PLUTARCH'S LIVES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES
V

AGESILAUS AND POMPEY
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

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PREFATORY NOTE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873–1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855–1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any departure from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. Of the Lives presented in this volume, the Agesilaüs and Pompey are contained in the Codex Sangermanensis (Sᵉ) and the Codex Seitenstettensis (S), and in a few instances weight has been given to readings from the Codex Matritensis (Mᵃ), on the authority of the collations of Charles Graux, as published in Bursians Jahresbericht (1884). No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must still be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839–1846, 4 voll., 8vo). The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless vi
PREFATORY NOTE

otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

All the standard translations of the *Lives* have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the *Pompey* by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U.S.A.

*March, 1917.*
ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
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AGESILAUS
ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ

I. Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξίδάμου βασιλεύσας ἐπι-φανῶς Λακεδαιμονίων, κατέλιπτεν νῦν ἐκ γυναικὸς εὐδοκίμου, Δαμπιδοῦς, Ἀγιν, καὶ πολὺ νεώτερον εξ Εὐπωλίας τῆς Μελησιππίδα θυγατρός, Ἀγη-σίλαον. ἔπει δὲ τῆς βασίλειας Ἀγιδῆ προση-κούσης κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἰδιωτῆς ἐδόκει βιοτεύσειν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἦχθη τὴν λεγομένην ἅγωγήν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, σκηναὶ μὲν οὗσαν τῇ διαίτῃ καὶ πολύπονον, παιδεύονταν δὲ τοὺς νέους ἀρχεσθαί.

2 διὸ καὶ φασίν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιμωνίδου τὴν Σπάρτην προσηγορεῖσθαι "δαμασίμβροτον," ὡς μάλιστα διὰ τῶν ἑθῶν τοὺς πολίτας τοῖς νόμοις πειθημένους καὶ χειροθείες ποιοῦσαν, ὡσπερ ἵππους εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δαμαζομένους. ταῦτας ἄφιζειν ὁ νόμος τῆς ανάγκης τοὺς ἐπὶ βασιλεία τρεφομένους

3 παῖδας. Ἀγησιλάω δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑπῆρξεν ἵδιον, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖν μὴ ἀπαίδευτον τοῦ ἀρχε-σθαί.1 διὸ καὶ πολὺ τῶν βασιλέων εὐαρμοστο-τατὸν αὐτὸν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις παρέσχε, τῷ φύσει ἡγεμονικῷ καὶ βασιλικῷ προσκετησάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἅγωγῆς τὸ δημοτικὸ καὶ φιλανθρωποῦ.

II. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀγέλαις τῶν συν- τρεφομένων παῖδων Λύσανδρον ἔσχεν ἔραστήν,

1 τοῦ ἀρχεσθαί with Ma and Cobet: ἀρχεσθαί.
AGESILAUS

I. Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamas, after an illustrious reign over the Lacedaemonians, left behind him a son, Agis, by Lampido, a woman of honourable family; and a much younger son, Agesilaüs, by Eupolia, the daughter of Melesippidas. The kingdom belonged to Agis by law, and it was thought that Agesilaüs would pass his life in a private station. He was therefore given the so-called "agoge," or course of public training in Sparta, which, although austere in its mode of life and full of hardships, educated the youth to obedience. For this reason it was, we are told, that Simonides gave Sparta the epithet of "man-subduing," since more than in any other state her customs made her citizens obedient to the laws and tractable, like horses that are broken in while yet they are colts. From this compulsory training the law exempts the heirs-apparent to the throne. But Agesilaüs was singular in this also, that he had been educated to obey before he came to command. For this reason he was much more in harmony with his subjects than any of the kings; to the commanding and kingly traits which were his by nature there had been added by his public training those of popularity and kindliness.

II. While he was among the so-called "bands" of boys who were reared together, he had as his
εκπλαγέντα μάλιστα τῷ κοσμῷ τῆς φύσεως αυτοῦ. φιλονεικότατος γὰρ ὃν καὶ θυμοειδές·

καὶ τὸ σφοδρὸν ἕχων καὶ ραγδαίον ἁμαχὸν καὶ δυσεκβιάστων, εὐπειθεῖα πάλιν αὐ καὶ πρά
tητι τοιοῦτος ἢν οἶος φόβῳ μηδέν, αἰσχύνη δὲ
pάντα ποιεῖν τὰ προσταττόμενα, καὶ τοῖς ψόγοις ἀλγύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς πόνους βαρύνεσθαι.

2 τὴν δὲ τοῦ σκέλους πῆρωσιν ἢ τε ὦρα τοῦ σώματος ἀνθδὰντο έπέκρυπτε, καὶ τὸ ραδίως φέρειν καὶ ἴλαρος τὸ τοιοῦτο, παίζοντα καὶ σκώπτοντα πρὸτον ἑαυτόν, οὐ μικρὸν ἢν ἐπανόρθωμα τοῦ
pάθως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἐκδηλοτέραν ἐποίει, πρὸς μηδένα πόνου μηδὲ πράξιν ἀπαγορεύουσαν αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν χωλότητα. τῆς δὲ μορφῆς εἰκόνα μὲν οὐκ ἔχομεν (αὐτὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθυησκῶν ἀπείπε "μήτε πλαστὰν μήτε μιμηλάνο" τυπα ποιήσασθαι τοῦ σώματος εἰκόνα). λέγεται δὲ μικρὸς τε γενέσθαι

3 καὶ τὴν ὀψιν εὐκαταφρονητος· ἢ ἴλαρότης καὶ τὸ ἐυθύμον ἐν ἀνάπαυν καιρῷ καὶ παιγνιώδες, ἀχθεινὸν δὲ καὶ τραχὺ μηδέποτε μήτε φωνῆ μήτε ὀψεῖ, τῶν καλῶν καὶ ὁραίων ἐρασμιώτερον αὐτὸν ἀχρι γῆρως παρείχεν. ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος ἑστορεῖ, τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐξημώσαν οἱ ἐφοροὶ γῆμαντα γυναικα μικράν· "Οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς," ἔφασαν, 597 "ἀμμιν, ἀλλὰ βασιλείδια γεννάσει."
lover Lysander, who was smitten particularly with his native decorum. For although he was contentious and high-spirited beyond his fellows, wishing to be first in all things, and having a vehemence and fury which none could contend with or overwhelm, on the other hand he had such a readiness to obey and such gentleness, that he did whatever was enjoined upon him, not at all from a sense of fear, but always from a sense of honour, and was more distressed by censure than he was oppressed by hardships. As for his deformity, the beauty of his person in its youthful prime covered this from sight, while the ease and gaiety with which he bore such a misfortune, being first to jest and joke about himself, went far towards rectifying it. Indeed, his lameness brought his ambition into clearer light, since it led him to decline no hardship and no enterprise whatever. We have no likeness of him (for he himself would not consent to one, and even when he lay dying forbade the making of "either statue or picture" of his person), but he is said to have been a little man of unimposing presence. And yet his gaiety and good spirits in every crisis, and his raillery, which was never offensive or harsh either in word or look, made him more lovable, down to his old age, than the young and beautiful. But according to Theophrastus, Archidamus was fined by the ephors for marrying a little woman, "For she will bear us," they said, "not kings, but kinglets."

III. It was during the reign of Agis that Alcibiades came from Sicily as an exile to Sparta, and he had not been long in the city when he incurred the charge of illicit intercourse with Timaea,

1 Cf. Lycurgus, xvii. 1; Lysander, xxii. 3.
γυναικὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, Τιμαία, συνείναι. καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδάριον οὐκ ἔφη γυνώσκειν ὁ Ἀγις, ἄλλῳ ἐξ Ἀλκιβιάδου γεγονέναι. τούτῳ δὲ οὖ πάνω δυσκόλως τὴν Τιμαιὰν ἐνεγκεῖν φησι Δοῦρις, ἄλλα καὶ ψυχρίζουσαν οἷκοι πρὸς τὰς εἰλιστίδας Ἀλκιβιάδης τὸ παιδίον, οὗ Λεωτυχι-2 δὴν, καλεῖν καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην αὐτὸν οὐ πρὸς ὑβριν τῇ Τιμαιὰ φάναι πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ φιλοτιμοῦμεν βασιλεύεσθαι Ἐπαρτιάτας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ γεγονότων. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῆς Ἀκαδαίμων Ἀλκιβιάδης ὑπεξῆλθε, φοβηθεῖς τὸν Ἀγιοὺς οὗ δὲ παῖς τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνων ὑποπτος ἦν τῷ Ἀγιδι, καὶ γνησίου τιμὴν οὐκ εἰχε παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, νοσοῦντι δὲ προσπεσὼς καὶ δακρύων ἐπεισεν οἷον ἀποφήμα τολλῶν ἐναντίον.

3 Οὐ μήν ἀλλὰ τελευτῆσαντος τοῦ Ἀγιοῦ ὁ λύσανδρος, ἥδη κατανεανμαχηκὼς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μέγιστον ἐν Ἐπαρτῇ δυνάμενος, τὸν Ἀγησί-λαον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν προῆγεν, ὡς οὐ προσή-κουσαν οὔτε νόθῳ τῷ Λεωτυχίδῃ. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν, διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τὸ συντετράβθαι καὶ μετεσχη-κέναι τῆς ἀγωγῆς, ἐφιλοτιμοῦτο καὶ συνέπραττον αὐτῷ προθύμους. ἦν δὲ Διοπείθης ἀνὴρ χρησμολόγος ἐν Ἐπαρτῇ, μαντεῖον τε παλαιῶν ὑπόπλεως καὶ δοκῶν περὶ τὰ θεία σοφὸς εἶναι καὶ περιττός.

4 οὕτος οὖν ἔφη θεμιτοῦ εἶναι χωλῶν γενέσθαι τῆς Ἀκαδαίμων βασιλεία, καὶ χρησμῶν ἐν τῇ δίκῃ τοιοῦτον ἀνεγίνωσκε·

Φράζεο δὴ, Ἐπαρτῆ, καῖπερ μεγάλαυχος ἐόδσα, μή σέθεν ἀρτιποδὸς βλάστη χώλη βασιλεία·

1 διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν Coraës and Bekker, after Bryan: τὴν ἀρετὴν.
the wife of the king. The child, too, that was born of her, Agis refused to recognize as his own, declaring that Alcibiades was its father. Duris says that Timaea was not very much disturbed at this, but in whispers to her Helot maids at home actually called the child Alcibiades, not Leotychides; moreover, that Alcibiades himself also declared that he had not approached Timaea out of wanton passion, but because he was ambitious to have the Spartans reigned over by his descendants. On this account Alcibiades withdrew from Sparta, being in fear of Agis; and the boy was always an object of suspicion to Agis, and was not honoured by him as legitimate. But when the king lay sick, the supplications and tears of Leotychides prevailed upon him to declare him his son in the presence of many witnesses.

Notwithstanding this, after the death of Agis, Lysander, who by this time had subdued the Athenians at sea and was a man of the greatest influence in Sparta, tried to advance Agesilaus to the throne, on the plea that Leotychides was a bastard and had no claim upon it. Many of the other citizens also, owing to the excellence of Agesilaus and the fact that he had been reared with them under the common restraints of the public training, warmly espoused the plan of Lysander and co-operated with him. But there was a diviner in Sparta, named Diopeithes, who was well supplied with ancient prophecies, and was thought to be eminently wise in religious matters. This man declared it contrary to the will of Heaven that a lame man should be king of Sparta, and cited at the trial of the case the following oracle:

"Bethink thee now, O Sparta, though thou art very glorious, lest from thee, sound of foot, there

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\[1\] Cf. *Alcibiades*, xxiii. 7 f.  
\[2\] In 398 B.C.
δηρὸν γὰρ νοῦσοι σε κατασχήσουσιν ἀελπτοι
φθισιβρότου τ’ ἐπὶ κῦμα κυλινδόμενον πολέ-
μοιο.

5 πρὸς ταύτα Δύσανδρος ἔλεγεν ὡς, εἰ πάνυ φο-
βοῦντο τὸν χρήσμον οἱ Σπαρτιάται, φυλακτέον
αὐτοῖς εἶπ τὸν Δεωτυχίδην· οὐ γὰρ εἰ προσ-
πταῖσας τις τὸν πόδα βασιλεύοι, τὸ θεῷ δια-
φέρειν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ γνήσιος ὁμ μηδὲ Ἥρακλείδης,
τούτῳ τὴν χωλὴν εἶναι βασιλείαν. ὃ δὲ Ἀγη-
σίλαος ἔφη καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ καταμαρτυρεῖν τοῦ
Δεωτυχίδου τὴν νοθείαν, ἐκβαλόντα σεισμῷ τοῦ
θαλάμου τὸν Ἀγν., ἀπ’ ἐκείνου δὲ πλέον ἢ δέκα
μηρῶν διελθόντων γενέσθαι τὸν Δεωτυχίδην.

IV. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ διὰ ταύτα βασιλεύοις ἀπο-
δεικθεῖσι ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εὐθὺς εἶχε καὶ τὰ χρή-
ματα τοῦ Ἀγίδος, ὡς νόθον ἄπελάσας τὸν Δεω-
τυχίδην. ὡρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς οἰκείους
ἐπιεικεῖσι μὲν ὄντας, ἴσχυρὸς δὲ πενομένους, ἀπέ-
νειμεν αὐτοῖς τὰ ἡμίσεα τῶν χρημάτων, εὐνοιαν
ἐαυτῷ καὶ δόξαν ἀντὶ φθόνου καὶ δυσμενείας
ἐπὶ τῇ κληρονομίᾳ κατασκευαζόμενος. ὃ δὲ
φησιν ὁ Ξενοφών, ὅτι πάντα τῇ πατρίδι πειθό-
μενος ἱσχυε πλείστον, ὡστε ποιεῖν ὁ βούλοιτο,
2 τοιούτων ἔστι. τῶν ἐφόρων ἦν τότε καὶ τῶν
γερόντων τὸ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ κράτος,
ἢν οἱ μὲν ἐναιστὸν ἀρχοῦσι μόνον, οἱ δὲ γέρωντες
diὰ βίον ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν τιμήν, ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ
πάντα τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν ἐξεῖναι συνταχθέντες,
AGESILAUS, iii. 4–iv. 2

spring a maimed royalty; for long will unexpected toils oppress thee, and onward-rolling billows of man-destroying war."

To this Lysander answered that, in case the Spartans stood in great fear of the oracle, they must be on their guard against Leotychides; for it mattered not to the god that one who halted in his gait should be king, but if one who was not lawfully begotten, nor even a descendant of Heracles, should be king, this was what the god meant by the "maimed royalty." And Agesilaüs declared that Poseidon also had borne witness to the bastardy of Leotychides, for he had cast Agis forth from his bed-chamber by an earthquake, and after this more than ten months elapsed before Leotychides was born.¹

IV. In this way, and for these reasons, Agesilaüs was appointed king, and straightway enjoyed possession of the estates of Agis as well as his throne, after expelling Leotychides as a bastard. But seeing that his kinsmen on his mother's side, though worthy folk, were excessively poor, he distributed among them the half of his estates, thereby making his inheritance yield him good-will and reputation instead of envy and hatred. As for Xenophon's statement² that by obeying his country in everything he won very great power, so that he did what he pleased, the case is as follows. At that time the ephors and the senators had the greatest power in the state, of whom the former hold office for a year only, while the senators enjoy their dignity for life, their offices having been instituted to restrain the power of the kings, as I have said in my Life of

¹ Cf. Alcibiades, xxiii. 8; Lysander, xxii. 3 ff.; Xenophon, Hellenica, iii. 3, 2. ² Xenophon's Agesilaüs, vi. 4.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ως ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δυκούργου γέγραπται. διὸ καὶ
πατρικὴν τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιοῦ
dιετέλουν εὐθὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς φίλονεικίαν καὶ δια-
3 φορὰν παραλαμβάνοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπὶ
tὴν ἔναντίαν ὅδὸν ἤλθε, καὶ τὸ πολέμειν καὶ
tὸ προσκρούειν αὐτοῖς ἐσάζει ἔθεράπευε, πάσης
μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνων πράξεως ἀρχόμενος, εἰ δὲ κλη-
θεῖν, θάττον ἡ βάδην ἔπεισόμενος, ὅσὰκις δὲ
tύχοι καθήμενος ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ θόκῳ καὶ χρη-
ματίζων, ἐπιούσι τοῖς ἐφόροις ὑπεξανιστάτο, τῶν
δ' εἰς τὴν γεροντίαν ἀεὶ καταταττομένων ἐκαστῷ
598 4 χλαϊναν ἐπεμπτε καὶ βοῶν ἁριστείων. ἐκ δὲ
τούτων τιμῶν δοκῶν καὶ μεγαλύνειν τὸ ἀξίωμα
τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, ἠλάνθανεν αὐξών τὴν ἐαυ-
tοῦ δύναμιν καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ προστιθέμενοι
μέγεθος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας συγχωροῦ-
μενον.

V. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας
ομιλίαις ἐξήρος ἢν ἀμεμπτότερος ἡ φίλος. τοὺς
μὲν γὰρ ἐξήρους ἀδίκως οὐκ ἐβλάπτε, τοῖς δὲ
φίλοις καὶ τὰ μὴ δίκαια συνεπράττε. καὶ τοὺς
μὲν ἐξήρους ἡσυχύνετο μὴ τιμῶν κατορθοῦντας,
tοὺς δὲ φίλους οὐκ ἐδύνατο ψέγειν ἁμαρτάνον-
tας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βοηθῶν ἡγάλλετο καὶ συνεξα-
μαρτάνων αὐτοῖς: οὐδέν γὰρ ὢντο τῶν φιλικῶν
2 ὑπουργημάτων αἱσχρόν εἶναι. τοῖς δ' αὐ δια-
φόροις πταίσασι πρῶτος συναχθόμενος καὶ δεη-
θεῖσι συμπράττον προθύμως ἐδημαγώγει καὶ
προσήγετο πάντας. ὀρώντες οὖν οἱ ἐφοροὶ ταῦτα
καὶ φοβοῦμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ἐξημίσαν αὐτὸν,
αἰτίαν ὑπειπόντες ὅτι τοὺς κοινοὺς πολίτας ἱδίους
κτάται.
AGESILAUS, iv. 2–v. 2

Lycurgus. Therefore from the outset, and from generation to generation, the kings were traditionally at feud and variance with them. But Agesilaüs took the opposite course. Instead of colliding and fighting with them, he courted their favour, winning their support before setting out on any undertaking; and whenever he was invited to meet them, hastening to them on the run. If ever the ephors visited him when he was seated in his royal chair and administering justice, he rose in their honour; and as men were from time to time made members of the senate, he would send each one a cloak and an ox as a mark of honour. Consequently, while he was thought to be honouring and exalting the dignity of their office, he was unawares increasing his own influence and adding to the power of the king a greatness which was conceded out of good-will towards him.

V. In his dealings with the rest of the citizens he was less blame-worthy as an enemy than as a friend; for he would not injure his enemies without just cause, but joined his friends even in their unjust practices. And whereas he was ashamed not to honour his enemies when they did well, he could not bring himself to censure his friends when they did amiss, but actually prided himself on aiding them and sharing in their misdeeds. For he thought no aid disgraceful that was given to a friend. But if, on the other hand, his adversaries stumbled and fell, he was first to sympathize with them and give them zealous aid if they desired it, and so won the hearts and the allegiance of all. The ephors, accordingly, seeing this, and fearing his power, laid a fine upon him, alleging as a reason that he made the citizens his own, who should be the common property of the state.

1 Chapters v. 6 f.; vii. 1 f.
Katháper gár oi fuvikoi to neikos ountai kai tìn érwn, eì tòn olkon exeirethei, sthínai mèn an tà oufrávnia, paúsasqai de pántwv1 tìn génesin kai kínshsin wpo tís prós pánta pántwn ármovias, ouòs esokev o Dakwnikos vnomothêtis wpekkauma tís árétês émvalen eis tin politeían to filótimo kai filównikon, aì ià tina toìs ágathois diaforan kai ámíllan einai prós állylous boulómenvos, tìn de ánuthpeikousan tò ánelegktw xárwm árghn kai ánagwíwniston ouðan ouk òrðws ómònoian légesthai. touto de áméleis synwprakénai kai tôn "Omphon ountai tìnes" ou gár an tôn 'Agamémwna poiihsai xáironta toû 'Odussewos kai tôn 'Achilewos eis loiodóian prorachéntwn "èkpatglos èppêswn," eì mh méga toìs kouínos ágathóv évômīzen einai tôn prós állylous xèlou kai tìn diaforan tôwn áríston. taìta mèn ouk an ouòs tis áplosis suggwrişiein ai gár ùperbholai tôwn filównikíōn chale- pai tais pólesi kai megálous kîndwous èchousi.

VI. Toû de 'Aghsiilaou tìn básileían neostì paraihíftos, uphgygelhn tînes ex 'Asías èkou- tis òs o Perstwv básileis paraskenáiasto megalw stólw Dakedaimoníous ékbaléin tís thalásisas. de Dùsàndros èpísthuvon aðhis eis 'Asían ápостalhna kai boithhsai toìs filow, ouß autòs mèn ärkhontas kai kúris toûn póleow anphlile, kacock de chrómēnon kai biais toûs prágmasin èxeipitton wpo tôns poli- tout kai ápèvnuken, anéteisce toû 'Aghsiilaou èpisthésai tì strateis kai pròpolèmhsai tìs

1 pántwv Coraës and Bekker have pántw (utterly), an early, anonymous correction.
AGESILAUS, v. 3-6I. 1

Natural philosophers are of the opinion that, if strife and discord should be banished from the universe, the heavenly bodies would stand still, and all generation and motion would cease in consequence of the general harmony. And so the Spartan lawgiver seems to have introduced the spirit of ambition and contention into his civil polity as an incentive to virtue, desiring that good citizens should always be somewhat at variance and in conflict with one another, and deeming that complaisance which weakly yields without debate, which knows no effort and no struggle, to be wrongly called concord. And some think that Homer also was clearly of this mind; for he would not have represented Agamemnon as pleased when Odysseus and Achilles were carried away into abuse of one another with "frightful words," if he had not thought the general interests likely to profit by the mutual rivalry and quarrelling of the chieftains. This principle, however, must not be accepted without some reservations; for excessive rivalries are injurious to states, and productive of great perils.

VI. Agesilaüs had but recently come to the throne, when tidings were brought from Asia that the Persian king was preparing a great armament with which to drive the Lacedaemonians from the sea. Now, Lysander was eager to be sent again into Asia, and to aid his friends there. These he had left governors and masters of the cities, but owing to their unjust and violent conduct of affairs, they were being driven out by the citizens, and even put to death. He therefore persuaded Agesilaüs to undertake the expedition and make war in behalf of

1 Odyssey, viii. 75 ff.
'Ἐλλάδος, ἀπωτάτω διαβάντα καὶ φθάσαντα τὴν 2 τοῦ βαρβάρου παρασκευήν. ἀμα δὲ τοῖς εὖ Ἀσία φίλοις ἐπέστελλε πέμπτειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀγησίλαον αἰτεῖσθαι. παρελθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸ πλήθος Ἀγησίλαος ἀνεδέξατο τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ δούει αὐτῷ τριάκοντα μὲν ἢγεμόνας καὶ συμβούλους Σπαρτιάτας, νεοδαμώδεις δὲ λογάδας δισχιλίους, τὴν δὲ συμμαχικήν εἰς 3 ἐξακισχιλίους δύναμιν. συμπράττοντος δὲ τοῦ Δυσάνδρου πάντα προθύμως ἐγνήσαντο, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔξεπεμπον εὖθὺς ἓχοντα τοὺς τριάκοντα Σπαρτιάτας, δὸν ὁ Δυσάνδρος ἦν πρώτος, οὐ διὰ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἀγησίλαον φίλίαν, ὃ μεῖζον ἐδόκει τῆς βασιλείας ἁγαθὸν διαπετράχθαι τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐκείνην. 4 Ἐθροιζομένης δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Γεραιστὸν, αὐτὸς εἰς Αὐλίδα κατελθὼν μετὰ τῶν φιλῶν καὶ νυκτερέυσας ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπίους εὑρεῖν τινα πρὸς αὐτὸν. "Ὁ βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, 599 ὁτι μὲν οὐδὲς τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὁμοῦ συμπάσης ἀπεδέχθη στρατηγὸς ἡ πρότερον Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ σὺ νῦν μετ' ἐκείνων, εὐνοεῖς δῆποθεν ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ἄρχεις ἐκείνῳ, τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ὅρμας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, εἰκὸς ἐστι καὶ θύσαί σε τῇ θεῷ θυσίαν ἧν ἐκείνος ἐν- 5 ταῦθα θύσας ἔξεπελευσεν." ἀμα δὲ πως ὑπῆλθε τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὁ τῆς κόρης σφαγιασμός, ἦν ὁ πατὴρ ἐσφαξέ πεισθεὶς τοὺς μᾶντεσιν. οὐ μὴν 1 ἔξεπεμπον εὖθὺς MSS.: ἔξεπεμπον after Reiske. 2 πρῶτος S: εὖθὺς πρῶτος.
AGESILAUS, vi. 1-5

Hellas, proceeding to the farthest point across the sea, and thus anticipating the preparations of the Barbarian. At the same time he wrote to his friends in Asia urging them to send messengers to Sparta and demand Agesilaüs as their commander. Accordingly, Agesilaüs went before the assembly of the people and agreed to undertake the war if they would grant him thirty Spartans as captains and counsellors, a select corps of two thousand enfranchised Helots, and a force of allies amounting to six thousand. They readily voted everything, owing to the co-operation of Lysander, and sent Agesilaüs forth at once with the thirty Spartans. Of these Lysander was first and foremost, not only because of his own reputation and influence, but also because of the friendship of Agesilaüs, in whose eyes his procuring him this command was a greater boon than his raising him to the throne.

While his forces were assembling at Geraestus, Agesilaüs himself went to Aulis with his friends and spent the night. As he slept, he thought a voice came to him, saying: "King of the Lacedaemonians, thou art surely aware that no one has ever been appointed general of all Hellas together except Agamemnon, in former times, and now thyself, after him. And since thou commandest the same hosts that he did, and wagest war on the same foes, and settest out for the war from the same place, it is meet that thou shouldst sacrifice also to the goddess the sacrifice which he made there before he set sail." Almost at once Agesilaüs remembered the sacrifice of his own daughter which Agamemnon had there made in obedience to the soothsayers. He was not disturbed,

1 In the spring of 396 B.C.
διετάραξεν αυτὸν, ἀλλὰ ἀναστᾶς καὶ διηγησάμενος τοῖς φίλοις τὰ φανέρτα τὴν μὲν θεοῦ ἔφη τιμήσειν οἷς εἰκός ἦστι χαίρειν θεοῦ ὑδασθαν, οὐ μιμήσεσθαί δὲ τὴν ἀπάθειαν τοῦ τότε στρατηγοῦ. καὶ καταστέψας ἐλαβὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἀπάρξασθαι τὸν ἕαυτον μάντιν, οὐχ Ὄστερ εἰώθει τοῦτο 6 ποιεῖν ὃ ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένος. ἀκούσαντες οὖν οἱ Βοιωτάρχαι πρὸς ὄργην κινηθέντες ἔπεμψαν ὑπηρέτας, ἀπαγορεύοντες τῷ Ἀγησίλαῷ μὴ θύειν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ πάτρια Βοιωτῶν. οἱ δὲ καὶ τάντα ἀπήγγειλαν καὶ τὰ μηρία διέρρυσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. χαλεπώς οὖν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέπλει, τοῖς τε Θησαίοις διωργισμένοις καὶ γεγονός δύσελτος διὰ τῶν οἰωνῶν, ὡς ἀτελῶς αὐτῷ τῶν πράξεων γενθησόμενων καὶ τῆς στρατείας ἐπὶ τὸ προσήκου οὐκ ἀφιξομένης.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκειν εἰς Ἐφεσον, εὐθὺς ἀξίωμα μέγα καὶ δύναμις ἦν ἐπαχθῆς καὶ βαρεία περὶ τὸν Λύσανδρον, ὥσπερ φαντώτως ἔπι τὰς θύρας ἔκαστο καὶ πάντων παρακολουθοῦντων καὶ θεραπευόντων ἔκεινον, ὡς ὄνομα μὲν καὶ σχήμα τῆς στρατηγίας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔχοντα, διὰ τὸν νόμον, ἔργῳ δὲ κύριον ὤντα οὔτα ἀπάντων καὶ δυνάμενον καὶ πράπτοντα πάντα τὸν Λύσανδρον.

2 οὔτεις γὰρ δεινότερος οὐδὲ φοβερότερος ἐκεῖνος τῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀποσταλέντων ἐγένετο στρατηγὸς, οὐδὲ μείξονα τοὺς φίλους ἄνηρ ἄλλος ἐνεργήτησει οὔτε κακὰ τηλικάντα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐποίησεν. ὃν ἐτὶ προσφάτων ὄντων οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ

1 ἀπάθειαν S and Amyot: ἀμαθίαν (stupidity).
2 ἔχοντα Coraës, after Reiske: ὤντα.
3 κύριον ὤντα Reiske: κύριον.
however, but after rising up and imparting his vision to his friends, declared that he would honour the goddess with a sacrifice in which she could fitly take pleasure, being a goddess, and would not imitate the cruel insensibility of his predecessor. So he caused a hind to be wreathed with chaplets, and ordered his own seer to perform the sacrifice, instead of the one customarily appointed to this office by the Boeotians. Accordingly, when the Boeotian magistrates heard of this, they were moved to anger, and sent their officers, forbidding Agesilaüs to sacrifice contrary to the laws and customs of the Boeotians. These officers not only delivered their message, but also snatched the thigh-pieces of the victim from the altar. Agesilaüs therefore sailed away in great distress of mind; he was not only highly incensed at the Thebans, but also full of ill-boding on account of the omen. He was convinced that his undertakings would be incomplete, and that his expedition would have no fitting issue.

VII. As soon as he came to Ephesus, the great dignity and influence which Lysander enjoyed were burdensome and grievous to him. The doors of Lysander were always beset with a throng, and all followed in his train and paid him court, as though Agesilaüs had the command in name and outward appearance, to comply with the law, while in fact Lysander was master of all, had all power, and did everything. In fact, none of the generals sent out to Asia ever had more power or inspired more fear than he; none other conferred greater favours on his friends, or inflicted such great injuries upon his enemies. All this was still fresh in men's minds, and

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1 Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 3 f.
2 Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4, 7.
μνημονεύοντες, ἀλλὰς δὲ τοῖς μὲν Ἀγησίλαοι ἀφελή καὶ λιτῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁμολίαις καὶ δημοτικοῖς ὀρόντες, ἐκείνῳ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὀμολογήσας, σφοδρότητα καὶ τραχύτητα καὶ βραχυλογίαν παροῦσαν, ὑπέτιπτον αὐτῷ παντάπασι καὶ μόνῳ προσεῖχον.

3 ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν οἱ λοιποὶ Σπαρταῖαι καὶ ἑλετῶς ἐφερον ὑπηρέται Δυσάνδρον μᾶλλον ἢ σύμβουλοι βασιλέως οὕτως· ἔπειτα δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, οἱ καὶ μὴ θυμόμενος ἂν μὴ ἤχετο τοῖς τιμωμένοις, ἀλλὰ φιλότιμος ὄν σφόδρα καὶ φιλόνεικος, ἐφοβεῖτο μή, κἂν ἐνέγκωσι τι λαμπρῶν αἰ πράξεις, τούτῳ Δυσάνδρῳ γένυται διὰ τὴν δόξαν. οὕτως οὖν ἐποίει.

4 Πρῶτον ἀντέκρουσε ταῖς συμβουλίαις αὐτοῦ, καὶ πρὸς ἄς ἐκείνους ἐσπουδάκει μάλιστα πράξεις ἑών χαίρειν καὶ παραμελῶν, ἔτερα πρὸ ἐκείνου ἐπραττεν· ἔπειτα τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ δεομένων ὅσι αἰσθοῖτο Δυσάνδρῳ μάλιστα πεποιθότας, ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμπε· καὶ περὶ ταῖς κρίσεις ὁμοίως οἰς ἐκείνοις ἐπηρεάζοι, τοῦτοις ἐδει πλέον ἐχοντας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ τοιοῦτοις ὅσι φανερῶς γένοιτο προδυμομένους ἀφελεῖν, χαλεπῶν ἢ μὴ καὶ ἡμιῳδήμαι. γινομένων δὲ τούτων οὐ κατὰ τύχην, ἀλλ' οίνῳ ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ ὁμαλῶς, αἰσθόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν ὁ Δυσάνδρος οὐκ ἀπεκρίττετο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλ' ἔλεγεν ὡς δ' αὐτὸν ἀτιμάζωντο, καὶ παρεκάλει θεραπεύειν ὕντας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ δυναμένους.

5 VIII. Ὅς οὖν ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ἐδόκει φθόνον ἐκείνῳ μηχανόμενος, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ καθάψασθαι βουλόμενος Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέ-
besides, when they saw the simple, plain, and familiar manners of Agesilaüs, while Lysander retained the same vehemence and harshness, and the same brevity of speech as before, they yielded to the latter's influence altogether, and attached themselves to him alone. As a consequence of this, in the first place, the rest of the Spartans were displeased to find themselves assistants of Lysander rather than counsellors of the king; and, in the second place, Agesilaüs himself, though he was not an envious man, nor displeased that others should be honoured, but exceedingly ambitious and high-spirited, began to fear that any brilliant success which he might achieve in his undertakings would be attributed to Lysander, owing to popular opinion. He went to work, therefore, in this way.

To begin with, he resisted the counsels of Lysander, and whatever enterprises were most earnestly favoured by him, these he ignored and neglected, and did other things in their stead; again, of those who came to solicit favours from him, he sent away empty-handed all who put their chief confidence in Lysander; and in judicial cases likewise, all those against whom Lysander inveighed were sure to come off victorious, while, on the contrary, those whom he was manifestly eager to help had hard work even to escape being fined. These things happened, not casually, but as if of set purpose, and uniformly. At last Lysander perceived the reason, and did not hide it from his friends, but told them it was on his account that they were slighted, and advised them to go and pay their court to the king, and to those more influential with him than himself.

VIII. Accordingly, since his words and acts seemed contrived to bring odium upon the king, Agesilaüs, wishing to despite him still more,
δειξε κρεοδαίτην καὶ πρὸσεῖπεν, ὡς λέγεται, 
πολλῶν ἀκούοντων: "Νῦν οὖν θεραπευνέσσαν 
2 οὖτιν ἀπόντες τὸν ἐμὸν κρεοδαίτην." ἄχθομενος 
οὖν ὁ Λύσανδρος λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν: "'Ήδεισ ἣρα 
σαφῶς, Ἀγνησίλαε, φίλους ἐλαττοῦν." "Νη Δί',
"ἔφη, "τοὺς ἐμοῦ μείζον δύνασθαι βουλομένους." 
καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος, "'Ἄλλ' ἰσως," ἔφη, "ταύτα 
σοι λέλεκται βέλτιον ἢ ἐμοὶ πέπρακται. δός δὲ 
μοι τινὰ τάξιν καὶ χώραν ἐνθα μή λυπῶν ἑσομαι 
3 σοι χρήσιμος." ἐκ τούτου πέμπτεται μὲν ἐφ' 
'Ελλήσποντον, καὶ Σπιθριδάτην, ἀνδρά Πέρσην, 
ἄπο τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας μετὰ χρημάτων 
συχνῶν καὶ διακοσίων ἰππέων ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν 
'Αγγησίλαον, οὐκ ἐληγγε δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ βα-

tέως φέρων ἤδη τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐβούλευν 
ἵππως τῶν δυνῶν οἰκῶν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφελόμενος 
eἰς μέσον ἀπασφ. ἀποδοίη Σπαρτιάταις. καὶ 
ἐδόκει μεγάλην ἄν ἀπεργάσασθαι κίνησιν ἐκ 
tαύτης τῆς διαφορᾶς, εἰ μὴ πρὸτερον ἐτελεύ-
tησεν εἰς Βοιωτίαν στρατεύσας. οὕτως αἱ φιλο-
tιμοὶ φύσεις ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις, τὸ ἄγαν μὴ 
φυλαξάμεναι, τοῦ ἄγαθον μεῖζον τὸ κακὸν ἔχουσιν. 
καὶ ἡγαὶ εἰ Λύσανδρος ἤν ὕφτωκός, ὥστερ ἦν, 
ὑπερβάλλων τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ τὸν καίρον, οὐκ ἠγνόε 
δὴπουθεν Ἀγνησίλαος ἐτέραν ἀμεμπτοτέραν ἐπαν-
όρθωσιν οὕσαν ἄνδρος ἐνδόξου καὶ φιλοτίμου 
πλημμελοῦντος. ἀλλ' ἐχοικε ταύτα πάθει μῆτε 
ἐκεῖνος ἀρχοντος ἐξουσίαν γινώσκῃ μῆτε οὕτος 
ἀγνοιαν ἐνεγκεῖν συνήθος.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Τισαφέρης ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν φοβη-

1 Νη Δί' Cobet, comparing Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 9: 

Ηδεῖν (I know how to humble).
appointed him his carver of meats, and once said, we are told, in the hearing of many: "Now then, let these suppliants go off to my carver of meats and pay their court to him." Lysander, then, deeply pained, said to him: "I see, Agesilaüs, that thou knowest very well how to humble thy friends." "Yes indeed," said the king, "those who wish to be more powerful than I am." Then Lysander said: "Well, perhaps these words of thine are fairer than my deeds. Give me, however, some post and place where I shall be of service to thee, without vexing thee." ¹ Upon this he was sent to the Hellespont, and brought over to Agesilaüs from the country of Pharnabazus, Spithridates, a Persian, with much money and two hundred horsemen. He did not, however, lay aside his wrath, but continued his resentment, and from this time on planned how he might wrest the kingdom from the two royal families, and make all Spartans once more eligible to it. And it was thought that he would have brought about a great disturbance in consequence of this quarrel, had not death overtaken him on his expedition into Boeotia.² Thus ambitious natures in a common-wealth, if they do not observe due bounds, work greater harm than good. For even though Lysander was troublesome, as he was, in gratifying his ambition unseasonably, still, Agesilaüs must surely have known another and more blameless way of correcting a man of high repute and ambition when he erred. As it was, it seems to have been due to the same passion that the one would not recognize the authority of his superior, nor the other endure the being ignored by his friend and comrade.

IX. At first Tisaphernes was afraid of Agesilaüs,

¹ Cf. Lysander, xxiii. 9. ² Cf. Lysander, xxiv.-xxviii.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

θείς τῶν Ἀγνισλαον ἐποιήσατο σπουδάς, ὡς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῷ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἀφῆσοντος αὐτο-νόμους βασιλέως, ὤστερον δὲ πεισθεὶς ἔχειν δύναμιν ἰκανὴν ἔξηνεγκε τῶν πόλεμον, ἁσμενὸς ὁ

2 Ἀγνισλαος ἐδέξατο. προσδοκία γὰρ ἦν μεγάλῃ τῆς σтратείας καὶ δεινὸν ὑγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν σὺν Ἐνοφώντι μυρίοις ἢκείν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ὀσάκις ἐβουλήθησαν αὐτοὶ τοσαυτάκις βασιλέα νεικη-κόταις, αὐτοῦ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντος ἡγο-μένων γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης μιθὲν ἔργον ἄξιον μνήμης φανήμα πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀμυνόμενοι ἀπάτῃ δικαιὰ τὴν Τισαφέρνους ἐπιορκίαν, ἐπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπὶ Καριαν προϊῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ βαρβάρου συναθροί-

3 σαντος ἄρας εἰς Φρυγίαν ἐνέβαλε. καὶ πόλεις μὲν εἰλε συχνὰς καὶ χρημάτων ἀφθόνων ἐκνυ-ρίευσεν, ἐπιδεικνυμένος τοῖς φίλοις ὃτι τὸ μὲν σπεισάμενον ἄδικεῖν τῶν θεῶν ἐστὶ καταφρονεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ παραλογίζεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ μόνον τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξα πολλή καὶ τὸ μεθ' ἡδονῆς κερδαίνειν ἐνεστὶ. τοῖς δὲ ἰππεύσιν ἠλαττοθεῖς καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἁλόβων φανετων, ἀναχωρήσας εἰς Ἕφεσον ἰππικὸν συνήγη, τοῖς εὐρόποις προειπόν, εἰ μὴ βούλονται στρατεύεσθαι, παρασχεῖν ἐκαστὸν ἰππὸν ἄνθ' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα.

4 πολλο为抓 ἦσαν οὕτω, καὶ συνέβαινε τῷ Ἀγνι-λάῳ ταχὺ πολλοὺς καὶ πολεμικοὺς ἔχειν ἰππεῖς ἀντὶ δειλῶν ὀπλιτῶν. ἐμισθοῦντο γὰρ οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι στρατεύεσθαι τοὺς βουλομένους στρα-
and made a treaty in which he promised him to make the Greek cities free and independent of the King. Afterwards, however, when he was convinced that he had a sufficient force, he declared war, and Agesilaüs gladly accepted it. For he had great expectations from his expedition, and he thought it would be a disgraceful thing if, whereas Xenophon and his Ten Thousand had penetrated to the sea, and vanquished the King just as often as they themselves desired, he, in command of the Lacedaemonians, who had the supremacy on sea and land, should perform no deed worthy of remembrance in the eyes of the Hellenes. At once, then, requiting the perjury of Tisaphernes with a righteous deception, he gave out word that he was going to lead his troops against Caria; but when the Barbarian had assembled his forces there, he set out and made an incursion into Phrygia. He captured many cities and made himself master of boundless treasure, thus shewing plainly to his friends that the violation of a treaty is contempt for the gods, but that in outwitting one’s enemies there is not only justice, but also great glory, and profit mixed with pleasure. However, since he was inferior in cavalry and his sacrifices were unpropitious, he retired to Ephesus and began to get together a force of horsemen, commanding the well-to-do, in case they did not wish to perform military service themselves, to furnish instead every man a horse and rider. There were many who chose this course, and so it came to pass that Agesilaüs quickly had a large force of warlike horsemen instead of worthless men-at-arms.¹ For those who did not wish to do military service hired those who did, and those who did not

¹ Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 15.
πεύσθαι, οἷς μὴ βουλόμενοι ἵππεύειν τοὺς βουλομένους ἵππεύειν. 1 καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ποιήσας καλὸς ὁ θήλειαν ἵππον ἀγαθὴν λαβὼν κακὸν ἀνδρα καὶ πλούσιον ἀπήλλαξε τῆς στρα-5 τείας. ἐπεὶ δὲ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς αἴχμαλω-
τους ἀποδύνοντες ἔπιπρασκὼν οἱ λαφυροπόλαί, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἠθήντος ἦσαν ὄνηται πολλοί, τῶν δὲ σωμάτων λευκῶν καὶ ἄπαλῶν παντάπασι διὰ τὰς σκιατραφίας γυμνομένων κατεγέλων ὡς ἀχρή-
στων καὶ μηδενῶς ἁξίων, ἐπιστάσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, Ἐν τούτοι μὲν, εἶπεν, "οὐς μάχεσθε, ταύτα δὲ ὑπὲρ ὃν μάχεσθε."

Χ. Καίρων δὲ ὄντος αὐθίς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν προείπεν εἰς Δυσίαν ἀπάξειν, οὐκέτι φευρόμενος ἐνταῦθα τὸν Τισαφέρνην ἀλλ' ἐκείνος ἑαυτὸν ἐξηπάτησε, διὰ τὴν ἐμπροσθεν ἀπάτην ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἀγησίλαῷ, καὶ νῦν γοῦν αὐτοῦ ἀψεσθαι τῆς Καρίας νομίζων οὕτως δυσίππον
2 πολὺ τῷ ἱππικῷ λειπόμενον. ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὡς προει-
πεν, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦκεν εἰς τὸ περὶ Σάρδεις πεδίον, ἣμακάζετο κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐκείθεν αὐθένθην ὁ Τισαφέρνης· καὶ τῇ ἣπειρῳ διεξελαύνων διεφθείρε
πολλοῖς τῶν ἀτάκτως τὸ πεδίον πορθοῦντων. ἐμνήσας οὖν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι τοὺς πολεμίοις οὐπώ πάρεστι τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως
3 οὐδὲν ἀπεστίν, ἔσπευσε διαγωνίσασθαι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἵππεύσιν ἀναμίξας τὸ πελταστικόν, ἐλαύνειν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ προσβάλλειν τοῖς έναντίοις, αὐτός δὲ εὐθὺς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἑπιγε. γενομένης δὲ τροπῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπακολουθή-

1 ἐμισθοῦντο . . ἵππεύειν bracketed by Sintenis² and Cobet. The sentence is wanting in Αροφθηγ. Λακων. 12 (Morals, p. 209 b).

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wish to serve as horsemen hired those who did. Indeed, Agesilaüs thought Agamemnon had done well in accepting a good mare and freeing a cowardly rich man from military service.¹ And once when, by his orders, his prisoners of war were stripped of their clothing and offered for sale by the venders of booty, their clothing found many purchasers, but their naked bodies, which were utterly white and delicate, owing to their effeminate habits, were ridiculed as useless and worthless. Then Agesilaüs, noticing, said: "These are the men with whom you fight, and these the things for which you fight."

X. When the season again favoured an incursion into the enemy's country,² Agesilaüs gave out that he would march into Lydia, and this time he was not trying to deceive Tisaphernes. That satrap, however, utterly deluded himself, in that he disbelieved Agesilaüs because of his former trick, and thought that now, at any rate, the king would attack Caria, although it was ill-suited for cavalry, and he was far inferior in that arm of the service. But Agesilaüs, as he had given out that he would do, marched into the plain of Sardis, and then Tisaphernes was forced to hasten thither from Caria with aid and relief; and riding through the plain with his cavalry, he cut off many straggling plunderers there. Agesilaüs, accordingly, reflecting that the enemy's infantry had not yet come up, while his own forces were complete, made haste to give battle. He mingled his light-armed infantry with his horsemen, and ordered them to charge at full speed and assault the enemy, while he himself at once led up his men-at-arms. The Barbarians were put to flight, and the Greeks,

¹ Iliad, xxiii. 296 ff.
² In the spring of 395 B.C.; cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 16 ff.
σαντες οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ πόλλους ἄνειλον. εἰκ ταύτης τῆς μάχης οὐ μόνον ὑπήρξεν αὐτοῖς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἄδειος τὴν βασιλείας χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην ἑπιδείξεν Τισαφέρνην διδόντα, μοχθήρον ἄνδρα καὶ τῷ γένει τῶν Ἑλλή-

4 νων ἀπεχθέστατον. ἐπέμψε γὰρ εὐθέως ὁ βασιλεὺς Τιθραύστην ἐπ’ αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκείνου μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέτεμε, τὸν δὲ Ἀγησίλαον ἡζίου διαλυσάμενον ἀποπλεῖν οὐκαδε, καὶ χρήματα διδοὺς αὐτῷ προσέπεμψεν. ὦ δὲ τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης ἐφή τὴν πόλιν εἶναι κυρίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλουτίζων τοὺς στρατιώτας ἱδεθαι μᾶλλον ἡ πλουτῶν αὐτὸς· καὶ ἄλλως ηὲ μὲντοι νομίζειν “Ελληνας καλὸν ὦ δῶρα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ λάφυρα παρὰ τῶν πολε-

5 μίων. ὡμως δὲ τῷ Τιθραύστῃ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι τὸν κοινὸν ἑχθρὸν Ἑλλήνων ἐτετυ-

μῷρητο Τισαφέρνην, ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Φρυγίαν τὸ στράτευμα, λαβὼν ἐφόδιον παρ’ αὐτοῦ τριάκοντα τάλαντα.

Καὶ καθ’ ὁδὸν ὄν σκυτάλην δέχεται παρὰ τῶν οἰκοι τελῶν κελεύονταν αὐτὸν ἄρχειν ἄμα καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. τούτοι μόνον πάντων ὑπῆρξεν Ἀγησίλαος. καὶ μέγιστος μὲν ἦν ὁμολογουμένως καὶ τῶν τότε ἄρχων ἑπιφανέστατος, ὡς εὐρήκη ποὺ καὶ Θεόπομπος, εαυτῷ ἵκε μὴν ἐδίδου δι’ ἄρε—

6 τὴν φρονεῖν μείζον ἢ διὰ τὴν ἤγεμονίαν. τότε δὲ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καταστήσας ἄρχοντα Πείσανδροι ἀμαρτείν ἐδοξεῖν, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρων καὶ φρονιμω-

τέρων παρόντων οὐ σκεφάμενος τὸ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀλλὰ τὴν οἰκείότητα τιμῶν καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ χαρι-

ξόμενος, ἢς ἄδελφος ἦν ὁ Πείσανδρος, ἐκεῖνος παρέδωκε τὴν ναυαρχίαν.
following close upon them, took their camp and slew many of them. As a result of this battle, the Greeks could not only harry the country of the King without fear, but had the satisfaction of seeing due punishment inflicted upon Tisaphernes, an abominable man, and most hateful to the Greek race. For the King at once sent Tithraustes after him, who cut off his head, and asked Agesilaüs to make terms and sail back home, offering him money at the hands of envoys. But Agesilaüs answered that it was for his city to make peace, and that for his own part, he took more pleasure in enriching his soldiers than in getting rich himself; moreover, the Greeks, he said, thought it honourable to take, not gifts, but spoils, from their enemies. Nevertheless, desiring to gratify Tithraustes, because he had punished Tisaphernes, that common enemy of the Greeks, he led his army back into Phrygia, taking thirty talents from the viceroy to cover the expenses of the march.

On the road he received a dispatch-roll from the magistrates at home, which bade him assume control of the navy as well as of the army. This was an honour which no one ever received but Agesilaüs. And he was confessedly the greatest and most illustrious man of his time, as Theopompus also has somewhere said, although he prided himself more on his virtues than on his high command. But in putting Peisander in charge of the navy at this time, he was thought to have made a mistake; for there were older and more competent men to be had, and yet he gave the admiralty to him, not out of regard for the public good, but in recognition of the claims of relationship and to gratify his wife, who was a sister of Peisander.

1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 27 ff.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XI. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν στρατὸν καταστήσας εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζῳ τεταγμένην χώραν οὐ μόνον ἐν ἀφθόνωι δίηγε πᾶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήματα συνήγη πολλά· καὶ προελθὼν ἄχρι Παφλαγονίας προσηγάγετο τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Παφλαγόνων, Κότυν, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῦ δὲ ἀρετήν καὶ 2 πίστιν. ὁ δὲ Σπιθριδάτης, ὡς ἀποστάς τοῦ Φαρναβάζου τὸ πρῶτον ἠλθεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἀγγισλαον, ἀεὶ συναπέδημει καὶ συνεστάτευν αὐτῷ, κάλλιστον νῦν μὲν ἔχων, Μεγαβάτην, οὐ παιδὸς ἄντος ἦρα σφοδρῶς Ἀγγισλαος, καλὴν δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα παρθένον ἐν ἥλικια γάμον. ταύτην 3 ἔπεισε γῆμαι τὸν Κότυν ὁ 'Ἀγγισλαος· καὶ λαβὼν παρ' αὐτοῦ χιλίους ἱππεῖς καὶ δισχιλίους πελταστάς ἀυθίς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Φρυγίαν, καὶ κακῶς ἐποίει τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν οὐχ ὑπομένοντος οὔδε πιστεύοντος τοῖς ἐρύμασιν, ἀλλὰ ἔχων ἀεὶ τὰ πλείστα σὺν ἐαυτῷ τῶν τιμῶν καὶ ἀγαπητῶν ἐξεχώρης καὶ ὑπέθυγμεν ἀλλοτε ἀλλαχόσε τῆς χώρας μεθιδρυόμενος, μέχρι οὗ παραφυλάξας αὐτὸν ὁ Σπιθριδάτης καὶ παραλαβῶν Ἡριππίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἔλαβε τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τῶν 4 χρημάτων ἀπάντων ἐκράτησεν. ἦνθα δὴ πικρὸς ὃν ὁ Ἡριππίδας ἔξεταστης τῶν κλαπέντων, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀναγκάζων ἀποτίθεσθαι, καὶ πάντα ἑφόρων καὶ διερευνόμενος, παρώξυνε τὸν Σπιθριδάτην, ὅστε ἀπελθεῖν εὐθὺς εἰς Σάρδεις μετὰ τῶν Παφλαγόνων.

Τοῦτο λέγεται τῷ Ἀγγισλάῳ γενέσθαι πάντων 602
XI. As for himself, he stationed his army in the province of Pharnabazus, where he not only lived in universal plenty, but also accumulated much money. He also advanced to the confines of Paphlagonia and brought Cotys, the king of the Paphlagonians, into alliance with him, for his virtues, and the confidence which he inspired, inclined the king to desire his friendship. Spithridates also, from the time when he abandoned Pharnabazus and came to Agesilaüs, always accompanied him in his journeys and expeditions. Spithridates had a son, a very beautiful boy, named Megabates, of whom Agesilaüs was ardently enamoured, and a beautiful daughter also, a maiden of marriageable age. This daughter Agesilaüs persuaded Cotys to marry, and then receiving from him a thousand horsemen and two thousand targeteers, he retired again into Phrygia, and harassed the country of Pharnabazus, who did not stand his ground nor trust in his defences, but always kept most of his valued and precious things with him, and withdrew or fled from one part of the country to another, having no abiding place. At last Spithridates, who had narrowly watched him, in conjunction with Herippidas the Spartan, seized his camp and made himself master of all his treasures. Here, however, Herippidas, who had too sharp an eye to the booty that was stolen, and forced the Barbarians to restore it, watching over and enquiring into everything, exasperated Spithridates, so that he marched off at once to Sardis with the Paphlagonians.

This is said to have annoyed Agesilaüs beyond all

1 In the fall of 395 B.C.; cf. Xenophon, Hell. iv. 1, 1 ff.
2 The leader of the second company of thirty Spartan counsellors sent out in the spring of 395 B.C. Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iii. 4, 20.
άνιαρώτατον. ἡχθετο μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρα γενναίον ἀποβεβληκὼς τὸν Σπιθριδάτην καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν οὐκ ὅλην, ἡσχυνετο δὲ τῇ διαβολῇ τῆς μικρολογίας καὶ ἁνελευθερίας, ἢς οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καθαρεύουσαν ἀεὶ παρέ-
χειν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο. χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ἐμφανῶν τούτων ἐκνίζειν αὐτὸν οὐ μετρίως ὁ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρως ἐνεσταγμένος, εἰ καὶ πάνιν παρόντος αὐτοῦ τῷ φιλονείκῳ χρόμενος ἐπειράτῳ νεανίκως ἀπο-
μάχεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ ποτε τοῦ Μεγαβάτου προσίστος ὃς ἀσπασμένου καὶ
φιλήσωντος ἐξέκλινεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι αἰσχυν-
θείς ἐπαύσατο καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπωθέν ἧδη προση-
γόρευν, ἀχθόμενος αὖ πάλιν καὶ μεταμελόμενος τῇ φυγῇ τοῦ φιλήματος, ὁ ’Αγησίλαος προσε-
πειτὶ θαυμάζειν ὁ τὶ δὴ παθὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Μεγα-
βάτης ἀπὸ στόματος οὐ φιλοφρόνοιτο. “Σὺ γὰρ αὕτιος,” οἱ συνήθεις ἐφασαν, “οὐχ ὑποστάς,
ἀλλὰ τρέσας τὸ φίλημα τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ φοβηθείς:
ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἂν ἔλθοι σοι πειθείς ἐκεῖνος ἐντὸς
φιλήματος ἀλλ’ ὅπως αὕτις οὐκ ἀποδεικνυσίς.”
χρόνον οὖν τινα πρὸς ἐαυτῷ γενόμενος ὁ ’Αγη-
σίλαος καὶ διασωπήσας, “Οὐδέν,” ἐφη, “δεινὸν
πείθειν ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖνον· ἐγὼ γὰρ μοι δοκῶ τίμαιν
tὰν máxan τὰν περὶ τοῦ φιλάματος ἅδιον ἄν
μάχεσθαι πάλιν ἢ πάντα ὡσα τεθέαμαι χρυσία
μοι γενέσθαι.” τοιοῦτος μὲν ἦν τοῦ Μεγαβάτου
παρόντος, ἀπελθόντος γε μὴν οὔτω περικαίδος
ἔσχεν ὡς χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν εἰ πάλιν αὐτοῦ μεταβαλ-
μένου καὶ φανέντος ἐνεκαρτέρησε μὴ φιλιθήματι.

1 δεινὸν Reiske's correction of the dein of the MSS., adopted by both Sintenis and Bekker; Stephanus read δει (there is no need).
else. For he was pained at the loss of a gallant man in Spithridates, and with him of a considerable force, and was ashamed to labour under the charge of pettiness and illiberality, from which he was always ambitious to keep not only himself, but also his country, pure and free. And apart from these manifest reasons, he was irritated beyond measure by his love for the boy, which was now instilled into his heart, although when the boy was present he would summon all his resolution and strive mightily to battle against his desires. Indeed, when Megabates once came up and offered to embrace and kiss him, he declined his caresses. The boy was mortified at this, and desisted, and afterwards kept his distance when addressing him, whereupon Agesilaüs, distressed now and repentant for having avoided his kiss, pretended to wonder what ailed Megabates that he did not greet him with a kiss. "It is thy fault," the king’s companions said; "thou didst not accept, but didst decline the fair one’s kiss in fear and trembling; yet even now he might be persuaded to come within range of thy lips; but see that thou dost not again play the coward." Then, after some time spent in silent reflection, Agesilaüs said: "There is no harm in your persuading him; for I think I would more gladly fight that battle of the kiss over again than possess all the gold I have ever seen." Of such a mind was he while Megabates was with him, though when the boy was gone, he was so on fire with love for him that it were hard to say whether, had the boy come back into his presence, he would have had the strength to refuse his kisses.¹

¹ Cf. Xenophon’s Agesilaüs, v. 4–7.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XII. Μετὰ ταῦτα Φαρνάβαζος εἰς λόγους αὐτῶς προτέρους ὅν ξένος ὁ Κυζικήνος Ἀπολλοφάνης. πρότερος δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλθὼν εἰς τὸ χωρίον, ὑπὸ σκιά τινι πῶς οὕτως βαθείας καταβαλὼν ἦπερ, ἐνταῦθα περιέμενε τὸν Φαρνάβαζον. ὁ δὲ ὃς ἐπήλθεν, ὑποβεβλημένων αὐτῶν κωδίων τε μαλακῶν καὶ ποικίλων δαπίδων, αἱδεσθεὶς τῶν Ἀγησίλαων οὐτω κατακείμενον κατεκλίνη καὶ αὐτῶς, ὡς ἐτυχεν, ἐπὶ τὴς πόλεως χαμάζε, καίπερ ἐσθήτα βαθμασθὴν λεπτότητι καὶ βαφαίς ἐνδεδυκώς. ἀστασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλων ὁ μὲν Φαρνάβαζος ὁπο ἦπερ χόρτοι δικαίως ἐν τῷ πόλεμῳ Ἀθηναίων πολέμω, νῦν δὲ πορθούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ὁρῶν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῶς Σπαρτιάτας ὑπ' αἰσχύνης κύπτοντας εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ διαποροῦντας (ἀδικούμενον γὰρ ἐώρων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον), ''Ημεῖς,” εἶπεν, "ὁ Φαρνάβαζε, καὶ φίλοι ὁμοῖοι πρότεροι ἐμειλεῖς ἐχρώμεθα τοῖς ἐκείνου πράγμασι φιλικῶς καὶ νῦν πολέμιοι γεγονότες πολεμικῶς. ἐν οὖν καὶ σὲ τῶν βασιλέως κτημάτων ὅραντες εἰναι βουλόμενοι, εἰκότως διὰ σὺν βιλαπτομεν ἐκείνων.

4 ἀφ' ἦς δ' ἄν ὠμέρας σεαυτὸν ἀξιώσης Ἐλλήνων φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι μᾶλλον ἡ δοῦλοι λέγεσθαι βασιλέως, ταυτὴν νόμιμη τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τὰς ναὰς καὶ πάντας ἥμας τῶν σῶν κτημάτων φύλακας εἰναι καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἤς ἄνευ καλὸν ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ξηλωτῶν ἔστων.”

5 ἐκ τούτου λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἦν αἰχε διάνοιαν. “Ἐγώ ἡμάς,” εἶπεν, “ἐὰν μὲν ἄλλου ἐκπέμψῃ βασιλεὺς στρατηγὸν, ἐσομαι

32
XII. After this, Pharnabazus desired to have a conference with him, and Apollonophanes of Cyzicus, who was a guest-friend of both, brought the two together. Agesilaüs, with his friends, came first to the appointed place, and throwing himself down in a shady place where the grass was deep, there awaited Pharnabazus. And when Pharnabazus came, although soft cushions and broidered rugs had been spread for him, he was ashamed to see Agesilaüs reclining as he was, and threw himself down likewise, without further ceremony, on the grassy ground, although he was clad in raiment of wonderful delicacy and dyes. After mutual salutations, Pharnabazus had plenty of just complaints to make, since, although he had rendered the Lacedaemonians many great services in their war against the Athenians, his territory was now being ravaged by them. But Agesilaüs, seeing the Spartans with him bowed to the earth with shame and at a loss for words (for they saw that Pharnabazus was a wronged man), said: "We, O Pharnabazus, during our former friendship with the King, treated what belongs to him in a friendly way, and now that we have become his enemies, we treat it in a hostile way. Accordingly, seeing that thou also desirest to be one of the King's chattels, we naturally injure him through thee. But from the day when thou shalt deem thyself worthy to be called a friend and ally of the Greeks instead of a slave of the King, consider this army, these arms and ships, and all of us, to be guardians of thy possessions and of thy liberty, without which nothing in the world is honourable or even worthy to be desired." Upon this, Pharnabazus declared to him his purposes. "As for me, indeed," he said, "if the King shall send out another general in my stead, I will be on

XIII. Ἀπιόντος δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ὁ νιὸς ύπολειπθείς προσέδραμε τῷ Ἀγησίλαώ καὶ μειδιών εἶπεν: “Ἐγὼ σε ἐξένω, ὁ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιοῦμαι” καὶ παλτὸν ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ. δεξάμενος οὖν ὁ Ἀγησί- λαος καὶ ἠσθείς τῇ τε ὤψι καὶ τῇ φιλοφροσύνῃ τοῦ παιδός, ἐπεσκόπει τοὺς παρώνας, εἰ τις ἔχοι τι τοιούτων οἶον ἀντιδοῦναι καλῷ καὶ γενναιῷ.

2 δῶρον. ἦδὼν δὲ ἐπον Ἰδαίου 1 τοῦ γραφέως κεκοσμημένου φαλάροις, ταχὺ ταύτα περισπάσας τῷ μειρακίῳ δίδωσι. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκ ἔπαυετο μεμνημένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνῳ περιώντι τὸν οἰκὸν ἀποστερηθέντος αὐτοῦ καὶ φυγόντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄδελφῶν εἰς Πελοποννήσου, ἱσχυρὸς ἐπεμελεῖτο.

3 καὶ τι καὶ τῶν ἑρωτικῶν αὐτῶ συνέπραξεν. ἡρά- σθη γὰρ ἄθλητον παιδός εξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπεί δὲ μέγας ὄν καὶ σκληρός Ὁλυμπίασιν ἐκινδυνεύσει ἐκκριθήναι, καταφεύγει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὁ Πέρσης δεόμενος ύπὲρ τοῦ παιδός. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ βουλόμενος αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι, μάλα μόλις διεπράξατο σὺν πολλῇ πραγματείᾳ.

Τάλλα μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀκριβῆς καὶ νόμιμος, ἐν

1 Ἰδαίου with S and Xenophon (Hell. iv. 1, 39): Ἰδαίου.
your side; but if he entrusts me with the command, I will spare no efforts to punish and injure you in his behalf.” On hearing this, Agesilaüs was delighted, and said, as he seized his hand and rose up with him, “O Pharnabazus, I would that such a man as thou might be our friend rather than our enemy.”

XIII. As Pharnabazus and his friends were going away, his son, who was left behind, ran up to Agesilaüs and said with a smile: “I make thee my guest-friend, Agesilaüs,” and offered him a javelin which he held in his hand. Agesilaüs accepted it, and being delighted with the fair looks and kindly bearing of the boy, looked round upon his companions to see if any one of them had anything that would do for a return-gift to a fair and gallant friend; and seeing that the horse of Idaeus, his secretary, had a decorated head-gear, he quickly took this off and gave it to the youth. Nor afterwards did he cease to remember him, but when, as time went on, the youth was robbed of his home by his brothers and driven into exile in Peloponnesus, he paid him much attention. He even gave him some assistance in his love affairs. For the Persian was enamoured of an Athenian boy, an athlete, who, owing to his stature and strength, was in danger of being ruled out of the lists at Olympia. He therefore had recourse to Agesilaüs with entreaties to help the boy, and Agesilaüs, wishing to gratify him in this matter also, with very great difficulty and with much trouble effected his desires.  

Indeed, although in other matters he was exact and

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1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iv. 1, 28-38, where Agesilaüs adds a promise to respect, in future, the property of Pharnabazus, even in case of war.
2 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. iv. 1, 39 f.
δὲ τοῖς φιλικοῖς πρόφασιν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸ λίαν δίκαιον. Ἐφεταὶ γοῦν ἐπιστόλιον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἰδρεῖα τοῦ Κάρα τοιοῦτο: "Νικίας εἰ μὲν μὴ ἀδικεῖ, ἀφεῖ εἰ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἡμῖν ἄφες πάντως δὲ ἄφες." ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῖς πλείστοις τοιούτους ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἔστι δὲ ὅπου πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον ἐχρήτω τῷ καὶ ρό ὁ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐδήλωσεν, ἀναζυγήσας αὐτῷ θορυβωδεστέρας γενομένης, ἀπθενοῦντα καταλιπὼν τὸν ἑρώμενον. ἐκεῖνον γὰρ δεομένου καὶ καλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἀπίστωτα, μεταστραφεῖς εἶπεν ὡς χαλεπῶν ἐλεεῖν ἁμα καὶ φρονεῖν. τούτῳ μὲν Ἰερώνυμος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἱστορηκεν.

"Ἡ φαύλοιτεραν στιβάδα τῆς Ἀγησιλαίου. πρὸς τῷ ἦλιπὸς οὕτω καὶ ψύχος εἰχεν ὡσπερ μόνους ἀδελφὴς οὗ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεκραμέναι ώρας πενθώσ. ἦδιστον δὲ θέαμα τοῖς κατοικοῦσι τὴν Ἀσίαν ἠλθοῦν ὅσαν οἱ πάλαι βαρεῖς καὶ ἀφορητοὶ καὶ διαρρέοντες ὑπὸ πλούτου καὶ τρυφῆς ὑπαρχοῦ καὶ στρατηγοὶ δεδιότες καὶ θεραπεύοντες..."
law-abiding, in matters of friendship he thought that rigid justice was a mere pretext. At any rate, there is in circulation a letter of his to Hidrieus the Carian, which runs as follows: "As for Nicias, if he is innocent, acquit him; if he is guilty, acquit him for my sake; but in any case acquit him." Such, then, was Agesilaüs in most cases where the interests of his friends were concerned; but sometimes he used a critical situation rather for his own advantage. Of this he gave an instance when, as he was decamping in some haste and confusion, he left his favourite behind him sick. The sick one besought him loudly as he was departing, but he merely turned and said that it was hard to be compassionate and at the same time prudent. This story is related by Hieronymus the philosopher.

XIV. Agesilaüs had now been nearly two years in the field, and much was said about him in the interior parts of Asia, and a wonderful opinion of his self-restraint, of his simplicity of life, and of his moderation, everywhere prevailed. For when he made a journey, he would take up his quarters in the most sacred precincts by himself,\(^1\) thus making the gods overseers and witnesses of those acts which few men are permitted to see us perform; and among so many thousands of soldiers, one could hardly find a meaner couch than that of Agesilaüs; while to heat and cold he was as indifferent as if nature had given him alone the power to adapt himself to the seasons as God has tempered them. And it was most pleasing to the Greeks who dwelt in Asia to see the Persian viceroys and generals, who had long been insufferably cruel, and had revelled in wealth and luxury, now fearful and obsequious before a man who went about

\(^1\) Cf. Xenophon's *Agesilaüs*, v. 7.
Πλούταρχος ο Βριθωνικός ζήτω, καὶ πρὸς ἐν ῥήμα βραχὺ καὶ Δακωνικὸν ἀρμόζοντες έαυτούς καὶ μετασχηματίζοντες, ὡστε πολλοῖς ἐπήξε τὰ τοῦ Τιμοθέου λέγειν,

'Αρης τύραννος· χρυσῶν δὲ Ἕλλας οὐ δεδοικε.

ΧV. Κινουμένης δὲ τῆς Ἄσιας καὶ πολλαχοῦ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὑπεικούσης, ἀρμοσάμενος τὰς αὐτοῦ πόλεις, καὶ ταῖς πολιτείας δίχα φόνου καὶ φυγῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀποδοὺς τὸν προσήκοντα κόσμον, ἐγνώκει πρόσω χωρεῖν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διάρας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἕλληνικῆς θαλάττης, περὶ τοῦ σώματος βασιλεία καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις καὶ Σοῦσοις εὐδαιμονίας διαμάχεσθαι, καὶ περισσάσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῦ τὴν σχολήν, ὡς μὴ καθέζοιτο τοὺς πολέμους βραβεύων τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ διαφθείρων τοὺς δημαγωγούς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐπικυρίδας ὁ Ἐπαφίτης, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι πολὺς περιέστηκε τὴν Ἐπάρπησιν τὸν πόλεμος Ἕλληνικός, καὶ καλοῦσιν ἔκεινον οἱ ἐφοροὶ καὶ κελεύουσι τοῖς οἶκοι βοηθεῖν.

'Ὁ βάρβαρος ἐξευρὼντες Ἕλληνες κακᾶ·

τὸ γὰρ ἂν τις ἄλλῳ τὸν φθόνον ἔκεινον προσεῖτοι καὶ τὴν τὸτε σύστασιν καὶ σύνταξιν ἐφ’ ἐαυτούς τὸν Ἕλληνον; οὐ τὴς τύχης ἄνω φερομένης ἐπελάβοντο, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους βλέποντα καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἥδη τῆς Ἕλλάδος

3 ἐξωκισμένον ἄθλις εἰς ἐαυτοὺς ἑτρησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼγε συμφέρομαι τῷ Κορινθίῳ Δημαράτῳ μεγάλῃ ἡδονῆς ἀπολειπέθθαι. φησαντὶ τοὺς μὴ θεασάμενος Ἕλληνας Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ Δαρείῳ θρόνῳ καθήμενον, ἀλλ’ εἰκότως ἄν οἶμαι δακρυ-
in a paltry cloak, and at one brief and laconic speech from him conforming themselves to his ways and changing their dress and mien, insomuch that many were moved to cite the words of Timotheus:

"Ares is Lord; of gold Greece hath no fear." ¹

XV. Asia being now unsettled and in many quarters inclining to revolt, Agesilaüs set the cities there in order, and restored to their governments, without killing or banishing any one, the proper form. Then he determined to go farther afield, to transfer the war from the Greek sea, to fight for the person of the King and the wealth of Ecbatana and Susa, and above all things to rob that monarch of the power to sit at leisure on his throne, playing the umpire for the Greeks in their wars, and corrupting their popular leaders. But at this point Epicydidas the Spartan came to him with tidings that Sparta was involved in a great war with other Greeks, and that the ephors called upon him and ordered him to come to the aid of his countrymen.

"O barbarous ills devised by Greeks!" ²

How else can one speak of that jealousy which now leagued and arrayed the Greeks against one another? They laid violent hands on Fortune in her lofty flight, and turned the weapons which threatened the Barbarians, and War, which had at last been banished from Greece, back again upon themselves. I certainly cannot agree with Demaratus the Corinthian, who said that those Greeks had missed a great pleasure who did not behold Alexander seated on the throne of Dareius, nay, I think that such might well have

² Euripides, Troades, 766 (Kirchhoff).
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

σαι, συνυφαίσαντας ὅτι ταύτ' Ἀλέξανδρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν ἀπέλπισον οἳ τότε τοὺς τῶν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγοὺς περὶ Δεύκτρα καὶ Κορώνειαν καὶ Κόρινθον καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν κατανύλωσαν.

4 Ἀγησιλάω μέντοι οὔδὲν κρείσσον ἢ μεῖζόν ἐστι τῆς ἀναχωρῆσεως ἐκείνης διαπεπραγμένον, οὔδὲ γέγονε παράδειγμα πειθαρχίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἔτερον κάλλιον. ὅπου γὰρ Ἀμιθας ἤδη κακῶς πράττον καὶ περιωθούμενος ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας μάλα μόλις ὑπήκουσε τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν οἴκοι πόλεμον καλοῦσιν, Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ καὶ προσεπέσκοψε πνεύμενος τὴν πρὸς Ἀγίων Ἀντιπάτρου μάχην, εἰπὼν "Ἐοικεν, ὦ ἀνδρές, ὅτε Δαρείον ἡμεῖς ἐνικῶμεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐκεί τις ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ γεγονέναι μυνομαχίᾳ." πώς οὖν ἢν ἂξιον τὴν Σπάρτην μακαρίσαι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου τιμής πρὸς ταύτην καὶ πρὸς τοὺς νόμους τῆς εὐλαβείας; ὅσ ἄμα τῷ τὴν σκύταλην ἐλθεῖν εὐτυχίαν τοσαύτην καὶ δύναμιν παροῦσαν καὶ τὴλικάντας ἐλπίδας ὑφηγούμενας ἁφεῖς καὶ προέμενος εὐθὺς ἀπέπλευσεν "ἀτελευτήτῳ ἐπὶ ἔργῳ," πολὺν ἑαυτοῦ πόθον τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπολιπὼν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τὸν Ἑρασιστράτου τοῦ Φαῖκος ἐλέγξας λόγον, εἰπόντος ὡς εἰσὶ δημοσία μὲν Δακεδαιμόνιοι Βελτίονες, 6 ἰδίᾳ δὲ Ἀλτήραιοι. Βασιλέα γὰρ ἑαυτῶν καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀριστον ἐπιδειξάμενος, ἐτὶ Βελτίονα καὶ ἢδονα τοῖς χρωμένοις ἰδίᾳ φίλον καὶ συνήθη παρέσχε. τοῦ δὲ Περσικοῦ νομίσματος χάραγμα

1 At Megalopolis, in Arcadia, 331 B.C., Agis fell fighting, and the Spartan rebellion at once collapsed. Alexander
shed tears when they reflected that this triumph was left for Alexander and Macedonians by those who now squandered the lives of Greek generals on the fields of Leuctra, Coroneia, and Corinth, and in Arcadia.

Agesilaus, however, never performed a nobler or a greater deed than in returning home as he now did, nor was there ever a fairer example of righteous obedience to authority. For Hannibal, though he was already in an evil plight and on the point of being driven out of Italy, could with the greatest difficulty bring himself to obey his summons to the war at home; and Alexander actually went so far as to jest when he heard of Antipater's battle with Agis,¹ saying: "It would seem, my men, that while we were conquering Dareius here, there has been a battle of mice there in Arcadia." Why, then, should we not call Sparta happy in the honour paid to her by Agesilaus, and in his deference to her laws? No sooner had the dispatch-roll come to him than he renounced and abandoned the great good fortune and power already in his grasp, and the great hopes which beckoned him on, and at once sailed off, "with task all unfulfilled," ² leaving behind a great yearning for him among his allies, and giving the strongest confutation to the saying of Erasistratus the son of Phaeax, who declared that the Lacedaemonians were better men in public life, but the Athenians in private. For while approving himself a most excellent king and general, he shewed himself a still better and more agreeable friend and companion to those who enjoyed his intimacy. Persian coins were stamped with the figure of an archer, and Agesilaus had not the slightest thought of returning home to help Antipater.

¹ Iliad, iv. 175.

²
According to Xenophon (Hell. iii. 5, 1 ff.), Persian money was distributed in Thebes, Corinth, and Argos. "The Athenians, though they took no share of the gold, were none the less eager for war."
said, as he was breaking camp, that the King was driving him out of Asia with ten thousand "archers"; for so much money had been sent to Athens and Thebes and distributed among the popular leaders there, and as a consequence those peoples made war upon the Spartans.

XVI. And when he had crossed the Hellespont and was marching through Thrace, he made no requests of any of the Barbarians, but sent envoys to each people asking whether he should traverse their country as a friend or as a foe. All the rest, accordingly, received him as a friend and assisted him on his way, as they were severally able; but the people called Trallians, to whom even Xerxes gave gifts, as we are told, demanded of Agesilaüs as a price for his passage a hundred talents of silver and as many women. But he answered them with scorn, asking why, then, they did not come at once to get their price; and marched forward, and finding them drawn up for battle, engaged them, routed them, and slew many of them. He sent his usual enquiry forward to the king of the Macedonians also, who answered that he would deliberate upon it. "Let him deliberate, then," said Agesilaüs, "but we will march on." In amazement therefore at his boldness, and in fear, the Macedonian king gave orders to let him pass as a friend. Since the Thessalians were in alliance with his enemies, he ravaged their country. But to the city of Larissa he sent Xenocles and Scythes, hoping to secure its friendship. His ambassadors, however, were arrested and kept in close custody, whereupon the rest of his command were indignant, and thought that Agesilaüs ought to

2 Agesilaüs followed "the very route taken by the Great King when he invaded Hellas" (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 2, 8).
τὴν Δάρισσαν, ὅ δὲ φήσας οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσαι Θεσ-
σαλίαν ὁλὴν λαβεῖν ἀπολέσας τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν
ἐτεροῦ, ὑποσπόνδους αὐτοὺς ἀπέλαβε. καὶ τοῦτο ἤσως ἐπ᾽ Ἀγησιλάως θαυμαστὸν οὐκ ἦν, ὅς πυθό-
μενος μάχην μεγάλην γεγονόναι περὶ Κόρινθον,
καὶ ἀνδρας τῶν πάνυ ἐνδοξῶν ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα
αἰφνίδιον ἀπολολέναι, καὶ Σπαρτιατῶν μὲν ὀλίγους παντάπασι τεθνηκέναι, παμπόλλους δὲ
tῶν πολεμίων, οὐκ ὀφθην περιχαρῆς οὐδὲ ἐπηρ-
μένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ βαρὺ στενάξας, "Φεῦ
tῆς Ελλάδος," ἔφη, "τοσοῦτοι ἀνδρας ἀπολο-
λευκίας ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ὅσοι ξώντες ἔδυναντο μικὰν
ὁμοί σύμπαντας τοὺς βαρβάρους μαχόμενοι." τῶν
dὲ Φαρσαλίων προσκειμένων αὐτῷ καὶ κακούντων
tὸ στρατευμα, πεντακοσίως ἵππεύων ἐμβαλεῖν
κελεύσας σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τρευμάνος ἔστησε τρο-
παίον ὑπὸ τῷ Ναρθάκιῳ. καὶ τὴν νίκην ὑπερη-
γάπησεν ἐκείνην, ὅτι συστησάμενος ἵππικον αὐτὸς
dὲ ἕαυτοῦ τούτῳ μόνῳ τοὺς μέγιστον ἐφ᾽ ἱππικῇ
φρονούντας ἐκράτησεν.

XVII. Ἐνταῦθα Διφρίδας οἶκοθεν ἔφορος ὄν
ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ κελεύσων εὐθὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν
Βοιωτίαν. ὁ δὲ, καὶ περ ἀπὸ μείζονος παρασκευῆς
ὕστερον τούτῳ ποιῆσαι διανοούμενος, οὐδὲν ἤτο
δὲν ἀπεθεῖν τοῖς ἀρχουσίν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε μεθ᾽
ἑαυτοῦ προείπεν ἑγγὺς εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφ᾽ ἕν ἔξ
Ἀσίας ἤκουσι, καὶ δύο μόρας μετεπέμψατο τῶν
τὸ ντοφ Κόρινθον στρατευομένων. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τιμῶντες αὐτὸν ἐκήρυξαν τῶν
νέων ἀπογράφεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ

1 ἀνδρας . . . καὶ rejected by Sintenis and Bekker, and
questioned by Coraës, after Schaefer; the words are wanting in Apophth. Lacon. 45 (Morals, p. 211 e).
encamp about Larissa and lay siege to it. But he declared that the capture of all Thessaly would not compensate him for the loss of either one of his men, and made terms with the enemy in order to get them back. And perhaps we need not wonder at such conduct in Agesilaüs, since when he learned that a great battle had been fought near Corinth,^{1} and that men of the highest repute had suddenly been taken off, and that although few Spartans altogether had been killed, the loss of their enemies was very heavy, he was not seen to be rejoiced or elated, but fetched a deep groan and said: "Alas for Hellas, which has by her own hands destroyed so many brave men! Had they lived, they could have conquered in battle all the Barbarians in the world." However, when the Pharsalians annoyed him and harassed his army, he ordered five hundred horsemen which he led in person to attack them, routed them, and set up a trophy at the foot of mount Narthacium. This victory gave him special pleasure, because with horsemen of his own mustering and training, and with no other force, he had conquered those whose chief pride was placed in their cavalry.²

XVII. Here Diphridas, an ephor from Sparta, met him, with orders to invade Boeotia immediately. Therefore, although he was purposing to do this later with a larger armament, he thought it did not behoove him to disobey the magistrates, but said to those who were with him that the day was near for which they had come from Asia. He also sent for two divisions of the army at Corinth. Then the Lacedaemonians at home, wishing to do him honour, made proclamation that any young man who wished

^{1} 394 B.C. Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 2, 18—3, 1 f.
The soldiers of Agesilaüs were consequently victorious in a skirmish with the enemy, according to Xenophon (Hell. iv. 3, 14).
might enlist in aid of the king. All enlisted eagerly, and the magistrates chose out the most mature and vigorous of them to the number of fifty, and sent them off.

Agesilaüs now marched through the pass of Thermopylae, traversed Phocis, which was friendly to Sparta, entered Boeotia, and encamped near Chaeroneia. Here a partial eclipse of the sun occurred, and at the same time news came to him of the death of Peisander, who was defeated in a naval battle off Cnidus by Pharnabazus and Conon. Agesilaüs was naturally much distressed at these tidings, both because of the man thus lost, and of the city which had lost him; but nevertheless, that his soldiers might not be visited with dejection and fear as they were going into battle, he ordered the messengers from the sea to reverse their tidings and say that the Spartans were victorious in the naval battle. He himself also came forth publicly with a garland on his head, offered sacrifices for glad tidings, and sent portions of the sacrificial victims to his friends.

XVIII. After advancing as far as Coroneia and coming within sight of the enemy, he drew up his army in battle array, giving the left wing to the Orchomenians, while he himself led forward the right. On the other side, the Thebans held the right wing themselves, and the Argives the left. Xenophon says that this battle was unlike any ever fought, and he was present himself and fought on the side of Agesilaüs, having crossed over with him from Asia. The first impact, it is true, did not meet with much resistance, nor was it long contested, but the
ταχὺ τοὺς Ὄρχομενίων ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τοὺς Ἄργείους ὁ Ἁγησίλαος ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἀμφότεροι τὰ ευόνυμα πιέξεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν ἀνέστρεψαν, ἐνταῦθα τῆς νίκης ἀκινδύνου παρούσης, εἰ τῇ κατὰ στόμα μάχῃ υφέσθαι τοῖς Ὀθβαίοις ἠθέλησε καὶ παίειν ἐπόμενος παραλλάξαντας, ὅποι θυμοῦ καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐναντίος ἑξώρει τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὡσασθαι κατὰ κράτος βουλόμενος. οἱ δὲ ὦχῃ ἦττον ἐρρωμένως ἐδέξαντο, καὶ μάχῃ γίνεται διὸ ὀλου μὲν ἵσχυρὰ τοῦ στρατεύματος, ἵσχυρότατη δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνου αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς πεντήκοντα τεταγμένον, ὅπειρα καὶ ἐοικεν ἡ φιλοτιμία τῷ βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ σωτηρίος. ἀγωνιζόμενοι γὰρ ἐκθύμως καὶ προκινδυνεύοντες ἀτρωτὸν μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδυνάθησαν φυλάξαι, πολλὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν δεξάμενον εἰς τὸ σῶμα πληγᾶς δόρασι καὶ ξίφεσι μόλις ἀνήρ-πασαν ξώντα, καὶ συμφράξαντες πρὸ αὐτοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνήρους, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπίπτον. ὡς δὲ μέγα ἔργων ἦν ὡσασθαι προτροπάδην τοὺς Ὀθβαίοις, ἦπιναγκάσθησαν ὀπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ποιῆσαι. διέστησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν φώλαγγα καὶ διέσχον, εἶτα ἀτακτότερον ἥδη πορευομένους, ὡς διεξέπεσον, ἀκολουθοῦντες καὶ παραθέοντες ἐκ πλαγίων ἐπαιν. οὐ μὴν ἐτρέψαντό γε, ἀλλ’ ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ Ὀθβαίοι πρὸς τὸν Ἔλικόνα, μέγα τῇ μάχῃ φρονοῦντες, ὡς ἀἵττητοι καθ’ αὐτοὺς γεγονότες.
AGESILAUS, xviii. 2-4

Thebans speedily routed the Orchomenians, as Agesilaüs did the Argives. Both parties, however, on hearing that their left wings were overwhelmed and in flight, turned back. Then, although the victory might have been his without peril if he had been willing to refrain from attacking the Thebans in front and to smite them in the rear after they had passed by, Agesilaüs was carried away by passion and the ardour of battle and advanced directly upon them, wishing to bear them down by sheer force. But they received him with a vigour that matched his own, and a battle ensued which was fierce at all points in the line, but fiercest where the king himself stood surrounded by his fifty volunteers,¹ whose opportune and emulous valour seems to have saved his life. For they fought with the utmost fury and exposed their lives in his behalf, and though they were not able to keep him from being wounded, but many blows of spears and swords pierced his armour and reached his person, they did succeed in dragging him off alive, and standing in close array in front of him, they slew many foes, while many of their own number fell. But since it proved too hard a task to break the Theban front, they were forced to do what at the outset they were loth to do. They opened their ranks and let the enemy pass through, and then, when these had got clear, and were already marching in looser array, the Spartans followed on the run and smote them on the flanks. They could not, however, put them to rout, but the Thebans withdrew to Mount Helicon,² greatly elated over the battle, in which, as they reasoned, their own contingent had been undefeated.

¹ Cf. chapter xvii. 2. They are not mentioned by Xenophon.
² From the slopes of which they had advanced to the battle.
In 447 B.C.; cf. the Pericles, xviii. 2 f.

1 In 447 B.C.; cf. the Pericles, xviii. 2 f.
2 Cf. the Nicias, vi. 5.
XIX. But Agesilaüs, although he was weakened by many wounds, would not retire to his tent until he had first been carried to his troops and seen that the dead were collected within the encampment. Moreover, he ordered that all of the enemy who had taken refuge in the sanctuary should be dismissed. For the temple of Athena Itonia was near at hand, and a trophy stood in front of it, which the Boeotians had long ago erected, when, under the command of Sparto, they had defeated the Athenians there and slain Tolmides their general. Early next morning, Agesilaüs, wishing to try the Thebans and see whether they would give him battle, ordered his soldiers to wreath their heads and his pipers to play their pipes, while a trophy was set up and adorned in token of their victory. And when the enemy sent to him and asked permission to take up their dead, he made a truce with them, and having thus assured to himself the victory, proceeded to Delphi, where the Pythian games were in progress. There he celebrated the customary procession in honour of the god, and offered up the tenth of the spoils which he had brought from Asia, amounting to a hundred talents.

Then he went back home, where his life and conduct brought him at once the affection and admiration of his fellow-citizens. For, unlike most of their generals, he came back from foreign parts unchanged and unaffected by alien customs; he showed no dislike towards home fashions, nor was he restive under them, but honoured and loved what he found there just as much as those did who had never crossed the Eurotas; he made no change in his

\(^3\) Leaving the army in command of Gylis the polemarch (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 3, 21).
5 ἡλλαξεν, οὐ λοντρόν, οὐ θεραπείαν γυναικός, οὐχ ὀπλων κόσμον, οὐκ οἰκίας κατασκευήν, ἄλλα καὶ τὰς θύρας ἀφῆκεν οὕτως οὕσας σφόδρα παλαιάς, ὡς δοκεῖν εἶναι, ταῦτα ἐκεῖνα ὡς ἐπέθηκεν Ἀριστόδημος. καὶ τὸ κάνναβορον φησιν ὁ Ξενοφῶν οὐδέν τι σεμνότερον εἶναι τῆς ἐκείνου θυγατρὸς ἢ τῶν ἄλλων. κάνναβα δὲ καλοῦσιν εἴδωλα γρυπῶν ξύλων καὶ τραγελάφων ἐν οἷς κομίζουσιν.

6 τὰς παιδάς ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοφῶν ὁνόμα τῆς Ἀγγειλάου θυγατρός οὐ γέγραφε, καὶ ὁ Δικαίαρχος ἐπηγανάκτησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀγγειλάου θυγατέρα μὴτε τῆν Ἐπαμινώνδου μητέρα γυνωσκότων ἡμῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ εὐρομεν ἐν ταῖς Λακωνικαῖς ἀναγραφαῖς ὀνομαζομένην γυναῖκα μὲν Ἀγγειλάου Κλεόραυν, θυγατέρας δὲ Εὐπωλίαν καὶ Πρόανγαν. ἦστι δὲ καὶ λόγχην ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ κειμένην ἄχρι υἱὸν ἐν Λακεδαιμονι, μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρονσαν.

XX. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα ὅρων ἐνίοις τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπὸ ἰπποτροφίας δοκοῦντας εἶναι τινας καὶ μέγα 2 φρονοῦντας, ἔπεισε τὴν ἄδελφην Κυνίσκαν ἀρμα καθεύσαν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀγωνίσασθαι, βουλόμενος ἐνδείξασθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ὡς οὖνδεμάς ἐστιν ἐρετῆς, ἄλλα πλοῦτον καὶ δαπάνης ἡ νίκη.

2 Ἐνοφόντα δὲ τῶν σοφῶν ἐχὼν μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ σπουδαζόμενον ἐκέλευε τοὺς παιδας ἐν Δακεδαιμονι τρέφειν μεταπεμψάμενον, ὡς μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ κάλλιστον, ἀρχεσθαί καὶ ἀρχευν. τοῦ δὲ Λυσάνδρου τετελευτηκότος εὑρὼν ἐταίρειαν πολλὴν συνεστῶσαν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος

1 Πρόανγαν a reading mentioned by Stephanus, and now found in S: Προλύταν.
2 μέγα Cobet, van Herwerden, with Fa: μεγάλα.
table, or his baths, or the attendance on his wife, or the decoration of his armour, or the furniture of his house, nay, he actually let its doors remain although they were very old,—one might say they were the very doors which Aristodemus\(^1\) had set up. His daughter's "kannathron," as Xenophon\(^1\) tells us, was no more elaborate than that of any other maid ("kannathra" is the name they give to the wooden figures of griffins or goat-stags in which their young girls are carried at the sacred processions).\(^2\) Xenophon, it is true, has not recorded the name of the daughter of Agesilaüs, and Dicaearchus expressed great indignation that neither her name nor that of the mother of Epaminondas was known to us; but we have found in the Lacedaemonian records that the wife of Agesilaüs was named Cleora, and his daughters Eupolia and Proauga. And one can see his spear also, which is still preserved at Sparta, and which is not at all different from that of other men.

XX. However, on seeing that some of the citizens esteemed themselves highly and were greatly lifted up because they bred racing horses, he persuaded his sister Cynisca to enter a chariot in the contests at Olympia, wishing to shew the Greeks that the victory there was not a mark of any great excellence, but simply of wealth and lavish outlay. Also, having Xenophon the philosopher in his following, and making much of him, he ordered him to send for his sons and rear them at Sparta, that they might learn that fairest of all lessons, how to obey and how to command. Again, finding after Lysander's death that a large society was in existence, which that

\(^1\) The great-great-grandson of Heracles; cf. Xenophon, *Agesilaüs*, viii. 7.

\(^2\) These figures of animals were on wheels, and served as carriages (cf. Athenaeus, p. 139 f.).
3 ἢν ξὺν πολίτης· καὶ λόγον ἀναγινόντες ἐν βιβλίῳ ἀπολελειμμένον, ὅν ἔγραψε μὲν Κλέων ὁ Ἀλικαρνασσεύς, ἐμελλε δὲ λέγειν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Λύσανδρος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ περὶ πραγμάτων καυνῶν καὶ μεταστάσεως τοῦ πολιτεύματος, ἰθέλησεν εἰς μέσον ἐξενεγκείν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τις τῶν γερόντων τῶν λόγων ἀναγινόντας καὶ φοβηθεῖς τὴν δεινότητα συνεβούλευσε μὴ τὸν Λύσανδρον ἀνορύττειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν λόγον μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συγκαταράττειν, ἐπείσθη 4 καὶ καθησύχαξε. τοὺς δὲ ὑπεναντιούμενος αὐτῷ φανερῶς μὲν οὐκ ἔβλαπτε, διαπραττόμενος δὲ πέμπεσθαι τινας αἰεὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἐπεδείκνυε γενομένους ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις πονηροὺς καὶ πλεονέκτας, εἰτα κρινομένοις πάλιν αὐ βοηθῶν καὶ συναγωνιζόμενος, οἰκείους ἐκ διαφόρων ἐποιεῖτο καὶ μεθίστη πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡστε μηθένα αντίπαλον εἶναι.

5 Ὁ γὰρ ἔτερος βασιλεὺς Ἀγησίπολις, ἀτε δὴ πατρὸς μὲν ὄν φυγάδος, ἡλικία δὲ παντάπασι μειράκιον, φύσε: δὲ πρᾶος καὶ κόσμος, οὐ πολλὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐπραττεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτον ἐποιεῖτο χειροθή. συσσιτοῦσα γὰρ οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτῶντες φιδίτιον, ὅταν 6 ἐπιδημᾶσιν. εἰδὼς οὖν ἐνοχὸν ὄντα τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς τῶν Ἀγησίπολιν, ὡσπερ ἢν αὐτός, ἀεὶ τινος

1 Cf. the Lysander, chapter xxx.
commander, immediately after returning from Asia, had formed against him, Agesilaüs set out to prove what manner of citizen Lysander had been while alive. So, after reading a speech which Lysander had left behind him in book form,—a speech which Cleon of Halicarnassus had composed, but which Lysander had intended to adopt and pronounce before the people in advocacy of a revolution and change in the form of government,—Agesilaüs wished to publish it. But one of the senators, who had read the speech and feared its ability and power, advised the king not to dig Lysander up again, but rather to bury the speech with him, to which advice Agesilaüs listened and held his peace. And as for those who were in opposition to him, he would do them no open injury, but would exert himself to send some of them away from time to time as generals and commanders, and would shew them up if they proved base and grasping in their exercise of authority; then, contrariwise, when they were brought to trial, he would come to their aid and exert himself in their behalf, and so would make them friends instead of enemies, and bring them over to his side, so that no one was left to oppose him.

For Agesipolis, the other king, since he was the son of an exile, in years a mere stripling, and by nature gentle and quiet, took little part in affairs of state. And yet he too was brought under the sway of Agesilaüs. For the Spartan kings eat together in the same "phiditium," or public mess, whenever they are at home. Accordingly, knowing that Agesipolis was prone to love affairs, just as he was himself,
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υπήρχε λόγου περι τῶν ἐν ὀρᾷ καὶ προήγη τῶν νεανίσκον εἰς ταύτῳ καὶ συνήρα καὶ συνέπραττε, τῶν Λακωνικῶν ἐρώτων οὐδὲν αἰσχρόν, αἰδῶ δὲ πολλὴν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ ξῆλον ἀρετὴς ἐχόντων, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δυκουργου γέγραται.

XXI. Μέγιστον οὖν δυνάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει δια-
πράττεται Τελευτίαν τὸν ὀμομήτριον ὀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ γενέσθαι. καὶ στρατευσάμενος εἰς Κόρυνθον αὐτὸς μὲν ἥρει κατὰ γῆν τὰ μακρὰ τείχη, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶν ὁ Τελευτίας 1 . . . . Ἀρ-
geίων δὲ τὴν Κόρυνθον ἐχόντων τότε καὶ τὰ Ἰσθμία συντελούντων, ἑπιφανείς ἑκείνους μὲν ἐξήλασεν ἄρτι τῷ θεῷ τεθυκότας, τὴν παρα-

1 The lacuna after this name may be filled from the words κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεὰρια ἕρηκε, in Xenophon, Hell. iv. 4, 19.

1 Chapters xvii. 1; xviii. 4.
Agesilaüs would always introduce some discourse about the boys who were of an age to love. He would even lead the young king's fancy toward the object of his own affections, and share with him in wooing and loving, these Spartan loves having nothing shameful in them, but being attended rather with great modesty, high ambition, and an ardent desire for excellence, as I have written in my life of Lycurgus.¹

XXI. Having thus obtained very great influence in the city, he effected the appointment of Teleutias, his half-brother on his mother's side, as admiral. Then he led an army to Corinth, and himself, by land, captured the long walls, while Teleutias, with his fleet, seized the enemy's ships and dockyards. Then coming suddenly upon the Argives,² who at that time held Corinth, and were celebrating the Isthmian games, he drove them away just as they had sacrificed to the god, and made them abandon all their equipment for the festival. At this, the exiles from Corinth who were in his army begged him to hold the games. This, however, he would not do, but remained at hand while they held the games from beginning to end, and afforded them security. Afterwards, when he had departed, the Isthmian games were held afresh by the Argives, and some contestants won their victories a second time, while some were entered in the lists as victors in the first contests, but as vanquished in the second. In this matter Agesilaüs declared that the Argives had brought down upon themselves the charge of great cowardice, since they regarded the conduct of the

¹ Plutarch confuses the expedition of 393 b.c. (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 4. 19) with that of 390 b.c. (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 5, 1 ff.).
ἀγωνοθεσίαν ἠγούμενοι μάχεσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα μετρίως ἧτο δεῖν ἔχειν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν οἴκους χοροὺς καὶ ἁγώνας ἐπεκόσμει καὶ συμπαρήν ἄει φιλοτιμίας καὶ σπουδῆς μεστὸς ὄν καὶ οὔτε παίδων οὔτε παρθένων ἀμύλλης ἀπολειπόμενος, ἃ δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἑώρα θαυμάζοντας ἐδόκει μηδὲ γινώσκειν.

4 καὶ ποτε Καλλιππίδης ὁ τῶν τραγῳδιῶν ὑποκριτής, ὅποια καὶ δόξαν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησκαὶ καὶ σπουδαζόμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπήνυτησεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσέπει, ἐπειτα σοβαρῶς εἰς τοὺς συμπεριπατοῦντας ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἐπεδείκνυτο νομίζον ἑκείνου ἄρξειν τινὸς φιλοφροσύνης, τέλος δὲ εἶπεν: "Οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκεις μὲ, ο βασιλεῦ;" κάκεινος ἀποβλέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπεν: "Ἀλλὰ οὐ σύγε ἐστὶ Καλλιππίδας ὁ δεικνύλκτας;" οὔτω δὲ Δακεδαίμονι τοὺς μίμους καλοῦσι. παρακαλοῦμενος δὲ πάλιν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ τὴν ἀγδόνα μιμομένου, παρηγήσατο φήσας, "Ἀντάς ἄκουσαν." τοῦ δὲ ἱατρὸν Μενεκράτους, ἐπεὶ κατατυχὼν ἐν τισιν ἀπεγνωσμέναις θεραπείαις Ζεὺς ἐπεκλήθη, φορτικῶς ταύτη χρωμένου τῇ προσωπιμαί καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἑκείνου ἐπιστείλα τολμήσαντος οὔτως: "Μενεκράτης Ζεὺς βασιλεῖ ὧν ἁγιόλαρχα χαίρειν," ἀντήγραψε: "Βασιλεὺς ὧν ἁγιόλασι Μενεκράτει υγιαίνειν."
games as so great and august a privilege, and yet had not the courage to fight for it. He himself thought that moderation ought to be observed in all these matters, and sought to improve the local choirs and games. These he always attended, full of ambitious ardour, and was absent from no contest in which either boys or girls competed. Those things, however, for which he saw the rest of the world filled with admiration, he appeared not even to recognize. Once upon a time Callipides the tragic actor, who had a name and fame among the Greeks and was eagerly courted by all, first met him and addressed him, then pompously thrust himself into his company of attendants, showing plainly that he expected the king to make him some friendly overtures, and finally said: "Dost thou not recognize me, O King?" The king fixed his eyes upon him and said: "Yea, art thou not Callipides the buffoon?" For this is how the Lacedaemonians describe actors. And again, when he was invited to hear the man who imitated the nightingale, he declined, saying: "I have heard the bird herself." Again, Menecrates the physician, who, for his success in certain desperate cases, had received the surname of Zeus, and had the bad taste to employ the appellation, actually dared to write the king a letter beginning thus: "Menecrates Zeus, to King Agesilaüs, greeting." To this Agesilaüs replied: "King Agesilaüs, to Menecrates, health and sanity."

XXII. While he was lingering in the territory of Corinth, he seized the Heraeum, and as he was watching his soldiers carry off the prisoners and booty, messengers came from Thebes to treat for

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1 Cf. the Lycurgus, xx. 5.
2 The refugees in the Heraeum came out and surrendered of their own accord (Xenophon, *Hell.* iv. 5, 5).
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φιλίας. ο δὲ μισῶν μὲν ἂεὶ τὴν πόλιν, οἰόμενος δὲ τότε καὶ συμφέρειν ἐνυβρίσαι, προσεποιεῖτο μήτε ὅραν αὐτοῦς μήτε ἀκούειν ἐντυγχανόντων.

2 ἔπαθε δὲ πράγμα νεμεστόν· οὐτω γὰρ ἀπηλλαγμένων τῶν Ὑθβαίων ἦκον τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ τὴν μόραν ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους κατακεκόφθαι. καὶ πάθος τοῦτο μέγα διὰ πολλοῦ χρόνου συνεπεσεν αὐτοῖς· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἀπεβαλον κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τε πελταστῶν ὀπλίτας καὶ μισθοφόρων Λακεδαίμονισ.

3 Ἀνεπιήδησε μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ως 60 βοηθήσων ἐπει δὲ ἐγνω διαπεπραγμένους, αὐθίς εἰς τὸ Ἰραίον ἤκε, καὶ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τότε προσελθεῖν κελεύσας, ἤχρηματίζειν. ώς δὲ ἀνθυβριζοντες ἐκεῖνοι τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης οὐκ ἐμέμνυτο, παρεθήμας δὲ ἡξίουν εἰς Κόρινθουν, ὁργισθεὶς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἶπεν· “Εἴσορε βούλεσθε τοὺς φίλους ὑμῶν ἰδεῖν μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐφ᾽ οἷς εὐτυχοῦσιν,

4 αὔριον ἀσφαλῶς ὑμῖν τοῦτο ὑπάρξει.” καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς τῇ υστεραίᾳ τὴν τε χώραν τῶν Κορινθίων ἔκοπτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν προσήλθεν. οὐτω δὲ τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐξελέγχας ἀμύνεσθαι μὴ τολμῶντας, ἀφίκε τῇ προσβείαν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς περικελευμένους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῆς μόρας ἀναλαβὼν ἀπήγεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, πρὸ ἡμέρας ποιούμενος τὰς ἀναζεύξεις καὶ πάλιν σκοταίοις τὰς καταλύσεις, ὅπως οἱ μισοῦντες καὶ βασκαίνοντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων μὴ ἐπιχαίρωσιν.
peace. But he had always hated that city, and thinking this an advantageous time also for insulting it, pretended neither to see nor hear its ambassadors when they presented themselves. But his pride soon had a fall; for the Thebans had not yet departed when messengers came to him with tidings that the Spartan division had been cut to pieces by Iphicrates. This was the greatest disaster that had happened to the Spartans in a long time; for they lost many brave men, and those men were overwhelmed by targeteers and mercenaries, though they were men-at-arms and Lacedaemonians.

At once, then, Agesilaus sprang up to go to their assistance, but when he learned that it was all over with them, he came back again to the Heraeum, and ordering the Boeotians then to come before him, gave them an audience. But they returned his insolence by making no mention of peace, but simply asking safe conduct into Corinth. Agesilaus was wroth at this, and said: “If you wish to see your friends when they are elated at their successes, you can do so to-morrow in all safety.” And taking them along with him on the next day, he ravaged the territory of the Corinthians, and advanced to the very gates of the city. After he had thus proved that the Corinthians did not dare to resist him, he dismissed the embassy. Then he himself, picking up the survivors of the division that had been cut to pieces, led them back to Sparta, always breaking camp before it was day, and pitching the next camp after it was dark, in order that the hateful and malicious Arcadians might not exult over them.

1 At Lechaeum, the port of Corinth on the Corinthian gulf, in 390 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 5, 11-18).
2 He had marched till he was “well within the plateau of Lechaeum” (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 5, 8).
5 Ἐκ τούτου χαριζόμενος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διέβαινεν εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν στρατιὰ μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν ἡλίασατο λείαν, μάχῃ δὲ τοὺς Ἀκαρνάνας εὐκήσατε. δεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὅπως τὸν χειμῶνα παραμείνας ἀφέληται τὸν στόρον τῶν πολεμίων, τοὐαντίον ἐφ' ἐπίσειν μᾶλλον γὰρ φοβηθῆσεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς, εἰν ἐπισαρ- μένην τὴν γῆν εἰς ὄρας ἔχωσιν ὃ καὶ συνεβη. παραγγελλομένης γὰρ αὐθίς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατείας διηλάγησαν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.

XXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κόνων καὶ Φαρνάβαξος τῷ βασιλέως ναυτικῷ θαλασσοκρατοῦντες ἐπόρθουν τὰ παράλια τῆς Δακωνικῆς, ἐπειχίσθη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀστυ τῶν Ἀθηναίων Φαρνάβαξος χρήματα δόντος, ἐδοξεὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς βασιλέα· καὶ πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς Τιρί- βαξον, αἰσχιστα καὶ παρανομώτατα τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατακούντας Ἑλληνας, ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐπολέ- 

2 μῆσεν Ἀγησίλαος, βασιλεῖ παραδιδόντες. ὅθεν ἵκιστα συνεβή τῇς κακοδοξίας ταύτης Ἀγησιλάῳ μετασχείν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀνταλκίδας ἐχθρὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῆν εἰρήνην ἕξ ἀπαντὸς ἐπραττεν ὡς τὸν πολέμον τῶν Ἀγησίλαον αὐξόντος καὶ ποιοῦντος ἐνδοξότατον καὶ μέγιστον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τῶν εἰπόντα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους μηδέξειν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεκόρυνατο μᾶλλον τοὺς Μῆδους.

3 λακωνίζειν. τοῖς δὲ μὴ βουλομένους δεχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ἀπειλῶν καὶ καταγγέλλων πόλεμον ἡμᾶς ἐμμένειν ἀπαντᾶς οἷς ὁ Πέρσης ἐδικαίωσε, καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, ὃπως

1 In 390–389 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 6, 3—7, 1).
2 In 393 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. iv. 8, 10).
3 The Great King’s satrap in Western Asia.
After this, to gratify the Achaeans, he crossed over with them on an expedition into Acarnania, where he drove away much booty and conquered the Acarnanians in battle. But when the Achaeans asked him to spend the winter there in order to prevent the enemy from sowing their fields, he said he would do the opposite of this; for the enemy would dread the war more if their land was sown when summer came. And this proved true; for when a second expedition against them was announced, they came to terms with the Achaeans.

XXIII. When Conon and Pharnabazus with the Great King’s fleet were masters of the sea and were ravaging the coasts of Laconia, and after the walls of Athens had been rebuilt with the money which Pharnabazus furnished, the Lacedaemonians decided to make peace with the king of Persia. To that end, they sent Antalcidas to Tiribazus, and in the most shameful and lawless fashion handed over to the King the Greeks resident in Asia, in whose behalf Agesilaiis had waged war. Agesilaiis, therefore, could have had no part at all in this infamy. For Antalcidas was his enemy, and put forth all his efforts to make the peace because he saw that the war enhanced to the utmost the reputation and power of Agesilaiis. Notwithstanding this, to one who remarked that the Lacedaemonians were favouring the Medes, Agesilaiis replied that the Medes were the rather favouring the Lacedaemonians. Moreover, by threatening with war the Greeks who were unwilling to accept the peace, he forced them all to abide by the terms which the Persian dictated, more especially on account of the Thebans, his object being to make

4 The peace of Antalcidas was ratified by all the Greek states except Thebes in 387 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. v. 1, 29 ff.).
αυτόνομον τήν Βοιωτίαν ἀφέντες ἀσθενέστερον γένωνται. δὴ λοῦ δὲ τοῦτο τοῖς υπερτερον ἐποίησεν. ἔπει γὰρ Φοιβίδας ἔργον εἰργάσατο δεινὸν ἐν σπουδαίᾳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ τὴν Καδμείαν καταλαβὼν, καὶ πάντες μὲν ἡγανάκτον οἱ Ἑλληνες, χαλεπῶς δὲ ἔφερον οἱ Σπαρτιάται, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ διαφερόμενοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ μετ’ ὦργής ἐπιυμβάνοντο τοῦ Φοιβίδου τίνος ταῦτα κελεύσαντος ἔπραξεν, εἰς ἐκείνου τὴν ύπόνοιαν τρέποντες, οὐκ ὠκνησε τῷ Φοιβίδα βοήθων λέγειν ἀναφανδόν ὅτι δεῖ τὴν πράξειν αὐτὴν, εἰ τι χρήσιμον ἔχει, σκοπεῖν· τὰ γὰρ συμφέροντα τῇ Δακεδαίμονι καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτόματις εξεθαί, καὶ μηδεὶς κελεύσῃ. καὶ τοῖς λόγοις πανταχοῦ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀπέφαινε πρωτεύειν τῶν ἀρετῶν· ἀνδρείας μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ὀφελοῦσα εἶναι, μὴ παρούσῃ δικαιοσύνης, εἰ δὲ δικαιοῖ πάντες γένοιτο, μηδὲν ἀνδρείας δεήσεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι ταῦτα δοκεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ βασιλεί, “Τι δ’ ἐκείνος ἐμοῦ,” εἶπε, “μεῖζον, εἰ μή καὶ δικαίότερος;” ὀρθῶς καὶ καλῶς οἴομενος δεῖν τὸ δικαίω καθάπερ μέτρω βασιλικῷ μετρεῖ· σθαι τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ μείζωνος. ἤν δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης ἐπεμψαν αὐτῷ περὶ ξενίας καὶ φιλίας ἐπιστολὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ἔλαβεν, εἰπὼν ἐξαρκεῖν τὴν κοινὴν φιλίαν, καὶ μηδὲν ἴδιας δεήσεσθαι μενούσης ἐκείνης. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις οὐκέτι ταύτην διαφυλάττων τὴν δοξαν, ἀλλὰ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ καὶ τῇ φιλονεικίᾳ πολλαχοῦ συνεκ-φερόμενοι, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ πρὸς Θηβαίους, οὐ μόνον ἔσωσε τὸν Φοιβίδαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν 64
them weaker by leaving Boeotia independent of Thebes. This he made clear by his subsequent behaviour. For when Phoebidas committed the foul deed of seizing the Cadmeia\(^1\) in a time of perfect peace, and all the Greeks were indignant and the Spartans displeased at the act, and when especially those who were at variance with Agesilaus angrily asked Phoebidas by whose command he had done this thing, thereby turning suspicion upon Agesilaus, he did not scruple to come to the help of Phoebidas, and to say openly that they must consider whether the act itself was serviceable or not; for that which was advantageous to Sparta might well be done independently, even if no one ordered it. And yet in his discourse he was always declaring that justice was the first of the virtues; for valour was of no use unless justice attended it, and if all men should be just, there would be no need of valour. And to those who said, "This is the pleasure of the Great King," he would say, "How is he greater than I unless he is also more just?", rightly and nobly thinking that justice must be the royal measure wherewith relative greatness is measured. And when, after the peace was concluded, the Great King sent him a letter proposing guest-friendship, he would not accept it, saying that the public friendship was enough, and that while that lasted there would be no need of a private one. Yet in his acts he no longer observed these opinions, but was often carried away by ambition and contentiousness, and particularly in his treatment of the Thebans. For he not only rescued Phoebidas from punishment, but

\(^1\) The citadel of Thebes. It was seized by Phoebidas in 383 B.C. (Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 2, 26 ff.).
ἔπεισεν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀναδεξασθαι τὸ ἅδικημα καὶ κατέχειν τὴν Καδμείαν δι’ ἑαυτῆς, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς πολιτείας 'Αρχίαν καὶ Δεοντίδαν ἀποδείξει κυρίους, δι’ ὧν ὁ Φοιβίδας εἰςηλθε καὶ κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

XXIV. Ἡν μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκ τούτων ὑπόνοια Φοιβίδου μὲν ἔργον εἶναι, βούλευμα δὲ Ἀγησιλάου τὸ πεπραγμένον αἱ δὲ ὕστερον πράξεις ὁμολογουμένην ἐποίησαν τὴν αὐτίαν. ὡς γὰρ ἐξεβαλον οἱ Θηβαῖοι τὴν φρουράν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσαν, ἐγκαλῶν αὐτοῖς ὡς τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ τὸν Δεοντίδαν ἀπεκτόνεσαν, ἔργο μὲν τυράννους, λόγω δὲ πολεμάρχους ὄντας, ἐξήνεγκε 2 πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ Κλέαμπροτος ἢ Ἡ Βασίλευς Ἀγησιπόλειδος τεθηκότος, εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐπέμψει μετὰ δυνάμεως. ὡς γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα γεγονὼς ἂφ᾽ ἡβης καὶ στρατείας ἐχὼν ἁφεσίν ὕπο τῶν νόμων, ἐφυγε τὴν στρατηγίαν 1 ἐκείνην, αἰσχυνόμενος εἰ Φλισίως ὄλγον ἐμπροσθεν ὑπὲρ φυγάδου πεπολεμηκώς, αὖθις ὀφθήσεται Θηβαίοις κακῶς ποιών διὰ τοὺς τυράννους.

3 Ἡν δὲ τίς Λάκων Σφοδρίας ἐκ τῆς ὑπεναντίας στάσεως τὸν Ἀγησιλάο τεταγμένον εἰς Θεσπιαῖς ἀρμοστῆς, οὐκ ἀτολμὸς μὲν οὐδ᾽ ἀφίλότιμος ἀνήρ, ἀεὶ δ᾽ ἐλπίδων μᾶλλον ἡ φρενῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστός. οὕτος ἐπιθυμῶν ὑμόματας μεγάλοι, καὶ τὸν Φοιβίδαν νομίζων ἐνδοξον γεγονέναι καὶ περιβόητον ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ Θῆβας τολμήματος, ἐπείσθη πολὺ κάλλιον εἶναι καὶ λαμπρότερον εἰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλάβοι δι᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφέ

1 στρατηγιὰν with Stephanus, Coraës, and S: στρατηλαν.
actually persuaded Sparta to assume responsibility for his iniquity and occupy the Cadmeia on its own account, besides putting the administration of Thebes into the hands of Archias and Leontidas, by whose aid Phoebidas had entered and seized the acropolis.

XXIV. Of course this gave rise at once to a suspicion that while Phoebidas had done the deed, Agesilaüs had counselled it; and his subsequent acts brought the charge into general belief. For when the Thebans expelled the Spartan garrison and liberated their city,¹ he charged them with the murder of Archias and Leontidas, who were really tyrants, though polemarchs in name, and levied war upon them. And Cleombrotus, who was king now that Agesipolis was dead, was sent into Boeotia with an army; for Agesilaüs, who had now borne arms for forty years, and was therefore exempt by law from military service, declined this command. He was ashamed, after having recently made war upon the Phliasians in behalf of their exiles,² to be seen now harrying the Thebans in the interests of their tyrants.³

Now, there was a certain Lacedaemonian named Sphodrias, of the party opposed to Agesilaüs, who had been appointed harmost at Thespiae. He lacked neither boldness nor ambition, but always abounded in hopes rather than in good judgement. This man, coveting a great name, and considering that Phoebidas had made himself famous far and near by his bold deed at Thebes, was persuaded that it would be a far more honourable and brilliant exploit for him to seize the Peiraeus on his own account and rob the

¹ In 379 B.C., with the help of the Athenians (Xenophon, Hell. v. 4, 2-12). Cf. the Pelopidas, ix.-xiii.
² In 380-379 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. v. 3, 13-25).
³ Cf. Xenophon, Hell. v. 4, 13.
λοιτο τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐκ γῆς ἀπροσδοκήτως

4 ἐπελθὼν. λέγοναι δὲ τούτῳ μηχάνημα γενέσθαι
tῶν περὶ Πελοπίδαυ καὶ Μέλωνα βοιωταρχῶν.

ὑπέπεμψαν γὰρ ἀνθρώπους λακωνίζειν προσ-

ποιουμένους, οἳ τὸν Σφοδρίαν ἐπαινοῦντες καὶ

μεγαλύνοντες ὡς ἔργου τηλικοῦτον μόνον ἄξιον,

ἐπήραν καὶ παρώρμησεν ἀνελέσθαι πράξιν ἄδικον

μὲν ὀμοίως ἐκείνη καὶ παράνομον, τόλμης δὲ καὶ

5 τύχης ἐνδεῖ γενομένην. ἡμέρα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ

Θριασίῳ πεδίῳ κατέλαβε καὶ κατέλαμψεν ἐλ-

πίσαντα νυκτὸς προσμίζειν τῷ Πειραιεί — καὶ φῶς

ἀφ’ ίερῶν τινῶν 'Ελευσινόθεν ἰδόντας λέγομεν

φρίξαι καὶ περιφόβους γενέσθαι τοὺς στρατιῶτας.

αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ θράσους ἐξέπεσεν, ὡς οὐκέτι λαθείν

ἡ, καὶ τινα βραχείαν ἀρπαγὴν θέμενος αἰσχρὸς

ἀνεχώρησε καὶ ἀδόξως εἰς τὰς Θεσπιάς. ἐκ δὲ

tούτου κατήγοροι μὲν ἐπέμφθησαν εἰς Σπάρτην ἐξ

'Αθηνῶν, εὐρον δὲ κατηγορίας 1 μηδὲν ἐπὶ τὸν

Σφοδρίαν δεομένους τοὺς ἀρχοῦτας, ἀλλὰ θανάτου

κρίσιν αὐτῷ προειρηκότας, ἣν ἐκείνος ὑπομένειν

ἀπέγνω, φοβούμενος τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν πολιτῶν

ἀισχυνομένων τοὺς 'Αθηναίους καί βουλομένων

συναδικεῖσθαι δοκεῖν, ἵνα μὴ συναδικεῖσθαι δοκῶσιν.

XXV. Εἶχεν οὖν τιὸν ὁ Σφοδρίας Κλεώνυμον,

οὐ παιδὸς ὄντος ἔτι καὶ καλοῦ τὴν ὄψιν Ἀρχι-

damos ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τοῦ βασιλέως νῖος ἤρα. καὶ

tote συνήγωνα μὲν ὡς εἴκοσι αὐτῷ 2 κινδυνεύοντι

1 κατηγορίας with S: κατηγόρων.

2 ὡς εἰκὸς αὐτῷ with S; other MSS. ὡς εἰκὸς ἢν: αὐτῷ.

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Athenians of access to the sea, attacking them unexpectedly by land. It is said, too, that the scheme was devised by Pelopidas and Meo, chief magistrates at Thebes. They privily sent men to him who pretended to be Spartan sympathizers, and they, by praising and exalting Sphodrias as the only man worthy to undertake so great a task, urged and incited him into an act which was no less lawless and unjust than the seizure of the Cadmeia, though it was essayed without courage or good fortune. For full daylight overtook him while he was yet in the Thriasian plain, although he had hoped to attack the Peiraeus by night. It is said also that his soldiers saw a light streaming from certain sanctuaries at Eleusis, and were filled with shuddering fear. Their commander himself lost all his courage, since concealment was no longer possible, and after ravaging the country a little, retired disgracefully and ingloriously to Thespiae. Hereupon men were sent from Athens to Sparta to denounce Sphodrias. They found, however, that the magistrates there had no need of their denunciation, but had already indicted Sphodrias on a capital charge. This charge he determined not to meet, fearing the wrath of his countrymen, who were ashamed in the presence of the Athenians, and wished to be thought wronged with them, that they might not be thought wrong-doers with Sphodrias.

XXV. Now Sphodrias had a son, Cleonymus, who was still a boy and fair to look upon, and of whom Archidamus, the son of King Agesilaüs, was enamoured. In this crisis Archidamus naturally sympathized with his favourite because of the peril in

1 Their object was to embroil Athens and Sparta (Xenophon, *Hell. v. 4*, 20-24).
perὶ τοῦ πατρός, συμπράττειν δὲ φανερῶς καὶ
βοηθεῖν οὐκ ἐίχεν· ἂν γὰρ ὁ Σφοδρίας ἐκ τῶν
2 διαφόρων τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον. τοῦ δὲ Κλεωνύμου
προσελθόντος αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ δεήσεως καὶ δακρύων
ἐντυχόντος, ὅπως τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εὖν οὐναν παρά-
σχῆ, μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκείνου αὐτοῦς φοβερὸν εἶναι,
τρεῖς μὲν ἡ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας αἰδούμενοι τὸν
πατέρα καὶ δεδιώς σιωπῆ παρηκολούθει τέλος
δὲ τῆς κρίσεως ἐγγὺς οὕτης ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν
πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὅτι Κλεωνύμος αὐτοῦ
3 δεήθηνε περὶ τοῦ πατρός. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος εἰδὼς
ἐρώτα τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον οὐκ ἔπαυσεν· ἄν γὰρ ὁ
Κλεωνύμος εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐπίδοξος, εἰ τις καὶ
ἄλλος, ἀνὴρ ἐσεθαι σπουδαῖος. οὐ μὴν ἐνέδωκε
τι τότε χρήστον ἡ φιλάνθρωπον ἐλπίσαι δεομένῳ
τῷ παιδί, σκέψεσθαι δὲ φήσας ὅ τι καλὸς ἔχει
4 καὶ πρεπόντως, ἀπῆλθεν. αἰδούμενοι οὖν ὁ
Ἀρχίδαμος ἐξέλειπτο τὸ προσέναι τῷ Κλεωνύῳ,
καίπερ εἰσθώς πολλάκις τοῦτο τῆς ἡμέρας ποιεῖν
πρότερον. ἐκ δὲ τούτου κάκεινοι τὰ κατὰ τῶν
Σφοδρίαν μάλλον ἀπέγνωσαν, ἀχρὶ οὐ τῶν
Ἀγησίλαον φίλων Ἐτυμοκλῆς ἐν τινὶ κοινολογίᾳ
πρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀπεγγύμωσε τὴν γνώμην τοῦ Ἀγησί-
λάον τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐργον ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ψέγειν
αὐτόν, ἄλλως γε μὴν ἀνδρὰ τὸν Σφοδρίαν ἀγαθῶν
ἠγείρεται καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀράν τοιούτων στρα-
5 τιοτῶν δεομένην. τούτους γὰρ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
ἐκάστοτε τοὺς λόγους ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῆς δίκης, τῷ
παιδὶ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος, ὡστε καὶ τῶν
Κλεωνύμου εὐθὺς αἰσθάνεσθαι τὴν σπουδὴν τοῦ
Ἀρχίδαμον καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς τοῦ Σφοδρίου
θαρροῦτας ἢ δὴ βοηθεῖν. ἤν δὲ καὶ φιλότεκνος
ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διαφερόντως καὶ περὶ ἐκείνου τῷ
which his father stood, but he was unable to aid and assist him openly, since Sphodrias was one of the opponents of Agesilaüs. But when Cleonymus came to him in tears and begged him to mollify Agesilaüs, from whom he and his father had most to fear, for three or four days he was restrained by awe and fear from saying anything to Agesilaüs as he followed him about; but finally, when the trial was near at hand, he plucked up courage to tell him that Cleonymus had begged him to intercede for his father. Now Agesilaüs, although he knew of the love of Archidamus, had not put a stop to it, since Cleonymus, from his early boyhood, had given special promise of becoming an earnest and worthy man. At this time, however, he did not permit his son to expect any advantage or kindness in answer to his prayer; he merely said, as he went away, that he would consider what was the honourable and fitting course in the matter. Archidamus was therefore mortified, and ceased to visit Cleonymus, although before this he had done so many times a day. As a consequence, the friends of Sphodrias also were more in despair of his case, until Etymocles, one of the friends of Agesilaüs, conferred with them and disclosed the mind of the king, namely, that he blamed to the utmost what Sphodrias had done, but yet thought him a brave man, and saw that the city needed just such soldiers. For this was the way in which Agesilaüs always spoke about the trial, in his desire to gratify his son, so that Cleonymus was at once aware of the zealous efforts of Archidamus in his behalf, and the friends of Sphodrias had courage at last to come to his help. It is a fact also that Agesilaüs was excessively fond of his children, and a story is told of his joining in their childish play. Once,
τῆς παιδίας λέγοντιν, ὅτι μικροῖς τοῖς παιδίοις οὖσι κάλαμον περιβεβηκός ὅστερ ὑπὸν οὖκ οὖσιν συνεπαιζέν, ὀφθαλίς δὲ ὑπὸ των τῶν φίλων παρεκάλει μηδενὶ φράσαι, πρὶν ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ παίδων γένηται.

