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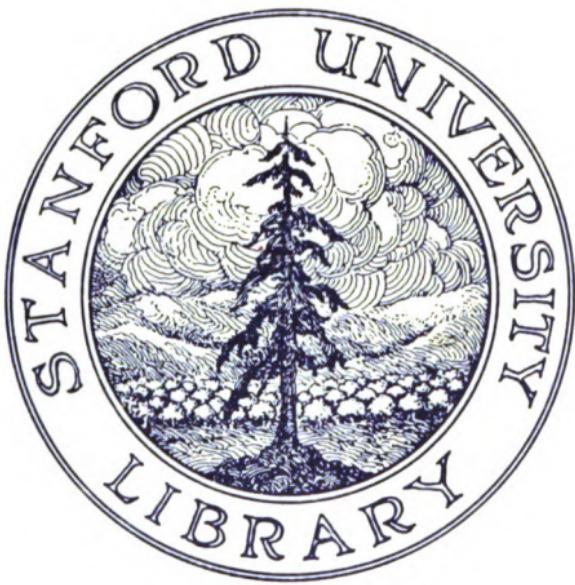
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Plutarch's Lives

Plutarch,
Bernadotte Perrin

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

II

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN TEN VOLUMES

II

THEMISTOCLES AND CAMILLUS
ARISTIDES AND CATO MAJOR
CIMON AND LUCULLUS



LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the first volume of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) texts of the *Parallel Lives* has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F^a) and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

Among editions of special *Lives* included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Sauppe

PREFATORY NOTE

series of annotated texts ; that of Blass, *Themistokles und Perikles*, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts ; and the same editor's *Aristides und Cato*, Leipzig, 1898, in the same series. All these editions bring F^a and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. This has been done also by Holden, in his edition of the *Themistocles* (Macmillan, 1892).

The translations of the *Themistocles*, *Aristides*, and *Cimon* have already appeared in my "Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides" (New York, 1901), and "Plutarch's Cimon and Pericles" (New York, 1910), and are reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. The translations of the *Camillus*, *Cato*, and *Lucullus* appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilised, including that of the *Lucullus* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

February, 1914.

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VOL. II.

B

ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

I. Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκ γένους ἀμαυρότερα πρὸς δόξαν ὑπῆρχε· πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν Νεοκλέους οὐ τῶν ἄγαν ἐπιφανῶν Ἀθήνησι, Φρεαρρίου τῶν δήμων ἐκ τῆς Λεοντίδος φυλῆς, νόθος δὲ πρὸς μητρός, ως λέγουσιν.

'Αβρότονον Θρήσσα γυνὴ γένος· ἀλλὰ τεκέσθαι τὸν μέγαν "Ελλησίν φημι Θεμιστοκλέα.

2 Φανίας μέντοι τὴν μητέρα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ Θράτταν, ἀλλὰ Καρίνην, οὐδ' Ἀβρότονον ὄνομα, ^{Paris Edition,} ἀλλ' Εὐτέρπην ἀναγράφει. Νεάνθης δὲ καὶ πόλιν αὐτῇ τῆς Καρίας Ἀλικαρνασσὸν προσ- 112 τίθησι.

Διὸ καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ κάκεῖνος οὐκ ἦν γυήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθεία διὰ τὴν μητέρα θνητὴν οὖσαν) ἐπειθέ τινας ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν εὑρεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου γενομένου

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I. In the case of Themistocles,¹ his family was too obscure to further his reputation. His father was Neocles,—no very conspicuous man at Athens,—a Phrearrhian by deme, of the tribe Leontis; and on his mother's side he was an alien, as her epitaph testifies :—

“ Abrotonon was I, and a woman of Thrace, yet I brought forth
That great light of the Greeks,—know! 'twas Themistocles.”²

Phanias, however, writes that the mother of Themistocles was not a Thracian, but a Carian woman, and that her name was not Abrotonon, but Euterpe. And Neanthes actually adds the name of her city in Caria,—Halicarnassus.

It was for the reason given, and because the aliens were wont to frequent Cynosarges,—this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Heracles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal,—that Themistocles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning

¹ It is probable that one or more introductory paragraphs of this biography have been lost. ² Athenaeus, xiii. p. 576.

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δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γυησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.

- 3 "Οτι μέντοι τοῦ Λυκομιδῶν γένους μετεῖχε δῆλος ἐστι· τὸ γὰρ Φλυῆσι τελεστήριον, ὅπερ ἦν Λυκομιδῶν κοινόν, ἐμπρῆσθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτὸς ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ γραφαῖς ἐκόσμησεν, ώς Σιμωνίδης ἴστορηκεν."

II. "Ετι δὲ πᾶς ἄν. ὁμολογεῖται φορᾶς μεστὸς εἶναι, καὶ τῇ μὲν φύσει συνετός, τῇ δὲ προαιρέσει μεγαλοπράγμαν καὶ πολιτικός. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἀνέσεσι· καὶ σχολαῖς ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων γινόμενος οὐκ ἔπαιξεν οὐδὲ ἐρραθύμει, καθάπερ οἱ λειποὶ παῖδες, ἀλλ' εὐρίακετο λόγους τινὰς μελετῶν καὶ συνταττόμενος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἡσαν δὲ οἱ λόγοι κατηγορία τινὸς ἢ συνηγορία τῶν παίδων.

2 ὅθεν εἰώθει λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος ώς "Οὐδὲν ἔσῃ, παῖ, σὺ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ μέγα πάντως ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν." ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν παιδεύσεων τὰς μὲν ἡθοποιοὺς ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τινα καὶ χάριν ἐλευθέριον σπουδαζομένας ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἔξεμάνθανε, τῶν δὲ εἰς σύνεσιν ἢ πρᾶξιν λεγομένων δῆλος ἦν ὑπερορῶν¹ παρ' ἡλικίαν, ώς τῇ φύσει πιστεύων.

- 3 "Οθεν ὕστερον ἐν ταῖς ἐλευθερίοις καὶ ἀστείαις λεγομέναις διατριβᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν πεπαιδεύσθαι δοκούντων χλευαζόμενος ἡναγκάζετο φορτικώτερον ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγων, ὅτι λύραν μὲν ἀρμόσα-

¹ ὑπερορῶν Sintenis² with the best MSS.; Sintenis¹ and Bekker have οὐχ ὑπερορῶν, showed attentiveness.

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he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.

However, it is clear that he was connected with the family of the Lycomidae, for he caused the chapel shrine at Phlya, which belonged to the Lycomidae, and had been burned by the Barbarians, to be restored at his own costs and adorned with frescoes, as Simonides has stated.

II. However lowly his birth, it is agreed on all hands that while yet a boy he was impetuous, by nature sagacious, and by election enterprising and prone to public life. In times of relaxation and leisure, when absolved from his lessons, he would not play nor indulge his ease, as the rest of the boys did, but would be found composing and rehearsing to himself mock speeches. These speeches would be in accusation or defence of some boy or other. Wherefore his teacher was wont to say to him : "My boy, thou wilt be nothing insignificant, but something great, of a surety, either for good or evil." Moreover, when he was set to study, those branches which aimed at the formation of character, or ministered to any gratification or grace of a liberal sort, he would learn reluctantly and sluggishly ; and to all that was said for the cultivation of sagacity or practical efficiency, he clearly showed an indifference far beyond his years, as though he put his confidence in his natural gifts alone.

Thus it came about that, in after life, at entertainments of a so-called liberal and polite nature, when he was taunted by men of reputed culture, he was forced to defend himself rather rudely, saying that

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σθαι καὶ μεταχειρίσασθαι ψαλτήριον οὐκ ἐπίσταται, πόλιν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ ἄδοξον παραλαβὼν ἔνδοξον καὶ μεγάλην ἀπεργάσασθαι. καίτοι Στησίμβροτος Ἀναξαγόρον τε διακοῦσαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα φησὶ καὶ περὶ Μέλισσου σπουδάσαι τὸν φυσικὸν, οὐκ εὖ τῶν χρόνων ἀπτόμενος· Περικλεῖ γάρ, δις πολὺ νεώτερος ἦν Θεμιστοκλέους, Μέλισσος μὲν ἀντεστρατήγει πολιορκοῦντι Σαμίους, Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ συνδιέτριβε.

4 Μᾶλλον οὖν ἂν τις προσέχοι τοῖς Μηνησιφίλου τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοῦ Φρεαρρίου ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὔτε ῥήτορος ὅντος οὔτε τῶν φυσικῶν κληθέντων φιλοσόφων, ἀλλὰ τὴν τότε¹ καλουμένην σοφίαν, οὓσαν δὲ δεινότητα πολιτικὴν καὶ δραστήριον σύνεσιν, ἐπιτήδευμα πεποιημένου καὶ διασώζοντος ὕσπερ αἴρεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος· ἦν οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δικανικαῖς μίξαντες τέχναις καὶ μεταγαγόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων τὴν ἀσκησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς λόγους, σοφισταὶ προσηγορεύθησαν. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἡδη πολιτευόμενος ἐπλησίαζεν.

5 'Εν δὲ ταῖς πρώταις τῆς νεότητος ὄρμαις ἀνώμαλος ἦν καὶ ἀστάθμητος, ἄτε τῇ φύσει καθ' αὐτὴν χρώμενος ἄνευ λόγου καὶ παιδείας ἐπ' ἀμφότερα μεγάλας ποιουμένη μεταβολὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πολλάκις ἔξισταμένη πρὸς τὸ χείρον, ὡς ὕστερον αὐτὸς ὡμολόγει, καὶ τοὺς τραχυτάτους πώλους ἀρίστους ἵππους γίνεσθαι φάσκων, ὅταν ἡς προσήκει τύχωσι παιδείας καὶ 6 καταρτύσεως. ἀ δὲ τούτων ἔξαρτῶσιν ἔνιοι διηγήματα πλάττοντες, ἀποκήρυξιν μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ

¹ τὴν τότε Fuhr and Blass with S: τὴν,

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tuning the lyre and handling the harp were no accomplishments of his, but rather taking in hand a city that was small and inglorious and making it glorious and great. And yet Stesimbrotus says that Themistocles was a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a disciple of Melissus the physicist; but he is careless in his chronology. It was Pericles, a much younger man than Themistocles, whom Melissus opposed at the siege of Samos,¹ and with whom Anaxagoras was intimate.

Rather, then, might one side with those who say that Themistocles was a disciple of Mnesiphilus the Phrearrhian, a man who was neither a rhetorician nor one of the so-called physical philosophers, but a cultivator of what was then called *sophia*, or wisdom, although it was really nothing more than cleverness in politics and practical sagacity. Mnesiphilus received this *sophia*, and handed it down, as though it were the doctrine of a sect, in unbroken tradition from Solon. His successors blended it with forensic arts, and shifted its application from public affairs to language, and were dubbed "sophists." It was this man, then, to whom Themistocles resorted at the very beginning of his public life.

But in the first essays of his youth he was uneven and unstable, since he gave his natural impulses free course, which, without due address and training, rush to violent extremes in the objects of their pursuit, and often degenerate; as he himself in later life confessed, when he said that even the wildest colts made very good horses, if only they got the proper breaking and training. What some story-makers add to this, however, to the effect that his father disinherited him, and his mother took her

¹ 440 B.C.

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πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, θάνατον δὲ τῆς μητρὸς ἐκούσιον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀτιμά περιλύπου γενομένης, δοκεῖ κατεψεῦσθαι· καὶ τούναντίον εἰσὶν οἱ λέγοντες, ὅτι τοῦ τὰ¹ κοινὰ πράττειν ἀποτρέπων αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐπεδείκνυε πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ τὰς παλαιὰς τριήρεις ἔρριμμένας καὶ παρορωμένας, ώς δὴ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ὅταν ἄχρηστοι φαίνωνται, τῶν πολλῶν ὄμοίως ἔχόντων.

III. Ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ νεανικῶς ἕοικεν ἄφασθαι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους τὰ πολιτικὰ πράγματα καὶ σφόδρα ἡ πρὸς δόξαν ὄρμὴ κρατῆσαι. δι' ἣν εὐθὺς ἔξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἐφιέμενος ἵταμῶς 113 ὑφίστατο τὰς πρὸς τοὺς δυναμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πρωτεύοντας ἀπεχθείας, μάλιστα δὲ Ἀριστεύδην τὸν Λυσιμάχου, τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀεὶ πορευόμενον² αὐτῷ. καίτοι δοκεῖ παντάπασιν ἡ πρὸς τοῦτον ἔχθρα μειρακιώδη λαβεῖν ἀρχήν· ἡράσθησαν γὰρ ἀμφότεροι τοῦ καλοῦ Στησίλεω, Κείου τὸ γένος ὅντος, ώς Ἀρίστων ὁ φιλόσοφος ἴστό-
2 ρηκεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλουν καὶ περὶ τὰ δημόσια στασιάζοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν βίων καὶ τῶν τρόπων ἀνομοιότης ἕοικεν αὐξῆσαι τὴν διαφοράν. πρᾶος γὰρ ὧν φύσει καὶ καλοκαγαθικὸς τὸν τρόπον ὁ Ἀριστεύδης, καὶ πολιτεύομενος οὐ πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲ πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου μετὰ ἀσφαλείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, ἥναγκάζετο τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸν δῆμον ἐπὶ πολλὰ κινοῦντι καὶ μεγάλας ἐπιφέροντι καινοτομίας ἐναντιοῦσθαι πολλάκις, ἐνιστάμενος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αὔξησιν.

¹ τοῦ τὰ Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: τὰ.

² πορευόμενον with Bekker and the MSS.: πορευόμενος.

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own life for very grief at her son's ill-fame, this I think is false. And, in just the opposite vein, there are some who say that his father fondly tried to divert him from public life, pointing out to him old triremes on the sea-shore, all wrecked and neglected, and intimating that the people treated their leaders in like fashion when these were past service.

III. Speedily, however, as it seems, and while he was still in all the ardour of youth, public affairs laid their grasp upon Themistocles, and his impulse to win reputation got strong mastery over him. Wherefore, from the very beginning, in his desire to be first, he boldly encountered the enmity of men who had power and were already first in the city, especially that of Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was always his opponent. And yet it is thought that his enmity with this man had an altogether puerile beginning. They were both lovers of the beautiful Stesilaüs, a native of Ceos, as Ariston the philosopher has recorded, and thenceforward they continued to be rivals in public life also. However, the dissimilarity in their lives and characters is likely to have increased their variance. Aristides was gentle by nature, and a conservative in character. He engaged in public life, not to win favour or reputation, but to secure the best results consistent with safety and righteousness, and so he was compelled, since Themistocles stirred the people up to many novel enterprises and introduced great innovations, to oppose him often, and to take a firm stand against his increasing influence.

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3 Λέγεται γὰρ οὗτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής, ὥστε νέος δὲν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννους ὁρᾶσθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν
4 καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις, καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, ὡς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐώη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας φῶντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τῶν βαρβάρων ἡτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ ἀρχὴν μειζόνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὓς ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅλης Ἑλλάδος ἤλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤσκει πόρωθεν ἔτι¹ προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

IV. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν πρόσοδον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων ἔθος ἔχόντων Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς χρὴ τὴν διανομὴν ἔάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευάσασθαι τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Αἴγινήτας πόλεμον. ἦκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι μάλιστα καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ νησιῶται² πλήθει υεῶν τὴν θάλασσαν. ἢ καὶ ῥᾶσιν Θεμιστοκλῆς συνέπεισεν, οὐ Δαρεῖον οὔδε Πέρσας (μακρὰν γὰρ ἦσαν οὗτοι

¹ ἔτι Fuhr and Blass with F^aS : ηδη.

² νησιῶται Fuhr and Blass with F^aS : Αἴγινῆται.

THEMISTOCLES

It is said, indeed, that Themistocles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that though he was still a young man when the battle with the Barbarians at Marathon¹ was fought and the generalship of Miltiades was in everybody's mouth, he was seen thereafter to be wrapped in his own thoughts for the most part, and was sleepless o' nights, and refused invitations to his customary drinking parties, and said to those who put wondering questions to him concerning his change of life that the trophy of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. Now the rest of his countrymen thought that the defeat of the Barbarians at Marathon was the end of the war; but Themistocles thought it to be only the beginning of greater contests, and for these he anointed himself, as it were, to be the champion of all Hellas, and put his city into training, because, while it was yet afar off, he expected the evil that was to come.

IV. And so, in the first place, whereas the Athenians were wont to divide up among themselves the revenue coming from the silver mines at Laureum, he, and he alone, dared to come before the people with a motion that this division be given up, and that with these moneys triremes be constructed for the war against Aegina.² This was the fiercest war then troubling Hellas, and the islanders controlled the sea, owing to the number of their ships. Wherefore all the more easily did Themistocles carry his point, not by trying to terrify the citizens with dreadful pictures of Darius or the Persians—

¹ 490 B.C.

² 484-483 B.C.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- 3 Λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παράφορος πρὸς δόξαν εἶναι καὶ πράξεων μεγάλων ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἐραστής, ὥστε νέος ὧν ἔτι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένης καὶ τῆς Μιλτιάδου στρατηγίας διαβοηθείσης σύννους ὄρασθαι τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖν
- 4 καὶ τοὺς πότους παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς συνήθεις, καὶ λέγειν πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας καὶ θαυμάζοντας τὴν περὶ τὸν βίον μεταβολήν, ώς καθεύδειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐῳδη τὸ τοῦ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πέρας φόντο τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἐν Μαραθώνι βαρβάρων ἥτταν εἶναι, Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀρχὴν μειζόνων ἀγώνων, ἐφ' οὓς ἑαυτὸν ὑπῆρχεν Ἑλλάδος ἥλειφε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤρωθεν ἔτι¹ προσδοκῶν τὸ μέλλον.

IV. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Λαυρεωτικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων Ἀθηναίων διανέμεσθαι, μόνος παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ώς ἔασαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων σασθαι τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὸν πῆκμαζε γὰρ οὗτος ἐν ταῖς κατεῖχον οἵ νησιῶται²

- 2 σαν. ἦ καὶ ρᾶον Θαρεῖον οὔδε Πέρσα

¹ ἔτι Fuhr and Bla

² νησιῶται Fuhr a

THEMISTOCLES.

It is said, indeed, that Themistocles was so carried away by his desire for reputation, and such an ambitious lover of great deeds, that though he was still a young man when Miltiades¹ was therea-
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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

καὶ δέος οὐ πάνυ βέβαιον ὡς ἀφιξόμενοι παρεῖχον) ἐπισείων, ἀλλὰ τῇ πρὸς Αἰγυνήτας ὄργῃ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποχρησάμενος εὐκαίρως ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευήν. ἐκατὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἔκείνων ἐποιήθησαν τριήρεις, αἷς¹ καὶ πρὸς Ξέρξην ἐναυμάχησαν.

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων καὶ καταβιβάζων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡς τὰ πεζὰ μὲν οὖδε τοῖς ὁμόροις ἀξιομάχους ὅντας, τῇ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀλκῆ καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν δυναμένους, ἀντὶ μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ναυβάτας καὶ θαλαττίους ἐποίησε, καὶ διαβολὴν καθ' αὐτοῦ παρέσχεν, ὡς ἄρα Θεμιστοκλῆς τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν πολιτῶν παρελόμενος εἰς ὑπηρέσιον καὶ κώπην συνέστειλε τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον. ἐπραξε δὲ ταῦτα Μιλτιάδου κρατήσας ἀντειλέγοντος, ὡς ιστορεῖ Στησίμοροτος.

4 Εἴ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ τὸ καθαρὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἔβλαψεν ἡ μὴ ταῦτα πράξας, ἔστω φιλοσοφώτερον ἐπισκοπεῖν· ὅτι δὲ ἡ τότε σωτηρία τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ὑπῆρξε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν αὐθις ἀνέστησαν αἱ τριήρεις ἔκειναι, τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ Ξέρξης αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε. τῆς γὰρ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως ὑθραύστου διαμενούσης ἔφυγε μετὰ τὴν τῶν νεῶν ἥτταν, ὡς οὐκ ὁν ἀξιόμαχος, καὶ Μαρδόνιον ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς

¹ αἷς Fuhr and Blass with S: αἱ.

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these were too far away and inspired no very serious fear of their coming, but by making opportune use of the bitter jealousy which they cherished toward Aegina in order to secure the armament he desired. The result was that with those moneys they built a hundred triremes, with which they actually fought at Salamis¹ against Xerxes.

And after this, by luring the city on gradually and turning its progress toward the sea, urging that with their infantry they were no match even for their nearest neighbours, but that with the power they would get from their ships they could not only repel the Barbarians but also take the lead in Hellas, he made them, instead of "steadfast hoplites"—to quote Plato's words,² sea-tossed mariners, and brought down upon himself this accusation: "Themistocles robbed his fellow-citizens of spear and shield, and degraded the people of Athens to the rowing-pad and the oar." And this he accomplished in triumph over the public opposition of Miltiades, as Stesimbrotus relates.

Now, whether by accomplishing this he did injury to the integrity and purity of public life or not, let the philosopher rather investigate. But that the salvation which the Hellenes achieved at that time came from the sea, and that it was those very triremes which restored again the fallen city of Athens, Xerxes himself bore witness, not to speak of other proofs. For though his infantry remained intact, he took to flight after the defeat of his ships, because he thought he was not a match for the Hellenes, and he left Mardonius behind, as it seems to me,

(¹ 480 B.C.

² *Laws*, iv. p. 706.

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"Ελλησι τῆς διώξεως μᾶλλον ἡ δουλωσόμενον
αὐτούς, ώς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατέλιπεν.

V. Σύντονον δὲ αὐτὸν γεγονέναι χρηματιστὴν 114
οἱ μέν τινές φασι δι' ἐλευθεριότητα· καὶ γὰρ
φιλοθύτην ὄντα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν ταῖς περὶ τοὺς
ξένους δαπάναις ἀφθόνου δεῖσθαι χορηγίας· οἱ δὲ
τούναντίον γλισχρότητα πολλὴν καὶ μικρολογίαν
κατηγοροῦσιν, ώς καὶ τὰ πεμπόμενα τῶν ἔδωδί-
2 μων πωλοῦντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φιλίδης ὁ ἵπποτρόφος
αἰτηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πῶλον οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἥπειλησε
τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ταχὺ ποιήσειν δούρειον ἵππον,
αἰνιξάμενος ἐγκλήματα συγγενικὰ καὶ δίκας τῷ
ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς οἰκείους τινὰς ταράξειν.

Τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ὑπερέβαλεν, ὥστ' ἔτι
μὲν νέος ὅν καὶ ἀφανῆς Ἐπικλέα τὸν ἐξ Ἐρμιόνης
κιθαριστὴν σπουδαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἐκλιπαρῆσαι μελετᾶν παρ' αὐτῷ, φιλοτιμούμενος
πολλοὺς τὴν οἰκίαν ζητεῖν καὶ φοιτᾶν πρὸς αὐτόν.
3 εἰς δ' Ὁλυμπίαν ἐλθὼν καὶ διαμιλλώμενος τῷ
Κίμωνι περὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σκηνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
λαμπρότητα καὶ παρασκευήν, οὐκ ἥρεσκε τοῖς
"Ελλησιν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἀπ'
οἰκίας μεγάλης ὕστοντο δεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρεῖν·
οἱ δὲ μήπω γνώριμος γεγονώς, ἀλλὰ δοκῶν ἐξ
οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπαίρεσθαι
4 προσωφλίσκανεν ἀλαζονείαν. ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ
χορηγῶν τραγῳδοῖς, μεγάλην ἥδη τότε σπουδὴν
καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἔχοντος, καὶ πίνακα

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rather to obstruct their pursuit than to subdue them.

V. Some say that Themistocles was an eager money-maker because of his liberality; for since he was fond of entertaining, and lavished money splendidly on his guests, he required a generous budget. Others, on the contrary, denounce his great stinginess and parsimony, claiming that he used to sell the very food sent in to him as a gift. When Philides the horse-breeder was asked by him for a colt and would not give it, Themistocles threatened speedily to make his house a wooden horse; thereby darkly intimating that he would stir up accusations against him in his own family, and lawsuits between the man and those of his own household.

In his ambition he surpassed all men. For instance, while he was still young and obscure, he prevailed upon Epicles of Hermione, a harpist who was eagerly sought after by the Athenians, to practise at his house, because he was ambitious that many should seek out his dwelling and come often to see him. Again, on going to Olympia, he tried to rival Cimon in his banquets and booths and other brilliant appointments, so that he displeased the Hellenes. For Cimon was young and of a great house, and they thought they must allow him in such extravagances; but Themistocles had not yet become famous, and was thought to be seeking to elevate himself unduly without adequate means, and so was charged with ostentation. And still again, as choregus, or theatrical manager, he won a victory with tragedies, although even at that early time this contest was conducted with great eagerness and

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τῆς νίκης ἀνέθηκε τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα·
“Θεμιστοκλῆς Φρεάρριος ἔχορήγει, Φρύνιχος
ἔδίδασκεν, Ἀδείμαντος ἥρχεν.”

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνήρμοττε, τοῦτο
μὲν ἑκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν τοῦνομα λέγων ἀπὸ
στόματος, τοῦτο δὲ κριτὴν ἀσφαλῆ περὶ τὰ
συμβόλαια παρέχων ἔαυτόν, ὡστε που καὶ πρὸς
Σιμωνίδην τὸν Κείον εἰπεῖν, αἰτούμενόν τι τῶν
οὐ μετρίων παρ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος, ως οὗτ'
ἔκεινος ἀν γένοιτο ποιητὴς ἀγαθὸς ἄδων παρὰ
μέλος οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἀστεῖος ἄρχων παρὰ νόμουν
5 χαριζόμενος. πάλιν δέ ποτε τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἐπι-
σκώπτων ἔλεγε νοῦν οὐκ ἔχειν, Κορινθίους μὲν
λοιδοροῦντα μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ
ποιουμενον εἰκόνας οὕτως ὅντος αἰσχροῦ τὴν
ὄψιν. αὐξόμενος δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκων
τέλος κατεστασίασε καὶ μετέστησεν ἔξοστρα-
κισθέντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην.

VI. Ἡδη δὲ τοῦ Μήδου καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν
Ἐλλάδα καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βουλευομένων περὶ
στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκόντας ἐκστῆναι
τῆς στρατηγίας λέγουσιν ἐκπεπληγμένους τὸν
κίνδυνον, Ἐπικύδην δὲ τὸν Εὔφημίδου, δη-
μαγωγὸν ὅντα δεινὸν μὲν εἰπεῖν, μαλακὸν δὲ
τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ χρημάτων ἥττονα, τῆς ἄρχῆς
ἐφίεσθαι καὶ κρατήσειν ἐπίδοξον εἶναι τῇ χει-
ροτονίᾳ. τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα δείσαντα, μὴ τὰ
πράγματα διαφθαρείη παντάπασι τῆς ἡγεμονίας
εἰς ἔκεινον ἐμπεσούσης, χρήμασι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν
ἐξωνήσασθαι παρὰ τοῦ Ἐπικύδους.

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ambition, and set up a tablet commemorating his victory with the following inscription : "Themistocles the Phrearrhian was Choregus ; Phrynicus was Poet ; Adeimantus was Archon." ¹

However, he was on good terms with the common folk, partly because he could call off-hand the name of every citizen, and partly because he rendered the service of a safe and impartial arbitrator in cases of private obligation and settlement out of court ; and so he once said to Simonides of Ceos, who had made an improper request from him when he was magistrate : " You would not be a good poet if you should sing contrary to the measure ; nor I a clever magistrate if I should show favour contrary to the law." And once again he banteringly said to Simonides that it was nonsense for him to abuse the Corinthians, who dwelt in a great and fair city, while he had portrait figures made of himself, who was of such an ugly countenance. And so he grew in power, and pleased the common folk, and finally headed a successful faction and got Aristides removed by ostracism.²

VI. At last, when the Mede was descending upon Hellas and the Athenians were deliberating who should be their general, all the rest, they say, voluntarily renounced their claims to the generalship, so panic-stricken were they at the danger ; but Epicydes, the son of Euphemides, a popular leader who was powerful in speech but effeminate in spirit and open to bribes, set out to get the office, and was likely to prevail in the election ; so Themistocles, fearing lest matters should go to utter ruin in case the leadership fell to such a man, bribed and bought off the ambition of Epicydes.

¹ 476 B.C.

² 483-482 B.C.

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2 'Επαινεῖται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν δίγλωττον ἔργον ἐν τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος αἴτησιν. ἐρμηνέα γὰρ ὅντα συλλαβῶν διὰ ψηφίσματος ἀπέκτεινεν ὅτι φωνὴν Ἐλληνίδα βαρβάροις προστάγμασιν ἐτόλμησε
3 χρήσαι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ Ἀρθμιον τὸν Ζελεύτην Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ εἰπόντος καὶ τοῦτον εἰς τοὺς ἀτίμους καὶ παιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος ἐνέγραψαν, ὅτι τὸν ἐκ Μήδων χρυσὸν εἰς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας ἐκόμισε. μέγιστον δὲ πάντων τὸ καταλῦσαι τοὺς Ἐλληνικοὺς πολέμους καὶ διαλλάξαι τὰς πόλεις ἀλλήλαις, πείσαντα τὰς ἔχθρας διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναβαλέσθαι· πρὸς δὲ καὶ Χείλεων τὸν Ἀρκάδα μάλιστα συναγωνίσασθαι λέγουσι.

VII. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπεχείρει τοὺς πολίτας ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπειθεν ἐκλιπόντας ώς προσωτάτω τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀπαντάν τῷ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐνισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν ἐξήγαγε πολλὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὰ Τέμπη μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, ώς αὐτόθι προκινδυνευσόντων τῆς
2 Θετταλίας οὕπω τότε μηδίζειν δοκούσης· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῦθεν ἄπρακτοι καὶ Θετταλῶν βασιλεῖ προσγενομένων ἐμήδιζε τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτίας, μᾶλλον ἥδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσεῦχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ πέμπεται μετὰ νεῶν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον τὰ στενὰ φυλάξων.

"Ενθα δὴ τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων Εύρυβιάδην καὶ

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Praise is given to his treatment of the linguist in the company of those who were sent by the King to demand earth and water as tokens of submission : this interpreter he caused to be arrested, and had him put to death by special decree, because he dared to prostitute the speech of Hellas to Barbarian stipulations. Also to his treatment of Arthmius of Zeleia : on motion of Themistocles this man was entered on the list of the disfranchised, with his children and his family, because he brought the gold of the Medes and offered it to the Hellenes. But the greatest of all his achievements was his putting a stop to Hellenic wars, and reconciling Hellenic cities with one another, persuading them to postpone their mutual hatreds because of the foreign war. To which end, they say, Cheileos the Arcadian most seconded his efforts.

VII. On assuming the command, he straightway went to work to embark the citizens on their triremes, and tried to persuade them to leave their city behind them and go as far as possible away from Hellas to meet the Barbarians by sea. But many opposed this plan, and so he led forth a large army to the vale of Tempe, along with the Lacedaemonians, in order to make a stand there in defence of Thessaly, which was not yet at that time supposed to be medising. But soon the army came back from this position without accomplishing anything, the Thessalians went over to the side of the King, and everything was medising as far as Boeotia, so that at last the Athenians were more kindly disposed to the naval policy of Themistocles, and he was sent with a fleet to Artemisium, to watch the narrows.

It was at this place that the Hellenes urged

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- Λακεδαιμονίους ἡγεῖσθαι κελευόντων, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι πλήθει τῶν νεῶν σύμπαντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀξιούντων 3 ἔτεροις ἐπεσθαι, συνιδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αὐτὸς τε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ Εὔρυβιάδῃ παρῆκε καὶ κατεπράῦνε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὑπισχνούμενος, ἀν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γένωνται πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκόντας αὐτοῖς παρέξειν εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ πειθομένους τοὺς "Ελληνας. διόπερ δοκεῖ τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτιώτατος γενέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, ως ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων, εὐγνωμοσύνῃ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων περιγενομένους.
- 4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦς Ἀφεταῖς τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στόλου προσμίξαντος ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ Εύρυβιάδης τῶν κατὰ στόμα νεῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἄλλας δὲ πυνθανόμενος διακοσίας ὑπὲρ Σκιάθου περιπλεῖν, ἐβούλετο τὴν ταχίστην εἴσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος κομισθεὶς ἄψασθαι. Πελοποννήσου καὶ τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ταῖς ναυσὶ προσπεριβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀπρόσμαχον ἥγονύμενος τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀλκὴν βασιλέως, δείσαντες οἱ Εὐβοεῖς, μὴ σφᾶς οἱ "Ελληνες πρόωνται, κρύφα τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ διελέγοντο, Πελά⁵ γοντα μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν πέμψαντες. ἀλαβών ἐκεῖνος, ως Ἡρόδοτος ἴστορηκε, τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εύρυβιάδην ἔδωκεν.
- 'Εναντιουμένου δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν Ἀρχιτέλους, δις ἦν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς νεώς τριήραρχος, οὐκ ἔχων δὲ χρήματα τοῖς ναύταις χορηγεῖν ἔσπευδεν ἀποπλεῦσαι, παρώξυνεν ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοὺς τριηρίτας ἐπ' αὐτόν,

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Eurybiades and the Lacedaemonians to take the lead, but the Athenians, since in the number of their ships they surpassed all the rest put together, disdained to follow others,—a peril which Themistocles at once comprehended. He surrendered his own command to Eurybiades, and tried to mollify the Athenians with the promise that if they would show themselves brave men in the war, he would induce the Hellenes to yield a willing obedience to them thereafter. Wherefore he is thought to have been the man most instrumental in achieving the salvation of Hellas, and foremost in leading the Athenians up to the high repute of surpassing their foes in valour and their allies in magnanimity.

Now Eurybiades, on the arrival of the Barbarian armament at Aphetae, was terrified at the number of ships that faced him, and, learning that two hundred ships more were sailing around above Sciathus to cut off his retreat, desired to proceed by the shortest route down into Hellas, to get into touch with Peloponnesus and encompass his fleet with his infantry forces there, because he thought the power of the King altogether invincible by sea. Therefore the Euboeans, fearing lest the Hellenes abandon them to their fate, held secret conference with Themistocles, and sent Pelagon to him with large sums of money. This money he took, as Herodotus relates,¹ and gave to Eurybiades.

Meeting with most opposition among his fellow-citizens from Architeles, who was captain on the sacred state galley, and who, because he had no money to pay the wages of his sailors, was eager to sail off home, Themistocles incited his crew all the

¹ viii. 5.

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6 ὥστε τὸ δεῖπνον ἀρπάσαι συνδραμόντας. τοῦ δ' Ἀρχιτέλους ἀθυμοῦντος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος, εἰσέπεμψεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν κίστῃ δεῖπνον ἄρτων καὶ κρεῶν, ὑποθεὶς κάτω τάλαντον ἀργυρίου καὶ κελεύσας αὐτὸν τε δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιμεληθῆναι τῶν τριηριῶν· εἰ δὲ μή, καταβοήσειν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας¹ ὡς ἔχοντος ἀργύριου παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκεν.

VIII. Αἱ δὲ γενόμεναι τότε πρὸς τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ναῦς περὶ τὰ στενὰ μάχαι κρίσιν μὲν εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην οὐκ ἐποίησαν, τῇ δὲ πείρᾳ μέγιστα τοὺς Ἑλληνας ὕνησαν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοὺς κινδύνους διδαχθέντας, ὡς οὕτε πλήθη νεῶν οὕτε κόσμοι καὶ λαμπρότητες ἐπισήμων οὕτε κραυγαὶ κομπώδεις ἢ βάρβαροι παιάνες ἔχουσι τι δεινὸν ἀνδράσιν ἐπισταμένοις εἰς χείρας οὔνται καὶ μάχεσθαι τολμῶσιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τῶν τοιούτων καταφρονοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα φέρεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα διαγωνίζεσθαι συμ-
2 πλακέντας. ὃ δὴ καὶ Πίνδαρος οὐ κακῶς ἔοικε συνιδὼν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀρτεμίσιῳ μάχης εἰπεῖν·

"Οθι παιᾶνες Ἀθαναίων ἐβάλοντο φαεννὰν
κρηπῆδ' ἐλευθερίας·"

ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὅντως τοῦ νικᾶν τὸ θαρρεῖν.

"Εστι δὲ τῆς Εύβοίας τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἐστίαιαν αἰγιαλὸς εἰς βορέαν ἀναπεπταμένος, ἀντιτείνει δ' αὐτῷ μάλιστα τῆς ὑπὸ

¹ παρόντας Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: πολίτας.

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more against him, so that they made a rush upon him and snatched away his dinner. Then, while Architeles was feeling dejected and indignant over this, Themistocles sent him a dinner of bread and meat in a box at the bottom of which he had put a talent of silver, and bade him dine without delay, and on the morrow satisfy his crew ; otherwise he said he would denounce him publicly as the receiver of money from the enemy. At any rate, such is the story of Phanias the Lesbian.

VIII. The battles which were fought at that time with the ships of the Barbarians in the narrows were not decisive of the main issue, it is true, but they were of the greatest service to the Hellenes in giving them experience, since they were thus taught by actual achievements in the face of danger that neither multitudes of ships nor brilliantly decorated figure-heads nor boastful shouts or barbarous battle-hymns have any terror for men who know how to come to close quarters and dare to fight there ; but that they must despise all such things, rush upon the very persons of their foes, grapple with them, and fight it out to the bitter end. Of this Pindar seems to have been well aware when he said of the battle of Artemisium :—

“Where Athenians’ valiant sons set in radiance
eternal
Liberty’s corner-stone.”¹

For verily the foundation of victory is courage.

Artemisium is a part of Euboea above Hestiaeia,—a sea-beach stretching away to the north,—and just about opposite to it lies Olizon, in the territory

¹ Bergk, *Frag.* 77.

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Φιλοκτήτη γενομένης χώρας Ὄλιξών. ἔχει δὲ ναὸν οὐ μέγαν Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπίκλησιν Προσηφάς, 116 καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτῷ πέφυκε καὶ στῆλαι κύκλῳ λίθου λευκοῦ πεπήγασιν· ὁ δὲ λίθος τῇ χειρὶ τριβόμενος καὶ χρόαν καὶ ὀσμὴν κροκίζουσαν 3 ἀναδίδωσιν. ἐν μιᾷ δὲ τῶν στηλῶν ἐλεγεῖν ήν τόδε γεγραμμένον·

Παντοδαπῶν ἀνδρῶν γενεὰς Ἀσίας ἀπὸ χώρας
παιδες Ἀθηναίων τῷδέ ποτ' ἐν πελάγει
ναυμαχίῃ δαμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ στρατὸς ὥλετο
Μήδων,
σήματα ταῦτ' ἔθεσαν παρθένῳ Ἀρτέμιδι.

δείκνυται δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς τόπος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ πέριξ θινὶ κόνιν τεφρώδη καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκ βάθους ἀναδιδούς, ὥσπερ πυρίκαυστον, ἐν φ τὰ ναυάγια καὶ νεκροὺς καῦσαι δοκοῦσι.

IX. Τῶν μέντοι περὶ Θερμοπύλας εἰς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἀπαγγελλόντων¹ πυθόμενοι Λεωνίδαν τε κεῖσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν Ξέρξην τῶν καταγῆν παρόδων, εἴσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀνεκομίζοντο, τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πᾶσι τεταγμένων δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ μέγα τοῖς πεπραγμένοις φρονούντων. παραπλέων δὲ τὴν χώραν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἦπερ κατάρσεις ἀναγκαῖας καὶ καταφυγὰς ἐώρα τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐνεχάραττε κατὰ τῶν λίθων ἐπιφανῆ 2 γράμματα, τοὺς μὲν εύρισκων ἀπὸ τύχης, τοὺς δ'

¹ ἀπαγγελλόντων Fuhr and Blass with F^aS : ἀπαγγελθέντων.

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once subject to Philoctetes. It has a small temple of Artemis surnamed *Proseoea*, which is surrounded by trees and enclosed by upright slabs of white marble. This stone, when you rub it with your hand, gives off the colour and the odour of saffron. On one of these slabs the following elegy was inscribed :—

“ Nations of all sorts of men from Asia’s boundaries coming,
Sons of the Athenians once, here on this arm of the sea,
Whelmed in a battle of ships, and the host of the Medes was destroyèd ;
These are the tokens thereof, built for the Maid Artemis.”¹

And a place is pointed out on the shore, with sea sand all about it, which supplies from its depths a dark ashen powder, apparently the product of fire, and here they are thought to have burned their wrecks and dead bodies.

IX. However, when they learned by messengers from Thermopylae to Artemisium that Leonidas was slain and that Xerxes was master of the pass, they withdrew further down into Hellas, the Athenians bringing up the extreme rear because of their valour, and greatly elated by their achievements. As Themistocles sailed along the coasts, wherever he saw places at which the enemy must necessarily put in for shelter and supplies, he inscribed conspicuous writings on stones, some of which he found to his hand there by chance, and some he himself caused to be set near the inviting anchorages and

¹ Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.⁴ p. 480.

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αύτὸς ἴστὰς περὶ τὰ ναύλοχα καὶ τὰς ὑδρείας, ἐπισκήπτων Ἱωσι διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων, εἰ μὲν οἶν τε, μετατάξασθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς πατέρας δῆτας καὶ προκινδυνεύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἔκείνων ἐλευθερίας, εἰ δὲ μή, κακοῦν τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις καὶ συνταράττειν. ταῦτα δ' ἥλπιζεν ἡ μεταστήσειν τοὺς Ἱωνας ἡ ταράξειν ὑποπτοτέρους τοῖς βαρβάροις γενομένους.

3 Ξέρξου δὲ διὰ τῆς Δωρίδος ἄνωθεν ἐμβαλόντος εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὰ τῶν Φωκέων ἀστη πυρπολοῦντος οὐ προσήμυναν οἱ Ἑλληνες, καίπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δεομένων εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπαντῆσαι πρὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ὥσπερ αὐτοὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐβοήθησαν. μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούοντος αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου περιεχομένων καὶ πᾶσαν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ὡρμημένων συνάγειν, καὶ διατειχίζόντων

4 τὸν Ἰσθμὸν εἰς θάλατταν ἐκ θαλάττης, ἅμα μὲν ὄργη τῆς προδοσίας εἰχε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δὲ δυσθυμία καὶ κατήφεια μεμονωμένους. μάχεσθαι μὲν γὰρ οὐ διενοοῦντο μυριάσι στρατοῦ τοσαύταις· δὲ δὴ μόνον ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν πόλιν ἀφέντας ἐμφῦναι ταῖς ναυσίν, οἱ πολλοὶ χαλεπῶς ἥκουν, ώς μήτε νίκης δεόμενοι μήτε σωτηρίαν ἐπιστάμενοι θεῶν τε ἰερὰ καὶ πατέρων ἡρία προϊεμένων.

X. Ἐνθα δὴ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπορῶν τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὥσπερ

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watering places. In these writings he solemnly enjoined upon the Ionians, if it were possible, to come over to the side of the Athenians, who were their ancestors, and who were risking all in behalf of their freedom ; but if they could not do this, to damage the Barbarian cause in battle, and bring confusion among them. By this means he hoped either to fetch the Ionians over to his side, or to confound them by bringing the Barbarians into suspicion of them.

Although Xerxes had made a raid up through Doris into Phocis, and was burning the cities of the Phocians, the Hellenes gave them no succour. The Athenians, it is true, begged them to go up into Boeotia against the enemy, and make a stand there in defence of Attica, as they themselves had gone up by sea to Artemisium in defence of others. But no one listened to their appeals. All clung fast to the Peloponnesus, and were eager to collect all the forces inside the Isthmus, and went to running a wall through the Isthmus from sea to sea. Then the Athenians were seized alike with rage at this betrayal, and with sullen dejection at their utter isolation. Of fighting alone with an army of so many myriads they could not seriously think ; and as for the only thing left them to do in their emergency, namely, to give up their city and stick to their ships, most of them were distressed at the thought, saying that they neither wanted victory nor understood what safety could mean if they abandoned to the enemy the shrines of their gods and the sepulchres of their fathers.

X. Then indeed it was that Themistocles, despairing of bringing the multitude over to his views by

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ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ μηχανὴν ἄρας, σημεῖα δαιμόνια καὶ χρησμοὺς ἐπῆγεν αὐτοῖς· σημεῖον μὲν λαμβάνων τὸ τοῦ δράκοντος, ὃς ἀφανῆς ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκ τοῦ σηκοῦ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι· καὶ τὰς καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προτιθεμένας ἀπαρχὰς εὑρίσκουντες ἀψαύστους οἱ ἵερεῖς, ἐξήγγελλον εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον διδόντος, ὡς ἀπολέλοιπε τὴν πόλιν ἡ θεὸς ὑφηγούμενη
2 πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν αὐτοῖς. τῷ δὲ χρησμῷ πάλιν ἐδημαγώγει, λέγων μηδὲν ἄλλο δηλοῦσθαι ξύλινον τεῖχος ἢ τὰς ναῦς· διὸ καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα θείαν, οὐχὶ δεινὴν οὐδὲ σχετλίαν καλεῖν τὸν θεόν, ὡς εὔτυχήματος μεγάλου τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἐπώνυμον ἐσομένην. κρατήσας δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ ψήφισμα γράφει, τὴν μὲν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἀθηνάων μεδεούσῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας ἐμβαίνειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις, παιδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σώζειν ἔκαστον
3 ὡς δυνατόν. κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπεξέθεντο γενεὰς¹ καὶ γυναῖκας εἰς Τροιζῆνα, φιλοτίμως πάνυ τῶν Τροιζηνίων ὑποδεχομένων· καὶ γὰρ τρέφειν ἐψήφισαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὁβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ διδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὀπώρας λαμβάνειν τοὺς παιδας ἐξεῖναι

¹ γενεὰς Madvig's correction, adopted by Blass: γονέας parents.

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any human reasonings, set up machinery, as it were, to introduce the gods to them, as a theatrical manager would for a tragedy, and brought to bear upon them signs from heaven and oracles. As a sign from heaven he took the behaviour of the serpent, which is held to have disappeared about that time from the sacred enclosure on the Acropolis. When the priests found that the daily offerings made to it were left whole and untouched, they proclaimed to the multitude,—Themistocles putting the story into their mouths,—that the goddess had abandoned her city and was showing them their way to the sea. Moreover, with the well-known oracle¹ he tried again to win the people over to his views, saying that its “wooden wall” meant nothing else than their fleet; and that the god in this oracle called Salamis “divine,” not “dreadful” nor “cruel,” for the very reason that the island would sometime give its name to a great piece of good fortune for the Hellenes. At last his opinion prevailed, and so he introduced a bill providing that the city be entrusted for safe keeping “to Athena the patroness of Athens,” but that all the men of military age embark on the triremes, after finding for their children, wives, and servants, such safety as each best could. Upon the passage of this bill, most of the Athenians bestowed their children and wives in Troezen, where the Troezenians very eagerly welcomed them. They actually voted to support them at the public cost, allowing two obols daily to each family, and to permit the boys to pluck of the vintage fruit everywhere, and

¹ Herod., vii. 141.

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πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθούς. τὸ δὲ φήφισμα Νικαγόρας ἔγραψεν.

4 Οὐκ ὄντων δὲ δημοσίων χρημάτων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, Ἀριστοτέλης μέν φησι τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν πορίσασαν ὀκτὼ δραχμὰς ἐκάστῳ τῶν στρατευομένων αἰτιωτάτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πληρωθῆναι τὰς τριήρεις, Κλείδημος δὲ καὶ τούτο τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ποιεῖται στρατήγημα. καταβαινόντων γὰρ εἰς Πειραιᾶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, φησὶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ Γοργόνειον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγάλματος· τὸν οὖν Θεμιστοκλέα προσποιούμενον ζητεῖν καὶ διερευνώμενον ἅπαντα χρημάτων ἀνευρίσκειν πλῆθος ἐν ταῖς ἀποσκευαῖς ἀποκεκρυμμένον, ὃν εἰς μέσον κομισθέντων εὐπορῆσαι τοὺς ἐμβαίνοντας εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐφοδίων.

5 'Εκπλεούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς μὲν οἴκτον τὸ θέαμα, τοῖς δὲ θαῦμα τῆς τόλμης παρεῖχε, γενεὰς μὲν ἄλλῃ προπεμπόντων, αὐτῶν δ' ἀκάμπτων πρὸς οἰμωγὰς καὶ δάκρυα γονέων καὶ περιβολὰς διαπερώντων εἰς τὴν νῆσον. καίτοι πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ γῆρας ὑπολειπόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἔλεον εἶχον· ἦν δέ τις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμέρων καὶ συντρόφων ζώων ἐπικλῶσα γλυκυθυμία, μετ' ὥρυγῆς καὶ πόθου συμπαραθεόντων ἐμβαίνοντι
6 τοῖς ἑαυτῷ τροφεῦσιν. ἐν οἷς ἴστορεῖται κύων Ξανθίππου τοῦ Περικλέους πατρὸς οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μόνωσιν ἐναλέσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῇ τριήρει παρανηχόμενος ἐκπεσεῖν

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besides to hire teachers for them. The bill was introduced by a man whose name was Nicagoras.

Since the Athenians had no public moneys in hand, it was the Senate of Areiopagus, according to Aristotle, which provided each of the men who embarked with eight drachmas, and so was most instrumental in manning the triremes; but Cleidemus represents this too as the result of an artifice of Themistocles. He says that when the Athenians were going down to the Piraeus and abandoning their city, the Gorgon's head was lost from the image of the goddess; and then Themistocles, pretending to search for it, and ransacking everything, thereby discovered an abundance of money hidden away in the baggage, which had only to be confiscated, and the crews of the ships were well provided with rations and wages.

When the entire city was thus putting out to sea, the sight provoked pity in some, and in others astonishment at the hardihood of the step; for they were sending off their families in one direction, while they themselves, unmoved by the lamentations and tears and embraces of their loved ones, were crossing over to the island where the enemy was to be fought. Besides, many who were left behind on account of their great age invited pity also, and much affecting fondness was shown by the tame domestic animals, which ran along with yearning cries of distress by the side of their masters as they embarked. A story is told of one of these, the dog of Xanthippus the father of Pericles, how he could not endure to be abandoned by his master, and so sprang into the sea, swam across the strait by the side of his master's trireme,

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εὶς τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ λιποθυμήσας ἀποθανεῖν εὐθύς· οὐ καὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον ἄχρι νῦν καὶ καλούμενον Κυνὸς σῆμα τάφου εἶναι λέγουσι.

XI. Ταῦτά τε δὴ μεγάλα τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας αἰσθόμενος ποθοῦντας Ἀριστείδην καὶ δεδιότας, μὴ δὶ' ὀργὴν τῷ βαρβάρῳ προσθεὶς ἐαυτὸν ἀνατρέψῃ τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑλλάδος (ἐξωστράκιστο γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους), γράφει ψήφισμα, τοῖς ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μεθεστῶσιν ἔξειναι κατελθοῦσι πράττειν καὶ λέγειν τὰ βέλτιστα τῇ Ἑλλάδι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν.

- 2 Εὔρυθιάδου δὲ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν τῶν νεῶν ἔχοντος διὰ τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα, μαλακοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὄντος, αἱρειν δὲ βουλομένου καὶ πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσθμόν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἥθροιστο τῶν Πελοπονησίων, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀντέλεγεν· ὅτε καὶ τὰ μνημονεύμενα λεχθῆναι φασι. τοῦ γὰρ Εύρυθιάδου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος “Ω Θεμιστοκλεῖς, ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι τοὺς προεξανισταμένους ῥαπίζουσι,” “Ναι,” εἰπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, “ἄλλὰ τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας οὐ 3 στεφανοῦσιν.” ἐπαραμένου δὲ τὴν βακτηρίαν ως πατάξοντος, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφη· “Πάταξον μέν, ἄκουσον δέ.” θαυμάσαντος δὲ τὴν πρᾳότητα τοῦ Εύρυθιάδου καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀνῆγεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον. εἰπόντος δέ τινος, ως ἀνὴρ ἀπολις οὐκ ὀρθῶς διδάσκει τοὺς ἔχοντας ἐγκαταλιπεῖν καὶ προέσθαι

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and staggered out on Salamis, only to faint and die straightway. They say that the spot which is pointed out to this day as "Dog's Mound" is his tomb.

XI. These were surely great achievements of Themistocles, but there was a greater still to come. When he saw that the citizens yearned for Aristides, and feared lest out of wrath he might join himself to the Barbarian and so subvert the cause of Hellas,—he had been ostracized before the war in consequence of political defeat at the hands of Themistocles,¹—he introduced a bill providing that those who had been removed for a time be permitted to return home and devote their best powers to the service of Hellas along with the other citizens.

When Eurybiades, who had the command of the fleet on account of the superior claims of Sparta, but who was faint-hearted in time of danger, wished to hoist sail and make for the Isthmus, where the infantry also of the Peloponnesians had been assembled, it was Themistocles who spoke against it, and it was then, they say, that these memorable sayings of his were uttered. When Eurybiades said to him, "Themistocles, at the games those who start too soon get a caning," "Yes," said Themistocles, "but those who lag behind get no crown." And when Eurybiades lifted up his staff as though to smite him, Themistocles said: "Smite, but hear me." Then Eurybiades was struck with admiration at his calmness, and bade him speak, and Themistocles tried to bring him back to his own position. But on a certain one saying that a man without a city had no business to advise men who still had cities of their own

¹ Cf. chap. v. *fin.*

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τὰς πατρίδας, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπιστρέψας τὸν
 4 λόγον· “‘Ημεῖς τοι,’ εἶπεν, “ώ μοχθηρέ, τὰς μὲν
 οἰκίας καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλελοίπαμεν, οὐκ ἀξι-
 οῦντες ἀψύχων ἔνεκα δουλεύειν, πόλις δ’ ἡμῖν
 ἔστι μεγίστη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, αἱ διακόσιαι
 τριήρεις, αἱ δὲ νῦν μὲν ὑμῖν παρεστᾶσι βοηθοὶ
 σώζεσθαι δι’ αὐτῶν βουλομένοις, εἰ δ’ ἄπιτε
 δεύτερον ἡμᾶς προδόντες, αὐτίκα πεύσεται τις Ἑλ-
 λήνων Ἀθηναίους καὶ πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ χώραν
 5 οὐ χείρονα κεκτημένους ἢς ἀπέβαλον.” ταῦτα
 τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους εἰπόντος ἔννοια καὶ δέος ἔσχε
 τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μὴ σφᾶς ἀπο-
 λείποντες οἴχονται. τοῦ δὲ Ἐρετριέως πειρω- 118
 μένου τι λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ““Η γάρ,” ἔφη, “καὶ
 ὑμῖν περὶ πολέμου τίς ἔστι λόγος, οὐ καθάπερ αἱ
 τευθίδες μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχετε, καρδίαν δὲ οὐκ
 ἔχετε;”

XII. Λέγεται δ’ ὑπό τινων τὸν μὲν Θεμιστο-
 κλέα περὶ τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος
 ἄνωθεν τῆς νεὼς διαλέγεσθαι, γλαῦκα δ’ ὄφθηναι
 διαπετομένην ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῖς
 καρχησίοις ἐπικαθίζουσαν· διὸ δὴ καὶ μάλιστα
 προσέθεντο τῇ γυνώμῃ καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο ναυ-
 2 μαχήσοντες. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τῶν πολεμίων δὲ τε
 στόλος τῇ Ἀττικῇ κατὰ τὸ Φαληρικὸν προσ-
 φερόμενος τοὺς πέριξ ἀπέκρυψεν αἰγιαλούς,
 αὐτός τε βασιλεὺς μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ στρατοῦ
 καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἄθρους ὥφθη, τῶν
 δὲ δυνάμεων ὁμοῦ γενομένων, ἔξερρύησαν οἱ τοῦ
 Θεμιστοκλέους λόγοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ πάλιν
 ἐπάπταινον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τὸν Ἰσθμόν,

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to abandon and betray them, Themistocles addressed his speech with emphasis to him, saying : “ It is true, thou wretch, that we have left behind us our houses and our city walls, not deeming it meet for the sake of such lifeless things to be in subjection ; but we still have a city, the greatest in Hellas, our two hundred triremes, which now are ready to aid you if you choose to be saved by them ; but if you go off and betray us for the second time, straightway many a Hellene will learn that the Athenians have won for themselves a city that is free and a territory that is far better than the one they cast aside.” When Themistocles said this, Eurybiades began to reflect, and was seized with fear lest the Athenians go away and abandon him. And again, when the Eretrian tried to argue somewhat against him, “ Aha ! ” said he, “ what argument can ye make about war, who, like the cuttle-fish, have a long pouch in the place where your heart ought to be ? ”

XII. Some tell the story that while Themistocles was thus speaking from off the deck of his ship, an owl was seen to fly through the fleet from the right and alight in his rigging ; wherefore his hearers espoused his opinion most eagerly and prepared to do battle with their ships. But soon the enemy’s armament beset the coast of Attica down to the haven of Phalerum, so as to hide from view the neighbouring shores ; then the King in person with his infantry came down to the sea, so that he could be seen with all his hosts ; and presently, in view of this junction of hostile forces, the words of Themistocles ebbed out of the minds of the Hellenes, and the Peloponnesians again turned their eyes wistfully towards the Isthmus and were vexed if any one spake

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εἱ τις ἄλλο τι λέγοι χαλεπαίνοντες, ἐδόκει δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ παρηγγέλλετο πλοῦς τοῖς 3 κυβερνήταις, ἔνθα δὴ βαρέως φέρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, εἰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν στενῶν προέμενοι βοήθειαν οἱ "Ελληνες διαλυθήσονται κατὰ πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο καὶ συνετίθει τὴν περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον πραγματείαν.

"Ην δὲ τῷ μὲν γένει Πέρσης ὁ Σίκιννος, αἰχμάλωτος, εὔνους δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καὶ τῶν τέκνων 4 αὐτοῦ παιδαγωγός. δὸν ἐκπέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ξέρξην κρύφα, κελεύσας λέγειν, ὅτι Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς αἴρούμενος τὰ βασιλέως ἔξαγγέλλει πρῶτος αὐτῷ τοὺς "Ελληνας ἀποδιδράσκοντας, καὶ διακελεύεται μὴ παρεῖναι φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐν φ ταράττονται τῶν πεζῶν χωρὶς ὅντες ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὴν ναυτι- 5 κὴν δύναμιν. ταῦτα δ' ὁ Ξέρξης ὡς ἀπ' εὔνοίας λελεγμένα δεξάμενος ἥσθη, καὶ τέλος εὐθὺς ἐξέφερε πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῶν νεῶν, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πληροῦν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, διακοσίαις δ' ἀναχθέντας ἥδη περιβαλέσθαι τὸν πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ διαξώσαι τὰς νήσους, ὅπως ἐκφύγοι μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων.

6 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου πρῶτος αἰσθόμενος ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, οὐκ ὃν φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἔξωστρακισμένος, ὕσπερ εἴρηται προελθόντι δὲ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ φράζει τὴν κύκλωσιν. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε ἄλλην καλοκαγαθίαν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς 36

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of any other course ; nay, they actually decided to withdraw from their position in the night, and orders for the voyage were issued to the pilots. Such was the crisis when Themistocles, distressed to think that the Hellenes should abandon the advantages to be had from the narrowness of the straits where they lay united, and break up into detachments by cities, planned and concocted the famous affair of Sicinnus.

This Sicinnus was of Persian stock, a prisoner of war, but devoted to Themistocles, and the paedagogue of his children. This man was sent to Xerxes secretly with orders to say : "Themistocles the Athenian general elects the King's cause, and is the first one to announce to him that the Hellenes are trying to slip away, and urgently bids him not to suffer them to escape, but, while they are in confusion and separated from their infantry, to set upon them and destroy their naval power." Xerxes received this as the message of one who wished him well, and was delighted, and at once issued positive orders to the captains of his ships to man the main body of the fleet at their leisure, but with two hundred ships to put out to sea at once, and encompass the strait round about on every side, including the islands in their line of blockade, that not one of the enemy might escape.

While this was going on, Aristides the son of Lysimachus, who was the first to perceive it, came to the tent of Themistocles, who was no friend of his, nay, through whom he had even been ostracized, as I have said ; and when Themistocles came forth from the tent, Aristides told him how the enemy surrounded them. Themistocles, knowing the tried nobility of the man, and filled with admiration for

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εἰδὼς καὶ τῆς τότε παρουσίας ἀγάμενος λέγει τὰ περὶ τὸν Σίκιννον αὐτῷ καὶ παρεκάλει τῶν Ἐλλήνων συνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ συμπροθυμεῖσθαι πίστιν ἔχοντα μᾶλλον, ὅπως ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς 7 ναυμαχήσωσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀριστείδης ἐπαινέσας τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπήει στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην παροξύνων. ἔτι δὲ ὅμως ἀπίστούντων ἐφάνη Τηνία τριήρης αὐτόμολος, ἡς ἐναυάρχει Παναίτιος, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὴν κύκλωσιν, ὥστε καὶ θυμῷ τοὺς Ἐλληνας ὄρμῆσαι μετὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον.

XIII. "Αμα δέ ήμέρᾳ Ξέρξης μὲν ἄνω καθῆστο τὸν στόλον ἐποπτεύων καὶ τὴν παράταξιν, ώς μὲν Φανόδημός φησιν, ὑπὲρ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἢ βραχεῖ πόρῳ διείργεται τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἢ μῆσος, ώς δέ Ἀκεστόδωρος, ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων, χρυσοῦν δίφρον θέμενος καὶ γραμματεῖς πολλοὺς παραστησάμενος, ὃν ἕργον ἡν ἀπογράφεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην πραττόμενα.

2 Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναυαρχίδα τριήρη σφαγιαζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ἴδεσθαι τὴν ὅψιν, ἐσθῆσι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταῦκτου. τούτους ἴδων Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ώς ἂμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἂμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ 119
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his coming at that time, told him all about the Sicinnus matter, and besought him to join in this desperate attempt to keep the Hellenes where they were,—admitting that he had the greater credit with them,—in order that they might make their sea-fight in the narrows. Aristides, accordingly, after bestowing praise upon Themistocles for his stratagem, went round to the other generals and trierarchs inciting them on to battle. And while they were still incredulous in spite of all, a Tenian trireme appeared, a deserter from the enemy, in command of Panaetius, and told how the enemy surrounded them, so that with a courage born of necessity the Hellenes set out to confront the danger.

XIII. At break of day, Xerxes was seated on a high place and overlooking the disposition of his armament. This place was, according to Phanodemus, above the Heracleum, where only a narrow passage separates the island from Attica; but according to Acestodorus, it was in the border-land of Megara, above the so-called "Horns." Here a gilded throne had been set for him at his command, and many secretaries stationed near at hand, whose task it was to make due record of all that was done in the battle.

But Themistocles was sacrificing alongside the admiral's trireme. There three prisoners of war were brought to him, of visage most beautiful to behold, conspicuously adorned with raiment and with gold. They were said to be the sons of Sandaucé, the King's sister, and Artaÿctus. When Euphrantides the seer caught sight of them, since at one and that same moment a great and glaring flame shot up from the sacrificial victims and a sneeze gave forth

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δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας ὡμηστῇ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ἄμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι 3 τοῖς "Ελλησιν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὡς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα καὶ δεινόν, οἷον εἴωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγώσι καὶ πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἄμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες ἡνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἀπειρος ἴστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκε.

XIV. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν Βαρβαρικῶν νεῶν Αἰσχύλος ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς ἀν εἰδὼς καὶ διαβεβαιούμενος ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ Πέρσαις λέγει ταῦτα·

Ξέρξῃ δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιὰς μὲν ἦν
ῶν ἥγε¹ πλῆθος· αἱ δ' ὑπέρκομποι τάχει
έκατὸν δὶς ἥσαν ἐπτά θ'. ὡδ' ἔχει λόγος.

τῶν δ' Ἀττικῶν ἔκατὸν ὄγδοήκοντα τὸ πλῆθος οὐσῶν ἐκάστη τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος μαχομένους ὀκτωκαίδεκα είχεν, ὡν τοξόται τέσσαρες ἥσαν, οἱ λοιποὶ δ' ὅπλῖται.

2 Δοκεῖ δ' οὐκ ἥττον εὖ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἢ τὸν τόπον συνιδὼν καὶ φυλάξας μὴ πρότερον ἀντιπρώρους καταστῆσαι ταῖς Βαρβαρικαῖς τὰς τριήρεις, ἢ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν

¹ ὡν ἥγε Fuhr and Blass with Aeschylus: νεῶν τδ.

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its good omen on the right, he clasped Themistocles by the hand and bade him consecrate the youths, and sacrifice them all to Dionysus Carnivorous, with prayers of supplication ; for on this wise would the Hellenes have a saving victory. Themistocles was terrified, feeling that the word of the seer was monstrous and shocking ; but the multitude, who, as is wont to be the case in great struggles and severe crises, looked for safety rather from unreasonable than from reasonable measures, invoked the god with one voice, dragged the prisoners to the altar, and compelled the fulfilment of the sacrifice, as the seer commanded. At any rate, this is what Phanias the Lesbian says, and he was a philosopher, and well acquainted with historical literature.

XIV. As regards the number of the Barbarian ships, Aeschylus the poet, in his tragedy of "The Persians," as though from personal and positive knowledge, says this :—

" But Xerxes, and I surely know, had a thousand ships

In number under him ; those of surpassing speed
Were twice five score beside and seven ; so stands
the count."¹

The Attic ships were one hundred and eighty in number, and each had eighteen men to fight upon the decks, of whom four were archers and the rest men-at-arms.

Themistocles is thought to have divined the best time for fighting with no less success than the best place, inasmuch as he took care not to send his triremes bow on against the Barbarian vessels until the

¹ Verses 341-343 (Dindorf).

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ώραν παραγενέσθαι, τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐκ πελάγους ἀεὶ καὶ κῦμα διὰ τῶν στενῶν κατάγουσαν ὁ τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνικὰς οὐκ ἔβλαπτε ναῦς ἀλιτευεῖς οὕσας καὶ ταπεινοτέρας, τὰς δὲ βαρβαρικὰς ταῖς τε πρύμναις ἀνεστώσας καὶ τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ὑφορόφους καὶ βαρείας ἐπιφερομένας ἔσφαλλε προσπῆπτον καὶ παρεδίδου πλαγίας τοῖς "Ἑλλησιν ὀξέως προσφερομένοις καὶ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέχουσιν, ώς ὄρωντι μάλιστα 3 τὸ συμφέρον, καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἐκεῖνον ὁ Ξέρξου ναύαρχος Ἀριαμένης ναῦν ἔχων μεγάλην ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τείχους ἐτόξευε καὶ ἡκούντιζεν, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὃν καὶ τῶν βασιλέως ἀδελφῶν πολὺ κράτιστός τε καὶ δικαιότατος. τούτον μὲν οὖν Ἀμεινίας ὁ Δεκελεὺς καὶ Σωκλῆς ὁ Παιανιεὺς¹ ὁμοῦ πλέοντες, ώς αἱ νῆσες ἀντίπρῳ προσπεσοῦσαι καὶ συνερίσασαι τοῖς χαλκώμασιν ἐνεσχέθησαν, ἐπιβαίνοντα τῆς αὐτῶν τριήρους ὑποστάντες καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἔξεβαλον· καὶ τὸ σῶμα μετ' ἄλλων διαφερόμενον ναυαγίων Ἀρτεμισίᾳ γνωρίσασα πρὸς Ξέρξην ἀνήνεγκεν.

XV. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὅντος φῶς μὲν ἐκλάμψαι μέγα λέγουσιν Ἐλευσινόθεν, ἥχον δὲ καὶ φωνὴν τὸ Θριάσιον κατέχειν πεδίον ἄχρι θαλάττης, ώς ἀνθρώπων ὁμοῦ πολλῶν τὸν μυστικὸν ἔξαγοντων Ἱακχον. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν φθεγγομένων κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπὸ γῆς ἀναφερόμενον νέφος ἔδοξεν αὐθις ὑπονοστεῖν καὶ κατασκήπτειν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις. ἔτεροι δὲ φάσματα

¹ Παιανιεὺς correction of Blass: Πεδιεὺς,

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hour of the day had come which always brought the breeze fresh from the sea and a swell rolling through the strait. This breeze wrought no harm to the Hellenic ships, since they lay low in the water and were rather small ; but for the Barbarian ships, with their towering sterns and lofty decks and sluggish movements in getting under way, it was fatal, since it smote them and slewed them round broadside to the Hellenes, who set upon them sharply, keeping their eyes on Themistocles, because they thought he saw best what was to be done, and because confronting him was the admiral of Xerxes, Ariamenes, with a great ship, and just as if he were on a city-wall he kept shooting arrows and javelins,—brave man that he was, by far the strongest and justest of the King's brothers. It was upon him that Ameinius the Deceleian and Socles the Paeanian bore down,—they being together on one ship,—and as the two ships struck each other bow on, crashed together, and hung fast by their bronze beaks, he tried to board their trireme ; but they faced him, smote him with their spears, and hurled him into the sea. His body, as it drifted about with other wreckage, was recognised by Artemisia, who had it carried to Xerxes.

XV. At this stage of the struggle they say that a great light flamed out from Eleusis, and an echoing cry filled the Thriasian plain down to the sea, as of multitudes of men together conducting the mystic Iacchus in procession. Then out of the shouting throng a cloud seemed to lift itself slowly from the earth, pass out seawards, and settle down upon the triremes. Others fancied they saw apparitions and

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καὶ εἴδωλα καθορᾶν ἔδοξαν ἐνόπλων ἀνδρῶν ἀπ' Αἰγίνης τὰς χεῖρας ἀνεχόντων πρὸ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τριηρῶν· οὓς εἴκαζον Αἰακίδας εἶναι παρακεκλημένους εὐχαῖς πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ τὴν Βοήθειαν.

2 Πρῶτος μὲν οὖν λαμβάνει ναῦν Λυκομήδης, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος τριηραρχῶν, ἃς τὰ παράστημα περικόψας ἀνέθηκεν Ἀπόλλωνι δαφνηφόρῳ Φλυ-
ῆσιν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι τοῦς βαρβάροις ἔξισούμενοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ κατὰ μέρος προσφερομένους καὶ περιπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις ἐτρέψαντο, μέχρι δείλης ἀντισχόντας, ώς εἴρηκε Σιμωνίδης, τὴν καλὴν ἐκείνην καὶ περιβόητον ἀράμενοι νίκην, ἃς οὕθ' "Ἐλλησιν οὔτε βαρβάροις ἐνάλιον ἔργον εἴργασται λαμπρότερον, ἀνδρείᾳ μὲν καὶ προθυμίᾳ κοινῇ τῶν ναυμαχησάντων, γνώμῃ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῇ¹ Θεμιστοκλέους.

XVI. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ξέρξης μὲν ἔτι 120 θυμομαχῶν πρὸς τὴν ἀπότευξιν ἐπεχείρει διὰ χωμάτων ἐπάγειν τὸ πεζὸν τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα, ἐμφράξας τὸν διὰ μέσου πόρον Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' ἀποπειρώμενος Ἀριστείδου λόγῳ γνώμην ἐποιεῖτο λύειν τὸ ζεῦγμα ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἐλλήσποντον, "Οπως," ἔφη, "τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ λάβωμεν."

2 δυσχεραίνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι, "Νῦν μὲν τρυφῶντι τῷ βαρβάρῳ πεπολεμήκαμεν, ἀν δὲ κατακλείσωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ καταστήσωμεν εἰς ἀνάγκην ὑπὸ δέους ἄνδρα τηλικούτων δυνάμεων κύριον, οὐκέτι καθήμενος

¹ δεινότητι τῇ Fuhr and Blass with S : δεινότητι.

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shapes of armed men coming from Aegina with their hands stretched out to protect the Hellenic triremes. These, they conjectured, were the Aeacidae, who had been prayerfully invoked before the battle to come to their aid.¹

Now the first man to capture an enemy's ship was Lycomedes, an Athenian captain, who cut off its figure-head and dedicated it to Apollo the Laurel-bearer at Phlya. Then the rest, put on an equality in numbers with their foes, because the Barbarians had to attack them by detachments in the narrow strait and so ran foul of one another, routed them, though they resisted till the evening drew on, and thus " bore away," as Simonides says,² " that fair and notorious victory, than which no more brilliant exploit was ever performed upon the sea, either by Hellenes or Barbarians, through the manly valour and common ardour of all who fought their ships, but through the clever judgment of Themistocles."

XVI. After the sea-fight, Xerxes, still furious at his failure, undertook to carry moles out into the sea on which he could lead his infantry across to Salamis against the Hellenes, damming up the intervening strait. But Themistocles, merely by way of sounding Aristides, proposed, as though he were in earnest, to sail with the fleet to the Hellespont and break the span of boats there, "in order," said he, "that we may capture Asia in Europe." Aristides, however, was displeased with the scheme and said: " Now indeed the Barbarian with whom we have fought consults his ease and pleasure, but should we shut up in Hellas and bring under fearful compulsion a man who is lord of such vast forces, he will

¹ Herod. viii. 64. ² Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graeci*, iii.⁴ p. 423.

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- ὑπὸ σκιάδι χρυσῆ θεάσεται τὴν μάχην ἐφ' ἡσυχίας, ἀλλὰ πάντα τολμῶν καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὸς παρὼν διὰ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπανορθώσεται τὰ παρειμένα καὶ βουλεύσεται βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων.
- 3 οὐ τὴν οὐσαν οὖν," ἔφη, "δεῖ γέφυραν, ὡ Θεμιστόκλεις, ἡμᾶς ἀναιρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐτέραν, εἰπερ οἴον τε, προσκατασκευάσαντας ἐκβαλεῖν διὰ τάχους τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Εύρωπης." "Οὐκοῦν," εἶπεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, "εἴ δοκεῖ ταῦτα συμφέρειν, ὥρα σκοπεῖν καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἀπαλλαγήσεται τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος."
- 4 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, πέμπει τινὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν εὔνούχων ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις ἀνευρών, Ἀρνάκην ὄνομα, φράζειν βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν "Ἑλλησι δέδοκται τῷ ναυτικῷ κεκρατηκότας ἀναπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπὶ τὸ ζεῦγμα καὶ λύειν τὴν γέφυραν, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ κηδομενος βασιλέως παραινεῖ σπεύδειν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θάλατταν καὶ περαιοῦσθαι, μέχρις αὐτὸς ἐμποιεῖ τινας διατριβὰς τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ
- 5 μελλήσεις πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ταῦθ' ὁ βάρβαρος ἀκούσας καὶ γενόμενος περίφοβος διὰ τάχους ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. καὶ πεῖραν ἡ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Ἀριστείδου φρόνησις ἐν Μαρδονίῳ παρέσχεν, εἴγε πολλοστημορίῳ τῆς Ξέρξου δυνάμεως διαγωνισάμενοι Πλαταιᾶσιν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον κατέστησαν.

XVII. Πόλεων μὲν οὖν τὴν Αἰγαίηντῶν ἀριστεύσαί φησιν Ἡρόδοτος, Θεμιστοκλεῖ δέ, καίπερ

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no longer sit under a golden parasol to view the spectacle of the battle at his ease, but he will dare all things, and, superintending everything in person, because of his peril, will rectify his previous remissness and take better counsel for the highest issues thus at stake. We must not, then," said he, "tear down the bridge that is already there, Themistocles, nay rather, we must build another alongside it, if that be possible, and cast the fellow out of Europe in a hurry." "Well, then," said Themistocles, "if that is what is thought for the best, it is high time for us all to be studying and inventing a way to get him out of Hellas by the speediest route."

As soon as this policy had been adopted, he sent a certain royal eunuch whom he discovered among the prisoners of war, by name Arnaces, with orders to tell the King that the Hellenes had decided, since their fleet now controlled the sea, to sail up into the Hellespont, where the strait was spanned, and destroy the bridge; but that Themistocles, out of regard for the King, urged him to hasten into home waters and fetch his forces across; he himself, he said, would cause the allies all sorts of delays and postponements in their pursuit. No sooner did the Barbarian hear this than he was seized with exceeding fear and speedily began his retreat. This thoughtful prudence on the part of Themistocles and Aristides was afterwards justified by the campaign with Mardonius, since, although they fought at Plataea with the merest fraction of the armies of Xerxes, they yet staked their all upon the issue.

X

XVII. Among the cities, now, Herodotus¹ says that Aegina bore away the prize of valour; but

¹ viii. 93.

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ἄκουντες ὑπὸ φθόνου, τὸ πρωτεῦον ἀπέδοσαν ἄπαντες. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον οἱ στρατηγοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἔκαστος ἑαυτὸν ἀπέφαινεν ἀρετῇ, δεύτερον δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν Θεμιστοκλέα. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην αὐτὸν καταγαγόντες Εὔρυβιάδη μὲν ἀνδρείας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ σοφίας ἀριστεῖον ἔδοσαν θαλλοῦ στέφανον, καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀρμάτων τὸ πρωτεῦον ἐδωρήσαντο καὶ τριακοσίους τῶν νέων πομποὺς
2 ἄχρι τῶν ὅρων συνεξέπεμψαν. λέγεται δὲ Ὁλυμπίων τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀγομένων καὶ παρελθόντος εἰς τὸ στάδιον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀμελήσαντας τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν τοὺς παρόντας ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνον θεᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἀμαθαυμάζοντας καὶ κροτοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὁμολογῆσαι τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέχειν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτῷ πονηθέντων.

XVIII. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν τῇ φύσει φιλοτιμότατος, εἰ δὲ τεκμαίρεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. αἱρεθεὶς γὰρ ναύαρχος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο¹ τὸ προσπίπτον εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ' ἦν ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλεν, ἵν' ὁμοῦ πολλὰ πράττων πράγματα καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὁμιλῶν μέγας εἶναι δοκῆ καὶ πλεῖστον δύνασθαι.

¹ ἀλλ' ἐπανεβάλλετο Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἀνεβάλλετο every duty.

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among individuals, all virtually awarded the first place to Themistocles, though their envy made them unwilling to do this directly. For when the generals withdrew to the Isthmus and solemnly voted on this question, taking their ballots from the very altar of the god there, each one declared for himself as first in valour, but for Themistocles as second after himself. Then the Lacedaemonians brought him down to Sparta, and while they gave Eurybiades the prize for valour, to him they gave one for wisdom,—a crown of olive in each case,—and they presented him with the best chariot there was in the city, and sent three hundred picked youth along with him to serve as his escort to the boundary. And it is said that when the next Olympic festival was celebrated, and Themistocles entered the stadium, the audience neglected the contestants all day long to gaze on him, and pointed him out with admiring applause to visiting strangers, so that he too was delighted, and confessed to his friends that he was now reaping in full measure the harvest of his toils in behalf of Hellas.

XVIII. And indeed he was by nature very fond of honour, if we may judge from his memorable sayings and doings. When, for example, the city had chosen him to be admiral, he would not perform any public or private business at its proper time, but would postpone the immediate duty to the day on which he was to set sail, in order that then, because he did many things all at once and had meetings with all sorts of men, he might be thought to be some great personage and very powerful.

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- 2 Τῶν δὲ νεκρῶν τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἐπισκοπῶν παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς εἰδε περικειμένους φύλια χρυσᾶ καὶ στρεπτούς, αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθε, τῷ δὲ ἐπομένῳ φίλῳ δείξας εἶπεν· 121
“’Ανελοῦ σαυτῷ· σὺ γὰρ οὐκ εἴ Θεμιστοκλῆς.” πρὸς δέ τινα τῶν καλῶν γεγονότων, ’Αντιφάτην, ὑπερηφάνως αὐτῷ κεχρημένον πρότερον, ὑστερον δὲ θεραπεύοντα διὰ τὴν δόξαν, “’Ω μειράκιον,” εἶπεν, “οὐφὲ μέν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ ἄμα νοῦν ἐσχή-
3 καμεν.” ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οὐ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θαυμάζειν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ πλατάνῳ χειμαζο- μένους μὲν ὑποτρέχειν κινδυνεύοντας, εὐδίας δὲ περὶ αὐτὸνς γενομένης τίλλειν καὶ κολούειν. τοῦ δὲ Σεριφίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὡς οὐ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐσχηκε δόξαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, “’Αληθῆ λέγεις,” εἶπεν, “ἀλλ’ οὕτ’ ἀν ἐγὼ Σερίφιος ὁν ἐγενόμην ἔνδοξος, οὔτε σὺ ’Αθηναῖος.”
4 ‘Ετέρου δέ τινος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὡς ἔδοξέ τι χρήσιμον διαπεπρᾶχαι τῇ πόλει, θρασυνομένου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ταῖς ἐκείνου πράξεσιν ἀντιπαραβάλλοντος, ἔφη τῇ ἑορτῇ τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐρίσαι λέγουσαν, ὡς ἐκείνη μὲν ἀσχολιών τε μεστὴ καὶ κοπώδης ἐστίν, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ πάντες ἀπολαύοντες τῶν παρεσκευα- σμένων σχολάζοντες· τὴν δὲ ἑορτὴν πρὸς ταῦτ’ εἶπεν· “’Αληθῆ λέγεις· ἀλλ’ ἐμοῦ μὴ γενομένης σὺ οὐκ ἀν ἥσθα·” “κάμοῦ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “τότε
5 μὴ γενομένου, ποῦ ἀν ἥτε νῦν ὑμεῖς;” τὸν δὲ νίὸν

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Surveying once the dead bodies of the Barbarians which had been cast up along the sea, he saw that they were decked with golden bracelets and collars, and yet passed on by them himself, while to a friend who followed he pointed them out and said : "Help thyself, thou art not Themistocles." Again, to one who had once been a beauty, Antiphates, and who had at that time treated him disdainfully, but afterwards courted him because of the reputation he had got, "Young man," said he, "'tis late, 'tis true, but both of us have come to our senses." Also he used to say of the Athenians that they did not really honour and admire him for himself, but treated him for all the world like a plane-tree, running under his branches for shelter when it stormed, but when they had fair weather all about them, plucking and docking him. And when he was told by the Seriphian that it was not due to himself that he had got reputation, but to his city, "True," said he, "but neither should I, had I been a Seriphian, have achieved reputation, nor wouldest thou, hadst thou been an Athenian."

Again, when one of his fellow-generals who thought he had done some vast service to the city, grew bold with Themistocles, and began to compare his own services with his, "With the Festival-day," said he, "the Day After once began a contention, saying : 'Thou art full of occupations and wearisome, but when I come, all enjoy at their leisure what has been richly provided beforehand'; to which the Festival-day replied : 'True, but had I not come first, thou hadst not come at all.' So now," said he, "had I not come at that day of Salamis, where would thou and thy colleagues be now?" Of his son, who

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ἐντρυφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ καὶ δι' ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλεῖστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύνασθαι· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ "Ἑλλησιν ἐπιτάττειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίοις δ' αὐτόν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δ' ἐκείνον" ἵδιος δέ τις ἐν πᾶσι βουλόμενος εἶναι χωρίου μὲν πιπράσκων ἐκέλευε κηρύττειν, ὅτι καὶ γείτονα χρηστὸν ἔχει· τῶν δὲ μνωμένων αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα τὸν ἐπιεικῆ τοῦ πλουσίου προκρίνας ἔφη ζητεῖν ἄνδρα χρημάτων δεόμενον μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα ἀνδρός. ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι τοιοῦτος τις ἦν.

XIX. Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν καὶ τειχίζειν, ὡς μὲν ἴστορει Θεόπομπος, χρήμασι πείσας μὴ ἐναντιωθῆναι τοὺς ἔφόρους, ὡς δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι, παρακρουσάμενος. ἥκε μὲν γὰρ εἰς Σπάρτην δνομα πρεσβείας ἐπιγραψάμενος· ἐγκαλούντων δὲ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὅτι τειχίζουσι τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ Πολυάρχου κατηγοροῦντος ἐπίτηδες 2 ἐξ Αἰγίνης ἀποσταλέντος, ἤρνεῖτο καὶ πέμπειν ἐκέλευεν εἰς Ἀθήνας τοὺς κατοψομένους, ἅμα μὲν ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πεμπομένους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὃ καὶ συνέβη· γνόντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ ἀληθὲς οὐκ ἡδίκησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλως χαλεπαίνοντες ἀπέπεμψαν.

'Εκ δὲ τούτου τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατεσκεύαζε, τὴν τῶν λιμένων εὐφυΐαν κατανοήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν

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larded it over his mother, and through her over himself, he said, jestingly, that the boy was the most powerful of all the Hellenes ; for the Hellenes were commanded by the Athenians, the Athenians by himself, himself by the boy's mother, and the mother by her boy. Again, with the desire to be somewhat peculiar in all that he did, when he offered a certain estate for sale, he bade proclamation to be made that it had an excellent neighbour into the bargain. Of two suitors for his daughter's hand, he chose the likely man in preference to the rich man, saying that he wanted a man without money rather than money without a man. Such were his striking sayings.

XIX. After the great achievements now described, he straightway undertook to rebuild and fortify the city, — as Theopompus relates, by bribing the Spartan Ephors not to oppose the project ; but as the majority say, by hoodwinking them. He came with this object to Sparta, ostensibly on an embassy, and when the Spartans brought up the charge that the Athenians were fortifying their city, and Polyaenus was sent expressly from Aegina with the same accusation, he denied that it was so, and bade them send men to Athens to see for themselves, not only because this delay would secure time for the building of the wall, but also because he wished the Athenians to hold these envoys as hostages for his own person. And this was what actually happened. When the Lacedaemonians found out the truth they did him no harm, but concealed their displeasure and sent him away.

After this he equipped the Piraeus, because he had noticed the favourable shape of its harbours, and

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οὐλην ἀρμοττόμενος πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς βασιλεῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γάρ, ὡς λέγεται, πραγματευόμενοι τοὺς πολίτας ἀποσπάσαι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ συνεθίσαι ζῆν μὴ πλέοντας, ἀλλὰ τὴν χώραν φυτεύοντας, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς διέδοσαν λόγον, ὡς ἐρίσαντα περὶ τῆς χώρας τὸν Ποσειδῶνα δείξασα τὴν μορίαν τοῖς δικασταῖς ἐνίκησε. Θεμιστοκλῆς δ' οὐχ, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμικὸς λέγει, τῇ πόλει τὸν Πειραιά προσέμαξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξήψει
4 τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ τὴν γῆν τῆς θαλάττης. ὅθεν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ηὔξησε κατὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ θράσους ἐνέπλησεν, εἰς ναύτας καὶ κελευστὰς καὶ κυβερνήτας τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφικομένης. διὸ καὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ ἐν Πινυκὶ πεποιημένον ὥστ' ἀποβλέπειν πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ὑστερον οἱ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὴν χώραν ἀπέστρεψαν, οἰόμενοι τὴν μὲν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν γένεσιν εἶναι δημοκρατίας, ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δ' ἡττον δυσχεραίνειν τοὺς γεωργοῦντας.

XX. Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ καὶ μεῖζόν τι περὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς διενοήθη δυνάμεως. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ τῶν 12^ο Ἑλλήνων στόλος ἀπηλλαγμένου Ξέρξου κατῆρεν εἰς Παγασὰς καὶ διεχείμαζε, δημηγορῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔφη τινα πρᾶξιν ἔχειν ὡφέλιμον μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτήριον, ἀπόρρητον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδη φράσαι μόνῳ κελευσόντων, καὶ ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ περαι-

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wished to attach the whole city to the sea ; thus in a certain manner counteracting the policies of the ancient Athenian kings. For they, as it is said, in their efforts to draw the citizens away from the sea and accustom them to live not by navigation but by agriculture, disseminated the story about Athena, how when Poseidon was contending with her for possession of the country, she displayed the sacred olive-tree of the Acropolis to the judges, and so won the day. But Themistocles did not, as Aristophanes¹ the comic poet says, "knead the Piraeus on to the city," nay, he fastened the city to the Piraeus, and the land to the sea. And so it was that he increased the privileges of the common people as against the nobles, and filled them with boldness, since the controlling power came now into the hands of skippers and boatswains and pilots. Therefore it was, too, that the bema in Pnyx, which had stood so as to look off toward the sea, was afterwards turned by the thirty tyrants so as to look inland, because they thought that maritime empire was the mother of democracy, and that oligarchy was less distasteful to tillers of the soil.

XX. But Themistocles cherished yet greater designs even for securing the naval supremacy. When the fleet of the Hellenes, after the departure of Xerxes, had put in at Pagasae and was wintering there, he made a harangue before the Athenians, in which he said that he had a certain scheme in mind which would be useful and salutary for them, but which could not be broached in public. So the Athenians bade him impart it to Aristides alone, and if he should approve of it, to put it into execution.

¹ *Knights*, 815.

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νειν, ὁ μὲν Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔφρασε τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ, τὸ νεώριον ἐμπρῆσαι διανοεῖσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· ὁ δὲ Ἀριστείδης εἰς τὸν δῆμον παρελθὼν ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἡν διανοεῖται πράττειν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μηδεμίαν εἶναι μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ ταῦτα παύσασθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσέταξαν.

- 3 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀμφικτυονικοῖς συνεδρίοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων εἰσηγουμένων, ὅπως ἀπείργωνται τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας αἱ μὴ συμμαχήσασαι κατὰ τοῦ Μήδου πόλεις, φοβηθείς, μὴ Θετταλοὺς καὶ Ἀργείους, ἔτι δὲ Θηβαίους ἐκβαλόντες τοῦ συνεδρίου παντελῶς ἐπικρατήσωσι τῶν ψήφων καὶ γένηται τὸ δοκοῦν ἐκείνοις, συνεῦπε ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ μετέθηκε τὰς γνώμας τῶν πυλαγόρων,
4 διδάξας, ὡς τριάκοντα καὶ μία μόναι πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ μετασχοῦσαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τούτων αἱ πλείους παντάπασι μικραί· δεινὸν οὖν, εἰ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐκσπόνδου γενομένης ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις δυσὶν ἡ τρισὶν πόλεσιν ἔσται τὸ συνέδριον. ἐκ τούτου μὲν οὖν μάλιστα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις προσέκρουσε· διὸ καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα προῆγον ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἀντίπαλον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ καθιστάντες.

XXI. Ἡν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπαχθῆς περιπλέων τε τὰς νήσους καὶ χρηματιζόμενος ἀπ' αὐτῶν· οἰα καὶ πρὸς Ἀνδρίους ἀργύριον αἴτοῦντά φησιν αὐτὸν Ἡρόδοτος εἰπεῖν τε καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. δύο γὰρ ἦκειν ἔφη θεοὺς κομίζων, Πειθὼ καὶ Βίαν· οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ παρ'

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Themistocles accordingly told Aristides that he purposed to burn the fleet of the Hellenes where it lay ; but Aristides addressed the people, and said of the scheme which Themistocles purposed to carry out, that none could be either more advantageous or more iniquitous. The Athenians therefore ordered Themistocles to give it up.

At the Amphictyonic or Holy Alliance conventions, the Lacedaemonians introduced motions that all cities be excluded from the Alliance which had not taken part in fighting against the Mede. So Themistocles, fearing lest, if they should succeed in excluding the Thessalians and the Argives and the Thebans too from the convention, they would control the votes completely and carry through their own wishes, spoke in behalf of the protesting cities, and changed the sentiments of the delegates by showing that only thirty-one cities had taken part in the war, and that the most of these were altogether small ; it would be intolerable, then, if the rest of Hellas should be excluded and the convention be at the mercy of the two or three largest cities. It was for this reason particularly that he became obnoxious to the Lacedaemonians, and they therefore tried to advance Cimon in public favour, making him the political rival of Themistocles.

XXI. He made himself hateful to the allies also, by sailing round to the islands and trying to exact money from them. When, for instance, he demanded money of the Andrians, Herodotus¹ says he made a speech to them and got reply as follows : he said he came escorting two gods, Persuasion and Compulsion ; and they replied that they already had two great

¹ viii. 111.

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αὐτοῖς θεοὺς μεγάλους δύο, Πενίαν καὶ Ἀπορίαν,
2 ὡν κωλύεσθαι δοῦναι χρήματα ἐκείνῳ.

Τιμοκρέων δ' ὁ Ῥόδιος μελοποιὸς ἐν ἄσματι
καθάπτεται πικρότερον τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ὡς
ἄλλους μὲν ἐπὶ χρήμασι φυγάδας διαπραξαμένου
κατελθεῖν, αὐτὸν δὲ ξένον δῆτα καὶ φίλον προε-
μένου δι' ἀργύριον. λέγει δ' οὕτως·

'Αλλ' εἰ τύγε Παυσανίαν ἢ καὶ τύγε Ξάνθιπ-
πον αἰνεῖς

ἢ τύγε Λευτυχίδαν, ἐγὼ δ' Ἀριστείδαν ἐπαινέω
ἄνδρ' ἴερᾶν ἀπ' Ἀθανᾶν

ἔλθεῖν ἔνα λῷστον· ἐπεὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἦχθαρε
Λατώ,

3 ψεύσταν, ἄδικον, προδόταν, δος Τιμοκρέοντα
ξεῖνον ἔοντ'

ἀργυρίοις σκυβαλικοῖσι πεισθεὶς οὐ κατάγεν
εἰς πάτραν Ἰαλυσόν,

λαβὼν δὲ τρί' ἀργυρίου τάλαντ' ἔβα πλέων εἰς
ὅλεθρον,

τοὺς μὲν κατάγων ἀδίκως, τοὺς δὲ ἐκδιώκων,
τοὺς δὲ καίνων,

ἀργυρίων ὑπόπλεως, Ἰσθμοῖ δὲ ἐπανδόκενε
γελοίως ψυχρὰ κρέα παρέχων·

οἱ δὲ ἥσθιον κηῦχοντο μὴ ὥραν Θεμιστοκλεῦς
γενέσθαι.

4 πολὺ δὲ ἀσελγεστέρα καὶ ἀναπεπταμένη μᾶλλον
εἰς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα βλασφημίᾳ κέχρηται μετὰ

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gods, Penury and Powerlessness, who hindered them from giving him money.

Timocreon, the lyric poet of Rhodes, assailed Themistocles very bitterly in a song, to the effect that for bribes he had secured the restoration of other exiles, but had abandoned him, though a host and a friend, and all for money. The song runs thus¹ :—

“Come, if thou praisest Pausanias, or if Xanthippus,

Or if Leotychidas, then I shall praise Aristides,
The one best man of all

Who came from sacred Athens ; since Leto
loathes Themistocles,

“The liar, cheat, and traitor, who, though Timocreon
was his host,

By knavish moneys was induced not to bring
him back

Into his native Ialysus,

But took three talents of silver and went cruising
off,—to perdition,

“Restoring some exiles unjustly, chasing some away,
and slaying some,

Gorged with moneys ; yet at the Isthmus he
played ridiculous host with the stale meats
set before his guests ;

Who ate thereof and prayed Heaven ‘no happy
return of the day for Themistocles !’ ”

Much more wanton and extravagant was the railery
which Timocreon indulged in against Themistocles

¹ No attempt is made in the translations of Timocreon to imitate the metre of the original.

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τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν καταδίκην ὁ Τιμοκρέων
ἀσμα ποιήσας, οὐ ἐστιν ἀρχή·

Μοῦσα τοῦδε τοῦ μέλεος
κλέος ἀν' "Ελλανας τίθει,
ώς ἔοικὸς καὶ δίκαιον.

λέγεται δ' ὁ Τιμοκρέων ἐπὶ μηδισμῷ φυγεῖν
5 συγκαταφηφισαμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. ώς
οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς αὐτίαν ἔσχε μηδίζειν, ταῦτ'
ἐποίησεν εἰς αὐτόν.

Οὐκ ἄρα Τιμοκρέων μοῦνος Μήδοισιν ὄρκια-
τομεῖ,
ἀλλ' ἐντὶ κάλλοι δὴ πονηροί· οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνα
κόλουρις·
ἐντὶ καὶ ἄλλαι ἀλώπεκες.

XXII. "Ηδη δὲ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν διὰ τὸ φθο- 123
νεῖν ἡδέως τὰς διαβολὰς προσιεμένων ἡναγκάζετο
λυπηρὸς εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεων πολλάκις ἐν
τῷ δήμῳ μνημονεύων· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσχεραί-
νοντας "Τί κοπιάτε," εἶπεν, "ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν
πολλάκις εὖ πάσχοντες;" ἡνίασε δὲ τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος, ἦν
Ἀριστοβούλην μὲν προσηγόρευσεν, ώς ἄριστα
2 τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς "Ελλησι βουλευσάμενος, πλη-
σίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μελίτῃ τὸ
ἱερὸν, οὐν νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατουμένων οἱ
δήμιοι προβάλλουσι καὶ τὰ ἴμάτια καὶ τοὺς
βρόχους τῶν ἀπαγχομένων καὶ καθαιρεθέντων
ἐκφέρουσιν. ἔκειτο δὲ καὶ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους

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after the latter's own exile and condemnation. Then he composed the song beginning :—

“ O Muse, grant that this song
Be famed throughout all Hellas,
As it is meet and just.”

It is said that Timocreon was sent into exile on a charge of Medising, and that Themistocles concurred in the vote of condemnation. Accordingly, when Themistocles also was accused of Medising, Timocreon composed these lines upon him :—

“ Not Timocreon alone, then, made compacts with the Medes,
But there are other wretches too ; not I alone am brushless,
There are other foxes too.”

XXII. And at last, when even his fellow-citizens were led by their jealousy of his greatness to welcome such slanders against him, he was forced to allude to his own achievements when he addressed the Assembly, till he became tiresome thereby, and he once said to the malcontents : “ Why are ye vexed that the same men should often benefit you ? ” He offended the multitude also by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed *Aristoboulé*, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes. This temple he established near his house in Melité, where now the public officers cast out the bodies of those who have been put to death, and carry forth the garments and the nooses of those who have dispatched themselves by hanging. A portrait-statue of Themistocles stood in this

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εἰκόνιον ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀριστοβούλης ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς· καὶ φαίνεται τις οὐ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν δψιν ἡρωϊκὸς γενόμενος.

3 Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἔξοστρακισμὸν ἐποιήσαντο κατ' αὐτοῦ κολούοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ὑπεροχήν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ πάντων, οὓς φοντο τῇ δυνάμει βαρεῖς καὶ πρὸς ἵστητα δημοκρατικὴν ἀσυμμέτρους εἶναι. κόλασις γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἔξοστρακισμός, ἀλλὰ παραμυθία φθόνου καὶ κουφισμὸς ἡδομένου τῷ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τὴν δυσμένειαν εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἀποπνέοντος.

XXIII. Ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῦ καὶ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἀργεί τὰ περὶ Παυσανίαν συμπεσόντα κατ' ἐκείνου παρέσχε τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἀφορμάς. ὁ δὲ γραψάμενος αὐτὸν προδοσίας Λεωβάτης ἦν ὁ Ἀλκμαίωνος Ἀγραυλῆθεν, ἅμα συνεπαιτιωμένων τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ὁ γὰρ Παυσανίας πράττων ἐκείνα δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν προδοσίαν πρότερον μὲν ἀπεκρύπτετο τον Θεμιστοκλέα, 2 καίπερ δύντα φίλον· ώς δ' εἶδεν ἐκπεπτωκότα τῆς πολιτεύας καὶ φέροντα χαλεπῶς ἐθάρσησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν πραττομένων παρακαλεῖν, γράμματα¹ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς "Ελληνας ώς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀχαρίστους. ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν δέησιν ἀπετρίψατο τοῦ Παυσανίου καὶ τὴν κοινωνίαν δλως ἀπείπατο, πρὸς οὐδένα δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐξήνεγκεν οὐδὲ κατεμήνυσε τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἴτε παύσεσθαι προσδοκῶν

¹ γράμματα Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: τὰ γράμματα.

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temple of *Aristoboulé* down to my time, from which he appears to have been a man not only of heroic spirit, but also of heroic presence.

Well then, they visited him with ostracism,¹ curtailing his dignity and pre-eminence, as they were wont to do in the case¹ of all whom they thought to have oppressive power, and to be incommensurate with true democratic equality. For ostracism was not a penalty, but a way of pacifying and alleviating that jealousy which delights to humble the eminent, breathing out its malice into this disfranchisement.

XXIII. After he had been thus banished from the city, and while he was sojourning at Argos, circumstances connected with the death of Pausanias gave his enemies at Athens ground for proceeding against him. The one who actually brought in the indictment against him for treason was Leobotes the son of Alcmeon, of the deme Agraulé, but the Spartans supported him in the accusation. Pausanias, while engaged in his grand scheme of treachery, at first kept it concealed from Themistocles; but when he saw him thus banished from his state and in great bitterness of spirit, he made bold to invite him into partnership in his own undertakings, showing him a letter he had received from the King, and inciting him against the Hellenes as a base and thankless people. Themistocles rejected the solicitation of Pausanias, and utterly refused the proffered partnership; and yet he disclosed the propositions to no one, nor did he even give information of the treacherous scheme, because he expected either that Pausanias would give it up of his own

¹ About 472 B.C.

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αὐτόν, εἴτ' ἄλλως καταφανῆ γενήσεσθαι σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ πραγμάτων ἀτόπων καὶ παραβόλων ὄρεγόμενου.

- 3 Οὕτω δὴ τοῦ Παυσανίου θανατωθέντος ἐπιστολαί τινες ἀνευρεθεῖσαι καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐνέβαλον τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ κατεβόων μὲν αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγόρουν δ' οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐ παρόντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀπολογουμένου μᾶλιστα
- 4 ταῖς προτέραις κατηγορίαις. διαβαλλόμενος γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἔγραφεν, ώς ἄρχειν μὲν ἀεὶ ζητῶν, ἄρχεσθαι δὲ μὴ πεφυκὼς μηδὲ βουλόμενος, οὐκ ἂν ποτε βαρβάροις αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις¹ ἀποδόσθαι μετὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συμπεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν κατηγορούντων ὁ δῆμος ἔπειμψεν ἄνδρας, οἵς εἴρητο συλλαμβάνειν καὶ ἀνάγειν² αὐτὸν κριθησόμενον ἐν τοῖς "Ἑλλησιν.

XXIV. Προαισθόμενος δ' ἐκεῖνος εἰς Κέρκυραν διεπέρασεν, οὗσης αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εὐεργεσίας. Γενόμενος γὰρ αὐτῶν κριτῆς πρὸς Κορινθίους ἔχόντων διαφοράν, ἔλυσε τὴν ἔχθραν εἴκοσι τάλαντα κρίνας τοὺς Κορινθίους καταβαλεῖν καὶ Λευκάδα κοινῇ νέμειν ἀμφοτέρων ἀποικον. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς "Ηπειρον ἔφυγε· καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλπίδας χαλεπὰς καὶ ἀπόρους καταφυγὰν πρὸς

2 "Αδμητον, διὰ βασιλεὺς μὲν ἦν Μολοττῶν, δεηθεὶς δέ τι τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ

¹ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ πολεμίοις Fuhr and Blass with FaS : καὶ πολεμίοις αὐτὸν. ² ἀνάγειν Fuhr and Blass with S : ἀγειν.

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accord, or that in some other way he would be found out, since he was so irrationally grasping after such strange and desperate objects.

And so it was that, when Pausanias had been put to death, certain letters and documents regarding these matters were discovered which cast suspicion on Themistocles. The Lacedaemonians cried him down, and his envious fellow-citizens denounced him, though he was not present to plead his cause, but defended himself in writing, making particular use of earlier accusations brought against him. Since he was once slanderously accused by his enemies before his fellow-citizens—so he wrote, as one who ever sought to rule, but had no natural bent nor even the desire to be ruled, he could never have sold himself with Hellas to Barbarians, much less to foemen. The people, however, were overpersuaded by his accusers, and sent men with orders to arrest him and bring him up in custody to stand trial before a Congress of Hellenes.

XXIV. But he heard of this in advance, and crossed over to Corcyra, where he had been recognized as a public benefactor of the city. For he had served as arbiter in a dispute between them and the Corinthians, and settled the quarrel by deciding that the Corinthians should pay an indemnity of twenty talents, and administer Leucas as a common colony of both cities. Thence he fled to Epirus, and being pursued by the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, he threw himself upon grievous and desperate chances of escape by taking refuge with Admetus, who was king of the Molossians, and who, since he had once asked some favour of the Athenians and

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Θεμιστοκλέους, ὅτ' ἡκμαζεν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ, δι' ὀργῆς εἰχεν αὐτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ δῆλος ἦν, εἰ λάβοι, 124

τιμωρησόμενος. ἐν δὲ τῇ τότε τύχῃ μᾶλλον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς φοβηθεὶς συγγενῆ καὶ πρόσφατον φθόνον ὀργῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ βασιλικῆς, ταύτη φέρων ὑπέθηκεν ἑαυτόν, ἵκετης τοῦ Ἀδμήτου καταστὰς ἴδιον τινα καὶ παρηλλαγμένον τρόπον.

3 ἔχων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν υἱὸν ὃντα παῖδα πρὸς τὴν ἔστιαν προσέπεσε, ταύτην μεγίστην καὶ μόνην σχεδὸν ἀναντίρρητον ἥγουμένων ἵκεσίαν τῶν Μολοσσῶν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν Φθίαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ βασιλέως λέγουσιν ὑποθέσθαι τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὸ ἵκέτευμα τοῦτο καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔστιαν καθίσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ· τινὲς δ' αὐτὸν τὸν Ἀδμητον, ως ἀφοσιώσαιτο πρὸς τοὺς διώκοντας τὴν ἀνάγκην, δι' ἦν οὐκ ἐκδίδωσι τὸν ἄνδρα, διαθεῖναι καὶ συντραγγεῖσαι τὴν ἵκεσίαν.

4 Ἐκεῖ δ' αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐκκλέψας ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἐπικράτης ὁ Ἀχαρνεὺς ἀπέστειλεν· διν ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κίμων ὕστερον κρίνας ἐθανάτωσεν, ως ἴστορει Στησίμβροτος. εἰτ' οὐκ οἰδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων ἦ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον πλεῦσαι φησιν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ παρ' Ἰέρωνος αἴτεν τοῦ τυράννου τὴν θυγατέρα πρὸς γάμουν, ὑπισχνούμενον· αὐτῷ τοὺς "Ἐλληνας ὑπηκόους ποιήσειν" ἀποτριψαμένου¹ δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος, οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπῆραι.

¹ ἀποτριψαμένου Fuhr and Blass with S: ἀπυστρεψαμένου.

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had been insultingly refused it by Themistocles, then at the height of his political influence, was angry with him ever after, and made it plain that he would take vengeance on him if he caught him. But in the desperate fortune of that time Themistocles was more afraid of kindred and recent jealousy than of an anger that was of long standing and royal, and promptly cast himself upon the king's mercy, making himself the suppliant of Admetus in a way quite peculiar and extraordinary. That is to say, he took the young son of the king in his arms and threw himself down at the hearth; a form of supplication which the Molossians regarded as most sacred, and as almost the only one that might not be refused. Some, it is true, say that it was Phthia, the wife of the king, who suggested this form of supplication to Themistocles, and that she seated her son on the hearth with him; and certain others that Admetus himself, in order that he might give a religious sanction to the necessity that was upon him of not surrendering the man, arranged beforehand and solemnly rehearsed with him the supplication scene.

Thither his wife and children were privily removed from Athens and sent to him by Epocrates of the deme Acharnae, who, for this deed, was afterwards convicted by Cimon and put to death, as Stesimbrotus relates. Then, somehow or other, Stesimbrotus forgets this, or makes Themistocles forget it, and says he sailed to Sicily and demanded from Hiero the tyrant the hand of his daughter in marriage, promising as an incentive that he would make the Hellenes subject to his sway; but that Hiero repulsed him, and so he set sail for Asia.

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XXV. Ταῦτα δ' οὐκ εἰκός ἔστιν οὕτω γενέσθαι.
Θεόφραστος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Περὶ βασιλείας ἴστορεῖ
τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα πέμψαντος εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν
Ἱέρωνος ἵππους ἀγωνιστὰς καὶ σκηνὴν τινα
κατεσκευασμένην πολυτελῶς στήσαντος, εἰπεῖν
ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησι λόγον, ώς χρὴ τὴν σκηνὴν
διαρπάσαι τοῦ τυράννου καὶ κωλῦσαι τοὺς ἵππους
2 ἀγωνίσασθαι. Θουκυδίδης δέ φησι καὶ πλεῦσαι
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἔτέραν καταβάντα θάλασσαν ἀπὸ
Πύδνης, οὐδενὸς εἰδότος ὅστις εἴη τῶν πλεόντων,
μέχρι οὗ πνεύματι τῆς ὀλκάδος εἰς Νάξον
καταφερομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων πολιορκουμένην
τότε φοβηθεὶς ἀναδείξειν ἔαυτὸν τῷ τε ναυκλήρῳ
καὶ τῷ κυβερνήτῃ, καὶ τὰ μὲν δεόμενος, τὰ δὲ
ἀπειλῶν καὶ λέγων, ὅτι κατηγορήσοι καὶ κατα-
ψεύσοιτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ώς οὐκ ἀγνοοῦν-
τες, ἀλλὰ χρήμασι πεισθέντες ἐξ ἥρχῆς, ἀναλάβ-
οιεν αὐτόν, οὕτως ἀναγκάσειε παραπλεῦσαι καὶ
3 λαβέσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας. τῶν δὲ χρημάτων αὐτῷ
πολλὰ μὲν ὑπεκκλαπέντα διὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς
Ἀσίαν. ἔπλει· τῶν δὲ φανερῶν γενομένων καὶ
συναχθέντων εἰς τὸ δημόσιον Θεόπομπος μὲν
ἐκατὸν τάλαντα, Θεόφραστος δὲ ὄγδοήκοντά φησι
γενέσθαι τὸ πλῆθος, οὐδὲ τριῶν ἕξια ταλάντων
κεκτημένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι
τῆς πολιτείας.

XXVI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς Κύμην καὶ
πολλοὺς ἤσθετο τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττη παραφυλάτ-
τοντας αὐτὸν λαβεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς περὶ
Ἐργοτέλη καὶ Πυθόδωρον (ἥν γὰρ ἡ θήρα
λυσιτελῆς τοῖς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀγαπῶσι,

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XXV. But it is not likely that this was so. For Theophrastus, in his work "On Royalty," tells how, when Hiero sent horses to compete at Olympia, and set up a sort of booth there with very costly decorations, Themistocles made a speech among the assembled Hellenes, urging them to tear down the booth of the tyrant and prevent his horses from competing. And Thucydides¹ says that he made his way across the country to the sea, and set sail from Pydna, no one of the passengers knowing who he was until, when the vessel had been carried by a storm to Naxos, to which the Athenians at that time were laying siege,² he was terrified, and disclosed himself to the master and the captain of the ship, and partly by entreaties, partly by threats, actually declaring that he would denounce and vilify them to the Athenians as having taken him on board at the start in no ignorance but under bribes,—in this way compelled them to sail by and make the coast of Asia. Of his property, much was secretly abstracted for him by his friends and sent across the sea to Asia; but the sum total of that which was brought to light and confiscated amounted to one hundred talents, according to Theopompus,—Theophrastus says eighty,—and yet Themistocles did not possess the worth of three talents before he entered political life.

XXVI. After landing at Cymé, and learning that many people on the coast were watching to seize him, and especially Ergoteles and Pythodorus,—for the chase was a lucrative one to such as were fond of getting gain from any and every source, since

¹ i. 137.

² About 469 B.C.

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διακοσίων ἐπικεκηρυγμένων αὐτῷ ταλάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως), ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἴγας, Αἰολικὸν πολισμάτιον, ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοούμενος πλὴν τοῦ ξένου Νικογένους, δις Αἰολέων πλείστην οὐσίαν ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοῖς ἄνω δυνατοῖς γνώριμος ὑπῆρχε.

2 παρὰ τούτῳ κρυπτόμενος ἡμέρας ὀλίγας διέτριψεν εἴτα μετὰ τὸ δεῦπον ἐκ θυσίας τινὸς Ὁλβιος ὁ τῶν τέκνων τοῦ Νικογένους παιδαγωγὸς ἔκφρων γενόμενος καὶ θεοφόρητος ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ¹ ταυτί·

Νυκτὶ φωνήν, νυκτὶ βουλήν, νυκτὶ τὴν νίκην δίδου.

Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κοιμηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὅναρ ἔδοξεν ἵδεῖν δράκοντα κατὰ τῆς γαστρὸς αὐτοῦ περιελιττόμενον καὶ προσανέρποντα τῷ τραχήλῳ.

3 γενόμενον δ' ἀετόν, ώς ἥψατο τοῦ προσώπου, περιβαλόντα τὰς πτέρυγας ἔξαραι καὶ κομίζειν πολλὴν ὁδόν, εἴτα χρυσοῦ τινὸς κηρυκείου φανέντος, ἐπὶ τούτου στῆσαι βεβαίως αὐτὸν ἀμηχάνου δείματος καὶ ταραχῆς ἀπαλλαγέντα.

Πέμπεται δ' οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικογένους μηχανη- 125 σαμένου τι τοιόνδε.² τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναικας ἄγριον φύσει καὶ χαλεπόν 4 ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους καὶ παλλακευομένας ἴσχυρῶς παραφυλάττουσιν, ώς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὁρᾶσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι κατακεκλεισμένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ σκηνὰς κύκλῳ

¹ ἀνεφώνησεν ἐν μέτρῳ Fuhr and Blass with S: ἀνεφώνησε μέτρῳ. ² τοιόνδε Fuhr and Blass with FaS: τοιοῦτον,

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two hundred talents had been publicly set upon his head by the King,—he fled to Aegae, a little Aeolic citadel. Here no one knew him except his host Nicogenes, the wealthiest man in Aeolia, and well acquainted with the magnates of the interior. With him he remained in hiding for a few days. During this time, after the dinner which followed a certain sacrifice, Olbius, the paedagogue of the children of Nicogenes, becoming rapt and inspired, lifted up his voice and uttered the following verse :—

“ Night shall speak, and night instruct thee, night shall give thee victory.”

And in the night that followed, Themistocles, as he lay in bed, thought he saw in a dream that a serpent wound itself along over his body and crept up to his neck, then became an eagle as soon as it touched his face, enveloped him with its wings and lifted him on high and bore him a long distance, when there appeared as it were a golden herald’s wand, on which it set him securely down, freed from helpless terror and distress.

However that may be, he was sent on his way by Nicogenes, who devised the following scheme for his safety. Most barbarous nations, and the Persians in particular, are savage and harsh in their jealous watchfulness over their women. Not only their wedded wives, but also their boughten slaves and concubines are strictly guarded, so that they are seen by no outsiders, but live at home in complete seclusion, and even on their journeys are carried in tents closely hung round about with curtains and set

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περιπεφραγμένας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν ὄχεισθαι. τοιαύτης τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ κατασκευασθείσης ἀπήνης καταδὺς ἐκομίζετο, τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις λεγόντων, ὅτι γύναιον Ἑλληνικὸν ἄγουσιν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας πρός τινα τῶν ἐπὶ θύραις βασιλέως.

XXVII. Θουκυδίδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Χάρων ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἴστοροῦσι τεθνηκότος Ξέρξου πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ γενέσθαι τὴν ἐντευξιν. Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ Δείνων καὶ Κλείταρχος καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, ἔτι δ' ἄλλοι πλείονες, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τὸν Ξέρξην. τοῖς δὲ χρονικοῖς δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ὁ Θουκυδίδης συμφέρεσθαι, καίπερ 2 οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς ἀτρέμα συνταττομένοις. ὁ δ' οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς γενόμενος παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνει πρῶτον Ἀρταβάνῳ τῷ χιλιάρχῳ λέγων, Ἔλλην μὲν εἰναι, βούλεσθαι δ' ἐντυχεῖν βασιλεῖ περὶ μεγίστων πραγμάτων καὶ πρὸς ἀτυγχάνει μάλιστα σπουδάζων ἐκεῖνος. ὁ δέ φησιν. Ὡ ξένε, νόμοι διαφέρουσιν ἀνθρώπων· ἄλλα δ' ἄλλοις καλά· καλὸν δὲ πᾶσι τὰ οἰκεῖα 3 κοισμεῖν καὶ σώζειν. ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἐλευθερίαν μάλιστα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἵστητα λόγος· ἡμῖν δὲ πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων κάλλιστος οὗτος ἐστι, τιμᾶν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν ὡς εἰκόνα θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐπαινῶν τὰ ἡμέτερα προσκυνήσεις, ἐστι σοι καὶ θεάσασθαι βασιλέα καὶ προσειπεῖν· εἰ δ' ἄλλο τι φρονεῖς,

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upon four-wheeled waggons. Such a vehicle was made ready for Themistocles, and safely ensconced in this he made his journey, while his attendants replied in every case to those who met them with enquiries, that they were conducting a Hellenic woman, fair but frail, to one of the King's courtiers.

XXVII. Now Thucydides¹ and Charon of Lampsacus relate that Xerxes was dead, and that it was his son Artaxerxes with whom Themistocles had his interview ; but Ephorus and Dinon and Clitarchus and Heracleides and yet more besides have it that it was Xerxes to whom he came. With the chronological data Thucydides seems to me more in accord, although these are by no means securely established. Be that as it may, Themistocles, thus at the threshold of the dreadful ordeal, had audience first with Artabanus the Chiliarch, or Grand Vizier, and said that he was a Hellene, and that he desired to have an audience with the King on matters which were of the highest importance and for which the monarch entertained the most lively concern. Whereupon the Chiliarch replied : "O Stranger, men's customs differ ; different people honour different practices ; but all honour the exaltation and maintenance of their own peculiar ways. Now you Hellenes are said to admire liberty and equality above all things ; but in our eyes, among many fair customs, this is the fairest of all, to honour the King, and to pay obeisance to him as the image of that god who is the preserver of all things. If, then, thou approvest our practice and wilt pay obeisance, it is in thy power to behold and address the King ; but if thou art otherwise minded, it will be needful

¹ i. 137.

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ἀγγέλοις ἑτέροις χρήση πρὸς αὐτόν. βασιλεῖ
γὰρ οὐ πάτριον ἀνδρὸς ἀκροᾶσθαι μὴ προσκυνή-
4 σαντος.” ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀκούσας λέγει
πρὸς αὐτόν “'Αλλ’ ἔγωγε τὴν βασιλέως, ὡ
'Αρτάβανε, φήμην καὶ δύναμιν αὐξῆσων ἀφίγματι,
καὶ αὐτός τε πείσομαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις νόμοις,
ἔπει θεῷ τῷ μεγαλύνοντι Πέρσας οὕτω δοκεῖ, καὶ
δι’ ἐμὲ πλείουες τῶν νῦν βασιλέα προσκυνήσουσιν.
ώστε τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔστω τοῖς λόγοις, οὓς
5 βούλομαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εἰπεῖν.” “Τίνα δ,” εἶπεν
ὁ 'Αρτάβανος, “'Ελλήνων ἀφίχθαι σε φῶμεν; οὐ
γὰρ ἴδιώτῃ τὴν γνώμην ἔοικας.” καὶ ὁ Θεμι-
στοκλῆς· “Τοῦτ’ οὐκέτ’ ἄν,” ἔφη, “πύθοιτό τις,
'Αρτάβανε, πρότερος βασιλέως.”

Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Φανίας φησίν. ὁ δὲ 'Ερατοσθένης
ἐν τοῖς Περὶ πλούτου προσιστόρησε, διὰ γυναικὸς
'Ερετρικῆς, ἣν ὁ χιλίαρχος εἶχε, τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔντευξιν γενέσθαι καὶ σύστασιν.

XXVIII. 'Επεὶ δὲ οὖν εἰσήχθη πρὸς βασιλέα
καὶ προσκυνήσας ἔστη σιωπῇ, προστάξαντος
τῷ ἐρμηνεῖ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐρωτήσαι, τίς ἔστι,
καὶ τοῦ ἐρμηνέως ἐρωτήσαντος, εἶπεν· “'Ηκω
σοι, βασιλεῦ, Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ 'Αθηναῖος ἔγὼ
φυγὰς ὑφ' 'Ελλήνων διωχθείς, φῶ πολλὰ μὲν
ὁφείλουσι Πέρσαι κακά, πλείω δὲ ἀγαθὰ κωλύ-
σαντι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅτε τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ
γενομένης παρέσχε τὰ οἶκοι σωζόμενα χαρίσασθαι
2 τι καὶ ὑμῖν. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν πάντα πρέποντα ταῖς

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for thee to employ messengers to him in thy stead, for it is not a custom of this country that the King give ear to a man who has not paid him obeisance." When Themistocles heard this, he said to him : " Nay, but I am come, Artabanus, to augment the King's fame and power, and I will not only myself observe your customs, since such is the pleasure of the god who exalts the Persians, but I will induce more men than do so now to pay obeisance to the King. Therefore let this matter by no means stand in the way of the words I wish to speak to him." " And what Hellene," said Artabanus, " shall I say thou art who hast thus come ? Verily, thou dost not seem to be a man of ordinary understanding." And Themistocles said : " This, Artabanus, no one may learn before the King."

So indeed Phanias says, and Eratosthenes, in his book " On Wealth," adds the statement that it was through a woman of Eretria, whom the Chiliarch had to wife, that Themistocles obtained interview and conference with him.

XXVIII. That may or may not be so. But when he was led into the presence of the King and had made him obeisance, and was standing in silence, the King ordered the interpreter to ask him who he was, and, on the interpreter's asking, he said : " I who thus come to thee, O King, am Themistocles the Athenian, an exile, pursued by the Hellenes ; and to me the Persians are indebted for many ills, but for more blessings, since I hindered the pursuit of the Hellenes, at a time when Hellas was brought into safety, and the salvation of my own home gave me an opportunity for showing some favour also to you. Now, therefore, I may look for any sequel to

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παρούσαις συμφοραῖς ἔστι, καὶ παρεσκευασμένος ἀφῆγμαὶ δέξασθαι τε χάριν εὐμενῶς διαλλαττομένου καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι μνησικακοῦντος ὄργην· σὺ δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἔχθροὺς μάρτυρας θέμενος ὡν εὐεργέτησα Πέρσας, νῦν ἀπόχρησαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς τύχαις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀρετῆς μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὄργῆς. σώσεις μὲν γὰρ ἵκετην σόν,

3 ἀπολεῖς δ' Ἐλλήνων πολέμιον γενόμενον.” ταῦτ' 126 εἰπὼν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐπεθείασε τῷ λόγῳ προσδιελθὼν τὴν ὅψιν, ἦν εἰδεν ἐν Νικογένους, καὶ τὸ μάντευμα τοῦ Δωδωναίου Διός, ὡς κελευσθεὶς πρὸς τὸν ὁμώνυμον τοῦ θεοῦ βαδίζειν συμφρονήσει πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀναπέμπεσθαι· μεγάλους γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι τε καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέας.

‘Ακούσας δ' ὁ Πέρσης, ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, καίπερ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν 4 τόλμαν αὐτοῦ· μακαρίσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστῃ, καὶ κατευξάμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις τοιαύτας φρένας διδόναι τὸν Ἀριμάνιον, ὃπως ἐλαύνωσι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, θῦσαί τε τοῖς θεοῖς λέγεται καὶ πρὸς πόσιν εὐθὺς τραπέσθαι καὶ νύκτωρ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς διὰ μέσων τῶν ὕπνων βοῆσαι τρίς· “Ἐχω Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον.”

XXIX. “Αμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους εἰσῆγεν αὐτὸν οὐδὲν¹ ἐλπίζοντα χρηστὸν ἐξ ὧν ἔώρα τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τοῦνομα παρόντος αὐτοῦ, χαλεπῶς διακειμένους καὶ κακῶς

¹ οὐδὲν Fuhr and Blass with FaS: μηδὲν.

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my present calamities, and I come prepared to receive the favour of one who benevolently offers reconciliation, or to deprecate the anger of one who cherishes the remembrance of injuries. But do thou take my foes to witness for the good I wrought the Persians, and now use my misfortunes for the display of thy virtue rather than for the satisfaction of thine anger. For it is a suppliant of thine whom thou wilt save, but an enemy of the Hellenes whom thou wilt destroy." After these words Themistocles spoke of divine portents in his favour, enlarging upon the vision which he saw at the house of Nicogenes, and the oracle of Dodonaean Zeus, how when he was bidden by it to proceed to the namesake of the god, he had concluded that he was thereby sent to him, since both were actually "Great Kings," and were so addressed.

On hearing this the Persian made no direct reply to him, although struck with admiration at the boldness of his spirit; but in converse with his friends it is said that he congratulated himself over what he called the greatest good fortune, and prayed Arimanus ever to give his enemies such minds as to drive their best men away from them; and then sacrificed to the gods, and straightway betook himself to his cups; and in the night, in the midst of his slumbers, for very joy called out thrice: "I have Themistocles the Athenian."

XXIX. At daybreak he called his friends together and bade Themistocles to be introduced, who expected no favourable outcome, because he saw that the guards at the gates, when they learned the name of him who was going in, were bitterly disposed and

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- λέγοντας. ἔτι δὲ Ρωξάνης ὁ χιλίαρχος, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἦν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς προσιών, καθημένου βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σιωπώντων, ἀτρέμα στενάξας εἶπεν “Οφις Ἐλλην ὁ ποικίλος, ὁ 2 βασιλέως σε δαίμων δεῦρο ἥγαγεν.” οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ εἰς ὅψιν ἐλθόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν προσκυνήσαντος, ἀσπασάμενος καὶ προσειπὼν φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεύς, ἥδη μὲν ἔφησεν αὐτῷ διακόσια τάλαντα ὄφείλειν· κομίσαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπολήψεσθαι δικαίως τὸ ἐπικηρυχθὲν τῷ ἀγαγόντι· πολλῷ δὲ πλείω τούτων ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ παρεθύρυνε καὶ λέγειν ἐδίδου περὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν, ἀ βούλοιτο, παρρησιαζόμενον.
- 3 Ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο, τὸν λόγον ἐοικέναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῖς ποικίλοις στρώμασιν· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καὶ τοῦτον ἐκτεινόμενον μὲν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὰ εἴδη, συστελλόμενον δὲ κρύπτειν καὶ διαφθείρειν· ὅθεν αὐτῷ χρόνου δεῖν. ἐπεὶ δέ, ἡσθέντος τοῦ βασιλέως τῇ είκασίᾳ καὶ λαμβάνειν κελεύσαντος, ἐνιαυτὸν αἰτησάμενος καὶ τὴν Περσίδα γλώτταν ἀποχρώντως ἐκμαθὼν ἐνετύγχανε βα- 4 σιλεῖ δί’ αὐτοῦ, τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς δόξαν παρέσχε περὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν πραγμάτων διειλέχθαι, πολλῶν δὲ καινοτομουμένων περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, φθόνον ἔσχε παρὰ τοῖς δυνατοῖς, ὡς καὶ κατ’ ἐκείνων παρρησίᾳ χρήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποτετολμηκώς. οὐδὲν γάρ ἤσαν αἱ τιμαὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἐοικυῖαι ξένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κυνηγεσίων βασιλεῖ μετέσχε καὶ τῶν οἴκοι διατριβῶν, ὥστε

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spoke insultingly to him. And besides, Roxanes the Chiliarch, when Themistocles came along opposite him,—the King being seated and the rest hushed in silence,—said in an angry undertone : “ Thou subtle serpent of Hellas, the King’s good genius hath brought thee hither.” However, when he had come into the King’s presence, and had once more paid him obeisance, the King welcomed him and spake him kindly, and said he already owed him two hundred talents, for since he had delivered himself up it was only just that he himself should receive the reward proclaimed for his captor. And he promised him much more besides, and bade him take heart, and gave him leave to say whatever he wished concerning the affairs of Hellas, with all frankness of speech.

But Themistocles made answer that the speech of man was like embroidered tapestries, since like them this too had to be extended in order to display its patterns, but when it was rolled up it concealed and distorted them. Wherefore he had need of time. The King at once showed his pleasure at this comparison by bidding him take time, and so Themistocles asked for a year, and in that time he learned the Persian language sufficiently to have interviews with the King by himself without interpreters. Outsiders thought these conferences concerned Hellenic matters merely ; but since about that time many innovations were introduced by the King at court and among his favourites, the magnates became jealous of Themistocles, on the ground that he had made bold to use his freedom of speech with the King to their harm. For the honours he enjoyed were far beyond those paid to other foreigners ; nay, he actually took part in the King’s hunts and in his household diver-

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καὶ μητρὶ τῇ βασιλέως εἰς ὅψιν ἐλθεῖν καὶ γενέ-
σθαι συνήθης, διακοῦσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν μαγικῶν
5 λόγων τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δη-
μάρατος ὁ Σπαρτιάτης αἰτήσασθαι δωρεὰν κελ-
ευσθεὶς ἥτήσατο τὴν κίταριν, ὃσπερ οἱ βασιλεῖς,
ἐπαράμενος εἰσελάσαι διὰ Σάρδεων, Μιθροπαύσ-
της μὲν ἀνεψιὸς ὃν βασιλέως εἶπε τοῦ Δημαρά-
του τῆς τιάρας ἀψάμενος· “Αὕτη μὲν ἡ κίταρις
6 οὐκ ἔχει ἐγκέφαλον, ὃν ἐπικαλύψει· σὺ δὲ οὐκ
ἔσῃ Ζεὺς ἀν λάβης κεραυνόν·” ἀπωσαμένου δὲ
τὸν Δημάρατον ὄργη διὰ τὸ αἴτημα τοῦ βασι-
λέως καὶ δοκοῦντος ἀπαραιτήτως ἔχειν πρὸς
αὐτόν, ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς δεηθεὶς ἐπεισεὶς καὶ
διῆλλαξε.

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὕστερους βασιλεῖς, ἐφ' ὃν
μᾶλλον αἱ Περσικαὶ πράξεις ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς
ἀνεκράθησαν, ὁσάκις δεηθεῖεν ἀνδρὸς “Ἑλληνος,
7 ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι καὶ γράφειν ἔκαστον, ὡς μείζων
ἔσοιτο παρ' αὐτῷ Θεμιστοκλέους. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν
Θεμιστοκλέα φασὶν ἥδη μέγαν ὄντα καὶ θεραπευό-
μενον ὑπὸ πολλῶν λαμπρᾶς ποτε τραπέζης αὐτῷ
παρατεθείσης¹ πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας εἰπεῖν· “Ο
παῖδες, ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα.” πόλεις 127
δὲ αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι δοθῆναι λέγουσιν
εἰς ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον καὶ ὅψον, Μαγνησίαν καὶ
Λάμψακον καὶ Μυοῦντα· δύο δὲ ἄλλας προστί-
θησιν ὁ Κυζικηνὸς Νεάνθης καὶ Φανίας, Περ-
κώτην καὶ Παλαίσκηψιν εἰς στρωμνὴν καὶ
ἀμπεχόνην.

XXX. Καταβαίνοντι δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλ-
ληνικὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ θάλατταν Πέρσης ἀνὴρ

¹ αὐτῷ παρατεθείσης Bekker, Fuhr with F^aS: παρατεθείσης.

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sions, so far that he even had access to the queen-mother and became intimate with her, and at the King's bidding heard expositions also of the Magian lore. And when Demaratus the Spartan, being bidden to ask a gift, asked that he might ride in state through Sardis, wearing his tiara upright after the manner of the Persian kings, Mithropaustes the King's cousin said, touching the tiara of Demaratus : "This tiara of thine hath no brains to cover ; indeed thou wilt not be Zeus merely because thou graspest the thunderbolt." The King also repulsed Demaratus in anger at his request, and was minded to be inexorable towards him, and yet Themistocles begged and obtained a reconciliation with him.

And it is said that later kings also, in whose reigns Persia and Hellas came into closer relations, as often as they asked for a Hellene to advise them, promised him in writing, every one, that he should be more influential at court than Themistocles. And Themistocles himself, they say, now become great and courted by many, said to his children, when a splendid table was once set for him : " My children, we should now have been undone, had we not been undone before."¹ Three cities, as most writers say, were given him for bread, wine, and meat, namely : Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus ; and two others are added by Neanthes of Cyzicus and by Phanias, namely : Percoté and Palaescepsis ; these for his bedding and raiment.

XXX. Now as he was going down to the sea on his commission to deal with Hellenic affairs, a

¹ Thuc. i. 138.

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Ἐπιξύης ὅνομα, σατραπεύων τῆς ἄνω Φρυγίας,
 ἐπεβούλευσε, πάρεσκευακῶς ἔκπαλαι Πισίδας
 τινὰς ἀποκτενοῦντας, ὅταν ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ κώμῃ¹
 Δεοντοκεφάλῳ γενόμενος καταυλισθῆ. τῷ δὲ
 λέγεται καθεύδοντι μεσημβρίας τὴν μητέρα τῶν
 θεῶν ὅναρ φανεῖσαν εἰπεῖν “Ω Θεμιστόκλεις,
 ὑστέρει κεφαλῆς λέοντων, ἵνα μὴ λέοντι περιπέσης.
 ἐγὼ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου σε αἰτῶ θεράπαιναν Μνη-
 2 σιππολέμαν.” διαταραχθεὶς οὖν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς
 προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ τὴν μὲν λεωφόρον ἀφῆκεν,
 ἐτέρῳ δὲ περιελθὼν καὶ παραλλάξας τὸν τόπον
 ἐκεῖνον ἥδη νυκτὸς οὕσης κατηυλίσατο.

Τῶν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν κομιζόντων ὑποξυγίων ἐνὸς εἰς
 τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντος, οἱ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
 οἰκέται τὰς αὐλαίας διαβρόχους γενομένας ἐκπε-
 τάσαντες ἀνέψυχον. οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι τὰ ξίφη λα-
 βόντες ἐν τούτῳ προσεφέροντο, καὶ τὰ ψυχόμενα
 πρὸς τὴν σελήνην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἰδόντες φήθησαν
 εἶναι τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους κάκενον
 3 ἐνδον εὑρήσειν ἀναπαυόμενον. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς γενό-
 μενοι τὴν αὐλαίαν ἀνέστελλον, ἐπιπίπτουσιν
 αὐτοῖς οἱ παραφυλάσσοντες καὶ συλλαμβάνουσι. διαφυγὼν δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον οὗτοι καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν
 ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς θεοῦ ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μαγ-
 νησίᾳ Δινδυμήνης καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Μησιππο-
 λέμαν οἴρειαν ἀπέδειξεν.

XXXI. ‘Ως δ’ ἥλθεν εἰς Σάρδεις καὶ σχολὴν

¹ κώμῃ Fuhr and Blass with F^aS : πόλεις τοιγα.

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Persian, Epixyes by name, satrap of Upper Phrygia, plotted against his life, having for a long time kept certain Pisidians in readiness to slay him whenever he should reach the village called Lion's Head, and take up his night's quarters there. But while Themistocles was asleep at midday before, it is said that the Mother of the Gods¹ appeared to him in a dream and said : " O Themistocles, shun a head of lions, that thou mayest not encounter a lion. And for this service to thee, I demand of thee Mnesiptolema to be my handmaid." Much disturbed, of course, Themistocles, with a prayer of acknowledgment to the goddess, forsook the highway, made a circuit by another route, and passing by that place, at last, as night came on, took up his quarters.

Now, since one of the beasts of burden which carried the equipage of his tent had fallen into the river, the servants of Themistocles hung up the curtains which had got wet, and were drying them out. The Pisidians, at this juncture, sword in hand, made their approach, and since they could not see distinctly by the light of the moon what it was that was being dried, they thought it was the tent of Themistocles, and that they would find him reposing inside. But when they drew near and lifted up the hanging, they were fallen upon by the guards and apprehended. Thus Themistocles escaped the peril, and because he was amazed at the epiphany of the goddess, he built a temple in Magnesia in honour of Dindymené, and made his daughter Mnesiptolema her priestess.

XXXI. When he had come to Sardis and was

¹ Rhea, or Cybele, Magna Mater, called also Dindymené, from Mount Dindymon, in Phrygia.

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- ἄγων ἐθεάτο τῶν ιερῶν τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, εἰδε δὲ ἐν μητρὸς ιερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρου κόρην χαλκῆν, μέγεθος δίπηχυν, ἦν αὐτὸς ὅτε τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἦν, ἐλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχετεύοντας, ἀνέθηκεν ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος, εἴτε δὴ παθών τι πρὸς τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τοῦ ἀναθήματος εἴτε βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅσην ἔχει τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι, λόγον τῷ Λυδίᾳ σατράπῃ προσήνεγκεν αἰτούμενος ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν 2 κόρην εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. χαλεπαίνοντος δὲ τοῦ βαρβάρου καὶ βασιλεῖ γράψειν φήσαντος ἐπιστολήν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν κατέφυγε καὶ τὰς παλλακίδας αὗτοῦ θεραπεύσας χρήμασιν ἐκεῖνόν τε κατεπράῦνε τῆς ὄργῆς καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐλαβέστερον, ἥδη καὶ τὸν φθόνον τῶν βαρβάρων δεδοικώς. οὐ γάρ πλανώμενος περὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὡς φησι Θεόπομπος, ἀλλ' ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ μὲν οἰκῶν, καρπούμενος δὲ δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ τιμώμενος ὅμοια Περσῶν τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀδεῶς διῆγεν, οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς πράγμασι βασιλέως προσέχοντος ὑπ' ἀσχολιῶν περὶ τὰς ἄνω πράξεις.
- 3 Ὡς δ' Αἴγυπτός τε ἀφισταμένη βοηθούντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τριήρεις Ἑλληνικαὶ μέχρι Κύπρου καὶ Κιλικίας ἀναπλέουσαι καὶ Κίμων θαλαττοκρατῶν ἐπέστρεψεν αὐτὸν ἀντεπιχειρεῖν τοῖς "Ἑλλησι καὶ κωλυειν αὐξανομένους ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἥδη

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viewing at his leisure the temples built there and the multitude of their dedicatory offerings, and saw in the temple of the Mother the so-called Water-carrier,—a maid in bronze, two cubits high, which he himself, when he was water commissioner at Athens, had caused to be made and dedicated from the fines he exacted of those whom he convicted of stealing and tapping the public water,—whether it was because he felt some chagrin at the capture of the offering, or because he wished to show the Athenians what honour and power he had in the King's service, he addressed a proposition to the Lydian satrap and asked him to restore the maid to Athens. But the Barbarian was incensed and threatened to write a letter to the King about it ; whereat Themistocles was afraid, and so had recourse to the women's chambers, and, by winning the favour of the satrap's concubines with money, succeeded in assuaging his anger. Thereafter he behaved more circumspectly, fearing now even the jealousy of the Barbarians. For he did not wander about over Asia, as Theopomus says, but had a house in Magnesia, and gathered in large gifts, and was honoured like the noblest Persians, and so lived on for a long time without concern, because the King paid no heed at all to Hellenic affairs, owing to his occupation with the state of the interior.

