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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

III
PLUTARCH'S LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN TEN VOLUMES
III
PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS
NICIAS AND CRASSUS
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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) texts of the Parallel Lives has been taken as the basis for the text. Any preference of the one to the other, where they differ, and any departure from both, have been indicated in the critical notes. The more important ameliorations of the text which have been secured by collations of Codex Parisinus 1676 (F*) and Codex Seitenstettensis (S), have been introduced. The relative importance of these MSS. is explained in the Introduction to the first volume. The text-tradition of the chapters of the Crassus (xv.–xxxiii.) which appear in the Parthian War attributed to Appian (Pseudo-Appian), is seldom, if ever, superior to that of the same chapters in Plutarch. No attempt has been made, naturally, to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. The reading which follows the colon in the critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless otherwise stated in the note, of the Tauchnitz Bekker.
PREFATORY NOTE

Among editions of special Lives included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, Themistokles und Perikles, Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Saupe series of annotated texts; and that of Blass, Themistokles und Perikles, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts. These editions bring Fa and S into rightful prominence as a basis for the text. Holden’s edition of the Nicia, in the Pitt Press series, Cambridge, 1887, has also been found useful. A brief bibliography for the study of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume.

The translations of the Pericles and of the Nicia have already appeared in my Plutarch’s Cimon and Pericles (New York, 1910), and Plutarch’s Nicia and Alcibiades (New York, 1912), and are reproduced here (with only slight changes) by the generous consent of the publishers, the Messrs. Charles Scribner’s Sons. The translations of the Fabius Maximus and of the Crassus appear here for the first time. All the standard translations of the Lives have been carefully compared and utilized, including that of the Crassus by Professor Long.

B. PERRIN.

New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.

June, 1915.
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFATORY NOTE</td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERICLES</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FABIUS MAXIMUS</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NICIAS</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRASSUS</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS</td>
<td>424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES</td>
<td>436</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES IN THIS EDITION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF THE GREEK LIVES.

VOLUME I.
(1) Theseus and Romulus. Comparison.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa. Comparison.
(3) Solon and Publicola. Comparison.

VOLUME II.
(4) Themistocles and Camillus.
(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder. Comparison.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus. Comparison.

VOLUME III.
(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus. Comparison.
(14) Nicias and Crassus. Comparison.

VOLUME IV.
(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus. Comparison.
(12) Lysander and Sulla. Comparison.

VOLUME V.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus. Comparison.

VOLUME VI.
(22) Dion and Brutus. Comparison.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus. Comparison.
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero. Comparison.

VOLUME VII.
(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
(15) Sertorius and Eumenes. Comparison.

VOLUME VIII.
(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
(21) Demetrius and Antony. Comparison.

VOLUME IX.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.

VOLUME X.
(10) Philopoemen and Flaminius. Comparison.
(23) Artaxerxes.
(24) Aratus.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.
TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
(2) Lycurgus and Numa.
(3) Solon and Publicola.
(4) Themistocles and Camillus.
(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
(6) Alcibiades and Coriolanus.
(7) Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
(8) Pelopidas and Marcellus.
(9) Aristides and Cato the Elder.
(10) Philopoemen and Flamininus.
(11) Pyrrhus and Caius Marius.
(12) Lysander and Sulla.
(13) Cimon and Lucullus.
(14) Nicias and Crassus.
(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
(16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
(21) Demetrius and Antony.
(22) Dion and Brutus.

(23) Artaxerxes.
(24) Aratus.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.
PERICLES
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ

Ι. Ξένους τινάς ἐν Ῥώμη πλουσίους κυνῶν τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις περιφέροντας καὶ ἀγαπώντας ἰδῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡγήσατο εἰ παιδία παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὐ τίκτουσιν αἰ γυναῖκες, ἡγεμονικῶς σφόδρα νοοθετήσας τοὺς τὸ φύσει φιλητικῶν ἐν ἠμῖν καὶ φιλόστοργοι εἰς θηρία καταναλίσκοντας ἀνθρώποις ὄφειλόμενον.

2 ἂρ’ οὖν, ἐπεὶ φιλομαθές τι κέκτηταί καὶ φιλοθέαμον ἠμῶν ἡ ψυχῇ φύσει, λόγον ἔχεις θέσειν τοὺς καταχρωμένους τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μηδεμᾶς ἀξία σπουδῆς ἀκούσματα καὶ θεάματα, τῶν δὲ καλῶν καὶ ὁφελίμων παραμελοῦντας; τῇ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθήσει κατὰ πάθος τῆς πληγῆς ἀντιλαμβανόμενη τῶν προστυχανόντων ἰσως ἀνάγκη πάν τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀν τε χρήσιμον ἀν τ’ ἀχρήστον ἦ. 

3 θεωρεῖν, τῷ νῷ δ’ ἐκαστος εἰ βούλειτο χρῆσθαι, καὶ τρέπειν ἑαυτὸν ἅπα καὶ μεταβάλλειν ὑδίστα πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν πέφυκεν, ὡστε χρὴ διώκειν τὸ βέλτιστον, ὡμοὶ μὴ θεωρῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρέφηται τῷ θεῳρεῖν. ὡς γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶ νάρχα πρόσφορος ἢς τὸ ἀνθρώπον ἃμα καὶ τερπνῶν ἀναζωπυρεῖ.
PERICLES

I. On seeing certain wealthy foreigners in Rome carrying puppies and young monkeys about in their bosoms and fondling them, Caesar asked, we are told, if the women in their country did not bear children, thus in right princely fashion rebuking those who squander on animals that proneness to love and loving affection which is ours by nature, and which is due only to our fellow-men. Since, then, our souls are by nature possessed of great fondness for learning and fondness for seeing; it is surely reasonable to chide those who abuse this fondness on objects all unworthy either of their eyes or ears, to the neglect of those which are good and serviceable. Our outward sense, since it apprehends the objects which encounter it by virtue of their mere impact upon it, must needs, perhaps, regard everything that presents itself, be it useful or useless; but in the exercise of his mind every man, if he pleases, has the natural power to turn himself away in every case, and to change, without the least difficulty, to that object upon which he himself determines. It is meet, therefore, that he pursue what is best, to the end that he may not merely regard it, but also be edified by regarding it. A colour is suited to the eye if its freshness, and its pleasantness as well, stimulates and

1 Caesar Augustus.
καὶ τρέφει τὴν ὤσιν, οὔτω τὴν διάνοιαν ἑπάγειν δεῖ θεάμασιν ἀ τῷ χαίρειν πρὸς τὸ οίκειον αὐτὴν ἀγαθὸν ἔκκαλεῖ.

4 Ταῦτα δὲ ἔστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς ἔργοις, ἀ καὶ ξηλὸν τινα καὶ προθυμίαν ἀγωγὸν εἰς μίμησιν ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ἱστορήσασιν ἑπὶ τῶν ἡ ἄλλων οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ θαυμάσαι τὸ πρακτέον ὀρμὴ πρὸς τὸ πράξαι. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοῦ- ναυτῶν χαίροντες τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ κατα- φρονοῦμεν, ὡς ἔπι τῶν μύρων καὶ τῶν ἀλουργῶν τούτων μὲν ἢδομέθα, τοὺς δὲ βαφεῖν καὶ μυρε- φοὺς ἀνελευθέρους ἠγούμεθα καὶ βαμώσουσιν.

5 διὸ καλῶς μὲν Ἀντισθένης ἀκούσας ὡς συνοδείος ἔστιν αὐλητής Ἰσμηνίας, "Ἀλλ’ ἄνθρωπος," ἔφη, "μοχθηρός: οὐ γὰρ ἄν οὐτῶν συνοδείως ἦν αὐλη- τής;" ὃ δὲ Φίλιππος πρὸς τῶν υἱῶν ἑπιτερπῶς ἐν τινὶ πότῳ ψῆλαντα καὶ τεχνικῶς εἶπεν: "Οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ καλῶς οὖτω ψάλλων;" ἀρκεῖ γὰρ, ἄν βασιλεὺς ἀκροαῖν ψαλλοῦντων σχολάζῃ, τὸν λοιπὸν νέμει ταῖς Μουσίαις ἐπέρω ἀγωνιζομένων ὑπὸ τοιαῦτα θεατῆς γυνώμενος.

II. Ἡ δ’ αὐτουργία τῶν ταπεινῶν τῆς εἰς τὰ 153 καλὰ ῥοθυμίας μάρτυρα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀχρήστοις πόνον παρέχεται καθ’ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυής νέος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Πίσσῃ θεασάμενος Δία γενέσθαι Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν ἡ τὴν "Ἡραν τὴν ἐν ᾿Αργεῖς Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ’ ᾿Ανακρέων ᾿Ηφιλτάς ᾿Η’ Ῥωξί- λοχος ῥοθεῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς ποιήμασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ τέρπει τὸ ἔργον ὡς χάριν, ἢξιον

1 ἱστορήσασιν Bekker, Fuhr, and Blass, with Reiske, after Amyot; ἱστορήσασιν (researches).
PERICLES

nourishes the vision; and so our intellectual vision must be applied to such objects as, by their very charm, invite it onward to its own proper good.

Such objects are to be found in virtuous deeds; these implant in those who search them out a great and zealous eagerness which leads to imitation. In other cases, admiration of the deed is not immediately accompanied by an impulse to do it. Nay, many times, on the contrary, while we delight in the work, we despise the workman, as, for instance, in the case of perfumes and dyes; we take a delight in them, but dyers and perfumers we regard as illiberal and vulgar folk. Therefore it was a fine saying of Antisthenes, when he heard that Ismenias was an excellent piper: “But he’s a worthless man,” said he, “otherwise he wouldn’t be so good a piper.” And so Philip ¹ once said to his son, who, as the wine went round, plucked the strings charmingly and skilfully, “Art not ashamed to pluck the strings so well?” It is enough, surely, if a king have leisure to hear others pluck the strings, and he pays great deference to the Muses: if he be but a spectator of such contests.

II. Labour with one’s own hands on lowly tasks gives witness, in the toil thus expended on useless things, to one’s own indifference to higher things. No generous youth, from seeing the Zeus at Pisa,² or the Hera at Argos, longs to be Pheidias or Polycleitus; nor to be Anacreon or Philetas or Archilochus out of pleasure in their poems. For it does not of necessity follow that, if the work delights you with its grace, the one who wrought it is worthy of your

¹ Philip of Macedon, to Alexander.
² That is, Olympia.
σπουδής εἶναι τῶν εἰργασμένων. θεν οὖδ' ὥφελει
tα τοιαύτα τοὺς θεωμένους, πρὸς ἀ μιμητικὸς οὐ
gίνεται ξῆλος οὐδὲ ἀνάδοσις κινοῦσα προθυμάω
καὶ ὄρμην ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξομοιώσιν. ἀλλ' ἦ γε ἄρετή
tαῖς πράξεσιν εὐθύς οὕτω διατίθεσιν ὡστε ἀμα
θαυμάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ξηλοῦσθαι τοὺς εἰργα-

σμένους. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν
tὰς κτίσεις καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, τῶν δ' ἀπ' ἄρετῆς
tὰς πράξεις ἀγαπῶμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμῖν παρ' ἐτέρων,
tὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἐτέρως παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν
βουλόμεθα. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐφ' αὐτῷ πρακτικῶς
κινεῖ καὶ πρακτικὴν εὐθὺς ὀρμήν ἐντίθεσιν, ἢθο-
ποιοῦν οὐ τῇ μιμήσει τῶν θεατῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ
ιστορίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου τῆς προαιρεσίν παρεχόμενον.

ἔδεξεν οὖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνδιατρίψαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς
βίους ἁγαραφή, καὶ τούτο τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον
συντετάχαμεν τῶν Περικλέους βίων καὶ τὸν Φα-
βίου Μαξίμου τοῦ διαπολεμήσαντος πρὸς Ἀννί-
βαν περιέχον, ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τὰ ἄλλας ἄρετὰς
ὀμοῖον, μάλιστα δὲ πραότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην,
καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι φέρειν δήμου καὶ συναρχῶντων
ἀγνωμοσύνας ὀφελεμωτάτων ταῖς τατρίσει γενο-
μένων. εἰ δ' ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμεθα τοῦ δέουσας,
ἐξετε κρίνει εκ τῶν γραφομένων.

III. Περικλῆς γὰρ ἦν τῶν μὲν φυλῶν Ἀκα-
μαντίδης, τῶν δὲ δήμων Χολαργεύς, οἷον δὲ καὶ
γένους τοῦ πρῶτον κατ' ἀμφοτέρους. Ξάνθιττος
γὰρ οὐκέτας ἐν Μυκάλη τοὺς βασιλέως στρατη-
γοὺς ἐγγενεῖν Ἀγαρίστην Κλεισθένους ἐγγονοῦν, ὡς

1 ὄρμην Fuhr and Blass, after Reiske: ἀφορμὴν
PERICLES

esteem. Wherefore the spectator is not advantaged by those things at sight of which no ardour for imitation arises in the breast, nor any uplift of the soul arousing zealous impulses to do the like. But virtuous action straightway so disposes a man that he no sooner admires the works of virtue than he strives to emulate those who wrought them. The good things of Fortune we love to possess and enjoy; those of Virtue we love to perform. The former we are willing should be ours at the hands of others; the latter we wish that others rather should have at our hands. The Good creates a stir of activity towards itself, and implants at once in the spectator an active impulse; it does not form his character by ideal representation alone, but through the investigation of its work it furnishes him with a dominant purpose.

For such reasons I have decided to persevere in my writing of Lives, and so have composed this tenth book, containing the life of Pericles, and that of Fabius Maximus, who waged such lengthy war with Hannibal. The men were alike in their virtues, and more especially in their gentleness and rectitude, and by their ability to endure the follies of their peoples and of their colleagues in office, they proved of the greatest service to their countries. But whether I aim correctly at the proper mark must be decided from what I have written.

III. Pericles was of the tribe Acamantis, of the deme Cholargus, and of the foremost family and lineage on both sides. His father, Xanthippus, who conquered the generals of the King at Mycale, \(^1\) married Agariste, grand-daughter \(^2\) of that Cleisthenes

\(^1\) 479 B.C. \(^2\) His niece, rather.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐξῆλασε Πεισιστρατίδας καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν τυραννίδα γενναίως καὶ νόμους ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν ἀριστα κεκραμένην πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ σωτηρίαν

2 κατέστησεν. αὐτὴ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἔδοξε τεκεῖν λέοντα, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἔτεκε Περικλέα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὴν ἱδέαν τοῦ σώματος ἀμεμπτον, προμήκη δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ 1 καὶ ἀσύμμετρον. ὦθεν αἱ μὲν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἅπασαι κράνεσι περιέχονται, μὴ βουλομένων, ὡς ἐοικε, τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐξουσιδίεων. οἱ δ’ Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ σχινοκέφαλον αὐτοῦ ἐκάλουν. τὴν γὰρ σκῆλαν ἐστὶν

3 ὅτε καὶ σχινὸν ὄνομαζον. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατίνος ἐν Χείρωσι. “Στάσις δὲ” (φησὶ) “καὶ πρεσβυγενῆς Κρόνος ἀλλήλουσι μιγέντε μέγιστον τίκτητον τύραννον, ὃν δὴ κεφαληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέσαν” καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει. “Μόλ’, 4 ὁ Ζεὺς ξένει καὶ καραίε.” Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ποτε μὲν ὕπο τῶν πραγμάτων ἦπορημένον καθῆσθαι φησίν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει “καρηβαροῦντα, ποτε δὲ μόνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς εὐδεκακλίνου θόρυβον πολὺν ἐξανατέλλειν.” ὁ δ’ Εὔπολις ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις πυθθανόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἰναβεβηκότων ἐξ ἄδου δημαγωγῶν, ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς ὄνομαζον τελευταῖος:

"Ο τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἡγαγες.

IV. Διδάσκαλον δ’ αὐτοῦ τῶν μουσικῶν οἱ πλείστοι Δάμωνα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὐ φασὶ

1 τῇ κεφαλῇ Fuhr and Blass with FaS: τὴν κεφαλὴν.
PERICLES

who, in such noble fashion, expelled the Peisistratidae and destroyed their tyranny, instituted laws, and established a constitution best attempered for the promotion of harmony and safety. She, in her dreams, once fancied that she had given birth to a lion, and a few days thereafter bore Pericles.¹ His personal appearance was unimpeachable, except that his head was rather long and out of due proportion. For this reason the images of him, almost all of them, wear helmets, because the artists, as it would seem, were not willing to reproach him with deformity. The comic poets of Attica used to call him “Schinocephalus,” or Squill-head (the squill is sometimes called “schinus”). So the comic poet Cratinus, in his “Cheirons,” says: “Faction and Saturn, that ancient of days, were united in wedlock; their offspring was of all tyrants the greatest, and lo! he is called by the gods the head-compeller.”² And again in his “Nemesis”: “Come, Zeus! of guests and heads the Lord!”² And Telecleides speaks of him as sitting on the acropolis in the greatest perplexity, “now heavy of head, and now alone, from the eleven-couched chamber of his head, causing vast uproar to arise.”² And Eupolis, in his “Demes,” having inquiries made about each one of the demagogues as they come up from Hades, says, when Pericles is called out last:

“The very head of those below hast thou now brought.”²

IV. His teacher in music, most writers state, was Damon (whose name, they say, should be pronounced

¹ Cf. Herodotus, vi. 131.
δεί τούνομα βραχύνοντας τῇν προτέραν συλλαβήν ἐκφέρειν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ παρὰ Πυθοκλείδη μουσικῆν διαπονηθῆναι τὸν ἀνδρὰ φησίν. ὁ δὲ Δάμων ἔσκειν ἀκροὶ ὅν κοσμοτέρης καταδύεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς ὄνομα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπικρυπτόμενος τῇν δεινότητα, τῷ δὲ Περικλεὶ 154 συνήν καθάπερ ἀθλητῆ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτης καὶ διδάσκαλος. οὐ μὴν ἔλαβεν ὁ Δάμων τῇ λύρᾳ παρακαλύμματι χρόμενος, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ φιλοτύραννος ἔξωστρακίσθη καὶ παρέσχε τοῖς κωμικοῖς διατριβήν. ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων καὶ πυνθανόμενον αὐτοῖ τινα πεποίηκεν οὕτω.

Πρώτον μὲν οὖν μοι λέξων, ἀντιβολῶν σὺ γὰρ, ὡς φασίν, ὁ Χείρων ἐξέβρεψες Περικλέα.

3 διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου πραγματευομένου περὶ φύσιν, ὡς Παρμενίδης, ἐλεγκτικὴν δὲ τίνα καὶ δι᾽ ἀντιλογίας κατακλείουσαν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἕξασκήσαντος ἐξίν, ὡσπερ καὶ Τίμων οὐ Φιλάσιος εἰρήκε διὰ τούτων:

'Αμφοτερογλυῶσσον τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδυνού

Ζήνωνος, πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος.

4 ὁ δὲ πλεῖστα Περικλεὶ συγγενόμενος καὶ μάλιστα περιθεὶς ὅγκον αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ἐμβρυθέστερον, ὡλὸς τε μετεωρίσας καὶ συνεξάρας ὄσον ἄξιόμα τοῦ ἄθος, Ἀναξαγόρας ἦν ὁ Κλαζομένιος, ὃν οἱ τότε ἀνθρώποι Νοῦν προσ-
PERICLES

with the first syllable short); but Aristotle\(^1\) says he had a thorough musical training at the hands of Pythocleides. Now Damon seems to have been a consummate sophist, but to have taken refuge behind the name of music in order to conceal from the multitude his real power, and he associated with Pericles, that political athlete, as it were, in the capacity of rubber and trainer. However, Damon was not left unmolested in this use of his lyre as a screen, but was ostracized for being a great schemer and a friend of tyranny, and became a butt of the comic poets. At all events, Plato\(^2\) represented some one as inquiring of him thus:—

"In the first place tell me then, I beseech thee, thou who art
The Cheiron, as they say, who to "Pericles gave his
craft."

Pericles was also a pupil of Zeno the Eleatic, who discoursed on the natural world, like Parmenides, and perfected a species of refutative catch which was sure to bring an opponent to grief; as Timon of Phlius expressed it:—

"His was a tongue that could argue both ways with
a fury resistless,
Zeno's; assailer of all things."

But the man who most consorted with Pericles, and did most to clothe him with a majestic demeanour that had more weight than any demagogue's appeals, yes, and who lifted on high and exalted the dignity of his character, was Anaxagoras the Clazomenian, whom men of that day used to call

\(^1\) Plato, rather, Alcibiades I. 118 c.
ΠΛΟΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ηγόρευον, εἴτε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰς φυσιολογίαν καὶ περιττὴν διαφανεῖσαν θαυμά-
σαντες, εἴθ' ὅτι τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος οὐ τύχην ώδ',
ἀνάγκην διακοσμήσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπε-
στησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκρατὸν ἐν μεμηγμένοις πᾶσι
τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὀμοιομερείας.

V. Τούτων ὑπερφυῶς τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάσας ὁ
Περικλῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης μετεωρολογίας καὶ
μεταρρυθμίσεις ὑποτιμάμενος, οὐ μόνον, ὡς
ἐοικε, τὸ φρόνημα σοβαρὸν καὶ τὸν λόγον ψηλὸν
eἰχε καὶ καθαρὸν όχλικῆς καὶ πανούργου βομο-
λοχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσώπου σύστασις ἀθροπτοῦς
εἰς γέλωτα καὶ πράτης πορείας καὶ καταστολῆ
περιβολῆς πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκταραττομένη πάθος ἐν τῷ
λέγειν καὶ πλάσμα φωνῆς ἄθροιβον, καὶ ὁσα
2 τοιαῦτα πάντας θαυμαστῶς ἐξέπληττε. λοιδο-
ρούμενος γοῦν ποτε καὶ κακῶς ἄκοιχὸν ὑπὸ τινὸς
tῶν βδελυρῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων ὀλην ἤμεραν ὑπέ-
μεινε σιωπῆ καὶ ἀγοράν, ἀμα τι τῶν ἐπειγοντῶν
καταπραττόμενος· ἐσπέρας δὲ ἀπήγει κοσμίως
οἶκας ἐπαρακολουθοῦντος τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ πάσῃ
3 χρωμένον βλασφημία πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐμέλλειν
εἰσεναι σκότος ὅντος ἡδῆ, προσέταξέ τινι τῶν
οἰκετῶν φῶς λάβοντι παραπέμψαι καὶ καταστή-
σαι πρὸς τὴν οἶκιαν τὸν ἀνθρώπον.

Τὸ δὲ ποιήτης ἤλων μοθωνικῆς φησὶ τὴν ὀμιλίαν
καὶ ὑπότυφον εἶναι τοῦ Περικλέους, καὶ ταῖς
PERICLES

"Nous," either because they admired that comprehension of his, which proved of such surpassing greatness in the investigation of nature; or because he was the first to enthrone in the universe, not Chance, nor yet Necessity, as the source of its orderly arrangement, but Mind (Nous) pure and simple, which distinguishes and sets apart, in the midst of an otherwise chaotic mass, the substances which have like elements.

V. This man Pericles extravagantly admired, and being gradually filled full of the so-called higher philosophy and elevated speculation, he not only had, as it seems, a spirit that was solemn and a discourse that was lofty and free from plebeian and reckless effrontery, but also a composure of countenance that never relaxed into laughter, a gentleness of carriage and cast of attire that suffered no emotion to disturb it while he was speaking, a modulation of voice that was far from boisterous, and many similar characteristics which struck all his hearers with wondering amazement. It is, at any rate, a fact that, once on a time when he had been abused and insulted all day long by a certain lewd fellow of the baser sort, he endured it all quietly, though it was in the marketplace, where he had urgent business to transact, and towards evening went away homewards unruffled, the fellow following along and heaping all manner of contumely upon him. When he was about to go in doors, it being now dark, he ordered a servant to take a torch and escort the fellow in safety back to his own home.

The poet Ion, however, says that Pericles had a presumptuous and somewhat arrogant manner of
μεγαλαυξίαις αὐτοῦ πολλήν ύπεροψίαν ἀναμε-
μίχθαι καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων· ἐπανεῖ δὲ
tὸ Κίμωνος ἐμμελές καὶ ύγρὸν καὶ μεμοουσώμενον
4 ἐν ταῖς περιφοραῖς. ἀλλ' Ἰωνα μὲν, ὡσπερ τραγι-
kὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἀξιούντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐχειν τι
pántως καὶ σατυρικὸν μέρος ἐῶμεν· τοὺς δὲ τοῦ
Περικλέους τὴν σεμνότητα δοξοκοπίαν τε καὶ
tύφον ἀποκαλοῦντας ὁ Ζήνων παρεκάλει καὶ
αὐτοὺς τι τοιοῦτο δοξοκοπεῖν, ὡς τῆς προσποιή-
σεως αὐτῆς τῶν καλῶν ύποποιούσης τινὰ λελη-
θότως ἔχειν καὶ συνήθειαν.

VI. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου
συνουσίας ἀπέλαυσε Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεισι-
dαιμονίας δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καθυπέρτερος, ὅσην τὸ
πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα θύμβος ἐνεργάζεται τοῖς αὐτῶν
τε τούτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ περὶ τὰ τεῖα
dαιμονώσι καὶ ταραττομένοις δὴ ἀπειρίαν αὐτῶν,
addir ὁ φυσικὸς λόγος ἀπαλλάττων ἀντὶ τῆς φοβε-
ρᾶς καὶ φλεγμαίνουσης δεισιδαιμονίας τὴν ἁσφα-
lῆ μετ' ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εὐσέβειαν ἐργάζεται.

2 Δέγεται δὲ ποτε κριοῦ μονόκερω κεφαλῆν ἐξ
ἀγροῦ τῷ Περικλεί κομισθῆναι, καὶ Λάμπτωνα μὲν
τὸν μάντιν, ὡς εἰδε τὸ κέρας ἵσχυρὸν καὶ στερεὸν
ἐκ μέσου τοῦ μετώπου πεφυκός, εἰπεῖν ὅτι δυνεῖν
οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναστείων, τῆς Θουκυδίδου 155
καὶ Περικλέους, εἰς ἐνα περιστήσεται τὸ κράτος

1 ὅσην τὸ older edd., Coraës, Fuhr and Blass; Bekker ὅσῃ
with the MSS.: ὅσην.
PERICLES

address, and that into his haughtiness there entered a good deal of disdain and contempt for others; he praises, on the other hand, the tact, complaisance, and elegant address which Cimon showed in his social intercourse.¹ But we must ignore Ion, with his demand that virtue, like a dramatic tetralogy, have some sort of a farcical appendage. Zeno, when men called the austerity of Pericles a mere thirst for reputation, and swollen conceit, urged them to have some such thirst for reputation themselves, with the idea that the very assumption of nobility might in time produce, all unconsciously, something like an eager and habitual practice of it.

VI. These were not the only advantages Pericles had of his association with Anaxagoras. It appears that he was also lifted by him above superstition, that feeling which is produced by amazement at what happens in regions above us. It affects those who are ignorant of the causes of such things, and are crazed about divine intervention, and confounded through their inexperience in this domain; whereas the doctrines of natural philosophy remove such ignorance and inexperience, and substitute for timorous and inflamed superstition that unshaken reverence which is attended by a good hope.

A story is told that once on a time the head of a one-horned ram was brought to Pericles from his country-place, and that Lampon the seer, when he saw how the horn grew strong and solid from the middle of the forehead, declared that, whereas there were two powerful parties in the city, that of Thucydides and that of Pericles, the mastery would finally devolve upon one man,—the man to

¹ Cf. Cimon, ix.
παρ' ὁ γένοιτο τὸ σημεῖον. τὸν δ’ Ἀναξαγόραν
tοῦ κρανίου διακοπέντος πιδείξας τὸν ἐγκέφαλον
οὐ πεπληρωκότα τὴν βάσιν, ἀλλ’ ὃξυν ὄσπερ
ὡν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγγείου συνωλισθηκότα κατὰ
tὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ἥθεν ἡ ρίζα τοῦ κέρατος εἰχε
3 τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τοτε μὲν θαυμασθήματι τὸν
Ἀναξαγόραν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ολίγῳ δ’ ὑστερον
tὸν Δάμπωνα, τοῦ μὲν Θουκυδίδου καταλυθέντος,
tῶν δὲ τοῦ δήμου πραγμάτων ὁμαλῶς ἀπάντων
ὑπὸ τῷ Περικλείτι γενομένων.

Ἐκώλυε δ’ οὐδείς, οἷμαι, καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν
ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ τὸν μάντιν, τοῦ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν,
tοῦ δὲ τὸ τέλος καλὸς ἐκλαμβάνοντος; ὑπέκειτο
γὰρ τὸ μὲν, ἐκ τίνον γέγονε καὶ πῶς πέφυκε,
θεωρῆσαι, τῷ δὲ, πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ τί σημαίνει.
4 προειπεῖν. οἱ δὲ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν εὐρεσίαν ἀναίρεσιν
eἰναι λέγοντες τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ἐπινοοῦσιν ἃμα
toῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ τῶν συμβόλων
ἀθετοῦντες, ψύφους τε δίσκων καὶ φῶτα πυρὸς
καὶ γνωμόνων ἀπόσκιασμοὺς; δἐν ἔκαστον αἰτία
τινὶ καὶ κατασκευῆ σημείου εἶναι τίδος πεποίηται.
tαῦτα μὲν οὐν ἴσως ἑτέρας ἐστὶ πραγματείας.

VII. Ὅ δὲ Περικλῆς νέος μὲν ὄν σφόδρα
tοῦ δήμου εὐλαβεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἔδοκει Πεισι-
στράτῳ τῷ τυραίνω τῷ εἴδος ἐμφερῆς εἶναι,
tὴν τε φωνὴν ἦδειν οὕσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν
γλῶτταν εὐτροχον ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ταχεῖαν
οἱ σφόδρα γέροντες ἐξεπλήττοντο πρὸς τὴν
16
PERICLES

whom this sign had been given. Anaxagoras, however, had the skull cut in two, and showed that the brain had not filled out its position, but had drawn together to a point, like an egg, at that particular spot in the entire cavity where the root of the horn began. At that time, the story says, it was Anaxagoras who won the plaudits of the bystanders; but a little while after it was Lampon, for Thucydides was overthrown, and Pericles was entrusted with the entire control of all the interests of the people.

Now there was nothing, in my opinion, to prevent both of them, the naturalist and the seer, from being in the right of the matter; the one correctly divined the cause, the other the object or purpose. It was the proper province of the one to observe why anything happens, and how it comes to be what it is; of the other to declare for what purpose anything happens, and what it means. And those who declare that the discovery of the cause, in any phenomenon, does away with the meaning, do not perceive that they are doing away not only with divine portents, but also with artificial tokens, such as the ringing of gongs, the language of fire-signals, and the shadows of the pointers on sundials. Each of these has been made, through some causal adaptation, to have some meaning. However, perhaps this is matter for a different treatise.

VII. As a young man, Pericles was exceedingly reluctant to face the people, since it was thought that in feature he was like the tyrant Peisistratus; and when men well on in years remarked also that his voice was sweet, and his tongue glib and speedy in discourse, they were struck with amazement at
δομιότητα. πλούτου δὲ καὶ γένους προσόντως αὐτῷ λαμπροῦ καὶ φίλων οἱ πλείστον ἥδυναντο, 
φοβοῦμενος ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν 
οὐδὲν ἐπραττεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατευόμενοι ἀνήρ 
2 ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἀριστείδης 
μὲν ἀποτεθηκεὶ καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξεπεπτώκει, 
Κίμωνα δ’ αἱ στρατεύματα πολλὰ τῆς Ἐλλάδος 
ἐξω κατείχον, οὐτω δὴ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ 
δήμῳ προσένεμεν ἑαυτὸν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ 
ὁλίγων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πενήτων ἐλόμενος 
παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἢκιστα δημοτικὴν οὐσίᾳ. 
3 ἀλλ’, ως ἐοικε, δεδιῶς μὲν ὑποψία περιπεσεῖν 
τυραννίδος, ὅρων δ’ ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸν Κίμωνα 
καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν 
ἀγαπώμενον, ὑπῆλθε τοὺς πολλούς, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν 
ἑαυτῷ, δύναμιν δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνων παρασκευαζόμενος. 
4 Ἕθὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐτέραν τάξιν 
ἐπέθηκεν. ὅδων τε γὰρ ἐν ἀστείς μίαν ἐωράτο 
τὴν ἔπι ἄγοραν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον πορεύμενος, 
κλῆσεις τε δείτων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπασαν 
φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνίδειαν ἐξέλιπεν, ὡς ἐν ὅισ 
ἐπολιτεύσατο χρόνοις μακροῖς γενομένοις πρὸς 
μηδένα τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ δείτων ἐλθεῖν, πλὴν 
Εὐρυπτολέμου τοῦ ἰνεψιοῦ γαμοῦντος ἄχρι τῶν
PERICLES

the resemblance. Besides, since he was rich, of brilliant lineage, and had friends of the greatest influence, he feared that he might be ostracized, and so at first had naught to do with politics, but devoted himself rather to a military career, where he was brave and enterprising. However, when Aristides was dead,¹ and Themistocles in banishment,² and Cimon was kept by his campaigns for the most part abroad, then at last Pericles decided to devote himself to the people, espousing the cause of the poor and the many instead of the few and the rich, contrary to his own nature, which was anything but popular. But he feared, as it would seem, to encounter a suspicion of aiming at tyranny, and when he saw that Cimon was very aristocratic in his sympathies, and was held in extraordinary affection by the party of the "Good and True," he began to court the favour of the multitude, thereby securing safety for himself, and power to wield against his rival.

Straightway, too, he made a different ordering in his way of life. On one street only in the city was he to be seen walking,—the one which took him to the market-place and the council-chamber. Invitations to dinner, and all such friendly and familiar intercourse, he declined, so that during the long period that elapsed while he was at the head of the state, there was not a single friend to whose house he went to dine, except that when his kinsman Euryptolemus gave a wedding feast, he attended until the libations were made,³ and then

¹ Soon after 468 B.C. ² After 472 B.C. ³ That is, until the wine for the symposium was brought in, and drinking began.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

5 σπουδῶν παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐξανέστη. δειναλ γὰρ αἱ φιλοφροσύναι παντὸς ὅγκου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ δυσφύλακτον ἐν συνθεῖα τὸ πρὸς δόξαν σεμνὸν ἐστὶν τῆς ἀληθείας δὲ ἀρετῆς κάλλιστα φαίνεται τὰ μάλιστα φαινόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν οὔτω θαυμάσιον τοῖς ἑκτὸς ὡς ὁ καθ’ ἴμεραν βίος τοῖς συνοῦσιν.

Ο ὃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἔτη καὶ τῶν κόρων οἶνον ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἐπλησίαζει, οὐκ ἐπὶ παντὶ πράγματι λέγων, οὐδ’ ἀεὶ παριῶν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ’ ἐαυτὸν ὡσπερ τὴν Σαλαμίνα τρίηρι, φησὶ Κριτόλαος, πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας χρείας ἐπιδειδοὺς, τάλλα δὲ φίλους καὶ ῥήτορας ἐτέρους καθεὶς ἐπραττεῖν. ὃν ἕνα φασί γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐφιάλτην, ὃς κατέλυσε τὸ κράτος τῆς ἐξ Ἁρείου πάγου Βουλῆς, πολλῆς, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, καὶ ἀκρατοῦ τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν οἰνοχώριν, ύφ’ ἡς, ὡσπερ ἱππον, ἑξυβρίσαντα τὸν δήμου οἱ κωμῳδοποιοὶ λέγουσι "πειθαρχεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾶν, ἀλλὰ δάκνειν τὴν Γιϋβοιαν καὶ 15 ταῖς νύσσαις ἐπιπτηδαν."

VIII. Τῇ μέντοι περὶ τὸν βίον κατασκευή καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ φρονήματος ἁρμόζοντα λόγου, ὡσπερ ὀργανόν, ἐξαρτύμενος παρενετείνει πολλαχοῦ τὸν Ἀναξάγοραν, οἰνο βαφῆν τῇ ῥητορικῇ τῆς φυσιολογίαν ὑποχεόμενος. το γὰρ “ὑψη-

1 τῷ δήμῳ Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: τοῦ δήμου.
PERICLES

straightway rose up and departed. Conviviality is prone to break down and overpower the haughtiest reserve, and in familiar intercourse the dignity which is assumed for appearance's sake is very hard to maintain. Whereas, in the case of true and genuine virtue, "fairest appears what most appears," and nothing in the conduct of good men is so admirable in the eyes of strangers, as their daily walk and conversation is in the eyes of those who share it.

And so it was that Pericles, seeking to avoid the satiety which springs from continual intercourse, made his approaches to the people by intervals, as it were, not speaking on every question, nor addressing the people on every occasion, but offering himself like the Salaminian trireme, as Critolaüs says, for great emergencies. The rest of his policy he carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, as they say, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Council of the Areiopagus, and so poured out for the citizens, to use the words of Plato,1 too much "undiluted freedom," by which the people was rendered unruly, just like a horse, and, as the comic poets say, "no longer had the patience to obey the rein, but nabbed Fuboea and trampled on the islands."

VIII. Moreover, by way of providing himself with a style of discourse which was adapted, like a musical instrument, to his mode of life and the grandeur of his sentiments, he often made an auxiliary string of Anaxagoras, subtly mingling, as it were, with his rhetoric the dye of natural science.

1 Republic, viii. p. 562 c.
λόνουν τούτο καὶ πάντη τελεσιουργόν,” ὡς ὁ θείος Πλάτων φησί, “πρὸς τῷ εὐφυής εἶναι κτησάμενος” ἐκ φυσιολογίας, καὶ τῷ πρόσφορῳ ἔλκυσα ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην, πολὺ πάντων διήνεγκε. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῶ γενέσθαι λέγουσι: καίτοι τινὲς ἀπὸ τῶν οἷς ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς στρατηγίαις δυνάμεως Ὁλύμπιον αὐτὸν οἴονται προσαγορεύθηναι καὶ συνδραμεῖν οὕδὲν ἀπέοικεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν προσόντων τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν δόξαν.

3 αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδίαι τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδὴ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωπομίαν γενέσθαι δηλοῦσί, “βροντάν” μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ “ἀστράπτει,” ὅτε δημηγοροῖ, “δεινὸν δὲ κεραυνοῦ ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν” λεγόντων.

Διαμνημονεύεται δὲ τις καὶ Θουκυδίδου τοῦ Μελησίου λόγος εἰς τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Περι-

4 κλέους μετὰ παιδίας εἰρημένος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ Θουκυδίδης τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πλείστων ἀντεπολιτεύσετο τῷ Περικλεὶ χρόνον. Ἀρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Δακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως πυθανομένου πότερον αὐτὸς ἦ Περικλῆς παλαιεί βέλτιον, “"Οταν," εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ καταβάλω παλαιῶν, ἐκείνος ἀντιλέγων ὡς ὦ πέπτωκε, νικᾶ καὶ μεταπείθει τοὺς ὀρῶντας.”

Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περικλῆς περὶ τῶν λόγων εὐλαβής ἦν, ὅτι ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ βῆμα
PERICLES

It was from natural science, as the divine Plato says,¹ that he "acquired his loftiness of thought and perfection of execution, in addition to his natural gifts," and by applying what he learned to the art of speaking, he far excelled all other speakers. It was thus, they say, that he got his surname; though some suppose it was from the structures with which he adorned the city, and others from his ability as a statesman and a general, that he was called Olympian. It is not at all unlikely that his reputation was the result of the blending in him of many high qualities. But the comic poets of that day, who let fly, both in earnest and in jest, many shafts of speech against him, make it plain that he got this surname chiefly because of his diction; they spoke of him as "thundering" and "lightening" when he harangued his audience,² and as "wielding a dread thunderbolt in his tongue."

There is on record also a certain saying of Thucydides, the son of Melesias, touching the clever persuasiveness of Pericles, a saying uttered in jest. Thucydides belonged to the party of the "Good and True," and was for a very long time a political antagonist of Pericles. When Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, asked him whether he or Pericles was the better wrestler, he replied: "Whenever I throw him in wrestling, he disputes the fall, and carries his point, and persuades the very men who saw him fall."

The truth is, however, that even Pericles, with all his gifts, was cautious in his discourse, so that when-

¹ Phaedrus, p 270 a.
² Cf. Aristophanes, Acharnians, 528-531.
βαδίζων εὐχετὸ τῶν θεοῖς μηδὲ ρήμα μηδὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἀκοντὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην
5 χρείαν ἀνάρμοστον. ἔγγραφον μὲν οὖν οὔδὲν ἀπολέοιτε πλὴν τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀπο-
μημονεύεται δὲ ὀλίγα παντάπασιν οἷον τὸ τὴν
Αὐγίναν ὡς λήμνη τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κε-
κεύσαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν πόλεμον ἡδὴ φύναι καθορᾶν
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου προσφερόμενον. καὶ ποτε
τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὅτε συστρατηγῶν ἐξέπλευσε
μετ’ αὐτοῦ, παίδα καλὸν ἐπαινέσαντος, "Οὐ
μόνον," ἔφη, "τὰς χεῖρας, ὡς Σοφόκλεις, δεὶ
kαθαρὰς ἔχειν τὸν στρατηγὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς
6 ὀψεῖς." ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτος φησιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν
Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἔπλ τοῦ βήματος
ἀθανάτους ἐλέγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεοὺς;
οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοῖς ὀρῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς
ἀς ἔχων, καὶ τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἑ παρέχοντοι, ἀθανάτους
ἐναι τεκμαιρόμεθα· ταῦτ’ οὖν ὑπάρχειν
cαὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.

IX. Ἕσεί δὲ Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀριστοκρατικήν
tινα τήν τοῦ Περικλέους ὑπογράφει πολιτείαν,
"λόγῳ μὲν οὖσαν δημοκρατίαν, ἔργῳ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ
πρῶτου ἀντὶ ἀρχῆν," ἀλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον
ὑπ’ ἐκείνου φασὶ τῶν δήμων ἐπὶ κληρονομίας καὶ
θεωρικά καὶ μισθῶν διανομᾶς προαὐξήναι, κακῶς
ἐθισθέντα καὶ γενόμενον πολυτελῆ καὶ ἀκό-
λαστον ὑπὸ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἀντὶ σῶ-
ever he came forward to speak he prayed the gods that there might not escape him unawares a single word which was unsuited to the matter under discussion. In writing he left nothing behind him except the decrees which he proposed, and only a few in all of his memorable sayings are preserved, as, for instance, his urging the removal of Ægina as the “eye-sore of the Piræus,” and his declaring that he “already beheld war swooping down upon them from Peloponnesus.” Once also when Sophocles, who was general with him on a certain naval expedition, praised a lovely boy, he said: “It is not his hands only, Sophocles, that a general must keep clean, but his eyes as well.” Again, Stesimbrotus says that, in his funeral oration over those who had fallen in the Samian War, he declared that they had become immortal, like the gods; “the gods themselves,” he said, “we cannot see, but from the honours which they receive, and the blessings which they bestow, we conclude that they are immortal.” So it was, he said, with those who had given their lives for their country.

IX. Thucydides describes the administration of Pericles as rather aristocratic,—“in name a democracy, but in fact a government by the greatest citizen.” But many others say that the people was first led on by him into allotments of public lands, festival-grants, and distributions of fees for public services, thereby falling into bad habits, and becoming luxurious and wanton under the influence of his public measures, instead of frugal and self-sufficing.

1 Against Samos, 440–439 B.C.
2 In the encomium on Pericles, ii. 65, 9.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

φρονος καὶ αὐτουργόν, θεωρείσθω διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μεταβολῆς.

2 Ἔν αἰρὴν μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπερ εἰρηταί, πρὸς τὴν Κύμωνος δόξαν ἀντιταττόμενον ὑπεποιεῖτο τὸν δῆμον εὐαπτοῦμενος δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς πένητας, δεῖπνῶν τε καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τῷ δεομένῳ παρέχων Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀμφιεννύων, τῶν τε χωρίων τῶν φραγμοὺς ἀφαιρῶν ὅπως ὀπωρίζωσιν οἱ βουλόμενοι, τούτοις ὁ Περικλῆς καταδημαγωγοῦμενος τρέπεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν δημοσίων διανομῆν, συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Ὀαθεν,

3 ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορηκε. καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικὸς καὶ δικαστικὸς λήμμασιν ἅλλαις τε μισθοφοραῖς καὶ χορηγίαις συνδεκάσας τὸ πλῆθος, ἔχριτο κατὰ τὴν Ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, ἦς αὐτὸς οὐ μετείχε διὰ τὸ μήτ′ ἄρχων μήτε θεσμοθέτης μήτε βασίλευς μήτε πολέμαρχος λαχείν. αὐτὴ γὰρ αἱ ἄρχαί κληρωτοί τε ἦσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς Ἀρείον

4 πάγου. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἰσχύσας ὁ Περικλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατεστασίασε τὴν βουλήν, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ἀφαιρεθήναι τὰς πλείστας κρίσεις δι᾽ Ἐφιάλτου, Κύμωνα δὲ ως φιλολάκων καὶ μισόδημον ἐξοπλισθήναι, πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ γένεις μηδενὸς ἀπολειπόμενον, νίκας δὲ καλλίστας νεικηκοτα
PERICLES

Let us therefore examine in detail the reason for this change in him.¹

In the beginning, as has been said, pitted as he was against the reputation of Cimon, he tried to ingratiate himself with the people. And since he was the inferior in wealth and property, by means of which Cimon would win over the poor,—furnishing a dinner every day to any Athenian who wanted it, bestowing raiment on the elderly men, and removing the fences from his estates that whosoever wished might pluck the fruit,—Pericles, outdone in popular arts of this sort, had recourse to the distribution of the people's own wealth. This was on the advice of Damonides, of the deme Oa, as Aristotle has stated.² And soon, what with festival-grants and jurors' wages and other fees and largesses, he bribed the multitude by the wholesale, and used them in opposition to the Council of the Areiopagus. Of this body he himself was not a member, since the lot had not made him either First Archon, or Archon Thesmothete, or King Archon, or Archon Polemarch. These offices were in ancient times filled by lot, and through them those who properly acquitted themselves were promoted into the Areiopagus. For this reason all the more did Pericles, strong in the affections of the people, lead a successful party against the Council of the Areiopagus. Not only was the Council robbed of most of its jurisdiction by Ephialtes, but Cimon also, on the charge of being a lover of Sparta and a hater of the people, was ostracized,³—a man who yielded to none in wealth.

¹ The discussion of this change in Pericles from the methods of a demagogue to the leadership described by Thucydides, continues through chapter xv. ² Const. of Athens, xxvii. 4. ³ 461 B.C. Cf. Cimon, xvii. 2.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

touς βαρβάρους καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ
λαφύρων ἐμπεπληκότα τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς
περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται. Τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ κράτος
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τοῦ Περικλέους.

Χ. 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακίσμος ώρισμένην εἶχε
νόμῳ διεκατείχα σὺς φεύγουσιν ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ
μέσου Λακεδαιμονίων στρατὸς μεγάλῳ ἐμβαλόν-
των εἰς τὴν Ταναγρικήν καὶ τῶν Αθηναίων εὐθὺς
όρμησαντων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὁ μὲν Κίμων ἐλθὼν ἐκ
τῆς φυγῆς ἔθετο μετὰ τῶν φυλετῶν εἰς λόχου τὰ
ὀπλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐργῶν ἀπολυεσθαι τὸν Λακωνισμὸν:
ἐβολεῦτο, συγκινδυνεύοντας τοῖς πολίταις, οἱ δὲ
φίλοι τοῦ Περικλέους συστάντες ἀπήλασαν αὐτὸν

2 ὡς φυγάδα. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ Περικλῆς ἐρωμενε-
στατὰ ¹ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ
γενέσθαι πάντων ἐπιφανέστατος ἀρείδής τα τοῦ
σώματος. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κίμωνος οἱ φίλοι
πάντες ὁμαλῶς, οὕς Περικλῆς συνεπητιάτο τοῦ
Λακωνισμοῦ καὶ μετάνοια δεινὴ τοὺς Αθηναίους
καὶ πόθος ἔσχε τοῦ Κίμωνος, ηττημένους μὲν ἐπὶ
τῶν ὄρων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, προσδοκώντας δὲ βαρὺν

3 εἰς ἐτοὺς ὅραν πόλεμον. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Περι-
κλῆς οὐκ ὄκνησε χαρίσασθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ
tὸ ψήφισμα γράφεις αὐτὸς ἐκάλει τῶν ἄνδρα,
κάκεινός κατελθὼν ² εἰρήνην ἐποίησε ταῖς πόλεσιν.
οἰκείως γὰρ εἶχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς αὐτὸν
ὡςπερ ἀπήγαγον τῷ Περικλεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

1 ἐρωμενεκτατα Cobet, Sintenis², Fuhr, Blass; ἐρωμενε-

statten Bekker, with the MSS.

2 κατελθὼν Sintenis², Fuhr, Blass; ἀπελθὼν Bekker, with

the MSS.
PERICLES

and lineage, who had won most glorious victories over the Barbarians, and had filled the city full of money and spoils, as is written in his Life. Such was the power of Pericles among the people.

X. Now ostracism involved legally a period of ten years’ banishment. But in the meanwhile \(^1\) the Lacedaemonians invaded the district of Tanagra with a great army, and the Athenians straightway sallied out against them. So Cimon came back from his banishment and stationed himself with his tribesmen in line of battle, and determined by his deeds to rid himself of the charge of too great love for Sparta, in that he shared the perils of his fellow-citizens. But the friends of Pericles banded together and drove him from the ranks, on the ground that he was under sentence of banishment. For which reason, it is thought, Pericles fought most sturdily in that battle, and was the most conspicuous of all in exposing himself to danger. And there fell in this battle all the friends of Cimon to a man, whom Pericles had accused with him of too great love for Sparta. Wherefore sore repentance fell upon the Athenians, and a longing desire for Cimon, defeated as they were on the confines of Attica, and expecting as they did a grievous war with the coming of spring. So then Pericles, perceiving this, hesitated not to gratify the desires of the multitude, but wrote with his own hand the decree which recalled the man. Whereupon Cimon came back from banishment and made peace \(^2\) between the cities. For the Lacedaemonians were as kindly disposed towards him as they were full of hatred towards Pericles and the other popular leaders.

\(^1\) 457 B.C. \(^2\) 450 B.C.
ΠΛΟΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

4 Ἔνιοι δὲ φασίν οὐ πρῶτον γράφην τῷ Κύμων τῇ κάθοδον ὑπὸ τοῦ Περίκλεους ή συνθήκας αὐτοῖς ἀπορρήτους γείσθαι δι᾽ Ἐλπινίκης, τῆς Κύμωνος ἄδελφης, ὡστε Κύμωνα μὲν ἐκπλεῦσαι λαβόντα ναός διακοσίας καὶ τῶν ἐξω στρατηγεῖν, καταστρεφόμενον τῇ βασιλέως χώραν, Περικλεὶ δὲ τὴν ἐν ἄστει δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν.

5 ἐδοκεῖ δὲ καὶ πρῶτον Ἡ Ἐλπινίκη τῷ Κύμωνι τὸν Περικλέα πραότερον παρασχεῖν, ὅτε τὴν θανατικὴν δίκην ἐφευγεῖν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τῶν κατηγόρων ὁ Περικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προβεβλημένος, ἐλθούσης δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς Ἐλπινίκης καὶ δεσμένης μειδίάσας εἶπεν. "Ὡ Ἐλπινίκη, γραῖς εἰ, γραῖς εἰ, ὡς πράγματα τηλικάυτα πράσσειν."

6 Πῶς ἀν οὖν τῆς Ἰδομενεῖ πιστεύσει κατηγοροῦντι τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς τοῦ δημαγωγοῦ Ἐφιάλτην φίλον γενόμενον καὶ κοινοῦν δυντά τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως δολοφονήσαντος διὰ ἐξουσίας καὶ φθόνον τῆς δόξης, ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ οἴδα ὅθεν συναγαγὼν ὀστερο πολύν τῶν ἐπεισοδίων, πάντη μὲν ἰσώς οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρονήμα τε εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντε καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐμφύτευσεν πάθος ὁμόν ὑπὸ καὶ θηρῶδες.

7 Ἐφιάλτην μὲν οὖν φοβεροῦν δυναμικῶν ὡς ὀλιγαρχικοῖς καὶ περὶ τᾶς εὐθύνας καὶ διωξεῖ τῶν τῶν δήμων ἀδικούσσων ἀπαραίτητον ἐπιβουλεύσαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ δι᾽ Ἀριστοδίκου τοῦ Ταναγρικοῦ κρυφαῖς.
PERICLES

Some, however, say that the decree for the restoration of Cimon was not drafted by Pericles until a secret compact had been made between them, through the agency of Elpinicé, Cimon's sister, to the effect that Cimon should sail out with a fleet of two hundred ships and have command in foreign parts, attempting to subdue the territory of the King, while Pericles should have supreme power in the city. And it was thought that before this, too, Elpinice had rendered Pericles more lenient towards Cimon, when he stood his trial on the capital charge of treason.\(^1\) Pericles was at that time one of the committee of prosecution appointed by the people, and on Elpinice's coming to him and supplicating him, said to her with a smile: "Elpinice, thou art an old woman, thou art an old woman, to attempt such tasks." However, he made only one speech, by way of formally executing his commission, and in the end did the least harm to Cimon of all his accusers.

How, then, can one put trust in Idomeneus, who accuses Pericles of assassinating the popular leader Ephialtes, though he was his friend and a partner in his political program, out of mere jealousy and envy of his reputation? These charges he has raked up from some source or other and hurled them, as if so much venom, against one who was perhaps not in all points irreproachable, but who had a noble disposition and an ambitious spirit, wherein no such savage and bestial feelings can have their abode. As for Ephialtes, who was a terror to the oligarchs and inexorable in exacting accounts from those who wronged the people; and in prosecuting them, his enemies laid plots against him, and had him slain

\(^1\) 463 B.C. Cf. *Cimon*, xiv. 2-4.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἀνείλουν, ὡς Ἄριστοτέλης εἰρήκειν. ἔτελεύτησε δὲ Κύμων ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγῶν.

XI. Οἱ δ’ ἀριστοκρατικοὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἦδη τὸν Περικλέα καὶ πρόσθεν ὀρῶντες γεγονότα τῶν πολιτῶν, βουλόμενοι δ’ ὦμως εἶναι τινα τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτασσόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ δύνα- μιν ἀμβλύνοντα, ὥστε μὴ κομιδῆ μοναρχίαν εἶναι, Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, ἄνδρα σώφρονα καὶ κηδεστὴν Κύμωνος, ἀντέστησαν ἐναντιωσόμενον,

2 ὡς ἦττον μὲν ὅν πολεμικὸς τοῦ Κύμωνος, ἀγοραῖος δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς μᾶλλον, οἰκουρῶν ἐν ὅστει καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα τῷ Περικλεῖ συμπλεκόμενος, ταχὺ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον κατέστησεν.

Οὐ γὰρ εἰάσε τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς καλου-μένους ἀνδρὰς ἐνδιέσπαρθαι καὶ συμμεῖχθαι πρὸς τὸν δήμον, ὡς πρότερον, ύπὸ πλῆθος ἰμαυ-ρωμένους τὸ ἁξίωμα, χωρὶς δὲ διακρίνας καὶ συναγαγόν τε τῇ τοῦ πάντων δύναμιν ἐμβριθή

3 γενομένην ὦσπερ ἐπὶ ξυγοῦ ῥοτὴν ἐποίησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ εξ ἀρχῆς διπλῆ τις ὑπολογο, ὦσπερ εἱ- σιδήρῳ, διαφορῶν ἡποσημαίνουσα δημοτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατικῆς προαιρέσεως, ἢ δ’ ἐκείνων ἀµιλλα καὶ φιλοτιμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν βαθυτάτην τοµὴν τεμοῦσα τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν δήμον, τὸ δ’ ὦλιγος

4 ἐποίησε καλεῖσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸτε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ ταῖς ἡμῖν ἀνείς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτεύτε το Πρὸς χάριν, ἀεὶ μὲν τινα θέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἡ ἐστίσατιν ἡ ποι-
PERICLES

secretly by Aristodicus of Tanagra, as Aristotle says.\(^1\) As for Cimon, he died on his campaign in Cyprus.\(^2\)

XI. Then the aristocrats, aware even some time before this that Pericles was already become the greatest citizen, but wishing nevertheless to have some one in the city who should stand up against him and blunt the edge of his power, that it might not be an out and out monarchy, put forward Thucydides of Alopecé, a discreet man and a relative of Cimon, to oppose him. He, being less of a warrior than Cimon, and more of a forensic speaker and statesman, by keeping watch and ward in the city, and by wrestling bouts with Pericles on the bema, soon bought the administration into even poise.

He would not suffer the party of the "Good and True," as they called themselves, to be scattered up and down and blended with the populace, as heretofore, the weight of their character being thus obscured by numbers, but by culling them out and assembling them into one body, he made their collective influence, thus become weighty, as it were a counterpoise in the balance. Now there had been from the beginning a sort of seam hidden beneath the surface of affairs, as in a piece of iron, which faintly indicated a divergence between the popular and the aristocratic programme; but the emulous ambition of these two men cut a deep gash in the state, and caused one section of it to be called the "Demos," or the People, and the other the "Oligoi," or the Fem. At this time, therefore, particularly, Pericles gave the reins to the people, and made his policy one of pleasing them, ever devising some

\(^1\) Const. of Athens, xxv. 4.
πὴν εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ἄστει καὶ "διαπαίδα-
γωγὸν οὐκ ἁμόοσοις ἡδοναῖς" τὴν πόλιν, ἐξήκοντα
δὲ τριήρεις καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπέμπτων, ἐν ἅις
πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπλεον ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐμμεθοῦ,
μελετῶντες ἀμα καὶ μανθάνοντες τὴν ναυτικὴν
5 ἐμπειρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίους μὲν ἐστειλεν
εἰς Χερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξου πεντα-
kοσίους, εἰς δὲ "Ἀνδρον τοὺς ἡμίσεις" τούτων, εἰς
δὲ Θράκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικισθέντας,
ἀλλούς δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν οἰκιζομένης Συβάρεως, ἦν
Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ ταύτ᾽ ἐπράττεν
ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἄργου καὶ διὰ σχολὴν πολυ-
πράγματος ὀχλοῦ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενος δὲ
τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβον δὲ καὶ φρούρα
τοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζειν τὸ παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμ-
μάχοις.

ΧΙ. "Ὁ δὲ πλείστην μὲν ἡδονὴν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς
καὶ κόσμον ἰνεγκε, μεγίστην δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπλη-
ξίν ἀνθρώποις, μόνον δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μαρτυρεῖ μὴ
ψεύδεσθαι τὴν λεγομένην δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἐκείνην
καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ὀλβὶον, ἡ τῶν ἁναβημάτων κατα-
σκευή, τοῦτο μάλιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων τοῦ
Περικλέους εἰςάσκαινον οἱ ἕθθροι καὶ διέβαλλον
ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, βοῶντες ὡς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἀδο-
ξεῖ καὶ κακῶς ἀκούει τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
2 χρήματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Δῆλου μεταγαγῶν, ή δὲ
ἐνεστὶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας εὐπρεπεςτάτη
τῶν προφάσεων, δείσαντα τοὺς ἐκεῖθεν

1 τοῖς ἡμίσεις Fuhr and Blass, after Cobet: ἡμίσεις.
sort of a pageant in the town for the masses, or a feast, or a procession, “amusing them like children with not uncouth delights,”¹ and sending out sixty triremes annually, on which large numbers of the citizens sailed about for eight months under pay, practising at the same time and acquiring the art of seamanship. In addition to this, he despatched a thousand settlers to the Chersonesus,² and five hundred to Naxos, and to Andros half that number, and a thousand to Thrace to settle with the Bisaltae, and others to Italy, when the site of Sybaris was settled,³ which they named Thurii. All this he did by way of lightening the city of its mob of lazy and idle busybodies, rectifying the embarrassments of the poorer people, and giving the allies for neighbours an imposing garrison which should prevent rebellion.

XII. But that which brought most delightful adornment to Athens, and the greatest amazement to the rest of mankind; that which alone now testifies for Hellas that her ancient power and splendour, of which so much is told, was no idle fiction,—I mean his construction of sacred edifices. —this, more than all the public measures of Pericles, his enemies maligned and slandered. They cried out in the assemblies: “The people has lost its fair fame and is in ill repute because it has removed the public moneys of the Hellenes from Delos into its own keeping, and that seemliest of all excuses which it had to urge against its accusers, to wit, that out of fear of the Barbarians it took the public funds

¹ An iambic trimeter from an unknown source.
² 447 B.C. Cf. chapter xiv. 1–2.
³ 444 B.C. Sybaris had been destroyed in 510 B.C.
ἀνελέσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν οὖρῷ τὰ κοινά, ταῦται ἀνήρθε Περικλῆς, καὶ δοκεῖ δεινὴν ὑβρίν ἦν Ἑλλάς ὑβρίζεσθαι καὶ τυραννεῖσθαι περιφανῶς, ὅρῳ αἰτὶ εἰςφερομένους ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἄναγκαιος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμᾶς τὴν πόλιν καταχρυσοῦντας καὶ καλλωπίζοντας ὡσπερ ἀλαζόνα γυναῖκα, περιπτομένην λίθους πολυτελείς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ναοὺς χιλιοταλάντων.

3 Ἡδίδασκεν οὖν οὗν ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δήμον ὅτι χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ὁφείλουσι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον προπολεμοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνεύργοντες, οὐκ ἶπποι, οὐ ναῦν, οὐχ ὁπλίτην, ἀλλὰ χρήματα μόνον τελοῦντων, ἀ τῶν διδόντων 159 οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων, ἀν παρέχωσιν

4 ἀνθ’ οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, δεὶ δὲ τὶς πόλεως κατεσκευασμένης ἰκανὸς τοῖς ἄναγκαιοις πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς ταῦτα τὴν εὐπορίαν τρέπειν αὐτῆς ἀφ’ ἄν δὸξα μὲν γενομένων ἁίδιος, εὐπορία δὲ γενομένων ἔτοιμη παρέσται, ταυτοδαπῆς ἐργασίας φανείσης καὶ ποικίλων χρείῶν, αἱ πάσαι μὲν τέχνην ἐγείρουσαι, πᾶσαι δὲ χειρὰ κινοῦσαι, σχεδὸν ὅλην ποιοῦσιν ἐξμισθοῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἁμα κοσμουμένην καὶ τρεφομένην.

5 Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἠλικίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ρώμην αἰ στρατεύεται τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν εὐπορίας παρεῖχον, τῶν δ’ ἄνυντακτον καὶ βάναυσον ὄχλον οὐτάμοιρον εἶναι λημμάτων βουλόμενος οὔτε λαμβάνειν ἄργον καὶ σχολάζοντα, μεγάλας κατασκευ-
PERICLES

from that sacred isle and was now guarding them in a stronghold, of this Pericles has robbed it. And surely Hellas is insulted with a dire insult and manifestly subjected to tyranny when she sees that, with her own enforced contributions for the war, we are gilding and bedizening our city, which, for all the world like a wanton woman, adds to her wardrobe precious stones and costly statues and temples worth their millions."

For his part, Pericles would instruct the people that it owed no account of their moneys to the allies provided it carried on the war for them and kept off the Barbarians; "not a horse do they furnish," said he, "not a ship, not a hoplite, but money simply; and this belongs, not to those who give it, but to those who take it, if only they furnish that for which they take it in pay. And it is but meet that the city, when once she is sufficiently equipped with all that is necessary for prosecuting the war, should apply her abundance to such works as, by their completion, will bring her everlasting glory, and while in process of completion will bring that abundance into actual service, in that all sorts of activity and diversified demands arise, which rouse every art and stir every hand, and ring, as it were, the whole city under pay, so that she not only adorns, but supports herself as well from her own resources."

And it was true that his military expeditions supplied those who were in the full vigour of manhood with abundant resources from the common funds, and in his desire that the unwarlike throng of common labourers should neither have no share at all in the public receipts, nor yet get fees for
ασμάτων ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πολυτέχνους ὑποθέσεις ἔργων διατριβὴν ἐχόντων ἐνεβαλε φέρων εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἦττον τῶν πλεύτων καὶ φρουροῦτων καὶ στρατευμένων τῷ οἰκουμένῳ ἔχῃ πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὕφελείσθαι καὶ 6 μεταλαμβάνειν. ὅπου γὰρ ὑλὴ μὲν ἦν λίθος, χαλκός, ἐλέφας, χρυσός, ἐβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἰ δὲ ταύτην ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κ.τ. ἐργαζόμεναι τέχναι, τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, λιθουργοὶ, βαρ- φεῖς, χρυσοῦ μαλακτῆρες καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ζωγρά- φοι, ποικιλτά, τορευται, πομποὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ κομιστήρες, ἐμποροί καὶ ναῦται καὶ κυβερνήται 7 κατὰ θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἀμαξοτηγοὶ καὶ ξενοτρόφοι καὶ ἡμίσχοι καὶ καλωστρόφοι καὶ λινουργοὶ καὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ ὀδοποιοὶ καὶ μεταλ- λεῖς, ἐκάστη δὲ τέχνη, καθάπερ στρατηγὸς ἵδιον στράτευμα, τὸν θητικὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἰδιώτην συν- τεταγμένον εἰχεν, ὄργανον καὶ σώμα τῆς ὑπηρε- σίας γινόμενον, εἰς πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐπος εἶπεν, ἕλικιαν καὶ φύσιν αἱ χρεῖαι διένεμον καὶ διέσπειρον τὴν εὐπορίαν.

Χ.Π. Ἀναβαίνοντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερη- φάνων μὲν μεγεθεῖ, μορφῇ δ' ἀμμίσθων καὶ χάριτι, τῶν δημουργῶν ἀμιλλωμένων ὑπερβάλ- λεσθαι τὴν δημουργίαν τῇ καλλιτεχνίᾳ, μάλιστα θαυμάσιον ἢν τὸ τάχος. ὥν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν φώντο πολλαῖς διδοχαῖς καὶ ἕλικιαις μόλις ἐπὶ τέλος ἀφίξεσθαι, ταύτα πάντα μιᾶς ἢκμῆ πολιτείας

38
PERICLES

laziness and idleness, he boldly suggested to the people projects for great constructions, and designs for works which would call many arts into play and involve long periods of time, in order that the stay-at-homes, no whit less than the sailors and sentinels and soldiers, might have a pretext for getting a beneficial share of the public wealth. The materials to be used were stone, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress-wood; the arts which should elaborate and work up these materials were those of carpenter, moulder, bronze-smith, stone-cutter, dyer, worker in gold and ivory, painter, embroiderer, embosser, to say nothing of the forwarders and furnishers of the material, such as factors, sailors and pilots by sea, and, by land, wagon-makers, trainers of yoked beasts, and drivers. There were also rope-makers, weavers, leather-workers, road-builders, and miners. And since each particular art, like a general with the army under his separate command, kept its own throng of unskilled and untrained labourers in compact array, to be as instrument unto player and as body unto soul in subordinate service, it came to pass that for every age, almost, and every capacity the city's great abundance was distributed and scattered abroad by such demands.

