

DE EXCELLENTISSIBUS DUCIBUS EXTERARUM GENTIUM

CORNELIUS NEPOS

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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(ORIGINAL) PREFACE TO VOLUME I

This is the first volume of a complete edition of the lives of Cornelius Nepos. The Notes are intended for the use of beginners; and in the Vocabulary an attempt has been made to give fuller information as to the various meanings of important words than is generally found in similar works. The Text is mainly Halm's, with a few readings from other sources.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

I. THE PERSIAN WARS.

The first five lives in this volume are those of the chief Greeks who took part in the Persian Wars. The origin of these wars is to be found in the position of the Greek colonies on the coast of Asia Minor, and especially of those which had been founded by Ionians, that branch of the Greek race to which the Athenians belonged.

These were situated on the coast of Lydia, and had originally been independent of the Asiatic kings near them. About the year B.C. 560, Croesus, King of Lydia, had established a lordship over them, but he left them in peace, provided that they acknowledged his sovereignty and paid a small tribute. We learn from Herodotus that Croesus was an admirer of Greek civilisation and consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. But when Cyrus, King of Persia, overthrew Croesus he refused to leave the Ionians to themselves. They fought for freedom and were conquered, after applying in vain for help to Sparta.

After the death of Cyrus and of his son Cambyses, Darius became King of Persia, B.C. 521. In order to keep the Ionians in subjection he supported the tyrants who ruled in the various cities, and when he made his campaign against the Scythians across the Danube, an Ionian fleet formed part of the expedition. How the bridge across the Danube was intrusted to the Ionian tyrants, and how Histiaeus of Miletus saved Darius and his army, is told in the life of Miltiades.

Histiaeus, rewarded for his services by a gift of territory in Thrace, planned independence; Darius, becoming aware of his schemes, summoned him to court under pretence of doing him honour, leaving the rule of Miletus to his nephew Aristagoras.

Aristagoras, incited by Histiaeus, stirred up a revolt of Ionia and surrendered his sovereignty. The other tyrants were deposed (B.C.500), and a general revolt followed. Again the Spartans refused help, but Athens sent a force which, aided by the Ionians, burnt Sardis. The Greeks, however, were soon forced to retire to the coast, and the Athenians went home.

Darius now set to work to reduce Ionia, and blockaded Miletus, the centre of the revolt. The Ionians had a powerful fleet, but it was weakened by treachery and desertion; and when the decisive moment came, few except the people of Miletus stood firm. They were defeated at the battle of Lade (B.C. 496), and Miletus was stormed. Darius was now eager to subdue the Greeks in Europe, and especially to punish the Athenians for their share in the burning of Sardis. After an attempt to exact homage in B.C. 493, he sent a fleet and army commanded by Datis and Artaphemes (B.C. 490). They sacked the island of Naxos, captured Eretria in Euboea, which had aided in the destruction of Sardis, and landed at Marathon, about 20 miles North East of Athens. The Athenians could muster only 9000 men; the people of Plataea, a little town in the South of Boeotia, sent 1000, but no other state came to the rescue of Athens. Sparta did indeed send a paltry force of 2000 men, but these arrived the day after the battle. Miltiades as will be found in his life, was mainly responsible for the bold yet prudent policy of fighting in the open, and to his tactics no less than to the courage of his men the victory was due. The Persians fled to their ships, and sailed round the coast, hoping to find Athens undefended, but Miltiades, knowing that there were traitors within the walls, had marched back at once to defend the town. The Persians, thus disappointed, returned to Asia.

After the disgrace and death of Miltiades, the two leading men in Athens were Themistocles and Aristides. Aristides was opposed to any changes in the policy of Athens, and especially to the development of her naval power, because this would increase the importance of the lower classes, who would mainly man the fleet, as opposed to the land-owners, who formed the most important part of the army.

Themistocles, on the other hand, foresaw that the Persians would sooner or later renew their attempt, and that Athens must not hope for a second Marathon. He therefore persuaded the Athenians to spend the revenues of their silver mines upon building a fleet and improving the harbours; so well did he succeed that in ten years Athens with a fleet of 200 triremes was by far the greatest naval power in Greece.

In B.C. 480 came the great invasion of the Persians under Xerxes, who had succeeded Darius in B.C. 485. The first stand of the Greeks was made at Thermopylae under Leonidas, King of Sparta. The Greek fleet

was stationed at Artemisium, off the North coast of Euboea, to prevent the Persians sailing down the channel and landing troops in the rear of Leonidas.

It was under the command of Eurybiades, a Spartan, who required a bribe to induce him to stand his ground. After the death of Leonidas and his Spartans, the fleet, which had gained some successes over the Persian fleet at Artemisium, retired to Salamis, and as no resistance was made by land, Athens was occupied and burnt by the Persian army.

At Salamis, again, Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians, who cared only for the defence of their own territory, would have retreated but for the opposition of Themistocles and for the unscrupulous stratagem (see the life of T. in the following), by which he forced a battle upon his reluctant colleagues.

The victory was due even more to the position of the Greeks than to the skill and courage of the sailors. Their fleet was drawn up in a bay on the coast of Salamis, with its flanks protected by the promontories at either end, while the narrowness of the channel between Salamis and the mainland prevented the greater part of the huge Persian fleet from coming into action at all. The dismay of Xerxes at this defeat was increased by a timely hint that the Greeks were going to cut the bridge over the Hellespont. He left Mardonius behind with 300,000 men, and instructions to subdue Greece, while he with the rest of the army hastened home.

In the following year Mardonius was defeated at Plataea by the Greeks under Pausanias, who commanded as regent for the young son of Leonidas. The Persian army was utterly destroyed, and Greece saved.

On the very same day a battle was fought at Mycale, near Miletus, on the coast of Asia Minor. The Greek fleet had crossed to Asia; the Persian admiral, remembering Salamis, sought safety ashore. The Greeks followed, and a battle was fought on the beach, in which the Persians were defeated and their ships burnt. Thus on one day Greece was cleared of invaders and Ionia was set free.

II. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

Up to this time Sparta had been the acknowledged chief of the Greek States; but her selfishness during the Persian invasions, followed by the insolent conduct of Pausanias towards the allies, caused the Ionian colonists in Asia Minor and most of the islanders of the Aegean Sea to look to Athens as their future leader. A league was formed under Athens (B.C. 477) called the confederacy of Delos, because the funds contributed by the allies were kept in the temple of Apollo in that island. The object of the league was naval defence, and the various states contributed money and ships in proportion to their resources, the amount of their contributions being assessed by Aristides, "the just".

The league at first worked well. War was waged against Persia, and in B.C. 466 the allied forces under Cimon won a victory both by sea and land at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, on the south coast of Asia Minor. But already there were signs of discontent. The members of the league were gradually becoming the vassals instead of the allies of Athens. More and more of the lesser states instead of contributing ships paid money; their representatives ceased to hold meetings, and Athens instead of Delos became the seat of the treasury. The Athenian government used the money for their own purposes, and tyrannised over the allies, who grew more and more discontented, and as early as B.C. 466 the isle of Naxos revolted, but was forced to rejoin the league. In this very year Themistocles fled from Greece; Aristides had died a short time before. Cimon was now the leader of the aristocratic, Pericles of the popular party at Athens; for though the Athenian constitution was democratic, and destined to become still more so under Pericles, there was a strong and wealthy party of nobles who still regarded Persia as the enemy to be feared, and wished to work harmoniously with Sparta. This party at first had the upper hand, partly no doubt owing to the successes of Cimon against the Persians; but the tide soon turned. A few years later the Helots, who were the serfs of the Spartans, revolted. The Spartans asked the Athenians for help, and Cimon was sent with an army. But the Spartans presently sent the Athenians away, suspecting them of treachery. The people of Athens were naturally indignant; Cimon lost his power, and about B.C. 459 was banished. The democratic party, which was opposed to Sparta, came into power. Pericles, the leader of this party, saw clearly that Sparta, not Persia, was the real source of danger to Athens. The war with Persia, gradually died out, ending about B.C. 445. The Long Walls were built connecting Athens with its port, Piraeus, which was four miles away. These walls were strongly fortified; and as in those days there were few mechanical appliances for attacking fortifications, Athens was tolerably safe, even if Attica were invaded. Corn could be imported and conveyed safely from Piraeus to the city, so that the loss of the native crops would be of little moment, for the rural population would take refuge within the walls, and be fed, like the townsfolk, on imported corn.