XXVI. Ἀπολυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρίου, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἔπιθυντο, πρὸς πόλεμον τραπομένων, σφόδρα κακῶς ὁ 'Αγνησίλαος ἤκουσε, δι’ ἐπιθυμίαι ἄτοπον καὶ παιδαρώδη δοκῶν ἐμπόδων γεγονέναι κρίσει δικαία, καὶ τὴν πόλιν παραίτιον ἀπειργάσθαι παρανομημάτων τηλεκούτων εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον οὐχ ἐόρα πρόθυμον ὅντα πολεμεῖν τοῖς Ἐθβαίοις, οὕτω δὴ χαίρει τῶν νόμων ἔσσας ὃ πρόσθεν ἐχρίτο περὶ τῆς στρατείας, αὐτὸς εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐνέβαλεν ἢδη καὶ κακῶς ἐποίει τοὺς Ἐθβαίοις καὶ πάλιν ἀντέπασχεν, ὅστε καὶ τρωθέντος αὐτοῦ ποτε τῶν Ἀνταλκίδων εἴπειν: ἡ καλὰ τὰ διδασκαλία παρὰ Θεβαίων ἀπολαμβάνει, μὴ βουλομένους μηδὲ ἐπισταμένους μάχεσθαι διδάξας." τῷ γὰρ οὗτο Θεβαίως αὐτοῦς ἐαυτῶν πολεμικώτατος τοτε γενέσθαι φασί, ταῖς πολλαῖς στρατείαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὅσπερ ἐγγυμνασμένους. διὸ καὶ Λυκοῦργος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐν ταῖς καλουμέναις τρισὶ βίτραις ἀπείπε μὴ πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς στρατεύειν, ὅπως μὴ πολεμεῖν μανθάνωσιν.

Ἡν δὲ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
when they were very small, he bestrode a stick, and was playing horse with them in the house, and when he was spied doing this by one of his friends, he entreated him not to tell any one, until he himself should be a father of children.

XXVI. But after Sphodrias was acquitted, and the Athenians, on learning of it, were inclined to go to war, Agesilaüs was very harshly criticized. It was thought that, to gratify an absurd and childish desire, he had opposed the course of justice in a trial, and made the city accessory to great crimes against the Greeks. Besides, when he saw that his colleague Cleombrotus was little inclined to make war upon the Thebans, he waived the exemption by law which he had formerly claimed in the matter of the expedition, and presently led an incursion into Boeotia himself, where he inflicted damage upon the Thebans, and in his turn met with reverses, so that one day when he was wounded, Antalcidas said to him: “Indeed, this is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to fight when they did not wish to do it, and did not even know how.” For the Thebans are said to have been really more war-like at this time than ever before, owing to the many expeditions which the Lacedaemonians made against them, by which they were virtually schooled in arms. And Lycurgus of old, in one of his three so-called “rhetras,” forbade his people to make frequent expeditions against the same foes, in order that those foes might not learn how to make war.3

Moreover, the allies of the Lacedaemonians were

1 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. v. 4, 24-34.
2 According to Xenophon (Hell. v. 4, 35), he was asked to do so by the Lacedaemonians, who preferred him to Cleombrotus as a leader. This was in 378 B.C.
3 Cf. the Lycurgus, xiii. 6.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐπαχθῆς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς δὲ οὗδεν ἐγκλημα
dημόσιον, ἀλλὰ θυμῷ τινι καὶ φιλονεικία τοὺς
4 Θηβαίους ἀπολέσαι ξητῶν. οὗδεν οὖν ἔλεγον
dεόμενοι φθείρεσθαι δεύρῳ κάκεισε καθ' ἐκαστὸν
dημιουργόν, οὐλίγος τοσοῦτοι συμακολουθοῦτες. ἔνθα
dὲ ἀπὸ λέγεται τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἐξελέξατι
βουλόμενον αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, τόδε μηχανήσα-
sthai. πάντας ἐκέλευσε καθίσαι τοὺς συμμάχους
μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμεμρηγένους, Ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς Ἀκε-
dῖαμονίους ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν. εἶτα ἐκήρυττε τοὺς κερα-
μεῖς ἀνίστασθαι πρῶτον· ὡς δὲ ἀνέστησαν οὕτω,
dεύτερον ἐκήρυττε τοὺς χαλκεῖς, εἶτα τέκτωνας
ἐφεξῆς καὶ οἰκοδόμους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν
ἐκάστην. πάντες οὖν ὅλιγον δεῖν ἀνέστησαν οἱ
σύμμαχοι, τῶν δὲ Ἀκεδαίμονίων οὐδεὶς· ἀπεί-
ρητο γὰρ αὐτοῖς τέχνην ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ μανθάνειν
βάναυσον. οὕτω δὴ γελάσας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος,
"'Ορᾶτε," εἶπεν, "ὁ ἄνδρας, ὅσοι πλείονας ὑμῶν
στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπομεν ἡμεῖς."

XXVII. Ἔν δὲ Μεγάροις, ὅτε τὴν στρατιὰν
ἀπῆγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν, ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ
ἀρχεῖον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, σπάσμα καὶ πόλειν
ἐσχυρῶν ἔλαβε τὸ υγίες σκέλος· ἐκ δὲ τούτου
διογκωθὲν μεστὸν αἵματος ἐδοξὲ γεγονέναι, καὶ
2 φλεγμονὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν παρεῖχεν. ἦσθιοῦ δὲ
τῶν Συρακοσίων τὴν ὑπὸ τὸν σφυρῷ φλέβα
σχάσαντος, αἱ μὲν ἀλγηδόνες ἐληξαν, αἵματος
dὲ πολλοῦ φερομένου καὶ ρέοντος ἀνεπισκέτως
λυποψυχία πολλὴ καὶ κύδνυνος ὅξις ἀπ' αὐτῆς
περιέστη τὸν Ἀγησίλαον. ὦ μὴν ἀλλὰ τότε γε
tὴν φορὰν τοῦ αἵματος ἐπανεί ν καὶ κομισθεῖς εἰς

1 Cf. the Lycurgus, xxiv. 2.
offended at Agesilaüs, because, as they said, it was not upon any public ground of complaint, but by reason of some passionate resentment of his own, that he sought to destroy the Thebans. Accordingly, they said they had no wish to be dragged hither and thither to destruction every year, they themselves so many, and the Lacedaemonians, with whom they followed, so few. It was at this time, we are told, that Agesilaüs, wishing to refute their argument from numbers, devised the following scheme. He ordered all the allies to sit down by themselves promiscuously, and the Lacedaemonians apart by themselves. Then his herald called upon the potters to stand up first, and after them the smiths, next, the carpenters in their turn, and the builders, and so on through all the handicrafts. In response, almost all the allies rose up, but not a man of the Lacedaemonians; for they were forbidden to learn or practise a manual art. Then Agesilaüs said with a laugh: “You see, O men, how many more soldiers than you we are sending out.”

XXVII. But in Megara, when he was leading his army back from Thebes, as he was going up to the senate-house in the acropolis, he was seized with a cramp and violent pain in his sound leg, which then swelled up, appeared to be congested, and showed signs of excessive inflammation. As soon as a certain Syracusan physician had opened a vein below the ankle, the pains relaxed, but much blood flowed and could not be checked, so that Agesilaüs was very faint from its loss, and in dire peril of his life. At last, however, the flow of blood was stopped, and Agesilaüs was carried to Sparta, where he remained

This battle, fought in 375 B.C., is not mentioned by Xenophon, but is described by Plutarch in the Pelopidas,
for a long time in a weak condition and unable to take the field.

During this time the Spartans met with many reverses both by land and sea, the greatest of which was at Tegyra, where for the first time they were overpowered by the Thebans in a pitched battle. There was, accordingly, a general sentiment in favour of a general peace, and ambassadors from all Hellas came together at Sparta to settle its terms. One of these ambassadors was Epaminondas, a man of repute for culture and philosophy, although he had not yet given proof of capacity as a general. This man, seeing the rest all cringing before Agesilaüs, alone had the courage of his convictions, and made a speech, not in behalf of Thebes, his native city, but of all Greece in common, declaring that war made Sparta great at the expense of the sufferings of all the other states, and urging that peace be made on terms of equality and justice, for it would endure only when all parties to it were made equal.

XXVIII. Agesilaüs, accordingly, seeing that the Greeks all listened to Epaminondas with the greatest attention and admiration, asked him whether he considered it justice and equality that the cities of Boeotia should be independent of Thebes. Then when Epaminondas promptly and boldly asked him in reply whether he too thought it justice for the cities of Laconia to be independent of Sparta, Agesilaüs sprang from his seat and wrathfully bade him say plainly whether he intended to make the cities of Boeotia independent. And when Epaminondas answered again in the same way by asking whether

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1 In 371 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. vi. 3, 3-20).

2 In 371 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. vi. 3, 3-20).
According to Xenophon (loc. cit.), who makes no mention of Epaminondas, the Thebans had signed as Thebans, but on
he intended to make the cities of Laconia independent, Agesilaüs became violent and was glad of the pretext for at once erasing the name of the Thebans from the treaty of peace and declaring war upon them. The rest of the Greeks, however, he ordered to depart, now that they were reconciled with each other, leaving differences which could be healed to the terms of peace, and those which could not, to war, since it was a hard task to settle and remove all their disputes.

At this time Cleombrotus was in Phocis with an army. The ephors therefore immediately sent him orders to lead his forces against Thebes. They also sent round a summons for an assembly of their allies, who were without zeal for the war and thought it a great burden, but were not yet bold enough to oppose or disobey the Lacedaemonians. And although many baleful signs appeared, as I have written in my Life of Epaminondas, and though Prothoüs the Laconian made opposition to the expedition, Agesilaüs would not give in, but brought the war to pass. He thought that since all Hellas was on their side, and the Thebans had been excluded from the treaty, it was a favourable time for the Spartans to take vengeance on them. But the time chosen for it proves that this expedition was made from anger more than from careful calculation. For the treaty of peace was made at Lacedaemon on the fourteenth of the month Scirophorion, and on the fifth of Hecatombaeon the Lacedaemonians were defeated at Leuctra,—an interval of twenty days. In that battle a thousand Lacedaemonians fell, besides Cleombrotus the king, and

the next day wished to substitute Boeotians for Thebans. This Agesilaüs refused to permit. It would have recognized the supremacy of Thebes in Boeotia.
6 τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν. ἐν οἷς καὶ Κλεόνυμμον φασὶ τῶν Σφοδρίου τῶν καλῶν τρίς πεσόντα πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοσαυτάκις ἔξαναστάντα καὶ μαχομενον τοῖς Ὑβαίοις ἀποθανείν.

XXIX. Συμβάντος δὲ τοῖς τε Λακεδαιμονίωις πταίσματος ἀπροσδοκητοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὑβαίοις παρὰ δόξαν εὐτυχήματος οἶον οὐ γέγονεν ἄλλοις Ἐλλησὶ πρὸς Ἐλλήνας ἀγωνισμένοις, ούδὲν ἄν τις ἤπτον ἔξηλωσε τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ ἤγασθη τῇν ἡπτημένην πόλιν ἡ τὴν νικῶσαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἑνοφῶν φησὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχειν τι καὶ τὰς ἐν οἷς καὶ παϊδιὰ φωνᾶς καὶ διατριβῶς ἀξιομηνόμενον, ὁρθῶς λέγων ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ἦττον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἄξιον κατανοεῖν καὶ θεάσθαι τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἄ παρά τὰς τύχας πράττουσι καὶ λέγουσι διευχημονοῦντες. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐορτῆν ἄγουσα καὶ ξένων οὕσα μεστή· γυμνοπαιδίᾳ γὰρ ἤσαν ἀγωνιζομένων χορῶν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ παρῆσαν δ' ἀπὸ Δεύκτρων οἱ τὴν

3 συμφορὰν ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οἱ δὲ ἐφοροί, καῖπερ εὐθὺς ὁντος καταφανοῦς ὅτι διεφθαρται τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολωλέκασιν, οὔτε χορὸν ἐξελθεῖν εἰάσαν οὔτε τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐορτῆς μεταβαλεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκίαν τῶν τεθνεότων τοῖς προσήκουσι τὰ οὖνόματα πέμψαντες, αὐτοῖ τα περὶ τὴν θέαν καὶ τὸν ἁγώνα τῶν χορῶν

4 ἐπραττοῦν. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα φανερῶν ἡδὴ γεγονοτῶν πάσι τῶν τε σωζομένων καὶ τῶν τεθνεῶτων, οἱ μὲν τῶν τεθνεῶτων πατέρες καὶ κηδεσταί καὶ οἰκεῖοι καταβαίνοντες εἰς ἀγορὰν ἄλληλους ἐδεξιοῦντο λιπαροὶ τὰ πρόσωπα, φρονίματος μεστοὶ καὶ γῆθους, οἱ δὲ τῶν σωζομένων, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ

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around him the mightiest of the Spartans. Among these, they say, was Cleonymus, the beautiful son of Sphodrias, who was thrice struck down in front of his king, as many times rose again to his feet, and died there, fighting the Thebans.

XXIX. Now that the Lacedaemonians had met with an unexpected reverse, and the Thebans with an unlooked-for success surpassing that of any other Hellenes at strife with Hellenes, the high conduct of the defeated city was no less to be envied and admired than that of the victorious city. Xenophon says 2 that in the case of noble men, there is much that is worth recording even in what they say and do at their wine and in their sports, and he is right; and it is no less, but even more, worth while to observe carefully the decorum with which noble men speak and act in the midst of adversity. The city was holding a festival and was full of strangers; for the "gymnopaediae" were in progress and choirs of boys were competing with one another in the theatre; then came the messengers of calamity from Leuctra. But the ephors, although it was at once apparent that their cause was ruined and their supremacy lost, would not allow a choral performance to be omitted, nor the fashion of the festival to be changed by the city, but after sending the names of the slain warriors to the homes of their kindred, they themselves conducted the spectacle and the choral contests to a close. On the next morning also, now that everyone knew who had survived the battle and who had been slain, the fathers and kindred and friends of the slain went down into the market-place and greeted one another with bright faces, full of pride and exultation; while the friends of the survivors, as if

1 Cf. chapter xxv. 1. 2 Symposium, i. 1.
πένθει, μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν οίκοι διέτριβον, εἰ δὲ τις ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης προέλθοι, καὶ σχῆματι καὶ φωνῇ καὶ βλέμματι ταπείνῳ ἐφαίνετο καὶ συνεσταλ-δέ μένος. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν γυναικῶν ἰδεῖν ἤν καὶ πυθέσθαι τὴν μὲν ξώντα προσδεχομένην νῦν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης κατηφῇ καὶ σιωπηλήν, τὰς δὲ τῶν πεπτωκέναι λεγομένων ἐν τε τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐθὺς ἀναστρεφομένας, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἱλαρῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως βαδίζονσας.

XXX. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὡς ἀφισταντο μὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι, προσεδοκάτο δὲ νεικηκὼς Ἐπαμεινώνδας καὶ μεγαλοφρονῶν ἐμβαλέως Πελοπόννησον, ἔννοια τῶν χρησμῶν ἐνέπεσε τότε, πρὸς τὴν χωλότητα τοῦ Ἀγγειλάου, καὶ δυσθυμία πολλή καὶ πτοία πρὸς τὸ θείον, ὡς διὰ τούτο πραττούσης κακῶς τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι τὸν ἀρτίποδα τῆς βασιλείας ἐκβαλόντες εἶλοντο χωλῶν καὶ πεπηρωμένοι· ὁ παντὸς μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκε φράξεσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ 2 δαιμόνιον. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δόξαν οὐ μόνον ἐχρόντο βασίλει ἐμφανίζοντας καὶ στρατηγῷ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀπορίων ἱατρῷ καὶ διαιτητῇ, τοῖς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καταδειλησασίν, οὓς αὐτοὶ τρέσαντες ὡς δυνατοὶ ἐνυπνοῦντες τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀτιμίας προσάγειν, πολλοίς οὖσι καὶ δυνατοῖς, φοβοῦ-3 μενοι νεωτερισμὸν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀρχὴς ἀπείρογιται πάσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ διοῦνταί τινι τούτων γυναικα καὶ λαβεῖν ἄδοξόν ἐστι. παίει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐνυπνιασάσθην. οἱ
in mourning, tarried at home with the women, and if one of them was obliged to appear in public, his garb and speech and looks betokened his humiliation and abasement.\(^1\) And a still greater difference was to be seen (or heard about) in the women; she who expected her son back from the battle alive was dejected and silent, but the mothers of those reported to have fallen immediately frequented the temples, and visited one another with an air of gladness and pride.

XXX. The greater number, however, when their allies were falling away from them and it was expected that Epaminondas, in all the pride of a conqueror, would invade Peloponnesus, fell to thinking of the oracles,\(^2\) in view of the lameness of Agesilais, and were full of dejection and consternation in respect to the divine powers, believing that their city was in an evil plight because they had dethroned the sound-footed king and chosen instead a lame and halting one,—the very thing which the deity was trying to teach them carefully to avoid. And yet otherwise he had such power and valour and fame that they not only continued to employ him as king and general in matters pertaining to war, but also as physician and arbiter in their civil perplexities. For instance, upon those who had shewn cowardice in the battle, whom they themselves call “tresantes,” or run-aways, they hesitated to inflict the disabilities required by the laws, since the men were numerous and powerful, for fear that they might stir up a revolution. For such men are not only debarred from every office, but intermarriage with any of them is a disgrace, and any one who meets them may strike them if he pleases. Moreover, they are

\(^1\) Cf. Xenophon, Hell. vi. 4, 16.  
\(^2\) Cf. chapter iii. 4 f.

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δὲ καρτεροῦσι περιώντες αὐχμηροί καὶ ταπεινοί, τρίβωνας τε προσεραμμένους χρώματος βαπτοῦ φορούσι, καὶ ξυρῶνται μέρος τῆς ύπηνης, μέρος δὲ τρέφουσι. δεινὸν οὖν ἦν τοιούτους ἐν τῇ πόλει περιορᾶν πολλοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγων δεομένη στρατιωτῶν. καὶ νομοθέτην αἱροῦνται τὸν Ἀγησίλαυν. ὁ δὲ μήτε προσθείς τι μήτε ἀφελῶν μήτε μετα- γράψας εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸ πλήθος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ φήσας ὅτι τοὺς νόμους δεῖ σήμερον ἔαν καθεύδειν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας κυρίως εἶναι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν, ἀμα τοὺς τε νόμους τῆ
5 πόλει καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἐπιτίμους ἐφύλαξε. Βου- λόμενος δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀθυμίαν καὶ κατή- φειαν ἀφελεῖν τῶν νέων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν ἴσχυρὸς ἐφιλάξατο συνάψαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ἐλὸν δὲ πολίχνην τινὰ τῶν Μαντινέων καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιδραμῶν, ἔλαφροτέραν ἐποίησε ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ ἣδιον τὴν πόλιν, ὡς οὐ παντά- πασιν ἀπεγνωσμένην.

XXXI. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου παρῆν εἰς τὴν Λακω- νικὴν ὁ Ἐπαμεινόνδας μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, οὐκ ἐλάττωνας ἐχῶν τετρακισμυρίων ὀπλιτῶν. πολέ- λοι δὲ καὶ ψιλοὶ καὶ ἀνοπλοὶ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν συνηκολουθοῦν, ὃστε μυρίάδας ἐπτὰ τοῦ σύμ- παντος ὄχλου συνεισβάλειν εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν.

2 ἡμὲν δὲν ὅτι χρόνος οὐκ ἐλάττων ἔτων ἐξακοσίων ἀφ’ οὗ κατώκου τὴν Λακεδαίμονα Δωριεὶς· ἐν δὲ τούτῳ παντὶ τότε πρῶτον ὠφθησαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πολέμιοι, πρότερον δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν ἢλλὰ ἀδήμωτον καὶ ἀθικτὸν οὕσαν ἐμβαλόντες ἐτυρ- πόλου καὶ διήρπαξον ἄχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς
3 πόλεως, μηδενὸς ἐπεξίοντος. ὁ γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος
obliged to go about unkempt and squalid, wearing cloaks that are patched with dyed stuffs, half of their beards shaven, and half left to grow. It was a serious matter, therefore, to allow many such men in the city, when she lacked not a few soldiers. So they chose Agesilaüs as a law-giver for the occasion. And he, without adding to or subtracting from or changing the laws in any way, came into the assembly of the Lacedaemonians and said that the laws must be allowed to sleep for that day, but from that day on must be in sovereign force. By this means he at once saved the laws for the city and the men from infamy. Then, wishing to remove the discouragement and dejection which prevailed among the young men, he made an incursion into Arcadia, and though he studiously avoided joining battle with the enemy, he took a small town of the Mantineans and overran their territory, and thus lightened and gladdened the expectations of his city, which felt that its case was not wholly desperate.

XXXI. After this, Epaminondas entered Laconia with his allies, having no fewer than forty thousand men-at-arms. Many light armed and unarmed troops also followed him for the sake of plunder, so that a horde of seventy thousand, all told, made this incursion into Laconia. For a period of no less than six hundred years the Dorians had been living in Lacedaemon, and this was the first time in all that period that enemies had been seen in the country; before this, none had ventured there. But now they burst into an unravaged and inviolate land, and burned and plundered as far as the river and the city, and no one came out against them. For Agesilaüs

1 In 370 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. vi. 5, 10-21).
2 In the same year, after Agesilaüs had returned and disbanded his forces.

XXXII. Τὸτε μέντοι τοῦ Ἀνταλκίδαν φασὶν ἑφοροῦν ὄντα τοὺς παῖδας εἰς Κύθηρα ὑπεκθέσθαι, περίφοβον γενόμενον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπι-
would not suffer the Lacedaemonians to fight against such a "billowy torrent of war," to use the words of Theopompus, but surrounded the central and most commanding parts of the city with his men-at-arms, while he endured the boastful threats of the Thebans, who called upon him by name and bade him come out and fight for his country, since he had caused her misfortunes by lighting up the flames of war. But this was not the worst. Agesilaüs was still more harassed by the tumults and shrieks and running about throughout the city, where the elder men were enraged at the state of affairs, and the women were unable to keep quiet, but were utterly beside themselves when they heard the shouts and saw the fires of the enemy. He was also distressed at the thought of what his fame would be, because he had taken command of the city when she was greatest and most powerful, and now saw her reputation lowered, and her proud boast made empty, which boast he himself also had often made, saying that no Spartan woman had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's fires. It is said also that Antalcidas, when an Athenian was disputing with him over the valour of the two peoples and said, "Yet we have often driven you away from the Cephisus," replied: "But we have never driven you away from the Eurotas." And a similar retort was made by a Spartan of lesser note to the Argive who said, "Many of you lie buried in the lands of Argos"; the Spartan answered: "But not a man of you in the lands of Laconia."

XXXII. Now, however, they say that Antalcidas, who was an ephor, secretly sent his children away to Cythera, so full of fear was he. But Agesilaüs, when
χειρούντων διαβαινειν τὸν ποταμὸν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ Βιαίζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκλειπὼν τὰ λοιπὰ
2 παρετάξατο πρὸ τῶν μέσων καὶ υψηλῶν. ἔρρυῃ
de πλείστος ἐαυτῷ καὶ μέγιστος τότε ὁ Ἐὐρώ-
tας, χώνων γενομένων, καὶ τὸ ῥέμα μᾶλλον ὑπὸ
ψυχρότητος ἢ τραχύτητος ἐγένετο σκληρὸν καὶ
χαλεπὸν τῶν Ὁθβαίων. πορευόμενον δὲ πρὸς τὸν
tῆς φάλαγγος τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐδείκνυσαί τινες
tῷ Ἀγησίλαῳ· κάκεινος, ὡς λέγεται, πολὺν
χρόνον ἐμβλέψας αὐτῷ καὶ συμπαραπέμψας τὴν
ὅψιν οὐδὲν ἢ τοσοῦτον μόνον εἶπεν. "Ἀ, τοῦ
3 μεγαλοπράγμονος ἀνθρώπου." ἔπει δὲ φίλοτε-
μούμενος ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει μάχην
συνάψαι καὶ στήσαι τρόπαιον οὐκ ἵσχυσεν
ἐξαιγαγεῖν οὐδὲ προκαλέσασθαι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον,
ἐκείνος μὲν ἀναξεύξας πάλιν ἐπόρθη τὴν χώραν,
ἔν δὲ Λακεδαίμον τῶν πάλαι τινὲς ὑπούλων καὶ
πονηρῶν ὡς διακόσιοι συστραφέντες κατελάβοντο
tῷ Ἰσσώριον, οὗ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδος ιερὸν ἔστιν,
4 εὐρεκὴ καὶ δυσεκβιαστὸν τόπων. ἐφ’ οὐς βουλο-
μένων εὐθὺς ὀδεῖσθαι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, φοβη-
θεῖς τῶν νεωτερισμῶν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς
μὲν ἄλλους ἰσχύαν ἄγειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν ἰματίῳ
καὶ μεθ’ ἐνός οἰκέτου προσῆη, βρῶν ἄλλοις
ἀκηκοέναι τοῦ προστάγματος αὐτοῦ· οὗ γὰρ
ἐνταῦθα κελεύσαι συνελθεῖν οὐδὲ πάντας, ἄλλα
tοὺς μὲν ἐκεῖ (δεῖξας ἐτερον τόπων), τοὺς δὲ
5 ἀλλαχότεροι τῆς πόλεως. οὐ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἡσθη-
sαν οἰόμενοι λανθάνειν, καὶ διαστάντες ἐπὶ
tοὺς τόπους οὕς ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευσεν ἀπεχώρουν.
ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν Ἰσσώριον εὐθὺς μεταπεμψάμενος
ἐτέρους κατέσχε, τῶν δὲ συστάντων ἐκείνων περὶ
the enemy tried to cross the Eurotas and force their way to the city, abandoned the rest of it and drew up his forces in front of its central and lofty precincts. Now, the Eurotas at this time was flowing at its fullest and deepest, since snows had fallen, and its current, even more from its coldness than its violence, was very troublesome to the Thebans. As Epaminondas was fording it at the head of his phalanx, certain ones pointed him out to Agesilaüs, and he, we are told, after fixing his gaze upon him and watching him for a long time, said but these words: "O adventurous man!" Epaminondas was ambitious to join battle in the city and set up a trophy of victory there, but since he could neither force nor tempt Agesilaüs out of his positions, he withdrew and began to ravage the country. Meanwhile, about two hundred of the Lacedaemonians who had long been disaffected and mutinous banded together and seized the Issorium, where the temple of Artemis stands, a well-walled and inaccessible spot. The Lacedaemonians wished to make a dash upon them at once, but Agesilaüs, fearing their insurrection, ordered the rest to keep quiet, while he himself, wearing his cloak and attended by a single servant, went towards them, crying out that they had misunderstood his orders; for he had not commanded them to assemble in that place, nor in a body, but some yonder (pointing to another spot), and some in another part of the city. They were delighted to hear this, supposing that their design was undiscovered, and, breaking up, went off to the places which he ordered them to occupy. Then Agesilaüs at once summoned other troops and took possession of the Issorium, after which he arrested about fifteen of the conspirators who had been gathered there,
πεντεκαίδεκά τινας συλλαβῶν νυκτὸς ἀπέκτεινεν.

6 ἀλλὰ δὲ μεῖζον ἐμηνύθη συνωμοσία καὶ σύνοδος ἀνδρῶν Σπαρτιάτῶν ἐπὶ πράγμασι νεωτέροις εἰς οἰκίαν κρύφα συνερχομένων, οὕς καὶ κρίνειν ἀπορον ὡς ἐν ταραχῇ τοσαύτῃ καὶ περιορᾶν ἐπιβουλεύοντας. ἀπέκτεινεν οὖν καὶ τούτους μετὰ τῶν ἐφόρων βουλευσάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀκρίτους, οὐδενός δίχα δίκης τεθανατωμένου

7 πρότερον Σπαρτιάτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν συντεταγμένων 1 εἰς τὰ ὅπλα περιοίκων καὶ εἰλώτων ἀπεδίδρασκον ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τούτῳ πλείστην ἠθυμιάν παρείχεν, ἐδίδαξε τοὺς ὑπηρέτας περὶ ὀρθρὸν ἐπιφοιτῶν ταῖς στιβάσιι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν ἀποκεχωρηκότων λαμβάνειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν, ὅπως ἀγνοηταί τὸ πλήθος.

8 Ἀναχωρήσαι δὲ τοὺς Ἐθῆσαις ἐκ τῆς Δακωνικῆς οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι λέγονσι χειμῶνων γενομένων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἀρξαμένων ἀπίειναι καὶ διαρρεῖν ἀτάκτως, οἱ δὲ πρεῖς μῆνας ἐμμεμενηκότας ὁλος καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς χώρας διατεπορθηκότας. Θεόποιμος δὲ φησίν, ἵδη τῶν βοιωταρχῶν ἐγνωκότων ἀπαίρειν, ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς Φρίξου, ἀνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, παρὰ Ἀγησίλαον δέκα τάλαντα κομίζοντα τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως μισθόν, ὥστε τὰ πάλαι δεδομένα πράστουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐφόδιον παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων προσπεριγενέσθαι.

XXXIII. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ οἶδα ὡς ἀπετιθηκαίσαι οἱ ἄλλοι, μόνος δὲ Θεόποιμος ἔσχετο. τοῦ δὲ σωθῆραι τὴν Ἀγησίλαον κατὰ πάντες αὐτίων ὄμολογούσι γενέσθαι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ὅτι τῶν

1 συντεταγμένων with S: τεταγμένων.
and put them to death in the night. He was also informed of another and a larger conspiracy of Spartans, who met secretly in a house and there plotted revolution. It was impracticable either to bring these men to trial in a time of so much confusion, or to overlook their plots. Accordingly, Agesilaüs conferred with the ephors, and then put these men also to death without process of law, although no Spartan had ever before met with such a death. At this time, also, many of the provincials and Helots who had been enrolled in the army ran away from the city and joined the enemy, and this caused very deep discouragement. Agesilaüs therefore instructed his servants to go every morning before it was light to the barracks and take the arms of the deserters and hide them, that their numbers might not be known.

As for the reason why the Thebans withdrew from Laconia, most writers say that it was because winter storms came on and the Arcadians began to melt away and disband; others, because they had remained there three entire months and thoroughly ravaged most of the country; but Theopompus says that when the Theban chief magistrates had already determined to take their army back, Phrixus, a Spartan, came to them, bringing ten talents from Agesilaüs to pay for their withdrawal, so that they were only doing what they had long ago decided to do, and had their expenses paid by their enemies besides.

XXXIII. This story may be true, although I know not how all other writers could be ignorant of it, while Theopompus alone heard it; but, at any rate, all agree that the salvation of Sparta at this time was

1 All three reasons are given by Xenophon (Hell. vi. 5. 50).
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

2 ou méntou tīn ge δύναμιν καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἐδυνήθη τής πόλεως ἀναλαβεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πταίσματος, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ σῶματος ύγιεινό, Χλᾶν δὲ ἀκριβεῖ καὶ κατησκημένη κεχρημένου διαίτη παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ἀμαρτία μία καὶ ῥοπὴ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐκλινεν εὐτυχίαν τῆς πόλεως: οὐκ ἄλογως. πρὸς γὰρ εἰρήνην καὶ ἀρετὴν καὶ ὀμόνοιαν ἀριστα συντεταγμένῳ πολιτεύματι προσαγαγόντες ἀρχὰς καὶ δυναστείας βιαίους, ὃν οὐδενὸς ἥγετο δεισθαὶ πόλιν εὐδαιμόνως βιωσομένην ὁ Λυκούργος, ἐσφάλησαν.

3 Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Ὁμηρίλαος ἤδη πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἀπειρήκει διὰ τὸ γήρας, Ἀρχίδαμος δὲ ὁ νῦς αὐτοῦ, τὴν ἐκ Σικελίας ἤκουσαν παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου βοήθειαν ἔχων, ἐνίκησεν Ἀρκάδας την λεγομένην ἀδακρυν μάχην: οὔδεις γὰρ ἔπεσε τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, συχνοὺς δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνεἴλεν. αὐτὴ μάλιστα τὴν ἁσθένειαν ἤλεγξεν ἡ νίκη τῆς πόλεως. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὕτω σύνηθες ἤγοιντο καὶ προσήκουν ἔργον αὐτοῖς εἰναι τὸ νικάν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡστε μήτε θυεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς πλήν ἀλεκτρυόνα νικητήριον ἐν τῇ πόλει, μήτε μεγαληγορεῖν τοὺς ἀγωνισμένους, μήτε ὑπερχαίρειν τοὺς πυθανομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχης γενόμενης, ἢν Θουκυδίδης γέγραφε, τῷ πρῶτῳ ψάμμαντι τῆν νίκην οἱ ἀρχοντες ἐκ φιδίτιον κρέας ἔπεμψαν εὐαγγέλιον, ἀλλο δὲ οὖδεν τότε δὲ τῆς μάχης ἀγγελθείσης καὶ τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου προσ-

1 Dionysius the Elder.
2 In 368 B.C. (Xenophon, Hell. vii. 1, 28–32).
due to Agesilaüs, because he renounced his inherent passions of contentiousness and ambition, and adopted a policy of safety. He could not, however, restore the power and reputation of his city after its fall, for it was like a human body that is sound, indeed, but has followed all the while too strict and severe a regimen; a single error turned the scale and brought down the entire prosperity of the city. Nor was this strange. For to a civil polity best arranged for peace and virtue and unanimity they had attached empires and sovereignties won by force, not one of which Lycurgus thought needful for a city that was to live in happiness; and therefore they fell.

Agesilaüs himself now declined military service on account of his years, but Archidamus his son, with assistance which came from the tyrant of Sicily, conquered the Arcadians in the so-called "tearless battle," where not one of his own men fell, and he slew great numbers of the enemy. This victory, more than anything else, showed the weakness of the city. For up to this time they were wont to think the conquest of their enemies so customary and natural a thing for them to achieve, that no sacrifice for victory was offered in the city to the gods, beyond that of a cock, neither did the winners of the contest exult, nor those who heard of their victory show great joy. Nay, even after the battle at Mantinea, which Thucydides has described, the one who first announced the victory had no other reward for his glad tidings than a piece of meat sent by the magistrates from the public mess. But now, at the news of the Arcadian victory and at the approach of

3 In 418 B.C., when the Lacedaemonians defeated an allied force of Mantineans, Argives, and Athenians (Thucydides, v. 64-75).
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ.

ιόντος οὖδεις ἐκαρτέρησεν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτος οἱ πατὴρ ἀπῆντα δακρύων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων τὰ ἁρχεῖα, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ πλήθος ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν κατήι, τὰς τε χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων καὶ θεοκλυτοῦντων, ὡσπερ ἀπεσωμένης τὰ παρ᾽ ἄξιαν οὐνείδη τῆς Σπάρτης καὶ λαμπρὸν αὐθίς εξ ἀρχῆς τὸ φῶς ὀρώσης· ἐπεὶ πρότερον γε φασὶν οὖδὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἀντιβλέπειν τοὺς ἄνδρας αἰσχυνομένους ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐπταίσαν.

XXXIV. Οἰκιζομένης δὲ Μεσσήνης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινὸνδαν, καὶ τῶν ἁρχαίων πολιτῶν πανταχόθεν εἰς αὐτὴν συμπορευομένων, διαμάχεσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμων οὖδὲ κωλύειν ἐδύναντο, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ βαρέως πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εἰχον, ὅτι χώραν οὔτε πλῆθει τῆς Δακωνικῆς ἐλάττονα καὶ προτεύουσαν ἀρετῇ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἔχοντες καὶ καρποῦμενοι χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ 2 τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας ἀπολωλέκασι. διὸ καὶ προτευομένην ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐθβαίων τὴν εἰρήνην ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐδέξατο. μὴ βουλόμενος δὲ τὸ λόγῳ προεσθαι τοῖς ἐργῷ κρατοῦσι τὴν χώραν, ἀλλὰ φιλονεικῶν, ἐκείνην μὲν οὐκ ἄπελαβε, μικροῦ δὲ τὴν Σπάρτην προσπέβαλε καταστρα- 3 τηγηθείς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Μαντινεῖς αὐθίς ἀπέστη- σαν τῶν Ἐθβαίων καὶ μετεπέμποντο τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, αἰσθόμενος ὁ Ἐπαμεινὸνδας τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐξεστρατευμένου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ προσίοντα, λαθὼν τοὺς Μαντινεῖς ἀνέζευξε νυκτὸς ἐκ Τέγεας ἄγων ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίαν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ μικρὸν ἐδέησε παραλ.
Archidamus, no one could restrain himself, but first his father went to meet him, weeping for joy, and after him the chief magistrates, while the elderly men and the women went down in a throng to the river, lifting their hands to heaven and blessing the gods, as if Sparta had wiped away her unmerited disgraces and now saw the light shine bright again as of old; for before this, we are told, her men could not so much as look their wives in the face, out of shame at their disasters.

XXXIV. But when Messene was built by Epaminondas, and its former citizens flocked into it from all quarters, the Spartans had not the courage to contest the issue nor the ability to hinder it, but cherished the deepest resentment against Agesilaüs, because a country which was not of less extent than their own, which stood first among Hellenic lands for its fertility, the possession and fruits of which they had enjoyed for so long a time, had been lost by them during his reign. For this reason, too, Agesilaüs would not accept the peace which was proffered by the Thebans. He was not willing to give up to them formally the country which was actually in their power, and persisted in his opposition. As a consequence, he not only did not recover Messenia, but almost lost Sparta besides, after being outgeneralled. For when the Mantineans changed their allegiance, revolted from Thebes, and called in the Lacedaemonians to help them, Epaminondas, learning that Agesilaüs had marched out from Sparta with his forces and was approaching, set out by night from Tegea, without the knowledge of the Mantineans, and led his army against Sparta itself. He passed by Agesilaüs, and came

1 In 369 B.C.  2 In 362 B.C.
λάξας τὸν 'Ἄγησίλαον ἔρημον ἐξαίφνης κατα-
λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Εὐθύνου δὲ Θεσπιέως, ὡς
Καλλισθένης φησίν, ὡς δὲ Ξενοφῶν, Κρήτος
tivos, ἔξαγγείλαντος τῷ Ἀγησίλαῷ, ταχὺ προ-
πέμψας ἱππεὰ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει φράσοντα, μετ'
οὐ πολὺ καὶ αὐτὸς παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην.
όλιγω δὲ ύπτερον οἱ Θηβαῖοι διέβαινον τὸν Εὐ-
ρώταν καὶ προσέβαλλον τῇ πόλει, μάλα ἔρρο-
μένως τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον καὶ παρ’ ἥλικιαν ἐπαμύ-
νοντος. οὐ γὰρ, ὡς πρότερον, ἀσφαλείας ἑώρα
τὸν καιρὸν ὄντα καὶ φυλακῆς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
ἀπονοίας καὶ τόλμης, οἷς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον
οὐδέποτε πιστεύσας οὐδὲ χρησάμενος, τότε μόνοις
ἀπεώσατο τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ Ἐπα-
μεινώνδου τὴν πόλιν ἔξαρπάσας, καὶ στῆσας
τρόπαιον, καὶ τοῖς παισὶ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐπι-
δείξας τὰ κάλλιστα τροφεῖα τῇ πατρίδι τοῦς
6 Λακεδαιμονίους ἀποδιδόντας, ἐν δὲ πρῶτοις τὸν
Ἀρχίδαμον ἀγωνιζόμενον ὑπερηφάνως τῇ τε
ῥώμῃ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῇ κουφότητι τοῦ σώματος,
δὲ εἴως ἐπὶ τὰ θλίβομενα τῆς μάχης διαβέοντα
diὰ τῶν στενωπῶν καὶ πανταχοῦ μετ’ ὀλίγων
 ἀντερείδοντα τοῖς πολεμίοις. Ἡσίδαν δὲ δοκῶ,
tὸν Φοιβίδου νίον, οὐ τοῖς πολίταις μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις θέαμα φανήναι καὶνὸν καὶ
7 ἄγαστὸν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐκπρεπῆς τὸ εἶδος καὶ
tὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος, ὥραν δὲ ἐν ᾧ ὑδή-
στοις ἀνθούσιν ἀνθρωποὶ παρίοντες εἰς ἄνδρας
ἐκ παίδων εἶχε, γυμνὸς δὲ καὶ ὁπλὼν τῶν σκεπτόν-

1 καὶνὸν with Amyot and S: καλὸν (noble).
within a little of suddenly seizing the city in a defenceless state. But Euthynus, a Thespian, as Callisthenes says, or, according to Xenophon, a certain Cretan, brought word to Agesilaüs, who quickly sent on a horseman to warn the people in Sparta, and not long after he himself also entered the city. Soon after his arrival the Thebans were crossing the Eurotas and attacking the city, while Agesilaüs defended it right vigorously and in a manner not to be expected of his years. For he did not think, as on a former occasion, that the crisis demanded safe and cautious measures, but rather deeds of desperate daring. In these he had never put confidence before, nor had he employed them, but then it was only by their aid that he repelled the danger, snatching the city out of the grasp of Epaminondas, erecting a trophy of victory, and showing their wives and children that the Lacedaemonians were making the fairest of all returns to their country for its rearing of them. Archidamus, too, fought among the foremost, conspicuous for his impetuous courage and for his agility, running swiftly through the narrow streets to the endangered points in the battle, and everywhere pressing hard upon the enemy with his few followers. But I think that Isidas, the son of Phoebidas, must have been a strange and marvellous sight, not only to his fellow-citizens, but also to his enemies. He was of conspicuous beauty and stature, and at an age when the human flower has the greatest charm, as the boy merges into the man. Naked as he was, without either defensive

1 "Like a nest of young birds utterly bereft of its natural defenders" (Xenophon, Hell. vii. 5, 10).
2 Loc. cit. Cf. also Diodorus, xv, 82, 6.
3 Cf. Xenophon, Hell. vii. 5, 12-14.
των καὶ ἴματίων, λίπα χρυσάμενος τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἔχον χειρὶ λόγχην, τῇ δὲ ξιφὸς, έξηλατο τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ διὰ μέσων τῶν μαχομένων ὡςαμένος ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνεστρέφειτο, παίων τὸν
8 προστυχόντα καὶ καταβάλλων. ἔτρωθη δὲ ύπ' οὐδενός, εἴτε θεοῦ δὲ ἄρετὴν φυλάττοντος αὐτοῦ, εἴτε μείζον τι καὶ κρείττουν ἀνθρώπου φανεῖς τοῖς ἐναντίοις. ἔπτο τοῦτο δὲ λέγεται τοὺς ἐφόρους στεφανώσαντας αὐτὸν εἴτα χιλίων δραχμῶν ἐπιβαλεῖν ζημίαν, ὅτι χωρὶς ὀπλῶν διακινδυνεύειν ἑτὸλμησεν.

XXXV. Ὅληγας δὲ ύπερευν ἡμέρας περὶ τὴν Μαντίνειαν ἐμαχέσαντο, καὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ὤδη κρατοῦντα τῶν πρώτων, ἐτί δὲ ἐγκείμενον καὶ κατασπεύδον ἑν τὴν διώξιν, Ἀντικράτης Λάκων ὑποστᾶς ἐπαισε δόρατι μὲν, ὡς Διοσκουρίδης ἱστόρηκε, Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Μαχαιρίωνας ἐτί νῦν τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοῦ Ἀντικράτους καλοῦσιν, ὡς μαχαίρα πατάξαντος. οὕτω γὰρ ἔθαυμασαν καὶ ὑπερηγάπησαν αὐτὸν φόβῳ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου ζῶντος, ὡστε τιμᾶς μὲν ἐκείνῳ καὶ δώρας ψηφίσασθαι, γένει δ' ἀτέλειαν, ἤν ἐτί καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔχει Καλλικράτης, εἰς τῶν Ἀντικράτους ἀπογόνων.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου γενομένης εἰρήνης τοῖς Ἑλλησπονίδοις αὐτοὺς, ἀπήλαυνοι οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγγέλιαν τοῦ ὀρκοῦ τοῦς Μεσσηνίους, ὡς πόλιν οὐκ ἔχον ταῖς 3 ταῖς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὶ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐδέχοντο καὶ τοὺς 1 τὸν θάνατον with S: θάνατον.

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armour or clothing,—for he had just anointed his body with oil,—he took a spear in one hand, and a sword in the other, leaped forth from his house, and after pushing his way through the midst of the combatants, ranged up and down among the enemy, smiting and laying low all who encountered him. And no man gave him a wound, whether it was that a god shielded him on account of his valour, or that the enemy thought him taller and mightier than a mere man could be. For this exploit it is said that the ephors put a garland on his head, and then fined him a thousand drachmas, because he had dared to hazard his life in battle without armour.

XXXV. A few days afterwards a battle was fought near Mantinea, in which Epaminondas had already routed the van of the Lacedaemonians, and was still eagerly pressing on in pursuit of them, when Anticrates, a Spartan, faced him and smote him with a spear, as Dioscorides tells the story; but the Lacedaemonians to this day call the descendants of Anticrates "machaeriones," or swordsmen, because he used a sword for the blow. For the Lacedaemonians were filled with such admiring love for him because of the fear in which they held Epaminondas while living, that they voted honours and gifts to Anticrates himself, and to his posterity exemption from taxes, an immunity which in my own day also is enjoyed by Callicrates, one of the descendants of Anticrates.

After the battle and the death of Epaminondas, when the Greeks concluded peace among themselves, Agesilaüs and his partisans tried to exclude the Messenians from the oath of ratification, on the ground that they had no city. And when all the rest admitted the Messenians and accepted their

όρκους ἐλάμβανον παρ’ αὐτῶν, ἀπέστησαν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς πόλεμος ἦν ἐπίξονσιν ἀναλήφεσθαι τὴν Μεσσηνίαν. Βλαίος οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ ἀτενής καὶ πολέμων ἀπληστός ὁ Ἀγησίλαος εἶναι, τὰς μὲν κοινὰς διαλύσεις πάντα τρόπον ὑπορρύθηκαν καὶ ἀναβάλλων, πάλιν δὲ ὑπὸ χρημάτων ἀπορίας ἀναγκαζόμενος ἑνοχ- λεῖν τοὺς κατὰ πόλιν φίλους καὶ δανείζεσθαι καὶ συνεργαίζεσθαι, δεόν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν εἰς τούτο περιήκοντι τῷ καυρῷ, καὶ μὴ τὴν ἀπασαν ἀρχὴν τοσαίην γενομένην ἀφεικότα καὶ πόλεις καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Μεσσηνῇ κτημάτων καὶ προσόδων σφαδάζειν.

XXXVI. "Ετε δὲ μᾶλλον ἡδόξησε Τάχω τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ στρατηγῷ ἐπίδοιος ἑαυτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἤξιόν ἄνδρα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀριστον κεκριμένων καὶ δόξης ἐμπεπληκτικά τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἀποστάτη βασιλεὼς, ἀνθρώπῳ βαρβάρῳ, χρῆσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τούνομα καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὑποδόσθαι χρημάτων, ἔργα μισθοφόρον καὶ ξεναγοῦ διαπρατ-2 τόμενον. κεῖ γὰρ ὑπὲρ οὐδούκοντα γεγονός ἐτη καὶ πᾶν ὑπὸ τραυματῶν τὸ σῶμα κατακεκομ-μένος ἐκείνην αὐθίς ἀνεδέξατο τὴν καλὴν καὶ περίβλεπτον ἡγεμονίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, οὐ πάμπιαν ἀμεμπτὸν εἶναι τὴν φιλο-τιμίαν τοῦ γὰρ καλὸν καυρόν οἰκεῖον εἶναι καὶ ὁραν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ τῶν αἰσχρῶν τῷ 3 μετρίῳ διαφέρειν. οὐ μὴν ἐφρόντιζε τούτων ὁ

1 Cf. Diodorus, xv. 89, 1 f.
oaths, the Lacedaemonians held aloof from the peace, and they alone remained at war in the hope of recovering Messenia. Agesilaüs was therefore deemed a headstrong and stubborn man, and insatiable of war, since he did all in his power to undermine and postpone the general peace, and again since his lack of resources compelled him to lay burdens on his friends in the city and to take loans and contributions from them. And yet it was his duty to put an end to their evils, now that opportunity offered, and not, after having lost Sparta’s whole empire, vast as it was, with its cities and its supremacy on land and sea, then to carry on a petty struggle for the goods and revenues of Messene.

XXXVI. He lost still more reputation by offering to take a command under Tachos the Egyptian. For it was thought unworthy that a man who had been judged noblest and best in Hellas, and who had filled the world with his fame, should furnish a rebel against the Great King, a mere Barbarian, with his person, his name, and his fame, and take money for him, rendering the service of a hired captain of mercenaries. For even if, now that he was past eighty years of age and his whole body was disfigured with wounds, he had taken up again his noble and conspicuous leadership in behalf of the freedom of the Hellenes, his ambition would not have been altogether blameless, as men thought. For honourable action has its fitting time and season; nay, rather, it is the observance of due bounds that constitutes an utter difference between honourable and base actions. Agesilaüs, however, paid no heed

1 Xenophon (Agesilaüs, ii. 28–31) has Agesilaüs take this step in order to punish the Great King and liberate again the Greeks of Asia.
'Αγησίλαος, οὔ δὲ φιλο παρ' ἀξίαν εἶναι λευτούργημα δημόσιον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀνάξιον ἕαυτῷ τὸ ζῆν ἀπρακτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ καθήσασθαι περιμένοντα τῶν θάνατον. ὥθεν ἄθροίσας μισθοφόρους ἄφ' ὄν ὁ Τάχως αὐτῷ χρημάτων ἐπεμψε, καὶ πλοῖα πληρώσας, ἀνήχθη, τριάκοντα σμύβουλους ἔχων μεθ' ἕαυτοῦ Σπαρτιάτας, ὡς πρότερον.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτίου, εὐθὺς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν βασιλικῶν ἡγεμόνων καὶ διοικητῶν ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ ναῦν θεραπεύοντες αὐτοῖς. ἦν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀλλών Αἰγυπτίων σπουδὴ τε μεγάλη καὶ προσδοκία διὰ τούτων καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον, καὶ συνετρόχαζον ἄπαντες ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ὡς δὲ ἐώρων λαμπρότητα μὲν καὶ κατασκευὴν οὐδεμίαν, ἀνθρωπον δὲ πρεσβύτην κατακείμενον ἐν τιν πόλη παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, εὐτελή καὶ μικρὸν τὸ σῶμα, τραχύ καὶ φαύλων ἱμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενον, σκώπτειν αὐτοῖς καὶ γελωτοποιεῖν ἑπῆς, καὶ λέγειν ὅτι τούτῳ ἦν τὸ μυθολογοῦμεν ὀδύνειν ὅρος, εἰτα μῦν ἀποτεκεῖν. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀστότιαν ἐθαύμασαν, ὅτε ξενίων προσκομισθέντων καὶ προσαχθέντων ἄλευρα μὲν καὶ μόσχους καὶ χήνας ἔλαβε, τραγήματα δὲ καὶ πέρματα καὶ μύρα διωθεῖτο, καὶ βιαζόμενον λαβεῖν καὶ λυπαροῦτων ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ἐξισωσὶ διδόναι κομίζοντας. τῇ μέντοι στεφανωτρίδι βύβλῳ φησὶν αὐτὸν ἱσθέντα Θέοφραστος διὰ 617 τὴν λυτότητα καὶ καθαριότητα τῶν στεφάνων αἰτήσασθαι καὶ λαβεῖν, ὅτε ἀπέπλευ, παρὰ τὸν βασιλέως.
to these considerations, nor did he think any public service beneath his dignity; it was more unworthy of him, in his opinion, to live an idle life in the city, and to sit down and wait for death. Therefore he collected mercenaries with the money which Tachos sent him, embarked them on transports, and put to sea, accompanied by thirty Spartan counsellors, as formerly.¹

As soon as he landed in Egypt,² the chief captains and governors of the king came down to meet him and pay him honour. There was great eagerness and expectation on the part of the other Egyptians also, owing to the name and fame of Agesilaüs, and all ran together to behold him. But when they saw no brilliant array whatever, but an old man lying in some grass by the sea, his body small and contemptible, covered with a cloak that was coarse and mean, they were moved to laughter and jesting, saying that here was an illustration of the fable, "a mountain is in travail, and then a mouse is born."³ They were still more surprised, too, at his eccentricity. When all manner of hospitable gifts were brought to him, he accepted the flour, the calves, and the geese, but rejected the sweetmeats, the pastries, and the perfumes, and when he was urged and besought to take them, ordered them to be carried and given to his Helots. He was pleased, however, as Theophrastus tells us, with the papyrus used in chaplets, because the chaplets were so neat and simple, and when he left Egypt, asked and received some from the king.

¹ Cf. chapter vi. 2. ² 361 B.C. ³ In Athenaeus, p. 616 d, it is Tachos himself who makes this jest upon Agesilaüs, who replies in anger: "Some day you will think me a lion."
XXXVII. Τότε δὲ συμμίξας τῷ Τάχῳ παρασκευαζομένου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, σὺχ, ὅσπερ ἠλπίζει, ἀπάσης στρατηγὸς ἀπεδείχθη τῇς δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων μόνων, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Χαβρίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος· ἤγεμων δὲ συμπάν·

2 τῶν αὐτῶς ἦν ὁ Τάχως, καὶ τούτῳ πρῶτον ἴσασε τὸν Ἀγνησίλαον· ἔπειτα τὴν ἄλλην ἀλαζονείαν καὶ κενοφροσύνην τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου βαρυνόμενος ἤμαγκάζετο φέρειν· καὶ συνεξέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας αὐτῷ, παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν φύσιν υπείκων καὶ καρτέρων, ἄχρι οὐ καιρὸν ἐλαβε.

3 Νεκτάναβις γὰρ ἀνεψιός ὁν τοῦ Τάχῳ καὶ μέρος ἔχων ύφ' ἐαυτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέστη καὶ βασιλέως ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀναγορευθεὶς διεπέμπτο πρὸς τὸν Ἀγνησίλαον ἄξιῶν αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν· τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν παρεκάλει,

4 μεγάλας ὑπισχυνομένος ἀμφοτέρους ὑπερεῖς. αἰσθομένου δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Τάχῳ καὶ τραπεμένου πρὸς δέησιν αὐτῶν, ὁ μὲν Χαβρίας ἐπειράτο καὶ τὸν Ἀγνησίλαον ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ τοῦ Τάχῳ πείθων καὶ παραμυθομένος κατέχειν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγνησίλαος εἴπεν ὅτι "Σοὶ μὲν, οὐ Χαβρία, κατὰ σεαυτοῦ ψυγμένῳ χρήσηται τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς ἐξεστὶν, ἕγω δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐδόθην Αἰγυπτίου στρατηγὸς. οὐκ οὖν ἀν ἤχοι μοι καλῶς οἷς ἐπέμφθην σώμαχος πολεμείν, ἐὰν μὴ πάλιν ἡ

5 πατρίς κελεύσῃ." ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν ἐπέμψεν εἰς Σπάρτην ἀνδρὰς, οἱ τοῦ μὲν Τάχῳ κατηγορῆσεν, ἐπαινέσεθαι δὲ τὸν Νεκτάναβιν ἐμέλλον. ἐπεμέψαν δὲ κάκεινοι δέομενοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὁ μὲν ὡς πάλαι σύμμαχος γεγονὼς καὶ φίλος,
XXXVII. But now, on joining Tachos, who was making preparations for his expedition, he was not, as he expected, appointed commander of all the forces, but only of the mercenaries, while Chabrias the Athenian had charge of the fleet, and Tachos himself was commander-in-chief. This was the first thing that vexed Agesilaüs; then, though he was indignant at the vain pretensions of the king in other matters, he was compelled to endure them. He even sailed with him against the Phoenicians, forcing himself into a subservience which was beneath his dignity and contrary to his nature, until he found his opportunity.

For Nectanabis, who was a cousin of Tachos and had a part of the forces under his command, revolted from him, and having been proclaimed king by the Egyptians, sent to Agesilaüs asking for his aid and assistance. He made the same appeal to Chabrias also, promising large gifts to both. When Tachos learned of this and resorted to entreaties for their allegiance, Chabrias tried to persuade and encourage Agesilaüs to continue with him in the friendship of Tachos. But Agesilaüs said: "You, Chabrias, who came here on your own account, can decide your own case; but I was given by my country to the Egyptians as a general. It would therefore be dishonourable for me to make war on those to whom I was sent as an ally, unless my country gives me a new command to do so." After these words, he sent men to Sparta who were to denounce Tachos, and commend Nectanabis. Tachos and Nectanabis also sent and besought the support of the Lacedaemonians, the former on the ground that he had long been their ally and friend, the latter on the plea that he would

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1 Cf. Diodorus, xv. 92, 2 f.
ο δὲ ὦς εὖνοις καὶ προθυμότερος περὶ τὴν πολιν ἐσόμενος, ἀκούσαντες οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς μὲν Αἰγυπτίους ἀπεκρίναντο φανερῶς Ἦγησιλάως περὶ τούτων μελήσειν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐπέστειλαν ὅρᾶν κελεύσοντες ὅπως πράξει τὸ τῇ Σπάρτῃ συμφέρον. 6 οὖτω δὴ λαβὼν τοὺς μισθοφόρους ο Ἦγησιλάως ἀπὸ τοῦ Τάχω μετέστη πρὸς τὸν Νεκτάναβιν, ἀτόπον καὶ ἀλλοκότου πράγματος παρακάλυμματι τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πατρίδος χρησάμενος ἐπεὶ ταύτης γε τῆς προφάσεως ἀφαιρεθείσης τὸ δικαιότατον ὄνομα τῆς πράξεως ἢν προδοσία. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὴν πρώτην τοῦ καλοῦ μερίδα τῷ τῆς πατρίδος συμφέροντι διδώντες οὗτε μανθάνουσιν οὗτε ἐπίστανται δίκαιον ἄλλο πλὴν ὁ τῇ Σπάρτῃν αὐξεῖν νομίζουσιν.

XXXVIII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τάχως ἐρημωθεὶς τῶν μισθοφόρων ἐφυγεν, ἐκ δὲ Μένδητος ἔτερος ἐπανισταταί τῷ Νεκτανάβιδι βασιλεὺς ἀναγορευθεὶς καὶ συναγαγὼν δέκα μυριάδας ἄνθρωπων ἐπῆει θαρσύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Νεκτανάβιδος τὸν Ἦγησίλαον, καὶ λέγοντος ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν εἰσίν οἱ πολέμοι, μιγάδες δὲ καὶ βάναυσοι καὶ δ᾽ ἀπειριάν 2 εὐκαταφρόνητοι, "Καὶ μήν οὐ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν," ο Ἦγησίλαος εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν φοβοῦμαι καὶ τὴν ἀμαθίαν ὡς δυσεξαπάτητον. αἱ γὰρ ἀπάται τὸ παράδοξον ἑπάγουσι τοῖς πρὸς ἄμυναν ὑπονοοῦσι καὶ προσδοκῶσι τρεπομένοις, ὁ δὲ μὴ προσδοκῶν μηδὲ ὑπονοοῦν μηδὲν οὐ δίδωσι τῷ

1 Xenophon, who can see no fault in Agesilaüs, says (Agesilaüs, ii. 31): "Accordingly, he chose between the two
be well disposed to their city and more eager to promote her interests. The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, after hearing the messengers, made public answer to the Egyptians that Agesilaüs would attend to these matters; but to Agesilaüs they wrote privately bidding him see to it that the interests of Sparta should not suffer. So Agesilaüs took his mercenaries and went over from Tachos to Nectanabis, making the interests of his country serve as a veil for a strange and unnatural proceeding, since when this pretext was removed, the most fitting name for his act was treachery. But the Lacedaemonians assign the chief place in their ideas of honour to the interests of their country, and neither learn nor understand any other justice than that which they think will enhance the glory of Sparta.

XXXVIII. Tachos, accordingly, thus deserted by his mercenaries, took to flight. But in Mendes another rival rose up against Nectanabis and was proclaimed king, and after collecting a hundred thousand men advanced against him. Then Nectanabis sought to encourage Agesilaüs by saying that although the enemy were numerous, they were a mixed rabble of artisans whose inexperience in war made them contemptible. "Indeed," said Agesilaüs, "it is not their numbers that I fear, but the inexperience and ignorance of which you speak, which it is hard to overcome by stratagems. For stratagems array unexpected difficulties against men who try to defend themselves against them, if they suspect and await them; but he who does not await nor even suspect any stratagem gives no hold to the opponent that one who seemed to be the truer partisan of Hellas, and with him marched against the enemy of Hellas and conquered him in battle."
παραλογιζομένως λαβήν, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ τὸ παλαιότερον ροπήν ὣ μὴ κινούμενος.” ἔκ τούτοι καὶ ὁ
3 Μενδήσιος ἔπεμψε πειρῶν τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον. ἔδεισεν οὖν ὁ Νεκτάναβις, καὶ κελεύοντος αὐτοῦ
dιαμάχεσθαι τὴν ταχύτητα καὶ μῆ χρόνον πολεμεῖν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπείρους ἁγῶνοις, πολυχειρία
dὲ περιελθεῖν καὶ περιταφρεύσαι καὶ φθάσαι
pολλὰ καὶ προλαβεῖν δυναμένους, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν ὑποψίᾳ καὶ φῶβῳ γενόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπε-
χωρησεν εἰς πόλιν εὐερκῇ καὶ μέγαν ἐξουσια
περίβολον. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἠγανάκτει μὲν
ἀπιστούμενοι καὶ βαρέως ἐφερεν, αἰσχυνόμενος
dὲ καὶ πάλιν μεταστήματι πρὸς τὸν ἔτερον καὶ
tελέως ἀπελθεῖν ἀπρακτος, ἥκολούθησε καὶ συν
συσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τείχος.

XXXIX. Ὁ Ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμῶν καὶ
περιταφρευόντων τῆς πόλιν, αὐθίς αὐ 
δείσας τὴν
πολιορκίαν ὁ Ἀιγύπτιος ἐβούλετο μάχεσθαι καὶ
τοὺς Ἐλλήνας μᾶλλα συμπροθυμουμένους εἴχεν
οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ σῖτος. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος
οὐκ ἔδω, ἀλλὰ κωλύων ἦκουε μὲν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον
κακῶς ἢ πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων καὶ προδό-
της ἀπεκαλεῖτο τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐφερε δὲ πράτερον
ηῷῃ τὰς διαβόλας καὶ προσεἰχε τῷ καιρῷ τῶν
στρατηγῆματος.

2 Ἡν δὲ τοιόντε. τάφρον ἐξώθην ἤγον οἱ πολέ-
μοι περὶ τὸ τείχος βαθεῖαν ὡς παντάπασιν
ἀποκλείσοντες αὐτοὺς. ὡς οὖν ἔγγον ἦσαν αἱ
tελευταὶ τοῦ ὄργυματος ἀπαντῶντος αὐτῶ καὶ
περὶῶν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πόλιν, ἐσπέραν ἀναμεί-
νας γενέσθαι καὶ κελεύσας ἐξοπλίζεσθαι τοὺς
"Ελλήνας ἐλεγεν ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀἰγύπτιον. ” Ὁ

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who is trying to outwit him, just as, in a wrestling bout, he who does not stir gives no advantage to his antagonist.” After this, the Mendesian also sent and tried to win over Agesilaüs. Nectanabis was therefore alarmed, and when Agesilaüs urged him to fight the issue out as speedily as possible, and not to wage a war of delays against men who were inexperienced in fighting, but were numerous enough to surround him and hedge him in and anticipate and get the start of him in many ways, he grew still more suspicious and fearful of him, and retired into a city which was well fortified and had a large compass. Agesilaüs was incensed at this lack of confidence, and full of indignation, but since he was ashamed to change sides again and finally go back home without accomplishing any thing, he accompanied Nectanabis and entered the city with him.

XXXIX. But when the enemy came up and began to surround the city with a trench, then the Egyptian changed his mind, grew fearful of the siege, and wished to give battle, for which the Greeks also were very eager, since there were no provisions in the place. Agesilaüs, however, would not permit it, but opposed it, and was therefore maligned by the Egyptians even more bitterly than before, and called a betrayer of the king. But he bore their calumnies more patiently now, and sought to find the fitting moment for his stratagem.

This was as follows. The enemy were digging a deep trench outside around the city, in order to shut its occupants up completely. Accordingly, when the trench had been carried almost around the city, and its ends were near one another, after waiting for evening to come and ordering the Greeks to arm themselves, Agesilaüs went to the Egyptian and said:
μὲν τῆς σωτηρίας, ὁ νεανία, καιρὸς ὅτις ἔστιν, ὅπ τῶν διάφθειρας θοβούμενος οὔκ ἔφραξον πρὶν
3 ἔλθειν. ἔπει δὲ ἦμιν οἱ πολέμιοι τὴν ἁσφάλειαν
αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν χειρῶν παρεσκευάσασι, τοσαύτῃ
ὁρυξάμενοι τάφρον, ἦς τὸ μὲν ἔξειργασμένον ἐκεῖ
νος ἐμποδῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ πλῆθους, τὸ δὲ διαλείπον
ήμιν δίδωσιν ἵσω καὶ δικαίω μέτρῳ διαμάχησθαι
πρὸς αὐτοὺς, φέρε ὑπὸ προδυμηθείς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
γενέσθαι καὶ μεθ' ἦμιν ἐπιστόμενος δρόμῳ σῶξε
4 σεαυτὸν ἁμα καὶ τὴν στρατιάν. ἦμᾶς γὰρ οἱ μὲν
κατὰ στόμα τῶν πολεμίων οὐχ ὑπομονοῦσι, οἱ δὲ
ἀλλοι διὰ τὴν τάφρον οὐ βλάψουσιν." ἐβαϊμασεν
οὖν ὁ Νεκτάναβις τοῦ Ἀγησίλαον τὴν δεινότητα,
καὶ δους ἐαυτὸν εἰς μέσα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁπλα
c καὶ προσπεσῶν ἐτρέψατο ῥάδιος τοὺς ἀντιστάν-
tας. ὡς δὲ ἀπαξ ἐλαβε πειθόμενον αὐτῷ τῶν
Νεκτάναβιν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, αὐθίς ἐπίρησε τὸ αὐτὸ
στρατήγημα καθίσπερ πάλαισμα τοῖς πολεμίοις.
5 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑποφεύγον καὶ ὑπάγον, τὰ δὲ ἀντι-
περιχωρῶν, ἐμβάλλει τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν εἰς τότου
ἐχοντα διώρυχα βαθείαν εἰς ἐκατέρας πλευρᾶς
παραρρέουσαν, ὅν τὸ μέσον ἐμφράξας καὶ κατα-
λαβὼν τῷ μετώπῳ τῆς φύλαγγος ἐξίσωσε πρὸς
tοὺς μαχομένους τῶν πολεμίων τὸ πλῆθος, οὐκ
eχοντας περιδρομὴν καὶ κύκλωσιν. ὅθεν οὐ
πολὺν χρόνον ἀντιστάντες ἐτράπωντο καὶ πολλοὶ
μὲν ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες ἐσκεδάσθησαν
καὶ διερρύσαν.

ΧΙ. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καλῶς μὲν εἰχὲ τὰ πράγ-
mατα καὶ βεβαίως τῷ Λύγυπτῳ πρὸς ἁσφάλειαν
ἀγαπῶν δὲ καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος ἐδείτο μείβαι καὶ
συνδιαχειμᾶσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ τῶν Ἀγησίλαιον. ὁ δὲ
ὁρμητὸ πρὸς τὸν οἴκοι πολέμοι, εἰδὼς χρημάτων

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"Now is the time, young man, for us to save ourselves, and I would not speak of it until it came, for fear of vitiating it. The enemy have now worked out our safety with their own hands. They have dug their trench so far that the part which is finished hinders them from attacking us in great numbers, and the space between the ends gives us room to fight them on fair and equal terms. Come, then, be eager to shew yourself a brave man; follow with us as we charge, and save yourself and your army too. For the enemy in our front will not withstand us, and the rest will not harm us because of the trench."

Nectanabis, then, was filled with admiration for the sagacity of Agesilaüs, and putting himself in the centre of the Greek array, charged forwards and easily routed his opponents. And now that Agesilaüs had won back the confidence of Nectanabis, he brought the same stratagem to bear again upon the enemy, like a trick in wrestling. By sometimes pretending to retreat and fly, and sometimes attacking them on the flanks, he drove their whole multitude into a tract which had a deep canal full of water on either side. The space between these he occupied and stopped up with the head of his column, and so made his numbers equal to those of the enemy who could fight with him, since they were unable to surround and enclose him. Therefore after a short resistance they were routed; many were slain, and the fugitives were dispersed and melted away.¹

XL. After this, the Egyptian succeeded in establishing himself firmly and securely in power, and showed his friendliness and affection by begging Agesilaüs to remain and spend the winter with him. But Agesilaüs was eager to return to the war at

¹ The account of this Egyptian campaign in Diodorus, xv. 93, differs in many details.
δεομένην τὴν πόλιν καὶ ξενοτροφοῦσαν. προϋ- 
πεμψεν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐντίμως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, 
άλλας τε λαβώντα τιμᾶς καὶ δωρεᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸν 
πόλεμον ἀργυρίου διακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα τά- 
2 λαντα. χειμώνως δὲ οὖν ἤδη τῆς γῆς ἐχόμενος 
ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ παρὰ τὴν Λιβύην εἰς χωρίον 
ἐρημον κομισθείς, ὁ καλοῦσι Μενελάου Λιμένα, 
θυνόκει, βιώσας μὲν ὅγιοκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα 
ἐτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ τῆς Σπάρτης ἐνὶ τῶν τεσ- 
σαράκοντα πλέον, καὶ τούτων ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα 
πάντων μέγιστος καὶ δυνατώτατος γενόμενος καὶ 
σχεδὸν ὅλης τῆς Ελλάδος ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλεὺς 
nομισθείς ἀχρὶ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτρω τριάχος μάχης.

3 Ἡθους δὲ οὖν τῶν Δακωνικοῦ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐπὶ 
ξένης ἀποθανόντων αὐτοῦ τὰ σώματα κηδεύειν 
καὶ ἀπολείπειν, τὰ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων οὐκαδὲ κομι- 
ζεῖν, οἱ παρόντες Σπαρτιάται κηρὸν ἐπιτήξαντες 
tῷ νεκρῷ, μέλιτος οὐ παρόντος, ἀπῆγγον εἰς Λακε- 
δαίμονα. τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ νῖος 
619 αὐτοῦ παρέλαβε, καὶ διέμειν τῷ γενεῖ μέχρις 
Ἁγίδος, ὃν ἐπιχειροῦντα τὴν πάτριον ἀναλα- 
βεῖν πολιτείαν ἀπέκτεινε Δευνίδας πέμπτον ἀπ' 
Ἁγησιλάου γεγονότα.
home, knowing that his city needed money and was hiring mercenaries. He was therefore dismissed with great honour and ceremony, taking with him, besides other honours and gifts, two hundred and thirty talents of silver for the war at home. But since it was now winter, he kept close to shore with his ships, and was borne along the coast of Libya to an uninhabited spot called the Harbour of Menelaüs. Here he died, at the age of eighty-four years. He had been king of Sparta forty-one years, and for more than thirty of these he was the greatest and most influential of all Hellenes, having been looked upon as leader and king of almost all Hellas, down to the battle of Leuctra.

It was Spartan custom, when men of ordinary rank died in a foreign country, to give their bodies funeral rites and burial there, but to carry the bodies of their kings home. So the Spartans who were with Agesilaüs enclosed his dead body in melted wax, since they had no honey, and carried it back to Lacedaemon. The kingdom devolved upon Archidamus his son, and remained in his family down to Agis, who was slain by Leonidas for attempting to restore the ancient constitution, being the fifth in descent from Agesilaüs.

1 In 240 B.C. See the Agis, chapters xix., xx.
ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΣ

I. Πρὸς Πομπηίου ἔοικε τούτο παθεῖν ὁ Ρωμαίων δῆμος εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡσπερ ὁ Λισχύλος Προμηθέας πρὸς τὸν Ἡρακλέα σωθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγων·

Ἐχθροῦ πατρὸς μοι τούτο φίλτατον τέκνον.

οὔτε γὰρ μῖσος οὔτως ἱσχυρὸν καὶ ἀγριον ἐπε-

δείξαντο Ρωμαίοι πρὸς ἔτερον στρατηγὸν ὡς τὸν

Πομπηίου πατέρα Στράβωνα, ξῴντος μὲν αὐτοῦ

φοβοῦμενοι τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις δύναμιν (ἠν γὰρ

2 ἀνήρ πολεμικότατος), ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέθανε κεραυ-

νωθείς, ἐκκομιζόμενον τὸ σώμα κατασπάσαντες

ἀπὸ τοῦ λέχους καὶ καθυβρίσαντες, οὔτε μὴν

εὔνοιαν αὐτὸ πάλιν σφοδροτέραν ἡ βάσσου ἀρξαμέ-

νην ἡ μᾶλλον εὐτυχοῦτι συνακμᾶσαν ἡ πταί-

σαντι παραμένασαν βεβαιότερον ἄλλος ἐσχε

3 Ρωμαίων ἡ Πομπηίος. αἰτία δὲ τοῦ μὲν μίσους

ἐκείνῳ μία, χρημάτων ἀπληστος ἐπιθυμία, τούτῳ

dὲ πολλαὶ τὸν ἀγαπᾶσθαι, σωφροσύνη περὶ

dιώταν, ἄσκησις ἐν ὅπλοις, πιθανότης λόγου,

πίστις ἦδους, εὐαρμοστία πρὸς ἔντευξιν, ὡς μη-

1 A fragment of the Prometheus Loosed (Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 68). Prometheus was fastened to a cliff in
I. Towards Pompey the Roman people must have had, from the very beginning, the feeling which the Prometheus of Aeschylus has towards Heracles, when, having been saved by him, he says:—

"I hate the sire, but dearly love this child of his." ¹

For never have the Romans manifested so strong and fierce a hatred towards a general as they did towards Strabo, the father of Pompey; while he lived, indeed, they feared his talent as a soldier, for he was a very warlike man, but when he was killed by a thunderbolt,² and his body was on its way to the funeral pyre, they dragged it from its bier and heaped insults upon it. On the other hand, no Roman ever enjoyed a heartier goodwill on the part of his countrymen, or one which began sooner, or reached a greater height in his prosperity, or remained more constant in his adversity, than Pompey did. And whereas there was one sole reason for the hatred felt towards Strabo, namely, his insatiable desire for money, there were many reasons for the love bestowed on Pompey; his modest and temperate way of living, his training in the arts of war, his persuasive speech, his trustworthy character, and his tact in meeting people, so that no man asked a Scythia by Zeus, whose eagle preyed upon the prisoner. Heracles slew the eagle and released the sufferer.

¹ In 87 B.C.

²
δεινὸς ἀλυπότερον δειθήναι μηδὲ ἦδιον ὑπουργῆσαι δειμένῳ. προσῆν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ταῖς χάρισι καὶ τὸ ἀνεπαχθὲς διδόντος καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν λαμβάνοντος.

11. Ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ καὶ τὴν ὄψιν ἔσχεν οὐ μετρῶς συνδημαγωγοῦσαν καὶ προεντυγχάνουσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς φωνῆς. τὸ γὰρ ἐράσμιον ἀξιωματικὸν ἢν φιλανθρώπως, καὶ ἐν τῷ νεαρῷ καὶ ἀνθούντι διέφανεν εὐθὺς ἢ ἀκμὴ τὸ γεραρόν καὶ τὸ βασιλικὸν τοῦ ἦδους. ἦν δὲ τις καὶ ἀναστολὴ τῆς κόμης ἀτρέμα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ ὄμματα ῥυθμῶν ύγρότης τοῦ προσώπου, ποιοῦσα μᾶλλον λεγομένη ἢ φαινομένη ὁμοίότητα πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξάν-2 δρων τοῦ βασιλέως εἰκόνας. ἦ καὶ τούνομα πολλῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ συνεπιφερόντων οὐκ ἐφενγεν ὁ Πομπῆιος, ὡστε καὶ χλευάζοντας αὐτὸν ἐνίους ἦδη καλείν Ἀλεξάνδρον. διὸ καὶ Λεύκιος Φίλιππος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, συνηγορῶν αὐτῷ, μηδὲν ἐφή ποιεῖν παράλογον εἰ Φίλιππος ὃν φιλαλέξανδρος ἔστιν.

Φλώραν δὲ τὴν ἑταίραν ἐφασαν ἦδη πρεσβυτέραν οὐσαν ἐπιεικῶς ἢν μημονεύειν τῆς γενομένης αὐτῆς πρὸς Πομπῆίου ὁμιλίας, λέγουσαν ὡς οὐκ ἦν ἐκείνῳ συνανταπουσαμένην 3 ἀδήκτως ἀπελθεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διηγείσθαι τὴν Φλώραν ἐπιθυμήσατι τινα τῶν Πομπῆίου συνήθων αὐτῆς Γεμίνιου, καὶ πράγματα πολλὰ παρέχειν πειρώντα· αὐτῆς δὲ φαμένης οὐκ ἄν ἐθελήσαι διὰ Πομπῆίου, ἐκεῖνῳ τὸν Γεμίνιον διαλέγεσθαι· τὸν οὖν Πομπῆίον ἐπιτρέψαι μὲν τῷ Γεμίνῳ, μηκέτι δὲ αὐτὸν ἀψάθαι τὸ παράπαν μηδὲ ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῇ, καὶ περ ἐραν δοκοῦνται.
favour with less offence, or bestowed one with a better mien. For, in addition to his other graces, he had the art of giving without arrogance, and of receiving without loss of dignity.

II. At the outset, too, he had a countenance which helped him in no small degree to win the favour of the people, and which pleaded for him before he spoke. For even his boyish loveliness had a gentle dignity about it, and in the prime and flower of his youthful beauty there was at once manifest the majesty and kingliness of his nature. His hair was inclined to lift itself slightly from his forehead, and this, with a graceful contour of face about the eyes, produced a resemblance, more talked about than actually apparent, to the portrait statues of King Alexander. Wherefore, since many also applied the name to him in his earlier years, Pompey did not decline it, so that presently some called him Alexander in derision. Hence, too, Lucius Philippus, a man of consular rank, when pleading in his behalf, said that he was doing nothing strange if, being Philip, he loved Alexander.

We are told that Flora the courtesan, when she was now quite old, always took delight in telling about her former intimacy with Pompey, saying that she never left his embraces without bearing the marks of his teeth. Furthermore, Flora would tell how Geminius, one of Pompey's companions, fell in love with her and annoyed her greatly by his attentions; and when she declared that she could not consent to his wishes because of Pompey, Geminius laid the matter before Pompey. Pompey, accordingly, turned her over to Geminius, but never afterwards had any thing at all to do with her himself, although he was thought to be enamoured of her; and she
τούτο δὲ αὐτὴν οὖχ ἑταιρικῶς ἔνεγκείν, ἀλλὰ πολὺν ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ πόθου χρόνου νοσῆσαι.

καίτοι τὴν Φλώραν οὖτω λέγουσιν ἀνθήσαι καὶ γενέσθαι περιβόητον ὡστε Κεκίλιον Μέτελλον ἀνδριάσι καὶ γραφαῖς κοσμοῦντα τὸν νεῶν τῶν Διοσκοῦρων, κάκεινης εἰκόνα γραψάμενον ἀναθείναι διὰ τὸ κάλλος. Πομπῆίος δὲ καὶ τῇ 620 Δημητρίου τοῦ ἀπελευθέρου γυναίκι, πλεῖστον ἱσχύσαντος παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ταλάντων ἀπολιπόντος οὕσιαν, ἔχριτο παρὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον οὐκ ἐπιεικῶς οὐδὲ ἐλευθερίως, φοβηθεὶς τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῆς ἀμαχὸν τινα καὶ περιβόητον οὖσαν, ὡς μὴ φανεῖ κεκρατημένος.

οὖτω δὲ πάνω πόρρωθεν εὐλαβῆς ὦν πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα καὶ πεφυλαγμένος, ὦμος οὐ διέφυγε τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τούτω ψόγον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο πολλὰ τῶν κοινῶν παριδείν καὶ προέσθαι χαριζόμενος ἐκεῖναι.

Τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν διαίταν εὐκολίας καὶ λυτότητος καὶ ἀπομνημόνευμα λέγεται τοιοῦτον.

ιατρὸς αὐτῷ νοσοῦντι καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντι πρὸς τὰ σιτία κίχλην προσέταξε λαβεῖν. ὡς δὲ ξητούντες οὐχ εὔρον ὡμοι (ἂν γὰρ παρ’ ὄραν), ἐφ’ δὲ τις εὐρεθήσεσθαι παρὰ Δευκόλλῳ δι’ ἔτους τρεφομένως, "Εἰτα," ἐπερνέ, "εἰ μὴ Δεύκολλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπῆίος οὐκ ἂν ἔξησε;" καὶ χαίρειν ἐάςας τὸν ιατρὸν ἔλαβε τι τῶν εὐπορίστων. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὤστερον.

III. "Εἰτ δὲ μειράκιον ὄν παντάπασι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συστρατευόμενος ἀντιτεταγμένῳ πρὸς Κιν.
herself did not take this treatment as a mere courtesan would, but was sick for a long time with grief and longing. And yet Flora is said to have flowered into such beauty, and to have been so famous for it, that when Caecilius Metellus was decorating the temple of Castor and Pollux with paintings and statues, he gave her portrait also a place among his dedications. Moreover, Pompey also treated the wife of Demetrius his freedman (who had the greatest influence with him and left an estate of four thousand talents) with a lack of courtesy and generosity unusual in him, fearing lest men should think him conquered by her beauty, which was irresistible and far-famed. But though he was so extremely cautious in such matters and on his guard, still he could not escape the censures of his enemies on this head, but was accused of illicit relations with married women, to gratify whom, it was said, he neglected and betrayed many public interests.

As regards his simplicity and indifference in matters pertaining to the table, a story is told as follows. Once when he was sick and loathed his food, a physician prescribed a thrush for him. But when, on enquiry, his servants could not find one for sale (for it was past the season for them), and someone said they could be found at Lucullus's, where they were kept the year round, "What then," said he, "if Lucullus were not luxurious must Pompey have died?" and paying no regard to the physician he took something that could easily be procured.\footnote{Cf. the *Lucullus*, xl. 2.} This, however, was at a later time.

III. While he was still quite a stripling and was on a campaign with his father, who was arrayed against
ναν, Δευκίων τινα Τερέντιον εἰχεν ἑταῖρον καὶ σύσκηνον. οὐτος ύπὸ Κύννα πεισθεὶς χρήμασιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἐμελλε Πομπηίου ἀποκτενεῖν, ἔτεροι δὲ
2 τὴν σκηνὴν ἐμπρόεσιν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. μηρύσεως δὲ τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ δείπνου ὅτι προσπεσοῦσης, οὐδὲν διαταραξθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πιὸν προθυμότερον
καὶ φιλοφρονησάμενος τὸν Τερέντιον, ἀμα τῷ τραπέζῳ πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν ὑπεκρυπνείς τῆς σκη-νῆς ἔλαβε, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ φιλουργῶν περιστήσας ἡσύχαζεν. ὁ δὲ Τερέντιος, ὡς εὐόμιζε καὶρὸν εἶναι, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἀνέστη καὶ τῇ στιβάδι τοῦ Πομπηίου προσελθὼν ὡς κατακειμένου πολ-
3 λάς ἐνεφόρει πληγαὶ τοῖς στρωμασιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γίνεται μέγα κίνημα μίσει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ὀρμὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τὰς
τε σκηνὰς ἀνασπῶντων καὶ τὰ ὅπλα λαμβανό-
tων. ὁ μὲν οὖν στρατηγὸς οὐ προήει δεδιώς τῶν
θόρυβον, ὁ δὲ Πομπηίος ἐν μέσοις ἀναστρέφο-
μενος καὶ δακρύων ἱκέτευε, τέλος δὲ ρύψας ἐαυτὸν
ἐπὶ στόμα πρὸ τῆς πύλης τοῦ χάρακος ἐμποδὸν
ἐκεῖτο κλαίων καὶ πατεῖν κελεύων τοὺς ἐξίόντας,
ὡς ἐκαστὸν ἀναχωρεὶν ὑπ’ αἰδοῦς καὶ πάλι 
οὗτο πλὴν ὀκτακοσίων μεταβαλέσθαι καὶ διαλ-
λαγῆαι πρὸς τῶν στρατηγῶν.
IV. Ἀμα δὲ τῷ τελευτῆσαι τῶν Στράβωνα, δίκην κλοπῆς ἐσχεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσίων χρη-
μάτων ὁ Πομπηῖος. καὶ τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα φωρά-
σας ἐνα τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ὁ Πομπηῖος νεοσφιο-
μένου Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀπεδείξε τοῖς ἄρχονσιν, αὐτῶς
δὲ λίνα θηρατικὰ καὶ βιβλία τῶν ἐν "Ἀσκλπ
ληφθέντων ἔχειν κατηγορεῖτο. ταῦτα δὲ ἐλαβὲ
μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλόντος τῷ Ἀσκλπ, ἀπώ-
POMPEY, III. i–iv. 1

Cinna,¹ he had a certain Lucius Terentius as tentmate and companion. This man was bribed by Cinna, and was himself to kill Pompey, while others were to set fire to the tent of the commander. But Pompey got information of the plot while he was at supper. He was not at all disturbed, but after drinking more freely even than usual and treating Terentius with kindness, as soon as he retired to rest stole out of the tent unperceived, set a guard about his father, and quietly awaited the event. Terentius, when he thought the proper time was come, arose, and approaching the couch of Pompey with drawn sword, stabbed the bed-clothing many times, supposing him to be lying there. After this there was a great commotion, owing to the hatred felt towards the general, and a rush to revolt on the part of the soldiers, who tore down their tents and seized their arms. The general did not venture forth for fear of the tumult, but Pompey went up and down among the soldiers beseeching them with tears, and finally threw himself on his face in front of the gate of the camp and lay there in the way, weeping and bidding those who were going out to trample on him. As a consequence, everyone drew back out of shame, and all except eight hundred changed their minds and were reconciled to their general.

IV. As soon as Strabo was dead, Pompey, as his heir, was put on trial for theft of public property. And although Pompey discovered that most of the thefts were committed by Alexander, one of his father’s freedmen, and proved it to the magistrates, still he himself was accused of having in his possession hunting nets and books from the booty of Asculum. Now, he did receive these things from his father

¹ In 87 B.C.
λεσε δὲ τῶν Κίννα δορυφόρων, ὡτε κατῆλθεν, ὑσαμένων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ διαρπασάν
tον. ἐγένοντο δὲ τῆς δίκης αὐτῷ προαγόντες οὐκ ὀλέγοι πρὸς τὸν κατήγορον. ἐν ὦς ὄξυν ἄμα καὶ παρ' ἠλικίαν εὐσταθῆς φαινόμενος δόξαν ἐσχε μεγάλην καὶ χάριν, ὡστε Ἀντίστιον στρατη-
γοῦντα καὶ βραβεύοντα τὴν δίκην ἐκείνην ἐρα-
σθῆναι τοῦ Πομπηίου καὶ γυναῖκα διδόναι τὴν ἐαυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῖς φίλοις
dιαλέγεσθαι. δεξαμένου δὲ Πομπηίου καὶ γενο-
μένων ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπορρήτων ὁμολογίων, ὦμως οὐκ ἔλαθε τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸ πράγμα διὰ τὴν τοῖς Ἀντιστίου σπουδήν. τέλος δὲ τὴν γυνώμην ἀνα-
γορεύσαντος αὐτοῦ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπολύουσαν, ὡσπερ ἐκ παραγγέλματος ὁ δήμος ἑπεφώνησε τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῖς γαμοῦσιν ἐπιφωνούμενον ἐξ ἔθους παλαιοῦ, Ταλασίω.

4 Τὸ δὲ ἔθος ἁρχῆν λαβεῖν φασὶ τοιαύτην. ὦτε τὰς θυγατέρας τῶν Σαβίνων ἐπὶ θέαν ἁγῶνος εἰς Ἐρώμην παραγενομένας οἱ προτεύοντες ἀρετή Ῥωμαίων ἥρπαξον ἐαυτοῖς γυναῖκας, ἅδοξοὶ τινες πελάται καὶ βοτῆρες ἀράμενοι κόρην καλὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἐκόμιζον. ὅπως οὖν μὴ προστυχῶν τις ἀφέληται τῶν κρειττῶν, ἐβὸν θέοντες ἀμα Ταλασίω (τῶν δὲ χαριέντων καὶ γυνώρημοι τις ἦν ὁ Ταλάσιος), ὡστε τοῖς ἀκούσαντας τοῦνομα κροτεῖν καὶ βοῶν οἶου συνηδομένους καὶ συνεπ-
5 αἰνοῦντας. ἐκ τούτου φασὶ (καὶ γὰρ εὐνυχῆς οὐ γάμος ἀπέβη τῷ Ταλασίῳ) ταύτην τὴν ἐπιφώ
when he took Asculum, but he lost them when Cinna's guards, on that general's return to Rome, broke into his house and ransacked it. He had many preliminary bouts in the case with his accuser, and since in these he showed an acumen and poise beyond his years, he won great reputation and favour, insomuch that Antistius, the praetor and judge in the case, took a great liking to him and offered him his own daughter in marriage, and conferred with his friends about the matter. Pompey accepted the offer and a secret agreement was made between them, but nevertheless the people got wind of the matter, owing to the pains which Antistius took to favour Pompey. And finally, when Antistius pronounced the verdict of the judges in acquittal, the people, as if upon a signal given, broke out in the ancient and customary marriage acclamation, "Talasio."

The origin of the custom is said to have been this. At the time when the daughters of the Sabines, who had come to Rome to see a spectacle of games, were hailed away by the most distinguished Romans to be their wives, certain hirelings and herdsmen of the meaner sort seized a fair and stately maiden and were carrying her off. In order, therefore, that no one of their betters, on meeting them, might rob them of their prize, they shouted with one voice as they ran, "For Talasius," Talasius being a well-known and popular personage. Consequently, those who heard the name clapped their hands and shouted it themselves, as if rejoicing with the others and approving what they did. From this circumstance, they say,—and indeed the marriage proved a happy one for Talasius,—this acclamation is used in mirth-

1 In 89 B.C.
νησων μετὰ παιδιάς γενέσθαι τοῖς γαμούσων. οὕτως ὁ λόγος πιθανώτατος ἐστὶ τῶν περὶ τοῦ Ταλασίουν λεγομένων. ὁλίγαις δ᾿ οὖν ὑστερον ἠμέραις ὁ Πομπήιος ἠγάγετο τὴν Ἀντιστίαν.

V. Ἡ ἔπει δὲ πρὸς Κίνναν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον πορευθεῖς ἐξ αἵτιας τινὸς καὶ διαβολὴς ἐδείκτηκε καὶ ταχύ λαθῶν ἐκπομπῶν ἐποίησεν εαυτὸν, οὐκ ὦντος ἐμφανοῦς αὐτοῦ θρούς διήλθεν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ καὶ λόγος ὡς ἀνηρήκοι τὸν νεανίσκον ὁ Κίννας: ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ πάλαι βαρυνόμενοι καὶ μισοῦντες ὀρμήσασι ἐπὶ αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἑφύσι καὶ καταλαμ-βανόμενος ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν λοχαγῶν γυμνὸ τῷ ξίφει διώκοντος προσέπησε τοῖς γόνατι καὶ τὴν 2 σφραγίδα προύτεινε πολύτιμον οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ μᾶλα ύβριστικῶς εἰπὼν, "Ἀλλ᾿ οὐκ ἐγγύην ἔρχομαι σφραγοῦμενος, ἀλλὰ ἀνόσιον καὶ παρά-νομον τιμωρησόμενος τύραννον," ἀπέκτεινεν αὐ-τόν. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Κίννα τελευτήσαντος ἐδέξατο μὲν τὰ πράγματα καὶ συνείχε Κάρβων ἐμπληκ-τότερος ἑκείνου τύραννος, ἐπήει δὲ Σύλλας τοῖς πλείστοις ποθείνος, ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν οὔ&darr; δεσπότου μεταβολὴν μικρὸν ἡγομένους ἁγαθῶν. εἰς τούτο προήγαγον αἱ συμφοραί τὴν πόλιν, ὡς δουλείαν ἐπιεικεστέραν ξητεῖν ἀπογνώσει τῆς ἐλευθερίας.

VI. Τότε οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Πικήνιδῃ τῆς Ἰταλίας διέτριβεν, ἔχων μὲν αὐτὸθι καὶ χωρία, τὸ δὲ πλέον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἠδομένους οἰκείοις καὶ φιλικῶς πατρόθεν ἐχούσαις πρὸς αὐτὸν. ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἐπίφανεστάτους καὶ βελτίστους τῶν πολι-τῶν ἀπολείποντας τὰ οἰκεῖα καὶ πανταχόθεν εἰς τὸ Σύλλα στρατόπεδον ὀσπερ εἰς λιμένα κατα-
ful greeting of the newly wedded. This is the most credible of the stories told about Talasius. But be it true or not, a few days afterwards Pompey married Antistia.

V. Then he betook himself to Cinna's camp, but because of some calumnious accusation grew fearful and quickly withdrew unnoticed. On his disappearance, there went a rumour through the camp which said that Cinna had slain the young man, and in consequence of this those who had long hated Cinna and felt oppressed by him made an onslaught upon him. Cinna, as he fled, having been seized by one of the centurions who pursued him with drawn sword, clasped him by the knees and held out his seal-ring, which was of great price. But the centurion, with great insolence, said: "Indeed, I am not come to seal a surety, but to punish a lawless and wicked tyrant," and slew him. When Cinna had come to such an end, Carbo, a tyrant more capricious than he, received and exercised the chief authority. But Sulla was approaching, to the great delight of most men, who were led by their present evils to think even a change of masters no slight good. To such a pass had her calamities brought the city that, in despair of freedom, she sought a more tolerable servitude.

VI. At this time, then, Pompey was tarrying in the Italian province of Picenum, partly because he had estates there, but more because he had a liking for its cities, which were dutifully and kindly disposed towards him as his father's son. And when he saw the best and most prominent citizens forsaking their homes and hastening from all quarters to the camp of Sulla as to a haven of refuge, he

1 Cf. the Romulus, chapter xv. 2 In 84 B.C.
θέοντας, αυτὸς ούκ ἥξιωσεν ἀποδράς οὐδὲ ἀσύμβολος οὐδὲ χρήζων βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ υπάρξας τινὸς χάριτος εὐνόξεως καὶ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν. οἶχεν ἑκίνει τοὺς Πικηνοὺς ἀποπειράμενος. οἱ δὲ ὑπῆκουν αὐτῷ προθύμως καὶ τοῖς παρὰ Κάρβωνος ἱκουσιν οὐ προσεῖχον. Οὐηδίοι δὲ τινος εἰπόντος ὅτι δημαγωγὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκ παιδαγωγεῖου παραπετῆδηκεν ὁ Πομπήιος, οὕτως ἤγανακτησαν ὅστε εὐθὺς ἀνελεῖν προσπεσόντες τὸν Οὐηδίον.

3 'Εκ τούτοιν Πομπήιος ἔτη μὲν τρία καὶ εἶκοσι γεγονός, ὑπ’ οὕδενος δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀποδειγμένους στρατηγός, αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ δοῦς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἐν Αὐξίμῳ, πόλει μεγάλῃ, βῆμα θείς ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ τοὺς προτεύοντας αὐτῶν ἀδελφοὺς δύο Οὐεντίδιους ὑπὲρ Κάρβωνος αὐτιπράττοντας διατάγματε μεταστήναι τῆς πόλεως κελεύσας, στρατιώτας κατέλεγε, καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ ταξιάρχους κατὰ κόσμον ἀποδείξας ἕκαστοι τὰς κύκλῳ πόλεις ἐπῆκε τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῶν. ἔξανισταμένων δὲ καὶ ὑποχωροῦντων ὅσι τὰ Κάρβωνος ἐφρόνουν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀσμένως ἐπιδιόντων αὐτούς, οὕτω κατανείμας ἐν ὅλῳ χρόνῳ τρία τάγματα τέλεια, καὶ τροφὴν πορίσας καὶ σκευασίας καὶ ἀμάξας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πάσαν παρασκευήν, ἤγε πρὸς Σύλλαν, οὐκ ἐπειγόμενος οὐδὲ τὸ λαθεῖν ἀγαπῶν, ἄλλα διατρίβων καθ’ ὄδον ἐν τῷ κακῶς ποιεῖν τοὺς πολέμιους, καὶ πάν ὅσον ἐπῆκε τῆς Ἰταλίας πειρόμενος ἀφιστάναι τοῦ Κάρβωνος.

4 Ἐπεὶ οὖν τοὺς χρῆμα στρατηγοῦ πολέμιοι, Καρίνας καὶ Κλούλιος καὶ Βροῦτος, οὐκ ἐναντίοι πάντες οὐδὲ ὀμόθεν, ἀλλὰ
himself would not deign to go to him as a fugitive, nor empty-handed, nor with requests for help, but only after conferring some favour first, in a way that would gain him honour, and with an armed force. Wherefore he tried to rouse up the people of Picenum and made test of their allegiance. They readily listened to him and paid no heed to the emissaries of Carbo. Indeed, when a certain Vedius remarked that Pompey had run away from pedagogues to be a demagogue among them, they were so incensed that they fell upon Vedius at once and killed him.

After this, Pompey, who was only twenty-three years old, and who had not been appointed general by anybody whomsoever, conferred the command upon himself, and setting up a tribunal in the market-place of Auximum, a large city, issued an edict ordering the chief men there, two brothers named Ventidius, who were acting against him in Carbo's interest, to leave the city. Then he proceeded to levy soldiers, and after appointing centurions and commanders for them all in due form, made a circuit of the other cities, doing the same thing. All the partisans of Carbo withdrew and gave place to him, and the rest gladly offered their services to him, so that in a short time he had mustered three complete legions, and provided them with food, baggage-waggons, carriages, and other needful equipment. Then he led his forces towards Sulla, not in haste, nor even with a desire to escape observation, but tarrying on the march as he harried the enemy, and endeavouring to detach from Carbo's interest all that part of Italy through which he passed.

VII. There came up against him, accordingly, three hostile generals at once, Carinas, Cloelius, and Brutus, not all in front of him, nor from any one

\[1\] All belonging to the Marian party.
κύκλω τριά στρατοπέδους περιχωρούντες ώς ἀναρπασόμενοι. ο δὲ οὐκ ἔδεισεν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν εἰς ταύτα τὴν δύναμιν συναγαγὼν ὀρμήσευν ἐφ’ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Βροῦτου στρατεύμα, τούς ἱππεῖς, ἐν οἷς 2 ἦν αὐτός, προτάξας. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἀντεξίππευσαν οἱ Κελτοί, τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν καὶ ῥωμαλεώτατον φθάνει παίσας ἐκ χειρὸς δόρατι καὶ καταβαλών. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τραπόμενοι καὶ τὸ πεζὸν συνετάραξαν, ὡστε φυγὴν γενέσθαι πάντων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου στασιά- σαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνεχόρησαν, ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἑτυχεῖ, Πομπήιος δὲ προσεχώρουν αἱ πόλεις, ὡς διὰ φόβου ἐσκεδασμένων τῶν πολε- 3 μίων. αὕτης δὲ Σκηπίωνος ἐπιόντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ὑπάτου, πρὶν ἐν ἐμβολαῖς ύσσών γενέσθαι τὰς φάλαγγας, οἱ Σκηπίωνος ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς Πομ- πηίου μετεβάλουσι, Σκηπίων δὲ ἐφυγε. τέλος δὲ Κάρβωνος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἀρσιν ποταμόν ἱπ- πέων συγνὰς ἔλας ἑφέντος, εὐρώστως ύποστὰς καὶ τρεψάμενος εἰς χαλεπὰ καὶ ἀφιππα χωρία πάντας ἐμβάλλει διώκων· οἱ δὲ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀνέλπιστον ὀρόουντες ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν.

VIII. Οὕτω δὲ ταύτα Σύλλας ἐπέπυστο, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πρῶτας ἀγγελίας καὶ φήμας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεδοικῶς ἐν τοσοῦτοις καὶ τηλικοῦτοις ἀναστρεφομένου στρατηγοῖς πολεμίως, ἐδίωκε βοηθήσων. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Πομπηίος ἐγγυς ὄντα προσέταξε τοῖς ἡγεμόνισι ἐξοπλίζειν καὶ διακοσ-

1 τὸν πρῶτον αὐτῶν with CMS and Coraës: τὸν πρῶτον

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direction, but encompassing him round with three armies, in order to annihilate him. Pompey, however, was not alarmed, but collected all his forces into one body and hastened to attack one of the hostile armies, that of Brutus, putting his cavalry, among whom he himself rode, in the van. And when from the enemy's side also the Celtic horsemen rode out against him, he promptly closed with the foremost and sturdiest of them, smote him with his spear, and brought him down. Then the rest turned and fled and threw their infantry also into confusion, so that there was a general rout. After this the opposing generals fell out with one another and retired, as each best could, and the cities came over to Pompey's side, arguing that fear had scattered his enemies. Next, Scipio the consul came up against him, but before the lines of battle were within reach of each other's javelins, Scipio's soldiers saluted Pompey's and came over to their side, and Scipio took to flight.\(^1\) Finally, when Carbo himself sent many troops of cavalry against him by the river Arsis, he met their onset vigorously, routed them, and in his pursuit forced them all upon difficult ground impracticable for horse; there, seeing no hope of escape, they surrendered themselves to him, with their armour and horses.

VIII. Sulla had not yet learned of these results, but at the first tidings and reports about Pompey had feared for his safety, thus engaged with so many and such able generals of the enemy, and was hastening to his assistance. But when Pompey learned that he was near, he ordered his officers to have the forces

\(^1\) Plutarch seems to have transferred this exploit from Sulla to Pompey. See the \textit{Sulla}, xxviii. 1-3, and cf. Appian, \textit{Bell. Civ.} i. 85.
μείν τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς καλλίστη τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ λαμπροτάτη φανείν· μεγάλας γὰρ ἦλπιζε
2 παρ’ αὐτοῦ τιμᾶς, ἔτυχε δὲ μειζόνων. ὡσ γὰρ εἰδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Σύλλας προσίοντα καὶ τὴν στρα-
tιὰν παρεστῶσαν εὐανδρία τε θαυμαστὴν καὶ διὰ
tὰς κατορθώσεις ἐπιμείνην καὶ ἱλαράν, ἀποπη-
dήσας τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ προσαγορευθέοις, ὡς εἰκὸς,
αὐτοκράτωρ ἀντιπροσωπεύεσθεν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν
Πομπῆιον, οὖδενὸς ἄν προσδοκήσαντος ἀνδρὶ νέῳ
καὶ μηδέποτε βουλής μετέχοντι κοινόσασθαι τού-
νομα τούτῳ Σύλλαν, περὶ οὐ Σκηνίσαι καὶ
3 Μαρίοις ἐπολέμει. καὶ τὰλλα δὲ ἢν ὀμολο-
yούντα ταῖς πρώταις φιλοφροσύναι, ὑπεξαι-
σταμένου τε προσίοντι τῷ Πομπῆιῳ καὶ τῆς
κεφαλῆς ἀπάγοντος τὸ ἰμάτιον, ἀ πρὸς ἄλλον οὐ
ῥαδίως ἔωρατο ποιῶν, καίτερ ὄντων πολλῶν καὶ
ἀγαθῶν περὶ αὐτῶν.
4 Οὐ μὴν ἐκουφίσθη γε τούτως ὁ Πομπῆιος,
ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεμπό-
μενος, ἦν ἕχων ὁ Μετέλλος ἑδόκει μηδὲν ἄξιον
πράττειν τῆς παρασκευῆς, οὐ καλῶς ἐφ’ ἑκεῖν
πρεσβύτερον καὶ προῦχονται δόξῃ στρατηγιᾶς
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, βουλομένῳ μέντοι τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ
κελεύοντι συμπολεμεῖν καὶ βοηθεῖν ἑτοίμος εἶναι.
5 δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Μετέλλου καὶ γράψαντος ἦκειν,
ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν αὐτὸς τε καθ’ ἑαυτὸν
ἔργα θαυμαστὰ διεπράπττετο, καὶ τοῦ Μετέλλου
tὸ μάχιμον καὶ θαρσαλέον ἢδη σβενύμενον ὑπὸ
γῆς αὕτης ἐξερρήτησε καὶ συνεξεθέρμαινεν,
ἂπερ ὧ ῥεῶν καὶ πεπυρωμένου χαλκὸς τῷ πεπη-
yγότι καὶ ψυχρῷ περιχυθεῖς λέγεται τοῦ πυρὸς
6 μᾶλλον ἀνυγραίνειν καὶ συνανατήκειν. ἀλλὰ
fully armed and in complete array, that they might present a very fine and brilliant appearance to the imperator; for he expected great honours from him, and he received even greater. For when Sulla saw him advancing with an admirable army of young and vigorous soldiers elated and in high spirits because of their successes, he alighted from off his horse, and after being saluted, as was his due, with the title of Imperator, he saluted Pompey in return as Imperator. And yet no one could have expected that a young man, and one who was not yet a senator, would receive from Sulla this title, to win which Sulla was at war with such men as Scipio and Marius. And the rest of his behaviour to Pompey was consonant with his first tokens of friendliness; he would rise to his feet when Pompey approached, and uncover his head before him, things which he was rarely seen to do for any one else, although there were many about him who were of high rank.

Pompey, however, was not made vain by these things, but when Sulla would have sent him forthwith into Gaul, where, as it was thought, Metellus was doing nothing worthy of the armament at his disposal, he said it was not right for him to take the command away from a man of great reputation who was his senior, but that if Metellus wished and bade him do so, he was ready to assist him in carrying on the war. And when Metellus accepted the proposal and wrote him to come, he hurried into Gaul, and not only performed wonderful exploits himself, but also fanned into fresh heat and flame the bold and warlike spirit of Metellus which old age was now quenching, just as molten and glowing bronze, when poured round that which is cold and rigid, is said to soften it more than fire does, and to melt it also
γάρ, ὃσπερ ἄθλητον πρωτεύσαντος ἐν ἀνδράσι καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ καθελόντος ἐνδόξως ἀγώνας εἰς οὗτον λόγον τάς παιδικὰς τίθενται νίκας οὐδ' ἀναγράφουσιν, οὗτος ἂς ἔπραξε τότε πράξεις ὁ Πομπήιος, αὐτάς καθ' ἐαυτὰς ὑπερφυεῖς οὖσας, πλήθει δὲ καὶ μεγέθει τῶν ύστέρων ἀγώνων καὶ πολέμων κατακεχωσμένας, ἐδεδείεν κινεῖν, μὴ περὶ τὰ πρώτα πολλῆς διατριβῆς γενομένης τῶν μεγάστων καὶ μάλιστα διηλύστων τὸ ήθος ἐργών καὶ παθημάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπολειφθῶμεν.

IX. Ἔπεὶ τοῖνυν ἐκράτησε τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁ 623 Σύλλας καὶ δικτάτωρ ἀνηγορεύθη, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἢμείβετο πλουσίους ποιῶν καὶ προάγων ἐπὶ ἀρχάς καὶ χαριζομένως ἀφθόνως καὶ προθύμως διν ἐκαστος ἐδεῖτο, Πομπήιον δὲ θαυμάζων δὲ ἀρετὴν καὶ μέγα νομίζων ὅφελος εἶναι τοῖς ἕαυτοι πράγμασιν, ἐσπούδασεν ἀμῶς γε πως οἰκείοτητι προσθέσθαι. 2 συμβουλομένης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τῆς Μετέλλης, πείθουσι τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τῆς Ἀντιστίας λαβεῖν γυναῖκα τῆν Σύλλα πρόγονον Αἰμιλίαν, ἐκ Μετέλλης καὶ Σκαύρου γεγενημένην, ἀνδρὶ δὲ συνοικοῦσαν ἣδη καὶ κύουσαν τότε.

"Ἡν οὖν τυραννικὰ τὰ τοῦ γαμοῦ καὶ τοῖς Σύλλα καιροῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς Πομπηίῳ τρόποις πρέποντα, τῆς μὲν Αἰμιλίας ἀγομένης ἐγκύμονος 3 παρ' ἐτέρου πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐξελαυνομένης δὲ τῆς
down. However, just as athletes who have won the primacy among men and borne away glorious prizes everywhere, make no account of their boyish victories and even leave them unrecorded, so it is with the deeds which Pompey performed at this time; they were extraordinary in themselves, but were buried away by the multitude and magnitude of his later wars and contests, and I am afraid to revive them, lest by lingering too long upon his first essays, I should leave myself no room for those achievements and experiences of the man which were greatest, and most illustrative of his character.

IX. So then, when Sulla had made himself master of Italy and had been proclaimed dictator, he sought to reward the rest of his officers and generals by making them rich and advancing them to office and gratifying without reserve or stint their several requests; but since he admired Pompey for his high qualities and thought him a great help in his administration of affairs, he was anxious to attach him to himself by some sort of a marriage alliance. His wife Metella shared his wishes, and together they persuaded Pompey to divorce Antistia and marry Aemilia, the step-daughter of Sulla, whom Metella had borne to Scaurus, and who was living with a husband already and was with child by him at this time.¹

This marriage was therefore characteristic of a tyranny, and befitted the needs of Sulla rather than the nature and habits of Pompey, Aemilia being given to him in marriage when she was with child by another man, and Antistia being driven away from

¹ Cf. the Sulla, xxxiii. 3. This was in 82 B.C. With a similar purpose Sulla tried to make Julius Caesar part with his wife, but Caesar refused (cf. Plutarch's Caesar, i. 1).
Αυτοπτίας ἀτίμως καὶ οἰκτρῶς, ἀτε δὴ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔναγχος ἐστερημένης διὰ τῶν ἁνδρα-κατεσφάγη γὰρ ὁ 'Ἀντίστιες ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ δοκῶν τὰ Σύλλα φρονεῖν διὰ Πομπήίου· ἦ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἐπιδοῦσα ταῦτα προήκατο τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως, ὡστε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῇ περὶ τῶν γάμων ἐκείνων πραγματίᾳ προσγενέσθαι καὶ τῇ Δίᾳ τὸ τῆν Αἰμιλίαν εὐθὺς διαφθαρῆναι παρὰ τῷ Πομπήίῳ τίκτουσαν.

Χ. Ἐκ τούτου Σικελίαν ὑγγέλλετο Περσέννας αὐτῷ κρατύνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς περιοῦσιν ἔτι τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως ὀρμητήριον παρέχειν τὴν νῆσον, αἰωρουμένου καὶ Κάρβωνος αὐτόθι ναυτικῷ καὶ Δομετίου Διβύη προσπεπτωκότος, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν ἐπέκεινα μεγάλων ὅθυμενων φυγάδων, ὡσοι τὰς προγραφᾶς ἐφθησαν ἀποδράντες. ἐπὶ τούτους Πομπήίος ἀπεστάλη μετὰ πολλῆς δυνᾶ-2 μεσ. καὶ Περσέννας μὲν εὐθὺς αὐτῷ Σικελίας ἐξέστη, τάς δὲ πόλεις ἀνελάμβανε τετρυχωμένας καὶ φιλανθρώπως πάσαις ἐχρῆτο πλήν Μαμερτί-νων τῶν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ. παραιτούμενων γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν ὃς νόμος παλαιῷ ὢρωμαίων ἀπειρημένα, "Οὐ παύσεσθε," εἶπεν, "ἡμῖν ὑπεξοσμέονοι ἔσθη νόμους ἀναγινώσκον-3 τες;" ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ ταῖς Κάρβωνος ἀν ἀνθρω-πίνως ἐνυβρίσαι συμφορᾶς. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸν, ὦσπερ ἦν ἴσως, ἀνδελείν, εὐθὺς ἔδει λαβόντα, καὶ τοῦ κελεύσαντος ἄν ἦν τὸ ἔργον.
him in dishonour, and in piteous plight too, since she had lately been deprived of her father because of her husband (for Antistius had been killed in the senate-house\(^1\) because he was thought to be a partisan of Sulla for Pompey's sake), and her mother, on beholding these indignities, had taken her own life. This calamity was added to the tragedy of that second marriage, and it was not the only one, indeed, since Aemilia had scarcely entered Pompey's house before she succumbed to the pains of childbirth.

X. After this, word was brought to Sulla that Perpenna was making himself master of Sicily and furnishing a refuge in that island for the survivors of the opposite faction,\(^2\) that Carbo was hovering in those waters with a fleet, that Domitius had forced an entry into Africa, and that many other exiled men of note were thronging to those parts, all, in fact, who had succeeded in escaping his proscriptions. Against these men Pompey was sent with a large force. Perpenna at once abandoned Sicily to him, and he recovered the cities there. They had been harshly used by Perpenna, but Pompey treated them all with kindness except the Mamertines in Messana. These declined his tribunal and jurisdiction on the plea that they were forbidden by an ancient law of the Romans, at which Pompey said: "Cease quoting laws to us that have swords girt about us!" Moreover, he was thought to have treated Carbo in his misfortunes with an unnatural insolence. For if it was necessary, as perhaps it was, to put the man to death, this ought to have been done as soon as he was seized, and the deed would have been his who

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\(^1\) Earlier in the same year, 82 B.C., by order of the younger Marius, one of the consuls (Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 88).

\(^2\) The Marian party.
ο δὲ δέσμιον προσαγαγὼν ἄνδρα Ὡμαίον τρὶς ὑπατεύσαντα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ βίματος στήσας καθεξόμενος αὐτὸς ἄνέκρινεν, ἀχθομένων καὶ βαρυνομένων τῶν παρόντων· εἶτα ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαγαγόντας ἀνελεῖν. ἀπαχθέντα μὲν τοιούτων φασίν αὐτῶν, ως εἰδεν ἐλκόμενον ἥδη τὸ σχίσθη, δεῖσθαι τὸπον αὐτῷ καὶ χρόνον βραχὺν, ὡς ὑπὸ κοιλίας ἐνοχλουμένως, παρασχεῖν. Γάϊος δὲ Ὁσπίς ὁ Καύσαρος ἐταῖρος ἀπανθρώπως φησὶ καὶ Κόιντω Οὐαλλερίῳ χρήσασθαι τὸν Πομπήιον. ἐπιστάμενον γὰρ ως ἐστὶ φιλολόγος ἁνήρ καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἐν ὅλης ὁ Οὐαλλέριος, ως ἡχθῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἐπισπασάμενον καὶ συμπεριπατήσαντα καὶ πυθόμενον ὃν ἔχρηξε καὶ μαθόντα, προστάξαι τοῖς ὑπηρέταις εὐθὺς ἀνελεῖν ἀπαγαγόντας.

5 Ἀλλ' Ὁσπίῳ μὲν, ὅταν περὶ τῶν Καύσαρος πολέμων ἢ φίλων διαλέγηται, σφόδρα δεῖ πιστεύειν μετὰ εὐλαβείας. Πομπήιος δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐν δόξῃ μάλιστα τῶν Σύλλα πολέμων καὶ φανέρως ἀλspring break

6 εῦνοις δὲ καὶ συνεξέπεμπτε. τὴν δ' Ἰμεραίων πόλεων ἐγγύσκοτος αὐτοῦ κολάζειν γενομένη μετὰ τῶν πολέμων, Σθένις ὁ δημαγωγὸς αὐτησάμενος λόγων ὃ γὰρ ἐθῆ δίκαια ποιήσεως τὸν Πομπήιον, ἐὰν τὸν αἰτιον ἢφεις ἀπολέσῃ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας. ἐρωμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τίνα λέγει τὸν αἰτιον, ἐαυτὸν ὁ Σθένις ἐθῆ, τοὺς μὲν φίλους πείσαντα τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς βιασά-
POMPEY, x. 3-6

ordered it. But as it was, Pompey caused a Roman who had thrice been consul to be brought in fetters and set before the tribunal where he himself was sitting, and examined him closely there, to the distress and vexation of the audience. Then he ordered him to be led away and put to death. They say, moreover, that after Carbo had been led away to execution, when he saw the sword already drawn, he begged that a short respite and a convenient place might be afforded him, since his bowels distressed him. Furthermore, Caius Oppius, the friend of Caesar, says that Pompey treated Quintus Valerius also with unnatural cruelty. For, understanding that Valerius was a man of rare scholarship and learning, when he was brought to him, Oppius says, Pompey took him aside, walked up and down with him, asked and learned what he wished from him, and then ordered his attendants to lead him away and put him to death at once.

But when Oppius discourses about the enemies or friends of Caesar, one must be very cautious about believing him. Pompey was compelled to punish those enemies of Sulla who were most eminent, and whose capture was notorious; but as to the rest, he suffered as many as possible to escape detection, and even helped to send some out of the country. Again, when he had made up his mind to chastise the city of Himera because it had sided with the enemy, Sthenis, the popular leader there, requested audience of him, and told him that he would commit an injustice if he should let the real culprit go and destroy those who had done no wrong. And when Pompey asked him whom he meant by the real culprit, Sthenis said he meant himself, since he had persuaded his friends among the citizens, and forced
7 μενον. ἀγαθεῖς οὖν τὴν παραπομπαν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ο Πομπηίος ἀφῆκε τῆς αὐτίας πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον, εἶτα τοὺς ἅλλους ἀπαντόν. ἀκούων δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ἀτακτεῖν, σφραγίδα ταῖς μαχαίραις αὐτῶν ἐπέβαλεν, ἢν ὡ μὴ φυλάξας ἐκολομέτο.

XI. Ταῦτα πράττον ἐν Σικελία καὶ πολιτευόμενος ἔδεξατο δόγμα συγκλήτου καὶ γράμματα Σύλλα κελεύοντα εἰς Διβύνη πλεῖν καὶ πολεμεῖν Δομετίῳ κατὰ κράτος, ἠθροικότι πολλαπλασίαν δύναμιν ἡς ἔχων Μάριος οὐ πᾶλαι διεπέρασεν ἐκ Διβύνης εἰς Ἰταλίαν καὶ συνέχει τὰ Ρωμαίων πράγματα, τύραννοι ἐκ φυγάδος καταστάσιν.

2 ὄξεως οὖν ἀπαντά παρασκευασάμενος ὁ Πομπηίος Σικελίας μὲν ἄρχοντα Μέμμιον κατέλυτε τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς ἀδελφῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀνήγετο ναυσί μὲν μακραῖς ἐκατον εἰκοσὶ, φορτηγοῖς δὲ σίτοι καὶ βέλη καὶ χρήματα καὶ μηχανᾶς κομιζούσας ὀκτακοσίας. κατασχόντι δὲ αὐτῷ ταῖς μὲν εἰς Ἰτύκην ναυσί, ταῖς δὲ εἰς Καρχηδόνα, τῶν πολεμίων ἀποστάντες ἔπτακισχύλιοι προσεχώρησαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὄργαν ἥξι ἐντελῆ τάγματα.

3 Συμβήκαι δὲ αὐτῷ πράγμα γελοίον ἱστοροῦσιν. στρατιῶται γὰρ τινες, ώς ἐοικε, θησαυρὸ χερ\\n
4 πεσόντες ἔλαβον συχνὰ χρήματα. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος γενομένου φαινοῦν ἀδέξα τοῖς ἀλλοις παρέστη πᾶσι χρημάτων μεστὸν εἶναι τὸν τόπον ἐν ταῖς ποτὲ τύχαις τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἀποτελεῖ. θειμένων. οὐδὲος οὖν ὁ Πομπηίος εἴχε χρήσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας θησαυρὸς ξητοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ περιήμενοι γελῶν καὶ θεώμενοι ομοῦ μυριάδας τοσαύτας ὀρυσσοῦσας καὶ στρεφοῦσας.
his enemies, into their course. Pompey, then, admiring the man’s frank speech and noble spirit, pardoned him first, and then all the rest. And again, on hearing that his soldiers were disorderly in their journeys, he put a seal upon their swords, and whosoever broke the seal was punished.

XI. While he was thus engaged in settling the affairs of Sicily, he received a decree of the senate and a letter from Sulla ordering him to sail to Africa and wage war with all his might against Domitius. For Domitius had assembled there a much larger force than that with which Marius, no long time ago, had crossed from Africa into Italy and confounded the Roman state, making himself tyrant instead of exile. Accordingly, after making all his preparations with great speed, Pompey left Memmius, his sister’s husband, as governor of Sicily, while he himself put out to sea with a hundred and twenty galleys, and eight hundred transports conveying provisions, ammunition, money, and engines of war. No sooner had he landed with part of his ships at Utica, and with part at Carthage, than seven thousand of the enemy deserted and came over to him; and his own army contained six complete legions.

Here, we are told, a ludicrous thing happened to him. Some soldiers, it would seem, stumbled upon a treasure and got considerable amounts of money. When the matter became public, the rest of the army all fancied that the place was full of money which the Carthaginians had hidden away in some time of calamity. Accordingly, Pompey could do nothing with his soldiers for many days because they were hunting treasures, but he went about laughing at the spectacle of so many myriads of men digging and stirring up

1 In 87 B.C.  2 In 81 B.C.
Τὸ πεδίον, ἐως ἀπειπώντες ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς ἄγειν ὅπῃ Βοῦλεται τῶν Πομπῆίων, ὡς δίκην ἴκανήν τῆς ἀβελτερίας δεδωκότας.

ΧΓ. 'Ἀντιτεταγμένον δὲ τοῦ Δομέτιον καὶ χαράδραν τινὰ προβεβλημένου χαλεπὴν περάσαι καὶ τραχεῖαν, ὅμβρος ἄρα πνεῦματι πολὺς ἔσθηκεν ἀρξόμενος κατεῖχεν, ὡστε ἀπογνώνα τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης μαχέσασθαι τὸν Δομέτιον ἀναζηγήν παραγγεῖλαι. Πομπῆίος δὲ τούτου αὐτοῦ πολύμενος τόν καιρὸν δέξεως ἐπῆκε καὶ διέβαυνε τὴν 2 χαράδραν. οὶ δὲ ἀτάκτως καὶ θορυβοῦμενοι καὶ οὐ πάντες οὔδε ὀμαλῶς ὑφίσταντο, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα περιῆκε τὴν ξύλην αὐτοῖς προσβάλλων ἑναντιὰν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς Ἐρυμαίους ὁ χειμὸν ἐτάραξεν οὐ καθορῶντας ἄλληλους ἀκριβῶς, αὐτὸς τε Πομπῆίος ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀγνοθείς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐρωτώντες στρατιώτη τὸ σύνθημα βράδιον ἀποκρινόμενος.

3 Ὅσιμενοι δὲ πολλῷ φόνῳ τοὺς πολεμίους (λέγονται γὰρ ἀπὸ διαμυρίων τρισχίλιοι διαφυγεῖν) αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Πομπῆίον ἡσπάσαντο. φήσατο δὲ ἐκεῖνον μὴ δέχεσθαι τὴν τιμὴν ἔως ὅρθον ἐστηκε τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦσι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, ἐκεῖνο χρῆμα πρὸτερον καταβαλεῖν, ὄρμησαν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα καὶ Πομπῆίος ἀνευ κράιος ἡγομένης. 4 ζετο δεδοικῶς τὸ πρότερον πάθος. ἀλίσκεται δὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἀποθυσκεῖ Δομέτιος. τῶν δὲ πόλεων αἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπῆκον, αἱ δὲ κατὰ κράτος ἐλήφθησαν. εἰλε δὲ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων

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the ground. At last they grew weary of the search and bade Pompey lead them where he pleased, assuring him that they had been sufficiently punished for their folly.

XII. Domitius now drew up his army against Pompey, with a ravine in front of him which was rough and difficult to cross; but a violent storm of wind and rain began in the morning and continued to rage, so that he gave up the idea of fighting that day and ordered a retreat. But Pompey, taking advantage of this opportunity, advanced swiftly to the attack, and crossed the ravine. The enemy met his attack in a disorderly and tumultuous fashion, not all of them indeed, nor with any uniformity; besides, the wind veered round and drove the rain into their faces. However, the Romans also were troubled by the storm, since they could not see one another clearly, and Pompey himself narrowly escaped death by not being recognized, when a soldier demanded the countersign from him and he gave it rather slowly.