But when Egypt revolted with Athenian aid,¹ and Hellenic triremes sailed up as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and Cimon's mastery of the sea forced the King to resist the efforts of the Hellenes and to hinder their hostile growth ; and when at last forces began to be moved, and generals were

¹ 459 B.C.

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δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις ἐκινοῦντο καὶ στρατηγοὶ διεπέμποντο καὶ κατέβαινον¹ ἀγγελίαι πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα, τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔξαπτεσθαι κελεύοντος
 4 βασιλέως καὶ βεβαιοῦν τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, οὔτε δὲ ὄργήν τινα παροξυνθεὶς κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν οὔτε ἐπαρθεὶς τιμῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἵσως μὲν οὐδέ ἐφικτὸν² ἡγούμενος τὸ ἔργον, ἄλλους τε μεγάλους τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔχούσης στρατηγοὺς τότε καὶ Κίμωνος ὑπερφυῶς 128 εὐημεροῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αἰδοῖ τῆς τε δόξης τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τροπαίων ἐκείνων, ἄριστα βουλευσάμενος
 5 ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ βίῳ τὴν τελευτὴν πρέπουσαν, ἔθυσε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγαγὼν καὶ δεξισάμενος, ώς μὲν ὁ πολὺς λόγος, αἷμα ταύρειον πιών, ώς δ' ἔνιοι, φάρμακον ἐφήμερον προσενεγκάμενος, ἐν Μαγυησίᾳ κατέστρεψε πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἔξήκοντα βεβιωκώς ἔτη καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τούτων ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ ἡγεμονίαις. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τὸν τρόπον πυθόμενον βασιλέα λέγουσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰκείοις χρώμενον διατελεῖν φιλανθρώπως.

XXXII. Ἀπέλιπε δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς παῖδας ἐκ μὲν Ἀρχίππης τῆς Λυσάνδρου τοῦ Ἀλωπεκῆθεν Ἀρχέπτολιν καὶ Πολύευκτον καὶ Κλεόφαντον, οὐ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος ὡς ἴππεως ἄριστον, τᾶλλα δὲ οὐδενὸς ἀξίου γενομένου μνημονεύει.

¹ κατέβαινον Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: κατέβαινον εἰς Μαγυησίαν.

² οὐδέ ἐφικτὸν Fuhr and Blass with F^aS: οὐκ ἐφικτὸν.

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despatched hither and thither, and messages came down to Themistocles saying that the King commanded him to make good his promises by applying himself to the Hellenic problem, then, neither embittered by anything like anger against his former fellow-citizens, nor lifted up by the great honour and power he was to have in the war, but possibly thinking his task not even approachable, both because Hellas had other great generals at the time, and especially because Cimon was so marvellously successful in his campaigns ; yet most of all out of regard for the reputation of his own achievements and the trophies of those early days ; having decided that his best course was to put a fitting end to his life, he made a sacrifice to the gods, then called his friends together, gave them a farewell clasp of his hand, and, as the current story goes, drank bull's blood, or as some say, took a quick poison, and so died in Magnesia, in the sixty-fifth year of his life,¹ most of which had been spent in political leadership. They say that the King, on learning the cause and the manner of his death, admired the man yet more, and continued to treat his friends and kindred with kindness.

XXXII. Themistocles left three sons by Archippé, the daughter of Lysander, of the deme Alopecé, namely : Archeptolis, Polyeuctus and Cleopantus, the last of whom Plato the philosopher mentions as a capital horseman, but good for nothing else.²

¹ Thuc. i. 138.

² *Meno*, p. 93.

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- τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτάτων Νεοκλῆς μὲν ἔτι παῖς ὧν
ὑφ' ἵππου δηχθεὶς ἀπέθανε, Διοκλέα δὲ Λύσαν-
2 δρος ὁ πάππος υἱὸν ἐποιήσατο. θυγατέρας δὲ
πλείους ἔσχεν, ὧν Μητσιππολέμαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς
ἐπιγαμηθείσης γενομένην Ἀρχέπτολις ὁ ἀδελφὸς
οὐκ ὧν ὁμομήτριος ἦγημεν, Ἰταλίαν δὲ Πανθοίδης
ὁ Χῖος, Σύβαριν δὲ Νικομήδης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος.
Νικομάχην δὲ Φρασικλῆς ὁ ἀδελφιδοῦς Θεμιστο-
κλέους, ἥδη τετελευτηκότος ἐκείνου, πλεύσας εἰς
Μαγνησίαν ἔλαβε παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, νεωτάτην
δὲ πάντων τῶν τέκνων Ἀσίαν ἔθρεψε.
- 3 Καὶ τάφον μὲν αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ
Μάγνητες ἔχουσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων οὕτ'
Ἀνδοκίδη προσέχειν ἄξιον ἐν τῷ Πρὸς τοὺς
ἔταιρους λέγοντι, φωράσαντας τὰ λείψανα διαρ-
ρῦψαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους (ψεύδεται γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν
δῆμον παροξύνων τοὺς ὀλυγαρχικούς), ὃ τε Φύ-
λαρχος, ὕσπερ ἐν τραγῳδίᾳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ μονονοὺ
μηχανὴν ἄρας καὶ προαγαγὼν Νεοκλέα τινὰ καὶ
Δημόπολιν, υἱὸὺς Θεμιστοκλέους, ἀγῶνα βού-
λεται κινεῖν καὶ πάθος, δούλον ὁ τυχὼν ἀγνοή-
4 σειεν ὅτι πέπλασται. Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ περιηγητὴς
ἐν τοῖς Περὶ μνημάτων εἴρηκεν ὡς ὑπονοῶν μᾶλ-
λον ἡ γινώσκων, ὅτι περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα τοῦ
Πειραιῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀλκιμον ἀκρωτη-
ρίου πρόκειται τις οἶον ἀγκών, καὶ κάμψαντι
τοῦτον ἐντός, ἡ τὸ ὑπεύδιον τῆς θαλάττης, κρηπίς
ἐστιν εὔμεγέθης καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν βώμοειδὲς

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One of his two oldest sons, Neocles, died in boyhood from the bite of a horse, and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lysander. He had several daughters, of whom Mnesiptolema, born of his second wife, became the wife of Archeptolis her half-brother, Italia of Panthoides the Chian, and Sybaris of Nicomedes the Athenian. Nicomaché was given in marriage by her brothers to Phrasicles, the nephew of Themistocles, who sailed to Magnesia after his uncle's death, and who also took charge of Asia, the youngest of all the children.

The Magnesians have a splendid tomb of Themistocles in their market place; and with regard to his remains, Andocides is worthy of no attention when he says, in his Address to his Associates, that the Athenians stole away those remains and scattered them abroad, for he is trying by his lies to incite the oligarchs against the people; and Phylarchus, too, when, as if in a tragedy, he all but erects a theatrical machine for this story, and brings into the action a certain Neocles, forsooth, and Demopolis, sons of Themistocles, wishes merely to stir up tumultuous emotion; his tale even an ordinary person must know is fabricated. Diodorus the Topographer, in his work "On Tombs," says, by conjecture rather than from actual knowledge, that near the large harbour of the Piraeus a sort of elbow juts out from the promontory opposite Alcimus, and that as you round this and come inside where the water of the sea is still, there is a basement of goodly size, and that the altar-like structure upon this is the

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5 τάφος τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους. οἵεται δε καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν κωμικὸν αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖν ἐν τούτοις·

'Ο σὸς δὲ τύμβος ἐν καλῷ κεχωσμένος
τοῖς ἐμπόροις πρόσρησις ἔσται πανταχοῦ,
τούς τ'¹ ἐκπλέοντας εἰσπλέοντάς τ' ὅψεται,
χώπόταν ἀμιλλα² τῶν νεῶν θεάσεται.

Τοῖς δ' ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τιμαί τινες ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ φυλαττόμεναι μέχρι τῶν ἡμετέρων χρόνων ἥσαν, ἃς ἐκαρποῦτο Θεμιστοκλῆς Ἀθηναῖος, ἡμέτερος συνήθης καὶ φίλος παρ' Ἀμμωνίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ γενόμενος.

¹ τούς τ' corrected by Bekker to οὐς.

² ἀμιλλα Bekker has ἀμιλλ' ἢ after Porsen.

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tomb of Themistocles. And he thinks that the comic poet Plato is a witness in favour of his view when he says :—

“ Thy tomb is mounded in a fair and sightly place ;
The merchantmen shall ever hail it with glad cry ;
It shall behold those outward, and those inward
bound,
And all the emulous rivalry of racing ships.”

For the lineal descendants of Themistocles there were also certain dignities maintained in Magnesia down to my time, and the revenues of these were enjoyed by a Themistocles of Athens, who was my intimate and friend in the school of Ammonius the philosopher.

CAMILLUS

ΚΑΜΙΛΛΟΣ

- Ι. Περὶ δὲ Φουρίου Καμίλλου πολλῶν καὶ 129 μεγάλων λεγομένων ἔδιον εἶναι δοκεῖ μάλιστα καὶ παράδοξον, ὅτι πλεῦστα μὲν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις καὶ μέγιστα κατορθώσας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πεντάκις αἱρεθείς, θριαμβεύσας δὲ τετράκις, κτίστης δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀναγραφεὶς δεύτερος, οὐδὲ ἄπαξ 2 ὑπάτευσε. τούτου δ' αἴτιον ἡ τῆς τότε πολιτείας κατάστασις, ἐκ διαφορᾶς τοῦ δήμου πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπάτους μὲν ἐρίσαντος μὴ ἀποδείκνυσθαι, χιλιάρχους δὲ χειροτονοῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ὃν, καίπερ ἀπ' ἔξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως ὑπατικῆς ἄπαντα πραττόντων, ἤτουν ἦν ἐπαχθῆς ἡ ἀρχὴ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. τὸ γὰρ ἔξι ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ μὴ δύο, τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐφιστάναι, παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς βαρυνομένους τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν.
- 3 Κατὰ τοῦτο δὴ καιροῦ μάλιστα τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀκμάσας ὁ Κάμιλλος ὑπατος μὲν οὐκ ἡξίωσεν ἄκοντι τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι, καίπερ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου δεξαμένης ὑπατικὰς ἀρχαιρεσίας τῆς πολιτείας πολλάκις, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡγεμονίαις

CAMILLUS

I. TURNING now to Furius Camillus, among the many notable things that are told of him, this seems the most singular and strange, namely, that although in other offices of command he won many and great successes, and although he was five times chosen dictator, four times celebrated a triumph, and was styled a Second Founder of Rome, not even once was he consul. The reason for this lay in the political conditions of his time. The common people, being at variance with the Senate, strove against the appointment of consuls, and elected military tribunes to the command instead. These, although they always acted with consular authority and power, were less obnoxious in their sway because of their number. For the fact that six men instead of two stood at the head of affairs, was some comfort to those who were bitterly set against the rule of the few.

Now it was at this period that Camillus came to the height of his achievements and fame, and he would not consent to become consul over a reluctant people, although during his career the city tolerated consular elections many times. But in the many other and varied offices which he held, he so conducted himself that even when the authority rightly

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πολλαῖς καὶ παντοδαπαῖς γενομέναις τοιοῦτον· αὐτὸν παρέσχεν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν ἔξαυσίαν καὶ μοναρχοῦντος εἶναι κοινήν, τὴν δὲ δόξαν ἴδιαν καὶ μεθ' ἑτέρων στρατηγοῦντος· ὡν τοῦ μὲν ἡ μετριότης αἴτιον ἀνεπιφθόνως ἄρχοντος, τοῦ δὲ ἡ φρόνησις, δι' ἣν ὁμολογουμένως ἐπρώτευεν.

II. Οὕπω δὲ τότε περὶ τῶν τῶν Φουρίων οἰκου¹ οὗσης μεγάλης ἐπιφανείας αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πρώτος εἰς δόξαν προῆλθεν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ μάχῃ πρὸς Αἰκανοὺς καὶ Οὐδούσκους ὑπὸ δικτάτορι Ποστούμῳ Τουβέρτῳ στρατευόμενος. προϊππεύων γὰρ τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ πληγῇ περιπεσὼν εἰς τὸν μηρὸν οὐκ ἀνῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐγκείμενον τῷ τραύματι παρέλκων τὸ ἀκόντισμα καὶ συμπλεκόμενος τοὺς ἀρίστοις τῶν πολεμίων τροπὴν ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῶν τ' ἄλλων γερῶν ἔτυχε καὶ τιμῆτῆς ἀπεδείχθη, μέγα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀξίωμα ταύτης ἐπὶ τῶν τότε χρόνων ἔχουσσης. μνημονεύεται δὲ αὐτοῦ τιμητεύοντος καλὸν μὲν ἔργον τὸ τοὺς ἀγάμους λόγους τε πείθοντα καὶ ζημίας ἀπειλοῦντα συγκαταζεῦξαι ταῖς χηρευούσαις γυναιξὶ (πολλαὶ δὲ ἡσαν αὖται διὰ τοὺς πολέμους), ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ὄρφανοὺς ὑποτελεῖς ποιῆσαι πρότερον ἀνεισφόρους ὅντας. αἰτίαι δὲ ἡσαν αἱ συνεχεῖς στρατεῖαι μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων δεόμεναι, καὶ μάλιστα κατήπειγεν ἡ Οὐητῶν πολιορκία. τούτους ἔιιοι Οὐητανοὺς καλοῦσιν.

"Ην δὲ πρόσχημα τῆς Τυρρηνίας ἡ πόλις, ὅπλων μὲν ἀριθμῷ καὶ πλήθει τῶν στρατευομένων οὐκ ἀποδεούσα τῆς Ρώμης, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ βίων ἀβρότητι καὶ τρυφαῖς καὶ πολυτελείαις ἀγαλλομένη

CAMILLUS

belonged to him alone, it was exercised in common with others ; while the glory that followed such exercise was his alone, even when he shared the command. In the first case, it was his moderation that kept his rule from exciting envy ; in the second, it was his ability that gave him the first place with none to dispute it.

II. At a time when the house of the Furii was not yet very conspicuous, he, by his own efforts, was the first of his clan to achieve fame. This he did in the great battle with the Aequians and Volscians, serving under Postumius Tubertus the dictator. Dashing out on his horse in front of the army, he did not abate his speed when he got a wound in the thigh, but dragging the missile along with him in its wound, he engaged the bravest of the enemy and put them to flight. For this exploit, among other honours bestowed upon him, he was appointed censor, in those days an office of great dignity. //There is on record a noble achievement of his censorship, that of bringing the unmarried men, partly by persuasion and partly by threatening them with fines, to join in wedlock with the women who were living in widowhood, and these were many because of the wars ; likewise a necessary achievement, that of making the orphans, who before this had contributed nothing to the support of the state, subject to taxation. The continuous campaigns, demanding great outlays of money, really required this. Especially burdensome was the siege of Veii (some call the people Veientani).

This city was the barrier and bulwark of Tuscany, in quantity of arms and multitude of soldiery no whit inferior to Rome. Indeed, pluming herself on her wealth, and on the refinement, luxury,

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πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἡγωνίσατο περὶ δόξης
 4 καὶ δυναστείας πολεμοῦσα 'Ρωμαίοις. ἐν δὲ τῷ
 τότε χρόνῳ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας ἀφειστήκει συν-
 τριβεῖσα μεγάλαις μάχαις· ἐπαράμενοι δὲ τείχη
 μεγάλα καὶ καρτερὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅπλων καὶ
 βελῶν καὶ σίτου καὶ παρασκευῆς ἀπάστης ἐμπλή-
 σαντες, ἀδεῶς ὑπέμενον τὴν πολιορκίαν, μακρὰν
 μὲν οὖσαν, οὐχ ἡττον δὲ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσιν ἔρ-
 5 γώδη καὶ χαλεπὴν γενομένην. εἰθισμένοι γὰρ οὐ 130
 πολὺν χρόνον ἄμα ὥρᾳ θέρους ἔξω στρατεύειν,
 οἴκοι δὲ διαχειμάζειν, τότε πρῶτον ἡναγκάσθησαν
 ὑπὸ τῶν χιλιαρχῶν φρούρια κατασκευσάμενοι
 καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τειχίσαντες ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ
 χειμῶνα καὶ θέρος συνάπτειν, ἥδη σχεδὸν ἔτους
 ἔβδόμου τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτῶντος. ὥστε καὶ
 τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν αἵτίᾳ γενέσθαι καὶ μαλακῶς
 πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὴν ἄρχην,
 ἐτέρων αἱρεθέντων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον· ὃν ἦν καὶ
 6 Κάμιλλος τότε χιλιαρχῶν τὸ δεύτερον. ἐπραξε
 δὲ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν οὐδὲν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ,
 λαχὼν Φαλερίοις καὶ Καπηνάταις πολεμεῖν, οἱ
 δι' ἀσχολίαν τότε πολλὰ τὴν χώραν καθυβρί-
 σαντες καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν Τυρρηνικὸν πόλεμον
 ἐνοχλήσαντες ἐπιέσθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ
 συνεστάλησαν εἰς τὰ τείχη πολλοὺς ἀποβα-
 λόντες.

III. Ἐκ τούτου τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀλβανίδα λίμνην
 πάθος ἀκμάζοντι τῷ πολέμῳ συνενεχθὲν οὐδενὸς
 ἡττον τῶν ἀπίστων πυθέσθαι θαυμάτων αἰτίας
 κοινῆς ἀποοίᾳ καὶ λόγου φυσικὴν ἔχοντος ἄρχην
 ἐφόβησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὥρα μετοπωρινή, καὶ τὸ

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and sumptuousness in which her citizens lived she had waged many noble contests for glory and power in her wars with the Romans. At this time, however, she had been crushed in great battles, and had given up her former ambitious pretensions. But her people built their walls high and strong, filled the city full of armour, missiles, grain, and every possible provision, and confidently endured their siege, which, though long, was no less laborious and difficult for the besiegers. These had been accustomed to short campaigns abroad as the summer season opened, and to winters at home ; but then for the first time they had been compelled by their tribunes to build forts and fortify their camp and spend both summer and winter in the enemy's country, the seventh year of the war being now nearly at an end. For this their rulers were held to blame, and finally deprived of their rule, because they were thought to conduct the siege without energy. Others were chosen to carry on the war, and one of these was Camillus, now tribune for the second time. But for the present he had nothing to do with the siege, since it fell to his lot to wage war with the Falernians and the Capenates, who, while the Romans had their hands full, had often harried their territory, and during all the Tuscan war had given them annoyance and trouble. These were overwhelmed by Camillus in battle and shut up in their fastnesses with great loss of life.

III. And now, when the war was at its climax, the calamity of the Alban lake added its terrors. It seemed a most incredible prodigy, without familiar cause or natural explanation. For the season was autumn, and the summer just ended had, to all

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- θέρος ἔληγεν οὕτ' ἔπομβρον οὔτε πνεύμασι νοτίοις
2 χαλεπὸν ἐπιδήλως γενόμενον· πολλὰς δὲ λίμνας
καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ νάματα παντοδαπὰ τῆς Ἰτα-
λίας ἔχούσης τὰ μὲν ἔξεχιπε κομιδῆ, τὰ δ' ἀντ-
έσχε γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις, οἱ δὲ ποταμοὶ πάντες
ῶσπερ ἀεὶ κοῖλοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ διὰ θέρους ἐρρύ-
σαν. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος λίμνης ἀρχὴν ἔχον
ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ τελευτήν, ὅρεσιν εὐγείοις περιεχό-
μενον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς αἰτίου, πλὴν εἴ τι θεῖον, αὐξό-
μενον ἐπιδήλως διωγκοῦτο καὶ προσίστατο ταῖς
ὑπωρείαις καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω λόφων ὁμαλῶς ἐπέ-
ψαυεν, ἄνευ σάλου καὶ κλύδωνος ἔξανιστάμενον.
3 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν ποιμένων θαῦμα καὶ βοτήρων
ἐπεὶ δέ, τοῦ διείργοντος ἀπὸ τῆς κάτω χώρας
οἰον ἴσθμοῦ τὴν λίμνην ὑπεκραγέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ
πλήθους καὶ βάρους, μέγα ῥεῦμα κατέβαινε διὰ
τῶν ἀρουμένων καὶ φυτευομένων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατ-
ταν, οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς παρεῖχε Ῥωμαίοις ἔκπληξιν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει τοῖς τὴν Ἰταλίαν κατοι-
κοῦσι μηδενὸς μικροῦ σημείου εἶναι. πλεῖστος
δ' αὐτοῦ λόγος ἦν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ πολιορ-
κοῦντι τοὺς Οὐγίους, ὡστε κάκείνοις ἔκπυστον
γενέσθαι τὸ περὶ τὴν λίμνην πάθος.

IV. Οὐα δ' ἐν πολιορκίᾳ διὰ χρόνου μῆκος
ἐπιμεξίας τε πολλὰς ἔχούσῃ καὶ κοινολογίας
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐγεγόνει τινὶ Ῥωμαίῳ
συνήθεια καὶ παρρησία πρὸς ἓν τῶν πολιτῶν,
ἄνθρωπον ἔμπειρον τε λογίων παλαιῶν καὶ τε
καὶ πλέον εἰδέναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπὸ μαντικῆς
δοκοῦντα. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὡσεὶ ἡκουσε
τὴν ἐπίδοσιν τῆς λίμνης, ὅρῶν ὑπερηδόμενόν
τε καὶ καταγελῶντα τῆς πολιορκίας, οὐ ταῦτ'

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observation, been neither rainy nor vexed by south winds. Of the lakes, rivers, and streams of all sizes with which Italy abounds, some had failed utterly, others barely managed to hold out, and all the rivers ran low, between high banks, as was always the case in summer. But the Alban lake, which had its source and outlet within itself, and was girt about with fertile mountains, for no reason, except it be that heaven willed it, was observed to increase and swell until it reached the skirts of the mountains and gradually touched their highest ridges. All this rise was without surge or billow. At first it was a prodigy for neighbouring shepherds and herdsmen. But when the volume and weight of water broke away the barrier which, like an isthmus, had kept the lake from the country lying below it, and a huge torrent poured down through the fields and vineyards and made its way to the sea, then not only were the Romans themselves dismayed, but all the inhabitants of Italy thought it a sign of no small evil to come. There was much talk about it in the army that was besieging Veii, so that even the besieged themselves heard of the calamity.

IV. As was to be expected in a long siege requiring many meetings for conference with the enemy, it fell out that a certain Roman became intimate and confidential with one of the citizens of Veii, a man versed in ancient oracles, and reputed wiser than the rest from his being a diviner. The Roman saw that this man, on hearing the story of the lake, was overjoyed and made mock of the siege. He therefore told

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- ἔφη μόνον ἐνηνοχέναι θαυμαστὰ τὸν παρόντα χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἔτερα τούτων ἀτοπώτερα σημεῖα
Ρωμαίοις γεγονέναι, περὶ ὧν ἐθέλειν ἔκεινῳ
κοινωσάμενος, εἰ τι δύναιτο, θέσθαι τῶν ἴδιων
2 ἄμεινον ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς νοσοῦσιν. ὑπακούσαντος
δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου προθύμως καὶ διδόντος ἑαυτὸν
εἰς κοινολογίαν, ὡς ἀπορρήτων τινῶν ἀκροατὴν
ἐσόμενον, κατὰ μικρὸν οὕτω διαλεγόμενος καὶ
ὑπάγων αὐτόν, ὡς πορρωτέρω τῶν πυλῶν ἐγεγό-
νεισαν, αἴρει τε μετέωρον εὐρωστότερος ὡν καὶ
τινῷ. ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου προσδραμόντων χειρω-
σάμενος καὶ κρατήσας παρέδωκε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.
3. ἐν τούτῳ δ' ἀνάγκης γεγονὼς ὁ ἀνθρωπος καὶ
μαθὼν ἄρα τὸ πεπρωμένον ὡς ἀφικτον εἶη, λόγια
προῦφαινεν ἀπόρρητα περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος,
ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἀλωσίμου πρότερον ἢ τὴν Ἀλβα-
νίδα λίμνην ἐκχυθεῖσαν καὶ φερομένην ὄδοὺς
ἔτέρας ὕσταντες ὅπισω καὶ περισπάσαντες οἱ
πολέμιοι κωλύσουσι μίγνυσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ.
4. Ταῦτα τῇ συγκλήτῳ πυθομένη καὶ διαπορούσῃ 131
καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξε πέμψαντας εἰς Δελφοὺς
ἐρέσθαι τὸν θεόν. οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες ἄνδρες
ἔνδοξοι καὶ μεγάλοι, Κόσσος Λικίννιος καὶ Οὐαλ-
λέριος Ποτῖτος καὶ Φάβιος Ἀμβουστος, πλῷ
τε χρησάμενοι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τυχόντες
ἥκον ἄλλας τε μαντείας κομίζοντες, αἱ πατρίων
τινῶν περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Λατίνας ἑορτὰς
5 ὄλιγωρίαν ἔφραζον αὐτοῖς, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀλβανίδος
ἄνδρων ἐκέλευον εἴργοντας ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστι τῆς
θαλάσσης ἀνωθεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀρχαῖον πόρον, ἢ
τοῦτο μὴ δυναμένους ὀρύγμασι καὶ τάφροις
παράγειν εἰς, τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταναλίσκειν,

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him this was not the only wonder which the passing days had brought, but that other and stranger signs than this had been given to the Romans, of which he was minded to tell him, in order that, if possible, he might better his own private case in the midst of the public distresses. The man gave eager hearing to all this, and consented to a conference, supposing that he was going to hear some deep secrets. But the Roman led him along little by little, conversing as he went, until they were some way beyond the city gate, when he seized him bodily, being a sturdier man than he, and with the help of comrades who came running up from the camp, mastered him completely and handed him over to the generals. Thus constrained, and perceiving that fate's decrees were not to be evaded, the man revealed secret oracles regarding his native city, to the effect that it could not be captured until the Alban lake, after leaving its bed and making new channels for itself, should be driven back by the enemy, deflected from its course, and prevented from mingling with the sea.

The Senate, on hearing this, was at great loss what to do, and thought it well to send an embassy to Delphi to consult the god. The envoys were men of great repute and influence, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus, who made their voyage and came back with the responses of the god. One of these told them that certain ancestral rites connected with the so-called Latin festivals had been unduly neglected; another bade them by all means to keep the water of the Alban lake away from the sea and force it back into its ancient bed, or, if they could not effect this, by means of canals and trenches to divert it into the

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ἀπαγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπραττον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἔχώρει πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸ ὄδωρ ἔξετρεπεν.

V. Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος εἰς τὸ δέκατον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου καταλύσασα τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς δικτάτορα Κάμιλλον ἀπέδειξεν· ἵππαρχον δὲ ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ προσελόμενος Κορυνήλιον Σκηπίωνα, πρῶτον μὲν εὐχὰς ἐποιήσατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος εὐκλεεὶς λαβόντι τὰς μεγάλας θέας ἄξειν καὶ νεὼν θεᾶς, ἦν μητέρα Ματοῦταν καλοῦσι 'Ρωμαῖοι, καθιερώσειν.

2 Ταύτην ἂν τις ἀπὸ τῶν δρωμένων ἱερῶν μάλιστα Λευκοθέαν νομίσειεν εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ θεράπαιναν εἰς τὸν σηκὸν εἰσάγουσαι ῥαπίζουσιν, εἰτ' ἔξελαύνουσι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τέκνα πρὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἐναγκαλίζονται καὶ δρῶσι περὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἢ ταῖς Διονύσου τροφοῖς καὶ τοῖς διὰ τὴν παλλακὴν πάθεσι τῆς Ἰνοῦς προσέοικε.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς εὐχὰς ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Φαλίσκων ἐνέβαλε, καὶ μάχῃ μεγάλῃ τούτους τε καὶ Καπηνάτας προσβοηθήσαντας αὐτοῖς 3 ἐνίκησεν. ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν τραπόμενος τῶν Οὐητίων καὶ τὸν ἐκ προσβολῆς ἀγῶνα χαλεπὸν καὶ δύσεργον ὄρῶν ὑπονόμους ἔτεμνε, τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν χωρίων ἐνδιδόντων τοῖς ὄρύγμασι καὶ καταδεχομένων εἰς βάθος ἄγειν ἀδηλον τοῖς πολεμίοις τὰ ἔργα. διὸ καὶ προϊούσης ὅδῷ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτὸς μὲν ἔξωθεν προσέβαλλεν, ἐκκαλούμενος ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη τοὺς πολεμίους,

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plain and dissipate it. On receipt of these responses the priests performed the neglected sacrifices, and the people sallied out into the fields and diverted the course of the water.

V. In the tenth year of the war,¹ the Senate abolished the other magistracies and appointed Camillus dictator. After choosing Cornelius Scipio as his master of horse, in the first place he made solemn vows to the gods that, in case the war had a glorious ending, he would celebrate the great games in their honour, and dedicate a temple to a goddess whom the Romans call Mater Matuta.

From the sacred rites used in the worship of this goddess, she might be held to be almost identical with Leucothea. The women bring a serving-maid into the sanctuary and beat her with rods, then drive her forth again; they embrace their nephews and nieces in preference to their own children; and their conduct at the sacrifice resembles that of the nurses of Dionysus, or that of Ino under the afflictions put upon her by her husband's concubine.

After his vows, Camillus invaded the country of the Faliscans and conquered them in a great battle, together with the Capenates who came up to their aid. Then he turned to the siege of Veii, and seeing that direct assault upon the city was a grievous and difficult matter, he went to digging mines, since the region round the city favoured such works, and allowed their being carried to a great depth without the enemy's knowing about it. So then, when his hopes were well on their way to fulfilment, he himself assaulted the city from the outside, and thus called the enemy

¹ 396 B.C.

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ἄλλοι δ' ἀδήλως ὑποπορευόμενοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἔλαθον ἐντὸς γενόμενοι τῆς ἄκρας κατὰ τὸ τῆς "Ἡρας"¹ ἴερόν, δὲ μέγιστον ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ μάλιστα τιμώμενον.

4 Ἐνταῦθα λέγεται τυχεῖν κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τὸν ἡγεμόνυμ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν ἐφ' ἵεροῖς· τὸν δὲ μάντιν εἰς τὰ σπλάγχνα κατιδόντα καὶ μέγα φθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι νίκην ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι τῷ κατακολουθήσαντι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκείνοις· ταύτης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ὑπονόμοις Ῥωμαίους ἐπακούσαντας ταχὺ διασπάσαι τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ψόφου τῶν ὅπλων ἀναδύντας, ἐκπλαγέντων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ φυγόντων, ἀρπάσαντας τὰ σπλάγχνα κομίσαι πρὸς τὸν Κάμιλλον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσως ἐοικέναι δόξει μυθεύμασιν.

5 Ἄλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως κατὰ κράτος καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγόντων καὶ φερόντων ἄπειρόν τινα πλοῦτον, ἐφορῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας τὰ πραττόμενα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐστὼς ἐδάκρυσεν, εἴτα μακαρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων ἀνέσχε τὰς 6 χεῖρας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσευχόμενος εἶπε· "Ζεῦ μέγιστε καὶ θεοὶ χρηστῶν ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πονηρῶν ἔργων, αὐτοὶ που σύνιστε Ῥωμαίοις, ὡς οὐ παρὰ δίκην, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀμυνόμενοι μετερχόμεθα δυσμενῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ παρανόμων πόλιν. εἰ δ' ἄρα τις," ἔφη, "καὶ ἡμῖν ἀντίστροφος ὀφείλεται τῆς παρούσης νέμεσις εὑπράξιας, εὕχομαι ταύτην ὑπέρ τε πόλεως καὶ στρατοῦ Ῥωμαίων εἰς ἐμαυτὸν ἐλαχίστῳ κακῷ

¹ τῆς "Ἡρας" with C and S : "Ἡρας."

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away to man their walls; while others secretly made their way along the mines and reached unnoticed the interior of the citadel, where the temple of Juno stood, the largest temple in the city, and the one most held in honour.

There, it is said, at this very juncture, the commander of the Tuscans chanced to be sacrificing, and his seer, when he beheld the entrails of the victim, cried out with a loud voice and said that the god awarded victory to him who should fulfill that sacrifice. The Romans in the mines below, hearing this utterance, quickly tore away the pavement of the temple and issued forth with battle cries and clash of arms, whereat the enemy were terrified and fled away. The sacrificial entrails were then seized and carried to Camillus. But possibly this will seem like fable.

At any rate the city was taken by storm, and the Romans were pillaging and plundering its boundless wealth, when Camillus, seeing from the citadel what was going on, at first burst into tears as he stood, and then, on being congratulated by the bystanders, lifted up his hands to the gods and prayed, saying: "O greatest Jupiter, and ye gods who see and judge men's good and evil deeds, ye surely know that it is not unjustly, but of necessity and in self-defence that we Romans have visited its iniquity upon this city of hostile and lawless men. But if, as counterpoise to this our present success, some retribution is due to come upon us, spare, I beseech you, the city and the army of the Romans, and let it fall upon my own head, though with as little harm as may be."

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την τελευτήσαι." ταῦτ' εἰπών, καθάπερ ἐστὶ 'Ρωμαίοις ἔθος ἐπευξαμένοις καὶ προσκυνήσασιν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἔξελίττειν, ἐσφάλη περιστρεφόμενος. διαταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν παρόντων πάλιν ἀναλαβὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πτώματος εἶπεν, ὡς γέγονεν αὐτῷ κατ' εὐχὴν σφάλμα μικρὸν ἐπ' εὐτυχίᾳ μεγίστη.

VII. Διαπορθήσας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω τὸ ἄγαλ- 132
μα τῆς "Ηρας μεταφέρειν εἰς 'Ρώμην, ὥσπερ εὗξατο. καὶ συνελθόντων ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὁ μὲν ἔθυε καὶ προσεύχετο τῇ θεῷ δέχεσθαι τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐμενῆ γενέσθαι σύνοικον τοῖς λαχοῦσι τὴν 'Ρώμην θεοῖς, τὸ δ' ἄγαλμά φασιν ὑποφθεγξάμενον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι καὶ βούλεται 2 καὶ συγκαταινεῖ. Λιούσιος δέ φησιν εὔχεσθαι μὲν τὸν Κάμιλλον ἀπτόμενον τῆς θεοῦ καὶ παρακαλεῖν, ἀποκρίνασθαι δέ τινας τῶν παρόντων, ὅτι καὶ βούλεται καὶ συγκαταινεῖ καὶ συνακολουθεῖ προθύμως.

Οἱ δ' ἴσχυριζόμενοι καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ βοηθοῦντες μεγίστην μὲν ἔχουσι συνήγορον τὴν τύχην τῆς πόλεως, ἦν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ καταφρονουμένης ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως προελθεῖν δίχα θεοῦ πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπιφανείαις 3 ἐκάστοτε συμπαρόντος ἀμήχανον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάγουσιν ὅμοειδῆ τινα, τοῦτο μὲν ἰδρῶτας ἄγαλμάτων πολλάκις ἐκχυθέντας, τοῦτο δὲ στεναγμοὺς ἀκουσθέντας ἀποστροφάς τε δεικνύντες καὶ καταμύσεις ξοάνων, ἀς ἴστορήκασιν οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν πρότερον. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀκηκοότες ἀνθρώπων λέγειν ἔχομεν ἄξια θαύματος, ὡν

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With these words, as the Romans' custom is after prayer and adoration, he wheeled himself about to the right, but stumbled and fell as he turned. The bystanders were confounded, but he picked himself up again from his fall and said: "My prayer is granted! a slight fall is my atonement for the greatest good fortune."

VI. After he had utterly sacked the city, he determined to transfer the image of Juno to Rome, in accordance with his vows. The workmen were assembled for the purpose, and Camillus was sacrificing and praying the goddess to accept of their zeal and to be a kindly co-dweller with the gods of Rome, when the image, they say, spoke in low tones and said she was ready and willing. But Livy¹ says that Camillus did indeed lay his hand upon the goddess and pray and beseech her, but that it was certain of the bystanders who gave answer that she was ready and willing and eager to go along with him.

Those who insist upon and defend the marvel have a most powerful advocate for their contention in the fortune of the city, which, from its small and despised beginning, could never have come to such a pinnacle of glory and power had God not dwelt with her and made many great manifestations of himself from time to time. Moreover, they adduce other occurrences of a kindred sort, such as statues often dripping with sweat, images uttering audible groans, turning away their faces, and closing their eyes, as not a few historians in the past have written. And we ourselves might make mention of many astonishing things which we

¹ v. 22.

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4 οὐκ ἄν τις εἰκῇ καταφρονήσειεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ τὸ πιστεύειν σφόδρα καὶ τὸ λίαν ἀπιστεῖν ἐπισφαλές ἔστι διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσθένειαν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσαν οὐδὲ κρατοῦσαν αὐτῆς, ἀλλ’ ἐκφερομένην ὅπου μὲν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν καὶ τῦφον, ὅπου δὲ εἰς ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν θεῶν καὶ περιφρόνησιν· ἡ δὲ εὐλάβεια καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἄριστον.

VII. 'Ο δὲ Κάμιλλος εἴτε μεγέθει τοῦ ἔργου, πόλιν ἀντίπαλον τῆς 'Ρώμης ἔτει δεκάτῳ τῆς πολιορκίας καθηρηκώς, εἴτε ύπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζόντων αὐτὸν εἰς ὅγκον ἐξαρθεὶς καὶ φρόνημα νομίμου καὶ πολιτικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαχθέστερον, τά τε ἄλλα σοβαρῶς ἐθριάμβευσε καὶ τέθριππον ὑποξευξάμενος λευκόπωλον ἐπέβη καὶ διεξήλασε τῆς 'Ρώμης, οὐδενὸς τούτο ποιήσαντος ἡγεμόνος πρότερον οὐδὲ ὕστερον. ἵερὸν γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸ τοιούτον ὅχημα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιπε-
2 φημισμένον. ἔκ τε δὴ τούτου διεβλήθη πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας οὐκ εἰθισμένους ἐντρυφᾶσθαι, καὶ δευτέραν ἔλαβεν αἰτίαν ἐνιστάμενος νόμῳ διοικίζοντι τὴν πόλιν. εἰσηγοῦντο γὰρ οἱ δήμαρχοι τόν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἵσα μέρη δύο νεμηθῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτόθι κατοικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ κλήρῳ λαχόντας εἰς τὴν αἰχμάλωτον μεταστῆναι πόλιν, ὡς εὐπορωτέρων ἐσομένων καὶ δυσὶ μεγάλοις καὶ καλοῖς ἄστεσι τὴν τε χώραν ὁμοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
3 εὐδαιμονίαν φυλαξόντων. ὁ μὲν οὖν δῆμος ἦδη πολὺς γεγονὼς καὶ ἀχρήματος ἀσμενος ἐδέξατο,

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have heard from men of our own time,—things not lightly to be despised. But in such matters eager credulity and excessive incredulity are alike dangerous, because of the weakness of our human nature, which sets no limits and has no mastery over itself, but is carried away now into vain superstition, and now into contemptuous neglect of the gods. Caution is best, and to go to no extremes.

VII. Whether it was due to the magnitude of his exploit in taking a city which could vie with Rome and endure a siege of ten years, or to the congratulations showered upon him, Camillus was lifted up to vanity, cherished thoughts far from becoming to a civil magistrate subject to the law, and celebrated a triumph with great pomp: he actually had four white horses harnessed to a chariot on which he mounted and drove through Rome, a thing which no commander had ever done before or afterwards did. For they thought such a car sacred and devoted to the king and father of the gods. In this way he incurred the enmity of the citizens, who were not accustomed to wanton extravagance. They had also a second grievance against him in that he opposed himself to a law dividing the city. The tribunes introduced a measure dividing the people and the Senate into two parts, one to remain and dwell there, and the one on which the lot fell to remove into the city they had captured, on the ground that they would thus be more commodiously bestowed, and with two large and fair cities could better protect their territory as well as their prosperity in general. Accordingly the people, which was now become numerous and poor, welcomed the measure

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καὶ συνεχὴς ἦν τοῖς περὶ τὸ βῆμα θορύβοις αἰτῶν τὴν ψῆφον· ἡ δὲ βουλὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κράτιστοι πολιτῶν οὐ διαιρεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναίρεσιν ἥγοντες τῆς Ῥώμης πολιτεύεσθαι τοὺς δημάρχους καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες ἐπὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον
4 κατέφυγον. κἀκεῖνος ὁρρωδῶν τὸν ἀγῶνα προφάσεις ἐνέβαλλε τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ ἀσχολίας, δι' ὧν ἀεὶ τὸν νόμον ἔξεκρουνεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα λυπηρός.

‘Η δε φανερωτάτη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν ἀπεχθειῶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν λαφύρων ὑπῆρξεν, οὐκ ἄλογον, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάνυ δικαίαν ἀρχὴν τῶν πολλῶν λαβόντων.
5 εὗξατο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Οὐητούς, ὡς ἔοικε, βαδίζων, εἰ τὴν πόλιν ἔλοι, τῷ θεῷ τούτων τὴν δεκάτην καθιερώσειν. ἀλούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ διαρπασθείσης, εἴτ' ὀκνήσας ἐνοχλῆσαι τοῖς πολίταις, εἴτε λήθη τις αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων πραγμάτων ἔλαβε τῆς εὐχῆς, περιεῖδεν ὡφεληθέντας. ὕστερον δὲ χρόνῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης ἥδη πεπαυμένος ἀνήνεγκε περὶ τούτων εἰς¹ τὴν σύγκλητον, οἵ τε μάντεις ἤγγελλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ιεροῖς 133 προφαίνεσθαι θεῶν μῆνιν ἰλασμοῦ καὶ χαριστηρίων δεομένην.

VIII. Ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς τὴν μὲν ὡφέλειαν (χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἦν) ἀνάδαστον μὴ γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας αὐτοὺς σὺν ὅρκῳ τὴν δεκάτην παραφέρειν εἰς μέσον, ἐγίνετο πολλὰ

¹ eis Bekker and Sintenis¹, with most MSS.: πρὸς.

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with delight, and was for ever thronging tumultuously about the rostra with demands that it be put to vote. But the Senate and the most influential of the other citizens considered that the measure proposed by the tribunes meant not division but destruction for Rome, and in their aversion to it went to Camillus for aid and succour. He, dreading the struggle, always contrived to keep the people busy with other matters, and so staved off the passage of the bill. For this reason, then, they were vexed with him.

But the strongest and most apparent reason why the multitude hated him was based on the matter of the tenth of the spoil of Veii, and herein they had a plausible, though not a very just ground of complaint. He had vowed, as it seems, on setting out against Veii, that if he should take the city, he would consecrate the tenth of its booty to the Delphian god. But after the city had been taken and sacked, he allowed his soldiers full enjoyment of their plunder, either because he shrank from annoying them, or because, in the multitude of his activities, he as good as forgot his vow. At a later time, when he had laid down his command, he referred the matter to the Senate, and the seers announced tokens in their sacrifices that the gods were angry, and must be propitiated with due offerings.

VIII. The Senate voted, not that the booty should be redistributed, for that would have been a difficult matter, but that those who had got it should, in person and under oath, bring the tenth thereof to the public treasury. This subjected the soldiers to

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λυπήρὰ καὶ βίαια περὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀνθρώ-
πους πένητας καὶ πολλὰ πεπονηκότας, ἀναγκαζο-
μένους ὡν ἐκέκτητο καὶ κατεκέχρητο μέρος
2 εἰσφέρειν τοσοῦτον. θορυβούμενῳ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν
τῷ Καμίλλῳ καὶ προφάσεως ἀποροῦντι βελτίονος
εἰς τὸν ἀτοπώτατον τῶν λόγων συνέθαινε κατα-
φεύγειν, ὁμολογοῦντι ἐπιλαθέσθαι τῆς εὐχῆς. οἱ
δὲ ἔχαλέπαινον, εἰ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δεκατεύσειν
εὐξάμενος τότε νῦν δεκατεύει τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν. οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ πάντων ὅσον ἔδει μέρος εἰσενεγκόντων
ἔδοξε κρατῆρα χρυσοῦν κατασκευάσαντας εἰς
3 Δελφοὺς ἀποστεῖλαι. χρυσίου δ' ἦν σπάνις ἐν
τῇ πόλει· καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὅθεν ἀν πορισθείη
σκοπούντων, αἱ γυναικες αὐταὶ καθ' αὐτὰς βου-
λευσάμεναι τὸν ὄντα χρυσοῦν ἐκάστη περὶ τὸ
σῶμα κόσμον ἐπέδωκαν εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα, σταθμῷ
χρυσίου γενούμενον ὀκτὼ ταλάντων. καὶ ταύταις
μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ἀποδιδοῦσα τιμὴν πρέπουσαν
ἐψηφίσατο μετὰ θάνατον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι
καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ λέγεσθαι τὸν ἄξιον ἐπαινον· οὐ
γὰρ ἦν εἰθισμένον πρότερον ἐγκωμιάζεσθαι γυ-
4 ναικα δημοσίᾳ τελευτήσασαν· ἐλόμενοι δὲ τρεῖς
ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων θεωροὺς καὶ ναῦν μακρὰν
εὐανδροῦντι πληρώματι καὶ κόσμῳ πανηγυρικῷ
κατασκευάσαντες ἔξέπεμψαν.

"Ην δ' ἄρα καὶ χειμῶν καὶ γαλήνη θαλάσσης
ἀργαλέον, ὡς ἐκείνοις συνέτυχε τότε παρ' οὐδὲν
ἐλθόντας ἀπολέσθαι διαφυγεῖν αὐθις ἀπροσ-
δοκήτως τὸν κίνδυνον. ἐπέπλευσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς
Λιπαρέων τριήρεις περὶ τὰς Αἰόλου νήσους τοῦ

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many vexations and constraints. They were poor men, who had toiled hard, and yet were now forced to contribute a large share of what they had gained, yes, and spent already. Beset by their tumultuous complaints, and at loss for a better excuse, Camillus had recourse to the absurdest of all explanations, and admitted that he had forgotten his vow. The soldiers were filled with indignation at the thought that it was the goods of the enemy of which he had once vowed a tithe, but the goods of his fellow citizens from which he was now paying the tithe. However, all of them brought in the necessary portion, and it was decided to make a bowl of massive gold and send it to Delphi. Now there was a scarcity of gold in the city, and the magistrates knew not whence it could be had. So the women, of their own accord, determined to give the gold ornaments which they wore upon their persons for the offering, and these amounted to eight talents weight. The women were fittingly rewarded by the Senate, which voted that thereafter, when women died, a suitable eulogy should be spoken over them, as over men. For it was not customary before that time, when a woman died, that a public encomium should be pronounced. Then they chose three of the noblest citizens as envoys, manned with its full complement of their best sailors a ship of war decked out in festal array, and sent them on their way.

Calm at sea has its perils as well as storm, it would seem, at least so it proved in this case. Envoys and crew came within an ace of destruction, and found escape from their peril when they least expected it. Off the Aeolian isles, as the wind died down, some Liparian galleys put out against them, taking them

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5 πνεύματος ἐκλιπόντος ὡς λησταῖς. δεομένων δὲ καὶ προϊσχομένων χεῖρας ἐμβολῆς μὲν ἔσχοντο, τὴν δὲ ναῦν ἀναψάμενοι καὶ καταγαγόντες ἀπεκήρυξτον, ἅμα καὶ τὰ χρήμata καὶ τὰ σώμata, πειρατικὰ κρίναντες εἶναι. μόλις δ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς καὶ δυνάμει Τιμησιθέου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεισθέντες μεθῆκαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ προσκαθελκύσας ἵδια πλοῖα παρέπεμψε καὶ συγκαθιέρωσε τὸ ἀνάθημα· δι' ὃ καὶ τιμᾶς ἔσχεν, ἃς εἴκος ἦν, ἐν Ῥώμῃ.

IX. Τῶν δὲ δημάρχων αὐθις ἐπεγειρόντων τὸν περὶ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ νόμον, ὁ πρὸς Φαλίσκους πόλεμος ἐν καιρῷ παραφανεὶς ἔδωκε τοῖς πρώτοις ἀνδράσιν ἀρχαιρεσιάσαι κατὰ γνώμην καὶ Κάμιλλον ἀποδεῖξαι μεθ' ἑτέρων πέντε χιλίαρχον, ὡς τῶν πραγμάτων ἡγεμόνος δεομένων ἀξίωμα 2 καὶ δόξαν μετ' ἐμπειρίας ἔχοντος. ψηφισαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν δύναμιν ὁ Κάμιλλος εἰς τὴν Φαλίσκων ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πόλιν ἐρυμνὴν κατεσκευασμένην πᾶσιν εἰς πόλεμον καλῶς Φαλερίους ἐπολιόρκει, τὸ μὲν ἐλεῖν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον οὐδὲ χρόνου τοῦ τυχόντος ἥγονύμενος, ἄλλως δὲ τρίβειν τοὺς πολίτας καὶ πεισπᾶν βουλόμενος, ὡς μὴ σχολάζοιεν οἴκοι καθήμενοι δημαγωγεῖσθαι καὶ στασιάζειν. ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ ἀεὶ φαρμάκῳ τούτῳ χρώμενοι διετέλουν, ὕσπερ ἰατροί, τὰ ταρακτικὰ πάθη τῆς πολιτείας ἔξω τρέποντες.

X. Οὕτως δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας κατεφρόνουν οἱ

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for pirates. The enemy had sufficient regard to their prayers and supplications not to run their vessel down, but they took it in tow, brought it to land, and proclaimed their goods and persons for sale, adjudging them piratical. At last, and with much ado, through the brave intercession of a single man, Timesitheus, their general, the Liparians were persuaded to let the captives go. This man then launched boats of his own, convoyed the suppliants on their way, and assisted them in the dedication of their offering. For this he received suitable honours at Rome.

IX. Once more the tribunes of the people urged the passage of the law for the division of the city, but the war with the Faliscans came on opportunely and gave the leading men occasion to hold such elective assemblies as they wished, and to appoint Camillus military tribune, with five others. The emergency was thought to demand a leader with the dignity and reputation which experience alone could give. After the people had ratified the election, Camillus, at the head of his army, invaded the territory of the Faliscans and laid siege to Falerii, a strong city, and well equipped with all the munitions of war. It was not that he thought its capture would demand slight effort or short time, but he wished to turn the thoughts of the citizens to other matters and keep them busy therein, that they might not be able to stay at home and become the prey of seditious leaders. This was a fitting and sovereign remedy which the Romans used, like good physicians, thereby expelling from the body politic its troublesome distempers.

X. The Falerians, relying on the great strength of

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Φαλέριοι τῷ πανταχόθεν ἔξωχυρῶσθαι πιστεύοντες, ὥστε πλὴν τῶν τὰ τείχη φυλαττόντων τοὺς ἄλλους ἐν ἴματίοις κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν εἰς τε τὰ διδασκαλεῖα φοιτᾶν καὶ παρὰ τὰ τείχη περιπατήσοντας καὶ γυμνασομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου καταβιβάζεσθαι. κοινῷ γὰρ ἔχρωντο τῷ διδασκάλῳ, ὥσπερ "Ελληνες, οἱ Φαλέριοι, βουλό- 134 μενοι συντρέφεσθαι καὶ συναγελάζεσθαι μετ' 2 ἄλληλων εὐθὺς ἔξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς παῖδας. οὗτος οὖν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐπιβουλεύων τοῖς Φαλερίοις διὰ τῶν παίδων ἔξῆγεν αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας ἐκάστης ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐγγὺς τὸ πρώτον, εἰτ' ἀπῆγεν αὐθις εἴσω γυμνασαμένους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπάγων εἴθισε θαρρεῖν ὡς πολλῆς οὔσης ἀδείας, καὶ τέλος ἔχων ἅπαντας εἰς τοὺς προφύλακας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐνέβαλε καὶ παρέδωκεν, 3 ἄγειν κελεύσας πρὸς τὸν Καμίλλον. ἀχθεὶς δὲ καὶ καταστὰς εἰς μέσον ἔλεγε παιδευτὴς μὲν εἶναι καὶ διδάσκαλος, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον χάριν ἀντὶ τούτων ἐλόμενος τῶν δικαίων, ἥκειν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς παισὶ κομίζων. δεινὸν οὖν ἀκούσαντι τὸ ἔργον ἐφάνη Καμίλλῳ· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπών, ὡς χαλεπὸν μέν ἐστι πόλεμος καὶ διὰ πολλῆς ἀδικίας καὶ βιαίων περαινόμενος 4 ἔργων, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πολέμων ὅμως τινὲς νόμοι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τὸ νικᾶν οὐχ οὕτω διωκτέον, ὥστε μὴ φεύγειν τὰς ἐκ κακῶν καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἔργων χάριτας (ἀρετῇ γὰρ οἰκείᾳ τὸν μέγαν πτρατηγὸν, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίᾳ θαρροῦντα κακίᾳ χρῆναι στρατεύειν), προσέταξε τοῖς ὑπηρέταις τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου καταρρηγνύναι τὰ ἴματια καὶ

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their city at all points, made so light of the siege that, with the exception of the defenders of the walls, the rest went up and down the city in their garb of peace. The boys went to school as usual, and were brought by their teacher along the walls outside to walk about and get their exercise. For the Falerians, like the Greeks, employed one teacher in common, wishing their boys, from the very start, to herd with one another and grow up together. This teacher, then, wishing to betray Falerii by means of its boys, led them out every day beyond the city walls, at first only a little way, and then brought them back inside when they had taken their exercise. Presently he led them, little by little, farther and farther out, accustomed them to feel confident that there was no danger at all, and finally pushed in among the Roman outposts with his whole company, handed them over to the enemy, and demanded to be led to Camillus. So led, and in that presence, he said he was a boys' school-teacher, but chose rather to win the general's favour than to fulfil the duties of his office, and so had come bringing to him the city in the persons of its boys. It seemed to Camillus, on hearing him, that the man had done a monstrous deed, and turning to the bystanders he said : " War is indeed a grievous thing, and is waged with much injustice and violence ; but even war has certain laws which good and brave men will respect, and we must not so hotly pursue victory as not to flee the favours of base and impious doers. The great general will wage war relying on his own native valour, not on the baseness of other men." Then he ordered his attendants to tear the man's clothing from him, tie

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τὰς χεῖρας ὡπίσω περιάγειν, τοῖς δὲ παισὶ διαδοῦναι ῥάβδους καὶ μάστιγας, ὅπως κολάζοντες τὸν προδότην ἐλαύνωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

5 Ἀρτὶ δὲ τῶν Φαλερίων ἡσθημένων τὴν τοῦ διδάσκαλου προδοσίαν καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν, οἷον εἰκός, ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτη θρήνου κατέχοντος, ἀνδρῶν δ' ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς πύλας σὺν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ φερομένων, προσῆγον οἱ παιδεῖς τὸν διδάσκαλον γυμνὸν καὶ δεδεμένον προπηλακίζοντες, τὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον σωτῆρα καὶ πατέρα καὶ θεὸν ἀνακα-
6 λοῦντες, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς γονεῦσι τῶν παίδων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ταῦθ' ὁρῶσι θαῦμά τε καὶ πόθον ἐμπεσεῖν τῆς τοῦ Καμίλλου δικαιοσύνης. καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς ἐκκλησίαν πρέσβεις ἔπειμψαν ἐκείνῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέποντες, οὓς ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπέστειλεν εἰς
7 Ἄρωμην. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καταστάντες εἰπον, δτὶ Ἄρωμαῖοι τῆς νίκης τὴν δικαιοσύνην προτιμήσαντες ἐδίδαξαν αὐτοὺς τὴν ἡτταν ἀγαπῆσαι πρὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῇ δυνάμει λείπεσθαι δοκοῦντας, δσον ἡττᾶσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁμολογοῦντας. ἀποδούσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς πάλιν ἐκείνῳ τὸ κρῖναι καὶ διαιτῆσαι ταῦτα, χρήματα λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Φαλερίων καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ἄπαντας Φαλίσκους θέμενος ἀνεχώρησεν.

XI. Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται διαρπάσειν προσδοκήσαντες τοὺς Φαλερίους, ὡς ἐπανῆλθον εἰς Ἄρωμην κεναῖς χερσί, κατηγόρουν τοῦ Καμίλλου πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολύτας ὡς μισοδήμου καὶ φθονήσαντος ὡφεληθῆναι τοῖς πένησιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῦ διοικισμοῦ νόμου οἱ δήμαρχοι προθέντες

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his arms behind his back, and put rods and scourges in the hands of the boys, that they might chastise the traitor and drive him back into the city.

The Falerians had just become aware of the teacher's treachery, and the whole city, as was natural, was filled with lamentation over a calamity so great. Men and women alike rushed distractedly to the walls and gates, when lo ! there came the boys, bringing their teacher back stripped, bound, and maltreated, while they called Camillus their saviour, their father, and their god. On this wise not only the parents of the boys, but the rest of the citizens as well, when they beheld the spectacle, were seized with admiration and longing for the righteousness of Camillus. In haste they held an assembly and sent envoys to him, entrusting him with their lives and fortunes. These envoys Camillus sent to Rome. Standing in the Senate, they declared that the Romans, by esteeming righteousness above victory, had taught them to love defeat above freedom ; not so much because they thought themselves inferior in strength, as because they confessed themselves vanquished in virtue. On the Senate's remanding to Camillus the decision and disposition of the matter, he took a sum of money from the Falerians, established friendship with all the Faliscans, and withdrew.

XI. But the soldiers thought to have had the sacking of Falerii, and when they came back to Rome empty-handed, they denounced Camillus to the rest of the citizens as a hater of the common people, and as begrudging to the poor the enjoyment of their rightful booty. And when the tribunes once more put forward the law for the division of the city

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αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἐκάλουν τὸν δῆμον, ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπεχθείας οὐδὲ παρρησίας φεισάμενος ἐφάνη μάλιστα πάντων ἐκβιαζόμενος τοὺς πολλούς, τὸν μὲν νόμον ἄκουτες -2 ἀπεψηφίσαντο, τὸν δὲ Κάμιλλον δι' ὄργης εἶχον, ὥστε καὶ δυστυχήσαντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα (τῶν γὰρ σιών ἀπέβαλε τὸν ἔτερον νοσήσαντα) μηδὲν οἴκτῳ τῆς ὄργης ὑφέσθαι. καίτοι τὸ πάθος οὐ μετρίως ἦνεγκεν ἀνὴρ ἡμερος φύσει καὶ χρηστός, ἀλλὰ τῆς δίκης προγεγραμμένης αὐτῷ διὰ πένθος οἰκούρει καθειργμένος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν.

XII. 'Ο μὲν οὖν κατήγορος ἦν Λεύκιος Ἀπουλῆιος, ἔγκλημα δὲ κλοπῆς περὶ τὰ Τυρρηνικὰ χρήματα. καὶ δῆτα καὶ θύραι τινὲς ἐλέγοντο χαλκαῖ παρ' αὐτῷ φανῆναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐξηρέθιστο καὶ δῆλος ἦν ἐκ πάσης προφάσεως κατ' αὐτοῦ τῇ ψήφῳ χρησόμενος. 2 οὗτως οὖν συναγαγὼν τούς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς συστρατευσαμένους οὐκ ὀλίγους τὸ πλῆθος ὅντας, ἐδεῖτο μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀδίκως ἐπ' αἰτίαις 135 πονηραῖς ὀφλόντα καὶ καταγέλαστον ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν γενόμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φίλοι βουλευσάμενοι καὶ διαλεχθέντες ἔαυτοῖς ἀπεκρίναντο, πρὸς μὲν τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῷ μηδὲν οἴεσθαι βοηθήσειν, τὴν δὲ ζημίαν ὀφλόντι συνεκτίσειν, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ἔγνω μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς 3 ὄργην. ἀσπασάμενος οὖν τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὸν σιὸν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προήει σιωπῇ μέχρι τῆς πύλης· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐπέστη, καὶ μεταστραφεὶς ὀπίσω

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and summoned the people to vote upon it, then Camillus, shunning no hatred nor any boldness of utterance, was manifestly the chief one in forcing the multitude away from its desires. Therefore, they did indeed reject the law, much against their will, but they were wroth with Camillus, so that even when he met with domestic affliction and lost one of his two sons by sickness, their wrath was in no wise softened by pity. And yet he set no bounds to his sorrow, being by nature a gentle and kindly man, but even after the indictment against him had been published, he suffered his grief to keep him at home, in close seclusion with the women of his household.

XII. Well, then, his accuser was Lucius Apuleius, and the charge was theft of Tuscan goods. It was said, forsooth, that certain bronze doors belonging to the booty had been seen at his house. But the people were exasperated, and would plainly lay hold of any pretext whatever for condemning him. So then he assembled his friends and comrades in arms, who were many in number, and begged them not to suffer him to be convicted on base charges and to be made a laughing-stock by his foes. When his friends had laid their heads together and discussed the case, they answered that, as regarded his trial, they thought they could be of no help to him; but if he were punished with a fine, they would help him pay it. This he could not endure, and in his wrath determined to depart the city and go into exile. Accordingly, after he had kissed his wife and son good-bye, he went from his house in silence as far as the gate of the city. There he stopped, turned himself about, and stretching his hands out towards

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καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐπεύξατο τοῖς θεοῖς, εἰ μὴ δικαίως, ἀλλ’ ὑβρεὶ δήμου καὶ φθόνῳ προπηλακιζόμενος ἐκπίπτει, ταχὺ 'Ρωμαίους μετανοῆσαι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φανεροὺς γενέσθαι δεομένους αὐτοῦ καὶ ποθοῦντας Κάμιλλον.

XIII. Ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν, ὡσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς, ἀρὰς θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ μεταστὰς ὠφλε τὴν δίκην ἐρήμην, τίμημα μυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἀσσαρίων ἔχουσαν.

"Ο γίνεται πρὸς ἀργυρίου λόγον χίλιαι δραχμαὶ καὶ πεντακόσιαι· ἀσσάριον γὰρ ἦν τὸ ἀργυριον, καὶ τὸ δεκάχαλκον οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο δηνάριον.

2 Οὐδεὶς δ' ἐστὶ 'Ρωμαίων, δος οὐ νομίζει τὰς εὐχὰς τοῦ Καμίλλου ταχὺ τὴν Δίκην ὑπολαβεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀδικίας οὐκ ἥδεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνιαράν, ὄνομαστὴν δὲ καὶ περιβόητον· τοσαύτη περιῆλθε τὴν 'Ρώμην νέμεσις, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἄγων φθόρον καὶ κίνδυνον ἅμα μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐφάνη καιρὸς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, εἴτε τῆς τύχης οὕτω συνελθούσης, εἴτε καὶ θεῶν τινος ἔργον ἐστὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν ἀρετῆς ἀχαριστουμένης.

XIV. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἔδοξε σημεῖον γεγονέναι κακοῦ μεγάλου προσιόντος ἡ Ἰουλίου τοῦ τιμητοῦ τελευτή· μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ 'Ρωμαῖοι σέβονται καὶ νομίζουσιν ἴερὰν τὴν τῶν τιμητῶν ἀρχήν. δεύτερον δὲ πρὸ τῆς Καμίλλου φυγῆς ἀνήρ οὐκ ἐπιφανῆς μὲν οὐδὲ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐπιεικῆς δὲ καὶ χρηστὸς εἶναι δοκῶν, Μάρκος Καιδίκιος, ἀνήνεγκε πρὸς τοὺς χιλιάρχους πρᾶγμα φροντίδος ἄξιον.

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the Capitol, prayed the gods that, if with no justice, but through the wantonness of the people and the abuse of the envious he was now being driven from his country, the Romans might speedily repent, and show to all men that they needed and longed for Camillus.

XIII. After he had thus, like Achilles,¹ invoked curses upon his fellow citizens, he removed from out the city. His case went by default, and he was fined fifteen thousand asses.

This sum, reduced to our money, is fifteen hundred drachmas. For the as was the current copper coin, and the silver coin worth ten of these pieces was for that reason called the denarius, which is equivalent to the drachma.

Now there is no Roman who does not believe that justice followed hard upon the imprecations of Camillus, and that he received a requital for his wrongs which was not pleasing to him, but painful; certainly it was notable and famous. For a great retribution encompassed Rome, and a season of dire destruction and peril not unmixed with disgrace assailed the city, whether fortune so brought things to pass, or whether it is the mission of some god not to neglect virtue that goes unrequited.

XIV. In the first place, then, it seemed to be a sign of great evil impending when Julius the censor died. For the Romans specially revere and hold sacred the office of censor. In the second place, before Camillus went into exile, a man who was not conspicuous, to be sure, but who was esteemed honest and kindly, Marcus Caedicius, informed the military tribunes of a matter well worth their atten-

¹ *Iliad* i. 407-412.

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2 ἔφη γὰρ ἐν τῇ παρφωχημένῃ νυκτὶ καθ' ὁδὸν βαδίζων, ἣν Καινὴν ὄνομάζουσι, κληθεὶς ὑπό τινος φθεγξαμένου μεταστραφῆναι, καὶ θεάσασθαι μὲν οὐδένα, φωιῆς δὲ μείζονος ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην ἀκοῦσαι τάδε λεγούσης· “Ἄγε, Μάρκε Καιδίκιε, λέγε πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔωθεν ἐλθὼν ὀλίγου χρόνου Γαλάτας προσδέχεσθαι.” ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ χιλίαρχοι γέλωτα καὶ παιδιὰν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον συνέβη τὰ περὶ Κάμαλλον.

XV. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τοῦ Κελτικοῦ γένους ὅντες ὑπὸ πλήθους λέγονται τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπολιπόντες, οὐκ οὖσαν αὐτάρκη τρέφειν ἄπαντας, ἐπὶ γῆς ζήτησιν ἑτέρας ὄρμῆσαι· μυριάδες δὲ πολλαὶ γενούμενοι νέων ἀνδρῶν καὶ μαχίμων, ἔτι δὲ πλείους παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἄγοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν βόρειον Ὄκεανὸν ὑπερβαλόντες τὰ Ριπαῖα ὅρη ῥυῆναι καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Εὐρώπης κατα-

2 σχεῖν, οἱ δὲ μεταξὺ Πυρρίνης ὅρους καὶ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἰδρυθέντες ἐγγὺς Σενώνων καὶ Κελτορίων κατοικεῖν χρόνον πολύν ὀψὲ δ' οἴνου γευσάμενοι τότε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας διακομισθέντος οὕτως ἄρα θαυμάσαι τὸ πόμα καὶ πρὸς τὴν καινότητα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔκφρονες γενέσθαι πάντες, ὥστε ἀράμενοι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ γενεὰς ἀναλαβόντες ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεis φέρεσθαι καὶ ζητεῖν ἐκείνην τὴν γῆν, ἥ τοιούτον καρπὸν ἀναδίδωσι, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἄκαρπον ἥγεισθαι καὶ ἀνήμερον.

3 ‘Ο δ’ εἰσαγαγὼν τὸν οἶνον πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ παροξύνας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτος Ἀρρων λέγεται γενέσθαι Τυρρηνός, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανῆς καὶ φύσει μὲν οὐ πονηρός, συμφορᾶ δὲ τοιαύτη χρησάμενος. ἦν ἐπίτροπος παιδὸς ὄρφανοῦ

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tion. He said that during the night just passed, as he was going along the so-called New Street, he was hailed by someone in clear tones, and turned, and saw no man, but heard a voice louder than man's saying : "Hark thou ! Marcus Caedicius, early in the morning go and tell the magistrates that within a little time they must expect the Gauls." At this story the tribunes mocked and jested. And a little while after, Camillus suffered his disgrace.

XV. The Gauls were of the Celtic stock, and their numbers were such, as it is said, that they abandoned their own country, which was not able to sustain them all, and set out in quest of another. They were many myriads of young warriors, and they took along with them a still greater number of women and children. Some of them crossed the Rhipaeon mountains, streamed off towards the northern ocean, and occupied the remotest parts of Europe ; others settled between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones and the Celtorians, and dwelt there a long time. But at last they got a taste of wine, which was then for the first time brought to them from Italy. They admired the drink so much, and were all so beside themselves with the novel pleasure which it gave, that they seized their arms, took along their families, and made off to the Alps, in quest of the land which produced such fruit, considering the rest of the world barren and wild.

The man who introduced wine to them, and was first and foremost in sharpening their appetite for Italy, is said to have been Arron, a Tuscan. He was a man of prominence, and by nature not prone to evil, but had met with the following misfortune. He was guardian of an orphan boy who was heir to

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πλούτῳ τε πρώτου τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ θαυμαζόμενου κατ' εἶδος, ὄνομα Λουκούμωνος. οὗτος ἐκ 136

νέου παρὰ τῷ Ἀρρωνι δίαιταν εἶχε, καὶ μειράκιον ὧν οὐκ ἀπέλιπε τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ προσεποιεῖτο

- 4 χαίρειν συνὼν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐλάνθανε διεφθαρκῶς αὐτοῦ τὴν γυναικα καὶ διεφθαρμένος ὑπ' ἐκείνης· ἥδη δὲ πόρρω τοῦ πάθους ἀμφοτέρων γεγονότων καὶ μήτ' ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν μήτε κρύπτειν ἔτι δυναμένων, ὁ μὲν νεανίσκος ἐπεχείρει φανερῶς ἀποσπάσας ἔχειν τὴν ἄνθρωπον, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ δίκην ἐλθὼν καὶ κρατούμενος πλήθει φίλων καὶ χρημάτων δαπάναις ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκούμωνος ἐξέλιπε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ· καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἤκει εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ καθηγήσατο τῆς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν στρατείας.

XVI. Οἱ δὲ ἐμβαλόντες εὐθὺς ἐκράτουν τῆς χώρας δῖσην τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Τυρρηνοὶ κατεῖχον, ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπεων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας καθήκουσαν τὰς θαλάσσας, ὡς καὶ τοῦνομα μαρτυρεῖ τῷ λόγῳ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ βόρειον θάλατταν Αδρίαν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ Τυρρηνικῆς πόλεως Ἀδρίας, τὴν δὲ πρὸς νότον κεκλιμένην ἄντικρυς Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος.

- 2 πᾶσα δ' ἐστὶ δεινὸρόφυτος αὕτη καὶ θρέμμασιν εὔβοτος καὶ κατάρρυτος ποταμοῖς. καὶ πόλεις εἶχεν ὀκτωκαΐδεκα καλὰς καὶ μεγάλας καὶ κατεσκευασμένας πρὸς τε χρηματισμὸν ἐργατικῶς καὶ πρὸς δίαιταν παιηγυρικῶς, ἃς οἱ Γαλάται τοὺς Τυρρηνοὺς ἐκβαλόντες αὐτοὶ κατέσχον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπράχθη συχνῷ τινι χρόνῳ πρότερον.

XVII. Οἱ δὲ Γαλάται τότε πρὸς πόλιν Τυρρηνίδα Κλούσιον στρατεύσαντες ἐπολιόρκουν. οἱ δὲ Κλουσῖνοι καταφυγόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους

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the greatest wealth in the city, and of amazing beauty, Lucumo by name. This Lucumo from his youth up had lived with Arron, and when he came to man's estate, did not leave his house, but pretended to take delight in his society. He had, however, corrupted Arron's wife, and been corrupted by her, and for a long time kept the thing a secret. But at last the passions of both culprits increased upon them so that they could neither put away their desires nor longer hide them, wherefore the young man made open attempt to remove the woman and have her to wife. Her husband brought the case to trial, but was defeated by Lucumo, owing to the multitude of his friends and his lavish outlays of money, and forsook the city. Learning about the Gauls, he betook himself to them, and led them on their expedition into Italy.

XVI. The Gauls burst in and straightway mastered all the country which the Tuscans occupied of old, namely, that stretching from the Alps down to both seas, the names of which bear witness to the story. For the northern sea is called Adria, from the Tuscan city of Adria; the southern is called outright the Tuscan Sea. This whole country is studded with trees, has excellent pasturage for flocks and herds, and an abundance of rivers. It had also eighteen cities, large and fair, well equipped for profitable commerce and for sumptuous living. These the Gauls took away from the Tuscans and occupied themselves. But this happened long before the time of which I speak.

XVII. At this time the Gauls had marched against the Tuscan city of Clusium and were laying siege to it. The Clusians applied for assistance to the

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γέτησαντο πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ γράμματά πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ τοῦ Φαβίων γένους τρεῖς ἄνδρες εὐδόκιμοι καὶ τιμᾶς
 2 μεγάλας ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ πόλει. τούτους ἐδέξαντο μὲν οἱ Γαλάται φιλανθρώπως διὰ τὸ τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα, καὶ παυσάμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὰ τείχη μάχης εἰς λόγους συνῆλθον. πυνθανομένων δ' αὐτῶν,
 ὃ τι παθόντες ὑπὸ Κλουσίνων ἤκοιεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Γαλατῶν Βρέννος, “Ἄδικοῦσιν ἡμᾶς,” ἔφη, “Κλουσίνοι γῆν καὶ χώραν ὀλίγην μὲν γεωργεῖν δυνάμενοι, πολλὴν δὲ κατέχειν ἀξιοῦντες καὶ μὴ μεταδιδόντες ἡμῖν
 3 ξένοις οὖσι καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ πένησι. ταῦτα δ' ἄρα καὶ ὑμᾶς ἡδίκουν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, πρότερον μὲν Ἀλβανοὶ καὶ Φιδηνᾶται καὶ Ἀρδεάται, νῦν δὲ Οὐήιοι καὶ Καπηνᾶται καὶ πολλοὶ Φαλίσκων καὶ Οὐόλοιούσκων· ἐφ' οὓς ὑμεῖς στρατεύοντες, ἐὰν μὴ μεταδιδῶσιν ὑμῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀνδραποδίζεσθε καὶ λεηλατεῖτε καὶ κατασκάπτετε τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ὑμεῖς γε δεινὸν οὐδὲ ἄδικον
 4 ποιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ τῶν νόμων ἀκολουθοῦντες, ὃς τῷ κρείττονι τὰ τῶν ἡττούων δίδωσιν ἀρχόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς τὰ θηρία. καὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἐκ φύσεως ἔνεστι τὸ ζητεῖν πλέον ἔχειν τὰ κρείττονα τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων. Κλουσίνους δὲ παύσασθε πολιορκουμένους οἰκτείροντες, ως μὴ καὶ Γαλάτας διδάξητε χρηστοὺς καὶ φιλοικτίρμονας γενέσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἄδικουμένοις.
 5 Ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων ἔγνωσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Βρέννον ἀσυμβάτως ἔχοντα, καὶ παρελ-

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Romans, and begged them to send ambassadors in their behalf with a letter to the Barbarians. So there were sent three men of the Fabian gens who were of great repute and honour in the city. The Gauls received them courteously, because of the name of Rome, ceased their attacks upon the city walls, and held conference with them. When they were asked what wrong they had suffered at the hands of the Clusians that they had come up against their city, Brennus, the king of the Gauls, burst into a laugh and said : "The Clusians wrong us in that, being able to till only a small parcel of earth, they yet are bent on holding a large one, and will not share it with us, who are strangers, many in number and poor. This is the wrong which ye too suffered, O Romans, formerly at the hands of the Albans, Fidenates, and Ardeates, and now lately at the hands of the Veientines, Capenates, and many of the Faliscans and Volscians. Ye march against these peoples, and if they will not share their goods with you, ye enslave them, despoil them, and raze their cities to the ground; not that in so doing ye are in any wise cruel or unjust, nay, ye are but obeying that most ancient of all laws which gives to the stronger the goods of his weaker neighbours, the world over, beginning with God himself and ending with the beasts that perish. For these too are so endowed by nature that the stronger seeks to have more than the weaker. Cease ye, therefore, to pity the Clusians when we besiege them, that ye may not teach the Gauls to be kind and full of pity towards those who are wronged by the Romans."

From this speech the Roman envoys saw that there was no coming to terms with Brennus, and so they

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θόντες εἰς τὸ Κλούσιον ἐθάρρυνον καὶ παρώρμων τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπεξελθεῖν τοῖς βαρβάροις μετ' αὐτῶν, εἴτε τὴν ἐκείνων ἀλκὴν καταμαθεῖν εἴτε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείξασθαι θέλοντες. ἐκδρομῆς δὲ τῶν Κλουσίνων καὶ μάχης παρὰ τὰ τείχη γενομένης εἰς τῶν Φαβίων, Κόϊντος Ἀμβουστος, ὥπον ἔχων ἐλήλασεν ἀντίος ἀνδρὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ καλῷ Γαλάτῃ πολὺ προϊππεύοντι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀγνοηθεὶς ἐν ἀρχῇ διὰ τὸ τὴν σύνοδον ὁξεῖαν γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα περιλάμποντα τὴν 6 ὅψιν ἀποκρύπτειν. ὡς δ' ἐπικρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ καὶ καταβαλὼν ἐσκύλευε τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν, γυωρίσας ὁ Βρέννος αὐτὸν ἐπεμαρτύρατο θεούς, ὡς παρὰ 137 τὰ κοινὰ καὶ νενομισμένα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὅσια καὶ δίκαια πρεσβευτοῦ μὲν ἥκοιντος, πολέμια δὲ εἰργασμένου. καταπαύσας δὲ τὴν μάχην αὐτίκα Κλουσίνους μὲν εἴᾳ χαίρειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην τὸν στρατὸν ἥγειν. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ δόξαι τὴν ἀδικίαν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἀσμένοις γεγονέναι καὶ δεομένοις προφάσεως, ἐπεμψεν ἔξαιτῶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ προῆγεν ἄμα σχολαίως.

XVIII. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμη τῆς βουλῆς συναχθείσης ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγόρουν, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οἱ καλούμενοι Φητιαλεῖς ἐνῆγον ἐπιθειάζοντες καὶ κελεύοντες τὸ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἄγος τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς ἕνα τὸν αἴτιον τρέψασαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφοσιώσασθαι.

Τούτους τοὺς Φητιαλεῖς Πομπίλιος Νομᾶς, βασιλέων ἡμερώτατος γενόμενος καὶ δικαιότατος, κατέστησε φύλακας μὲν εἰρήνης, ἐπιγυώμονας δὲ καὶ βεβαιωτὰς αἴτιων, αἱ σὺν δίκῃ πόλεμον συνάπτουσι.

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slipped into Clusium, and emboldened and incited its citizens to sally out against the Barbarians with them, either because they wished to discover the prowess of those warriors or to display their own. The Clusians made a sally, and in the fight which raged along the walls one of the Fabii, Quintus Ambustus, drove his horse straight at a stately and handsome Gaul who was riding far out in front of the rest. At first he was not recognized, because the conflict came swiftly to pass and his dazzling armour hid his face. But when he had conquered and unhorsed his foe and was stripping his arms from him, then Brennus recognized him, and called upon the gods to witness how, contrary to the general practice of all mankind, which was deemed just and holy, he had come as an ambassador, but had wrought as an enemy. Then, putting a stop to the battle, he straightway let the Clusians alone, and led his host against Rome. But not wishing to have it thought that his people were rejoiced at the outrage, and only wanted some pretext for war, he sent and demanded the offender for punishment, and in the meantime advanced but slowly.

XVIII. When the Senate convened in Rome, many denounced the Fabii, and especially the priests called Fetiales were instant in calling upon the Senate in the name of all the gods to turn the curse of what had been done upon the one guilty man, and so to make expiation for the rest.

These Fetiales were instituted by Numa Pompilius, gentlest and justest of kings, to be the guardians of peace, as well as judges and determiners of the grounds on which war could justly be made.

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- 2 Τῆς δὲ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀνενεγκαμένης τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ὅμοια τοῦ Φαβίου κατηγορούντων, οὗτῳ περιύβρισαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ κατεγέλασαν, ὥστε καὶ χιλίαρχον ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν Φάβιον μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ χαλεπῶς φέρουντες οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἐποιοῦντο τῆς σπουδῆς, ἀλλ' 3 ἔχωρουν παντὶ τάχει· καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ βίαν καὶ θυμὸν ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν διὰ μέσου, καὶ τὴν τε χώραν ἀπολωλέναι πᾶσαν ἥδη καὶ τὰς πόλεις εὐθὺς ἀπολεῖσθαι δοκούντων, παρ' ἐλπίδας οὐδὲν ἡδίκουν οὐδὲ ἐλάμβανον ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐγγὺς παρεξιόντες ἐβόων ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην πορεύεσθαι καὶ μόνοις πολεμεῖν Ῥωμαίοις, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους φίλους ἐπίστασθαι.
- 4 Τοιαύτῃ δὲ χρωμένων ὄρμῇ τῶν βαρβάρων ἔξῆγον οἱ χιλίαρχοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, πλήθει μὲν οὐκ ἐνδεεῖς (ἐγένοντο γὰρ ὄπλιται τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάσσους), ἀνασκήτους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἀπτομένους ὄπλων. ἔτι δὲ ἔξημέλητο τὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς οὕτε καλλιερήσασιν οὕτε μάντεις ἢ πρὸ κινδύνου καὶ μάχης εἰκὸς ἦν ἐρομένοις.
- 5 οὐδενὸς δὲ ἡττον ἐπετάραττεν ἡ πολυαρχία τὰ πραττόμενα. καίτοι πρότερόν γε καὶ πρὸς ἐλάττονας ἀγῶνας εἴλοντο πολλάκις μονάρχους, οὓς Δικτάτορας καλοῦσιν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅσον ἐστὶν εἰς ἐπισφαλῆ καιρὸν ὅφελος μᾶς χρωμένους γνώμη πρὸς ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν ἐν χερσὶ τὴν 6 δίκην ἔχουσαν εὐτακτεῖν. οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ καὶ

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The Senate referred the matter to the people, and although the priests with one accord denounced Fabius, the multitude so scorned and mocked at religion as to appoint him military tribune, along with his brothers. The Gauls, on learning this, were wroth, and suffered nothing to impede their haste, but advanced with all speed. What with their numbers, the splendour of their equipment, and their furious violence, they struck terror wherever they came. Men thought the lands about their cities lost already, and their cities sure to follow at once. But contrary to all expectation the enemy did them no harm, nor took aught from their fields, but even as they passed close by their cities shouted out that they were marching on Rome and warred only on the Romans, but held the rest as friends.

Against this onset of the Barbarians the military tribunes led the Romans forth to battle. They were not inferior in numbers, being no fewer than forty thousand men-at-arms, but most of them were untrained, and had never handled weapons before. Besides, they had neglected all religious rites, having neither sacrificed with good omens, nor consulted the prophets as was meet before the perils of battle. But what most of all confounded their undertakings was the number of their commanders. And yet before this, and on the brink of lesser struggles, they had often chosen a single commander, with the title of Dictator, not unaware how great an advantage it is, when confronting a dangerous crisis, to be of one mind in paying obedience to an authority which is absolute, and holds the scales of justice in its own hands. Moreover, their unfair treatment of Camillus

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Κάμιλλος ἀγνωμονηθεὶς ἔβλαψε τὰ πράγματα,
τοῦ μὴ πρὸς χάριν μηδὲ κολακεύοντας ἄρχειν
φοβεροῦ γενομένου.

Προελθόντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίους
ἐνευήκοντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀλίαν ποταμὸν ηὐλί-
σθησαν, οὐ πόρρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῷ Θύμιβριδι
συμφερόμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων
ἐπιφανέντων αἰσχρῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι δὶ’ ἀταξίαν
7 ἐτράποντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν κέρας εὐθὺς
ἔμβαλόντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν οἱ Κελτοὶ διέ-
φθειραν· τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν ὑπεκκλῖναν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν
ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοὺς λόφους ἡττον ἐξεκόπη·
καὶ διεξέπεσον ἀπὸ τούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ
πολλοί. τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις, ὅσοι τῶν πολεμίων
ἀπειπόντων πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἐσώθησαν, εἰς
Οὐὴίους αἱ φυγαὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἦσαν, ὡς τῆς
Ῥώμης οἰχομένης καὶ τῶν ἐκεὶ πάντων ἀπο-
λωλότων.

XIX. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ μάχη μετὰ τροπὰς θερινὰς
περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἥ καὶ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ μέγα
πάθος συνέβη τὸ περὶ τοὺς Φαβίους· τριακόσιοι
γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἄνδρες ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἀνηρέθη-
σαν. ἐκράτησε δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας
ἡττης Ἀλιάδα μέχρι νῦν καλεῖσθαι διὰ τὸν
ποταμόν.

Περὶ δὲ ἡμερῶν ἀποφράδων, εἴτε χρὴ τίθεσθαι
τινας, εἴτε ὄρθως Ἡράκλειτος ἐπέπληξεν Ἡσιόδῳ
τὰς μὲν ἀγαθὰς ποιουμένω, τὰς δὲ φαύλας, ὡς
ἀγνοοῦντι φύσιν ἡμέρας ἀπάσης μίαν οὖσαν,
2 ἐτέρωθι διηπόρηται. τῇ δὲ ὑποκειμένῃ γραφῇ τὸ
μνημονεῦσαι παραδειγμάτων ὀλίγων ἵσως ἀν-

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was in no slight degree fatal to discipline, since it was now dangerous to hold command without paying regard to the pleasure and caprice of the people.

They advanced from the city about eleven miles, and encamped along the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the Barbarians came suddenly upon them, and after a disorderly and shameful struggle, they were routed. Their left wing was at once driven into the river by the Gauls and destroyed; their right wing was less cut up, because it withdrew before the enemy's onset from the plain to the hills, from which most of them made their way back to the city. The rest, as many as escaped the enemy's hands, which were weary with slaughter, fled by night to Veii. They thought that Rome was lost and all her people slain.

XIX. The battle¹ took place just after the summer solstice when the moon was near the full, on the very day of a former great disaster, when three hundred men of the Fabian gens had been cut to pieces by the Tuscans. But the second defeat was so much the worse that the day on which it fell is called down to the present time "dies Alliensis," from the river.

Now concerning "dies nefasti," or unlucky days, whether we must regard some as such, or whether Heracleitus was right in rebuking Hesiod for calling some days good and some bad, in his ignorance that the nature of every day is one and the same,—this question has been fully discussed elsewhere. Still, even in what I am now writing, the mention of a few

¹ 390 B.C.

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άρμόσειε. τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν Βοιωτοῖς Ἰπποδρομίου μηνός, ως δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καλούσιν Ἐκατομβαιῶνος, ἵσταμένου πέμπτη δύο λαβεῖν συνέβη νίκας ἐπιφανεστάτας, αἷς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας ἡλευθέρωσαν, τὴν τε περὶ Λεῦκτρα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κερησσῷ ταύτης πρότερον ἔτεσι πλείοσιν ἡ διακοσίοις, ὅτε

- 3 Λατταμύαν καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐνίκησαν. τοῦτο δ' αὖ πάλιν Πέρσαι μηνὸς Βοηδρομιῶνος ἕκτη μὲν ἐν Μαραθῶνι, τρίτη δὲ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἄμα καὶ περὶ Μυκάλην ἡττήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων, πέμπτη δὲ φθίνοντος ἐν Ἀρβήλοις. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν περὶ Νάξου ἐνίκων ναυμαχίαν, ἡς Χαβρίας ἐστρατήγει, τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος περὶ τὴν πανσέληνον, ἐν δὲ Σαλαμῖνι περὶ τὰς εἰκάδας,
- 4 ὡς ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἡμερῶν ἀποδέδεικται. ἐνήνοχε δὲ καὶ ὁ Θαργηλιών μὴν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπιδήλως ἀτυχίας· καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ Γρανικῷ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς Θαργηλιῶνος ἐνίκησε, καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι περὶ Σικελίαν ὑπὸ Τιμολέοντος ἡττώντο τῇ ἐβδόμῃ φθίνοντος, περὶ ἦν δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ "Ιλιον ἀλῶναι, Θαργηλιῶνος,¹ ὡς Ἐφορος καὶ Καλλισθένης καὶ Δαμάστης καὶ
- 5 Φύλαρχος ἴστορήκασιν. ἀνάπαλιν δὲ ὁ Μεταγειτνιών, διν Βοιωτοὶ Πάνεμον καλούσιν, τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν οὐκ εὐμενῆς γέγονε. τούτου γὰρ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐβδόμῃ καὶ τὴν ἐν Κρανῶνι μάχην ἡττηθέντες ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τελέως ἀπώλοντο, καὶ πρότερον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς Φίλιππον ἡτύχησαν. τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἐν τῷ Μεταγειτνιώνι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ μετ' Ἀρχιδάμου διαβάντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκεῖ βαρβάρων

¹ Θαργηλιῶνος deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.

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examples may not be amiss. To begin with, then, it was on the fifth day of the month of Hippodromius (which the Athenians call Hecatombaeon) that the Boeotians won two illustrious victories which set the Greeks free: that at Leuctra, and that at Ceressus more than two hundred years earlier, when they conquered Lattamyas and the Thessalians. Again, on the sixth day of the month of Boedromion the Greeks defeated the Persians at Marathon, on the third day at Plataea and Mycale together, and on the twenty-sixth day at Arbela. Moreover, it was about full moon of the same month that the Athenians won their sea-fight off Naxos, under the command of Chabrias, and about the twentieth, that at Salamis, as has been set forth in my treatise "On days." Further, the month of Thargelion has clearly been a disastrous one for the Barbarians, for in that month the generals of the King were conquered by Alexander at the Granicus, and on the twenty-fourth of the month the Carthaginians were worsted by Timoleon off Sicily. On this day, too, of Thargelion, it appears that Ilium was taken, as Ephorus, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus have stated. Contrary-wise, the month of Metageitnion (which the Boeotians call Panemus) has not been favourable to the Greeks. On the seventh of this month they were worsted by Antipater in the battle of Crannon, and utterly undone; before this they had fought Philip unsuccessfully at Chaeroneia on that day of the month; and in the same year, and on the same day of Metageitnion, Archidamus and his army, who had crossed into Italy, were cut to pieces by the Barbarians there.

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6 διεφθάρησαν. Καρχηδόνιοι δὲ τὴν ἐνάτην φθίνουντος ώς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ φέρουσαν παραφυλάττουσιν.

Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ' ὅτι περὶ τὸν τῶν μυστηρίων καιρὸν αὐθις Θῆβαι τε κατεσκάφησαν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα φρουρὰν Ἀθηναῖοι Μακεδόνων ἐδέξαντο περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν εἰκάδα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶ-
7 νος, ἥ τὸν μυστικὸν Ἰακχον ἔξαγουσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Κίμβρων τὸ μετὰ Καιπίωνος ἀπέβαλον στρατό-
πεδον, ὕστερον δὲ Λουκούλλου στρατηγοῦντος
Ἀρμενίους καὶ Τιγράνην ἐνίκησαν. Ἀτταλος δ'
οὐ βασιλεὺς καὶ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
γενεθλίοις ἀπέθανον. καὶ ὅλως ἐστὶ πολλοὺς ἐπ'
ἀμφότερα ταῖς αὐταῖς χρησαμένους ἀποδεῖξαι
περιόδοις.

8 Ἄλλα Ῥωμαίοις αὗτη μία τῶν μάλιστα ἀπο-
φράδων ἐστί, καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἔτεραι
δύο, τῆς πρὸς τὸ συμβὰν εὐλαβείας καὶ δεισιδαι-
μονίας ἐπὶ πλεῖον, ὥσπερ εἴωθε, ρνείσης. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Περὶ αἰτιῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐπιμελέ-
στερον διήρηται.

XX. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην εὶ μὲν εὐθὺς
ἐπηκολούθησαν οἱ Γαλάται τοῖς φεύγουσιν, οὐδὲν
ἄν ἐκώλυσε τὴν Ῥώμην ἄρδην ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ
πάντας ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ καταλειφθέντας.
τοσοῦτον οἱ φεύγοντες ἐνειργάζοντο δεῖμα τοῖς
ὑποδεχομένοις, καὶ τοσαύτης πάλιν ἐνεπίμπλαντο
2 ταραχῆς καὶ παραφροσύνης. νυνὶ δ' ἀπιστίᾳ τοῦ
μεγέθους οἱ βάρβαροι τῆς νίκης καὶ πρὸς εὐπάθει-

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The Carthaginians also regard with fear the twenty-second of this month, because it has ever brought upon them the worst and greatest of their misfortunes.

I am not unaware that, at about the time when the mysteries are celebrated, Thebes was razed to the ground for the second time by Alexander, and that afterwards the Athenians were forced to receive a Macedonian garrison on the twentieth of Boedromion, the very day on which they escort the mystic Iacchus forth in procession. And likewise the Romans, on the self-same day, saw their army under Caepio destroyed by the Cimbri, and later, when Lucullus was their general, conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. Both King Attalus and Pompey the Great died on their own birth-days. In short, one can adduce many cases where the same times and seasons have brought opposite fortunes upon the same men.

But this day of the Allia is regarded by the Romans as one of the unluckiest, and its influence extends over two other days of each month throughout the year, since in the presence of calamity, timidity and superstition often overflow all bounds. However, this subject has been more carefully treated in my "Roman Questions."¹

XX. Now had the Gauls, after this battle, followed hard upon the fugitives, naught would have hindered Rome from being utterly destroyed and all those who remained in her from perishing, such was the terror which the fugitives infused into the occupants of the city, and with such confusion and delirium were they themselves once more filled. But as it was, the Barbarians could not realize the magnitude of their

¹ *Morals*, pp. 269 f.

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αν ἐκ τοῦ περιχαροῦ ἄμα καὶ νεμήσεις τῶν
έαλωκότων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ χρυμάτων τραπό-
μενοι, τῷ μὲν ἐκπίπτοντι τῆς πόλεως ὥχλῳ
ράστωνην φυγῆς παρέσχον, ἐλπίσαι δὲ ἔτι καὶ
παρασκευάσασθαι τοῖς ὑπομένουσι. τὴν γὰρ
ἄλλην πόλιν προέμενοι τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐφράξαντο
3 βέλεσι καὶ διατεχίσμασιν. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ τῶν
ἱερῶν ἢ μὲν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνεσκευάσαντο,
τὸ δὲ πῦρ τῆς Ἐστίας αἱ παρθένοι μετὰ τῶν
ἱερῶν ἔφευγον ἀρπασάμεναι.

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Καίτοι τινὲς οὐδὲν εἶναι τὸ φρουρούμενον ὑπ'
αὐτῶν ἔτερον ἢ πῦρ ἄφθιτον ἵστοροῦσι, Νομᾶ
τοῦ βασιλέως καταστήσαντος ὡς ἀρχὴν ἀπάντων
4 σέβεσθαι. κινητικώτατον γὰρ ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦτο·
κίνησις δέ τις ἡ σύν τινι κινήσει πάντως ἡ γένε-
σις· τὰ δέ. ἄλλα τῆς ὕλης μόρια θερμότητος
ἐπιλιπούσης ἀργὰ κείμενα καὶ νεκροῖς ἐοικότα
ποθεῖ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δύναμιν, ὡς ψυχὴν, καὶ
προσελθούσης ἀμῶς γέ πως ἐπὶ τὸ δρᾶν τι καὶ
πάσχειν τρέπεται. τοῦτ' οὖν ἄτε δὴ περιττὸν
ἄνδρα τὸν Νομᾶν καὶ λόγον ἔχοντα ταῖς Μούσαις
συνεῖναι διὰ σοφίαν ἔξοσιώσαι καὶ φρουρεῖν
ἀκοίμητον ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς τὰ πάντα κοσμούσης
5 ἀϊδίου δυνάμεως. οἱ δὲ τὸ μὲν πῦρ, ὥσπερ παρ'
Ἐλλησι, πρὸ ιερῶν αἴθεσθαι καθάρσιον, ἄλλα
δὲ τὰ ἐντὸς ἀθέατα κρύπτεσθαι πᾶσι, πλὴν ταύ-
ταις ταῖς παρθένοις, ἃς Ἐστιάδας ἐπονομάζουσι.

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victory, and in the excess of their joy, turned to revelry and the distribution of the good things captured in their enemy's camp. For this reason the throngs who were for abandoning the city had ample time for flight, and those who were for remaining plucked up hope and prepared to defend themselves. Abandoning the rest of the city, they fenced the Capitol with ramparts and stocked it with missiles. But their first care was for their sacred things, most of which they carried away to the Capitol; the fire of Vesta, however, was snatched up and carried off by the vestal virgins in their flight, along with the other sacred things entrusted to their care.

However, some writers state that these virgins have watch and ward over nothing more than the ever-living fire, which Numa the King appointed to be worshipped as the first cause of all things. For fire produces more motion than anything else in nature, and all birth is a mode of motion, or is accompanied by motion. All other portions of matter, in the absence of heat, lie inert and dead, yearning for the force of fire to inform them, like a spirit, and on its accession in any manner soever, they become capable of acting and being acted upon. This principle of fire, then, Numa, who was an extraordinary man, and whose wisdom gave him the repute of holding converse with the Muses, is said to have hallowed and ordered to be kept sleepless, that it might image forth the ever-living force which orders the universe aright. Others say that this fire is kept burning before the sacred things by way of purification, as among the Greeks, and that other objects within the temple are kept hidden from the gaze of all except these virgins, whom they call

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καὶ πλεῖστος μὲν λόγος κατεῖχε τὸ Τρωϊκὸν ἐκεῖνο Παλλάδιον ἀποκεῖσθαι δι' Αἰνείου κομισθὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τὰ Σαμοθράκια μυθολογοῦντες Δάρδανον μὲν εἰς Τροίαν ἔξενεγκάμενον ὄργιάσαι καὶ καθιερώσαι κτίσαντα τὴν πόλιν, Αἰνείαν δὲ περὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἐκκλέψαντα
6 διασῶσαι μέχρι τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ κατοικήσεως. οἱ δὲ προσποιούμενοι πλέον ἐπίστασθαι τι περὶ τούτων δύο φασὶν οὐ μεγάλους ἀποκεῖσθαι πίθους, ὡν τὸν μὲν ἀνεῳγότα καὶ κενόν, τὸν δὲ πλήρη καὶ κατασεσημασμένον, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ ταῖς παναγέσι μόναις παρθένοις ὄρατοὺς εἶναι. ἄλλοι δὲ τούτους διεψεῦσθαι νομίζουσι τῷ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν τότε τὰς κόρας ἐμβαλούσας εἰς πίθους δύο κρύψαι κατὰ γῆς ὑπὸ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ Κυρίνου, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῶν Πιθίσκων φέρεσθαι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

XXI. Τὰ δὲ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἱερῶν αὗται λαβοῦσαι φυγῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν. ἐνταῦθα Λεύκιος Ἀλβίνιος¹ ἀνὴρ δημοτικὸς ἐν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἔτυχε τέκνα νήπια καὶ γυναῖκα μετὰ χρημάτων ἀναγκαίων ἐφ' ἀμάξης ὑπεκκομίζων. ὡς δὲ εἴδε τὰς παρθένους ἐν τοῖς κόλποις φερούσας τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ θεραπείας ἐρήμους παραπορευομένας καὶ κακοπαθούσας, ταχὺ τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων καθελὼν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης ἐκείναις παρέδωκεν ἐπιβῆναι καὶ δια-

¹ Ἀλβίνιος Sand Livy, v. 40: Ἀλβίνος.

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Vestals. And a very prevalent story had it that the famous Palladium of Troy was hidden away there, having been brought to Italy by Aeneas. There are some who say that it is the Samothracian images which are hidden there, and they tell the tale of Dardanus bringing these to Troy, after he had founded that city, and consecrating them there with celebration of their rites; and of Aeneas, at the capture of Troy, stealing them away and preserving them until he settled in Italy. Others still, pretending to have larger knowledge in these matters, say that two small jars are stored away there, of which one is open and empty, and the other full and sealed up, and that both are visible only to the holy virgins. But others think that these knowing ones have been led astray by the fact that the virgins, at the time of which I am now speaking, cast the most of their sacred treasures into two jars, and hid them underground in the temple of Quirinus, whence that place, down to the present time, has the name of "Doliola," or "Jars."

XXI. However that may be, these virgins took the choicest and most important of the sacred objects and fled away along the river. There it chanced that Lucius Albinus, a man of the common people, was among the fugitives, carrying off his wife and little children, with the most necessary household goods, upon a waggon. When he saw the virgins with the sacred symbols of the gods in their bosoms, making their way along unattended and in great distress, he speedily took his wife, with the children and the household goods, down from the waggon, and suffered the virgins to mount upon it and make

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2 φυγεῖν εἴς τινα τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων. τὴν μὲν οὖν Ἀλβινίου πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλάβειαν καὶ τιμὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις καιροῦς ἐκφανῆ γενομένην οὐκ ἄξιον ἦν ἀμυημόνευτον παρελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ιερεῖς οἵ τε γηραιοὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν καὶ θριαμβικῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκλιπεῖν οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ιερὰς δὲ καὶ λαμπρὰς ἀναλαβόντες ἐσθῆτας, ἔξηγουμένου Φαβίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐπενξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, ώς ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος τῷ δαίμονι καθιεροῦντες, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων δίφρων ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐκάθηντο¹ κεκοσμημένοι, τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τύχην ὑπομένοντες.

XXII. Τρίτη δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν ὁ Βρέννος ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τάς τε πύλας εύρων ἀνεῳγμένας καὶ τὰ τείχη φυλάκων ἔρημα, πρῶτον μὲν ἔδεισεν ἐνέδραν καὶ δόλου, ἀπιστῶν οὕτω παντάπασιν ἀπειρηκέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔγνω τὸ ἀληθές, εἰσελάσας διὰ τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης εἶλε τὴν Ῥώμην ἔξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἐτῶν πλείονα βραχὺ χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἔχουσαν, εἴ τῷ πιστὸν ἀποσώζεσθαι τινα τῶν χρόνων ἀκρίβειαν, οἷς καὶ περὶ νεωτέρων ἄλλων ἀμφισβήτησιν ἡ

2 σύγχυσις ἔκείνη παρέσχε. τοῦ μέντοι πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἕοικεν ἀμυδρά τις εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φήμη διελθεῖν. Ἡρακλείδης γὰρ 140 ὁ Ποντικὸς οὐ πολὺ τῶν χρόνων ἔκείνων ἀπολειπόμενος ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς συγγράμματί φησιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσπέρας λόγον κατασχεῖν, ώς στρατὸς ἐξ Ὄπερβορέων ἐλθὼν ἔξωθεν ἥρήκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα Ῥώμην, ἔκει που κατωκημένην περὶ

¹ ἐκάθηντο with all MSS. and editors: καθῆντο.

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their escape to a Greek city. This pious act of Albinius, and the conspicuous honour which he showed the gods in a season of the greatest danger, could not well be passed over in silence.

But the priests of the other gods, and the aged men who had been consuls and celebrated triumphs, could not endure to leave the city. So they put on their robes of state and ceremony, following the lead of Fabius, the pontifex maximus, and vowed the gods that they would devote themselves to death in their country's behalf. Then they sat themselves down, thus arrayed, on their ivory chairs in the forum, and awaited their fate.

XXII. On the third day after the battle, Brennus came up to the city with his army. Finding its gates open and its walls without defenders, at first he feared a treacherous ambush, being unable to believe that the Romans were in such utter despair. But when he realised the truth, he marched in by the Colline gate, and took Rome. This was a little more than three hundred and sixty years from her foundation, if one can believe that any accurate chronology has been preserved in this matter, when that of even later events is disputed, owing to the confusion caused by this very disaster. However, it would seem that some vague tidings of the calamity and capture of the city made their way at once to Greece. For Heracleides Ponticus, who lived not long after that time, in his treatise "On the soul," says that out of the West a story prevailed, how an army of Hyperboreans had come from afar and captured a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere on the shores

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- 3 τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν. οὐκ ἀν οὖν θαυμάσαιμι μυθώδη καὶ πλασματίαν ὄντα τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως ἐπικομπάσαι τοὺς Ἐπερβορέους καὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλατταν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος τὸ μὲν ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δῆλος ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς, τὸν δὲ σώσαντα Λεύκιον εἶναι φησιν· ἦν δὲ Μάρκος, οὐ Λεύκιος, ὁ Κάμιλλος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν είκασμῷ λέλεκται.
- 4 Κατασχὼν δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην ὁ Βρέννος τῷ μὲν Καπιτωλίῳ φρουρὰν περιέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ καταβαίνων δι' ἀγορᾶς ἔθαύμαζε τοὺς προκαθημένους ἄνδρας ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ σιωπῇ θεώμενος, ὡς οὕθ' ὑπεξανέστησαν ἐπιόντων πολεμίων οὗτ' ὅψιν ἡ χρόαν ἔτρεψαν, ἀλλὰ ῥᾳθύμως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἐγκεκλιμένοι τοὺς σκίπωσιν, οὓς ἐφόρουν,¹ καὶ προσβλέποντες ἀλλήλοις ἡσύχαζον. ἦν οὖν θαῦμα τοῖς Γαλάταις πρὸς τὴν ἀτοπίαν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὀκνοῦντες ἄψασθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ὡς κρείττοσι διηπόρουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τολμήσας τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς παρέστη Παπειρίῳ Μάρκῳ καὶ προσαγαγὼν τὴν χεῖρα πράως ἡψατό τοῦ γενείου καὶ κατῆγε τὴν ὑπήνην βαθεῖαν οὖσαν, ὁ μὲν Παπείριος τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ πατάξας συνέτριψεν, ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος σπασάμενος
- 5 τὴν μάχαιραν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκεῖνον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνήρουν προσπεσόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἐπιτύχοιεν διεχρώντο, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπόρθουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες, εἴτα κατεπίμπρασαν καὶ κατέσκαπτον ὄργιζόμενοι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὅτι
- 6 τὴν μάχαιραν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐκεῖνον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνήρουν προσπεσόντες, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοις ἐπιτύχοιεν διεχρώντο, καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἐπόρθουν ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες, εἴτα κατεπίμπρασαν καὶ κατέσκαπτον ὄργιζόμενοι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ὅτι

¹ ἐφόρουν with S: ἐφερον.

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of the Great Sea. Now I cannot wonder that so fabulous and fictitious a writer as Heracleides should deck out the true story of the capture of Rome with his "Hyperboreans" and his "Great Sea." But Aristotle the philosopher clearly had accurate tidings of the capture of the city by the Gauls, and yet he says that its saviour was Lucius, although the forename of Camillus was not Lucius, but Marcus. However, these details were matters of conjecture.

When he had occupied Rome, Brennus surrounded the Capitol with a guard. He himself went down through the forum, and was amazed to see the men sitting there in public state and perfect silence. They neither rose up to meet their enemies when they approached, nor did they change countenance or colour, but sat there quietly, at ease and without fear, leaning on their staves and gazing into one another's faces. The Gauls were amazed and perplexed at the unwonted sight, and for a long time hesitated to approach and touch them, regarding them as superior beings. But at last one of them, plucking up his courage, drew near Papirius Marcus, and stretching out his hand, gently grasped his chin and stroked his long beard, whereupon Papirius, with his staff, smote him a crushing blow on the head. Then the Barbarian drew his sword and killed him. After that, they fell upon the rest and slew them, made away with every one else they met, sacked and plundered the houses of the city for many days together, and finally burned them down and levelled them with the ground, in their wrath at the defenders of the Capitol. For these would not

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καλούντων αὐτῶν οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσβάλλουσι πληγὰς ἔδοσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ διατειχίσματος ἀμυνόμενοι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐλυμῆναντο τὴν πόλιν καὶ προσδιέφθειραν τοὺς ἀλισκομένους, ὁμοίως μὲν ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, ὁμοίως δὲ πρεσβύτας καὶ παιδίας.

- XXIII. Τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας μῆκος λαμβανούσης ἐπισιτισμοῦ τοῖς Γαλάταις ἔδει· καὶ διελόντες ἑαυτοὺς οἱ μὲν τῷ βασιλεῖ παραμένοντες ἐφρούρουν τὸ Καπιτώλιον, οἱ δὲ τὴν χώραν περιιόντες ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ τὰς κώμας ἐπόρθουν προσπίπτοντες, οὐχ ὁμοῦ πάντες, ἀλλοι δ' ἀλλῃ καθ' ἡγεμονίας καὶ συντάγματα, τῷ μέγα φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καὶ δεδιέναι μηδὲν ἀπο-
- 2 σκιδυνάμενοι. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον αὐτῶν καὶ μάλιστα συντεταγμένου ἔχώρει πρὸς τὴν Ἀρδεατῶν πόλιν, ἐν ᾧ διέτριβε Κάμιλλος ἀργῶν ταῖς πράξεσι μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν καὶ ἴδιωτεύων, ἐλπίδας δὲ λαμβάνων καὶ διαλογισμοὺς οὐχὶ τὸ λαθεῖν καὶ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγαπῶντος ἄνδρός, ἀλλ' ὅπως, εἰ παραγένοιτο καιρός, ἀμυνεῖται
- 3 σκοποῦντος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας ὄρῶν πλήθει μὲν ἰκανοὺς δύτας, ἐνδεεῖς δὲ τόλμης δι' ἀπειρίαν καὶ μαλακίαν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐνέβαλε λόγον εἰς τοὺς νέους πρῶτον, ὡς οὐ χρὴ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀτυχίαν ἀνδρείαν Κελτῶν νομίζειν, οὐδὲ δὲ κακῶς φρονήσασι συνέβη παθεῖν ἐκείνοις ἔργα τῶν οὐδὲν εἰς τὸ νικῆσαι παρασχόντων, ἀλλὰ τύχης
- 4 ἐπίδειξιν ἡγεῖσθαι. καλὸν μὲν οὖν εἶναι καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἀπώσασθαι πόλεμον ἀλλόφυλον καὶ βαρβαρικόν, φ τοῦ κρατεῖν πέρας, ὕσπερ τῷ πυρί, διαφθαρῆναι τὸ νικώμενον οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ

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surrender at their summons, but when they were attacked, actually repulsed their foes from the ramparts with loss. Therefore the Gauls inflicted every outrage upon the city, and put to the sword all whom they captured, men and women, old and young alike.

XXIII. The siege lasted a long time, and the Gauls began to lack provisions. They therefore divided their forces. Some remained with their king and watched the Capitol, others ravaged the country round about, falling upon the villages and sacking them, not all together in one body, but scattered about by commands and companies, some here, some there, moved by their successes to great confidence and the fear of nothing. The largest and best disciplined body of them marched upon the city of Ardea, where Camillus was staying since his exile. He lived in complete retirement and privacy, it is true, but cherished the hopes and plans not of a man who eagerly desired to escape the notice and hands of the enemy, but of one who sought to avenge himself upon them if occasion offered. Wherefore, seeing that the Ardeans were of sufficient numbers, but lacked courage, through the inexperience and effeminity of their generals, he began to reason with the young men first, to the effect that the mishap of the Romans ought not to be laid to the valour of the Gauls, nor the sufferings of that infatuated people to the prowess of men who did not deserve their victory, but rather to the dictates of fortune. It was a fine thing, he said, even at dangerous risks, to repel the attack of an alien and barbarous folk, whose only end in getting the mastery was, as in the work of fire, the utter destruction of what it conquered. But

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καὶ θαρροῦσι καὶ προθυμουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀκίνδυνον ἐν καιρῷ τὴν νίκην παρέξειν.

Τούτους τοὺς λόγους τῶν νέων δεξαμένων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦει καὶ τοὺς προβούλους τῶν Ἀρδεατῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος. ὡς δὲ κάκείνους συνέπεισεν, ὥπλισε

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τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πάντας καὶ συνεῖχε τοῦ τείχους ἐντός, ἀγνοεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων

5 ἐγγὺς ὅντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν ἵππασάμενοι

καὶ βαρεῖς ὅντες ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων ἀμελῶς καὶ ὀλιγώρως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ

κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου νὺξ ἐπῆλθε

μεθύουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σιωπὴ κατέσχε τὸ στρατόπεδον, πυθόμενος ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων

ὁ Κάμιλλος ἔξῆγε τοὺς Ἀρδεάτας· καὶ διελθὼν

καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὸν μεταξὺ τόπον περὶ μέσας

νύκτας προσέμιξε τῷ χάρακι κραυγὴ τε χρώμενος

πολλῇ καὶ ταῖς σάλπιγξι πανταχόθεν ἐκταράτ-

των ἀνθρώπους κακῶς ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ μόλις ἐκ

τῶν ὕπνων ἀναφέροντας πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον.

6 ὄλιγοι μὲν οὖν ἀνανήψαντες ἐν τῷ φόβῳ καὶ

διασκευασάμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὑπέ-

στησαν, ὥστ' ἀμυνόμενοι πεσεῖν· τοὺς δὲ πλεί-

στους ἔτι κρατουμένους ὕπνῳ καὶ οἴνῳ καταλαμ-

βάνοντες ἀνόπλους ἔκτεινον. ὅσοι δὲ νυκτὸς

ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οὐ πολλοί, τούτους

μεθ' ἡμέραν σποράδας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διαφερομένους

ἐπελαύνοντες ἴππεῖς διέφθειρον.

XXIV. Ἡ δὲ φήμη ταχὺ διαγγέλλουσα τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ἔξεκαλεῖτο πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ συνισταμένους, μάλιστα δὲ Ῥωμαίων

ὅσοι διαφυγόντες ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' Ἀλίᾳ μάχης ἐν Οὐητίοις ἦσαν· καὶ ὠδύροντο κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς,

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in the present case, if they were bold and zealous, he would find occasion to give them a victory without any danger.

After gaining the support of the young men, Camillus went to the rulers and councillors of Ardea, and when he had won them over also, he armed all who were of age for service and kept them together within the walls, that they might not be perceived by the enemy, who were near. These had scoured the country round about, and encamped in the plain, without care or concern, and heavily encumbered with their abundant booty. When night had fallen upon them, putting an end to their carousals, and silence reigned throughout their camp, Camillus, acquainted with this by his scouts, led forth the Ardeans. Passing quietly over the intervening space, they reached the camp about midnight, and with shouts and trumpet blasts on every hand confounded the men, who were scarcely brought to their senses by the din, heavy as they were with drunkenness and sleep. A few of them were sobered by fear, armed themselves, and made resistance to Camillus and his men, so that they fell fighting; but most were still mastered by sleep and wine when they were fallen upon and slain without their arms. A few only ran from the camp, under cover of darkness, and when day came, were seen straggling about the fields, but horsemen pursued them and cut them to pieces.

XXIV. Rumour quickly carried news of this exploit to the neighbouring cities, and called to arms many of those who were of age for service, particularly the Romans who had made their escape from the battle on the Allia, and were in Veii. These

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“Οίον ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ῥώμης ὁ δαίμων ἀφελόμενος
’Αρδεάτας ἐκόσμησε τοῖς Καμίλλου κατορθώ-
μασιν, ἡ δὲ γειναμένη καὶ θρέψασα τοιοῦτον
2 ἄνδρα πόλις οἴχεται καὶ ἀπόλωλεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ
ἀπορίᾳ στρατηγῶν ἀλλότρια τείχη περιβαλό-
μένοι καθήμεθα προέμενοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. φέρε,
πέμψαντες ’Αρδεάτας ἀπαιτῶμεν τὸν ἑαυτῶν
στρατηγόν, ἡ λαβόντες αὐτὸν τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς
ἐκείνουν βαδίζωμεν οὐκέτι γάρ ἔστι φυγὰς οὐδὲ
ἡμεῖς πολῖται πατρίδος οὐκ οὔσης, ἀλλὰ κρατου-
μένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.” ταῦτ’ ἔδοξε καὶ
πέμψαντες ἐδέουντο τοῦ Καμίλλου δέχεσθαι τὴν
3 ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη πρότερον ἡ τοὺς ἐν τῷ
Καπιτωλίῳ πολίτας ἐπιψηφίσασθαι κατὰ τὸν
νόμον. ἐκείνους γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι πατρίδα σωζο-
μένους, καὶ κελεύουσι μὲν ὑπακούειν προθύμως,
ἀκόντων δὲ μηδὲν πολυπραγμονήσειν. τῆς μὲν
οὖν εὐλαβείας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας τὸν Κάμιλλον
ἔθαύμασαν. ἦν δὲ ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ ταῦτα διαγγε-
λοῦντος εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον· μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως
ἀδύνατον ἐδόκει τῶν πολεμίων ἔχόντων τὴν πόλιν
ἄγγελον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παρελθεῖν.

XXV. Ἡν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς νέοις Πόντιος Κο-
μίνιος, τῶν μέσων κατὰ γένος πολιτῶν, δόξης δὲ
καὶ τιμῆς ἐραστής οὗτος ὑπέστη τὸν ἄθλον
ἐκούσιος. καὶ γράμματα μὲν οὐκ ἔλαβε πρὸς
τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, μὴ ληφθέντος αὐτοῦ
φωράσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι δι' αὐτῶν τοῦ Καμίλλου
τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φαύλην ἔχων καὶ
φελλοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῇ κομίζων τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ὄδὸν
ἡμέρας ἀδεῶς διῆλθεν, ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως

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lamented among themselves, saying : “ Of what a leader has heaven robbed Rome in Camillus, only to adorn Ardea with his victories ! The city which bore and reared such a hero is dead and gone, and we, for lack of generals, sit pent up within alien walls, and see Italy ruined before our very eyes. Come ! let us send to Ardea and demand our own general, or take our arms and go ourselves to him ! For he is no longer an exile, nor are we citizens, now that our country is no more, but is mastered by the enemy.” So said, so done, and they sent and asked Camillus to take the command. But he refused to do so before the citizens on the Capitol had legally elected him. They were preserving the country, as he thought, and if they had commands for him, he would gladly obey, but against their wishes he would meddle with nothing whatsoever. This noble restraint on the part of Camillus was much admired, but it was hard to see how the matter could be referred to the Capitol. Nay rather, it seemed utterly impossible, while the enemy held the city, for a messenger to elude them and reach the acropolis.

XXV. But there was a certain young man, Pontius Cominius by name, who was, in spite of his ordinary birth, a lover of glory and honour. He volunteered to attempt the task. He took no letter with him to the defenders of the Capitol, lest this, in the event of his capture, should help the enemy to discover the purpose of Camillus ; but under the coarse garments which he wore, he carried some pieces of cork. The greater part of his journey was made by daylight and without fear ; but as night came on he found himself near the city.

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- γενόμενος ἥδη σκοταιος, ἐπεὶ κατὰ γέφυραν οὐκ
ἥν τὸν ποταμὸν περάσαι τῶν βαρβάρων παρα-
2 φυλαττόντων, τὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτα τῇ κεφαλῇ περι-
σπειράσας οὐ πολλὴν οὐδὲ βαρεῖαν, τοῖς δὲ
φελλοῖς ἐφεὶς τὸ σῶμα καὶ συνεπικουφίζων τῷ¹
περαιωῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔξεβη. καὶ παρα-
λάττων ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐγρηγορότας, τοῖς φέγγεσι καὶ
τῷ θορύβῳ τεκμαιρόμενος, ἐβάδιζε πρὸς τὴν
Καρμεντίδα πύλην, ἣ πλείστην εἶχεν ἡσυχίαν,
καὶ μάλιστα κατ' αὐτὴν ὅρθιος ὁ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου
λόφος ἀνέστηκε καὶ πέτρα κύκλῳ πολλὴ καὶ
τραχεῖα περιπέφυκε· δι' ἣς ἀνέβη λαθὼν καὶ
προσέμιξε τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὸ διατείχισμα
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις κατὰ τὸ λαγαρώτατον.
3 ἀσπάσαμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ φράσας ἑαυτὸν
ἔξ ὄνόματος, ἀναληφθεὶς ἔχώρει πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει
τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ταχὺ δὲ συγκλήτου γενομένης 142
παρελθὼν τὴν τε νίκην ἀπήγγειλε τοῦ Καμίλλου
πρότερον οὐ πυθομένοις, καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς
στρατιώταις διηγεῖτο· καὶ παρεκάλει τῷ Κα-
μίλῳ βεβαιώσαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς μόνῳ πεισο-
4 μένων ἔκείνῳ τῶν ἔξω πολιτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἀκού-
σαντες καὶ βουλευσάμενοι τόν τε Κάμιλλον ἀπο-
δεικνύουσι δικτάτορα, καὶ τὸν Πόντιον αὐθις
ἀποπέμπουσι τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ὁμοίως ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ
χρησάμενον. ἔλαθε γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὰ
παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπήγγειλε τοῖς ἔξω Ῥωμαίοις.
- XXVI. Ἐκείνων δὲ δεξαμένων προθύμως ἀφι-
κόμενος ὁ Κάμιλλος ἥδη μὲν ἐν ὅπλοις δισμυρίους
κατέλαβε, πλείονας δὲ συνήγεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμ-

¹ τῷ Bekker supplies ἐν with Bryan.

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He could not cross the river by the bridge, since the Barbarians were guarding it, so he wrapped his light and scanty garments about his head, fastened the corks to his body, and thus supported, swam across, came out on the other side, and went on towards the city. Always giving a wide berth to those of the enemy who were watchful and wakeful, as he judged by their fires and noise, he made his way to the Carmental gate, where there was the most quiet, at which the Capitoline hill was most sheer and steep, and which was girt about by a huge and jagged cliff. Up this he mounted unperceived, and finally reached, with great pains and difficulty, the sentries posted where the wall was lowest. Hailing them, and telling them who he was, he was pulled up over the wall, and taken to the Roman magistrates. The Senate quickly convening, he appeared before it, announced the victory of Camillus, about which they had not heard, and explained to them the will and pleasure of his fellow-soldiers. He exhorted them to confirm Camillus in his command, since he was the only man whom the citizens outside would obey. When the Senate had heard his message and deliberated upon it, they appointed Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back again by the way he had come, wherein he repeated his former good fortune. For he eluded the enemy's notice and brought the Senate's message to the Romans outside the city.

XXVI. These gave eager welcome to the tidings, so that when Camillus came, he found twenty thousand men already under arms. He collected

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μάχων καὶ παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν. οὕτω μὲν ἡρέθη δικτάτωρ ὁ Κάμιλλος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ πορευθεὶς εἰς Οὐγῆους ἐνέτυχε τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ συνῆγε πλείους ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ως ἐπιθησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις.¹

Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀρβάρων τινὲς ἐκείνη κατὰ τύχην παρεξιόντες, ἢ διὰ νυκτὸς ὁ Πόντιος προσέβη τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καταμαθόντες πολλαχῆ μὲν ἵχνη ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν, ως ἀντελαμβάνετο καὶ περιεδράττετο, πολλαχῆ δὲ τῶν ἐπιπεφυκότων τοῖς κρημνοῖς ἀποτριβάς καὶ περιολισθήσεις τῶν 2 γεωδῶν, φράζουσι τῷ βασιλεῖ. κάκείνος ἐπελθὼν καὶ θεασάμενος τότε μὲν ἡσύχαζεν, ἐσπέρας δὲ τοὺς ἑλαφροτάους τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πεφυκότας ὀρειβατεῦν μάλιστα τῶν Κελτῶν συναγαγών, “Τὴν μὲν ὄδόν,” εἶπεν, “ἡμῖν ἐφ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀγνοούμενην οἵ πολέμιοι δεικνύουσιν ως οὗτ’ ἀπόρευτος οὗτε ἄβατος ἀνθρώποις ἔστιν, αἰσχύνη δὲ πόλλῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντας ἐλλείπειν πρὸς τὸ τέλος καὶ προέσθαι τὸν τόπον ως ἀνάλωτον, αὐτῶν τῶν πολεμίων ἡ ληπτός ἔστι διδασκόντων. ἡ γὰρ ἐνὶ προσβῆναι ράδιον, οὐδὲ πολλοῖς καθ’ ἔνα δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρώμη καὶ βοήθεια πολλὴ μετ’ ἀλλήλων ἐπιχειροῦσι. δωρεαὶ δὲ καὶ τιμαὶ πρέπουσαι τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας ἐκάστῳ δοθῆσονται.”

XXVII. Τοιαῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως διαλεχθέντος ὑπέστησαν οἱ Γαλάται προθύμως, καὶ περὶ μέσας νύκτας ἐπιβάντες ἅμα πολλοὶ τῆς πέτρας

¹ Οὕτω . . . πολεμίοις deleted by Bekker, after Reiske.

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still more from the allies, and made preparations for his attack. Thus Camillus was chosen dictator for the second time, and proceeding to Veii, he put himself at the head of the soldiers there, and collected more from the allies, with the purpose of attacking the enemy.

But in Rome, some of the Barbarians chanced to pass by the spot where Pontius had made his way by night up to the Capitol, and noticed in many places the marks made by his hands and feet in clambering up, and many places also where the plants that grew upon the rocks had been torn away, and the earth displaced. They advised their king of this, and he too came and made inspection. At the time he said nothing, but when evening came, he assembled the nimblest men and the best mountain-climbers of the Gauls and said to them : "The enemy have shown us that there is a way up to them of which we knew not, and one which men can traverse and tread. It would be a great shame for us, after such a beginning as we have made, to fail at the end, and to give the place up as impregnable, when the enemy themselves show us where it can be taken. For where it is easy for one man to approach it, there it will be no difficult matter for many to go one by one, nay, they will support and aid one another greatly in the undertaking. Gifts and honours befitting his valour shall be given to every man."

XXVII. So spake their king, and the Gauls eagerly undertook to do his will. About midnight a large band of them scaled the cliff and made

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- ἐχώρουν ἄνω μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἐμφυόμενοι τοῖς χωρίοις ἀποτόμοις οὖσι καὶ χαλεποῖς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ προσεδοκήθη πειρωμένων αὐτῶν
2 προσιεμένοις καὶ παρείκουσιν, ὥστε τοὺς πρώτους ἀψαμένους τῶν ἄκρων καὶ διασκευασμένους ὅσον οὐκ ἥδη τοῦ προτειχίσματος ἀπτέσθαι καὶ τοῖς φύλαξιν ἐπιχειρεῦν κοιμωμένοις· ἥσθετο γὰρ οὕτ’ ἄνθρωπος οὔτε κύων. ἀλλὰ χῆνες ἥσαν ἱερὸι περὶ τὸν νεὼν τῆς Ἡρας τρεφόμενοι τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀφθόνως, τότε δὲ τῶν σιτίων ἥδη γλίσχρως καὶ μόλις αὐτοῖς διαρ-
3 κούντων ἀμελούμενοι κακῶς ἐπραττον. ἔστι μὲν οὖν καὶ φύσει πρὸς αἰσθησιν ὁξὺν καὶ ψοφοδεῖς τὸ ζῷον· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ διὰ λιμὸν ἀγρυπνητικοὶ καὶ θορυβώδεις γεγονότες ταχὺ τὴν ἔφοδον ὑσθοντο τῶν Γαλατῶν, καὶ μετὰ δρόμου καὶ κλαγγῆς φερόμενοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπήγειραν ἄπαντας, ἥδη καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων διὰ τὸ μὴ λανθάνειν ἀφειδούντων θορύβου καὶ βιαιότερον
4 ἐπιτιθεμένων. ἀρπάσαντες οὖν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς φὶ τις ἔκαστος ὅπλῳ προσετύγχανεν, ἐκ τοῦ παρόντος ἐβοήθουν. πάντων δὲ πρῶτος Μάλλιος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, τό τε σῶμα ὁμαλέος καὶ φρονήματι ψυχῆς ἐπιφανής, ἀπαντήσας δυσὶν ὄμοιν τῶν πολεμίων τοῦ μὲν ἔφθασε διηρμένου κοπίδα τῷ ξίφει τὴν δεξιὰν ἀποκόψας, τὸν δὲ τῷ θυρεῷ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔωσεν ὀπίσω κατὰ τῆς
5 πέτρας. ἐπιστὰς δὲ τῷ τείχει μετὰ τῶν συνδραμόντων καὶ γενομένων περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπέστρεψε τοὺς ἄλλους, οὔτε πολλοὺς ἄνω γενομένους οὔτε πράξαντάς τι τῆς τόλμης ἄξιον. οὗτω δὲ τὸν 143 κίνδυνον ἐκφυγόντες ἀμ’ ἡμέρᾳ τὸν μὲν ἄρχοντα
ι60

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their way upward in silence. They climbed on all fours over places which were precipitous and rough, but which yielded to their efforts better than they had expected, until the foremost of them reached the heights, put themselves in array, and had all but seized the outwork and fallen upon the sleeping watch. Neither man nor dog was aware of their approach. But there were some sacred geese near the temple of Juno, which were usually fed without stint, but at that time, since provisions barely sufficed for the garrison alone, they were neglected and in evil plight. The creature is naturally sharp of hearing and afraid of every noise, and these, being specially wakeful and restless by reason of their hunger, perceived the approach of the Gauls, dashed at them with loud cries, and so waked all the garrison. At once the Barbarians, now that they were detected, spared no noise, and came on more impetuously to the attack. The defenders, snatching up in haste whatever weapon came to hand, made the best shift they could. Manlius first of all, a man of consular dignity, mighty in body and exceeding stout of heart, confronting two of the enemy at once, cut off the right hand of one of them with his sword as he was lifting his battle-axe, and dashing his shield into the face of the other, tumbled him backwards down the cliff. Then taking his stand on the wall with those who ran to his aid and formed about him, he repulsed the rest of the enemy, who had reached the top in no great numbers, and showed no prowess to match their daring. So the Romans escaped out of their peril. At break of day, they cast the

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τῶν φυλάκων ἔρριψαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ τῆς πέτρας, τῷ δὲ Μαλλίῳ τῆς νίκης ἀριστεῖα πρὸς τιμὴν μεγάλην¹ μᾶλλον ἢ χρείαν ψηφισάμενοι συνήνεγκαν ὅσον ἡμέρας ἔκαστος ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τροφήν, σίτου μὲν ἡμίλιτρον ἐπιχωρίου (οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦσιν αὐτό), οἴνου δὲ κοτύλης Ἐλληνικῆς τέταρτον.

XXVIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἦν ἀθυμότερα. καὶ γὰρ ἐπιτηδείων ἐσπάνιζον εἰργόμενοι προνομῆς φόβῳ τοῦ Καμίλλου, καὶ νόσος ὑποικούρησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν νεκρῶν πλήθει χύδην καταβεβλημένων σκηνοῦντας ἐν ἐρειπίοις, τό τε βάθος τῆς τέφρας ἀέρα ξηρότητι καὶ δριμύτητι φαῦλον ὑπὸ πνευμάτων καὶ καυμάτων ἀναθυμιώσης ἐλυμαίνετο τὰ σώματα διὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς.

2 μάλιστα δ' ἡ μεταβολὴ τῆς συντρόφου διαίτης ἐκ τόπων σκιερῶν καὶ θέρους καταφυγὰς ἀλύπους ἔχόντων ἐμβαλόντας εἰς χώραν ταπεινὴν καὶ κεκραμένην ἀφυῶν πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον ἐκίνησεν αὐτούς, ἢ τε πρὸς τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καθέδρα καὶ σχολὴ γενομένη χρόνιος. ἔβδομον γὰρ ἐκεῖνον οἴκουρουν μῆνα πολιορκοῦντες. ὥστε φθορὰν εἶναι πολλὴν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μηδὲ θάπτεσθαι διὰ πλῆθος ἔτι τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας.

3 Οὐ μὴν παρὰ² τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα βελτίω τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἦν. ἐπέτεινε γὰρ ὁ λιμός, ἢ τε τῶν περὶ Κάμιλλου ἄγνοια παρεῖχε δυσθυμίαν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐφοίτα παρ' αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ φρουρεῖσθαι

¹ μεγάλην deleted by Coraës and Bekker.

² παρὰ MSS. and edd., including Sintenis¹: περὶ.

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captain of the watch down the cliff among the enemy, but voted to Manlius a meed of victory which did him more honour than service. They collected for him the rations which each man of them received for one day, namely, half a pound of native spelt, Roman weight, and an eighth of a pint of wine, Greek measure.

XXVIII. After this, the case of the Gauls was less hopeful. They lacked provisions, being shut off from foraging through fear of Camillus, and disease lurked among them. They were encamped amid ruins, where a multitude of corpses had been cast at random, and besides, an air made dry and acrid by vast quantities of ashes which wind and heat sent flying abroad, made breathing hurtful. But what most of all affected them was the complete change in their mode of life. They had come all at once from regions of shade, where easy refuge could be had from the heats of summer, into a land which was low lying and had an unnatural climate towards autumn. Then there was their long and idle sitting down before the Capitol,—they were now whiling away the seventh month in its siege. For all these reasons the mortality was great in their camp; so many were the dead that they could no longer be buried.

All this, however, brought no relief to the besieged, for famine increased upon them, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing made them dejected. No messenger could come from him because the city was now closely watched

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τὴν πόλιν ἀκριβῶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. ὅθεν οὕτω πράττουσιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐγίνοντο συμβατικοὶ λόγοι διὰ τῶν προφυλάκων τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλήλοις 4 ἐντυγχανόντων· εἴτα, ώς ἔδοξε τοῖς κρατίστοις, συνελθόντος εἰς λόγους Βρέννῳ Σουλπικίου τοῦ χιλιάρχου τῶν Ἀρμαίων, ὡμολογήθη τοὺς μὲν χιλίας λίτρας χρυσίου καταβαλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτίκα· καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀναχωρεῖν. ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένων ὅρκων καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου κομισθέντος, τῶν δὲ Κελτῶν περὶ τὸν σταθμὸν ἀγνωμονούντων κρύφα τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτα καὶ φανερῶς ἀφελκόντων καὶ διαστρεφόντων τὴν 5 ρόπην, ἡγανάκτουν οἱ Ἀρμαῖοι πρὸς αὐτούς. ὁ δὲ Βρέννος οἷον ἐφυβρίζων καὶ καταγελῶν ἀποδυσάμενος¹ τὴν μάχαιραν ἄμα καὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα προσέθηκε τοῖς σταθμοῖς. πυνθανομένου δὲ τοῦ Σουλπικίου, “Τί τοῦτο;” “Τί γὰρ ἄλλο,” εἶπεν, “ἡ τοῖς νεικημένοις ὀδύνη;” τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἥδη παροιμιώδης λόγος γέγονε. τῶν δὲ Ἀρμαίων οἱ μὲν ἡγανάκτουν καὶ τὸ χρυσίου φόντο δεῖν λαβόντας αὐθις ἀπιέναι καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ὑπομένειν· οἱ δὲ συγχωρεῖν ἐκέλευνον ἀδικουμένους μέτρια, καὶ μὴ τῷ πλέον διδόναι προσλογίζεσθαι τὸ αἰσχρόν, αὐτὸ γε τὸ δοῦναι διὰ τὸν καιρὸν οὐ καλῶς ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως ὑπομένοντας.

XXIX. Οὕστης δὲ περὶ τούτων πρός τε τοὺς Κελτοὺς καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς² διαφορᾶς ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ἦν· καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ γινόμενα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τάξει καὶ σχέδην ἐπακολουθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ

¹ ἀποδυσάμενος with S : ἀπολυσάμενος unfastening.

² αὐτοὺς Sintenis² with C : αὐτοὺς Bekker and Sintenis¹.

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by the Barbarians. Wherefore, both parties being in such a plight, a compromise was proposed, at first by the outposts as they encountered one another. Then, since those in authority thought it best, Sulpicius, the military tribune of the Romans, held a conference with Brennus, and it was agreed that on the delivery of a thousand pounds of gold by the Romans, the Gauls should straightway depart out of the city and the country. Oaths were sworn to these terms, and the gold was brought to be weighed. But the Gauls tampered with the scales, secretly at first, then they openly pulled the balance back out of its poise. The Romans were incensed at this, but Brennus, with a mocking laugh, stripped off his sword, and added it, belt and all, to the weights. When Sulpicius asked, "What means this?" "What else," said Brennus, "but woe to the vanquished?"¹ and the phrase passed at once into a proverb. Some of the Romans were incensed, and thought they ought to go back again with their gold, and endure the siege. Others urged acquiescence in the mild injustice. Their shame lay, they argued, not in giving more, but in giving at all. This they consented to do because of the emergency; it was not honourable, but it was necessary.