In B.C. 431 the Peloponnesian War broke out. The adherents of Sparta consisted chiefly of the states of Peloponnesus, who were joined also by the Boeotians more from hatred of Athens than from any love for Sparta. The two parties differed in race, in political principles, and in armament. The Spartans and their allies were mostly Dorians, whose form of government was aristocratic; that is, the power was in the hands of the nobles. As personal prowess and superior arms were of more influence in battles on land than on sea, these aristocratic states turned out better soldiers than their opponents, while the democratic Ionians, most of whom, too, were islanders, were by far the stronger at sea.

The events of the first ten years may be briefly summarised. The Spartans invaded Attica in B.C. 431 and 430, and the inhabitants, crowded within the city, were attacked by the plague. In B.C. 429 Pericles died, and in the same year the Spartans, in violation of the oath taken by Pausanias, besieged Plataea, the ally of Athens, which fell in B.C. 427. All the inhabitants were killed and the city destroyed. But in the same year the Athenian admiral Phormio gained two brilliant victories over a vastly larger Spartan fleet off Naupactus, a naval station which Athens had established near the mouth of the Corinthian gulf. In B.C. 425 the Athenians blockaded a number of the best Spartan troops on the island of Sphacteria, off the W. coast of Peloponnesus. These men held out for a time, but Cleon, the leader of the popular party, aided by Demosthenes, who at this time was the best Athenian general, forced them to surrender, which greatly lowered the Spartan reputation throughout Greece. The Athenians now attempted conquests by land. They invaded Boeotia, but were defeated at Delium, B.C. 424, and about the same time Brasidas, the greatest general and statesman that Sparta produced in this war, went to Thrace and caused several towns on the coast to revolt from Athens. Cleon was sent against him, and both were killed. With the leader of the war party out of the way, peace was possible, and was concluded in B.C. 421 chiefly by the Athenian general Nicias, Cleon's chief opponent, after whom it was named.

The peace was of short duration. Alcibiades became leader of the war party, and Athens began to act against Sparta in the affairs of Peloponnesus. They were defeated at Mantinea by the Spartans under King Agis, B.C. 418. In spite of this lesson they began to interfere in the affairs of Sicily, and fitted out a great expedition against Syracuse (B.C. 415). The part taken by Alcibiades in this expedition is related in the text. The attack on Syracuse was a failure, largely through the incapacity of Nicias; finally the men were all slain or captured, and Nicias himself, with Demosthenes, who had been sent with reinforcements, committed suicide, B.C. 413.

The scene of the war now shifts eastward. Alcibiades persuaded the Spartans to send a fleet to the coast of Asia and induce the Ionians to revolt from Athens. In B.C. 413, 412 Chios, Lesbos and Mitylene revolted, but the important island of Samos remained faithful, and became the Athenian headquarters. Tissaphernes, a Persian governor in Asia Minor, thinking that of all Greek states Athens was the most dangerous to his country, now made an alliance with the Spartans, and helped to pay their army. Alcibiades had fallen under the suspicion of the Spartans, who determined to put him to death, so he wished to be received once more at Athens. He persuaded the Athenians that he could get them the help of Tissaphernes, with whom he had taken refuge, if they would recall him from exile; he also made it a condition that the democracy which had treated him so unjustly should be abolished. Accordingly a conspiracy was formed at Athens, and the aristocratic government of the Four Hundred

established, B.C. 411. But it lasted only three months, and was never recognised by the army at Samos. The leaders of the army now made friends with Alcibiades, who saw that the democracy after all was more likely to serve his turn, and he was elected general, not at Athens, but at Samos. He did good service in helping to win battles in the Hellespont, thus raising the Spartan blockade which had interfered with the Athenian corn supply from the Black Sea. His triumphal return home in B.C. 408, his loss of office after the defeat of Cyme, and the closing scenes of his life are fully related in the text. With his downfall the last chance of Athens was gone.

The Spartan Lysander was a far more capable general and politician than any Athenian now in power, and he was again helped by Persia. With his victory at Aegospotami, B.C. 405, and the consequent fall of Athens, B.C. 404, the Peloponnesian War came to an end.

III. RESTORATION OF THE DEMOCRACY UNDER THRASYBULUS

With the aid of Sparta the Athenian nobles again overthrew the democracy, and established the government of the "Thirty Tyrants," who were supported by a Spartan garrison. They put to death or banished their chief opponents, and Thrasybulus, who had aided in the recall of Alcibiades and the subsequent Athenian victories, took refuge at Thebes. With a small force he first seized the fortress of Phyle, on the road from Thebes to Athens, and then, after a victory over the forces of the Thirty, occupied the Piraeus. Here he again defeated the army of the Thirty, who, being presently deprived of support from Sparta, fell, and the democracy was restored.

IV. CONON, IPHICRATES, CHABRIAS

All these three commanders had some part in the revival of Athens after her defeat, and in the struggle against Spartan supremacy. After the Peloponnesian War, Persia, following her usual policy of trying to weaken any Greek state more powerful than the rest, opposed Sparta. Conon made an alliance with the Satrap Pharnabazus about B.C. 397, hoping thereby to gain some advantage for Athens. He opposed the Spartan, Agesilaus, with some success, and after defeating the Spartan fleet at Cnidus, B.C. 394, he had the satisfaction of rebuilding the Long Walls at Athens in the following year.

Iphicrates and Chabrias are noteworthy as marking the introduction of a change in Greek warfare, and indeed in Greek life. Unlike the generals of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, they were not merely prominent citizens who took to fighting, as to politics, because it was one of their duties to their country, but professional soldiers, and even to some extent soldiers of fortune, like Xenophon's Clearchus; that is, when their own state did not need their services they fought for anyone else who would pay them. The story of their lives is sufficiently related in the text.

V. DION

Syracuse was the greatest of the Greek cities in Sicily. Towards the end of the Peloponnesian War there was a severe struggle between Greeks and Carthaginians in Sicily, and Dionysius the elder, being a capable general, gradually made himself master of Syracuse, and on his death in B.C. 367 his son succeeded to his position. Dion was a relative and trusted minister of the elder Dionysius, and his life as related by Nepos tells the tale of his expulsion of the younger Dionysius, his own establishment in power, and his unfortunate end.

CORNELII NEPOTIS

LIBER DE EXCELLENTIBUS DUCIBUS EXTERARUM GENTIUM.

PRAEFATIO

1. Non dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus scripturae leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis iudicent, cum relatum legent, quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam, aut in eius virtutibus commemorari, saltasse eum commode scienterque tibiis cantasse. Sed hi erunt fere¹, qui expertes litterarum Graecarum nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. Hi si didicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia, sed omnia maiorum institutis iudicari, non admirabuntur nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis mores eorum secutos. Neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe, Atheniensium summo viro, sororem germanam² habere in matrimonio, quippe cum cives eius eodem uterentur instituto. At id quidem nostris moribus nefas habetur. Magnis in laudibus tota fere fuit Graecia victorem Olympiae citari, in scaenam vero prodire ac populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quae omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur. Contra ea³ pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quae apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? Aut cuius non mater familias

¹ mostly.

² see life of Cimon.

³ = *contra*, "on the other hand".

primum locum tenet aedium⁴ atque in celebritate versatur? Quod multo fit aliter in Graecia. Nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte aedium, quae gynaeconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit nisi propinqua cognatione coniunctus. Sed hic plura persequi cum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio, ut ea explicem quae exorsus sum. Quare ad propositum veniemus et in hoc exponemus libro de vita excellentium imperatorum.

