mark of recognition. When the Syracusans were oppressed by a plague, and the Pythian god pronounced that they should sacrifice the impious man to the Averting Deities, the rest had no understanding of the oracle; but Cyanê knew, and seized her father by the hair and dragged him forth; and when she had herself cut her father's throat, she killed herself upon his body in the same manner. So Dositheüs in the third book of his Sicilian History.

When the Bacchanalian revels were being celebrated at Rome, Aruntius, who had been from birth a water-drinker, set at naught the power of the god. But Dionysus cast a fit of drunkenness upon him, and
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(310) θυγατέρα Μεδουλλίων. ἡ δὲ ἐκ δακτυλίου γνοῦσα τὸ γένος καὶ πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἡλικίας φρονήσασα, μεθύσασα τὸν πατέρα καὶ στεφανώσασα ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἀστραπῆς καὶ δακρύσασα ἀνείλε τὸν ἐπίβουλον τῆς παρθενίας. ὡς 'Ἀριστείδης ἐν τρίτη Ἰταλικῶν.

D 20. ἔρεχθες πρὸς Εὐμολπὸν πολεμῶν ἔμαθε νικήσαι, ἐὰν τὴν θυγατέρα προθύσῃ, καὶ συγκοινωνήσας τῇ γυναικὶ Πραξίθεα προέβουσε τὴν παίδα. μέμνηται Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἐρεχθεί. 1

Μάριος 2 πρὸς Κύμβρους πόλεμον ἔχων καὶ ἑττώ-μενος ὄναρ εἶδεν ὅτι νικήσει, ἐὰν τὴν θυγατέρα προθύσῃ. ἢν δ' αὐτῷ Καλπουρνία προκρίνας δὲ τῆς φύσεως τοὺς πολίτας ἐδρασε καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν βωμὸι εἰσὶ δύο ἐν Γερμανίᾳ, οἱ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἥχον σαλπίγγων ἀποπέμπουσιν. Εἶ ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν τετάρτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

21. Κτανιππὸς τῷ γένει Θετταλὸς ἐπὶ θήραν συνεχῶς ἔζηε. ἡ δὲ νεόυμφος αὐτοῦ ὑπολαβοῦσα διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἐν ύλαις μένειν συνήθειαν ἔχειν μεθ' ἐτέρας, κατ' ἰχνος ἱκολούθησε τῷ Κυνάππῳ καὶ ἐν τινὶ κατακρυβείσα συνδένδρῳ, τὸ μέλλον

1 Ἐρεχθεῖ] Δημαράτου ἐν τρίτῳ Τραγῳδομένων Stobaeus, Flor. xxxix. 33. Stobaeus has an expanded version, but obviously drawn from the same source.
2 Μάριος (from Clement of Alexandria) Xylander: μάνως.

a Fulgora; cf. Moralia, 499 b-c. The garlands marked him as a victim for sacrifice.
b Cf. 313 b and the note.

286
he violated his daughter Medullina. But she recognized from a ring his relationship and devised a plan wiser than her years; making her father drunk, and crowning him with garlands, she led him to the altar of Divine Lightning, and there, dissolved in tears, she slew the man who had plotted against her virginity. So Aristeides in the third book of his Italian History.

20. When Erechtheus was at war with Eumolpus, he learned that he would conquer if he sacrificed his daughter before the battle, and, communicating this to his wife Praxithea, he sacrificed his daughter. Euripides records this in the Erechtheus.

When Marius was fighting the Cimbri and was being worsted, he saw in a dream that he would conquer if he sacrificed his daughter before the battle; for he had a daughter Calpurnia. Since he placed his fellow-citizens before the ties of nature, he did the deed and won the victory. And even to this day there are two altars in Germany which at that time of year send forth the sound of trumpets. So Dorotheu in the fourth book of his Italian History.

21. Cyanippus, a Thessalian by birth, used continually to go forth to hunt, but his wife, whom he had but lately wed, suspected him of intimacy with another woman, because of his habit of frequently passing the night in the forest, and she followed on the track of Cyanippus. Hiding herself in a thicket,
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

απεκαραδόκει. τῶν δὲ κλάδων σεισθέντων οἱ κύνες
θηρίων εἶναι δόξαντες ἱμησαν καὶ τὴν φιλανδρον
ἀλόγου δίκην ζωὸν διεσπάραξαν. ὁ δὲ Κυάνιππος
τῆς ἀνελπίστου πράξεως αὐτόπτης γενόμενος ἐαυ-
tὸν ἀπέσφαξεν. ὁς Παρθένιος ὁ ποιητής.

Συβάρει πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας νέος περίβλεπτος
τὸ κάλλος Ἀμφιλίδος φιλοκύνηγος ἦν. ἥ δὲ νεόνυμφος
dόξασα ἑτέρα συνεῖναι εἰσῆλε εἰς τὴν νάπην. τῶν
dὲ δενδρῶν σεισθέντων, οἱ κύνες ἐπιδραμόντες διε
 nghĩaασαν. ὁ δὲ ἐπέσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν. ὁς Κλειτώνυμος
ev δευτέρω Συβαριτικῶν.

22. ΣΜΤΡΝΑ Κινύρου θυγάτηρ δία μήνην Ἀφρο-
δίτης ἥρασθη τοῦ γεννήσαντος, καὶ τῇ τροφῇ τὴν
ἀνάγκην τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐδήλωσεν. ἥ δὲ δόλω ὑπήγε
tὸν δεσπότην. ἐφῇ γὰρ γείτονα παρθένον ἔραι
αὐτοῦ καὶ αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐν φανερῷ προσεῖναι. ὁ δὲ
συνήγη. ποτὲ δὲ θελήσας τὴν ἐρώσαν μαθεῖν φῶς
ὑπῆρεν, ἰδὼν δὲ ἐξιφῆρης τὴν ἀσελγεστάτην ἐδὼκεν.
ἡ δὲ κατὰ πρόνοιαν Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ὀμώνυμον
dενδρὸν μετεμορφώθη: καθὼ Θεόδωρος ἐν ταῖς
Metamorphōseis.

ΟΤΑΛΕΡΙΑ Τουσκλαναρία κατὰ μήνην Ἀφροδίτης

1 τῶν δὲ κλάδων . . . κύνες] τῶν δὲ πέριξ κλάδων αἰφνιδίως
σεισθέντων οἱ στιβεύτα κύνες is a fair sample of Stobaeus's
version, Flor. lxiv. 33.
2 τῆς added from Stobaeus.
3 ἀπέσφαξεν] ἐπικατέσφαξεν Stobaeus; διεχρήσατο Parthenius.
4 Παρθένιος] Σωστράτου ἐν δ' Κυνηγετικῶν Stobaeus.
5 ὑπῆρ[ε]ν] ἐνδέρεσεν Stobaeus, Flor. lxiv. 34. Stobaeus has
quite a different version; only a few words and the last
complete sentence (κατὰ πρόνοιαν . . . μετεμορφώθη) are the
same.
288
she awaited events. But some branches were shaken by her movements, and the dogs, thinking that she was a wild animal, rushed upon her and tore to pieces the loving wife like a brute beast. Cyanippus was a witness of this unexpected event and slew himself. So the poet Parthenius.

In Sybaris, a city of Italy, a young man Aemilius, greatly admired for his beauty, was very fond of hunting. But his wife, whom he had but lately wed, thought that he was consorting with another woman and entered the dell. The trees were shaken by her movements and the dogs rushed upon her and tore her to pieces; and her husband slew himself. So Cleitonymus in the second book of his History of Sybaris.

22. Through the wrath of Aphrodite, Smyrna, the daughter of Cinyras, fell in love with her father, and revealed to her nurse the all-compelling force of her love. The nurse led on her master by a trick; for she declared that a neighbouring maiden was in love with him and was too modest to approach him openly; and Cinyras consorted with her. But on one occasion, wishing to learn the identity of his mistress, he called for a light; but when he saw her, sword in hand he pursued this most wanton woman. But by the foresight of Aphrodite she was changed into the tree that bears her name. So Theodorus in his Metamorphoses.

Through the wrath of Venus, Valeria Tusceanaria

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(311) ἐρασθείσα Οὐαλερίου τοῦ πατρὸς τῇ τροφῇ ἀν-

εκοίνωσεν. ἢ δὲ τὸν δεσπότην δόλῳ ὑπῆλθεν,

ἐπούσα ὡς αἰδεῖται κατ' ὀφθιν μίσχεσθαι, τῶν τε

Β γειτόνων εἶναι τινὰ1 παρθένον. καὶ οἴνωθεὶς ὁ

πατήρ ἤτει φῶς, ἢ δὲ τροφὸς φθάσασα διήγειρεν,

ἠτίς ἕπι τὰς ἁγροικίας ἦτι2 ἐγκύμων τυγχάνουσαν·

ποτὲ δὲ κατὰ κρημνών ἐνεχθείσης, τὸ βρέφος ἔξη,

κατιόνα κ' ἐγκύμων κατέστη καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑπε-

σεμένων χρόνον ἐγέννησεν Αἰγίπνα, κατὰ τὴν 'Ρω-

μαίων φωνὴν Σιλουαν. ὦ δὲ Οὐαλέριος θυμήσας

κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔρριψε3 κρημνῶν· ὡς 'Αριστείδης

Μιλήσιος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

23. ΜΕΤΑ τὴν Ἰλίου πόρθησιν ἐξεβράσθη Διο-

μήδης εἰς Λιβύην, ἦνθα Δύκος ἢν βασιλεὺς θὸς

ἐχὼν τοὺς ξένους "Ἀρει τῷ πατρὶ θύειν. Καλλιρρόη

C δὲ θυγάτηρ ἐρασθείσα Διομήδους τὸν πατέρα

προέδωκε, καὶ τὸν Διομήδην ἐσωσε λύσασα τῶν

δεσμῶν· ὃ δὲ ἀμελήσας τῆς εὐνούχεος ἀπέπλευσεν·

ἡ δὲ βρόχῳ ἐτελεύτησεν· ὡς Ἰόβας ἐν τρίτῃ

Λιβυκῶν.

ΚΑΛΛΟΥΡΝΙΟΣ Κράσσος ἁνήρ τῶν ἐπισήμων,

Ῥηγούλω συστρατευόμενος, ἐπέμφθη εἰς Μασ-

σίλους4 πορθήσων φρούριον τῷ δυσάλωτον τούνομα

Γαραίνον. αἰχμάλωτος δὲ λιθθεὶς ἐμέλλε θύεσθαι

τῷ Κρόνῳ. Βισαλτία δὲ, τοῦ βασιλέως θυγάτηρ,

Δ ἑρασθείσα προέδωκε τὸν πατέρα καὶ νικηφόρον

1 τινὰ F.C.B.: τὴν (in E only).
2 τὰς ἁγροικίας ἦτι Helmbold: ταῖς ἁγροικίασ ἦν. But the

version is much condensed. If we had a version in Stobaeus,

probably much would be clearer.
3 ἔρριψε] εαυτὸν ἔρριψε?
fell in love with her father Valerius, and imparted her secret to her nurse. The nurse deceived her master by a trick, saying that there was someone who was too modest to consort with him openly, but that she was a maiden of the neighbourhood. The father, sodden with wine, kept calling for a light; but the nurse was quick enough to wake the daughter, who went to the country, since she was with child. Once on a time she threw herself down from a cliff, but the child still lived. Returning home, she found her pregnancy inescapable, and in due time gave birth to Aegipan, called in the Roman tongue Silvanus. But Valerius, in a fit of despair, hurled himself down from the same cliff. So Aristeides the Milesian in the third book of his Italian History.

23. After the sack of Troy Diomedes was cast up on the Libyan coast where Lycus was king, whose custom it was to sacrifice strangers to his father Ares. But Callirrhoe, the king’s daughter, fell in love with Diomedes and betrayed her father: loosing Diomedes from his bonds, she saved him. But he, without regard for his benefactor, sailed away, and she ended her life with a halter. So Juba in the third book of his Libyan History.

Calpurnius Crassus, one of the noblemen who had campaigned with Regulus, was dispatched against the Massylians to sack a certain stronghold by name Garaetium, a place difficult to capture. He was taken captive and was destined to be sacrificed to Saturn; but Bisaltia, daughter of the king, fell in love with him, betrayed her father, and gave her lover the

4 Massilius Xylander: μεσεύσουλος or μεσόλονs.
(311) ἐκείνων ἑποίησεν. ἀναστρέψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡ κόρη κατέσφαξεν ἑαυτήν· ὡς Ἡσιάναξ ἐν τρίτῳ Λιβυκών.

24. πριαμὸς Πολυδωρον ἐξέθετο εἰς Θράκην μετὰ χρυσοῦ πρὸς Πολυμήστορα τὸν γαμβρόν, ὡς ἐγγὺς ἢν τοῦ πορθείσθαι ἢ πόλις. ὃ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀλώσιν ἀπέκτειν τὸν παιδὰ, ὡς ἀν κερδήσῃ τὸν χρυσὸν. Ἐκάβη δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους παραγενομένη καὶ σοφισματική ὡς χρυσὸν δύσοισα ἀμα ταῖς αἰχμαλωτίσι ταῖς χερσίν εἶχεν ἑξετύφλωσεν· ὡς Εὐριπίδης ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς.

ΑΝΝΙΒΑ Καμπανοὺς λεγλατοῦντος, Δούκιος Θύμβρις τὸν νῦν Ροῦστιον μετὰ χρημάτων ἐθέτο πρὸς Ε Ὑσαλέριον Γέστιον ὄντα γαμβρόν. ὃ δὲ νενίκηκεν, ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Καμπανὸς φιλαργυρία παρέβη τὰ δίκαια τῆς φύσεως, τὸν παιδὰ φονεύσας. ὃ δὲ Θύμβρις διὰ τῆς ἀγροκίας πορευόμενος καὶ τῷ σώματι τοῦ παιδὸς ἐντυχὼν ἐπεμβην ἐπὶ τὸν γαμβρόν ὡς δείξων θησαυροῦσ' ἐλθὼν δέ ἑτύφλωσε καὶ ἐσταύρωσεν. ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

25. φακὸν ὄντος ἐκ Ψαμάθης Αἰακῷ καὶ στεργομένου, Τελαμῶν ἤγεν ἐπὶ θήραν· καὶ σῶς ἐπιφανείτως κατὰ τοῦ μισουμένου ἐπαφῆκε τὸ δόρυ καὶ ἑφόνευσεν. ὃ δὲ πατὴρ ἐφυγάδευσεν· ὡς Δωρόθεος ἐν πρώτῳ Μεταμορφώσεων.

Γ ΤΑΙΟΣ Μάξιμος ἔχων νιὸν Σμίλιον καὶ Ῥήσου·

1 Ἡσιάναξ Ἡγησίανάξ C. Müller.
2 ὡς ἐγγύς Stegmann: ὡς δ' ἐγγύς.
3 ὃ δ' (ὑποθέτου) added by Uhde.
4 ἐχερσίν] κερκίσιν Musgrave from Euripides, Hecuba, 1153.

In the Hecuba.
victory. But when he returned home, the maiden slew herself. So Hesianax in the third book of his *Libyan History*.

24. Priam sent away Polydorus with gold to Thrace to his son-in-law Polymestor, because the city was on the point of being sacked. But, after its capture, Polymestor killed the child that he might gain the gold. Hecuba, however, came to the country and, tricking him with the promise of gold, put out his eyes with her own hands, assisted by the captive women. So Euripides the tragedian.

When Hannibal was ravaging Campania, Lucius Tiberis placed his son Rustius together with his possessions in the hands of Valerius Gestius, who was his son-in-law; but Hannibal was victorious. When the Campanian heard this, through his love of money he violated the rights of nature and slew the child. But when Tiberis was journeying through the country-side and came upon the body of his son, he sent to his son-in-law, pretending that he would show him treasures; but when he came, Tiberis put out his eyes and nailed him to a cross. So Aristeides in the third book of his *Italian History*.

25. Telamon led out to hunt Phocus, the beloved son of Aeacus by his wife Psamathē. When a boar appeared, Telamon threw his spear at his hated brother and killed him. But his father drove him into exile. So Dorotheüs in the first book of his *Metamorphoses*.

Gaius Maximus had two sons, Similius and Rhesus,

\[b\] Cf. Frazer on Apollodorus, iii. 12. 6 (L.C.L. vol. ii. p. 57).
tou'ton eγέννησεν εξ Ἀμερίας νόθου¹. ὁ Ῥήσος οὖτος ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἄδελφον καὶ ὑποστρέφας τὸ σύμπτωμα τούτος ἔτεν οὐ κρίσεως γέγονεν. ὁ δὲ γνοὺς τάληθες ἐφυγάδευσεν· ὡς Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

312 26. Ἀρχι 'Ἀλθαία συνήλθε καὶ Μελέαγρον ποιήσας * * * ὡς Εὐριπίδης ἐν Μελέαγρῳ.

Σεπτιμίος Μάρκελλος γῆμας Σιλουίαν τὰ πολλὰ κυνηγίῳ προσέκειτο· τὴν δὲ νεόνυμφον ἐν σχήματι ποιμένος Ἀρης βιασάμενος ἐγκύμονα ἐποίησε, καὶ ὁμολόγησεν ὡστὶς ἵνα καὶ δόρυ ἐδωκέ, τὴν γένεσιν τού μέλλοντος τίκτεσθαι φάσκων ἐν αὐτῷ² ἀποκεῖσθαι. ἀπέτεκεν οὖν Σεπτιμίῳ⁴ Τουσκίων. Μάρμερκος δὲ ὑπὲρ εὑκαρπίας θύων θεοῦς μόνης ἡμέλησε Δήμητρος. ἢ δὲ κάπρον ἔπεμψε. συν- αθροίσας δὲ πολλοὺς ἐκεῖνος⁵ κυνηγῖτας ἀνείλε, Β καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ δέρος τῇ κατηγογμένῃ γυναικὶ κατεχώρησε. Σκυμβράτης δὲ καὶ Μουθίας οἱ μητράδελφοι περιείλοντο τῆς κόρης. ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ἀνείλε τους συγγενεῖς· ἢ δὲ μήτηρ τὸ δόρυ κατέκαυσεν· ὡς Μένυλλος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

27. Τελαμὼν ὁ Αἰακὸς καὶ 'Ενδηδος ἐλθὼν εἰς Εὔβοιαν⁶ διέθεσε τὴν 'Αλκοθόου 'Ερίβοιαν⁷ καὶ * * * ⁸ νυκτὸς ἐφυγεν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αἰσθόμενος καὶ

¹ νόθον van Herwerden: Κόνων.
² A lacuna of about twenty-five letters in E.
³ ἐν αὐτῷ] ἐαυτῷ in nearly all mss.
⁴ ἀπέτεκεν οὖν Σεπτιμίῳ van Herwerden: ἀπέκτεινε γοῦν Σεπτιμίῳ.
⁵ ἐκεῖνος] Τουσκίως van Herwerden.
⁶ Εὔβοιαν] Μέγαρα (Meziriacus) is in accord with tradition.
⁷ διέθεσε τὴν 'Αλκοθόου 'Ερίβοιαν added by Meziriacus.
⁸ A lacuna of about seventy-five letters in E.

294
PARALLEL STORIES, 311-312

of whom this Rhesus, whom he begat from Ameria out of wedlock, killed his brother during a hunt; and when he returned home, he declared that the mischance was accidental, not deliberate. But his father recognized the truth and banished him. So Aristocles in the third book of his *Italian History*.

26. Ares consorted with Althaea and begat Meleager. . . . \(^a\) So Euripides in his *Meleager*. \(^b\)

Septimius Marcellus, who was wedded to Silvia, was much given to hunting. Mars, in the guise of a shepherd, violated the young bride, and got her with child. He acknowledged his identity and gave her a spear-shaft, declaring that with it the life of her child that was to be born was inseparably united. She duly bore for Septimius a son Tuscinus. Now the only divinity that Mamercus neglected when he was sacrificing to the gods for a bountiful harvest was Ceres, and she sent a wild boar. But Tuscinus assembled many huntsmen, slew it, and presented the head and the hide to his affianced bride; but Scymbrates and Muthias, his mother’s brothers, took them away from the maiden. Tuscinus was enraged and slew his kinsmen, but his mother burned the spear-shaft. So Menyllus in the third book of his *Italian History*.

27. Telamon, the son of Aeacus and Endeis, came to Euboea, \(\langle\)violated the daughter of Alcothoüs, Eriboea\(\rangle\) \(^c\) and escaped by night. But when her

\(^a\) There is obviously something omitted here.


\(^c\) Conjecturally restored: there is a lacuna in the mss.; cf. Frazer on Apollodorus, iii. 12. 7 (L.C.L. vol. ii. p. 60).
(312) τῶν πολείων τινα ὑποπτεύσας ἐδωκε τὴν κόρην καταποιντωθήμας τινι τῶν δορυφόρων. ὁ δὲ ἐλεησας ἀπημπόλησε· προσσχούσης δὲ τῆς νεώς Σαλαμίνι Τελαμών οὐνήσατο. ἣ δὲ ἐτεκεν Λιώντα· ὡς Ἀρη-τάδης Κνίδιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Νησιωτικῶν.

C Λοικίος Τρώσκιος θυγατέρα εἰς Φλωρεντίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Πατρίδος· ταυτὴν ἐφθείρε Καλπούρνιος Ῥωμαίος. ὁ δὲ παρέδωκε τὴν κόρην κατα-ποινίσα· ἐλεηθείσα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δορυφόρου πι- πράσκεται· καὶ κατὰ τύχην τῆς νεώς προσσχούσης εἰς Ἴταλίαν, Καλπούρνιος οὐνήσατο καὶ ἐποιήσατο εἰς αὐτῆς Κόντρουσκόν.

28. Αιολος τῶν κατὰ Τυρρηνίαν βασιλεὺς ἐσχεν εἰς Ἀμφιθέας θυγατέρας εἰς καὶ ὑσοὺς ἄρρενας. Μακαρεὺς δὲ ὁ νεώτατος ἐρωτη ἐφθείρε μίαν, ἥ δὲ παιδίον ἐκύψεν. ἐμφανείσα δὲ καὶ ἱφῖος

D πεμφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄνομον4 κρίνασα ἑαυτὴν διεχρήσατο· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Μακαρεὺς· ὡς Σώστρατος ἐν δευτέρᾳ Τυρρηνικῶν.

Παπίριος Τόλουκερ5 γῆμας Ἰουλίαν Πούλχραν6 ἐσχεν εἰς θυγατέρας καὶ ὑσοῦ7 ἄρρενας. τούτων ὁ πρεσβύτατος Παπίριος Ῥωμάνος τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔρασθεις Κανουλίας ἐγκυνὸν ἐποίησε. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ τῆς θυγατρὶ ξίφος ἐπεμψεν· ἥ

1 καὶ in E only.
2 νεώτατος] πρεσβύτατος Stobaeus, Flor. lxiv. 35.
3 ἐμφανείσα F.C.B. (cf. Stobaeus, Αἰολος δὲ περὶ τούτων μαθὼν τῇ θυγατρὶ ξίφος ἐπεμψεν); ἐμπεσόσα.
4 ἄνομον] ὁ νόμον Müller; ὡς νόμον δεξαμένη τῶν σίδηρον Stobaeus.

296
father discovered the matter and suspected someone of the citizens, he gave the girl to one of his guardsmen to be cast into the sea. But the guardsman took pity on her, and sold her into slavery. When the ship on which she was put in at Salamis, Telamon bought her, and she bore Ajax. So Aretades the Cnidian in the second book of his History of the Islands.

Lucius Troscius had by Patris a daughter Florentia. Calpurnius, a Roman, violated her, and Lucius delivered over the maiden to be thrown into the sea. But she was pitied by the guardsman and sold into slavery; and by chance her ship put in at Italy, Calpurnius bought her, and had from her Con-truscus.

28. Aeolus, king of the Etruscans, begat from Amphithea six daughters and the like number of sons. Macareus, the youngest, for love violated one of his sisters and she became pregnant. Her plight was discovered and her father sent her a sword; she judged herself a law-breaker and made away with herself. Macareus also did likewise. So Sostratus in the second book of his Etruscan History.

Papirius Tolucer married Julia Pulchra and begat six daughters and the like number of sons. The eldest, Papirius Romanus, fell in love with his sister Canulia and got her with child. Their father learned of it and sent his daughter a sword. She killed

*Cf. Stobaeus, Florilegium, lxiv. 35 (iv. p. 472 Hense); Ovid, Heroïdes, xi.*

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5 Τόλουκερ] Οὐόλουκερ Amyot.
6 Ποῦλχραν Aldine ed. : ἀπόλχραν.
7 ἰενους] τοὺς ἰενους in most mss.
δὲ έαυτὴν ἀνείλε· τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἄρουμανος ἐπραξεν· ὡς Χρύσιππος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

29. Ἀριστονύμοι1 Ἐφέσιος υίὸς Δημοστράτου ἐμίσει γυναίκας, ὅνω δὲ ἐμίσγετο· η δὲ κατὰ χρόνον ἐτέκε κόρην εὐειδεστάτην Ὄνοσκελὼ2 τοῦνμα· ὡς Ἀριστοκλῆς3 ἐν δευτέρᾳ Παραδόξων.

Ε Φολοτιος Στέλλος μισῶν γυναίκας ἰππῷ συν- ἐμίγετο· η δὲ κατὰ χρόνον ἐτέκε κόρην εὔμορφον καὶ ὄνόμασαν4 "Εποναν· ἐστὶ δὲ θεὸς πρόνοιαν ποιου- μένη ἰππών· ὡς Ἀγησίλαος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

30. Σαρδιανοὶ πρὸς Σμυρναίους πόλεμον ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ τείχη ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, καὶ διὰ πρέσβεων ἐπεμψαν μὴ πρότερον ἀναχωρῆσαι, ἐὰν μὴ τὰς γυναίκας συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς συγχωρήσωσι. τῶν δὲ Σμυρναίων διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην μελλόντων πάσχειν F κακῶς, θεραπαίνει ἵνα μία τῶν εὐσχημόνων, ὡς προσ- δραμούσα ἐφη τῷ δεσπότῃ Φιλάρχῳ, "δεὶ τὰς θεραπαίνας κοσμήσαντας ἀντέ εἰλευθέρων πέμπεων." ο δὴ καὶ ἐδρασάν. οἱ δὲ κοπωθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπαίῶν εάλωσαν. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν παρὰ Σμυρ- 313 ναίοις ἐστὶ ἔργηε Ἐλευθερία,5 ἐν ἡ ἰδιοτρο- τὸν κόσμου τῶν εἰλευθέρων φοροῦσιν· ὡς Δοσίθεος ἐν τρίτῳ Λυδικῶν.

1 Ἀριστονύμοι Xylander and some mss.: ἀρίστων ἀριστονύμοι (probably dittography).
2 Ὄνοσκελὼ Ὅνοσκελῶν Stobaeus, Flor. IXiv. 37; Ὅνο- σκελῆ Meineke.
3 Ἀριστοκλῆς from Stobaeus: ἀριστοτέλης.
4 ὄνόμασαν F.C.B.: ὄνομασεν.
5 Ἐλευθερία Wyttenbach: ἐλευθερία.
herself; Romanus also did the same. So Chrysippus in the first book of his *Italian History*.

29. **Aristonymus** of Ephesus, the son of Demostatus, hated women and used to consort with an ass; and in due time the ass gave birth to a very beautiful maiden, Onoscelis a by name. So Aristocles in the second book of his *Strange Events*.

**Fulvius Stellus** hated women and used to consort with a mare and in due time the mare gave birth to a beautiful girl and they named her Epona. She is the goddess that is concerned with the protection of horses. So Agesilaüs in the third book of his *Italian History*.

30. **The People of Sardis**, when they were engaged in war against the people of Smyrna, encamped round about the walls, and sent word through ambassadors that they would never retire unless the people of Smyrna would agree to let their wives consort with them. The Smyrnaeans, because of the compelling necessity, were in a fair way to suffer grievously; but there was a certain maid-servant to one of the better class who ran up to her master Philarchus and said, "You must dress up the maid-servants and send them in place of free-born women." And this, in fact, they did. The men of Sardis were quite exhausted by the serving-maids, and so were taken captive; whence even now the people of Smyrna have a festival called Eleutheria in which the maid-servants wear the adornments of free women. So Dositheüs in the third book of his *Lydian History*.

(313) ΑΤΕΝΟΜΑΡΟΣ Γάλλων βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίοις πολεμῶν ἔφη μὴ πρότερον ἀναχωρήσαι, ἐὰν μὴ τάς γυναῖκας εἰς συνουσίαν ἐκδώσῃ. τῶν δὲ διὰ συμβουλῆς θεραπανῶν καὶ πεισμάτων τὰς δουλάς κοπωθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ ἀλήκτῳ συνουσίᾳ ὑπνώθησαν. ἤ δὲ Ῥητάνα (ἀυτὴ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο συμβουλεύσασα) ἀγρίας ἐπιλαβομένη συκῆς ἀναβαινεῖ εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ μηνύει τοὺς ὑπάτως· οἱ δ’ ἐπελθόντες ἐνίκησαν. ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ ἐορτή θεραπανῶν καλεῖται· ὡς Ἀριστοβείδης Ἔλληνας Μιλήσιος ἐν πρώτῃ Ἰταλικῶν.

31. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ πόλεμον ἐχόντων πρὸς Εὐμολπον καὶ τῆς εὐθυνίας μὴ ἐπαρκοῦσης Πύρανδρος ταμίας τῶν δημοσίων ὑπέσπασε· τὸ μέτρον φειδωλώς χρώμενο· οἱ δ’ ἐγχώριοι ὡς προδότην ὑποπτεύσαντες λιθόλευστον ἐποίησαν· ὡς Καλλισθένης ἐν τρίτω Θρακικῶν.

ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ πρὸς Γάλλους πολεμοῦντων καὶ τῆς εὐθυνίας μὴ ἁρκοῦσης Κίννας τοῦ δήμου τὸ σιτόμετρον ὑπέσπασε· Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ὡς ἀντιποιοῦμενον αὐτὸν τῆς βασιλείας λιθόλευστον ἐποίησαν· ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἐν τρίτω Ἰταλικῶν.

32. ΕΝ τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ Πεισίστρατος Ὀρχομένιοι τοὺς μὲν εὐγενεῖς ἐμίσει, τοὺς δὲ εὐτελεῖς ἐφίλει. ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ οἱ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ φοινεῦσαι, καὶ διακόψαντες αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους ἐβαλον, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξυσαν. ὁ δὲ ἡμῶν ὁ τριτός

1 θεραπανῶν] E has θεραπανίδος, as Pantazides had conjectured.
2 ὑπέσπασε Helmbold: ὑπεσπάσατο.

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*a Cf. Life of Romulus, xxix. (36 e-f); Life of Camillus, xxxiii. (145 f ff.); Macrobius, Saturnalia, i. 11. 35-39.
300
When Atepomarus, king of the Gauls, was at war with the Romans, he said he would never retire unless the Romans should surrender their wives for intercourse. But the Romans, on the advice of their maid-servants, sent slave-women; and the barbarians, exhausted by unremitting intercourse, fell asleep. But Rhetana (for she had been the author of this advice), by taking hold of a wild fig-tree, climbed upon the wall and informed the consuls; and the Romans attacked and conquered. From this the Servants' Festival takes its name. So Aristeides the Milesian in the first book of his Italian History.

31. When the Athenians were engaged in a war against Eumolpus, and their supply of food was insufficient, Pyrannder, the treasurer of the public funds, secretly reduced the unit of measure and distributed food very sparingly. But his countrymen suspected that he was a traitor and stoned him to death. So Callisthenes in the third book of his Thracian History.

When the Romans were waging war against the Gauls, and their supply of food was insufficient, Cinna secretly reduced the distribution of grain to the people. But the Romans stoned him to death on the suspicion that he had designs on the kingship. So Aristeides in the third book of his Italian History.

32. During the Peloponnesian War Peisistratus of Orchomenus hated the aristocracy and strongly favoured the poorer citizens. The members of the Council plotted to kill him; they cut him up into bits, thrust these into the folds of their garments, and scraped the earth clean. But the crowd of commoners

Cf. 310 n, supra; Frazer on Apollodorus, iii. 15. 4 (L.C.L. vol. ii. p. 110).
(313) οχλος υπόνοιαν λαβὼν ἐδραμεν εἰς τὴν βουλήν. ὁ δὲ νεώτερος νῦς τοῦ βασιλέως Τλησίμαχος εἶδὼς τὴν συνωμοσίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπέσπασε τὸν οχλον, εἰπὼν ἐωρακέναι τὸν πατέρα μεθ’ ὀρμῆς εἰς τὸ Πισαίον ὅρος φέρεσθαι, μεῖζονα μορφὴν ἀνθρώπου κεκτημένον. καὶ οὔτως ἡπατήθη ὁ οχλος. ὡς Θεόφιλος ἐν δευτέρῳ Πελοποννησιακῶν.

Διὰ τοὺς ἄστυγείτονας πολέμους ἡ σύγκλητος

Δ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων τοῦ δήμου τὸ συμόπετρον ἦρε. 'Ρωμύλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς βαρέως ἐνεγκών τῷ δήμῳ ἀπέδωκε πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐκόλαξεν. οἱ δὲ φονεύσαντες αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σύγκλητῳ βουλῇ καὶ διακόψαντες1 εἰς τοὺς κόλπους ἐβαλον. Ὁ ρωμαίοι δὲ μετὰ πυρὸς εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐδραμον. Ὁ Ιούλιος2 δὲ Πρόκλος3 τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀνὴρ εἶπε τὸν 'Ρωμύλον ἐν ὀρει ἐωρακέναι μεῖζονα παντὸς ἀνθρώπου θεὸν τε γεγενήθαι.4 Ὁ ρωμαίοι δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ὡς Ἄριστοβουλος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

33. Πελούς Ταντάλου καὶ Εὐρυναάσσης γῆμας Ἱπποδάμειαν ἔσχεν Ἀτρέα καὶ Θυέστην, ἐκ δὲ Ε Δαναίδος νύμφης Χρύσιππον, ὅ τι πλέον τῶν γνησίων ἐστερέξε. Λάιος δὲ ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐπιθυμήσας ἤρπασεν αὐτὸν. καὶ συλλήθησε ὑπὸ Θυέστου καὶ Ἀτρέως ἑλέους ἐτυχε ὑπάρ Πέλοπος διὰ τὸν ἐρωτα. Ἱπποδάμεια δ’ ἀνέπειθεν Ἀτρέα καὶ Θυέστην ἀναιρεῖν

1 διακόψαντες Bernardakis (as above): κόψαντες.
2 Ἱούλιος in the other accounts (Meziriacus); Αἰλίος Wytenbach: αἰτιός.
3 πρόκλος Guarinus: Πρᾶος.
4 θεὸν τε γεγενήθαι Helmbold: θεόν γεγενήθαι.

a Cf. Life of Romulus, chap. xxviii. (35 a ff.); Life of 302
caught a suspicion of this deed and hurried to the Council. Tlesimachus, however, the younger son of the king, was privy to the plot and drew the crowd away from the assembly by declaring that he had seen his father, endowed with more than mortal stature, being swiftly borne toward mount Pisa; and thus the crowd was deceived. So Theophilus in the second book of his Peloponnesian History.

Because of the wars with neighbouring States the Roman Senate had done away with the distribution of grain to the people; but Romulus the king could not brook this, restored the dole to the people, and punished many of the more prominent men. They slew him in the Senate, cut him into bits, and thrust these into the folds of their garments; but the Roman people ran with fire to the Senate-house. Julius Proculus, however, one of the prominent men, declared that on a mountain he had seen Romulus with greater stature than any mortal's and that he had become a god. The Romans believed him and withdrew. So Aristobulus in the third book of his Italian History.

33. Pelops, the son of Tantalus and Euryanassa, married Hippodameia and begat Atreus and Thyestes; but by the nymph Danaïs he had Chrysippus, whom he loved more than his legitimate sons. But Laius the Theban conceived a desire for him and carried him off; and, although he was arrested by Thyestes and Atreus, he obtained mercy from Pelops because of his love. But Hippodameia tried to persuade Atreus and Thyestes to do away with Chrysippus,

Numa, chap. ii. (60 c ff.); Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, ii. 63; Livy, i. 16; Cicero, De Republica, i. 10. 20.
αὐτῶν, εἰδυῖα ἐσεσθαι ἐφεδρον βασιλείας. τῶν δ' ἀρνησμένων, αὕτη τῷ μύσει τὰς χεῖρας ἔχρισε. νυκτὸς γὰρ βαθείας κοιμώμενον Λαίου, τὸ ξίφος ἐλκύσασα καὶ τρώσασα τὸν Χρυσίππον ἐγκατα-πήγνυσι τὸ ξίφος. ὑπονοηθεὶς δὲ ὁ Λαίου διὰ τὸ ξίφος ῥύεται ὑπὸ ἡμιθνήτος τοῦ Χρυσίππου τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὁμολογήσαντος; ὃ δὲ θάμας τὴν Ἰππο-δάμειαν ἐξώρισεν; ὡς Δοσίθεος ἐν Πελοπίδαις.

Ἑβιος Τολίειξ γῆμας Νουκερίαν ἔσχε δύο παιδας ἐκ ταύτης. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ εἰς ἀπελευθέρας κάλλει περίβλεπτον Φίρμιον, ὅπως τῶν γυναικῶν μᾶλλον ἐστεργε. ἦ δὲ Νουκερία πρὸς τὸν προγόνον μισοπονῆρως διακειμένη τοὺς παιδάς ἀνέπειθεν αὐτοῦ ἀναίρειν. 1 τῶν δ' εὐσεβῶς ἀνανεσάντων, αὕτη τῶν 314 φόνον ἐνείργησε, καὶ νυκτὸς τοῦ σωματοφύλακος τὸ ξίφος ἐλκύσασα καυρίως ἔτρωσε τὸν κοιμώμενον, ἐγκαταλιποῦσα τὸ ξίφος. τοῦ δὲ σωματοφύλακος ὑποπτευθέντος, ὁ παῖς τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγει. ὃ δὲ τοῦτον θάμας τὴν γυναῖκα ἐφυγάδευσεν; ὡς Δοσίθεος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

34. θέσετας ταῖς ἀλήθειας παῖς Ποσειδῶνος, ἔχων δὲ εἰς Ἰππολύτης Ἀμαζόνως Ἰππόλυτον, ἐπέγγημε μητριὰν Φαίδραν τὴν Μύωσ, ἦτις τοῦ προγόνον εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμπεσοῦσα τὴν τροφὸν ἐπεμψεν· ὃ δὲ καταλείψας Ἀθῆνας καὶ εἰς Τροιζήνα παραγενόμενος κυνηγεσίαις προσανέκειτο. τῆς δὲ Β προαιρέσεως ἡ ἀσελγής ἀποτυχοῦσα ψευδεῖς κατὰ

1 αὐτῶν ἀναίρειν Stephanus, ut supra: φονεύειν.
2 καὶ added by Hutten.

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*a Cf. Pausanias, vi. 20. 7; Apollodorus, iii. 5. 5; Athene-304
since she knew that he would be a contestant for the kingship; but when they refused, she stained her hands with the pollution. For at dead of night, when Laïus was asleep, she drew his sword, wounded Chrysippus, and fixed the sword in his body. Laïus was suspected because of the sword, but was saved by Chrysippus who, though half-dead, acknowledged the truth. Pelops buried Chrysippus and banished Hippodameia. So Dositheüs in his *Descendants of Pelops*.

Ebius Tolieix married Nuceria and had from her two sons; and he had also, from a freedwoman, Firmus, conspicuous for his beauty, whom he loved more than his legitimate sons. Nuceria was disposed to hate her stepson and tried to persuade her sons to kill him; but when they righteously refused, she herself effected the murder. By night she drew the sword of Firmus's body-guard and mortally wounded the boy as he slept, leaving the sword behind in his body. The guard was suspected, but the boy told the truth. Ebius buried his son and banished his wife. So Dositheüs in the third book of his *Italian History*.

34. Theseus, who was actually the son of Poseidon, begat a son Hippolytus from Hippolytē the Amazon and took a second wife, Phaedra, the daughter of Minos, who thus became a stepmother. Phaedra fell in love with her stepson, and sent her nurse to him; but he left Athens and, coming to Troezen, devoted himself to hunting. But when the wanton woman failed to obtain her cherished desire, she...
(314) τοῦ σώφρονος ἐπιστολᾶς ἐχάραξε καὶ βρόχῳ τὸ ζήν ἀνήρτησε. ¹ Ὁθεσεν δὲ πιστεύσας ἠτήσατο παρὰ Ποσειδώνος ἀπολέσθαι τὸν Ἐπιπόλυτον, ἐκ τῶν τριῶν εὐχῶν ὡς εἴχε παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ. ὃ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐγιαλὸν ἐπὶ ἄρματος τυχόντι ταῦτον ἐπεμψε καὶ ἐπτόησε τοὺς ἱπποὺς, οἱ συνέτρυμαν τὸν Ἐπιπόλυτον.

Κομμίνιος Σούπερ Λαυρεντίνος ἔχων νῦν ἐξ 'Εγερίας νῦμφης Κομμίνων ἐπήγαγε μητρικὰν Γιδίκαν. ήτις ἔρασθείσα τοῦ προγόνου καὶ ἀποτυχοῦσα βρόχῳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βιόν, ἐπιστολᾶς καταλεύφασα ψευδεῖς. ὃ δὲ Κομμίνως ἀναγνώστεν καὶ γεγκλήματα καὶ τῷ ζήλῳ πιστεύσας ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν Ποσειδώνα. ὃ δὲ τῷ παιδὶ ἐπὶ ἄρματος ὄχομένως ταῦτον ἔδειξε, καὶ οἱ ἱπποὶ τὸν νέον σύραντες ἀπώλεσαν. ὡς Δοσίθεος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλίκῷ.

35. Δοιμοὶ κατασχόντος Λακεδαιμονοῦ, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς παύεσθαι, ἐὰν παρθένων εὐγενῆ κατὰ ἐτὸς θύσας. ² Ἐλένης δὲ ποτε κληρωθείσης καὶ προαχθείσης κεκοσμημένης, ἀετὸς καταπᾶσα ἐφράσε τὸ ξίφος καὶ ἐστὶ βουκόλων κομίσας ἐπὶ δάμαλιν καθήκεν. ³ θεν ἀπέσχοντο τῆς παρθενοκτονίας. ὡς Ἀριστόδημος ἐν Τριτῇ Μυθικῇ Συναγωγῇ.

D Δοιμοὶ κατασχόντος Φαλερίου ⁴ καὶ φθορᾶς

1 τὸ ζήν ἀνήρτησε] τὸν βιόν περιέγραψε Στοβεάους, lxiv. 38. Stobaeus's slightly amplified version agrees very exactly until the last sentence, which is utterly different both in language and construction.

2 θύσας Ε: θύσῳσιν. ³ καθήκεν S. A. Naber: κατέθηκεν.

4 Φαλερίους Amyot: χαλερίους.

a Cf. Stobaeus, Florilegium, lxiv. 38 (iv. 474 Hense), and Euripides, Hippolytus.

306
indited a false letter against the chaste youth and ended her life with a halter. Theseus believed the letter and asked from Poseidon the destruction of Hippolytus as fulfilment of one of the three wishes which he had as a concession from Poseidon. The god sent a bull to confront Hippolytus as he was driving along the shore in his chariot and terrified the horses, which crushed Hippolytus.\textsuperscript{a}

Comminius Super of Laurentum begat a son Comminius from the nymph Egeria and took a second wife Gidica, who thus became a stepmother. She fell in love with her stepson and, failing to obtain her desire, put an end to her life with a halter, leaving behind her a lying letter. Comminius read the accusations, believed the invidious charge, and called upon Neptune, who placed a bull in the youth’s path as he was riding in a chariot; and the young man’s horses ran away with him and killed him. So Dositheüs in the third book of his \textit{Italian History}.

35. \textbf{When a Plague} had overspread Sparta, the god gave an oracle that it would cease if they sacrificed a noble maiden each year. Once when Helen had been chosen by lot and had been led forward adorned for the sacrifice, an eagle swooped down, snatched up the sword, carried it to the herds of cattle, and let it fall on a heifer; wherefore the Spartans refrained from the slaying of maidens.\textsuperscript{b} So Aristodemus in his Third Collection of Fables.

\textbf{When a Plague} had gained a wide hold on the city of Falerii, and many perished of it, an oracle

(314) γενομένης, χρησίμος ἐδόθη λωφήσας τὸ δεινὸν, ἑὼν παρθένον τῇ Ἡρᾷ θύσωσιν κατ’ ἐνιαυτόν. ἀεὶ δὲ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας μενούσης κατὰ κλήρον λαχομένην ¹ Οὐαλερία Δουπέρκα ² σπασμένη τὸ ξίφος, * * * ³ ἀετὸς καταπτάς ἤρπασε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἐθηκε ράβδον μικρὰν ἐχουσαν σφύραν, τὸ δὲ ξίφος ἐπέβαλε δαμάλει τινὶ παρὰ τὸν ναὸν βοσκομένην. νοήσασα δὲ ἡ παρθένος καὶ τὴν βοῶν θύσασα καὶ τὴν σφύραν ἄρασα, κατ’ οἰκίαι περιήλθε, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἱρέα πλήττουσα δὐγγειρεῖν, ἐρρώσθαι ἐνι ἐκάστῳ λέγουσα. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὸ μυστήριον τελεῖται ὡς Ἁριστείδης ἐν ἐννεακαι-Ε  δεκάτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

36. Ἰταλονομὴ Νυκτίμου καὶ Ἄρκαδίας θυγάτηρ ἐκυνήγει σὺν τῇ Ἅρτεμιδι. Ἄρης δ’ ἐν σχῆματι ποιμένος ἐγκυνὸν ἐποίησεν. ἦ δὲ τεκοῦσα διόμυσος παίδας καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα ἔρρωσε εἰς τὸν Ἕρυμανθόν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ἀκυνόμισε περι-φερόμενοι προσηνέχθησαν ἐν κοίλῃ δρυν. λύκαινα δ’ ἐμφωλεῦσα τοὺς μὲν ἱδίους σκύμπους εἰς τὸν βοῦν ἐρρῴσε, τοῖς δὲ βρέφεσι θηλῆν παρέσχε. Γύλιφος ⁴ δὲ ποιμήν αὐτόπτης γενόμενος καὶ ἀνα-λαβὼν τοὺς παίδας ὅς ἱδίους ἔθρεψε, τὸν μὲν καλέσας Λύκαστον τὸν δὲ Παρράσιον, τοὺς δια-
F δεξαμένους τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Ἄρκαδων ὡς Ζώπτυρος Βυζάντιος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ Ἰστορικῶν.

Ἀμογλιος πρὸς Νομίτορα τὸν ἄδελφον τυραννικῶς διακείμενος, τὸν μὲν νῦν Λύντον ἐπὶ κυνηγία

¹ λαχομένη F.C.B.: καλουμένη.
² Δουπέρκα Guarinus: τουπέρκα.
³ There is probably a lacuna here; E alone adds ἢγετο εἰς θυεῖν.
⁴ Γύλιφος Cröner: τύλιφος.

308
was given that the terror would abate if they sacrificed a maiden to Juno each year. This superstitious practice persisted and once, as a maiden chosen by lot, Valeria Luperca, had drawn the sword, an eagle swooped down, snatched it up, and placed a wand tipped with a small hammer upon the sacrificial offerings; but the sword the eagle cast down upon a certain heifer which was grazing near the shrine. The maiden understood the import: she sacrificed the heifer, took up the hammer, and went about from house to house, tapping the sick lightly with her hammer and rousing them, bidding each of them to be well again; whence even to this day this mystic rite is performed. So Aristeides in the nineteenth book of his Italian History.

36. Phylonomê, the daughter of Nyctimus and Arcadia, was wont to hunt with Artemis; but Ares, in the guise of a shepherd, got her with child. She gave birth to twin children and, fearing her father, cast them into the Erymanthus; but by some divine providence they were borne round and round without peril, and found haven in the trunk of a hollow oak-tree. A wolf, whose den was in the tree, cast her own cubs into the stream and suckled the children. A shepherd, Gyliphus, was witness of this event and, taking up the children, reared them as his own, and named them Lycastus and Parrhasius, the same that later succeeded to the throne of Arcadia. So Zopyrus of Byzantium in the third book of his Histories.

Amulius, being despotically disposed toward his brother Numitor, killed his brother's son Ænitus

*Cf. Lydus, De Mensibus, 150 (p. 168 Wünsch).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

άνείλε, την δὲ θυγατέρα Ζιλονίαν ἦ Ἰλίαν1 τῆς Ἡρας ιύρειαν ἐπούησατο. ταύτην Ἀρης ἐγκύμονα 
ποιεῖ· ἡ δὲ ἔτεκε διδύμους, ὁμολογησὲ τε τῷ 
τυράννῳ τῆς ἀλήθειαν. ὅ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἀμφοτέρου 
kατεπόντυσε, βαλῶν παρὰ τὰς ὀχθὰς τοῦ Θύμβρεως. 
315 οἳ δὲ προσηνέχθησαν ἐν τόπῳ, ἐνθα λύκαια ἢν 
φωλεύουσα νεοτόκοσ· καὶ τοὺς μὲν σκύμνους 
ἐρρυθε, τὰ δὲ βρέφη ἔτρεφε. Φαβίστος2 δὲ ποιήν 
ἀυτόπτης γενόμενος τοὺς παίδας ἀνέθρησε, καὶ τὸν 
μὲν Ῥώμου τὸν δὲ Ῥωμύλου προσηγόρευσε, τοὺς 
κτίστας Ῥώμης· ὡς Ἀριστείδης Μιλήσιος ἐν τοῖς 
Ἰταλικῶι.

37. META τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσον Ἀγαμέμνων μετὰ 
Κασάνδρας ἀνηρέθη. Ὁρέστης δὲ παρὰ Στροφίῳ 
ἀνατραφεῖς τοὺς φονεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιμωρήσατο· 
ὡς Πύρανδρος ἐν τετάρτῳ Πελοποννησιακῶι.

ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΦΑΒΡΙΚΙΑΝΟΣ τοῦ μεγάλου συγγενῆς 
Φαβίου, πορθήσας Τουξιοῦ μητρόπολιν Σαουντῶν, 
Β τῆν παρ’ αὐτοῖς τιμωμένην νικηφόρον 'Αφροδίτην 
ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην. τοῦτον γυνὴ Φαβία3 μοι-
χευθεῖσα ὑπὸ τινος εὐπρεποῦς νεανίου τοῦνομα 
Πετρωνίου Οὐαλεντάου, τὸν ἄνδρα ἐδολοφόνησε. 
Φαβία δὲ θυγάτηρ4 τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔτι νήπιον Φαβρι-
κιανὸν τῶν κινδύνων ἐρρύσατο καὶ ἐπεμψε κρύφα 
τραφησόμενον. ἀκμάσας δὲ ὅ νεανία τῆς τε 
μητέρα καὶ τὸν μοιχὸν ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἀπελύθη ὑπὸ 
τῆς συγκλήτου· ὡς ἰστορεῖ Δοσίθεος ἐν τρίτῳ 
Ἰταλικῶι.

1 ἦ Ἰλίαν Bryan: ἐν ιονία.
2 Φαβίστος] Φαυστύλος Bryan.
3 Φαβία] a few inferior mss. have petronia here and omit Πετρωνίου below.

310
in hunting, and his daughter Silvia, or Ilia, he made a priestess of Juno. But Mars got Silvia with child. She gave birth to twins and acknowledged the truth to the despot; he became frightened and threw both the children into the water by the banks of the Tiber. But they found a haven at a place where was the den of a wolf which had recently whelped. She abandoned her cubs and suckled the children. A shepherd Faustus was witness of this event and reared the children; he named them Remus and Romulus, who became the founders of Rome. So Aristeides the Milesian in his *Italian History.*

37. After the capture of Troy Agamemnon together with Cassandra was slain. But Orestes was reared in the house of Strophius, and took vengeance on the murderers of his father. So Pyrander in the fourth book of his *Peloponnesian History.*

Fabius Fabricianus, a kinsman of Fabius Maximus, sacked Tuxium, the chief city of the Samnites, and sent to Rome the statue of Venus Victrix, which was held in honour among the Samnites. His wife Fabia, debauched by a certain handsome youth whose name was Petronius Valentinus, slew her husband by treachery. But a daughter Fabia rescued from danger her brother Fabricianus, who was still a young child, and sent him away secretly to be reared elsewhere. When he reached manhood he slew his mother and her lover, and was absolved from guilt by the senate. This Dositheus relates in the third book of his *Italian History.*

\[a\] Contrast 320 \(d, infra.\)

\[b\] Bovianum?

\[\] \(\thetaυγάτηρ\) added by Helmbold.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(315) 38. βοτσιρίς, παῖς Ποσειδώνος καὶ Ἀνίπτης τῆς Νείλου, τοὺς παριόντας ύπολογ φιλοξενία κατέθευ. μετήλθε δ' αὐτὸν ἡ τῶν τετελευτηκότων οὖν μέμεσις. Ἡρακλῆς γὰρ ἐπιτεθείς τῷ ῥοπάλῳ διεχρήσατο· ὡς Ἀγάθων Σάμιος.

أهداف τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς ἐλαυνών δι' Ἰταλίας ἑπεξενώθη Φαῦνῳ βασιλεί, ὡς ἦν Ἠρμοῦ παῖς καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἢ γεινήσαντι ἔθους· ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ ἀνήρεθη· ὡς Δέρκυλλος ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

39. φαλαρίς Ἀκραγαντίων τὺραννος ἀποτόμως1 τοὺς παριόντας ξένους ἐστρέβλου καὶ ἐκόλαξε. Πέριλλος δὲ τῇ τέχνῃ χαλκουργῶς δάμαλιν κατασκευάσας χαλκίνην ἐδωκε τῷ βασιλεί, ὡς ἂν τοὺς ξένους κατακαύῃ ζώιτας ἐν αὐτῇ· ὡς μόνον τότε γεινόμενος δίκαιος αὐτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἐδόκει δὲ Δμυκηθηρίαν ἀναδιδόναι ἢ δάμαλις· ὡς ἐν δευτέρῳ Αἰτίων.

EN AİΓΕΣΤΗΙ πόλει τῆς Σικελίας ἐγένετο τῷ ῥημώ τύραννος Λίμιλιος Κενσώρίνος. οὕτως τοὺς κανόνες βασανιστήρια κατασκευάσαντας ἐδωροδόκει. εἰς δὲ τὸς Ἀρούντιος Πατέρκουλος ᾑδημουργήσας ἠπτον χαλκοῦν τῷ προειρημένῳ δῶρον ἐδωκεν, ἦν ἐμβάλλη ἁστοῦς.2 ο δὲ τότε πρῶτον

1 ἀποτόμως] ἀπότομος some mss. (ἀπότομος καὶ ἀπαθὴς ὑπ-άρχον, Stobaeus, Flor. xlix. 49). The text of Stobaeus, slightly amplified, plainly comes from the same original. 2 ἦν ἐμβάλλη van Herwerden (confirmed by ἐνέβαλε in another ms. version): ἦνα βάλλη. 3 ἁστοῦς van Herwerden: ἁστοῦς.

ᵃ Cf. Life of Theseus, xi. (5 b); Frazer’s note on Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11 (L.C.I. vol. i. pp. 224-225). “Quis . . . inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?” (Virgil, Georgics, iii. 4-5). 312
38. *Busiris*, the son of Poseidon and Anippê, daughter of the Nile, with treacherous hospitality was wont to sacrifice such persons as passed his way. But there came upon him vengeance for those that had perished by his hand. For Heracles attacked him with his club and slew him. So Agathon of Samos.

When Hercules was driving through Italy the cattle of Geryon, he was entertained by king Faunus, the son of Mercury, who was wont to sacrifice his guests to the god that was his father. But when he attacked Hercules, he was slain. So Dercyllus in the third book of his *Italian History*.

39. *Phalaris*, the tyrant of Agrigentum, used to inflict most cruel torture and torment upon the strangers that passed his way. Perillus, a bronze-founder by trade, made a bronze heifer and gave it to the king that he might burn the strangers in it alive. But Phalaris on this one occasion proved himself a just man and threw into it the artisan; the heifer seemed to give forth a sound of bellowing. So in the second book of *Causes*.

In Segesta, a city of Sicily, there lived a certain cruel despot, Aemilius Censorinus, who used to reward with gifts those who invented more novel forms of torture; and a certain Arruntius Paterculus constructed a horse of bronze and gave it as a gift to the aforesaid that he might cast the citizens therein. But on this occasion, for the first


\[c\] Probably, as Bentley conjectured, the *Aetia* of Callimachus (cf. Mair’s edition, L.C.L. p. 203). Schneider’s objections Schlereth has shown to be irrelevant.
(315) νομίμως ἀναστραφεῖς τῶν χαρισμένων πρῶτον ἐβαλεν ὡς ἂν, ἥν ἐπενήσησε βάσαιν ἄλλοις, αὐτὸς πάθη πρῶτοι. τούτον συλλαβῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταρπηίου ὀροὺς ἔρριμη. καὶ δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀποτόμως βασιλεύ- σαντες ἀπ’ ἑκείνου Λιμίλιου προσαγορεύεσθαι. ὡς Ε’ Ἀριστείδης ἐν τετάρτῳ 'Ἰταλικῶν.

40. εὐθύνος Ἀρεος καὶ Στερόπης τῆς Οὐλομᾶν γῆς Ἀλκίππην ἐγέννησε θυγατέρα Μαρπησσαν, ἥν παρθένον ἐφούρει. καὶ Ἰδας ὁ Ἀφαρέως ἀρπάσας ἐκ χοροῦ ἔφυγεν. ὁ δὲ πατήρ διώξας καὶ μὴ συλλαβῶν εἰς τὸν Λυκόρμαν ἔρριμην ἐαυτὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀθάνατος ἐγένετο. ὡς Δοσίθεος ἐν πρώτῳ Λιμίλικῶν.

Ἀννίος δὲ Τούσκων βασιλεὺς ἐξών θυγατέρα εὐμορφον τοῦνομα Σαλίαν, παρθένον ἐτήρει. Κάθητος δ’ ἐκ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἴδων τὴν παρθένον παί- ξουσαν ἡράσθη, καὶ μὴ στέγων τὸν ἔρωτα ἡρπάσει 

ἐκαὶ ἤγεν ἐις Ἐρώμην. ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἐπιδιώξας καὶ μὴ συλλαβῶν ἥλατο εἰς τὸν Παρεούσιον ποτα- 

μόν, ὃς Ἀνίων μετωνομάσθη. τῇ δὲ Σαλία συγ- 

γενομένος Κάθητος ἐποιήσατο Λατίνων καὶ Σάλιων, ἀφ’ ἃν οἱ εὐγενεστατοι κατῆγον τὸ γένος. ὡς Ἐριστείδης Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος δ Ἑλληνίστωρ ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

41. Ἡγεσίστατος ἀνὴρ Ἐφέσιος ἐμφύλιον φόνον

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1 Ταρπηίου the usual form: ταρπιών.
2 καὶ before Ἰδας follows Ἀφαρέως in the mss.
3 Ἀφαρέως Xylander from Apollodorus and De Fluviiis: ἀφάρητος.
4 Λιμίλικων Petavius and some mss.: Ἰταλικῶν.
5 Ἀριστείδης Μιλήσιος καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος δ Πολυνίστωρ ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

—a Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, De Fluviiis, viii. 1 (Bernardakis, 314)
time, the despot behaved in a just manner and thrust first the giver of the gift into the horse, so that he himself should be the first to experience the torment which he had devised for others. Then he seized the man and hurled him from the Tarpeian Rock. It is believed that those who rule with great cruelty are called Aemilii from this Aemilius. So Aristeides in the fourth book of his *Italian History*.

40. *Evenus*, the son of Ares and Steropē, married Alcippē, the daughter of Oenomaüs, and begat a daughter Marpessa, whom he endeavoured to keep a virgin. Idas, the son of Aphaereus, seized her from a band of dancers and fled. Her father gave chase; but, since he could not capture them, he hurled himself into the Lycomas river and became immortal. So Dositheüs in the first book of his *Aetolian History*.

Annius, king of the Etruscans, had a beautiful daughter named Salia, whom he endeavoured to keep a virgin. But Cathetus, one of the nobles, saw the maiden at play and fell in love with her; nor could he control his passion, but seized her and set out with her for Rome. Her father gave chase, but since he could not capture them, he leaped into the river Pareüsium, and from him its name was changed to Anio. And Cathetus consorted with Salia and begat Latinus and Salius, from whom the most noble patriarchs traced their descent. So Aristeides the Milesian, and also Alexander Polyhistor in the third book of his *Italian History*.

41. Hegesistratus, an Ephesian, having murdered...
δράσας ἐφυγεν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ ἠρώτα τὸν θεὸν
ποι ὀικήσειν. Ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων ἀνείλεν¹ ἐνθα ἂν
ἳδῃ χορεύοντας ἀγροῖκους θαλλοῖς ἐλαίας ἐστεφανω-
316 μένους. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τινα² τόπον τῆς Ἀσίας
καὶ θεασάμενος φύλλοις ἐλαίας ἐστεφανωμένους
γεωργοὺς καὶ χορεύοντας, ἐκτισεν αὐτοῦ πόλιν καὶ
ἐκάλεσεν Ἐλαιοῦντα· ὡς Πυθοκλῆς ὁ Σάμιος ἐν
τρίτῳ Γεωργικῶν.

τηλεγόνος Ὀδυσσέως καὶ Κύρκης ἐπ' ἀναζήτησιν
τοῦ πατρὸς περβηθεὶς ἐμαθε πόλιν κτίσαι, ἐνθα
ἂν ἴδῃ γεωργοὺς ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ χορεύοντας,
γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τινα τόπον τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ
θεασάμενος ἀγροῖκους πρινὼς κλάδους ἐστεφανω-
μένους καὶ ὀρχήσει προσευκαροῦντας, ἐκτισε
πόλιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ συγκυρήματος Πρίνιστον ὄνομάσας,
ἡν Ῥωμαίοι παραγώγοις Πραϊνεστον καλοῦσιν· ὡς
Βίστορεί Ἀριστοκλῆς ἐν τρίτῳ Ἰταλικῶν.

¹ ἀνείλεν Bernardakis: ἀνείπεν.
² κατά τινα van Herwerden: κατὰ τὸν.
one of his kinsmen, fled to Delphi, and inquired of the god where he should make his home. And Apollo answered: "Where you shall see rustics dancing, garlanded with olive-branches." When he had come to a certain place in Asia and had observed farmers garlanded with olive-leaves and dancing, there he founded a city and called it Elaeüs. So Pythocles the Samian in the third book of his Treatise on Husbandry.

When Telegonus, the son of Odysseus and Circe, was sent to search for his father, he was instructed to found a city where he should see farmers garlanded and dancing. When he had come to a certain place in Italy, and had observed rustics garlanded with twigs of oak (prininoi) and diverting themselves with dancing, he founded a city, and from the coincidence named it Prinistum, which the Romans, by a slight change, call Praenestê. So Aristocles relates in the third book of his Italian History.

\[a \text{ "City of Olives."} \]
ON THE FORTUNE OF THE ROMANS
(DE FORTUNA ROMANORUM)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's essay on the *Fortune of the Romans*, like the following essays, is very plainly an epideictic oration. Where and when it was delivered, or whether it was ever delivered at all, we have no means of ascertaining. Hartman feels very sure that it was delivered to a Roman audience in the early days of Plutarch's sojourn at Rome, and was intended to commend the speaker to other Romans besides his personal friends there.

The thesis that Fortune was responsible for the great Roman empire would hardly be pleasing to Romans, but Plutarch is careful to point out that the high character of many individual Romans also contributed to the Roman success. In fact the essay might well bear the double title of *Fortune or Virtues*, as does the essay on Alexander. Plutarch was thoroughly familiar with the interpretations of Roman history then fashionable, and in this essay he gives a colourful sketch of as much as will serve his purpose. Much that is here may also be found elsewhere in Plutarch's writings.

The essay comes to a somewhat abrupt conclusion, and many have thought it unfinished; the same is true of the essays immediately following. One may

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*a* This name it actually does bear in seven (out of a total of about twenty-six) mss.
wonder whether a time limit was set for these orations, as in the courts at Athens where the time allowed was measured by the water-clock or clepsydra. We may note, however, that these orations are of quite unequal length.