XXIX. While they were thus at odds in the matter, both with the Gauls and with themselves, Camillus led his army up to the gates of the city. On learning what was going on, he ordered the rest of his army to follow in battle array and deliberately,

¹ *Vae victis!*

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τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπειγόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς
2 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. διαστάντων δὲ πάντων καὶ
δεξαμένων αὐτὸν ὡς αὐτοκράτορα κόσμῳ καὶ
σιωπῇ, τὸ μὲν χρυσίον ἄρας ἀπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ τοῖς
ὑπηρέταις ἔδωκε, τὸν δὲ ζυγὸν καὶ τὰ σταθμὰ
τοὺς Κελτοὺς λαβόντας ἀποχωρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
εἰπών, ὡς σιδήρῳ πάτριόν ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις, οὐ
χρυσῷ τὴν πατρίδα σώζειν. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ
τοῦ Βρέννου καὶ φάσκοντος ἀδικεῖσθαι λυομένης
τῆς ὁμολογίας, ἀντεῖπε μὴ νομίμως γεγονέναι
3 μηδὲ κυρίας εἶναι τὰς συνθήκας· ἥδη γὰρ αὐτοῦ
δικτάτορος ἡρημένου καὶ μηδενὸς ἄρχοντος ἐτέρου
νόμῳ πρὸς οὐκ ἔχοντας ἔξουσίαν ὁμολογηθῆναι.
νυνὶ δὲ χρῆναι λέγειν εἴ τι βούλονται· νόμῳ γὰρ
ἥκειν κύριος γεγονὼς συγγνώμην τε δεομένοις
δοῦναι καὶ δίκην, εἴ μὴ μετανοοῦσιν, ἐπιθέναι
4 τοῖς αἰτίοις. πρὸς ταῦτα θορυβηθεὶς ὁ Βρέννος 14
ἥψατο μὲν ἀψιμαχίας, καὶ προῆλθον ἄχρι ξι-
φουλκίας ἑκάτεροι καὶ διωθισμῶν ἀναμεμιγμένοι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ἐν οἰκίαις καὶ
στενωποῖς ἀναστρεφόμενοι καὶ χωρίοις δέξασθαι
παράταξιν οὐ δυναμένοις. ταχὺ δὲ συμφρονήσας
ὁ Βρέννος ἀπήγαγε τοὺς Κελτοὺς εἰς τὸ στρατό-
πεδον οὐ πολλῶν πεσόντων. καὶ νυκτὸς ἀναστή-
σας ἄπαντας ἔξελιπε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθὼν
ἔξηκοντα σταδίους κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὴν
5 Γαβιώναν ὁδόν. ἅμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ παρῆν ὁ Κάμιλλος
ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὠπλισμένος λαμπρῶς καὶ τεθαρρηκότας
ἔχων τότε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ γενομένης ἴσχυρᾶς
μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτούς τε τρέπεται
πολλῷ φόνῳ καὶ λαμβάνει τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῶν

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while he himself, with the flower of his men, pressed on, and presently came to the Romans. These all made way for him, in decorous silence acknowledging him as their dictator. Thereupon he lifted the gold from the scales and gave it to his attendants, and then ordered the Gauls to take their scales and weights and be off, saying that it was the custom with the Romans to deliver their city with iron and not with gold. When Brennus in wrath declared that he was wronged by this breaking of the agreement, Camillus answered that the compact was not legally made nor binding, since he himself had already been chosen dictator and there was no other legal ruler ; the agreement of the Gauls had therefore been made with men who had no power in the case. Now, however, they must say what they wanted, for he was come with legal authority to grant pardon to those who asked it, and to inflict punishment on the guilty, unless they showed repentance. At this, Brennus raised a clamour and began a skirmish, in which both sides got no further than drawing their swords and pushing one another confusedly about, since the action took place in the heart of the ruined city, where no battle array was possible. But Brennus soon came to his senses, and led his Gauls off to their camp, with the loss of a few only. During the ensuing night he broke camp and abandoned the city with his whole force, and after a march of about eight miles, encamped along the Gabinian way. At break of day Camillus was upon him, in glittering array, his Romans now full of confidence, and after a long and fierce battle, routed the enemy with great slaughter and took their camp. Of the fugitives, some were at once

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δὲ φευγόντων οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνηρέθησαν καταδιωχθέντες, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους διασπαρέντας ἐπεκθέοντες ἐκ τῶν πέριξ κωμῶν καὶ πόλεων ἔκτεινον.

- XXX. Οὕτω μὲν ἡ Ἀράβη παραλόγως ἥλω καὶ παραλογώτερον ἐσώθη, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς πάντας ὑπὸ τοῦς βαρβάροις γενομένη. παρελθόντες γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις ὑστερον τῶν Κυῖντιλίων εἰδῶν περὶ τὰς Φεβρουαρίας εἰδοὺς ἔξεπεσον. ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐθριάμβευσε μέν, ως εἰκὸς ἦν, τὸν ἀπολωλίας σωτῆρα πατρίδος γενούμενον καὶ 2 κατάγοντα τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν εἰς ἑαυτήν· οἵ τε γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἄμα παισὶ καὶ γυναιξὶν εἰσελαύνοντος αὐτοῦ συγκατήσαν, οἵ τε πολιορκηθέντες ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, μικροῦ δεήσαντες ἀπολέσθαι διὰ λιμόν, ἀπήντων περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ δακρύοντες ὑπὸ¹ τῆς παρούσης ἡδονῆς, ἵερεις τε καὶ ζάκοροι θεῶν, ὅσα φεύγοντες αὐτόθι τῶν ἀβεβήλων ἔκρυψαν ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔξεκλεψαν, ἀνασωζόμενα² κομίζοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο ποθουμένας ὄψεις τοῦς πολίταις δεχομένοις μετὰ χαρᾶς, ὕσπερ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν αὐθις εἰς τὴν Ἀράβην 3 συγκατερχομένων· θύσας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ καθάρας τὴν πόλιν ἔξηγουμένων τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δεινῶν, τὰ μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἱερῶν κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἴδρυσατο νεὼν Φήμης καὶ Κληδόνος, ἀνευρὼν ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον, ἐν φυΐτῳ τῇ καταγγέλλουσα τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατιὰν ἐκ θεοῦ τῷ Καιδικίῳ Μάρκῳ φωνὴ προσέπεσε.

¹ ὑπὸ with S : ἀπιστίᾳ for distrust of.

² ἀνασωζόμενα καὶ κεκοσμημένα S, and adorned.

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pursued and cut down, but most of them scattered abroad, only to be fallen upon and slain by the people of the surrounding villages and cities.

XXX. So strangely was Rome taken, and more strangely still delivered, after the Barbarians had held it seven months in all. They entered it a few days after the Ides of July, and were driven out about the Ides of February. Camillus celebrated a triumph, as it was meet that a man should do who had saved a country that was lost, and who now brought the city back again to itself. For the citizens outside, with their wives and children, accompanied his triumphal chariot as it entered the city, and those who had been besieged on the Capitol, and had narrowly escaped death by starvation, came forth to meet them, all embracing one another, and weeping for the joy that was theirs. The priests and ministrants of the gods, bringing whatever sacred objects they had either buried on the spot or carried off with them when they took to flight, displayed them, thus preserved in safety, to the citizens, who caught the welcome sights with delight, believing in their hearts that the gods themselves were now coming back to Rome with them. After Camillus had made sacrifices to the gods and purified the city, in the manner prescribed by those who were versed in such rites, he restored the existing temples, and erected a new one to Rumour and Voice,¹ having sought out carefully the spot where by night the voice from Heaven, announcing the coming of the Barbarian host, had fallen upon the ears of Marcus Caedicius.

¹ Ara Aii Locutii.

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- XXXI. Χαλεπῶς μὲν οὖν καὶ μόλις αἱ τῶν
ἰερῶν ἀνεκαλύπτοντο χῶραι φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ Κα-
μίλλου καὶ πόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν ιεροφαντῶν ὡς δὲ
καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἔδει παντάπασι διε-
φθαρμένην, ἀθυμίᾳ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ἐνέπιπτε τοὺς
πολλοῖς καὶ μέλλησις ἦν ἐστερημένοις ἀπάντων
καὶ τινος ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥαστώντης καὶ ἀναπαύ-
σεως ἐκ κακῶν δεομένοις μᾶλλον ἢ κάμνειν
καὶ ἀποτρύχειν ἑαυτοὺς οὕτε χρήμασιν οὕτε
2 σώμασιν ἐρρωμένους. οὕτω δὲ ἡσυχῇ πρὸς τοὺς
Οὐητίους αὐθίς ἀποστρεφόμενοι, πόλιν ἄπασι
κατεσκευασμένην καὶ διαμένουσαν, ἀρχὰς δημα-
γωγιῶν ἐνέδοσαν τοὺς πρὸς χάριν εἰθισμένοις
όμιλεῖν, καὶ λόγων ἡκροῶντο στασιαστικῶν πρὸς
τὸν Κάμιλλον, ὡς ἐκείνου φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα καὶ
δόξης ἴδιας ἀποστεροῦντος αὐτοὺς πόλεως ἐτοίμης
καὶ βιαζομένου σκηνοῦν ἐρείπια καὶ πυρκαϊὰν
τοσαύτην ἐγείρειν, ὅπως μὴ μόνον ἡγεμὸν 'Ρώμης
καὶ στρατηγός, ἀλλὰ καὶ κτίστης λέγηται παρώ-
σας 'Ρωμύλον.
- 3 Ἐκ τούτου φοβηθεῖσα τὸν θόρυβον ἢ βουλὴ
τὸν μὲν Κάμιλλον οὐκ εἴασε βουλόμενον ἀπο-
θέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ καίπερ ἔξ
μῆνας οὐδενὸς ὑπερβαλόντος ἐτέρου δικτά-
τορος, αὐτὴ δὲ παρεμυθεῖτο καὶ κατεπράゅνε
πείθουσα καὶ δεξιούμενη τὸν δῆμον, ἐπιδεικνυ-
μένη μὲν ἡρία καὶ τάφους πατέρων, ὑπομμη-
σκουσα δὲ χωρίων ιερῶν καὶ τόπων ἀγίων, οὓς
'Ρωμύλος ἢ Νομᾶς ἢ τις ἄλλος αὐτοῖς τῶν

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XXXI. Owing to the zeal of Camillus and the abundant labours of the priesthood, the sites of the temples were at last uncovered, but it proved a grievous undertaking. And since the city had also to be built up again from a state of utter destruction, the multitude were overwhelmed with despair of the task, and shrank from it. They were bereft of all things, and for the present needed some rest and repose after their sufferings, instead of toiling and wearing themselves out on a task for which they had neither means nor strength. And so it was that insensibly their thoughts turned again to Veii, a city which remained intact and was equipped with all things needful. This gave opportunity for mischievous agitations to such as were wont to consult only the people's will and pleasure, and ready ear was given to seditious speeches against Camillus. He had an eye, it was said, only to his own ambition and fame, when he would deprive them of a city that stood ready to receive them, and force them to pitch their tents among a mass of ruins, while they rebuilt what had become a monstrous funeral pyre. He wished not merely to be a leader and general of Rome, but to thrust Romulus to one side and be styled its founder.

The Senate, therefore, fearful of this clamour, would not suffer Camillus, much as he wished it, to lay down his office within a year, although no other dictator had served more than six months. Meanwhile the Senators, by dint of kindly greetings and persuasive words, tried to soften and convert the people, pointing out the sepulchres and tombs of their fathers, and calling to their remembrance the shrines and holy places which Romulus, or Numa,

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- 4 βασιλέων ἐπιθειάσας παρέδωκεν. ἐν πρώτοις δὲ τῶν θείων τήν τε νεοσφαγῆ κεφαλὴν προῦφερον 145 ἐν τῇ θεμελιώσει τοῦ Καπιτωλίου φανεῖσαν, ώς τῷ τόπῳ πεπρωμένου ἐκείνῳ τῆς Ἰταλίας κεφαλῆ γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἐστίας πῦρ, ὃ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ὑπὸ τῶν παρθένων ἀναπτόμενον αὐθις ἀφανίζειν καὶ σβεννύναι τοὺς προλιπόντας τὴν πόλιν, ὅνειδος αὐτοῖς ἐσόμενον, ἢν τε ὑπ' ἄλλων οἰκουμένην ὁρῶσιν ἐπηλύδων καὶ ξένων ἢν τ' ἔρημον οὖσαν καὶ μηλόβοτον.
- 5 Τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς ἕκαστον ἴδιᾳ καὶ κοινῇ πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ σχετλιάζοντες ἐπεκλώντο πάλιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν τὴν παροῦσαν ὄλοφυρομένων ἀμηχανίαν, καὶ δεομένων μὴ σφᾶς ὥσπερ ἐκ ναυαγίου γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀπόρους σωθέντας προσβιάζεσθαι τὰ λείψανα τῆς διεφθαρμένης συμπηγνύναι πόλεως, ἐτέρας ἐτοίμης παρούσης.

XXXII. Ἔδοξεν οὖν βουλὴν προθεῖναι τῷ Καμίλλῳ· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς διεξῆλθε παρακαλῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ βουλόμενος· τέλος δὲ τὸν πρῶτον εἰωθότα λέγειν γνώμην Λεύκιον Λουκρήτιον ἀναστήσας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποφήνασθαι πρῶτον, εἴτα 2 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφεξῆς. γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς καὶ τοῦ Λουκρητίου μέλλοντος ἐνάρχεσθαι, κατὰ τύχην ἔξωθεν ἐκατοντάρχης ἄγων τάγμα φυλακῆς ἡμερινῆς παρεπορεύετο, καὶ τὸν φέροντα πρῶτον τὸ σημεῖον μεγάλῃ φωνῇ προσαγορεύσας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοῦ μένειν καὶ τὸ σημεῖον τίθεσθαι·

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or some other king, had consecrated and left to their care. Among other signs from Heaven, they laid chief stress on the newly severed head that was found when the foundations of the Capitol were dug, showing, as it did, that the place where it was found was fated to be the head of Italy ; also on the sacred fire of Vesta, which had been kindled anew by her virgins after the war. If they should quench and extinguish this again by their abandonment of the city, it would be a disgrace to them, whether they saw that city occupied by immigrants and aliens, or abandoned to flocks and herds.

Thus did the Senators remonstrate with the people, both individually in private, and often in the public assemblies. They, in their turn, were moved to compassion by the wailing complaints of the multitude, who lamented the helplessness to which they were come, and begged, now that they had been saved alive as it were from a shipwreck, in nakedness and destitution, that they be not forced to piece together the fragments of their ruined city, when another stood all ready to receive them.

XXXII. Accordingly, Camillus decided that the question should be debated and settled in council. He himself spoke at great length, in exhortation to preserve their common country, and every one else who wished did likewise. Finally, he called upon Lucius Lucretius, to whom custom gave the first vote, and bade him declare his opinion first, and then the other senators in the order due. Silence fell, and Lucretius was on the point of beginning, when it chanced that a centurion with a squad of the day watch passed by outside, and calling with a loud voice on the man who led with the standard,

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- κάλλιστα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καθεδεῖσθαι καὶ μενεῖν.
 ἂμα δὲ τῷ καιρῷ καὶ τῇ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος
 ἐννοίᾳ καὶ ἀδηλότητι τῆς φωνῆς γενομένης, ὃ τε
 Λουκρήτιος ἔφη προσκυνήσας τῷ θεῷ προστί-
 θεσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γνώμην καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 3 ἔκαστος ἐπηκολούθησε. θαυμαστὴ δὲ καὶ τὸ
 πλῆθος ἔσχε μεταβολὴ τῆς ὁρμῆς, ἀλλήλους
 παρακαλούντων καὶ προτρεπομένων¹ πρὸς τὸ
 ἔργον, οὐκ ἐκ διανομῆς τινος ἢ τάξεως, ἀλλ' ὡς
 ἔκαστος ἐτοιμότητος ἢ βουλήσεως εἶχε τῶν
 χωρίων καταλαμβανομένων. διὸ καὶ τεταραγ-
 μένημ τοὺς στενωποῖς καὶ συμπεφυρμένην ταῖς
 οἰκήσεσιν ἀνήγαγον τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ σπουδῆς καὶ
 τάχους. ἐντὸς γὰρ ἐνιαυτοῦ λέγεται καὶ τοῖς
 τειχεσι καινὴ καὶ ταῖς ἴδιωτικαῖς οἰκοδομαῖς ἀνα-
 στῆναι πάλιν.
- 4 Οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς τόπους ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ ὄρισαι
 ταχθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καμίλλου, συγκεχυμένων
 ἀπάντων, ὡς ἡκον ἐπὶ τὴν καλιάδα τοῦ Ἀρεως
 περιοδεύοντες τὸ Παλάτιον, αὐτὴν μέν, ὡς τὰ
 ἄλλα, διεφθαρμένην καὶ κατακεκαυμένην εὑρον
 ὑπὸ τῶν Βαρβάρων, σκευωρούμενοι δὲ καὶ καθαί-
 ροντες τὸ χωρίον ἐντυγχάνουσι τῷ μαντικῷ ξύλῳ
 τοῦ Ῥωμοῦ κατὰ τέφρας πολλῆς καὶ βαθείας
 5 καταδεδυκότι. τοῦτο δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐπικαμπὲς ἐκ
 θατέρου πέρατος, καλεῖται δὲ λίτυον· χρῶνται δ'
 αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς τῶν πλινθίων ὑπογραφὰς ὅταν ἐπ'
 ὅρνισι διαμαντεύομενοι καθέξωνται, ὡς κάκεῖνος
 ἔχρητο μαντικώτατος ὡν. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
 ἥφανίσθη, παραλαβόντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ ξύλον
 ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἱερῶν ἄψαυστον ἐφύλαττον.

¹ προτρεπομένων with S : τρεπομένων.

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bade him halt and plant his standard there, for that was the best place to settle down and stay in. The utterance fell at the crisis of their anxious thought for the uncertain future, and Lucretius said, with a devout obeisance, that he cast his vote with the god. The rest, one by one, followed his example. Then the inclinations of the multitude were marvellously changed. They exhorted and incited one another to the work, and pitched upon their several sites, not by any orderly assignment, but as each man found it convenient and desirable. Therefore the city was rebuilt with confused and narrow streets and a maze of houses, owing to their haste and speed. Within a year's time, it is said, a new city had arisen, with walls to guard it and homes in which to dwell.

Those who had been deputed by Camillus to recover and mark out anew the sacred places, found them all in utter confusion. When they came to the shrine of Mars, in their circuit of the Palatium, they found that it had been demolished and burnt by the Barbarians, like the rest, but as they were clearing away and renovating the place, they came upon the augural staff of Romulus, buried deep in a great heap of ashes. The augural staff is curved at one end, and is called *lituus*. It is used to mark off the different quarters of the heavens, in the ceremonies of divination by the flight of birds, and so Romulus had used this one, for he was a great diviner. But when he vanished from among men, the priests took this staff and kept it inviolate, like

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τοῦτο δὴ τότε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολωλότων ἀνευρόντες διαπεφευγὸς τὴν φθορὰν ἡδίους ἐγένοντο ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥώμης, ὡς ἀτδιον αὐτῇ τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῦ σημέίου βεβαιοῦντος.

XXXIII. Οὕπω δὲ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα πεπανμένοις ἀσχολίας αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτει πόλεμος, Αἰκανῶν μὲν ἄμα καὶ Οὐολούσκων καὶ Λατίνων εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐμβαλλόντων, Τυρρηνῶν δὲ πολιορκούντων Σούτριν, συμμαχίδα Ῥωμαίων πόλιν. ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντες χιλίαρχοι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι περὶ τὸ Μάρκιον ὅρος ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἐπολιορκούντο καὶ κινδυνεύοντες ἀποβαλεῖν τὸ στρατοπέδον εἰς Ῥώμην ἔπειμψαν 2 ἀποδείκνυται τὸ τρίτον Κάμιλλος δικτάτωρ. περὶ τούτου τοῦ πολέμου διττοὶ λόγοι λέγονται· δίειμι δὲ τὸν μυθώδη πρότερον.

Φασὶ τοὺς Λατίνους, εἴτε προφάσει χρωμένους εἴτε βουλομένους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀναμίξασθαι τὰ γένη πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς, πέμψαντας αἵτεῦν παρὰ 146 τῶν Ῥωμαίων παρθένους ἐλευθέρας γυναικας. ἀπορούντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τί χρὴ ποιεῖν (καὶ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον ὡρρώδουν οὕπω καθεστῶτες οὐδ' ἀνειληφότες αὐτούς, καὶ τὴν αἵτησιν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπώπτευον ἐξομήρευσιν εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ εὐπρεποὺς χάριν ἐπιγαμίαν καλεῖσθαι), θεραπαινίδα 3 τοῦνομα Τουτούλαν, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσι, Φιλωτίδα τοῖς ἄρχουσι παραινέσαι πέμπειν σὺν αὐτῇ τῶν δμωΐδων τὰς ἐν ὥρᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ταῖς ὄψεσιν ἐλευθερίους, κοσμήσαντας ὡς νύμφας εὐγενεῖς, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ αὐτῇ μελήσειν. πεισθέντας δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιλέξασθαι τῶν θεραπαινίδων ὅσας ἔκεινη πρὸς τὴν χρείαν ἐδοκίμασε, καὶ κοσμήσαν-

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any other sacred object. Their finding this at that time unscathed, when all the rest had perished, gave them more pleasing hopes for Rome. They thought it a token that assured her of everlasting safety.

XXXIII. They were not yet done with these pressing tasks when a fresh war broke upon them. The Aequians, Volscians, and Latins burst into their territory all at once, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city allied with Rome. The military tribunes in command of the army, having encamped near Mount Marcius, were besieged by the Latins, and were in danger of losing their camp. Wherefore they sent to Rome for aid, and Camillus was appointed dictator for the third time. Two stories are told about this war, and I will give the fabulous one first.

They say that the Latins, either as a pretext for war, or because they really wished to revive the ancient affinity between the two peoples, sent and demanded from the Romans free-born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in doubt what to do, for they dreaded war in their unsettled and unrestored condition, and yet they suspected that this demand for wives was really a call for hostages disguised under the specious name of intermarriage. In their perplexity, a serving-maid named Tutula, or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates to send her to the enemy with some maid-servants of the comeliest sort and most genteel appearance, all arrayed like free-born brides; she would attend to the rest. The magistrates yielded to her persuasions, chose out as many maid-servants as she thought meet

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- τας ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ παραδοῦναι τοῖς Λατίνοις
οὐ πάνυ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδεύουσι.
- 4 νύκτωρ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ὑφελέσθαι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια
τῶν πολεμίων, τὴν δ' εἴτε Τουτούλαν εἴτε Φιλω-
τίδα προσβᾶσαν ἐρινεῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ παρατείνα-
σαν ὅπίσω τὸ ιμάτιον ἄραι πυρσὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην,
ώσπερ ἦν συγκείμενον αὐτῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας,
οὐδενὸς ἄλλου τῶν πολιτῶν εἰδότος. διὸ δὲ καὶ
θορυβώδῃ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔξοδον,
ώς κατήπειγον οἱ ἄρχοντες, ἀλλήλους ἀνακαλούν-
των καὶ μόλις εἰς τὴν τάξιν καθισταμένων. ἐπελ-
θόντας δὲ τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων οὐ προσδεχο-
μένων καὶ καθευδόντων ἐλεῦν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ
- 5 διαφθέραι τοὺς πλείστους. τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ταῖς
νῦν Ἰουλίαις, τότε δὲ Κυνητιλίαις νόναις, καὶ τὴν
ἀγομένην ἑօρτὴν ὑπόμνημα τῆς πράξεως ἐκείνης
εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐξιόντες ἀθρόου διὰ τῆς
πύλης πολλὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καὶ κοινῶν ὄνομά-
των βοῇ φθέγγονται, Γάϊον, Μάρκον, Λούκιον
καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια, μιμούμενοι τὴν τότε
γενομένην μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀλλήλων ἀνάκλησιν.
- 6 ἔπειτα κεκοσμημέναι λαμπρῶς αἱ θεραπαινίδες
περιίσσαι παίζουσαι διὰ σκωμμάτων εἰς τοὺς
ἀπαντῶντας. γίνεται δὲ καὶ μάχη τις αὐταῖς πρὸς
ἄλλήλας, ώς καὶ τότε τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς Λατίνους
ἀγῶνος συνεπιλαμβανομέναις. ἔστιώμεναι δὲ
καθέζονται κλάδοις συκῆς σκιαζόμεναι· καὶ τὴν
ἡμέραν νόνας Καπρατίνας καλοῦσιν, ώς οἴονται
διὰ τὸν ἐρινεόν, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν παιδίσκην τὸν πυρσὸν
ἄραι· τὸν γὰρ ἐρινεόν καπρίφικον ὄνομάζουσιν.
- 7 "Ετεροι δὲ τούτων τὰ πλεῖστα δρᾶσθαι καὶ
λέγεσθαι φασιν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ῥωμύλου πάθει·

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for her purpose, arrayed them in fine raiment and gold, and handed them over to the Latins, who were encamped near the city. In the night, the rest of the maidens stole away the enemy's swords, while Tutula, or Philotis, climbed a wild fig-tree of great height, and after spreading out her cloak behind her, held out a lighted torch towards Rome, this being the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, though no other citizen knew of it. Hence it was that the soldiers sallied out of the city tumultuously, as the magistrates urged them on, calling out one another's names, and with much ado getting into rank and file. They stormed the entrenchments of the enemy, who were fast asleep and expecting nothing of the sort, captured their camp, and slew most of them. This happened on the Nones of what was then called Quintilis, now July, and the festival since held on that day is in remembrance of the exploit. For, to begin with, they run out of the city gate in throngs, calling out loudly many local and common names, such as Gaius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like, in imitation of the way the soldiers once called aloud upon each other in their haste. Next, the maid-servants, in gay attire, run about jesting and joking with the men they meet. They have a mock battle, too, with one another, implying that they once took a hand in the struggle with the Latins. And as they feast, they sit in the shade of a fig-tree's branches. The day is called the "Capratine Nones," from the wild fig-tree, as they suppose, from which the maid held forth her torch ; this goes by the name of *caprificus*.

But others say that most of what is said and done at this festival has reference to the fate of Romulus.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

κατὰ ταύτην γὰρ ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτὸν
ἔξω πύλης, ζόφου καὶ θυέλλης ἄφνω περισχούσης,
ώς δ' ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν, ἐκλείψεως ἡλίου γενομένης,
καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου νώνας Καπρατίνας
κληθῆναι, τὴν γὰρ αἰγα κάπραν ὄνομάζουσιν· ὁ
δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἡφανίσθη δημηγορῶν περὶ τὸ τῆς
αἰγὸς ἔλος προσαγορευόμενον, ώς ἐν τοῖς περὶ
ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

XXXIV. Τὸν δ' ἔτερον λόγον οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν
συγγραφέων δοκιμάζοντες οὕτω λέγουσιν. ἀπο-
δειχθεὶς δικτάτωρ τὸ τρίτον ὁ Κάμιλλος καὶ
πυθόμενος τὸ μετὰ τῶν χιλιάρχων στράτευμα
πολιορκούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ τῶν Οὐολού-
σκῶν, ἥναγκάσθη καὶ τοὺς οὐκ ἐν ὕρᾳ τῶν πολι-
2 τῶν, ἀλλ' ἦδη παρηβηκότας καθοπλίσαι. περιελ-
θὼν δὲ μακρὰν περίοδον περὶ τὸ Μάρκιου ὅρος
καὶ λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους ἵδρυσε τὴν στρατιὰν
κατόπιν αὐτῶν, καὶ πυρὰ πολλὰ καύσας διεσή-
μηνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρουσίαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολιορ-
κούμενοι θαρρήσαντες ἐπιέναι διενοοῦντο καὶ
3 μάχην συνάπτειν· οἱ δὲ Λατίνοι καὶ Οὐολούσκοι
συστείλαντες εἴσω τοῦ χάρακος ἑαυτοὺς ἀπεσταύ-
ρουν ξύλοις πολλοῖς καὶ διεφράγμυντο πανταχό-
θεν τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἀμφίβολοι γεγονότες ὑπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων καὶ περιμένειν ἐγνωκότες ἐτέραν οἰκοθεν
δύναμιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνῶν προσδεχόμενοι
βοήθειαν. τοῦτο δ' αἰσθομένος ὁ Κάμιλλος καὶ
δεδοικώς παθεῖν ὅπερ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς τοὺς πολε-
μίους κυκλωσάμενος ἔσπευδε προλαβεῖν τὸν
4 καιρόν. ὅντος δὲ τοῦ περιφράγματος ξυλίνου καὶ
πνεύματος μεγάλου κατιόντος ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρῶν ἅμα

CAMILLUS

For on this same day he vanished from sight, outside the city gates, in sudden darkness and tempest, and, as some think, during an eclipse of the sun. The day, they say, is called the "Capratine Nones" from the spot where he thus vanished. For the she-goat goes by the name of *capra*, and Romulus vanished from sight while haranguing an assembly of the people at the Goat's Marsh, as has been stated in his *Life*.¹

XXXIV. But most writers adopt the other account of this war, which runs thus. Camillus, having been appointed dictator for the third time, and learning that the army under the military tribunes was besieged by the Latins and Volscians, was forced to put under arms even those of the citizens who were exempt from military duty by reason of advancing years. Fetching a long circuit around Mount Marcius and thus eluding the enemy's notice, he planted his army securely in their rear, and then by lighting many fires made known his presence there. The besieged Romans at once took heart and purposed to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians retired within their trenches, fenced themselves in with a great wooden palisade, and barricaded their camp on all sides, for they now had a hostile force in front and rear, and were determined to await reinforcements from home. At the same time they expected aid from the Tuscans also. Camillus, perceiving their design, and fearful of being himself surrounded by the enemy as he had surrounded them, made haste to improve his opportunity. The enemy's barricades were of wood, and a strong wind

¹ Chap. xxvii.

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φάει, πυροβόλα¹ παρασκευασάμενος καὶ περὶ τὸν ὅρθρον ἔξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκέλευσε χρῆσθαι βέλεσι καὶ κραυγῇ καθ' ἔτερον μέρος, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς τὸ πῦρ ἀφήσειν μέλλοντας ἔχων ὅθεν εἰώθει μάλιστα προσπίπτειν ὁ ἄνεμος τῷ χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων ἀνέμενε τὴν ὥραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεστώσης τῆς μάχης ὅ τε ἥλιος ἀνήρει καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἔξεπιπτε, σημήνας ἐπιδρομὴν κατέσπειρε τοῦ χάρακος ἀφθονα τῶν πυροβόλων.

5 ταχὺ δὲ τῆς φλογὸς ἐν ὅλῃ πυκνῇ καὶ σταυρώμασι ξυλίνοις ἀνατραφείσης καὶ κύκλῳ περινεμομένης, οὐδὲν ἄκος οὐδὲ σβεστήριον ἔχοντες οἱ Λατῖνοι παρεσκευασμένον, ὡς πλῆρες ἦν ἡδη τὸ στρατόπεδον πυρός, ἐπ' ὀλίγον συστελλόμενοι τόπον ἔξεπιπτον ὑπ' ἀνάγκης πρὸς ὠπλισμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τούτων μὲν ὀλίγοι διέφυγον, τοὺς δὲ καταλειφθέντας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάντας διέφθειρε τὸ πῦρ, μέχρι οὗ κατασβέσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν.

XXXV. Γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὸν νὶὸν Λεύκιον φύλακα τῶν ἥλωκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ χρημάτων αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐνέβαλε. καὶ τὴν Αἰκανῶν πόλιν ἔξελῶν καὶ προσαγαγόμενος τοὺς Οὐόλούσκους εὐθὺς ἤγε τὴν στρατιὰν πρὸς τὸ Σούτριον, οὕπω τὰ συμβεβηκότα τοῖς Σουτρίνοις πεπυσμένος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔτι κινδυνεύοντι καὶ πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρ-
2 ρηνῶν βοηθῆσαι σπεύδων. οἱ δὲ ἔτυχον ἡδη τὴν μὲν πόλιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδεδωκότες, αὐτοὶ

¹ πυροβόλα conjecture of Sintenis²; πυρὰ πολλὰ MSS., Sintenis¹, and edd.

CAMILLUS

blew down from the mountains at sun-rise. Accordingly, he equipped himself with fiery darts, and leading his forces out towards day-break, ordered part of them to attack with missiles and loud cries at an opposite point, while he himself, with those appointed to hurl fire, took his post where the wind was wont to smite the enemy's trenches with the greatest force, and awaited the propitious moment. When battle had been joined and the sun rose and the wind burst forth with fury, he gave orders for an onset, and scattered no end of fiery darts along the trenches. The flames speedily found food in the crowded timbers of the wooden palisades and spread in all directions. The Latins had nothing at hand with which to ward off or quench them, and when at length their camp was full of fire, they were huddled together into a small space, and at last forced to dash out against an enemy who were drawn up in full battle array in front of the trenches. Few of them made their escape, and those who were left behind in the camp were all a prey to the fire until the Romans put it out and fell upon their booty.

XXXV. This business dispatched, he left his son Lucius in command of the camp to guard the captives and the booty, while he himself invaded the enemy's country. He captured the city of the Aequians, brought the Volscians to terms, and straightway led his army towards Sutrium. He was not yet apprised of the fate of the Sutrians, but thought they were still in peril of siege by the Tuscans, and so hastened to relieve them. But they had already surrendered their city to the enemy, and been sent off in utter

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δὲ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ἐν ἴματίοις μόνον ἀφειμένοι·
καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν ὅντι τῷ Καμίλλῳ μετὰ παίδων καὶ
γυναικῶν ἀπήντων ὀδυρόμενοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν τύχας.
ὁ δὲ Κάμιλλος αὐτός τε πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐπικλα-
σθεὶς καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὄρῶν ἐμφυομένων αὐτοῖς
τῶν Σουτρίνων δακρύοντας καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντας
ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, ἔγνω μὴ ποιεῖσθαι τῆς
3 τιμωρίας ἀναβολήν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὸ
Σούτριον ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας, λογιζόμενος ἀνθρώ-
πους εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλουσίαν πόλιν ἄρτι κατειλη-
φότας καὶ μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ὑπολελοιπότας
ἐν αὐτῇ μηδὲ προσδεχομένους ἔξωθεν, ἐκλελυμέ-
νους παντάπασι καὶ ἀφυλάκτους εύρήσειν· ὄρθως
λογισάμενος. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὴν χώραν ἔλαθε
διελθών, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις γενόμενος καὶ
τὰ τείχη καταλαβών· ἐφύλαττε γὰρ οὔδεις, ἀλλ'
ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ συνουσίαις ἥσαν ἐσκεδασμένοι κατὰ
4 τὰς οἰκίας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤσθοντο τοὺς πολεμίους
κρατοῦντας ἥδη, οὕτω διέκειντο μοχθηρῶς ὑπὸ
πλησμονῆς καὶ μέθης, ὡς μηδὲ πρὸς φυγὴν
όρμησαι πολλούς, ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις αἰσχιστα
πάντων ὑπομένοντας ἀποθυήσκειν ἢ παραδιδόναι
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις. τὴν μὲν οὖν Σουτρί-
νων πόλιν ἡμέρᾳ μᾶλις δίστημα στρατοπέδη
καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀποβαλεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἀφηρημέ-
νους ἀπολαβεῖν διὰ Κάμιλλον.

XXXVI. 'Ο δ' ἀπὸ τούτων θρίαμβος αὐτῷ
χάριν οὐκ ἐλάττονα καὶ κόσμον ἡνεγκε τῶν
πρώτων δυεῖν. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πάντας βασκαίνοντας
τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πάντα βουλομένους εὐτυχία

CAMILLUS

destitution, with nothing but the clothes on their backs. As Camillus came marching along they met him, with their wives and children, all lamenting their misfortunes. Camillus himself was filled with compassion at the sight, and noticed that his Romans too, with the Sutrians hanging upon their necks in supplication, were moved to tears and anger at their lot. He therefore determined to make no postponement of his vengeance, but to march straight upon Sutrium that very day. He reasoned that men who had just taken a prosperous and opulent city, leaving none of their enemies in it, and expecting none from without, would be found wholly relaxed in discipline and off their guard ; and he reasoned correctly. He not only passed unnoticed through the city's territory, but was actually at its gates and in command of its walls before the enemy knew it. For not a man of them was on guard, but they were all scattered among the houses of the city drinking and feasting. And even when they perceived that their enemies already had the mastery, they were so sluggishly disposed by reason of satiety and drunkenness that many did not so much as try to flee, but awaited there in the houses the most shameful of all deaths, or gave themselves up to their enemies. The city of Sutrium was thus twice captured in a single day, and it came to pass that those who had won it, lost it, and those who had first lost it, won it back, and all by reason of Camillus.

XXXVI. The triumph decreed him for these victories brought him no less favour and renown than his first two had done, and those citizens who had been most envious of him and preferred to ascribe all his successes to an unbounded good fortune rather

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- τινὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀρετὴν κατωρθῶσθαι, τότ'
ἡνάγκαζον αἱ πράξεις τῇ δεινότητι καὶ τῷ δρα-
2 στηρίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποδιδόναι τὴν δόξαν. ἦν δὲ
τῶν διαμαχομένων αὐτῷ καὶ προσφθονούντων
ἐπιφανέστατος Μάρκος Μάλλιος, ὁ πρώτος
ώσαμενος τοὺς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ὅτε τῷ
Καπιτωλίῳ νυκτὸς¹ ἐπέθεντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
Καπιτωλῖνος ἐπικληθείσ. οὗτος γὰρ ἀξιῶν πρῶ-
τος εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὸν
Κάμιλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου τρόπου τῇ δόξῃ
3 παρελθεῖν, ὑπόθεσιν τυραννίδος ἐποιήσατο κοινὴν 148
καὶ συνήθη, δημαγωγῶν τοὺς πολλούς, μάλιστα
δὲ τῶν ὀφειλόντων χρέα τοῖς μὲν ἀμύνων καὶ
συνδικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς δανειστάς, τοὺς δ' ἀφαιρού-
μενος βίᾳ καὶ κωλύων ἄγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν νόμον,
ῶστε πόλλοὺς· τῶν ἀπόρων ταχὺ περὶ αὐτὸν
γενέσθαι καὶ πολὺν φόβον παρασχεῖν τοῖς
βελτίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν θρασυνομένους καὶ
4 ταράττοντας τὴν ἀγοράν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατασταθεὶς
ἐπὶ ταῦτα δικτάτωρ Κούντος Καπιτωλῖνος εἰς
τὴν εἰρκτὴν ἐνέβαλε τὸν Μάλλιον, ὁ δὲ δῆμος
γενομένου τούτου μετέβαλε τὴν ἐσθῆτα, πρᾶγμα
γινόμενον ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις καὶ δημοσίαις,
δείσασα τὸν θόρυβον ἡ σύγκλητος ἐκέλευσεν
ἀφεθῆναι τὸν Μάλλιον. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἦν ἀφεθεὶς
ἀμείνων, ἀλλὰ σοβαρώτερον ἐδημαγώγει καὶ
διεστασίαζε τὴν πόλιν. αἱροῦνται δὴ πάλιν
χιλίαρχον τὸν Κάμιλλον.
5 Εἰσαγομένων δὲ τῶν κατὰ τοῦ Μαλλίου
δικῶν μεγάλα τοὺς κατηγόρους ἔβλαπτεν ἥ
δψις. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐφ' οὐ βεβηκὼς ὁ Μάλλιος

¹ νυκτὸς with S : διὰ νυκτὸς.

CAMILLUS

than to a native valour, were forced by these new exploits to set the man's glory to the credit of his ability and energy. Now of all those who fought him with hatred and envy, the most conspicuous was Marcus Manlius, the man who first thrust the Gauls down the cliff when they made their night attack upon the Capitol, and for this reason had been surnamed Capitolinus. This man aspired to be chief in the city, and since he could not in the fairest way outstrip Camillus in the race for glory, he had recourse to the wonted and usual arts of those that would found a tyranny. He courted, that is, the favour of the multitude, especially of the debtor class, defending some and pleading their causes against their creditors; snatching others from arrest and preventing their trial by process of law. In this way great numbers of indigent folk soon formed a party about him, and their bold and riotous conduct in the forum gave the best citizens much to fear. To quell their disorder, Quintus Capitolinus was made dictator, and he cast Manlius into prison. Thereupon the people put on the garb of mourners, a thing done only in times of great public calamity, and the Senate, cowed by the tumult, ordered that Manlius be released. He, however, when released, did not mend his ways, but grew more defiantly seditious, and filled the whole city with faction. Accordingly, Camillus was again made military tribune.

When Manlius was brought to trial, the view from the place was a great obstacle in the way of his accusers. For the spot where Manlius had stood

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ένυκτομάχησε πρὸς τοὺς Κελτούς, ὑπερεφαίνετο
τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καὶ παρεῖχεν
οἰκτον τοῖς ὄρώσιν· αὐτός τε τὰς χεῖρας
ὁρέγων ἐκεῖσε καὶ δακρύων ὑπεμίμησκε τῶν
ἀγώνων, ὡστε τοὺς κρίνοντας ἀπορεῖν καὶ πολ-
λάκις ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν δίκην, μήτ' ἀφεῖναι
βουλομένους ἐπὶ τεκμηρίοις φανεροῖς τὸ ἀδίκημα
μήτε χρήσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ δυναμένους ἐν ὁφθαλ-
6 μοῖς τῆς πράξεως οὕσης διὰ τὸν τόπον. ὁ δὴ
συμφρονήσας ὁ Κάμιλλος μετήγαγεν ἔξω πύλης
τὸ δικαστήριον εἰς τὸ Πετηλῖνον ἄλσος· ὅθεν οὐκ
δύντος τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καταφανοῦς ὃ τε διώκων
ἐχρήσατο τῇ κατηγορίᾳ καὶ τοῖς κρίνουσι παρε-
χωρησεν ἡ μνήμη τῶν γεγονότων ἀξίαν ἀναλα-
7 βεῖν¹ ὄργην ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀδικήμασιν. ὁ
μὲν οὖν Μάλλιος ἀλοὺς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον
ἀπήχθη, καὶ κατὰ τῆς πέτρας ὡσθεὶς τὸν αὐτὸν
τόπον ἔσχε καὶ τῶν εὐτυχεστάτων ἔργων καὶ τῶν
μεγίστων ἀτυχημάτων μνημεῖον. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι
τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ κατασκάψαντες ἵερὸν ιδρύσαντο
θεᾶς, ἣν Μονῆταν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐψη-
φίσαντο μηδένα τῶν πατρικίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας
κατοικεῖν.

XXXVII. Ο δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐπὶ χιλιαρχίαν
ἔκτην καλούμενος παρηγεῖτο, γεγονὼς μὲν ἡλικίας
ἡδη πρόσω καὶ πού τινα καὶ φθόνον δεδιώκει
νέμεσιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατορθώμασιν.
ἡ δὲ φανερωτάτη τῶν αἰτιῶν ἡν ἀρρωστία σώμα-
τος· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ νοσῶν περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας.
2 οὐ μὴν παρῆκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλὰ

¹ ἀναλαβεῖν with S: λαβεῖν.

CAMILLUS

when he fought his night battle with the Gauls, overlooked the forum from the Capitol, and moved the hearts of the spectators to pity. Manlius himself, too, stretched out his hands toward the spot, and wept as he called to men's remembrance his famous struggle there, so that the judges knew not what to do, and once and again postponed the case. They were unwilling to acquit the prisoner of his crime when the proofs of it were so plain ; and they were unable to execute the law upon him when, owing to the place of trial, his saving exploit was, so to speak, in every eye. So Camillus, sensible of all this, transferred the court outside the city to the Peteline Grove, whence there is no view of the Capitol. There the prosecutor made his indictment, and the judges were able to forget the man's past services in their righteous anger at his present crimes. So then Manlius was convicted, carried to the Capitol, and thrust down the rock, thus making one and the same spot a monument of his most fortunate actions and of his greatest misfortunes. The Romans, besides, razed his house to the ground, and built there a temple to the goddess they call Moneta. They decreed also that in future no patrician should ever have a house on the Capitoline hill.

XXXVII. Camillus, called now to be military tribune for the sixth time, declined the honour, being already well on in years, and fearful perhaps of the envy of men and the resentment of the gods which often follows upon such glorious successes as his. But the most manifest reason was his bodily weakness, for it chanced that in those days he was sick. The people, however, would not relieve him of the

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βοῶν μήτε ἵππεύοντος αὐτοῦ μήτε ὄπλομαχοῦντος
 ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι δεῖσθαι, βουλευομένου δὲ μόνον καὶ
 προστάττοντος, ἡνάγκασεν ὑποστῆναι τὴν στρα-
 τηγίαν καὶ μεθ' ἐνὸς τῶν συναρχόντων Λευκίου
 Φουρίου τὸν στρατὸν ἄγειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς
 πολεμίους. οὗτοι δὲ ἡσαν Πραινεστῖνοι καὶ
 Οὐολοῦσκοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως τὴν συμμα-
 3 χίδα τῶν Ἀρμαίων πορθοῦντες. ἔξελθὼν δὲ
 καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸς
 μὲν ἡξίου τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον χρόνῳ, κανὶ εἰ
 μάχης δεήσειε ρώσας τὸ σῶμα διαγωνίσασθαι,
 Λευκίου δὲ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐπιθυμίᾳ δόξης
 φερομένου πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον ἀκατασχέτως καὶ
 συνεξορμῶντος ἅμα ταξιάρχους καὶ λοχαγούς,
 φοιβηθεὶς μὴ φθόνῳ δή τινι δοκῆ κατόρθωμα καὶ
 φιλοτιμίαν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι νέων ἀνδρῶν συνεχώρησεν
 ἀκων ἐκείνῳ παρατάξαι τὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸς δὲ
 διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὑπελείφθη μετ' ὀλίγων ἐν τῷ
 4 στρατοπέδῳ. τοῦ δὲ Λευκίου προπετῶς χρησα-
 μένου τῇ μάχῃ καὶ σφαλέντος, αἰσθόμενος τὴν
 τροπὴν τῶν Ἀρμαίων οὐ κατέσχεν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ’
 ἀναθορὼν ἐκ τῆς στιβάδος ἀπῆντα μετὰ τῶν
 ὄπαδῶν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας τοῦ χάρακος, διὰ τῶν φευ-
 γόντων ὡθούμενος εἰς τοὺς διώκοντας, ὥστε τοὺς
 μὲν εὐθὺς ἀναστρέφειν καὶ συνακολουθεῖν, τοὺς
 δὲ προσφερομένους ἔξωθεν ἵστασθαι πρὸ αὐτοῦ
 καὶ συνασπίζειν, παρεγγυῶντας ἀλλήλοις μὴ
 5 ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. τότε μὲν οὖν
 οὕτως ἀπετράποντο τῆς διώξεως οἱ πολέμοι· τῇ
 δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ προαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Κάμιλλος

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office. He had no need, they cried, to fight in the ranks of the cavalry or the men-at-arms, but only to counsel and ordain; and so they forced him to undertake the command, and with one of his colleagues, Lucius Furius, to lead the army at once against the enemy. These were the Praenestines and Volscians, who, with a large force, were laying waste the lands of the Roman allies. Marching forth, therefore, and encamping near the enemy, he himself thought it best to protract the war, that so, in case a battle should at last be necessary, he might be strong of body for the decisive struggle. But Lucius, his colleague, carried away by his desire for glory, would not be checked in his ardour for battle, and incited the same feelings in the inferior officers of the army. So Camillus, fearing lest it be thought that out of petty jealousy he was trying to rob younger men of the successes to which they eagerly aspired, consented, with reluctance, that Lucius should lead the forces out to battle, while he himself, on account of his sickness, was left behind in the camp with a few followers. Lucius conducted the battle rashly and was discomfited, whereupon Camillus, perceiving the rout of the Romans, could not restrain himself, but sprang up from his couch and ran with his attendants to the gate of the camp. Through the fugitives he pushed his way to their pursuers. Those of his men who had passed him into the camp, wheeled about at once and followed him, and those who came bearing down on him from outside, halted and formed their lines about him, exhorting one another not to abandon their general. In this way, for that day, the enemy were turned back from their pursuit. On the next day, Camillus

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καὶ συνάψας μάχην αὐτούς τε νικᾶ κατὰ κράτος καὶ τὸν χάρακα λαμβάνει συνεισπεσὼν τοῖς φεύγουσι καὶ διαφθείρας τοὺς πλείστους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πυθόμενος πόλιν Σατρίαν ὑπὸ Τυρρηνῶν ἔαλωκέναι καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἀπεσφάχθαι Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ὄντας, τὴν μὲν πολλὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν τῆς δινάμεως εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας μάλιστα καὶ προθυμοτάτους ἀναλαβὼν ἐπέβαλε τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσι Τυρρηνοῖς καὶ κρατήσας τοὺς μὲν - ἔξήλασεν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπέκτεινεν.

XXXVIII. Ἐπανελθὼν δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπέδειξε φρονιμωτάτους ἀπάντων τοὺς μὴ φοβηθέντας ἀσθένειαν καὶ γῆρας ἡγεμόνος ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τόλμαν ἔχοντος, ἀλλ' ἐλομένους ἐκεῖνον ἄκοντα καὶ νοσοῦντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς δεομένους καὶ σπουδάζοντας ἄρχειν. διὸ καὶ Τουσκλανῶν ἀφεστάναι λεγομένων ἐκέλευνον ἔξιέναι τὸν Κάμιλλον ἐπ' αὐτὸὺς
2 ἔνα τῶν πέντε συστρατήγων προσελόμενον. ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἀπάντων βουλομένων καὶ δεομένων, ἔάσας τοὺς ἄλλους, προσείλετο Λεύκιον Φούριον οὐδενὸς ἀν προσδοκήσαντος. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἥν ὁ παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ Καμίλλου διαγωνίσασθαι προθυμηθεὶς ἔναγχος καὶ δυστυχήσας περὶ τὴν μάχην· ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος, ώς ἔοικεν, ἀποκρύψαι τὴν συμφορὰν καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ἀπαλλάξαι τοῦ
3 ἀνδρὸς ἀντὶ πάντων τοῦτον προῆγεν. οἱ δὲ Τουσκλανοὶ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐπανορθούμενοι πανούργως, ἥδη βαδίζοντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοῦ Καμίλλου τὸ μὲν πεδίον ἀνθρώπων ώς ἐν εἰρήνῃ γεωργούντων καὶ νεμόντων ἐνέπλησαν, τὰς δὲ πύλας εἶχον

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led his forces out, joined battle with the enemy, defeated them utterly, and took their camp, actually bursting into it along with those who fled to it, and slaying most of them. After this, learning that the city of Satricum had been taken by the Tuscans, and its inhabitants, all Romans, put to the sword, he sent back to Rome the main body of his army, comprising the men-at-arms, while he himself, with the youngest and most ardent of his men, fell suddenly upon the Tuscans who held the city and mastered them, expelling some and slaying the rest.

XXXVIII. He returned with much spoil to Rome, having proved that those citizens were the most sensible of all who did not fear the bodily age and weakness of a leader possessed of experience and courage, but chose him out, though he was ill and did not wish it, rather than younger men who craved and solicited the command. They showed the same good sense, when the Tusculans were reported to be on the brink of a revolt, in ordering Camillus to select one of his five colleagues as an aid, and march out against them. Although all the five wished and begged to be taken, Camillus passed the rest by and selected Lucius Furius, to everyone's surprise. For he was the man who had just now been eager to hazard a struggle with the enemy against the judgment of Camillus, and had been worsted in the battle. But Camillus wished, as it would seem, to hide away the misfortune and wipe away the disgrace of the man, and so preferred him above all the rest. But the Tusculans, when once Camillus was on the march against them, set to rectifying their transgression as craftily as they could. Their fields were found full of men tilling the soil and pasturing flocks, as in

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· ἀνεῳγμένας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς διδασκαλείοις
μανθάνοντας, τοῦ δὲ δήμου τὸ μὲν βάναυσον ἐπὶ¹
τῶν ἔργαστηρίων ἑωρᾶτο περὶ τὰς τέχνας, τὸ δ'
ἀστεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐν ίματίοις· οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες
περιήσαν σπουδὴν καταλύσεις τοῖς Ἀρμαίοις
ἐπαγγέλλοντες, ώς οὐδὲν κακὸν προσδοκῶντες
4 οὐδὲ συνειδότες. τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀπι-
στεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐπήει τῷ Καμίλλῳ τὴν προδοσίαν,
οἰκτείρας δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ προδοσίᾳ μετάνοιαν
αὐτῶν ἐκέλευσε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐλθόντας
παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ὀργήν· καὶ παραιτουμένοις
συνέπραξεν αὐτὸς ἀφεθῆναι τε τὴν πόλιν αἰτίας
ἀπάσης καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἵσοπολιτείας. αὗται μὲν
οὖν ἐγένοντο τῆς ἕκτης χιλιαρχίας ἐπιφανέσταται
πράξεις.

XXXIX. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λικιννίου Στόλωνος
ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν μεγάλην στάσιν ἐγείροντος, ἦν ὁ
δῆμος ἐστασίαζε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον βιαζόμενος
δυεῖν ὑπάτων καθισταμένων τὸν ἔτερον πάντως ἐκ
δημοτῶν εἶναι καὶ μὴ συναμφοτέρους πατρικίους,
δῆμαρχοι μὲν ἡρέθησαν, τὰς δὲ ὑπατικὰς ἀρ-
χαιρεσίας ἐπιτελεσθῆναι διεκώλυσαν οἱ πολλοί.
2 καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων δι' ἀναρχίας φερομένων ἐς
μείζονας ταραχὰς ἀποδείκνυται δικτάτωρ ὁ Κά-
μιλλος ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἄκοντι τῷ δήμῳ τὸ τέταρ-
τον, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ὃν πρόθυμος οὐδὲ βουλόμενος
ἐναντιούσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους παρρησίαν ἔχοντας
ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων πρὸς αὐτόν, ώς
πλείονα μετ' αὐτῶν¹ διαπεπραγμένος ἐν στρατη-
γίαις ἡ μετὰ τῶν πατρικίων ἐν πολιτείαις, καὶ

¹ μετ' αὐτῶν διαπεπραγμένος edd., including Sintenis¹, and S;
ἐν στρατηγίαις μετ' αὐτῶν with C.

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times of peace ; their gates lay wide open ; their boys were at school conning their lessons ; and of the people, the artizans were to be seen in their workshops plying their trades, the men of leisure sauntered over the forum clad in their usual garb, while the magistrates bustled about assigning quarters for the Romans, as though they expected and were conscious of no evil. Their performances did not bring Camillus into any doubt of their intended treachery, but out of pity for the repentance that followed so close upon their treachery, he ordered them to go to the Senate and beg for a remission of its wrath. He himself also helped to make their prayers effectual, so that their city was absolved from all charges and received the rights of Roman citizenship. Such were the most conspicuous achievements of his sixth tribuneship.

XXXIX. After this, Licinius Stolo stirred up the great dissension in the city which brought the people into collision with the Senate. The people insisted that, when two consuls were appointed, one of them must certainly be a plebeian, and not both patricians. Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the multitude prevented the consular elections from being duly held. Owing to this lack of magistrates, matters were getting more and more confused, and so Camillus was for the fourth time appointed dictator by the Senate, though much against the wishes of the people. He was not eager for the office himself, nor did he wish to oppose men whose many and great struggles gave them the right to say boldly to him : "Your achievements have been in the field with us, rather than in politics with the patricians ;

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νῦν διὰ φθόνον ἐκείνων ἡρημένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅπως
ἡ καταλύσει τὸν δῆμον ἵσχυσας ἡ καταλυθεὶη
3 μὴ κρατήσας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πειρώμενος ἀμύνειν
τοὺς παροῦσι, τὴν ἡμέραν γνούς, ἐν ἣ νομοθετεῖν 150
οἱ δήμαρχοι διενοοῦντο, προέγραψε στρατιᾶς κα-
τάλογον καὶ μετεκάλει τὸν δῆμον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς
εἰς τὸ πεδίον μεγάλας ζημίας ἀπειλῶν κατὰ τοῦ
4 μὴ ὑπακούσαντος. τῶν δὲ δημάρχων ἐκεῖθεν αὐ
πάλιν ἀντανισταμένων ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς καὶ διομυν-
μένων πέντε μυριάσιν ἀργυρίου ζημιώσειν, εἰ μὴ
παύσαιτο τοῦ δήμου τὸν νόμον ἀφαιρούμενοις καὶ
τὴν ψῆφον, εἴτε δείσας φυγὴν ἔτέραν καὶ κατα-
δίκην, ὡς ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ καὶ κατειργασμένῳ
μεγάλα μὴ πρέπουσαν, εἴτε τοῦ δήμου τὴν βίαν
ἄμαχον οὖσαν καὶ δυσνίκητον ὑπερβαλέσθαι μὴ
δυνάμενος μηδὲ βουλόμενος, τότε μὲν ὑπεχώρησεν
οἶκαδε· ταῖς δ' ἔξῆς ἡμέραις σκηψάμενος ἀρ-
ρωστεῖν ἔξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν.
5 Ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἔτερον δικτάτορα κατέστησε·
κάκεῖνος ἀποδείξας ἵππαρχον αὐτὸν τὸν ἡγεμόνα
τῆς στάσεως Στόλωνα παρῆκεν ἐπικυρώσαι τὸν
νόμον τὸν μάλιστα λυποῦντα τοὺς πατρικίους.
ἐκέλευσε δ' οὗτος μηδένα πλέθρων πεντακοσίων
πλείονα χώραν κεκτῆσθαι. τότε μὲν οὖν λαμπρὸς
ὁ Στόλων ἐγεγόνει τῇ ψήφῳ κρατήσας· ὀλίγῳ δ'
ὑστερον αὐτὸς ἐάλω κεκτημένος ὅσην ἔχειν ἐκώ-
λυεν ἔτέρους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ νόμον δίκην
ἔδωκεν.

XL. Ὄπολειπομένης δὲ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὑπατικῶν
ἀρχαιρεσιῶν φιλονεικίας, δὲ δὴ χαλεπώτατον τῆς
στάσεως ἦν καὶ πρώτον ἡρξε καὶ πλεῖστα

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it is through hate and envy that they have now made you dictator ; they hope that you will crush the people if you prevail, or be crushed yourself if you fail." However, he tried to ward off the threatening evils. Having learned the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he issued proclamation making it a day of general muster, and summoned the people from the forum into the Campus Martius, with threats of heavy fines upon the disobedient. The tribunes, on the contrary, for their part, opposed his threats with solemn oaths that they would fine him fifty thousand silver drachmas if he did not cease trying to rob the people of its vote and its law. Then, either because he feared a second condemnation to exile, a penalty unbecoming to a man of his years and achievements, or because he was not able, if he wished, to overcome the might of the people which was now become resistless and invincible, he withdrew to his house, and after alleging sickness for several days, resigned his office.

But the Senate appointed another dictator, and he, after making Stolo himself, the very leader of the sedition, his master of horse, suffered the law to be enacted. It was a most vexatious law for the patrician, for it prohibited anyone from owning more than five hundred acres of land. At that time, then, Stolo was a resplendent figure, owing to his victory at the polls ; but a little while after, he himself was found to be possessed of what he forbade others to own, and so paid the penalty fixed by his own law.

XL. There remained, however, the strife over the consular elections, which was the main problem in the dissensions, as it was its first cause, and gave

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πράγματα τῇ βουλῇ παρέσχε διαφερομένη πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἀγγελίαι προσέπεσον σαφεῖς, Κελτοὺς αὐθις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀδριατικῆς ἄραντας θαλάσσης μυριάσι πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν. ἔμμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πολέμου παρῆν πορθουμένης τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσοις μὴ ῥάδιον ἦν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καταφυγεῖν, ἀνὰ τὰ ὅρη σκεδαννυμένων. οὗτος ὁ φόβος κατέπαυσε τὴν στάσιν, καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ταύτη τοῖς πολλοῖς οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ τῇ βουλῇ τὸ δημοτικὸν εἴλοντο πάντες ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης δικτύτορα τὸ πέμπτον Κάμιλλον. ὁ δ' ἦν μὲν σφόδρα γέρων καὶ μικρὸν ἀπέλειπεν ὀγδοήκοντα ἔτη γεγονέναι συνορῶν δὲ τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, οὔτε ὑποτίμησιν εἰπών, ὡς πρότερον, οὔτε προφάσει χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν ὑποστὰς τὴν στρατηγίαν κατέλεγε τοὺς μαχησόμενους.

Εἰδὼς δὲ τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀλκῆς τὴν βιαιότατην ἐν ταῖς μαχαίραις οὖσαν, ὃς βαρβαρικῶς καὶ σὺν οὐδεμιᾷ τέχνῃ καταφέροντες ὕμους μάλιστα καὶ κεφαλὰς διέκοπτον, ἔχαλκεύσατο μὲν κράνη τοῖς πλείστοις ὀλοσίδηρα καὶ λεῖα ταῖς περιφερείαις, ὡς ἀπολισθαίνειν ἢ κατάγνυσθαι τὰς μαχαίρας, τοῖς δὲ θυρεοῖς κύκλῳ περιήρμοσε λεπίδα χαλκῆν, τοῦ ξύλου καθ' αὐτὸ τὰς πληγὰς μὴ στέγοντος· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐδίδαξε τοῖς ὑσσοῖς μακροῖς διὰ χειρὸς χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι τῶν πολεμίων ὑποβάλλοντας ἐκδέχεσθαι τὰς καταφοράς.

XLI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλησίον ἦσαν οἱ Κελτοί, περὶ τὸν Ἀνίωνα ποταμὸν στρατόπεδον βαρὺ καὶ

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the Senate most concern in its contention with the people. But suddenly clear tidings came that the Gauls had once more set out from the Adriatic Sea, many myriads strong, and were marching on Rome. With the word, the actual deeds of war kept pace. The country was ravaged, and its population, all who could not more easily fly to Rome for refuge, scattered among the mountains. This terror put an end to the dissension in the city, and brought together into conference both the rich and the poor, the Senate and the people. All with one mind chose Camillus dictator for the fifth time. He was now quite old, lacking little of eighty years; but recognizing the peril and the necessity which it laid upon him, he neither made excuse, as before, nor resorted to pretext, but instantly took upon him the command and went to levying his soldiers.

Knowing that the prowess of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their swords, which they plied in true barbaric fashion, and with no skill at all, in mere slashing blows at head and shoulders, he had helmets forged for most of his men which were all iron and smooth of surface, that the enemy's swords might slip off from them or be shattered by them. He also had the long shields of his men rimmed round with bronze, since their wood could not of itself ward off the enemy's blows. The soldiers themselves he trained to use their long javelins like spears,—to thrust them under the enemy's swords and catch the downward strokes upon them.

XLI. When the Gauls were near at hand, being encamped on the Anio and encumbered with untold

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- μεστὸν ἀφθόνου λείας ἔχοντες, ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἕδρυσε κατὰ νάπης μαλακῆς καὶ συγκλίσεις πολλὰς ἔχούσης, ὥστε τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἀποκρύπτεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ὄρώμενον δοκεῖν ὑπὸ δέους
- 2 εἰς χωρία προσάντη κατειλεῖσθαι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος αὐξεῖν βουλόμενος οὐ προσήμυνε τῶν ὑπὸ πόδας πορθουμένων, ἀλλὰ τὸν χάρακα φραξάμενος ἡρέμει, μέχρι οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἐν προνομαῖς ἐσκεδασμένους κατεῖδε, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐμπιπλαμένους
- 3 ἀφειδῶς καὶ μεθύοντας. τότε δὲ νυκτὸς ἔτι τοὺς ψιλοὺς προεκπέμψας ἐμποδὼν εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰς τάξιν καθισταμένοις καὶ διαταράττειν εὐθὺς ἐπεξιόντας, κατεβίβαζεν ὅρθρου τοὺς ὄπλίτας καὶ παρέταττεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις, πολλοὺς 151 καὶ προθύμους, οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι προσέδοκων, ὀλίγους καὶ ἀτόλμους φανέντας. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τῶν Κελτῶν ἀνέτρεψε τὰ φρονήματα παρ' ἀξίαν ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι δοκούντων. ἔπειτα προσπίπτοντες οἱ ψιλοὶ καὶ πρὶν ἡ τὸν συνήθη λαβεῖν κόσμον καὶ διακριθῆναι κατὰ λόχους κινοῦντες αὐτοὺς καὶ βιαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ
- 4 συντυχὸν ἀτάκτους ἡνάγκασαν μάχεσθαι. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Καμίλλου τοὺς ὄπλίτας ἐπάγοντος, οἱ μὲν ἀνατεινάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας συνδραμένη ἐσπευδον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὑσσοῖς ἀπαντῶντες καὶ τὰ σεσιδηρωμένα μέρη ταῖς πληγαῖς ὑποφέροντες ἀνέστρεφον τὸν ἔκείνων σίδηρον μαλακὸν ὅντα καὶ λεπτῶς ἐληλαμένον, ὥστε κάμπτεσθαι ταχὺ καὶ διπλοῦσθαι τὰς μαχαίρας, τοὺς δὲ θυρεούς

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plunder, Camillus led his forces out and posted them in a gently sloping glade with many hollows, so that the largest part of them were concealed, and the part that could be seen had the look of shutting themselves up in hilly places out of fear. This opinion of them Camillus wished to strengthen, and therefore made no defence of those who were plundered even at his very feet, but fenced in his trenches and lay quiet, until he saw that some of the enemy were scattered abroad in foraging parties, while those in the camp did nothing but gorge themselves with meat and drink. Then, while it was yet night, he sent his light-armed troops forward to hinder the Barbarians from falling into battle-array and throw them into confusion as they issued from their camp. Just before dawn, he led his men-at-arms down into the plain and drew them up in battle-array, many in number and full of spirit, as the Barbarians now saw, not few and timid, as they had expected. To begin with, it was this which shattered the confidence of the Gauls, who thought it beneath them to be attacked first. Then again, the light-armed folk fell upon them, forced them into action before they had taken their usual order and been arrayed in companies, and so compelled them to fight at random and in utter disorder. Finally, when Camillus led his men-at-arms to the attack, the enemy raised their swords on high and rushed for close quarters. But the Romans thrust their javelins into their faces, received their strokes on the parts that were shielded by iron, and so turned the edge of their metal, which was soft and weakly tempered, so much so that their swords quickly bent up double, while their shields were pierced and

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συμπεπάρθαι καὶ βαρύνεσθαι τῶν ὑστῶν ἐφελ-
5 κομένων. διὸ καὶ μεθιστάμενοι τῶν ἰδίων ὅπλων
ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς ἔκείνων συστρέφεσθαι καὶ τοὺς
ὑστοὺς παραφέρειν ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι ταῖς χερσίν.
οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι γυμνουμένους¹ ὄρῶντες ἥδη τοῖς
ξίφεσιν ἔχρωντο, καὶ φόνος μὲν ἦν πολὺς τῶν
προτάκτων, φυγὴ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πανταχόσε τοῦ
πεδίου. τοὺς γὰρ λόφους καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ προκατ-
ειλήφει Κάμιλλος, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον διὰ τὸ
θαρσεῖν ἀφρακτον ἔχοντες ἥδεσαν οὐ χαλεπῶς
ἀλωσόμενον.

6 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἔτεσιν ὕστερον τρισκαίδεκα
γενέσθαι λέγουσι τῆς Ῥώμης ἀλώσεως, καὶ βέ-
βαιον ἔξ αὐτῆς φρόνημα κατὰ τῶν Κελτῶν ἐγγε-
νέσθαι Ῥωμαίοις σφόδρα δεδοικόσι τοὺς βαρ-
βάρους, ὡς τὸ πρῶτον διὰ νόσους καὶ τύχας
παραλόγους, οὐ κατὰ κράτος, ὑπ' αὐτῶν νενικη-
μένους. οὕτω δ' οὖν ὁ φόβος ἦν ἵσχυρός, ὥστε
θέσθαι νόμον ἀφεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς στρατείας
χωρὶς ἀν μὴ Γαλατικὸς ἢ πόλεμος.

XLII. Τῶν μὲν οὖν στρατιωτικῶν ἀγώνων
οὗτος ἡγωνίσθη τῷ Καμίλλῳ τελευταῖος. τὴν
γὰρ Οὐελιτρανῶν πόλιν εἶλεν ἐν παρέργῳ ταύτης
τῆς στρατείας ἀμαχεὶ προσχωρήσασαν αὐτῷ.
τῶν δὲ πολιτικῶν ὁ μέγιστος ὑπελείπετο καὶ
χαλεπώτερος² πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἵσχυρὸν ἐπανή-
κοντα τῇ νίκῃ καὶ βιαζόμενον ἐκ δημοτῶν ὕπατον
ἀποδεῖξαι παρὰ τὸν καθεστῶτα νόμον, ἀντιταπτο-
μένης τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον οὐκ ἐώσης

¹ γυμνουμένους with S: γυμνοὺς.

² καὶ χαλεπώτερος Sintenis¹, now supported by S: χαλεπώ-
τερος.

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weighed down by the javelins which stuck in them. Therefore they actually abandoned their own weapons and tried to possess themselves of those of their enemies, and to turn aside the javelins by grasping them in their hands. But the Romans, seeing them thus disarmed, at once took to using their swords, and there was a great slaughter of their foremost ranks, while the rest fled every whither over the plain ; the hill tops and high places had been occupied beforehand by Camillus, and they knew that their camp could easily be taken, since, in their overweening confidence, they had neglected to fortify it.

This battle, they say, was fought thirteen years after the capture of Rome, and produced in the Romans a firm feeling of confidence regarding the Gauls. They had mightily feared these Barbarians, who had been conquered by them in the first instance, as they felt, in consequence of sickness and extraordinary misfortunes, rather than of any prowess in their conquerors. At any rate, so great had their terror been that they made a law exempting priests from military service, except in case of a Gallic war.

XLII. This was the last military exploit performed by Camillus, for the capture of Velitrae was a direct sequel of this campaign, and it yielded to him without a struggle. But the greatest of his civil contests yet remained and it was harder to wage it now against a people which had come back flushed with victory, and bent on electing a plebeian consul, contrary to the established law. But the Senate opposed their demands, and would not suffer Camillus to lay aside

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- ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ώς μετ' ισχυρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης ἔξουσίας τῆς ἐκείνου μαχησομένων ἀν
2 βέλτιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ προκαθημένου τοῦ Καμίλλου καὶ χρηματίζοντος ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὑπηρέτης πεμφθεὶς παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ σώματι προσῆγεν ώς ἀπάξων, κραυγὴ δὲ καὶ θόρυβος, οἷος οὕπω, κατέσχε τὴν ἀγοράν, τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον ὡθούντων ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τὸν δημόσιον, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν κάτωθεν ἔλκειν ἐπικελευομένων, ἀπορούμενος τοῖς παροῦσι τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐ προήκατο, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς ἀναλαβὼν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν συγκλητον.
3 καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν μεταστραφεὶς εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον εὗξατο τοῖς θεοῖς κατευθῦναι τὰ παρόντα πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον τέλος, ὑποσχόμενος ναὸν Ὄμονοίας ἰδρύσασθαι τῆς ταραχῆς καταστάσης.
Μεγάλου δὲ ἀγῶνος ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ γενομένου πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίας γυνώμας, ὅμως ἐνίκησεν ἡ μαλακωτέρα καὶ ὑπείκουσα τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ διδοῦσα τῶν ὑπάτων τὸν ἔτερον ἀπὸ τοῦ πλή-
4 θους ἀρχαιρεσιάσαι. ταῦτα δ' ώς τῇ βουλῇ δοκοῦντα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀνειπόντος ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ, παραχρῆμα μέν, οἶον εἰκός, ἡδόμενοι τῇ βουλῇ διηλλάττοντο καὶ τὸν Κάμιλλον οἴκαδε κρότω καὶ βοή προέπεμπον. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς μὲν Ὄμονοίας ιερόν, ὥσπερ εὗξατο Κάμιλλος, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποπτον ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἰδρύ-
5 σασθαι, ταῖς δὲ καλουμέναις Λατίναις μίαν ἡμέραν προσθέντας ἐορτάζειν τέτταρας, παραν-

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his office, thinking that, with the aid of his great power and authority, they could make a better fight in defence of their aristocracy. But once when Camillus was seated in state and despatching public business in the forum, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow, actually laying hands upon him as though to hale him away. All at once such cries and tumult as had never been heard before filled the forum, the friends of Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the multitude below ordering him to drag the dictator away. Camillus, perplexed at the issue, did not renounce his office, but taking the senators with him, marched off to their place of meeting. Before he entered this, turning to the Capitol, he prayed the gods to bring the present tumults to their happiest end, solemnly vowing to build a temple to Concord when the confusion was over.

In the Senate there was a great conflict of opposing views, but nevertheless, the milder course prevailed, concession was made to the people, and permission given them to elect one of the consuls from their own body. When the dictator announced this to the people as the will and pleasure of the Senate, at once, as was to be expected, they were delighted to be reconciled with the Senate, and escorted Camillus to his home with loud applause. On the following day they held an assembly and voted to build a temple of Concord, as Camillus had vowed, and to have it face the forum and place of assembly, to commemorate what had now happened. They voted also to add a day to the so-called Latin festival, and thereafter to celebrate four days, and that all

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τίκα δὲ θύειν καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν Ἀρωμαίους ἄπαντας. τῶν δ' ἀρχαιρεσίων βραβευθέντων ὑπὸ Καμίλλου κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Μάρκος μὲν Αἰμίλιος ἐκ πατρικίων, Λεύκιος δὲ Σέξτιος ἐκ δημοτῶν πρώτος. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας αἱ Καμίλλου πράξεις ἔσχον.

XLIII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ κατόπιν ἐνιαυτῷ λοιμώδης νόσος ἐμπεσούσα τῇ Ἀρώμῃ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ὅχλον οὐ περιληπτὸν ἀριθμῷ διέφθειρε, τῶν δ' ἀρχόντων τοὺς πλείστους. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Κάμιλλος, ἡλικίας μὲν οὕνεκα καὶ βίου τελειότητος, ὡς εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀνθρώπων ὥραιος, ἀνιάσας δὲ Ἀρωμαίους ὡς οὐδὲ σύμπαντες οἱ τῇ νόσῳ κατέκεινον τὸν χρόνον ἀποθανόντες.

CAMILLUS

Romans at once perform sacrifices with garlands on their heads. At the elections held by Camillus, Marcus Aemilius was chosen consul from the patricians, and Lucius Sextus first consul from the plebeians. This was the last public act of Camillus.

XLIII. In the year following, a pestilential sickness visited Rome, carrying off an incalculable number of the common people, and most of the magistrates. Camillus also died at this time, and he was full ripe for death, if any man ever was, considering his years and the completeness of his life ; yet his loss grieved the Romans more than that of all those who perished of the plague at this time.

ARISTIDES

VOL. II.

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ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΗΣ

- I. Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου φυλῆς μὲν ἦν
Ἀντιοχίδος, τῶν δὲ δήμων Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. περὶ
δ' οὐσίας αὐτοῦ λόγοι διάφοροι γεγόνασιν, οἱ μὲν
ώς ἐν πενίᾳ συντόνῳ καταβιώσαντος καὶ μετὰ
τὴν τελευτὴν ἀπολιπόντος θυγατέρας δύο πολὺν
2 χρόνον ἀνεκδότους δι' ἀπορίαν γενομένας· πρὸς
δὲ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὑπὸ πολλῶν εἰρημένον ἀντι-
τασσόμενος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἐν τῷ Σωκ-
ράτει χωρίον Φαληροῦ φησι γινώσκειν Ἀριστείδου
γενόμενον, ἐν φέτῃ τέθαπται, καὶ τεκμήρια τῆς περὶ
τὸν οἴκον εὑπορίας ἐν μὲν ἡγεῖται τὴν ἐπώνυμον
ἀρχήν, ἢν ἥρχεν δ¹ τῷ κυάμῳ λαχῶν ἐκ τῶν
γενῶν τῶν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήματα κεκτημένων, οὓς
πεντακοσιομεδίμνους προστηγόρευον, ἔτερον δὲ τὸν
3 ἔξοστρακισμόν· οὐδενὶ γάρ τῶν πενήτων, ἀλλὰ
τοῖς ἔξ οἰκων τε μεγάλων καὶ διὰ γένους ὅγκον
ἐπιφθόνων ὄστρακον ἐπιφέρεσθαι· τρίτον δὲ καὶ
τελευταῖον, ὅτι νίκης ἀναθήματα χορηγικοὺς
τρίποδας ἐν Διονύσου καταλέλοιπεν, οἱ καὶ καθ'
ἡμᾶς ἐδείκνυντο τοιαύτην ἐπιγραφὴν διασώζοντες.

¹ ἥρχεν δ Blass, adopting Sintenis' conjecture : ἥρξε.

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I. ARISTIDES, the son of Lysimachus, belonged to the tribe Antiochis, and to the deme Alopecé. As regards his substance, stories differ, some having it that he passed all the days of his life in severe poverty, and that at his death he left behind him two daughters who for a long time were not sought in marriage because of their indigence. But in contradiction of this story which so many writers give, Demetrius of Phalerum, in his "Socrates," says he knows of an estate in Phalerum which belonged to Aristides—the one in which he lies buried, and regards as proofs of his opulent circumstances, first, his office of Archon *Eponymous*, which only he could hold who obtained it by lot from among the families carrying the highest property-assessments (these were called *Pentacosiomediimi*, or Five-hundred-bushellers); second, his banishment in ostracism, for no poor men, but only men from great houses which incurred envy because of their family prestige, were liable to ostracism; third, and last, the fact that he left in the precinct of Dionysus as offerings for victory some choregic tripods, which, even in our day, were pointed out as still bearing the inscription: "The tribe

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“ Ἀντιοχὶς ἐνίκα, Ἀριστείδης ἔχορήγει, Ἀρχέστρατος ἐδίδασκε.”

- 4 Τουτὶ μὲν οὖν, καίπερ εἶναι δοκοῦν μέγιστον, ἀσθενέστατόν ἐστι. καὶ γὰρ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ὃν πάντες ἄνθρωποι γινώσκουσιν ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ τραφέντα πολλῇ καὶ βιώσαντα, καὶ Πλάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἀφιλοτίμους ἀνεδέξαντο χορηγίας, ὁ μὲν αὐληταῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὁ δὲ παισὶ κυκλίοις χορηγήσας, τούτῳ μὲν Δίωνος τοῦ Συρακουσίου τὴν δαπάνην παρέχοντος, Ἐπαμεινώνδᾳ δὲ τῶν 5 περὶ Πελοπίδαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀκήρυκτος καὶ ἀσπονδος πρὸς τὰς παρὰ τῶν φίλων δωρεὰς πόλεμος, ἀλλὰ τὰς εἰς ἀπόθεσιν καὶ πλεονεξίαν ἀγεννεῖς ἡγούμενοι καὶ ταπεινάς, 319 ὅσαι φιλοτιμίας τινὸς ἀκερδοῦς ἔχονται καὶ λαμπρότητος οὐκ ἀπωθοῦνται.

- 6 Παναίτιος μέντοι περὶ τοῦ τρίποδος ἀποφαίνει τὸν Δημήτριον ὁμωνυμίᾳ διεψευσμένον· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Μηδικῶν εἰς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου δύο μόνους Ἀριστείδας χορηγοὺς ἀναγράφεσθαι νικῶντας, ὃν οὐδέτερον εἶναι τῷ Λυσιμάχου τὸν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Ξενοφίλου πατρός, τὸν δὲ χρόνῳ πολλῷ νεώτερον, ὡς ἐλέγχει τὰ γράμματα τῆς μετ' Εὐκλείδην ὅντα γραμματικῆς καὶ προσγεγραμμένος ὁ Ἀρχέστρατος, ὃν ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς οὐδείς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πελοποννησιακοῖς συχνοὶ χορῶν διδάσκαλον ἀναγράφουσι.

- 7 Τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Παναϊτίου βέλτιον ἐπισκεπτέον

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Antiochis was victorious; Aristides was Choragus; Archestratus was Poet."

Now this last argument, though it seems very strong, is really very weak. For both Epaminondas, who, as all men know, was reared and always lived in great poverty, and Plato the philosopher, took it upon themselves to furnish munificent public performances, the first, of men trained to play the flute, the second, of boys trained to sing and dance; but Plato received the money that he spent thereon from Dion of Syracuse, and Epaminondas from Pelopidas. Good men wage no savage and relentless war against the gifts of friends, but while they look upon gifts taken to be stored away and increase the receiver's wealth as ignoble and mean, they refuse none which promote an unselfish and splendid munificence.

However, as regards the tripods, Panaetius tries to show that Demetrius was deceived by identity of name. From the Persian wars, he says, down to the end of the Peloponnesian war, only two Aristides are recorded as victorious *choregi*, and neither of them is identical with the son of Lysimachus. One was the son of Xenophilus, and the other lived long afterwards, as is proved by the inscription itself, which is written in the character used after Eucleides,¹ as well as by the last name, Archestratus, of whom there is no record during the Persian wars, while during the time of the Peloponnesian war his name often appears as that of a choral poet.

This argument of Panaetius should be more closely

¹ In 403-402 B.C., when Eucleides was Archon *Eponymous*, the Ionian alphabet was officially adopted at Athens.

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ὅπως ἔχει. τῷ δ' ὁστράκῳ πᾶς ὁ διὰ δόξαν
ἢ γένος ἢ λόγου δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς
νομιζόμενος ὑπέπιπτεν· ὅπου καὶ Δάμων ὁ Περι-
κλέους διδάσκαλος, ὅτι τὸ φρονεῖν ἐδόκει τις
8 εἶναι περιττός, ἔξωστρακίσθη. καὶ μὴν ἄρξαι
γε τὸν Ἀριστείδην ὁ Ἰδομενεὺς οὐ κυαμευτόν, ἀλλ'
έλομένων Ἀθηναίων φησίν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν
ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην ἦρξεν, ώς αὐτὸς ὁ Δημή-
τριος γέγραφε, καὶ πάνυ πιθανόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ δόξῃ
τοσαύτῃ καὶ κατορθώμασι τηλικούτοις ἀξιωθῆναι
δι' ἀρετὴν ἡς διὰ πλοῦτον ἐτύγχανον οἱ λαγχά-
9 νοντες. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Δημήτριος οὐ μόνον
Ἀριστείδην, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτην δῆλος ἐστι τῆς
πενίας ἔξελέσθαι φιλοτιμούμενος ώς μεγάλου
κακοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ φησὶν οὐ μόνον τὴν οἰκίαν
ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μνᾶς ἐβδομήκοντα τοκιζό-
μένας ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος.

II. Ἀριστείδης δὲ Κλεισθένους μὲν τοῦ κατα-
στησαμένου τὴν πολιτείαν μετὰ τοὺς τυράννους
έταῖρος γενόμενος, ζηλώσας δὲ καὶ θαυμάσας
μάλιστα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν Λυκούργου τὸν
Λακεδαιμόνιον, ἥψατο μὲν ἀριστοκρατικῆς πολι-
τείας, ἔσχε δὲ ἀντιτασσόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου
Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν φασιν
παῖδας ὅντας αὐτοὺς καὶ συντρεφομένους ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς ἐν παντὶ καὶ σπουδῇς ἔχομένῳ καὶ παιδιάς
πράγματι καὶ λόγῳ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
2 καὶ τὰς φύσεις εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῆς φιλονεικίας ἐκείνης

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examined as to its validity ; but to banishment in ostracism every one was liable who was superior to the common run of men in reputation, or lineage, or eloquence. And so it was that Damon, the teacher of Pericles, was ostracized because he was thought to be rather extraordinary in his wisdom.¹ Furthermore, Idomeneus says that Aristides obtained the office of archon, not by lot, but by the election of the Athenians.² And if he was made archon after the battle of Plataea, as Demetrius himself has written, it is certainly very credible that in view of such a reputation and such successes as he there won, he should be deemed worthy, for his valour, of an office which men who drew lots for it obtained for their wealth. In fact, Demetrius is clearly ambitious to rescue not only Aristides, but also Socrates from what he deems the great evil of poverty, for he says that Socrates owned not only his house, but also seventy minas out at interest with Crito.

II. Aristides was an intimate friend of that Cleisthenes who set the state in order after the expulsion of the tyrants. He also admired and emulated, above all other statesmen, Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian. He therefore favoured an aristocratical form of government, and ever had opposed to him, as champion of the people, Themistocles the son of Neocles. Some say that even as boys and fellow-pupils, from the outset, in every word and deed, whether serious or trivial, they were at variance with one another, and that by

¹ *Pericles*, iv. 2.

² From 508 B.C. to 487 B.C. the archons were elected by the Assembly ; after 487, they were once more chosen by lot.

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ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι, τὴν μὲν εὐχερῆ καὶ παράβολον καὶ πανούργον οὖσαν καὶ μετ' ὁξύτητος ἐπὶ πάντα ῥᾳδίως φερομένην, τὴν δ' ἰδρυμένην ἐν ἥθει βεβαίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον ἀτενή,¹ ψεῦδος δὲ καὶ βωμολοχίαν καὶ ἀπάτην οὐδ' ἐν παιδιᾶς τινι τρόπῳ προσιεμένην.

'Αρίστων δ' ὁ Κεῖος ἔξι ἑρωτικῆς ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι φησὶ καὶ προελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον τὴν 3 ἔχθραν αὐτῶν. Στησίλεω γάρ, δος ἦν γένει Κεῖος, ἵδεα τε καὶ μορφῇ σώματος πολὺ τῶν ἐν ὥρᾳ λαμπρότατος, ἀμφοτέρους ἑρασθέντας οὐ μετρίως ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ πάθος οὐδὲ ἄμα λήγοντι τῷ κάλλει τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν φιλονεικίαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐγγυμνασαμένους ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐθὺς ὄρμῆσαι διαπύρους ὅντας καὶ διαφόρως ἔχοντας.

4 'Ο μὲν οὖν Θεμιστοκλῆς εἰς ἔταιρείαν ἐμβαλὼν ἔαυτὸν εἶχε πρόβλημα καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ εὔκαταφρόντον, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα καλῶς αὐτὸν ἄρξειν Ἀθηναίων, ἀνπερ ἵσος ἦ καὶ κοινὸς ἄπασι "Μηδέποτε," εἰπεῖν, "εἰς τοῦτον ἐγὼ καθίσαιμι τὸν θρόνον, ἐν φιλέον οὐδὲν ἔξουσιν 5 οἱ φίλοι παρ' ἐμοὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων." 'Αριστείδης δὲ καθ' ἔαυτὸν ὥσπερ ὁδὸν ἴδιαν ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῆς πολιτείας, πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενος συναδικεῖν τοῖς ἔταιροις ἦ λυπηρὸς εἶναι μὴ χαριζόμενος, ἐπειτα τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων δύναμιν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἴδων ἐπαίρουσαν ἀδικεῖν ἐφυλάττετο, μόνῳ τῷ χρηστὰ

¹ ἀτενή MSS. and editors, including Sintenis¹: ἀτενεῖ after Classen.

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this very rivalry their natures were straightway made manifest, the one as dexterous, reckless, and unscrupulous, easily carried with impetuosity into any and every undertaking ; the other as established on a firm character, intent on justice, and admitting no falsity or vulgarity or deceit, not even in any sport whatsoever.

But Ariston of Ceos says that this enmity of theirs, which came to be so intense, had its origin in a love affair. They were both enamoured of Stesilaüs, who was of Ceian birth, and in beauty of person the most brilliant of youths ; and they cherished their passion so immoderately, that not even after the boy's beauty had faded did they lay aside their rivalry, but, as though they had merely taken preliminary practice and exercise in that, they presently engaged in matters of state also with passionate heat and opposing desires.

Themistocles joined a society of political friends, and so secured no inconsiderable support and power. Hence when some one told him that he would be a good ruler over the Athenians if he would only be fair and impartial to all, he replied : " Never may I sit on a tribunal where my friends are to get no more advantage from me than strangers." But Aristides walked the way of statesmanship by himself, on a private path of his own, as it were, because, in the first place, he was unwilling to join with any comrades in wrong-doing, or to vex them by withholding favours ; and, in the second place, he saw that power derived from friends incited many to do wrong, and so was on his guard against it, deeming

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καὶ δίκαια πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἀξιῶν θαρρεῖν τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.

III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, πολλὰ κινουμένου τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους παραβόλως καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν ἐνισταμένου καὶ διακόπτοντος, 320 ἡναγκάζετό που καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μὲν ἀμυνόμενος, τὰ δὲ κολούων τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν χάριτι τῶν πολλῶν αὐξομένην ὑπεναντιούσθαι οἷς ἔπραττεν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, βέλτιον ἥγονούμενος παρελθεῖν ἕνia τῶν συμφερόντων τὸν δῆμον ἢ τῷ κρατεῖν 2 ἐκείνον ἐν πᾶσιν ἴσχυρὸν γενέσθαι. τέλος δέ ποτε τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους πράττοντός τι τῶν δεόντων ἀντικρούσας καὶ περιγενόμενος οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' εἰπεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπιών, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι σωτηρία τοῖς Ἀθηναίων πράγμασιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον ἐμβάλοιεν. πάλιν δὲ γράψας τινὰ γνώμην εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἀντιλογίας οὖσης πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ φιλονεικίας, ἐκράτει· μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ προέδρου τὸν δῆμον ἐπερωτᾶν αἰσθόμενος ἐκ τῶν λόγων αὐτῶν τὸ ἀσύμφορον ἀπέστη τοῦ ψηφίσματος. 3 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ δι' ἑτέρων εἰσέφερε τὰς γνώμας, ὡς μὴ φιλονεικίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐμπόδιος εἴη τῷ συμφέροντι.

Θαυμαστὴ δέ τις ἐφαίνετο αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβολὰς ἡ εὐστάθεια, μήτε ταῖς τιμαῖς ἐπαιρομένου πρὸς τε τὰς δυσημερίας ἀθορύβως καὶ πράως ἔχοντος, καὶ ὄμοίως ἥγου-

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it right that the good citizen should base his confidence only on serviceable and just conduct.

III. However, since Themistocles was a reckless agitator, and opposed and thwarted him in every measure of state, Aristides himself also was almost compelled—partly in self-defence, and partly to curtail his adversary's power, which was increasing through the favour of the many—to set himself in opposition to what Themistocles was trying to do, thinking it better that some advantages should escape the people than that his adversary, by prevailing everywhere, should become too strong. Finally there came a time when he opposed and defeated Themistocles in an attempt to carry some really necessary measure. Then he could no longer hold his peace, but declared, as he left the Assembly, that there was no safety for the Athenian state unless they threw both Themistocles and himself into the death-pit. On another occasion he himself introduced a certain measure to the people, and was carrying it through successfully, in spite of the attacks of the opposition upon it, but just as the presiding officer was to put it to the final vote, perceiving, from the very speeches that had been made in opposition to it, the inexpediency of his measure, he withdrew it without a vote. And oftentimes he would introduce his measures through other men, that Themistocles might not be driven by the spirit of rivalry with him to oppose what was expedient for the state.

Altogether admirable was his steadfast constancy amid the revulsions of political feeling. He was not unduly lifted up by his honours, and faced adversity with a calm gentleness, while in all cases alike he

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μένου χρῆναι τῇ πατρίδι παρέχειν ἑαυτὸν οὐ
χρημάτων μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξης προῖκα καὶ
4 ἀμισθὶ πολιτεύμενον. ὅθεν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν εἰς
'Αμφιάραον ὑπ' Αἰσχύλου πεποιημένων ἰαμβείων
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ λεγομένων.

Οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν δίκαιος, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
ἀφ' ἣς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα,
πάντες ἀπέβλεψαν εἰς 'Αριστείδην, ὡς ἐκείνῳ
μάλιστα τῆς ἀρετῆς ταύτης προσηκούσης.

IV. Οὐ μόνον δὲ πρὸς εὔνοιαν καὶ χάριν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πρὸς ὄργὴν καὶ πρὸς ἔχθραν ἴσχυρότατος ἦν
ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων ἀντιστῆναι. λέγεται γοῦν
ποτε διώκων ἔχθρόν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, μετὰ τὴν
κατηγορίαν οὐ βουλομένων ἀκούειν τοῦ κινδυνεύ-
οντος τῶν δικαστῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ψῆφον εὐθὺς
αἴτοιντων ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀναπηδήσας τῷ κρινομένῳ
συνικετεύειν, ὅπως ἀκουσθείη καὶ τύχοι τῶν
2 νομίμων πάλιν δὲ κρίνων. ἵδιώταις δυσί, τοῦ
έτερου λέγοντος, ὡς πολλὰ τυγχάνει τὸν 'Αρι-
στείδην ὁ ἀντίδικος λελυπηκὼς "Λέγ", ὡς 'γαθέ,"
φάναι, "μᾶλλον, εἴ τι σὲ κακὸν πεποίηκε· σοὶ
γάρ, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ, δικάζω." τῶν δὲ δημοσίων
προσόδων αἱρεθεὶς ἐπιμελητὴς οὐ μόνον τοὺς
καθ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένους

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considered it his duty to give his services to his country freely and without any reward, either in money, or, what meant far more, in reputation. And so it befell, as the story goes, that when the verses composed by Aeschylus upon Amphiaraüs were recited in the theatre :—

“ He wishes not to seem, but rather just to be,
And reap a harvest from deep furrows in a mind
From which there spring up honourable counse-
lings,”¹

all the spectators turned their eyes on Aristides, feeling that he, above all men, was possessed of such excellence.

IV. It was not only against the inclinations of his good-will and personal favour that he was a most strenuous champion of justice, but also against those of his anger and hatred. At any rate a story is told, how he was once prosecuting an enemy in court, and after he had made his accusation the judges were loath to hear the defendant at all, and demanded that their vote be taken against him straightway; but Aristides sprang to his feet and seconded the culprit’s plea for a hearing and the usual legal procedure. And again, when he was serving as private arbitrator between two men, on one of them saying that his opponent had done Aristides much injury, “ Tell me rather,” he said, “ whether he has done thee any wrong; it is for thee, not for myself, that I am seeking justice.” When he was elected overseer of the public revenues, he proved clearly that large sums had been embezzled, not only by his fellow-officials, but also by

¹ *Seven against Thebes*, 592 ff. (Dindorf).

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ἀρχοντας ἀπεδείκνυε πολλὰ νενοσφισμένους, καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα·

Σοφὸς γὰρ ἀνήρ, τῆς δὲ χειρὸς οὐ κρατῶν.

- 3 Διὸ καὶ συναγαγὼν πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀριστεῖδην ἐν ταῖς εὐθύναις διώκων κλοπῆς καταδίκη περιέβαλεν, ὡς φησιν Ἰδομενεύς. ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ βελτίστων, οὐ μόνον ἀφείθη τῆς ζημίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἄρχων ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διοίκησιν ἀπεδείχθη. προσποιούμενος δὲ τῶν προτέρων μεταμέλειν αὐτῷ καὶ μαλακώτερον ἐνδιδοὺς ἔαυτόν, ἥρεσκε τοῖς τὰ κοινὰ κλέπτουσιν οὐκ ἔξελέγχων οὐδ' ἀκριβολογούμενος, ὥστε καταπιμπλαμένους τῶν δημοσίων ὑπερεπαινεῦν τὸν Ἀριστεῖδην καὶ δεξιοῦσθαι τὸν δῆμον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, σπουδάζοντας ἄρχοντα πάλιν αἱρεθῆναι. μελλόντων δὲ χειροτονεῦν ἐπετίμησε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις . ““Οτε μὲν γάρ,” ἔφη, “πιστῶς καὶ καλῶς ὑμῖν ἥρξα, προύπηλακίσθην· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν καταπροεῖμαι τοῖς κλέπτουσι 4 θαυμαστὸς εἶναι δοκῶ πολίτης. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν αἰσχύνομαι τῇ νῦν τιμῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πρώην καταδίκῃ, συνάχθομαι δὲ ὑμῖν, παρ’ οἷς ἐνδοξότερόν ἐστι τοῦ σώζειν τὰ δημόσια τὸ χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς πονηροῖς.” ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τὰς κλοπὰς 321 ἔξελέγξας τοὺς μὲν τότε βοῶντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ μαρτυροῦντας ἐπεστόμισε, τὸν δὲ ἀληθινὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων ἔπαινον εἶχεν.

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those of former years, and particularly by Themistocles :—

“The man was clever, but of his hand had no control.”

For this cause, Themistocles banded many together against Aristides, prosecuted him for theft at the auditing of his accounts, and actually got a verdict against him, according to Idomeneus. But the first and best men of the city were incensed at this, and he was not only exempted from his fine, but even appointed to administer the same charge again. Then he pretended to repent him of his former course, and made himself more pliable, thus giving pleasure to those who were stealing the common funds by not examining them or holding them to strict account, so that they gorged themselves with the public moneys, and then lauded Aristides to the skies, and pleaded with the people in his behalf, eagerly desirous that he be once more elected to his office. But just as they were about to vote, Aristides rebuked the Athenians. “Verily,” said he, “when I served you in office with fidelity and honour, I was reviled and persecuted; but now that I am flinging away much of the common fund to thieves, I am thought to be an admirable citizen. For my part, I am more ashamed of my present honour than I was of my former condemnation, and I am sore distressed for you, because it is more honourable in your eyes to please base men than to guard the public moneys.” By these words, as well as by exposing their thefts, he did indeed stop the mouths of the men who were then testifying loudly in his favour, but he won genuine and just praise from the best citizens.

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V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δᾶτις ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεμφθεὶς λόγῳ
μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι δίκην Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι Σάρδεις
ἐνέπρησαν, ἔργῳ δὲ καταστρέψασθαι τοὺς "Ελ-
ληνας, εἰς Μαραθῶνα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ κατέσχε
καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει, τῶν δέκα καθεστώτων
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγῶν
μέγιστον μὲν εἶχεν ἀξίωμα Μιλτιάδης, δόξῃ δὲ
2 καὶ δυνάμει δεύτερος ἦν Ἀριστείδης. καὶ τότε
περὶ τῆς μάχης γνώμῃ τῇ Μιλτιάδου προσθέμενος
οὐ μικρὰν ἐποίησε ῥοπήν· καὶ παρ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστου
στρατηγοῦ τὸ κράτος ἔχοντος, ὡς περιήλθεν εἰς
αὐτὸν ἡ ἀρχή, παρέδωκε Μιλτιάδη, διδάσκων
τοὺς συνάρχοντας, ὅτι τὸ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολου-
θεῖν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ σεμνόν
ἐστι καὶ σωτήριον. οὕτω δὲ πραῦνας τὴν φιλο-
νεικίαν καὶ προτρεψάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαπᾶν μιᾶ
γνώμη τῇ κρατίστῃ χρωμένους, ἔρρωσε τὸν Μιλ-
τιάδην τῷ ἀπερισπάστῳ τῆς ἔξουσίας ἴσχυρὸν
γενόμενον. χαίρειν γὰρ ἐῶν ἕκαστος ἥδη τὸ παρ'
ἡμέραν ἄρχειν ἐκείνῳ προσεῖχεν.
3 Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ μάλιστα τῶν Ἀθηναίων
τοῦ μέσου πονήσαντος καὶ πλεῖστον ἐνταῦθα
χρόνον τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντερεισάντων κατὰ τὴν
Λεοντίδα καὶ τὴν Ἀντιοχίδα φυλήν, ἥγωνίσαντο
λαμπρῶς τεταγμένοι παρ', ἀλλήλους ὅ τε Θεμι-
στοκλῆς καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεοντίδος
4 ἦν, ὁ δ' Ἀντιοχίδος· ἐπεὶ δὲ τρεψάμενοι τοὺς
βαρβάρους ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ πλέοντας
οὐκ ἐπὶ νήσων ἐώρων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος
καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἴσω πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν

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V. Now when Datis, on being sent by Darius ostensibly to punish the Athenians for burning Sardis, but really to subdue all the Hellenes, put in at Marathon with all his armament and went to ravaging the country, then, of the ten generals appointed by the Athenians for the conduct of the war, it was Miltiades who enjoyed the greatest consideration, but in reputation and influence Aristides was second. By adopting at that time the opinion of Miltiades about the battle to be fought, he did much to turn the scale in its favour. And since each general held the chief authority for a single day in turn, when the command came round to him, he handed it over to Miltiades, thereby teaching his fellow-officers that to obey and follow men of wisdom is not disgraceful, but dignified and salutary. By thus appeasing the jealousy of his colleagues and inducing them to be cheerfully contented in the adoption of a single opinion (and that the best), he confirmed Miltiades in the strength which comes from an unrestricted power. For each of the other generals at once relinquished his own right to command for a day in turn, and put himself under the orders of Miltiades.

In the battle, the Athenian centre was the hardest pressed, and it was there that the Barbarians held their ground the longest, over against the tribes Leontis and Antiochis. There, then, Themistocles and Aristides fought brilliantly, ranged side by side; for one was a Leontid, the other an Antiochid. When the Athenians had routed the Barbarians and driven them aboard their ships, and saw that they were sailing away, not toward the islands, but into the gulf toward Attica under compulsion of

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- ἀποβιαζομένους, φοβηθέντες μὴ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον λάβωσι τῶν ἀμυνομένων, ταῦς μὲν ἐννέα φυλαῖς ἡπείγοντο πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ κατήνυσαν αὐθημερόν·
5 ἐν δὲ Μαραθῶνι μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φυλῆς Ἀριστείδης ἀπολειφθεὶς φύλαξ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τῶν λαφύρων οὐκ ἐψεύσατο τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ χύδην μὲν ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ παρόντος, ἐσθῆτος δὲ παντοδαπῆς καὶ χρημάτων ἄλλων ἀμυθήτων ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς καὶ τοῖς ἥλωκόσι σκάφεσιν ὑπαρχόντων, οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐπεθύμησε θιγεῖν οὕτ' ἄλλον εἴασε, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐκεῖνον λαθόντες ὠφελήθησαν· ὃν ἦν καὶ Καλλίας ὁ δᾳδοῦχος.
- 6 Τούτῳ γάρ τις, ὡς ἕοικε, τῶν βαρβάρων προσέπεσεν οἱηθεὶς βασιλέα διὰ τὴν κόμην καὶ τὸ στρόφιον εἶναι· προσκυνήσας δὲ καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς ἔδειξε πολὺ χρυσίον ἐν λάκκῳ τινὶ κατορωρυγμένον. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ὡμότατος ἀνθρώπων καὶ παρανομώτατος γενόμενος τὸν μὲν χρυσὸν ἀνείλετο, τὸν δ' ἀνθρωπὸν, ὡς μὴ κατείποι πρὸς ἔτέρους, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ καὶ λακκοπλούτους ὑπὸ τῶν κωμικῶν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας λέγεσθαι, σκωπτόντων εἰς τὸν τόπον, ἐν φότῳ χρυσίον ὁ Καλλίας εὑρεν.
- 7 Ἀριστείδης δὲ τὴν ἐπωνυμον εὐθὺς ἀρχὴν ἡρξε. καίτοι φησὶν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος ἀρξαι τὸν ἄνδρα μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θανάτου μετὰ τὴν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς μάχην. ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς μετὰ μὲν Ξανθιππίδην, ἐφ' οὐ Μαρδόνιος ἡττήθη Πλαταιᾶσιν, οὐδὲ ὅμωνιμον Ἀριστείδην ἐν πάνυ

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wind and wave, then they were afraid lest the enemy find Athens empty of defenders, and so they hastened homeward with nine tribes, and reached the city that very day. But Aristides was left behind at Marathon with his own tribe, to guard the captives and the booty. Nor did he belie his reputation, but though silver and gold lay about in heaps, and though there were all sorts of raiment and untold wealth besides in the tents and captured utensils, he neither desired to meddle with it himself, nor would he suffer any one else to do so, although certain ones helped themselves without his knowledge. Among these was Callias the Torch-bearer.¹

Some Barbarian, it seems, rushed up to this man, supposing him to be a king from his long hair and the headband that he wore, made obeisance to him, and taking him by the hand in suppliant fashion, showed him a great mass of gold buried up in a sort of pit. Callias, most savage and lawless of men, took up the gold; but the man, to prevent his betraying the matter to others, he slew. From this circumstance, they say, his descendants are called by the comic poets "Laccopluti," or "Pit-wealthies," in sly allusion to the place where Callias found his gold.

Aristides at once received the office of Archon *Eponymous*. And yet Demetrius of Phalerum says that it was a little while before his death, and after the battle of Plataea, that the man held this office.² But in the official records, after Xanthippides, in whose year of office Mardonius was defeated at Plataea, you cannot find, long as the list is, so much

¹ One of the highest officers at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries.

² 479-478 B.C.

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πολλοῖς λαβεῖν ἔστι, μετὰ δὲ Φαίνιππον,¹ ἐφ' οὐ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἐνίκων, εὐθὺς Ἀριστείδης ἄρχων ἀναγέγραπται.

VII. Πασῶν δὲ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη μάλιστα τοῖς πολλοῖς αἰσθησιν παρεῖχε διὰ τὸ τὴν χρείαν ἐνδελεχεστάτην αὐτῆς καὶ κοινοτάτην ὑπάρχειν. ὅθεν ἀνὴρ πένης καὶ δημοτικὸς ἐκτήσατο τὴν βασιλικωτάτην καὶ θειοτάτην 2 προσηγορίαν τὸν Δίκαιον. ὁ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων οὐδεὶς ἔξηλωσεν, ἀλλὰ Πολιορκηταὶ καὶ 322 Κεραυνοὶ καὶ Νικάτορες, ἔνιοι δὲ Ἄετοὶ καὶ Ἱέρακες ἔχαιρον προσαγορευόμενοι, τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς βίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὡς ἔοικε, μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς δόξαν ἀγαπῶντες. καίτοι τὸ θεῖον, φὴ γλίχονται συνοικειοῦν καὶ συναφομοιοῦν αὐτούς, τρισὶ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀφθαρσίᾳ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀρετῇ, ὡν καὶ² σεμνότατον ἢ ἀρετὴ 3 καὶ θειότατόν ἔστιν. ἀφθάρτῳ μὲν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τῷ κενῷ καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις συμβέβηκε, δύναμιν δὲ καὶ σεισμὸν καὶ κεραυνοὶ καὶ πνευμάτων ὄρμαι καὶ ρευμάτων ἐπιφορὰ μεγάλην ἔχουσι, δίκης δὲ καὶ θέμιδος οὐδὲν ὅτι μὴ τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λογίζεσθαι³ μεταλαγχάνει.

Διὸ καὶ τριῶν δυντων, ἣ πεπόνθασιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ζῆλον καὶ φόβον καὶ τιμῆς, ζηλοῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ μακαρίζειν ἐοίκασι κατὰ τὸ ἄφθαρτον καὶ ἀτδιοι, ἐκπλήττεσθαι δὲ καὶ δεδιέναι κατὰ τὸ κύριον καὶ δυνατόν, ἀγαπᾶν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν

¹ Φαίνιππον Bekker, Hercher, and Blass with F^aS : Φά-
νιππον. ² ὃν καὶ Hercher and Blass with S : ὃν.

³ λογίζεσθαι Blass : λογίζεσθαι τὸ θεῖον reasoning about the deity.

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as the name Aristides; whereas immediately after Phaenippus, in whose year of office the victory at Marathon was won, an Aristides is recorded as archon.¹

VI. Of all his virtues, it was his justice that most impressed the multitude, because of its most continual and most general exercise. Wherefore, though poor and a man of the people, he acquired that most kingly and godlike surname of "The Just." This no kings or tyrants ever coveted, nay, they rejoiced to be surnamed "Besiegers," or "Thunderbolts," or "Conquerors," and some "Eagles," or "Hawks,"² cultivating the reputation which is based on violence and power, as it seems, rather than on virtue. And yet divinity, to which such men are eager to adapt and conform themselves, is believed to have three elements of superiority,—incorruption, power, and virtue; and the most reverend, the divinest of these, is virtue. For vacuum and the ultimate elements partake of incorruption; and great power is exhibited by earthquakes and thunderbolts, and rushing tornadoes, and invading floods; but in fundamental justice nothing participates except through the exercise of intelligent reasoning powers.

Therefore, considering the three feelings which are generally entertained towards divinity,—envy, fear, and honourable regard, men seem to envy and felicitate the deities for their incorruption and perpetuity; to dread and fear them for their sovereignty and power; but to love and honour and revere them

¹ 490-489 B.C.

² Demetrius *Poliorcetes*; Ptolemy *Ceraunos*; Seleucus *Nicator*; Pyrrhus *Aëtos*; Antiochus *Hierax*.

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4 καὶ σέβεσθαι κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. ἀλλά,
καίπερ οὕτω διακείμενοι, τῆς μὲν ἀθανασίας, ἥν ἡ
φύσις ἡμῶν οὐ δέχεται, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἥς ἐν
τῇ τύχῃ¹ κεῖται τὸ πλεῖστον, ἐπιθυμοῦσι, τὴν
δ' ἀρετήν, δὲ μόνον ἐστὶ τῶν θείων ἀγαθῶν ἐφ'
ἡμῖν, ἐν ὑστέρῳ τίθενται, κακῶς φρονοῦντες, ώς
τὸν ἐν δυνάμει καὶ τύχῃ μεγάλῃ καὶ ἀρχῇ βίου ἡ
μὲν δικαιοσύνη ποιεῖ θεῖον, δὲ ἀδικία θηριώδη.

VII. Τῷ δὲ οὖν Ἀριστείδῃ συνέβη τὸ πρῶτον
ἀγαπωμένῳ διὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὕστερον φθονεῖ-
σθαι, μάλιστα μὲν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους λόγον εἰς
τοὺς πολλοὺς διαδιδόντος,² ώς Ἀριστείδης ἀνηρη-
κὼς τὰ δικαστήρια τῷ κρίνειν ἅπαντα καὶ δικά-
ζειν, λέληθε μοναρχίαν ἀδορυφόρητον ἔαυτῷ
κατεσκευασμένος· ἥδη δέ που καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐπὶ τῇ
νίκῃ μέγα φρονῶν καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιῶν αὐτὸν
ἥχθετο τοῖς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πολλοὺς
2 ἔχουσι. καὶ συνελθόντες εἰς ἄστυ πανταχόθεν
ἔξοστρακίζουσι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ὄνομα τῷ φθόνῳ
τῆς δόξης φόβον τυραννίδος θέμενοι.

Μοχθηρίας γὰρ οὐκ ἦν κόλασις ὁ ἔξοστρακισ-
μός, ἀλλ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν δι' εὐπρέπειαν ὄγκου καὶ
δυνάμεως βαρυτέρας ταπείνωσις καὶ κόλουσις, ἥν
δὲ φθόνου παραμυθία φιλάνθρωπος, εἰς ἀνήκεστον
οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἰς μετάστασιν ἐτῶν δέκα τὴν πρὸς

¹ τῇ τύχῃ Reiske, Hercher, and Blass with F^aS : τύχῃ.

² διαδιδόντος Hercher and Blass with F^aS : ἐκβαλόντος.

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for their justice. And yet, although men are thus disposed, it is immortality, of which our nature is not capable, and power, the chief disposal of which is in the hands of fortune, that they eagerly desire ; while as for virtue, the only divine excellence within our reach, they put it at the bottom of the list, unwisely too, since a life passed in power and great fortune and authority needs justice to make it divine ; by injustice it is made bestial.

VII. Now, to resume, it befell Aristides to be loved at first because of this surname, but afterwards to be jealously hated, especially when Themistocles set the story going among the multitude that Aristides had done away with the public courts of justice by his determining and judging everything in private, and that, without any one perceiving it, he had established for himself a monarchy, saving only the armed body-guard. And besides, the people too must by this time have become greatly elated over their victory ; they thought nothing too good for themselves, and were therefore vexed with those who towered above the multitude in name and reputation. So they assembled in the city from all the country round, and ostracized Aristides, giving to their envious dislike of his reputation the name of fear of tyranny.

Now the sentence of ostracism was not a chastisement of base practices, nay, it was speciously called a humbling and docking of oppressive prestige and power ; but it was really a merciful exorcism of the spirit of jealous hate, which thus vented its malignant desire to injure, not in some irreparable evil,

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- 3 τὸ λυποῦν ἀπερειδομένου δυσμένειαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦρξαντό τινες ἀνθρώπους ἀγεννεῖς καὶ πονηροὺς ὑποβάλλειν τῷ πράγματι, τελευταῖον ἀπάντων 'Τπέρβολον ἔξοστρακίσαντες ἐπαύσαντο. λέγεται δὲ τὸν 'Τπέρβολον ἔξοστρακισθῆναι διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν. 'Αλκιβιάδης καὶ Νικίας μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι διεστασίαζον. ὡς οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἔμελλε φέρειν τὸ ὅστρακον καὶ δῆλος ἦν τὸν ἔτερον γράψων, διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ τὰς στάσεις ἑκατέρας εἰς ταύτῳ συναγαγόντες τὸν
 4 'Τπέρβολον ἔξοστρακισθῆναι παρεσκεύασαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δυσχεράνας ὁ δῆμος ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ προπεπηλακισμένον ἀφῆκε παντελῶς καὶ κατέλυσεν.

'Ην δὲ τοιοῦτον, ὡς τύπῳ φράσαι, τὸ γινόμενον. ὄστρακον λαβὼν ἔκαστος καὶ γράψας δὴ ἐβούλετο μεταστῆσαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἔφερεν εἰς ἕνα τόπον τῆς ἀγορᾶς περιπεφραγμένον ἐν κύκλῳ 5 δρυφάκτοις. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες πρῶτον μὲν διηρίθμουν τὸ σύμπαν ἐν ταύτῳ τῶν ὄστρακων πλῆθος· εἰ γὰρ ἔξακισχιλίων ἐλύττονες οἱ φέροντες¹ εἰεν, ἀτελῆς ἦν ὁ ἔξοστρακισμός· ἔπειτα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἔκαστον ἴδιᾳ θέντες τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων γεγραμμένον ἔξεκήρυττον εἰς ἔτη δέκα, καρπούμενον τὰ αὐτοῦ.

Γραφομένων οὖν τότε τῶν ὄστρακων λέγεται 323 τινα τῶν ἀγραμάτων καὶ παντελῶς ἀγροίκων ἀναδόντα τῷ 'Αριστείδῃ τὸ ὄστρακον ὡς ἐνὶ τῶν τυχόντων παρακαλεῖν, ὅπως 'Αριστείδην ἐγγράψῃ ψειε. τοῦ δὲ θαυμάσαντος καὶ πυθομένου, μή τι

¹ φέροντες Blass with FaS : γράψαντες.

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but in a mere change of residence for ten years. And when ignoble men of the baser sort came to be subjected to this penalty, it ceased to be inflicted at all, and Hyperbolus was the last to be thus ostracized.¹ It is said that Hyperbolus was ostracized for the following reason. Alcibiades and Nicias had the greatest power in the state, and were at odds. Accordingly, when the people were about to exercise the ostracism, and were clearly going to vote against one or the other of these two men, they came to terms with one another, united their opposing factions, and effected the ostracism of Hyperbolus. The people were incensed at this for they felt that the institution had been insulted and abused, and so they abandoned it utterly and put an end to it.

The method of procedure—to give a general outline—was as follows. Each voter took an *ostrakon*, or potsherd, wrote on it the name of that citizen whom he wished to remove from the city, and brought it to a place in the agora which was all fenced about with railings. The archons first counted the total number of *ostraka* cast. For if the voters were less than six thousand, the ostracism was void. Then they separated the names, and the man who had received the most votes they proclaimed banished for ten years, with the right to enjoy the income from his property.

Now at the time of which I was speaking, as the voters were inscribing their *ostraka*, it is said that an unlettered and utterly boorish fellow handed his *ostrakon* to Aristides, whom he took to be one of the ordinary crowd, and asked him to write *Aristides* on it. He, astonished, asked the man what possible

¹ About 417 B.C. Cf. *Nicias*, xi., *Alcibiades*, xiii.

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κακὸν αὐτὸν Ἀριστείδης πεποίηκεν, "Οὐδέν," εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ γιγνώσκω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ' ἐνοχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν Δίκαιου ἀκούων." ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀποκρῖνασθαι μὲν οὐδέν, ἐγγράψαι δὲ τοῦνομα τῷ ὀστράκῳ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἥδη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὔξατο τὴν ἐναντίαν, ως ἔοικεν, εὐχὴν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, μηδένα καιρὸν Ἀθηναίους καταλαβεῖν, διὰ ἀναγκάσει τὸν δῆμον Ἀριστείδου μνησθῆναι.

VIII. Τρίτῳ δ' ἔτει Ξέρξου διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐλαύνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, μὴ προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθείρῃ καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐκ ὁρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃς γε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου διετέλει προτρέπων καὶ παροξύνων τοὺς "Ἐλληνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοκράτορος, πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξότατον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον.

2 'Ως γὰρ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα βουλευομένων τῶν περὶ Εύρυβιάδην αἱ βαρβαρικαὶ τριήρεις νύκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαι καὶ περιβαλοῦσαι τόν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς μήσους κατεῖχον, οὐδενὸς προειδότος τὴν κύκλωσιν ἥκεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἀπ' Αἰγίνης παραβόλως διὰ τῶν

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wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don't even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'The Just.'" On hearing this, Aristides made no answer, but wrote his name on the *ostrakon* and handed it back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles made¹—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter,² when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

¹ *Iliad* i. 407-412.

² 480 B.C.

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πολεμίων νεῶν διεκπλεύσας· καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν
 ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καλέσας
 3 αὐτὸν ἔξω μόνον “Ἡμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεμι-
 στόκλεις, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἥδη τὴν κενὴν καὶ
 μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες ἀρξώμεθα σωτηρίου
 καὶ καλῆς φιλονεικίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλλώ-
 μενοι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, σὺ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ
 στρατηγῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπουργῶν καὶ συμβουλεύων,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν σε πυνθάνομαι μόνον ἀπτεσθαι τῶν
 ἀρίστων λογισμῶν, κελεύοντα διαναυμαχεῖν ἐν
 4 τοῖς στενοῖς τὴν ταχίστην. καί σοι τῶν συμ-
 μάχων ἀντιπραττόντων οἱ πολέμιοι συνεργεῖν
 ἔοικασι· τὸ γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ κατόπιν ἥδη
 πέλαγος ἐμπέπλησται νεῶν πολεμίων, ὡστε καὶ
 τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἀνάγκη κατείληφεν ἀγαθοὺς
 ἄνδρας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι· φυγῆς γὰρ ὁδὸς οὐ
 5 λέλειπται.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἶπεν·
 “Οὐκ ἀν ἐβουλόμην, ὦ Ἀριστείδη, σὲ κατὰ
 τοῦτό μου κρείττονα γενέσθαι, πειράσομαι δὲ
 πρὸς καλὴν ἄρχὴν ἀμιλλώμενος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι
 τοῖς ἔργοις.” ἅμα δὲ αὐτῷ φράσας τὴν ὑφ'
 ἑαυτοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἀπάτην πρὸς τὸν
 βάρβαρον, παρεκάλει πείθειν τὸν Εὐρυβιάδην
 καὶ διδάσκειν, ως ἀμήχανόν ἐστι σωθῆναι μὴ
 ναυμαχήσαντας· εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πύστιν.
 6 ὅθεν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπόντος
 Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ Κορινθίου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
 μηδὲ Ἀριστείδη τὴν γνώμην ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῦ,
 παρόντα γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ως
 οὐκ ἀν ἐσιώπα μὴ λέγοντος τὰ ἀριστα τοῦ
 Θεμιστοκλέους· νῦν δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν οὐ δι'
 εῦνοιαν τοῦ ἄνδρός, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινῶν.

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enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone. "O Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed, no way of escape is left." To this Themistocles replied: "I should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to Themistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any goodwill to the man, but because he approved of his plan.

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- IX. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ναύαρχοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. Ἀριστείδης δ' ὄρῳ τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, ἡ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κεῖται νῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεστὴν οὖσαν, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν προσέμιξε τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ, καὶ μάχην πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, πλὴν ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ζῶντες ηλώσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὄνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα·
- 2 καὶ λέγονται κατά τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως 324 Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, ὡμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι. τὴν δὲ υπῆρχα τοῖς ὅπλοις πανταχόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης περιστέψας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς μήτε τῶν φίλων τινὰ διαφθαρῆναι μήτε τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πλεῖστος ὥθισμὸς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης τὸ καρτερώτατον ἔοικε περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ.
- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρείττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εύρωπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὰ ζεύγματα¹ διακόψαντας. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀριστείδης ἀνακραγὼν τούτον μὲν ἐκέλευε τὸν λόγον καταβαλεῖν, σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν, ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλωσι τὸν Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
- 4 μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορίᾳ φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης

¹ τὰ ζεύγματα Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τὰ ζεύγμα.

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IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia, a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis, was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked in small boats the most ardent and the most warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia, joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken alive. Among these were three sons of the King's sister Sandaucé,¹ whom he straightway sent to Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed to Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xiii. 2.

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δυνάμεως τραπῆ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, οὕτω πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εύνοῦχον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ὠρμημένους τοὺς "Ἐλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψει σώζεσθαι βασιλέα βουλόμενος.

X. Ἐκ τούτου Ξέρξης μὲν περίφοβος γενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἡπείγετο, Μαρδόνιος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ δοκιμώτατον¹ ἔχων περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ὑπελείπετο, καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν ἀπ' ἴσχυρᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸ πεξὸν ἐλπίδος ἀπειλῶν τοῖς "Ἐλλησι καὶ γράφων τοιαῦτα·

2 "Νενικήκατε θαλασσίοις ξύλοις χερσαίους ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπισταμένους κώπην ἐλαύνειν ἀλλὰ νῦν πλατεῖα μὲν ἡ Θετταλῶν γῆ, καλὸν δὲ τὸ Βοιωτιον πεδίον ἀγαθοῖς ἵπτεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις ἐναγωνίσασθαι." πρὸς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔπειμψεν ἴδιᾳ γράμματα καὶ λόγους παρὰ βασιλέως, τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κυρίους καταστήσειν ἐκποδὼν τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους.

3 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ δείσαντες ἔπειμψαν Ἀθήναζε πρέσβεις, δεόμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναικας εἰς Σπάρτην ἀποστείλωσι, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις τροφὰς παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνωσιν ἴσχυρὰ γὰρ ἦν ἀπορία περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ 4 τὴν² χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀκούσαντες, Ἀριστείδου ψήφισμα

¹ δοκιμώτατον Blass with F^aS : μαχιμώτατον.

² καὶ τὴν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τὴν.

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he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive. So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces,¹ a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles, had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to save the King.

X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius, with the flower of the army, to the number of three hundred thousand men, was left behind. He was a formidable adversary, and because his confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: "Ye have conquered with your maritime timbers landsmen who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend in." But to the Athenians he sent separate letters and proposals from the King, who promised to rebuild their city, give them much money, and make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they would cease fighting against him.

When the Lacedaemonians learned this, they took fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for their aged and infirm; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xvi. 2 f.

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γράψαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο θαυμαστὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις συγγνώμην ἔχειν φάσκοντες, εἰ πάντα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων ὥντα νομίζοιεν, ὃν κρείττον οὐδὲν ἵσασιν, ὁργίζεσθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν πενίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν Ἀθηναίοις μόνον ὄρῶσι, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀμνημονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σιτίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες.

5 ταῦτα γράψας Ἀριστείδης καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγαγών, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐκέλευσε φράξειν, ώς οὐκ ἔστι χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος οὕθ' ὑπὲρ γῆν οὕθ' ὑπὸ γῆν, ὃσον Ἀθηναῖοι δέξαιντο ἀν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τὸν ἥλιον δείξας, “Ἄχρι ἀν οὗτος,” ἔφη, “ταύτην πορεύηται τὴν πορείαν, Ἀθηναῖοι πολεμήσουσι Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς δεδημένης χώρας καὶ τῶν 6 ἡσεβημένων καὶ κατακεκαυμένων ἱερῶν.” ἔτι δὲ ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσαιτο Μῆδοις ἡ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολίποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ἐμβαλόντος δὲ Μαρδονίου τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, αὐθις εἰς Σαλαμῖνα διεπέρασαν. Ἀριστείδης δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαιμονα τῆς μὲν βραδυτῆτος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει καὶ τῆς ὀλυγωρίας, προεμένοις αὖθις τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἡξίου δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἔτι σωζόμενα τῆς Ἑλλάδος 7 βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἐφοροι μεθ' 321

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with an admirable answer, declaring that they could be tolerant with their foes for supposing that everthing was to be bought for wealth and money, since their foes could conceive of nothing higher than these things; but they were indignant at the Lacedaemonians for having an eye only to the penury and indigence that now reigned at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valour and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations. When Aristides had made this motion and had introduced the waiting embassies into the Assembly, he bade the Lacedaemonians tell their people that there was not bulk of gold above or below ground so large that the Athenians would take it in payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to the sun: "As long as yonder sun journeys his appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage war against the Persians in behalf of the land which has been ravaged by them and of the temples which they have defiled and consumed with fire." Still further, he made a motion that the priests should solemnly curse all who came to a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of the Hellenes.

When Mardonius for the second time invaded Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis. Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to Lacedaemon, inveighed against their sluggishness and indifference, in that they had once more abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded that they go to the aid of what was still left of Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as

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κακὸν αὐτὸν Ἀριστείδης πεποίηκεν, “Οὐδέν,” εἶπεν, “οὐδὲ γυγνώσκω τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλ’ ἐνοχλοῦμαι πανταχοῦ τὸν Δίκαιον ἀκούων.” ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἀποκρῖνασθαι μὲν οὐδέν, ἐγγράψαι δὲ τοῦνομα τῷ ὁστράκῳ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἀπαλλαττόμενος ἥδη, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὔξατο τὴν ἐναντίαν, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐχὴν τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ, μηδένα καιρὸν Ἀθηναίους καταλαβεῖν, διὸ ἀναγκάσει τὸν δῆμον Ἀριστείδου μνησθῆναι.

VIII. Τρίτῳ δ' ἔτει Ξέρξου διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐλαύνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν, λύσαντες τὸν νόμον ἐψηφίσαντο τοῖς μεθεστῶσι κάθοδον, μάλιστα φοβούμενοι τὸν Ἀριστείδην, μὴ προσθέμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις διαφθείρῃ καὶ μεταστήσῃ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον, οὐκ ὁρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός, διὸ γε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δόγματος τούτου διετέλει προτρέπων καὶ παροξύνων τὸν “Ελληνας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ μετὰ τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο, Θεμιστοκλέους στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοκράτορος, πάντα συνέπραττε καὶ συνεβούλευεν, ἐνδοξόταν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ κοινῇ ποιῶν τὸν ἔχθιστον.

2 ‘Ως γὰρ ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν Σαλαμῖνα βουλευομένων τῶν περὶ Εύρυθιάδην αἱ βαρβαρικαὶ τριήρεις υὔκτωρ ἀναχθεῖσαι καὶ περιβαλοῦσαι τὸν τε πόρον ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ τὰς νήσους κατεῖχον, οὐδενὸς προειδότος τὴν κύκλωσιν ἥκεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἀπ’ Αἰγίνης παραβόλως διὰ τῶν

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wrong Aristides had done him. "None whatever," was the answer, "I don't even know the fellow, but I am tired of hearing him everywhere called 'The Just.'" On hearing this, Aristides made no answer, but wrote his name on the *ostrakon* and handed it back. Finally, as he was departing the city, he lifted up his hands to heaven and prayed—a prayer the opposite, as it seems, of that which Achilles made¹—that no crisis might overtake the Athenians which should compel the people to remember Aristides.

VIII. But in the third year thereafter,² when Xerxes was marching through Thessaly and Boeotia against Attica, they repealed their law of ostracism, and voted that those who had been sent away under it might return. The chief reason for this was their fear of Aristides, lest he attach himself to the enemy's cause, and corrupt and pervert many of his fellow-citizens to the side of the Barbarian. But they much misjudged the man. Even before this decree of theirs, he was ever inciting and urging the Hellenes to win their freedom; and after it was passed, when Themistocles was general with sole powers, he assisted him in every undertaking and counsel, although he thereby, for the sake of the general safety, made his chiefest foe the most famous of men.

Thus when Eurybiades wished to abandon Salamis, but the Barbarian triremes, putting out by night, had encompassed the strait where he lay round about, and had beset the islands therein, and no Hellene knew of this encompassment, Aristides came over to them from Aegina, venturously sailing through the

¹ *Iliad* i. 407-412.

² 480 B.C.

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πολεμίων νεῶν διεκπλεύσας· καὶ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν
ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ καλέσας
3 αὐτὸν ἔξω μόνον “'Ημεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Θεμι-
στόκλεις, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἥδη τὴν κενὴν καὶ
μειρακιώδη στάσιν ἀφέντες ἀρξώμεθα σωτηρίου
καὶ καλῆς φιλονεικίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμιλλώ-
μενοι σῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, σὺ μὲν ἄρχων καὶ
στρατηγῶν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπουργῶν καὶ συμβουλεύων,
ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν σε πυνθάνομαι μόνον ἀπτεσθαι τῶν
ἀρίστων λογισμῶν, κελεύοντα διαναυμαχεῖν ἐν
4 τοῖς στενοῖς τὴν ταχίστην. καί σοι τῶν συμ-
μάχων ἀντιπραττόντων οἱ πολέμιοι συνεργεῖν
ἔοικασι· τὸ γάρ ἐν κύκλῳ καὶ κατόπιν ἥδη
πέλαγος ἐμπέπλησται νεῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε καὶ
τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἀνάγκη κατείληφεν ἀγαθοὺς
ἀνδρας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι· φυγῆς γὰρ ὁδὸς οὐ
5 λέλειπται.” πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς εἶπεν·
“Οὐκ ἀν ἐβουλόμην, ὦ Ἀριστείδη, σὲ κατὰ
τοῦτό μου κρείττονα γενέσθαι, πειράσομαι δὲ
πρὸς καλὴν ἄρχὴν ἀμιλλώμενος ὑπερβάλλεσθαι
τοῖς ἔργοις.” ἀμα δὲ αὐτῷ φράσας τὴν ὑφ’
έαυτοῦ κατασκευασθεῖσαν ἀπάτην πρὸς τὸν
βάρβαρον, παρεκάλει πείθειν τὸν Εύρυβιάδην
καὶ διδάσκειν, ώς ἀμήχανόν ἐστι σωθῆναι μὴ
ναυμαχήσαντας· εἶχε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον πίστιν.
6 ὅθεν ἐν τῷ συλλόγῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰπόντος
Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ Κορινθίου πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα,
μηδὲ Ἀριστείδη τὴν γνώμην ἀρέσκειν αὐτοῦ,
παρόντα γὰρ σιωπᾶν, ἀντεῖπεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ώς
οὐκ ἀν ἐσιώπα μὴ λέγοντος τὰ ἄριστα τοῦ
Θεμιστοκλέους· νῦν δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐ δι’
εὔνοιαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην ἐπαινῶν.

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enemy's ships. He went at once by night to the tent of Themistocles, and called him forth alone. "O Themistocles," said he, "if we are wise, we shall at last lay aside our vain and puerile contention, and begin a salutary and honourable rivalry with one another in emulous struggles to save Hellas, thou as commanding general, I as assistant counsellor, since at the very outset I learn that thou art the only one who has adopted the best policy, urging as thou dost to fight a decisive sea-fight here in the narrows as soon as may be. And though thine allies oppose thee, thy foes would seem to assist thee; for the sea round about and behind us is already filled with hostile ships, so that even our unwilling ones must now of necessity be brave men and fight. Indeed, no way of escape is left." To this Themistocles replied: "I should not have wished, O Aristides, to find thee superior to me here; but I shall try to emulate thy fair beginning, and to surpass thee in my actions." At the same time he told Aristides of the trick that he had contrived against the Barbarian, and entreated him to show Eurybiades convincingly, inasmuch as he had the greater credit with that commander, that there was no safety except in a sea-fight. So it happened in the council of generals that Cleocritus the Corinthian declared to Themistocles that Aristides also was opposed to his plan, since he, though present, held his peace. Aristides at once replied that he would not have held his peace had not Themistocles counselled for the best; but as it was, he kept quiet, not out of any good-will to the man, but because he approved of his plan.

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- IX. Οι μὲν οὖν ναύαρχοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων ταῦτ' ἔπραττον. Ἀριστείδης δ' ὁρῶν τὴν Ψυττάλειαν, ἡ πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν τῷ πόρῳ κεῖται υῆσος οὐ μεγάλη, πολεμίων ἀνδρῶν μεστὴν οὖσαν, ἐμβιβάσας εἰς ὑπηρετικὰ τοὺς προθυμοτάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν προσέμιξε τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ, καὶ μάχην πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους συνάψας ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, πλὴν ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ζῶντες ἥλωσαν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὄνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα·
2 καὶ λέγονται κατά τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως 324
Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, ὡμηστῆ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι. τὴν δὲ ητσίδα τοῖς ὅπλοις πανταχόθεν ὁ Ἀριστείδης περιστέψας ἐφήδρευε τοῖς ἐκφερομένοις πρὸς αὐτήν, ὡς μήτε τῶν φίλων τινὰ διαφθαρῆναι μήτε τῶν πολεμίων διαφυγεῖν. ὁ γὰρ πλεῖστος ὡθισμὸς τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς μάχης τὸ καρτερώτατον ἔοικε περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνου γενέσθαι· διὸ καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστηκεν ἐν τῇ Ψυτταλείᾳ.
3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀποπειρώμενος τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καλὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον αὐτοῖς ἔργον ἔλεγε, κρεύττον δὲ λείπεσθαι τὸ λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἀναπλεύσαντας εἰς Ἐλλήσποντον τὴν ταχίστην καὶ τὰ ζεύγματα¹ διακόψαντας. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀριστείδης ἀνακραγὼν τοῦτον μὲν ἐκέλευε τὸν λόγον καταβαλεῖν, σκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν, ὅπως τὴν ταχίστην ἐκβάλωσι τὸν Μῆδον ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος,
4 μὴ κατακλεισθεὶς ἀπορίᾳ φυγῆς μετὰ τοσαύτης

¹ τὰ ζεύγματα Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τὰ ζεύγμα.

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IX. While the captains of the Hellenes were acting on this plan, Aristides noticed that Psyttaleia, a small island lying in the straits in front of Salamis, was full of the enemy. He therefore embarked in small boats the most ardent and the most warlike of the citizens, made a landing on Psyttaleia, joined battle with the Barbarians, and slew them all, save the few conspicuous men who were taken alive. Among these were three sons of the King's sister Sandaucé,¹ whom he straightway sent to Themistocles, and it is said that, in obedience to some oracle or other, and at the bidding of Euphrantides the seer, they were sacrificed to Dionysus Carnivorous. Then Aristides lined the islet all round with his hoplites, and lay in wait for any who should be cast up there, that no friend might perish, and no foe escape. For the greatest crowding of the ships, and the most strenuous part of the battle, seems to have been in this region. And for this reason a trophy was erected on Psyttaleia.

After the battle, Themistocles, by way of sounding Aristides, said that the deed they had now performed was a noble one, but a greater still remained, and that was to capture Asia in Europe, by sailing up to the Hellespont as fast as they could and cutting in twain the bridges there. But Aristides cried out with a loud voice and bade him abandon the proposal, and seek rather with all diligence how they might most speedily expel the Mede from Hellas, lest, being shut in and unable to make his escape, from sheer necessity

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xiii. 2.

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δυνάμεως τραπῆ πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, οὕτω πέμπει πάλιν Ἀρνάκην εὐνοῦχον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων κρύφα, φράσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ κελεύσας, ὅτι πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς γεφύρας ώρμημένους τοὺς "Ἐλληνας αὐτὸς ἀποστρέψει σώζεσθαι βασιλέα βουλόμενος.

X. Ἐκ τούτου Ξέρξης μὲν περίφοβος γενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἡπείγετο, Μαρδόνιος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ δοκιμώτατον¹ ἔχων περὶ τριάκοντα μυριάδας ὑπελείπετο, καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν ἀπ' ἴσχυρᾶς τῆς περὶ τὸ πεζὸν ἐλπίδος ἀπειλῶν τοῖς "Ἐλλησι καὶ γράφων τοιαῦτα·

2 "Νεικήκατε θαλασσίοις ξύλοις χερσαίους ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐπισταμένους κώπην ἐλαύνειν ἀλλὰ νῦν πλατεῖα μὲν ἡ Θετταλῶν γῆ, καλὸν δὲ τὸ Βοιωτιον πεδίον ἀγαθοῖς ἵππεῦσι καὶ ὄπλίταις ἐναγωνίσασθαι." πρὸς δὲ Ἀθηναίους ἔπειμψεν ἴδιᾳ γράμματα καὶ λόγους παρὰ βασιλέως, τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἀναστήσειν ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δώσειν καὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων κυρίους καταστήσειν ἐκποδὼν τοῦ πολέμου γενομένους.

3 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα καὶ δείσαντες ἔπειμψαν Ἀθήναζε πρέσβεις, δεόμενοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅπως παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναικας εἰς Σπάρτην ἀποστείλωσι, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις τροφὰς παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνωσιν· ἴσχυρὰ γὰρ ἦν ἀπορία περὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ 4 τὴν² χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἀκούσαντες, Ἀριστείδου ψήφισμα

¹ Δοκιμώτατον Blass with FaS : μαχιμώτατον.

² καὶ τὴν Hercher and Blass with FaS : τὴν.

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he throw this vast force of his upon the defensive. So Themistocles sent once more the eunuch Arnaces,¹ a prisoner of war, bidding him tell the King that the Hellenes had actually set out on a voyage to attack the bridges, but that he, Themistocles, had succeeded in turning them back, wishing to save the King.

X. At this Xerxes grew exceeding fearful, and hurried straight to the Hellespont; but Mardonius, with the flower of the army, to the number of three hundred thousand men, was left behind. He was a formidable adversary, and because his confidence in his infantry was strong, he wrote threateningly to the Hellenes, saying: "Ye have conquered with your maritime timbers landsmen who know not how to ply the oar; but now, broad is the land of Thessaly and fair the plain of Boeotia for brave horsemen and men-at-arms to contend in." But to the Athenians he sent separate letters and proposals from the King, who promised to rebuild their city, give them much money, and make them lords of the Hellenes, if only they would cease fighting against him.

When the Lacedaemonians learned this, they took fright, and sent an embassy to Athens, begging the Athenians to despatch their wives and children to Sparta, and to accept from her a support for their aged and infirm; for great was the distress among the people, since it had so recently lost both land and city. However, after listening to the embassy, on motion of Aristides, they answered

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xvi. 2 f.