I. MILTIADES

1. Miltiades, Cimonis filius, Atheniensis, cum et antiquitate generis et gloria maiorum et sua modestia unus omnium maxime floreret eaque esset aetate, ut non iam solum de eo bene sperare, sed etiam confidere cives possent sui talem eum futurum, qualem cognitum iudicarunt⁵, accidit ut Athenienses Chersonesum⁶ colonos vellent mittere. Cuius generis cum magnus numerus esset et multi eius demigrationis peterent societatem, ex iis delecti Delphos deliberatum missi sunt qui consulerent⁷ Apollinem, quo potissimum duce uterentur. Namque tum Thraces eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus armis erat dimicandum. His consulentibus nominatim Pythia praecepit, ut Miltiadem imperatorem sibi sumerent: id si fecissent,

⁴ “the first room in the house”. This was the atrium, into which visitors and all who entered the house must come.

⁵ “such as they afterwards judged him to be when they know him”.

⁶ the Thracian Chersonese, on the European coast of the Hellespont. Nepos seems to confuse the younger Miltiades, whose life he is writing, with the elder, his uncle, who really established this colony.

⁷ *qui = ut ei.*

incepta prospera futura⁸. Hoc oraculi responso Miltiades cum delecta manu classe Chersonesum profectus cum accessisset Lemnum et incolas eius insula sub potestatem redigere vellet Atheniensium, idque ut Lemnii sua sponte facerent postulasset, illi iridentes responderunt tum id se facturos, cum ille domo⁹ navibus profectus vento aquilone venisset Lemnum. Hic enim ventus ab septemtrionibus oriens adversum¹⁰ tenet Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades morandi tempus non habens cursum direxit, quo tendebat, pervenitque Chersonesum.

2. Ibi brevi tempore barbarorum copiis disiectis, tota regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca castellis idonea communiit, multitudinem, quam secum duxerat, in agris collocavit crebrisque excursionibus locupletavit. Neque minus in ea re prudentia quam felicitate adiutus est. Nam cum virtute militum devicisset hostium exercitus, summa aequitate res constituit atque ipse ibidem manere decrevit. Erat enim inter eos dignitate regia, quamquam carebat nomine, neque id magis imperio quam iustitia consecutus. Neque eo¹¹ setius Atheniensibus, a quibus erat profectus, officia praestabat. Quibus rebus fiebat ut non minus eorum voluntate perpetuum imperium obtineret, qui miserant, quam illorum, cum quibus erat profectus. Chersoneso tali modo constituta Lemnum revertitur et ex

⁸ supply esse.

⁹ "from home". The Lemnians meant "from Athens", whence, of course, Lemnos could not be reached with a north wind blowing.

¹⁰ here an adverb; *adversum tenet*, "is adverse".

¹¹ "on that account".

pacto postulat ut sibi urbem tradant. Illi enim dixerant, cum vento borea domo profectus eo pervenisset, sese dedituros, se enim domum Chersonesi¹² habere. Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etsi praeter opinionem res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, sed secunda fortuna adversariorum capti resistere ausi non sunt atque ex insula demigrarunt. Pari felicitate ceteras insulas, quae Cyclades¹³ nominantur, sub Atheniensium redegit potestatem.

3. Eisdem temporibus¹⁴ Persarum rex Darius ex Asia in Europam exercitu traiecto Scythis bellum inferre decrevit. Pontem fecit in Histro flumine, qua¹⁵ copias traduceret. Eius pontis, dum ipse abesset, custodes reliquit principes quos secum ex Ionia et Aeolide duxerat, quibus singulis suarum urbium perpetua dederat imperia. Sic enim facillime putavit se Graeca lingua loquentes, qui Asiam incolerent, sub sua retenturum potestate, si amicis suis oppida tuenda tradidisset, quibus se oppresso nulla spes salutis relinqueretur. In hoc fuit tum numero¹⁶ Miltiades cui illa custodia crederetur¹⁷. Hic, cum crebri afferrent¹⁸ nuntii male rem gerere Darium premique a Scythis, hortatus est pontis custodes, ne a fortuna datam occasionem liberandae Graeciae dimitterent. Nam si cum iis copiis, quas secum transportarat, interisset Darius, non solum Europam fore tutam, sed

¹² locative case, very unusual in names of countries.

¹³ there is no other authority for the statement that Miltiades conquered the Cyclades.

¹⁴ probably about B.C. 515.

¹⁵ adverb, instead of the rel.pron., agreeing with *ponte*.

¹⁶ i.e. among the number of the rulers set up by Darius.

¹⁷ "was to be intrusted".

¹⁸ "brought news".

etiam eos, qui Asiam incoherent Graeci genere¹⁹, liberos a Persarum futures dominatione et periculo. Id facile effici posse: ponte enim rescisso regem vel hostium ferro vel inopia paucis diebus interiturum. Ad hoc consilium cum plerique accederent, Histiaeus Milesius, ne res conficeretur²⁰, obstitit, dicens non idem ipsis, qui summas imperii tenerent, expedire et multitudini, quod Darii regno ipsorum niteretur dominatio: quo extincto ipsos potestate expulsos civibus suis poenas daturus. Itaque adeo se abhorrere a ceterorum consilio, ut nihil putet²¹ ipsis²² utilius quam confirmari regnum Persarum. Huius cum sententiam plurimi essent secuti, Miltiades non dubitans tam multis consciis ad regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit ac rursus Athenas demigravit. Cuius ratio etsi non valuit, tamen magno opere est laudanda, cum amicior omnium libertati quam suae fuerit dominationi.

4. Darius autem, cum ex Europa in Asiam redisset, hortantibus amicis, ut Graeciam redigeret in suam potestatem, classem quingentarum navium comparavit eique Datim praefecit et Artaphernem hisque ducenta peditum, decem equitum milia dedit, causam interserens se hostem esse Atheniensibus, quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardes expugnassent²³ suaque praesidia interfecissent. Illi praefecti regii classe ad Euboeam appulsa celeriter Eretriam

¹⁹ abl. of respect after *Graeci*.

²⁰ depends on *obstitit*.

²¹ primary instead of historic sequence.

²² i.e. the rulers of the cities.

²³ see Introduction

ceperunt omnesque eius gentis cives abreptos in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde ad Atticam accesserunt ac suas copias in campum Marathona deduxerunt. Is abest ab oppido circiter milia passuum decem²⁴. Hoc tumultu²⁵ Athenienses tam propinquo tamque magno permoti auxilium nusquam nisi a Lacedaemoniis petiverunt, Phidippumque²⁶ cursorem eius generis, qui hemerodromoe vocantur, Lacedaemonem miserunt, ut nuntiaret quam celeri opus esset auxilio. Domi autem creant decem praetores²⁷, qui exercitui praeessent, in eis Miltiadem. Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrum moenibus se defenderent an obviam irent hostibus acieque decernerent. Unus Miltiades maxime nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore²⁸ castra fierent: id si factum esset, et civibus animum accessurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari²⁹, et hostes eadem re fore tardiores, si animadverterent auderi adversus se tam exiguis copiis dimicari.

5. Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fait praeter Plataeenses. Ea mille³⁰ misit militum. Itaque horum adventu decem milia armatorum completa sunt, quae manus mirabili flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate. Quo factum est ut plus quam collegae Miltiades valeret. Eius ergo auctoritate impulsu Athenienses copias ex urbe

²⁴ the real distance is over twenty miles.

²⁵ "invasion", usually "civil war"; but Cicero explains that it may mean a war near home.

²⁶ better known as Phidippides.

²⁷ greek στρατηγοί. Ten men were elected annually, one from each of the ten tribes.

²⁸ "as soon as possible"; *quoque* is ablative of *quisque*.

²⁹ desperari... auderi, used impersonally. It is better not to attempt to translate literally, but to use the active construction, on turn in some other way.