XIII. So then the works arose, no less towering in their grandeur than inimitable in the grace of their outlines, since the workmen eagerly strove to surpass themselves in the beauty of their handicraft. And yet the most wonderful thing about them was the speed with which they rose. Each one of them, men thought, would require many successive generations to complete it, but all of them were
2 ἐλάμβανε τὴν συντέλειαν. καὶ τοι ποτὲ μὲν Ἄγαθαρχου τοῦ ξωγράφου μέγα φρονοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ ταχὺ καὶ βράδιως τὰ ξόνα ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα τῶν Ζεύγεων εἶπεν. "Ἕγω δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ." ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὐχέρεια καὶ ταχύτης οὐκ ἐντίθησι βάρος ἐργῷ μόνιμον οὐδὲ κάλλους ἀκρίβειαν. ὁ δ' ἐς τὴν γένεσιν τῷ πόνῳ προδανεισθεὶς χρώνος ἐν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γενομένου τὴν ἴσχὺν ἀποδίδοσιν. οἶδεν καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμᾶσται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὅλῳ γενόμενα. κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστῷ εὐθὺς ἢ τὸτε ἄρχαίοι, ἀκμῆ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατον ἢ καὶ νεοφυῶν οὕτως ἐπανθεὶ καίνοτης ἀεὶ τις ἀδικτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διαπερνόσα τὴν ὅψιν, ὀσπερ ἀειθαλὲς πνεύμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγήρῳ καταμεμειγμένην τῶν ἔργων ἔχοντων.

4 Πάντα δὲ διεἰστε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἢν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καὶ τοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐχόντων καὶ τεχνών τῶν ἔργων. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκατόμπεδον Παρθενώνα Καλλικράτης εἰργάζετο καὶ Ἰκτίωνος, τὸ δ' ἐν Ἑλευσίνῃ τελεστηρίῳ ἦρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος ο'κοδομεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐδάφους κίονας ἔθηκεν οὕτως καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις ἐπέζευξεν ἀποβάνωντος δὲ τοῦτον Μεταγένης ὁ Ξυπτέιος τὸ διάξωμα καὶ τοῖς ἀνω κίονας ἐπέστησε· τὸ δ' ὅπαιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε· τὸ δὲ μακρὸν 160 καινότης ἄει τὸς Φουρ καὶ Βλασσα με Φας: καινότης τῆς.
PERICLES

fully completed in the heyday of a single administration. And yet they say that once on a time when Agatharchus the painter was boasting loudly of the speed and ease with which he made his figures, Zeuxis heard him, and said, "Mine take, and last, a long time." And it is true that deftness and speed in working do not impart to the work an abiding weight of influence nor an exactness of beauty; whereas the time which is put out to loan in laboriously creating, pays a large and generous interest in the preservation of the creation. For this reason are the works of Pericles all the more to be wondered at; they were created in a short time for all time. Each one of them, in its beauty, was even then and at once antique; but in the freshness of its vigour it is, even to the present day, recent and newly wrought. Such is the bloom of perpetual newness, as it were, upon these works of his, which makes them ever to look untouched by time, as though the unfaltering breath of an ageless spirit had been infused into them.

His general manager and general overseer was Pheidias, although the several works had great architects and artists besides. Of the Parthenon, for instance, with its cella of a hundred feet in length, Callicrates and Ictinus were the architects; it was Cronobus who began to build the sanctuary of the mysteries at Eleusis, and he planted the columns on the floor and yoked their capitals together with architraves; but on his death Metagenes, of the deme Xype, carried up the frieze and the upper tier of columns; while Xenocles, of the deme Cholargus, set on high the lantern over the shrine.
Philip, perì ou Ἐφεσίων ὀκονζαί φησιν αὐτὸς εἰςηγουμένοι γυνῶν Περικλέους, ἵργολάβης καλλικράτης. κωμωδεῖ δὲ τὸ ἔργον Κρατίνος ὡς βραδέως περαινομένον.

Πάλαι γὰρ αὐτῷ, φησί, λόγοισι προάγει Περικλέης, ἔργοισι δ' οὖδὲ κινεῖ.

Τὸ δ' Ὡидеίου, τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον, τῇ δ' ερέσει περικλινές καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς πεποιημένον, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατούντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέους. 6 διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατίνος ἐν Θράτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν.

'Ο σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὁ δὲ προσέρχεται τῷ θεῖοτι εἰς τὸν κρανίον ἐχών, ἐπειδὴ τοῦσται παροιχεῖται.

οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἕξεσθαι ὡς Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐν οὕγων τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἀγεσθαι, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἄθλοθετὴς αἴρεθαι καθότι χρῆ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἄθλειν ἢ ᾠδεῖν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. ἐθεῶντο δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἁλλὸν χρόνον ἐν Ὡidente τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἅγωνα.

7 Τὰ δὲ Προπύλαιαι τής ἀκροπόλεως εξειργάσθη μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ Μηνισκλέους ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντος τὸκη δὲ θαυμαστὴ συμβάσα περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμήνυσε τὴν θεῶν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ

1 ὁ δὲ προσέρχεται Fuhr and Blass, after Cobet: προσέρχεται | Περικλέης.

42
PERICLES

For the long wall, concerning which Socrates says he himself heard Pericles introduce a measure, Callicrates was the contractor. Cratinus pokes fun at this work for its slow progress, and in these words:—

“Since ever so long now
In word has Pericles pushed the thing; in fact he does not budge it.”

The Odeum, which was arranged internally with many tiers of seats and many pillars, and which had a roof made with a circular slope from a single peak, they say was an exact reproduction of the Great King’s pavilion, and this too was built under the superintendence of Pericles. Wherefore Cratinus, in his “Thracian Women,” rails at him again:—

“The squill-head Zeus! lo! here he comes,
The Odeum like a cap upon his cranium,
Now that for good and all the ostracism is o’er.”

Then first did Pericles, so fond of honour was he, get a decree passed that a musical contest be held as part of the Panathenaic festival. He himself was elected manager, and prescribed how the contestants must blow the flute, or sing, or pluck the zither. These musical contests were witnessed, both then and thereafter, in the Odeum.

The Propylaea of the acropolis were brought to completion in the space of five years, Mnæsicles being their architect. A wonderful thing happened in the course of their building, which indicated that the goddess was not holding herself aloof, but was a

1 Plato, Gorgias, p.455 e.
2 From a play of unknown name. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 100.
3 Kock, op. cit. i. p. 35.
8 ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς εξ ύψους ἐπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἄθυμούντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἦθες ὁ ναρφανείσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ᾣ χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως ἱάσατο τὸν ἀνθρώπον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα τῆς 'Τυγειας 'Αθηνᾶς ἀνέστησεν εὗ ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τῶν βωμῶν ὃς καὶ προτερον ἤν, ὡς λέγουσιν.

9 'Ὅ δὲ Φείδιας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος, καὶ τούτου δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέραται, πάντα δὴ ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάτει τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους καὶ τούτῳ τῷ μὲν φθόνῳ, τῷ δὲ βλασφημίᾳ ἦνεγκεν, ὡς ἔλευθερας τῷ Περικλεί γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ ἐργα φοιτῶσας ὑπο- δεχομένου τοῦ Φείδιου. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν λόγον οἱ κωμικοὶ πολλὴν ἁσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἰς τῇ Μενίππου γυναίκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ ὑποστρητηγοῦντος, εἰς τῇς Πυριλάμπους ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἔταῖρος ὁν Περικλέους αἰτίαν εἰχε ταῦτα ὑφίστα ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἷς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίατε.

10 ἦν οὕς οἱ κωμικοὶ πολλὴν ἁσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἰς τῇ Μενίππου γυναίκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ ὑποστρητηγοῦντος, εἰς τῇς Πυριλάμπους ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἔταῖρος ὁν Περικλέους αἰτίαν εἰχε ταῦτα ὑφίστα ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἷς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίατε.

11 Καὶ τὶ ἄν τις αὐθρώπους σατυρικοὺς τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων βλασφημίας ὁπερ δαίμονι κακῷ τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποθύουντας ἐκάστοτε θαυμάσειεν, ὅπου καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ

1 ἀναγέγραται Catalog: εἶναι γέγραται.
helper both in the inception and in the completion of the work. One of its artificers, the most active and zealous of them all, lost his footing and fell from a great height, and lay in a sorry plight, despaired of by the physicians. Pericles was much cast down at this, but the goddess appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a course of treatment for him to use, so that he speedily and easily healed the man. It was in commemoration of this that he set up the bronze statue of Athena Hygieia on the acropolis near the altar of that goddess, which was there before, as they say.

But it was Pheidias who produced the great golden image of the goddess, and he is duly inscribed on the tablet as the workman who made it. Everything, almost, was under his charge, and all the artists and artisans, as I have said, were under his superintendence, owing to his friendship with Pericles. This brought envy upon the one, and contumely on the other, to the effect that Pheidias made assignations for Pericles with free-born women who would come ostensibly to see the works of art. The comic poets took up this story and bespattered Pericles with charges of abounding wantonness, connecting their slanders with the wife of Menippus, a man who was his friend, and a colleague in the generalship, and with the bird-culture of Pyrilampes, who, since he was the comrade of Pericles, was accused of using his peacocks to bribe the women with whom Pericles consort.

And why should any one be astonished that men of wanton life lose no occasion for offering up sacrifices, as it were, of contumelious abuse of their superiors, to the evil deity of popular envy, when
Θάσιος δεινὸν ἁσέβημα καὶ μυθώδες ἐξενεγκεῖν ἔτολμησεν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ νιὼν κατὰ τοῦ 12 Περικλέους; οὕτως ἔσυκε πάντη χαλεπῶς εἰναι καὶ δυσθέρατον ἱστορία τάλιθες, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ὄστερον γεγονότες τὸν χρόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπιπροσθεόντα τῇ γνώσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἡ δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν βίων ἥλικιώτες ἱστορία τὰ μὲν φθόνοις καὶ δυσμενείαις, τὰ δὲ χαριζομένη καὶ κολακεύουσα λυμαίνεται καὶ διαστρέφει τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

XIV. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ῥήτορον καταβοῶντων τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς σπαθῶντος τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἀπολλύοντος, ἡρώτησεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν δήμον εἰ πολλὰ δοκεῖ διδαπανήσας· φησάντων δὲ πάμπολλα· "Μή τοῖνυν," εἶπεν, "ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ διδαπανήσω, καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἱδίαν ἐμαυτοῦ ποιήσομαι 2 τὴν ἐπιγραφήν." εἰπόντος οὐν ταῦτα τοῦ Περικλέους, εἰτε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην αὐτοῦ θαυμάσαντες εἰτε πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἀντιφιλοτιμοῦμενοι 161 τῶν ἐργῶν, ἀνέκραγον κελεύοντες ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἀναλίσκειν καὶ χορηγεῖν μηδενὸς φειδόμενον. τέλος δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θουκυδίδην εἰς ἄγωνα περὶ τοῦ ὀστράκου καταστάς καὶ διακώδυνεύσας ἐκείνον μὲν ἔξεβαλε, κατέλυσε δὲ τὴν ἀντιτεταγμένην ἔταιρείαν.

XV. Ὡς οὖν παντάπασι λυθείσης τῆς διαφορᾶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως οἰνον ὀμαλῆς καὶ μιᾶς γενομένης κομιδῆς, περιήγεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰς Ἀθήνας
PERICLES

even Stesimbrōtus of Thasos has ventured to make public charge against Pericles of a dreadful and fabulous impiety with his son's wife? To such degree, it seems, is truth hedged about with difficulty and hard to capture by research, since those who come after the events in question find that lapse of time is an obstacle to their proper perception of them; while the research of their contemporaries into men's deeds and lives, partly through envious hatred and partly through fawning flattery, desiles and distorts the truth.

XIV. Thucydidēs and his party kept denouncing Pericles for playing fast and loose with the public moneys and annihilating the revenues. Pericles therefore asked the people in assembly whether they thought he had expended too much, and on their declaring that it was altogether too much, "Well then," said he, "let it not have been spent on your account, but mine, and I will make the inscriptions of dedication in my own name." When Pericles had said this, whether it was that they admired his magnanimity or vied with his ambition to get the glory of his works, they cried out with a loud voice and bade him take freely from the public funds for his outlays, and to spare gaught whatsoever. And finally he ventured to undergo with Thucydidēs the contest of the ostracism, wherein he secured his rival's banishment,¹ and the dissolution of the faction which had been arrayed against him.

XV. Thus, then, seeing that political differences were entirely remitted and the city had become a smooth surface, as it were, and altogether united, he brought under his own control Athens and all the

¹ 442 B.C.
καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξηρτημένα πράγματα, φόρους καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ νῆσους καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν δὲ Ἑλλήνων, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ βαρβάρων ἦκουσαν ἵσχυν, καὶ ἴγεμονίαν ὑπηκοοίς ἔδωσε καὶ φιλίαις βασιλέων
2 καὶ συμμαχίαις πεφραγμένην δυναστῶν, οὕκεθ' οὐκέθ' ὁ αὐτὸς ἢν οὐδ' ὀμοίως χειροῆθης τῷ δῇμῳ καὶ ῥάδιος ὑπείκειν καὶ συνενεδίδοναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὡσπερ πυναῖς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀνειμένης ἐκείνης καὶ ὑποθρυπτομένης ἔνα ἄδημαγωγίας, ὡσπερ ἀνθρώπως καὶ μαλακῆς ἁρμονίας, ἀριστοκρατικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐντευκάμενος πολιτείαν, καὶ χρόμενος αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστων ὑπῆρκε 
3 ἀνεγκλίτῳ, τὰ μὲν πολλά βουλόμενον ἴγεν πειθῶν καὶ διδάσκων τῶν δῆμον, ἢν δ' ὑπὲρ καὶ μᾶλλα δυσχεραίνοντα κατατείνων καὶ προσβ.βάζων ἐχειροῦτο τῷ συμφέροντι, μιμοῦμενος ἀτεχνῶς ἱατρὸν ποικιλός νοσίματι καὶ μακρῷ κατὰ καιρὸν μὲν ἴδονας ἄβλαβεῖς, κατὰ καιρόν δὲ δημοῦς καὶ 
4 φάρμακα προσφέροντα σωτ.ρία. παυτοδαπῶν γὰρ, ὡς εἴκος, παθῶν ἐν ὀχλῳ τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι φυομένων, μόνος ἐμελῶς ἐκαστα διαχειρίσασθαι περίκων, μάλιστα δ' ἐλπίσας καὶ φοβοῖς ὡσπερ οίᾳ προστέλλων ¹ τὸ θραυσῦμενον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δύσθυμον ἰνείς καὶ παραμυθοῦμενος, ἐδειξε τὴν ῥητορικὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα ψυχαγωγίαν οὖσαν καὶ μέγιστον ἔργον

¹ προστέλλων Fuhr and Blass with S (προστέλλων BCFα): προαναστέλλων.
issues dependent on the Athenians,—tributes, armies, triremes, the islands, the sea, the vast power derived from Hellenes, vast also from Barbarians, and a supremacy that was securely hedged about with subject nations, royal friendships, and dynastic alliances. But then he was no longer the same man as before, nor alike submissive to the people and ready to yield and give in to the desires of the multitude as a steersman to the breezes. Nay rather, forsaking his former lax and sometimes rather effeminate management of the people, as it were a flowery and soft melody, he struck the high and clear note of an aristocratic and kingly statesmanship, and employing it for the best interests of all in a direct and undeviating fashion, he led the people, for the most part willingly, by his persuasions and instructions. And yet there were times when they were sorely vexed with him, and then he tightened the reins and forced them into the way of their advantage with a master's hand, for all the world like a wise physician, who treats a complicated disease of long standing occasionally with harmless indulgences to please his patient, and occasionally, too, with caustics and bitter drugs which work salvation. For whereas all sorts of distempers, as was to be expected, were rife in a rabble which possessed such vast empire, he alone was so endowed by nature that he could manage each one of these cases suitably, and more than anything else he used the people's hopes and fears, like rudders, so to speak, giving timely check to their arrogance, and allaying and comforting their despair. Thus he proved that rhetoric, or the art of speaking, is, to use Plato's words,\textsuperscript{1} "an enchantment

\textsuperscript{1} Phaedrus, p 271 c.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

αὐτὴς τὴν περὶ τὰ ἡθὰ καὶ πάθη μέθοδον, ὡσπερ τινὰς τόνους καὶ φθόγγους ψυχῆς μᾶλ’ ἐμμελοῦσι
5 ἀφῆς καὶ κρούσεως δεομένους. αἰτία δ’ οὐχ ἡ τοῦ
λόγου ψυχῆς δύναμις, ἕλλ’, ως Θουκυδίδης φησίν,
ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον δόξα καὶ πίστις τοῦ ἀνδρός,
ἀδωροτάτου περιφανῶς γενομένου καὶ χρημάτων
κρείττονος· ὃς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλης μεγίστην
cαι πλουσιωτάτην ποιῆσας, καὶ γενόμενος δυνά-
1 μεί πολλῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων ύπέρτερος,
διόν έναν καὶ ἐπί τροπῆς τοῦς νέος δειθέντο ἐκεῖνον,
μᾶ δραχμῆ μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἴς ὁ
πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε.

XVI. Καίτοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς μὲν ὁ
Θουκυδίδης διψεῖται, κακοήθως δὲ παρεμφαίνον-
σιν οἱ κυκλοῦμεν. Πεισιστρατίδας μὲν νέους τοὺς
περὶ αὐτὸν ἐταίρους καλοῦντες, αὐτὸν δ’ ἀπομόσαι
μῆ τυραννήσειν κελεύοντες, ὡς ἕσσωμέτρου πρὸς
δημοκρατίαν καὶ βαρυτέρας περὶ αὐτὸν οὐσίας
2 ὑπεροχῆς. ὁ δὲ Τηλεκλείδης παραδεδωκέναι φησίν
αὐτῷ τοὺς ’’Ἀθηναίους

Πόλεων τε φόρους αὐτῶς τε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν
dein, τὰς δ’ ἀναλύειν,
λαίνα τείχη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖσθ, τὰ δ’ ἐπείτα
3 πάλιν καταβάλλειν,
σπουδαῖς, δύναμιν, κράτος, εἰρήνην, πλούτων τ’
eudaimonian te.

καὶ ταύτα καιρὸς οὐκ ἦν οὐδ’ ἀκμῆ καὶ χάρις

1 δυνάμει also Fuhr and Blass with S; Bekker has καὶ
dynami.
2 ἐπί τροπῆς . . . ἐκεῖνον Madvig’s restoration, adopted by
Fuhr and Blass: ἐπὶ τοῖς νεόν δειθέντο, ἐκεῖνον (willed their
property to their sons). 3 τὰ δ’ ἐπείτα Fuhr: τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ.

50
of the soul," and that her chiefest business is a careful study of the affections and passions, which are, so to speak, strings and stops of the soul, requiring a very judicious fingering and striking. The reason for his success was not his power as a speaker merely, but, as Thucydides says,¹ the reputation of his life and the confidence reposed in him as one who was manifestly proven to be utterly disinterested and superior to bribes. He made the city, great as it was when he took it, the greatest and richest of all cities, and grew to be superior in power to kings and tyrants. Some of these actually appointed him guardian of their sons, but he did not make his estate a single drachma greater than it was when his father left it to him.

XVI. Of his power there can be no doubt, since Thucydides gives so clear an exposition of it, and the comic poets unwittingly reveal it even in their malicious gibes, calling him and his associates "new Peisistratidae," and urging him to take solemn oath not to make himself a tyrant, on the plea, forsooth, that his preëminence was incommensurate with a democracy and too oppressive. Telecleides says² that the Athenians had handed over to him

"With the cities' assessments the cities themselves, 
to bind or release as he pleases,
Their ramparts of stone to build up if he likes, and then to pull down again straightway,
Their treaties, their forces, their might, peace, and riches, and all the fair gifts of good fortune."

(Rogers.)

And this was not the fruit of a golden moment, nor

¹ ii. 65, 8.
² In a play of unknown name. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 220.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀνθούσης ἐφ' ὃρα πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἐτή πρωτεύων ἐν Ἐφιάλταις καὶ Δεωκράταις καὶ Μυρωνίδαις καὶ Κίμωσι καὶ Τολμίδαις καὶ 3 Θουκυδίδαις, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θουκυδίδου κατάλυσιν καὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν οὐκ ἑλάττω τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν διηνεκῆ καὶ μιὰν ὀνέαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις στρατηγίαις ἀρχῆς καὶ δυναστείαις κτησίμενος, ἐφύλαξεν ἐαυτὸν ἀνάλωτον ἕπο χρηματίσμον, καὶ περ ὡς παντάπασιν ἄργῳς ἔχων πρὸς χρηματίσμον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πατρὸς καὶ δίκαιον πλοῦτον, ὡς μήτ' ἀμελούμενος ἐκφύγοι μήτε πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ διατριβὰς ἀσχολούμενος παρέχοι, συνέταξεν εἰς οἰκονομίαν ἢν φέτο ράστην καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην 4 εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ ἑπετείους καρποὺς ἀπαντᾷ ἀθρόος ἐπιτραπέκεν, εἶτα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἑκαστοῦ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ὁνομαίοις διότα τοὺς βίουν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ὅθεν ὅιχ' ἦδος ἢ ν ἐνηλίκοις παισίν οὐδὲ γυναιξὶ δαψίλης χορηγός, ἀλλ' ἐμέμφοντο τὴν ἐφήμερον ταύτην καὶ συνηγμένην εἰς τὸ ἀκριβεστὰτον δαπάνην, οὐδενόσ, οἶον ἐν οἰκία μεγάλῃ καὶ πράγμασιν ἀφθόνοις, περιρρέωντος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς μὲν ἀναλώματος, παντὸς δὲ λήμ- 5 ματος δὲ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μέτρου βαδίζοντος. ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τῆς τοιαύτην συνέχων ἀκρίβειαν εἰς ἡν οἰκέτης, Εὐάγγελος, ὡς ἔτερος οὐδεὶς εὑς πεφυ- κώς ἡ κατεσκευασμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους πρὸς οἰκονομίαν.

Ἀπάδοντα 1 μὲν οὖν ταύτα τῆς 'Αναξαγόρου σοφίας, εἶγε καὶ τήν οἰκίαν ἐκείνος ἔξελιπε καὶ

1 Ἀπάδοντα Valckenaer's restoration of the MS. ἐπαντα; Bekker changes to ἀπάδει.
PERICLES

the culminating popularity of an administration that bloomed but for a season; nay rather he stood first for forty years\(^1\) among such men as Ephialtes, Leocrates, Myronides, Cimon, Tolmides, and Thucydides, and after the deposition of Thucydides and his ostracism, for no less than fifteen of these years did he secure an imperial sway that was continuous and unbroken, by means of his annual tenure of the office of general. During all these years he kept himself untainted by corruption, although he was not altogether indifferent to money-making; indeed, the wealth which was legally his by inheritance from his father, that it might not from sheer neglect take to itself wings and fly away, nor yet cause him much trouble and loss of time when he was busy with higher things, he set into such orderly dispensation as he thought was easiest and most exact. This was to sell his annual products all together in the lump, and then to buy in the market each article as it was needed, and so provide the ways and means of daily life. For this reason he was not liked by his sons when they grew up, nor did their wives find in him a liberal purveyor, but they murmured at his expenditure for the day merely and under the most exact restrictions, there being no surplus of supplies at all, as in a great house and under generous circumstances, but every outlay and every intake proceeding by count and measure. His agent in securing all this great exactitude was a single servant, Evangelus, who was either gifted by nature or trained by Pericles so as to surpass everybody else in domestic economy.

It is true that this conduct was not in accord with the wisdom of Anaxagoras, since that philosopher

\(^1\) Reckoning roundly from 469 to 429 B.C.
τὴν χώραν ἀφίκεν ἀργὴν καὶ μηλόβοτον ὑπ’
6 ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, οὐ ταύτ’
δ’ ἐστίν, οἷμαι, θεωρητικοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ καὶ πολι−
τικοῦ βίος, ἀλλ’ ο μὲν ἀνόργανον καὶ ἀπροσδεη−
τῆς ἐκτὸς ὑλῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κινεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν,
τῷ δ’ εἰς ἀνθρωπείας χρείας ἀναμιγνύντι τὴν
ἀρετὴν ἐστιν οὐ γένοιτ’ ἂν οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καλῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, ὡσπερ
ἤν καὶ Περικλῆι βοηθοῦντι πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων.
7 καὶ μέντοι γε τῶν Ἀναξαγόραν αὐτὸν λέγοσιν
ἀσχολουμένον Περικλέους ἀμελούμενον κείσται
συγκεκαλυμμένον ἡδὴ γηραιῶν ἀποκαρτεροῦντα:
προσπεσόντος δὲ τῷ Περικλῆι τοῦ πράγματος
ἐκπλαγέντα θείων εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνδρα καὶ δεῖσθαι
πᾶσαν δέσιν, ὀλοφυρόμενον οὐκ ἐκείνου, ἀλλ’
ἐαυτόν, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἀπολεῖ τῆς πολιτείας σύμ−
βουλον. ἐκκαλυψάμενον οὖν τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν
εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν: "Ὤ Περίκλης, καὶ οἱ τοῦ
λύχνου χρείαν ἐχοντες ἔλαιον ἐπιχέουσιν."

XVII. Ἀρχομένων δὲ Δακεδαμονίων ἅχθεσθαι
tῇ αὐξήσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαιρων ο Περικλῆς
tὸν δῆμον ἐτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων
αὐτῶν ἄξιων πραγμάτων, γράφει ψήφισμα, πάν−
tας Ἑλλήνας τοὺς ὅπιστευτα κατοικοῦντας Εὐρώ−
πης ὡς τῆς Ἀσίας παρακαθένι, καὶ μικρὰν τὸλιν
καὶ μεγάλην, εἰς σύλλογον ρήματιν Ἀθηναζε
tοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱερῶν,
PERICLES

actually abandoned his house and left his land to lie fallow for sheep-grazing, owing to the lofty thoughts with which he was inspired. But the life of a speculative philosopher is not the same thing, I think, as that of a statesman. The one exercises his intellect without the aid of instruments and independent of external matters for noble ends; whereas the other, inasmuch as he brings his superior excellence into close contact with the common needs of mankind, must sometimes find wealth not merely one of the necessities of life, but also one of its noble things, as was actually the case with Pericles, who gave aid to many poor men. And, besides, they say that Anaxagoras himself, at a time when Pericles was absorbed in business, lay on his couch all neglected, in his old age, starving himself to death, his head already muffled for departure, and that when the matter came to the ears of Pericles, he was struck with dismay, and ran at once to the poor man, and besought him most fervently to live, bewailing not so much that great teacher's lot as his own, were he now to be bereft of such a counsellor in the conduct of the state. Then Anaxagoras—so the story goes—unmuffled his head and said to him, "Pericles, even those who need a lamp pour oil therein."

XVII. When the Lacedaemonians began to be annoyed by the increasing power of the Athenians, Pericles, by way of inciting the people to cherish yet loftier thoughts and to deem itself worthy of great achievements, introduced a bill to the effect that all Hellenes wheresoever resident in Europe or in Asia, small and large cities alike, should be invited to send deputies to a council at Athens. This was to deliberate concerning the Hellenic sanctuaries which

55
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ά κατέπρησαν οἱ βαρβαροὶ, καὶ τῶν θυσίων ὡς ὀφείλουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἄδεως καὶ 2 τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγωσιν. ἐπὶ ταῦτα δ' ἄνδρες εἰκοσὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἐτή γεγονότων ἐπέμφθησαν, ὥν πέντε μὲν Ιωνᾶς καὶ Δωριές τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ νησιώτας ἄχρι Λέσβου καὶ Ρόδου παρεκάλουν, πέντε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ Θρᾴκη μέχρι Βυζαντίου τόπους ἐπήθεσαν, καὶ πέντε ἐπὶ τούτους εἰς Βοιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Πελοποννήσου, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης διὰ λοκρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσονον ἦπειρον ἐως Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ Ἀμβρακίας 3 ἀπεστάλησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δ' Ἑυβοίας ἐπὶ Όιταίους καὶ τὸν Μαλεά κόλπον καὶ Φθιώτας Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Θησαλοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, συμπείθοντες ἴναι καὶ μετέχειν τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπὶ εἰρήνη καὶ κοινοπραγία τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐπράξθη δὲ οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ συνήθθουν αἱ πόλεις, Λακεδαίμονις ὑπεναντισθέντων, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τῆς πείρας ἔλεγχείς. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην εὐδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην.

ΧVIII. Ἔν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγιαῖς εὐδοκίμει 163 μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, οὗτε μάχης ἐχούσης πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ κίνδυνον εἰκουσίας ἀπτόμενος, οὗτος τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραβάλλεσθαι χρησαμένους τύχῃ λαμπρᾷ καὶ βασισθέντας ὡς μεγάλους ζηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος στρατηγοῦς, ἀεὶ τε λέγων πρὸς τοὺς πολῖτας ὡς ὅσον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ μενοῦσιν ἀθάνατοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον.
PERICLES

the Barbarians had burned down, concerning the
sacrifices which were due to the gods in the name of
Hellas in fulfilment of vows made when they were
fighting with the Barbarians, and concerning the
sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the
peace. To extend this invitation, twenty men, of
such as were above fifty years of age, were sent out,
five of whom invited the Ionians and Dorians in Asia
and on the islands between Lesbos and Rhodes; five
visited the regions on the Hellespont and in Thrace
as far as Byzantium; five others were sent into
Boeotia and Phocis and Peloponnesus, and from here
by way of the Ozolian Locrians into the neighbouring
continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia; while
the rest proceeded through Euboea to the Oetaeans
and the Maliac Gulf and the Phthiotic Achaeans
and the Thessalians, urging them all to come and
take part in the deliberations for the peace and
common welfare of Hellas. But nothing was accom-
plished, nor did the cities come together by deputy,
owing to the opposition of the Lacedaemonians, as it
is said, since the effort met with its first check in
Peloponnesus. I have cited this incident, however,
to show forth the man’s disposition and the greatness
of his thoughts.

XVIII. In his capacity as general, he was famous
above all things for his saving caution; he neither
undertook of his own accord a battle involving much
uncertainty and peril, nor did he envy and imitate
those who took great risks, enjoyed brilliant good-
fortune, and so were admired as great generals; and
he was for ever saying to his fellow-citizens that, so
far as lay in his power, they would remain alive
forever and be immortals.
2 Ὄρων δὲ Τολμίδην τὸν Τολμαίον διὰ τὰς πρότερον εὐτυχίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν συν οὐδεὶς καὶρφι παρασκευαζόμενον εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ πεπεικότα τῶν ἐν ἥλικία τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἔθελοντι στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίους γενομένους ἀνευ τῆς ἁλλης δυνάμεως, κατέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τῷ μνημονεύμονευ ἐπιπών, ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο Περικλεῖ, τὸν γε σοφώτατον οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται σύμβουλον ἀναμείνας χρόνων. τότε μὲν οὖν μετρίως εὐδοκίμησε τούτ’ εἰπών ὀλίγας οὗ ὑστερον ἡμέραις, ὡς ἀνηγγέλθη τεθνεός μὲν αὐτὸς Τολμίδης περὶ Κορώνειαν ἠττηθείς μάχης, τεθνεότες δὲ πολλοὶ κάγαθοι τῶν πολιτῶν, μεγάλην τούτο τῷ Περικλεῖ μετ’ εὐνοίας δόξαν ἤμεγκεν, ὡς ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ.

XIX. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγίων ἡγαπήθη μὲν ἢ περὶ Χερρώνησον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, σωτήριος γενομένη τοῖς αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσι τῶν Ἐλλήνων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐποίκους Ἀθηναίων χιλίους κομίσας ἔρρωσεν εὐανέρθια τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα διαζώσας ἐρύμασε καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἔπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν

2 Ἐθρακῶν περικεχυμένων τῇ Χερρώνησῷ, καὶ πόλεμον ἐνδελεχῆ καὶ βαρὺν ἐξέκλεισεν, ὦ συνείχοτο πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἢ χώρα βαρβαρικάς ἀναμεμεμημένη γειτνιάσει καὶ γέμοισα ἔθστηρίων

58
PERICLES

So when he saw that Tolmides, son of Tolmaeus, all on account of his previous good-fortune and of the exceeding great honour bestowed upon him for his wars, was getting ready, quite inopportune, to make an incursion into Boeotia, and that he had persuaded the bravest and most ambitious men of military age to volunteer for the campaign,—as many as a thousand of them, aside from the rest of his forces,—he tried to restrain and dissuade him in the popular assembly, uttering then that well remembered saying, to wit, that if he would not listen to Pericles, he would yet do full well to wait for that wisest of all counsellors, Time. This saying brought him only moderate repute at the time; but a few days afterwards, when word was brought that Tolmides himself was dead after defeat in battle near Coroneia,\(^1\) and that many brave citizens were dead likewise, then it brought Pericles great repute as well as goodwill, for that he was a man of discretion and patriotism.

XIX. Of all his expeditions, that to the Chersonesus\(^2\) was held in most loving remembrance, since it proved the salvation of the Hellenes who dwelt there. Not only did he bring thither a thousand Athenian colonists and stock the cities anew with vigorous manhood, but he also belted the neck of the isthmus with defensive bulwarks from sea to sea, and so intercepted the incursions of the Thracians who swarmed about the Chersonesus, and shut out the perpetual and grievous war in which the country was all the time involved, in close touch as it was with neighbouring communities of Barbarians, and full to overflowing of robber bands whose haunts were on or

\(^1\) 447 B.C. \(^2\) 447 B.C.
όμόρων καὶ συνοίκων. ἔθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διε-
βοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπους περιπλεύσας
Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Πηγῶν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνα-
χθεὶς ἐκατὸν τριήρεσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπόρθησε
τὴς παραλίας πολλήν, ὥς Τολμίδης πρότερον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω θαλάττης προελθὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ
tῶν νεῶν ὀπλίταις τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰ τεῖχ
συνέστειλε δείσαντας αὐτὸν τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐν δὲ
Νεμέα. Σικυωνίους ύποστάντας καὶ συνάψαντας
μάχην κατὰ κράτος τρεψάμενους ἐστήσε τρόπαιον.

ἐκ δ’ Ἀχαΐας φίλης οὐσῆς στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν
εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἦπειρον
ἔκομισθη τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχε-
λῶν Ἀκαρνανίαν κατέδραμε, καὶ κατέκλεισεν
Οἰνώμας εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, καὶ τεμῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ
κακώσας ἀπήρεν ἐπ’ οίκου, φοβερὸς μὲν φανεῖς
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀσφαλῆς δὲ καὶ δραστήριος τοῖς
πολίταις. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδ’ ἀπὸ τῆς πρόσκρου-
σμα συνέβη περὶ τοὺς στρατευομένους.

XX. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσας στόλῳ
μεγάλῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ λαμπρῶς ταῖς μὲν
Ἐλληνίστη πόλεσιν ὁν ἔδεωντο διεπράξατο καὶ
προσηνέχθη φιλανθρώπως, τοῖς δὲ περιοικοῦσι
βαρβάροις ἔθυμες καὶ βασιλεύσιν αὐτῶν καὶ
dυνάσταις ἐπεδείξατο μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μέ-
γεθος καὶ τὴν ἄδειαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ἢ βούλοιτο
πλεόντων καὶ πᾶσαν ύφ’ αὐτῶς πεποιημένων τὴν
θάλασσαν, Σινώτευσι δὲ τρισκαϊδεκὰ ναῦς ὑπὲ-
λιπε μετὰ Λαμάχου καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ Τιμυσί-
PERICLES

within its borders. But he was admired and celebrated even amongst foreigners for his circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus,\(^1\) when he put to sea from Pegae in the Megarid with a hundred triremes. He not only ravaged a great strip of seashore, as Tolmides had done before him, but also advanced far into the interior with the hoplites from his ships, and drove all his enemies inside their walls in terror at his approach, excepting only the Sicyonians, who made a stand against him in Nemea, and joined battle with him; these he routed by main force and set up a trophy for his victory. Then from Achaia, which was friendly to him, he took soldiers on board his triremes, and proceeded with his armament to the opposite mainland, where he sailed up the Acheloös, overran Acarnania, shut up the people of Oeniiadæ behind their walls, and after ravaging and devastating their territory, went off homewards, having shown himself formidable to his enemies, but a safe and efficient leader for his fellow-citizens. For nothing untoward befell, even as result of chance, those who took part in the expedition.

XX. He also sailed into the Euxine Sea\(^2\) with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighbouring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control. He also left with the banished Sinopians thirteen ships of war and soldiers under command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesi-

\(^1\) 453 B.C. \(^2\) Probably about 436 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

2 λεων τύραννον. ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἔταρχων ἐψηφίσατο πλείν εἰς Σινώπην Ἀθηναίων ἐθελοντᾶς ἐξακοσίους καὶ συγκατοικεῖν Σινώπευσι, νειμαμένους οἰκίας καὶ χώραν ἧν πρότερον οἱ τύραννοι κατεῖχον.

Τάλλα δ' οὖ συνεχώρει ταῖς ὀρμαῖς τῶν πολιτῶν, οὔτε συνεξέπιπτεν ὑπὸ ῥώμης καὶ τύχης τοσαῦτης ἐπαιρομένων Αἰγύπτου τε πάλιν ἀντι-λαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κινεῖν τῆς βασιλέως ἀρχῆς τα 164 πρὸς θαλάσση πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Σικελίας ὁ δύσερως ἐκείνος ἦδη καὶ δύσποτος ἔρως εἴχεν, ὅπως ὑπερευθευναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ῥήτορες. ἢν δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνία καὶ Καρχηδών ἐνώς ὄνειρος οὐκ ἀπ' ἐκπίδος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἤγεμονίας καὶ τὴν εὐροϊαν τῶν πραγμάτων.

XXI. Ἀλλ' ὁ Περικλῆς κατείχε τὴν ἐκδρομὴν ταύτην καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δινάμεως ἔτρεπεν εἰς φυλάκην καὶ βεβαιότητα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μέγα ἔργον ἡγούμενος ἀνείργειν Λακεδαίμονίους καὶ ὅλως ὑπεναντιούμενος ἐκείνοις, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐδείξε καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὸν ιερὸν πραξθεῖσιν 2 πόλεμον. ὥστε γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι στρατεύ-σαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς Φωκεῶν ἐχόντων τὸ ἱερὸν Δελφοὺς ἀπέδωκαν, εὐθὺς ἐκείνων ἀπαλλαγέντων
PERICLES

leos. When the tyrant and his adherents had been driven from the city, Pericles got a bill passed providing that six hundred volunteers of the Athenians should sail to Sinope and settle down there with the Sinopians, dividing up among themselves the houses and lands which the tyrant and his followers had formerly occupied.

But in other matters he did not accede to the vain impulses of the citizens, nor was he swept along with the tide when they were eager, from a sense of their great power and good fortune, to lay hands again upon Egypt and molest the realms of the King which lay along the sea. Many also were possessed already with that inordinate and inauspicious passion for Sicily which was afterwards kindled into flame by such orators as Alcibiades. And some there were who actually dreamed of Tuscany and Carthage, and that not without a measure of hope, in view of the magnitude of their present supremacy and the full-flowing tide of success in their undertakings.

XXI. But Pericles was ever trying to restrain this extravagance of theirs, to lop off their expansive meddlesomeness, and to divert the greatest part of their forces to the guarding and securing of what they had already won. He considered it a great achievement to hold the Lacedaemonians in check, and set himself in opposition to these in every way, as he showed, above all other things, by what he did in the Sacred War.¹ The Lacedaemonians made an expedition to Delphi while the Phocians had possession of the sanctuary there, and restored it to the Delphians; but no sooner had the Lacedaemo-

¹ About 442 B.C.
Ο Περικλῆς ἐπιστρατεύσας πάλιν εἰσῆγαγε τοὺς Φωκέας. καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἦν ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς Δελφοὶ προμαντείαν εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ἐγκολαφαντων τοῦ χαλκοῦ λύκου, λαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς προμαντείαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λύκον κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν πλευρὰν ἐνεχάραξεν.

XXII. Ὅτι δ' ὄρθως ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνεἰχεν, ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτῷ τὰ γενόμενα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Εὔβοιας ἀπέστησαν, ἐφ' οὖς διέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως. εἰτ' εὐθὺς ἀπηγγέλλοντο Μεγαρεῖς ἐκπεπολεμῶμενοι καὶ στρατιὰ πολεμῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ορῶς τῆς Ἀττικῆς οὔσα, Πλειστώνακτος ἤγομένου, βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς κατὰ τάχος ἐκ τῆς Εὔβοιας ἀνεκομίζετο πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πόλεμον καὶ συνάψαι μὲν εἰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἔθαρσησε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ὑπλίταις προκαλομένοις, ὅρων δὲ τῶν Πλειστώνακτα νέων ὑπεληφθη Κλεανδρίδη τῶν συμβούλων, ὅν οἱ ἐφοροὶ φύλακα καὶ πάρεδρον αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν συνέτειψαν, ἔπειρατο τοῦτον κρύφαν καὶ ταχὺ διαφθείρας χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἐπείσεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄπαγαγεῖν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις.

Ως δ' ἀπεχώρησεν ἡ στρατιὰ καὶ διελύθη κατὰ πόλεις, βαρέως φέροντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν μὲν βασιλέα χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσαν, ὅπως τὸ πλῆθος
nians departed than Pericles made a counter expedition and reinstated the Phocians. And whereas the Lacedaemonians had had the "promanteia," or right of consulting the oracle in behalf of others also, which the Delphians had bestowed upon them, carved upon the forehead of the bronze wolf in the sanctuary, he secured from the Phocians this high privilege for the Athenians, and had it chiselled along the right side of the same wolf.

XXII. That he was right in seeking to confine the power of the Athenians within lesser Greece, was amply proved by what came to pass. To begin with, the Euboeans revolted,\textsuperscript{1} and he crossed over to the island with a hostile force. Then straightway word was brought to him that the Megarians had gone over to the enemy, and that an army of the enemy was on the confines of Attica under the leadership of Pleistoanax, the king of the Lacedaemonians. Accordingly, Pericles brought his forces back with speed from Euboea for the war in Attica. He did not venture to join battle with hoplites who were so many, so brave, and so eager for battle, but seeing that Pleistoanax was a very young man, and that out of all his advisers he set most store by Cleandridas, whom the ephors had sent along with him, by reason of his youth, to be a guardian and an assistant to him, he secretly made trial of this man's integrity, speedily corrupted him with bribes, and persuaded him to lead the Peloponnesians back out of Attica.

When the army had withdrawn and had been disbanded to their several cities, the Lacedaemonians, in indignation, laid a heavy fine upon their king,

\textsuperscript{1} 446 B.C.
οὐλ ἧων ἐκτίσαι μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος, τοῦ δὲ Κλεανδρίδου φεύγοντος θάνατον κατέγρωσαν. οὗτος δὲ ἦν πατὴρ Γυλίττου τοῦ περὶ Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμήσαντος. ἔοικε δὲ ὡσπερ συγγενικόν αὐτῷ προστρίψασθαι νόσημα τὴν φιλαργυρίαν ἢ φύσις, ὡς ἦς καὶ αὐτὸς αἴσχρως ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις ἀλούς ἐξέπεσε τῆς Σπάρτης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δυσάνδρου δεδηλώκαμεν.

ΧΧΓ. Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ἐν τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπολογισμῷ δέκα ταλάντων ἀνάλωμα γράφατος ἀνιχνωμένων εἰς τὸ δέοι, ὁ δὴμος ἀπεδέξατο μὴ πολυπραγμονήσας μηδὲ ἐλέγχας τὸ ἀπόρρητον. ἐναι δὲ ἱστορήκασιν, ὃν ἐστι καὶ Θεόφραστος ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅτι καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐφοίτα δέκα τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ Περικλέους, οὐς τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας θεραπεύουν παρθενίτῳ τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ τὴν εἰρήνην ὁνούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἐνῷ παρασκευασάμενος καθ' ἰσχυίᾳ ἔμελλε πολεμήσειν βέλτιον.

2 αὕτης οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας ἀπατόμενος καὶ διαβᾶς ἐκαὶ Ἐὐβοιαν πεντήκοντα ναυσί καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι ὀπλίταις κατεστρέψατο τὰς πόλεις. καὶ Χαλκιδεῶν μὲν τοὺς ἱπποβότας λεγομένους πλούτῳ καὶ δοξῃ διαφέρουτας ἐξέβαλεν, Ἐστιεῖς δὲ πάντας ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἀθηναίους κατώκισε, μόνοις τούτοις ἀπαραιτήτως χρησάμενος ὃτι ναῦν Ἀττικὴν αἵμαλωτον λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἄνδρας.

1 αὕτης Fuhr and Blass, after Saußpe: εὐθὺς (at once).
PERICLES

the full amount of which he was unable to pay, and so betook himself out of Lacedaemon, while Cleandridas, who had gone into voluntary exile, was condemned to death. He was the father of that Glyippus who overcame the Athenians in Sicily. And nature seems to have imparted covetousness to the son, as it were a congenital disease, owing to which he too, after noble achievements, was caught in base practices and banished from Sparta in disgrace. This story, however, I have told at length in my life of Lysander.¹

XXIII. When Pericles, in rendering his accounts for this campaign, recorded an expenditure of ten talents as "for sundry needs," the people approved it without officious meddling and without even investigating the mystery. But some writers, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, have stated that every year ten talents found their way to Sparta from Pericles, and that with these he conciliated all the officials there, and so staved off the war, not purchasing peace, but time, in which he could make preparations at his leisure and then carry on war all the better. However that may be, he again turned his attention to the rebels, and after crossing to Euboea with fifty ships of war and five thousand hoplites, he subdued the cities there. Those of the Chalcidians who were styled Hippobotae, or Knights, and who were preëminent for wealth and reputation, he banished their city, and all the Hestiaeans he removed from the country and settled Athenians in their places, treating them, and them only, thus inexorably, because they had taken an Attic ship captive and slain its crew.

¹ Chapters xvi. 1.
XXIV. 'Εκ τούτου γενομένων σπουδών Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δακεδαίμονισι εἰς ἑτη τριάκοντα ψηφίζεται τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, αἰτίαν ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους κελευόμενοι διαλύσασθαι πόλεμον οὐχ ὑπήκοουν.

'Επεὶ δ' Ἀσπασία χαριζόμενος δοκεῖ πράξαι τὰ πρὸς Σαμίους, ἐνταῦθα ἄν εἰη καιρὸς διαπορίσαι μάλιστα περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τίνα τέχνην ἢ δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἔχουσα τῶν τε πολιτικῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐχειρόσατο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις οὐ φαύλον οὐδ' ὁλίγον ύπέρ αὐτῆς παρέσχε λόγον. 2 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μιλησία γένος, Ἀξιόχου θυγάτηρ, ὄμολογεῖται: φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν Θαργηλίαν τινὰ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἰάδων ξηλώσασαν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις ἀνδράσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Θαργηλία τὸ τ' εἴδος εὐπρεπῆς γενομένη καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα μετὰ δεινότητος πλείστοις μὲν Ἑλλήνων συνόκησεν ἀνδράσι, πάντας δὲ προσεποίησε βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλησιώσαντας αὐτῆ, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι μηδισμοῦ δι' ἐκείνων ὑπεσπερεῖν ἅρχας δυνατωτάτων ὄντων 3 καὶ μεγίστων. τὴν δ' Ἀσπασίαν δὲ μὲν ὡς σοφῆν τινὰ καὶ πολιτικὴν ὕπο τοῦ Περσελέους σπουδασθήναι λέγονσι: καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔστιν ὅτε μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμωι ἑφότα, καὶ τὰς γυναικὸς ἀκροασμένας οἱ συνήθεις ἦγον ὡς 1 αὐτὴν, καὶ περὶ οὐ κοσμίου προεστῶσαν ἐργασίας οὐδὲ σεμνῆς, ἀλλὰ παίδισκας ἑταῖρούσας τρέφουσαν.

1 ὡς Fuhr and Blass, with F&S: eis.
XXIV. After this, when peace had been made for thirty years between the Athenians and the Lacedaemonians, he got a decree passed for his expedition to Samos, alleging against its people that, though they were ordered to break off their war against the Milesians, they were not complying.

Now, since it is thought that he proceeded thus against the Samians to gratify Aspasia, this may be a fitting place to raise the query what great art or power this woman had, that she managed as she pleased the foremost men of the state, and afforded the philosophers occasion to discuss her in exalted terms and at great length. That she was a Milesian by birth, daughter of one Axiochus, is generally agreed; and they say that it was in emulation of Thargelia, an Ionian woman of ancient times, that she made her onslaughts upon the most influential men. This Thargelia came to be a great beauty and was endowed with grace of manners as well as clever wits. Inasmuch as she lived on terms of intimacy with numberless Greeks, and attached all her consorts to the king of Persia, she stealthily sowed the seeds of Persian sympathy in the cities of Greece by means of these lovers of hers, who were men of the greatest power and influence. And so Aspasia, as some say, was held in high favour by Pericles because of her rare political wisdom. Socrates sometimes came to see her with his disciples, and his intimate friends brought their wives to her to hear her discourse, although she presided over a business that was anything but honest or even reputable, since she kept a house of young courtesans. And Aeschines says

1 440 B.C.
2 Aeschines the Socratic, in a dialogue entitled “Aspasia,” not extant.
4 Αἰσχίνης δὲ φησι καὶ Δυσικλέα τῶν προβατοκάπηλον ἐξ ἀγεννοῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὴν ψύσιν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἀσπασία συνόντα μετὰ τὴν Περικλέους τελευτήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενεξένῳ τῷ Πλάτωνος, εἰ καὶ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὰ πρῶτα γέγραπται, τοσοῦτον ἡ ἱστορίας ἐνεστιν, ὅτι δόξαν εἴχε τὸ γνώμαιον ἐπὶ ῥητορική πολλοῖς

5 Ἀθηναίων ὀμιλεῖν. φαίνεται μέντοι μᾶλλον ἐρωτικὴ τις ἢ τῷ Περικλέους ἀγάπησις γενομένη πρὸς Ἀσπασίαν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ γυνὴ προσήκουσα μὲν κατὰ γένος, συνοκηκυῖα δ' Ἰππονίκη πρότερον, εἷς οὖν Καλλιάν ἐτεκε τὸν πλοῦσιον, ἐτεκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Περικλεὶ Ἐάνθιππον καὶ Πάραλον. εἶτα τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ οὔσης αὐτοῖς ἀρεστής, ἐκείνην μὲν ἐτέρῳ βουλομένην συνεξέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν λαβὼν ἐστερβεὲ διαφερόμενος. καὶ γὰρ ἐξίων, ὡς φασὶ, καὶ εἰς ὕπνον ἀπε ἄγορᾶς ἑσπάζετο καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ καταφιλεῖν.

'Εν δὲ ταῖς κομωδίαις 'Ομφαλῆ τε νέα καὶ Δη-άνειρα καὶ πάλιν Ὁμῆρα προσαγορεύεται. Κρατίνος δ' ἀντικρυς παλλακὴν αὐτὴν εἰρηκεν ἐν τούτοις.

"Ἡραν τε οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Κεσταπυγοσύνη παλλακῆς κυνώπιδα.

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν νόθον ἐκ ταύτης τεκνώσας, περὶ οὐ πεποίηκεν Εὐπολίς ἐν Δήμοις αὐτὸν μὲν οὔτως ἐρωτώντα.

'Ο νόθος δὲ μοι ζῆ; τὸν δὲ Μυρωνίδης ἀποκρινόμενου.

Καὶ πάλαι γ' ἂν ἦν ἄνηρ, εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρνης ὑπωρράδει κακὸν.

70
PERICLES

that Lysicles the sheep-dealer, a man of low birth and nature, came to be the first man at Athens by living with Aspasia after the death of Pericles. And in the "Menexenus" of Plato, even though the first part of it be written in a sportive vein, there is, at any rate, thus much of fact, that the woman had the reputation of associating with many Athenians as a teacher of rhetoric. However, the affection which Pericles had for Aspasia seems to have been rather of an amatory sort. For his own wife was near of kin to him, and had been wedded first to Hipponicus, to whom she bore Callias, surnamed the Rich; she bore also, as the wife of Pericles, Xanthippus and Paralus. Afterwards, since their married life was not agreeable, he legally bestowed her upon another man, with her own consent, and himself took Aspasia, and loved her exceedingly. Twice a day, as they say, on going out and on coming in from the market-place, he would salute her with a loving kiss.

But in the comedies she is styled now the New Omphale, new Deianeira, and now Hera. Cratinus¹ flatly called her a prostitute in these lines:—

"As his Hera, Aspasia was born, the child of Unnatural Lust,
A prostitute past shaming."

And it appears also that he begat from her that bastard son about whom Eupolis, in his "Demes," represented him as inquiring with these words:—

"And my bastard, doth he live?"

to which Myronides replies:—

"Yea, and long had been a man,
Had he not feared the mischief of his harlot-birth."²

¹ In his "Cheiron" (see chapter iii. 3).
² Kock, op. cit. i. p. 282.
Οὔτω δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν ὀνομαστὴν καὶ κλεινὴν 
γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὡστὲ καὶ Κύρον τὸν πολεμι-
σαντα βασιλέα περὶ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας 
τὴν ἀγαπωμένην ὑπ’ αυτοῦ μάλιστα τῶν παλ-
λακίδων Ἀσπασίαν ὀνομάσαι, καλομένην Μιλτῶ 
πρότερον. ἦν δὲ Φωκαῖς τὸ γένος, ἔρμοτιμον 
θυγάτηρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Κύρου πεσόντος ἀπα-
χθείσα πρὸς βασιλέα πλείστον ἵσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν 
ἐπελθόντα τῇ μυήμα κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπώσα-
σθαι καὶ παρελθεῖν ὦσις ἀπανθρωποῦν ἦν.

XXV. Τὸν δὲ πρὸς Σαμίους πόλεμον αἰτιώντα 
μάλιστα τὸν Περικλέα ψηφίσασθαι διὰ Μιλη-
σίους Ἀσπασίας δεκαεις. οἱ γὰρ πόλεις 
ἐπολέμουν τὸν περὶ Πριήνης πόλεμον, καὶ κρα-
τούντες οἱ Σάμιοι, παύσασθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων 
κελεύουσαν καὶ δίκαια λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι παρ’ 
αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπείδηθον. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς 
μὲν σφαν ὀλυγαρχίαν ἐν Σάμῳ κατέλυσεν, 
τῶν δὲ πρῶτων λαβὼν ὀμῆρους πεντήκοντα καὶ 
2 παίδας ἵσους εἰς Δήμνου ἀπέστειλε. καίτοι 
φασίν ἐκαστὸν μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ὀμῆρων διδόναι 
tάλαντον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὰ δὲ ἄλλα τούς μὴ 
θέλοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι δημοκρατίαν. 
ἐτὸς ἦν Μισσούθης ὁ Πέρσης ἔχων τινὰ πρὸς 
Σαμίους εὐνοιαν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μυρίους χρυ-
σούς, παραιτούμενος τῆς πόλεως. οὐ μὴν ἔλαβε 
tούτων οὖδὲν ὁ Περικλῆς, ἄλλα χρησάμενος 
δισπερ ἐγνώκει τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ καταστήσας 
3 δημοκρατίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. οἱ δ’
PERICLES

So renowned and celebrated did Aspasia become, they say, that even Cyrus, the one who went to war with the Great King for the sovereignty of the Persians, gave the name of Aspasia to that one of his concubines whom he loved best, who before was called Milto. She was a Phocaean by birth, daughter of one Hermotimus, and, after Cyrus had fallen in battle, was carried captive to the King, and acquired the greatest influence with him. These things coming to my recollection as I write, it were perhaps unnatural to reject and pass them by.

XXV. But to return to the war against the Samians, they accuse Pericles of getting the decree for this passed at the request of Aspasia and in the special behalf of the Milesians. For the two cities were waging their war for the possession of Priene, and the Samians were getting the better of it, and when the Athenians ordered them to stop the contest and submit the case to arbitration at Athens, they would not obey. So Pericles set sail and broke up the oligarchical government which Samos had, and then took fifty of the foremost men of the state, with as many of their children, as hostages, and sent them off to Lemnos. And yet they say that every one of these hostages offered him a talent on his own account, and that the opponents of democracy in the city offered him many talents besides. And still further, Pissouthnes, the Persian satrap, who had much good-will towards the Samians, sent him ten thousand gold staters and interceded for the city. However, Pericles took none of these bribes, but treated the Samians just as he had determined, set up a democracy and sailed back to Athens.

1 Cf. Xenophon, Anabasis, i. 10, 2.
eúthús àpésthsan, ēkkleí̂fantaos autóis toûs ómè-
ropous Písosoúthon kai tâlla paraskenásantaos
prós toûn pólemou. àũthís ouû ò Períkhlís éxépλeu-
sev ep' autóûs ouû ἦσυχάζοντας ouûkê kai têsppt-
χóta, allâ kai pánu prôthous ègnumkotàs
ántilamβânesthai tìs thalâttæ. gênoménnh ðè
kârtéras naumáxhîas peri vîsou hûn Tragías
kaloûsi, lamprwós ò Períkhlís èníka, têsárapo
kai têsspâkouta nausîn ëbdnêkouta katanu-
maçhîas, ònu èikosì stêtrwúptides hîsan.

XXVI. "Ama ðè tê vîkê kai tê dîwèxi toû
lîménos kratîhàs ëpòliðrkei toûs Samíous, amôs
gê pwos êti tolmwnhàs êpexîûn kai diamáxhëthai
prò toû teîxous. êpeî ðè meîzôu êtères stôlos
hîlîn øk tîw Ἀθènôw kai panteiðos katêkê-
sthàsan ði Sámioi, laβw ô Períkhlís éxîkouta
trîpîrèîs êpîlêuñen eîs tîw èxiw póntou, òs mên ði
pîleîstôi lêgounsi, Phòînîsôw nêwûn èpîkuûrôn
toûs Samíous prosofèronymen khâpantîhès kai
dia-
gwûiûthàsan porrwhtâtòv boullêmênos, òs ðè Stê-
þimbrôtos, êpi Kûpron stêllâmênos, ðiper ou
2 dôkeî pîthânon eînai. òpòterô ð' ouû èxhîṣato
tîw lôgîsmûw, àmarteîn èdôxe. • pîleûçantos ãár
autôû Mèlisôs ð' 'Idagênous, ãûîrî phîlûsôfòs
stratîghôw tôte tîs Sámou, katafroîhès tîs
ðîlîgôîtêtoûs tîw neîw h tîs àpeîrîas tîw
stratîghôw, êpeîse toûs polîtas ëpîthêsîh toûs
Ἀθènàiôûs. kai gênoménnh màkhs nîkèstas
ði Sámioi, kai pôllous mên autôû àndrâs èlîntes,
PERICLES

the Samians at once revolted, after Pissouthnes had stolen away their hostages from Lemnos for them, and in other ways equipped them for the war. Once more, therefore, Pericles set sail against them. They were not victims of sloth, nor yet of abject terror, but full of exceeding zeal in their determination to contest the supremacy of the sea. In a fierce sea-fight which came off near an island called Tragia, Pericles won a brilliant victory, with four and forty ships outfighting seventy, twenty of which were infantry transports.

XXVI. Close on the heels of his victorious pursuit came his seizure of the harbour, and then he laid formal siege to the Samians, who, somehow or other, still had the daring to sally forth and fight with him before their walls. But soon a second and a larger armament came from Athens, and the Samians were completely beleaguered and shut in. Then Pericles took sixty triremes and sailed out into the main sea, as most authorities say, because he wished to meet a fleet of Phoenician ships which was coming to the aid of the Samians, and fight it at as great a distance from Samos as possible; but according to Stesimbrotus, because he had designs on Cyprus, which seems incredible. But in any case, whichever design he cherished, he seems to have made a mistake. For no sooner had he sailed off than Melissus, the son of Ithagenes, a philosopher who was then acting as general at Samos, despising either the small number of ships that were left, or the inexperience of the generals in charge of them, persuaded his fellow-citizens to make an attack upon the Athenians. In the battle that ensued the Samians were victorious, taking many of their enemy
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

πολλάς δὲ ναύς διαφθείραντες, ἐχρῶντο τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ παρετίθεντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὡσα μὴ πρότερον εἶχον. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Μελίσσου καὶ Περικλέα φησίν αὐτὸν 'Αριστοτέλης ἤττηθήναι νυμμαχοῦντα πρότερον.

Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Αθηναίων ἀνθυβρίζοντες ἐστίζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γλαῦκας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σάμαιναν. ἥ δὲ σάμαινα ναύς ἐστίν ὑσπρωρος μὲν τὸ σίμωμα, κοιλοτέρα δὲ καὶ γαστροείδης, ὅστε καὶ ποντοπο-ρεῖν¹ καὶ ταχυναυτεῖν. οὕτω δ' ἄνομάσθη διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Σάμῳ φανῆναι, Πολυκράτους τυράννου κατασκευάσαντος. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ στίγματα λέγοιν καὶ τὸ 'Αριστοφάνειον ἤνίχθαι.

Σαμίων ο ὁδής ἐστίν ὡς πολυγράμματος.

XXVII. Πυθόμενος δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου συμφορὰν ἐβοήθει κατὰ τάχος. καὶ τοῦ Μελίσσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξιμένου κρατήσας καὶ τρεψάμενος τοὺς πολεμίους εὐθὺς περιετείχίσε, δαπάνη καὶ χρόνῳ ξύλλον ἢ τραύμασι καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν περιγενέσθαι καὶ συνελεῖν τὴν πόλιν βούλομενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ δυσχεραίνοντας τῇ τριβῇ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μάχεσθαι προθυμούμενος ἔργον ἦν κατασχεῖν, ὅκτω μέρη διελῶν τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος ἀπεκλήρου, καὶ τῷ λαβόντι τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον εὐωχεῖσθαι καὶ

¹ ponnoporeiv MSS. and Blass: φορτοφορεῖν (a conjecture of Corneüs, to carry freight).

76
PERICLES

captive, and destroying many of their ships, so that they commanded the sea and laid in large store of such necessaries for the war as they did not have before. And Aristotle says that Pericles was himself also defeated by Melissus in the sea-fight which preceded this.

The Samians retaliated upon the Athenians by branding their prisoners in the forehead with owls; for the Athenians had once branded some of them with the samaena. Now the samaena is a ship of war with a boar’s head design for prow and ram, but more capacious than usual and paunchlike, so that it is a good deep-sea traveller and a swift sailor too. It got this name because it made its first appearance in Samos, where Polycrates the tyrant had some built. To these brand-marks, they say, the verse of Aristophanes¹ made riddling reference:—

“For oh! how lettered is the folk of the Samians!”

XXVII. Be that true or not, when Pericles learned of the disaster which had befallen his fleet, he came speedily to its aid. And though Melissus arrayed his forces against him, he conquered and routed the enemy and at once walled their city in, preferring to get the upper hand and capture it at the price of money and time, rather than of the wounds and deadly perils of his fellow-citizens. And since it was a hard task for him to restrain the Athenians in their impatience of delay and eagerness to fight, he separated his whole force into eight divisions, had them draw lots, and allowed the division which got the white bean to feast and take their ease, while the others

¹ From his Babylonians, not extant. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 408.
σχολίζειν παρείχε τῶν ἄλλων μαχομένων. διὸ καὶ φασί τοὺς ἐν εὐπαθείας τισὶ γενομένους λευκὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ κυάμοι προσαγορεύειν.

3 Ἔφορος δὲ καὶ μηχανάς χρήσασθαι τῶν Περικλέα, τὴν καινότητα θαυμάσαντα, Ἀρτέμιδος τοῦ μηχανικοῦ παρόντος, ὃν χωλὸν ὤντα καὶ φορεῖν πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἐργῶν προσκομιζόμενον ὁμομορφήματι περιφόρητον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Ἠρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐλέγχει τοὺς Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήμασιν, ἐν ὀσὲ ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμιδος ὁμομάζεται πολλαὶς ἐμπροσθεν ἡλικίαις τοῦ περὶ Σάμου πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων.

4 ἐκείνων τόν δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος φησι τρυφερὸν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακὸν ὤντα καὶ καταπλῆγα τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οἴκου καθέζεσθαι, χαλκῆν ἀσπίδα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ δεινὸν οἰκετῶν ὑπερχόντων, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐμπεσεῖν τῶν ἁμωθὲν, εἰ δὲ βιασθείη προελθεῖν, ἐν κλινιδίῳ κρεμαστῇ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφερόμενον κομίζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτῳ κληθήματι περιφόρητον.

XXVIII. Ἐνάτῳ δὲ μην τῶν Σάμων παραστάντων ὁ Περικλῆς τὰ τείχη καθεῖλε καὶ τὰς ναοὺς παρέλαβε καὶ χρήμασι πόλιοις ἐξημίωσεν, ὅν τὰ μὲν εὗθς εἰσήγειαν ὁ Σάμιοι, τὰ δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ ῥῇτῳ ταξάμενου καταστεῖν ὀμίρους ἔθωκαν. Δοῦρις δὲ ὁ Σάμιος τοῦτος ἐπιτραγῳδεῖ πολλὴν ὠμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν, ἴνα οὕτε Θουκυδίδης ἱστορήκειν οὕτ' ἐφορος οὔτ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἀλλ' οὕτ' ἀληθεύειν ἔσικεν, ὡς ἀρὰ τοὺς τριπαρχοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ-

1 εἰσήγειαν Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: ἔσικεν.
PERICLES

did the fighting. And this is the reason, as they say, why those who have had a gay and festive time call it a "white day,"—from the white bean.

Ephor sus says that Pericles actually employed siege-engines, in his admiration of their novelty, and that Artemon the engineer was with him there, who, since he was lame, and so had to be brought on a stretcher to the works which demanded his instant attention, was dubbed Periphoreutus. Heracleides Ponticus, however, refutes this story out of the poems of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphoreutus is mentioned many generations before the Samian War and its events. And he says that Artemon was very luxurious in his life, as well as weak and panic-stricken in the presence of his fears, and therefore for the most part sat still at home, while two servants held a bronze shield over his head to keep anything from falling down upon it. Whenever he was forced to go abroad, he had himself carried in a little hammock which was borne along just above the surface of the ground. On this account he was called Periphoreutus.