Nevertheless, they routed the enemy with great slaughter (it is said that out of twenty thousand only three thousand escaped), and hailed Pompey as Imperator. And when he said he would not accept the honour as long as the camp of the enemy was intact, but that if they thought him worthy of the appellation, they must first destroy that, his soldiers immediately made an assault upon the ramparts; and Pompey fought without his helmet, for fear of a peril like the one he had just escaped. The camp was soon taken, and Domitius was slain. Then some of the cities submitted at once to Pompey, and others were taken by storm. King Iarbas also, the con-
'Ιάρφαν τὸν συμμαχήσαντα Δομετίω, τῇ δὲ βασιλείαν Ιάμψα παρέδωκε. χρώμενος δὲ τῇ τύχῃ καὶ τῇ ρύμῃ τοῦ στρατεύματος εἰς τὴν Νομαδικὴν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πολλῶν ὄδον ἥμερῶν 5 ἐλάσας καὶ πάντων κρατήσας οἷς ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἦρωμαίους δεός ἦδη τῶν βαρβάρων ἐξερρυμένοις αὐθίς ἵσχυρῶν καὶ φοβερῶν ἑγκατα-
stήσας, οὐδὲ τὰ θηρία δεῖν ἔφη τὰ τὴν Διβύην κατοικοῦντα τῆς τῶν Ἦρωμαίων ἀπειρά ρομῆς καὶ τόλμης ἀπολέσαειν. ὅθεν ἐν θήραις λεόντων καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἡμέρας διέτριψεν οὐ πολλάς· ταῖς δὲ πάσαις, ὡς φασί, τεσσαράκοντα τοὺς πολεμίους συνεῖδε καὶ Διβύην ἐχειρώσατο καὶ διήτησε τὰ τῶν βασιλέων, ἐτος ἄγων ἐκεῖνο τέταρτον καὶ ἐκίστον. 625

XIII. Ἐπανελθόντι δὲ εἰς Ἱτύκην αὐτὸ γράμ-
ματα κομίζεται Σύλλα προστάττοντος ἀφίεται μὲν τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν, αὐτὸν δὲ μεθ' ἐνὸς τάγματος περιμένειν αὐτόθι τὸν διαδεξόμενον στρατηγὸν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀδήλως μὲν αὐτὸς ἧχθετο καὶ βαρέως ἐφερεν, ἐμφανῶς δὲ ὁ στρατός ἰγανάκτευ. καὶ δεηθέντος τοῦ Πομπήίου προ-
eλθειν, τὸν τε Σύλλαν κακῶς ἔλεγον, κάκειων οὐκ ἐφασαν προησεθάναι χωρίς αὐτῶν, οὐδὲ εἰών 2 πιστεύειν τῷ τυράννῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπειράτο πραύνειν καὶ παρηγορεῖν αὐτούς· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπείδη, καταβᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνήν ἀπῆλε θελήματιν. οἱ δὲ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν αὐθίς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κατέστησαν καὶ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἥμερας αἰή-
λώθη, τῶν μὲν μένειν καὶ ἄρχειν κελεύοντων, τοῦ δὲ πείθεσθαι δεομένου καὶ μὴ στασιάζειν, ἄχρι
federate of Domitius, was captured, and his kingdom given to Hiempsal. Taking advantage of the good fortune and momentum of his army, Pompey now invaded Numidia. He marched through the country for many days, conquered all who came in his way, and made potent and terrible again the Barbarians' fear of the Romans, which had reached a low ebb. Nay, he declared that even the wild beasts in African lairs must not be left without experience of the courage and strength of the Romans, and therefore spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. It took him only forty days all told, they say, to bring his enemies to naught, get Africa into his power, and adjust the relations of its kings, though he was but twenty-four years of age.

XIII. On his return to Utica, a letter from Sulla was brought to him, in which he was commanded to send home the rest of his army, but to remain there himself with one legion, awaiting the arrival of the general who was to succeed him. Pompey himself gave no sign of the deep distress which these orders caused him, but his soldiers made their indignation manifest. When Pompey asked them to go home before him, they began to revile Sulla, declared they would not forsake their general, and insisted that he should not trust the tyrant. At first, then, Pompey tried what words could do to appease and mollify them; but when he was unable to persuade them, he came down from his tribunal and withdrew to his tent in tears. Then his soldiers seized him and set him again upon his tribunal, and a great part of the day was consumed in this way, they urging him to remain and keep his command, and he begging them to obey and not to raise a sedition. At last, when their clamours and entreaties increased, he swore
οὐ προσλιπαροῦντων καὶ καταβοῦντων ὤμοσεν ἀναίρῃσειν ἐαυτὸν εἰ βιάζοιτο, καὶ μόλις οὕτως ἐπαύσαντο.

3 Τῷ δὲ Σύλλα πρῶτῃ μὲν ἦλθεν ἀγγελία τὸν Πομπήιον ἀφεστάναι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν ὡς ἂρα πεπρωμένοι ἦν αὐτῷ γενομένῳ γέροντες παῖδων ἁγώνας ἁγωνίζεσθαι, διὰ τὸ καὶ Μάριον αὐτῷ νέον ὄντα κομιδή πλείστα πράγματα παρασκεύα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους περιστήσαις κινδύνους, πυθόμενος δὲ τάληθη, καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους αἰσθανόμενος δέχεσθαι καὶ παραπέμπεις τὸν Πομπήιον ὄρμημένους μετ' εὐνοίας, ἐσπευδεὶς ὑπερβαλέσθαι καὶ προελθὼν ἀπ' ἤντησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ὥς ἐνήθη προθυμότατα μεγάλη φωνῇ Μάγνου ἡστάσατο, καὶ τοὺς παρόντας

4 οὕτως ἐκέλευσε προσαγορεῦσαι. σημαίνει δὲ τοῖς μέγαν ὁ Μάγνος. ἔτεροι δὲ φασίν ἐν Λιβύη πρῶτον ἀναφόνημα τούτο τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς γενόσθαι, κράτος δὲ λαβεῖν καὶ δύναμιν ὑπὸ Σύλλα βεβαιωθέν. αὐτός μέντοι πάντων ὑστατος καὶ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἀνθύπατος ἐκπέμφθεις ἐπὶ Σερτώριον ἡρίζετο γράφειν ἐαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐπίστολαις καὶ τοῖς διατάγμασι Μάγνου Πομπήιον· οὐκέτι γὰρ ἦν ἐπιφθονον τούνομα σύνθεσις γενόμενον.

5 Ὁθεν εἰκότως ἀγασθείη καὶ θαναμάσειν ἀν τις τοὺς πάλαι Ῥωμαίους, οἱ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπικλήσει καὶ προσωπυμίας ὡς τὸς πολεμικὸς ἥμειβοι καὶ στρατιωτικὸς καταρθόσεις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ ἄρετας

6 ἐκόσμουν. δύο γοῦν Μαξίμου, ὃπερ ἐστὶ μεγίστους, ἀνηγόρευσεν ὁ δῆμος. Οὐαλλέριοι μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ διαλλάξαι στασιάζουσαν αὐτῷ τὴν σύγ

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with an oath that he would kill himself if they used force with him, and even then they would hardly stop.

Sulla's first tidings of the affair were that Pompey was in revolt, and he told his friends that it was evidently his fate, now that he was an old man, to have his contests with boys. This he said because Marius also, who was quite a young man, had given him very great trouble and involved him in the most extreme perils. But when he learned the truth, and perceived that everybody was sallying forth to welcome Pompey and accompany him home with marks of goodwill, he was eager to outdo them. So he went out and met him, and after giving him the warmest welcome, saluted him in a loud voice as "Magnus," or The Great, and ordered those who were by to give him this surname. Others, however, say that this title was first given him in Africa by the whole army, but received authority and weight when thus confirmed by Sulla. Pompey himself, however, was last of all to use it, and it was only after a long time, when he was sent as pro-consul to Spain against Sertorius, that he began to subscribe himself in his letters and ordinances "Pompeius Magnus"; for the name had become familiar and was no longer invidious.

And herein we may fittingly respect and admire the ancient Romans; they did not bestow such titles and surnames as a reward for successes in war and military command alone, but also adorned with them the high qualities and achievements of their statesmen. At any rate, in two such cases the people bestowed the title of "Maximus," which signifies the Greatest: upon Valerius, for reconciling them with the senate when it was at variance with them;¹ and

¹ After the famous secession of the plebs, in 494 B.C.
κλητον, Φάβιον δε Ἰούλλον, ὅτι πλουσίους τινὰς ἔξ ἀπελευθέρων γεγονότας καὶ καταλελεγμένους εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐξέβαλεν.

XIV. Ἐκ τοῦτον θρίαμβον ἦτει Πομπήιος, ἀντέλεγε δὲ Σύλλας. ὑπάτῳ γὰρ Ἦ στρατηγῷ μόνον, ἄλλῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ δίδωσιν ὁ νόμος. διὸ καὶ Σκηπίων ὁ πρῶτος ἀπὸ μειζόνων καὶ κρειττόνων ἁγώνων ἐν Ἰβηρία Καρχηδονίων κρατήσας οὐκ ἦτησε θρίαμβον ὑπατος γὰρ οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ στρα-

2 τηγός. εἰ δὲ Πομπήιος οὐπώ πάνυ γενείων εἰσελαθήμενων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὃ βουλής διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν οὐ μέτεστι, παντάπασιν ἔπιθον πον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἔαυτῷ καὶ τὴν τιμὴν ἐκεῖνω. ταῦτα πρὸς Πομπήιον ὁ Σύλλας ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐάσων, ἀλλὰ ἐνστησόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ κωλύσων τὸ φιλόνεικον ἀπειθοῦντος.

3 Ὅ δὲ Πομπήιος οὗχ ὑπέπτηξεν, ἀλλ' ἐνυσεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Σύλλαν ὅτι τὸν ἧλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλεῖονες ἡ δυσμενὸν προσκυνοὺσιν, ὡς αὐτῷ μὲν αὐξανομένης, μειομένης δὲ καὶ μαραίνομένης ἐκεῖνῳ τῆς δυνάμεως. ταῦτα ὁ Σύλλας οὐκ ἄκριβως ἐξακούσας, ὅρῳν δὲ τοὺς ἀκούσαντας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τοῦ σχῆματος ἐν θαύματι ποιομένους, ἦρετο τί τὸ λεχθὲν εἰς. πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ καταπλαγεῖς τοῦ Πομπήιον τὴν τὸλμαν

4 ἀνεβάλος διὰς ἔφεξῆς, "Θριαμβευσάτω." πολλῶν δὲ δυσχεραίνοντων καὶ ἁγανακτούντων, ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς, ὡς φασί, βουλόμενος ἄνιαν ὁ Πομ-

πήιος, ἐπεχείρησεν ἐλεφάντων ἀρματι τεττάρων ἐπιβάς εἰσελαύνειν· ἡγαγε γὰρ ἐκ Διβύνης τῶν

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upon Fabius Rullus, because he expelled from the senate certain descendants of freedmen who had been enrolled in it on account of their wealth.

XIV. After this, Pompey asked for a triumph, but Sulla opposed his request. The law, he said, permitted only a consul or a praetor to celebrate a triumph, but no one else. Therefore the first Scipio, after conquering the Carthaginians in Spain in far greater conflicts, did not ask for a triumph; for he was not consul, nor even praetor. And if Pompey, who had scarcely grown a beard as yet, and who was too young to be a senator, should ride into the city in a triumph, it would not only make Sulla's government altogether odious, but also Pompey's honour. This was what Sulla said to Pompey, declaring that he would not allow his request, but would oppose him and thwart his ambition if he refused to listen to him.

Pompey, however, was not cowed, but bade Sulla reflect that more worshipped the rising than the setting sun, intimating that his own power was on the increase, while that of Sulla was on the wane and fading away. Sulla did not hear the words distinctly, but seeing, from their looks and gestures, that those who did hear them were amazed, he asked what it was that had been said. When he learned what it was, he was astounded at the boldness of Pompey, and cried out twice in succession: "Let him triumph!" Further, when many showed displeasure and indignation at his project, Pompey, we are told, was all the more desirous of annoying them, and tried to ride into the city on a chariot drawn by four elephants; for he had brought many

1 Cf. the *Fabius Maximus*, i. 2. It was in the capacity of censor, 304 B.C., that Rullus thus purified the senate.
βασιλικῶν συχνοὺς αἰχμαλώτους· ἀλλὰ τῆς πύλης στενωτέρας οὐσις ἀπέστη καὶ μετῆλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἤππους. ἔπει δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται μὴ τυχόντες ἥλικων προσεδόκησαν ἐνοχλεῖν ἐβούλουντο καὶ θορυβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἐφι φροντίζειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀφίσευν τὸν θρίαμβον ἡ κολακεύσεως ἐκείνους. ὅτε δὴ καὶ Σερούλιος, ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον ἐνστὰς τοῦ Πομπήιον, νῦν ἐφι τὸν Πομπήιον ὀρᾶν καὶ μέγαν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄξιον τοῦ θρίαμβου. δὴ λοιπὸν δ’ ἔστιν ὅτι καὶ βουλής ἀν ἐθελήσας τὸτε ῥαδίως ἐτυχεῖν. ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐσπούδασες, ὡς λέγουσι, τὸ ἐνδοξὸν ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου θηρώμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἦν θαυμαστὸν εἰ πρὸ ἡλικίας ἐβουλευε Πομπήιος, ἀλλ’ ὑπέρλαμπρον ὅτι μηδέπω βουλεύων ἑθριάμβευε. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς εὐνοιαν ὑπήρχε τῶν πολλῶν οὐ μικρῶν ἔχαρε γὰρ ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ μετὰ θρίαμβου ἐν τοῖς ἱππικοῖς ἐξεταζομένῳ.

XV. Σύλλας δὲ ἤνιστο μὲν ὀρῶν εἰς ὅσον δόξης πρόεισι καὶ δυνάμεως, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ κωλύειν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε τὴν. ὅτε βία καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ Λέπιδον εἰς ὑπατεῖαν κατέστησε, συναρχαίρεσιάσας καὶ τὸν δήμον εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐκεῖνῳ σπουδάζοντα παρασχών, θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ἀπέντα μετὰ πλήθους δι’ ἀγορᾶς ὁ Σύλλας, ἡ Ὁρῶ σ’ εἶπεν, ὃν ἐχαίρετα τῇ νίκῃ πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ γενναία ταῦτα καὶ καλά, Κάτλοι τοῦ πάντων ἄριστου Λέπιδον τὸν πάντων κα-
from Africa which he had captured from its kings. But the gate of the city was too narrow, and he therefore gave up the attempt and changed over to his horses. Moreover, when his soldiers, who had not got as much as they expected, were inclined to raise a tumult and impede the triumph, he said he did not care at all, but would rather give up his triumph than truckle to them. Then Servilius, a man of distinction, and one who had been most opposed to Pompey’s triumph, said he now saw that Pompey was really great, and worthy of the honour. And it is clear that he might also have been easily made a senator at that time, had he wished it; but he was not eager for this, as they say, since he was in the chase for reputation of a surprising sort. And indeed it would have been nothing wonderful for Pompey to be a senator before he was of age for it; but it was a dazzling honour for him to celebrate a triumph before he was a senator. And this contributed not a little to win him the favour of the multitude; for the people were delighted to have him still classed among the knights after a triumph.

XV. Sulla, however, was annoyed at seeing to what a height of reputation and power Pompey was advancing, but being ashamed to obstruct his career, he kept quiet. Only, when in spite of him and against his wishes Pompey made Lepidus consul, by canvassing for him and making the people zealously support him through their goodwill towards himself, seeing Pompey going off through the forum with a throng, Sulla said: “I see, young man, that you rejoice in your victory; and surely it was a generous and noble thing for Lepidus, the worst of men, to be proclaimed consul by a larger vote than Catulus, the

1 In 79 B.C.
kistou ἀποδειχθήναι πρότερον ὑπατον, σοῦ τὸν
dῆμον οὕτω παρασκευάσαντος; ὥρα μέντοι σοι
μὴ καθεύδειν, ἀλλὰ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἰσχυρότερον γὰρ τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν σεαυτῷ κατε-
sκεύαςκας.  

XVI. Ἐστεὶ δὲ ταχὺ τοῦ Σύλλα τελευτήσαντος
eis φῶς παρήσε τὰ μαντεύματα, καὶ Λέπιδος
εἰσκοιών ἔαντον eis τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν οὖ κύκλῳ
περικόν οὔδε μετὰ σχῆματος, ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς ἐν τοῖς
ὄπλοις ἤν, τὰ πάλαι νοσοῦντα καὶ διαφυγόντα
tὸν Σύλλαν ὑπολείμματα τῶν στάσεων αὐθις
ἀνακινῶν καὶ περιβαλλόμενος, ὁ δὲ συνάρχων
ἀυτοῦ Κάτλος, ὁ τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ὑγιαῖον μά-
λιστα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δῆμου προσέχειν, ἤν
μὲν εἰ διώματι σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης
2 μέγιστος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων, ἐδόκει δὲ πολιτικῆς
ἡγεμονίας μᾶλλον ἡ στρατιωτικῆς οἰκείως εἶναι,
tὸν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ποδοῦντων τὸν Πομπῆιον
οὐ διεμέλλησεν ὁπη τράπηται, προσθεὶς δὲ τοῖς
ἀρίστοις ἐαυτοῦ ἀπεδείχθη στρατεύματος ἡγεμόνων
ἐπὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἦδη πολλὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας κεκινη-
kότα καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς ᾿Αλπεων Γαλατίαν κατέχοντα
diὰ Βροῦτον στρατεύματι.

1 κατεσκεύακας with Bekker and S: παρεσκεύακας.

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best of men, because you influenced the people to take this course. Now, however, it is time for you to be wide awake and watchful of your interests; you have made your adversary stronger than yourself." But Sulla showed most clearly that he was not well-disposed to Pompey by the will which he wrote. For whereas he bequeathed gifts to other friends, and made some of them guardians of his son, he omitted all mention of Pompey. And yet Pompey bore this with great composure, and loyally, inasmuch that when Lepidus and sundry others tried to prevent the body of Sulla from being buried in the Campus Martius, or even from receiving public burial honours, he came to the rescue, and gave to the interment alike honour and security.¹

XVI. Soon after the death of Sulla,² his prophecies were fulfilled, and Lepidus tried to assume Sulla's powers. He took no circuitous route and used no pretence, but appeared at once in arms, stirring up anew and gathering about himself the remnants of faction, long enfeebled, which had escaped the hand of Sulla. His colleague, Catulus, to whom the incorrupt and sounder element in the senate and people attached themselves, was the greatest Roman of the time in the estimate set upon his wisdom and justice, but was thought better adapted for political than military leadership. The situation itself, therefore, demanded Pompey, who was not long in deciding what course to take. He took the side of the nobility, and was appointed commander of an army against Lepidus, who had already stirred up a large part of Italy and was employing Brutus to hold Cisalpine Gaul with an army.

¹ Cf. the Sulla, chapter xxxviii.
² 78 B.C.
Τῶν μὲν οὖν ἀλλων ἐκράτησε ῥαδίως ἐπέλθων ὁ Πομπηίος· ἐν δὲ Μουτίνη τῆς Γαλατίας ἀντεκάθητο τῷ Βροῦτῳ συνχύον χρόνον· ἐν δὲ Λέπιδος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρώμην ῥεισὶ καὶ προσκαθήμενος ἔξωθεν ὑπατείαν ἤτει δευτέραν, ὅχλῳ πολλῷ δεδιττομενος τοὺς ἐνδοῦν. ἐλυσε δὲ τὸν φόβον ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ Πομπηίου κομοθείσα κατωρθωκότος ἀνεν μαχης τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ γὰρ Βροῦτος, εἴτε παραδοῦς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτός, εἴτε προδοθεὶς μεταβαλομένης ἐκείνης, ἐνεχείρισε τῷ Πομπηίῳ τὸ σῶμα, καὶ λαβὼν ἵππεις προπομποῦς ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς πολίχνιον τι τῶν περὶ τῶν Πάδων, ὅπου μεθ' ἡμέραν μίαν, ἐπιπέμψαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου Γεμύινου, ἀνηρέθη καὶ πολλὴν ἐσχεν ἀπὸ τοῦτον Πομπηίος αἰτίαν. γεγραφὼς γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μεταβολῆς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὡς ἐκὼν αὐτῷ πρόσθοιτο Βροῦτος, ἐτέρας αὐθίς ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολάς ἀνηρμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατηγορούσας. τοῦτον Βροῦτος ἦν νῖός ὁ Καϊσαρα σὺν Κασσίῳ κτείνας, ἀνὴρ ὁμοίως τῷ πατρὶ μήτε πολεμίσας μήτε ἀποθανών, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται. Λέπιδος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἐκπεσόν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπεπέρασεν εἰς Σαρδόνα: κακεῖ νοσήσας ἐτελεύτησε δι’ ἀθυμίαν, οὐ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς φασίν, ἀλλὰ γραμματίως περιπεσῶν ἐξ οὗ μοιχείαν τινὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφώρασεν. ΧVII. Λέπιδος δὲ οὐδὲν ὁμοίος στρατηγὸς Ἰβηρίαν κατέχων Σερτόριος ἐπηρεῖτο Ῥωμαίοις φοβερός, ὡσπερ ἐπ’ ἐσχατον1 νόσιμα τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων εἰς τοῦτον τῶν ἀνδρα συνεργηκότων, πολλοὺς μὲν ἦδη τῶν ἐλαττώνων στρα-

1 ἐπ’ ἐσχατον Stephanus, Coraës, and S: ἐσχατον.
Other opponents against whom Pompey came were easily mastered by him, but at Mutina, in Gaul, he lay a long while besieging Brutus. Meanwhile, Lepidus had made a hasty rush upon Rome, and sitting down before it, was demanding a second consulship, and terrifying the citizens with a vast throng of followers. But their fear was dissipated by a letter brought from Pompey, announcing that he had brought the war to a close without a battle. For Brutus, whether he himself betrayed his army, or whether his army changed sides and betrayed him, put himself in the hands of Pompey, and receiving an escort of horsemen, retired to a little town upon the Po. Here, after a single day had passed, he was slain by Geminius, who was sent by Pompey to do the deed. And Pompey was much blamed for this. For as soon as the army of Brutus changed sides, he wrote to the senate that Brutus had surrendered to him of his own accord; then he sent another letter denouncing the man after he had been put to death. The Brutus who, with Cassius, killed Caesar, was a son of this Brutus, a man who was like his father neither in his wars nor in his death, as is written in his Life. As for Lepidus, moreover, as soon as he was expelled from Italy, he made his way over to Sardinia. There he fell sick and died of despondency, which was due, as we are told, not to the loss of his cause, but to his coming accidentally upon a writing from which he discovered that his wife was an adulteress.

XVII. But a general quite unlike Lepidus, namely Sertorius, was in possession of Spain, and was threatening the Romans like a formidable cloud. As if for a final disease of the state, the civil wars had poured all their venom into this man. He had
τηγῶν ἀνηρηκότα, Μετέλλῳ δὲ Πίω τότε συμ-
2 πεπλεγμένου, ἀνδρὶ λαμπρῷ μὲν καὶ πολεμικῷ,
δοκοῦντι δὲ ἄργότερον ὑπὸ γῆρως ἔπεσθαι τοῖς
καίροῖς τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἀπολείπεσθαι τῶν
πραγμάτων ἀρπαξμένων ἥξυτητι καὶ τάχει, τοῦ
Σερτώριον παραβόλως καὶ ληστρικώτερον ἀυτῷ
προσφερομένου, καὶ ταράττοντος ἐκείρας καὶ
περιδρομαῖς ἄνδρα νομίμων ἀθλητὴν ἁγώνων καὶ
3 δυνάμεως στασίμου καὶ βαρείας ἡγεμόνα. πρὸς
ταύτα Πομπηίων ἔχων τὴν στρατιὰν υφ’ ἐαυτῷ
dιεπράττετο Μετέλλῳ πεμφθῆναι βοηθῶς· καὶ
Κάτλου κελεύοντος οὐ διέλυεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς
ὀπλοῖς ἦν περὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀεὶ τινὰς ποιούμενος
προφάσεώς, ἔως ἐδωκαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἁρχὴν Δευκίου
4 Φιλίππου γνώμην εἰπόντος. ὅτε καὶ φασὶν ἐν
συγκλήτῳ πυθομένου τινὸς καὶ θαυμάζοντος εἰ
Πομπῆίου ἀνθύπατον οἴεται δεῖν ἐκπεμφθῆναι
Φιλίπποις· "โอκ ἔγωγε," φάναι τὸν Φιλίππου,
"ἀλλ’ ἀνθ’ ὑπάτων," ὡς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς τότε
ὑπατεύοντας οὐδενὸς ἀξίους ὄντας.

XVIII. Ἐστεὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἄψαμενος οἱ
Πομπῆιοι, οίᾳ φιλεῖ προσ νέου δόξαν ἡγεμόνοις,
ἐτέρους ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ
tα μὴ πάνω βεβαίως τῷ Σερτώριῳ συνεστῶτα
tῶν ἑθῶν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ μετεβάλλετο, λόγους
ὑπερηφάνους ὁ Σερτώριος κατὰ τοῦ Πομπῆίου
dιέσπειρε, καὶ σκόπτον ἐλεγε νόρθικος ἃν αὐτῷ
dεχον καὶ σκύτους ἑπὶ τῶν παιδὰ τούτων, εἰ μὴ
τὴν γραῦν ἐκείνην ἐφοβεῖτο, λέγων τὸν Μετέλ-
2 λον. ἔργῳ μέντοι φυλαττόμενος σφόδρα καὶ
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already slain many of the inferior commanders, and
was now engaged with Metellus Pius, an illustrious
man and a good soldier, but, as men thought, too slow
by reason of his years in following up the opportuni-
ties of war, and outdistanced when events swept
along at high speed. For Sertorius attacked him
recklessly and in robber fashion, and by his ambus-
cades and flanking movements confounded a man
who was practised in regular contests only, and com-
manded immobile and heavy-armed troops.1 Pompey,
therefore, who kept his army under his command,
tried to get himself sent out to reinforce Metellus, and
although Catulus ordered him to disband his soldiers,
he would not do so, but remained under arms near the
city, ever making some excuse or other, until the
senate gave him the command, on motion of Lucius
Philippus. On this occasion, too, they say that a
certain senator asked with amazement if Philippus
thought it necessary to send Pompey out as pro-
consul. “No indeed!” said Philippus, “but as pro-
consuls,” implying that both the consuls of that
year were good for nothing.

XVIII. When Pompey arrived in Spain,2 the
reputation of a new commander produced the usual
results; he transformed the men of Metellus with
fresh hopes, and those nations which were not very
firmly leagued with Sertorius began to be restless
and change sides. Thereupon Sertorius disseminated
haughty speeches against Pompey, and scoffingly
said he should have needed but a cane and whip
for this boy, were he not in fear of that old woman,
meaning Metellus.3 In fact, however, he kept very
close watch on Pompey, and was afraid of him, and

1 Cf. the Sertorius, xii. 5. 2 In 76 B.C.
3 Cf. the Sertorius, xix. 6.
δεδοικὼς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀσφαλέστερον ἐστρατη-
γει. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Μέτελλος, ὀπερ οὐκ ἄν τις φῆσθη, διετέθρυππο τῷ βίῳ κομιδὴ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐνδεδωκὼς, καὶ μεγάλη τις εἰς ὅγκον καὶ πολυ-
tέλειαν ἐξαίφυς ἐγεγόνει μεταβολὴ περὶ αὐτὸν, ὡςτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τοῦτο θανμαστὴν εὖνοιαν ἀμα δόξη φέρειν, ἐπιτείνυστε τὴν εὐτελείαν τῆς
dιαίτης οὖ πολλῆς ἐπιτηθιδεύσεως δεομένην· φύσει
gὰρ ἦν σώφρων καὶ τεταγμένος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυ-
mίαις.

3 Ὁδὲ πολέμου πολλάς ἱδέας ἐξουσιοῦμαι μάλιστα τὸν Πομπήιον ἡ Δαύρωνος ἀλώσις ὑπὸ 628 
Σερτωρίου. κυκλοφοροῦσα γὰρ αὐτὸν οἴηθες καὶ 
tι μεγαληγορήσας, αὐτὸς ἐξαιρεῖται ἀνεφάμη περι-
εχόμενος κύκλῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κινεῖσθαι δεδώξ 
ἐπεῖθε ἑκατοκτηριμένη τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ παρόν-
tος. Ἐρέννιον ὁδὲ καὶ Περπένναν, ἀνδραὶ ἥρμε-
μοικοὶ τῶν πρὸς Σερτώριον καταπεφυγότων 
καὶ στρατηγούντων ἑκείνῳ, νικήσας περὶ Οὐαλεν-
tίαν ὑπὲρ μυρίους ἀπέκτεινεν.

XIX. Ἐπαρθεῖς ὁδὲ τῇ πράξει καὶ μέγα φρο-
νῶν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐσπευδὰ Σερτώριον, ώς μὴ μετά-
σχοι τῆς νίκης Μέτελλος. περὶ ὁδὲ Σοῦκρων 
ποταμῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἥδη τελευτώσεις συνεβαλὼν 
tὰς δυνάμεις, δεδιότες ἐπελθεῖν τὸν Μέτελλον,

2 ὁ μὲν ὡς μόνος, ὁ δὲ ὡς μόνος διαγωνίσατο. τὸ 
μὲν οὖν τέλος ἀμφίδοξον ἐσχεν ὁ ἁγῶν· ἐκατέρο 
γὰρ θάτερον κέρας ἐνίκησε· τῶν ὁδὲ στρατηγῶν 
πλέον ἦν ἐγκάτω Σερτώριος· ἐπέρυψα τὰ 

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therefore conducted his campaign with more caution. For Metellus, contrary to all expectation, had become luxurious in his way of living and had given himself up completely to his pleasures; in fact, there had been all at once a great change in him towards pomp and extravagance,\(^1\) so that this circumstance also brought Pompey an astonishing goodwill, and enhanced his reputation, since he always maintained that simplicity in his habits which cost him no great effort; for he was naturally temperate and orderly in his desires.

The war had many phases, but what most vexed Pompey was the capture of Lauron by Sertorius. For when he supposed that his enemy was surrounded, and had made some boasts about it, all of a sudden it turned out that he was himself completely enveloped. He was therefore afraid to stir, and had to look on while the city was burned before his eyes.\(^2\) However, near Valentia he conquered Herennius and Perpenna, men of military experience among the refugees with Sertorius, and generals under him, and slew more than ten thousand of their men.

XIX. Elated by this achievement and full of pride, he made all haste to attack Sertorius himself, that Metellus might not share in the victory. By the river Sucro, though it was now late in the day, they joined battle, both fearing the arrival of Metellus; the one wished to fight alone, the other wished to have only one antagonist. Well, then, the struggle had a doubtful issue, for one wing on each side was victorious; but of the generals, Sertorius bore away the more honour, for he put to

\(^1\) Cf. the *Sertorius*, xiii. 1 f.

\(^2\) Cf. the *Sertorius*, chapter xviii.
καθ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἀντιταχθείς. Πομπηίῳ δὲ ἀνὴρ μέγας ἐπιτόθη πεζὸς ἐφώρμησε· συμπεσόν-
των δ' εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ γενομένων ἐν λαβαῖς ἀπέ-
σκηψαν αἱ πληγαὶ τῶν ξιφῶν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοῦν, ὥν ὁμοίως· ἐτρώθη μὲν γὰρ ὁ Πομπηίος

3 μόνον, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἀπέκοψε τὴν χείρα. πλειόνων δὲ συνδραμόντων ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, ἦδη τῆς τροπῆς γε-

4 ἀπελειφθησαν. ἀμα δὲ ἢμέρα παρετάξαντο μὲν ἀμφότεροι πάλιν ἐκβεβαιούμενοι τὸ νίκημα, Με-

5 'Ὁ δ' οὖν Πομπηίος, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀπήντα τῷ Μετέλλῳ καὶ πλησίον ἀλλήλων ἦσαν, ἐκέλευσεν ύφεινα τὰς ράβδους, θεραπεύων ὡς προὔχοντα τιμῆ τὸν Μετέλλον. οὖ δὲ καὶ τούτο διεκόλυσε καὶ τὰλλα χρηστὸς ἦν ἀνὴρ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐδὲν ὡς ὑπατικῷ καὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέμων ἐαυτῷ πλέον, ἀλλ' ἦ τὸ σύνθημα κοινῆ στρατοπεδεύστων εἰς ἀπαντας ἐξεπεμπτετο παρὰ Μετέλλον· τὰ πολλὰ δὲ χωρὶς ἐστρατοπεδεύστο.
flight the enemy in front of his position. But Pompey, who was on horseback, was attacked by a tall man who fought on foot; when they came to close quarters and were at grips, the strokes of their swords fell upon each other’s hands, but not with like result, for Pompey was merely wounded, whereas he lopped off the hand of his opponent. Then, when more foes rushed upon him together, his troops being now routed, he made his escape, contrary to all expectation, by abandoning to the enemy his horse, which had golden head-gear and ornamented trappings of great value. They fought with one another over the division of these spoils, and so were left behind in the pursuit.\(^1\) At break of day, however, both generals drew up their forces again to make the victory assured, but on the approach of Metellus, Sertorius retired and his army dispersed. His men were accustomed to scatter in this way, and then to come together again, so that often Sertorius wandered about alone, and often took the field again with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men, like a winter torrent suddenly swollen.

Pompey, then, when he went to meet Metellus after the battle and they were near each other, ordered his lictors to lower their fasces, out of deference to Metellus as his superior in rank. But Metellus would not allow this, and in all other ways was considerate of him, not assuming any superiority as a man of consular rank and the elder, except that when they shared the same camp the watchword was given out to all from the tent of Metellus; but for the most part they encamped apart. For their versatile enemy used to cut off their communications

\(^1\) Cf. the *Sertorius*, xix. 4.
πολέμιος καὶ δεινὸς ἐν βραχεῖ πολλαχοῦ περι-
φανῆναι καὶ μεταγαγείν ἀπ' ἄλλων εἰς ἄλλους
ἀγώνας. τέλος δὲ περικόπτων μὲν ἀγοράς, λη-
ξόμενος δὲ τὴν χώραν, ἐπικρατῶν δὲ τῆς θαλά-
σσης, ἐξέβαλεν ἀμφοτέρους τῆς ύφ' ἐαυτὸν ἑβη-
ρίας, ἀναγκασθέντας εἰς ἀλλοτρίας καταφυγεῖν
ἐπαρχίας ἀπορία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.

XX. Πομπηίος δὲ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἰδίων
ἐξανηλωκῶς καὶ κατακεχρημένος εἰς τὸν πόλεμον,
ὕτει χρήματα τὴν σύγκλητον, ὡς ἄφιξόμενος εἰς
Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰ μὴ πέμπτοιεν.
ὑπατεύων δὲ Δεύκολλος τότε καὶ Πομπηίῳ μὲν
ὁν διάφορος, μνώμενος δ' ἐαυτῷ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν
πόλεμον, ἐσπευσθεὶς ἀποστάλημαι τὰ χρήματα,
φοβούμενος αὐτίαν Πομπηίῳ παρασχεῖν δεομένῳ
Σερτώριον ἀφεῖναι καὶ πρὸς Μιθριδάτην τραπέ-
ζαί, λαμπρὸν μὲν εἰς δόξαν, εὐμεταχειριστὸν δὲ
2 φαινόμενον ἀνταγωνιστὴν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ θυνήσκει
Σερτώριος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων δολοφονηθεῖς· ὄν Περ-
πέννας ὁ κορυφαιότατος ἐπεχείρησεν ἐκεῖνο τὰ
αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν μὲν ὀρμώμενος δυνά-
μεων καὶ παρασκευῶν, τὸν δὲ χρώμενον αὐτὰς
ὁμοίως συκε ἔχουν λογισμόν. εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ Πομ-
πηίος ἐπεξελθὼν καὶ ῥεμβόμενον ἐν τοῖς πράγ-
μασι τὸν Περπένναν καταμαθῶν, δέλεαρ αὐτῷ
δέκα σπέιρας ύφήκεν, εἰς τὸ πεδίον διασπαρῆναι
3 κελεύσας. τραπομένου δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐκείνου
καὶ διώκοντος, ἀδρους ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ συνάψας
μάχην ἐκράτησε πάντων. καὶ διεφθάρησαν οἱ
and separate them, and showed great skill in appearing in many places within a short time, and in drawing them from one contest into another. And finally, by cutting off their supplies, plundering the country, and getting control of the sea, he drove both of them out of that part of Spain which was under him, and forced them to take refuge in other provinces for lack of provisions.  

XX. When Pompey had exhausted most of his private resources and spent them on the war, he asked money of the senate, threatening to come back to Italy with his army if they did not send it. Lucullus was consul at this time, and was not on good terms with Pompey, but since he was soliciting the conduct of the Mithridatic war for himself, made great efforts to have the money sent, for fear of furthering Pompey's desire to let Sertorius go, and march against Mithridates, an antagonist whose subjection, as it was thought, would bring great glory and involve little difficulty. But in the meantime Sertorius was treacherously killed by his friends, and Perpenna, the ringleader among them, attempted to carry on his work. He had indeed the same forces and equipment, but lacked equal judgement in the use of them. Accordingly, Pompey took the field against him at once, and perceiving that he had no fixed plan of campaign, sent out ten cohorts as a decoy for him, giving them orders to scatter at random over the plain. Perpenna attacked these cohorts, and was engaged in their pursuit, when Pompey appeared in force, joined battle, and won a complete victory. Most of Perpenna's officers

1 Cf. the Sertorius, chapter xxi.
2 Cf. the Lucullus, v. 2 f.
3 In 72 B.C., two years after Lucullus had set out against Mithridates.
πλείστου τῶν ἵγεμόνων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν δὲ Περ-
πένναν ἀχθέντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκ
ἀχάριστος οὐδ’ ἀμυνόμην γενόμενος τῶν περὶ
Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἐνιοί, μεγάλη δὲ διανοία
cαὶ σωτηρίῳ τῶν ὅλων γνώμη χρησάμενος. ὁ
γὰρ Περπέννας τῶν Σερτωρίου γραμμάτων γε-
γοιῶς κύριος ἐδείκνυεν ἐπιστολὰς τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ
dυνατωτάτων ἄνδρῶν, οὐ τὰ παρόντα κινῆσαι
βουλόμενοι πράγματα καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολι-
tείαν ἐκάλουν τὸν Σερτώριον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν.
φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος ταῦτα, μὴ μείζονας
ἀναστήσῃ τῶν πεπαυμένων πολέμων, τὸν τε Περ-
pένναν ἀνείλε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οὐδ’ ἀναγνώρι
cατέκαυσεν.

XXI. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου παραμείνας χρόνον ὅσον
tὰς μεγίστας κατασβέσαι ταραχᾶς καὶ τὰ
φλεγμαίνοντα μάλιστα καταστήσαι καὶ διαλύσαι
tῶν πραγμάτων, ἀπῆγεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν τὸν στρα-
tόν, ἀκμάζοντι τῷ δουλικῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ τύχην
φερόμενος. διὸ καὶ Κράσσος ὁ στρατηγὸς ἦπειξε
παραβόλως τὴν μάχην, καὶ κατευθύχησε, δισχι-

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perished in the battle, but Perpenna himself was brought before Pompey, who ordered him to be put to death. In this he did not show ingratitude, nor that he was unmindful of what had happened in Sicily,¹ as some allege against him, but exercised great forethought and salutary judgement for the commonwealth. For Perpenna, who had come into possession of the papers of Sertorius, offered to produce letters from the chief men at Rome, who had desired to subvert the existing order and change the form of government, and had therefore invited Sertorius into Italy. Pompey, therefore, fearing that this might stir up greater wars than those now ended, put Perpenna to death and burned the letters without even reading them.

XXI. After this, he remained in Spain long enough to quell the greatest disorders and compose and settle such affairs as were in the most inflammatory state; then he led his army back to Italy, where, as chance would have it, he found the servile war at its height. For this reason, too, Crassus, who had the command in that war, precipitated the battle at great hazard, and was successful, killing twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Even in this success, however, fortune somehow or other included Pompey, since five thousand fugitives from the battle fell in his way, all of whom he slew, and then stole a march on Crassus by writing to the senate that Crassus had conquered the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that he himself had extirpated the war entirely.²

¹ Cf. chapter x. 2, where there is nothing to imply that Perpenna put Pompey under obligations to him, except that he made no resistance.
² Cf. the Crassus, xi. 7.
τάντα βουλομένους ἵνα δι' εὐνοιαν ἀκροάσθαι καὶ λέγειν τοὺς Ὀρμαίοις. Ἰβηρίαν δὲ καὶ Σερτώριον οὐδὲ παίζων ἄν τις εἶπεν ἑτέρου καὶ μὴ Πομπηίου τὸ πᾶν ἔργον εἶναι.

3 'Εν τοσαύτη δὲ τιμῇ καὶ προσδοκία τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁμοιοὶ ἐνή καὶ ὑποψία τις καὶ δέος, ὡς οὗ προ-
ησομένου τὸ στρατευμα, βαδιομένου δὲ δὲ 
ὅπλων καὶ μοναρχίας ἀντικρύ ἐπὶ τὴν Σύλλα 
pολιτείαν. οὖθεν οὐκ ἐλάττωνες ἥσαν τῶν ὑ
eὐνοιαν τρεχόντων καὶ φιλοφρονομένων καθ' 

4 ὁδὸν οἱ φόβῳ ταῦτα ποιοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ 
ταύτην ἀνέίλε τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ὁ Πομπηίος προειπῶν 
ἀφήσειν τὸ στρατευμα μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβου, ἐν 
aιτίασθαι τοῖς βασκαίνουσι περίην ὑπόλοιπον,
ὅτι τῷ δήμῳ προσνέμει μᾶλλον ἐαυτὸν ἢ τῇ 
βουλῇ, καὶ τὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἄξιωμα, Σύλλα 
καταβαλόντος, ἔγνωκεν ἀνιστάναι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι 

5 τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὅπερ ἦν ἄληθὲς. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν
οὕτως ἐμμανέστερον ὁ Ὀρμαῖων ἡμάσθη δήμος 
καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπόθησεν ἢ τὴν ἡρχὴν ἀὑσὶς ἐπιδεῖν 
ἐκεῖνην, ὡστε καὶ Πομπηίον εὐτύχημα ποιεῖσθαι 
μέγα τὸν τοῦ πολιτεύματος καροῖν, ὥς οὖκ ἄν 
εὐρόντα χάριν ἄλλην ἢ τὴν εὐνοιαν ἀμείψεται 
tῶν πολιτῶν, εἰ ταύτην ἑτερός προέλαβε.

XXII. Ψηφισθέντος οὖν αὐτῷ δευτέρου θριάμ-
βου καὶ ὑπατείας οὐ διὰ ταῦτα θαυμαστὸς ἐδόκει
And it was agreeable to the Romans to hear this said and to repeat it, so kindly did they feel towards him; while as for Spain and Sertorius, there was no one who would have said, even in jest, that the entire work of their subjugation was performed by any one else than Pompey.

Nevertheless, mingled with the great honour shown the man and the great expectations cherished of him, there was also considerable suspicion and fear; men said he would not disband his army, but would make his way by force of arms and absolute power straight to the polity of Sulla. Wherefore those who ran out and greeted him on his way, out of their goodwill, were no more numerous than those who did it out of fear. But Pompey soon removed this suspicion also by declaring that he would disband his army after his triumph. Then there remained but one accusation for envious tongues to make, namely, that he devoted himself more to the people than to the senate, and had determined to restore the authority of the tribunate, which Sulla had overthrown, and to court the favour of the many; which was true. For there was nothing on which the Roman people had more frantically set their affections, or for which they had a greater yearning, than to behold that office again. Pompey therefore regarded it as a great good fortune that he had the opportunity for this political measure, since he could have found no other favour with which to repay the goodwill of his fellow-citizens, if another had anticipated him in this.

XXII. Accordingly, a second triumph was decreed him,¹ and the consulship. It was not on this account, however, that men thought him admirable

¹ In 71 B.C.
καὶ μέγας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο τεκμήριον ἐποιοῦντο τῆς λαμπρότητος, ὅτι Κράσσος, ἀνήρ τῶν τῶν τότε πολιτευμένου πλουσιώτατος καὶ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν καὶ μέγιστος, αὐτόν τε Πομπήίου ὑπερφρονῶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας, οὔκ ἐθάρρησεν ὑπατείαν μετείναι πρὸτερον ἢ Πομπήίου δεσθήναι. 2 καὶ μέντοι Πομπήίου ἡγάπησε, πάλαι δεόμενος χρείας τινὸς ὑπάρξαι καὶ φιλανθρωπίας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡστε καὶ δεξιοῦσθαι προθύμως καὶ παρακαλεῖν τὸν δήμου, ἐπαγγελλόμενος χάριν ἔξειν οὐκ ἐλάττωνα τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἢ τῆς ἀρχῆς. 3 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀποδειχθέντες ὑπατοὶ διεφέροντο πάντα καὶ προσέκρουσαν ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ Βουλῇ μᾶλλον ἵσχυεν ο Κράσσος, ἐν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ μέγα τὸ Πομπήίου κράτος ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἀπέδωκε τὴν δημαρχίαν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰς δίκας περιείδειν αὖθις εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας νόμῳ μεταφερόμενα. ἦδιστον δὲ θέαμα τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχεν αὐτὸς έαυτὸν τὴν στρατείαν παρατούμενος. 4 ἔθος γὰρ ἐστὶ Ὀρωμάιον τοῖς ἱππεύσαν, ὅταν στρατεύσωνται τὸν νόμιμον χρόνον, ἀγενν ἐστὶν ἀγοράν τὸν ἱππον ἐπὶ τοὺς δύο ἄνδρας οὓς τιμητὰς καλοῦσι, καὶ καταριθμησάμενοι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ αὐτοκράτωρον ἐκαστὸν υφ' οὗ ἐστρατεύσαντο, καὶ δόντας εὐθύνας τῆς στρατείας ἀφίεσθαι, νέμεται δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ ἀτιμία προσήκουσα τοῖς βίοις ἐκάστων. 5 Τότε δὴ προεκάθηντο μὲν οἱ τιμηταὶ Γέλλιος καὶ Δεντλος ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ πάροδος ἦν τῶν
and great, nay, they considered this circumstance a proof of his splendid distinction, that Crassus, the richest statesman of his time, the ablest speaker, and the greatest man, who looked down on Pompey himself and everybody else, had not the courage to sue for the consulship until he had asked the support of Pompey. Pompey, moreover, was delighted, since he had long wanted an opportunity of doing him some service and kindness, and therefore granted his request readily and solicited the people in his behalf, announcing that he should be no less grateful to them for such a colleague than for the consulship. Notwithstanding, after they had been elected consuls, they differed on all points, and were constantly in collision. In the senate, Crassus had more weight; but among the people the power of Pompey was great. For he gave them back their tribunate, and suffered the courts of justice to be transferred again to the knights by law. But the most agreeable of all spectacles was that which he afforded the people when he appeared in person and solicited his discharge from military service.

It is customary for a Roman knight, when he has served for the time fixed by law, to lead his horse into the forum before the two men who are called censors, and after enumerating all the generals and imperators under whom he has served, and rendering an account of his service in the field, to receive his discharge. Honours and penalties are also awarded, according to the career of each.

At this time, then, the censors Gellius and Lentulus were sitting in state, and the knights were

1 Cf. the Crassus, xii. 1 f.
2 By a law passed in the time of Sulla, only senators were eligible as judges.
ιπτέων ἐξεταζομένων, ὥφθη δὲ Πομπηίοις ἀνωθεν ἐπ' ἄγοραν κατερχόμενος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχων, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ χειρὸς ἄγων τὸν ἱππον. ὥσ ὦ ἐγγὺς ἦν καὶ καταφανὴς ἐγεγονεί, κελεύσας διασχείν τοὺς βαθδοφόρους τῷ βήματι 6 προσήγαγε τὸν ἱππον. ἦν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ θάυμα καὶ σιωπὴ πᾶσα, τοὺς τε ἄρχοντας αἰδῶς ἀμα καὶ χαρὰ πρὸς τὴν ὤψιν ἐσχέν. εἰτα ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἱρώτης: "Πυθόμομαι σου, ὁ Πομπηίων Μάγνε, εἰ πάσας ἑστράτευσας τὰς κατὰ νόμον στρατείας;" Πομπηίος δὲ μεγάλῃ φωνῇ, "Πάσας, εἴπεν, "ἑστράτευμαι, καὶ πάσας ὑπέμαυτω ἀυτοκράτορι." τούτῳ ἀκούσας ὁ δήμος ἐξέκραγε, καὶ κατασχεῖν οὐκέτι τὴν βήμα ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἦν, ἀλλ' ἀνασταίνει τις τιμηταῖ προέπεμ- πον αὐτῶν οἰκάδε, χαριζόμενοι τοῖς πολίταις ἐπομένως καὶ κρητούσιν.

XXIII. Ἡδη δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς περαινομένης τῷ Πομπηίῳ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς Κράσσον αὐξομένης δια- φοράς, Πάιος τῆς Αὐρήλιας, ἄξιωμα μὲν ἱππικὸν ἕχων, βίω δὲ ἀπράγμοι κεχρημένος, ἐκκλησίας οὐσῆς ἀναβας ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα καὶ προσελθὼν ἔφη κατὰ τοὺς υπνοὺς αὐτῷ τῶν Δία φανήσαι, κελεύ- οντα τοῖς υπότοις φράσαι μὴ πρότερον ἀποθέοθαι 2 τὴν ἀρχήν ἢ φιλοὺς ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι, ῥηθέν- των δὲ τούτων ὁ μὲν Πομπηίος ἱσυχίων ἤγεν ἐστῶς, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἀρξάμενος δεξιοῦσθαι καὶ προσαγορεύειν αὐτόν, "Οὐδέν," εἴπεν, "οὐίαμεν ποιεῖν ἅγεννες οὐδὲ ταπεινῶν, ὁ πολίται, Πομ- πηίῳ πρότερος ἐνδιδοὺς, ὃν ὑμεῖς μήπω μὲν γενειῶντα Μέγαν ἤξιώσατε καλείν, μήπω δὲ μετέχοντι βουλής ἐψηφίσασθε δύο θριάμβους." ἐκ τούτου διαλλαγόντες ἀπέδεντο τὴν ἀρχήν.

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passing in review before them, when Pompey was seen coming down the descent into the forum, otherwise marked by the insignia of his office, but leading his horse with his own hand. When he was near and could be plainly seen, he ordered his lictors to make way for him, and led his horse up to the tribunal. The people were astonished and kept perfect silence, and the magistrates were awed and delighted at the sight. Then the senior censor put the question: "Pompeius Magnus, I ask thee whether thou hast performed all the military services required by law?" Then Pompey said with a loud voice: "I have performed them all, and all under myself as imperator." On hearing this, the people gave a loud shout, and it was no longer possible to check their cries of joy, but the censors rose up and accompanied Pompey to his home, thus gratifying the citizens, who followed with applause.

XXIII. When Pompey's term of office was now about to expire, and his differences with Crassus were increasing, a certain Caius Aurelius, who, though belonging to the equestrian order, had never meddled in public affairs, ascended the rostra at an assembly of the people, and came forward to say that Jupiter had appeared to him in his sleep, bidding him tell the consuls not to lay down their office before they had become friends. After these words had been said, Pompey stood motionless, but Crassus took the initiative, clasped his hand and greeted him, and then said: "I think I do nothing ignoble or mean, my fellow-citizens, in yielding first to Pompey, whom you were pleased to call Magnus when he was still beardless, and to whom you decreed two triumphs before he was a senator." Upon this, they were reconciled, and afterwards laid down their office.¹

¹ Cf. the Crassus, xii. 3 f.
3 Καὶ Κράσσος μὲν ὄντερ ἐξ ἄρχης εἵλετο τρόπον τοῦ βίου διεφύλαττε, Πομπήιος δὲ τὰς τε πολλὰς ἀνεδύετο συνηγορίας καὶ τὴν ἄγορὰν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπέλειπε καὶ προῆς σπανίως εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, αἰεὶ δὲ μετὰ πλήθους. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐτί ράδιον ὀχλοὺ χωρὶς ἐντυχεὶν οὐδ᾽ ἰδεὶν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ᾽ ἣδικοὶ ὁμοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀθρόοι ἐφαίνετο, σεμνότητα περιβαλλόμενος ἐκ τοῦτον τῇ ὄψει καὶ ὄγκον, ταῖς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἐντεύξεσι καὶ συνθεδείας ἀθικτὸν οἴομενος δεῖν τὸ ἄξιομα δια-τηρεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἰματίῳ βίος ἐπισφαλῆς ἐστι πρὸς ἀδοξίαν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων μεγάλοις καὶ πρὸς ἱσότητα δημοτικῆς ἁσυμμέτρους· αὐτοῖς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα πρωτεύειν, ὅς ἐκεῖ, δικαιοῦσι, τοῖς δὲ ἐκεῖ φερομένοις ἑλαττών ἐνταῦθα γούν μὴ πλέον ἔχειν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐστι. διὸ τὸν ἐν στρατοπέδοις καὶ θραμβοῖς λαμπρόν, ὅταν ἐν ἄγορᾷ λάβωσιν, ὕπο χεῖρα ποιοῦντα καὶ κατα-βάλλουσι, τῷ δὲ ἀπολεγομένῳ καὶ ὑποχωροῦντι τὴν ἐκεῖ τιμὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἀνεπίθθονον φυλάττουσιν, ἑδήλωσε δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα μετ᾽ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

ΧΧΙ. Ἡ γὰρ πειρατικὴ δύναμις ὀρμήθη μὲν ἐκ Κιλλίκιας τὸ πρῶτον, ἄρχην παράβολον λα-βοῦσα καὶ λανθάνουσαν, φρόνημα δὲ καὶ τόλμαν ἑσχεν ἐν τῷ Μιθριδατικῷ πολέμῳ, χρῆσασα ταῖς
2 βασιλικαῖς ὑπηρεσίαις ἑαυτῆς. εἰτὰ Ῥωμαίοιν 631 ἐν τοῖς ἐμφυλίοις πολέμως περὶ θύρας τῆς Ῥώμης συμπεσόντων, ἔρημος οὕσα φουράτα ἡ θάλασσα κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτοῦς ἐφείλκετο καὶ προῆγεν,
Now, Crassus continued the manner of life which he had chosen at the outset; but Pompey ceased his frequent appearances as an advocate, gradually forsook the forum, rarely shewed himself in public, and when he did, it was always with a retinue of followers. In fact, it was no longer easy to meet him or even to see him without a throng around him, but he took the greatest pleasure in making his appearance attended by large crowds, encompassing his presence thus with majesty and pomp, and thinking that he must keep his dignity free from contact and familiar association with the multitude. For life in the robes of peace has a dangerous tendency to diminish the reputation of those whom war has made great and ill suited for democratic equality. Such men claim that precedence in the city also which they have in the field, while those who achieve less distinction in the field feel it to be intolerable if in the city at any rate they have no advantage. Therefore when the people find a man active in the forum who has shone in camps and triumphs, they depress and humiliate him, but when he renounces and withdraws from such activity, they leave his military reputation and power untouched by their envy. How true this is, events themselves soon showed.

XXIV. The power of the pirates had its seat in Cilicia at first, and at the outset it was venturesome and elusive; but it took on confidence and boldness during the Mithridatic war,¹ because it lent itself to the king's service. Then, while the Romans were embroiled in civil wars at the gates of Rome, the sea was left unguarded, and gradually drew and enticed them on until they no longer attacked navi-

¹ 88-85, 83-81, 74 B.C.
οὐκέτι τοῖς πλέουσι μόνον ἐπιτιθεμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ νήσους καὶ πόλεις παραλίους ἐκκόπτοντας. ἤδη δὲ καὶ χρήμασι δυνατοὶ καὶ γένεις λαμπροὶ καὶ τὸ¹ φονεῖν ἀξιοῦμενοι διαφέρειν ἄνδρες ἐνεβαίνων εἰς τὰ ληστρικὰ καὶ μετείχον, ὡς καὶ δόξαν τινὰ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ ἔργου φέροντος.

3 ἢν δὲ καὶ ναύσταθμα πολλαχόθη πειρατικά καὶ φρυκτώρια τετειχισμένα, καὶ στόλοι προσέπιπτον οὐ πληρωμάτων μόνον εὐανδρίας οὐδὲ τέχναις κυβερνητῶν οὐδὲ τάχεις νεῶν καὶ κοινούσαν εξηκασμένοι πρὸς τὸ οἴκειον ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φοβεροῦ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τὸ ἐπίθεθον ἐλύτει καὶ ὑπερήφανον, συνίστι χρυσάς καὶ παραπετάσμα-σιν ἀλουργοὺς καὶ πλάταις ἐπαργύρους, ὡσπερ ἐντρυφώσαντο τῷ κακοπρεπεῖ καὶ καλλωπιζομένων.

4 αὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ ψαλμοὶ καὶ μέθαι παρὰ πάσαν ἀκτὴν καὶ σωμάτων ἡγεμονικῶν ἄρπαγας καὶ πόλεων αἵμαλώτων ἀπολυτρώσεις ὑνείδος ἤσαν τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. ἐγένοντο δ’ οὖν αἱ μὲν ληστρίδες νῆσε ὑπὲρ χιλίας, αἱ δὲ ἀλοῦσαι πόλεις ύπ’ αὐτῶν τετρακόσιαι. τῶν δὲ ἀσύλων καὶ ἀβάτων πρότερον ἱερῶν ἐξεκοψαν ἐπιόντες τὸ Κλάριον, τὸ Δεδυμαίον, τὸ Σαμοθρακίον, τὸν Ἐρμόνη τῆς Χθονίας νεῶν καὶ τὸν Ἐπιδαύρῳ τοῦ Ἦσυ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἡθροῖ καὶ Ταυνάρῳ καὶ Καλαυρίᾳ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος, τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸν Ἀκτίω καὶ Λευκάδι, τῆς δὲ Ῥας τὸν Ἐν Σάμῳ, τὸν Ἐν Ἀργεί, τὸν Ἐπὶ Λακινῖ. ξένας δὲ θυσίας ἐθυναν αὐτοὶ τὰς ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ, καὶ τελετὰς τινας ἀπορρήτους ἐτέλουν, διὰ τοῦ Μίθρου καὶ μέχρι δεύτερο διασώζεται καταδειχθεῖσα πρῶτον υπ’ ἐκείων.

1 τὸ Sintenis, with SεΑ; Bekker, with inferior MSS., τφ: 174
gators only, but also laid waste islands and maritime cities. And presently men whose wealth gave them power, and those whose lineage was illustrious, and those who laid claim to superior intelligence, began to embark on piratical craft and share their enterprises, feeling that the occupation brought them a certain reputation and distinction. There were also fortified roadsteads and signal-stations for piratical craft in many places, and fleets put in here which were not merely furnished for their peculiar work with sturdy crews, skilful pilots, and light and speedy ships; nay, more annoying than the fear which they inspired was the odious extravagance of their equipment, with their gilded sails, and purple awnings, and silvered oars, as if they rioted in their iniquity and plumed themselves upon it. Their flutes and stringed instruments and drinking bouts along every coast, their seizures of persons in high command, and their ransomings of captured cities, were a disgrace to the Roman supremacy. For, you see, the ships of the pirates numbered more than a thousand, and the cities captured by them four hundred. Besides, they attacked and plundered places of refuge and sanctuaries hitherto inviolate, such as those of Claros, Didyma, and Samothrace; the temple of Chthonian Earth at Hermione; that of Asclepius in Epidaurus; those of Poseidon at the Isthmus, at Taenarum, and at Calauria; those of Apollo at Actium and Leucas; and those of Hera at Samos, at Argos, and at Lacinium. They also offered strange sacrifices of their own at Olympus,¹ and celebrated there certain secret rites, among which those of Mithras continue to the present time, having been first instituted by them.

¹ A town in southern Asia Minor, one of the strongholds of the pirates.
6 Πλείστα δὲ Ἡρωμάιος ἐνυβρίσταντες, ἔτι καὶ τάς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναβαίνοντες ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐλημότο καὶ τάς ἐγγὺς ἐπαύλεις ἐξέκοπτον. ἦρπασαν δὲ ποτα καὶ στρατηγοῦς δύο Σεξτίλιον καὶ Βελλίνον ἐν ταῖς περιπορφύροις, καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἀμα καὶ ῥαβδοφόρους ὕχοντο σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἔχοντες. ἦλω δὲ καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀντωνίου, θριαμβικοῦ ἀνδρός, εἰς ἁγρον βαδίζουσα, καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπελυτρώθη.

7 ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἣν ὑβριστικώτατον. ὅποτε γάρ τις ἐαλωκός ἀναβοήσει Ἡρωμάιος εἶναι καὶ τούνομα φράσειν, ἐκπεπλήθαι προσποιούμενοι καὶ δεδείναι τοὺς τε μηροὺς ἐπαίνοτο καὶ προσέπιπτον αὐτῷ, συγγνώμην ἔχειν ἀντιβολοῦντες. ὃ δὲ ἐπείθετο τατεινοὺς ὅρων καὶ δεομένους. ἐκ τούτου δὲ οἱ μὲν ὑπέδουν τοὺς καλκίοις αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ τήβευνον περιέβαλλον, ὡς δὴ μὴ πάλιν ἀγνοθείη.

8 πολὺν δὲ χρόνου οὔτω κατειρωνευσάμενοι καὶ ἀπολαύσαντες τὸν ἀνθρώπον, τέλος ἐν μέσῳ πελάγει κλίμακα προσβαλόντες ἐκέλευον ἐκβαίνειν καὶ ἀπέναι διαρντα, τὸν δὲ μὴ βουλόμενον ἀθάνοτοι κατέδουν.

XXV. Ἐπενείματο δὲ ἡ δύναμις αὐτή πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τι τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς θάλασσαν, ὡστε ἀπλουν καὶ ἄβατον ἐμπορία πᾶση γενέσθαι. τοῦτο δὴ μάλιστα Ἡρωμάιος ἐπέστρεψε, θλιβομένους τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ σπάνων μεγάλην προσδοκώντας, ἐκ-πέμψαν Πομπηίον ἀφαιρισόμενον τῶν πειρατῶν τὴν θάλασσαν. ἔγραψε δὲ Γαβίνος, εἰς τῶν Πομπηίου συνήθων, νόμον οὐ ναυαρχίαν, ἀντικρύς δὲ μοναρχίαν αὐτῷ δεδόντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐπὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνυπεύθυνον. ἐδίδου γὰρ
But they heaped most insults upon the Romans, even going up from the sea along their roads and plundering there, and sacking the neighbouring villas. Once, too, they seized two praetors, Sex-tilius and Bellinus, in their purple-edged robes, and carried them away, together with their attendants and lictors. They also captured a daughter of Antonius, a man who had celebrated a triumph, as she was going into the country, and exacted a large ransom for her. But their crowning insolence was this. Whenever a captive cried out that he was a Roman and gave his name, they would pretend to be frightened out of their senses, and would smite their thighs, and fall down before him entreat ing him to pardon them; and he would be convinced of their sincerity, seeing them so humbly suppliant. Then some would put Roman boots on his feet, and others would throw a toga round him, in order, forsooth, that there might be no mistake about him again. And after thus mocking the man for a long time and getting their fill of amusement from him, at last they would let down a ladder in mid ocean and bid him disembark and go on his way rejoicing; and if he did not wish to go, they would push him overboard themselves and drown him.

XXV. This power extended its operations over the whole of our Mediterranean Sea, making it unnavigable and closed to all commerce. This was what most of all inclined the Romans, who were hard put to it to get provisions and expected a great scarcity, to send out Pompey with a commission to take the sea away from the pirates. Gabinius, one of Pompey’s intimates, drew up a law which gave him, not an admiralty, but an out-and-out monarchy and irresponsible power over all men. For the law
προς δὲ τούτως ἐλέσθαι πεντεκαίδεκα 632 πρεσβευτὰς αὐτὸν ἐκ βουλῆς ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμονίας, χρήματα δὲ λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν ταμείων καὶ παρὰ τῶν τελωνίων ὥστε βούλιοι καὶ ναὶς διακοσίας, κύριον ὡμα πλήθους καὶ καταλόγου στρατίας καὶ πληρωμάτων ἐρετικῶν.

'Αναγγειωθέντων δὲ τούτων ο μὲν δήμος ύπερφυῶς ἐδέξατο, τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου τοῖς μεγίστοις καὶ δυνατοῦταις ἐδοξὲ μείζον μὲν φθόνου, φόβου δὲ ἄξιον εἶναι τὸ τῆς ἔξουσίας ἀπερίληπτον καὶ ἀόριστον. ὅθεν ἐνίστατο τὸ νόμῳ, πλῆν Καίσαρος. οὕτος δὲ συνηγόρει τῷ νόμῳ, Πομπηίου μὲν ἠλάχιστα φροντίζων, ὑποδυόμενος δὲ τὸν δήμον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐαυτῷ καὶ κτώμενος. οἱ δὲ ἀλλοι τοῦ Πομπηίου σφοδρῶς καθήπτοντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπάτων ἀτερος, εἰπὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι Ἡρω-μύλου ζηλῶν οὐ φεύξεται ταύτων ἐκείνω τέλος, ἐκινδύνευσεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους διαφθαρήματι:

5 Κύτλου δὲ κατὰ τοῦ νόμου προσελθόντος, πολλὴν μὲν αἰδοῦμενος ο δήμος ἡσυχίαν παρεῖχεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλά μετὰ τιμῆς ἀνεπιθέτονος ύπὲρ τοῦ Πομπηίου διελθῶν συνεβούλευε φείδεσθαι καὶ μὴ προβάλλειν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα κινδύνοις ἐπαλ-
gave him dominion over the sea this side of the pillars of Hercules, and over all the mainland to the distance of four hundred furlongs from the sea. These limits included almost all places in the Roman world, and the greatest nations and most powerful kings were comprised within them. Besides this, he was empowered to choose fifteen legates from the senate for the several principalities, and to take from the public treasuries and the tax-collectors as much money as he wished, and to have two hundred ships, with full power over the number and levying of soldiers and oarsmen.

When these provisions of the law were read in the assembly,\(^1\) the people received them with excessive pleasure, but the chief and most influential men of the senate thought that such unlimited and absolute power, while it was beyond the reach of envy, was yet a thing to be feared. Therefore they all opposed the law, with the exception of Caesar; he advocated the law, not because he cared in the least for Pompey, but because from the outset he sought to ingratiate himself with the people and win their support. The rest vehemently attacked Pompey. And when one of the consuls told him that if he emulated Romulus he would not escape the fate of Romulus,\(^2\) he was near being torn in pieces by the multitude. Moreover, when Catulus came forward to speak against the law the people had regard enough for him to be quiet for some time; but after he had spoken at length in Pompey's praise and without any disparagement of him, and then counselled the people to spare such a man and

\(^1\) In 67 B.C., Pompey being then thirty-nine years old.
\(^2\) That is, he would be mysteriously put out of the way.
Cf. the Romulus, chapter xxvii.
λήλοις καὶ πολέμοις, "Ἡ τίνα," εἶπεν, "ἐξετε ἄλλοι, ἄν ἀπολέσῃ τοῦτον;" ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης υπεφώνησαν ἀπαντες, "Σὲ αὐτὸν." ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάτλος, ὡς οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀπέστη: Ἦρωσκίου δὲ προσεδήμοντος οὐδεὶς ἤκουσεν· ὁ δὲ τοῖς δακτύλοις διεσήμαινε μὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ δεύτερον αἵρεισθαι Πομπήιον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ λέγεται δυσχεράναντα τὸν δήμον τηλικοῦτον ἀνακραγεῖν ὡστε ύπερπετό- μενον κόρακα τῆς ἀγορᾶς τυφωθῆναι καὶ κατα- πεσεῖν εἰς τὸν ὥχλον. οἶδεν οὖ οὐκ ῥήξει τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ διαστασμόφ κενόν πολὺ λαμβανόντος ἐνολισθαίνειν τὰ πίπτοντα τῶν ὀρνέων, ἀλλὰ τυπτόμενα τῇ πληγῇ τῆς φωνῆς, ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἀέρι σάλον καὶ κύμα ποιήσῃ πολλὴ καὶ ἱσχυρὰ φερομένη.

ΧΧΧΒΙ. Τότε μὲν οὖν διελύθησαν ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα τὴν ψῆφον ἐποίησεν ἐμελλον, ὑπεξήλθεν ο Πομ- πήιος εἰς ἀγρόν. ἀκούσας δὲ κεκυρώθη οἵ τον νόμον εἰσῆλθε νύκτωρ εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐπιθυμο- νοῦ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπαντήσεως καὶ συνιδρομῆς ἐσομένης. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα προελθὼν ἔθυσε· καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας αὐτῷ, διεπράξατο πρόσ- λαβειν ἐτερα πολλὰ τοῖς ἐγκυρίσμενοις ἥδη, 2 μικροῦ διπλασιάσας τὴν παρασκευὴν. πεντα- κόσια μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ υἱές ἐπληρώθησαν, ὡπλι- τῶν δὲ μυριάδες δώδεκα καὶ πεντακισίχιλιοι ἱππεῖς ἥθροϊς ἑρῴσθησαν. ἡγεμονικόι δὲ καὶ στρα- τηγικοι κατελέγησαν ἀπὸ βουλῆς ἄνδρες εἰκο- σιτέσσαρες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, δύο δὲ ταμίαι παρῆσαν. αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ τῶν ὁνίων εὐθὺς πεσοῦσαι λόγον
not expose him to successive wars and perils, asking, "Whom else will you have if you lose him?" all with one accord replied, "Thyself." Catulus, accordingly, since he could not persuade them, retired; but when Roscius came forward to speak, no one would listen to him. He therefore made signs with his fingers that they should not choose Pompey alone to this command, but give him a colleague. At this, we are told, the people were incensed and gave forth such a shout that a raven flying over the forum was stunned by it and fell down into the throng. From this it appears that such falling of birds is not due to a rupture and division of the air wherein a great vacuum is produced, but that they are struck by the blow of the voice, which raises a surge and billow in the air when it is borne aloft loud and strong.

XXVI. For the time being, then, the assembly was dissolved; but when the day came for the vote upon the law, Pompey withdrew privately into the country. On hearing, however, that the law had been passed, he entered the city by night, feeling that he was sure to awaken envy if the people thronged to meet him. But when day came, he appeared in public and offered sacrifice, and at an assembly held for him he managed to get many other things besides those already voted, and almost doubled his armament. For five hundred ships were manned for him, and a hundred and twenty thousand men-at-arms and five thousand horsemen were raised. Twenty-four men who had held command or served as praetors were chosen from the senate by him, and he had two quaestors. And since the prices of provisions immediately fell, the people
3 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα διελθὼν τὰ πελάγη καὶ τὸ διά-
στημα τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης εἰς μέρη τρισκαίδεκα,
καὶ νεῶν ἄριθμον ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ καὶ ἄρχοντα τάξας,
άμα πανταχοῦ τῇ δυνάμει σκεδασθεῖσθα τὰ μὲν
ἐμπύττοντα τῶν πειρατικῶν ἄθροι περιλαμβάνων
eὐθὺς ἐξεθηρᾶτο καὶ κατῆγεν οἱ δὲ φθάσαντες
dιαλυθήματι καὶ διεκπεσόντες ὠσπέρ εἰς σμήνος
ἐδύνοντο πανταχόθεν καταφερόμενοι τὴν Κιλικίαν,
ἐφ’ οὖς αὐτὸς ἑστέλλετο ναῦς ἔχων ἐξῆκοντα τὰς
ἄριστας. οὐ μὴν πρὸτερον ἐπ’ ἐκείνους ἐξε-
pλευσέν ἢ παντάπασι καθῆσαν τῶν αὐτῶν
ληστηρίων τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος, τὸ Λιβυκὸν,
tὸ περὶ Σαρδόνα καὶ Κύρνου καὶ Σικελίαν,
ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ταῖς πᾶσαις, αὐτῷ τε
χρώμενος ἀτρύτῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς προθύμοις.

XXVII. Ἐν δὲ Ὁρώμη τοῦ ὕπατον Πεισώνος
ὁργῇ καὶ φθόνῳ λυμαινομένου τὴν παρασκευὴν
cαὶ διαλύοντος τὰ πληρώματα, τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν
eἰς Βρεντέσιον περιεπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ διὰ Τυρ-
ρηνίας εἰς Ὁρώμην ἀνέβαινεν. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ
πάντες ἐξεχύθησαν εἰς τὴν ὀδόν, ὠσπέρ οὐ πρὸ
2 ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων ἐκπέμψαντες αὐτὸν. ἐποίει δὲ
τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ παρ’ ἐλπίδα τῆς μεταβολῆς τάχος,
ὑπερβάλλοντας ἀφθονίαν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐχούσης.
ὁτέν οἱ Πεισών ἐκινδύνευσε τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀφαι-
ρεθήναι, Γαβινίου νόμον ἔχοντο ἢ ἑδη συγγεγραμ-
μένον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο διεκόλυσεν ὁ Πομπηῖος,
καὶ τάλλα χρηματίσας ἐπισεικὼς καὶ διαπραξά-
were moved to say in their joy that the very name of Pompey had put an end to the war.

However, he divided the waters and the adjacent coasts\(^1\) of the Mediterranean Sea into thirteen districts, and assigned to each a certain number of ships with a commander, and with his forces thus scattered in all quarters he encompassed whole fleets of piratical ships that fell in his way, and straightway hunted them down and brought them into port; others succeeded in dispersing and escaping, and sought their hive, as it were, hurrying from all quarters into Cilicia. Against these Pompey intended to proceed in person with his sixty best ships. He did not, however, sail against them until he had entirely cleared of their pirates the Tyrrhenian Sea, the Libyan Sea, and the sea about Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, in forty days all told. This was owing to his own tireless energy and the zeal of his lieutenants.

XXVII. But the consul Piso at Rome, out of wrath and envy, was interfering with Pompey's equipment and discharging his crews; Pompey therefore sent his fleet round to Brundisium, while he himself went up by way of Tuscany to Rome. On learning of this, the citizens all streamed out into the road, just as if they had not escorted him forth only a few days before. What caused their joy was the unhoped for rapidity of the change, the market being now filled to overflowing with provisions. As a consequence Piso came near being deprived of his consulship, and Gabinius had the requisite law already written out. But Pompey prevented this, as well as other hostile acts, and after arranging everything else in a reasonable manner and getting

\(^1\) Cf. chapter xxv. 2.
μένος δὲν ἐδείτο, καταβάς εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἐξέ-
3 πλευσεν. ἐπειγόμενος δὲ τὸ καίρὸ καὶ παρα-
πλέων τὰς πόλεις ὑπὸ σπουδῆς, ὁμοὶς οὐ παρῆλθε
tὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ θύσας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ
προσαγορεύσας τὸν δήμον εὔθυς ἀπὶών ἀνεχι-
νωσκεν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένα μονόστιχα, τὸ
μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς πύλης:

'Ἐφ' ὧσον δὲν ἀνθρωπος οἴδας, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἶ
θεός:

τὸ δ' ἐκτὸς:

Προσεδοκῶμεν, προσεκυνοῦμεν, εἶδομεν, προ-
πέμπομεν.

4 ἔπει δὲ τῶν συνεστώτων ἔτι καὶ πλανωμένων ἐξω
πειρατηρίων ἐνίοις δειθεῖσιν ἐπιεικῆς ἐχρήσατο
καὶ παραλαβὼν τὰ πλοῖα καὶ τὰ σώματα κακὸν
οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἐπ' ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς οἱ λοιποὶ
γενόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοὺς διέφευγον ἡγεμόνας,
Πομπηίῳ δὲ φέροντες ἐαυτοὺς μετὰ τέκνων καὶ
gυναικῶν ἐνεχείριζον. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἐφείδετο,
καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τούτων τοὺς ἐτὶ λανθάνοντας
ἐξιχνεύον καὶ λαμβάνον ἐκόλαξεν ὡς αὐτοὺς
ἐαυτοῖς ἀνίκεστα συνειδότας.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ πλείστοι καὶ δυνατῶτατοι
gενεάς μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ χρήματα καὶ τὸν ἄχρηστον
ὄχλον ἐν φρουρίοις καὶ πολίσμασι καρτεροῖς
περὶ τὸν Γαύρων ἐξὸν ἀποκείμενα, τὰς δὲ νάσας
πληρώσαντες αὐτοῖ περὶ τὸ Κορακίσιον τῆς
Κυλλίας ἐπιπλέοντα τῶν Πομπηίου ἐδέξαντο·
καὶ μάχης γενομένης νικηθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο.
tέλος δὲ πέμψαντες ἱκετηρίας παρέδωκαν ἐαυτοὺς
καὶ πόλεις καὶ νήσους ὧν ἐπεκράτουν ἐντειχ
what he wanted, went down to Brundisium and set sail. But though his immediate business was urgent and he sailed past other cities in his haste, still, he could not pass Athens by, but went up into the city, sacrificed to the gods, and addressed the people. Just as he was leaving the city, he read two inscriptions, each of a single verse, addressed to him, one inside the gate:

"As thou knowest thou art mortal, in so far thou art a god;"

and the other outside:

"We awaited, we saluted, we have seen, and now conduct thee forth."

Some of the pirate bands that were still roving at large begged for mercy, and since he treated them humanely, and after seizing their ships and persons did them no further harm, the rest became hopeful of mercy too, and made their escape from the other commanders, betook themselves to Pompey with their wives and children, and surrendered to him. All these he spared, and it was chiefly by their aid that he tracked down, seized, and punished those who were still lurking in concealment because conscious of unpardonable crimes.

XXVIII. But the most numerous and powerful had bestowed their families and treasures and useless folk in forts and strong citadels near the Taurus mountains, while they themselves manned their ships and awaited Pompey's attack near the promontory of Coracesium in Cilicia; here they were defeated in a battle and then besieged. At last, however, they sent suppliant messages and surrendered themselves, together with the cities and islands of which they were in control; these they
σάμενοι, χαλεπὰς βιασθήμαι καὶ δυσπροσπελά-2 στους. κατελύθη μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος καὶ τὰ πανταχοῦ ληστήρια τῆς θαλάσσης ἔξεπεσεν οὐκ ἐν πλείοις χρόνῳ τριῶν μηνῶν, ναῦς δὲ πολλὰς μὲν ἄλλας, ἐνευκοντα δὲ χαλκεμβόλους παρέ-λαβεν. αὐτοὺς δὲ δισμυρίων πλείονας γενομένους ἀνελεῖν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐβουλεύσατο, μεθεῖναί δὲ καὶ περικεῖν σκεδασθέντας ἢ συστάντας αὐθίς, ἀπόρους καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ὑπνατι, οὐκ 3 φέτοι καλῶς ἔχειν. ἐννοήσας οὖν ὅτι φύσει μὲν ἀνθρωπὸς ὑπὲ γέγονεν οὔτ' ἐστιν ἀνύμερον ἐξον οὐδ' ἄμικτων, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται τῇ κακίᾳ παρὰ φύσιν χρώμενος, ἔθεσι δὲ καὶ τῶπων καὶ βίων μεταβολαῖς ἐξημεροῦται, καὶ θηρία δὲ ἡ διαίτης κοινωνοῦτα πραοτέρας ἐκδύεται τὸ ἄγριον καὶ χαλεπόν, ἐγνω τοὺς ἀνδράς εἰς γῆν μεταφέρειν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ βίον γενέων ἐπιεικοῦς, συν-4 εθισθέντας ἐν πόλεσιν οἰκεῖν καὶ γεωργεῖν. ἐνίον μὲν οὖν αἱ μικραὶ καὶ ὑπέρμοι τῶν Κιλίκων πόλεις ἐδέξαντο καὶ κατέμαζαν ἐαυτοῖς χώραν προσλαβόντας, τὴν δὲ Σολίων ἡρμιμωδην ἐναγ-χος ὑπὸ Τιγράνου τοῦ Ἀρμενίων βασιλέως ἀναλαβὼν ἱδρυσε πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οἰκητῆριον ἐδωκε Δύμην τὴν Ἀχαίδα, χρησίουσαν ἀνδρῶν τότε, γῆν δὲ πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ἔχουσαν.

XXIX. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ βασικαίοντες ἐφεσον-5 τοῖς δὲ περὶ Κρήτην πραχθεῖσι πρὸς Μετέλλον οὐδ' οἱ πάνυ φιλοῦντες αὐτῶν ἐχαίρον. ὁ γὰρ

1 καὶ πολλοὺς Coraës and Bekker, with S#: τοὺς πολλοὺς after Stephanus (most of them being, etc.).
2 ὑπον καὶ θηρία, after Coraës.
had fortified, making them hard to get at and difficult to take by storm. The war was therefore brought to an end and all piracy driven from the sea in less than three months, and besides many other ships, Pompey received in surrender ninety which had brazen beaks. The men themselves, who were more than twenty thousand in number, he did not once think of putting to death; and yet to let them go and suffer them to disperse or band together again, poor, warlike, and numerous as they were, he thought was not well. Reflecting, therefore, that by nature man neither is nor becomes a wild or an unsocial creature, but is transformed by the unnatural practice of vice, whereas he may be softened by new customs and a change of place and life; also that even wild beasts put off their fierce and savage ways when they partake of a gentler mode of life, he determined to transfer the men from the sea to land, and let them have a taste of gentle life by being accustomed to dwell in cities and to till the ground. Some of them, therefore, were received and incorporated into the small and half-deserted cities of Cilicia, which acquired additional territory; and after restoring the city of Soli, which had lately been devastated by Tigranes, the king of Armenia, Pompey settled many there. To most of them, however, he gave as a residence Dyme in Achaea, which was then bereft of men and had much good land.

XXIX. Well, then, his maligners found fault with these measures, and even his best friends were not pleased with his treatment of Metellus in Crete.
Μέτελλος, οίκείος ὃν ἐκείνου τοῦ συνάρξαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τῷ Πομπηίῳ, στρατηγός εἰς Κρήτην ἐπέμφθη πρώτευον ἢ τὸν Πομπηίον αἱρεθήναι. δευτέρα γὰρ τις ἤν αὕτη τῶν πειρατηρίων πυγή μετα τὴν ἐν Κιλικία καὶ πολλοὺς ἐγκαταλαβὼν
2 ὁ Μέτελλος ἐξήρει καὶ διέφθειρεν. οἱ δὲ περιόντες ἔτι καὶ πολιορκούμενοι πέμψαντες ἴκετηρίαν ἐπεκαλοῦντο τὸν Πομπηίου εἰς τὴν νῆσον, ὡς τῆς ἐκείνου μέρος οὐσαν ἀρχῆς καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐμπίπτουσαν εἰς τὸ μέτρον τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης. οἱ δὲ δεξάμενοι ἔγραφε τῷ Μέτελλῳ κωλύσων τὸν πόλεμον. ἔγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι μὴ προσ-έχειν Μετέλλῳ, καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπέμψε τῶν ὑφ'
3 ἔαυτὸν ἀρχόντων ἐνα Δεύκιον Ὀκταούίον, ὅς συνεισελθὼν εἰς τὰ τείχη τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις καὶ μαχόμενος μετ' αὐτῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐπαχθῆ καὶ βαρῶν, ἅλλα καὶ καταγέλαστον ἔποιεῖ τὸν Πομ-πηίου, ἀνθρώποις ἀνοσίαις καὶ ἄθεοις τούνομα κιχράντα καὶ περιάπτοντα τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ὥσπερ ἀλεξιφάρμακον ὕπο φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας
4 τῆς πρὸς τὸν Μέτελλον. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸν Ἀχιλλέα ποιεῖν ἀνδρὸς ἔργου, ἅλλα μειρακίον παντάπασιν ἐμπλήκτου καὶ σεσοβημένου πρὸς δόξαν, ἀνα-νεύοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ διακωλύοντα βάλλειν Ἐκτορα,
Μὴ τις κύδος ἄροιτο βαλῶν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἐλθοῦ·
5 Πομπηίου δὲ καὶ σῶξειν ὑπερμαχοῦντα τῶν κοινῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν θρίαμβου ἀφελεσθαί στρατηγοῦ πολλὰ πεπονηκότος. οὐ μὴν ἐνέδω-
Metellus, a kinsman of the Metellus who was a colleague of Pompey in Spain, had been sent as general to Crete before Pompey was chosen to his command; for Crete was a kind of second source for pirates, next to Cilicia. Metellus hemmed in many of them and was killing and destroying them. But those who still survived and were besieged sent suppliant messages to Pompey and invited him into the island, alleging that it was a part of his government, and that all parts of it were within the limit to be measured from the sea. Pompey accepted the invitation and wrote to Metellus putting a stop to his war. He also wrote the cities not to pay any attention to Metellus, and sent them one of his own officers as general, namely, Lucius Octavius, who entered the strongholds of the besieged pirates and fought on their side, thus making Pompey not only odious and oppressive, but actually ridiculous, since he lent his name to godless miscreants, and threw around them the mantle of his reputation to serve like a charm against evil, through envy and jealousy of Metellus. For not even Achilles played the part of a man, men said, but that of a youth wholly crazed and frantic in his quest of glory, when he made a sign to the rest which prevented them from smiting Hector,

"Lest some one else win honour by the blow, and he come only second";  

whereas Pompey actually fought in behalf of the common enemy and saved their lives, that he might rob of his triumph a general who had toiled hard to win it. Metellus, however, would not give in,

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1 Cf. chapter xxv. 2.  2 Iliad, xxii. 207.
κεν ο Μέτελλος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε πειρατὰς ἐξελὼν ἑτιμωρησάτο, καὶ τῶν Ὁκταούιον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καθυβρίσας καὶ λοιδορίσας ἀφῆκεν.

XXX. Ἀπαγγελθέντος δὲ εἰς Ὄρμην πέρας ἔχειν τὸν πειρατικὸν πόλεμον καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντα τὸν Πομπῆιον ἐπέρχεσθαι τὰς πόλεις, γράφει νόμον εἰς τῶν δημάρχων Μάλλιος, ὡς Λευκολλος ἀρχεῖ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως, Πομπῆιον παραλαβόντα πᾶσαν, προσλαβόντα δὲ καὶ Βιθυνίαν, ἣν ἔχει Γλαβρίων, πολεμεῖν Μιθριδάτη καὶ Τιγράνη τοῖς βασιλεύσειν, ἔχοντα καὶ τὴν ναυτικήν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ κράτος τῆς θαλάσσης ἐφ' ὅς ἔλαβεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. τούτῳ δ' ἢν ἐφ' ἐνικήθη δημοσίᾳ γενέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν· ὃν γὰρ ἐδοκεὶ μόνων ἐπαρχῶν μὴ ἐφικνεῖσθαι τῷ προτέρῳ νόμῳ, Φρυγίας, Δυσαυλίας, Παλαιαδικίας, Χελενίας, Καταπαδοκίας, Κιλικίας, τῆς ἀνω Κολχίδος, Ἀρμενίας, αὐταὶ προσετίθεντο μετὰ στρατοπέδων καὶ δυνάμεων αἰς Λευκολλος κατετολέμησε

3 Μιθριδάτη καὶ Τιγράνην. ἀλλὰ Λευκόλλον μὲν ἀποστερομένου τήν δόξαν ὃν κατειργάσατο καὶ θριμβοῦ μᾶλλον ἡ πολέμοι διαδοχὴν λαμβάνοντος, ἦττων λόγος ὡς τοῖς ἀριστοκρατικοῖς, καίπερ οἰομένοις ἀδικα καὶ ἀχάριστα πάσχειν τὸν ἄνδρα, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τοῦ Πομπῆιον βαρέως φέρουτε ὡς τυπαγγελθῇ καθισταμένην, ἱδία παρεκάλουν καὶ παρεθάρρυν αὐτοὺς ἐπιλαβέσθαι τοῦ νόμου καὶ μὴ προέσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

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but captured the pirates and punished them, and then sent Octavius away after insulting and abusing him before the army.

XXX. When word was brought to Rome that the war against the pirates was at an end, and that Pompey, now at leisure, was visiting the cities, Manlius, one of the popular tribunes, proposed a law giving Pompey all the country and forces which Lucullus commanded, with the addition, too, of Bithynia, which Glabrio had, and the commission to wage war upon Mithridates and Tigranes, the kings, retaining also his naval force and his dominion over the sea as he had originally received them. But this meant the placing of the Roman supremacy entirely in the hands of one man; for the only provinces which were held to be excluded from his sway by the former law, namely, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Upper Colchis, and Armenia, these were now added to it, together with the military forces which Lucullus had used in his conquest of Mithridates and Tigranes. But though Lucullus was thus robbed of the glory of his achievements, and was receiving a successor who would enjoy his triumph rather than prosecute the war, this was of less concern to the aristocratic party, although they did think that the man was unjustly and thanklessly treated; they were, however, displeased at the power given to Pompey, which they regarded as establishing a tyranny, and privately exhorted and encouraged one another to attack the law, and not to surrender their freedom. But when

1 More correctly, Manilius. The Manilian law was passed in 66 B.C. Cf. the oration of Cicero Pro Lege Manilia.
2 Glabrio, consul in 67 B.C., had been sent out to supersede Lucullus.
3 Cf. the Lucullus, xxxv. 7.
4 ἐνστάντος δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ, τὸν δῆμον φοβηθέντες ἔξελνον καὶ κατεσιώπησαν οἱ λοιποί, Κάτλος δὲ τοῦ νόμου πολλὰ κατηγορήσας καὶ τοῦ δη-μάρχου, μηδένα δὲ πείθων, ἐκέλευε τὴν βουλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος κεκραγὼς πολλάκις ὄρος ζητεῖν, ὡσπερ οἱ πρόγονοι, καὶ κριμνῶν, ὅπον κατα-
5 φυγοῦσα διασώσει τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. ἐκυρώθη δ' οὖν ὁ νόμος, ὡς λέγουσι, πάσαις ταῖς φυλαῖς, καὶ κύριος ἀποδέδεικτο μὴ παρών ὁ Πομπήιος ἀπάν-
tων σχεδὸν ὑπὸ ὁ Σύλλας ὅπλοις καὶ πολέμῳ τῆς πόλεως κρατήσασ. αὐτὸς δὲ δεξάμενος τὰ γράμ-
ματα καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ δεδομένα, τῶν φίλων παρόντων καὶ συνθηκομένων, τὰς ὀρφὺς λέγεται συναγαγεὶν καὶ τὸν μηρὸν πατάξαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὑπὸ ἀν ἐν παραμόνοις ἠδή καὶ δυσχεραῖν τὸ ἀρ-
6 χειν. "Φεῦ τῶν ἀνησυχῶν ἀδικων, ὡς ἄρα κρείττον ἦν ἐν τῶν ἀδόξων γενέσθαι, εἰ μηδέποτε παύ-
σομαι στρατευόμενος μηδὲ τὸν φθόνον τοῦτον ἐκδύς ἐν ἀγρῷ διαιτήσομαι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς." 635 ἐφ' οἷς λεγομένως οὐδ' οἱ πάνω συνήθεις ἔφερον αὐτοῦ τὴν εἰρωνείαν, γυνώσκοντες ὅτι τῆς ἐμφύτου φιλοτιμίας καὶ φιλαρχίας ὑπέκαμα τὴν πρὸς 
Δευκόλλου ἐχὼν διαφορὰν μειζόνως ἐχαίρειν.

XXXI. Ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔργα ταχέως αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλυπτε. πανταχοῦ γὰρ ἐκτιθεὶς διαγράμ-
ματα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνεκάλειτο καὶ μετεπέμ-
peto τοὺς ὑπηκόους δυνάστας καὶ βασιλεῖς ὡς ἕαυτῶν. ἐπιών τε τὴν χώραν οὐδὲν ἀκώντων εἰς 
tῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δευκόλλου γεγονότων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
the time came, their hearts failed them through fear of the people, and all held their peace except Catulus; he denounced the law at great length and the tribune who proposed it, and when none of the people would listen to him, he called out in loud tones from the rostra urging the senate again and again to seek out a mountain, as their forefathers had done, or a lofty rock, whither they might fly for refuge and preserve their freedom. But still the law was passed by all the tribes, as we are told, and Pompey, in his absence, was proclaimed master of almost all the powers which Sulla had exercised after subduing the city in armed warfare. Pompey himself, however, on receiving his letters and learning what had been decreed, while his friends surrounded him with their congratulations, frowned, we are told, smote his thigh, and said, in the tone of one who was already oppressed and burdened with command: "Alas for my endless tasks! How much better it were to be an unknown man, if I am never to cease from military service, and cannot lay aside this load of envy and spend my time in the country with my wife!" As he said this, even his intimate friends could not abide his dissimulation; they knew that his enmity towards Lucullus gave fuel to his innate ambition and love of power, and made him all the more delighted.

XXXI. And certainly his actions soon unmasked him. For he sent out edicts in all directions calling the soldiers to his standard, and summoned the subject potentates and kings into his presence. Moreover, as he traversed the country, he left nothing undisturbed that Lucullus had done, but

1 In reference to the secession of the plebs to Mons Sacer. See the Coriolanus, chapter vi.
κολάσεις ἄνηκε πολλοίς καὶ δωρεάς ἀφείλετο καὶ πάντα ὅλως ἐπραττεν ἐπιδείξαι τὸν ἄνδρα φιλονεικῶν τοῖς θαυμάζουσιν οὐδενός οὔτα κύριον.
2 ἐγκαλοῦντος δ' ἐκείνου διὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐδοξε συνελθεῖν εἰς ταυτό καὶ συνήλθον περὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν. οἶα δὲ μεγίστων στρατηγῶν καὶ μέγιστα καταρθωκότων δάφνας ἀνεστεμένας ἔχοντες ὁμοῦ καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους οἱ ὑπηρέται ἀπῆλτων ἀλλὰ Λεύκολλος μὲν ἐκ τῶν χλοερῶν καὶ κατασκίων προσῆκε, Πομπήιος δὲ πολλήν ἀδενδρόν καὶ κατεψυγμένην ἔτυχε διελθήνως.
3 ἱδόντες οὖν οἳ τοῦ Λευκόλλου ῥαβδοφόροι τοῦ Πομπηίου τὰς δάφνας ἀθαλλεῖς καὶ μεμαραμμένας παντάπασιν, ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων προσφάτων οὐσῶν μεταδιδόντες ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ κατέστησαν τὰς ἐκείνου ράβδους. ὁ σημεῖον ἐδοξεν εἶναι τοῦ τά Λευκόλλου νικηθήρια καὶ τὴν δόξαν οἰσόμενον ἔρχεσθαι Πομπηίου. ηὐ δὲ Λεύκολλος μὲν ἐν ὑπατείας τε τάξει καὶ καθ' ἥλικίαν προσβύτερος, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου μεῖζον ἄξιομα τοῖς δυνὶ θρήμβοις. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐντευξίν ὡς ἐνήν μάλιστα πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλοφρόνως ἐποιήσατο, μεγαλύνοντες ἀλλήλων τὰ ἔργα καὶ συνηδόμενοι τοῖς καταρθώμασιν ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόγοις πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐπιεικὲς οὐδὲ μέτριου συμβάντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ λοιδορήσατε, ὡ μὲν εἰς φιλαργυρίαν τὸν Λεύκολλον, ὁ δὲ εἰς φιλαρχίαν ἔκειν, ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων μόλις διελύθησαν.
4 Καὶ Λεύκολλος μὲν ἐν Γαλατία διέγραψε χωρας τῆς αἰχμαλώτου καὶ δωρεάς ἀλλὰς οἷς ἐβούλετο, Πομπήιος δὲ μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω στρατοπεδεύσας ἐκώλυν προσέχειν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας
remitted punishments in many cases, and took away rewards, and did everything, in a word, with an eager desire to shew the admirers of that general that he was wholly without power. Lucullus ex-postulated through his friends, and it was decided that they should have a meeting; they met, therefore, in Galatia. And since both were very great and very successful generals, their lictors had their rods alike wreathed with laurel when they met; but Lucullus was advancing from green and shady regions, while Pompey chanced to have made a long march through a parched and treeless country. Accordingly, when the lictors of Lucullus saw that Pompey’s laurels were withered and altogether faded, they took some of their own, which were fresh, and with them wreathed and decorated his rods. This was held to be a sign that Pompey was coming to rob Lucullus of the fruits of his victories and of his glory. Now, Lucullus had been consul before Pompey, and was older than he; but Pompey’s two triumphs gave him a greater dignity. At first, however, their interview was conducted with all possible civility and friendliness, each magnifying the other’s exploits and congratulating him on his successes; but in the conferences which followed they could come to no fair or reasonable agreement, nay, they actually abused each other, Pompey charging Lucullus with love of money, and Lucullus charging Pompey with love of power, and they were with difficulty separated by their friends.

Furthermore, Lucullus, remaining in Galatia, assigned parts of the conquered territory and made other gifts to whom he pleased; while Pompey, encamped at a little distance from him, tried to prevent any attention to his commands, and took away all
ἄπαντας ἀϕείλετο πλὴν χιλίων ἐξακοσίων, οὐδὲνόμιζεν ὡπ' αὐθαδείας ἀχρήστους μὲν ἐαυτῷ, τῷ
6 Λευκόλλῳ δὲ δυσμενεῖς εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διασύρων τὰ ἔργα ἐμφανῶς ἔλεγε τραγῳδίαις
καὶ σκιαγραφίαις πεπολεμηκέναι βασιλικάς τῶν
Λευκόλλου, αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς ἀληθινὴν καὶ σεσωφρο-
νισμένην τὸν ἀγώνα λείπεσθαι δύναμιν, εἰς θυ-
ρεοὺς καὶ ξίφη καὶ ἤππους Μιθριδάτου κατα-
φεύγοντος. ἀμυνόμενος δὲ ὁ Λευκόλλος εἰδώλῳ
καὶ σκιᾷ πολέμου τὸν Πομπήιον ἐφ' ἐμαυμάτων
βαδίζειν, εἰθαυμένων ἀλλοτρίως νεκροῖς, οὕσπερ
ἐριν ἄργον, ἐπικατάρειν καὶ λείψανα πολέμων
7 σπαράσσειν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιγράψαι Σερ-
τωρίῳ, Λεπίδῳ, τοῖς Ἐπαρτακέιοις, τὰ μὲν Κράσ-
σου, τὰ δὲ Μετέλλου, τὰ δὲ Κάττλου κατωρθω-
κότος. ὅθεν οὐ θαυμάζειν εἰ τῶν Ἀρμενικῶν
καὶ Ποντικῶν πολέμων ὑποβάλλεται τὴν δόξαν,
ἀνθρώπος ἐαυτὸν εἰς δραπετικὸν θρίαμβον ἁμῶς
γε πως ἐμβαλεῖν μηχανησάμενος.
XXXII. Ἐκ τούτου Λευκόλλος μὲν ἀπῆρε,
Πομπήιος δὲ τῷ στόλῳ παντὶ τὴν μεταξὺ Φοιν-
κῆς καὶ Βοσπόρου θαλασσαν ἐπὶ φρουρὰ δια-
λαβῶν, αὐτὸς ἐβαδίζειν ὑπὲρ Μιθριδάτην, ἔχοντα
τρισμυρίους πέζους ἐν φάλαγγι καὶ δυσχήλους
2 ἵππεῖς, μάχεσθαι δὲ μὴ θαρροῦντα. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν αὐτοῦ καρτερὸν ὅρος καὶ δύσμαχον, ἐν ὧ
στρατοπεδεύων ἔτυχεν, ὡς ἀνυδρὸν ἐκλιπόντος,
αὐτὸ τούτο κατασχῶν ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ τῇ φύσει
τῶν βλαστανόντων καὶ ταῖς συγκλινίαις τῶν
tόπων τεκμαιρόμενος ἔχειν πηγάς τὸ χωρίον,
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his soldiers from him, except sixteen hundred, whose mutinous spirit made them, as he thought, useless to himself and hostile to Lucullus.\(^1\) Besides this, he would belittle the achievements of Lucullus, declaring that he had waged war against mimic and shadowy kings only, while to himself there was now left the struggle against a real military force, and one disciplined by defeat, since Mithridates had now betaken himself to shields, swords, and horses. To this Lucullus retorted that Pompey was going forth to fight an image and shadow of war, following his custom of alighting, like a lazy carrion-bird, on bodies that others had killed, and tearing to pieces the scattered remnants of wars. For it was in this way that he had appropriated to himself the victories over Sertorius, Lepidus, and the followers of Spartacus, although they had actually been won by Metellus, Catulus, and Crassus. Therefore it was no wonder that he was trying to usurp the glory of the Pontic and Armenian wars, a man who had contrived to thrust himself in some way or other into the honour of a triumph for defeating runaway slaves.\(^2\)

XXXII. After this, Lucullus withdrew from those parts, and Pompey, having distributed his whole fleet so as to guard the sea between Phoenicia and the Bosporus, himself marched against Mithridates, who had a fighting force of thirty thousand foot and two thousand horse, but did not dare to offer battle. To begin with, the king was strongly encamped on a mountain which was difficult of assault, but abandoned it, supposing that it had no water. Pompey took possession of this very mountain, and judging by the nature of the vegetation and by the channels in the slopes that the place had springs, ordered his men to

\(^1\) Cf. the *Lucullus*, xvi. 1-4. \(^2\) Cf. chapter xxi. 2.
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τὸν Ἠθώνον ἐπείτα περιστρατοπεδεύσας περιστείχισεν αυτῶν. οὗ δὲ πέντε καὶ τετταράκοντα πολιορκηθεὶς ἤμερας ἔλαβεν ἀποδράς μετὰ τῆς ἐρρωμενεστάτης δυνάμεως, κτεῖνας τοὺς ἀχρήστους καὶ νοσοῦτας. εἶτα μέντοι περὶ τὸν Ἐὐφράτην καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Πομπήιος παρεστρατοπεδεύσε καὶ δεδιώξ μὴ φθάσῃ περάσας τὸν Ἐὐφράτην, ἐκ μέσων νυκτῶν ἔπηγεν ὁπλισμένην τὴν στρατιὰν καθ’ ὑπὸν χρόνον λέγεται τὸν Μιθριδάτην ὡς ἐν ὑπνοῖς ἴδειν τὰ μέλλοντα προδηλοῦσαν. ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐρίῳ πνεύματι πλέον τὸ Ποντικὸν πέλαγος ἢδη Βόσπορον καθορᾶν καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι τοὺς συμπλέοντας, ὡς ἂν τις ἐπὶ σωτηρία σαφεῖ καὶ βεβαιώ χαίρων ἄφω δὲ ἀναφανῆναι πάντων ἔρημος ἐπὶ λεπτὸν ναυαγίον διαφερόμενος. ἐν τοιούτως δὲ αὐτὸν ὡντα πάθει καὶ φύσμασιν ἐπιστάντας ἀνέστησαν οἱ φίλοι, φράζοντες ἑπιέναι Πομπήιον. ἦν οὖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης μαχητέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ χάρακος, καὶ προσαγόντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἔταξαν. οἰσθόμενοι δὲ τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ὁ Πομπήιος ὄκνει κατὰ σκότος εἰς κίνδυνον ἔλθειν, καὶ κύκλῳ μόνον ἄετο δεῖν περιελαύνειν, ὅπως μὴ φεύγοιεν, ἢμέρας δὲ κρέςτους ὡντας ἔπιχειρεῖν. οἱ δὲ προσβύτατοι τῶν ταξιαρχῶν δεόμενοι καὶ παρακαλοῦντες ἐξώρησαν αὐτῶν. όυδὲ γὰρ σκότος ἦν παντάπασιν, ἀλλὰ ἤ σελήνη 198
sink wells everywhere. At once, then, his camp was abundantly supplied with water, and men wondered that in all the time of his encampment there Mithridates had been ignorant of this possibility. Next, he invested the king's camp and walled him in. But after enduring a siege of forty-five days, Mithridates succeeded in stealing off with his most effective troops; the sick and unserviceable he killed. Then, however, Pompey overtook him near the Euphrates river, and encamped close by; and fearing lest the king should get the advantage of him by crossing the Euphrates, he put his army in battle array and led it against him at midnight. At this time Mithridates is said to have seen a vision in his sleep, revealing what should come to pass. He dreamed that he was sailing the Pontic Sea with a fair wind, and was already in sight of the Bosporus, and was greeting pleasantly his fellow-voyagers, as a man would do in his joy over a manifest and sure deliverance; but suddenly he saw himself bereft of all his companions and tossed about on a small piece of wreckage. As he dreamed of such distress, his friends came to his couch and roused him with the news that Pompey was advancing to the attack. He was therefore compelled to give battle in defence of his camp, and his generals led out their troops and put them in array. But when Pompey perceived their preparations to meet him, he hesitated to hazard matters in the dark, and thought it necessary merely to surround them, in order to prevent their escape, and then to attack them when it was day, since they were superior in numbers. But his oldest officers, by their entreaties and exhortations, prevailed upon him to attack at once; for it was not wholly dark, but the moon, which was setting, made it still possible
καταφερομένη παρείχεν ἐτὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἰκανὴ ἐποψιν. καὶ τούτο μάλιστα τοὺς βασιλικοὺς
6 ἐσφηλευ. ἐπῆςαν μὲν γὰρ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ νότου τὴν σελήνην ἔχουσες. πεπιεσμένου δὲ περὶ
tὰς δύσεις τοῦ φωτός, αἱ σκιαὶ πολὺ τῶν σωμά-
tων ἐμπροσθεν προϊόσατο τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπέ-
βαλλον, οὐ δυναμένου τὸ διάστημα συνιδεῖν
ἀκριβῶς; ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν χερσὶν ἡδη γεγονότων
tοὺς ὑσσοὺς ἀφέντες μάτην οὔδενδος ἐφίκοντο.
7 τούτο συνιδόντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐπέ-
δραμον, καὶ μηκέτι μένειν τολμώντας, ἀλλ' ἐκπε-
πληγμένους καὶ φεύγοντας ἐκτεινον, ὡστε πολὺ
πλείους μυρίων ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλώναι δὲ τὸ στρα-
tόπεδον.

Ἀυτὸς δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ὀκτακοσίους
ἐππεῦσι διέκοψε καὶ διεξῆλασε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους,
ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων σκεδασθέντων ἀπελείφθη
8 μετὰ τριῶν. ἐν οἷς ἦν Ἦτυχικράτεια παλλακής,
ἀεὶ μὲν ἀνδρόδης τις οὕσα καὶ παράτολμος
Ἦτυχικράτης γοῦν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκάλευ· τότε
dὲ ἀνδρὸς ἔχουσα Πέρσου στολήν καὶ ἵππον οὔτε
τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὰ μῆκη τῶν δρόμων ἀπηγό-
ρευσεν οὔτε θεραπεύουσα τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ σώμα
καὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐξέκαμεν, ἀχρὶ ἦκον εἰς χωρίον
Σίνωρα χρημάτων καὶ κειμηλίων βασιλικῶν
9 μεστὸν. ἐξ οὖν λαβὼν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐσθήτας
πολυτελεῖς διένειμε τοῖς συνδεδραμηκόσι πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς. ἐδωκε δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων
ἐκάστῳ φορεῖν θανάσιμον φάρμακον, ὅπως ἄκων
μηδείς ὑποχείριος γένοιτο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐν-
to distinguish persons clearly enough; indeed, it was this circumstance that brought most harm to the king's troops. For the Romans came to the attack with the moon at their backs, and since her light was close to the horizon, the shadows made by their bodies were thrown far in advance and fell upon the enemy, who were thus unable to estimate correctly the distance between themselves and their foes, but supposing that they were already at close quarters, they hurled their javelins to no purpose and hit nobody. The Romans, seeing this, charged upon them with loud cries, and when the enemy no longer ventured to stand their ground, but fled in panic fear, they cut them down, so that many more than ten thousand of them were slain, and their camp was captured.

Mithridates himself, however, at the outset, cut and charged his way through the Romans with eight hundred horsemen; but the rest were soon dispersed and he was left with three companions. One of these was Hypsierateia, a concubine, who always displayed a right manly spirit and extravagant daring (for which reason the king was wont to call her Hypsicrates), and at this time, mounted and accoutred like a Persian, she was neither exhausted by the long journeys, nor did she weary of caring for the king's person and for his horse, until they came to a place called Sinora, which was full of the king's money and treasures. Thence Mithridates took costly raiment and distributed it to those who had flocked to him in his flight. He also gave each of his friends a deadly poison to carry with them, that no one of them might fall into the hands of the enemy against his will. From thence he set out
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

τεύθεν ὄρμητο μὲν ἐπ’ Ἀρμενίας πρὸς Τιγράνην, ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπαγορεύοντος καὶ τάλαντα ἐκατόν ἐπικηρύξαντος αὐτῷ, παραμειψάμενος τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Εὐφράτου διὰ τῆς Κολχίδος ἔφευγε.

XXXIII. Πομπηίου δὲ εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἐνέβαλε τοῦ νέου Τιγράνου καλοῦντος αὐτὸν: ἦδη γὰρ ἀφειστήκει τοῦ πατρός, καὶ συνήντησε τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τοῦ Ἀράξῃν ποταμοῦ, δὲ ἀνύσχει μὲν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ Εὐφράτῃ τόπων, ἀποτρεπόμενος δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς εἰς τὸ Κάστιον ἐμβάλλει.

2 πέλαγος. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν προηγοῦν ἀμα τὰς πόλεις παραλαμβάνοντες: ὦ δὲ βασιλεῦς Τιγράνης ἐναγχος μὲν ὑπὸ δευκόλλου συντερμένου, ἢμερον δὲ τινα τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ πρῶτον πυθόμενος εἶναι τῶν Πομπηίου, ἐδεξατο μὲν εἰς τὰ βασιλεία φρούριαν, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς αὐτὸς.

3 ἐπορεύετο παραδώσων ἑαυτὸν. ὡς δὲ ἠλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν χάρακα, ῥαβδούχοι δύο τοῦ Πομπηίου προσελθόντες ἐκέλευσαν ἀποβῆναι τοῦ ἱπποῦ καὶ πεζῶν ἐλθεῖν. οὕδενα γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἐφ’ ἱπποῦ καθεξόμενον ἐν Ῥωμαίκῳ στρατοπέδῳ πώποτε ὀφθήναι. καὶ ταῦτα ὦν ὁ Τιγράνης ἐπείθετο καὶ τὸ ξίφος αὐτὸς ἀπολυσάμενος παρεδίδον καὶ τέλος, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθε τῶν Πομπηίου, ἀφελόμενος τὴν κίταριν ὀρμησε πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν θείναι, καὶ καταβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν, αὐσχυστὰ δὴ πάντων, προσπεσεῖν αὐτοῦ τοῖς γόνασιν.

4 ἀλλ’ ὁ Πομπηίος ἐφθη τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος προσαγαγέσθαι καὶ πλησίον ἱδρυσάμενος ἑαυτοῦ, τῶν δὲ υἱῶν ἐπὶ βάτερα, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐφησε δεῖν αἰτιῶσθαι Δεύκολλον, ὡπ’ ἐκείνου γὰρ ἀφήρησθαι Συρίαν, Φοινίκην, Κιλικίαν, Γαλατίαν, Σωφηνίν, ἀ δὲ ἄχρι ἑαυτοῦ διατετήρηκεν,

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towards Armenia on his way to Tigranes; but that monarch forbade his coming and proclaimed a reward of a hundred talents for his person; he therefore passed by the sources of the Euphrates and continued his flight through Colchis.

XXXIII. Pompey then invaded Armenia on the invitation of young Tigranes, who was now in revolt from his father, and who met Pompey near the river Araxes, which takes its rise in the same regions as the Euphrates, but turns towards the east and empties into the Caspian Sea. These two, then, marched forward together, receiving the submission of the cities as they passed; King Tigranes, however, who had recently been crushed by Lucullus, but now learned that Pompey was rather mild and gentle in his disposition, received a Roman garrison into his palace, and taking with him his friends and kindred, set out of his own accord to surrender himself. When he rode up to the Roman camp, two of Pompey's lictors came to him and bade him dismount from his horse and go on foot; for no man mounted on horseback had ever been seen in a Roman camp. Tigranes, accordingly, not only obeyed them in this, but also unloosed his sword and gave it to them; and finally, when he came into the presence of Pompey himself, he took off his royal tiara and made as if to lay it at his feet, and what was most humiliating of all, would have thrown himself down and clasped his knees in supplication. But before he could do this, Pompey caught him by the hand and drew him forward, and after giving him a seat near himself, and putting his son on the other side, told him that he must lay the rest of his losses to Lucullus, who had robbed him of Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene; but that
εξειν ἐκτίσαντα ποιῆν ἐξακισχίλια τάλαντα ᾿Ρωμαίους τῆς ἄδικίας, Σωφηνής δὲ βασιλεύσειν τὸν υἱὸν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ μὲν Τιγράνης ἡγάπησε, καὶ τῶν ᾿Ρωμαίων ἀσπασμένων αὐτὸν βασιλεά περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπηγγείλατο στρατιώτη μὲν ἡμμυραῖον ἀργυρίου δῶσειν, ἐκατοντάρχη δὲ μιᾶς δέκα, χιλιάρχῳ δὲ τάλαντον· ὅ δ’ υἱὸς ἐδυσφόρει, καὶ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δείπνον οὐκ ἔφη Πομπηίον δείσθαι τοιαῦτα τιμῶντος· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄλλον εὐρήσειν ᾿Ρωμαίων. ἐκ τούτου δεθείς εἰς τὸν 6 θρίαμβον ἐφυλάττετο. καὶ μετ’ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπεμψε Φραάτης ὁ Πάρθος ἀπαιτῶν μὲν τὸν νεανίσκον, ὡς αὐτοῦ γαμβρόν, ἀξιῶν δὲ τῶν ἡγεμονίων ὅρφω χρησθαὶ τῷ Εὐφράτῃ. Πομπῆίος δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο τὸν μὲν Τιγράνην τῷ πατρὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ πενθερῷ προσήκειν, ὅρφω δὲ χρησεσθαι τῷ δικαίῳ.

XXXIV. Καταλιπτῶν δὲ φιουρῶν ᾿Αρμενίας ᾿Αφράνιον αὐτὸς ἐβαδίζε διὰ τῶν περιοικοῦντων τῶν Καύκασου ἔθνων ἀναγκαῖος ἦτο Μιθριδάτης. μέγιστα δὲ αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔθνη 1 ᾿Αλβανοὶ καὶ ᾿Ιβηρες, ᾿Ιβηρες μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ Μοσχικὰ ὅρη καὶ τὸν Πόντον καθήκοντες, ᾿Αλβανοὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔως καὶ τὴν 2 Κασπίαν κεκλιμένους θάλασσαν. οὕτωι πρώτον μὲν αὐτοῦν Πομπῆίῳ δίοδον ἔδωσαν χειμῶνος δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταλαβόντως καὶ τῆς Κρονικῆς ἐορτῆς τοῖς ᾿Ρωμαίοις καθηκούσης,

1 ἔθνη bracketed by Sintenis.
what he had kept up to the present time he should continue to hold if he paid six thousand talents to the Romans as a penalty for his wrongdoings; and that his son should be king of Sophene. With these terms Tigranes was well pleased, and when the Romans hailed him as King, he was overjoyed, and promised to give each soldier half a mina of silver, to each centurion ten minas, and to each tribune a talent. But his son was dissatisfied, and when he was invited to supper, said that he was not dependent on Pompey for such honours, for he himself could find another Roman to bestow them. Upon this, he was put in chains and reserved for the triumph. Not long after this, Phraates the Parthian sent a demand for the young man, on the plea that he was his son-in-law, and a proposition that the Euphrates be adopted as a boundary between his empire and that of the Romans. Pompey replied that as for Tigranes, he belonged to his father more than to his father-in-law; and as for a boundary, the just one would be adopted.

XXXIV. Then leaving Afranius in charge of Armenia, Pompey himself proceeded against Mithridates,¹ and of necessity passed through the peoples dwelling about the Caucasus mountains. The greatest of these peoples are the Albanians and the Iberians, of whom the Iberians extend to the Moschian mountains and the Euxine Sea, while the Albanians lie to the eastward as far as the Caspian Sea. These latter at first granted Pompey's request for a free passage; but when winter had overtaken his army in their country and it was occupied in celebrating the Roman festival of the Saturnalia, they mustered no less than forty

¹ In 65 B.C.
γενόμενοι τετρακισμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττουσ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς, διαβάντες τὸν Κύρνου ποταμὸν, ὃς ἐκ τῶν Ἱβηρικῶν ὄρων ἀνιστάμενοι καὶ δεχόμενοι κατιόντα τὸν Ἀράξην ἀπ' Ἀρμενίας ἔξησι δώ-3 δεκα στόμασιν εἰς τὸ Κάσπιον. οἱ δὲ οὓς φασὶ τούτω συμφέρεσθαι τὸν Ἀράξην, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐαυτὸν, ἐγγὺς δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐκβολὴν εἰς ταύτῳ πέλαγος. Πομπηίοις δὲ, καίτερ ἐνστήναι δυνάμενος πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν τοῖς πολεμίοις, περιείδε διαβαντὰς καθ' ἦσυχιαν εἶτα ἐπαγαγοῦν ἐτρέ-4 ψατο καὶ διέθεσε παμπληθεῖς. τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ δεηθέντι καὶ πέμψαντι πρέσβεις ἀφεῖς τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ σπεισάμενος, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἱβηραῖας ἐβάδιζε, πλήθει μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττουσα, μαχιμοτέρους δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων ὄντας, ἵσχυρὸς δὲ βουλομένους τῷ Μιθριδάτη χαρίζεσθαι καὶ διώθεσθαι τὸν Πομπηίον. 5 οὖν γὰρ Μῆδοις οὖν Πέρσαις ὑπήκουσαν Ἰβηραῖς; διέφυγον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν, Ἀλεξάνδρου διὰ ταχέων ἐκ τῆς Ἰρκανίας ἀπάραντος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους μάχη μεγάλῇ τρεψάμενος ὁ Πομπηίος, ὡστε ἀποθανεῖν μὲν ἐνακαίσιλους, ἀλώναι δὲ πλείους μυρίων, εἰς τὴν Κολχικὴν ἐνέβαλε· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Φάσιν αὐτῷ Σεροῦλίου ἀπήντησε, τὰς ναῦς ἑχὼν αἰς ἐφρούρει τὸν Πόντον.

XXXV. Ἡ μὲν οὖν Μιθριδάτου διώξεις ἐνδεδυκότος εἰς τὰ περὶ Βόσπορον ἑθνὴ καὶ τὴν Μαιώτια ἀπορίας εἰχὲ μεγάλας· Ἀλβανοὶ δὲ ἄνθις ἀφεστώτες αὐτῶ προσηγγέλθησαν. πρὸς οὓς ὑπ' 638 ὀργῆς καὶ φιλονεκίας ἐπιστρέψας τὸν τε Κύρνου μόλις καὶ παραβόλος πάλιν διεπέρασεν ἐπὶ πολὺ σταυροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκεχαρα-
thousand men and made an attack upon it. To do this, they crossed the river Cynus, which rises in the Iberian mountains, and receiving the Araxes as it issues from Armenia, empties itself by twelve mouths into the Caspian. Others say that the Araxes makes no junction with this stream, but takes a course of its own, and empties itself close by into the same sea. Although Pompey could have opposed the enemy's passage of the river, he suffered them to cross undisturbed; then he attacked them, routed them, and slew great numbers of them. When, however, their king sent envoys and begged for mercy, Pompey condoned his wrongdoing and made a treaty with him; then he marched against the Iberians, who were not less numerous than the others and more warlike, and had a strong desire to gratify Mithridates by repulsing Pompey. For the Iberians had not been subject either to the Medes or the Persians, and they escaped the Macedonian dominion also, since Alexander departed from Hyrcania in haste. Notwithstanding, Pompey routed this people also in a great battle, in which nine thousand of them were slain and more than ten thousand taken prisoners; then he invaded Colchis, where, at the river Phasis, Servilius met him, at the head of the fleet with which he was guarding the Euxine.

XXXV. Now, the pursuit of Mithridates, who had thrown himself among the peoples about the Bosporus and the Maeotic Sea, was attended with great difficulties; besides, word was brought to Pompey that the Albanians had again revolted. Turning back against these in resentment and wrath, he crossed the Cynus again with great difficulty and hazard, since the Barbarians had fenced off its banks with
κωμένον, καὶ μακρὰς αὐτῶν ἐκδεχομένης ἀνύδρου καὶ ἄργαλεας ὁδοῦ, μυρίους ἁσκοῦς ὑδατος ἐμπλησάμενος ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τούς πολεμίους, καὶ κατέλαβε πρὸς 'Αβαντὶ ποταμῷ παρατεταγμένους ἐξακισμυρίους πεζοὺς καὶ δισχίλιους ἵππεις ἐπὶ μυρίους, ὀπλισμένους δὲ φαύλως καὶ δέρματι θηρίων τοὺς πολλοὺς. ἡγεῖτο δὲ αὐτῶν βασιλέως ᾧδελφός ὄνομα Κώσις. οὗτος ἐν χερσὶ τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπηίου ὀρμήσας αὐτῶν ἐβαλεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θόρακος ἐπιπτυχὴν ἀκούτισματι, Πομπηίος δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐκ χειρὸς διελάσας ἀνέίλεν.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ λέγονται καὶ Ἀμαζόνες συναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θερμώδουν ποταμὸν ὅρων καταβάσας. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν μάχην σκυλεύσατε οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι τοὺς βαρβάρους πέλτας Ἀμαζονικάς καὶ κοθόρνως ἐνετύγχανον, σῶμα δὲ οὐδὲν ὡφθη γυναικεῖον. 

νέμονται δὲ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὰ καθήκοντα πρὸς τὴν 'Τρκανίαν θάλασσαν, ὅν' ὀμοροῦσι τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἀλλὰ Γέλαι καὶ Λήγεις οἴκουσί διὰ μέσον καὶ τούτοις ἐτοὺς ἑκάστον δύο μῆνας εἰς ταύτῳ φοιτῶσαι περὶ τὸν Θερμώδουτα ποταμὸν ὁμιλούσιν, εἰτα καθ' αὐτὰς ἀπαλλαγεῖσαι βιοτεύονοι.

ΧΧΧΧVI. Ὕμηρος δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Πομπηίος ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν 'Τρκανίαν καὶ Καστίαν θάλασσαν, ὑπὸ πλῆθους ἐρπετῶν θανασίμουν ἀπετράπη τριῶν ὄδον ἥμερων ἀποσχῶν, εἰς δὲ τὴν 2 μικράν Ἀρμενίαν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἐλυμαίῳ καὶ Μῆδων βασίλει πέμψας πρέσβεις αὐτέργασε φιλικῶς, τὸν δὲ Πάρθου, εἰς τὴν Γορδυνην ἐμβεβληκότα καὶ περικόπτοντα τοὺς 208
long stretches of palisades; then, since he must make a long march through a waterless and difficult country, he ordered ten thousand skins to be filled with water, and with this provision advanced upon the enemy. He found them drawn up on the river Abas, sixty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, but wretchedly armed, and clad for the most part in the skins of wild beasts. They were led by a brother of the king, named Cosis, who, as soon as the fighting was at close quarters, rushed upon Pompey himself and smote him with a javelin on the fold of his breastplate; but Pompey ran him through the body and killed him.

In this battle it is said that there were also Amazons fighting on the side of the Barbarians, and that they came down from the mountains about the river Thermodon. For when the Romans were despoiling the Barbarians after the battle, they came upon Amazonian shields and buskins; but no body of a woman was seen. The Amazons inhabit the parts of the Caucasus mountains that reach down to the Hyrcanian Sea, and they do not border on the Albani, but Gelæ and Leges dwell between. With these peoples, who meet them by the river Thermodon, they consort for two months every year; then they go away and live by themselves.

XXXVI. After the battle, Pompey set out to march to the Hyrcanian and Caspian Sea, but was turned back by a multitude of deadly reptiles when he was only three days march distant, and withdrew into Lesser Armenia. Here the kings of the Elymaeans and the Medes sent ambassadors to him, and he wrote them a friendly answer; but against the Parthian king, who had burst into Gordyene and was plundering the subjects of Tigranes, he sent
υπὸ Τιγράνη, πέμψας μετὰ 'Αφρανίου δύναμιν ἐξῆλασε διωχθέντα μέχρι τῆς 'Αρβηλίτιδος.

"Οσεὶ δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτου παλλακίδων ἀνή-χθησαν, οὐδεμίαν ἔγνω, πάσας δὲ τοῖς γονεῦσι καὶ οἰκείοις ἀνέπεμπεν. ἦσαν γὰρ αἱ πολλαὶ θυγατέρες καὶ γυναῖκες στρατηγῶν καὶ δυναστῶν.