The text is fairly good, and the majority of the ms. mistakes have been corrected by the various editors and commentators. The essay is No. 175 in Lamprias’s list of Plutarch’s works.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΤΥΧΗΣ

C 1. Αἱ πολλακις πολλάκις ἠγωνισμέναι καὶ μεγάλους ἁγώνας 'Αρετή καὶ Τύχη πρὸς ἀλλήλας μέγιστον ἠγωνιζόταν τὸν παρόντα, περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἠγεμονίας διαδικαζόμεναι ποτέρας γέγονεν ἔργον καὶ ποτέρα τὴν τηλικαύτην δύναμιν γεγένηκεν. οὐ γὰρ μικρὸν ἔσται τῇ περιγενομένῃ τούτῳ μαρτύριον, μάλλον δ' ἀπολόγημα πρὸς καθηγορίαν. καθηγορεῖται δ' Ἀρετή μὲν ὡς καλὰν μὲν ἅνωφελὲς δέ, Τύχη δ' ὡς ἄβεβαιον μὲν ἁγαθὸν δέ καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκαρπα πονεῖν λέγουσι, τὴν δ' ἀπιστὰ δωρεῖσθαι. τὶς οὖν οὐχὶ λέξει, τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῆς Ῥώμης προστεθείσης, ἡ λυσιτελέστατον

D Ὁρετήν, εἰ τηλικαύτια τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς δέδρακεν ἁγαθά, ἡ βεβαιότατον εὐτυχίαν, χρόνον ἤδη τοσοῦτον ἄ δέδωκε τηροῦσαν;

'Ἰὼν μὲν οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τοῖς δίχα μέτρου καὶ καταλογάδην αὐτῷ γεγραμμένους φησών ἀνομοίωτατον πράγμα τῇ σοφία τὴν τύχην οὐσαν ὦμοιοτάτων πραγμάτων γίγνεσθαι δημιουργον αὐξουσιν ἀμφότεραι, προσκοσμοῦσιν ἀνδρας, εἰς δόξαν ἀνάγουσι, εἰς δύναμιν, εἰς ἠγεμονίαν. τὸ δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ μηκύνεων ἐξαιριθμοῦμεν; αὐτὴν τὴν τὰ πάντα γεννώσαν ἡμῖν καὶ φέρουσαν φύσιν οἱ

1 καλὸν μὲν Reiske and a few mss.; καλὸν.
ON THE FORTUNE OF THE ROMANS

1. Virtue and Fortune, who have often engaged in many great contests, are now engaging each other in the present contest, which is the greatest of all; for in this they are striving for a decision regarding the hegemony of Rome, to determine whose work it is and which of them created such a mighty power. For to her who is victorious this will be no slight testimonial, but rather a defence against accusation. For Virtue is accused of being a fair thing, but unprofitable; Fortune of being a thing inconstant, but good. Virtue's labours, they say, are fruitless, Fortune's gifts untrustworthy. Who, then, will not declare, when Rome shall have been added to the achievements of one of the contestants, either that Virtue is a most profitable thing if she has done such good to good men, or that Good Fortune is a thing most steadfast if she has already preserved for so long a time that which she has bestowed?

The poet Ion\(^a\) in his prose works observes that Fortune is a thing very dissimilar to Wisdom, and yet she becomes the creator of things very similar: they both bring increase and added honours to men, they lead them on to high repute, to power, to dominion. What need to be tedious by enumerating the many examples? Even Nature herself, who creates and

\(^{a}\text{ Cf. Moralia, 717 b.}\)
μὲν τὸύχην εἶναι νομίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ σοφίαν. διὸ
Ε ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστρῶν,
πότερον κατὰ τὸύχην συνετήσκεν ἡ κατὰ πρόνοιαν.
2. Ἡ ἐκείνη καὶ ἀρτίας
πρὸς τῆς τηλικάτης σύμπτηξιν ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως
eἰκὸς ἐστὶν αὐτὰς ὑπερέχουσας συνελθεῖν καὶ
συνελθοῦσας ἐπιτελείωσαι καὶ συναπεργάσασθαι
tῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἔργων τὸ κάλλιστον, ὀρθῶς ὑπο-
νοεῖν οἴομαι. καὶ νομίζω, καθάπερ Πλάτων πησώ
ἐκ πυρῶν καὶ γῆς ὡς ἀναγκαῖον τε καὶ πρῶτων
γεγονέαν τὸν συμπάντα κόσμον, ὃν ὁρατὸς

Γ γένηται καὶ ὁ πυρὸς, γῆς μὲν τὸ ἐμβρυθές καὶ στά-
σιμον αὐτῷ συμβαλλόμενης, πυρὸς δὲ χρώμα καὶ
μορφὴ καὶ κίνησιν· αἱ δ’ ἐν μέσῳ φύσεις, ὥδερ
καὶ ἀγρός, μαλάζασαι καὶ σβέσασαι τὴν ἑκατέρον
τῶν ἀκρῶν ἀνομοιότητα συνήγαγον καὶ ἀνεμελεῖσθαι
τὴν ἔληθα δι’ αὐτῶν· οὕτως ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ τῆς
Ῥώμης ὑποβαλλόμενος χρόνος μετὰ θεοῦ τύχην καὶ ἀρετὴν

317 ἑκάρασα καὶ συνέζευξεν, ὃν ἑκατέρας λαβὼν τὸ
οἶκεῖον ἀπεργᾶσθαι πάσην ἀνθρώπου ἐστίν ἔραν
ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀνησιδόραν καὶ πείσμα, καὶ καὶ
μοῖνοι καὶ στοιχεῖοι ἀδιόν, ὑποφερομένους τοῖς
πράγμασις ἀγκυρηθομένουν σάλων καὶ πλάνης,
ὡς φησι Δημόκριτος. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ φυσικοὶ τοῖς

1 ὑπὲρ [perí] some early editions, and many mss.
2 ὁρατὸς Plato: prosφορατός.
3 ἀνησιδόραν lunius and a few mss.: ἀνησιδόραν.

That is, Wisdom.
produces all things for us, some think to be Fortune, others Wisdom. Wherefore our present discourse does, in a measure, bestow a fair and enviable dignity upon Rome, if we raise the question over her, even as we do over earth and sea, heaven and stars, whether she has come to her present state by Fortune or by Forethought.\(^a\)

2. I believe myself to be right in suspecting that, even if Fortune and Virtue are engaged in a direct and continual strife and discord with each other, yet, at least for such a welding together of dominion and power, it is likely that they suspended hostilities and joined forces; and by joining forces they co-operated in completing this most beautiful of human works. Even as Plato\(^b\) asserts that the entire universe arose from fire and earth as the first and necessary elements, that it might become visible and tangible, earth contributing to it weight and stability, and fire contributing colour, form, and movement; but the medial elements, water and air, by softening and quenching the dissimilarity of both extremes, united them and brought about the composite nature of Matter through them; in this way, then, in my opinion, did Time lay the foundation for the Roman State and, with the help of God, so combine and join together Fortune and Virtue that, by taking the peculiar qualities of each, he might construct for all mankind a Hearth, in truth both holy and beneficent, a steadfast cable, a principle abiding for ever, “an anchorage from the swell and drift,” as Democritus\(^c\) says, amid the shifting conditions of human affairs. For even as

\(^a\) Timaeus, 28 b, 31 b–32 b.

\(^b\) Diels, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, ii. 88, Frag. b 148: cf. Moralía, 495 e.
(317) κόσμον λέγουσιν οὐκ εἶναι πάλαι¹ κόσμον οὐδ' ἔθελεν τὰ σώματα συνελθόντα καὶ συμμεγέντα κοινὸν ἐκ πάντων εἶδος τῇ φύσει παρασχειν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐτί μικρῶν καὶ σποράδην φερομένων καὶ διολισθανόντων καὶ ύποφευγόντων τὰς ἑναποληψεις² καὶ περιπλοκάς, τῶν δ' ἀδροτέρων καὶ συνεστηκό-Β τῶν ἡδή δεινοὺς ἀγώνας πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ διαταρα-χὰς λαμβανόντων, κλύδωνα καὶ βρασμὸν εἶναι καὶ φθόρον καὶ πλάνης καὶ ναναγών μεστὰ πάντα, πρὶν γε τὴν γῆν μέγεθος λαβοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν συνιστα-μένων καὶ φερομένων ἰδρυθῆναι πως αὐτὴν καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἱδρυσιν εἰν αὐτῇ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς παρασχεῖν, οὕτω τῶν μεγίστων ἐν ἀνθρώποις δυνάμεως καὶ ἠγεμονιών κατὰ τύχας ἑλαινομένων καὶ συμφερο-μένων ὑπὸ τοῦ μηδένα κρατεῖν βούλεσθαι δὲ πάντας, ἀμήχανος ἢν ἢ ³ φορὰ⁴ καὶ πλάνη καὶ μεταβολή πάσα πάντων, μέχρι οὗ τῆς Ῥώμης ἱσχὺν καὶ αὐξησιν Κ λαβοῦσιν καὶ ἀναδησμένης τούτο μὲν ἑθήνη καὶ δήμους ἐν αὐτῇ, τούτῳ δ' ἀλλοφύλους καὶ δια-ποντίους βασιλέων ἠγεμονίας, ἔδραν ἔσχε τὰ με-γίστα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν, εἰς κόσμον εἰρήνης καὶ ἑνα κύκλον τῆς ἠγεμονίας ἀπταίστον⁵ περιφερομένης, πάσης μὲν ἀρετῆς ἐγγευμένης τοῦτα μηχα-νησμένος, πολλῆς δὲ καὶ τύχης συνελθουσῆς, ὡς ἐνέσται τοῦ λόγου προϊόντος εἰδεῖξασθαι.

¹ πάλιν added by F.C.B.
² ἑναποληψεις | ύποληψεις nearly all mss.
³ ἢν ἢ Madvig: ἢ.
⁴ φορὰ early editors: φθορὰ.
⁵ ἀπταίστον F.C.B.: ἀπταίστον.
the physicists assert that the world was in ancient days not a world nor were the atoms willing to coalesce and mix together and bestow a universal form upon Nature, but, since the atoms, which were yet small and were being borne hither and thither, kept eluding and escaping incorporation and entanglement, and the larger, close-compacted atoms were already engaging in terrific struggles and confusion among themselves, there was pitching and tossing, and all things were full of destruction and drift and wreckage until such time as the earth, by acquiring magnitude from the union of the wandering atoms, somehow came to be permanently abiding herself, and provided a permanent abode in herself and round about herself for the other elements; even so, while the mightiest powers and dominions among men were being driven about as Fortune willed, and were continuing to collide one with another because no one held the supreme power, but all wished to hold it, the continuous movement, drift, and change of all peoples remained without remedy, until such time as Rome acquired strength and growth, and had attached to herself not only the nations and peoples within her own borders, but also royal dominions of foreign peoples beyond the seas, and thus the affairs of this vast empire gained stability and security, since the supreme government, which never knew reverse, was brought within an orderly and single cycle of peace; for though Virtue in every form was inborn in those who contrived these things, yet great Good Fortune was also joined therewith, as it will be possible to demonstrate as the discourse proceeds.

* Cf. Moralia, 878 c-f; De Anima, i. 1 (Bernardakis, vol. vii. p. 1).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(317) 3. Νυνὶ δὲ μοι δοκῶ τοῦ προβλήματος ὅσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπίας ἑκατοραν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς τῇς Τύχης καὶ τῆς 'Ἀρετῆς βαδίζουσας. ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν Ἀρετῆς πρᾶον τὸ βάδισμα καὶ τὸ βλέμμα καθεστηκός, παρέχει2 δὲ τι καὶ τῷ ὅ τι προσώπῳ πρὸς τὴν ἀμιλλαν ἐρώθημα τῆς φιλοτυμίας. καὶ πολὺ μὲν ὅστερει σπευδούσης τῆς Τύχης, ἄγονυ δ' αὐτὴν καὶ δορυφοροῦσι κατὰ πλῆθος ἄνδρες ἀρηφατοὶ βεβροτωμένα τεύχε' ἔχοντες, ἐναντίων τραυμάτων ἀνάπλεω, άιμα συμμεμεγμένου ἵδρωτι σταλάξοντες, ἡμικλαστοὺς ἐπιβεβηκότες λαβύροις. βουλεσθε δὲ πυθόμεθα, τίνες ποτ' εἰσίν οὗτοι; Φαβρίκιοι φασὶν εἶναι καὶ Κάμιλλοι καὶ Δέκιοι3 καὶ Κικινατοὶ καὶ Μάξιμοι Φάβιοι καὶ Κλαύδιοι Μάρκελλοι καὶ Σκιτίωνες. ὅρω δὲ καὶ Γάιον Μάριον ὀργιζόμενον τῇ Τύχη, καὶ Μούκιος ἐκεῖ Ἐκκάλως4 τὴν φλεγομένην χείρα δείκνυσι βοῶν Ε ἡ μὴ καὶ ταύτην τῇ Τύχη χαρίζῃ;” καὶ Μάρκος Ὀράτιο5 ἀριστεῖς παραποτάμιος Τυρρηνικῶς βέλεις βαρνώμενος καὶ σκαζότα μηρὸν παρέχων, ἐκ βαθείας ύποθέζεται δίνης, “οὐκοῦν κἀγὼ κατὰ τύχην πεπήρωμαι;” τοιοῦτος δ' τῆς Ἀρετῆς χορὸς πρόσεισιν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν,

βριθὺς ὀπλιτοπάλας δάιος ἀντιπάλοις.

1 σκοπίας] σκοπῆς many mss.
3 Δέκιοι F.C.B.: λούκιοι.
4 Ἐκκάλως Xylander: κέσταλας.
5 Μάρκος Ὀράτιος Basel ed. of 1542: πάκιος καὶ μάρκος.

This scene is perhaps imitated from Xenophon, Memora-

328
3. And now, methinks, from my lofty look-out, as it were, from whence I survey the matter in hand, I can discern Fortune and Virtue advancing to be judged and tried one against the other. The gait of Virtue is unhurried, her gaze unwavering; yet the flush of ambition lends to her countenance some intimation regarding the contest. She follows far behind Fortune, who makes great haste, and in a throng conducting her and guarding her person are

Heroes slain in the conflict, wearing their blood-stained armour, men befouled with wounds in front, dripping blood with sweat commingled, trampling upon battered spoils. Is it your desire that we inquire what men are these? They declare themselves to be the Fabricii, the Camilli, the Decii, the Cincinnati, the Fabii Maximi, the Claudii Marcelli, and the Scipios. I see also Gaius Marius showing anger at Fortune, and yonder Mucius Scaevola is exhibiting his burning hand and crying, "Do you graciously attribute this also to Fortune?" And Marcus Horatius, the hero of the battle by the Tiber, weighed down by Etruscan shafts and showing his limping limb, cries aloud from the deep whirl of the waters, "Then am I also maimed by Fortune's will?" Of such character is Virtue's choir that advances to the lists,

Sturdy contender in arms, baleful to all that oppose.

*bilia, ii. 1. 21-34: Prodicus's Heracles and the contest of the goddesses, Virtue and Vice.

Homer, Od. xi. 41.

4. Τῆς δὲ Τύχης οξὺ μὲν τὸ κίνημα καὶ θρασὺ
tὸ φρόνημα καὶ μεγάλαυχοςἡ ἐλπίς, φθάνουσα δὲ
tὴν Ἀρετὴν ἐγγὺς ἔστων, οὐ πτεροῖς ἐλαφρὶζουσα
κούφοις εὐαυτὴν οὐδ’ ἀκρώνυχον ὑπὲρ σφαῖρας τυνὸς
ξυνος καθεῖσα περισφαλῆς καὶ ἀμφίβολος πρόσ-
εισιν, εἰτ’ ἀπεισιν ἀιδής· ἀλλ’ ὀσπερ οἱ Σπάρτιάται
F τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσι διαβαίνουσαν τὸν Εὐρώταν
tὰ μὲν ἐσοπτρα καὶ τοὺς χλίδωνας καὶ τὸν κεστὸν
ἀποθέσθαι, δόρυ δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδα λαβεῖν κοσμομενὴν
tῷ Λυκούργῳ. οὖτως ἡ Τύχη καταλιποῦσα Πέρσας
καὶ Ἀσσυρίων Μακεδονίαν μὲν ἐλαφρὰ διέπτη καὶ
ἀπεσεῖσατο ταχεῶς Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ δι’ Ἀγάπτου
καὶ Συρίας περιφέρουσα βασιλείας διώδευσε, καὶ
318 Καρχηδονίους στρεφομένη πολλάκις ἐβάστασε· τῷ
dὲ Παλατίῳ προσερχομένη καὶ διαβαίνουσα τὸν
Θύμβρων ὡς έοικεν ἐθηκε τας πτέρυγας, εξέβη τῶν
πεδίλων, ἀπελίπε τὴν ἀπίστων καὶ παλίμβολον
σφαίραν. οὖτως εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ὀμοῦν ὡς μενοῦσα
καὶ τοιαύτη πάρεστιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν δίκην.

οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἀπειθῆς,κατὰ Πίνδαρον,
οὐδὲ δίδυμον στρέφουσα πηδάλιον,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον

Εὐνομίας καὶ Πειθοῦς ἀδελφὰ
καὶ Προμαθείαςθυγατήρ,

1 μεγάλαυχος F.C.B. : μεγάλαυχον.
2 καθεῖσα] καταθεῖσα Abresch; τιθεῖσα Cobet.
4 ὡς not in some mss.
5 μὲν γὰρ ἀπειθῆς Reiske and one ms. (B): μεγαπένθης and the like.

330
4. But swift is the pace of Fortune, bold is her spirit, and most vaunting her hopes; she outstrips Virtue and is close at hand. She does not raise herself in the air on light pinions, nor advance "poised on tip-toe above a globe," in a precarious and hesitant posture, and then depart from sight. But even as the Spartans say that Aphrodite, as she crossed the Eurotas, put aside her mirrors and ornaments and her magic girdle, and took a spear and shield, adorning herself to please Lycurgus, even so Fortune, when she had deserted the Persians and Assyrians, had flitted lightly over Macedonia, and had quickly shaken off Alexander, made her way through Egypt and Syria, conveying kingships here and there; and turning about, she would often exalt the Carthaginians. But when she was approaching the Palatine and crossing the Tiber, it appears that she took off her wings, stepped out of her sandals, and abandoned her untrustworthy and unstable globe. Thus did she enter Rome, as with intent to abide, and in such guise is she present to-day, as though ready to meet her trial.

For stubborn is she not, as Pindar says,

Nor is the rudder double that she plies;
but rather is she

The sister of Good Order and Persuasion, and
The daughter of Foresight,

\[ \text{This is the Fortuna of Horace, Carmina, i. 35; cf. Dio Chrysostom, Oration, lxiii. (p. 591 c-d); Galen, Protrepticus, 2.} \]

\[ \text{Pindar, Frags. 39-41 (ed. Christ), or Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. i. p. 382.} \]

\[ \text{\( \dot{\alpha} \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi ð \, \kappa ùi \, \Pi \rho \omicron \mu \alpha \theta \varepsilon \iota \sigma \s\) Schneidewin: \( \dot{\alpha} \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi ð \, kài \, \pi \rho \omicron \mu \eta \theta \varepsilon \iota \sigma \s \).} \]
(318) ὃς γενεαλογεῖ Ἀλκιμάν. τὸ δ’ ὑμνούμενον ἐκεῖνο τοῦ πλούτου κέρας ἔχει διὰ χειρὸς, οὐκ ὁπώρας ἀεὶ θαλλούσης μεστόν, ἀλλ’ ὅσα φέρει πᾶσα γῆ πᾶσα.

Β δὲ θάλαττα καὶ ποταμοί καὶ μέταλλα καὶ λυμένες, ἀφθονα καὶ ρύθην ἐπιχειρήμ. λαμπροὶ δὲ καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ἀνδρὲς οὐκ οὐλίγοι μετ’ αὐτῆς ορῶν-ται, Πομπήλιος Νομᾶς ἐκ Σαβίνων καὶ Πρίσκος ἐκ Ταρκυνίων, οὐδὲ ἐπήλυδας βασιλεῖς καὶ ξένους ἐνυδρύσατο τοῖς Ῥωμύλου θρόνοις· καὶ Ναυλὸς Αἰμίλιος ἀπὸ Περσέως καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀτρωτον στρατὸν ἄγων καὶ νίκην ἀδακρὸν θριαμβεύων μεγαλύνει τὴν Τύχην· μεγαλύνει δὲ καὶ Καυκίλιος Μέτελλος ὁ Μακεδονικός γέρων, ὕπο τεττάρων παιδῶν ὑπατικῶν ἐκκομιζόμενος, Κόλοντος Βαλεαρικοῦ1 καὶ Ὁ Λευκίος Διαδημάτα καὶ Μάρκου Μετέλλου καὶ Γαίου Καπραρίου, καὶ δυοῖν γαμβρῶν ὑπατικῶν καὶ θυγατριδῶν κοσμομεμένων ἐπιφανείαν ἀριστείας καὶ πολιτείας. Αἰμίλιος δὲ Σκαῦρος ἐκ ταπεινοῦ βίου καὶ ταπεινοτέρου γένους καύνος ἀνθρωπος ἀρ-θεῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς προγράφεται τοῦ μεγάλου συνεδρίου. Κορηλίον δὲ Σύλλαν ἐκ τῶν Νικοπόλεως τῆς ἔται-ρας ἀναλαβοῦσα καὶ βαστάσασα κόλπων ψηλό-τερον τῶν Κμβρικῶν Μαρίου θριάμβων καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ὑπατειῶν ἐπιτίθησι μοναρχίας καὶ δικτατω-ρίας. ἀντικρύς οὗτος τῇ Τύχῃ μετὰ τῶν πράξεων

1 Βαλεαρικοῦ Basel ed. of 1542: βαναρίκου.

a Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 58, Aleman, no. 62; or Edmonds, Lyra Graec. i. p. 90.

b An exaggeration; 100 were killed: cf. Life of Aemilius Paulus, chap. xxii. (266 ε); Livy, xliv. 42.

c Cf. Cicero, De Finibus, v. 27 (82); Tusculan Disp. i. 332
as Alcman\textsuperscript{a} describes her lineage. And she holds that celebrated Horn of Plenty in her hand, filled not with fruits of everlasting bloom, but as many as are the products of the whole earth and of all the seas, rivers, mines, and harbours, these does she pour forth in unstinted abundance. Not a few splendid and distinguished men are seen in her company: Numa Pompilius from the Sabine country and Priscus from Tarquinii, whom as adventitious and foreign kings she set upon the throne of Romulus; and Aemilius Paulus, leading back his army without a wound\textsuperscript{b} from Perseus and the Macedonians, triumphing for a tearless victory, magnifies Fortune. There magnifies her also the aged Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus,\textsuperscript{c} borne to his grave by four sons of consular rank, Quintus Balbiacus, Lucius Diadematus,\textsuperscript{d} Marcus Metellus, Gaius Caprarius, and by two sons-in-law of consular rank, and by grandsons made distinguished by illustrious deeds and offices. Aemilius Scaurus, a \textit{novus homo},\textsuperscript{e} was raised by her from a humble station and a humbler family to be enrolled as the first man of the Senate.\footnote{That is, \textit{Vittatus}.} Cornelius Sulla she took up and elevated from the embraces of his mistress, Nicopolis,\textsuperscript{f} and designated him for a monarchy and dictatorship which ranked far above the Cimbrian triumphs and the seven consulships of Marius. Sulla used openly to declare himself, together with his exploits, to be

\textsuperscript{a} Velleius Paterculus, i. 11. 7; Valerius Maximus, vii. 1. 1; Pliny, \textit{Natural History}, vii. 13. 59; 44. 142.

\textsuperscript{b} That is, \textit{Vittatus}.

\textsuperscript{c} Not literally true; he was of the gens Aemilia (\textit{cf.} Cicero, \textit{Pro Murena}, 7 (16)); but his father was engaged in the charcoal trade, and he had to fight his way as though he had been a \textit{novus homo}.

\textsuperscript{d} \textit{Princeps senatus}.

\textsuperscript{e} \textit{Life of Sulla}, chap. ii. (452 b-c).
(318) ἐαυτὸν εἰςεποίει, βοῶν κατὰ τὸν Οἰδίποδα τὸν Σοφοκλέους

D ἐγὼ δ’ ἐμαυτὸν παίδα τῆς Τύχης νέμω.
καὶ Ἦρωμαιστὶ μὲν Φήλιξ ὠνομάζετο, τοῖς δ’ Ἐλλησιν οὕτως ἔγραφε “Λούκιος Κορνήλιος Σύλ-λας Ἑπαφρόδιτος.” καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἦμιν ἐν Χαιρω-νείᾳ τρόπαια καὶ τὰ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν οὕτως ἐπιγέγραται, καὶ εἰκότως ὁ πλείοτον γὰρ Ἀφρο-δίτης οὐ “νῦξ,” κατὰ Μένανδρον, ἀλλὰ τύχη μετέσχηκεν.

5. Ἀρ’ οὖν ταύτην τις ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος οἰ-κείαν ἄν ὑπὲρ τῆς Τύχης ἐπάγοντο μάρτυρας αὖ τοὺς ᾳΡωμαίους, ὡς τῇ Τύχῃ πλέον ἥ τῇ Ἀρετῆ νέμοντας; Ἀρετῆς μὲν γε παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὤψε καὶ μετὰ πολλοὺς χρόνους ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο Σκιτίων ὁ Ἑ Νομαντίνος, εἶτα Μάρκελλος ὁ Οὐρτοῦτις τε καὶ Ὦνῷρις προσαγορεύόμενον, καὶ τὸ τῆς Μέντας καλουμένης (Γνώμης ἄν νομίζοιτο) Σκαῦρος Λιμί-
λιος, περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικὰ τοῖς χρόνοις γεγονός’ ἦδη τότε λόγου καὶ σοφισμάτων καὶ στωμαλίας παρ-εισρεισῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἥρχοντο σεμνύνειν τὰ

1 καὶ τὰ] κατὰ Reiske and E.
2 καὶ εἰκότως] εἰκότως Cobet.
3 οὖν| οὐκ ἄν (οὖν) ὁ Bernardakis; ἄν added here by F.C.B.; ἐπάγοντ’ ἄν one ms. (B).
4 αὖ τοὺς F.C.B.; αὐτοὺς.
5 Μάρκελλος] most mss. have μάριος.
6 σοφισμάτων Reiske from 322 d, infra: σοφιστῶν or σοφι-στικῶν (B).

a Oedipus Tyrannus, 1080.
b Life of Sulla, chap. xxxiv. (473 d–e); Appian, Civil 334.
the adopted child of Fortune, loudly asserting in the words of Sophocles' Oedipus,\textsuperscript{a}

And Fortune's son I hold myself to be.

In the Latin tongue he was called Felix,\textsuperscript{b} but for the Greeks he wrote his name thus: Lucius Cornelius Sulla Epaphroditus.\textsuperscript{c} And the trophies at my home in Chaeroneia and those of the Mithridatic Wars are thus inscribed, quite appropriately; for not "Night," as Menander\textsuperscript{d} has it, but Fortune has the "greater share in Aphrodite."

5. Might one, then, after proffering this as a suitable introduction, bring on the Romans once more as witnesses in behalf of Fortune, on the ground that they assigned more to Fortune than to Virtue? At least, it was only recently and after many years that Scipio Numantinus built a shrine of Virtue in Rome; later Marcellus\textsuperscript{e} built what is called the Temple of Virtue and Honour; and Aemilius Scaurus,\textsuperscript{g} who lived in the time of the Cimbrian Wars, built the shrine of Mens (Mind) so-called, which might be considered a Temple of Reason. For at this time rhetoric, sophistry, and argumentation had already found their way into the City; and people were beginning to

\textsuperscript{a} Cicero, \emph{De Natura Deorum}, ii. 23 (61).
\textsuperscript{b} Koch, \emph{Com. Att. Frag.} iii. 209, Menander, no. 739, or Menander, ed. Allinson (in L.C.L.), p. 528; \textit{cf.} \emph{Moralia}, 654 n; scholia on Theocritus, ii. 10.
\textsuperscript{c} That is, \textit{Venustus}.
\textsuperscript{d} Life of \textit{Marcellus}, chap. xxviii. (314 c); Livy, xxvii. 25, xxix. 11; Valerius Maximus, i. 1. 8; Cicero, \emph{Verrine Orations}, iv. 54 (121); \emph{De Natura Deorum}, ii. 23 (61).
\textsuperscript{e} The following passage is repeated in the mss. with some changes \textit{infra}, 322 c-e, where see the note.
\textsuperscript{g} Cicero, \emph{De Natura Deorum}, ii. 23 (61).
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

τοιαῦτα. σοφίας δὲ μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἑρὸν οὐκ ἔστων οὐδὲ σωφροσύνης ἡ μεγαλοφυχίας ἡ καρτερίας ἡ ἐγκρατείας. ἀλλὰ τὰ γε τῆς Τύχης ἑρὰ λαμπρὰ καὶ παλαιά, καὶ ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς πρῶτους καταμεμειγμένα τῆς πόλεως θεμελίως γέγονε. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἰδρύσατο Τύχης ἑρὸν Μάρκιος 1 "Ἄγκος, ὁ Νομαδὸς τυγατριδοῦς καὶ τέταρτος ἀπὸ Ρωμίου βασιλέως γενόμενος. καὶ τάχα ποὺ τῇ τύχῃ τὴν ἀνδρείαν παρωνόμασεν, ή πλείοστον εἰς τὸ νικαν τύχης μέτεστι. τὸ δὲ τῆς γυναικείας Τύχης κατεσκευάσαντο πρὸ Καμιλλοῦ 5 ὅτε Μάρκιον Κοριολανδὸν ἐπάγοντα τῇ πόλει Ὀυολούσκους ἀπετρέψαντο διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν. προσβεσάμεναι γὰρ αὐτὰ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἔξελιπάρησαν καὶ κατεργάσαντο φείσασθαι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν στρατιάν τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπ- 319 αγαγεῖν. τότε3 λέγεται τὸ ἀγαλμα τῆς Τύχης ἀμα τῷ καθιερωθῆναι φωνῇ ἀφεῖναι καὶ εἰπεῖν, "όσιως μὲ πόλεως νόμῳ, γυναίκες ἀσταί, καθιδρύσασθε." Καὶ μὴν καὶ Φούριος Κάμιλλος, ὅτε τὸ Κελτικὸν ἔσβεσε πῦρ, καὶ τὴν Ἱρωμὴν ἀντίρροπον χρυσῷ κεκλιμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ ξυγοῦ καὶ τῆς πλάστηγος

1 Μάρκιος Basel ed. of 1542: Μάρκος.
2 ὁ Νομαδὸς early eds. and some mss.: οὐνομα.
3 τῇ τύχῃ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῆς τύχης τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ in nearly all mss.
4 παρωνόμασεν παρωνόμασαν Meziriacus, but see 322 D, infra.
5 πρὸ Καμιλλοῦ Wytenbach would omit as in 322 E, infra.
6 ἀπετρέψαντο ἀπεστρεφαν 322 E, infra; ἀπετρέψαντο Reiske; ἀπεστρέψαντο Bruhn and some mss.
7 τότε] ὅτε E. Kurtz.
8 ὅσιω Dionysius Hal. viii. 56: cf. also Life of Coriolanus, chap. xxxvii.: ὅσιως.

336

Cf. 281 E, supra.
magnify such pursuits. But even to this day they have no shrine of Wisdom or Prudence or Magnanimity or Constancy or Moderation. But of Fortune there are splendid and ancient shrines, all but coeval with the first foundations of the City. For the first to build a temple of Fortune was Ancus Marcius, the grandson of Numa and king fourth in line from Romulus. He, perchance, it was who added the title of Fortis to Fortuna; for in Fortune Manly Fortitude shares most largely in the winning of victory. They erected a temple of Fortuna Muliebris before the time of Camillus, when, through the offices of their women, they had turned back Marcius Coriolanus, who was leading the Volsci against the City. For a delegation of women, together with his mother and his wife, went to the hero and besought him and gained their request that he spare the City and lead away the foreign army. It is said that at this time, when the statue of Fortune was consecrated, it spoke and said, "Women of the city, you have dedicated me by the holy law of Rome."

And it is a fact that Furius Camillus likewise, when he had quenched the Gallic conflagration and had removed Rome from the balance and scales when her price was being weighed in gold, founded no shrine

b Cf. Life of Numa, chap. xxi. (74 b).

c Contrast Life of Coriolanus, chap. i. (214 b). W. W. Goodwin's suggestion, that Plutarch misunderstood Fors Fortuna in an oblique case (e.g. Fortis Fortunae), is not unlikely; see e.g. Tacitus, Annals, ii. 41, where the mistake would be easy for a foreigner.

d The Women's Fortune: cf. Life of Coriolanus, chap. xxxvii. (231 ff.); Livy, ii. 40. 12; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, viii. 56. 2; Valerius Maximus, i. 8. 4; 5. 2.

e Cf. Life of Camillus, chap. xxix. (143 e).
(319) καθελευν, οὔτε εὐβουλίας οὔτε ἀνδρείας, ἀλλὰ Φήμης ἱδρύσατο καὶ Κληρόνος ἐρεύνη παρὰ τὴν Καισάρειν ὀδῷ, ὅπου φασὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου Μάρκω Καίδικίῳ 2 βαδίζοντι νύκτωρ φωνὴν γενέσθαι κελεύσαν ὁλίγων χρόνῳ Γαλατικὸν πόλεμον προσδέχεσθαι.

Τῇ δὲ πρὸς τῷ ποταμῷ Τύχην "φόρτων". 3

Β καλοῦσιν (ὀπερ ἐστὶν ἴσχυρὰν ἡ ἁριστευτικὴν ἡ ἀνδρείαν), ὥς τὸ νικητικὸν ἀπάντων κράτος ἐχοῦσαν. καὶ τὸν γε ναὸν 4 αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τῷ δήμῳ καταλείφθεισι κήποις ὁχοδομημένοι, ἡγούμενοι κάκεινον εὐτυχία γενέσθαι μέγιστον, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε.

6. Περὶ δὲ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἢδέσθην ἢν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ὑπ’ εὐτυχίας ἢρθη μέγιστος, εἰ μὴ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ Βρεντεσίου Πομπήιον διώκων ἄνηχθη πρὸ μιὰς ἡμέρας νωνίων Ἰανουαρίων, χειμῶνος ἐν τροπαῖς ὄντος, τὸ μὲν πέλαγος ἀσφαλῶς διεσέρασε, τῆς Τύχης τὸν καιρὸν ὑπερθεμένης εὑρόν δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀθροῦν καὶ πολὺν C μὲν ἐν γῇ πολύν δ’ ἐν θαλάττῃ μετὰ πασῶν ἅμα τῶν δυνάμεων καθεξόμενον αὐτὸς ὁλυγοστὸς ὁ, τῆς μετ’ Ἀντωνίου καὶ Σαβῖνου στρατιᾶς αὐτῷ βραδύνουσης, ἐτόλμησεν εἰς ἀκάτοιν μικρὸν ἐμβάς καὶ λαθῶν τὸν τε ναύκληρον καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην ὡς τυνος θεράπων ἀναχθῆναι. σκληρᾶς δὲ πρὸς τὸ

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1 ἐρεύνη F.C.B. (from νεόω in the Life of Camillus, chap. xxx.); ἔδωσ or ἐδῇ Reiske: ἐκεῖ.
2 Καίδικίῳ as elsewhere Xylander: καὶ δεκίῳ.
3 φὸρτων Reiske: ἦν φὸρτικάν.
4 τὸν γε ναὸν Stephanus: τὸ γενναῖον.

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a Perhaps an attempted translation of Aius Locutius; cf. Livy, v. 32. 6; 50. 5; Life of Camillus, chap. xxx.

338
of Good Counsel or of Valour, but a shrine of Report and Rumour\(^a\) by New Street, where, as they assert, before the war there came to Marcus Caedicius, as he was walking by night, a voice which told him to expect in a short time a Gallic war.

The Fortune whose temple is by the river they call \textit{Fortis},\(^b\) that is, strong or valiant or manly, as having the power to conquer everything. And her temple they have built in the Gardens bequeathed by Caesar to the People,\(^c\) since they believed that he also reached his most exalted position through good fortune, as he himself has testified.

6. Yet I should hesitate to say of Gaius Caesar that he was raised to his most exalted position by good fortune, if he had not himself testified to this. For when on the fourth day of January he put out from Brundisium in pursuit of Pompey,\(^d\) though it was the time of the winter solstice, yet he crossed the sea in safety; for Fortune postponed the season. But when he found that Pompey had a compact and numerous army on land and a large fleet on the sea, and was well entrenched with all his forces, while he himself had a force many times smaller, and since his army with Antony and Sabinus was slow in coming, he had the courage to go on board a small boat and put out to sea in the guise of a servant, unrecognized by the captain and the pilot.\(^e\) But there was a violent

\(^a\) See note c on p. 337.
\(^b\) Cf. Suetonius, \textit{Divus Julius}, 83; Dio Cassius, xlv. 35. 3.
(319) ἡμήν τοῦ ποταμοῦ γενομένης ἀντιμεταβάσεως καὶ κλύδωνος ἰσχυρόν,1 μεταβαλλόμενον ὅρῶν τὸν κυβερνήτην ἀφείλεν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον, καὶ ἀναδείξας ἑαυτόν, "τι;", ἐφη, "γενναίε, τόλμα καὶ D δέδυθι μηδέν, ἄλλῳ ἐπιδίδου τῇ Τύχῃ τὰ ἱστία καὶ δέχον τὸ πνεῦμα, πιστεύων ὅτι Καῖσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καῖσαρος Τύχην." οὔτως ἐπέπειστο τὴν Τύχην αὐτῷ συμπλεῖν, συναποδημεῖν, συστρατεύῃσαι, συστρατηγεῖν, ἢς ἔργον ἢν γαλήνην μεν ἐπιτάξαί θαλάττη, θέρος δέ χειμῶνι, τάχος δὲ τοῖς βραδυτάτοις, ἀλκην δὲ τοῖς ἀθυμοτάτοις, τὸ δὲ τούτων ἀπιστότερον, φυγὴν Πομπηίω καὶ Πτολεμαίων ἐξενοκτονίαν, ἦν καὶ Πομπηίου πέσῃ καὶ Καῖσαρ μή μιανθῇ.

7. Τί δέ; ὁ τούτων μὲν υἱός, πρῶτος δ' ἀναγορευθεὶς Σεβαστὸς ἀρξας δὲ τέτταρα καὶ πεντήκοντα Ε ἐπη, οὐκ αὐτός ἐκπέμπον τὸν θυγατριδοῦν ἐπὶ στρατεύαν εὐξάτο τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνδρείαν μὲν αὐτῷ δούναι τὴν Σκιτίων, εὖνοιν δὲ τὴν Πομπηίου, Τύχην δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ; καθάπερ ἔργον μεγάλω δημιουργον ἐπιγράφας ἑαυτῷ τὴν Τύχην, ἄτις αὐτὸν ἐπιθείσα Κικέρων καὶ Λεπίδῳ καὶ Πάνσα2 καὶ Ἰρτίῳ καὶ Μάρκῳ Ἀντωνίῳ,3 ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀριστείαις καὶ χερσὶ καὶ νίκαις καὶ στόλοις καὶ πολέμοις4 καὶ στρατοπέδοις γενόμενον πρῶτον εἰς ύψος ἀρασα καὶ καταβαλοῦσα τούτους, δι' ὅν ἀνεβη, μόνον

1 σκληρᾶς . . . ἰσχυρόν] several attempts have been made to emend these two lines, but a comparison with other accounts will show that the text is sound.
2 Πάνσα the usual form elsewhere: πάσας.
3 Μάρκῳ Ἀπολύω Basel ed. of 1542: ἀντωνίῳ καὶ μάρκῳ.
4 καὶ πολέμοις] not in most mss.
commotion where heavy surge from without encountered the current of the river, and Caesar, seeing the pilot changing his course, removed the cloak from his head and, revealing himself, said, "Go on, good sir, be brave and fear nothing! But entrust your sails to Fortune and receive her breeze, confident because you bear Caesar and Caesar's Fortune." Thus firmly was he convinced that Fortune accompanied him on his voyages, his travels, his campaigns, his commands; Fortune's task it was to enjoin calm upon the sea, summer weather upon the winter-time, speed upon the slowest of men, courage upon the most dispirited, and (more unbelievable than these) to enjoin flight upon Pompey, and upon Ptolemy the murder of his guest, that Pompey should fall and Caesar should escape the stain of his blood.

7. What then? Caesar's son, who was the first to be styled Augustus, and who ruled for fifty-four years, when he was sending forth his grandson to war, did he not pray to the gods to bestow upon the young man the courage of Scipio, the popularity of Pompey, and his own Fortune, thus recording Fortune as the creator of himself, quite as though he were inscribing the artist's name on a great monument? For it was Fortune that imposed him upon Cicero, Lepidus, Pansa, Hirtius, and Mark Antony, and by their displays of valour, their deeds, victories, fleets, wars, armies, raised him on high to be the first of Roman citizens; and she cast down these men, through whom he had mounted, and left him to rule alone.

\[a\] Cf. the metaphor of Tacitus, *Historiae*, i. 52 "panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunae occurreret."

\[b\] As above, 319 b: "Fortune postponed the season."

\[c\] Cf. *Moralia*, 207 e.

\[d\] Cf. *Classical Review*, xxv. 15.
kateleisthe. ekeina gar eipoliteuteto Kikerown kai
Aeipidos estratigei kai Pansas' enika kai 'Irtios
etuppe kai 'Antwiyos ubrigei. egei gar kai Kleo-
patran the tychis Kaissaros thymui, peri hi os
ema katedu kai synetribhe thlikoutos autokratow,
iw hi monos Kaissar. ligeieta de pollhes oikeio-
titos autous kai syntheias uparkoushis polllakis
scholaxonton eis paiidian sfairas hi kubon hi
Día thremamatos amilh, oion orutugon, alektro-
wn, aei nukomeun 'Antwiyon apallastesebhai kai
tina ton peri auton epi manteiæ3 semwvomeun
320 polllakis paraptopsiasethai kai voutheiyn, "o an-
thetape, ti sou pragma proso touton esti ton nean-
skou; feug auton eidoxoteros ei, presbuteros ei,
archis pleionon, evthlkhas polémous, emperia
diaferes; all' o sos daimow ton toutou fofeitaai
kai the tychi sou kath eautin esti megalh kolakeuei
dei tnu touton. ean mhe makran his, oixhesetai meta-
basai proso auton."

8. Alla gar ai men atop ton martrwv pistes
thosaati the Tychi paraei. dei dei kai tais atop
ton pragmaton auton eisagein, arxh tnu logon
thn arxh thn polewos labontas. ethous oin tis oik
an eipoi proso thn 'Rwmolou genesein kai swterian
B kai trophi kai auzeisen thn men Tychi ypobolaw5
catatheisthai thn de 'Aretâ6 exwskodomikenai;

1 Pansas the usual form elsewhere: pasas.
2 ths tychis H. Richards: th tychi ou thn tychin.
3 manteiæ manteiæs in most mss.
4 his his Hartman.
5 ypobolaw Meziriacus: uperbolaw.
6 thn men Tychin . . . thn de 'Aretin Meziriacus and Reiske:
arethi mens . . . thn de tychin.
342
It was, in fact, for him that Cicero governed the State, that Lepidus commanded armies, that Pansa conquered, that Hirtius fell, that Antony played the wanton. For I reckon even Cleopatra as a part of Caesar's Fortune, on whom, as on a reef, even so great a commander as Antony was wrecked and crushed that Caesar might rule alone. The tale is told of Caesar and Antony that, when there was much familiarity and intimacy between them, they often devoted their leisure to a game of ball or dice or even to fights of pet birds, such as quails or cocks; and Antony always retired from the field defeated. It is further related that one of his friends, who prided himself on his knowledge of divination, was often wont to speak freely to him and admonish him, "Sir, what business have you with this youth? Avoid him! Your repute is greater, you are older, you govern more men, you have fought in wars, you excel in experience; but your Guardian Spirit fears this man's Spirit. Your Fortune is mighty by herself, but abases herself before his. Unless you keep far away from him, your Fortune will depart and go over to him!"

8. But enough! For such important testimonies from her witnesses has Fortune to support her. But we must also introduce the testimony of the very events of history, taking as the beginning of our account the beginning of Rome. To begin with, who would not at once declare touching the birth, the preservation, the nurture, the development of Romulus, that Fortune laid the foundations, and that Virtue finished the building? In the first place,

* Cf. Life of Antony, xxxiii. (930 d-E).
(320) πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὸ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ τὴν
tέκνωσιν αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνιδρυσαμένων καὶ κτισάντων
tὴν πόλιν εὐτυχίας ζοικε θαυμαστής γενέσθαι.
θεῶ γὰρ ἡ τεκόσα μειχθῆναι λέγεται, καὶ καθάπερ
tὸν Ἡρακλέα σπαρῆναι φασιν ἐν μακρᾷ νυκτί, τῆς
ἡμέρας ἐπισυχεῖσθης παρὰ φύσιν καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου
βραδύνατος, οὗτω περὶ τὴν Ἡρωμύλου σποράν καὶ
καταβολὴν τὸν ἡλίου ἐκλυπεῖν ἱστοροῦσι, ποιησά-
μενον ἀτρεκὴ σύνοδον πρὸς σελήνην, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀρής
C θεὸς ὃν τῇ Σιλβίᾳ βιητῇ συνήλθε. ταύτῳ δὲ
συντυχεῖν τῷ Ἡρωμύλῳ καὶ περὶ τὴν μετάστασιν
αὐτῆς τοῦ βίου λέγουσι γὰρ ἐκλειποντος τοῦ ἡλίου
ἡφαίστεαν νώναις καπρατίναις, ὅτι ἀχρι νῦν ἡμέραν
ἐπιφανῶς ἑορτάζουσιν.

"Επειτα γεννηθέντας αὐτούς, τοῦ τυράννου τάπτο-
τος ἐνελείν, παρέλαβε κατὰ τύχην οὐ βάρβαρος οὐδ’
ἀγρίου υπήρετης, ἐλεήμων δὲ τις καὶ φιλάνθρωπος,
ὡστε μὴ κτείναι ἀλλὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τις ἦν ὧν ὁχθὴ
χλοερῷ λειμῶν προσκλύζουσα καὶ περισκιαζομένη
χθαμαλοῖς δεύδρεσιν ἐνταύθα κατέθηκε τὰ βρέφη
πλησίον ἐρυνεῖ τύνος, δὲν ρομινάλιν ὀνόμαζον.

ἔσται λύκαινα μὲν νεοτόκος σπαργώσα καὶ πλημ-
μυροῦσα τοὺς μαστοὺς γάλακτι, τῶν σκύμων

1 ἐνιδρυσαμένων] ἐνιδρυσαμένων Emperius.
3 τάπτοτος F.C.B. (as there is some word of ordering in
most of the other accounts); ἐστοῦτος Reiske; ἐστοῦτος
S. A. Naber: αἴσθοῦτος.

6 Cf. Life of Romulus, chap. xxvii. (34 e); Life of
Camillus, xxxiii. (146 d).
344
then, it appears that the circumstances surrounding the origin and the birth of the very founders and builders of Rome were of a marvellous good fortune. For their mother is said to have consorted with a god; and even as they relate that Heracles was conceived during a long night (for the day was retarded in contrariety to nature, and the sun delayed), so regarding the generation and conception of Romulus they record that the sun was eclipsed and came into exact conjunction with the moon at the time when Mars, a god, consorted with the mortal Silvia. And this same thing, they say, happened to Romulus also at the very time of his translation from this life; for they relate that he disappeared during an eclipse of the sun on the Capratine Nones, on which day, even to the present time, they hold high festival.

Later, when the children were born and the despot gave orders to do away with them, by the decree of Fortune no barbarous or savage servant but a compassionate and humane man received them, with the result that he did not kill them; but there was a margin of the river, bordering upon a green meadow, shaded round about with lowly shrubs; and here the servant deposited the infants near a certain wild fig-tree, to which people later gave the name Ruminalis. Then a she-wolf, that had newly whelped, with her dugs distended and overflowing with milk because her young had perished, being

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* July 7th; cf. Life of Romulus, chap. xxix. (36 c); Life of Numa, chap. ii. (60 c); Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. iv. 552-553; Varro, De Lingua Latina, vi. 18.

* Perhaps Plutarch is attempting to give a version of super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis . . . in proxima alluvie of Livy, i. 4.

* Cf. 278 c, supra.
(320) ἀπολωλότων, αὕτη¹ χρήζονσα κουφίσμοι, περι-εστειξε² τὰ βρέφη καὶ θηλήν ἐπέσχεν, ὡσπερ ὦδινα δευτέραν ἀποτιθεμένη τὴν τοῦ γάλακτος. ἵερος δ’ ὄρνις Ἀρεος, ὅν δρυνοκόλαπτην καλοῦσιν, ἐπιφοιτῶν καὶ προσκαθίζων ἀκρώνυχος, ἐν μέρει τῶν νηπίων ἐκατέρου στόμα τῇ χρήθη διοίγων, ἐνετίθη ψω-μύσμα, τῆς αὐτοῦ τροφῆς ἀπομερίζων. τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐρυνεῖν ρομυμαλίνων ὄνομασαν ἀπὸ τῆς θηλῆς, ἢν ἢ λύκανα παρ’ αὐτῶν³ ὀκλάσασα τοῖς βρέφεσι παρέσχε. μέχρι δὲ πολλοῦ διεφύλαττον οἱ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἔκεισον κατοικοῦντες μηδέν ἐκτιθεναι τῶν γεννω-μένων, ἀλλ’ ἀνατρέπεται πάντα καὶ τρέφειν, τὸ Ῥωμύλου πάθος καὶ τὴν ὁμοίότητα τιμῶντες.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ τε λαθεῖν αὐτοῦ τρεφομένους καὶ παϊδευόμενους ἐν Γαβίων ἀγνοηθῆναι τε⁴ Σιλβίας ὄντας υἱῶς καὶ θυγατριδοῦς Νομιτόρος τοῦ βασι-λέως παντάπασι Τύχης κλέμμα καὶ σόφισμα φαίνεται γεγενημένον, ὅπως μὴ ἀπόλωλναι πρὸ τῶν ἔργων διὰ τὸ γένος, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτοῖς φανῶσι τοῖς κατορθώμασι, γνωρίσματα⁵ τῆς εὐγενείας τῆς ἀρέτην παρέχουσεν.

Ἐνταῦθά μοι μεγάλου καὶ φρονίμου στρατηγοῦ λόγος ἐπεισὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ῥήθεις πρὸς τινὰς τῶν Ε ὑστερον εὐημεροῦντων Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγῶν καὶ προτιμᾶσθαι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀξιοῦντων. ἔφη

¹ αὕτη] αὐτὴ Wyettenbach.
² περιέστειξε Bernardakis: περιέπτηξε or περιέπτυξε in most ms.
³ αὕτῳ Helmbold: αὐτῶν.
⁴ τε added by Wyettenbach.
⁵ γνωρίσματα] γνώρισμα in the Aldine ed., but the plural is not unusual in this meaning.

346
herself in great need of relief, circled around a the
infants and then gave them suck, thus ridding herself
of the pain caused by the milk as if it had been a
second birth-pang. And a bird sacred to Mars, which
they call the woodpecker, visited them and, perching
near on tiptoe, would, with its claw, open the mouth
of each child in turn and place therein a morsel,
sharing with them a portion of its own food. Where-
fore they named this wild fig-tree Ruminalis, from the
teat (ruma) which the wolf offered to the children as
she crouched beside the tree. And for a long time
the people who dwelt near this place preserved the
custom of never exposing any of the new-born infants,
but they acknowledged and reared them all, in
honour of Romulus's experience and the similarity of
the childrens' case with his.

And, in truth, the fact that they were not dis-
covered while they were being reared and educated
in Gabii, and that it was unknown that they were
the sons of Silvia and the grandchildren of king
Numitor surely appears to have been a furtive and
shrewd device of Fortune, so that they might not,
because of their lineage, be put to death before
performing their tasks, but that they might in their
very successes be discovered, by bringing to notice
their noble qualities as tokens by which to recognize
their high birth.

At this point there occurs to me the remark of a
great and prudent general, Themistocles, b which was
made to certain of the generals who came into favour
at Athens after him and felt that they deserved to be
rated above him. He said that the Day-After con-

a Cf. cursum flexisse of Livy, i. 4.
b Cf. 270 B, supra, and the note.
γάρ τὴν ύστεραίαν ἐρίσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐορτὴν λέγοις ως ἐκείνη μὲν ἐστὶ κοπῶδης καὶ ἄσχολος, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων ἀπολαύσουμε μεθ' ἡσυχίας. τὴν οὖν ἐορτὴν εἰπεῖν, "ἀληθὴ λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὴ γενομένης, ποῦ ἂν ὑμᾶς;" "κἀ-
image corrupted-

321 ἐξέφηνας αἶμα καὶ γένος οὕσαν σεαυτήν· ἀλλ' ὅρας πόσον ύστερείς μου; εἰ γάρ ἐγὼ τότε μὴ παρηκολούθησα χρηστὴ καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ἀλλ' ἀπέλυσον καὶ προηκάμην τὰ νῆπια, τῷ πῶς ἂν ἐγένος καὶ πόθεν ἐξέλαμμας; εἰ τότε μὴ θῆλυ θηρίῳ ἐπῆλθε φλεγμαίνων ὑπὸ πλήθους καὶ φορᾶς γάλακτος καὶ τραφησμένου δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ θρέψοντος, ἀλλ' ἀνήμερον τι τελέως καὶ λιμώττον, οὐκ ἂν ἐτί νῦν τὰ καλὰ τῶν Βασίλεια καὶ ναοί καὶ θέατρα καὶ περίπατοι καὶ ἄγοραί κοί ἀρχεῖα βοτηρικαῖ καὶ καλύβαι καὶ σταθμοί νομέων ἦσαν Ἄλβανον ἢ Τυρρήνον ἢ Λατίνον ἀνδρὰ δεσπότην προσκυνοῦντων;" ἀρχῇ

Β μὲν δὴ μέγυστὸν ἐν παντὶ, μάλιστα δ' ἐν ἱδρύσει καὶ κτίσει πόλεως· ταύτην δ' ἡ Τύχη παρέσχε σώσας καὶ φυλάξασα τὸν κτίστην· ἢ μὲν γὰρ Ἄρετη μέγαν ἐποίησε Ὄμων, ἡ Τύχη δ' ἀχρί τοῦ γενέσθαι μέγαν ἐτήρησε.

9. Καὶ μὴν τὴν γε Νομᾶ βασιλείαν πολυχρωνω-

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1 ἀγοραῖ Xylander and some mss.: ἀγορά.
2 βοτηρικαῖ Bernardakis: βοτήραι (βοτηρές) καί.

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a Cf. the Pythagorean ἀρχή μὲν τοι ἦμιν παντός (Iamblichus, Life of Pythagoras, 162).
348
tended with the Feast-Day, saying that the Feast-Day was full of wearying tasks and labours, but on the Day-After men enjoyed in quiet all things that had been made ready. Then the Feast-Day said, "What you say is true; but if I had not been, where would you be?" "And so," said Themistocles, "if I had not been at the time of the Persian Wars, what benefit would now come from you?" And this, methinks, is what Fortune says to the Virtue of Romulus: "Brilliant and mighty are your deeds, and in very truth you have proved yourself to be divine in blood and birth. But do you observe how far you fall behind me? For if, at the time of his birth, I had not accompanied him in a helpful and humane guise, but had deserted and abandoned the infants, how could you have come into being and whence had you derived such lustre? If on that occasion there had not come to them a female beast swollen with the abundance and the burden of her milk, and in need of some creature to be fed rather than of something to yield her sustenance, but if instead there had come some utterly savage and ravening creature, would not even now these fair palaces and temples, theatres, promenades, fora, and public buildings be herdsmen's huts and folds of shepherds who paid homage to some man of Alba or Etruria or Latium as their lord?"

The beginning, as every one knows, is of supreme importance in everything, and particularly in the founding and building of a city; and this Fortune provided, since she had preserved and protected the founder. For Virtue made Romulus great, but Fortune watched over him until he became great.

9. And in truth, it is generally agreed that a
(321) τάτην γενομένην ὁμολογουμένως εὔτυχίᾳ διεκυβέρνησε θαυμαστὴν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ἐγερίαν τυὰ, νυμφῶν μίαν δραμάδων, δαίμονα σοφὴν ἔρωτι τάνδρος ἐν συνουσίᾳ γενομένην, παραπαραδείγμασι καὶ συνεχματίζειν τὴν πολιτείαν ἵνας μυθωδέστερὸν ἔστι. C καὶ γὰρ ἄλλου λεχθέντες ἀφασθαι γάμων θείων καὶ θεοὶς ἐράσμιοι γενόσθαι, Πηλεῖς καὶ Ἀγχίσαι καὶ Ὀρίωνες καὶ Ἡμαθίωνες, οὔτως ἀγαθητῶς οὐδ’ ἀλύτως διεβίωσαν. ἄλλα Νομᾶς ἔοικε τὴν ἀγαθήν Τύχην ἔχειν ἡς ἀληθῶς σύνοικον καὶ σύνεδρον καὶ συνάρχουσαν, ἦ, καθάπερ ἐν κλίδων ἥθελεν καὶ τεταραγμένῳ πελάγει, τῇ τῶν προσοικών καὶ γειτόνων ἔχθρα καὶ χαλεπότητι τὴν πόλιν φερομένην καὶ φλεγμαίνονσαν ὑπὸ μυρίων πόνων καὶ διχοστασίων παραλαβοῦσα τοὺς μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένους θυμοὺς καὶ φθόνους ὠσπέρ πνεύματα Ἰ κατέσβησεν· οίᾳ δὲ φασὶ τὰς ἄλκυόνων λοχείας παραδεξαμένην τὴν θάλατταν ἐν χειμώνι σφέειν καὶ συνεκτιθηνεῖσθαι, τοιαύτῃ ἀναχαίρει καὶ περιστήσασα γαλήνην πραγμάτων ἀπόλεμον1 καὶ ἀνοσον καὶ ἀκινδύνων καὶ ἀφοβῶν, νεοσταθεὶς δήμῳ καὶ κραδαιωμένῳ παρέσχε δρῦσαι καὶ καταστήσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐξανομένην ἐν ἦσυχίᾳ βεβαιῶς καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως. ὠσπέρ γὰρ ὅλκας ή τριήμης ναυπηγεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ πληγῶν καὶ βίας πολλῆς, σφυρίσως καὶ ἡλιος ἀρασομένῃ καὶ γομφώμασι καὶ πρίσοι καὶ πελέκεσι, γενομένην δὲ στήναι δεῖ καὶ παγηναὶ

1 ἀπόλεμον Reiske and some mss.: καὶ ἀπόλεμον.

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a (Cf. Life of Numa, chap. iv. (61 ff.); Livy, i. 19. 5, 350
marvellous good Fortune guided the reign of Numa which endured for so many years.\textsuperscript{a} For the tale that a certain Egeria, a dryad and a wise divinity, consorted in love with the man, and helped him in instituting and shaping the government of his State,\textsuperscript{b} is perhaps somewhat fabulous. For other mortals who are said to have attained divine marriages and to have been beloved of goddesses, men like Peleus and Anchises, Orion and Emathion, by no means lived through their lives in a satisfactory, or even painless, manner. On the contrary, it appears likely that Numa had Good Fortune as his true wife, counsellor, and colleague; and she took the city in charge when it was being carried hither and yon amid the enmity and fierceness of bordering tribes and neighbours, as in the midst of turbulent billows of a troubled sea and was inflamed by countless struggles and dissensions; and she calmed those opposing passions and jealousies as though they had been but gusts of wind. Even as they relate that the sea, when it has received the brood of halcyons in the stormy season, keeps them safe and assists in their nurture, even such a calm in the affairs of Rome, free from war or pestilence or danger or terror, Fortune caused to overspread and surround the city, and thus afforded the opportunity to a newly settled and sorely shaken people to take root and to establish their city on a firm foundation where it might grow in quiet, securely and unhindered. It is as with a merchantman or a trireme, which is constructed by blows and with great violence, and is buffeted by hammers and nails, bolts and saws and axes, and, when it is completed, it must remain at rest and grow firm for...
σύμμετρον χρόνον, έως οἱ τε δεσμοὶ κάτοχοι γέ- Ε νωνται καὶ συνήθειαν οἱ γόμφοι λάβωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ υγροῖς ἔτι καὶ περιολισθάνουσι τὸις ἁρμοῖς κατα- στασθῆ, πάντα χαλάσει διατυπαθέντα καὶ δέξεται τὴν θάλατταν· οὕτω την 'Ρώμην ὡ μὲν πρῶτος ἄρχων καὶ δημοσφυγὸς ἐξ ἀγρίων καὶ βοτήρων ὥσπερ ἐκ δρυόχων κραταιῶν συνιστάμενος, οὐκ ὁλίγους πόνους ἔσχεν οὐδὲ μικρὸς ἀντήρεισε πολέ- μοις καὶ κινδύνοις, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄμφωμενος τοὺς ἀνθισταμένους πρὸς τὴν γένεσιν καὶ ἱδρυσιν αὐτῆς.

'Ὁ δὲ δεύτερος παραλαβὼν χρόνον ἔσχε1 πῆξαι καὶ βεβαιώσαι τὴν αὐξήσιν τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ, ἐπι- λαβόμενος πολλὴς μὲν εἰρήνης πολλὴς δ' ἡσυχίας. 

F εἰ δὲ τότε Πορσίνας τις ἐπέβρισε Τυρρηνικὸν χάρακα καὶ στρατόπεδον παραστήσας τείχεσιν υγροῖς ἔτι καὶ κραδανομένοις ἡ τις ἐκ Μαρσῶν ἀποστάς ἄρει- μάνιος δυνάστης ἡ Λευκάνος ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ φιλο- νεκίας, ἀνὴρ δύσερις καὶ πολεμοποιός, οἰος ὑστερον 
Μοῦτιλὸς2 ἡ Σίλων ὁ θρασὺς ἡ τὸ ἐσχάτον Σύλλα 
πάλαισμα Τελεσίνος,3 ὡς ἀφ' εἰδὸς συνθήματος ὅλην 
ἐξοπλίζων τὴν Ἐπατλίαν, τὸν φιλόσοφον Νομᾶν 
περιεσάλπιζε θύσινα καὶ προσευχόμενον, οὐκ ἀν 
ἀντέσχον αἱ πρῶται τῆς πόλεως ἄρχαι πρὸς σάλου 
322 καὶ κλύδωνα τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ εἰς εὐανδρίαν καὶ 
πλήθος ἐπεδώκαν· νῦν δ' ἐσχῆ4 τῆς πρὸς τοὺς

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1 ἔσχε] ἐπέσχε in nearly all mss. ἀπέσχε might be read.
2 Μοῦτιλος Χυλάνδερ: μουῖλος.
3 Τελεσίνος, ὡς Basel ed. of 1542: ἡ τελεσίνος δς.
4 δ' ἐσχῆ] δὲ, ὡς ἐσχῆ in some mss. (δὲ πῶς Reiske).

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a Is this a reminiscence of Plato, Timaeus, 81 b; or of Polybius, i. 38. 5?
a suitable period of time until its bonds hold tight and its fastenings have acquired affinity; but if it be launched while its joinings are still damp and slippery, these will all be loosened when they are racked by the waves, and will admit the sea. Even so the first ruler and artificer of Rome, in organizing the city from rustics and shepherds, as though building up from a stout keel,¹ took upon himself no few labours, nor of slight moment were the wars and dangers that he withstood in warding off, of necessity, those who opposed the creation and foundation of Rome.