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γράψαντος, ἀπεκρίναντο θαυμαστὴν ἀπόκρισιν, τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις συγγνώμην ἔχειν φάσκουτες, εἰ πάντα πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων ὄντα νομίζοιεν, ὃν κρείττον οὐδὲν ἵσασιν, ὁργίζεσθαι δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅτι τὴν πενίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν υῦν παροῦσαν Ἀθηναίοις μόνον ὄρωσι, τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἀμυημονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σιτίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες.

5 ταῦτα γράψας Ἀριστείδης καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παραγαγών, Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν ἐκέλευσε φράζειν, ώς οὐκ ἔστι χρυσοῦ τοσοῦτον πλῆθος οὕθ' ὑπὲρ γῆν οὕθ' ὑπὸ γῆν, ὃσον Ἀθηναῖοι δέξαιντο ἀν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. τοῖς δὲ παρὰ Μαρδονίου τὸν ἥλιον δείξας, “Ἄχρι ἀν οὗτος,” ἔφη, “ταύτην πορεύηται τὴν πορείαν, Ἀθηναῖοι πολεμήσουσι Πέρσαις ὑπὲρ τῆς δεδημένης χώρας καὶ τῶν 6 ἡσεβημένων καὶ κατακεκαυμένων Ἱερῶν.” ἔτι δὲ ἀρὰς θέσθαι τοὺς Ἱερεῖς ἔγραψεν, εἴ τις ἐπικηρυκεύσαιτο Μήδοις ἡ τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπολίποι τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

7 'Εμβαλόντος δὲ Μαρδονίου τὸ δεύτερον εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, αὐθις εἰς Σαλαμῖνα διεπέρασαν. Ἀριστείδης δὲ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαιμονα τῆς μὲν βραδυτῆτος αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει καὶ τῆς ὀλυγωρίας, προεμένοις αὐθις τῷ βαρβάρῳ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἡξίου δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἔτι σωζόμενα τῆς Ἑλλάδος βοηθεῖν. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἐφοροι μεθ' 3:

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with an admirable answer, declaring that they could be tolerant with their foes for supposing that everthing was to be bought for wealth and money, since their foes could conceive of nothing higher than these things; but they were indignant at the Lacedaemonians for having an eye only to the penury and indigence that now reigned at Athens, and for being so unmindful of the valour and ambition of the Athenians as to exhort them to contend for Hellas merely to win their rations. When Aristides had made this motion and had introduced the waiting embassies into the Assembly, he bade the Lacedaemonians tell their people that there was not bulk of gold above or below ground so large that the Athenians would take it in payment for the freedom of the Hellenes; and to the messengers of Mardonius he said, pointing to the sun: "As long as yonder sun journeys his appointed journey, so long will the Athenians wage war against the Persians in behalf of the land which has been ravaged by them and of the temples which they have defiled and consumed with fire." Still further, he made a motion that the priests should solemnly curse all who came to a parley with the Medes or forsook the alliance of the Hellenes.

When Mardonius for the second time invaded Attica, again the people crossed over to Salamis. Then Aristides, who had been sent as envoy to Lacedaemon, inveighed against their sluggishness and indifference, in that they had once more abandoned Athens to the Barbarian, and demanded that they go to the aid of what was still left of Hellas. On hearing this, the Ephors, as long as

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ἡμέραν μὲν ἐδόκουν παίζειν καὶ ῥᾳθυμεῖν ἑορτάζοντες· ἡνὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς 'Τακίνθια· υսκτὸς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπιλέξαντες, ὃν ἔκαστος ἐπτὰ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶλωτας εἰχειν, ἔξεπεμψαν οὐκ εἰδότων τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Ἀριστείδης προσῆλθεν, οἱ δὲ σὺν γέλωτι ληρεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασκον καὶ καθεύδειν, ἥδη γὰρ ἐν Ὁρεστείῳ τὸν στρατὸν εἶναι πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς ξένους (ξένους γὰρ ἐκάλουν τοὺς Πέρσας),

- 8 οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν ἔφη παίζειν αὐτὸὺς ὁ Ἀριστείδης, ἀντὶ τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς φίλους ἔξαπατώντας. ταῦθ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰδομενέα λέγουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῷ ψηφίσματι τοῦ Ἀριστείδου πρεσβευτὴς οὐκ αὐτὸς, ἀλλὰ Κίμων καὶ Ξάνθιππος καὶ Μυρωνίδης φέρονται.

XI. Χειροτονηθεὶς δὲ στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀκτακισχιλίους ὄπλίτας ἀναλαβών, ἥκειν εἰς Πλαταιάς. ἔκει δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας ὁ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἥγούμενος Ἐλληνικοῦ συνέμιξεν ἔχων τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ἐπέρρει τὸ πλῆθος.

- 2 τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τὸ μὲν ὅλον τῆς στρατοπεδείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπὸν ποταμὸν παρεκτεταμένης οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅρος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος, περὶ δὲ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὰ κυριώτατα τεῖχος περιεφράξαντο τετράγωνον, οὖν τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστη μῆκος ἦν δέκα σταδίων.

Παυσανίᾳ μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῖς "Ἐλλησι κοινῇ Τισαμενὸς ὁ Ἡλεῖος ἐμαντεύσατο, καὶ προεῖπε νίκην ἀμυνομένοις καὶ μὴ προεπιχειροῦσιν·

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it was day, publicly disported themselves in easy-going festival fashion ; for it was their festival of the *Hyacinthia*. But in the night they selected five thousand Spartans, each of whom had seven Helots to attend upon him, and sent them forth without the knowledge of the Athenians. So when Aristides came before them with renewed invectives, they laughed and said he was but a sleepy babbler, for that their army was already in Arcadia on its march against the "strangers" (they called the Persians strangers). But Aristides declared they were jesting out of all season, forasmuch as they were deceiving their friends instead of their enemies. This is the way Idomeneus tell the story. But in the decree which Aristides caused to be passed, he himself is not named as envoy, but Cimon, Xanthippus, and Myronides.

XI. Having been elected general with sole powers in view of the expected battle, he came to Plataea¹ at the head of eight thousand Athenian hoplites. There Pausanias also, the commander in chief of the whole Hellenic army, joined him with his Spartans, and the forces of the rest of the Hellenes kept streaming up. Now, generally speaking, there was no limit to the encampment of the Barbarians as it lay stretched out along the river Asopus, so vast was it; but round their baggage trains and chief headquarters they built a quadrangular wall, whereof each side was ten stadia in length.

To Pausanias and all the Hellenes under him Tisamenus the Eleian made prophecy, and foretold victory for them if they acted on the defensive and

¹ Spring of 479 B.C.

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3 Ἀριστείδου δὲ πέμψαντος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνεῖλεν
ό θεὸς Ἀθηναίους καθυπερτέρους ἔσεσθαι τῶν
ἐναντίων εὐχομένους τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ "Ηρᾳ τῇ
Κιθαιρωνίᾳ καὶ Πανὶ καὶ νύμφαις Σφραγίτισι,
καὶ θύοντας ἥρωσιν Ἀνδροκράτει, Λεύκωνι,
Πεισάνδρῳ, Δαμοκράτει, Τψίωνι, Ακταίωνι,
Πολυτίθῳ, καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐν γῇ ἴδιᾳ ποιουμένους
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰς Δάματρος τὰς Ἐλευσινίας καὶ
4 τὰς Κόρας. οὗτος ὁ χρησμὸς ἀνενεχθεὶς ἀπορίαν
τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ παρεῖχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἥρωες, οἱς
ἐκέλευε θύειν, ἀρχηγέται Πλαταιέων ἦσαν, καὶ
τὸ τῶν Σφραγιτίδων νυμφῶν ἄντρον ἐν μιᾷ
κορυφῇ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος ἐστιν, εἰς δυσμὰς ἡλίου
θερινὰς τετραμμένουν, ἐν φῷ καὶ μαυτεῖον ἦν
πρότερον, ὡς φασι, καὶ πολλοὶ κατείχοντο τῶν
ἐπιχωρίων, οὓς νυμφολήπτους προσηγόρευον.
5 τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας Δήμητρος πεδίον, καὶ τὸ
τὴν μάχην ἐν ἴδιᾳ χώρᾳ ποιουμένοις τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις νίκην δίδοσθαι, πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν
ἀνεκαλεῖτο καὶ μεθίστη τὸν πόλεμον.

"Ενθα τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀρίμνηστος
ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος
ἐπερωτώμενον αὐτόν, ὃ τι δὴ πράττειν δέδοκται
τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, εἰπεῖν, "Αὔριον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα τὴν
στρατιὰν ἀπάξιμεν, ὡς δέσποτα, καὶ διαμαχούμεθα
τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐκεῖ κατὰ τὸ πυθόχρηστον."
6 τὸν οὖν θεὸν φάναι διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς τοῦ
παντός αὐτόθι γὰρ εἶναι περὶ τὴν Πλαταικὴν
τὰ πυθόχρηστα καὶ ζητοῦντας ἀνευρήσειν.
τούτων ἐναργῶς τῷ Ἀρίμνηστῷ φανέντων ἐξεγρό-

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did not advance to the attack. But Aristides sent to Delphi and received from the god response that the Athenians would be superior to their foes if they made vows to Zeus, Cithaeronian Hera, Pan, and the Sphragitic nymphs ; paid sacrifices to the heroes Androcrates, Leucon, Pisandrus, Damocrates, Hypsion, Actaeon, and Polyidus ; and if they sustained the peril of battle on their own soil, in the plain of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. When this oracle was reported to Aristides, it perplexed him greatly. The heroes to whom he was to sacrifice were, it was true, ancient dignitaries of the Plataeans ; and the cave of the Sphragitic nymphs was on one of the peaks of Cithaeron, facing the summer sunsets, and in it there was also an oracle in former days, as they say, and many of the natives were possessed of the oracular power, and these were called *nympholepti*, or "nymph-possessed." But the plain of Eleusinian Demeter, and the promise of victory to the Athenians if they fought the battle in their own territory, called them back, as it were, to Attica, and changed the seat of war.

At this time the general of the Plataeans, Arimnestus, had a dream in which he thought he was accosted by Zeus the Saviour and asked what the Hellenes had decided to do, and replied : "On the morrow, my Lord, we are going to lead our army back to Eleusis, and fight out our issue with the Barbarians there, in accordance with the Pythian oracle." Then the god said they were entirely in error, for the Pythian oracle's places were there in the neighbourhood of Plataea, and if they sought them they would surely find them. All this was made so vivid to Arimnestus that as soon as he awoke

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μενος τάχιστα μετεπέμψατο τοὺς ἐμπειροτάτους
καὶ πρεσβυτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν, μεθ' ὧν δια-
λεγόμενος καὶ συνδιαπορῶν εὑρεν, ὅτι τῶν Ὄσιῶν
πλησίον ὑπὸ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ναός ἐστιν ἀρχαῖος
πάνυ¹ Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας καὶ Κόρης προσα-
7 γορευόμενος. εὐθὺς οὖν παραλαβὼν τὸν Ἀρι-
στείδην ἥγεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, εὐφυέστατον ὅντα
παρατάξαι φάλαγγα πεζικὴν ἵπποκρατουμένοις,
διὰ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἄφιππα ποι-
ούσας τὰ καταλήγοντα καὶ συγκυροῦντα τοῦ
πεδίου πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν. αὐτοῦ δὲ ἦν καὶ τὸ τοῦ
Ἀνδροκράτους ἡρῷον ἐγγύς, ἀλσει πυκνῶν καὶ
8 συσκίων δένδρων περιεχόμενον. ὅπως δὲ μηδὲν
ἔλλιπτες ἔχῃ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς νίκης ὁ χρησμός,
ἔδοξε τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσιν, Ἀριμνήστου γνώμην
εἰπόντος, ἀνελεῦν τὰ πρὸς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ὅρια τῆς 326
Πλαταιΐδος καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδοῦναι τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἐν οἰκείᾳ κατὰ τὸν
χρησμὸν ἐναγωνίσασθαι.
9 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν Πλαταιέων
οὕτῳ συνέβη περιβόητον γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ
Ἀλέξανδρον ἥδη βασιλεύοντα τῆς Ἀσίας ὕστερον
πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τειχίζοντα τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἀνειπεῖν
Ὀλυμπιάσιν ὑπὸ κῆρυκος, ὅτι ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἀποδίδωσι Πλαταιεῦσι τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ τῆς
μεγαλοψυχίας χάριν, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν ἐν
τῷ Μηδικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν χώραν ἐπέδωκαν καὶ
παρέσχον αὐτοὺς προθυμοτάτους.

XII. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ Τεγεάται περὶ τάξεως
ἐρίσαντες ἥξουν, ὥσπερ ἀεί, Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ
δεξιὸν ἔχόντων κέρας, αὐτοὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἔχειν,

¹ πάνυ omitted by Bekker, now found in S.

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he summoned the oldest and most experienced of his fellow-citizens. By conference and investigation with these he discoverd that near Hysiae, at the foot of mount Cithaeron, there was a very ancient temple bearing the names of Eleusinian Demeter and Cora. Straightway then he took Aristides and led him to the spot. They found that it was naturally very well suited to the array of infantry against a force that was superior in cavalry, since the spurs of Cithaeron made the edges of the plain adjoining the temple unfit for horsemen. There, too, was the shrine of the hero Androcrates hard by, enveloped in a grove of dense and shady trees. And besides, that the oracle might leave no rift in the hope of victory, the Plataeans voted, on motion of Arimnestus, to remove the boundaries of Plataea on the side toward Attica, and to give this territory to the Athenians, that so they might contend in defence of Hellas on their own soil, in accordance with the oracle.

This munificence of the Plataeans became so celebrated that Alexander, many years afterwards, when he was now King of Asia,¹ built the walls of Plataea, and had proclamation made by herald at the Olympic games that the King bestowed this grace upon the Plataeans in return for their bravery and magnanimity in freely bestowing their territory upon the Hellenes in the Median war, and so showing themselves most zealous of all.

XII. Now with the Athenians the men of Tegea came to strife regarding their position in the line. They claimed that, as had always been the case, since the Lacedaemonians held the right wing, they

¹ 331-330 B.C.

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πολλὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν προγόνους ἐγκωμιάζουσες.
ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρελθὼν
ὁ Ἀριστείδης εἶπε· “Τεγεάταις μὲν ἀντειπεῖν
περὶ εὐγενείας καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ παρὼν
καιρὸς οὐ δίδωσι, πρὸς δ' ὑμᾶς, ὡς Σπαρτιάται,
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους” Ἑλληνας λέγομεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀρετὴν
οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τόπος οὐδὲ δίδωσιν· ἦν δ' ἀν ύμεis
ἡμῖν τάξιν ἀποδώτε πειρασόμεθα κοσμοῦντες
καὶ φυλάττοντες μὴ καταισχύνειν τοὺς προηγωνι-
2 σμένους ἀγῶνας. ἥκομεν γὰρ οὐ τοῖς συμμάχοις
στασιάσοντες, ἀλλὰ μαχούμενοι τοῖς πολεμοῖς,
οὐδὲ ἐπαινεσόμενοι τοὺς πατέρας, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς
ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τῇ Ἑλλάδι παρέξουτες· ώς οὗτος
ὁ ἀγὼν δείξει καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἀρχοντα καὶ ἴδιωτην
όποσου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἄξιός ἔστι.” ταῦτ' ἀκού-
σαντες οἱ σύνεδροι καὶ ἤγεμόνες ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους καὶ θάτερον αὐτοῖς κέρας ἀπέδοσαν.

XIII. Οὕσης δὲ μετέωρου τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ
μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπι-
σφαλῶς ἔχόντων, ἄνδρες ἐξ οἰκων ἐπιφανῶν καὶ
χρημάτων μεγάλων πένητες ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου
γεγονότες καὶ πᾶσαν ἄμα τῷ πλούτῳ τὴν ἐν τῇ
πόλει δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ δόξαν οἰχομένην ὄρων-
τες, ἔτέρων τιμωμένων καὶ ἀρχόντων, συνήλθον
εἰς οἰκίαν τινὰ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς κρύφα καὶ
συνωμόσαντο καταλύσειν τὸν δῆμον· εἰ δὲ μὴ
προχωροίη, λυμακεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς
βαρβαροῖς προδώσειν.

2 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ
συχνῶν ἡδη διεφθαρμένων, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἀρι-
στείδης καὶ φοβηθεὶς τὸν καιρόν, ἔγνω μήτ' ἔαν

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themselves should hold the left, and in support of their claim they sounded loudly the praises of their ancestors. The Athenians were incensed, and Aristides came forward and made this speech : " To argue with the men of Tegea about noble birth and bravery, there is surely no time now ; but we declare to you, O Spartans, and to the rest of the Hellenes, that valour is not taken away from a man, nor is it given him, by his position in the line. Whatsoever post ye shall assign to us, we will endeavour to maintain and adorn it, and so bring no disgrace upon the contests we have made before. We are come, not to quarrel with our allies, but to do battle with our foes ; not to heap praises on our fathers, but to show ourselves brave men in the service of Hellas. It is this contest which will show how much any city or captain or, private soldier is worth to Hellas." On hearing this, the councillors and leaders declared for the Athenians, and assigned to them the other wing.

XIII. While Hellas was thus in suspense and Athens especially in danger, certain men of that city who were of prominent families and large wealth, but had been impoverished by the war, saw that with their riches all their influence in the city and their reputation had departed, while other men now had the honours and offices. They therefore met together secretly at a certain house in Plataea, and conspired to overthrow the democracy ; or, if their plans did not succeed, to injure the general cause and betray it to the Barbarians.

Such was the agitation in the camp, and many had already been corrupted, when Aristides got wind of the matter, and, fearful of the crisis that favoured the plot, determined not to leave the

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ἀμελούμενον τὸ πρᾶγμα μήθ' ἄπαν ἐκκαλύπτειν,
ἀγνοούμενον εἰς ὅσον ἐκβήσεται πλῆθος ὁ ἔλεγχος
τὸν τοῦ δικαίου ζητῶν ὅρον ἀντὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος.

3 ὄκτὼ δή τινας ἐκ πολλῶν συνέλαβε· καὶ τούτων
δύο μέν, οὓς πρώτους ἡ κρίσις προεγράφη, οὐ καὶ
πλείστην αἰτίαν εἶχον, Αἰσχίνης Λαμπτρεὺς καὶ
Ἀγησίας Ἀχαρνεύς, φέροντο φεύγοντες ἐκ τοῦ
στρατοπέδου, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἀφῆκε, θαρσῆσαι
διδοὺς καὶ μεταγνῶναι τοῖς ἔτι λανθάνειν οἰο-
μένοις, ὑπειπὼν ως μέγα δικαστήριον ἔχουσι τὸν
πόλεμον ἀπολύσασθαι τὰς αἰτίας ὥρθως καὶ
δικαίως τῇ πατρίδι βουλευόμενοι.

XIV. Μετὰ ταῦτα Μαρδόνιος, φέρετον
ἔδόκει διαφέρειν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπεπειράτο, τὴν
ἴππου ἀθρόαν αὐτοῖς ἐφεὶς καθεζομένοις ὑπὸ τὸν
πρόποδα τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος ἐν χωρίοις ὄχυροῖς καὶ
πετρώδεσι πλὴν Μεγαρέων. οὗτοι δὲ τρισχίλιοι
τὸ πλῆθος ὅντες ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις μᾶλλον
ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο. διὸ καὶ κακῶς ἐπασχον ὑπὸ
τῆς οἴππου ρυείσης ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς
2 ἔχούσης πανταχόθεν. ἐπεμπονοῦντες
κατὰ τάχος πρὸς Παυσανίαν βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες,
ώς οὐ δυνάμενοι καθ' αὐτοὺς ὑποστῆναι τὸ τῶν
Βαρβάρων πλῆθος. ταῦτα Παυσανίας ἀκούων,
ἥδη δὲ καὶ καθορῶν ἀποκεκρυμμένον ἀκοντισμά-
των καὶ τοξευμάτων πλήθει τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν
Μεγαρέων καὶ συνεσταλμένους αὐτοὺς εἰς ὀλίγον,
αὐτὸς μὲν ἀμήχανος ἦν πρὸς ἴππότας ἀμύνειν 321

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matter in neglect, nor yet to bring it wholly to the light, since it could not be known how many would be implicated by a test which was based on justice rather than expediency. Accordingly, he arrested some eight or so of the many conspirators. Two of these, against whom the charge was first formally brought, and who were really the most guilty ones, Aeschines of Lamptrae and Agesias of Acharnae, fled the camp. The rest he released, affording thus an opportunity for encouragement and repentance to those who still thought they had escaped detection, and suggested to them that the war was a great tribunal for their acquittal from the charges made against them, provided they took sincere and righteous counsel in behalf of their country.

XIV. After this, Mardonius made trial of the Hellenes with that arm of his service in which he thought himself most superior. He despatched all his cavalry against them as they lay encamped at the foot of Cithaeron, in positions that were rugged and rocky—all except the Megarians. These, to the number of three thousand, were encamped the rather in open plain. For this reason they suffered severely at the hands of the cavalry, which poured in tides against them, and found access to them on every side. Accordingly, they sent a messenger in haste to Pausanias, bidding him come to their aid, since they were unable of themselves to withstand the host of the Barbarians. Pausanias, on hearing this, and seeing at once that the camp of the Megarians was as good as hidden from view by the multitude of the enemy's javelins and arrows, and that its defenders were huddled together in narrow quarters, on his own part had no way of rendering

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- οπλιτικῇ φάλαγγι καὶ βαρείᾳ τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν,
3 τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις στρατηγοῖς καὶ λοχαγοῖς τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσι προύθετο ζῆλον ἀρετῆς
καὶ φιλοτιμίας, εἰ δή τινες ἐκόντες ἀναδέξαιντο
προαγωνίσασθαι καὶ βοηθῆσαι τοῖς Μεγαρεῦσι.
τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὀκνούντων Ἀριστείδης ἀναδέξαμενος
ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἔργον ἀποστέλλει τὸν
προθυμότατον τῶν λοχαγῶν Ὁλυμπιόδωρον,
ἔχοντα τοὺς ὑπὸ αὐτῷ τεταγμένους λογάδας
τριακοσίους καὶ τοξότας ἀναμεμιγμένους σὺν
αὐτοῖς.
- 4 Τούτων δὲ¹ ὁξέως διασκευασμένων καὶ προσ-
φερομένων δρόμῳ, Μασίστιος ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων
ἴππαρχος, ἀνὴρ ἀλκῆ τε θαυμαστὸς μεγέθει τε
καὶ κάλλει σώματος περιττός, ὡς κατεῖδεν,
ἐναντίον ἐπιστρέψας τὸν ἵππον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνε.
τῶν δ' ἀνασχομένων καὶ συμβαλόντων ἦν ἀγῶν
καρτερός, ὡς πείραν ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ παντὸς λαμ-
5 βανόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοξευθεὶς ὁ ἵππος τὸν Μα-
σίστιον ἀπέρριψε καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ βάρους τῶν
ὅπλων αὐτός τε δυσκίνητος ἦν ἀναφέρειν καὶ τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις ἐπικειμένοις καὶ παίουσι δυσμεταχείρι-
στος, οὐ μόνον στέρνα καὶ κεφαλήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
γυῖα χρυσῷ καὶ χαλκῷ καὶ σιδήρῳ καταπεφραγ-
μένος, τοῦτον μὲν ἡ τὸ κράνος ὑπέφαινε τὸν
ὁφθαλμὸν ἀκοντίου στύρακι παίων τις ἀνεῖλεν, οἱ
δ' ἄλλοι Πέρσαι προέμενοι τὸν νεκρὸν ἔφευγον.
- 6 ἐγνώσθη δὲ τοῦ κατορθώματος τὸ μέγεθος τοῖς
Ἐλλησιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν τοῦ πλήθους,
ὅλιγοι γὰρ οἱ πεσόντες ἥσαν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πένθει τῶν

¹ τούτων δὲ Hercher and Blass with FaS : τούτων.

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them aid against horsemen, since his phalanx of Spartans was full-armoured and slow of movement ; but to the rest of the generals and captains of the Hellenes who were about him he proposed, in order to stir up their valour and ambition, that some of them should volunteer to make contention for the succour of the Megarians. The rest all hesitated, but Aristides, in behalf of the Athenians, undertook the task, and despatched his most zealous captain, Olympiodorus, with the three hundred picked men of his command, and archers mingled with them.

These quickly arrayed themselves and advanced to the attack on the run. Masistius, the commander of the Barbarian cavalry, a man of wonderful prowess and of surpassing stature and beauty of person, saw them coming, and at once wheeled his horse to face them and charged down upon them. Then there was a mighty struggle between those who withheld and those who made the charge, since both regarded this as a test of the whole issue between them. Presently the horse of Masistius was hit with an arrow, and threw his rider, who lay where he fell, unable to raise himself, so heavy was his armour ; and yet he was no easy prey to the Athenians, though they pressed upon him and smote him. For not only his chest and head, but also his limbs were encased in gold and bronze and iron. But at last, with the spike of a javelin, through the eye-hole of his helmet, he was smitten to the death, and the rest of the Persians abandoned his body and fled. The magnitude of their success was known to the Hellenes, not from the multitude of those they slew, for few

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βαρβάρων. καὶ γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἔκειραν ἐπὶ τῷ Μασιστίῳ καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους, οἵμωγῆς τε καὶ κλαυθμοῦ τὸ πεδίον ἐνεπίμπλασαν, ώς ἄνδρα πολὺ πρώτον ἀρετὴν καὶ δυνάμει μετά γε Μαρδόνιον αὐτὸν ἀποβαλόντες.

XV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἴππομαχίαν ἀμφότεροι μάχης ἔσχοντο χρόνον πολύν· ἀμυνομένοις γὰρ οἱ μάντεις νίκην προῦφαινον ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ τοῖς "Ελλησιν, εἰ δὲ ἐπιχειροῖεν, ἤτταν. ἔπειτα Μαρδόνιος, ώς αὐτῷ μὲν ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια περιῆν, οἱ δὲ "Ελληνες ἀεὶ τινων ἐπιρρεόντων πλείουνες ἐγίνοντο, δυσανασχετῶν ἔγνω μηκέτι μένειν, ἀλλὰ διαβάς ἅμα φάει τὸν 'Ασωπὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς "Ελλησιν ἀπροσδοκήτως· καὶ παράγγελμα τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐσπέρας ἔδωκε.

- 2 Μεσούσης δὲ μάλιστα τῆς υικτὸς ἀνήρ ἵππου ἔχων ἀτρέμα προσεμίγνυε τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν 'Ελλήνων· ἐντυχὼν δὲ ταῖς φυλακαῖς ἐκέλευεν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν 'Αριστείδην τὸν 'Αθηναῖον. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ ταχέως ἔφησεν· "Εἰμὶ μὲν 'Αλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών, ἦκω δὲ κινδύνων τὸν μέγιστον εὔνοιά τῇ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αἰρόμενος, ώς μὴ τὸ αἴφνιδιον ἐκπλήξειεν ὑμᾶς χείρον ἀγωνίσασθαι.
- 3 μαχεῖται γὰρ ὑμῖν Μαρδόνιος αὔριον, οὐχ ὑπ' ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς οὐδὲ θάρσους, ἀλλ' ἀπορίας τῶν παρόντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ μάντεις ἔκεινον ἀπαισίοις ἱεροῖς καὶ λογίοις χρησμῶν εἴργουσι μάχης, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχει δυσθυμία πολλὴ καὶ κατάπληξις. ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τολμῶντα πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης

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had fallen, but from the grief of the Barbarians. For they shorn their own hair in tribute to Masistius, and that of their horses and mules, and filled the plain with their wailing cries. They felt that they had lost a man who, after Mardonius himself, was by far the first in valour and authority.

XV. After this cavalry battle, both sides refrained from further fighting for a long time, since only as they acted on the defensive would victory be theirs—so the soothsayers interpreted the sacrifices alike for Persians and Hellenes,—but if they attacked, defeat. At last Mardonius, since he had supplies remaining for only a few days, and since the Hellenes were ever increasing in number as fresh bodies joined them, impatiently determined to wait no longer, but to cross the Asopus at day-break and attack the Athenians unexpectedly. During the evening he gave the watchword to his commanders.

But about midnight a solitary horseman quietly approached the camp of the Hellenes, and falling in with the outposts, ordered that Aristides the Athenian come to him. He was speedily obeyed, and then said : “I am Alexander the Macedonian, and I am come at the greatest peril to myself, out of my good-will toward you, that no suddenness of attack may frighten you into inferior fighting. Mardonius will surely give battle on the morrow, not because he has substantial hope or even courage, but because he is destitute of provisions. His soothsayers, indeed, are trying to keep him from battle by unpropitious sacrifices and oracular utterances, while his army is full of dejection and consternation ; but he must needs boldly try his fortune, or sit

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ἡ τὴν ἐσχάτην ὑπομένειν ἀπορίαν καθεξόμενον.

4 ταῦτα φράσας ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔδειτο τὸν Ἀριστείδην αὐτὸν εἰδέναι καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἐτέρῳ δὲ μὴ κατειπεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν ἔφη ταῦτα Παυσανίαν ἀποκρύψασθαι, ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἀνακεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅρρητα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἔδοξεν¹ ἐσεσθαι, νικώσης δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδένα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου προθυμίαν καὶ 5 ἀρετὴν ἀγνοήσειν. λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ὃ τε βασιλεὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπῆλαυνεν ὀπίσω πάλιν, ὃ τε Ἀριστείδης ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν 328 σκηνὴν τοῦ Παυσανίου διηγεῖτο τοὺς λόγους· καὶ μετεπέμποντο τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ παρήγελλον ἐν κόσμῳ τὸν στρατὸν ἔχειν, ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης.

XVI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ', ὡς Ἡρόδοτος ἴστορεῖ, Παυσανίας Ἀριστείδη προσέφερε λόγου, ἀξιῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μετατάξαι καὶ² κατὰ τοὺς^{*} Πέρσας ἀντιταχθῆναι, βέλτιον γὰρ ἀγωνιεῖσθαι τῆς τε μάχης ἐμπείρους γεγονότας καὶ τῷ προνευικηκέναι θαρροῦντας, αὐτῷ δὲ παραδοῦναι τὸ εὐώνυμον, ὅπου τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδίζοντες ἐπιβάλλειν ἔμελλον.

2 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀγνώμονα καὶ φορτικὸν ἥγοῦντο τὸν Παυσανίαν, εἰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐών τάξιν ἐν χώρᾳ μόνους ἄνω καὶ κάτω μεταφέρει σφᾶς ὥσπερ εἶλωτας, κατὰ τὸ

¹ Εδοξεν bracketed by Bekker, omitted by Blass.

² μετατάξαι καὶ MSS., Sintenis¹, Coraës, Bekker: μεταγαγήντα.

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still and endure extremest destitution." When he had told him this, Alexander begged Aristides to keep the knowledge to himself and bear it well in mind, but to tell it to none other. Aristides replied that it was not honourable to conceal this knowledge from Pausanias, since it was on him that the supreme command devolved, but that it should not be told the other leaders before the battle; though in case Hellas were victorious, no man should remain ignorant of Alexander's zeal and valour. After this conversation, the king of the Macedonians rode off back again, and Aristides went to the tent of Pausanias and told him all that had been said. Then they summoned the other leaders and gave them orders to keep the army in array, since there was to be a battle.

XVI. At this juncture, as Herodotus relates,¹ Pausanias sent word to Aristides, demanding that the Athenians change their position and array themselves on the right wing, over against the Persians, where they would contend better, he said, since they were versed already in the Persian style of fighting, and emboldened by a previous victory over them; the left wing, where the Medising Hellenes were going to attack, should be intrusted to himself and his Spartans.

The rest of the Athenian generals thought it inconsiderate and annoying in Pausanias to leave the rest of his line in the position assigned, while he moved them, and them only, back and forth like Helots, and put them forward where the

¹ ix. 46.

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μαχιμώτατον προβαλλόμενος· ὁ δὲ Ἀριστείδης διαμαρτάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκε τοῦ παντός, εἰ πρώην μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας ἔχειν διεφιλοτιμοῦντο Τεγεάταις καὶ προκριθέντες ἐσε-
3 μνύνοντο, νῦν δέ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἔκουσίως αὐτοῖς ἐξισταμένων τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραδιδόντων, οὕτε τὴν δόξαν ἀγαπῶ-
σιν οὔτε κέρδος ἥγοῦνται τὸ μὴ πρὸς ὄμοφύλους καὶ συγγενεῖς, ἀλλὰ βαρβάρους καὶ φύσει πολε-
μίους ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἐκ τούτου πάνυ προθύμως
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διημείβοντο τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις τὴν
4 τάξιν· καὶ λόγος ἔχώρει δι' αὐτῶν πολὺς ἀλ-
λήλοις παρεγγυώντων, ώς οὔτε ὅπλα βελτίω
λαβόντες οὔτε ψυχὰς ἀμείνους οἱ πολέμοι τῶν
ἐν Μαραθῶνι προσίσιν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκείνοις
τόξα, ταῦτα δὲ ἐσθῆτος ποικίλματα καὶ χρυσὸς
ἐπὶ σώμασι μαλακοῖς καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀνάνδροις· ἥμιν
δὲ ὅμοια μὲν ὅπλα καὶ σώματα, μεῖζον δὲ ταῖς
νίκαις τὸ θάρσος, ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐχ ὑπὲρ χώρας καὶ
πόλεως μόνον, ώς ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν
Μαραθῶνι καὶ Σαλαμῖνι τροπαίων, ώς μηδὲ ἐκεῖνα
Μιλτιάδου δοκῆ καὶ τύχης, ἀλλὰ Ἀθηναίων.
5 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν σπεύδοντες ἐν ἀμείψει τῶν
τάξεων ἦσαν· αἰσθόμενοι δὲ Θηβαῖοι παρ' αὐτο-
μόλων Μαρδονίφ φράζουσι. κάκεῖνος εὐθύς, εἴτε
δεδιώς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἴτε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις

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fighting was to be hottest. But Aristides declared that they were utterly wrong ; they had contended emulously with the Tegeans, but a little while back, for the occupation of the left wing, and plumed themselves on being preferred before those rivals ; but now, when the Lacedaemonians of their own accord vacated the right wing for them, and after a fashion proffered them the leadership among the Hellenes, they neither welcomed the reputation thus to be won, nor counted it gain that their contention would thus be, not with men of the same tribes and kindreds, but rather with Barbarians and natural enemies. Upon this the Athenians very willingly exchanged posts with the Spartans, and the word passed from lip to lip far through their ranks that their enemies would attack them with no better arms and with no braver spirits than at Marathon, nay, with the same kind of archery as then, and with the same variegated vesture and gold adornments to cover soft bodies and unmanly spirits ; "while we have not only like arms and bodies with our brethren of that day, but that greater courage which is born of our victories ; and our contest is not alone for land and city, as theirs was, but also for the trophies which they set up at Marathon and Salamis, in order that the world may think that not even those were due to Miltiades only, or to fortune, but to the Athenians."

The Spartans and Athenians, then, were busily engaged in exchanging posts ; but the Thebans heard of it from deserters and told Mardonius. He, at once, whether through fear of the Athenians or out of ambition to engage with the Lacedaemonians,

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συμπεσεῖν φιλοτιμούμενος, ἀντιπαρεξῆγε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιόν, τοὺς δὲ "Ἐλληνας ἐκέλευε τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἵστασθαι. 6 γενομένης δὲ τῆς μετακοσμήσεως καταφανοῦς ὅτε Παυσανίας ἀποτραπεὶς αὐθις ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κατέστη, καὶ Μαρδόνιος, ὡσπερ εἶχεν ἔξι ἀρχῆς, ἀνέλαβε τὸ εὐώνυμον κατὰ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους γενόμενος, ἢ τε ἡμέρα διεξῆλθεν ἀργή. καὶ τοῖς "Ἐλλησι βουλευομένοις ἔδοξε πορρωτέρω μεταστρατοπεδεῦσαι καὶ καταλαβεῖν εὔνδρον χωρίου, ἐπεὶ τὰ πλησίον νάματα καθύβριστο καὶ διέφθαρτο τῶν βαρβάρων ἵπποκρατούνων.

XVII. Ἐπελθούσης δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποδειγμένην στρατοπεδείαν οὐ πάνυ πρόθυμον ἦν ἔπεσθαι καὶ συμμένειν τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνέστησαν ἐκ τῶν πρώτων ἔρυμάτων ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῶν Πλαταιέων οἱ πολλοί, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐκεῖ διασκιδνάμενων καὶ κατασκηνούντων ἀτάκτως. Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ συνέβαινεν¹ ἄκουστι μόνοις ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων· Ἄμομφάρετος γάρ, ἀνὴρ θυμοειδῆς καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος, ἔκπαλατ πρὸς τὴν μάχην σπαργῶν καὶ βαρυνόμενος τὰς πολλὰς ἀναβολὰς καὶ μελλήσεις, τότε δὴ παντάπασι τὴν μετανάστασιν φυγὴν ἀποκαλῶν καὶ ἀπόδρασιν, οὐκ ἔφη λείψειν τὴν τάξιν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι μένων μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λοχιτῶν ὑποστήσεσθαι Μαρδόνιον. ὡς δὲ Παυσανίας ἐπελθὼν ἔλεγε ταῦτα πράττειν ἐψηφισμένα καὶ δεδογμένα τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν, ἀράμενος ταῖν χεροῖν πέτρον μέγαν ὁ

¹ συνέβαινεν Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis¹; συνέβη [μὲν].

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counterchanged his Persians to the right wing, and ordered the Hellenes with him to set themselves against the Athenians. When this change in his enemy's order of battle was manifest, Pausanias returned and occupied the right wing again, whereupon Mardonius also resumed his own left wing, just as he stood at the beginning, facing the Lacedae-monians. And thus the day came to an end without action. The Hellenes, on deliberation, decided to change their camp to a position farther on, and to secure a spot where there was plenty of good water, since the neighbouring springs were defiled and ruined by the Barbarians' superior force of cavalry.

XVII. Night came on, and the generals set out to lead their forces to the appointed encampment. The soldiers, however, showed no great eagerness to follow in close order, but when they had once abandoned their first defences, most of them hurried on toward the city of Plataea, and there tumult reigned as they scattered about and encamped in no order whatsoever. But it chanced that the Lacedae-monians were left alone behind the others, and that too against their will. For Amompharetes, a man of a fierce and venturesome spirit, who had long been mad for battle and distressed by the many postponements and delays, now at last lost all control of himself, denounced the change of position as a runaway flight, and declared that he would not abandon his post, but stay there with his company and await the onset of Mardonius. And when Pausanias came up and told him that their action had been formally voted by the Hellenes in council,

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Αμομφάρετος καὶ καταβαλὼν πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν τοῦ Παυσανίου ταύτην ἔφη ψῆφον αὐτὸς περὶ τῆς 329 μάχης τίθεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δειλὰ βουλεύματα καὶ δόγματα χαίρειν ἔân. ἀπορούμενος δὲ Παυσανίας τῷ παρόντι πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔπειμψεν ἀπιόντας ἥδη, περιμέναι δεόμενος καὶ κοινῇ βαδίζειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἥγε πρὸς τὰς Πλαταιὰς ώς ἀναστήσων τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον.

4 Εν τούτῳ δὲ κατελάμβανεν ἡμέρα, καὶ Μαρδόνιος (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐκλελοιπότες οἱ "Ελληνες") ἔχων συντεταγμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἐπεφέρετο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις βοῆ πολλῆ καὶ πατάγῳ τῶν βαρβάρων, ώς οὐ μάχης ἐσομένης, ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας ἀναρπασομένων τοὺς "Ελληνας. διὰ μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς ἐδέησε γενέσθαι.

5 κατιδὼν γὰρ τὸ γινόμενον ὁ Παυσανίας ἔσχετο μὲν τῆς πορείας καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ μάχῃ τάξιν ἐκέλευσε λαμβάνειν ἔκαστον, ἔλαθε δὲ αὐτὸν, εἴθ' ὑπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀμομφάρετον ὄργης εἴτε τῷ τάχει θορυβηθέντα τῶν πολεμίων, σύνθημα μὴ δοῦναι τοῖς "Ελλησιν. ὅθεν οὔτ' εὐθὺς οὔτ' ἀθρόοι, κατ' ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ σποράδην, ἥδη τῆς μάχης ἐν χερσὶν οὕσης, προσεβοήθουν.

6 Ως δὲ θυόμενος οὐκ ἐκαλλιέρει, προσέταξε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰς ἀσπίδας πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν θεμένους ἀτρέμα καθέζεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν αὐτῷ, μηδένα τῶν πολεμίων ἀμυνομένους, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἐσφαγιάζετο. καὶ προσέπιπτον οἱ ἵππεις· ἥδη δὲ καὶ βέλος ἔξικνεῦτο καί τις ἐπέπληκτο
7 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Καλλικράτης,

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Amompharetus picked up a great stone and threw it down at the feet of Pausanias, saying that was his personal ballot for battle, and he cared not a whit for the cowardly counsels and votes of the rest. Pausanias, perplexed at the case, sent to the Athenians, who were already moving off, begging them to wait and make the march in company with him, and then began to lead the rest of his troops toward Plataea, with the idea that he would thus force Amompharetus from his position.

At this point day overtook them, and Mardonius, who did not fail to notice that the Hellenes had abandoned their encampment, with his force in full array, bore down upon the Lacedaemonians, with great shouting and clamour on the part of the Barbarians, who felt that there would be no real battle, but that the Hellenes had only to be snatched off as they fled. And this lacked but little of coming to pass. For Pausanias, on seeing the situation, though he did check his march and order every man to take post for battle, forgot, either in his rage at Amompharetus or his confusion at the speed of the enemy, to give the signal for battle to the confederate Hellenes. For this reason they did not come to his aid at once, nor in a body, but in small detachments and straggling, after the battle was already joined.

When Pausanias got no favourable omens from his sacrifices, he ordered his Lacedaemonians to sit quiet with their shields planted in front of them, and to await his orders, making no attempt to repulse their enemies, while he himself went to sacrificing again. By this time the horsemen were charging upon them; presently their missiles actually reached them, and many a Spartan was smitten. And then it was

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δν ἵδεᾳ τε κάλλιστον Ἐλλήνων καὶ σώματι μέγιστον ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ στρατῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσι, τοξευθεὶς καὶ θυήσκων οὐκ ἔφη τὸν θάνατον δόδύρεσθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν οἰκοθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀποθανούμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι θυήσκει τῇ χειρὶ μὴ χρησάμενος. ἦν οὖν τὸ μὲν πάθος δεινόν, ἡ δὲ ἐγκράτεια θαυμαστὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἡμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπιβαίνοντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καιρὸν ἀναμένοντες ἡνείχοντο βαλλόμενοι καὶ πίπτοντες ἐν ταῖς τάξεσιν.

- 8 "Ενιοι δέ φασι τῷ Παυσανίᾳ μικρὸν ἔξω τῆς παρατάξεως θύοντι καὶ κατευχομένῳ τῶν Λυδῶν τινας ἄφινω προσπεσόντας ἀρπάζειν καὶ διαρρίπτειν τὰ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν, τὸν δὲ Παυσανίαν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχοντας ὅπλα ῥάβδοις καὶ μάστιξι παίειν· διὸ καὶ νῦν ἐκείνης τῆς ἐπιδρομῆς μιμήματα τὰς περὶ τὸν Βωμὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ πληγὰς τῶν ἐφῆβων καὶ τὴν μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν Λυδῶν πομπὴν συντελεῖσθαι.

- XVIII. Δυσφορῶν οὖν ὁ Παυσανίας τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἄλλα τοῦ μάντεως ἐπ' ἄλλοις Ἱερεῖα καταβάλλοντος, τρέπεται πρὸς τὸ Ἡραῖον τῇ ὄψει δεδακρυμένος, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνασχῶν εὔξατο Κιθαιρωνίᾳ "Ἡρᾳ καὶ θεοῖς ἄλλοις, οἵ Πλαταιῶν γῆν ἔχουσιν, εἰ μὴ πέπρωται τοῖς Ἐλλησι νικᾶν, ἀλλὰ δράσαντάς γέ τι παθεῖν καὶ δείξαντας ἔργω τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μάχεσθαι μεμαθηκότας ἐστράτευσαν. ταῦτα τοῦ Παυσανίου θεοκλυτοῦντος ἀμα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐφάνη τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ νίκην ὁ μάντις ἔφραξε. καὶ δοθέντος
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that Callicrates, said to be the fairest of the Hellenes to look upon, and the tallest man in their whole army, was shot, and, dying, said he did not grieve at death, since he had left his home to die for Hellas, but at dying without striking a single blow. Their experience was indeed a terrible one, but the restraint of the men was wonderful. They did not try to repel the enemy who were attacking them, but awaited from their god and their general the favourable instant, while they endured wounds and death at their posts.

Some say that as Pausanias was sacrificing and praying, a little to one side of his line of battle, some Lydians suddenly fell upon him and rudely hurled away the sacrificial offerings; and that Pausanias and his attendants, being without weapons, smote the intruders with the sacrificial staves and goads; wherefore, to this day, in imitation of this onslaught, the ceremonies of beating the young warriors round the altar at Sparta, and of the procession of the Lydians which follows this, are duly celebrated as rites.

XVIII. Then, in distress at this state of affairs, while the seer slew victim after victim, Pausanias turned his face, all tears, toward the Heraeum, and with hands uplifted prayed Cithaeronian Hera and the other gods of the Plataean land that, if it was not the lot of the Hellenes to be victorious, they might at least do great deeds before they fell, and show to a certainty that their enemies had marched out against men who were brave and who knew how to fight. While Pausanias was thus calling on the gods, right in the midst of his prayers, the sacrifices showed themselves propitious and the seer announced

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- εἰς ἄπαντας τοῦ παραγγέλματος καθίστασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ τε φάλαγξ ὅψιν ἔσχεν αἱφνιδίως ἐνὸς ζώου θυμοειδοῦς πρὸς ἀλκὴν τρεπομένου καὶ φρίξαντος, τοῖς τε βαρβάροις τότε παρέστη λογισμός, ὡς πρὸς ἄνδρας ὁ ἀγὼν
3 ἔσοιτο μάχουμένους ἄχρι θανάτου. διὸ καὶ προθέμενοι πολλὰ τῶν γέρρων ἐτόξευον εἰς τοὺς¹ Λακεδαιμονίους. οἱ δὲ τηροῦντες ἄμα τὸν συνασπισμὸν ἐπέβαινον, καὶ προσπεσόντες ἔξεώθουν τὰ γέρρα, καὶ τοῖς δόρασι τύπτοντες πρόσωπα καὶ στέρνα τῶν Περσῶν πολλοὺς κατέβαλλον, οὐκ ἀπράκτως οὐδὲ ἀθύμως πίπτοντας. καὶ γὰρ ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν δοράτων ταῖς χερσὶ γυμναῖς συνέθραυν τὰ πλεῖστα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς 330 ξιφουλκίας ἔχώρουν οὐκ ἀργῶς, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τε κοπίσις καὶ τοῖς ἀκινάκαις χρώμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας παρασπῶντες καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι χρόνον πολὺν ἀντεῖχον.
- 4 Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τέως μὲν ἡτρέμουν ἀναμένοντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγή τε προσέπιπτε πολλὴ μαχομένων καὶ παρῆν, ὡς φασιν, ἄγγελος παρὰ Παυσανίου τὰ γινόμενα φράζων, ὥρμησαν κατὰ τάχος βοηθεῖν. καὶ προχωροῦσιν αὐτοῖς διὰ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὴν βοήν ἐπεφέροντο τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μηδίζοντες, Ἐριστείδης δὲ πρῶτον μέν, ὡς εἶδε, πολὺ προελθὼν ἐβόα, μαρτυρόμενος Ἑλληνίους θεούς, ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης καὶ μὴ σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν εἴναι μηδὲ κωλυειν ἐπαμύνοντας τοῖς προκινδυνεύοντιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐπεὶ δ' ἔώρα μὴ προσέχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ συντεταγμένους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, οὕτω τῆς
- 5

¹ εἰς τὸν Hercher and Blass with S: τὸν.

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victory. Word was at once passed all along the line to set themselves in motion against the enemy, and the phalanx suddenly had the look of a fierce beast bristling up to defend itself. The Barbarians then got assurance that their contest was to be with men who would fight to the death. Therefore they made a rampart of their wicker targets and shot their arrows into the ranks of the Lacedaemonians. These, however, kept their shields closely locked together as they advanced, fell upon their foemen, tore away their wicker targets, and then, smiting the Persians in face and breast with their long spears, they slew many, who nevertheless did great deeds of courage before they fell. For they grasped the long spears with their naked hands, fractured them for the most part, and then took to short-range fighting with a will, plying their daggers and scimetars, tearing away their enemies' shields, and locking them in close embrace ; and so they held out a long time.

The Athenians, meanwhile, were quietly awaiting the Lacedaemonians. But when the shouts of those engaged in battle fell loud upon their ears, and there came, as they say, a messenger from Pausanias telling them what was happening, they set out with speed to aid him. However, as they were advancing through the plain to his aid, the Medising Hellenes bore down upon them. Then Aristides, to begin with, when he saw them, went far forward and shouted to them, invoking the gods of Hellas, that they refrain from battle, and oppose not nor hinder those who were bearing aid to men standing in the van of danger for the sake of Hellas. But as soon as he saw that they paid no heed to him, and were

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έκει βοηθείας ἀποτραπόμενος συνέβαλε τούτοις
6 περὶ πεντακισμυρίους οὖσιν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν
πλεῖστον εὐθὺς ἐνέδωκε καὶ ἀπεχώρησεν, ἅτε
δὴ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἡ δὲ
μάχη λέγεται μάλιστα κατὰ Θηβαίους γενέσθαι,
προθυμότατα τῶν πρώτων καὶ δυνατωτάτων τότε
παρ' αὐτοῖς μηδιζόντων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐ κατὰ
γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὀλιγαρχούμενον ἀγόντων.

XIX. Οὗτο δὲ τοῦ ἀγῶνος δίχα συνεστώτος
πρῶτοι μὲν ἐώσαντο τοὺς Πέρσας οἱ Λακεδαι-
μόνιοι· καὶ τὸν Μαρδόνιον ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης
ὄνομα Ἀρίμνηστος ἀποκτίννυσι, λίθῳ τὴν κε-
φαλὴν πατάξας, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ προεσήμανε τὸ
ἐν Ἀμφιάρεω μαντεῖον. ἔπειμψε γάρ ἄνδρα
Λυδὸν ἐνταῦθα, Κᾶρα δὲ ἔτερον εἰς Τροφωνίου
οὐ¹ Μαρδόνιος· καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὁ προφήτης Καρικῆ
2 γλώσσῃ προσεῖπεν, ὁ δὲ Λυδὸς ἐν τῷ σηκῷ τοῦ
Ἀμφιάρεω κατευνασθεὶς ἔδοξεν ὑπηρέτην τινὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ παραστῆναι καὶ κελεύειν αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι,
μὴ βουλομένου δὲ λίθον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμβαλεῖν
μέγαν, ὥστε δόξαι πληγέντα τεθνάναι τὸν ἄνθρω-
πον· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι λέγεται. τοὺς
δὲ φεύγοντας εἰς τὰ ξύλινα τείχη καθεῖρξαν.

3 'Ολίγῳ δ' ὕστερον Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Θηβαίους
τρέπονται, τριακοσίους τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ
πρώτους διαφθείραντες ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ. γε-
γενημένης δὲ τῆς τροπῆς ἡκεν αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος
πολιορκεῖσθαι τὸ βαρβαρικὸν εἰς τὰ τείχη κατα-

¹ δ bracketed in Sintenis²; Blass reads εἰς τὸ Πτέρον δ with
S, after Hercher, thus agreeing with Herodotus viii. 135.

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arrayed for battle, then he turned aside from rendering aid where he had proposed, and engaged with these, though they were about fifty thousand in number. But the greater part of them at once gave way and withdrew, especially as the Barbarians had also retired, and the battle is said to have been fought chiefly with the Thebans, whose foremost and most influential men were at that time very eagerly Medising, and carried with them the multitude, not of choice, but at the bidding of the few.

XIX. The contest thus begun in two places, the Lacedaemonians were first to repulse the Persians. Mardonius was slain by a man of Sparta named Arimnestus, who crushed his head with a stone, even as was foretold him by the oracle in the shrine of Amphiaraüs. Thither he had sent a Lydian man, and a Carian besides to the oracle of Trophonius.¹ This latter the prophet actually addressed in the Carian tongue ; but the Lydian, on lying down in the precinct of Amphiaraüs, dreamed that an attendant of the god stood by his side and bade him be gone, and on his refusal, hurled a great stone upon his head, insomuch that he died from the blow (so ran the man's dream). These things are so reported. Furthermore, the Lacedaemonians shut the flying Persians up in their wooden stockade.

Shortly after this it was that the Athenians routed the Thebans, after slaying three hundred, their most eminent leaders, in the actual battle. After the rout was effected, and more might have been slain, there came a messenger to the Athenians, telling them that the Barbarian force was shut up and besieged

¹ According to Herodotus, viii. 135, Mys the Carian visited the shrine of the Ptoan Apollo, overlooking Lake Copäis.

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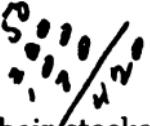
κεκλεισμένον. οῦτω δὴ σώζεσθαι τοὺς "Ελληνας
έύσαντες ἐβοήθουν πρὸς τὰ τείχη καὶ τοῖς
Λακεδαιμονίοις παντάπασιν ἀργῶς πρὸς τειχο-
μαχίαν καὶ ὑπείρως ἔχουσιν ἐπιφανέντες αἰροῦσι
τὸ στρατόπεδον φόνῳ πολλῷ τῶν πολεμίων.

4 λέγονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα μυριάδων
τετρακισμύριοι φυγεῖν σὺν Ἀρταβάζῳ, τῶν δ'
ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωνισαμένων ἐπεσον οἱ
πάντες ἐπὶ χιλίοις ἔξήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι.
τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἥσαν δύο καὶ πεντήκοντα,
πάντες ἐκ τῆς Αἰαντίδος φυλῆς, ὡς φησι Κλεί-
5 δημος, ἀγωνισαμένης ἄριστα· διὸ καὶ ταῖς
Σφραγίτισι νύμφαις ἔθυον Αἰαντίδαι τὴν πυθό-
χρηστον θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης, ἐκ δημοσίου τὸ
ἀνάλωμα λαμβάνοντες· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐνὶ
πλείους τῶν ἐνενήκοντα, Τεγεάται δ' ἐκκαίδεκα.

Θαυμαστὸν οὖν τὸ Ἡροδότου, πῶς μόνους
τούτους φησὶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις,
τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων μηδένα, καὶ γὰρ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν πεσόντων μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὰ μνήματα
6 κοινὸν γενέσθαι τὸ κατόρθωμα· καὶ τὸν βωμὸν
οὐκ ἀν ἐπέγραψαν οὕτως, εἰ μόναι τρεῖς πόλεις
ἡγωνίσαντο, τῶν ἄλλων ἀτρέμα καθεξομένων.

Τόνδε ποθ' "Ελληνες νίκας κράτει, ἔργῳ Ἀρηος,¹
Πέρσας ἔξελάσαντες ἐλευθέρᾳ Ἑλλάδι κοινὸν
ἰδρύσαντο Διὸς βωμὸν ἐλευθερίου.

¹ Coraës and Bekker insert after this verse the pentameter :
εὐτόλμηψ ψυχᾶς λήματι πειθόμενοι, following the bold impulse of
their spirit, found in the Palatine Anthology, vi. 50.



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in their stockade. So they suffered the Hellenes in front of them to make good their escape, while they themselves marched to the stockade. They brought welcome aid to the Lacedaemonians, who were altogether inexperienced and helpless in storming walled places, and captured the camp with great slaughter of the enemy. Out of three hundred thousand, only forty thousand, it is said, made their escape with Artabazus. Of those who contended in behalf of Hellas, there fell in all one thousand three hundred and sixty. Of these, fifty-two were Athenians, all of the Aeantid tribe, according to Cleidemus, which made the bravest contest (for which reason the Aeantids used to sacrifice regularly to the Sphragitic nymphs the sacrifice ordained by the Pythian oracle for the victory, receiving the expenses therefor from the public funds); ninety-one were Lacedaemonians, and sixteen were men of Tegea.

Astonishing, therefore, is the statement of Herodotus,¹ where he says that these one hundred and fifty-nine represented the only Hellenes who engaged the enemy, and that not one of the rest did so. Surely the total number of those who fell, as well as the monuments erected over them, testifies that the success was a common one. Besides, had the men of three cities only made the contest, while the rest sat idly by, the altar would not have been inscribed as it was:—

“Here did the Hellenes, flushed with a victory
granted by Ares
Over the routed Persians, together, for Hellas
delivered,
Build them an altar of Zeus, Zeus as De-
liverer known.”

¹ ix. 85.

7 Ταύτην τὴν μάχην ἐμαχέσαντο τῇ τετράδι τοῦ
Βοηδρομιῶνος ἵσταμένου κατ' Ἀθηναίους, κατὰ
δὲ Βοιωτοὺς τετράδι τοῦ Πανέμου φθίνοντος, ἦ
καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ἀθροί-
ζεται συνέδριον καὶ θύουσι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ Διὶ
Πλαταιεῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς νίκης. τὴν δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν
ἀνωμαλίαν οὐθαυμαστέον, ὅπου καὶ νῦν διηκρι-
βωμένων τῶν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ μᾶλλον ἄλλην ἄλλοι
μηνὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ τελευτὴν ἄγουσιν.

XX. Ἐκ τούτου τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ ἀριστεῖον
οὐ παραδιδόντων τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὐδὲ τρό-
παιον ἴσταναι συγχωρούντων ἐκείνοις, παρ'
οὐδὲν ἀν ἥλθεν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσθαι τὰ πράγματα
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις διαστάντων,
εἰ μὴ πολλὰ παρηγορῶν καὶ διδάσκων τοὺς
συστρατήγους ὁ Ἀριστείδης, μάλιστα δὲ Λεω-
κράτη καὶ Μυρωνίδην, ἐσχε καὶ συνέπεισε τὴν
2 κρίσιν ἐφείναι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. ἐνταῦθα βουλευο-
μένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων Θεογείτων μὲν ὁ Μεγαρεὺς
εἶπεν, ως ἔτέρᾳ¹ πόλει δοτέον εἴη τὸ ἀριστεῖον,
εἰ μὴ βούλονται συνταράξαι πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον.
ἐπὶ τούτῳ δ' ἀναστὰς Κλεόκριτος ὁ Κορίνθιος
δόξαν μὲν παρέσχεν ως Κορινθίοις αἰτήσων τὸ
ἀριστεῖον· ἦν γὰρ ἐν ἀξιώματι μεγίστῳ μετὰ τὴν
Σπάρτην καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἡ Κόρινθος· εἶπε δὲ
πᾶσιν ἀρέσαντα καὶ θαυμαστὸν λόγον ὑπὲρ
Πλαταιέων, καὶ συνεβούλευσε τὴν φιλονεικίαν
ἀνελεῖν ἐκείνοις τὸ ἀριστεῖον ἀποδόντας, οἷς
3 οὐδετέρους τιμωμένοις ἄχθεσθαι. ῥηθέντων δὲ
τούτων πρῶτος μὲν Ἀριστείδης συνεχώρησεν

¹ ἔτέρᾳ Bekker has οὐδετέρᾳ neither city, adopting a conjecture of Muretus.

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This battle was fought on the fourth of the month Boëdromion, as the Athenians reckon time; but according to the Boeotian calendar, on the twenty-seventh of the month Panemus,¹ the day when, down to the present time, the Hellenic council assembles in Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer for the victory. We must not wonder at the apparent discrepancy between these dates, since, even now that astronomy is a more exact science, different peoples have different beginnings and endings for their months.

XX. After this, the Athenians would not grant the Spartans the highest meed of valour, nor allow them to erect a general trophy, and the cause of the Hellenes had certainly gone at once to destruction from their armed contention, had not Aristides, by abundant exhortation and admonition, checked his fellow-generals, especially Leocrates and Myronides, and persuaded them to submit the case to the Hellenes for decision. Thereupon, in the council of the Hellenes, Theogeiton the Megarian said that the meed of valour must be given to some third city, unless they desired the confusion of a civil war. At this point Cleocritus the Corinthian rose to speak. Every one thought he would demand the meed of valour for the Corinthians, since Corinth was held in greatest estimation after Sparta and Athens. But to the astonishment and delight of all, he made a proposition in behalf of the Plataeans, and counselled to take away contention by giving them the meed of valour, since at their honour neither claimant could take offence. To this proposal Aristides was first to

¹ About August 1, 479 B.C.

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ύπερ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔπειτα Παυσανίας ύπερ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. οὕτω δὲ διαλλαγέντες ἔξειλον ὄγδοήκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ Πλαταιεῦσιν, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνφοδόμησαν¹ οἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ἕδος ἔστησαν καὶ γραφαῖς τὸν νεὼν διεκόσμησαν, αἱ μέχρι νῦν ἀκμάζουσαι διαμένουσιν, ἔστησαν δὲ τρόπαιον ἴδιᾳ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χωρὶς δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι.

- 4 Περὶ δὲ θυσίας ἐρομένοις αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ Πύθιος Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσασθαι, θῦσαι δὲ μὴ πρότερον ἢ τὸ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πῦρ ἀποσβέσαντας ώς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων μεμιασμένον ἐναύσασθαι καθαρὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κουνῆς ἔστιας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄρχοντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιιόντες εὐθὺς ἡνάγκαξον ἀποσβεννύναι τὰ πυρὰ πάντα τοὺς χρωμένους, ἐκ δὲ Πλαταιέων Εὔχιδας ὑποσχόμενος ώς ἐνδέχεται τάχιστα κομεῖν τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πῦρ ἥκεν εἰς Δελφούς. ἀγνίσας δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ πειρρανάμενος ἔστεφανώσατο δάφνη· καὶ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸ πῦρ δρόμῳ πάλιν εἰς τὰς Πλαταιὰς ἔχώρει καὶ πρὸ ἥλιον δυσμῶν ἐπανῆλθε, τῇσι αὐτῆς ἡμέρας χιλίους σταδίους κατανύσσας. ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ τὸ πῦρ παραδοὺς εὐθὺς ἔπεσε καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἔξεπνευσεν. ἀγάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ἔθαψαν ἐν τῷ ιερῷ τῆς Εὐκλείας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἐπιγράψαντες τόδε τὸ τετράμετρον.
- 5 Εὔχιδας Πυθῶδε θρέξας ἥλθε τᾶδ' αὐθημερόν.

¹ ἀνφοδόμησαν Hercher and Blass, following Stephanus, and favoured by FāS: φοδόμησαν built.

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agree on behalf of the Athenians, then Pausanias on behalf of the Lacedaemonians. Thus reconciled, they chose out eighty talents of the booty for the Plataeans, with which they rebuilt the sanctuary of Athena, and set up the shrine, and adorned the temple with frescoes, which continue in perfect condition to the present day; then the Lacedaemonians set up a trophy on their own account, and the Athenians also for themselves.

When they consulted the oracle regarding the sacrifice to be made, the Pythian god made answer that they were to erect an altar of Zeus the Deliverer, but were not to sacrifice upon it until they had extinguished the fire throughout the land, which he said had been polluted by the Barbarians, and kindled it fresh and pure from the public hearth at Delphi. Accordingly the commanders of the Hellenes went about straightway and compelled all who were using fire to extinguish it, while Euchidas, who promised to bring the sacred fire with all conceivable speed, went from Plataea to Delphi. There he purified his person by sprinkling himself with the holy water, and crowned himself with laurel. Then he took from the altar the sacred fire and started to run back to Plataea. He reached the place before the sun had set, accomplishing thus a thousand furlongs in one and the same day. He greeted his countrymen, handed them the sacred fire, and straightway fell down, and after a little expired. In admiration of him the Plataeans gave him burial in the sanctuary of Artemis Eucleia, and inscribed upon his tomb this tetrameter verse :—

“ Euchidas, to Pytho running, came back here
the selfsame day.”

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6 Τὴν δὲ Εὔκλειαν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ καὶ καλοῦσι καὶ νομίζουσιν Ἀρτεμιν, ἔνιοι δέ φασιν Ἡρακλέους μὲν θυγατέρα καὶ Μυρτοῦς γενέσθαι, τῆς Μενοιτίου μὲν θυγατρός, Πατρόκλου δὲ ἀδελφῆς, τελευτήσασαν δὲ παρθένον ἔχειν παρά τε Βοιωτοῖς καὶ Λοκροῖς τιμάς. βωμὸς γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ ἄγαλμα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν ἴδρυται, καὶ προθύουσιν αἴ τε γαμούμεναι καὶ οἱ γαμοῦντες.

XXI Ἐκ τούτου γενομένης ἐκκλησίας κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔγραψεν Ἀριστείδης ψήφισμα συνιέναι μὲν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος προβούλους καὶ θεωρούς, ἀγεσθαι δὲ πενταετηρικὸν ἀγώνα τῶν Ἑλευθερίων. εἶναι δὲ σύνταξιν Ἑλληνικὴν μυρίας μὲν ἀσπίδας, χιλίους δὲ ἵππους, ναῦς δὲ ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Βαρβάρους πόλεμον, Πλαταιεῖς δὲ ἀσύλους καὶ ἴεροὺς ἀφεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ θύοντας ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

2 Κυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων οἱ Πλαταιεῖς ὑπεδέ- 332
ξαντο τοῖς πεσοῦσι καὶ κειμένοις αὐτόθι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐναγίζειν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ τοῦτο μέχρι νῦν δρῶσι τόνδε¹ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὃς ἐστι παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς Ἀλαλκομένιος, τῇ ἕκτῃ ἐπὶ δέκα πέμπουσι πομπήν, ἡς προηγεῖται μὲν ἅμι κήμερα σαλπιγκτὴς 3 ἐγκελευόμενος τὸ πολεμικόν, ἔπονται δὲ ἄμαξαι μυρρίνης μεσταὶ καὶ στεφανωμάτων καὶ μέλας ταῦρος καὶ χοὰς οἴνου καὶ γάλακτος ἐν ἀμφορεύσιν ἐλαίου τε καὶ μύρου κρωσσούς νεανίσκοι κομίζοντες ἐλεύθεροι· δούλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἔξεστι τῶν

¹ τὸνδε Hercher and Blass with F a S : τοῦτον.

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Now Eucleia is regarded by most as Artemis, and is so addressed ; but some say she was a daughter of Heracles and of that Myrto who was daughter of Menoetius and sister of Patroclus, and that, dying in virginity, she received divine honours among the Boeotians and Locrians. For she has an altar and an image built in every market place, and receives preliminary sacrifices from would-be brides and bridegrooms.

XXI. After this, there was a general assembly of the Hellenes, at which Aristides proposed a decree to the effect that deputies and delegates from all Hellas convene at Plataea every year, and that every fourth year festival games of deliverance be celebrated — the *Eleutheria* ; also that a confederate Hellenic force be levied, consisting of ten thousand shield, one thousand horse, and one hundred ships, to prosecute the war against the Barbarian ; also that the Plataeans be set apart as inviolable and consecrate, that they might sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer in behalf of Hellas.

These propositions were ratified, and the Plataeans undertook to make funeral offerings annually for the Hellenes who had fallen in battle and lay buried there. And this they do yet unto this day, after the following manner. On the sixteenth of the month Maimacterion (which is the Boeotian Alalcomenius), they celebrate a procession. This is led forth at break of day by a trumpeter sounding the signal for battle ; waggons follow filled with myrtle-wreaths, then comes a black bull, then free-born youths carrying libations of wine and milk in jars, and pitchers of oil and myrrh (no slave may put hand to

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περὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἐκείνην προσάψασθαι διὰ τὸ
4 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας· ἐπὶ πᾶσι
δὲ τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ ἄρχων, φ. τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
οὕτε σιδῆρου θιγεῖν ἔξεστιν οὔθ' ἐτέραν ἐσθῆτα
πλὴν λευκῆς ἀναλαβεῖν, τότε χιτῶνα φοινικοῦν
ἐνδεδυκὼς ἀράμενός τε ὑδρίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ γραμματο-
φυλακίου ξιφήρης ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους προάγει διὰ
5 μέσης τῆς πόλεως. εἴτα λαβὼν ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῆς
κρήνης αὐτὸς ἀπολούει τε τὰς στήλας καὶ μύρῳ
χρίει, καὶ τὸν ταῦρον εἰς τὴν πυρὰν σφάξας καὶ
κατευξάμενος Διὶ καὶ Ἐρμῇ χθονίῳ παρακαλεῖ
τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἀποθανόντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ τὴν αἵμοκουρίαν.
ἔπειτα κρατῆρα κεράσας οἶνον καὶ χεάμενος ἐπι-
λέγει· “Προπίνω τοῖς ἀνδράσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἐλευθερίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποθανοῦσι.” ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαφυλάττουσιν οἱ Πλαταιεῖς.

XXII. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναχωρήσαντας εἰς τὸ ἀστυ
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἐώρα ζητοῦντας
τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἅμα μὲν ἄξιον ἥγού-
μενος διὰ τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐπιμελείας τὸν δῆμον,
ἅμα δὲ οὐκ ἔτι ράδιον ἴσχύοντα τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ
μέγα φρονοῦντα ταῖς νίκαις ἐκβιασθῆναι, γράφει
ψήφισμα κοινὴν είναι τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς
ἄρχοντας ἐξ Ἀθηναίων πάντων αἴρεισθαι.

2 Θεμιστοκλέους δὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἰπόντος, ὡς
ἔχει τι βούλευμα καὶ γνώμην ἀπόρρητον, ὡφέ-
λιμον δὲ τῇ πόλει καὶ σωτήριον, ἐκέλευσαν
Ἀριστείδην μόνον ἀκοῦσαι καὶ συνδοκιμάσαι.

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any part of that ministration, because the men thus honoured died for freedom); and following all, the chief magistrate of Plataea, who may not at other times touch iron or put on any other raiment than white, at this time is robed in a purple tunic, carries on high a water-jar from the city's archive chamber, and proceeds, sword in hand, through the midst of the city to the graves ; there he takes water from the sacred spring, washes off with his own hands the gravestones, and anoints them with myrrh ; then he slaughters the bull at the funeral pyre, and, with prayers to Zeus and Hermes Terrestrial, summons the brave men who died for Hellas to come to the banquet and its copious draughts of blood ; next he mixes a mixer of wine, drinks, and then pours a libation from it, saying these words : " I drink to the men who died for the freedom of the Hellenes." These rites, I say, are observed by the Plataeans down to this very day.

XXII. After the Athenians had returned to their own city, Aristides saw that they desired to receive the more popular form of government. He thought the people worthy of consideration because of its sturdy valour, and he saw also that it was no longer easy to be forced out of its desires, since it was powerful in arms, and greatly elated by its victories. So he introduced a decree that the administration of the city be the privilege of all classes, and that the archons be chosen from all the Athenians.

Themistocles once declared to the people that he had devised a certain measure which could not be revealed to them, though it would be helpful and salutary for the city, and they ordered that Aristides alone should hear what it was and pass judgment on

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φράσαντος δὲ τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους, ώς διαινοεῖται τὸν ναύσταθμον ἐμπρῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὕτω γὰρ ἔσεσθαι μεγίστους καὶ κυρίους ἀπάντων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὁ Ἀριστείδης ἔφη τῆς πράξεως, ἦν Θεμιστοκλῆς πράττειν διαινοεῖται, μήτε λυσιτελεστέραν ἄλλην μήτ' ἀδικωτέραν εἶναι. ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παύσασθαι τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα προσέταξαν. οὕτω μὲν ὁ δῆμος ἦν φιλοδίκαιος, οὕτω δὲ τῷ δήμῳ πιστὸς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ βέβαιος.

XXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἐκπεμφθεὶς μετὰ Κίμωνος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἑώρα τόν τε Παυσανίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ χαλεποὺς τοῖς συμμάχοις ὅντας, αὐτός τε πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ὄμιλῶν καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα παρέχων εὐάρμοστον αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινὸν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔλαθε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐχ ὅπλοις οὐδὲ ναυσὶν οὐδὲ ἵπποις, εὐγνωμοσύνη δὲ καὶ πολιτείᾳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν 2 παρελόμενος. προσφιλεῖς γὰρ ὅντας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῖς "Ἐλλησι διὰ τὴν Ἀριστείδου δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν Κίμωνος ἐπιείκειαν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ Παυσανίου πλεονεξία καὶ βαρύτης ποθεινοὺς ἐποίει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἄρχουσι τῶν συμμάχων ἀεὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἐνετύγχανε καὶ τραχέως, τούς τε πολλοὺς ἐκόλαξε πληγαῖς· ἡ σιδηρᾶν ἄγκυραν ἐπιτιθεὶς ἥναγκαζεν ἐστάναι δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. 3 στιβάδα δ' οὐκ ἦν λαβεῖν οὐδὲ χόρτον οὐδὲ κρήνη προσελθεῖν ὑδρευόμενον οὐδένα πρὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ἀλλὰ μάστιγας ἔχοντες ὑπηρέται

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it. So Themistocles told Aristides that his purpose was to burn the naval station of the confederate Hellenes, for that in this way the Athenians would be greatest, and lords of all. Then Aristides came before the people and said of the deed which Themistocles purposed to do, that none other could be more advantageous, and none more unjust. On hearing this, the Athenians ordained that Themistocles cease from his purpose.¹ So fond of justice was the people, and so loyal and true to the people was Aristides.

XXIII. When he was sent out as general along with Cimon to prosecute the war,² and saw that Pausanias and the other Spartan commanders were offensive and severe to the allies, he made his own intercourse with them gentle and humane, and induced Cimon to be on easy terms with them and to take an actual part in their campaigns, so that, before the Lacedaemonians were aware, not by means of hoplites or ships or horsemen, but by tact and diplomacy he had stripped them of the leadership. For, well disposed as the Hellenes were toward the Athenians on account of the justice of Aristides and the reasonableness of Cimon, they were made to long for their supremacy still more by the rapacity of Pausanias and his severity. The commanders of the allies ever met with angry harshness at the hands of Pausanias, and the common men he punished with stripes, or by compelling them to stand all day long with an iron anchor on their shoulders. No one could get bedding or fodder or go down to a spring for water before the Spartans, nay, their servants

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xx. 1-2.

² 478 B.C.

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τοὺς προσιόντας ἀπήλαυνον. ὑπὲρ ὡν τοῦ Ἀριστείδου ποτὲ βουληθέντος ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ διδάξαι,¹ συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ Παυσανίας οὐκ ἔφη σχολάζειν οὐδ' ἥκουσεν.

- 4 'Εκ τούτου προσιόντες οἱ ναύαρχοι καὶ στρα- 333
 τηγοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μάλιστα δὲ Χῖοι καὶ Σάμιοι
 καὶ Λέσβιοι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἔπειθον ἀναδέξα-
 σθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ προσαγαγέσθαι τοὺς
 συμμάχους πάλαι δεομένους ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν
 Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθη-
 ναίους. ἀποκριναμένου δ' ἐκείνου τοῖς μὲν λόγοις
 αὐτῷν τό τε ἀναγκαῖον ἐνορᾶν καὶ τὸ δίκαιον,
 ἔργου δὲ δεῖσθαι τὴν πίστιν, ὃ πραχθὲν οὐκ ἔάσει
 5 πάλιν μεταβαλέσθαι τοὺς πολλούς, οὕτως οἱ
 περὶ τὸν Σάμιον Οὐλιάδην καὶ τὸν Χῖον Ἀντα-
 γόραν συνομοσάμενοι περὶ Βυζάντιον ἐμβάλ-
 λουσιν εἰς τὴν τριήρη τοῦ Παυσανίου, προεκπλέ-
 ουσαν ἐν μέσῳ λαβόντες. ὡς δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκεῖνος
 ἔξανέστη καὶ μετ' ὄργῆς ἡπείλησεν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ
 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπιδείξειν οὐκ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν
 ἐμβεβληκότας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὰς ἴδιας πατρίδας,
 ἐκέλευνον αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὴν συναγω-
 νισαμένην τύχην ἐν Πλαταιαῖς· ἐκείνην γὰρ ἔτι
 τοὺς "Ἐλληνας αἰσχυνομένους μὴ λαμβάνειν
 ἀξίαν δίκην παρ' αὐτοῦ" τέλος δ' ἀποστάντες
 ὤχοντο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
- 6 Ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Σπάρτης διεφάνη

¹ ποτὲ . . . διδάξαι Hercher and Blass with F^aS : ποτ' ἐγκα-
 λέσαι καὶ διδάξαι βουλομένου.

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armed with goads would drive away such as approached. On these grounds Aristides once had it in mind to chide and admonish him, but Pausanias scowled, said he was busy, and would not listen.

Subsequently the captains and generals of the Hellenes, and especially the Chians, Samians, and Lesbians, came to Aristides and tried to persuade him to assume the leadership and bring over to his support the allies, who had long wanted to be rid of the Spartans and to range themselves anew on the side of the Athenians. He replied that he saw the urgency and the justice of what they proposed, but that to establish Athenian confidence in them some overt act was needed, the doing of which would make it impossible for the multitude to change their allegiance back again. So Uliades the Samian and Antagoras the Chian conspired together, and ran down the trireme of Pausanias off Byzantium, closing in on both sides of it as it was putting out before the line. When Pausanias saw what they had done, he sprang up and wrathfully threatened to show the world in a little while that these men had run down not so much his ship as their own native cities; but they bade him be gone, and be grateful to that fortune which fought in his favour at Plataea; it was because the Hellenes still stood in awe of this, they said, that they did not punish him as he deserved. And finally they went off and joined the Athenians.

Then indeed was the lofty wisdom of the

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θαυμαστόν. ὡς γὰρ ἥσθοντο τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἔξουσίας διαφθειρομένους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀφῆκαν ἑκουσίως τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ πέμποντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο στρατηγούς, μᾶλλον αἱρούμενοι σωφρονοῦντας ἔχειν καὶ τοῖς ἔθεσιν ἐμμένοντας τοὺς πολίτας ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν ἀπάσης.

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ "Ἑλλῆνες ἐτέλουν μέν τινα καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένων ἀπόφορὰν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ταχθῆναι δὲ βουλόμενοι κατὰ πόλιν ἑκάστοις τὸ μέτριον ἥτήσαντο παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδην, καὶ προσέταξαν αὐτῷ χώραν τε καὶ προσόδους ἐπισκεψάμενον ὁρίσαι τὸ κατ' 2 ἀξίαν ἑκάστῳ καὶ δύναμιν. ὃ δὲ τηλικαύτης ἔξουσίας κύριος γενόμενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὰ πράγματα πάντα θεμένης, πένης μὲν ἐξῆλθεν, ἐπανῆλθε δὲ πενέστερος, οὐ μόνον καθαρῶς καὶ δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσφιλῶς πᾶσι καὶ ἀρμοδίως τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν χρημάτων ποιησάμενος. ὡς γὰρ οἱ παλαιὸὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίον, οὕτως οἱ σύμμαχοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρον εὐποτμίαν τινὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὀνομάζοντες ὕμνουν, καὶ μάλιστα μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διπλασιασθέντος, 3 εἰτ' αὐθις τριπλασιασθέντος. δν μὲν γὰρ Ἀριστείδης ἔταξεν, ἦν εἰς ἐξήκοonta καὶ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων λόγον· τούτῳ δὲ Περικλῆς μὲν ἐπέθηκεν ὀλίγου δεῦν τὸ τρίτον μέρος· ἐξακόσια γὰρ τάλαντα Θουκυδίδης φησὶν ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου προσιέναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων. Περικλέους δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπιτείνοντες

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Spartans made manifest in a wonderful way. When they saw that their commanders were corrupted by the great powers entrusted to them, they voluntarily abandoned the leadership and ceased sending out generals for the war, choosing rather to have their citizens discreet and true to their ancestral customs than to have the sway over all Hellas.

XXIV. The Hellenes used to pay a sort of contribution for the war even while the Lacedaemonians had the leadership, but now they wished to be assessed equably city by city. So they asked the Athenians for Aristides, and commissioned him to inspect their several territories and revenues,¹ and then to fix the assessments according to each member's worth and ability to pay. And yet, though he became master of such power, and though after a fashion Hellas put all her property in his sole hands, poor as he was when he went forth on this mission, he came back from it poorer still, and he made his assessments of money not only with purity and justice, but also to the grateful satisfaction and convenience of all concerned. Indeed, as men of old hymned the praises of the age of Cronus—the golden age, so did the allies of the Athenians praise the tariff of Aristides, calling it a kind of blessed happening for Hellas, especially as, after a short time, it was doubled and then again trebled. For the tax which Aristides laid amounted to four hundred and sixty talents only; but Pericles must have added almost a third to this, since Thucydides² says that when the war began the Athenians had a revenue of six hundred talents from their allies. And after

¹ 478-477 B.C.

² ii. 13.

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οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ταλάντων κεφάλαιον ἀνήγαγον, οὐχ οὕτω τοῦ πολέμου διὰ μῆκος καὶ τύχας δαπανηροῦ γενομένου καὶ πολυτελοῦς, ὡς τὸν δῆμον εἰς διανομὰς καὶ θεωρικὰ καὶ κατασκευὰς ἀγαλμάτων καὶ ἱερῶν προάγαγόντες.

4 Μέγα δ' οὖν ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀριστείδου καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τῇ διατάξει τῶν φόρων ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς λέγεται καταγελᾶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ὅντα τὸν ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ θυλάκου χρυσοφύλακος· ἀνομοίως ἀμυνόμενος τὴν Ἀριστείδου παρρησίαν ἐκείνῳ γάρ¹ εἰπόντος ποτὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἀρετὴν ἡγεῖσθαι μεγίστην στρατηγοῦ τὸ γινώσκειν καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι τὰ βουλεύματα τῶν πολεμίων, “Τοῦτο μέν,” εἰπεῖν, “ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὃ Θεμιστόκλεις, καλὸν δὲ καὶ στρατηγικὸν ἀληθῶς ἡ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐγκράτεια.”

XXV. ‘Ο δ’ Ἀριστείδης ὥρκισε μὲν τοὺς Ελληνας καὶ ὕμοσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μύ- 331 δρους ἐμβαλὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀραῖς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὕστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἄρχειν ἐγκρατέστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐκβιαζομένων ἐκέλευε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν ἐπιορκίαν τρέψαντας εἰς ἑαυτὸν² 2 ἡ συμφέρει χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι. καθ’ ὅλου δ’ ὁ Θεόφραστός φησι τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τὸν πολίτας ἄκρως ὅντα δίκαιον ἐν

¹ ἐκείνῳ γάρ Hercher and Blass with F^aS : ἐκείνος γάρ.

² ἑαυτὸν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : αὐτὸν.

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the death of Pericles the demagogues enlarged it little by little, and at last brought the sum total up to thirteen hundred talents, not so much because the war, by reason of its length and vicissitudes, became extravagantly expensive, as because they themselves led the people off into the distribution of public moneys for spectacular entertainments, and for the erection of images and sanctuaries.

So then Aristides had a great and admirable name for his adjustment of the revenues. But Themistocles is said to have ridiculed him, claiming that the praise he got therefor was not fit for a man, but rather for a mere money-wallet. He came off second best, however, in this retort upon the plain speech of Aristides, who had remarked, when Themistocles once declared to him the opinion that the greatest excellence in a general was the anticipation of the plans of his enemies: "That is indeed needful, Themistocles, but the honourable thing, and that which makes the real general, is his mastery over his fingers."

XXV. Aristides did, indeed, bind the Hellenes by an oath, and took oath himself for the Athenians, solemnly casting iron ingots from the very altars into the sea; but afterwards, when circumstances, forsooth, compelled a more strenuous sway, he bade the Athenians lay the perjury to his own charge, and turn events to their own advantage. And in general, as Theophrastus tells us, while the man was strictly just in his private relations to his fellow-citizens, in public matters he often

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τοῖς κοινοῖς πολλὰ πρᾶξαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν
τῆς πατρίδος, ώς συχνῆς καὶ ἀδικίας δεομένην.¹
καὶ γὰρ τὰ χρήματά φησιν ἐκ Δῆλου βουλευομέ-
νων Ἀθηναῖς κομίσαι παρὰ τὰς συνθήκας, καὶ²
Σαμίων εἰσηγουμένων, εὐπεῖν ἐκεῖνον, ώς οὐ
3 δίκαιον μέν, συμφέρον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστί. καὶ τέλος
εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν ἀνθρώπων τοσούτων καταστήσας
τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἐνέμεινε τῇ πενίᾳ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ
τοῦ πένης εἶναι δόξαν οὐδὲν ἡττον ἀγαπῶν τῆς
ἀπὸ τῶν τροπαίων διετέλεσε. δῆλον δὲ ἐκεῖθεν.
Καλλίας ὁ δᾳδοῦχος ἦν αὐτῷ γένει προσήκων
τοῦτον οἱ ἔχθροὶ θανάτου διώκοντες, ἐπεὶ περὶ
ῶν ἐγράψαντο μετρίως κατηγόρησαν, εἰπόν τινα
λόγουν ἔξωθεν τοιοῦτον πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς.
4 “Ἀριστείδην,” ἔφησαν, “ἴστε τὸν Λυσιμάχου
θαυμαζόμενον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι τούτῳ πῶς οἰεσθε
τὰ κατ’ οἶκον ἔχειν ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἐν τρίβωνι
τοιούτῳ προερχόμενον εἰς τὸ δημόσιον; ἀρ’ οὐκ
εἰκός ἐστι τὸν ῥιγοῦντα φανερῶς καὶ πεινᾶν οἴκοι
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων σπανίζειν; τοῦτον
μέντοι Καλλίας, ἀνεψιὸν δοντα, πλουσιώτατος ὡν
“Ἀθηναίων περιορὰ μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς
ἐνδεόμενον, πολλὰ κεχρημένος τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ
πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς παρ’ ὑμῖν δυνάμεως ἀπολε-
5 λαυκώς.” ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μάλιστα

¹ καὶ ἀδικίας δεομένην Blass, favoured by F·S: ἀδικίας δεομένης.

² καὶ bracketed by Sintenis².

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acted in accordance with the policy which his country had adopted, feeling that this required much actual injustice. For instance, he says that when the question of removing the moneys of the confederacy from Delos to Athens,¹ contrary to the compacts, was being debated, and even the Samians proposed it, Aristides declared that it was unjust, but advantageous. And yet, although he at last established his city in its sway over so many men, he himself abode by his poverty, and continued to be no less content with the reputation he got from being a poor man, than with that based on his trophies of victory. This is clear from the following story.

Callias the Torch-bearer was a kinsman of his. This man was prosecuted by his enemies on a capital charge, and after they had brought only moderate accusations against him within the scope of their indictment, they went outside of it and appealed to the judges as follows: "You know Aristides the son of Lysimachus," they said, "how he is admired in Hellas; what do you suppose his domestic circumstances are when you see him entering the public assembly in such a scanty cloak as that? Is it not likely that a man who shivers in public goes hungry at home, and is straitened for the other necessaries of life? Callias, however, who is the richest man of Athens (and his cousin at that), allows him to suffer want with his wife and children, though he has often had service of the man, and many times reaped advantage from his influence with you." But Callias, seeing

¹ 454 B.C.

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- θορυβούντας τοὺς δικαστὰς καὶ χαλεπῶς πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἔχοντας ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀριστείδην, ἀξιῶν
μαρτυρῆσαι πρὸς τὸν δικαστάς, ὅτι πολλάκις
αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ διδόντος καὶ δεομένου λαβεῖν
οὐκ ἡθέλησεν ἀποκρινόμενος, ὡς μᾶλλον αὐτῷ
διὰ πενίαν μέγα φρονεῖν ἢ Καλλίᾳ διὰ πλούτου
προσήκει πλούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι πολλοὺς ἴδειν
εὖ τε καὶ κακῶς χρωμένους, πενίαν δὲ φέροντι
γενναίως οὐν ῥάδιον ἐντυχεῖν αἰσχύνεσθαι δὲ
6 πενίαν τοὺς ἀκουσίως πενομένους. ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ
Ἀριστείδου τῷ Καλλίᾳ προσμαρτυρήσαντος οὐ-
δεὶς ἦν τῶν ἀκουόντων, διὸ οὐκ ἀπήγει πένητος
μᾶλλον ὡς Ἀριστείδης εἶναι βουλόμενος ἢ πλου-
τεῖν ὡς Καλλίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν¹ Αἰσχύνης ὁ
Σωκρατικὸς ἀναγέγραφε. Πλάτων δὲ τῶν μεγά-
λων δοκούντων καὶ ὄνομαστῶν Ἀθήνησι μόνον
ἀξιον λόγου τοῦτον ἀποφαίνει τὸν ἄνδρα. Θεμι-
στοκλέα μὲν γὰρ καὶ Κίμωνα καὶ Περικλέα
στοῶν καὶ χρηματῶν καὶ φλυαρίας πολλῆς ἐμ-
πλῆσαι τὴν πόλιν, Ἀριστείδην δὲ πολετεύσασθαι
πρὸς ἀρετήν.
- 7 Μεγάλα δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ πρὸς Θεμιστοκλέα
τῆς ἐπιεικείας σημεῖα. χρησάμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ
παρὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐχθρῷ καὶ δι'
ἐκεῖνον ἐξοστρακισθείς, ἐπεὶ τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν
παρέσχεν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν αἰτίᾳ γενόμενος πρὸς τὴν
πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησεν, ἀλλ' Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ
Κίμωνος καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐλαυνόντων καὶ
κατηγορούντων μόνος Ἀριστείδης οὗτ' ἐπραξεν
οὗτ' εἰπέ τι φαῦλον, οὐδὲ ἀπέλαυσεν ἐχθροῦ

¹ μὲν οὖν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : μὲν.

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that his judges were very turbulent at this charge, and bitterly disposed toward him, summoned Aristides and demanded his testimony before the judges that though often proffered aid from him and importuned to accept it, he had refused it, with the answer that it more became him to be proud of his poverty than Callias of his wealth; for many were to be seen who use wealth well or ill, but it was not easy to find a man who endured poverty with a noble spirit; and those only should be ashamed of poverty who could not be otherwise than poor. When Aristides had borne this witness for Callias, there was no one of his hearers who did not go home preferring to be poor with Aristides rather than to be rich with Callias. This, at any rate, is the story told by Aeschines the Socratic. And Plato¹ maintains that of all those who had great names and reputations at Athens, this man alone was worthy of regard. Themistocles, he says, and Cimon, and Pericles, filled the city with porches and moneys and no end of nonsense; but Aristides squared his politics with virtue.

There are also strong proofs of his reasonableness to be seen in his treatment of Themistocles. This man he had found to be his foe during almost all his public service, and it was through this man that he was ostracized; but when Themistocles was in the same plight, and was under accusation before the city, Aristides remembered no evil; nay, though Alcmeon and Cimon and many others denounced and persecuted the man, Aristides alone did and said no meanness, nor did he take any advantage of

¹ *Gorgias*, pp. 518 f., 526.

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δυστυχοῦντος, ὥσπερ οὐδ' εὐημεροῦντι πρότερον ἐφθόνησε.

XXVI. Τελευτῆσαι δὲ Ἀριστείδην οἱ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ φασὶν ἐκπλεύσαντα πράξεων ἔνεκα δημοσίων, οἱ δ' Ἀθήνησι γήρᾳ, τιμώμενον καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν. Κρατερὸς δ' ὁ Μακεδὼν τοιαῦτά τινα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἴρηκε. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν φησιν ὥσπερ ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἀναφῦσαι πλῆθος συκοφαντῶν, οἱ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ δυνατωτάτους ἄνδρας διώκοντες ὑπέβαλλον τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολ-

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2 λῶν ἐπαιρομένων ὑπ' εὔτυχίας καὶ δυνάμεως. ἐν τούτοις καὶ Ἀριστείδην ἀλλῶναι δωροδοκίας, Διοφάντου τοῦ Ἀμφιτροπῆθεν κατηγοροῦντος, ώς, ὅτε τοὺς φόρους ἔταπτε, παρὰ τῶν Ἰώνων χρηματα λαβόντος· ἐκτίσαι δ' οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν καταδίκην πεντήκοντα μνῶν οὖσαν ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποθανεῖν. τούτων δὲ οὐδὲν ἔγγραφον ὁ Κρατερὸς τεκμήριον παρέσχηκεν, οὕτε δίκην οὔτε ψήφισμα, καίπερ εἰωθὼς ἐπιεικῶς γράφειν τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ παρατίθεσθαι τοὺς ἴστοροῦντας.

3 Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες, ώς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὅσοι τὰ πλημμεληθέντα τῷ δήμῳ περὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς διεξίασι, τὴν μὲν Θεμιστοκλέους φυγὴν καὶ τὰ Μιλτιάδου δεσμὰ καὶ τὴν Περικλέους ζημίαν καὶ τὸν Πάχητος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ θάνατον, ἀνελόντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ώς ἡλίσκετο, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα συνάγουσι καὶ θρυλοῦσιν, Ἀριστείδου δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐξοστρακισμὸν παρατίθενται, καταδίκης δὲ τοιαύτης οὐδαμοῦ μνημονεύουσι.

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his enemy's misfortune, just as formerly he did not grudge him his prosperity.

XXVI. As touching the death of Aristides, some say he died in Pontus, on an expedition in the public service ; others at Athens, of old age, honoured and admired by his countrymen. But Craterus the Macedonian tells something like this about the death of the man. After the exile of Themistocles, he says, the people waxed wanton, as it were, and produced a great crop of sycophants, who hounded down the noblest and most influential men, and subjected them to the malice of the multitude, now exalted with its prosperity and power. Among these he says that Aristides also was convicted of bribery, on prosecution of Diophantus of the deme *Amphitropé*, for having taken money from the Ionians when he was regulating the tributes ; and, further, that being unable to pay the judgment, which was fifty minas, he sailed away and died somewhere in Ionia. But Craterus furnishes no documentary proof of this,—no judgment of the court, no degree of indictment,—although he is wont to record such things with all due fulness, and to adduce his authorities.

All the rest, as I may venture to say,—all who rehearse the shortcomings of the people in dealing with their leaders,—compile and descant upon the exile of Themistocles, the imprisonment of Miltiades, the fine of Pericles, the death of Paches in the court room,—he slew himself on the rostrum when he saw that he was convicted,—and many such a case, and they put into the list the ostracism of Aristides, but of such a condemnation as this for bribery they make no mention whatsoever.

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XXVII. Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τάφος ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ Φαληροῦ δεικνύμενος, ὃν φασὶ κατασκευάσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῷ μηδ' ἐντάφια καταλιπόντι. καὶ τὰς μὲν θυγατέρας ἴστοροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐκδοθῆναι δημοσίᾳ, τῆς πόλεως τὸν γάμον ἐγγυώσης καὶ προίκα τρισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἐκατέρᾳ ψηφισαμένης, Λυσιμάχῳ δὲ τῷ οὐφετοῦ μὲν ἐκατὸν ἀργυρίου καὶ γῆς τοσαῦτα πλέθρα πεφυτευμένης ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος, ἄλλας δὲ δραχμὰς
 2 τέσσαρας εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ἀπέταξεν, Ἄλκι-
 βιάδου τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος. ἔτι δὲ Λυσι-
 μάχου θυγατέρα Πολυκρίτην ἀπολιπόντος, ὡς
 Καλλισθένης φησί, καὶ ταύτῃ σίτησιν ὅσην καὶ
 τοῖς Ὁλυμπιονίκαις ὁ δῆμος ἐψήφισατο. Δημή-
 τριος δ' ὁ Φαληρεὺς καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ρόδιος καὶ
 Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικὸς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης (εἰ δὴ
 τό γε¹ Περὶ εὐγενείας βιβλίον ἐν τοῖς γηνησίοις
 Ἀριστοτέλους θετέον) ἴστοροῦσι Μυρτὼ θυγα-
 τριδὴν Ἀριστείδου Σωκράτει τῷ σοφῷ συνοικήσαι,
 γυναικα μὲν ἐτέραν ἔχοντι, ταύτην δ' ἀναλαβόντι
 χηρέυονται διὰ πενίαν καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεο-
 3 μένην. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους ἰκανῶς ὁ Παναίτιος
 ἐν τοῖς περὶ Σωκράτους ἀντείρηκεν ὁ δὲ Φαληρεὺς
 ἐν τῷ Σωκράτει φησὶ μνημονεύειν Ἀριστείδου
 θυγατριδοῦν εὑρίσκειν μάλα πένητα Λυσίμαχον, δις
 ἑαυτὸν μὲν² ἐκ πιεσακίου τινὸς ὀνειροκριτικοῦ παρὰ
 τὸ Ἰακχεῖον λεγόμενον καθεξόμενος ἔβοσκε. τῇ
 δὲ μητρὶ καὶ τῇ ταύτης ἀδελφῇ ψήφισμα γράψας
 ἔπεισε τὸν δῆμον τροφὴν διδόναι τριωβολον
 ἐκάστης ἡμέρας. αὐτὸς μέντοι φησὶν ὁ Δημήτριος

¹ τό γε Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τδ.

² ἑαυτὸν μὲν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : ἑαυτὸν.

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XXVII. Moreover, his tomb is pointed out at Phalerum, and they say the city constructed it for him, since he did not leave even enough to pay for his funeral. And they tell how his daughters were married from the prytaneum at the public cost, the city bestowing the dowry for the marriage and voting outright three thousand drachmas to each daughter, while to Lysimachus his son, the people gave one hundred minas in silver, as many acres of vineyard land, and besides this a pension of four drachmas per diem,—all in a bill which was brought in by Alcibiades. And further, Lysimachus left a daughter, Polycrité, according to Callisthenes, and the people voted for her a public maintenance, in the style of their Olympic victors. Again, Demetrius the Phalerean, Hieronymus the Rhodian, Aristoxenus the Musician, and Aristotle (provided the book "On Nobility of Birth" is to be ranked among the genuine works of Aristotle) relate that Myrto, the granddaughter of Aristides, lived in wedlock with Socrates the Sage. He had another woman to wife, but took this one up because her poverty kept her a widow, and she lacked the necessaries of life. To these, however, Panaetius, in his work on Socrates, has made sufficient reply.

And the Phalerean says, in his "Socrates," that he remembers a grandson of Aristides, Lysimachus, a very poor man, who made his own living by means of a sort of dream-interpreting tablet, his seat being near the so-called Iaccheum. To this man's mother and to her sister, Demetrius persuaded the people to give, by formal decree, a pension of three obols per

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νομοθετῶν ἀντὶ τριωβόλου δραχμὴν ἑκατέρᾳ τάξαι
τῶν γυναικῶν.

- 4 Καὶ οὐδέν ἐστι θαυμαστὸν οὕτω φροντίσαι τῶν
ἐν ἄστει τὸν δῆμον, ὅπου θυγατριδῆν Ἀριστογεί-
τονος ἐν Λήμνῳ πυθόμενοι ταπεινὰ πράττειν
ἀνδρὸς ἀποροῦσαν διὰ πενίαν κατήγαγον Ἀθήναζε,
καὶ συνοικίσαντες ἀνδρὶ τῶν εὖ γεγονότων τὸ
Ποταμοῖ χωρίον εἰς φερνὴν ἐπέδωκαν. ἡς φιλαν-
θρωπίας καὶ χρηστότητος ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ καθ'
ἡμᾶς ἡ πόλις ἐκφέρουσα δείγματα θαυμάζεται
καὶ ζηλοῦται δικαίως.

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diem ; though afterwards, in his capacity of sole legislator, he himself, as he says, assigned a drachma instead of three obols to each of the women.

It is not to be wondered at that the people took such thought for families in the city, since on learning that the granddaughter of Aristogeiton was living humbly in Lemnos, unmarried because of her poverty, they brought her back to Athens, consorted her with a well-born man, and gave her the estate in Potamus for her dowry. For such humanity and benevolence, of which the city still gives illustrious examples even in my own day, she is justly admired and lauded.

MARCUS CATO

ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΩΝ

I. Μάρκῳ δὲ Κάτωνί φασιν ἀπὸ Τούσκλου τὸ γένος εἶναι, δίαιταν δὲ καὶ βίον ἔχειν πρὸ τῶν στρατειῶν καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐν χωρίοις πατρῷοις περὶ Σαβίνους. τῶν δὲ προγόνων παντάπασιν ἀγνώστων γεγονέναι δοκούντων αὐτὸς ὁ Κάτων καὶ τὸν πατέρα Μάρκου ως ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα καὶ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπαινεῖ, καὶ Κάτωνα τὸν πρόπαπτον ἀριστείων πολλάκις τυχεῖν φησι καὶ πέντε πολεμιστὰς ἵππους ἐν μάχαις ἀποβαλόντα τὴν τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου δι' ἀνδρὸ² αγαθίαν. εἰωθότων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἀπὸ γένους μὲν δόξαν οὐκ ἔχοντας, ἀρχομένους δὲ γυνωρίζεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν καινοὺς προσαγορεύειν ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα προσηγόρευον, αὐτὸς ἔλεγε καινὸς εἶναι πρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ δόξαν, ἔργοις δὲ προγόνων καὶ ἀρεταῖς παμπάλαιος. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων πρότερον οὐ Κάτων, ἀλλὰ Πρίσκος, ὕστερον δὲ τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπώνυμον ἔσχε· Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ τὸν ἔμπειρον κάτον ὀνομάζουσιν.

3 Ἡν δὲ τὸ μὲν εἶδος ὑπόπυρρος καὶ γλαυκός,

MARCUS CATO

I. THE family of Marcus Cato, it is said, was of Tusculan origin, though he lived, previous to his career as soldier and statesman, on an inherited estate in the country of the Sabines. His ancestors commonly passed for men of no note whatever, but Cato himself extols his father, Marcus, as a brave man and good soldier. He also says that his grandfather, Cato, often won prizes for soldierly valour, and received from the state treasury, because of his bravery, the price of five horses which had been killed under him in battle. The Romans used to call men who had no family distinction, but were coming into public notice through their own achievements, "new men," and such they called Cato. But he himself used to say that as far as office and distinction went, he was indeed new, but having regard to ancestral deeds of valour, he was oldest of the old. His third name was not Cato at first, but Priscus. Afterwards he got the surname of Cato for his great abilities. The Romans call a man who is wise and prudent, *catus*.

As for his outward appearance, he had reddish hair, and keen grey eyes, as the author of the well-

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ώς ὁ ποιήσας τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον οὐκ εὔμενῶς παρεμφαίνει.

Πυρρόν, πανδακέτην, γλαυκόμματον, οὐδὲ θανόντα
Πόρκιον εἰς ἀΐδην Φερσεφόνη δέχεται.

Τὴν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἔξιν αὐτουργίᾳ καὶ διαίτῃ σώφρονι καὶ στρατείαις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συντρόφου γεγονότος πάνυ χρηστικὴν εἶχε, καὶ πρὸς ἵσχὺν 4 καὶ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ὄμαλῶς συνεστῶσαν. τὸν δὲ λόγον, ὃσπερ δεύτερον σῶμα καὶ τῶν καλῶν, οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀναγκαίων¹ ὅργανον ἀνδρὶ μὴ ταπεινῶς βιωσομένῳ μηδὲ ἀπράκτως, ἐξηρτύετο καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ἐν ταῖς περιοικίσι κώμαις καὶ τοῖς πολιχνίοις ἐκάστοτε συνδικῶν τοῖς δεομένοις καὶ πρώτου μὲν ἀγωνιστὴς είναι δοκῶν πρόθυμος, εἴτα καὶ ῥήτωρ ἴκανός. ἐκ δὲ τούτου μᾶλλον τοῖς χρωμένοις κατεφαίνετο βάρος τι καὶ φρόνημα περὶ αὐτὸν ἡθους πραγμάτων μεγάλων καὶ 5 πολιτείας δεόμενον ἡγεμονικῆς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς ἕοικε, μισθαρνίας καθαρὸν ἔαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς δίκας καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας παρεῖχεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὴν δόξαν ὡς μέγιστον ἀγαπῶν ἐφαίνετο τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις βουλόμενος εὐδοκιμεῖν ἔτι μειράκιον ὧν τραυμά- 6 των τὸ σῶμα μεστὸν ἐναντίων εἶχε. φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐπτακαΐδεκα γεγονὼς ἔτη τὴν πρώτην στρατεύσασθαι στρατείαν περὶ δυν Ἀννίβας χρόνον εύτυχῶν ἐπέφλεγε τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

¹ τῶν ἀναγκαίων Hercher and Blass, with Bekker: ἀναγκῶν.

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known epigram ill-naturedly gives us to understand :—

Red-haired, snapper and biter, his grey eyes
 flashing defiance,
Porcius, come to the shades, back will be
 thrust by their Queen.

His bodily habit, since he was addicted from the very first to labour with his own hands, a temperate mode of life, and military duties, was very serviceable, and disposed alike to vigour and health. His discourse,—a second body, as it were, and, for the use of a man who would live neither obscurely nor idly, an instrument with which to perform not only necessary, but also high and noble services,—this he developed and perfected in the villages and towns about Rome, where he served as advocate for all who needed him, and got the reputation of being, first a zealous pleader, and then a capable orator. Thenceforth the weight and dignity of his character revealed themselves more and more to those who had dealings with him; they saw that he was bound to be a man of great affairs, and have a leading place in the state. For he not only gave his services in legal contests without fee of any sort, as it would seem, but did not appear to cherish even the repute won in such contests as his chief ambition. Nay, he was far more desirous of high repute in battles and campaigns against the enemy, and while he was yet a mere stripling, had his breast covered with honourable wounds. He says himself that he made his first campaign when he was seventeen years old, at the time when Hannibal was consuming Italy with the flames of his successes.¹

¹ 217 B.C.

Παρεῖχε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῇ μὲν χειρὶ πλήκτην, τῷ δὲ ποδὶ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον, γαῦρον δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ λόγου δ' ἀπειλῆ καὶ τραχύτητι φωνῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἔχρητο, ὅρθῶς καὶ διανοούμενος καὶ διδάσκων, ὅτι πολλάκις τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ξίφους μᾶλλον καταπλήττεται τοὺς 7 ἐναντίους. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πορείαις αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζε φέρων τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ θεράπων εἰς εἴπετο τὰ πρὸς δίαιταν αὐτῷ κομίζων, φῶ λέγεται μηδέποτε δυσκολᾶναι μηδὲ μέμψασθαι παραθέντι ἄριστον ἡ δεῖπνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλαμβάνειν αὐτὸς τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ συμπαρασκευάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν γενούμενος ἔργων. Ὕδωρ δ' ἔπινεν ἐπὶ στρατείας, πλὴν εἴποτε διψήσας πέριφλεγῶς δέξος αἰτήσειεν¹ ἡ τῆς ἴσχύος ἐνδιδούσης ἐπιλάβοι 337 μικρὸν οἰνάριον.

II. Ἡν δὲ πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἡ γενομένη Μανίου Κουρίου τοῦ τρὶς θριαμβεύσαντος ἔπαυλις. ἐπὶ ταύτην συνεχῶς βαδίζων καὶ θεώμενος τοῦ τε χωρίου τὴν μικρότητα καὶ τῆς οἰκήσεως τὸ λιτόν, ἔννοιαν ἐλάμβανε τοῦ ἀνδρός, δότι Ρωμαίων μέγιστος γενόμενος καὶ τὰ μαχιμώτατα τῶν ἔθνῶν ὑπαγαγόμενος καὶ Πύρρον ἐξελάσας τῆς Ἰταλίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίδιον αὐτὸς ἔσκαπτε καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἔπαυλιν φέκει μετὰ τρεῖς 2 θριάμβους. ἐνταῦθα πρὸς ἐσχάρᾳ καθήμενον αὐτὸν ἐψοντα γογγυλίδας εύρόντες οἱ Σαυνιτῶν πρέσβεις ἐδίδοσαν πολὺ χρυσίον· ὁ δὲ ἀπεπέμψατο φήσας οὐδὲν χρυσίον δεῖν φῶ δεῖπνον ἀρκεῖ τοιούτον, αὐτῷ μέντοι τοῦ χρυσίου ἔχειν κάλλιον εἶναι τὸ νικᾶν τοὺς ἔχοντας. ταῦθ' ὁ Κάτων

¹ αἰτήσειεν Blass, with Bekker: ἡτησεν.

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In battle, he showed himself effective of hand, sure and steadfast of foot, and of a fierce countenance. With threatening speech and harsh cries he woud advance upon the foe, for he rightly thought, and tried to show others, that often-times such action terrifies the enemy more than the sword. On the march, he carried his own armour on foot, while a single attendant followed in charge of his camp utensils. With this man, it is said, he was never wroth, and never scolded him when he served up a meal, nay, he actually took hold himself and assisted in most of such preparations, provided he was free from his military duties. Water was what he drank on his campaigns, except that once in a while, in a raging thirst, he would call for vinegar, or, when his strength was failing, would add a little wine.

II. Near his fields was the cottage which had once belonged to Manius Curius, a hero of three triumphs. To this he would often go, and the sight of the small farm and the mean dwelling led him to think of their former owner, who, though he had become the greatest of the Romans, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, nevertheless tilled this little patch of ground with his own hands and occupied this cottage, after three triumphs. Here it was that the ambassadors of the Samnites once found him seated at his hearth cooking turnips, and offered him much gold ; but he dismissed them, saying that a man whom such a meal satisfied had no need of gold, and for his part he thought that a more honourable thing than the possession of gold was the conquest of its possessors. Cato would go away with his mind full of these

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ἐνθυμούμενος ἀπήει, καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πάλιν οἰκον
ἔφορῶν καὶ χωρία καὶ θεράποντας καὶ δίαιταν
ἐπέτεινε τὴν αὐτουργίαν καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν
πολυτέλειαν.

- 3 Φαβίου δὲ Μαξίμου τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν
έλόντος ἔτυχε μὲν ὁ Κάτων στρατευόμενος ὑπ’
αὐτῷ κομιδῇ μειράκιον ὄν, Νεύρχῳ δέ τινι τῶν
Πυθαγορικῶν ξένῳ χρησάμενος ἐσπούδασε τῶν
λόγων μεταλαβεῖν. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα διαλεγο-
μένου τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱς κέχρηται καὶ Πλάτων, τὴν
μὲν ἡδονὴν ἀποκαλῶν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ,
συμφορὰν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ σῶμα πρώτην, λύσιν δὲ
καὶ καθαρμὸν οἷς μάλιστα χωρίζει καὶ ἀφίστησιν
αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα παθημάτων λογισμοῖς,
ἕτι μᾶλλον ἡγάπησε τὸ λιτὸν καὶ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν.
4 ἄλλως δὲ παιδείας Ἐλληνικῆς ὀφιμαθῆς γενέσθαι
λέγεται, καὶ πόρρω παντάπασιν ἡλικίας ἐληλακώ¹
Ἐλληνικὰ βιβλία λαβὼν εἰς χεῖρας βραχέα μὲν
ἀπὸ Θουκυδίδου, πλείονα δὲ ἀπὸ Δημοσθένους εἰς
τὸ ῥήτορικὸν ὠφεληθῆναι. τὰ μέντοι συγγράμ-
ματα καὶ δόγμασιν Ἐλληνικοῖς καὶ ἴστορίαις
ἐπιεικῶς διαπεποίκιλται· καὶ μεθηρμηνευμένα
πολλὰ κατὰ λέξιν ἐν τοῖς ἀποφθέγμασι καὶ ταῖς
γνωμολογίαις τέτακται.

III. Ἡν δέ τις ἀνὴρ εὐπατρίδης μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλι-
στα Ῥωμαίων καὶ δυνατός, ἀρετὴν δὲ φυομένην μὲν
αἰσθάνεσθαι δεινός, εὔμενής δὲ καὶ θρέψαι καὶ
προαγαγεῖν εἰς δόξαν, Οὐαλλέριος Φλάκκος.
οὗτος εἶχεν ὁμοροῦντα χωρία τοῖς Κάτωνος,
πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν αὐτουργίαν καὶ δίαιταν αὐτοῦ
παρὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ θαυμάσας ἐξηγουμένων, ὅτι

¹ ἡλικίας ἐληλακώς Hercher and Blass with S: ἡλικίας.

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things, and on viewing again his own house and lands and servants and mode of life, would increase the labours of his hands and lop off his extravagancies.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum,¹ it chanced that Cato, who was then a mere stripling, served under him, and being lodged with a certain Nearchus, of the sect of the Pythagoreans, he was eager to know of his doctrines. When he heard this man holding forth as follows, in language which Plato also uses, condemning pleasure as "the greatest incentive to evil," and the body as "the chief detriment to the soul, from which she can release and purify herself only by such reasonings as most do wean and divorce her from bodily sensations," he fell still more in love with simplicity and restraint. Further than this, it is said, he did not learn Greek till late in life, and was quite well on in years when he took to reading Greek books; then he profited in oratory somewhat from Thucydides, but more from Demosthenes. However, his writings are moderately embellished with Greek sentiments and stories, and many literal translations from the Greek have found a place among his maxims and proverbs.

III. There was at Rome a certain man of the highest birth and greatest influence, who had the power to discern excellence in the bud, and the grace to cultivate it and bring it into general esteem. This man was Valerius Flaccus. He had a farm next to that of Cato, and learned from Cato's servants of their master's laborious and frugal way of living. He was amazed to hear them tell how Cato, early in

¹ 209 B.C.

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πρωτὶ μὲν εἰς ἀγορὰν βαδίζει καὶ παρίσταται τοῖς
2 δεομένοις, ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς τὸ χωρίον, άν μὲν ἡ
χειμών, ἔξωμίδα λαβών, θέρους δὲ γυμνὸς ἐργασά-
μενος μετὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐσθίει τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρτον
όμοῦ καθήμενος καὶ πίνει τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον, ἄλλην
τε πολλὴν ἐπιείκειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μετριότητα καὶ
τινας καὶ λόγους ἀποφθεγματικοὺς διαμνημονεύον-
3 των, ἐκέλευσε κληθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον. ἐκ δὲ
τούτου χρώμενος καὶ κατανοῶν ἡμερον καὶ
ἀστεῖον ἥθος, ὕσπερ φυτὸν ἀσκήσεως καὶ χώρας
ἐπιφανοῦς δεόμενον, προετρέψατο καὶ συνέπεισεν
ἄψασθαι τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτείας. κατελθὼν
οὖν εὐθὺς τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἐκτάτῳ θαυμαστὰς
καὶ φίλους διὰ τῶν συνηγοριῶν, πολλὴν δὲ
τοῦ Οὐαλλερίου τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν αὐτῷ προσ-
τιθέντος χιλιαρχίας ἔτυχε πρῶτον, εἴτα ἐταμένευ-
4 σεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ λαμπρὸς ὡν ἥδη καὶ περιφανῆς
αὐτῷ τῷ Οὐαλλερίῳ περὶ τὰς μεγίστας συνεξέ-
δραμεν ἀρχάς, ὑπατός τε μετ' ἐκείνου καὶ πάλιν
τιμητὴς γενόμενος.

Τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων πολιτῶν Μαξίμῳ Φαβίῳ
προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἐνδοξοτάτῳ μὲν ὅντι καὶ
μεγύστην ἔχοντι δύναμιν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν τρόπον
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς κάλλιστα παραδείγματα
5 προθέμενος. διὸ καὶ Σκηπίωνι τῷ μεγάλῳ, νέῳ 338
μὲν ὅντι τότε, πρὸς δὲ τὴν Φαβίου δύναμιν ἀνταί-
ροντι καὶ φθονεῖσθαι δοκοῦντι, παρ' οὐδὲν ἐποιή-
σατο γενέσθαι διάφορος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταμίας αὐτῷ
πρὸς τὸν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεμον συνεκπεμφθείς, ὡς

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the morning, went on foot to the market-place and pleaded the cases of all who wished his aid; then came back to his farm, where, clad in a working blouse if it was winter, and stripped to the waist if it was summer, he wrought with his servants, then sat down with them to eat of the same bread and drink of the same wine. They told Valerius many other instances of Cato's fairness and moderation, quoting also sundry pithy sayings of his, until at last Valerius gave command that Cato be invited to dine with him. After this, discovering by converse with him that his nature was gentle and polite, and needed, like a growing tree, only cultivation and room to expand, Valerius urged and at last persuaded him to engage in public life at Rome. Accordingly, taking up his abode in the city, his own efforts as an advocate at once won him admiring friends, and the favour of Valerius brought him great honour and influence, so that he was made military tribune first, and then quaestor. After this, being now launched on an eminent and brilliant career, he shared the highest honours with Valerius, becoming consul with him, and afterwards censor.

Of the elder statesmen, he attached himself most closely to Fabius Maximus, who was of the highest reputation and had the greatest influence, but this was more by way of setting before himself the character and life of the man as the fairest examples he could follow. In the same spirit he did not hesitate to oppose the great Scipio, a youthful rival of Fabius, and thought to be envious of him. When he was sent out with Scipio as quaestor for the war in Africa,¹ he saw that the man indulged in

¹ 204 B.C.

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- έώρα τῇ συνήθει πολυτελείᾳ χρώμενον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ καταχορηγοῦντα τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀφειδῶς
- 6 τῶν χρημάτων, ἐπαρρησιάζετο πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης μέγιστον εἶναι φάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι διαφθείρει τὴν πάτριον εὐτέλειαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐφ' ἡδονὰς καὶ τρυφὰς τῷ περιόντι τῆς χρείας τρεπομένων. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος, ὃς οὐδὲν δέοιτο ταμίου λίαν ἀκριβοῦς πλησίστιος ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον φερόμενος, πράξεων γάρ, οὐ χρημά-
- 7 των, τῇ πόλει λόγον ὀφείλειν, ἀπῆλθεν ὁ Κάτων ἐκ Σικελίας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Φαβίου καταβοῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ φθοράν τε χρημάτων ἀμυθήτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκηπίωνος καὶ διατριβᾶς αὐτοῦ μειρακιώδεις ἐν παλαίστραις καὶ θεάτροις, ὥσπερ οὐ στρατηγοῦντος, ἀλλὰ πανηγυρίζοντος, ἔξειργάσατο πεμφθῆναι δημάρχους ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἄξοντας εἰς Ῥώμην,
- 8 ἀνπερ ἀληθεῖς αἱ κατηγορίαι φανῶσιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Σκηπίων ἐν τῇ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν νίκην ἐπιδειξάμενος, καὶ φανεὶς ἡδὺς μὲν ἐπὶ σχολῆς συνεῖναι φίλοις, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ τῆς διαίτης εἰς τὰ σπουδαῖα καὶ μεγάλα ῥάθυμος, ἔξεπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

IV. Τῷ δὲ Κάτωνι πολλὴ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις ηὔξητο, καὶ Ῥωμαίον αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοὶ Δημοσθένην προσηγόρευον, ὁ δὲ βίος μᾶλλον ὀνομαστὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιβόητος. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ λέγειν δεινότης προούκειτο τοῖς νέοις ἀγώνισμα κοινὸν ἥδη καὶ περισπούδαστον, ὁ δὲ τὴν πάτριον αὐτουργίαν ὑπομένων καὶ δεῖπνον ἀφελεῖς καὶ ἄριστον ἄπυρον καὶ λιτὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δημοτικὴν ἀσπαζόμενος οἴκησιν καὶ τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν

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his wonted extravagance, and lavished money without stint upon his soldiery. He therefore made bold to tell him that the matter of expense was not the greatest evil to be complained of, but the fact that he was corrupting the native simplicity of his soldiers, who resorted to wanton pleasures when their pay exceeded their actual needs. Scipio replied that he had no use for a parsimonious quaestor when the winds were bearing him under full sail to the war ; he owed the city an account of his achievements, not of its moneys. Cato therefore left Sicily, and joined Fabius in denouncing before the Senate Scipio's waste of enormous moneys, and his boyish addiction to palaestras and theatres, as though he were not commander of an army, but master of a festival. As a result of these attacks, tribunes were sent to bring Scipio back to Rome, if the charges against him should turn out to be true. Well then, Scipio convinced the tribunes that victory in war depended on the preparations made for it ; showed that he could be agreeable in his intercourse with his friends when he had leisure for it, but was never led by his sociability to neglect matters of large and serious import ; and sailed off for his war in Africa.

IV. The influence which Cato's oratory won for him waxed great, and men called him a Roman Demosthenes ; but his manner of life was even more talked about and noised abroad. For his oratorical ability only set before young men a goal which many already were striving eagerly to attain ; but a man who wrought with his own hands, as his fathers did, and was contented with a cold breakfast, a frugal dinner, simple raiment, and a humble dwelling,—one who thought more of not

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περιττῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κεκτῆσθαι θαυμάζων
 2 σπάνιος ἦν, ἥδη τότε τῆς πολιτείας τὸ καθαρὸν
 ὑπὸ μεγέθους οὐ φυλαττούσης, ἀλλὰ τῷ κρατεῖν
 πραγμάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων πρὸς πολλὰ
 μιγνυμένης ἔθη καὶ βίων παραδείγματα παντοδα-
 πῶν ὑποδεχομένης. εἰκότως οὖν ἐθαύμαζον τὸν
 Κάτωνα, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πόνων θραυ-
 μένους καὶ μαλασσομένους ὑπὸ¹ τῶν ἥδονῶν
 3 ὄρῶντες, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀμφοῦν ἀήττητον, οὐ μόνον
 ἔως ἔτι νέος καὶ φιλότιμος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντα
 καὶ πολιὸν ἥδη μεθ' ὑπατείαν καὶ θρίαμβον, ὡςπερ
 ἀθλητὴν νικηφόρον, ἐγκαρτεροῦντα τῇ τάξει τῆς
 ἀσκήσεως καὶ διομαλίζοντα μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.

'Εσθῆτα μὲν γὰρ οὐδέποτέ φῆσι φορέσαι πολυ-
 τελεστέραν ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν, πιεῖν δὲ καὶ στρα-
 τηγῶν καὶ ὑπατεύων τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον τοῖς ἐργά-
 ταις, ὅψον δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον
 ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀσταρίων τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ
 τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως ἴσχύοι τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὰς
 4 στρατείας. ἐπίβλημα δὲ τῶν ποικίλων Βαβυ-
 λώνιον ἐκ κληρονομίας κτησάμενος εὐθὺς ἀπο-
 δόσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐπαύλεων αὐτοῦ μηδεμίαν εἶναι
 κεκοινιαμένην, οὐδένα δὲ πώποτε πρίασθαι δοῦλον
 ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας δραχμὰς καὶ πεντακοσίας, ώς
 ἀν οὐ τρυφερῶν οὐδὲ ὠραίων, ἀλλ' ἐργατικῶν καὶ
 στερεῶν, οἷον ἵπποκόμων καὶ βοηλατῶν, δεό-
 μενος· καὶ τούτους δὲ πρεσβυτέρους γενομένους
 ὥστο δεῖν ἀποδίδοσθαι καὶ μὴ βόσκειν ἀχρήστους.
 ὅλως δὲ μηδὲν εὑωνον εἶναι τῶν περιττῶν, ἀλλ'
 οὐ τις οὐδὲνται, καὶ τὸν ἀσταρίου πιπράσκηται,

¹ ὑπὸ Hercher and Blass with S: καὶ ὑπὸ.

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wanting the superfluities of life than of possessing them,—such a man was rare. The commonwealth had now grown too large to keep its primitive integrity ; the sway over many realms and peoples had brought a large admixture of customs, and the adoption of examples set in modes of life of every sort. It was natural, therefore, that men should admire Cato, when they saw that, whereas other men were broken down by toils and enervated by pleasures, he was victor over both, and this too, not only while he was still young and ambitious, but even in his hoary age, after consulship and triumph. Then, like some victorious athlete, he persisted in the regimen of his training, and kept his mind unaltered to the last.

He tells us that he never wore clothing worth more than a hundred drachmas ; that he drank, even when he was praetor or consul, the same wine as his slaves ; that as for fish and meats, he would buy thirty asses' worth¹ for his dinner from the public stalls, and even this for the city's sake, that he might not live on bread alone, but strengthen his body for military service ; that he once fell heir to an embroidered Babylonian robe, but sold it at once ; that not a single one of his cottages had plastered walls ; that he never paid more than fifteen hundred drachmas for a slave, since he did not want them to be delicately beautiful, but sturdy workers, such as grooms and herdsmen, and these he thought it his duty to sell when they got oldish, instead of feeding them when they were useless ; and that in general, he thought nothing cheap that one could do without, but that what one did not need, even if it cost but a

¹ The *as* corresponded nearly to the English penny.

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πολλοῦ νομίζειν· κτᾶσθαι δὲ τὰ σπειρόμενα καὶ νεμόμενα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ῥαινόμενα καὶ σαιρόμενα.

V. Ταῦτα δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς μικρολογίαν ἐτίθεντο τοῦ ἀνδρός, οἱ δὲ ως ἐπὶ διορθώσει καὶ σωφρονισμῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνδοτέρω συστέλλοντος ἑαυτὸν ἀπεδέχοντο. πλὴν τὸ τοῖς οἰκέταις ως ὑποξυγίοις ἀποχρησάμενου ἐπὶ γήρως ἐλαύνειν καὶ πιπράσκειν ἀτενοῦς ἄγαν ἡθους ἔγωγε τίθεμαι, καὶ 339 μηδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν οἰομένου κοινώ-

2 σημα τῆς χρείας πλέον ὑπάρχειν. καίτοι τὴν χρηστότητα τῆς δικαιοσύνης πλατύτερον τόπου ὄρῳμεν ἐπιλαμβάνουσαν· νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μόνον χρῆσθαι πεφύκαμεν, πρὸς εὐεργεσίας δὲ καὶ χάριτας ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς πλουσίας ἀπόρρει τῆς ἡμερότητος. καὶ γὰρ ἵππων ἀπειρηκότων ὑπὸ χρόνου τροφαὶ καὶ κυνῶν οὐ σκυλακεῖαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γηροκομίαι τῷ χρηστῷ προσήκουσιν.

3 'Ο δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμος οἰκοδομῶν τὸν Ἐκατόμπεδον, δσας κατενόησεν ἡμίόνους μάλιστα τοῖς πόνοις ἐγκαρτερούσας, ἀπέλυσεν ἐλευθέρας νέμεσθαι καὶ ἀφέτους, ὃν μίαν φασὶ καταβαίνουσαν ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς πρὸς τὰ ἔργα τοῖς ἀνάγουσι τὰς ἀμάξας ὑποξυγίοις εἰς ἀκρόπολιν συμπαρατρέχειν καὶ προηγεῖσθαι καθάπερ ἐγκελευομένην καὶ συνεξορμῶσαν, ἦν καὶ τρέφεσθαι δημοσίᾳ 4 μέχρι τελευτῆς ἐψηφίσαντο. τῶν δὲ Κίμωνος ἵππων, αἷς Ὁλύμπια τρὶς ἐνίκησε, καὶ ταφαὶ

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penny, was dear; also that he bought lands where crops were raised and cattle herded, not those where lawns were sprinkled and paths swept.

V. These things were ascribed by some to the man's parsimony; but others condoned them in the belief that he lived in this contracted way only to correct and moderate the extravagance of others. However, for my part, I regard his treatment of his slaves like beasts of burden, using them to the uttermost, and then, when they were old, driving them off and selling them, as the mark of a very mean nature, which recognizes no tie between man and man but that of necessity. And yet we know that kindness has a wider scope than justice. Law and justice we naturally apply to men alone; but when it comes to beneficence and charity, these often flow in streams from the gentle heart, like water from a copious spring, even down to dumb beasts. A kindly man will take good care of his horses even when they are worn out with age, and of his dogs, too, not only in their puppyhood, but when their old age needs nursing.

While the Athenians were building the Parthenon, they turned loose for free and unrestricted pasturage such mules as were seen to be most persistently laborious. One of these, they say, came back to the works of its own accord, trotted along by the side of its fellows under the yoke, which were dragging the waggons up to the Acropolis, and even led the way for them, as though exhorting and inciting them on. The Athenians passed a decree that the animal be maintained at the public cost as long as it lived. Then there were the mares of Cimon, with which he won three victories at Olympia; their graves are

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πλησίον εἰσὶ τῶν ἐκείνου μνημάτων. κύνας δὲ συντρόφους γενομένους καὶ συνήθεις ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ξάνθιππος ὁ παλαιὸς τὸν εἰς Σαλαμῖνα τῇ τριήρει παρανηξάμενον, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ὁ δῆμος ἔξέλειπεν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἄκρας ἐκήδευσεν, ἦν Κυνὸς σῆμα μέχρι νῦν καλοῦσιν.

5 Οὐ γὰρ ὡς ὑποδήμασιν ἡ σκεύεσι τοῖς ψυχὴν ἔχουσι χρηστέον, κοπέντα καὶ κατατριβέντα ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ἀπορριπτοῦντας, ἀλλ' εἰ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, μελέτης ἔνεκα τοῦ φιλανθρώπου προεθιστέον ἔαυτὸν ἐν τούτοις πρᾶγμαν εἶναι καὶ μείλιχον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ βούν ἀν ἐργάτην διὰ γῆρας ἀποδοίμην, μή τί γε πρεσβύτερον ἄνθρωπον, ἐκ χώρας συντρόφου καὶ διαίτης συνήθους ὥσπερ ἐκ πατρίδος μεθιστάμενον ἀντὶ κερμάτων μικρῶν, ἄχρηστόν γε τοῖς ὡνομένοις ὥσπερ τοῖς πιπρά-
6 σκουσι γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ὥσπερ νεανιεύμενος ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ τὸν ἵππον, φέρα τὰς στρατείας ὑπατεύων ἐχρήτο, φησὶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καταλιπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ πόλει τὸ ναῦλον αὐτοῦ λογίσηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἴτε μεγαλοψυχίας εἴτε μικρολογίας θετέον, ἔξεστι τῷ πείθοντι χρῆσθαι λογισμῷ.

VI. Τῆς δ' ἄλλης ἐγκρατείας ὑπερφυῶς θαυμαστὸς ὁ ἀνήρ· οἷον ὅτι στρατηγῶν ἐλάμβανεν ἔαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐ πλέον εἰς τὸν μῆνα πυρῶν ἡ τρεῖς Ἀττικοὺς μεδίμνους, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν κριθῶν τοῖς ὑποξυγίοις ἐλαττον
2 τριῶν ἡμιμεδίμνων. ἐπαρχίαν δὲ λαβὼν Σαρδόνα, τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ στρατηγῶν εἰωθότων χρῆσθαι

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near the tombs of his family. Dogs also that have been close and constant companions of men, have often been buried with honour. Xanthippus, of olden time, gave the dog which swam along by the side of his trireme to Salamis, when the people were abandoning their city, honourable burial on the promontory which is called to this day Cynossema, or Dog's Mound.¹

We should not treat living creatures like shoes or pots and pans, casting them aside when they are bruised and worn out with service, but, if for no other reason, for the sake of practice in kindness to our fellow men, we should accustom ourselves to mildness and gentleness in our dealings with other creatures. I certainly would not sell even an ox that had worked for me, just because he was old, much less an elderly man, removing him from his habitual place and customary life, as it were from his native land, for a paltry price, useless as he is to those who sell him and as he will be to those who buy him. But Cato, exulting as it were in such things, says that he left in Spain even the horse which had carried him through his consular campaign, that he might not tax the city with the cost of its transportation. Whether, now, these things should be set down to greatness of spirit or littleness of mind, is an open question.

VI. But in other matters, his self-restraint was beyond measure admirable. For instance, when he was in command of an army, he took for himself and his retinue not more than three Attic bushels of wheat a month, and for his beasts of burden, less than a bushel and a half of barley a day. He received Sardinia as his province,² and whereas his predecessors

¹ Cf. *Themistocles* x. 6.

² 198 B.C.

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καὶ σκηνώμασι δημοσίοις καὶ κλίναις καὶ ιμάτίοις, πολλῇ δὲ θεραπείᾳ καὶ φίλων πλήθει καὶ περὶ δεῖπνα δαπάναις καὶ παρασκευαῖς βαρυνόντων, ἐκεῖνος ἅπιστον ἐποίησε τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς εὐτελείας. δαπάνης μὲν γάρ εἰς οὐδὲν οὐδεμιᾶς προσεδεήθη δημοσίας, ἐπεφοίτα δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀνευ ζεύγους πορευόμενος, εἰς δὲ ἡκολούθει δημόσιος ἐσθῆτα καὶ σπουδεῖνον
 3 αὐτῷ πρὸς ἱερουργίαν κομίζων. ἐν δὲ τούτοις οὕτως εὔκολος καὶ ἀφελῆς τοῖς ὑπὸ χεῖρα φαινόμενος, αὐθις ἀνταπεδίδου τὴν σεμνότητα καὶ τὸ βάρος ἀπαραίτητος ὃν ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας προστάγμασιν ὅρθιος καὶ αὐθέκαστος, ὥστε μηδέποτε τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἐκείνοις μήτε φοβερωτέραν μήτε προσφιλεστέραν γενέσθαι.

VII. Τοιαύτην δέ τινα φαίνεται καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἵδεαν ἔχειν εὐχαρις γάρ ἄμα κιὶ δεινὸς ἦν, ἡδὺς καὶ καταπληκτικός, φιλοσκώμμων καὶ αὐστηρός, ἀποφθεγματικὸς καὶ ἀγωνιστικός, ὥσπερ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν Σωκράτην φησὶν ἔξωθεν ἴδιωτην καὶ σατυρικὸν καὶ ὑβριστην τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι φαινόμενον ἔνδοθεν σπουδῆς καὶ πραγμάτων μεστὸν εἶναι δάκρυα κινούντων τοῖς 341
 2 ἀκροωμένοις καὶ τὴν καρδίαν στρεφόντων. ὅθεν οὐκ οἰδ' ὅτι πεπόνθασιν οἱ τῷ Λυσίου λόγῳ μάλιστα φάμενοι προσεοικέναι τὸν Κάτωνος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὶς μᾶλλον ἵδεας λόγων Ῥωμαϊκῶν¹ αἰσθάνεσθαι προσήκει διακρινούσιν, ἥμεις δὲ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων βραχέα γράψομεν, οὐ τῷ λόγῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προσώπῳ,

¹ Ῥωμαϊκῶν Blaas with S: φητορικῶν.

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were wont to charge the public treasury with their pavilions, couches, and apparel, while they oppressed the province with the cost of their large retinues of servants and friends, and of their lavish and elaborate banquets, his simple economy stood out in an incredible contrast. He made no demands whatever upon the public treasury, and made his circuit of the cities on foot, followed by a single public officer, who carried his robe and chalice for sacrifices. And yet, though in such matters he showed himself mild and sparing to those under his authority, in other ways he displayed a dignity and severity which fully corresponded, for in the administration of justice he was inexorable, and in carrying out the edicts of the government was direct and masterful, so that the Roman power never inspired its subjects with greater fear or affection.

VII. Much the same traits are revealed in the man's oratory. It was at once graceful and powerful, pleasant and compelling, facetious and severe, sententious and belligerent. So Plato says of Socrates¹ that from the outside he impressed his associates as rude, uncouth, and wanton; but within he was full of earnestness, and of matters that moved his hearers to tears and wrung their hearts. Wherefore I know not what they can mean who say that Cato's oratory most resembled that of Lysias. However, such questions must be decided by those who are more capable than I am of discerning the traits of Roman oratory, and I shall now record a few of his famous sayings, believing that men's characters are revealed

¹ *Symposium*, p. 215.

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καθάπερ ἔνιοι νομίζυνσι, τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαμὲν
έμφαίνεσθαι τὸ ἥθος.

- VIII. Μέλλων ποτὲ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ὡρμημένον ἀκαίρως ἐπὶ σιτομετρίας καὶ διανομὰς ἀποτρέπειν, ἤρξατο τῶν λόγων οὕτως· “Χαλεπὸν μέν ἔστιν, ὡς πολῖται, πρὸς γαστέρα λέγειν ὅτα οὐκ ἔχουσαν.” κατηγορῶν δὲ τῆς πολυτελείας ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι σωθῆναι πόλιν, ἐν ᾧ πωλεῖται
2 πλείονος ἰχθὺς ἢ βοῦς. ἑοικέναι δὲ προβάτοις ἔφη τοὺς Ῥωμαίους· ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνα καθ' ἔκαστον μὲν οὐ πείθεται, σύμπαντα δ' ἔπεται μετ' ἀλλήλων τοῖς ἄγονσιν, “Οὔτω καὶ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “οἵσι οὐκ ἀν ἀξιώσαιτε συμβούλοις χρήσασθαι κατ' ἴδιαν, ὑπὸ τούτων εἰς ἐν συνελθόντες ἄγεσθε.” περὶ δὲ τῆς γυναικοκρατίας διαλεγόμενος “Πάντες,” εἶπεν, “ἄνθρωποι τῶν γυναικῶν ἄρχουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἡμῶν δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες.”
3 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν Θεμιστοκλέους μετενηγμένον ἀποφθεγμάτων. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπιτάπτουντος αὐτῷ πολλὰ τοῦ νίοῦ διὰ τῆς μητρός “Ω γύναι,” εἶπεν, “Αθηναῖοι μὲν ἄρχουσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐγὼ δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ἐμοῦ δὲ σύ, σοῦ δὲ ὁ νιός, ὥστε φειδέσθω τῆς ἔξουσίας, δι' ἣν ἀνόητος ὁν πλεῖστον Ἑλλήνων δύναται.”
4 Τὸν δὲ δῆμον ὁ Κάτων ἔφη τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐ μόνον ταῖς πορφύραις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι τὰς τιμὰς ἐπιγράφειν. “Ως γὰρ οἱ βαφεῖς,” ἔφη, “ταύτην μάλιστα βάπτουσιν, ἢ χαίροντας ὄρωσιν, οὕτως οἱ νέοι ταῦτα μανθάνουσι καὶ ζηλοῦσιν, οἵσι ἀν ὁ παρ' ὑμῶν ἔπαινος ἔπηται.”
5 παρεκάλει δ' αὐτούς, εἰμὲν ἀρετὴ καὶ σωφρο-

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much more by their speech than, as some think, by their looks.