XXVIII. After eight months the Samians surrendered, and Pericles tore down their walls, took away their ships of war, and laid a heavy fine upon them, part of which they paid at once, and part they agreed to pay at a fixed time, giving hostages therefor. To these details Duris the Samian adds stuff for tragedy, accusing the Athenians and Pericles of great brutality, which is recorded neither by Thucydides, nor Ephorus, nor Aristotle. But he appears not to speak the truth when he says, forsooth, that Pericles had the Samian trierarchs and marines brought into
βάτας τῶν Σαμίων εἰς τὴν Μιλησίαν ἀγοράν καταγαγών καὶ σανίσι προσδήσας ἐφ’ ἡμέρας δέκα κακῶς ἤδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἀνελεῖν, ξύλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς συγκόψαντας, εἶτα προβαλέιν ἀκήδευτα τὰ σώματα. Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ’ ὅπου μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσετιν ἵδιον πάθος εἰσὶν κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μᾶλλον εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα δεινῶσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμμορίας ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Ὁ δὲ Περίκλῆς καταστρεφόμενος τὴν Σάμον ὡς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, ταφάς τε τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνδόξους ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν λόγον εἰπὼν, ὡσπερ θέος ἐστὶν, ἐπὶ τῶν σημάτων θαυμαστῶθη. καταβαίνοντα δ’ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος αἰ μὲν ἄλλαι γυναῖκες ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ στεφάνας ἀνέδουν καὶ ταινίαις ὡσπερ ἀθλητὴνυ τὴν νικηφόρον, ἡ δ’ Ἐλπινίκη προσελθοῦσα πλησίον. "Ταῦτ’," ἔφη, "θαυμαστά, Περίκλεις, καὶ ἄξια στεφάνων, διὸ ἡμῖν πολλοὺς καὶ ἁγαθοὺς ἀπώλεσας πολίτας οὐ Φόινιξι πολέμῳ ὦδε Μήδοις, ὡσπερ οὐμός ἀδελφὸς Κίμων, ἄλλα σύμμαχον καὶ συγγενῆ πόλιν καταστρεφόμενος."

5 ταῦτα τῆς Ἐλπινίκης λεγούσης ὁ Περίκλῆς μειδιάσας ἀτρέμα λέγεται τὸ τού Ἀρχιλόχου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν:

Οὐκ ἂν μύροισε γραῦς ἐούς’ ἡλείφεο.

θαυμαστὸν δέ τι καὶ μέγα φρονήσαι καταπολεμήσαντα τοὺς Σαμίους φησίν αὐτὸν ἢ Ἰων, ὥς

1 καταγαγὼν Fuhr and Blass, with FαS: ἀγαγὼν.
PERICLES

de market-place of Miletus and crucified there, and that then, when they had already suffered grievously for ten days, he gave orders to break their heads in with clubs and make an end of them, and then cast their bodies forth without burial rites. At all events, since it is not the wont of Duris, even in cases where he has no private and personal interest, to hold his narrative down to the fundamental truth, it is all the more likely that here, in this instance, he has given a dreadful portrayal of the calamities of his country, that he might calumniate the Athenians.

When Pericles, after his subjection of Samos, had returned to Athens, he gave honourable burial to those who had fallen in the war, and for the oration which he made, according to the custom, over their tombs, he won the greatest admiration. But as he came down from the bema, while the rest of the women clasped his hand and fastened wreaths and fillets on his head, as though he were some victorious athlete, Elpinice drew nigh and said: "This is admirable in thee, Pericles, and deserving of wreaths, in that thou hast lost us many brave citizens, not in a war with Phoenicians or Medes, like my brother Cimon, but in the subversion of an allied and kindred city." On Elpinice's saying this, Pericles, with a quiet smile, it is said, quoted to her the verse of Archilochus:—

"Thou hadst not else, in spite of years, perfumed thyself." 1

Ion says that he had the most astonishingly great thoughts of himself for having subjected the

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1 That is, "thou art too old to meddle in affairs." Cf. chapter x. 5.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

toù μὲν 'Αγαμέμνονος ἔτεσι δέκα βύρβαρον πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ μησίν ἐννέα τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ 6 δυνατωτάτους Ἰώνων ἐλόντος. καὶ οἰκ ἥν ἄδικος ἡ ἀξίωσις, ἀλλ' ὄντως πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μέγαν ἐσχὲ κίνδυνον ὁ πόλεμος, εἴπερ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησί, παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἦλθε Σαμίων ἡ πόλις ἀφελέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος Ἀθηναίοις.

XXIX. Μετὰ ταῦτα κυμαίνοντος ἡδὴ τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, Κερκυραίοι πολεμου-μένοις ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἐπεισε τὸν δήμου ἀπο-στείλαν βοήθειαν καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἐρρωμένη ναυτικὴ δύναμεν νησίων, ὡς ὅσον οὐδέπω Πελο-2 πονησίων ἑκπεπολεμωμένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ψηφι-σαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλε δέκα ναὸς μόνας ἔχοντα Λακεδαιμόνιον, τὸν Κίμωνος νῖον, ὃν ἔφυβρίζων πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν εὔνοια καὶ φιλία τῷ Κίμωνος σύκῳ πρὸς Λακε-δαιμονίους. ὡς ἄν σὺν, εἰ μηδὲν ἔργον μέγα μηδ' ἐκπρεπεῖ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ 168 Λακεδαιμονίου γένοιτο, προσδιαβληθεῖν μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν λακωνισμὸν, ὅλιγας αὐτῷ ναὸς ἔδωκε καὶ 3 μῆ βουλόμενον ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ ὅλως διετέλει κολούν ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς ὀνόματι γυνήσιοις, ἀλλ' ὀθνείοις καὶ ξένοις, ὅτι τῶν Κίμωνος νίων τῷ μὲν ἥν Λακεδαιμόνιος ὀνόμα, τῷ δὲ Θεσσαλός, τῷ δὲ Ἡλείος. ἐδόκουν δὲ πάντες ἐκ γυναικῶν Ἀρκαδι-κῆς γεγονέναι.
PERICLES

Samians; whereas Agamemnon was all of ten years in taking a barbarian city, he had in nine months time reduced the foremost and most powerful people of Ionia. And indeed his estimate of himself was not unjust, nay, the war actually brought with it much uncertainty and great peril, if indeed, as Thucydides says,¹ the city of Samos came within a very little of stripping from Athens her power on the sea.

XXIX. After this, when the billows of the Peloponnesian War were already rising and swelling, he persuaded the people to send aid and succour to the Corcyraeans ² in their war with the Corinthians, and so to attach to themselves an island with a vigorous naval power at a time when the Peloponnesians were as good as actually at war with them. But when the people had voted to send the aid and succour, he despatched Lacedaemonius, the son of Cimon, with only ten ships, as it were in mockery of him. Now there was much good-will and friendship on the part of the house of Cimon towards the Lacedaemonians. In order, therefore, that in case no great or conspicuous achievement should be performed under the generalship of Lacedaemonius, he might so be all the more calumniated for his laconism, or sympathy with Sparta, Pericles gave him only a few ships, and sent him forth against his will. And in general he was prone to thwart and check the sons of Cimon, on the plea that not even in their names were they genuinely native, but rather aliens and strangers, since one of them bore the name of Lacedaemonius, another that of Thessalus, and a third that of Eleius. And they were all held to be the sons of a woman of Arcadia.³

¹ viii. 76, 4.  ² 433 B.C.  ³ Cf. Cimon, xvi. 1.
κακώς οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἀκούων διὰ τὰς δέκα πράγματος τριήρεις, ὡς μικρὰν μὲν βοήθειαν τοῖς δεσθεῖσι, μεγάλην δὲ πρόφασιν τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσι παρεσχηκός, ἐτέρας αὕτις ἑστείλε πλείονας εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν, αὖ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφίκοντο.

4 Ἡ χαλεπάνουσι δὲ τοῖς Κορινθίοις καὶ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ προσεγένοντο Μεγαρῖς, αἰτιώμενοι πάσης μὲν ἀγορᾶς, πάντων δὲ λιμένων, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι κρατοῦσι, εἰργεσθήναι καὶ ἀπελαύνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γεγενημένους ὀρκοὺς τοῖς Ἠλλησιν. Αἰγινήται δὲ κακοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες καὶ βίαια πάσχειν ἐποτιοῦντο κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμόνιους, φανερῶς ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐθαρροῦντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ποτίδαιοι, πόλις ὑπῆκοος Ἀθηναίων, ἀποικοὶ δὲ Κορινθίων, ἀποστάσα καὶ πολιορκοῦμενη μᾶλλον ἐπετάχυνε τὸν πόλεμον.

5 Οὖ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσβείον τις πεμπομένων Ἀθηναίες, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀρχιδάμου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰς διαλύσεις ἁγοντος καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πραύνουντος, οὐκ ἂν δοκεῖ συμπεσεῖν ὑπὸ γε τῶν ἀλλῶν αἰτιῶν ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ τὸ ἔθνος καθέλειν τὸ Μεγαρικὸν ἐπείσθησαν καὶ διαλαγήμαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. διὸ καὶ μᾶλκτα πρὸς τοῦτο Περικλῆς ἐναντιωθεῖς, καὶ παροξύνας τὸν.
PERICLES

Accordingly, being harshly criticised because of these paltry ten ships, on the ground that he had furnished scanty aid and succour to the needy friends of Athens, but a great pretext for war to her accusing enemies, he afterwards sent out other ships, and more of them, to Corcyra,—the ones which got there after the battle.¹

The Corinthians were incensed at this procedure, and denounced the Athenians at Sparta, and were joined by the Megarians, who brought their complaint that from every market-place and from all the harbours over which the Athenians had control, they were excluded and driven away, contrary to the common law and the formal oaths of the Greeks; the Aeginetans also, deeming themselves wronged and outraged, kept up a secret wailing in the ears of the Lacedaemonians, since they had not the courage to accuse the Athenians openly. At this juncture Potidaea, too, a city that was subject to Athens, although a colony of Corinth, revolted, and the siege laid to her hastened on the war all the more.

Notwithstanding all, since embassies were repeatedly sent to Athens, and since Archidamus, the king of the Lacedaemonians, tried to bring to a peaceful settlement most of the accusations of his allies and to soften their anger; it does not seem probable that the war would have come upon the Athenians for any remaining reasons, if only they could have been persuaded to rescind their decree against the Megarians and be reconciled with them. And therefore, since it was Pericles who was most of all opposed to this, and who incited the people to

¹ Cf. Thucydides, i. 50, 5.
δημον ἐμμεῖναι τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς φιλο-
νεικίᾳ, μόνος ἐσχὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αἰτίαν.

XXX. Λέγουσι δὲ πρεσβείας Ἀθήνας περὶ
tούτων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀφιγμένης, καὶ τοῦ
Περικλέους νόμον τινὰ προβάλλομένου κωλύοντα
καθελεῖν τὸ πινάκιον ἐν ὧ τὸ ψῆφισμα γεγραμ-
μένου ἑτύχανεν, εἰπεῖν Πολυάλκη τῶν πρεσβεων
tινά: "Σὺ δὲ μὴ καθέλης, ἀλλὰ στρέψον εύσω τὸ
πινάκιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστη νόμος ὁ τοῦτο κωλύων·" κομψοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου φανέντος οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ὁ

2 Περικλῆς ἐνέδωκεν. ὑπήν μὲν οὖν τις, ὡς ἔοικεν,
αὐτῷ καὶ ἱδία πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς ἀπέχθεια
κοινὴν δὲ καὶ φανερὰν ποιήσαμένος αἰτίαν κατ᾽
αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τὴν ἵερὰν οργάδα, γράφει
ψῆφισμα κήρυκα πεμφθῆμι πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ
πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν αὐτὸν κατηγοροῦντα

3 τῶν Μεγαρέων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ψῆφισμα
Περικλέους ἔστιν εὐγνώμονος καὶ φιλανθρώπου
δικαιολογίας ἔχωμεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πεμφθεὶς κήρυξ
Ἀνθεμόκριτος αἰτία τῶν Μεγαρέων ἀποθαναῖς
ἐδοξεῖ, γράφει ψῆφισμα κατ’ αὐτῶν Χαρίνος,
ἀσπονδὸν μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἔχθραι, ὅσδ’
ἀν ἐπιβῆ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Μεγαρέων θανάτῳ ἕγιο-
σθαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς, ὅταν ὠμοῦσι τὸν
πάτριον ὀρκοῦν, ἐπομνύσειν ὅτι καὶ διὰ ἄνα πᾶν
ἐτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσι· ταφῆς δὲ
Ἀνθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Ῥιαισίας ἐτύλας, αἱ
νῦν Δίπυλον ὄνομάζονται.

1 πρὸς τοὺς Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: πρὸς.
PERICLES

abide by their contention with the Megarians, he alone was held responsible for the war.

XXX. They say that when an embassy had come from Lacedaemon to Athens to treat of these matters, and Pericles was shielding himself behind the plea that a certain law prevented his taking down the tablet on which the decree was inscribed, Polyvalces, one of the ambassadors, cried: "Well then, don't take it down, but turn the tablet to the wall; surely there's no law preventing that." Clever as the proposal was, however, not one whit the more did Pericles give in. He must have secretly cherished, then, as it seems, some private grudge against the Megarians; but by way of public and open charge he accused them of appropriating to their own profane uses the sacred territory of Eleusis, and proposed a decree that a herald be sent to them, the same to go also to the Lacedaemonians with a denunciation of the Megarians. This decree, at any rate, is the work of Pericles, and aims at a reasonable and humane justification of his course. But after the herald who was sent, Anthemocritus, had been put to death through the agency of the Megarians, as it was believed, Charinus proposed a decree against them, to the effect that there be irreconcilable and implacable enmity on the part of Athens towards them, and that whosoever of the Megarians should set foot on the soil of Attica be punished with death; and that the generals, whenever they should take their ancestral oath of office, add to their oath this clause, that they would invade the Megarid twice during each succeeding year; and that Anthemocritus be buried honourably at the Thriasian gates, which are now called the Dipylum.
Μεγαρείς δὲ τὸν Ἀνθεμοκρίτου φόνον ἀπαρνο-μενοι τὰς αἰτίας εἰς Ἀσπασίαν καὶ Περικλέα τρέπουσι, χρώμενοι τοῖς περίβοητοῖς καὶ δη-μόδεσι τούτοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνέων στίχιδίοις:

Πόρυνη δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἴόντες Μεγάραδε νεανίαι κλέπτουσι μεθυσκότταβοι· καθ' οἱ Μεγαρείς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι ἀντεξέκλεψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνας δύο.

XXXI. Τῇν μὲν οὖν ἄρχῃ ὡπως ἔσχεν οὐ 169 ῥάδιον γυνώναι, τού δὲ μὴ λυθήμει τὸ ψῆφισμα πάντες ὀσαύτως τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ Περι-κλεῖ. πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἐκ φρονήματος μεγάλου μετὰ γυώμης κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπισχυρίσασθαι φασιν αὐτόν, πείραν εὐδόσεως τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν ἐξομολόγησιν ἀσθενείας ἡγού-μενον· οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐθαδείᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ πρὸς ἐνδείξιν ἴσχυος περιφρονήσαν Δακεδαι-μοίων.

2 Ἡ δὲ χειρίστη μὲν αἰτία πασῶν, ἔχουσα δὲ πλείστους μάρτυρας, οὕτω πως ἱέγεται. Φειδίας ὁ πλάστης ἐργολάβος μὲν ἢ τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, φιλος δὲ τῷ Περικλεῖ γενόμενος καὶ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεὶς τοὺς μὲν δι' αὐτὸν ἐσχεν ἔχθρους φθονούμενος, οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου ποιούμενοι πείραν ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ποῖος τις ἐσοίτο τῷ Περικλεῖ ¹ κριτής, Μένωνα τινα τῶν

¹ τῷ Περικλεῖ Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: Περικλεῖ.
PERICLES

But the Megaritans denied the murder of Anthemocritus, and threw the blame for Athenian hate on Aspasia and Pericles, appealing to those far-famed and hackneyed verses of the “Acharnians”:

“Simaetha, harlot, one of Megara’s womankind,
Was stolen by gilded youths more drunk than otherwise;
And so the Megarians, pangs of wrath all reeking hot,
Paid back the theft and raped of Aspasia’s harlots two.”

XXXI. Well, then, whatever the original ground for enacting the decree,—and it is no easy matter to determine this,—the fact that it was not rescinded all men alike lay to the charge of Pericles. Only, some say that he persisted in his refusal in a lofty spirit and with a clear perception of the best interests of the city, regarding the injunction laid upon it as a test of its submissiveness, and its compliance as a confession of weakness; while others hold that it was rather with a sort of arrogance and love of strife, as well as for the display of his power, that he scornfully defied the Lacedaemonians.

But the worst charge of all, and yet the one which has the most vouchers, runs something like this. Pheidias the sculptor was contractor for the great statue, as I have said, and being admitted to the friendship of Pericles, and acquiring the greatest influence with him, made some enemies through the jealousy which he excited; others also made use of him to test the people and see what sort of a judge it would be in a case where Pericles was involved.

1 Verses 524 ff.
Φείδιον συνεργῶν πείσαντες ἵκετην ἐν ἁγορᾷ καθίζονσιν, αὐτοῦμενον ἀδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει καὶ 3 κατηγορία τοῦ Φείδιον. προσδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὸν ἀνθρώπου καὶ γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ διώξεως, κλοπαί μὲν ὦν ἥλεγχοντο· τὸ γὰρ χρυσόν οὕτως εἰθὺς ἡ ἀρχὴ τῶν ἁγάλματι προσειργάσατο καὶ περιέθηκεν ὁ Φείδιας γυνώμη τοῦ Περικλέους ὡστε πάν δυνατὸν εἶναι περιελούσιν ἀποδείξει τὸν σταθμὸν, ὥς καὶ τότε τοὺς κατηγόρους ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν ὁ Περικλῆς.

4 Ἡ δὲ δόξα τῶν ἔργων ἐπίεζε φθόνῳ τὸν Φείδιαν, καὶ μάλιστ’ ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας μάχην ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι ποιῶν αὐτοῦ τινα μορφὴν ἐνετύπωσε πρεσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρου ἔπηρμένου δι’ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐκὸνα παγκάλην ἐνέδθηκε μαχημένου πρὸς Ἀμαζόνα. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς χειρός, ἀνατευνόσης δόρου πρὸ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ Περικλέους, πεποιημένου εὔμηχανος οἶον ἐπικρύπτειν βούλεται τὴν ὀμοιότητα παραφαινομένην ἐκατέρωθεν.

5 Ὅ μὲν οὖν Φείδιας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθεῖς ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ὡς δὲ φασίν ἐμοὶ, φαρμάκωσιν, ἐπὶ διαβολὴ τοῦ Περικλέους τῶν ἐχθρῶν παρασκευασάντων. τῷ δὲ μηνυτῇ Μένων γράψαντος Γλύκωνος ἀτέλειαν ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκε, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
PERICLES

These latter persuaded one Menon, an assistant of Pheidias, to take a suppliant’s seat in the marketplace and demand immunity from punishment in case he should bring information and accusation against Pheidias. The people accepted the man’s proposal, and formal prosecution of Pheidias was made in the assembly. Embezzlement, indeed, was not proven, for the gold of the statue, from the very start, had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Pheidias, at the wise suggestion of Pericles, that it could all be taken off and weighed,¹ and this is what Pericles actually ordered the accusers of Pheidias to do at this time.

But the reputation of his works nevertheless brought a burden of jealous hatred upon Pheidias, and especially the fact that when he wrought the battle of the Amazons on the shield of the goddess, he carved out a figure that suggested himself as a bald old man lifting on high a stone with both hands, and also inserted a very fine likeness of Pericles fighting with an Amazon. And the attitude of the hand, which holds out a spear in front of the face of Pericles, is cunningly contrived as it were with a desire to conceal the resemblance, which is, however, plain to be seen from either side.

Pheidias, accordingly, was led away to prison, and died there of sickness; but some say of poison which the enemies of Pericles provided, that they might bring calumny upon him. And to Menon the informer, on motion of Glycon, the people gave immunity from taxation, and enjoined upon the generals to make provision for the man’s safety.

¹ Cf. Thucydides, ii. 13, 5.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

XXXII. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ τόν χρόνον Ἑσπασία δίκην ἐφευγεν ἀσβείας, Ἐρμύττου τοῦ κωμῳδο-ποιοῦ διώκοντος καὶ προσκατηγοροῦντος ὡς Περικλέᾳ γυναίκας ἐλευθέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτώ-σας ὑποδέχοντο. καὶ ψήφισμα Διοικείθης ἔγρα-ψεν εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς τὰ θεία μὴ νομίζοντας ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρρύθμισιν διάδοκοντας, ἀπερειδήμενος εἰς Περικλέα δι᾽ Ἀναξαγόρου τὴν ὑπόνοιαν. δεχομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ προσιε-μένου τὰς διαβολὰς, οὕτως ἢ ἔγραψα αὐτὰ κυρου-ταί, Δρακοντίδου γράψαντος, ὅπως οἱ λόγοι τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς τοὺς Πρυτάνεις ἀποτεθείεν, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τὴν ἕφεσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες ἐν τῇ πόλει κρίνοιεν. "Αγνων δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἀφεῖλε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, κρίνεσθαι δὲ τὴν δίκην ἔγραψεν ἐν δικασταίς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις, εἴτε κλοπῆς καὶ δώρων ἤτ' ἀδίκου θύματος τὴν δίωξιν.

3 "Ἀσπασίαν μὲν οὖν ἐξετήσατο, πολλὰ πάνω παρὰ τὴν δίκην, ὥς Λισχίνης φησίν, ἀφεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δάκρυα καὶ δεὸνεὶς τῶν δικαστῶν. Ἀναξα-γόραν δὲ φιλοθείς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὡς δὲ διὰ Φειδίου προσέπταισθε τῷ δήμῳ, φοβη-θείς τὸ δικαστήριον μέλλοντα τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὑποτυφομένον ἐξέκαυσεν, ἐλπίζων διασκεδάσειν τὰ ἐγκληματα καὶ ταπεινώσειν τὸν φθόνον ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ κινδύνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναθείσης ἑαυτήν. οἱ οὖν οὗτοι αἰτίαι διὸ ὁ σῶσ 170
PERICLES

XXXII. About this time also Aspasia was put on trial for impiety, Hermippus the comic poet being her prosecutor, who alleged further against her that she received free-born women into a place of assignation for Pericles. And Diopithes brought in a bill providing for the public impeachment of such as did not believe in gods, or who taught doctrines regarding the heavens, directing suspicion against Pericles by means of Anaxagoras. The people accepted with delight these slanders, and so, while they were in this mood, a bill was passed, on motion of Dracontides, that Pericles should deposit his accounts of public moneys with the Prytanes, and that the jurors should decide upon his case with ballots which had lain upon the altar of the goddess on the acropolis. But Hagnon amended this clause of the bill with the motion that the case be tried before fifteen hundred jurors in the ordinary way, whether one wanted to call it a prosecution for embezzlement and bribery, or malversation.

Well, then, Aspasia he begged off, by shedding copious tears at the trial, as Aeschines says, and by entreaty of the jurors; and he feared for Anaxagoras so much that he sent him away from the city. And since in the case of Pheidias he had come into collision with the people, he feared a jury in his own case, and so kindled into flame the threatening and smouldering war, hoping thereby to dissipate the charges made against him and allay the people's jealousy, inasmuch as when great undertakings were on foot, and great perils threatened, the city entrusted herself to him and to him alone, by reason of his worth and power. Such, then, are the reasons which are alleged for his not suffering
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

εἶασεν ἐνδοῦναί Δακεδαίμονίοις τῶν δήμων, αὐταί λέγονται, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἀδῆλου.

XXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαίμωνοι γινώσκοντες ὡς ἐκείνου καταλυθέντος εἰς πάντα μαλακτέροις χρήσονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαύνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον,1 ὥς τὸ μιτρόθεν γένος τοῦ Περικλέους ἐνοχοὶ ἦν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἱστόρηκεν.2 ὡς δὲ πείρα περιέστη τοῖς πέμψασιν εἰς τούπαντίον ἀντὶ γὰρ ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐτὶ μείξονα πίστιν ἐσχε καὶ τιμήν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ὡς μάλιστα μισοῦσιν καὶ

2 φοβουμένων ἐκείνου τῶν πολεμῶν. διὸ καὶ πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν Ἀρχιδάμον ἔχοντα τούς Πελοποινσίους προείπε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀν ἀρα τάλλα δημῶν ὁ Ἀρχιδάμος ἀπέχηται τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν ξενίαν τὴν οὕσαν αὐτοῖς, ἡ διαβολῆς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνδιδοὺς ἀφορμὰς, ὅτι τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπιδίωσιν.

3 Ἐμβάλλουσιν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Δακεδαίμονίοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρχιδάμον τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγουμένου. καὶ δηοῦντες τὴν χώραν προῆλθον εἰς Ἀχαρνὰς καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ώς ἀνεξομένων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ φρονήματος

4 διαμαχομένων πρὸς αὐτούς. τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξακισμυρίους Πελοποινσίους καὶ Βοιώτῶν ὀπλίτας (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ

1 ἔλαφη εἰς τὸ Κυλώνειον Fuhr and Blass, with BCF*S: ἔλαφην φ.
2 ἱστορηκέν Fuhr and Blass, with BCF*S: εἱρηκέν.
PERICLES

c the people to yield to the Lacedaemonians; but the truth about it is not clear.

XXXIII. The Lacedaemonians, perceiving that if he were deposed they would find the Athenians more pliant in their hands, ordered them to drive out the Cylonian pollution, in which the family of Pericles on his mother’s side was involved, as Thucydides states. But the attempt brought a result the opposite of what its makers designed, for in place of suspicion and slander, Pericles won even greater confidence and honour among the citizens than before, because they saw that their enemies hated and feared him above all other men. Therefore also, before Archidamus invaded Attica with the Peloponnesians, Pericles made public proclamation to the Athenians, that in case Archidamus, while ravaging everything else, should spare his estates, either out of regard for the friendly tie that existed between them, or with an eye to affording his enemies grounds for slander, he would make over to the city his lands and the homesteads thereon.

Accordingly, the Lacedaemonians and their allies invaded Attica with a great host under the leadership of Archidamus the king. And they advanced, ravaging the country as they went, as far as Acharnæ, where they encamped, supposing that the Athenians would not tolerate it; but would fight with them out of angry pride. Pericles, however, looked upon it as a terrible thing to join battle with sixty thousand Peloponnesian and Boeotian hoplites

1 That is, members of the Alcmaeonianid family, which was involved in the stain of bloodguiltiness when the archon Megacles, about 630 B.C., sacrilegiously slew the followers of Cylon. See Plutarch, Solon, xii. 1-3; Thucydides, i. 126.

2 1. 127, 1.
XXXIV. Πλὴν ὑπ’ οὐδένος ἐκινήθη τῶν τοιούτων ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶς καὶ σιωπῆ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ὑφιστάμενος, καὶ νεῶν ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον στόλον ἐκπέμπων αὐτὸς οὐ συνεξεπλευσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐμείνεν οἰκουρῶν καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἐως ἀπηλλάγησαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι. θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄμως ἀσχάλλοντας ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου, διανομαῖς τε χρημάτων ἀνελάβανε καὶ κληρονομίας ἐγραφεῖν. Αἰγυπτίας γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἄπαντας διένειμε τὴν νήσον Ἀθηναίων τοὺς λαχοῦσιν. ἦν δὲ τις 2 παρηγορία καὶ ἅφ’ ὅπεν ἔπασχον τοῖς πολέμοις. καὶ γὰρ οἱ περιπλέοντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον χώραν τὲ πολλὰ κώμας τὲ καὶ πόλεις μικρὰς διεπόρθησαν, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐφθείρε πᾶσαν. ἦ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν δρόμιτες κατὰ γῆν κακὰ 2 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολλὰ δὲ πάσχοντες ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνων ἐκ θαλάττης, οὔκ ἀν εἰς μῆκος πολέμου τοσοῦτον προβήσαταν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀπείποι τὸσον ἀστερέα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Περικλῆς προηγόρευσεν, εἰ μὴ τι δαιμόνιον ὑπηρατικὴ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς.

3 Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λοιμώδης ἐνέπεσε φθορὰ καὶ κατενεμήθη τὴν ἀκμάζουσαν ἡλικίαν καὶ δύναμιν ὑπ’ ἡς καὶ τὰ σώματα κακούμενοι καὶ

1 κάγχειρίδιον . . . κοπίδος Coraê's restoration of these corrupt verses, adopted by Fuhr.
2 κατὰ γῆν κακὰ Fuhr and Blass, with F^S: κακά.
PERICLES

If the tiniest knife is but laid on the stone
To give it an edge, thou gnashest thy teeth,
As if bitten by fiery Cleon."

XXXIV. However, Pericles was moved by no such things, but gently and silently underwent the ignominy and the hatred, and, sending out an armament of a hundred ships against the Peloponnesus, did not himself sail with it, but remained behind, keeping the city under watch and ward and well in hand, until the Peloponnesians withdrew. Then, by way of soothing the multitude, who, in spite of their enemies' departure, were distressed over the war, he won their favour by distributions of moneys and proposed allotments of conquered lands; the Aeginetans, for instance, he drove out entirely, and parcelled out their island among the Athenians by lot. And some consolation was to be had from what their enemies suffered. For the expedition around the Peloponnesus ravaged much territory and sacked villages and small cities, while Pericles himself, by land, invaded the Megarid and razed it all. Wherein also it was evident that though their enemies did the Athenians much harm by land, they suffered much too at their hands by sea, and therefore would not have protracted the war to such a length, but would have speedily given up, just as Pericles prophesied in the beginning, had not a terrible visitation from heaven thwarted human calculations.

As it was, in the first place, a pestilential destruction fell upon them¹ and devoured clean the prime of their youth and power. It weakened

¹ 430 B.C. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 47-54.
τὰς ψυχὰς παντάπασιν ἡγιώθησαν πρὸς τὸν
Περικλέα, καὶ καθάπερ ιατρὸν ἡ πατέρα τῆς νόσῳ
παραφρονήσαντες ἄδικεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀναπει-
σθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρων ὡς τὴν μὲν νόσου ἡ τοῦ
χωριτικοῦ πλῆθους εἰς τὸ ἄστυ συμφόρησις

4 ἀπεργάζεται, ἑρευς ὀρα πολλῶν ὁμοί χῦδην
ἐν οἰκήμασι μικροῖς καὶ σκηνώμασι πυγηροῖς
ήμαγκασμένων διαιτάσθαι δίαιταν οἰκουροῦ καὶ
ἀργὴν ἀντὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης τῆς
πρότερον, τούτου δὲ αἴτιος ὁ τῶν πολέμω τὸν
ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὰ τεῖχα καταχει-
μενος καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄνθρωποις τοσοῦτοι χρώ-
μενοι, ἀλλ' ἐών ὁσπερ ὑστήματα καθειργμένους
ἀναπίπτασθαι φθορᾶς ἀπ' ἄλλημον, καὶ μη-
δεμίῳ μεταβολῆ μηδ' ἀναψυχῆς ἐκπορίζων.

XXXV. Ταύτα βουλόμενοι ιάσθαι καὶ τι παρα-
λυτείν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα
ναῦς ἔπληρον, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὀπλίτας
καὶ ἱππέας ἀναβιβασάμενος ἔμελλεν ἀνάγεσθαι,
μεγάλην ἐλπίδα τοὺς πολίτας καὶ φόβον ὅπε ἐλάτ-
τω τοῖς πολέμιοις ἀπὸ τοσαύτης ἴσχυος παρασκόω.
ήδη δὲ πεπληρωμένων τῶν νεᾶν καὶ τοῦ Περι-
κλέους ἀναβεβηκότος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τὸν
μὲν ἕλιον ἐκλιπεὶν συνέβη καὶ γενέσθαι σκότος,
ἐκπλαγήναι δὲ πάντας ὡς πρὸς μέγα σημεῖον.

2 ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς περίφοβοι τὸν κυβερνήτην
καὶ διηπορημένον, ἀνέσχε τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸ τῶν

1 ἀπεργάζεται Fuhr and Blass, with FbS: ἐργάζεται.
PERICLES

them in body and in spirit, and made them altogether wild against Pericles, so that, for all the world as the mad will attack a physician or a father, so they, in the delirium of the plague, attempted to do him harm, persuaded thereto by his enemies. These urged that the plague was caused by the crowding of the rustic multitudes together into the city, where, in the summer season, many were huddled together in small dwellings and stifling barracks, and compelled to lead a stay-at-home and inactive life, instead of being in the pure and open air of heaven as they were wont. They said that Pericles was responsible for this, who, because of the war, had poured the rabble from the country into the walled city, and then gave that mass of men no employment whatever, but suffered them, thus penned up like cattle, to fill one another full of corruption, and provided them no change or respite.

XXXV. Desiring to heal these evils, and at the same time to inflict some annoyance upon the enemy, he manned a hundred and fifty ships of war, and, after embarking many brave hoplites and horsemen, was on the point of putting out to sea, affording great hope to the citizens, and no less fear to the enemy in consequence of so great a force. But when the ships were already manned, and Pericles had gone aboard his own trireme, it chanced that the sun was eclipsed and darkness came on, and all were thoroughly frightened, looking upon it as a great portent. Accordingly, seeing that his steersman was timorous and utterly perplexed, Pericles held up his cloak before the
δύσων ἡ αὐτοῦ, καὶ παρακαλύψας ἕρωτησε μὴ τις δεινόν ἢ δεινοῦ τινος οἶται σημεῖον· ὥς δ' οὖκ ἐφή, "Τί σοιν," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖνοι τοῦτον διαφέρει, πλὴν ὅτι μεῖζον τι τῆς χλαμύδος ἐστὶ τὸ πεποιηκὸς τὴν ἐπισκότησιν;" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς λέγεται τῶν φιλοσόφων.

3 Ἐκπλεύσας δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὐτ' ἄλλο τι δοκεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἁξιόν δρᾶσαι, πολιορκήσας τε τὴν ἱερὰν Ἐπίδαυρον ἐπίδια παρασχοῦσαν ὡς ἀλωσομένην ἀπέτυχε διὰ τὴν νόσου. ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ οὖν αὐτοῦς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὀπωσοῦν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμμίξαντας προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ τοῦτον χαλεπῶς διακειμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπειρᾶτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνειν. οὐ μὴν παρέλυσε τὴν ὄργην οὐδὲ μετέπεισε πρὸτερον ἢ τὰς ψήφους λαβόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ γενομένους κυρίους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ ξημίωσαι χρῆμασιν, ὅν ἀριθμόν οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα, πεντῆκοντα δ' οἱ τὸν πλείστον γράφουσιν. ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ δίκη κατήγορος, ὡς μὲν Ἰδομενεὺς λέγει, Κλέων, ὃς δὲ Ἐσφραστος, Σιμμίας· ὅ δ' Ἐπυπτικὸς Ἡρακλείδης Λακρατίδαι εὔρηκε.

XXXVI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δημόσια ταχέως ἐμελλε παύσεσθαι, καθάπερ κέντρον εἰς τοῦτον ἀμα πληγὴ τὸν θυμὸν ἀφεικότων τῶν πολλῶν τὰ δ' οἰκεία μοχθηρῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τε τὸν λοιμὸν

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1 τῶν ὀψεων Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: τῆς ὀψεως.
2 παύσεσθαι: Fuhr and Blass, with FaS, and after Reiske: παύσεσθαι.

102
PERICLES

man's eyes, and, thus covering them, asked him if he thought it anything dreadful, or portentous of anything dreadful. "No," said the steersman. "How then," said Pericles, "is yonder event different from this, except that it is something rather larger than my cloak which has caused the obscurity?" At any rate, this tale is told in the schools of philosophy.

Well, then, on sailing forth, Pericles seems to have accomplished nothing worthy of his preparations, but after laying siege to sacred Epidaurus, which awakened a hope that it might be captured, he had no such good fortune, because of the plague. Its fierce onset destroyed not only the Athenians themselves, but also those who, in any manner soever, had dealings with their forces. The Athenians being exasperated against him on this account, he tried to appease and encourage them. He did not, however, succeed in allaying their wrath, nor yet in changing their purposes, before they got their hostile ballots into their hands, became masters of his fate, stripped him of his command, and punished him with a fine. The amount of this was fifteen talents, according to those who give the lowest, and fifty, according to those who give the highest figures. The public prosecutor mentioned in the records of the case was Cleon, as Idomeneus says, but according to Theophrastus it was Simmias, and Heracleides Ponticus mentions Lacratides.

XXXVI. So much, then, for his public troubles; they were likely soon to cease, now that the multitude had stung him, as it were, and left their passion with their sting; but his domestic affairs were in a
οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀποβαλόντι τῶν ἐπιτηθείων καὶ στάσει διατεταραγμένα
πόρρωθεν. ὦ γὰρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν γυνητῶν νιῶν Ἐανθίππος
φύσει τὲ δαπανηρὸς ὃν καὶ γυναικὶ νέα καὶ πολυτελεῖ συνοικῶν, Τισάνδρου θυγατρὶ τοῦ Ἐπιλύκου,
χαλεπῶς ἐφερε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκρίβειαν γλίσχρα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ χορηγοῦντος. πέμψας
οὐν πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων ἐλαβεν ἀργύριον ὡς τοῦ
Περικλέους κελεύσαντος. ἐκείνου δ' ὦστερον ἀπαιτοῦντος, ὦ μὲν Περικλῆς καὶ δίκην αὐτῷ προσ-
έλαχε, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ὁ Ἐανθίππος ἐπὶ τούτῳ
χαλεπῶς διατεθεὶς ἐλοιδορεῖ τὸν πατέρα, πρῶτον
μὲν ἐκφέρων ἐπὶ γέλωτι τὰς οἰκοὶ διατριβάς
αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐποιεῖτο μετὰ τῶν
σοφιστῶν. πεντάθλου γὰρ τινος ἀκοντίῳ πατάξαντος Ἐπίτιμου τὸν Φαρσάλιον ἀκουσίως καὶ
κατακτείνας, ἤμεραν ὅλην ἀναλὼσαι μετὰ
Πρωταγόρου διαπορούντα πότερον τὸ ἄκοντιον ἢ
τὸν βαλόντα μάλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀγωνιθέτας κατὰ τὸν
ὄρθωτον λόγον αἰτίους χρη τοῦ πάθους ἥγεισθαι.
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς δια-
βολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐανθίππου φησίν ὁ Στησίμβρο-
τος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διασπαρῆται, καὶ ὅλως
ἀνήκεστον ἄρα τῆς τελευτῆς τῷ νεανίσκῳ πρὸς
τὸν πατέρα παραμεῖναι τὴν διαφόραν ἅπεθανε
γὰρ ὁ Ἐανθίππος ἐν τῷ λαοῦ νοσῆσας.

4 Ἀπέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἄδελφην ὁ Περικλῆς τότε
καὶ τῶν κηδεστῶν καὶ φίλων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ

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1 διατεταραγμένα Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διατεταραγμένον.
2 ἐποιεῖτο Fuhr and Blass, with FsS, and after Sauppe: ἐποιει.
PERICLES

sorry plight, since he had lost not a few of his intimate friends during the pestilence, and had for some time been rent and torn by a family feud. The eldest of his legitimate sons, Xanthippus, who was naturally prodigal, and had married a young and extravagant wife, the daughter of Tisander, the son of Epilcus, was much displeased at his father's exactitude in making him but a meagre allowance, and that a little at a time. Accordingly, he sent to one of his father's friends and got money, pretending that Pericles bade him do it. When the friend afterwards demanded repayment of the loan, Pericles not only refused it, but brought suit against him to boot. So the young fellow, Xanthippus, incensed at this, fell to abusing his father, publishing abroad, to make men laugh, his conduct of affairs at home, and the discourses which he held with the sophists. For instance, a certain athlete had hit Epitimus the Pharsalian with a javelin, accidentally, and killed him, and Pericles, Xanthippus said, squandered an entire day discussing with Protagoras whether it was the javelin, or rather the one who hurled it, or the judges of the contests, that "in the strictest sense" ought to be held responsible for the disaster. Besides all this, the slanderous charge concerning his own wife Stesimbrotus says was sown abroad in public by Xanthippus himself, and also that the quarrel which the young man had with his father remained utterly incurable up to the time of his death,—for Xanthippus fell sick and died during the plague.

Pericles lost his sister also at that time, and of his relatives and friends the largest part, and those
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

χρησιμωτάτους πρός τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ μὴν ἀπείπητον οὐδὲ προύδωκε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ κλαίων οὐδὲ κηδεύων οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφῳ τινὸς ὀφθη τῶν ἀναγκαίων, πρὸς γε δὴ καὶ τὸν περίλοιπον αὐτοῦ 5 τῶν γνησίων νιῶν ἀποβάλειν Πάραλον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καμφθεὶς ἐπειράτο μὲν ἐγκαρτερεῖν τῷ ἤθελε καὶ διαφύλαττεν τὸ μεγαλόψυχον, ἐπιφέρων δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ στέφανον ἱπτήθη τοῦ πάθους πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν, ὡστε κλαυθμόν τε ῥήξαι καὶ πληθος ἐκχέαι δακρύου, οὐδέποτε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ πεποιηκώς.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως πειρωμένης τῶν ἀλλων στρατηγῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ῥητόρων, ὡς δ’ οὕτως βάρος ἔχων ἱσόρροπον οὐδ’ ἄξιωμα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἐχέγγυον ἡγεμονίαν ἐφαίνετο, ποθοῦσις ἐκεῖνον καὶ καλούσης ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον, ἄθυμων καὶ κείμενος οἴκου διὰ τὸ πένθος ἦπ᾽ Ἀλκιβίαδου καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἐπείσθη φίλων 2 προελθεὶν. ἀπολογησαμένου δὲ τοῦ δῆμου τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὑποδεξάμενος αὕτις τὰ πράγματα καὶ στρατηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς ἦτοςτο καθήμενα τῶν περί τῶν νόθων νόμον, διὰ αὐτοῦ εἰσεννοχεῖ πρότερον, ὡς μὴ παντάπασιν ἐρημίᾳ διαδοχῆς τῶν οἰκῶν ἐκλίποι τούτων καὶ τὸ γένος.

3 Εἴχε δ’ οὕτω τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. ἀκμάζων ὁ 1 γνησίων νιῶν Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: γνησίων.

106
who were most serviceable to him in his administration of the city. He did not, however, give up, nor yet abandon his loftiness and grandeur of spirit because of his calamities, nay, he was not even seen to weep, either at the funeral rites, or at the grave of any of his connections, until indeed he lost the very last remaining one of his own legitimate sons, Paralus. Even though he was bowed down at this stroke, he nevertheless tried to persevere in his habit and maintain his spiritual greatness, but as he laid a wreath upon the dead, he was vanquished by his anguish at the sight, so that he broke out into wailing, and shed a multitude of tears, although he had never done any such thing in all his life before.

XXXVII. The city made trial of its other generals and counsellors for the conduct of the war, but since no one appeared to have weight that was adequate or authority that was competent for such leadership, it yearned for Pericles, and summoned him back to the bema and the war-office.¹ He was lying dejectedly at home because of his sorrow, but was persuaded by Alcibiades and his other friends to resume his public life. When the people had apologized for their thankless treatment of him, and he had undertaken again the conduct of the state, and been elected general, he asked for a suspension of the law concerning children born out of wedlock,—a law which he himself had formerly introduced,—in order that the name and lineage of his house might not altogether expire through lack of succession.

The circumstances of this law were as follows.

¹ 429 B.C.
Περικλῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸ πάντων πολλῶν χρόνων, καὶ παῖς ἔχων, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, γυναίκος, νόμον ἔγραψε μόνος ᾿Αθηναίοις εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυνῶν ᾿Αθηναίων γεγονότας. ἔτει δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λιγυπτίων δωρεὰν τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαντος τετρακισμυρίους πυρῶν μεδίμνους ἔδει διανέμεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνεφύνοτο δίκαι τοῖς νόμοις ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκείνου τέως διαλαμβάνουσι καὶ παρορμέονοι, ἕνολλοι δὲ καὶ συνο-

4 φαντάζεσθαι περιέπιπτων. ἐπράθησαν δὲ οὖν ἀλόντες ὅλης πεντακιστάκλιων ἐλάττους, οἱ δὲ μείναντες ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κριθέντες ᾿Αθηναίοι μύριοι καὶ τετρακιστάκλιοι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἐξητάθησαν. οὖντος οὖν δεινοῦ τὸν κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἱσχυόντα νόμον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀρκεῖ τῷ γράψαντος, ἡ παρούσα δυστυχεί τῷ Περικλεί περὶ τὸν οίκον, ὡς δίκην τινὰ δεδωκότι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλαυξίας ἐκείνης, ἐπέκλασε τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους, καὶ δόξαντες αὐτῶν νεμεστά τε παθεῖν ἄνθρωπίνων τε δεῖσθαι συνεχώρησαν ἀπογράψαι τὸν νόθον εἰς τῶν φράτωρας, ὅνωμα θέμενοι τὸ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὕστερον ἐν ῾Αργινοῦσαίς καταναυμαχήσαντα Πελοποννησίους ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῶν συστρατιών.

1 διαλαμβάνουσι, παρορμέονοι Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διαλαμβάνουσαι, παρορμέοναι (referring to the prosecutions).

2 δ' οὖν Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: οὖν.

3 ἄνθρωπίνων Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: ἄνθρωπίνως.

108
PERICLES

Many years before this,¹ when Pericles was at the height of his political career and had sons born in wedlock, as I have said, he proposed a law that only those should be reckoned Athenians whose parents on both sides were Athenians. And so when the king of Egypt sent a present to the people of forty thousand measures of grain, and this had to be divided up among the citizens, there was a great crop of prosecutions against citizens of illegal birth by the law of Pericles, who had up to that time escaped notice and been overlooked, and many of them also suffered at the hands of informers. As a result, a little less than five thousand were convicted and sold into slavery, and those who retained their citizenship and were adjudged to be Athenians were found, as a result of this scrutiny, to be fourteen thousand and forty in number. It was, accordingly, a grave matter, that the law which had been rigorously enforced against so many should now be suspended by the very man who had introduced it, and yet the calamities which Pericles was then suffering in his family life, regarded as a kind of penalty which he had paid for his arrogance and haughtiness of old, broke down the objections of the Athenians. They thought that what he suffered was by way of retribution, and that what he asked became a man to ask and men to grant, and so they suffered him to enroll his illegitimate son in the phratry-lists and to give him his own name: This was the son who afterwards conquered the Peloponnesians in a naval battle at the Arginusae islands,² and was put to death by the people along with his fellow-generals.

¹ 451-450 B.C. ² 406 B.C. 

109
XXXVIII. Τότε δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐοικεν ὁ 173 λοιμὸς λαβέσθαι λαβήν οὐκ ὀξέαν, ὥσπερ ἄλλων, οὔδὲ σύντονον, ἀλλὰ βληχρὰ τινὶ νόσῳ καὶ μῆκὸς ἐν ποικίλαις ἔχοσθι μεταβολαῖς διαχρωμένην τὸ σῶμα σχολαίως καὶ ὑπερεῖπουσαν τὸ φρόνημα τῆς ψυχῆς. ὁ γοῦν Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Ἑθικοῖς διαπορίσας εἰ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τρέπεται τὰ ἡθη καὶ κινούμενα τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων πάθεσιν ἐξίσταται τῆς ἁρετῆς, ἱστόρηκεν ὅτι νοσῶν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπισκοπομένως τυί τῶν φίλων δεῖξει περίαπτον ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν τῷ τραχύλῳ περιηρημένον, ὡς σφόδρα κακῶς ἔχων ὀπότε καὶ ταύτην ὑπομένοι τῇ ἀβελτέριαν.

3 Ἡδη δὲ πρὸς τῷ τελευτάν ὄντος αὐτοῦ, περικαθήμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ περιόντες λόγον ἐποιοῦντο τῆς ἁρετῆς καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅση γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνεμετροῦντο καὶ τῶν τρопαίων τὸ πλῆθος: ἐνέα γάρ ἢ τὴν στρατηγῶν καὶ νικῶν ἐστησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτα, ὡς οὐκέτι συνεύτος, ἀλλὰ καθηρημένου τὴν αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ, διελέγοντο πρὸς ἄλληλους. ὃ δὲ πάσιν ἐτύγχανε τῶν νοῦν προσεσχηκὼς, καὶ φθεγξάμενος εἰς μέσον ἔφη θαυμάζειν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαινοοῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μνημονεύονσιν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς τὺχην ἔστὶ κοινὰ καὶ γέγονεν ἢ ἐτη πολλοίς στρατηγοῖς, το δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον οὗ λέγουσιν. "Οὐδεὶς γάρ," ἔφη, "δι' ἐμὲ τῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἵματιον τεριεβάλετο."
XXXVIII. At this time, it would seem, the plague laid hold of Pericles, not with a violent attack, as in the case of others, nor acute, but one which, with a kind of sluggish distemper that prolonged itself through varying changes, used up his body slowly and undermined the loftiness of his spirit. Certain it is that Theophrastus, in his "Ethics," querying whether one's character follows the bent of one's fortunes and is forced by bodily sufferings to abandon its high excellence, records this fact, that Pericles, as he lay sick, showed one of his friends who was come to see him an amulet that the women had hung round his neck, as much as to say that he was very badly off to put up with such folly as that.

Being now near his end, the best of the citizens and those of his friends who survived were sitting around him holding discourse of his excellence and power, how great they had been, and estimating all his achievements and the number of his trophies,—there were nine of these which he had set up as the city's victorious general. This discourse they were holding with one another, supposing that he no longer understood them but had lost consciousness. He had been attending to it all, however, and speaking out among them said he was amazed at their praising and commemorating that in him which was due as much to fortune as to himself, and which had fallen to the lot of many generals besides, instead of mentioning his fairest and greatest title to their admiration; "for," said he, "no living Athenian ever put on mourning because of me."

1 He died in the autumn of 429 B.C.
XXXIX. Θαυμαστός οὖν ὁ ἀνήρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πραότητος, ἴνα ἐν πράγμασι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀπεκθείαις διεστήμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καλῶν ἥγειτο βέλτιστον εἶναι τὸ μῆτε φθόνῳ μῆτε θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι μηδὲν ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως, μηδὲ

2 χρήσασθαι τινὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς ἀνηκέστω. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν μειρακιώδη καὶ σοβαρὰν ἐκείνην προσωνυμίαν ἐν τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἀνεπίφθονον καὶ πρέπουσαν, οὕτως εὐμενὲς ἥθος καὶ βίον ἐν ἔξοψία καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον Ὁλύμπιον προσαγορεύσαται, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος ἄξιούμεν αὐτοῖο μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἀναίτιον δὲ κακῶν πεφυκὸς ἀρχεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν ὄντων, οὐχ ὀσπερ' οὐ ποιηταὶ συνταράττοντες ἡμᾶς ἀμαθεστάταις

3 δόξαις ἀλίσκονται τοῖς αὐτῶν μυθεύμασι,¹ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τόπον, ἐν ό τοὺς θεοὺς κατοικεῖν λέγουσιν, ἀσφαλὲς ἐδός καὶ ἀσάλευτον καλοῦντες, οὐ πνεύμασιν, οὐ νέφεσι χρώμενον, ἀλλ' αἰθρὰ² μαλακῆ καὶ φωτὶ καθαρωτάτῳ ³ τῶν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον ὁμαλῶς περιλαμψόμενον, ὡς τοιαύτης τινὸς ⁴ τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ διαγωγῆς μάλιστα πρεποῦσης, αὐτοὺς δὲ τῶς θεοὺς ταραχῆς καὶ δυσμενεῖας καὶ ὀργῆς ἄλλων τε μεστῶν παθῶν ἀποφαίνοντες οὐδ' ἀνθρώποις νῦν ἔχουσιν προσηκόντων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσως ἑτέρας δόξει πραγματείας εἶναι.

Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ταχείαν αἴσθησιν καὶ σαφή

1 μυθεύμασι: Fuhr and Blass with S (μνθεύμασι; F=S)
2 αἰθρὰ Fuhr and Blass with F=S: αἰθρα.
3 καθαρωτάτῳ Fuhr and Blass with F=S: καθαρᾷ.
4 τοιαύτης τινὸς Fuhr and Blass with F=S: τοιαύτης.
PERICLES

XXXIX. So, then, the man is to be admired not only for his reasonableness and the gentleness which he maintained in the midst of many responsibilities and great enmities, but also for his loftiness of spirit, seeing that he regarded it as the noblest of all his titles to honour that he had never gratified his envy or his passion in the exercise of his vast power, nor treated any one of his foes as a foe incurable. And it seems to me that his otherwise puerile and pompous surname is rendered unobjectionable and becoming by this one circumstance, that it was so gracious a nature and a life so pure and undefiled in the exercise of sovereign power which were called Olympian, inasmuch as we do firmly hold that the divine rulers and kings of the universe are capable only of good, and incapable of evil. In this we are not like the poets, who confuse us with their ignorant fancies, and are convicted of inconsistency by their own stories, since they declare that the place where they say the gods dwell is a secure abode and tranquil, without experience of winds and clouds, but gleaming through all the unbroken time with the soft radiance of purest light, — implying that some such a manner of existence is most becoming to the blessed immortal; and yet they represent the gods themselves as full of malice and hatred and wrath and other passions which ill become even men of any sense. But this, perhaps, will be thought matter for discussion elsewhere.

The progress of events wrought in the Athenians

1 Cf. Odyssey, vi. 42 ff.
πόθον Ἀθηναίοις ἐνειργάζετο τὰ πράγματα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ξώντος βαρυνόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ὡς ἀμαυροῦσαν αὐτούς, ευθὺς ἐκ ποδῶν γενομένου πειρώμενοι ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ἐτέρων ἄνωμο-
λογοῦντο μετριώτερον ἐν ὁγκῷ καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν
5 πραότητι μὴ φύια τρόπον ἡ ἐπίφθονος ἱσχὺς ἐκείνη, μοναρχία λεγομένη καὶ τυραννίς πρότερον,
ἐφάνη τότε σωτήριον ἔρμα τῆς πολιτείας γενο-
μένη. τοσαύτη φθορὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἐπέκειτο κακίας
toῖς πράγμασιν, ἡν ἐκεῖνος ἀσθενὴ καὶ ταπεινὴν
ποιῶν ἀπέκρυπτε καὶ κατεκώλυνεν ἀνήκεστον ἐν
ἐξουσίᾳ.¹ γενέσθαι.

¹ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ Fuhr and Blass with FaSC: ἐξουσία.
a swift appreciation of Pericles and a keen sense of his loss. For those who, while he lived, were oppressed by a sense of his power and felt that it kept them in obscurity, straightway on his removal made trial of other orators and popular leaders, only to be led to the confession that a character more moderate than his in its solemn dignity, and more august in its gentleness, had not been created. That objectionable power of his, which they had used to call monarchy and tyranny, seemed to them now to have been a saving bulwark of the constitution, so greatly was the state afflicted by the corruption and manifold baseness which he had kept weak and grovelling, thereby covering it out of sight and preventing it from becoming incurably powerful.
FABIUS MAXIMUS
ΦΑΒΙΟΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ

1. Τοιούτου δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐν τοῖς ἀξίους μνήμης γεγονότος, ὡς παρειλήφαμεν, ἐπὶ τὸν Φάβιον τὴν ἱστορίαν μεταγάγωμεν. νυμφῶν μιᾶς λέγουσιν, οἳ δὲ γυναικῶς ἐπιχωρίας, Ἡρακλεῖ μνείσθης περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν γενέσθαι Φάβιον, ἀνδρὰ πολὺ καὶ δόκιμον ἐν Ἑρώμη τὸ

2 Φαβίων γένος ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ παρασχόντα. τινές δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦτον πρῶτον τῇ δι’ ὀρυγμάτων χρησαμένους ἁγρα φιδίους ἱστοροῦσιν ὄνομαζεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν. οὖτω γὰρ ἀρχῇ νῦν αἱ διώρυχες φῶσαι καὶ φύδερε τὸ σκάψαι καλεῖται. χρόνῳ δὲ τῶν δυεῖν φθόγγων μεταπεσόντων Φάβιοι προσηγορεύθησαν. τολλοῦς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους τῆς ὁικίας ἓξενεγκαμένης ἀνδρέας, ἀπὸ Ῥούλλου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μάξιμου παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπονομασθέντος τέτατος ἡν Φάβιος Μάξιμος, περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφομεν.

3 Ἡν δ’ αὐτῷ σωματικῶν μὲν παρανύμπιον ὁ Βερούκωσος. εἰχε γὰρ ἀκροχορδώνα μικραν ἐπάνω τοῦ χείλους ἐπιπεφυκνίαν ὁ δὲ Ὅονικοῦλας σημαίνει μὲν τὸ προβατίου, ἑτέθη δὲ πρὸς τὴν πράξεων καὶ βαρύτητα1 τοῦ ἧθους ετὶ παιδὸς ὄντος. τὸ γὰρ ἡσύχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτηρίου καὶ

1 βαρύτητα MSS., Sint.1, Coraës, and Bekker: βραδυτῆτα slowness.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

I. Such were the memorable things in the career of Pericles, as we have received them, and now let us change the course of our narrative and tell of Fabius. It was a nymph, they say, or a woman native to the country, according to others, who consorted with Hercules by the river Tiber, and became by him the mother of Fabius, the founder of the family of the Fabii, which was a large one, and of high repute in Rome. But some writers state that the first members of the family were called Fodii in ancient times, from their practice of taking wild beasts in pitfalls. For down to the present time "fossa" is the Latin for ditches, and "fodere" for to dig. In course of time, by a change of two letters, they were called Fabii. This family produced many great men, and from Rullus, the greatest of them, and on this account called Maximus by the Romans, the Fabius Maximus of whom we now write was fourth in descent.

He had the surname of Verrucosus from a physical peculiarity, namely, a small wart growing above his lip; and that of Ovicula, which signifies Lambkin, was given him because of the gentleness and gravity of his nature when he was yet a child. Indeed, the calmness and silence of his demeanour,
μετὰ πολλῆς εὐλαβείας τῶν παιδικῶν ἀπτόμενον ἣδονῶν, βραδέως δὲ καὶ διαπόνως δεχόμενον τὰς μαθήσεις, εὐκολον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ κατήκουν ἄβελτερίας τινὸς καὶ νωθρότητος ὑπόνοιαν εἰχὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἑκτός· ὁλίγοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τὸ δυσκίνητον ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ λεοντῶδες ἐν τῇ φύσει καθορῶντες αὐτοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγειρόμενος διεσήμανε καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπάθειαν μὲν οὖν πλὴν τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀπραγιαν, εὐβουλίαν δὲ τὴν εὐλαβείαν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ὧν μηδὲ εὐκίνητον ἐν πάσι μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον. ὅρων δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ πλήθος, ἢσκει τὸ μὲν σῶμα πρὸς τοῖς πολέμοις, ὡσπερ ὀπλον σύμφυτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον ὀργανον πειθοῦς πρὸς τὸν δήμον, εὖ μάλα πρεπέτων τῷ βίῳ κατακεκοσμημένον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ὠραίσμον οὐδὲ κενή καὶ ἀγοραίος χάρις, ἀλλὰ νοῦς ᾑδίον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχῆμα καὶ βάθος ἔχων, ὡς μάλιστα ταῖς Θουκυδίδου προσεοικέναι λέγουσι. διασώζεται γὰρ αὐτοῦ λόγος, ὅν ἑπεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ παιδος αὐτοῦ μεθ' ὑπατείαιν ἀποθανόντος ἐγκώμιοι.

Π. Πέντε δ' ὑπατείων ἐς ὑπάτευσεν, ἡ πρώτη τού ὀπὸ Διογάνων θρίαμβου ἐσχέν. ἦττηθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάχη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες εἰς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἀνεστάλησαν, καὶ τὴν πρόσοικον ἔπαυσαντο τῇς Ἰταλίας ληξόμενοι καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀτύβας ἐμβαλῶν εἰς Ἰταλίαν
the great caution with which he indulged in childish pleasures, the slowness and difficulty with which he learned his lessons, and his contented submissiveness in dealing with his comrades, led those who knew him superficially to suspect him of something like foolishness and stupidity. Only a few discerned the inexorable firmness in the depth of his soul, and the magnanimous and leonine qualities of his nature. But soon, as time went on and he was roused by the demands of active life, he made it clear even to the multitude that his seeming lack of energy was only lack of passion, that his caution was prudence, and that his never being quick nor even easy to move made him always steadfast and sure. He saw that the conduct of the state was a great task, and that wars must be many; he therefore trained his body for the wars (nature's own armour, as it were), and his speech as an instrument of persuasion with the people, giving it a form right well besuiting his manner of life. For it had no affectation, nor any empty, forensic grace, but an import of peculiar dignity, rendered weighty by an abundance of maxims. These, they say, most resembled those which Thucydides employs. And a speech of his is actually preserved, which was pronounced by him before the people in eulogy of his son,¹ who died consul.

II. The first² of the five consulships in which he served brought him the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. These were defeated by him in battle, with heavy loss, and retired into the Alps, where they ceased plundering and harrying the parts of Italy next to them. But Hannibal now

¹ Cf. Cicero, *Cato Maior*, 4. ² 233 B.C.
καὶ μαχὴ πρῶτον περὶ τὸν Τρεβίαν ποταμὸν ἐπικράτησας αὐτὸς μὲν ἢλαυνε διὰ Τυρρηνίας πορθῶν τὴν χώραν, ἐκπλήξιν δὲ δεινὴ καὶ φόβουν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνέβαλε, σημεία δὲ τὰ μὲν συνίσθη Ῥωμαιοὺς ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν, τὰ δ᾽ ὅλους ἐξηλλαγμένα 3 καὶ πολλὴν ἀτοπίαν ἔχοντα προσέπτητε (θυρεοῦσα τε γὰρ ἄφ᾽ αὐτῶν αἴματι γενέσθαι διαβρόχους ἐλέχθη, καὶ θέρη σταχύων περὶ Ἀντιοῦ ἑναίμα κείρεσθαι, καὶ λίθους μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἄερος διαπύρνου καὶ φλεγομένους φέρεσθαι, τοῦ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ Φαλερίους ωὐρανοῦ ῥαγῆναι δὸξαντός ἐκπίπτειν καὶ διαστείρεσθαι πολλὰ γραμματεῖα, καὶ τούτων ἐν ἄν γεγραμμένον φανῆναι κατὰ λέξιν. "Ἀρης τὰ 175

4 ἔαντοι ὀπλα σαλευεῖ"), τὸν μὲν ὑπατον Γάιου Φλαμίνιον οὐδὲν ἢμβλυνυ τούτων, ἀνδρα πρὸς τῷ φύσει θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλοτήμω μεγάλαις ἑπαρομένου εὐτυχίαις, ἄσ πρόσθεν εὐτύχησε παραλύγως, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπαδούσης καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐνισταμένου βίωσιςβαλῶν τοῖς Γαλάταις καὶ κρατίσθαις, Φάβιον δὲ τὰ μὲν σημεία, καίτερ ἀπότομα πολλῶν, ἕτοιμ ὑπεδραττέ διὰ

5 τὴν ἀλογίαν. τὴν δ᾽ ὀλυγώτητα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἀχρηματίαν πυνθανόμενος φαστέρειν παρεκάλει τοὺς Ῥωμαιοὺς καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶ τούτῳ διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἡμερεῖ ἀναταχαὶ χρώμεναν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑμμύρασι ἐπιτείμοντας βοηθείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ χειρος ἐχοντας αὐτὴν ἐάν περὶ αὐτὴ μαραίνωσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καθάπερ φλόγα λάμψασαν ἀπὸ μικρὰς καὶ κουφῆς δυνάμεως.

1 ἀπαδούσης with CS: ἀποκαλούσης.
burst into Italy,\(^1\) and was at first victorious in battle at the river Trebia. Then he marched through Tuscany, ravaging the country, and smote Rome with dire consternation and fear. Signs and portents occurred, some familiar to the Romans, like peals of thunder, others wholly strange and quite extraordinary. For instance, it was said that shields sweated blood, that ears of corn were cut at Antium with blood upon them, that blazing, fiery stones fell from on high, and that the people of Falerii saw the heavens open and many tablets fall down and scatter themselves abroad, and that on one of these was written in letters plain to see, "Mars now brandisheth his weapons."\(^2\) The consul, Gaius Flaminius, was daunted by none of these things, for he was a man of a fiery and ambitious nature, and besides, he was elated by great successes which he had won before this, in a manner contrary to all expectation. He had, namely, although the senate dissented from his plan, and his colleague violently opposed it, joined battle with the Gauls and defeated them. Fabius also was less disturbed by the signs and portents, because he thought it would be absurd, although they had great effect upon many. But when he learned how few in number the enemy were, and how great was their lack of resources, he exhorted the Romans to bide their time, and not to give battle to a man who wielded an army trained by many contests for this very issue, but to send aid to their allies, to keep their subject cities well in hand, and to suffer the culminating vigour of Hannibal to sink and expire of itself, like a flame that flares up from scant and slight material.

\(^1\) 218 B.C. \(^2\) Mauros telum suum concutit (Livy, xxii. 1).
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

III. Οὐ μὴν ἔπεισε τὸν Φλαμύνον, ἀλλὰ φήσας ὅκ ἀνέξεσθαι προσιόντα τῇ Ἱρώμῃ τὸν πόλεμον οὐδὲ, ὦσπερ ὁ παλαιὸς Κάμιλλος, ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμαχεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἔξαγεν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς χιλιάρχους, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον ἀλλόμενος ἐξ οὔδενος αἰτίου προδήλου παραλόγως ἐντρόμου τοῦ ἱππον γενομένου καὶ πτυρέντως ἐξέπεσε καὶ κατενεχθεῖς ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ὀμως οὔδεν ἐτρεψε τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλ' ὡς ὀφριθεὶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπαντήσας τῷ Ἀννίβα, περὶ τῆς καλουμένης Ὁμασυμένην ¹ λίμνην τῆς Τυρηνίας παρετάξατο.