But he who was the second to take over the State gained time by good fortune to consolidate and make assured the enlargement of Rome; for much peace did he secure for her and much quiet. But if at that time a Porsenna had pressed hard upon the city and had erected an Etruscan stockade and a camp beside the new walls which were still moist and unstable, or if from the Marsi had come some rebellious chief filled with warlike frenzy, or some Lucanian, incited by envy and love of strife, a man contentious and warlike, as later was Mutilus or the bold Silo ² or Sulla's last antagonist, Telesinus, ³ arming all Italy at one preconcerted signal, as it were—if one of these had sounded his trumpets round about Numa, the lover of wisdom, while he was sacrificing and praying, the early beginnings of the City would not have been able to hold out against such a mighty surge and billow, nor would they ever have increased to such a goodly and numerous people. But as it is, it seems likely that the peace of Numa's reign was a provision to equip

¹ Cf. Life of Marius, chap. xxxii. (424 D).
² Life of Sulla, chap. xxix. (470 D); Compar. of Lysander and Sulla, iv. (477 F).
(322) ύστερον πολέμους παρασκευής ἐφόδιον 'Ρωμαίων ἢ τότ’ εἰρήνη γενέσθαι, καὶ καθάπερ ἀδικήτης ὑ ἰὸμος ἐκ τῶν κατὰ 'Ρωμύλον ἀγώνων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ χρόνον ἐτῶν τριῶν καὶ τετταράκοντα σωμασκήσας τῆν δύναμιν ἀξιόμαχον καταστήσαι τοῖς ύστερον ἀντιταττομένοις. οὐδὲ γὰρ λιμὸν οὔδὲ λοιμὸν οὐδ’ ἀφορίαν γῆς οὐδ’ ἀωρίαν τινὸς θέρους ἢ χείμαραν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ παραλυπῆσαι τῇ 'Ῥώμην λέγουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἄνθρωπίνης εὐβουλίας ἀλλὰ θείας Τύχης ἐπιτροπευούσης τῶν καρφῶν ἐκεῖνων. ἐκλείσθη δ’ οὖν τότε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ δίπυλον, ὁ β' πολέμου πύλην1 καλοῦσιν ἀνέῳγε μὲν γὰρ ὅταν ἦ πόλεμος, κλείσται δ’ εἰρήνης γενομένης. Νομά δ’ ἀποθανόντος ἀνεῴχθη τοῦ πρὸς Ἀλβανοὺς πολέμου συρραγέντος. εἶτα μυρῖων ἄλλων συνεχῶς ὑπολαμβανόντων πάλιν δι’ ἐτῶν ὑγῳδόκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίων ἐκλείσθη μετὰ τὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους πόλεμον εἰρήνης γενομένης Γαῖου Ἀττιλίου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου2 ὑπάτων. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἑνιαυτὸν αὐθίς ἀνεῴχθη καὶ διέμειναι οἱ πόλεμοι ἄχρι τῆς ἐν Ἐκτίων νίκης Καῖσαρος’ τότε δ’ ἦργησε τὰ Ἀρμαῖων ὑπὰ χρόνον οὐ πολύν αἱ γὰρ ἀπὸ C Καοτάβρων ταραχᾷ καὶ Γαλατίας συρραγεῖσαι Γερμανοῖς συνετάραξαν τῇ εἰρήνην. ἀλλά ταῦτα μὲν εὐτυχίας τῆς Νομά προσιστόρηται μαρτύρια.

10. Τὴν δὲ Τύχην καὶ οἱ μετ’ ἐκείνου εἴθαύμασαν βασιλεῖς ὡς πρωτόπολων καὶ τιθηνῶν καὶ "φερέ-

1 πύλην Xylander: τύχην.
2 Μαλλίου added by Xylander from Life of Numa, chap. xx. 354.
them for their subsequent wars, and that the people, like an athlete, having, during a period of forty-three years following the contests of Romulus’s time, trained themselves in quiet and made their strength staunch enough to cope in battle with those who later arrayed themselves against them. For they relate that no famine nor pestilence nor failure of crops nor any unseasonable occurrence in either summer or winter vexed Rome during that time, as if it were not wise human counsel, but divine Fortune that was Rome’s guardian during those crucial days. Therefore at that time the double door of Janus’s temple was shut, which the Romans call the Portal of War; for it is open when there is war, but closed when peace has been made. But after Numa died it was opened, since the war with the Albans had broken out. Then countless other wars followed in continuous succession until again, after four hundred and eighty years, it was closed in the peace following the Punic War, when Gaius Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls. After this year it was again opened and the wars continued until Caesar’s victory at Actium. Then the arms of Rome were idle for a time, but not for long; for the tumults caused by the Cantabri and Gaul, breaking forth at the same time with the Germans, disturbed the peace. These facts are added to the record as proofs of Numa’s good fortune.

10. And even the kings who succeeded Numa honoured Fortune as the head and foster-parent of

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\(^{a}\) Cf. Life of Numa, chap. xx. (73 a); Livy, i. 19. 2-7; Pliny, Natural History, xxxiv. 7. 33; Suetonius, Augustus, 22.

\(^{b}\) In 235 B.C. after the First Punic War; references may be found in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyt. xiv. 1207.

\(^{c}\) In 31 B.C.
(322) πολυν” τῆς Ὀλυμπούς κατὰ Πύθαραν.1 Σέρβιος δὲ Τύλλιος, ἀνὴρ τῶν βασιλέων μάλιστα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐξήσας τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ πολέμειμα κοσμήσας καὶ τάξιν μὲν ἑπιθείς ταῖς ψηφοφορίαις, τάξιν δὲ ταῖς στρατεύσις, τιμῆθη δὲ πρῶτος καὶ βίων ἑπισκόπως καὶ σωφροσύνης γενόμενος καὶ δοκῶν ἀνδρεύσατος εἶναι καὶ φρονιμώτατος, αὐτὸς ἕαυτόν εἰς τὴν Τύχην ἀνήπτε καὶ ἀνεδείτο τὴν ἦγεμονίαν ἐξ ἐκείνης, ὥστε καὶ συνέχειν δοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν Τύχην διὰ τῶν θυρίδος

1 After κατὰ Πύθαραν the mss. have the following passage, which seems to be repeated from 318 d-f, supra. Its excision was first suggested by Wytenbach, although others had earlier noted the repetition: εἴλαι δ’ οὕτω βεθρείν. Εἰρὸν ἔστιν Ἀρετὴς ἐν Ὁλυμπῇ τιμώμενον, δ’ Ὀινωροῦτις αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν, ἄλλ’ ὤψε καὶ μετὰ πολλοὺς χρόνους ἱδρυθέν ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου τοῦ Συρακούσας ἐλόντος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γνώμης, ἢ νὴ Δία Εὐβούλιας νεώς, ἢν Μέντεμ καλοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Σκαύρος Αἰμίλιος περὶ τὰ Κιμβρικά τοὺς χρόνους γεγονός καθερώσειν, ἕδη τότε λόγων καὶ σοφισμάτων καὶ στομυλίως Ἐλληνικῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν παρεισαργίας. σοφίας δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἱερὸν οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐδὲ σωφροσύνης οὐδὲ καρπερίας οὐδὲ μεγαλοφυγίας. ἄλλα τὰ γε τῆς Τύχης ιερὰ πάμπολλα καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ τιμαῖς πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐποὺ ἐπείν, ἐνίδρυται καὶ καταμέμβειται τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους μέρει καὶ τόπους τῆς πόλεως. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀνδρείας Τύχης ἱερὸν ὑπὸ [ἀπὸ μss.] Μαρκίου Ἀγκου τοῦ τετάρτου βασιλέως ἱδρυθέν καὶ ὅνομαζθέν οὕτως, ὅτι πλεῖστον ἀνδρείας ἡ τύχη [ἡ τύχης μss.] εἰς τὸ νικάν μετέσχηκε τὸ δὲ τῆς γυναικείας αὕτης ὑπὸ [ἀπὸ μss.] τῶν γυναικῶν αἱ Ε. Μάρκιον Κοριλάνον ἀπέστρεψαν ἐπάγοντα τῇ Ὀλυμπῇ πολεμίους καθοσιωθέν οὕτει ἀγνοεῖ.

a Cf. Pausanias, iv. 30. 6.

b It is possible that in the mss. the next section, which interrupts the historical sequence, is a copyist's error, being perhaps copied from an earlier page of the archetype (sc. 318 d-f, supra) with some slight additions, changes, and omissions by later copyists. Another theory, however, is 356
Rome and, as Pindar has it, truly the "Prop of the State." And Servius Tullius, the man who of all the kings most increased the power of his people, and introduced a well-regulated government and imposed order upon both the holding of elections and military procedure, and became the first censor and overseer of the lives and decorum of the citizens, and held the highest repute for courage and wisdom, of his own initiative attached himself to Fortune and bound his sovereignty fast to her, with the result that it was even thought that Fortune consorted with him, descending into his chamber through a certain possible: the section before us appeared in Plutarch's first sketch of the essay, and was later modified and completed in chap. v. (supra); Plutarch did not himself publish the essay, but after his death the first editor neglected to cancel the present passage (Bruhn and Stegmann.) A translation follows:

"One may consider the matter thus: there is in Rome an honoured shrine of Virtue which they themselves call the shrine of Virtus; but it was built late and after a considerable lapse of time by Marcellus, who captured Syracuse. There is also a shrine of Reason, or verily of Good Counsel, which they call Mens (Mind); but this also was dedicated by Aemilius Scaurus, who lived in the era of the Cimbrian Wars, at which time rhetoric and sophistry and Greek argumentation had already found their way into the City. But even now they have no temple of Wisdom or Prudence or Constancy or Magnanimity. But of Fortune there are very many ancient and splendid temples built with every honour, one might say, and interspersed throughout the most conspicuous districts and localities of the City. The shrine of the Men's Fortune was built by Ancus Marcius, the fourth king, and so named because Fortune has the largest share with Manly Fortitude for winning the victory. And again, that the shrine of the Women's Fortune was dedicated by the women who turned back Marcius Coriolanus when he was leading enemies against Rome, there is no one who does not know."

357
καταβαίνουσαν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἦν¹ νῦν Φενέστελλαι²
F πῦλην καλοῦσιν. Ὡράματο ὅδ' οὖν Τύχης ἱερὸν ἐν
μὲν Καπετωλίῳ τὸ τῆς Πριμυγενείας λεγομένης,
πρωτογόνου τις ἀν ἐρμηνεύσει: καὶ τὸ τῆς
Ὀμεκονέντις, ἦν οἱ μὲν πειθήμοι τις ὑπὸ μελίχωιν
ἐναι νομίζουσι. μᾶλλον δὲ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἑάσας
ὀνομασίας Ἐλληνιστὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ὦραμάτων
πειράσμαι καταριθμήσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἤδιὰς Τύχης
ἱερὸν ἔστιν ἐν Παλατίῳ, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἱεροῖας, εἰ
καὶ γελοῖον, ἀλλ' ἔχον ἕκ μεταφορὰς ἀναθεώρησιν,
oin ἐλκούσῃς τὰ πόρρω καὶ κρατούσης συμπροσ-
ισχόμενα. παρὰ δὲ τὴν Μουσκώσαν³ καλομένην
323 κρήνην ἐτὶ παρθένῳ Τύχης ἱερὸν ἔστι καὶ⁴ ἐν
Αἰσκυλίαις⁵ ἐπιστρεφομένης: ἐν δὲ τῷ μακρῷ
στενωπῷ Τύχης βωμὸς εὐέλπιδος⁶: ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ
τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐπιταλαρίουβ βωμὸν ἄρρενος
Τύχης ἐδος. ἀλλ' τε μυρίαι Τύχης τιμαὶ καὶ
ἐπικλήσεις, ὅπερ τὰ πλεῖστα Σεροῦσας κατέστησεν,
εἴδως ὅτι "μεγάλη ὤρη, μᾶλλον δ' ὄλον⁸ ἡ Τύχη
παρὰ πάντ' ἔστι τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα," καὶ
μάλιστά γ' αὐτοῦ⁹ δ' εὐτυχίαν εἴς αἰχμαλώτου
καὶ πολεμίου γένους εἰς βασιλείαν προσαχθέντος.
τοῦ γὰρ Κορικλάνων ἄστεος ἄλοντος ὑπὸ Ῥω-
THE FORTUNE OF THE ROMANS, 322-323

window which they now call the Porta Fenestella. He, accordingly, built on the Capitoline a temple of Fortune which is now called the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia (which one might translate as "First-Born") and the Temple of Fortuna Obsequens, which some think means "obedient" and others "gracious." However, I prefer to abandon the Latin nomenclature, and shall endeavour to enumerate in Greek the different functions of the shrines of Fortune. There is, in fact, a shrine of Private Fortune on the Palatine, and the shrine of the Fowler's Fortune which, even though it be a ridiculous name, yet gives reason for reflexion on metaphorical grounds, as if she attracted far-away objects and held them fast when they come into contact with her. Beside the Mossy Spring, as it is called, there is even yet a temple of Virgin Fortune; and on the Esquiline a shrine of Regardful Fortune. In the Angiportus Longus there is an altar of Fortune of Good Hope; and there is also beside the altar of Venus of the Basket a shrine of the Men's Fortune. And there are countless other honours and appellations of Fortune, the greater part of which Servius instituted; for he knew that "Fortune is of great moment, or rather, she is everything in human affairs," and particularly since he himself, through good fortune, had been promoted from the family of a captive enemy to the kingship. For, when the town of Corniculum

\[\text{Cf. 273 B, supra.}\]
\[\text{Cf. 281 E and 289 B-C, supra; Cicero, De Legibus, ii. 11. 28; Livy, xxix. 36. 8, xxxiv. 53. 5.}\]
\[\text{With this and the following passage 281 D-F, supra, should be carefully compared.}\]
\[\text{Is this meant to be a translation of Redux?}\]
\[\text{A literal quotation from Demosthenes, Olynthiac ii. 22.}\]
(323) **Plutarch's Moralia**

1 'Οκρησία α' Οκρησία in Dionysius Hal.

2 Τανακυλλίδη Basel ed. of 1542, and here and elsewhere sometimes in mss.: ταρκυλλίδη.

3 γωνίον Ε. Capps: δ' οὖν.

4 Γεγανίαν Basel ed. of 1542: γεγανίαν.
was taken by the Romans, a captive maiden Ocrisia,\(^a\) whose fortune could not obscure either her beauty or her character, was given to be a slave to Tanaquil, the wife of king Tarquin; and a certain dependent, one of those whom the Romans call *clientes*, had her to wife; from these parents Servius was born. Others deny this, but assert that Ocrisia was a maiden who took the first-fruits and the libations on all occasions from the royal table and brought them to the hearth; and once on a time when she chanced, as usual, to be casting the offerings upon the fire, suddenly, as the flames died down, the member of a man rose up out of the hearth; and this the girl, greatly frightened, told to Tanaquil only. Now Tanaquil was an intelligent and understanding woman, and she decked the maiden in garments such as become a bride, and shut her up in the room with the apparition, for she judged it to be of a divine nature. Some declare that this love was manifested by the Lar of the house, others that it was by Vulcan. At any rate, it resulted in the birth of Servius, and, while he was still a child, his head shone with a radiance very like the gleam of lightning. But Antias\(^b\) and his school say not so, but relate that when Servius's wife Gegania lay dying, in the presence of his mother he fell into a sleep from dejection and grief; and as he slept, his face was seen by the women to be surrounded by the gleam of fire. This was a token of his birth from fire and an excellent sign pointing to his unexpected accession to the kingship, which he gained after the death of Tarquin, by

\(^a\) Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*, iv. 1; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 627 ff.; Livy, i. 39; Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxvi. 27, 204.  
(323) κυνίου τελευτην Ἔτων ὁ τελευτής εἰς τὸν βασιλέων πρὸς μοναρχίαν ὃς ἀφεντός ὁ διεξαφνέσθαι καὶ ἀποθεοῦμιτος, ὃς ἔπει τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποθεοῦμις διανοηθέος ἐκωλύθη τελευτάσα γάρ, ὡς ἔμειναι, ἔξωρκοσε τοῦτον ἔμειναι τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ προθέοιν τὴν πάτριον Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν. 2 οὕτως ἔρει Σερονίον βασιλείᾳ παντάπασι τῆς Τύχης, ἢν ἐλαβετε μὴ προσδοκήσασι καὶ μὴ ἴσιον μενος διεφύλαξεν.

Ε 11. Ἀλλὰ ἢ μὴ δοκῶμεν ἢσπερ εἰς τόπον ἀμαυρὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ χρόνον ἐκ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ἐναργῶν τεκμηρίων ψευδόμεν ὑποχρεῶν, οὗτος βασιλείας ἐξάσσετε ἐπὶ τὰς γνωριμωτάτας πράξεις καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους πολέμους τὸν λόγον μεταγάγωμεν, ἐν 3 οἷς πολλῆς τόλμαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν εἶναι ἀδιά τε συνεργῶν ἀρετᾶς δορμάχου, ὃς φησί Τιμόθεος, τις οὐκ ἂν ὀμολογήσειν; ἢ δ᾽ εὔροια τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὸ ῥόθιον τῆς εἰς τοσαύτην δύναμιν καὶ αὐξῆσαι όρμῆς, οὗ περί ἀνθρώπων οὐδ᾽ ὀρμαίας προχωροῦσαν 4 ήγεμονίαν, θεία δὲ πομπῆ καὶ πνεύματι Τύχης ἐπιταχυνο-  

1 προθέοθαι F.C.B.; μὴ προθέοθαι Xylander: προσέθαι. 
2 πολιτείαν early edd.: πομπείαν, πομπήν. 
3 ἐν and εἶναι added by F.C.B. 
4 προχωροῦσαν Reiske, confirmed by some mss.: προσ- χωροῦσαν. 
5 ἐπιταχυνομένη Reiske and one late ms.: ἐπιταχυνομένης.

α Cf. 273 c, supra.
the zealous assistance of Tanaquil. Inasmuch as he of all kings is thought to have been naturally the least suited to monarchy and the least desirous of it, he who was minded to resign the kingship, but was prevented from doing so; for it appears that Tanaquil on her death-bed made him swear that he would remain in power and would ever set before him the ancestral Roman form of government. Thus to Fortune wholly belongs the kingship of Servius, which he received contrary to his expectations and retained against his will.

11. That we may not, however, appear to be retreating and withdrawing from illuminating and perspicuous testimonials into the dim past, as into a place of darkness, let us now leave the kings and transfer our discourse to the most notable deeds and the most celebrated wars. And in these wars, who would not acknowledge that much daring and courage was needed and also, as Timotheüs has it, Shame, the helpmate of warring Valour?

Yet the smooth flow of events and the impelling swiftness of Rome's progress to so high a pinnacle of power and expansion demonstrates to all who reason aright that the progress of Rome's sovereignty was not brought about by the handiwork and urging of human beings, but was speeded on its way by divine escort and the fair wind of Fortune. Trophy upon trophy arises, triumph meets triumph, and the first blood, while still warm on their arms, is overtaken and washed away by a second flood. They count

\[ ^b \text{ Cf. Livy, i. 48. 9; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, } \textit{Roman Antiquities}, \text{ iv. 40. 3.} \]

\[ ^c \text{ From the } \textit{Persians}: \text{ Frag. 14, ed. Wilamowitz; cf. Moralia, 32 v, and Edmonds, } \textit{Lyra Graeca}, \text{ iii. p. 307.} \]
μενον. τας δε νικας ἀριθμοῦσιν οὐ νεκρῶν πλήθει καὶ λαφύρων, ἀλλὰ βασιλείας αἰχμαλώτως καὶ δεδουλωμένους έθνεσιν καὶ νήσοις καὶ ἥπειροις προσωριζομέναις τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἥγεμονίας. μιὰ μάχῃ Φίλιππος ἀπέβαλε Μακεδονίαν, μιὰ πληγῇ παρεχώρησεν Ἀντίοχος Ἀσίας, ἀπαξ Καρχηδόνιοι σφαλέντες ἀπώλεσαν Λιβύην. εἰς ἀνήρ μιὰς ὀρμῆ στρατιάς Ἀρμενίαν προσεκτήσατο, Πόντον, Ἑυξείνων, Συρίαν, Ἀραβίαν, Ἀλβανούς, Ἰβηρίας, τὰ μέχρι Καυκάσου καὶ Ἰρκανῶν· καὶ τρίς αὐτῶν ἐκ περιρρέων τῆς οἰκουμένης Ὀκεανοῦ εἶδε νικώντα. Νομάδας μὲν εὐν Λιβύη μέχρι τῶν μεσημβρινῶν ἀνέκοψεν ἡμῶν, Ἰβηρίαν δὲ Σερτωρίῳ συννοσήσασαν ἀχρὶ τῆς Ἀτλαντικῆς κατεστρέφατο θαλάσσης· τοὺς δὲ Ἀλβανῶν βασιλείς διωκομένους πέρι τὸ Κάσπιον πέλαγος ἐστήσε. ταῦτα πάντα κατώρθωσε δημοσίᾳ τύχῃ χρώμενος, εἰθ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἴδιας ἀνετράπη μοίρας. ἐπὶ οὖν ἐρωμαίων μέγας δαίμων οὐκ ἐφήμερος πνεύμας οὐδὲ καιρὸν ἀκμάσας βραχὺν ὡς ὁ Μακεδόνων, οὐδὲ χερσαίος μόνον ὡς ὁ Λακώνων οὐδ' ἐνάλιος ὡς ὁ Ἀθηναίων, οὐδ' ὡς κυνηθεῖς ὡς ὁ Περσῶν, οὐδὲ ταχύ παυσάμενος ὡς ὁ Καρχηδόνιων· ἀλλ' ἀνωθεν ἐκ πρῶτων γενέσεων τῇ πόλει συνηθήσεις καὶ συναυξηθεῖς καὶ συμπολυτευσάμενοι,
their victories, not by the multitude of corpses and spoils, but by captive kingdoms, by nations enslaved, by islands and continents added to their mighty realm. In one battle Philip lost Macedonia, with one stroke Antiochus was forced to withdraw from Asia, by one defeat the Carthaginians lost Africa. One man\(^a\) in the swift onset of one campaign added to the Roman dominion Armenia, Pontus, the Euxine, Syria, Arabia, the Albanians, the Iberians, and all the territory to the Caucasus and the Hyrcanians; thrice did the Ocean which encircles the inhabited world see him victorious, for in Africa he drove back the Numidians\(^b\) to the strands of the southern sea; even as far as the Atlantic Ocean, he subdued Iberia,\(^c\) which had joined in the distemper of Sertorius; the kings of the Albanians were pursued until he brought them to a halt near the Caspian Sea.\(^d\)

All these successes he won through enjoying the Fortune of the Roman commonwealth; then he was overthrown by his own fate.

But the great Guardian Spirit of Rome sent a favouring breeze, not for one day, nor at its height for a brief time only, like the Macedonian, nor but a land breeze, like the Spartan, nor but a sea breeze, like the Athenian, nor late to rise, like the Persian, nor quick to cease, like the Carthaginian\(^e\); but this Spirit, from its first creation, grew in maturity, in might, and

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\(^a\) Cf. Life of Pompey, chap. xlv. (642 f); Housman on Manilius iv. 52.

\(^b\) Cf. Life of Pompey, chap. xii. (624 f).

\(^c\) Ibid. chaps. xviii.-xxi. (627 d–629 c).

\(^d\) Ibid. chap. xxxv. (637 f).

\(^e\) “Carthaginian” is an emendation, the mss. having “Cophonians” (cf. Thucydides, iii. 37). Almost any reasonable guess might serve as well.  

365
καὶ παραμείνας βέβαιος ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ πολέμους καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ πρὸς βαρβάρους καὶ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας. οὕτως Ἀντίοχος τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, φθόνω καὶ ταῖς πολιτικαῖς δυσμενείαις1 μηδενὸς οἴκοθεν C ἐπιρρέοντος, ὡσπερ χειμαρρὸν ἐξέχεε καὶ κατανήλωσε περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. οὕτος τὸ Κύμβρων καὶ τὸ Τευτόνων στράτευμα μεγάλοις διαστήμασι τόπων καὶ χρόνων ἐχώρισε καὶ διέσπασεν, ἐν ἀρκέσῃ Μάριος ἐκατέρως ἀνὰ μέρος μαχόμενος, καὶ μὴ συμπεσόδοις τριάκοντα μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν ἀγωτῶν καὶ ἀμάχων ὑπολοῦ ὅμοιος κατακλύσσωσι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. διὰ τοῦτον2 Ἀντίοχος μὲν ἡσχολεῖτο πολεμομένου Φιλίππου, Φιλίππος δὲ κυνωνεύοντος Ἀντιόχου προηγητήμενος ἐπιπτε: Μιθριδάτην δὲ, τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπιφλέγοντος, οἱ Σαρματικοὶ καὶ Βασταρνικοὶ πόλεμοι κατείχον. D Τιγράνην δὲ Μιθριδάτου λαμπροῦ μὲν ὄντος υπόνοια καὶ φθόνος ἐχώριζεν, ἤπτωμένως δ' ἀνέμειξεν ἐαυτὸν συναπολέσθαι.

12. Τῇ δ' οὖχι καὶ περὶ τὰς μεγίστας συμφορὰς ὀρθῶν τὴν πόλιν ἡ Τύχη; Κελτῶν μὲν περὶ τὸ Καπετοῦλου στρατοπεδεύοντων καὶ πολιορκοῦντων τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,

νοῦσον ἀνὰ στρατοῦ ὄρσε κακὴν, ὀλέκοντο δὲ λαοὶ:

τῇ δὲ νυκτερίνῃ ἔφοδον αὐτῶν, λεληθότων πάντας

1 δυσμενείαις] ἐχθραῖς or χρείας in other mss.
2 τοῦτο Reiske and Wyttenbach, and confirmed by a few mss.: τοῦτο.

a Cf. Life of Marius, chap. xv. (414 τ.).
b Cf. Life of Flamininus, chap. ix. (374 τ.); it is interesting to find a critical modern historian interpreting these events

366
in polity together with the City, and remained constant to it on land and on sea, in war and in peace, against foreigners, against Greeks. This it was that dissipated and exhausted in the confines of Italy, like a mountain torrent, Hannibal the Carthaginian, since no fresh aid flowed to him from home because of jealousy and political enmities. This it was that separated and kept apart by great intervals of space and time the armies of the Cimbri and of the Teutons, that Marius might avail to fight each of them in turn, and that three hundred thousand men of irresistible and invincible arms might not simultaneously invade and overwhelm Italy. Through the agency of this Spirit Antiochus was fully occupied while war was being waged against Philip, and Philip had been vanquished and was falling when Antiochus was making his venture; the Sarmatian and Bastarnian wars restrained Mithridates during the time when the Marsian war was blazing up against Rome; suspicion and jealousy kept Tigranes from Mithridates while Mithridates was brilliantly successful, but he joined himself to Mithridates only to perish with him in defeat.

12. And why not admit that Fortune also retrieved the city in times of the greatest disaster? When the Gauls were encamped round about the Capitol and were besieging the citadel,

Baneful the plague that she brought on the host, and the people were dying. And as for the Gauls' nocturnal assault, though they in almost the same words as Plutarch: see M. Holleaux in the Cambridge Ancient History, vol. viii. p. 225.

*Cf. Appian, Mithridatica, 15, 69.
*e Homer, II. i. 10.
(324) ἀνθρώπους, ἡ Τύχη καὶ ταυτόματα τοιούτων ἐποίησε γενέσθαι.

Περὶ ἑνὶ καὶ βραχεὶ πλεῖον διελθεῖν ἵσως οὐκ ἀκαίρον ἔστι. μετὰ τὴν ἐπ᾿ Ἀλλίαν Ὑπομαινομένου μεγάλην ἦτταν οἱ μὲν εἰς Ὑπομην κατ᾿ Αράντες ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς καὶ παραχθῆς συναντήσαντες τὸν δήμου ἐξεπτόησαν καὶ διεσκέδασαν, ὄλγων εἰς τὸ Καπετώλιον ἀνασκευασμένων καὶ διακαρστουρίων. οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς τροπῆς εἰς Βενίους συναντησάντες ἠροῦντο δικτάτωρα Φούριον Κάμιλλον, ὃν εὐτυχῶν μὲν καὶ ὕψαυχων ὦ δήμος ἀπεσεῖσατο καὶ κατέβαλε, δίκη περιπεσόντα δημοσίων κλοπῶν πτήξας δὲ καὶ ταπεινωθεὶς ἀνεκαλεῖτο μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν, ἐγχειρίζων καὶ παραδοὺς ἀνυπεύθυνον ἁγεμονίαν. ὣς ὁν μὴ καίρῳ δοκῇ νόμῳ δὲ λαμβάνειν ὁ ἄνὴρ, μηδὲ, ὡς ἀπ᾿ Ηγνωκὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὁπλοῖς ἀρχαιεσιάζῃ τὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ σποράδος καὶ πλάνητος, ἐδει τοὺς ἐν Καπετωλίῳ θαυμάσαντες ἐπυψηφίσασθαι τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν γνώμην μαθόντας. ὅταν οὖν Γάιος Πόντιος ἄνηρ ἀγαθός, καὶ τῶν δεδομένων αὐτοῦ ἀγγελοὺς ὑποστὰς ἔσεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Καπετωλίῳ μέγαν ἀνεδέξατο κίνδυνον. ἡ γὰρ ὅδος ἦν διὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν κύκλῳ φυλακαῖς καὶ χάραξε τὴν ἄκραν περι-

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1 ἐπ᾿ Ἀλία (Ἀλλία) Basel ed. of 1542: ἐν παλλίᾳ. 
2 ἀπὸ Reiske: ὑπό. 
3 λαμβάνειν] λαγχάνειν Patzig. 
4 ἀρχαιεσιάζῃ τὰ] ἀρχαιεσιάζηται Madvig.

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a Cf. Life of Camillus, chap. xviii. (137 f); Livy, v. 35-38. 
b Cf. ibid. chap. xx. (138 f); Livy, v. 39-40. 
c Cf. Life of Camillus, chap. xii. (134 f).
were noticed by none, yet Fortune and Chance brought about the discovery.

Concerning this assault of the Gauls it will perhaps not be unseasonable to give some additional details, however briefly. After the great defeat of the Romans at the river Allia, some in their flight found a haven in Rome and filled the people with consternation and terror, and caused them to scatter far and wide, although a few went to the Capitol and prepared to stand a siege. Others, immediately after their defeat, gathered together at Veii and appointed as dictator Furius Camillus, whom the people in their prosperity and lofty pride had rejected and deposed because he had become involved in a suit concerning the appropriation of public property. But now, cowed and humbled after their defeat, they were for recalling him, and offered to hand over to him the supreme command, accountable to no one. Accordingly, that he might not be thought to be obtaining office because of the crisis, but in accordance with the law, and that he should not, as if he had given up all hope for the city, be elected by soldiery in a canvass of the remnants of the army, now scattered and wandering, it was necessary that the senators on the Capitoline should vote upon the matter after they had been informed of the decision of the soldiers. Now there was a certain Gaius Pontius, a brave man, who, by volunteering personally to report these resolutions to the Senate on the Capitol, took upon himself great danger. For the way led through the midst of the enemy, who encompassed the citadel with sentries and

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\( a \) Ibid. chaps. xxv.-xxvii. (141 d–143 A); Livy v. 46. 47; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities, xiii. 7.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

325 ἐχόντων. ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἦλθε νῦκτωρ, φελλωὺς πλατεῖς ὑποστερισμένος καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ κονφότητι τοῦ ὄχηματος παραβέμενος ἀφήκε τῷ ῥόῳ· τυχών δὲ πράον καὶ σχολαίως ὑποφέροντος ἦματο τῆς ἀντιπέρας ὄχθης ἄσφαλῶς, καὶ ἀποβὰς ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ τῶν φῶτων διάκενον, τῷ τε' σκότει καὶ τῇ σιωπῇ τὴν ἐρημίαν τεκμαίρομενος· ἐμφύς δὲ τῷ κρημνῷ, καὶ ταῖς δεχομέναις τὴν ἐπίβασιν καὶ παρεχούσαις ἀντίληψιν ἐγκλίσεσι καὶ περιαγωγαίς καὶ τραχύτητι τῆς πέτρας παραδόος ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐπερεισάμενος εξίκετο πρὸς τὸ ἄνω πέτρας καὶ ἀναληθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν προφυλάκων ἐδήλωσε τοῖς ἑσω B τὰ δεδομένα· καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ψῆφισμα πάλιν ὥχετο πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον.

'Ἡμέρας δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τῆς ἄλλως τῶν τόπων περιμένω ώς εἰδε τοῦτο μὲν ἵχνη ποδῶν ἀκρώνυχα καὶ περιολισθήσεις, τοῦτο δ’ ἀποτρίβας καὶ περικλάσεις τῆς ἐπιβλαστανοῦσης τοῖς γεωδεσὶ πόας ὀλκοῦσ τε σώματος πλαγίους καὶ ἀπερείσεις, ἐφράξε τοῖς ἄλλοις. οἱ δὲ δεικνύσαντι τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων νομίζοντες ἐπεχειροῦν ἀμυλλάσθαν, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς τὸ ἐρημότατον διαφυλάζεστε ἀνέβησαν λαθόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς φυλακᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς συνεργοὺς καὶ προκοῖτος τῆς φρουρᾶς κώνας ὑπνὸ κρατηθέντας.

C Οὐ μὴν ἠπόρησεν ἡ τῆς Ἁρώμης Τύχη φωνῆς κακῶν τοσοῦτο μηνύσας καὶ φράσαι δυναμένης. χήνες ἱερὸι περὶ τὸν νεόν τῆς Ἡρας ἐτρέφοντο

1 τε Reiske, confirmed by mss.: τε γαρ.
3 ἀπερείσεις| ἐπερείσεις Reiske.
4 αὐτοῖς Nachstädtt: αὐτοῖς.
5 καὶ Pohlenz: καὶ τούς.
palisades. When, accordingly, he had come by night to the river, he bound broad strips of cork beneath his breast and, entrusting his body to the buoyancy of this support, committed himself to the stream. Encountering a gentle current which bore him slowly down stream, he reached the opposite bank in safety, and, climbing out of the river, advanced toward the section void of lights, inferring from the darkness and quiet that no one was there. Clinging to the precipitous cliff and entrusting himself to the support of sloping and circuitous ways and jagged surfaces of the rock which would allow a foothold or afford a clutch for his hand, he reached the top of the rock; he was received by the sentries, and made known to those within the decision of the army, and having obtained the decree of the Senate, he returned again to Camillus.

The next day one of the barbarians was wandering idly about this place, when he saw in one spot prints of feet and marks of slipping, and in another the bruising and tearing off of the grass, which grew on the earth of the cliff, and marks of the zigzag dragging and pulling up of a body; and this he told to the others. They, thinking that the way was pointed out to them by their enemies, attempted to rival them; and waiting till the very dead of night, they made the ascent, unnoticed not only by the sentinels, but also by the dogs which shared guard duty and formed the outpost, but then were overcome by sleep.

Rome's Fortune, however, did not lack a voice capable of revealing and declaring such a great mischance. Sacred geese \(^a\) were kept near the temple of Juno for

\(^a\) Cf. 287 c, supra.
(325) θεραπεύοντες τὴν θεόν. φύσει μὲν οὖν τὸ ζῷον εὐθορύβητον ἔστι καὶ ψοφοδεές· τότε δὲ, συντόνου περὶ τοὺς ζῷους οὐσίας ἀπορίας ἀμελουμένων αὐτῶν, λεπτὸς ἦν καὶ λιμώδης ὁ ὑπνός, οὕτω εὐθὺς ἐσθοντο τῶν πολεμίων ὑπερφανέντων τῆς στεφάνης καὶ καταβοώντες ἤταμῶς προσεφέροντο, καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀπλῶν ὀφεὶ μᾶλλον ἐκταραττόμενοι κλαγγῆς διατόροι καὶ τραχείας ἐνεπεπλήκεσαν τὸν τόπον· ύφι θ ἢς ἀναστάντες οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι καὶ συμφρονήσαντες τὸ γενόμενον ἔσωστο καὶ κατεκρήμνισαν τοὺς πολεμίους. πομπεύει δὲ μέχρι νῦν ἐπὶ μνήμη τῶν τότε συμπτωμάτων¹ κύων μὲν ἄνεσταιρωμένος, χήν δὲ μάλα σεμνῶς ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς πολυτελοῦς καὶ φορεῖον καθήμενος.

'Ἡ δ' ὀφίς ἔπιδεικνυται Τύχης ἰσχύν καὶ πρὸς ἀπαν εὐπορίαν ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων, ὅταν τι πραγματεύται καὶ στρατηγηγή, νοῦν μὲν ἀλόγοις καὶ ἀφροσιν, ἀλκήν δὲ καὶ θράσος δειλοῖς ἐντιθείσης. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ὡς ἄληθὼς ἐκπλαγείη καὶ θαυμάσειεν ἐπιμαθησεν² γενόμενος καὶ λογισμῷ τινὶ τῆς τότε κατήφειαν καὶ τῆν νῦν³ ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαμομοίαν Ε τῆς πόλεως περιλαβῶν καὶ ἀποβλέψας ναῶν⁴ λαμπρότητα καὶ πλοῦτον ἀναθημάτων καὶ τεχνῶν ἀμίλλας καὶ φιλοτιμίας πόλεως καὶ στεφάνους βασιλέως, καὶ ὄσα γῆ φέρει καὶ θάλαττα καὶ νῆσοι

¹ συμπτωμάτων Xylander and a few mss.; συμπτωμάτων τῇ τύχῃ Reiske: συμπτωμάτων ἡ τύχη.
³ νῦν added by Reiske and confirmed by two mss.
⁴ ναῶν Kronenberg and Stegmann: ἄνω.

372
the service of the goddess. Now by nature this bird is easily disturbed and frightened by noise; and at this time, since they were neglected, because dire want oppressed the garrison, their sleep was light, and was made uncomfortable by hunger, with the result that they were at once aware of the enemy as they showed themselves above the edge of the cliff. The geese hissed at them and rushed at them impetuously, and, at the sight of arms, became even more excited, and filled the place with piercing and discordant clamour. By this the Romans were aroused, and, when they comprehended what had happened, they forced back their enemies and hurled them over the precipice. And even to this day, in memory of these events, there are borne in solemn procession a dog impaled on a stake, but a goose perched in state upon a costly coverlet in a litter.

This spectacle exhibits the might of Fortune and the ease with which, whenever she busies herself and takes command, she provides from unexpected sources against all emergencies by implanting intelligence in the unreasoning and senseless, and prowess and daring in the craven. For who would not, truly, be struck with astonishment and amazement when he has come to learn and has embraced in his consideration the former dejection of the city and her present prosperity, and has looked upon the splendour of her temples, the richness of her votive offerings, the rivalry of her arts and crafts, the ambitious efforts of subject cities, the crowns of dependent kings, and all things which the earth contributes and the sea and islands, continents,

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\(^a\) Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, xxix. 4 (57); Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, xii. 33; Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 114; Bücheler, *Umbrica*, p. 128.
καὶ ἦπεροι καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ δένδρα καὶ ἥμα καὶ πεδία καὶ ὄρη καὶ μέταλλα, πάντων ἀπορχασ ἐριζούσας εἰς κάλλος ὁφει καὶ χάριτι κοσμούης τὸν τόπον, ὡς ταῦτα παρά μικρὸν ἦλθε μὴ γενέσθαι μηδ' εἶναι; πυρὶ δὲ καὶ σκότει φοβερῷ καὶ ὀρφη καὶ ἐφεσι βαρβάρους καὶ μιαφόνους θυμοῖς κρατούμενων πάντων, εὐτελῆ καὶ ἀλογα καὶ ἄτολμα θρέμ- 
Γ ματα σωτηρίας ἀρχὴν παρέσχε, καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ἑκείνους ἀριστεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας Μαλλίων καὶ Σερούλιους\(^1\) καὶ Ποστουμίους καὶ Παπηρίους, τῶν αὐθις οἰκών γενάρχας, παρ' οὐδὲν ἦκοντας ἀπολέσθαι, χήνες ἀνέστησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ\(^2\) καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀμύνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ, ὃσπερ Πολυβίος εἰ τῇ δευτέρᾳ βίβλῳ περὶ τῶν τότε τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως καταλαβόντων ἑστόρηκε Κέλτων, ἀληθὲς ἐστιν, ὅτι προσπεσοῦσις αὐτοῖς ἀγγελίας φθείρεσθαι τὰ οἰκοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων ἐμβεβληκότων εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ κρατοῦντων ἀνεχόρησαν 
326 εἰρήνην θέμενοι πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον, οὐδ' ἀμφισβήτησις ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν Τύχην ὡς οὐχὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτία κατέστη περιστάσασα τοὺς πολεμίους, μάλλον δ' ἀποσπάσασα τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπροσδοκήτως. 

13. Ἀλλὰ τὶ δεῖ περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβειν, ἃ σαφὲς οὐδὲν οὐδ' ὁρισμένον ἔχει τῷ καὶ τὰ πράγματα\(^3\) συγχυθῆναι τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ διαφθαρῆναι\(^4\) τοὺς ἐπ'\(^5\) αὐτῶν ὑπομνηματισμοὺς, ὡς Λίβιος ἑστόρηκε;

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\(^1\) Σερούλιος Wyttenbach: Σερούλιος.
\(^2\) τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ [τῶν πατρίων θεών Reiske.
\(^3\) πράγματα] γράμματα Reiske.
\(^4\) συγχυθῆναι . . . διαφθαρῆναι transposed by Abresch
\(^5\) διαφθαρῆναι . . . συγχυθῆναι.

374
rivers, trees, living creatures, plains, mountains, mines, the first-fruits of everything, vying for beauty in the aspect and grace that adorns this place? And then comes the thought: how near did all this come to not being created and to not existing at all! When all things else were overcome by fire and frightful darkness and gloom, by foreign swords and murderous rage, it was poor, irrational, and timorous creatures that contributed the beginning of deliverance; and those great heroes and commanders, the Manlii, the Servilii, the Postumii, the Papirii, the founders of future illustrious houses, whom naught separated from death, geese aroused to make defence for the god of their fathers and for their fatherland. But if it be true, as Polybius a has recorded in his second book, concerning the Gauls who had at this time seized Rome, that, when news suddenly came to them that their domains at home were in danger of being lost to them at the hands of neighbouring barbarians who had invaded their land and were masters of it, they concluded a treaty of peace with Camillus and withdrew—if this be true, then there can be no contention with Fortune that she was not the cause of Rome's preservation, by distracting the enemy, or rather, by abstracting them from Rome quite unexpectedly.

13. But what need is there to dwell on these matters, which offer nothing certain or definite because of the confusion of the events of Roman history and the destruction of contemporary chronicles, as Livy b has recorded? Certainly the

a ii. 18. 3.  

b Livy, vi. 1. 2. 

5 ἑπ' F.C.B.: ὑπ' (τοὺς ὑπάτων = Fasti Consulares, Helm-bold).
(326) τὰ γὰρ ὑστερον μᾶλλον ὁντα δῆλα καὶ καταφανῆ δεικνύει τῆς Ἱσδῆς Τύχης εὐμένειαν, ἤ ἐγώγει1 τίθεμαι καὶ τῆν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, ἀνδρός εὐτυχήμασι μεγάλοις καὶ κατορθώμασι λαμπρῶις ὑπὸ θάρσους

Β ἀμάχου καὶ φρονήματος ὁσπερ ἀστρον φερομένου καὶ διάττοντος ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς ἐξ ἀνατολῶν καὶ βάλλοντος ἑδη τὰς τῶν ὁπλών αὐγὰς ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ὡς πρόφασις μὲν ἣν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ὁ Μολοττὸς Ἀλεξάνδρος ὑπὸ Βρεττῶν καὶ Λευκάνων περὶ Πανδοσίαν κατακεκομμένος. ὁ δ' ἄγων αὐτὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους δόξης ἔρως καὶ ἡγεμονίας ζηλον ἐσχε καὶ ἀμιλλὸν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὰ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους πέρατα τῆς στρατηγικᾶς. τῆς δ' Ἰταλίας ἐπινθάνετο τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δύναμιν καὶ ἁλκήν ὁσπερ στόμωμα προτεταχμένην.

C ὁνομα γὰρ καὶ δόξα τούτων ἐπιφανεστάτη διεπέμπτο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁσπερ ἀθλητῶν μυρίοις ἐγεγυμνασμένων πολέμοις.

οὐ γὰρ ἀναιμωτί γε διακρινθήμεναι οὕω, συμπεσόντων ὁπλῶν ἀνικήτους φρονημάτων ἄδουλωτων. πλήθος μὲν γὰρ ἦσαν οὕτω προσκαίδεκα μυριάδων ὁμ ἐλάττους, πολεμικοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρώδεις ἀπαντες,

ἐπιστάμενοι μὲν ἄφ' ἵππων ἀνδράσι μάρνασθαι καὶ ὅθε χρὴ πεζὸν ἐοντα.

1 ἤ ἐγώγει Wytenbach: ἐγὼ δὲ.

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a In 330 B.C.; he was the uncle of Alexander the Great. 
b Cf. 332 A infra; Lucian, True History, i. 7.
c Adapted from Homer, Od. xviii. 149.
d Cf. Livy, ix. 19. 2, who says 250,000.
later events, plainer and clearer as they are, exhibit Fortune's benignity; and to Fortune I ascribe also the death of Alexander, a man who by great good luck and brilliant successes, the result of his invincible daring and lofty aspirations, was sweeping swiftly through the world like a shooting star from East to West, and was already allowing the lustre of his arms to gleam upon Italy, since the destruction of Alexander the Molossian near Pandosia at the hands of the Bruttians and Lucanians served him as pretext for the campaign. But truly that love of glory which led him against all mankind embraced both an emulous desire for sovereignty and a wish to rival and to pass beyond the limits of Dionysus's and Heracles's expeditions. He learned that Rome's power and courage was arrayed for the protection of Italy like a firm-set battle-line; for some account of their illustrious name and fame was often transmitted to him, as of athletes thoroughly practised in countless wars.

Not without spilling of blood could this matter, I deem, have been settled,

had the great aspirations of these two unconquered peoples with their invincible arms clashed with each other. For in numbers at this time the Romans were no fewer than an hundred and thirty thousand men; and every one of them was warlike and intrepid.

Knowing on horseback
How to do battle with men, and even, if need be, dismounted.

\[e\] Cf. Livy, ix. 16. 19 ff., for a comparison of Alexander and the Romans.

\[f\] Homer, Od. ix. 49-50.
ON THE FORTUNE OR THE VIRTUE OF ALEXANDER
(DE ALEXANDRI MAGNI FORTUNA AUT VIRTUTE)
I AND II
INTRODUCTION

Again we have epideictic orations similar to the preceding and the following essays, and the conclusion again is abrupt, as if the speaker had been obliged to stop after a certain period of time had elapsed. Note, however, the very considerable difference in length between the first and the second part of the present work.

We know nothing of the circumstances under which these orations were delivered, but it is quite possible that they were spoken at Rome to show the Romans what an educated Greek could do in the treatment of a controversial subject.

The first oration deals mainly with the manner in which Fortune used Alexander; but much is also said of the manner in which he met the buffetings of Fortune and rose superior to them. In the second oration Fortune is by no means neglected, but rather more is said of Alexander's Virtue; thus it is not surprising to find in Lamprias's list of Plutarch's works two entries: the first, No. 176, Alexander's Fortune (Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τιχίας) and the second, No. 186, Alexander's Virtue (Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρετῆς).

Much that is included here is found also in Plutarch's Life of Alexander, in Arrian's Anabasis, and in other writers cited in the notes.
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER

The genuineness of the tradition which ascribes these works to Plutarch (for the attribution had been attacked by A. Schäfer and by L. Weber) has been brilliantly vindicated by W. Nachstädtt in his dissertation, De Plutarchi Declamationibus quae sunt De Alexandri Fortuna (Berliner Beiträge für klassischen Philologie, ii.), Karl Vogt, Berlin, 1895. This excellent work also contains a discussion of many of the problems which confront the editor of these essays and has been of great service.
ΠΕΡΙ

ΤΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΥΧΗΣ Η ΑΡΕΤΗΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ Α

1. Οὗτος δ’ τῆς Τύχης λόγος ἐστίν, ἢδιον καὶ μόνης αὐτῆς ἔργον ἀποφαινομένης Ἀλέξανδρον. δεῖ δ’ ἀντειπεῖν ὑπὲρ φιλοσοφίας, μᾶλλον δ’ ὑπὲρ Ἀλέξανδρου δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντος, εἴ προῖκα δόξει καὶ παρὰ τῆς Τύχης λαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἢν ὁμοιοί αἵματος πολλοὶ καὶ τραυμάτων ἐπαλλήλων κτώμενοι

Εὐτυχίας μὲν ἄλλας νύκτας Ἰανεν, ἢματα δ’ αἵματοεντα διεπρησεν πολεμίζων πρὸς ἀμάχους δυνάμεις καὶ ἀπειρα φύλα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀπεράτους καὶ πέτρας ἀποξεύτους, εὐβουλίας καὶ καρτερίας καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σωφροσύνη παραπεμπόμενος.

2. Οἰμαί δ’ ἂν αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὴν Τύχην τοῖς κατορθώμασιν αὐτὴν ἐπιγράφουσαν, “μὴ μου διάβαλλε τὴν ἁρετήν μηδ’ ἀφαιροῦ περισσῶς τὴν δόξαν. Δαρεῖος ἢν σὸν ἔργον, ὅν ἐκ δούλου καὶ

1 αὐτῆς Abresch: αὐτῆς.
ON THE FORTUNE OR THE VIRTUE OF ALEXANDER

I

1. This is Fortune’s discourse, who declares that Alexander is her own characteristic handiwork, and hers alone. But some rejoinder must be made on behalf of philosophy, or rather on Alexander’s behalf, who would be vexed and indignant if he should be thought to have received as a pure gift, even at the hands of Fortune, the supremacy which he won at the price of much blood and of wounds that followed one after another; and

Many a night did he spend without sleeping,
Many a blood-stained day did he pass amid combats unceasing,
against irresistible forces and innumerable tribes, against impassable rivers and mountain fastnesses whose summit no arrow could reach, furthered by wise counsels, steadfast purpose, manly courage, and a prudent heart.

2. I think that if Fortune should try to inscribe her name on his successes, he would say to her, “Slander not my virtues, nor take away my fair fame by detraction. Darius was your handiwork: he who was

* Adapted from Homer, *II. ix.* 325-326.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ἀστάνδου βασιλέως κύριον Περσῶν ἐποίησας· καὶ Γ Σαρδανάπαλλος, ὡ τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας πορφύραν ἔαναντι περιεθηκας. ἐγὼ δ' εἰς Σοῦσα νικῶν δι' Ἀρβήλων ἀναβέβηκα, καὶ Κιλικία μοι πλατεῖαν ἀνέωξεν Λύγυπτον, Κιλικίαν δὲ Γράνικος, δν Μυριδάτη καὶ Σπυριδάτη νεκροῖς ἐπιβᾶς διεπέρασα. κόσμει σειατὴν καὶ σεμνώνυ βασιλεύσων ἀτρώτους καὶ ἀναιμάκτων· ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ 327 εὐνυχεῖς ἦσαν, Ὡχοι καὶ Ἀρταξέρξηι, οὺς εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς τῷ Κύρου θρόνῳ ἐνίδρυσας. τούμον δὲ σῶμα πολλὰ σύμβολα φέρει Τύχης ἀνταγωνιζομένης οὐ συμμαχοῦσις. πρῶτον ἐν Ἡλλυρίῳς λίθῳ τῇ κεφαλῇ, ὑπέρῳ δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ἡλοκόμη ἐπείτα περὶ Γράνικον τῇ κεφαλῇ βαρβαρικῇ μαχαίρᾳ διεκόπην, ἐν δ' Ἰσσῷ Ξίφει τὸν μηρὸν· πρὸς δὲ Γάζῃ τὸ μὲν σφυρόν ἐτοξεύθην, τὸν δ' ὁμον ἐκπεσὼν εἰς ἔδρας βαρὺς περιεδίνησα. πρὸς δὲ Μαρακανδάνοις ἐτοξεύματι τὸ τῆς κυνῆς ὀστέον διεσχίσθην· τὰ λοιπὰ δ' Ἰνδῶν πληγαὶ καὶ βιαὶ

1 ἐκπεσὼν . . . περιεδίνησα corrupt.
2 Μαρακανδάνοις Reiske: μαρακάνδαν τὸς οὐ μαρακαδάρτος.
3 τοξεύματι Kronenberg: τοξεύμασι.

a Cf. 340 c, infra; Life of Alexander, chap. xviii. (674 d). Aelian, Varia Historia, xii. 43, says that he was a slave; and Strabo, xv. 3. 24, Diodorus, xvii. 5, say that he was not of the royal family.

b Cf. 336 c, infra.

c 331 b.c.

d The battle of Issus, 333 b.c.

e 334 b.c.

f Artaxerxes III. (358–338 b.c.).

This wound is elsewhere unknown to history. For the wounds of Alexander see the excellent tables of Nachstädt, op. cit. pp. 38–44.

384
a slave and courier of the king; a him did you make the mighty lord of Persia; and Sardanapalus, upon whose head you placed the royal diadem, though he spent his days in carding purple wool. But I, through my victory at Arbela, went up to Susa, and Cilicia d opened the way for me into the broad land of Egypt; but to Cilicia I came by way of the Granicus, which I crossed, using as a bridge the dead bodies of Mithridates and Spithridates. Adorn yourself, proud Fortune, and vaunt your dominion over kings that never felt a wound nor shed a drop of blood. For they have been Fortune's favourites, men such as Ochus i was and Artaxerxes, whom at the very hour of their birth you placed upon the throne of Cyrus. But my body bears many a token of an opposing Fortune and no ally of mine. First, among the Illyrians, my head was wounded by a stone and my neck by a cudgel. Then at the Granicus my head was cut open by an enemy's dagger, at Issus my thigh was pierced by the sword. Next at Gaza my ankle was wounded by an arrow, my shoulder was dislocated, and I whirled heavily round and round. Then at Maracanda the bone of my leg was split open by an arrow. There awaited me towards the last also the buffetings I received among the Indians and the

h Cf. 341 a-c, infra; Life of Alexander, chap. xvi. (673 A); Arrian, Anabasis, i. 13. 7; Diodorus, xvii. 20.

i By Darius, according to Chares (341 c, infra; Life of Alexander, chap. xx. (675 r)); but this is unknown to Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius, and Justin.

j The text is probably corrupt; in Curtius, iv. 6, we hear of two wounds, and they are quite different ones. One wound is reported in 341 b, infra; Life of Alexander, chap. xxv. (679 b); Arrian, Anabasis, ii. 27. 2.

k Cf. 341 b, infra; Arrian, Anabasis, iii. 30. 11; Curtius, vii. 6.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Β λυμῶν1· ἐν Ἀσπασίοισ2 ἐτοξεύθην τὸν ὄμον, ἐν δὲ (327) Γανδρίδαις τὸ σκέλος· ἐν Μαλλοῖς βέλει μὲν ἀπὸ τόξον τὸ στέρνον ἐνερευθέντι καὶ καταδύσαντι τὸν σύδηρον, ὑπέρον δὲ πληγῇ παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον, ὥστε προστεθεῖαι τοὺς τείχεσιν αἱ κλίμακες ἐκλάσθησαν· ἐμὲ δ' ἡ Τύχη μόνον συνείρξεν οúde λαμπρὸς ἀντ-αγωνιστᾶς, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους ἁσύμως χαριζομένη τηλικοῦτον ἔργον· ἔδει δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὑπερέσχε τὴν πέλτην, Λιμναῖος δὲ πρὸ ἐμοῦ μυρίους ἀπαντή-ςας βέλεσιν ἐπεσεν, ἤρευσαν δὲ θυμῷ καὶ βίᾳ Μακεδόνες τὸ τείχος, ἔδει τάφον Ἀλεξάνδρου τὴν βάρβαρον ἐκείνην καὶ ἀνώνυμον κόμῳν γενέσθαι."  

C 3. Καὶ μὴν τὰ μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς στρατείας, χειμω- 

νες, αὐχμοὶ, βάθη ποταμῶν, ἀορνὰ υἱή, θηρίων 

ὑπερφυεῖς ὄφεις, ἄγριοι δίαιται, μεταβολῇ δυνα- 

στῶν, παλμπρόδοσιάι3· τὰ δὲ πρὸ τῆς στρατείας, ἐτὶ4 

τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς πολέμους ἑπέσπαιρεν ἡ Ἑλλάς, 

ἀπεσείοντο δ' αἱ Θῆβαι τῶν ὅπλων τῆν Χαιρωνικῆν 

κόμων ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος ἀνιστάμεναι, καὶ συνήπτον 

αἱ Ἀθῆναι τὰς χειρὰς όρέγουσαι· πάσα δ' ὑπολος 

ἡν5 Μακεδονία πρὸς Ἁμύνταν ἀποβλέπουσα καὶ 

1 λυμῶν F.C.B., cf. Life of Alexander, chap. lxvi.; θηρίων 

van Herwerden; θυμομένων H. Richards: θυμῶν. 

2 'Ασπασίοις (as elsewhere) K. Schmidt: ἀπασίν οἰς. 

3 παλμπρόδοσιαi Bryan: πάλιν προδοσίαι. 

4 ἐτὶ Reiske: ἐτὶ. 

5 ἦν Bernardakis: ἦν.

a Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. lxvi. (702 a-b); Arrian, 

Anabasis, vi. 24-25. 

b Cf. Ibid., iv. 23. 3; Curtius, viii. 3. 

c Nothing is known of this wound. 

d Cf. 341 c, 343 e ff., infra; Life of Alexander, chap. 

lxiii. (700 b ff.); Arrian, Anabasis, vi. 9, 10; Diodorus, xvii. 

98; Curtius, ix. 4, 5; Strabo, xv. 1. 33. 

386
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER. 327

violence of famines. Among the Aspasians my shoulder was wounded by an arrow, and among the Gandridae my leg. Among the Mallians, the shaft of an arrow sank deep into my breast and buried its steel; and I was struck in the neck by a cudgel, when the scaling-ladders which we had moved up to the walls were battered down; and Fortune cooped me up alone, favouring ignoble barbarians and not illustrious adversaries with such an exploit. But if Ptolemy had not held his shield above me, and Limnaeus taking his stand before me had not fallen, a target for ten thousand shafts, and if my Macedonians had not overthrown the wall with spirit and main force, then that nameless village in a foreign land must needs have become the tomb of Alexander."

3. Moreover, there were the trials of the campaign itself: storms, droughts, deep rivers, the heights of the Birdless Rock, the monstrous shapes of savage beasts, an uncivilized manner of life, the constant succession of petty kings and their repeated treachery. Then there were also the difficulties before his expedition: Greece was still gasping over Philip's wars; Thebes, staggering to her feet after her fall, was shaking the dust of Chaeroneia from her arms, and Athens was stretching forth a helping hand to join with Thebes. All Macedonia was festering with revolt and looking toward Amyntas and the children

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* Peucetas in Life of Alexander, and in Arrian, Anabasis.

* Leonnatus according to Arrian (Anabasis, vi. 10. 2).

* Cf. Moralia, 181 c: Arrian, Anabasis, iv. 28; Diodorus, xvii. 85. Sir Aurel Stein has identified Aornos with the plateau of Pir-s'ar (On Alexander's Track to the Indus, Macmillan, 1929).

* Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xi. (670 B).
(327) τοὺς 'Αερόπον παιδας· ἀνερρήγυντο δ᾽ Ἰλυριοί, καὶ τὰ Σκυθῶν ἐπημερεῖτο τοῖς προσοικοις νεωτερίζουσι. τὸ δὲ Περσικόν χρυσῶν διὰ τῶν ἐκασταχοῦν δημιουργῶν ρέον ἐκάνει τὴν Πελοπόννησον· κενοὶ δ᾽ οἱ Φιλίππου θησαυροῖς χρημάτων, καὶ προσήν ἔτι δάνειου, ὡς Ὀνησίκριτος ἱστορεῖ, διακοσίων ταλάντων. ἐν τοσαύτη πενία καὶ πράγμασι ταραχαῖς ἐχονοι μειράκιων ἄρτη τὴν παιδικὴν παραλλάττον ἡλικίαν ἐθάρρησεν ἐλπίζας Βαβυλῶνα καὶ Σοῦσα, μάλλον δὲ τὴν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀρχὴν εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλέσθαι, τοῖς τρισμυρίοις όις ἐσχεν πεζοῖς καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι ἵππευσι πιστεύσας· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἦσαν, ὡς Ἀριστοβουλός φησὶν· ὡς δὲ Πτολεμαῖος Εὐβασιλέως, τρισμυρίοι πεζοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι δ᾽ ἵππεις· ὡς δ᾽ Ἀναξιμένης, τετρακισμύριοι πεζοῖ καὶ τρισχίλιοι, πεντακισχίλιοι δὲ καὶ πεντακόσιοι ἵππεις. τὸ δὲ λαμπρὸν αὐτῷ καὶ μέγα παρασκευασθεῖν ὕπο τῆς Τύχης ἐφόδιον ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα ἤν, ὡς φησίν Ἀριστοβουλὸς· ὡς δὲ Δοὔρις, τριάκοντα μόνον ἡμερῶν ἐπιστιχόμοι.

4. Ἀβουλος οὖν καὶ προπετῆς Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς εὔτελῶν οὖτως ἐπὶ τηλικαύτην δύναμιν ὅρμωμεν; οὐ μὲν οὖν. τὶς γὰρ ἀπὸ μειξοίων ἡ καλλίόνων ἀφορμῶν ἀνήγετο, μεγαλοψυχίας, συνέσεως, σωφροσύνης, ἀνδραγαθίας, αἰτίοι τῶν

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1 νεωτερίζουσι Reiske, confirmed by a few mss.: νεωτεροῦσι.
2 οἰς ἐσχε F.C.B.: οἴεσθαι.
3 οἰς F.C.B. and Stegmann: οῖς.

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a Very little is known of this faction. Cf. Diodorus, xiv. 37 and 89. Amyntas later joined Darius and met his death soon after the battle of Issus.
b £40,000 or £200,000.
of Æropus⁹; the Illyrians were again rebelling, and trouble with the Scythians was impending for their Macedonian neighbours, who were in the throes of political change; Persian gold flowed freely through the hands of the popular leaders everywhere, and helped to rouse the Peloponnesus; Philip's treasuries were bare of money, and in addition there was owing a loan of two hundred talents⁸ (as Onesiцитus records). In such poverty and in circumstances fraught with such uncertainty, a stripling, scarcely older than a boy, had the daring to hope for Babylon and Susa; nay more, to conceive the project of dominion over all the world, relying only on the thirty thousand foot and four thousand cavalry which were his; for, according to Aristobulus, that was the full extent of their number. But King Ptolemy puts them at thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, Anaximenes at forty-three thousand foot, fifty-five hundred horse. And the great and glorious war-chest which Fortune had ready for him was only seventy talents,⁴ as Aristobulus says, though Duris says it was provision for only thirty days.

4. Was, then, Alexander ill-advised and precipitate in setting forth with such humble resources to acquire so vast an empire? By no means. For who has ever put forth with greater or fairer equipment than he: greatness of soul, keen intelligence, self-restraint, and manly courage, with which Philosophy

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⁹ For the varying accounts of the wealth and forces of Alexander cf. 342 d, infra; Life of Alexander, chap. xv. (672 A); Arrian, Anabasis, i. 11. 3; and Alexander's own account, according to Arrian, Anabasis, vii. 9. 6 ff.

£14,000 or $70,000.

⁸ Cf. 342 d, infra.

PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

έφωδίαζεν φιλοσοφία πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν; ναὶ, τὸ πλεῖονας παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλους τοῦ καθηγητοῦ ἡ Φιλίππου τοῦ πατρὸς ἀφορμᾶς ἔχων διεβαινεὶ ἐπὶ Πέρσας. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν γράφονσιν, ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος ἐφὴ ποτὲ τὴν Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἐφόδιον, πιστεύομεν, ὡς ὁμηροῦ σεμνύοντες· ἄν δὲ τις φὴ τῇ Ἰλιάδα καὶ τῇ Ὀδύσσειαν παραμύθιον πόνου καὶ 328 διατριβὴν ἐπεσαθαί σχολὴς2 γλυκείας, ἐφόδιον δ’ ἀληθῶς γεγονέναι τὸν ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγον καὶ τοὺς περὶ ἀφοβίας καὶ ἀνδρείας ἑτὶ δὲ σωφροσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας ὑπομνηματισμοῖς, καταφρονοῦμεν; ὅτι θηλαδὴ περὶ συλλογισμῶν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ περὶ ἀξιωμάτων ἔγραψεν,3 οὐδ’ ἐν Δικεῖω περίπατον συνέσχειν οὐδ’ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ θέσεις εἶπεν· τούτοις γὰρ ὄριζον φιλοσοφίαν οἱ λόγον αὐτὴν οὐκ ἔγραν νομίζοντες. καίτοι γ’ οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρας ἔγραψεν οὐδὲν οὐδ’ Σωκράτης οὐδ’ Ἀρκεσίλαος οὐδὲ Καρνεάδης, οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν φιλοσοφῶν· καὶ οὐκ ἰσχολοῦντο περὶ πολέμους ἐκεῖνοι τηλικούτοις, Β οὐδὲ βασιλεῖς βαρβάρους ἡμεροῦντες οὐδὲ πόλεις Ἔλληνιδας ἐπικτίζοντες4 ἀγρίοις ἔθεσαν οὐδ’ ἄθεσα καὶ ἀνήκοα φύλα νόμους διδάσκοντες καὶ εἰρήνην ἐπῆσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολάζοντες τὸ γράφειν παρέσαν τοῖς σοφισταῖς. πόθεν οὖν ἐπιστεύθησαν ἐκεῖνοι φιλοσοφοί; ἂφ’ ὅσπιν ἡ ἄφ’ ὅσπιν ἐβίωσαν

1 ναί E. Capps: καί.
2 διατριβὴν σχολῆς Reiske: διατριβῆς καί σχολῆς.
3 ἔγραψεν Bernardakis, to harmonize with the other aorists: ἔγραψεν.
4 ἐπικτίζοντες ἐγκτίζοντες Bernardakis.

1 Cf. Life of Alexander, chaps. viii. (p. 668 d) and xxvi. (679 c-d); Pliny, Natural History, vii. 29. 108. 390
herself provided him for his campaign? Yes, the equipment that he had from Aristotle his teacher when he crossed over into Asia was more than what he had from his father Philip. But although we believe those who record that Alexander once said that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* accompanied him as equipment for his campaigns, since we hold Homer in reverence, yet are we to contemn anyone who asserts that the works of Homer accompanied him as a consolation after toil and as a pastime for sweet hours of leisure, but that his true equipment was philosophic teaching, and treatises on Fearlessness and Courage, and Self-restraint also, and Greatness of Soul? For of course it is obvious that Alexander wrote nothing on the subject of either syllogisms or axioms, nor did he have the opportunity of sharing the walks in the Lyceum, or of discussing propositions in the Academy. For it is by these criteria that those define philosophy who regard it as a theoretical rather than a practical pursuit. And yet even Pythagoras wrote nothing at all, nor did Socrates, nor Arcesilaüs, nor Carneades, who were all most notable among philosophers. Nor were these philosophers continuously occupied with such tremendous wars, nor with spreading civilization among foreign princes, nor in establishing Grecian cities among savage nations, nor did they go on and on, instructing lawless and ignorant tribes in the principles of law and peace; but, even though they had leisure, they relinquished the writing of philosophy to sophists. Whence, then, comes our belief that they were true philosophers? Surely from what they said, or from the

\[b\] That is, of occupying himself with Peripatetic (Aristotelian) philosophy.
It is interesting to note that dialogues bearing the names of all these pupils have been handed down to us under the name of Plato, although some of them are thought to be spurious. 

Wyttenbach in sadness doubts whether these ethnological remarks are the fruit of any research on the part of Plutarch. But they probably derive from a hazy recollection of such passages as Herodotus, i. 216 (of the Massagetae). Note, however, that Strabo supports Plutarch on this custom of the Persians (xv. 3. 20), which is easily explained by the
manner of life which they led, or from the principles which they taught. By these criteria let Alexander also be judged! For from his words, from his deeds, and from the instruction which he imparted, it will be seen that he was indeed a philosopher.

5. And first, if you will, consider a matter entirely contrary to the general belief, and compare Alexander’s pupils with those of Plato and Socrates. Plato and Socrates taught pupils of splendid natural endowment who spoke the same language; so that, even if the pupils understood nothing else, at least they understood the Greek tongue. And even so, Plato and Socrates did not win over many. But their pupils, such as Critias and Alcibiades and Cleitophon, were prone to spew the good word forth, as a horse the curbing bit, and turned them to other ways.

But if you examine the results of Alexander’s instruction, you will see that he educated the Hyrcanians to respect the marriage bond, and taught the Arachosians to till the soil, and persuaded the Sogdians to support their parents, not to kill them, and the Persians to revere their mothers and not to take them in wedlock. O wondrous power of Philosophic Instruction, that brought the Indians to worship Greek gods, and the Scythians to bury their dead, not to devour them! We admire Carneades’ power, which made Cletomachus, formerly called Hasdrubal, and a Carthaginian by birth, adopt Greek ways. We admire the character of Zeno, which fact that the young king inherited his father’s harem as well as his father’s stable, and that the father’s younger wives furnished the beginning of the son’s harem. Cf. also Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1221-1251. For other pleasant customs of the Hyrcanians cf. *Moralia*, 499 D.

e Cf. Diogenes Laertius, iv. 67; Athenaeus, 402 c.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

(328) διάθεσιν Ζήνωνος, εἰ Διογένη τὸν Βαυβυλώνιον ἔπεισε φιλοσοφεῖν. ἀλλ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημεροῦντος Ὅμηρος ἢν ἀνάγνωσμα, καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Σουσσανῶν καὶ Γεδρωσίων παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους τραγῳδίας ἴδον. καὶ Σωκράτης ὦς1 μὲν ξένα παρεισάγων δαιμόνια δίκην τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι ὥφλισκαν συκοφάνταις: διὰ δ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς Ἐλλήνων θεοῦς Βακτρα καὶ Καύκασος προσεκύνησε. Πλάτων μὲν γὰρ μίαν Ε γράφας πολιτείαν οὐδένα πέπεικεν αὐτῇ χρησθαι διὰ τὸ αὐστηρὸν Ἀλέξανδρος δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἐβδομήκοντα πόλεις βαρβάρους ἐθνεσιν ἐγκύσας καὶ κατασπείρας τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἐλληνικοῖς τέλεσι, τῆς ἀνημέρου καὶ θηριώδους ἐκράτησε διαίτης. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλάτωνος ὄλγοι νόμοις ἀναγγιγόμαχοιν, τοὺς δ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον μυριάδες ἀνθρώπων ἐχρήσαντο καὶ χρῶναι μακαριώτεροι τῶν διαφυγόντων Ἀλέξανδροι οἱ κρατηθέντες γενόμενοι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐπαυσεν ἀθλίως ζῶντας, τοὺς δ᾽ ἡμάγκασεν εὐδαιμονεὶν ὁ νικήσας. ὡσθ᾽ ὑπερ εἶπε Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὀπτικὰ φυγῶν ἐτυχε τωρεῖν μεγάλων παρὰ Φ βασιλέως καὶ τρεῖς πόλεις ὑποφόρους ἔλαβε, τὴν μὲν εἰς σῖτον τὴν δ᾽ εἰς οἶνον τὴν δ᾽ εἰς ὕπον, "ὡς παῖδες ἀπωλόμεθα ἢν εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα"· τοῦτο περὶ τῶν ἀλόντων ὑπ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρον δικαίωτέρον ἔστιν εἰπεῖν. οὐκ ἄν ἡμερώθησαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκρατή-

1 ὦς added by van Herwerden (after μὲν).

a Diogenes, from Seleucia in Mesopotamia (Strabo, xvi. 1. 16; Diogenes Laertius, vi. 81), was said to have been a pupil of Chrysippus, and thus was converted to the inheritance of Zeno, Stoicism.

b Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. viii. (p. 668 e).
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 328

persuaded Diogenes\textsuperscript{a} the Babylonian to be a philosopher. But when Alexander was civilizing Asia, Homer was commonly read, and the children of the Persians, of the Susianians, and of the Gedrosians learned to chant the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides.\textsuperscript{b} And although Socrates, when tried on the charge of introducing foreign deities,\textsuperscript{c} lost his cause to the informers who infested Athens, yet through Alexander Bactria and the Caucasus learned to revere the gods of the Greeks. Plato wrote a book on the One Ideal Constitution, but because of its forbidding character he could not persuade anyone to adopt it; but Alexander established more than seventy cities among savage tribes, and sowed all Asia with Grecian magistracies, and thus overcame its uncivilized and brutish manner of living. Although few of us read Plato's \textit{Laws}, yet hundreds of thousands have made use of Alexander's laws, and continue to use them. Those who were vanquished by Alexander are happier than those who escaped his hand; for these had no one to put an end to the wretchedness of their existence, while the victor compelled those others to lead a happy life. Therefore it is even more just to apply Themistocles' saying\textsuperscript{d} to the nations conquered by Alexander. For, when Themistocles in exile had obtained great gifts from Artaxerxes, and had received three cities to pay him tribute, one to supply his bread, another his wine, and a third his meat, he exclaimed, "My children, we should be ruined now, had we not been ruined before." Thus Alexander's new subjects would not have been civilized, had they not been vanquished; Egypt

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Plato, \textit{Apology}, 24 b; Xenophon, \textit{Memorabilia}, i. 1. 1.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. \textit{Moralia}, 185 f, and the note there.
θησαν· οὐκ ἂν εἰχεν 'Αλέξανδρειαν Ἀγνύττος, οὐδὲ Μεσοποταμία Σελεύκειαι οὐδὲ Προφθασίαν Σογ- 
διανή οὐδ' 'Ιριδία Βουκεφαλίαν, οὐδὲ πόλιν 'Ελλάδα

329 Καύκασος παροικοῦσαν, οἶς ἐμπολισθεῖσαι ἐσ-
βέθη τὸ ἄγριον καὶ μετέβαλε τὸ χείρον ὑπὸ τοῦ 
κρείττονος θυίζομεν. εἰ τούτων μέγιστον μὲν οἱ 
φιλόσοφοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ ἀπαί-
δευτα τῶν ἠθῶν ἔξημερον καὶ μεθαρμόζειν, μυρία 
δὲ φαίνεται γένη καὶ φύσεις θηριώδεις μεταβαλόν 
'Αλέξανδρος, εἰκὸς τὸν φιλοσοφότατον νομίζοιτο.

6. Καὶ μὴν ἡ πολὺ θαυμαξόμενη Πολιτεία τοῦ 
τῆς Στωικῶν αἴρεσιν καταβαλομένου Ζήνωνος εἰς 
ἐν τούτῳ συντείνει κεφάλαιον, ἵνα μή κατὰ πόλεις 
μηδὲ κατὰ δήμους οἰκῶμεν ἰδίους ἐκαστοί διώρι-

Β σμένοι δικαίοις, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἡγώμεθα 
δημότας καὶ πολίτας, εἰς δὲ βίος ἡ καὶ κόσμος, 
ὡσπερ ἄγελθης συννόμου νομῷ κοινῷ συντρέφο-
μένης. τούτῳ Ζήνων μὲν ἐγραφὲν ὡσπερ ὅναρ ἡ 
εἰδώλων εὐνομίας φιλοσόφου καὶ πολιτείας ἀνα-
tuphɔsɔmɛnɔs, 'Aλέξανδρος δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον 
paɾέσχεν. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης συνεβούλευν 
aυτῷ, τοῖς μὲν Ἕλλησιν ἠγεμονικῶς τοῖς δὲ βαρ-
βάροις δεσποτικῶς χρώμενοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὡς

1 παροικοῦσαν Reiske: περιοικοῦσαν.
2 οἴς F.C.B.: αῖς.
4 νομῷ Helmbold: νομῷ.

28. 4; iv. 22. 4; v. 1. 5; Curtius, vii. 3. 23; Diodorus, 
 xvii. 83. 1.

b Cf. Cambridge Ancient History, vol. vii. p. 225; Mor-
 alia, 653 e; Life of Lycurgus, xxxi. (59 A); Cicero, De 
396
would not have its Alexandria, nor Mesopotamia its Seleuceia, nor Sogdiana its Prophthasias, nor India its Bucephalia, nor the Caucasus a Greek city\(^a\) hard by; for by the founding of cities in these places savagery was extinguished and the worse element, gaining familiarity with the better, changed under its influence. If, then, philosophers take the greatest pride in civilizing and rendering adaptable the intractable and untutored elements in human character, and if Alexander has been shown to have changed the savage natures of countless tribes, it is with good reason that he should be regarded as a very great philosopher.

6. Moreover, the much-admired Republic\(^b\) of Zeno, the founder of the Stoic sect, may be summed up in this one main principle: that all the inhabitants of this world of ours should not live differentiated by their respective rules of justice into separate cities and communities, but that we should consider all men to be of one community and one polity, and that we should have a common life and an order common to us all, even as a herd that feeds together and shares the pasturage of a common field. This Zeno wrote, giving shape to a dream or, as it were, shadowy picture of a well-ordered and philosophic commonwealth; but it was Alexander who gave effect to the idea. For Alexander did not follow Aristotle's\(^c\) advice to treat the Greeks as if he were their leader, and other peoples as if he were their master; to have regard for the Greeks as for friends and kindred, but

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\(^a\) Aristotle's name is not elsewhere linked with this advice; \(^b\) Diogenes Laertius, vii. 32-34, 121, 129, 131. \(^c\) Aristotle, De Officiis, i. 7 (22); Diogenes Laertius, vii. 32-34, 121, 129, 131. 897
(329) φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἐπιμελούμενος τοῖς δ' ὦς ζωῆς ἢ φυτοῖς προσφερόμενος,1 πολέμων πολλῶν καὶ φυγῶν ἐνέπλησε καὶ στάσεων ὑπούλων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἄλλα κοινῶς ήκειν θεόθεν ἀρμοστὴς καὶ διαλλακτὴς τῶν ὀλων νομίζων, οὐς τῷ λόγῳ μὴ συνήγη τοῖς ὅπλοις βιαζόμενοι, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνενεγκών τὰ πανταχόθεν, ὥσπερ ἐν κρατήρι φιλοτησίᾳ μείζας τοὺς βίους καὶ τὰ θητέρα καὶ τὸ κόμως καὶ τὰς3 διαίτας, πατρίδα μὲν τὴν οἰκουμένην προσέταξεν ἡγείσθαι πάντας, ἀκρόπολιν δὲ καὶ φρουράν τὸ στρατόπεδον, συγγενεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἄγαθούς, ἀλλοφύλους δὲ τοὺς ποιητοὺς. τὸ δ' Ἕλληνικὸν καὶ βαρβαρικὸν μὴ χαλαρύδι μηδὲ πέλτη μηδ' ἀκινάκη μηδὲ κάνδυλα διορίζων, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν Ἕλληνικὸν ἀρετῆς τὸ δὲ βαρβαρικὸν κακία τεκμαίρεσθαι· κοινὰς δ' ἔσθητας ἡγείσθαι καὶ τραπέζας καὶ γάμους καὶ διαίτας, δ' αἴματος καὶ τέκνων ἀνακεραννυμένους.

7. Δημάρατος μὲν οὖν ὁ Κορίνθιος εἰς ὧν τῶν Φιλίππου ξένων καὶ φίλων, ὅτ' Ἀλέξανδρον εἶδεν ἐν Σοῦσσοι, περιχαρῆς γενόμενος καὶ δακρύσας μεγάλης ἐφ' χαρᾶς ἐστερήσθαι τοὺς ἐμπροσθὲν τεθνηκότας Ἕλληνας, ὅτι Ἀλέξανδρον οὐκ εἶδον ἐν τῷ Δαρείῳ θρόνῳ καθεξόμενον. εὖω δ' οὕδε τούτον μὰ Δία τοῦ θεάματος ζηλῶ τοὺς ἱδόντας, δ' καὶ

1 χρώμενος . . . ἐπιμελούμενος . . . προσφερόμενος Reiske, confirmed by a few mss.: χρώμενοι . . . ἐπιμελούμενον . . . προσφερόμενοι.
2 πολέμων πολλῶν καὶ Bernardakis: πολέμω πολλῶν or πολεμοποιών.
3 τὰς added by Reiske.
398
to conduct himself toward other peoples as though they were plants or animals; for to do so would have been to cumber his leadership with numerous battles and banishments and festering seditions. But, as he believed that he came as a heaven-sent governor to all, and as a mediator for the whole world, those whom he could not persuade to unite with him, he conquered by force of arms, and he brought together into one body all men everywhere, uniting and mixing in one great loving-cup, as it were, men's lives, their characters, their marriages, their very habits of life.a He bade them all consider as their fatherland the whole inhabited earth, as their stronghold and protection his camp, as akin to them all good men, and as foreigners only the wicked; they should not distinguish between Grecian and foreigner by Grecian cloak and targe, or scimitar and jacket; but the distinguishing mark of the Grecian should be seen in virtue, and that of the foreigner in iniquity; clothing and food, marriage and manner of life they should regard as common to all, being blended into one by ties of blood and children.

7. Now Demaratus the Corinthian, one of Philip's intimate friends,b when he had seen Alexander in Susa, exclaimed with tears of joyc that all the Greeks who had died before that hour had been deprived of a great joy, since they had not seen Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But I swear that for my part I feel no envy because of this spectacle toward them that saw it, for it was but the

b Cf. Moralia, 70 c; Life of Alexander, chap. ix. (669 c).
c Ibid. chaps. xxxvii. (687 a), lvi. (696 e); Life of Agesilaüs, chap. xv. (604 a).
'Τύχης ἤν καὶ κοινόν ἐτέρων1 βασιλέων. ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνης ἡδέως ἂν μοι δοκῶ γενέσθαι τῆς καλῆς καὶ ἱερᾶς νυμφαγωγίας θεατῆς, ὅτε μιὰ σκηνὴ χρυσωρόφω Επεριλαβῶν ἐδ᾽ ἐστίας κοινῆς καὶ τραπέζης, ἐκατὸν Περσίδας νύμφας, ἐκατὸν νυμφίους Μακεδόνας καὶ Ἐλλήνας, αὐτὸς ἐστεφανώμενος πρῶτος ἀναμέλητων τὸν ὑμέναιον, ὦστερ φιλοτήσιον ἐπάδων μέλος, εἰς κοινωνίαν συνιούσι τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ δυνατωτάτοις γένεσι, μιᾶς νυμφίας, πασῶν δὲ νυμφαγωγὸς ἀμα καὶ πατήρ καὶ ἀρμοστὴς κατὰ ζυγὰ συνήπτεν. ἡδέως γὰρ ἂν εἶτον,2 "ὁ βάρβαρος Ξέρξη καὶ ἀνόητε καὶ μάτην πολλά περὶ τὴν Ἐλλησποντίαν πονηθεὶς γέφυραν, οὕτως ἐμφρονείς βασιλεῖς Ἁσίαν Ἑυρώπῃ συνάπτουσιν, οὐ ἐξοίκοι οὐδὲ σχεδίασιν οὐδ᾽ ἀμφότερος Γκαὶ ἀσυμπαθέσι δεσμοῖς, ἀλλ᾽ ἔρωτι νομίμῳ καὶ γάμοις σώφροσι καὶ κοινωνίαις παίδων τὰ γένη συνάπτοντες."

8. Πρὸς τοῦτον ἀποβλέπων τὸν κόσμον Ἀλέξανδρος οὔ τὴν ἐσθήτα προσήκατο τὴν Μηδικῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Περσικὴν πολλὼ τῆς Μηδικῆς εὐτελεστέραν οὖσαν. τὰ γὰρ ἔξαλλα καὶ τραγικὰ τοῦ βαρβαρότητος κοί κόσμου παρατησάμενος, οἷον τιάραν καὶ κάδων καὶ ἀναξυρίδας, ἕκ τοῦ Περσικοῦ καὶ Μακεδονικοῦ τρόπου μερειγμένην τινὰ στολὴν ἐφόρει, καθάπερ Ἑρατοσθένης ἱστόρηκεν, ὡς μὲν φιλόσοφος τοῖς

1 κοινὸν ἐτέρων Wytenbach: κοινοτέρων.
2 εἴπον Basel ed. of 1542 and Budaeus: εἴπεν.

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a Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. lxx. (703 E); Arrian, Anabasis, vii. 4; Diodorus, xvii. 107. 6; Athenaeus, 538 b-e; Aelian, Varia Historia, viii. 7; but the number is not elsewhere given as 100.
handiwork of Fortune, and the lot of other kings as well. But methinks I would gladly have been a witness of that fair and holy marriage-rite, when he brought together in one golden-canopied tent an hundred Persian brides and an hundred Macedonian and Greek bridegrooms, united at a common hearth and board. He himself, crowned with garlands, was the first to raise the marriage hymn as though he were singing a song of truest friendship over the union of the two greatest and most mighty peoples; for he, of one maid the bridegroom, and at the same time of all the brides the escort, as a father and sponsor united them in the bonds of wedlock. Indeed at this sight I should have cried out for joy, "O dullard Xerxes, stupid fool that spent so much fruitless toil to bridge the Hellespont! This is the way that wise kings join Asia with Europe; it is not by beams nor rafts, nor by lifeless and unfeeling bonds, but by the ties of lawful love and chaste nuptials and mutual joy in children that they join the nations together."

8. Considering carefully this order of affairs, Alexander did not favour the Median raiment, but preferred the Persian, for it was much more simple than the Median. Since he deprecated the unusual and theatrical varieties of foreign adornment, such as the tiara and the full-sleeved jacket and trousers, he wore a composite dress adapted from both Persian and Macedonian fashion, as Eratosthenes has recorded. As a philosopher what he wore was

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\[b\] Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xlv. (690 e–691 a); Diodorus, xvii. 77.

\[c\] Presumably in the treatise referred to by Strabo, i. 4. 9 (p. 66).
(330) ἀδιαφόροις χρώμενος, ὡς δ' ἦγεμῶν κοινὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς φιλάνθρωπος τῇ περὶ τὴν ἔσθητα τιμῇ τὴν τῶν κεκρατημένων ἀνακτώμενος εὐνοιαν, ἵνα βεβαιῶσι παραμένωσιν ἀγαπῶντες ὡς ἀρχοντας Μακεδόνας, μὴ μισοῦντες ὡς πολεμίους. τούναντιον γὰρ ἦν ἀσόφου καὶ τετυφωμένης ψυχῆς τὴν μὲν αὐτόχρονον χλαμύδα θαυμάζειν, τὸν δὲ περιπόρφυρον χιτώνα δυσχεραίνει, ἢ πάλιν ἔκεινα μὲν ἄτμαζειν, ὃ τούτος δ' ἐκπεπλήχθαι, δίκην νηπίου παιδὸς φυλάττοντα τὴν περιβολήν, ἢν ἡ πάτριος αὐτῷ συνήθεια καθάπερ τίθη περεύθηκε. ζῶα θηρεύοντες ἀνθρωποὶ δορὰς ἐλάφων περιτεθένται, καὶ πτερωτοῖς ἀμπέχονται χιτωνικοῦς ἀγγαῖς ἐπι- χειροῦντες ὁρνίθων, καὶ φυλάττονται ταύροις ὁφθηνὶν φουκίδας ἐχοντες, ἐλέφασι δὲ λευκοῖς χιτώνας. ἐρεβίζεται γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν χρωμάτων τὰ ζῶα τούτων καὶ διαθρησκεύεται. εἰ δὲ βασιλεὺς μέγας ἕθην δυσκάθεκτα καὶ μαχόμενα καθάπερ ζῶα τιθασεύων καὶ μειλισσόμενος ἔσθησιν οἰκείαις C καὶ συνηθέσιν ἐξετράνει διαίταις καὶ κατέστελλεν, οἰκειούμενοι αὐτῶν τὸ δύσθυμον καὶ παρηγορῶν τὸ σκυθρωπὸν, ἐγκαλοῦσι; οὐχὶ θαυμάζουσι τὴν σοφίαν, ὅτι τῷ τυχόντι μετασχηματισμῷ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐδημαγωγήσε, τοῖς μὲν ὀπλοῖς τῶν σωμάτων ἐπικρατήσας, τῇ δ' ἔσθητι τῶς ψυχὰς προσαγαγόμενος2; καίτοι γ' Ἀριστιππὸν θαυμάζουσι τὸν Σωκρατικὸν, ὅτι καὶ τρίβων Λυτῷ καὶ Μιλησίᾳ

1 τοῖς ἀδιαφόροις] τοῖς ἀδιαφόροις?
2 προσαγαγόμενοι] προσαγαγόμενοι in some mss.

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a Cf. Moralia, 144 d.
b Cf. Horace, Epistles, i. 17. 23-29 “personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque.”
a matter of indifference, but as sovereign of both nations and benevolent king he strove to acquire the goodwill of the conquered by showing respect for their apparel, so that they might continue constant in loving the Macedonians as rulers, and might not feel hate toward them as enemies. Conversely it were the mark of an unwise and vainglorious mind to admire greatly a cloak of uniform colour and to be displeased by a tunic with a purple border, or again to disdain those things and to be struck with admiration for these, holding stubbornly, in the manner of an unreasoning child, to the raiment in which the custom of his country, like a nurse, had attired him. When men hunt wild animals, they put on the skins of deer, and when they go to catch birds, they dress in tunics adorned with plumes and feathers; they are careful not to be seen by bulls when they have on red garments, nor by elephants when dressed in white; for these animals are provoked and made savage by the sight of these particular colours. But if a great king, in taming and mollifying headstrong and warring nations, just as in dealing with animals, succeeded in soothing and stilling them by wearing a garb familiar to them and by following their wonted manner of life, thereby conciliating their rough natures and smoothing their sullen brows, can men impeach him? Must they not rather wonder at his wisdom, since by but a slight alteration of his apparel he made himself the popular leader of all Asia, conquering their bodies by his arms, but winning over their souls by his apparel? And yet men marvel at the disciple of Socrates, Aristippus, that whether he wore a threadbare
(330) χλαμύδι το αμφοτέρων ἐτήρει το εὐσχημον. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δ' ἐγκαλοῦσιν, ὅτι τὴν πάτριον ἐσθήτα κοσμῶν οὐδὲ τὴν δορίκτητον ὑπερείδε, μεγάλων πραγμάτων καταβαλλόμενος.

Δ' ἀρχάς, οὐ γὰρ ληστρικῶς τὴν Ἀσίαν καταδραμῶν οὔτ' ὥσπερ ἀρπαγμα καὶ λάφυρον εὐτυχίας ἀνελπίστου σπαράξας καὶ ἀνασύρασθαι διανοηθεῖς, καθάπερ ὥσπερ μὲν Ἀννίβας Ἰταλίαν, πρὸτερον δὲ Τρήσε Ἰωνίαν καὶ Σκύθαι Μηδίαν ἐπῆλθον· ἀλλ' ἐνος ὑπήκοα λόγου τὰ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ μᾶς πολιτείας, ἕνα δῆμον ἀνθρώπους ἀπαντᾷ ἀποφήναι βουλόμενος, οὕτως ἐαυτὸν ἔσχηματιζεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ταχέως ὁ δεύρο καταπέμψας τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ψυχήν ἀνεκαλέσατο δαίμων, εἰς ἄν νόμος ἀπαντᾷ ἀνθρώπους διῳκεῖτο καὶ πρὸς ἐν δίκαιον ὡς πρὸς κοινὸν ἐπέβλεπον φῶς. νῦν δὲ τῆς γῆς ἀνήλιον Ε μέρος ἐμείνει, οἶσιν Ἀλεξάνδρον οὐκ εἶδον.

9. Οὐκοῦν πρώτῃ μὲν ἡ τῆς στρατείας ὑπόθεσις φιλόσοφον τὸν ἄνδρα συνίστησιν, οὐχ ἐαυτῷ τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἀλλὰ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ὦμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην καὶ κοινωνίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρασκευάζει διανοηθέντα.

Δεύτερον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἰδίωμεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἥθη βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν μάλιστα ταῖς φωναῖς αἱ ψυχαὶ προβάλλουσιν. Ἀντίγονος ο γέρων, σοφιστὸς τινος αὐτῷ σύγγραμμα προσδίδοντος3 περὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἐβέλ-

1 χλαμύδι] χλανίδι Cobet.
2 διῳκεῖτο ... ἐπέβλεπον Nachstäd: ἐπέβλεπε ... διωκεῖτο.
3 προσδίδοντος S. L. Naber, is made fairly certain by προσ-
Φόντος in some mss. and προσδόντος in most of the others.
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 330

cloak or a fine Milesian robe he retained his gentility in either; but they impeach Alexander because, although paying due respect to his own national dress, he did not disdain that of his conquered subjects in establishing the beginnings of a vast empire. For he did not overrun Asia like a robber nor was he minded to tear and rend it, as if it were booty and plunder bestowed by unexpected good fortune, after the manner in which Hannibal later descended upon Italy, or as earlier the Treres\(^a\) descended upon Ionia and the Scythians\(^b\) upon Media. But Alexander desired to render all upon earth subject to one law of reason and one form of government and to reveal all men as one people, and to this purpose he made himself conform. But if the deity that sent down Alexander's soul into this world of ours had not recalled him quickly, one law would govern all mankind, and they all would look toward one rule of justice as though toward a common source of light. But as it is, that part of the world which has not looked upon Alexander has remained without sunlight.

9. Therefore, in the first place, the very plan and design of Alexander's expedition commends the man as a philosopher in his purpose not to win for himself luxury and extravagant living, but to win for all men concord and peace and community of interests.

And, in the second place, let us examine his sayings too, since it is by their utterances\(^c\) that the souls of other kings and potentates also best reveal their characters. The elder Antigonus remarked to a certain sophist who put in his hands a treatise on

\(^a\) Cf. Strabo, i. 3. 21; xi. 8. 4.
\(^b\) Cf. Herodotus, i. 15, 103-106.
\(^c\) Cf. Moralia, 172 d.

405
τερος ε', εἰπεν, "ὅς ὄρων με τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πόλεις τύπτοντα λέγεις περὶ δικαιοσύνης." Διονύ-
Φ σος δ’ ὁ τύραννος ἐκέλευε τοὺς μὲν παιὸς ἀστρα-
γάλους τοὺς δ’ ἀνδρας ὅρκους ἔξαπατάν. τοῖς δὲ 
Σαρδαναπάλλου μνημείοις ἐπιγέγραται 
ταύτ’ ἔχω ὅσο’ ἐφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα.
τίς οὔκ ἂν εἶποι τῶν ἀποφθεγμάτων τούτων τῷ 
μὲν ἀποφαίνεσθαι φιληδονίαν, τῷ δ’ ἁθεότητα, τῷ 
δ’ ἀδικίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν; τῶν δ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου 
φωνῶν ἂν ἀφέλης τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν ’Αλμωνα 
331 καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν, Σωκράτους ἢ Πλάτωνος ἢ 
Ἡβαγόρου σοι φανοῦται. μὴ γὰρ ἂς οἱ ποιηταὶ 
ταῖς εἰκόσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδραῖοι μεγαληγορίας 
ἐπεχάραττον, οὐ τῆς μετριότητος ἀλλὰ τῆς δυ-
νάμεως τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στοχαζόμενοι, σκοπῶμεν· 
αὐδασοῦντι δ’ ἐοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσων, 
Γὰν ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ τίθημαι. Ζεῦ, σὺ δ’ Ὀλυμπον ἔχε, 
καὶ ἀλλον ἀνδρός,1 “ἔγω Δίος μὲν νιώς.” ταύτα 
μὲν οὖν, ώς ἐφην, οἱ ποιηταὶ κολακεύοντες αὐτοῦ 
τὴν τύχην προσεῖτον. 
Τῶν δ’ ἀληθίνων ἀποφθεγμάτων Ἀλεξάνδρου 
Β πρῶτον ἄν τις τὰ παιδικὰ διέλθοι. ποδωκέστατος 
γὰρ τῶν ἐδ’ ἡλικίας νέων γενόμενος καὶ τῶν 
1 ἀλλον ἀνδρός F.C.B.: ἀλέξανδρος.

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1 Attributed elsewhere to Lysander: cf. Moralia, 229 b, and the note (Vol. III. p. 373).
3 Cf. 335 b, infra; T. Preger, Inscriptiones Graecae 406
justice, "You are a fool to say anything about justice when you see me smiting other people's cities." The despot Dionysius remarked that one should trick children with dice, but men with oaths.\(^a\) Upon the tomb of Sardanapalus \(^b\) is written,

These are still mine—what I ate, and my wanton love-frolics.

Who would not own that by these several sayings are revealed Sardanapalus's love of pleasure, Dionysius's impiety, and Antigonus's injustice and greed? But if you subtract from Alexander's sayings his crown, his relationship with Ammon, and his noble birth, they will appear to you as the utterances of a Socrates or a Plato or a Pythagoras. Let us, then, pay no heed to the proud boasts which the poets inscribed upon his portraits and statues, studying, as they were, to portray, not Alexander's moderation, but his power:

Eager to speak seems the statue of bronze, up to Zeus as it gazes:

"Earth I have set under foot; Zeus, keep Olympus yourself."\(^c\)

And another man makes Alexander say, "I am the son of Zeus."\(^d\) These expressions, then, as I have said, the poets addressed to Alexander in flattery of his good fortune.

But of the genuine sayings of Alexander we might first review those of his youth. Since he was the swiftest of foot of all the young men of his age,\(^e\) his

\(^{\text{Metrifica (1891), pp. 183-187. The epigram is more completely given in the Anthology, xvi. 120, where it is attributed to Archelaüs or Asclepiades. Probably, as Ouvré has seen, it belongs to the latter.}}\)

\(^{\text{Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xxvii. (680 f).}}\)

\(^{\text{Cf. Moralia, 179 D; Life of Alexander, chap. iv. (666 D).}}\)
(331) ἐταίρων αὐτὸν ἐπ’ Ὁλύμπια παρορμώντων, ἠρώτησεν, εἰ βασιλεῖς ἀγωνίζονται τῶν δ’ οὐ φαμένων, ἀδικον εἶπεν εἶναι τὴν ἄμιλλαν, ἐν ἣ νικήσει μὲν ἴδιώτας, νικηθήσεται δὲ βασιλείς.

Τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς Φιλίππου λόγχη τὸν μηρὸν ἐν Τριβαλλοῖς διαπαρέντος, καὶ τὸν μὲν κίνδυνον διαφυγόντος, ἀχθομένου δὲ τῇ χωλότητι, "θάρρει, πάτερ," ἐφη, "καὶ προύθι φαιδρῶς, ἵνα τῆς ἁρετῆς κατὰ βήμα μνημονεύῃς." ταῦτ’ οὖκ ἐστὶ διανοίας

C φιλοσόφου καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἐνθουσιασμὸν ἥδη τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἔλαστωμάτων κατεξειστημένης; πῶς γὰρ αὐτὸν οἰεὶ τοῖς ἴδιοις ἀγάλλεσθαι τραύμασι, καθ’ ἐκαστὸν μέρος ἔθνους μνημονεύοντα καὶ νίκης καὶ πόλεων ἁλισκομένων καὶ βασιλέων παραδιδόντων, οὖν ἐγκαλυπτόμενον οὐδὲ κατακρύπτοντα τὰς οὐλάς, ἀλλ’ ὠσπερ εἰκόνας ἐγκεχαραγμένας ἁρετῆς καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας περιφέροντα;

10. Καὶ μὴν εἴ ποτε γένοιτο τῶν Ὁμήρου σύγκρος ἐπὶ τῶν ταῖς διατριβαῖς ἥ παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια, ἀλλὸν ἄλλου στίχον προκρίνοντος, αὐτὸς ὡς διαφέροντα πάντων ἐνέκρινε τοῦτον,

ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ’ ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ’ αἰχμητής,

ὅ δὲν ἀλλὸς ἐπαινῶν τῷ χρόνῳ προέλαβε, τοῦτον αὐτῷ νόμον κείσθαι λογιζόμενος, ὥστε εἶπεν "Ὅμηρον ὅτι τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ τὴν μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀνδρα-

2 οἰεὶ Xylander and marginal variant in E: ἐπὶ.
3 βασιλέων] Reiske would add ἑαυτοὺς.

Attributed to a Spartan woman in Moralia, 241 ε, where see the note.

408
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 331

comrades urged him to enter the Olympic games. He asked if the competitors were kings, and when his friends replied that they were not, he said that the contest was unfair, for it was one in which a victory would be over commoners, but a defeat would be the defeat of a king.

When the thigh of his father Philip had been pierced by a spear in battle with the Triballians, and Philip, although he escaped with his life, was vexed with his lameness, Alexander said, "Be of good cheer, father, and go on your way rejoicing, that at each step you may recall your valour." Are not these the words of a truly philosophic spirit which, because of its rapture for noble things, already revolts against mere physical encumbrances? How, then, think you, did he glory in his own wounds, remembering by each part of his body affected a nation overcome, a victory won, the capture of cities, the surrender of kings? He did not cover over nor hide his scars, but bore them with him openly as symbolic representations, graven on his body, of virtue and manly courage.

10. And in the same spirit if ever there chanced to be in hours of ease or at a banquet a comparison of the verses of Homer, each man choosing his favourite line, Alexander always judged this verse to be the greatest of all:

Both things is he: both a goodly king and a warrior mighty. This praise, which at the time it was written another had received, Alexander conceived to be a law for himself, so that he said of Homer that in this same verse he had honoured the manly courage of Aga-

\[ Iliad, \text{iii. 179} ; \text{cf. \ Xenophon, Memorableia, iii. 2. 2.} \]
(331) γαθίαν κεκόσμηκε, τὴν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου μεμάντευται. διαβὰς τοινῦν τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἔθεατο τὴν Τροίαν ἀνατυπούμενος τὰς ἤρωικὰς πράξεις. καὶ τινὸς αὐτῷ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὑποσχομένου τὴν Πάριδος λύραν, εἰ βούλουτο, δώσειν, "οὐδέν," ἔφη, "τὴς ἐκείνου δέομαι. τὴν γὰρ Ἀχιλλέως κέκτημαι, πρὸς ἄν ἐκείνος ἀνεπαύετο

αἰείδε δ’ ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.

ἡ δὲ Πάριδος πάντως μαλακὴν τινα καὶ θήλειαν

Ε ἀρμονίαν ἑρωτικοῖς ἔφαλλε μέλεπι," φιλοσόφοι τοῖς ἐστὶ νυχῆς σοφίας ἐρᾶν καὶ σοφοὺς ἀνδρας θαυμάζειν μάλιστα. τοῦτο δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προσῆν ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων. καὶ πῶς μὲν εἴχε πρὸς Ἁριστοτέλην εὐρήται· καὶ ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἀρμονικὸν Ἀνάξαρχον ἐντιμότατον τῶν φίλων ἐνόμιζε, Πύρρων δὲ τῷ Ἡλείῳ πρῶτον ἐντυχόντι μυρίους χρυσοὺς ἐδωκε, Ξενοκράτει δὲ τῷ Πλάτωνος συνηθεὶς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δωρεὰν ἐπεμψεν, Ὅνησίκριτον δὲ τὸν Διογένεας τοῦ Κυνῶς μαθητὴν ὧτι ἄρχοντα τῶν κυβερνητῶν κατέστησεν ὑπὸ πλειόνων ἱστόρητα.

Διογένει δ’ αὐτῷ περὶ Κόρινθον εἰς λόγους

F ἐλθὼν οὖτως ἐφριξε καὶ κατεπλάγῃ τῶν βιῶν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὥστε πολλάκις αὐτοῦ

1 ἀρμονικὸν] εἰδαμονικὸν suggested by Ménage from Diogenes Laertius, ix. 60.

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a Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xv. (672 b); Aelian, Varia Historia, ix. 38.

b Homer, II. ix. 189.

c 327 γ, supra; cf. Life of Alexander, chaps. vii., viii. (668 a-f).

410
memnon and prophesied that of Alexander. Accordingly when he had crossed the Hellespont, he went to see the site of Troy, imagining to himself the heroic deeds enacted there; and when one of the natives of the country promised to give him the lyre of Paris, if he wished it, Alexander said, "Of his lyre I have no need; for I already possess Achilles' lyre to the accompaniment of which, as he rested from his labours,

he sang the famed deeds of heroes."

But the lyre of Paris gave forth an altogether weak and womanish strain to accompany his love songs." Thus it is the mark of a truly philosophic soul to be in love with wisdom and to admire wise men most of all, and this was more characteristic of Alexander than of any other king. His attitude toward Aristotle has already been stated; and it is recorded by several authors that he considered the musician Anaxarchus the most valuable of all his friends, that he gave ten thousand gold pieces to Pyrrhon of Elis the first time he met him, that he sent to Xenocrates, the friend of Plato, fifty talents as a gift, and that he made Onesicritus, the pupil of Diogenes the Cynic, chief pilot of his fleet.

But when he came to talk with Diogenes himself in Corinth, he was so awed and astounded with the life and the worth of the man that often, when remembrance of the philosopher came to him, he would

\[b\] Cf. 333 B, *infra*, and *Moralia*, 181 E.
\[c\] Cf. *Life of Alexander*, chaps. lxi., lxvi. (701 c, 702 A); Arrian, *Anabasis*, vi. 2. 3, vii. 5. 6; Diogenes Laertius, vi. 84.
\[d\] Cf. *Life of Alexander*, chap. xiv. (671 D); Diogenes Laertius, vi. 32; Valerius Maximus, iv. 3. 4; Juvenal, xiv. 311-314. Cf. also *Moralia*, 782 A-B.
μημονευόνων λέγειν, “εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἥμην, Διογένης ἄν ἥμην,” τουτέστιν “ἡσυχολούμην ἀν περὶ λόγους, εἰ μὴ δι’ ἔργων ἐφιλοσόφους.” οὐκ εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς ἥμην, Διογένης ἄν ἥμην,” οὐδ’ “εἰ μὴ πλουσίος καὶ Ἀργεάδης.” οὐ γὰρ 332 προέκρυπτε τὴν τύχην τῆς σοφίας οὐδὲ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς πήρας καὶ τοῦ τρίβωνος. ἀλλ’ εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἥμην, Διογένης ἄν ἥμην,” τουτέστιν “εἰ μὴ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς κεράσαι διενούμην καὶ πᾶσαν ἤπειρον ἐπιών ἐξημερώσασι, καὶ πέρατα γῆς ἀνερευνῶν καὶ θαλάσσης ὠκεανῶν προσερείσας Μακεδονίαν, καὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδος3 σπείρας καὶ καταχέασθαι γένους παιτὸς εὐδικιάν καὶ εἰρήνην, οὐκ ἄν ἐν ἀπράκτῳ τρυφῶν ἐξουσία καθήμην, ἀλλ’ ἐξῆλθον ἀν τὴν Διογένους ευτέλειαν. τὸν δὲ σύγγνωθι, Διόγενες, Ἡρακλέα μιμοῦμαι καὶ Περσέα ζηλῶ, καὶ τὰ ΒΔιονύσου μετών ἰχνῆ, θεοῦ γενάρχου καὶ προ- πάτορος, βουλομαι πάλιν ἐν Ἰνδία νικῶντας Ἐλλήνας ἐγχορεύσασι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Καύκασου ὀρεῖος καὶ ἄγριοις τῶν βακχικῶν κώμων ἀνα- μνῆσαί. κάκει τινες εἰναὶ λέγονται στερρᾶς καὶ γυμνήτιδος σοφίας ἐθάδες ἄνδρες ιεροὶ καὶ αὐτό- νομοι, θεῶ σχολάζοντες, εὐτελέστεροι Διογένους, οὐδὲν πήρας δεόμενοι. τροφὴν γὰρ οὐκ ἀποτίθενται, πρόσφατον ἂεί καὶ νέαν ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχοντες. ποτὸν δὲ ποταμοὶ réouς· φύλλα δ’ αὐτοῖς δέιδρων ἀπο-

1 ἀνερευνῶν] ἀνευρὼν in most mss.
2 προσερείσας] προσορίσας van Herwerden.
3 Ἐλλάδος E. Capps: Ἐλλάδα.

b Cf. 326 n, supra.
say, "If I were not Alexander, I should be Diogenes," that is to say: "If I did not actively practise philosophy, I should apply myself to its theoretical pursuit." He did not say, "If I were not a king, I should be Diogenes," nor "If I were not rich and an Argead"; for he did not rank Fortune above Wisdom, nor a crown and royal purple above the philosopher's wallet and threadbare gown. But he said, "If I were not Alexander, I should be Diogenes"; that is to say: "If it were not my purpose to combine foreign things with things Greek, to traverse and civilize every continent, to search out the uttermost parts of land and sea, to push the bounds of Macedonia to the farthest Ocean, and to disseminate and shower the blessings of Greek justice and peace over every nation, I should not be content to sit quietly in the luxury of idle power, but I should emulate the frugality of Diogenes. But as things are, forgive me, Diogenes, that I imitate Heracles, and emulate Perseus, and follow in the footsteps of Dionysus,\(^4\) the divine author and progenitor of my family,\(^5\) and desire that victorious Greeks should dance again in India and revive the memory of the Bacchic revels among the savage mountain tribes beyond the Caucasus. Even there it is said that there are certain holy men, a law unto themselves, who follow a rigid gymnosophy\(^6\) and give all their time to God; they are more frugal than Diogenes since they have no need of a wallet. For they do not store up food, since they have it ever fresh and green from the earth; the flowing rivers give them drink and they have fallen leaves and grassy

\(^4\) Cf. Life of Alexander, chaps. lxiv., lxv. (700 f-701 f) for Alexander's dealings with the Gymnosophists.
(332) χυθέντα καὶ πόα γῆς ἔγκατακλιθήναι. δι’ ἐμὲ κάκεϊνοι Διογένη γνώστονται καὶ Διογένης ἐκεῖνος. 'Οδει καὶ μὲ νόμισμα παρακόψαι καὶ παραξαράξαι τὸ βαρβαρικόν· Ἑλληνικῇ πολιτείᾳ.’

11. Εἰς τοῦ χρόνου τοῦ αὐτοῦ πότερον αὐτοματισμόν ἐπιφαίνουσι τύχης καὶ βίαν πολεμικὴν καὶ χειροκρατίαν, ἢ πολλὴν μὲν ἀνδρείαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, πολλὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην καὶ πραότητα μετὰ κόσμου καὶ συνέσεως, νήψατε καὶ πεπνυμένῳ τῷ λογισμῷ πάντα πράττοντος; οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἀδικρύαντά με μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν ἀνδρείας, τοῦτο δὲ φιλανθρωπίας, τοῦτο δ’ ἐγκρατείας: ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἔρχον ἐκ πασῶν ἐοικε τῶν ἁρετῶν μεμείχθαι. Βεβαιοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸν Στωκίκον

D ἐκείνου λόγον ὅτι πᾶν ὁ ἄν δρά ὁ σοφός κατὰ πᾶσαν ἁρετήν ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ μία μὲν, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἁρετὴ πρωταγωνιστεῖ πράξεως ἑκάστης, παρακαλεῖ δὲ τὰς ἀλλὰς καὶ συντείνει πρὸς τὸ τέλος. Ἰδεῖν γοῦν ἔστιν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ μὲν πολεμικὸν φιλανθρωπὸν, τὸ δὲ πρᾶον ἀνδρῶδες, τὸ δὲ χαριστικὸν οἰκονομικὸν, τὸ δὲ θυμικὸν εὐδιάλλακτον, τὸ δ’ ἐρωτικὸν σῶφρον, τὸ δ’ ἀνειμένον οὐκ ἄργον, τὸ δ’ ἐπίπονον οὐκ ἀπαραμύθητον. τίς ἐμείξε πολέμους οἰρτάς; τίς δὲ κώμοις στρατείας; τίς δὲ πολιορκίαις καὶ παρατάξεις βακχείας καὶ γάμους καὶ ὑμεναίοις; τίς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐχθρότερος ἢ δυστυχοῦσιν ἡμερῶς.

Ε τερος; τίς μαχομένους βαρύτερος ἢ δεομένους εὐγνωμονεστέρος;

1 ἀποξυθέντα Reiske; ὑποξυθέντα Meziriacus: ἀποξυθέντων.
2 τὸ βαρβαρικὸν] τὸ βαρβαρικὴ θέσει κατεσκευασμένον in some mss.
3 χειροκρατίαν Reiske: χειροκρατίαν.
4 παρατάξεις Wyttenbach: πράξεις.
earth to lie upon. Because of me even those far-away sages shall come to know of Diogenes, and he of them. And I also, like Diogenes, must alter the standard of coinage and stamp foreign states with the impress of Greek government.

11. Very well. Do Alexander's actions, then, reveal the caprice of Fortune, the violence of war, the might of conquest, or do they rather reveal the great courage and justice, the great restraint and mildness together with the decorous behaviour and intelligence, of one who did all things with sober and sane judgement? For, by Heaven, it is impossible for me to distinguish his several actions and say that this betokens his courage, this his humanity, this his self-control, but everything he did seems the combined product of all the virtues; for he confirms the truth of that principle of the Stoics which declares that every act which the wise man performs is an activity in accord with every virtue; and although, as it appears, one particular virtue performs the chief rôle in every act, yet it but heartens on the other virtues and directs them toward the goal. Certainly one may observe that in Alexander the warlike is also humane, the mild also manly, the liberal provident, the irascible placable, the amatory temperate, his relaxation not idle, and his labours not without recreation. Who but he combined festivals with wars, campaigns with revels, Bacchic rites and weddings and nuptial songs with sieges and battle-fields? Who was ever more hostile to wrongdoers or kinder to the unfortunate? Who more stern to his opponents or more indulgent to petitioners?

* Cf. Diogenes Laertius, vi. 20, 21.

12. Παραθώμεν τὰ τῶν ὁμολογομένων φιλοσόφων. Σωκράτης ἦνεσχέτο συγκοιμηθέντος Ἀλκι-
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 332-333

It occurs to me to introduce here an incident touching Porus. For when Porus was brought as a captive before Alexander, the conqueror asked how he should treat him. "Like a king, Alexander," said Porus. When Alexander asked again if there were nothing else, "No," said he, "for everything is included in that word." And it naturally occurs to me also to exclaim over each of Alexander's deeds, "Like a philosopher!" For in this is included everything. He became enamoured of Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes, as she danced among the captive maidens; yet he did not offer any violence to her, but made her his wife. "Like a philosopher!" When he saw Darius pierced through by javelins, he did not offer sacrifice nor raise the paean of victory to indicate that the long war had come to an end; but he took off his own cloak and threw it over the corpse as though to conceal the divine retribution that waits upon the lot of kings. "Like a philosopher!" Once when he was reading a confidential letter from his mother, and Hephaestion, who, as it happened, was sitting beside him, was quite openly reading it too, Alexander did not stop him, but merely placed his own signet-ring on Hephaestion's lips, sealing them to silence with a friend's confidence. "Like a philosopher!" For if these actions be not those of a philosopher, what others are?

12. But let us compare the actions of men who are admitted to be philosophers. Socrates forbore when Alcibiades spent the night with him. But when

a Cf. Moralia, 180 D, and the note.
b Cf. Plato, Symposium, 218 c; Diogenes Laertius, ii. 31.

PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(333) βιάδου. Ὄλεξανδρος δὲ, Φιλοξένου τοῦ τῆς παραλίας ὑπάρχου γράψαντος, ὅτι ποὺς ἐν Ἰωνίας γέγονεν οἷς οὐκ ἄλλος ὤραν καὶ εἴδος, καὶ πυνθανομένου διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων εἰ ἀναπέμψοι, πικρῶς ἀντέγραφεν, "ὁ κάκιστος ἀνθρώπων, τί μοι πώποτε τοιοῦτο συνέγνως, ἦν τοιαύτας με κολαθοῦσος ἕδοναις;" Ξενοκράτης, πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ὄντες Ὄλεξανδρου πέμψαντος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔλαβε θαινάζομεν· τὸ δὲ δοῦναι, οὐ; ἦ οὐχ ὄμοιως καταφρονεῖν χρημάτων δοκοῦμεν τὸν μὴ προσιέμενον καὶ τὸν χαρίζομεν; οὐκ ἔδειτο πλούτου Ξενοκράτης διὰ φιλοσοφίαν, Ὄλεξανδρος δ’ ἔδειτο διὰ φιλοσοφίαν, ἦν τοιούτους χαρίζεται. τούτῳ ποσάκις Ὄλεξανδρος εἶπε βαλλόμενος, εἰσβιαζόμενος; καίτοι κρίσεις μὲν ὀρθὰς πᾶσι ἐνυπάρχειν ἀνθρώποις νομίζομεν· ἢ γὰρ φύσις ἀγωγὸς ἐστὶν ἄφ’ ἐαυτῆς πρὸς τὸ καλὸν· οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρουσι τῷ τὰς κρίσεις ἐχεῖν ἐρρωμένας παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ πεπηγνίας, ἐπεὶ οὐ μετὰ τοιούτων προλήψεων "ἐἰς οἰωνὸς

1 ἀναπέμψοι] ἀναπέμψει most mss.; ἀναπέμψῃ Cobet.
2 Dübner assumes a lacuna after χαρίζεται.
3 εἰσβιαζόμενος F.C.B.: ἐκβιαζόμενος.

a Cf. Moralia, 1099 d; Life of Alexander, chap. xxii. (676 ε). 418
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 333

Philoxenus, a the governor of the coast-lands of Asia Minor, wrote to Alexander that there was in Ionia a youth, the like of whom for bloom and beauty did not exist, and inquired in his letter whether he should send the boy on to him, Alexander wrote bitterly in reply, "Vilest of men, what deed of this sort have you ever been privy to in my past that now you would flatter me with the offer of such pleasures?" We admire Xenocrates b because he would not accept the gift of fifty talents which Alexander sent him. But shall we not admire the giving of it? Or do we think that he who does not welcome a gift and he who bestows it are not at one in their contempt for money? Because of philosophy Xenocrates had no need of wealth and because of philosophy Alexander had need of wealth that he might lavish it upon such men. How many times has Alexander said this when forcing an attack amid a shower of missiles? c And yet we believe that all men are endowed with the capacity to form right judgements. For Nature of herself is prone to lead men toward the Good. But philosophers differ from common persons in having their powers of judgement strong and firm to face danger, since the common man is not fortified by conceptions such as these: "Best is one omen" d and

b Cf. 331 e, supra.

c Alexander's remark that he needed money to give to others may be compared to the remark which Plutarch quotes in his Life of Alexander, chap. IX. (698 e), when Alexander was risking his life in crossing the swollen Hydaspes: "O Athenians, can you possibly believe what dangers I undergo to win good repute among you?" Others think that the remark has been lost from the mss.

d Homer, II. xii. 243 ἐὰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.
(333) ἀριστος” καὶ “πέρας μὲν ἐστὶν ἀπασω ἀνθρώπως ὁ θάνατος.” ἀλλὰ ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ καιροὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ τοὺς λογισμοὺς, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἐκκρούουσιν αἱ φαντασίαι τῶν κινδύνων ἐγγὺς γενομένων. “phasis γὰρ” οὐ μόνον “μνήμην ἐκπλήττει,” κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ προαιρεσὶν πᾶσαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ὀρμήν, εἰ μὴ1 μηρίνθους φιλοσοφία περιτέθεικεν.

1 εἰ μὴ added by Emperius.

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a Cf. Moralia, 166 f.; Demosthenes, De Corona, 97. W. Crönert, in a review of Bell-Crum, A Greek-Coptic Glossary (Gnomon, ii. p. 637), reconstructs, from the words of
“Death is the end for all men”\textsuperscript{a} but crises destroy all his calculations in the face of danger, and the fantastic imaginings of perils close at hand dispel his powers of judgement. For not only does “fear,” as Thucydides\textsuperscript{b} says, “drive out memory,” but it also drives out every purpose and ambition and impulse, unless philosophy has drawn her cords about them.

the Testament of the High Priest Fl. Phoebammon, trimeters of an Euripidean flavour:

\[ \begin{align*} & \pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma \delta\epsilon \pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\sigma\varsigma \tau\omicron \beta\rho\omicron\tau\nu\sigma\acute{i} \iota\omicron \gamma\epsilon\omicron \nu\omicron \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigma \varsigm}

More likely here, however, would be such a line as

\[ \delta \theta\acute{\alpha}n\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma \varepsilon\sigma\theta \acute{\iota} \alpha\pi\alpha\omicron \nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron \omicron \varsigma \pi\epsilon\rho\alpha\varsigma. \]

Plutarch and Demosthenes may both be quoting from something of the sort.

\textsuperscript{b} Thucydides, ii. 87.
ΠΕΡΙ

D ΤΗΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΥΧΗΣ Η ΑΡΕΤΗΣ

ΛΟΓΟΣ B

1. Διέφυγεν ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔοικε, χθές εἰπείν ὅτι καὶ
tέχνας πολλὰς καὶ φύσεις μεγάλας ὁ κατ’ Ἀλέξαν-
δρον χρόνος ἐνεγκεῖν εὐτύχησεν· ἡ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ
Ετῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης γέγονεν ἄλλα τῆς ἐκείνων,
μάρτυρα λαβεῖν καὶ θεατῆν τὸν ἀριστα κρῖναι τὸ
kατορθοῦμενον καὶ μάλιστ’ ἀμείβοισθαι δυνάμενον.
λέγεται γοῦν ὅτι χρόνος ὑστερεῖ Ἀρχεστράτου
gενομένου ποιητοῦ χαρίεντος, ἐν δὲ πενία καὶ
ἀδόξει διάγοντος εἰπέ τις πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ἄλλ’ εἰ
cat’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐγένου, κατὰ στίχον ἄν σοι
Κύπρου ἦ Φουίκην ἐδωκεν." οἴμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν
tότε τεχνιτῶν οὐ κατ’ Ἀλέξανδρον ἄλλα δι’
Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς πρῶτους γενέσθαι. καρπῶν μὲν
γὰρ εὐφορίαν εὐκρασία ποιεῖ καὶ λεπτότης τοῦ
περιέχοντος ἀέρος, τεχνῶν δὲ καὶ φύσεων ἄγαθῶν
αὐξησιν εὐμένεια καὶ τιμῆ καὶ φιλανθρωπία βασι-
.FILL the missing content.
cαὶ τοῦναντίον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ
ON THE FORTUNE OR THE VIRTUE OF ALEXANDER

II

1. Yesterday we forgot, it seems, to remark that the age of Alexander had the good fortune to produce both many artistic achievements and many men of great talent. Perhaps, however, this was not part of Alexander’s good fortune, but rather that of the artists, to have obtained as witness and spectator of their achievements the man who was both best able to judge of their success and to reward them most liberally. At any rate, it is said that, when Archestratus, a poet of a later age, who, though an accomplished writer, was passing his days in poverty and neglect, someone remarked to him, “If you had been born in Alexander’s time, for every verse he would have given you a Cyprus or a Phoenicia.” And I think that the foremost of the artists of that age became so, not because they lived in Alexander’s day, but through what Alexander did for them. For a good climate and a lightness of the surrounding air produces a bountiful harvest; and likewise the favour, esteem, and benignity shown by a king evokes a rich increase in the arts and in men of talent. And, conversely, through jealousy
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

σμικρολογίας ἢ φιλονεικίας τῶν κρατοῦντων σβένυται καὶ φθίνει πάν τὸ τοιοῦτο.

Διοικόσιος γονὶς τὸ τύραννος, ὃς φασὶ, κιθαρῳδός τινος εὐδοκιμοῦντος ἄκουὼν ἐπηγγείλατο δωρεὰν αὐτῷ τάλαντον. τῇ δ' ὑπεραία τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἀπαιτοῦντος, "χθές," εἶπεν, "ἐυφρανὸ-334 μενος ὑπὸ σοῦ παρ' ὑδες χρόνον ἐυφρανα κἀγὼ σε ταῖς ἐλπίσιν. ὥστε τὸν μισθὸν ὁ ποτὲ ἐστέρπε ἀπελάμβανε εὐθὺς ἀντιτερπόμενος."

'Αλέξανδρος δ' ὁ Φεραίων τύραννος (ἐδεί δὲ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτὸν καλείσθαι καὶ μὴ κατασχόνειν τὴν ἐπιωνυμίαν), θεώμενος τραγῳδὸν ἐμπαθέστερον ὑφ' ἧδονῆς διετέθη πρὸς τὸν οἶκτον. ἀναπτήδησας οὐν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου θάττον ἡ βάδην ἀπῆει, δεινὸν εἶναι λέγων, εἰ τοσοῦτος ἀποσφάττων πολίτας ὀφθησαι τοῖς Ἐκάβης καὶ Πολυζένης πάθεσιν ἐπιδικρῶν. οὕτως μὲν οὖν μικρὸν καὶ δίκην ἐπράξατο Β' τὸν τραγῳδὸν, ὡς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ καθάπερ σίδηρον ἐμάλαξεν.

'Ἀρχελάω δὲ δοκοῦντι γλυσχροτέρω περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς εἶναι Τιμόθεος ἄδων ἐνεσήμανε1 πολλάκις τούτι τὸ κομματίον2

σὺ δὲ3 τὸν γηγενέταν ἁργυρὸν αἰνεῖς.

ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος σὺν ἁμοῦσως ἀντεφόνησε,

σὺ δὲ γ' αἵτεις.

1 ἐνεσήμανε[ ἐσήμανε some mss.
2 κομματίον Meziriacus, as in Moralia, 177 b: σκωμμάτιον.
3 δὲ Bernardakis, as in Moralia, 177 b: δη.

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a Cf. Moralia, 41 d-e. b £200, or $1000.

424
and parsimony or emulous rivalry on the part of monarchs all artistic production is quenched and perishes.

Thus the despot Dionysius, as the story goes, while listening to a celebrated harper, engaged to give him a talent. Next day, when the man asked for the fulfilment of the promise, Dionysius said, "Yesterday I was delighted with your performance, and during the time that you were singing I also delighted you with hopes! The result is that at that very time you were receiving full pay for the pleasure you gave by having your pleasure too!"

Alexander, the tyrant of Pherae (this last should be his only appellation; he should not be permitted to disgrace the name of Alexander), as he watched a tragic actor, felt himself much moved to pity through enjoyment of the acting. He jumped up, therefore, and left the theatre at a rapid pace, exclaiming that it would be a dreadful thing, if, when he was slaughtering so many citizens, he should be seen to weep over the sufferings of Hecuba and Polyxena. And he came near visiting punishment upon the actor because the man had softened his heart, as iron in the fire.

Archelaüs was thought to be somewhat niggardly in his favours, and Timotheüs liked to hint at this by often chanting this refrain:

> Over the earth-born silver you rave.

But Archelaüs, with some wit, chanted in reply:

> That, however, is what you crave.

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*c Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, xxix. (293 r); Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xiv. 40.

(331) Ὅ δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀτέας Ἰσμηνίαν τὸν αὐλήτην λαβὼν αἰχμάλωτον, ἐκέλευσε παρὰ τῶν αὐλήσαι. ὲν αἴμαζόντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ κροτοῦντων, αὐτὸς ὥμοσεν ἀκροάσαι τοῦ ἔποιον χρεμετίζοντος ἕδιον. οὕτω μακρὰν ἀπεσκηνώκει τὰ ὅτα τῶν Μουσῶν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς φάτναις εἰχεν, οὐχ ὑπαινὸν ἄλλ' ὅπως ἐπιτιθεοτέραν C ἀκούειν. τίς ἂν οὖν παρὰ τοιούτως βασιλεύσων αὐξησις ἡ τιμὴ τέχνης γένουτο καὶ Μοῦσις τοιαύτης; ἄλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἀντιπόθεν έθέλονσιν εἶναι, καὶ διὰ τούτο βασκανία καὶ δυσμενεία τοὺς ἀληθῶς τεχνίτας καθαιροῦσιν. οἶος ἦν πάλιν αὖ Διονύσιος ὁ τὸν ποιητὴν Φιλόξενον εἰς τὰς λατομίας ἐμβαλὼν, οὗτοι προς αὐτὸν διορθώσαν κελευσθεὶς εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὅλην μέχρι τῆς κορωνίδος περιέγραψεν.

'Ἡν δὲ καὶ Φιλίππος ἐν τούτοις ὅπ' ὀψιμαθίας ἐαυτοῦ μικρότερος καὶ νεοπρεπέστερος. οἴθεν καὶ φασὶ πρὸς τινα ψάλτην περὶ κρομμάτων αὐτοῦ D διαφερομένου καὶ δοκοῦντος ἔξελέγχεσιν, ἥρέματα μειδιάζοντα τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν εἰπέιν, "μὴ γένοιτο σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἀθλίως οὕτως, ἵνα ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ βέλτιον εἰδῆς."