VIII. He once wished to dissuade the Roman people from insisting unseasonably upon a distribution of corn, and began his speech with these words : "It is a hard matter, my fellow citizens, to argue with the belly, since it has no ears." Again, inveighing against the prevalent extravagance, he said : "It is a hard matter to save a city in which a fish sells for more than an ox." Again, he said the Romans were like sheep ; for as these are not to be persuaded one by one, but all in a body blindly follow their leaders, "so ye," he said, "though as individuals ye would not deign to follow the counsels of certain men, when ye are got together ye suffer yourselves to be led by them." Discoursing on the power of women, he said : "All other men rule their wives ; we rule all other men, and our wives rule us." This, however, is a translation from the sayings of Themistocles.¹ He, finding himself much under his son's orders through the lad's mother, said : "Wife, the Athenians rule the Hellenes, I rule the Athenians, thou rulest me, and thy son thee. Therefore let him make sparing use of that authority which makes him, child though he is, the most powerful of the Hellenes."

The Roman people, Cato said, fixed the market value not only of dyes, but also of behaviour. "For," said he, "as dyers most affect that dye which they see pleases you, so your young men learn and practice that which wins your praise." And he exhorted them, in case it was through virtue and temperance that they had become great, to

¹ *Themistocles*, xviii. 4.

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σύνη γεγόνασι μεγάλοι, μηδὲν¹ μεταβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον, εἰ δὲ ἀκρασίᾳ καὶ κακίᾳ, μεταβάλλεσθαι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον· ίκανῶς γὰρ ἥδη μεγάλους ἀπ' ἐκείνων γεγονέναι. τοὺς δὲ πολλάκις ἄρχειν σπουδάζοντας ἔφη καθάπερ ἀγνοοῦντας τὴν ὁδὸν ἀεὶ μετὰ ῥαβδούχων ζητεῖν πορεύεσθαι,
 6 μὴ πλανηθῶσιν. ἐπετίμα δὲ τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἴρουμένοις πολλάκις ἄρχοντας. “Δόξετε γάρ,” ἔφη, “μὴ² πολλοῦ τὸ ἄρχειν ἄξιον ἢ μὴ πολλοὺς τοῦ ἄρχειν ἀξίους ἡγεῖσθαι.” περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν τινος αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀδόξις βιοῦν δοκοῦντος “Ἡ τούτου μήτηρ,” ἔφη, “κατάραν, οὐκ εὐχήν, ἡγεῖται τὸ τούτον ὑπέρ γῆς ἀπο-
 7 λιπεῖν.” τὸν δὲ πεπρακότα τοὺς πατρώους ἀγροὺς παραλίους ὅντας ἐπιδεικνύμενος προσεποιεῖτο θαυμάζειν ώς ἴσχυρότερον τῆς θαλάττης· “Ἄ ο γὰρ ἐκείνη μόλις ἐκλυζεν, οὗτος,” ἔφη, “ῥαδίως καταπέπωκεν.”
 ’Ἐπει δὲ Εὔμενούς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιδημήσαντος εἰς Ῥώμην ἢ τε σύγκλητος ὑπερφυῶς ἀπεδέξατο καὶ τῶν πρώτων ἄμιλλα καὶ σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐγίνετο, δῆλος ἡν ὁ Κάτων ὑφορώμενος καὶ
 8 φυλαττόμενος αὐτόν. εἰπόντος δέ τινος “Ἄλλὰ μὴν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ φιλορρώμαιος,” “Ἐστω,” εἶπεν, “ἄλλὰ φύσει τοῦτο τὸ ζῷον ὁ βασιλεὺς σαρκοφάγον ἐστίν.” οὐδένα δὲ τῶν εὐδαιμονιζομένων ἔφη βασιλέων³ ἄξιον εἶναι παραβάλλειν πρὸς Ἐπαμεινῶνδαν ἢ Περικλέα ἢ Θεμιστοκλέα ἢ Μάνιον Κούριον ἢ Ἀμίλκαν τὸν ἐπικληθέντα

¹ μηδὲν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : μὴ.

² μὴ Blass with F^aS : ἢ μὴ.

³ ἔφη βασιλέων Hercher and Blass with F^aS : βασιλέων.

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make no change for the worse ; but if it was through intemperance and vice, to change for the better ; these had already made them great enough. Of those who were eager to hold high office frequently, he said that like men who did not know the road, they sought to be ever attended on their way by lictors, lest they go astray. He censured his fellow citizens for choosing the same men over and over again to high office. " You will be thought," said he, " not to deem your offices worth much, or else not to deem many men worthy of your offices." Of one of his enemies who had the name of leading a disgraceful and disreputable life, he said : " This man's mother holds the wish that he may survive her to be no pious prayer, but a malignant curse." Pointing to a man who had sold his ancestral fields lying near the sea, he pretended to admire him, as stronger than the sea. " This man," said he, " has drunk down with ease what the sea found it hard to wash away."

When King Eumenes paid a visit to Rome, the Senate received him with extravagant honours, and the chief men of the city strove who should be most about him. But Cato clearly looked upon him with suspicion and alarm. " Surely," some one said to him, " he is an excellent man, and a friend of Rome." " Granted," said Cato, " but the animal known as king is by nature carnivorous." He said further that not one of the kings whom men so lauded was worthy of comparison with Epaminondas, or Pericles, or Themistocles, or Manius Curius, or with Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas. His.

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9 Βάρκαν. αύτῷ δ' ἔλεγε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φθονεῖν, ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκ νυκτὸς¹ ἀνίσταται καὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἀμελῶν τοὺς δημοσίους σχολάζει. βούλεσθαι δ' ἔλεγε μᾶλλον εὐ πράξας ἀποστερηθῆναι χάριν ἢ κακῶς μὴ τυχεῖν κολάσεως, καὶ συγγνώμην ἔφη διδόναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι πλὴν αὐτοῦ.

IX. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων εἰς Βιθυνίαν τρεῖς ἐλο- 341 μένων πρέσβεις, ὧν ὁ μὲν ποδαγρικὸς ἦν, ὁ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐξ ἀνατρήσεως καὶ περικοπῆς κοίλην εἶχεν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐδόκει μωρὸς εἶναι, καταγελῶν ὁ Κάτων εἰπε πρεσβείαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστέλλεσθαι μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλὴν μήτε καρδίαν 2 ἔχουσαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας φυγάδων ἐν τευχθεὶς διὰ Πολύβιον ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος, ὡς πολὺς ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ λόγος ἐγίνετο, τῶν μὲν διδόντων κάθοδον αὐτοῖς, τῶν δ' ἐνισταμένων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κάτων “Οσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες,” εἰπεν, “ὅ πράττωμεν καθήμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν δλην περὶ γεροντίων Γραικῶν ζητοῦντες, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ 3 τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι.” ψηφισθείσης δὲ τῆς καθόδου τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἡμέρας ὀλίγας οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον διαλιπόντες αὐθίς ἐπεχείρουν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελθεῖν, ὅπως ἀς πρότερον εἶχον ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ τιμὰς οἱ φυγάδες ἀναλάβοιεν, καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς γνώμης. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας ἔφη τὸν Πολύβιον, ὥσπερ τὸν Ὄδυσσέα, βούλεσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπῆλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώιην ἐπιλελησμένον.

4 Τοὺς δὲ φρονίμους ἔλεγε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀφρόνων ἢ τοὺς ἄφρονας ὑπὸ τῶν φρονίμων

¹ ἐκ νυκτὸς Hercher and Blass with FaSD; νυκτὸς,

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enemies hated him, he used to say, because he rose every day before it was light and, neglecting his own private matters, devoted his time to the public interests. He also used to say that he preferred to do right and get no thanks, rather than to do ill and get no punishment; and that he had pardon for everybody's mistakes except his own.

IX. The Romans once chose three ambassadors to Bithynia, of whom one was gouty, another had had his head trepanned, and the third was deemed a fool. Cato made merry over this, and said that the Romans were sending out an embassy which had neither feet, nor head, nor heart. His aid was once solicited by Scipio, at the instance of Polybius, in behalf of the exiles from Achaia, and after a long debate upon the question in the Senate, where some favoured and some opposed their return home, Cato rose and said : "Here we sit all day, as if we had naught else to do, debating whether some poor old Greeks shall be buried here or in Achaia." The Senate voted that the men be allowed to return, and a few days afterwards Polybius tried to get admission to that body again, with a proposal that the exiles be restored to their former honours in Achaia, and asked Cato's opinion on the matter. Cato smiled and said that Polybius, as if he were another Odysseus, wanted to go back into the cave of the Cyclops for a cap and belt which he had left there.

Wise men, he said, profited more from fools than fools from wise men ; for the wise shun the

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- ώφελεῖσθαι· τούτους μὲν γὰρ φυλάττεσθαι τὰς ἐκείνων ἀμαρτίας, ἐκείνους δὲ τὰς τούτων μὴ μιμεῖσθαι κατορθώσεις. τῶν δὲ νέων ἔφη χαίρειν τοῖς ἐρυθριώσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὡχριώσι. στρατιώτου δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἐν τῷ βαδίζειν, τοὺς δὲ πόδας ἐν τῷ μάχεσθαι κινοῦντος, μεῖζον δὲ ῥέγχον-
- 5 τοις ἢ ἀλαλάζοντος. τὸν δὲ ὑπέρπαχν κακίζων “Ποὺ δ’ ἄν,” ἔφη, “σῶμα τοιοῦτον τῇ πόλει γένοιτο χρήσιμον, οὐ τὸ μεταξὺ λαιμοῦ καὶ βουβώνων πᾶν ὑπὸ τῆς γαστρὸς κατέχεται;” τῶν δὲ φιληδόνων τινὰ βουλόμενον αὐτῷ συνεῖναι παραιτούμενος, ἔφη μὴ δύνασθαι ζῆν μετ’ ἀνθρώπου τῆς καρδίας τὴν ὑπερφάνη εὐαισθητοτέραν ἔχοντος. τοῦ δὲ ἐρῶντος ἔλεγε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν
- 6 ἄλλοτρίῳ σώματι ζῆν. μεταμεληθῆναι δ’ αὐτὸς ἐν παντὶ τῷ βίῳ τρεῖς μεταμελείας· μίαν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ γυναικὶ πιστεῦσαι λόγου ἀπόρρητον, ἔτεραν δὲ πλεύσας ὅπου δυνατὸν ἦν πεζεῦσαι, τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὅτι μίαν ἡμέραν ἀδιάθετος ἔμεινε. πρὸς δὲ πρεσβύτην πονηρευόμενον “Ανθρωπε,” εἶπε, “πολλὰ ἔχοντι τῷ γήρᾳ τὰ αἰσχρὰ μὴ προστίθει
- 7 τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας αἰσχύνην.” πρὸς δὲ δήμαρχον ἐν διαβολῇ μὲν φαρμακείας γενόμενον, φαῦλον δὲ νόμον εἰσφέροντα καὶ βιαζόμενον “Ω μειράκιον,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ οἶδα, πότερον χεῖρόν ἐστιν ὁ κίρνης πιεῖν ἢ ὁ γράφεις κυρῶσαι.” βλασφημούμενος δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου βεβιωκότος ἀσελγῶς καὶ κακῶς “Ανισος,” εἶπεν, “ἡ πρὸς σέ μοι μάχη ἐστί· καὶ γὰρ ἀκούεις τὰ κακὰ ῥαδίως καὶ λέγεις εὐχερῶς, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν ἀηδές καὶ ἀκούειν ἀηθες. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων γένος τοιοῦτον ἐστιν.

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mistakes of fools, but fools do not imitate the successes of the wise. He said he liked to see blushes on a young man's face rather than pallor, and that he had no use for a soldier who plied his hands on the march, and his feet in battle, and whose snore was louder than his war-cry. Railing at the fat knight, he said, "Where can such a body be of service to the state, when everything between its gullet and its groins is devoted to belly?" A certain epicure wished to enjoy his society, but he excused himself, saying that he could not live with a man whose palate was more sensitive than his heart. As for the lover, he said his soul dwelt in the body of another. And as for repentance, he said he had indulged in it himself but thrice in his whole life: once when he entrusted a secret to his wife; once when he paid ship's fare to a place instead of walking thither; and once when he remained intestate a whole day. To an old man who was steeped in iniquity he said: "Man, old age has disgraces enough of its own; do not add to them the shame of vice." To a tribune of the people who had been accused of using poison, and who was trying to force the passage of a useless bill, he said: "Young man, I know not which is worse, to drink your mixtures, or to enact your bills." And when he was reviled by a man who led a life of shameless debauchery, he said: "I fight an unequal battle with you: you listen to abuse calmly, and utter it glibly; while for me it is unpleasant to utter it, and unusual to hear it."

Such, then, is the nature of his famous sayings.

- X. "Τπατος δὲ μετὰ Φλάκκου Οὐαλλερίου τοῦ φίλου καὶ συνήθους ἀποδειχθεὶς ἔλαχε τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἦν Ἐντὸς Ἰσπανίαν Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν. ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν καταστρεφομένῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν, τὰ δὲ οἰκειούμενῳ διὰ λόγων πολλὴ στρατιὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπέπεσε, καὶ κίνδυνος ἦν αἰσχρῶς ἐκβιασθῆναι. διὸ τῶν ἐγ-
 2 γὺς Κελτιβήρων ἐπεκαλεῖτο συμμαχίαν. αἵτοι ντων δ' ἐκείνων τῆς βοηθείας διακόσια τάλαντα μισθόν, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο Ῥωμαίους βαρβάροις ἐπικουρίας ὁμολογῆσαι μισθόν, οἱ δὲ Κάτων οὐδὲν ἔφη δεινὸν εἶναι, νικῶντας μὲν γὰρ ἀποδώσειν παρὰ¹ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ παρ' αὐτῶν, ἡττωμένων δὲ μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτούμενους ἔσεσθαι μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιτούντας. ταύτην δὲ τὴν μάχην κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκησε, 342
 3 καὶ τάλλα προύχώρει λαμπρῶς. Πολύβιος μέν γέ φησι τῶν ἐντὸς Βαίτιος ποταμοῦ πόλεων ἡμέρᾳ μιᾶ τὰ τείχη κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ περιαιρεθῆναι πάμπολαι δ' ἡσαν αὗται καὶ γέμουσαι μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν. αὐτὸς δέ φησιν οἱ Κάτων πλείονας εἰληφέναι πόλεις ὡν διήγαγεν ἡμερῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ· καὶ τοῦτο κόμπος οὐκ ἔστιν, εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς τετρακόσιαι τὸ πλῆθος ἡσαν.
 4 Τοῖς μὲν οὖν στρατιώταις πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν στρατείαν ὡφεληθεῖσιν ἔτι καὶ λίτραν ἀργυρίου κατ' ἄνδρα προσδιένειμεν, εἰπὼν ὡς κρείττον εἴη πολλοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀργύριον ἢ χρυσίον ὀλύγους ἔχοντας ἐπανελθεῖν. εἰς δ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀλισκομένων οὐδὲν ἐλθεῖν λέγει πλὴν ὅσα πέπωκεν ἢ βέβρωκε. "Καὶ οὐκ αἰτιώμαι," φησί, "τοὺς

¹ παρὰ Hercher and Blass with FⁿS : ἀπδ.

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X. Having been elected consul¹ with Valerius Flaccus, his intimate friend, the province which the Romans call Hither Spain was allotted to his charge. Here, while he was subduing some of the tribes, and winning over others by diplomacy, a great host of Barbarians fell upon him, and threatened to drive him disgracefully out of the province. He therefore begged the neighbouring Celtiberians to become his allies. On their demanding two hundred talents pay for such assistance, all his officers thought it intolerable that Romans should agree to pay Barbarians for assistance. But Cato said there was nothing terrible in it; should they be victorious, they could pay the price with the spoils taken from the enemy, and not out of their own purse; whereas, should they be vanquished, there would be nobody left either to pay or to ask the price. In this battle he was completely victorious, and the rest of his campaign was a brilliant success. Polybius indeed says that in a single day the walls of all the cities on this side the river Baetis—and they were very many, and full of warlike men—were torn down at his command. And Cato himself says that he took more cities than he spent days in Spain, nor is this a mere boast, since, in fact, there were four hundred of them.

His soldiers got large booty in this campaign, and he gave each one of them a pound of silver besides, saying that it was better to have many Romans go home with silver in their pockets than a few with gold. But in his own case, he says that no part of the booty fell to him, except what he ate and drank. "Not that I find fault," he says, "with those who

¹ 195 B.C.

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ώφελεῖσθαι ζητοῦντας ἐκ τούτων, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι μᾶλλον περὶ ἀρετῆς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἢ περὶ χρημάτων τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις ἀμιλλᾶσθαι καὶ τοῖς 5 φιλαργυρωτάτοις περὶ φιλαργυρίας.” οὐ μόνον δ’ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττε καθαροὺς παντὸς λήμματος. ἡσαν δὲ πέντε θεράποντες ἐπὶ στρατείας σὺν αὐτῷ. τούτων εἰς ὄνομα Πάκκιος ἡγόρασε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τρία παιδάρια· τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος αἰσθομένου, πρὶν εἰς ὅψιν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπήγξατο. τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ὁ Κάτων ἀποδόμενος εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀνήνεγκε τὴν τιμήν.

XI. “Ετι δ’ αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Σκηπίων ὁ μέγας, ἔχθρος ὧν καὶ βουλόμενος ἐνστῆναι κατορθοῦντι καὶ τὰς Ἰβηρικὰς πράξεις ὑπολαβεῖν, διεπράξατο τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνης ἀποδειχθῆναι διάδοχος. σπεύσας δ’ ὡς ἐνῆν τάχιστα κατέπαυσε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Κάτωνος. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν σπείρας ὄπλιτῶν πέντε καὶ πεντακοσίους ἵππεis προπομποὺς κατεστρέψατο μὲν τὸ Λακετανῶν ἔθνος, ἔξακοσίους δὲ τῶν ηύτομοληκό-
2 τῶν κομισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ’ οὓς σχετλιάζοντα τὸν Σκηπίωνα κατειρωνεύομενος οὕτως ἔφη τὴν ‘Ρώμην ἔσεσθαι μεγίστην, τῶν μὲν ἐνδόξων καὶ μεγάλων τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς πρωτεῖα μὴ μεθιέντων τοῖς ἀσημοτέροις, τῶν δ’ ὥσπερ αὐτός ἔστι δημοτικῶν ἀμιλλωμένων ἀρετῆ πρὸς τοὺς τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ δόξῃ προήκοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῆς συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης μηδὲν ἀλλάττειν μηδὲ κινεῖν τῶν διωκημένων ὑπὸ Κάτωνος, ἡ μὲν ἀρχὴ τῷ Σκηπίωνι τῆς αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς Κάτωνος ἀφελοῦσα δόξης ἐν ἀπραξίᾳ καὶ σχολῇ μάτην

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seek to profit by such a case, but I prefer to strive in bravery with the bravest, rather than in wealth with the richest, and in greed for money with the greediest." And he strove to keep not only himself, but also his associates, free from all taint of gain. He had five attendants with him in the field. One of these, whose name was Paccus, bought three boys for his own account from among the public prisoners, but finding that Cato was aware of the transaction, or ever he had come into his presence, went and hanged himself. Cato sold the boys, and restored the money to the public treasury.

XI. While Cato still tarried in Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wished to obstruct the current of his successes and take away from him the administration of affairs in Spain, got himself appointed his successor in command of that province. Then he set out with all the speed possible, and brought Cato's command to an end. But Cato took five cohorts of men-at-arms and five hundred horsemen as escort on his way home, and on the march subdued the tribe of the Lacetanians, and put to death six hundred deserters whom they delivered up to him. Scipio was enraged at this proceeding, but Cato, treating him with mock humility, said that only then would Rome be at her greatest, when her men of high birth refused to yield the palm of virtue to men of lower rank, and when plebeians like himself contended in virtue with their superiors in birth and reputation. However, in spite of Scipio's displeasure, the Senate voted that no change whatever be made in what Cato had ordered and arranged, and so the administration of Scipio was marked by inactivity and idleness, and detracted from his own,

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3 διῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων θριαμβεύσας οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν ἄμιλλωμένων, ὅταν εἰς τὰς ἄκρας τιμᾶς ἔξικωνται καὶ τύχωσιν ὑπατείας καὶ θριάμβων, ἥδη τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἥδονὴν καὶ σχολὴν συσκευασάμενοι τὸν βίον ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπίστανται, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἔξινηκε καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν ἀρετήν, ἀλλ' ὅμοια τοῖς πρώτον ἀπτομένοις πολιτείας καὶ διψῶσι τιμῆς καὶ δόξης ἀφ' ἔτέρας ἀρχῆς συντείνας ἔαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παρεῖχε καὶ φίλους χρῆσθαι καὶ πολίταις, οὔτε τὰς συνηγορίας οὔτε τὰς στρατείας ἀπειπάμενος.

XII. Τιβερίῳ μὲν οὖν Σεμπρωνίῳ τὰ περὶ Θράκην καὶ Ἰστρον ὑπατεύοντι πρεσβεύων συγκατειργάσατο, Μανίῳ δὲ Ἀκιλίῳ χιλιαρχῶν ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν συνεξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, φοβήσαντα Ῥωμαίους ὡς οὐδένα ἔτερον μετ' Ἀννίβαν. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίαν, ὅσην ὁ Νικάτωρ Σέλευκος ἔχειν, ὀλίγουν δεῦν ἀπασαν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνειληφώς, ἔθνη τε πάμπολλα καὶ μάχιμα βαρβάρων ὑπήκοα πεποιημένος, ἐπῆρτο συμπεσεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ὡς μόνοις ἔτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιομάχοις 2 οὖσιν. εὐπρεπῆ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενος αἰτίαν τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν, οὐδὲν δεομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους χάριτι τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ Μακεδόνων νεωστὶ 343 γεγονότας, διέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως. καὶ σάλον εὐθὺς ἡ Ἐλλὰς εἶχε καὶ μετέωρος ἦν ἐλπίσι διαφθειρο- 3 μένη βασιλικαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν δημαγωγῶν. ἐπεμπεν οὖν πρέσβεις ὁ Μάνιος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα τῶν νεωτεριζόντων Τίτος Φλαμινῖνος

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rather than from Cato's reputation. Cato, on the other hand, celebrated a triumph.¹ Most men who strive more for reputation than for virtue, when once they have attained the highest honours of consulship and triumphs, straightway adjust their future lives to the enjoyment of a pleasurable ease, and give up their public careers. But Cato did not thus remit and dismiss his virtue, nay, rather, like men first taking up the public service and all athirst for honour and reputation, he girt his loins anew, and held himself ever ready to serve his friends and fellow-citizens, either in the forum or in the field.

XII. And so it was that he assisted Tiberius Sempronius the consul in subduing the regions in Thrace and on the Danube, acting as his ambassador; and as legionary tribune under Manius Acilius, he marched into Greece against Antiochus the Great, who gave the Romans more to fear than any man after Hannibal. For he won back almost all of Seleucus Nicator's former dominions in Asia, reduced to subjection many warlike nations of Barbarians, and was eager to engage the Romans, whom he deemed the only worthy foemen left for him. So he crossed into Greece with an army, making the freeing of the Greeks a specious ground for war. This they did not need at all, since they had recently been made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians by grace of the Romans. Greece was at once a stormy sea of hopes and fears, being corrupted by her demagogues with expectations of royal bounty. Accordingly, Manius sent envoys to the several cities. Most of those which were unsettled in their allegiance Titus Flamininus restrained

¹ 194 B.C.

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ἔσχεν ἄνευ ταραχῆς καὶ κατεπράῦνεν, ώς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται, Κάτων δὲ Κορινθίους καὶ Πατρεῖς, ἔτι δ' Αἰγαίους παρεστήσατο.

4 Πλεῖστον δὲ χρόνου ἐν Ἀθήναις διέτριψε. καὶ λέγεται μέν τις αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι λόγος, ὃν Ἐλληνιστὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εἶπεν, ώς ζηλῶν τε τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηναίων τῆς τε πόλεως διὰ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἡδέως γεγονὼς θεατῆς· τὸ δ' οὐκ ἀληθές ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐρμηνέως ἐνέτυχε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, δυνηθεὶς ἀν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν, ἐμμένων δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις καὶ καταγελῶν τῶν τὰ Ἐλληνικὰ τεθαυμακότων. Ποστούμιον γοῦν Ἀλβίνον ἴστορίαν Ἐλληνιστὶ γράψαντα καὶ συγγνώμην αἴτούμενον ἐπέσκωψεν εἰπών, δοτέον εἶναι τὴν συγγνώμην, εἰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ψηφισα-
5 μένων ἀναγκασθεὶς ὑπέμεινε τὸ ἔργον. θαυμάσαι δέ φησι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ τάχος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὁξύτητα τῆς φράσεως· ἂν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐξέφερε βραχέως, τὸν ἐρμηνέα μακρῶς καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἀπαγγέλλειν· τὸ δ' ὅλον οἰεσθαι τὰ ρήματα τοῖς μὲν Ἐλλησιν ἀπὸ χειλέων, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ καρδίας φέρεσθαι.

XIII. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀντίοχος ἐμφράξας τὰ περὶ Θερμοπύλας στενὰ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοφυέσι τῶν τόπων ἐρύμασι προσβαλῶν χαρακώματα καὶ διατειχίσματα, καθῆστο τὸν πόλεμον ἐκκεκλεικέναι νομίζων, τὸ μὲν κατὰ στόμα Βιάζεσθαι παντάπασιν ἀπεγίνωσκον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν δὲ Περσικὴν ἐκείνην περιήλυσιν καὶ κύκλωσιν ὁ

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without ado, and quieted down, as I have written in his *Life*,¹ but Corinth, Patrae, and Aegium were brought over to Rome by Cato.

He also spent much time at Athens. And we are told that a certain speech of his is extant, which he addressed to the Athenian people in Greek, declaring that he admired the virtues of the ancient Athenians, and was glad to behold a city so beautiful and grand as theirs. But this is not true. On the contrary, he dealt with the Athenians through an interpreter. He could have spoken to them directly, but he always clung to his native ways, and mocked at those who were lost in admiration of anything that was Greek. For instance, he poked fun at Postumius Albinus, who wrote a history in Greek, and asked the indulgence of his readers. Cato said they might have shown him indulgence had he undertaken his task in consequence of a compulsory vote of the Amphicyonic Assembly. Moreover, he says the Athenians were astonished at the speed and pungency of his discourse. For what he himself set forth with brevity, the interpreter would repeat to them at great length and with many words; and on the whole he thought the words of the Greeks were born on their lips, but those of the Romans in their hearts.

XIII. Now Antiochus had blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylae with his army,² adding trenches and walls to the natural defences of the place, and sat there, thinking that he had locked the war out of Greece. And the Romans did indeed despair utterly of forcing a direct passage. But Cato, calling to mind the famous compass and circuit of the pass

¹ Chapters xv-xvii.

² 191 B.C.

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Κάτων εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος ἐξώδευσε νύκτωρ,
2 ἀναλαβὼν μέρος τι τῆς στρατιᾶς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν
προελθόντων ὁ καθοδηγῶν αἰχμάλωτος ἐξέπεσε
τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τόποις ἀπόροις καὶ
κρημνώδεσι δεινὴν ἀθυμίαν καὶ φόβον ἐνειργάσατο
τοῖς στρατιώταις, ὅρων ὁ Κάτων τὸν κίνδυνον
ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀτρεμεῖν καὶ περι-
3 μένειν, αὐτὸς δὲ Λεύκιόν τινα Μάλλιον, ἄνδρα
δεινὸν ὄρειβατεῖν, παραλαβὼν ἔχωρει πολυπόνως
καὶ παραβόλως ἐν ἀσελήνῳ νυκτὶ καὶ βαθείᾳ,
κοτίνοις¹ καὶ πάγοις ἀνατεταμένοις διασπάσματα
πολλὰ τῆς ὅψεως καὶ ἀσάφειαν ἔχοντος, ἔως
ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀτραπόν, ώς ὤντο, κάτω περαί-
νουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων ἔθεντο
σημεῖα πρός τινας εὐσκόπους κεραίας ὑπὲρ τὸ
4 Καλλίδρομον ἀνεχούσας. οὗτος δὲ πάλιν ἐπαν-
ελθόντες ὅπίσω τὴν στρατιὰν ἀνέλαβον, καὶ
πρός τὰ σημεῖα προάγοντες ἥψαντο μὲν ἐκείνης
τῆς ἀτραποῦ καὶ κατεστήσαντο τὴν πορείαν,
μικρὸν δὲ προελθούσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπέλιπε φάραγγος
ὑπολαμβανούσης. καὶ πάλιν ἦν ἀπορία καὶ δέος
οὐκ ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ συνορώντων ὅτι πλησίον
ἐτύγχανον τῶν πολεμίων γεγονότες. ἥδη δὲ διέ-
λαμπεν ἡμέρα, καὶ φθογγῆς τις ἔδοξεν ἐπακοῦσαι,
τάχα δὲ καὶ καθορᾶν Ἑλληνικὸν χάρακα καὶ
5 προφυλακὴν ὑπὸ τὸ κρημνώδει. οὗτως οὖν ἐπι-
στήσας ἐνταῦθα τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Κάτων ἐκέλευσεν
αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς Φιρμα-
νούς, οἷς ἀεὶ πιστοῖς ἐχρήτο καὶ προθύμοις.
συνδραμόντων δὲ καὶ περιστάντων αὐτὸν ἀθρόων

¹ κοτίνοις MSS.; κολωνοῖς (*hills*) Bekker, adopting the correction of Coraës.

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which the Persians had once made, took a considerable force and set out under cover of darkness. They climbed the heights, but their guide, who was a prisoner of war, lost the way, and wandered about in impracticable and precipitous places until he had filled the soldiers with dreadful dejection and fear. Cato, seeing their peril, bade the rest remain quietly where they were, while he himself, with a certain Lucius Manlius, an expert mountain-climber, made his way along, with great toil and hazard, in the dense darkness of a moonless night, his vision much impeded and obscured by wild olive trees and rocky peaks, until at last they came upon a path. This, they thought, led down to the enemy's camp. So they put marks and signs on some conspicuous cliffs which towered over Mount Callidromus, and then made their way back again to the main body. This too they conducted to the marks and signs, struck into the path indicated by these, and started forward. But when they had gone on a little way, the path failed them, and a ravine yawned to receive them. Once more dejection and fear were rife. They did not know and could not see that they were right upon the enemy whom they sought. But presently gleams of daylight came, here and there a man thought he heard voices, and soon they actually saw a Greek outpost entrenched at the foot of the cliffs. So then Cato halted his forces there, and summoned the men of Firmum to a private conference. These soldiers he had always found trusty and zealous in his service. When they had run up and stood grouped about him,

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εἰπεν· “Αυδρα χρήξω λαβεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ξῶντα καὶ πυθέσθαι, τίνες οἱ προφυλάττοντες οὗτοι, πόσον πλῆθος αὐτῶν, τίς ὁ τῶν ἄλλων διάκοσμος ἡ τάξις καὶ παρασκευὴ, μεθ' ἣς ὑπομένουσαν ἡμᾶς.

6 τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἄρπαγμα δεῖ τάχους γενέσθαι καὶ τόλμης, ἡ καὶ λέοντες ἄνοπλοι θαρροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰ δειλὰ τῶν θηρίων βαδίζουσι.” ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ Κάτωνος αὐτόθεν ὀρούσαντες, ὥσπερ εἶχον, οἱ Φιρμανοὶ κατὰ τῶν ὄρων ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὰς προφυλακάς· καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀπροσδόκητοι πάντας μὲν διετάραξαν καὶ διεσκέδασαν, ἕνα δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις 344

7 ἄρπάσαντες ἐνεχείρισαν τῷ Κάτωνι. παρὰ τούτου μαθών, ὡς ἡ μὲν ἄλλη δύναμις ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς κάθηται μετ' αὐτοῦ¹ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἱ δὲ φρουροῦντες οὗτοι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Αἰτωλῶν εἰσιν ἔξακόσιοι λογάδες, καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀλιγότητος ἄμα καὶ τῆς ὀλιγωρίας εὐθὺς ἐπῆργεν ἄμα σάλπιγξι καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ, πρώτος σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν. οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον ἀπὸ τῶν κρημνῶν ἐπιφερομένους, φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον κατεπίμπλασαν ταραχῆς ἄπαντας.²

XIV. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τοῦ Μανίου κάτωθεν πρὸς τὰ διατειχίσματα βιαζομένου καὶ τοῖς στενοῖς προσβάλλοντος ἀθρόαν τὴν δύναμιν, ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὸ στόμα λίθῳ πληγεὶς ἐκτιναχθέντων αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀδόντων ἀπέστρεψε τὸν ἵππον ὀπίσω, περιαλγής γενούμενος, τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ 2 μέρος οὐδὲν ὑπέμεινε τοὺς Ρωμαίους, ἀλλὰ καί περ ἀπόρους καὶ ἀμηχάνους τῆς φυγῆς ὄδοὺς καὶ πλάνας ἔχοντος, ἐλῶν βαθέων καὶ πετρῶν ἀπο-

¹ μετ' αὐτοῦ Blass with S : μετὰ. ² ἀπαντας Sintenis² with C ; Bekker reads ἀπαντα, with Sintenis¹ and Coraës.

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he said : " I must take one of the enemy's men alive, and learn from him who they are that form this advance guard, what their number is, and with what disposition and array their main body awaits us. But the task demands the swift and bold leap of lions fearlessly rushing all unarmed upon the timorous beasts on which they prey." So spake Cato, and the Firmians instantly started, just as they were, rushed down the mountain-side, and ran upon the enemy's sentinels. Falling upon them unexpectedly, they threw them all into confusion and scattered them in flight ; one of them they seized, arms and all, and delivered him over to Cato. From the captive Cato learned that the main force of the enemy was encamped in the pass with the king himself, and that the detachment guarding the pass over the mountains was composed of six hundred picked Aetolians. Despising their small numbers and their carelessness, he led his troops against them at once, with bray of trumpet and battle-cry, being himself first to draw his sword. But when the enemy saw his men pouring down upon them from the cliffs, they fled to the main army, and filled them all with confusion.

XIV. Meanwhile Manius also, down below, threw his whole force forward into the pass and stormed the enemy's fortifications. Antiochus, being hit in the mouth with a stone which knocked his teeth out, wheeled his horse about for very anguish. Then his army gave way everywhere before the Roman onset. Although flight for them meant impracticable roads and helpless wanderings, while deep marshes and steep cliffs threatened those who

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τόμων τὰ πτώματα καὶ τὰς ὄλισθήσεις ὑποδεχομένων, εἰς ταῦτα διὰ τῶν στενῶν ὑπερχεόμενοι καὶ συνωθοῦντες ἀλλήλους φόβῳ πληγῆς καὶ σιδήρου πολεμίων αὐτοὺς διέφθειρον.

‘Ο δὲ Κάτων ἀεὶ μέν τις ἦν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκωμίων ἀφειδῆς καὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς μεγαλαυχίαν ὡς ἐπακολούθημα τῆς μεγαλουργίας οὐκ ἔφευγε, πλεῖστον δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι ταύταις ὅγκον

3 περιτέθεικε, καὶ φῆσι τοῖς ἰδούσιν αὐτὸν τότε διώκοντα καὶ παίοντα τοὺς πολεμίους παραστῆναι μηδὲν ὁφεῖλειν Κάτωνα τῷ δῆμῳ τοσούτον, ὃσον Κάτωνι τὸν δῆμον, αὐτόν τε Μάνιον τὸν ὑπατον θερμὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔτι θερμῷ περιπλακέντα πολὺν χρόνον ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ βοᾶν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς, ὡς οὕτ' ἀν αὐτὸς οὕθ' ὁ σύμπας δῆμος ἔξιστος τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ταῖς Κά-

4 τωνος εὐεργεσίαις. μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς εἰς ‘Ρώμην ἐπέμπετο τῶν ἡγωνισμένων αὐτάγγελος· καὶ διέπλευσε μὲν εἰς Βρευτέσιον εύτυχῶς, μιᾳ δ' ἡμέρᾳ διελάσας ἐκεῖθεν εἰς Τάραντα καὶ τέσσαρας ἄλλας ὁδεύσας πεμπταῖος εἰς ‘Ρώμην ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀφίκετο καὶ πρῶτος ἀπίγγειλε τὴν νίκην. καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐνέπλησεν εὐφροσύνης καὶ θυσιῶν, φρονήματος δὲ τὸν δῆμον ὡς πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης κρατεῖν δυνάμενον.

XV. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολεμικῶν πράξεων τοῦ Κάτωνος αὗται σχεδόν εἰσιν ἐλλογιμώταται· τῆς δὲ πολιτείας φαίνεται τὸ περὶ τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ τοὺς ἐλέγχους τῶν πονηρῶν μόριον οὐ μικρᾶς ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἡγησάμενος. αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐδίωξε πολλοὺς καὶ διώκουσιν ἐτέροις συνηγωνίσατο καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ὅλως διώκοντας,

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slipped and fell, still, they poured along through the pass into these, crowding one another on in their fear of the enemy's deadly weapons, and so destroyed themselves.

Cato, who was ever rather generous, it would seem, in his own praises, and did not hesitate to follow up his great achievements with boastings equally great, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says that those who saw him at that time pursuing the enemy and hewing them down, felt convinced that Cato owed less to Rome than Rome to Cato; also that the consul Manius himself, flushed with victory, threw his arms about him, still flushed with his own victory, and embraced him a long time, crying out for joy that neither he himself nor the whole Roman people could fittingly requite Cato for his benefactions. Immediately after the battle he was sent to Rome as the messenger of his own triumphs. He had a fair passage to Brundisium, crossed the peninsula from there to Tarentum in a single day, travelled thence four days more, and on the fifth day after landing reached Rome, where he was the first to announce the victory. He filled the city full of joy and sacrifices, and the people with the proud feeling that it was able to master every land and sea.

XV. These are perhaps the most remarkable features of Cato's military career. In political life, he seems to have regarded the impeachment and conviction of malefactors as a department worthy of his most zealous efforts. For he brought many prosecutions himself, assisted others in bringing theirs, and even instigated some to begin prosecutions, as

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2 ώς ἐπὶ Σκηπίωνα τοὺς περὶ Πετίλιον. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπ' οἴκου τε μεγάλου καὶ φρονήματος ἀληθινοῦ ποιησάμενον ὑπὸ πόδας τὰς διαβολὰς μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι δυνηθεὶς ἀφῆκε· Λεύκιον δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν κατηγόρων συστὰς καταδίκη περιέβαλε χρημάτων πολλῶν, πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον, ἦν οὐκ ἔχων ἐκεῖνος ἀπολύσασθαι καὶ κινδυνεύων δεθῆναι μόλις ἐπικλήσει τῶν δημάρχων ἀφείθη.

3 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ νεανίσκῳ τινὶ τεθνηκότος πατρὸς ἔχθρὸν ἡτιμωκότι καὶ πορευομένῳ δι' ἀγορᾶς μετὰ τὴν δίκην ἀπαντήσας ὁ Κάτων δεξιώσασθαι καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ταῦτα χρὴ τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἐναγίζειν, οὐκ ἄρνας οὐδὲ ἐρίφους, ἀλλ' ἔχθρῶν δάκρυα καὶ καταδίκας. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ περιῆν ἀθῷος, ἀλλ' ὅπου τινὰ λαβὴν παράσχοι τοῖς ἔχθροις, κρινόμενος καὶ 4 κινδυνεύων διετέλει. λέγεται γὰρ ὀλίγον ἀπολιπούσας τῶν πεντήκοντα φυγεῖν δίκας, μίαν δὲ τὴν τελευταίαν¹ ἔξ ἔτη καὶ ὄγδοήκοντα γεγονώς· ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ μνημονεύμενον εἶπεν, ώς χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἐν ἄλλοις βεβιωκότα ἀνθρώποις ἐν ἄλλοις 345 ἀπολογεῖσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο πέρας οὐκ ἐποιήσατο τῶν ἀγώνων, τεσσάρων δ' ἄλλων ἐνιαυτῶν διελθόντων Σερουίου Γάλβα κατηγόρησεν ἐνενήκοντα 5 γεγονώς ἔτη. κινδυνεύει γὰρ ώς ὁ Νέστωρ εἰς

¹ τὴν τελευταίαν Hercher and Blass with F^aS : τελευταίαν.

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for instance Petilius against Scipio. That great man, however, trampled the accusations against him under foot, as the splendour of his house and his own inherent loftiness of spirit prompted him to do, and Cato, unable to secure his capital conviction, dropped the case. But he so co-operated with the accusers of Lucius, Scipio's brother, as to have him condemned to pay a large fine to the state. This debt Lucius was unable to meet, and was therefore liable to imprisonment. Indeed, it was only at the intercession of the tribunes that he was at last set free.

We are also told that a certain young man, who had got a verdict of civil outlawry against an enemy of his dead father, was passing through the forum on the conclusion of the case, and met Cato, who greeted him and said: "These are the sacrifices we must bring to the spirits of our parents; not lambs and kids, but the condemnations and tears of their enemies." However, he himself did not go unscathed, but wherever in his political career he gave his enemies the slightest handle, he was all the while suffering prosecutions and running risk of condemnation. It is said that he was defendant in nearly fifty cases, and in the last one when he was eighty-six years of age. It was in the course of this that he uttered the memorable saying: "It is hard for one who has lived among men of one generation, to make his defence before those of another." And even with this case he did not put an end to his forensic contests, but four years later, at the age of ninety, he impeached Servius Galba. Indeed, he may be said, like Nestor,

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τριγονίαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τὰς πράξεις κατελθεῖν. Σκηπίων γάρ, ώς λέλεκται, τῷ μεγάλῳ πολλὰ διερισάμενος ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ διέτεινεν εἰς Σκηπίωνα τὸν νέον, ὃς ἦν ἐκείνου κατὰ ποίησιν νίωνός, νίδιος δὲ Παύλου τοῦ Περσέα καὶ Μακεδόνας καταπολεμήσαντος.

XVI. Τῆς δύνατείας κατόπιν ἔτεσι δέκα τιμητείαν ὁ Κάτων παρήγγειλε. κορυφὴ δέ τίς ἐστι τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπιτελείωσις, ἄλλην τε πολλὴν ἔξουσίαν ἔχουσα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ ἥθη καὶ τοὺς βίους ἐξέτασιν. οὔτε γὰρ γάμον οὔτε παιδοποίαν τινὸς οὔτε δίαιταν οὔτε συμπόσιον φόντο δεῖν ἀκριτον καὶ ἀνεξέταστον, ώς ἔκαστος ἐπιθυμίας 2 ἔχοι καὶ προαιρέσεως, ἀφεῖσθαι. πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις νομίζοντες ἡ τὰς ὑπαίθρους καὶ πολιτικαῖς πράξεις τρόπον ἀνδρὸς ἐνορᾶσθαι, φύλακα καὶ σωφρονιστὴν καὶ κολαστὴν τοῦ μηδένα καθ' ἥδονὰς ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ παρεκβαίνειν τὸν ἐπιχώριον καὶ συνήθη βίον ἡροῦντο τῶν καλουμένων πατρικίων ἔνα καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν ἔνα. τιμητὰς δὲ τούτους προστηγόρευον, ἔξουσίαν ἔχοντας ἀφελέσθαι μὲν ἵππον, ἐκβαλεῖν δὲ συγκλήτου τὸν 3 ἀκολάστως βιοῦντα καὶ ἀτάκτως. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τὰ τιμήματα τῶν οὐσιῶν λαμβάνοντες ἐπεσκόπουν, καὶ τὰς ἀπογραφαῖς τὰ γένη καὶ τὰς πολιτείας διέκρινον· ἄλλας τε μεγάλας ἔχει δυνάμεις ἡ ἀρχὴ.

Διὸ καὶ τῷ Κάτωνι πρὸς τὴν παραγγελίαν

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to have been vigorous and active among three generations. For after many political struggles with Scipio the Great, as told above, he lived to be contemporary with Scipio the Younger, who was the Elder's grandson by adoption, and the son of that Paulus Aemilius who subdued Perseus and the Macedonians.¹

XVI. Ten years after his consulship,² Cato stood for the censorship. This office towered, as it were, above every other civic honour, and was, in a way, the culmination of a political career. The variety of its powers was great, including that of examining into the lives and manners of the citizens. Its creators thought that no one should be left to his own devices and desires, without inspection and review, either in his marrying, or in the begetting of his children, or in the ordering of his daily life, or in the entertainment of his friends. Nay, rather, thinking that these things revealed a man's real character more than did his public and political career, they set men in office to watch, admonish, and chastise, that no one should turn aside to wantonness and forsake his native and customary mode of life. They chose to this office one of the so-called patricians, and one of the plebeians. These officers were called censors, and they had authority to degrade a knight, or to expel a senator who led an unbridled and disorderly life. They also revised the assessments of property, and arranged the citizens in lists according to their social and political classes. There were other great powers also connected with the office.

Therefore, when Cato stood for it, nearly all

¹ In the battle of Pydna, 168 B.C. ² 184 B.C.

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ἀπήντησαν ἐνιστάμενοι σχεδὸν οἱ γνωριμώτατοι καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὐπατρίδας ὁ φθόνος ἐλύπει, παντάπασιν οἰομένους προπηλακίζεσθαι τὴν εὐγένειαν ἀνθρώπων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀδόξων εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τιμὴν καὶ δύνα-
4 μιν ἀναβιβαζομένων, οἱ δὲ μοχθηρὰ συνειδότες αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τῶν πατρίων ἐκδιαίτησιν ἔθων ἐφοβοῦντο τὴν αὐστηρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀπαραίτητον ἐν ἔξουσίᾳ καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐσομένην. διὸ συμφρονήσαντες καὶ παρασκευάσαντες ἑπτὰ κατῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἀντιπάλους τῷ Κάτωνι, θεραπεύοντας ἐλπίσι χρησταῖς τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς δὴ μαλακῶς καὶ πρὸς ἡδουὴν ἄρχεσθαι
5 δεόμενον. τούναντίον δ' ὁ Κάτων οὐδεμίαν ἐνδιδοὺς ἐπιείκειαν, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἀπειλῶν τε τοῖς πονηροῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καὶ κεκραγὼς μεγάλου καθαρμοῦ χρήζειν τὴν πόλιν, ἡξίου τοὺς πολλούς, εἰς σωφρονοῦσι, μὴ τὸν ἥδιστον, ἀλλὰ τὸν σφοδρότατον αἴρεισθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν· τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν πατρικίων ἕνα Φλάκκον Οὐαλλέριον· μετ' ἐκείνου γὰρ οἰεσθαι μόνου τὴν τρυφὴν καὶ τὴν μαλακίαν ὥσπερ ὅδραν τέμνων καὶ ἀποκαίων προῦργου τι ποιήσειν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὄραν ἔκαστον ἄρξαι κακῶς βιαζόμενον, δτὶ τοὺς καλῶς
6 ἄρξοντας δέδοικεν. οὕτω δ' ἄρα μέγας ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλων ἄξιος δημαγωγῶν ὁ Ἐρωμαίων δῆμος, ὥστε μὴ φοβηθῆναι τὴν ἀνάτασιν καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἡδεῖς ἐκείνους καὶ πρὸς

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the best known and most influential men of the senatorial party united to oppose him. The men of noble parentage among them were moved by jealousy, thinking that nobility of birth would be trampled in the mire if men of ignoble origin forced their way up to the summits of honour and power; while those who were conscious of base practices and of a departure from ancestral customs, feared the severity of the man, which was sure to be harsh and inexorable in the exercise of power. Therefore, after due consultation and preparation, they put up in opposition to Cato seven candidates for the office, who sought the favour of the multitude with promises of mild conduct in office, supposing, forsooth, that it wanted to be ruled with a lax and indulgent hand. Cato, on the contrary, showed no complaisance whatever, but plainly threatened wrong-doers in his speeches, and loudly cried that the city had need of a great purification. He adjured the people, if they were wise, not to choose the most agreeable physician, but the one who was most in earnest. He himself, he said, was such a physician, and so was Valerius Flaccus, of the patricians. With him as colleague, and him alone, he thought he could cut and sear to some purpose the hydra-like luxury and effeminacy of the time. As for the rest of the candidates, he saw that they were all trying to force their way into the office in order to administer it badly, since they feared those who would administer it well. And so truly great was the Roman people, and so worthy of great leaders, that they did not fear Cato's rigour and haughty independence, but rejected rather those agreeable candidates who,

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χάριν ἄπαντα ποιήσειν δοκοῦντας ἀπορρίψας
έλέσθαι μετὰ τοῦ Κάτωνος τὸν Φλάκκον, ὡσπερ
οὐκ αἰτοῦντος ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἥδη καὶ
προστάττοντος ἀκροώμενος.

XVII. Προέγραψε μὲν οὖν ὁ Κάτων τῆς συγ-
κλήτου τὸν συνάρχοντα καὶ φίλον Λεύκιον
Οὐαλλέριον Φλάκκον, ἔξέβαλε δὲ τῆς βουλῆς
ἄλλους τε συχνοὺς καὶ Λεύκιον Κοίντιον, ὑπατον
μὲν ἐπτὰ πρότερον ἐνιαυτοῖς γεγενημένον, δ' ἦν
αὐτῷ πρὸς δόξαν ὑπατείας μεῖζον, ἀδελφὸν Τίτου
Φλαμινίνου τοῦ καταπολεμήσαντος Φίλιππον.

2 αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ἔσχε τοιαύτην. μειράκιον 346
ἐκ τῆς παιδικῆς ὥρας ἐταιροῦν ἀνειληφὼς ὁ Λεύ-
κιος ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχε καὶ συνεπήγετο στρατη-
γῶν ἐπὶ τιμῆς καὶ δυνάμεως τοσαύτης, ὅσην οὐδεὶς
εἶχε τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτῷ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων.
ἔτυγχανε μὲν οὖν ἡγούμενος ὑπατικῆς ἐπαρχίας·
ἐν δὲ συμποσίῳ· τινὶ τὸ μειράκιον, ὡσπερ εἰώθει,
συγκατακείμενον ἄλλην τε κολακείαν ἐκίνει πρὸς
ἄνθρωπον¹ ἐν οἷνῳ ῥᾳδίως ἀγόμενον, καὶ φιλεῖν
αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔλεγεν “ὦστ,” ἔφη, “θέας οὕσης
οἴκοι μονομάχων οὐ τεθεαμένος πρότερον ἔξώρ-
μησα πρὸς σέ, καίπερ ἐπιθυμῶν ἵδεῖν ἄνθρωπον
3 σφαττόμενον.” ὁ δὲ Λεύκιος ἀντιφιλοφρονού-
μενος “Ἄλλὰ τούτου γε χάριν,” εἶπε, “μή μοι
κατάκεισο λυπούμενος, ἐγὼ γὰρ ίάσομαι.” καὶ
κελεύσας ἔνα τῶν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ κατακρίτων εἰς τὸ
συμπόσιον ἀχθῆναι καὶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἔχοντα

¹ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον Blass with FaSC: πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

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it was believed, would do every thing to please them, and elected Flaccus to the office along with Cato.¹ To Cato they gave ear, not as to one soliciting office, but as to one already in office and issuing his decrees.

XVII. As censor, then, Cato made Lucius Valerius Flaccus, his colleague and friend, chief senator. He also expelled many members of the Senate, including Lucius Quintius. This man had been consul seven years before, and, a thing which gave him more reputation than the consulship even, was brother of the Titus Flamininus who conquered King Philip.² The reason for his expulsion was the following: There was a youth who, ever since his boyhood, had been the favourite of Lucius. This youth Lucius kept ever about him, and took with him on his campaigns in greater honour and power than any one of his nearest friends and kinsmen had. He was once administering the affairs of his consular province, and at a certain banquet this youth, as was his wont, reclined at his side, and began to pay his flatteries to a man who, in his cups, was too easily led about. "I love you so much," he said, "that once, when there was a gladiatorial show at home, a thing which I had never seen, I rushed away from it to join you, although my heart was set on seeing a man slaughtered." "Well, for that matter," said Lucius, "don't lie there with any grudge against me, for I will cure it." Thereupon he commanded that one of the men who were lying under sentence of death be brought to the banquet, and that a lictor with an axe stand by his side. Then he

¹ 184 B.C.

² At Cynoscephalae, 198 B.C.

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πέλεκυν παραστῆναι, πάλιν ἡρώτησε τὸν ἐρώμενον, εἰ βούλεται τυπτόμενον θεάσασθαι. φήσαντος δὲ βούλεσθαι, προσέταξεν ἀποκόψαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸν τράχηλον.

- 4 Οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι ταῦτα ἴστοροῦσι, καὶ ὃ γε Κικέρων αὐτὸν τὸν Κάτωνα διηγούμενον ἐν τῷ περὶ γήρως διαλόγῳ πεποίηκεν· ὁ δὲ Λίβιος αὐτόμολον εἶναι φησι Γαλάτην τὸν ἀναιρεθέντα, τὸν δὲ Λευκίον οὐ δι' ὑπηρέτου κτεῖναι τὸν ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἵδιᾳ χειρί, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν λόγῳ¹ γεγράφθαι Κάτωνος.
- 5 Ἐκβληθέντος οὖν τοῦ Λευκίου τῆς βουλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κάτωνος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ βαρέως φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον κατέφυγε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκέλευεν εἰπέν τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς ἐκβολῆς. εἰπόντος δὲ καὶ διηγησαμένου τὸ συμπόσιον ἐπεχείρει μὲν ὁ Λευκίος ἀρνεῖσθαι, προκαλουμένου δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος εἰς ὄρισμὸν ἀνεδύετο. καὶ τότε μὲν ἄξια παθεῖν κατεγγώσθη· θέας δ' οὔσης ἐν θεάτρῳ τὴν ὑπατικὴν χώραν παρελθὼν καὶ πορρωτάτῳ που καθεσθεὶς οἴκτον ἔσχε παρὰ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ βοῶντες ἡνάγκασαν αὐτὸν μετελθεῖν, ὡς ἦν δυνατὸν ἐπανορθούμενοι καὶ θεραπεύοντες τὸ γεγενημένον.
- 6 7 Ἀλλον δὲ βουλῆς ἔξέβαλεν ὑπατεύσειν ἐπίδοξον ὅντα, Μανίλλιον, ὅτι τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα μεθ' ἡμέραν ὄρώσης τῆς θυγατρὸς κατεφίλησεν. αὐτῷ δὲ ἔφη τὴν γυναῖκα μηδέποτε πλὴν βροντῆς μεγάλης γενομένης περιπλακῆναι, καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς μακάριος ἐστι τοῦ Διὸς βροντῶντος.

¹ ἐν λόγῳ Hercher and Blass with F^aSC: ἐν τῷ λόγῳ.

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asked his beloved if he wished to see the man smitten. The youth said he did, and Lucius ordered the man's head to be cut off.

This is the version which most writers give of the affair, and so Cicero has represented Cato himself as telling the story in his dialogue "On Old Age."¹ But Livy² says the victim was a Gallic deserter, and that Lucius did not have the man slain by a lictor, but smote him with his own hand, and that this is the version of the story in a speech of Cato's.

On the expulsion of Lucius from the Senate by Cato, his brother was greatly indignant, and appealed to the people, urging that Cato state his reasons for the expulsion. Cato did so, narrating the incident of the banquet. Lucius attempted to make denial, but when Cato challenged him to a formal trial of the case with a wager of money upon it, he declined. Then the justice of his punishment was recognized. But once when a spectacle was given in the theatre, he passed along by the senatorial seats, and took his place as far away from them as he could. Then the people took pity upon him and shouted till they had forced him to change his seat, thus rectifying, as far as was possible, and alleviating the situation.

Cato expelled another senator who was thought to have good prospects for the consulship, namely, Manilius, because he embraced his wife in open day before the eyes of his daughter. For his own part, he said, he never embraced his wife unless it thundered loudly; and it was a pleasantry of his to remark that he was a happy man when it thundered.

¹ *Cato Maior*, 12, 42.

² xxxix, 42.

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XVIII. Ἡνεγκε δέ τινα τῷ Κάτωνι καὶ
Λεύκιος ὁ Σκηπίωνος ἀδελφὸς ἐπίφθονον αἰτίαν,
θριαμβικὸς ἀνὴρ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον
ἔδοξε γὰρ οἷον ἐφυβρίζων Ἀφρικανῷ Σκηπίωνι
τεθνηκότι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους
ἡνίασε μάλιστα τῇ περικοπῇ τῆς πολυτελείας,
ἥν ἄντικρυς μὲν ἀφελέσθαι, νευοσηκότων ἥδη
καὶ διεφθαρμένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀδύ-
2 νατον ἥν, κύκλῳ δὲ περιϊών ἡνάγκαξεν ἐσθῆτος,
δόχήματος, κόσμου γυναικείου, σκευῶν τῶν πεφί-
διαιταν, ὃν ἔκάστου τὸ τίμημα δραχμὰς χιλίας
καὶ πεντακοσίας ὑπερέβαλλεν, ἀποτιμᾶσθαι τὴν
ἀξίαν εἰς τὸ δεκαπλάσιον, βουλόμενος ἀπὸ μει-
ζόνων τιμημάτων αὐτοῖς μείζονας καὶ τὰς εἰσφο-
ρὰς εἶναι. καὶ προσετίμησε τρεῖς χαλκοῦς πρὸς
τοὺς χιλίους, ὅπως βαρυνόμενοι ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς
καὶ τοὺς εὐσταλεῖς καὶ λιτοὺς ὄρῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν
ἴσων ἐλάττονα τελοῦντας εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπα-
3 γορεύωσιν. ἥσαν οὖν αὐτῷ χαλεποὶ μὲν οἱ τὰς
εἰσφορὰς διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ὑπομένοντες, χαλεποὶ
δὲ αὖ πάλιν οἱ τὴν τρυφὴν ἀποτιθέμενοι διὰ
τὰς εἰσφοράς. πλούτου γὰρ ἀφαιρεσιν οἱ πολλοὶ
νομίζουσι τὴν κώλυσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπιδείξεως,
ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δὲ τοῖς περιττοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ἀναγ-
καίοις. δὲ δὴ καὶ μάλιστά φασι τὸν φιλόσοφον
Ἀρίστωνα θαυμάζειν, ὅτι τοὺς τὰ περιττὰ κε-
κτημένους μᾶλλον ἥγοῦνται μακαρίους ἢ τοὺς
4 τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ χρησίμων εὐποροῦντας. Σκό-
πας δὲ ὁ Θετταλὸς αἰτουμένου τινὸς τῶν φίλων

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XVIII. Cato was rather bitterly censured for his treatment of Lucius, the brother of Scipio, whom, though he had achieved the honour of a triumph, he expelled from the equestrian order. He was thought to have done this as an insult to the memory of Scipio Africanus. But he was most obnoxious to the majority of his enemies because he lopped off extravagance in living. This could not be done away with outright, since most of the people were already infected and corrupted by it, and so he took a roundabout way. He had all apparel, equipages, jewellery, furniture and plate, the value of which in any case exceeded fifteen hundred drachmas, assessed at ten times its worth, wishing by means of larger assessments to make the owners' taxes also larger. Then he laid a tax of three on every thousand asses thus assessed, in order that such property holders, burdened by their charges, and seeing that people of equal wealth who led modest and simple lives paid less into the public treasury, might desist from their extravagance. As a result, both classes were incensed against him, both those who endured the taxes for the sake of their luxury, and those no less who put away their luxury because of the taxes. For most men think themselves robbed of their wealth if they are prevented from displaying it, and that display of it is made in the superfluities, not in the necessaries of life. This, we are told, is what most astonished Ariston the philosopher, namely, that those possessed of the superfluities of life should be counted happy, rather than those well provided with life's necessary and useful things. Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked for something of his which

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παρ' αὐτοῦ τι τοιοῦτον, ὃ μὴ σφόδρα ἦν χρήσιμον 347
έκείνῳ, καὶ λέγοντος, ώς οὐδὲν αἴτει τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων καὶ χρησίμων “Καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ τούτοις,”
εἶπεν, “εὔδαιμων καὶ πλούσιός εἰμι, τοῖς ἀχρή-
στοις καὶ περιττοῖς.” οὕτως ὁ τοῦ πλούτου
ζῆλος οὐδενὶ πάθει φυσικῷ συνημμένος ἐκ τῆς
οὐλώδους καὶ θυραίου δόξης ἐπεισόδιός ἐστιν.

- XIX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐγκαλούντων ἐλάχιστα
φροντίζων ὁ Κάτων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινεν, ἀπο-
κόπτων μὲν ὄχετούς, οἷς τὸ παραρρέον δημόσιον
ὑδωρ ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπῆγον εἰς οἰκίας ἴδιας
καὶ κήπους, ἀνατρέπων δὲ καὶ καταβάλλων
ὅσα προύβαινεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον οἰκοδομήματα,
συστέλλων δὲ τοῖς μισθοῖς τὰς ἐργολαβίας, τὰ
δὲ τέλη ταῖς πράσεσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐλαύνων
- 2 τιμάς. ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῷ πολὺ συνήχθη μῖσος. οἱ
δὲ περὶ τὸν Τίτον συστάντες ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐν τε
τῇ βουλῇ τὰς γεγενημένας ἐκδόσεις καὶ μισθώσεις
τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ δημοσίων ἔργων ἔλυσαν ώς γε-
γενημένας ἀλυσιτελῶς, καὶ τῶν δημάρχων τοὺς
θρασυτάτους παρώξυναν ἐν δήμῳ προσκαλέ-
σασθαι τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ ζημιῶσαι δυσὶ ταλάν-
τοις. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῆς βασιλικῆς
κατασκευὴν ἡναυτιώθησαν, ἥν ἐκεῖνος ἐκ χρημά-
των κοινῶν ὑπὸ τὸ βουλευτήριον τῇ ἀγορᾷ
παρέβαλε καὶ Πορκία βασιλικὴ προσηγορεύθη.¹
- 3 Φαίνεται δὲ θαυμαστῶς ἀποδεξάμενος αὐτοῦ
τὴν τιμητείαν ὁ δῆμος. ἀνδριάντα γοῦν ἀναθεὶς
ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Τγιείας ἐπέγραψεν οὐ τὰς

¹ Πορκία βασιλικὴ προσηγορεύθη Sintenis with the better MSS., and now S. Cf. Livy 39, 44. Πορκίαν βασιλικὴν προσηγόρευσεν Bekker (and called).

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was of no great service to him, with the remark that he asked for nothing that was necessary and useful, replied : " And yet my wealth and happiness are based on just such useless and superfluous things." Thus the desire for wealth is no natural adjunct of the soul, but is imposed upon it by the false opinions of the outside world.

XIX. However, Cato paid not the slightest heed to his accusers, but grew still more strict. He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed part of the public water supply into their private houses and gardens ; he upset and demolished all buildings that enroached on public land ; he reduced the cost of public works to the lowest, and forced the rent of public lands to the highest possible figure. All these thing brought much odium upon him. Titus Flamininus headed a party against him which induced the Senate to annul as useless the outlays and payments which he had authorised for temples and public works, and incited the boldest of the tribunes to call him to account before the people and fine him two talents. The Senate also strongly opposed the erection of the basilica which he built at the public cost below the council-house in the Forum, and which was called the Basilica Porcia.

Still, it appears that the people approved of his censorship to an amazing extent. At any rate, after erecting a statue to his honour in the temple of Health, they commemorated in the inscription

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στρατηγίας οὐδὲ τὸν θρίαμβον τοῦ Κάτωνος, ἀλλ', ώς ἂν τις μεταφράσειε τὴν ἐπιγραφήν, “Οτι τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν ἐγκεκλιμένην καὶ ῥέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τιμητῆς γενόμενος χρησταῖς ἀγωγαῖς καὶ σώφροσιν ἐθισμοῖς καὶ διδασκαλίαις εἰς ὄρθὸν αὖθις ἀποκατέστησε.”

- 4 *καίτοι πρότερον αὐτὸς κατεγέλα τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὰ τοιαύτα, καὶ λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ χαλκέων καὶ ζωγράφων ἔργοις μέγα φρονοῦντας, αὐτοῦ δὲ καλλίστας εἴκονας ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς περιφέρειν τοὺς πολίτας· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας, ὅτι πολλῶν ἀδόξων ἀνδριάντας ἔχοντων ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἔχει “Μᾶλλον γάρ,” ἔφη, “Βούλομαι ξητεῖσθαι, διὰ τί μου ἀνδρίας οὐ κεῖται ἢ διὰ τί κεῖται” τὸ δ' ὅλον οὐδὲ ἐπαινούμενον ἡξίου τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην ὑπομένεεν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο χρησίμως γίνοιτο τῷ κοινῷ.*

- 5 *Καίτοι¹ πλείστα πάντων ἔαυτὸν ἐγκεκωμίακεν, ὃς γε καὶ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντάς τι περὶ τὸν βίον, εἰτ' ἐλεγχομένους λέγειν φησίν, ώς οὐκ ἄξιον ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ Κάτωνές εἰσι· καὶ τοὺς ἔνια μιμεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένων οὐκ ἐμμελῶς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἐπαριστέρους καλεῖσθαι*
- 6 *Κάτωνας· ἀφορᾶν δὲ τὴν βουλὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἐπισφαλεστάτοις καιροῖς ὥσπερ ἐν πλῷ πρὸς κυβερνήτην, καὶ πολλάκις μὴ παρόντος ὑπερτίθεσθαι τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς. ἀ δὴ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτῷ μαρτυρεῖται· μέγα γὰρ ἔσχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ εἰὰ τὸν βίον καὶ διὰ τὸν λόγον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀξίωμα.*

XX. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ πατὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ περὶ

¹ *καίτοι* conjecture of Bläss: καὶ,

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upon it, not the military commands nor the triumph of Cato, but, as the inscription may be translated, the fact "that when the Roman state was tottering to its fall, he was made censor, and by helpful guidance, wise restraints, and sound teachings, restored it again." And yet, before this time he used to laugh at those who delighted in such honours, saying that, although they knew it not, their pride was based simply on the work of statuaries and painters, whereas his own images, of the most exquisite workmanship, were borne about in the hearts of his fellow citizens. And to those who expressed their amazement that many men of no fame had statues, while he had none, he used to say : "I would much rather have men ask why I have no statue, than why I have one." In short, he thought a good citizen should not even allow himself to be praised, unless such praise was beneficial to the commonwealth.

And yet of all men he has heaped most praises upon himself. He tells us that men of self-indulgent lives, when rebuked for it, used to say : "We ought not to be blamed ; we are no Catos." Also that those who imitated some of his practices and did it clumsily, were called "left-handed Catos." Also that the Senate looked to him in the most dangerous crises as seafarers to their helmsman, and often, if he was not present, postponed its most serious business. These boasts of his are confirmed, it is true, by other witnesses, for he had great authority in the city, alike for his life, his eloquence, and his age.

XX. He was also a good father, a considerate

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γυναικα χρηστὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ χρηματιστὴς οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος οὐδὲ ὡς τι μικρὸν ἡ φαῦλον ἐν παρέργῳ μεταχειρισάμενος τὴν τοιαύτην ἐπιμέλειαν. ὅθεν οἰομαι δεῖν καὶ περὶ τούτων ὅσα καλῶς ἔχει διελθεῖν· γυναικα μὲν εὐγενεστέραν ἡ πλουσιωτέραν ἔγημεν, ἡγούμενος ὁμοίως μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἔχειν βάρος καὶ φρόνημα, τὰς δὲ γειναίας αἰδουμένας τὰ αἰσχρὰ μᾶλλον ὑπηκόους 2 εἶναι πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τοῖς γεγαμηκόσι. τὸν δὲ τύπτοντα γαμετὴν ἡ παῖδα τοῖς ἀγιωτάτοις ἔλεγεν Ἱεροῖς προσφέρειν τὰς χεῖρας. ἐν ἐπαίνῳ δὲ μείζονι τίθεσθαι τὸ γαμέτην ἀγαθὸν ἡ τὸ μέγαν εἶναι συγκλητικόν· ἐπεὶ καὶ Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἄλλο θαυμάζειν τοῦ παλαιοῦ πλὴν ὅτι γυναικὶ χαλεπῆ καὶ παισὶν ἀποπλήκτοις χρώμενος ἐπιεικῶς καὶ πράως διετέλεσε. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐδὲν ἦν ἔργον οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ μή τι δημόσιον, ὡς μὴ παρεῖναι τῇ γυναικὶ λουούσῃ τὸ 348

3 βρέφος καὶ σπαργανούσῃ. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἔτρεφεν ἴδιω γάλακτι· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων παιδάρια τῷ μαστῷ προσιεμένη κατεσκεύαζεν εὔνοιαν ἐκ τῆς συντροφίας πρὸς τὸν νίόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἥρξατο συνιέναι, παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκε γράμματα, καίτοι χαρίεντα δούλον εἶχε γραμματιστὴν ὄνομα Χιλωνα, πολλοὺς διδάσκοντα

4 παῖδας. οὐκ ἡξίου δὲ τὸν νίόν, ὡς φησιν αὐτός, ὑπὸ δούλου κακῶς ἀκούειν ἡ τοῦ ὡτὸς ἀνατείνεσθαι μανθάνοντα βράδιον, οὐδέ γε μαθήματος τηλικούτουν τῷ δούλῳ χάριν ὀφείλειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἦν γραμματιστής, αὐτὸς δὲ νομοδι-

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husband, and a household manager of no mean talent, nor did he give only a fitful attention to this, as a matter of little or no importance. Therefore I think I ought to give suitable instances of his conduct in these relations. He married a wife who was of gentler birth than she was rich, thinking that, although the rich and the high-born may be alike given to pride, still, women of high birth have such a horror of what is disgraceful that they are more obedient to their husbands in all that is honourable. He used to say that the man who struck his wife or child, laid violent hands on the holiest of holy things. Also that he thought it more praiseworthy to be a good husband than a great senator, nay, there was nothing else to admire in Socrates of old except that he was always kind and gentle in his intercourse with a shrewish wife and stupid sons. After the birth of his son, no business could be so urgent, unless it had a public character, as to prevent him from being present when his wife bathed and swaddled the babe. For the mother nursed it herself, and often gave suck also to the infants of her slaves, that so they might come to cherish a brotherly affection for her son. As soon as the boy showed signs of understanding, his father took him under his own charge and taught him to read, although he had an accomplished slave, Chilo by name, who was a school-teacher, and taught many boys. Still, Cato thought it not right, as he tells us himself, that his son should be scolded by a slave, or have his ears tweaked when he was slow to learn, still less that he should be indebted to his slave for such a priceless thing as education. He was therefore

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δάκτης, αὐτὸς δὲ γυμναστής, οὐ μόνον ἀκοντίζειν
οὐδ' ὀπλομαχεῖν οὐδ' ἵππεύειν διδάσκων τὸν νιόν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ πὺξ παίειν καὶ καῦμα καὶ
ψῦχος ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τὰ δινώδη καὶ τραχύνοντα
ἢ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διανηχόμενον ἀποβιάζεσθαι. καὶ τὰς
ἰστορίας δὲ συγγράψαι φησὶν αὐτὸς ἴδιᾳ χειρὶ¹
καὶ μεγάλοις γράμμασιν, ὅπως οἰκοθεν ὑπάρχοι
τῷ παιδὶ πρὸς ἐμπειρίαν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ πατρί-
ων ὡφελεῖσθαι· τὰ δ' αἰσχρὰ τῶν ῥημάτων οὐχ
ἡττον εὐλαβεῖσθαι τοῦ παιδὸς παρόντος ἢ τῶν
ἱερῶν παρθένων, ἃς Ἐστιάδας καλοῦσι· συλλού-
σασθαι δὲ μηδέποτε. καὶ τοῦτο κοινὸν ἔοικε
Ῥωμαίων ἔθος εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ πενθεροὶ γαμβροῖς¹
ἔφυλάί τοντο συλλούεσθαι, δυσωπούμενοι τὴν
ἢ ἀποκάλυψιν καὶ γύμνωσιν. εἴτα μέντοι παρ'
Ἐλλήνων τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι μαθόντες, αὐτοὶ πάλιν
τοῦ καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν τοῦτο πράσσειν ἀναπεπλή-
κασι τούς "Ἐλληνας.

Οὕτω δὲ καλὸν ἔργον εἰς ἀρετὴν τῷ Κάτωνι
πλάττοντι καὶ δημιουργοῦντι τὸν νιόν, ἐπεὶ τὰ
τῆς προθυμίας ἦν ἀμεμπτα καὶ δι' εὐφυΐαν
ὑπήκουεν ἡ ψυχή, τὸ δὲ σῶμα μαλακώτερον
ἔφαινετο τοῦ πουεῦν, ὑπανήκεν αὐτῷ τὸ σύντονον
ἢ ἄγαν καὶ κεκολασμένον τῆς διαίτης. ὁ δέ, καίπερ
οὗτος ἔχων, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις,
καὶ τὴν πρὸς Περσέα μάχην ἡγωνίσατο λαμπρῶς
Παιύλου στρατηγοῦντος. εἴτα μέντοι τοῦ ξίφους
ἐκκρουςθέντος ὑπὸ πληγῆς ἡ δι' ὑγρότητα τῆς

¹ πενθεροὶ γαμβροῖς Hercher and Blass, adopting the conjecture of Sintenis: πενθεροῖς γαμβροῖ.

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himself not only the boy's reading-teacher, but his tutor in law, and his athletic trainer, and he taught his son not merely to hurl the javelin and fight in armour and ride the horse, but also to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim lustily through the eddies and billows of the Tiber. His History of Rome, as he tells us himself, he wrote out with his own hand and in large characters, that his son might have in his own home an aid to acquaintance with his country's ancient traditions. He declares that his son's presence put him on his guard against indecencies of speech as much as that of the so-called Vestal Virgins, and that he never bathed with him. This, indeed, would seem to have been a general custom with the Romans, for even fathers-in-law avoided bathing with their sons-in-law, because they were ashamed to uncover their nakedness. Afterwards, however, when they had learned from the Greeks their freedom in going naked, they in their turn infected the Greeks with the practice even when women were present.

So Cato wrought at the fair task of moulding and fashioning his son to virtue, finding his zeal blameless, and his spirit answering to his good natural parts. But since his body was rather too delicate to endure much hardship, he relaxed somewhat in his favour the excessive rigidity and austerity of his own mode of life. But his son, although thus delicate, made a sturdy soldier, and fought brilliantly under Paulus Aemilius in the battle against Perseus.¹ On that occasion his sword either was smitten from his hand or slipped from his

¹ Pydna, 168 B.C.

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χειρὸς ἔξολισθόντος ἀχθεσθεὶς τρέπεται πρὸς τινας τῶν συνήθων, καὶ παραλαβὼν ἐκείνους αὐθις εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐνέβαλε. πολλῷ δὲ ἄγωνι καὶ βίᾳ μεγάλῃ διαφωτίσας τὸν τόπον ἀνεῦρε μόγις ἐν πολλοῖς σάγμασιν ὅπλων καὶ σώμασι νεκρῶν ὁμοῦ φίλων τε καὶ πολεμίων
8 κατασεωρευμένων. ἐφ' ω̄ καὶ Παῦλος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἡγάσθη τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ Κάτωνος αὐτοῦ φέρεται τις ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν οἰκίαν ὑπερφυῶς ἐπαινοῦντος τὴν περὶ τὸ ξίφος φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ σπουδὴν. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Παύλου θυγατέρα Τερτίαν ἔγημεν ὁ νεανίας, ἀδελφὴν Σκηπίωνος, οὐχ ἡττον ἥδη δι' αὐτὸν ἡ τὸν πατέρα καταμιγνύμενος εἰς γένος τηλικοῦτον. ἡ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν οἰκίαν ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ Κάτωνος ἄξιον ἔσχεν τέλος.

XXI. Οἰκέτας δὲ πολλοὺς ἐκτάτο, τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὧνούμενος μάλιστα τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ δυναμένους ἔτι τροφὴν καὶ παίδευσιν ὡς σκύλακας ἡ πώλους ἐνεγκεῖν. τούτων οὐδεὶς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν ἐτέραν, εἰ μὴ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ Κάτωνος ἡ τῆς γυναικός. ὁ δὲ ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί πράττοι Κάτων, οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίνετο πλὴν ἀγνοεῖν.
2 ἔδει δὲ ἡ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων οἴκοι τὸν δούλον ἡ καθεύδειν· καὶ σφόδρα τοῖς κοιμωμένοις ὁ Κάτων ἔχαιρε, πραστέρους τε τῶν ἐγρηγορότων ιομίζων καὶ πρὸς οτιοῦν βελτίονας χρῆσθαι τῶν δεομένων ὑπνου τοὺς ἀπολελαυκότας. οἱόμενος δὲ τὰ μέγιστα ῥᾳδιουργεῖν ἀφροδισίων ἔνεκα τοὺς δούλους ἔταξεν ὡρισμένου νομίσματος ὁμιλεῖν 349 ταῖς θεραπαινίσιν, ἐτέρᾳ δὲ γυναικὶ μηδένα πλησιάζειν.

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moist grasp. Distressed at this mishap, he turned to some of his companions for aid, and supported by them rushed again into the thick of the enemy. After a long and furious struggle, he succeeded in clearing the place, and found the sword at last among the many heaps of arms and dead bodies where friends and foes alike lay piled upon one another. Paulus, his commander, admired the young man's exploit, and there is still extant a letter written by Cato himself to his son, in which he heaps extravagant praise upon him for this honourable zeal in recovering his sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, a daughter of Paulus and a sister of the younger Scipio, and his admission into such a family was due no less to himself than to his father. Thus Cato's careful attention to the education of his son bore worthy fruit.

XXI. He owned many domestics, and usually bought those prisoners of war who were young and still capable of being reared and trained like whelps or colts. Not one of his slaves ever entered another man's house unless sent thither by Cato or his wife, and when such an one was asked what Cato was doing, he always answered that he did not know. A slave of his was expected either to be busy about the house, or to be asleep, and he was very partial to the sleepy ones. He thought these gentler than the wakeful ones, and that those who had enjoyed the gift of sleep were better for any kind of service than those who lacked it. In the belief that his slaves were led into most mischief by their sexual passions, he stipulated that the males should consort with the females at a fixed price, but should never approach any other woman.

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- 3 Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν ἔτι πένης ὧν καὶ στρατευόμενος πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυσκόλαινε τῶν περὶ δίαιταν, ἀλλ' αἰσχιστον ἀπέφαινε διὰ γαστέρα πρὸς οἰκέτην ζυγομαχέν. ὕστερον δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδιδόντων ποιούμενος ἐστιάσεις φίλων καὶ συναρχόντων ἐκόλαζεν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον οἰμάντι τοὺς ἀμελέστερον ὑπουργήσαντας ὅτιον ἦ
4 σκευάσαντας. ἀεὶ δέ τινα στάσιν ἔχειν τοὺς δούλους ἐμηχανᾶτο καὶ διαφορὰν πρὸς ἄλλήλους, ὑπονοῶν τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ δεδοικώς. τοὺς δ' ἄξιον εἰργάσθαι τι θανάτου δόξαντες ἐδικαίου κριθέντας ἐν τοῖς οἰκέταις πᾶσιν ἀποθυήσκειν, εἰ καταγνωσθεῖεν.
5 Ἀπτόμενος δὲ συντονώτερον πορισμοῦ τὴν μὲν γεωργίαν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖτο διαγωγὴν ἢ πρόσοδον, εἰς δ' ἀσφαλῆ πράγματα καὶ βέβαια κατατιθέμενος τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐκτάτο λίμνας, ὕδατα θερμά, τόπους κναφεῦσιν ἀνειμένους, ἔργα πίσσια, χώραν¹ ἔχουσαν αὐτοφυεῖς νομὰς καὶ ὄλας, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτῷ χρήματα προσήει πολλὰ μηδὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, ὡς φησιν αὐτός, βλαβῆναι δυνα-
6 μένων. ἐχρήσατο δὲ καὶ τῷ διαβεβλημένῳ μάλιστα τῶν δανεισμῶν ἐπὶ ναυτικοῖς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον. ἐκέλευε τοὺς δανειζομένους ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολλοὺς παρακαλεῖν, γενομένων δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ πλοίων τοσούτων αὐτὸς εἶχε μίαν μερίδα διὰ Κουϊντίωνος ἀπελευθέρου τοῖς δανειζομένοις συμπραγματευομένου καὶ συμπλέοντος. ἦν δ' οὖν οὐκ εἰς ἄπαν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' εἰς μέρος μικρὸν
7 ἐπὶ κέρδεσι μεγάλοις. ἐδίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν

¹ ἔργα πίσσια, χώραν Blass with S: ἔργατησίαν χώραν, productive land.

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At the outset, when he was still poor and in military service, he found no fault at all with what was served up to him, declaring that it was shameful for a man to quarrel with a domestic over food and drink. But afterwards, when his circumstances were improved and he used to entertain his friends and colleagues at table, no sooner was the dinner over than he would flog those slaves who had been remiss at all in preparing or serving it. He was always contriving that his slaves should have feuds and dissensions among themselves ; harmony among them made him suspicious and fearful of them. He had those who were suspected of some capital offence brought to trial before all their fellow servants, and, if convicted, put to death.

However, as he applied himself more strenuously to money-getting, he came to regard agriculture as more entertaining than profitable, and invested his capital in business that was safe and sure. He bought ponds, hot springs, districts given over to fullers, pitch factories, land with natural pasture and forest, all of which brought him in large profits, and "could not," to use his own phrase, "be ruined by Jupiter." He used to loan money also in the most disreputable of all ways, namely, on ships, and his method was as follows. He required his borrowers to form a large company, and when there were fifty partners and as many ships for his security, he took one share in the company himself, and was represented by Quintio, a freedman of his, who accompanied his clients in all their ventures. In this way his entire security was not imperilled, but only a small part of it, and his profits were large.

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- τοῖς βουλομένοις ἀργύριον· οἱ δὲ ἐωνοῦντο παῖδας, εἴτα τούτους ἀσκήσαντες καὶ διδάξαντες ἀναλώμασι τοῦ Κάτωνος μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπεδίδοντο. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ κατεῖχεν ὁ Κάτων, δσην ὁ πλείστην διδοὺς ἐωνεῖτο τιμὴν ὑπολογιζόμενος.
- 8 προτρέπων δὲ τὸν νιόν ἐπὶ ταῦτα φῆσιν οὐκ ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ χήρας γυναικὸς εἶναι τὸ μειῶσαί τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ηδη σφοδρότερον τοῦ Κάτωνος, δτι θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα καὶ θεῖον εἰπεῖν ἐτόλμησε πρὸς δόξαν, δς ἀπολείπει πλέον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὁ προσέθηκεν οὐ παρέλαβεν.
- XXII. Ἡδη δὲ αὐτοῦ γέροντος γεγονότος πρέσβεις Ἀθήνηθεν ἥλθον εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ περὶ Καρνεάδην τὸν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸν καὶ Διογένη τὸν Στωϊκὸν φιλόσοφον, καταδίκην τινὰ παραιτησόμενοι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἦν ἐρήμην ὁφλον Ὁρωπίων μὲν διωξάντων, Σικυωνίων δὲ καταψηφισαμένων, τίμημα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων ἔχουσαν. εὐθὺς οὖν οἱ φιλολογώτατοι τῶν νεανίσκων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἴεντο, καὶ συνῆσαν ἀκροώμενοι καὶ θαυμάζοντες αὐτούς. μάλιστα δὲ η Καρνεάδου χάρις, ἡς δύναμίς τε πλείστη καὶ δόξα τῆς δυνάμεως οὐκ ἀποδέουσα, μεγάλων ἐπιλαβομένη καὶ φιλανθρώπων ἀκροατηρίων ὡς πνέυμα τὴν πόλιν ἡχῆς ἐνέπλησε.
- 3 καὶ λόγος κατεῖχεν, ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἐλλην εἰς ἔκπληξιν ὑπερφυῆς πάντα κηλῶν καὶ χειρούμενος ἔρωτα

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He used to lend money also to those of his slaves who wished it, and they would buy boys with it, and after training and teaching them for a year, at Cato's expense, would sell them again. Many of these boys Cato would retain for himself, reckoning to the credit of the slave the highest price bid for his boy. He tried to incite his son also to such economies, by saying that it was not the part of a man, but of a widow woman, to lessen his substance. But that surely was too vehement a speech of Cato's, when he went so far as to say that a man was to be admired and glorified like a god if the final inventory of his property showed that he had added to it more than he had inherited.

XXII. When he was now well on in years, there came as ambassadors from Athens to Rome,¹ Carneades the Academic, and Diogenes the Stoic philosopher, to beg the reversal of a certain decision against the Athenian people, which imposed upon them a fine of five hundred talents. The people of Oropus had brought the suit, the Athenians had let the case go by default, and the Sicyonians had pronounced judgment against them. Upon the arrival of these philosophers, the most studious of the city's youth hastened to wait upon them, and became their devoted and admiring listeners. The charm of Carneades especially, which had boundless power, and a fame not inferior to its power, won large and sympathetic audiences, and filled the city, like a rushing mighty wind, with the noise of his praises. Report spread far and wide that a Greek of amazing talent, who disarmed all opposition by the magic of his eloquence, had infused a tremen-

¹ 155 B.C.

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δεινὸν ἐμβέβληκε τοῖς νέοις, ὑφ' οὐ τῶν ἄλλων
ἡδουνῶν καὶ διατριβῶν ἐκπεσόντες ἐνθουσιῶσι
περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. ταῦτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἥρεσκε
‘Ρωμαίοις γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ μειράκια παιδείας
‘Ελληνικῆς μεταλαμβάνοντα καὶ συνόντα θαυμα-
4 ζομένοις ἀνδράσιν ἡδέως ἔώρων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων
ἔξ ἀρχῆς τε τοῦ ζήλου τῶν λόγων παραρρέοντος
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤχθετο φοβούμενος, μη τὸ φιλό-
τιμον ἐνταῦθα τρέψαντες οἱ νέοι τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ
λέγειν δόξαν ἀγαπήσωσι μᾶλλον τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν
ἔργων καὶ τῶν στρατειῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ προύβαινεν
ἡ δόξα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς
πρώτους λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀνήρ
ἐπιφανῆς σπουδάσας αὐτὸς καὶ δεηθεὶς ἡρμη-
νευσε, Γάιος Ἀκίλιος, ἔγνω μετ' εὐπρεπείας
ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἄπαντας
5 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλη- 350
τον ἐμέμψατο τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὅτι πρεσβεία
κάθηται πολὺν χρόνον ἀπρακτος ἀνδρῶν, οὐ περὶ
παντὸς οὐ βούλοιντο ῥαδίως πείθειν δύνανται·
δεῖν οὖν τὴν ταχίστην γνῶναί τι καὶ ψηφίσασθαι
περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας, ὅπως οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς
σχολὰς τραπόμενοι διαλέγωνται παισὶν ‘Ελ-
λήνων, οἱ δὲ ‘Ρωμαίων νέοι τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν
ἀρχόντων ὡς προτέρουν ἀκούωσι.

XXIII. Ταῦτα δ' οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσι,
Καρνεάδη δυσχεράνας ἐπράξεν, ἀλλ' ὅλως φιλο-
σοφίᾳ προσκεκρουκώς καὶ πᾶσαν ‘Ελληνικὴν
μοῦσαν καὶ παιδείαν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας προπηλακί-
ζων, ὃς γε καὶ Σωκράτη φησὶ λάλον καὶ βίαιον
γενόμενον ἐπιχειρεῖν, φέροντας δυνατὸς ἦν, τυραν-
νεῖν τῆς πατρίδος, καταλύοντα τὰ ἔθη καὶ πρὸς

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dous passion into the youth of the city, in consequence of which they forsook their other pleasures and pursuits and were "possessed" about philosophy. The other Romans were pleased at this, and glad to see their young men lay hold of Greek culture and consort with such admirable men. But Cato, at the very outset, when this zeal for discussion came pouring into the city, was distressed, fearing lest the young men, by giving this direction to their ambition, should come to love a reputation based on mere words more than one achieved by martial deeds. And when the fame of the visiting philosophers rose yet higher in the city, and their first speeches before the Senate were interpreted, at his own instance and request, by so conspicuous a man as Gaius Acilius, Cato determined, on some decent pretext or other, to rid and purge the city of them all. So he rose in the Senate and censured the magistrates for keeping in such long suspense an embassy composed of men who could easily secure anything they wished, so persuasive were they. "We ought," he said, "to make up our minds one way or another, and vote on what the embassy proposes, in order that these men may return to their schools and lecture to the sons of Greece, while the youth of Rome give ear to their laws and magistrates, as heretofore."

XXIII. This he did, not, as some think, out of personal hostility to Carneades, but because he was wholly averse to philosophy, and made mock of all Greek culture and training, out of patriotic zeal. He says, for instance, that Socrates was a mighty prattler, who attempted, as best he could, to be his country's tyrant, by abolishing its customs,

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ἐναντίας τοῖς νόμοις δόξας ἔλκοντα καὶ μεθιστάντα
2 τοὺς πολίτας. τὴν δὲ Ἰσοκράτους διατριβὴν
ἐπισκώπτων γηρᾶν φησι παρ' αὐτῷ τοὺς μαθητὰς
ώς ἐν "Αἰδου παρὰ Μίνω χρησομένους ταῖς
τέχναις καὶ δίκας ἐροῦντας. τὸν δὲ παῖδα δια-
βάλλων πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ φωνῇ κέχρηται
θρασυτέρᾳ τοῦ γήρως, οἷον ἀποθεσπίζων καὶ
προμαντεύων, ὡς ἀπολοῦσι 'Ρωμαῖοι τὰ πράγματα
3 γραμμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν ἀναπλησθέντες. ἀλλὰ
ταύτην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν δυσφημίαν ὁ χρόνος
ἀποδείκνυσι κενήν, ἐν φῇ τοῖς τε πράγμασιν
ἡ πόλις ἥρθη μεγίστη καὶ πρὸς Ἑλληνικὰ μαθή-
ματα καὶ παιδείαν ἅπασαν ἔσχεν οἰκείως.
‘Ο δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀπηχθάνετο τοῖς φιλοσοφοῦσιν
Ἐλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰατρεύοντας ἐν 'Ρώμῃ
δι’ ὑποψίας εἶχε. καὶ τὸν Ἰπποκράτους, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἀκηκοώς λόγον, δν εἴπε τοῦ μεγάλου
βασιλέως καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τισι
ταλάντοις, οὐκ ἄν ποτε βαρβάροις Ἐλλήνων
πολεμίοις ἑαυτὸν παρασχεῖν, ἔλεγε κοινὸν ὅρκον
4 εἶναι τοῦτον ἰατρῶν ἀπάντων, καὶ παρεκελεύετο
φυλάττεσθαι τῷ παιδὶ πάντας· αὐτῷ δὲ γεγραμ-
μένον ὑπόμνημα εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο θεραπεύειν
καὶ διαιτᾶν τοὺς νοσοῦντας οἴκοι, νῆστιν μὲν
οὐδέποτε διατηρῶν οὐδένα, τρέφων δὲ λαχάνοις ἢ
σαρκιδίοις νήσσης ἢ φάσσης ἢ λαγώ· καὶ γὰρ
τοῦτο κοῦφον εἶναι καὶ πρόσφορον ἀσθενοῦσι,
πλὴν ὅτι πολλὰ συμβαίνει τοῖς φαγοῦσιν ἐνυπνιά-
ζεσθαι· τοιαύτη δὲ θεραπείᾳ καὶ διάτη χρώ-
μενος ὑγιαίνειν μὲν αὐτός, ὑγιαίνοντας δὲ τοὺς
ἑαυτοῦ διαφυλάττειν. .

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and by enticing his fellow citizens into opinions contrary to the laws. He made fun of the school of Isocrates, declaring that his pupils kept on studying with him till they were old men, as if they were to practise their arts and plead their cases before Minos in Hades. And seeking to prejudice his son against Greek culture, he indulges in an utterance all too rash for his years, declaring, in the tone of a prophet or a seer, that Rome would lose her empire when she had become infected with Greek letters. But time has certainly shown the emptiness of this ill-boding speech of his, for while the city was at the zenith of its empire, she made every form of Greek learning and culture her own.

It was not only Greek philosophers that he hated, but he was also suspicious of Greeks who practised medicine at Rome. He had heard, it would seem, of Hippocrates' reply when the Great King of Persia consulted him, with the promise of a fee of many talents, namely, that he would never put his skill at the service of Barbarians who were enemies of Greece. He said all Greek physicians had taken a similar oath, and urged his son to beware of them all. He himself, he said, had written a book of recipes, which he followed in the treatment and regimen of any who were sick in his family. He never required his patients to fast, but fed them on greens, or bits of duck, pigeon, or hare. Such a diet, he said, was light and good for sick people, except that it often causes dreams. By following such treatment and regimen he said he had good health himself, and kept his family in good health.

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XXIV. Καὶ πέρι γε τοῦτο φαίνεται γεγονὼς οὐκ ἀνεμέσητος· καὶ γὰρ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὸν οὐδὲν ἀπέβαλεν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ σώματι πρὸς εὐεξίαν καὶ ρώμην ἀσφαλῶς πεπηγὼς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντεῖχεν, ὃστε καὶ γυναικὶ πρεσβύτης ὁν σφόδρα πλησιάζειν καὶ γῆμαι γάμον οὐ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἐκ τοιαύτης προφάσεως. ἀποβαλὼν τὴν γυναικα τῷ μὲν υἱῷ Παύλου θυγατέρα, Σκηπίωνος δὲ ἀδελφὴν ἡγάγετο πρὸς γάμον, αὐτὸς δὲ χηρεύων ἔχρητο παιδίσκη 2 κρύφα φοιτώσῃ πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦν οὖν ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρῷ υἱοφην ἔχούσῃ τοῦ πράγματος αἴσθησις· καὶ ποτε τοῦ γυναιόν θρασύτερον παρασοβῆσαι παρὰ τὸ δωμάτιον δόξαντος ὁ νεανίας εἶπε μὲν οὐδέν, ἐμβλέψας δέ πως πικρότερον καὶ διατραπεὶς οὐκ ἔλαθε τὸν πρεσβύτην. ὡς οὖν ἔγνω τὸ πρᾶγμα δυσχεραινόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν ἐγκαλέσας οὐδὲ μεμψάμενος, ἀλλὰ καταβαίνων, ὃσπερ εἰώθει, μετὰ φίλων εἰς ἀγορὰν Σαλώνιόν τινα τῶν ὑπογευραμματευκότων αὐτῷ παρόντα καὶ συμπροπέμποντα μεγάλη φωνῇ προσαγορεύσας ἡρώτησεν, 3 εἰ τὸ θυγάτριον συνήρμοκε υυμφίῳ. τοῦ δ' ἀνθρώπου φήσαντος, ὡς οὐδὲ μέλλει μὴ πρότερον ἐκείνῳ κοινωσάμενος "Καὶ μὴν ἐγώ σοι," φησίν, 351 "εὑρηκα κηδεστὴν ἐπιτήδειον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τὰ τῆς ἡλικίας δυσχεραίνοιτο· τάλλα γὰρ οὐ μεμπτός ἐστι, σφόδρα δὲ πρεσβύτης." ὡς οὖν ὁ Σαλώνιος ἐκέλευε ταῦτα φροντίζειν καὶ διδόναι τὴν κόρην ὡς προαιρεῖται, πελάτιν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ δεομένην τῆς ἐκείνου κηδεμονίας, οὐδεμίαν ὁ

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XXIV. Such presumption on his part seems not to have gone unpunished, for he lost his wife and his son. He himself was well confirmed in bodily health and vigour, and long withstood the assaults of age. Even when an old man he was prone to indulge his sexual appetite, and at last married a wife when he was long past the marrying age. This was the way it came about. After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Aemilius Paulus, the sister of Scipio, but he himself, in his widowhood, took solace with a slave girl who secretly visited his bed. Of course, in a small house with a young married woman in it, the matter was discovered, and once, when the girl seemed to flaunt her way rather too boldly to his chamber, the old man could not help noticing that his son, although he said nothing, looked very sour, and turned away. Perceiving that the thing displeased his children, Cato did not upbraid or blame them at all, but as he was going down in his usual way to the forum with his clients, called out with a loud voice to a certain Saloniūs, who had been one of his under-secretaries, and was now in his train, asking him if he had found a good husband for his young daughter. The man said he had not, and would not do so without first consulting his patron. "Well then," said Cato, "I have found a suitable son-in-law for you, unless indeed his age should be displeasing; in other ways no fault can be found with him, but he is a very old man." Saloniūs at once bade him take the matter in charge and give the maid to the man of his choice, since she was a dependant of his and in need of his kind services. Then Cato, without any more

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Κάτων ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενος αὐτὸς ἔφη τὴν
4 παρθένον αἴτεν ἔαυτῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ώς
εἰκός, ὁ λόγος ἔξεπληξε τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πόρρω μὲν
γάμου τὸν Κάτωνα, πόρρω δ' αὐτὸν οἰκίας
ὑπατικῆς καὶ θριαμβικῶν κηδευμάτων τιθέμενον·
σπουδῇ δὲ χρωμενον ὅρῶν ἄσμενος ἐδέξατο, καὶ
καταβάντες εὐθὺς εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν
ἔγγύην.

Πραττομένου δὲ τοῦ γάμου παραλαβὼν τοὺς
ἐπιτηδείους ὁ νιὸς τοῦ Κάτωνος ἡρώτησε τὸν
πατέρα, μή τι μεμφόμενος ἢ λελυπημένος ὑπ’
5 αὐτοῦ μητριαὶ ἐπάγεται. ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀνα-
βοήσας “Εὐφήμησον,” εἶπεν, “ὦ παῖ· πάντα
γὰρ ἀγαστά μοι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ μεμπτὸν οὐδέν·
ἐπιθυμῶ δὲ πλείονας ἐμαυτῷ τε παῖδας καὶ
πολίτας τῇ πατρίδι τοιούτους ἀπολιπεῖν.” ταύτην
δὲ τὴν γνώμην πρότερον εἶπεν φασι Πεισί-
στρατον τὸν Ἀθηναίων τύραννον ἐπιγήμαντα
τοῖς ἐνηλίκοις παισὶ τὴν Ἀργολίδα Τιμώνασσαν,
ἔξ οῆς Ἰοφῶντα καὶ Θεσσαλὸν αὐτῷ λέγουσι
6· γενέσθαι. γήμαντι δὲ τῷ Κάτωνι γίνεται πᾶς,
ῳ παρωνύμιον ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἔθετο Σαλώνιον.
οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτερος νιὸς ἐτελεύτησε στρατηγῶν.
καὶ μέμνηται μὲν αὐτοῦ πιολλίκις ἐν τοῖς βι-
βλίοις ὁ Κάτων ώς ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ γεγονότος,
πράως δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφως λέγεται τὴν συμφορὰν
ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἀμβλύτερος δι' αὐτὴν εἰς
7 τὰ πολιτικὰ γενέσθαι. οὐ γάρ, ώς Λεύκιος
Λούκουλλος ὕστερον καὶ Μέτελλος ὁ Πίος,
ἔξεκαμεν ὑπὸ γήρως πρὸς τὰ δημόσια, λειτουρ-
γίαιν τὴν πολιτείαν ἡγούμενος, οὐδ' ώς πρότερον
Σκηπίων ὁ Ἀφρικανὸς διὰ τὸν ἀντικρούσαντα

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ado, said that he asked the damsel to wife for himself. At first, as was natural, the proposal amazed the man, who counted Cato far past marriage, and himself far beneath alliance with a house of consular dignity and triumphal honours; but when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he gladly accepted his proposal, and as soon as they reached the forum the banns were published.

While the marriage was in hand, Cato's son, accompanied by his friends, asked his father if it was because he had any complaint to make against him that he was now foisting a step-mother upon him. "Heaven forbid! my son," cried Cato, "all your conduct towards me has been admirable, and I have no fault to find with you; but I desire to bless myself and my country with more such sons." However, they say that this sentiment was uttered long before by Peisistratus, the tyrant of Athens, who gave his grown up sons a step-mother in the person of Timonassa of Argolis, by whom he is said to have had Iophon and Thessalus. Of this second marriage a son was born to Cato, who was named Salonius, after his mother's father. But his elder son died in the praetorship. Cato often speaks of him in his books as a brave and worthy man, and is said to have borne his loss with all the equanimity of a philosopher, remitting not a whit because of it his ardour in the public service. For he was not, like Lucius Lucullus and Metellus Pius in after times, too enfeebled by old age to serve the people, regarding the service of the state as a burdensome duty; nor did he, like Scipio Africanus before him, because of envious attacks

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πρὸς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ φθόνου ἀποστραφεὶς τὸν
δῆμον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐποιήσατο τοῦ λοιποῦ βίου
8 τέλος ἀπραγμοσύνην, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ Διονύσιόν
τις ἔπεισε κάλλιστον ἐντάφιον ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν
τυραννίδα, κάλλιστον αὐτὸς ἐγγήραμα τὴν πο-
λιτείαν ποιησάμενος ἀναπαύσειν ἔχρητο καὶ
παιδιαῖς, ὅπότε σχολάζοι, τῷ συντάττεσθαι
βιβλία καὶ τῷ γεωργεῖν.

XXV. Συνετάττετο μὲν οὖν λόγους τε παντο-
δαποὺς καὶ ἴστορίας· γεωργίᾳ δὲ προσεῖχε νέος
μὲν ὁν ἔτι καὶ διὰ τὴν χρείαν (φησὶ γάρ δυσὶ¹
κεχρῆσθαι μόνοις πορισμοῖς γεωργίᾳ καὶ φειδοῖ),
τότε δὲ διαγωγὴν καὶ θεωρίαν αὐτῷ τὰ γυγνόμενα
κατ' ἄγρὸν παρεῖχε. καὶ συντέτακται γε βιβλίον
γεωργικόν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ πλακούντων σκευασίας
καὶ τηρήσεως ὀπώρας γέγραφεν, ἐν παντὶ φι-
2 λοτιμούμενος περιττὸς εἶναι καὶ ἔδιος. ἦν δὲ
καὶ τὸ δεῦπυνον ἐν ἄγρῳ δαψιλέστερον ἐκάλει
γὰρ ἑκάστοτε τῶν ἄγρογειτόνων καὶ περιχώρων
τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ συνδιῆγεν ἰλαρῶς, οὐ τοῖς
καθ' ἡλικίαν μόνοις ἡδὺς ὁν συγγενέσθαι καὶ
ποθεινός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς νέοις, ἀτε δὴ πολλῶν
μὲν ἔμπειρος πραγμάτων γεγονώς, πολλοῖς δὲ
γράμμασι καὶ λόγοις ἀξίοις ἀκοῆς ἐντευχηκώς.
3 τὴν δὲ τράπεζαν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλοποιὸν
ἡγεῖτο· καὶ πολλὴ μὲν εὐφημία τῶν καλῶν
καὶ ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν ἐπεισῆγετο, πολλὴ δὲ ἦν
ἀμηνηστία τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ πονηρῶν, μήτε
ψόγῳ μήτ' ἐπαίνῳ πάροδον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τοῦ
Κάτωνος εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον διδόντος.

XXVI. Ἐσχατον δὲ τῶν πολιτευμάτων αὐτοῦ

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upon his reputation, turn his back upon the people and make leisure his end and aim for the rest of his life; but rather, as someone persuaded Dionysius to regard his sovereignty as his fairest winding-sheet, so he held public service to be the fairest privilege of old age. For recreation and amusement, when he had leisure therefor, he resorted to the writing of books and to farming.

XXV. He composed speeches, then, on all sorts of subjects, and histories, and as for farming, he followed it in earnest when he was young and poor,—indeed, he says he then had only two ways of getting money, farming and frugality,—but in later life he was only a theoretical and fancy farmer. He also composed a book on farming,¹ in which he actually gave recipes for making cakes and preserving fruit, so ambitious was he to be superior and peculiar in everything. The dinners, too, which he gave in the country, were quite plentiful. He always asked in congenial country neighbours, and made merry with them, and not only did those of his own age find in him an agreeable and much desired companion, but also the young. For he was a man of large experience, who had read and heard much that was well worth repeating. He held the table to be the very best promoter of friendship, and at his own, the conversation turned much to the praise of honourable and worthy citizens, greatly to the neglect of those who were worthless and base. About such Cato suffered no table-talk, either by way of praise or blame.

XXVI. The last of his public services is supposed

¹ *De re rustica.*

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τὴν Καρχιδύνος ἀνάστασιν οἴονται γεγονέναι, τῷ
μὲν ἔργῳ τέλος ἐπιθέντος τοῦ νέου Σκηπίωνος, 352
Βουλῆ ἀντίστησαν τῇ Κάτωνος ἀρα-
μένων τὸν πόλεμον ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. Κάτων
ἐπέμφθη πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ Μασσανάσσην
τὸν Νομάδα πολεμοῦντας ἀλλήλοις, ἐπισκεψό-
μενος τὰς τῆς διαφορᾶς προφάσεις. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἦν
τοῦ δήμου φίλος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, οἱ δὲ ἐγεγόνεισαν ἐν-
σπουδοι μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Σκηπίωνος ἥτταν, ἀφαι-
ρέσει τε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ βαρεῖ δασμῷ χρημάτων
2 κολουθέντες. εὑρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν οὐχ, ὡς φοιτο-
‘Ρωμαῖοι, κεκακωμένην καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττουσαν,
ἀλλὰ πολλῆ μὲν εὐανδροῦσαν ἡλικίᾳ, μεγάλων
δὲ πλούτων γέμουσαν, ὅπλων δὲ παντοδαπῶν
καὶ παρασκευῆς πολεμιστηρίου μεστὴν καὶ μικρὸν
οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις φρονοῦσαν, οὐ τὰ Νομάδων
φέτο καὶ Μασσανάσσου πράγματα ‘Ρωμαίους
ῶραν ἔχειν τίθεσθαι καὶ διαιτᾶν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ
καταλήψονται πόλιν ἄνωθεν ἔχθρὰν καὶ βαρύ-
θυμον ηὔξημένην ἀπίστως, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ἴσοις
3 κινδύνοις ἔσεσθαι. ταχέως οὖν ὑποστρέψας ἐδί-
δασκε τὴν Βουλήν, ὡς αἱ πρότερον ἥτται καὶ
συμφοραὶ Καρχηδονίων οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆς δυνάμεως
ὅσον τῆς ἀνοίας ἀπαρύσασαι, κινδυνεύουσιν
αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀσθενεστέρους, ἐμπειροτέρους δὲ
πολεμεῖν ἀπεργάσασθαι, ἥδη δὲ καὶ προανα-
κινεῖσθαι τοῖς Νομαδικοῖς τοὺς πρὸς ‘Ρωμαίους
ἀγῶνας, εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ σπουδὰς ὄνομα τοῦ

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to have been the destruction of Carthage. It was Scipio the Younger who actually brought the task to completion,¹ but it was largely in consequence of the advice and counsel of Cato that the Romans undertook the war. It was on this wise. Cato was sent² on an embassy to the Carthaginians and Masinissa the Numidian, who were at war with one another, to inquire into the grounds of their quarrel. Masinissa had been a friend of the Roman people from the first, and the Carthaginians had entered into treaty relations with Rome after the defeat which the elder Scipio had given them. The treaty deprived them of their empire, and imposed a grievous money tribute upon them. Cato, however, found the city by no means in a poor and lowly state, as the Romans supposed, but rather teeming with vigorous fighting men, overflowing with enormous wealth, filled with arms of every sort and with military supplies, and not a little puffed up by all this. He therefore thought it no time for the Romans to be ordering and arranging the affairs of Masinissa and the Numidians, but that unless they should repress a city which had always been their malignant foe, now that its power was so incredibly grown, they would be involved again in dangers as great as before. Accordingly, he returned with speed to Rome, and advised the Senate that the former calamitous defeats of the Carthaginians had diminished not so much their power as their foolhardiness, and were likely to render them in the end not weaker, but more expert in war; their present contest with Numidia was but a prelude to a contest with Rome, while peace and treaty were mere names wherewith to

¹ 146 B.C.

² 150 B.C.

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πολέμου τῇ μελλήσει κεῖσθαι καιρὸν περιμένοντος.

- XXVII. Πρὸς τούτοις φασὶ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ σῦκα τῶν Λιβυκῶν ἐπίτηδες ἐκβαλεῖν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, τὴν τήβεννον ἀναβαλόμενον· εἴτα θαυμασάντων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἡ ταῦτα φέρουσα χώρα τριῶν ἡμερῶν πλοῦν ἀπέχει τῆς Ῥώμης. ἔκεινο δ' ἥδη καὶ βιαιότερον, τὸ περὶ παντὸς οὐδὲ δήποτε πράγματος γνώμην ἀποφαινόμενον προσεπιφωνεῖν οὕτως· “Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Καρχηδόνα μὴ εἶναι.” τούναντίον δὲ Πόπλιος Σκηπίων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπικαλούμενος ἀεὶ διετέλει λέγων καὶ ἀποφαινόμενος· “Δοκεῖ μοι Καρχηδόνα εἶναι.” πολλὰ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅβρει τὸν δῆμον ὄρῶν ἥδη πλημμελοῦντα καὶ δι' εὐτυχίαν καὶ φρόνημα τῇ βουλῇ δυσκάθεκτον ὅντα καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅλην ὑπὸ δυνάμεως ὅπῃ ῥέψει ταῖς ὄρμαις βίᾳ συνεφελκόμενον, ἐβούλετο τούτον γοῦν τὸν φόβον ὕσπερ χαλινὸν ἐπικεῖσθαι σωφρονιστῆρα τῇ θρασύτητι τῶν πολλῶν, ἔλαττον μὲν ἡγούμενος ἴσχυειν Καρχηδονίους τοῦ περιγενέσθαι Ῥωμαίων, μεῖζον δὲ τοῦ καταφρονεῖσθαι.
- 3 τῷ δὲ Κάτωνι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο, βακχεύοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ σφαλλομένῳ τὰ πολλὰ δι' ἔξουσίαν πόλιν ἀεὶ μεγάλην, νῦν δὲ καὶ νήφουσαν ὑπὸ συμφορῶν καὶ κεκολασμένην ἐπικρέμασθαι καὶ μὴ παντάπασι τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀνελεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας φόβους, ἀναφορὰς αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰς οἰκοθεν ἀμαρτίας ἀπολιπόντας.
- 4 Οὕτω μὲν ἔξεργάσασθαι λέγεται τὸν τρίτον καὶ τελευταῖον ὁ Κάτων ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους πόλε-

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cover their postponement of war till a fit occasion offered.

XXVII. In addition to this, it is said that Cato contrived to drop a Libyan fig in the Senate, as he shook out the folds of his toga, and then, as the senators admired its size and beauty, said that the country where it grew was only three days' sail from Rome. And in one thing he was even more savage, namely, in adding to his vote on any question whatsoever these words : "In my opinion, Carthage must be destroyed." Publius Scipio Nasica, on the contrary, when called upon for his vote, always ended his speech with this declaration : "In my opinion, Carthage must be spared." He saw, probably, that the Roman people, in its wantonness, was already guilty of many excesses, and in the pride of its prosperity, spurned the control of the Senate, and forcibly dragged the whole state with it, whithersoever its mad desires inclined it. He wished, therefore, that the fear of Carthage should abide, to curb the boldness of the multitude like a bridle, believing her not strong enough to conquer Rome, nor yet weak enough to be despised. But this was precisely what Cato dreaded, when the Roman people was inebriated and staggering with its power, to have a city which had always been great, and was now but sobered and chastened by its calamities, for ever threatening them. Such external threats to their sovereignty ought to be done away with altogether, he thought, that they might be free to devise a cure for their domestic failings.

In this way Cato is said to have brought to pass the third and last war against Carthage,¹ but it had

¹ 151-146 B.C.

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μον, ἀρξαμένων δὲ πολεμεῖν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀποθεσπίσας περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπιθήσειν τῷ πολέμῳ τέλος ἀνδρός, δὸς ἷν τότε μὲν νεανίας, χιλίαρχος δὲ στρατευόμενος ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ γνώμης ἔργα καὶ τόλμης πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ἀπαγγελλομένων δὲ τούτων εἰς Ῥώμην πυνθανόμενον τὸν Κάτωνά φασιν εἰπεῖν·

οἶος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσι.

5 ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταχὺ δι' ἔργων ἐβεβαίωσεν ὁ Σκηπίων ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἀπέλιπε γενεὰν ἔνα μὲν υἱὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιγαμηθείσης, ὃ παρωνύμιον ἔφαμεν γενέσθαι Σαλώνιον, ἔνα δὲ υἱώνὸν ἐκ τοῦ τελευτήσαντος υἱοῦ. καὶ Σαλώνιος μὲν ἐτελεύτησε στρατηγῶν, ὁ δὲ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος Μάρκος ὑπάτευσεν. ἷν δὲ πάππος οὗτος τοῦ φιλοσόφου Κάτωνος, ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξης τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιφανεστάτου γενομένου.

[ΑΡΙΣΤΕΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ]

I. Γεγραμμένων δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν ἀξίων 353 μνήμης, ὅλος ὁ τούτου βίος ὅλω τῷ θατέρου παρατεθεὶς οὐκ εὐθεώρητον ἔχει τὴν διαφορὰν ἐναφανιζομένην πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ὄμοιότησιν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ κατὰ μέρος τῇ συγκρίσει διαλαβεῖν ὥσπερ ἔπος ἡ γραφὴν ἐκάτερον, τὸ μὲν ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχούσης ἀφορμῆς εἰς πολιτείαν καὶ δόξαν

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no sooner begun than he died,¹ having first prophesied of the man who was destined to end it. This man was then young, but as tribune in the army, he was giving proofs of judgment and daring in his engagements with the enemy. Tidings of this came to Rome, and Cato is said to have cried on hearing them :—

“ Only he has wits, but the rest are fluttering shadows.”²

This utterance of Cato's, Scipio speedily confirmed by his deeds. Cato left one son by his second wife, whose surname, as we have already remarked, was Saloniūs; and one grandson by the son who died before him. Saloniūs died in the praetorship, but the son whom he left, Marcus, came to be consul. This Marcus was the grandfather of Cato the philosopher, who was the best and most illustrious man of his time.

COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES WITH MARCUS CATO

Now that I have recorded the most noteworthy things in the careers of these men also, if one compare the entire life of the one with that of the other, it will not be easy to mark the difference between them, obscured as it is by many great resemblances. And even if, in our comparison, we analyse each life, as we would a poem or a picture, we shall find that the rise to political power and repute in consequence

¹ 149 B.C.

² *Odyssey*, x. 495.

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ἀρετὴν καὶ δυνάμει προελθεῖν ἀμφοτέροις κοινόν
2 ἔστι. φαίνεται δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀριστείδης οὕπω τότε
μεγάλων οὐσῶν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις
ἔτι συμμέτροις καὶ ὁμαλοῖς ἐπιβαλὼν δημαγω-
γοῦς καὶ στρατηγοῦς ἐπιφανῆς γενέσθαι· τὸ γὰρ
μέγιστον ἦν τίμημα τότε πεντακοσίων μεδίμνων,
τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τριακοσίων, ἔσχατον δὲ καὶ τρίτον
3 διακοσίων· ὁ δὲ Κάτων ἐκ πολιχνης τε μικρᾶς καὶ
διαίτης ἀγροίκου δοκούσης φέρων ἀφῆκεν ἑαυτὸν
ῶσπερ εἰς πέλαγος ἀχανὲς τὴν ἐν Ρώμῃ πολιτείαν,
οὐκέτι Κουρίων καὶ Φαβρικίων καὶ Ἀτιλιων
ἔργον οὖσαν ἥγεμόνων, οὐδὲ ἀπ' ἀρότρους καὶ
σκαφείους πένητας καὶ αὐτουργοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας
ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα προσιεμένην ἄρχοντας καὶ δημαγω-
γούς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γένη μεγάλα καὶ πλούτους καὶ
νομᾶς καὶ σπουδαρχίας ἀποβλέπειν εἴθισμένην,
καὶ δι' ὅγκου ἥδη καὶ δύναμιν ἐντρυφῶσαν τοῖς
4 ἄρχειν ἀξιούσιν. οὐκ ἦν δὲ ὅμοιον ἀντιπάλῳ
χρῆσθαι Θεμιστοκλεῖ μήτ' ἀπὸ γένους λαμπρῷ
καὶ κεκτημένῳ μέτρᾳ (πέντε γὰρ ἡ τριῶν ταλάν-
των οὐσίαν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὅτε πρώτουν
ἥπτετο τῆς πολιτείας) καὶ πρὸς Σκηπίωνας
Ἀφρικανοὺς καὶ Σερουίους Γάλβας καὶ Κοιντίους
Φλαμινίους ἀμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ πρωτείων, μηδὲν
όρμητήριον ἔχοντα πλὴν φωνὴν παρρησιαζομένην
ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων.

II. "Ετι δέ Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἐν Μαραθῶνι καὶ
πάλιν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς δέκατος ἦν στρατηγός,
Κάτων δὲ δεύτερος μὲν ὕπατος ἡρέθη πολλῶν
ἀντιμετιόντων, δεύτερος δὲ τιμητὴς ἐπτὰ τοὺς
ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ πρώτους ἀμιλλωμένους
ὑπερβαλόμενος· καὶ μὴν Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἐν

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of innate excellence and strength, rather than of inherited advantages, is common to both. But in the case of Aristides, Athens was not yet great when he rose to eminence, and the leaders and generals with whom he dealt were men of moderate and uniform fortunes. The highest assessment of property in those days was five hundred bushels of grain, the second three hundred, the third and last two hundred. Whereas Cato, coming from a little town and from ways of life deemed rustic, plunged headlong into the boundless sea of Roman politics when they were no longer conducted by such men as Curius, Fabricius, and Atilius, nor welcomed as magistrates and leaders poor men who had mounted the rostrum after working with their own hands at the plough and the mattock, but were wont to have regard rather for great families and their wealth, largesses, and solicitations, while those who sought office, such was now the power and arrogance of the people, were wantonly handled. It was not the same thing to have Themistocles for a rival, who was of no illustrious family and had only moderate possessions (he is said to have been worth three, or, at most, five talents when he entered public life), as it was to compete for pre-eminence with such men as Scipio Africanus, Servius Galba, and Quintius Flamininus, having no other advantage than a tongue which spoke boldly for the right.

II. Besides, at Marathon, and again at Plataea, Aristides was only one of ten generals, while Cato was elected one of two consuls out of many competitors, and one of two censors over the heads of seven of the foremost and most illustrious Romans, who stood for the office with him. Furthermore,

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οὐδενὶ τῶν κατορθωμάτων γέγονε πρώτος, ἀλλὰ Μιλτιάδης ἔχει τοῦ Μαραθῶνος τὸ πρωτεῖον, Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος, ἐν δὲ Πλαταιαῖς φησιν Ἡρόδοτος ἀνελέσθαι καλλίστην νίκην

- 2 Παυσανίαν, Ἀριστείδη δὲ καὶ τῶν δευτερείων ἀμφισβητοῦσι Σωφάναι καὶ Ἀμεινίαι καὶ Καλλίμαχοι καὶ Κυναίγειροι διαπρεπῶς ἀριστεύσαντες ἐν ἑκείνοις τοῖς ἀγῶσι· Κάτων δ' οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ὑπατεύων ἐπρώτευσε καὶ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ κατὰ τὸν Ἰθηρικὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χιλιαρχῶν περὶ Θερμοπύλας ὑπατεύοντος ἐτέρου τὴν δοξαν ἔσχε τῆς νίκης, μεγάλας ἐπ' Ἀντίοχον Ῥωμαίοις ἀναπετάσας κλεισιάδας καὶ πρόσω μόνον ὄρωντι τῷ βασιλεῖ περιστήσας κατὰ ιώτου τὸν πόλεμον.
3 ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ νίκη περιφανῶς ἔργον οὖσα Κάτωνος ἔξηλασε τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ παρέσχεν ἐπιβατὴν αὐθις Σκηπίωνι.

Πολεμοῦντες μὲν οὖν ἀήττητοι γεγόνασιν ἀμφότεροι, περὶ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἔπταισεν ἔξοστρακισθεὶς καὶ καταστασιασθεὶς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους, Κάτων δ', οἶπερ ἥσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ δυνατώτατοι καὶ μέγιστοι, πᾶσιν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀντιπάλοις χρώμενος καὶ μέχρι γήρως ὕσπερ ἀθλητῆς ὡγωνιζόμενος ἀπτῶτα διετήρησεν 4 ἑαυτὸν. πλείστας δὲ καὶ φυγὰν δημοσίας δίκας καὶ διώξας πολλὰς μὲν εἶλε, πάσας δ' ἀπέφυγε, πρόβλημα τοῦ βίου καὶ δραστήριον ὅργανον ἔχων τὸν λόγον, φέδη δικαιότερον ἀν τις ἡ τύχη καὶ δαίμονι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν παρ' ἀξίαν ἀνατιθείη. μέγα γὰρ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλει τῷ 354

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Aristides was not the foremost man in any one of his victories, but Miltiades has the chief honour of Marathon, Themistocles of Salamis, and at Plataea, Herodotus¹ says it was Pausanias who won that fairest of all victories, while even for second honours Aristides has such rivals as Sophanes, Ameinius, Callimachus, and Cynaegeirus, who displayed the greatest valour in those actions. Cato, on the other hand, was not only chief in the plans and actions of the Spanish war during his own consulate, but also at Thermopylae, when he was but a tribune in the army and another was consul, he got the glory of the victory, opening up great mountain passes for the Romans to rush through upon Antiochus, and swinging the war round into the king's rear, when he had eyes only for what was in front of him. That victory was manifestly the work of Cato, and it not only drove Asia out of Hellas, but made it afterwards accessible to Scipio.

It is true that both were always victorious in war, but in politics Aristides got a fall, being driven into a minority and ostracised by Themistocles. Cato, on the contrary, though he had for his antagonists almost all the greatest and ablest men in Rome, and though he kept on wrestling with them up to his old age, never lost his footing. He was involved in countless civil processes, both as plaintiff and defendant; as plaintiff, he often won his case, as defendant, he never lost it, thanks to that bulwark and efficacious weapon of his life, his eloquence. To this, more justly than to fortune and the guardian genius of the man, we may ascribe the fact that he was never visited with disgrace. That was a great

¹ ix. 64.

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φιλοσόφῳ τοῦτο προσεμαρτύρησεν Ἀντίπατρος γράφων περὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ πιθανὸν εἶχεν.

III. "Οτι μὲν δὴ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἄνθρωπος ἀρετῆς οὐ κτᾶται τελειοτέραν, ὁμολογούμενόν ἐστι· ταύτης δέ που μόριον οἱ πλεῖστοι τὴν οἰκονομικὴν οὐ μικρὸν τίθενται· καὶ γὰρ ἡ πόλις οἴκων τι σύστημα καὶ κεφάλαιον οὖσα ὥστηνυνται πρὸς τὰ δημόσια τοῦς ἰδίους βίους τῶν πολιτῶν εὐθενούντων, ὅπου καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἔξοικίσας μὲν ἄργυρον,
2 ἔξοικίσας δὲ χρυσὸν τῆς Σπάρτης, νόμισμα δὲ διεφθαρμένου πυρὶ σιδήρου θέμενος αὐτοῖς οἰκονομίας οὐκ ἀπήλλαξε τοὺς πολίτας, ἀλλὰ τὰ τρυφῶντα καὶ ὑπουλα καὶ φλεγμαίνοντα τοῦ πλούτου περιελών, ὅπως εὐπορήσωσι τῶν ἀναγκάίων καὶ χρησίμων ἀπαντεῖς, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς νομοθέτης προύνόησε, τὸν ἄπορον καὶ ἀνέστιον καὶ πένητα σύνοικον ἐπὶ κοινωνίᾳ πολιτείας μᾶλλον τοῦ πλου-
3 σίου καὶ ὑπερόγκου φοβηθείς. φαίνεται τοίνυν ὁ μὲν Κάτων οὐδέν τι φαυλότερος οἴκου προστάτης ἢ πόλεως γενούμενος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ηὕξησε τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον καὶ κατέστη διδάσκαλος οἰκονομίας καὶ γεωργίας ἑτέροις, πολλὰ καὶ χρήσιμα περὶ τούτων συνταξάμενος· Ἀριστείδης δὲ τῇ πενίᾳ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην συνδιέβαλεν ὡς οἰκοφθόρον καὶ πτωχοποιὸν καὶ πᾶσι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς κεκτη-
4 μένοις ὠφέλιμον. καίτοι πολλὰ μὲν Ἡσίοδος

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tribute which was paid Aristotle the philosopher by Antipater, when he wrote concerning him, after his death, that in addition to all his other gifts, the man had also the gift of persuasion.

III. Man has no higher capacity than that for conducting cities and states, as is generally admitted. But the ability to conduct a household enters in no small degree into this higher political capacity, as most believe. For the city is but an organised sum total of households, and has public vigour only as its citizens prosper in their private lives. When Lycurgus banished both silver and gold from Sparta, and introduced there a coinage of iron that had been ruined by fire, he did not set his fellow citizens free from the duty of domestic economy. He merely removed the swollen and feverish wantonness of wealth, and so provided that all alike might have an abundance of the necessary and useful things of life. He did this because better than any other ancient legislator, he fore-saw that the helpless, homeless, and poverty-stricken citizen was a greater menace to the commonwealth than one who was rich and ostentatious. Cato, then, was no whit less efficient in the conduct of his household than in that of the city. He not only increased his own substance, but became a recognized teacher of domestic economy and agriculture for others, and compiled many useful precepts on these subjects. Aristides, on the other hand, was so poor as to bring even his righteousness into disrepute, as ruining a household, reducing a man to beggary, and profiting everybody rather than its possessor. And yet Hesiod¹ has much to say by

¹ *Works and Days*, 309.

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πρὸς δικαιοσύνην ἄμα καὶ οἰκονομίαν παρακαλῶν
ἡμᾶς εἴρηκε καὶ τὴν ἀργίαν ως ἀδικίας ἀρχὴν
λελοιδόρηκεν, εὖ δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρω πεποίηται.

ἔργον δέ μοι οὐ φίλον ἦεν
οὐδὲ οἰκωφελίη, ἢ τε τρέφει ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ἀλλά μοι αἱεὶ νῆες ἐπήρετμοι φίλαι ἥσαν
καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ ἄκοντες ἔүξεστοι καὶ ὁῖστοι·

ώς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀμελοῦντας οἰκίας καὶ ποριζομέν-
5 ους ἔξι ἀδικίας. οὐ γάρ, ώς τοῦλαιον οἱ ἰατροί
φασι τοῦ σώματος εἶναι τοῖς μὲν ἐκτὸς ὠφελιμώ-
τατον, τοῖς δὲ ἐντὸς βλαβερώτατον, οὕτως ὁ
δίκαιος ἑτέροις μέν ἐστι χρήσιμος, αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἴδιων ἀκηδῆς, ἀλλ' ἔοικε ταύτη πεπηρῶσθαι
τῷ Ἀριστείδῃ τὸ πολιτικόν, εἴπερ, ώς οἱ πλεῖστοι
λέγουσιν, οὐδὲ προΐκα τοῖς θυγατρίοις οὐδὲ
6 ταφὴν αὐτῷ καταλιπέσθαι προύνόησεν. ὅθεν ὁ
μὲν Κάτωνος οἶκος ἄχρι γένους τετάρτου στρατη-
γοὺς καὶ ὑπάτους τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρεῖχε· καὶ γὰρ
νίωνολ καὶ τούτων ἔτι παῖδες ἥρξαν ἀρχὰς τὰς
μεγίστας· τῆς δὲ Ἀριστείδου τοῦ πρωτεύσαντος
Ἐλλήνων γενεᾶς ἡ πολλὴ καὶ ἀπορος πενία τοὺς
μὲν εἰς ἀγυρτικοὺς κατέβαλε πίνακας, τοὺς δὲ δη-
μοσίω τὰς χεῖρας ἐράνω δι' ἔνδειαν ὑπέχειν ἡνάγ-
κασεν, οὐδενὶ δὲ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐκείνου
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φρονῆσαι παρέσχεν.

IV. Ἡ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀμφιλογίαν ἔχει; πενία
γὰρ αἰσχρὸν οὐδαμοῦ μὲν δι' αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπου
δεῖγμα ῥᾳθυμίας ἐστίν, ἀκρασίας, πολυτελείας,

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way of exhorting us to righteousness allied with domestic economy, and abuses idleness as a source of injustice ; Homer also says well :—

“ Labour I never liked,
Nor household thrift, which breeds good children.
But ships equipped with oars were ever my delight,
Battles and polished javelins and arrows,”¹

implying that the men who neglect their households are the very ones to live by injustice. Oil, as physicians tell us, is very beneficial when externally applied, though very injurious when used internally. But the righteous is not so. He is not helpful to others, while heedless of himself and his family. Indeed, the poverty of Aristides would seem to have been a blemish on his political career, if, as most writers state, he had not foresight enough to leave his poor daughters a marriage portion,² or even the cost of his own burial. And so it fell out that the family of Cato furnished Rome with praetors and consuls down to the fourth generation, for his grandsons, and their sons after them, filled the highest offices of state. Whereas, though Aristides was foremost of the Greeks, the abject poverty of his descendants forced some to ply a fortune-teller’s trade,³ and others, for very want, to solicit the public bounty, while it robbed them all of every ambition to excel, or even to be worthy of their great ancestor.

IV. Possibly this point invites discussion. Poverty is never dishonourable in itself, but only when it is a mark of sloth, intemperance, extravagance, or

¹ *Odyssey*, xiv. 222 ff., Palmer’s translation.

² *Aristides*, xxvii. 1. ³ *Aristides*, xxvii. 3.

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ἀλογιστίας, ἀνδρὶ δὲ σώφρονι καὶ φιλοπόνῳ καὶ
δικαίῳ καὶ ἀνδρείῳ καὶ δημοσιεύοντι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς
ἀπάσαις συνοῦσα μεγαλοψυχίας ἐστὶ καὶ μεγαλο-
2 φροσύνης σημείου. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πράττειν μεγάλα
φροντίζοντα μικρῶν, οὐδὲ πολλοῖς δεομένοις
βοηθεῖν πολλῶν αὐτὸν δεόμενον. μέγα δ' εἰς
πολιτείαν ἐφόδιον οὐχὶ πλοῦτος, ἀλλ' αὐτάρκεια,
τῷ μηδενὸς ἴδιᾳ τῶν περιττῶν δεῖσθαι πρὸς οὐ-
δεμίαν ἀσχολίαν ἄγουσα τῶν δημοσίων. ἀπροσ-
δεής μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς ὁ θεός, ἀνθρωπίνης δὲ ἀρετῆς,
ῳ συνάγεται πρὸς τὸ ἐλάχιστον ἡ χρεία, τοῦτο
3 τελειότατον καὶ θειότατον. ὡς γὰρ σῶμα τὸ 355
καλῶς πρὸς εὐεξίαν κεκραμένον οὔτ' ἔσθητος οὔτε
τροφῆς δεῖται περιττῆς, οὔτω καὶ βίος καὶ οἶκος
ὑγιαίνων ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων διοικεῖται. δεῖ δὲ
τῇ χρείᾳ σύμμετρον ἔχειν τὴν κτῆσιν· ὡς δὲ γε
πολλὰ συνάγων, ὀλίγοις δὲ χρώμενος οὐκ ἔστιν
αὐτάρκης, ἀλλ' εἴτε μὴ δεῖται, τῆς παρασκευῆς ὡν
οὐκ ὀρέγεται μάταιος, εἴτ' ὀρέγεται, μικρολογίᾳ
κολούων τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ἄθλιος.

Αὐτοῦ γέ τοι Κάτωνος ἡδέως ἀν πυθοίμην.
4 εὶ μὲν ἀπολαυστὸν ὁ πλοῦτός ἐστι, τί σεμνύη τῷ
πολλὰ κεκτημένος ἀρκεῖσθαι μετρίοις; εἰ δὲ
λαμπρόν ἔστιν, ὥσπερ ἔστιν, ἄρτῳ τε χρῆσθαι
τῷ προστυχόντι καὶ πίνειν οἶνον ἐργάται πί-
νουσι καὶ θεράποντες οἶνον καὶ πορφύρας μὴ
δεηθῆναι μηδὲ οἰκίας κεκονιαμένης, οὐδὲν οὔτ'
'Αριστείδης οὔτ' 'Επαμεινώνδας οὔτε Μάνιος
Κούριος οὔτε Γάϊος Φαβρίκιος ἐνέλιπον τοῦ προσ-

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thoughtlessness. When, on the other hand, it is the handmaid of a sober, industrious, righteous, and brave man, who devotes all his powers to the service of the people, it is the sign of a lofty spirit that harbours no mean thoughts. It is impossible for a man to do great things when his thoughts are busy with little things ; nor can he aid the many who are in need when he himself is in need of many things. A great equipment for public service consists, not in wealth, but in contented independence, which requires no private superfluities, and so puts no hindrance in the way of serving the commonwealth. God alone is absolutely free from wants ; but that is the most perfect and god-like quality in human excellence which reduces man's wants to their lowest terms. For as a body which is well tempered and vigorous needs no superfluous food or raiment, so a healthy individual or family life can be conducted with the simplest outlays. A man should make his gains tally with his needs. He who heaps up much substance and uses little of it, is not contented and independent. If he does not need it, he is a fool for providing what he does not crave ; and if he craves it, he makes himself wretched by parsimoniously curtailing his enjoyment of it.

Indeed, I would fain ask Cato himself this question : " If wealth is a thing to be enjoyed, why do you plume yourself on being satisfied with little when possessed of much ? " But if it be a fine thing, as indeed it is, to eat ordinary bread, and to drink such wine as labourers and servants drink, and not to want purple robes nor even plastered houses, then Aristides and Epaminondas and Manius Curius and Gaius Fabricius were perfectly right in turning

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ήκουντος, χαίρειν ἔύσαντες τὴν κτῆσιν ὡν τὴν
5 χρῆσιν ἀπεδόκιμαζον. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον ἀν-
θρώπῳ γογγυλίδας ἥδιστον ὄψον πεποιημένῳ καὶ
δι' αὐτοῦ ταύτας ἔφοντι, ματτούσης ἅμα τῆς
γυναικὸς ἀλφίτα, τοσαῦτα περὶ ἀσταρίου θρυλεῖν
καὶ γράφειν ἀφ' ἣς ἂν τις ἐργασίας τάχιστα
πλούσιος γένοιτο. μέγα γὰρ τὸ εὔτελὲς καὶ
αὕταρκες, ὅτι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς φρον-
6 τίδος ἀπαλλάττει τῶν περιττῶν. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο
φασιν ἐν τῇ Καλλίου δίκῃ τὸν Ἀριστείδην εἰπεῖν,
ὡς αἰσχύνεσθαι πενίαν προσήκει τοῖς ἀκουσίως
πενομένοις, τοῖς δ', ὥσπερ αὐτός, ἑκουσίως, ἐγκαλ-
λωπίζεσθαι. γελοῖον γὰρ οἴεσθαι ῥαθυμίας εἰναι
τὴν Ἀριστείδου πενίαν, φέ παρῆν αἰσχρὸν εἰργα-
σμένῳ μηδέν, ἀλλ' ἔνα σκυλεύσαντι βάρβαρον ἦ
μίαν σκηνὴν καταλαβόντι πλουσίῳ γενέσθαι.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τούτων.

V. Στρατηγίαι δὲ αἱ μὲν Κάτωνος οὐδὲν ὡς
μεγάλοις πράγμασι μέγα προσέθηκαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς
'Αριστείδου τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ λαμπρότατα καὶ
πρῶτα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων ἔστιν, ὁ Μαραθών,
ἡ Σαλαμίς, αἱ Πλαταιαί. καὶ οὐκ ἄξιον δήπου
παραβαλεῖν τῷ Ξέρξῃ τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ τὰ
περιαιρεθέντα τῶν Ἰβηρικῶν πόλεων τείχη ταῖς
τυσαύταις μὲν ἐν γῇ, τοσαύταις δὲ ἐν θαλάσσῃ
2 πεσούσαις μυριάσιν· ἐν οἷς Ἀριστείδης ἔργῳ
μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐλείπετο, δόξης δὲ καὶ στεφάνων,
ὥσπερ ἀμέλει πλούτου καὶ χρημάτων, ὑφήκατο
τοῖς μᾶλλον δεομένοις, ὅτι καὶ πάντων τούτων
διέφερεν.

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their backs on the gaining of what they scorned to use. Surely it was not worth while for a man who, like Cato, esteemed turnips a delectable dish and cooked them himself, while his wife was kneading bread, to babble so much about a paltry copper, and write on the occupation in which one might soonest get rich. Great is the simple life, and great its independence, but only because it frees a man from the anxious desire of superfluous things. Hence it was that Aristides, as we are told, remarked at the trial of Callias¹ that only those who were poor in spite of themselves should be ashamed of their poverty; those who, like himself, chose poverty, should glory in it. And surely it were ridiculous to suppose that the poverty of Aristides was due to his sloth, when, without doing anything disgraceful, but merely by stripping a single Barbarian, or seizing a single tent, he might have made himself rich. So much on this head.

V. The military campaigns of Cato made no great addition to the Roman empire, which was great already; but those of Aristides include the fairest, most brilliant, and most important actions of the Greeks, namely, Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. And certainly Antiochus is not worthy to be compared with Xerxes, nor the demolition of the walls of the Spanish cities with the destruction of so many myriads of Barbarians both by land and sea. On these occasions Aristides was inferior to no one in actual service, but he left the glory and the laurels, as he did wealth and substance, to those who wanted them more, because he was superior to all these things also.

¹ *Aristides*, xxv. 5.