2 Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν συμβαλόντων εἰς χείρας ἀμα τῷ καρφῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ὥστε οὐ καὶ πόλεις ἀνετράπησαν καὶ ἰεύματα ποταμῶν ἐξ ἐδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημών ὑπώρειαν περιερράγησαν. ² ἀλλὰ, καὶ περὶ οὗτω γενομίνου βιαίον τοῦ πάθους, ³ οὔδεὶς τὸ παρὰπαν ἡσθενοῦσα τῶν μαχομένων. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Φλαμύνος πολλὰ καὶ τόλμησ ἐργα καὶ ῥώμης ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐπέσε, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν δ' ἄλλων τραπέντων πολὺς ἦν φόνος, καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι πρὸς μυρίων κατεκόπησαν, καὶ ἐάλωσαν ἐτεροί τοσοῦτοι. τὸ δὲ Φλαμύνοι σῶμα φιλοτιμουμένος θάψαι καὶ κοσμῆσαι δι' ἀρετὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐχ εὑρεν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἀλλ' ἥγοιεῖτο τὸ παράπαν ὁπως ἡφανίσθη.

3 Τῇ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρεβίου γενομένην ἦτταν

¹ Ὁμασυμένη an early anonymous correction, adopted by Coraes and Bekker: Ὅμασυμιαν.
² περιερράγησαν Bekker's παρερράγησαν is now found in S.
³ τοῦ πάθους Coraes and Bekker after Reiske: πάθους.

124
FABIUS MAXIMUS

III. Flaminius, however, was not persuaded, but declared that he would not suffer the war to be brought near Rome, and that he would not, like Camillus of old, fight in the city for the city's defence. Accordingly, he ordered the tribunes to lead the army forth. But as Flaminius himself sprang upon his horse, for no apparent reason, and unaccountably, the animal was seized with quivering fright, and he was thrown and fell head foremost to the ground. Nevertheless, he in no wise desisted from his purpose, but since he had set out at the beginning to face Hannibal, drew up his forces near the lake called Thrasymené,¹ in Tuscany.

When the soldiers of both armies had engaged, at the very crisis of the battle, an earthquake occurred, by which cities were overthrown, rivers diverted from their channels, and fragments of cliffs torn away. And yet, although the disaster was so violent, no one of the combatants noticed it at all. Flaminius himself, then, while displaying many deeds of daring and prowess, fell, and round about him the flower of his army. The rest were routed with much slaughter. Fifteen thousand were cut to pieces, and as many more taken prisoners. The body of Flaminius, to which Hannibal was eager to give honourable burial because of his valour, could not be found among the dead, but disappeared, no one ever knowing how.

Now of the defeat sustained at the Trebia,² neither

¹ Tarsimene, Polybius, iii. 82; Trasimenus, Livy, xxii. 4.
² Cf. chapter ii. 2.
oùθ' ὁ γράψας στρατηγὸς οὐθ' ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἀγγελὸς ἀπ' εὐθείας ἔφρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐψεύσατο τὴν νίκην ἐπίδικον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀμφίδοξον γενέσθαι: περὶ δὲ ταύτης ὡς πρῶτον ἥκουσεν ὁ στρατηγὸς Πομπῶνιος, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον οὐ περιπλοκάς οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς ἀλλ' ἀντικρύσ ἐφί προσελθὼν: "Νευκήμεθα, ὁ ἄνδρας Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγάλη μάχη, καὶ διέθεσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ Φλαμῖνιος ὕπατος ἀπόλολεν. ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθε περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας." οὔτος μὲν οὖν ὀσπερ πνεύμα τὸν λόγον ἐμβαλὼν εἰς πέλαγος τοσοῦτον δῆμον συνετάραξε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδὲ ἐστάναι πρὸς τοσαυτὴν ἐκπληξίν οἱ λογισμοὶ καὶ διαμένειν ἐδύνατο: πάντες δ' εἰς μιαν γνώμην συνήχθησαν ἀνυπενθύμου δείονται τὰ πράγματα μοναρχίας, ἢν δικτατορίαν καλοῦσι, καὶ τοῦ μεταχειρισμένου ταύτην ἀθρόπτως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἄνδρός εἰναι δὲ τοῦτον ἐνα Φάβιον Μάξιμον, ἱσόρροπον ἐχοντα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ὶθους, ἰλικίας τε κατὰ τοῦτο γεγενημένου ἐν τῇ συνέστησεν ἐτε πρὸς τά τῆς ψυχῆς βουλεύματα τὸ σῶμα τῇ ρώμῃ καὶ συγκέκριται τῷ φρονίμῳ τῷ θαρραλέον.

IV. Ὁσ οὖν ταύτ' ἐδοξεῖν, ἀποδείκθεις δικτάτωρ Φάβιος, καὶ ἀποδείξασ αὐτὸς ὑποπαρχὼν Μάρκον Μινυκίου, πρῶτον μὲν ἥτισσατο τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπ' ἄρχῃ προσελθαί παρὰ τὰς στρατείας. οὗ γὰρ ἐξῆν, ἀλλ' ἀπηγόρευτο κατὰ δὴ τὴν νόμον παλαιών, εἴτε τῆς ἀλκής τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν τῷ
the general who wrote nor the messenger who was sent with the tidings gave a straightforward account, the victory being falsely declared uncertain and doubtful; but as soon as Pomponius the praetor heard of this second defeat, he called an assembly of the people, faced it, and without roundabout or deceptive phrases, but in downright fashion, said: "Men of Rome, we have been beaten in a great battle; our army has been cut to pieces; our consul, Flaminius, is dead. Take ye therefore counsel for your own salvation and safety." This speech of his fell like a tempest upon the great sea of people before him, and threw the city into commotion, nor could deliberate reasoning hold its own and stay the general consternation. But all were brought at last to be of one mind, namely, that the situation demanded a sole and absolute authority, which they call a dictatorship, and a man who would wield this authority with energy and without fear; that Fabius Maximus, and he alone, was such a man, having a spirit and a dignity of character that fully matched the greatness of the office, and being moreover at the time of life when bodily vigour still suffices to carry out the counsels of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

IV. Accordingly, this course was adopted, and Fabius was appointed dictator. He himself appointed Marcus Minucius to be his Master of Horse, and then at once asked permission of the senate to use a horse himself when in the field. For this was not his right, but was forbidden by an ancient law, either because the Romans placed their greatest

1 In the absence of a consul, who alone could appoint a dictator, the people made Fabius pro-dictator (Livy, xxii. 8).
πεζῷ τιθεμένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν στρατηγὸν οἰκομένων δεῖν παραμένειν τῇ φάλαγγί καὶ μὴ προλέιπειν, εἴθ’, ὅτι τυραννικὸν εἰς ἀπαντὰ τάλλα καὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἔστιν, ἐν γε τούτῳ βουλομένων τὸν δικτάτορα τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι 176 

2 δεόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φάβιος εὐθὺς εὐδείξασθαι θέλων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὤγκον, ὡς μᾶλλον ὑπηκόοις χρότο καὶ πειθηνίοις τοῖς πολίταις, προῆλθε συνενεγκάμενος εἰς ταῦτό ραβδουχίας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαντῶντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ὑπηρετήτην πέμψας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ραβδουχοὺς ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποθέμενον ἰδιώτην ἀπαντᾶν.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλλίστην ἀρχόμενον ἐκ θεῶν ἀρχὴν, καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δήμον ὡς ὀλιγωρία καὶ περιφρονήσει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ δαμόνιον, οὐ μοχθηρίᾳ τῶν ἀγωνισμένων σφαλέντα, προῦτρετε μὴ δεδείναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζει θαυμάζων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζει θαυμάζων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζει θαυμάζων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζει θαυμάζων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζει θαυμάζων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζει θαυμάζων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς 

4 ἐκινήθησαν δὲ τότε πολλαὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ χρησίμων αὐτοῖς βίβλων, ὡς Σιβυλλεῖοις καλοῦσιν καὶ λέγεται συνδραμεῖν ἔνια τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν αὐταῖς λογίων πρὸς τὰς τύχας καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν γνωσθὲν ὃν ἦν ἐτέρῳ πυθεῖσθαι προελθὼν δὲ ὁ δικτάτωρ εἰς τὸν

1 ἐνεργαζόμενο Coraës and Bekker after Bryan, now with S: ἐργαζόμενος.
strength in their infantry, and for this reason thought that their commander ought to be with the phalanx and not leave it; or because they wished, since the power of the office in all other respects is as great as that of a tyrant, that in this point at least the dictator should be plainly dependent on the people. However, Fabius himself was minded to show forth at once the magnitude and grandeur of his office, that the citizens might be more submissive and obedient to his commands. He therefore appeared in public attended by a united band of twenty-four lictors with their fasces, and when the remaining consul was coming to meet him, sent his adjutant to him with orders to dismiss his lictors, lay aside the insignia of his office, and meet him as a private person.

After this, he began with the gods, which is the fairest of all beginnings, and showed the people that the recent disaster was due to the neglect and scorn with which their general had treated religious rites, and not to the cowardice of those who fought under him. He thus induced them, instead of fearing their enemies, to propitiate and honour the gods. It was not that he filled them with superstition, but rather that he emboldened their valour with piety, allaying and removing the fear which their enemies inspired, with hopes of aid from the gods. At this time, moreover, many of the so-called Sibylline books, containing secrets of service to the state, were consulted, and it is said that some of the oracular sayings therein preserved corresponded with the fortunes and events of the time. What was thus ascertained, however, could not be made public, but

1 Each consul was allowed twelve.
δύναμιν ἐνδοτικῶς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν αιγῶν καὶ συνῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν ἐπιγονῆν, ὡσην Ἰταλίας ὤρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ λειμώνες εἰς ὅραν ἐσομένην θρέψουσι, καταθύσειν ἅπαντα, θεάς δὲ μουσικάς καὶ θυμελικάς ἄξειν ἀπὸ σηστερίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν καὶ δηναρίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν ἐτὶ τριτη-μορίῳ προσόντος. τούτῳ τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐστὶν ὀκτὼ μυριάδες δραχμῶν καὶ δραχμαὶ τρισχίλιαι πεντακόσιαι οὐδοκόμενοι τρεῖς καὶ δύο ὀβολοὶ. λόγον δὲ τῆς εἰς τούτο τοῦ πλῆθους ἀκριβείας καὶ διανομῆς χαλεπόν ἐστιν εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις ἀρα βούλωτο τῆς τριάδος ὑμνεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ὅτι καὶ φύσει τέλειος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν περιττῶν ἀρχῆ τε πλῆθους ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τε πρώτας διαφοράς καὶ τὰ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα μίξας καὶ σύναρμό-σας εἰς ταύταν ἀνείληφεν.

V. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν γνώμην ἀπαρτήσας εἰς τὸ θείον ἡδίω πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐποίησεν: αὐτὸς δὲ πάσας θέμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς εὐπραξίας δι' ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως παραδιδόντος, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀὐτῆν, καὶ ὁ διαμαχούμενος, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τὴν ἁκμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρήμασι τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ πολυανθρωπία τὴν ὀλιγότητι τρίβειν καὶ 2 ὑπαναλίσκειν βεβουλευμένοις. οὖν ἀεὶ μετέωρος ἀπὸ τῆς ἱπποῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τῶποις ὁρεινοῖς στρατοπεδεύων ἐπηρεῖτο, καθημένου μὲν ἠσυχί-ζων, κινομένου δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἄκρων κύκλω περιίων.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

de dictator, in the presence of all the people, vowed to sacrifice to the gods an entire year's increase in goats, swine, sheep, and cattle, that is, all that Italy's mountains, plains, rivers, and meadows should breed in the coming spring.\(^1\) He likewise vowed to celebrate a musical and dramatic festival in honour of the gods, which should cost three hundred and thirty-three sestertii, plus three hundred and thirty-three denarii, plus one third of a denarius. This sum, in Greek money, amounts to eighty-three thousand five hundred and eighty-three drachmas, plus two obols. Now the reason for the exact prescription of this particular number is hard to give, unless it was thereby desired to laud the power of the number three, as being a perfect number by nature, the first of odd numbers, the beginning of quantity, and as containing in itself the first differences and the elements of every number mingled and blended together.

V. By thus fixing the thoughts of the people upon their relations with Heaven, Fabius made them more cheerful regarding the future. But he himself put all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that Heaven bestowed success by reason of wisdom and valour, and turned his attentions to Hannibal. He did not purpose to fight out the issue with him, but wished, having plenty of time, money, and men, to wear out and consume gradually his culminating vigour, his scanty resources, and his small army. Therefore, always pitching his camp in hilly regions so as to be out of reach of the enemy's cavalry, he hung threateningly over them. If they sat still, he too kept quiet; but if they moved, he would fetch a

\(^1\) *Ver sacrum* (Livy xxii. 10).

131
καὶ περιφανώμενος ἐκ διαστήματος ὁσον ἀκοντὶ μὴ βιασθήναι μάχεσθαι καὶ φόβου ως μαχησό-
μενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως αὐτῆς
παρέχειν. οὕτω δὲ παράγων τὸν χρόνου ὑπὸ
πάντων κατεφρονεῖτο, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἦκουεν ἐν
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κομιδῇ δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀτολμὸς
ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι πλήν ἐνὸς ἄνδρος

3 Ἀννίβου. μόνος δ᾽ ἐκείνος αὐτοῦ τὴν δεινότητα,
καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὃ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, συνιδὼν, καὶ
dιανοθείς ὡς πάση τέχνη καὶ βία κυνητέως ἐστὶν
eἰς μάχην ἢ ἄνηρ ἢ διαπέπρακται τῷ Καρχηδονίῳ,
οἷς μὲν εἰς κρέιττους ὁπλοὺς χρύσασθαι μὴ
dυναμένων, οἷς δὲ λείπονται σῶματι καὶ χρῆ-
μασίν ἐλαττομένων καὶ δαπανωμένων εἰς τὸ
μηδέν, ἐπὶ πάσαν ἑδαῖν στρατηγικῶν σοφισμάτων
καὶ παλαισμάτων τρεπόμενος, καὶ πειρόμενος
ὡςπερ δεινὸς ἀθλητὴς λαβὴν ζητῶν, προσέβαλλε
καὶ διετάραττε καὶ μετήγε πολλαχόσε τὸν Φάβιον,
ἐκστήσας τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁσφαλείας λογισμῶν βου-
λόμενος.

4 Τῷ δ᾽ ἡ μὲν γνώμη¹ πίστην ἐχοῦσα τοῦ
συμφέροντος ἐν ἕαυτῇ βέβαιος εἰστήκει καὶ
ἀμετάπτωτος; ἢνωχεὶ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡσσιαρχὸς
Μινόύκιος φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως καὶ θρασυνόμενος
καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στράτευμα μανικής φορᾶς καὶ
κενῶν ἐπιδίων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένον· οὗ τῶν
μὲν Φάβιον σκόπτοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες
Ἀννίβου παιδαγωγοῦ ἀπεκάλουν, τὸν δὲ Μινού-

¹ Τῷ δ᾽ ἡ μὲν γνώμη with Bekker: Τῷ δὲ ἡ γνώμη.
FABIUS MAXIMUS
circuit down from the heights and show himself just far enough away to avoid being forced to fight against his will, and yet near enough to make his very delays inspire the enemy with the fear that he was going to give battle at last. But for merely consuming time in this way he was generally despised by his countrymen, and roundly abused even in his own camp. Much more did his enemies think him a man of no courage and a mere nobody,—all except Hannibal. He, and he alone, comprehended the cleverness of his antagonist, and the style of warfare which he had adopted. He therefore made up his mind that by every possible device and constraint his foe must be induced to fight, or else the Carthaginians were undone, since they were unable to use their weapons, in which they were superior, but were slowly losing and expending to no purpose their men and moneys, in which they were inferior. He therefore resorted to every species of strategic trick and artifice, and tried them all, seeking, like a clever athlete, to get a hold upon his adversary. Now he would attack Fabius directly, now he would seek to throw his forces into confusion, and now he would try to lead him off every whither, in his desire to divorce him from his safe, defensive plans.

But the purpose of Fabius, confident of a favourable issue, remained consistent and unchangeable. He was annoyed, however, by his Master of Horse, Minucius, who was eager to fight all out of season, and over bold, and who sought to win a following in the army, which he filled with mad impetuosity and empty hopes. The soldiers railed at Fabius and scornfully called him Hannibal's pedagogue; but
κιον μέγαν ἀνδρα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀξίων ἴγουντο
5 στρατηγῶν· ὁ δὲ μάλλον εἰς φρόνημα καὶ θράσος ἀνειμένος ἐχλεύαζε μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων στρατοπεδείας, ὡς καλὰ θέατρα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀεὶ παρασκευαζομένου θεωρῆσοντας πορθομένην καὶ φλεγομένην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἴρωτα δὲ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Φαβίου πότερον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄρας ἀνα-φέρει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς τῆς γῆς ἀπεγνωκὸς, ἡ νέφη καὶ ὀμίχλας προβαλλόμενος ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς πολεμίους. ταῦτα τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὸν Φαβίου ἀπαγγέλλοντων καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν τὸ κινδύνῳ λύσαι παραίνουν, "Οὐτὸς μένταν," ἐφη, "δεῖ- λότερος ἢ νῦν εἰναι δοκῶ γενοίμην, εἰ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας φοβηθεῖς ἐκπέσοιμι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ λογισμῶν. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ύπὲρ πατρίδος οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δέος, ἡ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἄνθρωπων καὶ διαβολας καὶ φύγους ἐκπληξὶς οὐκ ἄξιον τηλικαύτης ἄρχης ἄνδρός, ἀλλὰ δουλεύοντος δὲν κρατεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ δεσπόζειν κακῶς φρονούντων προσήκει." 

VI. Μετὰ ταῦτα γίνεται διαμαρτία τοῦ Ἁννίβου. Βουλομένους γὰρ ἄποστάσας τοῦ Φαβίου πορρωτέρω τὸ στρατεύμα καὶ πεδίων ἐπιλα- βέσθαι προνομᾶς ἐχόντων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁδηγοὺς μετὰ δεῖπνου εὐθὺς ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ Κασινάτου. οἱ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς διὰ βαρβαρισμὸν οὐκ ἐξακού- σαντες ἄκριβῶς, ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν φέροντες εἰς τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς Καμπανίας εἰς ἔλεον Κασιλίνου, ἡν τέμνει ρέων διὰ μέσης ποτα- μόσ, ὥσπερ Οὐνολτουρνοί οἱ 'Ρωμαίοι καλοῦσιν. 2 ἔστι δ' ἡ χώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιστεφθὲς ὅρεσιν.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

Minucius they considered a great man, and a general worthy of Rome. All the more therefore did he indulge his arrogance and boldness, and scoffed at their encampments on the heights, where, as he said, the dictator was always arranging beautiful theatres for their spectacle of Italy laid waste with fire and sword. And he would ask the friends of Fabius whether he was taking his army up into heaven, having lost all hope of earth, or whether he wrapped himself in clouds and mists merely to run away from the enemy. When his friends reported this to Fabius, and advised him to do away with the opprobrium by risking battle, "In that case, surely," said he, "I should be a greater coward than I am now held to be, if through fear of abusive jests I should abandon my fixed plans. And verily the fear which one exercises in behalf of his country is not shameful; but to be frightened from one's course by the opinions of men, and by their slanderous censures, that marks a man unworthy of so high an office as this, who makes himself the slave of the fools over whom he is in duty bound to be lord and master."

VI. After this, Hannibal fell into a grievous error. He wished to draw his army off some distance beyond Fabius, and occupy plains affording pasturage. He therefore ordered his native guides to conduct him, immediately after supper, into the district of Casinum. But they did not hear the name correctly, owing to his foreign way of pronouncing it, and promptly hurried his forces to the edge of Campania, into the city and district of Casilinum, through the midst of which flows a dividing river, called Vulturnus by the Romans. The region is otherwise encompassed by mountains, but a narrow defile opens
αὐλῶν δ' ἀναπέπτταται πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ἐνθα
τὰ ἑλη καταδίδωσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιχεομένου,
καὶ θίνας ἀμμου βαθείας ἔχει, καὶ τελευτᾶ πρὸς
αἰγιαλῶν κυματώδη καὶ δύσορμον. ἑνταῦθα κατα-
βαίνοντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιελθὼν ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν
ὄδων ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν διέξοδον ὀπλίτως τετρα-
κισχιλίους ἐπιστήσας ἐνέφραξε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
στρατὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄκρων ἐν καλῷ καθίσας
διὰ τῶν ἐλαφροτάτων καὶ προχειροτάτων ἐνέβαλε
τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ συνετάραξεν
ἀπαν τὸ στράτευμα, διέφθειρε δὲ περὶ ὀκτακο-
σίους. ἐκ τούτου βουλόμενος Ἀννίβας ἀπαγαγεῖν
tὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τὴν διαμαρτίαν τοῦ τόπου
νοὴς καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν τοὺς
όδηγους, ἐκβιαζότας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ προσ-
μάχοσθαν τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας ἀπεγί-
νοσκέ. δυσθύμως δὲ καὶ περιφόβως διακειμένων
ἀπάντων, καὶ περιεστάναι σφᾶς πανταχοῦθεν
ἀφύκτως ἤγουμένων ἀπορίας, ἔγνω δολοῦ ἀπάτη
tοὺς πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τοιὸνδε.

4 Βοῦς ὅσον δισχιλίας ἐκ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκέ-
λευσε συλλαβώντας ἀναδῆσαι δάδα πρὸς ἐκαστὸν
κέρας ἢ λύγων ἢ φρυγάνων αὐθανάκελοιν εἶτα
υνκτός, ὅταν ἀρθῇ σημείον, ἀνάψαντας ἐλαύνειν
ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς παρὰ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς φυλα-
κὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκεύαζον
οἷς προσετέτακτο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αὐτοὺς ἀναστή-
σας στρατὸν ἤδη σκότους ὄντος ἤγε σχολαῖοις.

5 αἱ δὲ βοῖες, ἄχρι μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὀλίγον ἦν καὶ περιέ-
out towards the sea, in the vicinity of which it becomes marshy, from the overflow of the river, has high sand-heaps, and terminates in a beach where there is no anchorage because of the dashing waves. While Hannibal was descending into this valley, Fabius, taking advantage of his acquaintance with the ways, marched round him, and blocked up the narrow outlet with a detachment of four thousand heavy infantry. The rest of his army he posted to advantage on the remaining heights, while with the lightest and readiest of his troops he fell upon the enemy's rear-guard, threw their whole army into confusion, and slew about eight hundred of them. Hannibal now perceived the mistake in his position, and its peril, and crucified the native guides who were responsible for it. He wished to effect a retreat, but despaired of dislodging his enemies by direct attack from the passes of which they were masters. All his men, moreover, were disheartened and fearful, thinking that they were surrounded on all sides by difficulties from which there was no escape. He therefore determined to cheat his enemies by a trick, the nature of which was as follows.

He gave orders to take about two thousand of the cattle which they had captured, fasten to each of their horns a torch consisting of a bundle of withes or faggots, and then, in the night, at a given signal, to light the torches and drive the cattle towards the passes, along the defiles guarded by the enemy. As soon as his orders had been obeyed, he decamped with the rest of his army, in the darkness which had now come, and led it slowly along. The cattle, as long as the fire was slight, and consumed only the
καὶ τὴν ὥλην, ἀτρέμα προεχώρουν ἐλαυνώμεναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόρειαν, καὶ θαῦμα τοῖς καθορῶσι νομεύσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρων καὶ βουκόλων ἦσαν αἱ φλόγες ἀκρωὶς ἐπιλάμπουσι τοῖς κέρασιν, ὡς στρατοπέδου καθ' ἕνα κόσμον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων
6 πολλῶν βαδίζοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πυροῦμενον τὸ κέρας ἀχρὶ βίζης διέδωκε τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν αἰσθησίαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόνον διαφέρουσαι καὶ τινάσσουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνεπιμπλαντὸ πολλῆς ἀπ' ἄλληλους φλογός, οὐκ ἐνέμευναν τῇ τάξει τῆς πορείας, ἀλλ' ἐκφοβοὶ καὶ περιαλγεῖς οὖσαν δρόμῳ κατὰ τῶν ὑρῶν ἐφέροντο, λαμπτομέναι μὲν αὐράς ἄκρας καὶ μέτωπα, πολλὴν δὲ τῆς ὥλης, δι' ἦς ἔφενυον, 7 ἀνάπτουσα. δεινὸν οὖν ἦν θέαμα τοῖς παραφυλαττοσι τὰς υπερβολὰς 'Ρωμαίοις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ φλόγες ἔωκεσαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων θεόντων διαφερομέναις λαμπάσι, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺς καὶ φόβος, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλους ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων σφίσι καὶ κυκλοῦσθαι πανταχόθεν ἕγουμεν. διὸ μένειν οὐκ ἔτολμον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μείζων ἀνεχώρουν στρατόπεδον προέμενοι τὰ στενά. καὶ 1 κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ καίροι προσμέζαντες οἱ ψιλοὶ τοῦ 'Αννίβου τὰς υπερβολὰς κατέσχουν, ἢ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις ἦδη προσέβαινεν ἄδειῳ πολλῆς καὶ θανεῖν εὐελκομένη λείαν.

VII. Τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ συνέβη μὲν ἐτὶ νυκτὸς αἰσθέθαι τὸν δόλον (φεύγουσαι γὰρ ἐνιαὶ τῶν βοῶν σποράδες ἦκον αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας), ἐνέδρας δὲ δεδιός σκοταίος ἀτρέμα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς εἰχεν. ὡς δ' ἦν ἡμέρα, διάκονων ἐξήπττετο

1 kal bracketed by Coraës and Bekker.
wood, went on quietly, as they were driven, towards the slopes of the mountains, and the shepherds and herdsmen who looked down from the heights were amazed at the flames gleaming on the tips of their horns. They thought an army was marching in close array by the light of many torches. But when the horns had been burned down to the roots, and the live flesh felt the flames, and the cattle, at the pain, shook and tossed their heads, and so covered one another with quantities of fire, then they kept no order in their going, but, in terror and anguish, went dashing down the mountains, their foreheads and tails ablaze, and setting fire also to much of the forest through which they fled. It was, of course, a fearful spectacle to the Romans guarding the passes. For the flames seemed to come from torches in the hands of men who were running hither and thither with them. They were therefore in great commotion and fear, believing that the enemy were advancing upon them from all quarters and surrounding them on every side. Therefore they had not the courage to hold their posts, but withdrew to the main body of their army on the heights, and abandoned the defiles. Instantly the light-armed troops of Hannibal came up and took possession of the passes, and the rest of his forces presently joined them without any fear, although heavily encumbered with much spoil.

VII. It was still night when Fabius became aware of the ruse, for some of the cattle, in their random flight, were captured by his men; but he was afraid of ambushes in the darkness, and so kept still, with his forces under arms. When it was day, however, he pursued the enemy, and hung upon their rear-guard,
τῶν ἐσχάτων, καὶ συμπλοκαὶ περὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐγίνοντο καὶ θόρυβος ἦν πολύς, ἔως παρ’ Ἀννίβου τῶν ὅρειβατεῖν δεινῶν Ἰβήρων ἄνδρες ἐλαφρῷ καὶ ποδώκεις πεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος εἰς βαρεῖς ὀπλίτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέβαλον, καὶ διαφθείραντες οὐκ ὄλιγους ἀπέστρεψαν τὸν Φάβιον. τότε δὴ μάλιστα κακῶς ἄκουσαί καὶ κατα-φρονηθῆναι συνέβη τὸν Φάβιον. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τόλμης ὑφιέμενος, ὡς γυμνή καὶ προνοίᾳ καταπολεμῆσαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν, αὐτὸς ἤτημένος τοῦτοι καὶ κατεστρατηγήμενος ἐφαίνετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκκαύσα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα καλὼν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀπει-πεν ἀπεσθαὶ μόνων, καὶ παρακατέστησε φυλακὴν οὐδὲν ἔσωσαν ἰδικεῖν οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν ἐκεῖθεν.

3 ταῦτα προσδιέβαλε τὸν Φάβιον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὥρχον οἱ δήμαρχοι κατεβῶν, ἐπάγωντος μάλιστα Μετιλίου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Φάβιον ἔχθραν, ἄλλ’ οἰκεῖος ὡς Μινουκίου τοῦ ἰππάρχου τιμήν θέτει καὶ δόξαν ἐκείνῳ φέρειν τὰς τοῦτος διαβολάς· ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δι’ ὀργῆς οὐχ ἦκιστα μεμφομένη τὰς περὶ τῶν

4 αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ὁμολογία. ὁμολογή-κεισαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα μὲν ἄνδρι λύεσθαι τῶν ἀλισκομένων, εἰ δὲ πλείους οἱ ἐτεροὶ γένοιτο, διδόναι δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν κομιζόμενον

140
and there was hand-to-hand fighting over difficult ground, and much tumult and confusion. At last Hannibal sent back from his van a body of Spaniards,—nimble, light-footed men, and good mountaineers, who fell upon the heavy-armed Roman infantry, cut many of them to pieces,¹ and forced Fabius to turn back. And now more than ever was Fabius the mark for scorn and abuse. He had renounced all bold and open fighting, with the idea of conquering Hannibal by the exercise of superior judgment and foresight, and now he was clearly vanquished himself by these very qualities in his foe, and outgeneralled.

Hannibal, moreover, wishing to inflame still more the wrath of the Romans against Fabius, on coming to his fields, gave orders to burn and destroy everything else, but had these spared, and these alone.² He also set a guard over them, which suffered no harm to be done them, and nothing to be taken from them. When this was reported at Rome, it brought more odium upon Fabius. The tribunes of the people also kept up a constant denunciation of him, chiefly at the instigation and behest of Metilius; not that Metilius hated Fabius, but he was a kinsman of Minucius, the Master of Horse, and thought that slander of the one meant honour and fame for the other. The senate also was in an angry mood, and found particular fault with Fabius for the terms he had made with Hannibal concerning the prisoners of war. They had agreed between them to exchange the captives man for man, and if either party had more than the other, the one who recovered these

¹ One thousand, according to Polybius, iii. 94.
² Cf. Pericles, xxxiii. 2.
πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας. ὡς οὖν γενομένης τῆς κατ᾽ ἀνδρα διαμείβεσθαι εὑρέθησαν ὑπὸ λοιποὶ Ῥωμαίων παρ᾽ Ἀνιβά τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι, τούτων ἡ σύγκλητος ἐγνώ τὰ λύτρα μὴ πέμπειν, καὶ προσητά τὸν Φάβιον ως οὐ πρεπόντως οὐδὲ λυσιτέλως ἄνδρας ὑπὸ δειλίας πολε-5 μῶν ἄγραν γενομένους ἀνακομιδόμενον. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν ὅργην ἐφερε πράως τῶν πολιτῶν, χρήματα δ᾽ οὐκ ἔχων, διαψεύσα-σθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀνιβάν καὶ προέσθαι τοὺς πολίτας οὐχ ὑπομένων, ἐπέμψε τὸν ὅδιν εἰς Ῥώμην κελεύ-σας ἀποδοῦσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τὸ ἄργυριον εὐθὺς ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κομίζειν. ἀποδο-μένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὰ χωρία καὶ ταχέως ἐπανελθόντος ἀπέπεμψε τὰ λύτρα τῷ Ἀνιβά καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλαβε· καὶ πολλῶν ἀποδιδόντων ὑστερον παρ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφηκε πᾶσιν.

VIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἑρέων καλοῦντων αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τινας θυσίας παρέδωκε τῷ Μινουκίῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ύπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι τοὺς πολέμιους οὐ μόνον ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ διαγορεύσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ δείσεις πολλὰς αὐτοῦ πολισμένοις· ὥν ἐκεῖνος ἐλάχιστα φροντίσας εὐθὺς ἐνέκειτο τοῖς 2 πολέμιοις. καὶ ποτε παραφυλάξας τὸν Ἀνιβάν τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατίας ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν ἀφεικότα, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ, κατήραξεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ φόβον περιέστησε πᾶσιν ὡς πολιορκησμένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. καὶ συλλεγομένης
FABIUS MAXIMUS

was to pay two hundred and fifty drachmas per man. Accordingly, after the exchange of man for man was made, it was found that Hannibal still had two hundred and forty Romans left. The senate decided not to send the ransom money for these, and found fault with Fabius for trying, in a manner unbecoming and unprofitable to the state, to recover men whose cowardice had made them a prey to the enemy. When Fabius heard of this, he bore the resentment of his fellow-citizens with equanimity, but since he had no money, and could not harbour the thought of cheating Hannibal and abandoning his countrymen to their fate, he sent his son to Rome with orders to sell his fields¹ and bring the money to him at once, at camp. The young man sold the estates and quickly made his return, whereupon Fabius sent the ransom money to Hannibal and got back the prisoners of war. Many of these afterwards offered to pay him the price of their ransom, but in no case did he take it, remitting it rather for all.

VIII. After this he was summoned to Rome by the priests to assist in sundry sacrifices, and put his forces in charge of Minucius, who was not to give battle, nor engage the enemy in any way. Such were not only the commands of Fabius as dictator, but also his reiterated counsels and requests. To all these Minucius gave little heed, and straightway began to threaten the enemy. One day he noticed that Hannibal had sent the larger part of his army off to forage, whereupon he attacked the residue, drove them headlong inside their trenches, slew many of them, and inspired them all with the fear of being held in siege by him. When Hannibal's

¹ Cf. chapter vii. 2.
aúdeis eis tò stratopédou tōv Ἀννίβα tῆς δυναμεως ἅσφαλως ἀνεχώρησεν, αὐτοῦ τε μεγαλαυχίας ἀμέτρου καὶ θράσους τὸ στρατιωτικὸν
3 ἐμπεπληκὼς. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου λόγος μείζων διεφοίτησεν εἰς Ῥώμην. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ἄκούσας ἐφὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ Μινουκίου φοβεῖσθαι τῇ εὐτυχίᾳ ἢ τῇ ἀτυχίᾳ, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἥρτῳ καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς εἰς ἁγορὰν συνέτρεχε, καὶ Μετίλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καταστὰς ἐδημηγόρει μεγαλύνων τὸν Μινουκίου, τὸν δὲ Φαβίου κατηγορῶν οὐ διαναθήκατο, ἀλλ' ἕδη
4 προδοσίαν, συναιτιώμενος ἄμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ πρῶτος ἐπαγαγεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον εἴς ἀρχής ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου, τὸν τέ χρόνιον ἐμβάλειν εὐθὺς εἰς μοναρχίαν ἀνυπεύθυνον, ἢ διατρίβουσα τὰς πράξεις ἱδρυισιν Ἀννίβα παρέξει καὶ χρόνον αὕτης ἐκ Λιβύης ἐτέραν δύναμιν προσγενέσθαι ὡς κρατοῦντι τῆς Ἰταλίας.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Φάβιος προσελθὼν ἀπολογείσθαι μὲν οὐδ' ἐμέλλησε πρὸς τὸν δήμαρχον, ἐφ' ἄμα τάχιστα τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἱεροτυχίας γενέσθαι, ὡστ' ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα βαδιεῖσθαι τῷ Μινουκίῳ δίκην ἐπιθήσων, ὅτι καλύτερον αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολέμοις συμβαλεῖν, δῶρυς δὲ δέχετο τὸν δήμου πολύς, ὡς κινδυνεύοντος τοῦ Μινουκίου. καὶ γὰρ εὑρέθαι τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ θανατώσαι πρὸ δίκης ἔξεστιν καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ πολλῆς πραότητος κεκινημένον φοντο βαρὺν εἶναι καὶ


144
forces were reunited in their camp, Minucius effected a safe retreat, thereby filling himself with measureless boastfulness and his soldiery with boldness. An exaggerated version of the affair speedily made its way to Rome, and Fabius, when he heard it, said he was more afraid of the success of Minucius than he would be of his failure. But the people were exalted in spirit and joyfully ran to a meeting in the forum. There Metilius their tribune mounted the rostra and harangued them, extolling Minucius, but denouncing Fabius, not as a weakling merely, nor yet as a coward, but actually as a traitor. He also included in his accusations the ablest and foremost men of the state besides. They had brought on the war at the outset, he said, in order to crush the people, and had at once flung the city into the hands of a man with sole and absolute authority, that he might, by his dilatory work, give Hannibal an assured position and time to reinforce himself with another army from Libya, on the plea that he had Italy in his power.

IX. Then Fabius came forward to speak, but wasted no time on a defence of himself against the tribune. He simply said that the sacrifices and sacred rites must be performed as quickly as possible, so that he might proceed to the army and punish Minucius for engaging the enemy contrary to his orders. Thereupon a great commotion spread swiftly through the people; they realized the peril that threatened Minucius. For the dictator has the power to imprison and put to death without trial, and they thought that the wrath of Fabius, provoked in a man of his great gentleness, would be severe.
ΠΛΟΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

2 δυσπαιράτητον, οθεν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καταδείκσαντες ἠσυχίαν ἦγον· ὁ δὲ Μετίλιος ἔχον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἅδειαν (μόνη γὰρ αὐτῇ δικτάτορος αἴρεθεν ἡ ἄρχῃ τὸ κράτος οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν, ἀλλὰ μένει τῶν ἄλλων καταλυθείσων), ἐνέκειτο τῷ δήμῳ πολὺς, μὴ προέσθαι δεόμενος τὸν Μινούκιον μηδ’ ἐάσαι παθεῖν ἢ Μάλλιος Τουρκοκοῦτος ἐδρασε τὸν ύιόν, ἀριστεύσαντος καὶ στεφανωθέντος ἀποκόψας πελέκει τὸν τράχηλον, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ σώζειν ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ πράγματα.

3 Τοιούτοις λόγοις κινηθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν μὲν Φάβιον οὖν ἐτόλμησαν ἀναγκάσαι καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, καὶ περ ἀδοξοῦντα, τὸν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐγκυρίσαντο τῆς στρατηγίας ὁμότιμον ὑμναὶ διέπειν τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας τῷ δικτάτορι, πράγμα μὴ πρότερον ἐν Ὀμῆ γεγονός, ὁλίγῳ δ’ υἱοτον αὕθες γενόμενον μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κάνναις ἄτυχίαν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τ’ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων Μάρκος ἢν Ἰούνιος δικτάτωρ, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀναπληρώσαι δεῖσαι, ὁτε δὴ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συνεκλησικῶν ἁπολωλότων, ἔτερον εἰλοντο δικτάτορα Φάβιον Βουτεῶνα. πλὴν οὗτος μὲν, ἐτεὶ προῆλθε καὶ κατέλεξε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ συνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλὴν, αὐθημερὼν ἀφεὶς τοὺς ῥαβδοὕχους καὶ διαφυγὼν τοὺς προάγοντας, εἰς τὸν ὀχλὸν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ καταμίξας ἐαυτὸν ἤδη τι τῶν ἐαυτὸῦ διοικῶν καὶ πραγματευόμενος ὅσπερ ἰδιώτης ἐπὶ τῆς ἄγορᾶς ἀνεστρέφετο.
and implacable. Wherefore they were all terrified and held their peace, excepting only Metilius. He enjoyed immunity of person as tribune of the people (for this is the only magistracy which is not robbed of its power by the election of a dictator; it abides when the rest are abolished\(^1\)), and vehemently charged and prayed the people not to abandon Minucius, nor permit him to suffer the fate which Manlius Torquatus inflicted upon his son, whom he beheaded although crowned with laurel for the greatest prowess,\(^2\) but to strip Fabius of his tyrant's power and entrust the state to one who was able and willing to save it.

The rabble were moved by such utterances. They did not dare to force Fabius to resign his sovereignty, unpopular as he was, but they voted that Minucius should have an equal share in the command, and should conduct the war with the same powers as the dictator,—a thing which had not happened before in Rome. A little while afterwards, it is true, it happened again, namely, after the disaster at Cannae.\(^3\) At that time Marcus Junius the dictator was in the field, and at home it became necessary that the senate should be filled up, since many senators had perished in the battle. They therefore elected Fabius Buteo a second dictator. But he, after acting in that capacity and choosing the men to fill up the senate, at once dismissed his lictors, eluded his escort, plunged into the crowd, and straightway went up and down the forum arranging some business matter of his own and engaging in affairs like a private citizen.

\(^1\) See Polybius, iii. 87.

\(^2\) The son had disobeyed consular orders and engaged in single combat with a Latin, in the great battle at the foot of Vesuvius, 340 B.C.

\(^3\) Cf. chapter xvi.
Χ. Τὸν δὲ Μινουκίου ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τῷ δικτά-τορι πράξεις ἀποδείξαντες φοντο κεκολούθηκα καὶ
γεγονέναι ταπεινῶν παντάπασιν ἔκεινον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ
συμφορὰν ἥγειτο τὴν ἔκεινον ἁγγοιαν, ἀλλ’ ὠσπερ
Διογένης ὁ σοφός, εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς αὐτόν:
“Οὐτοί σοι καταγελώσων,” “Ἀλλ’ ἐγώ,” εἶπεν,
“οὐ καταγελῶμαι,” μόνοις ἐγγόμενοι καταγελῶ-
σθαι τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
2 ταραττομένους, οὗτω Φάβιοι ἐφερεν ἀπαθῶς καὶ
ῥάδιως ὅσον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὰ γενόμενα, συμβαλ-
λόμενος ἀποδείξειν τῶν φιλοσόφων τοῖς ἀξιούσι
μὴτε βριθεσθαι μὴτε ἀτιμοῦσθαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν
ἀνδρα καὶ σπουδαῖον. ἤνια δ’ αὐτὸν ἡ τῶν πολ-
λῶν ἄβουλία διὰ τὰ κοινά, δεδωκότων ἀφορμὰς
ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ὑγιαινοῦσῃ φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
3 μον. καὶ δεδοικῶς μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκμανείς ὑπὸ
κενῆς δόξης καὶ ὅγκου φθάσῃ τι κακὸν ἀπεργα-
σίμενος, λαθῶν ἀπαντᾶς ἔξηλθε. καὶ παραγενό-
μενος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν
Μινουκίου οὐκέτι καθεκτὸν, ἀλλὰ βαρὸν καὶ
tετυφωμένον καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἀρχεῖν ἁξιοῦντα,
tοῦτο μὲν οὐ συνεχώρησε, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διενεί-
ματο πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὥς μέρους μόνος ἀρξὼν βέλτιον
4 ἡ πάντων παρὰ μέρος. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν
tαγμάτων καὶ τέταρτον αὐτὸς ἐλαβε, τὸ δὲ 
δευτερον καὶ τρίτον ἐκεῖνῳ παρέδωκεν, ἐπίσης καὶ
tῶν συμμαχικῶν διανεμηθέντων. σεμνυνομένου δὲ
tοῦ Μινουκίου καὶ χαίροντος ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ πρόσχημα
τῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ὑφείσθαι καὶ
προπετηλακίσθαι δέ αὐτὸν, ὑπεμίμησεν ὁ
Φάβιος ὡς οὐκ ὄντος μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς Φάβιον, ἀλλ’
148
FABIUS MAXIMUS

X. Now that they had invested Minucius with the same powers as the dictator, the people supposed that the latter would feel shorn of strength and altogether humble, but they did not estimate the man aright. For he did not regard their mistake as his own calamity, but was like Diogenes the wise man, who, when some one said to him, "These folk are ridiculing you," said, "But I am not ridiculed." He held that only those are ridiculed who are confounded by such treatment and yield their ground. So Fabius endured the situation calmly and easily, so far as it affected himself, thereby confirming the axiom of philosophy that a sincerely good man can neither be insulted nor dishonoured. But because it affected the state, he was distressed by the folly of the multitude. They had given opportunities to a man with a diseased military ambition, and fearful lest this man, utterly crazed by his empty glory and prestige, should bring about some great disaster before he could be checked, he set out in all secrecy from the city. When he reached the camp, he found that Minucius was no longer to be endured. He was harsh in his manner, puffed up with conceit, and demanded the sole command in his due turn. This Fabius would not grant, feeling that the sole command of a part of the army was better than the command of the whole in his turn. The first and fourth legions he therefore took himself, and gave the second and third to Minucius, the allied forces also being equally divided between them. When Minucius put on lofty airs and exulted because the majesty of the highest and greatest office in the state had been lowered and insulted on his account, Fabius reminded him that his contention was not
5 εἰ σωφρονεῖ, πρὸς Ἀννίβαν τοῦ ἀγώνος· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φιλονεικεί, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τοῦ νεικημένου καὶ καθυβρισμένου παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν νῦν ἠτειμημένος καὶ νεικηκὼς οὐ φανεῖται μᾶλλον ὀλιγωρῶν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας.

XI. Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρωνείαν ἵγείτο γεροντικήν παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποκληρωθείσαν δύναμιν ἤδη καὶ χωρὶς ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, οὐδὲν ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐφεδρεύοντος. ἦν δὲ λόφος κατὰ μέσον καταληφθῆσαι μὲν οὐ χαλεπός, ὅχρος δὲ καταληφθεὶς στρατοπέδῳ καὶ διαρκῆς εἰς ἀπαντα. τὸ δὲ περίξ πεδίον ὁμοῦν οἷον οὖν ἄρτοθεν ὁμαλῶν διὰ ψυλότητα καὶ λεῖου, ἔχον δὲ τινας οὐ μεγάλας 2 τάφρους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κοιλότητας ἄλλας. διὸ καὶ τὸν λόφον ἐκ τοῦ ράστου κρύφα κατασχεῖν παρὸν οὐκ ἤθελησεν ο Ἀννίβας, ἀλλ' ἀπέλιπε μάχης ἐν μέσῳ πρόφασιν. ὥσ δ' εἴδε κεχωρισμένον τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν Μινώκιον, νυκτὸς μὲν εἰς τὰς τάφρους καὶ τὰς κοιλότητας κατέσπειρε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινας, ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἱμέρᾳ φανερῶς ἐπεμψεν οὐ πολλοὺς καταληψιμένους τὸν λόφον, ὡς ἐπαγάγοιτο συμπεσεῖν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τὸν Μινώκιον.

3 "Ὁ δὴ καὶ συνέβη. τρώτου μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστειλε τὴν κούφην στρατιάν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἱππεῖς, τέλος

150
with Fabius, but rather, were he wise, with Hannibal. If, however, he was bent on rivalry with his colleague in office, he must see to it that the man who had been triumphantly honoured by his fellow-citizens should not be proved more careless of their salvation and safety than the man who had been ingloriously outraged by them.

XI. But Minucius regarded all this as an old man's dissimulation, and taking the forces allotted to him, went into camp apart by himself, while Hannibal, not unaware of what was going on, kept a watchful eye on everything. Now there was a hill between him and the Romans which could be occupied with no difficulty, and which, if occupied, would be a strong site for a camp and in every way sufficient. The plain round about, when viewed from a distance, was perfectly smooth and level, but really had sundry small ditches and other hollow places in it. For this reason, though it would have been very easy for him to get possession of the hill by stealth, Hannibal had not cared to do so, but had left it standing between the two armies in the hope that it might bring on a battle. But when he saw Minucius separated from Fabius, in the night he scattered bodies of his soldiers among the ditches and hollows, and at break of day, with no attempt at concealment, sent a few to occupy the hill, that he might seduce Minucius into an engagement for it.

And this actually came to pass. First Minucius sent out his light-armed troops, then his horsemen,

1 A mile and a half from Fabius, according to Polybius, iii. 103.

2 Five thousand horsemen and footmen, according to Livy, xxii. 28; five thousand light-armed and other infantry, and five hundred cavalry, according to Polybius, iii. 104.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

δ' ὄρων τὸν 'Αννίβαν παραβοηθοῦντα τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πάση κατέβαινε τῇ δυνάμει συντεταγμένος. καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν θέμενος ἧμύνετο τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου βάλλοντας, συμπλεκόμενος καὶ ἵσα φερόμενος, ἀρκετοὶ οὖ γὰρ ἁλὼς ἦπατημένον ὅρων ὁ 'Αννίβας καὶ γυμνὰ παρέχοντα τοῖς ἐνεδρεύονσιν τὰ νότα τὸ σημεῖον αἴρει. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο πολ-λαχόθεν ἔξανισταμένων ἀμα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς προσφερομένων καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀποκτινών-των ἰδιϊγγητος κατείχε ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία τοὺς Ἦρωμαίοις, αὐτοὶ τὸ τοῦ Μινούκιον τὸ θράσος κατακέκλαστο, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον ἄλλοτε τῶν ἒγε-μόνων διεπάπτατον, ύδατος ἐν χωρία μένειν τολμῶντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγήν ὠδομένων οὐ σωτήριον. οὔ γὰρ Νομάδες ἢ ἢ κρατοῦντες κύκλῳ περιήλαυνον τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκιδιαμένους ἐκτενούν.

XII. Ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ κακῷ τῶν Ἦρωμαίων ὠντων οὐκ ἔλαθεν ὁ κίνδυνος τὸν Φάβιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον, ὡς έοικεν, ἦδη προειληφός τὴν τε δύναμιν συντεταγμένην εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα γυνώσκειν ἐφρόντιζεν οὗ δὲ ἄγι-γέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔχων κατασκοπὴν πρὸ τοῦ χάρακος. ὡς οὖν κατείδε κυκλούμενοι καὶ ταρατ-τόμενοι τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κραυγὴ προσέπιπτεν οὐ μενόντων, ἀλλ' ἦδη πεφοβημένων καὶ τρεπο-2 μένων, μηρὸν τὲ πληξάμενοι καὶ στενάξας μέγα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν: "'Ο Ἡράκλεις, ὡς τὰχιον μὲν ἢ ἐγὼ προσεδόκων, βράδιον δ' ἢ αὐτὸς ἐσπευδε Μινούκιος ἐαυτὸν ἀπολώλεκεν," τὰς
and finally, when he saw Hannibal coming to the support of his troops on the hill, he descended into the plain with all his forces in battle array. In a fierce battle he sustained the discharge of missiles from the hill, coming to close quarters with the enemy there and holding his advantage, until Hannibal, seeing that his enemy was happily deceived and was exposing the rear of his line of battle to the troops who had been placed in ambush, raised the signal. At this his men rose up on all sides, attacked with loud cries, and slew their foes who were in the rear ranks. Then indescribable confusion and fright took possession of the Romans. Minucius himself felt all his courage shattered, and looked anxiously now to one and now to another of his commanders, no one of whom dared to hold his ground, nay, all urged their men to flight, and a fatal flight too. For the Numidians, now masters of the situation, galloped round the plain and slew them as they scattered themselves about.

XII. Now that the Romans were in such an evil pass, Fabius was not unaware of their peril. He had anticipated the result, as it would seem, and had his forces drawn up under arms, wisely learning the progress of events not from messengers, but by his own observations in front of his camp. Accordingly, when he saw the army of Minucius surrounded and confounded, and when their cries, as they fell upon his ears, showed him that they no longer stood their ground, but were already panic-stricken and routed, he smote his thigh, and with a deep groan said to the bystanders: "Hercules! how much sooner than I expected, but later than his own rash eagerness demanded, has Minucius destroyed himself!" Then
δὲ σημαίας ἐκφέρειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας ἀνεβόησε· "Νῦν τις, ὦ στρατιώται, Μάρκου Μινουκίου μεμνημένος ἐπειγέσθω λαμπρός γὰρ ἄνηρ καὶ φιλόπατρις. εἰ δὲ τὰ σπεύ-δων ἐξελάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἦμαρτεν, αὕθις αἰτίαςόμεθα."

3 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεῖς τρέπεται καὶ δια-σκίδυσσι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιελαύνοντας Νομάδας· εἰτὰ πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ κατὰ νότον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὅτας ἐχώρει καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἐκτείνειν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ,¹ πρὶν ἀποληφθῆ-ναι καὶ γενέσθαι περιπετεῖς οἷς αὐτοὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν, ἐγκλίναντες ἐφυγον. ὅρων δ’ ὅ Ἀρνίβας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸν Φάβιον εὐρω-στῶς παρ’ ἥλικιαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὅθομενον ἄνω πρὸς τὸν Μινουκίον εἰς τὸν λόφον, ἐπέσχε τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημῆνας ἀνάκλησιν ἀπῆρχεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀσμένως καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἀποτρεπομένων. Λέγεται δ’ αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα περὶ τοῦ Φάβιον πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον μετὰ παιδιᾶς· "οὐκ ἐγώ μὲντοι προάλεγον ὑμῖν πολλάκις τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ταύτην καθημένην νεφέλην, ὅτι μετὰ ξύλης ποτὲ καὶ καταιγίδων ὄμβρον ἐκ-ρήξει;

XIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Φάβιος μὲν ὅσους ἐκείνην τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσας ἀνεχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον οὐδ’ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος· Μινουκίος δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιάν ἀθροίσας, "Ἀνδρεῖς," ἐφη, "συστρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν ἄμαρτειν μηδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλους μεῖξον ἡ

¹ λοιπὸν MSS., Sintenis¹, Coraës, Bekker: πλείστοι.
ordering the standards to be swiftly advanced and the army to follow, he called out with a loud voice: "Now, my soldiers, let every man be mindful of Marcus Minucius and press on to his aid; for he is a brilliant man, and a lover of his country. And if his ardent desire to drive away the enemy has led him into any error, we will charge him with it later."

Well then, as soon as he appeared upon the scene, he routed and dispersed the Numidians who were galloping about in the plain. Then he made against those who were attacking the rear of the Romans under Minucius, and slew those whom he encountered. But the rest of them, ere they were cut off and surrounded in their own turn, as the Romans had been by them, gave way and fled. Then Hannibal, seeing the turn affairs had taken, and Fabius, with a vigour beyond his years, ploughing his way through the combatants up to Minucius on the hill, put an end to the battle, signalled a retreat, and led his Carthaginians back to their camp, the Romans also being glad of a respite. It is said that as Hannibal withdrew, he addressed to his friends some such pleasantry as this about Fabius: "Verily, did I not often prophesy to you that the cloud which we saw hovering above the heights would one day burst upon us in a drenching and furious storm?"

XIII After the battle, Fabius despoiled all of the enemy whom he had slain, and withdrew to his camp, without indulging in a single haughty or invidious word about his colleague. And Minucius, assembling his own army, said to them: "Fellow-soldiers, to avoid all mistakes in the conduct of great enter-
κατ' ἀνθρωπόν ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἄμαρτόντα χρήσασθαι
tois πταίσμασι διδάγμασι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἄνδρὸς
2 ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογῶ
μικρὰ μεμφόμενος τὴν τύχην περὶ μειζόνων ἐπαι-
νεῖν. ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἦσθομην χρόνον τοσοῦτον, ἡμέρας
μέρει μικρῷ πεπαιδευμαί, γνοὺς ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ
ἀρχεῖν ἐτέρου δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἀρχοῦντος ἐτέρου
dεόμενον καὶ φιλοτιμούμενον 1 νικᾷν ὑφ' ὧν
ηττᾶσθαι κάλλιον. ἦμιν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐστὶν
ἀρχῶν ὁ δικτάτωρ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς εἰκεῖν εὐχαρι-
στίας αὐτὸς ἤγεμὼν ἔσομαι, πρῶτοις ἐμαυτὸν
εὐπειθῆ καὶ ποιοῦντα τὸ κελεύμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνων
παρεχόμενος."

3 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ τοὺς ἁπτοὺς ἀρασθαί κελεύσας
καὶ πάντας ἀκολούθειν, ἤγε πρὸς τὸν χάρακα
tοῦ Φαβίου. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐντὸς ἐβαϊδίζεν ἐπὶ
τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνὴν, ὡστε θαυμάζειν καὶ
dιαπορείν πάντας. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου
θέμενος ἐμπροσθεν τὰς σημαίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνον
πατέρα μεγάλη φωνῇ, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τῶν
στρατιώτων πάτρων ἥσπαζοντο. τούτο δ' ἐστὶ
toῖς ἀπελευθέρωσι προσφώνημα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπε-

4 λευθερώσασις. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενημένης ὁ Μινοῦ-
κιος εἶπε: "Δύο νίκας, ὁ δικτάτορ, τῇ σήμερον
ἡμέρᾳ νεώκηκας, ἄνδρεα μὲν Ἀννίβας, εὐβουλία
δὲ καὶ χρηστοτήτι τὸν συνάρχουτα· καὶ δὲ ἡς ἡς
σέσωκας ἡμᾶς, δὲ ἐν χεῖνας ἂν χρηστοὺς
αἰσχρὰν μὲν ἦτταν ὑπ' ἐκείνων, καλὴν δὲ καὶ
5 σωτήριον ὑπὸ σοῦ. πατέρα δὴ σε χρηστῶν 2

1 φιλοτιμούμενον the MSS. have μὴ φιλοτιμούμενον, which
Cornæus defends.
2 χρηστῶν bracketed by Bekker.

156
prizes is beyond man's powers; but when a mistake has once been made, to use his reverses as lessons for the future is the part of a brave and sensible man. I therefore confess that while I have some slight cause of complaint against fortune, I have larger grounds for praising her. For what I could not learn in all the time that preceded it, I have been taught in the brief space of a single day, and I now perceive that I am not able to command others myself, but need to be under the command of another, and that I have all the while been ambitious to prevail over men of whom to be outdone were better. Now in all other matters the dictator is your leader, but in the rendering of thanks to him I myself will take the lead, and will show myself first in following his advice and doing his bidding."

After these words, he ordered the eagles to be raised and all to follow them, and led the way to the camp of Fabius. When he had entered this, he proceeded to the general's tent, while all were lost in wonder. When Fabius came forth, Minucius had the standards planted in front of him, and addressed him with a loud voice as Father, while his soldiers greeted the soldiers of Fabius as Patrons, the name by which freedmen address those who have set them free. When quiet prevailed, Minucius said: "Dictator, you have on this day won two victories, one over Hannibal through your valour, and one over your colleague through your wisdom and kindness. By the first you saved our lives, and by the second you taught us a great lesson, vanquished as we were by our enemy to our shame, and by you to our honour and safety. I call you by the
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

προσαγορεῦον, τιμωτέραν οὐκ ἔχων προσηγορίαν, ἔπει τῆς γε τοῦ τεκόντος χάριτος μείζων ἢ παρὰ σοῦ χάρις αὐτῆς. ἔγεννηθην μὲν γὰρ ύπ’ ἐκεῖνον μόνος, σώζομαι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ μετὰ τοσοῦτων.” ταῦτ’ εἶπὼν καὶ περιβάλλων τὸν Φάβιον ἡσπᾶ- 182 ξετο. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤν ὅραν πράττοντας ἐνεφύοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατε- φύλαξαν, ὥστε μεστὸν εἶναι χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων ἥδιστων τὸ στρατίπεδον.

XIV. Ἐκ τοῦτοι Φάβιος μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὑπατεῖ δ’ αὐθεν ἀπεδείκνυσε. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφύλαξαν ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἤδειαν τοῦ πολέμου κατέστησε, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως φεύγοντες πρὸς Ἀνυβαί, τοὺς δὲ συμμάχους ἐπιβοηθοῦσα καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις κωλύσασθε. Τερέντιος δὲ Βάρρων εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν προαχθεῖς ἀπὸ γένους ἀσίμου, βίον δὲ διὰ δημοκρατίαν καὶ προπέτειαν ἐπισήμου, δῆλος ἢν εὐθὺς ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητα τὸν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀναρρίφων κύβον.

2 ἐβάσα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μενεῖν τὸν πολέμον ἀχρι οὐ Φάβιος χρήται στρατηγοῖς ἤ πόλις, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὁφεσθαί τε καὶ μικῆσθεν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἀμα δὲ τούτος τοῖς λόγοις συνῆκε καὶ κατέγραφε δύναμιν τηλικαύτην, ἡλίκη πρὸς ὑδέα πῶποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐχοίσαντο Ρωμαῖοι. μυριάδες γὰρ ἑνέα δισχιλίων ἄνδρῶν δέονσαι συνετάξθησαν εἰς τὴν μάχην, μέγα δὲς Φάβιῳ καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι Ρωμαίων ὥστε γὰρ ἠλπίζον ἔξειν ἀναφορὰν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοσαῦτη σφάλεισαν ἡλικία.

1 μενεῖν Sintenis², after Coraës; MSS., Sintenis¹, and Bekker, μέειν.

158
FABIUS MAXIMUS

excellent name of Father, because there is no more honourable name which I can use; and yet a father's kindness is not so great as this kindness bestowed by you. My father did but beget me, while to you I owe not only my own salvation, but also that of all these men of mine." So saying, he embraced Fabius and kissed him, and the soldiers on both sides in like manner embraced and kissed each other, so that the camp was filled with joy and tears of rejoicing.

XIV. After this, Fabius laid down his office, and consuls were again appointed. The first of these maintained the style of warfare which Fabius had ordained. They avoided a pitched battle with Hannibal, but gave aid and succour to their allies, and prevented their falling away. But when Terentius Varro was elevated to the consulship, a man whose birth was obscure and whose life was conspicuous for servile flattery of the people and for rashness, it was clear that in his inexperience and temerity he would stake the entire issue upon the hazard of a single throw. For he used to shout in the assemblies that the war would continue as long as the city employed men like Fabius as its generals; but that he himself would conquer the enemy the very day he saw them. And not only did he make such speeches, but he also assembled and enrolled a larger force than the Romans had ever employed against any enemy. Eighty-eight thousand men were arrayed for battle, to the great terror of Fabius and all sensible Romans. For they thought their city could not recover if she lost so many men in the prime of life.
3 Διδ καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τερεντίου Παύλου Αἰμίλιον, ἀνδρὰ πολλῶν πολέμων ἐμπειροῦ, οὐκ ἀρεστὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν δήμων καὶ καταιγίγα ἐκ τινος καταδίκης πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτῶ γεγενημένης, ἀνίστη καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας, διδάσκων ὡς οὐ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς Τερεντίου ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὁ ἀγὼν ἐσοιτο. σπευδεῖν γὰρ μάχην γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς δυνάμεως, τὸν δὲ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσθενείας. "Εγὼ δ', εἶπεν, "ὁ Παῦλε, Τερεντίου πιστεύεσθαι δικαιότερός εἰμι περὶ τῶν Ἀννίβου πραγμάτων διαβεβαιούμενος ώς, εἰ μηδὲς αὐτῷ μαχεῖται τούτου τὸν ἐμαυτόν, ἀπολείται μὲν οὖσαν ἡ ἀνήρ ἡ φεύγων ἀπείσιν, ἢ γε καὶ νῦν νικᾶν καὶ κρατεῖν δοκοῦντι τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς προσκεχώρηκε, τῆς δ' οἴκοθεν δυνάμεως οὐδ' ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα πάνω περίεστι." πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεται τὸν Παύλου εἶπεν: "Εμοι μὲν, ὁ Φάβιος, τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ σκοποῦντι κρείττον ἐστὶ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποπεσεῖν δόρασιν ἡ πάλιν ταῖς ψῆφοις τῶν πολιτῶν· εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει τὰ δημόσια πράγματα, πειράσομαι μᾶλλον σοι δοκεῖν ἀγαθός εἶναι στρατηγὸς ἡ πάσι τοῖς ἀλλοίς ἐπὶ τὰναντία βιαζομένοις." ταῦτην ἐχον τὴν προαιρεσιν ὁ Παῦλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

XV. Ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Τερεντίος ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ παρ᾽ ἦμεραν ἄρχειν, καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβα παραστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ τῶν Αὐφίδιου ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰς λεγομένας Κάννας, ἀμ’ ἦμέρα τῇ τῆς μάχης σημεῖον ἐξέθηκεν (ἐστὶ δὲ χιτῶν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος), ὡστε καὶ 160
FABIUS MAXIMUS

Now, Paulus Aemilius was the colleague of Terentius, a man of experience in many wars, but not acceptable to the people, and crushed in spirit by a fine which they had imposed upon him. Therefore Fabius tried to rouse and encourage him to restrain the madness of his colleague, showing him that he must struggle to save his country not so much from Hannibal as from Terentius. The latter, he said, was eager to fight because he did not see where his strength lay; the former, because he saw his own weakness. "But," said he, "it is to me, O Paulus, that more credence should be given in regard to Hannibal's affairs, and I solemnly assure you that, if no one shall give him battle this year, the man will remain in Italy only to perish, or will leave it in flight, since even now, when he is thought to be victorious and to be master of the country, not one of his enemies has come over to his side, and not even so much as the third part of the force which he brought from home is still left." To this Paulus is said to have answered: "If I consult my own interests, O Fabius, it is better for me to encounter the spears of the enemy than to face again the votes of my fellow-citizens. But if the state is in such a pass, I will try to be a good general in your opinion, rather than in that of all the rest who so forcibly oppose you." With this determination, Paulus went forth to the war.

XV. But Terentius, insisting on his right to command a day in turn, and then encamping over against Hannibal by the river Auisidus and the town called Cannae, at break of day put out the signal for battle,—a scarlet tunic displayed above the general's tent. At this even the Carthaginians were con-
τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἡ ἀρχή διαταραχθῶν, τῆς
tε τόλμαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου πλῆθος ὀρῶντας, αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἦμισυ μέρος
2 ὑνας. Ἀννίβας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι
cελεύσας, αὐτὸς ἵπποτης μετ' ὀλίγων ὑπὲρ λόφου
tινὸς μαλακοῦ κατεσκόπει τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη
καθισταμένους εἰς τάξιν. εἰπόντος δὲ τινὸς τῶν
περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρὸς ἴσοτίμου, τοῦνομα Γίσκωνος,
ὡς θαυμαστὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
πολεμίων, συναγαγὼν τὸ πρῶσωπον ἄ Ἀννίβας,
"Ετέρον," εἰπεν, "ὁ Γίσκων, λέληθε σε τούτων
θαυμασιώτερον." ἔρομενον δὲ τοῦ Γίσκωνος, τὸ
ποιον; ""Οτι," ἔφη, "τούτων ὑνατων τοσοῦτων
3 οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς Γίσκων καλεῖται." γενομένου
δὲ παρὰ ἐξαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ σκύμματος ἐμπίπτει
gέλως πᾶσι, καὶ κατέβαινον ὑπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοῖς
ἀπαινώσιν ἵπτι τὸ πεπαιγμένον ἀπαγγέλλοντες,
ὡς τὰ πολλὰ πολὺν εἶναι 1 τὸν γέλωτα καὶ
μηδ' ἀναλαβείν ἑαυτοὺς δύνασθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Ἀννίβαν. τοῦτο τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἰδοὺς θάρσος
παρίστη, λογιζομένοις ὑπὸ πολλοῦ καὶ ἰσχυροῦ
tοῦ καταφρονοῦντος ἐπιέναι γελάν ὑντως καὶ
παῖξει τῷ στρατηγῷ παρὰ τῶν κύρινων.