³⁰ mille... militum. Mille (adj.) milites is the usual construction; *mille* as subs is rare.

eduxerunt locoque idoneo castra fecerunt. Dein postero die sub montis radicibus acie regione instructa non apertissima³¹ (namque arbores multis locis erant rariae) proelium commiserunt hoc consilio, ut et montium altitudine tegerentur et arborum tractu³² equitatus hostium impediretur, ne multitudine clauderentur. Datis etsi non aequum locum videbat suis, tamen fretus numero copiarum suarum configere cupiebat, eoque magis, quod, priusquam Lacedaemonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur. Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decern milia produxit proeliumque commisit. In quo tanto plus virtute valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemplicem numerum hostium profligarint, adeoque eos perterruerint, ut Persae non castra, sed naves petierint. Qua pugna nihil adhuc exstitit nobilius: nulla enim umquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.

6. Cuius victoriae³³ non alienum videtur quale praemium Miltiadi sit tributum docere, quo facilius³⁴ intellegi possit eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam. Ut enim populi Romani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues ob eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti, sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic Miltiadi, qui Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos tributus est, in porticu, quae Poecile vocatur, cum pugna depingeretur

³¹ = *impedita*.

³² "by the situation of the trees".

³³ probably gen. after *alienum*, not after *praemium* "a matter not unconnected with this victory".

³⁴ *quo* is used instead of *ut* to express a purpose when a comparative follows.

Marathonia, ut in decem³⁵ praetorum numero prima eius imago poneretur isque hortaretur milites proeliumque committeret. Idem ille populus, posteaquam maius imperium est nactus et largitione magistratuum corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio³⁶ Phalereo decrevit.

7. Post hoc proelium classem septuaginta navium Athenienses eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quae barbaros adiuverant, bello persequeretur. Quo in imperio plerasque ad officium redire coëgit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his Parum insulam opibus elatam cum oratione reconciliare non posset, copias e navibus eduxit, urbem operibus³⁷ clausit, omnique commeatu privavit, dein vineis³⁸ ac testudinibus³⁹ constitutis propius muros accessit. Cum iam in eo esset ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus, qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu nocturno tempore incensus est. Cuius flamma ut ab oppidanis et oppugnatoribus est visa, utrisque venit in opinionem signum a classiariis regiis⁴⁰ datum. Quo factum est ut et Parii a deditione deterrerentur et Miltiades, timens ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus, quae statuerat, cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus Athenas magna cum offensione⁴¹ civium

³⁵ *ut* would more naturally follow immediately after *tributus est*, and should be so taken in translating.

³⁶ Demetrius governed Athens for ten years from 317-307 B.C.

³⁷ includes all siege works necessary for investing a town.

³⁸ *Vineae* were a sort of sheds with sloping roofs which could be moved up to the walls of a town to protect the attacking party while they rammed or undermined the walls.

³⁹ two meanings: (1) shelters somewhat similar to *vineae*; (2) a formation in which the soldiers locked their shields over their heads to protect them in a like manner.

⁴⁰ "of the king of Persia".

⁴¹ "to the great indignation of".

suorum rediret. Accusatus ergo est prodicionis, quod⁴², cum Parum expugnare posset, a rege corruptus infectis rebus discessisset. Eo tempore aeger erat vulneribus⁴³, quae in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque cum ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba fecit frater eius Stesagoras. Causa cognita⁴⁴ capitis absolutus pecunia multatus est, eaque lis⁴⁵ quinquaginta talentis aestimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat. Hanc pecuniam quod solvere in praesentia non poterat, in vincla publica coniectus est ibique diem obiit supremum.

8. Hic etsi crimine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia causa fuit damnationis. Namque Athenienses propter Pisistrati tyrannidem⁴⁶, quae paucis annis ante fuerat, nimiam civium suorum potentiam extimescebant. Miltiades, multum in imperiis magistratibusque versatus, non videbatur posse esse privatus, praesertim cum consuetudine ad imperii cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam in Chersoneso omnes illos quos habitarat annos perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed iustus. Non erat enim vi consecutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinebat. Omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur tyranni, qui

⁴² quod... discessisset, subjunctive, because it is the ground alleged by his accusers, not stated by the writer. Translate "for leaving without accomplishing his purpose".

⁴³ Herodotus, whose account differs in several points from that of Nepos, says that he injured his leg while trying to climb into the temple of Demeter.

⁴⁴ "when the case was tried".

⁴⁵ lis... aestimata est, lit. "the lawsuit was valued at", i.e. the damages were assessed. At Athens, in the trial of cases in which no penalty was fixed by law, if a verdict of guilty was found, the accuser named one penalty, the accused another. The judges decided which should be imposed, but could not take a middle course.

⁴⁶ The Greek word τυραννος, in Lat. *tyrannus*, did not necessarily mean a tyrannical ruler in our sense, but one who had seized power, not received it by law. Pisistratus and his sons ruled over Athens, with intervals, from B.C. 560-510.

potestate sunt perpetua⁴⁷ in ea civitate, quae⁴⁸ libertate usa est. Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas tum mira communitas, ut nemo tam humilis esset, cui⁴⁹ non ad eum aditus pateret; magna auctoritas apud omnes civitates, nobile nomen, laus rei militaris maxima. Haec populus respiciens maluit illum innoxium plecti quam se diutius esse in timore.

II. THEMISTOCLES

1. Themistocles, Neocli filius, Atheniensis⁵⁰. Huius vitia ineuntis adolescentiae magnis sunt emendata virtutibus, adeo ut anteferatur huic nemo, pauci pares putentur. Sed ab initio est ordiendus⁵¹. Pater eius Neocles generosus fuit. Is uxorem Halicarnassiam civem duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles. Qui cum minus esset probatus parentibus, quod et liberius vivebat et rem familiarem neglegebat, a patre exheredatus est. Quae contumelia non fregit eum, sed erexit. Nam cum iudicasset sine summa industria non posse eam exstingui, totum se dedit rei publicae, diligentius amicis famaеque serviens. Multum in iudiciis privatis versabatur, saepe in contionem populi prodibat; nulla res maior sine eo gerebatur; celeriter quae opus erant⁵² reperiēbat, facile eadem oratione explicabat, neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus quam excogitandis erat, quod et de

⁴⁷ “who possess uninterrupted power”, as contrasted with republican magistrates who are elected for a fixed period.

⁴⁸ quae... usa est, “which has in the past enjoyed freedom”.

⁴⁹ *ut ei*.

⁵⁰ Themistocles... Atheniensis. These words form the title of the work; many of the lives begin in a similar way.

⁵¹ “he”, i.e. his life, “must be begun”.

⁵² *opus* has two constructions: “I have need of these things” may be either *his rebus mihi opus est*, or *haec mihi opus sunt*.

instantibus, ut ait Thucydides, verissime iudicabat et de futuris callidissime coniciebat. Quo factum est ut brevi tempore illustraretur.

2. *Primus autem gradus fuit capessendae* rei publicae bello Corcyraeo⁵³; ad quod gerendum praetor a populo factus non solum praesenti bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore ferociorem reddidit civitatem. Nam cum pecunia publica, quae ex metallis⁵⁴ redibat, largitione magistratuum⁵⁵ quotannis interiret ille persuasit populo ut ea pecunia classis centum navium aedificaretur. Qua celeriter effecta primum Corcyraeos fregit deinde maritimos praedones consectando mare tutum reddidit. In quo⁵⁶ cum divitiis ornavit, tum etiam peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses. Id quantae saluti fuerit universae Graeciae, bello cognitum est Persico. Nam cum⁵⁷ Xerxes et mari et terra bellum universae inferret Europae, cum tantis copiis, quantas neque ante nec postea habuit quisquam; huius enim classis mille et ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo milia onerariarum sequebantur, terrestris autem exercitus septingenta peditum, equitum quadringenta milia fuerunt. Cuius de adventu cum fama in Graeciam esset perlata et maxime Athenienses peti dicerentur propter pugnam Marathoniam, miserunt Delphos

⁵³ The war in which Themistocles persuaded the Athenians to strengthen their navy was against the island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf, an old enemy and rival of Athens, B.C. 482.

⁵⁴ at Laurium in the south-east of Attica.