2. Ἀλλ' Ἀλέξανδρος εἰνός τῶν δεὶ θεατὴν εἶναι καὶ ἀκροατὴν καὶ τῶν ἀγωνιστὴν καὶ

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1 Ἀτέας Basel ed. of 1542: Ἀντέας or -αιας.
2 μικρότερος καὶ omitted in some mss.; καινοπρεπέστερος in others.
3 ἥρεμα F.C.B.: ἄρεμα.

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α Cf. Moralia, 174 r, and the note.

426
Ateas, the Scythian king, took the flute-player Ismenias captive, and ordered him to play at a banquet. The rest were delighted, and applauded, but Ateas swore his horse's neighing was sweeter to his ear. So far from the Muses' habitation did he allow his ears to dwell, and his soul he kept in the mangers, better attuned to hear, not horses' neigh, but asses' bray! At the court of monarchs such as these what advancement or esteem could there be for Art, or for Poetry and Music of excellence? Nor, again, could artistic endeavour flourish at the court of those who wish to be rival performers in these arts, and thus through malice and ill-will suppress the true artists. Such a prince was Dionysius (to use him again as an example), who threw the poet Philoxenus into the stone-quarries; for when Dionysius ordered him to correct a tragedy of his, Philoxenus cancelled the whole piece from the very beginning to the final flourish.

Philip also was in these matters somewhat more petty and childish than became him, since he had acquired his knowledge late in life. Thus they tell the tale that Philip once argued with a certain harp-player about the technique of his instrument, and even thought he was confuting the man; but the harp-player smiled gently and said, "God forbid, your Majesty, that you should ever fall so low as to know more of these matters than I."

2. But Alexander, knowing well in what matters he should be merely a spectator and listener, and in what he should play the chief rôle, trained himself

\[^{b}\text{Ibid. 471 e; Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, v. 22 (63); Aelian, Varia Historia, xii. 44: Diodorus, xv. 6.}\]
\[^{c}\text{The coronis at the end of the roll.}\]
\[^{d}\text{Cf. Moralia, 67 f, 179 b, 634 d.}\]
(334) αὐτοργόν, ἢσκει μὲν ἄει διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν δεινὸς εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τῶν Αἰσχύλων

βριθὺς ὀπλιστόπαλας, δαίος ἀντιπάλοις.¹

ταῦτην ἔχων τέχνην προγονικήν ἀπ' Αἰακιδῶν, ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις τέχναις τὸ τιμᾶν ἀνευ τοῦ ἔλθον ἀπεδίδου κατὰ ² τὸ ἔνδοξον αὐτῶν καὶ χαρίεν, τῷ τέρπεν³ δ' οὐκ ἦν εὐάλωτος εἰς τὸ μμείσθαι. γεγονασὶ δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τραγῳδοί μὲν

Ε ὁ περὶ Θεσσαλὸν καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον, ὃν ἀνταγωνιζομένων ἄλληλοι, ἐχορῆγον μὲν οἱΚύπριοι βασιλεῖς, ἐκρυνον δ' οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνίκησεν Ἀθηνόδωρος, "ἐβουλόμην ἂν," ἐφι, "μᾶλλον ἀπολολεκέναι μέρος τῆς βασιλείας ἡ Θεσσαλὸν επιδεῖν ἥττημένον." ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐνέτυχε τοὺς κριταῖς οὔτε τὴν κρίσιν ἐμέμψατο, πάντων σιμεόνος δεῖν περιεῖναι, τοῦ δικαίου δ' ἥττασθαι.

Κυμῳδοῖ δ' ἠσαν οἱ περὶ Λύκωνα τὸν Σκαρφέα· τούτω δ' εἰς τινα κυμῳδίαν ἐμβάλοντι στίχον αἰτητικὸν γελάσας ἐδωκε δέκα τάλαντα.

Κιθαρῳδοί δ' ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀριστονικος, ὃς ἐν F μάχῃ τινὶ προσβοηθήσας ἐπεσε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισμένος. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ σταθήμαι χαλκοῦ ἀνδριάντα Πυθοί, κιθάραν ἔχοντα καὶ δόρῳ προβεβλημένον, οὐ τὸν ἀνδρὰ τιμῶν

¹ ἀντιπάλοις Stephanus: ἀντιπάλοισι.
² κατὰ Emperius: καὶ.
³ τῷ τέρπεν] τὸ τέρπεν some mss.; τέρποντι Reiske; τερπνό van Herwerden.
⁴ ἀπολολεκέναι Bernardakis and H. Richards: ἀπολολέναι.
⁵ πάντων] H. Richards would add ὀπλῶς μὲν before πάντων or τῶν ἄλλων after it.

α Cf. 317 e, supra, and the note.
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 334

always to be formidable in arms, and, in the words of Aeschylus,a

Sturdy contender in arms, baleful to all that oppose.

This art he inherited from his ancestors, the Aeacidae, and from Heraclesb; but upon the other arts he freely bestowed honour without jealousy according to their worth and artistic excellence; but he was not so easily carried away by the pleasure they give him as to try to imitate them. The tragic actors of his time were the group that centred about Thetallas and Athenodorus.c At the contest of these two, the kings of Cyprus defrayed the expenses of the performance and Alexander’s most celebrated generals served as judges. When Athenodorus won, “I would rather,” said Alexander, “have lost half my kingdom than see Thetallas defeated.” However, he did not intercede with the judges nor find fault with the judgement, since he felt that, while he must be superior to all men, yet he must submit to Justice.

The comic actors of his time were the group that centred about Lycon of Scarpheia.c When Lycon inserted in one of his comedies a begging verse, Alexander laughed and gave him ten talents.

Various harp-players also were his friends, among them Aristonicus,d who came to Alexander’s aid in a certain battle, and was slain, fighting gloriously. Therefore Alexander ordered to be made and set up at Delphi a bronze statue of him, with lyre in hand and spear advanced; thereby he not only honoured

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a Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. ii. (665 b).
b Cf. Arrian, Anabasis, iv. 16. 7.
c Cf. Arrian, Anabasis, iv. 16. 7.

e Ibid. chap. xxix. (681 b).
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μουσικὴν κοσμῶν ὡς ἀνδροποιῶν καὶ μᾶλιστα δὴ πληροῦσαν ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ 335 ὀρμῆς τοὺς γυνησίως ἐντρεφομένους. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς, Ἀντιγενίδου ποτὲ τὸν ἀρμάτειον αὐλοῦντος νόμοι, ὕπτω παρέστη καὶ διεφλέξθη τὸν θυμὸν ὑπὸ τῶν μελῶν, ὡστε τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἀξία ἐπιβαλεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ἐγγὺς παρακειμένους καὶ μαρτυρῆσαι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἄδουσιν

ρέπει3 γὰρ ἀντα τῷ σιδάρῳ4 τὸ καλὸς κιθαρίδδειν.5

5 Ἡν δὲ καὶ Ἀπελλῆς ο ζωγράφος καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ πλάστης κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον. ὃν ὁ μὲν ἐγραψε τὸν κεραυνοφόρον ὑπὸς ἐναργὼς καὶ κεκραμένως, ὡστε λέγειν ὅτι δυοῖν Ἀλέξανδρων ὁ μὲν Φιλίππου γέγο- 

νεν ἀνίκητος, ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλῶν ἀμίμητος. Λυσίππον

Β δὲ τὸν πρώτον6 Ἀλέξανδρον πλάσαντος, ἀνώ χλέ- 

ποντα τῷ προσώπῳ πρὸς τὸν οὔρανον (ὡσπερ αὐτὸς 

εἰσθεῖ βλέπειν Ἀλέξανδρος ἡς χεῖρι παρεγκλίνων 

τὸν τράχηλον) ἐπέγραψε τις οὐκ ἀπιθάνως

αὐτασφώτα δ' ἐοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσαντι, 

Γὰν υπ’ ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι. Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὃλυμπον ἐξε.

1 παρέστη] ἡρχέστηr Hartman; παρεξέστη Pohlenz.

2 ἀξία Wytenbaeh: ἀξίας.

3 ἐπέρε Scaliger: ἐπέρε.

4 τῷ σιδάρῳ Welcker: τῷ σιδάρῳ.

5 κιθαρίδδειν some mss. here and in Life of Lycurgus, xxi.: κιθαρίδδειν or -ζειν.

6 πρώτον] κριωτὸν Tucker.

α Cf. Moralia, 1133 ε (= Edmonds, Lyra Graeca, i. pp. 4-8). See also Dio Chrysostom, Oration i. 1-2, where Timotheus is the flute-player and the tune the Orthian.

430
this particular man, but also paid tribute to Music herself, in the belief that she is a creator of true men and, in particular, that she fills with inspiration and impetuosity those who are truly her foster-children. For once upon a time, when Antigenides was playing on his flute the Chariot Song, Alexander became so transported, and his spirit so inflamed by the strains, that he leapt up and laid hands upon the weapons that lay near, and thus confirmed the testimony of the Spartans who used to sing:

The noble playing of the lyre is meet to match the sword.

Apelles the painter and Lysippus the sculptor also lived in the time of Alexander. The former painted "Alexander wielding the Thunderbolt" so vividly and with so natural an expression, that men said that, of the two Alexanders, Alexander, son of Philip, was invincible, but the Alexander of Apelles was inimitable. And when Lysippus modelled his first statue of Alexander which represented him looking up with his face turned towards the heavens (as indeed Alexander often did look, with a slight inclination of his head to one side), someone engraved these verses on the statue, not without some plausibility,

Eager to speak seems the statue of bronze, up to Zeus as it gazes:

"Earth I have set under foot: Zeus, keep Olympus yourself!"

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c Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. iv. (666 b); Pliny, Natural History, xxxv. 10 (92).


e Cf. ibid. and Moralia, 53 d.

f Cf. 331 A, supra, and the note.
(335) διὸ καὶ μόνον Ἁλέξανδρος ἐκέλευε Λύσιππον εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ δημιουργεῖν. μόνος γὰρ οὗτος, ὡς ἔοικε, κατεμῆνυε τῷ χαλκῷ τὸ ἦθος αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεξέφερε τῇ μορφῇ τὴν ἀρετὴν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τὴν ἀποστροφὴν τοῦ τραχύλου καὶ τῶν ὁμμάτων τὴν διάχυσιν καὶ ύγρότητα μμείσθαι θέλοντες οὐ διεφύλαττον αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν καὶ λεοντώδες.

C 'Εν δ' οὖν τοῖς ἄλλοις τεχνίταις καὶ Στασικράτης ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων, οὐδὲν ἄνθηρον οὐδ' ἡδὶ καὶ πιθανόν τῇ δίσει διώκων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρὶ μεγαλουργῷ καὶ διαθέσει χορηγίας βασιλικῆς οὐκ ἀποδεούσῃ χρώμενος. οὗτος ἀναβὰς πρὸς Ἁλέξανδρον ἐμέμφητο τὰς γραφομένας εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ καὶ γλυφομένας καὶ πλαττομένας, ὡς ἔργα δειλῶν καὶ ἀγεννῶν τεχνιτῶν. "ἐγὼ δ'," εἶπεν, "εἰς ἄφθαρτον, ὁ βασιλεῦ, καὶ ζώσαν υἱὴν καὶ τίγας ἔχουσαν ἄδιοι καὶ βάρος ἀκίνητον καὶ ἁσάλευτον ἔγνωκά σου τὴν ὁμοιότητα καταθέσθαι τοῦ σώματος. δ' γὰρ Θράκιος Ἀθως, ἦ μέγιστος αὐτοῦ καὶ περιφανέστατος ἐξανέστηκεν ἔχων ἐαυτῷ σύμμετρα πλάτη καὶ ὑψη καὶ μέλη καὶ ἀρθρα καὶ διαστήματα μορφειδή, δύναται κατεργασθεῖς καὶ σχηματισθεῖς εἰκών Ἁλέξανδρον καλεῖσθαι καὶ εἶναι, ταῖς μὲν βάσεων ἀπτομένου τῆς θαλάττης, τῶν δὲ χειρῶν τῇ μὲν ἐναγκαλιζομένου καὶ φέροντος πόλιν ἐνοι-

1 κατεμῆνυε] ἐγκατεμῆνυε Reiske.
2 συνεξέφερε] συνεξέφαυε Abresch.
3 αὐτοῦ] αὐτός αὐτοῦ van Herwerden.
Wherefore Alexander gave orders that Lysippus only should make statues of him. For Lysippus was, it seemed, the only one that revealed in the bronze Alexander's character and in moulding his form portrayed also his virtues. The others wished to imitate the flexing of his neck and the melting and liquid softness of his eyes, but were unable to preserve his virile and leonine expression.

Among the other artists at his court was Stasicrates the master-sculptor, not seeking to make something flowery or pleasant or lifelike to look upon, but employing a magnificence in workmanship and design worthy of a king's munificence. He followed Alexander into Asia and found fault with the paintings, sculptures, and moulded likenesses that had been made of him, on the ground that they were the works of timid and ignoble artists. "But I, your Majesty," said he, "I have conceived the project of placing your likeness in living and imperishable material, with roots that are everlasting and weight immovable and unshakable. For Mount Athos in Thrace, in that part where is its highest and most conspicuous summit, has well-proportioned surfaces and heights, limbs and joints and proportions that suggest the human form. When it has been properly carved and worked into shape, it can be called Alexander's statue, and Alexander's statue it will be; with its base set in the sea, in its left hand it will encompass and hold a city peopled with ten thousand

\[\text{Cf. Pliny, } \textit{Natural History}, \text{ vii. 37 (125); Horace, } \textit{Epistles}, \text{ ii. 1. 240; Valerius Maximus, } \textit{viii. 11. 2}; \text{ Arrian, } \textit{Anabasis}, \text{ i. 16. 4.}
\]

\[\text{Cf. Life of Alexander, } \text{chap. lxxii. (705 A): the man is called Deinocrates by Vitruvius, ii. praef.; and Cheirocrates by the mss. of Strabo, xiv. 1. 23.}\]
κομμείνην μυρίανδρον, τη δε δεξιά ποταμον ἄναυον ἐκ φιάλης σπένδοιτος εἰς τὴν ἑλατταν ἐκχεόμενον, χρυσὸν δε καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ ξύλα καὶ Ε βαφάς, ἐκμαγεῖα μικρὰ καὶ ὁνήτα καὶ κλεπτόμενα καὶ συγχεόμενα, καταβάλωμεν.” ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας Ἀλέξανδρος τὸ μὲν φρόνημα τοῦ τεχνίτου καὶ τὸ θάρσος ἀγαθεῖς ἐπήνεσεν, “εὰ δε κατὰ χώραν,” ἔφη, “τὸν Ἀθω μένειν ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἐνὸς βασιλέως ἐνυβρίσαντος εἶναι μηνειῶν· ἐμὲ δ’ ὁ Καῦκασος δεῖξει καὶ τὰ Ἑμωδὰ καὶ Τάναϊς καὶ τὸ Κάσπιον πέλαγος. αὐτὰ τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων εἰκόνες.”

3. Ἀλλὰ χέρες πρὸς θεῶν ἐκτελεσθῆναι καὶ φανῆαι τοιούτον ἔργον· ἐσθ’ ὅστις ἂν ἰδὼν ὑπέλαβε κατὰ τύχην γεγονέναι καὶ αὐτομάτως τὸ σχῆμα Φ καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν καὶ τὸ εἴδος; οὐδεὶς ἂν οἴμαι. τὶ δεὶ τὸν κεραυνοφόρον; τὶ δεὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς αἴχμης προσαγορευόμενον; εἰτ’ ἀνδριάντος μὲν μέγεθος οὐκ ἂν ἀνεύ τέχνης ὑπὸ τύχης γένοιτο χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντα καὶ πολλῆν καὶ πλουσίαν ὧλην καταχειμένης καὶ παραβαλούσης, ἄνδρα δὲ μέγαν, μάλλον δὲ τῶν γεγονότων ἀπάντων μέγιστον, ἐνδεχεται χωρίς ἀρετής ἀποτελεσθῆναι διὰ τύχην, ὑπλα καὶ χρῆματα καὶ πεζὸν

336 καὶ ἐπισφένδυσασθαι; ἃ τῷ μὴ μαθόντι χρῆσθαι κύδυνός ἐστιν, οὐ δύναμις οὐδὲ κόσμος, ἀλλ’ ἐλεγχὸς τῆς ἀσθενείας καὶ μικρότητος. ὀρθῶς

1 ἐκμαγεῖα Reiske, confirmed by some mss.: καὶ ἐκμαγεῖα.
2 τί δεὶ τί δε; Stegmann.
3 πεζὸις F.C.B.; στόλους Kronenberg (cf. 344 ε, infra): πόλεις.

a The reference is to the chryselephantine statues of Pheidias and his school with their inner frame-work of timbers, and painted without.

434
inhabitants, and with its right pour from a bowl of libation an ever-flowing river down into the sea. But as for gold and bronze, ivory, wooden timbers, and dyes,\(^a\) which make those paltry images that can be bought and sold, stolen, or melted down, let us reject them all!" Alexander listened to his words and admired but declined with thanks the lofty designs and the boldness of the artist. "But," said he, "let Athos remain as it is. It is enough that it be the memorial of the arrogance of one king;\(^b\) but my imprint the Caucasus shall show and the Emodian\(^c\) range and the Tanaïs and the Caspian Sea; these will be the image of my deeds.

3. But imagine, pray, that such a work had been completed and made evident to men's eyes. Is there anyone who could look upon it and suppose that the form, the arrangement, and the appearance were created by Fortune and Accident? No one, I think. What of Apelles' "Wielder of the Thunderbolt"?\(^d\) What of the statue which takes its name from the Spear?\(^d\) Shall we admit, then, that greatness in a statue cannot, without the help of Art,\(^e\) be created by Fortune's profuse provision of gold and bronze and ivory and much rich material, but is it possible that a great man, or rather the greatest man of all that have ever lived, without the help of Virtue, was perfected through Fortune's supplying him with arms and money, foot and horse? But for him who has not learned how to use these things they are a danger, not a strength and enrichment, but a means of proving his weakness and pettiness. For Antisthenes

\(^{a}\) Arrian, Indica, 2. 3; 6. 4; Pliny, Natural History, vi. 17 (56).
\(^{b}\) Cf. 335 A, supra, Moralia, 360 D.
\(^{c}\) Cf. Moralia, 99 b-c.
\(^{d}\) Xerxes' canal; cf. 342 e, in, ra.
\(^{e}\) A range of north-western India, the Prakrit Haimota; cf. Arrian, Indica, 2. 3; 6. 4; Pliny, Natural History, vi. 17 (56).
(336) γὰρ Ἀντισθένης ἐλέγεν ὅτι "πάντα δεῖ τοὺς πολεμίους εὐχεσθαι τάγαθα πλήν ἀνδρείας· γίγνεται γὰρ οὕτως οὐ τῶν ἔχοντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν κρατοῦντων." διὰ τούτο φασὶ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ἀγεννεστάτω ᾱώω τῷ ἐλάφῳ κέρατα θαναμαστὰ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τραχύτητι πρὸς ἀμύναν ἐμφύσαι, διδάσκουσαν ἡμᾶς ὡς οὐδὲν ὕφελεῖ τὸ ἱσχύειν καὶ ὀπλίσθαι τοὺς μὲνειν καὶ θαρρεῖν μὴ δυναμένους.

Β οὕτω καὶ ἡ τύχη πολλάκις ἀτολμίους καὶ ἀνοιτοῖς προσάπτουσα δυνάμεις καὶ ἀρχάς, αἷς ἐνασχημονοῦσι, κοσμεὶ καὶ συνίστησι τὴν ἁρετὴν ὡς μόνην μέγεθος ἀνδρὸς καὶ κάλλος οὖσαν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ, ὡς φησιν Ἐπίκαρμος,

νοὺς ὅρη καὶ νοὺς ἂκούει, τάλλα
dὲ

κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά,

tυγχάνει λόγου δεόμενα.² αἱ γὰρ αὐσθήσεις ἴδιας ἔχειν ἀφορμὰς δοκοῦσιν ὅτι δὲ νοὺς ὕφελεὶ καὶ νοὺς κοσμεῖ καὶ νοὺς τὸ νικῶν καὶ κρατοῦν καὶ βασιλεύοιν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τυφλὰ καὶ κωφὰ καὶ ἄφυξα παρέλκει καὶ βαρύνει καὶ κατασκύνει χωρὶς ἁρετῆς τοὺς ἔχοντας, ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων λαβεῖν ἐστι.

C Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς δυνάμεως ὑποκειμένης καὶ ἠγε-

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1 ei] εὗ Wyttenbach (and ἐως for ὡς); ὁ H. Richards; εὔe Wilamowitz-Möllendorff.
2 δεόμενα] δεόμενον (demonstratione opus est) Reiske and some mss.

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b An oft-quoted line. Cf. G. Kaibel, Comicorum Graec. Frag. i. 137, Epicharmus, no. 249; Moralia, 98 c, with the 436
was right when he said, "We should pray that our enemies be provided with all good things, except courage; for thus these good things will belong, not to their owners, but to those that conquer them." Therefore they say that Nature also for defence has caused horns, wonderful for their size and jagged points, to grow upon the deer, the most cowardly of all animals; and therein does Nature teach us that strength and arms are of no benefit to such as have not the courage to stand their ground. Thus also Fortune, by frequently bestowing on cowards and fools military forces and dominions, in which they disgrace themselves, emblazons and commends Virtue as the one quality that constitutes the greatness and beauty of man. For if indeed, as Epicharmus says,

Mind has sight and Mind has hearing;

but

All things else are deaf and blind;

then it happens that these are really lacking in reason. For our perceptive faculties seem to respond to their own special stimuli; but the fact that it is mind which aids us and mind which emblazons our deeds, and it is mind that conquers and overpowers and plays the monarch, and that "all things else," since they are "blind and deaf" and soulless, mislead and burden and disgrace their possessors, if Virtue be not present, is a truth which may be gleaned from history.

Now of the two monarchs Semiramis and Sardanapalus, in whose hands were placed the same power

note; also Cicero, Tusculan Disp. i. 20 (46); Maximus Tyrius, xi. 10.

c Cf. Plato, Menexenus, 246 e.
μονίας, Σεμίραμις μὲν οὖν γυνὴ στόλους ἐπλήρου καὶ φάλαιγγας ὠπλίζε καὶ Βαβυλώνιας ἐκτιες, καὶ 
περιέπλει τὴν 'Ερυθρὰν θάλατταν Ἀιθίωπας κατα-
στρεφομένη καὶ Ἀράβας· Σαρδανάπαλλος δ’ αὖ ἄνγ
πεφυκὼς ἐξαινεν οἶκοι πορφύραν, ἀναβάδην ἐν ταῖς
παλλακαίς καθήμενος· ἀποθανόντος δ’ αὐτοῦ,
λιθίνην εἰκόνα κατασκεύασαντες ἐπορχουμένην,
εἰς τὴν ἑαυτὴν βαρβαριστὶ καὶ τοῖς δακτύλοις ύπὲρ κεφαλῆς
οἶον ὑποψοφοῦσαν; ἔπεγραμαν, "ἐσθιε, πίνε,
ἀφροδισιάζε· τάλλα δ’ οὐδέν."

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κράτης ἱδὼν χρυσῆν εἰκόνα Φρύνης

D τῆς ἑταίρας ἐστώσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέκραγεν ὅτι
τούτῳ τῆς τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀκρασίας τρόπαιον ἐστηκε;
τὸν δὲ Σαρδανάπαλλον βίον ἀν τις ἥ τάφον (οὐδὲν
γάρ, οἴμαι, διαφέρει) θεασάμενος εἴποι τοῦτο τῶν
τῆς Τύχης ἀγαθῶν τρόπαιον εἶναι. τ’ οὖν; ἐάσω-
μεν τὴν Τύχην Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ Σαρδανάπαλλον
ἀμασθαι καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς δυνά-
μεως ἀντιποιεῖσθαι; τι γάρ αὐτῷ πλέον ἔδωκεν
δὲν οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς ἔλαβον παρ’ αὐτῆς; ὀπλῶν,
ἵππων, βελῶν, χρημάτων, δορυφόρων; ποιησάτω
τούτως ἡ Τύχη μέγαν Ἀρίδαῖον, εἰ δύναται
ποιησάτω τούτως μέγαν; Ὡχον ἡ Ὀάρσην

Ε ἡ Τιγράνην τὸν Ἀρμενίον ἡ τὸν Βιθυνίον Νικο-

1 ἐπορχουμένην ἐποχουμένην Κοραες.
2 ἀποψοφοῦσαν Ρέιςκε.
3 μέγαν Wyttenbach: μέγαν "Ἀμαζών ἦ.

a Cf. Diodorus, ii. 4-20; Justin, i. 2.
b Cf. 326 f, supra; Diodorus, ii. 21. 8 ff; Athenaeus, 438
and dominion, Semiramis, though a woman, equipped great expeditions, armed her ranks, established the Babylonian Empire, and sailed about the Persian Gulf subduing the Ethiopians and Arabs. But Sardanapalus, though born a man, spent his days at home carding purple wool, sitting with his knees drawn up in front of him among his concubines; and when he died, they made a stone statue of him dancing in a barbaric fashion and apparently snapping its fingers above its head. They engraved upon it: "Eat, drink, and sport with love; all else is naught." When Crates saw a golden statue of Phryné the courtesan standing at Delphi, he cried out that it stood there as a monument to Greek licentiousness; and thus if one examine either the life or the tomb of Sardanapalus (for I think there is no difference between them), one would say that they are a monument to the bounty of Fortune. But if this be so, shall we allow Fortune to lay hold upon Alexander after Sardanapalus, and to lay claim to Alexander's greatness and power? For what greater gift did she bestow on him than those which other monarchs received at her hands: arms, horses, missiles, money, guardsmen? Let Fortune endeavour to make an Aridaeus great by these, if she can, or an Ochus or Oares or Tigranes the Armenian, or the Bithynian Nicomedes. Of these

528 f; W. K. Prentice, in Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc. liv. (1923) p. 79: but the theory rightly set forth there, that this description comes from Ctesias's Persica, is as old as Hemsterhuys; see Wytenbach's note on this passage.

c See the note on 330 f, supra.

d Cf. Moralía, 401 A; Athenaeus, 591 b; Stobaeus, Florilegium, vi. 39 (vol. iii. p. 296 Hense).

e Cf. 337 d, infra.

f Cf. 337 e, infra.
μήδην· οὖν ὁ μὲν τὸ διάδημα τοῖς Πομπηίους ποσὶν ὑπορρύφας αὐσχρῶς τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπέλαβε, λαφυρὸν γενομένην. Νικομήδης δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐυράμενος καὶ πιλόν ἐπιθέμενος ἀπελεύθερον ἐαυτὸν Ὦμαίαων ἀνηγόρευσεν.

4. Εἴπωμεν οὖν ὅτι μικροὺς ἡ Τύχη καὶ περι- δεέσι ποιεῖ καὶ ταπεινόφρονας; ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον οὔτε κακίαν εἰς ἀτυχίαν οὔτ' ἀνδρείαν καὶ φρόνησιν εἰς εὐτυχίαν τινὰ τίθεσθαι. μέγα δὲ τῷ ἀρχείῳ Ἀλέξανδρον ἡ Τύχη4· καὶ γὰρ ἔνδοξος ἐν ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἀγάπητος καὶ μεγαλόφρον καὶ ἀνυβριστός καὶ Φ φιλάνθρωπος εἰτ' ἐκλείποντος εὐθὺς ὁ Δεσποτής ἔλεγε τὴν δύναμιν ἐμπλανωμένην ἐαυτῇ καὶ περιπτωσιν ἐνόικεν τῷ Κύκλωπι μετὰ τὴν τύφλωσιν ἐκτείνοντι πανταχοῦ5 τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' οὐδένα σκοποὺν φερομένας· οὔτως ἔρρέμητο κενεμβατοῦ καὶ σφαλλόμενον ὑπ' ἀναρχίας τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς. μάλ- λον δ' ὡσπερ τὰ νεκρὰ σώματα, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλι- πόσως, οὐκέτι συνέστηκεν οὐδὲ συμπέφυκεν, ἀλλ' εξίσταται καὶ διαλύεται ἀπ' ἀλλήλως καὶ ἀπεις καὶ φεύγει· οὔτως ἀφείασ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἡ δύνα- 337 μισ ἡσπαίρεν, ἐπάλληλο, ἐφλέγμαυνε Περδίκκαις καὶ Μελεάγροις καὶ Σελεύκοις καὶ Ἀντιγόνοις, ὡσπερ πνεύμασι θερμοῖς ἐτὶ καὶ σφυγμοῖς διάτ- τουσι καὶ διαφερομένους· τέλος δ' ἀπομαρασμοίνη

1 ἀπέλαβε (Gronovius) better accords with history: ἀπέβαλε.
2 μέγα] megalē (?) Meziriacus.
3 τῷ] τῷ most mss. 4 ἡ Τύχη] τῇ Τύχη Dübner.
5 πανταχοῦ Abresch: πανταχοῖ.
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 336–337

Tigranes cast down his crown before the feet of Pompey and ignominiously received back his kingdom, which had become the spoil of war. But Nicomedes shaved his head and put on the freedman’s cap and proclaimed himself an emancipated slave of the Roman people.

4. Shall we say, then, that Fortune makes men petty, timid, and abject in spirit? Yet it is not right for anyone to charge baseness to misfortune, or courage and intelligence to good fortune; but Fortune was magnified by Alexander’s reign, for in him she was illustrious, invincible, magnanimous, inoffensive, and humane. Then, immediately after Alexander’s decease, Leosthenes said that his forces, as they wandered here and there and fell foul of their own efforts, were like the Cyclops after his blinding, groping about everywhere with his hands, which were directed at no certain goal; even thus did that vast throng roam about with no safe footing, blundering through want of a leader. Or rather, in the manner of dead bodies, after the soul departs, when they are no longer held together by natural forces, but undergo dispersion and dissolution, and finally are dissipated and disappear altogether; even so Alexander’s forces, having lost him, maintained a gasping, agitated, and fevered existence through men like Perdiccas, Meleager, Seleucus, and Antigonus, who, as it were, provided still a warm breath of life and blood that still pulsed and circulated. But at length the host wasted away and perished, generating

b Plutarch has confused Nicomedes with his father Prusias; cf. Polybius, xxx. 19; Livy, xlv. 44; Diodorus, xxxi. 15; Appian, Mithridatica, 2.

c The saying is elsewhere attributed to Demades: cf. Moralia, 181 r, and the note.
(337) καὶ φθίνουσα περὶ αὐτῆν οἶνον εὐλαίς τινὰς ἀνέξεσεν ἄγεννῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἡγεμόνων ψυχορραγοῦντων. αὐτὸς μὲν ὅτι ταῦθ', ὡς ἔοικεν, 'Ἡφαίστωνι διενεχθέντι πρὸς Κρατερὸν ἐπιτιμῶν, "τίς δ'," εἶπεν, "ἡ σῇ δύναμὶς ἡ πράξεις, ἂν σοῦ τις ἅβελη τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον;' ἔγω δὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεὶ πρὸς τὴν τότε Τύχην οὐκ ὁκνήσο, "τί σου τὸ μέγεθος, τίς δ' ἡ δόξα, ποῦ δ' ἡ δύναμις, ποῦ δὲ τὸ ἀνίκητον, ἂν Β σοῦ τις ἅβελη τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον;' τούτεστιν 'ἀν σοῦ τις ἅβελη τῶν ὁπλών τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, τοῦ πλούτου τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, τῆς πολυτελείας τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ὃν ἁγιωτίζῃ τὸ θάρσος, ἐν οἷς κρατεῖς τὴν πραότητα; ποίησον ἄλλον εἴ δύνασαι μέγαν, τοῖς χρήμασι μὴ χαριζόμενον, τοῖς στρατευμασί μὴ προκινδυνεύοντα, τοὺς φίλους μὴ τιμῶντα, τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους μὴ ἔλεοντα, ταῖς ἰδοναῖς μὴ σωφρονοῦντα, τοῖς καιροῖς μὴ ἀγρυπνοῦντα, ταῖς νίκαις μὴ ευδιάλλακτον, τοῖς κατορθώμασι μὴ φιλάνθρωπον. τίς μέγας εἴν εξουσίας μετ' ἄβελτερίας καὶ C μοχθηρίας; ἅβελη τὴν ἄρετήν τοῦ εὔτυχοῦντος, καὶ πανταχοῦ μικρός ἔστιν, ἐν χάρισι διὰ σμικρολογίαν, ἐν πόνοις διὰ μαλακίαν, παρὰ θεοῖς διὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν, πρὸς ἁγαθοὺς διὰ φθονὸν, ἐν ἀνδράσι διὰ φόβον, ἐν γυναικί διὰ φιληδονίαν.' ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ φαίλοι τεχνίται βάσεις· μεγάλας μικροῖς ύφιστάντες ἀναθήμασιν ἐλέγχουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς μικρότητας, οὕτως ἡ Τύχη, ὅταν μικρὸν ἡθος ἐξάρῃ πράγμασιν ἔχουσιν ὁγκοῦν τινὰ καὶ περι—

1 ταῖς νίκαις| τοῖς νείκεσι (?): Kaltwasser.
2 βάσεις Wyttenbach: καὶ βάσεις.
about itself maggots, as it were, of ignoble kings and rulers in their last death-struggle. This, then, it is likely that Alexander himself meant when he rebuked Hephaestion for quarrelling with Craterus: “What,” said he, “will be your power and your achievements if someone deprive you of Alexander?” But I, for my part, shall not hesitate to say this very thing to the Fortune that presided over Alexander’s career: “What is your greatness or your repute? Where is your power or your invincibility, if someone deprive you of Alexander?” That is to say, “If someone deprive you of your skill in arms, your munificent use of riches, your self-restraint in expending them, your boldness against your foes in battle, your mildness toward the vanquished? Make another great, if you can; but one that shall not be generous with his substance, nor court danger in the front ranks, nor give honour to his friends, nor feel pity for his captives, nor be temperate in his pleasures, nor sleepless in crises, nor placable in his victories, nor humane amid his successes. What man is great in the exercise of power, if folly and wickedness attend him? Take away virtue from the fortunate man and in everything he is petty; in acts of generosity, through parsimony; in hard tasks, through softness; in religion, through superstition; towards the good, through envy; among men, through cowardice; among women, through wantonness.” Just as inexpert artisans, who construct large pedestals for petty offerings, make the smallness of the offerings noticeable, so Fortune, whenever she elevates a petty character by acts that have a certain pomp

*a Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xlvii. (691 f–692 a).*
(337) φάνειαν, ἐπιδείκνυσι μᾶλλον καὶ κατασχύνει σφαλ- λόμενον καὶ σαλευόμενον ύπὸ κουφότητος.

5. "Ὅθεν οὐκ ἔν τῇ κτήσει τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀλλ’ ἤν

D τῇ χρήσει τὸ μέγ’ ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ καὶ νήπια βρέφη
κληρονομεῖ βασιλείας πατρῶν καὶ ἀρχῶν, ὥς
Χάριλλος, ὁν Λυκοῦργος ἀμα τῷ σπαργάνῳ κομίσας
eἰς τὸ φιδίτιον1 ἀνθ’ ἐαυτοῦ βασιλεὰ τῆς Σπάρτης
ἀνηγόρευσε· καὶ οὐκ ἔν μέγας ὁ νήπιος, ἀλλ’ ὁ τῷ
νήπιῳ τὸ πατρῶν ἀποδοὺς γέρας καὶ μὴ σφετερι-
sάμενος μηδ’ ἀποστερήσας.

Ἀριστοκράτωρ δὲ τῖς ἀν ἐποίησε μέγαν; ὅν οὐδὲν
νήπιον διαφέροντα μόνον δὲ σπαργανωθέντα2
πορφύρα Μελέαγρος εἰς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον θρόνον
ἔθηκεν, εὗ γε ποιῶν, ἵν’ ὁδηγῇ παρ’ ἡμέρας ὄλγας
πῶς ἀρετὴ βασιλεύουσιν ἀνθρωποί καὶ πῶς τύχῃ.
ἀγωνιστῇ γὰρ ἡμεροῖς ὑποκρίτην ἐπείσηγαγε,
Ε μᾶλλον δ’ ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τὸ διάδημα κωφὸν διε-
exηλθε τῆς οἰκουμένης.

καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπεὶ κεν ἀνὴρ ἀναθείη.3

tούναντιον μέν οὖν εἰποί τις ἀν ὅτι ἀναλαβεῖ4 καὶ
ἀναθέσθαι δύνασαι καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ
γυναικὸς ἐστι καὶ παιδός. Ὁ Ὀάρση καὶ Δαρείω
Βαγώνας ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἀράμενος ἐπέθηκε τὴν Περσῶν
βασιλείαν· τὸ δ’ λαβόντα μεγάλην ἐξουσίαν ἐν-

1 φιδίτιον Stephanus: φιλίτιον.
2 σπαργανωθέντα Φ.Κ.Β.: σπαργανώσα τῇ (perhaps changed
drom acc. to agree with Μελέαγρος).
3 ἀναθείη] ἀναθήη Hatzidakis; probably the original read-
ing in Aristophanes, but it is doubtful if Plutarch knew
it. Cf. φης, 104 ε.
4 ἀναλαβεῖν E. Capps: λαβεῖν.

a Cf. Life of Lycurgus, chap. iii. (41 α).
b Cf. Moralia, 791 ε.
and circumstance, makes the more conspicuous and disgraceful the blundering and instability that result from a shallow character.

5. Wherefore greatness lies, not in the possession of good things, but in our use of them, since even infant children inherit their fathers' kingdoms and dominions, even as Charillus, whom Lycurgus carried in his swaddling-clothes into the common dining-hall and proclaimed king of Sparta in place of himself. Assuredly it was not the child who was great, but he who surrendered to the child its paternal rights, and did not keep them for himself nor take them away.

But who could have made A•idaeus great, whom, differing no whit from a child, only that his swaddling-clothes were royal purple, Meleager set on the throne of Alexander? And indeed it was well that he did so, that for a few days it might be observed how it is that men rule by right of virtue and how by gift of Fortune. For in succession to a real competitor for sovereignty Meleager introduced a mere actor, or rather, did a mute figure wearing a crown parade across the stage, as it were, of the inhabited world.

Even a woman can carry a burden if a man impose it upon her.

Conversely, however, one might affirm that it lies within the strength of even a woman or a child to take up and impose the gifts of power and wealth and sovereignty. The eunuch Bagoas took up the kingship of Persia and bestowed it upon Oarses and Darius. But the ability to sustain and administer

\[ e \] Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1056: see Rogers's note *ad loc*.
\[ e \] Cf. 326 f, *supra*.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

eγκείν καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ μὴ συντριβῇνα
μηδὲ διασταφῆναι τῷ βάρει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν πραγ-
μάτων, ἀνδρὸς ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς καὶ νοῦν καὶ φρόνημι.
Γ' ἠχοντος· ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχεν, ὃ μὲθυν τινὲς ἐγκαλοῦσι καὶ οὕνωσιν. ὦ δ' ἦν μέγας, ἐν τοῖς πράγμαι πήφων καὶ μὴ μεθυσθεὶς μηδὲ βακχευ-
θεῖς ὑπ' ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως, ἂς μικρὸν ἔτεροι μεταλαβόντες καὶ ἀπογευσάμενοι κρατεῖν έαυτῶν οὐ δύνανται.

κακοὶ γὰρ ἐμπλησθέντες ἡ νομίσματος,
ἡ πόλεος ἐμπεσότες εἰς τιμάς τινας;¹
σκιρτάσσων, ἀδόκητ' εὐτυχησάντων δομῶν.

338 Κλείτος ἐν Ἀμοργῷ τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας Ἐλληνικάς ἀνατρέψας τριήρεις Ποσειδῶν ἀνηγορεύθη καὶ τρίαναν ἐφόρει. Δημήτριος δὲ, ὃ τῆς Ἀλέξανδρον δυνάμεως ἡ Τύχη σμικρὸν ἀποστάσασα προσέθηκε, Καταιβάτης καλούμενος ὑπήκουε,² καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπεμπὸν ἀλλὰ θεωροῦσι αἱ πόλεις, καὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις χρησιμοὶς προσηγόρευον. Λυσι-
μαχος τὰ περὶ Θράκην ὡσπερ ἐσχατιάς τινας τῆς βασιλείας κατασχῶν εἰς τούτον ὑπεροβὰς ἐφθασε καὶ θρασύττητος, ὡστε εἰπεῖν, "νῦν Βυζάντιοι πρὸς ἐμὲ ἤκουσιν, ὅτε τῇ λόγχῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Β ἀπτομαί." παρὼν δὲ Πασιάδης ὁ Βυζάντιος,
"ὑπάγωμεν," ἐφὴ "μὴ τῇ ἐπιδορατίδι τῶν οὐρανοῦ τρυπήσῃ." ²

¹ τιμάς τινας] ἀρχὴν τινα Stobaeus.
² ὑπήκουε] ἐπήκουε some mss.

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² 446
great authority when one has once received it, and not to be crushed or turned from one's purpose by the weight and the magnitude of one's activities, is the mark of a man who possesses virtue, sense, and intelligence. This virtue Alexander possessed, whom some accuse of drunkenness and a passion for wine! But he was truly a great man, for in his conduct of affairs he was sober, nor was he made drunk nor led to revelling by authority and power; but others, when they get but a small portion, or even a taste, of power are unable to control themselves:

Bad men, when gorged with wealth, or chancing on Some honours in the State, caper and prance When luck, unhoped for, to their house has come.\(^a\)

Cleitus,\(^b\) when he had scuttled three or four Greek triremes at Amorgos, caused himself to be proclaimed Poseidon and carried a trident. Demetrius, to whom Fortune added the little that she was able to subtract from Alexander’s power, allowed himself to be called “The Heaven-descended,”\(^c\) and the subject states did not send ambassadors to him, but “Sacred Deputies,” and his replies they spoke of as “Oracles.” Lysimachus, who obtained possession of the regions adjoining Thrace, the mere outskirts of the kingdom of Alexander, as it were, reached such a pitch of arrogance and boldness as to say, “The Byzantines now come to me when I am touching Heaven with my spear.” But Pasiades of Byzantium, who was present, said, “Let us be off, lest he make a hole in the sky with his spear-point!”

\(^a\) Cf. Diodorus, xviii. 15. 9, 72.

\(^b\) Cf. Diodorus, xviii. 15. 9, 72.

\(^c\) “Avatar,” he that descends from Heaven (in thunder and lightning), a common title of Zeus; cf. Life of Demetrius, chaps. x., xi. (893 d, e).
(338) Καίτοι οἱ αυτοὶ τοῖς περὶ πολιτῶν λέγοι τις, οἷς ἐξῆν δι', Ἄλεξανδρὸν μέγα φρονεῖν, ὅποι καὶ Κλέαρχος Ἡρακλείας τύραννος γενόμενος σκηπτόν² ἐφόρει, καὶ τῶν νυῶν ἐνα Κεραυνόν ὄνομασε; Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ νεώτερος Ἀπόλλωνος νύων ἐαυτὸν ὄνομασεν, ἐπιγράψας

Δωρίδος ἐκ μητρὸς Φοῖβου κοινώμασι βλαστῶν.

οὶ δὲ πατήρ αυτοῦ τῶν μὲν πολιτῶν μνημοὺς ἡ καὶ πλείους ἀνελών, προδοῦς δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑπὸ φθόνον τοῖς πολεμίοις, οὐκ ἀναμείνας δὲ τὴν μη-
C τέρα γραφὲν οὐδαν οἰλίγας ἡμέρας ἀποδαμένων ὑστερον ἀλλ' ἀποπνίζας, ἐν δὲ τραγῳδία γράφας αὐτὸς

ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς ἀδικίāς μῆτηρ ἐφι' ὁμως τῶν θυγατέρων τὴν μὲν Ἄρετὴν τὴν δὲ Σωφροσύνην ὄνομασε τὴν δὲ Δικαιοσύνην. οἱ δ' Εὐεργετάς οἰ δὲ Καλλινίκους οἱ δὲ Σωτῆρας οἱ δὲ Μεγαλόων ἀνηγόρευσαν ἐαυτοῦς. γάμους δ' αὐτῶν ἐπαλλήλους ὑστερὰ ἕπον εν ἀγέλαις γυναικῶν ἀνέδην διημερεύοντων, καὶ φθορὰς παῖδων καὶ τυμπανισμοὺς ἐν ἀνδρογύνοις καὶ κυβείας μεθη-
meriνας καὶ αὐλίζεις ἐν θεατροῖς, καὶ νύκτα μὲν εν δεῖπνοις ἡμέραν δ' ἐν ἀρίστοις ἐπιλείπουσαν, οὕτεις ἐν ἐφίκυτο τῷ λόγῳ διελθεῖν.

1 Καίτοι Reiske: καὶ.
2 σκηπτόν Meziriæus: σκήπτρον.

b i.e. a scepter, instead of sceptron, “sceptre.”

448
And yet why should anyone mention these men who might have some legitimate ground for pride because of Alexander, when even Clearchus, after he became despot of Heracleia, used to carry a thunderbolt, and named one of his sons Thunderer? And Dionysius the younger styled himself the son of Apollo in the inscription:

Sprung from a Dorian mother by union with Phoebus Apollo. And Dionysius’s father killed ten thousand or more citizens, and, led on by envy, betrayed his brother to the enemy, nor could he wait for his already aged mother to die a few days later, but strangled her; yet in one of his tragedies he wrote these words:

The mother of foul wrong is tyranny!

Notwithstanding, of his daughters he named one Virtue, another Temperance, a third Justice. And yet other persons publicly styled themselves Benefactors, Conquerors, Saviours, or The Great; but no one would be able to tell the tale of their marriages one after another, like the matings of horses, as they spent their days with no restraint amid herds of women, their corruption of boys, their beating of drums in the company of emasculated men, their daily diceing, their flute-playing in the public theatres, the night that was too short for them at their dinners, and the day at their breakfasts.

6. But Alexander took his breakfast at daybreak

\( ^{a} \) Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, xiii. 45.


\( ^{f} \) Cf. Life of Dion, chap. vi. (960 c).

\( ^{g} \) Probably Ptolemy Euergetes II. Physcon (cf. Athenaeus xii. 549 d), rather than Philopator (cf. Moralita, 56 e, Polybius v. 34), is alluded to.
(338) έζόμενος, ἑδείπνει δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν βαθεῖας, ἐπινε δὲ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς, εκύβευε δὲ πρὸς Μήδιον πυρέττων, ἐπαιζε δ’ ὀδουπορῶν ἄμα καὶ μανθάνων τοξεύεων καὶ ἑπιβαίνειν1 ἀρματος. ἔγγυς δὲ Ἠρω-ξάνην ἐαυτῷ, μόνηςα ἑρασθεῖς. τὴν δὲ Δαρείου Στάτεραν τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι (συνέφερε γὰρ ἡ τῶν γενῶν ἀνάμειξις). τῶν δ’ ἄλλων Περ-σίδων ἐκράτησε τοσοῦτον σωφροσύνη, ὅσον ἄνδρεα Περσῶν ἄκουσαν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν εἶδεν, ὡς δ’ εἰδὲ μᾶλλον ἦν ὡς οὐκ εἰδε παρῆλθε. καὶ πάσιν ὅν τοῖς ἄλλοις φιλανθρωπος, μόνοις ὑπερηφάνως τοῖς Ε ἱκαλοὶς ἑχῆτο. περὶ δὲ τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς, ἐυπρεπεστάτης γενομενής, ούδὲ φωνὴν ἐπανοῦσαν τὸ κάλλος ἡκουσεν· ἀποθανοῦσαν δ’ οὔτω βασιλι-κῶς ἐκόσμησε καὶ συμπαθῶς ἐδάκρυσεν, ὡςτ’ ἀπιστὸν αὐτοῦ τὸ σώφρον ἐν3 τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ γενέσθαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἁδικίας ἐγκλήμα τὴν χρήστο-τητα. Δαρείος γὰρ ὑπόττως4 ἐκινήθη πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν· εἰς γὰρ ἧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτε τῶν νομιζόντων διὰ Τύχην κρατεῖν Ἀλέ-ξανδρόν· ἔπει δὲ τάληθες ἐγνω βασανίσας παντα-χόθεν, “οὐ πάντως,5” εἶπεν, “ἀρα φαύλως ἔξει τὸ Περσῶν, οὐδὲ τίς ἐρεῖ παντάπασι κακοὺς ἡμᾶς

2 μόνης] most mss. have μόνην. 3 Hartman would omit ἐν.
4 ὑπόττως Reiske (from Life of Alexander, chap. xxx.): οὔτως.
5 πάντως Xylander: πάντα.

a Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xxiii. (677 d).
b Ibid. chap. lxxvi. (706 d). c Cf. 332 e, supra.
c Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. lxx. (703 e); Diodorus, xvii. 107; Justin, xii. 10.
e Cf. Moralia, 97 d, 522 Α; Life of Alexander, chap. xxi. (676 e). 450
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 338

seated; he dined late in the evening; he drank only after sacrificing to the gods; he played dice with Medius when he had a fever; he played games while travelling, at the same time also learning to wield a bow and mount a chariot. For himself he married Roxané, the only woman he ever loved; but Stateira, the daughter of Darius, he married for imperial and political reasons, since the union of the two races was highly advantageous. But as for the other Persian women, he was as much their superior in self-control as in valour he was superior to Persian men. For he looked at no woman against her will and those that he looked at he passed by more readily than those that he did not look at; and although he bore himself humanely toward all other persons, it was toward fair youth alone that he conducted himself haughtily. He would not listen to a single word in praise of the beauty of the wife of Darius, who was a very handsome woman; but when she died, he graced her funeral with such a royal pomp and bewailed her death so feelingly that his self-control was questioned amid his display of humanity, and his goodness incurred the charge of wrongdoing. For Darius was disturbed by suspicion of Alexander's power and youth; for he also was still one of those who believed Alexander's victory to be through Fortune. But when he had tested the matter from every angle, and recognized the truth, "Then," said he, "the lot of the Persians is not so utterly wretched, nor will anyone say that we are altogether cowardly or unmanly in

*Ibid. chap. xxii. (677 A); Arrian, Anabasis, iv. 20; Athanæus, xiii. 603 c; Quintus Curtius, Hist. Alexandri, iv. 10.

*Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xxx. (682 c-d).
F οὖδ’ ἀνάνδρους ὑπὸ τοιοῦτον κρατηθέντας. ἡγὼ δ’ εὐτυχιάν μὲν εὐχομαι καὶ κράτος πολέμου παρὰ θεῶν, ἵν’ εὖ ποιῶν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπερβάλωμαι· καὶ μὲ τις ἐχει φιλοστίμα καὶ ζῆλος ἥμερωτερον αὐτοῦ φανήναι· εἰ δ’ οἴχεται τὰ ἐμα, Ζεῦ πατρὶς Περσῶν καὶ βασιλείωι θεοί, μηδείς εἰς τὸν Κύρου θρόνον ἄλλος ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος καθίσει. τούτ’ εἰσποίησις ἢν Ἀλέξανδρος διὰ θεῶν μαρτύρων.

339 Ὅτιον ἐκώνιν ἀρετῆ. πρὸςγραψόμουν, εἰ βούλει, τῇ Τύχῃ τα “Ἀρβηλα καὶ τὴν Κυκλικίαν, καὶ τάλλα, ἄ γέγονε βίαις ἔργα καὶ πολέμου. Τύχῃ τὴν Τύρον ἐσεισεν αὐτῷ, καὶ Τύχῃ τὴν Ἁλγυπτον ἀνέωξε· διὰ Τύχην Ἀλκαρνανόδος ἔπεσε καὶ Μίλητος ἐάλω καὶ Μαζαιος Εὐφράτην ἔρημον ἀπελίπτε καὶ νεκρῶν τὸ Βασυλώνιον ἐπλήσθη πεδίον. ἄλλον οὔτε γε σώφρων ἀπὸ Τύχης οὔτ’ ἐγκρατῆς διὰ Τύχην, οὔτ’ ἀνάλωτον υφ’ ἱδονῆς ἢ Τύχῃ καὶ ἄτρωτον ἐπιθυμίας κατα- κλείσασα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐφρούρει. καὶ μὴν ταῦτ’ ἢν, οἷς αὐτοῦ ἐτρέψατο Δαρείου· τάλλα δ’ ὀπλῶν ἦσαν Β ήται καὶ ἵππων καὶ μάχαι καὶ φόνοι καὶ φυγαὶ ἀνδρῶν. τῇ δὲ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀναντίρρητον ἦτται ἡττήθη Δαρείος καὶ ἑκκλίνειν ἀρετῆ καὶ μεγαλο- φροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη, θαυμάσας τὸ ἐν ἱδονῆ καὶ πόνοις καὶ χάρισιν ἀνίκητον. ἐπεὶ ἐν γε πέλταις καὶ σαρίσταις καὶ ἀλαλαγμοίς καὶ

1 οὔτι] οὔτι Ρeiske; οὔτε Bernardakis.
2 ἐν γε] γ’ ἐν Benseler.

a Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xxv. (679 a); Arrian, Anabasis, ii. 23.
b Cf. 326 r, supra.
c Cf. Arrian, Anabasis, iii. 7. 2.
that we have been overcome by such a man. But for my part I pray the gods for fair fortune and for might in war, that I may surpass Alexander in bestowing favours; and I am possessed by an ambitious and emulous desire to prove myself more humane than Alexander. But if my power be spent, do thou, O Zeus, ancestral god of the Persians, and ye other gods that guard our kingship, grant that none other than Alexander take his seat upon the throne of Cyrus." This was Darius's way of adopting Alexander, invoking the gods as witnesses.

7. Thus do men prevail through Virtue. Ascribe to Fortune, if you will, Arbela and the Cilician victory and his other deeds of violence and war: Fortune battered down the walls of Tyre for him; Fortune opened the way to Egypt; through Fortune Halicarnassus fell, and Miletus was captured, and Mazaeus left the Euphrates unguarded, and the Babylonian plain was strewn with corpses. But at least it was not in any way Fortune's gift that he was temperate, nor was it because of Fortune that he was self-controlled, nor did Fortune lock his soul and keep it impregnable to pleasure and invulnerable to desire; in fact, these were the qualities by which he defeated Darius himself. The rest were but defeats of arms and horses, battles, slaughters, and routs of men. But the truly great and indisputable defeat Darius suffered: he yielded in virtue and greatness of soul, in prowess and justice, and marvelled at Alexander's invincibility in pleasure, in toil, in the bestowal of favours. It is true that Tarrias, son of

\*\* Tarrias is elsewhere unknown: the stories here related of him are told of Antigenes in Life of Alexander, chap. lxx. (703 e-r).
συνέχεσαν ὁπλών ἀνίκητος ἦν καὶ Ταρρίας ὁ Δεινομένος καὶ Ἄντιγένης ὁ Πελληναῖος καὶ Φιλότας ὁ Παρμενίωνος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἰδιώματί καὶ γύναια καὶ χρυσόν καὶ ἀργύριον οὐδέν τι βελτίως τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἀλλὰ Ταρρίας μὲν ὅτε τῶν χρεών ἥλευσέρον Μακεδόνας Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διελύστο C τοῖς δανείσασιν ὑπὲρ πάντων, ψευσάμενος ὀφείλειν καὶ δανειστὶν τινα φάσκοντα εἶναι τῇ τραπέζῃ προσαγαγών. εἶτα φωραθεῖς ὅλιγον διέφθειρεν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, εἰ μὴ γνωσ Ἀλέξανδρος ἁφήκε τῆς αἰτίας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνεχώρησεν ἑχειν τάργυριον, ἀναμνησθεὶς ὅτι Φιλίππου προσμαχομένου Περίνθῳ βέλει πληγείς εἶς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν, οὐ παρέσχεν οὐδὲ ὑπέμεινεν ἐξαρεθήναι τὸ βέλος αὐτοῦ πρὶν ἡ τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους.

' Ἀντιγένης δὲ τοῖς ἀποπεμφθεῖσιν εἰς Μακεδονίαν διὰ νόσου καὶ πήρωσιν ἀναμείξας ἑαυτόν καὶ ἀπογραφάμενος, ὡς ἐλήφθη μηδὲν κακόν ἑχων, ἀλλὰ προσποιουμένος ἀρρωστιαν τινά, ἀνήρ πολεμικὸς D καὶ τραυμάτων τὸ σῶμα μεστὸς ὀφθείς ἠνίασε τόν Ἀλέξανδρον πυνθανομένου δὲ τήν αἰτίαν, ὁμολόγησε Τελεσίππας ἐραν καὶ συνακολουθεῖν ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπιούσης μὴ δυνάμενος ἀπολευθήσει. "καὶ τίνος," ἐφη, "τὸ γύναιον ἐστιν," ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, "καὶ πρὸς τίνα δεὶ διαλέγεσθαι;" τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγένους εἰπόντος ὡς ἥλευθέρα ἐστίν, "οὐκ-

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1 Ταρρίας  Ἀταρρίας Nachstädte, cf. Quintus Curtius, v. 2. 5.
2 εἰς τὸν Ἀβρέσχ.
3 ἀπιούσης F.C.B. (cf. the other versions of the story): ἀπιούση.
454
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 339

Deinomenes, and Antigenes of Pallene, and Philotas, the son of Parmenion, were also invincible at least amid shields, pikes, battle-cries, and the clash of arms; but towards pleasures and women and gold and silver they were no better than their captives. In fact, when Alexander was freeing the Macedonians from debt\(^a\) and paying creditors for everybody, Tarrias said falsely that he was a debtor, and produced at the bank a person who asserted that he was Tarrias’s creditor; later, when he was detected, he was ready to commit suicide had not Alexander, coming to know of this, excused him, and allowed him to keep the money; for the king remembered that when Philip was assaulting Perinthus, Tarrias, although his eye was pierced by a missile, would not submit nor suffer the shaft to be extracted until they had routed the enemy.

Antigenes\(^b\) joined himself with those who were being sent back to Macedonia because of sickness or wounds,\(^c\) and had himself enrolled among them; but when, however, it was discovered that he had nothing wrong with him, but was feigning some infirmity, and it was seen that he was a stout fighting man whose body was covered with wounds, the matter vexed Alexander. When he asked the reason for such conduct, Antigenes confessed that he was in love with Telesippe, and was accompanying her to the sea, since he could not be left behind if she went away. “Whose is she? ” asked Alexander, “and to whom must we speak?” Antigenes replied that she was

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\(^{a}\) Cf. 343 D, infra; Arrian, Anabasis, vii. 5, 1-3.

\(^{b}\) Repeated in Moralia, 181 A; but told of Eurylochus in Life of Alexander, chap. xli. (689 b).

\(^{c}\) Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. lxxi. (704 b).
(339) οὖν," εἶπε, "πείθωμεν αὐτὴν καταμένειν, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ διδόντες." οὕτω παντὶ μάλλον ἔρωτι συγγνώμην εἰχεν ἡ αὐτή.

Καὶ μὴν καὶ Φιλώτας ὁ Παρμενίωνος τροφὸν Ε των κακῶν εἶχε τὴν ἄκρασιαν. 'Αντιγόνα γὰρ ἦν Πελλαιών γυναῖκι ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δαμασκὸν αἰχμαλώτους, ἤλώκει δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ Ἀντοφράδατον πρότερον εἰς Σαμοθράκην διαπλεύσασα, τὴν δ᾽ ὄψιν ἦν ἰκανή, καὶ τῶν Φιλώταν ἀφάμενον αὐτῆς εἶχε μάλα. καὶ δὴ "ὁ σιδάρεος ἐκείνος" πεπαινόμενος οὐκ ἐκράτει τῶν λογισμῶν ἐν ταῖς ἥδοναις, ἀλλὰ ἀνοιγόμενος ἐξέφερε πολλὰ τῶν ἀπορρήτων πρὸς αὐτήν· "τί γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Φίλιππος, εἰ μὴ Παρμενίων; τί δ᾽ Ἀλέξανδρος οὖτος, εἰ μὴ Φιλώτας; ποῦ δ᾽ ὁ "Αμμων, ποῦ δ᾽ οἱ δράκοντες, ὃν ἦμείς μὴ θέλωμεν;" τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἦ 'Αντιγόνα ἐξήνεγκε Φ πρὸς τινὰ τῶν συνήθων γυναικῶν, ἐκείνη δὲ πρὸς Κρατερῶν. Κρατερὸς δὲ πρὸς 'Αλέξανδρον αὐτήν εἰσήχαγε τὴν 'Αντιγόναν κρύφα, καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος οὐκ ἔθηγεν ἀλλ᾽ ἀπέσχετο· τὸν δὲ Φιλώταν ὑποικουρῶν δι' αὐτῆς ὀλον ἐφώρασε, καὶ πλέον ἦ ἐπτὰ ἐς ὄημι διαγεινομένων, οὐκ ἐν ὀνόματι ποτὲ τὴν ὑπόνουαν ταύτην ἐξέφηνεν ὁ μεθύων, οὐ δὲ ὅργην

1 τροφὸν τίνα Halm: τρόπων τινὰ or τρόπω τωλ.
3 ἐκείνος Budaeus and Xylander: εκ τινος or ἐκείνη.
4 ἀνοιγόμενος] οὐσμιμένοι, once suggested by Reiske, has some support in οὐν οὐνῳ in Life of Alexander, chap. xlviii.

456
free-born. "Then," said Alexander, "let us persuade her with promises and presents to remain behind." So ready was he with an excuse for every lover rather than for himself.

And further, Philotatas, a the son of Parmenion, had in his licentiousness the nurse, as it were, of all his ills. For among the captives taken at Damascus was a courtesan from Pella, by name Antigona. Ere this she had crossed over to Samothrace, and there had been taken captive by Autophradates. She was comely enough to look upon and, after Philotatas had attached himself to her, she had complete possession of him. Indeed that man of iron b was so softened that he was not in control of his reasoning powers amid his pleasures, but unlocked and brought forth many of his secrets for the woman: "What was that famed Philip, were it not for Parmenion? What was this Alexander, were it not for Philotatas? Where his Ammon, and where his serpents, c if we do not wish it so?" These words Antigona reported to an intimate friend of hers among the women, and she reported them to Craterus; Craterus brought Antigona herself secretly to Alexander, who did not touch her person, but restrained himself and, working secretly through her, he discovered the whole of Philotatas's plans. And for a period of more than seven years Alexander never revealed his suspicion; not in his cups, the reputed drunkard! not in anger, this

a Cf. Life of Alexander, chaps. xlviii., xlix. (692 a–693 a).
b The Doric form suggests quotation from some poem or drama.
c A reference, perhaps, to Ammon (i.e. Zeus) in the form of a serpent, seen with Olympias, as told in Life of Alexander, chap. iii. (663 b); or perhaps to the expedition to the oracle of Ammon, cf. Arrian, Anabasis, iii. 3. 5.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ο θυμωείδης, ού πρὸς φίλον\(^1\) ο πάντα πιστεύων

310 Ἡφαιστίων καὶ πάντων μεταδίδουσ. λέγεται γὰρ

ὅτι καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ὑπόρρητων ἐπιστολῆν λύσαντος

αὐτοῦ καὶ σιωπῆ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀναγιγνώσκοντος,

Ἡφαιστίων ἀτρέμα παραβάλλων τὴν κεφαλὴν

συνανεγίγνωσκεν· ο δὲ κωλύσαι μὲν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν,

ἐξελὼν δὲ τὸν δακτύλιον προσέθηκε τὴν σφραγίδα

τῷ στόματι τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος.

8. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἂν τις ἀπείποι λέγων, οἷς

ἀποδείκνυται κάλλιστα καὶ βασιλικώτατα τὴν εξου-

σίαν διατιθέμενος. καὶ γὰρ εἰ διὰ τὰ Ἱύχην μέγας

γέγονε, μείζων ἐστὶν, ὅτι τῇ Ἱύχην καλῶς κέχρηται

καὶ ὅσῳ τις ἂν μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἱύχην ἐπαινη, Β

toσoύτω μᾶλλον αὔξει τὴν ἀρετήν, δι' ᾗν ἄξιος τῆς

Ἱύχης ἐγένετο.