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ στρατηγιμάσων ἐχρή-
σατο, πρῶτο μὲν τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ τόπου, ποιησά-
μενος κατὰ νότον τὸν ἀνέμον προστιθῇ γὰρ
ἐοικῶς φλέγοντι κατερρήγωντο, καὶ τραχύν ἐκ
πεδίων ὑφώμμῳ καὶ ἰσαπεπταμένων αὐρων κο
νιοτὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ
tοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐσώθει, καὶ προσέβαλλε τοῖς
προσώποις ἀποστρεφομένοις καὶ συνταραττο-

1 ἵνα: Bekker corrects, after Schnefer, to ἵνα, spread.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

founded at first, seeing the boldness of the Roman general and the number of his army, which was more than double their own. But Hannibal ordered his forces to arm for battle, while he himself, with a few companions, rode to the top of a gently sloping ridge, from which he watched his enemies as they formed in battle array. When one of his companions, named Gisco, a man of his own rank, remarked that the number of the enemy amazed him, Hannibal put on a serious look and said: “Gisco, another thing has escaped your notice which is more amazing still.” And when Gisco asked what it was, “It is the fact,” said he, “that in all this multitude there is no one who is called Gisco.” The jest took them all by surprise and set them laughing, and as they made their way down from the ridge, they reported the pleasantry to all who met them, so that great numbers were laughing heartily, and Hannibal’s escort could not even recover themselves. The sight of this infused courage into the Carthaginians. They reasoned that their general must have a mighty contempt for the enemy if he laughed and jested so in the presence of danger.

XVI. In the battle Hannibal practiced a double strategy. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground to put the wind at his back. This wind came down like a fiery hurricane, and raised a huge cloud of dust from the exposed and sandy plains and drove it over the Carthaginian lines hard into the faces of the Romans, who turned away
2 μένοις. δευτέρω δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν τάξιν ὃ γὰρ ἦν ἵσχυρότατον αὐτῷ καὶ μαχιμῶτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκατέρωσε τοῦ μέσου τάξις, τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ συνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων, ἐμβόλῳ τούτῳ προέχοντι πολὺ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος χρησόμενος· εἷρητο δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις, ὅταν τούτοις διακόψαντες οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸ εἰκόν εἰκερομένου τοῦ μέσου καὶ κόλπου λαμβάνοντος ἐντὸς γένονται τῆς φάλαγγος, ὃξεὼς ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐμβαλείν τε πλαγίους καὶ περι-
3 πτύσσειν ὅπισθεν συγκλείοντας. ὃ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τὸν πλείστον ἀπεργάσασθαι φῶν. ὃς γὰρ ἐνέδωκε τὸ μέσον καὶ τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἐδέξαντο διώκοντας, ἡ δὲ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μεταβαλόντα συχῆμα μηνοειδῆς ἔγεγονε καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οἱ ταξιαρχοὶ ταχὺ τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ ἄσπιδα, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίναντες προσέπεσον κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, πάντας, ὁσοὶ μὴ τὴν κύκλωσιν ὑπεκλίναντες ἐφθασαν, ἐν μέσῳ κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν.
4 Δέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱππεύσι τῶν Ρωμαίων σύμπτωμα παράλογον γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Πάυλον, ὡς ἔοικε, τρωθεὶς ὁ ἱππός ὑπεσείσατο, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλοις ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἱππόν πεζὸς τῷ ὑπάτῳ προσήμυνε. τούτῳ δ' οἱ ἱππεῖς ἱδόντες, ὡς παραγγέλματος κοινοῦ δεδομένου, πάντες ἀποπεριδήσαντες πεζοὶ συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἵδιν δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας, "Τοῦτό," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον ἣβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον." 5 ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας ἀπηγγέλκασι.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

to avoid it, and so fell into confusion. In the second place, he formed his troops as follows: the sturdiest and most warlike part of his force he stationed on either side of the centre, and manned the centre itself with his poorest soldiers, intending to use this as a wedge jutting out far in advance of the rest of his line. But orders were given to the picked troops, when the Romans should have cut the troops in the centre to pieces, pursued them hotly as they retreated and formed a deep hollow, and so got within their enemy’s line of battle,—then to turn sharply from either side, smite them on the flanks, and envelop them by closing in upon their rear. And it was this which seems to have produced the greatest slaughter. For the centre gave way and was followed by the Romans in pursuit, Hannibal’s line of battle thus changing its shape into that of a crescent; and the commanders of the picked troops on his wings wheeled them swiftly to left and right and fell upon the exposed sides of their enemy, all of whom, except those who retired before they were surrounded, were then overwhelmed and destroyed.

It is said, further, that a strange calamity befell the Roman cavalry also. The horse of Paulus, as it appears, was wounded and threw his rider off, and one after another of his attendants dismounted and sought to defend the consul on foot. When the horsemen saw this, supposing that a general order had been given, they all dismounted and engaged the enemy on foot. On seeing this, Hannibal said: “This is more to my wish than if they had been handed over to me in fetters.” But such particulars as these may be found in the detailed histories of the war.

1 Quam mallem vincitos mihi traderet. Livy, xxii. 49.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Τῶν δ’ ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Βάρρων ὀλυγοστὸς ἀφίππευσεν εἰς Οὐενοουσίαν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Παύλος ἐν τῷ βυθῷ καὶ κλύδωνι τῆς φυγῆς ἐκεῖνης βελών τε πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πρόσωποις ἐγκείμενοι ἀνάπλεως, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πένθει τοσοῦτο βαρυνωμένος, πρὸς τινὶ λέθῳ καθήκοτο, τὸν ἐπισφῶξον 
6 τῶν πολεμίων ἀναμένων. ἦν δὲ δὴ αἵματος πλῆθος, ὁ συνεπέφυρτο τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, οὐ πολλοὶς διάδηλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλοι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας παρῆλθον. μονὸς δὲ Κορνήλιος Δέντλος, εὐπατρίδης νέος, ἵδων καὶ προνοίας ἀπεπήδησε τοῦ ἔπτου, καὶ προσαγαγόν παρεκάλει χρήσθαι καὶ σώζειν αὐτὸν τοῖς πολίταις ἀρχοντος ἅγαθοῦ τότε μᾶλιστα χρήσθουν. ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἀπετρήψατο τὴν δέησιν, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον αὐθὲς ἡνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπτοὺς ἀναβήναι δακρύων, εἶτα δὲ τὴν δεξίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ συνεχαστάς, ὁ ’’Απάγγελλε,” εἶπεν, ὁ Ἡ Δέντλος, Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ γενοῦ μάρτυς αὐτός, ὅτι Παύλος Λεμίλιος ἐνέμευεν αὐτοῦ1 τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἄχρι τέλους καὶ τῶν ὀμολογήσεων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲν ἐλυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐνικήθη πρότερον ὑπὸ 
7 Βάρρωνος, εἰθ’ ὑπὸ ’’Αννίβοι.” τροσαύτ’ ἐπιστεύλας τὸν μὲν Δέντλον ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ρίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς φονευομένους ἀπέθανε. λέγονται δὲ πεσεῖν μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων πεντακισμύριοι, ξόντες δὲ ἀλώναι τετρακισχίλιοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ληφθέντες ἐπὶ ἀμφότεροι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττουν.

8 Βάρρωνος, εἰθ’ ὑπὸ ’’Αννίβοι.” τροσαύτ’ ἐπιστεύλας τὸν μὲν Δέντλον ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ρίψας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς φονευομένους ἀπέθανε. λέγονται δὲ πεσεῖν μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων πεντακισμύριοι, ξόντες δὲ ἀλώναι τετρακισχίλιοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ληφθέντες ἐπὶ ἀμφότεροι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττουν.

1 αὐτοῦ Coraïs and Bekker, now with S: αὐτοῦ his own convictions. Cf. praeceptorum eius memorem, Livy, xxii. 49. 166
FABIUS MAXIMUS

As for the consuls, Varro galloped off with a few followers to the city of Venusia, but Paulus, caught in the deep surges of that panic flight and covered with many missiles which hung in his wounds, weighed down in body and spirit by so vast a misfortune, sat down, leaning against a stone, and waiting for an enemy to dispatch him. His head and face were so profusely smeared with blood that few could recognize him; even his friends and retainers passed him by without knowing him. Only Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of the patrician order, saw who he was, and leaping from his horse, led him to Paulus and besought the consul to take him and save himself for the sake of his fellow-citizens, who now more than ever needed a brave commander. But Paulus rejected this prayer, and forced the youth, all tears, to mount his horse again, and then rose up and clasped his hand and said: "Lentulus, tell Fabius Maximus, and be thyself a witness to what thou tellest, that Paulus Aemilius was true to his precepts up to the end, and broke not one of the agreements made with him, but was vanquished first by Varro, and then by Hannibal." With such injunctions, he sent Lentulus away, then threw himself into the midst of the slaughter and perished. And it is said that fifty thousand Romans fell in that battle, that four thousand were taken alive, and that after the battle there were captured in both consular camps no less than ten thousand.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

XVII. Τὸν δ’ Ἀννίβαν ἐπὶ τῇ λικούτῳ κατορθώματι τῶν φίλων παρομώντων ἀμ᾽ ἐπεσθαί τῇ τύχῃ καὶ συνεπεισδεσεῖν ἀμα τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πεπταῖον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ δειπνήσειν, οὐ ράδιον εἰπεῖν, ὡστὶ ἀπέτρεψε λογισμὸς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δαιμόνιον ἡ θεοῦ τινος ἐμποδῶν στάντος ἐδικεὶ ἐργον ἡ πρὸς τούτῳ μέλλεισι αὐτῷ καὶ δειλίασις γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ Βάρκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον εἰπεῖν μετ’ ὀργῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσιν: “Σὺ νικᾶν οἶδας, νίκη δὲ χρῆσθαι οὐκ οἶδας.” καίτοι τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἡ νίκη περὶ αὐτῶν ἐποίησεν, ὡς πρὸ τῆς μάχης οὐ πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμπόριον, οὐ λιμένα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔχοντα, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ δι’ ἀρπαγῆς κομικῶς ἐνεργοῦσιν, ὀρμώμενον ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς βεβαιοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ ληστηρίᾳ μεγάλῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλανώμενον καὶ περιφερόμενον, τότε πᾶσαν ὄλγου δεῖν ὡς αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἔθνων αὐτῷ προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσια, καὶ Καπίνη, ἡ μέγιστον ἔχει μετὰ Ῥώμην ἄξιον ἐν τῶν πόλεων, προσθεμένην κατέσχεν.

Οὐ μόνον δ’ ἦν ἀρα τὸ φίλων πείραν λαβεῖν, ὡς Ἐὐριπίδης φησίν,1 οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ φρονίμων στρατηγῶν. ἡ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς μάχης Φαβίου δειλία καὶ ψυχρότης λεγομένη μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὐθὺς οὐδ’ ἄνθρωπως ἑποίκει λογισμὸς, ἀλλὰ θείών τι χρήμα διανοίας καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐκ τοσούτου τὰ μέλλοντα προορωμένης, ἀ μόλις ἦν


168
FABIUS MAXIMUS

XVII. In view of such a complete success, Hannibal’s friends urged him to follow up his good fortune and dash into their city on the heels of the flying enemy, assuring him in that case that on the fifth day after his victory he would sup on the Capitol. It is not easy to say what consideration turned him from this course, nay, it would rather seem that his evil genius, or some divinity, interposed to inspire him with the hesitation and timidity which he now showed. Wherefore, as they say, Barca, the Carthaginian, said to him angrily: “Thou canst win a victory, but thy victory thou canst not use.”¹ And yet his victory wrought a great change in his circumstances. Before the battle, he had not a city, not a trading-place, not a sea-port in Italy, and could with difficulty barely supply his army with provisions by foraging, since he had no secure base of supplies for the war, but wandered hither and thither with his army as if it were a great horde of robbers. After the battle, however, he brought almost all Italy under his sway. Most of its peoples, and the largest of them too, came over to him of their own accord, and Capua, which is the most considerable city after Rome, attached herself firmly to his cause.

Not only, then, does it work great mischief, as Euripides says, to put friends to the test, but also prudent generals. For that which was called cowardice and sluggishness in Fabius before the battle, immediately after the battle was thought to be no mere human calculation, nay, rather, a divine and marvellous intelligence, since it looked so far into the future and foretold a disaster which could

PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 πιστὰ πάσχουσιν. ὄθεν εὐθὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἡ Ῥώμη συνενεγκούσα τὰς λοιπὰς ἐλπίδας, καὶ προσφυγοῦσα τῇ γυνώμῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὥσπερ ἱερῷ καὶ βωμῷ, πρῶτην καὶ μεγίστην αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ μείναι καὶ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τὴν ἐκεῖνον φρόνησιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς
5 Κελτικοῖς πάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐδόκει δεινὸν εἶναι καίροῖς εὐλαβῆς φαινόμενος καὶ δυσέλπιστος τότε πάντων καταβεβληκότων ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀπέραντα πένθη καὶ παραχάς ἀπρίκτους, μόνος ἔφοιτα διὰ τῆς πόλεως πρῶτο βαδίσματι καὶ προσώπῳ καθεστώτι καὶ φιλανθρωπῳ προσαγορεύσει, κοπετοὺς τε γυγαικίους ἀφαίροντι καὶ συστάσεις εἰργαὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπὶ κοινὸς ὀδυρμοῖς ἔκφερομένων, Βουλήν τε συνελθεὶν ἐπεισε καὶ παρεθάρσυν τὰς ἀρχᾶς, αὐτὸς ὦν καὶ Ρώμη καὶ δύναμις ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλεποῦσης.

XVIII. Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πῦλαις ἐπέστησε τοὺς τὸν ἐκπίπτοντα καὶ προλείποντα τὴν πόλιν ὀχλον ἀπείραξα, πεῦθος δὲ καὶ τόπον καὶ χρόνον ὀρίσε, καὶ οίκιαν ἀποθηρναί σελεύσας ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα τὸν Βουλόμενου· μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἔδεη πᾶν πένθος λύεσθαι καὶ καθαρεύειν τῶν
2 τοιούτων τὴν πόλιν. ἔφοιτις τε Δήμητρος εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηκούσης βέλτιον ἐφάνη παραλιπεῖν ὅλως τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἢ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὀλγότηται καὶ κατηφείας τῶν συνερχομένων ἐλέγχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεῖον
3 ἢδεσθαι τιμόμενου ὑπὸ τῶν εὐνυχούντων. ὡσα μέντοι πρὸς Ἅλασμοὺς θεῶν ἢ τεράτων ἀποτροπᾶς συνηγόρευσον οἱ μάντεις ἐπράττετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμφθη θεσπρόπος Πίκτωρ, συγγενῆς

170
hardly be believed by those who experienced it. In him, therefore, Rome at once placed her last hopes; to his wisdom she fled for refuge as to temple and altar, believing that it was first and chiefly due to his prudence that she still remained a city, and was not utterly broken up, as in the troubous times of the Gallic invasion. For he who, in times of apparent security, appeared cautious and irresolute, then, when all were plunged in boundless grief and helpless confusion, was the only man to walk the city with calm step, composed countenance, and gracious address, checking effeminate lamentation, and preventing those from assembling together who were eager to make public their common complaints. He persuaded the senate to convene, heartened up the magistrates, and was himself the strength and power of every magistracy, since all looked to him for guidance.

XVIII. Accordingly, he put guards at the gates, in order to keep the frightened throng from abandoning the city, and set limits of time and place to the mourning for the dead, ordering any who wished to indulge in lamentation, to do so at home for a period of thirty days; after that, all mourning must cease and the city be purified of such rites. And since the festival of Ceres fell within these days, it was deemed better to remit entirely the sacrifices and the procession, rather than to emphasize the magnitude of their calamity by the small number and the dejection of the participants. For the gods' delight is in honours paid them by the fortunate. However, all the rites which the augurs advocated for the propitiation of the gods, or to avert inauspicious omens, were duly performed. And besides, Pictor, a kinsman of Fabius, was sent to
Φαβίων, καὶ τῶν Ἑστιάδων παρθένων δύο διεθνάρμενα εὑρόντες, τὴν μὲν, ὡσπερ ἔστιν ἔθος, ἑώσαι κατώρυξαν, ἢ δ' υφ' ἐαυτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

4 Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις ἀγάσατο τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν πραότητα τῆς πόλεως, ὅτε τοῦ ὑπάτου Βάρρωνος ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἔπαινος, ὥς ἂν τις αἰσχίστα καὶ δυσποτμότατα πεπραχὼς ἔπαινοι, ταπεινοὶ καὶ κατηφοὺς, ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἢ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἀπαν ἀσπαζόμενοι. οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει καὶ πρῶτοι τῆς γερουσίας, ὡς καὶ Φάβιος ἦν, ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἐπήμεσαν, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέγνω μετὰ δυστυχίαν τηλικαύτην, ἀλλὰ πάρεστιν ἄρξον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ χρησόμενος τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὡς σώζεσθαι δυναμένοι.

XIX. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐπύθηντο μετὰ τῆς μάχης ἀποτετράφθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, ἀναθαρρήσαντες ἐξέσπεπτου ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατεύματα. τούτων δ' ἐπιφανέστατοι Φάβιος τε Μάξιμος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος ἦσαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑυαυτίας σχεδὸν προαίρεσεως θαυμαζόμενοι παραπλησίως.

2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν γεγραμμένοις εἰρηταί, περιλαμμέτερ τὸ δραστήριον ἔχων καὶ γαϊρον, ἀτε δὴ καὶ κατὰ χείρα πλήκτης ἄνηρ καὶ φύσει τοιούτος ὡς οἶνος Ἐμηρός μάλιστα καλεὶ "φιλοπτολέμους" καὶ "ἀγερώχους," ἐν τῷ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἰταμφῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὰ τομηρόν τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀντιτιμῶντι τρόπῳ πολέμου συνίστατο

3 τοὺς πρῶτους ἀγώνας. Φάβιος δὲ τῶν πρῶτων ἐχόμενος λογισμῶν ἐκείνων ἤλπιζε μηδενὸς μαχομένου μηδ' ἐρεθίζοντος τὸν Ἀννίβαν αὐτὸν ἐπη-
consult the oracle at Delphi; and when two of the vestal virgins were found to have been corrupted, one of them was buried alive, according to the custom,\(^1\) and the other slew herself.

But most of all was the gentle dignity of the city to be admired in this, that when Varro, the consul, came back from his flight, as one would come back from a most ill-starred and disgraceful experience, in humility and dejection, the senate and the whole people met him at the gates with a welcome. The magistrates and the chief men of the senate, of whom Fabius was one, praised him, as soon as quiet was restored, because he had not despaired of the city after so great a misfortune, but was at hand to assume the reins of government, and to employ the laws and his fellow-citizens in accomplishing the salvation which lay within their power.

XIX. When they learned that Hannibal, after the battle, had turned aside into the other parts of Italy, they plucked up courage and sent out commanders with armies. The most illustrious of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men who were similarly admired for directly opposite characters. The latter, as has been stated in his Life,\(^2\) was a man of splendid and impetuous actions, with an arm of ready vigour, and by nature like the men whom Homer is wont to call "fond of battle," and "eager for the fray." He therefore conducted his first engagements in the venturesome and reckless style of warfare which met the daring of such a man as Hannibal with an equal daring. Fabius, on the contrary, clung to his first and famous convictions, and looked to see Hannibal, if only no one

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\(^1\) Cf. Numa, x. 4 ff. \(^2\) Chapter i.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ρεάσειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ κατατριβήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὃσπερ ἀθλητικὸν σώματος τὴς δυνάμεως ὑπερτόνον γενομένης καὶ καταπόνου, ταχύτατα τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀποβαλόντα. διὸ τούτων μὲν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος φησὶ θυρεόν, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ξίφος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλείσθαι, κιρναμένην δὲ τὴν Φάβιον βεβαιότητα καὶ ἀσφαλείαν τῇ Μαρκέλλῳ συνηθείᾳ 1 σωτήριον γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ δ’ Αννίβας τῷ μὲν ὡς ρέοντι σφόδρα ποταμῷ πολλάκις ἀπαντῶν ἐσείετο καὶ παρερρήγυντο τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς οὐ δὲ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέουτος ἀγορεύτη καὶ παρεμπίπτοντος ἐνεδελεχῶς ὑπερεπόμενοι καὶ δαπανώμενο καὶ ἐθέληναι· καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς ἀποφθέγματι τοσαύτῃ ὡςτε Μαρκέλλῳ μὲν ἄποκαμεὶν μαχόμενον, Φάβιον δὲ φοβείσθαι μὴ μαχόμενον.

5 Τὸ γὰρ πλεῖστον, ὡς εἰπὲῖν, τοῦ χρόνου τούτοις διεπολέμησεν ἢ στρατηγοῖς ἢ ἀνθυπάτοις ἢ ὑπάτοις ὑποδεδειγμένοις· ἔκατερος γὰρ αὐτῶν πεντάκις ὑπάτευσεν. ἄλλα Μαρκέλλῳ μὲν ὑπατεύοντα τὸ πέμπτον ἑνέδρα περιβαλῶν ἔκτεινε, Φάβιῳ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀπάτην καὶ διάπειραν ῞σαγων πολλάκις οὐδὲν ἐπέρανε, πλὴν ἀπαξ ὀλίγον παρακρουσάμενος ἔσφηλε τὸν ἄνδρα. συνθεῖσι γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ δυνατῶν καὶ πρῶτων ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον, ὡς τῆς πόλεως ἐνδοθεσμομένης εἰ παραγένοιτο, καὶ τῶν τούτων πραττόντων ἐκεῖνον ἐλθεῖν καὶ φανῆναι πλησίον

6 1 συνηθείᾳ Bekker adopts συντονία (vehemence), the suggestion of Coraës, based on Amyot.

174
FABIUS MAXIMUS

fought with him or harassed him, become his own worst enemy, wear himself out in the war, and speedily lose his high efficiency, like an athlete whose bodily powers have been overtaxed and exhausted. It was for these reasons, as Poseidonius says, that the Romans called Fabius their buckler, and Marcellus their sword, and that the mingling of the firm steadfastness of the one with the versatility of the other proved the salvation of Rome. By his frequent encounters with Marcellus, whose course was like that of a swiftly-flowing river, Hannibal saw his forces shaken and swept away; while by Fabius, whose course was slow, noiseless, and unceasing in its stealthy hostility, they were imperceptibly worn away and consumed. And finally he was brought to such a pass that he was worn out with fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius when not fighting.

For it was with these two men that he fought almost all the time, as they held the offices of praetor, pro-consul, or consul; and each of them was consul five times. However, when Marcellus was serving as consul for the fifth time, Hannibal led him into an ambush and slew him; but he had no success against Fabius, although he frequently brought all sorts of deceitful tests to bear upon him. Once, it is true, he did deceive the man, and came near giving him a disastrous overthrow. He composed and sent to Fabius letters purporting to come from the chief men of Metapontum, assuring him that their city would be surrendered to him if he should come there, and that those who were contriving the surrender only waited for him to come and show

1 In Lucania, 208 B.C. Cf. the Marcellus, xxix.
ἀναμενόντων. ταῦτ' ἐκίνησε τῶν Φάβιον τὰ γράμματα, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τι τῆς στρατιάς ἐμελλεν ὀρμήσειν διὰ νυκτὸς· εἶτα χρησάμενος ἔφυνεν σῶς αὐτοῖς ἁπετράπῃ, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ Ἀννίβου δόλῳ συντεθέντα κάκεινος ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄν τις εὕνοια θεών ἀναθείη.

XX. Τὰς δ' ἀποστάσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῶν συμμάχων ὁ Φάβιος μᾶλλον φέτος δεῖν ἡπίως ὀμλυνῦντα καὶ πράσω ἀνείργειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν, μὴ πᾶσαι ὑπόνοιαι ἐλέγχοντα καὶ χαλεπῶν ὄντα παντάπασι τοῖς ὑπότοις. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι στρατιώτην ἄνδρα Μάρσουν, ἄνδρεία καὶ γένει τῶν συμμάχων πρῶτον, αἰσθόμενος διείλεγμένου τις τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περὶ ἀποστάσεως οὐ διηρέθισεν, ἀλλ' ὀμολογήσας ἡμελήσθαι παρ' ἄξιαν αὐτὸν, νῦν μὲν ἐφ' οὓς ἡγεμόνας αἰτιάσαθαι πρὸς χάριν μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὰς τιμὰς νέμουσα, ὕστερον δ' ἐκείνων αἰτιάσεσθαι μὴ φράζοντα μηδὲ ἐνυχνάνουσα πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἰ τοῦ δεότο. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολεμιστὴν ἐξωρήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοίς ἀριστείοις ἔκοιμησεν, ὥστε πιστότατον ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ προθυμότατον εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. δεινὸν γὰρ ήγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν ἱππίκους καὶ κυνηγητικοὺς ἐπιμελεία καὶ συνηθείᾳ καὶ τροφὴ μᾶλλον ἡ μάστιξι καὶ κλοιοῖς τῆς χαλεπότητα τῶν ξών καὶ τὸ θυμούμενον καὶ τὸ δυσκολαῖον ἐξαιρεῖν, τὸν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἄρχοντα μὴ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν χάριτι καὶ προτητὶ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως πίθεσθαι, σκληρότερον δὲ προσ-
FABIUS MAXIMUS

himself in the neighbourhood. These letters moved Fabius to action, and he proposed to take a part of his force and set out by night. Then he got unfavourable auspices and was turned from his purpose by them, and in a little while it was discovered that the letters which had come to him were cunning forgeries by Hannibal, who had laid an ambush for him near the city. This escape, however, may be laid to the favour of the gods.

XX. Fabius thought that the revolts of the cities and the agitations of the allies ought to be restrained and discomfited rather than by mild and gentle measures, without testing every suspicion and showing harshness in every case to the suspected. It is said, for instance, that when he learned about a Marsian soldier, eminent among the allies for valour and high birth, who had been talking with some of the soldiers in the camp about deserting to the enemy, he was not incensed with him, but admitted frankly that he had been unduly neglected; so far, he said, this was the fault of the commanders, who distributed their honours by favour rather than for valour, but in the future it would be the man's own fault if he did not come to him and tell him when he wanted anything. These words were followed by the gift of a warhorse and by other signal rewards for bravery, and from that time on there was no more faithful and zealous man in the service. Fabius thought it hard that, whereas the trainers of horses and dogs relied upon care and intimacy and feeding rather than on goads and heavy collars for the removal of the animal's obstinacy, anger, and discontent, the commander of men should not base the most of his discipline on kindness and gentleness, but
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

φέρεσθαι καὶ βιαίοτερον ἦπερ οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἐρίνεοις καὶ ἀχράσι καὶ κοτίνοις προσφέρονται, τὰ μὲν εἰς ἐλαίας, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἀπίους, τὰ δὲ εἰς συκᾶς ἐξημερουντες καὶ τιθασεῖοντες.

4 Ἔτερον τούτων τῷ γένει Δευκανὸν ἄνδρα προσήγγειλαν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἑμβομενον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείποντα πολλάκις. ὁ δὲ ἡρώτησε, τάλλα ποιόν τινα τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἴδειν οὖντα. μαρτυρούντων δὲ πάντων ὅτι ῥαδίως ἔτερος οὐκ εἶπη στρατιωτῆς τοιοῦτος, ἀμα τ' αὐτοῦ τινας ἄνδραγαθίας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ πράξεως λεγόντων, αἰτίαν τῆς ἀταξίας ξητῶν εὑρεν ἐρωτὶ παιδίσκης κατεχόμενον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κινδυνεύοντα μακρὰς ὀδοὺς ἐκάστοτε φοιτῶντα

5 πρὸς ἑκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πέμψας οὖν τινας ἄγνοοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαβῶν τῷ γύναιον ἐκρυψεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δευκανὸν ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτόν, "Οὐ λέληθας," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὰ ῥωμαίων πάτρια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀπονυκτερεύων τοῦ στρατοπέδου πολλάκις. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ χρηστὸς ὧν πρότερον ἐλελήθεις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα σοι λελύσθω τοῖς ἥνδραγαθημένοις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν

6 ἐφ’ ἐτέρῳ ποιῆσομαι τὴν φρουράν." θαυμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατιώτου προαγαγὼν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐνεχείρισεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν "Αὕτη μὲν ἐγγυαται σε μενεῖν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μεθ’ ἡμῶν σὺ δ’ ἐργῳ δείξεις, εἰ μὴ δ’ ἀλλ’ τινὰ μοχθηρίαν ἀπέλειπτε, ὁ δ’ ἔρως καὶ αὕτη πρό- φασις ἢν λεγομένη." ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι.

XXI. Τὴν δὲ Ταραντῖνων πόλιν ἐσχεν ἔαλω-
show more harshness and violence in his treatment of them than farmers in their treatment of wild fig-trees, wild pear-trees, and wild olive-trees, which they reclaim and domesticate till they bear luscious olives, pears, and figs.

Accordingly, when another soldier, a Lucanian, was reported by his officers as frequently quitting his post and roaming away from the camp, Fabius asked them what kind of a man they knew him to be in other respects. All testified that such another soldier could not easily be found, and rehearsed sundry exploits of his wherein he had shown conspicuous bravery. Fabius therefore inquired into the cause of the man's irregularity, and discovered that he was deeply in love with a maid, and risked his life in long journeys from the camp every time he visited her. Accordingly, without the man's knowledge, Fabius sent and arrested the girl and hid her in his own tent. Then he called the Lucanian to him privately and said: "It is well known that, contrary to Roman custom and law, you often pass the night away from camp; but it is also well known that you have done good service in the past. Your transgressions shall therefore be atoned for by your deeds of valour, but for the future I shall put another person in charge over you." Then, to the soldier's amazement, he led the girl forth and put her in his hands, saying: "This person pledges herself that you will hereafter remain in camp with us, and you will now show plainly whether or not you left us for some other and base purpose, making this maid and your love for her a mere pretext." Such is the story which is told about this matter.

XXI. The city of Tarentum, which had been lost
κυίαν ἐκ προδοσίας τὸν τρόπον τούτον. ἐστρατεύετο παρ’ αὐτῷ νεανίας Ταραντίνος ἔχων ἀδελφὴν πιστῶς πάντα καὶ φιλοστόργως διακειμένην πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦρα δὲ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Βρέττιος τῶν τεταγμένων ὕπ’ Ἀννίβου τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας. τούτῳ πράξεως ἐλπίδα τῷ Ταραντίνῳ παρέσχε, καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου συνειδότος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφείθη, λόγῳ δ’ ἀποδεδράκει πρὸς τὴν 2 ἀδελφὴν εἰς Τάραντα. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦσαν, καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ὁ Βρέττιος ἀνεπαύετο, λανθάνειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἰομένης ἐκείνης. ἔπειτα λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὧ νεανίας: “Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖ λόγος ἐφοίτα τολύς ἀνδρὶ σε τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ μεγάλων συνεῖναι. τίς οὕτως ἐστιν; εἰ γὰρ εὐδόκιμος τις, ὡς φασίν, ἀρετῇ καὶ λαμπρῶς, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζει γένους ὁ πάντα συμμετὸν πόλεμος· αἰσχρὸν δὲ μετ’ ἀνάγκης οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ εὐτυχία τις ἐν καρφὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἀσθενείς ἐχοντι προστάτῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ βιαζο- 3 μένῳ.” ἐκ τούτου μεταπέμπεται μὲν ἡ γυνὴ τῶν Βρέττιον καὶ γυνωρίζει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ· ταχῦ δὲ συμπράττων τὴν ἐπιθυμιάν ἐκείνου καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρῶτον εὐνοῦν καὶ χειροψοθῇ τῷ βαρβάρῳ παρέχειν δοκῶν τὴν ἀδελφῆν, ἐσχε πιστῶς, ὡστε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἐρώτητο ἀνθρώποι οὐσιοφόροι μεταστῆσαι διάνοιαν ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι δωρεῶν μεγάλων, ἄς ἐπηγγέλλετο παρέξειν αὐτῷ τῶν Φάβιον.
to the Romans by treachery,1 Fabius recovered in the following manner.2 There was a young man of Tarentum in his army, and he had a sister who was very faithfully and affectionately disposed towards him. With this woman the commander of the forces set by Hannibal to guard the city, a Bruttian, was deeply enamoured, and the circumstance led her brother to hope that he could accomplish something by means of it. He therefore joined his sister in Tarentum, ostensibly as a deserter from the Romans, though he was really sent into the city by Fabius, who was privy to his scheme. Some days passed, accordingly, during which the Bruttian remained at home, since the woman thought that her amour was unknown to her brother. Then her brother had the following words with her: "I would have you know that a story was very current out there in the Roman camp that you have interviews with a man high in authority. Who is this man? For if he is, as they say, a man of repute, and illustrious for his valour, war, that confounder of all things, makes very little account of race. Nothing is disgraceful if it is done under compulsion, nay, we may count it rare good fortune, at a time when right is weak, to find might very gentle with us." Thereupon the woman sent for her Bruttian and made her brother acquainted with him. The Barbarian's confidence was soon gained, since the brother fostered his passion and plainly induced the sister to be more complacent and submissive to him than before, so that it was not difficult, the man being a lover and a mercenary as well, to change his allegiance, in anticipation of the large gifts which it was promised that he should receive from Fabius.

1 212 B.C. 2 209 B.C.
4 Ταῦτα μὲν οί πλεῖστοι γράφουσι περὶ τούτωι ἐνοι ή τῆν ἀνθρωπον ὕφ' ἢς ὁ Βρέττιος μετήχθη, φασίν οὐ̄ Ταραντίνην, ἀλλὰ Βρέττιαν τὸ γένος οὗσαν, τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ παλλακευμένην, ὡς ἤσθετο πολύτην καὶ γνώριμον οὐτα τὸν τῶι Βρέττιων ἀρχούτα, τῷ τε Φαβίῳ φράσαι καὶ συνελθοῦσαν εἰς λόγους ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος ἔκπεισαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι τοῖν ἀνθρωπον.

XXII. Πρατημένωι δὲ τούτωι, ὁ Φάβιος περισπάσαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν τεχνώξων ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐν Ῥηγύω στρατιώταις τῆν Βρέττιαν καταδραμεῖν καὶ Καυλωνίαν ἔξελεῖν κατά κράτος στρατοπεδεύσαντας, ὁκτακισχίλιους οὖνας, αὐτόμοις δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῶι ἐκ Σικελίας ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου κεκομισμένων ἄτιμων τοὺς ἁρχηστοτάτους καὶ μετ' ἐλαχίστης τῇ πόλει λύπης καὶ βλάβης ἀπολογείμενοι. ἦλπιξε γὰρ τούτωι προέμενος τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ δελεάσας ἀπαξείν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τάραντος· ὁ καὶ συνέβαινεν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκεῖ διώκειν ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐρρύη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἤμερα δ' ἐκτῆ τοὺς Ταραντίνους τοῦ Φαβίου περιστρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ προδρομένως τῷ Βρέττιῳ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς νεανίσκους ἤκε νῦκτωρ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, εἰδὼς ἡκριβῶς καὶ καθεωράκως τὸν τόπον ἐφ' ὡς οὐ παραφυλάττων ὁ Βρέττιος ἐμελλεῖν ενδώσειν καὶ παρίσειν τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἅπλῶς χεὶς τῆς προ- δοσίας ἐξήρθησεν ὁ Φάβιος τῆν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκεῖσε παρελθὼν ἱσυχίαν ἠγενεί, ὁ δ' ἀλλη. στρατιὰ προσέβαλλε τοῖς τεῖχεσιν ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἅμα, ποιοῦσα πολλὴν κραυγήν.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

This is the way the story is usually told. But some writers say that the woman by whom the Bruttian was won over, was not a Tarentine, but a Bruttian, and a concubine of Fabius, and that when she learned that the commander of the Bruttian garrison was a fellow-countryman and an acquaintance of hers, she told Fabius, held a conference with the man beneath the walls of the city, and won him completely over.

XXII. While this plot was under way, Fabius schemed to draw Hannibal away from the neighbourhood, and therefore gave orders to the garrison at Rhegium to overrun Bruttium and take Caulonia by storm. This garrison numbered eight thousand, most of them deserters, and the refuse of the soldiers sent home from Sicily in disgrace by Marcellus, men whose loss would least afflict and injure Rome. Fabius expected that by casting these forces, like a bait, in front of Hannibal, he would draw him away from Tarentum. And this was what actually happened. For Hannibal immediately swept thither in pursuit with his army. But five days after Fabius had laid siege to Tarentum, the youth who, with his sister, had come to an understanding with the Bruttian commander in the city, came to him by night. He had seen and knew precisely the spot at which the Bruttian* was watching with the purpose of handing the city over to its assailants. Fabius, however, would not suffer his enterprise to depend wholly upon the betrayal of the city. While, therefore, he himself led a detachment quietly to the appointed spot, the rest of his army attacked the walls by land and sea, with great shouting and

1 So, substantially, by Livy, xxvii. 15.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

καὶ θόρυβον, ἄχρι οὗ τῶν πλείστων Ταραντίνων ἐκεῖ βοηθοῦντων καὶ συμφερομένων τῶν τειχο-μαχοῦσιν ἐσήμηνε τῷ Φαβίῳ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Βρέττιος, καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβὰς ἐκράτησε τῆς πολεως.

4 Ἐνταύθα μέντοι δοκεῖ φιλοτιμίας ἤττων γενέσθαι τοὺς γὰρ Βρέττιους πρῶτοι ἀποσφάττειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ προδοσία τὴν πόλιν ἔχων φανερὸς γένοιτο. καὶ ταύτης τε διήμαρτε τῆς δόξης καὶ διαβολὴν ἀπιστίας προσέλαβε καὶ ὁμοτήτος. ἀπέθανον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων οἱ δὲ πραθέντες ἐγένοντο τρισμύριοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡ στρατιὰ διήρπασεν ἀνηνέχθη δ’

5 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τρισχίλια τάλαντα. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἄγομένων καὶ φερομένων λέγεται τὸν γραμματέα πυθέσθαι τοῦ Φαβίου περὶ τῶν θεῶν τί κελεύει, τὰς γραφὰς οὕτω προσαγορεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας· τὸν οὖν Φάβιον εἰπεῖν· "Ἀπολείπωμεν τοὺς θεοὺς Ταραντίνους κεχολομένους." οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τὸν κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μετακομίσας ἐκ Τάραντος ἔστησεν ἐν Καπίτωλίῳ, καὶ πλησίον ἐφιππῶν εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐαυτοῦ, πολὺ Μαρκέλλου φανεῖς ἀτοπώτερος περὶ ταύτα, μᾶλλον δ’ ὅλως ἐκείνου ἄνδρα πραότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ θαυμαστὸν ἀποδείξας, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

XXIII. Ἀννίβαν δὲ λέγεται διώκοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνοις ἀπολειφθῆναι στάδίως, καὶ

184
tumult, until most of the Tarentines had run to the aid of those who were defending them. Then the Bruttian gave Fabius the signal, and he scaled the walls and got the mastery of the city.

At this point, however, Fabius seems to have been overcome by his ambition, for he ordered his men to put the Bruttians first of all to the sword, that his possession of the city might not be known to be due to treachery. He not only failed to prevent this knowledge, but incurred also the reproach of perfidy and cruelty. Many of the Tarentines also were slain, thirty thousand of them were sold into slavery, their city was plundered by the Roman army, and three thousand talents were thereby brought into the public treasury. While everything else was carried off as plunder, it is said that the accountant asked Fabius what his orders were concerning the gods, for so he called their pictures and statues; and that Fabius answered: “Let us leave their angered gods for the Tarentines.” However, he removed the colossal statue of Heracles from Tarentum, and set it up on the Capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself, in bronze. He thus appeared far more eccentric in these matters than Marcellus, nay rather, the mild and humane conduct of Marcellus was thus made to seem altogether admirable by contrast, as has been written in his Life.¹

XXIII. It is said that Hannibal had got within five miles of Tarentum when it fell, and that openly

¹ Chapter xxi. Marcellus had enriched Rome with works of Greek art taken from Syracuse in 212 B.C. Livy’s opinion is rather different from Plutarch’s: sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus, xxvii. 16. Fabius killed the people but spared their gods; Marcellus spared the people but took their gods.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ϕανερῶς μὲν εἰπεῖν. "’Ην ἄρα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Ἀν-
νίβας τις ἐτερος· ἀπεβάλομεν γὰρ τὴν Ταραν-
tίνων πόλιν ὥσπερ ἐλάβομεν," ἵδια δὲ τότε πρῶ-
tον αὐτῶ παραστήματι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς
πάλαι μὲν ἕωρα χαλεπον αὐτῶς, νῦν δ’ ἀδύνατον

2 κρατεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων Ἰταλίας. τοῦτον
dεύτερον θρίαμβον ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρότερον
tοῦ προτέρου Φάβιος, ὥσπερ ἀθλητὴς ἄγαθος
ἐπαγωγός ὡς τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ ράδιως ἀπολύ-
μενος αὐτῶ τὰς πράξεις, ὥσπερ ἀμματα καὶ
λαβὰς οὐκέτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐχούσας τόνων. ἦ μὲν
γὰρ ἀνείτο τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶ διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ
πλοῦτον, ἦ δ’ ὅσπερ εξημβλυντο καὶ κατατέ-
ριπτο τοῖς ἀλωφήτοις ἀγώσιν.

3 Ἡν δὲ Μάρκος Λίβιος, οὗ τὸν Τάραντα φιο

ρούντος ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπέστησεν· ὦμως δὲ τὴν ἄκραν
κατέχαν οὐκ ἐξεκρούσθη, καὶ διεφύλαξεν ἄχρι
τοῦ πάλιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων γενέθαι τοὺς Ταραντί
νους. τοῦτον ἦνία Φάβιος τιμώμενος, καὶ ποτε
πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὸ θόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας
ἐξενεχθεῖς εἰπεν ὡς οὐ Φάβιος, ἀλλὰ αὐτῶς αἴτιος
γένοιτο τοῦ τὴν Ταραντίνων ἀλώναι. ἡλάσας
οὖν ὁ Φάβιος, "Ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἰπεν, "εἰ μὴ
γὰρ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ παρέ-
λαβον."

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ τ’ ἀλλα τῷ Φάβιῳ

προσεφέροντο λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῶν Φά-
βιον ἀνέδειξαν ὑπατον. παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν
Ἀρχὴν αὐτῶ καὶ διοικοῦντος τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον ὁ πατὴρ, εἴτε διὰ γῆρας καὶ ἄσθενεων

186
he merely remarked: "It appears, then, that the Romans have another Hannibal, for we have lost Tarentum even as we took it"; but that in private he was then for the first time led to confess to his friends that he had long seen the difficulty, and now saw the impossibility of their mastering Italy with their present forces. For this success, Fabius celebrated a second triumph more splendid than his first, since he was contending with Hannibal like a clever athlete, and easily baffling all his undertakings, now that his hags and grips no longer had their old time vigour. For his forces were partly enervated by luxury and wealth,¹ and partly blunted, as it were, and worn out by their unremitting struggles.

Now there was a certain Marcus Livius, who commanded the garrison of Tarentum when Hannibal got the city to revolt. He occupied the citadel, however, and was not dislodged from this position, but held it until the Romans again got the upper hand of the Tarentines. This man was vexed by the honours paid to Fabius, and once, carried away by his jealousy and ambition, said to the senate that it was not Fabius, but himself, who should be credited with the capture of Tarentum. At this Fabius laughed, and said: "You are right; had you not lost the city, I had not taken it."

XXIV. Among the other marks of high favour which the Romans conferred upon Fabius, they made his son Fabius consul.² When this son had entered upon his office and was arranging some matter pertaining to the war, his father, either by reason of his age and weakness, or because he was

¹ In 216-215 B.C. Hannibal made the opulent city of Capua his winter quarters. ² 213 B.C.
εἴτε διαπειρόμενος τοῦ παιδός, ἀναβάς ἐφ’ ἦππον προσήει διὰ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ περιεστώτων. οὔ δὲ νεανίας κατιδών πόρρωθεν οὐκ ἦνεχθετο, πέμψας δ’ ὑπηρέτην ἐκελευσε καταβῆναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ προσελθείν, ἐί δὴ τι τυγχάνει τῆς ἀρχῆς δεόμενος. καὶ τούς μὲν ἄλλους ἴνα συντάγμα, καὶ σιωπή πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον ὃς ἀνάξια πάσχοιτα ἡ δόξης ἀπεβλέψας αὐτὸς δ’ ἐκείνος ἀποτηθῆσας κατὰ τάχος, θὰ ταῦτα ἡ βάδην πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ ἐπειρθήες, καὶ περιβαλὼν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, "Εὖ γε,” εἶπεν, “οὐ παῖ, φρονεῖς καὶ πράττεις, αἰσθόμενος τίνων ἀρχεῖς καὶ πηλίκης μέγεθος ἀνείλληφας ἀρχῆς. οὕτω καὶ ἴμεῖς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι θεὸς Ῥώμην ἡνζήσαμεν, ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ γονεῖς καὶ παῖδας ἀεὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος καλῶν τιθέμενοι.”

3 Δέγεται δ’ ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν πρόπαπτον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει μεγίστῃ Ῥωμαίων γενόμενον πεντάκις μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπατεύει καὶ θριάμβους ἐκ πολέμων μεγίστων ἐπιφανεστάτων καταγαγοῦν, ὑπατεύουσι δ’ νῦν προσβευτὴν συνεξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὡς δ’ ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ τὸν μὲν εἰσελάυνειν ἐπὶ τεθριπτῷ, τὸν δ’ ἦππον ἐχοῦτα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀγαλλόμενον ὧτι τοῦ μὲν νῦν κύριος, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν μέγιστος καὶ ὧν καὶ προσαγορεύμενος, ύστερον αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχωτοῦ τίθεσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκείνος οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτων μόνων θαυμαστὸς ἦν.

188
FABIUS MAXIMUS

putting his son to the test, mounted his horse and rode towards him through the throng of bystanders. The young man caught sight of his father at a distance and would not suffer what he did, but sent a lictor with orders for him to dismount and come to the consul on foot if he had any need of his offices. All the rest were offended at this command, and implied by their silent gaze at Fabius that this treatment of him was unworthy of his high position. But Fabius himself sprang quickly from his horse, almost ran to his son, and embraced him affectionately. "My son," he said, "you are right in thought and act. You understand what a people has made you its officer, and what a high office you have received from them. It was in this spirit that our fathers and we ourselves have exalted Rome, a spirit which makes parents and children ever secondary to our country's good."¹

And of a truth it is reported of the great-grandfather of our Fabius, that though he had the greatest reputation and influence in Rome, and though he had himself been consul five times and had celebrated the most splendid triumphs for the greatest wars, he nevertheless, when his son was consul, went forth to war with him as his lieutenant,² and in the triumph that followed, while the son entered the city on a four-horse chariot, the father followed on horseback with the rest of the train, exulting in the fact that, though he was master of his son, and was the greatest of the citizens both in name and in fact, he yet put himself beneath the law and its official. However, this was not the only admirable thing about him.

¹ "Experiri volui, fili, sat in scires consulem te esse." Livy, xxiv. 44 ² 292 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 Τοῦ δὲ Φαβίου τὸν υἱὸν ἀποθανεῖν συνέβη· καὶ τὴν μὲν συμφοράν ὡς ἀνήρ τε φρόνιμος καὶ πατὴρ χρηστὸς ἤγεγκε μετριώτατα, τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον, δὲ ταῖς ἐκκομιδαῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐπιτελοῦσιν, αὐτὸς εἶπε καταστάς ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ γράφας τὸν λόγον ἔξεδωκεν.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σκητίων Κορνήλιος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν πεμφθεὶς Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἔξηλασε μάχαις πολλαῖς κρατήσας, ἔθνη δὲ πάμπολλα καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ πράγματα λαμπρὰ Ῥωμαῖοι κτησάμενος εὐνοιαν εἶχε καὶ δόξαν ἐπανελθὼν ὅσην ἄλλος οὐδείς, ὑπάτος δὲ κατασταθεὶς καὶ τὸν δῆμον αἰσθόμενος μεγάλην ἀπαιτοῦντα καὶ προσ-

2 δεχόμενον πράξειν αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν αὐτὸθι συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἄρχαίον ἤγεῖτο λίαν καὶ πρεσβυτικῶν, αὐτὴν δὲ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Διβύνης εὐθὺς ἐμπιλήσας ὀπλῶν καὶ στρατευμάτων διενείτο πορθεὶν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκεὶ μεθιστάναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο παντὶ τῷ θυμῷ συνεξώρμα τὸν δήμον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Φάβιος ἐπὶ πάντων δέουσι ἄγων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ὑπ’ ἄνδρος ἀνοίγος καὶ νέου φερομένην εἰς τὸν ἐσχατον καὶ μέγιστὸν κίνδυνον, οὔτε λόγου φειδομένος οὔτε ἔργου δοκοῦντος ἀποτρέψειν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ἐπείσε, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ διὰ φθόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ Σκητίωνος εὐνεμεροῦντος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι, μὴ τι μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξεργασάμενον καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ παντάπασιν ἀνελόντος ἢ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντος

3 1 αὐτοῦ Bekker corrects to παρ’ αὐτοῦ.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

But the son of our Fabius, as it happened, died, and this affliction he bore with equanimity, like a wise man and a good father. The funeral oration, which is pronounced at the obsequies of illustrious men by some kinsman, he delivered himself from his place in the forum, and then wrote out the speech and published it.¹

XXV. But now Cornelius Scipio was sent into Spain, where he not only conquered the Carthaginians in many battles, and drove them out of the country, but also won over a multitude of nations, and took great cities with splendid spoils, so that, on his return to Rome, he enjoyed an incomparable favour and fame, and was made consul.² Perceiving that the people demanded and expected a great achievement from him, he regarded the hand to hand struggle with Hannibal there in Italy as very antiquated and senile policy, and purposed to fill Libya at once, and the territory of Carthage itself, with Roman arms and soldiery, and ravage them, and thus to transfer the war from Italy thither. To this policy he urged the people with all his soul. But just at this point Fabius tried to fill the city with all sorts of fear. They were hurrying, he said, under the guidance of a foolhardy young man, into the remotest and greatest peril, and he spared neither word nor deed which he thought might deter the citizens from this course. He brought the senate over to his views; but the people thought that he attacked Scipio through jealousy of his success, and that he was afraid lest, if Scipio performed some great and glorious exploit and either put an end to the war entirely or removed it out of Italy, his own

¹ Cf. chapter i. 5. ² 205 B.C.
αὐτὸς ἀργὸς φανῇ καὶ μαλακὸς ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ μὴ διαπεπολεμηκὼς.

4 Ἐοικε δ’ ὀρμῆσαι μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Φάβιος πρὸς τὸ ἀντιλέγειν ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ προ-
νοίας, μέγαν ὄντα δεδὼς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐντείναι δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον ἔαυτὸν καὶ πορρωτέρω προαχθῆναι
φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ, καλῶν τοῦ Σκη-
πίων τὴν αὐξήσων, ὡς γε καὶ Κράσσον ἐπειθεῖ,
τὸν συνυπατέουσα τῷ Σκηπίων, μὴ παρεῖναι
τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδ’ ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ’ ἀυτὸν, εἰ
dοξεῖν, ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους περαίουσθαι, καὶ χρή-
ματα δοθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ εἰάσθη. χρή-
ματα μὲν οὖν Σκηπίων ἐαυτῷ πορίζειν ἀναγκα-
ζόμενος ἢγείρει παρὰ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων ἱδία
πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκεῖοι διακειμένων καὶ χαρίζομένων.
Κράσσον δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡ φύσις οὐκ ὄντα φιλονεικὸν,
ἀλλὰ πρᾶσσον, οἴκοι κατεῖχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ νόμος θείος
ἱερωσύνην ἔχοντα τὴν μεγίστην.

XXVI. Αὖθις οὖν καθ’ ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἀπαντῶν ὁ
Φάβιος τῷ Σκηπίων κατεκόλυσε τοὺς ὀμωμένους
αὐτῷ συντρατεύοντα τῶν νέων καὶ κατεῖχεν,
ἐν τε ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις βοῶν ὡς
οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἀννίβαν ἀποδιδράσκοι μόνος ὁ Σκη-
πίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκπλεόν λαβῶν
dύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δημασωγῶν ἐπιτίς τοὺς
νέους καὶ ἴππατοι ἀπολυπεῖν γονέας καὶ γυναι-
κας καὶ πόλιν, ὡς ἐν θυραῖς ἐπικρατῶν καὶ ἀκτι-
τητος ὁ πολέμοις κάθηται, καὶ μέντοι ταῦτα
2 λέγων ἐφοβήσε γοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ μόνοις αὐτὸν
ἐνθίσαντο χρήσθαι τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατεύμασι

1 μὴ supplied by Sintenis and Bekker.
failure to end the war after all these years would be attributed to sloth and cowardice.

Now it is likely that Fabius began this opposition out of his great caution and prudence, in fear of the danger, which was great; but that he grew more violent and went to greater lengths in his opposition out of ambition and rivalry, in an attempt to check the rising influence of Scipio. For he even tried to persuade Crassus, Scipio's colleague in the consulship, not to surrender the command of the army and not to yield to Scipio, but to proceed in person against Carthage, if that policy were adopted. He also prevented the granting of moneys for the war. As for moneys, since he was obliged to provide them for himself, Scipio collected them on his private account from the cities of Etruria, which were devotedly attached to him; and as for Crassus, it was partly his nature, which was not contentious, but gentle, that kept him at home, and partly also a religious custom, for he was pontifex maximus, or High Priest.

XXVI. Accordingly, Fabius took another way to oppose Scipio, and tried to hinder and restrain the young men who were eager to serve under him, crying out in sessions of the senate and the assembly that it was not Scipio himself only who was running away from Hannibal, but that he was sailing off from Italy with her reserve forces, playing upon the hopes of her young men, and persuading them to abandon their parents, their wives, and their city, although the enemy still sat at her gates, masterful and undefeated. And verily he frightened the Romans with these speeches, and they decreed that Scipio should employ only the forces which were then in Sicily, and take with him only three hundred of the
καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ γεγονότων μετ’ αὐτοῦ τριακοσίων ἀγείν, ὥς ἔχρητο πιστοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ φύσιν ὁ Φάβιος.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σκηπτίωνος εἰς Διβύην διαβάντος εὐθὺς ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ πράξεις ὑπερήφανοι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπηγγέλλοντο, καὶ μαρτυροῦντα ταῖς φήμαις εἰπτετο λάφυρα πολλά, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Νομάδων αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ δύο στρατοπέδων ὕφ’ ἕνα καιρὸν ἐμπρήσεις καὶ φθορά πολλῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶν δ’ ὀπλῶν καὶ ὕππων ἐν αὐτοῖς συγκατακεκαμένων, καὶ πρεσβείαι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπέμπουν παρὰ Καρχηδονίων καλοῦντων καὶ δεομένων ἐάσαντα τὰς ἀτελεῖς ἐκείνας ἐλπίδας οὐκ θυμῆσα, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμη πῶλτιον ἐχόντων τῶν Σκηπτίωνα διὰ στρατοματος ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, Φάβιος ἦξιον πέμπεσθαι Σκηπτίωνι διάδοχον, ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐκ ἔχων πρόφασιν, εἰπὼν δὲ τὸ μνημονεύμενον, ὡς ἐπισφαλές ἐστι πιστεύειν ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς τῆς τηλικαίτα πράγματα, χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἀεὶ εὐτυχεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν, οὔτω προσέκρουσεν ἡ δή πολλοῖς, ὡς δύσκολος ἀνὴρ καὶ βάσκανος ἡ πάμπαν ὑπὸ γῆρως ἀτολμος γεγονὼς καὶ δύσελπις, περαιτέρω τε τοῦ μετρίου κατατεθαμβημένος τῶν Ἀννίβαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκπλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἴασε τὸ χαῖρον καὶ τεθαρρηκὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀθόρυβον καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ τὸτε δὴ μάλιστα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει θεούση παρὰ τὸν ἐσχατοῦ κίνδυνον ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν ἔλεγε.
men who had been with him in Spain,—men who had served him faithfully. In this course, at any rate, Fabius seems to have been influenced by his own cautious temper.

But as soon as Scipio had crossed into Africa, tidings were brought to Rome of wonderful achievements and of exploits transcendent in magnitude and splendour. These reports were confirmed by abundant spoils which followed them; the king of Numidia was taken captive; two of the enemy's camps were at once destroyed by fire, and in them a great number of men, arms, and horses; embassies were sent from Carthage to Hannibal urgently calling upon him to give up his fruitless hopes in Italy and come to the aid of his native city; and when every tongue in Rome was dwelling on the theme of Scipio's successes, then Fabius demanded that a successor should be sent out to replace him. He gave no other reason, but urged the well remembered maxim that it was dangerous to entrust such vast interests to the fortune of a single man, since it was difficult for the same man to have good fortune always. By this course he gave offence now to many, who thought him a captious and malicious man, or one whose old age had robbed him utterly of courage and confidence, so that he was immoderately in awe of Hannibal. For not even after Hannibal and his army had sailed away from Italy would he suffer the rejoicing and fresh courage of the citizens to be undisturbed and assured, but then even more than ever he insisted that the city was running into extremest peril and that her affairs were in a dangerous plight.

1 204 B.C. 2 Cf. Livy, xxx. 19. 3 203 B.C.
XXVII. Ἀλλὰ Σκηπτίων μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτόν τε νικήσας μᾶχη κατὰ κράτος Ἀννίβαν καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ καταπτήσας τῆς Καρχηδόνος υποπεσούσης, ἀπέδωκε μείζονα χαράν ἀπάσης ἐλπίδος τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὡς ἀληθῶς “πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθεῖσαν ὀρθῶσε πάλιν” 1 Φάβιος δὲ Μάξιμος οὖ διήρκεσε τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, οὐδὲ ἦκουσεν Ἀννίβαν ἠττημένον, οὐδὲ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ βέβαιον εὐτυχίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπειδὲ, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὄν χρόνον Ἀννίβας ἀπήρευ ἔξ Ἰταλίας
2 νόσῳ καμῶν ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι δημοσία διὰ πενίαν, ἡν ἀπέλιπεν ὁ ἄνήρ, ἔθαψαν οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὦ τελευτήσαντος ὑφεσθήναι πλὴν ὀβελίσκοιν σιδηρῶν λέγοντι. Φάβιον δὲ 190 Ῥωμαίοι δημοσία μὲν οὐκ ἐκηδεσαν, ἴδια δὲ ἐκάστου τὸ σμικρότατον αὐτὸ τῶν νομισμάτων ἐπενεγκότος, οὐχ ὡς δὲ ἐνδειαν προσαρκοῦντων, ἀλλὰ ὡς πατέρα τοῦ δῆμου θάπτοντος, ἔσχε τιμήν καὶ δόξαν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ πρέπουσαν.

1 πολλῷ... πάλιν with Bekker, as adapted from (thol) πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθεῖσαν ὀρθῶσεν πάλιν, Sophocles, Antigone, 163. Sintenis corrected ὀρθῶσε to ὀρθὼσει, after Coraës, and printed the whole as an iambic trimeter verse.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

For Hannibal, he said, would fall upon them with all the greater effect in Africa at the gates of Carthage, and Scipio would be confronted with an army yet warm with the blood of many imperators, dictators, and consuls. Consequently, the city was once more confounded by these speeches, and although the war had been removed to Africa, they thought its terrors were nearer Rome.

XXVII. But shortly afterward Scipio utterly defeated Hannibal himself in battle, humbled and trod under foot the pride of fallen Carthage, restored to his fellow-citizens a joy that surpassed all their hopes, and in very truth "righted once more" the ship of their supremacy, which had been "shaken in a heavy surge." Fabius Maximus, however, did not live to see the end of the war, nor did he even hear of Hannibal's defeat, nor behold the great and assured prosperity of the country, but at about the time when Hannibal set sail from Italy, he fell sick and died.¹ Epaminondas, it is true, was buried by the Thebans at the public cost, because of the poverty in which he died, for it is said that nothing was found in his house after his death except a piece of iron money. Fabius, however, was not buried by the Romans at the public charge, but each private citizen contributed the smallest coin in his possession, not because his poverty called for their aid, but because the people felt that it was burying a father, whose death thus received honour and regard befitting his life.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΒΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ
ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιαύτην ἔχονσιν ἱστορίαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ πολέμικῆς ἀρετής πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ παραδείγματα καταλελοίπασιν ἀμφότεροι, φέρε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκείνου πρῶτον λάβωμεν, ὡτι Περικλῆς μὲν ἀριστα πράττοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ καθ’ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς δύναμιν ἀκμάζοντι χρόμενος ὑπὸ κοινῆς ἀν δόξειν εὐτυχίας καὶ ῥώμης πραγμά-

2 των ἀσφαλῆς διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἀπταιστος, αἰ δὲ Φαβίου πράξεις ἐν αἰσχύσιοι καὶ δυσποτμα-

tάτοις καιροῖς ἀναδεξαμένου τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθοὶς ἀσφαλῆ διετήρησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ κακῶν εἰς
βελτίως μετέστησαν. καὶ Περικλεῖ μὲν αἱ
Κύμωνοι εὐπραξίας καὶ τὰ Μυρωνίδου καὶ τὰ

3 Δεωκράτους τρόπαια καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
Τολμίδης κατορθῶν ἐνεορτάσαι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμπανηγυρίσαι στρατηγοῦντι τὴν πόλιν ἡ κτήσα-

θαι πολέμω καὶ φυλάξαι παρέδωκαν. Φάβιος δ’ ὄρων πολλὰς μὲν φυγάς καὶ ἔττας, πολλοὺς δὲ

θεατὰς καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ στρα-

tηγῶν, λίμνας δὲ καὶ πεδία καὶ δρμοὺς νεκρῶν

στρατοπέδων πλήθοντας, αἴματι δὲ καὶ φόνω

ποταμῶν ἀχιτε θαλάττης ρέουντας, ἐν τῷ καθ’

ἐαυτὸν ὀρμωμὲ. φ’ καὶ ἐβεβηκὼς τὴν πόλιν ἀντι-

λαμβανόμενος καὶ ὑπερείδων, οὐκ εἰσας τοῖς

1 ὀρμωμὲ. Bekker corrects to ἡμοσμένοφ (attempered), after Coraías.

198
COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS

MAXIMUS

I. Such is the story of these men's lives, and since both left behind them many examples of civil as well as military excellence, let us consider, in the first place, the matter of their military achievements. Pericles was at the head of his people when its prosperity was greatest, when its own strength was at the full, and its imperial power culminating. Apparently, therefore, it was the general good fortune and vigour that kept him free from stumbling and falling, whereas the achievements of Fabius, who took charge of his city at times of the greatest disgrace and misfortune, did not maintain her safely in her prosperity, but rather lifted her out of disaster into a better state. And besides, the victories of Cimon, and the trophies of Myronides and Leocrates, and the many great successes of Tolmides, made it the privilege of Pericles, during his administration, to enrich the city with holidays and public festivals, rather than to enlarge and protect her dominion by war. Fabius, on the contrary, whose eyes beheld many disgraceful defeats, many cruel deaths of imperators and generals, lakes and plains and forests filled with slain armies, and rivers flowing with blood and slaughter to the sea, put helping and supporting hands to his city, and by his firm and independent course, prevented her from utter
κατοι δόξειν ἂν οὐχ οὕτω χαλεπὸν εἶναι πόλιν ἐν συμφορᾷς μεταχειρίσασθαι ταπεινῆν καὶ τοῦ φρονοῦντος ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης κατήκοιν γενομένην, ὡς δὲ εὐτυχίαν ἐπηρμένῳ καὶ σπαργάντι τῷ δῆμῳ χαλινῶν ἐμβαλεῖν ὑβρεῖς καὶ θρασύτητος· ὃ δὲ μάλιστα φαίνεται τρόπῳ Περικλῆς Ἁθηναίων περιγενόμενος. ἄλλα τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμπεσόντων τότε κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἱσχυρὸν τινα τὴν γνώμην καὶ μέγαν ἐδείξεν ἀνδρα τὸν μῆς συγχυθέντα μηδὲ προέμενον τοὺς αὐτῶν λογίσμοις.

II. Καὶ Σάμῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους ἀλούση τὴν Τάραντος ἐστὶ κατάληψιν ἀντιθείναι, καὶ νὴ Δί’ Ἐυβοία τὰς περὶ Καμπανίαν πόλεις· ἐπεὶ αὐτὴν γε Καπηνίην οἱ περὶ Φούλβιον καὶ Ἄππιον ὑπατοὶ κατέσχον. ἐκ δὲ παρατάξεως Φάβιος οὐ φαίνεται μάχη νεκρικῶς πλὴν ἄφ’ ἂς τὸν πρότερον εἰσήλασε θρήμβοι, Περικλῆς δ’ ἐννέα τρόπαια κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐστησεί· ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. οὐ μὴν λέγεται τοιαύτη πράξις Περικλέους, οἷαν ἐπραξε Φάβιος Μινυκίου ἐξαιρότας Ἀνίβου καὶ διασώσας ἐνεπελευς στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαίων· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔργον καὶ κοινὸν ἀνδρείας ὑμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ χρηστότητος· ὥσπερ αὐτὸ πάλιν οὐδὲ σφάλμα λέγεται Περικλέους οἶον ἐσφάλης Φάβιος διὰ τῶν βοῶν καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπ’ Ἀνίβου, λαβὼν μὲν αὐτομάτως καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὑπελθόντα τοῖς στενοῖς τὸν πολέμον, προέμενος δὲ νυκτὸς λαθόντα καὶ μὲθ’ ἢμέραν βιασάμενον καὶ φθάσαντα μέλλοντος καὶ κρατή—

1 τὴν γνώμην Coraës: γνώμην.
exhaustion through the disasters brought upon her by others. And yet it would appear to be not so difficult a task to manage a city when she is humbled by adversity and rendered obedient to wisdom by necessity, as it is to bridle a people which is exalted by prosperity and swollen with insolence and boldness, which is precisely the way in which Pericles governed Athens. Still, the magnitude and multitude of evils which afflicted the Romans revealed the steadfast purpose and the greatness of the man who was not confounded by them, and would not abandon his own principles of action.