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Εγὼ δ' οὐ μέμφομαι μὲν Κάτωνος τὸ μεγαλύτερον ἀεὶ καὶ πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν ἀπάντων τίθεσθαι· καίτοι φησὶν ἐν τινι λόγῳ τὸ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τὸ λοιδορεῖν ἄποπον εἶναι· τελειότερος δέ μοι δοκεῖ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τοῦ πολλάκις ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζοντος ὁ μηδὲ ἔτερων τοῦτο ποιούντων
3 δεόμενος. τὸ γὰρ ἀφιλότιμον οὐ μικρὸν εἰς πρᾳότητα πολιτικὴν ἔφόδιον, καὶ τούναντίου ή φιλοτιμία χαλεπὸν καὶ φθόνου γονιμώτατον, ἃς ὁ μὲν ἀπήλλακτο παντάπασιν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ πολλῆς μετεῖχεν. Ἀριστείδης μέν γε Θεμιστοκλεῖ τὰ μέγιστα συμπράττων καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ δορυφορῶν ὥρθωσε
4 τὰς Ἀθήνας, Κάτων δ' ἀντιπράττων Σκηπίωνι μικροῦ μὲν ἀνέτρεψε καὶ διελυμήνατο τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους αὐτοῦ στρατηγίαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἀρτητητὸν Ἀννίβαν καθεῖλε, τέλος δὲ μηχανώμενος ἀεί τινας ὑποφίας καὶ διαβολὰς αὐτὸν μὲν ἐξῆλασε τῆς πόλεως, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν αἰσχίστη κλοπῆς καταδίκη περιέβαλεν.

VII. "Ἡν τοίνυν πλείστοις ὁ Κάτων κεκόσμηκε καὶ καλλίστοις ἐπαίνοις ἀεὶ σωφροσύνην Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἄθικτον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ καθαρὸν ἐτήρησεν, αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Κάτωνος ὁ παρ' ἀξίᾳν ἄμα καὶ παρ' ὥραν γάμος οὐ μικρὰν οὐδὲ φαύλην εἰς τοῦτο διαβολὴν κατεσκέδασε. πρεσβύτην 356 γὰρ ἦδη τοσοῦτον ἐνηλίκῳ παιδὶ καὶ γυναικὶ νύμφῃ παιδὸς ἐπιγῆμαι κόρην ὑπηρέτου καὶ δημοσιεύοντος ἐπὶ μισθῷ πατρὸς οὐδαμοῦ καλόν,

COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES AND CATO

For my own part, I do not blame Cato for his constant boasting, and for rating himself above everybody else, although he does say, in one of his speeches, that self-praise and self-depreciation are alike absurd. But I regard the man who is often lauding himself as less complete in excellence than one who does not even want others to do so. Freedom from ambition is no slight requisite for the gentleness which should mark a statesman; and, on the contrary, ambition is harsh, and the greatest fomenter of envy. From this spirit Aristides was wholly free, whereas Cato was very full of it. For example, Aristides co-operated with Themistocles in his greatest achievements, and as one might say, stood guard over him while he was in command, and thereby saved Athens; while Cato, by his opposition to Scipio, almost vitiated and ruined that wonderful campaign of his against the Carthaginians, in which he overthrew the invincible Hannibal,¹ and finally, by perpetually inventing all sorts of suspicions and calumnies against him, drove him out of Rome, and brought down on his brother's head a most shameful condemnation for embezzlement.

VI. Once more, that temperance which Cato always decked out with the fairest praises, Aristides maintained and practised in unsullied purity; whereas Cato, by marrying unworthily and unseasonably, fell under no slight or insignificant censure in this regard. It was surely quite indecent that a man of his years should bring home as step-mother to his grown-up son and that son's bride, a girl whose father was his assistant and served the public for hire. Whether he did this merely for

¹ At Zama, 202 B.C.

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ἀλλ εἴτε πρὸς ἡδονὴν ταῦτ' ἐπραξεν εἴτε ὁργῇ
διὰ τὴν ἔταιραν ἀμυνόμενος τὸν νιόν, αἰσχύνην
2 ἔχει καὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ ἡ πρόφασις. φέδ' αὐτὸς
ἔχρήσατο λόγῳ κατειρωνευόμενος τὸ μειράκιον,
οὐκ ἦν ἀληθῆς. εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλετο παιᾶς ἀγαθοὺς
όμοιώς τεκνῶσαι, γάμον ἔδει λαβεῖν γενναῖον
ἔξι ἀρχῆς σκεψάμενον, οὐχ ἔως μὲν ἐλάνθανεν
ἀνεγγυώ γυναικὶ καὶ κοινῇ συγκοιμώμενος ἀγα-
πᾶν, ἐπεὶ δέ ἐφωράθη ποιήσασθαι πενθερόν,
διν ῥάστα πείσειν, οὐχ φέδ' κάλλιστα κηδεύσειν
ἔμελλεν.

COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES AND CATO

his own pleasure, or in anger, to punish his son for objecting to his mistress, both what he did and what led him to do it were disgraceful. And the sarcastic reason for it which he gave his son was not a true one. For had he wished to beget more sons as good, he should have planned at the outset to marry a woman of family, instead of contenting himself, as long as he could do so secretly, with the society of a low concubine, and when he was discovered, making a man his father-in-law whom he could most easily persuade, rather than one whose alliance would bring him most honour.

CIMON

ΚΙΜΩΝ

- Ι. Περιπόλτας ὁ μάντις ἐκ Θετταλίας εἰς Βοιωτίαν Ὀφέλταν τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ λαοὺς καταγαγὼν γένος εὐδοκιμῆσαν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς χρόνους κατέλιπεν, οὐ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ κατφύγησεν, ἦν πρώτην πόλιν ἔσχον ἐξελάσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους φύσει μάχιμοι καὶ ἀνδρώδεις γενόμενοι καταναλώθησαν ἐν ταῖς Μηδικαῖς ἐπιδρομαῖς καὶ τοῖς Γαλατικοῖς ἄγωσιν ἀφειδήσαντες ἑαυτῶν.
- 2 λείπεται δὲ παῖς ὄρφανὸς γονέων, ὄνομα Δάμων, παρωνύμιον δὲ Περιπόλτας, πολὺ δή τι καὶ σώματος κάλλει καὶ ψυχῆς φρονήματι τοὺς καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπεραίρων νέους, ἄλλως δὲ ἀπαίδευτος καὶ σκληρὸς τὸ ἥθος.
- Τούτου Ῥωμαῖος ἡγεμὸν σπείρας τινὸς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ διαχειμαζούσης ἐρασθεὶς ἅρτι τὴν παιδικὴν ἡλικίαν παρηλλάχοτος, ὡς οὐκ ἐπειθε πειρῶν καὶ διδούς, δῆλος ἦν οὐκ ἀφεξόμενος βίας, 479 ἀτε δὴ καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν τότε λυπρὰ πραττούσης καὶ διὰ μικρότητα καὶ πενίαν παρορωμένης.
- 3 τοῦτο δὴ δεδιώς ὁ Δάμων, καὶ τὴν πεῖραν αὐτὴν δι' ὄργῆς πεποιημένος, ἐπεβούλευε τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ συνίστη τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τινας ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, οὐ πολλοὺς ἔνεκα τοῦ λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' οἱ σύμπαντες

CIMON

I. PERIPIOLAS the seer, who conducted King Opheltas with his subjects from Thessaly into Boeotia, left a posterity there which was in high repute for many generations. The greater part of them settled in Chaeroneia, which was the first city they won from the Barbarians. Now the most of this posterity were naturally men of war and courage, and so were consumed away in the Persian invasions and the contests with the Gauls, because they did not spare themselves. There remained, however, an orphan boy, Damon by name, Peripoltas by surname, who far surpassed his fellows in beauty of body and in vigour of spirit, though otherwise he was untrained and of a harsh disposition.

With this Damon, just passed out of boy's estate, the Roman commander of a cohort that was wintering in Chaeroneia fell enamoured, and since he could not win him over by solicitations and presents, he was plainly bent on violence, seeing that our native city was at that time in sorry plight, and neglected because of her smallness and poverty. Violence was just what Damon feared, and since the solicitation itself had enraged him, he plotted against the man, and enlisted against him sundry companions,—a few only, that they might escape notice. There were

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έκκαιδεκα γενόμενοι χρίουται μὲν αἰθάλῳ τὰ πρόσωπα νυκτός, ἐμπιούντες δὲ ἄκρατον ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσπίπτουσι τῷ Ῥωμαίῳ κατ' ἀγορὰν θύοντι, καὶ καταβαλόντες αὐτὸν τε καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
4 οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετέστησαν. γενομένης δὲ ταραχῆς ἡ τῶν Χαιρωνέων βουλὴ συνελθοῦσα θάνατον αὐτῶν κατέγνω· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀπολόγημα πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. ἐσπέρας δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὥσπερ ἔθος ἐστί, κοινῇ δειπνούντων οἱ περὶ τὸν Δάμωνα παρεισπεσόντες εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἀπέσφαξαν αὐτοὺς καὶ πάλιν ὥχοντο φεύγοντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
5 Ἐτυχε δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας Λεύκιος Λούκουλλος ἐπὶ τινα πρᾶξιν μετὰ δυνάμεως παρερχόμενος. ἐπιστήσας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τῶν γεγονότων προσφάτων δυτῶν ἐξέτασιν ποιησάμενος εὗρε τὴν πόλιν οὐδενὸς αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον συνηδικημένην· καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας
6 ἀναλαβὼν ἀπήγαγε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. τὸν δὲ Δάμωνα ληστείας καὶ καταδρομαῖς πορθοῦντα τὴν χώραν καὶ τῇ πόλει προσκείμενον ὑπηγάγοντο πρεσβείαις καὶ ψηφίσμασι φιλανθρώποις οἱ πολῖται, κατελθόντα δὲ γυμνασίαρχον κατέστησαν· εἴτ' ἀλειφόμενον ἐν τῷ πυριατηρίῳ διέφθειραν. ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον εἰδώλων τινῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ προφαινομένων καὶ στεναγμῶν ἐξακονομένων, ὡς οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν λέγουσι, τὰς θύρας ἀνφορδόμησαν τοῦ πυριατηρίου· καὶ μέχρι νῦν οἱ τῷ τόπῳ γειτνιῶντες οἴονται τινας δῆμεις καὶ φωνὰς ταραχώδεις φέρεσθαι. τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ
7 (διασώζονται γὰρ ἔνιοι, μάλιστα τῆς Φωκίδος

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sixteen of them in all, who smeared their faces with soot one night, heated themselves with wine, and at daybreak fell upon the Roman while he was sacrificing in the market-place, slew him, together with many of his followers, and departed the city. During the commotion which followed, the council of Chaeroneia met and condemned the murderers to death, and this was the defence which the city afterwards made to its Roman rulers. But in the evening, while the magistrates were dining together, as the custom is, Damon and his men burst into the town-hall, slew them, and again fled the city.

Now about that time¹ it chanced that Lucius Lucullus passed that way, on some errand, with an army. Halting on his march and investigating matters while they were still fresh in mind, he found that the city was in no wise to blame, but rather had itself also suffered wrong. So he took its garrison of soldiers and led them away with him. Then Damon, who was ravaging the country with predatory forays and threatening the city, was induced by embassies and conciliatory decrees of the citizens to return, and was appointed gymnasarch. But soon, as he was anointing himself in the vapour-bath, he was slain. And because for a long while thereafter certain phantoms appeared in the place, and groans were heard there, as our Fathers tell us, the door of the vapour-bath was walled up, and to this present time the neighbours think it the source of alarming sights and sounds. Descendants of Damon's family (and some are still living, especially near Stiris in

¹ 74 B.C. (?)

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περὶ Στεῖριν, αἰολίζοντες) ἀσβολωμένους καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ τὸν Δάμωνα πρὸς τὸν φόνον ἀσβόλῳ χρισάμενον ἔξελθεῖν.

II. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἀστυγείτονες ὅντες Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ διάφοροι τοῖς Χαιρωνεῦσιν ἐμισθώσαντο 'Ρωμαϊκὸν συκοφάντην, ὁ δ' ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα κατενεγκῶν ἐδίωκε φόνου τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δάμωνος ἀνηρημένων, ἡ δὲ κρίσις ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας (οὕπω γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ῥωμαῖοι στρατηγοὺς διεπέμποντο), οἱ λέγοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὴν Λουκούλλου μαρτυρίαν, γράψαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς Λουκούλλον ἐκεῖνος ἐμαρτύρησε τάληθῆ, καὶ τὴν δίκην οὗτως ἀπέφυγεν ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύουσα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν οἱ τότε σωθέντες εἴκόνα τοῦ Λουκούλλου λιθίνην ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνέστησαν, ἡμεῖς δ', εἰ καὶ πολλαῖς ἡλικίαις λειπόμεθα, τὴν μὲν χάριν οἰόμεθα διατείνειν καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς 3 νῦν ὄντας, εἴκόνα δὲ πολὺ καλλίονα νομίζοντες εἶναι τῆς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀπομιμουμένης τὴν τὸ ἥθος καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐμφανίζουσαν, ἀναληψόμεθα τῇ γραφῇ τῶν παραλλήλων βίων τὰς πράξεις τοῦ ἀνδρός, τάληθῆ διεξιόντες. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἡ τῆς μνήμης χάρις· ἀληθοῦς δὲ μαρτυρίας οὐδὲ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἡξίωσε μισθὸν λαβεῖν ψευδῆ καὶ πεπλασμένην ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διήγησιν.

4 "Ωσπερ γὰρ τοὺς τὰ καλὰ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχοντα χάριν εἴδη ζωγραφοῦντας, ἀν προσῆ τι μικρὸν αὐτοῖς δυσχερές, ἀξιοῦμεν μήτε παραλιπεῖν τοῦτο τελέως μήτε ἔξακριβοῦν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αἰσχράν, τὸ δ' ἀνομοίαν παρέχεται τὴν ὅψιν· οὗτως, ἐπεὶ

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Phocis, Aeolians in speech) are called "Asbolomeni," or "Besooted," because Damon smeared himself with soot before he went forth to do his deed of murder.

II. But the Orchomenians, who were neighbours and, rivals of the Chaeroneians, hired a Roman informer to cite the city by name, as though it were an individual person, and prosecute it for the murder of the Roman soldiers who had been slain by Damon. The trial was held before the praetor of Macedonia (the Romans were not yet sending praetors to Greece), and the city's advocates invoked the testimony of Lucullus. Lucullus, when the praetor wrote to him, testified to the truth of the matter, and so the city escaped capital condemnation. Accordingly, the people who at that time were saved by him erected a marble statue of Lucullus in the market-place beside that of Dionysus. And we, though many generations removed from him, think that his favour extends even down to us who are now living; and since we believe that a portrait which reveals character and disposition is far more beautiful than one which merely copies form and feature, we shall incorporate this man's deeds into our parallel lives, and we shall rehearse them truly. The mere mention of them is sufficient favour to show him; and as a return for his truthful testimony he himself surely would not deign to accept a false and garbled narrative of his career.

We demand of those who would paint fair and graceful features that, in case of any slight imperfection therein, they shall neither wholly omit it nor yet emphasise it, because the one course makes the portrait ugly and the other unlike its original. In

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χαλεπόν ἐστι, μᾶλλον δ' ἵσως ἀμήχανον, ἀμεμφῆ
καὶ καθαρὸν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδεῖξαι βίου, ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς 480
ἀναπληρωτέον ὥσπερ ὁμοιότητα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

5 τὰς δ' ἐκ πάθους τινὸς η̄ πολιτικῆς ἀνάγκης
ἐπιτρεχούσας ταῖς πράξεις ἀμαρτίας καὶ κῆρας
ἔλλειμματα μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς τινος η̄ κακίας
πονηρεύματα νομίζοντας οὐδεὶς πάνυ προθύμως
ἐναποσημαίνειν τῇ ἴστορίᾳ καὶ περιττῶς, ἀλλ'
ὥσπερ αἰδονυμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως,
εἴ καλὸν οὐδὲν εἰλικρινὲς οὐδὲ ἀναμφισβήτητον
εἰς ἀρετὴν ήθος γεγονὸς ἀποδίδωσιν.

III. 'Ο δ' οὖν Λούκουλλος ἐδόκει σκοποῦσιν
ἡμῖν τῷ Κίμωνι παραβλητέος εἶναι. πολεμικὸι
γὰρ ἀμφότεροι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Βαρβάρους λαμπροί,
πρᾶgoi δὲ τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐμφυλίων
στάσεων ἀναπνοὴν ταῖς πατρίσιι παρασχόντες,
ἔκαστος δέ τις αὐτῶν στήσαντες τρόπαια καὶ
2 νίκας ἀνελόμενοι περιβοήτους. οὗτε γὰρ 'Ελ-
λήνων Κίμωνος οὗτε 'Ρωμαίων Λουκούλλου πρό-
τερος οὐδεὶς οὕτω μακρὰν πολεμῶν προῆλθεν,
ἔξω λόγου τιθεμένων τῶν καθ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ
Διόνυσον, εἴ τέ τι Περσέως πρὸς Αἰθίοπας η̄
Μήδους καὶ 'Αρμενίους η̄ Ιάσονος ἔργον ἀξιόπι-
στον ἐκ τῶν τότε χρόνων μνήμη φερόμενον εἰς
3 τοὺς μῦν ἀφίκται. κοινὸν δέ πως αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ
ἀτελὲς γέγονε τῆς στρατηγίας, ἐκατέρου μὲν
συντρίψαντος, οὐδετέρου δὲ καταλύσαντος τὸν
ἀνταγωνιστήν. μάλιστα δ' η̄ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς
καὶ τὰς φιλανθρωπίας ταύτας ὑγρότης καὶ δακρί-
λεια καὶ τὸ νεαρὸν καὶ ἀνειμένον ἐν τῇ διαιτῃ
παραπλήσιον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἰδεῖν ὑπάρχει.

CIMON

like manner, since it is difficult, nay rather perhaps impossible, to represent a man's life as stainless and pure, in its fair chapters we must round out the truth into fullest semblance; but those transgressions and follies by which, owing to passion, perhaps, or political compulsion, a man's career is sullied, we must regard rather as shortcomings in some particular excellence than as the vile products of positive baseness, and we must not all too zealously delineate them in our history, and superfluously too, but treat them as though we were tenderly defending human nature for producing no character which is absolutely good and indisputably set towards virtue.

III. On looking about for some one to compare with Lucullus, we decided that it must be Cimon. Both were men of war, and of brilliant exploits against the Barbarians, and yet they were mild and beneficent statesmen, in that they gave their countries unusual respite from civil strifes, though each one of them set up martial trophies and won victories that were famous. No Hellene before Cimon and no Roman before Lucullus carried his wars into such remote lands, if we leave out of our account the exploits of Heracles and Dionysus, and whatever credible deeds of Perseus against the Aethiopians or Medes and Armenians, or of Jason, have been brought down in the memory of man from those early times to our own. Common also in a way to both their careers was the incompleteness of their campaigns. Each crushed, but neither gave the death blow to his antagonist. But more than all else, the lavish ease which marked their entertainments and hospitalities, as well as the ardour and laxity of their way of living, was conspicuous alike in both. Pos-

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παραλείπομεν δ' ἵσως καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὁμοιότητας, ἀς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐκ τῆς διηγήσεως αὐτῆς συναγαγεῖν.

- IV. Κίμων ὁ Μιλτιάδου μητρὸς ἦν Ἡγησιπύλης, γένος Θράττης, θυγατρὸς Ὀλόρου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχελάου καὶ Μελανθίου ποιήμασιν εἰς αὐτὸν Κίμωνα γεγραμμένοις ίστόρηται. διὸ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ ἴστορικὸς τοῖς περὶ Κίμωνα κατὰ γένος προσήκων Ὀλόρου τε πατρὸς ἦν, εἰς τὸν πρόγονον ἀναφέροντος τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν,
2 καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα περὶ τὴν Θράκην ἐκέκτητο. καὶ τελευτῆσαι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκαπτῇ ὥλῃ (τοῦτο δὲ ἔστι τῆς Θράκης χωρίον) λέγεται φονευθεὶς ἐκεῖ, μνῆμα δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν λειψάνων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κομισθέντων ἐν τοῖς Κιμωνείοις δείκνυται παρὰ τὸν Ἐλπινίκης τῆς Κίμωνος ἀδελφῆς τάφον. ἀλλὰ Θουκυδίδης μὲν Ἀλιμούσιος γέγονε τῶν δήμων, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Μιλτιάδην Λακιάδαι.
3 Μιλτιάδης μὲν οὖν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων ὁφλῶν δίκην καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἕκτισιν εἰρχθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ, Κίμων δὲ μειράκιον παντάπασιν ἀπολειφθεὶς μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔτι κόρης οὕσης καὶ ἀγάμου τὸν πρῶτον ἡδόξει χρόνον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κακῶς ἥκουεν ὡς ἄτακτος καὶ πολυπότης καὶ τῷ πάππῳ Κίμωνι προσεοικώς τὴν φύσιν, διὸ δὲ εὐήθειάν φασι Κοάλεμον προσαγορευθῆναι. Στησίμβροτος δὲ ὁ Θάσιος περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ τι χρόνον τῷ Κίμωνι γεγονώς φησιν αὐτὸν οὔτε μουσικὴν οὔτε ἄλλο τι μάθημα τῶν ἑλευθερίων καὶ τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν ἐπιχωριαζόντων ἐκδιδαχθῆναι, δεινότητός τε καὶ στωμυλίας

CIMON

sibly we may omit still other resemblances, but it will not be hard to gather them directly from our story.

IV. Cimon was the son of Miltiades by Hegesipyle, a woman of Thracian stock, daughter of King Olorus, as it is stated in the poems of Archelaüs and Melanthius addressed to Cimon himself. That explains how it was that the father of Thucydides the historian—and Thucydides was connected with the family of Cimon—was also an Olorus, who referred his name back to that of the common ancestor, and also how it was that Thucydides had gold mines in Thrace.¹ And it is said that Thucydides died in Skapte Hylé, a place in Thrace, having been murdered there; but his remains were brought to Attica, and his monument is shown among those of Cimon's family, hard by the tomb of Elpinicé, Cimon's sister. However, Thucydides belonged to the deme of Halimus, the family of Miltiades to that of Laciadae.

Now Miltiades, who had been condemned to pay a fine of fifty talents and confined till payment should be made, died in prison, and Cimon, thus left a mere stripling with his sister who was a young girl and unmarried, was of no account in the city at first. He had the bad name of being dissolute and bibulous, and of taking after his grandfather Cimon, who, they say, because of his simplicity, was dubbed Coalemus, or Booby. And Stesimbrotus the Thasian, who was of about Cimon's time, says that he acquired no literary education, nor any other liberal and distinctively Hellenic accomplishment; that he lacked entirely the Attic cleverness and fluency

¹ Thuc. iv. 105.

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· Αττικῆς ὅλως ἀπηλλάχθαι, καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐνυπάρχειν, καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι Πελοποννήσιον τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ ἀνδρός,

φαῦλον, ἄκομψον, τὰ μέγιστ' ἀγαθόν,
κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδειον Ἡρακλέα· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστι
τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Στησιμβροτού γεγραμμένοις ἐπει-
πεῖν.

- 5 "Ετι δὲ νέος ὧν αἰτίαν ἔσχε πλησιάζειν τῇ ἀδελφῇ. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄλλως τὴν Ἐλπινίκην εὔτακτόν τινα γεγονέναι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Πολύγνωτον ἔξαμαρτεῖν τὸν ζωγράφον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασιν ἐν τῇ Πεισιανακτείῳ τότε καλουμένῃ, Ποικίλῃ δὲ υῦν στοᾶ, γράφοντα τὰς 481 Τρφάδας τὸ τῆς Λαοδίκης ποιῆσαι πρόσωπον
6 ἐν εἰκόνι τῆς Ἐλπινίκης. ὁ δὲ Πολύγνωτος οὐκ ἦν τῶν βαναύσων οὐδὲ ἀπ' ἐργολαβίας ἔγραφε τὴν στοάν, ἀλλὰ προίκα, φιλοτιμούμενος πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς οἴ τε συγγραφεῖς ἴστοροῦσι καὶ Μελάνθιος ὁ ποιητὴς λέγει τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·

Αὐτοῦ γὰρ δαπάναισι θεῶν ναοὺς ἀγοράν τε
Κεκροπίαν κόσμησ' ἡμιθέων ἀρεταῖς.

- 7 εἰσὶν δ' οἱ τὴν Ἐλπινίκην οὐ κρύφα τῷ Κίμωνι, φανερῶς δὲ γημαμένην συνοικῆσαι λέγουσιν, ἀξίου τῆς εὐγενείας νυμφίου διὰ τὴν πενίαν ἀποροῦσαν ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλίας τῶν εὐπόρων τις Ἀθήνησιν ἐρασθεὶς προσῆλθε τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς καταδίκην ἐκτίνειν ἔτοιμος ὧν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον, αὐτήν τε πεισθῆναι καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τῷ Καλλίᾳ συνοικίσαι τὴν Ἐλπινίκην.

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of speech ; that in his outward bearing there was much nobility and truthfulness ; that the fashion of the man's spirit was rather Peloponnesian,

"Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true," as Euripides says of Heracles,¹ a citation which we may add to what Stesimbrotus wrote.

While he was still a youth he was accused of improper intercourse with his sister. And indeed in other cases too they say that Elpinicé was not very decorous, but that she had improper relations also with Polygnotus the painter, and that it was for this reason that, in the Peisianacteum, as it was then called, but now the Painted Colonnade, when he was painting the Trojan women, he made the features of Laodicé a portrait of Elpinicé. Now Polygnotus was not a mere artisan, and did not paint the stoa for a contract price, but gratis, out of zeal for the welfare of the city, as the historians relate, and as Melanthius the poet testifies after this fashion :—

"He at his own lavish outlay the gods' great fanes,
and the market

Named Cecropia, adorned ; demigods' valour his
theme."

Still, there are some who say that Elpinicé did not live with Cimon in secret intercourse, but openly rather, as his wedded wife, because, on account of her poverty, she could not get a husband worthy of her high lineage ; but that when Callias, a wealthy Athenian, fell in love with her, and offered to pay into the state treasury the fine which had been imposed upon her father, she consented herself, and Cimon freely gave Elpinicé to Callias to wife.

¹ Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, 473.

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8 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως φαίνεται τοῖς περὶ τὰς γυναικας ἐρωτικοῖς ὁ Κίμων ἔνοχος γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἀστερίας τῷ γένει Σαλαμινίας καὶ πάλιν Μνήστρας τινὸς ὁ ποιητὴς Μελάνθιος μνημονεύει πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα παιίζων δὶ’ ἐλεγείας,
9 ὡς σπουδαξομένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. δῆλος δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ἰσοδίκην τὴν Εύρυπτολέμου μὲν θυγατέρα τοῦ Μεγακλέους, κατὰ νόμους δ’ αὐτῷ συμβιώσασαν ὁ Κίμων ἐμπαθέστερον διατεθεὶς καὶ δυσφορήσας ἀποθανούσης, εἴ τι δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς γεγραμμέναις ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ τοῦ πένθους ἐλεγείαις πρὸς αὐτόν, ὃν Παναίτιος ὁ φιλόσοφος οἴεται ποιητὴν γεγονέναι τὸν φυσικὸν Ἀρχέλαον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς χρόνοις εἰκάζων.

V. Τὰ δ’ ἄλλα πάντα τοῦ ἥθους ἀγαστὰ καὶ γενναῖα τοῦ Κίμωνος. οὗτε γὰρ τόλμη Μιλτιάδου λειπόμενος οὔτε συνέσει Θεμιστοκλέους, δικαιότερος ἀμφοῦν ὁμολογεῖται γενέσθαι, καὶ ταῖς πολεμικαῖς οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἀποδέων ἀρεταῖς ἐκείνων ἀμήχανον ὅσον ἐν ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ὑπερβαλέσθαι
2 νέος ὃν ἔτι καὶ πολέμων ἄπειρος. ὅτε γὰρ τὸν δῆμον ἐπιόντων Μήδων Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπειθε προέμενον τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπόντα πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ τὰ ὅπλα θέσθαι καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι κατὰ θάλατταν, ἐκπεπληγμένων τῶν πολλῶν τὸ τόλμημα πρῶτος Κίμων ὠφθη διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ φαιδρὸς ἀνιών εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ἵππου τινὰ χαλινὸν ἀναθεῖναι τῇ θεῷ, διὰ χειρῶν κομίζων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἴππικῆς ἀλκῆς, ἀλλὰ ναυμάχων ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῷ
3 παρόντι τῆς πόλεως δεομένης. ἀναθεὶς δὲ τὸν

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However, it is perfectly apparent that Cimon was given to the love of women. Asteria, of a Salaminian family, and a certain Mnestra are mentioned by the poet Melanthius, in a sportive elegy addressed to Cimon, as wooed and won by him. And it is clear that he was even too passionately attached to his lawful wife, Isodicé, the daughter of Euryptolemus and grand-daughter of Megacles, and that he was too sorely afflicted at her death, if we may judge from the elegy addressed to him for the mitigation of his grief. This was composed by the naturalist Archelaüs, as Panaetius the philosopher thinks, and his conjecture is chronologically possible.

V. All other traits of Cimon's character were admirable and noble. Neither in daring was he inferior to Miltiades, nor in sagacity to Themistocles, and it is admitted that he was a juster man than either, and that while not one whit behind them in the good qualities of a soldier, he was inconceivably their superior in those of a statesman, even when he was still young and untried in war. When the Medes made their invasion, and Themistocles was trying to persuade the people to give up their city, abandon their country, make a stand with their fleet off Salamis, and fight the issue at sea, most men were terrified at the boldness of the scheme; but lo! Cimon was first to act, and with a gay mien led a procession of his companions through the Cerameicus up to the Acropolis, to dedicate to the goddess there the horse's bridle which he carried in his hands, signifying thus that what the city needed then was not knightly prowess but sea-fighters. After he had dedicated his bridle,

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χαλινὸν καὶ λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν ναὸν κρεμα-
μένων ἀσπίδων, καὶ προσευξάμενος τῇ θεῷ, κατέ-
βαινεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἀρχὴ τοῦ
θαρρεῖν γενόμενος.

‘Ην δὲ καὶ τὴν ἰδέαν οὐ μεμπτός, ώς “Ιων ὁ
ποιητής φησιν, ἀλλὰ μέγας, οὐλη καὶ πολλῆ
τριχὶ κομῶν τὴν κεφαλήν. φανεὶς δὲ καὶ κατ’
αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγωνα λαμπρὸς καὶ ἀνδρώδης ταχὺ δό-
ξαν ἐν τῇ πόλει μετ’ εὐνοίας ἔσχεν, ἀθροιζομένων
πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ παρακαλούντων ἄξια τοῦ

4 Μαραθώνος ἥδη διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράσσειν. ὄρμή-
σαντα δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀσμενος ὁ
δῆμος ἐδέξατο, καὶ μεστὸς ὧν τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους
ἀνῆγε πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας ἐν τῇ πόλει τιμὰς καὶ
ἀρχάς, εὐάρμοστον δυτα καὶ προσφιλῆ τοῖς πολ-
λοῖς διὰ πραότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν. οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ
αὐτὸν ηὔξησεν Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου, τὴν
εὐφυίαν ἐνορῶν τῷ ἥθει, καὶ ποιούμενος οἷον ἀντί-
παλον πρὸς τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους δεινότητα καὶ
τόλμαν.

VI. ‘Επεὶ δὲ Μήδων φυγόντων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλ-
λάδος ἐπέμφθη στρατηγός, κατὰ θάλατταν οὕπω
τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναίων ἔχόντων, ἔτι δὲ Παυσανίᾳ
τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπομένων, πρῶτον μὲν ἐν
ταῖς στρατείαις ἀεὶ παρεῖχε τοὺς πολίτας κόσμῳ
τε θαυμαστοὺς καὶ προθυμίᾳ πολὺ πάντων δια-

2 φέροντας· ἔπειτα Παυσανίου τοῖς μὲν βαρ- 482
βάροις διαλεγομένου περὶ προδοσίας καὶ βασιλεῖ
γράφοντος ἐπιστολάς, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις τραχέως
καὶ αὐθαδῶς προσφερομένου καὶ πολλὰ δι’

¹ πρὸς supplied by Stephanus, and confirmed by S; Bekker supplied εἰς.

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he took one of the shields which were hung up about the temple, addressed his prayers to the goddess, and went down to the sea, whereat many were first made to take heart.

He was also of no mean presence, as Ion the poet says, but tall and stately, with an abundant and curly head of hair. And since he displayed brilliant and heroic qualities in the actual struggle at Salamis,¹ he soon acquired reputation and good will in the city. Many thronged to him and besought him to purpose and perform at once what would be worthy of Marathon. So when he entered politics the people gladly welcomed him, and promoted him, since they were full to surfeit of Themistocles, to the highest honours and offices in the city, for he was engaging and attractive to the common folk by reason of his gentleness and artlessness. But it was Aristides, son of Lysimachus, who more than any one else furthered his career, for he saw the fine features of his character, and made him, as it were, a foil to the cleverness and daring of Themistocles.

VI. After the flight of the Medes from Hellas, Cimon was sent out as a commander,² before the Athenians had obtained their empire of the sea, and while they were still under the leadership of Pausanias and the Lacedaemonians. During this campaign, the citizen-soldiers he furnished on expeditions were always admirably disciplined and far more zealous than any others; and again, while Pausanias was holding treasonable conference with the Barbarians, writing letters to the King, treating the allies with harsh arrogance, and displaying much wantonness of

¹ 480 B.C.

² 478-477 B.C.

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- έξουσίαν καὶ ὅγκον ἀνόητον ὑβρίζοντος, ὑπολαμβάνων πράως τοὺς ἀδικουμένους καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔξομιλῶν ἔλαθεν οὐ δι' ὅπλων τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡγεμονίαν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ καὶ ἥθει παρελόμενος.
- 3 προσετίθεντο γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν συμμάχων ἐκείνῳ τε καὶ Ἀριστείδῃ τὴν χαλεπότητα καὶ ὑπεροφίαν τοῦ Παυσανίου μὴ φέροντες. οἱ δὲ καὶ τούτους ἄμα προσήγοντο καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις πέμποντες ἔφραζον, ὡς ἀδοξούσης τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ ταραττομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀνακαλεῖν τὸν Παυσανίαν.
- 4 Λέγεται δὲ παρθένον τινὰ Βυζαντίαν ἐπιφανῶν γονέων, ὃνομα Κλεονίκην, ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ Παυσανίου μεταπεμπομένου, τοὺς μὲν γονεῖς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης καὶ φόβου προέσθαι τὴν παῖδα, τὴν δὲ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου δεηθεῖσαν ἀνελέσθαι τὸ φῶς, διὰ σκότους καὶ σιωπῆς τῇ κλίνῃ προσιοῦσαν ἥδη τοῦ Παυσανίου καθεύδοντος, ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ ἀνατρέψαι τὸ λυχνίον ἄκουσαν· τὸν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ ψόφου ταραχθέντα καὶ σπασάμενον¹ τὸ παρακείμενον ἐγχειρίδιον, ὡς τινος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐχθροῦ βαδίζοντος, πατάξαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν τὴν παρθένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐᾶν τὸν Παυσανίαν ἡσυχάζειν, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ εἰδωλον αὐτῷ φοιτῶσαν εἰς τὸν ὑπνον ὄργη λεγειν τόδε τὸ ήρφον.
- Στεῖχε δίκης ἀστον· μάλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν ὕβρις.

ἐφ' ὡς καὶ μᾶλιστα χαλεπῶς ἐνεγκόντες οἱ
¹ καὶ σπασάμενον with S: σπασάμενον.

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power and silly pretension, Cimon received with mildness those who brought their wrongs to him, treated them humanely, and so, before men were aware of it, secured the leadership of Hellas, not by force of arms, but by virtue of his address and character. For most of the allies, because they could not endure the severity and disdain of Pausanias, attached themselves to Cimon and Aristides, who had no sooner won this following than they sent also to the Ephors and told them, since Sparta had lost her prestige and Hellas was in confusion, to recall Pausanias.

It is said that a maiden of Byzantium, of excellent parentage, Cleonicé by name, was summoned by Pausanias for a purpose that would disgrace her. Her parents, influenced by constraint and fear, abandoned their daughter to her fate, and she, after requesting the attendants before his chamber to remove the light, in darkness and silence at length drew near the couch on which Pausanias was asleep, but accidentally stumbled against the lamp-holder and upset it. Pausanias, startled by the noise, drew the dagger which lay at his side, with the idea that some enemy was upon him, and smote and felled the maiden. After her death in consequence of the blow, she gave Pausanias no peace, but kept coming into his sleep by night in phantom form, wrathfully uttering this verse :—

“ Draw thou nigh to thy doom ; 'tis evil for men to be wanton.”

At this outrage the allies were beyond measure

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σύμμαχοι μετὰ τοῦ Κίμωνος ἐξεπολιόρκησαν
6 αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ ἐκπεσὼν τοῦ Βυζαντίου καὶ τῷ
φάσματι ταραττόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, κατέφυγε
πρὸς τὸ νεκυομαντεῖον εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, καὶ τὴν
ψυχὴν ἀνακαλούμενος τῆς Κλεονίκης παρηγεῖτο
τὴν ὄργην. ἡ δὲ εἰς ὅψιν ἐλθοῦσα ταχέως ἔφη
παύσεσθαι τῶν κακῶν αὐτὸν ἐν Σπάρτῃ γενό-
μενον, αἰνιττομένη, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτῷ
τελευτήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἴστορηται.

VII. Κίμων δέ, τῶν συμμάχων ἥδη προσκε-
χωρηκότων αὐτῷ, στρατηγὸς εἰς Θράκην ἐπλευστεί,
πυνθανόμενος Περσῶν ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους καὶ συγ-
γενεῖς βασιλέως Ἡιόνα πόλιν παρὰ τῷ Στρυμόνι
κειμένην ποταμῷ κατέχοντας ἐνοχλεῖν τοὺς περὶ
2 τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον "Ἐλλησι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν
αὐτοὺς μάχῃ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐνίκησε καὶ κατέκλει-
σεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐπειτα τοὺς ὑπὲρ Στρυμόνα
Θρᾷκας, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ἐφοίτα σίτος, ἀναστάτους
ποιῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν παραφυλάττων ἄπασαν εἰς
τοσαύτην ἀπορίαν τοὺς πολιορκουμένους κατέστη-
σεν, ὥστε Βούτην τὸν βασιλέως στρατηγὸν ἀπο-
γνόντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει πῦρ ἐνεῖναι καὶ
συνδιαφθεῖραι μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
3 ἔαυτόν. οὗτω δὲ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἄλλο μὲν
οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ὡφελήθη, τῶν πλείστων τοῖς
βαρβάροις συγκατακαέντων, τὴν δὲ χώραν
εὐφυεστάτην οὖσαν καὶ καλλίστην οἰκήσαι
παρέδωκε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς

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incensed, and joined Cimon in forcing Pausanias to give up the city. Driven from Byzantium, and still harassed by the phantom, as the story goes, he had recourse to the ghost-oracle of Heracleia, and summoning up the spirit of Cleonicé, besought her to forgo her wrath. She came into his presence and said that he would soon cease from his troubles on coming to Sparta, thus darkly intimating, as it seems, his impending death. At any rate, this tale is told by many.

VII. But Cimon, now that the allies had attached themselves to him, took command of them and sailed to Thrace,¹ for he heard that men of rank among the Persians and kinsmen of the King held possession of Eion, a city on the banks of the Strymon, and were harassing the Hellenes in that vicinity. First he defeated the Persians themselves in battle and shut them up in the city; then he expelled from their homes above the Strymon the Thracians from whom the Persians had been getting provisions, put the whole country under guard, and brought the besieged to such straits that Butes, the King's general, gave up the struggle, set fire to the city, and destroyed with it his family, his treasures, and himself. And so it was that though Cimon took the city, he gained no other memorable advantage thereby, since most of its treasures had been burned up with the Barbarians; but the surrounding territory was very fertile and fair, and this he turned over to the Athenians for occupation. Wherefore the people permitted him to

¹ 476-475 B.C.

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αὐτῷ τοὺς λιθίνους ὁ δῆμος ἀναθεῖναι συνεχώρησεν, ὃν ἐπιγέγραπται τῷ μὲν πρώτῳ.

4 Ἡν ἄρα κάκεῖνοι ταλακύρδιοι, οἵ ποτε Μήδων παισὶν ἐπ' Ἡιόνι, Στρυμόνος ἀμφὶ ρόάς, λιμόν τ' αἴθωνα κρυερόν τ' ἐπάγοντες Ἀρηα πρῶτοι δυσμενέων εὑρον ἀμηχανίην.

τῷ δὲ δευτέρῳ.

Ἡγεμόνεσσι δὲ μισθὸν Ἀθηναῖοι τάδ' ἔδωκαν ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν. μᾶλλον τις τάδ' ἴδων καὶ ἐπεσσομένων ἐθελήσει ἀμφὶ περὶ ξυνοῦς πράγμασι δῆριν ἔχειν.

5 τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ.

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Ἐκ ποτε τῆσδε πόληος ἄμ' Ἀτρείδῃσι Μενεσθεὺς

ἡγεῖτο ζάθεον Τρωϊκὸν ἐς πεδίον·
δν ποθ' Ὁμηρος ἔφη Δαναῶν πύκα θωρηκτάων
κοσμητῆρα μάχης ἔξοχον ὅντα μολεῖν.
οὕτως οὐδὲν ἀεικὲς Ἀθηναίοισι καλεῖσθαι
κοσμηταῖς πολέμου τ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ἡνορέης,

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dedicate the stone *Hermae*, on the first of which is the inscription :—

“ Valorous-hearted as well were they who at Eion fighting,
Facing the sons of the Medes, Strymon’s current beside,
Fiery famine arrayed, and gore-flecked Ares,
against them,
Thus first finding for foes that grim exit,—
despair ; ”

and on the second :—

“ Unto their leaders reward by Athenians thus hath been given ;
Benefits won such return, valorous deeds of the brave.
All the more strong at the sight will the men of the future be eager,
Fighting for commonwealth, war’s dread strife to maintain ; ”

and on the third :—

“ With the Atidae of old, from this our city,
Menestheus
Led his men to the plain Trojan called and divine.
He, once Homer asserted, among well-armoured Achaeans,
Marshaller was of the fight, best of them all who had come.
Thus there is naught unseemly in giving that name to Athenians ;
Marshallers they both of war and of the vigour of men.”

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VIII. Ταῦτα καίπερ ούδαμοῦ τὸ Κίμωνος δόνομα δηλοῦντα τιμῆς ὑπερβολὴν ἔχειν ἐδόκει τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε γὰρ Θεμιστοκλῆς τοιούτου τινὸς οὔτε Μιλτιάδης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε θαλλοῦ στέφανον αἴτοῦντι Σωφάνης ὁ Δεκελεὺς ἐκ μέσου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναστὰς ἀντεῖπεν, οὐκ εὐγνώμονα μέν, ἀρέσασαν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τότε φωνὴν ἀφείς “Οταν γάρ,” ἔφη, “μόνος ἀγωνισάμενος, ὡς Μιλτιάδη, νικήσης τοὺς βαρ-
2 βάρους, τότε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι μόνος ἀξίου.” διὰ τί τοίνυν τὸ Κίμωνος ὑπερηγάπησαν ἔργον; ἢ ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων στρατηγούντων ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἡμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτου δὲ καὶ ποιῆσαι κακῶς ἡδυνήθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτοὶ στρατεύσαντες, καὶ προσεκτήσαντο χώρας αὐτήν τε τὴν Ἡιόνα καὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οἰκίσαντες;
3 “Ωικισαν δὲ καὶ Σκύρουν ἐλόντος Κίμωνος ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. Δόλοπες ὥκουν τὴν υῆσον, ἔργαται κακοὶ γῆς· λῃζόμενοι δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, τελευτῶντες οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσπλεόντων παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ χρωμένων ἀπείχοντο ξένων, ἀλλὰ Θετταλούς τινας ἐμπόρους περὶ τὸ Κτήσιον
4 ὄρμισαμένους συλήσαντες εἰρξαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαδράντες ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν οἱ ἀνθρωποι δύκην κατεδικάσαντο τῆς πόλεως Ἀμφικτυονικήν, οὐ βουλομένων τὰ χρήματα τῶν πολλῶν συνεκτίνειν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ διηρπακότας ἀποδοῦναι κελεύοντων, δείσαντες ἐκεῖνοι πέμπουσι γράμματα πρὸς Κίμωνα, κελεύοντες ἦκειν μετὰ τῶν νεῶν ληψόμενον τὴν πόλιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνδιδομένην.

CIMON

VIII. Although these inscriptions nowhere mentioned Cimon by name, his contemporaries held them to be a surpassing honour for him. Neither Themistocles nor Miltiades achieved any such, nay, when the latter asked for a crown of olive merely, Sophanes the Decelean rose up in the midst of the assembly and protested. His speech was ungracious, but it pleased the people of that day. "When," said he, "thou hast fought out alone a victory over the Barbarians, then demand to be honoured alone." Why, then, were the people so excessively pleased with the achievement of Cimon? Perhaps it was because when the others were their generals they were trying to repel their enemies and so avert disaster; but when he led them they were enabled to ravage the land of their enemies with incursions of their own, and acquired fresh territories for settlement, not only Eion itself, but also Amphipolis.

They settled Scyros too, which Cimon seized for the following reason. Dolopians were living on the island, but they were poor tillers of the soil. So they practised piracy on the high sea from of old, and finally did not withhold their hands even from those who put into their ports and had dealings with them, but robbed some Thessalian merchants who had cast anchor at Ctesium, and threw them into prison. When these men had escaped from bondage and won their suit against the city at the Amphictyonic assembly, the people of Scyros were not willing to make restitution, but called on those who actually held the plunder to give it back. The robbers, in terror, sent a letter to Cimon, urging him to come with his fleet to seize the city, and they would give it up to him.

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- 5 παραλαβὼν δ' οὕτω τὴν μῆσον ὁ Κίμων τοὺς μὲν Δόλοπας ἔξήλασε καὶ τὸν Αἰγαῖον ἡλευθέρωσε, πυνθανόμενος δὲ τὸν παλαιὸν Θησέα τὸν Αἰγέως φυγόντα μὲν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν εἰς Σκύρον, αὐτοῦ δ' ἀποθανόντα δόλῳ διὰ φόβου ὑπὸ Λυκομήδους τοῦ 6 βασιλέως, ἐσπούδασε τὸν τάφον ἀνευρεῖν. καὶ γάρ ήν χρησμὸς Ἀθηναίοις τὰ Θησέως λείψανα κελεύων ἀνακομίζειν εἰς ἄστυ καὶ τιμᾶν ὡς ἥρωα πρεπόντως, ἀλλ' ἡγνόουν ὅπου κεῖται, Σκυρίων οὐχ ὁμολογούντων οὐδὲ ἐώντων ἀναζητεῖν. τότε δῆ πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τοῦ σηκοῦ μόγις ἔξευρεθέντος, ἐνθέμενος ὁ Κίμων εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τριήρη τὰ ὀστᾶ καὶ τάλλα κοσμήσας μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατήγαγεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ δι' ἐτῶν σχεδὸν τετρακοσίων. ἐφ' ὧ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡδέως ὁ δῆμος ἔσχει.
- 7 Ἐθεντο δ' εἰς μνήμην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν κρίσιν ὀνομαστὴν γενομένην. πρώτην γάρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἔτι νέου καθέντος, Ἀψεφίων ὁ ἄρχων, φιλονεικίας οὖσης καὶ παρατάξεως τῶν θεατῶν, κριτὰς μὲν οὐκ ἐκλήρωσε τοῦ ἀγῶνος, ὡς δὲ Κίμων μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων προελθὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐποιήσατο τῷ θεῷ τὰς νενομισμένας σπουδάς, οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ὄρκώσας ἡμάγκασε καθίσαι καὶ κρῖναι δέκα ὄντας, ἀπὸ φυλῆς μιᾶς ἔκαστον.
- 8 ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀγῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν κριτῶν ἀξίωμα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὑπερέβαλε. νικήσαντος δὲ τοῦ

CIMON

In this manner Cimon got possession of the island, drove out the Dolopians, and made the Aegean a free sea.

On learning that the ancient Theseus, son of Aegeus, had fled in exile from Athens to Scyros, but had been treacherously put to death there, through fear, by Lycomedes the king, Cimon eagerly sought to discover his grave. For the Athenians had once received an oracle bidding them bring back the bones of Theseus to the city and honour him as became a hero, but they knew not where he lay buried, since the Scyrians would not admit the truth of the story, nor permit any search to be made. Now, however, Cimon set to work with great ardour, discovered at last the hallowed spot, had the bones bestowed in his own trireme, and with general pomp and show brought them back to the hero's own country after an absence of about four hundred years. This was the chief reason why the people took kindly to him.

But they also cherished in kindly remembrance of him that decision of his in the tragic contests which became so famous. When Sophocles, still a young man, entered the lists with his first plays, Apsephion the Archon, seeing that the spirit of rivalry and partisanship ran high among the spectators, did not appoint the judges of the contest as usual by lot, but when Cimon and his fellow-generals advanced into the theatre and made the customary libation to the god, he would not suffer them to depart, but forced them to take the oath and sit as judges, being ten in all, one from each tribe. So, then, the contest, even because of the unusual dignity of the judges, was more animated than ever before. But

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Σοφοκλέους λέγεται τὸν Αἰσχύλον περιπαθῆ γενόμενον καὶ βαρέως ἐνεγκόντα χρόνον οὐ πολὺν Ἀθήνησι διαγαγεῖν, εἰτ' οἴχεσθαι δι' ὄργὴν εἰς Σικελίαν, ὅπου καὶ τελευτήσας περὶ Γέλαν τέθαπται.

IX. Συνδειπνῆσαι δὲ τῷ Κίμωνι φησιν ὁ Ἰωὰν 484 παντάπασι μειράκιον ἥκων εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐκ Χίου παρὰ Λαομέδοντι· καὶ τῶν σπονδῶν γενομένων παρακληθέντος¹ ἀσαι, καὶ ἄσαντος¹ οὐκ ἀηδῶς ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ὡς δεξιώτερον Θεμιστοκλέους· ἔκεινον γὰρ ἄδειν μὲν οὐ φάναι μαθεῖν οὐδὲ κιθαρίζειν, πόλιν δὲ ποιῆσαι μεγάλην καὶ 2 πλουσίαν ἐπίστασθαι· τούντενθεν, οἷον εἰκὸς ἐν πότῳ, τοῦ λόγου ρύνετος ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις τοῦ Κίμωνος καὶ μνημονευομένων τῶν μεγίστων, αὐτὸν ἔκεινον ἐν διελθεῖν στρατήγημα τῶν ἴδιων ὡς σοφώτατον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐκ Σηστοῦ καὶ Βυζαντίου πολλοὺς τῶν Βαρβάρων αἰχμαλώτους λαβόντες οἱ σύμμαχοι τῷ Κίμωνι διανείμαι προσέταξαν, ὁ δὲ χωρὶς μὲν αὐτούς, χωρὶς δὲ τὸν περὶ τοῖς σώμασι κόσμον αὐτῶν ἔθηκεν, ἥτιῶντο 3 τὴν διανομὴν ὡς ἄνισον. ὁ δὲ τῶν μερίδων ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς ἐλέσθαι τὴν ἐτέραν, ἦν δ' ἀν ἔκεινοι καταλίπωσιν, ἀγαπήσειν Ἀθηναίους. Ἡροφύτου δὲ τοῦ Σαμίου συμβουλεύσαντος αἱρεῖσθαι τὰ Περσῶν μᾶλλον ἢ Πέρσας, τὸν μὲν κόσμον αὐτοὶ ἔλαβον, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλιπον. καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ Κίμων ἀπήγει γελοῖος εἶναι δοκῶν διανομεύς, τῶν μὲν συμμάχων

¹ παρακληθέντος, ἄσαντος Bekker corrects, after Schäfer, το παρακληθέντα, ἄσαντα.

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Sophocles came off victorious, and it is said that Aeschylus, in great distress and indignation thereat, lingered only a little while at Athens, and then went off in anger to Sicily. There he died also, and is buried near Gela.

IX. Ion says that, coming from Chios to Athens as a mere stripling, he was once a fellow-guest with Cimon at a dinner given by Laomedon, and that over the wine the hero was invited to sing, and did sing very agreeably, and was praised by the guests as a cleverer man than Themistocles. That hero, they said, declared that he had not learned to sing, nor even to play the lyre, but knew how to make a city great and rich.¹ Next, Ion says, as was natural over the cups, the conversation drifted to the exploits of Cimon, and as his greatest deeds were being recounted, the hero himself dwelt at length on one particular stratagem which he thought his shrewdest. Once, he said, when the Athenians and their allies had taken many Barbarian prisoners at Sestos and Byzantium and turned them over to him for distribution, he put into one lot the persons of the captives, and into another the rich adornments of their bodies, and his distribution was blamed as unequal. But he bade the allies choose one of the lots, and the Athenians would be content with whichever one they left. So, on the advice of Herophytus the Samian to choose Persian wealth rather than Persians, the allies took the rich adornments for themselves, and left the prisoners for the Athenians. At the time Cimon came off with the reputation of being a ridiculous distributer, since

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, ii. 3.

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ψέλια χρυσᾶ καὶ μανιάκας καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ
κάνδυας καὶ πορφύραν φερομένων, τῶν δὲ Ἀθη-
ναίων γυμνὰ σώματα κακῶς ἡσκημένα πρὸς
4 ἐργασίαν παραλαβόντων. μικρὸν δὲ ὑστερον
οἱ τῶν ἑαλωκότων φίλοι καὶ οἰκεῖοι καταβαίνοντες
ἐκ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας ἐλυτροῦντο μεγάλων
χρημάτων ἔκαστον, ὥστε τῷ Κίμωνι τεσσάρων
μηνῶν τροφὰς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ὑπάρξαι καὶ προσέτι
τῇ πόλει χρυσίον οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκ τῶν λύτρων
περιγενέσθαι.

X. "Ηδη δὲ εὔπορῶν ὁ Κίμων ἐφόδια τῆς
στρατηγίας ἂν καλῶς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔδοξεν
ἀφελῆσθαι κάλλιον ἀνήλισκεν εἰς τοὺς πολίτας.
τῶν τε γὰρ ἀγρῶν τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφεῖλεν, ἵνα
καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς δεομένοις
ἀδεῶς ὑπάρχῃ λαμβάνειν τῆς ὀπώρας, καὶ δεῖπνον
οἴκοι παρ' αὐτῷ λιτὸν μέν, ἀρκοῦν δὲ πολλοῖς,
ἐποιεῖτο καθ' ἡμέραν, ἐφ' ὃ τῶν πενήτων ὁ
βουλόμενος εἰσήγει καὶ διατροφὴν εἶχεν ἀπράγ-
2 μονα, μόνοις τοῖς δημοσίοις σχολάζων. ὡς
δέ Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, οὐχ ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων,
ἀλλὰ τῶν δημοτῶν αὐτοῦ Λακιαδῶν παρεσκευά-
ζετο τῷ βουλομένῳ τὸ δεῖπνον. αὐτῷ δὲ νεανίσκοι
παρείποντο συνήθεις ἀμπεχόμενοι καλῶς, ὡν
ἔκαστος, εἰ τις συντύχοι τῷ Κίμωνι τῶν ἀστῶν
πρεσβύτερος ἡμφιεσμένος ἐνδεῶς, διημείβετο πρὸς
αὐτὸν τὰ ἴματα· καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἐφαίνετο
3 σεμνόν. οἱ δέ αὐτοὶ καὶ νόμισμα κομίζοντες
ἄφθονον παριστάμενοι τοῖς κομψοῖς τῶν πενήτων
ἐν ἀγορᾷ σιωπῆ τῶν κερματίων ἐνέβαλλον εἰς

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the allies had their gold anklets and armlets and collars and jackets and purple robes to display, while the Athenians got only naked bodies ill-trained for labour. But a little while after, the friends and kinsmen of the captives came down from Phrygia and Lydia and ransomed every one of them at a great price, so that Cimon had four months' pay and rations for his fleet, and besides that, much gold from the ransoms was left over for the city.

X. And since he was already wealthy, Cimon lavished the revenues from his campaign, which he was thought to have won with honour from the enemy, to his still greater honour, on his fellow-citizens. He took away the fences from his fields, that strangers and needy citizens might have it in their power to take fearlessly of the fruits of the land ; and every day he gave a dinner at his house, —simple, it is true, but sufficient for many, to which any poor man who wished came in, and so received a maintenance which cost him no effort and left him free to devote himself solely to public affairs. But Aristotle says¹ that it was not for all Athenians, but only for his own demesmen, the Laciadae, that he provided a free dinner. He was constantly attended by young comrades in fine attire, each one of whom, whenever an elderly citizen in needy array came up, was ready to exchange raiment with him. The practice made a deep impression. These same followers also carried with them a generous sum of money, and going up to poor men of finer quality in the market-place, they would quietly thrust small change into their hands. To such generosity as this

¹ *Const. of Athens*, xxvii. 3.

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τὰς χεῖρας. ὡν δὴ καὶ Κρατῦνος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν
'Αρχιλόχοις ἔστι μεμνῆσθαι διὰ τούτων·

4 Κάγὼ γὰρ ηὔχουν Μητρόβιος ὁ γραμματεὺς
σὺν ἀνδρὶ θείῳ καὶ φιλοξενωτάτῳ
καὶ πάντ' ἀρίστῳ τῶν Πανελλήνων πρὸ τοῦ
Κίμωνι λιπαρὸν γῆρας εὐωχούμενος
αἰώνα πάντα συνδιατρίψειν. ὁ δὲ
λιπῶν βέβηκε πρότερος.

5 ἔτι τοίνυν Γοργίας μὲν ὁ Λεοντῦνός φησι τὸν
Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῶτο,
χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμῶτο, Κριτίας δὲ τῶν τριακοντα
γενόμενος ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις εὔχεται·

Πλοῦτον μὲν Σκοπαδῶν, μεγαλοφροσύνην δὲ
Κίμωνος,
νίκας δ' Ἀρκεσίλα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου.

Καίτοι Λίχαν γε τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἀπ' οὐδενὸς
ἄλλου γινώσκομεν ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησιν ὀνομαστὸν
γενόμενον ἡ ὅτι τοὺς ξένους ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις 485
ἔδειπνιζεν· ἡ δὲ Κίμωνος ἀφθονία καὶ τὴν
παλαιὰν τῶν Ἀθηναίων φιλοξείαν καὶ φιλαν-
6 θρωπίαν ὑπερέβαλεν. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ἐφ' οἷς ἡ
πόλις μέγα φρονεῖ δικαίως, τό τε σπέρμα τῆς
τροφῆς εἰς τοὺς "Ελληνας ἔξεδωκαν ὑδάτων τε
πηγαίων¹ καὶ πυρὸς ἔναυσιν χρήζουσιν
ἀνθρώποις ἐδίδαξαν,² ὁ δὲ τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν τοῖς
πολίταις πρυτανεῖον ἀποδείξας κοινόν, ἐν δὲ
τῇ χώρᾳ καρπῶν ἐτοίμων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ ὅσα
ώραι καλὰ φέρουσι χρῆσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν
ἄπαντα τοῖς ξένοις παρέχων, τρόπον τινὰ τὴν ἐπὶ

¹ The lacuna can only be conjecturally filled.

² ἐδίδαξαν Bekker corrects, with Schäfer, to ξδειξαν.

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Cratinus] seems to have referred in his *Archilochi*, with the words :—

“ Yes, I too hoped, Metrobius, I, the public scribe,
Along with man divine, the rarest host that lives,
In every way the best of all Hellenic men,
With Cimon, feasting out in joy a sleek old age,
To while away the remnant of my life. But he
Has gone before and left me.”

And again, Georgias the Leontine says that Cimon made money that he might spend it, and spent it that he might be honoured for it. And Critias, one of the thirty tyrants, prays in his elegies that he may have “ the wealth of the Scopadae, the great-mindedness of Cimon, and the victories of Arcesilaus of Lacedaemon.”

And yet we know that Lichas the Spartan became famous among the Hellenes for no other reason than that he entertained the strangers at the boys' gymnastic festival; but the generosity of Cimon surpassed even the hospitality and philanthropy of the Athenians of olden time. For they—and their city is justly very proud of it—spread abroad among the Hellenes the sowing of grain and the lustral uses of spring waters, and taught mankind who knew it not the art of kindling fire. But he made his home in the city a general public residence for his fellow citizens, and on his estates in the country allowed even the stranger to take and use the choicest of the ripened fruits, with all the fair things which the seasons bring. Thus, in a certain fashion, he

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Κρόνου μυθολογουμένην κοινωνίαν εἰς τὸν βίον
7 αὐθις κατήγεν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα κολακείαν ὅχλου καὶ
δημαγωγίαν εἶναι διαβάλλοντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης
ἔξηλέγχοντο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προαιρέσεως ἀριστοκρα-
τικῆς καὶ Λακωνικῆς οὐσης, ὡς γε καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ
πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπαίροντι τὴν δημοκρατίαν
ἀντέβαινε μετ' Ἀριστείδου, καὶ πρὸς Ἐφιάλτην
ὕστερον χάριτι τοῦ δήμου καταλύοντα τὴν ἔξ-
8 Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν διηνέχθη, λημμάτων δὲ
δημοσίων τοὺς ἄλλους πλὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ
Ἐφιάλτου πάντας ἀναπιμπλαμένους ὄρῶν, αὐτὸν
ἀδέκαστον καὶ ἀθικτον ἐκ τῇ πολιτείᾳ δωροδοκίας
καὶ πάντα προΐκα καὶ καθαρῶς πράττοντα καὶ
λέγοντα διὰ τέλους παρέσχε.

Λέγεται γέ τοι ᾿Ροισάκην τινὰ βάρβαρον ἀπο-
στάτην βασιλέως ἐλθεῖν μετὰ χρημάτων πολλῶν
εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ σπαραττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συκο-
φαντῶν καταφυγεῖν πρὸς Κίμωνα, καὶ θεῖναι
παρὰ τὴν αὐλειον αὐτοῦ φιάλας δύο, τὴν μὲν
ἀργυρείων ἐμπλησάμενον Δαρεικῶν, τὴν δὲ χρυ-
σῶν· ἴδοντα δὲ τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ μειδιάσαντα
9 πυθέσθαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, πότερον αἴρεῖται Κίμωνα
μισθωτὸν ἢ φίλον ἔχειν· τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος φίλον
“Οὐκοῦν,” φάναι, “ταῦτ’ ἀπιθι μετὰ σεαυτοῦ
κομίζων· χρήσομαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅταν δέωμαι φίλος
γενομένος.”

XI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ σύμμαχοι τοὺς φόρους μὲν
ἐτέλουν, ἄνδρας δὲ καὶ ναῦς ὡς ἐτάχθησαν οὐ
παρεῖχον, ἀλλ’ ἀπαγορεύοντες ἥδη πρὸς τὰς
στρατείας, καὶ πολέμου μὲν οὐδὲν δεόμενοι, γεωρ-
γεῖν δὲ καὶ ζῆν καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἐπιθυμοῦντες,
ἀπηλλαγμένων τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μὴ διοχλούν-

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restored to human life the fabled communism of the age of Cronus,—the golden age. Those who slanderously said that this was flattery of the rabble and demagogic art in him, were refuted by the man's political policy, which was aristocratic and Laconian. He actually opposed Themistocles when he exalted the democracy unduly, as Aristides also did. Later on he took hostile issue with Ephialtes, who, to please the people, tried to dethrone the Council of the Areiopagus; and though he saw all the rest except Aristides and Ephialtes filling their purses with the gains from their public services, he remained unbought and unapproached by bribes, devoting all his powers to the state, without recompense and in all purity, through to the end.

It is told, indeed, that one Rhoesaces, a Barbarian who had deserted from the King, came to Athens with large moneys, and being set upon fiercely by the public informers, fled for refuge to Cimon, and deposited at his door two platters, one filled with silver, the other with golden Darics. Cimon, when he saw them, smiled, and asked the man whether he preferred to have Cimon as his hireling or his friend, and on his replying, "As my friend," "Well then," said Cimon, take this money with thee and go thy way, for I shall have the use of it when I want it if I am thy friend."

XI. The allies continued to pay their assessments, but did not furnish men and ships according to allotment, since they were soon weary of military service, and had no need of war, but a great desire to till their land and live at their ease. The Barbarians were gone and did not harass them, so they neither

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των, οὕτε τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν οὗτ' ἀνδρας ἀπέστελλον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προσηνάγκαζον αὐτοὺς ταῦτα ποιεῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐλλείποντας ὑπάγοντες δίκαιοι καὶ κολάζοντες
2 ἐπαχθῆ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λυπτηρὰν ἐποίουν, Κίμων δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ πορευόμενος βίαν μὲν οὐδενὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσῆγε, χρήματα δὲ λαμβάνων παρὰ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ναῦς κενάς, ἐκείνους εἴα δελεαζομένους τῇ σχολῇ περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα διατρίβειν, γεωργοὺς καὶ χρηματιστὰς ἀπολέμους ἐκ πολεμικῶν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀνοίας γινομένους, τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἀνὰ μέρος πολλοὺς ἐμβιβάζων καὶ διαπονῶν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοῖς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μισθοῖς καὶ χρήμασι δεσπότας αὐτῶν τῶν διδόντων ἐποίησε. πλέοντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς συνεχώς καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας ἀεὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τρεφομένους καὶ ἀσκοῦντας ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀστρατείας¹ ἐθισθέντες φοβεῖσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν, ἔλαθον ἀντὶ συμμάχων ὑποτελεῖς καὶ δοῦλοι γεγονότες.

XII. Καὶ μὴν αὐτοῦ γε τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως οὐδεὶς ἐταπείνωσε καὶ συνέστειλε τὸ φρόντημα μᾶλλον ἢ Κίμων. οὐ γὰρ ἀνῆκεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπηλλαγμένου, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ ποδὸς διώκων, πρὶν διαπνεῦσαι καὶ στῆναι τοὺς Βαρβάρους, τὰ μὲν ἐπόρθει καὶ κατεστρέφετο, τὰ δὲ ἀφίστη καὶ προσῆγετο τοῖς "Ἑλλησιν, ὥστε τὴν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας Ἀσίαν ἄχρι Παμφυλίας παντάπασι

¹ ἀστρατείας the correction of Reiske, adopted by Sintenis and Bekker. The MSS., including S, have στρατείας, which must be referred to the Athenians. So Coraës.

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manned their ships nor sent out soldiers. The rest of the Athenian generals tried to force them to do this, and by prosecuting the delinquents and punishing them, rendered their empire burdensome and vexatious. But Cimon took just the opposite course when he was general, and brought no compulsion to bear on a single Hellene, but accepted money from those who did not wish to go out on service, and ships without crews, and so suffered the allies, caught with the bait of their own ease, to stay at home and become tillers of the soil and unwarlike merchants instead of warriors, and all through their foolish love of comfort. On the other hand, he made great numbers of the Athenians man their ships, one crew relieving another, and imposed on them the toil of his expeditions, and so in a little while, by means of the very wages which they got from the allies, made them lords of their own paymasters. For those who did no military service became used to fearing and flattering those who were continually voyaging, and for ever under arms and training, and practising, and so, before they knew it, they were tributary subjects instead of allies.

XII. And surely there was no one who humbled the Great King himself, and reduced his haughty spirit, more than Cimon. For he did not let him go quietly away from Hellas, but followed right at his heels, as it were, and before the Barbarians had come to a halt and taken breath, he sacked and overthrew here, or subverted and annexed to the Hellenes there, until Asia from Ionia to Pamphylia was

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- 2 Περσικῶν ὅπλων ἐρημῶσαι. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς μεγάλῳ στρατῷ καὶ ναυσὶ 486 πολλαῖς ἐφεδρεύειν περὶ Παμφυλίαν, καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς ἀπλούν καὶ ἀνέμβατον ὅλως ὑπὸ φόβου τὴν ἐντὸς Χελιδονίων ποιήσασθαι θάλατταν, ὥρμησεν ἄρας ἀπὸ Κνίδου καὶ Τριοπίου διακοσίαις τριήρεσι, πρὸς μὲν τάχος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ περιαγωγὴν ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄριστα κατεσκευασμέναις, ἐκεῖνος δὲ τότε καὶ πλατυτέρας ἐποίησεν αὐτὰς καὶ διάβασιν τοῖς καταστρώμασιν ἔδωκεν, ὡς ἀν ὑπὸ πολλῶν ὄπλιτῶν μαχιμώτεραι
- 3 προσφέροιντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπιπλευσας δὲ τῇ πόλει τῶν Φασηλιτῶν, Ἐλλήνων μὲν ὄντων, οὐ δεχομένων δὲ τὸν στόλον οὐδὲ βουλομένων ἀφίστασθαι βασιλέως, τὴν τε χώραν κακῶς ἐποίει καὶ προσέβαλλε τοῖς τείχεσιν. οἱ δὲ Χῖοι συμπλέοντες αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Φασηλίτας ἐκ παλαιοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντες, ἀμα μὲν τὸν Κίμωνα κατεπράῦνον, ἀμα δὲ τοξεύοντες ὑπὲρ τὰ τείχη βιβλίδια προσκείμενα τοῖς ὁϊστοῖς ἔξήγγελλον
- 4 τοῖς Φασηλίταις. τέλος δὲ διήλλαξεν¹ αὐτούς, ὅπως δέκα τάλαντα δόντες ἀκολουθῶσι καὶ στρατεύωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους.

"Ἐφορος μὲν οὖν Τιθραύστην φησὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν οὐεῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ πεζοῦ Φερενδάτην, Καλλισθένης δ' Αριομάνδην τὸν Γωβρύου κυριώτατον ὄντα τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ τὸν Εὔρυμέδοντα ταῖς ναυσὶ παρορμεῖν, οὐκ ὄντα μάχεσθαι τοῖς Ελλησι πρόθυμον, ἀλλὰ προσδεχόμενον ὄγδοοκοντα ναῦς Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ Κύπρου προσπλε-

¹ διήλλαξεν Coraës and Bekker have διήλλαξαν, as does S, referring to the Chians as reconciling the two hostile parties.

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entirely cleared of Persian arms. Learning that the generals of the King were lurking about Pamphylia with a great army and many ships, and wishing to make them afraid to enter at all the sea to the west of the Chelidonian isles, he set sail from Cnidus and Triopium¹ with two hundred triremes. These vessels had been from the beginning very well constructed for speed and manœuvring by Themistocles ; but Cimon now made them broader, and put bridges between their decks, in order that with their numerous hoplites they might be more effective in their onsets. Putting in at Phaselis, which was a Hellenic city, but refused to admit his armament or even to abandon the King's cause, he ravaged its territory and assaulted its walls. But the Chians, who formed part of his fleet and were of old on friendly terms with the people of Phaselis, laboured to soften Cimon's hostility, and at the same time, by shooting arrows over the walls with little documents attached, they conveyed messages of their success to the men of Phaselis. So finally Cimon made friends with them on condition that they should pay ten talents and join him in his expedition against the Barbarians.

Now Ephorus says that Tithraustes was commander of the royal fleet, and Pherendates of the infantry ; but Callisthenes says that it was Ario-mandes, the son of Gobryas, who, as commander-in-chief of all the forces, lay at anchor with the fleet off the mouth of the Eurymedon, and that he was not at all eager to fight with the Hellenes, but was waiting for eighty Phoenician ships to sail up from

¹ About 467 B.C.

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5 ούσας. ταύτας φθῆναι βουλόμενος ὁ Κίμων ἀνήχθη, βιάζεσθαι παρεσκευασμένος, ἀν ἔκόντες μὴ ναυμαχῶσιν. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον μέν, ώς μὴ βιασθεῖεν, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν εἰσωριμίσαντο, προσφερομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀντεξέπλευσαν, ώς ἴστορεῖ Φανόδημος, ἐξκαοσίαις ναυσίν, ώς δ' Ἔφορος, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίαις. ἔργον δὲ κατὰ γοῦν τὴν θάλατταν οὐδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν 16 ἐπράχθη τῆς δυνάμεως ἄξιον, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποστρέφοντες ἐξέπιπτον οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ κατέφευγον εἰς τὸ πεζὸν ἐγγὺς παρατεταγμένουν, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο μετὰ τῶν νεῶν. φὼν καὶ δῆλον ἐστιν, ὅτι πάμπολλαί τινες αἱ πεπληρωμέναι τοῖς βαρβάροις νῆσοι, ὅτε πολλῶν μέν, ώς εἰκός, ἐκφυγουσῶν, πολλῶν δὲ συντριβεισῶν, ὅμως αἰχμαλώτους διακοσίας ἔλαβον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι.

XIII. Τῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἐπικαταβάντων πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἐφαίνετο τῷ Κίμωνι τὸ βιάζεσθαι τὴν ἀπόβασιν καὶ κεκμηκότας ἀκμῆσι καὶ πολλαπλασίοις ἐπάγειν τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὅμως δὲ ρώμῃ καὶ φρονήματι τοῦ κρατείνορῶν ἐπηρμένους καὶ προθύμους ὁμόσε χωρέων τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπεβίβαζε τοὺς ὄπλίτας ἔτι θερμοὺς τῷ κατὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀγῶνι μετὰ 2 κραυγῆς καὶ δρόμου προσφερομένους. ὑποστάντων δὲ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ δεξαμένων οὐκ ἀγεννῶς κρατερὰ μάχη συνέστη· καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρῶτοι καὶ διαπρεπεῖς ἐπεσον. πολλῷ δ' ἀγῶνι τρεψάμενοι

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Cyprus. Wishing to anticipate their arrival, Cimon put out to sea, prepared to force the fighting if his enemy should decline an engagement. At first the enemy put into the river, that they might not be forced to fight ; but when the Athenians bore down on them there, they sailed out to meet them. They had six hundred ships, according to Phanodemus ; three hundred and fifty, according to *Ephorus*. Whatever the number, nothing was achieved by them on the water which was worthy of such a force, but they straightway put about and made for shore, where the foremost of them abandoned their ships and fled for refuge to the infantry which was drawn up near by ; those who were overtaken were destroyed with their ships. Whereby also it is plain that the Barbarian ships which went into action were very numerous indeed, since, though many, of course, made their escape and many were destroyed, still two hundred were captured by the Athenians.

XIII. When the enemy's land forces marched threateningly down to the sea, Cimon thought it a vast undertaking to force a landing and lead his weary Hellenes against an unwearied and many times more numerous foe. But he saw that his men were exalted by the impetus and pride of their victory, and eager to come to close quarters with the Barbarians, so he landed his hoplites still hot with the struggle of the sea-fight, and they advanced to the attack with shouts and on the run. The Persians stood firm and received the onset nobly, and a mighty battle ensued, wherein there fell brave men of Athens who were foremost in public office and eminent. But after a long struggle the Athenians

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τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔκτεινον, εἴτα ἥρουν αὐτούς τε καὶ σκηνὰς παντοδαπῶν χρημάτων γεμούσας.

- 3 Κίμων δ' ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς δεινὸς ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ δύο καθηρηκὼς ἀγωνίσματα, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πεζομαχίᾳ, τὸ δὲ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς ναυμαχίᾳ παρεληλυθὼς τρόπαιον, ἐπηγωνίσατο ταῖς μίκαις, καὶ τὰς ὄγδοοίκουντα Φοινίσσας τριήρεις, αἱ τῆς μάχης ἀπελείφθησαν, "Τδρω προσβεβληκέναι πυθόμενος διὰ τάχους ἐπλευσεν, οὐδὲν εἰδότων βέβαιον οὕπω περὶ τῆς μείζονος δυνάμεως τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ δυσπίστως ἔτι καὶ 4 μετεώρως ἔχόντων ἥ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκπλαγέντες ἀπώλεσαν τὰς ναῦς ἀπάσας, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι συνιδεφθάρησαν. τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οὕτως ἐταπείνωσε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε συνθέσθαι τὴν περιβόητον εἰρήνην ἐκείνην, 487 ἵππου μὲν δρόμον ἀεὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀπέχειν θαλάσσης, ἔνδον δὲ Κυανέων καὶ Χελιδονίων μακρὰν νηὶ καὶ χαλκεμβόλῳ μὴ πλέειν.
- 5 Καίτοι Καλλισθένης οὖ φησι ταῦτα συνθέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον, ἔργῳ δὲ ποιεῖν διὰ φόβον τῆς ἥττης ἐκείνης, καὶ μακρὰν οὕτως ἀποστῆναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὥστε πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ Περικλέα καὶ τριάκοντα μόναις Ἐφιάλτην ἐπέκεινα πλεῦσαι Χελιδονίων καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ναυτικὸν ἀπαντῆσαι 6 παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν, ἂ συνήγαγε Κρατερός, ἀντίγραφα συνθηκῶν ὡς γενομένων κατατέακται. φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν

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routed the Barbarians with slaughter, and then captured them and their camp, which was full of all sorts of treasure.

But Cimon, though like a powerful athlete he had brought down two contests in one day, and though he had surpassed the victory of Salamis with an infantry battle, and that of Plataea with a naval battle, still went on competing with his own victories. Hearing that the eighty Phoenician triremes which were too late for the battle had put in at Hydrus,¹ he sailed thither with all speed, while their commanders as yet knew nothing definite about the major force, but were still in distrustful suspense. For this reason they were all the more panic-stricken at his attack, and lost all their ships. Most of their crews were destroyed with the ships. This exploit so humbled the purpose of the King that he made the terms of that notorious peace, by which he was to keep away from the Hellenic sea-coast as far as a horse could travel in a day, and was not to sail west of the Cyanean and Chelidonian isles with armoured ships of war.

And yet Callisthenes denies that the Barbarian made any such terms, but says he really acted as he did through the fear which that victory inspired, and kept so far aloof from Hellas that Pericles with fifty, and Ephialtes with only thirty, ships sailed beyond the Chelidonian isles without encountering any navy of the Barbarians. But in the decrees collected by Craterus there is a copy of the treaty in its due place, as though it had actually been made. And they say that the Athenians

¹ Hydrus is the name in the MSS., but no such place is known. Syedra is the most probable correction.

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εἰρήνης διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἰδρύσασθαι,
καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν πρεσβεύσαντα τιμῆσι διαφε-
ρόντως.

Πραθέντων δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λαφύρων εἰς
τε τὰ ἄλλα χρήμασιν ο δῆμος ἐρρώσθη, καὶ τῇ
ἀκροπόλει τὸ νότιον τεῖχος κατεσκεύασεν ἀπ'
7 ἐκείνης εὐπορήσας τῆς στρατείας. λέγεται δὲ καὶ
τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν, ἡ σκέλη καλοῦσι, συντελε-
σθῆναι μὲν ὑστερον τὴν οἰκοδομίαν, τὴν δὲ πρώτην
θεμελίωσιν εἰς τόπους ἐλώδεις καὶ διαβρόχους
τῶν ἔργων ἐμπεσόντων ἐρεισθῆναι διὰ Κίμωνος
ἀσφαλῶς, χάλικι πολλῇ καὶ λίθοις βαρέσι τῶν
ἐλών πιεσθέντων, ἐκείνου χρήματα πορίζοντας καὶ
8 διδόντος. πρώτος δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐλευθερίοις
καὶ γλαφυραῖς διατριβαῖς, αἱ μικρὸν ὑστερον
ὑπερφυῶς ἡγαπήθησαν, ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν
μὲν ἀγορὰν πλατάνοις καταφυτεύσας, τὴν δ'
Ἀκαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυτον
ἀποδείξας ἄλσος ἡσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις
καθαροῖς καὶ συσκιοῖς περιπάτοις.

XIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν τινες οὐκ ἐβού-
λοντο τὴν Χερρόνησον ἐκλιπεῖν, ἄλλὰ καὶ τοὺς
Θρᾷκας ἄνωθεν ἐπεκαλοῦντο καταφρονοῦντες τοῦ
Κίμωνος μετ' ὀλίγων παντάπασι τριήρων Ἀθή-
νηθεν ἐκπεπλευκότος, ὥρμήσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τέσ-
σαρσι μὲν ναυσὶ τρισκαιδεκα τὰς ἐκείνων ἔλαβεν,
ἐξελάσας δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ κρατήσας τῶν Θρᾳ-
κῶν πᾶσαν φύειώσατο τῇ πόλει τὴν Χερρόνησον.
2 ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θασίους μὲν ἀποστάντας Ἀθηναίων
καταναυμαχήσας τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἔλαβε
καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ τὰ χρυσεῖα τὰ

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also built the altar of Peace to commemorate this event, and paid distinguished honours to Callias as their ambassador.

By the sale of the captured spoils the people was enabled to meet various financial demands, and especially it constructed the southern wall of the Acropolis with the generous resources obtained from that expedition. And it is said that, though the building of the long walls, called "legs," was completed afterwards, yet their first foundations, where the work was obstructed by swamps and marshes, were stayed up securely by Cimon, who dumped vast quantities of rubble and heavy stones into the swamps, meeting the expenses himself. He was the first to beautify the city with the so-called "liberal" and elegant resorts which were so excessively popular a little later, by planting the market-place with plane trees, and by converting the Academy from a waterless and arid spot into a well watered grove, which he provided with clear running-tracks and shady walks.

XIV. Now there were certain Persians who would not abandon the Chersonese, but called in Thracians from the North to help them, despising Cimon, who had sailed out from Athens with only a few triremes all told.¹ But he sallied out against them with his four ships and captured their thirteen, drove out the Persians, overwhelmed the Thracians, and turned the whole Chersonese over to his city for settlement. And after this, when the Thasians were in revolt from Athens,² he defeated them in a sea-fight, captured thirty-three of their ships, besieged and took their city, acquired their gold mines

¹ 466 B.C.

² 465 B.C.

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πέραν Ἀθηναίοις προσεκτήσατο καὶ χώραν, ἡς ἐπῆρχον Θάσιοι, παρέλαβεν.

Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ῥᾳδίως ἐπιβῆναι Μακεδονίας καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι παρασχόν, ὡς ἐδόκει, μὴ θελήσας αὐτίαν ἔσχε δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεπεῖσθαι, καὶ δίκην ἔφυγε τῶν 3 ἔχθρῶν συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν. ἀπολογούμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς οὐκ Ἰώνων ἔφη προξενεῖν οὐδὲ Θεσσαλῶν, πλουσίων ὅντων, ὥσπερ ἐτέρους, ἵνα θεραπεύωνται καὶ λαμβάνωσιν, ἀλλὰ Λακεδαιμονίων, μιμούμενος καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐτέλειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ἡς οὐδένα προτιμᾶν πλούτον, ἀλλὰ πλουτίζων ἀπὸ τῶν πο- 4 λεμίων τὴν πόλιν ἀγάλλεσθαι. μνησθεὶς δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἐκείνης ὁ Στησίμβροτός φησι τὴν Ἐλπινίκην ὑπὲρ τοῦ Κίμωνος δεομένην ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ Περικλέους (οὗτος γὰρ ἦν τῶν κατηγόρων ὁ σφοδρότατος), τὸν δὲ μειδιάσαντα “Γραῦς εἰ,” φάναι, “γραῦς, ὡς Ἐλπινίκη, ὡς τηλικαῦτα διαπράττεσθαι πράγματα” πλὴν ἔν γε τῇ δίκῃ πραότατον γενέσθαι τῷ Κίμωνι καὶ πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἄπαξ ἀναστῆναι μόνον, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιούμενον.

XV. Ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν ἀπέφυγε τὴν δίκην· ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ πολιτείᾳ παρὼν μὲν ἐκράτει καὶ συνέστελλε τὸν δῆμον ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ περισπῶντα τὴν πᾶσαν εἰς ἔαυτὸν ἀρχῆν καὶ δύναμιν· ὡς δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἔξεπλευσε, τελέως ἀνεθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ συγχέαντες τὸν καθεστῶ- 488 τα τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον τά τε πάτρια νόμιμα, οἵς

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on the opposite mainland for Athens, and took possession of the territory which the Thasians controlled there.

From this base he had a good opportunity, as it was thought, to invade Macedonia and cut off a great part of it, and because he would not consent to do it, he was accused of having been bribed to this position by King Alexander, and was actually prosecuted, his enemies forming a coalition against him.¹ In making his defence before his judges he said he was no proxenus of rich Ionians and Thessalians, as others were, to be courted and paid for their services, but rather of Lacedaemonians, whose temperate simplicity he lovingly imitated, counting no wealth above it, but embellishing the city with the wealth which he got from the enemy. In mentioning this famous trial Stesimbrotus says that Elpinicé came with a plea for Cimon to the house of Pericles, since he was the most ardent accuser, and that he smiled and said, "Too old, too old, Elpinicé, to meddle with such business." But at the trial he was very gentle with Cimon, and took the floor only once in accusation of him, as though it were a mere formality.

XV. Well then, Cimon was acquitted at this trial. And during the remainder of his political career, when he was at home, he mastered and constrained the people in its onsets upon the nobles, and in its efforts to wrest all office and power to itself; but when he sailed away again on military service,² the populace got completely beyond control. They confounded the established political order of things and the ancestral practices which they had formerly

¹ 463 B.C.

² 462 B.C. See chap. xvii

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2 ἔχρωντο πρότερον, Ἐφιάλτου προεστῶτος ἀφείλοντο τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς τὰς κρίσεις πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀπάσας, καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων κυρίους ἑαυτοὺς ποιήσαντες εἰς ἄκρατον δημοκρατίαν ἐνέβαλον τὴν πόλιν, ἥδη καὶ Περικλέους δυναμένου καὶ τὰ τῶν πολλῶν φρονοῦντος. διὸ καὶ τοῦ Κίμωνος, ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν, ἀγανακτοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ προπηλακίζεσθαι τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ συνεδρίου, καὶ πειρωμένου πάλιν ἄνω τὰς δίκας ἀνακαλεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Κλεισθένους ἐγείρειν ἀριστοκρατίαν, κατεβόων συνιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν
3 δῆμον ἐξηρέθιζον, ἐκεῖνά τε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀνανεούμενοι καὶ Λακωνισμὸν ἐπικαλοῦντες. εἰς ἀ καὶ τὰ Εὐπόλιδος διατεθρύληται περὶ Κίμωνος,
ὅτι

Κακὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦν, φιλοπότης δὲ κάμελής·
κάνιότ’ ἀν ἀπεκοιμᾶτ’ ἀν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι,
καν ’Ελπινίκην τὴνδε καταλιπὼν μόνην.

εὶ δ’ ἀμελῶν καὶ μεθυσκόμενος τοσαύτας πόλεις εἶλε καὶ τοσαύτας νίκας ἐνίκησε, δῆλον ὅτι νήφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ προσέχοντος οὐδεὶς ἀν οὔτε τῶν πρότερον οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον Ἑλλήνων παρῆλθε τὰς πράξεις.

XVI. Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς φιλολάκων· καὶ τῶν γε παίδων τῶν διδύμων τὸν ἔτερον Λακεδαιμόνιον ὠνόμασε, τὸν δ’ ἔτερον Ἡλεῖον, ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ Κλειτορίας γενομένους, ὡς Στησίμβροτος ιστορεῖ· διὸ πολλάκις τὸν Περικλέα τὸ μητρόφον αὐτοῖς γένος ὀνειδίζειν. Διόδωρος δ’ ὁ Περιηγητὴς καὶ τούτους φησὶ καὶ τὸν τρίτον τῶν Κίμωνος

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observed, and under the lead of Ephialtes they robbed the Council of the Areiopagus of all but a few of the cases in its jurisdiction. They made themselves masters of the courts of justice, and plunged the city into unmitigated democracy, Pericles being now a man of power and espousing the cause of the populace. And so when Cimon came back home, and in his indignation at the insults heaped upon the reverend council, tried to recall again its jurisdiction and to revive the aristocracy of the times of Cleisthenes, they banded together to denounce him, and tried to inflame the people against him, renewing the old slanders about his sister and accusing him of being a Spartan sympathiser. It was to these calumnies that the famous and popular verses of Eupolis about Cimon had reference :—

“ He was not base, but fond of wine and full of sloth,
And oft he ’ld sleep in Lacedaemon, far from home,
And leave his Elpinicé sleeping all alone.”

But if, though full of sloth and given to tippling, he yet took so many cities and won so many victories, it is clear that had he been sober and mindful of his business, no Hellene either before or after him would have surpassed his exploits.

XVI. It is true indeed that he was from the first a philo-Laconian. He actually named one of his twin sons Lacedaemonius, and the other Eleius,—the sons whom a woman of Cleitor bare him, as Stesimbrotus relates, wherefore Pericles often reproached them with their maternal lineage. But Diodorus the Topographer says that these, as well

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- νίων Θεσσαλὸν ἔξι Ἰσοδίκης γεγονέναι τῆς
2 Εύρυππολέμου τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ηὐξήθη δὲ ὑπὸ^{τῶν} Λακεδαιμονίων ἡδη τῷ Θεμιστοκλεῖ προσπο-^{λεμούντων} καὶ τοῦτον ὄντα νέον ἐν Ἀθήναις^{μᾶλλον} ἴσχύειν καὶ κρατεῖν βουλομένων. οἱ
δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρῶτον ἡδέως ἔώρων οὐ μικρὰ τῆς
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοίας τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀπολαύον-^{τες} αὐξανομένοις γάρ αὐτοῖς κατ' ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ
συμμαχικὰ πολυτραγμούνσιν οὐκ ἥχθοντο τιμῆ-
3 καὶ χάριτι τοῦ Κίμωνος. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα δι'^{ἐκείνου} τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν διεπράττετο, πράως μὲν
τοῖς συμμάχοις, κεχαρισμένως δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαι-^{μονίοις} ὄμιλοῦντος. ἔπειτα δυνατώτεροι γενό-^{μενοι} καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις οὐκ
ἡρέμα προσκείμενον ὄρωντες ἥχθοντο. καὶ γὰρ
αὐτὸς ἐπὶ παντὶ μεγαλύνων τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν
πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ μάλιστα δὲ τύχοι μεμφό-^{μενος} αὐτοῖς ἡ παροξύνων, ὡς φησι Στησίμβροτος,^{εἰώθει λέγειν} “Ἀλλ’ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιοί γε
4 τοιοῦτοι.” ὅθεν φθόνον ἔαυτῷ συνῆγε καὶ
δυσμένειάν τινα παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν.

‘Η δὲ οὖν ἴσχύσασα μάλιστα κατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν
διαβολῶν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοιαύτην. Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ
Ζευξιδάμου τέταρτον¹ ἔτος ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλεύον-^{τος} ὑπὸ σεισμοῦ μεγίστου δὴ τῶν μνημονευομένων
πρότερον ἡ τε χώρα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χάσμα-^{σιν} ἐνώλισθε πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν Ταῦγέτων τιναχ-^{θέντων} κορυφαί τινες ἀπερράγησαν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ
πόλις ὅλη συνεχύθη πλὴν οἰκιῶν πέντε, τὰς δὲ
ἄλλας ἥρειψεν ὁ σεισμός.

¹ τέταρτον Bekker adopted Niebuhr's correction to τεσσα-^{ρετετέκατον fourteenth.}

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as the third of Cimon's sons, Thessalus, were born of Isodicé, the daughter of Euryptolemus, the son of Megacles. And he was looked upon with favour by the Lacedaemonians, who soon were at enmity with Themistocles, and therefore preferred that Cimon, young as he was, should have the more weight and power in Athens. The Athenians were glad to see this at first, since they reaped no slight advantage from the good will which the Spartans showed him. While their empire was first growing, and they were busy making alliances, they were not displeased that honour and favour should be shown to Cimon. He was the foremost Hellenic statesman, dealing gently with the allies and acceptably with the Lacedaemonians. But afterwards, when they became more powerful, and saw that Cimon was strongly attached to the Spartans, they were displeased thereat. For on every occasion he was prone to exalt Lacedaemon to the Athenians, especially when he had occasion to chide or incite them. Then, as Stesimbrotus tells us, he would say, "But the Lacedaemonians are not of such a sort." In this way he awakened the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens.

At any rate, the strongest charge against him arose as follows. When Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, was in the fourth year of his reign at Sparta,¹ a greater earthquake than any before reported rent the land of the Lacedaemonians into many chasms, shook Taÿgetus so that sundry peaks were torn away, and demolished the entire city with the exception of five houses. The rest were thrown down by the earthquake.

¹ 464 B.C.

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- 5 Ἐν δὲ μέσῃ τῇ στοᾷ γυμναζομένων ὁμοῦ τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν νεανίσκων λέγεται μικρὸν πρὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ λαγὼν παραφανῆναι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους, ὥσπερ ἡσαν ἀληλιμμένοι, μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἐκδραμεῖν καὶ διώκειν, τοῖς δὲ ἐφήβοις ὑπολειφθεῖσιν ἐπιπεσεῖν τὸ γυμνάσιον καὶ πάντας ὁμοῦ τελευτῆσαι. τὸν δὲ τάφον αὐτῶν ἔτι νῦν Σεισματίαν προσαγορεύουσι.
- 6 Ταχὺ δὴ συνιδὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν μέλλοντα κίνδυνον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, καὶ τοὺς πολίτας 489 ὄρῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν τὰ τιμιώτατα πειρωμένους σώζειν, ἐκέλευσε τῇ σάλπιγγι σημαίνειν, ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων, δπως δτι τάχιστα μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀθροίζωνται πρὸς αὐτόν. δ δὴ καὶ μόνον ἐν τῷ τότε καιρῷ τὴν Σπάρτην διέσωσεν. οἱ γὰρ ἐλλωτες ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν συνέδραμον πανταχόθεν ὡς ἀναρπασόμενοι τοὺς σεσωσμένους
- 7 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ὠπλισμένους δὲ καὶ συντεταγμένους εὑρόντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ φανερῶς ἐπολέμουν, τῶν τε περιοίκων ἀναπείσαντες οὐκ ὀλίγους, καὶ Μεσσηνίων ἅμα τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις συνεπιθεμένων.
- Πέμπουσιν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Περικλείδαν εἰς Ἀθήνας δεόμενοι βοηθεῖν, ὃν φησι κωμῳδῶν Ἀριστοφάνης καθεξόμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς βωμοῖς ὡχρὸν
- 8 ἐν φοινικίδι στρατιὰν ἐπαιτεῖν. Ἐφιάλτου δὲ κωλύοντος καὶ διαμαρτυρομένου μὴ βοηθεῖν μηδ' ἀνιστάναι πόλιν ἀντίπαλον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν κεῖσθαι καὶ πατηθῆναι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς Σπάρτης, Κίμωνά φησι Κριτίας τὴν τῆς πατρίδος αὔξησιν ἐν ὑστέρῳ θέμενον τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων

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It is said that while the young men and youths were exercising together in the interior of the colonnade, just a little before the earthquake, a hare made its appearance, and the youths, all anointed as they were, in sport dashed out and gave chase to it, but the young men remained behind, on whom the gymnasium fell, and all perished together. Their tomb, even down to the present day, they call *Seismatias*.

Archidamus at once comprehended from the danger at hand that which was sure to follow, and as he saw the citizens trying to save the choicest valuables out of their houses, ordered the trumpet to give the signal of an enemy's attack, in order that they might flock to him at once under arms. This was all that saved Sparta at that crisis. For the Helots hurriedly gathered from all the country round about with intent to despatch the surviving Spartans. But finding them arrayed in arms, they withdrew to their cities and waged open war, persuading many Perioeci also so to do. The Messenians besides joined in this attack upon the Spartans.

Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians sent Pericleidas to Athens with request for aid, and Aristophanes introduces him into a comedy as "sitting at the altars, pale of face, in purple cloak, soliciting an army."¹ But Ephialtes opposed the project, and besought the Athenians not to succour nor restore a city which was their rival, but to let haughty Sparta lie to be trodden under foot of men. Whereupon, as Critias says, Cimon made his country's increase of less account than Sparta's interest, and persuaded the

¹ *Lysistrata*, 1137 ff.

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συμφέροντος ἀναπείσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἐξελθεῖν
βοηθοῦντα μετὰ πολλῶν ὄπλιτῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἰων
ἀπομνημονεύει καὶ τὸν λόγον, ω̄ μάλιστα τοὺς
Ἀθηναίους ἐκίνησε, παρακαλῶν μήτε τὴν Ἐλ-
λάδα χωλὴν μήτε τὴν πόλιν ἑτερόξυγα περιιδεῖν
γεγενημένην.

XVII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βοηθήσας τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἀπήει διὰ Κορίνθου τὴν στρατιὰν ἄγων, ἐνεκάλει
Λάχαρτος αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς πολίταις
εἰσαγαγόντι τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ γὰρ θύραν κό-
ψαντας ἀλλοτρίαν οὐκ εἰσιέναι πρότερον ἦ τὸν
κύριον κελεῦσαι. καὶ ὁ Κίμων "Ἄλλ' οὐχ ὑμεῖς,"
εἶπεν, "ὦ Λάχαρτε, τὰς Κλεωναίων καὶ Μεγαρέων
πύλας κόψαντες, ἀλλὰ κατασχίσαντες εἰσεβιά-
σασθε μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀξιοῦντες ἀνεῳγέναι
πάντα τοῖς μεῖζον δυναμένοις." οὕτω μὲν ἐθρα-
σύνατο πρὸς τὸν Κορίνθιον ἐν δέοντι, καὶ μετὰ
τῆς στρατιᾶς διεξῆλθεν.

2 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὐθις
ἐκάλουν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ Μεσσηνίοις καὶ
εἴλωτας, ἐλθόντων δὲ τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τὴν λαμ-
πρότητα δείσαντες ἀπεπέμψαντο μόνους τῶν
συμμάχων ὡς νεωτεριστάς. οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὅργην
ἀπελθόντες ἥδη τοῖς λακωνίζουσι φανερώς ἔχαλέ-
παινον, καὶ τὸν Κίμωνα μικρᾶς ἐπιλαβόμενοι
προφάσεως ἐξωστράκισαν εἰς ἔτη δέκα· τοσοῦτον
γὰρ ἦν χρόνου τεταγμένον ἄπασι τοῖς ἐξοστρακι-
ζομένοις.

3 Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἐπανήρ-
χοντο Δελφοὺς ἀπὸ Φωκέων ἐλευθερώσαντες, ἐν

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people to go forth to her aid with many hoplites. And Ion actually mentions the phrase by which, more than by anything else, Cimon prevailed upon the Athenians, exhorting them "not to suffer Hellas to be crippled, nor their city to be robbed of its yoke-fellow."

XVII. After he had given aid to the Lacedaemonians, he was going back home with his forces through the Isthmus of Corinth, when Lachartus upbraided him for having introduced his army before he had conferred with the citizens. "People who knock at doors," said he, "do not go in before the owner bids them"; to which Cimon replied, "And yet you Corinthians, O Lachartus, did not so much as knock at the gates of Cleoneae and Megara, but hewed them down and forced your way in under arms, demanding that everything be opened up to the stronger." Such was his boldness of speech to the Corinthian in an emergency, and he passed on through with his forces.

Once more the Lacedaemonians summoned the Athenians to come to their aid against the Messenians and Helots in Ithomé, and the Athenians went, but their dashing boldness awakened fear, and they were singled out from all the allies and sent off as dangerous conspirators. They came back home in a rage, and at once took open measures of hostility against the Laconizers, and above all against Cimon. Laying hold of a trifling pretext, they ostracised him for ten years.¹ That was the period decreed in all cases of ostracism.

It was during this period that the Lacedaemonians, after freeing the Delphians from the Phocians,

¹ 461 B.C.

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Τανάγρα καταστρατοπεδευσάντων Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἀπήντων διαμαχούμενοι, Κίμων δὲ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἦκεν εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φυλὴν τὴν Οἰνητίδα, πρόθυμος ὡν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μετὰ
4 τῶν πολιτῶν. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων πυθομένη καὶ φοβηθεῖσα, τῶν ἔχθρων αὐτοῦ καταβοώντων ὡς συνταράξαι τὴν φάλαγγα βουλομένου καὶ τῇ πόλει Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπαγαγεῖν, ἀπηγόρευσε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. κάκενος μὲν φῆχετο δεηθεὶς Εὐθίππου τοῦ Ἀναφλυστίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑταίρων, ὅσοι μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ λακωνίζειν αἰτίαν ἔσχον, ἐρρωμένως ἀγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀπολύσασθαι τὴν αἰτίαν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας.
5 οἱ δὲ λαβόντες αὐτοῦ τὴν πανοπλίαν εἰς τὸν λόχον ἔθεντο· καὶ μετ' ἄλλῃλων συστάντες ἐκθύμως ἐκατὸν ὄντες ἐπεσον, πολὺν αὐτῶν πόθον καὶ μεταμέλειαν ἐφ' οἷς ἥτιάθησαν ἀδίκως ἀπολιπόντες τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τῷ πρὸς Κίμωνα θυμῷ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνέμειναν, τὰ μέν, ὡς εἰκός, ὧν ἔπαθον εὖ μεμνημένοι, τὰ δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ συλλαμβανομένου. 490 μάχη μεγάλῃ καὶ προσδοκῶντες εἰς ὕραν ἔτους στρατιὰν Πελοποννησίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς τὸν Κίμωνα· καὶ κατῆλθε τὸ ψήφισμα γράψαντος αὐτῷ Περικλέους. οὕτω τότε πολιτικαὶ μὲν ἤσαν αἱ διαφοραί, μέτριοι δὲ οἱ θυμοὶ

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encamped at Tanagra on their march back home.¹ Here the Athenians confronted them, bent on fighting their issue out, and here Cimon came in arms, to join his own Oeneid tribe, eager to share with his fellow-citizens in repelling the Lacedaemonians. But the Council of the Five Hundred learned of this and was filled with fear, since Cimon's foes accused him of wishing to throw the ranks into confusion, and then lead the Lacedaemonians in an attack upon the city ; so they forbade the generals to receive the man. As he went away he besought Euthippus of Anaphlystus and his other comrades, all who were specially charged with laconizing, to fight sturdily against the enemy, and by their deeds of valour to dissipate the charge which their countrymen laid at their door. They took his armour and set it in the midst of their company, supported one another ardently in the fight, and fell, to the number of one hundred, leaving behind them among the Athenians a great and yearning sense of their loss, and sorrow for the unjust charges made against them. For this reason the Athenians did not long abide by their displeasure against Cimon, partly because, as was natural, they remembered his benefits, and partly because the turn of events favoured his cause. For they were defeated at Tanagra in a great battle, and expected that in the following spring-time an armed force of Peloponnesians would come against them, and so they recalled Cimon from his exile. The decree which provided for his return was formally proposed by Pericles. To such a degree in those days were dissensions based on political differences of opinion, while personal feelings were

¹ 457 B.C.

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καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν εὐανάκλητοι συμφέρον, ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία πάντων ἐπικρατοῦσα τῶν παθῶν τοῖς τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεχώρει καιροῖς.

XVIII. Εύθυνς μὲν οὖν ὁ Κίμων κατελθὼν ἔλυσε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ διήλλαξε τὰς πόλεις· γενομένης δ' εἰρήνης ὄρῶν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ κινεῖσθαι καὶ αὐξανεσθαι ταῖς στρατείαις βουλομένους, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς "Ελλησι διοχλῶσι μηδὲ περὶ τὰς νήσους ἡ Πελοπόννησον ἀναστρεφόμενοι ναυσὶ πολλαῖς αὐτίας ἐμφυλίων πολέμων καὶ συμμαχικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀρχὰς ἐπισπάσωνται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως,

2 ἐπλήρου διακοσίας τριήρεις ὡς ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ Κύπρον αὐθις ἐκστρατευσόμενος, ἅμα μὲν ἐμμελετᾶν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἀγῶσι βουλόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἅμα δ' ὥφελεῖσθαι δικαίως τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν φύσει πολεμίων εὐπορίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίζοντας.

"Ηδη δὲ παρεσκευασμένων ἀπάντων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν ὅντος ὅνταρ εἶδεν ὁ 3 Κιμων. ἐδόκει κύνα θυμουμένην ὑλακτεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ὑκλαῆς μεμιγμένον ἀφεῖσαν ἀνθρώπου φθόγγον εἰπεῖν·

Στεῖχε· φίλος γάρ ἔστη καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἐμοῖς σκυλάκεσσιν.

οὕτω δὲ δυσκρίτου τῆς ὅψεως οὕστης Ἀστύφιλος ὁ Ποσειδωνιάτης, μαντικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ συνήθης τῷ Κίμωνι, φράζει θάνατον αὐτῷ προσημαίνειν τὴν ὅψιν, οὕτω διαιρῶν κύων ἀνθρώπῳ, πρὸς δὲ ὑλακτεῖν, πολέμιος πολεμίῳ δ' οὐκ ἄν τις μᾶλλον

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moderate, and easily recalled into conformity with the public weal. Even ambition, that master passion, paid deference to the country's welfare.

XVIII. Well then, as soon as Cimon returned from exile he stopped the war and reconciled the rival cities. After peace was made,¹ since he saw that the Athenians were unable to keep quiet, but wished to be on the move and τοιωταν great by means of military expeditions ; also because he wished that they should not exasperate the Hellenes generally, nor by hovering around the islands and the Peloponnesus with a large fleet bring down upon the city charges of intestine war, and initial complaints from the allies, he manned two hundred triremes. His design was to make another expedition with them against Egypt and Cyprus. He wished to keep the Athenians in constant training by their struggles with Barbarians, and to give them the legitimate benefits of importing into Hellas the wealth taken from their natural foes.

All things were now ready and the soldiery on the point of embarking, when Cimon had a dream. He thought an angry bitch was baying at him, and that mingled with its baying it uttered a human voice, saying :—

“ Go thy way, for a friend shalt thou be both to me and my puppies.”

The vision being hard of interpretation, Astyphilus of Posidonia, an inspired man and an intimate of Cimon's, told him that it signified his death. He analysed the vision thus: a dog is a foe of the man at whom it bays; to a foe, one cannot be a friend

¹ 450 B.C.

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ἡ τελευτήσας φίλος γένοιτο· τὸ δὲ μῆγμα τῆς φωνῆς Μῆδου ἀποδηλοῦ τὸν ἔχθρον· ὁ γὰρ 4 Μῆδων στρατὸς "Ελλησιν ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάροις μέμικται. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὅψιν αὐτοῦ τῷ Διονύσῳ θύσαντος ὁ μὲν μάντις ἀπέτεμε τὸ ἴερεῖον, τοῦ δ' αἴματος τὸ πηγυνύμενον ἥδη μύρμηκες πολλοὶ λαμβάνοντες κατὰ μικρὸν ἔφερον πρὸς τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ τοῦ ποδὸς περὶ τὸν μέγαν δάκτυλον περιέπλαττον, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον λανθάνοντες. ἂμα δέ πως ὁ τε Κίμων τῷ γινομένῳ προσέσχε καὶ παρῆν ὁ θύτης ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῷ τὸν λοβὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα κεφαλήν.

"Αλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀνάδυσις τῆς στρατείας ἔξεπλευσε, καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔξήκοντα μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ταῦς δ' ἄλλαις πάλιν . . . ἔπλει.¹ 5 καὶ καταναυμαχήσας Φοινισσῶν νεῶν καὶ Κιλισσῶν βασιλικὸν στόλον ἀνεκτάτο τε τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ πόλεις καὶ τοῖς περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐφήδρευεν, οὐδὲν μικρόν, ἀλλ' ὅλης ἐπινοῶν τῆς βασιλέως ἡγεμονίας κατάλυσιν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐπυνθάνετο δόξαν εἶναι καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις μεγάλην, ὑποδεδεγμένου βασιλεῖ κινοῦντι τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον στρατηγήσειν. 6 Θεμιστοκλῆς μὲν οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα λέγεται τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ἀπογνούς, ὡς οὐκ ἀν ὑπερβαλόμενος τὴν Κίμωνος εὔτυχίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, ἐκὼν τελευτῆσαι, Κίμων δὲ μεγάλων ἐπαιρόμενος ἀρχὰς ἀγώνων καὶ περὶ Κύπρου συνέχων τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ἀμμωνος ἄνδρας ἀπόρρητόν τινα μαντείαν ποιησομένους παρὰ τῷ θεῷ.

¹ πάλιν . . . ἔπλει either πάλιν is a corruption (περὶ Παμφυλίαν ?), or words have fallen out.

CIMON

any better than by dying ; the mixture of speech indicates that the enemy is the Mede, for the army of the Medes is a mixture of Hellenes and Barbarians. After this vision, when Cimon had sacrificed to Dionysus and the seer was cutting up the victim, swarms of ants took the blood as it congealed, brought it little by little to Cimon, and enveloped his great toe therewith, he being unconscious of their work for some time. Just about at the time when he noticed what they were doing, the ministrant came and showed him the liver of his victim without a head.

But since he could not get out of the expedition, he set sail, and after detailing sixty of his ships to go to Egypt, with the rest he made again for Cyprus. After defeating at sea the royal armament of Phoenician and Cilician ships, he won over the cities round about, and then lay threatening the royal enterprise in Egypt, and not in any trifling fashion,—nay, he had in mind the dissolution of the King's entire supremacy, and all the more because he learned that the reputation and power of Themistocles were great among the Barbarians, who had promised the King that when the Hellenic war was set on foot he would take command of it. At any rate, it is said that it was most of all due to Themistocles' despair of his Hellenic undertakings, since he could not eclipse the good fortune and valour of Cimon, that he took his own life.¹

But Cimon, while he was projecting vast conflicts and holding his naval forces in the vicinity of Cyprus, sent men to the shrine of Ammon to get oracular answer from the god to some secret question.

¹ Cf. *Themistocles*, xxxi. 4.

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7 γινώσκει γάρ οὐδεὶς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπέμφθησαν, οὐδὲ χρησμὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἔξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἄμα τῷ προσελθεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι τοὺς θεοπρόπους· αὐτὸν γάρ ηδη τὸν Κίμωνα παρ' ἑαυτῷ τυγχάνειν δύντα. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ θεοπρόποι κατέβαινον ἐπὶ θάλασσαν· γενόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃ τότε περὶ Αἴγυπτου ἦν, ἐπύθουντο τεθνάναι τὸν Κίμωνα· καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας πρὸς τὸ μαντεῖον ἀνάγοντες ἔγνωσαν ἥντιγμένην τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς ηδη παρὰ θεοῖς δύντος.

XIX. Ἀπέθανε δὲ πολιορκῶν Κίτιον, ὡς οἱ 491 πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, νοσήσας· ἔνιοι δέ φασιν ἐκ τραύματος, ὃ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγωνιζόμενος ἔσχε. τελευτῶν δὲ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀποπλεῖν ἀποκρυψαμένους τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ· καὶ συνέβη μήτε τῶν πολεμίων μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αἰσθομένων ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοὺς ἀνακομισθῆναι στρατηγουμένους ὑπὸ Κίμωνος, ὡς φησι Φανόδημος, τεθνηκότος ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα.

- 2 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους οὐδὲν ἔτι λαμπρὸν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐπράχθη στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ τραπέντες ὑπὸ δημαγωγῶν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους, οὐδενὸς τὰς χεῖρας ἐν μέσῳ διασχόντος, συνερράγησαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀναπνοή μὲν τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι γενόμενοι, φθόρον δὲ ἀμύθητον
- 3 τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπεργασάμενοι. ὅψε δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔξενεγκάμενοι τὰ ὅπλα βραχέος ἤψαντο πολέμου πρὸς

CIMON

No one knows what they were sent to ask, nor did the god vouchsafe them any response, but as soon as the enquirers drew nigh, he bade them depart, saying that Cimon himself was already with him. On hearing this, the enquirers went down to the sea-coast, and when they reached the camp of the Hellenes, which was at that time on the confines of Egypt, they learned that Cimon was dead, and on counting the days back to the utterance of the oracle, they found that it was their commander's death which had been darkly intimated, since he was already with the gods.

XIX. He died while besieging Citium, of sickness, as most say.¹ But some say it was of a wound which he got while fighting the Barbarians. As he was dying he bade those about him to sail away at once and to conceal his death. And so it came to pass that neither the enemy nor the allies understood what had happened, and the force was brought back in safety "under the command of Cimon," as Phanodemus says, "who had been dead for thirty days."

After his death no further brilliant exploit against the Barbarians was performed by any general of the Hellenes, who were swayed by demagogues and partisans of civil war, with none to hold a mediating hand between them, till they actually clashed together in war. This afforded the cause of the King a respite, but brought to pass an indescribable destruction of Hellenic power. It was not until long afterwards² that Agesilaüs carried his arms into Asia and prosecuted a brief war against the King's

¹ Thuc. i. 112.

² 396-394 B.C.

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τοὺς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ βασιλέως στρατηγούς· καὶ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μέγα δράσαντες, αὐθις δὲ ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς στάσεσι καὶ ταραχαῖς ἀφ' ἔτέρας ἀρχῆς ὑπενεχθέντες, ὥχοντο τοὺς Περσῶν φορολόγους ἐν μέσαις ταῖς συμμάχοις καὶ φίλαις πόλεσιν ἀπολιπόντες, ὡν οὐδὲ γραμματοφόρος κατέβαινεν οὐδ' ἵππος πρὸς θαλάσσῃ τετρακοσίων σταδίων ἐντὸς ὥφθη στρατηγοῦντος Κίμωνος.

4 "Οτι μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἀπεκομίσθη τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ, μαρτυρεῖ τῶν μνημάτων τὰ μέχρι νῦν Κιμώνεια προσαγορευόμενα· τιμῶσι δὲ καὶ Κιτιεῖς τάφον τινὰ Κίμωνος, ὡς Ναυσικράτης ὁ ρήτωρ φησίν, ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ γῆς ἀφορίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστάξαντος αὐτοῖς μὴ ἀμελεῖν Κίμωνος, ἀλλ' ὡς κρείττονα σέβεσθαι καὶ γεραίρειν. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς ἡγεμών.

CIMON

generals along the sea-coast. And even he could perform no great and brilliant deeds, but was overwhelmed in his turn by a flood of Hellenic disorders and seditions and swept away from a second empire. So he withdrew, leaving in the midst of allied and friendly cities the tax-gatherers of the Persians, not one of whose scribes, nay, nor so much as a horse, had been seen within four hundred furlongs of the sea, as long as Cimon was general.

That his remains were brought home to Attica, there is testimony in the funeral monuments to this day called Cimonian. But the people of Citium also pay honours to a certain tomb of Cimon, as Nausicles the rhetorician says, because in a time of pestilence and famine the god enjoined upon them not to neglect Cimon, but to revere and honour him as a superior being. Such was the Greek leader.

LUCULLUS

ΛΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΣ

- Ι. Τῷ δὲ Λουκούλλῳ πάππος μὲν ἦν ὑπατικός, θεῖος δὲ πρὸς μητρὸς Μέτελλος ὁ Νομαδικὸς ἐπικληθείς. τῶν δὲ γονέων ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἔάλω κλοπῆς, Κεκιλία δὲ ἡ μήτηρ ἡδόξησεν ώς οὐ βεβιωκυῖα σωφρόνως. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Λουκουλλος ἔτι μειράκιον ὥν, πρὶν ἀρχήν τινα μετελθεῖν καὶ πολιτείας ἄγασθαι, πρῶτον ἔργον ἐποιήσατο τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς κατήγορον κρῖναι Σερουίλιον
2 αὐγούρα, λαβὼν ἀδικοῦντα δημοσίᾳ. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα λαμπρὸν ἐφάνη Ῥωμαίοις, καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην ὥσπερ ἀριστείαν διὰ στόματος ἔσχον. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως αὐτοῖς ἀνευ προφάσεως οὐκ ἀγεννὲς εἶναι τὸ τῆς κατηγορίας ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ τοὺς νέους ἐβούλουντο τοὺς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιφυομένους ὁρᾶν ὥσπερ θηρίοις εὐγενεῖς σκύλακας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μεγάλης περὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην φιλονεικίας γενομένης, ὥστε καὶ τρωθῆναι τινας καὶ πεσεῖν, ἀπέφυγεν ὁ Σερουίλιος.
3 'Ο δὲ Λουκουλλος ἤσκητο καὶ λέγειν ἵκανῶς ἐκατέραν γλώτταν, ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐκείνῳ προσεφώνησεν ώς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσοντι τὴν ἴστορίαν ἄμεινον. ἦν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν χρείαν μόνην ἐμμελῆς αὐτοῦ

LUCULLUS

I. IN the case of Lucullus, his grandfather was a man of consular rank, and his uncle on his mother's side was Metellus, surnamed Numidicus. But as for his parents, his father was convicted of peculation, and his mother, Caecilia, had the bad name of a dissolute woman. Lucullus himself, while he was still a mere youth, before he had entered public life or stood for any office, made it his first business to impeach his father's accuser, Servilius the Augur, whom he found wronging the commonwealth. The Romans thought this a brilliant stroke, and the case was in everybody's mouth, like a great deed of prowess. Indeed, they thought the business of impeachment, on general principles and without special provocation, no ignoble thing, but were very desirous to see their young men fastening themselves on malefactors like high-bred whelps on wild beasts. However, the case stirred up great animosity, so that sundry persons were actually wounded and slain, and Servilius was acquitted.

Lucullus was trained to speak fluently both Latin and Greek, so that Sulla, in writing his own memoirs, dedicated them to him, as a man who would set in order and duly arrange the history of the times better than himself. For the style of Lucullus was not only businesslike and ready; the same

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καὶ πρόχειρος ὁ λόγος, καθάπερ ὁ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν
μὲν ἀγορὰν

Θύννος βολαῖος πέλαγος ὡς διεστρόβει,

γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκτὸς αὐτοῦ, ἀμουσίᾳ
4 τεθυηκώς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐμμελῆ ταύτην καὶ 492
λεγομένην ἐλευθέριον ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ προσεποιεῖτο
παιδείαν ἔτι καὶ μειράκιον ὅν. γενόμενος δὲ
πρεσβύτερος ἥδη παντάπασιν ὥσπερ ἐκ πολλῶν
ἀγώνων ἀφῆκε τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ σχολά-
ζειν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι, τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῆς
ἐγείρας, καταλύσας δ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ κολούσας τὸ
5 φιλότιμον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Πομπήϊον διαφορᾶς. περὶ
μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλολογίας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους
καὶ ταῦτα λέγεται· νέον δύτα πρὸς Ὁρτίσιον τὸν
δικολόγον καὶ Σισεννᾶν τὸν ἴστορικὸν ἐκ παιδιᾶς
τινος εἰς σπουδὴν προελθούσης ὁμολογῆσαι, προ-
θεμένων ποίημα καὶ λόγον Ἐλληνικόν τε καὶ
Ῥωμαϊκόν, εἰς ὃ τι ἀν λάχη τούτων, τὸν Μαρ-
σικὸν ἐντενεῖν πόλεμον. καὶ πως ἔοικεν εἰς λόγον
Ἐλληνικὸν ὁ κλῆρος ἀφικέσθαι· διασώζεται γὰρ
Ἐλληνική τις ἴστορία τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου.

6 Τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Μάρκον εὐνοίας
πολλῶν τεκμηρίων δύτων μάλιστα Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦ
πρώτου μνημονεύουσι. πρεσβύτερος γὰρ ὅν
αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀρχὴν μόνος οὐκ ἥθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ
τὸν ἐκείνου καιρὸν ἀναμείνας οὕτως ἐπηγάγετο

LUCULLUS

was true of many another man's in the Forum.
There,

"Like smitten tunny, through the billowy sea it
dashed,"

although outside of the Forum it was

"Withered, inelegant, and dead."

But Lucullus, from his youth up, was devoted to the genial and so-called "liberal" culture then in vogue, wherein the Beautiful was sought. And when he came to be well on in years, he suffered his mind to find complete leisure and repose, as it were after many struggles, in philosophy, encouraging the contemplative side of his nature, and giving timely halt and check, after his difference with Pompey, to the play of his ambition. Now, as to his love of literature, this also is reported, in addition to what has already been said: when he was a young man, proceeding from jest to earnest in a conversation with Hortensius, the orator, and Sisenna, the historian, he agreed, on their suggestion of a poem and a history, both in Greek and Latin, that he would treat the Marsic war in whichever of these forms the lot should prescribe. And it would seem that the lot prescribed a Greek history, for there is extant a Greek history of the Marsic war.

Of his affection for his brother Marcus there are many proofs, but the Romans dwell most upon the first. Although, namely, he was older than his brother, he was unwilling to hold office alone, but waited until his brother was of the proper age, and thus gained the favour of the people

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τὸν δῆμον, ὥστε σὺν ἐκείνῳ μὴ παρὼν ἀγορανόμος αἱρεθῆναι.

II. Νέος δ' ὧν ἐν τῷ Μαρσικῷ πολέμῳ πολλὰ μὲν τόλμης δείγματα παρέσχε καὶ συνέσεως, μᾶλλον γε μὴν αὐτὸν δι' εὐστάθειαν καὶ πρᾳότητα Σύλλας προσηγάγετο, καὶ χρώμενος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰ πλείστης ἄξια σπουδῆς διετέλεσεν· ὃν ἦν
2 καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ νόμισμα πραγματεία. δι' ἐκείνου γάρ ἐκόπη τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ περὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, καὶ Λουκουύλλειον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσηγορεύθη, καὶ διετέλεσεν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν χρειῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ λαμβάνον ἀμοιβὴν ταχεῖαν. ἐκ τούτου τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐπικρατῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, περικοπτόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ναυκρατούντων, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης τὸν Λούκουλλον ἄξοντα
3 ναῦς ἐκεῦθεν. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀκμὴ χειμῶνος, ἐξέπλευσε δὲ τρισὶν Ἐλληνικοῖς μυστάρωσι καὶ δικρότοις ἵσαις Ῥοδιακαῖς πρὸς μέγα πέλαγος καὶ ναῦς πολεμίας, πανταχόσε τῷ κρατεῖν πολλὰς διαφερομένας, παραβαλλόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρήτην κατάρας ὡκειώσατο καὶ Κυρηναίους καταλαβὼν ἐκ τυραννίδων συνεχῶν καὶ πολέμων ταραττομένους ἀνέλαβε, καὶ κατεστήσατο τὴν πολιτείαν Πλατωνικῆς τινος φωνῆς ἀναμνήσας τὴν πόλιν, ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἀπεθέσπισε πρὸς αὐτούς.
4 δεομένων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅπως τε νόμους γράψῃ καὶ τὸν δῆμον αὐτὸν εἰς τύπον τινὰ καταστήσῃ πολιτείας σώφρονος, ἔφη χαλεπὸν εἶναι Κυρηναίοις

LUCULLUS

to such an extent that, although in absence from the city, he was elected aedile along with his brother.

II. Though he was but a young man in the Marsic war,¹ he gave many proofs of courage and understanding. It was, however, more owing to his constancy and mildness that Sulla attached him to himself and employed him from first to last on business of the highest importance. Such, for instance, was the management of the mint. Most of the money used in Peloponnesus during the Mithridatic war was coined by him, and was called Lucullean after him. It remained current for a long time, since the wants of the soldiery during the war gave it rapid circulation. Afterwards, at Athens, Sulla found himself master on land, but cut off from supplies by sea, owing to the superior naval force of the enemy. He therefore despatched Lucullus to Egypt and Libya,² with orders to fetch ships from there. Winter was then at its worst, but he sailed forth with three Greek brigantines and as many small Rhodian galleys, exposing himself not only to the high sea, but to numerous hostile ships which were cruising about everywhere in full mastery of it. However, he put in at Crete and won it over to his side. He also made Cyrené, and finding it in confusion in consequence of successive tyrannies and wars, he restored it to order, and fixed its constitution, reminding the city of a certain oracular utterance which the great Plato had once vouchsafed to them. They asked him, it would seem, to write laws for them, and to mould their people into some form of sound government, whereupon he said that it was hard to be a lawgiver for the Cyrenaeans when they

¹ 90-89 B.C.

² 87-86 B.C.

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οὗτως εὐτυχοῦσι νομοθετεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου δυσαρκτότερον εὖ πράσσειν δοκοῦντος, οὐδὲν αὖ πάλιν δεκτικώτερον ἐπιστασίας συσταλέντος ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης. ὃ καὶ τότε Κυρηναίους νομοθετοῦντι Λουκούλλῳ πράους παρέσχεν.

5 Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀναχθεὶς ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν σκαφῶν ἀπέβαλε πειρατῶν ἐπιφανέντων, αὐτὸς δὲ διασωθεὶς κατήγετο λαμπρῶς εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ἀπήντησε γὰρ αὐτῷ σύμπας ὁ στόλος, ὡσπερ εἰώθει βασιλεῖ καταπλέοντι, κεκοσμημένος ἐκπρεπῶς· καὶ τὸ μειράκιον ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἄλλην τε θαυμαστὴν ἐπεδείκνυτο φιλοφροσύνην πρὸς αὐτόν, οἴκησίν τε καὶ διαιταν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔδωκεν, οὐδενός πωξένου πρότερον ἥγεμόνος 6 αὐτόθι καταχθέντος. δαπάνην δὲ καὶ σύνταξιν οὐχ ὅσην ἔδίδου τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ τετραπλῆν ἐκείνῳ παρεῖχεν, οὐ προσιεμένῳ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλέον οὐδὲ δῶρον λαβόντι, καίπερ ὄγδοηκοντα ταλάντων ἄξια πέμψαντος αὐτῷ. λέγεται 493 δὲ μήτ' εἰς Μέμφιν ἀναβῆναι μήτ' ἄλλο τῶν θαυμαζομένων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ περιβοήτων ἴστορῆσαι· σχολάζοντος γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα θεατοῦ καὶ τρυφῶντος, οὐχ, ὡς αὐτός, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα σκηνοῦντα παρὰ ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολελοιπότος.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέλιπε τὴν συμμαχίαν ὁ Πτολεμαῖος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀποδειλιάσας, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ναῦς ἄχρι Κύπρου πομποὺς παρέσχε, καὶ περὶ τὸν ἔκπλουν αὐτὸν ἀσπαζόμενος καὶ θεραπεύων ἔδωρεῖτο χρυσένδετον σμάραγδον τῶν πολυτελῶν,

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were having such good fortune. In fact, nothing is more ungovernable than a man reputed to be prosperous; and, on the other hand, nothing is more receptive of authority than a man who is humbled by misfortune. This was what made the Cyrenaeans at that time so submissive to Lucullus as their law-giver.

From thence he set sail for Egypt, but was attacked by pirates, and lost most of his vessels. He himself, however, escaped in safety, and entered the port of Alexandria in splendid style. The entire Egyptian fleet came to meet him, as it was wont to do when a king put into port, in resplendent array, and the youthful Ptolemy, besides showing him other astonishing marks of kindness, gave him lodging and sustenance in the royal palace, whither no foreign commander had ever been brought before. The allowance which the king made for his expenses was not the same as others had received, but four times as much, and yet he accepted nothing beyond what was actually necessary, and took no gift, although he was offered the worth of eighty talents. It is also said that he neither went up to Memphis, nor sought out any other of the famous wonders of Egypt; this he held to be the privilege of a leisurely and luxurious sight-seer, not of one who, like himself, had left his commander-in-chief encamped under the open sky alongside the battlements of the enemy.

III. Ptolemy abandoned his alliance with Rome, out of fear for the outcome of the war, but furnished Lucullus with ships to convoy him as far as Cyprus, embraced him graciously at parting, and offered him a costly emerald set in gold. At first Lucullus

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- τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὁ Λούκουλλος παρηγτεῖτο, δείξαν-
τος δὲ τὴν γλυφὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνα οὖσαν
ἰδίαν ἐφοβήθη διώσασθαι, μὴ παντάπασιν ἔχ-
θρὸς ἀποπλεῖν νομισθεὶς ἐπιβουλευθείη κατὰ
2 θάλατταν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλῆθος ἐν παράπλῳ νεῶν ἐκ
τῶν παραλίων πόλεων ἀθροίσας, πλὴν ὅσοι πει-
ρατικῶν μετεῖχον ἀδικημάτων, εἰς τὴν Κύπρον
διεπέρασεν, ἐνταῦθα πυνθανόμενος τοὺς πολε-
μίους ναυλοχοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἄκραις παραφυλάτ-
τειν αὐτόν, ἐνεώλκησε τὰ σκάφη πάντα, καὶ ταῖς
πόλεσιν ἔγραψε περὶ χειμαδίων καὶ ἀγορᾶς, ὡς
3 αὐτόθι τὴν ὥραν ἀναμενῶν. εἴτα πλοῦ φανέντος
ἔξαπίνης κατασπάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀνήχθη, καὶ μεθ'
ἡμέραν μὲν ὑφειμένοις πλέων τοῖς ἴστοις καὶ
ταπεινοῖς, νύκτωρ δὲ ἐπαιρομένοις εἰς Ῥόδον
ἐσώθη. Ῥοδίων δὲ ναῦς αὐτῷ προσπαρασχόντων
Κφους ἐπεισε καὶ Κυιδίους τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀπαλ-
λαγέντας ἐπὶ Σαμίους συστρατεύειν. ἐκ δὲ Χίου
τοὺς βασιλικοὺς αὐτὸς ἐξήλασε, Κολοφωνίους
δὲ ἡλευθέρωσε συλλαβὼν Ἐπίγονον τὸν τύραννον
αὐτῶν.
4 Ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἦδη
Μιθριδάτης τὸ Πέργαμον ἐκλεισπὼς καὶ συνε-
σταλμένος εἰς Πιτάνην. ἐκεῖ δὲ Φιμβρίου κατέ-
χοντος αὐτὸν ἐκ γῆς καὶ πολιορκοῦντος, εἰς τὴν
θάλατταν ἀφορῶν συνῆγε καὶ μετεπέμπετο τοὺς
πανταχόθεν στόλους πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀνδρὶ τολμητῇ
καὶ νεικηκότι τῷ Φιμβρίᾳ συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ
5 πολεμεῖν ἀπεγνωκώς. ὃ δὲ ταῦτα συνορῶν, ναυ-
τικῷ δὲ λειπόμενος πρὸς Λούκουλλον ἐπεμπει,
ῆκειν τῷ στόλῳ δεόμενος καὶ συνεξελεῖν ἔχθιστον

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declined to accept it, but when the king showed him that the engraving on it was a likeness of himself, he was afraid to reject it, lest he be thought to have sailed away at utter enmity with the king, and so have some plot laid against him on the voyage. As he sailed along, he collected a multitude of ships from the maritime cities, omitting all those engaged in piracy, and came at last to Cyprus. Learning there that the enemy lay at anchor off the headlands and were watching for his coming, he hauled all his vessels up on land, and wrote letters to the cities requesting winter quarters and provisions, as though he would await the fine season there. Then, when the wind served, he suddenly launched his ships and put out to sea, and by sailing in the day time with his sails reefed and low, but in the night time under full canvas, he came safely to Rhodes. The Rhodians furnished him with more ships, and he induced the people of Cos and Cnidus to forsake the royal cause and join him in an expedition against Samos. Without any aid he also drove the royal forces out of Chios,¹ and set the Colophonians free from their tyrant, Epigonus, whom he arrested.

It happened about this time that Mithridates abandoned Pergamum and shut himself up in Pitane. Since Fimbria held him in close siege there by land, he looked to make his escape by sea, and collected and summoned his fleets from every quarter for this purpose, renouncing all engagements in the field with a man so bold and victorious as Fimbria. This design Fimbria perceived, and being without any fleet of his own, sent to Lucullus, beseeching him to come with his, and assist in capturing the

¹ 85 B.C.

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καὶ πολεμιώτατον βασιλέων, ὡς μὴ τὸ μέγα καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων διωκόμενον ἀθλον ἐκφύγοι Ῥωμαίους, Μιθριδάτης εἰς λαβὰς ἥκων καὶ γεγονὼς ἐντὸς ἀρκύων, οὐ ληφθέντος οὐδένα τῆς δόξης οἴσεσθαι πλέον ἢ τὸν ἐμποδὼν τῇ φυγῇ
6 στάντα καὶ διαδιδράσκουντος ἐπιλαβόμενον ὑφ' ἔαυτοῦ μὲν ἔξεωσμένον τῆς γῆς, ὑπ' ἐκείνου δὲ τῆς θαλάττης εἱργόμενον ἀμφοτέροις ἀποδώσειν τὸ κατόρθωμα, τὰς δὲ Σύλλα πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ καὶ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ὑμνουμένας ἀριστείας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θήσεσθαι Ῥωμαίους. καὶ οὐδὲν ἦν ἀπὸ τρόπου τῶν λεγομένων, ἀλλὰ παντὶ δῆλον, ὡς, εἰ Φιμβρίᾳ τότε πεισθεὶς ὁ Λούκουλλος οὐ μακρὰν ὥν περιήγαγεν ἐκεῖσε τὰς ναῦς καὶ συνέφραξε τὸν λιμένα τῷ στόλῳ, πέρας ἀν εἰχεν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ μυρίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν ἅπαντες
7 ἥσαν. ἀλλ' εἴτε τὰ πρὸς Σύλλαν δίκαια πρεσβεύων πρὸ παντὸς ἰδίου τε καὶ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος, εἴτε τὸν Φιμβρίαν μιαρὸν δυντα καὶ φονέα γεγενημένον ἔναγχος ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ στρατηγοῦ διὰ φιλαρχίαν προβαλλόμενος, εἴτε κατὰ θείαν δή τινα τύχην περιφεισάμενος αὐτὸς τοῦ¹ Μιθριδάτου καὶ φυλάξας ἀνταγωνιστήν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, ἀλλὰ Μιθριδάτη μὲν ἐκπλεῦσαι παρέσχε καὶ
8 καταγελάσαι τῆς Φιμβρίου δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ Λεκτοῦ τῆς Τρφάδος βασιλικὰς ναῦς ἐπιφανείσας κατεναυμάχησεν, αὐθίς δὲ πρὸς Τενέδῳ ναυλοχοῦντα μείζονι παρασκευῇ κατιδὼν

¹ αὐτὸς τοῦ Reiske, Coraës, Bekker : αὐτοῦ.

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most hostile and warlike of kings, that the great prize which they had sought with so many toils and struggles might not escape the Romans, now that Mithridates was in their grip and fast in the meshes of their net. If he should be captured, Fimbria said, no one would get more of the glory than the man who stood in the way of his flight and seized him as he was running off. "Driven from the land by me, and excluded from the sea by you, he will crown us both with success, and the much heralded exploits of Sulla at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia will cease to interest the Romans." And there was nothing absurd in the proposition. It is clear to everyone that if Lucullus, who was close at hand, had then listened to Fimbria, brought his ships thither, and closed up the harbour with his fleet, the war would have been at an end, and the world freed from infinite mischief. But, whether he ranked the honourable treatment of Sulla above every consideration of private or public advantage, or whether he regarded Fimbria as a wretch whose ambition for command had recently led him to murder a man who was his friend and superior officer, or whether it was by some mysterious dispensation of fortune that he chose to spare Mithridates, and so reserved him for his own antagonist,—for whatever reason, he would not listen to the proposal, but suffered Mithridates to sail off and mock at Fimbria's forces, while he himself, to begin with, defeated the king's ships which showed themselves off Lectum in the Troad. And again, catching sight of Neoptolemus lying in wait for him at Tenedos with a still larger armament,

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Νεοπτόλεμον ἐπέπλει πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, Ῥοδιακῆς
πεντήρους ἐπιβεβηκώς, ἡς ἐναυάρχει Δαμαγόρας,
ἀνὴρ εὔνους τε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ θαλασσίων ἀγώνων
9 ἐμπειρότατος. ἐπελαύνοντος δὲ ῥοθίφ τοῦ Νεο-
πτολέμου καὶ κελεύσαντος εἰς ἐμβολὴν ἀγαγεῖν 494
τὸν κυβερνήτην, δείσας ὁ Δαμαγόρας τὸ βάρος
τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ τὴν τραχύτητα τοῦ χαλκώ-
ματος οὐκ ἐτόλμησε συμπεσεῖν ἀντίπρωφος, ἀλλ᾽
δξέως ἐκ περιαγωγῆς ἀποστρέψας ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ
πρύμναν ὕσασθαι· καὶ πιεσθείσης ἐνταῦθα τῆς
νεώς ἐδέξατο τὴν πληγὴν ἀβλαβῆ γενομένην, ἃτε
δὴ τοὺς θαλαττεύουσι τῆς νεώς μέρεσι προσπε-
10 σοῦσαν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν φίλων προσφερομένων,
ἐγκελευσάμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπιστρέφειν καὶ
πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους
καὶ καταδιώκει τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον.

IV. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ Σύλλα περὶ Χερρόνησον ἥδη
μέλλοντι διαβαίνειν συμβαλὼν τὸν τε πόρον
ἀσφαλῆ παρεῖχε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν συνδιεβίβαζεν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ συνθηκῶν γενομένων Μιθριδάτης μὲν
ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον, Σύλλας δὲ
τὴν Ἀσίαν δισμυρίοις ταλάντοις ἔξημίωσε, προσ-
ταχθὲν αὐτῷ τά τε χρήματα ταῦτα πρᾶξαι καὶ
νόμισμα κόψαι, παραμύθιόν τι δοκεῖ τῆς Σύλλα
χαλεπότητος γενέσθαι ταῦς πόλεσιν, οὐ μόνον
καθαρὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρᾶον εἰς οὕτω βαρὺ
καὶ σκυθρωπὸν ὑπηρέτημα παρασχὼν ἔαυτόν.
2 Μιτυληναίους δ' ἄντικρυς ἀφεστῶτας ἐβούλετο
μὲν εὐγνωμονῆσαι καὶ δίκης τυχεῖν μετρίας ἐφ' οὓς
περὶ Μάριον¹ ἔξήμαρτον, ώς δ' ἐώρα κακοδαιμο-

¹ Μάριον with Sintenis¹ and Coraës : Μάνιον.