Oὐ μὴν ἂλλ' ἤδη πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῆς αὐξήσεως

αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς δυνάμεως βαδίζω, καὶ

σκοπῶ τί τὸ τῆς Ἱύχης ἔργον ἐν ἐκείνων

gέγονε, δι' ὁ φασιν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἱύχης

μέγαν γεγονέναι. πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ τὸν ἀτρωτὸν, ὁ

Ζεῦ, τὸν ἀναίμακτον, τὸν ἀστράτευτον, ὃν χρε-

μετίσας ὑπὸσ εἰς τὸν Κύρου θρόνον ἐκάθισεν, ὃς

Δαρείον τὸν ᾿Υστάσπον πρότερον; ἡ κολακευθεῖς

ἀνήρ ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὃς ᾿Ερέξην Δαρείος ὑπ' ᾿Λτόσσης; ἐπὶ θύρας αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα τῆς

\(^1\) φίλον] φιλίαν Kronenberg.
man of fiery temper! not to a friend, this man who trusted Hephaestion in everything and shared everything with him! In fact it is recorded\(^a\) that once, when he had broken the seal of a confidential letter from his mother and was reading it silently\(^b\) to himself, Hephaestion quietly put his head beside Alexander’s and read the letter with him; Alexander could not bear to stop him, but took off his ring and placed the seal on Hephaestion’s lips.

8. But one might grow weary in the enumeration of these matters by which Alexander is shown to have made the most honourable and the most regal use of his authority. And even though he became great through Fortune, he is even greater in that he made good use of his Fortune. And the more we praise his Fortune the more shall we exalt his Virtue by reason of which he became worthy of his Fortune.

Now, however, I shall proceed at once to the first steps in his advancement and the beginnings of his power, and I shall examine in those matters the rôle played by Fortune, by reason of which men assert that Alexander became great through the instrumentality of Fortune. In Heaven’s name! Why do they not assert this of one that never felt a wound nor lost a drop of blood nor ever served in war, whom the neighing of a horse\(^c\) placed upon the throne of Cyrus, even as the first Darius, the son of Hystaspes? Or of Xerxes, whom a king, flattered by his wife, as Darius was flattered by Atossa,\(^d\) set upon the throne? Did the royal diadem come to Alexander’s doors, as

\(^a\) Cf. 333 \(\text{i.a, supra.}\)
\(^b\) “Silently,” for reading was generally done aloud.
\(^c\) Cf. Herodotus, iii. 84 ff.
\(^d\) Ibid. vii. 3.
(340) βασιλείας τηθεν, ὠσπερ Ὄαρση διὰ Βαγγαν, καὶ οἱ στολὴν ἐκδυσάμενος ἀστάνδου περεύθετο τὴν βασιλικὴν καὶ ὀρθοπαγὴ κάταρῳ; ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτως κλήρω λαχῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐβασιλεύεσεν, ὡς Ἀθήνησι κλήρῳ θεσμοθετοῦσι καὶ ἄρχοντι;

Βούλει μαθεῖν πῶς βασιλεύουσιν ἀνθρωποὶ διὰ Τύχην; ἐξῆλπτε ποτ' Ἀργείοις τὸ Ἡρακλείδων γένος, ἐξ οὗ βασιλεύεσθαι πάτρω τινί αὐτοὶς· ἐξητοῦσι δὲ καὶ διαπυθανομένοις ὅ θεος ἔχρησεν ἀντὸν δείξειν· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ολίγας ἀετὸς ὑπερφανεῖς καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτικὴν οἰκίαν ἔκατισεν, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἄρέθη Ἀἰγύπτῳ.

Πάλιν ἐν Πάφῳ, τοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἅδικον καὶ ποιηροῦ φανέντος ἐκβαλὼν τοῦτον Ἀλεξανδρός Δέτερον ἐξήτει, τοῦ Κυνυραδῶν γένους ἡδη φθίνειν καὶ ἀπολείπεται δοκοῦντος. ἔναι δ' οὖν ἐφασαν περείπαν πένητα καὶ ἄδοξον ἀνθρωπὸν ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ παρημελημένως διαιτρέφομεν. ἐπὶ τοῦτον οἱ πεμφθέντες ἦκον, εὔρεθα δὲ πρασιαῖς ὕδωρ ἐπαντλῶν· καὶ διεταράχθη τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιλαμβανομένων αὐτοῦ καὶ βαδίζειν κελεύοντων. ἀρχεῖς δὲ πρὸς Ἀλεξανδρὸν ἐν εὐτελεί ςυνοικίᾳ βασιλεὺς ἀνηγορεύθη καὶ πορφύραν ἐλάβε, καὶ εἰς ἡν τῶν ἐταίρων προσαγορευομένων ἐκαλεῖτο δ' Ἀβδαλ-

1 βασιλείας] Ἀσίας almost all mss.

a Artaxerxes: cf. 336 τ, 337 τ, supra, Life of Artaxerxes, chap. i. (1012 α): Reiske conjectured Ὅαρση from Diodorus, xvii. 5, which may be right. But Bagoas also put Darius III. on the throne of Persia. Cf. 326 τ, supra.

b For the upright tiara cf. e.g. Xenophon, Anabasis, ii. 460
ON THE FORTUNE OF ALEXANDER, 340

to Oarses\(^a\) through the machinations of Bagoas, who stripped from him the garb of a courier and put upon him the royal raiment and the tiara that ever stands erect\(^b\)? Was he suddenly and unexpectedly chosen by lot and thus came to rule the inhabited world, as at Athens the Thesmothetae and Archons attain their office?

Would you learn how it is that men come to the throne by choice of Fortune? Once upon a time among the Argives the family of Heracleidae became extinct, from which family it was their ancestral custom to select the Argive kings. When in their search they made inquiry of the god at Delphi, he replied that an eagle would show them; and a few days later an eagle appeared on high and, swooping down, alighted on the house of Aegon, and Aegon was chosen king.

Again in Paphos when the reigning king was seen to be unjust and wicked, Alexander expelled him and searched for another, since the family of Cinyradae appeared to be already passing away or extinct. However, they told him that there still survived one poor and obscure person, who eeked out a forsaken existence in a certain garden. Men were sent to fetch him and, when they arrived, he was found watering his garden-plots; and he was much perturbed when the soldiers laid hands on him and ordered him to come with them. He was brought before Alexander and, dressed as he was in a single cheap garment, he was proclaimed king, and received the royal purple, and became one of those who are styled the king's "Companions." His name was

5. 23; Life of Themistocles, chap. xxix. (126 e); Life of Artaxerxes, chaps. xxvi., xxviii. (1024 e, 1025 e).
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

οὐνᾶμος. 1 οὖτως αἱ τύχαι ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖς, μετ-Ε ἀμφιέξουσι, μεταγράφουσι ταχύ καὶ δραίως, μὴ προσδεχομένους μηδ' ἐλπίζοντας.

9. Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ τί παρ' ἀξίαν, τί ἀνδρωτί, τί ἀναμωτί, τί προίκα, τί μὴ πονήσαντι τῶν μεγάλων; αἴματι κεκραμένους ποταμούς ἔπει καὶ νεκροῖς γεγεφυρωμένους διέβη, καὶ πόαν ἐφαγε διὰ λιμὸν ἦν πρώτην 2 εἰδε, καὶ βάθεια χιόνων κατακεχωσμένα ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις ὑπὸ γῆν ἐνδεδυκνιάς διώρυξε, 4 καὶ θάλασσαι μαχομένην ἔπλευσε, καὶ θύες ἀνέβουσ τὰς Γεδρωσίων 5 καὶ Ἀραχωσίων ὀδεύων ἐν θαλάσσῃ πρότερον ἢ ἐν γῇ φυτὸν εἰδεν.

Εἰ γὰρ ἦν ὅσ πρὸς ἀνδρωπὸν ἀγαγεῖν Παρρησίαν ὑπὲρ Ἀλεξάνδρου πρὸς τὴν Τύχην, οὐκ ἂν εἶπε, Φ "ποῦ σὺ καὶ πότε ταῖς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεσιν ὄδον ἔδωκας; ποιὰν πέτραν ἀναμωτὶ διὰ σὲ εἶλε; ποιὰν πόλιν ἀφρούρητον αὐτῷ παρέδωκας ἢ ποιὰν ἀνοπλὸν φάλαγγα; τὸς εὐρέθη βασιλεὺς ῥάθυμος ἢ στρατηγὸς ἀμελῆς ἢ κομισμένος πυλωρός; ἀλλ' οὐδ' εὐβατος ποταμός οὐδὲ χειμῶν μέτριος οὐδὲ 311 θέρος ἀλυπον. ἀπεθανεῖ πρὸς Ἀρτάξερξη τὸν Σελεūκον, πρὸς Ἀρταξέρξη τὸν Κύρον ἀδελφῶν' ἀπελθεῖ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον τὸν Φιλάδελφον. ἐκείνους ζῶντες οἱ

1 'Αβδαλόνυμος Cobet: ἄρα ἀλόνυμος.
2 καὶ added by Reiske.
3 πρώτην Abresch: πρῶτον.
4 ἐνδεδυκнιάς διώρυξε| δεδυκνιάς διώρυξε Emperius.
6 Γεδρωσίων the usual spelling: γεδρωσίων or γεδρωσίων.

* Cobet’s conjecture (Abdalonymus for Aralonymus) is only very partially supported by Diodorus, xvii. 46, 47. But cf. the references ad loc. in Fischer’s ed. (Leipzig 1906), especially Quintus Curtius, Hist. Alexandri, iv. 1. 19. 462
Abdalonymus. Thus does shifting Fortune create kings, change their raiment, and quickly and easily alter the status of men who expect nothing of the sort, and do not even hope for it.

9. But what greatness did Alexander acquire beyond his just merits, what without sweat, what without blood, what without a price, what without labour? He drank rivers fouled with blood, crossed streams bridged by dead bodies, through hunger ate the first grass that he saw, dug through nations buried in deep snow and cities built beneath the earth, sailed over a battling sea; and as he traversed the parching strands of Gedrosia and Arachosia, it was in the sea, not on the land, that first he saw a living plant.

If to Fortune, as to a human being, one might present Frankness in Alexander's behalf, would she not say, "When and where did you ever vouchsafe a way for the exploits of Alexander? What fortress did he ever capture by your help without the shedding of blood? What city unguarded or what regiment unarmed did you deliver into his hands? What king was found to be indolent, or what general negligent, or what watchman asleep at the gate? But no river was easy to cross, no storm was moderate, no summer's heat was without torment. Betake yourself to Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, or to Artaxerxes, the brother of Cyrus; depart to Ptolemy Philadelphus! Their fathers, while yet alive, pro-

b Cf. Diodorus, xvii. 82; Quintus Curtius, Hist. Alexandri, v. 3.


d Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. lxvi. (702 a); Arrian, Anabasis, vi. 22 ff; Quintus Curtius, Hist. Alexandri, ix. 10.
(341) πατέρες βασιλεῖς ἀνηγόρευσαν, ἐκεῖνοι μάχας ἀ- 

dakrūtous ἑνίκων, ἐκεῖνοι πανηγυρίζοντες ἐν πομπαῖς 

καὶ θεάτρως διετέλεσαν, ἐκεῖνοι ἔκαστος δὲ 

eυτυχίαν βασιλευόν ἐγγέραεν. 

"Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, τὸ σῶμα ἵδον 
katastetramένον εὖ ἄκρας κεφαλῆς ἄχρι ποδῶν 

diakêkoptαι καὶ περιτέθλασται τυπτόμενον ὑπὸ 

tῶν πολεμίων 

ἐγέχει τ' ἀορὶ τε μεγάλουσι τε χερμαδίσισιν. 

Β ἐπὶ Γρανίκου εἴσει διακοπεῖς τὸ κράνος ἄχρι τῶν 

τριχῶν, ἐν Γάζη βέλει πληγεῖς τὸν ὅμον, ἐν Μαρα- 

cάνδοις1 τοξεύματι τὴν κηρήμην ὄστε τῆς κερκίδος 

tὸ ὀστέον ἀποκλασθέν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἐξαλεσθαί 

περὶ τὴν 'Ἰρκανίαν λίθω τὸν τράχηλον, εὖ ὁδ καὶ 

tὰς ὀφεῖς ἀμαυρωθεῖς εὖ ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἐν φόβῳ 

πηρώσεως ἐγένετο. πρὸς 'Ασσακναίος2 Ἰνδικῷ 

βέλει τὸ σφυρόν, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κόλακας εἶπεν 

ἐπιμειδάσασ, τοῦτι μὲν αἰμα, οὐκ 

ἐχῶρ, οἴος πέρ τε βέβαιο μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν. τ' 

ἐν Ἰσσῶ εἴσει τὸν μηρόν, ὡς Χάρης φηοῦ, ὑπὸ 

Δαρείου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν συνδραμοῦν- 

οι τοῖς αὐτῶς ὡς 'Ἀλεξάνδρος ἄπλως γράφων καὶ μετὰ 

πάσης ἀληθείας πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, 'συνεβῆ δὲ 

μοι, φηοῖ, καὶ αὐτῶ γέγχειριδῶ πληγῆμαι εἰς τὸν 

μηρόν. ἀλλ' οὔτε ἀτοποῦ ὀὔτε παραχρῆμα οὐ̇θ' 

1 Μαρακάνδοις Bernardakis: μαραγάνδοις. 

2 καὶ] κατὰ E. Capps. 

3 'Ασσακναίος Helmbold: 'Ασσακάνοις. 

4 eis tōn] τὸν Abresch.

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a For the wounds of Alexander see the note on 327 a, supra, 

with the work of Nachstädt there referred to.
claimed them kings; they won battles that did not
cost a tear; they made merry all their lives in pro-
cessions and theatres; and every one of them, be-
cause of good fortune, grew old upon the throne.

"But in the case of Alexander, though I were to
mention nothing else, behold his body gashed with
wounds from tip to toe, bruised all over, smitten at
the hands of his enemies

Now with the spear, now the sword, now with mighty
masses of boulders.

On the banks of the Granicus his helmet was cleft
through to his scalp by a sword; at Gaza his shoulder
was wounded by a missile; at Maracanda his shin
was so torn by an arrow that by the force of the blow
the larger bone was broken and extruded. Some-
where in Hyrcania his neck was smitten by a stone,
whereby his sight was dimmed, and for many days
he was haunted by the fear of blindness. Among the
Assacenians his ankle was wounded by an Indian
arrow; that was the time when he smilingly said to
his flatterers, 'this that you see is blood, not

Ichor, that which flows from the wounds of the blessed
immortals.'

At Issus he was wounded in the thigh with a sword,
as Chares states, by Darius the king, who had come
into hand-to-hand conflict with him. Alexander
himself wrote of this simply, and with complete truth,
in a letter to Antipater: 'I myself happened,' he
writes, 'to be wounded in the thigh by a dagger.
But nothing untoward resulted from the blow either

\[b\] Homer, II. xi. 265, 541.
\[c\] Cf. 327 A, supra, and the notes.
\[d\] Homer, II. v. 340; cf. Moralia, 180 e and the note.
\[e\] Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xx. (675 E-F).
10. "Εὐγ', ὁ Τύχη, τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὔξεις καὶ μέγαν ποιεῖς, διορύττουσα πανταχόθεν, ὕπε- 
ερείπουσα, 2 παῖν μέρος ἀνοίγουσα τοῦ σώματος. 
οὖχ ὥσπερ ἡ 'Αθηνᾶ πρὸ τοῦ Μενελάου τὸ βέλος εἰς 
τὰ καρτερώτατα τῶν ὀπλῶν ὑπάγουσα, θώρακι καὶ 
μίτρα καὶ ἔωστηρ τῆς πληγῆς τῶν τόνον ἁφεῖλε 
θυγούσης τοῦ σώματος, όσον αἴματι πρόφασιν 
ρυήναι, ἀλλὰ γυμνὰ παρέχουσα τοῖς βέλεσι τὰ 
καϊρία, καὶ δὴ ὅστεων ἔλαύνουσα τὰς πληγὰς, καὶ 
περιτρέχουσα κύκλῳ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ πολυορκοῦσα 
τὰς ὦψεις, τὰς βάσεις, 3 ἐμποδίζουσα τὰς δίωξεις, 
περισπῶσα τὰς νίκας, ἀνατρέπουσα τὰς ἐλπίδας.' 

'Εμοὶ μὲν οὐδεὶς βαρυτέρα δοκεῖ κεχρησθαι Τύχη 
τῶν βασιλέων, καίτοι πολλοὶ ἐνέπεσε σκληρὰ καὶ 
Ε βάσκανος: ἀλλ' ὡς σκηντὸς ἀπέκοψε τοὺς ἄλλους 
καὶ διέφθειρε, πρὸς δ' Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῆς τὸ δυσ- 
μενές γέγονε φιλόνεικον καὶ δύσερι καὶ δυσεκ- 
βίαστον, ὥσπερ πρὸς τὸν Περακλέα. ποίους γὰρ

1 ὑπελᾶσας δὲ τις ἔβαλε Φ.С.Β.; ὑπέρῳ δὲ τις πελᾶσας ἔβαλε 
Bernardakis: ὑπελᾶσας ἔβαλε.
2 ὑπερείπουσα Reiske and Wyttenbach: ὑπερείπουσα.
3 τὰς βάσεις] καὶ τὰς βάσεις Xylander.

ᵃ Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xlv. (691 A); Arrian, Ana- 
basis, iv. 4. 9; Quintus Curtius, Hist. Alexandri, vii. 9, 13. 
466
immediately or later.' Among the Mallians he was wounded in the breast by an arrow three feet long, which penetrated his breastplate, and someone rode up under him, and struck him in the neck, as Aristo-
bulus relates. When he had crossed the Tanaïs against the Scythians and had routed them, he pursued them on horseback an hundred and fifty stades, though he was grievously distressed with diarrhea.\(^a\)

10. "Well done, Fortune! You exalt Alexander and make him great by running him through from every side, by making him lose his footing, by laying open every portion of his body. Not like Athena before Menelaüs\(^b\) did you guide the missile to the stoutest parts of his armour, and by breastplate, belt, and kilt take away the intensity of the blow, which only grazed his body with force enough to cause blood to flow; but you exposed to the missiles the vital portions of Alexander's body unprotected, you drove home the blows through his very bones, you circled about his body, you laid siege to his eyes and his feet, you hindered him in pursuing his foes, you endeavoured to strip him of his victories, you upset his expectations."

No other king seems to me to have felt the hand of Fortune more heavily upon him, even though on many it has fallen harshly and malignantly. But like a thunderbolt it cut down the other rulers, and destroyed them; toward Alexander, however, Fortune's ill-will became but contentious and quarrelsome and hard to overpower, even as it was toward Heracles. For what manner of Typhons or monstrous

\(^a\) Cf. Homer, II. iv. 129.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

'Τυφώνας ἡ πελωρίους γίγαντας οὐκ ἀνέστησεν ἀνταγωνιστάς ἐπ' αὐτόν; ἡ τίνας οὐκ ὁχύρωσε τῶν πολεμίων πλήθεσιν ὀπλῶν ἡ βάθει ποταμῶν ἡ τραχύτητι κρημνῶν ἡ θηρίων ἄλκαις ἀλλοφύλῶν; εἰ δὲ μὴ μέγ' ἢν τὸ 'Αλεξάνδρου φρόνημα μηδ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ὀρμώμενον μεγάλης ἐξανέφερε καὶ διηρείδετο πρὸς τὴν Τύχην, οὐκ ἃν ἐκαμε καὶ ἀπηγόρευσε παραταττόμενος, ἐξοπλιζόμενος, πολυοργοῖς καίν, διώκων ἐν ἀποστάσει μυρίως, ἀποτροπαῖς, σκυρτήσειν ἔθνων, βασιλέων ἀφημασμοῖς, πρὸς Ἁβκτρα Μαράκανδα Σογδιανοῦς, ἐν ἐθνεσιν ἀπίστοις καὶ ἐπιβουλοῖς ὑδραν τέμνων ἂεὶ τισὶ πολέμους ἐπιβλαστάνουσαν;

11. Ἀτοπον τι δόξω λέγειν, ἔρω 2 ἀληθές: παρὰ μικρὸν διὰ τὴν Τύχην 'Αλέξανδρος ἀπόλυσε τὸ δοκεῖν "Ἀμμωνος εἶναι. τὸς γὰρ ἂν ἢκ θεῶν γεγονός ἐπισφαλεῖς οὔτω καὶ πολυτόνους καὶ τλήμονας ἐξεμόχθησεν ἄθλους πλῆν ὁ Διὸς 'Ἡρακλῆς;

342 ἂλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν εἰς ἀνήρ ὑβριστῆς ἐπέταττε λέοντας αἱρεῖν καὶ κάπρους διώκειν καὶ σοβεῖν ὀρνιθὰς ἢν μὴ σχολάζῃ τοῖς μείζονι περικόπων, 'Ἀνταῖοις κολάζειν καὶ Βουσίριδας παῦειν μαιμονόντας. 'Αλέξανδρῳ δ' ἐπέταττε ἢ Ἁρετῇ τὸν βασιλικὸν καὶ θείον ἄθλον, οὐ τέλος ἢν ὦν χρυσὸς ὑπὸ μυρίων καμήλων περικομιζόμενος οὐδὲ τρυφαὶ Μηδικαὶ καὶ τράπεζαι καὶ γυναῖκες οὐδὲ χαλυβώνιος οἶνος οὐδ'
giants did she not raise up to oppose him? Whom of his foes did she not fortify with a vast supply of weapons or deep rivers or jagged cliffs or the might of beasts from foreign lands? But if Alexander's thought had not been set on high emprise, if it had not derived its impelling force from great Virtue, and had not refused to submit to defeat in its wrestling with Fortune, would he not have grown tired and weary of marshalling and arming his forces, weary of his sieges and pursuits amid unnumbered revolts, desertions, and riots of subject peoples, defections of kings, against Bactria, Maracanda, Sogdiana, as if he were cutting off the heads of a hydra which ever grew again in renewed wars among these faithless and conspiring peoples?

11. I shall be thought to be making a strange statement, yet what I shall say is true: it was because of Fortune that Alexander all but lost the repute of being the son of Ammon! For what offspring of the gods could have toiled through such hazardous, toilsome, and painful Labours save only Heracles, the son of Zeus? But it was one arrogant man who imposed upon Heracles the task of capturing lions, of pursuing wild boars, of frightening off birds so that he might not have time to go about performing greater deeds, such as punishing men like Antaeus and stopping creatures like Busiris from their abominable murders. But upon Alexander it was Virtue who laid the kingly and god-like Labour, the end and aim of which was not gold, carried about by countless camels, nor Persian luxury, banquets, and women, nor the wine

\footnote{Presumably elephants.}
\footnote{Cf. 315 \textit{b}, \textit{supra} and \textit{Moralia 857} \textit{a}.}
(342) 'Υπρακινικοὶ ἰχθύες, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ κόσμῳ κοσμήσαντα πάντας ἀνθρώπους μιᾶς ύπηκόους ἥγεμονίας καὶ
Β μιᾶς ἑθάδας διάλησις καταστήσας. τούτον ἐκ παιδὸς
ἐμφυτον ἐχων ἔρωτα συντρεφόμενον καὶ συναναθά-
νόμενον, ὥς ἀφίκοντο πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν
βασιλέως πρὸς Φίλιππον, ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔγινομεν ἢν, φιλο-
φρονούμενος καὶ ξενίζων αὐτοῦς Ἀλέξανδρος οὐδὲν
ήρωτα παιδικῶν, οἴον οἱ ἂλλοι, περὶ τῆς χρυσῆς
ἀναδενδράδος ή τῶν κρεμαστῶν κήπων ἢ πῶς ὁ
βασιλεὺς κεκόσμηται, ἀλλ' ὅλος ἐν τοῖς κυριωτά-
τοις ἢν τῆς ἥγεμονίας, διαπυθανόμενος πόση
dύναμις ἡ Περσῶν, πού τεταγμένοι βασιλεὺς ἐν
tαις μάχαις διαγωνίζεται (καθάπερ Ὅδυσσεος
ἐκεῖνος,

ποῦ δὲ οἱ ἐνεκάς κεῖται ἁρήμα, ποῦ δὲ οἱ ἵπποι;)

C τίνες ὁδοὶ βραχύταται τοῖς ἄνω πορευομένους ἀπὸ
θαλάσσης: ὥστε τοὺς ἔναν εἴκοπλήξθαι καὶ
λέγειν ὡς "ὁ παῖς οὗτος βασιλεὺς μέγας, ὁ δ' ἡ
μέτερος πλου̂σιος." ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίππου τελευτή-

cς τοιοῦ ὁμοίων διαβαλεῖν καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἢδη καὶ

taῖς παρασκευαῖς εἰμπεθυκός ἐσπευ̂δεν ἀμασθάι τῆς

'Ασίας, εἰνίστατο δὴ ἡ Τύχη καὶ ἀπέστρεφε καὶ

ἀνθέλλειν ὅπισώ καὶ μυρίας περίβαλλεν ἀσχολίας
καὶ διατριβάς ἐπιλαμβανομένη πρῶτον αὐτῷ τὰ

βαρβαρικὰ τῶν προσολκὼν διετάραξεν, Ἰλλυρικοὺς
καὶ Ἰρμαλλικοὺς μηχανωμένη πολέμους. οἷς

μέχρι Ἐκθέας τῆς παρ' Ἰστρον ἀποσπασθεῖς ἀπὸ

1 δὴ Wytttenbach: δὲ. Reiske would omit δὲ.

a A city in Syria; for the wine cf. Strabo, xv. 3. 22
(p. 735); Athenaeus, 28 b; Suidas and Hesychius, s.v.
470
of Chalybon, nor the fish of Hyrcania, but to order all men by one law and to render them submissive to one rule and accustomed to one manner of life. The desire which he cherished to accomplish this task was implanted in him from childhood, and was fostered and increased with the years that passed. Once, when ambassadors came from the Persian king to Philip, who was not at home, Alexander, while he entertained them hospitably, asked no childish questions, as the others did, about the vine of gold, or the Hanging Gardens, or how the Great King was arrayed; but he was completely engrossed with the most vital concerns of the dominion, asking how large was the Persian army; where the king stationed himself in battle (even as the famed Odysseus asked

Where are his arms that he wields in the battle, and where are his horses?);

and which roads were the shortest for travellers going inland from the sea—so that the strangers were astounded and said, "This boy is a 'great king'; our king is only wealthy." But after Philip’s end, when Alexander was eager to cross over and, already absorbed in his hopes and preparations, was hastening to gain a hold upon Asia, Fortune, seizing upon him, blocked his way, turned him about, dragged him back, and surrounded him with countless distractions and delays. First she threw into the utmost commotion the barbarian elements among his neighbours, and contrived wars with the Illyrians and Triballians. By these wars he was drawn from his Asiatic projects as far away as the portion of Scythia that lies along

\[ \text{Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. v. (666 E-F).} \]

\[ \text{Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, vii. 1. 38; Diodorus, xix. 48.} \]

\[ \text{Homer, II. x. 407.} \]

\[ \text{Cf. 327 d, supra.} \]

171
Plutarch's Moralia

(342) μενος πάντα κυνίνους καὶ ἀγώσι μεγάλους, αὖθις ὄρμητο καὶ ἐσπευδέ πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν. ἡ δὲ πάλιν αὐτῷ τὰς Θῆβας ἐνέσεισε καὶ πόλεμον Ἐλληνικὸν ἐμποδοῦν κατέβαλε, καὶ δεινὴν πρὸς ἄνδρας ὀμφύλους καὶ συγγενεῖς διὰ φόνον καὶ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς ἀνάγικην ἀμύνης, ἀτερπέστατον τέλος ἐχοῦσαν.

'Εκ τούτου διέβανεν, ὡς μὲν Φύλαρχος φησιν, ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ἔχων ἐφόδιον, ὡς δὲ Ἀριστόβουλος, ἐβδομήκοντα τάλαντα. τῶν δὲ οἴκοι κτημάτων καὶ προσόδων μπαλικοῖς διένειμε τάς πλείστας τοῖς ἑταῖροις, μόνος δὲ Περδίκκας οὔδὲν ἐλάβε διδόντος, ἀλλ' ἠρώτησε, "σαντῶ δὲ τί καταλείπεις, Ἀλέξανδρε;" τοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι τὰς ἐλπίδας, "οὐκοῦν," ἐφη, "καὶ ἡμεῖς τούτων μεθέξομεν. οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον τὰ σὰ λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ Δαρείου περιμένει."  

12. Τίνες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ ἐλπίδες ἐφ' αἷς διέβανεν εἰς Ἀσίαν Ἀλέξανδρος; οὐ τείχεσι πόλεων μυριάνδρων ἐκμετρομένη δύναμις οὔδὲ στόλοι δι' ὀρῶν πλέοντες, οὐδὲ μάστυγες οὔδὲ πέδαι, μανικα καὶ βάρβαρα κολαστήρια θαλάττης, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν  

1 περιδραμῶν | ἐπιδραμῶν in Life of Alexander, chap. xi. (cf. 212 d for the converse).  
2 Ἡ Ἐμπεριέος: πάλιν ἡ.  
3 αἱ added by Bernardakis.  

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a Heracles, a reputed ancestor of the Macedonian kings, was born in Thebes.  
b The sack of Thebes and the enslaving of most of the surviving inhabitants; cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xi. (670 e), and Arrian, Anabasis, i. 8-9.  
c Cited on the authority of Duris in 327 e, supra.
the Danube; when, by sundry manoeuvres, he had subjugated all this territory with much danger and great struggles, he was again eager and in haste for the crossing. Again, however, Fortune stirred up Thebes against him, and thrust in his pathway a war with Greeks, and the dread necessity of punishing, by means of slaughter and fire and sword, men that were his kith and kin, a necessity which had a most unpleasant ending.  

After this he crossed with provision for thirty days, as Phylarchus relates; but Aristobulus says, with seventy talents. He divided the greater part of his possessions at home and his royal revenues among his friends; Perdiccas alone would take nothing when Alexander offered, but asked, "What are you leaving for yourself, Alexander?" And when Alexander replied, "High hopes!", "Then," said Perdiccas, "we also shall share in these; for it is not right to take your possessions, but right to wait in expectation of those of Darius."

12. What, then, were the hopes on which Alexander relied when he crossed into Asia? Not a force counted by means of a wall that would hold a city of 10,000 men, nor fleets that sailed through mountains, nor scourges or fetters, insane and barbaric implements for chastising the sea; but externally they

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*Cf. 327 e, supra.

*Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xv. (672 b).

† Xerxes counted his army, according to Herodotus vii. 60, by causing 10,000 men to fall in as compactly as possible; then a low wall was built around them: they then marched out, others marched in until the whole host (1,700,000 foot soldiers) had been counted.

§ By Xerxes' canal through Athos: *cf. 335 e, supra; Herodotus, vii. 22, 23.

* Again referring to Xerxes: *cf. Herodotus, vii. 35.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ἐκτὸς ἐν ὀλίγοις ὀπλοῖς φιλοτημία πολλῆ καὶ ζήλος ἡλικίας παραλλήλοι καὶ ἀμιλλα περὶ δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐταίρων· αὐτὸς δ' εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς Μεγάλας Ἐλπίδας: εὐσέβειαν περὶ θεοῦ, πίστιν πρὸς φίλους, εὐτέλειαν, ἐγκράτειαν, ἐμπειρίαν, ἄφοβίαν πρὸς θάνατον, εὐφυχίαν, φιλανθρωπίαν, ὁμλίαν εὐάρμοστον, ἀφευδές ἧθος, εὐστάθειαν ἐν βουλαῖς, τάχος ἐν πράξεισιν, πρῶτα2 δόξης, προαιρέσιν ἐν τῷ καλῷ τελεσιουργῷ. "Ομηρὸς μὲν γὰρ οὐ πρεπόντως οὔδὲ πιθανῶς τὸ Ἀγαμέμνονος κάλλος ἐκ τριῶν συνήρμοσεν εἰκόνων ὁμοιώσας,

343 ὁμοίατα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Δι' τερπικεραύνῳ,

"Ἀρεὶ δὲ ἥρων, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδᾶων.

τὴν δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου φύσιν, εἶπερ ἐκ πολλῶν συνήρμοσε καὶ συνέθηκεν ἀρετῶν ὁ γεννήσας θεος, ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν εἴπομεν ἔχειν φρόνημα μὲν τὸ Κύρου, σωφροσύνην δὲ τὴν Ἀγησιλάου, σύνεσιν δὲ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους, ἐμπειρίαν δὲ τὴν Φιλίππου, τόλμαν δὲ τὴν Βρασίδου, δεινότητα δὲ καὶ πολυτείαν τὴν Περικλέους; τῶν δ' ἐτὶ παλαιότερων σωφρονεστέρως μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ προέκρυψε τῆς γαμετῆς τὴν αἰχμάλωτον, ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἥ γῆμαι

Β τῶν ἁλισκομένων ἀπείχετο. μεγαλοψυχότερος δ' Ἀχιλλέως· ὁ μὲν γὰρ χρημάτων ὀλίγων τῶν ἕκτορος νεκρὸν ἀπελύτρωσεν, ὁ δὲ πολλοῖς χρήμασι Δαρείων ἑθάψε· καὶ ὁ μὲν παρὰ τῶν φίλων

1 ἐμπειρίαν] εὐποιάν has slight ms. authority (but cf. 343 Α, infra ἐμπειρίαν . . . Φιλίππου).
2 πρῶτα] ἐρωτα Reiske (τὰ πρῶτα;).
were the great ambition in his little army, mutual rivalry of hot youth, competition for repute and excellence among his Companions. And within himself he had his own high hopes, reverence for the gods, fidelity toward his friends, frugality, self-control, experience, fearlessness toward death, high courage, humanity, affability, integrity of character, constancy in counsel, quickness in execution, the height of good repute, and a disposition to gain his end in everything honourable. For not appropriately nor convincingly did Homer\(^a\) employ a combination of three similes in his comparison describing the fair appearance of Agamemnon:

Like in his eyes and his head unto Zeus who delighteth in thunder,
Like unto Ares in waist, and in breadth of his chest to Poseidon.

But if the god who begat Alexander made his natural endowment an harmoniously joined combination of many virtues, may we not say that he possessed the high spirit of Cyrus, the discretion of Agesilaüs, the intelligence of Themistocles, the experience of Philip, the daring of Brasidas, the eloquence and statesmanship of Pericles? And, to compare him with the men of still more ancient days, he was more self-restrained than Agamemnon; for Agamemnon set a captive woman\(^b\) above his wedded wife, but Alexander, even before his marriage, kept aloof from his captives. He was more magnanimous than Achilles; for Achilles\(^c\) gave back the body of Hector for a small ransom, but Alexander buried Darius at great expense; Achilles,\(^d\) when he had become reconciled,

\(^a\) *Iliad*, ii. 478-479.  \(^b\) Chryseis: *Iliad*, i. 113.  \(^c\) *Iliad*, xxiv. 552-600.  \(^d\) *Iliad*, xix. 140-147.
(343) δώρα καὶ μισθῶν ἀντὶ τῆς ὀργῆς διαλλαγεῖς ἔλαβεν, δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους κρατῶν ἐπιλούτιζεν. εὐ- σεβείτερος δὲ Διομήδους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεοῖς μάχεσθαι ἢν ἐτοιμος, δὲ πάντα1 τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνόμιζε κατ- ορθῶν. ποθεινότερος δὲ τοῖς προσήκοουσιν 'Οδυσ- σέως· ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ ἡ τεκοῦσα διὰ λύπην ἀπέθανε, τούτῳ δὲ ἡ τοῦ πολεμίου μήτηρ ὑπ’ εὐνοίας συναπέθανε.

13 Τὸ δ’ ὄλον, εἰ μὲν καὶ Σόλων διὰ Τύχην ἐκπολιτεύσατο καὶ Μιλτιάδης διὰ Τύχην ἐστρατήγησε καὶ Ἄριστείδης ἀπὸ Τύχης ἢν δίκαιος, οὐδὲν ἀρα τῆς Ἀρετῆς ἐργον ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ ὅνομα τοῦτο καὶ λόγος ἔχων δόξαν ἄλλως διέξεισι τοῦ βίου, πλατ- τόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν. εἰ δὲ τούτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀνδρῶν ἐκαστός πένης μὲν ἡ πλούσιος ἡ ἀσθενής ἡ ἱσχυρός ἡ ἀμορφος ἡ καλὸς ἡ εὐγνηρως ἡ ὁκύμορος διὰ Τύχην γέγονε, μέγαν δὲ στρατηγὸν καὶ μέγαν νομοθέτην καὶ μέγαν ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις ἐκαστος ἑαυτόν ἀρετή καὶ λόγῳ παρέσχηκε, φέρε θεῶ τῶν Ἀλέ- ξανδρόν ἀπασὶ παραβάλλων. Σόλων χρεών ἀπο- 

D κοπὴν ἐν Ἀθηναις ἐποίησε, σεισάχθειαν προσ- αγορεύσας. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὰ χρέα τοῖς2 δανείσασιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀφειλόντων αὐτῶς ἔξετισε. Περικλῆς φορολογήςας τοὺς Ἔλληνας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων

1 Cobet would add διὰ after πάντα.
2 τὰ χρέα τοῖς τοῖς τὰ χρέα most mss.

—a Iliad, v. 335-352, 855-861.
b Odyssey, xi. 202-203.
c Sisygambis, the mother of Darius: cf. Diodorus, xvii. 476
accepted gifts and recompense from his friends to requite him for ceasing from his Wrath, but Alexander enriched his enemies by conquering them. He was more reverent than Diomedes\(^a\); for Diomedes was ready to fight with gods, but Alexander believed the gods to be the authors of all success. He was more deeply mourned by his relatives than was Odysseus; for Odysseus'\(^b\) mother died of grief, but the mother\(^c\) of Alexander’s foe, for the goodwill she bore him, shared his death.

13. In short, if Solon’s statesmanship also was due to Fortune, and if Miltiades’ generalship, and Aristeides’\(^d\) justice were but the result of Fortune, then surely there is no work of Virtue in these men, but it is a name only, talk based on appearance, pervading their lives to no purpose, a figment of the sophists and legislators. But if every one of these men and of others like them became poor or rich, weak or strong, ugly or handsome, lived to a ripe old age or met an untimely death through Fortune, or if each one of them proved himself a great general, a great lawgiver, or great in government and statesmanship through Virtue and Reason, then consider Alexander and compare him with them all. Solon\(^e\) brought about a cancellation of debts in Athens which he called the “Relief from Burdens” (Seisachtheia); but Alexander himself paid the debts which his men owed to their creditors.\(^f\) Pericles collected tribute from the Greeks and with the money adorned the Acropolis

118. 3; Justin, xiii. 1; Quintus Curtius, Hist. Alexandri, x. 5. 21.

\(^a\) Cf. Moralia, 97 c.

\(^b\) Cf. Moralia, 828 r; Life of Solon, chaps. xv., xvi. (86 d, 87 d); Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, 10. 1.

\(^c\) Cf. 339 c, supra, and the note.
(343) ἐκόψησεν ἑρῴς τὴν ἄκροπολιν. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων χρήματα λαβὼν ἐπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ναοὺς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀπὸ μυρίων ταλάντων οἰκοδομῆσαι κελεύσας. Βρασίδαν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι περιβόητον ἐποίησε τὸ πρὸς Μεθώνην διαδραμεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων βαλλόμενον παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν. Ἀλέξανδρος δ’ ἐν Ὀξυδράκαις τὸ δεινὸν ἐκείνῳ πῆδημα καὶ ἀπιστον ἀκούονσι καὶ θεωμένοις φοβεροῖς, ἐκ τειχῶν ἀφέντος ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ε τοὺς πολεμίους δόρασι καὶ βέλεσι καὶ ἔφεσι γυμνοῖς ἐκδεχομένους, τίνι ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν ἡ πυρὶ κεραυνῷ ῥαγέντι καὶ φερομένῳ μετὰ πνεύματος, οἶον1 ἐπὶ γῆν κατέσκηψε φάσμα Φοίβου2 φλογοειδέσιν ὀπλοῖς περιλαμπόμενον; οἱ δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκπλαγέντες ἀμα φρίκη διέτρεσαν καὶ ἀνεχώρησαν· εἰθ’ ὡς ἔώρων ἀνθρωπον ἕνα πολλοῖς ἐπιφερόμενον, ἀντέστησαν.

'Ἐνταῦθ' ἂρ' ἡ Τύχη μεγάλα καὶ λαμπρὰ διέφηνεν ἐργα τῆς πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον εὐμενείας, ὅτ’ αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς χωρίον ἄσθημον καὶ βάρβαρον ἐμβαλοῦσα κατέκλεισε καὶ περιτείχισε, τοὺς δ’ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς Ἐπιβοηθοῦντας ἐξώθην καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐφιμένους, κλάσασα καὶ συντρίψασα τὰς κλίμακας, ὑπεσκέψει καὶ κατεκρήμνισε. τριῶν δ’ οἰπέρ ἐφθησαν μόνοι τοῦ τείχους λαβέσθαι καὶ καθέντες ἑαυτοὺς παρα-

1 οἶον Helmbold.
2 Φοίβου omitted by all mss. except two; Φώμου Wytenbach.

a £2,000,000 or $10,000,000.
b Cf. Diodorus, xviii. 4. 4.
c Cf. Thucydides, ii. 25. 2.
with temples; but Alexander captured the riches of barbarians and sent them to Greece with orders that ten thousand talents\(^a\) be used to construct temples for the gods.\(^b\) Brasidas’s\(^c\) dash along the shore to Methone through the armed host of the enemy amid showers of missiles made him renowned in Greece; but that daring leap of Alexander in the country of the Oxydrachae,\(^d\) incredible to them that hear of it and fearful to them that saw it, when he hurled himself down from the walls into the midst of the enemy, who received him with spears and arrows and naked swords—with what may one compare it, save with the levin bolt that breaks and flashes in the midst of a hurricane, like the apparition of Phoebus that darted down to earth,\(^e\) gleaming round about with flaming armour. The enemy at first were amazed and affrighted and retired with trembling fear; but a moment later, when they saw that he was but one man attacking many, they made a stand against him.

There indeed Fortune made manifest great and splendid results of her kindliness toward Alexander, when she cast him into an insignificant foreign town and shut him in and fenced him round about! And when his men were earnestly trying to bring help from without and were attempting to scale the walls, Fortune, by breaking and shattering their ladders, took away their foothold and hurled them from the walls. And of the three\(^f\) men who alone were quick enough to grasp the wall and, throwing themselves

\(^a\) The Mallians: \textit{cf.} 327 \textit{b}, \textit{supra}.

\(^b\) \textit{Cf.} perhaps Homer, \textit{Il.} xv. 237; iv. 75-80.

\(^c\) 327 \textit{b}, \textit{supra}, and \textit{Life of Alexander}, chap. lxiii. (700 \textit{c}) mention only two; but Plutarch here seems to follow the authority used by Arrian, \textit{Anabasis}, vi. 10, who gives the number as three; \textit{cf.} also 344 \textit{d}, \textit{infra}.
στήναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὸν μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνήρπασε καὶ προανέλεν, ὦ δὲ τοξεύμασι πολλοῖς διαπεπαρμένος ὃσον ὅραν καὶ συναισθάνεσθαι μόνον ἀπείχε τοῦ 344 τεθνάναι· κεναὶ δ’ ἐξωθεν προσδρομαί καὶ ἀλα- λαγμοὶ Μακεδόνων, οὐ μηχανής τινος οὐκ ὅργανων παρόντων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἔσεσθι τυπτόντων τα τείχη καὶ χερσὶ γυμναῖς παραρρήξαι καὶ μονον μιαφαγεῖν βιαζομένων.

Ὁ δ’ εὐτυχῆς βασιλεὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς Τύχης φυλαττόμενος ἄει καὶ δορυφοροῦμενος, ὥσπερ θηρίων ἄρκυσιν ἐνσχεθείς, ἔρημος καὶ ἀβοήθητος, οὐχ ὑπὲρ Σοῦσων οὐδὲ Βαβυλῶνος οὐδὲ τοῦ2 Ἁκτρα λαβεῖν οὐδὲ τοῦ μεγάλου3 Πώρου κρατῆσαι· τοῖς γὰρ ἐνδόξεις καὶ μεγάλοις ἀγώσι, κἂν δυστυ- χώνται, τὸ γοῦν αἰσχρὸν οὐ πρόσεστιν. ἀλλ’ οὕτω δύσερυ ἦν καὶ βάσκανος ἡ Τύχη καὶ φιλοβάρβαρος Β καὶ μισαλέξανδρος, ὡστε μὴ τὸ σῶμα μόνον αὐτοῦ μηδὲ τὸν Βιοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀνελεῖν ὃσον ἐφ’ ἑαυτῇ καὶ διαφθείραι τὴν εὐκλείαν. οὐ γὰρ παρ’ Ἐνφράτην Ἀλέξανδρον ἤ Τίδάσπην πεσόντα κεῖσθαι δεινὸν ἢν, οὐδ’ ἄγεννες ἐν χερσὶ Δαρείου4 γενόμενον καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἔσφεσι καὶ κοπίας Περσῶν ἀμυνομένων ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποθανεῖν· οὐδὲ τῶν Βαβυλῶνός ἐπιβαίνοντα τειχῶν σφαλῆν καὶ πεσεῖν ἀπ’ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης. οὐτω Πελοπίδας καὶ Ἰππαμενώνδας· ἀρετῆς ὁ τούτων θάνατος ἦν, οὐ δυστυχίας ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις. τῆς δὲ νῦν ἐξεταζό-

1 παραστήναι] most mss. have περαστήναι.  
2 τοῦ added by Reiske.  
3 τοῦ μεγάλου Meziriacus: ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγα τοῦ.  
4 Δαρείου] Δαρείω Abresch.
down inside, to take their stand beside the king, Fortune straightway snatched up one and made away with him before he could strike a blow; and a second, pierced through by many arrows, was only so far from death that he could see and perceive his king's danger. But the charges and shouting of the Macedonians were unavailing for they had no machines nor siege engines with them; but in their zeal they tried to hack the walls with their swords, and were forced to break them off with their bare hands, and all but bite their way through.

But the king, who was Fortune's favourite, and was always guarded and personally protected by her, was caught within like a wild beast in the toils, alone and without succour; nor was he struggling for Susa or Babylon, nor to capture Bactria, nor to vanquish the great Porus; for in great and glorious conflicts, even though men fail, disgrace, at least, can find no place. But so contentious and malicious was Fortune, so greatly did she favour barbarians and hate Alexander, that she tried to destroy not only his body and his life, but also, in so far as she could, to destroy his repute and to wipe out his fair fame. For it were not a terrible thing for Alexander to fall and lie buried beside the Euphrates or the Hydaspes, nor ignoble to meet death by coming into close combat with Darius or in confronting the horses and swords and battle-axes of the Persians as they fought to defend their king, nor to be overthrown while he bestrode the walls of Babylon and to fall from his high hope. Thus fell Pelopidas and Epameinondas; their death was a death belonging to Virtue, not to misfortune, engaged as they were in such a high emprise. But of what sort was the deed of Fortune, who is now
C μένης Τύχης οίνον τὸ ἐργον; ἐν1 ἐσχατιᾷ βαρβάρου παραποταμίας καὶ τείχεσιν ἀδόξου πολιχνης περιβαλούσης καὶ ἀποκρυψάσης τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης βασιλέα καὶ κύριον, ὁπλοὺς ἀτύμως καὶ σκεύεσι τοῖς παρατυχοῦντι τυπτόμενοι καὶ βαλλόμενον ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ κοπιῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν διὰ τοῦ κράνους ἐπιήγη, καὶ βέλει τις ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ θώρακα διέκοψεν, οὐ τοὺς περὶ τὸν μαστὸν ἐνερεισθέντος ὀστέοις καὶ καταπαγέντος ο μὲν καιλὸς ἐξείχε βαρύνων, τῆς δ' ἀκίδος ο σιδήρος τεττάρων δακτύλων ἐφρο ἐσχε καὶ πέντε μήκος. ἐσχατον δὲ τῶν δεινῶν, ο μὲν ἠμύνετο τοὺς κατὰ στόμα καὶ τὸν βαλόντα καὶ πελάσας τομῆσαντα μετὰ ἔφους

D αὐτὸς τῷ ἐγχειρίδιῳ φθάσας κατέβαλε καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τις δραμῶν ἐκ μυλῶν ὑπέρματος μεν αὐτῷ, ρώμην δὲ καὶ σπουδήν τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐμποιούσα. Διμναίοι γὰρ καὶ Πτολεμαῖοι καὶ Λεόντατος καὶ ὅσοι τὸ τείχος ὑπερκαταβάντες3 ἡ ρίξαντες ἐστησάν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τείχος ἀρετῆς ἦσαν, εὐνοία καὶ φιλία τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ σώματα κατὰ πρόσωπον4 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς προβαλλόμενοι. οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἡγαθὸν βασιλέων ἑταῖροι5 προαποθηκυσοῦν ἐκουσιός καὶ προ-

1 ἐν added by Wytenbach.
2 Λεόντατο W. Schulze: Λεόντατοι.
3 ὑπερκαταβάντες] ὑπερβάντες Reiske.
4 κατὰ πρόσωπον F.C.B. (cf. κατὰ στόμα a few lines above): καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα, which Emperius would omit.
5 ἑταῖροι Abresch: ἑτεροί.

¹ Plutarch the rhetorician increases by one finger’s-breadth

482
under scrutiny? Was it not that on the farthest outposts of a land beside a foreign river within the walls of an obscure hamlet, which surrounded and hid away from sight the lord and master of the inhabited world, he should perish, smitten and stricken by ignominious weapons and whatever else lay at hand? For his head was wounded through his helmet by an axe, and someone shot an arrow through his breastplate so that it penetrated the bones of his breast and was lodged there firmly, while the shaft protruded and hampered him and the iron point was four fingers broad and five fingers long. But—the extreme of all the dangers he confronted—while he was defending himself against those who attacked him in front, the archer who shot him had plucked up courage to approach him with a sword, but Alexander with his dagger was too quick for the man and knocked him down and killed him; but while he was thus occupied, someone ran out from a mill, and gave him a blow on the neck with a cudgel from behind; this confused his senses, and his head swam. But Virtue was by his side and in him she engendered daring, and in his companions strength and zeal. For men like Limnaeus and Ptolemy and Leonnatus and all those who had surmounted the wall or had broken through it took their stand before him and were a bulwark of Virtue, exposing their bodies in the face of the foe and even their lives for the goodwill and love they bore their king. Surely it is not due to Fortune that the companions of good kings risk their lives and willingly die for them; but this they do

the dimensions of the arrow-point which are given by Plutarch the biographer in his Life of Alexander, chap. lxiii. (700 ς).
Ε κινδυνεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐρωτὶ τῆς Ἀρετῆς ὄσπερ ὑπὸ φίλτρων μελήται τῷ ἄρχοντι προσέρχονται καὶ προσπεφύκασι.

Τίς οὖν ὁυκ ἂν εἴπε ὅτε παρῶν ἀκώνυνος θεατὴς στὶ Τύχης μέγαν ἀγώνια καὶ Ἀρετῆς θεάται, καὶ τὸ μὲν βαρβαρὸν παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπικρατεῖ διὰ Τύχην, τὸ δ' Ἐλληνικὸν ἀντέχει παρὰ δύναμιν δι' Ἀρετῆν; κἂν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι περιγένονται, Τύχης καὶ δαίμονος φθονερὸς καὶ νεμέσεως ἔσται τὸ ἔργον ἂν δ' οὐτοι κρατήσωσιν, Ἀρετῇ καὶ τόλμα καὶ φιλία καὶ πίστις ἐξοίσεται τὸ νικητήριον; ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα παρῆν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, τῆς δ' ἄλλης δυνάμεως καὶ παρασκευῆς καὶ στόλων καὶ ἰππῶν Φ καὶ στρατοπέδων μέσον ἐθηκεν ἡ Τύχη τὸ σεῖχος.

Ἐστέφανοι μὲν οὖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς Μακεδόνες, καὶ πεσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπικατέσκαψαν τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος: ἠρπαστὸ γὰρ μετὰ τοῦ βέλους, καὶ τὸν κάλαμον2 ἐν τοῖς σπλάγχνοις εἶχε, καὶ δεσμὸς ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἦλος τὸ τόξεμα τοῦ θώρακος πρὸς τὸ σώμα. καὶ σπᾶσαι μὲν ὀσπέρ 315 ἐκ ἰδίης τοῦ τραύματος βιαζομένους οὐχ ὑπήκουεν δ' σίδηρος, ἐδραύν ἔχουν τὰ πρὸ τῆς καρδίας στερεὰ τοῦ στήθους. ἐκπρίσαι δὲ τοῦ δόνακος οὐκ ἐθάρρουν τὸ προέχον, ἀλλ' ἐφοβοῦντο, μὴ πως σπαραγμῷ σχιζόμενον τὸ ὀστέον ὑπερβολὰς ἀλγηδόνων παράσχη καὶ ῥήξις αἴματος ἐκ βάθους γένηται. πολλὴ δ' ἀπορίαν καὶ διατριβὴν ὅρῶν αὐτὸς ἐπεχείρησεν ἐν χρῷ τοῦ θώρακος3 ἀποτέμνειν τῷ

1 εἴπε E. Kurtz: εἴποι.
2 κάλαμον E. Kurtz (or καῦλον) seems certain from the account given in Life of Alexander, chap. lxiii. as well as τοῦ δόνακος, 345 Α, ἵν' ἵνα: σύλημον.
3 θώρακος] some mss. have σώματος, perhaps rightly.

484
through a passion for Virtue, even as bees, as if under the spell of love-charms, approach and closely surround their sovereign.

What spectator, then, who might without danger to himself have been present at that scene, would not exclaim that he was witnessing the mighty contest of Fortune and Virtue; that through Fortune the foreign host was prevailing beyond its deserts, but through Virtue the Greeks were holding out beyond their ability? And if the enemy gains the upper hand, this will be the work of Fortune or of some jealous deity or of divine retribution; but if the Greeks prevail, it will be Virtue and daring, friendship and fidelity, that will win the guerdon of victory? These were, in fact, the only support that Alexander had with him at this time, since Fortune had put a barrier between him and the rest of his forces and equipment, fleets, horse, and camp.

Finally, the Macedonians routed the barbarians, and, when they had fallen, pulled down their city on their heads. But this was no help to Alexander; for he had been hurried from the field, arrow and all, and he had the shaft in his vitals; the arrow was as a bond or bolt holding his breastplate to his body. And when they tried forcibly to pull it out of the wound by the roots, as it were, the iron would not budge, since it was lodged in the bony part of the breast in front of the heart. They did not dare to saw off the protruding portion of the shaft, since they were afraid that the bone might be split by the jarring and cause excruciating pain, and that an internal haemorrhage might result. But when Alexander perceived their great perplexity and hesitation, he himself tried with his dagger to cut off the arrow
(315) ἐφιδίω τὸν οἰστόν· ἦτόνει δ' ἡ χείρ καὶ βάρος
eἰχὲ ναρκῶδες ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς τοῦ τραύματος.
ἐκέλευεν οὖν ἀπτεσθαί καὶ μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς ἀτρώ-
β τοὺς θαρρύνων· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐλοιδορεῖτο κλαίονσι
καὶ περιπαθοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ λιποτάκτας¹ ἀπεκάλει,
μὴ τολμῶντας αὐτῶ βοηθεῖν· ἔβοα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
ἐταίρους, "μηδείς ἐστω μηδ' ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δειλός·
ἀπιστοῦμαι μὴ φοβεῖσθαι θάνατον, εἰ τὸν ἐμὸν
φοβεῖσθ' ὑμεῖς."

¹ λιποτάκτας Dübner: λειποτάκτας.

a Some think the narrative closes abruptly, and that it
should have been continued to include at least Alexander’s
close to his breastplate; but his hand was unsteady and affected by a torpid languor from the inflammation of the wound. Accordingly with encouraging words he urged those that were unwounded to take hold and not to be afraid; and he railed at some who were weeping and could not control themselves, others he branded as deserters, since they had not the courage to come to his assistance. And he cried aloud to his Companions, "Let no one be faint-hearted even for my sake! For it will not be believed that I do not fear death, if you fear death for me!" a recovery, but the Greeks did not always insist on a happy ending narrated in full.
WERE THE ATHENIANS MORE FAMOUS IN WAR OR IN WISDOM?

(BELLONE AN PACE CLARIORES FUERINT ATHENIENSES)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's discussion whether the Athenians were more famous in war or in wisdom, sometimes referred to by a briefer title, De Gloria Atheniensium, is an epideictic oration like the preceding essays; we may perhaps infer from the words (345 r), "This city has been the mother and kindly nurse of many other arts," that it was delivered at Athens. Like the preceding essays, it closes abruptly, and again we do not know the reason therefor.

Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his introduction to the translation of Plutarch revised by Goodwin, says, "The vigor of his pen appears in the chapter 'Whether the Athenians were more Warlike or Learned . . .'." It is strange that this vigour should be devoted to glorifying the men of arms and vilifying the men of letters, and yet this is precisely what Plutarch attempts to do in this essay. It is true that he lived in an era of profound peace, when the horrors of war were remote, but it is somewhat surprising to find him arguing for this thesis, especially since he shows by incidental statements that he is thoroughly aware of the contributions that Athens has made to literature. We may, then, be justified in the inference that the essay is a tour de force, like other rhetorical discussions which were
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS

popular in Plutarch’s day; it does not necessarily represent his own belief.

Many of the historical references will be found in an amplified form in the Lives.

The essay is no. 197 in Lamprias’s list of Plutarch’s works where it bears the simpler title, “In what were the Athenians famous?“ (Katà τί ἐνδοξοι Αθηναίοι :).
ΠΟΤΕΡΩΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ
Η ΚΑΤΑ ΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΕΡΟΙ

(345)

1. ... Ταῦτ' ὀρθῶς μὲν ἐκεῖνος εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτὸν στρατηγοὺς, οἷς πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερον πράξεως ἐδωκεν ἐξελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον καὶ τὴν Ἕλλαδ' ἐλευθερώσας· ὀρθῶς δ' εἰρήσεται καὶ πρός τοὺς ἔπι τοὺς λόγους μέγα φρονοῦντας· ἂν γὰρ ἀνέλης τοὺς πράττοντας, οὐκ ἔξεις τοὺς γράφοντας. ἀνελε τὴν Περικλέους πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ ναῦμαχα πρὸς Ρώθερ πομπαίως τρόπωσα καὶ τὰς περὶ Κύθνα καὶ Μέγαρα καὶ Κόρωνθον ἄνδραγαθίας Νικίου καὶ τὴν Δημοσθένους Πύλου καὶ τοὺς Κλέωνος τετρακοσίοις αἴχμαλώτους καὶ Τολμίδαν2 Πελοπόννησου περιπλέοντα καὶ Μυρωνίδην νικῶντα θοιωτοὺς ἐν Οἰνωφύτοις, καὶ Ἑυκυδίδης σοι διαγέγραπται. ἀνελε τὰ περὶ Ἕλλησπόντου 'Ἀλκι-βιάδου νεανεύματα καὶ τὰ πρὸς Λέσβω3 Θρασύλλου καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ Θηραμένου τῆς ὀλυγαρχίας κατάλυσον καὶ Ἐρασίβουλον καὶ 'Αρχίον4 καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἐβδομήκοντα κατὰ τῆς Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγε-μονίας ἀνισταμένους καὶ Κόνονα πάλιν ἐμβιβάζοντα

1 Xylander was the first to suggest a lacuna at the beginning.
2 Τολμίδαν Xylander: Τολμᾶν.
3 Λέσβων F.C.B.: Λέσβων.
4 'Αρχίον Taylor, from 835 v: ἀρχιππον.
WERE THE ATHENIANS MORE FAMOUS IN WAR OR IN WISDOM?

1. . . Thus a rightly spoke the great Themistocles to the generals who succeeded him, for whom he had opened a way for their subsequent exploits by driving out the barbarian host and making Greece free. And rightly will it be spoken also to those who pride themselves on their writings; for if you take away the men of action, you will have no men of letters. Take away Pericles’ statesmanship, and Phormio’s trophies for his naval victories at Rhium, and Nicias’s valiant deeds at Cythera and Megara and Corinth, Demosthenes’ Pylos, and Cleon’s four hundred captives, Tolmides’ circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus, and Myronides’ victory over the Boeotians at Oenophyta—take these away and Thucydides is stricken from your list of writers. Take away Alcibiades’ spirited exploits in the Hellespontine region, and those of Thrasylus by Lesbos, and the overthrow by Theramenes of the oligarchy, Thrasybulus and Archinus and the uprising of the Seventy c from Phylê against the Spartan hegemony, and Conon’s restoration of Athens to her

a Probably Plutarch began with his favourite tale of Themistocles’ remark (dealing with the festival day and the day after) to the generals who came after him; cf. 270 c, supra, and the note.

b Cf. Thucydides, i. 108; iv. 95.

c Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, ii. 4. 2.
Ετάς 'Αθήνας εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ Κράτιστος ἀνήρτηται.

Σεισμοὶ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν γέγονεν ἱστορία, γράφας ἀ ἐστρατήγησε καὶ κατώρθωσε καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς περὶ τούτων συντελάθαι τὸν Συρακοσίον, ἢν πιστότερος ἢ διηγοῦμενος ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἄλλον, ἔτερῳ τήν τῶν λόγων δόξαν χαριζόμενος. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἱστορικοὶ, Κλειτόδημοι 1 Δίνδλλοι Φιλόχοροι Φύλαρχοι, 2 ἀλλοτρίων γεγόνασιν ἔργων 3 ὀστερ δραμάτων ὑποκριταί, τὰς τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων πράξεις διατιθέμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἐκείνων ὑποδομοῖς μημάν αὐτῇ ὡς αὐγής τινος καὶ φωτὸς Φ ὑποτάσσων. ἀνακλάται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πραττόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς γράφοντας καὶ ἀναλάμπει δόξης εἰδωλόν ἀλλοτρίας, ἐμφανομένης διὰ τῶν λόγων τῆς πράξεως ὡς ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ.

2. Πολλῶν μὲν δὴ καὶ ἄλλων ἡ πόλις ἤδε μῆτηρ καὶ τροφὸς εὐμενὴς τεχνῶν γέγονε, τὰς μὲν εὐραμένη καὶ ἀναφήμασα πρώτη, ταῖς δὲ δύναμιν προσθείσα καὶ τιμήν καὶ αὐξήσων· οὐχ ἤκιστα δ' ὡς 346 αὐτῆς ζωγραφία προήκτει καὶ κεκόσμηται. καὶ γὰρ 'Απολλόδωρος ὁ ζωγράφος, ἀνθρώπων πρῶτος ἐξευρὼν φθορὰν καὶ ἀπόχρωσιν σκιᾶς, 'Αθηναῖος ἦν· οὖ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐπιγέγραται

μωμηστεῖ τις μᾶλλον ἡ μωμηστεῖ.

1 Κλειτόδημοι Wytenbach: κλειτόδημοι.
3 ἔργων Aldine ed., confirmed by one ms.: ἔρωτων.

a An historian who continued Thucydides, claiming to be his contemporary (see E. Schwartz, Hermes, xliv. 496). 494
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS. 345-346

power on the sea—take these away and Cratippus\(^a\) is no more.

Xenophon, to be sure, became his own history by writing of his generalship and his successes and recording that it was Themistogenes\(^b\) the Syracusan who had compiled an account of them, his purpose being to win greater credence for his narrative by referring to himself in the third person, thus favouring another with the glory of the authorship. But all the other historians, men like Cleitodemus, Diyllus,\(^c\) Philochorus, Phylarchus, have been for the exploits of others what actors are for plays, exhibiting the deeds of the generals and kings, and merging themselves with their characters as tradition records them, in order that they might share in a certain effulgence, so to speak, and splendour. For there is reflected from the men of action upon the men of letters an image of another's glory, which shines again there, since the deed is seen, as in a mirror, through the agency of their words.

2. This city, as we all know, has been the mother and kindly nurse of many other arts, some of which she was the first to discover and reveal, while to others she gave added strength and honour and advancement; not least of all, painting was enhanced and embellished by her. For Apollodorus the painter, the first man to discover the art of mixing colours and chiaroscuro, was an Athenian. Upon his productions is inscribed:

It were easier that you blame than try to make the same.\(^d\)


\(^b\) Cf. Moral. 862 b; Müller, *Fr. Hist. Graec.* ii. 360-361.