II. Over against the capture of Samos by Pericles, it is fair to set the taking of Tarentum by Fabius, and against Euboea, the cities of Campania (Capua itself was reduced by the consuls Fulvius and Appius). In open and regular battle, Fabius seems to have won no victory except that for which he celebrated his first triumph; whereas Pericles set up nine trophies for his wars on land and sea. However, no such exploit is recorded of Pericles as that by which Fabius snatched Minucius from the hands of Hannibal, and preserved an entire Roman army; the deed was certainly a noble one, and showed a combination of valour, wisdom, and kindness alike. So, on the other hand, no such defeat is recorded of Pericles as that which Fabius suffered when he was outwitted by Hannibal’s stratagem of the oxen; he had his enemy imprisoned in the narrow defile which he had entered of his own accord and accidentally, but let him slip away unnoticed in the night, force his way out when day came, take advantage of his adversary’s delays, and

1 Cf. chapter ii. 1.
3 σαντα συλλαβάριτος, εἰ δὲ δεὶ μὴ μόνον χρήσθαι
tοῖς παρούσιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι περί τοῦ
μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς τὸν ἀγαθὸν στρατηγόν, Ἀθη-
ναίοις μὲν ὡς Περικλῆς προέγυρ καὶ προεἶπεν
ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πόλεμος· πολυπραγμονοῦντες γὰρ
ἀπώλεσαν τὴν δύναμιν. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς
Φαβίον λογισμοῦς ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους
Σκηπτώνα πάντων ἐκράτησαν, οὐ τὺχε, σοφία
δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀνδρεία κατὰ κράτος
νικήσαντος τοὺς πολέμιους. ὡστε τῷ μὲν
τὰ πταίσματα τῆς πατρίδος μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι
καλῶς ἔγνω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων
ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἐσφαλμένον. ἕσῃ δὲ
ἀμαρτία στρατηγοῦ κακῶς περιπεσεῖν μὴ προσ-
δοκήσαντα καὶ κατορθώματος καιρὸν ἀπιστίᾳ
προέσθα. μία γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπειρία καὶ
θράσος γεννᾶ καὶ θάρσος ἀφαιρεῖται. ταῦτα
περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν.

III. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας μέγα μὲν ἔγκλημα τοῦ
Περικλέους ὁ πόλεμος. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπακτὸς ὑπ’
ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίδις ἐρίσαντος μὴ
ἐνδοῦναι. δοκῶ δὲ μηδ’ ἂν Φάβιον Μάξιμον
ἐνδοῦναι τι Καρχηδονίους, ἀλλ’ εὐγενῶς ὑπο-
στηναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱγεμονίας κίνδυνον. ἡ μέντοι
πρὸς Μινωύκιον ἐπιείκεια τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ
πράσας ἐλέγχει τὸν πρὸς Κύμωνα καὶ Θού-
kυδίδην στασιασμόν, ἀνδρας ἄγαθοὺς καὶ ἀριστο-
COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS

so conquer his captor. And if it is the part of a good general not only to improve the present, but also to judge correctly of the future, then Pericles was such a general, for the war which the Athenians were waging came to an end as he had foreknown and foretold; for they undertook too much and lost their empire. But it was contrary to the principles of Fabius that the Romans sent Scipio against Carthage and were completely victorious, not through the favour of fortune, but through the wisdom and valour of the general who utterly conquered their enemies. Therefore the very disasters of his country bear witness to the sagacity of Pericles; while the successes of the Romans proved that Fabius was completely in the wrong. And it is just as great a failing in a general to involve himself in disaster from want of foresight, as it is to throw away an opportunity for success from want of confidence. Inexperience, it would seem, is to blame in each case, which both engenders rashness in a man, and robs a man of courage. So much for their military abilities.

III. As for their statesmanship, the Peloponnesian war was a ground of great complaint against Pericles. For it is said to have been brought on by his contention that no concession should be made to Sparta. I think, however, that not even Fabius Maximus would have made any concessions to Carthage, but would have nobly undergone the peril needful to maintain the Roman supremacy. Nevertheless, the courteous and gentle conduct of Fabius towards Minucius contrasts forcibly with the factious opposition of Pericles to Cimon and Thucydides, who were both good and true men and of the highest birth.
κρατικούς εἰς φυγὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦστρακον
2 ἐκπεσόντας. ἀλλ' ἢ γε δύναμις μείζων ἢ τοῦ
Περικλέους καὶ τὸ κράτος. οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄλλον
εἰσαεν ἐνυστυχήσαι τῇ πόλει κακῶς βουλευ-
σάμενον στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος αὐτὸν ἐκφυγὼν
Τολμίδης καὶ διωσάμενος βίᾳ προσέπτασε Βου-
τοῖς· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσετίθεντο καὶ κατεκοσμοῦντο
πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ὑπὸ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ
3 τῆς δυνάμεως. Φάβιος δὲ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῆς
宓 καὶ ἀναμάρτητος τῷ πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἔτερους
ἀδυνάτῳ φαίνεται λειπόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἀν το-
σαύταις συμφοραῖς ἐχρήσαντο 'Ρωμαίοι Φαβίου
παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅσον Ἀθήναις Περικλέους δυνη-
θέντος.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν γε πρὸς χρήματα μεγαλοφροσύνην
ὁ μὲν τῷ μηδὲν λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν διδόντων, ὁ δὲ
τῷ προέσθαι πολλά τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπεδείξατο,
λυσάμενος τοῖς ἴδιοις χρήμασι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.
4 πλὴν τούτων μὲν οὐ πολὺς ἢν ἀριθμός, ἀλλ' ὅσον
ἐξ τάλαντα· Περικλῆς δ' οὐκ ἄν ἰσως εἴποι τις
ὁσα καὶ παρὰ συμμάχων καὶ βασιλέων ὥφελει-
σθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι παρόν, τῆς δυνάμεως
διδούσης, ἀδωρότατον ἐαυτῶν καὶ καθαρώτατον
ἐφύλαξεν.

5 Ἐργον γε μὴν μεγέθεσι καὶ ναῦν καὶ κατα-
σκευαίς οἰκοδομημάτων, ἐξ ὧν ἐκόσμησεν ὁ
Περικλῆς τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐκ ἄξιον ὃμοι πάντα τὰ
πρὸ τῶν Καισάρων φιλοτιμήματα τῆς 'Ρώμης
παραβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔξοχον τι πρὸς ἐκεῖνα καὶ
ἀσύγκριτον ἢ τούτων ἔσχε μεγαλουργία καὶ
μεγαλοπρέπεια τὸ πρωτεῖον.
and yet were subjected by him to ostracism and banishment. But Pericles had greater influence and power than Fabius. For this reason he did not suffer any other general to bring misfortune upon the city by his evil counsels, except that Tolmides broke away from his guidance, carried through by main force a plan for attacking Boeotia, and met with disaster; but the rest all attached themselves submissively to his opinion, owing to the greatness of his influence. Fabius, on the other hand, though sure and unerring in his own conduct of affairs, seems to have fallen short through his inability to restrain others. Surely the Romans would not have suffered so many disasters if Fabius had been as influential with them as Pericles was at Athens.

And further, as regards their freedom from mercenary views, Pericles displayed it by never taking any gifts at all; Fabius by his liberality to the needy, when he ransomed at his own costs his captured soldiers. Albeit the amount of his property was not great, but about six talents. And Pericles, though he had opportunities, owing to his authority and influence, to enrich himself from obsequious allies and kings beyond all possible estimates, nevertheless kept himself pre-eminently superior to bribes and free from corruption.

By the side of the great public works, the temples, and the stately edifices, with which Pericles adorned Athens, all Rome’s attempts at splendour down to the times of the Caesars, taken together, are not worthy to be considered, nay, the one had a towering pre-eminence above the other, both in grandeur of design, and grandeur of execution, which precludes comparison.
NICIAS
ΝΙΚΙΑΣ

1. Ἐπεὶ δοκοῦμεν οὐκ ἀτόπως τῷ Νικίᾳ τῷ Κράσσον παραβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ Παρθικὰ παθήματα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς, ὥρα παρατείνει διὰ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐνυγχάνοντας τοῖς συγγράμμασι τούτοις, ὅπως ἐπὶ ταῖς διηγήσεσιν αἰς Θουκυδίδης, αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ ταῦτα παθητικῶτατος, ἐναργέστατος, ποικιλῶτατος γενόμενος, ἀμιμήτως ἔξενηψει, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπολάβωσι

2. πεποιθέναι Τιμαιῷ πάθος ὅμοιον, ὅς ἐλπίζα τὸν μὲν Θουκυδίδην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι δεινότητι, τὸν δὲ Φίλιστον ἀποδείξειν παντάπασι φορτικὸν καὶ ἰδιώτην, διὰ μέσων ὅθεν ῥεῖται τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν μᾶλλον κατωρθωμένων ἐκεῖνοι ἀγώνων καὶ ναυμαχιῶν καὶ δημηγοριῶν, οὐ μὰ Δία

παρὰ Δύδιοιν ἄρμα πεζὸς οἰχυνύων

δι' ὅς φησιν Πίνδαρος, ἀλλ' ὅλως τῆς ὑψιμαθῆς καὶ μειρακιώδης φαινόμενος ἐν τούτοις, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δήφιλον

παχὺς, ὑπεθλευμένος στέατι Σικελικῷ,

3. πολλαχοῦ δ' ὑπορρέων εἰς τὸν Ξέναρχον, ὡσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ τοῖς Ἁθηναίοις οἰωνίων ἡγήσασθαι γεγονότα τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔχοντα τοὺνομα
NICIAS

I. I think that Nicias is a suitable parallel to Crassus, and the Sicilian to the Parthian disaster. I must therefore at once, and in all modesty, entreat my readers not to imagine for an instant that, in my narration of what Thucydides has inimitably set forth, surpassing even himself in pathos, vividness, and variety, I am so disposed as was Timaeus. He, confidently hoping to excel Thucydides in skill, and to make Philistus seem altogether tedious and clumsy, pushes his history along through the conflicts and sea-fights and harangues which those writers had already handled with the greatest success, showing himself, in rivalry with them, not even so much as

"By Lydian car a footman slowly plodding;"

to use Pindar's comparison,¹ nay rather, a perfect example of senile learning and youthful conceit, and, in the words of Diphilus,

"Obese, stuffed to the full with Sicilian grease."²

Indeed, he often lapses unawares into the manner of Xenarchus, as, for instance, when he says he thinks it was a bad omen for the Athenians that Nicias, whose name was derived from victory, declined at

στρατηγὸν ἀντειπόντα πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ τῇ περικοπῇ τῶν Ἐρµῶν προσημαίνειν αὕτως τὸ δαµόνιον, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἐρµοκράτους τοῦ Ἐρµῶνος πλείστα πείσονται παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον. ἐτὶ δ’ εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις βοηθεῖν διὰ τὴν Κόρην, παρ’ ἕλαβε τὸν Κέρβερον, ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι τοὺς Ἀιγεστέας, ἀπογόνους ὤντας Τρώων, ἔσωξον, αὕτως δ’ ὑπὸ Δασομέδοντος ἅδικηθεῖς ἀνώστατον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἵσως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας ταύτα τε γραφεῖν ἐπ’ ἕκει καὶ τὴν Φιλίστου διάλεκτον εὐθύνειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην λοιδορεῖσθαι· ἐμοὶ δ’ ὅλως μὲν ἢ περὶ λέξιν ἀμιλλα καὶ ξηλοτυπία πρὸς ἔτερους μικροπρεπὲς φαίνεται καὶ σοφιστικός, ἀν δὲ πρὸς τὰ \[\text{Δάμιανητα γίγνηται, καὶ τελέως ἀναιόθητον. Ἀς γοῦν Ἡσυκοδίδης ἐξήνευγε πράξεις καὶ Φιλίστος, ἐπεὶ παρελθεὶν ὦκ ἐστὶ, μάλιστα γε ὑ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν καλυπτομένην περιεχούσας, ἐπιδραμὼν βραχέως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἰνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἁμελής δοκῶ καὶ ἁργὸς εἶναι, τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὧφ’ ἐτέρων 524 δ’ εἰρήμενα σποράδην ἢ πρὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἢ ψηφίσμασιν εὑρήμενα παλαιοῖς πεπείραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἠθροίζων ἰστορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανοήσιν ἡθους καὶ τρόπου παραδιδοὺς.}
NICIAS

first to head their expedition; also that, by the mutilation of the "Hermæ," 1 Heaven indicated to them in advance that by the hands of Hermocrates the son of Hermon they were to suffer most of their reverses during the war; and, further, that it was fitting that Heracles should aid the Syracusans, for the sake of their goddess Cora, who delivered Cerberus into his hands, but should be angry with the Athenians, because they were trying to succour the Egestaeans, although they were descendants of the Trojans, whose city he had once destroyed because of the wrong done him by Laomedon their king.

As for Timaeus, he may possibly have been moved to write thus in the exercise of the same critical taste which led him to correct the language of Philistus and abuse Plato and Aristotle; but as for me, I feel that jealous rivalry with other writers in matters of diction is altogether undignified and pedantic, and if it be practised toward what is beyond all imitation, utterly silly. At all events, those deeds which Thucydides and Philistus have set forth,—since I cannot entirely pass them by, indicating as they do the nature of my hero and the disposition which lay hidden beneath his many great sufferings,—I have run over briefly, and with no unnecessary detail, in order to escape the reputation of utter carelessness and sloth; but those details which have escaped most writers, and which others have mentioned casually, or which are found on ancient votive offerings or in public decrees, these I have tried to collect, not massing together useless material of research, but handing on such as furthers the appreciation of character and temperament.

1 See chapter xiii. 2.
II. "Ενεστὶν οὖν περὶ Νικίων πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ὁ γέγραφεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο βέλτι-στοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικῆς ἔχουσιν εὔνοοιαν καὶ φίλαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ Μελησίου καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ Ἀγαθος, ἦττον δὲ οὖτος ἦ ἐκείνου· καὶ γὰρ εἰς δυσγένειαν ὡς ξένος ἐκ Κέω λελοιδόρηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμου, ἀλλ’ ἐπαμφοτερίζον ἀεὶ τῇ προ-2 αἱρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκλήθη Κόθορνος. ἐκεί-νων δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἦν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ Περικλεῖ ἀντεπιστέοις τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν προϊστάμενος ἀντεπολιτεύοντες, νεώ-τερος δὲ Νικίας γενόμενος ἦν μὲν ἐν τινι λόγῳ καὶ Περικλέους ξόντος, ὡστε κᾶκείνῳ συστρατηγῆσαι καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἀρξαί πολλάκις, Περικλέους δ’ ἀποθανόντος εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προήχθη, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ γυνώριμων, ἀντίταγμα ποιομένων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Κλέωνος βδελυρίαν καὶ τόλμαν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἰχένευνον καὶ συμφιλιστικομένον.

3 Ἰσχύε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κλέων μέγα "γερονταγωγῶν καναμισθαρνεῖν διδούσι," ὁμοὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν πλεονε-ξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἰσιμώιητα καὶ τὸ θράσος ὁρῶντες αὐτοῦ ὡς πρὸς χάριν ἐπτράττειν, οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἐπήγγοντο. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αὐστηρὸν

1 τὸ θράσος Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: θράσος.
II. Accordingly, I may say of Nicias, in the first place, what Aristotle wrote,\(^1\) namely, that the three best citizens of Athens,—men of hereditary good will and friendship for the people,—were Nicias the son of Niceratus, Thucydides the son of Melesias, and Theramenes the son of Hagnon. However, this was true of the last in lesser degree than of the other two, because he has been flouted for inferior parentage as an alien from Ceos; and on account of his not being steadfast, but ever trying to court both sides in his political career, was nicknamed “Cothurnus.”\(^2\) Of the other two, Thucydides was the older man, and as head of the aristocratic party,—the party of the “Good and True,”—often opposed Pericles in his efforts to win the favour of the people. Nicias was a younger man. He was held in some repute even while Pericles was still living, so that he was not only associated with him as general, but frequently had independent command himself; after Pericles was dead,\(^3\) Nicias was at once put forward into the position of leader, especially by the party of the rich and notable. These made him their champion to face the disgusting boldness of Cleon.

And yet, for that matter, the common people also held him in favour and aided his ambitions. For although Cleon had great influence with them, “by coddling them, and giving frequent jobs for pay,”\(^4\) yet the very men whose favour he thus sought to gain were aware of his rapacity and fierce effrontery, and for the most part preferred Nicias as their champion.

\(^1\) Constitution of Athens, xxviii. 5.
\(^2\) The high boot of tragic actors, which could be worn on either foot.
\(^3\) 429 B.C.
\(^4\) An iambic trimeter from an unknown comic poet (Kock, Com. Att. Frag., iii. p. 400).
οὐδ᾽ ἐπαχθὲς ἄγαν αὐτοῦ τὸ σεμνόν, ἀλλ’ εἰλαβεία τινὶ μεμιγμένον αὐτῷ τῷ δεδίεναι δοκοῦντι 4 τοὺς πολλοὺς δημαγωγούν. τῇ φύσει γὰρ ὃν ἀθαρσίας καὶ δύσελπις, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀπέκρυπτεν εὐτυχία τὴν δειλίαν· κατώρθου γὰρ ὀμαλῶς στρατηγῶν· τὸ δʹ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ψοφοδεές καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας εὐθορύβητον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικὸν ἐδόκει, καὶ δύναμιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀπ’ εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου παρείχε τῷ δεδίεναι τοὺς ὑπερορῶντας, αὐξεῖν δὲ τοὺς δεδιότας. τοῖς γὰρ πολλοῖς τιμὴ μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν μειζόνων τὸ μή καταφρονεῖσθαι.

III. Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἂπο τῇ ἀρετῇ ἀληθινῆς καὶ λόγου δυνάμεως τὴν πόλιν ἀγων οὐδενὸς ἐδείτο σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οὐδὲ πιθανότητος, Νικίας δὲ τούτος μὲν λειτόμενος, οὕσια δὲ προέ- 2 χων, ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐδημαγώγητι. καὶ τῇ Κλέονος εὐχερείᾳ καὶ βοιμολοχίᾳ πρὸς ἡδονῆν μεταχειρίζομεν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀντιπαρεξίγειν ἀπίθανος ὃν, χορηγίαις ἀνελάμβανε καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις ἔτεραις τε τοιωταις φιλοτιμίαις τῶν δήμου, ὑπερβαλλόμενος πολυτελεία καὶ χάριτι τοὺς πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτῶν ἄπαντας. 3 εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τῷ τε Παλλάδιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκός, καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν
The dignity of Nicias was not of the harsh, offensive sort, but was blended with much circumspection, and won control of the people from the very fact that he was thought to be afraid of them. Timid as he was by nature, and distrustful of success, in war he managed to succeed in hiding his cowardice under a cloak of good fortune, for he was uniformly successful as a general; while in political life his nervousness, and the ease with which he could be put to confusion by accusers, actually tended to make him popular, and gave him in high degree that power which comes from the favour of the people, because they fear men who scorn them, but exalt men who fear them. The multitude can have no greater honour shown them by their superiors than not to be despised.

III. Now Pericles led the city by virtue of his native excellence and powerful eloquence, and had no need to assume any persuasive mannerisms with the multitude; but Nicias, since he lacked such powers, but had excessive wealth, sought by means of this to win the leadership of the people. And since he despaired of his ability to vie successfully with the versatile buffoonery by which Cleon catered to the pleasure of the Athenians, he tried to captivate the people by choral and gymnastic exhibitions, and other like prodigalities, outdoing in the costliness and elegance of these all his predecessors and contemporaries. Of his dedicatory offerings there remain standing in my day not only the Palladium on the acropolis,—the one which has lost its gilding,—but also the temple surmounted by choregic tripods,¹ in

¹ Bronze tripods were awarded as prizes to the victorious choregi in the dithyrambic choral contests.
υποκέιμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγήσας, ἐλείφηθι δὲ οὐδέποτε. Λέγεται δ' ἐν τινὶ χορηγίᾳ παρελθεῖν οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ κεκοσμημένος εἰς σχῆμα Διονύσου, κάλλιστος ὄφθηναι καὶ μέγιστος, οὐπώ γενειῶν ἤσθεντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῇ ὦψει καὶ κροτοῦντων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀναστὰς ὁ Νικίας εἶπεν ὡς όχι ὄσιον ἤγοιτο δουλεύειν καταπεφημισμένον θεῷ σῶμα, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀπηλευθέρωσε.

4 Μνημονεύεται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ περὶ Δήλου ως λαμπρὰ καὶ θεοπρεπὴ φιλοτιμῆματα. τῶν γὰρ χορῶν, οὐς αἱ πόλεις ἐπεμπὸν ἄσσωμεν τῷ θεῷ, προσπλεῦσαν μὲν ὡς ἔτυχαν, εὖδυς δ' ὄχλου πρὸς τὴν ναὸν ἀπαυγώντος ἄδειν κελευομένων καὶ οὐδένα κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀποστάκτως ἀποβαίνοντων ἄμα καὶ στεφανομένων καὶ μεταμφιεσμένων, ἑκείνοις, ὅτε τὴν θεορίαν ἤγεν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ρήνειαν ἀπέβη τὸν χορὸν ἔχον καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν παρασκευὴν, ζεύγμα δὲ πεποιημένον Ἀθηναίου πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπῶς χρυσώσει καὶ βαφαῖς καὶ στεφάνοις καὶ αὐλαίαις κομῖζων, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐγεφύρωσε τὸν μεταξὺ Ρηνείας καὶ Δήλου πόρον οὐκ ὤντα μέγαν· εἴδ' ἀμα ἠμέρᾳ τὴν τε πομπὴν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἄγων κεκοσμημένον πολυτελῶς καὶ ἄδοντα διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἀπεβίβαζε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἄγων καὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις τὸν τε φοίνικα τὸν χαλκοῦν ἔστησεν ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ, καὶ χωρίον μυρίων δραχμῶν πριάμενος.
NICIAS

the precinct of Dionysus. For he was often victorious with choruses, and was never defeated. A story is told how, in one of his choral exhibitions, a house servant of his appeared in the costume of Dionysus, very fair to see, and very tall, the down of youth still upon his face. The Athenians were delighted at the sight, and applauded for a long time. At last Nicias rose and said he deemed it an unholy thing that one who had been acclaimed as a god should be a slave, and gave the youth his freedom.

It is matter of record also how splendid and worthy of the god his lavish outlays at Delos were. The choirs which cities used to send thither to sing the praises of the god were wont to put in at the island in haphazard fashion. The throng of worshippers would meet them at the ship and bid them sing, not with the decorum due, but as they were hastily and tumultuously disembarking, and while they were actually donning their chaplets and vestments. But when Nicias conducted the festal embassy, he landed first on the neighbouring island of Rheneia, with his choir, sacrificial victims, and other equipment. Then, with the bridge of boats which he had brought along with him from Athens, where it had been made to measure and sumptuously adorned with gildings and dyed stuffs and garlands and tapestries, he spanned during the night the strait between Rheneia and Delos, which is not wide. At break of day he led his festal procession in honour of the god, and his choir arrayed in lavish splendour and singing as it marched, across the bridge to land. After the sacrifices and the choral contests and the banquets were over, he erected the famous bronze palm-tree as a thank offering to the god, and consecrated to his service a tract of
καθιέρωσεν, οὖ τὰς προσόδους ἐδει Δηλίους κατα-
θύοντας ἐστιάσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἄγαθὰ Νικία παρὰ
τῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένους· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ στήλῃ
ἐνέγραψεν, ἣν ὤσπερ φύλακα τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐν Δήλῳ
κατέλιπεν. ὁ δὲ φοίνιξ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμά-
tων ἀποκλασθεῖς ἐνέπεσε τῷ Ναξίων ἀνδριάντι
τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνέτρεψε.

IV. Τούτων δ’ ὅτι μὲν πολὺ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ
φιλοτιμίαν πανηγυρικὸν 1 καὶ ἀγοραίον ἐνεστιν,
onκ ἀδηλὸν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λοιπῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἄνδρος
καὶ ἥθει πιστεύσειν ἃν τις εὐσεβείας ἐπακολού-
θημα τὴν τοιαύτην χάριν καὶ δημαγωγίαν γενέ-
σθαι· τρόφον γὰρ ἥν τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων τὰ
dαιμόνια καὶ “θειασμῷ προσκείμενος,” ὡσ φησὶ

2 Θουκυδίδης. ἐν δὲ τινὶ τῶν Πασιφώντος διαλόγων
γέγραπται ὅτι καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐθυε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ
μάντιν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προσποιεῖτο μὲν ἀεὶ
σκέπτεσθαι περὶ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δὲ πλείστα
περὶ τῶν ἱδίων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀργυρεῖων
μετάλλων· ἐκέκτητο γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λαυρεωτικῇ πολ-
lά, μεγάλα μὲν εἰς πρόσοδον οὐκ ἀκινδύνουσι δὲ
tὰς ἐργασίας ἐχοντα· καὶ πλῆθος ἄνδραπόδων
ἐτρεφεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τὸ

3 πλεῖστον εἶχεν. ὅθεν οὐκ ὄλγοι περὶ αὐτῶν
· ἰσαν αἰτούντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες· ἐδίδον γὰρ οὐχ

1 πανηγυρικὸν Madvig’s conjecture: πανηγυρικῆ".

218
NICIAS

land which he bought at the price of ten thousand drachmas, the revenues from which the Delians were to expend in sacrificial banquets, at which many blessings should be invoked upon Nicias from the gods. This stipulation he actually had graven on the stone which he left in Delos to be as it were the sentry over his benefaction. The palm-tree, however, was torn away by the wind and fell against the colossal statue of the god which the Naxians erected, and overturned it.

IV. In this course it is clear that there was much ostentatious publicity, looking towards increase of reputation and gratification of ambition; and yet, to judge from the rest of the man’s bent and character, one might feel sure that such means of winning the favour and control of the people were rather a corollary to his reverent piety. For he was one of those who are excessively terrified at heavenly portents, and was “addicted to divination,” as Thucydides says. And in one of the dialogues of Pasiphon it is recorded that he sacrificed every day to the gods, and that he kept a diviner at his house, ostensibly for the constant enquiries which he made about public affairs, whereas most of his enquiries were really made about his own private matters, and especially about his silver mines; for he had large interests in the mining district of Laurium, and they were exceedingly profitable, although worked at great risks. He maintained a multitude of slaves in these mines, and the most of his substance was in silver. For this reason he had a large retinue of people who wanted

1 About £400, or $2000, with four or five times the present purchasing power of money.
2 vii. 50, 4. 3 Not extant.
Ηττον τοῖς κακῶς ποιεῖν δυναμένους ἢ τοῖς εὐ πά-
σχειν ἄξιοις, καὶ ὅλως πρόσωδος ἢν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε
πονηροῖς ἢ δειλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἢ φιλαν-
θρώπια.

Λαβεῖν δὲ περὶ τούτων μαρτυρίαν καὶ παρὰ
4 τῶν κωμικῶν ἔστι. Τηλεκλείδης μὲν γὰρ εἰς τινὰ
tῶν συκοφαντῶν ταύτη πεποίηκε.

Χαρικλέης μὲν οὖν ἔδωκε μνάν, ἵνα αὐτοῦ μὴ
λέγῃ
ὅς ἐφι τῇ μητρὶ παῖδων πρῶτος ἐκ βαλλαντίου·
tέσσαρας δὲ μνὰς ἔδωκε Νικίας Νικηράτου·
ἂν δ' ἐκατὶ τούτ' ἔδωκε, καίπερ εὑ εἰδὼς ἐγὼ
οὖκ ἐρῶ, φίλος γὰρ ἄνηρ, σωφρονεὶν δὲ μοι
δοκεῖ.

5 ὁ δ' ὑπ' Εὐπόλιδος κωμῳδούμενος ἐν τῷ Μαρικᾶ
παράγων τινὰ τῶν ἀπραγμόνων καὶ πενήτων
λέγει:

A. Πόσου χρόνου γὰρ συγγεγένησαι Νικία;
B. οὐδ' εἰδον, εἰ μὴ 'ναγχος ἐστῶτ' ἐν ἁγορᾷ.
A. ἄνηρ ὀμολογεῖ Νικίαν ἑορακέναι.
καίτοι τι μαθών τὸν ἅν εἶδεν, εἰ μὴ προοίδιδον;

1 μαθών MSS. and edd., including Sintenis1: παθών, an
anonymous correction.

226
NICIAS

his money, and who got it too; for he gave to those who could work him harm no less than to those who deserved his favours, and in general his cowardice was a source of revenue to the base, as his liberality was to the good.

Witness to this can be had from the comic poets. Telecleides composed the following verses on a certain public informer:—

"So then Charicles gave a mina that he might not tell of him
How he was his mother's first-born,—and her purse-born child at that.
Minas four he got from Nicias, son of rich Niceratus;
But the reason why he gave them, though I know it very well,
I'll not tell; the man's my friend, and I think him wise and true." ¹

And the personage who is held up to ridicule by Eupolis, in his "Maricas," ² fetches in a sort of lazy pauper, and says:—

(Maricas) "How long a time now since you were with Nicias?"
(Pauper) "I have not seen him,—saving just now on the Square."
(Maricas) "The man admits he actually did see Nicias!
Yet what possessed him thus to see him if he was not treacherous?"

² A caricature of the demagogue Hyperbolus. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 308.
Γ. ἡκοῦσατ', ὥς ξυνήλικες,
ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ Νικίαν εἰλημμένου.

Β. ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὃ φρενοθλαβεῖς,
λάβοιτ' ἂν ἀνδρ' ἄριστον ἐν κακῷ τινὶ;

6 ὁ δὲ 'Αριστοφάνους Κλέων ἀπειλῶν λέγει:

Δαρυγγιῶ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταράξω.

ὑποδηλοὶ δὲ καὶ Φρύνιχος τὸ ἀθαρσῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ
καταπεπληγμένον ἐν τούτοις:

'Ἡν γὰρ πολίτης ἁγαθός, ὡς εὗ οἶδ' ἐγὼ,
κούχ υποταγεῖς ἐβάδιζεν, ὡσπερ Νικίας. 526

V. Οὔτω δὴ διακείμενος εὐλαβῶς πρὸς τοὺς
συκοφάντας οὔτε συνεδείπνει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
οὐτε κοινολογίας οὔτε συνδιημερεύσεσίν ἐνέ-
βαλλεν ἑαυτόν, οὔτ' ὅλως ἐσχολαζε ταῖς τοιαύ-
ταις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλ' ἄρχοι μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ
dιετέλει μέχρι νυκτὸς, ἐκ δὲ βουλῆς ὡστατος
ὕπη ιπτέο τῶν ἐφικνούμενος. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν
κοινῷ πράττειν ἔχοι, δυσπρόσδοχος ἦν καὶ δυσέν-
2 τευκτος οἰκουρῶν καὶ κατακεκλεισμένος. οἱ δὲ
φίλοι τοῖς ἑπὶ ταῖς θυραῖς φοιλῶσιν ἐνετύχανον,
καὶ παρητοῦτο συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ τότε
Νικίον πρὸς δημοσίας χρείας τινὰς καὶ ἀσχολίας
δύντος.

Καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγῳδῶν καὶ συμ-
περιπτείσιν ὅγκοιν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν Ἰέρων ἦν, ἀνὴρ
NICIAS

(Chorus ?) "Ye heard, ye heard, my comrades, O! Our Nicias was taken in the very act!"
(Pauper) "What! you? O crazy-witted folk! You catch a man so good in sin of any sort?"

And the Cleon of Aristophanes\(^1\) blusteringly says:—
"I'll bellow down the orators, and Nicias I'll rattle."

And Phrynichus plainly hints at his lack of courage and his panic-stricken air in these verses:—
"He was a right good citizen, and I know it well; He wouldn't cringe and creep as Nicias always does."\(^2\)

V. Since he was disposed to be thus cautious of public informers, he would neither dine with a fellow citizen, nor indulge in general interchange of views or familiar social intercourse; indeed, he had no leisure for such pastimes, but when he was general, he remained at the War Department till night, and when he was councillor, he was first to reach and last to leave the council. And even if he had no public business to transact, he was inaccessible and hard to come at, keeping close at home with his doors bolted. His friends used to accost those who were in waiting at his door and beg them to be indulgent with Nicias, for he was even then engaged upon sundry urgent matters of public business.

The man who most aided him in playing this rôle, and helped him to assume his costume of pompous

\(^1\) Knights, 358. It is not Cleon, but his adversary, the rampant sausage-seller, who utters the verse.
PROSPATHEIN GE TOU BION
TON OXKON EXOMEV, TFO T' OXHLO DOUNEUMEN.

VI. 'OPOW DE TON EN LOGO DUNATOY H TPO
FRONEIN DIAFERONTOY 'APOCHRIOY EINAI TAIS
EMPIRIAS TON 'HEMOS, 'HEFROYMENOS D' AEI KAI

1 Euripides, Iphigeneia at Aulis, 445 f. (Kirchhoff), where
the MSS. have PROSPATHEIN GE, TON 'HEMOS, TFO T' OXHLO. The
MSS. of Plutarch have PROSPATHEIN DE, TON OXKON, TFO D' OXHLO.
NICTIAS

dignity, was Hiero. He had been reared in the household of Nicias, and thoroughly instructed by him in letters and literature. He pretended to be the son of Dionysius, surnamed Chalcus, whose poems\(^1\) are indeed extant, and who, as leader of the colonizing expedition to Italy, founded Thurii.\(^2\) This Hiero it was who managed for Nicias his secret dealings with the seers, and who was forever putting forth among the people moving tales about the life of severe hardships which his patron led for the sake of the city. "Why!" said he, "even when he takes his bath and when he eats his dinner, some public business or other is sure to confront him; he neglects his private interests in his anxiety for the common good, and scarcely gets to sleep till others wake. That's the reason why he is physically all run down, and is not affable or pleasant to his friends, nay, he has actually lost these too, in addition to his substance, and all in the service of the city. Other public men not only win friends but enrich themselves through their influence as public speakers, and then fare sumptuously, and make a plaything of the service of the city." In point of fact, such was the life of Nicias that he could say of himself what Agamemnon did:

"Sooth, as master of my life
My pomp I have, and to the populace I'm a slave."

VI. He saw that the people, upon occasion, served their own turn with experienced men of eloquence or surpassing ability, but ever looked with suspicious and cautious eyes upon such powers, and tried to

\(^2\) Cf. *Pericles*, xi. 5.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

φυλαττόμενου τὴν δεινότητα καὶ κολούοντα τὸ
φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ὡς δῆλον ἦν τῇ Περι-
κλέους καταδίκη καὶ τῷ Δάμωνος ἐξοστρακισμῷ
καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφώντα τὸν Ῥαμνοὺσιον ἀπιστίᾳ
τῶν πολέμων, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τοῖς περὶ Πάχητα
2 τοῖς ἐλόνται Δέσβου, ὃς εὐθυνᾶς διδοὺς τῆς στρα-
τηγίας εὐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστήριῳ σπασάμενοι ξέφος
ἀνείλειν ἔαυτόν, τὰς μὲν ἑργώδεις πάνω καὶ μακρὰς
ἐπειρᾶτο διακρούσθαι στρατηγίας, ὅπου δ' αὐτὸς
στρατεύοιτο τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἔχομενοι καὶ τὰ
πλεῖστα κατορθῶν, ὡς εἰκός, εἰς οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ
σοφίαν ἢ δύναμιν ἢ ἀρετὴν ἀνέφερε τὰς πράξεις,
ἀλλὰ παρεχώρη τῇ τύχῃ καὶ κατέφευγεν εἰς τὸ
θεὸν, τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης ύψιμενος.
3 Ἐπεμαρτύρει δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα: πολλῶν
γὰρ τότε προσκρουσμάτων τῇ πόλει καὶ μεγάλων
γενομένων, οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἐκεῖνος μετέσχεν, ἀλλὰ
περὶ Ὀράκην μὲν ἡττήθησαν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδῶν
Καλλιάδου τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντος στρατηγοῦντων,
τὸ δ' Ἀιτωλικῶν πταίσμα συνεβη Δημοσθένους
ἀρχοντος, ἐν δὲ Δηλίῳ χιλίους αὐτῶν ἀπέβαλον
Ἰπποκράτους ἤγουμένου, τοῦ δὲ λοιμοῦ τὴν
πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔλαβε Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον
εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατακλείσας τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας
NICIAS

abate the pride and reputation to which they gave rise. This was manifest in their fining Pericles,¹ and ostracising Damon,² and discrediting, as most of them did, Antiphon the Rhamnusian,³ and finally, above all, in the fate of Paches, the captor of Lesbos,⁴ who, while he was giving the official account of his generalship, drew his sword in the very court-room and slew himself. Nicias therefore tried to evade commands which were likely to be laborious and long, and whenever he did serve as general made safety his chief aim, and so was successful for the most part, as was natural. He did not, however, ascribe his achievements to any wisdom or ability or valour of his own, but rather credited them to fortune, and took modest refuge in the divine ordering of events, relinquishing thereby part of his reputation through fear of envy.

Events bore witness to his wisdom, for in the many great reverses which the city suffered at that period he had absolutely no share. It was under the leadership of Calliades⁵ and Xenophon that his countrymen met defeat at the hands of the Chalcidians in Thrace; the Aetolian disaster occurred when Demosthenes was in command⁶; Hippocrates was general when a thousand citizens were sacrificed at Delium⁷; and for the plague Pericles incurred the most blame, because he shut up the throng from the country in

¹ *Pericles*, xxxv. 4. ² Cf. *Pericles*, iv. 1–2 ³ Ηe was tried and executed for participation in the revolution of the Four Hundred (411 b.c.). ⁴ In 427 b.c. (Thuc. iii. 28). ⁵ An error for Callias, who lost his life before Potidaea in 432 b.c. (Thuc. i. 63). In 429, Xenophon was defeated and killed, with his two colleagues (Thuc. ii. 79). ⁶ In 426 b.c. (Thuc. iii. 91–98). ⁷ In 424 b.c. (Thuc. iv. 89–101).
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ὁχλον, ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς τῶν τόπων καὶ διαίτης
ἀήθους γενομένου. Νικίας δὲ τούτων ἀπαίτων ἀναίτιος ἔμεινε· καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶλε μὲν Κύθηρα,
νῆσον εῦ κατὰ τῆς Δακωνικῆς πεφυκών καὶ Δακεδαιμονίους ἔχουσαν οἰκήτορας, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ 527
πολλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀφεστῶτων καὶ προση-
γάγετο, κατακλείσας δὲ Μεγαρείς εἰς τὴν πόλιν
ἐυθὺς μὲν ἔσχε Μίνυαν τὴν νῆσον, ὅλως δ’ ὕστερον ἐκ ταύτης ὁρμώμενος Νισαίας ἐκράτησεν,
eἰς δὲ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀποβὰς ἐνίκησε μάχῃ καὶ
dιέφθειρε Κορινθίων πολλοὺς καὶ Λυκόφρονα τὸν
στρατηγόν.

5 Ἔνθα δ’ αὐτῷ συνέβη τῶν οἰκείων δύο νεκρῶν ἀπολυτεῖν διαλαθόντας περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. ὡς
οὖν τοῦτ’ ἔγνω, τάχιστα τὸν στόλον ἐπιστῆσας ἐπεμψε κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους περὶ ἀνα-
ρέσεως. καίτοι κατὰ νόμον τινὰ καὶ συνήθειαν ἐδόκουν οἱ νεκρῶν ὑποστόνδων λαβόντες ἀνα-
ρέσιν ἀπολέγονται τὴν νίκην, καὶ τρόπαιον ἱστά-
ναι τοὺς τούτου τυχόντας οὐκ ἐνθεσθηκαί τὴν νίκην,
γὰρ τοὺς κρατοῦντας, μὴ κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς αἰτοῦν-
τας, ὅσ λαβεῖν μὴ δυναμένους. ἀλλ’ ὃμως
ἐκεῖνος ὑπέρειπε μᾶλλον προέσθαι τὸ νίκημα

228
NICIAS

the city on account of the war, and the plague was the result of their change of abode and their unwonted manner of living.¹ For all these things Nicias was free from blame, while as general he captured Cythera,² an island favourably situated for the command of Laconia and inhabited by Lacedaemonians; he captured also many places in Thrace³ which had revolted, and brought them back to their allegiance; having shut up the Megarians in their city he straightway seized the island of Minoa,⁴ and shortly after, from this base of operations, got possession of Nisaea⁵; he also made a descent upon the territory of Corinth,⁶ defeated the Corinthians in battle and slew many of them, including Lycophron their general.

Here it befell him, when his dead were taken up for burial, that two of his men were left unnoticed on the field. As soon as he was made aware of this, he halted his armament and sent a herald back to the enemy asking leave to take up his dead. And yet by usage and unwritten law the side which secured the right to take up its dead by a truce, was thought to renounce all claims to victory, and for those who so obtained this right, the erection of a trophy of victory was unlawful, since they are victors who possess the field; but petitioners do not possess the field, since they cannot take what they want. Notwithstanding this, Nicias endured rather to abandon the honour and reputation of his

¹ Cf. Pericles, xxxiv. 3 f.
² In 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 53–55).
³ In 423 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 129–133).
⁴ In 427 B.C. (Thuc. iii. 51).
⁵ This, on the contrary, was the exploit of Demosthenes in 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 66–69).
⁶ In 425 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 42, 1, and 44).
καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἀτάφους δύο τῶν πολιτῶν.

Πορθῆσας δὲ τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Δακωνικῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας Δακεδαιμονίων τρεψάμενος, εἰλε Θυρέαν Αἰγινητῶν ἔχοντων, καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἀπῆγαγε Ξώντας εἰς Ἀθῆνας.

VII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Δημοσθένους Πύλον τείχισαντος ἐπεστράτευσαν ἄμα πεζῷ καὶ ναυσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἀπελθοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νήσῳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, μέγα μέν, ὁσπερ ἦν, ἤγομενοι τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοι, χαλεπὰς δὲ καὶ δυσέργου τῆς πολιορκίας οὕσης ἐν χωρίοις ἀνόδροις, καὶ θέρους μὲν μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελὴ τὴν περιαγωγὴν τῶν ἐπιτηθείων ἐχώσης, σφαλερὰν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ παντελῶς ἄπορον, ἡχοῦντο καὶ μετεμέλοντο πρεσβείαν Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπωσάμενοι περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης.

2 ἀφικομένην πρὸς αὐτούς. ἀπεωσάντω δὲ Κλέωνος ἑναντιωθέντος οὐχ ἦκιστα διὰ Νικίαν ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ὧν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προθύμως ὅρῳς συμπράττοντα τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίων, ἔτεισε τὸν δήμον ἀποφθέγματα τὰς σπονδάς. ὡς δὴ τε τοῖς πολιορκίαις ἐλάμβανε καὶ δεινὰς ἀπορίας ἐπυθάνοντο περισταναὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον, δι’ ὅργης εἰχον τὸν Κλέωνα.

3 Τοῦ δ’ εἰς τὸν Νικίαν ἐκτρέποντος τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος ὅτι δειλία καὶ μάλακια προσεται τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς αὐτοῦ γε στρατηγοῦντος οὐκ
victory than to leave unburied two of his fellow citizens.

He also ravaged the coasts of Laconia,¹ routed the Lacedaemonians who opposed him, captured Thyrea, which the Aeginetans held, and took his prisoners off alive to Athens.

VII. After Demosthenes had fortified Pylos,² the Peloponnesians came up against it by land and sea, a battle was fought, and about four hundred Spartans were shut off on the island of Sphacteria. Then the Athenians considered that their capture would be a great achievement, as was true. But the siege was difficult and toilsome, since the region afforded little fresh water. Even in summer the shipping of the necessary supplies round Peloponnesus was a long and expensive process, while in winter it was sure to be perilous if not altogether impossible. The Athenians were therefore in bad humour, and repented them of having repulsed an embassy of the Lacedaemonians which had come to treat with them for a truce and peace. They had repulsed it because Cleon, chiefly on account of Nicias, was opposed to it. For he hated Nicias, and when he saw him zealously coöperating with the Lacedaemonians, persuaded the people to reject the truce. So when the siege grew longer and longer, and they learned that their forces were in terrible straits, they were angry with Cleon.

He, however, laid all the blame on Nicias, and denounced him, saying that it was through cowardice and weakness that he was letting the men on the island slip through his hands, whereas, had he

¹ In 424 B.C. (Thuc. iv. 54).
² In 425 B.C. The Pylos episode is narrated at great length by Thucydides (iv. 2–41).
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἀν περιγενομένους χρόνον τοσούτον, τοὺς Ἀθηναῖος εἰπεῖν παρέστη: “Τί δ’ οὐχὶ καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς σὺ πλεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας;” ὁ τε Νικίας ἀναστὰς εξίστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλον στρατηγίας αὐτῷ, καὶ λαμβάνειν ὁπόσην βούλεται δύναμιν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ μὴ προσδοκήσαι τοῦτο θορυβούμενος ἐγκελεσμένων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Νικίου καταβούντος, ἔκρηξε καὶ ἀναφλέξας τὸ φιλότιμον ὑπεδέξατο τε τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ προσδιωρίσατο πλεύσας ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκκοσιν ἡ κατακτεῖν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡ ἡμέρας ἄξιοι Ἀθήναι. τοῖς δ’ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπῆλθε γελάσαι μέγα μᾶλλον ἡ πιστεύσαι καὶ γὰρ ἀλλάδως εἰώθεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν κοινοθέτησα καὶ μανίαν φέρειν μετὰ παιδιάς οὐκ ἀνδώς.

Δέχεται γὰρ ἐκκλησίας ποτὲ οὕσης τῶν μὲν δῆμον καθήμενον ἄνω περιμένειν πολὺν χρόνον, ὡς δὲ εἰσελθεῖν ἐκέινον ἐστεφανωμένον καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς αὐριον “Ἀσχολοῦμαι γάρ,” ἐφη, “σήμερον, ἐστιάν μέλλων ἥμους καὶ τεθυκὼς τοῖς θεοῖς.” τούς δ’ Ἀθηναίους γελάσαντας ἀναστῆναι καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸτε τὰς χρησάμενας ἁγαθῆ καὶ στρατηγήσας ἀριστα μετὰ Δημοσθένους, ἐντὸς οὐ προείπε χρόνου τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν.
NICIAS

himself been general instead of Nicias, they would not have held out so long. Thereupon it occurred to the Athenians to say: "It's not too late! Why don't you sail yourself and fetch the men?" Nicias too rose in the assembly and resigned his command of the expedition to Pylos in favour of Cleon, bidding him take as large a force as he wished, and not to vent his boldness in mere words which brought no peril with them, but to perform some deed for the city which would be worth its notice. At first Cleon tried to draw back, confused by the unexpectedness of this offer; but the Athenians kept up the same cries of encouragement, and Nicias kept taunting him, until, his ambition incited and on fire, he undertook the command, and, besides, declared in so many words that within twenty days after sailing he would either slay the men on the island or bring them alive to Athens. The Athenians were moved to hearty laughter at this rather than to belief in it, for they were already in the way of treating his mad vanity as a joke, and a pleasant one too.

It is said, for instance, that once when the assembly was in session, the people sat out on the Pnyx a long while waiting for him to address them, and that late in the day he came in all garlanded for dinner and asked them to adjourn the assembly to the morrow. "I'm busy to-day," he said, "I'm going to entertain some guests, and have already sacrificed to the gods." The Athenians burst out laughing, then rose up and dissolved the assembly.

VIII. However, this time he had good fortune, served as general most successfully along with Demosthenes, and within the time which he had
τῶν ὅσοι μὴ κατὰ μάχην ἔπεσον τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἤγαγεν αἴχμαλώτους. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Νικίᾳ μεγάλην ἤνεγκεν ἀδοξίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀσπίδος ῥήψε, ἀλλ` αὐτοῖς τι καὶ χεῖρον ἐδόκει τὸ δειλία τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκοινόως, καὶ προέσθαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ τηλικούτον κατορθώματος ἀφορμᾶς, αὐτὸν ἀποχειροτονήσαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς. 2 σκόπτει δ` αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ ῥτά πάλιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν μὲν Ὄρνισιν οὔτω πως λέγων.

Καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δί` οὐχὶ νυστάξειν γ´ ἐτι ὅρα` στὶν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ μελλονικάν.

ἐν δὲ Γεωργοῖς ταῦτα γράφων;

A. Ἐθέλω γεωργεῖν. B. εἶτα τίς σε κωλύει;  
A. ύμείς· ἐπεὶ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμᾶς,  
ἐὰν με τῶν ὑρχῶν ἀφῆτε. B. δεχόμεθα·  
δισχίλιαι γάρ εἰσί σὺν ταῖς Νικίου.

3  Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβλαψεν οὐ μικρὰ τῷ Κλέωνι τοσοῦτον προσγενέσθαι δόξης εάσας καὶ δυνάμεως, ὑφ´ ἢς εἰς βαρὺ φρόνημα καὶ θράσιον ἐμπεσῶν ἀκάθεκτον ἄλλας τῇ πόλει προσετρίψατο συμφοράς, ὃν οὖν ἤκιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυσε, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κόσμου ἀνελῶν καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν ἀνακραγῶν καὶ περισπάσας τὸ ἴματιον καὶ τὸν μηρὸν πατάξας
NICIAS

specified brought home as prisoners of war, their arms surrendered, all the Spartans on Sphacteria who had not fallen in battle. This success of Cleon’s brought great discredit on Nicias. He was thought not merely to have cast away his shield, but to have done something far more disgraceful and base in voluntarily throwing up his command out of cowardice, and in abandoning to his enemy the opportunity for so great a success,—actually voting himself out of office. For this, Aristophanes again scoffs at him in his “Birds,” in words like these:—

“And lo! by Zeus! we can no longer doze about,—We have no time,—nor shilly-shally-niciasize;”

and in his “Farmers,” where he writes:—

“I want to go a-farming.”

“Pray who hinders you?”

“You people do. Come! Let me give a thousand drachms

If you’ll release me from my offices.”

“And lo! it is done!

Yours make two thousand, counting those that Nicias gave.”

And besides, he wrought no little harm to the city in allowing Cleon to have such an access of reputation and influence that he launched out into offensive pride and ungovernable boldness and inflicted many mischiefs on the city, the bitter fruits of which he himself reaped most abundantly. Worst of all, Cleon stripped the bema of its decorum, setting the fashion of yelling when he harangued the people, of throwing back his robe, slapping his

1 Verses 638 f.
2 This play is not extant. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 416.

235
καὶ δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἀμα χρησάμενος, τῇ ὠλύγον ὕστερον ἀπαντᾷ τὰ πράγματα συγχεισαν εὐχέρειαν καὶ ὁλιγωρίαν τοῦ πρέποντος ἐνεποίησε τοῖς πολιτευμένοις.

IX. Ἡδη δὲ πον καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνεφύτευσε τηνικαῖτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημαγωγός οὐχ ὀμοίως ἀκρατός, ἀλλ’ οἶον ἡ Ἀιγυπτίων χώρα λέγεται δὲ ἀρετήν ἐκφέρειν ὁμοῦ.

Φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἑσθλὰ μεμυγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά,

οὕτως ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα πολλὴ ῥυεῖσα καὶ λαμπρὰ, μεγάλων ἐνέδωκεν ἁρχὰς 2 νεωτερισμῶν. ὅθεν οὐδ’ ἀπαλλαγεῖς τοῦ Κλέωνος ὁ Νίκιας καὶ τὸν ἐσχε παντάπασιν ἀναπάυσαι καὶ καταστορέσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ’ εἰς ὁδὸν τὰ πράγματα σωτήριον καταστήσας ἐξέπεσε, ῥύμη καὶ σφοδρότητι τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου φιλοτιμίας αὐθεν ἐξωσθεῖσι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

’Επράχθη δὲ οὕτως. οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλέως καὶ Βρασίδας ἤσαν, διὸ τὸ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκρυπτε τὴν κακίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκόσμει. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικημάτων μεγάλων, τῷ δὲ κατορθωμάτων ἀφορ-3 μᾶς παρεῖχε. τοῦτων οὖν ἀμα πεσόντων ἐν μάχῃ μιᾷ περὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, εὕθυς ὁ Νίκιας παραλαβὼν τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἔκπαλαι τῆς εἰρήνης ὀρεγομένους, τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι τῷ πολέμῳ ἑνεγείρετο, ἀμφοτέρους δ’ ὅλον ἐκκλεισμένους καὶ
NICIAS

thigh, and running about while speaking. He thus imbued the managers of the city's policies with that levity and contempt for propriety which soon after confounded the whole state.

IX. Just about that time Alcibiades was beginning to be a power at Athens. For a popular leader he was not so unmixed an evil as Cleon. The soil of Egypt, it is said, by reason of its very excellence, produces alike

"Drugs of which many are good, intermixed, but many are deadly." ¹

In like manner the nature of Alcibiades, setting as it did with full and strong currents towards both good and evil, furnished cause and beginning for serious innovations. And so it came to pass that even after Nicias was rid of Cleon, he did not get opportunity to lull the city into perfect rest and calm, but, when he had actually set the state fairly in the path of safety, was hurled from it by an impetuous onset of Alcibiades' ambition, and plunged again into war.

This was the way it came about. The men most hostile to the peace of Hellas were Cleon and Brasidas. Of these, war covered up the baseness of the one and adorned the excellence of the other; that is to say, it gave the one opportunities for great iniquities, the other for great achievements. After these men had both fallen in one and the same battle before Amphipolis,² Nicias found at once that the Spartans had long been eager for peace, and that the Athenians were no longer in good heart for the war; that both were, so to speak, unstrung, and glad to let

¹ Odyssey, iv. 230.
² In the autumn of 422 B.C. Cf. Thuc. v. 8-11.
παρακαθίέντας ἐκοινώσας τὰς χεῖρας, ἔπραττεν ὅπως εἰς φιλίαν τὰς πόλεις συναγαγόν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἀπαλλάξας κακῶν καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος, βέβαιον οὕτω τῷ τῆς εὐνοχίας ὄνομα
4 πρὸς τὸν αὐθίς χρόνον ποιοῖτο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν εὐπόρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτόθεν εἰρηνικὸν εἶχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοῖς ἐνυγχάνων ἴδια καὶ διδάσκων ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ἦδη τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἑλπίδας ἐνδίδους προ- ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἐχέσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ' ἐπίστευον αὐτῷ διὰ τε τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιείκειαν, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἡλικίοις περὶ Πύλου καὶ δεδεμένους ἐπι- μελόμενοι καὶ περίπου φιλανθρώπους ἔλαφρο- 5 τέραν ἐποίει τῇν ἄτυχίαν. ἦσαν οὖν πρῶτον πεποιημένοι τινὰ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐκεχερίαν ἐνιαύσιον, ἐν ἣ συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτα καὶ γενόμενοι πάλιν ἀδείας καὶ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς ἕνεν του ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀπό- λεμον βίον, ἦδεως μὲν ἄδοντων τὰ τοιαύτα χορῶν ἀκούοντες·

Κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτων ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις· ἦδεως δὲ μεμνημένοι τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι τοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεύδοντας οὐ σάλπιγγες, ἀλλ' ἀλεκ- 6 τρυόνες ἀφυπνίζουσι. λοιδοροῦντες οὖν καὶ προ- βαλλόμενοι τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς τρίς ἐννέα ἔτη διαπολεμηθῆναι πέπρωται τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπειθ

238
NICIAS

their arms drop to their sides. He therefore strove to unite the two cities in friendship, and to free the rest of the Hellenes from ills, as well as to give himself a season of rest, and so to make secure for all coming time the name which he had for success. The men who were well-to-do, and the elderly men, and most of the farmers, he found inclined to peace from the first; and after he had talked privately with many of the rest, taught them his views, and blunted the edge of their desire for war, then he at once held out hopes to the Spartans, and urgently invited them to seek for peace. They had confidence in him, not only because of his usual fairness towards them, but especially because he had shown kind attentions to those of their men who had been captured at Pylos and kept in prison at Athens, had treated them humanely, and so eased their misfortune. The two parties had before this made a sort of stay of mutual hostilities for a year, and during this time they had held conferences with one another, and tasted again the sweets of security and leisure and intercourse with friends at home and abroad, so that they yearned for that old life which was undefiled by war, and listened gladly when choirs sang such strains as

"Let my spear lie unused for the spider to cover with webs." ¹

and gladly called to mind the saying, "In peace the sleeper is waked not by the trumpet, but by the cock." Accordingly, they heaped abuse on those who said that the war was fated to last thrice nine

οὗτω περὶ παντὸς εἰς λόγους συμβαίνοντες ἐποιήσαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, δόξα τε παρέστη τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπαλλαγῆν κακῶν σαφῆ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸν Νικίαν διὰ στόματος εἰχον, ὡς ἀνήρ εἰς θεοφιλῆς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ δι' ευσέβειαν ἐπωνύμῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ καλλίστου τῶν ἀγάθων δέδωκε τῷ γὰρ οὕτω Νικίω τὴν εἰρήνην ἐνόμιζον ἔργων, ὡς Περικλέους τὸν πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπ' αἰτίαις μικράς εἰς συμφορὰς μεγάλας ἐμβαλεῖν ἔδοκει τοὺς Ἐλληνας, οἷς ἐδοκίμασι τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἐπεισεν ἐκλαθέσθαι φίλους γενομένους. διὸ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκείνην ἄχρι νῦν Νικίειον καλοῦσι.

X. Γενομένων δὲ συνθηκῶν ὡς τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὡς εἰχον ἄλληλων, καὶ τοὺς αἷμα-λῶτους ἀποδιδώσι, προτέρων ἀποδιδόντων τῶν κλήρων λαχύστων, ὥστε τὸν κλήρον ὁ Νικίας κρύφα χρήμασιν, ὡστε προτέρους ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς.

2 Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἵστορεί Θεόφραστος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς τὰ πρατήρια δυσκολαίνοντες αἰτίαις καὶ μέμφεσιν αὐθεὶς ἐδόκουν ἀνακαλείσθαι τῶν πόλεμον, ἐπεισεν ὁ Νικίας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ ὡσπερ κράτος ἡ ἀδερμὸν ἐπιθέντας, φοβεροτέρους τε τοῖς ἀφιεμένοις καὶ βεβαιοτέρους ἄλληλοις γενέσθαι.

3 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὕτω πρὸς ἰσούχιαν εὐς πεφυκός, καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαι-
years,¹ and then, in this spirit, debated the whole issue, and made peace.² Most men held it to be a manifest release from ills, and Nicias was in every mouth. They said he was a man beloved of God, and that Heaven had bestowed on him, for his reverent piety, the privilege of giving his name to the greatest and fairest of blessings. They really thought that the peace was the work of Nicias, as the war had been that of Pericles. The one, on slight occasion, was thought to have plunged the Hellenes into great calamities; the other had persuaded them to forget the greatest injuries and become friends. Therefore, to this day, men call that peace "The Peace of Nicias."

X. The articles of peace ³ required that the strongholds and cities and prisoners of war which each party had taken from the other should be restored, and since that party was to make restoration first on whom the lot fell, the lot was secretly bought up by Nicias, so that the Lacedaemonians were the first to make restoration. This is the testimony of Theophrastus. But when the Corinthians and Boeotians, who were vexed at the course things were taking, seemed likely, by their accusations and complaints, to revive the war, Nicias persuaded the Athenians and Lacedaemonians to make the general peace secure by the mighty bond of a mutual alliance, whereby they should become more formidable to all seceders and better assured of each other.

Such being the course of events, Alcibiades, who was naturally indisposed to be quiet, and who was incensed at the Lacedaemonians because they scorn-

¹ Cf. Thuc. v. 26, 4. ² Signed in the spring of 421 B.C. ³ Cf. Thuc. v. 18.
μονίοις ἀχθόμενος ὅτι τῷ Νικίᾳ προσέκειντο καὶ προσέκειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπερεώρων καὶ κατεφρόνουν, ἐν ἄρχῃ μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπεναντιωθεὶς τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀντιστὰσι οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ὅλγῳ δὲ ὑστερον ὅρῳν οὐκ ἔτι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως ἁρέσκοντας τοὺς Δακεδαίμονίους, ἀλλ’ ἁδικεῖν δοκοῦντας ὅτι Βοιωτοῖς ἔθεντο συμμαχίαν καὶ Πάνακτον ἐστῶσαν οὐ παρέδωκαν οὖδ᾽ Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐπεφύετο ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστη.

4 τέλος δὲ πρεσβείαν μεταπεμψάμενος Ἀργείων ἐπραττε συμμαχίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρέσβεις ἔλθοντες ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος αὐτοκράτορος καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προεντυχάνοντες ἔδοξαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἥκειν τοῖς δικαίοις, δείσας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐπαγγάγωνται, περιήλθεν αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπάτης καὶ ὅρκων ὡς ἀπαντα συμπράξων, ἓν μὴ φῶσι μηδὲ ὀμολογήσωσιν ἥκειν αὐτοκράτορες. μάλιστα γὰρ

5 οὐτὼς ἣ βούλονται γενῆσεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ καὶ μεταστάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίου πρὸς ἐκείνου, ἐμβαλὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἡρώτα πρῶτον εἰ περὶ πάντων ἥκουσιν αὐτοκράτορες. ὡς δ᾽ ἡρωοῦντο, παρ᾽ ἐλπίδας μεταβαλόμενος τὴν τε βουλὴν ἐπεκαλεῖτο μάρτυρα τῶν λόγων, καὶ τὸν

242
fully ignored him in their fond attachment to Nicias, promptly opposed and obstructed the general peace. At the outset he made no headway; but a little while after, seeing that the Athenians were not so well pleased as before with the Lacedaemonians, but thought they had wronged them in making a separate alliance with the Boeotians, and in not restoring Panactum with its walls intact, nor Amphipolis at all, he laid great stress on these grounds of complaint, and tried to incense the people over each one of them. Finally he managed to have an embassy sent from Argos to Athens, and tried to effect a separate alliance between these two cities. Ambassadors came at once from Sparta with full powers to treat all issues, and at their preliminary audience with the council were declared by that body to come with nothing but just proposals. But Alcibiades was afraid they would bring the assembly over to their views with the same arguments which had won the council. He therefore circumvented them by deceitfully swearing that he would coöperate with them fully in the assembly if they would only not claim nor even admit that they had come with full powers to treat all issues; for thus, he declared, they would most surely attain their desires. After they were persuaded by him, and had put themselves out of the guiding hands of Nicias and into his, he introduced them to the assembly, and asked them first whether they had come with full powers to treat all issues. On their saying "No" to this, he surprised them by changing front and calling on the members of the council who were present to bear witness to what they had said before that body. He then urged the

1 In the spring of 419 B.C.
δήμον ἐκέλευε μὴ προσέχειν μηδὲ πιστεύειν οὕτω περιφανῶς ψευδομένοις καὶ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ τὰ νανάτια περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγουσι. θορυβουμένων δ’, ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Νικίου μηδὲν ἔχοντος εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἄχει καὶ θαύματι πεπληγότος, ὁ μὲν δήμος εὐθὺς ὀρμητο τοὺς Ἀργείους καλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι συμμάχους, ἐβοήθησε δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ σεισμός τις διὰ μέσου γενόμενος καὶ διαλύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος πολλὰ ποιήσας καὶ εἰπὼν ἔπεισε μόλις ἐπισχεῖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους, αὐτῶν δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους, ὡς πάντων καλῶς γενησομένων.

7 Ἑλθὼν δ’ εἰς Σπάρτην τὰλλα μὲν ὡς ἀνήρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐπιμῆθη, πράξας δ’ οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτιαζόντων ἐπανήλθεν, οὗ μόνον ἀδοξὼν καὶ κακῶς ἄκουόμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδώσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λυπουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας ὅτι πεισθέντες ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τοσοῦτος καὶ τοιοῦτος ἄνδρας ἀπέδωκαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ἦσαν ὑπὸ εὐκων τῆς Σπάρτης, καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἔχοντες. οὐ μὴν ἐπραξάν· τι τραχύτερον ὄργη πρὸς ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατηγὸν ἐίλοντο, καὶ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἡλείους Δακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντας ἐποίησαν τοῦ συμμάχους μετ’ Ἀργείων, καὶ κηστὰς εἰς Πύλου 244
NICIAS

people not to follow, much less trust, men who were so manifestly liars, and who said now "Yes" and now "No" to the same question. The ambassadors were overwhelmed with confusion, naturally, and Nicias was unable to say a word,—struck dumb with amazement and anguish. Therefore the people were at once eager to call in the Argive embassy and make the alliance it desired, but there came a slight earthquake shock just then, luckily for Nicias, and the assembly was dissolved. On the following day, when the people had assembled again, by dint of great effort and much talking Nicias succeeded, with difficulty, in persuading them to refrain from the proposed arrangement with Argos, and to send him on an embassy to the Lacedaemonians, assuring them that everything would thus turn out well.

But when he came to Sparta, though in other ways he was honoured by them as a true man and one who had been zealous in their behalf, still, he accomplished nothing that he purposed, but was beaten by the party there which had Boeotian sympathies, and so came back home, not merely with loss of reputation and under harsh abuse, but actually in bodily fear of the Athenians. They were vexed and indignant because they had been persuaded by him to restore so many eminent prisoners of war; for the men who had been brought to the city from Pylos belonged to the leading families of Sparta, and the most influential men there were their friends and kinsmen. However, the Athenians took no very harsh measures in their anger against Nicias, but elected Alcibiades general, made an alliance with the Mantineans and Eleans, who had seceded from the Lacedaemonians, as well as with the Argives, sent
ΠΛΥΤΩΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΩΣ

ἐπεμψαν κακουργεῖν τὴν Δακωνικῆν· εξ ὧν αὐθινέν εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XI. Ἀκμαξοῦσθης δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διαφορᾶς, καὶ γυγομένης ὀστρακο-

φορίας, ἤν εἰὼθει διὰ χρόνου τινὸς ὁ δήμος ποιεῖ-

σθαι, ἐνα τῶν ὑπόπτων ἢ διὰ δόξαν ἄλλως ἢ

πλούτου ἐπιφθόνων ἄνδρῶν τῷ ὀστράκῳ μεθιστάς

εἰς δέκα ἕτη, πολὺς θόρυβος ἀμφοτέρους περι-

ἐστατο καὶ κίνδυνος, ὡς θατέρου πάντως ὑπο-

2 πεσομένου τῷ ἐξοστρακίσμῳ. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ

Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τὸν βίον ἐβδελύττοντο καὶ τὸ

θράσος ὁρρόδουν, ὡς μάλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου

γραφομένοις δηλοῦται, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ὁ τε πλούτος

ἐπιφθόνων ἐποίει καὶ μάλιστα τῆς διαίτης τὸ μη

φιλάνθρωπον μηδὲ δημοτικόν, ἀλλ' ἀμικτόν καὶ

ὀλυγαρχικόν ἀλλόκοτον ἐδόκει, πολλὰ δ' ἦδη ταῖς

ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν ἀντιτείνων, παρὰ γνώμην βια-

3 ξόμενος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπαρχῆς ἦν. ὡς δ'

ἀπλῶς εἴπειν, νέων ἦν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἀμιλλα

πρὸς εἰρηνοποιοῦν καὶ περισβετέρους, τῶν μὲν εἰς

τοῦτον, τῶν δ' εἰς ἐκείνου τὸ ὀστρακὸν τρεπόντων.

Ἐν δὲ διχοστασία καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἐμμορε τιμῆς

ὡς ποι καὶ τότε διαστὰς ὁ δήμος δίχα χώραν

ἐδωκε τοῖς ἱταμωτάτοις καὶ πανουργοτάτοις, ὡν

246
Nicias

freebooters to Pylos to ravage Laconia, and thus plunged again into war.