3 Στρατονίκη δὲ, ἡ μέγιστον εἶχεν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ πολυχρυσότατον τῶν φρουρίων ἐφύλαττεν, ἦν μὲν, ὡς οἰκε, ψάλτου τινός οὐχ εὐτυχοῖς τάλλα, πρεσβύτου δὲ θυγάτηρ, οὕτω δὲ εὐθὺς εἶλε παρὰ πότον ψῆλασα τῶν Μιθριδάτην, ὡστε ἐκείνην μὲν ἔχων ἀνεπαύντετο, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτην ἀπέπεμψε δυσφοροῦντα τῷ μηδὲ προσρήσεως τυχεῖν ἐπι-εικούς, ὡς μέντοι περὶ ὀρθρὸν ἐγερθένει εἰδεν ἔνδον ἐκπομάτων μὲν ἀργυρών καὶ χρυσῶν τρα-πέζας, ὥριλον δὲ θεραπείας πολύν, εὐνούχους δὲ καὶ παίδας ἱμάτια τῶν πολυτελῶν προσφέροντας αὐτῷ, καὶ πρὸ τῆς θύρας ὑπὸν ἐστῶτα κεκοσμη-μένον ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν φίλων τοῦ βασιλέως, χλευ-ασμὸν εἶναι τὸ χρῆμα καὶ παιδίαν ἠγούμενος

4 ὁμμῆσε φεύγειν διὰ θυρῶν. τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων ἀντιλαμβανομένων, καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι πλουσίουν τεθηκότος ἐναγχός οἷκον αὐτῷ μέγαν ὁ βασιλεὺς δεδώρηται, καὶ ταῦτα μικρά τινες ἀπαρχὴς καὶ δείγματα τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων εἰσίν, οὕτω πιστεύσας μόλις καὶ τὴν πορ-φύραν ἀναλαβὼν καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ὕππον ἠλαυνε διὰ τῆς πόλεως βοῶν "Εμά ταῦτα

5 πῶς τα ἐστε;" πρὸς δὲ τοὺς καταγελώντας οὐ τούτο ἔλεγεν εἶναι θαυμαστῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ λίθοις βάλλει τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας υφ' ἡδονῆς μαινόμενος. ταύτης μὲν ἦν καὶ γενεάς καὶ αἱματος η Στρατο-
an armed force under Afranius, which drove him out of the country and pursued him as far as the district of Arbela.

Of all the concubines of Mithridates that were brought to Pompey, he used not one, but restored them all to their parents and kindred; for most of them were daughters and wives of generals and princes. But Stratonice, who was held in highest esteem by the king and had the custody of the richest of his fortresses, was, it would seem, the daughter of a humble harpist, an old man, and poor besides; but she made such a swift conquest of Mithridates as she once played for him at his wine, that he took her with him to his bed, but sent the old man away in great displeasure at not getting so much as a kindly greeting. In the morning, however, when the old man rose and saw in his house tables loaded with gold and silver beakers, a large retinue of servants, and eunuchs and pages bringing costly garments to him, and a horse standing before his door caparisoned like those of the king’s friends, he thought the thing a mockery and a joke, and tried to run out of doors. But the servants laid hold of him and told him that the king had bestowed on him the large estate of a rich man who had recently died, and that these things were only small fore-tastes and specimens of the goods and chattels still remaining. In this way he was with difficulty persuaded, and putting on his purple robes and leaping upon his horse, he rode through the city, crying: “All this is mine.” To those who laughed at him he said that what he was doing was no wonder; the wonder was that he did not throw stones at those who met him, for he was mad with joy. Of such a stock and lineage was Stratonice. But she
νίκη. τῷ δὲ Πομπηίῳ καὶ τῷ χωρίον παρεδίδου τούτῳ καὶ δῶρα πολλὰ προσήγαγεν, ὡν ἐκεῖνος ὡσα κόσμων ίεροῖς καὶ λαμπρότητα τῷ θριάμβῳ παρέξειν ἐφαίνετο λαβῶν μόνα, τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Στρατονίκης ἐκέλευε κεκτήσαι χαιροῦσαν. ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰβηρῶν κλίνει τε καὶ τράπεζαν καὶ θρόνου, ἀπαντα χρυσά, πέμψαντος αὐτῷ καὶ δεηθέντος λαβεῖν, καὶ ταύτα τοῖς ταμίαις παρέδωκεν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον.

XXXVII. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Καισάρῳ φρουρῷ καὶ γράμμασιν ἀπορρήτους ὁ Πομπηίος ἐνέτυχε τοῦ Μιθρεδάτου, καὶ διήλθεν οὐκ ἀγδώς αὐτὰ πολλὴν ἔχοντα τοῦ ἱθος κατανόησιν. ὑπομνήματα γὰρ ἦν, εξ ὧν ἐφωρᾶθη φαρμάκως ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ύιῶν Ἀριαράθην ἀνηρκούς καὶ τῶν Σαρδιανῶν Ἀλκαίων, ὅτι παρευδόκησεν αὐτὸν ῥπτοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἐλαύνων. ἦσαν δὲ ἀναγεγραμμέναι καὶ κρίσεις ἐνυπνιών, ὅν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἑωράκει, τὰ δὲ ἐνιαὶ τῶν γυναῖκῶν, ἐπιστολαί τε Μονίμης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκόλαστοι καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖνον πρὸς αὐτὴν. Θεοφάνης δὲ καὶ Ῥουτιλίου λόγου εὐρεθήναι φησι παροξυντικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίων. ὁ καλῶς εἰκάζουσιν οἱ πλείστοι κακοήθεμα τοῦ Θεοφάνους εἶναι, τάχα μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὸν Ῥουτιλίον ἐοικότα μυσώντος, εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ διὰ Πομπηίου, οὗ τὸν πατέρα παμπόνηρον ἀπέδειξεν ὁ Ῥουτιλίος ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαισ.

XXXVIII. Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Ἄμιον ἔλθων ὁ Πομπηίος πάθος νεμεσιτῶν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἔπαθε. πολλὰ γὰρ τὸν Λεύκολλον ἐπικερτομῆσαι, ὅτι τοῦ πολεμίου ξόντος ἔγραψε διατάξεισ
surrendered this stronghold to Pompey, and brought him many gifts, of which he accepted only those which were likely to adorn the temples at Rome and add splendour to his triumph; the rest he bade Stratonice keep and welcome. In like manner, too, when the king of the Iberians sent him a couch, a table, and a throne, all of gold, and begged him to accept them, he delivered these also to the quaestors, for the public treasury.

XXXVII. In the fortress of Caenum Pompey found also private documents belonging to Mithridates, and read them with no little satisfaction, since they shed much light upon the king's character. For there were memoranda among them from which it was discovered that, besides many others, he had poisoned to death his son Ariarathes, and also Alcaeus of Sardis, because he had surpassed him in driving race-horses. Among the writings were also interpretations of dreams, some of which he himself had dreamed, and others, some of his wives. There were also letters from Monime to him, of a lascivious nature, and answering letters from him to her. Moreover, Theophanes says there was found here an address of Rutilius, which incited the king to the massacre of the Romans in Asia. But most people rightly conjecture that this was a malicious invention on the part of Theophanes, perhaps because he hated Rutilius, who was wholly unlike himself, but probably also to please Pompey, whose father had been represented as an utter wretch by Rutilius in his histories.

XXXVIII. From Caenum Pompey went to Amisus, where his ambition led him into obnoxious courses. For whereas he had roundly abused Lucullus because, while his enemy was still alive, he would
καὶ δώρεας ἔνεμε καὶ τιμάς, ἃ συνηρημένου πολέμου καὶ πέρας ἔχοντος εἰώθασι ποιεῖν οἱ νεικηκότες, αὐτὸς ἐν Βοσπόρῳ Μιθριδάτου κρατοῦντος καὶ συνειλοχότος ἀξιόμαχον δύναμιν, ὡς δὴ
2 συντετελεσμένων ἀπάντων, ἐπραττε ταυτά, δια-κοσμῶν τὰς ἔπαρχίας καὶ διανέμων δώρεας, πολλῶν μὲν ἢγεμόνων καὶ δυναστῶν, βασιλέων δὲ δώδεκα βαρβάρων ἀφιγμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν. ὦθεν οὐδὲ ἥξισε τὸν Πάρθον ἀντιγράφων, ὥσπερ οἱ λοιποί, βασιλέα βασιλέων προσαγορεύσαι, τοῖς ἀλλοις χαριζόμενοι. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸς ἔρως καὶ ζήλως εἰς-Συρίαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀρα-βίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν ἐλάσαι θάλασσαν, ὡς τὸ περιόντι τὴν οἰκουμένην πανταχόθεν Ἡρωδιὸν
3 προσμίζειν νικῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Διβυή πρῶτος ἀχρὶ τῆς ἐκτὸς θαλάσσης κρατῶν προῆλθε, καὶ τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρία πάλιν ἄρχην όρίσατο Ἡρωδιόν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ πελάγει, καὶ τρίτον ἐναγχος Ἀλβανοὺς διώκουν ὁλίγον ἐδέχον εἰμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἡρκανίαν θάλασσαν. ὡς οὖν συναύξων τῇ ἐρυθρᾷ τὴν περίοδον τῆς στρατείας ἀνίστατο. καὶ γὰρ ἀλλοι τὸν Μιθριδάτῃν ἐώρα δυσθήρατον ὄντα τοῖς ὑπλοῖς καὶ φεύγοντα χαλεπώτερον ἢ μαχόμενον.
XXXIX. Διὸ τούτῳ μὲν εἰπὼν ἵσχυρότερον ἑαυτοῦ πολέμου τὸν λιμὸν ἀπολείψειν, ἐπέστησε φυλακὰς τῶν νεῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πλέοντας εἰς Βόσπο-ρον ἐμπόρους· καὶ θάνατος ἦν ἡ ζημία τοῖς ἐλισκομένοις. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν
issue edicts and distribute gifts and honours,—things which victors are wont to do only when a war has been brought to an end and finished,—yet he himself, while Mithridates was supreme in Bosporus and had collected a formidable force, just as though the whole struggle was ended, took the same course, regulating the provinces and distributing gifts; for many leaders and princes and twelve barbarian kings had come to him. Wherefore, to gratify these other kings, he would not deign, in answering a letter from the king of Parthia, to address him as King of Kings, which was his usual title. Moreover, a great and eager passion possessed him to recover Syria, and march through Arabia to the Red Sea,¹ in order that he might bring his victorious career into touch with the Ocean which surrounds the world on all sides; for in Africa he had been the first to carry his conquests as far as the Outer Sea, and again in Spain he had made the Atlantic Ocean the boundary of the Roman dominion, and thirdly, in his recent pursuit of the Albani, he had narrowly missed reaching the Hyrcanian Sea. In order, therefore, that he might connect the circuit of his military expeditions with the Red Sea, he put his army in motion. And, besides, he saw that it was difficult to hunt Mithridates down with an armed force, and that he was harder to deal with when he fled than when he gave battle.

XXXIX. Wherefore, remarking that he would leave behind him for this fugitive a mightier enemy than himself, to wit, famine, he stationed ships to keep guard against the merchants sailing to Bosporus; and death was the penalty for such as were caught. Then taking the great mass of his army.

¹ i.e. the Persian Gulf.
πληθὺν συχνὴν προῆγε καὶ τῶν μετὰ Τριαρίου πρὸς Μιθριδάτην ἀτυχῶς ἀγωνισμένων καὶ πεσόντων ἐνυγχών ἀτάφοις ἔτι τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἔθαψε λαμπρῶς καὶ φιλοτήμως ἀπαντας, ὦ δοκεῖ παραλειφθέν τοὺς ἥκιστα Λευκόλοιῳ μίσους

2 αὖτιν γενέσθαι. χειρωσάμενος δὲ δὲ Ἀφρανίου τοὺς περὶ Ἀμανὸν Ἀραβᾶς καὶ καταβᾶς αὐτὸς εἰς Συρίαν, ταύτην μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσαν γυνήσιον βασιλεῖς ἐπαρχίαν ἀπέφης καὶ κτῆμα τοῦ δήμου Ρωμαίων, τὴν δὲ Ἰουναίαν κατεστρέψατο, καὶ συνέλαβεν Ἀριστόβουλον τοὺς βασιλέα, πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐκτίζε, τὰς δὲ ἡλευθέρου κολάζων τοὺς ἐν αὐταῖς τυράννους.

3 τὴν δὲ πλείστην διατριβὴν ἐν τῷ δικάζειν ἐποιεῖτο, πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων ἀμφισβητήματα διαιτῶν, ἐφ᾽ ὧ δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔξικνεῖτο, πέμπων τοὺς φίλους, ὡσπερ Ἀρμενίως καὶ Πάρθους περὶ ἢς διεφέροντο χώρας τὴν κρίσιν ποιησαμένους ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τρεῖς ἀπέστειλε κριτὰς καὶ διαλλακτάς.

4 μέγα μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῆς δυνάμεως, οὐκ ἔλαττον δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ πραστήτου, ὡς καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀμαρτήματα φίλων καὶ συνήθων ἀπέκρυπτε, κολύμεν μὲν ή κολαζεῖν τοὺς πονηρομένους οὐ πεφυκῶς, αὐτὸν δὲ παρέχων τοῖς ἐνυγχάνουσι τοιοῦτον ὡστε καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖνων πλεονεξίας καὶ βαρύτητας εὐκόλως ὑπομένεις.

XLI. 'Ο δὲ μέγιστον δυνάμενος παρ᾽ αὐτῷ Δημήτριος ἦν ἀπελεύθερος, οὐκ ἄφρων εἰς τὰλλα νεανίας, ἀγαν δὲ τῇ τύχῃ χρώμενος· περὶ οὐ καὶ τοιόνδε τι λέγεται. Κάτων ὁ φιλόσοφος εἶτὶ μὲν
he set out on his march, and when he came upon the still unburied bodies of those who, led by Triarius, had fallen in an unsuccessful combat with Mithridates,¹ he gave them all an honourable and splendid burial. The neglect of this is thought to have been the chief reason why Lucullus was hated by his soldiers. After his legate Afranius had subdued for him the Arabians about Amanus, he himself went down into Syria,² and since this country had no legitimate kings, he declared it to be a province and possession of the Roman people; he also subdued Judaea, and made a prisoner of Aristobulus the king. Some cities he built up, others he set free, chastising their tyrants. But most of his time he spent in judicial business, settling the disputes of cities and kings, and for those to which he himself could not attend, sending his friends. Thus when the Armenians and Parthians referred to him the decision of a territorial quarrel, he sent them three arbiters and judges. For great was the name of his power, and not less that of his virtue and clemency. This enabled him to hide away most of the transgressions of his friends and intimates, since he was not fitted by nature to restrain or chastise evil doers; but he was so helpful himself to those who had dealings with him that they were content to endure the rapacity and severity of his friends.

XL. The one who had most influence with him was Demetrius, a freedman, a young man of some intelligence otherwise, but who abused his good fortune. The following story is told about him. Cato the philosopher, when he was still a young man,

¹ Three years earlier. Cf. the Lucullus, xxxv. 1.
² In the spring of 64 B.C.
δών νέσος, ἵδη δὲ μεγάλην ἔχων δόξαν καὶ μέγα φρονών, ἀνέβαινεν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, οὐκ ἤτοις αὐτῶθι Πομπηίου, βουλόμενος ἵστορήσαι τήν
2 πόλιν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἄει, πεζὸς ἐβάδι-
ζεν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι συνώδευον ἵπποις χρώμενοι. κατιδών δὲ πρὸ τῆς πύλης ὄχλον ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἐσθήσει λευκαῖς καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκθέν μὲν τοὺς ἐφίβους, ἐνθεὶ δὲ τοὺς παίδας διακεκριμένους, ἐδυσχέρασθεν οἶμενος εἰς τιμῆς τινα καὶ θερα-
πείαν ἕαυτὸς μηδὲν δεομένοι ταῦτα γίνεσθαι.
3 τοὺς μὲντοι φίλους ἐκέλευσε καταβῆναι καὶ πορεύεσθαι μετ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένους δὲ πλησίον ὁ πάντα διακοσμόν ἑκεῖνα καὶ καθιστάς ἔχων στέφανον καὶ ῥάβδουν ἄπνημης, πυθανόμενοι παρ’ αὐτῶν ποῦ Δημήτριον ἀπολελαίπασι καὶ πότε ἀφίξεται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν φίλους τοῦ Κάτωνος γέλως ἔλαβεν, ὁ δὲ Κάτων εἰπὼν, "Ο ἡς ἄθλιας πόλεως," παρῆλθεν, οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἀπο-
κρινόμενος.
4 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τούτοις τὸν Δημήτριον ἤπτον ἐπίφθονον ἔποιεί αὐτὸς οἱ Πομπηίους ἐντυφώμενος ὅτι αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ δυσκο-
λαίνων. λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς υποδοχαῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου προσμένοντος καὶ δεχο-
mένου τοὺς ἄλλους ἑκεῖνος ἰδή κατέκειτο σοβαρός, ἔχων δὲ ὅταν κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον.
5 οὔτω δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπανελθοῦσα ἐκεῖκτι τῆς Ρώμης τὰ ήδιστα προάστεια καὶ τῶν ἡβη-
τηρῶν τὰ κάλλιστα, καὶ κῆποι πολυτελεῖς ἦσαν ὕπομαζόμενοι Δημήτριοι καὶ τοῖς Πομπηίοις αὐτὸς ἄρχοι τοῦ τρίτου θριάμβου μετρίως καὶ ἀφελῶς ὄκησεν. ὑστερον δὲ Ρωμαίοις τούτο ὅτι τὸ καλὸν

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but had already great reputation and lofty purposes, went up to Antioch, at a time when Pompey was not there, wishing to inspect the city. Cato himself, the story goes, marched on foot, as always, but the friends who journeyed with him were on horseback. When he beheld before the gate of the city a throng of men in white raiment, and drawn up along the road the youths on one side, and the boys on the other, he was vexed, supposing this to be done out of deference and honour to himself, who desired nothing of the kind. However, he ordered his friends to dismount and walk with him; but when they drew near, the master of all these ceremonies met them, with a wreath on his head and a wand in his hand, and asked them where they had left Demetrius, and when he would come. The friends of Cato, accordingly, burst out laughing, but Cato said, "O the wretched city!" and passed on without any further answer.

However, Pompey himself made this Demetrius less odious to the rest by enduring his caprices without vexation. For instance, it is said that many times at his entertainments, when Pompey was awaiting and receiving his other guests, that fellow would be already reclining at table in great state, with the hood of his toga drawn down behind his ears. Before his return to Italy, he had purchased the pleasantest suburbs of Rome and the most beautiful places of entertainment, and very costly gardens were called "Demetrian" after him; and yet Pompey himself, up to the time of his third triumph, had a simple and modest house. After that, it is true, when he was erecting the famous and beautiful

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1 Cf. Cato the Younger, chapter xiii.
2 A mark of slovenliness.
καὶ περιβόητον ἀνιστὰς θέατρον, ὡσπερ ἑφόλκιον τι, παρετεκτῆνατο λαμπροτέραν οἰκίαν ἐκείνης, ἀνεπίθεθον δὲ καὶ ταύτην, ὡστε τὸν γενόμενον δεσπότην αὐτῆς μετὰ Πομπηίου εἰσελθόντα θαυμάζειν καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι ποῦ Πομπηίος Μάγνος ἐδείπνει. ταύτα μὲν οὖν οὔτω λέγεται.

ΧΙ. Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τῶν περὶ τὴν Πέτραν Ἀράβων προτερον μὲν ἐν οὐδεὶς λόγῳ τὰ Ρωμαίων τιθεμένου, τότε δὲ δείσαντος ἵσχυρῶς καὶ γράψαντος ὃτι πάντα πείθεσθαι καὶ ποιεῖν ἐγνώκεν, ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι βουλόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁ Πομπηίος ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πέτραν οὐ πάνυ τι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀμεμπτον στρατεύαν.

2 ἀπόδρασιν γὰρ θάντο τῆς Μιθριδάτου διώξεως εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἢξίουν τρέπεσθαι τοὺς ἀρχαίοις ἀνταγωνιστὴν, αὐθίς ἀναζωπυρωῦντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον, ὡς ἀπηγγέλλετο, διὰ Σκυθῶν καὶ Παιῶνων στρατὸν ἑλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν. ὁ δὲ ῥάου οἰόμενος αὐτοῦ καταλύσειν τὴν δύναμιν πολεμοῦντος ἢ τὸ σῶμα λήψεθαι φεύγοντο, οὐκ ἐβούλετο τρίβεσθαι μάτην περὶ τὴν διώξιν, ἐτέρας δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρενθήκας ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τὸν χρόνον εἶλκεν.

3 Ἡ δὲ τύχη τῆς ἀπορίαν ἐλυσεν. οὐκέτι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς Πέτρας πολλήν ὃδ᾽ ἀπέχοντος, ἤδη δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης βεβλημένον χώρακα καὶ γυμνάζοντος ἐαυτὸν ὑπ᾽ ὑπὸ παρὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον, γραμματηφόροι προσῆλθαν καὶ Πομπηίου κομικώστως εὐαγγέλια. ὅδιοι δ᾽ εὐθὺς εἰσὶ ταῖς αἰχμαῖς τῶν δοράτων δύσφασι γὰρ ἀναστέφουσιν. τούτους ἱδόντες οἱ στρατιώται συνετρόχαξον πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίον. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἐβούλετο τὰ
theatre which bears his name, he built close by it, like a small boat towed behind a ship, a more splendid house than the one he had before. But even this was not large enough to excite envy, so that when he who succeeded Pompey as its owner entered it, he was amazed, and inquired where Pompey the Great used to sup. At any rate, so the story runs.

XLI. The king of the Arabians about Petra had hitherto made no account of the Roman power, but now he was thoroughly alarmed and wrote that he had determined to obey and perform all commands. Pompey, therefore, wishing to confirm him in his purpose, marched towards Petra, an expedition which was not a little censured by most of his followers. For they thought it an evasion of the pursuit of Mithridates, and demanded that he should rather turn against that inveterate enemy, who was again kindling the flames of war and preparing, as it was reported, to march an army through Scythia and Paeonia against Italy. Pompey, however, thinking it easier to crush the king's forces when he made war than to seize his person when he was in flight, was not willing to wear out his own strength in a vain pursuit, and therefore sought other employment in the interval of the war and thus protracted the time.

But fortune resolved the difficulty. For when he was come within a short distance of Petra, and had already pitched his camp for that day and was exercising himself on horseback near by, dispatch-bearers rode up from Pontus bringing good tidings. Such messengers are known at once by the tips of their spears, which are wreathed with laurel. As soon as the soldiers saw these couriers they ran in throngs to Pompey. At first he was disposed to finish his
γυμνάσια συντελείν, βρώντων δὲ καὶ δειμένων καταπηθήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔππου καὶ λαβῶν τὰ γράμματα προῆλθε. βήματος δὲ οὐκ ὑπόσοι οὐδὲ τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ γενέσθαι φθάσατος (ὅ ποιοῦσιν αὐτῷ τῆς γῆς ἐκτομᾶς βαθείας λαμβάνοντες καὶ κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων συντιθέντες), ὑπὸ τῆς τότε σπουδῆς καὶ προθυμίας τὰ σάγματα τῶν ὑποψηφίων συμφορήσατε ὑψὸς ἔξηραν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ προβὰς ο Πομπήιος ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτός ὅτι Μιθριδάτης τέθυνε στασιάσαντος Φαρνάκου τοῦ γίού διαχρησάμενος αὐτόν, τὰ δὲ ἐκεῖ πάντα πράγματα Φαρνάκης κατεκληρώσατο, καὶ ἔαντῷ καὶ Ῥωμαίους γέγραφε ποιούμενος.

XLIII. Ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν στράτευμα τῇ χαρᾷ χρώμευον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν θυσίαις καὶ συνούσιαις δόμησα, ὡς ἐν τῷ Μιθριδάτου σώματι μυρίων τεθυνηκότων πολέμων. Πομπήιος δὲ ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς στρατεύσεις κεφαλῆς ἐπιτεθεκὼς οὐ πάνω βαδίως οὕτω προσδοκθείσαν, εὐθὺς ἀνέξευξεν ἐκ τῆς 'Αραβίας καὶ ταχὺ τὰς ἐν μέσῳ διεξελθόντων ἐπαρχιάς εἰς 'Αμισον ἄφικετο, καὶ κατέλαβε πολλὰ μὲν δῶρα παρὰ Φαρνάκου κεκομισμένα, πολλὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν βασιλικῶν, αὐτόν δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτον νεκρὸν οὐ πάνυ γνώριμον ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου (τὸν γὰρ ἐγκέφαλον ἔλαβεν ἐκτῆξει τοὺς θεραπεύοντας) ἀλλὰ ταῖς οὐλαίς ἐπεγύγνωσκον οἱ δεόμενοι τοῦ θεάματος. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς Πομπήιος ἦδειν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ ἀφοσιωσάμενος τὸ νεμεσητὸν εἰς Σινώπην ἀπέπεμψε. τῆς δὲ ἐσθήτως, ἢν ἔφορει, καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῆν λαμπρότητα ἑθαύμασε· καίτοι

1 ὑψὸς Coraës and Bekker have eis ύψος, after Solanus.
exercise, but at their shouts and entreaties he dismounted from his horse, took the dispatches, and led the way into camp. There was no regular tribunal, nor had there been time to erect the military substitute, which the soldiers make with their own hands by digging up large clods of earth and heaping them one upon another; but in the eager haste of the moment they piled up the pack-saddles of the beasts of burden and made an eminence of them. Pompey ascended this and announced to his soldiers that Mithridates was dead, having made away with himself because his son Pharnaces had revolted from him, and that Pharnaces had come into possession of all the power there, acting, as he wrote, in behalf of himself and the Romans.1

XLII. Upon this the army, filled with joy, as was natural, gave itself up to sacrifices and entertainments, feeling that in the person of Mithridates ten thousand enemies had died. Then Pompey, having brought his achievements and expeditions to such an unexpectedly easy completion, straightway withdrew from Arabia, and passing rapidly through the intervening provinces, came to Amisus. Here he found many gifts that had been brought from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the royal family, and the corpse of Mithridates himself, which was not easy to recognize by the face (for the embalmers had neglected to remove the brain), but those who cared to see the body recognized it by the scars. Pompey himself could not bring himself to look upon the body, but to propitiate the divine jealousy sent it away to Sinope. He was amazed at the size and splendour of the arms and raiment which Mithridates used to wear; although the sword-belt, which

1 This was in 63 B.C.
τὸν μὲν ξιφιστῆρα πεποιημένον ἀπὸ τετρακοσίων
tαλάντων Πόπλιος κλέψας ἐπώλησεν Ἀριαράθη,
tὴν δὲ κάταριν Γαίος ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου σύντροφος
ἐδωκε κρύφα δεηθέντι Φαύστω τῷ Σύλλα παιδὶ,
θαυμαστὴς οὐσαν ἐργασίας. ὃ τὸτε τὸν Πομ-
pηίον διέλαθε, Φαρνάκης δὲ γροῦς ὑστερον ἐτι-
μωρήσατο τοὺς ὑφελομένους.

4 Δισκήσας δὲ τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ καταστησάμενος
οὕτως ἦδη παιηγυρικώτερον ἐχρήτο τῇ πορείᾳ.
καὶ γὰρ εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἀφικόμενος τὴν τε πόλιν
ήλευθέρωσε διὰ Θεοφάνη, καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα τὸν
πάτριον ἐθεάσατο τῶν ποιητῶν, ὑπόθεσαν μίαν
ἐχοντα τὰς ἐκεῖνου πρᾶξεις. ἦσθεὶς δὲ τῷ θεά-
τρῳ περιεγράφατο τὸ ἔδος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τύπον,
ὡς ὀμοιον ἀπεργασόμενος τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, μεῖζον δὲ
καὶ σεμνότερον. ἐν δὲ Ῥώδῳ γενόμενοι πάντων
μὲν ἠκροάσατο τῶν σοφιστῶν, καὶ ὁρεῖς ἐκάστῳ
τάλαντον ἔδωκεν Ποσειδώνιος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀκρό-
ασιν ἀνέγραψεν ἦν ἐσχέν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Ἑρ-
μαγόραν τὸν ῥήτορα περὶ τῆς καθόλου ξητήσεως
ἀντιταξίμενος. ἐν δὲ Ἀθῆναις τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς

6 φιλοσόφους ὀμοία τοῦ Πομπηίου· τῇ πόλει δὲ
ἐπίδους εἰς ἔπισκευὴν πεντήκοντα τάλαντα λαμ-
πρότατος ἀνθρώπων ἥλπιζεν ἐπιβῆσεθαι τῆς
Ἰταλίας καὶ ποθῶν ὀφθήσεθαι τοῖς οὖκει ποθοῦ-
σιν. ὃ δὲ ἄρα πρὸς τὰς λαμπρὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν αεὶ τινα κεραυνύναι κακοῦ
μοίραν ἐπιμελές ἐστὶ δαιμονίῳ, τούτῳ ὑποκούρει
pάλαι παρασκευάζον αὐτῷ λυπηροτέραν τὴν

7 ἐπάνοδον. ἐξύβρισε γὰρ ἡ Μουκία πιθα τὴν
cost four hundred talents, was stolen by Publius and sold to Ariarathes, and the tiara was secretly given by Caius, the foster brother of Mithridates, to Faustus the son of Sulla, at his request; it was a piece of wonderful workmanship. All this escaped the knowledge of Pompey at the time, but Pharnaces afterwards learned of it and punished the thieves.

After arranging and settling affairs in those parts, Pompey proceeded on his journey, and now with greater pomp and ceremony. For instance, when he came to Mitylene, he gave the city its freedom, for the sake of Theophanes, and witnessed the traditional contest of the poets there, who now took as their sole theme his own exploits. And being pleased with the theatre, he had sketches and plans of it made for him, that he might build one like it in Rome, only larger and more splendid. And when he was in Rhodes, he heard all the sophists there, and made each of them a present of a talent. Poseidonius has actually described the discourse which he held before him, against Hermagoras the rhetorician, on Investigation in General. At Athens, too, he not only treated the philosophers with like munificence, but also gave fifty talents to the city towards its restoration. He therefore hoped to set foot in Italy with a reputation more brilliant than that of any other man, and that his family would be as eager to see him as he was to see them. But that divine agency which always takes pains to mingle with the great and splendid gifts of fortune a certain portion of evil, had long been secretly at work preparing to make his return a very bitter one. For Mucia his wife

1 Cf. chapter xli. 5. The theatre was opened in 55 B.C., and accommodated 40,000 persons.
αποδημιάν αυτού. καὶ πόρρω μὲν ὃν ὁ Πομπήιος κατεφρόνει τοῦ λόγου· πλησίον δὲ Ἰταλίας γειό-
μενος καὶ σχολάζοντι τῷ λογισμῷ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔσκε, τῆς αἰτίας ἀψάμενος, ἐπεμψεν αὐτῇ τὴν
άφεσιν, οὔτε τότε γράψας οὔθ’ ύστερον ἐφ’ οἷς ἀφῆκεν ἕξειπών· ἐν δὲ ἐπιστολαῖς Κικέρωνος ἡ
αἰτία γέγραπται.

XLIIL. Λόγοι δὲ παντοδαποὶ περὶ τοῦ Πομ-
πήιου προκατέπτυσσαν εἰς τὴν Ρώμην, καὶ θάρριος
ἡν πολὺς, ὡς εὐθὺς ἄξοντος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὸ 642
στράτευμα καὶ μοναρχίας βεβαίας ἐσομένης.
Κράσσος δὲ τους παῖδας καὶ τὰ χρήματα λαβὼν
ὑπεξήλθεν, εἶτε δείσας ἀληθῶς, εἶτε μᾶλλον, ὡς
ἐδόκει, πίστιν ἀπολείπον τῇ διαβολῇ καὶ τὸν
2 φθόνον ποιῶν τραχύτερον. εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπιβὰς
Ἰταλίας ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκ-
κλησίαν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰ πρέποντα
dialexethēs kai philofofroneia'menos, ekelenvn
διαλύσθαι κατὰ πόλιν έκάστους καὶ τρέπε-
σθαι πρὸς τὰ οἴκεια, μεμνημένους αὕτης ἐπὶ
ton th rámbhov autó συνελθεῖν. οὕτω δὲ τῆς
στρατίας σκεδασθείσης καὶ πυθανομένων ἀπάν-
3 τῶν πράγμα συνέβη θαυμαστὸν. ὁρῶσα γὰρ
αἱ πόλεις Πομπήιοι Μάγνου ἄνοπλοι καὶ μετ’
όλιγων τῶν συνήθων ύστερ εἰς ἀλλής ἀποδημίας
diaperenómenv, ekheómenvai di’ euvnoian kai pro-
pémpusai metà meízovous dynámewos synkatérhov
eîs tîn Ῥώμην, eî tî kineîn dienvoêtò kai nevsterî-
had played the wanton during his absence. While Pompey was far away, he had treated the report of it with contempt; but when he was nearer Italy and, as it would seem, had examined the charge more at his leisure, he sent her a bill of divorce, although he neither wrote at that time, nor afterwards declared, the grounds on which he put her away; but the reason is stated in Cicero's letters.¹

XLIII. All sorts of stories about Pompey kept travelling to Rome before him, and there was much commotion there, where it was thought that he would straightway lead his army against the city, and that a monarchy would be securely established. Crassus took his children and his money and secretly withdrew, whether it was that he was really afraid, or rather, as seemed likely, because he wished to give credibility to the calumny and make the envious hatred of Pompey more severe. Pompey, accordingly, as soon as he set foot in Italy,² held an assembly of his soldiers, and after he had said what fitted the occasion, and had expressed his gratitude and affection for them, he bade them disperse to their several cities and seek their homes, remembering to come together again for the celebration of his triumph. When the army had been thus disbanded and all the world had learned about it, a wonderful thing happened. When the cities saw Pompey the Great journeying along unarmed and with only a few intimate friends, as though returning from an ordinary sojourn abroad, the people streamed forth to show their good will, and escorting him on his way with a larger force, brought him with them back to Rome, where, had he purposed any revolutionary

¹ Not in any which are extant. In a letter to Atticus (i. 12, 3) Cicero says that Pompey's divorce of Mucia was heartily approved.
² In 62 B.C.
ζειν τότε, μηδέν ἐκείνου δεόμενον τοῦ στρατεύματος.

XLIV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ νόμος οὐκ εἶα πρὸ τοῦ θριάμβου παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεμψεν ἄξιον εἰς τὴν βουλήν ἀναβαλέσθαι τὰς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχαιρεσίας, καὶ δούναι ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν ὅπως παρὼν Πείσων συναρχαῖρεῖ 2 σιάσῃ. Κάτωνος δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄξιοσιν ἐνστάντος οὐκ ἔτυχε τοῦ βουλεύματος. θαυμάσας δὲ τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τόνων ὁ μόνος ἔχριτο φανερῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων, ἐπεθύμησεν ἁμὼς γε πως κτῆσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα· καὶ δυεῖν οὐσῶν ἀδελφοῦ τῷ Κάτωνι τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν 3 γυναῖκα, τὴν δὲ τῶ παιδὶ συνοικίσαι. τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος ὑπιδομένου τὴν πείραν, ὡς διαφθορὰν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ τρόπον τινὰ δεκαξομένου διὰ τῆς οἰκείοτητος, ἢ τε ἀδελφὴ καὶ ἢ γυνὴ χαλεπῶς ἐσφηνεν εἰ Πομπηίον Μάγνον ἀποτρίψεται κυριεύσα-

τὴν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ βουλόμενος ὑπατον ἀποδείξει Πομπηίος Αφράνιον ἀργύριον εἰς τὰς φυλὰς ἀνήλισκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦτο κατιόντες εἰς τοὺς 4 Πομπηίου κύπτους ἐλάμβανον, ὡστε τὸ πράγμα περιβόητον εἶναι καὶ τὸν Πομπηίον ἀκούειν κακῶς, ἢς αὐτὸς ἀρχὴ ἐφ’ ὦς κατώρθωσεν ὡς μεγίστης ἐπιχειρεῖ, ταύτην ὁμοῦ ποιοῦντα τοῖς δὲ ἀρετῆς κτήσασθαι μὴ δυναμένοις. “Τούτων μέντοι,” πρὸς τὰς γυναίκας ὁ Κάτων ἔφησε, “τῶν ὁνειδῶν κοινωνιτέων οἰκείοις Πομπηίου γενομένως.” αἱ δὲ ἀκούσασαι συνέγνωσαν βέλτιον αὐτῶν ἐκείνου λογίζεσθαι περὶ τοῦ πρέπουτος. 228
changes at that time, he had no need of the army that he had disbanded.

XLIV. Now, since the law did not permit a commander to enter the city before his triumph, Pompey sent a request to the senate that they should put off the consular elections, asking them to grant him this favour in order that he might personally assist Piso in his candidacy. But Cato opposed the request, and Pompey did not get what he wished. However, Pompey admired Cato's boldness of speech and the firmness which he alone publicly displayed in defence of law and justice, and therefore set his heart on winning him over in some way or other; and since Cato had two nieces, Pompey wished to take one of them to wife himself, and to marry the other to his son. But Cato saw through the design, which he thought aimed at corrupting him and in a manner bribing him by means of marriage alliance, although his sister and his wife were displeased that he should reject Pompey the Great as a family connection. In the meantime, however, wishing to have Afranius made consul, Pompey spent money lavishly on his behalf among the tribes, and the people went down to Pompey's gardens to get it. As a consequence, the matter became notorious and Pompey was in ill repute; the office of consul was highest of all, and he himself had therefore received it as a reward for his successes, and yet he was making this office a thing to be bought by those who were unable to win it by merit. "In these reproaches, however," said Cato to the women, "we must have taken our share, if we had become allied to Pompey." And when they heard this, they agreed that his estimate of the fit and proper was better than theirs.¹

¹ Cf. Cato the Younger, xxx. 1-5.
XLV. Τού δὲ θριάμβου τῷ μεγέθει, καίτερ εἰς ἡμέρας δύο μερισθέντος, ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ἐξήρκεσεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων πολλὰ τῆς θέας ἐξέπεσεν, ἔτερας ἀποχρώντα πομπῆς ἄξιωμα καὶ κόσμος εἶναι. γράφμασι δὲ προηγομένως ἔδη-
2 λοῦτο τὰ γένη καθ’ οὐν θεριάμβευεν. ἦν δὲ τάδε· Πόντος, Ἀρμενία, Καππαδοκία, Παφλαγονία, Μηδία, Κολχίς, Ἰβηρία, Ἀλβανία, Συρία, Κιλικία, Μεσοποταμία, τὰ περὶ Φοινίκην καὶ Παλαιστίνην, Ἰουδαία, Ἀραβία; τὸ πειρατικὸν ἄταυ ἐν γῆ καὶ θαλάσσῃ κατατετελεμένουν. εὗ δὲ τούτοις φρούρια μὲν ἠλωκότα χιλίων οὐκ ἐλάτ-
tουν, πόλεις δὲ οὗ πολὺ τῶν ἐνακοσίων ἀποδέ-
ουσαι, πειρατικαὶ δὲ νῆες ὀκτακόσιαι, κατοικίαι
3 δὲ πόλεων μᾶς δέουσαι τετταρίκοντα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐφραζε διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων ὃτι πεντακισ-
χίλια μὲν μυριάδες ἐκ τῶν τελῶν ὑπήρχον, ἐκ δὲ ὅν αὐτὸς προσεκτῆσατο τῇ πόλει μυριάδας ὀκτακισχιλίας πεντακοσίας λαμβάνουσιν, ἀνα-
φέρεται δὲ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ταμείον ἐν ἱομίσματι καὶ κατασκευαῖς ἁργυρίῳ καὶ χρυσίῳ δισμύρια τάλαντα, πάρεξ τῶν ἐις τοὺς στρατιώτας δεδο-
μένων, ἐν ὧν ὁ τούλαχιστον αἱρών κατὰ λόγον
4 δραχμᾶς εἰκῆ πεντακοσίας. αἰχμά-
λωτοι δ' ἐπομπευθησάν, ἀνευ τῶν ἀρχιπειρατῶν,
ὑδὸς Τιγράνου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ
θυγατρός, αὐτοῦ τε Τιγράνου τοῦ βασιλέως γυνῆ
643 Ζωσίμη, καὶ βασιλεῖς Ἰουδαίων Ἀριστόβουλος,
Μιθριδάτον δὲ ἄδελφη καὶ πέντε τέκνα, καὶ
Σκυθίδες γυναῖκες, Ἀλβανίων δὲ καὶ Ἰβηρών
ὀμηροὶ καὶ τοῦ Κομμαγηνῶν βασιλέως, καὶ τρό-
pαια πάμπολλα καὶ ταῖς μάχαις ἱσάριθμα
230
His triumph had such a magnitude that, although it was distributed over two days, still the time would not suffice, but much of what had been prepared could not find a place in the spectacle, enough to dignify and adorn another triumphal procession. Inscriptions borne in advance of the procession indicated the nations over which he triumphed. These were: Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Palestine, Judaea, Arabia, and all the power of the pirates by sea and land which had been overthrown. Among these peoples no less than a thousand strongholds had been captured, according to the inscriptions, and cities not much under nine hundred in number, besides eight hundred piratical ships, while thirty-nine cities had been founded. In addition to all this the inscriptions set forth that whereas the public revenues from taxes had been fifty million drachmas, they were receiving from the additions which Pompey had made to the city's power eighty-five million, and that he was bringing into the public treasury in coined money and vessels of gold and silver twenty thousand talents, apart from the money which had been given to his soldiers, of whom the one whose share was the smallest had received fifteen hundred drachmas. The captives led in triumph, besides the chief pirates, were the son of Tigranes the Armenian with his wife and daughter, Zosime, a wife of King Tigranes himself, Aristobulus, king of the Jews, a sister and five children of Mithridates, Scythian women, and hostages given by the Iberians, by the Albanians, and by the king of Commagene; there were also very many trophies, equal in number to all the battles in which Pompey
πάσας ἂς ἡ αὐτὸς ἡ διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπίκησε. 5 μέγιστον δὲ ὑπῆρχε πρὸς δόξαν καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν
πώποτε Ἠρωμαίων γεγονός, ὅτι τὸν τρίτον θρί-
αμβον ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης ἥπειρον κατήγαγεν. ἔπει
τρίς γε καὶ πρῶτον ἦσαν ἐτεροι τεθριαμβεύκοτες·
ἐκείνος δὲ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ δεύ-
τερον ἐξ Εὐρώπης, τούτων δὲ τὸν τελευταίον ἀπὸ
tῆς Ἀσίας εἰσαγαγοὺς τρόπον τινα τὴν οἴκουμέ-
νην ἐδόκει τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπῆχθαι θριαμβοῖς.

XLVI. Ἡλικία δὲ τότε ἦν, ὡς μὲν οἱ κατὰ
πάντα τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραβάλλοντες αὐτὸν
καὶ προσβιβάζοντες ἄξιοντες, νεώτερος τῶν τριά-
κοντα καὶ τεττάρων ἔτων, ἀληθεία δὲ τοῖς
τετταράκοντα προσήγεν. ὡς ὡντο γὰρ ἐνεπάθα
τοῦ βίου παυσάμενος, ἄχρι οὗ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου
τύχην ἔσχεν· ὅ δὲ ἐπέκεινα χρόνος αὐτῷ τὰς μὲν
eὐτυχίας ἤμενεν ἐπιφθόνους, ἀνηκέστους δὲ τὰς
2 δυστυχίας. ἦν γὰρ ἐκ προσηκόντων αὐτῶς ἐκτή-
σατο δύναμιν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ταύτη χρώμενος ύπὲρ
ἀλλῶν οὐ δικαιῶσ, ὅσον ἐκείνος ἱσχύος προσε-
tιθεὶς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ δόξας ἀφαιρέθη, ἔλαβε ῥώμη
καὶ μεγέθες τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως καταλυθεῖς.
καὶ καθάπερ τὰ καρτερότατα μέρη καὶ χωρία
tῶν πόλεων, ὅταν δέξηται πολεμίους, ἐκεῖνοι
προστίθησι τῆς αὐτοῦ ἱσχύν, οὕτως διὰ τῆς
Πομπηίου δυνάμεως Καίσαρ ἔξαρθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν
πόλιν, ὃ κατὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἱσχύσε, τούτων ἀνέ-
τρεψε καὶ κατέβαλεν. ἐπράξθη δὲ οὕτως.
3 Δεύκολλον, ὃς ἐπανήλθεν ἐξ Ἀσίας ὑπὸ Πομ-
had been victorious either in person or in the persons of his lieutenants. But that which most enhanced his glory and had never been the lot of any Roman before, was that he celebrated his third triumph over the third continent. For others before him had celebrated three triumphs; but he celebrated his first over Libya, his second over Europe, and this his last over Asia, so that he seemed in a way to have included the whole world in his three triumphs.

XLVI. His age at this time, as those insist who compare him in all points to Alexander and force the parallel, was less than thirty-four years, though in fact he was nearly forty. How happy would it have been for him if he had ended his life at this point, up to which he enjoyed the good fortune of Alexander! For succeeding time brought him only success that made him odious, and failure that was irreparable. That political power which he had won by his own legitimate efforts, this he used in the interests of others illegally, thus weakening his own reputation in proportion as he strengthened them, so that before he was aware of it he was ruined by the very vigour and magnitude of his own power. And just as the strongest parts of a city's defences, when they are captured by an enemy, impart to him their own inherent strength, so it was by Pompey's power and influence that Caesar was raised up against the city, and Caesar overthrew and cast down the very man by whose aid he had waxed strong against the rest. And this was the way it came about.

When Lucullus came back from Asia, where he

1 In 61 B.C., when this triumph was celebrated, Pompey was in his forty-sixth year.
πηλίου περιβρυσμένος, αυτίκα τε λαμπρῶς ἡ σύγκλητος ἐδέξατο, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτὶ Πομπηίου παραγενομένου κολούουσα τὴν δόξαν ἥγειρεν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ δὲ τάλλα μὲν ἄμβλυς ἡν ἡδη καὶ κατέψυκτο τὸ πρακτικόν, ἥδονη σχολῆς καὶ ταῖς περὶ τῶν πλούτων διατριβαίς ἑαυτῶν ἐνδεδωκώς, ἐπὶ δὲ Πομπηίου εὐθὺς αἴξας καὶ λαβόμενος ἑντόνως αὐτοῦ περί τε τῶν διατάξεων ἀς ἐλυσεν ἑκράτει, καὶ πλέον εἶχεν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συναγωγικοῖς. ἐκπίπτον δὲ καὶ περιωθούμενος ὁ Πομπηίος ἡναγκάζετο δημαρχοῦσι προσφεύγειν καὶ προσαρτᾶσθαι μειρακίως· οὐν ὁ βδελυγότατος καὶ ρασύτατος Κλώδιος ἰναλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὑπέρριψε τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ παρ’ αἵλιαν κυλινδούμενον ἐν ἀγόρᾳ ἔχων καὶ περιφέρων ἔχρητο τῶν πρὸς χάριν ὀχλοῦ καὶ κολακείαν γραφομένων καὶ λεγομένων 

βεβαιωτῇ, καὶ προσέτε μισθῶν ἦτει, ὡσπερ οὐ καταίχυνων, ἀλλὰ εὐνεγητῶν, ὅν ὑστερον ἠλαβε παρὰ Πομπηίου, προέσθαι Κικέρωνα, φίλου ὤντα καὶ πλείστα δὴ πεπολιτευμένον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. κινδυνεύοντι γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ δεομένῳ βοηθείας οὐδὲ εἰς ὤψιν προῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἥκουσιν ἀποκλείσας τὴν αὐλειών ἐτέρας θύραις φύχετο ἀπιών. Κικέρων δὲ φοβηθεῖσ τὴν κρίσιν ὑπέξ-

1 Cf. chapter xxxi. 1.
had been outrageously treated by Pompey, the senate at once gave him a splendid reception, and after Pompey’s arrival, wishing to obstruct that leader’s reputation, it urged Lucullus all the more to take part in public life. In other matters Lucullus was already dulled and chilled past all efficiency, having given himself over to the pleasures of ease and the enjoyment of his wealth; but he sprang at once upon Pompey and by a vigorous attack won a victory over him in the matter of those ordinances of his own which Pompey had annulled, and carried the day in the senate with the support of Cato. Thus worsted and hard pressed, Pompey was forced to fly for refuge to popular tribunes and attach himself to young adventurers. Among these the boldest and vilest was Clodius, who took him up and threw him down under the feet of the people, and keeping him ignobly rolled about in the dust of the forum, and dragging him to and fro there, he used him for the confirmation of what was said and proposed to gratify and flatter the people. He even went so far as to ask a reward for his services from Pompey, as if he were helping him instead of disgracing him, and this reward he subsequently got in the betrayal of Cicero, who was Pompey’s friend and had done him more political favours than any one else. For when Cicero was in danger of condemnation and begged his aid, Pompey would not even see him, but shut his front door upon those who came in Cicero’s behalf, and slipped away by another. Cicero, therefore, fearing the result of his trial, withdrew secretly from Rome.  

2 Having been impeached for illegally putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, he went into voluntary exile in 58 B.C. See the Cicero, chapters xxx. and xxxi.
XLVII. Τότε δὲ Καίσαρ ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ στρατείας ἦπατο πολιτεύματος ὤ πλείστην μὲν αὐτῶ χάριν εἰς τῷ παρόντι καὶ δύναμιν εἰσαύθις ἤρεγε, μέγιστα δὲ Πομπηίου ἐβλαψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν. ὑπατείαν μὲν γὰρ μετήηε πρώτην ὅρον δὲ ὅτι Κράσσου πρὸς Πομπηίου διαφερομένου θατέρῳ προσθέμενος ἐχθρὸ χρήσεται τῷ ἐτέρῳ, τρέπεται πρὸς διαλλαγὰς ἀμφοῖν, πράγμα καλὸν μὲν ἄλλους καὶ πολιτικὸν, αἰτία δὲ φαύλη καὶ μετὰ 2 δεινότητος ὑπ’ ἐκείνου συντεθὲν ἐπιβούλως. ἢ γὰρ ὡσπερ ἐν σκάφει τάς ἀποκλίσεις ἐπανδούσα τῇς πόλεως ἴσχύς εἰς ἐν συνελθοῦσα καὶ γενομένη μία τὴν πάντα πράγματα καταστασιάσασι καὶ καταβαλοῦσαν ἀνανταγώνιστον ῥοπὴν ἐποίησεν. ὁ γοῦν Κάτων τοὺς λέγοντας ὑπὸ τῆς ύστερον γενομένης πρὸς Καίσαρα Πομπηίῳ διαφορᾶς ἀνατραπὴν τὴν πόλιν ἀμαρτάνειν ἔλεγεν αἰτίω- 3 μένους τὸ τελευταίον. οὐ γὰρ τὴν στάσιν οὐδὲ τὴν ἐχθραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύστασιν καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει κακὸν πρῶτον γενέσθαι καὶ μέγιστον. ἡρέθη μὲν γὰρ ὑπατος Καίσαρε εὐθὺς ὑπὸ θεραπευόν τὸν ἀπορον καὶ πένητα κατοικίας πόλεως καὶ νομᾶς ἀγρῶν ἑγραφεῖν, ἐκβαινον τὸ τῆς ἄρχης ἀξίωμα καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δημοκρίαν 4 τὴν ὑπατείαν καθισταῖ. ἐναντιομένου δὲ τοῦ συναρχοῦσας αὐτῶ Βύβλου, καὶ Κάτωνος ἔρρω- μενέστατα τῷ Βύβλῳ παρεσκευασμένου βοηθεῖν, προσαγαγὼν ὁ Καίσαρ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Πομπηίου ἐμφανῆ καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἡρώτησεν εἰ τοὺς

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XLVII. At this time Caesar had returned from his province and had inaugurated a policy which brought him the greatest favour for the present and power for the future, but proved most injurious to Pompey and the city. He was a candidate for his first consulship, and seeing that, while Crassus and Pompey were at variance, if he attached himself to the one he would make an enemy of the other, he sought to reconcile them with one another,—a thing which was honourable in itself and conducive to the public good, but he undertook it for an unworthy reason and with all the cleverness of an intriguer. For those opposing forces which, as in a vessel, prevented the city from rocking to and fro, were united into one, thereby giving to faction an irresistible momentum that overpowered and overthrew everything. At all events, Cato, when men said that the state had been overturned by the quarrel which afterwards arose between Caesar and Pompey, declared that they wrongly laid the blame on what had merely happened last; for it was not their discord nor yet their enmity, but their concord and harmony which was the first and greatest evil to befall the city. Caesar was, indeed, chosen consul; but he at once paid his court to the indigent and pauper classes by proposing measures for the founding of cities and the distribution of lands, thereby lowering the dignity of his office and making the consulate a kind of tribunate. And when he was opposed by his colleague Bibulus, and Cato stood ready to support Bibulus with all his might, Caesar brought Pompey on the rostra before the people, and asked him in so many words

1 He returned from Spain in 60 B.C. See the Caesar, chapters xiii. and xiv.
νόμους ἐπαινοήτα τοῦ δὲ συμφήσαντος, "Οὔκοιν," εἶπεν, "ἂν τις τοὺς νόμους βιάζηται, εἰς τὸν
dήμον ἀφίξῃ βοηθῶν;" "Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ἔφη ὁ
Πομπηῖος, "ἀφίξομαι, πρὸς τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας τὰ
ξίφη μετὰ ξίφους καὶ θυρεῶν κομίζων." τούτου
Πομπηῖος οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε ποιήσαι μέχρι
tῆς ἁμέρας ἐκείνης φορτικώτερον ἔδοξεν, ὡστε
καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀπολογεῖσθαι φάσκοντας ἐκ-
φυγεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καρποῦ τὸ ῥῆμα. τοῖς μέντοι
μετὰ ταῦτα πραπτομένοις φανερὸς ἦν ἡ ἡπτά-
pασιν ἐκατον τῷ Καίσαρι χρίσασθαι παραδέδω-
κός. Ιουλίαν γὰρ τὴν Καίσαρος θυγατέρα,
Καίπιώνι καθωμολογημένην καὶ γαμείσθαι μέλ-
lουσαν ὁλίγων ἡμερῶν, οὐδενὸς ἀν προσδοκή-
sαντος ἔγγημε Πομπηῖος, μεῖλιγμα Καίπιώνι 
τῆς ὀργῆς τὴν ἐκατον θυγατέρα καταίνεσας, Φαύστῳ
tῷ παιδὶ Σύλλα πρότερον ἐγγεγυμνεύην. αὐτὸς
dὲ Καίσαρ ἔγημε Καλπουρνίαν τὴν Πεισωνος.
XLVIII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Πομπηῖος ἐμπλήσας
στρατιστῶν τὴν πόλιν ἀπαίνα τὰ πράγματα βιὰ
κατείχε. Βύβλῳ τε γὰρ εἰς ἀγορὰν τῷ ὑπάτῳ
κατιόντη μετὰ Δευκόλλου καὶ Κάτωνος ἄφνω
προσπεσόντες κατέκλασαν τὰς ῥάβδους, αὐτοῦ
dὲ τις κοπρίών κόψιον ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Βύβλου
κατεσκέδασε, δύο δὲ δῆμαρχοι τῶν συμπροτερ-
2 πότων ἐπρώθησαν. οὖτω δὲ τῶν ἐνυσταμένων
tὴν ἀγορὰν ἐρημώσαντες ἐπεκύρωσαν τὸν περὶ
tῆς διανομῆς τῶν χωρίων νόμον· ὃ δὲλεασθεὶς ὁ
dήμος εἰς πᾶσαν ἡδὴ τιθασώ αὐτοῖς ἐγερέονει καὶ
κατάντης πράξει, οὐδὲν πολυπραγμονῶν, ἀλλ’
ἐπιφέρων σιωπῇ τοῖς γραφομένοις τὴν ψῆφον.
3 ἐκυρώθησαν οὖν Πομπηῖῳ μὲν αἱ διατάξεις ὑπὲρ
whether he approved the proposed laws; and when Pompey said he did, "Then," said Caesar, "in case any resistance should be made to the laws, will you come to the aid of the people?" "Yes, indeed," said Pompey, "I will come, bringing, against those who threaten swords, both sword and buckler." Never up to that day had Pompey said or done anything more vulgar and arrogant, as it was thought, so that even his friends apologized for him and said the words must have escaped him on the spur of the moment. However, by his subsequent acts he made it clear that he had now wholly given himself up to do Caesar's bidding. For to everybody's surprise he married Julia, the daughter of Caesar, although she was betrothed to Caepio and was going to be married to him within a few days; and to appease the wrath of Caepio, Pompey promised him his own daughter in marriage, although she was already engaged to Faustus the son of Sulla. Caesar himself married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso.

XLVIII. After this, Pompey filled the city with soldiers and carried everything with a high hand. As Bibulus the consul was going down into the forum with Lucullus and Cato, the crowd fell upon him and broke the fasces of his lictors, and somebody threw a basket of ordure all over the head of Bibulus himself, and two of the tribunes who were escorting him were wounded. When they had thus cleared the forum of their opponents, they passed the law concerning the distribution of lands; and the people, caught by this bait, became tame at once in their hands, and ready to support any project, not meddling at all, but silently voting for what was proposed to them. Accordingly, Pompey got those enactments of his ratified which Lucullus contested;
ὁν Δεύκολλος ἥριξε, Καίσαρι δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλ-πεων καὶ τὴν ἐκτὸς ἔχειν Γαλατίαν καὶ Ἰλλυρίους εἰς πενταετίαν καὶ τέσσαρα τάγματα τέλεια στρατιωτῶν, ὑπάτους δὲ εἰς τὸ μέλλον εἶναι Πείσων τῶν Καίσαρος πενθερὸν καὶ Γαβίνων, ἀνδρὰ τῶν Πομπηίου κολάκων ύπερφυέστατον.

4 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων Βῦβλος μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν κατακλεισάμενος ὀκτὼ μηνῶν οὐ προῆλθεν ὑπατεύων, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμπε διαγράμματα βλασφη-μίας ἁμοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ κατηγορίας, Κάτων δὲ ὦσπερ ἐπίπνους καὶ φοιβολήπτος ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ προη-γόρευε, Δεύκολλος δὲ ἀπειτῶν ἢσυχίαν ἤθελεν ὡς ὑστέτη πρὸς πολιτείαν ὥραίος· ὅτε δὴ καὶ Πομ-πῆιος ἔφη, γέρωντι τὸ τρυφῶν ἄρωτερον εἶναι 5 τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι. ταχὺ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμα-λάσατο τῷ τῆς κόρης ἐρωτή καὶ προσέσχεν ἐκεῖνῃ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ συνδιημέρευσεν ἐν ἁγροῖς καὶ κηποίς, ἠμέλει δὲ τῶν κατ᾽ ἁγορὰν πραττο-μένων, ὡστε καὶ Κλώδιον αὐτοῦ καταφρονῆσαι δημαρχύουτα τότε καὶ θρασύτατῶν ἀψασθαι 6 πραγμάτων. ἔπει γὰρ ἐξέβαλε Κικέρωνα, καὶ Κάτωνα προφάσει στρατηγίας εἰς Κύρπον ἀπέ πεμψε, Καίσαρος εἰς Γαλατίαν ἐξελήλακότος, αὐτῷ δὲ προσέχοντα τὸν δῆμον ἐόρα πάντα πράττοντι καὶ πολιτευομένῳ πρὸς χάριν, εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει τῶν Πομπηίου διατάξεων εὔνιας ἀναίρεσιν, καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν αἷμαλωτὸν ἀφαρπάσας εἶχε σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις δίκας ἐτήγη, πείραν

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Caesar received the two Gauls and Illyricum for five years, together with four complete legions; and it was decided that the consuls for the ensuing year should be Piso, the father-in-law of Caesar, and Gabinius, who was the most extravagant of Pompey's flatterers.

While this was going on, Bibulus shut himself up in his house and for the eight months remaining of his consulship did not appear in public, but issued edicts which were full of accusations and slanders against Pompey and Caesar; Cato, as though inspired and possessed by a spirit of prophecy, foretold in the senate what the future would bring to the city and to Pompey; while Lucullus renounced the struggle and led a life of ease, on the plea that he was past the age for political affairs; whereat Pompey remarked that for an old man luxurious living was more unseasonable than political activity. However, Pompey himself also soon gave way weakly to his passion for his young wife, devoted himself for the most part to her, spent his time with her in villas and gardens, and neglected what was going on in the forum, so that even Clodius, who was then a tribune of the people, despised him and engaged in most daring measures. For after he had driven Cicero into banishment, and sent Cato off to Cyprus under pretence of giving him military command, and Caesar was gone off to Gaul, and when he saw that the people were devoted to him because all his political measures were undertaken to please them, he straightway attempted to repeal some of the arrangements which Pompey had made; he took away his prisoner, Tigranes, and kept him about his own person; and he prosecuted some of his friends,
ἐν ἐκείνοις τῆς Πομπηίου λαμβάνων δυνάμεως. 7 τέλος δὲ, προελθόντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τινα δίκην, ἐχων ύφ᾽ αὐτῷ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἁσελγείας καὶ ὀλγωρίας μεστὸν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς ἐπιφανὴ τόπον καταστὰς ἐρωτήματα τοιαῦτα προὺβαλλε· "Τίς ἐστιν αὐτοκράτωρ ἀκόλαστος; τίς ἀνήρ ἄνδρα ζητεῖ; τίς ἐνι δακτύλῳ κνᾶται τὴν κεφαλήν;" οἱ δὲ, ὡσπερ χρόνος εἰς ἀμοιβαία συγκεκριμένος, ἐκείνου τὴν τίβεβεννον ἀνασείόντος ἕφ᾽ ἐκάστῳ μέγα βοῶντες ἀπεκρίναντο· "Πομπηίος."  

XLIX. Ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα Πομπηίου ἀγθῆ τοῦ κακῶς ἀκούειν ὄντα καὶ μάχης τοιαύτης ἀπειρον ἤχθετο δὲ μάλλον αἰσθανόμενος τὴν βουλὴν ἐπιχαίρουσαν αὐτῷ προπηλακιζομένῳ καὶ 2 διδόντε ἐκήν τῆς Κικέρωνος προδοσίας. ἔπει δὲ καὶ πληγᾶς ἐν ἀγορᾶ μέχρι τραυμάτων συνεβη γενέσθαι, καὶ Κλωδίου τις οἰκέτης παραδυνόμενος ἐν ὥχλῳ διὰ τῶν περιεστῶτων πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου ἡλέγχθη ξίφος ἐχεῖν, ταῦτα ποιούμενος πρόφασιν, ἅλλος δὲ τοῦ Κλωδίου τὴν ἁσελγείαν καὶ τὰς ἐλασφημίας δεδιώς, οὐκέτι προῆλθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν ὅσον ἐκείνος ἠρχε χρόνων, ἀλλ᾽ οἴκουρῶν διετέλει καὶ σκεπτόμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ὅπως ἂν ἔξα- κέσατο τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἀρίστων τὴν πρὸς 3 αὐτὸν ὀργῆν. Κομπλέωνι μὲν οὖν κελεύοντι τὴν Ἰουλίαν ἀφεῖναι καὶ μεταβαλέσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπὸ τῆς Καίσαρος φιλίας οὐ προσ- ἔσχε, τοῖς δὲ Κικέρωνα καταγαγεῖν ἄξιονσιν, ἄνδρα καὶ Κλωδίῳ πολεμιώτατον καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προσφιλέστατον, ἐπείσθη καὶ προαγαγὼν τὸν
making a test of the power of Pompey by his proceedings against them. And finally, when Pompey appeared at a public trial, Clodius, having at his beck and call a rabble of the lowest and most arrogant ruffians, stationed himself in a conspicuous place and put to them such questions as these: "Who is a licentious imperator?" "What man seeks for a man?" "Who scratches his head with one finger?" And they, like a chorus trained in responsive song, as he shook his toga, would answer each question by shouting out "Pompey."

XLIX. Of course this also was annoying to Pompey, who was not accustomed to vilification and was inexperienced in this sort of warfare; but he was more distressed when he perceived that the senate was delighted to see him insulted and paying a penalty for his betrayal of Cicero. When, however, it had come to blows and even wounds in the forum, and a servant of Clodius, stealing along through the crowd of bystanders towards Pompey, was found to have a sword in his hand, Pompey made this his excuse, although he was also afraid of the insolent abuse of Clodius, and came no more into the forum as long as Clodius was tribune, but kept himself continually at home, where he was ever debating with his friends how he might appease the anger of the senate and the nobility against him. To Culleo, however, who urged him to divorce Julia and exchange the friendship of Caesar for that of the senate, he would not listen, but he yielded to the arguments of those who thought he ought to bring Cicero back, who was the greatest enemy of Clodius and most beloved in the senate, and he escorted

1 The trial of Milo, in 56 b.c. Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxix. 19.
The law made Pompey Praefectus Annonae for five years.
Cicero's brother, who was a petitioner for his return, with a large force into the forum, where, though some were wounded and some killed, he nevertheless got the better of Clodius. And when Cicero returned to the city by virtue of the law then passed, he immediately reconciled Pompey to the senate, and by his advocacy of the corn law he in a manner once more made Pompey master of all the land and sea in Roman possession. For under his direction were placed harbours, trading-places, distributions of crops,—in a word, navigation and agriculture. Clodius alleged that the law had not been proposed on account of the scarcity of grain, but the scarcity of grain had arisen in order that the law might be proposed, a law whereby the power of Pompey, which was withering away, as it were, in consequence of his failing spirits, might be rekindled again and recovered in a new office. But others declare that this was a device of the consul Spinther, whose aim was to confine Pompey in a higher office, in order that he himself might be sent out to aid King Ptolemy. However, Canidius, as tribune of the people, brought in a law providing that Pompey, without an army, and with two lictors only, should go out as a meditator between the king and the people of Alexandria. Pompey was thought to regard the law with no disfavour, but the senate rejected it, on the plausible pretence that it feared for his safety. Besides, writings were to be found scattered about the forum and near the senate-house, stating that it was Ptolemy's wish to have Pompey given to him as a commander instead of Spinther. And Timagenes actually says that Ptolemy left home to take refuge from his dissatisfied subjects in Rome, and wished to be restored. Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxix. 12–17. He is referred to again in chapter lxxvi. 5.
οὕσης ἀνάγκης ἀπελθεῖν φησι, καὶ καταλείπειν Ἀγαμπτον ὑπὸ Θεοφάνους πεισθέντα πράττοντος Πομπηίων χρηματισμούς καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπόθεσιν. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν οὐχ οὔτος ἡ Θεοφάνους μοχθερία πιθανὸν ὥς ἀπιστον ἡ Πομπηίου ποιεῖ φύσις, οὐκ ἔχουσα κακόθεσε οὕδ' ἀνελεύθερον οὕτω τὸ φιλότιμον.

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L. Ἐπισταθεῖς δὲ τῇ περὶ τὸ σιτικὸν οἰκονομία καὶ πραγματεία, πολλὰχοι μὲν ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς καὶ φίλους, αὐτὸς δὲ πλεύσας εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ Σαρδόνια καὶ Λιβύην ἡθορίζει σῖτον. ἀνάγεσθαι δὲ μέλλων πνεύματος μεγάλου κατὰ θάλατταν ὅντος καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν ὁκνοῦντων, πρῶτος ἐμβάς καὶ κελεύσας τὴν ἀγκυραν αἴρειν ἀνεβόσει:

2 "Πλείν ἀνάγκη, ἦν οὐκ ἀνάγκη." τοιαύτη δὲ τὸλμη καὶ προθυμία χρώμενος μετὰ τύχης ἁγαθῆς ἐνέπλησε σῖτον τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ πλοῖων τὴν θάλασσαν, ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώποις ἐπαρκέσαι τὴν περιουσίαν ἐκεῖνης τῆς παρασκευῆς, καὶ γενέσθαι καθάπερ ἐκ πηγῆς ἄφθουν ἀπορροήν εἰς πάντας.

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LI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ μέγαν ἦραν οἱ Κελτικοὶ πόλεμοι Καίσαρα: καὶ δοκῶν πορρωτάτω τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπείναι καὶ συνηρτήσθαι Βελγαί καὶ Σουήβοις καὶ Βρεττανοῖς, ἐλάνθανεν ὑπὸ δεινότητος ἐν μέσῳ τὸ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς κυριωτάτοις πράγμασι καταπολεμόμενος τὸν Πομπηίον.

2 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὡς σῶμα τὴν στρατιωτικὴν δύναμιν περικείμενος, οὔκ ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἐν θῆραις καὶ κυνηγεσίοις τοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἁγώσι γυμνάζων, διεπόνει, καὶ κατεσκεύαζεν ἄμαχον καὶ φοβηράν, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ
without sufficient reason and under no necessity, and that his abandonment of Egypt was owing to the persuasions of Theophanes, who was aiming to give Pompey profitable occupation in the holding of a new command. But this is not made credible by the baseness of Theophanes as much as it is made incredible by the nature of Pompey, in which ambition was not of such a mean and base order.

L. Having thus been set over the administration and management of the grain trade, Pompey sent out his agents and friends in various directions, while he himself sailed to Sicily, Sardinia and Africa, and collected grain. When he was about to set sail with it, there was a violent storm at sea, and the ship-captains hesitated to put out; but he led the way on board and ordered them to weigh anchor, crying with a loud voice: "To sail is necessary; to live is not." By this exercise of zeal and courage attended by good fortune, he filled the sea with ships and the markets with grain, so that the excess of what he had provided sufficed also for foreign peoples, and there was an abundant overflow, as from a spring, for all.

LI. Meanwhile, his Gallic wars raised Caesar to greatness; and though he was thought to be very far removed from Rome, and to be occupied with Belgae, Suevi, and Britanni, he secretly and cleverly contrived to thwart Pompey's designs in the heart of the city and in the most important matters. For he himself, with his military force clothing him as the body does the soul, was carefully training it, not against the Barbarians merely, nay, he used its combats with these only to give it exercise, as if in hunting and the chase,—and was making it invincible and terrible; but all the while he was
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τάλλα λάφυρα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦτον τὸν ἐκ πολέμων τοσούτων περιγυμνομένων εἰς τὴν Ρώμην ἀποστέλλων, καὶ διαπειρὼν ταῖς δωροδοκίαις καὶ συγχρησάς ἀγορανόμοις καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ υπάτοις καὶ γυναιξίν αὐτῶν, ὀκειοῦτο πολλοὺς·
3 ὡστε ύπερβαλόντος αὐτοῦ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς καὶ δια-χειμάζοντος ἐν Λούκη, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἀμμυλωμένων καὶ φερομένων πολὺ πλῆθος γενέσθαι, συγκλητικοὺς δὲ διακοσίους, ἐν οἷς καὶ Πομπήιος ἦν καὶ Κράσσος, ἀνθυπάτων δὲ καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐκατὸν εἰκοσὶ ράβδους ἐπὶ ταῖς Καίσαρος θύραις ὀφθήμας. τούς μὲν οὖν ἄλ-λους ἀπαντᾷς ἐμπλήσας ἐπείδων καὶ χριμάτων ἀπέστελλε, Κράσσος δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγένοντο συνθῆκαι, μετιέναι μὲν ὑπατείας ἐκεῖ-νους καὶ Καίσαρα συλλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς, πέμπον-τα τῶν στρατιωτῶν συχνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ψῆφον, ἐπάν δὲ αἱρεθῶσι τάχιστα, πράττειν μὲν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπαρ-χιῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων ἡγεμονίας, Καίσαρι δὲ τὰς ὅσας βεβαιοῦν εἰς ἄλλην πενταετίαν. ἐπὶ τού- τοις ἐξενεκτείνων εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ Μαρκελλίνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καταχάσας ἀμφότερον ἑναντίον ἡρώτησαν εἰ μετίσσιν ὑπατείαν. καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποκρινασθαί κελε-υόντων, πρῶτος Πομπήιος εἶπεν ὡς τάχα μὲν ἄν μετέλθοι, τάχα δὲ οὐκ ἄν μετέλθοι Κράσσος δὲ πολιτικῶτερον οὕτω γὰρ ἐφη πράξειν ὅπως ἐπιφυσικώς ἐμ 6 ἄν οὐχι τῷ κοινῷ συνοίσειν. ἐπιφυομένου δὲ
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... sending back to Rome gold and silver and the other spoils and the rest of the wealth which came to him in abundance from his numerous wars, and by tempting people with his bribes, and contributing to the expenses of aediles, praetors, consuls, and their wives, he was winning many to his side. Therefore when he crossed the Alps and spent the winter in Luca, a great crowd of ordinary men and women gathered there in eager haste to see him, while two hundred men of senatorial rank, among whom were Pompey and Crassus, and a hundred and twenty fasces of proconsuls and praetors were seen at Caesar's door. Accordingly, he filled all the rest with hopes and loaded them with money, and sent them away; but between himself, Pompey, and Crassus the following compact was made: these two were to stand for the consulship, and Caesar was to assist their candidacy by sending large numbers of his soldiers home to vote for them; as soon as they were elected, they were to secure for themselves commands of provinces and armies, and to confirm Caesar's present provinces to him for another term of five years. When all this was publicly known, it gave displeasure to the chief men of the state, and Marcellinus rose in the assembly and asked Pompey and Crassus to their faces whether they were going to be candidates for the consulship. As the majority of the people bade them answer, Pompey did so first, and said that perhaps he would be a candidate, and perhaps he would not; but Crassus gave a more politic answer, for he said he would take whichever course he thought would be for the advantage of the common wealth. And when Marcellinus persisted in his

1 This was in 56 B.C. Cf. the Caesar, chapter xxi.
2 Cf. the Crassus, xv. 1 f.
Πομπῆιος Μαρκελλίνου καὶ σφοδρὸς λέγειν δοκοῦντος, ὁ Πομπῆιος ἐφὶ πάντων ἄδικωτατον εἶναι τὸν Μαρκελλίνον, δι' χάριν οὐκ ἔχει λόγιος μὲν ἐξ ἀφώνου δὲ αὐτῶν, ἐμετικὸς δὲ ἐκ πεινατικοῦ γενόμενος.

I. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστάντων τοῦ παραγγέλλειν ὑπατείαν, Δευκίουν Δομέτιον Κάτων ἔπεισε καὶ παρεθάρρυσε μὴ ἀπειπεῖν οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας εἶναι τὸν ἀγώνα πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. οὐ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πομπῆιον φοβηθέντες τὸν τῶν τοῦ Κάτωνος, μὴ τὴν βούλην ἔχων ἀπασαν ἀποστάσῃ καὶ μεταβάλῃ τοῦ δήμου τὸ ὑγιαίνον, οὐκ εἰσασαν εἰς ἁγορὰν κατελθεῖν τὸν Δομέτιον, ἀλλὰ ἐπιτεμψαντες ἐνόπλους ἀνδράς ἀπέκτειναν μὲν τὸν προηγούμενον λυχνιοφόρον, ἐτρέψαντο δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους· ἐσχάτος δὲ Κάτων ἀνεχόρησε, τρωθεὶς τὸν δεξιὸν πῆχυν ἀμυνόμενος πρὸ τοῦ Δομετίου.

Τοιαύτη δὲ ὁδὸν παρελθοῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ τάλλα κοσμιώτερον ἐπραττον. ἀλλὰ πρώτον μὲν τὸν Κάτωνα τοῦ δήμου στρατηγὸν αἱρομένου καὶ τὴν ψήφον ἐπιφέροντος, Πομπῆιος ἔλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οἰκῶν αἰτιώμενος, ἀνθὶ δὲ Κάτωνος Βατίνου ἀνηγόρευσαν, ἀργυρῷ τὰς φυλὰς διαφθείρατες. ἐπειτα νόμους διὰ Τρηβωνίου δημαρχοῦντος εἰσεφερον, Καῖσαρι μὲν, ὡσπερ ὁμολόγητο, δευτέραν ἐπιμετροῦντας πεινατείαν, Κράσσαν δὲ Συρίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείαν διδόντας, αὐτῷ δὲ Πομπῆιον Λιβύν ἀπασαν καὶ Ἰβηρίαν ἐκατέραν καὶ τέσσαρα τάγματα στρατιωτῶν, ὃν ἐπέχρησε δύο Καῖσαρι δεινότερον πρὸς τῶν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ πόλεμον. ἀλλὰ Κράσσαν μὲν ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπαλ-
attack upon Pompey and was thought to be making a strong speech, Pompey remarked that Marcellinus was of all men most unjust, since he was not grateful to him for making him eloquent instead of speechless, and full to vomiting instead of famished.

LII. However, though all the rest declined to be candidates for the consulship, Cato encouraged and persuaded Lucius Domitius not to desist, for the struggle with the tyrants, he said, was not for office, but for liberty. But Pompey and his partisans, seeing the firmness of Cato, and fearing lest, having all the senate with him, he should draw away and pervert the sound-minded among the people, would not suffer Domitius to go down into the forum, but sent armed men and slew the link-bearer who was leading his company, and put the rest to flight; Cato was the last to retire, after being wounded in the right arm while he was fighting to defend Domitius.

By such a path they made their way into the office they sought, nor even then did they behave more decently. But first of all, while the people were casting their votes for the election of Cato to the praetorship, Pompey dissolved the assembly, alleging an inauspicious omen, and after corrupting the tribes with money, they proclaimed Vatinius praetor instead of Cato. Then, by means of Trebonius, a tribune, they introduced laws which, according to the agreement, continued his provinces to Caesar for a second term of five years, gave Crassus Syria and the expedition against the Parthians, and to Pompey himself the whole of Africa, both Spains, and four legions; of these he lent two to Caesar, at his request, for the war in Gaul. But although Crassus went out to his province at the expiration of
Λαγείς τῆς ὑπατείας, Πομπηίος δὲ τὸ θέατρον ἀναδείξας ἄγωνας ἦγε γυμνικοὺς καὶ μουσικοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει, καὶ θηρῶν ἀμίλλας ἐν οἷς πεντακόσιοι λέοντες ἀνηρέθησαν, ἐπὶ πάσι δὲ τὴν ἐλεφαντομαχίαν, ἐκπληκτικώτατον θέαμα, παρέσχεν.

ΛPor. Ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ θαυμαστώθεις καὶ ἀγα-πηθείς, αὕθις οὐκ ἐλάττωνα φθόνον ἔσχεν, ὅτι πρεσβευταίς φίλοις παραδοὺς τὰ σтратεύματα καὶ τὰς ἑπαρχίας, αὐτὸς εὖ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἥβητηρίους, μετίσιν ἄλλοτε ἀλλαχόσε, μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δύνης, εἰτε ἐρῶν αὐτῆς, εἰτε ἐρῶσαν οὐχ ὑπομένων ἀπολυπειν, καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτο ἔργηται, καὶ περιβόητου ἦν τῆς κόρης τὸ φίλαν-δρον, οὐ καθ’ ὄραν ποθούσης τὸν Πομπηίον, ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν ἐοικεν ἢ τε σωφροσύνη τοῦ ἀνδρός εἶναι μόνην γνώσκοντος τὴν γεγαμμημένην, ἢ τε σεμ-νότης οὐκ ἀκρατον, ἀλλ’ εὔχαριν ἔχουσα τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ μάλιστα γυναικὸς ἄγωγον, εἰ δεῖ μηδὲ Φλώραν ἄλωνι τὴν ἑταίραν ψευδομαρτυρεῖν.

3 ἐν δ’ οὖν ἀγορανομικὸς ἀρχαιρεσίος εἰς χειρίς τινῶν ἐλθόντων καὶ φονευθέντων περὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀναπληθεῖς ἀιματος ἦλλαξε τὰ ἰμάτια. πολλοὺ δὲ θερύβου καὶ δρόμου προς τὴν οἰκίαν γενομένου τῶν κομιξόντων τὰ ἰμάτια θεραπόντων, ἔτυχε μὲν ἡ κόρη κύουσα, θεασαμένη δὲ καθημαγμένη τὴν τῆβενων ἐξέλιπτε καὶ μόλις ἀνήρεγκεν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς ἐκεῖνης καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἀπήμβλωσεν. οὖθεν οὐδὲ οἱ μάλιστα μεμφόμενοι τὴν πρὸς Καῖσαρα Πομπηίον φιλίαν ἦπιοντο τῶν ἑρωτα τῆς γυναικός. αὕθις μέντοι κυήσασα καὶ τεκοῦσα θὴλι παιδίων ἐκ τῶν

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his consulship, Pompey opened his theatre and held gymnastic and musical contests at its dedication, and furnished combats of wild beasts in which five hundred lions were killed, and above all, an elephant fight, a most terrifying spectacle.

LIILII. All this won him admiration and affection; but on the other hand he incurred a corresponding displeasure, because he handed over his provinces and his armies to legates who were his friends, while he himself spent his time with his wife among the pleasure-places of Italy, going from one to another, either because he loved her, or because she loved him so that he could not bear to leave her; for this reason too is given. Indeed, the fondness of the young woman for her husband was notorious, although the mature age of Pompey did not invite such devotion. The reason for it, however, seems to have lain in the chaste restraint of her husband, who knew only his wedded wife, and in the dignity of his manners, which were not severe, but full of grace, and especially attractive to women, as even Flora the courtesan may be allowed to testify. It once happened that at an election of aediles people came to blows, and many were killed in the vicinity of Pompey and he was covered with their blood, so that he changed his garments. His servants carried these garments to his house with much confusion and haste, and his young wife, who chanced to be with child, at sight of the blood-stained toga, fainted away and with difficulty regained her senses, and in consequence of the shock and her sufferings, miscarried. Thus it came to pass that even those who found most fault with Pompey's friendship for Caesar could not blame him for the love he bore his wife. However, she conceived again and gave birth to a

1 In 54 B.C.
ὁδίνων ἐπελεύθησε, καὶ τὸ παιδίον οὐ πολλὰς ἤμερας ἐπέζησε. παρεσκευασμένον δὲ τοῦ Πομπήιον τὸ σῶμα θάπτειν ἐν Ἀλβανῷ, βιασάμενος ὁ δήμος εἰς τὸ Ἀρειον πεδίον κατήνευκεν, οὔκτω τῆς κόρης μᾶλλον ἤ Πομπηίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι 5 χαριζόμενος. αὐτῶν δὲ ἐκείνων μείζον ἐδόκει μέρος ἀπόντι Καίσαρι νέμειν ὁ δήμος ἤ Πομπηίῳ παρόντι τῆς τιμῆς. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκύμαινεν ἡ πόλις, καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα σάλον εἶχε καὶ λόγους διαστατικοὺς, ὡς ἦ πρότερον παρακάπτοντα μᾶλλον ἤ κατέργουσα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν φιλαρχίαν 6 οἰκείοτης ἀνήρταται. μετ᾽ οὖν πολὺ δὲ καὶ Κράσσος ἐν Πάρθοις ἀπολωλός ἦγγέλλετο· καὶ τούτῳ κόλυμα ὅν μέγα τοῦ συμπεσείν τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον ἐκποδῶν ἐγέγονε· δεδιότες γὰρ ἐκείνων ἀμφότεροι τοῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμοῖς γε πῶς ἐνέμενον δικαίως. ἐπεί δὲ ἀνείλεν ἡ τύχη τῶν ἐφεδροῦ τοῦ ἀγώνος, εὐθὺς ἦν εἰπεῖν τὸ κωμικὸν, ὡς

ἀτερος πρὸς τὸν ἐτερον ὑπαλείφεται τῷ χειρὲ θ' ὑποκοινεταί.

7 οὕτως ἡ τύχη μικρὸν ἐστὶ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀποτύπωσιν αὐτῆς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ὅπου τοσοῦτον βάθος ἢγεμονίας καὶ μέγεθος εὐρυχωρίας δυνῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐπέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἀκούοντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντες ὅτι "τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται" τοῖς θεοῖς, "ἐκαστὸς δ' ἐμορε τιμῆς,"
female child, but died from the pains of travail, and the child survived her only a few days. Pompey made preparations to bury her body at his Alban villa, but the people took it by force and carried it down to the Campus Martius for burial, more out of pity for the young woman than as a favour to Pompey and Caesar. But of these two, it was thought that the people gave a larger share of the honour to Caesar, who was absent, than to Pompey, who was present. For the city became at once a tossing sea, and everywhere surging tumult and discordant speeches prevailed, since the marriage alliance which had hitherto veiled rather than restrained the ambition of the two men was now at an end. After a short time, too, tidings came that Crassus had lost his life in Parthia, and so what had been a great hindrance to the breaking out of civil war was removed; for through fear of him both Pompey and Caesar had somehow or other continued to treat one another fairly. But when fortune had removed the third champion who waited to compete with the victor in their struggle, at once the comic poet's words were apt, and

"each wrestler against the other
Anoints himself with oil and smears his hands
with dust."^1

So slight a thing is fortune when compared with human nature; for she cannot satisfy its desires, since all that extent of empire and magnitude of wide-stretching domain could not suffice for two men. They had heard and read that the gods^2 "divided the universe into three parts, and each got his share of power," and yet they did not think

^2 Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto; Iliad, xv. 189.
καὶ κατάθοιτο θάττου ἡ προσεδόκησε καὶ κατάθοιτο θάττου ἡ προσεδοκήθη. καὶ νῦ 648

Δύο μαρτυρούσας εἰχεν ἀεὶ τὰς διαλύσεις τῶν στρατοπέδων. τότε δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα δοκῶν οὗ προήσεθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐξῆτει ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἄρχαις ὁχυρὸς εἶναι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐνεστέριζεν, οὐδὲ ἐβούλετο δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν, ἀλλὰ

2 ὑπερορᾶν μᾶλλον καὶ καταφρονεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ἄρχας οὐ κατὰ γνώμην ἐώρα βραβευομένας, δεκαζομένων τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀναρχίαν εἰς τὴν πόλει περίειδε γενομένην καὶ λόγος εὐθὺς ἔχωρει πολὺς ὑπὲρ δικτάτορος, ὅπως πρῶτος εἰς μέσον ἐξενεγκείν ἐτόλμησε Δούκιλλιος ὁ δήμαρχος, τῷ δήμῳ παραίνὼν ἑλέσθαι δικτάτορα Πομπήιον. ἐπιλαβομένου δὲ Κάτωνος οὖτος μὲν ἐκινδύνευε τὴν δημαρχίαν ἀποβαλεῖν, ὑπὲρ δὲ Πομπήιον πολλοὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπελογοῦντο παριόντες ὡς οὐ δεομένου τῆς ἄρχης ἐκείνης οὐδὲ βουλομένου.

3 Κάτωνος δὲ Πομπήιον ἐπαινεσάντος καὶ προτρεψαμένου τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι, τότε μὲν αἰδεσθεῖς ἐπεμελήθη, καὶ κατεστάθησαν ὑπατοὶ Δομέτιος καὶ Μεσσάλας, ὑστερον δὲ πάλιν ἀναρχίας γινομένης καὶ πλειώνων ἡδὴ τῶν περὶ τοῦ δικτάτορος λόγον ἐγειρόντων ἰταμώτερον, φοβηθέντες οί περὶ Κάτωνα μὴ βιασθῶσιν, ἐγνωσαν ἄρχην τινα τῷ Πομπήιῳ προέμενοι

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the Roman dominion enough for themselves, who were but two.

LIV. Still, Pompey once said in addressing the people that he had received every office earlier than he had expected, and had laid it down more quickly than others had expected. And in truth his disbanding of his armies was a perpetual witness to the truth of his words. But at this time he thought that Caesar was not going to dismiss his forces, and therefore sought to make himself strong against him by means of magistracies in the city. Beyond this, however, he attempted no revolutionary changes, nor did he wish to be thought to distrust Caesar, but rather to neglect and despise him. But when he saw that the magistracies were not bestowed according to his wishes, because the citizens were bribed, he suffered an anarchy to arise in the city; and forthwith there was prevalent much talk in favour of a dictator, which Lucilius the popular tribune first ventured to make public, when he advised the people to elect Pompey dictator. But Cato attacked him, and Lucilius came near losing his tribunate, and many of Pompey's friends came forward in defence of him, declaring that he neither asked nor desired that office. And when Cato applauded Pompey and urged him to devote himself to the cause of law and order, for the time being he did so, out of shame, and Domitius and Messala were installed in the consulship; but afterwards an anarchy arose again, and more people now agitated the question of a dictatorship more boldly. Therefore Cato and his party, fearing lest they should be overborne, determined to allow Pompey a certain

1 That is, no consuls were elected.
2 In 53 B.C., seven months after the regular time.
νόμιμον ἀποτρέψαι τῆς ἀκράτου καὶ τυραννικῆς ἀκείνης. καὶ Βύβλος ἔχθρος ὅν Πομπηίῳ πρῶτος ἀπεφήνατο γνώμην ἐν συγκλήτῳ Πομπηίου μόνον ἐλέσθαι ὑπατον. ἦ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς παρούσης τὴν πόλιν ἀκοσμίας, ἦ δουλεύσειν τῷ κρατίστῳ. φανέντος δὲ παραδόξου τοῦ λόγου διὰ τὸν εἰπόντα, Κάτων ἀναστὰς καὶ παρασχὼν δόκησιν ὡς ἀντιλέξοι, γενομένης σιωπῆς εἰπε τὴν προκειμένην γνώμην αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἀν εἰσενεγκείν, εἰσενεγκείνῃ δὲ ὑφ’ ἐπέρου πειθέσθαι κελεύειν, πάσαν μὲν ἄρχην μᾶλλον αἰροῦμενος ἀναρχίας, Πομπηίου δὲ μηδένα βέλτιον ἀρξεῖν ἐν ταραχαῖς τηλικαύτας νομίζων. δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς Βουλῆς, καὶ ψηφισμένης ὅπως ὑπατος αἴρεθεις ὁ Πομπηίος ἄρχοι μόνος, εἰ δὲ αὐτὸς συνάρχοντος δεηθείς, μὴ θάττον δυοῖν μηνοῖν δοκιμάσας ἔλοιπο, κατασταθείς οὖτως καὶ ἀποδεχθεῖς διὰ Σουλπικίου μεσοβασιλέως ὑπατος ἱσπαζέτο φιλοφρόνως τὸν Κάτωνα, πολλὴν ὁμολογῶν χάριν ἔχειν καὶ παρακαλῶν γίνεσθαι σύμβουλον ἴδια τῆς ἄρχης. Κάτων δὲ χάριν μὲν ἔχειν αὐτῷ τὸν Πομπηίου οὐκ ἥξιον· δὲ ἐκείνου γὰρ ὡς εἶπεν οὐδὲν εἶπεῖν, διὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἔσεσθαι δὲ σύμβουλος ἴδια παρακαλοῦμενος, εάν δὲ μὴ παρακαλῆται, δημοσία φράσειν τὸ φιλοῦμεν. τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν Κάτων ἐν πάσι.
legalized office, and so to divert him from the unmixed tyranny of a dictatorship. Consequently, Bibulus, who was an enemy of Pompey, was first to propose in the senate that Pompey be chosen sole consul; for thus, he said, the city would either be set free from the prevailing disorder, or would become the slave of its strongest man. The proposal seemed strange, considering the man who made it; but Cato rose, leading everybody to think that he was going to speak against it, and when silence was made, said that he himself would not have introduced the proposed measure, but that since it had been introduced by another, he urged its adoption, because he preferred any government whatever to no government at all, and thought that no one would govern better than Pompey in a time of such disorder. The senate accepted the measure, and decreed that Pompey, if elected consul, should govern alone, but that if he himself desired a colleague, he might choose whom he thought fit after two months had fully expired. Having in this way been made consul¹ and so declared by Sulpicius, the Interrex,² Pompey addressed himself in a friendly manner to Cato, acknowledging that he was much indebted to him, and inviting him to give advice in a private capacity on the conduct of the government. But Cato would not admit that Pompey was indebted to him, declaring that none of his words had been spoken in the interests of Pompey, but in the interests of the city; and that he would give him advice in a private capacity if he were invited, and in case he should not be invited, would publicly make known his opinion. Such, indeed, was Cato in everything.

¹ One who held supreme power in the absence of regularly elected consuls.
LV. Πομπήιος δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐγγύμης Κορυνηλίαν θυγατέρα Μετέλλου Σκηπίωνος, ὡς παρθένον, ἀλλὰ χήραν ἀπολελειμμένην νεοστὶ Ποπλίου τοῦ Κράσσου παιδός, ὡς συνώκησεν ἐκ παρθενίας, ἐν Πάρθοις τεθνηκότος. ἔννη δὲ τῇ κόρῃ πολλὰ φίλτρα δίχα τῶν ἅφ’ ὤρας. καὶ γὰρ περὶ γράμματα καλῶς ἦσκητο καὶ περὶ λύραν καὶ γεωμετρίαν, καὶ λόγων φιλοσόφων εἴθιστο 2 χρησίμως ἀκούειν. καὶ προσὴν τούτοις ἤθος ἀγίδιας καὶ περιεργίας καθαρῶν, ἀ δὴ νέαις προστρίβεται γυναιξί: τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα: πατὴρ δὲ καὶ γένους ἐνεκα καὶ δόξης ἅμεμπτος. ἀλλ’ ὁμως τοῦ γάμου τοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἢρεσκε τὸ μὴ καθ’ ἦλικίαν νιὼ γὰρ αὐτοῦ συνοικεῖν ὄραν εἴχεν ἦ 3 Κορυνηλία μᾶλλον οἱ δὲ κομψότεροι τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἤγοντο παρεωρικέναι τὸν Πομπήιον ἐν τύχαις οὔσης, ὅν ἐκείνου ἴατρὸν ἤρηται καὶ μόνῳ παραδέδωκεν αὐτήν ὁ δὲ στεφάνουται καὶ θύει γάμους, αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπατείαν ὀφείλων ἢγεῖσαι συμφοράν, οὐκ ἂν οὕτω παρανόμως δοθέοσαν 649 4 εὐτυχοῦσης τῆς πατρίδος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῖς δίκαις τῶν ἑορτασμῶν καὶ δεκασμῶν ἐπιστάσις, καὶ νόμους γράφας καθ’ οὕς αἱ κρίσεις ἐγίνοντο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σεμνῶς ἐβράβευε καὶ καθαρῶς, ἀσφαλειαν ἁμα καὶ κόσμον καὶ ἱσυχίαν αὐτὸν προσκαθημένου μεθ’ ὁπλῶν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις παρέχων, Σκηπίωνος δὲ τοῦ πενθηροῦ κρινομένου, μετατεμψάμενος οὐκαδε τοὺς ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους δικαστὰς ἐνέτυχε βοηθεῖν, ὁ δὲ καθήγορος ἀπέστη τῆς δίκης ἴδων τὸν Σκηπίωνα προπεμπόμενον 260
LV. Pompey now entered the city, and married Cornelia, a daughter of Metellus Scipio. She was not a virgin, but had lately been left a widow by Publius, the son of Crassus, whose virgin bride she had been before his death in Parthia. The young woman had many charms apart from her youthful beauty. She was well versed in literature, in playing the lyre, and in geometry, and had been accustomed to listen to philosophical discourses with profit. In addition to this, she had a nature which was free from that unpleasant officiousness which such accomplishments are apt to impart to young women; and her father's lineage and reputation were above reproach. Nevertheless, the marriage was displeasing to some on account of the disparity in years; for Cornelia's youth made her a fitter match for a son of Pompey. Those, too, who were more critical, considered that Pompey was neglectful of the unhappy condition of the city, which had chosen him as her physician and put herself in his sole charge; whereas he was decking himself with garlands and celebrating nuptials, though he ought to have regarded his very consulship as a calamity, since it would not have been given him in such an illegal manner had his country been prosperous. Moreover, although he presided over the suits for corruption and bribery, and introduced laws for the conduct of the trials, and in all other cases acted as arbiter with dignity and fairness, making the court-rooms safe, orderly, and quiet by his presence there with an armed force, still, when Scipio, his father-in-law, was put on trial, he summoned the three hundred and sixty jurors to his house and solicited their support, and the prosecutor abandoned the case when he saw Scipio conducted from the
εξ ἀγορᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, πάλιν οὖν ἦκονε
5 κακῶς, ἐτι δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτι λύσας νόμῳ τοὺς γνω-
μένους περὶ τῶν κρινομένων ἐπαινοῦσα, αὐτὸς
εἰσῆλθε Πλάγκων ἐπαινεσόμενος. καὶ Κάτων
(ἐτυχε γὰρ κρίνων) ἐπισχόμενος τὰ ὧτα ταῖς
χερσὶν οὐκ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν
6 νόμον ἀκούειν τῶν ἐπαινῶν. οἷον ὁ μὲν Κάτων
ἀπεβλήθη πρὸ τοῦ φέρειν τὴν ψήφον, ἐάλῳ δὲ
tais ἀλλαίς ὁ Πλάγκως σὺν αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ Πομ-
πηίου. καὶ γὰρ ὅληγαις ὑστερον ἡμέραις Τψαίος,
ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, δίκην φεύγων καὶ παραφυλάξας
tοῦ Πομπηίου ἐπὶ δείπνου ἀπίόντα λελουμένου,
ἰκέτευ τοὺς γονάτων λαβόμενος. ὁ δὲ παρῆλθεν
ὑπεροπτικῶς εἰπὼν διαφθείρειν τὸ δείπνον αὐτόν,
ἀλλο δὲ μηδὲν περαινείν. οὕτως οὖν ἀνισὸς εἶναι
7 δοκῶν αἴτιας εἴχε. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα καλῶς ἁπαντα
κατέστησεν εἰς τάξιν, καὶ προσεἰλετο συνάρχοντα
tοῦ πενθερὸν εἰς τοὺς ὑπολοίπους πέντε μήνας.
ἐνηφίσθη δὲ αὐτῷ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἔχειν εἰς ἀλλήν
tetraetían, καὶ χίλια τάλαντα λαμβάνειν καθ'
ἐκαστόν ἐνιαυτόν, ἀφ' ὃν θρέψει καὶ διοικήσει
to strophwtkón.

LVI. Οἱ δὲ Καίσαρος φίλοι ταύτην ἀρχὴν
λαβόντες ἤξιον τινὰ γενέσθαι καὶ Καίσαρος
λόγον, ἀγωνιζόμενο γεγονότος ἀγώνας ὑπὲρ τῆς
ήγερονίας. ἡ γὰρ ὑπατείας ἤξιον εἶναι ὑπὲρ ἐπερ
ἐτέρας, ἢ προσλάβειν τῇ στρατείᾳ χρόνον, ἐν ὧ
τῶν πεπονημένων οὐκ ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν ἀφαιρῆ-
σεται τῇ δόξαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀρξει καὶ τιμήσεται
2 καθ' ἑσυχίαν ὁ κατεργασάμενος. οὕτως δὲ περὶ
POMPEY, lv. 4–lvi. 2

forum by the jurors. Once more, therefore, Pompey was in ill repute, and this was still further increased because, although he had put a stop by law to encomiums on persons under trial, he himself came into court to pronounce an encomium on Plancus. Cato, who happened to be one of the jurors, clapped his hands to his ears and said it was not right for him, contrary to the law, to listen to encomiums. Cato was therefore set aside before he could cast his vote, but Plancus was convicted by the other votes, to the disgrace of Pompey. For, a few days afterwards, Hypsaeus, a man of consular dignity, who was under prosecution, lay in wait for Pompey as he was returning from his bath for supper, clasped his knees, and supplicated his favour; but Pompey passed along contemptuously, telling him that, except for spoiling his supper, he was accomplishing nothing. In this way he got the reputation of being partial, and was blamed for it. Everything else, however, he succeeded in bringing into good order, and chose his father-in-law as his colleague for the remaining five months of the year. It was also decreed that he should retain his provinces for another four years, and receive a thousand talents yearly, out of which he was to feed and maintain his soldiers.

LVI. But the friends of Caesar took occasion from this to demand that some consideration be shewn for Caesar also, who was waging so many contests in behalf of the Roman supremacy; they said he deserved either another consulship, or the prolongation of his command, so that no one else might succeed to his labours and rob him of the glory of them, but that the one who had performed them might himself continue in power and enjoy his honours undisturbed. A debate arose on these matters, during
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tούτων ἀμίλλης, ὡς δὴ παραητούμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπ’ εὐνοία τὸν φθόνον ὁ Πομπήιος ἔφη γράμματα Καίσαρος ἐχειν βουλομένου λαβεῖν διάδοχον καὶ παύσασθαι τῆς στρατείας· ὑπατείας μέντοι καὶ μὴ παρόντι καλῶς ἐχειν αἰτησιν αὐτῶ
3 δοθήναι. πρὸς ταῦτα ἐνυπαμένων τῶν περὶ Κάτων καὶ κελεύοντων ἱδιώτην γενόμενον καὶ τὰ ὄπλα καταθέμενον εὑρίσκεσθαι τι παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄγαθόν, οὐκ ἐξερέσας, ἀλλ’ οἶνον ἱττηθεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος ὑποπτὸς ἦν μᾶλλον ὥν ἐφρόνει περὶ Καίσαρος. ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπαιτῶν ἃς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ, τὰ Παρθικὰ ποιούμενος πρό-φασιν. ὁ δὲ, καίτερ εἶδὼς ἐφ’ οἷς ἀπητεῖτο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὑπέπεμψε καλῶς δωρησάμενοι.

LVII. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ Πομπήιος ἐν Νεαπόλει νοσήσας ἐπισφαλῶς ἀνέρρωσε, Πραξιγόρον δὲ πείσαντος τοὺς Νεαπολίτας ἐθυσαν υπὲρ αὐτοῦ σωτήρια. μιμουμένων δὲ τούτων τῶν προσοίκων καὶ τοῦ πράγματος οὕτω περιοίστος τὴν Ἰταλίαν πᾶσαν, καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μεγάλη πόλις ἐφ’ ἤμερας 2 πολλὰς ἐώρατε. τοὺς δὲ ἀπαντῶντας πανταχό-θεν οὐδεὶς ἐχώρει τόπος, ἀλλὰ ὅδοι τε κατεπί-πλαντο καὶ κώμαι καὶ λιμένες εὐχουμενῶν καὶ θυόντων. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ στεφανηφοροῦντες ὑπὸ λαμπάδων ἐδέχοντο καὶ παρέπεμπον ἄνθοβολομένου, ὥστε τὴν κομιδήν αὐτοῦ καὶ πορείαν 3 θέαμα κάλλιστον ἐναι καὶ λαμπρότατον. οὐ- δενὸς μέντοι τοῦτο λέγεται τῶν ἀπεργασαμένων

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which Pompey, giving the impression that it was goodwill towards Caesar that led him to deprecate the odium in which Caesar stood, said he had letters from Caesar wherein he expressed a wish to have a successor and be relieved of his command; he thought it right, however, that he should be permitted to stand for the consulship even in his absence. Opposition to this was made by Cato and his party, who urged that Caesar must lay down his arms and become a private citizen before he could obtain any favour from his fellow-citizens; and since Pompey made no contention, but as it were accepted defeat, there was more suspicion about his sentiments towards Caesar. He also sent and asked back the troops which he had lent him, making the Parthian war his pretext for doing so. And although Caesar knew the real reasons for asking back the soldiers, he sent them home with generous gifts.

LVII. After this Pompey had a dangerous illness at Naples, but recovered from it, and on the advice of Praxagoras the Neapolitans offered sacrifices of thanksgiving for his preservation. Their example was followed by the neighbouring peoples, and so the thing made its way throughout all Italy, and every city, small and great, held festival for many days. No place could contain those who came to greet him from all quarters, but roads and villages and ports were filled with sacrificing and feasting throngs. Many also with garlands on their heads and lighted torches in their hands welcomed and escorted him on his way, pelting him with flowers, so that his progress and return to Rome was a most beautiful and splendid sight. And yet this is said to have done more than anything else to bring about

1 Cf. chapter lii. 3.  
2 In 50 B.C.
τὸν πόλεμον αἰτίων ἐλαττων γενέθαι. φρονήμα
γὰρ εἰσήλθεν ὑπεραίρον ἀμα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς
χαρᾶς τούς ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων λογισμοῦ, καὶ
τὴν εἰς ἄσφαλες ἀεὶ τὰ εὐτυχήματα καὶ τὰς
πράξεις αὐτοῦ θεμένην εὐλάβειαν προέμενος εἰς
ἀκρατον ἐξέπεσε θράσος καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῆς
Καίσαρος δυνάμεως, ὥς οὔτε ὅπλων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ
οὔτε τινὸς ἐργόδους πραγματείας δεησόμενος,
ἀλλὰ πολὺ ράον καθαρήσας ἡ πρότερον ηὐξησε
4 τὸν ἄνδρα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἄππιος ἀφίκετο
κομιζὼν ἐκ Γαλατίας ἣν ἔχρησε Πομπήιος
Καίσαρι στρατιάν καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐξεφλαύριζε
τὰς ἐκεῖ πράξεις καὶ λόγους ἐξέφερε βλασφήμως
περὶ Καίσαρος, αὐτὸν δὲ Πομπήιος ἄπειρως ἔχειν
ἔλεγε τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης, ἑτέρους
ὅπλους πρὸς Καίσαρα φραγνύμενον, δυ αὐτοῖς
κατεργάσεται τοῖς ἐκείνου στρατεύμασιν, ὅταν
πρώτον ὅφθη: τοσοῦτον καὶ μίσους πρὸς Καίσαρα
καὶ πόθον πρὸς Πομπήιον ἐνυπάρχειν αὐτοῖς.
5 οὕτω δ' οὖν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπήρθη, καὶ τοιαύτης
καὶ τοσαύτης ὀλγορίας διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἐγένετο
μεστὸς ὡστε καὶ τῶν δεδιότων τῶν πόλεμον
κατεγέλα, καὶ τοὺς λέγοντας ἂν ἐλαύνῃ Καίσαρ
ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, οὐχ ὅραν δυνάμεις αἰς αὐτὸν ἀμυ-
νοῦνται, μειδιῶν τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ διακεχυμένοις
ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευσεν. "Οποῖον γὰρ ἄν," ἔφη, "τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἐγὼ κρούσω τῷ ποδὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀναδύ-
σονται καὶ πεζικαὶ καὶ ἱππικαὶ δυνάμεις.
LVIII. Ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ Καίσαρ ἐπεφύετο τοῖς
πράγμασιν ἐρρωμενέστεροι, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκέτι
μακράν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἅπαριφ, εἰς δὲ τὴν πόλιν
ἀεὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀποστέλλων ἀρχαιρεσιά-
the war. For while the public rejoicing was so great, a spirit of arrogance came upon Pompey, which went beyond the calculations based upon facts, and, throwing to the winds that caution which had thus far always given security to his successful achievements, he indulged himself in unlimited confidence and contempt for Caesar's power, feeling that he would need neither an armed force to oppose him nor any irksome labour of preparation, but that he would pull him down much more easily than he had raised him up. Besides this, Appius came, bringing from Gaul the troops which Pompey had lent Caesar. He said much to belittle Caesar's achievements there, and gave out scandalous stories about Caesar. He also said that Pompey knew not his own power and reputation if he surrounded himself with other troops against Caesar, for he could put down Caesar with Caesar's own soldiers as soon as he appeared on the scene, so great was their hatred of Caesar and their warm affection for Pompey. In this way, then, Pompey was elated, and his confidence filled him with so great a contempt for his adversary that he mocked at those who were afraid of the war; and when some said that if Caesar should march upon the city, they did not see any forces with which to defend it from him, with a smiling countenance and calm mien he bade them be in no concern; "For," said he, "in whatever part of Italy I stamp upon the ground, there will spring up armies of foot and horse."

LVIII. And now, too, Caesar devoted himself to public affairs with greater vigour. He no longer kept himself far away from Italy, was always sending his soldiers back to the city to take part in the elections, and by means of his money was
σοντας, χρήμασι δὲ πολλοὺς ὑποικουρῶν καὶ
dιαφθείρων ἁρχοντας· ὄν καὶ Παῦλος ἦν ὁ
ὕπατος ἐπὶ χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις ταλάντοις
μεταβαλόμενος, καὶ Κουρίων ὁ δήμαρχος ἀμηχα-
nων πλήθει δανείων ἐλευθερωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ
Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος διὰ φιλίαν Κουρίωνος ὤν
2 ὀφελεῖτο μετέχων. ἐλέ类产品ε μὲν οὖν ὦτὶ τῶν
ἀφιγμένων τις ἀπὸ Καίσαρος ταξιαρχῶν ἐστῶς
παρὰ τὸ βουλευτήριον, καὶ πυθόμενος ὡς οὐ
dίδωσιν ἡ βουλὴ Καίσαρι χρόνον τῆς ἀρχῆς,
ἐἰπεν ἐπικρούσῳ τῇ χειρὶ τὸ ξίφος, "Ἀλλὰ τὸν
dόσει," καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ παρασκευα-
ζόμενα ταύτην εἰχὲ τὴν διάνοιαν.
3 Αἱ μέντοι Κουρίωνος ἄξιώσεις καὶ παρακλή-
σεῖς ὑπὲρ Καίσαρος ἐφαίνοντο δημοτικώτεραι.
δυέν γὰρ ἡξίου θάτερον, ἡ καὶ Πομπήιον ἀπαι-
tεῖν ἡ μηδὲ Καίσαρος ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ στρατιω-
tικὸν· ἡ γὰρ ἒδωτας γενομένους ἐπὶ τοὺς δικαίοις
ἡ μένοντας ἀντιπάλους ἐφ' οῖς ἔχουσιν ἀτρεμη-
σείν· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐτερῶν ἀσθενῆ ποιῶν ἦν φοβεῖται
4 δύναμιν διπλασιάζει. πρὸς ταῦτα Μαρκέλλου
τοῦ ὑπάτου λυστὴν ἀποκαλοῦντο τὸν Καίσαρα,
καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι πολέμιοι κελεύοντος εἰ μὴ κατα-
thέσεται τὰ ὁπλα, Κουρίων ὁμοὶ ἔσχυσε μετὰ
Ἀντωνίου καὶ Πείσωνος ἐξελέγξει τὴν σύγκλητον.
ἐκέλευσε γὰρ μεταστήναι τοὺς Καίσαρα μόνον
tὰ ὁπλα καταθέσθαι κελεύοντας, Πομπήιον δὲ
5 ἁρχεῖν καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ πλείους. ἀδύνας δὲ
μεταστήναι κελεύσαντος ὡσοις ἀμφότεροι ἀρέ-
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secretly working upon many of the magistrates and corrupting them. Among these was Paulus the consul, who was won over by a bribe of fifteen hundred talents; and Curio the popular tribune, whom Caesar set free from innumerable debts; and Mark Antony, whose friendship for Curio had involved him in Curio's obligations. It was said, indeed, that one of Caesar's centurions who had come back to Rome and was standing near the senate-house, when he heard that the senate would not give Caesar a prolongation of his term of office, struck his hand upon his sword and said: "But this will give it." And Caesar's intrigues and preparations had this purpose.

And yet the requests and demands which Curio made in behalf of Caesar seemed to be very popular in their character. For he demanded one of two things: either that Pompey also should be required to give up his soldiery, or else that Caesar's should not be taken away from him; for whether they became private persons on just and equal terms, or remained a match for each other with their present forces, they would make no disturbance; but he who weakened one of them doubled the power of which he stood in fear. To this Marcellus the consul replied by calling Caesar a robber, and urging that he be voted a public enemy unless he should lay down his arms; nevertheless, Curio, aided by Antony and Piso, prevailed so far as to have the opinion of the senate taken. He therefore moved that those should withdraw to one side who wished that Caesar only should lay down his arms and that Pompey should remain in command; and the majority withdrew. But when he moved again that all those should withdraw who wished both to lay down their
σκεῖ τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι καὶ μηδέτερον ἀρχεῖν, Πομπηίῳ μὲν εἰκοσὶ καὶ δύο μόνον, Κουρίωνι δὲ πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ προσέβευτο. κάκεινος μὲν ὡς νεικηκὼς λαμπρὸς ὑπὸ χαρᾶς εἰς τὸν δήμον ἐξῆλατο, κρότω καὶ βολαῖς στεφάνων καὶ ἀνθῶν δεξιούμενον αὐτόν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Βουλῇ Πομπῆίος οὐ παρῆν· οἱ γὰρ ἀρχοῦτες στρατοπέδων εἰς τὴν 6 πόλιν οὐκ εἰσίασι. Μάρκελλος δὲ ἀναστὰς οὐκ ἐφη λόγων ἀκροάσεσθαι καθήμενος, ἀλλ' ὀρῶν ὑπερφαινόμενα τῶν 'Ἄλπεων ἥδη δέκα τάγματα βαδίζειν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκπέμψεις τὸν ἀντιταξίμενον αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος.

LIX. Ἔκ τούτον τὰς ἐσθήτας ὡς ἐπὶ πένθει μετεβάλοντο. Μάρκελλος δὲ πρὸς Πομπηίον δι' ἀγορᾶς ἐβάδιζε τῆς Βουλῆς ἐπομένης, καὶ καταστὰς ἐναντίος, "Κελεύον σε," εἶπεν, "ὁ Πομπῆιος, 651 βοηθεῖ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς παρεσκευασμέναις δυνάμεσι καὶ καταλέγειν ἐτέρας." τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ Λέντλος ἔλεγε, τῶν ἀποδε-2 δειγμένων εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὑπάτων ἄτερος. ἀρξα-μένου δὲ τοῦ Πομπηίου καταλέγειν οἱ μὲν οὐκ ὑπήκουν, ὁλίγοι δὲ γλίσχρως καὶ ἀπροθύμως συνήσαν, οἱ δὲ πλείους διαλύσεις ἔβοιν. καὶ γὰρ ἀνέγνω τινὰ Καίσαρος ἐπιστολὴν Ἀντώνιος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, βιασάμενος τὴν Βουλήν, ἔχουσαν ἐπαγωγοὺς ὄχλου προκλήσεις. ἦσιν γὰρ ἄμ-φοτέρους ἐκβάντας τῶν ἐπαρχῶν καὶ τὰς στρατιωτικὰς δυνάμεις ἀφέντας ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ γενέσθαι 3 καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων εὐθύνας ὑποσχεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Λέντλον ὑπατεύουσες ἥδη Βουλῆν οὐ συνῆ-γον· ἀρτὶ δὲ ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀφεγμένος Κικέρων ἐπράττε διαλλαγάς, ὁπῶς Καίσαρ, ἐξελθὼν
arms and neither to remain in command, only twenty-two favoured Pompey, while all the rest sided with Curio. Curio, therefore, felt that he had won the day, and with a joyful countenance rushed before the people, who clapped their hands in welcome and pelted him with garlands and flowers. Pompey was not present in the senate, since commanders of armies cannot enter the city; Marcellus, however, rose and declared that he would not sit there listening to speeches, but since he saw ten legions already looming up in their march over the Alps, he himself also would send forth a man who would oppose them in defence of his country.

LIX. Upon this, the city went into mourning, as in the presence of a public calamity; and Marcellus, followed by the senate, marched through the forum to meet Pompey, and standing before him said: "I bid thee, Pompey, to defend thy country, to employ the forces now in readiness, and to levy others." Lentulus also said the same, being one of the consuls elected for the coming year. But when Pompey began to levy recruits, some refused to obey the summons, and a few came together reluctantly and without zest, but the greater part cried out for a settlement of the controversy. For Antony, in defiance of the senate, had read before the people a letter of Caesar containing propositions which were attractive to the multitude. He asked, namely, that both Pompey and he should give up their provinces, disband their armies, put themselves in the hands of the people, and render an account of what they had done. But Lentulus, who was by this time consul, would not call the senate together; Cicero, however, who was just returned from Cilicia, tried to effect a settlement of the dispute on these terms, namely,
Γαλατίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἀφεὶς πᾶσαν, ἐπὶ δυοὶ τάγμασι καὶ τῷ Ἱλλυρικῷ τὴν δευτέραν ὑπατείαν περιμένῃ. Πομπηίου δὲ δυσκολαίνοντος ἐπείσθησαν οἱ Καίσαρος φίλοι θάτερον ἀφείναν. Δέντλου δὲ ἀντικρούσαντος καὶ Κάτωνος αὐθις ἀμαρτάνειν τὸν Πομπηίου ἔξαπατόμενον βοῶντος οὐκ ἔσχον αἱ διαλύσεις πέρας.

I.X. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλεται Καίσαρ Ἀρίμμινον, πόλιν μεγάλην τῆς Ἰταλίας, κατειληφώς καὶ βαδίζων ἀντικρυς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως. τούτῳ δὲ ἦν φεῦδος. ἐβάδίζε γὰρ οὐ πλείονας ἔχων ἰππέων τριακοσίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ὀπλιτῶν. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐπέκεινα τῶν Ἀλπεων οὐσαν οὐ περιέμενεν, ἐμπεσεῖν ἀφόω τεταραγμένους καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι βουλόμενος μᾶλλον ἡ χρόνον δοὺς ἐκ παρασκευῆς μάχης σβαί. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥουβίκωνα ποταμὸν ἐλθὼν, ὃς ἀφώριζεν αὐτῷ τὴν δεδομένην ἐπαρχίαν, ἔστη σιώπῃ καὶ διεμέλλησεν, αὐτὸς ἀρα πρὸς ἐαυτὸν συλλογιζόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμη-ματος. εἶτα, ὡσπερ ὁ πρὸς βάθος ἀφιέντες ἄχανες ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ τινος ἐαυτοὺς, μῦσας τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ παρακαλυψάμενος πρὸς τὸ δεινόν, καὶ τοσοῦτον μόνον Ἕλληνιστὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόν-τας ἐκβοήσας, ὡς Ἀνερρίφθως κύβος, διεβιβάζε τῶν στρατῶν.

3 Ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ἡ φήμη προσέπεσε καὶ κατέσχε τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ἐκπλήξεως θόρυβος καὶ φόβος οἶος οὕπω πρότερον, εἴθυς μὲν ἡ βουλὴ φερομένη πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου συνέτρεχε καὶ παρῆσαν αἱ 272
that Caesar should renounce Gaul and dismiss the rest of his forces, but should retain two legions and Illyricum, and wait for his second consulship. And when Pompey was dissatisfied with this, the friends of Caesar conceded that he should dismiss one of the two legions; but since Lentulus still opposed, and Cato cried out that Pompey was blundering again in allowing himself to be deceived, the settlement came to naught.

LX. And now word was brought that Caesar had seized Ariminum, a large city of Italy, and was marching directly upon Rome with all his forces. But this was false. For he was marching with no more than three hundred horsemen and five thousand men-at-arms; the rest of his forces were beyond the Alps, and he did not wait for them, since he wished to fall upon his enemies suddenly, when they were in confusion and did not expect him, rather than to give them time and fight them after they were prepared. And so, when he was come to the river Rubicon, which was the boundary of the province allotted to him, he stood in silence and delayed to cross, reasoning with himself, of course, upon the magnitude of his adventure. Then, like one who casts himself from a precipice into a yawning abyss, he closed the eyes of reason and put a veil between them and his peril, and calling out in Greek to the bystanders these words only, "Let the die be cast," he set his army across.

As soon as the report of this came flying to Rome and the city was filled with tumult, consternation, and a fear that was beyond compare, the senate at once went in a body and in all haste to Pompey, and

1 In January, 49 B.C. See the Caesar, chapter xxxii.
\[\text{PLUTARCH'S LIVES}\]

\[\text{άρχαι, πυθομένου δὲ τοῦ Τύλλου περὶ στρατιάς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου μετά τίνος μελλήσεως ἀθαρσῶς εἰπόντος ὅτι τοὺς παρὰ Καίσαρος ἕκοντας ἔτοιμους ἔχει, νομίζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατελεγμένους πρότερον ἐν τάχει συνάξειν τρισμυρίους ὄντας, ὁ μὲν Τύλλος ἀναβοήσας, "Ἐξηπάτηκας ἡμᾶς, ὁ Πομπηῖος," συνεβούλευεν ὡς Καίσαρα πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλειν, Φαώνιος δὲ τις, ἀνὴρ τάλαμα μὲν οὐ πονηρός, αὐθαδεὶα δὲ καὶ ὑβρεὶ πολλάκις τὴν Κάτωνος οἰόμενος ἀπομιμεῖσθαι παρρησίαν, ἐκέλευε τὸν Πομπηίον τῷ ποδὶ τύπτειν τὴν γῆν, ἂς υπισχυνεῖτο δυνάμεως ἀνακαλούμενον.

4 ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἤνεγκε τὴν ἀκαίριαν πράσων· τοῦ δὲ Κάτωνος ὑπομιμησκόντος ὑν ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ Καίσαρος αὐτῶ προείπεν, ἀπεκρίνατο μαντικώτερα μὲν εἶναι τὰ Κάτωνι λεχθέντα, φιλικώτερα δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν πεπράξθαι.

LXI. Κάτων δὲ συνεβούλευεν αἱρεῖσθαι στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα Πομπηίου, ἐπεισδὸν ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστί καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν. οὕτως μὲν ὅπῃ εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Σικελίαν (ἐλαχίς γὰρ αὐτήν τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκάστως εἰς ἃς ἐκληρώθη. τῇ δ' Ἰταλίας σχεδὸν ὅλης

5 ἡνισταμένης ἀπορίαν εἰςχὲ τὸ γινόμενον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξωθεὶν φερόμενοι φυγῇ πανταχόθεν εἰς τὴν Ἠρώμην ἐνέπτιπτον, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἠρώμην οἰκούντες ἐξέπτιπτον αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀπέλειπον τὴν πόλιν, ἐν 652 χειμῶνι καὶ ταράχῳ τοσοῦτῳ τὸ μὲν χρήσιμον

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the magistrates came too. And when Tullus asked Pompey about an army and a military force, and Pompey, after some delay, said timidly that he had in readiness the soldiers who had come from Caesar, and thought that he could speedily assemble also those who had been previously levied, thirty thousand in number, Tullus cried aloud, "Thou hast deceived us, Pompey!" and advised sending envoys to Caesar; and a certain Favonius, a man otherwise of no bad character, but who often thought that his insolent presumption was an imitation of Cato's boldness of speech, ordered Pompey to stamp upon the ground and call up the forces which he used to promise. But Pompey bore this ill-timed raillery with meekness¹; and when Cato reminded him of what he had said to him at the outset about Caesar, he replied that what Cato had said was more prophetic, but what he himself had done was more friendly.

LXI. Cato now advised that Pompey should be elected general with unlimited powers, adding that the very men who caused great mischief must also put an end to it. Then he set out at once for Sicily, the province which had fallen to his lot, and the other senators likewise departed for the provinces which had severally been allotted to them. But since nearly all Italy was in commotion, the course of things was perplexing. For those who dwelt outside the city came rushing in hurried flight from all quarters into Rome, and those who dwelt in Rome were rushing out of it and abandoning the city, where, in such tempestuous confusion, the better element

¹ In Appian, Bell. Civ. ii. 37, Pompey replies: "You will have them if you follow me, and do not think it a terrible thing to leave Rome, and Italy too, if it should be necessary."
άσθενες ἔχουσαν, τὸ δὲ ἀπειθὲς Ἰοχυρὸν καὶ δυσ-μεταχείριστον τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν παῦσαι τὸν φόβον, οὐδὲ εἰσέ̇ε τις χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοῖς Πομπηίου, ἀλλ' ὁ τις ἐνετύχανε πά-θει, φοβηθεὶς ἢ λυπηθεὶς ἢ διαπορίσας, τούτῳ

3 φέρων ἐκείνου ἀνεπίμπλη καὶ τὰναντία τῆς αὐ-τῆς ἤμερας ἐκράτει βουλεύματα, καὶ πυθέσθαι περὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδὲν ἦν ἄληθες αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ πόλλων ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅ τι τύχοιεν, εἰτὰ ἀπιστοῦντι χαλεπάνειν. οὔτω δὴ θησισάμενος ταρα-χὴν ὁρᾶν καὶ κελεύσας ἄπαντας ἑπεσθαί αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπὸ βουλῆς, καὶ προειπών ὅτι Καίσαρος ἤγισται τὸν ἀπολειψθέντα, περὶ δεῖλην ὦψιαν

4 ἀπέλιπτε τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ ὑπατοὶ μηδὲ θύσαντες ἃ νομίζεται πρὸ πολέμων ἔφυγον. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ δεινὰ ξηλωτὸς ἀνήρ τῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν εὐνοίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι πολλῶν τὴν στρατη-γίαν μεμφομένων οὐδεὶς ἦν ὁ μισῶν τὸν στρατη-γόν, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ἄν τις εὑρε τῶν διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν φευγόντων τοὺς ἀπολιπεῖν Πομπηίου μὴ δυναμένους.

I.XII. Ὑλίγας δὲ ὑστερον ἠμέραις Καίσαρ εἰσελάσας καὶ κατασχῶν τὴν Ῥώμην τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐπτεικὼς ἐνέτυχε καὶ κατεπραίνε, τῶν δὲ δημάρχων ἐνὶ Μετέλλῳ κωλύοντι χρήματα λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ταμείου θάνατον ἦπείλησε, καὶ προσέθηκε τῇ ἀπειλῇ τραχύτερον λόγον· ἐφη γὰρ ὡς τούτῳ φήσαι χαλέπον ἢ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ
was weak, and the insubordinate element strong and hard for the magistrates to manage. For it was impossible to check the reigning fear, nor would any one suffer Pompey to follow the dictates of his own judgement, but whatever feeling each one had, whether fear, or distress, or perplexity, he promptly infected Pompey's mind with this. Therefore opposite counsels prevailed in the same day, and it was impossible for Pompey to get any true information about the enemy, since many reported to him whatever they happened to hear, and then were vexed if he did not believe them. Under these circumstances he issued an edict in which he recognized a state of civil war, ordered all the senators to follow him, declared that he would regard as a partisan of Caesar any one who remained behind, and late in the evening left the city. The consuls also fled, without even making the sacrifices customary before a war. But even amid the actual terrors of the hour Pompey was a man to be envied for the universal good will felt towards him, because, though many blamed his generalship, there was no one who hated the general. Indeed, one would have found that those who fled the city for the sake of liberty were not so numerous as those who did so because they were unable to forsake Pompey.