⁵⁵ "distributions made by the magistrates", not bribes given to them. There was nothing corrupt in these distributions; but as each citizen received about half-a-sovereign a year, it was not of much use to him, while the whole sum was of great importance when spent on national defence.

⁵⁶ "by which means".

⁵⁷ This sentence is not finished; the writer begins a parenthesis at *huius enim*, and forgets to complete his original construction.

consultum, quidnam facerent de rebus suis. Deliberantibus Pythia respondit, ut moenibus ligneis se munirent. Id responsum quo valeret cum intellegeret nemo, Themistocles persuasit⁵⁸ consilium esse Apollinis, ut in naves se suaque conferrent; eum enim a deo significari murum ligneum. Tali consilio probato addunt ad superiores totidem naves triremes, suaque omnia, quae moveri poterant, partim Salamina⁵⁹, partim Troezena deportant; arcem sacerdotibus paucisque maioribus natu ad sacra procuranda tradunt, reliquum oppidum relinquunt.

3. Huius consilium plerisque civitatibus displicebat et in terra dimicari magis placebat. Itaque missi sunt delecti cum Leonida, Lacedaemoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent longiusque barbaros progredi non paterentur. Hi vim hostiui non sustinuerunt eoque loco omnes interierunt. At classis communis Graeciae trecentarum navium, in qua ducentae erant Atheniensium, primum apud Artemisium inter Euboeam continentemque terram cum classiariis regiis confluit. Angustias enim Themistocles quaerebat, ne multitudine circumiretur. Hic etsi pari proelio discesserant, tamen eodem loco non sunt ausi manere, quod erat periculum, ne, si pars navium adversariorum Euboeam superasset⁶⁰, ancipiti premerentur

⁵⁸ supply *eis*.

⁵⁹ why no preposition?

⁶⁰ "sailed round". Apart from the danger of being shut in, it was useless for the Greek fleet to remain off Euboea when Leonidas and his force were destroyed.

periculo. Quo factum est ut ab Artemisio discederent et exadversum Athenas apud Salamina classem suam constituerent.

4. At Xerxes Thermopylis expugnatis protinus accessit astu idque nullis defendentibus, interfectis sacerdotibus, quos in arce invenerat, incendio delevit. Cuius flamma perterriti classarii cum manere non auderent et plurimi hortarentur, ut domos suas discederent moenibusque se defenderent, Themistocles unus restitit et universos pares⁶¹ esse posse aiebat, dispersos testabatur perituros, idque Eurybiadi, regi Lacedaemoniorum, qui tum summae⁶² imperii praeerat, fore affirmabat. Quem cum minus quam vellet moveret, noctu de servis suis quem habuit fidelissimum⁶³ ad regem misit, ut ei nuntiaret suis verbis, adversarios eius in fuga esse: qui si discessissent, maiore cum labore et longinquo tempore bellum confecturum⁶⁴, cum singulos consectari cogeretur: quos si statim aggrederetur, brevi universos oppressurum. Hoc eo valebat⁶⁵, ut ingratiis ad depugnandum omnes cogerentur. Hac re audita barbarus, nihil doli subesse credens, postridie alienissimo sibi loco, contra opportunissimo hostibus adeo angusto mari confligit, ut eius multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Victus ergo est magis etiam consilio Themistocli quam armis Graeciae.

⁶¹ i.e. equal to the task of fighting the Persians.

⁶² substantive.

⁶³ in English we should put this adjective in the principal sentence, in Latin it goes into the relative clause.

⁶⁴ supply eum, i.e. the Persian king

⁶⁵ eo is an adverb, "the purpose of this was".

5. *Hic etsi male rem gesserat*, tamen tantus habebat reliquias copiarum, ut etiamtum iis opprimere posset hostes: iterum ab eodem⁶⁶ gradu depulsus est⁶⁷. Nam Themistocles, verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiore eum fecit id⁶⁸ agi, ut, pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur ac reditu in Asiam excluderetur, idque ei persuasit. Itaque qua⁶⁹ sex mensibus iter fecerat, eadem minus diebus triginta in Asiam reversus est seque a Themistocle non superatum, sed conservatum iudicavit. Sic unius viri prudentia Graecia liberata est Europaeque succubuit Asia. Haec altera victoria⁷⁰, quae cum Marathonio possit comparari tropaeo⁷¹. Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero navium maxima post⁷² hominum memoriam classis est devicta.

6. *Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit neque minor in pace*. Cum enim Phalerico⁷³ portu neque magno neque bono Athenienses uterentur, huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est iisque moenibus⁷⁴ circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate⁷⁵ aequiperaret, utilitate superaret. Idem muros Atheniensium restituit praecipuo suo periculo. Namque Lacedaemonii causam idoneam nacti propter

⁶⁶ i.e. by Themistocles.

⁶⁷ "was driven from his position", i.e. from the position of advantage which the numbers of his force gave him.

⁶⁸ *id agi, ut*, "what it was intended".

⁶⁹ qua... eadem, abl. to express the way by which. Supply *via*.

⁷⁰ supply *est*.

⁷¹ here = *victoria*.

⁷² we should say "whitín".

⁷³ the harbour of Phalerum.

⁷⁴ "with such walls".

⁷⁵ "stateliness".

barbarorum excursiones, qua⁷⁶ negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem muros habere, ne essent loca munita, quae hostes possiderent, Athenienses aedificantes prohibere sunt conati. Hoc longe⁷⁷ alio spectabat atque videri volebant. Athenienses enim duabus victoriis, Marathonia et Salaminia, tantam gloriam apud omnes gentes erant consecuti, ut intellexerent Lacedaemonii de principatu sibi cum iis certamen fore. Quare eos quam infirmissimos esse volebant. Postquam autem audierunt muros strui legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id fieri vetarent. His praesentibus desierunt ac se de ea re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem suscepit Themistocles et solus primo profectus est: reliqui⁷⁸ legati ut tum exirent, cum satis alti tuendo⁷⁹ muri exstructi viderentur, praecepit: interim omnes, servi atque liberi, opus facerent neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer sive privatus esset sive publicus, et undique, quod idoneum ad muniendum putarent, congererent. Quo factum est ut Atheniensium muri ex sacellis⁸⁰ sepulcrisque constarent.

7. Themistocles autem, ut Lacedaemonem venit, adire ad magistratus noluit et dedit operam, ut quam longissime tempus duceret, causam interponens se collegas expectare. Cum Lacedaemonii quererentur opus nihilo minus fieri eumque in ea re conari fallere, interim reliqui legati sunt consecuti. A quibus cum

⁷⁶ what is the antecedent?

⁷⁷ longe alio... atque, lit. "looked in a very different direction than", i.e. "had a very different purpose".

⁷⁸ reliqui legati ut, etc., depends on *praecepit*.

⁷⁹ "for the purpose of protection".

⁸⁰ Thucydides, whom Nepos here follows, merely says that there were many stones from tombs and other buildings. The wall, of course, did not consist entirely of such stones.

audisset non multum superesse⁸¹ munitionis, ad ephoros Lacedaemoniorum accessit, penes quos summum erat imperium, atque apud eos contendit falsa iis esse delata: quare aequum esse illos viros bonos nobilesque mittere quibus fides haberetur, qui rem explorarent: interea se obsidem retinerent. Gestus est ei mos, tresque legati functi summis honoribus⁸² Athenas missi sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles iussit proficisci iisque praedixit⁸³, ut ne prius Lacedaemoniorum legatos dimitterent quam ipse esset remissus. Hos postquam Athenas pervenisse ratus est, ad magistratus senatumque Lacedaemoniorum adiit et apud eos liberrime professus est: Athenienses suo consilio, quod communi iure gentium facere possent, deos publicos⁸⁴ suosque patrios ac penates, quo facilius ab hoste possent defendere, muris saepsisse neque in eo quod inutile esset Graeciae fecisse. Nam illorum urbem ut propugnaculum oppositum esse barbaris, apud quam iam bis⁸⁵ classes⁸⁶ regias fecisse naufragium⁸⁷. Lacedaemonios autem male et iniuste facere, qui id potius intuerentur, quod ipsorum dominationi quam quod universae Graeciae utile esset. Quare, si suos legatos recipere vellent, quos

⁸¹ “was left unfinished”.