XI. At last the feud between Nicias and Alcibiades became so intense that recourse was had to the process of ostracism. This the people used to institute from time to time when they wished to remove for ten years, by the ostrakon ballot, any one man who was an object of suspicion generally because of his great reputation, or of jealousy because of his great wealth. Both the rivals were thus involved in much confusion and peril, since one or the other must in any event succumb to the ostracism. In the case of Alcibiades, men loathed his manner of life and dreaded his boldness, as will be shown more at length in his biography; and in the case of Nicias, his wealth made him an object of jealousy. Above all else, his way of life, which was not genial nor popular but unsocial and aristocratic, seemed alien and foreign: and since he often opposed the people's desires and tried to force them against their wishes into the way of their advantage, he was burdensome to them. To tell the simple truth, it was a struggle between the young men who wanted war and the elderly men who wanted peace; one party proposed to ostracise Nicias, the other Alcibiades.

“But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour,”

and so in this case also the people divided into two factions, and thereby made room for the most aggressive and mischievous men. Among these was

1 A proverb in hexameter verse, attributed to Callimachus, the Alexandrian poet and scholar (310–235 B.C.).
γν καὶ ὶπέρβολος ὁ Περιθοίδης, ἀνθρωπὸς ἀπ' οὐδεμᾶς τολμῶν δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τολμᾶν εἰς δύναμιν προελθὼν, καὶ γενόμενος δι' ἦν εἶχεν ἐν τῇ πόλει δῶξαν ἀδοξία τῆς πόλεως. οὕτως ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τοῦ μὲν ὀστράκων πόρρω τιθέμενος έαυτόν, ἀτε δὴ τῷ κύψων μᾶλλον προσήκων, ἐλπίζων δὲ θατέρου τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκπεσόντος αὐτὸς ἀντίπαλος τῷ λειπομένῳ γενόμεθαί, καταφανῆς ἦν ἡδόμενος τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ παροξύνων τὸν δήμον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους. συνιόντες σὺν τὴν μοχθηρίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ λόγοι δόντες ἀλλήλους κρύφα, καὶ τὰς στάσεις συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἀναμίξαντες, ἐκράτησαν ὡστε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὶπέρβολον ἔξοστρακισθήναι.

καὶ παρατίκα μὲν ἡδονὴν τούτο καὶ γέλωτα τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχεν, ύστερον δὲ ἡγανάκτου ὡς καθυβρισμένον τῷ πράγμα τούτῳ πρὸς ἀνθρωπον ἀνάξιον γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, εἶναι γὰρ τι καὶ κολάσεως ἀξίωμα, μᾶλλον δὲ κόλασιν τῶν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἠγούμενον Θουκυδίδη καὶ Ἀριστείδη καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις, ὶπέρβολω δὲ τιμὴν καὶ προσποίησιν ἀλαζονείας, εἰ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἔπαθε ταύτα τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ὡς ποὺ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς εὐρήκει περὶ αὐτοῦ.

Καίτων πέπραξε τῶν προτέρων μὲν ἄξια,
αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στυγμάτων ἀνάξια·
οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἶνεκ' ὀστραχ' εὐρέθη.

1 τῶν προτέρων a correction suggested by Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 654: τῶν τρόπων (a fate worthy of his ways).

248
NICIAS

Hyperbolus of the deme Perithoeadæ, a man whose boldness was not due to any influence that he possessed, but who came to influence by virtue of his boldness, and became, by reason of the very credit which he had in the city, a discredit to the city. This fellow at that time thought himself beyond the reach of ostracism, since, indeed, he was a likelier candidate for the stocks; but he expected that when one of the rivals had been banished he might himself become a match for the one who was left, and so it was plain that he was pleased at their feud, and that he was inciting the people against both of them. Accordingly, when Nicias and Alcibiades became aware of his baseness, they took secret counsel with one another, united and harmonized their factions, and carried the day, so that neither of them was ostracised, but Hyperbolus instead.¹

For the time being this delighted and amused the people, but afterwards they were vexed to think that the ordinance of ostracism had been degraded by its application to so unworthy a man. They thought that even chastisement had its dignity, or rather, they regarded the ostracism as a chastisement in the cases of Thucydides and Aristides and such men, but in the case of Hyperbolus as an honour, and as good ground for boasting on his part, since for his baseness he had met with the same fate as the best men. And so Plato the comic poet somewhere said of him:—

"Indeed he suffered worthy fate for men of old
Albeit a fate too good for him and for his brands,
For such as him the ostrakon was ne'er devised."

¹ Probably in 417 B.C.
καὶ τὸ πέρας οὔδεὶς ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐξωστρακίσθη μετὰ 'Τπέρβολον, ἀλλ' ἔσχατος ἐκεῖνος, 531 πρῶτος δ' Ἰππαρχὸς ὁ Χολαργεὺς συγγενής τις ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου.

7 Ἀκριτοῦ δ' ἡ τύχη πράγμα καὶ ἄληπτον λογισμὸ. Νικίας γὰρ, εἰ τὸν περὶ ὀστράκου κίνδυνον ἀνέρριψε πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἡ κρατήσας ἀν ἀσφαλῶς ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελάσας, ἡ κρατηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξής πρὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀτυχίων, τὸ δοκεῖν ἂριστος εἶναι στρατηγὸς διαφυλάξας.

Οὖκ ἄγνωστ' ὅτι Θεόφραστος ἐξωστρακίσθηναι φησὶ τὸν Ἀπερίβολον Φαίακος, ὃς Νικίου, πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐρήσαντος. ἀλλ' οἱ πλείονες οὕτω γεγράφασιν.

XII. Ὁ δ' οὖν Νικίας, τῶν Αἰγεστέων πρέσβεων καὶ Δεοτίνων παραγεγομένων καὶ πειθόντων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στρατεύειν ἔπληξε Σικελίαν, ἀνθιστάμενος ἢττατο τῆς βουλῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ φιλοτιμίας, πρὸς ὅλως ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, κατασχόντος ἡδή πλῆθος ἔλπισι καὶ λόγοις προδιεφθαρμένοιν, ὡστε καὶ νέους εἰς παλαιόστρας καὶ γέροντας ἐν ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ ἕμικυκλίοις συγκαθεσθείσους ὑπογράφειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν θαλάσσης, καὶ λιμένας καὶ τόπους ὁις τέτραπται πρὸς.

2 Λιβύην ἡ νῆσος, οὐ γὰρ ἄθλου ἐποιοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου Σικελίαν, ἀλλ' ὀρμητήριον, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῆς διαγωνισόμενοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ σχήσοντες ἀμα Λιβύην καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θάλασσαν.
NICIAS

And in the end no one was ever ostracised after Hyperbolus, but he was the last, as Hipparchus of Cholargus, a kinsman of the famous tyrant Peisistratus, was the first to be so banished.¹

Verily fortune is an uncertain thing, and incalculable. Had Nicias run the risk with Alcibiades of being ostracised, he had either carried the day, expelled his rival, and then dwelt safely in the city; or, defeated, he had himself gone forth from the city before his last misfortunes, and had preserved the reputation of being a most excellent general.

I am well aware that Theophrastus says that Hyperbolus was ostracised when Phaeax, and not Nicias, was striving against Alcibiades, but most writers state the case as I have done.

XII. It was Nicias, then, who, when an embassy came from Egesta and Leontini² seeking to persuade the Athenians to undertake an expedition against Sicily, opposed the measure, only to be defeated by the ambitious purposes of Alcibiades. Before the assembly had met at all, Alcibiades had already corrupted the multitude and got them into his power by means of his sanguine promises, so that the youth in their training-schools and the old men in their work-shops and lounging-places would sit in clusters drawing maps of Sicily, charts of the sea about it, and plans of the harbours and districts of the island which look towards Libya. For they did not regard Sicily itself as the prize of the war, but rather as a mere base of operations, purposing therefrom to wage a contest with the Carthaginians and get possession of both Libya and of all the sea this side the Pillars of Heracles.

¹ 488-487 B.C. ² In the spring of 416 B.C.
'Ως οὖν ὁμημητο πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ Νικίας ἐναντιούμενος οὔτε πολλοὺς οὔτε δυνατούς ἔχει συναγωνιστάς. οἱ γὰρ εὐποροὶ δεδιότες μὴ δοκῶσι τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ τριηραρχίας ἀπο-
3 διδράσκειν, παρὰ γρόμον ἡσύχαζον· ὁ δ’ οὖν ἔκαμεν οὐδ’ ἀπηγόρευεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ὕψωσαθαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἀθηναίους καὶ στρα-
τηγὸν ἔλεσθαι πρῶτον ἔκεινον μετ’ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Δαμάχου, πάλιν ἐκκλησίας γενομένης, ἀναστὰς ἀπέτρεπε καὶ διεμαρτύρετο, καὶ τελευτῶν διέβαλε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἱδίων ἐνεκα κερδῶν καὶ φιλοτι-
μίας τὴν πόλιν εἰς χαλεπὸν ἐξωθεὶν καὶ διαπόν-
4 τινων κίνδυνων. ἔπραξε δ’ οὔδεν μᾶλλον, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ ἐμπειρίας δόξας ἐπιτηδειότερος εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔζειν πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου τόλμαν καὶ τὴν Δαμάχου τραχύτητα ἱς ἔκεινον συγκεραννυμένης εὐλαβείας, βεβαιοτέραν ἐποίησε τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀναστὰς γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παροξύνων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, Δημόστρατος, ἔφη τὸν Νικίαν προ-
φάσεις λέγοντα παύσειν καὶ ψηφισμα γράψας ὅπως αὐτοκράτορες ὅσον οἱ στρατηγοὶ κάνταῦθα κάκει βουλευόμενοι καὶ πράττοντες, ἐπεισὲ τὸν δήμον ψηφίσασθαι.

ΧΙΙΙ. Καίτοι λέγεται πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐναντιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν· ἀλλ’ ἐτέρους ἔχων μάντεις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ δὴ τινῶν

1 τραχύτητα Reiske's correction: πρατήτη (mildness); cf. chapter xv. 1.
NICIAS

Since, therefore, their hearts were fixed on this, Nicias, in his opposition to them, had few men, and these of no influence, to contend on his side. For the well-to-do citizens feared accusations of trying to escape their contributions for the support of the navy, and so, despite their better judgement, held their peace. But Nicias did not faint nor grow weary. Even after the Athenians had actually voted for the war and elected him general first, and after him Alcibiades and Lamachus, in a second session of the assembly he rose and tried to divert them from their purpose by the most solemn adjurations, and at last accused Alcibiades of satisfying his own private greed and ambition in thus forcing the city into grievous perils beyond the seas. Still, he made no headway, nay, he was held all the more essential to the enterprise because of the experience from which he spoke. There would be great security, his hearers thought, against the daring of Alcibiades and the roughness of Lamachus, if his well known caution were blended with their qualities. And so he succeeded only in confirming the previous vote. For Demostratus, the popular leader who was most active in spurring the Athenians on to the war, rose and declared that he would stop the mouth of Nicias from uttering vain excuses; so he introduced a decree to the effect that the generals have full and independent powers in counsel and in action, both at home and at the seat of war, and persuaded the people to vote it.

XIII. And yet the priesthood also is said to have offered much opposition to the expedition. But Alcibiades had other diviners in his private service,
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ ΕΠΙΤΗΔΕΩΝ

λογίων προέβλεψαν μέγα κλέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐσσεσθαί. καὶ θεοπρόποι τινεῖς αὐτῷ παρ’ Ἀμικόντο χρησμὸν κομίζοντες ὡς λήψονται Συρακούσιους ἀπαντας Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ δ’ ἐναντία φοβούμενοι δυσφήμειν

2 ἐκρυπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ προντα καὶ καταφανῇ τῶν σημείων ἀπέτρεπεν, ἢ τε τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπῆ, μιᾷ νυκτὶ πάντων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων πλὴν ἐνός, ὅν Ἀνδοκίδου καλοῦσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγή-

δος φυλῆς, κείμενον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τότε ὀυσῆς Ἀνδο-

κίδου οἰκίας, καὶ τὸ πραξθὲν περὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν
dώδεκα θεῶν. ἀνθρωπος γὰρ τις ἕξασώμη ἀνα-

πηδήσας ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, εἶτα περιβάς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ

λίθο το άιδοῖον.

3 Ἔν δὲ Δελφῶν Παλλάδιον ἐστηκε χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ φοίνικος χαλκοῦ βεβηκός, ἀνάθημα τῆς τόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀριστεῖων τοῦτον ἐκοπτον ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πολλὰς προσπετόμενοι κόρα-

κες, καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ὄντα χρυσοῦν τοῦ φοίνικος

4 ἀπέτρωγον καὶ κατέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν 532 ἔφασαν εἶναι Δελφῶν πλάσματα πεπεισμένων ὑπὸ Συρακούσίων χρησμοῦ δὲ τίνος κελεύοντος αὐτοῦν ἐκ Κλαξομενῶν τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγειν, μετεπέμψαντο τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἐκαλείτο
dὲ Ησυχία. καὶ τοῦτο ἢν, ὡς ἔσκευεν, ὃ παρῆνει

τῇ πόλει τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν Ἡσυχίαν

άγειν.

5 Εἶτε ὡς ταῦτα δείσας εἴτ’ ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογοσιμῷ
NICIAS

and from sundry oracles reputed ancient he cited one saying that great fame would be won by the Athenians in Sicily. To his delight also certain envoys who had been sent to the shrine of Ammon\(^1\) came back with an oracle declaring that the Athenians would capture all the Syracusans; but utterances of opposite import the envoys concealed, for fear of using words of ill omen. For no signs could deter the people from the expedition, were they never so obvious and clear, such as, for instance, the mutilation of the “Hermae.” These statues were all disfigured in a single night, except one, called the Hermes of Andocides, a dedication of the Aegaeid tribe, standing in front of what was at that time the house of Andocides. Then there was the affair of the altar of the Twelve Gods. An unknown man leaped upon it all of a sudden, bestrode it, and then mutilated himself with a stone.

At Delphi, moreover, there stood a Palladium, made of gold and set upon a bronze palm tree, a dedication of the city of Athens from the spoils of her valour in the Persian wars. Ravens alighted on this image and pecked it for many days together; they also bit off the fruit of the palm-tree, which was of gold, and cast it down to the ground. The Athenians, it is true, said that this whole story was an invention of the Delphians, at the instigation of the Syracusans; but at any rate when a certain oracle bade them bring the priestess of Athena from Clazomenae, they sent and fetched the woman, and lo! her name was Peace. And this, as it seemed, was the advice which the divinity would give the city at that time, namely, to keep the peace.

It was either because he feared such signs as these,

\(^1\) In an oasis of the Libyan desert. Cf. Cimon, xviii. 6 r.
τὴν στρατείαν φοβηθείς, οὗ ἀστρολόγος Μέτων
(ἡν γὰρ ἐφ' ἤγερον ἄντως τεταγμένον) προσ-
ἐποιεῖτο τὴν οἰκίαν υφάπτειν ὡς μεμηνώς. οἱ δὲ
φασὶν γὰρ μανιαν σκηψάμενον, ἀλλὰ νύκτωρ
ἐμπρήσαντα τὴν οἰκίαν προελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἄγο-
ρὰν ταπεινάν, καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως ἐπὶ
συμφόρα τοσαύτη τὸν νόμον αὐτοῦ μέλλοντα πλείω
τριήμαρχον εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφῶσι τῆς στρατείας.

6 Σωκράτει δὲ τῷ σοφῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον οἷς εἰσέθει
συμβόλοις χρησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμήνυσε
κάκεινα, τὸν ἔκπληκτον ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως
πραττόμενον. οὔ δὲ τοῖς συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις
ἐφρασε, καὶ διήλθεν εἰς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος.

7 Οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν αἷς τὸν
στόλον ἔξεστιν ὑπέθραττεν. Ἀδώνια γὰρ
εἶχον αἱ γυναίκες τότε, καὶ προοίμενον πολλαχόθι
τῆς πόλεως εὐδῶλα, καὶ ταφαὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καὶ
κοπετοὶ γυναικῶν ἦσαν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ ποιου-
μένους τινὶ τὰ τοιαύτα δυσχεραίνειν καὶ δεδείναι
περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐκείνης καὶ δυνάμεως, μὴ
λαμπρώτητα καὶ ἀκμὴν ἐπιφυγεστᾶτην σχούσα
ταχέως μαρανθῆ.

Χ. Το μὲν οὖν ἐναντιωθηναι πυρφιζομένη τῇ
στρατείᾳ τὸν Νικίαν, καὶ μῆθ' ὑπ' ἐλπίδων
ἐπαρθέντα μῆτε πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος
ἐκπλαγέντα μεταθέσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, ἀνδρὸς ἤν
χρηστοῦ καὶ σώφρονος. ἐπειδ' οὔτε τοῦ πολέμου

256
NICIAS

or because, from mere human calculation, he was alarmed about the expedition, that the astrologer Meton, who had been given a certain station of command, pretended to be mad and set his house on fire. Some, however, tell the story in this way: Meton made no pretence of madness, but burned his house down in the night, and then came forward publicly in great dejection and begged his fellow citizens, in view of the great calamity which had befallen him, to release from the expedition his son, who was about to sail for Sicily in command of a trireme. To Socrates the wise man also, his divine guide, making use of the customary tokens for his enlightenment, indicated plainly that the expedition would make for the ruin of the city. Socrates let this be known to his intimate friends, and the story had a wide circulation.

Not a few also were somewhat disconcerted by the character of the days in the midst of which they dispatched their armament. The women were celebrating at that time the festival of Adonis, and in many places throughout the city little images of the god were laid out for burial, and funeral rites were held about them, with wailing cries of women, so that those who cared anything for such matters were distressed, and feared lest that powerful armament, with all the splendour and vigour which were so manifest in it, should speedily wither away and come to naught.

XIV. Now, that Nicias should oppose the voting of the expedition, and should not be so buoyed up by vain hopes nor so crazed by the magnitude of his command as to change his real opinion,—this marked him as a man of honesty and discretion. But when
τὸν δήμον ἀποτρέψαι πειρώμενος, οὐθ᾿ αὐτὸν ἐξελέσθαι τῆς στρατηγίας δεόμενος ἵσχυσεν, ἀλλ᾿ ὁσπερ ἀράμενος καὶ φέρων αὐτὸν ὁ δήμος ἐπέθηκε

2 τῇ δυνάμει στρατηγῶν, ούδεις ἔτι καίρος ἦν τῆς πολλῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ μελλήσεως, ὡστε παιδὸς δίκην ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ὁπίσω βλέποντα καὶ τὸ μή κρατηθῆναι τοῖς λογίσμοις ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ στρέφοντα πολλάκις ἐναμβλύναι καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν διαφθείραι τῶν πράξεων, ἀλλ᾿ εὐθὺς ἔδει τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμφύτευτα καὶ προσκείμενον ἐλέγχειν τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ τῶν

3 ἀγώνων. ὁ δὲ, Λαμάχου μὲν ἀντικρός ἄξιοντος πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ μάχην ἐγκράτειως τῆς πόλεως τιθέναι, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφιστάναι Συρακοσίων, εἶτα ὅτι, ὅταν βαδίζειν, τὰ ἐναντία λέγων καὶ κελεύων ἀτρέμα παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν κομιζομένους καὶ περιπλέοντας ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, εἰτ’ ἀποπλεῖν Ἀθηναῖς μικρὸν τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀγαστεύσων ἀπαρξαμένους, αὕτη κα τὴν γνώμην ὑπεξέλυσε καὶ κατέβαλε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

4 Καὶ μέτ’ ὅλην χρόνον Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἀθηναίων μεταπεμφαμένων εἰς κρίσιν, λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς δεύτερος ἔγγυς, δυνάμει δὲ μόνος ὃν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο καθήμενος ἢ περιπλέων ἢ βουλευόμενος, πρὶν ἐγγηρᾶσαι μὲν αὐτῷ τῇ ἀκμῇ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐκρυφθεὶς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ θάμβος καὶ τὸν φόβον ὅν ἡ πρώτη παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὅψις τῶν δυνάμεων.

1 αὐτῷ MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: αὐτῶν.
NICIAS

he availed naught either in his efforts to divert the people from the war or in his desire to be relieved of his command,—the people as it were picking him up bodily and setting him over their forces as general,—then it was no longer a time for the exceeding caution and hesitation which he displayed, gazing back homewards from his ship like a child, and many times resuming and dwelling on the thought that the people had not yielded to his reasonings, till he took the edge from the zeal of his colleagues in command and lost the fittest time for action. He ought rather at once to have engaged the enemy at close quarters and put fortune to the test in struggles for the mastery. Instead of this, while Lamachus urged that they sail direct to Syracuse and give battle close to the city, and Alcibiades that they rob the Syracusans of their allied cities first and then proceed against them, Nicias proposed and urged in opposition that they make their way quietly by sea along the coasts of Sicily, circumnavigate the island, make a display of their troops and triremes, and then sail back to Athens, after having first culled out a small part of their force to give the Egestaeans a taste of succor. In this way he soon relaxed the resolution and depressed the spirits of his men.

After a little while the Athenians summoned Alcibiades home to stand his trial, and then Nicias, who nominally had still a colleague in the command, but really wielded sole power, made no end of sitting idle, or cruising aimlessly about, or taking deliberate counsel, until the vigorous hopes of his men grew old and feeble, and the consternation and fear with which the first sight of his forces had filled his enemies slowly subsided.
5 Ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου παρὸντος ἐξῆκοντα
ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας
ἀνείχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λιμένος ἔξω παρατάξαντες,
δέκα δὲ κατῆλαυν τείχος κατασκοπής εἴνεκα: καὶ
Δεοντίνους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποκαλοῦσα διὰ
κήρυκος, ἀυτὰς λαμβάνον καὶ πολεμίαν σαφῶς
κομίζουσαν, εἰς ἃς ἀπεγράφοντο κατὰ φυλὰς
αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακούσιοι. κεῖμεναι δὲ ἀποθεῖν τῆς
πόλεως ἐν ιερῷ Διὸς Ὅλυμπίου τὸτε πρὸς ἔξε-
τασιν καὶ κατάλογον τῶν ἐν ἠλικία μετεπέμβασι-
6 σαν. ὡς οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀλοῦσαι πρὸς 533
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκομίσθησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
ὡρθῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἡχόθησαν οἱ μάντεις μή
pote ἁρὰ τὸ χρεῶν ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρησμοῦ περαίνοι,
λέγοντος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λήψονται Συρακουσίους
ἀπαντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔτερος φασιν ἐργὸ τοῦτο
toῖς Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι ἐπιτελεῖς καθ' ἰον τρόπον
ἀποκτείνας Δίωνα Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐσχε
Συρακούσας.

XV. Ἀποπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μετ'
ὁλίγον ἐκ Σικελίας, τὸ πάν ἦδη κράτος ὁ Νικίας
ἐσχεν. ὁ δὲ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν ἀνδρώδης καὶ δίκαιος
ἀνήρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ χρόμενος ἀφειδῶς κατὰ τὰς
μάχας, πένης δὲ τοσοῦτον καὶ λιτὸς ὡστε καθ' ἐκάστην
στρατηγίαν ἀπολογίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις μικρὸν ἄργυριον εἰς ἐσθήτα καὶ κρηπίδας
2 έαυτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Νικίου καὶ διὰ τάλλα μέγας ἦν

1 ἔτερον MSS., Coraes, and Bekker: ἄτεροι (others say that
the prophesy was really fulfilled, etc.).

260
NICIAS

While Alcibiades was yet with the fleet, sixty ships sailed for Syracuse, of which fifty lay out in the offing, drawn up so as to command the harbour, while ten rowed in to reconnoitre. These made formal proclamation by voice of herald that the people of Leontini should return to their homes. They also captured a ship of the enemy with tablets on board in which the Syracusans had recorded lists of their citizens by tribes. These lists had been deposited at some distance from the city, in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, but had been sent for at that time with a view to determining and enrolling those who had come to military age. Now when these had been captured by the Athenians and brought to their generals, and the number of names was seen, the soothsayers were in distress lest in this circumstance lie the fulfilment of what was predicted by the oracle which said: “The Athenians shall take all the Syracusans.” However, they say that it was in another circumstance altogether that this prophecy was fulfilled for the Athenians, namely, at the time when Callippus the Athenian slew Dion and got possession of Syracuse.¹

XV. A little while after this Alcibiades sailed away from Sicily,² and then Nicias took the entire command. Lamachus was, it is true, a sturdy and honourable man, one who put forth his might without stint in battle, but so poor and petty that in every campaign where he served as general he would charge up to the Athenian people certain trifling moneys for his own clothes and boots. Nicias, on the contrary, was a man of great dignity and im-

¹ In 353 B.C. See Plutarch, Dion, liv.-lvii.
² See the Alcibiades, xxl. 1.
καὶ διὰ τῶν πλοῦτων καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὁ ὁγκος. λέγεται ὃ ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ ποτὲ βουλευομένων τι κοινῇ τῶν συναρχόντων, κελευσθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρῶτος εἶπεῖν γνώμην Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς πρεσβύτατος ὅν τῶν συστρατήγων, "Ἐγώ," φάναι, "παλαιότατος εἰμί, σὺ δὲ πρεσβύτατος."

Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Δάμαχον ἄγων ὑφ’ έαυτῷ στρατηγικῷτερον ὅντα, καὶ χρώμενος εὐλαβῶς καὶ διὰ μελλήσεως ἂεὶ τῇ δυνάμει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπεπιπλέων Σίκελίαν θάρσος ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπείτα προσβαλὼν "Ὄβλη, πολυχνίου μικρῷ, καὶ πρὶν ἔλειν ἀποστάσις, κομιδῇ κατεφρονήθη. καὶ τέλος εἰς Κατάνην ἀπῆλθε πράξας οὐδὲν ἢ καταστραφώμενος "Τκ- κάρα, βαρβαρίκων χωρίων, οθὲν λέγεται καὶ Δαίδα τὴν ἐταίραν ἐτὶ κόρην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις πραδείσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κομισθήναι.

XVI. Τοῦ δὲ θέρους διελθόντος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Συρακούσίους ἐπινόηκατο προτέρους ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἀφίξεσθαι τεθαρρηκότας, οἱ δ’ ἢπεῖς ὑβρεὶ προσ- ελαύνοντες ἥδη πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἥρωτων εἰ Καταναιοῖς συνοικήσοντες ἢ Λεοντίνους κατοι- κισθούντες ἤκουσι, μόλις ὁ Νικίας ὤρμησε πλεῖν ἐπὶ 2 Συρακούσας. καὶ βουλόμενος ἄδεως καὶ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἴδρυσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπέπεμψεν ἀνθρω- πον ἐκ Κατάνης κελεύοντα τοὺς Συρακούσίους, εἰ βοῦλονται λαβεῖν ἐρήμου ἀνδρῶν τὸ στρατό-
NICIAS

portance, especially because of his wealth and reputation. It is said that once at the War Department, when his fellow commanders were deliberating on some matter of general moment, he bade Sophocles the poet state his opinion first, as being the senior general on the Board. Thereupon Sophocles said: "I am the oldest man, but you are the senior general."

So also in the present case he brought Lamachus under his orders, although more of a general than himself, and, always using his forces in a cautious and hesitating manner, he first gave the enemy courage by cruising around Sicily as far as possible from them, and then, by attacking the diminutive little city of Hybla, and going off without taking it, he won their utter contempt. Finally, he went back to Catana without effecting anything at all except the overthrow of Hyccara, a barbarian fastness. From this place it is said that Lais the courtesan was sold as a prisoner of war, being still a girl, and brought into Peloponnesus.

XVI. The summer was now spent when Nicias learned that the Syracuseans had plucked up courage and were going to take the initiative and come out against him. Their horsemen already had the insolence to ride up to the Athenian camp and ask its occupants whether they had come to share the homes of the Catanians or to restore the Leontines to their old homes. At last, therefore, and reluctantly, Nicias set out to sail against Syracuse. Wishing to establish his forces there deliberately and without fear of interruption from the enemy, he secretly sent on a man of Catana with a message for the Syracuseans: if they wished to find the camp and
πεδον καὶ τὰ ὁπλα τῶν 'Αθηναίων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ βραδύῃ πρὸς Κατάνην πανστρατιάρι παραγενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πλείστα διατριβώντων ἐγνωκέναι τοὺς Συρακοσίους φίλους, ὅταν ἐκεῖνος προσεύμην διαστὼνται, τὰς τε πύλας καταλαμβάνειν ἁμα καὶ τὸν ναοῦσθον ὑποπομπράναι πολλοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς συνεκτώτας ἢδη καὶ τὴν ἑκείνων περιμένουτως ἀφίξιν.

3 Τούτ' ἀριστα Νικίας ἐστρατήγησε περὶ Σικελίαν. πανστρατιάρι γὰρ ἔξαγαγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμοῦ τι ποιήσεις ἔρημιν ἄνδρῶν, αὐτὸς ἐκ Κατάνης ἀναχθεῖς τῶν τε λυμένων ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ στρατοπέδῳ κατέλαβε χώραν, ὅθεν ἤκιστα βλαστόμενος οἰς ἔλειπετο τῶν πολεμίων, ἦπισιν ἡξίων ἐγὼ ἐδάρρει πολεμήσειν ἀκωλύτως.

4 ἔπει δ' ἀναστρέφαντες ἐκ Κατάνης οἱ Συρακοσίαι παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπαγαγόν ταχὺ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκράτησε. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὁμοί ἀπῆκτενε τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ γὰρ ἵππεις ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο τῇ διώξει· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ διαφθείρων καὶ ἀποκόπτον τὰς γεφύρας, παρέσχεν Ἐρμοκράτει λέγειν παραθαρρύννοντι τοὺς Συρακοσίους ὅτι γελοῖος ἐστίν ὁ Νικίας, ὅπως οὐ μαχεῖται 5 στρατηγῶν, ὀσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχη πεπλευκός. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φόβοι τε καὶ κατάπληξιν ἱσχυρῶν ἐνειργάσατο τοὺς Συρακοσίους, ὅστ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὄντων τότε πεντεκάδεκα στρατηγῶν ἐτέρους ἐλέσθαι τρεῖς, οἰς πίστων ἔδωκεν ὁ δήμος δι' ὤρκων, 534 ἢ μὴν εάσειν ἄρχειν αὐτοκράτορας.

264
Nicias

equipment of the Athenians abandoned of defenders, they must come in full force to Catana on a given day, for that the friends of the Syracusans in the city, where the Athenians spent most of their time, had determined, on perceiving their approach, to seize the gates and set fire to the Athenian fleet; the conspirators were already many and awaited their coming.

This was the best generalship that Nicias displayed in Sicily. He brought his enemy out of their city in full force, thereby almost emptying it of defenders, while he himself put out to sea from Catana, got control of the enemy's harbours, and seized a spot for his camp where he was confident that he would suffer least injury from that arm of the service in which he was inferior, the cavalry, and meet no hindrance in fighting with that arm whereon he most relied. When the Syracusans hurried back from Catana and drew up in order of battle before their own city, Nicias led his Athenians swiftly against them and carried the day. He did not slay many of the enemy, it is true, for their horsemen prevented his pursuit; he had to content himself with cutting to pieces and destroying the bridges over the river, and thus gave Hermocrates occasion to say, as he sought to encourage the Syracusans, that Nicias was ridiculous in manoeuvring so as not to give battle, as though it was not for battle that he had crossed the seas. However, he did infuse fear and mighty consternation into the Syracusans, so that in place of their fifteen generals then in office they elected three others, to whom the people pledged themselves under oath that they would surely suffer them to command with full and independent powers.
6 Τοῦ δ' Ὅλυμπιείου πλησίον ὄντος ὄρμησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καταλαβεῖν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῷ χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων. ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἐπίτηδες ἀναβαλλόμενος ὑστέρησε καὶ περιείδε φρουρᾶν εἰσελθοῦσαν παρὰ τῶν Συρακούσίων, ἡγούμενος, ἐὰν τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν κοινὸν οὐκ ὑφεληθῆσθαι, τὴν δ' αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔξειν τοῦ ἀσεβήματος. τῇ δὲ νίκη περιβοήτῳ γενομένη χρησάμενος εἰς οὐδὲν, ὁλίγων ἥμερῶν διαγενομένων αὖθις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Νάξον, κἀκεῖδε διεχέμασε, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλισκών στρατιὰ τοσαύτη, πράττων δὲ μικρὰ πρὸς Σικελοῦς τινας ἀφισταμένους πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡστε τοὺς Συρακούσίους αὖθις ἀναδιδόσας ἐξελάσαι πρὸς Κατάνην καὶ τὴν τε χώραν τεμεῖν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακαίναι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

7 ο Ἰππίωτος ἀστυνομείρον τῶν Νικίαν, ὡς ἐν τῇ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ μέλλειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τῶν πράξεων ἀπολλύντα καΙρόν ἐπεὶ τάς γε πράξεις οὔδεὶς ἀν ἐμέμψατο τοῦ ἀνδρός ὀρμήσας γὰρ ἦν ἑνεργὸς καὶ δραστήριος, τολμῆσαι δὲ μελλητῆς καὶ ἀτολμος.

8 Ὁς δ' οὖν ἐκίνησε τὴν στρατιὰν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσιας, οὕτως ἐστρατήγησε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὀξύτητος ἀμά καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐπῆλθεν, ὡστε λαθεῖν μὲν εἰς Ἡλίου ταῖς ναυσὶ προσμίζας καὶ ἀποβάς, φθάσαι δὲ τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς.
NICIAS

The Olympieum was hard by, and the Athenians set out to seize it, inasmuch as it contained many offerings of gold and silver. But Nicias purposely delayed operations until it was too late, and allowed a garrison from Syracuse to enter in, because he thought that if his soldiers plundered the temple's treasures the commonwealth would get no advantage from it, and he himself would incur the blame for the sacrilege. Of his victory, which was so noised about, he made no use whatever, but after a few days had elapsed withdrew again to Naxos, and there spent the winter, making large outlays on his vast armament, but effecting little in his negotiations with the few Sicels who thought of coming over to his side. The Syracusans therefore plucked up courage again, marched out to Catana, ravaged the fields, and burnt what had been the Athenian camp.

These things all men laid to the charge of Nicias, since, as they said, by his excessive calculation and hesitation and caution he let the proper time for action go by for ever. When he was once in action no one could find fault with the man, for after he had set out to do a thing he was vigorous and effective; but in venturing out to do it he was hesitating and timid.

XVII. At any rate, when he moved his armament back to Syracuse, he showed such generalship, and made his approach with such speed and safety, that he put in at Thapsus with his fleet and landed his men unobserved, seized Epipolae before the

1 In the spring of 414 B.C., as described by Thucydides in vi. 97.

2 A triangular plateau, rising gradually to the westwards of Syracuse, visible from the interior of the city, and surrounded by precipitous cliffs.
κατασχόν, τῶν δὲ προσβοηθοῦντων λογάδων κρατήσας ἐλείν μὲν τριακοσίους, τρέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἵππον τῶν πολεμίων ἁμαχὸν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν.

2 Ὁ δὲ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ Σικελιώτας ἐξεπληξε καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἀπιστίαν παρέσχει, ὅλῳ χρόνῳ περιπετείχει Συρακοῦσας, πόλιν Ἀθηνῶν οὐκ ἐλάττων, δυσεργοτέραν δὲ χωρίων ἀνωμαλίαις καὶ θαλάσση γειτνώσῃ καὶ παρακείμενοι ἔλεσι τείχος κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον

3 ἀγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τούτη ἐξεργάσασθαι μικρὸν ἔδησε τοῦ παντοῦ ἄνθρωποι οὐδ' ὑμιάωντι χρόμουνοι ἕαυτῷ πρὸς τοσαῦτας φροντίδας, ἀλλὰ νόσον νοσῶν νεφρήτων, ἵππη μὴ προσεκποιήθεν λείμμα ποιεῖσθαι δίκαιον ἐστι. θανμάζω δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν

4 ἄνδραγαθίαν ἐν οἷς κατώρθουν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐριπίδης μετὰ τὴν ἰτταν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον γράφων ἐπικήθειεν ἐποίησεν.

Οἱ δὲ Συρακοσίων ὁκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν

"Ανδρέας, ὦτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἵσου ἀμφοτέροις.

5 οὐκ ὅκτω δὲ νίκας, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ἄν τις εὕροι Συρακοσίων νευκηκόμενος δπ' αὐτῶν, πρίν ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἡ τύχης ἀντίστασιν τινα γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πλείστον αἱρομένοις δυνάμεως.

XVIII Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πλείσταις πράξεις βιαζόμενος τὸ σῶμα παρῆν ὁ Νικίας. ἀκμὴν δὲ ποτὲ τῆς ἀρρωστίας λαβοῦσθι ὁ μὲν ἐν τείχεσι μετ'
Nicias

enemy could prevent, defeated the picked companies which came to its rescue, killing three hundred men, and even routed the cavalry of the enemy, which was thought to be invincible.

But what most of all filled the Sicilians with terror and the Hellenes with incredulity was the fact that in a short time he carried a wall around Syracuse, a city fully as large as Athens, although the unevenness of the territory about it, its proximity to the sea and its adjacent marshes, made the task of surrounding it with such a wall very difficult. But he came within an ace of bringing this great task to completion,—a man who had not even sound health for such concerns, but was sick of a disease in the kidneys. To this it is only fair to ascribe the fact that part of the work was unfinished. I can but admire the watchful care of the general and the noble valour of his soldiers in what they did accomplish. Euripides, after their defeat and destruction, composed an epitaph for them, in which he said:—

"These men at Syracuse eight times were triumphant as victors; Heroes they were while the gods favoured both causes alike." ¹

And not eight times only, nay, more than that you will find that the Syracusans were beaten by them, until the gods, as the poet says, or fortune, became hostile to the Athenians at the very pinnacle of their power.

XVIII. Now in most actions Nicias took part, despite his bodily infirmity. But once, when his weakness was extreme, he was lying in bed within

¹ Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii. ⁴ p. 265.
ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

δ' ὰλιγχαν ὑπηρετῶν κατέκειτο, τῆς δὲ στρατιᾶν ἔχων  ὁ Λάμαχος προσεμάχετο τοῖς Συρακούσιοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος ἀνάγουσι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὁ κωλύσεσι έμελλε διὰ μέσου τὸν ἀποτείχισμον. τῷ δὲ κρατεῖν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτακτότερον φερομένων πρὸς τὰς διώξεις, ἀπομονώθηκε ὁ Λάμαχος ὑπέστη τῶν Συρακούσιων τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπιφερομένους. ἦν δὲ πρῶτος αὐτῶν Καλλικράτης, ἀνήρ πολεμικός καὶ θυμοειδής. πρὸς τοῦτον ἐκ προκλήσεως καταστὰς ὁ Λάμαχος ἐμονομάχησε, καὶ λαβὼν πληγὴν πρότερος, εἶτα δούς καὶ πεσὼν 3 ὁμοί συναπέθανε τῷ Καλλικράτει. καὶ τὸ μὲν σώμα κρατήσαντες αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐξῆραν οἱ Συρακούσιοι, δρόμῳ δ' ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν ὅς ὁ Νικίας ἦν οὐκ ἔχων τοὺς βοηθοῦντας. ὁμως δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐξαναστὰς καὶ κατιδὼν τὸν κύδυνον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς καθ' ἐαυτόν, ὃσα ξύλα πρὸ τῶν τείχῶν ἐτύγχανεν εἰς μηχανὰς παραβεβηλμένα, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτὰς πῦρ κομίσαντας ἄψαι. τοῦτο τοὺς Συρακούσιους ἐπέσχε καὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἐσωσε καὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. φλόγα γὰρ ἀρθείσαν διὰ μέσου πολλὴν ἰόντες ἀπετράπησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι.

4. Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπολέλειτο μὲν ὁ Νικίας μόνος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἦν δ' ἐλπίδος μεγάλης. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις μεθίσταντο καὶ πλοία μεστὰ σῖτου πολλαχόθεν ἴλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, τοῖς πράγμασιν εὖ φερομένως πάντων προστιθεμένων. καὶ λόγου τινὲς ἦδη παρὰ τῶν

1 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον MSS. and edd.; ἴλθεν added by Sintenesis.

270
NICIAS

the walls, attended by a few servants, while Lamachus with the soldiery was fighting the Syracusans. These were trying to run a wall from their city out to that which the Athenians were building, to intersect it and prevent its completion. The Athenians prevailed, and hurried off in pursuit with more or less disorder, so that Lamachus was isolated, and then had to face some Syracusan horsemen who made an onset upon him. Foremost of these was Calliocrates, a man skilled in war and of a high courage. Lamachus accepted his challenge to single combat, fought him, got a mortal blow from him, but gave him back the like, and fell and died along with him. The Syracusans got possession of the body of Lamachus, with its armour, and carried it off. Then they made a dash upon the Athenian walls where Nicias was, with none to succour him. He nevertheless, necessity compelling him, rose from his bed, saw his peril, and ordered his attendants to bring fire and set it to all the timbers that lay scattered in front of the walls for the construction of siege-engines, and to the engines themselves. This brought the Syracusans to a halt, and saved Nicias as well as the walls and stores of the Athenians. For when the Syracusans saw a great flame rising between them and the walls, they withdrew.

Thus it came to pass that Nicias was left sole general; but he was in great hopes. Cities were inclining to take his side, and ships full of grain came to his camp from every quarter. Everybody hastens to join a successful cause. Besides, sundry proposals for a treaty were already coming to him from those
Συρακοσίων ἐγίνοντο περὶ συμβάσεως πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀπεγνωκότων τὴν πόλιν. ὅπως καὶ Γύλιππος ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος πλέων βοηθὸς αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἦκουσε κατὰ πλοῖν τὸν ἀποτελείμονα καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας, οὕτως ἐπελεί τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἐχομένης μὲν ἦδη τῆς Σικελίας, Ἰταλιώταις δὲ τὰς πόλεις διαφυλάξονε, εἰ καὶ τούτῳ πως ἐγγένετο, μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ δόξα διεφοίτα τοῦ κρατεῖν πάντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ στρατηγὸν ἔχειν ἁμαρχὸν δὲ εὐτυχίαν καὶ φρόνησιν.

6 'Ο δὲ Νικίας εὐθὺς¹ αὐτὸς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥώμης καὶ τύχης ἀνατεθαρρηκὼς, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Συρακοσίων διαλεγομένοις κρύφα καὶ πέμπτους πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥσον οὕτω τὴν πόλιν εὐνίσχυται κατὰ συμβάσεως νομίζων, οὐδένα τοῦ Γυλίππου λόγον ἔσχε προσπλέοντος, οὐδὲ φυλακὴν ἐποίησατο καθαρῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παντελῶς ὑπερορᾶσθαι καὶ καταφρονεῖσθαι λαθῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἄνηρ εἰσέπλευσε διὰ πορθμοῦ, καὶ προσκομισθεὶς ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν Συρακοσίων στρατιῶν συνηγάγετο πολλὴν, οὐδὲ εἰ πάρεστι τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ προσδοκῶν τῶν. διό καὶ παρῆγγελτο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησία περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν ὁμβλογοῦν, καὶ τινὲς ἐβάδιζον ἡδή, πρὶν ἡ παντελῶς ἀποτελείσθηναι τὴν πόλιν οἰόμενοι δεῖν γενέσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις βραχὺ γὰρ ἡ κομίδῃ τὸ ἁποτελοῦμενον τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ τούτῳ παραβεβλημένην εἰχε τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς τεχνοδομίας σύμπτασαν.

ΧΙΘ. Ἕν τούτῳ δὲ καιρὸν παρόντος τοῦ κυνδύνου ἀφικνεῖται Γογγύλος ἐκ Κορίνθου μιᾶ

¹ εὐθὺς deleted by Coraës and Bekker.
NICIAS

Syracusans who despaired of their city. At this time, too, Gylippus, who was sailing from Sparta to their aid, when he heard on his voyage how they were walled up and in sore distress, held on his way, it is true, but with the belief that Sicily was as good as taken, and that he could only save the cities of the Italian Greeks, if haply even that. For the opinion gained ground and strength that the Athenians were all powerful, and had a general who was invincible by reason of his judgement and good fortune.

And Nicias himself, contrary to his nature, was straightway so emboldened by the present momentum of his good fortune, and, most of all, by the secret messengers sent to him from the Syracusans was so fixed in his belief that the city was just on the point of surrendering conditionally, that he made no sort of account of Gylippus at his approach. He did not even set an adequate watch against him. Wherefore, finding himself completely overlooked and despised, the man sailed stealthily through the straits, made a landing at the farthest point from Syracuse, and collected a large force, the Syracusans being not so much as aware of his presence, nor even expecting him. On the contrary, they had actually called an assembly to discuss the agreements to be made with Nicias, and some were already on their way to it, thinking that the terms of peace should be made before their city was completely walled up. For that part of the work which remained to be done was quite small, and all the material required for it lay strewn along the line.

XIX. But in this nick of time and crisis of their peril Gongylus came to them from Corinth with a
τρίηρεν· καὶ συνδραμόντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς εἰκὸς, πάντων ἔφραξεν ὅτι Γύλιππος ἀφίξεται διὰ ταχέων καὶ νῆς ἀλλαὶ βοηθοὶ προσπλέουσιν.

2 οὖτω δὲ τῷ Γογγύλῳ πιστεύοντο βεβαιῶς, ἤκεν ἀγγελος πάρα τοῦ Γυλίππου κελεύοντος ἀπαντᾶν. οἱ δὲ θαρρήσαντες ἐξωπλίξοντο· καὶ προσήγειν εὐθὺς ὁ Γύλιππος ἔξ ὀδοὶ παρατεταγμένος ἐπὶ τούς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ κάκεινος ἀντέταξεν ὁ Νικίας, θέμενος ἐπὶ τούς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Γύλιππος τὰ ὄπλα καὶ κήρυκα πέμψας ἔλεγε διδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀδειαν ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ Σικελίας.

3 Ὅ μεν οὖν Νικίας οὔθεν ἡξίωσεν ἀποκρύναςθαι· τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινῶς καταγελώντες ἥρωτων εἰ διὰ παρουσιάν ἐνὸς τρίβωνος καὶ βακτηρίας Δακωικῆς οὕτως ἵσχυρὰ τὰ Συρακουσίων ἔξαίφιως γέγονεν ὡςτوجه Ἀθηναίοι καταφρονεῖν, οἱ πολὺ ῥωμαιετέρους Γυλίππου καὶ μᾶλλον κομῶντας τριακοσίοις ἱππότες ἐν πέδαις
dedemένους ἀπέδωκαν Δακεδαμονίοις. Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σικελιώτας φησὶν ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ Γύλιππου, ὦστερον μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μικρολογίαν καταγνώτας, ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ὑφηθ, σκόπτουντας εἰς τοῦ τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν κόμην. εἰτα μὲντοι φησὶν αὐτοῖς ὅτι τῷ Γυλίππῳ φανέντι καθάπερ γλαυκὶ πολλοὶ προσέπτησαν ἐτούμως στρατευόμενοι. καὶ ταῦτα τῶν πρῶτων ἀληθέστερά εἰσιν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ 536 τρίβων τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης

274
NICIAS

single trireme. All flocking to meet him, as was natural, he told them that Gyippus would come speedily, and that other ships of war were sailing to their aid. Ere yet they could put implicit faith in what Gongylus told them, there came a messenger from Gyippus bidding them come out to meet him. Then they plucked up heart and donned their arms. No sooner had Gyippus come up than he led his men in battle array against the Athenians. But when Nicias arrayed his men too over against him, Gyippus halted under arms, and sent a herald with the message that he offered the Athenians safe conduct if they would depart from Sicily.

Nicias deigned no answer to this; but some of his soldiers mocked, and asked the herald if the presence of a single Spartan cloak and staff had made the prospects of the Syracusans on a sudden so secure that they could afford to deride the Athenians, who had restored to the Lacedaemonians, out of prison and fetters, three hundred men 1 far sturdier than Gyippus, and longer haired. Timaeus says that the Sicilians also made no account of Gyippus, later on, indeed, because they learned to know his base greed and penuriousness; but as soon as they set eyes upon him they jeered at his cloak and his long hair. Then, however, Timaeus himself says that as soon as Gyippus showed himself, for all the world like an owl among birds, many flocked to him, with ready offers of military service. This latter statement has more truth in it than his first, for in the staff and cloak of Gyippus men beheld the symbols of the majesty of Sparta, and rallied round

1 The captives of Sphacteria (chapter viii. 1), two hundred and ninety-two in number (Thuc. iv. 38, 5).
καθορώντες συνίσταντο. κάκείνου τὸ πᾶν ἔργον
γεγονέναι φησίν οὐ Θουκυδίδης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Φίλιστος, ἀνὴρ Συρακούσιος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
ὀρατῆς γενόμενος.

Τῇ μὲν οὖν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες οἱ Ἀθη-
ναιοὶ τῶν Συρακούσιών ὀλίγους τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν
καὶ Γογγύλοι τὸν Κορίνθιον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἔπιούσαν
ημέραν ἔδειξεν ὁ Γύλιππος οἷς ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία.
τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὄπλοι καὶ ὕπποι καὶ χωρίων
χρησάμενοι οὐχ ὡσαύτως, ἀλλὰ μεταθεὶς τὴν
tάξιν, ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· καὶ φυγόντων εἰς
tὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιστήσας τοὺς Συρακούσιους,
tοῖς λίθοις οἷς ἐκείνοι προσεκόμιζον καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ
παροικοδομών εἰς διαστολὰς ἀπέκοψε τὸν ἐκείνων
περιτεχνισμὸν, ὡστὲ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον
κρατοῦσιν.

Ἐκ τούτου δὲ θαρρήσαντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι τὰς
tε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν, καὶ τοῖς ἰππεῦσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
καὶ ἀκολούθως περιελαύνουσι πολλοὺς ἱπποὺν.
καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτὸς
ἐξώρμα καὶ συνίστη πάντας ἐρρωμένως ὑπακούον-
tας αὐτῷ καὶ συλλαμβανομένους, ὡστε τὸν
Νικίαν αὐθεὶς εἰς ἐκείνους ἀποτρεπόμενοι τοὺς
πρώτους λογίσμους καὶ συμμετοιχίστω τῆς τῶν
πραγμάτων μεταβολῆς ἀδυμεῖν, καὶ γράφειν τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις κελεύοντας πέμπειν ἔτερον στρατὸν ἢ
καὶ τούτον ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτῷ δὲ
πάντως αἰτούμενον τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφεσιν διὰ
tῆς νόσου.
NICIAS

them. Moreover, that the whole achievement of deliverance was his, is the testimony not only of Thucydides, but also of Philistus, who was a Syracusan, and an eye-witness of the events thereof.

Well, then, in the first battle the Athenians were victors and slew some few of the Syracusans, and also Gongylus the Corinthian; but on the day following Gylippus showed what a great thing experience is. Although he had the same infantry and the same cavalry and the same localities to deal with, he did not do it in the same way as before, but changed his tactics, and thereby conquered the Athenians. And as they fled to their camp, he halted his Syracusans in their pursuit, and with the very stones and timbers which his enemies had brought up for their own use, he carried on the cross wall until it intersected the besiegers' wall of enclosure, so that their superior strength in the field really availed them naught.

After this the Syracusans plucked up heart and went to manning their ships, while their own horsemen and those of their allies would ride about and cut off many of their besiegers. Gylippus also went out in person to the cities of Sicily and roused up and united them all into vigorous and obedient concert with him. Nicias therefore fell back again upon those views of the undertaking which he had held at the outset, and, fully aware of the reversal which it had suffered, became dejected, and wrote a dispatch to the Athenians urging them to send out another armament, or else to recall the one already in Sicily, begging them also in any case to relieve him of his command because of his disease.

1 Cf. Thuc. vii. 11-15.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XX. Οι δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ὃρμητο πέμπειν ἐτέραν δύναμιν εἰς Σικελίαν, φθόνῳ δὲ τῶν πρῶτων πραττομένων πρὸς εὐτυχίαν τοῦ Νικίου τοσαῦτην πολλὰς διατριβὰς ἐμβαλόντων τότε γούν ἐσπευδον βοηθεῖν. καὶ Δημοσθένης μὲν ἔμελλε μεγάλῳ στόλῳ πλεῖν ἐκ χειμῶνος, Εὐρυμέδων δὲ διὰ χειμῶνος προεξέπλευσε χρήματα κομίζων καὶ συστρατήγους ἀποφαίνων ἥρμενους τῷ Νικίᾳ τῶν αὐτῶι στρατευμένων Εὐθύδημον καὶ Μένανδρον.

2 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξαίσφυς ἐπιχειροῦμενος ὁ Νικίας ταῖς μὲν ναυσίν ἤττώμενος τὸ πρῶτον ὢμοις ἐξέωσε καὶ κατέδυσε πολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν οὐκ ἐφθασε βοηθῶν, ἀλλ' ἄφω προσπέσσων ὁ Γύλιππος ἔλει τὸ Πλημμύριον, ἐν δὲ σκευῶν τριηρικῶν καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐκράτησε πάντων καὶ διέφθειρεν ἄνδρας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ἕξωτας ἐλαβεῖ.

3 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀφείλετο τοῦ Νικίου τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς εὐπέτειαν. ἦν γὰρ ἡ κομίδη παρὰ τὸ Πλημμύριον ἀσφαλῆς καὶ ταχεία τῶν Ἀθηναίων κρατούντων, ἐκπεσόντων δὲ χαλεπῆ καὶ μετὰ μάχης ἐγίνετο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκεῖ ναυλοχώντας. ἦττ δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῦ Συρακούσιως οὐκ ἀπὸ κράτους ἐφαίνετο νεικηθεὶσον, ἀλλ'
NICIAS

XX. Even before this the Athenians had made preparations to send another force to Sicily, but the leading men among them felt some jealousy of the preliminary good fortune of Nicias, and so had induced many delays. Now, however, they were all eagerness to send aid. It was therefore determined that Demosthenes should sail with a large armament in the spring, and while it was yet winter Eurymedon preceded him with a smaller fleet, bringing money, and announcing the selection of colleagues for Nicias from among the members of the expedition there,—to wit, Euthydemus and Menander.

But in the meantime Nicias was suddenly attacked by land and sea. With his fleet, though vanquished at first, he yet succeeded in repulsing the enemy, and sank many of their ships; but he was not prompt enough in sending aid to his garrison at Plemmyrium, and so Glytippus, who had fallen upon it suddenly, captured it. Large naval stores and moneys were in deposit there, all of which Glytippus secured, besides killing many men and taking many prisoners. What was most important of all, he robbed Nicias of his easy importation of supplies. These had been safely and speedily brought in past Plemmyrium as long as the Athenians held that post; but now that they had been driven from it, the process was a difficult one, and involved fighting with the enemy who lay at anchor there. And besides all this, the Syracusans felt that their fleet had been defeated, not through any superior strength in their enemy,

1 A promontory which runs out opposite the city of Syracuse, and narrows the entrance into the great harbour.
άταξία περί τήν δίωξιν. αὐθίς οὖν ἐπεχείρον λαμπρότερον.

4 Ὅ δὲ Νικίας οὐκ ἔβούλετο ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι, στόλου τοσοῦτον προσπλέοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δυνάμεως ἀκραίφοις, ἦν ἢγε Δημοσθένης σπεύδων, ἀπ' ἐλαττώνων καὶ χορηγούμενων φαύλως διαγωνίσασθαι. τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μένανδρον καὶ τὸν Εὐθύδημον ἀρτίως εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν καθισταμένοις φιλοτιμία καὶ ζῆλος ἦν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς στρατηγοὺς, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην φθῄναι πράξαντας τι λαμπρόν,

5 ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸν Νικίαν. πρόσχημα δ' ἦν ἢ δόξα τῆς πόλεως, ἢν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ καταλύσθαι παντάπασι φάσκοντες εἰ φοβηθῆσονται Συρακούσίους ἐπιπλέοντας, ἐξεβιάσαντο ναυμαχηθῆσαι. καὶ καταστρατηγηθέντες ὑπ' Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Κορινθίου κυβερνήτου τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἀριστον, ὡς εἰρήκε Θουκυδίδης, κατὰ κράτος ἦττήθησαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον· καὶ ἀθυμία πολλὴ περιεστήκει τὸν Νικίαν τῇ τῆς μοναρχίας κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον αὐθίς ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων.

XXI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν λιμένων ἐπεφαίνετο λαμπρότατος τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δεινότατος τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ νεὼν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν ἀγών ὅπλας πεντακισχίλιον, ἀκοντιστάς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφείδιστας τρισχίλιον οὐκ ἐλάττους, ὀπλῶν δὲ κόσμον καὶ
but by reason of their own disorderly pursuit of that enemy. Accordingly, they were making more vigorous preparations to try the issue again.

But Nicias did not want a sea fight. He said it would be great folly, when so large an armament was sailing to their aid and hurrying up fresh troops under Demosthenes, to fight the issue out with inferior forces, and those wretchedly supplied. Menander and Euthydemus, however, who had just been appointed to their offices, were moved by an ambitious rivalry with both the other generals; they longed to anticipate Demosthenes in some brilliant exploit, and to eclipse Nicias. They therefore made much of their city's reputation. This, they declared again and again, would be altogether ruined and dissipated if they should show fear when the Syracusans sailed out to attack them; and so they forced a decision to give battle by sea. But they were simply out-manœuvred by Ariston, the Corinthian captain, in the matter of the noon-day meal, as Thucydides relates,¹ and then worsted in action, with the loss of many men. And so a great despair encompassed Nicias; he had met with disaster while in sole command, and was now again brought to grief by his colleagues.

XXI. But at this juncture Demosthenes hove in sight off the harbours,² most resplendent in his array, and most terrifying to the enemy. He brought five thousand hoplites on seventy-three ships of war, besides javel ineers and archers and slingers to no less a number than three thousand. What with the gleam

¹ vii. 36-41. The Syracusan crews took their meal close by their ships, and then suddenly re-embarked and attacked the Athenians, who supposed there would be no more fighting that day, and were taken unawares.

² About mid-summer, 413 B.C.
παρασήμοις τριήρων καὶ πλήθει κελευστῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν θεατρικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἐκπληξίν πολεμίων

2 ἔξησκημένοις. ἦν οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, αὖθις ἐν φόβῳ μεγάλῳ τὰ Συρακούσιων εἰς οὐδὲν πέρας οὐδὲ ἀπαλλαγήν, ἀλλὰ πονοῦντας ἀλλως καὶ φθειρομένους αὐτοὺς μάτην ὄρφωτων.

Τὸν δὲ Νικίαν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εὑρανεν ἡ παρουσία τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι, τοῦ Δημοσθένους εὐθὺς ἐπικειρείν τοῖς πολεμίοις κελεύνοντος καὶ τῷ ταχίστῳ τῶν κινδύνων περὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαγωνισμένους ἐλείν Συρακούσας ἢ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, δείσας καὶ θαυμᾶσας τὴν ἀξύνητα καὶ τόλμαν ἐδεῖτο μηδὲν

3 ἀπεγνωσμένως πράττειν μηδὲ ἀνοίτως. τὴν γὰρ τριβὴν εἶναι κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε χρήματα κεκτημένων ἐτι, μὴτε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοὺς πολὺν χρόνον παραμενοῦντων, εἰ δὲ θλίβοιτο ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ταχὺ πάλιν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμβασεις τραπεζομένους, ὡς πρῶτον. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀνδρεῖς οὐκ ὀλύγοι τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις διαλεγόμενοι τῷ Νικία κρύφα καὶ μένειν κελεύντες, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπερπονοῦντων τῶν πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν Γύλιππον βαρυνομένων, ἐὰν δὲ μικρον ἐπιτείνωσιν αἱ ἀνάγκαι, παντάπασιν ἀπαγορευσόντων.

4 τοῦτων ὁ Νικίας τὰ μὲν αἰνιτομένως, τὰ δ' οὐ θέλων ἐν φανερῷ λέγειν, ἀτολμώας παρέσχε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς δόξαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἥκειν φάσκοντες αὐτοῦ, μελλήματα καὶ διατριβὰς καὶ ἀκριβολογίας, αἰς ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀκμὴν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐως καὶ κατα-
NICIAS

of his arms and the insignia of his triremes and the multitude of his coxwains and pipers, he made a spectacular display, and one which smote the enemy with dismay. Again, then, as was natural, fear reigned among the Syracusans. They saw before them no final release from their perils, but only useless toils and vain self-destruction.

But the joy of Nicias at the presence of this fresh force was not long lived. Nay, at the very first council of war, when Demosthenes urged an immediate attack upon the enemy, a settlement of the whole struggle by the speediest hazard, and either the capture of Syracuse or else a return home, he was in fearful amaze at such aggressive daring, and begged that nothing be done rashly or foolishly. Delay, he said, was sure to work against the enemy; they no longer had money to spend, and their allies would not longer stand by them; let them only be really distressed by the straits they were in, and they would soon come to him again for terms, as they had done before. For not a few of the men of Syracuse were in secret communication with Nicias. They urged him to bide his time, on the ground that even now they were worn out by the war and weary of Gyllippus, and that if their necessities should but increase a little, they would give over altogether. At some of these matters Nicias could only hint darkly, of others he was unwilling to speak in public, and so he made the generals think him cowardly. It was the same old story over again with him, they would say,—delays, postponements, and hairsplitting distinctions; he had already forfeited the golden moment by not attacking the enemy at once, but rather going stale and winning
φρονούμενος, τῷ Δημοσθένει προσηθεμένοι. καὶ ὁ Νικίας μόλις συνεχώρησεν ἐκβιασθείς.

5 Οὔτω δὴ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρει ταῖς Ἐπιτολαῖς: καὶ τοὺς μὲν φθάσας πρὶν αἰσθέσαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἀμυνομένους ἐτρέψατο. καὶ κρατῶν οὐκ ἔμειν, ἀλλ’ ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, μέχρι οὗ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἐνέτυχε. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι συντρέψαντες ἐαυτοὺς καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐναυτίους τοῖς δόρασι μετὰ βοῆς ἐώσαντο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον.

6 δὲ ὅλου δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐθὺς ἦν πτολα καὶ ταραχῇ, καὶ τοῦ φεύγωντος ἃ ἦδη καταπιμπλάμενον τὸ ἐτὶ νικῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνων καὶ προσφερόμενον ύπὸ τῶν πεφοβημένων ἀνακοπτόμενον ἑαυτῷ περιέππιτε, τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας οἴομεν διόκειν,

7 τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς πολεμίοις χρώμενον. ἡ γὰρ ἀτακτὸς ἀνάμειξις ἐν ταυτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγνοίας, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὀψεως ἀπιστοῦ ἐν νυκτὶ μῆτε σκότος ἀκρατοῦ μῆτε φῶς ἑχουσῃ βέβαιον, ἀλλ’ οὐν εἰκός ἢδη καταφερομένης σελήνης καὶ περισσιαξομένης ὁπλοὶς πολλοῖς καὶ σώμασι κινομένοις διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς μὴ διασαφοδεῦσαν τὰ εἰδή φόβῳ τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ τὸ ἀικεῖον ποιεῖν ὑποττόν, εἰς δεινὰς ἀπορίας καὶ περιπετείαις καθίστη τοὺς

8 Ἀθηναίοις. ἔτυχον δὲ πὼς καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἔχοντες ὁπισθεν. ὅθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν αὐτοὶς τὰς σκιὰς ἐπιβάλλουντες ἀπέκρυπτον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα, τοὺς δὲ ἐναυτίους ὁ πρὸς τὴν

284
NICIAS

their contempt. So they sided with Demosthenes, and Nicias, with great reluctance, was forced to yield.

Therefore, Demosthenes, with the infantry, made a night attack upon Epipolae. He took some of the enemy by surprise, and slew them; others, who tried to make a stand, he routed. Victorious, he did not halt, but pressed on farther, until he fell in with the Boeotians. These were the first of the enemy to form in battle array, and dashing upon the Athenians with spears at rest and with loud shouts, they repulsed them and slew many of them there. Through the whole army of attack there was at once panic and confusion. The part that was still pressing on victoriously was presently choked up with the part that fled, and the part that was yet coming up to the attack was beaten back by the panic-stricken and fell foul of itself, supposing that the fugitives were pursuers, and treating friends as foes. Their huddling together in fear and ignorance, and the deceitfulness of their vision, plunged the Athenians into terrible perplexities and disasters. For the night was one which afforded neither absolute darkness nor a steady light. The moon was low on the horizon, and was partially obscured by the numerous armed figures moving to and fro in her light, and so she naturally made even friends mutually suspicious through fear of foes, by not distinguishing their forms clearly. Besides, it somehow happened that the Athenians had the moon at their backs, so that they cast their shadows on their own men in front of them, and thus obscured their number and the brilliancy of their weapons; while in the case of the enemy, the reflection of the moon upon their
σελήνην τῶν ἀσπίδων ἀντιφωτισμὸς πολὺ πλείονας ὀρᾶσθαι καὶ λαμπροτέρους ἔποιει.

9 Τέλος δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἔνεδοσαν, προσκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων φεύγοντες οἱ μὲν ὑπ᾽ ἐκεῖνων, οἱ δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὀλισθαίνοντες· τοὺς δ᾽ ἀποσκεδασθέντας καὶ πλανωμένους ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης οἱ ἑπεῖς καταλαμβάνοντες διέφθειρον. ἔγενοντο δὲ νεκρὸν δισχίλιοι, καὶ τῶν περιγενομένων ὀλίγοι μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπεσώθησαν.

XXII. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικίας πληγείς οὐκ ἀπροσδοκήτως ἤτιατο τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὴν προπέτειαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀπολογησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποπλείν τὴν ταχιστὴν ὀυτε γὰρ ἄλλην ἀφίξεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς, οὔτ᾽ ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης τῶν 2 πολεμίων κρατεῖν, ὅτι γε καὶ κρατοῦντας ἐκεῖνων ἐδεί μεταστήναι καὶ φυγεῖν τὸ χωρίον, αἰεὶ μὲν, ὡς πυθάνονται, βαρὺ καὶ νοσῶδες ὁ στρατοπέδω, νῦν δ᾽, ὡς βλέπουσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὁραν ὀλέθριον. μετοπώρου γὰρ ἦν ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ πολλοί μὲν ἴσθένουν ἡδη, πάντες δὲ ἠθύμουν.

Ὁ δὲ Νικίας χαλεπῶς ἤκωσε τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τῶν ἀπόπλουν, οὐ τῷ μὴ δεδέναι τοὺς Συρακουσίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰς 3 ἐκείνων δῖκας καὶ συκοφαντίας φοβεῖσθαι. δεινὸν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτὸθι προσδοκαί ἐφασκέν, εἰ δὲ συμβαίνῃ, μᾶλλον αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐχ ὃμοια

286
NICIAS

shields made them seem far more numerous than they really were, and more resplendent to the eye.