LXII. A few days after this, Caesar entered and took possession of Rome. He treated everybody with kindness and calmed their fears, except that when Metellus, one of the tribunes, attempted to prevent him from taking money out of the public treasury, he threatened to kill him, and added to the threat a still harsher speech, namely, that it was easier for him to execute it than to utter it.\(^1\) Having

\(^1\) Cf. the *Caesar* xxxv. 4.
2 πράξαι. τρεψάμενος δὲ τὸν Μέτελλον οὔτω, καὶ λαβὼν ὄν ἐχρήζεν, ἔδιωκε Πομπηίον, ἐκβαλεῖν σπεύδων ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὶν ἀφικέσθαι τὴν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας αὐτῷ δύναμιν. οὐ δὲ τὸ Βρεντέσιον κατασχῶν καὶ πλοίων εὐπορήσας τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους εὐθὺς ἐμβιβάσας καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν σπείρας τριμύκοντα προεξέπεμψε εἰς Δυρράχιον, Σκη-πίωνα δὲ τὸν πενθέρον καὶ Γναίον τὸν υἱὸν εἰς Συρίαν ἀπέστειλε ναυτικὸν κατασκευάσοντας.

3 αὐτὸς δὲ φραξάμενος τὰς πῦλας καὶ τοῖς τείχεσι τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους στρατιώτας ἐπιστήσας, τοὺς δὲ Βρεντέσινοὺς ἀτρεμεῖν κατ’ οἰκίαν κελεύσας, ὅλην ἐντὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀνέσκαψε καὶ διεσφερεσε, καὶ σκολόπων ἐνέπλησε τοὺς στενωποὺς πλήν δυεῖν, δι’ ὃν ἐπὶ θάλατταν αὐτὸς κατηλθένη.

4 ἡμέρα δὲ τρίτη τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ὀχλον ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν εἰχὲν ἤδη καθ’ ἴσυχίαν ἐμβεβηκότα, τοῖς δὲ τὰ τείχη φυλάττουσιν ἑξαίφνης σημεῖον ἄρας καὶ καταδραμόντας ὀξέως ἀναλαβὼν ἀπεπέρασεν. οὐ δὲ Καῖσαρ, ὥς εἶδεν ἐκλεκτάμενα τὰ τείχη, τὴν φυγὴν αἰσθόμενος μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέστη διόκων τοῖς σταυροῖς καὶ τοῖς ὀρύγμασι περιπετής γενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ Βρεντέσιών φρασάντων φυλαττόμενος τὴν πόλιν καὶ κύκλῳ περικού ἀνηγμένους εὑρέ πάντας πλήν δυεῖν πλοίων στρατιώτας τινὰς οὐ πόλλοις ἐχόμενων.

LXIII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τοῦ Πομπηίου τὸν ἀπόπλουν ἐν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τίθενται στρατηγὴ-μασίν, αὐτὸς δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐθαύμαζεν ὅτι καὶ πόλιν
thus driven away Metellus, he took what he wanted, and then set out in pursuit of Pompey, being anxious to drive him out of Italy before his forces came back from Spain. But Pompey, having taken possession of Brundisium, where he found plenty of transports, immediately embarked the consuls, and with them thirty cohorts of soldiers, and sent them before him to Dyrrachium; Scipio his father-in-law, however, and Gnaeus his son, he sent to Syria to raise a fleet. He himself, after barricading the gates and manning the walls with his lightest-armed soldiers, ordered the Brundisians to remain quietly in their houses, and then dug up all the ground inside the city into trenches, and filled the streets with sunken stakes,¹ all except two, by which he himself finally went down to the sea. Then on the third day, when he had already embarked the rest of his host at his leisure, he suddenly raised a signal for those who were still guarding the walls to run swiftly down to the sea, took them on board, and set them across to Dyrrachium. Caesar, however, when he saw the walls deserted, perceived that Pompey had fled, and in his pursuit of him came near getting entangled in the ditches and stakes; but since the Brundisians told him about them, he avoided the city,² and making a circuit round it, found that all the transports had put out to sea except two, which had only a few soldiers aboard.

LXIII. Other people, now, count this sailing away of Pompey among his best stratagems, but Caesar himself was astonished that when he was in

¹ Ditches were dug across the streets, sharpened stakes planted in the ditches, and the whole work lightly covered so as to look undisturbed. Cf. Caesar, Bell. Civ. I. xxvii.

² He had besieged it for nine days, and had also begun to close up the harbour (Caesar, Bell. Civ. I. xxv.-xxvii.).
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εχων όχυραν και προσδοκων τας εξ Ιβηριας δυναμεις και θαλασσοκρατων εξελυτε και προηκατο την Ιταλιαν. αιτιαται και Κικερων ότι την Θεμιστοκλεους εμιμησατο στρατηγιαν μαλλον η την Περικλεους, των πραγματων τουτων

2 όμοιων ουτων, ως εκεινων. εδιηλωσε δε Καισαρ έργω σφόδρα φοβουμενος των χρονων. έλων γαρ Νομεριου Πομπηιου φιλον απεστειλεν εις Βρευντεσιον επι τοις ίσοις αξιων διαλαγηναι. Νομεριου δε Πομπηιου συνεξεπλευσεν. ευνευθεν ο μεν εν ημεραις εξηκοντα κυριος γεγονος άναιμωτι της Ιταλιας ολης εβουλητο μεν ευθυς Πομπηιου διωκειν, πλουων δε μη παροιτων αποστρεψας εις Ιβηριαν ήλαυνε, τας εκει δυναμεις προσαγαγεσθαι βουλομενοι.

LXIV. 'Εν δε τω χρονω τουτω μεγαλη συνεστη Πομπηιου δυναμις, η μεν ναυτικη και παντελως ανανταγωνιστος, ήσαν γαρ αι μαχιμοι πεντακοσιαι, λιβυριδων δε και κατασκοπων υπερβαλλων άριθμος), ιππεις δε, 'Ρωμαιων και Ιταλων το άνθον, επτακισχ εις, γένεις και πλουτω και φρονιματο διαφεροντες. την δε πεξην συμμικτων ουσαν και μελετης δεσμεων εγυμναζε εν Βεροια καθημενος ως αργος, αλλα ωσπερ ακμαζοντι χρωμενος αιτω προς τα γυμνασια.

2 μεγαλη γαρ ήν ροπη προς το ϑαρρειν τοις ορδοις Πομπηιου Μαγνων εξηκοντα μεν έτη δεινω λειποντα γεγενημενον, εν δε τοις διπλοις αμιλλωμενον πεζων, ειτα ίππωτην αυθις ελκωμενον τε το έιφος απραγμωνος θεοντι τω ίππω και κατακλειοντα παλιν ευχερως, εν δε τοις άκουντεςμοις ου μονον

1 εν ημεραις Bekker, after Emperius: ημεραις.

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possession of a strong city and expected his forces from Spain and was master of the sea, he gave up and abandoned Italy. Cicero also blames him for imitating the generalship of Themistocles rather than that of Pericles, although he was situated like Pericles, and not like Themistocles. Moreover, Caesar had shown by what he did that he greatly feared a protraction of the war. For after capturing Numerius, a friend of Pompey, he sent him to Brundisium with a request for a reconciliation on equal terms. But Numerius sailed away with Pompey. Then Caesar, who in sixty days had become master of all Italy without bloodshed, wished to pursue Pompey at once, but since he had no transports, he turned back and marched into Spain, desiring to win over to himself the forces there.

LXIV. In the meantime a great force was gathered by Pompey. His navy was simply irresistible, since he had five hundred ships of war, while the number of his light galleys and fast cruisers was immense; his cavalry numbered seven thousand, the flower of Rome and Italy, preëminent in lineage, wealth, and courage; and his infantry, which was a mixed multitude and in need of training, he exercised at Beroea, not sitting idly by, but taking part in their exercises himself, as if he had been in the flower of his age. And indeed it was a great incentive to confidence when they saw Pompey the Great, who was now sixty years of age less two, but who nevertheless competed in full armour as a foot-soldier, and then again, as a horseman, drew his sword without trouble while his horse was at a gallop and put it back in its sheath with ease; while in hurling the javelin he not only displayed accuracy,

1 Epist. ad Att. vii. 11.
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ἀκρίβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ρώμην ἐπιδεικνύμενον εἰς μῆκος, ὁ πολλοὶ τῶν νέων οὐχ ὑπερέβαλλον.

3 ἑπεφοίτων δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἑθνῶν καὶ δυνάσται, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἡγεμονικῶν ἀριθμὸς ἦν ἐντελῶς βουλής περὶ αὐτῶν. ᾧλθε δὲ καὶ Λαβινὸς ἀπολιπὼν Καίσαρα φίλος γεγονός καὶ συνεστρατευμένος ἐν Γαλατίᾳ, καὶ Βροῦτος, νῦν ὄν Βροῦτον τοῦ περὶ Γαλατίαν σφαγέντος, ἀνὴρ μεγαλόφρων καὶ μηδέποτε Πομπηίου προσειτῶν μηδὲ ἀσπασάμενος πρότερον ὡς φονέα τοῦ πατρός, τότε δὲ ὡς ἐλευθεροῦντι τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπέταξεν εὐαυτῶν. Κικέρων δὲ, καίπερ ἄλλα γεγραφῶς καὶ βεβουλευμένος, ὅμως κατηδέσθη μὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ προκινδυνεύοντος ἀριθμοῦ τῆς πατρίδος. ᾧλθε δὲ καὶ Τίδιος Σέξτιος, ἐσχατόγηρος ἀνὴρ θάτερον πεπηρωμένος σκέλος, εἰς Μακεδονίαν· ὅ τοῦ ἄλλου γελώντων καὶ χλευαζόντων, ὁ Πομπηίου ἱḍὼν ἐξανέστη καὶ προσέδραμε, μέγα νομίζων μαρτύριον εἶναι καὶ τοῦς παρ' ἡλικίαν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν αἴρουμένους τὸν μετ' αὐτοῦ κίνδυνον ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας.

ŁXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ βουλῆς γενομένης καὶ γνώμην Κάτωνος εἰπόντος ἐψηφίσαντο μηδένα Ῥωμαίων ἀνευ παρατάξεως ἀναιρεῖν μηδὲ διαρράξειν πόλιν ὑπήκοον Ῥωμαίοις, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ Πομπηίου μερὶς ἡγατήθη· καὶ γὰρ οἷς μηδὲν ἦν πράγμα τοῦ πολέμου πόρρω κατοικοῦσιν ἣ δὲ ἀσθενεῖαν ἀμελουμένοις, τῷ γε βούλεσθαι συγκατετεθεντο καὶ τῷ λόγῳ συνεμάχουν ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων,

1 Λαβινὸς with Coraës and Bekker: Λαβεὼν.
but also vigour in the length of his cast, which many of the young men could not surpass. There kept coming to him also kings of nations and potentates, and of the leading men from Rome there were enough about him to form a full senate. Labienus also came, having deserted Caesar, though he had been his friend and had served under him in Gaul; and Brutus, a son of the Brutus who had been put to death by Pompey in Gaul, a man of lofty spirit, who had never spoken to Pompey nor even saluted him before, because he held him to be the murderer of his father, but now he put himself under his command, believing him to be a deliverer of Rome. Cicero, too, although he had advocated other measures in his writings and his speeches in the senate, nevertheless was ashamed not to be of the number of those who risked all for their country. There came also Tidius Sextius, a man of extreme old age and lame of one leg, into Macedonia. The rest laughed and jeered at him, but when Pompey saw him, he rose and ran to meet him, counting it a great testimony that men past the years and past the power of service should choose danger with him in preference to their safety.

LXV. When their senate convened and a decree was passed, on motion of Cato, that no Roman should be killed except on a field of battle, and that no city subject to Rome should be plundered, the party of Pompey was held in still greater favour. For those even who took no part in the war, either because they dwelt too far away, or were too weak to be regarded, attached themselves to it in their wishes at least, and, as far as their words went, fought with it in behalf of the right, considering

1 Cf. chapter xvi. 3 f.; Brutus, iv. 1 f.
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ηγούμενοι θεοίς εἶναι καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔχθρον ἡμὶ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἑστὶ νικῶν Πομπήιον.

2 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Καίσαρ εὐγνώμονα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν, διὶ καὶ τὰς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ τοῦ Πομπήιου δυνάμεις ἔλον καὶ καταπολεμήσας ἀφῆκε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, τοῖς δὲ στρατιῶταις ἔχρητο. καὶ πάλιν ὑπερβαλὼν τὰς Ἀλπεῖς καὶ διαδραμὼν τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἰς Βρεττέσιον ἤκεν ἐν

3 τροπαῖς ὑδη τοῦ χειμῶνος ὄντος· καὶ διαπεράσας τὸ πέλαγος αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ὄρικον παρενέβαλεν, Οὐβούλλιον 1 δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον φίλον αἰχμάλωτον ἔχων σὺν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς Πομπήιον ἀνέστειλε, προκαλούμενος εἰς ἐν συνελθόντας ἀμφοτέρους ἡμέρα τρίτη τάντα διαλύσαι τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ γενομένους φίλους καὶ ὁμόσαντας ἐπανέθειν

4 εἰς Ἰταλίαν. ταύτα Πομπήιος αὐθις ἐνέδραν ἰγείτο· καὶ καταβὰς ὄξεως ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέλαβε χωρία καὶ τόπους ἐδρας τε τοῖς πεζοῖς στρατοπέδοις ὑπεράλκεις ἔχοντα, καὶ ναύοχα καὶ κατάρσεις ἐπιφόρους τοῖς ἐπιφοιτῶσι διὰ θαλάτης, ὡστε πάντα πνεῖν ἄνεμον Πομπηιῶν σῖτον ἡ στρατιὰν ἡ χρῆματα κομίζοντα, Καίσαρα δὲ δυσχερέιαις κατὰ γῆν ὀμοῦ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν

5 περιεχόμενον ἐξ ἀνάγκης φιλομαχεῖν, καὶ προσβάλλοντα τοῖς ἐρύμασι καὶ προκαλούμενον ἐκάστοτε τὰ μὲν πλείστα νικῶν καὶ κρατεῖν τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς, ἀπαξ δὲ μικροῦ συντριβῆναι καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀποβαλέων, τοῦ Πομπηίου λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισμένου μέχρι τροπῆς ἀπάντων καὶ φόνου δισχελίων, βιάσασθαι δὲ καὶ συνεισπεσεῖν μὴ δυνηθέντος ἡ φοβηθέντος, ὡστε εἴπειν Καίσαρα

1 Οὐβούλλιον after Caesar, Bell. Civ. iii. 10: ἵοβιον.
him a foe to gods and men who did not wish Pompey to be victorious.

However, it is also true that Caesar showed himself merciful as a conqueror; after defeating and capturing the forces of Pompey in Spain, he sent away their commanders, and took the soldiers into his service. Then he re-crossed the Alps, marched rapidly through Italy, and came to Brundisium shortly after the winter solstice. Crossing the sea there, he himself put in at Oricum, but he dispatched Vibullius, the friend of Pompey, who was his prisoner of war, to Pompey, with a proposition that they should hold a conference, disband all their armies within three days, and after renewing their friendship under oath, return to Italy. This Pompey thought to be another snare, and marching swiftly down to the sea, he took possession of the posts, regions, and sites which offered strong positions for land forces, as well as of the naval stations and landing-places which were favourable for those who came by sea, so that every wind that blew brought Pompey grain, or troops, or money; while Caesar, on the other hand, reduced to straits by sea and land, was forced to seek a battle, attacking Pompey's defences and challenging him to come out all the while. In these skirmishes Caesar was for the most part victorious and carried the day; but once he narrowly escaped being utterly crushed and losing his army, for Pompey made a brilliant fight and at last routed Caesar's whole force and killed two thousand of them. He did not, however, force his way into their camp with the fugitives, either because he could not, or because he feared to do so, and this led Caesar to say to his friends: "To-day

πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὅτι Σήμερον ἂν ἦ νίκη παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὧν, εἰ τὸν νικῶντα εἶχον.

LXVI. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα φρονίσαντες οἱ Πομπηῖοι διὰ μάχης ἐσπευδὸν κριθήναι. Πομπηῖος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἔξω βασιλεὺσι καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ πόλεσιν ὡς νεικηκὼς ἔγραφε, τὸν δὲ τῆς μάχης κίνδυνον ὀφρώδει, τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ταῖς ἀπορίαις καταπολεμήσειν νομίζον ἀνδράς ἀμάχους μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καὶ συνειδησίμενον νικάν μετ' ἀλλήλων πολὺν ἦδη χρόνου, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἄλλην στρατείαν καὶ πλάνας καὶ μεταβάσεις καὶ τάφρων ὀρύξεις καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας ἀπαγορεύοντας ὑπὸ γῆρας, καὶ διὰ τούτο ταῖς χερσίν ἐμφύνα τάχιστα καὶ συμπλακὴνατο στέφουντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἀμῶς γὲ πῶς παρῆχε πείθων τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀτρεμεῖν ὁ Πομπηῖος· ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Καίσαρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποριῶν ἀναστὰς ἐβάδιζε δι' Ἀθαμάνιων εἰς Θετταλίαν, οὐκέτι καθεκῶν ἦν τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ φεύγειν Καίσαρα βοῦντες οἱ μὲν ἄκολουθεῖν καὶ διώκειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ διαβαίνειν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, οἱ δὲ θεράποντας εἰς 'Ρώμην καὶ φίλους ἔπεμπον υἱκίας προκαταληψιμένους ἐγγὺς ἀγορᾶς ὡς αὐτικὰ μετιόντες ἀρχὰς. ἐθελονταί δὲ πολλοὶ πρὸς Κορυνηλίαν ἐπλεον εἰς Δέσβον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι πέρας ἐχειν τὸν πόλεμον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὴν ὑπεξέπεμψεν ὁ Πομπηῖος.

4 Ἀθροισθείσης δὲ βουλῆς Ἀφράνιος μὲν ἀπεβαίνετο γνώμην ἐχεῖσθαι τῆς Ἰταλίας, ταύτην γὰρ εἶναι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ μέγιστον ἄθλον, προστι-
POMPEY, lxv. 5—lxvi. 4

victory would have been with the enemy if they had had a victor in command."

LXVI. At this success the followers of Pompey were so elated that they were eager to have the issue decided by a battle. Pompey, however, although he wrote to distant kings and generals and cities in the tone of a victor, feared the risk of such a battle, thinking that by imposing delays and distresses upon them he would finally subdue men who were invincible in arms and had been accustomed to conquer together now for a long time, but who for the other duties of a campaign, such as long marches, changes of position, the digging of trenches, and the building of walls, were incapacitated by old age, and therefore eager to come to close quarters and fight hand to hand without delay. Notwithstanding their over-confidence, Pompey had hitherto somehow or other succeeded in inducing his followers to keep quiet; but when after the battle Caesar was compelled by his lack of supplies to break camp and march through Athamania into Thessaly, their spirits could no longer be restrained, but, crying out that Caesar was in flight, some of them were for following in pursuit of him, others for crossing over into Italy, and others were sending their attendants and friends to Rome in order to pre-occupy houses near the forum, purposing at once to become candidates for office. Many, too, of their own accord sailed to Cornelia in Lesbos with the glad tidings that the war was at an end; for Pompey had sent her there for safety.

A senate having been assembled, Afranius gave it as his opinion that they should make sure of Italy, for Italy was the greatest prize of the war, and
θέναι δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν εὐθὺς Σικελίαν, Σαρδόνα, Κύρνου, Ἦβηριαν, Γαλατίαν ἀπασαν ἢς τε δὴ πλείστος ὁ λόγος Πομπηίων πατρίδος ὅρεγονσης χείρας ἐγγύθεν, οὐ καλῶς ἔχειν περιορᾶν προσηλακειζομένη καὶ δουλεύουσαν οἰκέταις καὶ κόλαξιν τυράννων. αὐτοῖς δὲ Πομπηίοις οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν ἦγείτο καλὸν αὐτῷ δευτέραν φυγήν φεύγειν Καίσαρα καὶ διώκεσθαι, τῆς τύχης διώκειν διδούσης, οὔτε ὄσιον ἐγκαταλιπεῖν Σκηνίωνα καὶ τοῦς περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ Θετταλίαν ἀνδρᾶς ὑπατικοὺς, εὐθὺς ὑπὸ Καίσαρι γενησομένους μετὰ χρημάτων καὶ δυνάμεων μεγάλων, τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης μάλιστα κήδεσθαι τὸν ἀπωτάτῳ πολεμοῦντα περὶ αὐτῆς, ὅπως ἀπαθῆς κακῶν οὖσα καὶ ἀνήκοος περιμένῃ τὸν κρατοῦντα.

LXVII. Ταῦτα ψηφισάμενος ἔδιωκε Καίσαρα, μάχης μὲν ἐγκώκως ἀπέχεσθαι, πολιορκεῖν δὲ καὶ τρίβειν ταῖς ἀπορίαις ἐγγύθεν ἐπακολουθῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως ταῦτα συμφέρειν ἦγείτο, καὶ λόγος τις εἰς αὐτὸν ἤκεν ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι φερόμενος, ως χρῆ τάχιστα τρεψάμενοις Καίσαρα 2 συγκαταλύειν κάκεινον αὐτοῦ. ἐνοὶ δὲ φασὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κάτωνι μηδὲν ἄξιον σπουδῆς χρησάθαι Πομπηίουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πορεύμενον ἐπὶ Καίσαρα πρὸς θαλάσση καταλιπεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, φοβηθέντα μὴ Καίσαρος ἀνανεθέντος ἀναγκάσῃ κάκεινον εὐθὺς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. οὔτω δὲ παρακολουθῶν ἀτρέμα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν αἰτίαις ἢν καὶ καταβοήθεσειν ὡς οὐ Καίσαρα καταστρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ 288
POMPEY, LXVI. 4—LXVII. 2

would at once put also into the hands of her masters Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Spain, and all Gaul; and since his native land, which was of the greatest concern to Pompey, stretched out suppliant hands to him close by, it was not right to allow her to be enslaved and insulted by servants and flatterers of tyrants. Pompey himself, however, thought it neither well for his own reputation to run away a second time from Caesar and to be pursued by him, when fortune made him the pursuer, nor right before Heaven to abandon Scipio and the men of consular rank in Thessaly and Hellas, who would at once come into the power of Caesar together with their moneys and large forces; but that he cared most for Rome who fought for her at the farthest remove, in order that she might neither suffer nor hear about any evil, but quietly await her master.

LXVII. Having decided the matter in this way, Pompey set out in pursuit of Caesar, determined to avoid a battle, but to keep him under siege and harass him with lack of supplies by following close upon him. He had reasons for thinking this the best course, and besides, a saying current among the cavalry reached his ears, to the effect that as soon as they had routed Caesar they must put down Pompey himself also. And some say this was also the reason why Pompey called upon Cato for no service of any importance, but even when marching against Caesar left him at the coast in charge of the baggage, fearing lest, if Caesar should be taken off, he himself also might be forced by Cato to lay down his command at once. While he was thus quietly following the enemy he was loudly denounced, and charges were rife that he was directing his campaign, not against Caesar, but against his country and the
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τὴν βουλήν, ὅπως διὰ παντὸς ἀρχὴ καὶ μηδέποτε παύσηται τοῖς ἀξίωσι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρχεὶν. 3 χρώμενος ὑπηρέταις καὶ δορυφόροις. Δομέτιος δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀννόβαρβος Ἀγαμέμνονα καλὼν καὶ βασιλέα βασιλέων ἐπίθεντον ἔποιεί. καὶ Φαώνιος οὖν ἤττον ἦν ἀνήδης τῶν παρρησιαζομένων ἀκαίρως ἐν τῷ σκῶτειν, “Ἀνθρωποί,” βοῶν, “οὐδὲ τῆτε ἔσται τῶν ἐν Τουσκλάνω σύκων μεταλαβεῖν;” Δεύκιος δὲ Άφράνιος ο ταῖς ἐν Ἰβηρία δυνάμεις ἀποβαλὼν ἐν αὐτία προδοσίας γεγονός, τότε δὲ τὸν Ὁμηρίον ὅρον φυγομαχόντα, θαυμάζειν ἔλεγε τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτὸν, πῶς πρὸς τὸν ἐμπορὸν τῶν ἑπαρχῶν οὐ μάχονται προελθόντες.

Γαῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ λέγοντες ἄνδρα δόξης ἤττονα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς φίλους αἱδοῦς τὸν Πομπηίον ἔξεβιάσαντο καὶ συνεπεσπάσαντο ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐξείται καὶ ὀρμαῖς ἐπακολουθήσαι, προέμενον τοὺς ἀρίστους λογισμούς, ὅπερ οὐδὲ πλοίου κυβερνήτη, μῆτιγε τοσοῦτω ἐθυνό καὶ δυνάμεων αὐτοκράτορι στρατηγῷ παθεῖν ἢ προσ-

5 ο ὅ ὅ τῶν μὲν ἴατρῶν τοὺς μηδέποτε χαριζομένους ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπήμεσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῷ νοσοῦντι τῆς στρατιῶς ἐνέδωκε, δείσας ἐπὶ σωτηρία λυπηρός γενέσθαι. τῶς γὰρ ἂν τις φήσειν ὑγιαίνειν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅπως ἡ ὑπατεία ἦδη καὶ στρατηγίας ἐν τῷ στρατο-

6 πέδω περισσοτέρως ἐμνώντο, Σπινθήρι δὲ καὶ Δομετίω καὶ Σκητίων περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀρχ-

ιερωσύνης ἐρίδες ἔσαι καὶ φιλονεκίας καὶ
deξιώσεις; ὅσπερ αὐτοῖς Τιγράνου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου

1 μῆτιγε Bekker reads μήτωιγε, with ο.
senate, in order that he might always be in office and never cease to have for his attendants and guards men who claimed to rule the world. Domitius Ahenobarbus, too, by calling him Agamemnon, and King of Kings, made him odious. And Favonius was no less displeasing to him than those who used a bolder speech, when he bawled out his untimely jest: "O men, this year, also, shall we eat no figs of Tuseulum?" And Lucius Afranius, who lay under a charge of treachery for having lost his forces in Spain, on seeing Pompey now avoiding a battle with Caesar, said he was astonished that his accusers did not go forth and fight this trafficker in provinces.

With these and many similar speeches they forced Pompey from his settled purpose,—a man who was a slave to fame and loath to disappoint his friends,—and dragged him into following after their own hopes and impulses, abandoning his best laid plans, a thing which even in the master of a ship, to say nothing of a general in sole command of so many nations and armies, would have been unbecoming. Pompey himself approved of those physicians who never gratify the morbid desires of their patients, and yet he yielded to the diseased passion of his followers, for fear of offending if he tried to heal and save them. For how can one say that those men were sound and well, some of whom were already going about among the soldiers and canvassing for consulships and praetorships, while Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio were quarrelling, scheming, and conspiring over the pontificate of Caesar, just as though Tigranes the Armenian were encamped over against

1 He was accused of taking a bribe from Caesar for the surrender of the Spains (see the Caesar, xli. 2).
2 Since 63 B.C., Caesar had been pontifex maximus. Cf. Bell. Civ. iii. 83.
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παραστρατοπεδεύοντος ἢ τοῦ Ναβαταϊῶν βα-
sιλέως, ἀλλ' οὐ Καϊσαρος ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς δυνά-
μεως ἢ χιλίας μὲν ἰρήκει πόλεις κατὰ κράτος, ἔθνη δὲ πλείονα τριακισίων ὑπῆκτο, Γερμανοῖς
dὲ καὶ Γαλάταις μεμαχημένος ἀνήττητος ὅσας
οὐκ ἂν τις αριθμήσαι μάχας ἑκατὸν μυριάδας
αἰχμαλώτων ἔλαβει, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἀπέκτεινε τρεψά-
μενος ἐκ παρατάξεως.

LXVIII. 'Ἀλλ' ὤμως ἐγκείμενοι καὶ θορυ-
βοῦντες, ἐπεὶ κατέβησαν εἰς τὸ Φαρσάλιον
πεδίον, ἦμαγκασαν θυγατὴν προθείναι τὸν Πομ-
pήιον, ἐν ἡ Δαβιδιός ὁ τῶν ἱππέων ἀρχων
πρῶτος ἀναστάς ὁμοσε μὴ ἀναχωρήσειν εκ τῆς
μάχης, εἰ μὴ τρέψαυτο τοὺς πολεμίους· τὰ δὲ
2 αὐτὰ καὶ πάντες ὄμωσαν. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἔδοξε
κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς Πομπηίου εἰς τὸ θέατρον
eἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ κροτεῖν τὸν ὄμιλον, αὐτὸς δὲ
κοσμεῖν ἀροῦν Ἀφροδίτῃς νικηφόρου πολλοῖς
 λαφύροις. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔθαρρει, τὰ δὲ ὑπέθραττεν
αὐτοῦ ἡ ὄψις, δεδοκότα μὴ τῷ γενεῖ τῷ Καΐσαρος
eis Ἀφροδίτην ἀνήκοντι δόξα καὶ λαμπρότης
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται καὶ πανικοῖ τινες θόρυβοι
3 διάττοντες ἐξαινεστήσαν αὐτὸν. ἐωθινής δὲ
φυλακῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Καΐσαρος στρατοπέδου πολ-
lήν ἢσυχίαν ἄγοντος ἐξελαμψε μέγα φῶς, ἐκ δὲ
tούτου λαμπάς ἀρθεῖσα φλογείδης ἐπὶ τὸ 1 Πομ-
pηίου κατέσκηψε· καὶ τούτο ίδεῖν φησὶ Καΐσαρ
αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τός φυλακάς. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα μέλ-
λοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς Σκοτοῦσαν ἀναζευγνύειν καὶ
tὰς σκηνὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν καθαιροῦντων καὶ
προπεμπόντων ὑποξύγια καὶ θεράποντας, ἤκουν οἱ
σκοποὶ φράζοντες ὅτι πᾶλα πολλὰ καθορᾶν ἐν τῷ

1 ἐπὶ τῷ Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: ἐπὶ.
them, or the king of the Nabataeans, and not that Caesar, and that army, who had taken by storm a thousand cities, subdued more than three hundred nations, and fought unvanquished with Germans and Gauls in more battles than one could number, taking a hundred times ten thousand prisoners, and slaying as many, after routing them on the battle-field.

LXVIII. But notwithstanding, by their importunities and agitations, after they had gone down into the plain of Pharsalia, they forced Pompey to hold a council of war, where Labienus, the commander of the cavalry, rose first and took an oath that he would not come back from the battle unless he routed the enemy; then all likewise swore the same oath. That night Pompey dreamed that as he entered his theatre the people clapped their hands, and that he decorated a temple of Venus Victrix with many spoils. On some accounts he was encouraged, but on others depressed, by the dream; he feared lest the race of Caesar, which went back to Venus, was to receive glory and splendour through him; and certain panic tumults which went rushing through the camp roused him from sleep. Furthermore, during the morning watch a great light shone out above the camp of Caesar, which was perfectly quiet, and a flaming torch rose from it and darted down upon the camp of Pompey; Caesar himself says he saw this as he was visiting the watches.\(^1\) At break of day, Caesar was about to decamp and move to Scotussa, and his soldiers were taking down their tents and sending on ahead the beasts of burden and servants, when the scouts came in with a report that they saw many shields moving to and fro in the

\(^1\) Cf. the _Caesar_, xliii. 3. It is not mentioned in the _Commentaries_.

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χάρακι τῶν πολεμίων διαφερόμενα, καὶ κίνησιν εἶναι καὶ θόρυβον ἄνδρῶν ἐπὶ μάχην ἔξιστον. 4 μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτέρους παρῆσαν εἰς τάξιν ἡδὴ καθίστασθαι τοὺς πρώτους λέγοντες. ὃ μὲν οὖν Καίσαρ εἰπὼν τὴν προσδοκομένην ἥκειν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἡ πρὸς ἄνδρας, οὐ πρὸς λιμὸν οὐδὲ πεντὰν μαχοῦνται, κατὰ τάχος πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐκεύεσθαι προθείναι τῶν φοινικοῦν χιτῶνα: τούτῳ γάρ 5 μάχης Ἀρμαίοις ἐστὶ σύμβολον. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται θεασάμενοι μετὰ θοῦ καὶ χαρᾶς τὰς σκηνὰς ἀφέντες ἑφέροντο πρὸς τὰ ὀπλα. καὶ τῶν ταξιαρχῶν ἀγώντων εἰς ἡν ἐδει τάξιν, ἐκαστος, ὡσπερ χορός, ἀνευθὺς ἄθρούμοι μεμελετημένως εἰς τάξιν1 καὶ πρῶς καθίστατο.

LXIX. Πομπήιος δὲ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν αὐτὸς ἐγὼν ἔμελλεν ἀνθίστασθαι πρὸς Ἀντώνιον, ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ Σκηπτίων τὸν πενθερὸν ἀντέταξε Καλβίνῳ Λευκίῳ, τὸ δὲ εὐώνυμον εἰχε μὲν Νεύκιος Δομέτιος, ἐφρώσθη δὲ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἱππεῶν. ἐνταῦθα γάρ ὅλιγου δειν ἀπαντεῖ εἴρησαν ὡς Ἀντώνα και τὸ δέκατον τάγμα διακόψωτες, οὔ πλείστος ἢν ὁ λόγος ὡς μαχιμωτάτου, καὶ Καίσαρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ταττόμενος εἰσώθει μάχεσθαι. κατιδὼν δὲ πεφραγμένον ἵππω τοσαύτη τῶν πολεμίων τὸ εὐώνυμον, καὶ φοβηθεῖς τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ὀπλισμοῦ, μετεπέμψατο σπείρας ἐξ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπιτυγμάτων καὶ κατέστησεν ὅπισθεν 2 τοῦ δεκάτου, κελεύσας ἑσυχίαν ἀγείν ἀδήλους τοῖς πολεμίως ὅντας: ὅταν δὲ προσελάυσωσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς, διὰ τῶν προμάχων ἐκδραμόντας μή προεσθαί τοὺς ὑσσούς, ὡσπερ εἰσώθασιν οἱ κράτιστοι

1 eis ταξιν bracketed by Bekker.
enemy’s camp, and that there was a noisy movement there of men coming out to battle. After these, others came announcing that the foremost ranks were already forming in battle array. Caesar, therefore, after saying that the expected day had come, on which they would fight against men, and not against want and hunger, quickly ordered the purple tunic to be hung up in front of his tent, that being the Roman signal for battle. His soldiers, on seeing this, left their tents with shouts of joy, and hurried to arms. And when their officers led them to the proper place, each man, as if in a chorus, not tumultuously, but with the quiet ease which training gives, fell into line.

LXIX. Pompey himself, with the right wing, intended to oppose Antony; in the centre he stationed Scipio, his father-in-law, over against Lucius Calvinus; his left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and was supported by the main body of the cavalry. For almost all the horsemen had crowded to this point, in order to overpower Caesar and cut to pieces the tenth legion; for this was generally said to fight better than any other, and in its ranks Caesar usually stood when he fought a battle. But Caesar, observing that the left wing of the enemy was enclosed by such a large body of horsemen, and alarmed at their brilliant array, sent for six cohorts from his reserves and stationed them behind the tenth legion, with orders to keep quiet and out of the enemy’s sight; but whenever the cavalry charged, they were to run out through the front ranks, and were not to hurl their javelins, as

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1 Both Plutarch (not only here, but also in his Caesar, xlv. 1 f.) and Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 76) differ in their accounts of the order of battle from that which Caesar himself gives (Bell. Civ. iii. 88 f.).
σπευδοντες ἐπὶ τὰς ξιφουλκίας, ἀλλὰ παίειν ἄνω συντιτρώσκοντας ὁμματα καὶ πρόσωπα τῶν πολεμίων οὐ γὰρ μενείν τοὺς καλοὺς τούτους καὶ ἀνθηροὺς πυρρηχιστὰς διὰ τὸν ὀραῖσμόν, οὐδὲ ἀντιβλέψειν πρὸς τὸν σίδηρον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς γινόμενον. ἐν τούτοις μὲν οὖν ὁ Καίσαρ ἦν.

4 Ὅ γε Πομπηίου ἀφ' ἰπποῦ τὴν παράταξιν ἐπισκοπῶν, ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς μὲν ἀντιπάλους μεθ' ἡσυχίᾳ τὸν καρὰν ἐν τάξει προσμένοντας, τῆς δ' ὑφ' αὐτό προστατεύσῃ τὸ πλείστον οὐκ ἀτρεμοῦν, ἀλλὰ κυμαίνου ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ θορυβούμενον, ἐδεισε μὴ διασπασθῇ παντάπασιν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς μάχης, καὶ παράγγελμα τοῖς προτεταγμένοις ἐδώκεν ἐστώτας ἐν προβολῇ καὶ μένοντας ἀραρτώς δε-5 χεσθαί τοὺς πολεμίους. Ὅ γε Καίσαρ αἰτιᾶται τὸ στρατήγημα τοῦτο τῶν τε γὰρ πληγῶν τὸν ἀγέρομῆς τόνον ἀμαυρόδαι, καὶ τὴν μάλιστα τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ συμφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις πληροῦσαν ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ φορᾶς ἀντεξόμη-σιν, ἀμα κραυγῇ καὶ δρόμῳ τῶν θυμῶν αὐξουσαν, ἀφελόντα πῆξαι καὶ καταψύξαι τοὺς ἀνδρας. ἦσαν δὲ οἵ μὲν μετὰ Καίσαρος δισχίλιοι πρὸς δισμυρίους, οἳ δὲ μετὰ Πομπηίου βραχεὶ πλείονες ἡ διπλάσιοι τούτων.

LXX. "Ἡδη δὲ συνθήματος διδομένου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἀρχομένης ἐγκε-
the best soldiers usually did in their eagerness to draw their swords, but to strike upwards with them and wound the faces and eyes of the enemy; for these blooming and handsome war-dancers (he said) would not stand their ground for fear of having their youthful beauty marred, nor would they face the steel when it was right at their eyes. Caesar, then, was thus engaged.

But Pompey, who was surveying on horseback the battle array, when he saw that his antagonists were standing quietly in their ranks and awaiting the moment of attack, while the greater part of his own army was not at rest, but tossing about in waves of tumult, owing to its inexperience, was afraid that his array would be completely broken up at the beginning of the battle, and therefore ordered his front ranks to stand with their spears advanced, to remain fixed in their places, and so to receive the enemy's onset. Now, Caesar finds fault with these tactics; he says that Pompey thereby robbed the blows of his weapons of that impetus which a rapid charge would have given them; and as for that rushing counter-charge, which more than any thing else fills most soldiers with impetuous enthusiasm as they close with their enemies, and combines with their shouts and running to increase their courage, Pompey deprived his men of this, and so rooted them to the spot where they stood, and chilled their spirits. And yet Caesar's forces numbered twenty-two thousand, while those of Pompey were a little more than twice as many.

LXX. And now at last the signal was given on both sides and the trumpet began to call to the

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1 *Bell. Civ. iii. 92.* Appian (*Bell. Civ. ii. 79*) says Caesar does this in his letters.
Λεύσθαι πρὸς τὴν σύστασιν, τῶν μὲν πολλῶν ἐκαστὸς ἐσκόπει τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν, ὄλγοι δὲ Ἄρωμαίων οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ τίνες Ἐλλήνων παρόντες ἔξω τῆς μάχης, ὅσ᾿ ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ δείνον, ἔλογιζοντο τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φιλονεικίαν, ὅπου φέρονσά

2 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐξέδθηκεν, ὅπλα γὰρ συγγενικὰ καὶ τάξεις ἀδελφαὶ καὶ κοινὰ σημεῖα καὶ μιᾶς πόλεως ἐνανδρίᾳ τοσαύτη καὶ δύναμις αὐτῆ πρὸς ἐαυτὴν συνέπτητεν, ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν, ὡς ἐν πάθει γενομένη τυφλὸν ἔστι καὶ μανίδες. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἤδη καθ’ ἦσυχίαν χρήζουσιν ἄρχειν καὶ ἀπολαύειν τῶν κατεργασμένων τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ κρατίστον ἀρετή γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ὑπῆκουν, ἢ ὅτι τροπαίων καὶ θριαμβομένων ἐρωτὶ βουλομένους χαρίζεσθαι καὶ διψώντας ἐμπίπτασθαι Παρθικῶν πολέμων ἡ Γερμανικῶν.

3 πολὺ δὲ καὶ Σκυθία λειπόμενον ἐργον καὶ Ἰνδοί, καὶ πρόφασις οὐκ ἀδοξος ἐπὶ ταύτα τῆς πλεονεξίας ἡμερῶσαι τὰ βαρβαρικά. τίς δ᾿ ἂν ἡ Σκυθίων ἢππος ἡ τοξεύματα Πάρθων ἡ πλοῦτος Ἰνδῶν ἐπέσχε μυριάδας ἐπτὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐν ὁπλοῖς ἐπερχόμενας Πομπηίου καὶ Καίσαρος ἡγομένων, ὅν ὠνομα πολὺ πρότερον ἠκουσαν ἡ τὸ Ῥωμαίων; οὕτως ἁμικτα καὶ ποικίλα καὶ θηριώδη φύλα

4 νικώντες ἐπτήλθοι. τότε δὲ ἀλλήλοις μαχοῦμενοι συνήθεσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν, δι᾿ ἡν τῆς πατρίδος ἡφείδουν, οἰκτειραντες, ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης αἰνικητῶν προσαγορευμένων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γενομένη συγγένεια καὶ τὰ Ἰουλίας φίλτρα καὶ γάμος ἐκεῖνος εὐθὺς ἦν ἀπατηλὰ καὶ ύποπτα κοινωνίας ἐπὶ χρεία συνισταμένης ἀμηρεύματα, φιλίας δ᾿ ἀληθινῆς οὐ μετέσχεν.
conflict, and of that great host every man sought to do his part; but a few Romans, the noblest, and some Greeks, men who were present without taking part in the battle, now that the dreadful crisis was near, began to reflect upon the pass to which contentiousness and greed had brought the sovereign Roman state. For with kindred arms, fraternal ranks, and common standards, the strong manhood and might of a single city in such numbers was turning its own hand against itself, showing how blind and frenzied a thing human nature is when passion reigns. For had they now been willing quietly to govern and enjoy what they had conquered, the greatest and best part of earth and sea was subject to them, and if they still desired to gratify their thirst for trophies and triumphs, they might have had their fill of wars with Parthians or Germans. Besides, a great task still remained in the subjugation of Scythia and India, and here their greed would have had no inglorious excuse in the civilization of barbarous peoples. And what Scythian horse or Parthian archery or Indian wealth could have checked seventy thousand Romans coming up in arms under the leadership of Pompey and Caesar, whose names those nations had heard of long before that of Rome, so remote and various and savage were the peoples which they had attacked and conquered. But now they were about to join battle with one another, nor were they moved even by a compassion for their own glory to spare their country, men who up to that day had been called invincible! For the family alliance which had been made between them, and the charms of Julia, and her marriage, were now seen to have been from the first suspicious and deceptive pledges of a partnership based on self-interest; there was no real friendship in it.
LXXI. ‘Ὡς δ’ οὖν τὸ Φαρσάλιον πεδίον ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὄπλων ἀνεπέτληστο καὶ μάχης ἦρθη παρ’ ἀμφότερον σημεία, πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος φάλαγγος ἐξέδραμε Γάιος Κρασσιάνος, ἀνδρῶν ἐκατόν εἶκοσι λοχαγῶν, μεγάλην ἀποδι-2 δοὺς ὑπόσχεσιν Καίσαρι. πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτῶν 657 ἔξιδον τοῦ χάρακος εἰδε, καὶ προσαγορεύσας ἤρετο πῶς φρονοίη ἑρὲ τῆς μάχης. ὁ δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείνας ἀνεβόησε: "Νικήσεις λαμπρῶς, ὁ Καίσαρ: ἔμε δὲ ἡ ξύλτα τήμερον ἡ νεκρὸν ἐπαινέ-3 σεις." τούτων τῶν λόγων μεμημένον ἐξώρμησε καὶ συνεπεστάσατο πολλοὺς καὶ προσέβαλε 4 κατὰ μέσους τοὺς πολεμίους. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἀγώνος εὐθὺς ἐν ξίφεσι καὶ πολλῶν φονευμένων, βιαζόμενον πρόσω καὶ διακόπτοντα τοὺς πρῶτους υποστὰς τις ὥθεὶ διὰ τοῦ στόματος τὸ ξίφος, ὡστε τὴν αἰχμὴν περάσασαν ἀνασχέιν κατὰ τὸ ἱνίον.

Πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ Κρασσιάνου, κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν ἰσόρροπος ἡ μάχη, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν ὁ Πομπηίιος οὐ ταχέως ἐπῆγεν, ἀλλὰ παπταίνων ἐπὶ θάτερα καὶ 4 τὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀναμένων ἔργον ἐνδιέτριβεν. ἦδη δὲ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς οὐλαμοὺς ἀνήγγον ὡς κυκλωσόμενοι τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ τοὺς προτεταγμένους ἱππεῖς ὀλίγους ὄντας ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα. Καίσαρος δὲ σημεῖον ἅραντος, οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐξανεχώρησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐπιτεταγμέναι σπείρα πρὸς τὴν κύκλωσιν ἐκδραμοῦσαι, τρισχίλιοι ἄνδρες,

1 The name is Crassinius in Caesar's own story of the battle (Bell. Civ. iii. 91).

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LXXI. So then, when the Pharsalian plain was filled with men and horses and arms and the signals for battle had been lifted on both sides, the first to rush out from Caesar’s lines was Caius Crassianus, a centurion in command of one hundred and twenty men, who was thus redeeming a great promise made to Caesar. For he had been the first man whom Caesar saw as he issued from the camp, and addressing him, he had asked him what he thought about the battle. The centurion stretched forth his right hand and cried with a loud voice: “Thou wilt win a splendid victory, O Caesar; and I shall have thy praise to-day, whether I live or die.” Mindful now of these words of his, he rushed forward, carrying many along with him, and threw himself into the midst of the enemy. The combatants at once took to their swords and many were slain, and as the centurion was forcing his way along and cutting down the men in the front ranks, one of them confronted him and drove his sword in at his mouth with such force that its point went through to the nape of his neck. 

After Crassianus had fallen, the battle was evenly contested at this point; Pompey, however, did not lead up his right wing swiftly, but kept looking anxiously towards the other parts of the field, and awaited the action of his cavalry on the left, thus losing time. These at last deployed their squadrons with a view to envelop Caesar, and to hurl back upon their supporting lines the horsemen whom he had stationed in front, only a few in number. But Caesar gave a signal, his cavalry retired, and the cohorts drawn up to oppose the enveloping movement ran out, three thousand men, and confronted

2 Cf. Caesar, op. cit. iii. 99, where Caesar gives Crassinus that high praise for which he was willing to die.
υπαντιάζουσι τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ παριστάμενοι καθ’ ἵππων, ὡς ἐδιδάχθησαν, ὕψηλοις ἔχρωντο 5 τοῖς ύσσοῖς, ἐφείμενοι τῶν προσώπων. οἱ δὲ, ἅτε μάχης πάσης ἀπειροί, τοιαύτην δὲ μὴ προσδοκήσαντες μηδὲ προμαθόντες, οὐκ ἐτόλμων οὐδὲ ἡμεί-χωντο τὰς πληγὰς ἐν ὀμμασὶ καὶ στόμασιν οὕσας, ἀλλ’ ἀποστρεφόμενοι καὶ προϊσχόμενοι τῶν ὀψεων τὰς χειρὰς ἀκλεῖς ἐτράποντο. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσαντες οἱ Καίσαρος ἔχωρον ἐπὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς, ἣ μάλιστα τῶν ἵππων τὸ κέρας ἐξιλωμένον περιδρομήν ἐδίδοι καὶ κύκλωσιν.

6 ἀμα δὲ τούτων ἐκ πλαγίου προσπεσόντων καὶ κατὰ στόμα τοῦ δεκάτου προσμίζαντος οὐχ ὑπέμειναν οὐδὲ συνέστησαν, ὅρωντες ἐν ὧ κυκλώσεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἡλπίζουν αὐτοὺς τοῦτο πάσχοντας.

LXXII. Τραπομένων δὲ τούτων, ὡς κατεῖδε τὸν κοινορτὸν ὁ Πομπῆιος καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἵππεις πάθος εἰκασεν, ὃ μὲν ἔχρησατο λογισμῷ χαλέτων εἰπεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ὁμοίος παράφρου καὶ παραπληγής τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ μηδ’ ὅτι Μάγκος ἐστὶ Πομπῆιος ἐνυσσοῦντι, μηδένα προσεπτῖν ἀπῆι βάδην εἰς τὸν χάρακα, πάνυ τοῖς ἐπεσι πρέπων ἐκεῖνοις.

2 Ζεὺς δὲ πατήρ Διαίθ' ὕψηζυγος ἐν φόβου ὀρσεί στῇ δὲ ταφών, ὀπίθεν δὲ σάκος βάλεν ἐπτα-βόειον, τρέσσε δὲ παπτίνας ἐφ’ ὀμίλου.
their enemies, and standing close by the horses, as they had been directed, they thrust their javelins upwards, aiming at the faces of the riders. These, since they were without experience in every kind of fighting, and did not expect or even know anything about such a kind as this, had neither courage nor endurance to meet the blows which were aimed at their mouths and eyes, but wheeling about and putting their hands before their faces, they ingloriously took to flight. Then Caesar's soldiers, suffering these to make their escape, advanced upon the enemy's infantry, attacking at just that point where the wing, left unprotected by the flight of the cavalry, could be surrounded and enclosed. And since this body attacked them on the flank, while at the same time the tenth legion fell upon their front, the enemy did not stand their ground nor even hold together, for they saw that while they were expecting to surround the enemy, they were themselves being surrounded.

LXXII. After his infantry was thus routed, and when, from the cloud of dust which he saw, Pompey conjectured the fate of his cavalry, what thoughts passed through his mind it were difficult to say; but he was most like a man bereft of sense and crazed, who had utterly forgotten that he was Pompey the Great, and without a word to any one, he walked slowly off to his camp, exemplifying those verses of Homer:

But Zeus the father, throned on high, in Ajax stirred up fear;
He stood confounded, and behind him cast his shield of seven ox-hides,
And trembled as he peered around upon the throng.

1 *Iliad*, xi. 544 ff., where Telamonian Ajax retires before Hector and his Trojans.
touστος είς τήν σκηνήν παρελθών ἀφθονιος καθήστο, μέχρι οὖ τοίς φεύγουσι πολλοί διώκοντες συνεισέπτων τοτε δὲ φωνή μίαν ἀφεὶς ταύτην, "Οὐκούν καὶ ἐπὶ τήν παρεμβολήν;" ἀλλο δὲ μηδὲν εἰπών, ἀναστὰς καὶ λαβὼν ἐσθήτα τῇ
3 παρούσῃ τύχῃ πρέπουσαν ὑπεξήλθεν. ἔφυγε δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τάγματα, καὶ φόνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδω πολὺς ἔγενετο σκηνοφυλάκων καὶ θεραποντῶν στρατιώτας δὲ μόνους ἐξακισχίλους πεσεῖν φησιν 'Ασίνιος Πολλίων, μεμαχημένος ἐκεῖνην τὴν μάχην μετὰ Καίσαρος.  

4 Αἱροῦντες δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἔθεωντο τὴν ἀνοιαν καὶ κο UIFότητα τῶν πολεμίων. πάσα γὰρ σκηνὴ μυρσίναις κατέστητο καὶ στρωμναῖς ἀνθιναῖς ᾦσκητο καὶ τραπέζαις ἐκπομάτων μεσταῖς καὶ κρατι¬

1 ἐφ ιρὲς οἶνον προῦκειτο, καὶ παρασκευὴ καὶ κόσμος ἦν τεθυκότων καὶ πανηγυριζόντων μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς μάχην ἐξοπλιζομένων. οὐτω ταῖς ἐλπίσι διεθθαρμένοι καὶ γέμοντες ἀνοήτου θράσους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐχώρουν.

LXXIII. Πομπηίος δὲ μικρὸν ἔξω τοῦ χάρακος προελθὼν τὸν μὲν ὑπονο ἀφήκεν, ὀλίγων δὲ κομμή

η περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐδώκεν, ἀπήμε

καθη ἱσσυχίαν, ἐν διαλογισμοῖς δὲ οἰνοὺς εἰκό

λαμβάνειν ἀνθρωπον ἐτή τέτταρα καὶ τριάκοντα

νικῶν καὶ κρατεῖν αὐτών ἐθυσμένου, ἦττης δὲ

καὶ φυγῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐν γῆρα λαμβάνοντα πειραν, ἐννοούμενον δὲ ἔξ ὄσων ἄγονων καὶ πολέμων

νυξημένην ἀποβαλὼν ώρα μεὰ δόξαιν καὶ δύναμιν,

2 ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ τοσούτως ὅπλοις καὶ ὑποίοις καὶ

1 δ Ῥείσκε's correction of η in the MSS., which Sintenie and Bekker delete.

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In such a state of mind he went to his tent and sat down speechless, until many pursuers burst into the camp with the fugitives; then he merely ejaculated: "What! even to my quarters?" and without another word rose up, took clothing suitable to his present fortune, and made his escape. The rest of his legions also fled, and there was a great slaughter in the camp of tent-guards and servants; but only six thousand soldiers fell, according to Asinius Pollio, who fought in that battle on the side of Caesar.

When Caesar’s troops captured the camp, they beheld the vanity and folly of the enemy. For every tent was wreathed with myrtle boughs and decked out with flowered couches and tables loaded with beakers; bowls of wine also were laid out, and preparation and adornment were those of men who had sacrificed and were holding festival rather than of men who were arming themselves for battle. With such infatuated hopes and such a store of foolish confidence did they go forth to war.

LXXIII. But Pompey, when he had gone a little distance from the camp, gave his horse the rein, and with only a few followers, since no one pursued him, went quietly away, indulging in such reflections as a man would naturally make who for four and thirty years had been accustomed to conquer and get the mastery in everything, and who now for the first time, in his old age, got experience of defeat and flight; he thought how in a single hour he had lost the power and glory gained in so many wars and conflicts, he who a little while ago was guarded by

1 Caesar says that fifteen thousand of Pompey’s soldiers fell, and twenty-four thousand surrendered. His own losses he puts at two hundred soldiers and thirty centurions (Bell Civ. iii. 99).  
2 Cf. Caesar, op. cit. iii. 96.
στόλοις δορυφορούμενος ἀπέρχεται μικρὸς οὕτω γεγονός καὶ συνεσταλμένος ὡστε λαυθάνειν ξη-τούντας τοὺς πολεμίοις. παραμειψόμενος δὲ Λάρισαν, ὡς ἠλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Τέμπη, καταβαλὼν ἔαυτόν ἐπὶ στόμα δεδιψηκὼς ἐπινε τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ πάλιν ἀναστὰς ἐβάδιζε διὰ τῶν Τεμπῶν, ἀρι-3 συ κατήλθεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν. ἐκεὶ δὲ τὸς νυκτὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναπαυσάμενος ἐν καλυβίῳ τινὶ σαγηνέως, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄρθον ἐπὶ βας ποταμίου πλοίου, καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων τοὺς ἐλευθεροὺς ἀναλαβόν, τοὺς δὲ βεράπτοντας ἀπεινάτης Καίσαρα κελεύσας καὶ μὴ ἐδείην, παρὰ γῆν κομιζόμενος εἴδεν εὐμεγέθῃ φορτηγὸν ἀνάγεσθαι μέλλουσαν, ἦς ἐναυκλήρει Ῥωμαίδος ἀνήρ οὐ πάνυ Πομπηίῳς συνήθης, γινώ-σκων δὲ τὴν ὅψιν αὐτοῦ. Πετίκιος ἐπεκαλεῖτο.

4 τούτῳ συνεβεβήκει τῆς παρωχημένης νυκτὸς ἰδεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπίους Πομπηίου, οὐχ ὅσι ἐσωρᾶκε πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ ταπεινόν καὶ κατηφῆ, προσδια-λεγόμενον αὐτῶ, καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς συμπλέουσιν ἑτυγχανε διηγούμενος, ὡς δὴ φιλεῖ περὶ πραγμά-των τηλικοῦτων λόγον ἔχειν ἀνθρώπους σχολὴν 5 ἀγοντας. ἔξαίψις δὲ τὶς τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφφας κατιδῶν ὁτι πλοίου ποτάμιον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐρέσ-σεται καὶ καταστείλον τίνες ἀνθρώποι τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰς χείρας ὄρεγονσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἐπιστήμας 6 οὐν ὁ Πετίκιος εὐθὺς ἔγνω τὸν Πομπηίου, ὅτι 6 νομὸν ἐδε, καὶ πληξάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκέλευσε τοῖς ναύταις τὸ ἐφόλκιον παραβαλεῖν, καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐξέτεινε καὶ προσεκάλει τὸν Πομπηίου, ἢδι συμφρονῶν τὸ σχήματι τὴν τύχην καὶ μετα-βολὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός. οθεν ὅτε παράκλησιν ἀνα-μείνας οὔτε λόγον, ἀλλ' ἀναλαβὸν ὅσους ἐκέλευσε μετ' αὐτοῦ (Δέντουλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ 306
such an array of infantry and horse, but was now going away so insignificant and humbled as to escape the notice of the enemies who were in search of him. After passing by Larissa, he came to the Vale of Tempe, and there, being thirsty, he threw himself down on his face and drank of the river; then, rising up again, he went on his way through Tempe, and at last came down to the sea. There he rested for the remainder of the night in a fisherman's hut. At early dawn he went aboard a river-boat, taking with him such of his followers as were freemen, but bidding his servants to go back to Caesar and to have no fear. Then he coasted along until he saw a merchant-ship of goodly size about to put to sea, the master of which was a Roman who, though not intimately acquainted with Pompey, nevertheless knew him by sight; his name was Peticius. This man, as it happened, had dreamed the night before that Pompey, not as he had often seen him, but humble and downcast, was addressing him. He was just telling this dream to his shipmates, as men who are at leisure are wont to make much of such matters, when suddenly one of the sailors told him that he saw a river-boat rowing out from the shore, and some men in it waving their garments and stretching out their hands towards them. Peticius, accordingly, turned his attention in that direction, and at once recognised Pompey, as he had seen him in his dream; then, smiting his head, he ordered the sailors to bring the little boat alongside, and stretching out his hand, hailed Pompey, already comprehending from his garb the change of fortune which the man had suffered. Wherefore, without waiting for argument or entreaty, he took Pompey on board, and also all whom Pompey wished to have with him (these were the two Lentuli
Φαώνιος) ἀνήχθη· καὶ μικρὸν ὑστερον ἴδοντες ἀπὸ γῆς ἀμιλλóμενον Δηνόταρον τὸν βασιλέα προσαναλαμβάνουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καίρος ἦν δείπνου καὶ παρεσκεύασεν ὁ ναύκληρος ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ἴδων ὁ Φαώνιος οἴκετῶν ἀπορία τὸν Πομπηίου ἀρχόμενον αὐτὸν ὑπολύειν προσέδραμε καὶ ὑπέ-7 λυσε καὶ συνήλευσε. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου περιέπων καὶ θεραπεύων ὁσα δεσπότας δούλων, μέχρι νύσεως ποδών καὶ δείπνου παρασκεύης, διετέλεσεν, ὡστε τὴν ἐλευθερίνητα τῆς ὑπουργίας ἐκείνης θεσαμένων ἂν τινα καὶ τὸ ἄφελες καὶ ἀπλαστὸν εἶπειν.

Φεῦ τοῖς γενναίοις ὡς ἄπαν καλὸν.

I. Λ. Χ. Χ. Β. ΙV. Ὁυτὸ δὲ παραπλεύσας ἐπ᾽ Ἀμφί-πόλεως ἐκείθεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην ἐπεραίοιτο, βουλό-μενος τὴν Κορυνλίαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ τὸν νήων. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσέπη σὺν ἡ μέσῳ κατ᾽ αὐγιαλόν, ἔπερῳ-ψειν εἰς πόλιν ἄγγελον, οὐχ ὡς ἡ Κορυνλία προσ-εδώκα τοῖς πρὸς χάριν ἀπαγγελλομένως καὶ γραφομένως, ἐλπίζοντα τοῦ πολέμου κεκριμένου περὶ Δυνάχιον ἐτὶ λοιπὸν ἔργον εἶναι Πομπηίῳ 2 τὴν Καίσαρος δίωξεν. ἐν τούτοις οὔσαν αὐτὴν καταλαβὼν ὁ ἄγγελος ἀσπάσασθαι μὲν ὡς ὑπέ-μενε, τὰ δὲ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν τοῖς δάκρυσι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ φωνῇ φράσας σπεῦδειν ἐκέλευσεν, εἰ βούλεται πως Πομπηίου ἱδεῖν ἐπὶ νεὼς μίᾶς καὶ ἀλλοτρίας. ἡ δὲ ἀκούσασα προ-ήκατο μὲν αὐτὴν χαμάζει καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐκφρῶν καὶ ἀναυδός ἔκειτο, μόλις δὲ πῶς ἐμφρών 308
and Favonius), and set sail; and shortly after, seeing Deiotarus the king hurrying out from shore, they took him on board also. Now, when it was time for supper and the master of the ship had made such provision for them as he could, Favonius, seeing that Pompey, for lack of servants, was beginning to take off his own shoes, ran to him and took off his shoes for him, and helped him to anoint himself. And from that time on he continued to give Pompey such ministry and service as slaves give their masters, even down to the washing of his feet and the preparation of his meals, so that any one who beheld the courtesy and the unfeigned simplicity of that service might have exclaimed:

"Ah, yes! to generous souls how noble every task!"  

LXXIV. And so, after coasting along towards Amphipolis, he crossed over to Mitylene, desiring to take on board Cornelia and his son. And when he had reached the shore of the island, he sent a messenger to the city, not such a one as Cornelia was expecting in view of the joyful messages and letters she had received, for she was hoping that the war was ended at Dyrrachium, and that the only task left for Pompey was the pursuit of Caesar. The messenger, finding her in this mood, could not bring himself to salute her, but indicated to her the most and greatest of her misfortunes by his tears rather than by his speech, and merely bade her hasten if she had any wish to see Pompey with one ship only, and that not his own. When she heard this, she cast herself upon the ground and lay there a long time bereft of sense and speech. At last,

1 The verse is assigned to Euripides in Morals, p. 85a (Nauke, Trag. Graec. Frag 2, p. 671).
γενομένη καὶ συννοήσασα τῶν καιρῶν οὐκ ὄντα
θρήνων καὶ δακρύσων, ἔξεδραμε διὰ τῆς πόλεως
3 ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πομπήιον
καὶ δεξαμένου ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αὐτήν ὑπερειπο-
μένην καὶ περιπίπτουσαν, "Ὅρω σε," εἶπεν,
"ἄνερ, οὐ τῆς σῆς τύχης ἔργον, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἔμης,
προσερριμένον ἐνι σκάφει τῶν πρὸ τῶν Κορ-
νηλίας γάμων πεντακοσίας ναυσὶ ταύτην περι-
πλέυσαντα τὴν θάλασσαν, τί μ’ ἠλθες ἰδεῖν καὶ
οὐκ ἀπέλιπες τῷ βαρεὶ δαίμον τὴν καὶ σὲ δυστυ-
χίας ἀναπλήσασαν τοσαύτης; ὡς εὐτυχῆς μὲν ἄν
ήμην γυνὴ πρὸ τοῦ Πόσλιον ἐν Πάρθους ἀκούσαί
τὸν παρθενίου ἄνδρα κείμενον ἀποθανοῦσα, σώ-
φρων δὲ καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνον, ὡσπερ ὀρμησά, τὸν
ἐμαντής προσεμένη βλών ἐσωζόμην δ’ ἄρα καὶ
Πομπηίῳ Μάγνῳ συμφορὰ γενέσθαι.”
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LXXV. Ταύτα εἰπεῖν τὴν Κορνηλίων λέγοντι,
tὸν δὲ Πομπηίῳν ἀποκρίνασθαι: “Μίαν ἄρα,
Κορνηλία, τύχην ᾧδεις τὴν ἀμείωνα, ἦ καὶ σὲ
ἰσως ἐξηπάτησεν, ὅτι μοι χρόνου πλείουν τοῦ
συνήθους παρέμεινεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτα δεῖ φε-
ρεῖν γενομένοις ἄνθρωποις, καὶ τῆς τύχης ἔτι
πειρατέον. οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλπιστον ἐκ τούτων ἀνα-
λαβεῖν ἐκεῖνα τὸν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἐν τούτως γενο-
μενον.”
2 Ἡ μὲν οὖν γυνὴ μετεπέμπτετο χρήματα καὶ
θεράποντας ἐκ πόλεως· τῶν δὲ Μιτυληναίων
τὸν Πομπηίων ἀστυσαμένου καὶ παρακαλοῦντων
eἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ
κακείνως ἐκέλευσε τῷ κρατοῦντι πείθεσθαι καὶ
θαρρεῖν· εὐγνώμονα γὰρ εἶναι Καίσαρα καὶ
3 χρηστῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς Κράτιππον τραπόμενος
tὸν φιλόσοφον (κατέβη γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
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however, and with difficulty, she regained her senses, and perceiving that the occasion was not one for tears and laments, she ran out through the city to the sea. Pompey met her and caught her in his arms as she tottered and was falling. "I see thee," she cried, "husband, not by thy fortune, but by mine, reduced to one small vessel, thou who before thy marriage with Cornelia didst sail this sea with five hundred ships. Why hast thou come to see me, and why didst thou not leave to her cruel destiny one who has infected thee also with an evil fortune so great? What a happy woman I had been if I had died before hearing that Publius, whose virgin bride I was, was slain among the Parthians! And how wise if, even after his death, as I essayed to do, I had put an end to my own life! But I was spared, it seems, to bring ruin also upon Pompey the Great."

LXXV. So spake Cornelia, as we are told, and Pompey answered, saying: "It is true, Cornelia, thou hast known but one fortune to be mine, the better one, and this has perhaps deceived thee too, as well as me, in that it remained with me longer than is customary. But this reverse also we must bear, since we are mortals, and we must still put fortune to the test. For I can have some hope of rising again from this low estate to my former high estate, since I fell from that to this."

His wife, accordingly, sent for her goods and servants from the city; and though the Mitylenaeans gave Pompey a welcome and invited him to enter their city, he would not consent to do so, but bade them also to submit to the conqueror, and to be of good heart, for Caesar was humane and merciful. He himself, however, turning to Cratippus the philosopher, who had come down from the city to
όψόμενοι αὐτόν), ἐμέμψατο καὶ συνδιηπόρησε βραχέα περὶ τῆς προνοίας, ὑποκατακλινομένου τοῦ Κρατίππου καὶ παράγοντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀμεί- νονας ἐλπίδας, ὅπως μὴ λυπηρὸς μηδὲ ἄκαιρος ἀντιλέγων εἰ. ἔπει τὸ μὲν έρέσθαι τὸν Πομ- πῆιον ἦν ύπερ τῆς προνοίας, τὸν δ’ ἀποφαίνεσθαι ὅτι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἦδη μοναρχίας ἔδει διὰ τὴν κακοπολιτείαν· έρέσθαι δὲ· „Πῶς, ὦ Πομπῆιε, καὶ τίνι τεκμηρίω πεισθῶμεν ὅτι βέλτιον ἂν σὺ τῇ τύχῃ Καίσαρος ἔχρησο κρατήσας;“ ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐατέον ὄσπερ ἔχει, τὰ τῶν θεῶν.

LXXVI. Ὅναλαβων δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐκομίζετο, προσίσχων ὅρμοις ἀναγκαίους ὑδώρ ή ἀγοράν ἔχουσιν. εἰς δὲ πόλιν εἰσῆλθε πρώτην Ἀττάλειαν τῆς Παμφυλίας. ἑνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῶ καὶ τριήρεις τινὲς ἀπήντησαν ἐκ Κελίκιας καὶ στρατιώται συνελέγοντο καὶ τῶν συγκλητι-κῶν πάλιν ἐξήκοντα περὶ αὐτὸν ἔσαν. ἀκούων δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἑτὶ συνεστάναι, καὶ Κάτωνα πολλοὺς στρατιώτας ἀνείληφοτα περαιὸν εἰς Διβύνην, ὑδύρετο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, καταμεμφό-μενος ἐαυτὸν ἐκβιασθέντα τῷ πεζῷ συμβαλεῖν, τῇ δὲ κρείττουν ἄδηρίτωσ δυνάμει πρὸς μηδὲν ἀποχρήσασθαι μηδὲ περιορίσαι τὸ ναυτικόν, ὅπου κατὰ γῆν σφαλεῖς εὔθυς ἂν εἶχεν ἀντίπαλον ἐκ θαλάττης παρεστῶσαν ἀλκίν καὶ δύναμιν τοσαύτην. οὐδὲν γαρ ἀμάρτημα Πομπῆιον μεῖζον οὐδὲ δεινότερον στρατήγημα Καίσαρος ἢ τὸ τὴν
see him, complained and argued briefly with him about Providence, Cratippus yielding somewhat to his reasoning and trying to lead him on to better hopes, that he might not give him pain by arguing against him at such a time. For when Pompey raised questions about Providence, Cratippus might have answered that the state now required a monarchy because it was so badly administered; and he might have asked Pompey: "How, O Pompey, and by what evidence, can we be persuaded that thou wouldst have made a better use of fortune than Caesar, hadst thou got the mastery?" But this matter of the divine ordering of events must be left without further discussion.\footnote{Sintenis\textsuperscript{2} follows Amyot in including this last sentence with the words supposed to be spoken by Cratippus: "But these matters must be left to the will of the gods."}

LXXVI. After taking on board his wife and his friends, Pompey went on his way, putting in at harbours only when he was compelled to get food or water there. The first city that he entered was Attaleia in Pamphylia; there some triremes from Cilicia met him, soldiers were assembled for him, and he was surrounded again by senators, sixty of them. On hearing, too, that his fleet still held together, and that Cato had taken many soldiers aboard and was crossing the sea to Africa, he lamented to his friends, blaming himself for having been forced to do battle with his land forces, while he made no use of his navy, which was indisputably superior, and had not even stationed it at a point where, if defeated on land, he might have had this powerful force close at hand by sea to make him a match for his enemy. And, in truth, Pompey made no greater mistake, and Caesar showed no abler generalship,
His father was Ptolemy Auletes, mentioned in chapter xlix. 5. He had been restored to his throne in 55 B.C. through Pompey's influence. The son, Ptolemy Dionysius,
than in removing the battle so far from naval assistance. However, since he was compelled to decide and act as best he could under the circumstances, he sent messengers round to the cities; to some also he sailed about in person, asking for money and manning ships. But fearing the quickness and speed of his enemy, who might come upon him and seize him before he was prepared, he began to look about for a temporary refuge and retreat. Accordingly, as he deliberated with his followers, there appeared to be no province to which they could safely fly, and as for the kingdoms, he himself expressed the opinion that the Parthian was best able for the present to receive and protect them in their weak condition, and later on to strengthen them and send them forth with a large force; of the rest, some turned their thoughts to Africa and Juba. But Theophanes the Lesbian thought it a crazy thing for Pompey to decide against Egypt, which was only three days' sail away, and Ptolemy, who was a mere youth and indebted to Pompey for friendship and kindness shown his father, and put himself in the power of Parthians, a most treacherous race; to refuse to take the second place under a Roman who had been connected with him by marriage, and to be second to none other, nay, to refuse even to make trial of that Roman's moderation, but instead to make Arsaces his lord and master, a thing which even Crassus could not be made to do while he lived; and to carry a young wife, of the family of Scipio, among Barbarians who measure their power by their insolence and licentiousness, where, even if she suffer no harm, but now fifteen years of age, had been left joint ruler of Egypt with his sister, Cleopatra.
δεινόν ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς θυσίας δυναμένους γενομένη. τούτῳ μόνῳ, ὡς φασίν, ἀπέτρεψε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐὐφράτην ὄδου Πομπήίου· εἰ δὴ τις ἔτι Πομπήίου λογισμὸς, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δαίμον ἐκείνην ύψη
gεῖτο τὴν ὄδον.

I.Χ.Ν.Β. Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐνίκα φεύγειν εἰς τὴν Ἀὐγούστου, ἀναχθεὶς ἀπὸ Κύπρου Σελευκίδη τρι
ήρει μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς (τῶν δ' ἄλλων οί μὲν ἐν μακραὶς ὀμοίωσι ναισίν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὀλκάσιν ἀμα
συμπαρέπλεον), τὸ μὲν πέλαγος διεπέρασεν ἀσ-
φαλῶς, πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαίον ἐν Πη-
λοοσίῳ καθῆσθαι μετὰ στρατιᾶς, πολεμοῦντα
πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἐκεῖ κατέσχε, προπέμψας τὸν
2 φράσοντα τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ δεσφόμενον, ὁ μὲν
οὖν Πτολεμαίος ἦν κομιδὴ νέος· ὁ δὲ πάντα
dιέτρον τὰ πράγματα Ποθείνος ἠθροίσε βουλὴν
tῶν δυνατῶτάτων· ἐδύναντο δὲ μέγιστον οὐς
ἐκεῖνος ἐβουλευτο· καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἦν ἐχεi
gνώμην ἐκαστος. ἦν οὖν δεινὸν περὶ Πομπηίου
Μάγνου βουλεύεσθαι Ποθείνον τὸν εὐνοῦχον καὶ
Θεόδοτον τὸν Χίου, ἐπὶ μισθὸ ρητορικῶν λόγων
dιδάσκαλον ἀνειλημμένον, καὶ τὸν Ἀὐγούστιον
Ἀχιλλάν κορυφαίοτατοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν κατευνα-
σταῖς καὶ τιθηνοῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις οὕτω σύμβουλοι.
3 καὶ τοιούτου δικαστηρίου ψήφου Πομπηίου ἐπ'
ἀγκυρῶν πρὸς τὴν χώραν ὑποσαλεύων περιέ-
μενεν, ὅν Καῖσαρι σωτηρίας χάριν οὐκ ἦν ἀξίων
όφείλειν.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων τοσοῦτον αἰ γνώμαι διέ-
στησαν ὅσον οἱ μὲν ἀπελαύνειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δὲ
4 καλεῖν καὶ δέχεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα· Θεόδοτος δὲ
dεινότητα λόγου καὶ ῥητορείαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος
is only thought to have suffered harm, her fate is a terrible one, since she has come into the power of those who are able to do her harm. This consideration alone, as we are told, diverted Pompey from journeying to the Euphrates, if indeed it was longer any calculation of Pompey's, and not rather an evil genius, that was guiding him on this last journey.

LXXVII. So when it was decided that he should fly to Egypt, he set sail from Cyprus on a Seleucian trireme with his wife (of the rest, some sailed along with him in ships of war like his own, and others in merchant vessels), and crossed the sea in safety; but on learning that Ptolemy was posted at Pelusium with an army, making war upon his sister, he put in there, and sent on a messenger to announce his arrival to the king and to ask his aid. Now, Ptolemy was quite young; but Potheinus, who managed all his affairs, assembled a council of the most influential men (and those were most influential whom he wished to be so), and bade each one give his opinion. It was certainly a dreadful thing that the fate of Pompey the Great was to be decided by Potheinus the eunuch, and Theodotus of Chios, who was a hired teacher of rhetoric, and Achillas the Egyptian; for these were the chief counsellors of the king among the chamberlains and tutors also gathered there. And it was such a tribunal's verdict which Pompey, tossing at anchor some distance off the shore, was waiting for, a man who would not deign to be under obligations to Caesar for his life.

The opinions of the other counsellors were so far divergent that some advised to drive Pompey away, and others to invite him in and receive him. But Theodotus, making a display of his powerful speech
οὐδέτερον ἀπέφηνεν ἀσφαλές, ἀλλὰ δεξαμένους μὲν ἔξειν Καίσαρα πολέμιον καὶ δεσπότην Πομπηίον, ἀπωσαμένους δὲ καὶ Πομπηίῳ τῆς ἐκβολῆς ὑπαιτίους ἔσεσθαι καὶ Καίσαρι τῆς διώξεως· κράτιστον οὖν εἶναι μεταπεμψαμένους ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ χαριεῖσθαι καὶ τούτον οὐ φοβῆσθαι. προσεπείπε δὲ διαμειδίασας, ὡς φασίν, ὅτι νεκρὸς οὐ δάκνει.

LXXVIII. Ταῦτα κυρώσαντες ἐπ’ Ἀχιλλᾶ ποιοῦνται τὴν πράξιν. ὁ δὲ Σεπτίμιον τῶν πάλαι γεγονότα Πομπηίου ταξιαρχον παραλαβῶν, καὶ Σάλβιον ἔτερον ἐκατοντάρχην καὶ τρεῖς ἥ τέτταρας ὑπηρέτας, ἀνήχθη πρὸς τὴν Πομπηίου ναῦν. ἔτυχον δὲ πάντες εἰς αὐτὴν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι τῶν συμπλεόντων ἐμβεβηκότες, ὅπως εἰδέθευ τὸ 2 πραττόμενον. ὡς οὖν εἶδον οὐ βασιλικὴν οὐδὲ λαμπρὰν οὐδὲ ταῖς Θεοφάνους ἐλπίσιν ὁμοίαν ὑποδοχὴν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἀλιάδος προσπλέοντας ὀλίγους ἀνθρώπους, ὑπείδοντο τὴν ὁλιγωρίαν καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ παρῆνοι εἰς πέλαγος ἀνακρούσεθαι τὴν ναῦν, ἐως ἔξω βέλους εἰσίν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πελαξούσης τῆς ἀλιάδος φθάσας ὁ Σεπτίμιος ἐξανέστη καὶ Ἀρμαϊστὶ τὸν Πομπηίου αὐτοκράτορα προσηγόρευσεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀχιλλᾶς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν Ἐλληνιστὶ παρεκάλει μετελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀλίαδα· τέναγος γὰρ ἐναὶ πολὺ, καὶ βάθος οὐκ ἔχειν πλοίομον τρυήρει τὴν θάλασσαν ὑπόψαμον οὖσαν. ἀμα δὲ καὶ ναὸς τινὸς ἐωρῶντο τῶν βασιλικῶν πληροῦμεναι, καὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ὁπλῖται κατείχον, ὡστ’ ἀφυκτα καὶ μεταβαλλομένους ἐφαί-
and rhetorical art, set forth that neither course was safe for them, but that if they received Pompey, they would have Caesar for an enemy and Pompey for a master; while if they rejected him, Pompey would blame them for casting him off, and Caesar for making him continue his pursuit; the best course, therefore, was to send for the man and put him to death, for by so doing they would gratify Caesar and have nothing to fear from Pompey. To this he smilingly added, we are told, "A dead man does not bite."

LXXVIII. Having determined upon this plan, they entrusted the execution of it to Achillas. So he took with him a certain Septimius, who had once been a tribune of Pompey's, and Salvius besides, a centurion, with three or four servants, and put out towards the ship of Pompey. Now, all the most distinguished of Pompey's fellow-voyagers had come aboard of her to see what was going on. Accordingly, when they saw a reception that was not royal, nor splendid, nor in accordance with the hopes of Theophanes, but a few men sailing up in a single fishing-boat, they viewed this lack of respect with suspicion, and advised Pompey to have his ship rowed back into the open sea, while they were beyond reach of missiles. But meanwhile the boat drew near, and first Septimius rose up and addressed Pompey in the Roman tongue as Imperator. Then Achillas saluted him in Greek, and invited him to come aboard the boat, telling him that the shallows were extensive, and that the sea, which had a sandy bottom, was not deep enough to float a trireme. At the same time some of the royal ships were seen to be taking their crews aboard, and men-at-arms were occupying the shore, so that there seemed to be no
νετο, καὶ προσήν τὸ διδόναι τοῖς φονεύσι τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτὴν τῆς ἁδικίας ἀπολογίαν. ἀσπασά-μενος οὖν τὴν Κορυνήλιαν προαποθρημοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὸ τέλος, καὶ δύο ἐκατοντάρχας προεμβίναν κε-λεύσας καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἕνα Φίλιππον καὶ θεράποντα Σκύθην οἰνόμα, δεξιουμένων αὐτὸν ἦδη τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἁχιλλᾶν ἐκ τῆς ἁλιάδος, μετα-στραφεὶς πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὸν ύιὸν εἶπε Σοφοκλέους ιαμβεῖα:

"Οστὶς δὲ πρὸς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται, κείνου στὶ δούλος, κἂν ἔλευθερος μόλη.

LXXIX. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐσχάτα πρὸς τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ φθεγξάμενος ἐνέβη καὶ συχνοῦ διαστήματος ὄντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς τριήρους, ὡς οὐδεὶς παρὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων ἐγίνετο λόγος φιλάνθρωπος πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀποβλέψας εἰς τὸν Σεπτίμιον, "Οὐ δὴ ποῦ σε," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ γεγονότα συστρατιώτην ἐμὸν ἄμφιγρῳ;" κάκεινος ἐπένευσε τῇ κεφαλῇ μόνου, οὐδὲν προσεἶπὼν οὐδὲ φιλοφρονθεῖς. πολλὴς οὖν πάλιν οὐσία σιωπῆς ὁ Πομπῆιος ἔχων ἐν βιβλίῳ μικρῷ γεγραμμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λόγον Ἐλληνικῶν, ὁ παρεσκεύαστο χρήσθαι πρὸς τὸν

3 Πτολεμαίον, ἀνεγίνωσκεν. ὡς δὲ τῇ γῇ προσ- επέλαξε, ὡς μὲν Κορυνήλια μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐκ τῆς τριήρους περιπαθὴς οὔσα τὸ μέλλου ἀπεσκοπεῖτο, καὶ θαρρεὶν ἤρχετο πολλοὺς ὀρῶσα πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν τῶν βασιλικῶν οἴου ἐπὶ τιμῆ καὶ δεξίωσει συνερχομένους. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Πομπηίουν

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escape even if they changed their minds; and besides, this very lack of confidence might give the murderers an excuse for their crime. Accordingly, after embracing Cornelia, who was bewailing his approaching death, he ordered two centurions to go into the boat before him, besides Philip, one of his freedmen, and a servant named Scythes, and while Achillas was already stretching out his hand to him from the boat, turned towards his wife and son and repeated the verses of Sophocles:—

Whatever man unto a tyrant takes his way,
His slave he is, even though a freeman when he goes.¹

LXXIX. After these last words to his friends, he went into the boat. And since it was a long distance from the trireme to the land, and none of his companions in the boat had any friendly word for him, turning his eyes upon Septimius he said: “Surely I am not mistaken, and you are an old comrade of mine!” Septimius nodded merely, without saying anything to him or showing any friendliness. So then, as there was profound silence again, Pompey took a little roll containing a speech written by him in Greek, which he had prepared for his use in addressing Ptolemy, and began to read in it. Then, as they drew near the shore, Cornelia, together with his friends, stood on the trireme watching with great anxiety for the outcome, and began to take heart when she saw many of the king’s people assembling at the landing as if to give him an honourable welcome. But at this point,

¹ Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag.² p. 316. The recitation of these verses is a feature common also to the accounts of the tragedy in Appian (Bell. Civ. ii. 84) and Dio Cassius (xlii. 4).
τῆς τοῦ Φιλίππου λαμβανόμενον χειρός, ὅπως ῥᾴδιν ἔξανασταίη, Σεπτίμιος ὁπίσθεν τῷ ἔθει διελαύνει πρῶτος, εἰτα Σιλβίος μετ' ἐκείνου, εἰτα 4 Ἀχιλλᾶς ἐσπάσαντο τὰς μαχαίρας. ὁ δὲ ταῖς χερσίν ἀμφοτέραις τὴν τῆβεννον ἐφελκυσάμενος κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου, μηδὲν εἶπον ἀνάξιον ἕαυτοῦ μηδὲ ποιήσας, ἀλλὰ στενάξας μόνοι, ἐνεκαρτέρησε ταῖς πληγαιν, ἐξήκοιτα μὲν ἐνὸς δέοντα βεβιωκὼς ἔτη, μιᾶ ὑπερον ἡμέρᾳ τῆς γενεθλίου τελευτήσας τὸν βίον.

LXXX. Οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεών ὃς ἑθεάσαντο τὸν φόνον, οἰμωγὴν ἐξάκουστῶν ἄχρι τῆς γῆς ἐκχέαντες ἐφύγον, ἀράμενοι τὰς ἀγκυρὰς κατὰ τάχος. καὶ πνεῦμα λαμπρὸν ἐβοήθηε πελαγίοις ὑπεκθέουσιν, ὥστε βουλομένοις διώκειν ἀποτραπέσθαι τοὺς Λιγυπτίους. τοῦ δὲ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀλλὸ σώμα γυμνὸν ἐκβαλόντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλιάδος τῶν δεομένων τοιοῦτοι 2 τοῦ θεάματος ἀπέλιπον. παρέμεινε δὲ αὐτῷ Φιλίπποι, ἐως ἐγένοντο μεστοὶ τῆς ὁψεως: εἶτα περιλούσας τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὸ σώμα καὶ χιτωνίῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ περιστείλας, ἀλλὸ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔχον, ἀλλὰ περισκοπῶν τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐνερκράτεις ἀλλᾶ ἔλευσαν, παλαιὰ μὲν, ἀρκοῦντα δὲ νεκρὸ γυμνὸ καὶ οὐδὲ ὅλῳ πυρκαίαν ἀναγκαίαν παρα- 3 σχεῖν. ταῦτα συγκομίζοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συντεθέντος ἐπιστᾶσαν ἀνὴρ Ρωμαῖος ἡδον γέρων, τὰς δὲ πρώτας στρατείας ἐτὶ νέος Πομπηῖος συνεστρατεύμενος, "Τίς ὦ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε," ἐφη, "θάπτειν διανοῆ Μάγνον Πομπηίον;" ἐκείνου δὲ φήσαντο ὡς ἀπελεύθερος, "Ἀλλ' οὐ μόνῳ σοί," ἐφη, "τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν ὑπάρξει; κἀμέ δὲ ὢσπερ εὐρήματος.
while Pompey was clasping the hand of Philip that he might rise to his feet more easily, Septimius, from behind, ran him through the body with his sword, then Salvius next, and then Achillas, drew their daggers and stabbed him. And Pompey, drawing his toga down over his face with both hands, without an act or a word that was unworthy of himself, but with a groan merely, submitted to their blows, being sixty years of age less one, and ending his life only one day after his birth-day.

LXXX. When the people on the ships beheld the murder, they uttered a wailing cry that could be heard as far as the shore, and weighing anchor quickly, took to flight. And a strong wind came to their aid as they ran out to sea, so that the Egyptians, though desirous of pursuing, turned back. But they cut off Pompey's head, and threw the rest of his body unclothed out of the boat, and left it for those who craved so pitiful a sight. Philip, however, stayed by the body, until such had taken their fill of gazing; then he washed it in sea-water, wrapped it in a tunic of his own, and since he had no other supply, sought along the coast until he found the remnants of a small fishing-boat, old stuff, indeed, but sufficient to furnish a funeral pyre that would answer for an unclothed corpse, and that too not entire. As he was gathering the wood and building the pyre, there came up a Roman who was now an old man, but who in his youth had served his first campaigns with Pompey, and said: "Who art thou, my man, that thinkest to give burial rites to Pompey the Great?" And when Philip said that he was his freedman, the man said: "But thou shalt not have this honour all to thyself; let me too share in a pious privilege thus

1 Ibi ab Achilla et Septimio interficitur (Caesar, Bell. Civ. iii. 104).
εὐσεβῶς δέξατι κοινωνόν, ὡς μὴ κατὰ πάντα μέμφωμαι τῇ ἀποξένωσιν, ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἀνιαρῶν τούτῳ γοῦν εὐράμενον, ἅψασθαι καὶ περιστεῖλαι ταῖς ἐμαῖς χερσὶ τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοκράτορα Πολλαίων." ὁμώς μὲν ἐκηδεύετο Πομπήιος. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Λεύκιος Λέντλος οὐκ εἰδὼς τὰ πεπραγμένα, πλέων ἀπὸ Κύπρου καὶ παρὰ γῆν κομικόμενος, ὡς εἰδε νεκρῶν πυρὰν καὶ παρεστώτα τὸν Φιλιπποὺν, ὁμώς καθορόμενος: "Τίς ἁρα," ἐφη, "τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐνταῦθα τελέσας ἀναπέπανται;" καὶ μικρῶν διαλυτῶν καὶ στενάξας, "Τάχα δὲ," εἶπε, "σὺ, Πομπήιε Μάγνῃ." καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἀποβας καὶ συλληφθεῖς ἀπέθανε.

5 Τοῦτο Πομπηίου τέλος. οὐ πολλῷ δὲ ὑστεροῦν Καίσαρ ἔλθὼν εἰς Αἰγυπτον ἅγους τοσοῦτον καταπεπλησμένην τὸν μὲν προσφέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ὡς παλαμυαῖον ἀπεστράφη, τὴν δὲ σφραγίδα τοῦ Πομπηίου δεξάμενος ἐδάκρυσεν. ἦν δὲ γλυφὴ λέων ξυφήρης. Ἀχιλλαῖον δὲ καὶ Ποθευνὸν ἀπέσφαξεν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μάχῃ λειψθεὶς περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὑφαινόμην. Θεόδοτον δὲ τὸν σοφιστὴν ἢ μὲν ἐκ Καίσαρος δικὴ παρῆλθεν φυγῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτοῦ ἐπιλαυνόντα ταπεινὰ πράττων καὶ μισοῦμενος. Βροῦτος δὲ Μάρκος, ὁτε Καίσαρα κτείνας ἐκράτησεν, ἔξευρὼν αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν αἰκισάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. τά δὲ λείψανα τοῦ Πομπηίου Κορινθία δεξαμένη κομισθέντα, περὶ τὸν Ἀλβανὸν ἐθηκεν.

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offered, that I may not altogether regret my sojourn in a foreign land, if in requital for many hardships I find this happiness at least, to touch with my hands and array for burial the greatest of Roman impera-
tors.” Such were the obsequies of Pompey. And on the following day Lucius Lentulus, as he came sailing from Cyprus and coasted along the shore not knowing what had happened, saw a funeral pyre and Philip standing beside it, and before he had been seen himself exclaimed: “Who, pray, rests here at the end of his allotted days?” Then, after a slight pause and with a groan he said: “But perhaps it is thou, Pompey the Great!” And after a little he went ashore, was seized, and put to death.

This was the end of Pompey. But not long after-

wards Caesar came to Egypt, and found it filled with this great deed of abomination. From the man who brought him Pompey’s head he turned away with loathing, as from an assassin; and on receiving Pom-
pey’s seal-ring, he burst into tears; the device was a lion holding a sword in his paws. But Achillas and Potheinus he put to death. The king himself, more-

over, was defeated in battle along the river, and dis-

appeared. Theodotus the sophist, however, escaped the vengeance of Caesar; for he fled out of Egypt and wandered about in wretchedness and hated of all men. But Marcus Brutus, after he had slain Caesar and come into power, discovered him in Asia, and put him to death with every possible torture. The remains of Pompey were taken to Cornelia, who gave them burial at his Alban villa.
ΑΡΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. 'Εκκειμένων οὖν τῶν βίων ἐπιδράμωμεν τῷ λόγῳ ταχέως τὰ ποιοῦντα τὰς διαφορὰς, παρ' ἄλληλα συνάγοντες. έστι δὲ ταῦτα· πρῶτον, ὅτι Πομπήιος ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου τρόπου παρῆλθεν εἰς δύναμιν καὶ δόξαν, αὐτὸς ὀρμηθεὶς ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα Σύλλα τήν Ἰταλίαν ἀπὸ τῶν τυράννων ἔλευθεροῦντι συγκατεργασάμενος.

2 'Αγησίλαος δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐδοξεὶ λαβεῖν οὔτε τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς ἀμεμπτοσ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, κρίνας νοθείας Λεωτυχίδην, ὅν νῦν αὐτοῦ 1 ἀπέδειξεν ὁ ἀδελφὸς γυνήσιον, τὸν δὲ χρησμὸν κατεργασάμενος τὸν περὶ τῆς χωλότητος. δεύτερον, ὅτι Πομπήιος Σύλλαν καὶ ξόωντα τιμῶν διετέλεσε καὶ τεθυηκότος ἐκήδευσε βιασάμενος Λέπιδον τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τῷ παιδὶ Φαῦστῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα συνφίκεσεν, 'Αγησίλαος δὲ Λύσανδρον ἐκ τῆς τυχουσῆς προφάσεως ὑπεξέρρηψε καὶ καθύ-

3 βρισε. καίτοι Σύλλας μὲν οὐκ ἔλαττόνων ἐτυχεν ἡ Πομπηίω παρέσχεν, 'Αγησίλαος δὲ Λύσανδρος καὶ τῆς Σπάρτης βασιλεία καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος στρατηγον ἐποίησε. τρίτον δὲ, αἰ περὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ τῶν δικαίων παραβάσεις Πομπηίω μὲν δι' οἰκεῖσθαι ἐγένοντο· τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα Καύσαρι καὶ Σκητίωι συνεξήμαρτε κηδεσταῖς οὕσιν.

4 'Αγησίλαος δὲ Σφοδρίαν μὲν ἐφ' οἷς 'Αθηναίους ἡδίκησεν ἀποθανεῖν ὁφείλοντα τῷ τοῦ παιδὸς ἔρωτι χαριζόμενος έξήρπασε, Φοιβίδα δὲ Ἡβαίους

1 αὐτοῦ bracketed by Sintenis².
AGESILAUS AND POMPEY, i. 1-4

COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEY

I. Now that their lives lie spread before us, let us briefly run over the points in which the two men differed, and bring these together side by side. They are as follows. In the first place, it was in the justest manner that Pompey came to fame and power, setting out on his career independently, and rendering many great services to Sulla when Sulla was freeing Italy from her tyrants; Agesilaus, on the contrary, appeared to get his kingdom by sinning against both gods and men, since he brought Leotychides under condemnation for bastardy, although his brother had recognised him as his legitimate son, and made light of the oracle concerning his lameness. In the second place, Pompey not only continued to hold Sulla in honour while he lived, but also after his death gave his body funeral obsequies in despite of Lepidus, and bestowed upon his son Faustus his own daughter in marriage; whereas Agesilaüs cast out Lysander on the merest pretext, and heaped insult upon him. And yet Sulla got no less from Pompey than he gave him, while in the case of Agesilaüs, it was Lysander who made him king of Sparta and general of all Greece. And, thirdly, Pompey's transgressions of right and justice in his political life were due to his family connections, for he joined in most of the wrongdoings of Caesar and Scipio because they were his relations by marriage; but Agesilaüs snatched Sphodrias from the death which hung over him for wronging the Athenians, merely to gratify the love of his son, and when Phoebidas treacherously broke the peace with Thebes, he
παρασπυνθαντί δήλον ἦν δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀδίκημα προθύμως βοηθῶν. καθόλου δὲ ὅσα Ῥωμαῖοι δι' αἰών Πομπηίου ἦν ἀγνοιαν αἰτίαν ἐσχε βλάψαι, ταῦτα θυμῷ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ Δακεδαιμονίου Ἀγγείλαος ἔβλαψε τὸν Βοιώτιον ἐκκαύσας πόλεμον.

II. Εἰ δὲ καὶ τύχην τινὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκατέρου τοῖς σφάλμασι προσοιστέου, ἀνέλπιστος μὲν ἡ Πομπηίου Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἀγγείλαος δὲ Δακεδαιμονίου ἀκούοντας καὶ προειδότας οὐκ εἴασε φυλάξαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μυριάκις ἡλέγχθη Λεωντυχίδης ἀλλότριος εἶναι καὶ νόθος, οὐκ ἂν ἡπόρησαν Εὐρυποπτίδαι γυνίσιον καὶ ἀρτίποδα τῇ Σπάρτῃ βασιλείᾳ παρασχεῖν, εἰ μὴ δὲ Ἀγγείλαον ἐπεσκότησε τῷ χρημῷ Λύσανδρος.

2 Οἶνον μέντοι τῇ περὶ τῶν τρεσάντων ἀπορία προσήγαγεν ὁ Ἀγγείλαος ἱαμα μετὰ τὴν ἐν Δεύκτρους ἀτυχίαν, κελεύσας τοὺς νόμους ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καθεύδειν, οὐ γέγονεν ἀλλο σόφισμα πολιτικόν, οὔτε ἔχομεν τι τοῦ Πομπηίου παραπλήσιον, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον οὔτε οἷς αὐτὸς ἐτίθει νόμοις ὃς τοῦ δεῖν ἐμένειν, τὸ δύνασθαι μέγα τοῖς φίλοις ἐνδεικνύμενος. ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀνάγκην καταστάς τοῦ λύσαι τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τῷ σώσαι τοὺς πολίτας, ἔξευρε τρόπον ὃ μήτε ἐκείνους βλάψοισι μήτε ὅπως οὐ βλάψωσι λυθήσονται. τίθεμαι δὲ
evidently made the crime itself a reason for zealously supporting him. In a word, whatever harm Pompey was accused of bringing upon the Romans out of deference to his friends or through ignorance, Agesilaüs brought as much upon the Lacedaemonians out of obstinacy and resentment when he kindled the Boeotian war.

II. Moreover, if we must assign to any ill-fortune of the two men the disasters which overtook them, that of Pompey could not have been anticipated by the Romans; but Agesilaüs would not permit the Lacedaemonians to guard against the "lame sovereignty," although they had heard and knew beforehand about it. For even if Leotychides had been ten thousand times convicted of being bastard and alien, the family of the Eurypontidae could easily have furnished Sparta with a king who was of legitimate birth and sound of limb, had not Lysander darkened the meaning of the oracle in the interests of Agesilaüs.

On the other hand, when we consider the remedy which Agesilaüs applied to the perplexity of the state in dealing with those who had played the coward, after the disaster at Leuctra, when he urged that the laws should slumber for that day, there was never another political device like it, nor can we find anything in Pompey's career to compare with it; on the contrary, he did not even think it incumbent upon him to abide by the laws which he himself had made, if he might only display the greatness of his power to his friends. But Agesilaüs, when he confronted the necessity of abrogating the laws in order to save his fellow-citizens, devised a way by which the citizens should not be harmed by the laws, nor the laws be abrogated to avoid such
κάκεινο τό ἀμμητον ἔργον ἔις πολιτικῆν ἀρετὴν τοῦ Ἀγνησιλάου, τὸ δεξάμενον τὴν σκυτάλην ἀπολιπεῖν τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πράξεις. οὐ γὰρ, ὡς Πομπήιος, ἀφ’ ὅν ἑαυτὸν ἐποίει μέγαν ὀφέλει τὸ κοινὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος σκοπῶν τηλικαύτην ἀφήκε δύναμιν καὶ δόξαν ἥλικην οὐδὲς πρότερον οὐδὲ ύστερον πλὴν Ἀλέξανδρος ἔσχεν.

III. ἂν ἄλλης τούτων ἀρχῆς, ἐν ταῖς στρατηγίαις καὶ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, ἁριθμῷ μὲν τροπαίων καὶ μεγέθει δυνάμεως ἄς ἐπηγάγετο Πομπήιος, καὶ πλῆθει παρατάξεων ἄς εἰνίκησεν, οὔτ’ ἂν ὁ Ἐνοφῶν μοι δοκεῖ παραβαλεῖν τὰς Ἀγνησιλάου νίκας, ὃ διὰ τὰλλα καλὰ καθάπερ γέρας ἔξαίρετον δέδοται καὶ γράφειν ὁ βουλοῖτο καὶ λέγειν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός. οipherals δὲ καὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἐπιεικεῖα διαφέρειν τὸν ἀνδρα τοῦ ἀνδρός. ο’ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδραποδίσασθαι Θήβας καὶ Μεσσήνην ἐξουκίσασθαι βουλόμενος, ἂν μὲν ὀμόκληρον τῆς πατρίδος, ἂν δὲ μητρόπολιν τοῦ γένους, παρ’ οὔτεν ἦλθε τὴν Σπάρτην ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀπέβαλε δὲ τὴν ἥγεμονίαν: ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν πειρατῶν τῶν μεταβαλομένων πόλεις ἐδωκε, καὶ Τυρράννην τὸν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα γενόμενον ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ θριαμβεύσαι σύμμαχον ἐποίησατο, φήσας ἢμέρας μίᾶς αἰῶνα προτιμᾶν.

3 Εἰ μέντοι τοὺς μεγίστους καὶ κυριωτάτους εἰς τὰ ὅπλα πράγμασι καὶ λογισμοῖς προστίθεται πρωτείον ἀρετῆς ἀνδρός ἥγεμόνος, οὐ μικρὸν ὁ
harm. Further, I attribute also to political virtue in Agesilaüs that inimitable act of his in abandoning his career in Asia on receipt of the dispatch-roll. For he did not, like Pompey, help the commonwealth only as he made himself great, but with an eye to the welfare of his country he renounced such great fame and power as no man won before or since his day, except Alexander.

III. And now from another point of view, that of their campaigns and achievements in war, the trophies of Pompey were so many, the forces led by him so vast, and the pitched battles in which he was victorious so innumerable, that not even Xenophon, I think, would compare the victories of Agesilaüs, although that historian, by reason of his other excellent qualities, is specially privileged, as it were, to say and write whatever he pleases about the man. I think also that in merciful behaviour towards their enemies the two men were different. For Agesilaüs was so bent on enslaving Thebes and depopulating Messenia, Thebes the mother-city of his royal line, and Messenia a sister colony to his country,¹ that he nearly lost Sparta, and did lose her supremacy in Greece; whereas Pompey gave cities to such of the pirates as changed their mode of life, and when it was in his power to lead Tigranes the king of Armenia in his triumphal procession, made him an ally instead, saying that he thought more of future time than of a single day.

If, however, it is the greatest and most far-reaching decisions and acts in war that are to determine preëminence in the virtues of leadership, then the

¹ Thebes was the birth-place of Heracles, from whom the Spartan kings were supposed to be descended; and Messenia, like Sparta, was settled by the Heracleidae.
Λάκων τῶν 'Ρωμαίων ἀπολέλοιπε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ οὗ προήκατο τὴν πόλιν οὖδ' ἐξέλιπεν ἐπτὰ μυριάσι στρατού τῶν πολεμίων ἐμβαλόντων, ὀλίγους ἔχων ὀπλίτας καὶ προεικημένους ἐν
4 Δεύκτροις. Πομπήιος δὲ, πεντακισχίλιοι μόνοι καὶ τριακοσίοι μίαν Καίσαρος πόλιν Ἰταλικὴν καταλαβόντος, ἐξέπεσε τῆς Ῥώμης ύπὸ δέους, ἡ τοσούτως εἴξας ἀγεννῶς ἡ πλείονας ψευδῶς εἰκάσας· καὶ συσκευασάμενος τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναίκα αὐτοῦ, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ἐρήμους ἀπολιπὼν ἐφυγέ, δέον ἢ κρατεῖν μαχόμενον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἢ δέχεσθαι διαλύσεις παρὰ τοῦ κρέιττωνος· ἤν γὰρ πολίτης καὶ
5 οἰκεῖος· νῦν δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς χρόνον ἐπιμετρήσαι καὶ ὑπατείαν ψηφίσασθαι δεινὸν ἥγειτο, τοῦτο παρέσχε λαβόντι τὴν πόλιν ἐπίειν πρὸς Μέτελλον ὦτι κάκεινον αἰχμάλωτον αὐτοῦ νομίζει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας.

IV. "Ο τούτων ἔργον ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν στρατηγοῦ μάλιστα, κρείττοια μὲν ὁντα βιάσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους μάχεσθαι, λειπόμενον δὲ δυνάμει μὴ βιασθῆναι, τούτῳ ποιῶν Ἀγησίλαος ἀεὶ διεφύλαξεν ἐαυτὸν ἀνίκητον. Πομπήιος δὲ Καίσαρ, οὐ μὲν ἦν ἐλάττων, διεφυγε μὴ βλαβῆναι, καθὸ δὲ κρείττων ἦν, ἠγάκασεν ἀγωνισάμενον τῷ πεζῷ περὶ πάντων σφαλῆναι, καὶ κύριος εὐθὺς ἦν χρηματῶν καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ θαλάττης, ύφ' ὄν διετέ-2 2 πρακτο ἂν ἄνευ μάχης ἐκείνοις προσόντων. τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολόγημα μέγιστον ἔστιν ἐγκλημα

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Lacedaemonian leaves the Roman far behind. For, in the first place, he did not desert nor abandon his city, though the enemy attacked it with an army of seventy thousand men, while he had only a few men-at-arms, and these had recently been vanquished at Leuctra; but Pompey, after Caesar had occupied a single city of Italy with only fifty-three hundred men, hurried away from Rome in a panic, either yielding ignobly to so few, or conjecturing falsely that there were more; and after conveying away with him his own wife and children, he left those of the other citizens defenceless and took to flight, when he ought either to have conquered in a battle for his country, or to have accepted terms from his conqueror, who was a fellow-citizen and a relation by marriage. But as it was, to the man for whom he thought it a terrible thing to prolong a term of military command or vote a consulship, to this man he gave the power of capturing the city and saying to Metellus that he considered him and all the rest of the citizens as his prisoners of war.

IV. Furthermore, the chief task of a good general is to force his enemies to give battle when he is superior to them, but not to be forced himself to do this when his forces are inferior, and by so doing Agesilaüs always kept himself unconquered; whereas in Pompey's case, Caesar escaped injury at his hands when he was inferior to him, and forced him to stake the whole issue on a battle with his land forces, wherein Caesar was superior, thus defeating him and becoming at once master of treasures, provisions, and the sea,—advantages which would have brought his ruin without a battle had they remained in his enemy's control. And that which is urged as an excuse for this failure is really a very severe
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

στρατηγοῦ τηλικοῦτος. νέου μὲν γὰρ ἀρχοντα
θορύβοις καὶ καταβοήσεσιν εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ δει-
λιαν ἐπιταραχθέντα τῶν ἀσφαλεστάτων ἐκπεσεῖν
λογισμῶν εἰκός ἐστὶ καὶ συγγρωστῶν. Πομπῆιοι
δὲ Μάγνοι, οὗ Ῥωμαίοι τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον
πατρίδα, σύνεκλητον δὲ τὴν σκηνήν, ἀποστάτας
dὲ καὶ προδότας τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολιτευομένους
καὶ στρατηγοῦντας καὶ ὑπατεύοντας ἑκάλουν,

3 ἀρχόμενοι δὲ ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἐγχώσαν, πάσας δὲ
ἀυτοκράτορα στρατευόμενον ἁριστα τὰς στρατ-
είας, τίς ἂν ἀνάσχιστο τοῖς Φασώνιοι σκώμμασι
καὶ Δομετίον, καὶ ἵνα μὴ Ἀγαμέμνων λέγηται,
παρ’ ἐλάχιστον ἐκβιασθέντα τῶν περὶ τῆς ἡγεμο-
νίας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἀναρρήψαι κίνδυνον; ὃς εἰ
μόνον ἐσκόπει τὸ παρ’ ἡμέραν ἄδοξον, ὁφειλε
ἀντιστὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς Ῥώ-
μης, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φυγὴν ἐκείνην ἀποφαίνουν
στρατήγημα Θεμιστόκλειον ὑστερον ἐν αἰσχρῷ
tίθεσθαι τὴν ἐν Ἐθελλαίᾳ πρὸ μάχης διατριβήν.

4 οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο γε στάδιον αὐτοῦ καὶ θέατρον
ἐναγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁ θεὸς ἀπέ-
δειξε τὸ Φαρσάλιον πεδίον, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ κήρυκος
ἐκαλεῖτο μάχεσθαι κατιῶν ἢ λιπεῖν ἐτέρῳ τῶν
στέφανοι, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν πεδία μυρίας δὲ πό-
λεια καὶ γῆν ἀπλετον ἡ κατὰ θάλατταν εὐπορία
παρέσχε βουλομένῳ μιμεῖσθαι Μάξιμον καὶ
Μάριον καὶ Δεύκολλον καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀγησίλαον,

5 δι’ οὐκ ἐλάττονας μὲν ἐν Ῥωμην θορύβοις ὑπὲ-
ρεσαι βουλομένων Ἐθηβαίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας μά-
χεσθαι, πολλὰς δ’ ἐν Ἀγύπτῳ διαβολάς καὶ κατη-
γορίας καὶ ὑπονοίας τοῦ βασιλέως ἤνεγκεν ἡσυ-
χίαν ἄγειν κελεύων, χρησάμενος δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις

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accusation against a general like him. For that a youthful commander should be frightened by tumults and outcries into cowardly weakness and abandon his safest plans, is natural and pardonable; but that Pompey the Great, whose camp the Romans called their country, and his tent their senate, while they gave the name of traitors and rebels to the consuls and praetors and other magistrates at Rome,—that he who was known to be under no one's command, but to have served all his campaigns most successfully as imperator, should be almost forced by the scoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and by the fear of being called Agamemnon, to put to the hazard the supremacy and freedom of Rome, who could tolerate this? If he had regard only for the immediate infamy involved, then he ought to have made a stand at the first and to have fought to its finish the fight for Rome, instead of calling the flight which he then made a Themistoclean stratagem and afterwards counting it a disgraceful thing to delay before fighting in Thessaly. For surely Heaven had not appointed that Pharsalian plain to be the stadium and theatre of their struggle for the supremacy, nor was he summoned by voice of herald to go down thither and do battle or leave to another the victor's wreath; nay, there were many plains, ten thousand cities, and a whole earth which his great resources by sea afforded him had he wished to imitate Maximus, or Marius, or Lucullus, or Agesilaüs himself, who withstood no less tumults in Sparta when its citizens wished to fight with the Thebans in defence of their land, and in Egypt endured many calumnies and accusations and suspicions on the part of the king when he urged him to keep quiet; but he followed his own best counsels as he wished, and
6 ώς ἐβούλετο λογισμοῖς, οὗ μόνον Αιγυπτίους ἀκοντας ἐσώσεν, οὐδὲ τὴν Σπάρτην ἐν τοσούτῳ σεισμῷ μόνος ορθὴν ἀλλὰ διεφύλαξεν, τοῦτο καὶ τρόπαιον ἐστίσε κατὰ Θηβαίων ἐν τῇ πόλει, τὸ νικήσαι παρασχῶν αὐθις ἐκ τοῦ τότε μὴ προαπ- 
ολέσθαι βιασαμένους. ὅθεν Ἀγησίλαος μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν βιασθέντων ὑστερον ἐπηνεῖτο σωθέντων, 
Πομπήιος δὲ δι' ἄλλους ἀμαρτῶν, αὐτοὺς οἷς ἐπεὶ-
7 σῆν κατηγόροις εἰχε. καίτοι φασί τινες ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πενθεροῦ Σκηπίωνος ἐξηπατήθη τὰ γάρ 
πλείστα τῶν χρημάτων ὅν ἐκόμιζεν ἐξ Ἀσίας 
βουλόμενον αὐτὸν νοσφίσασθαι καὶ ἀποκρύψαντα 
κατεπείξαι τὴν μάχην, ὥς οὐκέτι χρημάτων ὅντων. ὦ κἀν ἄληθὲς ἦν, παθεῖν οὐκ ὁφεὶλεν ὁ 
στρατηγός, οὐδὲ ῥαδίως οὔτω παραλογισθεὶς 
ἀποκινδυνεύσαι περί τῶν μεγίστων. ἐν μὲν ὦν 
τούτοις οὔτως ἐκάτερον ὑποθεωροῦμεν.

V. Εἰς Αἰγυπτον δ' ὁ μὲν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἔπλευσε 
φεύγων, ὁ δὲ οὔτε καλῶς οὔτε ἀναγκαίως ἐπὶ 
χρήμασιν, ὅπως ἔχη τοῖς Ἐλλησι πολεμεῖν ἅφ' ὅν 
τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐστρατήγησεν. ἔτι ἀ διὰ 
Pομπήιον Αἰγυπτίοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν, ταῦτα Αἰγύ-
pτιοι κατηγοροῦσιν Ἀγησίλαο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ 
ἠδικήθη πιστεύσας, ὁ δὲ πιστευθεὶς ἐγκατέληπτε 
καὶ μετέστη πρὸς τοὺς πολεμοῦντας οἷς ἐπλεύσε 
συμμαχήσων.
not only saved the Egyptians against their wills, and by his sole efforts ever kept Sparta upright in the midst of so great a convulsion, but actually set up a trophy in the city for a victory over the Thebans, which victory he put his countrymen in the way of winning later, by keeping them then from the destruction into which they would have forced their way. Wherefore Agesilaüs was afterwards commended by those whom he had forced to take the path of safety, while Pompey, whom others had led into error, found accusers in the very ones to whom he had yielded. And yet some say that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who wished to appropriate to his own uses the greater part of the treasure which he had brought from Asia, and therefore hid it away, and then hastened on the battle, on the plea that there was no longer any money. But even if this were true, a general ought not to suffer himself to be so easily deceived, nor afterwards to put his greatest interests at hazard. In these matters, then, such is the way in which we regard each of the men.

V. And as to their voyages to Egypt, one went thither of necessity and in flight; the other for no honourable reason, nor of necessity, but for money, that what he got for serving the Barbarians as commander might enable him to make war upon the Greeks. Then again, as to the charges which we bring against the Egyptians for their treatment of Pompey, these the Egyptians lay at the door of Agesilaüs for his treatment of them. For Pompey trusted them and was wronged by them; while Agesilaüs was trusted by them and yet forsook them and went over to the enemies of those whom he had sailed to assist.
ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΑΣ

1. Κάτων ο πρεσβύτερος πρός τινας ἐπανούντας ἀνθρωπόν ἀλογίστως παράβολον καὶ τολμηρὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς διαφέρειν ἐφι τὸ πολλοῦ τινα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἁξίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ πολλοῦ ἁξιον τὸ ζην νομίζειν· ὁρθὸς ἀποφαινόμενος· ὁ γὰρ παρ᾽ Ἀντιγόνῳ στρατευόμενος ἦταν, φαύλος δὲ τὴν ἔξιν καὶ τὸ σῶμα διεφθορώς, ἐρομένου τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὀχρότητος ὁμολογησὲ τινα.

2 νόσον τῶν ἀπορρήτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ φιλοτιμηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς προσέταξε τοῖς ἱατροῖς, εάν τις ἡ βοήθεια, μηδὲν ἐκλιπεῖν τῆς ἀκρας ἐπιμελείας, οὔτω θεραπευθεὶς ὁ γειναῖος ἐκεῖνος οὐκέτ’ ἦν φιλοκίνδυνος οὐδὲ ῥαγδαῖος ἐν τοῖς ἁγώσιν, ὅστε καὶ τὸν Ἀντιγόνον ἐγκαλεῖν καὶ θαμμάζειν τὴν μεταβολήν. οὐ μὴν ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς ἀπεκρύψατο τὸ αἰτίον, ἀλλ’ εἶπεν: “Ὡ βασιλεὺς, σὺ μὲ πεποίηκας ἀτολμότερον, ἀπαλλάξας ἐκείνων τῶν κακῶν

3 δι᾽ ἀ τοῦ ζῆν ὁλιγώρουν.” πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ φαίνεται καὶ Συβαρίτης ἄνηρ εἰπεῖν περὶ τῶν Σπάρτιτῶν ὡς οὐ μέγας ποιοῦσι θανατῶντες ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοσοῦτος πόνου καὶ τοιαύτην ἀποφυγεῖν δίαιταν. ἀλλὰ Συβαρίταις μὲν ἐκτετηκόσιν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ μαλακίας διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὀρμὴν καὶ φιλοτιμών ἐκότως ἐφαίνοντο μισεῖν τὸν Βίον οἱ μὴ φοβοῦμενοι τὸν θάνατον,

4 Ἀλκεδαιμονίοις δὲ καὶ ζῆν ἱδέως καὶ θυνίσκειν.
1. Cato the Elder, when certain persons praised a man who was inconsiderately rash and daring in war, told them there was a difference between a man's setting a high value on valour and his setting a low value on life; and his remark was just. At any rate, there was a soldier of Antigonus who was venturesome, but had miserable health and an impaired body. When the king asked him the reason for his pallor, the man admitted that it was a secret disease, whereupon the king took compassion on him and ordered his physicians, if there was any help for him, to employ their utmost skill and care. Thus the man was cured; but then the good fellow ceased to court danger and was no longer a furious fighter, so that even Antigonus rebuked him and expressed his wonder at the change. The man, however, made no secret of the reason, but said: "O King, it is thou who hast made me less daring, by freeing me from those ills which made me set little value on life." On these grounds, too, as it would seem, a man of Sybaris said it was no great thing for the Spartans to seek death in the wars in order to escape so many hardships and such a wretched life as theirs. But to the Sybarites, who were dissolved in effeminate luxury, men whom ambition and an eager quest of honour led to have no fear of death naturally seemed to hate life; whereas the virtues of the Lacedaemonians gave them
οὐτέ γὰρ φυγὴ θανάτου μεμπτόν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ βίου μὴ αἰσχρῶς, οὐτέ ὑπομονή καλὸν, εἰ 5 μετ' ὀλγοφρίας γίνοιτο τοῦ ζῆν. οἶδ' ὁμηρός μὲν ἀεὶ τοὺς θαρραλεστάτους καὶ μαχιμωτάτους ἀνδράς εὐ καὶ καλῶς ὑπλισμένους ἔξωγει πρὸς τοὺς ἀγώνας, οἷ δὲ τῶν Ἕλληνων νομοθέται τὸν ρήψασιν κολάξουσιν, οὗ τῶν ξίφος οὐδὲ λόγχην προέμενον, διδάσκοντες ὅτι τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακὸς πρότερον ἢ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκάστῳ μέλειν προσήκει, μᾶλιστα δὲ ἄρχοντι πόλεως ἢ στρατεύματος.

Π. Εἰ γὰρ, ὡς Ἰφικράτης διήρει, χερσὶ μὲν ἐδίκασιν οἱ ζηλοὶ, τοσὶ δὲ τὸ ἤπικοι, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ φιλαγξβ στέρνω καὶ θώρακι, κεφαλῇ δὲ ὁ στρατηγός, οὐχ αὐτοῦ δοξειν ἀν ἀποκινδυνεύων παραμελεῖν καὶ θρασυμένοις, ἀλλὰ ἀπάντων, οἷς ἡ σωτηρία γίνεται δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦτον. οἶδ' ὁ Καλλικράτιδας, καίπερ ὅν τάλλα μέγας, οὐκ εὖ πρὸς τὸν μάντιν εἰπὲ· δεομένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ φυλάττεσθαι πάματον, ὡς τῶν ιερῶν προδηλοῦν-2 τον, ἐφι μὴ παρ' ἔνα εἰναι τὸν Σπάρταν. μαχόμενος γὰρ εἰς ἦν καὶ πλέων καὶ στρατευόμενος ὁ Καλλικράτιδας, στρατηγῷ δὲ τὴν ἀπάντων εἰχὲ συλλαβὼν ἐν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ὡστε οὐκ ἦν εἰς φτοσαῦτα συναπώλυτο. βέλτιον δὲ Ἀντίγονος ὁ

1 Οἱ βάνον οὐ τὸ ζῆν κτλ., attributed to Simonides (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 516).
happiness alike in living or dying, as the following elegy testifies: These, it says, died,

“not deeming either life or death honourable in themselves,

But only the accomplishment of them both with honour.”

For neither is a man to be blamed for shunning death, if he does not cling to life disgracefully, nor to be praised for boldly meeting death, if he does this with contempt of life. For this reason Homer always brings his boldest and most valiant heroes into battle well armed and equipped; and the Greek lawgivers punish him who casts away his shield, not him who throws down his sword or spear, thus teaching that his own defence from harm, rather than the infliction of harm upon the enemy, should be every man’s first care, and particularly if he governs a city or commands an army.

II. For if, as Iphicrates analyzed the matter, the light-armed troops are like the hands, the cavalry like the feet, the line of men-at-arms itself like chest and breastplate, and the general like the head, then he, in taking undue risks and being over bold, would seem to neglect not himself, but all, inasmuch as their safety depends on him, and their destruction too. Therefore Callicratidas, although otherwise he was a great man, did not make a good answer to the seer who begged him to be careful, since the sacrificial omens foretold his death; “Sparta,” said he, “does not depend upon one man.” For when fighting, or sailing, or marching under orders, Callicratidas was “one man”; but as general, he comprised in himself the strength and power of all, so that he was not “one man,” when such numbers perished with him. Better was the speech of old Antigonus
γέρων, ὅτε ναυμαχεῖν περὶ "Ἄνδρον ἐμελλεν, εἰ-πόντος τινὸς ὡς πολὺ πλείους αἰ τῶν πολεμίων νήσει εἰεν, "Εἰμὲ δὲ αὐτὸν," ἔφη, "πρὸς πόσας ἀντιστήσεις;" μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὡσπερ ἐστίν, ἄξιωμα ποιῶν μετὰ ἐμπειρίας καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀποτυ-μενον, ἢς πρῶτον ἔργον ἐστὶ σώζειν τὸν ἀπαντα
3 τάλλα σώζοντα. διὸ καλῶς ὁ Τιμόθεος, ἐπιδει-
κυμένου ποτὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοῦ Χάριτος ὀτει-
λάς τινας ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα λόγχῃ
diakakommbēyn, "Εἰγὼ δὲ," εἶπεν, "ὡς λιαν ἡ-
χύνθην ὃτι μου πολιορκοῦντος Σάμον ἐγγὺς ἐπεσε βέλος, ὡς μειρακιοδέστερον ἐμαυτῷ χρώ-
μενος ἢ κατὰ στρατηγὸν καὶ ἥγειμον δυνάμεως
tosautēs." ὃπον μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὅλα μεγάλην
φέρει ῥοπῆν ὃ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κίνδυνος, ἐνταῦθα
cαι χειρὶ καὶ σώματι χρηστέου ἀφειδῶς, χαίρειν
φράσαιτα τοῖς λέγοισιν ὡς χρὴ τὸν ἁγαθὸν
στρατηγὸν μᾶλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ γῆρως, εἰ δὲ μή,
gέροντα θυνκείν ὃπον δὲ μικρὸν τὸ περιγιν-
μενον ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώματος, τὸ δὲ πάν συνάπο-
lυται σφαλέντος, οὐδεὶς ἀπαίτει στρατιώτου
πρᾶξιν κινδύνου πραττομένην στρατηγοῦ.
4 Ταῦτα δὲ μοι παρέστη προαναφωνήσαι γρά-
φοντε τοῦ Πελοπίδου βίον καὶ τῶν Μαρκέλλου,
μεγάλων ἄνδρῶν παραλόγως πεσόντων. καὶ γὰρ
χειρὶ χρήσθαι μαχιμώτατοι γενόμενοι, καὶ στρα-
tηγίαι εἰπεφανεστάταις κοιμήσαντες ἀμφότεροι
tὰς πατρίδας, ἐτί δὲ τῶν βαρυτάτων ἀνταγω-
νίστων ὃ μὲν Ἀννίβαν ἀκτήσουν ὑπα πρῶτος, ὡς
279 λέγεται, τρεψάμενος, ὃ δὲ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχον-
tας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ παρατάξεως νικήσας, ἥφει-
dησαν εαυτῶν, σὲν οὐδενὶ λογισμῷ προεμενοι τῶν
βίου ὀπισθεικα μάλιστα τοιοῦτον καιρὸς ἢν ἄνδρῶν
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as he was about to fight a sea-fight off Andros, and someone told him that the enemy's ships were far more numerous than his: "But what of myself," said he, "how many ships wilt thou count me?" implying that the worth of the commander is a great thing, as it is in fact, when allied with experience and valour, and his first duty is to save the one who saves everything else. Therefore Timotheus was right, when Chares was once showing the Athenians some wounds he had received, and his shield pierced by a spear, in saying: "But I, how greatly ashamed I was, at the siege of Samos, because a bolt fell near me; I thought I was behaving more like an impetuous youth than like a general in command of so large a force." For where the whole issue is greatly furthered by the general's exposing himself to danger, there he must employ hand and body unsparingly, ignoring those who say that a good general should die, if not of old age, at least in old age; but where the advantage to be derived from his success is small, and the whole cause perishes with him if he fails, no one demands that a general should risk his life in fighting like a common soldier.

Such is the preface I have thought fit to make for the Lives of Pelopidas and Marcellus, great men who rashly fell in battle. For both were most valiant fighters, did honour to their countries in most illustrious campaigns, and what is more, had the most formidable adversaries, one being the first, as we are told, to rout Hannibal, who was before invincible, the other conquering in a pitched battle the Lace daemonians, who were supreme on land and sea; and yet they were careless of their own lives, and recklessly threw them away at times when it was most important that such men should live and hold
σωζόμενον καὶ ἀρχόντων. διότερ ἡμεῖς ἐπόμενοι ταῖς ὁμοιότητις παραλλήλους ἀνεγράψαμεν αὐτῶν τοὺς βίους.