⁸² “who had held the highest offices”, lit. “performed the duties of”, etc.

⁸³ = *praecepit*.

⁸⁴ *deos publicos* means the national gods of Greece; *deos patrios*, those of Athens; *penates*, the household gods of each citizen.

⁸⁵ what were these two occasions?

⁸⁶ *classis* may include the troops on board as well as the actual fleet, and so is not an inappropriate word to express a force invading by sea.

⁸⁷ *fecisse naufragium* seems to mean here “had come to grief”. If used literally, it is rather inappropriate; but *naufragium* is often used in a metaphorical sense, and the metaphor is here naturally suggested by the word *classes*.

Athenas miserant, se remitterent, cum aliter illos numquam in patriam essent recepturi.

8. *Tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam.* Namque ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat Miltiades, testularum suffragiis⁸⁸ e civitate eiectus Argos habitatum concessit. Hic cum propter multas virtutes magna cum dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Perse ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset. Hoc crimine absens prodicionis damnatus est. Id ut audivit, quod non satis tutum se Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit. Ibi cum eius principes animadvertisset timere, ne propter se bellum iis Lacedaemonii et Athenienses indicerent, ad Admetum, Molossum regem, cum quo ei hospitium⁸⁹ erat, confugit. Huc cum venisset et in praesentia rex abesset, quo maiore religione se receptum tueretur, filium eius parvulum arripuit et cum eo se in sacrarium, quod summa colebatur caerimonia, coniecit. Inde non prius egressus est, quam rex eum data dextra in fidem reciperet; quam praestitit. Nam cum ab Atheniensibus et Lacedaemoniis exposceretur publice, supplicem non prodidit monuitque ut consuleret sibi: difficile enim esse in tam propinquo loco tuto eum versari. Itaque Pydnam eum deduci iussit et quod satis esset praesidii dedit. Hic in navem omnibus ignotus nautis escendit.

⁸⁸ the Greek word is ὀστρακισμός. The citizens of Athens might hold an ostracism every year, if they thought fit, and each might write down on his tablet the name of some citizen whom he thought dangerous to the state. Not less than 6000 must vote to make the ostracism valid ; and if a majority of these wrote down the name of one man, he had to leave Athens for ten years, but did not lose his property or cease to be an Athenian citizen.

⁸⁹ but Thucydides says that they were not friends, and that Themistocles had opposed Admetus in some request which he made of the Athenians.

Quae cum tempestate maxima Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus, sensit Themistocles, si eo pervenisset, sibi esse pereundum. Hac necessitate coactus domino navis, quis sit, aperit, multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille clarissimi viri captus misericordia diem noctemque procul ab insula in salo navem tenuit in ancoris neque quemquam ex ea exire passus est. Inde Ephesum pervenit ibique Themistoclem exponit. Cui ille pro mentis postea gratiam rettulit.

9. Scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe regnante in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo, quod aetate proximus de iis, qui illorum temporum historiam reliquerunt, et eiusdem civitatis fuit. Is autem ait ad Artaxerxen eum venisse atque his verbis epistulam misisse: "Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, quamdiu mihi necesse fuit adversum patrem tuum bellare patriamque meam defendere. Idem multo plura bona feci, postquam in tuto ipse⁹⁰ et ille in periculo esse coepit. Nam cum in Asiam reverti vellet proelio apud Salamina⁹¹ facto, litteris eum certiore feci id agi ut pons, quem in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur atque ab hostibus circumiretur; quo nuntio ille periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem confugi ad te exagitatus a cuncta Graecia, tuam petens amicitiam; quam si ero adeptus, non minus me bonum amicum habebis, quam fortem inimicum ille expertus est. Te

⁹⁰ first person.

⁹¹ Greek form of acc.sing.

autem rogo, ut de iis rebus, quas⁹² tecum colloqui volo, annum mihi tempus des eoque transacto ad te venire patiaris.

10. Huius rex animi magnitudinem admirans cupiensque talem virum sibi conciliari veniam dedit. Ille omne illud tempus litteris sermonique Persarum se dedidit: quibus adeo eruditus est, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba fecisse, quam ii poterant, qui in Perside⁹³ erant nati. Hic cum multa regi esset pollicitus gratissimumque illud⁹⁴, si suis uti consiliis vellet, illum Graeciam bello oppressurum, magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus in Asiam rediit domiciliumque Magnesiae sibi constituit. Namque hanc urbem ei rex donarat, his quidem verbis, quae⁹⁵ ei panem praeberet (ex qua regione quinquagena talenta quotannis redibant), Lampsacum autem, unde vinum sumeret, Myunta, ex qua obsonium haberet. Huius ad nostram memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulcrum prope oppidum, in quo est sepultus, statua in foro Magnesiae. De cuius morte multimodis⁹⁶ apud plerosque scriptum est, sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus, qui ilium ait Magnesiae morbo mortuum, neque negat fuisse famam, venenum⁹⁷ sua sponte sumpsisse, cum se, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset, praestare posse desperaret. Idem ossa eius clam in

⁹² the accusative of the thing talked about is a very rare construction after colloqui; de quibus is regular.

⁹³ fem.adj. Supply *terra*.

⁹⁴ "the following".

⁹⁵ "saying that he gave it to supply him".

⁹⁶ an old adverb = *multis modis*.

⁹⁷ the tradition was that he poisoned himself by drinking bull's blood.

Attica ab amicis sepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quod prodicionis esset damnatus, memoriae prodidit.

III. ARISTIDES

1. Aristides, Lysimachi filius, Atheniensis, aequalis fere fuit Themistocli⁹⁸. Itaque cum eo de principatu contendit: namque obtrecharunt inter se. In his autem cognitum est, quanto antestaret eloquentia innocentiae. Quamquam enim adeo excellebat Aristides abstinentia, ut unus post hominum memoriam, quem quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Iustus sit appellatus, tamen a Themistocle collabefactus⁹⁹ testula¹⁰⁰ ilia exilio decem annorum multatus est. Qui quidem cum intellegeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non posse, cedensque animadvertisset quendam scribentem¹⁰¹, ut patria pelleretur, quaesisse ab eo dicitur, quare id faceret aut quid Aristides commisisset, cur tanta poena dignus duceretur. Cui ille respondit se ignorare Aristiden, sed sibi non placere, quod tam cupide laborasset, ut praeter ceteros Iustus appellaretur. Hic decem annorum legitimam poenam non pertulit. Nam postquam Xerxes in Graeciam descendit, sexto fere anno quam¹⁰² erat expulsus, populi scito in patriam restitutus est.

⁹⁸ either gen. or dat.

⁹⁹ see introduction on Persian War.

¹⁰⁰ see note on Themistocles, 8.

¹⁰¹ another version of the story is that the man could not write, and, not recognizing Aristides, asked him to put his own name on the tablet.

¹⁰² = *postquam*.

2. Interfuit autem pugnae navali apud Salamina, quae facta est prius quam poena liberaretur. Idem praetor fuit Atheniensium apud Plataeas in proelio, quo fusus barbarorum exercitus Mardoniusque interfectus est. Neque aliud est ullum huius in re militari illustre factum quam huius imperii memoria, iustitiae vero et aequitatis et innocentiae multa, in primis quod eius aequitate factum est, cum in communi classe esset Graeciae simul cum Pausania quo duce Mardonius erat fugatus, ut summa imperii¹⁰³ maritimi ab Lacedaemoniis transferretur ad Athenienses. Namque ante id tempus et man et terra duces erant Lacedaemonii. Tum autem et intemperantia Pausaniae et iustitia factum est Aristidis, ut omnes fere civitates Graeciae ad Atheniensium societatem se applicarent et adversus barbaros hos duces deligerent sibi.