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he sailed out against him in advance of the rest, on board of a Rhodian galley which was commanded by Damagoras, a man well disposed to the Romans, and of the largest experience as a sea-fighter. Neoptolemus dashed out to meet him, and ordered his steersman to ram the enemy. Damagoras, however, fearing the weight of the royal ship and her rugged bronze armour, did not venture to engage head on, but put swiftly about and ordered his men to back water, thus receiving his enemy astern, where his vessel was depressed. The blow was harmless, since it fell upon the submerged parts of the ship. At this point, his friends coming up, Lucullus gave orders to turn the ship about, and, after performing many praiseworthy feats, put the enemy to flight and gave close chase to Neoptolemus.

IV. From thence he joined Sulla at the Chersonesus, where he was about to cross the strait into Asia;¹ he rendered his passage safe, and assisted in transporting his troops. After peace had been made, Mithridates sailed away into the Euxine, and Sulla laid a contribution of twenty thousand talents upon Asia. Lucullus was commissioned to collect this money and re-coin it, and the cities of Asia felt it to be no slight assuagement of Sulla's severity when Lucullus showed himself not only honest and just, but even mild in the performance of a task so oppressive and disagreeable. The Mitylenaeans too, who had revolted outright, he wished to be reasonable, and to submit to a moderate penalty for having espoused the cause of Marius. But when he saw that they were possessed by an

¹ 84 B.C.

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νοῦντας, ἐπιπλεύσας ἐκράτησε μάχῃ καὶ κατέκλεισεν εἰς τὰ τείχη, καὶ πολιορκίαν συστησάμενος ἔξεπλευσε μὲν ἡμέρας καὶ φανερώς εἰς Ἐλαίαν, ὑπέστρεψε δὲ λεληθότως καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν 3 ὑφεὶς ἐνέδραν ἡσύχαζεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀτάκτως καὶ μετὰ θράσους ως ἕρημοι ἀρπασόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον οἱ Μιτυληναῖοι προῆλθον, ἐπεισπεσὼν αὐτοῖς ἔλαβε τε παμπόλλους ζῶντας καὶ τῶν ἀμυνομένων πεντακοσίους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀνδραπόδων δὲ χιλιάδας ἔξι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀναρίθμητον ἥλαστατο λείαν.

- 4 Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν κακῶν, διὰ τότε Σύλλας καὶ Μάριος ἄφθονα καὶ παντοδαπὰ τοῦς ἀνθρώπους παρεῖχον, οὐ πάνυ μετέσχε θείᾳ τινὶ τύχῃ περὶ τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πράξεις βραδύνας. οὐ μὴν ἔλαττόν τι παρὰ Σύλλα τῶν ἄλλων φίλων ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ τήν τε γραφήν, ως εἴρηται, τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκείνῳ δι' εὔνοιαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ παιδὸς ἔγραψεν ὑπερβάσις Πομπήιον. καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξαι διαφορᾶς αἴτιον καὶ ζηλοτυπίας νέοις οὖσι καὶ διαπύροις πρὸς δόξαν.

V. Ὁλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἡ Σύλλαν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάτευσε μετὰ Μάρκου Κόττα περὶ τὴν ἔκτην καὶ ἐβδομηκοστὴν πρὸς ταῖς ἐκατὸν ὅλυμπιάδα. πολλῶν οὖν αὐθις ἀνακινούντων τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, ἔφη Μάρκος αὐτὸν οὐ πεπαῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀναπεπαῦσθαι. διὸ καὶ λαχὼν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλπεων Γαλατίαν ἤχθετο, πράξεων ὑποθέσεις μεγάλων οὐκ ἔχουσαν.

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evil spirit, he sailed against them, conquered them in battle, and shut them up within their walls. After instituting a siege of their city, he sailed away in open day to Elaea, but returned by stealth, and lay quietly in ambush near the city. When the Mitylenaeans sallied forth in disorder and with the confident expectation of plundering his deserted camp, he fell upon them, took a great number of them alive, and slew five hundred of those who offered resistance. He also carried off six thousand slaves, besides countless other booty.

But in the boundless and manifold evils which Sulla and Marius were bringing upon the people of Italy at that time, he had no share whatever, for, as some kindly fortune would have it, he was detained at his business in Asia.¹ However, Sulla accorded no less favour to Lucullus than to his other friends. His memoirs, as I have said, Sulla dedicated to Lucullus in token of affection, and in his will appointed him guardian of his son, thereby passing Pompey by. And this seems to have been the first ground for estrangement and jealousy between these two men; both were young, and burning for distinction.

V. Shortly after the death of Sulla, Lucullus was made consul along with Marcus Cotta, about the hundred and seventy-sixth Olympiad.² Many were now trying to stir up anew the Mithridatic war, which Marcus said had not come to an end, but merely to a pause. Therefore when the province of Cisalpine Gaul was allotted to Lucullus, he was displeased, since it offered no opportunity for great exploits. But what most of all embittered him was

¹ 84–80 B.C.

² 74 B.C.

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- 2 μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν εὐδοκιμῶν Πομπήιος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ παρώξυνεν, ώς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἐπίδοξος ὡν, εἰ συμβαίη παύσασθαι τὸν Ἰβηρικὸν πόλεμον, εὐθὺς αἱρεθήσεσθαι στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην. διὸ καὶ χρήματα αἴτοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ γράφοντος, ώς, εἰ μὴ πέμποιεν, ἀφεὶς Ἰβηρίαν καὶ Σερτώριου εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπάξοι τὰς δυνάμεις, συνέπραξεν ὁ Λούκουλλος προθυμότατα πεμφθῆναι τὰ χρήματα καὶ μηδ' ἀφ' ἡστινοσοῦν προφάσεως ἔκεινον
- 3 ἐπανελθεῖν ὑπατεύοντος αὐτοῦ· πάντα γὰρ ἀν ἐπ' ἔκεινῳ γενήσεσθαι τὰ τῆς πόλεως παρόντι μετὰ τοσαύτης στρατιᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ κρατῶν τότε τῆς πολιτείας τῷ πρὸς χάριν ἅπαντα καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν Κέθηγος ἔχθραν τινὰ πρὸς Λούκουλλον εἶχε, βδελυττόμενον αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον 495 αἰσχρῶν ἐρώτων καὶ ὑβρεως καὶ πλημμελείας
- 4 μεστὸν δύντα. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀντικρυς ἐπολέμει. Λεύκιον δὲ Κόϊντον, ἄλλον δημαγωγόν, ἐπαναστάντα τοῖς Σύλλα πολιτεύμασι καὶ ταράττειν τὰ πράγματα πειρώμενον ἐκ τοῦ καθεστῶτος, ἵδια τε πολλὰ παραμυθούμενος καὶ δημοσίᾳ νουθετῶν ἀπέστησε τῆς πείρας καὶ κατεστόρεσε τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, ώς ἐνήν μάλιστα πολιτικῶς καὶ σωτηρίως ἀρχὴν νοσήματος μεγάλου μεταχειρίσαμενος.

VI. Ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἔχων Ὁκταούνιος ἡγγέλθη τεθνηκώς. σπαργώντων δὲ πολλῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν καὶ Κέθηγον ώς δυνατώτατον δύντα διαπράξασθαι θεραπευόντων, αὐτῆς μὲν ὁ Λούκουλλος Κιλικίας οὐ πολὺν εἶχε λόγον, οἰόμενος δ', εἰ λάβοι ταύτην, ἐγγὺς οὖσης Καππαδοκίας, ἄλλον οὐδένα πεμφθήσεσθαι πολε-

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the reputation which Pompey was winning in Spain. If the war in Spain should happen to come to an end, Pompey was more likely than anyone else to be at once chosen general against Mithridates. Therefore when Pompey wrote home requesting money, and declaring that if they did not send it, he would abandon Spain and Sertorius and bring his forces back to Italy, Lucullus moved heaven and earth to have the money sent, and to prevent Pompey from coming back, on any pretext whatsoever, while he was consul. He knew that all Rome would be in Pompey's hands if he were there with so large an army. For the man who at that time controlled the course of political affairs by virtue of doing and saying everything to court the favour of the people, Cethegus, hated Lucullus, who loathed his manner of life, full as it was of disgraceful amours and wanton trespasses. Against this man Lucullus waged open war. But Lucius Quintus, another popular leader, who opposed the institutions of Sulla and sought to confound the established order of things, he turned from his purpose by much private remonstrance and public admonition, and allayed his ambition, thus treating in as wise and wholesome a manner as was possible the beginnings of a great distemper.

VI. At this time there came tidings of the death of Octavius, the governor of Cilicia. There were many eager applicants for the province, and they paid court to Cethegus as the man best able to further their designs. Of Cilicia itself Lucullus made little account, but in the belief that, if he should get this province, which was near Cappadocia, no one else would be sent to conduct the war against

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μήσοντα Μιθριδάτη, πᾶσαν ἔστρεφε μηχανὴν
2 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐτέρῳ. καὶ
τελευτῶν ἔργον οὐ σεμνὸν. οὐδ' ἐπαινετόν, ἄλλως
δ' ἀνύσιμον πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης
ὑπέμεινε παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν.

Πραικία τις ἦν ὄνομα τῶν ἐφ' ὥρᾳ καὶ λαμψρίᾳ
διαβοήτων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κρείττων
οὐδὲν ἀνέδην ἔταιρούσης γυναικός, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῇ καὶ διαλεγο-
μένοις πρὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων σπουδὰς καὶ
πολιτείας προσλαβοῦσα τῇ λοιπῇ χάριτι τὸ
δοκεῖν φιλέταιρός τις εἶναι καὶ δραστήριος
3 ἵσχυσε μέγιστον. ὡς δὲ καὶ Κέθηγον ἀνθοῦντα
τῇ δόξῃ τότε καὶ φέροντα τὴν πόλιν ὑπηγάγετο
καὶ συνῆν ἐρῶντι, παντάπασιν εἰς ἐκείνην
περιῆλθεν ἡ τῆς πόλεως δύναμις. οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἐπράττετό τι δημοσίᾳ Κέθηγον μὴ σπουδάζοντος
οὐδὲ Πραικίας μὴ κελευούσης παρὰ Κέθηγῳ.
ταύτην οὖν ὑπελθὼν δώροις ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ
κολακείαις (ἥν δέ που καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ
συμφιλοτιμουμένην ὀρᾶσθαι μέγας γυναικὶ σο-
βαρᾷ καὶ πανηγυρικῇ μασθός), εὐθὺς εἰχε τὸν
Κέθηγον ἐπαινέτην καὶ προμνώμενον αὐτῷ
4 Κιλικίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἔτυχε ταύτης, οὐδὲν ἔτι
Πραικίαν οὐδὲ Κέθηγον ἔδει παρακαλεῖν, ἄλλα
πάντες ὄμαλῶς ἐκείνῳ φέροντες ἐνεχείρισαν τὸν
Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον ὡς ὑφ' ἐτέρου μηδενὸς
ἄμεινον διαπολεμηθῆναι δυνάμενον, Πομπηῖον μὲν
ἔτι Σερτωρίῳ προσπολεμοῦντος, Μετέλλου δ'
ἀπειρηκότος ἥδη διὰ γῆρας, οὗς μόνους ἂν τις

LUCULLUS

Mithridates, he strained every nerve to keep the province from being assigned to another. And finally, contrary to his natural bent, he was driven by the necessities of the case to adopt a course which was neither dignified nor praiseworthy, it is true, but conducive to his end.

There was a certain woman then in Rome, Praecia by name, whose fame for beauty and wit filled the city. In other respects she was no whit better than an ordinary courtesan, but she used her associates and companions to further the political ambitions of her friends, and so added to her other charms the reputation of being a true comrade, and one who could bring things to pass. She thus acquired the greatest influence. And when Cethegus also, then at the zenith of his fame and in control of the city, joined her train and became her lover, political power passed entirely into her hands. No public measure passed unless Cethegus favoured it, and Cethegus did nothing except with Praecia's approval. This woman, then, Lucullus won over by gifts and flatteries, and it was doubtless a great boon for a woman so forward and ostentatious to be seen sharing the ambitions of Lucullus. Straightway he had Cethegus singing his praises and suing for Cilicia in his behalf. But as soon as he had obtained this province, there was no further need of his soliciting the aid of Praecia, or of Cethegus, for that matter, but all were unanimous and prompt in putting into his hands the Mithridatic war, assured that no one else could better bring it to a triumphant close. Pompey was still engaged in his war with Sertorius, Metellus had now retired from active service by reason of his age, and these were the only

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

έναμίλλους ἐποιήσατο Λουκούλλῳ περὶ τῆς
 5 στρατηγίας ἀμφισβητοῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
 Κόττας ὁ συνάρχων αὐτοῦ πολλὰ λιπαρήσας τὴν
 σύγκλητον ἀπεστάλη μετὰ νεῶν τὴν Προποντίδα
 φυλάξων καὶ προπολεμήσων Βιθυνίας.

VII. Λούκουλλος δὲ τάγμα μὲν αὐτόθεν ᔁχων
 συντεταγμένου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν
 Ἀσίαν· ἔκει δὲ τὴν ἄλλην παρέλαβε δύναμιν,
 πάντων μὲν πάλαι τρυφαῖς διεφθορότων καὶ
 πλεονεξίαις, τῶν δὲ Φιμβριανῶν λεγομένων καὶ
 διὰ συνήθειαν ἀναρχίας δυσμεταχειρίστων γεγο-
 2 νότων. οὗτοι γὰρ ἡσαν οἱ Φλάκκον τε μετὰ
 Φιμβρίου τὸν ὑπατον καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀνηρηκότες
 αὐτόν τε τὸν Φιμβρίαν Σύλλα προδεδωκότες,
 αὐθάδεις μὲν ἀνθρωποι καὶ παράνομοι, μάχιμοι
 δὲ καὶ τλήμονες μετ' ἐμπειρίας πολέμου. οὐ
 μὴν ἀλλὰ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ καὶ τούτων τὸ θράσος
 ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔξεκοψε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπέ-
 στρεψε, τότε πρῶτον, ὡς ἔοικε, πειρωμένους
 ἄρχοντος ἀληθινοῦ καὶ ἡγεμόνος· ἄλλως δ' ἐδη-
 μαγωγοῦντο πρὸς ἥδονὴν ἐθιζόμενοι στρατεύεσθαι.

3 Τὰ δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οὕτως εἶχε. Μιθριδάτης, 496
 ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν, κομπώδης ἐν
 ἀρχῇ καὶ σοβαρὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἀναστὰς δια-
 κένῳ δυνάμει, λαμπρᾶ δὲ καὶ πανηγυρικῆ τὴν
 ὅψιν, εἰτ' ἐκπεσὼν καταγελάστως καὶ νουθετη-
 θείς, ὅτε τὸ δεύτερον πολεμένην ἐμελλεν, εἰς
 ἀληθινὴν καὶ πραγματικὴν συνέστελλε τὰς δυνά-
 4 μεις παρασκευὴν. ἀφελὼν γὰρ τὰ παντοδαπὰ
 πλήθη καὶ τὰς πολυγλώσσους ἀπειλὰς τῶν
 βαρβάρων, ὅπλων τε¹ διαχρύσων καὶ διαλίθων

¹ τε with S : δέ.

LUCULLUS

men who could be regarded as rivals of Lucullus in any dispute about this command. Cotta, however, his colleague in the consulship, after fervent entreaties to the Senate, was sent with some ships to guard the Propontis, and to protect Bithynia.

VII. With a legion which he had raised himself in Italy, Lucullus crossed into Asia,¹ and there assumed command of the rest of the Roman forces. All these had long been spoiled by habits of luxury and greed, and the Fimbrians, as they were called, had become unmanageable, through long lack of discipline. These were the men who, in collusion with Fimbrius, had slain Flaccus, their consul and general, and had delivered Fimbrius himself over to Sulla. They were self-willed and lawless, but good fighters, hardy, and experienced in war. However, in a short time Lucullus pruned off their insolent boldness, and reformed the rest. Then for the first time, as it would seem, they made the acquaintance of a genuine commander and leader, whereas before this they had always been cajoled into doing their duty, like crowds at the hustings.

On the enemy's side, matters stood as follows. Mithridates, boastful and pompous at the outset, like most of the Sophists, had first opposed the Romans with forces which were really unsubstantial, though brilliant and ostentatious to look upon. With these he had made a ridiculous fiasco and learned a salutary lesson. When therefore, he thought to go to war the second time, he organized his forces into a genuinely effective armament. He did away with Barbarous hordes from every clime, and all their discordant and threatening cries ; he provided no

¹ 74 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, i. 5.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

κατασκευάς, ὡς λάφυρα τῶν κρατούντων, οὐκ
ἀλκήν τινα τῶν κεκτημένων ὅντα, ξίφη μὲν
ἡλαύνετο Ῥωμαϊκὰ καὶ θυρεοὺς ἐμβριθεῖς ἐπή-
γνυτο καὶ γεγυμνασμένους μᾶλλον ἢ κεκοσμη-
μένους ἥθροιζεν ἵππους, πεζῶν δὲ μυριάδας δώδεκα
κατεσκευασμένων εἰς φάλαγγα Ῥωμαϊκήν, ἵππεῖς
δὲ πρὸς μυρίοις ἔξακισχιλίους ἄνευ τῶν δρεπανη-
5 φόρων τεθρίππων· ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἑκατόν· ἔτι δὲ
ναῦς οὐ χρυσορόφοις σκηνίσιν οὐδὲ λουτροῖς
παλλακίδων καὶ γυναικωνίτισι τρυφώσαις ἡσκη-
μένας, ἀλλ' ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ χρημάτων
γεμούσας παραρτυσάμενος ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν,
τῶν πόλεων αὐθίς ἀσμένως ὑποδεχομένων οὐ
μόνον τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν δλην ὑπο-
τροπὴ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν νοσημάτων εἶχεν, ἀφόρητα
πάσχουσαν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαϊκῶν δανειστῶν καὶ τελω-
6 νῶν· οὓς ὕστερον μὲν ὕσπερ Ἀρπυίας τὴν τροφὴν
ἀρπάζοντας αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔξηλασε, τότε
δὲ μετριωτέρους ἐπειράτο νουθετῶν ποιεῖν, καὶ
τὰς ἀποστάσεις κατέπαυε τῶν δήμων, οὐδενός,
ώς ἔπος εἴπειν, ἡσυχάζοντος.

VIII. Ὁν δὲ περὶ ταῦτα Λούκουλλος ἡσχο-
λεῦτο χρόνον αὐτοῦ καιρὸν εἶναι νομίζων ὁ
Κόττας παρεσκευάζετο μάχεσθαι πρὸς Μιθρι-
δάτην. καὶ πολλῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἡδη Λού-
κουλλον ἐν Φρυγίᾳ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐπιόντα,
μόνον οὐκ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχειν τὸν θρίαμβον
οἰόμενος, ὡς μὴ μεταλάβῃ Λούκουλλος αὐτοῦ,
2 συμβαλεῖν ἔσπευσε. πληγεὶς δ' ἄμα καὶ κατὰ

LUCULLUS

more armour inlaid with gold and set with precious stones, for he saw that these made rich booty for the victors, but gave no strength whatever to their wearers ; instead, he had swords forged in the Roman fashion, and heavy shields welded ; he collected horses that were well trained rather than richly caparisoned, and a hundred and twenty thousand footmen drilled in the Roman phalanx formation, and sixteen thousand horsemen, not counting the scythe-bearing, four-horse chariots, which were a hundred in number : and further, he put in readiness ships which were not tricked out with gilded canopies, or baths for concubines, and luxurious apartments for women, but which were rather loaded down with armour and missiles and munitions of war. Then he burst into Bithynia, and not only did the cities there receive him again with gladness, but all Asia suffered a relapse into its former distempered condition, afflicted, as it was, past bearing by Roman money-lenders and tax-gatherers. These were afterwards driven off by Lucullus,—harpies that they were, snatching the people's food ; but then he merely tried, by admonishing them, to make them more moderate in their demands, and laboured to stop the uprisings of the towns, hardly one of which was in a quiet state.

VIII. While Lucullus was thus occupied, Cotta, thinking that his own golden opportunity had come, was getting ready to give battle to Mithridates. And when tidings came from many sources that Lucullus was coming up, and was already encamped in Phrygia, thinking that a triumph was all but in his grasp, and desiring that Lucullus have no share in it, he hastened to engage the king. But

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γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἔξήκοντα μὲν ἀπώλεσεν
αὕτανδρα σκάφη, πεζὸν δὲ τετρακισχιλίους,
αὐτὸς δὲ κατακλεισθεὶς εἰς Χαλκηδόνα καὶ
πολιορκούμενος εἰς τὰς Λουκούλλου χεῖρας ἀπέ-
βλεπεν.

- 3 Ἡσαν μὲν οὖν οἱ τὸν Λουκουλλον ἀμελήσαντα
Κόττα πρόσω χωρεῦν παρορμῶντες ὡς ἔρημον
αἴρήσοντα τὴν Μιθριδάτου βασιλείαν, καὶ μά-
λιστα τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὗτος ἦν ὁ λόγος, ἀγανα-
κτούντων, εἰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖ καὶ τοὺς
σὺν αὐτῷ βουλευσάμενος κακῶς ὁ Κόττας, ἀλλὰ
καὶ σφίσιν ἐμποδὼν ἔσται νικᾶν ἀμαχεὶ δυνα-
4 μένοις. Λουκουλλος δὲ πρὸς μὲν τούτους δημη-
γορῶν εἰπεν, ὡς ἔνα βούλοιτ' ἀν ἐκ πολεμίων
σῶσαι Ῥωμαίον ἥ πάντα λαβεῖν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.
Ἀρχελάου δὲ τοῦ περὶ Βοιωτίαν Μιθριδάτη
στρατηγήσαντος, εἰτ' ἀποστάντος καὶ Ῥωμαίοις
συστρατεύοντος, διαβεβαιουμένου ὁφθέντα Λου-
κουλλον ἐν Πόντῳ πάντων ὁμοῦ κρατήσειν, οὐκ
ἔφη δειλότερος εἶναι τῶν κυνηγῶν, ὥστε τὰ θηρία
παρελθὼν ἐπὶ κενοὺς αὐτῶν τοὺς φωλεοὺς βαδί-
5 ζειν. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην προῆγε
πεζὸν μὲν ἔχων τρισμυρίους, ἵππεis δὲ δισχιλίους
πεντακοσίους. καταστὰς δ' εἰς ἐποψιν τῶν πολε-
μίων καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ πλῆθος ἐβούλετο μὲν
ἀπέχεσθαι μάχης καὶ τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον, Μαρίου
δ', ὃν Σερτώριος ἔξ Ἰβηρίας ἀπεστάλκει Μιθρι-
δάτη μετὰ δυνάμεως στρατηγόν, ἀπαντήσαντος
αὐτῷ καὶ προκαλουμένου κατέστη μὲν εἰς τάξιν
ώς διαμαχούμενος, ἥδη δὲ ὅσου οὕπω συμφερο-
6 μένων, ἀπ οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιφανοῦς μεταβολῆς, ἀλλ'

LUCULLUS

he was defeated by sea and land, lost sixty vessels, crews and all, and four thousand foot-soldiers, while he himself was shut up in Chalcedon and besieged there, looking for relief at the hands of Lucullus.

Now there were some who urged Lucullus to ignore Cotta and march on into the kingdom of Mithridates, assured of capturing it in its defenceless condition. This was the reasoning of the soldiers especially, who were indignant that Cotta, by his evil counsels, should not only be the undoing of himself and his army, but also block their own way to a victory which they could have won without a battle. But Lucullus, in a harangue which he made them, said that he would rather save one Roman from the enemy than take all that enemy's possessions. And when Archelaüs, who had held command for Mithridates in Boeotia, and then had abandoned his cause, and was now in the Roman army, stoutly maintained that if Lucullus were once seen in Pontus, he would master everything at once, Lucullus declared that he was at least as courageous as the hunter; he would not give the wild beasts the slip and stalk their empty lairs. With these words, he led his army against Mithridates, having thirty thousand foot-soldiers, and twenty-five hundred horsemen. But when he had come within sight of the enemy and seen with amazement their multitude, he desired to refrain from battle and draw out the time. But Marius, whom Sertorius had sent to Mithridates from Spain with an army, came out to meet him, and challenged him to combat, and so he put his forces in array to fight the issue out. But presently, as they were on the point of joining

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έξαιφνης τοῦ ἀέρος ὑπορραγέντος¹ ὥφθη μέγα σῶμα φλογειδὲς εἰς μέσον τῶν στρατοπέδων καταφερόμενον, τὸ μὲν σχῆμα πίθῳ μάλιστα, τὴν δὲ χρόαν ἀργύρῳ διαπύρῳ προσεοικός, ὥστε δείσαντας ἀμφοτέρους τὸ φάσμα διακριθῆναι. 497

7 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν φασιν ἐν Φρυγίᾳ περὶ τὰς λεγομένας Ὀτρύας συμβῆναι τὸ πάθος.

‘Ο δὲ Λούκουλλος οὐδεμιᾶς εἶναι νομίζων ἀνθρωπίνης παρασκευῆς οὐδὲ πλούτου θρέψαι μυριάδας ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντικαθηρένων πολεμίων τοσαύτας, ὅσας εἶχε Μιθριδάτης, ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἔνα· καὶ πρῶτον ἀνέκρινε, μετὰ πόσων διαιτήτο συσκήνων, ἔπειτα 8 πόσον ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ καταλέλοιπε σῖτον. ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τάνθρώπου τὸν μὲν ἐκέλευσε μεταστῆναι, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ τρίτον ὁμοίως ἀνέκρινεν. εἴτα συνθεὶς τὸ τῆς παρεσκευασμένης τροφῆς πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ τῶν τρεφομένων, ἔγνω τριῶν ἡ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ἐπιλείψουντα σῖτον τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον εἶχετο τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ συνῆγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα παμπληθῆ σῖτον, ὡς ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάγων αὐτὸς ἐφεδρεύοι ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀπορίαις.

IX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεβούλευε Κυζικηνοῖς πεπληγόσιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Χαλκηδόνα μάχῃ τρισχιλίων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δέκα νεῶν ἐστέρηντο. βουλόμενος οὖν λαθεῖν τὸν Λούκουλλον, εὐθὺς ἀπὸ δείπνου νύκτα δυσφανή καὶ νοτερὰν ἔχων ἐκίνει· καὶ φθάνει τῆς πόλεως ἀντικρυς ἄμ' ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀδραστείας ὅρος

¹ ὑπορραγέντος with S : ἀπορραγέντος.

LUCULLUS

battle, with no apparent change of weather, but all on a sudden, the sky burst asunder, and a huge, flame-like body was seen to fall between the two armies. In shape, it was most like a wine-jar, and in colour, like molten silver. Both sides were astonished at the sight, and separated. This marvel, as they say, occurred in Phrygia, at a place called Otryae.

But Lucullus, feeling sure that no human provision or wealth could maintain, for any length of time, and in the face of an enemy, so many thousands of men as Mithridates had, ordered one of the captives to be brought to him, and asked him first, how many men shared his mess, and then, how much food he had left in his tent. When the man had answered these questions, he ordered him to be removed, and questioned a second and a third in like manner. Then, comparing the amount of food provided with the number of men to be fed, he concluded that within three or four days the enemy's provisions would fail them. All the more, therefore, did he trust to time, and collected into his camp a great abundance of provisions, that so, himself in the midst of plenty, he might watch for his enemy's distress.

IX. But in the meantime, Mithridates planned a blow at Cyzicus, which had suffered terribly in the battle near Chalcedon, having lost three thousand men and ten ships. Accordingly, wishing to evade the notice of Lucullus, he set out immediately after the evening meal, taking advantage of a dark and rainy night, and succeeded in planting his forces over against the city, on the slopes of the mountain range

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- 2 ιδρύσας τὴν δύναμιν. Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος αἰσθόμενος καὶ διώξας ἡγάπησε μὲν οὐκ ἐμπεσὼν ἀσύντακτος εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, καθίζει δὲ τὸν στρατὸν περὶ τὴν Θρᾳκίαν λεγομένην κώμην ἐν τόπῳ κατὰ τῶν ὄδῶν ἄριστα πεφυκότι καὶ τῶν χωρίων, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ δι' ὧν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς Μιθριδατικοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια φοιτᾶν. διὸ καὶ περιλαβὼν τῇ διανοίᾳ τὸ μέλλον οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀλλ' ἂμα τῷ θέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι συναγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐμεγαληγόρησεν, ώς ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀναιμωτὶ τὸ νίκημα παραδώσων αὐτοῖς.
- 3 Κυζικηνοὺς δὲ Μιθριδάτης δέκα μὲν ἐκ γῆς στρατοπέδοις περιλαβών, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου διείργοντα τὴν πόλιν εὑρίπου ἐμφράξας, ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπολιόρκει, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα διακειμένους πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον εὐθαρσῶς καὶ πᾶν ἔνεκα Ῥωμαίων ἐγνωκότας ἐκδέχεσθαι δυσχερές, ἀγνοοῦντας δὲ δηπη Λούκουλλος εἴη καὶ τῷ μηδὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ πεπύσθαι ταραττομένους. καίτοι καταφανῆς ἦν ἡ στρατοπεδεία καὶ ἀποπτος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν ἐξηπατῶντο. δεικνύντες γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἄνω παρεμβεβληκότας “Οράτε τούτους;” ἔφασαν, “Ἄρμενίων στρατός ἐστι καὶ Μήδων, Τιγράνου Μιθριδάτη καταπέμψαντος ἐπικουρίαν.” οἱ δὲ ἐξεπλήσσοντο τοσούτου πολέμου περικεχυμένου μηδ', εἰ παραγένοιτο Λούκουλλος, χώραν ἔτι λελεῖφθαι βοηθείας ἐλπίζοντες.
- 5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρῶτος αὐτοῖς εἰσπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀρχελάου Δημῶναξ ἔφρασε τὴν τοῦ Λουκούλλου

LUCULLUS

of Adrasteia, by day-break. Lucullus got wind of his departure and pursued him, but was well satisfied not to fall upon the enemy while his own troops were in disorder from their march, and stationed his army near the village called Thracia, in a spot best suited to command the roads and regions from which, and over which, the army of Mithridates must get its necessary supplies. Seeing clearly, therefore, what the issue must be, he did not conceal it from his soldiers, but as soon as they had completed the labour of fortifying their camp, called them together, and boastfully told them that within a few days he would give them their victory, and that without any bloodshed.

Mithridates was besieging Cyzicus both by land and sea, having encompassed it with ten camps on the land side, and having blockaded with his ships by sea the narrow strait which parts the city from the mainland. Although the citizens viewed their peril with a high courage, and were resolved to sustain every hardship for the sake of the Romans, still, they knew not where Lucullus was, and were disturbed because they heard nothing of him. And yet his camp was in plain sight, only they were deceived by their enemies. These pointed the Romans out to them, lying encamped on the heights, and said: "Do you see those forces? It is an army of Armenians and Medes which Tigranes has sent to assist Mithridates." They were therefore terrified to see such hosts encompassing them, and had no hopes that any way of succour remained, even if Lucullus should come.

However, in the first place, Demonax was sent in to them by Archelaüs, and told them that Lucullus

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

παρουσίαν. Τούτων δ' ἀπιστούντων καὶ νομιζόντων αὐτὸν τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ πεπλασμένα λέγειν, ἵκε παιδάριον αἰχμάλωτον ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἀποδεδρακός. πυνθανομένων δ' αὐτῶν, ποῦ λέγοι τὸν Λούκουλλον εἶναι, κατεγέλα παίζειν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενον. ως δ' ἔώρα σπουδάζοντας, ἐσήμηνε τῇ χειρὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ'
6 ἀνεθάρσησαν. τῆς δὲ Δασκυλίτιδος λίμνης πλεομένης ἀκατίοις ἐπιεικῶς εὔμεγέθεσι, τὸ μέγιστον αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀνελκύσας καὶ διαγαγὼν ἄμαξη πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν ὅσους ἔχωρει στρατιώτας ἐνεβίβασεν. ἔλαθον δὲ νυκτὸς διαπεράσαντες καὶ παρεισῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

X. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἐπιθαρρῦναι τοὺς Κυζικηνούς, ἀγασθὲν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν, ἄλλοις τε σημείοις ἐναργέσι, καὶ τῆς τῶν Φερεφατίων ἑορτῆς ἐνεστώσης οἱ μὲν ἡπόρουν βοὸς μελαίνης πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν καὶ σταιτίνην πλάσαντες
498 τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησαν, ἡ δὲ ιερὰ καὶ τρεφομένη τῇ θεῷ νομὴν μὲν εἶχεν, ὥσπερ τάλλα βοτὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν, ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, κατ' ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποκριθεῖσα τῆς ἀγέλης μόνη διενήξατο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατέστησεν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν 2 αὐτήν. ὅναρ δὲ ἡ θεὸς Ἀρισταγόρα τῷ τοῦ δήμου γραμματιστῇ παραστᾶσα, "Καὶ μὴν ἔγωγε," εἶπεν, "ἡκω τὸν Λιβυκὸν αὐλητὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ποντικὸν σαλπιγκτὴν ἐπάγουσα. φράσον οὖν θαρρεῖν τοὺς πολίταις." Θαυμαζόντων δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τῶν Κυζικηνῶν ἄμ' ἡμέρᾳ σάλον εἶχεν ἡ θάλασσα κατιόντος ἀκρίτου πνεύματος, αἵ τε μηχαναὶ τοῦ βασιλέως παρεστῶσαι τοὺς τείχεις, ἔργα θαυμαστὰ Νικωνίδου τοῦ Θεσσαλοῦ, ροίζω

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was arrived. They disbelieved him, and thought he had invented his story merely to mitigate their anxieties, but then a boy came to them, who had escaped from his captivity with the enemy. On their asking him where he thought Lucullus was, he laughed at them, supposing them to be jesting. But when he saw that they were in earnest, he pointed out the Roman camp to them, and their courage was revived. Again, Lucullus drew out on shore the largest of the sizable craft which plied the lake Dascylitis, carried it across to the sea on a waggon, and embarked upon it as many soldiers as it would hold, who crossed by night unobserved, and got safely into the city.

X. It would seem also that Heaven, in admiration of their bravery, emboldened the men of Cyzicus by many manifest signs, and especially by the following. The festival of Persephone was at hand, and the people, in lack of a black heifer for the sacrifice, fashioned one of dough, and brought it to the altar. Now the sacred heifer reared for the goddess was pasturing, like the other herds of the Cyzicenes, on the opposite side of the strait, but on that day she left her herd, swam over alone to the city, and presented herself for the sacrifice. And again, the goddess appeared in a dream to Aristagoras, the town-clerk, saying : " Lo, here am I, and I bring the Libyan fifer against the Pontic trumpeter. Bid the citizens therefore be of good cheer." While the Cyzicenes were lost in wonder at the saying, at day-break the sea began to toss under a boisterous wind, and the siege-engines of the king along the walls, the wonderful works of Niconides the Thessalian, by

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3 καὶ πατάγῳ πρῶτον ἀπεδήλουν τὸ μέλλον· εἴτα νότος ἐκραγεῖς ἄπιστος τὸ μέγεθος τά τ' ἄλλα συνέτριψε μηχανῆματα ὥρας βραχεῖ μορίῳ, καὶ τὸν ξύλινον πύργον ἐκατὸν πηχῶν ὑψος ὅντα διασείσας κατέβαλεν. ἴστορεῖται δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ πολλοῖς καθ' ὑπονούντων ὁφθῆναι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἰδρώτι πολλῷ ῥεομένην καὶ ὑποφαίνουσάν τι τοῦ πέπλου παρερρωγός, λέγουσαν, ως ἀρτίως ἦκοι βοηθήσασα Κυζικηνοῖς. καὶ στήλην τινὰ δόγματα καὶ γράμματα περὶ τούτων ἔχουσαν ἐδείκνυν 'Ιλιεῖς.

XI. Μιθριδάτην δέ, ἄχρι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγῶν φενακιζόμενος ἤγνοει τὸν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ λιμόν, ἡνίων Κυζικηνοὺς διαφεύγοντες τὴν πολιορκίαν. ταχὺ δὲ ἐξερρύη τὸ φιλότιμον αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλόνεικον ἐν αἰσθήσει γενομένου τῶν ἀποριῶν, αἷς οἱ στρατιῶται συνείχοντο, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρωποφαγιῶν, ἅτε δὴ μὴ θεατρικῶς μηδὲ ἐπιδεικτικῶς Λουκούλλου πολεμοῦντος, ἀλλά, τούτο δὴ τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰς τὴν γαστέρα ἐναλλομένου καὶ ὅπως ὑφαιρήσει τὴν τροφὴν ἄπαντα πραγματευο-
2 μένον. διὸ καὶ φρούριόν τι πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῷ καιρῷ χρήσασθαι σπεύδων ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς Βιθυνίαν τοὺς μὲν ἵππεis σχεδὸν ἄπαντας μετὰ τῶν ὑποξυγίων, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς ἀχρήστους. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔτι νυκτὸς ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, πρωτὶ δὲ χειμῶνος ὅντος ἀναλαβὼν σπείρας δέκα καὶ τὴν ἵππουν ἐδίωκε νιφόμενος καὶ κακοπαθῶν, ὥστε πολλοὺς ὑπὸ κρύους ἐνδιδόντας ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν στρα-

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their creaking and cracking showed clearly what was about to happen ; then a south wind burst forth with incredible fury, shattered the other engines in a short space of time, and threw down with a great shock the wooden tower a hundred cubits high. It is related, too, that the goddess Athena appeared to many of the inhabitants of Ilium in their sleep, dripping with sweat, showing part of her peplos torn away, and saying that she was just come from assisting the Cyzicenes. And the people of Ilium used to show a stelé which had on it certain decrees and inscriptions relating to this matter.

XI. Mithridates, as long as his generals deceived him into ignorance of the famine in his army, was vexed that the Cyzicenes should successfully withstand his siege. But his eager ambition quickly ebbed away when he perceived the straits in which his soldiers were involved, and their actual cannibalism. For Lucullus was not carrying on the war in any theatrical way, nor for mere display, but, as the saying is, was "kicking in the belly," and devising every means for cutting off food. Accordingly, while Lucullus was laying siege to some outpost or other, Mithridates eagerly took advantage of the opportunity, and sent away into Bithynia almost all his horsemen, together with the beasts of burden, and those of his foot-soldiers who were disabled. On learning of this, Lucullus returned to his camp while it was still night, and early in the morning, in spite of a storm, took ten cohorts of infantry and his cavalry, and started in pursuit, although snow was falling and his hardships were extreme. Many of his soldiers were overcome with the cold and had to be left behind, but with the rest he overtook the

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- τιωτῶν, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις περὶ τὸν Ῥυνδακὸν ποταμὸν
 3 καταλαβὼν τοὺς πολεμίους τοσαύτην τροπὴν
 ἐποίησεν, ὥστε τὰς γυναικας ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας
 προερχομένας ἀφαρπάζειν τὰ φορτία καὶ σκυ-
 λεύειν τοὺς φονευομένους. πολλῶν δ', ὡς εἰκός,
 ἀποθανόντων ἑάλωσαν ἵπποι μὲν ἔξακισχίλιοι
 καὶ πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον ὑποζυγίων, ἄνδρες δὲ
 μύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι· καὶ τούτους ἄγων πάντας
 παρεξήσει παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων.
 4 Σαλουστίου δὲ θαυμάζω τότε πρῶτον ὥφθαι
 Ῥωμαίοις καμήλους λέγοντος, εἰ μήτε πρότερον
 τοὺς μετὰ Σκηπίωνος νικήσαντας Ἀντίοχον φέτο
 μήτε τοὺς ἔναγχος πρὸς Ὁρχομενῷ καὶ περὶ
 Χαιρώνειαν Ἀρχελάῳ μεμαχημένους ἐγνωκέναι
 κάμηλον.
 5 Ἀλλὰ τῷ γε Μιθριδάτῃ φεύγειν μὲν ἔγνωστο
 τὴν ταχίστην, ἀνθολκὰς δὲ Λουκούλλῳ καὶ δια-
 τριβὰς ὅπίσω μηχανώμενος ἐστελλεῖ τὸν ναύαρχον
 Ἀριστόνικον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν θάλασσαν· καὶ
 ὅσον οὕπω μέλλοντος ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ προδοσίας ὁ
 Λούκουλλος ἐκυρίευσε μετὰ χρυσῶν μυρίων, οὓς
 ἐκόμιζε διαφθερῶν τι τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ στρατεύ-
 ματος. ἐκ τούτου Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἔφυγεν ἐπὶ
 θάλασσαν, οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ πεζοὶ τὸν στρατὸν
 6 ἀπήγαγον. ἐπιπεσὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος αὐτοῖς
 περὶ τὸν Γρανικὸν ποταμὸν εἰλέ τε παμπόλλους
 καὶ δισμυρίους ἀπέκτεινε. λέγονται δ' ἐκ τοῦ
 παντὸς ἀκολούθων τε καὶ μαχίμων ὅχλου μυρι-
 ἀδες οὐ πολὺ δὴ τῶν τριάκοντα λείπουσαι 499
 διαφθαρῆναι.

XII. Λούκουλλος δὲ πρῶτον εἰς Κύζικον
 παρελθὼν ἀπέλαυσεν ἡδονῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης

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enemy at the river Rhyndacus and inflicted such a defeat upon them that the very women came forth from Apollonia and carried off their baggage and stripped their slain. Many fell in the battle, as it is natural to suppose. Six thousand horses and fifteen thousand men were captured, besides an untold number of beasts of burden. All these followed in the train of Lucullus as he marched back past the camp of the enemy. Sallust says, to my amazement, that camels were then seen by the Romans for the first time. He must have thought that the soldiers of Scipio who conquered Antiochus before this, and those who had lately fought Archelaüs at Orchomenus and Chaeroneia, were unacquainted with the camel.

Mithridates was now resolved upon the speediest possible flight, but with a view to drawing Lucullus away, and holding him back from pursuit, he dispatched his admiral, Aristonicus, to the Grecian sea. Aristonicus was just on the point of sailing when he was betrayed into the hands of Lucullus, together with ten thousand pieces of gold which he was carrying for the corruption of some portion of the Roman army. Upon this, Mithridates fled to the sea, and his generals of infantry began to lead the army away. But Lucullus fell upon them at the river Granicus, captured a vast number of them, and slew twenty thousand. It is said that out of the whole horde of camp-followers and fighting men, not much less than three hundred thousand perished in the campaign.

XII. Lucullus, in the first place, entered Cyzicus in triumph, and enjoyed the pleasant welcome which

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πρεπούσης· ἔπειτα ναυτικὸν ἐξηρτύετο τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐπιπορευόμενος. εἰς δὲ Τρῳάδα καταχθεὶς ἐσκήνωσε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἵερῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, κατακοιμηθεὶς δὲ σύκτωρ ἐδόκει τὴν θεὰν ὄραν ἐφεστῶσαν αὐτῷ καὶ λέγουσαν·

Τί κνώσσεις, μεγάθυμε λέον; νεβροὶ δέ τοι ἐγγύς.

- 2 ἔξαναστὰς δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους καλέσας διηγεῖτο τὴν ὅψιν ἔτι νυκτὸς οὖσης. καὶ παρῆσαν ἔξι Ἰλίου τινὲς ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὡφθαι περὶ τὸν Ἀχαιῶν λιμένα τρισκαΐδεκα πεντήρεις τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπὶ Λῆμνου πλεούσας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀναχθεὶς τούτους μὲν εἶλε καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Ἰσίδωρον ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔπλει
- 3 πρωρέας. οἱ δὲ ἔτυχον ὄρμοῦντες, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα πάντα πρὸς τὴν γῆν συνέλκουντες ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων διεμάχοντο καὶ πληγὰς ἐδίδοσαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον, οὔτε περιπλεῦσαι τοῦ χωρίου διδόντος οὔτε βιάσασθαι ναυσὶ μετεώροις τὰς τῶν πολεμίων προσερηρεισμένας
- 4 τῇ γῇ καὶ βεβηκύιας ἀσφαλῶς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μόλις ἢ προσβολήν τινα ἡ υῆσος εἶχεν ἀποβιβάζει τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, οἱ κατόπιν ἐπιπεσόντες τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρον αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἡνάγκαζον ἀποκόπτοντας τὰ πρυμνήσια τῶν νεῶν καὶ φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀλλήλοις τε συγκρούειν τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς ταῖς περὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον ὑποπίπτειν.
- 5 πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν διεφθάρησαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλούσιν ἀνήχθη καὶ Μάριος ὁ παρὰ Σερτωρίου στρατηγός.

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was his due ; then he proceeded to the Hellespont, and began to equip a fleet. On visiting the Troad, he pitched his tent in the sacred precinct of Aphrodite, and in the night, after he had fallen asleep, he thought he saw the goddess standing over him and saying :—

“ Why dost thou sleep, great lion ? the fawns
are near for thy taking.”

Rising up from sleep and calling his friends, he narrated to them his vision, while it was yet night. And lo, there came certain men from Ilium, with tidings that thirteen of the king's galleys had been seen off the harbour of the Achaeans, making for Lemnos. Accordingly, Lucullus put to sea at once, captured these, slew their commander, Isodorus, and then sailed in pursuit of the other captains, whom these were seeking to join. They chanced to be lying at anchor close to shore, and drawing their vessels all up on land, they fought from their decks, and sorely galled the crews of Lucullus. These had no chance to sail round their enemies, nor to make onset upon them, since their own ships were afloat, while those of their enemies were planted upon the land and securely fixed. However, Lucullus at last succeeded in disembarking the best of his soldiers where the island afforded some sort of access. These fell upon the enemy from the rear, slew some of them, and forced the rest to cut their stern cables and fly from the shore, their vessels thus falling foul of one another, and receiving the impact of the ships of Lucullus. Many of the enemy perished, of course, and among the captives there was brought in Marius, the general sent from

ἥν γὰρ ἐτερόφθαλμος, καὶ παρήγγελτο τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐθὺς ἐπιπλέουσιν ὑπὸ Λουκούδλου μηδένα κτείνειν ἐτερόφθαλμον, ὅπως ἔξουειδισθεὶς καὶ καθυβρισθεὶς ἀποθάνοι.

- XIII. Γενόμενος δ' ἀπὸ τούτων ἡπείγετο πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ Μιθριδάτου δίωξιν. ἥλπιζε γὰρ ἔτι περὶ Βιθυνίαν εύρήσειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Βοκωνίου φρουρούμενον, διν αὐτὸς ἐνστησόμενον τῇ φυγῇ 2 μετὰ νεῶν ἀπεστάλκει πρὸς Νικομήδειαν. ἀλλὰ Βοκώνιος μὲν ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ μυούμενος καὶ πανηγυρίζων καθυστέρησε· Μιθριδάτην δὲ ἀναχθέντα μετὰ τοῦ στόλου, σπεύδοντα πρὸς ἐπιστρέφειν Λούκουλλον εἰς τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσαι, καταλαμβάνει χειμῶν πολύς, ὑφ' οὐ τὰ μὲν ἀφηρπάγη, τὰ δὲ ἐβυθίσθη τῶν σκαφῶν, πᾶσα δ' ἡ παραλία τῶν ναυαγίων ἐκφερομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἦν περίπλεως. 3 αὐτὸς δέ, τῆς ὄλκάδος, ἐφ' ἣς ἔπλει, μήτε πρὸς τὴν γῆν εὐπαρακομίστον διὰ μέγεθος ἐν σάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κύματι τυφλῷ παρισταμένης τοῖς κυβερνήταις, πρὸς τε τὴν θάλασσαν ἥδη βαρείας καὶ ὑπεράντλου γενομένης, μετεμβὰς εἰς ληστρικὸν μυοπάρωνα καὶ τὸ σῶμα πειρατᾶς ἐγχειρίσας ἀνελπίστως καὶ παραβόλως εἰς τὴν Ποντικὴν 4 Ἡράκλειαν ἔξεσώθη. Λουκούλλῳ δ' ἀνεμέσητος ἡ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπέβη φιλοτιμία. Ψηφιζομένης γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τρισχιλίων ταλάντων ἔξαρτύεσθαι ναυτικόν, ἐκώλυσε πέμψας γράμματα καὶ μεγαληγορήσας,

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Sertorius. He had but one eye, and the soldiers had received strict orders from Lucullus, as soon as they set sail, to kill no one-eyed man. Lucullus wished Marius to die under the most shameful insults.

XIII. These things done, Lucullus hastened in pursuit of Mithridates himself. For he expected to find him still in Bithynia under the watch and ward of Voconius, whom he had dispatched with a fleet to Nicomedea that he might intercept the king's flight. But Voconius was behindhand, owing to his initiation into, and celebration of, the mysteries in Samothrace, and Mithridates put to sea with his armament, eager to reach Pontus before Lucullus turned and set upon him. He was overtaken, however, by a great storm, which destroyed some of his vessels and disabled others. The whole coast for many days was covered with the wrecks dashed upon it by the billows. As for the king himself, the merchantman on which he was sailing was too large to be readily beached when the sea ran so high and the waves were so baffling, nor would it answer to its helm, and it was now too heavy and full of water to gain an offing; accordingly, he abandoned it for a light brigantine belonging to some pirates, and, entrusting his person to their hands, contrary to expectation and after great hazard, got safely to Heracleia in Pontus. And so it happened that the boastful speech of Lucullus to the Senate brought no divine retribution down upon him. When, namely, that body was ready to vote three thousand talents to provide a fleet for this war, Lucullus blocked the measure by writing a letter, in which he made the haughty boast that

ώς ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ τοσαύτης παρασκευῆς ταῖς τῶν συμμάχων ναυσὶ Μιθριδάτην ἐκβαλεῖ τῆς θαλάττης. καὶ τοῦτο ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ συναγωνισαμένου. λέγεται γὰρ Ἀρτέμιδος χόλῳ Πριαπίνης ὁ χειμὼν ἐμπεσεῖν τοῖς Ποντικοῖς συλήσασιν αὐτῆς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἀνασπάσασι.

XIV. Πολλῶν δὲ Λουκούλλῳ παραινούντων ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ φροντίσας ἐνέβαλε διὰ Βιθυνίας καὶ Γαλατίας εἰς τὴν Βασιλικήν, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐνδεής τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ὥστε Γαλάτας ἔπεσθαι τρισμυρίους ἔκαστον ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμων κομίζοντα σίτου μέδιμνον, προϊὼν δὲ καὶ κρατῶν ἀπάντων εἰς τοσαύτην ἥλθεν εὐπορίαν, 500 ὥστε τὸν μὲν βοῦν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ δραχμῆς, τὸ δὲ ἀνδράποδον τεττάρων ὕνιον εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἄλλην λείαν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολείπειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀναλίσκειν. διάθεσις γὰρ ἡν οὐδενὸς πρὸς οὐδένα πάντων εὐπορούντων.

- 2 'Αλλ' ὅσον φθεῖραι καὶ κακῶσαι τὴν χώραν ἵππασάμενοι καὶ καταδραμόντες ἄχρι Θεμισκύρας καὶ τῶν τερὶ Θερμώδοντα πεδίων, ἥτιῶντο τὸν Λούκουλλον, ὅτι πάσας προσάγεται τὰς πόλεις, κατὰ κράτος δὲ οὐδεμίᾳν ἥρηκεν οὐδὲ παρέσχηκεν αὐτοῖς ὡφεληθῆναι διαρπάσασιν.
- 3 "Αλλὰ καὶ νῦν," ἔφασαν, "'Αμισόν, πόλιν εύδαιμονα καὶ πλουσίαν, οὐ μέγα δὲ ἔργον, εἴ τις ἐντείναι τὴν πολιορκίαν, κατασχεῖν, ἀπολιπόντας ἡμᾶς ἄγει περὶ τὴν Τιβαρηνῶν καὶ Χαλδαίων

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without any such costly array, but only with the ships of the allies, he would drive Mithridates from the sea. And this success he gained with the assistance of Heaven. For it is said that it was owing to the wrath of Artemis of Priapus that the tempest fell upon the men of Pontus, who had plundered her shrine and pulled down her image.

XIV. Though many now advised Lucullus to suspend the war, he paid no heed to them, but threw his army into the king's country by way of Bithynia and Galatia.¹ At first he lacked the necessary supplies, so that thirty thousand Galatians followed in his train, each carrying a bushel of grain upon his shoulders; but as he advanced and mastered everything, he found himself in the midst of such plenty that an ox sold in his camp for a drachma, and a man-slave for four, while other booty had no value at all. Some abandoned it, and some destroyed it. There was no sale for anything to anybody when all had such abundance.

But when Lucullus merely wasted and ravaged the country with cavalry incursions, which penetrated to Themiscyra and the plains of the river Thermodon, his soldiers found fault with him because he brought all the cities over to him by peaceable measures; he had not taken a single one by storm, they said, nor given them a chance to enrich themselves by plunder. "Nay," they said, "at this very moment we are leaving Amisus, a rich and prosperous city, which it would be no great matter to take, if its siege were pressed, and are following our general into the desert of the Tibareni and the Chaldaeans

¹ 73 B.C.

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έρημίαν Μιθριδάτη πολεμήσοντας." ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἀν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐλπίσας εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀπονοίας τοὺς στρατιώτας παραγαγέν, ὅσον ὕστερον ἔξεφηναν, ὑπερεώρα καὶ οὐκ 4 ἐφρόντιζεν, ἐκείνοις δ' ἀπελογεῖτο μᾶλλον, οἱ βραδυτῆτα κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος ἐνταῦθα περὶ κώμας καὶ πόλεις οὐ πολλοῦ τινος ἀξίας πολὺν χρόνον, ἐῶντος δ' αὕξεσθαι Μιθριδάτην. "Αὔτὸ γάρ," ἔφη, "τοῦτο καὶ βούλομαι καὶ κάθημαι τεχνάζων, μέγαν αὐθίς γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ συναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν, 5 ἵνα μείνῃ καὶ μὴ φύγῃ προσιόντας ἡμᾶς. ἡ οὐχ ὄρατε πολλὴν μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀτέκμαρτον ἐρημάν ὅπίσω παροῦσαν; ἐγγὺς δὲ ὁ Καύκασος καὶ ὅρη πολλὰ καὶ βαθέα καὶ μυρίους βασιλεῖς φυγομαχοῦντας ἀρκοῦντα κατακρύψαι καὶ περισχεῖν ὀλίγων δ' ἡμερῶν ὁδὸς εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐκ Καβείρων, καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀρμενίας κάθηται Τιγράνης, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ἔχων δύναμιν, ἡ Πάρθος τε περικόπτει τῆς Ασίας καὶ πόλεις Ἐλληνίδας εἰς Μηδίαν ἀνακομίζει καὶ Συρίας κρατεῖν καὶ Παλαιστίνης καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σελεύκου βασιλεὺς ἀποκτινύει, θυγατέρας δ' αὐτῶν ἄγει καὶ γυναικας 6 ἀνασπάστους. οὗτος οἰκείος ἐστι Μιθριδάτου καὶ γαμβρός. οὐ περιόψεται δὲ αὐτὸν ἱκέτην ὑποδεξάμενος, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσει πρὸς ἡμᾶς· καὶ σπεύδοντες ἐκβάλλειν Μιθριδάτην κινδυνεύσομεν ἐπισπάσασθαι Τιγράνην, πάλαι μὲν αἰτίας δεόμενον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, εὑπρεπεστέραν δὲ οὐκ ἀν λαβόντα τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς οἰκείου καὶ βασιλέως ἀναγκασθέντα ὑπουργεῖν αὐτῷ. τί οὖν δεῖ τοῦθ' ἡμᾶς

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to fight with Mithridates." But these grievances, not dreaming that they would bring the soldiers to such acts of madness as they afterwards performed, Lucullus overlooked and ignored. He was, however, more ready to defend himself against those who denounced his slowness in lingering there a long while, subduing worthless little villages and cities, and allowing Mithridates to recruit himself. "That," he said, "is the very thing I want, and I am sitting here to get it. I want the man to become powerful again, and to get together a force with which it is worth our while to fight, in order that he may stand his ground, and not fly when we approach. Do you not see that he has a vast and trackless desert behind him? The Caucasus, too, is near, with its many hills and dells, which are sufficient to hide away in safety ten thousand kings who decline to fight. And it is only a few days' journey from Cabira into Armenia and over Armenia there sits enthroned Tigranes, King of Kings, with forces which enable him to cut the Parthians off from Asia, transplant Greek cities into Media, sway Syria and Palestine, put to death the successors of Seleucus, and carry off their wives and daughters into captivity. This king is a kinsman of Mithridates, his son-in-law. He will not be content to receive him as a suppliant, but will make war against us. If we strive, therefore, to eject Mithridates from his kingdom, we shall run the risk of drawing Tigranes down upon us. He has long wanted an excuse for coming against us, and could not get a better one than that of being compelled to aid a man who is his kinsman and a king. Why, then, should we bring this to pass,

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έξεργάσασθαι καὶ διδάξαι Μιθριδάτην ἀγνοοῦντα, μεθ' ὧν ἐστιν αὐτῷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς πολεμητέον, καὶ μὴ βουλόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀδοξοῦντα συνελαύνειν εἰς τὰς Τιγράνου χεῖρας, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δόντας αὐτῷ χρόνον ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων παρασκευάσασθαι καὶ ἀναθαρρῦναι, Κόλχοις καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖς καὶ Καππάδοξιν, ὧν πολλάκις κεκρατήκαμεν, μάχεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ Μῆδοις καὶ Ἀρμενίοις;"

- XV. Ἐπὶ τοιούτων λογισμῶν γενόμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος περί τε τὴν Ἀμισὸν διέτριψε, μαλακῶς τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χρώμενος, καὶ μετὰ χειμῶνα Μουρήναν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην καθήμενον ἐν Καβείροις καὶ διανοούμενον ὑφίστασθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἥθροισμένης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως εἰς τετρακισμυρίους πεζούς, ἵππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους, οὓς ἐθάρρει² μάλιστα. καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Λύκον ποταμὸν εἰς τὸ πεδίον προύκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. γενομένης δ' ἵππομαχίας ἔφυγον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι· Πομπώνιος δ' ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἄδοξος ἐάλω τετρωμένος καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀνήχθη κακῶς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων διακείμενος. πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεται φίλος, ““Αν γε δή,” ἔφη, ““Ῥωμαίοις διαλλαγῆς· εἰ δὲ μή, πολέμιος.”” τούτον μὲν θαυμάσας ὁ Μιθριδάτης οὐκ ἡδίκησε.
- 3 Τοῦ δὲ Λουκούλλου τὰ μὲν πεδία τῶν πολεμίων 501 ἵπποκρατούντων δεδιότος, τὴν δ' ὄρειν ὃντος προϊέναι, μακρὰν καὶ ὑλώδη καὶ δύσβατον οὖσαν, ἀλίσκονται τινες κατὰ τύχην “Ελληνες εἰς τι-

LUCULLUS

and teach Mithridates, when he does not know it, with what allies he must carry on war against us? Why help to drive him, against his wish and as a last resource, into the arms of Tigranes, instead of giving him time to equip himself from his own resources and get fresh courage? Then we shall fight with Colchians and Tibareni and Cappadocians, whom we have often overcome, rather than with Medes and Armenians."

XV. Influenced by such considerations as these, Lucullus lingered about Amisus, without pushing the siege vigorously. When winter was over, he left Murena in charge of the siege, and marched against Mithridates,¹ who had taken his stand at Cabira, and intended to await the Roman onset there. A force of forty thousand footmen had been collected by him, and four thousand horsemen; on the latter he placed his chief reliance. Crossing the river Lycus and advancing into the plain, he offered the Romans battle. A cavalry fight ensued, and the Romans took to flight. Pomponius, a man of some note, having been wounded, was taken prisoner and led into the presence of Mithridates, suffering greatly from his wounds. When the king asked him if he would become his friend provided he spared his life, Pomponius answered: "Yes, indeed, if you come to terms with the Romans; otherwise I must remain your enemy." Mithridates was struck with admiration for him, and did him no harm.

Lucullus was now afraid of the plains, since the enemy was superior in cavalry, and yet hesitated to go forward into the hill country, which was remote, woody, and impassable. But it chanced that certain

¹ 72 B.C.

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σπήλαιον καταφυγόντες, ὃν ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὑπέσχετο τὸν Λούκουλλον ἄξειν καὶ καταστάσειν ἐπὶ τόπῳ ἀσφαλεῖ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ φρούριον ἔχοντι τοῖς Καβείροις ἐπικρεμάμενον.

- 4 πιστεύσας δὲ ὁ Λούκουλλος ἂμα τῇ νυκτὶ πυρὰ καύσας ἐκίνει· καὶ τὰ στενὰ παρελθὼν ἀσφαλῶς τὸ χωρίον εἶχε, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπερεφαίνετο τῶν πολεμίων ἰδρύων τὸν στρατὸν ἐν τόποις, οἵ μάχεσθαι βουλομένῳ προσαγωγὴν ἐδίδοσαν καὶ τὸ μὴ βιασθῆναι παρεῖχον ἡσυχάζοντι.
- 5 Γνώμην μὲν οὖν οὐδέτερος εἶχεν ἐν γε τῷ παρόντι διακινδυνεύειν· ἔλαφον δὲ λέγεται τῶν βασιλικῶν διωκόντων ὑποτεμνομένους ἀπαντῆσαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἐκ δὲ τούτου συμπεσόντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι πλειόνων ἐκατέροις ἀεὶ προσγινομένων. τέλος δὲ ἐνίκων οἱ βασιλικοί· καὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καθορῶντες ἤσχαλλον καὶ συνέτρεχον πρὸς τὸν Λούκουλλον, ἄγειν σφᾶς δεόμενοι καὶ σύνθημα πρὸς τὴν μάχην αἴτοῦντες.
- 6 ὁ δὲ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς μαθεῖν, ἥλικον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀγῶνι πολέμου καὶ κινδύνῳ παρουσίᾳ καὶ δψις ἡγεμόνος ἔμφρονος, ἐκείνους μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀπαντῆσαι τῶν φευγόντων ἵστασθαι
- 7 προσέταξε καὶ ἀναστρέφειν μετ' αὐτοῦ. πεισθέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μεταβαλόμενοι καὶ συστάντες ὀλίγῳ πόνῳ τρέπονται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ καταδιώκουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος ἀτιμίαν τινὰ τοῖς φεύγοντις νευομισμένην προσέβαλε, κελεύσας ἐν χιτῶσιν

LUCULLUS

Greeks, who had taken refuge in a sort of cave, were captured, and the elder of them, Artemidorus, promised to serve Lucullus as a guide, and set him in a place which was safe for his camp, and which had a fortress overlooking Cabira. Lucullus put confidence in this promise, and as soon as it was night, lit his camp fires and set out. He passed safely through the narrow defiles and took possession of the desired place, and at daybreak was seen above the enemy, stationing his men in positions which gave him access to the enemy if he wished to fight, and safety from their assaults if he wished to keep quiet.

Now neither commander had any intention of hazarding an engagement at once. But we are told that while some of the king's men were chasing a stag, the Romans cut them off and confronted them, whereupon a skirmish followed, with fresh accessions continually to either side. At last, the king's men were victorious. Then the Romans in their camp, beholding the flight of their comrades, were in distress, and ran in throngs to Lucullus, begging him to lead them, and demanding the signal for battle. But he, wishing them to learn how important, in a dangerous struggle with the enemy, the visible presence of a prudent general is, bade them keep quiet. Then he went down into the plain by himself, and confronting the foremost of the fugitives, bade them stop, and turn back with him. They obeyed, and the rest also wheeled about and formed in battle array, and in a short time routed the enemy and drove them to their camp. When he came back, however, Lucullus inflicted the customary disgrace upon the fugitives. He bade them dig a twelve-

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ἀξώστοις ὄρυξαι δώδεκα ποδῶν τάφρου, ἐφεστώτων καὶ θεωμένων τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν.

- XVI. Ἡν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Μιθριδάτου στρατοπέδῳ Δανδαρίων δυνάστης Ὄλθακὸς (γένος δ' εἰσὶν οἱ Δανδάριοι βαρβάρων τῶν περὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν οἰκούντων), ἀνὴρ ὅστις χειρὸς ἔργα καὶ τόλμης ἐν πολέμῳ διαπρεπής ἀπαντα, καὶ γυνώμην ἴκανὸς ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις, ἔτι δὲ ἐμμελῆς ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ θεραπευτικός. οὗτος ἔχων ἀεὶ πρός τινα τῶν ὁμοφύλων δυναστῶν ἄμιλλαν ὑπὲρ πρωτείων καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν ὑπέσχετο τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ μέγα 2 ἔργον, ἀποκτενεῖν Λούκουλλον. ἐπαινέσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τινας αὐτῷ προσβαλόντος ἐπίτηδες ἀτιμίας εἰς προσποίησιν ὄργης ἀφιππάσατο πρὸς Λούκουλλον· ὁ δὲ ἀσμενος ἐδέξατο· λόγος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· καὶ ταχὺ πειρώμενος ἡσπάζετο τὴν τε ἀγχίνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ λιπαρές, ὥστε τραπέζης καὶ συνεδρίου ποτὲ ποιεῖσθαι κοινωνόν.
- 3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκει καιρὸν ἔχειν ὁ Δανδάριος, τὸν μὲν ἵππον ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος ἐκέλευσε προαγαγεῖν τοὺς παῖδας, αὐτὸς δὲ μεσημβρίας οὔσης καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνδιαζόντων καὶ ἀναπαυομένων ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνήν, ὡς οὐδενὸς κωλύσοντος εἰσελθεῖν ἄνδρα συνήθη καὶ λόγους τινὰς ἀξίους σπουδῆς τῷ στρατηγῷ κομίζειν 4 φάσκοντα. καὶν εἰσῆλθεν ἀδεῶς, εἰ μὴ ὁ πολλοὺς ἀνηρηκὼς στρατηγοὺς ὑπνος Λούκουλλον ἔσωσεν. ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καθεύδων· καὶ Μενέδημος, εἰς τῶν κατευναστῶν, παρὰ ταῖς θύραις ἐστὼς οὐκ ἔφη κατὰ καιρὸν ἥκειν τὸν Ὄλθακόν, ἄρτι Λουκούλλου πρὸς ἀναπαυσιν ἐκ μακρᾶς ἀγρυπνίας καὶ πόνων

LUCULLUS

foot ditch, working in ungirt blouses, while the rest of the soldiers stood by and watched them.

XVI. In the camp of Mithridates there was a Dandarian prince named Olthacus (the Dandarians are a tribe of barbarians dwelling about Lake Maeotis), a man conspicuous as a soldier for qualities of strength and boldness, of a most excellent judgment, and withal affable in address and of insinuating manners. This man was always in emulous rivalry for the precedence with a fellow prince of his tribe, and so was led to undertake a great exploit for Mithridates, namely, the murder of Lucullus. The king approved of his design, and purposely inflicted upon him sundry marks of disgrace, whereupon, pretending to be enraged, he galloped off to Lucullus, who gladly welcomed him, since there was much talk of him in the camp. After a short probation, Lucullus was so pleased with his shrewdness and zeal, that he made him a table companion, and at last a member of his council.

Now when the Dandarian thought his opportunity had come, he ordered his slaves to lead his horse outside the camp, while he himself, at mid-day, when the soldiers were lying around enjoying their rest, went to the general's tent. He thought no one would deny entrance to a man who was an intimate of the general, and said he brought him certain messages of great importance. And he would have entered without let or hindrance, had not sleep, the destroyer of many generals, saved Lucullus. For it chanced that he was asleep, and Menedemus, one of his chamberlains, who stood at the tent-door, told Olthacus that he had come at an inopportune time, since Lucullus had just betaken himself to rest after

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- 5 τοσούτων δεδωκότος ἑαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἀπήγει κελεύοντος, ἀλλ' ἔφη καὶ κωλύοντος εἰσελεύσεσθαι περὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου καὶ μεγάλου διαλεχθῆναι βουλόμενος, ἥδη πρὸς ὄργην ὁ Μενέδημος εἰπὼν μηδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον τοῦ σώζεσθαι Λουκουλλον ἀπεώσατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον 502
6 ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσίν. ὁ δὲ δείσας ὑπεξῆλθε τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ λαβὼν τὸν ἵππον ἀπῆλασεν εἰς τὸ Μιθριδάτου στρατόπεδον ἀπρακτος. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁ καιρὸς ὥσπερ τοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ τὴν σώζουσαν καὶ τὴν ἀναιροῦσαν ῥοπὴν προστίθησιν.

XVII. Ἐκ τούτου Σωρνάτιος μὲν ἐπὶ σίτου κομιδὴν ἐπέμφθη μετὰ δέκα σπειρῶν· καὶ καταδιωχθεὶς ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου, τῶν Μιθριδάτου στρατηγῶν ἐνός, ἀντέστη καὶ συμβαλὼν φόνον ἐποίησε πολὺν καὶ τροπὴν τῶν πολεμίων. αὐθις δὲ πεμφθέντος Ἀδριανοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως, ὅπως ἐκ περιουσίας ἔχωσιν οἱ στρατιώται σίτου, οὐ περιεῖδε Μιθριδάτης, ἀλλ' ἀπέστειλε Μενέμαχον καὶ Μύρωνα πολλῶν μὲν ἴππεων, πολλῶν δὲ πεζῶν ἡγουμένους.
2 οὗτοι πάντες, ὡς λέγεται, πλὴν δυεῦν κατεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. καὶ Μιθριδάτης μὲν ἔκρυπτε τὴν συμφορὰν ὡς οὐ τοσαύτην οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ μικράν, προσκεκρουκότων ἀπειρίᾳ τῶν στρατηγῶν, Ἀδριανὸς δὲ λαμπρὸς παρημείβετο τὸ στρατόπεδον πολλὰς κατάγων ἀμάξας σίτου καὶ λαφύρων γεμούσας, ὥστε δυσθυμίαν μὲν αὐτῷ, ταραχὴν δὲ καὶ φόβον ἀμίχανον ἐμπεσεῖν
3 τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἐδέδοκτο μὲν οὖν μηκέτι μένειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προεξέπεμπον οἱ βασιλικοὶ τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα καθ' ήσυχίαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους

LUCULLUS

his long watching and many hardships. Olthacus did not retire at the bidding of Menedemus, but declared that even in spite of him he would go in, since he wished to confer with the general on urgent business of great importance. Then Menedemus got angry, declared that nothing was more urgent than the preservation of Lucullus, and pushed the man away with both hands. Then Olthacus, in fear, left the camp, took horse, and rode off to the camp of Mithridates, without effecting his purpose. So true is it that in active life, as well as in sickness, it is the critical moment which gives the scales their saving or their fatal inclination.

XVII. After this, Sornatius was sent with ten cohorts to get supplies of grain. Being pursued by Menander, one of the generals of Mithridates, he faced about, joined battle, and routed the enemy with great slaughter. And again, when Adrian was sent out with a force to procure an abundance of grain for the soldiers, Mithridates did not look on idly, but dispatched Menemachus and Myron, at the head of a large body of cavalry and footmen. All these, it is said, except two, were cut to pieces by the Romans. Mithridates tried to conceal the extent of the disaster, pretending that it was a slight matter, and due to the inexperience of his generals. But when Adrian marched pompously past his camp, convoying many waggons laden with grain and booty, a great despair fell upon the king, and confusion and helpless fear upon his soldiers. They decided, therefore, to remain where they were no longer. But when the king's servants tried to send away their own baggage first, and to hinder the rest from going, the soldiers at once got angry, pushed and forced

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έκώλυον, ἥδη καὶ πρὸς ὄργὴν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔξόδους ὠθούμενοι καὶ βιαζόμενοι τὰ μὲν χρήματα ἤρπαξον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπέσφαττον. ὅπου καὶ Δορύλαος ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἔχων ἢ τὴν πορφύραν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀπώλετο διὰ ταύτην, Ἐρμαῖος δὲ ὁ θύτης κατεπατήθη περὶ τὰς πύλας.

- 4 Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης, οὗτε ὀπαδοῦ τινος οὕτε ἵπποκόμου παραμείναντος αὐτῷ, συνεξέπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀναμεμιγμένος, οὐδ' ἵππου· τῶν βασιλικῶν εὐπορήσας, ἀλλ' ὁψέ που κατιδὼν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ρεύματι τῆς τροπῆς ἐκείνης διαφερόμενον Πτολεμαῖος ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἵππον ἔχων αὐτὸς ἀπεπήδησε καὶ
- 5 παρέσχεν. ἥδη γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεῖχον ἐπικείμενοι καὶ τάχει μὲν οὐκ ἀπελίποντο τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἡλθον ἔγγιστα τούτου, φιλοπλούτια δὲ καὶ μικρολογία στρατιωτικὴ τὸ πολλοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ μεγάλοις κινδύνοις διωκόμενον ἐκ μακροῦ θήραμα Ῥωμαίους ἀφείλετο καὶ Λούκουλλον ἀπεστέρησε νικῶντα τῶν ἐπάθλων.
- 6 ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἐφικτῷ τῆς διώξεως ὁ ὑπεκφέρων τὸν ἄνδρα ἵππος, ἡμίόνου δὲ τῶν τὸ χρυσίον κομιζόντων μεταξὺ τοῦ βασιλέως εἴτ' ἀπὸ ταύτομάτου παρεισπεσόντος, εἴτε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίτηδες ἐμβαλόντος αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς διώκοντας, ἀρπάζοντες καὶ συλλέγοντες τὸ χρυσίον καὶ
- 7 διαμαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθυστέρησαν. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον αὐτῶν ἀπέλαυσε τῆς πλεονεξίας Λούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντα Καλλίστρατον ὁ μὲν ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν, οἱ δὲ ἄγοντες αἰσθόμενοι πεντακοσίους

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their way to the exits of the camp, and there plundered the baggage and slew the men in charge of it. There it was that Dorylaus, the general, with nothing else about him but his purple robe, lost his life for that, and Hermaeus, the priest, was trampled to death at the gates.

Mithridates himself, with no attendant or groom to assist him, fled away from the camp in the midst of the throng, not even provided with one of the royal horses ; but at last the eunuch Ptolemaeus, who was mounted, spied him as he was borne along in the torrent of the rout, leaped down from his horse, and gave it to the king. Presently the Romans, who were forcing the pursuit, were hard upon him, and it was for no lack of speed that they did not take him. Indeed, they were very near doing so, but greed, and petty soldier's avarice, snatched from them the quarry which they had so long pursued in many struggles and great dangers, and robbed Lucullus of the victor's prize. For the horse which carried the king was just within reach of his pursuers, when one of the mules which carried the royal gold came between him and them, either of his own accord, or because the king purposely sent him into the path of pursuit. The soldiers fell to plundering and collecting the gold, fought with one another over it, and so were left behind in the chase. Nor was this the only fruit of their greed which Lucullus reaped. He had given orders that Callistratus, who was in charge of the king's private papers, should be brought alive to him, but his conductors, finding that he had five hundred pieces of gold in his girdle, slew him.

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χρυσοῦς ὑπεξωσμένον ἀπέκτειναν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τούτοις μὲν ἐπέτρεψε τὸν χάρακα πορθῆσαι.

XVIII. Τὰ δὲ Κάβειρα λαβὼν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φρουρίων τὰ πλεῖστα θησαυρούς τε μεγάλους εὗρε καὶ δεσμωτήρια, πολλῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων, πολλῶν δὲ συγγενῶν τοῦ βασιλέως καθειργμένων, οὓς πάλαι τεθνάναι δοκοῦσιν οὐ σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀναβίωσιν καὶ δευτέραν τινὰ γέννησιν ἡ Λουκούλ-
2 λου χάρις παρέσχεν. ἔάλω δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου Νύσσα σωτήριον ἄλωσιν· αἱ δ' ἀπωτάτω τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀποκεῖσθαι δοκοῦσαι περὶ Φαρνάκειαν ἀδελφαὶ καὶ γυναικες οἰκτρῶς ἀπώλοντο, Μιθριδάτου πέμψαντος ἐπ' 503 αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς Βακχίδην εὔνοούχον. ἥσαν δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἀδελφαί τε δύο τοῦ βασιλέως, 'Ρωξάνη καὶ Στάτειρα, περὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη παρθενευόμεναι, καὶ γαμεταὶ δύο, γένος Ἰωνίδες, Βερενίκη μὲν ἐκ Χίου, Μονίμη δὲ Μιλησία.
3 ταύτης ὁ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησιν, ὅτι τοῦ βασιλέως πειρῶντος αὐτὴν καὶ μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους χρυσοῦς προσπέμψαντος ἀντέσχε, μέχρι οὐ γάμων ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι καὶ διάδημα πέμψας αὐτῇ βασίλισσαν ἀνηγόρευσεν. αὕτη καὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀνιαρώς εἶχε καὶ ἀπεθρήνει τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὔμορφίαν, ως δεσπότην μὲν ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς αὐτῇ, φρουρὰν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀντὶ γάμους καὶ οἴκου προξενήσασαν, πόρρω δέ που τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀπωκισμένη τοῖς ἐλπισθεῖσιν ἀγαθοῖς ὅναρ σύνεστι, τῶν δ' ἀληθινῶν ἐκείνων ἀπεστέρηται,

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However, Lucullus allowed such soldiers as these to plunder the enemy's camp.

XVIII. In capturing Cabira and most of the other strongholds, he found great treasures, and many prisons, in which many Greeks and many kinsfolk of the king were confined. As they had long been given up for dead, it was not so much a rescue as it was a resurrection and a sort of second birth, for which they were indebted to the favour of Lucullus. Nyssa, a sister of Mithridates, was also captured ; and her capture was her salvation. But the sisters and wives of the king who were thought to be at farthest remove from danger and quietly hidden away in Pharnacia, perished pitifully, since Mithridates paused long enough in his flight to send Bacchides, a eunuch, to compass their death. Among many other women, there were two sisters of the king, Roxana and Statira, about forty years old and unmarried ; and two of his wives, of Ionian families, Berenicé from Chios, and Monimé, a Milesian. The latter was most talked of among the Greeks, to the effect that though the king tempted her virtue and sent her fifteen thousand pieces of gold, she resisted his advances, until he entered into a marriage contract with her, sent her a diadem, and greeted her with the title of Queen. But her marriage had been an unhappy one, and she bewailed that beauty which had procured her a master instead of a husband, and a guard of Barbarians instead of home and family, dwelling as she did far, far away from Greece, where the blessings for which she had hoped existed only in her dreams, while she was bereft of the real blessings to which she had been wonted.

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4 Καὶ δὴ τοῦ Βακχίδου παραγενομένου καὶ προστάξαντος αὐταῖς ἀποθιήσκειν, ὡς ἐκύστη δοκοίη ῥᾶστον εἶναι καὶ ἀλυπότατον, περισπάσασα τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ διάδημα τῷ τραχήλῳ περιῆψε καὶ ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτήν. ταχὺ δὲ ἀπορραγέντος “Ω κατηραμένον,” ἔφη, “ῥάκος, οὐδὲ πρὸς τοῦτό μοι χρήσιμον ἔστι;” κἀκεῖνο μὲν ἀπέρριψε προσπτύσασα, τῷ δὲ Βακχίδῃ τὴν
5 σφαγὴν παρέσχεν. ἡ δὲ Βερενίκη κύλικα φαρμάκου λαβοῦσα, τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς παρούσης καὶ δεομένης, μετέδωκε. καὶ συνεξέπιον μὲν ἀμφότεραι, ἦρκεσε δὲ ἡ τοῦ φαρμάκου δύναμις εἰς τὸ ἀσθενέστερον σῶμα, τὴν δὲ Βερενίκην οὐχ ὅσον ἔδει πιοῦσαν οὐκ ἀπῆλλαξεν, ἀλλὰ δυσθανατοῦσα
6 τοῦ Βακχίδου σπεύδοντος ἀπεπνύγη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων ἀδελφῶν ἐκείνων τὴν μὲν ἐπαρωμένην πολλὰ καὶ λοιδοροῦσαν ἐκπιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, τὴν δὲ Στάτειραν οὔτε δύσφημόν τι φθεγξαμένην οὔτ' ἀγεννές, ἀλλ' ἐπαινοῦσαν τὸν ἀδελφόν, διτὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδυνεύων οὐκ ἡμέλησεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ προύνόησεν ἐλευθέρας καὶ ἀνυθρίστους ἀποθανεῖν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν φύσει χρηστὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἡνία τὸν Λούκουλλον.

XIX. Ἐλάσας δὲ ἄχρι Ταλαύρων, ἔνθεν ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ πρότερον ἐφθάκει Μιθριδάτης εἰς Ἀρμενίαν πρὸς Τιγράνην πεφευγώς, ἀποτρέπεται. καταστρεψάμενος δὲ Χαλδαίους καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς καὶ τὴν μικρὰν Ἀρμενίαν παραλαβὼν καὶ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις παραστησάμενος, Ἀππιον μὲν ἐπεμψε πρὸς Τιγράνην ἔξαιτῶν Μιθριδάτην, αὐτὸς
2 δὲ ἡκε πρὸς Ἀμσὸν ἔτι πολιορκουμένην. αἴτιος

LUCULLUS

And now Bacchides came and ordered them all to die, in whatever manner each might deem easiest and most painless. Monimé snatched the diadem from her head, fastened it round her neck, and hanged herself. But her halter quickly broke in two. "O cursed bauble," she cried, "couldst thou not serve me even in this office?" Then she spat upon it, hurled it from her, and offered her throat to Bacchides. But Berenicé, taking a cup of poison, shared it with her mother, who stood at her side and begged for some. Together they drank it off, and the force of the poison sufficed for the weaker body, but it did not carry off Berenicé, who had not drunk enough. As she was long in dying, and Bacchides was in a hurry, she was strangled. It is said also that of the unmarried sisters, one drank off her poison with many abusive imprecations on her brother; but that Statira did so without uttering a single reproachful or ungenerous word. She rather commended her brother because, when his own life was at hazard, he had not neglected them, but had taken measures to have them die in freedom and under no insults. Of course these things gave pain to Lucullus, who was naturally of a gentle and humane disposition.

XIX. Lucullus pushed on in pursuit as far as Talaura, whence, four days before, Mithridates had succeeded in escaping to Tigranes, in Armenia; then he turned aside. After subduing the Chaldaeans and the Tibareni, he occupied Lesser Armenia, reducing its fortresses and cities, and then sent Appius to Tigranes with a demand for Mithridates. He himself, however, came to Amisus, which was still holding out against the siege. Its success in

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δ' ἦν Καλλίμαχος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐμπειρίᾳ μηχανικῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ δεινότητι πανουργίας, ὃσην πολιορκία δέχεται, πλεῖστα λυπήσας Ῥωμαίους· ὃν ὑστερον ἔδωκε δίκην. τότε δ' ὑπὸ Λουκούλλου καταστρατηγηθείς, ὑφ' ἦν ἔθος εἶχεν ὥραν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπάγειν καὶ ἀναπαύειν τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐν ἐκείνῃ προσβαλόντος αἱφνιδίως καὶ κατασχόντος οὐ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους, αὐτὸς ἐκλιπὼν τὴν πόλιν ὑφῆψεν, εἴτε φθονῶν ὠφεληθῆναι Ῥωμαίους, εἴτε ῥαστώνην φυγῆς ἑαυτῷ μηχανώ-
3 μενος. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐφρόντιζε τῶν ἐκπλεόντων, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἡ φλὸξ ἀναδραμοῦσα πολλὴ τὰ τείχη περιέσχεν, οἱ μὲν στρατιώται παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ἀρπαγήν, ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος οἰκτείρων ἀπολλυμένην τὴν πόλιν ἔξωθεν ἐβοήθει πρὸς τὸ πῦρ καὶ σβεννύναι παρεκάλει, μηδενὸς αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, ἀλλ' ἔξαιτουμένων τὰ χρήματα καὶ μετὰ βοῆς ὅπλα κρουόντων, ἔως ἐκβιασθεὶς ἐπέτρεψεν, ὡς αὐτὴν γε τὴν πόλιν ἔξαιρησόμενος τοῦ πυρός.
4 οἱ δὲ τούναντίον ἔπραξαν. πάντα γὰρ ἔξερευνῶντες ὑπὸ λαμπάδων καὶ πανταχοῦ φῶς ἐπιφέροντες αὐτοὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν οἰκημάτων καθεῖλον, ὥστε τὸν Λούκουλλον εἰσελθόντα μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ δακρύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς 504 πολλάκις ἥδη Σύλλαν μακαρίσας μάλιστα τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν τάνδρὸς εὔτυχίαν θαυμάσειεν,
5 ὅτι σῶσαι βουληθεὶς ἐδυνήθη τὰς Ἀθήνας. “Ἐμὲ

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this was due to Callimachus, its commander, who, by his acquaintance with mechanical contrivances and his power to employ every resource which the siege of a city demands, had given the Romans the greatest annoyance. For this he afterwards paid the penalty. But at this time, he was simply outgeneraled by Lucullus, who made a sudden attack at just that time of day when Callimachus was accustomed to draw his soldiers off from the ramparts and give them a rest. When the Romans had got possession of a small part of the wall, Callimachus abandoned the city, first setting fire to it with his own hands, either because he begrudged the visitors their booty, or because his own escape was thus facilitated. For no one paid any attention to those who were sailing away, but when the flames increased mightily and enveloped the walls, the soldiers made ready to plunder the houses. Lucullus, out of pity for the perishing city, tried to bring aid from outside against the fire, and gave orders to extinguish the flames, but no one paid any heed to his commands. The soldiers all clamoured for the booty, and shouted, and clashed their shields and spears together, until he was forced to let them have their way, hoping that he could at least save the city itself from the flames. But the soldiers did just the opposite. Ransacking everything by torch-light and carrying lights about everywhere, they destroyed most of the houses themselves. When Lucullus entered the city at daybreak, he burst into tears, and said to his friends that he had often already deemed Sulla happy, and on that day more than ever he admired the man's good fortune, in that when he wished to save Athens, he had the power to do so. "But upon

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δ'," ἔφη, "τούτου ζηλωτὴν γενόμενον εἰς τὴν Μομμίου δύξαν ὁ δαίμων περιέστησεν."

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀναλαμβάνειν ἐπειράτο τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πῦρ δυμβροὶ κατέσθεσαν ἐκ τινος θείας τύχης περὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτὴν συμπεσόντες, τὰ δὲ πλεῦστα τῶν ἀπολαλότων αὐτὸς ἔτι παρὼν ἀνφορδόμησε, καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας Ἀμισηνῶν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων κατώκισε τοὺς βουλομένους, εἴκοσι καὶ 6 ἑκατὸν σταδίων χώραν προσορίσας. ἦν δὲ ἡ πόλις Ἀθηναίων ἄποικος, ἐν ἐκείνοις ἄρα τοῖς καιροῖς, ἐν οἷς ἥκμαζεν ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν καὶ κατεῖχε τὴν θάλασσαν, οἰκισθεῖσα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὶ τῶν τὴν Ἀριστίωνος τυραννίδα βουλομένων φεύγειν εἰσπλεύσαντες αὐτοῦ κατώκουν καὶ μετεῖχον τῆς πολιτείας, οἷς συνέβη τὰ οἰκεῖα κακὰ φεύγουσιν ἀπολαῦσαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων. ἀλλὰ τούς γε σωθέντας αὐτῶν ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀμφιέσας καλῶς καὶ διακοσίας ἑκάστῳ δραχμῇς ἐπιδοὺς ἀπέστειλε. 7 τότε καὶ Τυραννίων ὁ γραμματικὸς ἐάλω· Μουρήνας δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξητήσατο καὶ λαβὼν ἀπηλευθέρωσεν, ἀνελευθέρως τῇ δωρεᾷ χρησάμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἡξίου Λούκουλλος ἄνδρα διὰ παιδείαν ἐσπουδασμένον δοῦλον γενέσθαι πρότερον, εἰτ' ἀπελεύθερον. ἀφαίρεσις γὰρ ἦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἡ τῆς δοκούσης ἐλευθερίας δόσις. ἀλλὰ Μουρήνας μὲν οὐκ ἐνταῦθα μόνον ὥφθη πολὺ τῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καλοκαγαθίας ἀποδέων.

LUCULLUS

me," he said, "who have been so eager to imitate his example, Heaven has devolved the reputation of Mummius."

However, as far as circumstances allowed, he endeavoured to restore the city. The fire, indeed, had been quenched by showers which fell providentially just as the city was captured, and most of what the soldiers had destroyed he rebuilt himself before his departure. He also received into the city those of the Amisenes who had fled, and settled there any other Greeks who so desired, and added to the city's domain a tract of a hundred and twenty stadia. The city was a colony of Athens, founded in that period when her power was at its height and she controlled the sea. And this was the reason why many who wished to escape the tyranny of Aristion¹ at Athens sailed to Amisus, settled there, and became citizens. In flying from evils at home, they got the benefit of greater evils abroad. But those of them who survived were well clothed by Lucullus, and sent back home, with a present of two hundred drachmas apiece. Tyrannio the grammarian was also taken prisoner at this time. Murena asked to have him as his own prize, and on getting him, formally gave him his liberty, therein making an illiberal use of the gift which he had received. For Lucullus did not think it meet that a man so esteemed for his learning should first become a slave, and then be set at liberty. To give him a nominal liberty was to rob him of the liberty to which he was born. But this was not the only case in which Murena was found to be far inferior to his commander in nobility of conduct.

¹ Tyrant of Athens when the city was besieged by Sulla,
87 B.C.

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XX. Λούκουλλος δὲ τρέπεται πρὸς τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις, ὅπως, τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων σχολάζοντος αὐτοῦ, καὶ δίκης τινὸς μετάσχη καὶ θεσμῶν, ὡν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐνδεῆ τὴν ἐπαρχίαν οὖσαν ἄρρητοι καὶ ἀπιστοι δυστυχίαι κατεῖχον, ὑπὸ τῶν τελωνῶν καὶ τῶν δανειστῶν πορθουμένην καὶ ἀνδραποδιζομένην, πιπράσκειν ἴδιᾳ μὲν νίοὺς εὐπρεπεῖς θυγατέρας τε παρθένους, δημοσίᾳ δ' ἀναθήματα, γραφάς, ἱερὸν ἀνδριάντας ἀναγκα-
2 ζομένων. αὐτοῖς δὲ τέλος μὲν ἦν προσθέτοις γενομένοις δουλεύειν, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τούτου χαλεπώτερα, σχοινισμοὶ καὶ κυγκλίδες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ στάσεις ὑπαιθροὶ, καύματος μὲν ἐν ἥλιῳ, ψύχους δ' εἰς πηλὸν ἐμβιβαζομένων ἢ πάγον, ὥστε τὴν δουλείαν σεισάχθειαν δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ εἰρήνην.
3 τοιαῦτα μὲν κακὰ Λούκουλλος εὑρὼν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν δλίγῳ χρόνῳ πάντων ἀπήλλαξε τοὺς ἀδικουμένους.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἕκατοστὴν ἐκέλευσε καὶ μὴ πλέον εἰς τοὺς τόκους λογίζεσθαι· δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς μακροτέρους τοῦ ἀρχαίου τόκους ἀπέκοψε· τὸ δὲ τρίτον καὶ μέγιστον, ἔταξε τῶν τοῦ χρεωφειλέτου προσόδων τὴν τετάρτην μερίδα καρποῦσθαι τὸν δανειστὴν ὁ δὲ τόκον κεφαλαίῳ
4 συνάψας ἐστέρητο τοῦ παντός· ὥστ' ἐν ἐλάττονι χρόνῳ τετραετίας διαλυθῆναι τὰ χρέα πάντα καὶ τὰς κτήσεις ἐλευθέρας ἀποδοθῆναι τοῖς δεσπόταις. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κοινὸν δάνειον ἐκ τῶν δισμυρίων ταλάντων, οἷς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐζημίωσεν ὁ Σύλλας· καὶ διπλοῦν ἀπεδόθη τοῖς δανείσασιν, ὑπ' ἐκείνων

LUCULLUS

XX. Lucullus now turned his attention to the cities in Asia,¹ in order that, while he was at leisure from military enterprises, he might do something for the furtherance of justice and law. Through long lack of these, unspeakable and incredible misfortunes were rife in the province. Its people were plundered and reduced to slavery by the tax-gatherers and money-lenders. Families were forced to sell their comely sons and virgin daughters, and cities their votive offerings, pictures, and sacred statues. At last men had to surrender to their creditors and serve them as slaves, but what preceded this was far worse,—tortures of rope, barrier, and horse ; standing under the open sky in the blazing sun of summer, and in winter, being thrust into mud or ice. Slavery seemed, by comparison, to be disburdenment and peace. Such were the evils which Lucullus found in the cities, and in a short time he freed the oppressed from all of them.

In the first place, he ordered that the monthly rate of interest should be reckoned at one per cent., and no more ; in the second place, he cut off all interest that exceeded the principal ; third, and most important of all, he ordained that the lender should receive not more than the fourth part of his debtor's income, and any lender who added interest to principal was deprived of the whole. Thus, in less than four years' time, the debts were all paid, and the properties restored to their owners unencumbered. This public debt had its origin in the twenty thousand talents which Sulla had laid upon Asia as a contribution, and twice this amount had been paid back to the money-lenders. Yet now, by

¹ 71-70 B.C.

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ἀνηγμένον ἥδη τοῖς τόκοις εἰς δώδεκα μυριάδας
5 ταλάντων. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὡς δεινὰ πεπονθότες
ἐν Ἀρμῃ τοῦ Λουκούλλου κατεβόων, καὶ χρή-
μασιν ἀνίστασαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐνίους τῶν δημαγωγῶν,
μέγα δυνάμενοι καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπόχρεως πεποιη-
μένοι τῶν πολιτευομένων. ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος οὐ
μόνον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐ πεπονθότων ἡγαπάτο δήμων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις ποθεινὸς ἦν,
εὐδαιμονιζούσαις τοὺς ἡγεμόνος τοιούτου τυ-
χόντας.

XXI. Ἀππιος δὲ Κλώδιος, ὁ πεμφθεὶς πρὸς
Τιγράνην (ἥν δὲ ὁ Κλώδιος ἀδελφὸς τῆς τότε 505
Λουκούλλῳ συνοικούσης) πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν
βασιλικῶν ὁδηγῶν κύκλον τινὰ καὶ περιβολὴν
ἔχουσαν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν καὶ πολυήμερον ὁδὸν διὰ
τῆς ἄνω χώρας ἀγόμενος, μηνύσαντος αὐτῷ τὴν
εὐθεῖαν ὁδὸν ἀπελευθέρου Σύρου τὸ γένος, ἐκ-
τρέπεται τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκείνης καὶ σοφιστικῆς,
ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀγωγοῖς,
καὶ δι' ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων τὸν Εὐφράτην περάσας
2 εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἥκε τὴν ἐπὶ Δάφνης. ἔπειτα
Τιγράνην αὐτοῦ κελευσθεὶς περιμένειν (ἀπῆν γὰρ
ἐνίας ἔτι τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ πόλεων καταστρεφό-
μενος), πολλοὺς μὲν ὡκειώσατο τῶν ὑπούλως
ἀκροωμένων τοῦ Ἀρμενίου δυναστῶν, ὃν εἰς ἥν
καὶ Ζαρβιηνὸς ὁ τῆς Γορδυηνῆς βασιλεὺς,
πολλαῖς δὲ κρύφα τῶν δεδουλωμένων πόλεων
διαπεμπομέναις πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο τὴν Λου-
κούλλου βοήθειαν, ἐν τῷ παρόντι κελεύσας
ἥσυχάζειν.

3 Ἡν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸς ἡ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἀρχὴ

LUCULLUS

reckoning usurious interest, they had brought the total debt up to a hundred and twenty thousand talents. These men, accordingly, considered themselves outraged, and raised a clamour against Lucullus at Rome. They also bribed some of the tribunes to proceed against him, being men of great influence, who had got many of the active politicians into their debt. Lucullus, however, was not only beloved by the peoples whom he had benefited, nay, other provinces also longed to have him set over them, and felicitated those whose good fortune it was to have such a governor.

XXI. Appius Clodius, who had been sent to Tigranes (Clodius was a brother of her who was then the wife of Lucullus), was at first conducted by the royal guides through the upper country by a route needlessly circuitous and long. But when a freedman of his, who was a Syrian, told him of the direct route, he left the long one which was being trickily imposed upon him, bade his Barbarian guides a long farewell, and within a few days crossed the Euphrates and came to Antioch by Daphne.¹ Then, being ordered to await Tigranes there (the king was still engaged in subduing some cities of Phoenicia), he gained over many of the princes who paid but a hollow obedience to the Armenian. One of these was Zarbienus, king of Gordyene. He also promised many of the enslaved cities, when they sent to confer with him secretly, the assistance of Lucullus, although for the present he bade them keep quiet.

Now the sway of the Armenians was intolerably

¹ The great Antioch on the river Orontes. Daphne was the name of a grove near the city consecrated to Apollo.

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- τοῖς "Ελλησιν, ἀλλὰ χαλεπή καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα τραγικὸν καὶ ὑπέρογκον ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις εὐτυχίαις ἐγεγόνει, πάντων, ὅσα ζηλούσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ θαυμάζουσιν, οὐ μόνον ὅντων περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι' αὐτὸν 4 γεγονέναι δοκούντων. ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ καταφρονουμένης ἐπίδος ἔθνη πολλὰ κατεστρέψατο, καὶ τὴν Πάρθων, ὡς ἄλλος οὐδείς, δύναμιν ἐταπείνωσεν, 'Ελλήνων δὲ τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐνέπλησε, πολλοὺς μὲν ἐκ Κιλικίας, πολλοὺς δ' ἐκ Καππαδοκίας ὡνασπάστους κατοκίζων. ἐκίνησε δ' ἐξ ἥθων καὶ "Αραβας τοὺς Σκηνίτας μεταγαγὼν καὶ πλησίον ἰδρύσας, ὅπως 5 χρῆτο δι' ἔκείνων ταῖς ἐμπορίαις. βασιλεῖς δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἥσαν οἱ θεραπεύοντες αὐτόν, τέσσαρες δέ, οὓς ἀεὶ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν ὥσπερ ὄπαδοὺς ἦ δορυφόρους, ἵπποτη μὲν ἐλαύνοντι πεζοὺς παραθέοντας ἐν χιτωνίσκοις, καθημένῳ δὲ καὶ χρηματίζοντι περιεστῶτας ἐπηλλαγμέναις δι' ἄλληλων ταῖς χερσίν, ὅπερ ἐδόκει μάλιστα τῶν σχημάτων ἐξομολόγησις εἶναι δουλείας, οἷον ἀποδομένων τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κυρίῳ παρεχόντων παθεῖν ἐτοιμότερον ἦ ποιῆσαι.
- 6 Ταύτην μέντοι τὴν τραγῳδίαν οὐχ ὑποτρέσας οὐδὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ὁ "Αππιος, ὡς ἔτυχε λόγου πρώτου, ἄντικρυς ἤκειν ἔφη Μιθριδάτην ἀπάξιων διφειλόμενον τοῖς Λουκούλλου θριάμβοις ἦ καταγγελῶν Τιγράνη πόλεμον, ὥστε τὸν Τιγράνην, καίπερ ἐν διαχύσει τοῦ προσώπου καὶ μειδιάματι πεπλασμένῳ πειρώμενον ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων, μὴ λαθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας ἥλλοιωμένουν τῇ παρρησίᾳ τοῦ νεανίσκου, φωνῆς σχεδὸν ἐλευθέρας ἀκούοντα

LUCULLUS.

grievous to the Greeks. Above all else, the spirit of the king himself had become pompous and haughty in the midst of his great prosperity. All the things which most men covet and admire, he not only had in his possession, but actually thought that they existed for his sake. For though he had started on his career with small and insignificant expectations, he had subdued many nations, humbled the Parthian power as no man before him had done, and filled Mesopotamia with Greeks whom he removed in great numbers from Cilicia and from Cappadocia, and settled anew. He also removed from their wonted haunts the nomadic Arabians, and brought them to an adjacent settlement, that he might employ them in trade and commerce. Many were the kings who waited upon him, and four, whom he always had about him like attendants or body-guards, would run on foot by their master's side when he rode out, clad in short blouses, and when he sat transacting business, would stand by with their arms crossed. This attitude was thought to be the plainest confession of servitude, as if they had sold their freedom and offered their persons to their master disposed for suffering rather than for service.

Appius, however, was not frightened or astonished at all this pomp and show, but as soon as he obtained an audience, told the king plainly that he was come to take back Mithridates, as an ornament due to the triumph of Lucullus, or else to declare war against Tigranes. Although Tigranes made every effort to listen to this speech with a cheerful countenance and a forced smile, he could not hide from the bystanders his discomfiture at the bold words of the young man. It must have been five and twenty

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διὰ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν· τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἐβασί-
 7 λευσε, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑβρισεν. ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν οὖν
 τῷ Ἀππίῳ μὴ προήσεσθαι Μιθριδάτην, καὶ
 Ῥωμαίους πολέμου ἄρχοντας ἀμυνεῖθαι. Λου-
 κούλλῳ δ' ὁργιζόμενος, ὅτι βασιλέα μόνον αὐτὸν,
 οὐ βασιλέων ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ προσηγόρευσεν,
 οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀντιγράφων αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπεν.
 ἔπειμψε δὲ δῶρα τῷ Ἀππίῳ λαμπρά, καὶ μὴ λαβόν-
 τος ἄλλα πλείω προσέθηκεν. ἐκ τούτων ὁ Ἀππιος
 οὐκ ἐθέλων δοκεῖν ἔχθρα τινὶ διωθεῖσθαι φιάλην
 δεξάμενος μίαν ἀπέπειμψε τὰ λοιπά, καὶ διὰ
 ταχέων ἀπήλαυνε πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα.

XXII. Τιγράνης δὲ Μιθριδάτην πρότερον μὲν
 οὐδὲ ἵδεν ἡξίωσεν οὐδὲ προσειπεῖν οἰκεῖον ἄνδρα
 βασιλείας ἐκπεπτωκότα τηλικαύτης, ἀλλ' ἀτίμως
 καὶ ὑπερηφάνως ἀπωτάτω περιεῖδεν αὐτὸν τρό-
 πον τινὰ φρουρούμενον ἐν χωρίοις ἐλώδεσι καὶ
 νοσεροῖς· τότε δὲ σὺν τιμῇ καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ
 2 μετεπέμψατο αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ δὴ
 λόγων γενομένων ἀπορρήτων τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους 506
 ἔθεράπεινον ὑποψίας ἐπὶ κακῷ τῶν φίλων, εἰς
 ἐκείνους τὰς αἰτίας τρέποντες. ὃν ἦν καὶ
 Μητρόδωρος ὁ Σκήψιος, ἀνὴρ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἀδῆτος
 καὶ πολυμαθής, ἀκμῇ δὲ φιλίας τοσαύτη χρησά-
 μενος, ὥστε πατὴρ προσαγορεύεσθαι τοῦ βασι-
 3 λέως. τοῦτον, ὡς ἕοικεν, ὁ Τιγράνης πεμφθέντα
 πρεσβευτὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου πρὸς αὐτὸν

LUCULLUS

years since he had listened to a free speech. That was the length of his reign, or rather, of his wanton tyranny. However, he replied to Appius that he would not surrender Mithridates, and that if the Romans began war, he would defend himself. He was vexed with Lucullus for addressing him in his letter with the title of King only, and not King of Kings, and accordingly, in his reply, would not address Lucullus as Imperator. But he sent splendid gifts to Appius, and when he would not take them, added more besides. Appius finally accepted a single bowl from among them, not wishing his rejection of the king's offers to seem prompted by any personal enmity, but sent back the rest, and marched off with all speed to join the Imperator.

XXII. Up to this time Tigranes had not deigned to see Mithridates, nor speak to him, though the man was allied to him by marriage, and had been expelled from such a great kingdom. Instead, he had kept him at the farthest remove possible, in disgrace and contumely, and had suffered him to be held a sort of prisoner in marshy and sickly regions. Now, however, he summoned him to his palace with marks of esteem and friendship. There, in secret conference, they strove to allay their mutual suspicions at the expense of their friends, by laying the blame upon them. One of these was Metrodorus of Scepsis, a man of agreeable speech and wide learning, who enjoyed the friendship of Mithridates in such a high degree that he was called the king's father. This man, as it seems, had once been sent as an ambassador from Mithridates to Tigranes, with a request for aid against the Romans. On this

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- δεομένου βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ 'Ρωμαίους ἥρετο· "Σὺ δ' αὐτός, ὡς Μητρόδωρε, τί μοι περὶ τούτων παραινεῖς;" κάκεῦνος εἴτε πρὸς τὸ Τιγράνου συμφέρον εἴτε Μιθριδάτην σώζεσθαι μὴ βουλόμενος, ώς μὲν πρεσβευτὴς ἔφη κελεύειν, ώς δὲ σύμβουλος ἀπαγορεύειν. ταῦτ' ἔξήνεγκεν ὁ Τιγράνης τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ καὶ κατέπειν ώς οὐδὲν ἐργασομένῳ τὸν
- 4 Μητρόδωρον ἀνήκεστον. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἀνήρητο· καὶ μετάνοια τὸν Τιγράνην εἶχεν, οὐ παντελῶς ὅντα τῷ Μητροδώρῳ τῆς συμφορᾶς αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ ὁποήν τινα τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθει τοῦ Μιθριδάτου προσθέντα. πάλαι γὰρ ὑπούλως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐφωράθη τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῦ γραμμάτων ἀλόντων, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Μητρόδωρον ἀπολέσθαι διατεταγμένον. ἔθαψεν οὖν ὁ Τιγράνης λαμπρῶς τὸ σῶμα, μηδεμιᾶς πολυτελείας φεισάμενος εἰς νεκρὸν δὲν ζῶντα προῦδωκεν.
- 5 Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ παρὰ τῷ Τιγράνῃ καὶ Ἀμφικράτης ὁ ῥήτωρ, εἰ δεῖ καὶ τούτου μνήμην τινὰ γενέσθαι διὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας. λέγεται γὰρ φυγεῖν μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς Σελεύκειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Τύγριδι, δεομένων δ' αὐτόθι σοφιστεύειν ὑπεριδεῖν καταλαξονευσάμενον, ώς οὐδὲ λεκάνη δελφῖνα χωροίη, μεταστάντα δὲ πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Μιθριδάτου θυγατέρα, Τιγράνη δὲ συνοικοῦσαν ἐν διαβολῇ γενέσθαι ταχύ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας ἐπιμεξίας εἰργόμενον ἀποκαρτερῆσαι· ταφῆναι δὲ καὶ τούτον ἐντίμως ὑπὸ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας καὶ

LUCULLUS

occasion Tigranes asked him: "But what is your own advice to me, Metrodorus, in this matter?" Whereupon Metrodorus, either with an eye to the interests of Tigranes, or because he did not wish Mithridates to be saved, said that as an ambassador he urged consent, but as an adviser he forbade it. Tigranes disclosed this to Mithridates, not supposing, when he told him, that he would punish Metrodorus past all healing. But Metrodorus was at once put out of the way. Then Tigranes repented of what he had done, although he was not entirely to blame for the death of Metrodorus. He merely gave an impulse, as it were, to the hatred which Mithridates already had for the man. For he had long been secretly hostile to him, as was seen from his private papers when they were captured, in which there were directions that Metrodorus, as well as others, be put to death. Accordingly, Tigranes gave the body of Metrodorus a splendid burial, sparing no expense upon the man when dead, although he had betrayed him when alive.

Amphicrates, the rhetorician, also lost his life at the court of Tigranes, if, for the sake of Athens, we may make some mention of him too. It is said that when he was exiled from his native city, he went to Seleucia on the Tigris, and that when the citizens asked him to give lectures there, he treated their invitation with contempt, arrogantly remarking that a stewpan could not hold a dolphin. Removing thence, he attached himself to Cleopatra, the daughter of Mithridates and wife of Tigranes, but speedily fell into disfavour, and, being excluded from intercourse with Greeks, starved himself to death. He also received honourable burial at the hands of

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κεῖσθαι περὶ Σαφάν, ἐκεῖ τι χωρίον οὕτω καλούμενον.

XXIII. Λούκουλλος δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλῆς μὲν εὐνομίας, πολλῆς δ' εἰρήνης ἐμπεπληκώς οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ πομπαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐπινικίοις καὶ ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν καὶ μονομάχων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καθήμενος ἐδημαγόγει τὰς πόλεις, αἱ δ' ἀμειβόμεναι Λουκούλλειά τε ἥγον ἐπὶ τιμῆ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ἡδίονα
2 τὴν ἀληθινὴν εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ παρεῖχον. ἐπεὶ δ'
“Αππιός τε ἡκε καὶ πολεμητέον πρὸς Τυγράνην ἐφαίνετο, παρῆλθεν αὐθις εἰς Πόντον, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν ἐπολιόρκει Σινώπην, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτὴν βασιλικοὺς Κίλικας, οἱ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντες τῶν Σινωπέων, τὴν
3 δὲ πόλιν ἐμπρήσαντες διὰ νυκτὸς ἔφυγον. αἰσθόμενος δ' ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀκτακισχιλίους αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐγκαταλειφθέντας ἀπέκτεινε, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπέδωκε τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐπεμελήθη μάλιστα διὰ τὴν τοιαύτην ὅψιν. ἔδόκει τινὰ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους εἰπεῖν παραστάντα· “Πρόελθε, Λούκουλλε, μικρόν ἦκει γὰρ
4 Αὐτόλυκος ἐντυχεῖν σοι βουλόμενος.” ἔξαναστὰς δὲ τὴν μὲν ὅψιν οὐκ εἶχε συμβαλεῖν εἰς ὅ τι φέροι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἶλε κατ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν, καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλέοντας τῶν Κιλίκων διώκων ὅρᾳ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἀνδριάντα κείμενον, δν ἐκκομίζοντες οἱ Κιλικες οὐκ ἔφθησαν ἐμβαλέσθαι· τὸ δ' ἔργον ἦν Σθένιδος τῶν καλῶν. φράζει οὖν τις, ὡς Αὐτολύκου τοῦ κτίσαντος τὴν Σινώπην ὁ ἀνδριὰς εἴη.

LUCULLUS

Cleopatra, and his body lies at Sapha, as a place in those parts is called.

XXIII. Lucullus, after filling Asia full of law and order, and full of peace, did not neglect the things which minister to pleasure and win favour, but during his stay at Ephesus gratified the cities with processions and triumphal festivals and contests of athletes and gladiators. And the cities, in response, celebrated festivals which they called Lucullea, to do honour to the man, and bestowed upon him what is sweeter than honour, their genuine good-will. But when Appius came, and it was plain that war must be waged against Tigranes, he went back into Pontus, put himself at the head of his soldiers, and laid siege to Sinopé, or rather, to the Cilicians who were occupying that city for the king. These slew many of the Sinopians, fired the city, and set out to fly by night. But Lucullus saw what was going on, made his way into the city, and slew eight thousand of the Cilicians who were still there. Then he restored to the citizens their private property, and ministered to the needs of the city, more especially on account of the following vision. He thought in his sleep that a form stood by his side and said : "Go forward a little, Lucullus ; for Autolycus is come, and wishes to meet you." On rising from sleep, he was unable to conjecture what the vision meant ; but he took the city on that day, and as he pursued the Cilicians who were sailing away, he saw a statue lying on the beach, which the Cilicians had not succeeded in getting on board with them. It was the work of Sthenis, and one of his masterpieces. Well then, some one told Lucullus that it was the statue of Autolycus, the founder of Sinopé.

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- 5 Λέγεται δ' ὁ Αὐτόλυκος γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς
'Αμαζόνας ἐκ Θετταλίας Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατευ-
σάντων, Δηῆμάχου παῖς· ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀποπλέων ἄμα
Δημολέοντι καὶ Φλογίφ τὴν μὲν ναῦν ἀπολέσαι
περιπεσούσαν τῆς Χερρονήσου κατὰ τὸ καλού-
μενον Πηδάλιον, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων 507
καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων πρὸς τὴν Σινώπην ἀφελέσθαι
6 τὸν Σύρους τὴν πόλιν· Σύροι γάρ αὐτὴν κατεῖχον
ἀπὸ Σύρου γεγονότες τοῦ Απόλλωνος, ὡς λέγεται,
καὶ Σινώπης τῆς Ασωπίδος.

Ταῦτ' ἀκούων ὁ Λούκουλλος ἀνεμιμνήσκετο τῆς
Σύλλα παραινέσεως· παρήνει δὲ διὰ τῶν ὑπομνη-
μάτων ἐκεῖνος μηδὲν οὕτως ἀξιόπιστον ἡγεῖσθαι
καὶ βέβαιον, ὡς ὃ τι ἀν ἀποσημανθῆ διὰ τῶν
ἐνυπνίων.

- 7 Πυνθανόμενος δὲ Μιθριδάτην τε καὶ Τιγράνην
εἰς Λυκαονίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ὅσον οὕπω διαβιβά-
ζειν δύναμιν ὡς προτέρους ἐμβαλοῦντας εἰς τὴν
'Ασίαν, ἔθαυμαζε τὸν Αρμένιον, εἰ γνώμην ᔁχων
ἐπιθέσθαι Ρωμαίοις, ἀκμάζοντι μὲν οὐκ ἔχρητο
Μιθριδάτη πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐδ' ἐρρωμένοις
τοῖς ἐκείνους τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ συνηπτεν, ἀπο-
λέσθαι δ' ἔάσας καὶ συντριβῆναι νῦν ἐπὶ ψυχραῖς
ἔλπίσιν ἄρχεται πολέμου τοῖς ἀναστῆναι μὴ
δυναμένοις συγκαταβάλλων ἑαυτόν.

XXIV. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Μαχάρης ὁ Μιθριδάτου
παῖς ᔁχων τὸν Βόσπορον ἐπεμψεν αὐτῷ στέφανον
ἀπὸ χρυσῶν χιλίων, δεόμενος Ρωμαίων ἀνα-
γραφῆναι φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος, ἥδη οἰόμενος τὰ
τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου πέρας ᔁχειν Σωρνάτιον

LUCULLUS

Now Autolycus is said to have been one of those who made an expedition with Heracles from Thessaly against the Amazons, a son of Deimachus. On his voyage of return, in company with Demoleon and Phlogius, he lost his ship, which was wrecked at the place called Pedalium, in the Chersonesus; but he himself escaped, with his arms and his companions, and coming to Sinopé, took the city away from the Syrians. These Syrians who were in possession of the city were descended, as it is said, from Syrus, the son of Apollo, and Sinopé, the daughter of Asopis.

On hearing this, Lucullus called to mind the advice of Sulla, in his Memoirs, which was to think nothing so trustworthy and sure as that which is signified by dreams.

Being informed now that Mithridates and Tigranes were on the point of entering Lycaonia and Cilicia, with the purpose of invading Asia before war was actually declared, he was amazed that the Armenian, if he cherished the design of attacking the Romans, had not made use of Mithridates for this war when he was at the zenith of his power, nor joined forces with him when he was strong, but had allowed him to be crushed and ruined, and now began a war which offered only faint hopes of success, prostrating himself to the level of those who were unable to stand erect.

XXIV. But when Machares also, the son of Mithridates, who held the Bosphorus, sent Lucullus a crown valued at a thousand pieces of gold, beginning to be included in the list of Rome's friends and allies, Lucullus decided at once that the first war was finished. He therefore left Sornatius there

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

- μὲν αὐτοῦ φύλακα τῶν Ποντικῶν ἀπέλιπε μετὰ
2 στρατιωτῶν ἔξακισχιλίων, αὐτὸς δὲ μυρίους μὲν
ἄγων καὶ δισχιλίους πεζούς, ἵππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίων
ἔλάττους, ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἔχώρει πόλεμον, ὅρμη
τινι δοκῶν παραβόλῳ καὶ σωτήριον οὐκ ἔχούσῃ
λογισμὸν ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἔθνη μάχιμα καὶ
μυριάδας ἵππέων πολλὰς καὶ ἀχανῆ χώραν,
βαθέσι μὲν ποταμοῖς, ἀεὶ δὲ κατανιφομένοις ὕρεσι
- 3 περιεχομένην, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας οὐδ'
ἄλλως ὄντας εὐτάκτους ἄκοντας ἐπεσθαι καὶ
ζυγομαχοῦντας, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καταβοῶν καὶ δια-
μαρτύρεσθαι τοὺς δημαγωγούς, ώς πόλεμον ἐκ
πολέμου διώκει Λούκουλλος οὐδὲν τῆς πόλεως
δεομένης, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατηγῶν μηδέποτε
καταθέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα μηδὲ παύσασθαι χρηματιζό-
- 4 μενος ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν κινδύνων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν
ἔξειργάσαντο χρόνῳ τὴν αὐτῶν ὑπόθεσιν· Λού-
κουλλος δὲ συντόνως ὁδεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην,
καὶ κατιόντα πολὺν καὶ θολερὸν ὑπὸ χειμῶνος
εύρων, ἥσχαλλεν, ώς διατριβῆς αὐτῷ καὶ πραγ-
ματείας ἐσομένης συνάγοντι πορθμεῖα καὶ πηγ-
νυμένῳ σχεδίᾳς. ἀρξάμενον δ' ἀφ' ἐσπέρας
ὑποχωρεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα καὶ μειούμενον διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς
ἄμ' ἡμέρᾳ κοῖλον παρέσχεν ὄφθῆται τὸν ποταμόν.
- 5 οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι νησῖδας ἐν τῷ πόρῳ μικρὰς διαφα-
νείσας θεασάμενοι καὶ τεναγίζοντα τὸν ῥοῦν ἐπ'
αὐταῖς, προσεκύνουν τὸν Λούκουλλον, ώς ὀλιγάκις
τούτου συμβεβηκότος πρότερον, ἐκείνω δὲ ἐκου-
σίως χειροήθη καὶ πρᾶσιν αὐτὸν ἐνδιδόντος τοῦ
ποταμοῦ καὶ παρέχοντος ἀπράγμονα καὶ ταχεῖαν
τὴν διάβασιν.

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as guardian of Pontus, with six thousand soldiers, while he himself, with twelve thousand footmen and less than three thousand horse, set out for the second war.¹ He seemed to be making a reckless attack, and one which admitted of no saving calculation, upon warlike nations, countless thousands of horsemen, and a boundless region surrounded by deep rivers and mountains covered with perpetual snow. His soldiers, therefore, who were none too well disciplined in any case, followed him reluctantly and rebelliously, while the popular tribunes at Rome raised an outcry against him, and accused him of seeking one war after another, although the city had no need of them, that he might be in perpetual command and never lay down his arms or cease enriching himself from the public dangers. And, in time, these men accomplished their purpose. But Lucullus advanced by forced marches to the Euphrates. Here he found the stream swollen and turbid from the winter storms, and was vexed to think of the delay and trouble which it would cost him to collect boats and build rafts. But at evening the stream began to subside, went on diminishing through the night, and at day-break the river was running between lofty banks. The natives, observing that sundry small islands in the channel had become visible, and that the current near them was quiet, made obeisance to Lucullus, saying that this had seldom happened before, and that the river had voluntarily made itself tame and gentle for Lucullus, and offered him an easy and speedy passage.

¹ 69 B.C.

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- 6 Χρησάμενος οὖν τῷ καιρῷ διεβίβαζε τὴν στρατιάν· καὶ γίνεται σημεῖον αὐτῷ χρηστὸν ἄμα τῇ διαβάσει. βόες ἱερὰλ νέμονται Περσίας Ἀρτέμιδος, ἦν μάλιστα θεῶν οἱ πέραν Εὐφράτου βάρβαροι τιμῶσι· χρῶνται δὲ ταῖς βουσὶ πρὸς θυσίαν μόνον, ἄλλως δὲ πλάξονται κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄφετοι, χαράγματα φέρουσαι τῆς θεοῦ λαμπάδα, καὶ λαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὅταν δεηθῶσιν, οὐ πάνυ ῥάδιον ἔστιν οὐδὲ μικρᾶς πραγματείας.
- 7 τούτων μία, τοῦ στρατοῦ διαβάντος τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐλθοῦσα πρός τινα πέτραν ἱερὰν τῆς θεοῦ νομιζομένην ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἔστη, καὶ καταβαλοῦσα τὴν κεφαλήν, ὥσπερ αἱ δεσμῷ κατατεινόμεναι, θύσαι τῷ Λουκούλλῳ παρέσχεν αὐτήν. ἔθυσε δὲ καὶ
- 8 τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ταῦρον διαβατήραι. κάκείνην μὲν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν ηὐλίσατο, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ 508 ταῖς ἐφεξῆς προῆγε διὰ τῆς Σωφηνῆς, οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσχωροῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ δεχομένους τὴν στρατιὰν ἀσμένους, ἄλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φρούριόν τι δοκοῦν ἔχειν χρήματα πολλὰ βουλομένων λαβεῖν “Ἐκεῖνο,” ἐφη, “μᾶλλον τὸ φρούριον ἡμῖν ἐκκοπτέον ἔστι,” δείξας τὸν Ταῦρον ἀπωθεν ὅντα, “ταῦτα δ' ἀπόκειται τοῖς νικῶσι.” συντείνας δὲ τὴν πορείαν καὶ τὸν Τίγριν διαβὰς ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν.

XXV. Τιγράνη δ', ὡς ὁ πρῶτος ἀγγείλας ἤκοντα Λούκουλλον οὐκ ἔχαιρησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπετέτμητο τὴν κεφαλήν, οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἔφραζεν, ἀλλ' ἀγνοῶν καθῆστο περικαμόμενος ἥδη τῷ πολεμίῳ

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Accordingly, he took advantage of his opportunity and put his troops across, and a favourable sign accompanied his crossing. Heifers pasture there which are sacred to Persia Artemis, a goddess whom the Barbarians on the further side of the Euphrates hold in the highest honour. These heifers are used only for sacrifice, and at other times are left to roam about the country at large, with brands upon them in the shape of the torch of the goddess. Nor is it a slight or easy matter to catch any of them when they are wanted. One of these heifers, after the army had crossed the Euphrates, came to a certain rock which is deemed sacred to the goddess, and stood upon it, and lowering its head without any compulsion from the usual rope, offered itself to Lucullus for sacrifice. He also sacrificed a bull to the Euphrates, in acknowledgment of his safe passage. Then, after encamping there during that day, on the next and the succeeding days he advanced through Sophéné. He wrought no harm to the inhabitants, who came to meet him and received his army gladly. Nay, when his soldiers wanted to take a certain fortress which was thought to contain much wealth, "Yonder lies the fortress which we must rather bring low," said he, pointing to the Taurus in the distance ; "these nearer things are reserved for the victors." Then he went on by forced marches, crossed the Tigris, and entered Armenia.

XXV. Since the first messenger who told Tigranes that Lucullus was coming had his head cut off for his pains, no one else would tell him anything, and so he sat in ignorance while the fires of war were already blazing around him, giving ear only to those

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- πυρί, λόγους ἀκούων πρὸς χάριν, ὡς μέγαν ὄντα
Λούκουλλον στρατηγόν, εἰ πρὸς Ἐφέσῳ Τιγράνην
ὑποσταίη καὶ μὴ φεύγων εὐθὺς ἔξ' Ασίας οἴχοιτο
- 2 τὰς τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἴδων. οὗτας οὔτε σώμα-
τος παντός ἐστι πολὺν ἄκρατον ἐνεγκεῖν οὔτε
διανοίας τῆς τυχούσης ἐν εύτυχήμασι μεγάλοις
μὴ ἐκστῆναι τῶν λογισμῶν. πρῶτος δ' αὐτῷ τῶν
φίλων ἐτόλμησε Μιθροβαρζάνης φράσαι τὸ
ἀληθές. οὐδ' οὗτος δὲ χρηστὸν ἡνέγκατο γέρας
τῆς παρρησίας. ἐπέμφθη γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν
Λούκουλλον σὺν ἵππεῦσι τρισχιλίοις, πεζοῖς δὲ
παμπόλλοις, κελευσθεὶς τὸν μὲν στρατηγὸν ἄγειν
ζῶντα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους καταπατῆσαι.
- 3 Λουκούλλῳ δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡ μὲν ἥδη κατε-
ζεύγνυεν, ἡ δὲ ἔτι προσήγει. τῶν δὲ σκοπῶν αὐτῷ
φρασάντων ἐπελαύνοντα τὸν βάρβαρον, ἔδεισε μὴ
χωρὶς ὄντας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τάξει προσπεσὼν ταράξῃ.
καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν καθίστατο τὴν στρατοπεδείαν,
Σεξτίλιον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν ἐπεμψειν ἵππεῖς ἔχοντα
χιλίους ἔξακοσίους, ὅπλίτας δὲ καὶ ψιλοὺς οὐ
- 4 πολλῷ πλείονας, κελεύσας ἐγγὺς προσελθόντα
τοῖς πολεμίοις μένειν, ἕως ἂν πύθηται τοὺς μετ'
αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπεδευκότας. ἐβούλετο μὲν
οὖν ὁ Σεξτίλιος ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐβιάσθη δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ
Μιθροβαρζάνου θρασέως ἐπελαύνοντος εἰς χεῖρας
ἔλθειν. καὶ γενομένης μάχης ὁ μὲν Μιθροβα-
ρζάνης ἐπεσεν ἀγωνιζόμενος, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι φεύγοντες
ἀπώλοντο πλὴν δλίγων ἄπαντες.
- 5 Ἐκ τούτου Τιγράνης μὲν ἐκλιπὼν Τιγρανό-
κερτα, μεγάλην πόλιν ἐκτισμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,

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who flattered him and said that Lucullus would be a great general if he ventured to withstand Tigranes at Ephesus, and did not fly incontinently from Asia at the mere sight of so many myriads of men. Which only proves that it is not every man who can bear much unmixed wine, nor is it any ordinary understanding that does not lose its reckoning in the midst of great prosperity. The first of his friends who ventured to tell him the truth was Mithrobarzanes, and he, too, got no very excellent reward for his boldness of speech. He was sent at once against Lucullus with three thousand horsemen and a large force of infantry, under orders to bring the general alive, but to trample his men under foot.

Now, part of the army of Lucullus was already preparing to go into camp, and the rest was still coming up, when his scouts told him that the Barbarian was advancing to the attack. Fearing lest the enemy attack his men when they were separated and in disorder, and so throw them into confusion, he himself fell to arranging the encampment, and Sextilius, the legate, was sent at the head of sixteen hundred horsemen and about as many light and heavy infantry, with orders to get near the enemy and wait there until he learned that the main body was safely encamped. Well then, this was what Sextilius wished to do, but he was forced into an engagement by Mithrobarzanes, who boldly charged upon him. A battle ensued, in which Mithrobarzanes fell fighting, and the rest of his forces took to flight and were cut to pieces, all except a few.

Upon this, Tigranes abandoned Tigranocerta, that great city which he had built, withdrew to the

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πρὸς τὸν Ταῦρον ἀνεχώρησε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις πανταχόθεν ἐνταῦθα συνῆγε, Λούκουλλος δὲ τῇ παρασκευῇ χρόνον οὐ διδοὺς Μουρήναν μὲν ἔξεπεμψεν ἐνοχλήσοντα καὶ περικόφοντα τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην, Σεξτίλιον δὲ πάλιν Ἀράβων χεῖρα μεγάλην ἀνείρξοντα βασιλεῖ
6 προσιούσαν. ομοῦ δὲ Σεξτίλιος μὲν ἐπιπεσῶν στρατόπεδον ποιουμένους τοῖς Ἀραψὶ τοὺς πλείστους διέφθειρε, Μουρήνας δὲ ἐπόμενος Τιγράνη τραχὺν αὐλῶνα καὶ στενόπορον στρατῷ μακρῷ διεκβάλλοντι καιροῦ παρασχόντος ἐπιτίθεται. καὶ φεύγει μὲν αὐτὸς Τιγράνης πρόεμενος τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἄπασαν, ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ πλείονες ἀλίσκονται τῶν Ἀρμενίων.

XXVI. Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προχωρούντων ἄρας ὁ Λούκουλλος ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Τιγρανόκερτα, καὶ περιστρατοπεδεύσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν. ἥσαν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ πολλοὶ μὲν "Ελληνες τῶν ἀναστάτων ἐκ Κιλικίας, πολλοὶ δὲ βάρβαροι τοῖς "Ελλησιν ὅμοια πεπονθότες, Ἀδιαβηνοὶ καὶ Ἀσσύριοι καὶ Γορδυηνοὶ καὶ Καππαδοκες, ὧν κατασκάψας τὰς πατρίδας, αὐτοὺς δὲ κομίσας ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν 2 ἥνωγκασεν. ἥν δὲ καὶ χρημάτων ἡ πόλις μεστὴ καὶ ἀναθημάτων, παντὸς ἴδιώτου καὶ δυνάστου τῷ βασιλεῖ συμφιλοτιμούμενου πρὸς αὐξῆσιν καὶ κατασκευὴν τῆς πόλεως. διὸ καὶ συντόνως ἐπολιόρκει ὁ Λούκουλλος αὐτήν, οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι τὸν Τιγράνην οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην ὑπ' ὄργῆς καταβήσεσθαι διαμαχούμενον, ὀρθῶς οἰό-
3 μενος. πολλὰ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἀπηγόρευσεν ἀγρέλους πέμπων καὶ γράμματα μὴ συνάπτειν μάχην, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἵππεῦσι περικόπτειν τὴν ἀγοράν.

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Taurus, and there began collecting his forces from every quarter. Lucullus, however, gave him no time for preparation, but sent out Murena to harass and cut off the forces gathering to join Tigranes, and Sextilius again to hold in check a large body of Arabs which was drawing near the king. At one and the same time Sextilius fell upon the Arabs as they were going into camp, and slew most of them; and Murena, following hard upon Tigranes, seized his opportunity and attacked the king as he was passing through a rough and narrow defile with his army in long column. Tigranes himself fled, abandoning all his baggage, many of the Armenians were slain, and more were captured.

XXVI. Thus successful in his campaign, Lucullus struck camp and proceeded to Tigranocerta, which city he invested and began to besiege. There were in the city many Greeks who had been transplanted, like others, from Cilicia, and many Barbarians who had suffered the same fate as the Greeks,—Adiabenii, Assyrians, Gordyeni, and Cappadocians, whose native cities Tigranes had demolished, and brought their inhabitants to dwell there under compulsion. The city was also full of wealth and votive offerings, since every private person and every prince vied with the king in contributing to its increase and adornment. Therefore Lucullus pressed the siege of the city with vigour, in the belief that Tigranes would not endure it, but contrary to his better judgment and in anger would descend into the plains to offer battle; and his belief was justified. Mithridates, indeed, both by messengers and letters, strongly urged the king not to join battle, but to cut off the enemy's supplies

πολλὰ δὲ Ταξίλης ἥκων παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ συστρα- 509
 τεύων ἐδεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως φυλάττεσθαι καὶ
 φεύγειν ώς ἄμαχον πρᾶγμα τὰ 'Ρωμαίων ὅπλα.
 4 καὶ τά γε πρώτα πράως ἥκουε τούτων. ἐπεὶ δὲ
 πανστρατιὰ μὲν αὐτῷ συνήλθον 'Αρμένιοι καὶ
 Γορδυηνοί, πανστρατιὰ δὲ Μήδους καὶ 'Αδιαβη-
 νοὺς ἄγοντες οἱ βασιλεῖς παρῆσαν, ἥκον δὲ πολλοὶ
 μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θαλάσσης 'Αραβεῖ,
 πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Κασπίας 'Αλβανοὶ καὶ 'Ιβηρες
 'Αλβανοῖς προσοικούντες, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ τῶν περὶ
 τὸν 'Αράξην νεμομένων ἀβασίλευτοι χάριτι καὶ
 δώροις πεισθέντες ἀπήντησαν, ἐλπίδων δὲ καὶ
 θράσους καὶ βαρβαρικῶν ἀπειλῶν μεστὰ μὲν ἦν
 τὰ συμπόσια τοῦ βασιλέως, μεστὰ δὲ τὰ συμ-
 βούλια, παρεκινδύνευσε μὲν ὁ Ταξίλης ἀποθανεῖν
 ὑπεναντιούμενος τῇ γυνώμῃ τῆς μάχης, ἐδόκει δὲ
 καὶ Μιθριδάτης φθονῶν ἀποτρέπειν μεγάλου
 5 κατορθώματος. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ
 Τιγράνης, μὴ μετάσχοι τῆς δόξης, ἀλλ' ἔχώρει
 παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ σφόδρα δυσφορῶν, ώς λέγεται,
 πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὅτι πρὸς Λούκουλον αὐτῷ μό-
 νον, οὐ πρὸς ἄπαντας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσοιτο τοὺς 'Ρω-
 μαίων στρατηγοὺς ἐν ταύτῳ γενομένους.

Καὶ οὐ παντάπασιν ἦν τὸ θράσος αὐτοῦ μανιώδες
 οὐδὲ ἄλογον, ἔθνη τοσαῦτα καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐπομένους
 καὶ φάλαγγας ὀπλιτῶν καὶ μυριάδας ἵππέων ἀπο-
 6 βλέποντος. τοξότας μὲν γὰρ καὶ σφενδονήτας δισ-
 μυρίους ἥγειν, ἵππεῖς δὲ πεντακισμυρίους καὶ πεν-
 τακισχιλίους, ὡν ἐπτακισχιλίοι καὶ μύριοι κατά-
 φρακτοὶ ἦσαν, ώς Λούκουλος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν
 σύγκλητον, ὀπλιτῶν δέ, τῶν μὲν εἰς σπείρας, τῶν

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with his cavalry; Taxiles also, who came from Mithridates and joined the forces of Tigranes, earnestly begged the king to remain on the defensive and avoid the invincible arms of the Romans. And at first Tigranes gave considerate hearing to this advice. But when the Armenians and Gordyeni joined him with all their hosts, and the kings of the Medes and Adiabeni came up with all their hosts, and many Arabs arrived from the sea of Babylonia, and many Albanians from the Caspian sea, together with Iberians who were neighbours to the Albanians; and when not a few of the peoples about the river Araxes, who are not subject to kings, had been induced by favours and gifts to come and join him; and when the banquets of the king, and his councils as well, were full of hopes and boldness and barbaric threats,—then Taxiles ran the risk of being put to death when he opposed the plan of fighting, and Mithridates was thought to be diverting the king from a great success out of mere envy. Wherefore Tigranes would not even wait for him, lest he share in the glory, but advanced with all his army, bitterly lamenting to his friends, as it is said, that he was going to contend with Lucullus alone, and not with all the Roman generals put together.

And his boldness was not altogether that of a mad man, nor without good reason, when he saw so many nations and kings in his following, with phalanxes of heavy infantry and myriads of horsemen. For he was in command of twenty thousand bowmen and slingers, and fifty-five thousand horsemen, of whom seventeen thousand were clad in mail, as Lucullus said in his letter to the Senate; also of one hundred and fifty thousand heavy infantry,

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δ' εἰς φάλαγγας συντεταγμένων, πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ὁδοποιοὺς δὲ καὶ γεφυρωτὰς καὶ καθαρτὰς ποταμῶν καὶ ὑλοτόμους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρειῶν ὑπηρέτας τρισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, οἱ τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐπιτεταγμένοι κατόπιν ὅψιν ἀμα καὶ ῥώμην παρεῖχον.

- XXVII. 'Ως δ' ὑπερβαλλὼν τὸν Ταῦρον ἄθρους κατεφάνη καὶ κατεῖδε πρὸς τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις ἐπικαθήμενον τὸ στράτευμα τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει βάρβαρος ὅμιλος ὀλολυγῆ καὶ κρότῳ τὴν ὅψιν ἐδέξατο, καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀπειλοῦντες ἐδείκνυσαν τοὺς 2 Ἀρμενίους· Δουκούλλῳ δὲ σκοποῦντι περὶ τῆς μάχης οἱ μὲν ἄγειν ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἔσαντα τὴν πολιορκίαν συνεβούλευον, οἱ δὲ μὴ καταλιπεῖν ὅπίσω πολεμίους τοσούτους μηδ' ἀνεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὁ δ' εἰπὼν ἐκατέρους μὲν οὐκ ὄρθως, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ καλῶς παραινεῖν διεῖλε τὴν στρατιάν. καὶ Μουρήναν μὲν ἔξακισχιλίους ἔχοντα πεζοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι σπείρας ἀναλαβών, ἐν αἷς οὐ πλείουες ἡσαν μυρίων ὄπλιτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἄπαντας καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τοξότας περὶ χιλίους, ἔχώρει.
- 3 Καὶ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ καταστρατοπεδεύσας παντάπασι μικρὸς ἐφάνη Τιγράνη, καὶ τοῖς κολακεύουσιν αὐτὸν διατριβὴν παρεῖχεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἕσκωπτον, οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν λαφύρων ἐν παιδιᾷ διεβάλλοντο κλῆρον· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν καὶ βασιλέων ἔκαστος ἥτεῖτο προσιὼν αὐτοῦ μόνου γενέσθαι τὸ ἔργον, ἐκεῖνον

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some of whom were drawn up in cohorts, and some in phalanxes ; also of road-makers, bridge-builders, clearers of rivers, foresters, and ministers to the other needs of an army, to the number of thirty-five thousand. These latter, being drawn up in array behind the fighting men, increased the apparent strength of the army.

XXVII. When Tigranes had crossed the Taurus, deployed with all his forces, and looked down upon the Roman army investing Tigranocerta, the throng of Barbarians in the city greeted his appearance with shouts and din, and standing on the walls, threateningly pointed out the Armenians to the Romans. When Lucullus held a council of war, some of his officers advised him to give up the siege and lead his army against Tigranes ; others urged him not to leave so many enemies in his rear, and not to remit the siege. Whereupon, remarking that each counsel by itself was bad, but both together were good, he divided his army. Murena, with six thousand footmen, he left behind in charge of the siege ; while he himself, with twenty-four cohorts, comprising no more than ten thousand heavy infantry, and all the horsemen, slingers, and archers, to the number of about a thousand, set out against the enemy.