III. Πελοπίδα τῷ Ἰππόκλου γένος μὲν ἢν εὐδόκιμον ἐν Θῆβαις ὠσπερ Ἑπαμεινώνδα, τραφεῖς δὲ ἐν οὐσίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ παραλαβὼν ἔτι νέος λαμπρόν οἶκον ὄρμησε τῶν δεσμέων τοὺς ἄξιοις βοηθεῖν, ὡς κύριος ἄληθῶς φαίνοντο χρημάτων γεγονός, ἀλλὰ μὴ δούλος. τῶν γὰρ πολλῶν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησίν, οἱ μὲν οὗ χρῶνται τὸ πλοῦτῳ διὰ μικρολογίαν, οἱ δὲ παραχρόνται δί ἀσωτίαν, καὶ δουλεύοντες οὕτως μὲν ἢ τὰς ἡδοναῖς,

2 ἐκείνοι δὲ ταῖς ἀσχολίαις, διατελοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ χάριν ἔχοντες ἐχρόντο τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, μόνον δὲ τῶν φίλων τὸν Ἑπαμεινώνδαν οὐκ ἔπειθε τοῦ πλούτου μεταλαμβάνειν αὐτὸς μὲντοι μετείχε τῆς ἐκείνου πενίας, ἐσθήτος ἀφελεία καὶ τραπέζης λιτότητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἀόκυρο καὶ κατὰ στρατείας ἀδόλῳ καλλωπιζόμενος, ὠσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδος Καπανεύς, ὁ "Βίος μὲν ἢν πολύς, ἢκιστα δὲ δι᾽ ὅλβον γαύρος ἢν," αἰσχυνόμενος εἰ φανεῖται πλείοσι χρώμενος εἰς τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τὰ ἐλάχιστα κεκτημένον Θῆβαις. Ἑπαμεινώνδας μὲν οὖν συνήθη καὶ πατρίδων οὕσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πενίαν ἐτι μᾶλλον εὐξόων καὶ κούφον ἐποίησε φιλοσοφῶν καὶ μονότροπον βίον ὑπ᾽ ἄρχης ἐλό-

3 μενος. Πελοπίδα δὲ ἢν μὲν γάμος λαμπρὸς, ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ παιδεῖς, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἁμελῶν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ σχολάζων τῇ πόλει τῶν ἄπαντα χρῶνον ἡλάττωσε τὴν οὐσίαν. τῶν δὲ φίλων νοοθετοῦσων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς ἀναγκαῖον πρά-
command. These are the resemblances between them which have led me to write their lives in parallel.

III. Pelopidas the son of Hippocles was of a highly honourable family in Thebes, as was Epaminondas, and having been reared in affluence, and having inherited in youth a splendid estate, he devoted himself to the assistance of worthy men who needed it, that he might be seen to be really master of his wealth, and not its slave. For most wealthy men, as Aristotle says,\(^1\) either make no use of their wealth through avarice, or abuse it through prodigality, and so they are forever slaves, these to their pleasures, those to their business. The rest, accordingly, thankfully profited by the kindness and liberality of Pelopidas towards them; but Epaminondas was the only one of his friends whom he could not persuade to share his wealth. Pelopidas, however, shared the poverty of this friend, and gloried in modest attire, meagre diet, readiness to undergo hardships, and straightforward service as a soldier. Like the Capaneus of Euripides, he "had abundant wealth, but riches did not make him arrogant at all,\(^2\)" and he was ashamed to let men think that he spent more upon his person than the poorest Theban. Now Epaminondas, whose poverty was hereditary and familiar, made it still more light and easy by philosophy, and by electing at the outset to lead a single life; Pelopidas, on the contrary, made a brilliant marriage, and had children too, but nevertheless he neglected his private interests to devote his whole time to the state, and so lessened his substance. And when his friends admonished him and told him that the possession of money, which

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\(^1\) Fragment 56 (Rose); cf. Morals, p. 527 a.

\(^2\) Supplícès, 863 f. (Kirchhoff, ἡκιστὰ δ ῥαβφ).
γιμάτος ὀλιγωρεῖ, τοῦ χρήματα ἔχειν, "Ἀναγκαίον, νῦν Δία, Νικοδήμῳ τούτῳ," ἔφη, δεῖξας τινὰ χωλὸν καὶ τυφλὸν.

IV. Ἡσαυ δὲ καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἁρετήν πεφυκότες ὁμοίως, πλὴν ὅτι τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἔχαριε Πελοπίδας, τῷ δὲ μανθάνειν Ἐπαμεινώνδας, καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐπὶ τῷ σχολάζειν ὁ μὲν περὶ παλαιόστρας καὶ κυνηγέσια, ο δὲ ἄκουν τι καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἐποιεῖτο. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀμφοτέρων πρὸς δόξαν, οὐδὲν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἥγονται τηλικοῦτον ἥλικον τὴν διὰ τοσοῦτον ἀγώνων καὶ στρατηγιῶν καὶ πολιτείων ἀνεξέλεγκτον εὐνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους ἐμμείνασαν. εἰ γὰρ τις ἀποβλέψας τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Κήμωνος καὶ Περικλέους καὶ Νικίου καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου πολιτείαν, ὅσων γέγονε μεστὴ διαφορῶν καὶ φθόνων καὶ ζηλοτυπίων πρὸς ἄλληλος, σκέφασε πάλιν τὴν Πελοπίδου πρὸς Ἐπαμεινώνδαν εὐμένειαν καὶ τιμὴν, τούτους ἄν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως προσαγορεύσει συνάρχοντας καὶ συστατήγοις ἢ ἐκείνους, οἱ μᾶλλον ἄλληλων ἢ τῶν πολεμιῶν ἀγωνιζόμενοι περείναι διετέλεσαν. αὐτία δὲ ἀληθινὴ μὲν ἢ ἢ ἁρετή, δι' ἢν οὐ δόξαν, οὐ πλοῦτον ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων μετίοντες, οἶς ὁ χαλεπὸς καὶ δύσερις ἐμφυεῖται φθόνος, ἀλλ' ἐρωτα θείων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐρασθέντες ἀμφότεροι τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα λαμπροτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν ἱδεῖν γενομένην, ὡσπερ ἴδιοις ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐχρώντω κατορθώμασιν.

4. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐ γε πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφοδρὰν φιλίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ γενέσθαι

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he scorned, was a necessary thing, "Yes indeed," he said, "necessary for this Nicodemus here," pointing to a man who was lame and blind.

IV. They were also fitted by nature for the pursuit of every excellence, and in like measure, except that Pelopidas delighted more in exercising the body, Epaminondas in storing the mind, so that the one devoted his leisure hours to bodily exercise and hunting, the other to lectures and philosophy. Both had many claims upon the world's esteem, but wise men consider none of these so great as the unquestioned good will and friendship which subsisted between them from first to last through all their struggles and campaigns and civil services. For it one regards the political careers of Themistocles and Aristides, or of Cimon and Pericles, or of Nicias and Alcibiades, which were so full of mutual dissensions, envyings, and jealousies, and then turns his eyes upon the honour and kindly favour which Pelopidas showed Epaminondas, he will rightly and justly call these men colleagues in government and command rather than those, who ever strove to get the better of one another rather than of the enemy. And the true reason for the superiority of the Thebans was their virtue, which led them not to aim in their actions at glory or wealth, which are naturally attended by bitter envyng and strife; on the contrary, they were both filled from the beginning with a divine desire to see their country become most powerful and glorious in their day and by their efforts, and to this end they treated one another's successes as their own.

However, most people think that their ardent friendship dated from the campaign at Mantineia,¹

¹ In 418 B.C., when Athens gave assistance to Argos, Elis, and Mantineia against Sparta. See the Alcibiades, xv. 1.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

στρατευμα, ἢν συνεστρατεύσαντο Δακεδαιμονίως, ἐτὶ φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις οὕς, πεμφθείσης ἐκ Θηβῶν βοήθειας. τεταγμένοι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλίταις μετ' ἀλλήλων καὶ μαχόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, ὡς ἐνεδωκε τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς κέρας τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ τροπῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἐγείρονει, συνασπίσαντες ἥμυναντο τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. καὶ Πελοπίδας μὲν ἐπτὰ τραύματα λαβὼν ἐναντία πολλοῖς ἐπικατερρύνει νεκροῖς ὁμοὶ φίλοις καὶ πολεμίως, Ἐπαμεινόνδας δὲ, καίπερ ἀβιώτως ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἤγούμενος, ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐστὶ προελθὼν καὶ διεκινδύνευσε πρὸς πολλῶν μόνος, ἐγνωκὸς ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ Πελοπίδαν ἀπολιπεῖν κείμενον. ἢδη δὲ καὶ τούτοις κακῶς ἐχόντος, καὶ λόγχη μὲν εἰς τὸ στῆθος, ἔφει δὲ εἰς τὸν βραχίονα τετρωμένον, προσεβοῆσης ἀπὸ θατέρου κέρως Ἀγγέλπολις ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, καὶ περιεποίησεν ἀνελπίστως αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρους.

V. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν λόγῳ μὲν ὡς φίλοις καὶ συμμάχοις προσφερομένου τοῖς Θηβαῖοις, ἑργῷ δὲ τὸ φρόνημα τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς δύναμιν ὑφορμένου, καὶ καλαίστα τὴν Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδου μισοῦντων ἐπατρείαν, ἡς μετείχεν ὁ Πελοπίδας, φιλελεύθερον ἀμα καὶ δημοτική κην εἶναι δοκοῦσαν, Ἀρχίας καὶ Δεοντίδας καὶ Φιλιππος, ἀνδρεῖς ὀλιγαρχικοὶ καὶ πλοῦσιοι καὶ μέτριοι οὐδὲν φρονοῦντες, ἀναπέθεοσι Φιλιβίδαιν τὸν Δάκωνα μετὰ στρατιάς διαπορευόμενον ἐξαιρετικῆς καταλαβεῖν τὴν Καδμείαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπεναντιουμένους αὐτοὺς ἐκβαλόντα πρὸς τὸ Δακεδαιμονίων ὑπήκουον ἀρμόσασθαι δι' ὀλίγων τὴν πολίτειαν. πεισθέντος δ' ἔκεινον καὶ μὴ προσδοκώσι
where they fought on the side of the Lacedaemonians, who were still their friends and allies, and who received assistance from Thebes. For they stood side by side among the men-at-arms and fought against the Arcadians, and when the Lacedaemonian wing to which they belonged gave way and was routed for the most part, they locked their shields together and repelled their assailants. Pelopidas, after receiving seven wounds in front, sank down upon a great heap of friends and enemies who lay dead together; but Epaminondas, although he thought him lifeless, stood forth to defend his body and his arms, and fought desperately, single-handed against many, determined to die rather than leave Pelopidas lying there. And now he too was in a sorry plight, having been wounded in the breast with a spear and in the arm with a sword, when Agesipolis the Spartan king came to his aid from the other wing, and when all hope was lost, saved them both.

V. After this the Spartans ostensibly treated the Thebans as friends and allies, but they really looked with suspicion on the ambitious spirit and the power of the city, and above all they hated the party of Ismenias and Androcleides, to which Pelopidas belonged, and which was thought to be friendly to freedom and a popular form of government. Therefore Archias, Leontidas, and Philip, men of the oligarchical faction who were rich and immoderately ambitious, sought to persuade Phoebidas the Spartan, as he was marching past with an army, to take the Cadmeia by surprise, expel from the city the party opposed to them, and bring the government into subserviency to the Lacedaemonians by putting it in the hands of a few men. Phoebidas yielded to their
τοῖς Ἐθβαίοις ἐπιθεμένου Θεσμοφορίων ὄντων, καὶ τῆς ἀκρας κυριεύσαντος, Ἰσμηνίας μὲν συναρ-
πασθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ἀλκεδαίμωνα μετ’ ὦν
πολὺν χρόνου ἀνηρέθη, Πελοπίδας δὲ καὶ Φερε-
νίκος καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας μετὰ συχνῶν ἄλλων φεύ-
γοντες ἐξεκηρύχθησαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ κατὰ
χώραν ἐμεινε τῷ καταφρονηθῆναι διὰ μὲν φιλο-
σοφίαν ὡς ἀπράγμων, διὰ δὲ πενίαν ὡς ἀδύνατος.

VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀλκεδαιμώνιοι Φοιβίδαν μὲν ἀφεί-
λοντο τῆς ἄρχης καὶ δέκα δραχμῶν μυρίας
ἐξημώσαν, τὴν δὲ Καδρείαν οὐδὲν ἤττον φρουρᾶ
κατέσχον, οἶ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες "Ελληνες ἐθαύμα-
ζον τὴν ἀτοπίαν, εἰ τὸν μὲν πράξαντα κολάζουσι,
τὴν δὲ πράξεων δοκιμάζουσι, τοῖς δὲ Ἐθβαίοις τὴν
πάτριον ἀποβεβληκόσι πολιτείαν καὶ καταδεδο-
λωμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Λεοντίδαν
οὐδὲ ἐλπίσαι περὶ ἀπαλλαγὴν τινα τῆς τυραν-

2 νίδος, ἢν ἐώρων τῇ Σπαρτιάτῶν δορυφορομμένην ἡγεμονία καὶ καταλυθῆναι μὴ δυναμένην, εἰ μὴ
tis ἀρα παύσειε κάκεινους γῆς καὶ θαλάττης
ἀρχοντας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα' ὦ περὶ Λεοντίδαν πυνθα-
νόμενοι τοὺς φυγάδας ᾿Αθήνησι διατρίβειν τῷ τε
πλῆθει προσφιλεῖς ὄνται καὶ τιμήν ἐχοντας ὑπὸ
tῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, ἔπεβουλευν αὐτοῖς κρύ-
φα· καὶ πέμψαντες ἀνθρώπους ἀγνώτας ᾿Ανδρο-
κλείδαν μὲν ἀποκτινώνουσι δόλω, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
3 διαμαρτάνουσιν. ἤκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων
γράμματα τοῖς ᾿Αθηναίοις προστάσσοντα μὴ δέ-
χεσθαι μηδὲ παρακινεῖν, ἄλλα' ἐξελάνειν τοὺς
φυγάδας ὡς κοινός πολεμίους ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων
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persuasions, made his attack upon the Thebans when they did not expect it, since it was the festival of the Thesmophoria, and got possession of the citadel. Then Ismenias was arrested, carried to Sparta, and after a little while put to death; while Pelopidas, Pherenicus, Androcleides and many others took to flight and were proclaimed outlaws. Epaminondas, however, was suffered to remain in the city, because his philosophy made him to be looked down upon as a recluse, and his poverty as impotent.

VI. But when the Lacedaemonians deprived Phoebidas of his command and fined him a hundred thousand drachmas, and yet held the Cadmeia with a garrison notwithstanding, all the rest of the Greeks were amazed at their inconsistency, since they punished the wrong-doer, but approved his deed. And as for the Thebans, they had lost their ancestral form of government and were enslaved by Archias and Leontidas, nor had they hopes of any deliverance from this tyranny, which they saw was guarded by the dominant military power of the Spartans and could not be pulled down unless those Spartans should somehow be deposed from their command of land and sea. Nevertheless, Leontidas and his associates, learning that the fugitive Thebans were living at Athens, where they were not only in favour with the common people but also honoured by the nobility, secretly plotted against their lives, and sending men who were unknown, they treacherously killed Androcleides, but failed in their designs upon the rest. There came also letters from the Lacedaemonians charging the Athenians not to harbour or encourage the exiles, but to expel them as men

1 In the winter of 382 B.C. Cf. the Agesilaüs, xxiii. 3–7.
4 ἀποδεδειγμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίοι, πρὸς τῷ πάτριοι αὐτοῖς καὶ σύμφωνοι εἶναι τὸ φιλάνθρω-πον, ἀμείβομενοι τοὺς Ῥηβαίους, μάλιστα συναίτιοι γενομένους τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ κατελθεῖν, καὶ ψηφισμένους, ἐὰν τις Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράν-νους ὑπέλα διὰ τῆς Βουλής κομίζῃ, μηδένα Βοώ-τὸν ἀκούειν μηδὲ ὅραν, οἱδεν ἠδίκησαν τοὺς Ῥῃβαίους.

VII. Ὅ δὲ Πελοπίδας, καίτερ ἐν τοῖς νεωτά-τοις ὄν, ἰδία τε καθ' ἐκαστον ἐξὸρμα τῶν φυγά-δων, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἐποίησατο λόγους, ὡς οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ὅσιον εἰὶ1 δουλεύονσαν τὴν πατρίδα καὶ φρονουμένην περιορᾶν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνον τὸ σώζεσθαι καὶ διαξῆ ἀγαπώντας ἐκκρέ-μασθαι τῶν Ἀθήνησι ψηφισμάτων καὶ θερα-πενείν ὑποπεπτωκότας ἄεὶ τοῖς λέγειν δυναμένοις 2 καὶ πείθειν τῶν ὀχλῶν, ἀλλὰ κινδυνευτέον ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων, παράδειγμα θεμένους τὴν Ῥασυ-βούλου τόλμαν καὶ ἄρετήν, ἵνα, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐκ Ῥηβῶν πρότερον ὁμιθεῖς κατέλυσε τοὺς ἐν Ἀθή-ναις τυράννους, οὕτως αὐτοὶ πάλιν εἰς Ἀθήναν προελθόντες ἐλευθερώσωσι τὰς Ῥῃβας. ὡς οὖν ἐπείσε ταύτα λέγων, πέμπουσιν εἰς Ῥῃβας κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπολειμμένους τῶν φίλων τὰ δεδογ-3 μένα φράξοντες. οἱ δὲ συνεπήμουν καὶ Χάρων μὲν, ὀσπερ ἂν ἐπιφανεστάτος, ὑμολόγησε τήν οἰκίαν παρέξειν, Φιλίδας δὲ διεσπάζει τῶν περὶ Ἀρχαίαν καὶ Φιλιππον γραμματεύς γενέσθαι πολεμαρχοῦντων. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ τοὺς νέους 1 ἐν Coraës and Bekker, with most MSS.: εἶναι with A.

1 In 403 B.C., when Thrasybulus set out from Thebes on his campaign against the Thirty Tyrants at Athens (Xenophon, Hell. ii. 4, 2).
declared common enemies by the allied cities. The Athenians, however, not only yielding to their traditional and natural instincts of humanity, but also making a grateful return for the kindness of the Thebans, who had been most ready to aid them in restoring their democracy, and had passed a decree that if any Athenians marched through Boeotia against the tyrants in Athens, no Boeotian should see or hear them, did no harm to the Thebans in their city.

VII. But Pelopidas, although he was one of the youngest of the exiles, kept inciting each man of them privately, and when they met together pleaded before them that it was neither right nor honourable for them to suffer their native city to be garrisoned and enslaved, and, content with mere life and safety, to hang upon the decrees of the Athenians, and to be always cringing and paying court to such orators as could persuade the people; nay, they must risk their lives for the highest good, and take Thrasybulus and his bold valour for their example, in order that, as he once sallied forth from Thebes and overthrew the tyrants in Athens, so they in their turn might go forth from Athens and liberate Thebes. When, therefore, they had been persuaded by his appeals, they sent secretly to the friends they had left in Thebes, and told them what they purposed. These approved their plan; and Charon, a man of the highest distinction, agreed to put his house at their disposal, while Phillidas contrived to have himself appointed secretary to Archias and Philip, the polemarchs. Epaminondas, too, had long since filled

2 There is no mention either of Epaminondas or Pelopidas in Xenophon’s account of these matters (Hell. v. 4, 1-12), and his story differs in many details from that of Plutarch.
πάλαι φρονήματος ἦν ἐμπεπληκώς ἐκέλευε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων καὶ παλαίειν, εἰτὰ ὅρων ἐπὶ τῷ κρατεῖν καὶ περιεῖναι γαυρομένους ἐπέπληττεν, ὅσι αἰσχύνεσθαι μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς προσήκον, εἰ δουλεύονσι δὲ ἀνανδρίαν ὅν τοσοῦτον ταῖς ῥώμαις διαφέρουσιν.

VIII. Ἦμέρας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὀρισθείσης, ἐδοξεῖ τοῖς φυγασί τούς μὲν ἄλλους συναγαγόντα Φερένικου ἐν τῷ Ὄρισμῳ περιμένειν, δλίγους δὲ τῶν νεωτάτων παραβαλέσθαι προεισελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐὰν δὲ τῷ πάθῳ τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ὅτι, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι πάντας ὅπως μὴ τε παίδεσ αὐτῶν μὴ τε γονεῖς ἐνδεδεί ἐσονται 2 τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ὑφίσταται δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν Πελοπίδας πρῶτος, εἰτα Μέλων καὶ Ἀμοκλείδας καὶ Ἡσόπομπος, ἄνδρες οἰκών τε πρώτων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἄλλα μὲν φιλικῶς καὶ πιστῶς, ὑπὲρ δὲ δόξης καὶ ἄνδρειάς ἀεὶ φιλοσείκως ἔχουντες. γενόμενοι δὲ οἱ σύμπαντες δώδεκα, καὶ τοὺς ἀπολειπομένους ἀσπασάμενοι, καὶ προπέμψαντες ἀγγελον τῷ Χάρωνι, προῆγον ἐν χλαμυδίοις, σκύλακας θερατικὰς καὶ στάλκικὰς ἔχοντες, ως μηδὲ εἰς υποπτευοι τῶν ἐνυπνχανόντων καθ’ ὁδόν, ἀλλ’ ἀλύνοντες ἀλλως πλανᾶσθαι καὶ κυνηγεῖν δοκοῖεν.

3 'Επεὶ δὲ ὁ πεμφθεὶς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀγγελος ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Χάρωνα καὶ καθ’ ὁδὸν ὅντας ἐφραζεν, αὐτὸς μὲν ὁ Χάρων οὔδε ύπο τοῦ δεινοῦ πλησιάξους ἑτρεψε τι τῆς γρώμης, ἀλλ’ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ παρείχε τὴν οἰκίαν, Ἰπποθενίδας δὲ τις, οὐ ποιηρὸς μὲν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόστροφος καὶ τοῖς φυγάσιν εὐνους ἀνθρωπος, ἐνδεις δὲ τὸλμης 356
the minds of the Theban youth with high thoughts; for he kept urging them in the gymnastic schools to try the Lacedaemonians in wrestling, and when he saw them elated with victory and mastery, he would chide them, telling them they ought rather to be ashamed, since their cowardice made them the slaves of the men whom they so far surpassed in bodily powers.

VIII. A day for the enterprise having been fixed, the exiles decided that Pherenicus, with the rest of the party under his command, should remain in the Thriasian plain, while a few of the youngest took the risk of going forward into the city; and if anything happened to these at the hands of their enemies, the rest should all see to it that neither their children nor their parents came to any want. Pelopidas was first to undertake the enterprise, then Melon, Damocleides, and Theopompus, men of foremost families, and of mutual fidelity and friendship, although in the race for heroic achievement and glory they were constant rivals. When their number had reached twelve, they bade farewell to those who stayed behind, sent a messenger before them to Charon, and set out in short cloaks, taking hunting dogs and nets with them, that anyone who met them on the road might not suspect their purpose, but take them for hunters beating about the country.

When their messenger came to Charon and told him they were on the way, Charon himself did not change his mind at all even though the hour of peril drew nigh, but was a man of his word and prepared his house to receive them; a certain Hipposthenidas, however, not a bad man, nay, both patriotic and well disposed towards the exiles, but lacking in that

1 In the winter of 379 B.C.
tosau̱tis ὅσης ὑπειράζει· ἀντίγονον, ὥσπερ ἐλεγγότασα πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀγώνου εἰς χερσὶ γενομένον, καὶ μόλις ποτὲ τῷ λογισµῷ συμφρονήσας ὅτι τρόπον τινά τὴν τῶν Λακедαιμονίων σαλεύουσιν ἀρχὴν καὶ τῆς ἐκείθεν δυνάμεως ὑποβάλλονται κατά- λυσιν, πιστεύσαντες ἀπόροις καὶ φυγαδικαίς ἐλπίσιν, ἀπελθών οἶκαδε σιωπῇ πέμπει τινὰ τῶν φίλων πρὸς Μέλωνα καὶ Πελοπίδαν, ἀναβαλέσθαι κελεύων ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ περιμένειν βελτίων καίρων ἄθικς ἀπαλαγέντας εἰς 'Αθήνας. Χλίδων ἦν ὁνόμα τῷ πεμβάντες, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν οὐκαδε πρὸς αὐτὸν τραπόμενος καὶ τὸν ἔππον ἔξαγαγὼν ἦτει τὸν χαλινῶν. ἀπορουμένης δὲ τῆς γυναικοῦ ὑπὸ οὐκ εἶχε δοῦναι, καὶ χρήσατι τινὶ τῶν συνήθων λεγουσίας, λοιδορία τῷ πρῶτον ἔσαν, εἰτα δυσφη- μία, τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπαρομένης αὐτοῦ τε θακαὶ ὅδος ἐκεῖνῳ καὶ τοῖς πέμπουσιν. ὅστιε καὶ τὸν Χλίδωνα πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀναλώσαντα πρὸς τούτους δὲ ὅργην, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς οἰωνισάμενον, ἀφείναι τὴν ὄδον ὅλως καὶ πρὸς ἄλλο τι τραπέζαθαι. παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἦλθον αἰ μέγισται καὶ κάλλισται τῶν πράξεων εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ διαφυγεῖν τὸν καιρόν.

IX. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τῶν Πελοπίδαν ἐσθήτας γεωρ- γῶν μεταλαβόντες καὶ διελόντες αὐτοῦς ἄλλοι κατ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς πόλεως παρεισῆλθον ἐτὶ ἡμέρας οὔσης. ἦν δὲ τὶ πνέυμα καὶ νυφετὸς ἀρχομένου τρέπεσθαι τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔλαβον καταπεφυγότων ἡδί διὰ τῶν χειμῶν τῶν πλείστων εἰς τὰς οἰκίας. οἷς δὲ ἦν ἐπιμελεῖς τὰ πραττόμενα γυνώσκειν, ἀνελαμβάνον τοὺς προσερχομένους καὶ καθίστων εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν

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degree of boldness which the sharp crisis and the projected enterprise demanded, was made dizzy, so to speak, by the magnitude of the struggle now so close at hand, and at last comprehended that, in undertaking to overthrow the armed force in the city, they were in a manner trying to shake the empire of the Lace-daemonians, and had placed their reliance on the hopes of men in exile and without resources. He therefore went quietly home, and sent one of his friends to Melon and Pelopidas, urging them to postpone the enterprise for the present, go back to Athens, and await a more favourable opportunity. Chlidon was the name of this messenger, and going to his own home in haste, he brought out his horse and asked for the bridle. His wife, however, was embarrassed because she could not give it to him, and said she had lent it to a neighbour. Words of abuse were followed by imprecations, and his wife prayed that the journey might prove fatal both to him and to those that sent him. Chlidon, therefore, after spending a great part of the day in this angry squabble, and after making up his mind, too, that what had happened was ominous, gave up his journey entirely and turned his thoughts to something else. So near can the greatest and fairest enterprises come, at the very outset, to missing their opportunity.

IX. But Pelopidas and his companions, after putting on the dress of peasants, and separating, entered the city at different points while it was yet day. There was some wind and snow as the weather began to change, and they were the more unobserved because most people had already taken refuge from the storm in their houses. Those, however, whose business it was to know what was going on, received the visitors as they came, and brought
τοῦ Χάρωνος: ἐγένοντο δὲ σὺν τοῖς φυγάσι πεντήκοντα δύοιν δέοντες.

2 Τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς τυράννους οὕτως εἶχε. Φιλλίδας ὁ γραμματεὺς συνέπραττε μέν, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, πάντα καὶ συνήδει τοῖς φυγάσιν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἱμέραν ἐκείνην ἐκ παλαιοῦ κατηγγελῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν πότον τινὰ καὶ συνούσαν καὶ γύναια τῶν ὑπάνδρων, ἐπράττεν ὅτι μάλιστα ταῖς ἥδουνε ἐκλευμένους καὶ κατοίνους μεταχειρίσασθαι παρέξειν τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. οὕτω δὲ πᾶν πόρρω, μέθης οὕσιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεσε τις οὐ φευδῆς μέν, ἀβέβαιοι δὲ καὶ πολλὴν ἁσάφειαν ἔχουσα περὶ τῶν φυγάδων μὴνυσίς ὡς ἐν τῇ πόλει κρυπτομένων. τοῦ δὲ Φιλλίδου παραφέροντος τὸν λόγον, ὅμως Ἀρχίας ἐπεμψε τινὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν πρὸς τὸν Χάρωνα, προστάσσων εὐθὺς ἥκειν αὐτόν. ἦν δὲ ἐσπέρα, καὶ συνέταττον ἔνδον αὐτοῦς οἱ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν, ἤδη τεθωρακίσμενοι καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας ἀνειληφότες. ἐξαίφνης δὲ κοππομένης τῆς θύρας προσδραμῶν τις, καὶ πυθόμενος τοῦ ὑπηρέτου Χάρωνα μετείναυ παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων φάσκοιτος, ἀπήγγειλεν εἰσὶν τεθορυβημένος, καὶ πάσιν εὐθὺς παρέστη τὴν τε πρᾶξιν ἐκμεμηνύθαι καὶ σφᾶς ἄπαντας ἀπολωλέναι, μηδὲ δράσαντάς τι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄξιον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ἔδοξεν ὕπακοῦσαι τὸν Χάρωνα καὶ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν δεῖν ἀνυπόπτως τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰς μὲν ἀνδρῶδη καὶ βαρὺν ὅντα τῷ θαρρεῖν παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ, τότε δὲ ἐκείνους ἐκπεπληγμένους καὶ περιπαθοῦντα, μή τις ὑποψία προ-
them at once to the house of Charon; and there were, counting the exiles, forty-eight of them.

With the tyrants, matters stood as follows. Philollidas, their secretary, as I have said, was privy to the plans of the exiles and was co-operating fully with them, and some time before had proposed for that day that Archias and his friends should have a drinking-bout, at which a few married women should join them, his scheme being that when they were full of wine and completely relaxed in their pleasures, he would deliver them into the hands of their assailants. But before the party were very deep in their cups; some information was suddenly brought them, not false, indeed, but uncertain and very vague, that the exiles were concealed in the city. Although Phillidas tried to change the subject, Archias nevertheless sent one of his attendants to Charon, commanding him to come to him at once. It was evening, and Pelopidas and his companions in Charon's house were getting themselves ready for action, having already put on their breastplates and taken up their swords. Then there was a sudden knocking at the door. Someone ran to it, learned from the attendant that he was come from the polemarchs with a summons for Charon, and brought the news inside, much perturbed. All were at once convinced that their enterprise had been revealed, and that they themselves were all lost, before they had even done anything worthy of their valour. However, they decided that Charon must obey the summons and present himself boldly before the magistrates. Charon was generally an intrepid man and of a stern courage in the face of danger, but in this case he was much concerned and frightened on account of his friends, and feared that some
δοσίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλθη τοσούτων ἁμα καὶ τοιούτων πολιτῶν ἀπολομένων. ὡς οὖν ἐμελλεν ἀπείναι, παραλαβὼν ἐκ τῆς γυναικοωνίδος τοῦ νῦν, ἔτι μὲν ὄντα παῖδα, κάλλει δὲ καὶ ὅμη σώματος πρωτεύοντα τῶν καθ' ἥλικιαν, ἐνεχείριζε τοῖς περὶ Πελοπίδαν, εἰ τινὰ δόλον καὶ προδοσίαν αὐτοῦ καταγινοιεύν, ὡς πολεμίω χρήσθαι κελεύων
6 ἑκείνω καὶ μή φείδεσθαι. πολλοίς μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν δάκρυα πρὸς τὸ πάθος καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ Χάρωνος ἐξέπεσε, πάντες δὲ ἡγανάκτων εἰ δειλὸν οὕτως εἶναι τινὰ δοκεῖ καὶ διεφθαρμένο λύπο τοῦ παρόντος, ὡστε ὑπονοεῖν ἑκείνων ἡ ὀλως αἰτίας ἐκτὸς καὶ τοῦ νῦν ἐδέωντο μὴ καταμηνύειν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐκποδῶν θέσθαι τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὅπως αὐτὸς γε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τιμώροις ὑποτρέφουτο περισσοθείς καὶ διαφυγόν τοὺς τυράννους. ὡς ὑπὲρ Χάρων τὸν μὲν νῦν ἀπαλλάξειν οὐκ ἔφη: ποιον γὰρ αὐτῷ βιον ὅραν ἡ τίνα σωτηρίαν καλλίωνα τῆς ὁμοῦ μετὰ πατρός καὶ φίλων τοσοῦτων ἀνυβρίστου τελευτῆς; ἐπενεξάμενον δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ πάντασ ἀπασάμενος καὶ παραθαρρύνας ἀπήει, προσέχων ἑαυτῷ καὶ ῥυθμίζων σχήματι προσώπων καὶ τῶν φωνής ἀνομοιότατος οἷς ἐπράττε φανήμαι.

X. Γενομένου δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις αὐτοῦ, προῆλθεν ὁ 'Αρχίας, καὶ Φιλλίδας, καὶ εἶπεν: "Ὤ Χάρων, τινὰς ἀκήκοα παρελθήσατος εἰν τῇ πόλει κρύπτεσθαι, καὶ συμπράττειν αὐτοῖς ἐνίους τῶν πολιτῶν." καὶ ὁ Χάρων διαταραχθεὶς τὸ πρὸς τὸν, ἔστα ἐρωτήσας τίνες εἰσίν οἱ παρελθήσατες καὶ τίνες οἱ κρύπτοντες αὐτοῖς, ὡς οὔθεν ἐφορά

1 Φιλλίδας with the MSS.: Φιλίππος, Bryan's correction (cf. Morals, p. 595 f.). Bekker brackets καὶ Φιλίππος.
suspicion of treachery would fall upon him if so many and such excellent citizens now lost their lives. Accordingly, as he was about to depart, he brought his son from the women's apartments, a mere boy as yet, but in beauty and bodily strength surpassing those of his years, and put him in the hands of Pelopidas, telling him that if he found any guile or treachery in the father, he must treat the son as an enemy and show him no mercy. Many were moved to tears by the noble concern which Charon showed, and all were indignant that he should think any one of them so demoralized by the present peril and so mean-spirited as to suspect him or blame him in the least. They also begged him not to involve his son with them, but to put him out of harm's way, that he might escape the tyrants and live to become an avenger of his city and his friends. Charon, however, refused to take his son away, asking if any kind of life or any safety could be more honourable for him than a decorous death with his father and all these friends. Then he addressed the gods in prayer, and after embracing and encouraging them all, went his way, striving so to compose his countenance and modulate his voice as not to betray what he was really doing.

X. When he reached the door of the house, Archias came out to him, with Phillidas, and said: "Charon, I have heard that certain men have come and hid themselves in the city, and that some of the citizens are in collusion with them." Charon was disturbed at first, but on asking who the men were that had come and who were concealing them, he saw that Archias could give no clear account of the
σαφὲς εἰπεῖν ἐξούτα τὸν Ἀρχίαν, ὑπονοήσας ἀπ' οὖν ὄνθεν τὸν ἐπισταμένων γεγονέναι τὴν μὴν συν, ὡς ὁ Ῥάπτε τοίνυν, ἔφη, "μή κενὸς τῆς ὑμᾶς διάτατη λόγος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ σκέψομαι" δει 2 γὰρ ἴσως μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν." ταῦτα καὶ Φιλλίδας παρὼν ἐπῆνει, καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἀπαγαγὼν αὕτης εἰς ἀκρατὸν πολὺν κατέβαλε, καὶ ταῖς περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐλπίσι διεποδημάγορεῖ τὸν πότον. ὡς δ' ἐπανῆλθεν ὁ Χάρων οἶκαδε καὶ διεσκευασμένοις τοὺς ἀνδραῖς εὐρεν οὐχ ὡς ἄν τινα νίκην ἢ σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀποθανομένους λαμπρῶς καὶ μετὰ φόνου πολλοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, τὸ μὲν ἀλῆθες αὐτοῖς ἐφραξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐφευσατο λόγους τινὰς τοῦ Ἀρχίου περὶ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων πλασάμενος.

3 Ἔτε δὲ τοῦ πρῶτον παραφερομένου δεύτερον ἐπῆγεν ἢ τύχῃ χειμῶνα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἢκε γὰρ τις ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν παρὰ Ἀρχίου τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς Ἀρχίαν τὸν ὁμόλογον, ἔγενον οὐτα καὶ φίλου, ἐπιστολὴν κομίζων οὐ κενὴν ἐχουσαν οὐδὲ πε- πλασμένην ὑπόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἐκαστα περὶ τῶν πρασσομένων φάσκουσαν, ὡς ὑστερου ἐπε- γνώσθη. τότε δὲ μεθύνοντι τῷ Ἀρχίᾳ προσ- αχθεὶς ὁ γραμματοφόρος καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐπίδοσε, "Ο ταύτην," ἔφη, "πέμψας ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἀναγνώσαι περὶ σπουδαίων γάρ τινων γεγράψαι." καὶ ὁ Ἀρχίας μειδίασας, "Οὐκοῦν εἰς αὐρίον," ἔφη, "τὰ σπουδαία." καὶ τὴν ἐπι- στολὴν δεξάμενον ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθη- κεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τῷ Φιλλίδα περὶ ἓν ἐτύχχανον διαλεγόμενοι προσείχειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν λόγος οὗτος
PELOPIDAS, x. 1-4

matter, and conjectured that his information had not come from any of those who were privy to the plot. He therefore said: "Do not, then, suffer any empty rumour to disturb you. However, I will look into the matter; for perhaps no story should be ignored." Phillidas, too, who stood by, approved of this, and after leading Archias back, got him to drink hard, and tried to protract the revel with hopes of a visit from the women. But Charon, when he got back home, and found the men there disposed, not to expect safety or victory at all, but to die gloriously after a great slaughter of their enemies, told the truth only to Pelopidas himself, while for the rest he concocted a false tale that Archias had talked with him about other matters.¹

Before this first storm had yet blown over, fortune brought a second down upon the men. For there came a messenger from Athens, from Archias the hierophant to his namesake Archias, who was his guest-friend, bearing a letter which contained no empty nor false suspicion, but stated clearly all the details of the scheme that was on foot, as was subsequently learned. At the time, however, Archias was drunk, and the bearer of the letter was brought to him and put it into his hands, saying: "The sender of this bade thee read it at once; for it is on serious business." Then Archias answered with a smile: "Serious business for the morrow"; and when he had received the letter he put it under his pillow, and resumed his casual conversation with Phillidas.

¹ According to Plutarch's lengthy version of this affair in his Discourse concerning the Daemon of Socrates (chapter 29, Morales, p. 595 f.), Charon hid the truth from no one.
ἐν παροιμίας τάξει περιφερόμενος μέχρι νῦν διασώζεται παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησι.

XI. Τῆς δὲ πράξεως δοκούσης ἔχειν ἥδη τὸν οἰκείον καιρόν, ἐξώρμων δίχα διελόντες αὐτοὺς, οἱ μὲν περὶ Πελοπίδαν καὶ Δαμοκλείδαν ἐπὶ τὸν Λεοντίδαν καὶ τὸν Ὀπάτην ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων ὀικοῦντας, Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον, ἐσθήτας ἑπενδυμένους γυναικείας τοῖς θώραξι, καὶ δασεῖς στεφάνους έλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης περικείμενοι κατασκεύαζοντας τὰ πρόσ.

2 ωπα. διὸ καὶ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ συμποσίου τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιστάντες, κροτὸν ἐποίησαν καὶ θόρυβον οἰομένων ἢ πάλαι προσεδόκων γυναίκας ἤκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιβλέφαντες ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ συμπόσιον καὶ τὸν κατακεκλιμένων ἐκαστὸν ἄκριβῶς καταμαθόντες ἐσπάσαντο τὰς μαχαίρας, καὶ φερόμενοι διὰ τῶν τραπέζων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν καὶ

3 Φίλιππον ἐφάνησαν οὔτερ ἦσαν, ὀλίγους μὲν ὁ Φίλλιδας τῶν κατακειμένων ἐπείσεν ἤσυχοι ἄγειν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀμύνεσθαι μετὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων ἐπιχειροῦντας καὶ συνεξαισταμένους διὰ τὴν μέθην οὐ πάνω χαλεπῶς ἀπέκτειναν.

Τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἐρωτώδεστερον ἀπήντα τὸ πράγμα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ νήφοντα καὶ δεινὸν ἄνδρα τὸν Λεοντίδαν ἔχορον, καὶ κεκλεισμένην τὴν οἰκίαν εὗρον ἥδη καθεύδοντος, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον κόπτοσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπήκουν οὐδείς.

4 μόλις δὲ ποτε τοῦ θεράπους αἰσθομένου προϊόντος ἐνδοθεὶ καὶ τὸν μοχλὸν ἀφαιροῦντος, ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐνδοῦναι καὶ χαλάσαι τὰς θύρας ἐμπεσόντες ἄθροι καὶ τὸν οἰκήτην ἀνατρέψαντες ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον ὀρμησαν. ὁ δὲ Λεοντίδας αὐτῷ τεκμαιρόμενος τῷ κτύπῳ καὶ δρόμῳ τὸ γυγνό-
Wherefore these words of his are a current proverb to this day among the Greeks.

XI. Now that the fitting time for their undertaking seemed to have come, they sallied forth in two bands; one, under the lead of Pelopidas and Damocleidas, against Leontidas and Hypates, who lived near together; the other against Archias and Philip, under Charon and Melon, who had put on women's apparel over their breastplates, and wore thick garlands of pine and fir which shaded their faces. For this reason, when they stood at the door of the banquet-room, at first the company shouted and clapped their hands, supposing that the women whom they had long been expecting were come. But then, after surveying the banquet and carefully marking each of the reclining guests, the visitors drew their swords, and rushing through the midst of the tables at Archias and Philip, revealed who they were. A few of the guests were persuaded by Phillidas to remain quiet, but the rest, who, with the polemarchs, offered resistance and tried to defend themselves, were dispatched without any trouble, since they were drunk.

Pelopidas and his party, however, were confronted with a harder task; for Leontidas, against whom they were going, was a sober and formidable man, and they found his house closed, since he had already gone to bed. For a long time no one answered their knocking, but at last the attendant heard them and came out and drew back the bolt. As soon as the door yielded and gave way, they rushed in together, overturned the servant, and hastened towards the bed-chamber. But Leontidas, conjecturing what was happening by the very noise and trampling, rose from
5 μενον, ἑσπᾶσατο μὲν τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ἐξαναστάσις, ἔλαβε δὲ αὐτὸν καταβάλειν τὰ λόγια καὶ διὰ σκότους αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοὺς περιπετεῖσι ποιήσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἦν δὲ φωτὶ πολλῷ καθορώμενος, ὑπήντα πρὸς τὰς θύρας αὐτοὺς τὸν θαλάμου, καὶ τὸν πρῶτον εἰσίνοτα Κηφισόδωρον πατάξας κατέβαλε. πεσόντος δὲ τούτου δευτέρῳ συνεπλέκετο τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ· καὶ τὴν μάχην χαλεπὴν ἔποιει καὶ δύσεργον ἡ στενότης τῶν θυρῶν καὶ κείμενος

6 ἐμποδῶν ἤδη νεκρὸς ὁ Κηφισόδωρος. ἐκράτησε δ' οὖν ὁ Πελοπίδας, καὶ κατεργασάμενος τῶν Δεοντίδαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐπάτην εὐθὺς ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ παρεισέπεσον μὲν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ὁμοίας, αἰσθόμενον δὲ ταχέως καὶ καταφυγόντα πρὸς τοὺς γείτονας, ἐκ ποδῶν διώξαντες εἶλον καὶ διέφθειραν.

ΧΙΙ. Διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς περὶ Μέλωνα συμβαλόντες ἐπεμψαν μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπολειμμένους ἐκεῖ τῶν φυγάδων, ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, καὶ τοὺς προσώποις ὃπλιζον, ἀφαιροῦντες ἀπὸ τῶν στοιῶν τὰ περικείμενα σκῦλα, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐργαστηρία δορυξόντων καὶ μαχαί

2 ροποιῶν ἀναρρηγώντες. ἤκουν δὲ βοηθοῦντες αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων οἱ περὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ Γοργίδαν, συνειλοχότες οὖν ὀλίγους τῶν νέων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τουσ βελτίστους. ἢ δὲ πόλις ἤδη μὲν ἀνεπτύχτο πᾶσα, καὶ πολὺς θόρυβος ἦν καὶ φῶτα περὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ διαδρομαὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὕπω δὲ συνειστήκει τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ ἐκπεπληγμένοι πρὸς τὰ γυνώμενα καὶ σαφὲς

3 οὔδὲν ἐδότες ἔμεραν περιέμενον. ὢθεν ἄμαρτειν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄρχοντες ἐδοξαν εὐθὺς οὐκ ἐπι-
bed and drew his dagger, but he forgot to overthrow the lamps and make the men fall foul of one another in the darkness. On the contrary, exposed to view by an abundance of light, he went to meet them at the door of his chamber, and struck down the first one that entered, Cephisodorus. When this assailant had fallen, he engaged Pelopidas next; and their conflict was rendered troublesome and difficult by the narrowness of the door and by Cephisodorus, whose body, now dead, lay in their way. But at last Pelopidas prevailed, and after dispatching Leontidas, he and his followers went at once to attack Hypates. They broke into his house as they had done into the other, but he promptly perceived their design and fled for refuge to his neighbours. Thither they closely followed him, and caught him, and slew him.

XII. These things accomplished, they joined Melon’s party, and sent into Attica for the exiles they had left there.\(^1\) They also summoned the citizens to fight for their freedom, and armed those who came, taking from the porticos the spoils suspended there, and breaking open the neighbouring workshops of spear-makers and sword-makers. Epaminondas and Gorgidas also came to their aid with an armed following, composed of many young men and the best of the older men. And now the city was all in a flutter of excitement, there was much noise, the houses had lights in them, and there was running to and fro. The people, however, did not yet assemble; they were terrified at what was going on, and had no clear knowledge of it, and were waiting for day. Wherefore the Spartan commanders were thought to have made a mistake in not attacking and engaging

\(^1\) Cf. chapter viii. 1.
δραμόντες ούδε συμβαλόντες, αὐτὴ μὲν ἡ φρουρὰ περὶ χυλίους πεντακοσίους ὄντες, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολλῶν συντρεχόντων, ἀλλὰ τὴν βοῆν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ καὶ τὸν ὄχλον χωροῦντα 1 πανταχόθεν πολλῶν φοβηθέντες ἥσυχαζον, αὐτὴν τὴν Καδμείαν κατέχοντες. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα παρῆσαν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς οἱ φυγάδες ὀπλισμένοι, συνήθροιστο δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ δήμος. εἰσήγον δὲ τοὺς περὶ Πελοπίδαν Ἑπαμεινώδας καὶ Γοργίδας ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων περιεχομένους στέμματα προτεινόντων καὶ παρακαλούντων τοὺς πολίτας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς βοηθείν. ἡ δ’ ἐκκλησία ὥρθη πρὸς τὴν ὑπιν μετὰ κρότον καὶ βοῆς ἐξανέστη, δεχομένων τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἐνεργέτας καὶ σωτῆρας.

XIII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου βοιωτάρχης αἴρεθεὶς μετὰ Μέλωνος καὶ Χάρωνος ὁ Πελοπίδας εὐθὺς ἀπετείχιζε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ προσβολᾶς ἔποιείτο πανταχόθεν, ἐξελείν σπουδάζων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τὴν Καδμείαν ἐλευθερώσατι πρὶν ἐκ

2 Σπάρτης στρατοῦ ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐφθασεν ἀφείς ὑποστάνδους τοὺς ἄνδρας ὅσον ἐν Μεγάρωις οὕσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῆσαι Κλεόμ- βροτον ἐπὶ τὰς Θῆβας ἐλαύνοντα μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως. οἵ δὲ Σπαρτιάται, τριῶν ἄρμοστῶν γενομένων ἐν Θῆβαις, 'Ἡριπίδαν μὲν καὶ Ἀρ- κισσόν ἀπέκτειναν κρίναντες, ὃ δὲ τρίτος Λυσα- νορίδας χρήμασι πολλὸις ζημιωθεῖς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου μετέστησε.

3 Ταύτῃ τὴν πραξὶν ἄρεταῖς μὲν ἄνδρῶν καὶ κινδύνοις καὶ ἀγώσι παραπλησίαν τῇ Ὀρασυ-

1 χωροῦντα Coraës' correction of the MSS. ἀναχωροῦντα, adopted by Bekker.

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at once, since their garrison numbered about fifteen hundred men, and many ran to join them out of the city; but the shouting, the fires, and the great throngs in motion everywhere, terrified them, and they kept quiet, holding the citadel itself in their possession. At break of day the exiles came in from Attica under arms, and a general assembly of the people was convened. Then Epaminondas and Gorgidas brought before it Pelopidas and his companions, surrounded by the priests, holding forth garlands, and calling upon the citizens to come to the aid of their country and their gods. And the assembly, at the sight, rose to its feet with shouts and clapping of hands, and welcomed the men as deliverers and benefactors.

XIII. After this, having been elected boeotarch, or governor of Boeotia, together with Melon and Charon, Pelopidas at once blockaded the acropolis and assaulted it on every side, being anxious to drive out the Lacedaemonians and free the Cadmeia before an army came up from Sparta. And he succeeded by so narrow a margin that, when the men had surrendered conditionally and had been allowed to depart, they got no further than Megara before they were met by Cleombrotus marching against Thebes with a great force. Of the three men who had been harmosts, or governors, in Thebes, the Spartans condemned and executed Herippidas and Arcissus, and the third, Lysanoridas, was heavily fined and forsook the Peloponnesus.

This exploit, so like that of Thrasybulus in the valour, the perils, and the struggles of its heroes,
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βούλου γενομένην, καὶ βραβευθεῖσαι όμοίως ύπο τῆς τύχης, ἀδελφὴν ἐκείνης προσηγόρευον οἱ Ἑλληνες. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ βαθίως ἐτέρους εἰπεῖν οἱ πλείονων ἐλάττους καὶ δυνατωτέρων ἐρημότεροι τόλμη καὶ δεινότητι κρατήσαντες αὐτοί μειζόνων ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πατρίσι κατέστησαν. εὐδοξοτέραν δὲ ταύτην ἐποίησεν ἡ μεταβολὴ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁ γὰρ καταλύσας τὸ τῆς Σπάρτης ἀξίωμα καὶ παύσας ἁρχοντας αὐτοὺς γῆς τε καὶ θαλάττης πόλεμος εξ ἐκείνης ἐγένετο τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐν ἦν Πελοπίδας οὐ φρούριοι, οὐ τεῖχος, οὐκ ἀκρόπολιν καταλαβὼν, ἀλλ’ εἰς οἰκίαν δωδέκατος κατελθὼν, εἰ δὲι μεταφορὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἐλυσε καὶ διέκοψε τοὺς δεσμοὺς τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγεμονίας, ἀλύτους καὶ ἀρρήκτους εἶναι δοκοῦντας.

XIV. Ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν στρατὸ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὴν Βουστίαν ἐμβαλόντων οἱ Ἀθηναίοι περίφοβοι γενόμενοι τὴν τε συμμαχίαν ἀπείπαντο τοῖς Ἐθείαις καὶ τῶν Βουστιαζόντων εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον παραγαγόντες τοὺς μὲν ἀπεκτείναν, τοὺς δ’, ἐφυγάδευσαν, τοὺς δ’ ἀρχημασίαν ἐξημωσάν, ἔδοκε δὲ κακὸς ἐχεῖν τὰ τῶν Ἐθείαίων πρώγματα μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς βοηθοῦντος, ἐντυχε μὲν ὁ Πελοπίδας μετὰ Γοργίδου Βουσταρχῶν, ἐπιβουλεύοντες δὲ συγκρούσαν πάλιν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τοιούθεν τι μηχανώνταί.

2 Σφοδρίας, ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης, εὐδοκίμος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς καὶ λαμπρός, ὑπόκουφος δὲ τὴν γνώμην καὶ κενῶν ἐπίτιδων καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀνοίγτο μεστός, ἀπελεύθη περὶ Θεσπίας μετὰ δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀφισταμένους τῶν Ἐθείαίων δέχεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν, πρὸς τούτον ὑποπέμπουσιν ὁ περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἰδίᾳ ἐμπορον τινα τῶν φίλων,
and, like that, crowned with success by fortune, the Greeks were wont to call a sister to it. For it is not easy to mention other cases where men so few in number and so destitute have overcome enemies so much more numerous and powerful by the exercise of courage and sagacity, and have thereby become the authors of so great blessings for their countries. And yet the subsequent change in the political situation made this exploit the more glorious. For the war which broke down the pretensions of Sparta and put an end to her supremacy by land and sea, began from that night, in which Pelopidas, not by surprising any fort or castle or citadel, but by coming back into a private house with eleven others, loosed and broke in pieces, if the truth may be expressed in a metaphor, the fetters of the Lacedaemonian supremacy, which were thought indissoluble and not to be broken.

XIV. The Lacedaemonians now invaded Boeotia with a large army, and the Athenians, having become fearful, renounced their alliance with the Thebans, and prosecuting those in their city who favoured the Boeotian cause, put some of them to death, banished others, and others still they fined, so that the Thebans seemed to be in a desperate case with none to aid them. But Pelopidas and Gorgias, who were boeotarchs, plotted to embroil the Athenians again with the Lacedaemonians, and devised the following scheme. Sphodrias, a Spartan, who had a splendid reputation as a soldier, but was rather weak in judgement and full of vain hopes and senseless ambition, had been left at Thespiae with an armed force to receive and succour the renegade Thebans. To this man Pelopidas and Gorgidas privately sent one of their friends who was a merchant, with money,
χρηματα κομίζοντα και λόγους, οί τῶν χρημάτων μᾶλλον ἀνέπεισαν αὐτόν ὡς χρή πραγμάτων ἄφαισθαι μεγάλων καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλαβεῖν, ἀπροσδόκητον ἔπιπεσόντα μὴ φυλαττομένοις τοῖς τίθεντες. Αἰθήναιοι. Δακεδαίμονίοις τε γὰρ οὖδὲν οὗτος ἔστι θεαρισμένον ὡς λαβεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας, Ὀθηβαίους τε χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ προθότας νομίζοντας οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσειν. τέλος δὲ συμπεισθεῖσιν ὁ Σφοδρίας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβόν, νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλεν. καὶ μέχρι μὲν Ἕλευσίνων προῆλθεν, ἐκεῖ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποδεικνύσαντων φανερὸς γενόμενος, καὶ συντραξάς οὓς φαίλον οὖδὲ βάδιον τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις πόλεμον, ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Θεσπίας.

XV. 'Εκ τούτου πάλιν προθυμότατα 'Αθηναίοι τοῖς Θηβαίοις συνεμάχουν, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης ἀντελαμβάνοντο, καὶ περιώντες ἐδέχοντο καὶ προσῆγοντες τοὺς ἀποστατικῶς τῶν Ελλήνων ἔχοντας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς Δακεδαίμονίοις ἐκάστοτε, καὶ μαχόμενοι μάχας αὐτῶς μὲν οὐ μεγάλας, μεγάλην δὲ τὴν μελέτην ἐχούσας καὶ τὴν 2 ἀσκησιν, ἐξερρίπτεσθαι τοῖς θυμοῖς καὶ διεπονύντο τοῖς σώμασιν, ἐμπειρίαν ἄμα τῇ συνθείᾳ καὶ φρόνμη προσλαμβάνοντες ἐκ τῶν ἄγωνων. διὸ καὶ φασίν 'Ανταλκίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην, ὡς Ἀγαθίλαος ἐπανήλθεν ἐκ Βοιωτίας τετρωμένος, εἰπείν πρὸς αὐτὸν "Ἡ καλὰ διδασκάλια παρὰ Θηβαίων ἀπολαμβάνεις, μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοὺς τὸν πολέμειν καὶ μάχεσθαι διδάξας." ἦν δὲ ὁς
and, what proved more persuasive than money with Sphodrias, this advice. He ought to put his hand to a large enterprise and seize the Piraeus, attacking it unexpectedly when the Athenians were off their guard; for nothing would gratify the Lacedaemonians so much as the capture of Athens, and the Thebans, who were now angry with the Athenians and held them to be traitors, would give them no aid. Sphodrias was finally persuaded, and taking his soldiers, invaded Attica by night. He advanced as far as Eleusis, but there the hearts of his soldiers failed them and his design was exposed, and after having thus stirred up a serious and difficult war against the Spartans, he withdrew to Thespiae.1

XV. After this, the Athenians with the greatest eagerness renewed their alliance with the Thebans, and began hostile operations against Sparta by sea, sailing about and inviting and receiving the allegiance of those Greeks who were inclined to revolt. The Thebans, too, by always engaging singly in Boeotia with the Lacedaemonians, and by fighting battles which, though not important in themselves, nevertheless afforded them much practice and training, had their spirits roused and their bodies thoroughly inured to hardships, and gained experience and courage from their constant struggles. For this reason Antalcidas the Spartan, we are told, when Agesilaüs came back from Boeotia with a wound, said to him: "Indeed, this is a fine tuition-fee which thou art getting from the Thebans, for teaching them how to war and fight when they did not wish to do it."2 But, to tell the truth, it was not

1 The attempt of Sphodrias on the Piraeus is more fully described in the Agesilaüs, xxiv. 3–6.
2 Cf. the Agesilaüs, xxvi. 2.
4 Ἑγένοντο μὲν οὖν καὶ περὶ Πλαταίας καὶ Θεσπίας ἦτται καὶ φυγαὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅπου καὶ Φοιβίδας ὁ τὴν Καδμείαιν καταλαβὼν ἀπέθανε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Τανάγρα τρε-ψάμενος αὐτῶν καὶ Πανθοίδαν τὸν ἁρμοστὴν ἀνέλευ. ἀλλ᾽ οὕτωι μὲν οἱ ἁγώνες ὡσπερ τοὺς κρατοῦντας εἰς φρόνιμα καὶ θάρσος προῆγοι, οὕτως τῶν ἠσσωμένων οὐ παντάπασιν ἐδουλοῦντο
5 τὴν γνώμην οὐ γὰρ ἐκ παρατάξεως ἦσαν οὐδὲ μάχης ἐμφανὴς κατάστασιν ἐχούσης καὶ νόμιμον, ἐκδρομᾶς δὲ προσκαίρους τιθέμενοι, καὶ φυγαὶ ἡ διώξεις ἐπιχειροῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι κατώρθουν.

ΧΞΙ. Ὅ δὲ περὶ Τεγύρας τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ Δευκτρικοῦ προάγων γενόμενος μέγαν ἢρε δοξῆ τοῦ Πελοπίδαν, οὕτε πρὸς κατόρθωμα τοῖς συστρα-τήγοις ἀμφισβήτησιν οὕτε τῆς ἦττης πρόφασιν τοῖς πολέμιοις ἀπολειπῶν. τῇ γὰρ Ὀρχομενίων πόλει τὰ Σπαρτιατῶν ἐλομένη καὶ δύο δεδεγμένη μόρας αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας ἐπεβούλευε μὲν

2 ἀεὶ καὶ παρεφύλαττε καιρόν, ὡς δὲ ἠκούσα τοῖς φρουροῖς εἰς τὴν Δοκρίδα γεγενήσθαι στρατείαν

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Agesilaüs who was their teacher, but those leaders of theirs who, at the right time and place, gave the Thebans, like young dogs in training, experience in attacking their enemies, and then, when they had got a taste of victory and its ardours, brought them safely off; and of these leaders Pelopidas was in greatest esteem. For after his countrymen had once chosen him their leader in arms, there was not a single year when they did not elect him to office, but either as leader of the sacred band, or, for the most part, as boeotarch, he continued active until his death.

Well, then, at Plataea the Lacedaemonians were defeated and put to flight, and at Thespiae, where, too, Phoeboidas, who had seized the Cadmeia, was slain; and at Tanagra a large body of them was routed and Panthoidas the harmost was killed. But these combats, though they gave ardour and boldness to the victors, did not altogether break the spirits of the vanquished; for they were not pitched battles, nor was the fighting in open and regular array, but it was by making well-timed sallies, and by either retreating before the enemy or by pursuing and coming to close quarters with them that the Thebans won their successes.

XVI. But the conflict at Tegyra, which was a sort of prelude to that at Leuctra, raised high the reputation of Pelopidas; for it afforded his fellow commanders no rival claim in its success, and his enemies no excuse for their defeat. Against the city of Orchomenus, which had chosen the side of the Spartans and received two divisions of them for its protection, he was ever laying plans and watching his opportunity, and when he heard that its garrison had made an expedition into Locris, he hoped to find
ελπίσας ἐρήμουν αἰρήσειν τὸν Ὄρχομένου ἔστρατευσεν, ἔχων μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν ἱερὸν λόχον καὶ τῶν ἵππεων οὐ πολλοὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσαγαγὼν ἐβγεν ἥκουσαν ἐκ Σπάρτης διαδοχῆς τῆς φρουρᾶς, ἀπῆγεν ὁπίσω τὸ στράτευμα πάλιν διὰ Τεγυρῶν, ἥ μόνη βάσιμον ἦν κύκλῳ παρὰ τὴν ὑπώρειαν τὴν γὰρ διὰ μέσου πᾶσαν ὁ Μέλας ποταμὸς εὐθὺς ἐκ πηγῶν εἰς Ἐλη πλωτὰ καὶ λίμνας διασπειρόμενος ἀποροῦ ἐποίει.

Μικρὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τὰ Ἐλη νεώς ἔστιν Ἀπόλλωνος Τεγυραίου καὶ μαντεῖον ἐκλελειμμένον οὐ πάνυ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ ἀχρὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἥκμαζε, τὴν προφητείαν Ἐχεκράτους ἔχοντος. ἐνταῦθα μυθολογοῦσι τὸν θεῶν γενέσθαι καὶ τὸ μὲν πλησίον ὅρος Δήλος καλεῖται, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ κατα-

λήγουσιν αἱ τοῦ Μέλανος διαχύσεις, ὁπίσω δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ δῦο ῥήγματα πηγαί γλυκύτητι καὶ πλῆθει καὶ ψυχρότητι θαυμαστοῦ νάματος, ὃν τὸ μὲν Φοίνικα, τὸ δὲ Ἑλαίαν ἀχρὶ νῦν ὀνομαζομεν, οὐ φυτῶν μεταξὺ δυεῖν, ἀλλὰ ρεῖθρων τῆς θεοῦ λοχευθείσης. καὶ γὰρ τὸ Πτῷον ἐγνύσ, οἶδεν αὐτὴν ἀναπτοθήκην προφανέντος ἐξαίφνης κάπροιν λέγουσι, καὶ τὰ πέρι Πύθωνα καὶ Τιτυνῶν ὀσαῦτως οἱ τόποι τῇ γενέσει τοῦ θεοῦ συνοικεῖ-

5 οὕς. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα παραλείπο τῶν τεκμερίων οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς έκ μεταβολῆς ἀθανάτως γενομένως γεννητοῖς οἱ πάτριοι λόγος τῶν θεῶν τούτων ἀπολείπει δαίμοσιν, ὡσπερ Ἡρακλέα καὶ 378
the city without defenders, and marched against it, having with him the sacred band and a few horsemen. But when, on approaching the city, he found that its garrison had been replaced with other troops from Sparta, he led his army back again through the district of Tegyra, that being the only way by which he could make a circuit along the foot of the mountains. For all the intervening plain was made impassable by the river Melas, which no sooner begins to flow than it spreads itself out into navigable marshes and lakes.

A little below the marshes stands the temple of Apollo Tegyraeus, with an oracle which had not been long abandoned, but was flourishing down to the Persian wars, when Echecrates was prophet-priest. Here, according to the story, the god was born; and the neighbouring mountain is called Delos, and at its base the river Melas ceases to be spread out, and behind the temple two springs burst forth with a wonderful flow of sweet, copious, and cool water. One of these we call Palm, the other Olive, to the present day, for it was not between two trees,¹ but between two fountains, that the goddess Leto was delivered of her children. Moreover, the Ptoüm ² is near, from which, it is said, a boar suddenly came forth and frightened the goddess, and in like manner the stories of the Python ³ and of Tityus ³ are associated with the birth of Apollo in this locality. Most of the proofs, however, I shall pass over; for my native tradition removes this god from among those deities who were changed from mortals into im-

¹ As in the Delian story of the birth of Apollo and Artemis.
² A mountain at the south-eastern side of Lake Copais, on which was a celebrated sanctuary of Apollo.
³ A dragon and a giant, who were slain by Apollo and Artemis.
Διόνυσου, ἐκ μετάβολῆς ἀρετῆ τὸ θυντόν καὶ παθητὸν ἀποβαλόντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁίδων καὶ ἀγεννήτων εἰς ἐστιν, εἰ δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φρονιμωτῶν καὶ παλαιστάτων λεγομένοις τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τῶν τηλικοῦτων.

XVII. Εἰς δ᾿ οὖν Τεγύρας οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐκ τῆς Ὀρχομενίας ἀπόντες καὶ οἱ Δακεδαίμονοι συνέπιπτον, ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Δοκρίδου ἀναζευγώντες. ὡς δὲ πρώτον ὠφθησαν τὰ στενὰ διεκβάλλοντες, καὶ τις εἰπε τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ προσδραμὼν "Εμπεπτώκαμεν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους," "Τί μᾶλλον," εἶπεν,

2 "ἡ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔκεινοι," καὶ τὴν μὲν ἦππον εὐθὺς πᾶσαν ἐκέλευσε παρελαύνειν ἀπ᾿ οὐρᾶς ὡς προεμβαλοῦσαν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς ὁπλίτας τριακοσίους ὅντας εἰς ὀλίγον συνήγαγεν, ἐλπίζων καθ᾿ ὧν προσβάλοι μάλιστα διακόψεις ὑπερβάλλοντας πλῆθει τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦσαν δὲ δύο μῦραι Δακεδαίμονίων, τὴν δὲ μόραν "Εφορος μὲν ἄνδρας εἶναι πεντακοσίους φησί, Ἀλλισθένης δ᾿ ἐπτακοσίους, ἄλλοι δὲ τινες ἐπακοσίους, ὡν Πολύβιος έστι, καὶ θαρροῦντες ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιστῶν Γοργολέων καὶ Θεόπορπος ὀρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, γενομένης δὲ ποις μάλιστα τῆς ἐφόδου κατ᾿ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀπ᾿ ἀμφοτέρων μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ βίας, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ πολέμαρχοι τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ συνεβαίνεστε 

3 ἐπεσον ἐπείτα τῶν περὶ ἐκείνους παιομένων καὶ ἄποθυρακότων ἀπαν εἰς φόβον κατέστη τὸ σπέτεμα, καὶ διέσχε μὲν ἐπ᾿ ἀμφότερα τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ὡς διεκπεσεῖν εἰς τοὺς προσθετευμέναις καὶ διεκδύει βουλομένους, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν δεδομένην ὁ Πελοπίδας ἤγειτο πρὸς τοὺς συνεστῶτας καὶ

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mortals, like Heracles and Dionysus, whose virtues enabled them to cast off mortality and suffering; but he is one of those deities who are unbegotten and eternal, if we may judge by what the most ancient and wisest men have said on such matters.

XVII. So, then, as the Thebans entered the district of Tegyra on their way back from Orchomenus, the Lacedaemonians also entered it at the same time, returning in the opposite direction from Locris, and met them. As soon as they were seen marching through the narrow pass, some one ran up to Pelopidas and said: "We have fallen into our enemies' hands!" "Why any more," said he, "than they into ours?" Then he at once ordered all his horsemen to ride up from the rear in order to charge, while he himself put his men-at-arms, three hundred in number, into close array, expecting that wherever they charged he would be most likely to cut his way through the enemy, who outnumbered him. Now, there were two divisions of the Lacedaemonians, the division consisting of five hundred men, according to Ephorus, of seven hundred, according to Callisthenes, of nine hundred, according to certain other writers, among whom is Polybius. Confident of victory, the polemarchs of the Spartans, Gorgoleon and Theopompus, advanced against the Thebans. The onset being made on both sides particularly where the commanders themselves stood, in the first place, the Lacedaemonian polemarchs clashed with Pelopidas and fell; then, when those about them were being wounded and slain, their whole army was seized with fear and opened up a lane for the Thebans, imagining that they wished to force their way through to the opposite side and get away. But Pelopidas used the path thus opened to lead his men against those of
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διεξήγει φονεύων, ούτω πάντες προτροπάδην ἐφευρον. ἐγένετο δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺν τότον ἡ ἔιωξις· ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ ἐγγὺς οὗτοι Θηβαῖοι τοὺς Ὀρχομένους καί τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν Λακε-5 δαιμονίων. ὦσον δὲ νικήσαι κατὰ κράτος καὶ διεξέλθειν διὰ παντὸς ἴσσωμένου τοῦ στρατεύ-ματος, ἐξεβιάσαντο καὶ στήσαντες τρόπαιον καὶ νεκροὺς σκυλεύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν ἐτ' οίκου μέγα φρονοῦντες. ἐν γὰρ τοσοῦτοι, ὡς έσικε, πολέμοις Ἑλληνικοῖς καὶ Βαρβαρικοῖς πρότερον οὐδέποτε Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλείονες οὗτε ἐλατ-τόνων ἐκρατήσαν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἰσοί πρὸς ἱσοὺς 6 ἐκ παρατάξεως συμβαλῶντες. οθεν ἦσαν ἀνυ-πόστατοι τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ τῇ δύξῃ κατα-πληττόμενοι τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους, οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς ἀξιώντας ἀπ' ἵπτης δυνάμεως τὸ ἱσον φέρεσθαι Σπαρτιάταις, εἰς χειρας συνέστησαν. ἐκείνη δὲ ἡ μάχη πρώτη καὶ τοὺς ἀλλους ἐδίδαξεν Ἐλ-ληνικὸς ὡς οὐχ ὁ Ἐυρώτας οὐδ' ὁ μεταξὺ Βαβύκας καὶ Κνακιὼν τότοις ἀνδρας ἐκφέρει μαχητας καὶ πολεμικοὺς, ἀλλὰ παρ' οίς ἄν αὐτχύνεσθαι τὰ αἰσχρά καὶ τολμάν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἔθελοντες ἐγγένωται νέοι καὶ τοὺς ψόγους τῶν κινδύνων μᾶλλον φεύγοντες, οὕτως φοβερώτατοί τοῖς ἐναυ-τίοις εἰσί.

ΧVIII. Τὸν δ' ἱερὸν λόχον, ὡς φασί, συνετά-ξατο Γοργίδας πρῶτος ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιλέκτων τριακοσίων, οἰς ἡ πόλις ἄσκησιν καὶ δίαιταν ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ στρατοπεδευμένοις παρείχε, καὶ διὰ τοὐθ' ὁ ἐκ πολέως λόχος ἐκαλοῦντο· τὰς γὰρ ἀκροπόλεις ἐπιεικῶς οἱ τότε πόλεις ὑώμαζον. ἐνιοῦ δὲ φασίν ἐξ ἐραστῶν καὶ ἐρωμένων γενέσθαι 2 τὸ σύστημα τούτο. καὶ Παμμένους ἀπομνημο-382
the enemy who still held together, and slew them as he went along, so that finally all turned and fled. The pursuit, however, was carried but a little way, for the Thebans feared the Orchomenians, who were near, and the relief force from Sparta. They had succeeded, however, in conquering their enemy outright and forcing their way victoriously through his whole army; so they erected a trophy, spoiled the dead, and retired homewards in high spirits. For in all their wars with Greeks and Barbarians, as it would seem, never before had Lacedaemonians in superior numbers been overpowered by an inferior force, nor, indeed, in a pitched battle where the forces were evenly matched. Hence they were of an irresistible courage, and when they came to close quarters their very reputation sufficed to terrify their opponents, who also, on their part, thought themselves no match for Spartans with an equal force. But this battle first taught the other Greeks also that it was not the Eurotas, nor the region between Babyce and Cnacion, which alone produced warlike fighting men, but that wheresoever young men are prone to be ashamed of baseness and courageous in a noble cause, shunning disgrace more than danger, these are most formidable to their foes.

XVIII. The sacred band, we are told, was first formed by Gorgidas, of three hundred chosen men, to whom the city furnished exercise and maintenance, and who encamped in the Cadmeia; for which reason, too, they were called the city band; for citadels in those days were properly called cities. But some say that this band was composed of lovers and beloved. And a pleasantry of Pammenes is cited, in which

1 Probably names of small tributaries of the Eurotas near Sparta. Cf. the Lycurgus, vi. 1–3.
νεύεται τι μετά παιδιάς ειρημένου· ού γὰρ ἐφη τακτικὸν εἶναι τὸν Ὄμηρον Νέστορα κελεύοντα κατὰ φύλα καὶ φρήτρας συλλοχίζεσθαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας,

'Ὡς φρήτρη φρήτρηφιν ἀρήγη, φύλα δὲ φύλοις,
δέον ἑραστὴν παρ’ ἑρῶμενον τάττειν. φυλέτας μὲν γὰρ φυλετῶν καὶ φράτορας φρατόρων οὐ πολὺν λόγον ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, τὸ δ’ ἐξ ἑρωτικῆς φίλίας συνημμοσμένον στίφος ἀδιάλυτον εἶναι καὶ ἀρρηκτον, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀγαπῶντες τοὺς ἑρωμένους, οἱ δὲ αἰσχυνόμενοι τοὺς ἑρώωντας ἐμμένωσι τοῖς δεινοῖς ύπὲρ ἀλλήλων. καὶ τούτο θαυμαστὸν οὐκ ἔστιν, εἴγε δὴ καὶ μὴ παρόντα αἰδοῦνται μᾶλλον ἑτέρων παρόντων, ὡς ἐκείνος ὁ τοῦ πολεμίου κείμενον αὐτὸν ἐπισφάττειν μέλλοντος δεόμενος καὶ ἀντιβολῶν διὰ τοῦ στέρνον διέναι τὸ ξίφος, ""_OPCODES," ἐφη, "μὴ μὲ νεκρὸν ὁ ἑρώμενος ὁρῶν κατὰ νόστον τετρωμένον ἀἰσχυνθῇ." λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰόλεων τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἑρώμενον ὑντα κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἄθλων καὶ παραστίζειν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἔτι φησίν ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφον τοῦ Ἰόλεω τὰς καταπιστώσεις ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἑρωμένους καὶ τοὺς ἑραστὰς. εἰκός οὖν καὶ τὸν λόγον ἱερὸν προσαγορεύεσθαι, καθότι καὶ Πλάτων ἐνθεοῦ φίλον τὸν ἑραστὴν προσεῖπε. λέγεται δὲ διαμείναι μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀἵττητον· ὡς δὲ μετὰ τῆς μάχης ἑφορῶν τοὺς νεκροὺς ὁ Φίλιππος

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PELOPIDAS, xviii. 2-5

he said that Homer's Nestor was no tactician when he urged the Greeks to form in companies by clans and tribes,

"That clan might give assistance unto clan, and tribes to tribes," ¹

since he should have stationed lover by beloved. For tribesmen and clansmen make little account of tribesmen and clansmen in times of danger; whereas, a band that is held together by the friendship between lovers is indissoluble and not to be broken, since the lovers are ashamed to play the coward before their beloved, and the beloved before their lovers, and both stand firm in danger to protect each other. Nor is this a wonder, since men have more regard for their lovers even when absent than for others who are present, as was true of him who, when his enemy was about to slay him where he lay, earnestly besought him to run his sword through his breast, "in order," as he said, "that my beloved may not have to blush at sight of my body with a wound in the back." It is related, too, that Iolaiüs, who shared the labours of Heracles and fought by his side, was beloved of him. And Aristotle says ² that even down to his day the tomb of Iolaüs was a place where lovers and beloved plighted mutual faith. It was natural, then, that the band should also be called sacred, because even Plato calls the lover a friend "inspired of God." ³ It is said, moreover, that the band was never beaten, until the battle of Chaeroneia; ⁴ and when, after the battle, Philip was surveying the dead, and stopped at the

³ Symposium, p. 179 a.
⁴ 338 B.C.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ἐστὶν ἑν αὐτῷ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ὧδε συνετύχανεν κεῖσθαι τοὺς τριακοσίους, ἐναντίον ἀπειροτόπας ταῖς σαρίσαες ἁπαντας ἐν τοῖς ὑπόλοις καὶ μετ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀναμεχμένους, θαυμάσαντα καὶ πυθόμενον ὡς ὁ τῶν ἐραστῶν καὶ τῶν ἐρωμένων ὁμοίως εἰς λόχος, διακρύσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν. "Ἀπόλοιωτο κακῶς οἱ τούτοις τι ποιεῖν ἢ πάσχειν αἰσχρῶν ὑπονοοῦτες."

XIX. "Ὅλως δὲ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἐραστὰς συνηθείας οὖχ, ὅσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, Ὑθβαῖοι τὸ Δαιὸν πάθος ἀρχὴν παρέσχεν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ νοοθέται τὸ φύσει θυμοειδὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκρατῶν ἀνιέναι καὶ ἀνυγραίνειν εὐθὺς ἐκ παῖδων βουλόμενοι, πολὺν μὲν ἀνεμίξαντο καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ παιδιὰ πάση τῶν αὐλῶν, εἰς τιμὴν καὶ προεδριαν ἁγοντες, λαμπρῶν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα ταῖς παλαίστραις ἐνεθρέψαντο, συγκεραυνύτες τὰ ἥθη τῶν νέων. 2 ὁρθῶς δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὴν ἓ Ἀρεώς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεγονείναι λεγομένην θεόν τῇ πόλει συνωκείσαν, ὡς, ὅπου τὸ μαχητικὸν καὶ πολεμικὸν μάλιστα τῷ μετέχοντι πείθους καὶ χαρίτων ὀμίλει καὶ σύνεστιν, εἰς τὴν ἐμμελεστάτην καὶ κοσμιωτάτην πολιτείαν δι᾽ ἀρμονίας καθίστα-μένων ἀπάντων.

3 Τὸν οὖν ἱερὸν λόχον τούτον ὁ μὲν Γοργίδας διαπρὸν εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ζυγά καὶ παρ᾽ ὀλὴν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν προβαλλόμενος ἐπίδηλον οὖκ ἐποίει τὴν ἀρετὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἐχρήτο τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς κοινὸν ἔργον, ἀτε δὴ διαλελυμένη καὶ πρὸς πολὺ μεμιγμένη τὸ φαυλότερον, ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας, ὥς ἐξέλαμψεν αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρετὴ περὶ Τεγύρας, καθαρὸς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγωνισμένων, οὐκ ἔτι διείλεν οὐδὲ διέσπασεν, ἀλλ᾽
place where the three hundred were lying, all where they had faced the long spears of his phalanx, with their armour, and mingled one with another, he was amazed, and on learning that this was the band of lovers and beloved, burst into tears and said: "Perish miserably they who think that these men did or suffered aught disgraceful."

XIX. Speaking generally, however, it was not the passion of Laius that, as the poets say, first made this form of love customary among the Thebans; but their law-givers, wishing to relax and mollify their strong and impetuous natures in earliest boyhood, gave the flute great prominence both in their work and in their play, bringing this instrument into pre-eminence and honour, and reared them to give love a conspicuous place in the life of the palaestra, thus tempering the dispositions of the young men. And with this in view, they did well to give the goddess who was said to have been born of Ares and Aphrodite a home in their city; for they felt that, where the force and courage of the warrior are most closely associated and united with the age which possesses grace and persuasiveness, there all the activities of civil life are brought by Harmony into the most perfect consonance and order.

Gorgidas, then, by distributing this sacred band among the front ranks of the whole phalanx of men-at-arms, made the high excellence of the men inconspicuous, and did not direct their strength upon a common object, since it was dissipated and blended with that of a large body of inferior troops; but Pelopidas, after their valour had shone out at Tegyra, where they fought by themselves and about his own person, never afterwards divided or scattered them,

1 Laius was enamoured of Chrysippus, a young son of Pelops (Apollocodorus, iii. 5, 5, 10).
όσπερ σώματι χρώμενος ὅλω προεκκυδήνευε
τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀγώσιν. ὦσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἵπποι
θάσσου ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀρμασιν ἡ καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἔλαυνό-
μενοι θέουσιν, οὐχ ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐμπίπτοντες
ἐκβιάζονται τὸν ἀέρα τῷ πλήθει ῥηγύμενοι, ἀλλ’
ὅτι συνεκκαίει τὸν θυμὸν ἡ μετ’ ἀλλήλων ἀμιλλα
καί τὸ φιλόνεικον, οὕτως ὄστο τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ξῆλον
ἀλλήλοις καλῶν ἔργων ἐνιεύτας ὁφελιμωτάτους
εἰς κοινῶν ἔργων εἶναι καὶ προθυμοτάτους.

XX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πᾶσι τοῖς Ἔλλη-
σιν εἰρήνην συνθέμενοι πρὸς μόνους Θηβαίους
ἐξῆνεγκαν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνεβεβλήκει δὲ Κλεόμ-
βροτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγὼν ὀπλίτας μυρίους, ἰπτεῖς
δὲ χιλίους, ὁ δὲ κινδυνός οὐ περὶ όν πρότερον
ἡν Θηβαίοις, ἀλλ’ ἀντικρυς ἀπείλη καὶ καταγ-
γελία διοικησμοῦ, καὶ φόβος οἷος οὗτω τὴν Βοιω-
τίαν κατεῖχεν, ἔξων μὲν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ὁ Πελο-
πίδας, καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐν τῷ προπέμπειν
δικρούσης καὶ παρακαλούσης σώξειν ἐαυτόν,

“Ταύτα,” εἶπεν, “ὁ γὰρ, τοῖς ἰδιώταις χρή
παρανεῖν, τοῖς δὲ ἄρχουσιν ὅπως τοὺς ἄλλους
τῶξωσιν.” ἔλθων δὲ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τοὺς
βοιωτάρχας καταλαβὼν οὐχ ὁμογνώμονοντας,
πρῶτος Ἐπαμεινώνδα προσέθετο γυνώμην ψηφι-
ζομένω διὰ μάχης ἰέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, βοιω-
τάρχης μὲν οὐκ ἀποδειγμένος, ἄρχων δὲ τοῦ
ἰερὸν λόχου, καὶ πιστευόμενος, ὡς ἦν δίκαιον
ἀνδρα τηλικαῦτα δεδωκότα τῇ πατρίδι σύμβολα
εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.
but, treating them as a unit, put them into the forefront of the greatest conflicts. For just as horses run faster when yoked to a chariot than when men ride them singly, not because they cleave the air with more impetus owing to their united weight, but because their mutual rivalry and ambition inflame their spirits; so he thought that brave men were most ardent and serviceable in a common cause when they inspired one another with a zeal for high achievement.

XX. But now the Lacedaemonians made peace with all the other Greeks and directed the war against the Thebans alone;¹ Cleombrotus their king invaded Boeotia with a force of two thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horse; a new peril confronted the Thebans, since they were openly threatened with downright dispersion; and an unprecedented fear reigned in Boeotia. It was at this time that Pelopidas, on leaving his house, when his wife followed him on his way in tears and begging him not to lose his life, said: “This advice, my wife, should be given to private men; but men in authority should be told not to lose the lives of others.” And when he reached the camp and found that the boeotarchs were not in accord, he was first to side with Epaminondas in voting to give the enemy battle. Now Pelopidas, although he had not been appointed boeotarch, was captain of the sacred band, and highly trusted, as it was right that a man should be who had given his country such tokens of his devotion to freedom.

¹ In 371 B.C.
3 Ὅσ᾽ οὖν ἐδέδωκτο διακινδυνεύειν καὶ περὶ τὰ Δεύκτρα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀντεστρατοπέδευον, ὅφειν εἴδε κατὰ τούς ὑπνοὺς ὁ Πελοπίδας εὑ μάλα διαταράξασαν αὐτόν. ἦστι γὰρ ἐν τῷ Δεύκτρικῷ πεδίῳ τὰ σήματα τῶν τοῦ Σκεδάσου θυγατέρων, ἂς Δεύκτρίδας καλοῦσι διὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐταῖς ὑπὸ ξένων Σπαρτιατῶν βιασθείσαις συν-έβη ταφῆναι. γενοµένης δὲ χαλέπτης οὕτω καὶ παρανόµου πράξεως, ὁ μὲν πατήρ, ὅσ᾽ οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ δίκης, ἀράς κατὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἀρασάµενος ἐσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τῶν παρθένων, χρήσµοι δὲ καὶ λόγοι τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις αὕτω προφαίνων εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ Δεύκτρικὸν μῆµµα, µή πάνυ τῶν πολλῶν συµµέντων, ἀλλ' ἀµφιγυµνύτων τοῦ τόπου, ἔτει καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πολέµιων πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ Δεύκτρον ὄνοµάζεται, καὶ πρὸς Μεγάλην πόλει τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τόπος ἐστὶν ὀµώνυµος, τὸ µὲν οὐν πάθος τούτο πολὺ τῶν Δεύκτρικῶν ἡµῖν παλαιότερον.

XXI. Ὅ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατακοµµηθεῖς ἐδοξεῖ τάς τε παίδας ὑπὶ περὶ τὰ µηµµατα θρηνούσας καὶ καταραµένας τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις, τόν τε Σκέδασον κελεύοντα ταῖς κόραις σφαγµάσαι παρθένους ξανθῆν, εἰ βούλιοτο τῶν πολεµίων ἐπικρατήσαι. δεινοῦ δὲ καὶ παραοµόµ τοῦ προστάγµατος αὐτοῦ φανέντος ἐξ-αναστὰς ἐκοινώντο τοῖς τε µάντεσι καὶ τοῖς ἀρ-χουσίν. ὃν οἱ µὲν οὐκ ἐιὼν παραµελεῖν οἴδ' ἀπειθεῖν, τῶν µὲν παλαιῶν προφέρωντες Μενοικέα τοῦ Κρέοντος καὶ Μακαρίαν τῆν Ἡρακλέους, τῶν δ' ὑστερον Φερεκύδην τε τῶν σοφῶν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιµονίων ἀναφεθέντα καὶ τὴν δορᾶν αὐτοῦ
Accordingly, it was decided to risk a battle, and at Leuctra they encamped over against the Lacedaemonians. Here Pelopidas had a dream which greatly disturbed him. Now, in the plain of Leuctra are the tombs of the daughters of Scedasus, who are called from the place Leuctridae, for they had been buried there, after having been ravished by Spartan strangers. At the commission of such a grievous and lawless act, their father, since he could get no justice at Sparta, heaped curses upon the Spartans, and then slew himself upon the tombs of the maidens; and ever after, prophecies and oracles kept warning the Spartans to be on watchful guard against the Leuctrian wrath. Most of them, however, did not fully understand the matter, but were in doubt about the place, since in Laconia there is a little town near the sea which is called Leuctra, and near Megalopolis in Arcadia there is a place of the same name. This calamity, of course, occurred long before the battle of Leuctra.

XXI. After Pelopidas had lain down to sleep in the camp, he thought he saw these maidens weeping at their tombs, as they invoked curses upon the Spartans, and Scedasus bidding him sacrifice to his daughters a virgin with auburn hair, if he wished to win the victory over his enemies. The injunction seemed a lawless and dreadful one to him, but he rose up and made it known to the seers and the commanders. Some of these would not hear of the injunction being neglected or disobeyed, adducing as examples of such sacrifice among the ancients, Menoeceus, son of Creon, Macaria, daughter of Heracles; and, in later times, Pherecydes the wise man, who was put to death by the Lacedaemonians, 1 The damsels, in shame, took their own lives. Cf. Pausanias, ix. 13, 3.
κατά τι λόγιον ύπο τῶν βασιλέων φρονουμένην, Δεωνίδαν τε τῷ χρησμῷ τρόπον τινὰ προθυσά-3 μενον ἐαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐτὶ δὲ τοὺς ύπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους σφαγιασθέντας ὤμηστῇ Διονύσῳ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας· ἐκείνους γὰρ ἑπιμαρτυρῆσαι τὰ κατορθώματα· τοῦτο δὲ, ὡς Ἀγησίλαον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Ἀγαμέμνονι τόπων ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς στρατευόμενον πολεμίσας ἤτησε μὲν ἡ θέσις τῆς θυγατέρα σφάγιον καὶ ταύτην εἴδε τὴν ὅψιν ἐν Αὐλίδι κοιμᾶμενος, ὃ δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπομαλθακωθεὶς κατέλυσε τὴν

4 στρατείαν ἀδοξὸν καὶ ἀτελῆ γενομένην. οἱ δὲ τοῦναντίον ἀπηγόρευσαν, ὡς οὐδενὶ τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀριστὴν οὐσαν οὕτω βάρβαρον καὶ παράνομον θυσίαν· οὐ γὰρ τοὺς Τυφώνας ἐκείνους οὐδὲ τοὺς Γίγαντας ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πάντων πατέρα θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων διάμονας δὲ χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων αἵματι καὶ φόνῳ πι-ςτεύειν μὲν ἴσως ἐστὶν ἄβελτερον, ὄντων δὲ τοι-ούτων ἀμελητέον ὡς ἀδυνάτων· ἀσθενεία γὰρ καὶ μοχθηρία ψυχῆς ἐμφύσεθαι καὶ παραμένειν τὰς ἀτόπους καὶ χαλεπὰς ἐπιθυμίας.

XXII. Ἐν τοιούτωι ὦν διαλόγοις τῶν πρῶτων ὄντων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πελοπίδου διαποροῦντος, ἅπασιν ἐξ ἀγέλης πῶλος ἀποφυγόνσα καὶ φερο-μένη διὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν, ὡς ἦν θέουσα κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους, ἐπέστη· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις θέαν παρεί-χεν ἢ τε χρόα στίλβουσα τῆς χαίτης πυρσότατον
and whose skin was preserved by their kings, in accordance with some oracle; and Leonidas, who, in obedience to the oracle, sacrificed himself,1 as it were, to save Greece; and, still further, the youths who were sacrificed by Themistocles to Dionysus Carnivorous before the sea fight at Salamis; 2 for the successes which followed these sacrifices proved them acceptable to the gods. Moreover, when Agesilaüs, who was setting out on an expedition from the same place as Agamemnon did, and against the same enemies, was asked by the goddess for his daughter in sacrifice, and had this vision as he lay asleep at Aulis, he was too tender-hearted to give her, 3 and thereby brought his expedition to an unsuccessful and inglorious ending. Others, on the contrary, argued against it, declaring that such a lawless and barbarous sacrifice was not acceptable to any one of the superior beings above us, for it was not the fabled typhons and giants who governed the world, but the father of all gods and men; even to believe in the existence of divine beings who take delight in the slaughter and blood of men was perhaps a folly, but if such beings existed, they must be disregarded, as having no power; for only weakness and depravity of soul could produce or harbour such unnatural and cruel desires.

XXII. While, then, the chief men were thus disputing, and while Pelopidas in particular was in perplexity, a filly broke away from the herd of horses and sped through the camp, and when she came to the very place of their conference, stood still. The rest only admired the colour of her glossy mane, which was fiery red, her high mettle, and the

2 Cf. the Themistocles, xiii. 2 ff.
3 Cf. the Agesilaüs, vi. 4 ff.
2 τῆς φωνῆς, Θεόκριτος δὲ ὁ μάντις συμφρονήσας ἀνεβόησε πρὸς τὸν Πελοπίδαν. "Ἡκεί σοι τὸ ιερεῖον, ὁ δαίμονε, καὶ παρθένου ἀλλην μὴ περιμένωμεν, ἀλλὰ χρῶ δεξάμενος ἢν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσιν." ἐκ τούτου λαβόντες τὴν ἱππον ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους ἤγον τῶν παρθένων, καὶ κατευξάμενοι καὶ καταστέψαντες ἐνέτερον αὐτοῖ τε χαίροντες καὶ λόγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον περὶ τῆς ὅψεως τοῦ Πελοπίδου καὶ τῆς θυσίας διδόντες.

XXIII. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοῦ Ἐπαμεινώνδου τὴν φάλαγγα λοξὴν ἑπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐλκοντος, ὅπως τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ἀπωτάτω γένηται τὸ δεξίον τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τὸν Κλεόμβροτον ἐξώση προσπεσὸν ἀθρόως κατὰ κέρας καὶ βιασάμενος, οἱ μὲν πολέμοι καταμαθόντες τὸ γινόμενον ἡρξαντο μετακινεῖν τῇ τάξει σφάς αὐτοὺς, καὶ τὸ δεξίον ἀνεπτυσσον καὶ περιῆγον ὡς κυκλοσόμενοι καὶ περιβαλοῦντες ύπὸ πλῆθος τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν, ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἐν τούτῳ προεξέδραμε, καὶ συντρέψας τοὺς τριακοσίους δρόμῳ φθάνει πρῶν ἀνατείναι τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ κέρας ἢ συναγαγεῖν πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ συγκλείσαι τὴν τάξιν, οὗ καθεστῶσιν, ἀλλὰ θορυβουμένοις

3 δὲ ἄλληλων τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιβαλὼν. καὶ τοι πάντων ἀκροὶ τεχνίται καὶ σοφισταὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν ὄντες οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται πρὸς οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐπαίδευσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ συνεϊθίζων, ὡς τὸ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι μηδὲ ταράττεσθαι τάξεως διαλυ-
PELOPIDAS, XXII. i–XXIII. 3

vehemence and boldness of her neighing; but Theocritus the seer, after taking thought, cried out to Pelopidas: "Thy sacrificial victim is come, good man; so let us not wait for any other virgin, but do thou accept and use the one which Heaven offers thee." So they took the mare and led her to the tombs of the maidens, upon which, after decking her with garlands and consecrating her with prayers, they sacrificed her, rejoicing themselves, and publishing through the camp an account of the vision of Pelopidas and of the sacrifice.

XXIII. In the battle, while Epaminondas was drawing his phalanx obliquely towards the left, in order that the right wing of the Spartans might be separated as far as possible from the rest of the Greeks, and that he might thrust back Cleombrotus by a fierce charge in column with all his men-at-arms, the enemy understood what he was doing and began to change their formation; they were opening up their right wing and making an encircling movement, in order to surround Epaminondas and envelop him with their numbers. But at this point Pelopidas darted forth from his position, and with his band of three hundred on the run, came up before Cleombrotus had either extended his wing or brought it back again into its old position and closed up his line of battle, so that the Lacedaemonians were not standing in array, but moving confusedly about among each other when his onset reached them. And yet the Spartans, who were of all men past masters in the art of war, trained and accustomed themselves to nothing so much as not to straggle or get into...

1 There is only a hint of this strategy, and no mention either of Epaminondas or Pelopidas, in Xenophon's account of the battle (Hell. vi. 4, 9–15).
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XXIV. Eīs mēntoi Pēlōpōnννησον ἀμφότεροι βοιωταρχοῦντες ἐνέβαλον καὶ τῶν ἔθνων τὰ πλείστα προσήγοντο, Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστησαντες Ἡλλῆν, Ἁργῆς, Ἀρκαδίων σύμπασαν, αὐτῆς τῆς Δακωνικῆς τὰ πλείστα. καίτοι χειμώνον μὲν ἦσαν αἱ περὶ τροπᾶς ἀκμαὶ, μηνὸς δὲ τοῦ τελευταῖον φθίνοντος διόγει περιήγησαν ἤμεραί, καὶ τὴν ἄρχην ἐδει παραλαμβάνειν ἑτέρους εὐθὺς ἰσταμένου τοῦ πρῶτου μηνός, ἡ θυγήσκει τοὺς μὴ 2 παραδιδόντας. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι βοιωτάρχαι καὶ τῶν νόμων δεδιότες τούτοι καὶ τῶν χειμῶνα φεύγοντες ἀπάγειν ἐσπευδὸν ἔπʼ οἴκου τὸ στράτευμα, Πελοπίδας δὲ πρῶτος Ἐπαμεινώνδα γενόμενος σύμψηφος καὶ συμπαρομηνίσας τοὺς πολίτας ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ διεβίβαζε τὸν Εὐρώταν, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ἦρει πόλεις αὐτῶν, πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθει μέχρι θαλάττης, ἤγουμενος ἐπὶ τὰ μυριάδων Ἐλληνικῆς στρατιάς, ἢ ἐλαττον ἢ
confusion upon a change of formation, but to take anyone without exception as neighbour in rank or in file, and wheresoever danger actually threatened, to seize that point and form in close array and fight as well as ever. At this time, however, since the phalanx of Epaminondas bore down upon them alone and neglected the rest of their force, and since Pelopidas engaged them with incredible speed and boldness, their courage and skill were so confounded that there was a flight and slaughter of the Spartans such as had never before been seen. Therefore, although Epaminondas was boeotarch, Pelopidas, who was not boeotarch, and commanded only a small portion of the whole force, won as much glory for the success of that victory as he did.

XXIV. Both were boeotarchs, however, when they invaded Peloponnesus and won over most of its peoples, detaching from the Lacedaemonian confederacy Elis, Argos, all Arcadia, and most of Laconia itself. Still, the winter solstice was at hand, and only a few days of the latter part of the last month of the year remained, and as soon as the first month of the new year began other officials must succeed them, or those who would not surrender their office must die. The other boeotarchs, both because they feared this law, and because they wished to avoid the hardships of winter, were anxious to lead the army back home; but Pelopidas was first to add his vote to that of Epaminondas, and after inciting his countrymen to join them, led the army against Sparta and across the Eurotas. He took many of the enemy’s cities, and ravaged all their territory as far as the sea, leading an army of seventy thousand Greeks, of which the Thebans themselves were less than a

1 In 370 B.C.
3 δωδέκατον ήσαν αύτοι Ὑβαίοι μέρος. ἀλλ' ἢ δόξα τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἀνευ δόγματος κοινοῦ καὶ ψη- φίσματος ἐποίει τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπεσθαί σοιωτὴ πάντας ἤγομένους ἐκείνους. ὁ γὰρ πρῶτος, ὡς ἐοικε, καὶ κυριώτατος νόμος τῷ σώζεσθαι δεομένῳ τῶν σώζειν δυνάμενον ἄρχοντα κατὰ φύσιν ἀπο- δίδωσι: κἂν ὀσπερ οἱ πλέοντες εὐδίας οὕση ἢ παρ' ἀκτήν ὁμοίουτες ἀσελγῶς προσευχῆσθωσι τοῖς κυβερνήταις καὶ θρασέως, ἀμα τῷ χειμῶνα καὶ κίνδυνον καταλαμβάνει πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀπο- βλέπουσι καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν ἐκείνους ἔχουσι.

4 καὶ γὰρ Ἀργείοι καὶ Ἡλειοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες ἐν τοῖς συνεδρίοις ἐρίζοντες καὶ διαφερόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ὑβαίους ὑπὲρ ἤγερονίας, ἔπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ τοῖς ἐκείνων αὐθαίρετως πειθόμενοι στρατηγοῖς ἱκολούθουν.

5 Ἐν ἐκεῖνῃ τῇ στρατείᾳ πάσαν μὲν Ἀρκαδίαν εἰς μίνα δύναμιν συνεστησαν, τὴν δὲ Μεσσηνίαν χώραν νεμομένων Σπαρτιατῶν ἀποτελόμενοι τοὺς παλαιοὺς Μεσσηνίους ἐκάλουν καὶ κατήγον Ἰθώμην συνοικίσαντες, ἀπιόντες δὲ ἐπ' οἶκου διὰ Κεγχρεῶν Ἀθηναίους ἐνίκων ἐπιχειροῦντας ἴμιμαχεῖν περὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ κωλύειν τὴν πορείαν.

XXV. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ὑπερηγάτων τὴν ἄρετὴν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἑθαύμα- ζοῦν, ὁ δὲ συγγενὴς καὶ πολιτικὸς φθόνος ἀμα τῇ δόξῃ τῶν ἄνδρῶν συναφόμενος οὐ καλὰς οὐδὲ πρεποῦσας ὑποδοχαὶ παρασκεύαζεν αὐτοῖς. θανά- του γὰρ ἀμφότεροι δίκαι ἐφυγον ἐπανελθόντες, ὅτι τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ μὴ παραδοῦναι τῇ Βουλαρχίαν ἐτέροις, δὲν Βου- κάτιον ὄνομαζον, τέτταρας ὅλους προσεπε-
twelfth part. But the reputation of the two men, without a general vote or decree, induced all the allies to follow their leadership without a murmur. For the first and paramount law, as it would seem, namely, that of nature, subjects him who desires to be saved to the command of the man who can save him; just as sailors, when the weather is fair or they are lying off shore at anchor, treat their captains with bold insolence, but as soon as a storm arises and danger threatens, look to them for guidance and place their hopes in them. And so Argives, Eleans, and Arcadians, who in their joint assemblies contended and strove with the Thebans for the supremacy, when battles were actually to be fought and perils to be faced, of their own will obeyed the Theban generals and followed them.

On this expedition they united all Arcadia into one power; rescued the country of Messenia from the hands of its Spartan masters and called back and restored the ancient Messenian inhabitants, with whom they settled Ithome; and on their way back homewards through Cenchreae, conquered the Athenians when they tried to hinder their passage by skirmishing with them in the passes.

XXV. In view of these achievements, all the rest of the Greeks were delighted with their valour and marvelled at their good fortune; but the envy of their own fellow-citizens, which was increasing with the men’s fame, prepared them a reception that was not honourable or fitting. For both were tried for their lives when they came back, because they had not handed over to others their office of boeotarch, as the law commanded, in the first month of the new year (which they call Boukatios), but had added four
βίλουτο μήνας, ἐν οἷς τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην καὶ Ἄρκαδίαν καὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν διόκησαν.

2 Ἐἰσηγθηεῖν μὲν οὖν πρὸτερος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον Πελοπίδας, διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκινδύνεσεν, ἄμφοτεροι δὲ ἄπελύθησαν. τὸ δὲ συκοφάντημα καὶ τὴν πεῖραν Ἑπαμεινώνδας ἴνεγκε πρᾶσσ, μέγα μέρος ἀνδρείας καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνεξικακίᾳ ποιούμενος, Πελοπίδας δὲ καὶ φύσει θυμοειδέστερος ὄν, καὶ παροξυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀμύνασθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς,

3 ἐπελάβετο τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Μενεκλείδας ὁ ρήτωρ ἢν μὲν εἰς τῶν μετὰ Πελοπίδου καὶ Μέλωνος εἰς τὴν Χάρωνος οἰκίαι συνελθόντων, ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἱσων οὐκ ἤξιοντο παρὰ τοῖς Ἡθβαῖοις, δεινοτάτοις μὲν ὁν λέγειν, ἀκόλαστος δὲ καὶ κακοίηθης τῶν 291 τρόπων, ἐχρήτο τῇ φύσει πρὸς τὸ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ διαβάλλειν τοὺς κρέιττονας, οὔδὲ μετὰ δίκην ἐκείνην πανσάμενοι. Ἑπαμεινώνδας μὲν οὖν ἔξεκρουσε τῆς βοιωταρχίας καὶ κατεπολιτεύσατο πολὺν χρόνον, Πελοπίδας δὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸν δήμου οὐκ ἵσχυσε διαβαλεῖν, ἐπεχείρει δὲ συγκρούσαί τῷ Χάρωνι· καὶ κοινὴν τινα τοῦ φθόνου παραμυθίαν ἔχοντο, ἄν ὅν αὐτοὶ μὴ δύνανται βελτίως φανῆναι, τούτους ἀμός γε πῶς ἐτέρων ἀποδείξωσι κακίους, πολὺς ἦν πρὸς τὸν δήμου αὐξών τὰ τοῦ Χάρωνος ἑργα, καὶ τὰς στρατηγίας τὰς ἐκείνου 5 καὶ τὰς νίκας ἐγκωμιάζων. τῆς δὲ πρὸς Πλαταιᾶς ἱππομαχίας, ἦν πρὸ τῶν Λευκτρικῶν ἐνίκησαν ἡγουμένου Χάρωνος, ἐπεχειρήσεν ἀνάθημα τοιὸνδε ποιῆσαι. Ἀνδροκύδης ὁ Κυζικηρὸς ἐκλαβὼν
whole months to it, during which they conducted their campaign in Messenia, Arcadia, and Laconia.

Well, then, Pelopidas was first brought to trial, and therefore ran the greater risk, but both were acquitted. Epaminondas bore patiently with this attempt to calumniate him, considering that forbearance under political injury was a large part of fortitude and magnanimity; but Pelopidas, who was naturally of a more fiery temper, and who was egged on by his friends to avenge himself upon his enemies, seized the following occasion. Meneeleidas, the orator, was one of those who had gathered with Pelopidas and Melon at Charon's house, and since he did not receive as much honour among the Thebans as the others, being a most able speaker, but intemperate and malicious in his disposition, he gave his natural gifts employment in calumniating and slandering his superiors, and kept on doing so even after the trial. Accordingly, he succeeded in excluding Epaminondas from the office of boeotarch, and kept him out of political leadership for some time; but he had not weight enough to bring Pelopidas into disfavour with the people, and therefore tried to bring him into collision with Charon. And since it is quite generally a consolation to the envious, in the case of those whom they themselves cannot surpass in men's estimation, to show these forth as somehow or other inferior to others, he was constantly magnifying the achievements of Charon, in his speeches to the people, and extolling his campaigns and victories. Moreover, for the victory which the Theban cavalry won at Plataea, before the battle of Leuctra, under the command of Charon, he attempted to make the following public dedication. Androcydes of Cyzicus had received a commission
parà tῆς πόλεως πῦνакα γράψαι μάχης ἐτέρας, ἐπετέλει τὸ ἔργον ἐν Θῆβαις: γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τοῦ πόλεμου συμπεσόντος, οὐ πολὺ τοῦ τέλος ἔχειν ἐξελέιποντα τῶν πῦνακα
6 παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς οἱ Θῆβαιοι κατέσχον. τοῦτον οὖν ὁ Μενεκλείδας ἐπεισεν ἀναθέντας ἐπιγράψαι τούνομα τοῦ Χάρωνος, ὡς ἀμαυρώσων τὴν Πελοπίδου καὶ Ἐπαμεινόνδου δόξαν. ἦν δὲ ἅβελτερος ἡ φιλοσοφία, παρὰ τοσοῦτος καὶ τηλικούτους ἀγώνας ἔνος ἔργου καὶ μιᾶς νίκης ἀγαπωμένης, ἐν ἤ Γεράνδαν τινά τῶν ἀσήμων Σπαρτιατῶν καὶ τεσσαράκοντα μετ’ αὐτοῦ πεσεῖν, ἀλλὸ δὲ οὐδὲν
7 μέγα πραχθῆναι λέγονσι. τούτῳ τὸ ψήφισμα γράφεται Πελοπίδας παρανόμως, ἱσχυρότερον ὡς Θῆβαιοι οὐ πάροικον ἦν ἴδια κατ’ ἄνδρα τιμᾶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι κοινῷ τὸ τῆς νίκης ὀνόμα σώζειν. καὶ τὸν μὲν Χάρωνα παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην ἐγκομιάζων ἀφθόνως διετέλεσε, τὸν δὲ Μενεκλείδαν Βάσκανου καὶ ποιηρὸν ἐξελέγχων, καὶ τοὺς Θῆβαιος ἐρωτῶν εἰ μηδὲν αὐτοῦ καλὸν πέπρακται, ὡστε 1 Μενεκλείδαν ξημιώσαι χρήμασιν, ἃ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐκτίσαι διὰ πλῆθος, ύστερον ἐπεχείρησε κινῆσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου ἀποθέωρησιν.

XXVI. Ἐπει δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φερῶν τυράννου πολεμοῦντος μὲν ἐκ προδήλου πολλοῖς Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπιβουλεύοντος δὲ πᾶσιν, ἐπρέσβευσαν εἰς Θῆβας αἱ πόλεις στρατηγῶν αὐτούμενα καὶ δύναμιν, ὁρῶν ὁ Πελοπίδας τὸν Ἐπαμεινόν-

1 ὡστε Bryan’s correction of the MSS. ἢ μὴ, which Sintenis and Bekker retain, assuming a lacuna in the text.

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from the city to make a picture of another battle, and was finishing the work at Thebes; but the city revolted from Sparta, and the war came on, before the picture was quite completed, and the Thebans now had it on their hands. This picture, then, Menecleidas persuaded them to dedicate with Charon's name inscribed thereon, hoping in this way to obscure the fame of Pelopidas and Epaminondas. But the ambitious scheme was a foolish one, when there were so many and such great conflicts, to bestow approval on one action and one victory, in which, we are told, a certain Gerandas, an obscure Spartan, and forty others were killed, but nothing else of importance was accomplished. This decree was attacked as unconstitutional by Pelopidas, who insisted that it was not a custom with the Thebans to honour any one man individually, but for the whole country to have the glory of a victory. And through the whole trial of the case he continued to heap generous praise upon Charon, while he showed Menecleidas to be a slanderous and worthless fellow, and asked the Thebans if they had done nothing noble themselves; the result was that Menecleidas was fined, and being unable to pay the fine because it was so heavy, he afterwards tried to effect a revolution in the government. This episode, then, has some bearing on the Life which I am writing.

XXVI. Now, since Alexander the tyrant of Pherae made open war on many of the Thessalians, and was plotting against them all, their cities sent ambassadors to Thebes asking for an armed force and a general. Pelopidas, therefore, seeing that Epami-


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dan τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πράξεις διοικεῖν, 1 αὐτός ἔαυτὸν ἐπέδωκε καὶ προσένεμε τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, μήτε τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπιστήμην καὶ δύναμιν ἄργουσαν περιορᾶν ύπομένων, μήτε ὅπου πάρεστιν Ἑπαμεινὼνδας ἔτέρου δεῖσθαι στρατηγοῦ νομίζων.

2 ὡς οὖν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίαν μετὰ δυνάμεως, τὴν τε Δάρισσαν εὐθὺς παρέλαβε, καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐλθόντα καὶ δεόμενον διαλλάττειν ἐπειράτο καὶ ποιεῖν ἐκ τυράννου πρᾶξιν ἀρχοντα τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς καὶ νόμιμον. ὡς δὲ ἦν ἀνήκεστος καὶ θηριώδης καὶ πολλὴ μὲν ὀμότης αὐτοῦ, πολλὴ δὲ ἀσέλγεια καὶ πλεονεξία κατηγορεῖτο, τραχυνομένου τοῦ Πελοπίδου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ χαλεπαίνοντος ἀποδράς ὁχετο μετὰ τῶν δορυ.

3 φόρων. ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ἄδειαν τε πολλὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τυραννοῦ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς ἀπολυοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄμοιον, αὐτὸς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπῆρε, Πτολεμαίου μὲν Ἀλέξανδρῳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι τῶν Μακεδόνων πολεμοῦντος, ἀμφοτέρων δὲ μεταπεμπτομένων ἐκείνων ὡς διαλλακτὴν καὶ δικαστὴν καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ βοηθὸν τοῦ δοκοῦντος ἀδικεῖσθαι

4 γενησόμενον. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ διαλύσας τὰς διαφόρας καὶ καταγαγὼν τοὺς φεύγοντας, ὅμηροι ἔλαβε τὸν ἄδελφον τοῦ βασιλέως Φίλιππον καὶ τριάκοντα παῖδας ἄλλους τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων, καὶ κατέστησεν εἰς Θήβας, ἐπιδειξάμενος τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ὃς πόρρω διήκει τὰ Θῆβαιν πράγματα τῇ δόξῃ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῇ πίστει τῆς δικαιοσύνης.

5 Οὗτος ἦν Φίλιππος ὁ τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ύστερον πολεμήσας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑλευθερίας, τότε δὲ παῖς ὁν

1 διοικεῖν Bekker has διοικοῦντα, after Coraës.

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nondas was busy with his work in Peloponnesus, offered and assigned himself to the Thessalians, both because he could not suffer his own skill and ability to lie idle, and because he thought that wherever Epaminondas was there was no need of a second general. Accordingly, after marching into Thessaly with an armed force, he straightway took Larissa, and when Alexander came to him and begged for terms, he tried to make him, instead of a tyrant, one who would govern the Thessalians mildly and according to law. But since the man was incurably brutish and full of savageness, and since there was much denunciation of his licentiousness and greed, Pelopidas became harsh and severe with him, whereupon he ran away with his guards. Then Pelopidas, leaving the Thessalians in great security from the tyrant and in concord with one another, set out himself for Macedonia, where Ptolemy was at war with Alexander the king of the Macedonians. For both parties had invited him to come and be arbiter and judge between them, and ally and helper of the one that appeared to be wronged. After he had come, then, and had settled their differences and brought home the exiles, he received as hostages Philip, the king’s brother, and thirty other sons of the most illustrious men, and brought them to live at Thebes, thus showing the Greeks what an advance the Theban state had made in the respect paid to its power and the trust placed in its justice.

This was the Philip who afterwards waged war to enslave the Greeks, but at this time he was a boy.

1 In 369 B.C.
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ἐν Θηβαίας παρὰ Παμμένει διαίτην εἶχεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ ξηλωτής γεγονέναι ἔδοξεν Ἑπαμεινόνδου, τὸ περὶ τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τὰς στρατηγίας δραστηρίων ἱσως κατανοῆσας, δὲ μικρὸν ἦν τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆς μόριον, ἐγκρατείας δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας καὶ πραότητος, οὐδὲν οὕτω φύσει Φίλιππος οὔτε μιμήσει μετέσχε.

XXVII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν τῶν Θετταλῶν αὐτιωμένων τὸν Φεραῖον Ἀλέξανδρον ὡς διαταράττοντα τὰς πόλεις, ἀπεστάλη μετὰ Ἡσιμνών προσβεβοῦν ὁ Πελοπίδας· καὶ παρῆν οὔτε οἶκοθεν ἄγων δύναμιν οὔτε πόλεμον προσδοκήσας, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς Θετταλοῖς χρήσθαι πρὸς τὸ κατεπείγον 2 τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναγκαζόμενος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ πάλιν τῶν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ταραττομένων (ὁ γὰρ Πτολεμαῖος ἀνηρρήκει τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν κατέσχεν, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ τεθνήκότος ἐκάλουν τὸν Πελοπίδαν), Βουλόμενος μὲν ἐπιφανῆ ναὶ τοὺς πράγμασιν, ἰδίους δὲ στρατιώτας οὐκ ἔχον, μισθοφόρους τινὰς αὐτόθεν προσλαβόμενος μετὰ 3 τούτων εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον. ὡς δὲ ἐγώς ἄλληλων ἐγένοντο, τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους Πτολεμαῖος χρήσας διαφθείρας ἐπείσεν ὡς αὐτὸν μεταστήμασι, τοῦ δὲ Πελοπίδου τὴν δόξαν αὐτὴν καὶ τούνομα δεδοικὼς ἀπήντησεν ὡς κρείσσου, καὶ δεξιωσάμενος καὶ δεήθεις ὁμολόγησε τὴν μὲν ἁρχὴν τοῖς τοῦ τεθνήκότος ἀδελφοῖς διαφυλάξειν, Θηβαίοις δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχθρον ἔξειν καὶ φίλον ὀμήρους δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν νῦν Φιλόξενον ἔδωκε 4 καὶ "πεντήκοντα τῶν ἑταῖρων. τούτους μὲν οὖν

1 ἔδοξεν . . . κατανοῆσαι Bekker has τις οὖν ἔδοξεν . . . κατανοήσασιν (to some . . . who observed), after Coraës.
and lived in Thebes with Pammenes. Hence he was believed to have become a zealous follower of Epaminondas, perhaps because he comprehended his efficiency in wars and campaigns, which was only a small part of the man's high excellence; but in restraint, justice, magnanimity, and gentleness, wherein Epaminondas was truly great, Philip had no share, either naturally or as a result of imitation.

XXVII. After this, when the Thessalians again brought complaint against Alexander of Pherae as a disturber of their cities, Pelopidas was sent thither on an embassy with Ismenias; and since he brought no force from home with him, and did not expect war, he was compelled to employ the Thessalians themselves for the emergency. At this time, too, Macedonian affairs were in confusion again, for Ptolemy had killed the king and now held the reins of government, and the friends of the dead king were calling upon Pelopidas. Wishing, therefore, to appear upon the scene, but having no soldiers of his own, he enlisted some mercenaries on the spot, and with these marched at once against Ptolemy. When, however, they were near each other, Ptolemy corrupted the mercenaries and bribed them to come over to his side; but since he feared the very name and reputation of Pelopidas, he met him as his superior, and after welcoming him and supplicating his favour, agreed to be regent for the brothers of the dead king, and to make an alliance with the Thebans; moreover, to confirm this, he gave him his son Philoxenus and fifty of his companions as hostages.

1 In 368 B.C.
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ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Θῆβας ὁ Πελοπίδας, αὐτὸς δὲ Βαρέως φέρων τὴν τῶν μισθοφόρων προδοσίαν, καὶ πυθανόμενος τὰ πλείστα τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς καὶ παίδας καὶ γυναῖκας ἀποκείσθαι περὶ Φάρσαλον, ὥστε τούτων κρατήσας ἱκανὴν δίκην ὅπις καθύβρισται λήψεσθαι, συναγαγὼν τῶν Θεσ-5 σαλῶν τινας ἦκεν εἰς Φάρσαλον. ἀρτίως δ' αὐτοῦ παρεληλυθότος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τύραννος ἐπέφανεν τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ νομίσαντες οἱ περὶ τοῦ Πελοπίδαν ἀπολογησόμενον ἦκεν ἐβαδίζουν αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐξώλη μὲν ὡντα καὶ μιαιφόνιον εἰδότες, διὰ δὲ τὰς Θῆβας καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς ἄξιώμα καὶ δόξαν οὐδὲν ἀν παθεῖν προσδοκή-6 σαντες. ὁ δὲ, ὡς εἶδεν ἀνόπλους καὶ μόνους προσ-ιόντας, ἔκείνους μὲν εὐθὺς συνέλαβε, τὴν δὲ Φάρσαλον κατέσχε, φρίκην δὲ καὶ φόβον ἐνερ-γάσατο τοῖς ὑπηκόοις πάσιν ὡς γε μετὰ τὴν τηλι-καύτην ἀδικίαν καὶ τόλμαν ἀφειδήσων ἀπάντων, καὶ χρησόμενος οὕτω τοὺς παραπτότους ἀνθρώ-πους καὶ πράγμασιν ὡς τότε γε κομιδῇ τὸν ἑαυτὸν βίον ἀπεγνωκός.

XXVIII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θῆβαι οἱ ταῦτα ἄκού-ςαντες ἐφεροῦν Βαρέως καὶ στρατιάν ἐξεπεμπον εὐθὺς, δὲ ὀργήν τινα πρὸς τὸν Ἐπαμεινόνταν ἐτέρους ἀποδείξαντες ἀρχοντας, τὸν δὲ Πελο-πίδαν εἰς τὰς Φερᾶς ἀπαγαγών ὁ τύραννος τὸ μὲν πρώτον εἰα τοὺς βουλομένους αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι, νομίζων ἐλεεινον ἔγεγονται καὶ ταπεινον ὑπὸ τῆς 2 συμφορᾶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούς μὲν Φεραίους ὁ Πελο-πίδας ὄδυρομένους παρεκάλει ἅπαρρεῖν, ὡς νῦν μάλιστα δῶσοντος τοῦ τυράννου δίκην, πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις ἀποστειλάς ἐλεγεν ὡς ἀτοπός ἦστι

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These, then, Pelopidas sent off to Thebes; but he himself, being indignant at the treachery of his mercenaries, and learning that most of their goods, together with their wives and children, had been placed for safety at Pharsalus, so that by getting these into his power he would sufficiently punish them for their affront to him, he got together some of the Thessalians and came to Pharsalus. But just as he got there, Alexander the tyrant appeared before the city with his forces. Then Pelopidas and Ismenias, thinking that he was come to excuse himself for his conduct, went of their own accord to him, knowing, indeed, that he was an abandoned and blood-stained wretch, but expecting that because of Thebes and their own dignity and reputation they would suffer no harm. But the tyrant, when he saw them coming up unarmed and unattended, straightway seized them and took possession of Pharsalus. By this step he awoke in all his subjects a shuddering fear; they thought that after an act of such boldness and iniquity he would spare nobody, and in all his dealings with men and affairs would act as one who now utterly despaired of his own life.

XXVIII. The Thebans, then, on hearing of this, were indignant, and sent out an army at once, although, since Epaminondas had somehow incurred their displeasure, they appointed other commanders for it. As for Pelopidas, after the tyrant had brought him back to Pherae, at first he suffered all who desired it to converse with him, thinking that his calamity had made him a pitiful and contemptible object; but when Pelopidas exhorted the lamenting Pheraeans to be of good cheer, since now certainly the tyrant would meet with punishment, and when he sent a message to the tyrant himself, saying that
τούς μὲν ἀθλίους πολίτας καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ὀσμέραι στρεβλῶν καὶ φονεύων, αὐτοῦ δὲ φειδόμενος, ὃν μᾶλλον γινώσκει τιμωρησόμενον αὐτὸν


Ἡ δὲ Θῆβη, θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἰάσονος οὖσα, γυνὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, πυνθανομένη παρὰ τῶν φυλαττόντων Πελοπίδαν τὸ βαρβαλέουν αὐτοῦ καὶ γενναίον, ἐπεθύμησεν ἰδεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ προσεπτεῖν.

4 ὡς δὲ ἤλθεν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἦτα δὴ γυνὴ τὸ μὲν μέγεθος τοῦ ἴδους οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐν τοσαύτῃ συμφορᾷ κατείδε, κουρᾶ δὲ καὶ στολῆ καὶ διαίτη τεκμαίρομενιν λυπρὰ καὶ μὴ πρέποντα τῇ δόξῃ πάσχειν αὐτὸν ἀπεδακρυσε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγνοῶν ὁ Πελοπίδας τίς εἰς γυναικόν, ἔθαυμαζεν, ὅς δὲ ἔγνω, προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὴν πατρὸθεν Ἰῶν γὰρ τῷ Ἰάσου συμβῆνης καὶ φίλος. εἰπούσης δὲ ἐκείνης, "Ἐλεοῦ σοῦ τὴν γυναίκα," "Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ σε," εἶπεν, "ὅτι ἄδετος οὖσα ὑπομένεις Ἀλέξ.

5 αὐδρον." οὕτως ἐθυγή πως ὁ λόγος τῆς γυναικὸς ἐβαρέυτο γὰρ τὴν ὁμότητα καὶ τὴν ύβριν τοῦ τυράννου, μετὰ τῆς ἀλλής ἀσελγείας καὶ τῶν νεώτατον αὐτῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν παιδικὰ πεπονήμενον. διὸ καὶ συνεχῶς φοιτῶσα πρὸς τὸν Πελοπίδαν καὶ παρρησιαζόμενη περὶ δὲν ἐπασχεν ὑπετίμπλατο θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος καὶ δυσμενείας πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου.

XXIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἐθβαιῶν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν ἐμβαλόντες ἐπραξαν οὐδέν,
it was absurd to torture and slay the wretched and innocent citizens day by day, while he spared him, a man most certain, as he knew, to take vengeance on him if he made his escape; then the tyrant, amazed at his high spirit and his fearlessness, said: "And why is Pelopidas in haste to die?" To which Pelopidas replied: "That thou mayest the sooner perish, by becoming more hateful to the gods than now." From that time the tyrant forbade those outside of his following to see the prisoner.

But Thebe, who was a daughter of Jason, and Alexander's wife, learned from the keepers of Pelopidas how courageous and noble the man was, and conceived a desire to see him and talk with him. But when she came to him, woman that she was, she could not at once recognize the greatness of his nature in such dire misfortune, but judging from his hair and garb and maintenance that he was suffering indignities which ill befitted a man of his reputation, she burst into tears. Pelopidas, not knowing at first what manner of woman she was, was amazed; but when he understood, he addressed her as daughter of Jason; for her father was a familiar friend of his. And when she said, "I pity thy wife," he replied, "And I thee, in that thou wearest no chains, and yet endurest Alexander." This speech deeply moved the woman, for she was oppressed by the savage insolence of the tyrant, who, in addition to his other debaucheries, had made her youngest brother his paramour. Therefore her continued visits to Pelopidas, in which she spoke freely of her sufferings, gradually filled her with wrath and fierce hatred towards Alexander.