3. Quos quo facilius¹⁰⁴ repellerent, si forte bellum renovare conarentur, ad classes aedificandas exercitusque comparandos quantum¹⁰⁵ pecuniae quaeque civitas daret, Aristides delectus est qui constitueret, eiusque arbitrio quadringena et sexagena talenta quotannis Delum sunt collata; id enim commune aerarium esse voluerunt. Quae omnis pecunia postero tempore Athenas translata est. Hic qua fuerit abstinencia, nullum est certius indicium quam quod¹⁰⁶, cum tantis rebus praefuisset in tanta paupertate decessit, ut

¹⁰³ see Introd. on Persian War for this transfer of leadership and the establishment of the league of Delos.

¹⁰⁴ why *quo*, not *ut*?

¹⁰⁵ quantum pecuniae... daret, indirect question depending on *constitueret*.

¹⁰⁶ "than the fact that".

qui¹⁰⁷ efferretur vix reliquerit. Quo factum est ut filiae eius publice alerentur et de communi aerario dotibus datis collocarentur. Decessit autem fere post annum quartum quam Themistocles Athenis erat expulsus.

IV. PAUSANIAS

1. Pausanias Lacedaemonius magnus homo, sed varius in omni genere vitae fuit; nam ut virtutibus eluxit, sic vitiis est obrutus. Huius illustrissimum est proelium apud Plataeas. Namque illo duce Mardonius, satrapes regius, natione Medus, regis gener, in primis omnium Persarum et manu¹⁰⁸ fortis et consilii plenus, cum ducentis milibus peditum, quos viritim legerat, et viginti equitum haud ita magna manu¹⁰⁹ Graeciae fugatus est, eoque ipse dux cecidit proelio. Qua victoria elatus plurima miscere¹¹⁰ coepit et maiora concupiscere. Sed primum in eo est reprehensus, quod¹¹¹ ex praeda tripodem aureum Delphis posuisset epigrammate inscripto, in quo haec erat sententia; suo ductu barbaros apud Plataeas esse deletos eiusque victoriae ergo Apollini id donum dedisse¹¹². Hos versus Lacedaemonii exsculperunt neque aliud scripserunt quam nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Persae erant victi.

¹⁰⁷ adv. here = *quo*.

¹⁰⁸ "in action".

¹⁰⁹ the number of the Greeks as given by Herodotus was 110,000; that of the Persians and their allies more than three times as great.

¹¹⁰ "to cause general confusion".

¹¹¹ quod... posuisset. Why subjunctive?

¹¹² supply *se* as subject.

2. Post id proelium eundem Pausaniam cum classe communi Cyprum atque Hellespontum miserunt, ut ex his regionibus barbarorum praesidia depelleret. Pari felicitate in ea re usus elatius se gerere coepit maioresque appetere res. Nam cum Byzantio¹¹³ expugnato cepisset complures Persarum nobiles atque in eis nonnullos regis propinquos, hos clam Xerxi remisit, simulans ex vinclis publicis effugisse, et cum iis Gongylum Eretriensem, qui litteras regi redderet, in quibus haec fuisse scripta Thucydides memoriae prodidit; "Pausanias, dux Spartae, quos Byzanti ceperat, postquam propinquos tuos cognovit, tibi muneri misit seque tecum affinitate coniungi cupit; quare, si tibi videtur, des¹¹⁴ ei filiam tuam nuptum. Id si feceris, et Spartam et ceteram Graeciam sub tuam potestatem se adiuvante te redacturum pollicetur. His de rebus si quid geri volueris, certum hominem ad eum mittas face¹¹⁵, cum quo colloquatur". Rex tot hominum salute tam sibi necessariorum magno opere gavisus confestim cum epistula Artabazum ad Pausaniam mittit, in qua eum collaudat ac petit, ne cui rei parcat ad ea efficienda, quae pollicetur; si perfecerit, nullius rei a se repulsam¹¹⁶ laturum. Huius Pausanias voluntate cognita alacrior ad rem gerendam factus in suspicionem cecidit Lacedaemoniorum. Quo facto domum revocatus, accusatus

¹¹³ Byzantium had been captured by Darius, and was now recovered.

¹¹⁴ here has imperative sense.

¹¹⁵ "take care that you send"; *face* an older form of *fac*.

¹¹⁶ *repulsam ferre* means "to be rejected", esp. as candidate at an election, or "to be refused anything".

capitis¹¹⁷ absoluitur, multatur tamen pecunia; quam ob causam ad classem remissus non est.

3. At ille post non multo¹¹⁸ sua sponte ad exercitum rediit et ibi non callida, sed dementi ratione cogitata¹¹⁹ patefecit: non enim mores patrios solum, sed etiam cultum vestitumque mutavit. Apparatu regio utebatur, veste Medica; satellites Medi et Aegyptii sequebantur; epulabatur more Persarum luxuriosius quam qui aderant¹²⁰ perpeti possent; aditum¹²¹ petentibus conveniendi non dabat, superbe respondebat, crudeliter imperabat. Spartam redire nolebat; Colonas, qui locus in agro Troade est, se contulerat; ibi consilia cum patriae tum sibi inimica capiebat. Id postquam Lacedaemonii rescierunt, legatos cum clava¹²² ad eum miserunt, in qua more illorum erat scriptum: nisi domum reverteretur, se capitis eum damnaturos. Hoc nuntio commotus, sperans se etiamtum pecunia et potentia instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc ut venit, ab ephoris in vincla publica est coniectus: licet enim legibus eorum cuivis ephoro hoc facere regi¹²³. Hinc tamen se expedivit, neque eo magis carebat suspicione: nam opinio manebat eum cum rege habere societatem.

¹¹⁷ qualifies *absoluitur*, non *accusatus*.

¹¹⁸ post non multo = *non multo post*.

¹¹⁹ neut.pl. of participle used as substantive.

¹²⁰ i.e. his companions.

¹²¹ aditum... conveniendi. *Convenire* is here used in its transitive sense, "to have an interview with". So *aditum conveniendi* means "an approach for the purpose of an interview", i.e., an audience.

¹²² This was the Spartan substitute for a message in cipher. Two staves of the same thickness were made, one of which was kept by the Ephors at Sparta, the other given to the general leading any expedition. Any message to be sent to the general was written on material wrapped round the staff. When this was unrolled, the message would be unintelligible, and could only be read by being wrapped round the other staff. The Greek word for both staff and despatch is σκεπάλη.

¹²³ Pausanias was not king, but guardian to his cousin, the orphan son of Leonidas.

Est genus quoddam hominum, quod Hilotae¹²⁴ vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedaemoniorum colit servorumque munere fungitur. Hos quoque sollicitare spe libertatis existimabatur. Sed quod harum rerum nullum erat apertum crimen, quo argui posset, non putabant de tali tamque claro viro suspicionibus oportere indicari, et exspectandum¹²⁵ dum se ipsa res aperiret.

4. Interim Argilius quidam adolescentulus, cum epistulam ab eo ad Artabazum accepisset eique in suspicionem venisset aliquid in ea de se esse scriptum quod nemo eorum redisset, qui super tali causa eodem missi erant, vincla¹²⁶ epistulae laxavit signoque detracto cognovit, si pertulisset, sibi esse pereundum¹²⁷. Erant in eadem epistula quae¹²⁸ ad ea pertinebant, quae inter regem Pausaniamque convenerant. Has ille litteras ephoris tradidit. Non est praetereunda gravitas¹²⁹ Lacedaemoniorum hoc loco. Nam ne huius quidem indicio impulsus sunt ut Pausaniam comprehenderent, neque prius vim adhibendam putaverunt, quam se ipse indicasset. Itaque huic indici, quid fieri vellent, praeceperunt. Fanum Neptuni est Taenari, quod violari neias putant Graeci. Eo ille index confugit in araque consedit. Hanc iuxta locum fecerunt sub terra, ex quo posset audiri, si quis quid loqueretur cum Argilio. Huc ex ephoris quidam descenderunt.

¹²⁴ The Helots were serfs, and their position resembled that of villeins in England in the Middle Ages. They seem to have been descendants of the original inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were conquered by the Dorian invaders.