When he had encamped along the river in a great plain, he appeared utterly insignificant to Tigranes, and supplied the king's flatterers with ground for amusement. Some mocked at the Romans, and others, in pleasantry, cast lots for their spoil, while each of the generals and kings came forward and begged that the task of conquering them might be entrusted to himself alone, and that the

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- 4 δὲ καθέξεσθαι θεατήν. βουλόμενος δέ τι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Τιγράνης χαρίεις εἶναι καὶ σκωπτικὸς εἶπε τὸ θρυλούμενον. “Εἰ μὲν ὡς πρεσβευταί, πολλοὶ πάρεισιν εἰ δ' ὡς στρατιῶται, ὀλίγοι.” καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτως εἰρωνευόμενοι καὶ παίζοντες διετέλεσαν. ἔμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ Λούκουλλος ὠπλισμένην τὴν δύναμιν ἔκῆγε. καὶ πρὸς ἔω μὲν 510
 ἦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν στράτευμα· τοῦ δὲ ῥεύματος ἀποστροφὴν λαμβάνοντος ἐπὶ τὰς δύσεις, ἢ μάλιστα περάσιμον ἦν, ἀντιπαρεξάγων τὴν δύναμιν καὶ σπεύδων ἔδοξεν ἀποχωρεῖν
 5 τῷ Τιγράνῃ. καὶ καλέσας τὸν Ταξίλην ἔμα γέλωτι “Τοὺς ἀμάχους,” ἔφη, “Ρωμαίων ὄπλίτας οὐχ ὄρᾶς φεύγοντας;” καὶ ὁ Ταξίλης “Βουλούμην ἄν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, γενέσθαι τι τῷ σῷ δαίμονι τῶν παραλόγων, ἀλλ’ οὔτ’ ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν οἱ ἄνδρες λαμβάνουσιν ὁδοιποροῦντες οὔτε θυρεοῖς ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις χρῶνται καὶ κράνεσι γυμνοῖς, ὥσπερ νῦν τὰ σκύτινα τῶν ὅπλων σκεπάσματα περισπάσαντες, ἀλλὰ μαχομένων ἐστὶν ἡ λαμπρότης αὕτη καὶ βαδιζόντων ἥδη
 6 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους.” ταῦτα λέγοντος ἔτι τοῦ Ταξίλου καταφανῆς ἦν πρῶτος αἴτος ἐπιστρέφοντος τοῦ Λουκούλλου καὶ τάξιν αἱ σπείραι κατὰ λόχους λαμβάνουσαι πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν· καὶ μόλις ὥσπερ ἐκ μέθης τινὸς ἀναφέρων ὁ Τιγράνης δὶς ἡ τρὶς ἐξέκραγεν “Ἐφ' ἡμᾶς οἱ ἄνδρες;” ὥστε θορύβῳ πολλῷ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τάξιν καθίστασθαι, βασιλέως μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν ἀριστερὸν τῷ Ἀδιαβηνῷ, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῷ Μήδῳ παραδόντος,

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king would sit by as a spectator. Then Tigranes, not wishing to be left behind entirely in this play of wit and scoffing, uttered that famous saying : " If they are come as ambassadors, they are too many ; if as soldiers, too few." And so for the while they continued their sarcasms and jests. But at daybreak Lucullus led out his forces under arms. Now, the Barbarian army lay to the east of the river. But as the stream takes a turn to the west at the point where it was easiest to ford, and as Lucullus led his troops to the attack in that direction first, and with speed, he seemed to Tigranes to be retreating. So he called Taxiles and said, with a laugh, " Don't you see that the invincible Roman hoplites are taking to flight ? " " O King," said Taxiles, " I could wish that some marvellous thing might fall to your good fortune ; but when these men are merely on a march, they do not put on shining raiment, nor have they their shields polished and their helmets uncovered, as now that they have stripped the leathern coverings from their armour. Nay, this splendour means that they are going to fight, and are now advancing upon their enemies." While Taxiles was yet speaking, the first eagle came in sight, as Lucullus wheeled towards the river, and the cohorts were seen forming in maniples with a view to crossing. Then at last, as though coming out of a drunken stupor, Tigranes cried out two or three times, " Are the men coming against us ? " And so, with much tumult and confusion, his multitude formed in battle array, the king himself occupying the centre, and assigning the left wing to the king of the Adiabeni, the right to the king of the Medes. In front of this wing also

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ἐφ' οὐ καὶ τῶν καταφράκτων ἐν προτάγματι τὸ πλεῖστον ἦν.

7 Λουκούλλῳ δὲ μέλλοντι διαβαίνειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἔνιοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων παρήγουν φυλάττεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν μίαν οὖσαν τῶν ἀποφράδων, ἃς μελαίνας καλοῦσιν· ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ μετὰ Καιπίωνος ἀπώλετο στρατιὰ συμβαλοῦσα Κίμβροις. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὴν μνημονευομένην φωνῇν· “Ἐγὼ γάρ,” ἔφη, “καὶ ταύτην εὔτυχῆ ποιήσω ‘Ρωμαίοις τὴν ἡμέραν.” ἦν δὲ πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν Ὁκτωβρίων.

XXVIII. Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ θαρρεῦν κελεύσας τὸν τε ποταμὸν διέβαινε καὶ πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡγεῦτο, θώρακα μὲν ἔχων σιδηροῦν φολιδωτὸν ἀποστίλβοντα, κροσσωτὴν δὲ ἐφεστρίδα, τὸ δὲ ξίφος αὐτόθεν ὑποφαίνων γυμνόν, ὡς εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἵεσθαι δέον¹ ἐκηβόλοις ἀνδράσι καὶ συναιρεῖν² τὴν διατοξεύσιμον χώραν τῷ 2 τάχει τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κατάφρακτον ἵππον, ἣς πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος, κατεῖδε κατατεταγμένην ὑπὸ λόφῳ τινὶ τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἐπίπεδον καὶ πλατεῖαν ἔχοντι, πρόσβασιν δὲ τεττάρων σταδίων οὐ παντάπασι χαλεπὴν οὐδὲ ἀποκεκομένην, Θρᾷκας μὲν ἴππεῖς καὶ Γαλάτας, οὓς εἶχεν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐκ πλαγίου προσφερομένους παρακρούε-3 σθαι ταῖς μαχαίραις τοὺς κοντούς. μία γὰρ ἀλκὴ τῶν καταφράκτων κοντός· ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν οὕθ' ἔαυτοῖς οὔτε τοῖς πολεμίοις χρῆσθαι δύνανται διὰ

¹ δέον Coraës, Sintenis and Bekker, after Reiske; δέοι MSS., including S.

² συναιρεῖν Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske; συναιρήσειν (S) and συναιρήσει MSS.: συναιρήσων, a suggestion of Reiske's.

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the greater part of the mail-clad horsemen were drawn up.

As Lucullus was about to cross the river, some of his officers advised him to beware of the day, which was one of the unlucky days—the Romans call them “black days.” For on that day Caepio and his army perished in a battle with the Cimbri.¹ But Lucullus answered with the memorable words : “Verily, I will make this day, too, a lucky one for the Romans.” Now the day was the sixth of October.

XXVIII. Saying this, and bidding his men be of good courage, he crossed the river, and led the way in person against the enemy. He wore a steel breastplate of glittering scales, and a tasselled cloak, and at once let his sword flash forth from its scabbard, indicating that they must forthwith come to close quarters with men who fought with long range missiles, and eliminate, by the rapidity of their onset, the space in which archery would be effective. But when he saw that the mail-clad horsemen, on whom the greatest reliance was placed, were stationed at the foot of a considerable hill which was crowned by a broad and level space, and that the approach to this was a matter of only four stadia, and neither rough nor steep, he ordered his Thracian and Gallic horsemen to attack the enemy in the flank, and to parry their long spears with their own short swords. (Now the sole resource of the mail-clad horsemen is their long spear, and they

¹ B.C. 105. Cf. *Camillus*, xix. 7.

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βάρος καὶ σκληρότητα τῆς σκευῆς, ἀλλ' ἐγκατφ-
κοδομημένοις ἔοίκασιν. αὐτὸς δὲ δύο σπείρας
ἀναλαβὼν ἡμιλλάτο πρὸς τὸν λόφον, ἐρρωμένως
ἐπομένων τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὸ κάκεῖνον ἐν τοῖς
ὅπλοις ὄραν πρῶτον κακοπαθοῦντα πεζὸν καὶ
προσβιαζόμενον. γενόμενος δὲ ἄνω καὶ στὰς ἐν
τῷ περιφανεῖ τοῦ χωρίου μέγα βοήσας “Νεική-
καμεν,” ἔφη, “νεικήκαμεν, ὁ συστρατιώται.”

4 καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐπῆγε τοῖς καταφράκτοις,
κελεύσας μηδὲν ἔτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὑσσοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκ
χειρὸς ἔκαστον διαλαβόντα παίειν τῶν πολεμίων
κυήμας τε καὶ μηρούς, ἂ μόνα γυμνὰ τῶν κατα-
φράκτων ἐστίν. οὐ μὴν ἐδέησέ τι ταύτης τῆς
μάχης· οὐ γάρ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἀλλ' ἀλαλάξαντες καὶ φεύγοντες αἰσχιστα πάντων
ἐνέώσαν ἑαυτούς τε καὶ τοὺς ἵππους βαρεῖς δύντας
εἰς τὰ τῶν πεζῶν ὅπλα πρὶν ἄρξασθαι τινος
ἐκείνους μάχης, ὥστε μήτε τραύματος γενομένου
μήθ' αἴματος ὀφθέντος ἡττᾶσθαι τὰς τοσαύτας

5 μυριάδας. ὁ δὲ πολὺς φόνος ἥδη φευγόντων
ἐγίνετο, μᾶλλον δὲ βουλομένων φεύγειν· οὐ γάρ 511
ἐδύναντο πυκνότητι καὶ βάθει τῶν τάξεων ὑφ'
αὐτῶν ἐμποδιζόμενοι. Τιγράνης δὲ ἐξελάσας ἐν

ἀρχῇ μετ' ὀλίγων ἔφευγε· καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὄρων
κοινωνοῦντα τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης περιεσπάσατο τὸ
διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς κάκείνῳ δακρύσας παρέδωκε,
σώζειν ἑαυτόν, δπως δύναται, καθ' ἐτέρας ὁδοὺς
6 κελεύσας. ὁ δὲ νεανίας ἀναδήσασθαι μὲν οὐκ
ἐτόλμησε, τῶν δὲ παιδῶν τῷ πιστοτάτῳ φυλάτ-

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have none other whatsoever, either in defending themselves or attacking their enemies, owing to the weight and rigidity of their armour; in this they are, as it were, immured.) Then he himself, with two cohorts, hastened eagerly towards the hill, his soldiers following with all their might, because they saw him ahead of them in armour, enduring all the fatigue of a foot-soldier, and pressing his way along. Arrived at the top, and standing in the most conspicuous spot, he cried with a loud voice, "The day is ours, the day is ours, my fellow soldiers!" With these words, he led his men against the mail-clad horsemen, ordering them not to hurl their javelins yet, but taking each his own man, to smite the enemy's legs and thighs, which are the only parts of these mail-clad horsemen left exposed. However, there was no need of this mode of fighting, for the enemy did not await the Romans, but, with loud cries and in most disgraceful flight, they hurled themselves and their horses, with all their weight, upon the ranks of their own infantry, before it had so much as begun to fight, and so all those tens of thousands were defeated without the infliction of a wound or the sight of blood. But the great slaughter began at once when they fled, or rather tried to fly, for they were prevented from really doing so by the closeness and depth of their own ranks. Tigranes rode away at the very outset with a few attendants, and took to flight. Seeing his son also in the same plight, he took off the diadem from his head and, in tears, gave it to him, bidding him save himself as best he could by another route. The young man, however, did not venture to assume the diadem, but gave it to his most trusted slave for safe keeping.

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τειν ἔδωκεν. οὗτος ἀλοὺς κατὰ τύχην ἀνήχθη πρὸς Λούκουλλον, ὥστε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμάλωτον καὶ τὸ διάδημα γενέσθαι τοῦ Τιγράνου. λέγεται δὲ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν ὑπὲρ δέκα μυριάδας διαφθαρῆναι, τῶν δ' ἵππεων ὀλίγους παντάπασι διαφυγεῖν. 'Ρωμαίων δ' ἑκατὸν ἐτρώθησαν, ἔπεισον δὲ πέντε.

- 7 Ταύτης τῆς μάχης Ἀντίοχος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐν τῇ Περὶ θεῶν γραφῇ μνησθεὶς οὐ φησιν ἄλλην ἐφεωρακέναι τοιαύτην τὸν ἥλιον. Στράβων δ', ἔτερος φιλόσοφος, ἐν τοῖς ἴστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν αὐτοὺς λέγει τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ καταγελᾶν ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἀνδράποδα τοιαῦτα δεηθέντας ὅπλων. Λιούΐος δ' εἴρηκεν, ὡς οὐδέποτε 'Ρωμαῖοι πολεμίοις ἀποδέοντες τοσούτῳ πλήθει παρετάξαντο· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐδ' εἰκοστόν, ἀλλ' ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο μέρος οἱ νικῶντες τῶν ἡσσημένων. 'Ρωμαίων δ' οἱ δεινότατοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ πλεῖστα πολέμοις ὡμιληκότες ἐπήνουν μάλιστα τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὸ δύο βασιλεῦς τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους καὶ μεγίστους δυσὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις, τάχει καὶ βραδυτῆτι, καταστρατηγῆσαι. Μιθριδάτην μὲν γὰρ ἀκμάζοντα χρόνῳ καὶ τριβῇ κατανάλωσε, Τιγράνην δὲ τῷ σπεῦσαι συνέτριψεν, ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν πώποτε ἡγεμόνων τῇ μελλόσῃ μὲν ἔργῳ, τῇ τόλμῃ δ' ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας χρησάμενος.
- 8 ΧΑΙΡΑΝΤΟΣ Μιθριδάτης οὐ συνέτεινεν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, τῇ συνήθει τὸν Λούκουλλον εὐλαβεία καὶ παραγωγὴ πολεμήσειν οἰόμενος, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὀλίγοις τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἐντυχὼν καθ'

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This slave happened to be captured, and was brought to Lucullus, and thus even the diadem of Tigranes became a part of the booty. It is said that more than a hundred thousand of the enemy's infantry perished, while of the cavalry only a few, all told, made their escape. Of the Romans, on the other hand, only a hundred were wounded, and only five killed.

Antiochus the philosopher makes mention of this battle in his treatise "Concerning Gods," and says that the sun never looked down on such another. And Strabo, another philosopher, in his "Historical Commentaries," says that the Romans themselves were ashamed, and laughed one another to scorn for requiring arms against such slaves. Livy also has remarked that the Romans were never in such inferior numbers when they faced an enemy ; for the victors were hardly even a twentieth part of the vanquished, but less than this. The Roman generals who were most capable and most experienced in war, praised Lucullus especially for this, that he out-generalled two kings who were most distinguished and powerful by two most opposite tactics, speed and slowness. For he used up Mithridates, at the height of his power, by long delays ; but crushed Tigranes by the speed of his operations, being one of the few generals of all time to use delay for greater achievement, and boldness for greater safety.

XXIX. This was the reason why Mithridates made no haste to be at the battle. He thought Lucullus would carry on the war with his wonted caution and indirectness, and so marched slowly to join Tigranes. At first he met a few Armenians hurrying back over the road in panic fear, and conjectured what had

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όδὸν ἐπτοιημένοις καὶ περιφόβοις ἀπιοῦσιν εἴκασε
τὸ πάθος, εἰτ' ἥδη πλειόνων γυμνῶν καὶ τετρω-
μένων ἀπαντώντων πυθόμενος τὴν ἥτταν ἔξήτει
2 τὸν Τιγράνην. εὑρὼν δὲ πάντων ἔρημον καὶ
ταπεινὸν οὐκ ἀνθύβρισεν, ἀλλὰ καταβὰς καὶ
συνδακρύσας τὰ κοινὰ πάθη θεραπείαν τε τὴν
ἐπομένην αὐτῷ βασιλικὴν ἔδωκε καὶ κατεθάρρυνε
πρὸς τὸ μέλλον. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν αὐθις ἑτέρας
δυνάμεις συνῆγον.

'Ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τοῖς Τιγρανοκέρτοις τῶν
Ἐλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους στασιασάντων
καὶ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδιδόντων προσβα-
3 λὼν εἶλε καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει θησαυροὺς
παρελάμβανε, τὴν δὲ πόλιν διαρράσαι παρέδωκε
τοῖς στρατιώταις, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων
δίκτακισχίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος ἔχουσαν. χω-
ρὶς δὲ τούτων δίκτακοσίας δραχμὰς κατ' ἄνδρα
4 διένειμεν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων. πυνθανόμενος δὲ
πολλοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει κατειλῆθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν
Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, οὓς ὁ Τιγράνης πανταχόθεν
ἡθροίκει μέλλων ἀποδεικνύναι τὸ κατεσκευασμέ-
νον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ θέατρον, ἐχρήσατο τούτοις πρὸς
τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς θέας τῶν ἐπινικίων. τοὺς δ'
"Ἐλληνας εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας ἐπεμψε προσ-
θεὶς ἐφόδια, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ὁμοίως τοὺς
ἡγαγκασμένους κατοικεῖν, ὥστε συνέβη μιᾶς
πόλεως διαλυθείσης πολλὰς ἀνοικίζεσθαι πάλιν
κομιζόμενας τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκήτορας, ὑφ' ὧν ὡς
εὐεργέτης ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ κτίστης ἥγαπάτο.

5 Προύχώρει δὲ καὶ τάλλα κατ' ἀξίαν τάνδρὶ 512
τῶν ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἐπαίνων

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happened ; then presently, when he had learned of the defeat from more unarmed and wounded fugitives whom he met, he sought to find Tigranes. And though he found him destitute of all things and humiliated, he did not return his insolent behaviour, but got down from his horse and wept with him over their common sufferings. Then he gave him his own royal equipage, and tried to fill him with courage for the future. And so these kings began again to assemble fresh forces.

But in the city of Tigranocerta, the Greeks had risen up against the Barbarians and were ready to hand the city over to Lucullus ; so he assaulted and took it. The royal treasures in the city he took into his own charge, but the city itself he turned over to his soldiers for plunder, and it contained eight thousand talents in money, together with the usual valuables. Besides this, he gave to each man eight hundred drachmas from the general spoils. On learning that many dramatic artists had been captured in the city, whom Tigranes had collected there from all quarters for the formal dedication of the theatre which he had built, Lucullus employed them for the contests and spectacles with which he celebrated his victories. The Greeks he sent to their native cities, giving them also the means wherewith to make the journey, and likewise the Barbarians who had been compelled to settle there. Thus it came to pass that the dissolution of one city was the restoration of many others, by reason of their recovering their own inhabitants, and they all loved Lucullus as their benefactor and founder.

And whatever else he did also prospered, in a way worthy of the man, who was ambitious of the

- δρεγομένῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κατορθώμασιν. ἐκείνων μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον ἡ στρατιὰ καὶ πλεῖστον ἡ τύχη μετεῖχε, ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἡμέρου ψυχῆς καὶ πεπαιδευμένης ἐπίδειξις, οἷς ὁ Λούκουλλος τότε χωρὶς ὅπλων ἔχειροῦτο τοὺς βαρβάρους. καὶ γὰρ Ἀράβων βασιλεὺς ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίζοντες τὰ σφέτερα, καὶ τὸ
- 6 Σωφηνῶν ἔθνος προσεχώρει· τὸ δὲ Γορδυηνῶν οὕτω διέθηκεν, ὥστε βούλεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκλιπόντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκείνῳ μετὰ παΐδων καὶ γυναικῶν ἔθελοντάς ἐξ αἰτίας τοιᾶσδε. Ζαρβιηνὸς γὰρ ὁ τῶν Γορδυηνῶν βασιλεύς, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, δι' Ἀππίου κρύφα Λουκούλλῳ διείλεκτο περὶ συμμαχίας τὴν Τιγράνου τυραννίδα βαρυνόμενος· μηνυθεὶς δ' ἀπεσφάγη, καὶ παῖδες αὐτοῦ καὶ γυνὴ συιαπώλοντο πρὶν ἢ Ῥωμαίους εἰς Ἀρμενίαν
- 7 ἐμβαλεῖν. τούτων οὐκ ἡμημόνησεν ὁ Λούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Γορδυηνῶν ταφὰς προῦθετο τοῦ Ζαρβιηνοῦ, καὶ πυρὰν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ βασιλικῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Τιγράνου κοσμήσας λαφύροις αὐτὸς παρὼν ὑφῆψε, καὶ χοὰς ἐπήνεγκε μετὰ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἔταιρον ἑαυτοῦ καὶ Ῥωμαίων σύμμαχον ἀνακαλούμενος.
- 8 ἐκέλευσε δὲ καὶ μνημεῖον ἀπὸ χρημάτων συχνῶν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· πάμπολλα γὰρ εὑρέθη, καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Ζαρβιηνοῦ βασιλείοις, σίτου δ' ἀπέκειντο μυριάδες τριακόσιαι μεδίμνων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ τὸν Λούκουλλον θαυμάζεσθαι, ὅτι δραχμὴν μίαν ἐκ

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praise that is consequent upon righteousness and humanity, rather than of that which follows military successes. For the latter, the army also was in no slight degree, and fortune in the highest degree, responsible ; but the former were the manifestations of a gentle and disciplined spirit, and in the exercise of these qualities Lucullus now, without appeal to arms, subdued the Barbarians. The kings of the Arabs came to him, with proffers of their possessions, and the Sopheni joined his cause. The Gordyeni were so affected by his kindness that they were ready to abandon their cities and follow him with their wives and children, in voluntary service. The reason for this was as follows. Zarbienus, the king of the Gordyeni, as has been said,¹ secretly stipulated with Lucullus, through Appius, for an alliance, being oppressed by the tyranny of Tigranes. He was informed against, however, and put to death, and his wife and children perished with him, before the Romans entered Armenia. Lucullus was not unmindful of all this, but on entering the country of the Gordyeni, appointed funeral rites in honour of Zarbienus, and after adorning a pyre with royal raiment and gold and with the spoils taken from Tigranes, set fire to it with his own hand, and joined the friends and kindred of the man in pouring libations upon it, calling him a comrade of his and an ally of the Romans. He also ordered that a monument be erected to his memory at great cost ; for many treasures were found in the palace of Zarbienus, including gold and silver, and three million bushels of grain were stored up there, so that the soldiers were plentifully supplied, and Lucullus was admired

¹ xxi. 2.

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τοῦ δημοσίου ταμιείου μὴ λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ διώκει τὸν πόλεμον.

- XXX. Ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πάρθων βασιλέως ἦκε πρεσβεία παρ' αὐτὸν εἰς φιλίαν προκαλουμένου καὶ συμμαχίαν. ἢν δὲ ἀσμένῳ ταῦτα τῷ Λουκούλλῳ· καὶ πάλιν ἀντέπεμψε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν Πάρθον, οἱ κατεφωρασαν αὐτὸν ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ μισθὸν αἴτοῦντα κρύφα τοῦ συμμαχῆσαι τῷ Τιγράνη
- 2 τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν. ὡς οὖν ταῦθ' ὁ Λούκουλλος ἤσθετο, Τιγράνην μὲν ἔγνω καὶ Μιθριδάτην παρελθεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἀπειρηκότας, ἀποπειρᾶσθαι δὲ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καλὸν ἡγούμενος μιᾶς ρύμης πολέμου τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς ὥσπερ ἀθλητῆς βασιλεῖς καταπαλαῖσαι καὶ διὰ τριῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον μεγίστων ἡγεμονιῶν ἀήττητος καὶ νικῶν διεξελθεῖν.
- 3 "Ἐπεμψεν οὖν εἰς Πόντον τοῖς περὶ Σωρνάτιον ἡγεμόσιν ἐπιστείλας ἄγειν τὴν ἐκεῖ στρατιὰν πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς Γορδυηνῆς ἀναβησόμενος. οἱ δὲ καὶ πρότερον χαλεποῖς χρώμενοι καὶ δυσπειθέσι τοῖς στρατιώταις τότε παντελῶς ἀπεκάλυψαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀκολασίαν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ πειθοῦς οὐδὲ ἀνάγκης εὑρόμενοι προσαγαγέσθαι μαρτυρομένους καὶ βοῶντας, ὡς οὐδὲ αὐτόθι μενοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχίσονται τὸν Πόντον ἔρημον
- 4 ἀπολιπόντες. ταῦτα πρὸς Λούκουλλον ἀπαγγελθέντα καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ προσδιέφθειρε στρατιώτας, ἥδη μὲν ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς βαρεῖς γεγονότας πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν καὶ σχολῆς δεομένους, ὡς δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπύθοντο παρρησίαν,

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for not taking a single drachma from the public treasury, but making the war pay for itself.

XXX. Here he received an embassy from the king of the Parthians also, inviting him into friendly alliance. This was agreeable to Lucullus, and in his turn he sent ambassadors to the Parthian, but they discovered that he was playing a double game, and secretly asking for Mesopotamia as reward for an alliance with Tigranes. Accordingly, when Lucullus was apprised of this, he determined to ignore Tigranes and Mithridates as exhausted antagonists, and to make trial of the Parthian power by marching against them, thinking it a glorious thing, in a single impetuous onset of war, to throw, like an athlete, three kings in succession, and to make his way, unvanquished and victorious, through three of the greatest empires under the sun.

Accordingly he sent orders to Sornatius and his fellow commanders in Pontus to bring the army there to him, as he intended to proceed eastward from Gordyené. These officers had already found their soldiers unmanageable and disobedient, but now they discovered that they were utterly beyond control, being unable to move them by any manner of persuasion or compulsion. Nay, they roundly swore that they would not even stay where they were, but would go off and leave Pontus undefended. When news of this was brought to Lucullus, it demoralised his soldiers there also. Their wealth and luxurious life had already made them averse to military service and desirous of leisure, and when they heard of the bold words of their comrades in Pontus, they called them brave men, and said

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ἄνδρας αὐτοὺς ἀπεκάλουν καὶ μιμητέον αὐτοὺς
ἔφασαν εἶναι· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄξια σωτηρίας
καὶ ἀναπαύσεως κατειργάσθαι.

- XXXI. Τοιούτων δὲ καὶ πονηροτέρων ἔτι λόγων
αἰσθόμενος ὁ Λούκουλλος τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρα-
τείαν ἀφῆκεν, αὐθις δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐβάδιζε
θέρους ἀκμάζοντος. καὶ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβαλὼν
ἡθύμησε χλωρῶν τῶν πεδίων ἐκφανέντων· τοσοῦ-
τον αἱ ὥραι διὰ τὴν ψυχρότητα τοῦ ἀέρος
2 ὑστερίζουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καταβὰς καὶ δὶς 513
ἡ τρὶς ἀνατολμήσαντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἀρμενίους
τρεψάμενος ἀδεῶς ἐπόρθει τὰς κώμας, καὶ τὸν
παρεσκευασμένον τῷ Τιγράνῃ σῆτον ἔξαιρών ἦν
αὐτὸς ἐφοβεῖτο τοῖς πολεμίοις περιέστησεν ἀπο-
ρίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ προκαλούμενος εἰς μάχην αὐτοὺς
περιταφρεύων τὸν χάρακα καὶ πορθῶν ἐν ὅψει
τὴν χώραν οὐκ ἐκίνει πεπληγότας πολλάκις,
ἀναστὰς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' Ἀρτάξατα τὸ Τιγράνου
βασίλειον, ὅπου καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ νήπιοι καὶ
γαμεταὶ γυναῖκες ἥσαν, οὐκ ἀν οἰόμενος ἀμαχεὶ¹
ταῦτα προήσεσθαι τὸν Τιγράνην.
3 Λέγεται δ' Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, Ἀντιόχου
καταπολεμηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, μεταβάντα
πρὸς Ἀρτάξαν τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἄλλων τε πολλῶν
εἰσηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι χρησί-
μων, καὶ τῆς χώρας καταμαθόντα τόπον εὐφυέ-
στατον καὶ ἥδιστον ἀργούντα καὶ παρορώμενον
σχῆμα πόλεως ἐν αὐτῷ προϋπογράψασθαι, καὶ

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their example must be followed in Gordyené, for their many achievements entitled them to respite from toil and freedom from danger.

XXXI. Such speeches, and even worse than these, coming to the ears of Lucullus, he gave up his expedition against the Parthians, and marched once more against Tigranes,¹ it being now the height of summer. And yet, after crossing the Taurus, he was discouraged to find the plains still covered with unripe grain, so much later are the seasons there, owing to the coolness of the atmosphere. However, he descended from the mountains, routed the Armenians who twice or thrice ventured to attack him, and then plundered their villages without fear, and, by taking away the grain which had been stored up for Tigranes, reduced his enemy to the straits which he had been fearing for himself. Then he challenged them to battle by encompassing their camp with a moat, and by ravaging their territory before their eyes; but this did not move them, so often had they been defeated. He therefore broke camp and marched against Artaxata, the royal residence of Tigranes, where were his wives and young children, thinking that Tigranes would not give these up without fighting.

It is said that Hannibal the Carthaginian, after Antiochus had been conquered by the Romans, left him and went to Artaxas the Armenian, to whom he gave many excellent suggestions and instructions. For instance, observing that a section of the country which had the greatest natural advantages and attractions was lying idle and neglected, he drew up a plan for a city there, and then brought Artaxas

¹ 68 B.C.

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τὸν Ἀρτάξαν ἐπαγαγόντα δεῖξαι καὶ παρορμῆσαι
4 πρὸς τὸν οἰκισμόν. ἡσθέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως
καὶ δεηθέντος, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐπιστατήσῃ τοῦ ἔργου,
μέγα τι καὶ πάγκαλον χρῆμα πόλεως ἀναστῆναι,
καὶ γενομένην ἐπώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως μητρόπολιν
ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς Ἀρμενίας.

'Ἐπὶ ταύτην τοῦ Λουκούλλου βαδίζοντος οὐκ
ἡνέσχετο Τιγράνης, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν
ἡμέρᾳ τετάρτῃ παρεστρατοπέδευσε τοὺς Ῥω-
μαίοις, ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν τὸν Ἀρσανίαν ποταμόν,
διν ἐξ ἀνάγκης διαβατέον ἦν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἐπ'
5 Ἀρταξάτων πορευομένοις. θύσας δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς
Λούκουλλος, ὡς ἐν χερσὶν οὕσης τῆς νίκης, διεβί-
βαζε τὸν στρατὸν ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προτεταγ-
μέναις, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐπιτεταγμέναις πρὸς τὰς
κυκλώσεις τῶν πολεμών. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἡσαν
ἰππεῖς καὶ λογάδες ἀντιπαρατεταγμένοι, πρὸ
δ' αὐτῶν ἰπποτοξόται Μάρδοι καὶ λογχοφόροι
Ἰβηρες, οἵς μάλιστα τῶν ξένων ὁ Τιγράνης
6 ἐπίστευεν ὡς μαχιμωτάτοις. οὐ μὴν ἐπράχθη
τι λαμπρὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἰππεῦσι
τῶν Ῥωμαίων διαπληκτισάμενοι τοὺς πεζοὺς
ἐπιόντας οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐκατέρωσε τῆς
φυγῆς σχισθέντες ἐπεσπάσαντο τοὺς ἰππεῖς
πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ τούτους διασπαρῆναι
τῶν περὶ τὸν Τιγράνην ἐξιππασαμένων ἴδων τὴν.
λαμπροτητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὁ Λούκουλλος ἔδεισε.
7 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰππεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀνεκαλεῖτο,
πρῶτος δ' αὐτὸς ἀντέστη τοῖς Ἀτροπατηνοῖς κατ'
αὐτὸν οὖσι μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, καὶ πρὶν εἰς χεῖρας
ἔλθειν φοβήσας ἐτρέψατο. τριῶν δ' ὁμοῦ παρ-

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to the place and showed him its possibilities, and urged him to undertake the building. The king was delighted, and begged Hannibal to superintend the work himself, whereupon a very great and beautiful city arose there, which was named after the king, and proclaimed the capital of Armenia.

When Lucullus marched against this city, Tigranes could not suffer it quietly, but put himself at the head of his forces, and on the fourth day encamped over against the Romans, keeping the river Arsania between himself and them, which they must of necessity cross on their way to Artaxata. Thereupon Lucullus sacrificed to the gods, in full assurance that the victory was already his, and then crossed the river with twelve cohorts in the van, and the rest disposed so as to prevent the enemy from closing in upon his flanks. For large bodies of horsemen and picked soldiers confronted him, and these were covered by Mardian mounted archers and Iberian lancers, on whom Tigranes relied beyond any other mercenaries, deeming them the most warlike. However, they did not shine in action, but after a slight skirmish with the Roman cavalry, gave way before the advancing infantry, scattered to right and left in flight, and drew after them the cavalry in pursuit. On the dispersion of these troops, Tigranes rode out at the head of his cavalry, and when Lucullus saw their splendour and their numbers he was afraid. He therefore recalled his cavalry from their pursuit of the flying enemy, and taking the lead of his troops in person, set upon the Atropateni, who were stationed opposite him with the magnates of the king's following, and before coming to close quarters, sent them off in panic flight. Of three

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τεταγμένων βασιλέων αἰσχιστα δοκεῖ φυγεῦν ὁ Ποντικὸς Μιθριδάτης, οὐδὲ τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν Ἀρ-
8 μαίων ἀνασχόμενος. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διώξεως μακρᾶς καὶ δι' ὅλης υսκτός, οὐ μόνον κτείνοντες αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζωγροῦντες καὶ χρήματα καὶ λείαν ἄγοντες καὶ φέροντες ἀπεῖπον οἱ Ἀρμαῖοι. φησὶ δὲ ὁ Λιούσιος ἐν μὲν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ πλείονας, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ γνωριμωτέρους πεσεῖν καὶ ληφθῆναι τῶν πολεμίων.

XXXII. Ἐκ τούτου Λούκουλλος μὲν ἐπηρμένος καὶ τεθαρρηκὼς ἄνω προάγειν διενοεῖτο καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν βάρβαρον ὥρᾳ δ' ἵσημερίας φθινοπωρινῆς οὐκ ἀν ἐλπίσαντι χειμῶνες ἐπέπεσον βαρεῖς, τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα κατανίφοντες, ἐν δὲ ταῖς αἰθρίαις πάχυνη ἐπιφέροντες καὶ πάγον, ὑφ' οὐ χαλεποὶ μὲν ἡσαν οἱ ποταμοὶ τοῖς ἵπποις πίνεσθαι διὰ ψυχρότητος ὑπερβολῆν, χαλεπαὶ δ' αὐτῶν αἱ διαβάσεις ἐκρηγνυμένου τοῦ κρυστάλλου καὶ διακόπτοντος τὰ νεῦρα τῶν 2 ἵππων τῇ τραχύτητι. τῆς δὲ χώρας ἡ πολλὴ συνηρεφής οὐσα καὶ στενόπορος καὶ ἐλώδης ἀεὶ καθύγραινεν αὐτούς, χιόνος ἀναπιμπλαμένους ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις καὶ κακῶς ἐν τόποις νοτεροῖς 514 συκτερεύοντας. οὐ πολλὰς οὖν ἡμέρας ἀκολουθήσαντες τῷ Λουκούλλῳ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἤναντιοῦντο, πρῶτον δεόμενοι καὶ τοὺς χιλιάρχους προσπέμποντες, ἔπειτα θορυβωδέστερον συνιστάμενοι καὶ κατὰ σκηνὰς υսκτὸς ἀλαλάζοντες, ὅπερ εἶναι δοκεῖ σύμβολον ἀποστατικῶς ἔχούσης 3 στρατιᾶς. καίτοι πολλὰ προσελιπάρει Λούκουλλος ἀξιῶν αὐτοὺς μακροθυμίαν ἐμβαλέσθαι ταῖς

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kings who together confronted the Romans, Mithridates of Pontus seems to have fled most disgracefully, for he could not endure even their shouting. The pursuit was long and lasted through the whole night, and the Romans were worn out, not only with killing their enemies, but also with taking prisoners and getting all sorts of booty. Livy says that in the former battle a greater number of the enemy, but in this more men of high station were slain and taken prisoners.

XXXII. Elated and emboldened by this victory, Lucullus purposed to advance further into the interior and subdue the Barbarian realm utterly. But, contrary to what might have been expected at the time of the autumnal equinox, severe winter weather was encountered, which generally covered the ground with snow, and even when the sky was clear produced hoar frost and ice, owing to which the horses could not well drink of the rivers, so excessive was the cold, nor could they easily cross them, since the ice broke, and cut the horses' sinews with its jagged edges. Most of the country was thickly shaded, full of narrow defiles, and marshy, so that it kept the soldiers continually wet; they were covered with snow while they marched, and spent the nights uncomfortably in damp places. Accordingly, they had not followed Lucullus for many days after the battle when they began to object. At first they sent their tribunes to him with entreaties to desist, then they held more tumultuous assemblies, and shouted in their tents at night, which seems to have been characteristic of a mutinous army. And yet Lucullus plied them with entreaties, calling upon them to possess their souls in patience until they had

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ψυχαῖς, ἄχρι οὐ τὴν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις Καρχηδόνα λαβόντες ἀνδρὸς ἔχθιστου, τὸν Ἀννίβαν λέγων, ἔργον ἀνατρέψωσιν. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπειθεν, ἀπῆγεν αὐτοὺς ὁπίσω καὶ κατ' ἄλλας ὑπερβολὰς διελθὼν τὸν Ταῦρον εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Μυγδονικὴν κατέβαινε, χώραν πάμφορον μαὶ ἀλεεινὴν καὶ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλην καὶ πολυνάνθρωπον ἔχουσαν, ἦν οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι Νίσιβιν, οἱ δὲ "Ἐλληνες

- 4 Ἀντιόχειαν Μυγδονικὴν προσηγόρευον. ταύτην εἶχεν ἀξιώματι μὲν ἀδελφὸς Τιγράνου Γούρας, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι μηχανικῆς Καλλίμαχος ὁ καὶ περὶ Ἀμισὸν πλεῖστα πράγματα Λουκούλλῳ παρασχών. βαλόμενος δὲ στρατόπεδον καὶ πᾶσαν ἴδεαν πολιορκίας ἐπαγαγὼν ὀλίγῳ
- 5 χρόνῳ κατὰ κράτος λαμβάνει τὴν πόλιν. καὶ Γούρᾳ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐγχειρίσαντι φιλανθρώπως ἔχρήσατο, Καλλιμάχῳ δὲ ὑπισχνουμένῳ θήκας ἀπορρήτους μεγάλων χρημάτων ἀνακαλύψειν οὐ προσέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐκέλευσεν ἐν πέδαις κομίζεσθαι δίκην ὑφέξοντα τοῦ πυρός, φ τὴν Ἀμισηνῶν διαλυμηνάμενος πόλιν ἀφείλετο φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρηστότητος ἐπίδειξιν πρὸς τοὺς "Ἐλληνας.

- XXXIII. Μέχρι τοῦδε φαίη τις ἀν Λουκούλλῳ τὴν τύχην ἐπομένην συστρατηγεῖν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὥσπερ πνεύματος ἐπιλιπόντος προσβιαζόμενος πάντα καὶ παντάπασιν ἀντικρούων ἀρετὴν μὲν ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ μακροθυμίαν ἡγεμόνος ἀγαθοῦ, δόξαν δὲ καὶ χάριν οὐδεμίαν αἱ πράξεις ἔσχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ἐγγὺς ἦλθε δυσπραγῶν καὶ διαφερόμενος μάτην ἀποβαλεῖν.
- 2 τῶν δὲ αἵτιῶν αὐτὸς οὐχὶ τὴν ἐλαχίστην εἰς τοῦτο παρέσχεν, οὐκ ὡν θεραπευτικὸς πλήθους

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taken and destroyed the Armenian Carthage, the work of their most hated foe, meaning Hannibal. But since he could not persuade them, he led them back, and crossing the Taurus by another pass, descended into the country called Mygdonia, which is fertile and open to the sun, and contains a large and populous city, called Nisibis by the Barbarians, Antioch in Mygdonia by the Greeks. The nominal defender of this city, by virtue of his rank, was Gouras, a brother of Tigranes ; but its actual defender, by virtue of his experience and skill as an engineer, was Callimachus, the man who gave Lucullus most trouble at Amisus also. But Lucullus established his camp before it, laid siege to it in every way, and in a short time took the city by storm. To Gouras, who surrendered himself into his hands, he gave kind treatment ; but to Callimachus, who promised to reveal secret stores of great treasure, he would not hearken. Instead, he ordered him to be brought in chains, that he might be punished for destroying Amisus by fire, and thereby robbing Lucullus of the object of his ambition, which was to show kindness to the Greeks.

XXXIII. Up to this point, one might say that fortune had followed Lucullus and fought on his side ; but from now on, as though a favouring breeze had failed him, he had to force every issue, and met with obstacles everywhere. He still displayed the bravery and patience of a good leader, but his undertakings brought him no new fame or favour ; indeed, so ill-starred and devious was his course, that he came near losing that which he had already won. And he himself was not least to blame for this. He was not disposed to court the favour of the common

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στρατιωτικοῦ, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ ἀρχομένου γινόμενον ἀρχῆς ἀτιμίαν καὶ κατάλυσιν ἥγούμενος· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οὐδὲ τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ ἴστοιμοις εὐάρμοστος εἶναι πεφυκώς, ἀλλὰ πάντων καταφρούων καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίους πρὸς αὐτὸν
3 ἥγούμενος. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπάρξαι Λουκούλλῳ κακὰ λέγουσιν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς· καὶ γὰρ μέγας καὶ καλὸς καὶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ φρόνιμος ὄμαλῶς ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ στρατοπέδῳ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι.

Σαλούστιος μὲν οὖν φῆσι χαλεπῶς διατεθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Κυζίκῳ καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Ἀμσῷ,
4 δύο χειμῶνας ἔξῆς ἐν χάρακι διαγαγεῖν ἀναγκασθέντας. ἦν δὲ αὐτὸν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ χειμῶνες.
ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῇ πολέμιᾳ διεχείμαζον ἡ παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ὑπαιθροὶ σκηνοῦντες, εἰς δὲ πόλιν Ἐλληνίδα καὶ φίλην οὐδὲ ἅπαξ εἰσῆλθε μετὰ στρατοπέδου Λουκουλλος. οὗτοι δὲ διακειμένοις αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας ἐνέδωκαν ἀπὸ τῆς Ρώμης οἱ δημαγωγοὶ προφάσεις, φθόνῳ τοῦ Λουκούλλου κατηγοροῦντες ώς ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας καὶ φιλοπλούτιας ἔλκοντος τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μονονοὺν κατέχοντος ἐν ταύτῳ Κιλικίαν, Ἀσίαν, Βιθυνίαν, Παφλαγούναν, Γαλατίαν, Πόντον, Ἀρμενίαν, τὰ μέχρι Φάσιδος, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ Τιγράνου βασίλεια πεπορθηκότος, ὥσπερ ἐκδῦσαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οὐ
5 καταπολεμῆσαι πεμφθέντος. τοῦτο γὰρ εἰπεῖν φασιν ἔνα τῶν στρατηγῶν Λεύκιον Κόϊντον, ὃν μάλιστα πεισθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπτειν διαδόχους τῷ Λουκούλλῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ στρατευομένων πολλοὺς ἀφεῖσθαι στρατείας.

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soldier, and thought that everything that was done to please one's command only dishonoured and undermined one's authority. Worst of all, not even with men of power and of equal rank with himself could he readily co-operate ; he despised them all, and thought them of no account as compared with himself. These bad qualities Lucullus is said to have had, but no more than these. He was tall and handsome, a powerful speaker, and equally able in the forum and the field.

Well, then, Sallust says that his soldiers were ill-disposed towards him at the very beginning of the war, before Cyzicus, and again before Amisus, because they were compelled to spend two successive winters in camp. The winters that followed also vexed them. They spent them either in the enemy's country, or among the allies, encamped under the open sky. Not once did Lucullus take his army into a city that was Greek and friendly. In their disaffection, they received the greatest support from the popular tribunes at Rome. These envied Lucullus and denounced him for protracting the war through love of power and love of wealth. They said he all but had in his own sole power Cilicia, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Pontus, Armenia, and the regions extending to the Phasis, and that now he had actually plundered the palaces of Tigranes, as if he had been sent, not to subdue the kings, but to strip them. These were the words, they say, of Lucius Quintus, one of the praetors, to whom most of all the people listened when they passed a vote to send men who should succeed Lucullus in the command of his province. They voted also that many of the soldiers under him should be released from military service.

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XXXIV. Τούτοις δὲ τηλικούτοις οὖσι προσγίνεται τὸ μάλιστα Λουκούλλῳ διειργασμένον τὰς πράξεις, Πόπλιος Κλώδιος, ἀνὴρ ὑβριστὴς καὶ μεστὸς ὀλιγωρίας ἀπάστης καὶ θρασύτητος. ἦν δὲ τῆς Λουκούλλου γυναικὸς ἀδελφός, ἦν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἔσχεν αἰτίαν ἀκολαστοτάτην οὖσαν.

2 τότε δὲ τῷ Λουκούλλῳ συστρατεύων οὐχ ὅστης αὐτὸν ἡξίου τιμῆς ἐτύγχανεν· ἡξίου δὲ πρῶτος εἶναι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀπολειπόμενος διὰ τὸν τρόπον ὑποικούρει τὴν Φιμβριανὴν στρατιὰν καὶ παρώξυνε κατὰ τοῦ Λουκούλλου, λόγους χρηστοὺς εἰς οὐκ ἄκοντας οὐδὲ ἀήθεις τοῦ δημαγωγεῖσθαι διαδιδούς. οὗτοι γὰρ ἥσαν, οὓς καὶ πρότερον ἀνέπεισε Φιμβρίας ἀποκτείναντας τὸν ὑπατον

3 Φλάκκον αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι στρατηγόν. διὸ καὶ τὸν Κλώδιον ἱδέως ἐδέχοντο καὶ φιλοστρατιώτην προσηγόρευον, ἀγανακτεῖν προσποιούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἴ πέρας οὐδὲν ἔσται πολέμων τοσούτων καὶ πόνων, ἀλλὰ παντὶ μὲν ἔθνει μαχόμενοι, πᾶσαν δὲ γῆν πλανώμενοι κατατρίψουσι τὸν βίον οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐκ τηλικαύτης φερόμενοι στρατείας, ἀλλὰ τὰς Λουκούλλου παραπέμποντες ἀμάξας καὶ καμῆλους ἐκπωμάτων χρυσᾶν καὶ διαλίθων

4 γεμούσας, οἵ δὲ Πομπηῖου στρατιῶται δῆμος ὅντες ἥδη που μετὰ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων κάθηνται γῆν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντες, οὐ Μιθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην εἰς τὰς ἀοικήτους ἐμβαλόντες ἐρημίας, οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ βασίλεια καταρρίψαντες, ἀλλὰ φυγάσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ δραπέ-

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XXXIV. To these factors in the case, so unfavourable in themselves, there was added another, which most of all vitiated the undertakings of Lucullus. This was Publius Clodius, a man of wanton violence, and full of all arrogance and boldness. He was a brother of the wife of Lucullus, a woman of the most dissolute ways, whom he was actually accused of debauching. At this time he was in service with Lucullus, and did not get all the honour which he thought his due. He thought a foremost place his due, and when many were preferred before him because of his evil character, he worked secretly upon the soldiers who had been commanded by Fimbria, and tried to incite them against Lucullus, disseminating among them speeches well adapted to men who were neither unwilling nor unaccustomed to have their favour courted. These were the men whom Fimbria had once persuaded to kill the consul Flaccus, and choose himself for their general. They therefore gladly listened to Clodius also, and called him the soldier's friend. For he pretended to be incensed in their behalf, if there was to be no end of their countless wars and toils, but they were rather to wear out their lives in fighting with every nation and wandering over every land, receiving no suitable reward for such service, but convoying the waggons and camels of Lucullus laden with golden beakers set with precious stones, while the soldiers of Pompey, citizens now, were snugly ensconced with wives and children in the possession of fertile lands and prosperous cities,—not for having driven Mithridates and Tigranes into uninhabitable deserts, nor for having demolished the royal palaces of Asia, but for having fought with wretched exiles in Spain and

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ταις ἐν' Ιταλίᾳ πολεμήσαντες. “Τί οὖν, εἰ δεῖ μηδέποτε παύσασθαι στρατευομένους, οὐχὶ τοιούτῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ σώματα τὰ λοιπὰ καὶ ψυχὰς φυλάσσομεν, ω̄ κάλλιστος εἶναι δοκεῖ κόσμος ὁ τῶν στρατευομένων πλοῦτος ;”

- 5 Τοιαύταις αἰτίαις τὸ Λουκούλλου στράτευμα διαφθαρὲν οὕτ’ ἐπὶ Τιγράνην ἡκολούθησεν οὕτ’ ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην αὐθις ἐξ Ἀρμενίας εἰς Πόντον ἐμβαλόντα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλαμβάνοντα, πρόφασιν δὲ τὸν χειμῶνα ποιούμενοι περὶ τὴν Γορδυηνὴν διέτριψον, ὅσον οὕπω Πομπήιον ἦτιν ἄλλον τῶν ἡγεμόνων Λουκούλλῳ διάδοχον ἀφίξεσθαι προσδοκῶντες.

XXXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἥγγελτο Φάβιον νευκηκὼς ἐπὶ Σωρνάτιον καὶ Τριάριον βαδίζειν, αἰσχυνθέντες εἴποντο τῷ Λουκούλλῳ. Τριάριος δ’ ὡς ἔτοιμον ἀρπάσαι τὸ νίκημα, πρὶν ἐπελθεῖν Λούκουλλον ἐγγὺς ὅντα, φιλοτιμούμενος ἡττᾶται μάχῃ μεγάλῃ. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐπτακισχιλίους Ρωμαίων ἀποθανεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἑκατόνταρχοι μὲν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, χιλίαρχοι δ’ εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες· τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον εἶλε Μιθριδάτης.

- 2 ἐπελθὼν δὲ Λούκουλλος ὀλίγαις ὕστερον ἡμέραις Τριάριον μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ζητούμενον πρὸς ὄργὴν ἐξέκλεψε, Μιθριδάτου δὲ μὴ θέλοντος μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ Τιγράνην περιμένοντας ἥδη καταβαίνοντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, ἔγνω πρὶν ἀμφοτέρους συνελθεῖν πάλιν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ δια-
3 γωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Τιγράνην. πορευομένῳ δ’ αὐτῷ καθ’ ὁδὸν οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ στασιάσαντες ἀπέλιπον τὰς τάξεις, ὡς ἀφειμένοι δόγματι τῆς

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runaway slaves in Italy. "Why, then," he would cry, "if our campaigns are never to come to an end, do we not reserve what is left of our bodies, and our lives, for a general in whose eyes the wealth of his soldiers is his fairest honour?"

For such reasons as these the army of Lucullus was demoralised, and refused to follow him either against Tigranes, or against Mithridates, who had come back into Pontus from Armenia, and was trying to restore his power there. They made the winter their excuse for lingering in Gordyené, expecting every moment that Pompey, or some other commander, would be sent out to succeed Lucullus.

XXXV. But when tidings came that Mithridates had defeated Fabius,¹ and was on the march against Sornatius and Triarius, they were struck with shame and followed Lucullus. But Triarius, who was ambitious to snatch the victory, which he thought assured, before Lucullus, who was near, should come up, was defeated in a great battle. It is said that over seven thousand Romans fell, among whom were a hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes; and their camp was captured by Mithridates. But Lucullus, coming up a few days afterward, hid Triarius from the search of his infuriated soldiers. Then, since Mithridates was unwilling to give fight, but lay waiting for Tigranes, who was coming down with a large force, he determined to anticipate the junction of their armies, and march back to meet Tigranes in battle. But while he was on the way thither, the Fimbrian soldiers mutinied and left their ranks, declaring that they were discharged from

¹ 67 B.C.

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στρατείας καὶ μηκέτι τῷ Λουκούλλῳ προσῆκον ἄρχειν, ἐτέροις ἀποδεδειγμένων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἐστιν ὃ τι τῶν παρ' ἄξιαν ὁ Λουκούλλος οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀντιβοδῶν καθ' ἓνα καὶ κατὰ σκηνὰς περιὶών ταπεινὸς καὶ δειάκρυμένος, ἔστι
 4 δ' ὅν⁵¹⁶ καὶ χειρὸς¹ ἀπτόμενος. οἱ δ' ἀπετρίβοντο τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ κενὰ προσερρίπτοντι βαλάντια, καὶ μόνον μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκέλευνον, ἀφ' ὧν μόνος ἡπίστατο πλουτεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν δεομένων ἐκβιασθέντες οἱ Φιμβριανοὶ συνέθεντο παραμεῖναι τὸ θέρος·
 ἐὰν δὲ μηδεὶς ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ κατίη πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀγωνιούμενος, ἀπηλλάχθαι. ταῦτ' ἔδει στέργειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τὸν Λουκούλλον, ἢ προέσθαι
 5 τοῖς βαρβάροις τὴν χώραν ἀπολειφθέντα. συνεῖχεν οὖν αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι προσβιαζόμενος οὐδὲ προάγων πρὸς μάχην, ἀλλ' εἰ παραμένοιεν ἀγαπῶν, καὶ περιορῶν πορθουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιγράνου τὴν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ πάλιν ὑβρίζοντα Μιθριδάτην, διν αὐτὸς ἐπεστάλκει τῇ συγκλήτῳ γράφων καταπεπολεμῆσθαι· καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις παρῆσαν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν διάθεσιν τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ
 6 πραγμάτων, ὡς δὴ βεβαίως ἔχομένων. καὶ δὴ παρόντες ἑώρων οὐδ' αὐτοῦ κύριον, ἀλλὰ παροινούμενον καὶ προπηλακιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οἷς γε τοσοῦτο περιήν τῆς εἰς τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀσελγείας, ὥστε τοῦ θέρους λήγοντος ἐνδύντες

¹ καὶ χειρὸς S: χειρός.

LUCULLUS

service by decree of the people, and that Lucullus no longer had the right to command them, since the provinces had been assigned to others. Accordingly, there was no expedient, however much beneath his dignity, to which Lucullus did not force himself to resort,—entreating the soldiers man by man, going about from tent to tent in humility and tears, and actually taking some of the men by the hand in supplication. But they rejected his advances, and threw their empty purses down before him, bidding him fight the enemy alone, since he alone knew how to get rich from them. However, at the request of the other soldiers, the Fimbrians were constrained to agree to remain during the summer; but if, in the meantime, no enemy should come down to fight them, they were to be dismissed. Lucullus was obliged to content himself with these terms, or else to be deserted and give up the country to the Barbarians. He therefore simply held his soldiers together, without forcing them any more, or leading them out to battle. Their remaining with him was all he could expect, and he looked on helplessly while Tigranes ravaged Cappadocia and Mithridates resumed his insolent ways,—a monarch whom he had reported by letter to the Senate as completely subdued. Besides, the commissioners were now with him, who had been sent out to regulate the affairs of Pontus, on the supposition that it was a secure Roman possession. And lo, when they came, they saw that Lucullus was not even his own master, but was mocked and insulted by his soldiers. These went so far in their outrageous treatment of their general, that, at the close of the summer, they donned their

τὰ ὅπλα καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰς μαχαίρας προεκάλουντο τοὺς μηδαμοῦ παρόντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἀπηρκότας ἥδη πολεμίους. ἀλαλάξαντες δὲ καὶ σκιαμαχήσαντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος, ἐπιμαρτυράμενοι πεπληρῶσθαι τὸν χρόνον, διν ώμολόγησαν τῷ Λουκούλλῳ παραμένειν.

7 Τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκάλει διὰ γραμμάτων Πομπήιος· ἥδη γὰρ ἀποδέδεικτο τοῦ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην καὶ Τιγράνην πολέμου στρατηγὸς χάριτι τοῦ δήμου καὶ κολακείᾳ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἐπεὶ τῇ γε βουλῇ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἄδικα πάσχειν ἐδόκει Λούκουλλος οὐ πολέμου διαδόχους, ἀλλὰ θριάμβου λαμβάνων, οὐδὲ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀναγκαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπάθλων τῆς στρατηγίας ἔξιστασθαι καὶ παραχωρεῖν ἑτέροις.

XXXVI. Ἐτι δέ μᾶλλον ἐφάνη τὸ γινόμενον τοῖς ἐκεῖ παροῦσι νεμεσητόν. οὕτε γὰρ τιμῆς ὁ Λούκουλλος οὔτε τιμωρίας τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ κύριος ὑπῆρχεν, οὐδὲ εἴα τινὰ Πομπήιος βαδίζειν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲ προσέχειν οἷς ἐκεῖνος ἔγραφε καὶ διένεμε μετὰ τῶν δέκα πρέσβεων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκώλυεν ἐκτιθεὶς διαγράμματα καὶ φοβερὸς παρὼν ἀπὸ μείζονος δυνάμεως. ὅμως δὲ ἔδοξε τοῖς φίλοις συναγαγεῖν αὐτούς· καὶ συνήλθον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ τῆς Γαλατίας καὶ προσεῖπον ἀλλήλους φιλοφρόνως καὶ συνήσθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις ἐκατέρῳ, πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ Λούκουλλος, ἀξίωμα δὲ ἦν τὸ Πομπηῖον μεῖζον ἀπὸ πλειόνων στρατηγιῶν καὶ δυεῖν θριάμβων. ῥάβδοι δ'

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armour, drew their swords, and challenged to battle an enemy who was nowhere near, but had already withdrawn. Then they shouted their war cries, brandished their weapons in the air, and departed from the camp, calling men to witness that the time had expired during which they had agreed to remain with Lucullus.

The rest of the soldiers Pompey summoned by letter, for he had already been appointed to conduct the war against Mithridates and Tigranes,¹ because he won the favour of the people and flattered their leaders. But the Senate and the nobility considered Lucullus a wronged man. He had been superseded, they said, not in a war, but in a triumph, and had been forced to relinquish and turn over to others, not his campaign, but the prizes of victory in his campaign.

XXXVI. But to those who were on the spot, what happened there seemed still greater matter for wrath and indignation. For Lucullus was not allowed to bestow rewards or punishments for what had been done in the war, nor would Pompey even suffer any one to visit him, or to pay any heed to the edicts and regulations which he made in concert with the ten commissioners, but prevented it by issuing counter-edicts, and by the terror which his presence with a larger force inspired. Nevertheless, their friends decided to bring the two men together, and so they met in a certain village of Galatia. They greeted one another amicably, and each congratulated the other on his victories. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey's prestige was the greater, because he had conducted more campaigns, and celebrated

¹ 66 B.C.

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ἀμφοτέρων προηγούντο δαφνηφόροι διὰ τὰς νίκας.
3 καὶ τοῦ γε Πομπηίου μακρὰν ὕδον διὰ τόπων
ἀνύδρων καὶ αὐχμηρῶν ὁδεύσαντος τὰς δάφνας
ξηρὰς περικειμένας ταῖς ράβδοις ἴδόντες οἱ
τοῦ Λουκούλλου ράβδοφόροι φιλοφρονούμενοι
τοῖς ἐκείνου μετέδωκαν ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων, προσ-
φάτους καὶ θαλερὰς ἔχοντες. καὶ τὸ γινόμενον
εἰς οἰωνὸν ἐτίθεντο χρηστὸν οἱ Πομπηίου φίλοι·
τῷ γὰρ ὅντι τὴν ἐκείνου στρατηγίαν αἱ τούτου
4 πράξεις ἐκόσμησαν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν λόγων πρὸς οὐδὲν
ἐπιεικὲς συνέβησαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀλλοτριω-
θέντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπῆλθον· καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ
Λουκούλλου γενομένας διατάξεις ἡκύρωσεν ὁ
Πομπῆιος, στρατιώτας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαγαγὼν
μόνους αὐτῷ χιλίους ἔξακοσίους ἀπέλιπε συν-
θριαμβεύσοντας, οὐδὲ τούτους μάλα προθύμως
5 ἐπομένους. οὕτω τις ἦν ἀφυῆς ἢ δυστυχῆς ὁ
Λούκουλλος πρὸς τὸ πάντων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ πρῶτον
καὶ μέγιστον· ώς, εἰ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ, τηλικούτων ὅντων καὶ τοσούτων,
μετ' ἀνδρείας, ἐπιμελείας, συνέσεως, δικαιοσύνης,
οὐκ ἀν εἶχεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονία τὸν Εὐφράτην
6 τῆς Ἀσίας ὄρον, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔσχατα καὶ τὴν Ἐρκα- 517
νίαν θάλατταν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν Τιγράνη
προηττημένων, τῆς δὲ Πάρθων δυνάμεως οὐχ ὥση
κατὰ Κράσσον ἐξεφάνη τοσαύτης καὶ κατὰ Λού-
κουλλον οὕσης οὐδὲ ὁμοίως συνεστώσης, ἀλλ' ὑπ
ἐμφυλίων καὶ προσοίκων πολέμων οὐδὲ Ἀρμενίους
ὑβρίζοντας ἐρρωμένης ἀμύνεσθαι.

Νῦν δέ μοι δοκεῖ Λούκουλλος ὃν ὡφέλησε δι'
αὐτοῦ τὴν πατρίδα βλάψαι μείζονα δι' ἐτέρων.

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two triumphs. Fasces wreathed with laurel were carried before both commanders in token of their victories, and since Pompey had made a long march through waterless and arid regions, the laurel which wreathed his fasces was withered. When the lictors of Lucullus noticed this, they considerably gave Pompey's lictors some of their own laurel, which was fresh and green. This circumstance was interpreted as a good omen by the friends of Pompey; for, in fact, the exploits of Lucullus did adorn the command of Pompey. However, their conference resulted in no equitable agreement, but they left it still more estranged from one another. Pompey also annulled the ordinances of Lucullus, and took away all but sixteen hundred of his soldiers. These he left to share his triumph, but even these did not follow him very cheerfully. To such a marvellous degree was Lucullus either unqualified or unfortunate as regards the first and highest of all requisites in a leader. Had this power of gaining the affection of his soldiers been added to his other gifts, which were so many and so great,—courage, diligence, wisdom, and justice,—the Roman empire would not have been bounded by the Euphrates, but by the outer confines of Asia, and the Hyrcanian sea; for all the other nations had already been subdued by Tigranes, and in the time of Lucullus the Parthian power was not so great as it proved to be in the time of Crassus, nor was it so well united, nay rather, owing to intestine and neighbouring wars, it had not even strength enough to repel the wanton attacks of the Armenians.

Now my own opinion is that the harm Lucullus did his country through his influence upon others, was greater than the good he did her himself. For his

τὰ γὰρ ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τρόπαια Πάρθων πλησίον
 ἔστωτα καὶ Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ Νίσιβις καὶ πλού-
 τος ἐκ τούτων πολὺς εἰς Ρώμην κομισθεὶς καὶ τὸ
 Τιγράνου διάδημα πομπευθὲν αἰχμάλωτον ἐπῆρε
 Κράσσον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ώς λάφυρα καὶ λείαν
 τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ὅντας. ταχὺ²
 μέντοι τοῖς Πάρθων τοξεύμασιν ἐντυχὼν ἀπέδειξε
 τὸν Λούκουλλον οὐκ ἀφροσύνη καὶ μαλακίᾳ τῶν
 πολεμίων, αὐτοῦ δὲ τόλμη καὶ δεινότητι περιγενό-
 μενον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον.

XXXVII. Ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος ἀναβὰς εἰς
 Ρώμην πρῶτον μὲν κατέλαβε τὸν ἀδελφὸν
 Μάρκον ὑπὸ Γαῖου Μεμμίου κατηγορούμενον ἐφ'
 οἷς ἔπραξε ταμιεύων Σύλλα προστάξαντος.
 ἐκείνου δ' ἀποφυγόντος ἐπὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ὁ
 Μέμμιος μεταβαλόμενος παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον, καὶ
 ώς πολλὰ νενοσφισμένῳ καὶ μηκύναντι τὸν πόλε-
 2 μον ἔπεισεν αὐτῷ μὴ δοῦναι θρίαμβον. ἐλθόντος
 δ' εἰς ἄγωνα τοῦ Λουκούλλου μέγαν οἱ πρῶτοι
 καὶ δυνατώτατοι καταμίξαντες ἐαυτοὺς ταῖς
 φυλαῖς πολλῇ δεήσει καὶ σπουδῇ μόλις ἔπεισαν
 τὸν δῆμον ἐπιτρέψαι θριαμβεῦσαι, οὐχ, ὥσπερ
 ἔνιοι, μήκει τε πομπῆς καὶ πλήθει τῶν κομι-
 ζομένων ἐκπληκτικὸν καὶ ὀχλώδη θρίαμβον,
 ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὅπλοις τῶν πολεμίων οὖσι παρ-
 πόλλοις καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς μηχανήμασι τὸν
 Φλαμύνειον ἵπποδρομον διεκόσμησε· καὶ θέα τις
 3 ἦν αὐτὴ καθ' ἐαυτὴν οὐκ εὐκαταφρόνητος· ἐν δὲ

LUCULLUS

trophies in Armenia, standing on the borders of Parthia, and Tigranocerta, and Nisibis, and the vast wealth brought to Rome from these cities, and the display in his triumph of the captured diadem of Tigranes, incited Crassus to his attack upon Asia ; he thought that the Barbarians were spoil and booty, and nothing else. It was not long, however, before he encountered the Parthian arrows, and proved that Lucullus had won his victories, not through the folly and cowardice of his enemies, but through his own daring and ability. This, however, is later history.

XXXVII. Now when Lucullus had returned to Rome, he found, in the first place, that his brother Marcus was under prosecution by Gaius Memmius for his acts as quaestor under the administration of Sulla. Marcus, indeed, was acquitted, but Memmius then turned his attack upon Lucullus, and strove to excite the people against him. He charged him with diverting much property to his own uses, and with needlessly protracting the war, and finally persuaded the people not to grant him a triumph. Lucullus strove mightily against this decision, and the foremost and most influential men mingled with the tribes, and by much entreaty and exertion at last persuaded the people to allow him to celebrate a triumph ;¹ not, however, like some, a triumph which was startling and tumultuous from the length of the procession and the multitude of objects displayed. Instead, he decorated the circus of Flaminius with the arms of the enemy, which were very numerous, and with the royal engines of war ; and this was a great spectacle in itself, and far from contemptible.

¹ 66 B.C.

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τὴ πομπῆ τῶν τε καταφράκτων ἵππέων ὀλύγοι
καὶ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἄρμάτων δέκα παρῆλθον,
έξήκοντα δὲ φίλοι καὶ στρατηγοὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν,
μακραὶ δὲ χαλκέμβολοι νῆες ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα ἄμα
παρεκομίσθησαν, αὐτοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου χρύσεος
έξάπους κολοσσός, καὶ θυρεός τις διάλιθος, καὶ
φορήματα εἴκοσι μὲν ἀργυρῶν σκευῶν, χρυσῶν δ'
ἐκπωμάτων καὶ ὅπλων καὶ νομίσματος δύο καὶ
4 τριάκοντα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἄνδρες παρεκόμιζον.
ἡμίονοι δ' ὀκτὼ κλίναις χρυσᾶς ἔφερον, ἐξ δὲ καὶ
πεντήκοντα κεχωνευμένον ἀργύριον, ἄλλοι δ'
ἑκατὸν ἐπτὰ νομίσματος ἀργυροῦ, μικρῷ τινι
δεούσας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας μυριάδας.
ἐν δὲ δέλτοις ἀναγραφαὶ τῶν ἥδη δεδομένων χρη-
μάτων ἵπ' αὐτοῦ Πομπῆϊ πρὸς τὸν πειρατικὸν
πόλεμον καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου, καὶ
χωρὶς ὅτι στρατιώτης ἕκαστος ἐνακοσίας καὶ
πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἔλαβεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν τε
πόλιν εἰστίασε λαμπρῶς καὶ τὰς περιοικίδας
κώμας, ἃς οὐτούς καλοῦσι.

XXXVIII. Τῆς δὲ Κλωδίας ἀπηλλαγμένος,
οὕσης ἀσελγοῦς καὶ πονηρᾶς, Σερουτίλιαν ἔγημεν,
ἀδελφὴν Κάτωνος, οὐδὲ τοῦτον εὐτυχῆ γάμον.
ἐν γὰρ οὐ προσῆν αὐτῷ τῷ Κλωδίᾳς κακῶν
μόνον, ἡ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διαβολή· τάλλα δὲ βδελυ-
ράν ὁμοίως οὖσαν καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἡναγκάζετο
φέρειν αἰδούμενος Κάτωνα, τέλος δὲ ἀπεῖπεν.

2 Ἐλπίδας δὲ θαυμαστὰς τῇ βουλῇ παρασχών,
ώς ἔχούσῃ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἀντίταγμα πρὸς τὴν
τοῦ Πομπηίου τυραννίδα καὶ τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας

LUCULLUS

But in the procession, a few of the mail-clad horsemen and ten of the scythe-bearing chariots moved along, together with sixty of the king's friends and generals. A hundred and ten bronze-beaked ships of war were also carried along, a golden statue of Mithridates himself, six feet in height, a wonderful shield adorned with precious stones, twenty litters of silver vessels, and thirty-two litters of gold beakers, armour, and money. All this was carried by men. Then there were eight mules which bore golden couches, fifty-six bearing ingots of silver, and a hundred and seven more bearing something less than two million seven hundred thousand pieces of silver coin. There were also tablets with records of the sums of money already paid by Lucullus to Pompey for the war against the pirates, and to the keepers of the public treasury, as well as of the fact that each of his soldiers had received nine hundred and fifty drachmas. To crown all, Lucullus gave a magnificent feast to the city, and to the surrounding villages called *Vici*.

XXXVIII. After his divorce from Clodia, who was a licentious and base woman, he married Servilia, a sister of Cato, but this, too, was an unfortunate marriage. For it lacked none of the evils which Clodia had brought in her train except one, namely, the scandal about her brothers. In all other respects Servilia was equally vile and abandoned, and yet Lucullus forced himself to tolerate her, out of regard for Cato. At last, however, he put her away.

The Senate had conceived wondrous hopes that in him it would find an opposer of the tyranny of Pompey and a champion of the aristocracy, with all

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πρόμαχον ἀπὸ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ὁρμώμενον μεγάλης, ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ προήκατο τὴν πολιτείαν, εἴτε δυσκάθεκτον ἥδη καὶ νοσοῦσαν ὄρῶν εἴθ', ὡς φασιν ἔνιοι, μεστὸς ὧν δόξης καὶ πρὸς τὸ ῥᾶστὸν ἀναπίπτων τοῦ βίου καὶ μαλακώτατον ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πόνων οὐκ εύτυχέστατον τέλος

- 3 λαβόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν, τὸ Μαρίου πάθος μὴ παθόντος, διὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς Κιμβρικαῖς νίκαις καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἐκείνοις κατορθώμασιν οὐκ ἥθελησεν αὐτὸν ἀνεῖναι τιμῆ τοσαύτη ζηλωτόν, ἀλλ' ἀπληστίᾳ δόξης καὶ ἀρχῆς νέοις ἀνδράσι γέρων ἀντιπολιτευόμενος εἰς ἔργα δεινὰ καὶ πάθη δεινότερα τῶν ἔργων ἐξώκειλε· βέλτιον δ' ἀν καὶ Κικέρωνα γηράσαι μετὰ Κατιλίναν ὑποστειλάμενον καὶ Σκηπίωνα Καρχηδόνι προσθέντα
- 4 Νομαντίαν, είτα πανσάμενον· εἶναι γάρ τινα καὶ πολιτικῆς περιόδου κατάλυσιν· τῶν γὰρ ἀθλητικῶν ἀγώνων τοὺς πολιτικοὺς οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀκμῆς καὶ ὥρας ἐπιλιπούσης ἐλέγχεσθαι. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράσσον καὶ Πομπήιον ἐχλεύαζον τὸν Λούκουλλον εἰς ἥδονὴν ἀφεικότα καὶ πολυτέλειαν αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ οὐ τοῦ τρυφᾶν μᾶλλον τοῖς τηλικούτοις παρ' ἡλικίαν δυτος ἡ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ στρατηγεῖν.

XXXIX. "Εστι δ' οὖν τοῦ Λουκουύλλου βίου, καθάπερ ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας, ἀναγνῶναι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πολιτείας καὶ στρατηγίας, τὰ δ' ὕστερα πότους καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ μονονουχὶ κώμους καὶ

2 λαμπάδας καὶ παιδιὰν ἅπασαν. εἰς παιδιὰν γὰρ ἔγωγε τίθεμαι καὶ οἰκοδομὰς πολυτελεῖς καὶ

LUCULLUS

the advantage of great glory and influence ; but he quitted and abandoned public affairs, either because he saw that they were already beyond proper control and diseased, or, as some say, because he had his fill of glory, and felt that the unfortunate issue of his many struggles and toils entitled him to fall back upon a life of ease and luxury. Some commend him for making such a change, and thereby escaping the unhappy lot of Marius, who, after his Cimbrian victories and the large and fair successes which were so famous, was unwilling to relax his efforts and enjoy the honours won, but with an insatiate desire for glory and power, old man that he was, fought with young men in the conduct of the state, and so drove headlong into terrible deeds, and sufferings more terrible still. Cicero, say these, would have had a better old age if he had taken in sail after the affair of Catiline, and Scipio, too, if he had given himself pause after adding Numantia to Carthage ; for a political cycle, too, has a sort of natural termination, and political no less than athletic contests are absurd, after the full vigor of life has departed. Crassus and Pompey, on the other hand, ridiculed Lucullus for giving himself up to pleasure and extravagance, as if a luxurious life were not even more unsuitable to men of his years than political and military activities.

XXXIX. And it is true that in the life of Lucullus, as in an ancient comedy, one reads in the first part of political measures and military commands, and in the latter part of drinking bouts, and banquets, and what might pass for revel-routs, and torch-races, and all manner of frivolity. For I must count as frivolity his costly edifices, his ambulatories

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κατασκευὰς περιπάτων καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἔτι
μᾶλλον γραφὰς καὶ ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὴν περὶ
ταύτας τὰς τέχνας σπουδήν, ἀς ἐκεῖνος συνῆγε
μεγάλοις ἀναλώμασιν, εἰς ταῦτα τῷ πλούτῳ
ρύδην καταχρώμενος, δν ἡθροίκει πολὺν καὶ
λαμπρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατειῶν, ὅπου καὶ νῦν, ἐπί-
δοσιν τοιαύτην τῆς τρυφῆς ἔχούσης, οἱ Λουκουλ-
λιανοὶ κῆποι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐν τοῖς πολυτελεστά-
3 τοις ἀριθμοῦνται. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς παραλίοις καὶ
περὶ Νέαν πόλιν ἔργα, λόφους ἀνακρεμαννύντος
αὐτοῦ μεγάλοις ὄρυγμασι καὶ τροχοὺς θαλάσσης
καὶ διαδρομὰς ἵχθυοτρόφους τοῖς οἰκητηρίοις
περιελίσσοντος καὶ διαίτας ἐναλίους κτίζοντος, ὁ
Σταϊκὸς Τουβέρων θεασάμενος Ξέρξην αὐτὸν ἐκ
4 τηβέννου προσηγόρευσεν. ἥσαν δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ
Τοῦσκλον ἐγχώριοι διαιταὶ καὶ κατασκοπαὶ
περιόπτων καὶ κατασκευαὶ ἀναπεπταμένων
ἀνδρώνων καὶ περιπάτων, ἐν αἷς ὁ Πομπήιος
γενόμενος ἐμέμφετο τὸν Λουκουλλον, ὅτι πρὸς
θέρος ἄριστα διαθεὶς τὴν ἔπαυλιν ἀοίκητον ἐν
χειμῶνι πεποίηκε. γελάσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος “Εἴτα,”
ἔφη, “σοὶ δοκῶ ἐλάττονα τῶν γεράνων νοῦν ἔχειν
καὶ τῶν πελαργῶν, ὥστε ταῖς ωραῖς μὴ συμμετα-
5 βάλλειν τὰς διαίτας;” στρατηγοῦ δέ ποτε
φιλοτιμουμένου περὶ θέας καὶ χορῷ τινι κόσμον
αἴτουμένου πορφυρᾶς χλαμυδᾶς ἀπεκρίνατο
σκεψάμενος, ἀν ἔχῃ, δωσειν, εἴτα μεθ' ἡμέραν
ἡρώτησεν αὐτόν, ὅπόσων δέοιτο. τοῦ δὲ ἐκατὸν
ἀρκέσειν φήσαντος ἐκέλευσε λαβεῖν δις τοσαύτας·
εἰς δὲ καὶ Φλάκκος ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπιπεφώνηκεν, ὡς

LUCULLUS

and baths, and still more his paintings and statues (not to speak of his devotion to these arts), which he collected at enormous outlays, pouring out into such channels the vast and splendid wealth which he accumulated from his campaigns. Even now, when luxury has increased so much, the gardens of Lucullus are counted among the most costly of the imperial gardens. As for his works on the sea-shore and in the vicinity of Neapolis, where he suspended hills over vast tunnels, girdled his residences with zones of sea and with streams for the breeding of fish, and built dwellings in the sea,—when Tubero the Stoic saw them, he called him Xerxes in a toga. He had also country establishments near Tusculum, with observatories, and extensive open banqueting halls and cloisters. Pompey once visited these, and chided Lucullus because he had arranged his country seat in the best possible way for summer, but had made it uninhabitable in winter. Whereupon Lucullus burst out laughing and said : “ Do you suppose, then, that I have less sense than cranes and storks, and do not change residences according to the seasons ? ” A praetor was once making ambitious plans for a public spectacle, and asked of him some purple cloaks for the adornment of a chorus. Lucullus replied that he would investigate, and if he had any, would give them to him. The next day he asked the praetor how many he wanted, and on his replying that a hundred would suffice, bade him take twice that number. The poet Flaccus¹ alluded to this when

¹ *Epist.* i. 6, 45 f.

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οὐ νομίζει πλοῦτον, οὐ μὴ τὰ παρορώμενα καὶ λανθάνοντα πλείονα τῶν φαινομένων ἔστι.

XL. Νεόπλουτα δὲ ήν τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὰ δεῖπνα τὰ καθ' ήμέραν. οὐ μόνον στρωμναῖς ἀλουργέσι καὶ διαλίθοις ἐκπόμπασι καὶ χοροῖς καὶ ἀκροάμασιν ἐπεισοδίοις, ἀλλ' ὅψων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ πεμπάτων περιττῶς διαπεπονημένων παρασκευαῖς ζηλωτὸν ἀνελευθέροις ποιοῦντος
2 ἑαυτόν. ὁ γοῦν Πομπήιος εὐδοκίμησε νοσῶν τοῦ γὰρ ἰατροῦ κίχλην αὐτὸν λαβεῖν κελεύσαντος, τῶν δ' οἰκετῶν οὐκ ἀν εύρειν ἀλλαχόθι φαμένων θέρους ὥρᾳ κίχλην ἡ παρὰ Λουκούλλῳ σιτευομένην, οὐκ εἴασε λαβεῖν ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν πρὸς τὸν ἰατρόν “Οὐκοῦν, εὶ μὴ Λούκουλλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπήιος οὐκ ἀν ἔξησεν;” ἄλλο τι παρασκευάσαι
3 τῶν εὐπορίστων ἐκέλευσε. Κάτων δὲ ήν αὐτῷ 519 φίλος καὶ οἰκεῖος, οὗτος δὲ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐδυσχέραινεν, ὥστε, νέου τινὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ λόγον ἐπαχθῆ καὶ μακρὸν ἀκάίρως ὑπὲρ εὐτελείας καὶ σωφροσύνης διελθόντος, ἐπαναστὰς ὁ Κάτων “Οὐ παύσῃ,” ἔφη, “σὺ πλουτῶν μὲν ὡς Κράσσος, ζῶν δὲ ὡς Λούκουλλος, λέγων δὲ ὡς Κάτων;” ἔνιοι δὲ τοῦτο ὣθηται μὲν οὕτως, ὑπὸ Κάτωνος δὲ οὐ λέγουσιν.

XLI. Οἱ μέντοι Λούκουλλος οὐχ ἡδόμενος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνυνόμενος τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ δῆλος ἦν ἐκ τῶν ἀπομνημονευομένων. λέγεται γὰρ “Ελληνας ἀνθρώπους ἀναβάντας εἰς Ρώμην ἔστιαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, τοὺς δὲ ὅντας Ἐλληνικόν τι παθόντας, αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ διωθεῖσθαι

LUCULLUS

he said that he did not regard a house as wealthy in which the treasures that were overlooked and unobserved were not more than those which met the eye.

XL. The daily repasts of Lucullus were such as the newly rich affect. Not only with his dyed coverlets, and beakers set with precious stones, and choruses and dramatic recitations, but also with his arrays of all sorts of meats and daintily prepared dishes, did he make himself the envy of the vulgar. A saying of Pompey's, when he was ill, was certainly very popular. His physicians had prescribed a thrush for him to eat, and his servants said that a thrush could not be found anywhere in the summer season except where Lucullus kept them fattening. Pompey, however, would not suffer them to get one from there, but bade them prepare something else that was easily to be had, remarking as he did so to his physician, "What! must a Pompey have died if a Lucullus were not luxurious?" And Cato, who was a friend of his, and a relation by marriage, was nevertheless much offended by his life and habits. Once when a youthful senator had delivered a tedious and lengthy discourse, all out of season, on frugality and temperance, Cato rose and said; "Stop there! you get wealth like Crassus, you live like Lucullus, but you talk like Cato." Some, however, while they say that these words were actually uttered, do not say that they were spoken by Cato.

XLI. Moreover, that Lucullus took not only pleasure but pride in this way of living, is clear from the anecdotes recorded of him. It is said, for instance, that he entertained for many successive days some Greeks who had come up to Rome, and that they, with genuinely Greek scruples, were at last ashamed to accept his invitation, on the ground

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την κλῆσιν, ώς δι' αὐτοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν τοσούτων
2 ἀναλισκομένων· τὸν οὖν Λούκουλλον εἰπεῖν μειδιάσαντα πρὸς αὐτούς· “Γίνεται μέν τι τούτων καὶ δι' ὑμᾶς, ὡς ἄνδρες “Ελληνες· τὰ μέντοι πλεῖστα γίνεται διὰ Λούκουλλον.” ἐπεὶ δὲ μόνου δειπνοῦντος αὐτοῦ μία τράπεζα καὶ μέτριον παρεσκευάσθη δεῖπνου, ἥγανάκτει καλέσας τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένον οἰκέτην. τοῦ δὲ φίσαντος, ώς οὐκ φέτο μηδενὸς κεκλημένου πολυτελοῦς τινος αὐτὸν δεήσεσθαι “Τί λέγεις;” εἰπεν, “οὐκ ἔδεις,
3 ὅτι σήμερον παρὰ Λουκούλλῳ δειπνεῖ Λούκουλλος;” ὅντος δὲ περὶ τούτου, ώς εἰκός, ἐν τῇ πόλει λόγου πολλοῦ, προσῆλθον αὐτῷ κατ' ἀγορὰν σχολὴν ἄγοντι Κικέρων καὶ Πομπήιος, ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φίλος ὃν καὶ συνήθης, Πομπηῖφ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατηγίας διαφορὰ πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰώθεισαν δὲ χρῆσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι πολλάκις
4 ἐπιεικῶς ἀλλήλοις. ἀσπασάμενος οὖν ὁ Κικέρων αὐτὸν ἡρώτησεν, ὅπως ἔχει πρὸς ἔντευξιν τοῦ δὲ φίσαντος, ώς ἄριστα, καὶ παρακαλοῦντος ἔντυγχάνειν ““Ημεῖς,” ἔφη, “βουλόμεθα δειπνῆσαι παρὰ σὸν τήμερον οὕτως, ὅπως ἔστι σοι παρεσκευασμένα.” Θρυπτομένου δὲ τοῦ Λουκούλλου καὶ μεταλαβεῖν ἡμέραν ἀξιοῦντος οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐπιτρέψειν, οὐδὲ εἴων διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς οἰκέταις, ἵνα μή τι πλέον κελεύσῃ γενέσθαι τῶν αὐτῷ
5 γινομένων, πλὴν τοσοῦτο μόνον αἰτουμένῳ συνεχώρησαν εἰπεῖν πρὸς ἔνα τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐναντίον ἔκείνων, ὅτι τήμερον ἐν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι δειπνήσοι· τοῦτο γάρ τις εἶχε τῶν πολυτελῶν οἰκων ὄνομα.

LUCULLUS

that he was incurring so much expense every day on their account; whereupon Lucullus said to them with a smile, "Some of this expense, my Grecian friends, is indeed on your account; most of it, however, is on account of Lucullus." And once, when he was dining alone, and a modest repast of one course had been prepared for him, he was angry, and summoned the servant who had the matter in charge. The servant said that he did not suppose, since there were no guests, that he wanted anything very costly. "What sayest thou?" said the master, "dost thou not know that to-day Lucullus dines with Lucullus?" While this matter was much talked of in the city, as was natural, Cicero and Pompey came up to him as he was idling in the forum. Cicero was one of his most intimate friends, and although the matter of the command of the army had led to some coolness between him and Pompey, still they were accustomed to frequent and friendly intercourse and conversation with one another. Accordingly, Cicero saluted him, and asked how he was disposed towards receiving a petition. "Most excellently well," said Lucullus, and invited them to make their petition. "We desire," said Cicero, "to dine with you to-day just as you would have dined by yourself." Lucullus demurred to this, and begged the privilege of selecting a later day, but they refused to allow it, nor would they suffer him to confer with his servants, that he might not order any thing more provided than what was provided for himself. Thus much, however, and no more, they did allow him at his request, namely, to tell one of his servants in their presence that he would dine that day in the Apollo. Now this was the name of one of his costly apartments,

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καὶ τοῦτο σεσοφισμένος ἐλελήθει τοὺς ἄνδρας.
έκάστῳ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, δειπνητηρίῳ τεταγμένου
ἢν τίμημα δείπνου, καὶ χορηγίᾳν ἴδιαν καὶ παρα-
σκευὴν ἔκαστον εἰχεν, ὥστε τοὺς δούλους ἀκού-
σαντας, ὃπου βούλεται δειπνεῖν, εἰδέναι, πόσον
δαπάνημα καὶ ποιόν τι κόσμῳ καὶ διαθέσει
γενέσθαι δεῖ τὸ δείπνον· εἰώθει δὲ δειπνεῖν ἐν τῷ
6 Ἀπόλλωνι πέντε μυριάδων· καὶ τότε τοσούτου
τελεσθέντος ἔξεπληξε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν
τῷ μεγέθει τῆς δαπάνης τὸ τάχος τῆς παρασκευῆς.
εἰς ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑβριστικῶς ἔχρητο τῷ πλούτῳ
καθάπερ ὅντως αἰχμαλώτῳ καὶ βαρβάρῳ.

XLII. Σπουδῆς δ' ἄξια καὶ λόγου τὰ περὶ τὴν
τῶν βιβλίων κατασκευήν. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ
γεγραμμένα καλῶς συνῆγεν, ἢ τε χρῆσις ḥν
φιλοτιμοτέρα τῆς κτήσεως, ἀνειμένων πᾶσι τῶν
βιβλιοθηκῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὰς περιπάτων
καὶ σχολαστηρίων ἀκωλύτως ὑποδεχομένων τοὺς
"Ελληνας ὕσπερ εἰς Μουσῶν τι καταγάγιον
ἐκεῖσε φοιτῶντας καὶ συνδιημερεύοντας ἀλλήλοις,
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων χρειῶν ἀσμένως ἀποτρέχοντας.
2 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ συνεσχόλαζεν αὐτὸς ἐμβάλλων
εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους τοῖς φιλολόγοις καὶ τοῖς
πολιτικοῖς συνέπραττεν ὅτου δέοιντο· καὶ ὅλως
ἔστια καὶ πρυτανεῖον Ἐλληνικὸν ὁ οἶκος ḥν αὐτοῦ
τοῖς ἀφικνουμένοις εἰς Ῥώμην. φιλοσοφίαν δὲ
πᾶσαν μὲν ἡσπάζετο καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν εὔμενὴς ḥν
καὶ οἰκεῖος, ἵδιον δὲ τῆς Ἀκαδημείας ἔξι ἀρχῆς

LUCULLUS

and he thus outwitted the men without their knowing it. For each of his dining-rooms, as it seems, had a fixed allowance for the dinner served there, as well as its own special apparatus and equipment, so that his slaves, on hearing where he wished to dine, knew just how much the dinner was to cost, and what were to be its decorations and arrangements. Now the usual cost of a dinner in the Apollo was fifty thousand drachmas, and that was the sum laid out on the present occasion. Pompey was amazed at the speed with which the banquet was prepared, notwithstanding it had cost so much. In these ways, then, Lucullus used his wealth wantonly, as though it were in very truth a Barbarian prisoner-of-war.

XLII. But what he did in the establishment of a library deserves warm praise. He got together many books; and they were well written, and his use of them was more honourable to him than his acquisition of them. His libraries were thrown open to all, and the cloisters surrounding them, and the study-rooms, were accessible without restriction to the Greeks, who constantly repaired thither as to an hostelry of the Muses, and spent the day with one another, in glad escape from their other occupations. Lucullus himself also often spent his leisure hours there with them, walking about in the cloisters with their scholars, and he would assist their statesmen in whatever they desired. And in general his house was a home and prytaneum for the Greeks who came to Rome. He was fond of all philosophy, and well-disposed and friendly towards every school, but from the first he cherished a particular and zealous love for the Academy, not

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 ἔρωτα καὶ ζῆλον ἔσχεν, οὐ τῆς νέας λεγομένης,
καίπερ ἀνθούσης τότε τοῖς Καρνεάδου λόγοις
διὰ Φίλωνος, ἀλλὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς, πιθανὸν ἄνδρα 520
καὶ δεινὸν εἰπεῖν τότε προστάτην ἔχούσης τὸν
Ἀσκαλωνίτην Ἀντίοχον, δν πάσῃ σπουδῇ ποιη-
σάμενος φίλον ὁ Λούκουλλος καὶ συμβιωτὴν
ἀντέταττε τοῖς Φίλωνος ἀκροαταῖς, ὃν καὶ
4 Κικέρων ἦν. καὶ σύγγραμμά γε πάγκαλον ἐποίη-
σεν εἰς τὴν αἴρεσιν, ἐν φῶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταλή-
ψεως λόγον Λουκούλλῳ περιτέθεικεν, αὐτῷ δὲ
τὸν ἐναντίον. Λούκουλλος δ' ἀναγέγραπται τὸ
βιβλίον.

’Ησαν δ', ὥσπερ εἴρηται, φίλοι σφόδρα καὶ
κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἐν πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ
αὖ πάμπαν ἀπηλλάχει τῆς πολιτείας ἑαυτὸν ὁ
5 Λούκουλλος, ἀλλὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι
καὶ πλεῖστον δύνασθαι φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ἄμιλλαν,
ώς οὕτε ἀκίνδυνον οὗτ' ἀνύβριστον οὖσαν, εὐθὺς
ἀφῆκε Κράσσῳ καὶ Κάτωνι· τούτους γὰρ οἱ τὴν
Πομπηίου δύναμιν ὑφορώμενοι προεβάλλοντο
τῆς βουλῆς, ἀπολεγομένου τοῦ Λουκούλλου τὰ
πρωτεῖα· κατέβαινε δ' εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν διὰ
τοὺς φίλους, εἰς δὲ τὴν σύγκλητον, εἰ Πομπηίου
6 τινὰ δέοι σπουδὴν ἡ φιλοτιμίαν ἐπηρεάσαι. καὶ
τάς τε διατάξεις, ἣς ἐκεῖνος ἐποιήσατο τῶν βασι-
λέων κρατήσας, ἐξέκρουσε, καὶ νέμησίν τινα τοῖς
στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ γράφοντος ἐκώλυσε δοθῆναι
συμπράττοντος Κάτωνος, ὥστε Πομπήιον εἰς τὴν

LUCULLUS

the New Academy, so-called, although that school at the time had a vigorous representative of the doctrines of Carneades in Philo, but the Old Academy, which at that time was headed by a persuasive man and powerful speaker in the person of Antiochus of Ascalon. This man Lucullus hastened to make his friend and companion, and arrayed him against the disciples of Philo, of whom Cicero also was one. Indeed, Cicero wrote a noble treatise on the doctrines of this sect, in which he has put the argument in support of "apprehension" into the mouth of Lucullus, and carried the opposing argument himself. The book is entitled "Lucullus."¹

Lucullus and Cicero were, as I have said, ardent friends, and members of the same political party, for Lucullus had not withdrawn himself entirely from political life, although he lost no time in leaving to Crassus and Cato the ambitious struggle for the chief place and the greatest power, since he saw that it involved both peril and ignominy. For those who looked with suspicion upon the power of Pompey, made Crassus and Cato the champions of the senatorial party when Lucullus declined the leadership. But Lucullus would still go to the forum in support of his friends, and also to the Senate, whenever there was need of combating some ambitious scheme of Pompey's. Thus, the dispositions which Pompey made after his conquest of the kings, Lucullus made null and void, and his proposal for a generous distribution of lands to his soldiers, Lucullus, with the co-operation of Cato, prevented from being granted. Pompey therefore

¹ *Academicorum Priorum, Liber Secundus, qui inscribitur Lucullus.*

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Κράσσου καὶ Καίσαρος φιλίαν, μᾶλλον δὲ συνωμοσίαν, καταφυγεῖν καὶ πληρώσαντα τὴν πόλιν ὅπλων καὶ στρατιωτῶν βίᾳ κυρώσαι τὰ δόγματα, τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάτωνα καὶ Λούκουλλον ἐκβαλόντα τῆς ἀγορᾶς.

- 7 Ἀγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν βελτίστων ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις προήγονοι οἱ Πομπηῖανοὶ Βέττιόν τινα, συνειληφέναι λέγοντες ἐπιβουλεύοντα Πομπηῖφ. κἀκεῖνοις ἀνακρινόμενος ἐν μὲν τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατηγόρησεν ἔτέρων τινῶν, ἐν δὲ τῷ διήμῳ Λούκουλλον ὡνόμασεν, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεσκευα-
- 8 σμένος ἀποκτεῖναι Πομπήιον. οὐδεὶς δὲ τῷ λόγῳ προσέσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραυτίκα δῆλος ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ καὶ διαβολῇ προηγμένος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐφωράθη τὸ πρᾶγμα μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ρίφθεντος ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς νεκροῦ, λεγομένου μὲν αὐτομάτως τεθνάναι, σημεῖα δ' ἀγχόνης καὶ πληγῶν ἔχοντος ἐδόκει γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνηρῆσθαι τῶν παρεσκευακότων.

- XLIII. Ταῦτα δὴ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀπῆγε τῆς πολιτείας τὸν Λούκουλλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κικέρων ἔξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Κάτων εἰς Κύπρον ἀπεστάλη, παντάπασιν ἔξελύθη. καὶ πρό γε τῆς τελευτῆς λέγεται νοσῆσαι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῷ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπομαραινομένην. Νέπως δὲ Κορνήλιος οὐχ ὑπὸ γήρως φησὶν οὐδὲ νόσου παραλλάξαι τὸν Λούκουλλον, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκοις ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἀπελευθέρων Καλλισθένους διαφθαρέντα· τὰ δὲ φάρμακα δοθῆναι μέν, ὡς ἀγαπῶτο μᾶλλον ὁ Καλλισθένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τοιαύτην ἔχειν δικοῦντα τὴν δύναμιν, ἐκστῆσαι δὲ καὶ κατακλύσαι τὸν λογισμόν, ὥστ'

LUCULLUS

took refuge in an alliance, or rather a conspiracy, with Crassus and Caesar, and by filling the city with his armed soldiery and expelling from the forum the partisans of Cato and Lucullus, got his measures ratified.

As these proceedings were resented by the nobles, the partisans of Pompey produced a certain Vettius, whom, as they declared, they had caught plotting against the life of Pompey. So the man was examined in the Senate, where he accused sundry other persons, but before the people he named Lucullus as the man who had engaged him to kill Pompey. However, no one believed his story, nay, it was at once clear that the fellow had been put forward by the partisans of Pompey to make false and malicious charges, and the fraud was made all the plainer when, a few days afterwards, his dead body was cast out of the prison. It was said, indeed, that he had died a natural death, but he bore the marks of throttling and violence, and the opinion was that he had been taken off by the very men who had engaged his services.

XLIII. Of course this induced Lucullus to withdraw even more from public life. And when Cicero was banished from the city, and Cato was sent out to Cyprus, he retired altogether. Even before his death, it is said that his understanding was affected and gradually faded away. But Cornelius Nepos says that Lucullus lost his mind not from old age, nor yet from disease, but that he was disabled by drugs administered to him by one of his freedmen, Callisthenes; that the drugs were given him by Callisthenes in order to win more of his love, in the belief that they had such a power, but they drove him from his senses and overwhelmed his reason

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ἔτι ξῶντος αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν διοικεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν.
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπέθανε, καθάπερ ἀν¹ ἐν ἀκμῇ
τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτοῦ τελευτή-
σαντος, ὁ δῆμος ἡχθέσθη καὶ συνέδραμε, καὶ τὸ
σῶμα κομισθὲν εἰς ἄγορὰν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐγενεστάτων
νεανίσκων ἐβιάζετο θάπτειν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ
3 Ἀρεως, ὅπου καὶ Σύλλαν ἔθαψεν. οὐδενὸς δὲ
τοῦτο προσδοκήσαντος, οὐδὲ ῥᾳδίας οὕσης τῆς
παρασκευῆς, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ δεόμενος καὶ παραι-
τούμενος ἐπεισεν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν παρεσκευασμένην
ἐν τῷ περὶ Τούσκλον ἄγρῳ τοῦ νεκροῦ κηδείαν
γενέσθαι. πολὺν δ' οὐδὲ αὐτὸς προσεβίω χρόνον,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἡλικίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ μικρὸν ἀπελείφθη, καὶ
τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς τελευτῆς, φιλαδελφότατος γενό-
μενος.

ΚΙΜΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΛΟΥΚΟΥΛΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις εὐδαιμονίσειε τοῦ τέλους 521
Λούκουλλον, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς, ἦν ἥδη
κατὰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐτεκταίνετο τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις
πολέμοις τὸ πεπρωμένον, ἔφθη προαποθανὼν καὶ
καταλύσας ἐν νοσούσῃ μέν, ἔτι δ' ἐλευθέρᾳ τῇ
πατρίδι τὸν βίον. καὶ τοῦτο γε πάντων αὐτῷ
2 πρὸς Κίμωνα κοινότατόν ἐστι.. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος
οὐπώ συντεταραγμένων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀκμὴν
ἔχόντων ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου
μέντοι καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἀπειρηκὼς οὐδ' ἀλύων,
οὐδὲ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν

¹ *An supplied by Reiske.*

LUCULLUS

so that even while he was still alive, his brother managed his property. However, when he died,¹ the people grieved just as much as if his death had come at the culmination of his military and political services, and flocked together, and tried to compel the young nobles who had carried the body into the forum to bury it in the Campus Martius, where Sulla also had been buried. But no one had expected this, and preparations for it were not easy, and so his brother, by prayers and supplications, succeeded in persuading them to suffer the burial to take place on the estate at Tusculum, where preparations for it had been made. Nor did he himself long survive Lucullus, but, as in age and reputation he came a little behind him, so did he also in the time of his death, having been a most affectionate brother.

COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS AND CIMON

I. ONE might deem Lucullus especially happy in his end, from the fact that he died before that constitutional change had come, which fate was already contriving by means of the civil wars. His country was in a distempered state when he laid down his life, but still she was free. And in this respect, more than any other, he is like Cimon. For Cimon also died before Greece was confounded, and while she was at the acme of her power. He died, however, in the field, and at the head of an army, not exhausted or of a wandering mind, nor yet

¹ About 57 B.C.

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τροπαίων ἔπαθλον ποιούμενος εὐωχίας καὶ πότους,
ώσπερ Πλάτων ἐπισκώπτει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα,
τοῖς εὐ βεβιωκόσι φάσκοντας ἀποκεῖσθαι γέρας
3 ἐν ἄδου μέθην αἰώνιον. σχολὴ μὲν οὖν καὶ
ήσυχία καὶ διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους ἡδουνή τινα καὶ
θεωρίαν ἔχοντας εὐπρεπέστατον ἀνδρὶ πρεσβύτῃ
καὶ πεπαυμένῳ πολέμων καὶ πολιτείας παρα-
μύθιον· τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡδουνήν, ὡς τέλος, καταστρέψαντα
τὰς καλὰς πράξεις ἡδη λοιπὸν Ἀφροδίσια τῶν
πολέμων καὶ στρατηγιῶν ἄγοντα παιζεῖν καὶ
τρυφᾶν οὐκ ἄξια τῆς καλῆς Ἀκαδημείας, οὐδὲ
τὸν Ξενοκράτη ζηλοῦντος, ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλικότος
4 πρὸς τὸν Ἐπίκουρον. δ καὶ θαυμαστόν ἔστιν
ὑπεναντίως γὰρ ἡ νεότης τοῦ μὲν ἐπίψυχος καὶ
ἀκόλαστος γεγονέναι δοκεῖ, τοῦ δὲ πεπαιδευμένη
καὶ σώφρων. Βελτίων οὖν ὡς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἡ
μεταβολή· χρηστοτέρα γὰρ ἡ φύσις, ἐν ᾧ γηρᾶ
μὲν τὸ χεῖρον, ἐπακμάζει δὲ τὸ ἄμεινον.

Καὶ μὴν ὁμοίως γε πλουτήσαντες οὐχ ὁμοίως
5 διέθεντο τὸν πλοῦτον. οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον ὁμοιώσαι τῷ
νοτίῳ τείχει τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, δ τοῖς ὑπὸ Κίμωνος
κομισθεῖσιν ἐτελέσθη χρήμασι, τοὺς ἐν Νέᾳ πόλει
θαλάμους καὶ τὰς περικλύστους ἀπόψεις, ἀς
Λούκουν λλος ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβαρικῶν ἐξφοδόμει
λαφύρων οὐδέ γε τῇ Κίμωνος τραπέζῃ τὴν Λου-
κούν λλον παραβαλεῖν, τῇ δημοκρατικῇ καὶ φιλαν-
6 θρώπω τὴν πολυτελῆ καὶ σατραπικήν. ἡ μὲν
γὰρ ἀπὸ μικρᾶς δαπάνης πολλοὺς καθ' ἡμέραν
διετρεφεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς ὀλίγους τρυφῶντας ἀπὸ πολλῶν

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making feastings and revellings the crowning prize for arms and campaigns and trophies. Plato¹ banters the followers of Orpheus for declaring that for those who have lived rightly, there is laid up in Hades a treasure of everlasting intoxication. Leisure, no doubt, and quiet, and the pursuit of pleasantly speculative learning, furnish a most fitting solace for a man of years who has retired from wars and politics. But to divert fair achievements to pleasure as their final end, and then to sport and wanton at the head of Aphrodite's train, as a sequel to wars and fightings, was not worthy of the noble Academy, nor yet of one who would follow Xenocrates, but rather of one who leaned towards Epicurus. And this is the more astonishing, because, contrariwise, Cimon seems to have been of ill repute and unrestrained in his youth, while Lucullus was disciplined and sober. Better, surely, is the man in whom the change is for the better; for it argues a more wholesome nature when its evil withers and its good ripens.

And further, though both alike were wealthy, they did not make a like use of their wealth. There is no comparing the south wall of the Acropolis, which was completed with the moneys brought home by Cimon, with the palaces and sea-washed Belvideres at Neapolis, which Lucullus built out of the spoils of the Barbarians. Nor can the table of Cimon be likened to that of Lucullus; the one was democratic and charitable, the other sumptuous and oriental. The one, at slight outlay, gave daily sustenance to many; the other, at large cost, was prepared for a few luxurious livers. It may be said,

¹ *Republic*, ii. p. 363.

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παρεσκευάζετο χρημάτων. εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίει διαφορὰν ὁ χρόνος· ἄδηλον γάρ, εἰ καὶ Κίμων ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων καὶ στρατηγῶν εἰς ἀπόλεμον καὶ ἀπολίτευτον γῆρας ἀφεὶς αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀν ἔχρήσατο σοβαρῷ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνειμένη διαιτῇ· καὶ γὰρ φιλοπότης καὶ πανηγυρικὸς καὶ τὰ πρὸς γυναικας, ὡς προεί-
7 ρηται, διαβεβλημένος. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας κατορθώσεις ἡδονὰς ἔτέρας ἔχουσαι τῶν χειρόνων ἐπιθυμιῶν ἀσχολίαν ποιοῦσι καὶ λήθην ταῖς πολιτικαῖς καὶ φιλοτίμοις φύσεσιν. εἰ γοῦν καὶ Λουκουλλος ἔτελεύτησεν ἀγωνιζόμενος καὶ στρατηγῶν, οὐδ' ἀν ὁ ψογερώτατος καὶ φιλομεμφότατος εὑρεῖν μοι δοκεῖ διαβολὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς διαιτῆς.

II. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ὅτι μὲν ἀμφότεροι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀγαθοὶ γεγόνασιν ἀγωνισταὶ δῆλον· ὥσπερ δὲ τῶν ἀθλητῶν τοὺς ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πάλῃ καὶ παγκρατίῳ στεφανουμένους ἔθει τινὶ παραδοξονίκας καλοῦσιν, οὗτοι Κίμων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πεζομαχίας καὶ ναυμαχίας ἄμα τροπαίῳ στεφανώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα δίκαιος ἐστιν ἔχειν τινὰ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς.
2 καὶ μὴν Λουκουλλῷ μὲν ἡ πατρίς, Κίμων δὲ τῇ πατρίδι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν περιέθηκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχούσῃ τῶν συμμάχων προσεκτήσατο τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ δ' ἄλλοις ἐπομένην παραλαβὼν ἄμα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἄρχειν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν ἐποίησε, Πέρσας μὲν ἀναγκάσας ἡττηθέντας ἐκβῆναι τῆς θαλάσσης, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ

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indeed, that the difference in state was due to the difference in time. For it is at least possible that Cimon also, if he had retired after his active campaigns to an old age which knew neither war nor politics, might have led an even more ostentatious and pleasure-loving life. He was fond of wine and given to display, and his relations with women, as I have said before,¹ were scandalous. But success in strenuous achievement, affording as it does a higher pleasure, gives public-spirited and ambitious natures no time to indulge the baser appetites, which are forgotten. At any rate, if Lucullus also had ended his days in active military command, not even the most carping and censorious spirit, I think, could have brought accusation against him. Thus much concerning their manner of life.

II. In war, it is plain that both were good fighters, both on land and sea. But just as those athletes who win crowns in wrestling and the pancratium on a single day are called, by custom, "Victors-extraordinary," so Cimon, who in a single day crowned Greece with the trophies of a land and sea victory, may justly have a certain pre-eminence among generals. And further, it was his country which conferred imperial power upon Lucullus, whereas Cimon conferred it upon his. The one added his foreign conquests to a country which already ruled her allies; the other found his country obeying others, and gave her command over her allies and victory over her foreign foes, by defeating the Persians and driving them from the sea, and by persuading the Lacedaemonians voluntarily to

¹ See *Cimon*, iv. 8.

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- 3 πείσας ἐκόντας ἐκστῆναι. εἰ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἔργου ήγεμόνος εὐπείθειαν ἔργαστασθαι δι' εύνοίας,¹ Λούκουλλος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν κατεφρονήθη, Κίμων δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐθαυμάσθη· παρ' οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστησαν, πρὸς δὲ μετέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὡν ἄρχων ἐξῆλθεν, ὑπὸ τούτων ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπανῆλθεν, ὁ δὲ μεθ' ὡν ἑτέροις ποιήσων τὸ προσταττόμενον ἐξεπέμφθη, τούτοις αὐτὸς διδοὺς τὸ παράγγελμα κατέπλευσε, τρία τὰ πάντων δυσκολώτατα διαπεπραγμένος ὁμοῦ τῇ πόλει, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους εἰρήνην, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἡγεμονίαν, πρὸς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους ὁμόνοιαν.
- 4 Μεγάλας τοίνυν ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀμφότεροι καταλύειν ἡγεμονίας καὶ καταστρέφεσθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ἀτελεῖς ἐγένοντο τῶν πράξεων, ὁ μὲν καθάπαξ διὰ τὴν τύχην² ἐτελεύτησε γὰρ στρατηγῶν καὶ εὐημερῶν τὸν δ' οὐ παντελῶς ἄν τις ἐξέλοιτο τῆς παρ' αὐτὸν αἰτίας, εἴτ' ἡγνόησεν εἴτ' οὐκ ἐθεράπευσε τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ διαφορὰς καὶ μέμψεις, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τηλικαύτας 5 ἀπεχθείας προῆλθεν. ἡ τοῦτο γε καὶ πρὸς Κίμωνα κοινόν ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου ὑπῆγαγόν τε εἰς δίκας οἱ πολῖται καὶ τελευτῶντες ἐξωστράκισαν, ἵν' αὐτοῦ δέκα ἐτῶν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, τῆς φωνῆς μὴ ἀκούσωσιν. αἱ γὰρ ἀριστοκρατικαὶ φύσεις ὀλίγα τοῖς πολλοῖς συνάδουσι καὶ πρὸς ἥδονὴν ἔχουσι, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ προσβιαζόμεναι τῷ κατευθύνειν διαστρεφομένους ἀνιώσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν ἰατρῶν δεσμοί, καίπερ εἰς τὰ κατὰ φύσιν

¹ εύνοίας with S: εὔνοιαν.

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relinquish the command. Granted that it is the most important task of a leader to secure prompt obedience through good will, Lucullus was despised by his own soldiers, while Cimon was admired by the allies. His soldiers deserted the one ; the allies came over to the other. The one came back home abandoned by those whom he commanded when he set out ; the other was sent out with allies to do the commands of others, but before he sailed home he himself gave commands to those allies, having successfully secured for his city three of the most difficult objects at once, namely, peace with the enemy, leadership of the allies, and concord with the Lacedaemonians.

Again, both attempted to subvert great empires and to subdue all Asia, and both left their work unfinished : Cimon through ill fortune pure and simple, for he died at the head of his army and at the height of his success ; but Lucullus one cannot altogether acquit of blame, whether he was ignorant of, or would not attend to the grievances and complaints among his soldiery, in consequence of which he became so bitterly hated. Or perhaps this has its counterpart in the life of Cimon, for he was brought to trial by his fellow citizens and finally ostracised, in order that for ten years, as Plato says,¹ they might not hear his voice. For aristocratic natures are little in accord with the multitude, and seldom please it, but by so often using force to rectify its aberrations, they vex and annoy it, just as physicians' bandages vex and annoy, although they bring the dislocated members into their natural

¹ *Gorgias*, p. 516.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἄγοντες τὰς παραρθρήσεις. ταύτης μὲν οὖν ἵσως ἀπαλλακτέον τῆς αἰτίας ἐκάτερον.

III. Πολὺ δ' ὁ Λουκουλλος προῆλθε τῷ πολέμῳ τόν τε Ταῦρον ὑπερβαλὼν στρατοπέδῳ Ῥωμαίων πρῶτος, καὶ τὸν Τίγρην διαβὰς καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν ὅψει τῶν βασιλέων, Τιγρανόκερτα καὶ Κάβειρα καὶ Σινώπην καὶ
2 Νίσιβιν, ἐλὼν καὶ καταφλέξας, καὶ τὰ μὲν βόρεια μέχρι Φάσιδος, τὰ δ' ἔῳδα μέχρι Μηδίας, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον καὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν οἰκειωσάμενος διὰ τῶν Ἀραβικῶν βασιλέων, συντρίψας δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν βασιλέων, ἀπολειφθεὶς δὲ μόνου τοῦ τὰ σώματα λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ θηρίων εἰς ἐρημίας καὶ ὕλας ἀστιβεῖς καὶ ἀβάτους ἀποδι-
3 δρασκόντων. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγα· Πέρσαι μὲν γὰρ ώς οὐδὲν μέγα πεπονθότες ὑπὸ Κίμωνος εὐθὺς ἀντετάττοντο τοῖς "Ελλησι, καὶ τήν γε πολλὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κρατήσαντες διέφθειραν, Τιγράνου δὲ καὶ Μιθριδάτου μετὰ Λουκουλλον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀσθενὴς ἦδη καὶ συγκεκομμένος ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων ἀγώνων οὐδ' ἄπαξ ἐτόλμησε δεῖξαι Πομπηῖῳ τὴν δύναμιν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος, ἀλλὰ φυγὰν εἰς Βόσπορον
4 κατέβη κάκει κατέστρεψε, Τιγράνης δ' αὐτὸς ἑατὸν γυμνὸν καὶ ἄνοπλον φέρων ὑπέρριψε Πομπηῖῳ, καὶ τὸ διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀφελόμενος ἔθηκε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν, οὐ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ κολακεύων Πομπηῖον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπὸ Λουκουλλον τεθριαμβευμένοις. ἡγάπησε γοῦν ἀπολαμβάνων τὰ σύμβολα τῆς βασιλείας ως ἀφηρημένος πρότερον.

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position. Perhaps, then, both come off about alike on this count.

III. But Lucullus was much the greater in war. He was the first Roman to cross the Taurus with an army ; he passed the Tigris and captured and burned the royal cities of Asia,—Tigranocerta, Cabira, Sinopé, and Nisibis, before the eyes of their kings ; he made his own the regions to the north as far as the Phasis, to the east as far as Media, and to the south as far as the Red Sea, through the assistance of the Arabian kings ; he annihilated the forces of the hostile kings, and failed only in the capture of their persons, since like wild beasts they fled away into deserts and trackless and impenetrable forests. Strong proof of his superiority is seen in this, that the Persians, since they had suffered no great harm at the hands of Cimon, straightway arrayed themselves against the Greeks, and overwhelmed and destroyed that large force of theirs in Egypt ;¹ whereas, after Lucullus, Tigranes and Mithridates availed nothing : the latter, already weak and disabled by his first struggles, did not once dare to show Pompey his forces outside their camp, but fled away to the Bosphorus, and there put an end to his life ; as for Tigranes, he hastened to throw himself, while unrobed and unarmed, at the feet of Pompey, and taking the diadem from off his head, laid it there upon the ground, flattering Pompey thus not with his own exploits, but with those for which Lucullus had celebrated a triumph. At any rate, he was as much delighted to get back the insignia of his royalty as though he had been robbed of them before. Greater therefore is the general, as is the

¹ 454 B.C. See Thucydides, i. 109 f.

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μείζων οὖν στρατηγός, ὥσπερ ἀθλητής, ὁ τῷ μεθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀσθενέστερον παραδοὺς τὸν ἀντίπαλον.

- 5 "Ετι τούννα Κίμων μὲν συντετριμμένην τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν καὶ τὸ Περσῶν φρόνημα συνεσταλμένον ἤτταις μεγάλαις καὶ ἀπαύστοις φυγαῖς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Παυσανίου καὶ Λεωτυχίδου καταλαβὼν ἐπενέβη καὶ ὑποπεπτωκότων καὶ προηττημένων ταῖς ψυχαῖς τὰ σώματα ῥᾳδίως ἐνίκησε, Λουκούλλῳ δὲ Τιγράνης ἀήττητος 523 ἐκ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μέγα φρονῶν συνέπεσε.
6 πλήθει δ' οὐδὲ ἄξιον παραβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ Λουκουλλον συνελθοῦσι τοὺς ὑπὸ Κίμωνος κρατηθέντας. ὡστε πάντη μεταλαμβάνοντι δυσδιαιτητον εἶναι τὴν κρίσιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀμφοτέροις ἔοικεν εὔμενὲς γενέσθαι, τῷ μὲν ἀ χρὴ κατορθοῦν, τῷ δὲ ἀ φυλάττεσθαι χρὴ προμηνύον, ὡστε καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ψῆφον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ὡς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ θείοις τὴν φύσιν ἀμφοτέροις.

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athlete, who hands over his antagonist to his successor in a weaker plight.

Moreover, and still further, Cimon made his onsets when the power of the king had been broken, and the pride of the Persians humbled by great defeats and incessant routs at the hands of Themistocles, Pausanias, and Leotychides, and easily conquered the bodies of men whose spirits had been defeated beforehand and lay prone. But when Tigranes encountered Lucullus, he had known no defeat in many battles, and was in exultant mood. In point of numbers also, those who were overpowered by Cimon are not worthy of comparison with those who united against Lucullus. Therefore, one who takes everything into consideration finds it hard to reach a decision. Heaven seems to have been kindly disposed to both, directing the one as to what he must perform, and the other as to what he must avoid. Both, therefore, may be said to have received the vote of the gods as noble and god-like natures.

A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acestodorus, possibly the Acestodorus of Megalopolis, of unknown date, author of a work "On Cities."

Achaea, a province in the north of Peloponnesus, seat of the Achaean League (280–146 B.C.). In 167 B.C., the Romans deported 1000 Achaeans to Italy, where they were held for seventeen years. Among them was the historian Polybius. The name Achaea was afterwards given to the whole of southern Greece as a Roman province.

Acharnae, the largest deme, or township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.

Adiabené, the western province of Assyria, lying along the Tigris river.

Aeolian Isles, a group of islands lying between Sicily and Italy (Lucania).

Aeachines the Socratic, a disciple of Socrates, and author of Socratic dialogues.

Agesilaius, king of Sparta 398–361 B.C.

Albania, a country lying between Armenia, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus mountains, to the east of Iberia.

Allia, an insignificant stream, joining the Tiber about eleven miles above Rome, from the east.

Amisus, a city of Pontus (or Paphlagonia), on the southern shore of

the Euxine Sea, some one hundred miles east of Sinopé.

Ammon, a Libyan divinity, identified with Zeus and Jupiter. His most famous oracle was in an oasis of the Libyan desert.

Amphiaraüs, a mythical seer and prophet, king of Argos, who perished in the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.

Anaxagoras, of Clazomenae, in Ionian Asia Minor, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.C., when the enemies of Pericles secured his banishment.

Andocides, an Athenian orator, prominent 415–390 B.C. He betrayed the oligarchical party, incurring its hatred, and vainly tried to win the favour of the democratic party.

Andros, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, S.E. of Euboea.

Anio, a large river of Latium, rising in the Apennines, and joining the Tiber about three miles above Rome, from the east.

Antiochus the Great, king of Syria 223–187 B.C.

Antiochus the philosopher, of Ascalon, pupil of Philo in the school of the Academy, a friend of Lucullus, and a teacher of Cicero. He died in 68 B.C.

Antipater, regent of Macedonia after the death of Alexander (322 B.C.), victor over the confederate Greeks at Crannon, in Thessaly, 322. He died in 319.

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Araxes, a large river rising in Armenia, and flowing east into the Caspian Sea.

Arbela, an Assyrian town near which (at the village of Gaugamela) Darius suffered final defeat at the hands of Alexander, in 331 B.C.

Archelaüs, of Miletus, the natural philosopher, said to have been a pupil of Anaxagoras, and a teacher of Socrates.

Archidamus, king of Sparta from 361 to 338 B.C., when he went to the aid of the Tarentines in Italy, and was killed in battle.

Archon *Eponymous*, the first of the board of nine archons at Athens, so called, after the Roman conquest, because the year was registered in his name.

Aristogeiton, slayer, with Harmodius, of Hipparchus, the brother of the Athenian tyrant Hippias, in 514 B.C. The two "tyrannicides" were afterwards honoured as patriots and martyrs.

Ariston of Ceos, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens about 225 B.C. (pp. 9, 217).

Ariston the philosopher (p. 355), of Chios, a Stoic, pupil of Zeno. In his later life he taught doctrines of the Cynic school. He flourished about 260 B.C., and is often confounded with Ariston of Ceos.

Aristoxenus the musician, a pupil of Aristotle, and a philosopher of the Peripatetic school.

Armenia, a country lying north of Mesopotamia and Assyria, between the upper Euphrates and Media.

Artaxata, the ancient capital of Armenia, on the river Araxes. See *Tigranocerta*.

Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus, vassal of Xerxes, who distinguished herself in the battle of Salamis.

Asopis, a mythical personage, mother of Mentor by Heracles.

Atilius, M. Atilius Regulus, consul for the second time in 256 B.C., when he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Carthaginians.

Atropatené, a province of Media, to the east of Armenia.

Attalus, the name of three kings of Pergamum, in Asia Minor.

B

Bithynia, a country of N.W. Asia Minor, lying east of the Propontis, and along the coast of the Euxine Sea.

Boëdromion, the third month in the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our September.

Brundisium, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and was the chief naval station of the Romans in the Adriatic Sea.

C

Cabeira (or Cabira), a city of Pontus, in the northern part of Asia Minor.

Caepio, Q. Servilius, consul in 106 B.C., receiving the province of Gallia Narbonensis, where, in the following year, on the 6th of October, his army was utterly annihilated by the Cimbri.

Callisthenes, of Olynthus, a relative and pupil of Aristotle, author of a *Hellenica*, or History of Greece, from 387 to 357 B.C. He accompanied Alexander the Great as historian of the expedition, the end of which he did not live to see.

Cappadocia, a district in eastern Asia Minor, south of Pontus, and north of Cilicia.

Carneades, of Cyrené, head of the Academy at Athens in 156 B.C. (when he was one of an embassy of philosophers to Rome) and until his death in 129 B.C. He was famous for the persuasive force of his eloquence.

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- Chaeroneia**, a town commanding the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, celebrated for the battles fought in its neighbourhood. Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.C.
- Chalcedon**, a city of Bithynia, at the entrance of the Euxine Sea, opposite Byzantium.
- Chaldaeans**, a general name for the inhabitants of Babylonia.
- Charon of Lampsacus**, a "logographer," a predecessor of Herodotus, who wrote a history of Persia in annalistic form.
- Chelidonian Isles**, a group of islands off the coast of Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor.
- Chersonese** (*i.e.* peninsula), here (p. 447) of the Thracian Chersonese, extending in a S.W. direction into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.
- Cilicia**, a country in southern Asia Minor, extending along the Mediterranean between Pamphylia and Syria.
- Cimbri**, a northern tribe which, joining with the Teutones, invaded southern Europe. They were at last annihilated by Marius in 101 B.C.
- Citium**, a town on the southern coast of Cyprus.
- Cleidemus**, the oldest annalist of Athens, who flourished during the closing years of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century B.C.
- Cleisthenes**, the Athenian aristocrat who introduced the democratic reforms which followed the expulsion of the tyrants in 510 B.C.
- Cleitarchus** (Clitarchus), a historian who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East, and wrote a rhetorical history of it. He was the son of Deinon.
- Cleonae**, a city nearly midway between Argos and Corinth in Peloponnesus. The Nemean games were celebrated in its territory.
- Cnidus**, a Dorian city in the S.W. of Caria, in south-western Asia Minor.
- Colchis**, a district at the eastern extremity of the Euxine Sea, north of Armenia.
- Colophon**, one of the cities of Ionian Asia Minor.
- Coreyra**, an island in the Ionian Sea, opposite Epeirus, the modern Corfú.
- Cos**, an island off the S.W. coast of Caria, opposite Cnidus.
- Crannon**, a town in central Thessaly, the seat of the wealthy family of the Scopadae.
- Craterus the Macedonian**, a half-brother of Antigonus Gonatas, the king of Macedonia (ob. 239 B.C.), who compiled historical documents, such as decrees and other published inscriptions, bearing on the history of Athens.
- Critias**, one of the "thirty tyrants" (404-403 B.C.), like Alcibiades a follower of Socrates, author of tragedies, and elegiac poems on political subjects.
- Cronus**, the father of Zeus, identified with the Roman Saturnus.
- Curius**, Manius Curius Dentatus, consul in 290 B.C., in which year he brought the long war with the Samnites to a close and reduced the revolted Sabines. In 275 B.C., he defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum. He celebrated two triumphs in 290, and one in 275.
- Cyanæan Isles**, two islands at mouth of the Bosporus, entrance into the Euxine, the clashing isles of myth.
- Cyné**, an Aeolian city on the of Asia Minor, S.E. of Lethe.
- Cyrené**, a Greek city on the northern coast of Africa, commercial relations with Cyrene, Greece, and Egypt.
- Cyzicus**, a city on the south shore of the Propontis, in Mysia, strongly situated on the neck of a peninsula.

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D

Damastes, of Sigeum in the Troad, a historian contemporary with Herodotus, and author, besides many other works, of a genealogy of the Greeks who fought at Troy.

Deceleia, a mountain citadel of Attica, about fourteen miles from Athens towards Boeotia.

Deinon (Dinon), of Colophon, author of a History of Persia, father of Cleitarchus the historian of Alexander's expedition.

Demetrius of Phalerum, regent at Athens for Cassander 317–307 B.C., a voluminous writer on history, politics, poetry, and philosophy.

Diodorus the Topographer (*Periegetes*), of Athens (probably), a contemporary of Alexander the Great, wrote on the deines and monuments of Attica.

Dion, of Syracuse, an ardent disciple of Plato, master of Syracuse after the expulsion of Dionysius II, assassinated in 353 B.C.

Dodona, a town in Epeirus, seat of the most ancient oracle of Zeus.

E

Elæa, an Aeolic city of Asia Minor, the port for Pergamum.

Epaminondas, Theban general and statesman, friend of Pelopidas, fell in the battle of Mantinea, 362 B.C.

Ephesus, one of the twelve Ionian cities, in Lydia, Asia Minor, at the mouth of the river Cayster.

Ephors, five chief magistrates at Sparta elected annually. The first Ephor gave his name to the year, like the Athenian Archon *Eponymous*.

Viphorus, of Cymé, pupil of Isogistes, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epicurus, founder of the philo-

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sophical school named from him, born in Samos, 342 B.C., died at Athens, 270 B.C.

Eratosthenes, of Cyrené, librarian at Alexandria, most distinguished as geographer and chronologist, a writer also on philosophy and ethics, 275–194 B.C.

Eumenes, king of Pergamum in Asia Minor from 197 to 159 B.C., and like his father (Attalus I), a persistent friend of Rome.

Eurymedon, a river flowing through Pamphylia, in southern Asia Minor, into the Mediterranean.

F

Fabricius, C. Fabricius Luscinus, like Curius and Atilius a representative of the sterling virtues of the more ancient times, ambassador to Pyrrhus at Tarentum after the disastrous battle of Heracleia, 280 B.C., consul in 278 B.C., censor in 275, with the severity of a Cato.

G

Gabinian way, Via Gabina (earlier called Via Tiburtina), leading eastwards from Rome to Tibur (Tivoli).

Galatia, a district in central Asia Minor.

Gordyéné, a district of southern Armenia, lying east of the river Tigris.

Gorgias, of Leontini in Sicily, famous for his eloquence, came on an embassy to Athens in 427 B.C., when sixty years of age, and spent the rest of his life in that and neighbouring cities, amassing great wealth as a paid teacher of rhetoric.

Granicus, a river of Troas, flowing north into the Propontis.

H

Hamilcar, surnamed Barcas, implacable enemy of the Romans,

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father of Hannibal, and founder of the Carthaginian empire in Spain, died in 229 B.C.

Hecatombaeon, the first month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our July.

Helots, a name given to the original inhabitants of Laconia who had lost both land and freedom. They were state slaves. See *Perioeci*.

Heracleia (p. 423), called Pontica, to distinguish it from the many other cities of the same name, a city of Bithynia (or Phrygia Minor) on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea.

Heracleides, called Ponticus from his birth in Heracleia Pontica, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects. Cicero thought him superstitious and uncritical.

Hieronymus the Rhodian, a disciple of Aristotle, flourishing about 300 B.C. Little is known about him, though he is often quoted by Cicero.

Hippocrates, the second of that name, and the most famous physician of ancient times, 460-357 B.C.

Hyrcanian Sea, another name for the Caspian Sea, from the province of Hyrcania to the S.E. of it.

I

Iberia, a country east of Colchis, between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.

Ides, the fifteenth day of the Roman month in March, May, July, and October; the thirteenth in the other months.

Idomeneus, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342-270 B.C.), author of biographical works on "The Socratics," and "The Demagogues."

Ino, daughter of Cadmus, and wife of Athamas, the king of Orchomenus in Boeotia. After her

death she was worshipped as Leucothea, a sea goddess. According to one of the many myths connected with her name, she became mad with jealousy of a female slave, and slew her own son. See *Plutarch, Roman Questions*, 16.

Ion, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., also author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

Isocrates, the celebrated Attic orator and rhetorician, 436-338 B.C.

J

Jason, the great hero of the Argonautic expedition, husband of Medea.

L

Lampræ, name of two demes, or townships, in S.E. Attica.

Lemnos, a large island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea.

Leucothea. See *Ino*.

Lycaonia, a district in central Asia Minor, between Galatia and Cilicia.

Lycurgus, the semi-historical law-giver of Sparta, where he was honoured as a god.

Lysias, the Attic orator, 458-378 B.C.

M

Maeotis, Lake, the modern Sea of Azov, N.E. of the Euxine Sea.

Maimacterion, the fifth month of the Attic year, corresponding nearly to our November.

Mardians, a tribe on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea.

Marsi, an ancient people of central Italy, akin to the Sabines. After their defeat in 89 B.C., they were admitted to the Roman citizenship, with the other Italians.

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Melanthius, an author of tragedies and elegiac poems, contemporary with Cimon at Athens.

Melissus, of Samos, a famous natural philosopher, a disciple of Parmenides, who led the Samians successfully against Pericles.

Mesopotamia, the region between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers above Babylonia.

Metageitnion, the second month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our August.

Metellus Pius, Q. Caecilius, obtained the surname of Pius for persuading the people to recall his father, Metellus Numidicus, from banishment. He was a successful general under Sulla, and consul with him in 80 B.C. He died about 63 B.C.

Mithridates, the sixth king of Pontus bearing this name, commonly known as Mithridates the Great, 120–63 B.C., the most formidable enemy of the Romans in the East.

Mitylené the largest city of Lesbos, off the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.

Mygdonia, a district in the N.E. of Mesopotamia.

N

Nausicles (or Naucrates), the rhetorician, a pupil of Isocrates. He composed models of funeral orations for men of note.

Neanthes, of Cyzicus, a voluminous writer of history, who flourished about 240 B.C. He belonged to the school of Isocrates.

Nepos, Cornelius, Roman biographer and historian, a contemporary and friend of Cicero.

Nicomedia, capital of Bithynia, at the N.E. corner of the Propontis.

Nisibis, the chief city of Mygdonia (*q.v.*).

Nones, the ninth day before the Ides of the Roman month, falling therefore on the seventh day of

the month in March, May, July, and October, and on the fifth day of the other months.

Numantia, a city in the northern part of Spain, taken after a memorable siege by Scipio Africanus, in 134 B.C.

O

Orepus, a town and district on the northern and eastern borders (respectively) of Attica and Boeotia, much in dispute between Athenians and Thebans.

Orpheus, the mythical singer of Thrace, and one of the Argonauts.

P

Fagasea, a city in S.E. Thessaly, at the head of a gulf of the same name, famed in story as the port from which Jason set sail with the Argonauts.

Palatium, the Palatine hill of Rome.

Pamphyllia, a country on the south coast of Asia Minor, between Lycia and Cilicia.

Panaetius, of Rhodes, the Stoic philosopher, chief founder of the Stoic school at Rome, flourishing between 150 and 110 B.C.

Parthia, in the time of Lucullus, a vast realm to the east of Armenia, Assyria, and Mesopotamia.

Peisistratus, tyrant of Athens in 560 B.C., and during seventeen of the thirty-three years thereafter.

Pelopidas, Theban general and statesman, bosom friend of Epaminondas, killed in battle 364 B.C.

Pergamum (or Pergamus), an ancient city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, on the river Caicus. After 283 B.C., it was the seat of the Attalid dynasty.

Perioeci, the name of those inhabitants of Sparta who kept their lands and personal liberty, unlike the Helots, but who did not exercise the rights of citizenship.

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- Perseus (pp. 347, 363), the last king of Macedonia, son of Philip V. He graced the triumph of Aemilius Paulus in 167 B.C., and died at Rome several years later.
- Perseus (p. 411), the famous Argive hero, son of Zeus and Danae, slayer of the Gorgon Medusa.
- Phalerum, the ancient harbour of Athens, before Themistocles fortified the Peiraeus.
- Phanias, the Lesbian, of Eresos, the most distinguished pupil of Aristotle after Theophrastus, a prolific writer on philosophy and history,—a historical romancer.
- Phanodemus, a writer of Attic annals, after the manner of Cleidemus (*q.v.*).
- Pharnacia, a city of Pontus, on the southern shore of the Euxine, N.E. of Cabeira.
- Phasis, a river of Colchis, flowing into the Euxine at its eastern end.
- Philip (p. 139), of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, secured the leadership of Greece in the battle at Chaeroneia, 338 B.C.
- Philip (p. 335), Philip V of Macedon, father of Perseus, from 216 B.C. till his death in 179 a formidable enemy of Rome.
- Philo (p. 607), the Academic, of Larissa, removed from Athens to Rome about 88 B.C., where he was teacher of Cicero, and where he died about 80 B.C.
- Phlya, a deme, or township, somewhere in the N.E. of Attica.
- Phrygia, a large province in western and north-western Asia Minor.
- Phylarchus, of Naucratis and Athens, a Greek historian who flourished about 220 B.C., to whom Plutarch is much indebted in his *Agis and Cleomenes*.
- Pitané, an ancient Aeolian city on the N.W. coast of Asia Minor.
- Polybius, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, born about 204 B.C., one of the Achaeans exiles (see *Achaea*) in 167. In Rome, he resided in the house of Aemilius Paulus, and became the intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.
- Pontus, a large district in N.E. Asia Minor, stretching along the southern shore of the Euxine.
- Potamus, the name of a deme, or township, in eastern Attica.
- Propontis, the intermediate sea between the Aegean and the Euxine, connected with the former by the Hellespont, with the latter by the Thracian Bosphorus.
- Pydna, a town on the Thermaic gulf, S.E. of Macedonia.
- Pyrrhus, king of Epeirus from 295 till his death in 272 B.C. From 280 till 274 he was campaigning in Italy and Sicily.

S

- Sabines, a people occupying the western slopes of the central Apennines, in Italy. They were finally subdued by Curius Dentatus in 290 B.C., and in 268 became Roman citizens.
- Salust, C. Sallustius Crispus, 86–34 B.C. He was a partisan of Caesar, who made him governor of Numidia, where he amassed great wealth. He afterwards wrote histories of the conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine war.
- Sannites, inhabitants of Samnium, the mountainous district of central Italy lying between Latium and Apulia. In 290 B.C. Curius Dentatus won the honour of putting an end to the Sannite wars after they had lasted fifty years.
- Sinnothrace, an island in the northern part of the Aegean Sea.
- Scepsis, an ancient town east of the Troad, which in later times became subject to Pergamum, and a seat of learning.

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Scopas, the Thessalian. See *Cran-non*.

Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, founder of the Syrian monarchy, 353–280 B.C.

Seriphus, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica, proverbial for poverty and insignificance.

Sertorius, one of the greatest soldiers bred by the Roman civil wars, who successfully opposed the best generals of the aristocratic party in Spain from 82 B.C. till his assassination in 72.

Sicyon, an important city in N.E. Peloponnesus, about two miles south of the Corinthian gulf.

Simonides of Ceos, one of the greatest lyric poets of Greece, 556–467 B.C.

Sinopé, an important Greek city on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea, in N.E. Paphlagonia.

Sophené, a district of S.W. Armenia.

Sophists, a general name for paid teachers of rhetoric and philosophy, like Gorgias.

Stesimbrotus, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note in Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.

Sthenis, of Olynthus, a famous statuary at Athens, who flourished about 350 B.C.

Strabo, the geographer (philosopher, p. 565), lived during the times of Augustus.

T

Talaura, a stronghold in Pontus. Tanagra, a town and district in S.E. Boeotia.

Tarentum, a Greek city in S.E. Italy. It surrendered to the Romans in 272 B.C., was betrayed into the hands of Hannibal in 212, and recovered by Fabius in 209.

Taurus, a general name for the lofty range of mountains extending from Lycia in Asia

Minor through Cilicia and south of Armenia into Media.

Tegea, an ancient city in S.E. Arcadia, of Peloponnesus.

Tempé, a famous valley in N.E. Thessaly.

Tenedos, an island about five miles west of the Troad, in the N.E. Aegean.

Tenos, one of the Cyclades islands, S.E. of Attica.

Thargelion, the eleventh month of the Attic calendar, corresponding nearly to our May.

Themiscyra, a plain and city in Pontus, near the mouth of the river Thermodon.

Theophrastus, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, historian of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C., and of Philip of Macedon (360–336 B.C.).

Tibareni, a tribe on the northern coast of Pontus.

Tigranocerta, the city of Tigranes, later capital of Armenia, in Mydonia, west of Nisibis, just south of the Taurus.

Tigris, the great river rising in Armenia and flowing between Mesopotamia and Assyria.

Timocreon, of Rhodes, a lyric poet, now known chiefly for his hatred of Themistocles and Simonides of Ceos.

Timoleon, of Corinth, rescued Syracuse from its tyrant (Dionysius II) and the Carthaginians in 343 B.C., and became virtual master of Sicily, though without office. He died in Syracuse, 337 B.C.

Troezen, a city in S.E. Argolis, of Peloponnesus.

Trophonius, received worship and had an oracle in a cave near Lebadeia in Boeotia.

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Tubero the Stoic p. 599), Q. Aelius, a pupil of Panaetius, flourished in the century before Lucullus, and could not have seen him playing Xerxes. The jest may have come from Lucius Tubero, the relative and intimate friend of Cicero, who cultivated literature and philosophy.

Tusculum, an ancient city of Latium, fifteen miles S.E. of Rome, in the Alban mountains. It became a favourite resort of wealthy Romans.

Tyrannio the Grammarian, of Amisus in Pontus. He was taken to Rome by Lucullus,

where he became a teacher, was patronised and praised by Cicero, and amassed wealth.

V

Vesta, an ancient Roman divinity, identical with the Greek Hestia as goddess of the hearth and fireside. The Vestals were her virgin priestesses.

X

Xenocrates, of Chalcedon, 396-314 B.C., a pupil and disciple of Plato, became head of the Academy in 339 B.C.

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