\(^c\) Cf. *Pliny*, *Natural History*, xxxv. 9. 62, where the verse is ascribed to Zeuxis; for other references see Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (in the L.C.L.), ii. p. 24.
(346) καὶ Ἐυφράνωρ καὶ Νικίας καὶ Ἀσκληπιώδωρος καὶ Πάναινος ο Θεοδότον ἀδελφός, οί μὲν στρατηγοὺς ἐγραφαν νικῶν τας, οί δὲ μάχας, οί δ' ἥρωας. ἄσπερ Ἐυφράνωρ τὸν Θησεά τὸν ἐαυτὸν τῷ Παρρασίου παρέβαλε, λέγων τὸν μὲν ἐκείνου ρόδα βεβρωκέναι, τὸν δ' ἐαυτοῦ κρέα βόεια. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι γλαφυρῶς ὁ Παρρασίου γέγραπται καὶ πεποίκιλται καὶ τὰ προσέσκει· τὸν δ' Ἐυφράνωρος ἵδιον τις ἐίπεν οὐκ ἄφυως.β

Β δήμων Ἐρεχθήσος μεγαλήτωρος, ὁν ποτ' Ἀθηνή θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ.

Γέγραφε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Μαυτινείᾳ πρὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἰππομαχιὰν οὐκ ἀνευθυσιαστὼς Ἐυφράνωρ. τὸ δ' ἔργον ἐσχεν οὕτως· Ἐπαμεινώνδας Θηβαῖος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Λεώκτρου μάχης ἄρθεις μέγας ἐπεμβῆναι τῇ Σπάρτῃ πεσούση καὶ πατήσαυ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς πόλεως ἤθελησε. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ μυριάσι στρατοῦ διεπόρθησε τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἀπέστησεν αὐτῶν· ἐπειτα περὶ Μαυτινειαν ἀντιτεταγμένους εἰς μάχην ο προκαλεῖτο· μὴ βουλομένων δὲ μηδὲ τολμῶντων, ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἀθηνὴν ἔπικουρίαν ἐκδεχομένων, νυκτὸς ἁρας καὶ λαθῶν ἀπαντάς εἰς τὴν Δακωνικὴν κατέβη, καὶ μικροῦ ἐφθη τὴν πόλιν ἐρημὸν ἐξ

1 Πάναινος Ο. Μüller: Πλεισταῖνετος.
2 πεποίκιλται καὶ τὲ Φ.Σ.Β.: πεποίηται καὶ τὲ.
3 ἄφυως Reiske: ἄφυως τ Ῥος.
4 ἀπὸ] ὑπὸ Abresch.

496
Euphranor, Nicias, Asclepiodorus, and Panaenus, the brother of Pheidias, some of them painted conquering generals, others battles, and still others the heroes of old. As, for example, Euphranor compared his own Theseus with that of Parrhasius, saying that Parrhasius's Theseus had fed on roses, but his on beef; for in truth Parrhasius's portrait has a certain delicacy and subtlety in its execution, and it does somewhat resemble Theseus; but someone, on seeing Euphranor's Theseus, exclaimed, not inaptly,

Race of the great-hearted hero Erechtheus, whom once Athena Nurtured, the daughter of Zeus.

Euphranor has painted also, not without some animation, the cavalry battle against Epameinondas at Mantinea. The action came about in this way: Epameinondas the Theban, after the battle of Leuctra, was greatly elated, and conceived the desire to trample upon the prostrate Sparta, and grind her pride and self-esteem into the dust. And first he attacked with an army of seventy thousand, pillaged the Spartans' territory, and persuaded the Perioeci to revolt from them. Then he challenged to battle the forces that were drawn up in the vicinity of Mantinea; but when they did not wish or even dare to risk an engagement, but continued to await reinforcements from Athens, he broke camp by night and, without being observed by anybody, descended into Lacedaemon and almost succeeded, by a sudden

\(^a\) Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxv. 9. 69.
\(^b\) Homer, *Il*. ii. 547.
\(^c\) Cf. *Life of Agesilaus*, chaps. xxxiv.-xxxv. (615 c-616 A); Xenophon, *Hellenica*, vii. 5; Diodorus, xv. 82-84.
(546) ἐφόδου λαβεῖν καὶ κατασχεῖν. αἰσθομένων δὲ τῶν
υμμακῶν καὶ βοηθείας ταχείας1 πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
γενομένης, ὑπείξε2 μὲν ὃς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ λεησσάσαι
καὶ φθορὰν τῆς χώρας τρεψόμενος: ἐξαπατήσας δὲ
καὶ κατακοιμίσας οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέξευξε
νυκτός ἐκ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ διαδραμὼν τὴν3
μεταξὺ χώραν ἐπεφαίνετο τοῖς Μαντινεύσιν ἄπροσ-
dόκητος διαβουλευομένοι καὶ4 αὐτοῖς ἀκμὴν τοῦ
D πέμπτων την εἰς Λακεδαίμονα βοήθειαν καὶ5 εὐθέως
ὅπλιζεσθαί προσέταξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν
Θηβαίοι μέγα φρονοῦντες εἰ τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἐπε-
φέροντο καὶ περιελάμβανον κύκλῳ τὰ τείχη. τῶν
de Μαντινέων ἐκπληξῖς ἦν καὶ ἀλαλαγμός καὶ
dιαδρομή, ὡς ἐρέμα τὴν δύναμιν ἄθροαν ἐμπύ-
tουσαν ὠσασθαί μὴ δυναμένων μηδ' ἐπινοοῦντων
βοήθειαν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καίρῳ καὶ τύχῃ Ἀθηναίοι
κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων εἰς τὴν Μαντινικήν οὐκ
εἰδότες τὴν ῥοπὴν οὐδὲ τὴν ὁξύτητα τοῦ ἁγῶνος,
ἀλλ' ὡς ὁρεύομενοι καθ' ἰσχύιαν· ὡς δὲ τις
Ε ἀστών6 ἐκδραμὼν ἀπήγγειλε τὸν κύδωνον, ὁλίγοι
μὲν ὀντες ὅσ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, ἐξ
ὅδοι δὲ κεκηρικότες, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων συμ-
μάχων παρόντως, ὃμως εὐθὺς εἰς τάξιν καθίσταντο
toῖς πλείστοις7· οἱ δὲ ὑπείς διασκευάσμενοι καὶ

1 ταχείας F.C.B.; ταχείως Wytenbach; διὰ τάχους may
also be read, and the ms. reading τάχος (often found in
poetry) may be right after all.
2 ὑπείξε Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: ὑπέδειξε.
3 τὴν Reiske: εἰς τὴν.
4 διαβουλευομένοις καὶ Helmbold; καὶ διαβουλευομένοις (-οι).
5 καὶ added by Helmbold, after Pohlenz.
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS, 346

attack, in capturing and occupying the city, which was without defenders. But when the Spartan allies perceived this, and aid for the city quickly arrived, he retired as though he were again about to turn to plundering and devastating the countryside. But when he had thus deceived his enemies and quieted their suspicions, he set forth by night from Laconia and, rapidly traversing the intervening territory, appeared to the Mantineans unexpectedly, while they also were engaged in discussing the right moment for sending aid to Sparta, and ordered the Thebans to arm straightway for the attack. Accordingly the Thebans, who took great pride in their skill at arms, advanced to the attack and encircled the city walls. There was consternation among the Mantineans, and shouting and running hither and thither, since they were unable to repulse this assembled force which was bursting upon them like a torrent, nor did any thought of possible succour occur to their minds. At this crucial and fateful moment the Athenians were descending from the heights to the plain of Mantineia, with no knowledge of this turn of fortune or of the keenness of the struggle, but were proceeding leisurely on their journey. However, when one of the Mantineans ran out with report of the danger, although the Athenians were few in comparison with the great numbers of their enemy, and although they were weary from their march, and none of their other allies was at hand, nevertheless they straightway took their places in battle-array with almost their whole number, while the cavalry donned their armour and rode ahead of

6 άντων F.C.B.: αντων.

7 πλείστοις δπλίταις Wytenbach.
3. Πλὴν ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν μὲν ζωγραφίαν ποιήσων σιωπῶσαν προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ ποιήσων ζωγραφίαν λαλῶσαν. ὡς γὰρ οἱ ζωγραφοὶ πράξεις ὑπὸ γυνομένας δεικνύουσι, ταύτας οἱ λόγοι γεγενηται μένας διηγοῦνται καὶ συγγράφουσιν. εἰ δ' οἱ μὲν χρώμασι καὶ σχήμασιν, οἱ δ' όνόμασι καὶ λέξεις ταύτα δηλοῦσι, ὑλὴ καὶ τρόπους μοιχὴσεως διαφέρουσι, τέλος δ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐν ὑπόκειται, καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν κράτιστος ὁ τὴν διήγησιν ὥσπερ γραφήν πάθει καὶ προσώπους εἰδωλοποιήσας. ὁ δ' οὖν Ὁσικυδίδης αἰεὶ τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς ταύτην ἀμιλλάται τὴν ἐνάργειαν, οἴδαν θεατὴν ποιήσατο τὸν ἀκροατὴν καὶ τὰ γυνώμενα περὶ τοὺς ὀρὸντας ἐκπληκτικά καὶ ταρακτικά πάθη τοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκουσιν ἐνεργάσασθαι λιχνευόμενος. ὁ γὰρ παρὰ τῇ ραχίαν

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1 προεξελάσαντες Reiske: προεξελάσαντες.
2 σύρρηγμα Meziriacus: σύγγραμμα.
3 τῷ ζωγράφῳ Wyttenbach: τὴν ζωγράφου.
4 προθείτε Wyttenbach: προσθείτε.
5 προσαγορεύει| προσαγορεύον all mss. except E.
6 ταύτα Wyttenbach: ταύτα.
7 δ' οὖν Helmbold: γούν.
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS, 346-347

the rest, and under the very gates and the wall of the city engaged in a sharp cavalry encounter; the Athenians prevailed and rescued Mantinea from the clutches of Epameinondas.

This was the action which Euphranor depicted, and in his portrayal of the battle one may see the clash of conflict and the stout resistance abounding in boldness and courage and spirit. But I do not think you would award judgement to the painter in comparison with the general, nor would you bear with those who prefer the picture to the trophy of victory, or the imitation to the actuality.

3. Simonides, however, calls painting inarticulate poetry and poetry articulate painting: for the actions which painters portray as taking place at the moment literature narrates and records after they have taken place. Even though artists with colour and design, and writers with words and phrases, represent the same subjects, they differ in the material and the manner of their imitation; and yet the underlying end and aim of both is one and the same; the most effective historian is he who, by a vivid representation of emotions and characters, makes his narration like a painting. Assuredly Thucydides is always striving for this vividness in his writing, since it is his desire to make the reader a spectator, as it were, and to produce vividly in the minds of those who peruse his narrative the emotions of amazement and consternation which were experienced by those who beheld them. For he tells how Demosthenes is

\[ \text{Cf. Moralia, 18 A.} \]
\[ \text{Cf. Life of Nicias, chap. i. (523 c); Longinus, On the Sublime, chap. xxy.} \]
\[ \text{Cf. Thucydides, iv. 10-12.} \]
B αὐτὴν' τῆς Ηνύλου παρατάττων τοὺς 'Αθηναίους
(317) Δημοσθένης, καὶ ὁ τῶν κυβερνήτην ἐπιστέρχων Ἰβραίδας ἐξεκέλειν καὶ χαρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποβάθραν2 καὶ τραματιζόμενος καὶ λυποφυχῶν3 καὶ ἀποκλίνων ἐς τὴν παρεξεφησίαν, καὶ οἱ πεζομαχοῦντες μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ναυμαχοῦντες δ' ἀπὸ γῆς 'Αθηναίοι· καὶ πάλιν "ὁ" ἐν τοῖς Σικελικοῖς "ἐκ τῆς γῆς πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων, ἱσορρόπου τῆς ναυμαχίας καθεστηκήναι, ἀληκτῶν4 ἀγώναι καὶ ἐξώντας5 τῆς γνώμης ἔχων" διὰ τὰς συντάξεις, καὶ "διὰ τὸ ἀκρίτων" συνεχές τῆς ἀμύλλης καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἴσα τῇ δόξῃ περιδεώς συναπονεύων"6 τῇ διαθέσει καὶ τῇ διατυπώσει τῶν γυγνομένων γραφικῆς ἐναργείας ἐστίν.7 ὥστ' εἰ τοὺς ζωγραφοῦντας οὐκ ἄξιον παραβάλλειν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, μηδὲ τοὺς ἱστοροῦντας παραβάλλομεν.
Τὴν τοῖνυν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἀπήγγειλεν, ὡς μὲν 'Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἱστορεῖ, Θέρσυππος ὁ 'Εροεύς10· οἱ δὲ πλείστοι λέγουσιν Εὐκλέα, δραμόντα σὺν τοῖς ὀπλιστ11 θερμοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης καὶ ταῖς θυραις ἐμπεσοῦτα τῶν πρῶτων,12 τοσοῦτο μόνον εἴπειν, "χαίρετε· νικῶμεν,13" εἴτ' εὐθὺς

1 αὐτὴν Reiske from Thucydides, iv. 10: αὐτῆς.
2 ἀποβάθραν Bernardakis from Thucydides, iv. 12: βάθραν.
3 λυποφυχῶν Dübner (as in Thucydides, iv. 12): λεπτοσυμφων.
4 ἀληκτὸν F.C.B.; πολὺν τὸν Thucydides, vii. 71; ἀπλετον
S. L. Naber; θαυμαστόν H. Richards: ἀλαστόν.
5 ἐξώντας Reiske: συντάξειν.
6 καὶ added by F.C.B.
7 διὰ τὸ ἀκρίτως added from Thucydides, vii. 71: ὡς.
8 συναπονεύων Madvig, adapted from συναπονεύουσας ibid.: συμπνεών.
9 ἐστίν added by F.C.B.
10 'Εροεύς Xylander; 'Εροιάδης Kirchner, Prosopogr. Attica; 'Εροεύς Wilamowitz-Möllendorff: ἐρωεύς.
502
drawing up the Athenians at the very edge of the breakwater at Pylos, and Brasidas is urging on his pilot to beach the ship, and is hurrying to the landing-plank, and is wounded and falls fainting on the forward-deck; and the Spartans are fighting an infantry engagement from the sea, while the Athenians wage a naval battle from the land. Again, in his account of the Sicilian expedition: “The armies of both sides on the land, as long as the fighting at sea is evenly balanced, are enduring an unceasing struggle and tension of mind” because of their battling forces; and “because of the continued indecisiveness of the struggle they accompany it in an extremity of fear, with their very bodies swaying in sympathy with their opinion of the outcome.” Such a description is characterized by pictorial vividness both in its arrangement and in its power of description; so, if it be unworthy to compare painters with generals, let us not compare historians either.

Again, the news of the battle of Marathon Thersippus of Eroeadae brought back, as Heracleides Ponticus relates; but most historians declare that it was Eucles who ran in full armour, hot from the battle, and, bursting in at the doors of the first men of the State, could only say, “Hail! we are victorious!”

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\[a\] Cf. Thucydides, vii. 71; in the next two sentences the text is very uncertain and can only be restored with great hesitation.

\[b\] Cf. Lucian, Pro lapsu inter Salutandum, 3; and F. G. Allinson in the Classical Weekly, xxiv. p. 152.
ΕΚΤΕΙΝΕΤΑΙ. ΠΛΗΝ ΟΔΗΣ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ἩΚΕ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΧΗΣ ἈΓΩΝΙΣΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ. ΦΕΡΕ ΔΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΥΠΕΡ
Δ ΛΟΦΟΥ ΤΩΝ ᾯ ΣΚΟΠΗΣ ΑΙΤΣΩΝ ᾯ ΒΟΤΗΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ἈΓΩΝΟΣ ΑΠΘΕΒΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΘΕΑΤΗΣ, ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΙΔΩΝ
ΤΟ ΜΕΓΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΕΙΩΝ ἘΚΕΙΝΟ ἘΡΓΟΝ ἩΚΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ἈΤΡΩΤΟΣ ἈΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΝΑΙ-
ΜΑΚΤΟΣ, ΕΙΤ' ΗΝΕΙΟΝ ΤΙΜΑΣ ἘΧΕΙΝ ΔΣ ΚΥΝΕΓΕΙΡΟΣ1 ἙΣΧΕΝ, ἂΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ, ἂΣ ΠΟΛΥΞΗΛΟΣ, ΌΤΙ ΤΑΣ
ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΑΪΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΥΣ ἈΠΗΓΓΕΙΛΕΝ ΔΡ' ΟΥΚ ΑΝ ἘΘΟΚΕΙ ΠΑΣΑΝ ὙΠΕΡΒΑΛΛΕΝ
ΑΝΑΙΔΕΙΑΝ; ὍΠΟΥ ΓΕ ΛΑΚΕ∆ΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ ΦΑΣΙ ΤΩ ΤΗΝ ἘΝ ΜΑΝΤΙΝΕΙΑ ΦΡΑΣΑΙΤΙ ΝΙΚΗΝ, ἮΝ ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ
ΙΣΤΟΡΗΚΕΝ, ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ἘΚ ΦΙΔΙΤΙΟΥ ΚΡΕΑΣ ἈΠΟ-
ΣΤΕΙΛΑΙ.2 ΚΑΙ ΜΗΝ ΟΙ ΣΥΝΗΓΡΑΦΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΞΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ
ΕΙΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΑΞΕΩΝ ΕΥΦΩΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΛΟΓῊ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ
ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΗΝ ΕΞΙΚΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ, ΏΣ ΕΥΑΓ-
ΓΕΙΟΝ ΟΙ ΦΕΙΛΟΥΝ ΟΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΕΝΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΝΤΕΣ ΚΑΙ
ΙΣΤΟΡΟΥΝΤΕΣ. ΑΜΕΛΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΚΩΜΙΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΜΗ-
ΜΟΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΓΙΝΝΩΣΚΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΤ-
ΟΡΘΩΣΑΝΤΑΣ; ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΟΙ ΛΟΓΟΙ ΠΟΙΟΥΣΙ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ
ἈΛΛΑ ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ3 ΚΑΙ ἈΚΟῊΣ ἈΞΙΟΥΝΤΑΙ.

4. ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ Η ΠΟΥΤΙΚΗ ΧΑΡΙΝ ἘΣΧΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΙΜΗΝ ΤΩ4
ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΠΡΑΓΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΕΟΙΚΟΤΑ ΛΕΓΕΙΝ, ὩΣ "ὉΜΗΡΟΣ ἘΦΗ

ἲσκε5 ψεύδεα πολλά λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὀμοία.

1 ΚΥΝΕΓΕΙΡΟΣ Bεξερακός and van Herwerden: κυναγειρός.
2 ἄποστειλα Xylander: ἀπέστειλαν. In the Life of
Αγεσίλαυσ, chap. xxxiii., ἄλλο δ' οὔδεν is added at the end.
3 ἄλλα διὰ τὰς πράξεις added by Madvig; Pohlenz would
add ἄλλα αὐτοὶ γίνονται διὰ τὰς πράξεις.
4 τῷ added by Reiske and Wytenbach.
5 ῲσχε Homer, Od. xix. 203: ἲσχε or ἐσχε.
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS, 347

and straightway expired. Yet this man came as a self-sent messenger regarding a battle in which he himself had fought; but suppose that some goatherd or shepherd upon a hill or a height had been a distant spectator of the contest and had looked down upon that great event, too great for any tongue to tell, and had come to the city as a messenger, a man who had not felt a wound nor shed a drop of blood, and yet had insisted that he have such honours as Cynegeirus received, or Callimachus, or Polyzelus, because, forsooth, he had reported their deeds of valour, their wounds and death; would he not have been thought of surpassing impudence? Why, as we are told, the Spartans merely sent meat from the public commons to the man who brought glad tidings of the victory in Mantinea which Thucydides\(^1\) describes! And indeed the compilers of histories are, as it were, reporters of great exploits who are gifted with the faculty of felicitous speech, and achieve success in their writing through the beauty and force of their narration; and to them those who first encountered and recorded the events are indebted for a pleasing retelling of them. We may be sure that such writers are lauded also merely through being remembered and read because of the men who won success; for the words do not create the deeds, but because of the deeds they are also deemed worthy of being read.

4. Poetry also has won favour and esteem because it utters words which match the deeds, as Homer\(^2\) says,

Many the lies that he spoke, but he made them all to seem truthful.


\(^2\) Homer, *Od.* xix. 203; cf. *Moralia* 16 a. 505
Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Μενάνδρῳ τῶν συνήθων τις εἶπεν, "ἐγγὺς οὖν, Μένανδρε, τὰ Διονύσια, καὶ σὺ τὴν κωμῳδίαν ὑπὸ πεποίηκας;" τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι, "νῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγνωκε πεποίηκα τὴν κωμῳδίαν. Γὰρ πιστεύει γὰρ ἡ διάθεσις: δει δ' αὐτῇ τὰ στιχίδια ἐπάσας," ὅτι καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα τῶν λόγων ἀναγκαίότερα καὶ κυριώτερα νομίζουσιν.

"Ἡ δὲ Κόριννα τὸν Πίνδαρον, ὅτα νέον ἔτι καὶ τῇ λογιστητὶ σοβαρώς χρώμενον, ἐνυθέτησεν ὡς ἄμουσον ὅτα καὶ μὴ ποιοῦντα μύθους, ὁ τῆς ποιητικῆς ἔργου εἶναι συμβέβηκε, γλώσσας δὲ καὶ καταχρήσεις καὶ μεταφράσεις καὶ μέλη καὶ ρυθμοὶ τῶν πράγματος ὑποτιθέντα. σφόδρα οὖν ὁ Πίνδαρος ἐπιστήσας τοῖς λεγομένοις ἐποίησεν ἐκείνῳ τὸ μέλος

'Ἰσμηνίδῳ ἦς χρυσαλάκατον Μελίαν,
'Η Κάδμου ἦς σπαρτῶν ἔρων γένος ἀνδρῶν,
'Η τὸ πάνυ5 σθένους 'Ἡρακλέους
'Η τῶν Διονύσου πολυγαθέα τιμάν.6

δειξαμένου δὲ τῇ Κορίννῃ γελάσασα ἐκείνῃ τῇ χειρὶ δεῖν ἐφῆ σπείρειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅλω τῷ θυλάκῳ. τῷ γὰρ ὅντι συγκεράσας καὶ συμφορήσας πανσπερμῖν τινὰ μύθων ὁ Πίνδαρος εἰς τὸ μέλος ἔξεχεν. ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἡ ποιητικὴ περὶ μυθοποιίαν ἐστὶ καὶ Πλάτων εὑρήκεν. ὁ δὲ μύθος εἶναι βούλεται λόγος

1 Bernardakis would omit καί.
2 γλώσσας Meziriaacus: γλώσσας, γλώσσα, οἱ γλώσσαν.
3 μεταφράσεις| μεταφορὰς Michael.
4 ὑποτιθέντα Pohlenz: ὑποτίθεται.
5 πάνυ| πάντολομον Lucian (Demosth. Encom. c. 19).
6 ἦ τῶν Διονύσου πολυγαθέα τιμάν ibid.: ἦττάν.

506
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS. 347–348

The story is also told that one of Menander's intimate friends said to him, "The Dionysian Festival is almost here, Menander; haven't you composed your comedy?" Menander answered, "By heaven, I have really composed the comedy: the plot's all in order. But I still have to fit the lines to it." For even poets consider the subject matter more necessary and vital than the words.

When Pindar was still young, and prided himself on his felicitous use of words, Corinna warned him that his writing lacked refinement, since he did not introduce myths, which are the proper business of poetry, but used as a foundation for his work unusual and obsolete words, extensions of meaning, paraphrases, lyrics and rhythms, which are mere embellishments of the subject matter. So Pindar, giving all heed to her words, composed the famous lyric:

Ismenus, or Melia of the golden distaff,
Or Cadmus, or the holy race of men that were sown,
Or the mighty strength of Heracles,
Or the gladsome worship of Dionysus.

He showed it to Corinna, but she laughed and said that one should sow with the hand, not with the whole sack. For in truth Pindar had confused and jumbled together a seed-mixture, as it were, of myths, and poured them into his poem. That poetry concerns itself with the composition of mythological matters Plato also has stated. A myth aims at being a false

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*a Cf. the Scholia Cruquiana on Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 311.
*b Cf. *Moralia*, 769 c.
*d Edmonds's version (*Lyra Graeca*, iii. p. 7) of this famous passage is incomprehensible to me.
*e *Phaedo*, 61 b; cf. *Moralia*, 16 c.
5. Ἐπικής¹ μὲν οὖν ποιήσεως ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἔσχηκεν ἐνδοξον δημιουργόν οὔδὲ μελικής. ὁ γὰρ Κνησίας ἄργαλεος ἐοίκε ποιητῆς γεγονέναι διαφράμβῳ καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄγονος καὶ ἄκληγς γέγονε, σκωπτόμενος δὲ καὶ χλευαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν κωμῳδιοποιῶν οὐκ εὔτυχος δόξης μετέσθηκε. τῶν δὲ δραματοποιῶν τὴν μὲν κωμῳδιοποιίαν οὖτως ἀσεμνον ἥγοντο καὶ φορτικον, ὥστε νόμος ἦν μηδένα ποιείν κωμῳδίας Ἀρεσπαγίτην. ἦνθησε δ' ἡ Σ τραγῳδία καὶ διεβοῆθη, θαυμαστὸν ἀκρόαμα καὶ θέαμα τῶν τότ' ἄνθρωπων γενομένη καὶ παρασχόμα ποτὶ καὶ τοῖς μύθοις καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀπάτην, ὡς Γοργίας φησίν, ἦν ² ὁ τ' ἀπατήσας δικαιότερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπατήσαντος καὶ ὁ ἀπατηθεὶς σοφώτερος τοῦ μὴ ἀπαθηθέντος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπατήσας δικαιότερος, ὅτι τοῦθ' ὑποσχόμενος πεποίηκεν· ὁ δ' ἀπατηθεὶς σοφώτερος· εὐάλωτον γὰρ ὑπ' ἠδονῆς λόγων τὸ μὴ ἀναίθητον.

Τίν' οὖν αἱ καλαὶ τραγῳδίαι ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς οἴνησιν ηὔνεικαν ὡς ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους δεινότης ἐτείχισε τῇν

1 Ἐπικής Reiske: τῆς. 2 ἦν Stephanus: ἦν.

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¹ Cf. Moralia, 1141 e; Aristophanes, Birds, 1373 ff.; Frogs, 366; Ecclesiazusae, 327 ff.; Plato, Gorgias, 502 a. Athenaeus, 551 d, quotes from an oration of Lysias against 508
tale, resembling a true one; wherefore it is far removed from actual events, if a tale is but a picture and an image of actuality, and a myth is but a picture and image of a tale. And thus those who write of imaginative exploits lag as far behind historians as persons who tell of deeds come short of those that do them.

5. Athens, to be sure, possessed no famous writer of either epic or melic poetry; for Cinesias seems to have been an infelicitous dithyrambic poet. He was himself without family or fame but, jeered and mocked by the comic poets, he acquired his share in unfortunate notoriety. And for the dramatic poets, the Athenians considered the writing of comedy so undignified and vulgar a business that there was a law forbidding any member of the Areopagus to write comedies. But tragedy blossomed forth and won great acclaim, becoming a wondrous entertainment for the ears and eyes of the men of that age, and, by the mythological character of its plots, and the vicissitudes which its characters undergo, it effected a deception wherein, as Gorgias remarks, "he who deceives is more honest than he who does not deceive, and he who is deceived is wiser than he who is not deceived." For he who deceives is more honest, because he has done what he promised to do; and he who is deceived is wiser, because the mind which is not insensible to fine perceptions is easily enthralled by the delights of language.

What profit, then, did these fine tragedies bring to Athens to compare with the shrewdness of Themistocles which provided the city with a wall, with the

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him; but even though unpopular he was at least witty; cf. Moralia, 22 A (170 A).

b Cf. Moralia, 15 D.
(348) πόλιν, ὡς ἡ Περικλέους ἐπιμέλεια τὴν ἄκραν\(^1\) ἔκοψιμησεν, ὡς Μιλτιάδης ἥλευθερωσεν, ὡς Κίμων προῆγεν εἰς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν; εἰ οὕτως ἡ Εὐριπίδου σοφία καὶ ἡ Σοφοκλέους λογισμὸς καὶ τὸ Ἀισχύλου στόμα τι τῶν δυσχερῶν ἀπῆλλαξεν ἢ τι τῶν λαμπρῶν περιποίησεν, ἄξιον γε τὰ δράματα τοῖς τροπαίοις ἀντιπαραθέτει καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὸ θέατρον ἀνταναστήσαι καὶ ταῖς ἀριστείαις τᾶς διδασκαλίας ἀντιπαραβαλεῖν.

6. Βούλεσθε τοὺς ἀνδρας εἰσάγωμεν αὐτοὺς τὰ σύμβολα καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῶν ἔργων κομιζοντας, ἰδίως ἐκατέρω πάροδον ἀποδόντες; εἴθεν μὲν δὴ προσίτωσαν ὑπ' αὐλοῖς καὶ λύραις ποιητὰς λέγοντες καὶ ἀδόντες,

εὐφήμειν χρὴ καξιστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροις χοροῦσιν\(^2\)

όστις ἀπειρος τοιώνδε λόγων ἡ γνώμην\(^3\) μὴ καθαρεῦει,

ἡ γενναῖων ὀργία Μουσῶν μήτ' ἥσεν\(^4\) μήτ' ἐχόρευσε,

μηδὲ Κρατίνου τοῦ ταυροφάγου γλώττης βακχεῖ ἐτελέσθη,

καὶ σκευᾶς καὶ προσωπεία καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ μηχανὰς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ περικτοὺς καὶ τρίποδας ἐπινικίους κομιζοντες\(^6\). τραγικοὶ\(^7\) δ' αὐτοῖς ὑποκριταὶ καὶ Νικόστρατοι καὶ Καλλιπίδαι καὶ Μυνίσκοι\(^8\)

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\(^1\) ἄκραν] ἀκρόπολιν Cobet.
\(^2\) χοροῖσι Turnebus from Aristophanes (not in mss. of Plutarch).
\(^3\) γνώμην (or γνώμη) Aristophanes and 349 B, infra: γλώσσῃ.
\(^4\) ἥσεν] εἶδεν Aristophanes.
\(^5\) καὶ added by Pantazides.
\(^6\) κομιζοντες] κομιζοντας all mss. but one.
\(^7\) τραγικοὶ Meziriacus: τράγοι.
\(^8\) 510
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS, 348

diligence of Pericles which adored the Acropolis, with the liberty which Miltiades bestowed, with the supremacy to which Cimon advanced her? If in this manner the wisdom of Euripides, the eloquence of Sophocles,¹ and the poetic magnificence of Aeschylus rid the city of any of its difficulties or gained for her any brilliant success, it is but right to compare their tragedies with trophies of victory, to let the theatre rival the War Office, and to compare the records of dramatic performances with the memorials of valour.

6. Is it, then, your pleasure that we introduce the men themselves bearing the emblems and badges of their achievements, and assign to each their proper entrance? Then from this entrance let the poets approach, speaking and chanting to the accompaniment of flutes and lyres,

Now speak not a word of evil sound, and keep clear the way for our chorus,
Whosoever in words like these is unskilled and whose mind is not free from uncleanness,
Whoever has sung and never has danced in the rites of the noble Muses,
Nor has ever been trained in the Bacchic rites of the tongue of bull-eating Cratinus!²

Let them bring with them their equipment, their masks and altars, their stage machinery, their revolving changes of scene, and the tripods that commemorate their victories. Let their tragic actors accompany them, men like Nicostratus and Callippides,

¹ Cf. Haigh, Tragic Drama of the Greeks, p. 166.
³ μυνισκοι I.G. ii. 2 2318. 119 (cf. Aristotle, Poetics, xxvi. (1461 b 34)): μυνισκοι.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

καὶ Ὑεόδωροι καὶ Πωλοὶ¹ συντότσως, ὦστερ γυναικὸς πολυτελοῦς τῆς τραγωδίας κομμωταὶ καὶ διφροφόροι, μᾶλλον δ' ὃς ἁγαλμάτων ἐγκαυταὶ² καὶ Φ χρυσωταὶ καὶ βαφεῖς παρακολουθοῦντες· σκευῶν δὲ καὶ προσώπων καὶ ἐνυστίδων ἀλουργῶν καὶ μηχανῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ χοροποιῶν καὶ δορυφόρων δυσπραγμάτευτος λαὸς καὶ χορηγία πολυτελεῖς παρασκευαζόντως. πρὸς ἀ Δάκων ἀνήρ ἀποβλέψας οὐ κακῶς εἶπεν ὃς ἀμαρτάνουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι μεγάλα τὴν σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν παιδιὰν καταναλίσκοντες, τούτους μεγάλους ἀποστόλων δαπάνας καὶ στρατευμάτων ἐφόδια καταχρησιμοῦντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον.

349 ὁ γὰρ ἐκλογισθῇ τῶν δραμάτων ἐκαστόν ὅσον κατέστη, πλέον ἀνηλικῶς φανεῖται ὁ δῆμος εἰς Βάκχας καὶ Φωνίσσας καὶ Οἰδίποδας καὶ Ἀντιγόνας³ καὶ τὰ Μηδείας κακώς καὶ Ἡλέκτρας, ὅν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας πολεμῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους⁴ ἀνάλωσεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ στρατηγοὶ πολλάκις παραγγείλαντες ἀπορα σιτία κομίζειν ἐξῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς μάχας τοὺς ἄνδρας· καὶ ἥ Δή ν οἱ τριήραρχοι τοῖς ἐλαύνονσιν ἄλφιτα παρασκευάζοντες, ὥστε δὲ κρόμμια καὶ τυρόν, ἐνεβίβαζον εἰς τὰς τριήρεις· οἱ δὲ χορηγοὶ τοὺς χορευταίς ἐγχέλεια καὶ θριάκια καὶ σκελίδας⁵ καὶ μυέλον παρατιθέντες, εὑρόχουν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον φωνασκουμένους καὶ τρυφώντας· καὶ τούτων τοῖς μὲν ἄττηθεις περιήγ

¹ Πωλοῖ Stephanus: πολλοι.
² ἐγκαυταὶ Hatzidakis: ἐγκαυταί.
³ Ἀντιγόνας Helmbold: ἀντιγόνη.
⁴ τοὺς βαρβάρους] τοῖς βαρβάροις Meziriacus, but see Wytenbach's note.
⁵ καὶ added by Turnebus.
⁶ σκελίδας Reiske: σκελίδας.

That is, a tragedy is an unadorned statue. The actors
Mynniscus, Theodorus, and Polus, who robe Tragedy and bear her litter, as though she were some woman of wealth; or rather, let them follow on as though they were painters and gilders and dyers of statues.\(^a\)

Let there be provided also a bounteous outlay for stage furnishings, supernumeraries, sea-purple robes, stage machinery, as well as dancing-masters and bodyguards, an intractable crowd. It was in reference to all this that a Spartan\(^b\) not ineptly remarked that the Athenians were making a great mistake in wasting their energies on amusements, that is to say, in lavishing on the theatre what would pay for great fleets and would support armies in the field. For, if we reckon up the cost of each tragedy, the Athenian people will be seen to have spent more on productions of *Bacchae, Phoenissae, Oedipuses*, and *Antigones*, and the woes of Medea and Electra, than they spent in fighting for their supremacy and for their liberty against the barbarians. For the generals often ordered their men to bring along uncooked rations when they led them forth to battle; and the commanders, I can swear, after providing barley-meal and a relish of onions and cheese for the rowers, would embark them on the triremes. But the men who paid for the choruses gave the choristers eels and tender lettuces, roast-beef and marrow, and pampered them for a long time while they were training their voices and living in luxury. The result for the defeated *choregoi*\(^c\) was to supply the decoration: encaustic paint, gold-leaf, and dye.

\(^a\) Cf. *Moralia*, 230\(\beta\) and the note.

\(^b\) The *choregoi*, the men who trained the tragic choruses at Athens, lavished their private resources on the festival competitions; but the victor had merely a tripod awarded to him to show for all his vast expenditure, the loser worse than nothing.
(349) προσυβρίσθαι καὶ γεγονέναι καταγελάστους· τοῖς δὲ νικήσασι τρίπους¹ ὑπήρχεν, οὐκ ἀνάθημα τῆς νίκης, ὡς Δημήτριος φησίν, ἀλλ' ἑπίσπεισμα τῶν ἐκκεχυμένων βίων² καὶ τῶν ἐκλευστῶν κενοτάφιον οἶκων.³ τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ ποιητικῆς τέλη καὶ λαμπρότερον οὔδέν εἴ αὐτῶν.

7. Τούς δὲ στρατηγοὺς αὖ πάλιν ἐνθέντε παριόντας σκοπῶμεν, ὡς παρερχομένων ὡς ἁληθῶς "ἐυφημεῖν χρή καξίστασθαι" τοὺς ἀπράκτους καὶ ἀπολιτεύτους καὶ ἀστρατεύτους, "δοσίς" ἄτολμος⁴ πρὸς ἔργα τοιαῦτα "καὶ γνώμη" μὴ καθαρεύει," Μυθέω Μυλτιάδου τοῦ μηδοφόνου μυθέ τοῦ περσο-κτόνου Θεμιστοκλέους χειρὸς "βακχεῖ εὐτελέσθη." Ἀρήμος ὁ κώμος οὖτος ἐκ γῆς ἁμα φάλαγξι καὶ στόλοις ἐκ βαλάττης καὶ μεμειγμένοις⁶ σκύλοις καὶ τροπαιοῖς βεβριθῶς.

κλῦθ⁷ Ἑλαλά,⁸ Πολέμου θύγατερ, ἐγχέων προοίμων, ἀ θύεται⁹ ἀνδρές τῶν ἱρόθυτον¹⁰ θάνατον,

ὡς ὁ Ἐνθυαῖος Ἐπαμεινώνδας εἶπεν, ὑπὲρ πατρίδος καὶ τάφων καὶ ἑρῶν ἐπιδιδόντες ἐαυτοὺς τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ λαμπρότατοις ἁγώσων. ὅπως τὰς νίκας ὅραν μοι δοκῶ προσερχομένας, οὐ βοῶν

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1 τρίπους E. Capps: οὐ τρίπους.
2 ἑπίσπεισμα τῶν ἐκκεχυμένων βίων Reiske: ἐπὶ πεισμάτων ἐκκεχυμένων βίων.
3 οἶκων Reiske: οἶκων.
4 ἄτολμος Turnebus: εὐτόλμωσ.
5 γνώμη probably the preferable reading in Aristophanes: γνώμη.
6 μεμειγμένοις | ἡμειγμένοις Reiske.
7 κλῦθ 483 D: κλῦδι.
8 Ἑλαλά Xylander from 483 D: ἀννα *** γώ.
10 ἱρόθυτον Haupt: ἱερόθυτον.

514
be held in contumely and ridicule; but to the victors belonged a tripod,\(^a\) which was, as Demetrius says, not a votive offering to commemorate their victory, but a last oblation of their wasted livelihood, an empty memorial of their vanished estates. Such are the returns paid by the poetic art and nothing more splendid ever comes from it.

7. But let us now review the generals in their turn, as they make entrance from the other side; and at their approach those who have had no part in deeds of valour or political life or campaigns must in very truth "speak not a word of evil sound and clear the way," whoever there be that lacks courage for such deeds as theirs and "whose mind is not free from uncleanness, nor has ever been trained in the Bacchic rites" that are the handiwork of Miltiades, bane of Medes, and Themistocles, slayer of Persians. This is the rebel-rout of the god of war, with battalions on land and squadrons on sea, laden with mingled spoils and trophies:

Hearken, Alala, daughter of War,
Thou prelude of clashing spears, thou to whom are offered
Heroes in the holy sacrifice of death.\(^b\)

as Epameinondas the Theban cried, when he and his men were dedicating themselves to the noblest and most resplendent of struggles for their native land, the graves of their fathers, and their holy shrines. I seem to see their victories advancing, not dragging

\(^a\) Cf. *Life of Aristeides*, chap. i. (318 e); *Life of Nicias*, chap. iii. (524 e).
\(^b\) Pindar, Frag. 78 (ed. Christ); p. 558 ed. Sandys (in L.C.L.); cf. *Moralia*, 192 c (with Nachstädtt’s note ad loc.) and 483 d; Athenaeus, 19 a.
(319) ἐπαθλοῦν ἐλκούσας ἦ τράγον, οὕτω ἀνεστεμένας κιςτὶ καὶ Διονυσιακῆς τρυγὸς ὀδωρυίας· ἀλλ' ὅλαι μὲν πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰσὶ καὶ νῆσοι καὶ ἥπεροι, καὶ

D ναοὶ χυλιστάλαντοι καὶ δήμων ἀποκισμοῦ μυρίανδροι, τροπαίοι δὲ παντοδαποὶ ἀναστέφονται καὶ λαφύροις· ὃν ἀγάλματα καὶ σύμβολα παρθενών ἐκατόμπεδοι, νότια τείχη, νεώσιοικοί, προπύλαια, Χερρόνησος, Ἀμφίπολις. Μαραθῶν τὴν Μιλτιάδου νύκην προπέμπει, καὶ Σαλαμίς τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους, χυλίων σκαφῶν ναυαγίοις ἐπιβεβηκυῖαν. φέρει δ' ἡ μὲν Κήμωνος τριήρεις ἐκατὸν Φοινίκας ἀπ' Εὐρυμέδοντος, ἡ δὲ Δημοσθένους καὶ Κλέωνος ἀπὸ Σφακτηρίας τὴν Βρασίδου ἀσπίδ' αἰχμάλωτον καὶ δεδεμένους στρατιώτας. τειχίζει δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἡ Κόνωνος, ἡ δὲ Ὀρασυβούλου κατάγει τὸν δήμον ἀπὸ Ἐ Φυλῆς ἐλεύθερον, αἱ δ' Αλκιβιάδου περὶ Σικελίαν ὀλισθοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐγείρουσι· ἐκ δὲ τῶν Νείλεων καὶ 'Ανδρόκλου περὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Καρίαν ἀγώνων Ἰωνίαν ἀνασταμένην ἐπείδη ἡ Ἐλλάς. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐκάστης ἄν πῦθη τι τῇ πόλει γέγονεν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀγαθὸν, ἡ μὲν ἐρεί Λέσβον, ἡ δὲ Σάμον, ἡ δὲ Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πόντον Ἐὔξεινων, ἡ δὲ πεντακοσίας τριήρεις, ἡ δὲ μύρια τάλαντα, προύκα τῆς δόξης καὶ τῶν τροπαίων. ταῦθ' ἡ πόλις ἐορτάζει καὶ ὑπὲρ

1 ναοὶ χυλιστάλαντοι Bryan: νηχοτάλαντοι. Cf. Life of Pericles, chap. xii.
2 ἀναστέφονται] ἀναστρέφονται most mss.
3 νεώσιοικοί Meziriacus: νεὼν οἶκοι.
4 στρατιώτας] Ἐπαρτιάτας Wytenbach.
5 αἱ Meziriacus: ἡ or ὅι.
6 Νείλεω (cf. 253 v and 603 b) Hatzidakis: Νειλέων.
7 ἀνασταμένην] συνισταμένην Madvig.

516
along a bull or a goat as their prize, nor garlanded with ivy and redolent of the lees of Dionysus; but whole cities are theirs, and islands, and even continents, temples costing a thousand talents, and colonies of vast population; and they are garlanded with all manner of trophies and spoils. Their ornaments and emblems are buildings like the Parthenon one hundred feet in length, southern Long Walls, dockyards, Propylaea, Chersonese, and Amphipolis. Marathon leads forward the Victory of Miltiades, and Salamis does the same for Themistocles' Victory, poised upon the wreckage of a thousand ships. Cimon's Victory brings an hundred Phoenician ships from the Eurymedon, and the Victory of Demo- sthenes and Cleon brings from Sphacteria the captive shield of Brasidas and his soldiers in chains. Conon's Victory fortifies the city with new walls, while that of Thrasybulus leads back from Phylê the people restored to freedom. Alcibiades' Victories revive the city laid prostrate by her failure in Sicily. From the struggles of Neileus and Androclus about Lydia and Caria Greece came to see that Ionia was rising. If you inquire of the other Victories in turn what good came to the State from each, one will reply Lesbos, another Samos, another Cyprus, another the Euxine, another five hundred triremes, another ten thousand talents, to say nothing of the glory and the trophies which they won. These are the things which the city

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a £200,000 or $1,000,000. Cf. Life of Pericles, chap. xii. (158 f).
b The work of Cimon, according to the Life of Cimon, chap. xiii. (487 b).
c Cf. Thucydides, iv. 102.
d Cf. Thucydides, iv. 12, with Diodorus, xii. 62.
e Sons of Codrus, founders of Miletus and Ephesus respectively; cf. Moralia, 253 f, 603 b.
τούτων θύει τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς Αἰσχύλου νῖκαις ἡ Σοφοκλέους: οὐδ' ὅτε Καρκίνος Ἀερόπη
eυτύχει 1 ἡ Ἑκτόρι Ἀστυδάμας, ἀλλ' ἐκτῇ μὲν ἰσταμένου 2 Βοηθρομίων ἔσετί νῦν τὴν ἐν Μα-
ραθών νίκην ἡ πόλις ἐορτάζει: ἐκτῇ δ' ἐπὶ δέκα Γ' τοῦ 3 μηνὸς οἰνοχοεῖται τῆς Χαβρίου περὶ Νάξου ἐπινίκια ναυμαχίας: τῇ δὲ δωδεκάτη χαριστήρια ἔθνων ἐλευθερίας: ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς κατηλθοῦν. τρίτη δ' ἰσταμένου τὴν ἐν Πλαταιῶν 
μάχην ἐνίκων. τὴν δ' ἐκτῃν ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Μονι-
χιδος Ἀρτέμιδι καθιέρωσαν, ἐν ἡ τοῖς Ἑλλήσοι 
περὶ Σαλαμίνα νικῶσον ἐπέλαμψεν ἡ θέσι παν-
350 σέληνος. τὴν δὲ δωδεκάτην τοῦ Σκιρροφορίων 
ἐρωτέραν ἐποίησεν ὁ Μαντυνειακὸς ἀγών, ἐν ὁ τῶν 
ἄλλων συμμάχων ἐκβιαισθέντων καὶ τραπέντων, 
μόνοι τὸ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς νικήσαντες ἐστηθαν τρόπαιον ἀπὸ τῶν νικώντων πολεμίων. ταῦτα τὴν πόλιν 
ἡρεν 4 εἰς δόξαν, ταῦτ' εἰς μέγεθος: ἐπὶ 5 τούτω 
Πινδαρος

ἐρείσμα τῆς Ἑλλάδος 

προσείπε τὰς Ἀθῆνας, οὐχ ὅτι ταῖς Φρυνίχου

1 ευτύχει F.C.B.; περιμὴν Emperius; ενίκα H. Valesius; 
2 ἰσταμένου] ἰσταμένη most mss. 
3 ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ [αὐτοῦ] added by Xylander from the Life 
of Phocion, chap. vi. 
4 ἡρεν S. A. Naber: ἡγειρεν. 
5 ἐπὶ Emperius: ἐν.

ibid. p. 778. 
(138 β), and How's note on Herodotus, vi. 106 (which, 
however, misquotes Plutarch). 
518
celebrates in her festivals, for these she sacrifices to the gods, not for the dramatic victories of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Nor is the day celebrated when Carcinus\(^a\) was successful with his *Aëropé*, or Astydamas\(^b\) with his *Hector*, but even yet the State celebrates the victory at Marathon on the sixth of Boëdromion.\(^c\) On the sixteenth of this month they pour a libation of wine in memory of Chabrias's victory at Naxos.\(^d\) On the twelfth they used to sacrifice thank-offerings for the recovery of their liberty, for on that day the exiles returned from Phylê.\(^e\) On the third they won the battle of Plataeae.\(^f\) The sixteenth of Munichion they dedicated to Artemis, for on that day the goddess shone with full moon upon the Greeks as they were conquering at Salamis. The conflict at Mantinea\(^g\) has made the twelfth of Scirophorion more sacred; for in this battle, when the other allies were overpowered and routed, it was the Athenians alone who defeated the force opposed to them and erected a trophy taken from the victorious enemy. These are the things which have uplifted Athens to heights of glory and greatness; it was for these that Pindar\(^h\) addressed Athens as

The mainstay of Greece,

\(^a\) Cf. *Life of Phocion*, chap. vi. (744 b); *Life of Camillus*, chap. xix. (138 b); Diodorus, xv. 35.
\(^b\) Cf. 345 e, 349 e, *supra*.
\(^d\) Cf. 346 b-e, *supra*.
\(^e\) Pindar, Fragg. 76 and 77 (ed. Christ); p. 556 ed. Sandys (L.C.L.); cf. also *Moralia*, 232 f, 552 b, 867 c; *Life of Themistocles*, chap. viii. (115 f).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(350) τραγωδίαις καὶ Θέσπιδος ὠρθοὺν1 τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ἀλλ’ ὁ τραγοῦ, ὃς θησιν αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ "Ἀρτέμισίω
παιδὲς Ἀθαναίων2 ἐβάλοντο φαεννὰν3 κρηπίδ' ἐλευθερίας.

Β ἐπὶ τε Σαλαμίνι καὶ Μυκάλη καὶ Πλαταίας ὄσπερ ἀδαμαντῖνοι4 στηρύζαντες τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος παρέδοσαν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις.

8. 'Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία παιδία τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν· οἱ δὲ ρήτορες ἔχουσι τι παραβάλλομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, ἐξ ὧ行 εἰκότως5 Λισχῖνης σκῶπτων τὸν Δημοσθένην λέγειν φησίν ὅτι γράφεται6 τῷ βήματι διαδίκασίαν πρὸς τὸ στρατηγίον.7 ἀρ' οὖν άξιον προκρίναι τὸν Ὑπερείδου Πλαταϊκὸν τῆς Ἀριστείδου Πλαταίασ8 νίκης; ἡ τοῦ Λυσίου κατὰ τῶν τριάκοντα τῆς Θρασυβούλου καὶ Ἀρχίνου9 τυραννοκτονίας; ἡ τοῦ Λισχίνου κατὰ Τιμάρχου

C ἐταιρήσεως τῆς Φωκίδος εἰς Βυζαντίου βοηθείας, δι' ἥς ἐκάλυψε τοὺς τῶν συμμάχων νόοις ἐνύβρισμά
tε καὶ παρούση ηγεῖθαι Μακεδόνων; ἡ τοῖς
cοινοῖς10 στεφάνοις, οὕς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθερώσας

1 ὠρθοὺν Reiske: ὀρθοῦ.
2 Ἀθαναίων Bockh: αθαναίων.
3 φαεννὰν Life of Themistocles, chap. viii.: φαεννὴν.
4 ἀδαμαντῖνος E. Harrison, cf. Plato, Republic, 618 e
(-οὺς άλλος Hartung; κῦσι Schroeder; στῆλας van Herwerden): ἀδαμαντίνων.
5 εἰκότως Madvig: εἰκός ὡς (ὡς εἰκός ἐξ ὧν Emperius; εἰκός, ὡς δήλων ἐξ ὧν Pohlenz).
7 τὸ στρατηγίον Reiske: τὴν στρατηγίαν.
8 Πλαταίασ Cobet: παραγγελίας.
9 Ἀρχίνου Reiske: ἀρχίνου.
10 κοινοῖς] Κόνωνος Madvig; Κοινωνείοις Bernardakis.

520
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS, 350

the tragedies of Phrynichus and Thespis, but because, as he himself says, first at Artemisium

Sons of the Athenians laid the far-shining foundation of freedom. a

And when at Salamis and Mycalè and Plataeae they had firmly established, as in adamant, the liberty of Greece, they handed it down to all mankind.

8. But the compositions of the poets we may affirm to be but a childish pastime; orators, however, have some claim when compared with generals; wherefore with good reason Aeschines b asserts derisively that Demosthenes declares that he will enter a suit for possession on behalf of the Speakers’ Platform against the War Office. Is it, then, right to prefer Hypereides’ Plataean oration to Aristeides’ victory at Plataea? Or Lysias’s speech against the Thirty c to Thrasybulus’s and Archinus’s slaughter of those tyrants? Or Aeschines’ oration against Timarchus’s wanton ways to Phocion’s expedition to Byzantium, d by which he prevented the sons of Athenian allies from becoming victims of the wantonness and drunken lust of Macedonians? Or with the crowns e which the Athenian people in common received when they had given freedom to Greece shall we compare

a Pindar, Fragg. 76 and 77 (ed. Christ); p. 556 ed Sandys (L.C.C.); cf. also Moralia, 232 ε, 552 β, 867 c; Life of Themistocles, chap. viii. (115 f).
b Aeschines, Against Ctesiphon, 146.
c The speech Against Eratosthenes.
d Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xiv. (748 a); Diodorus, xvi. 77.
e Whether “the crowns of Conon” or “the crowns received by the Athenian people” should be read is hard to decide. In favour of Conon may be quoted Demosthenes, xx. 69-70; and in favour of the Athenian people (as well as Conon and Chabrias), Demosthenes, xxii. 616, and xxiv. 180.
(350) ἔλαβεν ὁ δήμος,1 τὸν Δημοκράτειον περὶ τοῦ στεφάνιον παραβάλωμεν, ἐν ὦ τούτῳ λαμπρότατον καὶ λογιστάτον ὁ ῥήτωρ πεποίηκεν, ὁμόςας "τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶι προκυδρυνάσαντας τῶν προγόνων," οὐ3 τοὺς ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς τὰ μειράκια προδιδάσκοντας. Ἐφ᾽ οἷς οὖν τοὺς Ἰσοκράτεις καὶ Ἀντιφῶνας καὶ Ἰσαίος, ἀλλὰ τούτους ἥ πόλις δημοσίως ταφαίς ἐθαλήθη, ὑποδεξαμένη τὰ λείψανα τῶν Δ σωμάτων, καὶ τούτους ἀπεθέσθη τοὺς ὄρκους4 ὁ ῥήτωρ ὁμνύων οἷς οὐκ ἐμμείνετο. Ἰσοκράτης δὲ τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶι προκυδρυνύσαντας ὀσπερ ἀλλοτρίας ψυχαῖς φήσας ἐναγωνίσασθαι καὶ καθυστηρίζας τὴν τόλμαν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπεροψίαν τοῦ ξῆν, αὐτὸς, ὡς φασίν, ἥδη γέρων γεγονὼς πρὸς τὸν πυθόμενον πῶς διάγει, "οὕτως," εἰπεν, "ὡς ἄνθρωπος ύπὲρ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη γεγονός καὶ μεγιστὸν ἴκονομος τῶν κακῶν τὸν θάνατον." οὐ γὰρ ἀκονών Ξίφος οὔδε λόγχην χαράττων οὔδε λαμπρών κραίνος οὔδε στρατευόμενος οὐδὲ ἐρέττων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντίθετα καὶ πάρισα καὶ ὀμοίωτωτα κολλῶν καὶ συντιθείς, μονονοῦ κολαπτήριοι καὶ Ε ἐνστήρισι τὰς περιόδους ἀπολειώνων καὶ ρυμβίων ἐγήρασε. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐμμελλεν ἄνθρωπος ψόφον ὀπλῶν φοβεῖσθαι καὶ σύρρηγμα φαλάγγων5 ὁ φοβούμενος φωνήσῃ φωνήσειν συγκρούσαι καὶ συλλαβῇ τῷ

1 ὁ δήμος, added by Helmbold, may have become absorbed in Δημος-θένης.
2 οὐ Stephanus: ἦ. 3 οὐ added by Stephanus.
4 τοῖς ὄρκοις Meziriacus: τοῖς ὄρκοις.
5 φαλάγγων Abresch: φαλαγγός.

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Quoted from De Corona, 208.
Cf. Life of Demosthenes, chap. xiv. (852 c); Demosthenes was an incompetent soldier.
522
ON THE FAME OF THE ATHENIANS, 350

Demosthenes' oration *On the Crown?* For in this speech the orator has made this matter exceedingly perspicuous and intelligible in taking his oath "by the memory of those of our ancestors who risked their lives for us at Marathon," not by the teachers who in the schools gave them as youths their early training.

Wherefore the State has given public burial not to men like Isocrates, Antiphon, and Isaeus, but to these men, whose remains she has taken in her embrace; and these men it was that the orator deified in his oath when he swore by men whose example he was not following. But Isocrates, although he had declared that those who had risked their lives at Marathon had fought as though their souls were not their own, and although he had hymned their daring and their contempt of life, himself (so they say), when he was already an old man, replied to someone who asked him how he was getting on, "Even as does a man over ninety years of age who considers death the greatest of evils." For he had not grown old sharpening his sword nor whetting his spear-point nor polishing his helmet nor campaigning nor pulling at the oar, but in gluing together and arranging antitheses, balanced clauses, and inflexional similarities, all but smoothing off and proportioning his periods with chisel and file. How could this person do other than fear the clash of arms and the impact of phalanxes, he who feared to let vowel collide with vowel, or to

c Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 86; cf. Thucydides' language in i. 70.
d Contrast Cicero's admiration for Isocrates' old age (Cato Maior, 5).
ισόκωλον ἐνδεὲς ἐξενεγκεῖν; Μιλτιάδης μὲν γὰρ ἄρας εἰς Μαραθῶνα τῇ ύποτειραί τὴν μάχην συνάψας ἦκεν εἰς ἀστὺ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς νενικηκὼς, καὶ Περικλῆς εἰνεά μησὶ Σαμίων καταστρεφόμενος ἐφρόνει τοῦ 'Αγαμέμνονος μείζον ἔτει δεκάτω τὴν Τροίαν ἐλόντος. 'Ισοκράτης δὲ μικρὸι τρεῖς ὀλυμπιάδας ἀνήλωσεν, ἢν γράψῃ τὸν πανηγυρικὸν λόγον, οὗ στρατευσάμενος ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις Π οὐδὲ πρεσβεύσας οὐδὲ πόλιν κτίσας οὐδὲ ναύαρχος ἐκπεμφθεὶς, καίτοι μυρίους τοῦ τότε χρόνου πολέμους ἐνέγκαντος. ἀλλ' ἐν ὦ Τιμόθεος Εὐβοιαν ἢλευθέρου καὶ Χαβρίας περὶ Νάξου ἐναυμάχει καὶ περὶ Λέχαιον Ἰφικράτης κατέκοπτε τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων μόραν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλευθερώσας πόλιν ὁ 351 δήμος ἴσοψηφὸν αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατέστησεν, οἷκοι καθῆστο βιβλίον ἀναπλάττων τοῖς όνόμασιν, ὡς χρόνῳ τὰ προπύλαια Περικλῆς ἀνέστησε καὶ τοὺς ἐκατομμέδους. καίτοι καὶ τούτον ὡς βραδέως ἀνύντα τοῖς ἑργοῖς ἔπισκόπτων Κρατίνος οὕτω πῶς λέγει περὶ τοῦ διὰ μέσου τείχους,

λόγοισι γὰρ αὐτὸ προάγει Περικλῆς, ἑργοίσι δ' οὐδὲ κινεί.

σκόπει δὲ σοφιστικὴν μικροφροσύνην, τὸ ἐνατων

1 ἄρας Emperius: αὐτὸς.  
2 μόραν Meziriacus: μοῖραν.  
3 αὐτοῖς Helmbold: αὐτοῖς.  
4 μέσον Wytenbach: μέσον.  

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* A reference to Isocrates’ avoidance of hiatus and his attention to prose rhythm (Cicero, Brutus, 32).
utter a phrase whose balance was upset by the lack of a single syllable? For Miltiades set forth for Marathon, joined battle the next day, and returned victorious with his army to the city; and Pericles, when he had subdued the Samians in nine months, was prouder of his achievement than was Agamemnon, who captured Troy in the tenth year. But Isocrates consumed almost twelve years in writing his Panegyric; and during this period he took part in no campaigns, nor served on any embassy, nor founded any city, nor was dispatched as commander of a fleet, although this era brought forth countless wars. But while Timotheü̆s was freeing Euboea, and Chabrias with his fleet was fighting at Naxos, and Iphocrates near Lechaem was cutting to pieces the Spartan division, and the Athenian people, having liberated every city, bestowed upon Greece equal suffrage with themselves, Isocrates sat at home remodelling a book with mere words, as long a time as sufficed for Pericles to erect the Propylaea and his temples a hundred feet long. Yet Cratinus pokes fun even at Pericles for his slowness in accomplishing his undertakings, and remarks somewhat as follows about his Middle Wall:

Pericles in his talk makes the wall to advance. By his acts he does nothing to budge it.

But consider the petty spirit of this sophist, which

b Cf. Life of Pericles, chap. xxviii. (167 e); Thucydides, i. 117.

c Cf. Moralia, 837 r; Quintilian, x. 4. 4: Longinus, On the Sublime, 4. 2.

d Cf. 348 r, supra.

e Cf. Demosthenes, Oration xxiii. 198.

f Keck, Comic. Att. Frag. i. p. 100, Cratinus, no. 300.

g Cf. Life of Pericles, chap. xiii. (160 a), where the quotation seems metrically and otherwise closer to the original.
(351) μέρος τοῦ βίου εἰς ἑνα λόγον καταναλίσκουσαν. ἂλλα δὴ μέγα τοὺς Δημοσθένους τοῦ ρήτορος λόγους ἀξιόν ἄστι τοῖς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔργοις παραβάλλειν; τὸν κατὰ Κόνωνος αἰκίας τοῖς περὶ Β Πύλον τροπαίως ἐκείνου; τὸν πρὸς Ἀρεθούσιον περὶ ἀνδραπόδων τοῖς ἐξαινεῖσθαι τῷ ἐκείνου Σπαρτιάταις; ἡ ἠλικία τοὺς ἐπιτροπικοὺς ἔγραψε, ταύτην Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχον Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἡλείους ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα συνέστησε. καὶ μὴν οἳ γε δημόσιοι λόγοι τοῦ ἔχουσι βαθμαστόν, ὡς τοῖς Φιλίτπικοῖς ἐπὶ πράξεις προτρέπεται καὶ τὴν Λεπτίνου πρᾶξιν ἐπανειπεῖ.

1 δὴ μέγα F.C.B.; νῦν Δία Madvig; μᾶ τὸν Δία Wytenbach: δὴ μετά.
2 τοῖς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἔργοις Wytenbach: τοῖς στρατηγοῦς.
3 αἰκίας Xylander: ἀνοίας.
4 ἐκείνου Leonicus: ἐχεῦ.
5 τὸν added by Papabasileios.
6 Ἀρεθούσιων Cobet: ἀμαθούσιον.
7 ἡ ἠλικία F.C.B.: ἡ δέτι (ἡ ὃτι ὃτε τοῖς ἐπιτροπικοὺς ἔγραψε, τὴν ἠλικίαν ταύτην Bernardakis; alii alia).
8 ἐπιτροπικοὺς Bernardakis: ἐποίκους.
9 γε van Herwerden: τε.