¹²⁵ supply *esse*. This depends on *putabant*; the *non* with *putabant* really belong to *oportere*.

¹²⁶ "the fastenings".

¹²⁷ i.e. that the letter contained instruction to put him to death.

¹²⁸ quae... pertinebant. Supply an antecedent to *quae*.

¹²⁹ here = "cautious procedure".

Pausanias, ut audivit Argilium confugisse in aram, perturbatus venit eo. Quem cum supplicem dei videret in ara sedentem, quaerit, causae quid sit¹³⁰ tam repentini consilii. Huic ille, quid ex litteris comperisset, aperit. Modo magis Pausanias perturbatus orare coepit, ne enuntiaret neu se meritum de illo optime proderet: quodsi eam veniam sibi dedisset tantisque implicatum rebus sublevasset, magno ei praemio futurum.

5. His rebus ephori cognitis satius putarunt in urbe eum comprehendi. Quo cum essent profecti et Pausanias placato Argilio, ut putabat, Lacedaemonem reverteretur, in itinere, cum iam in eo esset ut comprehenderetur, ex vultu cuiusdam ephori, qui eum admoneri cupiebat, insidias sibi fieri intellexit. Itaque paucis ante gradibus, quam qui eum sequebantur, in aedem Minervae, quae Chalcioicos vocatur, confugit. Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas eius aedis obstruxerunt tectumque sunt demoliti, quo celerius sub divo interiret. Dicitur¹³¹ eo tempore matrem Pausaniae vixisse eamque iam magno natu¹³², postquam de scelere filii comperit¹³³, in primis ad filium claudendum lapidem ad introitum aedis attulisse. Hic cum semianimis de templo elatus esset confestim animam efflavit. Sic Pausanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte maculavit. Cuius mortui corpus cum eodem¹³⁴ nonnulli dicerent inferri oportere, quo ii qui ad

¹³⁰ *causae* depends on *quid*, “what reason he has”.

¹³¹ the impersonal use of *dicitur* with ace. and inf. is contrary to rule. It is generally used personally; not *dicitur matrem* etc., but *mater dicitur*

¹³² “of great age”; compare the use of *major* and *maximus natu* for “older” and “eldest”.

¹³³ *comperit* should naturally be in subjunctive mood, being verb of a dependent clause in oratio obliqua.

¹³⁴ “to the same place”. “Caeadas” was the name of the place at Sparta where the bodies of criminals were

supplicium essent dati, displicuit pluribus, et procul ab eo loco infoderunt, quo erat mortuus. Inde posterius dei Delphici responso erutus atque eodem loco sepultus est, ubi vitam posuerat.

V. CIMON

1. Cimon, Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis, duro admodum initio usus est adolescentiae. Nam cum pater eius litem aestimatam¹³⁵ populo solvere non potuisset ob eamque causam in vinclis publicis decessisset, Cimon eadem custodia tenebatur neque legibus Atheniensium emitte poterat, nisi pecuniam, qua pater multatus erat, solvisset. Habebat autem in matrimonio sororem germanam¹³⁶ suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore quam more ductus: namque Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere. Huius coniugii¹³⁷ cupidus Callias quidam, non tam generosus quam pecuniosus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat, egit cum Cimone ut eam sibi uxorem daret: id si impetrasset, se pro illo pecuniam soluturum. Is cum talem condicionem aspernaretur, Elpinice negavit se passuram Miltiadis progeniem in vinclis publicis interire, quoniam prohibere posset, seque Calliae nupturam, si ea quae polliceretur praestitisset.

2. Tali modo custodia liberatus Cimon celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiae, summam liberalitatem,

thrown.

¹³⁵ See on Miltiades, 7.

¹³⁶ germanam... more ductus. It is doubtful whether these marriages were really lawful at Athens.

¹³⁷ "of marriage with her".

magnam prudentiam cum iuris civilis tum rei militaris, quod cum patre a puero in exercitibus fuerat versatus. Itaque hic et populum urbanum in sua tenuit potestate et apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate. Primum imperator apud flumen Strymona¹³⁸ magnas copias Thracum fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim constituit eoque decem milia Atheniensium in coloniam¹³⁹ misit. Idem iterum apud Mycalen¹⁴⁰ Cypriorum et Phoenicum ducentarum navium classem devictam cepit eodemque die pari fortuna in terra usus est: namque hostium navibus captis statim ex classe copias suas eduxit barbarorumque maximam vim uno concursu prostravit. Qua victoria magna praeda potitus cum domum reverteretur, quod iam nonnullae insulae propter acerbitatem imperii¹⁴¹ defecerant, bene animatas confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coegit. Scyrum¹⁴², quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant, quod contumacius se gesserant, vacuefecit, possessores veteres urbe insulaque eiecit, agros civibus divisit. Thasios¹⁴³ opulentia fretos suo adventu fregit. His ex manubiis arx Athenarum, qua ad meridiem vergit¹⁴⁴, est ornata¹⁴⁵.

¹³⁸ Nepos seems to be confusing various operations on the Strymon. Cimon took Eion, a fortress at its mouth, from the Persians before 470 B.C. Amphipolis was not founded until 437 B.C.

¹³⁹ "to establish a colony".

¹⁴⁰ This does not refer to the battle of Mycale, which was fought the year after Salamis, and with which Cimon had nothing to do; but to the battle on the river Eurymedon where Cimon defeated the Persians in 466 B.C. See Introduction on the Persian War.

¹⁴¹ For the relations between Athens and the islands, see Introduction on Peloponnesian War.

¹⁴² in 470 B.C.

¹⁴³ Thasos fell in 463 B.C.

¹⁴⁴ i.e. the south side.

¹⁴⁵ = munita.

3. Quibus rebus cum unus in civitate maxime floreret, incidit in eandem invidiam quam pater suus ceterique Atheniensium principes; nam testarum suffragiis, quod illi ὀστρακισμόν vocant, decem annorum exilio multatus est. Cuius facti celerius Athenienses quam ipsum paenituit. Nam cum ille animo forti invidiae ingratorum civium cessisset bellumque Lacedaemonii Atheniensibus indixissent, confestim notae eius virtutis desiderium consecutum est. Itaque post annum quintum¹⁴⁶, quam expulsus erat¹⁴⁷, in patriam revocatus est. Ille, quod hospitio Lacedaemoniorum¹⁴⁸ utebatur, satius existimans contendere Lacedaemonem, sua sponte est profectus pacemque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit. Post, neque ita multo, Cyprum cum ducentis navibus imperator missus, cum eius maiorem partem insulae devicisset, in morbum implicitus in oppido Citio est mortuus.

4. Hunc Athenienses non solum in bello, sed etiam in pace diu desideraverunt. Fuit enim tanta liberalitate, cum compluribus locis praedia hortosque haberet, ut numquam in eis custodem imposuerit fructus servandi gratia, ne quis impediretur quominus eis rebus quibus quisque vellet frueretur. Semper eum pedisequi cum nummis sunt secuti, ut, si quis opis eius indigeret, haberet quod statim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Saepe, cum aliquem offensum

¹⁴⁶ “in the fifth year after”; = *quinto post anno quam*

¹⁴⁷ his ostracism was probably in 457 B.C., and his recall in 453 B.C.; the peace with Sparta was made a year or so later.

¹⁴⁸ he was the “proxenus” of Sparta at Athens, that is, the person who looked after Spartan interests at Athens. Such a person was always a native, not of the state which he represented, but of that in which he resided.

fortuito¹⁴⁹ videret minus bene vestitum, suum amiculum dedit.

Quotidie sic cena ei coquebatur, ut, quos invocatos vidisset in foro, omnes devocaret, quod facere nullo die praetermittebat. Nulli fides eius nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit: multos locupletavit, complures pauperes mortuos, qui unde efferentur non reliquissent, suo sumptu extulit. Sic se gerendo minime est mirandum, si et vita eius fuit segura et mors acerba¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁹ “whom he met by chance”.

¹⁵⁰ “mourned”.

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