XXIX. When the Theban generals had accomplished nothing by their invasion of Thessaly,
ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἀπειρίαν ἢ δυστυχίαν αἰσχρῶς ἀνεχώρησαν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκαστὸν ἢ πόλις μυρίας δραχμαῖς ἐξημίσσεν, Ἔπαμεινώνθαν δὲ μετὰ 2 δυνάμεως ἀπέστειλεν. εὐθὺς οὖν κίνησὶς τις μεγάλη Θεταλῶν ἦν ἐπαιρομένων πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τὰ πράγματα τοῦ τυράννου ῥοπῆς ἐδείτο μικρὰς ἀπολωλέαν: τοσοῦτος ἐνεπετώκει φόβος τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤγενότι καὶ φίλοις, τοσαῦτη δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους ὀρμῆ πρὸς ἀπόστασιν εἴχε καὶ χαρὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὡς νῦν 3 ἐποψιμένους δίκην διδόντα τὸν τύραννον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ Ἔπαμεινώνθας τὴν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἐν ὑστέρῳ τῆς Πελοπίδου σωτηρίας τιθέμενος, καὶ δεδοικῶς μὴ τῶν πραγμάτων ταραχθέντων ἀπογνοὺς ἑαυτὸν Ἀλέξανδρος ὤσπερ θηρίον τράπηται πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἐπηρεῖτο τῷ πολέμῳ, καὶ κύκλῳ περιῶν, τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ τῇ μελλῆσει κατεσκέυαζε καὶ συνεστέλλε τὸν τύραννον, ὡς μήτε ἀνείναι τὸ αὐθαίδες αὐτοῦ καὶ θρασυνόμενον μήτε 4 τὸ πικρὸν καὶ θυμοειδές ἐξερεθίσαι, πυνθανώμενος τὴν ὑμότητα καὶ τὴν ὀλυγωρίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ δικαίων, ὡς ξοντας μὲν ἀνθρώπους κατῴρυντεν, ἐτέρως δὲ δέρματα συνὸν ἄγριων καὶ ἄρκτων περιτίθεται καὶ τοὺς θηρατικοὺς ἔσαρκοις κύνας καὶ δίέσπα καὶ κατηκόντιζε, παιδιᾷ ταύτῃ χρόμενος, Μελιβοία δὲ καὶ Σκοτούση, πόλεσιν ἐνσπόνδους καὶ φίλας, ἐκκλησιαζούσαις περιστησάς ἃμα τοὺς δορυφόρους ἥβηδον ἀπέσφαξε, τὴν δὲ λόγον ἤν Ῥωμύφρονα τὸν θείον ἀπέκτεινε καθιερώσας 412
but owing to inexperience or ill fortune had retired disgracefully, the city fined each of them ten thousand drachmas, and sent out Epaminondas with an armed force. At once, then, there was a great stir among the Thessalians, who were filled with high hopes in view of the reputation of this general, and the cause of the tyrant was on the very verge of destruction; so great was the fear that fell upon his commanders and friends, and so great the inclination of his subjects to revolt, and their joy at what the future had in store, for they felt that now they should behold the tyrant under punishment. Epaminondas, however, less solicitous for his own glory than for the safety of Pelopidas, and fearing that if confusion reigned Alexander would get desperate and turn like a wild beast upon his prisoner, dallied with the war, and taking a roundabout course, kept the tyrant in suspense by his preparations and threatened movements, thus neither encouraging his audacity and boldness, nor rousing his malignity and passion. For he had learned how savage he was, and how little regard he had for right and justice, in that sometimes he buried men alive, and sometimes dressed them in the skins of wild boars or bears, and then set his hunting dogs upon them and either tore them in pieces or shot them down, making this his diversion; and at Meliboea and Scotussa, allied and friendly cities, when the people were in full assembly, he surrounded them with his body-guards and slaughtered them from the youth up; he also consecrated the spear with which he had slain his uncle Polyphron, decked it with garlands, and sacrificed to it

1 367 B.C.
καὶ καταστέψας, ἐθνεν ὡσπερ θεῶ καὶ Τύχωνα
5 προσηγόρευε. τραγῳδοῦν δὲ ποτε θεώμενοι Ἐυρι-
πίδου Τριφάδας ὑποκρινόμενον ὡχετο ἀπὶ ὡν ἐκ
του θείτρου, καὶ πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευν
θαρρεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἀγονίζεσθαι διὰ τούτο χείρον,
οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονῶν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀλλʼ αἰσ-
χυνόμενοι τοὺς πολίτας, εἰ μηδένα πώποτε τῶν
ὑπʼ αὐτοῦ φονευμένων ἥλεκώς, ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἐκάβης
καὶ Ἀνδρομάχης κακοῖς ὀφθησεται δακρύων.
6 οὕτως μέντοι τὴν δόξαν αὐτὴν καὶ τούνομα καὶ
τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς Ἐπαμεινόνδου στρατηγίας
καταπλαγεῖς,

ἐπτηξ˝ ἀλέκτωρ δοῦλος ὃς κλίνας πτερόν,
καὶ τοὺς ἀπολογησουμένους ταχὺ πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐπεμπεν. ὁ δὲ συνεθῆσθαι μὲν εἰρήνην καὶ φιλίαν
πρὸς τοιοῦτον ἀνδρὰ Θηβαίος οὐ̇χ ὑπέμεινε,
σπεισάμενος δὲ τριακονθημέρους ἄνοχὰς τοῦ
πολέμου καὶ λαβών τὸν Πελοπίδαν καὶ τὸν
Ἰσμηνίαν ἀνεχώρησεν.
XXX. Οἱ δὲ Θηβαίοι παρὰ τῶν Δακεδαμονίων
καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἰσθόμενοι πρὸς τὸν μέγαν
βασιλέα πρέσβεις ἀναβαίνοντας ὑπὲρ συμμαχίας,
ἐπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ Πελοπίδαν, ἀριστα βουλευ-
σάμενοι πρὸς τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. πρῶτον μὲν
γὰρ ἀνέβαινε διὰ τῶν βασιλέως ἑπαρχιῶν ὅνο-
μαστῶν ὡν καὶ περιβάλλως. οὐ γὰρ ἠρέμα δικτο
τῆς Ἀσίας ὀὖδ˝ ἐπὶ μικρὸν ἢ δόξα τῶν πρὸς
2 Δακεδαμονίους ἀγώνων, ἄλλʼ, ὡς πρῶτος περὶ
tῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχης ἐξέδραμε λόγος, ἀεὶ τινὸς
καίνου προστιθεμένου κατορθώματος αὐξανομένη
as to a god, giving it the name of Tycho. Once when he was seeing a tragedian act the "Trojan Women" of Euripides, he left the theatre abruptly, and sent a message to the actor bidding him be of good courage and not put forth any less effort because of his departure, for it was not out of contempt for his acting that he had gone away, but because he was ashamed to have the citizens see him, who had never taken pity on any man that he had murdered, weeping over the sorrows of Hecuba and Andromache. It was this tyrant, however, who, terrified at the name and fame and distinction of the generalship of Epaminondas,

"Crouched down, though warrior bird, like slave, with drooping wings," and speedily sent a deputation to him which should explain his conduct. But Epaminondas could not consent that the Thebans should make peace and friendship with such a man; he did, however, make a thirty days' truce with him, and after receiving Pelopidas and Isemias, returned home.

XXX. Now, when the Thebans learned that ambassadors from Sparta and Athens were on their way to the Great King to secure an alliance, they also sent Pelopidas thither; and this was a most excellent plan, in view of his reputation. For, in the first place, he went up through the provinces of the king as a man of name and note; for the glory of his conflicts with the Lacedaemonians had not made its way slowly or to any slight extent through Asia, but, when once the report of the battle at Leuctra had sped abroad, it was ever increased by the addition

1 That is, Luck.

2 An iambic trimeter of unknown authorship; cf. the Alcibiades, iv. 3.
καὶ ἀναβαίνουσα πορρωτάτω κατέσχεν· ἔπειτα τοῖς ἐπὶ θύραις σατράπαις καὶ στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἡγεμόσιν ὀφθεὶς θαύμα καὶ λόγον παρέσχεν, ὡς οὕτως ἀνήρ ἐστιν ὁ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἐκβαλὼν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ συστείλας ὑπὸ Ταύγητον καὶ τὸν Ἑυρόταν τὴν Σπάρτην τὴν ὦλγον ἕμπροσθεν βασίλει τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ Πέρσας διὰ 'Αγησιλάου τὸν περὶ Σούσων καὶ Ἐκβατάνων ἐπαραμένην

3 πόλεμον. ταῦτ' οὖν ὁ Ἀρταξέρξης ἔχαριε, καὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ἠθαύμαξε ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ μέγας ἐποίει ταῖς τιμαῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν μεγίστων εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι βουλόμενος δοκεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν ὦψιν αὐτοῦ εἶδε καὶ τοὺς λόγους κατενώσε, τῶν μὲν Ἀττικῶν βεβαιοτέρους, τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπλουστέρους ὄντας, ἔτι μάλιστον ἡγάπησε, καὶ πάθος βασιλικὸν παθῶν οὐκ ἀπεκρύψατο τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τιμὴν, οὐδὲ ἔλαβε τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις πλεῖστων νέμων ἐκεῖνοι. καὶ τοὺς δοκεῖ μάλιστα τῶν Ἐλλήνων Ἀνταλκίδαν τιμῆσαι τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον, ὅτι τὸν στέφανον, ὃν πίνων περιέκειτο, βάψας εἰς μύρων

4 ἀπέστειλε. Πελοπίδα δὲ οὕτω μὲν οὕκ ἐνετρύφησε, δῶρα δὲ λαμπρότατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν νομιζόμενων ἐξέπεμψε καὶ τὰς ἀξιώσεις ἐπεκύρωσεν, αὐτοῦμοις μὲν εἶναι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, οἰκεῖσθαι δὲ Μεσσήνην, Ὑβαίονος δὲ πατρικοὺς φίλους νομίζεσθαι βασιλέως.

Ταῦτας ἔχων τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, τῶν δὲ δῶρων οὐδὲν ὃ τι μὴ χάριτος ἦν σύμβολον καὶ φίλο-

1 ἐπὶ τῇ δόξῃ Bekker, after Coraës: τῇ δόξῃ.
of some new success, and prevailed to the farthest recesses of the interior; and, in the second place, when the satraps and generals and commanders at the King's court beheld him, they spoke of him with wonder, saying that this was the man who had expelled the Lacedaemonians from land and sea, and shut up between Taygetus and the Eurotas that Sparta which, a little while before, through Agesilaüs, had undertaken a war with the Great King and the Persians for the possession of Susa and Ecbatana. This pleased Artaxerxes, of course, and he admired Pelopidas for his high reputation, and loaded him with honours, being desirous to appear lauded and courted by the greatest men. But when he saw him face to face, and understood his proposals, which were more trustworthy than those of the Athenians, and simpler than those of the Lacedaemonians, he was yet more delighted with him, and, with all the assurance of a king, openly showed the esteem in which he held him, and allowed the other ambassadors to see that he made most account of him. And yet he is thought to have shown Antalcidas the Lacedaemonian more honour than any other Greek, in that he took the chaplet which he had worn at a banquet, dipped it in perfume, and sent it to him. To Pelopidas, indeed, he paid no such delicate compliment, but he sent him the greatest and most splendid of the customary gifts, and granted him his demands, namely, that the Greeks should be independent, Messene¹ inhabited, and the Thebans regarded as the king's hereditary friends.

With these answers, but without accepting any gifts except such as were mere tokens of kindness

¹ Messene was the new capital of Messenia, founded on the slopes of Mt. Ithome (cf. chapter xxiv. 5) by Epaminondas, in 369 B.C.
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ανέζευξεν· δὲ καὶ μάλιστα

6 τοὺς ἄλλους πρέσβεις διέβαλε. Τιμαγόραν γοῦν Ἀθηναίους κρίναντες ἀπέκτειναν, εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ πλοίῳ τῶν δωρεῶν, ὤρθως καὶ δικαίως· οὐ γὰρ μόνον χρυσίων οὐδὲ ἀργύριον ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κλίνην πολυτελῆ καὶ στρώτας θεράποντας, ώς τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἐπισταμένων, ἔτι δὲ βούς ὑγιοῦντα καὶ βουκόλους, ὡς δὴ πρὸς ἀρρωστίαν τινὰ γάλακτος θεοίου δέομενος, τέλος δὲ κατέβαινεν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος, καὶ τέσσαρα τάλαντα τοῖς κομίζουσι μισθὸς ἔδοθη παρὰ βασιλέως· ἀλλ' έοικεν οὐχ ἡ δωροδοκία

7 μάλιστα παροξύναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἐπικράτους γοῦν ποτε τοῦ σακεσφόρου μίτη ἄρνουμένου δώρα δέξασθαι παρὰ βασιλέως, ψήφισμά τε γράφειν φάσκοντος ἀντὶ τῶν ἐννέα ἄρχοντων χειροτονείσθαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐννέα πρέσβεις πρὸς βασιλέα τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ πενήτων, ὅπως λαμβάνοντες εὐπορῶσιν, ἐγέλασεν ὁ δῆμος· ἀλλ' ὅτι Ἡθβαίους ἐγεγόνει πάντα χαλεπῶς ἐφερον, οὐ λογιζόμενοι τῇ Πελοπίδῳ δόξαν, ὅσων ἦν ἡ νη- τορεῖον καὶ λόγων κρείττων παρ' ἀνδρῶποις θερα- πεύσατε τοὺς τῶν ὅπλων αἰεὶ κρατοῦντας.

XXXI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πρεσβεία τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ προσέθηκεν οὐ μικράν εὔνοιαν ἐπανελθόντι, διὰ τῶν Μεσσήνης συνοικισμὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων αὐτονομίαν· Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ τοῦ Φεραιοῦ πάλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὸν φύσιν ἀναδραμόντος καὶ Θεσσαλῶν μὲν οὐκ ὀλύγας περικόπτοντος πόλεις, Φθιώτας δὲ Ἀχαιοὺς ἀπαντάς καὶ τὸ Μαγνή-
and goodwill, he set out for home; and this conduct of his, more than anything else, was the undoing of the other ambassadors. Timagoras, at any rate, was condemned and executed by the Athenians, and it this was because of the multitude of gifts which he took, it was right and just; for he took not only gold and silver, but also an expensive couch and slaves to spread it, since, as he said, the Greeks did not know how; and besides, eighty cows with their cow-herds, since, as he said, he wanted cows' milk for some ailment; and, finally, he was carried down to the sea in a litter, and had a present of four talents from the King with which to pay his carriers. But it was not his taking of gifts, as it would seem, that most exasperated the Athenians. At any rate, Epicrates, his shield-bearer, once confessed that he had received gifts from the King, and talked of proposing a decree that instead of nine archons, nine ambassadors to the King should be elected annually from the poor and needy citizens, in order that they might take his gifts and be wealthy men, whereat the people only laughed. But they were incensed because the Thebans had things all their own way, not stopping to consider that the fame of Pelopidas was more potent than any number of rhetorical discourses with a man who ever paid deference to those who were mighty in arms.

XXXI. This embassy, then, added not a little to the goodwill felt towards Pelopidas, on his return home, because of the peopling of Messene and the independence of the other Greeks. But Alexander of Pherae had now resumed his old nature and was destroying not a few Thessalian cities; he had also put garrisons over the Achaeans of Phthiotis and the
των ἑθνών ἐμφρουρον πεποιημένου, πυνθανόμεναι
Πελοπίδαιν ἐπανήκειν αἱ πόλεις εὐθὺς ἐπρέσβευον
εἰς Θῆβας αἰτούμεναι δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγὸν
2 ἐκείνων. ψηφισαμένων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων προ-
θύμως, καὶ ταχὺ πάντων ἐτοίμων γενομένων καὶ
τού στρατηγοῦ περὶ ἔξοδον ὄντος, ὁ μὲν ἥλιος
ἐξέλιπτε καὶ σκότος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἐσχέν,
ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας ὁρῶν πρὸς τὸ φάσμα συντε-
παραγμένος ἀπαντας οὐκ ἤθεν δεὶν βιάζεσθαι
καταφόβους καὶ δυσέλπιδας ὄντας, οὐδὲ ἀποκιν-
3 δυνεύειν ἑπτακισχιλίοις πολίταις, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν
μόνον τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς ἐπίδους καὶ τριακοσίους
τῶν ἱππεῶν ἔθελοντας ἀναλαβῶν καὶ ξένους
ἐξώρμησεν, οὕτε τῶν μάντεων ἐὼντων οὕτε τῶν
ἀλλών συμπροθυμουμένων πολιτῶν μέγα γὰρ
ἐδόκει καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα λαμπρὸν εξ οὐρανοῦ γεγο-
νέαν σημείον. ὥ δὲ ἦν μὲν καὶ δε ὅργῃ ὃν
καθύβριστο θερμότερος ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἥλ-
πιζε δὲ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ νοσοῦσαν ἥδη καὶ
dιεθαρμένην εὐρῆσειν εξ ὃν διεἰλεκτό τῇ Θῆβῃ.
4 μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν καὶ παρεκάλει τὸ τῆς πράξεως
κάλλος, ἐπιθυμοῦντα καὶ φιλοτιμοῦμενον, ἐν οἷς
χρόνοις Δακεδαιμόνιοι Διονυσίω τῷ Σικελίας
tυράννῳ στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἄρμοστὰς ἐπέμπουν,
Ἀθηναίοι δὲ μισθοδότην Ἀλέξανδρον εἶχον καὶ
χαλκοῦν ἵστασαν ὡς ἐνεργήτην, τότε τοῖς "Ελλη-
σίν ἐπιδείξαι Θηβαίους μόνους ὑπὲρ τῶν τυρα-
νομένων στρατευομένους καὶ καταλύοντας ἐν
τοῖς "Ελλησι τὰς παρανόμους καὶ βιαίους δυνα-
στείας.
people of Magnesia. When, therefore, the cities learned that Pelopidas was returned, they at once sent ambassadors to Thebes requesting an armed force and him for its commander. The Thebans readily decreed what they desired, and soon everything was in readiness and the commander about to set out, when the sun was eclipsed and the city was covered with darkness in the day-time. So Pelopidas, seeing that all were confounded at this manifestation, did not think it meet to use compulsion with men who were apprehensive and fearful, nor to run extreme hazard with seven thousand citizens, but devoting himself alone to the Thessalians, and taking with him three hundred of the cavalry who were foreigners and who volunteered for the service, set out, although the seers forbade it, and the rest of the citizens disapproved; for the eclipse was thought to be a great sign from heaven, and to regard a conspicuous man. But his wrath at insults received made him very hot against Alexander, and, besides, his previous conversations with Thebe led him to hope that he should find the tyrant's family already embroiled and disrupted. More than anything else, however, the glory of the achievement invited him on, for he was ardently desirous, at a time when the Lacedaemonians were sending generals and governors to aid Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily, and the Athenians were taking Alexander's pay and erecting a bronze statue of him as their benefactor, to show the Greeks that the Thebans alone were making expeditions for the relief of those whom tyrants oppressed, and were overthrowing in Greece those ruling houses which rested on violence and were contrary to the laws.

1 July 13, 364 B.C.  2 Cf. chapter xxviii. 3 ff.
XXXII. Ὡς οὖν εἰς Φάρσαλον ἐλθὼν ἦθροισε τὴν δύναμιν, εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ὁ δὲ Θηβαῖος μὲν ὀλίγος περὶ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ὤρὼν, αὐτὸς δὲ πλείους ἔχων ἡ διπλασίους ὑπολίτας τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἀπήντα πρὸς τὸ Θετίδειον. εἰπόντος δὲ τινος τῷ Πελοπίδα πολλοὺς ἔχοντα τὸν τύραννον ἐπέρχεσθαι, "Βέλτιον," ἐφι, "πλείονας γὰρ νικήσομεν.”

2 Ἀνατεινώτων δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέσον κατὰ τὰς καλουμένας Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς λόφων περικλινῶν καὶ υψηλῶν, ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι τούτους καταλαβεῖν τοῖς πεζοῖς. τοὺς δ' ἵππεις ὁ Πελοπίδας πολλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὄντας ἐφήκε τοῖς ἱππεύσι τῶν πολεμίων. ώς δὲ οὗτοι μὲν ἐκράτουν καὶ συνεξέσπεσον εἰς τὸ πεδίον τοὺς φεύγουσιν, ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξ.

3 ἀνδρος ἐφθη τοὺς λόφους καταλαβήν, τοῖς ὀπλίταις τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ὑστερου ἐπερχομένους καὶ πρὸς ἵσχυσε καὶ μετέωρα χωρία βιαζομένους ἐμβαλὼν ἔκτεινε τοὺς πρώτους, οἱ δὲ ἅλλοι πληροῦσι καὶ ἐσπεράσσον. κατιδὼν οὖν ὁ Πελοπίδας τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς ἀνεκάλεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τὸ συνεστήκος τῶν πολεμίων ἔλαυνεν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸς δὲ συνεμίξε δρόμῳ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς λόφους

4 μαχομένους εὐθὺς τὴν ἀσπίδα λαβὼν. καὶ διὰ τῶν ὑπισθέν οὐσάμενος εἰς τοὺς πρῶτους τοσαῦτ' ἐνεποίησε ρώμην καὶ προθυμίαν ἀπασίν ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίως ἐτέρους δοκεῖν γεγονότας καὶ σώμας καὶ ψυχαῖς ἐπέρχεσθαι. καὶ δύο μὲν ἡ τρεῖς ἀπεκρούσαντο προσβολάς, ὀργίστε δὲ καὶ τούτους ἐπιβαίνοντας εὐρώστους καὶ τὴν ἱππον ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἀναστρέφουσαν εἶξαν, ἐπὶ σκέλος

5 ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. ὁ δὲ Πελοπίδας
XXXII. Accordingly, when he was come to Pharsalus, he assembled his forces and marched at once against Alexander. Alexander, also, seeing that there were only a few Thebans with Pelopidas, while his own men-at-arms were more than twice as many as the Thessalians, advanced as far as the temple of Thetis to meet him. When Pelopidas was told that the tyrant was coming up against him with a large force, "All the better," he said, "for there will be more for us to conquer."

At the place called Cynoscephalae, steep and lofty hills jut out into the midst of the plain, and both leaders set out to occupy these with their infantry. His horsemen, however, who were numerous and brave, Pelopidas sent against the horsemen of the enemy, and they prevailed over them and chased them out into the plain. But Alexander got possession of the hills first, and when the Thessalian men-at-arms came up later and tried to storm difficult and lofty places, he attacked and killed the foremost of them, and the rest were so harassed with missiles that they could accomplish nothing. Accordingly, when Pelopidas saw this, he called back his horsemen and ordered them to charge upon the enemy's infantry where it still held together, while he himself seized his shield at once and ran to join those who were fighting on the hills. Through the rear ranks he forced his way to the front, and filled all his men with such vigour and ardour that the enemy also thought them changed men, advancing to the attack with other bodies and spirits. Two or three of their onsets the enemy repulsed, but, seeing that these too were now attacking with vigour, and that the cavalry was coming back from its pursuit, they gave way and retreated step by step. Then Pelo-
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απὸ τῶν ἄκρων κατιδῶν ἀπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων οὔπω μὲν εἰς φυγὴν τετραμένουν, ἢδη δὲ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀναπιμπλάμενον, ἐστὶ καὶ περιέβλεψεν αὐτὸν ἐξητῶν τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον. ὥς δ' εἶδεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ παραθαρρύνοντα καὶ συντάττοντα τοὺς μισθοφόρους, οὐ 6 κατέσχε τῷ λογισμῷ τὴν ὀργήν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν βλέψιν ἀναφλεγθεῖς καὶ τῷ θυμῷ παραδούσ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἤγερονίαν τῆς πράξεως, πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξαλόμενος ἐφέρετο βοῶν καὶ προκαλούμενος τὸν τύραννον. ἐκείνος μὲν οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὴν ὀρμήν οὐδὲ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἀναφυγὼν πρὸς τοὺς δοφυφόρους ἐνέκρυψεν εαυτὸν. τῶν δὲ μισθοφόρων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι συμβαλόντες εἰς χεῖρας ἀνεκόπησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πελοπίδου, τιμές δὲ 7 καὶ πληγέντες ἐτελεύτησαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τοὺς δόρασι πάρρωθεν διὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν τύπτωντες αὐτὸν κατετραμματίζον, ἔως οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ περιπαθήσαντες ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων δρόμῳ προσεβοιθήσαν, ἢδη πεπτωκότος, οἳ τε ἰππεῖς προσελάσαντες ὅλην ἐτρέψαντο τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ διώξαντες ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐνέπλησαν νεκρῶν τὴν χώραν, πλέον ἦ τρισχιλίων καταβαλόντες.

XXXIII. Τὸ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖον τοὺς παρόντας ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Πελοπίδου τελευτῇ βαρέως φέρειν, πατέρα καὶ σοτήρα καὶ διδάσκαλον τῶν μεγίστων καὶ καλλίστων ἀγαθῶν ἀποκαλούντας ἐκείνον, οὐ πάνυ θαυμαστὸν ἴτι οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάσαν ἀνθρωπίνη πρέπουσαν ἀρετὴ τιμὴν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ὑπερβαλόντες, ἐτὶ μᾶλ-

1 περιέβλεψεν αὐτῶν Sintenis' correction of the MSS. περιέβλεψεν αὐτῶν; Bekker, after Coraës and Amyot, corrects to περιέβλεψεν αὐτῶν.
PELOPIDAS, xxxii. 5-xxxiii. 1

pidas, looking down from the heights and seeing that the whole army of the enemy, though not yet put to flight, was already becoming full of tumult and confusion, stood and looked about him in search of Alexander. And when he saw him on the right wing, marshalling and encouraging his mercenaries, he could not subject his anger to his judgement, but, inflamed at the sight, and surrendering himself and his conduct of the enterprise to his passion, he sprang out far in front of the rest and rushed with challenging cries upon the tyrant. He, however, did not receive nor await the onset, but fled back to his guards and hid himself among them. The foremost of the mercenaries, coming to close quarters with Pelopidas, were beaten back by him; some also were smitten and slain; but most of them fought at longer range, thrusting their spears through his armour and covering him with wounds, until the Thessalians, in distress for his safety, ran down from the hills, when he had already fallen, and the cavalry, charging up, routed the entire phalanx of the enemy, and, following on a great distance in pursuit, filled the country with their dead bodies, slaying more than three thousand of them.

XXXIII. Now, that the Thebans who were present at the death of Pelopidas should be disconsolate, calling him their father and saviour and teacher of the greatest and fairest blessings, was not so much to be wondered at; but the Thessalians and allies also, after exceeding in their decrees every honour that can fitly be paid to human excellence, showed
Λον ἐπεδείξαντο τοῖς πάθεσι τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρά 2
χάριν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ παραγεγονότας τῷ ἔργῳ
λέγονσι μήτε θώρακα θέσθαι μήτε ἵππον ἐκχαλι-
νώσαι μήτε τραύμα δήσασθαι πρὸτερον, ὡς
ἐπύθοντο τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν
ὀπλῶν θερμοὺς ἁύνας ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ὡσπερ
αἰσθανόμενον, τὰ τῶν πολεμῶν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ
σῶμα σωρεύειν λάφυρα, κεῖραι δὲ ἱπποὺς, κεῖ-
ρασθαὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς, ἀπιόντας δὲ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ
σκῆνας μήτε πῦρ ἁνάψαι μήτε δεῖπνον ἐλέσθαι,
συγῆν δὲ καὶ κατήφειαν εἶναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου
παντὸς, ὡσπερ οὐ νευκηκώτων ἐπιφανεστάτην
νύκην καὶ μεγάστην, ἀλλὰ ἠττημένων ὕπὸ τοῦ
τυράννου καὶ καταδεδουλωμένων. ἐκ δὲ τῶν
πόλεων; ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα, παρῆσαν αἱ τε
ἀρχαὶ καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐφηβοὶ καὶ παιδεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς
πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ σώματος, τρόπαια καὶ
στεφάνους καὶ πανοπλίας χρυσᾶς ἐπιφέροντες.
ὡς δὲ ἐμελλέων ἐκκομίζεσθαι τὸ σῶμα, προσελ-
θόντες οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἦτούντο
τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ αὐτῶν θάψαι τὸν νεκρόν. εἰς
δὲ αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν: "Ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, χάριν
αὐτούμεν παρ’ ὑμῶν κόσμον ἢμῖν ἐπὶ ἄτυχία
5
tοσαυτῇ καὶ παραμυθίαν φέρουσαν. οὐ γὰρ
ζῶντα Θεσσαλοί Πελοπίδαι προσέμψουσιν, οὔδὲ
ἀισθανόμενον τὰς ἄξιας τιμὰς ἀποδώσουσιν, ἀλλ’
ἐὰν ψαύσαι τε τοῦ νεκροῦ τύχωμεν καὶ δ’ αὐτῶν
κοσμῆσαι καὶ θάψαι τὸ σῶμα, δόξομεν ὑμῖν οὐκ
ἀπιστεῖν ὅτι μείζων ἡ συμφορὰ γέγονε Θετταλῶς
ἡ Θηβαίως; ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ ἡγεμόνος ἁγαθὸν
μόνον, ἢμῖν δὲ καὶ τούτου καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
στέρεσθαι συμβέβηκε. πῶς γὰρ ἐτί τολμήσομεν
still more by their grief how grateful they were to him. For it is said that those who were in the action neither took off their breastplates nor unbridled their horses nor bound up their wounds, when they learned of his death, but, still heated and in full armour, came first to the body, and as if it still had life and sense, heaped round it the spoils of the enemy, sheared their horses' manes, and cut off their own hair; and when they had gone to their tents, many neither kindled a fire nor took supper, but silence and dejection reigned through all the camp, as if they had not won a great and most brilliant victory, but had been defeated by the tyrant and made his slaves. From the cities, too, when tidings of these things reached them, came the magistrates, accompanied by youths and boys and priests, to take up the body, and they brought trophies and wreaths and suits of golden armour. And when the body was to be carried forth for burial, the most reverend of the Thessalians came and begged the Thebans for the privilege of giving it burial themselves. And one of them said: "Friends and allies, we ask of you a favour which will be an honour to us in our great misfortune, and will give us consolation. We men of Thessaly can never again escort a living Pelopidas on his way, nor pay him worthy honours of which he can be sensible; but if we may be permitted to compose and adorn his body with our own hands and give it burial, you will believe, we are persuaded, that this calamity is a greater one for Thessaly than for Thebes. For you have lost only a good commander; but we both that and freedom. For how shall we
αἰτήσαι στρατηγὸν ἀλλον παρ’ ὑμῶν οὐκ ἀποδόντες Πελοπίδαιν;" ταῦτα μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεχώρησαν.

XXXIV. 'Εκείνων δὲ τῶν ταφῶν οὐ δοκοῦσιν ἐτεραί λαμπρότεραι γενέσθαι τοῖς τὸ λαμπρὸν οὐκ ἐν ἑλέφαντι καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ πορφύραις εἶναι νομίζουσιν, ὡσπερ Φίλιστος ὕμνον καὶ θαυμάζων τὴν Διονυσίου ταφήν, οἷον τραγῳδίας μεγάλης τῆς 2 πυραυνίδος ἐξόδοιον θεατρικοῦ γενομένην. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ μέγας Ἡφαιστίωνος ἀποθανόντος οὐ μόνον ἰππους ἔκειρε καὶ ἦμιόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξιες ἀφείλε τῶν τειχῶν, ὡς ἄν δοκοῦεσιν αἱ πόλεις πενθεῖν, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν μορφῆς κούρῳ-μον σχῆμα καὶ ἄτιμον ἀναλαμβάνουσαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προστάγματα δεσποτῶν ὄντα, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνάγκης περαινόμενα καὶ μετὰ φθόνου τῶν τυχόντων καὶ μίσους τῶν βιαζομένων, οὐδεμᾶς χάριτος ἢν οὐδὲ τιμῆς, ὁγκοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ καὶ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀλαζονείας ἐπίδειξις, εἰς κενὰ καὶ 3 ἄξηλα τὴν περιουσίαν διατιθεμένων. ἀνὴρ δὲ δημοτικὸς ἐπὶ ξένης τεθηνκώς, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ παῖδων, οὐ συγγενῶν παρόντων, οὐ δεομένου τινός, οὐκ ἀναγκάζοντος, ὑπὸ δήμων τοσοῦτων καὶ πόλεως ἀμιλλωμένων προπεμπόμενος καὶ συνεκκομιζόμενος καὶ στεφανούμενος, εἰκότως ἐδόκει τὴν τελειότατον ἀπέχειν εὐδαιμονισμὸν. 4 οὐ γὰρ, ὡς Αἴσωπος ἔφασκε, χαλεπώτατος ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν εὐτυχοῦστων θάνατος, ἀλλὰ μακαριώτατος, εἰς ἀσφαλῆ χώραν τὰς εὐπραξίας κατατιθέμενος τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ τύχην μεταβάλλεσθαι μὴ ἀπολείπτων. διὸ βέλτιον ὁ Δάκων τὸν 'Ολυμπιονίκην Διαγόραν, ἐπιδόντα μὲν νῦν στεφανουμένους

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PELOPIDAS, xxxiii. 5–xxxiv. 4

have the courage to ask another general from you, when we have not returned Pelopidas?” This request the Thebans granted.

XXXIV. Those funeral rites were never surpassed in splendour, in the opinion of those who do not think splendour to consist in ivory, gold, and purple, like Philistus, who tells in wondering strains about the funeral of Dionysius, which formed the pompous conclusion of the great tragedy of his tyranny. Alexander the Great, too, when Hephaestion died, not only sheared the manes of his horses and mules, but actually took away the battlements of the city-walls, in order that the cities might seem to be in mourning, assuming a shorn and dishevelled appearance instead of their former beauty. These honours, however, were dictated by despots, were performed under strong compulsion, and were attended with envy of those who received them and hatred of those who enforced them; they were a manifestation of no gratitude or esteem whatever, but of barbaric pomp and luxury and vain-glory, on the part of men who lavished their superfluous wealth on vain and sorry practices. But that a man who was a commoner, dying in a strange country, in the absence of wife, children, and kinsmen, none asking and none compelling it, should be escorted and carried forth and crowned by so many peoples and cities eager to show him honour, rightly seemed to argue him supremely fortunate. For the death of men in the hour of their triumph is not, as Aesop used to say, most grievous, but most blessed, since it puts in safe keeping their enjoyment of their blessings and leaves no room for change of fortune. Therefore the Spartan’s advice was better, who, when he greeted Diagoras, the Olympian victor, who had lived to see
'Ολυμπιάσιων, ἐπιδόντα δ' υἱῶνος καὶ θυγατριδοὺς, ἀσπασάμενος, "Κάθανε," εἶπε, "Διαγόρα."

5 οὐκ εἰς τὸν "Ολυμπον ἀναβήσῃ." τὰς δὲ 'Ολυμπίας καὶ Πυθικὰς νῖκας οὐκ ἂν, οἷμα, τις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνθέως ἄπασας ἐνὶ τῶν Πελοπίδου παραβαλεῖν ἀγώνων ἀξιώσειν, οὔς πολλοὺς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ κατορθώσας, καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλείστον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ τιμῇ βιώσας, τέλος ἐν τῇ τρισκαιδεκάτῃ θυσία, τυραννοκτονία μεμγμένην ἀριστεῖαν ἀριστεύων, ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ἐλευθερίας ἀπέθανεν.

XXXV. 'Ὁ δὲ θάνατος αὐτοῦ μεγάλα μὲν ἐλύπησε τοὺς συμμάχους, μεῖζονα δὲ ὠφέλησε. Ἐπίσημοι γάρ, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν τοῦ Πελοπίδου τελευτήν, οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ποιησάμενοι τῆς τιμωρίας κατὰ τάχος ἐστράτευσαν ὅπλας ἐπτακισχιλίοις, ἵππεὺς δ' ἐπτακοσίους, ἡγουμένων Μαλκίτου καὶ Διογέτου. καταλαβόντες δὲ συνεσταλμένοι καὶ περικεκομμένοι τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀλέξανδρον ἡράγκασαν Θεσσαλοίς μὲν ἀποδοῦναν τὰς πόλεις ἢς εἶχεν αὐτῶν, Μάγνητας δὲ καὶ Φθιώτας Ἀχαΐας ἀφεῖναι καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὀμόσαι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφ' οὗς ἀν ἡγώνται Ἐθβαϊοι καὶ κελεύσασιν ἀκολούθησαι. Ἐπίσημοι μὲν οὖν τούτοις ἠρκέσθησαν ἂν δὲ ὀλίγον ύστερον τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ Πελοπίδου δίκην ἐδωκε διηγήσομαι.

3 Ἐπίσημοι τὴν συνοικούσαν αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς εἰρηται, Πελοπίδας ἐδίδαξε μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξω λαμπροτήτα καὶ παρασκευὴν τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐντὸς τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ τῶν φυλάκων οὕσαν ἐπειτὰ δὲ φοβουμένη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ μισοῦσα τὴν ὁμότητα, συνθεμένη μετὰ τῶν ἁδελφῶν, τριῶν ὀντῶν, Τισιφόνου, Πυθολάου, Δυκόφρονος,
his sons crowned at Olympia, yes, and the sons of his sons and daughters, said; "Die now, Diagoras; thou canst not ascend to Olympus." But one would not deign, I think, to compare all the Olympian and Pythian victories put together with one of the struggles of Pelopidas; these were many, and he made them successfully, and after living most of his life in fame and honour, at last, while boeotarch for the thirteenth time, performing a deed of high valour which aimed at a tyrant's life, he died in defence of the freedom of Thessaly.

XXXV. The death of Pelopidas brought great grief to his allies, but even greater gain. For the Thebans, when they learned of it, delayed not their vengeance, but speedily made an expedition with seven thousand men-at-arms and seven hundred horsemen, under the command of Malcitas and Diogeiton. They found Alexander weakened and robbed of his forces, and compelled him to restore to the Thessalians the cities he had taken from them, to withdraw his garrisons and set free the Magnesians and the Achaeans of Phthiotis, and to take oath that he would follow the lead of the Thebans against any enemies according to their bidding. The Thebans, then, were satisfied with this; but the gods soon afterwards avenged Pelopidas, as I shall now relate.

To begin with, Thebe, the tyrant's wife, as I have said, had been taught by Pelopidas not to fear the outward splendour and array of Alexander, since these depended wholly on his armed guards; and now, in her dread of his faithlessness and her hatred of his cruelty, she conspired with her three brothers, Tisiphonus, Pytholaüs, and Lycophron, and made an
4 ἐπεχείρησε τόνδε τὸν τρόπον. τὴν μὲν ἄλλην οἰκίαν
tοῦ τυράννου κατείχον αἱ φυλακαὶ τῶν παρανυ-
kτερευόντων, ὁ δὲ θάλαμος, ἐν ὧν καθεύδειν εἰώθε-
σαν, ὑπέρρος ἦν, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ φυλακὴν εἰχὲ
κύων δεδεμένος, πᾶσι φοβερὸς πλὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖ-
νοι καὶ ἐνὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῷ τρέφοντι. καθ' ὄν
οὗν ἔμελλε καρδὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἡ Θῆβη, τοὺς μὲν
ἀδελφοὺς ἀφ' ἡμέρας εἰχὲ πλησίον ἐν οἴκῳ τῷ
5 κεκρυμμένως, εἰσελθοῦσα δὲ, ὡσπερ εἰώθει, μόνη
πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἦδη καθεύδοντα καὶ μετὰ
μικρὸν πάλιν προελθοῦσα, τῷ μὲν οἰκέτῃ προσέ-
tαξεν ἀπάγειν ἔξω τῶν κύων. βούλεσθαι γὰρ
ἀναπαύεσθαι μεθ' ἥσυχίας ἐκεῖνον αὐτὴ δὲ τὴν
κλίμακα φοβομενή μὴ κτύπου παράσχῃ τῶν
νεανίσκων ἀναβαίνοντων ἔριος κατεστόρεσεν.
6 εἰτὰ οὖτως ἀναγαγοῦσα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ξεφήρεις
καὶ στήσασα πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν εἰσῆλθεν αὐτὴ, καὶ
καθελοῦσα τὸ ξίφος ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς κρεμάμε-
νον σημεῖον εἶναι τοῦ κατέχεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ
καθεύδειν ἐδειξεν. ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν νεανί-
σκῶν καὶ κατοκινοῦντων, κακίζουσα καὶ διομυ-
μένη μετ' ὀργῆς αὐτὴ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξεγείρασα
μηνύσειν τὴν πράξιν, αἰσχυνθέντας αὐτοὺς ἄμα καὶ
φοβηθέντας εἰσήγαγε καὶ περίεστησε τῇ κλή.
7 προσφέρουσα τὸν λύχνον. τὸν δὲ ὁ μὲν τοὺς πόδας
κατείχε πιέσας, ὁ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν λαβόμενος τῶν
τριχῶν ἀνέκλασεν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος τῷ ξίφει τύπτων
αὐτοῦ διεχρήσατο, τῷ μὲν τάχει τῆς τελευτῆς
πραύτερον ἰσός ἡ προσήκην ἢν ἀποθανόντα, τῷ
δὲ μόνον ἡ πρῶτον τυράννου ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἰδίας
ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ τῇ μετὰ θάνατον αἰκίᾳ τοῦ σώμα-
tος ρεφέντος καὶ πανηθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν Φεραίων,
ἀξία πεποιθέναι δόξαντα τῶν παρανομημάτων.
attempt upon his life, as follows. The rest of the tyrant's house was guarded by sentries at night, but the bed-chamber, where he and his wife were wont to sleep, was an upper room, and in front of it a chained dog kept guard, which would attack everyone except his master and mistress and the one servant who fed him. When, therefore, Thebe was about to make her attempt, she kept her brothers hidden all day in a room hard by, and at night, as she was wont, went in alone to Alexander. She found him already asleep, and after a little, coming out again, ordered the servant to take the dog outdoors, for his master wanted to sleep undisturbed; and to keep the stairs from creaking as the young men came up, she covered them with wool. Then, after bringing her brothers safely up, with their swords, and stationing them in front of the door, she went in herself, and taking down the sword that hung over her husband's head, showed it to them as a sign that he was fast asleep. Finding the young men terrified and reluctant, she upbraided them, and swore in a rage that she would wake Alexander herself and tell him of the plot, and so led them, ashamed and fearful too, inside, and placed them round the bed, to which she brought the lamp. Then one of them clutched the tyrant's feet and held them down, another dragged his head back by the hair, and the third ran him through with his sword. The swiftness of it made his death a milder one, perhaps, than was his due; but since he was the only, or the first, tyrant to die at the hands of his own wife, and since his body was outraged after death, being cast out and trodden under foot by the Pheraeans, he may be thought to have suffered what his lawless deeds deserved.
MARCELLUS
Ι. Μάρκον δὲ Κλαύδιον τὸν πεντάκις υπατεύσαντα Ἦρωμαιον Μάρκου μὲν νιὸν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, κληθήσατε δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας πρῶτον Μάρκελλου, ὀπέρ ἐστὶν Ἀρήνων, ὁς φησὶ Ποσειδῶνος. ἦν γὰρ τῇ μὲν ἐμπειρίᾳ πολεμικός, τῷ δὲ σώματι ῥωμαλέος, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ πλήκτης, τῇ δὲ φύσει φιλοπόλεμος καὶ τούτῳ δὴ πολὺ τὸ γαύρον

καὶ ἀγέρωχον ἐπιφαίνων εἰ τοῖς ἀγώσι, τῷ δὲ ἀλλῳ τρόπῳ σώφρων, φιλάνθρωπος, Ἐλληνικὴς παιδείας καὶ λόγων ἀχρι τοῦ τιμᾶν καὶ θαυμάζειν τοὺς κατορθοῦντας ἐραστῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς ἀσχολιῶν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ἦν πρόθυμος ἀσκῆσαι καὶ μαθεῖν οὐκ ἔξικόμενος. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλος τισίν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεός, ὦσπερ Ὁμήρος εἴρηκεν,

ἐκ νεότητος ἔδωκε καὶ εἰς γῆρας τολυπεύειν ἀργαλέους πολέμους,

καὶ τοῖς τότε πρωτεύουσι Ἦρωμαιον, οὐ νέοι μὲν ὄντες περὶ Σικελίαν Καρχηδονίοις, ἀκμάζοντες δὲ Γαλάταις ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπολέμουν, ἦδη δὲ γηρᾶντες Ἀμυνίβα πάλιν συνείχοντο καὶ Καρχηδονίοις, οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὦσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, διὰ γῆρας ἀνάπαυσιν στρατεύον, ἄλλ᾽ ἐπὶ στρατηγίας πολέμου καὶ ἡγεμονίας κατ᾽ εὐγένειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀγόμενοι.
I. Marcus Claudius, who was five times consul of the Romans, was a son of Marcus, as we are told, and, according to Poseidonius, was the first of his family to be called Marcellus, which means Martial. For he was by experience a man of war, of a sturdy body and a vigorous arm. He was naturally fond of war, and in its conflicts displayed great impetuosity and high temper; but otherwise he was modest, humane, and so far a lover of Greek learning and discipline as to honour and admire those who excelled therein, although he himself was prevented by his occupations from achieving a knowledge and proficiency here which corresponded to his desires. For if ever there were men to whom Heaven, as Homer says,¹

"From youth and to old age appointed the accomplishment of laborious wars,"

they were the chief Romans of that time, who, in their youth, waged war with the Carthaginians for Sicily; in their prime, with the Gauls to save Italy itself; and when they were now grown old, contended again with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and did not have, like most men, that respite from service in the field which old age brings, but were called by their high birth and valour to undertake leaderships and commands in war.

¹ Iliad, xiv. 86 f.
II. Μάρκελλος δὲ πρὸς οὖδὲν μὲν ἢ μάχης εἴδος ἄργος οὐδὲ ἀνάσκητος, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐαυτοῦ κράτιστος ἐν τῷ μονομαχεῖν γενόμενος οὐδεμίαν πρόκλησιν ἔφυγε, πάντας δὲ τοὺς προκαλεσάμενος ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐν δὲ Σικελία τὸν ἄδελφον Ὀτακίλιον κινδυνεύοντα διέσωσεν ὑπερασπίσας 2 καὶ ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. ἀνθ’ δ’ ὅντι μὲν ἐτὶ νέω στέφανοι καὶ γέρα παρὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἦσαν, εὐδοκιμοῦντα δὲ μᾶλλον ἀγορανύμον μὲν ἀπέδειξε τῆς ἐπιφανεστέρας τάξεως ὁ δήμος, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς αὐγουρα. τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ἱερωσύνης εἴδος, ὁ μάλιστα τὴν ἀπ’ οἰνώνιον μαντικὴν ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ παραφυλάττειν νόμος δέδοκεν.

3 Ἡναγκάσθη δὲ ἀγορανύμων δίκην ἀβούλητον εἰσενεγκεῖν. ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ παῖς ὅμωνυμος ἐν ὃρᾳ, τὴν ὠψιν ἑκπρεπῆς, οὕτως ἦττον δὲ τῷ σωφρονεῖν καὶ πεπαιδεύσθαι περίβλεπτος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τούτω Καπετωλίων ὁ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων, ἀσελγῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ θρασύς, ἔρων λόγους προσήνεγκε. τοῦ δὲ παιδός τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἐαυτῶν ἀποτρψιμένου τὴν πείραν, ὡς δὲ αὐθίς ἐπεχείρησε κατευπόντος πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, βαρέως ἑγεμόνοις ὁ Μάρκελλος προσήνηγειε τῇ Βουλῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. οὐ δὲ πολλὰς μὲν ἀποδράσεις καὶ παραγραφὰς ἐμηχανάτο, τοὺς δημάρχους ἐπικαλούμενος, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μὴ προσδεχομένων τὴν ἐπικλήσιν ἀρνήσει τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφευγε. καὶ μάρτυρος οὖν τῶν λόγων γεγονότος ἐδοξε μεταπέμπεσθαι τὸν παίδα τῇ Βουλῇ. παραγενομένου δ’ ἢδοντες ἐρύθημα καὶ δάκρυον καὶ μεμυγμένου ἀπαύστῳ 1 τῷ θυμομένῳ τῷ αἰδούμενον, οὖνενος

1 ἀπαύστῳ Bekker corrects to ἀπλάστῳ (unhanded), after Emperorius.
II. Marcellus was efficient and practised in every kind of fighting, but in single combat he surpassed himself, never declining a challenge, and always killing his challengers. In Sicily he saved his brother Otacilius from peril of his life, covering him with his shield and killing those who were setting upon him. Wherefore, although he was still a youth, he received garlands and prizes from his commanders, and since he grew in repute, the people appointed him curule aedile, and the priests, augur. This is a species of priesthood, to which the law particularly assigns the observation and study of prophetic signs from the flight of birds.

During his aedileship, he was compelled to bring a disagreeable impeachment into the senate. He had a son, named Marcus like himself, who was in the flower of his boyish beauty, and not less admired by his countrymen for his modesty and good training. To this boy Capitolinus, the colleague of Marcellus, a bold and licentious man, made overtures of love. The boy at first repelled the attempt by himself, but when it was made again, told his father. Marcellus, highly indignant, denounced the man in the senate. The culprit devised many exceptions and ways of escape, appealing to the tribunes of the people, and when these rejected his appeal, he sought to escape the charge by denying it. There had been no witness of his proposals, and therefore the senate decided to summon the boy before them. When he appeared, and they beheld his blushes, tears, and shame mingled

1 Literally, aedile of the more illustrious class, i.e. patrician, in distinction from plebeian, aedile.
άλλου δεηθέντες τεκμηρίου κατεψυχήσαντο καὶ χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσαν Καπετωλίνον, ἦς ὁ Μάρκελλος ἄργυρα λοιμεία ποιησάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς καθιέρωσεν.

III. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πρῶτου τῶν Καρχηδονίων πολέμων ἐτεὶ δευτέρῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ συναιρεθέντος ἀρχαὶ πάλιν Γαλατικῶν ἀγώνων διεδέχοντο τὴν Ὄμην, οἵ δὲ τὴν ὑπαλπεῖαν νεμόμενοι τῆς Ἰταλίας Ἰνσομβρές, Κελτικὸν ἔθνος, μεγάλοι καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς ὄντες, δυνάμεις ἐκάλουν, καὶ μετεπέμποντο Γαλατῶν τοὺς μισθοὺς στρατευομένους,

2 οἳ Γαισάται καλοῦνται, θαυμαστὸν μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ τύχης ἀγαθῆς γενέσθαι τὸ μῆ συρραγήναι τὸν Κελτικὸν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τῷ Διβυκῷ πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ ἐφεδρεῖαν εἰληφότας τοὺς Γαλάτας, ορθῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀτρεμίσαντας μαχομένων ἐκεῖνως, οὕτω τότε δὴ τοῖς νευκηκόσιν ἐπαποδύσθαι καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι σχολὴν ἀγοντας: οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μέγαν ἢ τε χώρα παρεἰχε φόβου, διὰ τὴν γευτινίας ὁμόρφος καὶ προσοίκω πολέμω συνοισομένος, καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἄξιωμα τῶν Γαλατῶν, οὗς μάλιστα Ὁρμαιῶι δεῖχαι δοκοῦσιν, ἀτε δὴ

3 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀποβαλόντες, ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ θέμενοι νόμον ἄτελείς εἶναι στρατεύσαι τοὺς ἱερέας, πλὴν εἰ μὴ Γαλατικὸς πάλιν ἑπέλθοι πόλεμος. ἔδηλον δὲ καὶ τῶν φόβοι αὐτῶν ἢ τε παρασκευή (μυριάδες γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις ᾧμα τοσαῦται Ὁρμαιῶιν οὕτε πρότερον οὕτε ὑστερον γενεσθαι λέγονται) καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς θυσίας καινοτομοῦ—

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with quenchless indignation, they wanted no further proof, but condemned Capitolinus, and set a fine upon him. With this money Marcellus had silver libation-bowls made, and dedicated them to the gods.

III. After the first Punic war had come to an end in its twenty-second year, Rome was called upon to renew her struggles with the Gauls. The Insubrians, a people of Celtic stock inhabiting that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, and strong even by themselves, called out their forces, and summoned to their aid the mercenary Gauls called Gaesatae. It seemed a marvellous piece of good fortune that the Gallic war did not break out while the Punic war was raging, but that the Gauls, like a third champion sitting by and awaiting his turn with the victor, remained strictly quiet while the other two nations were fighting, and then only stripped for combat when the victors were at liberty to receive their challenge. Nevertheless, the Romans were greatly alarmed by the proximity of their country to the enemy, with whom they would wage war so near their own boundaries and homes, as well as by the ancient renown of the Gauls, whom the Romans seem to have feared more than any other people. For Rome had once been taken by them, and from that time on a Roman priest was legally exempt from military service only in case no Gallic war occurred again. Their alarm was also shown by their preparations for the war (neither before nor since that time, we are told, were there so many thousands of Romans in arms at once), and by the extraordinary sacrifices which they made to the gods. For though

1 The First Punic War lasted from 265 B.C. till 241 B.C., and the Insubrians invaded Italy in 225 B.C.
2 In 390 B.C. See the Camillus, xix.-xxiii
μενα· Βαρβαρικὸν μὲν γὰρ ὁ σφαλματὸς τοῦ Ἀρμαῖος ἐφεξήγαγατε·
καὶ τὸν ὕπατον μεγάλας καὶ σφάλματα τοῖς Ἐλληνικῶς διακείμενοι καὶ πράξες πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, τότε τοῦ πολέμου συμπεσόντος ἡμαγκάσθησαν εἰς τὸν Σιβυλλεῖον, καὶ δῦνα ὑπὸ Ἐλληνας, ἀνθρα καὶ γυναῖκα, δύο δὲ Γαλάτας ὁμοίως· "Ελληνας, καὶ δῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Νοεμβρίων μηνίδρωσιν Ἐλλησι καὶ Γαλάταις ἀπορρήτους καὶ ἀθεάτους ἔσοφριγάς.

IV. Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶτοι τῶν ἀγώνων νῦν της μεγάλης καὶ σφάλματα τοῖς Ἐλληνικῶς ἐφέξηκατε· τοῖς Ρωμαίοις δὲ οἱ Θεάς ἐπεξήγαγατε·"Ελληνας, καὶ δῶς οὐδὲν εἰς τὸν Σιβυλλεῖον, καὶ δῆμος τῆς Πικνίδος χῶρας ποιμάς, ἐλέχθη δὲ τρεῖς σελήνας φανῆναι περὶ πόλιν·

2 Ἀρμίνον, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ δῆμος ὑπατικαὶ ψηφοφορίαις καὶ μοχθηράς καὶ δυσόρμητας αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι τοῖς τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγορεύσεις. εὐθὺς ὁ οὐν ἐπεμψεν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον γράμματα καλοῦσα καὶ μεταπεμπομένη τοὺς ὑπάτους, ὁπως ἐπαινεῖτοσ ἡ τάχιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπείπωνται καὶ μηδὲν ὡς ὑπάτους ἐφάσσωσι πράξει πρὸς τοὺς

3 πολεμίους. ταῦτα δὲξαμενοὶ τὰ γράμματα Φλαμίνιος οὐ πρότερον ἔλυσεν ἡ μάχη συνάγας τρέφαντα τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπιδραμεῖν. ὡς οὖν ἐπανήλθε μετὰ πολλῶν λαθυρῶν, οὐκ ἀπήντησεν ὁ δῆμος, ἀλλ' ὅτι καλούμενος οὐκ εὑρός ὑπήκουσεν οὐδ' ἐπέίσθη τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἀλλ' ἐνύβρισε καὶ κατεφρόνησε.

1 μὲν γὰρ Bekker, after Coraës: μὲν.
they have no barbarous or unnatural practices, but cherish towards their deities those mild and reverent sentiments which especially characterize Greek thought, at the time when this war burst upon them they were constrained to obey certain oracular commands from the Sibylline books, and to bury alive two Greeks, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, in the place called the “forum boarium,” or cattle-market; and in memory of these victims, they still to this day, in the month of November, perform mysterious and secret ceremonies.

IV. The first conflicts of this war brought great victories and also great disasters to the Romans, and led to no sure and final conclusion; but at last Flaminius and Furius, the consuls, led forth large forces against the Insubrians. At the time of their departure, however, the river that flows through Picenum was seen to be running with blood, and it was reported that at Ariminum three moons had appeared in the heavens, and the priests who watched the flight of birds at the time of the consular elections insisted that when the consuls were proclaimed the omens were inauspicious and baleful for them. At once, therefore, the senate sent letters to the camp, summoning the consuls to return to the city with all speed and lay down their office, and forbidding them, while they were still consuls, to take any steps against the enemy. On receiving these letters, Flaminius would not open them before he had joined battle with the Barbarians, routed them, and overrun their country. Therefore, when he returned with much spoil, the people would not go out to meet him, but because he had not at once listened to his summons, and had disobeyed the letters, treating them with insolent contempt, they
μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέσεν ἀποψηφίσασθαι τὸν θρίαμβον αὐτοῦ, θριαμβεύσαντα δὲ ἰδιώτην ἐποίησεν, ἀναγκάσας ἐξομόσασθαι τὴν ὑπατείαν μετὰ τοῦ συν-
4 αρχοντος. οὔτω πάντα τὰ πράγματα Ῥωμαίως εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀνήγετο, μαντεῖον δὲ καὶ πατρίων ὑπεροψίαν οὐδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐυπραξίαις ἀπεδέχοντο, μεῖζον ἡγούμενον πρὸς σωτηρίαν πόλεως τὸ θαυμάζειν τὰ θεῖα τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν πολεμίων.

V. Τιβέριος οὖν Σεμπρόνιος, ἀνήρ δ' ἀνδρείαν καὶ καλοκαγαθίαν οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἀγαπηθείς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέδειξε μὲν ὑπατεύων διαδόχους Σκη- πίωνα Νασικᾶν καὶ Γάιον Μάρκιον, ἢδη δὲ ἐχόν- των αὐτῶν επαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα, ἱερατικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχὼν εὐθεῖᾳ ἡγούμενον υφ' αὐτοῦ
2 τὶ τῶν πατρίων. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον· ὅταν ἀρχων ἐπ' ὄρνισι καθεξόμενοι ἐξω πόλεως οἴκου ἢ σκη- νήν μεμισθωμένοι υπ' αἰτίας τινὸς ἀναγκασθῆ
μῆπως γεγονότων σημείων βεβαιῶν ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς πόλιν, ἀφεῖναι χρῆν τὸ προμεμισθωμένον οίκημα καὶ λαβεῖν ἔτερον, ἐξ οὐ ποιῆσεται τὴν θέαν αὐθίνες ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς. τούτῳ ἑλαθεν, ὡς οἰκε, τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ δίς τῷ αὐτῷ χρησάμενος ἀπέδειξε τοὺς εἰρημένους ἄνδρας ὑπάτους. ὤστερον δὲ γνοὺς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνήγεγκε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον.

3 ἢ δὲ οὐ κατεφρόνησε τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν οὔτως ἐπλείμματος, ἀλλ' ἔγραψε τοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἀπολιπόντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς Ῥώμην ταχὺ καὶ κατέθεντο τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὤστερον ἐπράχθη· περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς

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came near refusing him his triumph, and after his triumph, they compelled him to renounce the consulship with his colleague, and made him a private citizen. To such a degree did the Romans make everything depend upon the will of the gods, and so intolerant were they of any neglect of omens and ancestral rites, even when attended by the greatest successes, considering it of more importance for the safety of the city that their magistrates should reverence religion than that they should overcome their enemies.

V. For example, Tiberius Sempronius, a man most highly esteemed by the Romans for his valour and probity, proclaimed Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his successors in the consulship, but when they had already taken command in their provinces, he came upon a book of religious observances wherein he found a certain ancient prescript of which he had been ignorant. It was this. Whenever a magistrate, sitting in a hired house or tent outside the city to take auspices from the flight of birds, is compelled for any reason to return to the city before sure signs have appeared, he must give up the house first hired and take another, and from this he must take his observations anew. Of this, it would seem, Tiberius was not aware, and had twice used the same house before proclaiming the men I have mentioned as consuls. But afterwards, discovering his error, he referred the matter to the senate. This body did not make light of so trifling an omission, but wrote to the consuls about it; and they, leaving their provinces, came back to Rome with speed, and laid down their offices. This, however, took place at a later time.¹ But at about the time of which I am

¹ Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, father of the two famous tribunes, was consul for the second time in 163 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

I. Ἐκείνους χρόνους καὶ δύο ιερεῖς ἐπιφανέστατοι τὰς ἱεροσύνας ἀφηρέθησαν, Κορυνήλιος μὲν Κέθηγος ὅτι τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ ιερείου παρὰ τάξιν ἐπέδωκε.

4 Κοῦιντος δὲ Σουλπέκιος ἐπὶ τῷ θύουτος αὐτῶν τὸν κορυφαίον ἀπορρυήναι τῆς κεφαλῆς πίλου, ὅπειροι γὰρ οἱ καλούμενοι Φλαμίνιοι φοροῦσι. Μινουκίον δὲ δικτάτορος ὑππαρχον ἀποδείξαντος Γάιον Φλαμίνιον, ἐπεὶ τρισμὸς ἥκουσθη μωδὸς ὧν σόρικα καλοῦσιν, ἀποψηφισάμενοι τούτοις αὐθίς ἐτέρους κατέστησαν. καὶ τὴν ἐν οὕτω μικροῖς ἀκρίβειαν φυλάττοντες οὐδὲν προσεμίγυναν δεισιδαιμονία, τῶ μηδὲν ἄλλαττευν μηδὲ παρεκβαϊνευν τῶν πατρίων.

VI. Ὡς δὲ οὖν ἐξωμόσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ περὶ τῶν Φλαμίνιων, διὰ τῶν καλομένων μεσοβασιλεῶν ὑπατος ἀποδείκνυνται Μάρκελλος. καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτῷ συναρχόντα Γναίου Κορυνήλιου. ἐλέχθη μὲν οὖν ὡς πολλὰ συμβατικὰ τῶν Γαλατῶν λεγόντων, καὶ τῆς βουλῆς εἰρηναία βουλομένης, ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξετράχυνε τὸν δὴμον ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμου ὑπὸ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ γενομένης εἰρήνης ἀνακαίνισαν τὸν πόλεμον οἱ Γαϊσάται δοκοῦσι, τὰς Ἀλπεῖς υπερβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς Ἰνσόμβρους ἐπάραντες τρισμύριοι γὰρ ὅντες προσεγένυτο πολλαπλασίοις ἑκείνους υδάτι, καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Ἀκέρρας ὀρμήσαν, πόλιν ύπὲρ ποταμοῦ Πάδου ἀνωκισμένην. ἐκείθεν δὲ μυρίους τῶν Γαϊσατῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς Βριτό.

1 Cf. the Numa, vii. 5.
2 In 222 B.C. In republican times, an interrex was elected when there was a vacancy in the supreme power, held office for five days, and, if necessary, nominated his successor. Any number of interreges might be successively ap-
speaking, two most illustrious priests were deposed from their priesthoods, Cornelius Cethegus, because he presented the entrails of his victim improperly, and Quintus Sulpicius, because, while he was sacrificing, the peaked cap which the priests called flamen wear had fallen from his head. Moreover, because the squeak of a shrew-mouse (they call it "sorex") was heard just as Minucius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his master of horse, the people deposed these officials and put others in their places. And although they were punctilious in such trifling matters, they did not fall into any superstition, because they made no change or deviation in their ancient rites.

VI. But to resume the story, after Flaminius and his colleague had renounced their offices, Marcellus was appointed consul by the so-called "interreges." He took the office, and appointed Gnaeus Cornelius his colleague. Now it has been said that, although the Gauls made many conciliatory proposals, and although the senate was peaceably inclined, Marcellus tried to provoke the people to continue the war. However, it would seem that even after peace was made the Gaesatae renewed the war; they crossed the Alps and stirred up the Insubrians. They numbered thirty thousand themselves, and the Insubrians, whom they joined, were much more numerous. With high confidence, therefore, they marched at once to Acerrae, a city situated to the north of the river Po. From thence Britomartus the king, taking with him pointed, until the highest office was filled. Cf. the Numa, ii. 6 f.

3 According to Polybius (ii. 34), no peace was made, although the Gauls offered to submit, and the consuls marched into the territory of the Insubrians and laid siege to Acerrae.
μαρτως ἀναλαβὼν τὴν περὶ Πάδουν χώραν ἐπόρθει.
3 ταῦτα Μάρκελλος πυθόμενος τὸν μὲν συνάρχοντα πρὸς Ἀκέρραις ἀπέλυπτε τὴν πεζὴν καὶ βαρεῖαν ὅμοιο πᾶσαν ἐχόντα δύναμιν καὶ τῶν ἰππέων μέρος τρίτον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἰππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τῶν ὀπλιτῶν περὶ ἐξακοσίους ἤλαυνεν, οὕτε ἡμέρας οὕτε νυκτὸς ἀνείς τὸν δρόμον, ἐως ἐπέβαλε τοῖς μυρίοις Γαυ-σάταις περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Κλαστίδιον, Γαλα-τικὴν κώμην οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ Ῥωμαίους ὑπῆκοον
4 γεγενημένην. ἀναλαβεὶν δὲ καὶ διαναπαύσας τὸν στρατὸν οὐχ ὑπῆρξεν αὐτῷ ταχὺ γὰρ αἰσθησιν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀφίκομενοι παρέσχε, καὶ κατε-φρονήθη πεζῶν μεν ὄλγαν παντάπασιν ὄντων σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸ δ’ ἰππικόν ἐν οὐδεὶ λόγῳ τῶν Κελτῶν τιθεμένων. κράτιστοι γὰρ οὔτε ἰππο-μαχεῖν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτῳ διαφέρειν δοκοῦντες, τότε καὶ πλῆθει πολὺ τὸν Μάρκελλον ὑπερέ-βαλλον, εὐθὺς οὖν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀναρτασόμενοι μετὰ βίας πολλῆς καὶ δεινῶν ἀπελθὼν ἐφέροντο, 301
5 τοῦ βασιλέως προϊππεύοντος. ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος, ὡς μὴ φθαίειν αὐτὸν ἐγκυκλοσσάμενοι καὶ περιχυ-θέντες ὀλγοστὸν οὖνα, τὰς ἱλας ἤγε πόρρω τῶν ἰππέων καὶ περὶγλαυνε, λεπτὸν ἐκτείνων τὸ κέρας, ἀχρὶ οὐ μικρὸν ἀπέσχε τῶν πολεμίων. ἦδη δὲ πῶς εἰς ἐμβολήν ἐπιστρέφοντος αὐτοῦ συντυγ-χάνει τὸν ἵππον πτυρεῖτα τῇ γαυρότητι τῶν πολεμίων ἀποτραπέσθαι καὶ βία φέρειν ὁπίσω
6 τὸν Μάρκελλον. ὁ δὲ τούτῳ δεῖσας μὴ ταραχὴν ἐκ δεισιδαιμονίας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐνεργάσχαι, ταχὺ περιστάσας ἐφ’ ἤνιαν τῷ χαλινῷ καὶ περι-στρέψας τὸν ἵππον ἐναντίον τοῖς πολεμίοις, τὸν ἴλιον αὐτὸς προσεκύνησεν, ὡς δὴ μὴ κατὰ τύχην, 448
ten thousand of the Gaesatae, ravaged the country about the Po. When Marcellus learned of this, he left his colleague at Acerrae with all the heavy-armed infantry and a third part of the cavalry, while he himself, taking with him the rest of the cavalry and the most lightly equipped men-at-arms to the number of six hundred, marched, without halting in his course day or night, until he came upon the ten thousand Gaesatae near the place called Clastidium, a Gallic village which not long before had become subject to the Romans. There was no time for him to give his army rest and refreshment, for the Barbarians quickly learned of his arrival, and held in contempt the infantry with him, which were few in number all told, and, being Gauls, made no account of his cavalry. For they were most excellent fighters on horseback, and were thought to be specially superior as such, and, besides, at this time they far outnumbered Marcellus. Immediately, therefore, they charged upon him with great violence and dreadful threats, thinking to overwhelm him, their king riding in front of them. But Marcellus, that they might not succeed in enclosing and surrounding him and his few followers, led his troops of cavalry forward and tried to outflank them, extending his wing into a thin line, until he was not far from the enemy. And now, just as he was turning to make a charge, his horse, frightened by the ferocious aspect of the enemy, wheeled about and bore Marcellus forcibly back. But he, fearing lest this should be taken as a bad omen by the Romans and lead to confusion among them, quickly reined his horse round to the left and made him face the enemy, while he himself made adoration to the sun, implying that it was not
Ἀλλ’ ἐνεκά τούτου τῇ περιαγωγῇ χρησάμενος·
οὕτω γὰρ ἔθος ἐστὶ Ἡρωμάϊος προσκυνεῖν τοὺς
θεοὺς περιστρεφόμενος. καὶ αὐτὸν ἦδη προσμι-
γυνώτα τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσεύξασθαι τῷ φερετρίῳ
Διὸ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμοῖς ὄπλων
καθιερώσειν.

VII. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ κατιδών οἱ τῶν Γαλατῶν
βασιλεῖς καὶ τεκμηράμενος ἀπὸ τῶν συμβόλων
ἀρχοῦντα τούτου εἶναι, πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων
ἐξελάσας τῶν ἵππων ὑπητιάσειν, ἀμα τῇ φωνῇ
προκλητικῶν ἐπαλαλάξω καὶ τὸ δόρον κραδαίνων,
ἀνήρ μεγέθει τε σώματος ἔξοχος Γαλατῶν, καὶ
πανοπλία ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ βαφαῖς καὶ
πᾶσι ποικίλμασιν, ὀσπερ ἀστραπῆ, διαφέρων
2 στιλβοῦσιν. ὡς οὖν ἐπιβλέψαντι τὴν φάλαγγα
τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ ταῦτα τῶν ὀπλῶν ἔδοξε κάλλιστα
καὶ κατὰ τούτων ὑπέλαβε πεποιήσθαι τῷ θεῷ
τὴν κατευχήν, ἡρμήσει ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνδρα, καὶ τῷ
dόρατι διακόψας τὸν θώρακα καὶ συνεπερεύσας
τῇ βίῳ τοῦ ἵππου ξώντα μὲν αὐτὸν περιέτρεψε,
δευτέραν δὲ καὶ τρίτην πληγὴν ἐνεῖς εὐθὺς ἀπε-
3 κτεινειν. ἀποπηδήσας δὲ τοῦ ἵππου, καὶ τῶν
ὀπλῶν τοῦ νεκροῦ ταῖς χερσίν ἐφαψάμενος, πρὸς
τὸν οὐρανὸν εἶπεν: "Ὥ μεγάλα στρατηγῶν καὶ
ηγεμόνων ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἐπιβλέπων ἐν πολέ-
μοις καὶ μάχαις φερέτρει μετὰ, μαρτύρομαι σε
Ῥωμαίων τρίτος ἄρχων ἄρχοντα καὶ βασιλέα
στρατηγὸς ἱδία χειρὶ τόνδε τοῦ ἄνδρα κατεργασά-
μενος καὶ κτέινας σοι καθιερών τὰ πρῶτα καὶ
κάλλιστα τῶν λαφύρων. σὺ δὲ δίδου τύχῃ ὁμοίαν
ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου προτρεπομένους."

4 Ἐκ τούτου συνέμισγον οἱ ἵππεῖς οὐ διακεκρί-
by chance, but for this purpose, that he had wheeled about; for it is the custom with the Romans to turn round in this way when they make adoration to the gods. And in the moment of closing with the enemy he is said to have vowed that he would consecrate to Jupiter Feretrius the most beautiful suit of armour among them.

VII. Meanwhile the king of the Gauls espied him, and judging from his insignia that he was the commander, rode far out in front of the rest and confronted him, shouting challenges and brandishing his spear. His stature exceeded that of the other Gauls, and he was conspicuous for a suit of armour which was set off with gold and silver and bright colours and all sorts of broderies; it gleamed like lightning. Accordingly, as Marcellus surveyed the ranks of the enemy, this seemed to him to be the most beautiful armour, and he concluded that it was this which he had vowed to the god. He therefore rushed upon the man, and by a thrust of his spear which pierced his adversary's breastplate, and by the impact of his horse in full career, threw him, still living, upon the ground, where, with a second and third blow, he promptly killed him. Then leaping from his horse and laying his hands upon the armour of the dead, he looked towards heaven and said:

"O Jupiter Feretrius, who beholdest the great deeds and exploits of generals and commanders in wars and fightings, I call thee to witness that I have overpowered and slain this man with my own hand, being the third Roman ruler and general so to slay a ruler and king, and that I dedicate to thee the first and most beautiful of the spoils. Do thou therefore grant us a like fortune as we prosecute the rest of the war."

His prayer ended, the cavalry joined battle, fight-
μένοις τοῖς ἵππευσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πεζοὺς ὁμοῦ προσφερομένους μαχόμενοι, καὶ νικῶσι νίκην ἵδεα τε καὶ τρόπῳ περιττήν καὶ παράδοξον ἵππεῖς γὰρ ἵππεῖς καὶ πεζοὺς ἀμα τοσοῦτοι τοσοῦτος οὕτε πρότερον οὕτε ἕστερον νικήσαι λέγονται. κτείνας δὲ τοὺς πλείστους καὶ κρατήσας ὁπλων καὶ χρημάτων ἐπανήλθε πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα μοχθήρως πολεμοῦντα Κελτοῖς περὶ πόλιν μεγίστην καὶ πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Πα-5 λατικῶν. Μεδιόλανον καλεῖται, καὶ μητρόπολιν αὐτῆς οἱ τῇδε Κελτοί νυμίζουσιν ὅθεν ἐκθύμως μαχόμενοι περὶ αὐτῆς ἀντεπολιόρκουν τὸν Κορνηλίων. ἐπελθόντος δὲ Μαρκέλλου, καὶ τῶν Γαίσατῶν, ὡς ἐπίθυντο τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἦτταν καὶ τελευτὴν, ἀπελθόντων, τὸ μὲν Μεδιόλανον ἀλίσκεται, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις αὐτοῖ παραδιδόσασιν οἱ Κελτοὶ καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕαστοις ἐπιτρέπουσι πάντα Ῥωμαίοις. καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἤν εἰρήνη μετρίων τυχοῦσι.

VIII. Ψηφισαμένης δὲ τῆς συγκλήτου μόνῳ Μαρκέλλῳ δριάμβου, εἰσῆλθαν εἰς μὲν ἀλλη λαμπρότητι καὶ πλούσῳ καὶ λαφύρους καὶ σῶμασιν ὑπερφέσιν αἰχμαλώτων ἐν ὁλίγοις θαυμαστός, ἦδιον δὲ πάντων θέαμα καὶ καινότατον ἐπιδεικνύμενος αὐτῶν κομίζοντα τῷ θεῷ τῆς τοῦ βαρ-2 βάρου πανοπλίαν. ὃρθιοι γὰρ ἐυκτείνου πρέμινον ὀρθὶν καὶ μέγα τεμὼν καὶ ἅσκίσας ὄσπερ τρόπαιον ἀνεδήσατο καὶ κατήρτῃσεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ λάφυρα, κόσμῳ διαθές καὶ περιαρμόσας ἐκαστὸν, προϊούσης δὲ τῆς πομπῆς ἀράμενος αὐτὸς ἐπέβη 452
ing, not with the enemy's horsemen alone, but also with their footmen who attacked them at the same time, and won a victory which, in its sort and kind, was remarkable and strange. For never before or since, as we are told, have so few horsemen conquered so many horsemen and footmen together. After slaying the greater part of the enemy and getting possession of their arms and baggage, Marcellus returned to his colleague, who was hard put to it in his war with the Gauls near their largest and most populous city. Mediolanum was the city's name, and the Gauls considered it their metropolis; wherefore they fought eagerly in its defence, so that Cornelius was less besieger than besieged. But when Marcellus came up, and when the Gaesatae, on learning of the defeat and death of their king, withdrew, Mediolanum was taken, the Gauls themselves surrendered the rest of their cities, and put themselves entirely at the disposition of the Romans. They obtained peace on equitable terms.

VIII. The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus alone, and his triumphal procession was seldom equalled in its splendour and wealth and spoils and captives of gigantic size; but besides this, the most agreeable and the rarest spectacle of all was afforded when Marcellus himself carried to the god the armour of the barbarian king. He had cut the trunk of a slender oak, straight and tall, and fashioned it into the shape of a trophy; on this he bound and fastened the spoils, arranging and adjusting each piece in due order. When the procession began to move, he took the trophy himself and mounted the chariot, and

1 Acerrae had, in the meantime, been taken by the Romans, who had then advanced and laid siege to Mediolanum (Milan). Cf. Polybius, ii. 34.
τοῦ τεθρίππου, καὶ τροπαιοφόρον ἁγαλμα τῶν ἐπ’ ἐκείνου κάλλιστον καὶ διαπρεπέστατον ἐπομνημενον διά τῆς πόλεως. ὦ δὲ στρατὸς εἰπετο καλλίστοις ὁπλοῖς κεκοσμημένος, ἄδων ἂμα πεποιημένα μέλη καὶ παιάνας ἐπινικίους εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὸν 3 στρατηγόν. οὔτω δὲ προβὰς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν νεῶν τοῦ φερετρίου Διός, ἀνέστησε καὶ καθερωσε, τρίτος καὶ τελευταῖος ἄχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς αἰῶνος. πρῶτος μὲν γὰρ ἀνήνεγκε σκῦλα Ῥωμύλος ἀπὸ Ἄκρωνος τοῦ Καιωνίτου, δεύτερος δὲ Κόσσων Κορνήλιος ἀπὸ Τολομμίου Τυρρηνοῦ, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μάρκελλος ἀπὸ Βριτομάρτου, βασιλέως Γαλατῶν, μετὰ δὲ Μάρκελλον οὐδὲ εἰς. 4 καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ὡς πέμπτεται φερέτριος Ζεύς, ὡς μὲν ἐνιοί φασίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ φερετρευμένου τροπαιοῦ, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα γλῶσσαν ἐτι πολλὴν τὸτε συμμεμμένην τῆς Λατίνων, ὡς δὲ ἔτεροι, Διὸς ἔστιν ἤ προσωπυμία κεραυνοβολοῦντος. τὸ γὰρ τύπτειν φερίρει οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσιν. ἀλλοὶ δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου πληγὴν γεγονέναι τούνομα λέγονσιν καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὅταν διώκοσι τοὺς πολεμίους, πυκνὸν τὸ φέρι, τούτεστι παῖε, παρεγγυώσιν ἀλλήλοις. τὰ δὲ σκῦλα σπόλια μὲν κοινῶς, ἴδιος δὲ ὅπιμα 5 ταῦτα καλοῦσι. καῖτοι φασίν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι Νομᾶν Πομπίλιον καὶ πρῶτον ὁπιμάως καὶ δευτέρω καὶ τρίτων μνημοιεύειν, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ληφθέντα τῷ φερετρίῳ Διὲ κελεύοντα καθεροῦν, τὰ δεύτερα δὲ τῷ Ἀρει, τὰ δὲ τρίτα τῷ Κυρίῳ, καὶ λαμβάνειν γέρας ἀσσάρια τριακόσια τὸν
thus a trophy-bearing figure more conspicuous and beautiful than any in his day passed in triumph through the city. The army followed, arrayed in most beautiful armour, singing odes composed for the occasion, together with paeans of victory in praise of the god and their general. Thus advancing and entering the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, he set up and consecrated his offering, being the third and last to do so, down to our time. The first was Romulus, who despoiled Acron the Caeninensian; the second was Cornelius Cossus, who despoiled Tolumnius the Tuscan; and after them Marcellus, who despoiled Britomartus, king of the Gauls; but after Marcellus, no man. The god to whom the spoils were dedicated was called Jupiter Feretrius, as some say, because the trophy was carried on a "pheretron," or car; this is a Greek word, and many such were still mingled at that time with the Latin; according to others, the epithet is given to Jupiter as wielder of the thunder-bolt, the Latin "ferire" meaning to smite. But others say the name is derived from the blow one gives an enemy, since even now in battles, when they are pursuing their enemies, they exhort one another with the word "feri," which means smite! Spoils in general they call "spolia," and these in particular, "opima." And yet they say that Numa Pompilius, in his commentaries, makes mention of three kinds of "opima," prescribing that when the first kind are taken, they shall be consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; also that the reward for the first shall be three hundred asses; for the second

1 Cf. the Romulus, xvi. 4–7.
2 Cf. the Romulus, xv. 3; Numa, vii. 5.
3 The Roman as corresponded nearly to the English penny.
πρώτου, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον διακόσια, τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἐκατὸν. ὁ μὲν τοι πολὺς οὕτως ἐπικρατεῖ λόγος, ὡς ἐκεῖνον μόνον ὃπειρόν ὄντων, ὅσα καὶ παρατάξεως οὕσης καὶ πρώτα καὶ στρατηγοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἀνελόντος. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

6 Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαιοὶ τὴν νίκην ἐκέινην καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν κατάλυσιν οὕτως ὑπερηγάπησαν ὡστε καὶ τῷ Πυθίῳ χρυσοῦν κρατήρα ἀπὸ λιτρῶν1. . . εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστείλαν χαριστηριον, καὶ τῶν λαφύρων ταῖς τε συμμαχίσι μετα- δοῦναι πόλεις λαμπρῶς, καὶ πρὸς Ιέρωνα πολλὰ πέμψαν, τὸν Συρακουσίων βασιλέα, φίλον ὑντα καὶ σύμμαχον.

IX. Ἀνίβδου δὲ ἐμβαλόντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐπέμφθη μὲν ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐπὶ Σικελίαν στόλον ἄγων ἐπεί δὲ ἡ περὶ Κάννας ἄτυχία συνέπεσε καὶ Ῥωμαιών οὐκ ὁλίγαι μυριάδες ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διεφθάρησαν, ἀλλὰ δὲ σωθέντες εἰς Καυσίων συνεπεφύγεσαν, ἦν δὲ προσδοκία τὸν Ἀνίβδον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλὰν, ὅπερ ἦν κράτιστον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνηρηκότα, πρῶτον μὲν ὁ Μάρκελλος ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐπεμψε τῇ πόλει φυλακὴν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ἀνδράς, ἐπειτα δόγμα τῆς Βούλης δεξάμενος εἰς Καυσίων παρῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ συνειλεγμένους παραλαβὼν ἔξηγαγε τῶν ἐρυμάτων ὡς οὐ προσόμονοι τὴν χώραν. Ῥωμαιῶν δὲ τῶν ἒρεμομικῶν καὶ δυνατῶν ἄνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐτεθηκέσαν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, Φαβίου δὲ Μαξίμου τοῦ πλείστου ἐχόντος ἄξιωμα πίστεως καὶ συνέσεως, τὸ λίαν ὑπηκριβωμένον ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν λογισμοὶ ὡς ἄργον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ ἀτολμὸν ἦτίωντο καὶ νομίζοντες

1 ἀπὸ λιτρῶν Sintenis, Coraës and Bekker: ἀπὸ λίτρων.
two hundred, and for the third one hundred. However, the general and prevailing account is that only those spoils are "opima" which are taken first, in a pitched battle, where general slays general. So much, then, on this subject.

The Romans were so overjoyed at this victory and the ending of the war that they sent to the Pythian Apollo at Delphi a golden bowl as a thank-offering, gave a splendid share of the spoils to their allied cities, and sent many to Hiero, the king of Syracuse, who was their friend and ally.

IX. After Hannibal had invaded Italy, Marcellus was sent to Sicily with a fleet. And when the disaster at Cannae came, and many thousands of Romans had been slain in the battle, and only a few had saved themselves by flying to Canusium, and it was expected that Hannibal would march at once against Rome, now that he had destroyed the flower of her forces, in the first place, Marcellus sent fifteen hundred men from his ships to protect the city; then, under orders from the senate, he went to Canusium, and taking the troops that had gathered there, led them out of the fortifications to show that he would not abandon the country. Most of the leaders and influential men among the Romans had fallen in battle; and as for Fabius Maximus, who was held in the greatest esteem for his sagacity and trustworthiness, his excessive care in planning to avoid losses was censured as cowardly inactivity. The people thought they had

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1 The indication of its source or value which follows in the Greek, is uncertain.
2 218 B.C.
3 216 B.C. Cf. the Fabius Maximus, xv. f.

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ἀποχρῶντα τούτον ἐχεῖν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, οὐ διαρκῇ δὲ πρὸς ἀμυναν στρατηγόν, ἐπὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον ἀφεώρων,1 καὶ τὸ βαρβαλέον αὐτοῦ καὶ δραστήριον πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου κεραυνόντες καὶ ἀρμόττοντες εὐλάβειαν καὶ πρόνοιαν, ποτὲ μὲν ἀμφοτέρους ἀμα χειροτονοῦντες ὑπάτους, ποτὲ δὲ ἐν μέρει, τὸν μὲν ὑπατον, τὸν δὲ ἀνθύπατον, ἐξ-ἐπεμπτον. ο ὁ Ποσειδώνιος φησὶ τὸν μὲν Φάβιον θυρεόν καλείσθαι, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ξίφος. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Φάβιον ὡς παιδαγωγὸν φοβεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ὡς ἀνταγωνιστήν. υφ' οὗ μὲν γὰρ κωλύσθαι κακὸν τι ποιεῖν, υφ' οὗ δὲ καὶ πᾶσχειν.

Χ. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἄνέσεως πολλῆς καὶ θράσυτητος ἡκ τοῦ κρατεῖν τὸν Ἀννίβαν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐγγενομένης, τοὺς ἀποσκιδαμένους τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ καταπρέχοντας τὴν χώραν ἐπιτιθέμενος κατέκοπτε καὶ ὑπανηλισχε τῆς δυνάμεως. ἐπείτα πρὸς Νέαν πόλιν καὶ Νόλαν βοηθήσας Νεαπολίτας μὲν ἐπέρρωσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ έκει τοὺς βεβαιοὺς ὤντας Ῥωμαίοις, εἰς δὲ Νόλαν εἰσελθὼν στάσει εὑρέ, τῆς Βουλῆς τῶν δήμου ἀννιβίζων μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ κατα-τίσαι μὴ δυνάμενης. ην γὰρ τις ἄνηρ εὐγενεία τε πρωτεύων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ κατ' ἀνδρεῖαν ἐπι-φανής, ὄνομα Βάνδιος τοῦτον ἐν Κάνναις περι-όπτος ἀγωνισμένου καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντα τῶν Καρχηδονίων, τέλος δὲ αὐτόν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς εὐρεθέντα πολλῶν βελῶν κατάπλευσεν τὸ σώμα, θαυμάσας ὁ Ἀννίβας ὁμοίως ἀφήκεν ἀνεν

1 ἀφεώρων Coraës and Bekker have κατέφευγον (took refuge), after Stephanus.
in him a general who sufficed for the defensive, but was inadequate for the offensive, and therefore turned their eyes upon Marcellus; and mingling and uniting his boldness and activity with the caution and forethought of Fabius, they sometimes elected both to be consuls together, and sometimes made them, by turns, consul and proconsul, and sent them into the field. Poseidonius says that Fabius was called a shield, and Marcellus a sword. ¹ And Hannibal himself used to say that he feared Fabius as a tutor, but Marcellus as an adversary; for by the one he was prevented from doing any harm, while by the other he was actually harmed.

X. To begin with, then, since Hannibal's victory had made his soldiers very bold and careless, Marcellus set upon them as they straggled from their camp and overran the country, cut them down, and thus slowly diminished their forces; secondly, he brought aid to Neapolis and Nola. In Neapolis he merely confirmed the minds of the citizens, who were of their own choice steadfast friends of Rome; but on entering Nola, he found a state of discord, the senate being unable to regulate and manage the people, which favoured Hannibal. For there was a man in the city of the highest birth and of illustrious valour, whose name was Bantius. This man had fought with conspicuous bravery at Cannae, and had slain many of the Carthaginians, and when he was at last found among the dead with his body full of missiles, Hannibal was struck with admiration of him, and not only let him go without a ransom, but

¹ Cf. the Fabius Maximus, xix. 3.
λύτρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῶρα προσέθηκε καὶ φίλοι
3 ἐποιήσατο καὶ ξένοι. ἀμειβόμενοι οὖν τὴν χάριν ἦν τῶν ἀννυβίζοντων προθύμως, καὶ τὸν δήμον ἱσχύων ἔξηγε πρὸς ἀπόστασιν. ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἀνέλειν μὲν ἀνδρὰ λαμπρὸν οὔτω τὴν τύχην καὶ κεκοιμωνηκότα τῶν μεγίστων Ἐρω-


τεύξεως ξητῶν. ὡς γὰρ εἶπε, "Δεύκιος Βάνδιος," οἶον ἦσθεὶς καὶ θαυμάσας οὗ Μάρκελλος, ""H γὰρ ἐκεῖνος," ἐφι, "σὺ Βάνδιος, οὔ πλεῖστος ἐν Ῥώμη λόγος τῶν ἐν Κάνναις ἀγωνισμένων, ὡς μόνου Παῦλου Αἰμίλιου τὸν ἄρχοντα μὴ προλιπόντος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐκείνων φερομένων βελῶν


υποστάντος τὸ σῶματι καὶ ἀναδεξαμένου;" φή-


σαντος δὲ τοῦ Βανδίου καὶ τι καὶ παραφήμαντος αὐτῷ τῶν τραυμάτων, "Εἶτα," ἐφι, "τηλικαῦτα γνωρίσματα φέρων τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλίας οὐκ εὐθὺς προσήκεις; ἢ κακοῖ σοι δοκοῦμεν ἀρετὴν ἀμείβεσθαι φίλων οῖσ ἔστι τιμὴ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις;" ταῦτα φιλοφρονηθεῖσα καὶ δεξιω-


σάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ ὅραμα πολεμίστην αὐτῷ καὶ ὅραμας ἀργυρίου πεντακοσίας.


XI. Ἐκ τούτου βεβαιότατος μὲν ἦν Μαρκέλλω


παραστάτης καὶ σύμμαχος, δεινότατος δὲ μη-


νυτής καὶ κατήγορος τῶν τάναντα φρονούντων ἦν Βανδιός. ἦσαν δὲ πολλοί, καὶ διευθύνοντο τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπεξιόντων τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτοῖς διαρ-


πάσαι τὰς ἀποσκευᾶς. διὸ συντάξας ὁ Μάρ-
actually added gifts, and made him his friend and guest. In return for this favour, then, Bantius was one of those who eagerly favoured the cause of Hannibal, and was using his great influence to bring the people to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put to death a man so illustrious in his good fortune who had taken part with the Romans in their greatest conflicts, and, besides his natural kindliness, he had an address that was likely to win over a character whose ambition was for honour. One day, therefore, when Bantius saluted him, he asked him who he was, not that he had not known him for some time, but seeking occasion and excuse for conversation with him. For when he said, "I am Lucius Bantius," Marcellus, as if astonished and delighted, said: "What! are you that Bantius who is more talked of in Rome than any of those who fought at Cannae, as the only man who did not abandon Paulus Aemilius the consul, but encountered and received in his own body most of the missiles aimed at him?" And when Bantius assented and showed him some of his scars, "Why, then," said Marcellus, "when you bear such marks of your friendship towards us, did you not come to us at once? Can it be that you think us loath to requite valour in friends who are honoured even among our enemies?" These kindly greetings he followed up by making him presents of a war horse and five hundred drachmas in silver.

XI. After this Bantius was a most steadfast partisan and ally of Marcellus, and a most formidable denouncer and accuser of those who belonged to the opposite party. These were many, and they purposed, when the Romans went out against the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Marcellus there-

1 The story of Lucius Bantius is told by Livy also (xxiii. 15, 7—16, 1).
κελλος τὴν δύναμιν ἐντὸς παρὰ τὰς πύλας ἐστησε τὰ σκευοφόρα, καὶ τοῖς Νωλανοῖς διὰ κηρύγματος ἀπείπε πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσπελάζειν. ἦν οὖν ὁπλῶν ἔρημία καὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἐπεσπάσατο προσάγειν ἀτακτότερον, ὡς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει παρατηρομένων. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὴν καθ’ αὐτὸν πύλην ἀναπετάσαι κελεύσας ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐξῆλασεν, ἐχὼν μεθ’ ἕαντον τῶν ἰπποτῶν τοὺς λαμπροτάτους, καὶ προσπεσών κατὰ στόμα 3 συνείχετο τοῖς πολεμίοις. μετ’ ὀλίγον δ’ οἱ πεζοὶ καθ’ ἔτερα πύλην ἔχωρουν μετὰ δρόμου καὶ βοῆς καὶ πρὸς τούτους αὖθις αὖ τοῦ Ἀννίβα μερίζοντος τὴν δύναμιν ἡ τρίτη τῶν πυλῶν ἀνεφύγωσεν, καὶ δ’ αὐτῆς ἐξέθεουν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ προσέκειντο πανταχόθεν ἐκπεπληγμένοι τῷ ἰπποσδόκειτο καὶ κακῶς ἀμυνομένους τοὺς ἐν χερσὶ ήδη διὰ τοὺς ύστερους ἐπιφερομένους. κανταῦθα πρῶτον οἱ σὺν Ἀννίβα ἡΡωμαίοις ἐνέδωκαν, ὀθούμενοι φόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ τραύμασι πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ πεντακισχιλίων ἀποθανείν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ ἩΡωμαίῶν οὐ πλείονας ἢ πεντακισίως. ὁ δὲ Λίβιος οὔτω μὲν οὐ διαβεβαιοῦτα γενέσθαι μεγάλην ἦτταν οὔδ’ πεσεῖν νεκροὺς τοσοῦτοι τῶν πολεμίων, κλέος δὲ μέγα Παρκέλλω καὶ ἩΡωμαίοις ἐκ κακῶν θάρσος ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης ὑπάρξαι θαυμαστῶν, οὐχ ὡς πρὸς ἄμαχον οὔδὲ ἀήττητον, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ παθεῖν δυνάμειν διαγωνιζομένους πολέμιοι.

XII. Διὸ καὶ θατέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀποθανόντος
fore drew up his forces inside the city, stationed his baggage-trains near the gates, and issued an edict forbidding the men of Nola to come near the city walls. Consequently there were no armed men to be seen, and Hannibal was thus induced to lead up his forces in some disorder, supposing the city to be in a tumult. But at this juncture Marcellus ordered the gate where he stood to be thrown open, and marched out, having with him the flower of his horsemen, and charging directly down upon the enemy joined battle with them. After a little his footmen also, by another gate, advanced to the attack on the run and with shouts. And still again, while Hannibal was dividing his forces to meet these, the third gate was thrown open, and through it the rest rushed forth and fell upon their enemies on every side. These were dismayed by the unexpected onset, and made a poor defence against those with whom they were already engaged because of those who charged upon them later. Here for the first time the soldiers of Hannibal gave way before the Romans, being beaten back to their camp with much slaughter and many wounds. For it is said that more than five thousand of them were slain, while they killed not more than five hundred of the Romans. Livy, however, will not affirm that the victory was so great nor that so many of the enemy were slain, but says that this battle brought great renown to Marcellus, and to the Romans a wonderful courage after their disasters. They felt that they were contending, not against a resistless and unconquerable foe, but against one who was liable, like themselves, to defeat.

XII. For this reason, on the death of one of the

1 *Vix equidem ausim adfīrmare*, xxiii. 16, 15.
εκάλει Μάρκελλον ὁ δήμος ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν ἀπόντα, καὶ βίᾳ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὑπερέθετο τὴν κατάστασιν ἐώς ἐκείνος ἠθέθη ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. καὶ πάσας μὲν ἀπεδείχθη ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπατος, ἐπιβροντίσαντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων οὐκ αἰσιόν τιθεμένων τὸ σημεῖον, ἐμφανός δὲ κωλύειν ὁκνούντων καὶ δεδιότων τῶν δήμουν, 2 αὐτῶς ἐξωμόσατο τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ μέντοι τῆς στρατεύματος ἐφυγεν, ἀλλ’ ἀνθύπατος ἀναγορευθεὶς καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Ἁὼλαν ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον κακῶς ἐποίει τοὺς ἱρημένους τὰ τοῦ Φοίνικος. ὡς δὲ ὅζειαν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν θέμενος βοήθειαν ἐκεῖνος ἦκε, προκαλοῦμένῳ μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐκ ἠβουλήθη διαγωνίσασθαι, τρέψαντι δὲ τὸ πλείστον ἐφ’ ἀρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ μηκέτι προσδεχομένῳ μάχην ἐπεξήλθε, διαδοὺς δόρατα τῶν ναυμάχου μεγάλα τοῖς πεζοῖς, καὶ διδάξας πόρρωθεν συντηροῦσι παῖειν τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους, ἀκοντιστὰς μὲν οὐκ ὄντας, αἰχμαῖς δὲ 3 χρωμένους ἐκ χειρὸς βραχείαις. διὸ καὶ δοκοῦσι τότε δεῖξαι τὰ νότα Ῥωμαίοις ὅσοι συνέβαλον καὶ φυγὴν ἀπροφάσιστον φυγεῖν, ἀποβαλόντες εξ έαυτῶν νεκροὺς μὲν γενομένους πεντακισχίλιον, αἰχμαλώτους δὲ ἐξακοσίους, καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τέσσαρας μὲν πεσόντας, δύο δὲ ξωοὺς ἀλόντας. δ’ ἦν μέγιστον, ἡμέρα τρίτη μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἱππεῖς Ἰβῆρων καὶ Νομάδων μιγάδες αὐτομολοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριακοσίους, οὕτω πρότερον Ἀννίβα τούτο παθόντος, ἀλλ’ ἐκ ποικίλων καὶ πολυτρόπων συνηρμοσμένου ἑθῶν βαρβαρ-
consuls, the people called Marcellus home to succeed him, and, in spite of the magistrates, postponed the election until his return from the army. He was made consul by a unanimous vote, but there was a peal of thunder at the time, and since the augurs considered the omen unpropitious, but hesitated to make open opposition for fear of the people, he renounced the office of himself. He did not, however, lay aside his military command, but having been declared proconsul, he returned to his army at Nola and proceeded to punish those who had espoused the cause of the Carthaginian. And when Hannibal came swiftly to their aid against him, and challenged him to a pitched battle, Marcellus declined an engagement; but as soon as his adversary had set the greater part of his army to plundering and was no longer expecting a battle, he led his forces out against him. He had distributed long spears used in naval combats among his infantry, and taught them to watch their opportunity and smite the Carthaginians at long range; these were not javeliers, but used short spears in hand to hand fighting. This seems to have been the reason why at that time all the Carthaginians who were engaged turned their backs upon the Romans and took to unhesitating flight, losing five thousand of their number slain, and six hundred prisoners; four of their elephants also were killed, and two taken alive. But what was most important, on the third day after the battle, more than three hundred horsemen, composed of Spaniards and Numidians, deserted from them. Such a disaster had not happened before this to Hannibal, but a barbarian army made up of varied and dissimilar peoples had

1 Lucius Postumius, who was utterly defeated and slain by the Gauls in 215 B.C. Cf. Livy, xxiii. 24.
κόν στράτευμα πλείστου χρόνου ἐν μιᾷ γνώμῃ διαφυλάξαντος. οὕτωι μὲν οὖν πιστοὶ παρέμειναν εἰς ἅπαν αὐτῷ τε τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτὸν στρατηγοῖς.

XIII. Ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἀποδείχθεις ὑπατος τὸ τρίτον εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσεν. αἱ γὰρ Ἀννίβου περὶ τὸν πόλεμον εὐπραξία Καρχηδονίους ἐπήραν αὔθες ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς νῆσου, μάλιστα τεταραγμένων τῶν περὶ τὰς Συρακούσας μετὰ τὴν Ἱερωνύμου τοῦ τυράννου τελευτήν. διὸ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ἦν ἐκεῖ προαπεσταλμένη δύναμις καὶ στρατηγὸς Ἀππίος. ταύτην παραλαμβάνοντι τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ προσπήπτουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πολλοὶ συμφορὰ κεχρημένοι τοιαῦτη. τῶν περὶ Κάννας παραταξαμένων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν οἱ μὲν ἐφυγον, οἱ δὲ ξώντες ἤλωσαν, τοσοῦτον πλῆθος ὡς δοκεῖν Ῥωμαίους ὑπολειβῆθαι μηδὲ τοὺς τὰ 3 τείχη διαφυλάξοντας. τοῖς δὲ ἄρα τοσοῦτο τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας περιῆν ὡστε τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἐπὶ μικροῖς λύτροις ἀποδίδοντος Ὄννίβου μὴ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἀποψυχίασθαι καὶ περιδεῖν τοὺς μὲν ἁναίρεθέντας, τοὺς δὲ πραθέντας ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας, τῶν δὲ φυγὴ περιγενομένων τὸ πλῆθος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀποστεῖλαι, διακελευσάμενος Ἰταλίας μὴ ἐπιβάινειν ἔως πολεμοῦσιν πρὸς Ὄννίβαν. οὕτωι δὲ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ παραγενομένῳ προσπεσοῦντες ἄθροοι, καὶ χαμαὶ καταβαλόντες αὐτοὺς, ἦτον τάξιν ἐπιτύμου στρατείας μετὰ πολλῆς βοής καὶ δακρύων, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι δεῖξειν δι’ ἔργων ἄτυχία τινὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δι’ ἄναν- 305

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MARCELLUS, xii. 3–xiii. 4

for a very long time been kept by him in perfect harmony. These deserters, then, remained entirely faithful both to Marcellus himself, and to the generals who succeeded him.¹

XIII. And now Marcellus, having been appointed consul for the third time,² sailed to Sicily. For Hannibal's successes in the war had encouraged the Carthaginians to attempt anew the conquest of the island, especially now that Syracuse was in confusion after the death of the tyrant Hieronymus. For this reason the Romans also had previously sent a force thither under the command of Appius. As Marcellus took over this force, he was beset by many Romans who were involved in a calamity now to be described. Of those who had been drawn up against Hannibal at Cannae, some had fled, and others had been taken alive, and in such numbers that it was thought the Romans had not even men enough left to defend the walls of their city. And yet so much of their high spirit and haughtiness remained that, although Hannibal offered to restore his prisoners of war for a slight ransom, they voted not to receive them, but suffered some of them to be put to death and others to be sold out of Italy; and as for the multitude who had saved themselves by flight, they sent them to Sicily, ordering them not to set foot in Italy as long as the war against Hannibal lasted.³ These were the men who, now that Marcellus was come, beset him in throngs, and throwing themselves on the ground before him, begged with many cries and tears for an assignment to honourable military service, promising to show by their actions that their

¹ Cf. Livy, xxiii. 46, 1–7.
² In 214 B.C. Fabius Maximus was his colleague.
³ Cf. Livy, xxiii. 25, 7.
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δρίαν αὐτῶν τὴν τροπὴν ἐκείνην γενομένην. οἰκτείρας οὖν αὐτοὺς ὁ Μάρκκελλος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον αὐτοῦμενος ἐκ τούτων ἀεὶ τῆς 5 στρατιᾶς τὸ ἐπιλείπον ἀναπληρῶν. λόγον δὲ πολλῶν γενομένων ἐποιήσατο γυνώμην ἡ βουλὴ μηδὲν εἰς δημόσια πράγματα δεῖσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ἀνθρώπων ἀνάνδρων: εἰ δὲ βούλεται χρῆσθαι Μάρκκελλος αὐτοῖς ἵσως, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐπὶ ἀνδρεία νομιζομένων στεφάνων καὶ γερῶν τυχεῖν ὑπ' ἀρχοντος. τούτῳ τὸ δόγμα Μάρκκελλον ἴνασε, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐν Σικελίᾳ πόλεμον ἐπαινελθὼν ἐμέμψατο τὴν βουλὴν, ὡς ἀντὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων οὐ παρασχοῦσαν αὐτῷ τοσοῦτων δυστυχίαν ἐπανορθώσασθαι πολιτῶν.

XIV. Τότε δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ πρῶτον μὲν ἀδικηθεῖς ὑπὸ Ἰπποκράτους Συρακούσιων στρατηγοῦ, διὸ Καρχηδονίων χαριζόμενος καὶ τυραννίδα κτῶ- μενος αὐτῷ πολλοὺς διεφθειρε Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς Λεοντῖνοις, ἐλεὲ 1 τὴν τῶν Λεοντίνων πόλιν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ Λεοντίνους μὲν ὀκὺ ἤδικησε, τῶν δὲ αὐτομόλων όσοὺς ἔλαβε μαστιγώσας ἀπέκτεινεν. 2 τού δ' Ἰπποκράτους πρῶτον μὲν λόγον εἰς τὰς Συρακούσιας προπέμψαντος ὡς Λεοντίνους ἡβίδον ἀποσφάττει Μάρκκελλος, ἐπειτα δὲ τεταραγμένοις ἐπιπεσόντος καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατάλαβόντος, ἀρας οἱ Μάρκκελλος τῷ στρατῷ παντὶ πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσιας ἐχώρει. καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύσας πλη- σίον εἰσέπεμψε μὲν πρὸς ἐκράτους ἡμῖν περὶ τῶν ἐν Λεοντί- νοις διδάξοντας, ἡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἤβελος ἡμὶν πειθο- μένων Συρακούσιων (ἐκράτους γὰρ οἱ περὶ τῶν 3 Ἰπποκράτην), προσβολᾶς ἐποιεῖτο κατὰ γῆν ἀμα

* εἶλε with Reiske and Coraës: . . . καὶ εἶλε, the lacuna to be filled from Livy xxiv. 30, 1.

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former defeat had been due to some great misfortune rather than to cowardice. Marcellus, therefore, taking pity on them, wrote to the senate asking permission to fill up the deficiencies in his army from time to time with these men. But after much discussion the senate declared its opinion that the Roman commonwealth had no need of men who were cowards; if, however, as it appeared, Marcellus wished to use them, they were to receive from their commander none of the customary crowns or prizes for valour. This decree vexed Marcellus, and when he came back to Rome after the war in Sicily, he upbraided the senate for not permitting him, in return for his many great services, to redeem so many citizens from misfortune.

XIV. But in Sicily, at the time of which I speak, his first proceeding, after wrong had been done him by Hippocrates, the commander of the Syracusans (who, to gratify the Carthaginians and acquire the tyranny for himself, had killed many Romans at Leontini), was to take the city of Leontini by storm. He did no harm, however, to its citizens, but all the deserters whom he took he ordered to be beaten with rods and put to death. Hippocrates first sent a report to Syracuse that Marcellus was putting all the men of Leontini to the sword, and then, when the city was in a tumult at the news, fell suddenly upon it and made himself master of it. Upon this, Marcellus set out with his whole army and came to Syracuse. He encamped near by, and sent ambassadors into the city to tell the people what had really happened at Leontini; but when this was of no avail and the Syracusans would not listen to him, the power being now in the hands of Hippocrates, he proceeded to attack the city by land and sea,
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1 See chapter xv. 3. According to Polybius (viii. 6). Marcellus had eight quinqueremes in pairs, and on each pair, lashed together, a “sambuca” (or harp) had been
Appius leading up the land forces, and he himself having a fleet of sixty quinqueremes filled with all sorts of arms and missiles. Moreover, he had erected an engine of artillery on a huge platform supported by eight galleys fastened together, and with this sailed up to the city wall, confidently relying on the extent and splendour of his equipment and his own great fame. But all this proved to be of no account in the eyes of Archimedes and in comparison with the engines of Archimedes. To these he had by no means devoted himself as work worthy of his serious effort, but most of them were mere accessories of a geometry practised for amusement, since in bygone days Hiero the king had eagerly desired and at last persuaded him to turn his art somewhat from abstract notions to material things, and by applying his philosophy somehow to the needs which make themselves felt, to render it more evident to the common mind.

For the art of mechanics, now so celebrated and admired, was first originated by Eudoxus and Archytas, who embellished geometry with its subtleties, and gave to problems incapable of proof by word and diagram, a support derived from mechanical illustrations that were patent to the senses. For instance, in solving the problem of finding two mean proportional lines, a necessary requisite for many geometrical figures, both mathematicians had recourse to mechanical arrangements, adapting to their purposes certain intermediate portions of curved lines and sections. But Plato was incensed at this, and inveighed against them as corrupters and destroyers of the pure excellence of geometry, constructed. This was a pent-house for raising armed men on to the battlements of the besieged city.
καὶ νοητῶν ἀποδιδρασκούσης ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητά, καὶ προσχρωμένης αὕτης αὐτῷ σώματι πολλῆς καὶ φορτικῆς βαναυσουργίας δεομένοις, οὕτω διεκρίθη γεωμετρίας ἐκπευσοῦσα μηχανική, καὶ περιορωμένη πολὺν χρόνον ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας μία τῶν στρατιωτίδων τεχνῶν ἐγεγόνει.

7 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ Ἀρχιμήδης, Ἰέρων τῷ βασιλεῖ συγγενὴς ὦν καὶ φίλος, ἔγραψεν ὡς τῇ δοθείς δυνάμει τὸ δοθὲν βάρος κινῆσαι δυνατόν ἔστι: καὶ νεανιευσάμενος, ὡς φασί, ρώμη τῆς ἀποδείξεως εἶπεν ὡς, εἰ γῆν εἴχεν ἐτέραν, ἐκίνησεν ἀν ταύτην μεταβάς εἰς ἐκείνην. θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰέρωνος, καὶ δεηθέντος εἰς ἔργον ἔξαγαγεν τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ δείξαν τὶ τῶν μεγάλων κινούμενον ὑπὸ σμικρὰς δυνάμεως, ὅλκάδα τριάρμευν τὸν βασιλικὸν πόνον μεγάλω καὶ χειρί πολλῇ νεωλκηθείσαν, ἐμβαλὼν ἀνθρώπους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν συνήθῃ φόρτου, αὐτὸς ἀπώθεν καθήμενος, οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς, ἀλλὰ ἠρέμα τῇ χειρὶ σείων ἀρχὴν τινα πολυσιστάτου προσηγάγετο λείως καὶ ὠπταίστως καὶ ὄσπερ διὰ θαλάττης ἐπιθέουσαν. ἐκπλαγεῖς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ συνισκόμες τῆς τέχνης τῆς δύναμιν, ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀρχιμήδην ὅπως αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἀμυνομένως, τὰ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντι μηχανηματα κατασκευάσῃ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἱδέαν πολιορκίας, οῖς αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐχρῆσατο, τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπόλεμον καὶ πανηγυρικὸν βιῶσας, τότε δ' ύπηρξε τοῖς Συρακουσίοις εἰς δέον ἡ παρασκευὴ καὶ μετὰ τῆς παρασκευῆς ὁ δημιουργός.

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which thus turned her back upon the incorporeal
things of abstract thought and descended to the things
of sense, making use, moreover, of objects which re-
quired much mean and manual labour. For this reason
mechanics was made entirely distinct from geometry,
and being for a long time ignored by philosophers,
came to be regarded as one of the military arts.

And yet even Archimedes, who was a kinsman
and friend of King Hiero, wrote to him that with
any given force it was possible to move any given
weight; and emboldened, as we are told, by the
strength of his demonstration, he declared that, if
there were another world, and he could go to it, he
could move this. Hiero was astonished, and begged
him to put his proposition into execution, and show
him some great weight moved by a slight force.
Archimedes therefore fixed upon a three-masted
merchantman of the royal fleet, which had been
dragged ashore by the great labours of many men,
and after putting on board many passengers and the
customary freight, he seated himself at a distance
from her, and without any great effort, but quietly
setting in motion with his hand a system of com-
pound pulleys, drew her towards him smoothly and
evenly, as though she were gliding through the
water. Amazed at this, then, and comprehending
the power of his art, the king persuaded Archimedes
to prepare for him offensive and defensive engines
to be used in every kind of siege warfare. These
he had never used himself, because he spent the
greater part of his life in freedom from war and
amid the festal rites of peace; but at the present
time his apparatus stood the Syracusans in good
stead, and, with the apparatus, its fabricator.\footnote{Cf.
Polybius, viii. 5, 3–5; 9, 2; Livy, xxiv. 34.}

1
ΧV. Ἡ δ' οὖν προσέβαλον οἱ Ῥώμαιοι διχόθεν, ἐκπλήξεις ἢν τῶν Συρακουσίων καὶ συγῇ διὰ δέος, μὴδὲν ἂν ἀνθέξειν πρὸς βίαν καὶ δύναμιν οὐομένων τοσαύτην. σχάσαντος δὲ τὰς μηχανὰς τοῦ Ἀρχιμήδου ἀμα τοῖς μὲν πεζοῖς ἀπῆντα τοξεύματα τε παντοδαπὰ καὶ λίθων ὑπέροχα μεγέθη, ῥοῖζῳ καὶ τάχει καταφερομένων ἀπίστω, καὶ μηδενὸς ὅλως τὸ βρίθος στέγοντος ἄθροος ἀνατρεπόντων τοὺς ὑποπίπτοντας καὶ τὰς τάξεις συγχεόντων, 

2 ταῖς δὲ ναυσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀφὼ ὑπεραιωροῦμεναι κεραίας τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ βρύδους στηρίξοντος ἀνωθὲν ὠθοῦσαι κατέδυν εἰς βυθόν, τὰς δὲ χεραὶ σιδηραῖς ἢ στόμασιν εἰκασμένους γεράνων ἀναστῶσαι πρώραθεν ὤρθὰς ἐπὶ πρύμνων ἐβάπτιζον, ἢ δὲ ἀντιτόνων ἐνδο ἐπιστρεφόμεναι καὶ περιαγόμεναι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος πεφυκόσι κρημνοῖς καὶ σκοπέλοις προσήρασον, ἀμα φθόρῳ πολλῷ τῶν 

3 ἐπιβατῶν συντριβομένων. πολλάκις δὲ μετέωρος ἐξαρθείσα ναῦς ἀπὸ τὴς θαλάσσης δεῦρο κάκεισε περιδυνομένη καὶ κρεμαμένη θέαμα φρυκώδες ἤν, μέχρι οὗ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπορριφέντων καὶ διασφενδονθέντων κενὴ προσπέσοι τοῖς τείχεσιν ἤ περιολίσθοι τῆς λαβῆς ἁνείσης. ἦν δὲ ὁ Μάρκελλος ἀπὸ τοῦ ξεύγματος ἐπῆγε μηχανῆν, σαμβύκη μὲν ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὀμοιότητά τινα σχήματος πρὸς τὸ 

4 μουσικὸν ὄργανον, ἔτι δὲ ἀπώθεν αὐτῆς προσφερομένης πρὸς τὸ τείχος ἑξῆλατο λίθος δεκατwner

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XV. When, therefore, the Romans assaulted them by sea and land, the Syracusans were stricken dumb with terror; they thought that nothing could withstand so furious an onset by such forces. But Archimedes began to ply his engines, and shot against the land forces of the assailants all sorts of missiles and immense masses of stones, which came down with incredible din and speed; nothing whatever could ward off their weight, but they knocked down in heaps those who stood in their way, and threw their ranks into confusion. At the same time huge beams were suddenly projected over the ships from the walls, which sank some of them with great weights plunging down from on high; others were seized at the prow by iron claws, or beaks like the beaks of cranes, drawn straight up into the air, and then plunged stern foremost into the depths, or were turned round and round by means of enginery within the city, and dashed upon the steep cliffs that jutted out beneath the wall of the city, with great destruction of the fighting men on board, who perished in the wrecks. Frequently, too, a ship would be lifted out of the water into mid-air, whirled hither and thither as it hung there, a dreadful spectacle, until its crew had been thrown out and hurled in all directions, when it would fall empty upon the walls, or slip away from the clutch that had held it. As for the engine which Marcellus was bringing up on the bridge of ships, and which was called "sambuca" from some resemblance it had to the musical instrument of that name, while it was still some distance off in its approach to the wall, a stone of ten talents' weight was discharged at it, then a

1 See chapter xiv. 3.
2 A talent's weight was something over fifty pounds.
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λαυτός ὀλκήν, εἶτα ἑτερος ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τριτος, ὧν οἱ μὲν αὐτῇ ἐμπεσόντες μεγάλῳ κτύπῳ καὶ κλύδων τῆς μηχανῆς τὴν τε βαίσιν συγκλόθησαν καὶ τὸ γόμφωμα διέσεισαν καὶ διέσπασαν τοῦ ἥσυχατος, ὡστε τὸν Μάρκελλον ἀπορούμενον αὐτὸν τε ταῖς ναυσίν ἀποπλεῖν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τοῖς πεζοῖς ἀναχώρησιν παρεγγυήσαι.

5 Βουλευομένοις δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἔτι νυκτὸς, ἄν δύσωσται, προσμύξα τοῖς τεῖχεσιν τοὺς γὰρ τόνον, οἷς χρῆσθαι τὸν Ἀρχιμίδην, ῥύμην ἔχοντας ὑπερπετεῖς ποιήσον τὰς τῶν βελῶν ἀφέσεις, ἐγγύθεν δὲ καὶ τελέως ἁπράκτου εἶναι διάστημα τῆς πληγῆς οὐκ ἔχούσης. ὁ δ' ἦν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ ταύτα πάλαι παρεσκευασμένος ὁργάνων τε συμμετρος πρὸς πάν διάστημα κινήσεις καὶ βέλη βραχέα, καὶ διὰ τὸ τεῖχος οὐ μεγάλων, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ συνεχῶν τρημάτων ὄντων, οἱ σκορπιοὶ βραχύτονοι μὲν, ἐγγύθεν δὲ πλῆξαι παρεστήκεσαν ἀνάρτοι τοῖς πολεμίοις.

Χ. Β. Ὡς οὖν προσέμυξαν οἶομενοι λαυθάνειν, αὐθίς αὖ βέλεσι πολλοῖς ἐνυγχάνοντες καὶ πληγαῖς, πετρῶν μὲν ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς φερομένων ὡσπερ πρὸς κάθετον, τοῦ δὲ τεῖχος τοξεύματα πανταχόθεν ἀναπέμποντος, ἄνεχόρουν ὁπίσω. καύναυθα πάλιν αὐτῶν εἰς μῆκος ἔκτεταγμένων, βελῶν ἐκθεότων καὶ κατάλαμβανότων ἀπιόντας ἐγκέντο πολὺς μὲν αὐτῶν φθόρος, πολὺς δὲ τῶν νεῶν συγκρουσμός, οὐδὲν ἀντιδράσαι τοὺς πολεμίους δυναμένων. τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τῶν ὁρ-

1 αὐτῇ Bekker, after Coraës: αὐτῇs (of the engine itself).
2 ὡστε before this word Sintenis and Bekker assume a lacuna in the text, comparing Polybius, viii. 7, 6n.
3 τὸ τεῖχος, ὄντων added to the text by Sintenis, who compares Polybius viii. 7, 6.

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second and a third; some of these, falling upon it with great din and surge of wave, crushed the foundation of the engine, shattered its frame-work, and dislodged it from the platform, so that Marcellus, in perplexity, ordered his ships to sail back as fast as they could, and his land forces to retire.

Then, in a council of war, it was decided to come up under the walls while it was still night, if they could; for the ropes which Archimedes used in his engines, since they imparted great impetus to the missiles cast, would, they thought, send them flying over their heads, but would be ineffective at close quarters, where there was no space for the cast. Archimedes, however, as it seemed, had long before prepared for such an emergency engines with a range adapted to any interval and missiles of short flight, and through many small and contiguous openings in the wall short-range engines called scorpions could be brought to bear on objects close at hand without being seen by the enemy.

XVI. When, therefore, the Romans came up under the walls, thinking themselves unnoticed, once more they encountered a great storm of missiles; huge stones came tumbling down upon them almost perpendicularly, and the wall shot out arrows at them from every point; they therefore retired. And here again, when they were some distance off, missiles darted forth and fell upon them as they were going away, and there was a great slaughter among them; many of their ships, too, were dashed together, and they could not retaliate in any way upon their foes. For Archimedes had built most of his engines close
γάνων υπὸ τὸ τείχος ἐσκευοποιήτο τῷ Ἀρχιμήδει, καὶ θεομαχοῦσιν ἐφ'κεσαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, μυρίων αὐτοῖς κακῶν ἐξ ἀφανοῖς ἐπίχειομένων.

XVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Μάρκελλος ἀπέφυγε τε καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἕαυτῷ σκόπτον τεχνίτας καὶ μη-χανοτοιούς ἐλέγεν· "Οὐ παυσόμεθα πρὸς τὸν γεωμετρικὸν τοῦτον Βριαρέων πολεμοῦντες, ὅσ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ἡμῶν κυαθίζει ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης, τὴν δὲ σαμβυκῆν ραπίζων μετ' αἰσχύνης ἐκβε-βληκε, τοὺς δὲ μυθικοὺς ἐκατόγχειρας ὑπεραίρει 2 τοσαῦτα βάλλων ἀμα βέλη καθ' ἡμῶν;" τῷ γὰρ ἄντι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ Συρακούσιοι σώμα τῆς Ἀρχιμήδους παρασκευὴν ἤσαν, ἢ δὲ κυνοῦσα πάντα καὶ στρέφουσα ψυχὴ μία, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ὀπλῶν ἀτρέμα κειμένων, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς ἐκείνου τὸ τε τῆς πόλεως χρωμένης καὶ πρὸς ἁμναν καὶ 3 πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν. τέλος δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους οὕτω περιφόβους γεγονότας ὄρον ὁ Μάρκελλος ὦστ', εἰ καλώδιον ἢ ξύλον ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους μικρὸν ὁφθεὶ προτεινόμενον, τούτῳ ἐκείνῳ, μηχανήν τινα κινεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀρχιμήδη Βοδώντας ἀποτρέπεσθαι καὶ φεύγειν, ἀπέσχετο μάχης ἀπάσης καὶ προσβολῆς, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν πολιορκίαν θέμενος.

Τηλικοῦτον μέντοι φρόνημα καὶ βάθος ψυχῆς καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐκέκτητο θεωρημάτων πλούτον Ἀρχιμήδης ὦστε, ἐφ' οἷς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης, ἀλλ' δαιμονίου τινὸς ἐσχε συνέσεως, 4 μηθὲν ἐθελήσαι σύγγραμμα περὶ τούτων ἀπο-λιτεῖν, ἀλλ' τὴν περὶ τὰ μηχανικὰ πραγματείαν καὶ πάσαν οἷον τέχνην χρείας ἐφαπτομένην

1 ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ... ἦπιζων an early anonymous correction of the MSS. τὰς μὲν ναύς ἡμῶν καθ' ἔτα τὴν θάλασσαν παλίζων, adopted by Bekker. Cf. Polybius, viii. 8, 6.
behind the wall, and the Romans seemed to be fighting against the gods, now that countless mischiefs were poured out upon them from an invisible source.

XVII. However, Marcellus made his escape, and jesting with his own artificers and engineers, "Let us stop," said he, "fighting against this geometrical Briareus, who uses our ships like cups to ladle water from the sea, and has whipped and driven off in disgrace our sambuca, and with the many missiles which he shoots against us all at once, outdoes the hundred-handed monsters of mythology." For in reality all the rest of the Syracusans were but a body for the designs of Archimedes, and his the one soul moving and managing everything; for all other weapons lay idle, and his alone were then employed by the city both in offence and defence. At last the Romans became so fearful that, whenever they saw a bit of rope or a stick of timber projecting a little over the wall, "There it is," they cried, "Archimedes is training some engine upon us," and turned their backs and fled. Seeing this, Marcellus desisted from all fighting and assault, and thenceforth depended on a long siege.

And yet Archimedes possessed such a lofty spirit, so profound a soul, and such a wealth of scientific theory, that although his inventions had won for him a name and fame for superhuman sagacity, he would not consent to leave behind him any treatise on this subject, but regarding the work of an engineer and every art that ministers to the needs of life as ignoble and vulgar, he devoted his earnest
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ἀγευνὴ καὶ βάναυσον ἡγησάμενος, εἰς ἐκεῖνα καταθέσθαι μόνα τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλοτιμίαν οἷς τὸ καλὸν καὶ περιττὸν ἀμυγὲς τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πρόσεστιν, ἀσύγκριτα μὲν ὅντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἔριν δὲ παρέχοντα πρὸς τὴν ὤλην τῇ ἀποδείξει, τῆς μὲν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος, τῆς δὲ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν 5 καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ὑπερφυή παρεχομένης. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐν γεωμετρίᾳ χαλεπωτέρας καὶ βαρυτέρας ὑποθέσεις ἐν ἀπλουστέροις λαβεῖν καὶ καθαρωτέροις στοιχείοις γραφομένας. καὶ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν εὐφυῖα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς προσάπτουσιν, οἳ δὲ ὑπερβολὴ τινὶ πόνῳ νομίζουσιν ἀπόνως πεποιημένῳ καὶ ῥάδιως ἐκαστὸν ἐοικὸς γεγονέναι. ξητῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀν τὶς εὗροι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἀμα δὲ τῇ μαθήσει παρίσταται δόξα τοῦ κἂν αὐτοῦ εὑρεῖν· οὔτω λείαν ὅδον ἄγει 1 καὶ ταχεὶαν ἐπὶ τὸ δεικνύμενον. οὐκον οὖδὲ ἀπιστήσαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις ἐστὶν, ὁς ὑπ’ οἰκεῖαις δὴ τινος καὶ συνοικοῦ θελομένους ἂεὶ σειρῆνος ἐλένηστο καὶ σίτου 2 καὶ θεραπείας σώματος ἐξέλειπε, βίᾳ δὲ πολλάκις ἐλκόμενος ἐπ’ ἀλείμμαι καὶ λουτρόν, ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάραις ἔγραφε σχῆματα τῶν γεωμετρικῶν, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀληθιμένου διήγη τῷ δακτύλῳ γραμμάς, ὑπὸ ἡδονῆς μεγάλης κάποιος 7 ὁν καὶ μουσικῆτος ἀληθῶς. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν εὐρετῆς γεγονός λέγεται τῶν φίλων δεηθῆναι καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν ὃπως αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευταῖον ἐπιστήσωσι τῷ τάφῳ τὸν περιλαμβάνοντα τὴν σφαῖραν ἐντὸς κύλινδρον, ἐπιγράψατες τῶν λόγων τῆς ὑπεροχῆς τοῦ περιέχοντος στερεοῦ πρὸς τὸ περιεχόμενον.