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a Demosthenes. Oration liv.
b Ibid. liii.
caused the ninth part of his life to be spent on the composition of one speech. Is it, then, greatly worth our while to compare the speeches of the orator Demosthenes with the deeds of Demosthenes the general? To compare the speech Against Conon for assault and battery with Demosthenes’ trophies won at Pylos? To compare the speech directed at Arethusius on the slaves with Demosthenes’ reduction of the Spartans to slavery? The orator’s age when he wrote his speeches against his guardians was the same as that of Alcibiades when he united the Mantineans and Eleans against Sparta. And indeed Demosthenes’ public orations have this wonderful characteristic: in the Philippics he spurs his countrymen on to action and he praises the action of Leptines.

\[ \text{Ibid., xxvii., xxviii., xxix.} \]
\[ \text{Cf. Thucydidès, v. 43.} \]
\[ \text{Wyttenbach is probably correct in regarding the text of this last paragraph as too corrupt and disjointed for any certain correction and interpretation. The statement concerning Leptines is certainly wrong (cf. Demosthenes, Oration xx.): but it may have been set right in the context, for the ending is surely missing.} \]
INDEX

ABDALONYMUS, 463: a poor man who became king of Paphos.
Academy, the, 391: the school of philosophy founded by Plato at Athens, so called from the place of meeting.
Acanthus, 211: a town in eastern Chalcidice on the Strymonic Gulf.
Acanthus, 211: a town in eastern Chalcidice on the Strymonic Gulf.
Acastus, 199: son of Pelias, an Argonaut.
Acca, 59: Larentia, the nurse of Romulus.
Acestor, 219: son of Ephippus.
Acliaeans, 189, 191, 215, 219, 221.
Achilles, 209, 211, 219, 221, 411, 475.
Achilleum, 219: sacred precinct of Achilles at Tanagra.
Acidusa, 229: wife of Scamander, who gave her name to a spring.
Aeacidae, 429: the descendants of the hero Aeacus.
Aeacus, 293, 295: son of Zeus and Aegina.
Aeclus, 203: son of Xuthus.
Aegeir, 249: a town of the Megarid.
Aegina, 231: an island in the Saronic Gulf.
Aeginetans, 231.
Aegipan, 291: Silvanus, son of Valeria Tusculanaria.
Aegon, 461: a man who became king of Argos.
Aemili, 315: a name given to cruel monarchs.
Aemilius, 289: a young man of Sybaris.
Aemilius Censorinus, 313, 315: tyrant of Segesta.
Aemilius Lepidus, M., 341, 343: the Triumvir; 89-13 B.C.
Aemilius Paulus, 267, 269: (or Papus?) a Roman commander against Pyrrhus of Epirus.
Aemilius Scaurus, M., 83, 333, 335: born 163/2, a leader of the Optimates, censor 107, princeps senatus perhaps in 115 B.C.
Aeneas, 21-25, 71, 77, 119.
Aenianians, 189, 191, 207.
Aenis, 207: a country on the upper waters of the Spercheius.
Aenitus, 309: son of Numitor.
Aeolian, 181.
Aeolians, 151, 203, 205.
Aesopus, 297: king of the Etruscans.
Aëropé, 519: a tragedy of Carinus.
Aëropus, 339: perhaps a king of Macedonia before Philip.
Aeschines, 521: Attic orator; circa 389-314 B.C.
Aeschylus, 185, 511, 519; quoted, 141, 329, 429: Athenian tragic poet; 525-450 B.C.

529
INDEX

Aesculapius, 141: Roman name for Asclepius, god of medicine.

Aethicia, 189, 297: a region of Thessaly.

Aetolian, 29, 315.

Africa, 365.


Agatharchides, 259: of Samos, historian.

Agathon, 313: of Samos, an historian.

Agenor, 239: king of Argos.

Agenor, 261: an Argive.

Agesilaios, 259: brother of Themi-stocles.

Agesilaios, 273: called father of Pausanias.

Agesilaios, 299: an historian.

Agesilaos, 475: king of Sparta 398-360 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Agrigentum, 313: a city in Sicily.

Agrigentum, 167, 223: a Greek festival, a sort of Feast of All Souls, or Ghosts' Assembly.


Ajax, 187: son of the Python.

Ajax, 297: son of Telamon and Eriboea, great hero of the Trojan war.

Alala, 515: the "Battle-Cry," daughter of War.

Alalcomenae, 231: a city of Ithaca.

Alalcomenium, 231: the precinct of Athena in Alalcomenae in Boeotia.

Alba, 349: Alba Longa, the chief city of Latium on Monte Cavo.

Albanians, 365: a people of the eastern Caucasus.


Alcathoë, 221: daughter of Minyas.

Alcathoïds, 295: father of Eriboea.

Alciabades, 77, 393, 417, 493, 517, 527: an Athenian general, son of Cleinias; circa 451-404 B.C.

Alcippé, 315: daughter of Oenomus.

Alcman, 333: quoted, 331, 431: choral poet of the 2nd half of the 7th cent. B.C.


Alexander the Molossian, 377: son of Neoptolemus and brother of Olympias, king of Epirus from 342 till his death in 339 B.C.

Alexander of Pherae, 425: tyrant of Thessaly from 369 till his assassination in 358 B.C.

Alexander Polyhistor, 157, 315: an excerptor of much rare and curious information; circa 100-40 B.C.

Alexandria, 231, 397: a city in Egypt founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.

Alexarchus, 269: a Greek historian.

Alexia, 265: daughter of Amphiaraus.

Alla (Alliensis), 41, 43, 369: a small tributary of the Tiber eleven miles from Rome, where the Romans were disastrously defeated by the Gauls in 387 (or 390?) B.C.

Alpheus, 179, 199: a river of Arcadia.

Althaea, 295: mother of Meleager.

Amazons, 243, 305.

Ameria, 295: mother of Rhesus.

Ammon, 407, 457, 469: the local god of the Egyptian Thebes, identified by the Greeks with Zeus.

Amorgos, 447: an island in the Aegean east of Naxos.

Amphiaraus, 205, 267: an Argive prophet, killed in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.

Amphictyon, 193: father of Phyleus.

Amphictyonic Assembly, 249, 261, 263: council of the Sacred League which met twice yearly at Thermopylae.

Amphipolis, 517: an Attic colony on the Strymon River in Thrace.

Amphissa, 195: a town in Locis, near the borders of Phocis.

Amphithea, 297: the wife of Aeneus, king of the Etruscans.

Anulins, 309: tyrant of Alba, brother of Numitor.
INDEX

Amyntas, 387: probably the son of Antiochus; enemy of Alexander.
Anaxandrides, 183: a Delphian historian of the 3rd cent. B.C.
Anaxarchus, 411: a pupil of Democritus and flatterer of Alexander; called "The Fortunate."
Anaximenes, 389: of Lampsaenus, an historian and rhetorician; probably author of the extant Rhetorica ad Alexanderum.
Anchises, 531: beloved of Aphrodite; father of Aeneas.
Anchus, 265: son of Midas.
Ancus, see Marcus.
Andrian, 211.
Andranius, 211, 213.
Androclus, 517: son of Codrus, founder of Ephesus.
Angiportus Longus, 359: a street in Rome.
Anio, 315: a river of Etruria.
Anippé, 313: mother of Busiris.
Anius, 315: king of the Etruscans.
Antaeus, 469: son of the Earth, a Libyan giant destroyed by Heracles in a wrestling-bout.
Antagoras, 247: a shepherd of Cos.
Anhedon, 199, 227: the northernmost port of Boeotia.
Anhedonia, 199: a name of the island Calaurea.
Anthus, 199: brother of Hypera.
Antias, see Valerius.
Anticleia, 231: daughter of Autolycus, and mother of Odysseus.
Antigones, 455, 457: a soldier of Alexander the Great.
Antigina, 431: a famous flute-player of Thebes, contemporary with Alexander.
Antigona, 457: mistress of Philotas.
Appolonia, 513: dramas of that name.
Appolonus, 405, 407, 441: called the "One-eyed," general of Alexander the Great; circa 380-301 B.C.
Antimachia, 245: a town of Cos.
Antimachus quoted, 73: of Colophon, contemporary with Plato; wrote an elegiac poem, Lyric, and an epic, Thebais.
Antiochus I., 483: Soter, son, of Seleucus, born 324; king of Syria 281-261 B.C.
Antiochus III., 365, 367: the Great, king of Syria 223-187 B.C.
Antipater, 465: Regent of Macedonia during Alexander's absence in Asia; died 319 B.C.
Antithera, 29: an Aetolian slave.
Antiphon, 523: of Rhamnus, the Attic orator; circa 480-411 B.C.
Antisthenes, 437: of Athens, pupil of Socrates, founder of the Cynic school of philosophy.
Antistius Iabeo, 77, 79: celebrated Roman jurist, circa 50 B.C. to A.D. 10.
Antony, Mark (Marcus Antonius), 339-343: the triumvir; 83-30 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Antro, see Curiatius.
Antyllus, 288: a Roman nobleman.
Aornos, 387: the Birdless Rock, see 387, note g.
Appoloties, 141: the East Wind.
Apelles, 431, 455: a famous Greek painter of the 2nd half of the 4th cent. B.C.
Aphareus, 315: son of Perieres, father of Idas.
Aphrodisia, 235: the festival of Aphrodite.
Aphrodité, 9, 39, 133, 167, 241, 289, 331, 335.
Aphi, 239: an old name for the Peloponnesus.
Apollo, 185, 187, 191, 205, 211, 273, 317, 449.
Appolodoros, 231: of Athens, grammarian, chronographer, and historian; circa 180-109 B.C.
Appolodoros, 495: of Athens, a painter of great originality, inaugurated considerable technical advance; 2nd half of 5th cent. B.C.
April, 61, 131.
Arabia, 365.
Arabs, 439.
Arachosia, 463: a Persian satrapy conquered by Alexander in 330 B.C.

VOL. IV S 531
INDEX

Arachosians, 393.
Araenus, 211, 213: a beach near Acanthus in Thrace.
Arbela, 385, 453: a town near Gangamela, where Alexander defeated Darius III. in 331 B.C.
Arcadia, 309: mother of Phylo-
nomé.
Arcadia, 309: the country.
Arcadian, 225, 283.
Arcadians, 57, 87, 115, 139, 179, 223, 225.
Arcesilauts, 301: founder of the so-called Middle Academy; born circa 315 B.C.
Archelaus, 425: king of Macedonia 413-399 B.C.
Archestratus, 423: a poet of un-
certain identity.
Archimedes, 493, 521: of Athens; co-operated with Thrasybulus in re-
 storing the democracy in 403 B.C.
Archilochus, 225: an historian of uncer-
tain date who wrote an Arcadian history.
Archons, the, 461: at Athens.
Archytas quoted, 195: a poet of Amphissa.
Areopagus, 509: the oldest court at Athens, later restricted to crin-
ual trials.
Arethas, 275, 297: an historian of
Cnidus.
Arethusa, 527: an Athenian against whom, together with Nicostratus, (? pseudo-) Demo-
thenes directed Oration III.
Arege, 413: the ruling dynasty of
Macedon.
Argi, see 55, note.
Argive, 205, 239, 461.
Argives, 55, 57, 85, 205, 239, 261, 461.
Argos, 49, 205, 237.
Aridaeus, 439, 445: son of Philip, half-brother of Alexander the Great.
Ariobarzanes, 275: son of Darius III.
Aristarcheum, 235: the shrine of
Artemis in Elis.
Aristeides, 477, 521: of Athens, called “the Just”; died 468 B.C.
Plutarch wrote his life.
Aristeides, 259-267, 275, 277, 281-
287, 291, 293, 301, 309, 311, 315: of Miletus, perhaps to be identi-
ified with the author of the Milesian Tales.
 Aristinus, 13, 15: a Greek of un-
certain identity.
 Aristippus, 403: of Cyrene, pupil of Socrates, founder of the Cyre-
 naic school of philosophy.
 Aristobulus, 303: an historian of uncer-
tain identity.
 Aristobulus, 389, 467, 473: an officer of Alexander and chronicler of his deeds.
 Aristocles, 295, 299, 317: an his-
torian of uncertain identity.
 Aristonicus, 429: a harpist, con-
temporary with Alexander.
 Aristonymus, 299: an Ephesian.
 Aristophanes quoted, 445, 511: Athenian comic poet; circa 445-
388 B.C.
 Aristotle, 15, 87, 179, 193, 391, 397, 411: quoted, 199: the philo-
sopher; 384-322 B.C.
 Armenia, 365.
 Armenians, 439.
 Arruntius Paterculus, 313: a man of Segesta.
 Arselis, 233: king of Mylasa in
Caria.
 Arsinoë, 221: daughter of Minyas.
 Artaxerxes I. (Long-hand), 385, 395: king of Persia 465-425 B.C.
 Artaxerxes II. (Mnemon), 463: king of Persia 404-358 B.C.
 Plutarch wrote his life.
 Artaxerxes III., see Ochus.
 Artemis, 9, 233, 309, 519.
 Artemisium, 259, 521: a stretch of
 coast in the north-east corner of
 Euboea, where occurred the sea-
 battle of the Greeks against the
 Persians in 480 B.C.
 Aruntius, 285: a Roman.
 Ascanius, 119: son of Aeneas.
 Asclepiodorus, 497: an Athenian
 painter.
 Asclepius, 141: the Greek god of
 Healing.
 Asia, 279, 317, 365, 391, 395, 401-
405, 433, 471, 473.
INDEX

Asia Minor, 419.
Asiatic, 471.
Aspasians, 387: a tribe in the north-west of the Punjab.
Assacianans, 465: a tribe in the north-west of the Punjab.
Assyrians, 331.
Astydamas, 519: an Attic tragic poet of the 4th cent. B.C.
Meas (or Antaeas), 427: king of the Scythians, 4th cent. B.C.
Menus Capito, 83: a great Roman jurist, died A.D. 22.
Mepomarus, 301: king of the Gauls.
Athena, 179, 273, 283, 467, 497.
Athenian, 45, 163, 365, 495, 513, 521, 525.
Athenians, 201, 217, 257, 259, 285, 301, 499-503, 500, 513, 519, 521.
Athenodorus, 429: a tragic actor of the age of Alexander.
Atilius, Gaius (C. Atilius Bubulus), 355: consul in 235 B.C.
Atlantic Ocean, 365.
Atossa, 459: daughter of Darius, wife successively of Cambyses, pseudo-Smerdis, and Darius I.; mother of Xerxes.
Atreus, 303: son of Pelops and Hippodameia.
Attica, 257.
Auas, 189: a river of Thesprotia.
Augias, 51: an Argonaut, later king of Elis; possessed great herds of cattle whose stables, which had not been cleaned for 30 years, it was Heracles' Labour to cleanse.
Aquae, 109, 147, 149.
August, 65, 149.
Anlis, 279: a port of Boeotia.
Auspices, 109.
Autophrades, 457: a Persian admiral.
Auxiliaria, 275: an epithet of Minerva.
Aventine, 11: the southernmost of the hills of Rome.
BABYLON, 383, 481.
Babylonian, 385, 453: Empire, 439.
Bacchae, 513: plays of that name.
Bacchanalian, 285.
Bacchic, 169, 413, 415, 511, 515.
Bacchus, 51, 155.
Bactria, 385, 469, 481.
Bagas, 445, 461: an Egyptian eunuch at the court of Artaxerxes Ochus, whom he murdered, and placed successively Arsès and Darius III. on the throne; killed 335 B.C. by the latter.
Balearicus, see Caecilius.
Barros, see Vetutius.
Bastarnian(s), 367: an eastern German people living, circa 200-50 B.C., on the Black Sea and the lower Danube.
Berenice, 183: a Macedonian name.
Bias, 201: of Priene, one of the Seven Wise Men; circa 550 B.C.
Bilip, 183: Macedonian dialect for Philip.
Birdless Rock, see Aornos.
Bisaltia, 291: daughter of the king of the Massilians.
Bithynia, 237: a country in north-western Asia Minor.
Bithynian, 409.
Bithynians, 237.
Bletonesii, 123: the inhabitants of Bletis in Spain.
Boeddromion, 519: Attic month (August-September).
Boeotia, 277, 279.
Boeotians, 181, 221, 269, 498.
Bona Dea, 35: the wife (sometimes the daughter) of Faunus.
Bottiæa(n), 217: a city on the right bank of the river Axios in Macedonia.
Brasidas, 475, 479, 503, 517: a distinguished Spartan commander in the Peloponnesian war. He was killed at Amphipolis in 422 B.C.

533
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brauron, 201 : a town on the east coast of Attica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brennus, 279 : king of the Gauls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brundisium, 330 : a seaport of Calabria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruttians, 377 : an Osan people of south-eastern Italy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brutus, see Juisius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bubulei, 73 : a cognomen of some members of the gens Iulia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucephalia, 387 : a city on the Hydaspes, named by Alexander after his horse (cf. Aulus Gellius, v. 2. 5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucolidae, 193 : a clan of Ithaca.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucolus, 227 : son of Colonus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calligeneia, 418, 149.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busiris, 313, 469 : a son of Poseidon ; king of Egypt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dysios, 181, 183 : a Delphian month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byzantines, 237, 447.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byzantium, 309, 447, 521.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabeus, 193 : mother of Opus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadmus, 507 : a Phoenician adventurer, reputed founder of Thebes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caecilia, Gaia, 53 : see 52, note c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caecilius Metellus, M., 333 : son of Macedonicus, consul 115 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caecilius Mutellus Balearicus, Q., 333 : oldest son of Macedonicus, consul 123, censor 129 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, Q., 333 : son of Macedonicus, consul 113, censor 102 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caecilius Metellus Diadematus, L., 333 : son of Macedonicus, consul 117 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, Q., 333 : defeated the Achaean in 165 ; consul 148, censor 131 ; died 115 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caecilius Metellus Pius, Q., 65 : consul 80 ; died 64 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caedius, Marcus, 339 : a Roman who heard the voice of Aius Locutius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caesar, see Julius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calaureia, 199 : an island in the Saronic Gulf, opposite Troezen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calligeneia, 213 : see 212, note b.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callimachus, 257, 505 : the Athenian polemarch at the battle of Marathon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callippides, 511 : an Athenian tragic actor of the 2nd half of the 5th cent. B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callirrhoe, 291 : daughter of Lyceus.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callisthenes, 183 : of Olymthus, nephew of Aristotle ; historian of Alexander's exploits ; later fell into disfavour and died in prison.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Callisthenes, 267, 271, 301 ; a Greek historian, perhaps identical with the historian of Alexander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calpurnia, 287 : daughter of Marius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calpurnius, 297 : a Roman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calpurnius Crassus, 291 : a Roman commander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvisius Sabinus, C., 339 : one of Caesar's generals ; consul 39 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camillus, 329.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camillus, see Furius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campania, 293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campanian, 293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Candaules, 233 : king of Lydia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantabri, 355 : an Iberian people of northern Spain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cantharion, 225 : an Attic tragic poet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canula, 297 : daughter of Papirius Tolucer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitol, the, 147, 281, 367, 369 : at Rome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capitoline, the, 87, 137, 359, 369 : at Rome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caprarius, see Caecilius.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capratine Nones, 345.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carcinus, 519 : an Athenian tragic poet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caria, 233, 517.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmenta, 91-95 : a Roman goddess.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmina, 91, 93.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carneades, 391, 393 : of Cyrene, circa 218-129 B.C. ; philosopher of the Third Academy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carthaginian, 365, 367, 393.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carthaginians, 265, 279, 331, 365.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carvilius, Spurius, Maximus (Ruga), 27, 95 : consul 234 and 228 ; died 211 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carvilius, Spurius, 80, 95 ; freedman of Sp. Carvilius Maximus Ruga ; opened, between 254 and 224 B.C., the first school at Rome.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caspian Sea, 365, 483.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cleitus, 417: a Macedonian commander in the period after Alexander's death; slain 318 B.C. Cleon, 493, 517: Athenian politician; leader of the extreme democrats from 428 till his death at Amphipolis in 422. Cleopatra, 343.

Clusia, 277: daughter of the king of the Etruscans.

Cluvius Rufus, 159: Roman historian of the 1st cent. A.D.

Cnidus, 179, 275, 297: a city of Caria.

Cnossians, 241.

Coans, 245.


Coliadae, 191, 193: a clan at Ithaca.

Colonus, 227: son of Cephus, an Attic hero.


Comménios, 307: son of Comménios Super.


Companions, 233, 475, 487: see 233, note b.

Conon, 495, 517, 527: distinguished Athenian general; died 392.

Conon, Against, 527: a speech (liv.) of Demosthenes against an otherwise unknown Athenian.

Conscript Fathers, 93.

Consualis, 81.

Contratus, 297: son of Calpurnius and Florentia.

Corecyra, 185: a large island west of Epeirus.

Corinna, 507: poetess of Tanagra contemporary with Pindar.

Corinth, 185, 411, 493.

Corinthian, 399.

Corinthians, 197.

Coriolanus, see Marcus.

Cornelius, 11: a Roman priest.

Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, P., 335: (called by Plutarch and Appian "Numantinus") son of Aemilius Paulus; consul 147 and 134; censor 142; conqueror of Carthage and Numantia; died 129 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life which is not extant.

Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, P., 341: consul 205; defeated Hannibal at Zama 202; died 183 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life which is not extant.

Cornelius Sulla Felix, L., 333, 335, 338: consul 88 and 80; 138-78 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Corriculum, 359: a town of Latium.

Corsica, 273.

Cos, 247: a Dorian island off the southern coast of Asia Minor.

Cothus, 203, 205: son of Xuthus.

Crassus, see Licinius.

Cretans, 443, 457: a general of Alexander; fell fighting Eumenus in 321 B.C.

Cretes, 439: of Thebes, Cynic philosopher, 3rd cent. B.C.

Cratinus, 511, 525: quoted, 525: son of Callimedes, Athenian comic poet; circa 520-422 B.C.

Cratippus, 405: Greek historian; 2nd (?) cent. B.C.

Cretans, 201, 203, 217.

Crete, 201.

Critias, 393: pupil of Socrates, one of the Thirty Tyrants; circa 460-403 B.C.

Critelaius, 269, 273: a Greek historian.

Critelaius, 281: a Tegean, son of Rheximachus.

Cronus, see Kronos.


Ctesiphon, 277: a Greek historian.

Cumaee, 177: a city of Campania.

Curialii (-iis), 283: the triplets from Alba who opposed the Horatii.

Curialius Antro, 11: a Sabine.

Curio, see Scribonius.

Curtius, 267: a Roman youth.

Cyané, 285: daughter of Cyanippus.


Cyanippus, 287, 289: a Thessalian.

Cyclops, 411: the one-eyed giant, Polyphemus, blinded by Odysseus.

Cydippæ, 209: daughter of Ochimus.

Cynegeirus, 257, 505: brother of Aeschylus.

Cynic, 411: a school of philosophy founded by Antisthenes.
INDEX

Cynosureis, 197: division of the citizenry at Megara.
Cyprus, 241, 423, 429, 517.
Cyprus, 67, 385, 453, 459, 475: called the Elder and the Great; founder of the Persian Empire; killed in 529 B.C.
Cyprus, 438: the Younger, son of Darius II.; revolted against his brother Artaxerxes II.; fell at Cunaxa 401 B.C.
Cythera, 433: an island opposite Cape Malea.

DAMASCUS, 457: a city of Syria.
Damasenor, 213: tyrant of Miletus.
Danae, 303: a nymph, mother of Chrysippus.
Danaus, 473.
Darius I., 459: king of Persia 521-485 B.C.
Datis, 257: Persian satrap who commanded at Marathon.
December, 33, 57, 59, 145.
decemviri, 89.
Decii, 329.
Decimus, 155: a Roman praenomen.
Decius Mus, P., 285: his son, consul 312, 308, 297, 295 B.C., immolated himself at the battle of Sentinum.
Delaneira, 95: see 95, note e.
Delmachus, 229: son of Eleon.
Deinomenes, 455: father of Tarrias.
Deinon, 229, 281: general of the Tarentines.
Delos, 163: an island in the middle of the Cyclades.
Delphus, 201, 203: a Spartan.
Demaratus, 283: a Greek historian.
Demaratus, 399: a Corinthian.
Demetrius, 447: called Poliorcetes; son of Antigonus the One-Eyed; king of Macedon; 337-283 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Demetrius, 515: probably Demetrius of Phalerum is meant.
Democritus quoted, 325: philosopher of Abdera, the great exponent of the Atomic Theory: circa 460-400 B.C.
Demodice, 281: daughter of Rheximachus.
Demodicus, 281: son of Demosthenes.
Demonicus, 279: a maiden of Ephesus.
Demosthenes, 493, 501, 517, 527: distinguished Athenian general; killed at Syracuse 413 B.C.
Demosthenes, 521, 523, 527: quoted, 399, 523: great Attic orator; 385-322 B.C.
Demosthenus, 281: of Pheneüs, father of Demodicus.
Demosthenes, 299: of Ephesus, father of Aristonymus.
Demoteles, 243: ruler of Samos.
Dercyllus, 283, 313: a Greek historian.
Dexireon, 241: a man of Samos (?)
Diadematus, see Caecilius.
Dialis, see Flamen.
Diana, 9, 11.
Diocles, 229: a Greek historian; which writer of that name is here cited is quite uncertain.
Diogenes, 411-415: of Sinopë, Cynic philosopher; 4th cent.
Diogenes the Babylonian, 395: of Seleucia, Stoic philosopher; died circa 150 B.C.
Diomedes, 21, 237, 291, 477: son of Tydeus; hero of the Trojan war.
Dion, 53.
Dionysiac, 159.
Dionysian Festival, 507: at Athens.
Dionysius, 119: of Halicarnassus; historian, critic, and rhetorician of the 1st cent. B.C.
Dionysius the Elder, 407, 425, 427, 449: born 430; tyrant of Syracuse 495-397 B.C.
Dionysius the Younger, 449: tyrant of Syracuse until his expulsion by Titus of 343 B.C.
Dionysius Siculus, 269: a Greek historian.
Dionysius, 107, 155, 157, 217, 219, 223,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Greek Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>Domitian</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>see Flavius.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>492</td>
<td>Erodian</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>historian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>287, 293</td>
<td>Dositheus</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>historian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>389</td>
<td>Dotian</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>historian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Dionysus</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>son of in Thessaly.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>389</td>
<td>Dorian</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>goddess.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275</td>
<td>Diulos</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>daughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>Echmias</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>son of Colonus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>307</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>a nymph or dryad.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>331, 335, 395, 453</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>Egyptiains</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Elionea</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>perhaps identical with Ilion, daughter of Priam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Enyalius</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271, 285, 290, 305, 307, 311, 315</td>
<td>Endeis</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Endine</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>descendant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>Eleus</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>daughter of Poseidon and Melanthea.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Elis</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219, 235</td>
<td>Eleftheria</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>city of Asia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217, 225, 235, 239, 527</td>
<td>Eleftherion</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>513</td>
<td>Elektra</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Eleon</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>father of Deinachus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>Eleon</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>town in Boeotia.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Elephorion</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>hero of the Trojan war.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>Eleuther</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>son of Lycaon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157, 223, 225</td>
<td>Eleuthereae</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>see 225, note b.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>Eleutherion</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>an epiphiet of Dionysus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>Eletheria</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>a festival at Smyrna.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>Elethlora</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>son of Cephus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235, 241, 411</td>
<td>Elis</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>351</td>
<td>Emathion</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>beloved of a godless.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>535</td>
<td>Emodian Mts.</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>see 435, note c.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>Empedoloces</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>a philosopher of Acragas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>434-434</td>
<td>Epic</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>293</td>
<td>Endes</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>mother of Telamon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>Entoria</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>daughter of Icarus.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135, 165</td>
<td>Enyalius</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>god of war and bloodshed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273, 277, 481, 497, 501, 515</td>
<td>Epameinondas</td>
<td>Greek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INDEX
INDEX

Eumolpus, 287, 301: son of Poseidon and Chione; king of Eleusis.
Eunosta, 227: a nymph.
Eunostus, 227: son of Eleus.
Euphranor, 497, 501: of Corinth, a great painter; early 4th cent. B.C.
Euphrates, 453, 481.
Euripides, 287, 289, 295, 308, 420, note a, 511; quoted, 133, 417: Athenian tragic poet; circa 483-406 B.C.
Euripus, 205: the strait between Euboea and the mainland of Greece.
Europe, 401.
Eurotas, 331: a river of Laconia.
Euryanassa, 363: mother of Pelops.
Eurymedon, 517: a river of Phrygia where Cimon won a double victory over the Persians (circa 466 B.C.).
Euxine, 365, 517: the Black Sea.
Evander, 57, 71, 91, 95, 115, 137: an Arcadian; according to some, son of Hermes; founded a city in Italy near the future site of Rome.
Evenus, 315: son of Ares and Sterope.

FABIA, 311: wife of Fabius Fabricianus.
Fabia, 311: daughter of Fabius Fabricianus.
Fabii Maximii, 229.
Fabius Fabricianus, 311: a Roman commander.
Fabius Fabricianus, 311: his son.
Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, Q., 265, 311: Cunctator; consul 228, 225, 215, 214, 209; dictator 217; died 203 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Fabrici, 329.
Fabricius Luscinus, C., 121: consul 282 and 278; censor 275, commander against Pyrrhus 278 B.C.
Fabula, 561: a name of the courtesan Larentia.
Falerii, 307: a city of southern Etruria.

Fate, a, 93.
Faunus, 35, 313: the seer (son of Mercury?); god of fertility.
Faustus, 271: son of Saturn.
Faustus, 311: a shepherd.
 Favorinus, 51: of Arelatè (Arles), philosopher and sophist of the 1st cent. A.D.
February, 33, 57, 105.
Felix, 271: son of Saturn.
Felix, 335: a title adopted by Sulla.
 Fenestella, 79: an historian of the Early Empire.
Fenestella, Porta, 359.
 Fenestra, 63.
Feretius, 263: an epithet of Jupiter.
Fetiales, 97: an ancient Roman priestly college.
Finnus, 305: son of Ebius Tolieix.
Flamenc, 69, 83.
Flamen Dilis, 67, 75, 83, 161.
Flaminian, 108.
Flaminica, 123.
Flavius Domitianus, T. 83: son of Vespasian; Emperor A.D. 81-96.
Florentia, 297: daughter of Lucius Trosceius.
Fornacalia, 135.
Forum, the, 121, 137, 267: at Rome. Forum Boarium, 125: at Rome.
Fufetius, Mettius, 269: king of Alba Longa.
Fulvius Stellus, 299: a Roman.
Furciérit(i), 107, 109.
Furies, 85.
Furius Camillus, M., 337, 369, 371, 375: the conqueror of Veii and saviour of Rome after the battle of the Alia. Plutarch wrote his life.
Garib, 347: a town on the Via Praenestina.
Gaia, 53: a Roman praenomen.
Gains, 53, 155: a Roman praenomen.
Gallic, 147, 251, 337, 339.
Gallus, see Sulpicius.
Gandridae, 357: an Indian people of the Punjab.
INDEX

Garaetium, 291: a fortress of the Massylians.
Gaul, 355.
Gauls, 41, 125, 129, 279, 285, 301, 367, 369, 375.
Gedrosia, 463: the south-eastern portion of the Iranian highlands.
Gedrosians, 395.
Glaucia, 229: daughter of Scamander.
Glaucia, 229: a river of Boeotia.
Glaucus, Lucius, 259: a Roman patrician.
Gnaeus, 155: a Roman praenomen.
Gorgias, 509: of Leontini, a famous rhetorician; circa 483-375 B.C.
Granicus, 275, 385, 465: a river of the Troad.
Grecian, 391, 395, 399.
Greek, 13, 37, 79, 97, 99, 103, 359, 393, 397, 401, 413, 415, 439, 447.
Gyges, 283: a Lydian.
Gylishus, 309: an Arcadian shepherd.
Gymnosophists, 413.
Habrotê, 195: daughter of Ochestrus.
Hades, 47.
Halicarnassus, 453: a Dorian city of Asia Minor, opposite Rhodes.
Hanging Gardens, 471: of Babylon.
Hannibal, 265, 293, 367, 465: the great Carthaginian general; 247-183 B.C.
Harbingers, 273.
Harma, 267: a town of Boeotia, near Tanagra.
Hasdrubal, 259: a Carthaginian king.
Hasdrubal, 393: Cleitomachus's Carthaginian name.
Hecaté, 85, 109, 165: a Greek chthonic deity.
Hector, 475: son of Priam, the Trojan hero.
Hector, 519: a tragedy of Astydamas.
Hecuba, 293, 425: wife of Priam.
Hegesistratus, 315: of Ephesus.
Helen, 397: daughter of Tyndareüs, wife of Menelaius.
Hellespont, 401, 411: the modern Dardanelles.
Hellespontine, 493.
Helvia, 127: a Roman maiden.
Hephaestion, 417, 443, 459: son of Amyntor, friend of Alexander; died 324 B.C.
Hera, 9, 117, 167.
Heraclea, 449: a city of Pontus.
Heracleidae, 461: descendants of Heracles.
Heracleides Ponticus, 503: of Heraclea, pupil of Plato; philosopher and historian of the 4th cent. B.C.
Heracleitus, 269: a river of Boeotia.
Heracles, 221, 229, 233, 245, 247, 269, 277, 313, 345, 377, 413, 429, 467, 469, 507: see also Hercules.
Heraies, 195: a division of the citizenry at Megara.
Hercules, 31, 51, 57, 61, 95, 137, 139, 313: see also Heracles.
Hermes, 205, 241.
Herodorus, 139: of Heraclea, logographer; wrote a famous book on Heracles and on the Argonauts.
Herodotus, quoted, 47: Greek historian of the 5th cent.
Heros, 185, 187: a festival at Delphi.
Hesianax, 293: a Greek historian.
Hesiod, 73: of Asca in Boeotia, didactic poet of the 8th cent. B.C.
Hippalmenus, 221: father of Peneleôs.
Hippasus, 221: son of Leucippe.
Hippocoon, 137: son of Oebalus of
INDEX

Sparta; brother of Tyndareus and Icarius.
Hippocrates, 169: of Cos, the great physician; circa 460-377 B.C.
Hippodameia, 303, 305: daughter of Oenomaus.
Hippolytē, 233, 305: queen of the Amazons.
Hippolytus, 305, 307: son of Theseus and Hippolytē.
Hirtius, A., 341, 343: consul 43 B.C., in which year he fell at Mutina.
Hister, 159: an Etruscan actor.
Histriones, 159.
Honore, 25.
Hora, 79.
Horatia, 253: sister of Horatius.
Horatii, 258: the Roman triplets who opposed the Curiaitii.
Horatius, 283.
Horatius Cocles, 271, 329: defended the pons sublicius against Perssena.
Horta, 77, 79.
Hostilius, see Tullus.
Hydaspes, 481: a river of India.
Hymen, 55.
Hymnus, 271: son of Saturn.
Hypera, 199: sister of Anthus.
Hyperelīa, 199: a name of Calanēia.
Hyperides, 521: the Attic orator; 390-322 B.C.
Hyperocōs, 191: king of the Inachians.
Hyrcania, 465, 471; a Persian satrapy on the Caspian Sea.
Hyrcanians, 365, 393.
Hystasios, 459: father of Darius.
Iapygia, 217: a name for the south-eastern portion of Italy.
Iberia, 365: a country in the Caucasus.
Iberians, 365.
Icarius, 271, 273: an Italian farmer (?).
Idaean, 265: epithet of Zeus, from Mt. Ida in Crete.
Idas, 315: son of Aphaيرs.
Ides, 39, 41, 45, 89, 145, 149, 315.
Ilia, 311: daughter of Numitor.
Iliad, 391.
Ilium, 283: Troy.
Illyrians, 211, 285, 389, 471.
Ilus, 283: son of Tros and father of Laomedon; founder of Ilium.
Imbros, 201: an island in the north Aegean.
Inachian, 191.
Inachius, 159, 191: a tribe dwelling about the river Inachus.
Inachus, 189: a river of northern Greece, the modern Vithritza.
Inachus, 239: a river of Boeotia.
India, 397, 413.
Indian, 465.
Indians, 385, 393.
Ino, 29, 31: daughter of Cadmus, wife of Athamas.
Iole, 277: a maiden of Oechalia beloved by Heracles.
Ion, 323: of Chios, writer of tragedies, elegies, and memoirs.
Ionia, 465, 419, 517.
Iphicles, 137: brother of Heracles.
Iphicrates, 525: Athenian commander, son of Timotheus; died circa 253 B.C.
Iphigeneia, 279: daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra.
Iseus, 523: Attic orator; 1st half of the 4th cent. B.C.
ismaenias, 427: celebrated flute-player, 4th cent. B.C.
Isimenes, 507: a Theban hero.
Isocrates, 523, 525: Attic orator; 436/5-338 B.C.
Issus, 385, 465: a city of Cilicia where Alexander defeated Darius III. in 333 B.C.
Ister, 231: of Alexandria, historian, pupil of Callimachus.
Ithaca, 191, 193, 215, 231.
Ithacenses, 231.

JANUARY, 31, 33, 89, 273, 339.
Janus, 33, 37, 71, 355: double-headed Roman god.

541
INDEX
Lipara, 121 : the most important
of the Aeolian Islands.
Livius Drusus, S3: censor 107 B.C.
Livius, Titus, 41, 375
the liistorian ; 59 B.C. -a d. 17.
Locrians, 193, 195.
Locrus, 193 : son of Physcius,
father of Opus.
Long Walls, 517 of Athens.
:

:

Lucanian, 353.
Lucanians, 377 a people of southern
:

Italy.

Lucar, 135.
Lucina, 117
a name of Juno as
goddess of child-birth.
Lucius, 155 a Koman praenomen.
:

:

Luperca, see Valeria.

Macedonians, 183, 333,
455, 481, 485, 521.
vw.ceUu(e), 87.

Macellus, 89 a Roman robber.
Macyna, 195 most westerly city
of the Ozolian Locrians.
:

:

]\ragi, 47.

see 132, note b.
Mallians, 387, 467 an Indian people
of the Punjab.
Mallus, 277 a city of Cilicia.
:^Iamercus, 295 : a Roman.
Manlii, 375.
Manlius Capitolinus, M., 137 consul 392
executed for treason 384.
JIaia, 133

:

:

piatrlcian.

:

:

:

:

;

Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus,

T.,

consul 347, 344, 340 B.C.
T., 355
consul
235, censor 231, dictator 208.
Mantineans, 499, 527.
Mantineia, 497-501, 505, 519 a city
of Arcadia.
Maracanda, 385, 465, 469 Samarcand.
277

Lupercalia, 103, 105, 165.
Luperci, 103, 105.
Lusitania, 59 a Roman province,
modern Portugal.
Lutatius Catulus, 273 a Roman

387,

:

Manlius Torquatus.

:

:

:

Lycaeon, 223, 225 the precinct of
Zeus Lycaeus in Arcadia.
Lycaon, 223 son of Pelasgus, king
:

:

of Arcadia.
Lycastus, 309 : son of Phylonome
and Ares.
Lyceum, 391 : school of the Peripatetics at Athens.
Lycon, 429 : of Scarpheia, comic

actor contemporary with Alexander.
Lycormas, 315 see 315, note h.
:

Lycurgus, 57, 133, 331, 445: reputed
author of the Spartan constitution.
Plutarch wrote his life.
Lvcus, 291 king of Libya.
:

Lydia, 517.
Lydian. 233, 299.
Lydians, 87, 235.
Lysias, 521
Attic orator, son of
:

Marathon,
525

:

a

257,

503, 517, 519, 523,

deme

of eastern Attica,
battle
occurred

where

the

(491/0 B.C.).

MarceUus, see Claudius.
March, 31, 33.
Marcia, 127

Vestal Virgin accused
:
of inchastity.

Marcius, Ancus, 337
of

:

fourth king

Rome.

Marcius Coriolanus, Cn., 337
a
half legendary 5tli-cent. heio of
Rome. Plutarch wrote his life.
Marcus, 155 a Roman praenomen.
Mardonius, 259 : one of Xerxes'
bodyguard,
:

:

^larius,

C,

287,

329,

consul 107, 104-100,

333,

307:

86; 156-86

Conqueror of Jugurtha and
the CimbrL Plutarch wrote his
B.C.

Cephalus ; born circa 445.
Lysimachus, 447
one of the
generals and successors of Alexander slain in battle 281 b.c.
sculptor of
Lysippus, 431, 433
the 2nd half of the 4th cent.

Marpessa, 315 daughter of Evenus.
Mars, 33, 37, 79, 14~o, 295, 311, 345,

Macareus, 297

IMarsian war, 367

:

;

:

life.
:

347.

Marsi, 353

:

a people of central

Italy.
:

son of Aeolus.

Macedonia, 331, 365, 3S7, 413,
Macedonian, 271, 275, 3C5,
401.

455.

389,

Massylians,
Nunildia.

Matuta,

:

291:

the Social war.
a peojde of

29.

543


INDEX

NAUPLIUS, 215: king in Euboea, father of Palamedes, to avenge whose death he misled the Greeks returning from Troy.

Naxos, 519, 525: one of the Cyclades.

Neileus, 517: see 517, note e.

Necles, 259: father of Themistocles.

Neoptolemus, 191: son of Achilles.

Nessus, 198: a Centaur slain by Heracles.

Nicias, 277: of Mallus, a Greek historian.

Nicias, 488: son of Niceratus; Athenian general, killed at Syracuse; circa 470-413 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Nicias, 497: son of Nicomedes; an Athenian painter contemporary with Praxiteles.

Nicomedes, 489, 441: king of Bithynia; cf. 411, note b.

Nicopolis, 333: mistress of Sulla.

Nicostatés, 91: a name of Carmenta.

Nicostatus, 511: Athenian tragic actor.

Nigidius Figulus, 37: polymath of the Ciceronian age; died in exile 45 B.C.

Nile, 313.

Nisaea, 195: the eastern port of Megara.

Nisus, 195: king of Megara.

Nones, 39-45, 345

Nuceris, 305: wife of Ebius Tolieix.

Numa, see Pompeius.

Numidians, 365.

Numitor, 309, 347: son of Procas, king of Alba, expelled by his younger brother Amulus.

Numisiae, 73.

Nyctelia, 187, 221: a Greek festival.

Nyctimus, 909: father of Phylonomé.

Nysa, 51: a place of uncertain location associated with the worship of Dionysus.

OARSES, 439, 445, 461: a person whom Bagas attempted to put on the Persian throne; but the name may well be a mere ms. mistake for Arses (see especially 445 and 460, note a).

Obsequens, 359: an epithet of Fortuna.

Ochmus, 290: father of Cydippé.

Ochné, 227: daughter of Colonus.

Ochus, 385, 439: Artaxerxes III.; king of Persia 359-338 B.C.

Ocrion, 299: a hero of Rhodes.

Ocrisia, 361: mother of Servius Tullius.


Odyssey, 391.

Oeantheia, 193: a city of the Ozolian Locrians.

Oechalia, 277: a city of Euboea.

Oedipus, 395: son of Laius, king of Thebes; married his mother, Jocasta.

Oedipuses, 513: tragedies of that name.


Oenomachus, 239, 315: king of Pisa in Elis.

Oenopylea, 493: a place in southern Boeotia where Myronides won his victory in 437/6 B.C.

Oeonous, 137: son of Licymnius, companion of Heracles.


Olympia, 235: the sacred city of Elis.

Olympian, 165, 167.

Olympians, 205.

Olympic, 409.

Olympus, 43, 407, 431: mountain on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia, home of the Olympian gods.

Olynythian, 271.

Olympus, 269: a city of Chalcidice.

Omphalé, 233: queen of Lydia, whom Heracles served for a time.

Onchus, 195: father of Habroté and Megarens.

Onesicritus, 380, 411: of Astypalaea or Aegina; Cynic philosopher, pupil of Diogenes; accompanied Alexander's expedi-
INDEX

tion; chief pilot of Nearchus; wrote a fantastic history of Alexander.
Onoscilis, 299: daughter of Aristonymus.
Opuntians, 181: the east Locrians.
Opus, 103: son of Locrus and Cabye; founded Opus, city of the Opuntians.
Orestes, 311: son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra.
Orion, 351: the great hunter, beloved of Artemis; after his violent death placed among the stars.
Orpheus, 185: son of Oeagrus and the Muse Calliope, according to some.
Othyades, 261: Spartan general.
Oxyartes, 417: father of Roxanë, prince of Bactria.
Oxydrachae, 479: the Mallians, an Indian people.
Ozolian Locrians, 193: West Locrians.

PALATINE, 331, 359: one of the hills of Rome.
Palладium, 237, 283: statue of Pallas, fallen from heaven.
Pallenë, 455: a city of Chalcidice.
Pan, 105.
Panænus, 497: brother of Pheidias; an Athenian painter.
Pandosia, 377: a city on the river Crathis, where Alexander the Molossian fell in battle circa 331/0 B.C.
Panegyrich, 525: Isocrates' masterpiece.
Panhaema, 243: a place in Samos.
Pansa, see Vibius.
Paphos, 461: a city on the west coast of Cyprus.
Papirii, 375.
Papirius Romanus, 297, 299: son of Papirius Tolmar.
Papirius Tolmar, 297: a Roman.
Paranael, 159: a name of the Athenians.
Paræusitum, 315: former name of the Anio.
Parians, 213.

Paris, 411: son of Priam, who abducted Helen and brought about the Trojan war.
Parmenides quoted, 117: of Elea, pupil and successor of Xenophanes in the Eleatic school of philosophy; early 5th cent.
Parmenon, 455, 457: general of Philip and Alexander; circa 330-320 B.C.
Parrhasius, 309: son of Ares and Phyllonomé.
Parrhasius, 497: son of Evenor of Ephesus, painter; end of 5th cent.
Parthenius, 289: of Nicaea, came as a captive to Rome 73 B.C.; wrote the Love Romances as poetic material for Cornelius Gallus; also an elegiac poet.
Parthenon, 517, 523: at Athens.
Passiades, 447: of Byzantium.
pater patratus, 97, 99.
Patris, 297: mother of Florentia.
Pausanias, 273: son of Cleombrotus; regent of Sparta; commanded the Greeks at Plataeae; died 465 B.C.
Peisistratus, 301: king of Orchomenus.
Peitho, 9.
Pelens, 351: son of Aeacus; beloved of Thetis, father of Achilles.
Pella, 457: city of Macedonia.
Pelopidas, 481: son of Hippocles; Theban statesman and general; fell in battle 361 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Peloponnesian, 263, 303, 311: war, 301.
Peloponnesians, 247.
Peloponnesus, 239, 389, 493.
Pelops, 303, 305: son of Tantalus and Euryanassa.
Penelope, 221: son of Hippalcmas; a hero of the Trojan war.
Penelope, 237: wife of Odysseus.
Perdiccas, 441, 473: son of Orontes; general of Philip and Alexander; murdered 321 B.C.
Pericles, 475, 477, 493, 511, 525: son of Xanthippus; Athenian statesman; circa 498-429 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
INDEX

Perillus, 313: bronze-founder of Agrigentum.
Perinthians, 243.
Perinthus, 455: Samian colony on the Propontis.
Perioeci, 497: the Achaean free population of Laconia, which had no citizen rights.
Perrhaebia, 37: a district of Thessaly.
Persaeus, 333: son of Philip V.; last king of Macedonia 178-168 B.C.
Perses, 413: son of Zeus and Danae; slayer of the Medusa.
Persia, 385, 445.
Petronius Valentinus, 311: a Roman youth.
Phaedra, 305: daughter of Minos.
Phaeonomena, 273: a poem of Aratus.
Phalaris, 313: tyrant of Agrigentum.
Phallion, 237: a place in Bithynia.
Phaidias, 497: Athenian sculptor of the 5th cent. B.C.
Phemius, 191: king of the Aenians.
Pheneans, 281: the people of Pheneus, a city of Arcadia.
Phereus, 199, 425: the chief city of the Thessalian Pelasgiotis.
Philarchus, 299: a man of Smyrna.
Philip V., 365, 367: king of Macedon, defeated by Flamininus at Cynocephalae, 197: 237-179 B.C.
Philipettes, 527: orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon.
Philochorus, 495: Athenian historian; killed soon after 216 B.C.
Philoctetus, 193: the cowherd of Odysseus.
Philotas, 455, 457: son of Parmenion; prominent Companion of Alexander, executed for treason.
Philoxenus, 419: governor of the coast-lands of Asia Minor under Alexander.
Philoxenus, 427: of Cythera, poet at the court of Dionysius I. the Elder.
Phliasians, 225: people of Phlius, a city between Sicyon and Argolis.
Phloeum, 423: a place in Samos.
Phocion, 521: Athenian general and statesman; 402-317 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Phocis, 63.
Phocos, 293: son of Aeacus and Psamathe.
Phoebus, 449, 479.
Phoenicia, 423.
Phoenician, 517.
Phoenissae, 513: dramas of that name.
Phormio, 493: distinguished Athenian admiral; died soon after 423 B.C.
Phrygia, 265.
Phrynê, 439: famous courtesan of Thebes; 4th cent. B.C.
Phrynichus, 521: Athenian tragic poet, son of Polyphrasmon; early 5th cent. B.C.
Phylarchus, 473, 495: historian; opponent of Aratus of Sicyon; 3rd cent. B.C.
Phylé, 403, 517, 519: an Attic border fortress on Mt. Parnes.
Phyleus, 51: son of Augas.
Phylonomé, 300: daughter of Nyctimus and Arcadia.
Phylacus, 193: son of Amphiictyon.
Physeus, 193: a city of the Ozolian Locrians.
Pius, 37: king of the Laurentians, turned by Circe into a woodpecker.
Pinarii, 95: a Roman family.
Pindar, 507: quoted, 331, 357, 507, 519: Greek choral poet, circa 522-442 B.C.
Piraeus, 195: a division of the citizenry at Megara.
Pisa, 303: a mountain of Arcadia.
Plataea, 519, 521: a town in Boeotia near Attica, where the Greeks defeated the Persians under Mardonius in 479 B.C.
Plataean, 521.
INDEX

Plato, 197, 325, 393, 395, 407, 411, 507; quoted, 57: the philosopher, 427-316 B.C.
Plutus, 213: the capitalist party at Miletus.
Poemandar, 219, 221: son of Chae-resileos and Stratonicë.
Poemandria, 219: the early name of Tanagra.
Pollis, 201, 203: a Spartan.
Polybius, 375: of Megalopolis, the great historian; circa 201-120 B.C.
Polycrithus, 221: a master-builder.
Polydeuces, 205: with Castor, the Dioscuri.
Polydorus, 293: son of Priam.
Polyneices, 367: son of Oedipus; brought the Seven Against Thebes.
Polyxena, 425: daughter of Priam; wedded to Achilles; slain after his death on his tomb.
Polyxenus, 257, 505: Athenian general at Marathon.
Pompeaëus Silo, Q., 353: a Marsian, leader of the Italian forces in the Social war; killed 89 B.C.
Pompey (Cn. Pompeius Magnus), 330, 341, 411: great Roman general; 106-48 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Pontius, C., 369: a Roman soldier.
Pontus, 365: Mithradates' kingdom, Pontic Cappadocia.
Porcius Cato, M., 65, 81: the Elder, commonly called the Censor; circa 234-149 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Porsenna, 250, 261, 271, 353: Etruscan king of Clusium.
Portus, 417, 481: Indian prince of Paurava; defeated by Alexander in 326 B.C.
Poseidon, 81, 190, 233, 305, 307, 313, 447, 475.
Postumii, 375.
Postumius Albinus, Sp., 263: consul 334 and 321 B.C.
Praxithea, 287: wife of Erechtheus.
Pre-Lunar people, 115.
Priam, 293: son of Laomedon, king of Troy.
Prienë, 201: a city of Ionia.
Prieneans, 201.
Primigenia, 159, 359: an epithet of Fortuna.
Prinistum, 317: name of Praenestë, said to mean "City of the Oak."
Priscus, see Tarquinii.
Propylæa, 517, 525: at Athens.
Psamathë, 293: mother of Phoecus.
Psoloeis, 221: the husbands of the Minyads.
Ptolemy I. Soter, 387, 389, 483: son of Lagus; general of Alexander; succeeded to the satrapy of Egypt which he ruled 322-285 B.C. He wrote a history of Alexander's expedition.
Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, 463: king of Egypt 285-247 B.C.
Ptolemy XII., 341: son of Auletes, brother of Cleopatra.
Publicola, see Valerius.
Punic war, 355.
Pylos, 493, 503, 527: a place in the south-western Peloponnæus in Messenia.
Pyraecmes, 269: king of the Euboeans.
Pyander, 301: Athenian treasurer of the public funds.
Pyrander, 311: a Greek historian.
Pyrrhon, 121: of Lipara, a writer otherwise unknown.
Pyrrhon, 411: of Elis, the great Sceptic; accompanied Alexander into Asia.
Pythagoras, 143, 153, 167, 225, 391,
INDEX

407: of Samos, an eminent philosopher of the 6th cent.
Pythagorean, 23.
Pythagoreans, 109.
Pythian, 285.
Python, 185, 187, 193: the monster driven from Delphi by Apollo.

QUINTILIS, 31, 41.
Quirinalia, 185.
Quirinus, 135: originally an epithet of Mars; said to be the Roman equivalent of Ennius.
Quiritis, 135: a name of Juno.

REGIA, 145: at Rome.
Regulus, see Attilus.
Remus, 37, 311: brother of Romulus.
Republic, 397: a work of Zeno.
rex sacrorum, 90.
Rhesus, 293, 295: son of C. Maximus.
Rhetana, 301: a Roman serving maid.
Rheximachus, 281: a Tegean.
Rhodians, 209.

Romans, see Papirius.

SABINE, 11, 131, 333.
Sabines, 11, 55, 131, 155, 157, 281.
Sabinus, see Calvisius.
Sacred Way, 187: the road from Delphi to Tempé.
Salamis, 297, 517-521: an island in the Saronic Gulf, off the coast of which the Greeks routed the Persian fleet in 480 B.C.
Salia, 315: daughter of Amnis.
Salius, 315: son of Cathetus and Salia.
Sambeus, 235: an Elean brigand.
Samian, 259, 317.
Samians, 201, 213, 241, 243, 525.
Samnites, 263, 277, 311.
Samos, 201, 241-245, 313, 517: large island near Miletus.
Samothrace, 457: large island in the north Aegean.
Sanctus, 53 (or Sancus?).
Sandanus, 271: a river near Olynthus.
Saned, 211: a city of Pallené.
Sardanapalus, 385, 407, 437, 439: king of Assyria; died 630 B.C.
Sardians, 87: see 87, note c.
Sardis, 87, 299: the capital city of Lydia.
Sarmatic(s), 367: people of the Russian steppes.
Saturnalia, 50.
Scævola, see Mucius.
Scamander, 229: son of Deimachus and Glaucia.
Scamander, 229: the river Inachus.
Searphiea, 429: a city of the Locrians.
Setas, 227: mother of Eileus.
Scipio, see Cornelius.
Scipios, 329.
Scirophorion, 519: Attic month (May-June).
Scribonius Curio, C., 123: a young and talented Caesarian; tribune 50 B.C.; slain in Africa soon after.
Scymbrates, 295: brother of Silvia.
Scythia, 471.
Scythian, 427.
Scythians, 393, 393, 405, 467.
Segesta, 313: city of Sicily.
Seisachtheia, 477: Solon's reform at Athens (circa 594 B.C.);
Seius, Gaius, 63: "John Doe."
Seleeceia, 397: a city of Mesopotamia.
Seleucus I., 441, 463: general of Alexander who eventually received the kingship of Syria; 338/3-280 B.C.
Semelé, 187: mother of Dionysus.
Semiramis, 437, 439: wife of Ninus of Nineveh, but often identified with Herodotus's (i. 184) Babylonian queen (Sammuramat).
Sempronius Sophus, P., 27: consul 268 B.C.
Septerion, 185, 187.
Septimius Marcellus, 295: a Roman.
Septimontium, 105.
Serpent's Beach, 213: earlier name of the Beach of Araeuen.
Sertorius, Q., 365: of Nursia; leader of the great Spanish revolt against Rome; murdered 72 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Servilius, 375.
Servius Tullius, 11, 63, 111, 113, 149, 150, 357-363: 6th king of Rome.
Servius, 155: a Roman praenomen.
Sextilius, 31, 65, 149.
Sextus, 155: a Roman praenomen.
Sibylline Books, 127.
Sicelius, 279.
Sicily, 259, 313, 517.
Silio, see Pompaeiarius.
Silvanus, 291: Aegipan.
Silvia, 295: mother of Tuscius.
Silvia, 311, 345, 347: daughter of Numitor; mother of Romulus.
Similus, 293: son of C. Maximus.
Simonides, 501: of Ceos, lyric poet; 556-467 B.C.
Sixyphus, 231: son of Aeolus; king of Ephyra.
Smyrna, 289, 299: city in Asia Minor at the mouth of the Hermus.
Smyrneans, 299.
Socrates, 391-395, 402, 407, 417: Athenian philosopher; 468-399 B.C.
Socrates, 49, 85, 207, 285 (?): of Argos, an historian.
Sogdiana, 397, 409: country between the Oxus and the Jaxartes.
Sogdians, 393.
Soil, 173: a city either of Cyprus or of Cilicia.
Solon, 19, 101, 477: the Athenian legislator; circa 638-558 B.C.
Sophocles, 385, 511, 519; quoted, 109, 115, 335: Athenian tragic poet; 495-406 B.C.
Sostratus, 297: a Greek historian.
Sphacteria, 517: island in the Bay of Navarino.
Spithridates, 355: satrap of Lydia and Ionia under Darius III.
sipurii (-ius), 155.
Spurius, 155: a Roman praenomen.
Stasichares, 483: master sculptor, contemporary with Alexander (see 438, note b).
Stateira, 451: daughter of Darius III.; married Alexander.
Stephon, 219: a place in Boeotia.
Steropé, 315: mother of Evenus.
Stesimbrotus, 277: son of Epameimondas.
Stoic, 397; Stoics, 415.
Stratonice, 219: mother of Phomeander.
Strophius, 311: of Phocis, son of Crisus, father of Pylades.
Sublicius, Pons, 55: at Rome.
Subura, 145: at Rome.
Sulpicius, 73.
Sulla, see Cornelius.
Sulpicius Peticus, C., 159: consul 364, 361, 355, 353, 351 B.C.
Sun, the, 117, 259.
Susa, 355, 389, 399, 481: the ancient capital of Elam; from 596 B.C. capital of Persia.
Susianians, 395: people of Susiana, province of Persia north of the Persian Gulf.
INDEX

Sybaris, 289: city of Magna Graecia, destroyed by Croton 510 B.C.
Syrcusan, 285, 495.
Syracusans, 285.
Syria, 331, 305.

Talaius, 55: Roman, contemporary with Romulus.
Talassio, 55.
Tanagra, 219, 221, 227, 229: city of Boeotia.
Tanaquil, 63, 361, 363: wife of Tarquinius Priscus (see also 52, note c).
Tantalus, 303: son of Zeus, father of Pelops; king of Sipylius in Phrygia.
Tarentines, 231.
Tarentum, 229: city of southern Italy; now Taranto.
Tarpeia, 251: a Roman maiden who betrayed the Capitol.
Tarpeian Rock, 273, 281, 315: at Rome and at Segesta.
Tarpeius, 267: an epithet of Jupiter.
Tarquin, 151: son of Tarquinius Priscus.
Tarquin the Proud, 275: last king of Rome.
Tarquinii, 333: city of Etruria, now Corneto.
Tarquinius Priscus, 53, 63, 333, 361; 5th king of Rome.
Tarrius, 455: (or Atarrias) see 454, note a.
Tarrutius, 61: a wealthy Roman.
Tatius, T., 79, 281: king of the Sabines; became Romulus's colleague in the Roman kingship.
Tegea, 87, 181: city of southeastern Arcadia.
Tegeans, 179, 251.
Telamon, 293-297: son of Aeneas, father of Ajax and Teucer.
Telegonus, 317: son of Odysseus and Circé.
Teleios, -a, 9.
Telemachus, 193: son of Odysseus and Penelope.
Telesinus, 353: Samnite commander in the Social war.

Telesippa, 455: mistress of Antigones.
Temenus, 237: Heraclid, son of Aristomachus.
Temon, 189, 191: an Aenian.
Tempe, 155: vale in Thessaly through which the Peneius flows to the sea.
Tenedos, 209, 211: island near the Troad.
Tenes, 209, 211: son of Cycnus and Procleia.
Termlinla, 27.
Terminus, 27, 29.
Tentons, 307.
Theagenes, 197: tyrant of Megara.
Theban, 275, 303, 497, 515.
Thebans, 119, 499.
Thebes, 167, 223, 387, 473.
Theemis, 91.
Theistocles, 45, 259, 347, 349, 395, 475, 493, 509, 515, 517: son of Neocles; Athenian commander at Salamis; died in exile 459 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Theistogenes, 495: of Syracuse; said by Xenophon to have written the Anabasis.
Theodorus, 289: a Greek writer.
Theodorus, 513: an Athenian tragic actor.
Theon, 53.
Theophilus, 279, 303: a Greek historian.
Theophrastus, 181, 231: of Lesbos, born 372 B.C.; pupil of Aristotle; distinguished scientist and philosopher.
Theotimus, 271: a Greek historian.
Theramenes, 493: son of Hagnon; Athenian politician; died 404 B.C.
Thermopylae, 263: pass between Mt. Calidromus and the Malian Gulf.
Thersander, 261: an Argive general.
Thersippus, 508: of Ereodaeae; brought the news of Marathon.
Theseeus, 305, 307, 497: son of Aegeus or Poseidon; king of Athens. Plutarch wrote his life.

551
INDEX

Thesmophoria, 213.
Thespis, 521: son of Themion; produced the first tragedy at Athens in 534 B.C.
Thessalian, 287.
Thetis, 299: mother of Achilles.
Thethans, 429: tragic actor contemporary with Alexander.
Thoas, 213: tyrant of Miletus.
Thrace, 155, 211, 217, 293, 438, 447.
Thraces, 237, 247, 285, 301.
Thraces, 285.
Thrasybulus, 493, 517, 521: son of Lycon; Athenian general and statesman; killed 389 B.C.
Thrasyllus, 493: Athenian general; executed after Arginusae 406 B.C.
Thucydides, 493, 501, 505; quoted, 421, 503: Athenian historian; born 471 B.C.
Thyids, 187, 189.
Thyestes, 303: son of Pelops and Hippodameia.
Thyreatis, 261: district between Mt. Parnon and the Argolic Gulf.
Tiber, 11, 259, 267, 271, 311, 329, 331.
Tiberis, L., 293: a Roman.
Tiberius, 155: a Roman praenomen.
Tibur, 89, 91: a town of Latium; now Tivoli.
Tigranes, 367, 439, 441: king of Armenia 97-56 B.C.
Timarchus, 521: son of Axizelus; an Athenian orator attacked by Aeschines (Or. 1.).
Timothea, 265: wife of Anarchus.
Timotheus, 425; quoted, 363: lyric poet from Miletus; died 357.
Timotheus, 525: son of Conon; Athenian general and statesman; died before 353 B.C.
Titius, Lucius, 53: "Richard Roe."
Titus, 155: a Roman praenomen.
Telephernes, 221: son of Heracles, hero of the Trojan war.
Tlesimachus, 393: son of Peisistratus of Orchomenus.
Tolmides, 493: son of Tolmaeus; Athenian admiral; slain 447 B.C.
Tralles, 235: city of Caria.
Trallian, 235.

Tralles, 235.
Treres, 405: a people of Thrace.
Triballians, 469, 471: a people of Thrace.
Tripodisci, 197: division of the citizenry at Megara.
Trismachus, 267: a Greek historian.
Troezen, 305: city of Argolis.
Trojan, 15.
Troyans, 145.
Trosius, L., 297: father of Florentia.
Tullus Hostilius, 269: 3rd king of Rome.
Tuscinius, 295: son of Mars and Silvia.
Tuxium, 311: see 311, note b.
Typhons, 467.
Tyre, 453.
Tyrians, 97.
Tyrrenians, 203.
Tyrrenhians, 201: a people said to be of Etruscan affinities.

Uranus, 73: father of Cronus.

Valeria Luperca, 309: a maiden of Palerii.
Valeria Tuscanaria, 289: a Roman maiden.
Valerius, 291: father of Tusculanaria.
Valerius Antias, 361: an historian of the age of Sulla.
Valerius Conatus, 269: a Roman augur.
Valerius Gestius, 293: Campanian, son-in-law of L. Tiberis.
Valerius Publicola, 75, 121, 137: consul 500-507, 504; died 503 B.C. Roman statesman and general. Plutarch wrote his life.
Valerius Soranus, 95: a Roman.
Valerius Torquatus, 277: Roman general.
Varro, see Terentius.
Veii, 369: a city of southern Etruria.

552
INDEX

Veneralia, 77.
Vesta, 279, 283.
Vestal Virgins, 127, 142, note 7.
Vettius Barrus, 127: a Roman knight.
Via Sacra, 145: at Rome.
Vibius Pansa Caetronianus, C., 341, 343: consul 43 B.C.; died after Mutina.
Vicus Patricius, 9: at Rome.
Virgo, 273: the constellation.
Volsci, 337: a people of Latium.
Vulcan, 79, 361.
Xenocrates, 411, 419: of Chalcedon, pupil of Plato; succeeded Speusippus as head of the Academy; 339-314 B.C.

Xenophon, 495: Athenian historian; 430-350 (?) B.C.
Xerxes, 259, 265, 273, 401, 459: king of Persia 485-465 B.C.
Xuthus, 203: son of Hellen and Orseis; married Creusa.

Zacynthus, 191: island off the west coast of Greece, now Zante.
Zeipoetes, 287: king of Bithynia.
Zeno, 393, 397: of Citium, founder of the Stoic school; died circa 264 B.C.
Zephyrus, 141: the West Wind.
Zoilus, 223: a priest of Orchomenus.
Zopyrus, 309: a Greek historian.

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