1 ἄγει Bekker, after Bryan: ἄγειν.
2 καὶ σίτου Bekker has πότου καὶ σίτου (food and drink), a suggestion of Coraïès.
efforts only to those studies the subtlety and charm of which are not affected by the claims of necessity. These studies, he thought, are not to be compared with any others; in them the subject matter vies with the demonstration, the former supplying grandeur and beauty, the latter precision and surpassing power. For it is not possible to find in geometry more profound and difficult questions treated in simpler and purer terms. Some attribute this success to his natural endowments; others think it due to excessive labour that everything he did seemed to have been performed without labour and with ease. For no one could by his own efforts discover the proof, and yet as soon as he learns it from him, he thinks he might have discovered it himself; so smooth and rapid is the path by which he leads one to the desired conclusion. And therefore we may not disbelieve the stories told about him, how, under the lasting charm of some familiar and domestic Siren, he forgot even his food and neglected the care of his person; and how, when he was dragged by main force, as he often was, to the place for bathing and anointing his body, he would trace geometrical figures in the ashes, and draw lines with his finger in the oil with which his body was anointed, being possessed by a great delight, and in very truth a captive of the Muses. And although he made many excellent discoveries, he is said to have asked his kinsmen and friends to place over the grave where he should be buried a cylinder enclosing a sphere, with an inscription giving the proportion by which the containing solid exceeds the contained.\footnote{When Cicero was quaestor in Sicily (75 B.C.), he found this tomb, which had been neglected and forgotten by the Syracusans (\textit{Tusc. Disp.} v. 64 ff.).}
XVIII. Ἀρχιμήδης μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτος γενόμενος ἀἵττητον ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡσον ἐφ’ ἑαυτῷ, διεφύλαξε. τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας διὰ μέσον Μάρκελλος εἶλε μὲν Μεγαρέας, πόλιν ἐν ταῖς παλαιόταταις τῶν Σικελιωτίδων, εἶλε δὲ τὸ Ἰπ-ποκράτους πρὸς Ἀκρίλλας στρατόπεδον, καὶ κατέκτειν ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπιπεσὼν χά-ρακα βαλλομένους, ἐπέδραμε δὲ πολλὴν τῆς Σικελίας καὶ πόλεις ἀπέστησε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ μάχας ἐνίκησε πάσας τοὺς ἀντιταχθῆναι τολμη-σαντας. χρόνω δὲ προϊόντι Δάμιστπτὸν τινα Σπαρτιάτην ἐκ Συρακοσῶν λαβὼν ἐκπλέοντα αἰχμᾶλωτον, ἀξιοῦντων ἐπὶ λύτροις τῶν Συρα-κοσίων κομίσασθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τούτου διαλεγόμενοι καὶ συνιστόμενοι πῦργον τινὰ κατεσκέψατο φυλαττόμενον μὲν ἄμελῶς, ἄνδρας δὲ δυνάμενον δέξασθαι κρύμα, τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβατοῦ παρ’ αὐτὸν ὁντος. ὥσ οὖν τὸ τε ύψος ἐκ τοῦ πολλάκις προσιέναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πῦργον εἰκάσθη καλῶς καὶ κλίμακες παρε-σκευάσθησαν, ἐορτὴν Ἀρτέμιδι τοὺς Συρακοσί-ους ἁγιοτάς καὶ πρὸς οἴνον ὠρμημένους καὶ παι-δίαν παραφυλάξας, ἔλαβεν οὐ μόνον τὸν πῦργον κατασχών, ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλῳ τὸ τείχος παρεμ-πλήσας ὁπλῶν πρὶν ἡμέραν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὰ Ἐξάπυλα διακόψας. ἀρχομένων δὲ κινεῖσθαι καὶ ταράττεσθαι τῶν Συρακοσίων πρὸς τὴν αὐτήσθησιν, ἀμα πανταχόθεν ταῖς σάλπιγξι χρη-σθαί κελεύσας φυγῆν ἐποίησε πολλὴν καὶ φόβον, ὡς οὐδενὸς μέρος ἀναλώτου μένοντος. ἔμενε δὲ
XVIII. Such, then, was Archimedes, and, so far as he himself was concerned, he maintained himself and his city unconquered. But during the progress of the siege Marcellus captured Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily; he also captured the camp of Hippocrates at Acrillae and killed more than eight thousand men, having attacked them as they were throwing up entrenchments; furthermore, he overran a great part of Sicily, brought cities over from the Carthaginians, and was everywhere victorious over those who ventured to oppose him. Some time afterwards he made a prisoner of a certain Damippus, a Spartan who tried to sail away from Syracuse. The Syracusans sought to ransom this man back, and during the frequent meetings and conferences which he held with them about the matter, Marcellus noticed a certain tower that was carelessly guarded, into which men could be secretly introduced, since the wall near it was easy to surmount. When, therefore, in his frequent approaches to it for holding these conferences, the height of the tower had been carefully estimated, and ladders had been prepared, he seized his opportunity when the Syracusans were celebrating a festival in honour of Artemis and were given over to wine and sport, and before they knew of his attempt not only got possession of the tower, but also filled the wall round about with armed men, before the break of day, and cut his way through the Hexapyla. When the Syracusans perceived this and began to run about confusedly, he ordered the trumpets to sound on all sides at once and thus put them to flight in great terror, believing as they did that no part of the city remained uncaptured.\footnote{Cf. Polybius, viii. 37; Livy, xxv. 23 f.}

There remained, however.
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tο καρτερώτατον καὶ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον ('Αχραδϊνη καλεῖται) διὰ τὸ τετειχίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἕξω πόλιν, ἢς τὸ μὲν Νέαν, τὸ δὲ Τύχην ὀνομάζουσι.

XIX. Καὶ τούτων ἐχομένων ἀμα φαίει διὰ τῶν 'Εξαπύλων ὁ Μάρκελλος κατηχεῖ, μακαριζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ύψι έαυτὸν ἡγεμόνων. αὐτὸς μέντοι λέγεται κατιδόν ἀνωθεν καὶ περισκεψάμενος τῆς πόλεως τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἐπὶ πολὺ δακρύσαι τῷ μέλλοντι γίνεσθαι συμπαθήσας, εἰσοίησας οἶνον ἐξ οἴου σχήμα καὶ μορφήν ἀμείψει μετὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διαφορηθείσα.

2 τῶν γὰρ ἡγεμόνων οὐδεὶς μὲν ἢν ὁ τολμῶν εὐαντιοῦσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτατος αἰτουμένοις δι' ἁρπαγῆς ὠφεληθήσαι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πυρπολεῖν καὶ κατασκάπτειν ἐκέλευσαν. ἄλλα τούτων μὲν οὐδὲ ὁλος προσήκατο τὸν λόγον ὁ Μάρκελλος, μάλα δὲ ἄκων βιασθεῖς ἐδωκεν ἀπὸ χρημάτων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων ὁφελείσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐλευθέρων σωμάτων ἀπεῖπεν ἀψασθαι, καὶ διεκελεύσατο μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι τινα μήτε αἰσχίναι μήτε ἀνδραποδίσασθαι Συρακούσιον.

3 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καῖπερ οὕτω μετριάσαι δόξας οἰκτρὰ πάσχειν ἤγειτο τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τὸ συμπαθοῦν καὶ τὸ συναλγοῦν ὃμως ἐν τοσοῦτῳ μεγέθει χαρᾶς ἡ ψυχὴ διέφαινεν ὁρῶντος ἐν βραχεί χρόνῳ πολλῆς καὶ λαμπρᾶς ἀφανισμὸν εὐδαιμονίας. λέγεται γὰρ οὐκ ἐλάττονα τούτων ἢ τῶν ύστερον ἀπὸ Καρχιδόνος διαφορηθέντα πλοῦτον γενέσθαι καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν οὐ μετὰ 484
the strongest, most beautiful, and largest part (called Achradina), because it had been fortified on the side towards the outer city, one part of which they call Neapolis, and another Tyche.

XIX. When these parts also were in his possession, at break of day Marcellus went down into the city through the Hexapyla, congratulated by the officers under him. He himself, however, as he looked down from the heights and surveyed the great and beautiful city, is said to have wept much in commiseration of its impending fate, bearing in mind how greatly its form and appearance would change in a little while, after his army had sacked it. For among his officers there was not a man who had the courage to oppose the soldiers’ demand for a harvest of plunder, nay, many of them actually urged that the city should be burned and razed to the ground. This proposal, however, Marcellus would not tolerate at all, but much against his will, and under compulsion, he permitted booty to be made of property and slaves, although he forbade his men to lay hands on the free citizens, and strictly ordered them neither to kill nor outrage nor enslave any Syracusan.

However, although he seems to have acted with such moderation, he thought that the city suffered a lamentable fate, and amidst the great rejoicing of his followers his spirit nevertheless evinced its sympathy and commiseration when he saw a great and glorious prosperity vanishing in a brief time. For it is said that no less wealth was carried away from Syracuse now than at a later time from Carthage; for not long afterwards the rest of the city

1 In 212 B.C., the siege having lasted nearly three years. Cf. Livy, xxv. 24–31.
πολὺν χρόνον ἀλούσαν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐβιάσαντο
dιαρπάσαι, πλὴν τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων
tαῦτα δὲ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐξηρέθη.

4 Μάλιστα δὲ τὸ Ἀρχιμήδους πάθος ἦνίασε
Μάρκελλον. ἔτυχε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς τι καθ’ ἐαυτὸν
ἀνασκοπῶν ἐπὶ διαγράμματος· καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ
dεδωκὼς ἄμα τὴν τε διάνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν
οὐ προῆσθετο τὴν καταδρομὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
οὐδὲ τὴν ἀλώσιν τῆς πόλεως, ἄφων δὲ ἐπιστάντος
αὑτῶν στρατιώτων καὶ κελεύοντος ἀκολουθεῖν
πρὸς Μάρκελλον ὥς ἐβούλετο πρὶν ἢ τελέσαι
τὸ πρόβλημα καὶ καταστήσει πρὸς τὴν ἀπό-

dειξών. ὦ δὲ ὀργισθεῖς καὶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος
ἀνέβλεν αὐτὸν. ἔτεροι μὲν οὖν λέγουσιν ἐπι-
στήμα τὸν εὐθὺς ὡς ἀποκτενοῦτα ξεφήρη τῶν
Ῥωμαίων, ἐκείνον δ’ ἰδόντα δεῖσθαι καὶ ἀντι-

βολεῖν ἀναμείναι βραχὺν χρόνον, ὡς μὴ κατα-

λίπῃ τὸ ἕθος ἀτελεῖς καὶ ἀθεόρητον, τὸν δὲ

οὐ φροντίσαντα διαχρήσασθαι. καὶ τρίτος ἐστὶ

λόγος, ὡς κομίζουτι πρὸς Μάρκελλον αὐτὸ τῶν

μαθηματικῶν ὄργανων σκιώθρα καὶ σφαιρᾶς καὶ

γωνίας, αἰς ἐναρμόττει τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου μέγεθος πρὸς

τὴν ὁψιν, στρατιῶται περιτυχάντες καὶ χρυσίων

ἐν τῷ τεύχει δόξαντες φέρειν ἀπέκτειναν. ὅτι

μέντοι Μάρκελλος ἤληγησε καὶ τὸν αὐτόχειρα
to τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀπεστράφη καθάπερ ἐναγή, τοὺς δὲ

οἰκείους ἀνευρῶν ἐτύμησεν, ὁμολογεῖται.

XX. Τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπων
deινῶν μὲν εἶναι πόλεμον μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ

φοβερῶν εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν νομιζομένων, εὐγνω-

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was betrayed and taken and subjected to pillage, excepting the royal treasury; this was converted into the public treasury.

But what most of all afflicted Marcellus was the death of Archimedes. For it chanced that he was by himself, working out some problem with the aid of a diagram, and having fixed his thoughts and his eyes as well upon the matter of his study, he was not aware of the incursion of the Romans or of the capture of the city. Suddenly a soldier came upon him and ordered him to go with him to Marcellus. This Archimedes refused to do until he had worked out his problem and established his demonstration, whereupon the soldier flew into a passion, drew his sword, and dispatched him. Others, however, say that the Roman came upon him with drawn sword threatening to kill him at once, and that Archimedes, when he saw him, earnestly besought him to wait a little while, that he might not leave the result that he was seeking incomplete and without demonstration; but the soldier paid no heed to him and made an end of him. There is also a third story, that as Archimedes was carrying to Marcellus some of his mathematical instruments, such as sun-dials and spheres and quadrants, by means of which he made the magnitude of the sun appreciable to the eye, some soldiers fell in with him, and thinking that he was carrying gold in the box, slew him. However, it is generally agreed that Marcellus was afflicted at his death, and turned away from his slayer as from a polluted person, and sought out the kindred of Archimedes and paid them honour.

XX. The Romans were considered by foreign peoples to be skilful in carrying on war and formidable fighters; but of gentleness and humanity
μοσύνης δὲ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ὀλως πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ὑποδείγματα ἐμὴ δεδωκότων, πρῶτος δοκεῖ τὸτε Μάρκελλος ὑποδείξαι τοῖς "Ελλησί δικαίο-
2 τέρως Ῥωμαίους. οὔτω γὰρ ἐχρῆτο τοῖς συμ-
βάλλουσι καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἰδιώτας εὐνεργήτησεν ὡστε, εἰ τι περὶ Ἑνναν ἡ Μεγαρεῖς ἡ 
Συρακουσίων ἐργον ἣν εἰργασμένον οὐκ ἐπηεικεῖ 
αὐτοῖς, τούτῳ τῶν πεποιηκότων αὐτία μᾶλλον ἡ 
tῶν πεποιηκότων δοκεῖν γεγονέναι. μυθῳδομοίμ 
δὲ εὖδο ἀπὸ πολλῶν. πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Σικελίας Ὁ 
Ἐγγύιον οὐ μεγάλη, ἀρχαία δὲ πάνω καὶ διὰ θεῶν 
3 ἐπιφάνειαν ἐνδόξος, ὡς καλοῦσι ματέρας. ἵδρυμα 
λέγεται Κρητῶν γενέσθαι τὸ ἱερόν· καὶ λόγχας 
tινὰς ἐδείκνυσαν καὶ κράνη χαλκᾶ, τὰ μὲν ἔχοντα 
Μηρίωνον, τὰ δὲ Οὐλίζου, τουτέστων Ὄδυσσεῶς, 
ἐπιγραφάς, ἀνατεθεικότων ταῖς θεαῖς. ταῦτην 
προθυμότατα καρχηδονίζουσαν Νικίας, ἀνήρ 
πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐπειθε μεταθέσθαι πρὸς 
Ῥωμαίους, ἀναφανδὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις παρ-
ρησιαζόμενος καὶ κακῶς φρονοῦντας εξελέγχων 
tοὺς ὑπεναντίους. οἱ δὲ φοβούμενοι τὴν δύναμιν 
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἑβουλεῦσαντο συναρπάσαι 
καὶ παραδοῦναι τοῖς Φοίνιξιν. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ 
Νικίας ἠδὴ καὶ παραφυλαττόμενον ἄδηλως ἑαυτῶν, 
ἐξέφερεν ἐν φανερῷ λόγους περὶ τῶν ματέρων 
ἄνεπιτηδείους, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς τὴν νομιζομένην 
ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δόξαν ὡς ἀπιστῶν καὶ καταφρο-
νῶν ἐπραττεῖν, ἢδομένων τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅτι τὴν 
μεγίστην αὐτίαν αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ὑπνεῖσεται 
5 παρεῖχε. γεγονότων δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὴν σύλληψιν 
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and, in a word, of civil virtues, they had given no proofs, and at this time Marcellus seems to have been the first to show the Greeks that the Romans were the more observant of justice. For such was his treatment of those who had to do with him, and so many were the benefits which he conferred both upon cities and private persons, that, if the people of Enna or Megara or Syracuse met with any indignities, the blame for these was thought to belong to the sufferers rather than to the perpetrators. And I will mention one instance out of many. There is a city of Sicily called Engyium, not large, but very ancient, and famous for the appearance there of goddesses, who are called Mothers.¹ The temple is said to have been built by Cretans, and certain spears were shown there, and bronze helmets; some of these bore the name of Meriones, and others that of Ulysses (that is, Odysseus), who had consecrated them to the goddesses. This city, which most ardently favoured the Carthaginian cause, Nicias, its leading citizen, tried to induce to go over to the Romans, speaking openly and boldly in the assemblies and arguing the unwisdom of his opponents. But they, fearing his influence and authority, planned to arrest him and deliver him up to the Carthaginians. Nicias, accordingly, becoming aware at once of their design and of their secret watch upon him, gave utterance in public to unbecoming speeches about the Mothers, and did much to show that he rejected and despised the prevalent belief in their manifestations, his enemies meanwhile rejoicing that he was making himself most to blame for his coming fate. But just as they were ready to arrest

¹ Magna Mater, the Cretan Rhaea, often confounded with the Phrygian Cybele. Cf. Diodorus, iv. 79, 5–7.
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έστιμων ἢν μὲν ἐκκλησία τῶν πολιτῶν, ὁ δὲ Νικίας μεταξύ τι λέγει καὶ συμβουλεύων πρὸς τὸν δήμον ἔξαιρήν ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὸ σῶμα, καὶ μικρὸν διαλπιῶν, οἷς εἰκός, ἡσυχίας σὺν ἐκπλήξει γενομένης, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας καὶ περιενεγκών, ὑποτρόμων φωνῆ καὶ βαρεία, κατὰ μικρὸν συντείνων καὶ παροξύων τὸν ἥχον, ὡς ἑώρα φρίκη καὶ σιωπῆ κατεχόμενον τὸ θέατρον, ἀπορρίψας τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ περιρρήξάμενος τὸν χιτώνισκον, ἡμίγυμνος ἀναπηδήσας ἔθεε πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον τοῦ θεάτρου, βοῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ματέρων ἐλαύ-6 νεσθαί. μηθενὸς δὲ τολμῶντος ἀψασθαί μηδὲ ἀπαντήσαι διὰ δεισιδαιμονίαν, ἀλλ' ἐκτρεπτο-μένων, ἐπὶ τᾶς πύλας ἐξέδραμεν, οὔτε φωνῆς τυνος οὔτε κινήσεως πρεπούσης δαιμονώταν καὶ παραφρονοῦντες φεισάμενος. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ συνειδύναι καὶ συντεχνάζουσα τῷ ἄνδρι, λαβοῦσα τὰ παιδία πρὸτον μὲν ἱκέτης προσεκυλινδεῖτο τῶν μεγάροις τῶν θεῶν, ἐπείτα πλανώμενον ἐκείνου προσποιούμενη ζητείν κωλύνοντος οὔδενος ἀσφαλῶς ἀπῆλθεν7 ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ διεσώθησαν μὲν οὕτως εἰς Συρακούσας πρὸς Μάρκελλον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς Ἑγγυόνις ὑβρίσαντας καὶ πλημμελήσαντας ἐλθὼν Μάρκελλος ἔδησε πάντας ὡς τιμωρησό-μενος, ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἐδάκρυσε παρεστώς, τέλος δὲ χειρῶν καὶ γονάτων ἀπότομοι παρητεῖτο τοὺς πολίτας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀρξάμενοι, ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀφῆκε πάντας καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν ἡδίκησε, τῷ δὲ Νικία χώραν τε πολλὴν καὶ δωρεὰς πολλὰς ἐδὼκε. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ὁ φιλόσοφος ἰστόρησε. 310

XXI. Τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ἀνακαλομένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγχώριον καὶ σύνοικον πόλεμον, ἐπανερχόμενος τὰ πλείστα καὶ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν 490
him, an assembly of the citizens was held, and here Nicias, right in the midst of some advice that he was giving to the people, suddenly threw himself upon the ground, and after a little while, amid the silence and consternation which naturally prevailed, lifted his head, turned it about, and spoke in a low and trembling voice, little by little raising and sharpening its tones. And when he saw the whole audience struck dumb with horror, he tore off his mantle, rent his tunic, and leaping up half naked, ran towards the exit from the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by the Mothers. No man venturing to lay hands upon him or even to come in his way, out of superstitious fear, but all avoiding him, he ran out to the gate of the city, freely using all the cries and gestures that would become a man possessed and crazed. His wife also, who was privy to his scheme, taking her children with her, first prostrated herself in supplication before the temples of the gods, and then, pretending to seek her wandering husband, no man hindering her, went safely forth out of the city. Thus they all escaped to Marcellus at Syracuse. But when Marcellus, after many transgressions and insults on the part of the men of Engyium, came and put them all in chains in order to punish them, then Nicias, standing by, burst into tears, and finally, clasping the hands and knees of Marcellus, begged the lives of his fellow citizens, beginning with his enemies. Marcellus relented, set them all free, and did their city no harm; he also bestowed upon Nicias ample lands and many gifts. At any rate, this story is told by Poseidonius the philosopher.

XXI. When Marcellus was recalled by the Romans to the war in their home territories, he carried back with him the greater part and the most beautiful of
Finally, she sent an urgent message to the city, informing them of the situation.

1 The city's response was swift and decisive, sending reinforcements immediately.

2 The message was translated from the ancient language to modern English.

3 The city's response was met with cheers and celebrations throughout the region.

4 The city's response was in alignment with their long-standing policies.

5 The city's response was praised by experts in the field.
the dedicatory offerings in Syracuse, that they might grace his triumph and adorn his city. For before this time Rome neither had nor knew about such elegant and exquisite productions, nor was there any love there for such graceful and subtle art; but filled full of barbaric arms and bloody spoils, and crowned round about with memorials and trophies of triumphs, she was not a gladdening or a reassuring sight, nor one for unwarlike and luxurious spectators. Indeed, as Epaminondas called the Boeotian plain a "dancing floor of Ares," and as Xenophon speaks of Ephesus as a "work-shop of war," so, it seems to me, one might at that time have called Rome, in the language of Pindar, "a precinct of much-warring Ares." Therefore with the common people Marcellus won more favour because he adorned the city with objects that had Hellenic grace and charm and fidelity; but with the elder citizens Fabius Maximus was more popular. For he neither disturbed nor brought away anything of this sort from Tarentum, when that city was taken, but while he carried off the money and the other valuables, he suffered the statues to remain in their places, adding the well-known saying: "Let us leave these gods in their anger for the Tarentines." And they blamed Marcellus, first, because he made the city odious, in that not only men, but even gods were led about in her triumphal processions like captives; and again, because, when the people was accustomed only to war or agriculture, and was inexperienced in luxury and ease, but, like the Heracles of Euripides, was "Plain, unadorned, in a great crisis brave and true,"  

1 Hell. iii. 4, 17.  2 Pyth. ii. 1 f.  3 Cf. the Fabius Maximus, xxii. 5.  4 A fragment of the lost Licymnius of Euripides (Nauck, Trag. Græc. Frag. p. 507).
σχολής ἐνέπλησε καὶ λαλιάς περὶ τεχνῶν καὶ
tεχνιτῶν, ἀστειόμενον καὶ διατρήσοντα πρὸς
tούτῳ πολὺ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
tούτοις ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ὡς τὰ
καλὰ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἐπιστα-
μένους τιμῶν καὶ θαυμάζειν Πομαιόν διδάξας.

XXII. Ἐνισταμένων δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῷ Μαρ-
κέλλῳ πρὸς τὸν θρίαμβον, ἐπεὶ καὶ πράξεις τινές
ὑπολιπεῖς ἤσαν ἔτι περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ φθόνον
εἶχεν ὁ τρίτος θρίαμβος, συνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς 1
τὸν μὲν ἑντελῆ καὶ μέγαν εἰς τὸ Ἀλβανὸν ὅρος
ἐξελάσαι, τὸν δὲ ἐλάττων καταγαγέων εἰς τὴν
πόλιν, ὅπως εὗραν ᾽Ελλήνες, ὦ βασιλεῖς ἔργον.
he made them idle and full of glib talk about arts and artists, so that they spent a great part of the day in such clever disputation. Notwithstanding such censure, Marcellus spoke of this with pride even to the Greeks, declaring that he had taught the ignorant Romans to admire and honour the wonderful and beautiful productions of Greece.

XXII. But when the enemies of Marcellus opposed his triumph, because something still remained to be done in Sicily and a third triumph would awaken jealousy, he consented of his own accord to conduct the complete and major triumph to the Alban mount, but to enter the city in the minor triumph; this is called "eua" by the Greeks, and "ova" by the Romans.¹ In conducting it the general does not mount upon a four-horse chariot, nor wear a wreath of laurel, nor have trumpets sounding about him; but he goes afoot with shoes on, accompanied by the sound of exceeding many flutes, and wearing a wreath of myrtle, so that his appearance is unwarlike and friendly rather than terrifying. And this is the strongest proof to my mind that in ancient times the two triumphs were distinguished, not by the magnitude, but by the manner, of the achievements which they celebrated. For those who won the mastery by fighting and slaying their enemies celebrated, as it would seem, that martial and terrible triumph, after wreathing their arms and their men with abundant laurel, just as they were wont to do when they purified their armies with lustral rites; while to those generals who had had no need of war, but had brought everything to a good issue by means of conference, persuasion, and argument, the law awarded

¹ Cf. the Crassus, xi. 8. The later Latin name was "ovatio."
παιανίσαι τήν ἀπόλεμον ταύτην καὶ πανηγυρικὴν

4 ἀπεδίδου συμπτήν ὁ νόμος. καὶ γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς
eἰρήνης μέρος καὶ τὸ μύρτων Ἀφροδίτης φυτῶν, ἢ
μάλιστα θεῶν ἀπέχθεται βία καὶ πολέμοις. ὡβας
δὲ οὗ παρὰ τὸν ἐυασμόν, ὡς οἱ πολλοί νομίζουσιν,
ὁ θρίαμβος οὗτος ὄνομάζεται (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον
ἐφευάζοντες καὶ ἄδοντες παραπέμπουσιν), ἀλλὰ
ὑφ’ Ἐλλήνων εἰς τὸ σύνθες αὐτοῖς παρῆκται
tούνομα, πεπεισμένων ἄμα καὶ Διονύσῳ τῷ τῆς
tιμῆς προσήκειν, ἢν Εὐίον καὶ Θρίαμβον ὄνομα-
ζομεν. οὐχ οὗτῳ δὲ ἔχει τὸ ἀληθὲς, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ μὲν
tῷ μεγάλῳ θριάμβῳ βουθυτείν πάτριον ἢν τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ πρόβατον ἔθυνον. ὡβα
δὲ τὰ πρόβατα ἮΡωμαίοι καλοῦσιν ἐκ τούτου καὶ
5 τὸν θρίαμβον ὥβαν ὄνομασαν. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τὸν
Δακωνικὸν ἀποθεωρήσαι νομοθέτην ὑπεναντίως
tῷ ἘΡωμαῖκῷ τάξαντα τὰς θυσίας. θύει γὰρ ἐν
Σπάρτῃ τῶν ἀποστρατήγων ὁ μὲν δὲ ἅπατης ἢ
πείθος ὁ βούλεται διαπραξάμενος βοῦν, ὡ δὲ διὰ
μάχης ἀλεξτρυώνα. καίπερ γὰρ ὄντες πολεμικῶ-
tατοι μείζονα καὶ μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπῳ πρέπουσαν
ηγούντο τὴν διὰ λόγου καὶ συνέσεως πράξειν ἢ
τὴν μετὰ βίας καὶ ἀνδρείας. ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ὅπως
ἔχει σκοπεῖν πάρεστι.

XXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Μαρκέλλου τὸ τέταρτον ὑπα-
tεύοντος οἱ ἔχθροι τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἀνέπεισαν
eἰς ἘΡώμην ἀφικομένους κατηγορεῖν καὶ καταβοῦν
πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὡς δεινὰ καὶ παράσπονδα

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the privilege of conducting, like a paean of thanksgiving, this unwarlike and festal procession. For the flute is an instrument of peace, and the myrtle is a plant of Aphrodite, who more than all the other gods abhors violence and wars. And this minor triumph is called "ova," not from the Greek "euamos," as most think (since they conduct the major triumph also with songs and cries of "eua!"), but the name has been wrested by the Greeks into conformity with their speech, since they are persuaded that something of the honour has to do with Dionysus also, whom they call Euius and Thriambus. This, however, is not the true explanation; but it was the custom for commanders, in celebrating the major triumph, to sacrifice an ox, whereas in the minor triumph they sacrificed a sheep. Now, the Roman name for sheep is "ova," and from this circumstance the lesser triumph is called ova. And it is worth our while to notice that the Spartan lawgiver appointed his sacrifices in a manner opposite to that of the Romans. For in Sparta a returning general who had accomplished his plans by cunning deception or persuasion, sacrificed an ox; he who had won by fighting, a cock. For although they were most warlike, they thought an exploit accomplished by means of argument and sagacity greater and more becoming to a man than one achieved by violence and valour. How the case really stands, I leave an open question.

XXIII. While Marcellus was serving as consul for the fourth time, his enemies induced the Syracusans to come to Rome and accuse and denounce him before the senate for terrible wrongs which they

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1 It is hardly necessary to say that Plutarch's etymology, as often, is worthless.

2 In 210 B.C.
πεποιθότας. ἔτυχε μὲν οὖν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ θυσίαν τινὰ συντελών ὁ Μάρκελλος· ἐτὶ δὲ συγκαθεξο-
μένη τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Συρακουσίων προσπέσον-
των καὶ δεομένων λόγου τυχεῖν καὶ δίκης, ὁ μὲν

2 συνάρχων ἐξείργεν αὐτούς, ἀγανακτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
Μάρκελλον μὴ παρόντος, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος εὐθὺς ἧκεν ἀκοῦσας. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἑπὶ τοῦ δίφρου
καθίσας ὡς ὑπατος ἐχρημάτιζεν, ἔπειτα, τῶν ἄλ-
λων τέλος ἔχοντων, καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου καὶ
καταστὰς ὡςπερ ἰδιώτης εἰς τὸν τόπον ἐν ὁ
λέγειν εἰρωθαίν οἱ κρινόμενοι, τοῖς Συρακουσίοις

3 ἐλέγχειν αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν. οἱ δὲ δεινῶς μὲν συνε-
ταράχθησαν πρὸς τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὸ πεποιθὸς τοῦ
ἀνδρός, καὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἀνυπόστατον ἔτι
μάλλον ἐν τῇ περιπορφύρῳ φοβερὸν ἡγοῦντο καὶ
dυσαντίβλεπτον. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ παραθαρρυ-
νόντων αὐτοὺς τῶν διαφερομένων πρὸς τοῦ Μάρ-
κελλον ἡρξαντο τῆς κατηγορίας καὶ διεξήλθον

4 ὁλοφυρμῷ τινι μεμιγμένην δικαιολογίαν, ἢς ἦν
tο κεφάλαιον ὅτι σύμμαχοι καὶ φίλοι Ψωμαίοις
ὀντες πεπόθασιν ἀ πολλοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐτέρων
στρατηγοὶ μὴ παθεῖν ἐχαρίσαντο. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ
Μάρκελλος ἐλεγεν ὡς ἀντι πολλῶν ὃν δεδράκασι
Ψωμαίους κακῶς οὐδὲν πεπόθασι, πλὴν ἀ πολέ-
μῳ καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἄλοντας ἀνθρώπους κολύσαι
παθεῖν οὐ δυνατὸν ἔστω, οὕτω δὲ ἀλῶναι δι' αὐτοὺς,
pολλά προκαλουμένῳ πεισθήναι μὴ ἔθε-

5 λήσαντας. οὐ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων πολεμᾶς
βιασθέντας, ἀλλὰ κάκεινος ἑτὶ τῷ πολεμεῖν
ἐλέσθαι τυράννους.

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had suffered contrary to the terms of surrender. It chanced, then, that Marcellus was performing a sacrifice on the Capitol, but, the senate being still in session, the Syracusans hurried before it and begged that they might have a hearing and justice. The colleague of Marcellus tried to have them expelled, angrily explaining that Marcellus was not present; but Marcellus, when he heard of it, came at once. And first, sitting as consul in his curule chair, he transacted the routine business; then, when this was all ended, coming down from his curule chair and taking his stand as a private citizen in the place where men under accusation usually plead their cause, he gave the Syracusans opportunity to press their charge. But they were terribly confounded by his dignity and confidence, and thought him yet more formidable and hard to confront in his robe of purple than he had been irresistible in arms. However, being encouraged by the rivals of Marcellus, they began their denunciation and rehearsed their demands for justice, which were mingled with much lamentation. The gist of their plea was that, although they were allies and friends of the Romans, they had suffered at the hands of Marcellus what other generals allowed many of their enemies to escape. To this Marcellus made answer that in return for many injuries which they had done to the Romans, they had suffered nothing except what men whose city has been taken by storm in war cannot possibly be prevented from suffering; and that their city had been so taken was their own fault, because they had refused to listen to his many exhortations and persuasions. For it was not by their tyrants that they had been forced into war, nay, they had elected those very tyrants for the purpose of going to war.
Δευτέρων δὲ τῶν λόγων καὶ μεθισταμένων, ὃσπερ εἰσώθεν, ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τοῖς Συρακούσίοις συνεξῆλθε Μάρκελλος, ἔπι τῷ συνάρχοντι ποιησάμενος τὴν σύγκλητον, καὶ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ζουλευτηρίου διέτριβεν, οὔτε φόβῳ διὰ τὴν δίκην οὔτε θυμῷ πρὸς τοὺς Συρακούσίους τοῦ συνῆθους μεταβαλῶν καταστήματος, ἀλλὰ πρῶς πάντων καὶ κοσμίως τὸ τῆς δίκης τέλος ἐκδεχόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ δινεχθῆσαν αἱ γνώμαι καὶ νικῶν ἀπεδείχθη, προσπίπτουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ Συρακούσιοι, μετὰ δακρύων δεόμενοι τὴν ὀργήν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀφεῖναι τοὺς παρόντας, οἰκτείραι δὲ τὴν ἅλλην πόλιν μεμνημένην ὁν ἐτυχεν αεὶ καὶ χάριν ἔχουσαν. ἐπικλασθείσι οὖν ὁ Μάρκελλος τούτοις τε διηλλάγη, καὶ τοῖς ἅλλοις Συρακούσιοις αἰεὶ τι πράττων ἁγαθῶν διετέλει. καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἢν ἀπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τῶν κτημάτων τὰ περίοντα βέβαια παρέσχεν ἡ σύγκλητος. ἀνθ' ὅν ἀλλας τε τιμᾶς ύπερφυεῖς ἐσχε παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ νόμον ἔθεντο τοιούτοιν, ὡπόταν ἐπιβῇ Σικελίας Μάρκελλος ἢ τῶν ἐκχώνων τις αὐτοῦ, στεφανηφορεῖν Συρακούσιοις καὶ θύειν τοῖς θεοῖς.

XXIV. Τούπτευθεν ἢδη τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, καὶ τῶν ἅλλων ὑπάτων καὶ ἤγεμόνων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων μετὰ τα ἐν Κάνναις εἰνι στρατηγήματι τῷ φυγομαχεῖν χρωμένων ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδρα, παρατάπτεσθαι δὲ καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι μηδὲνός τομῷντος, αὐτοὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναυτίαν ὁρμησθεν ὡδον, ἀδύναμος τῷ δοκοῦντι καταλύειν Ἀννίβαν χρόνῳ πρώτοιν ἐκτριβεῖσαν ὑπ' ἑκείνου τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ τὸν Ψάβιον αἰεὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐχόμενον οὐ καλῶς ἑχειν ἰᾶσθαι τὸ νόσημα τῆς ἔχειν ἑκείνου, ἑχειν bracketed by Bekker.
When the speeches were ended, and the Syracusans, as the custom was, withdrew from the senate, Marcellus went forth with them, after giving to his colleague the presidency of the senate, and lingered before the doors of the senate-house, allowing no change in his accustomed demeanour either because he feared the sentence, or was angry with the Syracusans, but with complete gentleness and decorum awaiting the issue of the case. And when the votes had been cast, and he was proclaimed not guilty, the Syracusans fell at his feet, begging him with tears to remit his wrath against the embassy there present, and to take pity on the rest of the city, which always was mindful of favours conferred upon it and grateful for them. Marcellus, accordingly, relented, and was reconciled with the embassy, and to the rest of the Syracusans was ever afterwards constant in doing good. The freedom, also, which he had restored to them, as well as their laws and what was left of their possessions, the senate confirmed to them. Wherefore Marcellus received many surpassing honours from them, and particularly they made a law that whenever he or any one of his descendants should set foot in Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands and sacrifice to the gods.

XXIV. After this he moved at once against Hannibal. And although almost all the other consuls and commanders, after the disaster at Cannae, made the avoidance of all fighting their sole plan of campaign against this antagonist, and no one had the courage to engage in a pitched battle with him, Marcellus himself took the opposite course, thinking that before the time thought necessary for destroying Hannibal had elapsed, Italy would insensibly be worn out by him. He thought, too, that Fabius, by making safety his constant aim, was not taking the
πατρίδος, περιμένοντα τῇ Ῥώμη μαραθυμένη συναποσβῆναι τῶν πόλεμον, ὡσπερ λατρῶν τοὺς ἀτόλμους καὶ δειλοὺς πρὸς τὰ βοηθήματα, τῆς νόσου παρακμῆν τῇ τῆς δυνάμεως εξανάλωσιν 3 ἡγούμενοι. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τὰς Σαυνιτικὰς πόλεις μεγάλας ἀφεστώσας ἔλων, σιτόν τε πολὺν ἀποκείμενον ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας 'Αννίβου στρατιῶτας τρισχίλιους ὄντας ἐλαβεν ἐπειτα τοῦ 'Αννίβου Φούλβιον Γναίον ἀνθύπατον ἐν Ἀπουλίᾳ κατακτείναντος μὲν αὐτὸν σὺν ἐνδεκα χιλιάρχοις, κατακόψαντος δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ πλεῖστον, ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ῥώμην γράμματα τοὺς πολίτας παρακάλων θαρρεῖν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἡδη βαδίζειν ὡς ἀφέλοιτο τὴν χαρὰν 4 'Αννίβου. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Δίβιος φησιν ἀναγνωσθέντα τὰ γράμματα μὴ τῆς λύπης ἀφελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷ φόβῳ προσθείναι, τῶν Ῥωμαιῶν μεῖζον ἡγουμένων τοῦ γεγονότος τὸ κινδυνεύουμεν ὅσῳ Φουλβίου κρείττων ἤν Μάρκελλος· ὁ δὲ, ὡσπερ ἕγραψεν, εὕθως 'Αννίβαν διόκων εἰς τὴν Λευκανίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ περὶ πόλιν Νομίστρωμα καθήμενον ὑπὲρ λόφων ὀξυρῶν καταλαβῶν αὐτὸς 5 ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κατεστρατοπέδευσε. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ πρότερος εἰς μάχην παρατάξας τὸ στράτευμα καταβάντος 'Αννίβου, συνέβαλε μάχην κρίσιν οὖ λαβοῦσαν, ἵσχυρὰν δὲ καὶ μεγάλην γενομένην· ὕπο γὰρ ὁρᾶς τρίτης συμπεσόντες ἡδη σκότους μόλις διελύθησαν. ἀμα δ' ἡμέρα προαγαγῶν αὐθεὶς τὸ στράτευμα παρέταξε διὰ τῶν νεκρῶν

1 τὴν τῆς δυνάμεως Bekker, after Coraes: τῆς δυνάμεως.

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right course to heal the malady of the country, since the extinction of the war for which he waited would be coincident with the exhaustion of Rome, just as physicians who are timid and afraid to apply remedies, consider the consumption of the patient's powers to be the abatement of the disease. First, then, he took the large cities of the Samnites which had revolted, and got possession of great quantities of grain which had been stored in them, besides money, and the three thousand soldiers of Hannibal who were guarding them. Next, after Hannibal had slain the proconsul Gnaeus Fulvius himself in Apulia, together with eleven military tribunes, and had cut to pieces the greater part of his army, Marcellus sent letters to Rome bidding the citizens be of good courage, for that he himself was already on the march to rob Hannibal of his joy. Livy says\(^1\) that when these letters were read, they did not take away the grief of the Romans, but added to their fear; for they thought their present danger as much greater than the past as Marcellus was superior to Fulvius. But Marcellus, as he had written, at once pursued Hannibal into Lucania, and came up with him, and as he found him occupying a secure position on heights about the city of Numistrio, he himself encamped in the plain. On the following day he was first to array his forces when Hannibal came down into the plain, and fought a battle with him which, though indecisive, was desperate and long; for their engagement began at the third hour, and was with difficulty ended when it was already dark. But at daybreak Marcellus led his army forth again, put them in array among the dead bodies of the

\(^1\) xxvii. 2.
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καὶ προύκαλείτο διαγωνίσασθαι περὶ τῆς νίκης
6 τῶν Ἀννίβαν. ἀναζεύξαντος δὲ ἐκείνου σκυλεύ-
σας τοὺς πολεμίους νεκροὺς καὶ θάψας τοὺς
φίλους ἐδίωκεν αὐθείς· καὶ πολλὰς μὲν ύψωτος
ἐνέδρας οὐδεμιὰ περιπεσὼν, ἐν δὲ πάσι τοῖς ἄκρο-
βολσμοῖς πλεῖον ἐχὼν ἑθαυμάζετο. διὸ καὶ τῶν
ἀρχαίστων ἐπειγόντων ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ μᾶλλον
ἐκ Σικελίας τὸν ἔτερον ἀπάγειν ὑπατόν ἡ Μάρ-
κελλον Ἀννίβα συνηρτημένου κινεῖν, ἐλθόντα δὲ
ἐκέλευεν εἶπεῖν δικτάτορα Κόιντον Φούλβιον.

7 Ὁ γὰρ δικτάτωρ όυκ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους
οὐδὲ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρετός, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τις ἡ
τῶν στρατηγῶν προελθὼν εἰς τὸν δήμον ὁν αὐτῶ
δοκεῖ λέγει δικτάτορα. καὶ διὰ τούτο δικτάτωρ ὁ
ῥηθεὶς καλεῖται· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν δίκερε Ῥωμαίοι
καλοῦσιν· ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὸν δικτάτορα τῷ μῇ προτι-
θέναι ψήφου ἡ χειροτονίαν, ἀλλ’ ἄφ’ αὐτοῦ τὰ
δόξαντα προστάτειν καὶ λέγειν οὕτως ὀνομά-
σθαι καὶ γὰρ τὰ διαγράμματα τῶν ἀρχόντων
"Ελληνες μὲν διατάγματα, Ῥωμαίοι δὲ ἐδίκτα
προσαγορεύουσιν.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας οὗ τοῦ
Μαρκέλλου συνάρχων ἔτερον ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν Ῥωμαίοι
δικτάτορα, καὶ βιασθῆναι παρὰ γυνώμην ἡ βουλό-
μενος ἐξέπλευσε νυκτὸς εἰς Σικελίαν, οὕτως ὁ μὲν
dήμος ὀνόμασε δικτάτορα Κοίντον Φούλβιον, ἡ
βουλὴ δ’ ἔγραψε Μαρκέλλῳ κελεύουσα τούτον
εἰπεῖν. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἀνεῖπε καὶ συνεπεκύρωσε
τοῦ δήμου τὴν γυνώμην, αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν ἀνθύπατος

1 λαβεῖν Bekker has λέγειν, after Coraës.
slain, and challenged Hannibal to fight it out with him for the victory. And when Hannibal withdrew his forces, Marcellus stripped the dead bodies of the enemy, buried those of his own men, and pursued him again. And though his adversary laid many ambushes for him, he escaped them all, and by getting the advantage of him in all the skirmishes, won admiration for himself. For this reason, too, when the consular elections drew near, the senate decided that it was better to recall the other consul from Sicily than to disturb Marcellus in his grappling with Hannibal, and when he was come, it bade him declare Quintus Fulvius dictator.

For a dictator cannot be chosen either by the people or by the senate, but one of the consuls or praetors comes before the assembled people and names as dictator the one whom he himself decides upon. And for this reason the one so named is called "dictator," from the Latin "dicere," to name or declare. Some, however, say that the dictator is so named because he puts no question to vote or show of hands, but ordains and declares of his own authority that which seems good to him; for the orders of magistrates, which the Greeks call "diatagmata," the Romans call "edicta."

XXV. But the colleague of Marcellus, who had come back from Sicily, wished to appoint another man as dictator, and being unwilling to have his opinion overborne by force, sailed off by night to Sicily. Under these circumstances the people named Quintus Fulvius as dictator, and the senate wrote to Marcellus bidding him confirm the nomination. He consented, proclaimed Quintus Fulvius dictator, and so confirmed the will of the people; he himself was
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2 εἰς τούτιν ἀπεδείχθη: συνθέμενος δὲ πρὸς Φάβιον Μάξιμον ὁπως ἔκεινος μὲν ἐπιχειρή Τα- 313 ραντίνοις, αὐτὸς δὲ συμπλεκόμενος καὶ περιέλκων Ἀνυίβαν ἐμποδῶν ἦ τοῦ βοηθεῖν πρὸς ἔκεινον, ἐπέβαλε περὶ Κανύσιον, καὶ πολλὰς ἀλλάζουσι στρατοπεδεῖας καὶ φυγομαχοῦντι πανταχόθεν ἐπεφαινετο, τέλος δ' ἑδρυνθέντα προσκείμενος

3 ἐξανίστη τοῖς ἀκροβολισμοῖς. ὀρμήσαντος δὲ μάχεσθαι δεξίμενος ὑπὸ νυκτὸς διελύθη· καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν αὕθις ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς ἔφαρτο τὸν στρατὸν ἔχων παρατηγμένον, ὡστε τὸν Ἀνυίβαν περι- αλγή γενόμενον τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἀθροίσαι καὶ δεηθῆναι τὴν μάχην ἐκεῖνην ὑπὲρ πασῶν ἀγωνι- σάσθαι τῶν ἐμπροσθέν. "Ὄρατε γὰρ," εἶπεν, "ὡς οὖν ἀναπνεύσαι μετὰ νῖκας τοσάττας οὐδὲ σχολὴν ἀγείνες κρατούσιν ἡμῖν ἔστιν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτον ἔσαίμεθα τὸν ἀνθρωπον."

4 Ἐκ τούτου συμβαλόντες ἐμάχοντο. καὶ δοκεῖ παρὰ τὸ ἔργον ἀκαίρω στρατηγήματι χρόμενος ὁ Μάρκελλος σφαλήναι. τοῦ γὰρ δεξιοῦ πο- νοῦντος ἐκέλευσεν ἐν τῶν ταχμάτων εἰς τοὺμ- προσθεν προελθεῖν· ἡ δὲ μετακίνησις αὐτὴ ταρά- ξασα τοὺς μαχομένους παρέδωκε τὸ νίκημα τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπτά δισχίλιοις Ρωμαίων

5 πεσόντων. ἀναχωρήσας δὲ ὁ Μάρκελλος εἰς τὸν χάρακα καὶ συναγαγὼν τὸν στρατόν, ὀραν ἔφη Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα πολλὰ καὶ σώματα, Ῥωμαίον δὲ μηδένα ὄραν. αἰτουμένων δὲ συγγρώμην οὔκ ἔφη διδόναι νευκημένοις, ἔαν δὲ νικήσωσι, δὼσειν.
appointed proconsul again for the ensuing year.\textsuperscript{1} He then made an agreement with Fabius Maximus that, while Fabius should make an attempt upon Tarentum, he himself, by diverting Hannibal and engaging with him, should prevent him from coming to the relief of that place. He came up with Hannibal at Canusium, and as his adversary often shifted his camp and declined battle, he threatened him continually, and at last, by harassing him with his skirmishers, drew him out of his entrenchments. But though battle was offered and accepted, night parted the combatants, and next day Marcellus appeared again with his army drawn up in battle array; so that Hannibal, in distress, called his Carthaginians together and besought them to make their fighting that day surpass all their previous struggles. “For you see,” he said, “that we cannot even take breath after all our victories, nor have respite though we are in the mastery, unless we drive this man away.”

After this they joined battle and fought. And it would seem that Marcellus made an unseasonable movement during the action, and so met with disaster. For when his right wing was hard pressed, he ordered one of his legions to move up to the front. This change of position threw his army into confusion and gave the victory to the enemy, who slew twenty-seven hundred of the Romans. Marcellus then withdrew to his camp, called his army together, and told them that he saw before him many Roman arms and Roman bodies, but not a single Roman. And when they asked for his pardon, he refused to give it while they were vanquished, but promised to do so if they should win a victory,

\textsuperscript{1} 209 B.C.
XXVI. "Ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα προύκειτο μὲν ὁ φοινικός χιτών, ὡς εἶσθε, μάχης ἐσομένης σύμβολος, αἰ ἡ ἡτιμασμέναι σπεῖραι τὴν πρώτην αὐταὶ δεθεῖσαι τάξιν ἑλάμβανον, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἐξάγοντες οἱ χιλίαρχοι στρατίαν παρενέβαλλον. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας, "Ὤ Ηράκλεις," εἶπε, "τὶ χρῆσται τις ἀνθρώπῳ μῆτε τὴν χείρονα τύχην μῆτε τὴν βελτίωνα φέρειν εἰδότι, μόνος γὰρ οὗτος οὐτε νικῶν διδωσίν ἀνάπαυσιν οὐτε λαμβάνει νικώμενος, ἀλλ’ ἂεi μαχησόμεθα πρὸς 2 τοῦτον, ὡς έοικεν, ὃ τοῦ τολμᾶν ἂει καὶ τὸ θαρρεῖν εὐτυχοῦντι καὶ σφαλλομένῳ τὸ αἰδεύσθαι πρόφασις ἐστιν." ἐκ τοῦτον συνηθεῖαν αἱ δυνάμεις καὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἵσα φερομένων ἐκέλευσεν Ἀννίβας τὰ θηρία καταστήσαντας εἰς πρώτην τάξιν ἐπάγειν τοῖς ὑπὸλοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ὀθισμοῦ δὲ μεγάλου καὶ ταραχῆς εὔθυς ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις γενομένης, εἰς τῶν χιλίαρχον ὠνομα Φλάβιος ἀναρτάσας σημαιν ὑπηντίαξε καὶ τῷ στύρακι 3 τοῦ πρώτου ἐλέφαντα τύπτων ἀπέστρεφεν. ὃ δὲ ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὸν ὄπισθω συνετάραξε καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. κατιδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Μάρκελλος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἰππεῖς ἐλαύνειν ἀνὰ κράτος 508
assuring them that on the morrow they should fight again, in order that their countrymen might hear of their victory sooner than of their flight. At the close of his speech, moreover, he gave orders that rations of barley instead of wheat should be given to the cohorts that had been worsted. Therefore, though many were in a wretched and dangerous plight after the battle, there was not a man of them, they say, to whom the words of Marcellus did not give more pain than his wounds.  

XXVI. At daybreak the scarlet tunic, the usual signal of impending battle, was displayed, the cohorts under disgrace begged and obtained for themselves the foremost position in the line, and the tribunes led forth the rest of the army and put them in array. On hearing of this Hannibal said: "O Hercules! what can be done with a man who knows not how to bear either his worse or his better fortune? For he is the only man who neither gives a respite when he is victorious, nor takes it when he is vanquished, but we shall always be fighting with him, as it seems, since both his courage in success and his shame in defeat are made reasons for bold undertaking". Then the forces engaged; and since the men fought with equal success, Hannibal ordered his elephants to be stationed in the van, and to be driven against the ranks of the Romans. A great press and much confusion at once arose among their foremost lines, but one of the tribunes, Flavius by name, snatched up a standard, confronted the elephants, smote the leader with the iron spike of the standard, and made him wheel about. The beast dashed into the one behind him and threw the whole onset into confusion. Observing this, Marcellus ordered his cavalry to charge at full speed.

1 Cf. Livy, xxvii. 12 and 13
πρὸς τὸ θορυβούμενον καὶ ποιεῖν ἔτι μάλλον αὐτῶς περιπετείς τοὺς πολεμίους. οὔτοὶ τε δὴ λαμπρῶς ἐμβαλόντες ἀνέκοπτον ἀχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ κτεινόμενα καὶ πτίπτοντα τῶν πλέοντον αὐτῶν φόνον ἀπειργάζετο. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὀκτακισχίλιου ἀποθανεῖν Ἱωμαίων δὲ νεκροί μὲν ἐγένουτο τρισχίλιον, τραυματία δὲ δλίγου δεῖν ἀπαντεῖς. καὶ τούτο παρέσχεν Ἀννίβα καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν ἀναστάντι νυκτὸς ἀραὶ πορρωτάτω τοῦ Μαρκέλλου. διόκειν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸς ὑπὸ πλῆθος τῶν τετρωμένων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν εἰς Καμπανίαν ἀνέζευξε, καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐν Σινοέσσῃ διήγεν ἀναλαμβάνων τοὺς στρατιώτας.

ΧΧΧΓ. Ὅ δὲ Ἰονίβας ὡς ᾧπερρήξαν ἔαυστόν τοῦ Μαρκέλλου, χρώμενος ὅσπερ λευμένω τῷ στρατεύματι, πάσαν ἄδεως ἐν κύκλῳ περίῳ ἐφλεγε τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ κακῶς ἤκουσεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκελλος. οὗ δὲ ἐξήρων Πουβλίκιου Βίβλον, ἕνα τῶν δημάρχων, ἀνέστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν κατηγορίαν αυτοῦ, δεινον εἰπεῖν ἄνδρα καὶ βίαιον. ὃς πολλάκις συναγαγὼν τῶν δήμου ἔπειθεν ἅλλο παραδοῦναι στρατηγῷ τὴν δύναμιν, "ἐπεὶ Μάρκελλος," ἔφη, "μικρὰ τῷ πολέμῳ προσγεγυμνασμένος ὦσπερ ἐκ παλαιόστρας ἐπὶ θερμὰ λουτρὰ θεραπεύσων ἕαυτόν τέτραπται." ταῦτα πυθαγορικὸν ὁ Μάρκελλος ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοὺς προσβευτὰς ἀπέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολογησόμενοι εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανήλθεν.

3 ἐκ δὲ τῶν διαβολῶν ἐκείνων δίκην εὑρεῖ παρεσκευασμένη ἐφ᾽ αὐτῶν. ἡμέρας οὖν ὁρισθεύσης καὶ τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος εἰς τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἵππο-
upon the disordered mass and throw the enemy still more into confusion. The horsemen made a brilliant charge and cut the Carthaginians down as far as to their camp, and the greatest slaughter among them was caused by their killed and wounded elephants. For more than eight thousand are said to have been slain; and on the Roman side three thousand were killed, and almost all were wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to break camp quietly in the night and move to a great distance from Marcellus. For Marcellus was unable to pursue him, owing to the multitude of his wounded, but withdrew by easy marches into Campania, and spent the summer at Sinuessa recuperating his soldiers.

XXVII. But Hannibal, now that he had torn himself away from Marcellus, made free use of his army, and going fearlessly round about, wasted all Italy with fire. Meantime, at Rome, Marcellus was in ill repute, and his enemies incited Publicius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a powerful speaker and a man of violence, to bring a denunciation against him. This man held frequent assemblies of the people and tried to persuade them to put the forces of Marcellus in charge of another general, "since Marcellus," as he said, "after giving himself a little exercise in the war, has withdrawn from it as from a palaestra, and betaken himself to warm baths for refreshment." On learning of this, Marcellus left his legates in charge of his army, while he himself went up to Rome to make answer to the accusations against him. There he found an impeachment prepared against him which was drawn from these accusations. Accordingly, on a day set for the trial, when the people had come together in the Flaminian

1 Five were killed, according to Livy, xxvii. 14.
δρομον, ὁ μὲν Βιβλος ἀναβας κατηγόρησεν, ὁ δὲ Μάρκελλος ἀπελογεῖτο, βραχέα μὲν καὶ ἀπλὰ δι’ ἐαυτοῦ, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ λαμπρὰν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ πρῶτοι τῶν πολιτῶν παρρησίαν ἔγγον, παρακαλοῦντες μὴ χείρονας τοῦ πολεμίου κριτὰς φανήσαι δειλίαν Μάρκελλον καταψηφίσαμενος, ὅπως μόνον φεύγει τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐκεῖνος καὶ διατελεῖ τούτῳ μὴ μάχεσθαι στρατηγῶν, ὥς τοῖς ἄλλοις μάχεσθαι. ῥήθεντον δὲ τῶν λόγων τούτων τοσοῦτον ἢ τῆς δίκης ἔλπὶς ἐξεύσατο τὸν κατηγοροῦν ὡστε μὴ μόνον ἀφεθήναι τῶν αἰτιῶν τὸν Μάρκελλον, ἄλλα καὶ τὸ πέμπτον ὑπατον ἀποδειχθῆναι.

XXVIII. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτον μὲν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ μέγα κίνημα πρὸς ἀπόστασιν ἔπαυσε καὶ κατεπράσσετο ἐπελθὼν τὰς πόλεις. ἤπειτα ναὸν ἐκ τῶν Σικελικῶν λαβὼν ὄκοδομήμενον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ Δόξης καὶ Ἀρετῆς καθιερώσας βουλόμενος, καὶ κωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων οὐκ ἀξιοῦντων ἐνι ναῷ δύο θεοὺς περιέχεσθαι, πάλιν ἥρεσατο προσοκοδομεῖν ἑτερον, οὐ παρόνοις ἠγου τὴν γεγενημένην ἀντίκρουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὠσπερ οἷον

2 νικόμενος, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα πολλὰ σημεῖα διετάραπτεν αὐτῶν, ἱερῶν τινῶν κεραινόσεις καὶ μίας τῶν ἐν Δίος χρυσῶν διαφαγόντες. ἔλεχθη δὲ καὶ Βοῦν ἀνθρώπου φονῆν ἀφεῖναι καὶ παιδίων ἔχον κεφαλῆς ἐλεφαντος γενέσθαι καὶ περὶ τὰς ἐκθύσεις καὶ ἀποτροπάς δυσιεροῦντες οἱ μάντεις κατείχον αὐτῶν ἐν Ἄρωμη σπαργώντα καὶ φλεγόμενον. οὐδεῖς γὰρ ἔρωτα τοσοῦτον ἡράσθη πράγματος οὐδενὸς ὁσον ὁποῖον ὁ ἀνήρ τοῦ μάχη

3 κριθήναι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν. τούτῳ καὶ νύκτωρ

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circus, Bibulus rose up and denounced him. Then Marcellus spoke briefly and simply in his own defence, and the leading and most reputable citizens, with great boldness of speech and in glowing terms, exhorted the people not to show themselves worse judges than the enemy by convicting Marcellus of cowardice, whom alone of their leaders Hannibal avoided, and continually contrived not to fight with him, that he might fight with the rest. When these speeches were ended, the accuser was so far disappointed in his hope of obtaining the verdict that Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charges against him, but actually appointed consul for the fifth time.¹

XXVIII. After assuming his office, he first quelled a great agitation for revolt in Etruria, and visited and pacified the cities there; next, he desired to dedicate to Honour and Virtue a temple that he had built out of his Sicilian spoils, but was prevented by the priests, who would not consent that two deities should occupy one temple; he therefore began to build another temple adjoining the first, although he resented the priests' opposition and regarded it as ominous. And indeed many other portents disturbed him: sundry temples were struck by lightning, and in that of Jupiter, mice had gnawed the gold; it was reported also that an ox had uttered human speech, and that a boy had been born with an elephant's head; moreover, in their expiatory rites and sacrifices, the seers received bad omens, and therefore detained him at Rome, though he was all on fire and impatient to be gone.² For no man ever had such a passion for any thing as he had for fighting a decisive battle with Hannibal. This was

¹ For 208 B.C. Cf. Livy, xxvii. 20.
² Cf. Livy, xxvii. 11; 25.


PLUTARCH'S LIVES

οὐεὶρον ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ μετὰ φίλων καὶ συναρχόντων ἐν βούλευμα καὶ μία πρὸς θεοὺς φωνῆ, παρατατ
tόμενον Ἀννίβαν λαβεῖν. ἦδιστα δ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖ
τείχους ἐνὸς ἢ τινος χάρακος ἀμφοτέρους τοῖς
στρατεύμασι περιτεθέντος διαγωνίσασθαι, καὶ εἰ
μὴ πολλῆς μὲν ἡδὸς μεστὸς ὑπήρχε δόξας, πολλῆς
dὲ πείραν παρεσχήκει τοῦ παρ' ὁπτινῶν τῶν
στρατηγῶν ἐμβριθῆς γεγονέναι καὶ φρόνιμοι,
εἴπων ἄν ὅτι μειρακιώδες αὐτῷ πρὸσπεπτόκει
καὶ φιλοτιμότερον πάθος ἢ κατὰ πρεσβύτην
tοσοῦτον. ὕπερ γὰρ ἐξήκοντα γεγονὼς ἔτη τὸ
πέμπτον ὑπάτευνεν.

XXIX. Οὗ μὴν ἀλλὰ θυσιῶν καὶ καθαρμῶν
ὡν ὑπηγόρευον οἱ μάντεις γενομένων ἐξῆλθε μετὰ
τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἔπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ πολλὰ
μεταξὺ Βαυτίας πόλεως καὶ Βεννυσίας καθήμενον
.herokuapp τὸν Ἀννίβαν. ὁ δὲ εἰς μάχην μὲν οὐ
catéβανεν, αἰσθόμενος δὲ πεμπομένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν
στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Δοκροὺς τοὺς Ἐπίζεφυρίους, κατὰ
τὸν περὶ Πετηλίαν λόφον ὑφεῖς ἐνέδρασε πεντα-
2 κοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἀπέκτεινε. τούτῳ Μάρ-
κελλου ἐξέφερε τὸ θυμὸν πρὸς τὴν μάχην, καὶ
προσήγειν ἄρας ἐγγυτέρω τὴν δύναμιν.

Ἡν δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν στρατοπέδων λόφος ἐπιει-
kῶς μὲν εὐερκῆς, ύλῆς δὲ παντοδαπῆς ἀνάπλεως.
ἐίχε δὲ καὶ σκοπᾶς περικλειεὶς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα,
καὶ ναμάτων ὑπεφαινοντο πηγαί καταρρεόντων.
ἔθαύμαζον οὖν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι Ἀννίβαν ὅτι πρῶτος
ἔλων εὐφυὰ τὸπον οὕτως οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἀπέ-
his dream at night, his one subject for deliberation with friends and colleagues, his one appeal to the gods, namely, that he might find Hannibal drawn up to meet him. And I think he would have been most pleased to have the struggle decided with both armies enclosed by a single wall or rampart; and if he had not been full already of abundant honour, and if he had not given abundant proof that he could be compared with any general whomsoever in solidity of judgement, I should have said that he had fallen a victim to a youthful ambition that ill became such a great age as his. For he had passed his sixtieth year when he entered upon his fifth consulship.\(^1\)

XXIX. However, after the ceremonies of sacrifice and purification which the seers prescribed had been performed, he set out with his colleague for the war, and gave much annoyance to Hannibal in his encampment between Bantia and Venusia. Hannibal would not give battle, but having been made aware that the Romans had sent some troops against Locri Epizephyrii, he set an ambush for them at the hill of Petelia, and slew twenty-five hundred of them. This filled Marcellus with mad desire for the battle, and breaking camp, he brought his forces nearer to the enemy.

Between the camps was a hill which could be made tolerably secure, and was full of all sorts of woody growth; it had also lookout-places that sloped in either direction, and streams of water showed themselves running down its sides. The Romans therefore wondered that Hannibal, who had come first to a place of natural advantages, had not occupied it, but left it in this way for his enemies.

\(^1\) In 208 B.C.
3 λιπτο τοις πολεμίοις. τῷ δὲ ἄρα καλὸν μὲν ἐν- στρατοπεδεύσαι τὸ χωρίον ἐφαίνετο, πολὺ δὲ κρείττον ἐνεδρεύσαι· καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον αὐτῷ χρήσθαι βουλόμενος ἐνέπλησε τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὰς κοιλάδας ἀκοντιστῶν τε πολλῶν καὶ λογχοφόρων, πεπεισμένος ἐπάξεσθαι δὲ εὐφυῖαν

4 αὐτὰ τὰ χωρία τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. οὔδε ἀπεψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἦν πολὺς ἐν τῷ στρατο- πέδῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων λόγος ὡς χρὴ τὸ χωρίον καταλαμβάνειν, καὶ διεστρατήγουν ὅσα πλεονε- κτήσουσι τοὺς πολεμίοις, μάλιστα μὲν ἐκεῖ στρατοπεδεύσαντες, εἰ δὲ μή, τειχίσαντες τὸν λόφον. ἔδοξεν οὖν τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ μετ’ ὀλίγων ἱπποτῶν ἐπελάσαντι κατασκέψασθαι. καὶ λαβὼν τὸν μάντιν ἔθυεν· καὶ τοῦ πρῶτου πεσόντος ἰερείου δείκνυσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἢπαρ οὐκ ἔχον κεφαλὴν

5 ὁ μάντις. ἐπιθυσαμένου δὲ τὸ δευτέρον ἡ τε κεφαλὴ μέγεθος ὑπερφυές ἀνέσχε καὶ τᾶλλα φαινόρα θαυμαστῶς διεφάνη, καὶ λύσιν ἔχειν ὁ τῶν πρῶτων φῶς ἐδοξεν. οἱ δὲ μάντεις ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἔφασαν δεδείναι καὶ παράττεσθαι· λαμ- προτάτων γὰρ ἐπ’ αἰσχίστοις καὶ σκυθρωποτά- τοις ἱεροῖς γενομένων ὕποπτον εἶναι τῆς μετα- βολῆς τῆς ἀτοπίαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ

Τὸ πεπρωμένον οὐ πῦρ, οὐ σιδαροῦν σχῆσει τείχος,

κατὰ Πίνδαρον, ἐξεῖ τὸν τε συνάρχοντα Κρισπί- νον παραλαβών καὶ τὸν υἱὸν χιλιαρχοῦντα καὶ

6 τοὺς σύμπαντας ἵππεις εἰκοσὶ καὶ διακοσίους. ὅν Ῥωμαίος οὔδείς ἦν, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Τυρρηνοί, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ Φρεγελλανοί, πείραν ἀρετῆς καὶ

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Now, to Hannibal the place did seem good for an encampment, but far better for an ambuscade, and to this use he preferred to put it. He therefore filled its woods and hollows with a large force of javeliners and spearmen, convinced that the place of itself would attract the Romans by reason of its natural advantages. Nor was he deceived in his expectations; for straightway there was much talk in the Roman camp about the necessity of occupying the place, and they enumerated all the strategic advantages which they would gain over their enemies, particularly by encamping there, but if not that, by fortifying the hill. Marcellus accordingly decided to ride up to it with a few horsemen and inspect it. So he summoned his diviner and offered sacrifice, and when the first victim had been slain, the diviner showed him that the liver had no head. But on his sacrificing for the second time, the head of the liver was of extraordinary size and the other tokens appeared to be wonderfully propitious, and the fear which the first had inspired seemed to be dissipated. But the diviners declared that they were all the more afraid of these and troubled by them; for when very propitious omens succeeded those which were most inauspicious and threatening, the strangeness of the change was ground for suspicion. But since, as Pindar says, ¹

"Allotted fate not fire, not wall of iron, will check,"

Marcellus set out, taking with him his colleague Crispinus, his son, who was a military tribune, and two hundred and twenty horsemen all told. Of these, not one was a Roman, but they were all Etruscans, except forty men of Fregellae, who had

¹ Fragment 232 (Bergk).
πίστεως ἡεὶ τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ δεδωκότες. ὑλόδους δὲ τοῦ λόφου καὶ συνηρεφούς ὄντος ἄνηρ καθήμενος ἀνω σκοπήν εἰχε τοῖς πολεμίοις, αὐτὸς οὖ συνορώμενος, καθόρων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὸ 7 στρατόπεδον. καὶ τὰ γινόμενα τούτου φράσαντο τοῖς λοχωσί, προσελαύνοντα τὸν Μάρκελλον ἐάσαντες ἐγγὺς προσελθείν ἤξαίφυς ἀνέστησαν, καὶ περιχυθέντες ἁμα πανταχόθεν ἥκοντιζον, ἐπαινο, ἐδώκων τοὺς φεύγοντας, συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς ύψισταμένοις. οὕτω δ' ἦσαν οἱ τεσσαρά- 8 κοντα Φρεγελλανοὶ. καὶ τῶν Τυρρηνῶν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ διατρεσάντων αὐτοὶ συστραφέντες ἡμύνωντο πρὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἀχρὶ οὗ Κριστῖνος μὲν ἀκοντισμασί δυσὶ βεβλημένος ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς φυγῆν τὸν ἱππον, Μάρκελλον δὲ τις λοχχὴ πλατειά διὰ τῶν πλευρῶν διήλασεν, ἣν λαγκίαν καλύσσων. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν Φρεγελλανῶν οἱ περιόντες ὅλογον παντάπασιν αὐτὸν μὲν πεσόντα λείπον, τὸν δ' υἱὸν ἀρπάσαντες πετρωμένον φεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ 9 στρατόπεδον. ἐγένοντο δὲ νεκροὶ μὲν οὐ πολλοὶ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα πλείοις, αἰχμάλωτοι δὲ τῶν μὲν ῥαβδούχων πέντε, τῶν δὲ ἵππων εἰκοσὶ δευτέρες ἐδέοντες. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Κριστῖνος ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐπιβίωσας. καὶ πάθος τούτο Ῥωμαίοις συνέπεσε πρότερον οὐ γεγονός, ἀμφοτέρους ἐξ ἔνος ἀγῶνος τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀποθανεῖν.

XXX. Ἀννίβα δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐλάχιστος ἦν λόγος, Μάρκελλον δὲ πεπτωκέναι πυθόμενος αὐτὸς ἔξεδραμεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ παραστάς καὶ πολύν χρόνου τὴν τε ρώμην τοῦ σώματος καταμαθῶν καὶ τὸ εἴδος, οὕτε φωνήν

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given Marcellus constant proof of their valour and fidelity. Now, the crest of the hill was covered with woods, and on its summit a man had been stationed by the enemy to keep a lookout; he could not be seen himself, but kept the Roman camp in full view. This man, then, told those who lay in ambush what was going on, and they, after permitting Marcellus to ride close up to them, rose up on a sudden, and encompassing him on all sides, hurled their javelins, smote with their spears, pursued the fugitives, and grappled with those who made resistance. These were the forty men of Fregellae, who, though the Etruscans at the very outset took to flight, banded themselves together and fought in defence of the consuls, until Crispinus, smitten with two javelins, turned his horse and fled, and Marcellus was run through the side with a broad spear (the Latin name for which is "lancea"). Then the surviving men of Fregellae, few all told, left him where he lay dead, snatched up his son who was wounded, and fled to their camp. Hardly more than forty were slain, but five lictors were taken prisoners, and eighteen horsemen.\(^1\) Crispinus also died of his wounds not many days after. Such a disaster as this had never happened to the Romans before: both their consuls were killed in a single action.

XXX. Hannibal made very little account of the rest, but when he learned that Marcellus had fallen, he ran out to the place himself, and after standing by the dead body and surveying for a long time its strength and mien, he uttered no boastful speech,

\(^1\) Cf. Livy, xxvii. 26 and 27.
αφήκεν ὑπερήφανον, οὔτε ἀπ' ὦψεως τὸ χαῖρον, ὡς ἂν τις ἐργώδης πολέμιον καὶ βαρὺν ἀπεκτονώς,

2 ἐξέφηνεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθαυμάσας τὸ παράλογον τῆς τελευτῆς τὸν μὲν δακτύλιον ἀφείλετο, τὸ δὲ σῶμα κοσμήσας πρέπουτι κόσμῳ καὶ περιστείλας ἐπί-

μως ἐκαυσε: καὶ τὰ λείψανα συνθεῖς εἰς κάλπων ἀργυράν, καὶ χρυσοῦν ἐμβαλὼν στέφανον, ἀπέ-

στείλε πρὸς τὸν νιὼν. τὸν δὲ Νομάδων τινὲς περι-

τυχόντες τοῖς κομίξουσιν ὀρμησάν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ τεῦχος, ἀντιλαμβανομένων δ' ἐκείνων ἐκβιαζό-

3 μενοι καὶ μαχόμενοι διέρρυψαν τὰ ὅστα. πυθό-

μενος δὲ Ἀννίβας, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἰπὼν, “Οὐδὲν ἄρα δυνατὸν γενέσθαι ἀκοντός θεοῦ,”

τοὺς μὲν Νομάντην ἐπέθηκε δίκην, οὐκέτι δὲ κομίδης ἢ συλλογῆς τῶν λευψάνων εφρούτεσεν, ὡς δὴ κατὰ

θεὸν τινα καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἄταφίας παρα-

λόγως οὔτω τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ γενομένης. ταῦτα μὲν

οὖν οἱ περὶ Κορνήλιον Νέπωτα καὶ Οὐαλέριον

Μάξιμον ἱστορήκασιν: Δίβιος δὲ καὶ Καίσαρ ὁ

Σεβαστὸς κομισθήναι τὴν ύδριαν πρὸς τὸν νιὼν
eιρήκασι καὶ ταφῆναι λαμπρῶς.

5 Ἡν δὲ ἀνάθημα Μαρκέλλου δίχα τῶν ἐν 'Ρώμῃ
gυμνάσιον μὲν ἐν Κατάνῃ τῆς Σικελίας, ἀνδριάντες
dὲ καὶ πίνακες τῶν ἐκ 'Συρακούσων ἐν τῇ Σαμο-

θράκῃ παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐς Καβείρους ὑνόμαζον, καὶ περὶ Δίνδου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. ἐκεῖ δὲ
aυτοῦ τῷ ἀνδριάντι τούτῳ ἐν ἐπιγεγραμμένου, ὡς

Ποσειδώνιος φησι, τὸ ἑπίγραμμα:

Οὕτως τοι 'Ρώμης ὁ μέγας, ξένε, πατρίδος ἀστήρ,

Μάρκελλος κλεινῶν Κλαύδιος ἐκ πατέρων,

1 Of which he afterwards made fraudulent use (Livy, xxvii. 28).
nor did he manifest his joy at the sight, as one might have done who had slain a bitter and troublesome foe; but after wondering at the unexpectedness of his end, he took off his signet-ring, indeed, but ordered the body to be honourably robed, suitably adorned, and burned. Then he collected the remains in a silver urn, placed a golden wreath upon it, and sent it back to his son. But some of the Numidians fell in with those who were carrying the urn and attempted to take it away from them, and when they resisted, fought with them, and in the fierce struggle scattered the bones far and wide. When Hannibal learned of this, he said to the bystanders: "You see that nothing can be done against the will of God." Then he punished the Numidians, but took no further care to collect and send back the remains, feeling that it was at some divine behest that Marcellus had died and been deprived of burial in this strange manner. Such, then, is the account given by Cornelius Nepos and Valerius Maximus; but Livy and Augustus Caesar state that the urn was brought to his son and buried with splendid rites.

Besides the dedications which Marcellus made in Rome, there was a gymnasium at Catana in Sicily, and statues and paintings from the treasures of Syracuse both at Samothrace, in the temple of the gods called Cabeiri, and at Lindus in the temple of Athena. There, too, there was a statue of him, according to Poseidonius, bearing this inscription:

"This, O stranger, was the great star of his country, Rome,—Claudius Marcellus of illustrious line,

2 According to Livy, xxvii. 28, Hannibal buried Marcellus on the hill where he was killed. Livy found many discordant accounts of the death of Marcellus (xxvii. 27 fin.).
ΠΕΛΟΠΙΔΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. "Οσα μὲν οὖν ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν ἀναγραφῆς ἄξια τῶν ἱστοριμένων περὶ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Πελοπίδου, ταυτά ἔστι. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὰς φύσεις καὶ τὰ ήθη κοινοτήτων ὡσπερ ἐφαμίλλων οὐσῶν (καὶ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ φιλότοποι καὶ θυμοειδεῖς καὶ μεγαλόφρονες ἀμφότεροι γεγόνασιν), ἐκεῖνο δόξειν ἀν διαφορὰν ἔχειν μόνον, ὅτι Μαρκέλλος μὲν ἐν πολλαῖς πόλεσιν ὑποχειρίως γενομέναις σφαγᾶς ἐποίησεν, Ὠπαμεινώνδας δὲ καὶ Πελοπίδας οὐ- δένα πώποτε κρατήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν οὐδὲ πό- λεις ἱνδραποδίσαντο. λέγονται δὲ Ἐθβαιοι μηδὲ Ὀρχομενίους ἀν οὕτω μεταχειρίσασθαι παρόντων ἑκείνων.

2 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς πράξεσι θαυμαστὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα τοῦ Μαρκέλλου τὰ πρὸς Κελτοὺς, ὦσμανενον 522
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who seven times held the consular power in time of war, and poured much slaughter on his foes."

For the author of the inscription has added his two proconsulates to his five consulates. And his line maintained its splendour down to Marcellus the nephew of Augustus Caesar, who was a son of Caesar's sister Octavia by Caius Marcellus, and who died during his aedileship at Rome, having recently married a daughter of Caesar. In his honour and to his memory Octavia his mother dedicated the library, and Caesar the theatre, which bear his name.

COMPARISON OF PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS

I. This is what I have thought worthy of record in what historians say about Marcellus and Pelopidas. In their natures and dispositions they were almost exactly alike, since both were valiant, laborious, passionate, and magnanimous; and there would seem to have been this difference only between them, that Marcellus committed slaughter in many cities which he reduced, while Epaminondas and Pelopidas never put any one to death after their victories, nor did they sell cities into slavery. And we are told that, had they been present, the Thebans would not have treated the Orchomenians as they did.

As for their achievements, those of Marcellus against the Gauls were great and astonishing, since
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tosou'ton plêðhos ἵππεων ὅμοι καὶ πεζῶν ὀλύγοις
toῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἵππευσιν, ὁ ῥάδιος ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου
strarthgoû γεγονός οὐχ ἱστορηταί, καὶ τὸν ἀρ-
χοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἀνελόντος· ἐν φ᾽ τρόπῳ
Πελοπίδας ἔπτασεν ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ ταυτά, παραναι-
ρηθείς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ παθὼν πρότερον
3 ἡ δράσας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν ἔστι παρα-
βαλεῖν τὰ Λευκτρα καὶ Τεγύρας, ἐπιφανεστάτους
καὶ μεγίστους ἄγωνων, κρυφαίαν δὲ σὺν λόχῳ
κατωρθομένην πράξειν οὐκ ἔχομεν τοῦ Μαρκέλλου
παραβαλεῖν οἷς Πελοπίδας περὶ τὴν ἐκ φυγῆς
κάθοδον καὶ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ἐν Θηβαις τυράννων
ἐπράξεν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνο πολὺ πάντων ἐοίκε πρω-
τεύειν τῶν ὑπὸ σκότῳ καὶ δὴ ἀπάτης γεγενεμένων
4 τὸ ἔργον. Ἀννίβας φοβερὸς μὲν καὶ δεινὸς ἐνέ-
κειτο Ἡρωμαίοις,1 ὡσπερ ἄμελει Δακεδαιμονίοις
τότε Θηβαιοῖς, ἐνδοῦναι δὲ τούτοις μὲν Πελοπίδα
καὶ περὶ Τεγύρας καὶ περὶ Λευκτρα βέβαιον ἐστιν,
'Ἀννίβαν δὲ Μάρκελλος, ώς μὲν οἱ περὶ Πολύβιον
λέγονσιν, οὐδὲ ἀπάξ ἐνίκησεν, ἀλλ' ἀήττητος δὲ
5 ἀνήρ δοκεῖ διαγενέσθαι μέχρι Σκηπίωνος· ἡμεῖς
δὲ Λιβύρω, Καίσαρι καὶ Νέπωτι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνι-
κῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ 'Ἱόβα πιστεύομεν, ἦττας τινὰς
καὶ τροπᾶς ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου τῶν σὺν 'Ἀννίβα γενε-
σθαι: μεγάλην δὲ αὐτὴ ῥοπὴν οὐδεμιάν ἐποίησαν,
ἀλλ' ἐοίκε ψευδόπτωμα τι γενέσθαι περὶ τὸν
6 Λίβυν ἐν ταῖς συμπλοκαῖς ἐκείναις. ὃ δὴ κατὰ
λόγον καὶ προσηκόντως ἐθαυμάσθη, μετὰ τοσαῦ-
τας τροπὰς στρατοπέδων καὶ φόνους στρατηγῶν
καὶ σύγχυσιν ολης ὅμοι τῆς Ἡρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας

1 ἐνέκειτο Ἡρωμαίοι Coraës and Bekker, after an early
anonymous critic: ἐνέκειτο.

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he routed such a multitude of horse and foot with the few horsemen in his following (an action not easily found recorded of any other general), and slew the enemies' chieftain; whereas in this regard Pelopidas failed, for he set out to do the same thing, but suffered what he meant to inflict, and was slain first by the tyrant. However, with these exploits of Marcellus one may compare the battles of Leuctra and Tegyra, greatest and most illustrious of actions; and we have no exploit of Marcellus accomplished by stealth and ambuscade which we can compare with what Pelopidas did in coming back from exile and slaying the tyrants in Thebes, nay, that seems to rank far higher than any other achievement of secrecy and cunning. Hannibal was, it is true, a most formidable enemy for the Romans, but so, assuredly, were the Lacedaemonians in the time of Pelopidas for the Thebans, and that they were defeated by Pelopidas at Tegyra and Leuctra is an established fact; whereas Hannibal, according to Polybius, was not even once defeated by Marcellus, but continued to be invincible until Scipio came. However, I believe, with Livy, Caesar, and Nepos, and, among Greek writers, with King Juba, that sundry defeats and routs were inflicted by Marcellus upon the troops of Hannibal, although these had no great influence upon the war; indeed, the Carthaginian would seem to have practised some ruse in these engagements. But that which reasonably and fittingly called for admiration was the fact that the Romans, after the rout of so many armies, the slaughter of so many generals, and the utter confusion of the whole empire, still had

1 Cf. xv. 11, 7, where Hannibal makes this claim, in a speech to his men just before the battle of Zama (202 B.C.).
eis antipala tω therpein kathistaménovon, ó gár ek pōllon toú pálai perideous kai katapetplhgōtos aúthis émibalōn tō stratēumati zēlon kai filos-
neikían proç touz polemiónous, kai touto de tō mē radíos tēs níkēs úfieumenon, allā kai ámphiβeti-
tōun te kai filoτimouμenon épáras kai tharrúnas,
eis an' hē, Márkellos: eidiσménous gár upō tōn sumforōn, ei feúgontes ekφúgoien 'Anvíban, 
agnapān, edidāxein aúχúνεσθαι swξoménous meθi 
ýttēs, aîdeίσthai de parā mikrōn évántas, álgeiwn 
de μη kraṭṭḥanṭas.

II. Ἐπεὶ τοινῦν Πελοπιδᾶς μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἡττήθη 
máxhν stratēgōn, Márkellos de plei̇stas tōn 
kath' aúton 'Rωmaiōn éνικησε, δόξειεν ἂν ἵσως tō 
dυσνικῆτω πρὸς tō ái̇ttētou ὑπὸ plήθουs tōn 
kataφρωμένων ἐπαυ̣σούσθαι. kai μὴn οὔτοs μὲn 
eîle Συρακούσας, ἐκείνος de tēs Ἀκαδαιμονοῡ 
απέτυχεν. ἀλλ' οἶμαι μείξον εἶναι τοῦ καταλαβεῖν 
Σικελίαν tō tē Sπάρτη προσελθεῖν kai διαβῆναι 
2 πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων πολέμῳ tōn Eυρώταν, εἰ μὴ νὴ 
Δία τοῦτο μὲν φήσει tis tē ἔργον Ὑπαμεινώνδα 
mállon ἢ Πελοπιδα προσήκειν, ὦσπερ kai tā 
Δεύκτρα, tōn de Márkellos diapetpragmévnoν 
ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι τήν δόξαν. kai γάρ Συρακού̣ 
σας μόνος εἶλε, kai Κελτοὺς ἄνευ τοῦ συνάρχοντος 
ἐτρέψατο, kai πρὸς 'Αννίβαν μηδεῖοσ συλλαμ-
βάνουτος, ἀλλ' kai πάντων ἀποτρεπτόντων, ἀντι-
tαξάμενος kai metaβαλῶν tō σχῆμα tōu πολέμου 
πρῶτος ἧγεμῶν tōu τολμάν κατέστη.

III. Τήν τοινῦν τελευτήν ἐπαινῶ μὲν οὐδετέρον

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the courage to face their foes. For there was one man who filled his army again with ardour and ambition to contend with the enemy, instead of the great fear and consternation which had long oppressed them, inspiring and encouraging them not only to yield the victory reluctantly, but also to dispute it with all eagerness, and this man was Marcellus. For when their calamities had accustomed them to be satisfied whenever they escaped Hannibal by flight, he taught them to be ashamed to survive defeat, to be chagrined if they came within a little of yielding, and to be distressed if they did not win the day.

II. Since, then, Pelopidas was never defeated in a battle where he was in command, and Marcellus won more victories than any Roman of his day, it would seem, perhaps, that the multitude of his successes made the difficulty of conquering the one equal to the invincibility of the other. Marcellus, it is true, took Syracuse, while Pelopidas failed to take Sparta. But I think that to have reached Sparta, and to have been the first of men to cross the Evrotas in war, was a greater achievement than the conquest of Sicily; unless, indeed, it should be said that this exploit belongs rather to Epaminondas than to Pelopidas, as well as the victory at Leuctra, while Marcellus shared with no one the glory of his achievements. For he took Syracuse all alone, and routed the Gauls without his colleague, and when no one would undertake the struggle against Hannibal, but all declined it, he took the field against him, changed the aspect of the war, and was the first leader to show daring.

III. I cannot, indeed, applaud the death of either
τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀνιώματι καὶ ἀγανακτῶ τῷ
παραλόγῳ τοῦ συμπτώματος· καὶ θαυμάζω μέν
ἐν μάχαις τοσαύταις ὀσαις ἀποκάμοι τις ἂν κατ-
αριθμῶν, μηδὲ τρωθέντα τὸν Ἀννίβαν, ἀγαμαὶ δὲ
καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ Παιδείᾳ Χρυσάνταν, δις διηρμένος
κοπίδα καὶ παίειν μέλλων πολέμου, ὃς ὑπεσῆ-
μην ἡ σάλπιγξ ἀνακλητικόν, ἄφεις τὸν ἀνδρα
2 μάλα πρᾶγμα καὶ κοσμίως ἀνεχώρησεν. οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ τὸν Πελοπίδαν ποιεῖ συγγνώστον ἀμα τῷ
τῆς μάχης καιρῷ παράθερμον ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν
ἀμύναν οὐκ ἀγεινόν ἐκφέρων ὁ θυμός· ἀριστον
μὲν γὰρ νικῶντα σώζεσθαι τὸν στρατηγὸν, “εἰ δὲ
θανεὶν, εἰς ἄρετὴν καταλύσαντα βίον,” ὡς Εὐρι-
πίδης φησίν·1 οὕτω γὰρ ὃ ὅ πάθος, ἀλλὰ πρᾶξις
3 γίνεται τοῦ τελευτῶντος ὁ θάνατος. πρὸς δὲ τῷ
θυμῷ τοῦ Πελοπίδου καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτὸ τῷ τῆς
νίκης ἐν τῷ πεσεῖν τὸν τύραννον ὅρομενον οὐ παν-
tάπασιν ἀλόγως ἐπισπάσατο τὴν ὁμῆν· χαλεπὸν
gὰρ ἐτέρας οὕτω καλὴν καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐχούσης
υπόθεσιν ἀριστείας ἐπιλαβέσθαι. Μάρκελλος δὲ,
μήτε χρείας μεγάλης ἐπικειμένης, μήτε τοῦ παρὰ
tὰ δεινὰ πολλάκις ἐξιστάντος τὸν λογισμὸν ἐν-
θουσιασμοῦ παρεστῶτος, ὡςάμενος ἀπερισκέπτως
εἰς κίνδυνον οὐ στρατηγὸν πτῶμα, προδρόμον δὲ
4 τινὸς ἡ κατασκόπου πέπτωκεν, ὑπατείας πέντε
καὶ τρεῖς θριάμβους καὶ σκύλα καὶ τρωπαιοφορίας
ἀπὸ βασιλέων τοῖς προαποθήκηκοις, Καρχη-
dονίων Ἡθηρίοι καὶ Νομάσιν ὕποβαλών. ὡστε
νεμέσησαι αὐτοὺς ἀκεινοὺς ἐαυτοῖς τοῦ κατορθώ-

1 Εἰ δὲ θανεὶν θέμις, ὅδε θανεὶν καλῶν,
eἰς ἄρετὴν καταλυσαμένους βλον
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of them, nay, I am distressed and indignant at their unreasonableness in the final disaster. And I admire Hannibal because, in battles so numerous that one would weary of counting them, he was not even wounded. I am delighted, too, with Chrysantes, in the "Cyropaedeia,"¹ who, though his blade was lifted on high and he was about to smite an enemy, when the trumpet sounded a retreat, let his man go, and retired with all gentleness and decorum. Pelopidas, however, was somewhat excusable, because, excited as he always was by an opportunity for battle, he was now carried away by a generous anger to seek revenge. For the best thing is that a general should be victorious and keep his life, "but if he must die," he should "conclude his life with valour," as Euripides says; for then he does not suffer death, but rather achieves it. And besides his anger, Pelopidas saw that the consummation of his victory would be the death of the tyrant, and this not altogether unreasonably invited his effort; for it would have been hard to find another deed of prowess with so fair and glorious a promise. But Marcellus, when no great need was pressing, and when he felt none of that ardour which in times of peril unseats the judgment, plunged heedlessly into danger, and died the death, not of a general, but of a mere skirmisher or scout, having cast his five consulates, his three triumphs, and the spoils and trophies which he had taken from kings, under the feet of Iberians and Numidians who had sold their lives to the Carthaginians. And so it came to pass that these very men were loath to accept their own success, when

¹ Xenophon, *Cyrop. iv. 1, 3.*
ματος, ἄνδρα Ἰωμαίων ἀριστον ἀρετή καὶ δυνάμει 
μέγιστον καὶ δόξῃ λαμπρότατον ἐν τοῖς Φρεγελ-
λανῶν προδιερευνήταις παραναλώσθαι.

5 Χρή δὲ ταῦτα μὴ κατηγοριάν εἰναι τῶν ἄνδρῶν 
νομίζειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀγανάκτησιν τινα καὶ παρρησίαιν 
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἄνδρείαν 
αὐτῶν, εἰς ἣν τὰς ἄλλας κατανάλωσαν ἀρετὰς 
αφειδησάντες τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ὥστε 
ἑαυτοῖς, οὐ ταῖς πατρίσι μᾶλλον καὶ φίλοις καὶ 
συμμάχοις, ἀπολλυμένων.

6 Μετὰ δὲ τὸν θάνατον Πελοπίδας μὲν τοὺς συμ-
μάχους ταφεῖς ἐσχευ, ὑπὲρ δὲν ἀπέθανε, Μάρκελ-
λος δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, ὑψ' δὲν ἀπέθανε. ξηλωτὸν 
μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μακάριον, κρείττον δὲ καὶ 
μείζον εὐνοίας χάριν ἀμειβομένης ἔχθρα λυποῦ-
σαν ἀρετὴν θαυμάζουσα. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐνταῦθα 
τὴν τιμὴν ἔχει μόνον, ἐκεῖ δὲ τὸ λυσιτελές καὶ 
ἡ χρεία μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶται τῆς ἀρετῆς.
PELOPIDAS AND MARCELLUS, iii. 4-6

a Roman who excelled all others in valour, and had the greatest influence and the most splendid fame, was uselessly sacrificed among the scouts of Fregellae.

This, however, must not be thought a denunciation of the men, but rather an indignant and outspoken protest in their own behalf against themselves and their valour, to which they uselessly sacrificed their other virtues, in that they were unsparing of their lives; as if their death affected themselves alone, and not rather their countries, friends, and allies.

After his death, Pelopidas received burial from his allies, in whose behalf he fell; Marcellus from his enemies, by whose hands he fell. An enviable and happy lot was the former, it is true; but better and greater than the goodwill which makes grateful return for favours done, is the hatred which admires a valour that was harassing. For in this case it is worth alone which receives honour; whereas in the other, personal interests and needs are more regarded than excellence.
A P A R T I A L D I C T I O N A R Y O F
P R O P E R N A M E S

A

Achillas, 317–325, one of the guardians of Ptolemy XII. (Dionysus), and commander of his troops when Caesar came to Egypt. According to Bell. Alex. iv., he was put to death by his sister Arsinoë.

Achradina, 485, the first extension on the mainland of the island city of Syracuse, stretching from the Great Harbour northwards to the sea.

Actium, 175, a promontory of Acarnania in northern Greece, at the entrance to the Ambraciot gulf.

Aesop, 429, a Greek writer of fables, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Fables bearing his name were popular at Athens in the time of Aristophanes.

Afranius, 205, 211, 217, 229, 287, 291, Lucius A., a warm partisan of Pompey, and one of his legates in Spain during the war with Sertorius, as well as in Asia during the Mithridatic war. He was consul in 60 B.C. In 55 B.C. he was sent by Pompey with Petreius to hold Spain for him. He was killed after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.).

Amanus, 217, a range of mountains branching off from the Taurus in Cilicia, and extending eastwards to Syria and the Euphrates.

Amisus, 213, 223, a city of Pontus, in Asia Minor, on the southern shore of the Euxine Sea.

Amphipolis, 309, an important town in S.E. Macedonia, on the river Strymon, about three miles from the sea.

Androcles of Cyzicus, 401, a celebrated painter, who flourished from 400 to 377 B.C. See Plutarch, Morals, p. 668 c.

Andros, 345, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, S. E. of Euboea.

Antalcidas, 63, 73, 87, 417, an able Spartan politician, and commander of the Spartan fleet in 388 B.C. The famous peace between Persia and the Greeks, concluded in 387 B.C., was called after him.

Antigonus, 341, 343, the general of Alexander who was afterwards king of Asia, surnamed the One-eyed.

Antioch, 219, the capital of the Greek kings of Syria, on the river Orontes, founded by Seleucus in 300 B.C.

Antipater, 41, regent of Macedonia and Greece during Alexander's absence in the East, and also after Alexander's death, until 319 B.C.

Apollonides of Cyzicus, 33, known only in this connection.

Appius, 467, 471, Appius Claudius Pulcher, military tribune at Cannae (216 B.C.), praetor in Sicily 215 B.C., and legate of Marcellus there in 214. He was consul in 212, and died in the following year.

Arbela, 211, a town in Babylonia, near which Alexander inflicted final defeat upon Dareius.
Archimedes, 471–477, the most famous of ancient mathematicians, lived 287–212 B.C.
Archytas, 471, a Greek of Tarentum, philosopher, mathematician, general and statesman, flourished about 400 B.C.
Arminium, 273, 443, a city of Umbria, on the Adriatic, commanding the eastern coast of Italy and an entrance into Cisalpine Gaul.
Arsaces, 315, Arsaces XIV. (or Orontes I.), king of Parthia 55–38 B.C.
Arsis, 131, an error for Aesis, a river flowing between Umbria and Picenum, in N.E. Italy.
Asculum, 123 f., a city in the interior of Picenum, taken by Strabo during the Wars of the Marsic war (89 B.C.) and burnt.
Athenamania, 287, a district in northern Greece, between Thessaly and Epirus.
Aulis, 15, a town on the Boeotian side of the straits of Euphrus, reputed to have been the rendezvous for the Greek chieftains under Agamemnon.
Auximum, 129, a city of Picenum, in N.E. Italy, just south of Ancona.

B

Bantia, 515, a small town in Apulia, about thirteen miles south-east of Venusia.
Beroea, 281, a town in Macedonia, west of the Thermaic gulf (Bay of Saloniki).
Bibulus (1), 237–241, 259, Lucius Calpurnius B., aedile in 65, praetor in 62, and consul in 59 B.C., in each case a colleague of Julius Caesar. He was an aristocrat of moderate abilities. He died in 48 B.C.
Bibulus (2), 511, 513, Publicius B., not otherwise known.
Bosporus, 215, the territory on both sides of the strait between the Euxine Sea and the Maeotic Lake (Sea of Azov), and including the modern Crimea. The strait (p. 207) bears the same name.

Briareus, 479, a monster of mythology, having a hundred arms and fifty heads, called by men Aegaean (Iliad, 1. 403 f.).
Brundisium, 183 f., 279, 285, 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.
Brutus, 129, 153, 155, Marcus Junius B., father of the conspirator, tribune of the people in 83, and, in 77 B.C., general under Lepidus.

C

Caenum, 213, the fortress mentioned without name in the preceding chapter. It was in Pontus, on the river Lycus, S.E. of Amisos.
Calauria, 175, a small island off the S.E. coast of Argolis in Peloponnesus. Its temple was the final refuge of Demosthenes.
Calliratidas, 343, the Spartan admiral who succeeded Lysander in 406 B.C., and lost his life in the battle of Arginusae. Cf. the Lysander, chapters v.–vii.
Callipides, 59, cf. the Alcibiades, xxxii. 2.
Callisthenes, 97, 381, of Olynthus, a philosopher and historian, who accompanied Alexander the Great on his expedition in the East until put to death by him in 328 B.C. Besides an account of Alexander's expedition, he wrote a history of Greece from 387 to 357 B.C.
Calvinus, 295, see Domitius (3).
Canusium, 457, 507, an ancient city of Apulia, about fifteen miles from the sea.
Capitolinus, 439, Caius Scantilius C., colleague of Marcellus in the aedileship about 226 B.C.
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Carbo, 127–131, 137 f., Gnaeus Papirius C., a leader of the Marian party, consul and colleague of Cinna in 85 and 84 B.C., put to death by Pompey in 82 B.C.

Carinas (or Carinias), 129, Caius C., was defeated by Sulla in the following year (82 B.C.), captured and put to death.

Catana, 521, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Taurromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.

Catulus, 153, 157, 179, 181, 193, 197, Quintus Latinus C., a leading aristocrat of the noblest sort, consul in 78 B.C., censor in 65, a supporter of Cicero against Catiline in 63, died in 60 B.C.

Caucasus Mountains, 209, the great mountain system lying between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.

Chabrias, 309, the eastern harbour-town of Corinth.

Chabrias, 105, a successful Athenian general, prominent from 392 till his gallant death at the siege of Chios in 357 B.C.

Chaeroneia, 47, a small town at the entrance from Phocis into Boeotia, commanding an extensive plain on which many battles were fought in ancient times (cf. the Marcellus, xxi. 2). Here Philip of Macedon defeated the allied Greeks in 338 B.C. It was Plutarch’s native city.

Chares, 345, a famous Athenian general, prominent from 367 to 334 B.C. He was able, but untrustworthy and rapacious.

Cinna, 123–127, Lucius Cornelius C., leader of the popular party and consul during the years of Sulla’s absence in the East (87–84 B.C.).

Claros, 175, a place in Ionic Asia Minor, near Colophon, where there was a temple of Apollo, and an oracle of great antiquity.

Cleon, of Halicarnassus, 55, a rhetorician who flourished at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century B.C.

Cloeus, 129, an error for Coelius, Caius Coelius Caldus, tribune of the people in 107 B.C., consul in 94, a staunch supporter of the Marian party.

Cnidus, 47, a city at the S.W. extremity of Caria, in Asia Minor.

Coeleis, 203, 207, a district of Western Asia, lying north of Armenia and east of the Euxine Sea.

Commagene, 231, a district of Syria, lying between Cilicia and the Euphrates.

Conon, 47, 63, a distinguished Athenian general. He escaped from Aegospotami in 405 B.C. (see the Lysander, xi. 5), and with aid from the Great King and Pharnabazus defeated the Spartan fleet off Cnidus in 394 B.C., and restored the Long Walls of Athens in 393 B.C.

Cornelius, 447, 453, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Calvus, consul with Marcellus in 222 B.C., afterwards (218 B.C.) legate of his brother Publius in Spain, where the two carried on war against the Carthaginians for eight years, and where both finally fell.

Coroneia, 41, 47, a town in N.W. Boeotia, the scene of many battles. Here reference is made to the victory of Agesilaus over the Thebans and their allies in 394 B.C. (Agesilaus, xviii.).

Cratippus, 311 f., of Mitylene, a Peripatetic philosopher highly regarded by Cicero, and by Cicero’s son, whose teacher he was. Brutus attended his lectures at Athens (Brutus, xxiv. 1).

Crispinus, 517, 519, Titus Quinctius Pennus Capitolinus C., a trusted commander under Marcellus in Sicily, 214–212 B.C., and now (208) his colleague in the consulship. After the skirmish here described he was carried to Rome, where he died at the close of the year.

Culleo, 243, Quintus Terentius C., tribune of the people in 58 B.C., a friend of Cicero, whose banishment he tried to prevent, and whose recall he laboured to obtain.

Curio, 269 f., Caius Scribonius C.,

535
an able orator, but reckless and profligate. He was tribune of the people in 50 B.C., and sold his support to Caesar, who made him praetor in Sicily in 49. Thence he crossed into Africa to attack the Pompeians there, but was defeated and slain (Caesar, Bell. Civ., ii. 23-44).

Cynoscephalae, 423, a range of hills in eastern Thessaly, so named from their supposed resemblance to the heads of dogs.

Cythera, 87, a large island directly south of Laconia in Peloponnese.

Cyzicus, 401, a Greek city on the Propontis, in Mysia.

Damippus, 488, a Spartan at the court of Hieronymus, king of Syracuse. He tried to persuade the king not to abandon alliance with Rome. Marcellus gave him his liberty.

Delotarius, 309, tetrarch of Galatia in Asia Minor, and an old man in 54 B.C. (cf. the Crassus, xvii. 1 f.). He was a faithful friend of the Romans in their Asiatic wars, and was rewarded by the senate, in 63 B.C., with the title of King. Caesar could never be brought to pardon him for siding with Pompey.

Demaratus the Corinthian, 39, a guest-friend of Philip of Macedon (cf. the Alexander, ix. 6; lvi.).

Didyma, 175, in the territory of Miletus, the site of a famous temple of Apollo.

Dionysius, 429, the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse from 405 to 367 B.C.

Dioscorides, 99, a pupil of Isocrates, author of a treatise on the Spartan polity, writing in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. (cf. the Lycurgus, xi. 4).

Domitius (1), 137, 141, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son-in-law of Cinna, and a partisan of Marius. When Sulla obtained the supreme power in 82 B.C., Domitius fled to Africa, where he died in 81 B.C.

Domitius (2), 251, 291, 295, 335, Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul in 54 B.C. He was a son-in-law of Cato, and one of the ablest supporters of the aristocratic party. He opposed both Pompey and Caesar until they quarrelled, then sided with Pompey. Caesar spared his life at Corinum, in 49 B.C. (cf. the Caesar, xxxiv. 3 f.). He met his death at Pharsalus.

Domitius (3), 257, 295, Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus (wrongly called Lucius Calvinus, p. 295), consul in 53 B.C. He was a supporter of Bibulus against Caesar in 59 B.C., but after 49 B.C. an active supporter of Caesar. After Pharsalus he was Caesar's lieutenant in Asia.

Duris, 7, of Samos, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, lived circa 350-280 B.C.

Dymé, 187, the most westerly of the twelve cities of Achaia in Peloponnese. It had been destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C.

Dyrrachium, 279, 309, a city on the coast of Illyricum, known in Greek history as Epidamnus. It was a free state, and sided with the Romans consistently.

Echata, 39, 417, an ancient city of Media, the residence of the Great King during the summer months.

Eleusis, 69, 375, the sacred city of the Athenian mysteries, some twelve miles west of Athens.

Engyium, 489 f., a city in the interior of Sicily, the exact site of which is unknown.

Enna, 489, an ancient fortress-city nearly in the centre of Sicily.

Ephesus, 17, 23, 493, one of the twelve Ionian cities in Lydia of Asia Minor, near the mouth of the river Caëstrus.

Ephorus, 381, of Cymé, pupil of
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Isocrates, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epidaurus, 175, a city on the east coast of Argolis in Peloponnesus, famous for its shrine and cult of Aesculapius.

Erastistratus, 41, otherwise unknown.

Eudoxus, 471, of Cnidus, a pupil of Archytas, most famous as a mathematician and astronomer, flourished about 360 B.C. He taught philosophy at Athens.

Euryponidae, 329, one of the two royal families at Sparta; the other was that of the Agidae.

F

Favonius, 275, 291, 309, 335, Marcus F., called the "Ape of Cato," aedile in 52 and praetor in 49 B.C. He joined Pompey in the East in spite of personal enmity to him, and accompanied him in his flight from Pharsalus.

Flaminius, 443, 447, Caius F., consul in 223 B.C., a violent opponent of senate and aristocrats. The Circus Flaminii and the Via Flaminia were constructed during his aedileship (220 B.C.). Cf. the Marcellus, xxvii. 3.

Fregellae, 517 f., 531, a city in S.E. Latium, on the river Liris. It was severely punished by Hannibal in 211 B.C. for its fidelity to Rome.

Fulvius (1), 503, Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, was praetor in 212 B.C., and received Apulia as his province, where, in 210 B.C., he was badly defeated (but not slain, as Plutarch says) by Hannibal. He had played the coward, and went into voluntary exile.

Fulvius (2), 505, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, brother of Gnaeus, consul in 237, 224, 212, and 209 B.C. In 212 he captured Capua, which had gone over to Hannibal, and wreaked a dreadful vengeance upon the city.

G

Gabinius, 177, 183, 241, Aulus G., tribune of the people in 66, praetor in 61, consul with Piso in 58 B.C., the year during which Cicero was exiled. He was recalled from his province of Syria in 55, prosecuted for taking bribes, and exiled. He died in 48 B.C.

Geraestus, 15, a town and promontory at the south-western extremity of Euboia.

Gordyene, 209, a rather indefinite district of Asia, lying south of Armenia and west of the river Tigris.

H

Hecatombaeon, 79, the first month of the Attic year, comprising parts of our June and July.

Herennius, 159, Caius H., tribune of the people in 80 B.C. After the death of Sulla he joined Sertorius in Spain (76–72 B.C.).

Hermagoras, 225, of Tenedos, a distinguished rhetorician in the times of Pompey and Cicero. He was a mere formalist.

Hermione, 175, an ancient town at the south-eastern extremity of Argolis in Peloponnesus.

Hexapyla, 483, 485, probably a section of the wall fortifying Epipolae, the triangular plateau to the west of Syracuse.

Hiempsal, 145, king of Numidia after the Jugurthine war (111–106 B.C.), expelled from his throne by Gnaeus Domitius and restored to it by Pompey.

Hier, 457, 471 f., Hiero II., king of Syracuse 270–216 B.C., for nearly half a century a faithful friend and ally of Rome.

Hieronymus (1), 37, of Rhodes, a disciple of Aristotle, flourishing about 300 B.C., frequently mentioned by Cicero.

Hieronymus (2), king of Syracuse 216–215 B.C., successor to Hiero II., whose policy of friendship with Rome he forsook for alliance with Carthage.
Himera, 139, a Greek city on the northern coast of Sicily.
Hippocrates, 469, 483, a Syracusan by birth, but educated at Carthage. He served under Hannibal in Spain and Italy. He persuaded Hieronymus, the young king of Syracuse, to abandon the Roman cause (216 B.C.).
Hydrieus the Carian, 37, otherwise unknown.
Hypseaus, 263, Publius Plautius H., tribune of the people in 54 B.C., and candidate for the consulship. He was accused of corrupt practices, tried, and convicted. Pompey, whom he had devotedly served, forsook him in the hour of need.
Hyrcania, 207 f., a district of Asia lying south of the Caspian (Hyrcanian) Sea.

L

Labienus, 293, Titus L., tribune of the people in 63 B.C., and devoted to Caesar's interests. He was an able and trusted legate of Caesar through most of the Gallic wars, but became jealous of his leader and deserted him for Pompey in 49 B.C. After Pharsalus he fled to Africa, and after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.) to Spain, where he was the immediate cause of the defeat of the Pompeians at Munda and was slain (45 B.C.).
Laciniwm, 175, a promontory on the east coast of Bruttium, in Italy, some six miles south of Crotona.
Larissa, 43 f., 307, 405, an important town in N.E. Thessaly, on the river Peneius.
Laconion, 159, a small town in the S.E. part of Spain, south of Valentina, near the sea.
Lentulus (1), 273, 325, Lucius Cornelius L. Crus, consul in 49 B.C. with Claudius Marcellus, and a bitter opponent of Caesar (cf. the Caesar, xxx. 3). He joined Pompey in the East, fled with him from Pharsalus, and was put to death in Egypt.
Lentulus (2), 307, see Spinther.
Leontini, 469, a city of Sicily between Syracuse and Catana.
Lepidus, 151 ff., 197, 327, Marcus Aemilius L., father of the triumvir, praetor in Sicily in 81, consul in 78 B.C.
Leucas, 175, an island in the Ionian Sea, lying close to the coast of Acarnania.
Leuctra, 79, 391, and often, a village in Boeotia, south-west of Thebes, between Thebeis and Plataea, for ever memorable as the scene of the utter defeat of the Spartans by the Thebans in 371 B.C.
Lindus, 521, an ancient and important town on the east coast of the island of Rhodes.
Locri Epizephyrii, 515, a celebrated Greek city on the eastern coast of Bruttium, in Italy, said to have been founded in 760 B.C.
M

Macaria, 391, daughter of Heracles and Deaneira. She slew herself in order to give the Athenians victory over Eurystheus.

Maeonia, 85, 93 f., 99, 349, a powerful city in the eastern part of central Aradia, in Peloponnese.

Marcellinus, 249 f., Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus M., consul in 56 B.C., a friend and advocate of Cicero, and persistently opposed to Pompey, who was driven by his hostility into alliance with Caesar.

Marcellus, 269 f., Caicus Claudius M., consul in 50 B.C., a friend of Cicero and Pompey, and an uncompromising foe of Caesar. But after the outbreak of the civil war he remained quietly and timidly in Italy, and was finally pardoned by Caesar. He is not to be confounded with an uncle, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 51, or with a cousin, Caicus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 49 B.C.

Marcus, 445, Caicus M. Figulus, consul in 162 B.C., and again in 156 B.C.

Maximus, 521, Valerius M., compiler of a large collection of historical anecdotes, in the time of Augustus.

Megara, 483, 489, a Greek city on the eastern coast of Sicily, between Syracuse and Catana. It was colonized from Megara in Greece Proper.

Meliboea, 413, an ancient town on the sea-coast of Thessaly.

Memninus, 141, Caicus M., after this, Pompey’s quaestor in Spain, where he was killed in a battle with Sertorius (Sertorius, xxi.).

Mendes, 107 f., a prominent city in the north of Egypt.

Menecrates, 59, a Syracusan physician at the court of Philip of Macedon 359–336 B.C. According to Aelian (Var. Hist. xii. 51), it was from Philip that he got this answer.

Menoeceus, 391, son of Creon the mythical king of Thebes. He sacrificed himself in order to give his city victory over the seven Argive chieftains.

Meriones, 489, a Cretan hero of the Trojan war, the companion and friend of Idomeneus.

Messala, 257, Marcus Valerius M., secured his election to the consulship in 53 B.C. by bribery, but still had Cicero’s support. In the civil war he sided actively with Caesar.

Messene, Messene, 95, 99, 101, 331, 417 f., the south-western district in Peloponnese, in earliest times conquered by the Spartans. Its stronghold, Ithome, was included in the capital city built by Epaminondas in 369 B.C. and named Messene. The names Messenia and Messene are sometimes interchanged.

Metellus (1), 121, (?), 187 f., Quintus Caecilius M. Creticus, consul in 69 B.C., and from 68 to 66 B.C. engaged in subduing Crete. On his return to Rome the partisans of Pompey prevented him from celebrating a triumph, for which he waited patiently outside of the city until 62 B.C.

Metellus (2), 277 f., 333, Lucius Caecilius M. Creticus, a nephew of the preceding Metellus, is little known apart from the incident here narrated.

Metellus (3), 133, 157 ff. 197, Quintus Metellus Pius, consul with Sulla in 80 B.C., and one of his most successful generals. After Sulla’s death in 78 B.C., Metellus was sent as proconsul into Spain, to prosecute the war against Sertorius. He died about 63 B.C.

Minucius, 447, Marcus M. Rufus, consul in 221 B.C., and in 217 Master of Horse to the dictator.
Fabius Maximus (*Fab. Max.* iv.–xiii.). It is not known in what year Minucius was dictator. Mithras, 175, a Persian sun-deity, whose worship subsequently spread over the whole Roman Empire.

Mitylene, 225, 300 f., the chief city of the island of Lesbos.

Mucia, 225 f., Pompey’s third wife (cf. the *Pompey*, ix.), and the mother by him of Gnaeus and Sextus Pompey.

Mutina, 155, an important city of Cisalpine Gaul, south of the Po, the modern Modena.

N

Nabataeans, 293, a people occupying the northern part of the Arabian peninsula, between the Euphrates and the Arabian Gulf.

Neapolis (1), an ancient city of Campania, the modern Naples.

Neapolis (2), a portion of what Plutarch calls the “outer city” of Syracuse, lying between Epipolae and Achradina.

Nepos, 521, 525, Cornelius N., a Roman biographer and historian, contemporary and friend of Cicero.

Nola, 459, 463 f., an important city of Campania, about twenty miles S.E. of Capua.

O

Oppius, 139, Caius O., an intimate friend of Caesar (cf. the *Caesar*, xvii.), author (probably) of Lives of Marius, Pompey, and Caesar.

Orchomenus, 47 f., 377, 381 f., 523, a city in northern Boeotia, near the Copaic Lake.

Oricum, 285, a town on the coast of Epirus, north of Apollonia.

P

Paeonia, 221, a district in Thrace, north of Macedonia.

Paulus, 269, Lucius Aemilius P., consul in 50 B.C. with Claudius Marcellus. He had been a violent opponent of Caesar.

Pelusium, 317, a strong frontier-town on the eastern branch of the Nile.

Perpenna, 137, 159, 163 f., Marcus P. Vento, a leading partisan of Marius. On the death of Sulla (78 B.C.) he joined Lepidus in his attempt to win the supreme power, and, failing here, retired to Spain, where he served under Sertorius.

Petelia, 515, an ancient city of Bruttium, north of Crotona.

Petra, 221, the capital city of the Nabataeans, about half way between the Dead Sea and the Arabian Gulf.

Pharnabazus, 21, 29, 33 f., 47, 63, satrap of the Persian provinces about the Hellespont from 412 to 393 B.C.

Pharsalia, Pharsalus, 45, 293, 301, 335, 409, 423, a city and plain in southern Thessaly.

Pherec, 403, 407 f., 419, 433, a city in south-eastern Thessaly.

Pherecydes, 391, possibly Pherecydes of Syros is meant, a semi-mythical philosopher of the sixth century B.C., about whose death many fantastic tales were told.

Philippos, 119, 157, Lucius Marcus P., consul in 91 B.C., and a distinguished orator, a supporter of the popular party. He died before Pompey’s return from Spain (71 B.C.).

Philistus, 429, the Syracusan, an eye-witness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse (415–413 B.C.), which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.

Phlius, Phliasians, 67, a city in N.E. Peloponnesus, south of Sicyon.

Phthiotis, 419, 431, a district in S.E. Thessaly.

Picenum, 443, a district in N.E. Italy.

Piso (1), Caius Calpurnius P., consul in 67 B.C., a violent aristocrat, afterwards proconsul for the province of Gallia Narbonensis, which he plundered. He must
have died before the outbreak of civil war.

Piso (2), Lucius Calpurnius P. Caeserinus, consul in 58 B.C., through Caesar’s influence, recalled from his province of Macedonia in 55 because of extortion, consul again in 50 B.C. at Caesar’s request, and after Caesar’s death a supporter of Antony.

Plancus, 263, Titus Minutius P. Bursa, accused of fomenting the disorders following the death of Clodius (52 B.C.), found guilty and exiled. Pompey, whose ardent supporter he was, deserted him in the hour of need. Caesar restored him to civic rights soon after 49 B.C.

Plataea, 377, 401, an ancient and celebrated city in S.W. Boeotia, near the confines of Attica, where the Persians under Mardonius were defeated by the allied Greeks in 485 B.C.

Pollio, 305, Caliustus Asinius P., a famous orator, poet, and historian, 76 B.C.–4 A.D. He was an intimate friend of Caesar (cf. the Caesar, xxxii. 5), fought under him in Spain and Africa, and after Caesar’s death supported Octavian. After 29 B.C. he devoted himself entirely to literature, and was a patron of Vergil and Horace. None of his works have come down to us.

Polybius, 381, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, the Greek historian of the Punic Wars, born about 204 B.C., long resident in Rome, and an intimate friend of the younger Scipio, with whom he was present at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.

Posidonius, 225, 437, 459, 491, 521, of Apamea, in Syria, a Stoic philosopher, a pupil of Panaetius at Athens, contemporary with Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him.

Ptolemaeus, 317, one of the guardians of the young Ptolemy. He plotted against Caesar when he came to Alexandria, and was put to death by him (cf. the Caesar, xlvii. 7).

Ptolemy, 495 f., assassinated King Alexander II. of Macedon in 367 B.C., held the supreme power for three years, and was then himself assassinated by the young king, Perdicas III.

Publius, 261, 311, Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, son of Marcus Crassus the triumvir. He was Caesar’s legate in Gaul 58–55 B.C., followed his father to the East in 54, and was killed by the Parthians near Carrhae (cf. the Crassus, xxv.).

R

Roscius, 181, Lucius R. Otho. As one of the tribunes of the people in 67 B.C., he introduced the unpopular law which gave the knights special seats in the theatre.

Rullus, 149, Quintus Fabius Maximus R., five times consul, the last time in 295 B.C., when he was victorious over Gauls, Etruscans, Samnites and Umbrians in the great battle of Sentinum.

Rutilius, 213, Publius R. Rufus, consul in 105 B.C., unjustly exiled in 92 B.C., retired to Smyrna, where he wrote a history of his own times.

S

Samothrace, 175, 521, a large island in the northern Aegean Sea, some twenty miles off the coast of Thrace, celebrated for its mysteries (cf. the Alexander, ii. 1).

Sardis, 25, the capital city of the ancient kingdom of Lydia, and, later, the residence of the Persian satraps of Asia Minor.

Saturnalia, 205, a festival of Saturn, held at this time on the nineteenth of December. See the Sulla, xvii. 5.

Scipio (1), 149, 315, Publius Cornelius S. Africanus Major, the conqueror of Hannibal. His con-
quest of Spain occupied the years 210–202 B.C.

Scipio (2), Lucius Cornelius S. Asiaticus, belonged to the Marian party in the civil wars, and was consul in 83 B.C., the year when Sulla returned from the East. Cf. the Sulla, xxviii. 1–3. He was proscribed in 82, and fled to Massilia, where he died.

Scipio (3), 261, 279, 295, 327, Publius Cornelius S. Nasica, adopted by Metellus Pius and therefore called Quintus Caelius Metellus Pius S., or Metellus Scipio, was made Pompey's colleague in the consulship late in the year 52 B.C., and became a determined foe of Caesar. He was proconsul in Syria, joined Pompey in 48 B.C., commanded his centre at Pharsalus, fled to Africa, and killed himself after the battle of Thapsus (46 B.C.). Though a Scipio by birth, a Metellus by adoption, and a son-in-law of Pompey, he was rapacious and profligate.

Scipio (4), 445, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, celebrated as jurist and orator, consul in 162 B.C. (when he abdicated on account of faulty auspices), and again in 155 B.C.

Scirophorion, 79, a month of the Attic year comprising portions of our May and June.

Scotussa, 293, 413, a town in central Thessaly, N.E. of Pharsalus.

Scythia, 221, a general term for the vast regions north of the Euxine Sea.

Seleucia, 317, probably the Seleucia in Syria on the river Orontes.

Sertorius, 155–167, 197, Quintus S., was born in a small Sabine village, began his military career in 105 B.C., was a consistent opponent of the aristocracy, retired to Spain in 82, where for ten years and until his death he was the last hope of the Marian party. See Plutarch's Sertorius.

Servilius, 151, Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus, probably the consul of 79 B.C., who obtained a triumph over Cilicia in 74, and died in 44 B.C. His son, of the same name, was consul with Caesar in 48 B.C., though a member of the aristocratic party.

Simonides, 3, of Ceos, the greatest lyric poet of Greece, 556-467 B.C.

Sinope, 223, an important Greek city on the southern coast of the Euxine Sea, west of Amius.

Sinora (or Sinoria), a fortress-city on the frontier between Greater and Lesser Armenia.

Soli, 187, an important town on the coast of Cilicia, not to be confused with the Soli on the island of Cyprus. See Xenophon Anab. i. 2. 24.

Sophene, 203, a district of western Armenia.

Spartacus, 197, a Thracian gladiator, leader of the servile insurrection (73–71 B.C.). Cf. the Crassus, viii–xi.

Spinther, 245, 291, 307, Publius Cornelius Lentulus S., consul in 57 B.C., took part against Caesar in 49, was captured by him at Corfinium, but released. He then joined Pompey, and after Pharsalus fled with him to Egypt.

Strabo, 117, 123, Gnaeus Pompeius Sextus S., consul in 89 B.C., in which year he celebrated a triumph for his capture of Asculum. He tried to be neutral in the civil wars of Sulla and Marius. In 87 B.C. he was killed by lightning.

Sucro, 159, a river in S.E. Spain, between Valentia and Lauron.

Susa, 39, 417, an ancient city of Persia, residence of the Great King during the spring months.

Sybaris, 341, a famous Greek city of Italy, on the west shore of the gulf of Tarentum, founded in 720 B.C., noted for its wealth and luxury.

T

Tachos, 101–107, king of Egypt for a short time during the latter part of the reign of Artaxerxes II. of Persia (405–362 B.C.). Deserted by his subjects and mercenaries,
he took refuge at the court of Artaxerxes III., where he died. Taenarum, 175, a promontory at the southern extremity of Laconia, in Peloponnesus.

Tanagra, 377, a town in eastern Boeotia, between Thebes and Attica.

Tarentum, 493, 507, 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 Maximus in 209.

Taurus, 185, a range of mountains in Asia Minor, running eastward from Lycia to Cilicia.

Taýgetus, 417, a lofty mountain range between Laconia and Messenia, in Peloponnesus.

Tegea, 95, an ancient and powerful city in S.E. Arcadia, in Peloponnesus.

Tégysra, 77, 377 ff., 387, 525, a village in northern Boeotia, near Orchomenus.

Tempe, Vale of, 307, the gorge between Mounts Olympus and Ossa in N.E. Thessaly, through which the river Peneius makes its way to the sea.

Theodotus of Chios (or Samos), 317, 325, brought to Caesar the head and signet-ring of Pompey.

Theopanes, 213, 225, 247, 315, 319, of Mitylene in Lesbos, a learned Greek who made Pompey’s acquaintance during the Mithridatic war, and became his intimate friend and adviser. He wrote a eulogistic history of Pompey’s campaigns. After Pompey’s death he was pardoned by Caesar, and upon his own death (after 44 B.C.) received divine honours from the Lesbians.

Theophrastus, 5, 103, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was born at Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

Theopompus, 27, 87, 91, of Chios, a fellow-pupil of Isocrates with Ephorus, wrote anti-Athenian histories of Greece from 411 to 394 B.C. and of Philip of Macedon from 360 to 336 B.C.

Thermodon, 209, a river of Pontus in Northern Asia Minor, emptying into the Euxine Sea.

Thesmophoria, 353, a festival in honour of Demeter as goddess of marriage, celebrated at Athens for three days in the middle of the month Pyanepsion (Oct.–Nov.).

Thespiae, 67 f., 97, 373 ff., an ancient city in S.W. Boeotia, north of Plataea.

Thetis, 423, a sea-nymph, wife of Peleus and mother of Achilles.

Tliasian plain, 69, 357, a part of the plain about Eleusis, in S.W. Attica.

Timagenes, 245, a Greek historian, of the time of Augustus, originally a captive slave. The bitterness of his judgments brought him into disfavour.

Timagoras, 419, an ambassador from Athens to the Persian court in 387 B.C. He spent four years there, and took part with Pelopidas rather than with his own colleague, Leon. He revealed state secrets for pay, and it was this which cost him his life.

Timotheus (1), 345, son of Conon the great Athenian admiral. He was made general in 378 B.C., and about 360 was at the height of his popularity and glory.

Timotheus (2), 39, of Miletus, a famous musician and poet, 446–357 B.C. His exuberant and florid style conquered its way to great popularity.

Tisaphernes, 21 f., 27, Persian satrap of lower Asia Minor from 414 B.C., and also, after the death of Cyrus the Younger in 401, of maritime Asia Minor, till his death in 359 B.C.

Tithraustes, 27. After succeeding Tisaphernes in his satrapy, Tithraustes tried in vain to induce Agesilaus to return to Greece, and then stirred up a war in Greece against Sparta, in consequence of which Agesilaus was recalled.

Trallians, 43, no tribe of this name is now known to have lived in
Thrace, nor are they mentioned in Herodotus (vii. 110).

Trebonius, 251, Caius T., tribune of the people in 55 B.C., and an instrument of the triumvirs. He was afterwards legate of Caesar in Gaul, and loaded with favours by him, but was one of the conspirators against his life.

Tullus, 275, Lucius Volcatius T., consul in 66 B.C., a moderate, who took no part in the civil war.

Tyche, 485, a portion of what Plutarch calls the "outer city" of Syracuse, lying between Epipolae and Achradina.

V

Valentia, 159, an important town in S.E. Spain, south of Saguntum.

Valerius, 147, Marcus V. Maximus, dictator in 494 B.C., defeated and triumphed over the Sabines.

Vatinius, 251, Publius V., had been tribune of the people in 59 B.C., and was a paid creature of Caesar. He was one of Caesar's legates in the civil war, and, after Pharsalus, was entrusted by him with high command in the East.

Venusia, 515, a prosperous city of Apulia, a stopping place for travellers on the Appian Way from Rome to Brundisium. It was the birthplace of the poet Horace.

Vibullius, 285, Lucius V. Rufus, a senator, captured by Caesar at Cortinium, at the outbreak of the war, and again in Spain, but pardoned both times.
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