Finally, when the Athenians gave ground, the enemy attacked them on all sides and put them to flight. Some of them died at the hands of their pursuers, others by one another’s hands, and others still by plunging down the cliffs. The scattered and wandering fugitives, when day came, were overtaken and cut to pieces by the enemy’s horsemen. The dead amounted in all to two thousand; and of the survivors, few saved their armour with their lives.

XXII. Nicias, accordingly, was overcome by this disaster, though it did not take him wholly by surprise, and he accused Demosthenes of rashness. Demosthenes defended himself on this score, and then urged that they sail away as soon as they could. No other force would come to their aid, he declared, and with the one they had they could not finally master the enemy, since, even if they were victorious in battle, they would be forced to change their base and abandon their present position; this was always, as they heard, a grievous and unwholesome spot for encampment, and now particularly, as they saw, it was actually deadly on account of the season of the year. For it was the beginning of autumn; many were sick already, and all were in low spirits.

But Nicias could not bear to hear of sailing off in flight, not because he had no fear of the Syracusans, but because he was more afraid of the Athenians with their prosecutions and denunciations. Nothing dreadful, he would say, was to be expected where they were, and even if the worst should come, he chose rather to die at the hands of his enemies than at the hands of his fellow citizens. In this he was
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

φρονών αἰς ὕστερον ὁ Βυζάντιος Δέων εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἕαυτος πολίτας: "Βούλομαι γὰρ," ἐφη, "μᾶλλον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἡ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν": περὶ μέντοι τόπου καὶ χώρας εἰς ἢν μετατάξουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, βουλεύσεσθαι καθ' ἰσυχίαν. ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης οὐδὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ γυνώμη κατευνάχθησας ἐπαύσατο βιαζόμενος, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις παρέσχε τὸν Νικίαν προσδοκώντα καὶ πιστεύοντα τοῖς ἐνδον οὕτως ἐφρωμένως ἀναμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀποβάσεως· διὸ καὶ συνεχώρησαν. ὡς μέντοι στρατιὰ Συρακουσίως ἐπῆλθεν ἄλλη καὶ μᾶλλον ἤπτετο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ νόσος, ἢδη καὶ τῷ Νικίᾳ συνεδόκει μεθίστασθαι, καὶ παρῆγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις εὑρετεῖς εἶναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν.

XXIII. Ὡς δ' ἦν ἐτοιμα ταῦτα πάντα καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὖδεὶς παρεφύλαττεν, ἀτε δὴ μὴ προσδοκώντων, ἐξέλαυνεν η σελήνη τῆς νυκτός, μέγα δέος τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἄ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκπεπληγμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡλίου τὴν περὶ τὰς τριακάδας ἐπισκότησιν ἄμως γε' πως ἢδη συμεφρόνουν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ γενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης.

2 αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς σελήνης, ὡς τινὶ συντυγχάνουσα καὶ πῶς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ παυσελήνην τὸ φῶς ἀπόλυσεν καὶ χρόας ἴησι παντοδαπὰς, οὐ βράδιον ἦν καταλάβειν, ἀλλ' ἀλλόκοτον ἀγόντο καὶ πρὸ συμφόρων τινων μεγάλων ἐκ θεοῦ γινόμενου ὑμέλιον.

288
NICIAS

not like-minded with Leon of Byzantium, who, at a later time, said to his fellow citizens: "I would rather be put to death by you than with you." However, regarding the exact spot to which they should remove their camp, Nicias said they would deliberate at their leisure. Thereupon Demosthenes, who had not been successful in his previous plan, ceased trying to carry his point, and so led the rest of the generals to believe that Nicias must have confident expectations from his correspondents in the city in making such a sturdy fight against the proposed retreat; they therefore sided with him. However, a fresh army came to the aid of the Syracusans, and sickness kept spreading among the Athenians, so that at last Nicias also decided in favour of a change of base, and ordered the soldiers to hold themselves in readiness to sail away.

XXIII. But just as everything was prepared for this and none of the enemy were on the watch, since they did not expect the move at all, there came an eclipse of the moon by night. This was a great terror to Nicias and all those who were ignorant or superstitious enough to quake at such a sight. The obscuration of the sun towards the end of the month was already understood, even by the common folk, as caused somehow or other by the moon; but what it was that the moon encountered, and how, being at the full, she should on a sudden lose her light and emit all sorts of colours, this was no easy thing to comprehend. Men thought it uncanny,—a sign sent from God in advance of divers great calamities.

1 Perhaps in 340 B.C., when Philip of Macedon was besieging Byzantium. Leon was a rhetorician and historian.
'Ο γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατόν τε πάντων καὶ 
θαρραλεώτατον περὶ σελήνης καταγγασμῶν καὶ 
σκιᾶς λόγον εἰς γραφὴν καταθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας 
οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἤν παλαιὸς οὔτε ὁ λόγος ένδοξος, ἀλλ' 
ἀπόρρητος ἐτί καὶ δι' οἱ λόγοι καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας 
3 τινὸς ἡ πίστεως βαδίζων. οὐ γὰρ ἤνεῴχοντο 
tοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μετεωρόλεσχας τὸτε καλού-
μένους, ὅσ εἰς αὑτὰς ἄλογους καὶ δυνάμεις 
ἀπρονοήτους καὶ κατηγοριασμένα πάθη δια-
τρίβοντας τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἔφυγε, 
καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰρχθέντα μόλις περιποιήσατο 
Περικλῆς, καὶ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν γε 
tοιούτων προσήκον, ὅμως ἀπώλετο διὰ φιλοσοφίαν. 

4 ὥστε δ' ἡ Πλάτωνος ἐκλάμψασα δόξα διὰ τὸν 
βίου τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι ταῖς θείαις καὶ κυριω-
τέραις ἀρχαῖς ὑπέταξε τὰς φυσικὰς ἀνάγκας, 531 
ἀφεὶλε τὴν τῶν λόγων τούτων διαβολήν, καὶ τοῖς 
μαθήμασιν εἰς ἀπαντας ὁδὸν ἐνέδωκεν. οὐ γοῦν 
ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ Δίων, καθ' ὄν χρόνον ἐμέλλεν ἄρα 
ἐκ Ζακύνθου πλεῖν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον, ἐκλεπτούσης 
tῆς σελήνης, οὐδὲν διαταραχθεῖς ἀνήχθη, καὶ 
κατασχῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἔξεβαλε τὸν τύραν-
νον.

5 Τῷ μέντοι Νικία συνηνέχθη τότε μηδὲ μάντων 
ἔχειν ἐμπειρόν· ο γὰρ συνήθης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πολὺ 
tῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀφαιρῶν Στιλβίδης ἔτεθνηκει
NICIAS

The first man to put in writing the clearest and boldest of all doctrines about the changing phases of the moon was Anaxagoras. But he was no ancient authority, nor was his doctrine in high repute. It was still under seal of secrecy, and made its way slowly among a few only, who received it with a certain caution rather than with implicit confidence. Men could not abide the natural philosophers and "visionaries," as they were then called, for that they reduced the divine agency down to irrational causes, blind forces, and necessary incidents. Even Protagoras had to go into exile,\(^1\) Anaxagoras was with difficulty rescued from imprisonment by Pericles,\(^2\) and Socrates, though he had nothing whatever to do with such matters, nevertheless lost his life\(^3\) because of philosophy. It was not until later times that the radiant repute of Plato, because of the life the man led, and because he subjected the compulsions of the physical world to divine and more sovereign principles, took away the obloquy of such doctrines as these, and gave their science free course among all men. At any rate, his friend Dion, although the moon suffered an eclipse at the time when he was about to set out from Zacynthus on his voyage against Dionysius, was in no wise disturbed, but put to sea, landed at Syracuse, and drove out the tyrant.\(^4\)

However, it was the lot of Nicias at this time to be without even a soothsayer who was expert. The one who had been his associate, and who used to set him free from most of his superstition, Stilbides, had

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\(^1\) Not far from 411 B.C.
\(^2\) About 432 B.C. See the Pericles, xxxii. 3.
\(^3\) In the spring of 399 B.C.
\(^4\) In 357 B.C. See the Dion, xxiv.
μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν. ἔπει δὲ σημεῖον, ὡς φησὶν Ἐλαῖος, φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἦν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ χρηστῶν· ἐπικρύψεως γὰρ αἱ σὺν φόβῳ πράξεις δὲν ἔσται, τὸ δὲ φῶς πολέμιον ἔστιν αὐταῖς. ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τῶν περὶ ἢλιον καὶ σελήνην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐποιοῦστο φυλάκην, ὡς Αὐτοκλέιδης διέγραψεν ἐν τοῖς ἐξηγητικοῖς· ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἄλλην ἔπεισε σελήνης ἀναμένειν περίοδον, ὡσπερ οὐκ εὐθὺς θεασάμενος αὐτὴν ἀποκαθαρθείσαν, ὅτε τὸν σκιερὸν τόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀντιφραττόμενον παρῆλθε.

XXIV. Μικρὸν δὲ πάντων ἀφέμενος τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνεῖ τε καὶ διεμαντεύετο καθήμενος, ἦς ἐπῆλθοι αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ στρατόπεδα αὐτῶν πολιορκοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα περιλαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αὐτοὶ μόνον ταῖς τρεῖσιν, ἄλλα καὶ τὰ παιδάρια πανταχόθεν ἐπιβάλοντα τῶν ἀλιάδων καὶ ταῖς σκάφαις προσπλέοντα προφαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ προὐπηλάκιζεν. ὄν ἐνα, παῖδα γνωρίμων γονέων, Ἡρακλείδην, προεξελάσαντα τῷ πλοίῳ ναὶς Ἀττικὴ διώκουσα κατελάμβανε. δεῖσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῷ Πόλλιχος ὁ θεῖος ἀντελαύνῃ δέκα τρεῖσιν ὃν ἦρξεν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι περὶ τοῦ Πολλίχου φοβηθέντες ὑσαύτως ἄνηγοντο. καὶ ναυμαχίας ἵσχυρᾶς γενομένης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι, καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδουντα πολλῶν μετ’ ἄλλων διέφθειραν.

3 Ὡν ὁμοίαν οὐκέτι μένειν ἀνασχετὰ Ἀθηναίοις,
died a short time before. For indeed the sign from Heaven, as Philochorus observed, was not an obnoxious one to fugitives, but rather very propitious; concealment is just what deeds of fear need, whereas light is an enemy to them. And besides, men were wont to be on their guard against portents of sun and moon for three days only, as Autocleides has remarked in his "Exegetics"; but Nicias persuaded the Athenians to wait for another full period of the moon, as if, forsooth, he did not see that the planet was restored to purity and splendour just as soon as she had passed beyond the region which was darkened and obscured by the earth.

XXIV. Abandoning almost everything else, Nicias lay there sacrificing and divining until the enemy came up against him. With their land forces they laid siege to his walls and camp, and with their fleet they took possession of the harbour round about. Not only the men of Syracuse in their triremes, but even the striplings, on board of fishing smacks and skiffs, sailed up from every side with challenges and insults for the Athenians. To one of these, a boy of noble parentage, Heracleides by name, who had driven his boat well on before the rest, an Attic ship gave chase, and was like to capture him. But the boy’s uncle, Pollichus, concerned for his safety, rowed out to his defence with the ten triremes which were under his orders, and then the other commanders, fearing in turn for the safety of Pollichus, likewise put out for the scene of action. A fierce sea fight was thus brought on, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and slew Eurymedon along with many others.

Accordingly the Athenians could no longer endure...
άλλα τῶν στρατηγῶν κατεβόων πεζῇ κελεύοντες ἀναχωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Συρακούσιοι νικήσαντες εὐθὺς ἐνέφραξαν καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τῶν διέκπλουν τοῦ λιμένος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἑπείθοντο· δεινῶν γὰρ ἤτιν ἀπολιπεῖν ὅλκάδας τε πολλὰς καὶ τριήρεις ὀλύγον ἀριθμὸν διακοσίων 4. ἀποδεούσας· ἐμβιβάσαντες δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους ἐπλήρωσαν ἐκατόν καὶ δέκα τριήρεις· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ταρσῶν ἐνδεεῖς ἦσαν. τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ὄχλον ἔστησε παρὰ θάλασσαν ὁ Νικίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τεῖχα τὰ συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὡστε μὴ τεθυκότων τῇν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν τὸ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν Συρακούσιων, θύσας τότε τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἀναβάντας ἢδη πληρομένων τῶν τριῆρων.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μάντεις τοῖς Συρακούσιοι ἀπῆγγειλαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν λαμπρότητα καὶ νίκην μὴ καταρχομένους máχης, ἀλλ' ἀμφομένους (καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων κρατεῖν ἀμυνόμενον καὶ προεπιχειρούμενον), ἀνήχθησαν.

Ἡ δὲ ναυμαχία πολὺ μεγίστη καὶ καρτερωτάτη γενομένη, καὶ μηδὲν ἔλαττον πάθη καὶ θορύβους παρασχόντα τοῖς θεωμένοις ἢ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις διὰ τὴν παντὸς ἐπίβλεψιν τοῦ έργου ποικίλας μεταβολᾶς καὶ ἀπροσδοκήτους ἐν ὀλγῷ λαμβάνοντος, ἐβλάπτε ταῖς αὐτῶν παρασκευαῖς οὕχ ἤττου τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. 2 ἄθροις γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ βαρεῖας
NICIAS

to remain there, but cried out loudly upon their generals and bade them withdraw by land: for the Syracusans, immediately after their victory, had blocked up and shut off the mouth of the harbour. But Nicias could not consent to this. He said it would be a terrible thing to abandon so many transports, and triremes almost two hundred in number. So he embarked the best of his infantry and the most efficient of his javeliners to man a hundred and ten triremes; the rest lacked oars. Then he stationed the remainder of his army along the shore of the harbour, abandoning his main camp and the walls which connected it with the Heracleum. And so it was that the Syracusans, who had so long been unable to offer their customary sacrifice to Heracles, offered it then, priests and generals going up to the temple for this purpose while their triremes were a-manning.

XXV. Presently their diviners announced to the Syracusans that the sacrifices indicated a splendid victory for them if only they did not begin the fighting, but acted on the defensive. Heracles also, they said, always won the day because he acted on the defensive and suffered himself to be attacked first. Thus encouraged, they put out from shore.

This proved the greatest and hottest sea fight they had yet made, and roused as many tumultuous emotions in those who were mere spectators as in those who did the fighting, because the whole action was in plain sight, and took on shifts and turns which were varied, unexpected, and sudden. Their own equipment wrought the Athenians no less harm than did that of their enemy; for they fought against light and nimble ships, which bore down upon them
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΩΝ, διδάξων ἁλλαχθέν ἄλλας ἑπταφρόμενας, καὶ
βαλλόμενοι λόθοις ὁμοὶαν ἔχουσι τὴν πληγὴν
πανταχόθεν ἀντέβαλλον ἀκουτούς καὶ τοξεύσασιν,
ὅτι οὐλος τὴν εὐθυβολίαν διέστρεφεν, ὡστε µὴ
πάντα καὶ αἰχµήν προσφέρεσθαι. ταύτα δὲ
Ἄριστων ὁ Κορινθίων κυβερνήτης ἐδίδαξε τοὺς 540
Συρακουσίους, καὶ παρὰ τὴν µάχην αὐτὴν ἀγωνιζόµενος προσύµµως ἔπεσεν ἢδη κρατοῦντοι τῶν
Συρακουσίων.

3 Γενοµένης δὲ µεγάλης τροπῆς καὶ φθορᾶς, ἡ
µὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν φυγῇ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπο-
κέκοπτον χαλεπὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ γῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν
ὀρῶντες οὐτὲ ναῦς ἀφέλκοντας ἐγγύθεν ἐτὶ τοὺς
πολεµίους ἐκώλυν οὐτὲ νεκρῶν ἤτησαν ἀναίρεσιν,
ἀτε δὴ τῆς ἐκείνων ἁταφίας τὴν τῶν νοσοῦντων
καὶ τετραµένων ἀπόλειψιν οἰκτροτέραν οὖσαν
ἡδὴ πρὸ ὀφθαλµῶν ἔχοντες, αὐτοὺς δὲ κακείνων
ἐπιτυνωτέρους ἤγουµενοι, µετὰ πλεῖόνων κακῶν
ἐπὶ ταύτῳ πάντως ἀφιξουµένους τέλος.

XXVI. Ὁµµηµένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπαίρεων διὰ
νυκτὸς οἱ µὲν περὶ τῶν Γύλιπσον, ὀρῶντες ἐν
θυεὶαις καὶ πότοις τοὺς Συρακουσίους διὰ τὴν
νίκην καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ὄντας, οὐτὲ πείσειν οὐτὲ
βιῶσειαν προσεδόκων ἀναστάντας ἦδη προσφέ-
ρεσθαι τοῖς πολεµίοις ἀπιστοῦσιν, Ἔρµοκράτης δὲ
αὐτὸς ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ συνθελεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἀπάτην,
2 ἐπεµύθη τινὰς τῶν ἑταῖρον πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀπ’ ἑκεῖ-
νων µὲν ἥκειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φάσκοντας, οὐ καὶ πρὸ-
τερον εἰόθεσαν κρύφα τῷ Νικίᾳ διαλέγεσθαι,
296
NICIAS

from different directions at once, while their own were heavy and clumsy and all crowded together. Besides, they were bombarded with stones, whose blow is just as effective however they light; whereas they could only reply with javelins and arrows, whose proper cast was disturbed by the tossing water, so that they did not all fly head on to their mark. This method of fighting was taught the Syracusans by Ariston the Corinthian captain, who fought zealously while the battle lasted, only to fall just as the Syracusans were victorious.

The Athenians suffered such great rout and loss that they were cut off from flight by sea. Even by land they saw that their salvation was a difficult matter, so that they neither tried to hinder the enemy from towing away their ships under their very eyes, nor did they ask the privilege of taking up their dead. These, forsooth, could go unburied; the survivors were confronted with a more pitiful sight in the abandonment of their sick and wounded, and thought themselves more wretched still than their dead, since they were sure to come with more sorrows than they to the same end after all.

XXVI. They purposed to set out during the night, and Gylippus, who saw that the Syracusans were given over to sacrificial revels because of their victory and their festival of Heracles, despaired of persuading or compelling them to rise up from their pleasures at once and attack their enemy as he departed. But Hermocrates, all on his own account, concocted a trick to put upon Nicias, and sent certain companions to him with assurances that they were come from those men who before this had often held secret conferences with him. They advised Nicias not to
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

παραμονόντας δὲ μὴ πορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτός, ὃς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐνέδρας πεποιημένων αὐτοῖς καὶ προκατεχόντων τὰς παρόδους. τούτῳ δὲ καταστρατηγηθείς ὁ Νικίας ὑπέμενεν ἣ ἴσεν ἡσυχῶς ἐδεισεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλήθως παθεῖν.

3 προελθόντες γὰρ ἠμέρα τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν ὁδῶν κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπετέλεσαν τὰς τε γεφύρας ἀπέκοψαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὁμαλοῖς καὶ πεδινοῖς τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἔταξαν, ὡστε μηδένα λελείφθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τόπον ἀμαχεῖ προελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἠμέραν ἔκεινην καὶ τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐτέραν ἐπιμείναντες ἐπορεύοντο κλαυθμῷ καὶ ὀλοφυρμῷ, καθάπερ ἐκ πατρίδος, οὐ πολεμίας, ἀνιστάμενοι, διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὰς ἀπολείψεις τῶν ἀνυμάτων φίλων καὶ συνήθων, ἀμως τὰ παρόντα κακὰ κουφότερα τῶν προσδοκομένων νομίζοντες εἶναι. πολλῶν δὲ δεινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπεδῷ φαινομένων, οὐδὲν ἦν οἰκτρότερον αὐτὸν Νικίου θέαμα, κεκακωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁσθενείας, συνεστάλμενον δὲ παρ’ ἀξίαν εἰς ἀναγκαίαν δίαιταν καὶ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν ἐφοδίων εἰς τὸ σῶμα πολλῶν, διὰ τὴν νόσον δεόμενου, πράπτοντος δὲ μετ’ ἄρρωστίας καὶ καρτεροῦντος ἀ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνεργομένων μόλις ὑπέμενον, καταφανοῦς δὲ πᾶσιν ὄντος οὐ δ’ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τῷ φιλοψυχεῖν τοῖς πόνοις ἐμμένοντος, ἀλλὰ δ’ ἔκεινους τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ προϊμένου. καὶ γὰρ εἰς δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ λύπης τρεπομένων, ἔκεινος, εἰ ποτε βιασθεῖσιν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, δήλος ἦν τὸ αἰσχρόν καὶ τὸ ἀκλεές.
NICIAS

set out during the night, inasmuch as the Syracusans had laid snares for him and preoccupied the ways of escape. Nicias was completely outgeneralled by this trick, and so ended by suffering in very truth at the hands of his enemies what their lies had made him fear. For the Syracusans set forth at break of day, occupied the difficult points in the roads, fortified the river fords, cut away the bridges, and posted their cavalry in the smooth open spaces, so that no spot was left where the Athenians could go forward without fighting.

They waited therefore all that day and the following night, and then set out, for all the world as though they were quitting their native city and not an enemy's country, with wailings and lamentations at their lack of the necessaries of life and their enforced abandonment of helpless friends and comrades. And yet they regarded these present sorrows as lighter than those which they must expect to come. Many were the fearful scenes in the camp, but the most pitiful sight of all was Nicias himself, undone by his sickness, and reduced, as he little deserved, to a scanty diet, and to the smallest supply of those personal comforts whereof he stood so much in need because of his disease. And yet, for all his weakness, he persisted in doing what many of the strong could barely endure, and all saw plainly that it was not for his own sake or for any mere love of life that he was faithful to his tasks, but that for their sakes he would not give up hope. The rest, for very fear and distress, had recourse to lamentations and tears; but whenever he was driven to this pass, it was plainly because he was contrasting the shameful dishonour to which his expedition had now
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tῆς στρατείας ἀναλογιζόμενος πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὑπὲρ ἑλπίζε κατορθώσειν.

6 Οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὤψιν ὑπόκειται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λόγων μνημονεύοντες καὶ τῶν παραπέμποντας ἀς ἐποιήσατο κωλύων τὸν ἕκπλουν, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐνόμιζον ἀναξίως ταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἐλπίδας ἀδύναμος εἶχον, ἐνυποίητες ὡς ἀνήρ θεοφιλής καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα λαμπρονάμενος πρὸς τὸ θείον οὐδένος ἐπιεικεστέρα τύχῃ χρῆται τῶν κακίστων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ταπεινοτάτων.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ γε Νικίας ἐπειρατό καὶ φωνῆ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ δεξιώσει κρείττων ὀράσθαι τῶν δεινών. καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν γε τὴν πορείαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὡκτῶ βαλλόμενος καὶ τραυματιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀκίνητον ἐφύλαττε τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἀχρι ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐάλω 541 καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκείνου στράτευμα, περὶ τὴν Πολυζήλειαν αὐλὴν ἐν τῷ διαμάχεσθαι καὶ ὑπολείπε-2 σθαι κυκλωθῆν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δημοσθένης σπασάμενος τὸ κίος ἐπληξε μὲν ἑαυτόν, ὅτι μὴν ἀπέθανε, ταχὺ τῶν πολεμίων περισχόντων καὶ συλλαβοῦντων αὐτῶν.

Ὡς δὲ τῷ Νικία προσελάσαντες ἐφραζόν οἱ ὁμακούσιοι καὶ πέμψας ἱππέας ἐγγὺς τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀλώσαν, ἡξίον σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Γύλιππον, ὡς ἀφῶςι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ Σικελίας ὑμηρα λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων ὡς Συρακούσίως ἀνάλωτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

300
NICIAS

come with the great and glorious successes which he had hoped to achieve.

Besides, it was not merely the sight of him now, but also the memory of the arguments and exhortations with which he had once tried to prevent the sailing of the expedition, that led men to think him all the more unworthy to suffer such hardships now; and they had no courage to hope for aid from the gods when they reflected that a man so devout as he, and one who had performed so many great and splendid religious services, now met with no seemlier fortune than the basest and most obscure man in his army.

XXVII. However, it was this very Nicias who tried, both by words and looks and kindly manner, to show himself superior to his dreadful lot. And during all the march which he conducted for eight successive days,¹ though suffering from the missiles of the enemy, he yet succeeded in keeping his own forces from defeat, until Demosthenes and his detachment of the army were captured. These fell behind as they fought their way along, and were surrounded on the homestead of Polyzelus. Demosthenes himself drew his sword and gave himself a thrust; he did not, however, succeed in killing himself, since the enemy quickly closed in upon him and seized him.

When the Syracusans rode up and told Nicias of this disaster, he first sent horsemen to make certain that the force of Demosthenes was really taken, and then proposed to Gyliippus a truce permitting the Athenians to depart from Sicily after giving hostages to the Syracusans for all the moneys which they had

¹ Minutely described, day by day, in Thuc. vii. 78–85.
3 οἱ δ’ οὐ προσείχον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὑβρῖν καὶ μετ’ ὀργῆς ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἐβαλλον ἡδη πάντων ἐνδεχὸν τῶν ἀναγκαίων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νῦκτα διεκαρτήσῃ καὶ τὴν ἐπι- οὗσαν ἠμέραν προήι βαλλόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀσίναρον ποταμὸν. ἔκει δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἱ πολεμικοὶ συνενεγκόντες ἐνέσεισαν εἰς τὸ ἰδὴρον, οὐ δὲ
4 φθάνουσιν ὑπὸ δύσος ἔρριπτον ἐαυτοὺς καὶ πλεῖστος ἐνταῦθα μόρος ἢ καὶ ὁμότατος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ πινόντων ἄμα καὶ σφατομένων, ἀρχι
Νικίας Γυλίπποι προσπεσὼν ἔθεεν: "Ἐλέεως ὑμᾶς, οὐ Γυλίπποι, λαβέτω νικώντας, ἐμοῦ μὲν μηδεῖς, ὅσ' ἐπὶ τηλικαύταις εὐτυχίαις ὁνόμα καὶ ὀδηγεῖ ἔσχον, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων Ἁθηναίων, ἐννοη-
θέντας ὅτι κοιναὶ μὲν αἱ τύχαι τοῦ πολέμου, μετρίως δ’ αὐταῖς καὶ πράξεις ἐχρήσαντο ἐν οἷς εὐτυχοῦν Ἁθηναίοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς."
5 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Νικίου λέγοντος ἔπαθε μὲν τι καὶ
πρὸς τὴν ὀψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοὺς Γυλίπποις. ἦδει γὰρ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους εὐ πεπνευθότας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς γενομένας διαλύσεις·
μέγα δ’ ἡγεῖτο. πρὸς δοξαν εἰ ζωντας ἀπαγάγοι τοὺς ἀντιστρατηγοὺς. διὸ τὸν τε Νικίαν ἀναλα-
βῶν ἑθάρρυνε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἥωγρεὶν παρῆγ-
γειλε. Βραδεῖ, δὲ τοῦ παραγγέλματος διϊκνου-
μένου πολλῷ τῶν φονευθέντων ἐλάττονοι οἱ διασωθέντες ἐγένοντο: καῖτοι πολλοὶ διεκλάτησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.
6 Τοὺς δὲ φανερῶς ἐσαλωκότας ἀθροίσαντες τὰ
μὲν κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα δένδρα τῶν περὶ τῶν
NICIAS

expended on the war. But they would not entertain the proposal. Nay, with insolent rage they reviled and insulted him, and kept pelting him with missiles, destitute as he was of all the necessaries of life. However, through that night and the following day he managed to hold out, and finally came, under constant fire, to the river Asinarus. There some of his men were crowded along by the enemy and thrust into the stream, while others, in advance of pursuit, were impelled by their thirst to cast themselves in, and an exceeding great and savage carnage raged in the river itself, men being butchered as they drank. At last Nicias fell down at the feet of Gylippus and cried: "Have pity, Gylippus, now that you are victorious, not on me at all, though my great successes have brought me name and fame, but on the rest of these Athenians. Remember that the fortunes of war are common to all, and that the Athenians, when they were in good fortune, used it with moderation and gentleness toward you."

So spake Nicias, and Gylippus felt some compunction, both at the sight of him, and at what he said. For he knew that the Lacedaemonians had been well treated by him when the peace was made, and, besides, he thought it would increase his own fame if he should bring home alive the generals who had opposed him. Therefore he raised Nicias up, gave him words of cheer, and issued command to take the rest of his men alive. But the command made its way slowly along, so that the spared were far fewer than the slain. And yet many were stolen and hidden away by the soldiery.

The public prisoners were collected together, the fairest and tallest trees along the river bank were
ποταμοῦ ἀνέδησαν αἰχμαλώτως πανοπλίας,
ποταμοῦ ἀνέδησαν αἰχμαλώτως πανοπλίας,
ἔστεφανωμένοι δὲ αὐτόι καὶ κοσμήσαντες τοὺς ἱπποὺς διαπρεπῶς, κείραντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων εἰσήλαυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἄγωνα λαμπρότατον ὁ Ἑλληνες πρὸς Ἑλλήνας ἡγούμενον καὶ νίκην τελεωτάτην κράτει πλείστη καὶ ρῶμην μεγίστη προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς κατορθωκότες.

XXVIII. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ πανδήμου Συρακοσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γενομένης, Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἐγραφεὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἕτοι δικαίως ἠλαβον, ἵππων ἤκειν, θύσσας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἐργῶν, Ἀσιαρίαν τὴν εὐρυτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλοῦντας ἡμέρας τὴν τετράς φθινοντος τοῦ Καρνεῖου μηνός, ὁ τῷ Ἀθηναίων

2 Μεταγεινωνίων προσαγορεύουσι τῶν δ’ Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας φρουρεῖν ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὰς λατομίας, πλὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι.

Ταῦτα προσδεχομένων τῶν Συρακοσίων, Ἐρμοκράτης μὲν εἴπον ὅτι τοῦ νικῶν κρείττον ἐστὶ τὸ καλῶς χρησθαί τῇ νίκῃ, οὐ μετρίως ἐθορυβήθη, Γὐλιππον δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαιτούμενον ζῶντας ἀγαγεῖν Δακεδαιμονίων ύβρίζοντες ἦδη τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν οἱ

3 Συρακούσιοι κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ τὴν πραξίτητα καὶ τὸ Δακωνικὸν τῆς ἐπιστασίας οὐ βαδίως ἐννοοῦτες, ὡς δὲ

1 τοὺς supplied by Conus and Bekker
NICIAS

hung with the captured suits of armour, and then the victors crowned themselves with wreaths, adorned their own horses splendidly while they sheared and cropped the horses of their conquered foes, and so marched into the city. They had brought to successful end a struggle which was the most brilliant ever made by Hellenes against Hellenes, and had won the completest of victories by the most overwhelming and impetuous display of zeal and valour.

XXVIII. At a general assembly of the Syracusans and their allies, Eurycles, the popular leader, brought in a motion, first, that the day on which they had taken Nicias be made a holy day, with sacrifices and abstention from labour, and that the festival be called Asinaria, from the river Asinarus (the day was the twenty-sixth of the month Carneius, which the Athenians call Metageitnion); and second, that the serving men of the Athenians and their immediate allies be sold into slavery, while the freemen and the Sicilian Hellenes who had joined them be cast into the stone quarries for watch and ward,—all except the generals, who should be put to death.

These propositions were adopted by the Syracusans. When Hermocrates protested that there was something better than victory, to wit, a noble use of victory, he was met with a tumult of disapproval; and when Gylippus demanded the Athenian generals as his prize, that he might take them alive to the Lacedaemonians, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune, abused him roundly. They were the more ready to do this because, all through the war, they had found it hard to put up with his harshness and the Laconian style with which he
Τίμαιος φησι, καὶ μικρολογίαν τινὰ καὶ πλεονεκράκτητες, ἀρράτστημα πατρίδον, ἐφ᾽ ὦ καὶ Κλεανδρίδης ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ δόρων ἁλοῦς ἐφυγε, καὶ οὖτος αὐτὸς, ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ταλάντων ἦς Λύσανδρος ἐπεμψεν εἰς Σπάρτην ὑφελόμενος τριάκοντα καὶ κρύψας ὑπὸ τῶν ὄροφων τῆς οἰκίας, εἶτα μηνυθείς, αἰσχρίστα πάντων ἐξέστησεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρου βίῳ μᾶλλον εἰνήκριβοτα.

4 Δημοσθένην δὲ καὶ Νικίαν ἀποθανεῖν Τίμαιος οὐ φησὶν ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων κελευσθέντας, ὡς Φίλιστος ἔγραψε καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ᾽ Ἕρμοκράτους πέμψαντος, ἔτι τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνεστώσης, καὶ δὲ ἕνως τῶν φυλάκων παρέντων αὐτοὺς δι᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν τὰ μέντοι σώματα πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἐκβληθέντα κεῖσθαι φανερὰ τοῖς δειμένοις τοῦ θεάματος. πυνθάνομαι δὲ μέχρι νῦν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἁστίδα κειμένην πρὸς ἱερὸ δεικνύσθαι, Νικίου μὲν λεγομένην, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ πορφυρᾶς εὐ πως πρὸς ἀλλήλα μεμιγμένων δι᾽ ὕφεις συγκεκριμένην.

5 Τῶν δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι διεφθάρησαν ἐν ταῖς λατογίαις ὑπὸ νόσου καὶ διαίτης πονηρᾶς, εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστης κοτύλας δύο κριθῶν λαμβάνοντες καὶ μίαν ὕδατος, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δ᾽ ἐπράθησαν διακλαπάτεντες ἢ καὶ διαλαθόντες ὡς οἰκέται. καὶ τούτους ὡς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν, στίζοντες ἵππον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον. ἀλλ᾽ ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τούτο πρὸς τῷ δουλεύων ὑπομένοντες.
exercised his authority. Timaeus says, moreover, that they denounced his exceeding penuriousness and avarice,—an inherited infirmity, it would seem, since his father, Cleandridas, was convicted of taking bribes and had to flee his country. And Gyllippus himself, for abstracting thirty talents from the thousand which Lysander had sent to Sparta, and hiding them in the roof of his house,—as an informer was prompt to show,—was banished in the deepest disgrace. But this has been told with more detail in my Life of Lysander.¹

Timaeus denies that Demosthenes and Nicias were put to death by the orders of the Syracusans, as Philistus and Thucydides² state; but rather, Hermocrates sent word to them of the decision of the assembly while it was yet in session, and with the connivance of one of their guards they took their own lives. Their bodies, however, he says, were cast out at the prison door, and lay there in plain sight of all who craved the spectacle. And I learn that down to this day there is shown among the treasures of a temple in Syracuse a shield which is said to have been the shield of Nicias. It is a welded mosaic of gold and purple interwoven with rare skill.

XXIX. Most of the Athenians perished in the stone quarries of disease and evil fare, their daily rations being a pint of barley meal and a half-pint of water; but not a few were stolen away and sold into slavery, or succeeded in passing themselves off for serving men. These, when they were sold, were branded in the forehead with the mark of a horse,—yes, there were some freemen who actually suffered this indignity in addition to their servitude.

¹ Chapters xvi. f. ² vii. 86, 2.
2 Ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἢ τ’ αἰδῶ καὶ τὸ κόσμον· ἢ γὰρ ἠλευθεροῦν ταχέως ἢ τιμῶμενοι παρέμενον τοῖς κεκτημένοις. ἦν γὰρ δὲ καὶ δι’ Ἐυριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. μάλιστα γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἑλλήνων ἐπόθησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῦσαν οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνομένων ἐκάστοτε δείγματα καὶ γεύματα κομιζόντων ἐκμαν-θάνοντες ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδοσαν ἄλληλοις. τότε γοῦν φασὶ τῶν σωθέντων οἴκαδε συχνοὺς ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Ἐυριπίδην ψιλοφόρον, καὶ διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς μέν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφείθησαν ἐκδιδάξαντες ὁσα τῶν ἐκεῖνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμνηστο, τοὺς δὲ, ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην τροφῆς καὶ ύδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ἄσσαντες. οὐ δεῖ δὴ θαυμάζειν ὅτι τοὺς Καυνίους φασὶ πλοίοι προσφέρομένου τοῖς λιμέσιν ὑπὸ ληστρίδων διωκομένου μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον, ἄλλ’ ἀπείργειν, εἰτα μέντοι διαπυνθανομένους εἰ γινώσκουσιν ἄσματα τῶν Ἐυριπίδου, φησάντων ἐκεῖνων, οὗτω παρεῖναι καὶ καταγγείν τὸ πλοῖον.

XXX. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φασὶ τὴν συμφορὰν οὐχ ἢκιστα διὰ τῶν ἀγγελοῦν ἀπιστων γενέσθαι. ξένος γὰρ τις, ὡς ἔοικε, ἀποβᾶς εἰς Πειραιὰ καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ κουρείων, ὡς ἐγγυκότων ἢδη τῶν Ἀθηναίων λόγους ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ὁ δὲ κουρείς ἀκούσας, πρὶν ἄλλους πυνθάνεσθαι, δρόμῳ
NICIAS

But even these were helped by their restrained and decorous bearing; some were speedily set free, and some remained with their masters in positions of honour. Some also were saved for the sake of Euripides. For the Sicilians, it would seem, more than any other Hellenes outside the home land, had a yearning fondness for his poetry. They were forever learning by heart the little specimens and morsels of it which visitors brought them from time to time, and imparting them to one another with fond delight. In the present case, at any rate, they say that many Athenians who reached home in safety greeted Euripides with affectionate hearts, and recounted to him, some that they had been set free from slavery for rehearsing what they remembered of his works; and some that when they were roaming about after the final battle they had received food and drink for singing some of his choral hymns. Surely, then, one need not wonder at the story that the Caunians, when a vessel of theirs would have put in at the harbour of Syracuse to escape pursuit by pirates, were not admitted at first, but kept outside, until, on being asked if they knew any songs of Euripides, they declared that they did indeed, and were for this reason suffered to bring their vessel safely in.

XXX. The Athenians, they say, put no faith in the first tidings of the calamity, most of all because of the messenger who brought them. A certain stranger, as it would seem, landed at the Piraeus, took a seat in a barber's shop, and began to discourse of what had happened as if the Athenians already knew all about it. The barber, on hearing this, before others learned of it, ran at the top of his
συντείνας εἰς τὸ ἀστυ καὶ προσβαλῶν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εὐθὺς κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε τὸν λόγον. μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες εἰσήγαγον τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ὅς δ᾿ ἐρωτώμενος παρ᾿ οὐ πῦθοιτο σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἶχε φράζειν, δόξας λογοποίος εἶναι καὶ ταράττειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὸν τροχὸν καταδεθεὶς ἐστρεβλοῦτο πολὺν χρόνον, ἔως ἐπῆλθον οἱ τὸ πᾶν κακὸν, ὡς εἶχεν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οὐτω μόλις ὁ Νικίας ἐπιστεύθη παθῶν ἄ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς προείπεν.
speed to the upper city, accosted the archons, and at once set the story going in the market place. Consternation and confusion reigned, naturally, and the archons convened an assembly and brought the man before it. But, on being asked from whom he had learned the matter, he was unable to give any clear answer, and so it was decided that he was a story-maker, and was trying to throw the city into an uproar. He was therefore fastened to the wheel and racked a long time, until messengers came with the actual facts of the whole disaster. So hard was it for the Athenians to believe that Nicias had suffered the fate which he had often foretold to them.
CRASSUS
ΚΡΑΣΣΟΣ

I. Μάρκος δὲ Κράσσος ἦν τιμητικοῦ καὶ θριαμβικοῦ πατρός, ἔτραφη δ’ ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ μετὰ δυνῶν ἀδελφῶν. καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες ἦσαν ἐτί τῶν γονέων ζώντων, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφοίτων τράπεζαν, οὐδὲν οὐχ ἤκιστα δοκεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σώφρων καὶ μέτριος γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῇ γυναικὶ συνφίκησε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐσχέν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον καὶ περὶ τάντα.

2 Ἡρωμαῖων εὐτακτος γενόμενος. καίτοι προϊόν καθ’ ἧλικίαν αἰτίαν ἐσχε Λικιννία συνιέναι τῶν Ἑστιάδων μίας παρθένων καὶ δίκην ἐφυγεν ἡ Λικιννία Πλωτίου τινὸς διώκοντος. ἢν δὲ προάστειον αὐτῆς καλὸν, ὁ βουλόμερος λαβεῖν ὀλύμῃς τιμῆς ὁ Κράσσος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσκείμενος ἀεὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ θεραπεύων, εἰς τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐκείνην ἐνέπεσε· καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῇ φιλοπλουτίᾳ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φθοράς ἀπολυσάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἄφειδη. τὴν δὲ Λικιννίαν οὐκ ἄνηκε πρότερον ἢ τοῦ κτήματος κρατῆσαι.

II. Ἡρωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσι πολλαῖς ἀρεταις τοῦ Κράσσου κακίαν μόνην ἐπισκοπῆσαι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν· ἐσθικε δὲ μία πασῶν ἐρρωμενεστέρα

314
CRASSUS

I. Marcus Crassus was the son of a man who had been censor and had enjoyed a triumph; but he was reared in a small house with two brothers. His brothers were married while their parents were still alive, and all shared the same table, which seems to have been the chief reason why Crassus was temperate and moderate in his manner of life. When one of his brothers died, Crassus took the widow to wife, and had his children by her, and in these relations also he lived as well-ordered a life as any Roman. And yet when he was further on in years, he was accused of criminal intimacy with Licinia, one of the vestal virgins, and Licinia was formally prosecuted by a certain Plotius. Now Licinia was the owner of a pleasant villa in the suburbs which Crassus wished to get at a low price, and it was for this reason that he was forever hovering about the woman and paying his court to her, until he fell under the abominable suspicion. And in a way it was his avarice that absolved him from the charge of corrupting the vestal, and he was acquitted by the judges. But he did not let Licinia go until he had acquired her property.

II. The Romans, it is true, say that the many virtues of Crassus were obscured by his sole vice of avarice; and it is likely that the one vice which
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κακιῶν γενομένη τὰς ἄλλας ἀμωρώσαι. τεκμήρια δὲ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας αὐτοῦ μέγιστα ποιοῦνται τὸν τε τρόπον τοῦ πορισμοῦ καὶ τῆς
2 οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος. τριακοσίων γὰρ οὐ πλείω κεκτημένος ἐν ἄρχῃ ταλάντων, εἶτα παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀποθύσας μὲν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐστιάσας, τρεῖς δὲ μῆνας ἐκάστῳ Ῥωμαίων συνηρέσιον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ παρασχὼν, ὅμως πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείας αὐτὸς αὐτῷ θέμενος ἐκλογισμὸν τῆς οὐσίας εὑρεν ἐκατὸν
3 ταλάντων τίμημα πρὸς ἐπτακισχίλιοις. τὰ δὲ πλείστα τούτων, εἶ δὲ μετὰ βλασφημίας εἰπεῖν τὸ ἄλλης, ἐκ πυρὸς συνήγαγε καὶ πολέμου, ταῖς κοιναῖς ἄτυχίαις προσόδοφ τῇ μεγίστῃ χρησάμενος.

"Ὅτε γὰρ Σύλλας ἔλαβε τὴν πόλιν ἔπωλε τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἀνηγρημένων ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ, λάφυρα καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὄνομαζων, καὶ βουλόμενος ὁτι πλείστως καὶ κρατίστως προσμοριζόμεθα τὸ ἄγος, 4 οὔτε λαμβάνων οὔτ᾿ ὄνομένος ἀπεῖπε. πρὸς δὲ τούτως ὁρῶν τὰς συγγενεῖς καὶ συνοίκους τῆς Ρώμης κήρας ἐμπρησμοῦς καὶ συνιστήσεις διὰ βάρος καὶ πλῆθος οἰκοδομημάτων, ἐωνεῖτο ὠνύλους ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους. εἶτ᾿ ἔχουσι τούτων ὑπὲρ πεντακοσίους οὔτας, ἐξηγόραζε τὰ καιόμενα καὶ γειτνιώτα τοῖς καιόμενοις, διὰ φόβου καὶ ἀδηλότητα τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπ᾿ ὅλης τιμῆς προεμένων, ὡστε τῆς Ρώμης τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος 5 ὑπ᾿ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. τοσοῦτοις δὲ κεκτημένος

316
became stronger than all the others in him, weakened the rest. The chief proofs of his avarice are found in the way he got his property and in the amount of it. For at the outset he was possessed of not more than three hundred talents;\(^1\) then during his consuls-ship he sacrificed the tenth of his goods to Hercules, feasted the people, gave every Roman out of his own means enough to live on for three months, and still, when he made a private inventory of his property before his Parthian expedition, he found that it had a value of seventy-one hundred talents. The greatest part of this, if one must tell the scandalous truth, he got together out of fire and war, making the public calamities his greatest source of revenue.

For when Sulla took the city and sold the property of those whom he had put to death, considering it and calling it spoil of war, and wishing to defile with his crime as many and as influential men as he could, Crassus was never tired of accepting or of buying it.\(^2\) And besides this, observing how natural and familiar at Rome were such fatalities as the conflagration and collapse of buildings, owing to their being too massive and close together, he proceeded to buy slaves who were architects and builders. Then, when he had over five hundred of these, he would buy houses that were afire, and houses which adjoined those that were afire, and these their owners would let go at a trifling price owing to their fear and uncertainty. In this way the largest part of Rome came into his possession. But though he owned so many artisans, he built

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\(^1\) Plutarch gives Greek values. The talent was a sum of money nearly equivalent to £240, or $1200, with many times the purchasing power of money to-day. \(^2\) Cf. chapter vi. 6.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

tεχνίτας οὐδὲν ὕκοδόμησεν αὐτὸς ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ’ ἔλεγε τοὺς φιλοικοδόμους αὐτοὺς ὑφ’ ἐαυτῶν καταλύουσθαι χωρίς ἀνταγωνιστῶν. ὄντων δ’ αὐτῷ παμπόλλων ἀργυρείων, πολυτιμήτου δὲ χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡμοὶ ἂν τις ἡγήσατο μηδὲν εἶναι ταύτα πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν 6 οἰκετῶν τιμῆς τοσοῦτος ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοιούτους, 544 ἀναγνώστας, ὑπογραφεῖς, ἀργυρογνώμονας, διοικητάς, τραπεζοκόμους, αὐτὸς ἐπιστατῶν μανθάνουσι καὶ προσέχου καὶ διδάσκων καὶ ὅλως νομίζων τῷ δεσπότῃ προσήκειν μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τούς οἰκετάς ἐπιμέλειαν ως ὀργανα ἐμψυχα τῆς οἰκονομικῆς.

7 Καὶ τούτο μὲν ὄρθως ὁ Κράσσος, εἶπερ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἤγειτο τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρήναι, τοὺς δὲ οἰκετὰς δι’ αὐτοῦ κυβερνᾶν· τὴν γὰρ οἰκονομικὴν ἐν ἄνθρωποις χρηματιστικὴν οὐσιαν, ἐν ἄνθρωποις πολιτικὴν γιγνομένην ὀρθοὶς· ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ εύ, τὸ μηδένα νομίζων μηδέ φάσκειν εἶναι πλούσιον, διὸ οὐ δύναται τρέφειν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας 8 στρατόπεδον (ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος οὐ τεταγμένα συτεῖται, κατὰ τὸν 'Αρχίδαμον, ὡς ὁ πρὸς πόλεμον πλοῦτος ἀόριστος), καὶ πολὺ τῆς Μαρίου γυνὸς ἀπηρτημένως. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ, ἐπεὶ κατ’ ἄνδρα νείμας ἐκάστῳ δέκα καὶ τέσσαρα πλέθρα γῆς ἐγὼ πλέον ἐπιζητοῦντας, “Μηδείς,” ἐφη, “γένοιτο ὅμως ὀλίγον ἡγούμενος τὴν τρέφειν ἁρκοῦσαν.”
CRASSUS

no house for himself other than the one in which he lived; indeed, he used to say that men who were fond of building were their own undoers, and needed no other foes. And though he owned numberless silver mines, and highly valuable tracts of land with the labourers upon them, nevertheless one might regard all this as nothing compared with the value of his slaves; so many and so capable were the slaves he possessed,—readers, amanuenses, silversmiths, stewards, table-servants; and he himself directed their education, and took part in it himself as a teacher, and, in a word, he thought that the chief duty of the master was to care for his slaves as the living implements of household management.

And in this Crassus was right, if, as he used to say, he held that anything else was to be done for him by his slaves, but his slaves were to be governed by their master. For household management, as we see, is a branch of finance in so far as it deals with lifeless things; but a branch of politics when it deals with men.¹ He was not right, however, in thinking, and in saying too, that no one was rich who could not support an army out of his substance; for “war has no fixed rations,” as King Achidamus said,² and therefore the wealth requisite for war cannot be determined. Far different was the opinion of Marius, who said, after distributing to each of his veterans fourteen acres of land and discovering that they desired more, “May no Roman ever think that land too small which suffices to maintain him.”

¹ Cf. Aristotle, Pol. i. 1253 b, 32.
² Cf. Cleomenes xxvii. 1; Morals, 190 a; 219 a. In Demosthenes, xvi. 3, the saying is put in the mouth of “Crobylus,” as Hegesippus the Athenian orator was familiarly called.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

III. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ περὶ ξένους ἢν ψιλότιμος ὁ Κράσσος· ἀνέφκετο γὰρ ἡ οἰκία πάσι, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐδάνειζεν ἀνευ τόκων, ἀπήτευ ὶ ἀποτόμως τοῦ χρόνου παρελθόντος εἰς ὄν ἐνίστε, καὶ τὸ προῖκα πολλῶν ἐγίνετο τόκων ἐπαχθέστερον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις ή μὲν κλήσις ἡ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δημοτική καὶ λαώδης, ἡ δὲ εὐτέλεια τὴν καθαρίοτητα καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην ἡδίονα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς εἰχε.

2 Παιδείας δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγων μᾶλιστα μὲν τὸ ῥητορικὸν καὶ χρειῶδες εἰς πολλοὺς ἤσκησε, καὶ γενόμενον δεινὸς εἰπεὶν ἐν τοῖς μᾶλιστα Ρωμαίων ἐπιμελεία καὶ πόνῳ τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους ύπερέβαλεν. οὔδεμιάν γὰρ οὔτω δίκην φασὶ μικρὰν οὐδὲ εὐκαταφρόνητον γενέσθαι πρὸς ἣν ἀπαράσκευος ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πομπηίου πολλάκις ὀκνοῦντος καὶ Καλσαρος ἐξαναστήναται καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἐκείνος ἀνεπλήρου τὴν συνηγορίαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

3 ἦρεσκεν ὡς ἐπιμελῆς καὶ θυμήβητικός. ἦρεσκε δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλάνθρωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικῶν. οὔδενι γὰρ οὗτως ἀπήνησε Ρωμαίων ἄξονα καὶ ταπεινῷ Κράσσος ὅν ἀσπασάμενον οὐκ ἀντιπροσωπήρευσεν ἐξ ὀνόματος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ ιστορίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τι καὶ φιλοσοφῆσαι τοῖς Αριστοτέλους λόγως προσθέμενος, ὃν διδάσκαλον εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀνθρώπον εὐκολίας καὶ προό-
CRASSUS

III. However, Crassus was generous with strangers, for his house was open to all; and he used to lend money to his friends without interest, but he would demand it back from the borrower relentlessly when the time had expired, and so the gratuity of the loan was more burdensome than heavy interest. When he entertained at table, his invited guests were for the most part plebeians and men of the people, and the simplicity of the repast was combined with a neatness and good cheer which gave more pleasure than lavish expenditure.

As for his literary pursuits, he cultivated chiefly the art of speaking which was of general service, and after making himself one of the most powerful speakers at Rome, his care and application enabled him to surpass those who were most gifted by nature. For there was no case, they say, however trifling and even contemptible it might be, which he undertook without preparation, but often, when Pompey and Caesar and Cicero were unwilling to plead, he would perform all the duties of an advocate. And on this account he became more popular than they, being esteemed a careful man, and one who was ready with his help. He pleased people also by the kindly and unaffected manner with which he clasped their hands and addressed them. For he never met a Roman so obscure and lowly that he did not return his greeting and call him by name. It is said also that he was well versed in history, and was something of a philosopher withal, attaching himself to the doctrines of Aristotle, in which he had Alexander as a teacher. This man gave proof of

¹ Perhaps Alexander Cornelius, surnamed Polyhistor, a contemporary of Sulla.
τητος ἀπόδειξιν διδόντα τὴν πρὸς Κράσσουν συνήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀποφήμασθαι ῥαδίως πότερον προσήλθεν αὐτῷ πενέστερος ἢ προσέλθων ἐγένετο. μόνος γοῦν ἀεὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συναποδήμου στέγαστρων ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπανελθὼν ἀπηρτεῖτο. ἀλλὰ¹ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κίννας καὶ Μάριος κρατήσαντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ἐνδήλου κατιόντες οὐκ ἐπ’ ἀγαθῶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἐπ’ ἀναφερεῖ δ’ ἀντικρυς καὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἀρίστων, οἱ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἀπέθνησκον, ὥν ἦν καὶ ο ὑπὸ Κράσσουν καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, αὐτὸς δὲ νέος ὁ παντάπασι τὸ μὲν αὐτικά δεινὸν ἐξέφυγε, πάντη δὲ περιβαλλόμενον ἡνυπότων αἰσθανόμενος καὶ κυνηγητούμενον ὕπ’ τῶν τυράννων τρεῖς φίλους ἀναλαβὼν καὶ θεράπουτας δέκα, τάχει δ’ ὑπερβάλλοντι χρησάμενος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐφυγε, γεγονὼς πάλαι στρατηγοῦντος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους πεποίημένοις. εὑρὼν δὲ πάντας περιδείξας καὶ τὴν ὀμότητα τὴν Μαρίον καθάπερ ἐφεστώτος αὐτοῖς τρέμοντας, οὐδεὶς γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἐθάρρησεν, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἄγροις ἐμβαλὼν παραλίους Οὐίβιον Πακιακοῦ σπήλαιον ἐχοντας εὐμέγεθες, ἐκρυψεν ἡνυπότων. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Οὐίβιον ἐπεμψεν ἕνα δοὺλον ἀπαθειρωμένον, ἦδη καὶ τῶν ἐφωτιῶν ἐπιλύτων. ὁ δὲ Οὐίβιος ἀκούσας ἦσθη τε σωκράμενος καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτοῖς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθεν

¹ ἀλλά. Before this sentence the words φεῦ τῆς ὑπομενῆς, οὐδὲ τὴν πενίαν ὁ τλήμων ἀδιάφορον ἡγούμενος were early stricken from the text as a gloss (oh, the patience of the poor fellow! for his philosophy did not regard poverty as a thing indifferent).
contentedness and meekness by his intimacy with Crassus; for it is not easy to say whether he was poorer before or after his relations with his pupil. At any rate he was the only one of the friends of Crassus who always accompanied him when he went abroad, and then he would receive a cloak for the journey, which would be reclaimed on his return. But this was later on.

IV. When Cinna and Marius got the upper hand, it was at once apparent that they would re-enter the city not for the good of their country, but for the downright destruction and ruin of the nobles; those who were caught were slain, and among them were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, being very young, escaped the immediate peril, but perceiving that he was surrounded on all sides by the huntsmen of the tyrants, he took with him three friends and ten servants and fled with exceeding speed into Spain, where he had been before, while his father was praetor there, and had made friends. But finding all men filled with fear and trembling at the cruelty of Marius as though he were close upon them, he had not the courage to present himself to any one. Instead, he plunged into some fields along the sea-shore belonging to Vibius Paciacus. In these there was a spacious cave, where he hid himself. However, since his provisions were now running low, and wishing to sound the man, he sent a slave to Vibius. But Vibius, on hearing the message, was delighted that Crassus had escaped, and after learning the number of his party and the place of their concealment, did not indeed

1 In 87 B.C. Crassus was then not quite twenty years of age.
eis ὅψιν, τὸν ὅτε τῶν χωρίων ἐπίτροπον προσω- 
γαγὼν ἐγνὺς ἐκέλευσε καθ’ ἡμέραν δείπνουν πεποι-
μένον κομίζειν, καὶ τιθέντα παρὰ τὴν πέτραν ἀπέρχεσθαι σιωπῇ καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδ’ ἐξετάζειν, προειπὼν πολυπραγμονοῦντι 
θάνατον, συμπράττοντι δὲ τοῦτο πιστῶς ἔλευ-
θεραν.

4 Τὸ δὲ σπύλαιον οὐκ ἄπωθεν μὲν ἔστι θαλάσσης, 
κρημνοὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ συμφέρομεν λεπτὴν καὶ 
ἀσαφῆ παρατέμπουσι λαύραν ἀγοναίς εἶσω, 
παρελθόντι δ’ ύψος τε θαυμαστὸν ἀναπέπταται, 
καὶ κατ’ εὔρος ἔχει κόλπους δὰ ἀλλήλων ἀνοιγομέ-
5 νοὺς μεγάλας περιφερείας. ἀμοιρεῖ δ’ οὔτε ύδατος 
οὔτε φωτὸς, ἀλλὰ πηγὴ μὲν ἡδίστου νάματος ὑπορρέει παρὰ τὸν κρημνὸν, αὐτοφυεῖς δὲ ρωχμοὶ 
τῆς πέτρας ἢ μάλιστα περιπλῆκτο ὁ φῶς ἐξώθεν 
ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ καταλάμπτει ἡμέρας τὸ 
χωρίον. ὃ δ’ ἐντὸς ἀὴρ ἀστάλακτος καὶ καθαρός, 
πυκνότητι τῆς πέτρας τὸ νοτερὸν καὶ ἀποτηκόμε-

45 νοὺν εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἐκπειζοῦσης.

V. Ἐνταῦθα διατρίβομεν τῷ Κράσσῳ τὰ ἐπιτή-

2 δείπνων. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Οὐίβιος ἀπάσῃ φιλο-

φροσύνη θεραπεύειν τὸν Κράσσου, ὥς γε καὶ τὸ 

τῆς ἀρας ἐν ὑψὲ λαβεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ὡς παντάπασι 

δείπνων, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑγείαν ἀποτελεῖ καὶ ταῖς καθ’ ἡλικίαις 

αὐτῶν χαριστέον, ἐπεὶ τὴν ὑγείαν ἀναγκαίως

324
come in person to see them, but brought the overseer of the property near the place, and ordered him to bring a complete meal there every day, put it near the cliff, and then go away without a word; he was not to meddle in the matter nor investigate it, and was threatened with death if he did meddle, and promised his freedom if he co-operated faithfully.

The cave is not far away from the sea, and the cliffs which enclose it leave a small and indistinct path leading inside; but when one has entered, it opens out to a wonderful height, and at the sides has recesses of great circumference opening into one another. There is no lack of water or of light, but a spring of purest flow issues from the base of the cliff, and natural fissures in the rock, where its edges join, admit the light from outside, so that in the day-time the place is bright. The air inside is dry and pure, owing to the thickness of the rock, which deflects all moisture and dripping water into the spring.

V. Here Crassus lived, and day by day the man came with the provisions. He himself did not see the party of the cave, nor even know who they were, but he was seen by them, since they knew and were on the watch for the time of his coming. Now, the meals were abundant, and so prepared as to gratify the taste and not merely satisfy hunger. For Vibiust had made up his mind to pay Crassus every sort of friendly attention, and it even occurred to him to consider the youth of his guest, that he was quite a young man, and that some provision must be made for the enjoyments appropriate to his years; the mere supply of his wants he regarded as the work of one who rendered help under compulsion rather
μᾶλλον ἢ προθύμως ὑπουργοῦντος εἶναι. δύο οὖς
θεραπαινίδας ἐντερπεῖς ἀναλαβῶν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ
tὴν θάλασσαν. ώς δ' ἠλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον,
δείξας τὴν ἄνωθεν ἐκέλευεν εἰσω πορεύεσθαι καὶ
3 θαρρεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἴδοντες προσερχο-
μένας ἐδεισάν ἕκαστος καὶ γνώρισαν εἰς τὸ
χωρίον ἀνέκρινον οὐν αὐτὰς τὴ βοῦλοντας καὶ
τίνες εἰςίν. ώς δ' ἄπεκριναντο δεδηδαγμέναι
dεσπότην ἥκτείν ἐνταῦθα κρυπτόμενον, μαθὼν ὁ
Κράσσος τὸν Οὐίβιον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν παιδιαν
4 καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἀνέλαβας τὰς παιδίσκας· καὶ
συνήσαν αὐτὸν τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ὅπως ἐδείτο
φαίνονσαι καὶ διαγγέλλουσα πρὸς τὸν Οὐίβιον.
τούτων φησὶ τὴν ἔτεραν ἡ ἡ πρεσβύτειν οὐσαν ὁ
Φαινεστέλλας ίδείν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλάκις ἀκούσαι
μεμνημένης ταῦτα καὶ διεξούσας προθύμως.

VI. Ὅ δὲ Κράσσος ὅκτω μήνας αὔτῳ διαγαγών
καὶ διακλατείς, ἀμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν Κίννα
τελευτὴν φανερὸς γενόμενος, συνδραμόντων πρὸς
αὐτὸν οὐκ ὁλίγων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλεξάμενος δισχι-
lίους καὶ πεντακόσιους ἐπέρχετο τὰς πόλεις· καὶ
μίαν γε διήρπασε Μαλάκην, ὡς πολλοὶ γεγρα-
φασιν, αὐτὸν δὲ φασὶν ἄρνεισθαι καὶ διαμα-
2 χεσθαὶ πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας. ἐκ τούτων συναγα-
γὼν πλοία καὶ διαπεράσας εἰς Διβύνη ἀφίκετο
πρὸς Μέτελλον Πλον, ἐνδοξοῦν ἄνδρα, συνειλοχότα
στρατιάν οὐκ ἐκαταφρούντον. οὐ πολὺν δὲ
χρόνον ἐνταῦθα παρέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ στασιάσας τὸ
Μετέλλῳ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπήκε, καὶ συνὴν ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα τιμώμενος. ἐπει δὲ διαβὰς εἰς Ἰταλίαν
ὁ Σύλλας πάντας ἐβοῦλετο τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
CRASSUS

than with ready zeal. So he took with him two comely female slaves and went down towards the sea. When he came to the place of the cave, he showed them the path up to it, and bade them go inside and fear nothing. When Crassus saw them approaching, he was afraid that the place had been discovered and was now known. He asked them, accordingly, who they were and what they wanted. They answered, as instructed, that they were in search of a master who was hidden there. Then Crassus understood the kindly joke which Vibius was playing upon him, and received the girls; and they lived with him the rest of the time, carrying the necessary messages to Vibius. Fenestella ¹ says that he saw one of these slaves himself, when she was now an old woman, and often heard her mention this episode and rehearse its details with zest.

VI. Thus Crassus passed eight months in concealment; but as soon as he heard of Cinna's death, he disclosed himself. Many flocked to his standard, out of whom he selected twenty-five hundred men, and went about visiting the cities. One of these, Malaca, he plundered, as many writers testify, but they say that he himself denied the charge and quarrelled with those who affirmed it. After this he collected sailing vessels, crossed into Africa, and joined Metellus Pius, an illustrious man, who had got together a considerable army. However, he remained there no long time, but after dissension with Metellus set out and joined Sulla, with whom he stood in a position of special honour. But when Sulla crossed into Italy, he wished all the young men with him to take active part in the campaign,

¹ A Roman historian who flourished under Augustus.
νέους ἔχειν ἐνεργοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην ἄλλον ἐταττε πράξιν, ἀποστελλόμενοι εἰς Μαρσύον ἐπὶ στρατιάν ὁ Κράσσος ἦτει φύλακας. ἦ γὰρ
3 πάροδος ἦν παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους. εἰπόντος 546
dὲ τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν ὅργῃ καὶ σφόδρα πρὸς αὐτὸν,
"Δίδωμί σοι φύλακας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν ἀδελφὸν,
tοὺς φίλους, τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ὅν παρανόμως καὶ
ἀδίκως ἀναρεθέντων ἔγω 1 μετέρχομαι τοὺς
foneis," οὕτω παθὼν τι καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ
Κράσσος εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων
ωσάμενος εὐρώπτως δύναμιν τε συχὴν ἥθροισε
καὶ πρόθυμον αὐτὸν ἐν τὰς ἀγωγὰς τῷ Σύλλα
παρεῖχεν.

4 Ἀπ' ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν πράξεων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ
πρῶτον ἐγχενέσθαι τὴν πρὸς Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ δόξης
ἀμίλλαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν. ὦ γὰρ Πομπῆιος ἡλικία
te λειπόμενος αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὸς γεγονὼς ἀδοξίσαντος ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ καὶ μισηθέντος ἐσχατον μίας
ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν ἐκείνως τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἐξέλαμψε καὶ διεφάνη μέγας, ὡστε Σύλλαν, ἀ
πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ισοτίμους οὐ πάνω πολλάκις
παρεῖχεν, ὑπεξανιστασθαι προσιόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
κεφαλὴν ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι καὶ προσείπειν αὐτο-
5 κράτορα. ταῦτα διέκαιε καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν Κράσ-
σον οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐλασσούμενοι.

'Εμπειρίας τε γὰρ ἐνδείχθη ἦν καὶ τῶν πράξεων
αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀφήνουν αἱ συγγενεῖς κῆρες
ἐπιφερόμεναι, φιλοκέρδεια καὶ μικρολογία. καὶ
γὰρ πόλιν 'Ομβρικὴν Τουνδερτίαν ἔλων ἔδοξε

1 ἔγω the conjecture of Bryan, mentioned by many
editors with approval, and found in codex Matritensis by
Graux: ἄργῳ actually.
CRASSUS

and assigned different ones to different undertakings. Crassus, being sent out to raise a force among the Marsi, asked for an escort, since his road would take him past the enemy. But Sulla was wroth, and said to him vehemently: "I give thee as an escort thy father, thy brother, thy friends, and thy kinsmen, who were illegally and unjustly put to death, and whose murderers I am pursuing." Thus rebuked and incited, Crassus set out at once, and forcing his way vigorously through the enemy, raised a considerable force, and showed himself an eager partisan of Sulla in his struggles.

Out of these activities first arose, as they say, his ambitious rivalry with Pompey for distinction. For although Pompey was the younger man, and the son of a father who had been in ill repute at Rome and hated most bitterly by his fellow-citizens, still, in the events of this time his talents shone forth conspicuously, and he was seen to be great, so that Sulla paid him honours not very often accorded to men who were older and of equal rank with himself, rising at his approach, uncovering his head, and saluting him as Imperator. All this inflamed and goaded Crassus, although it was not without good reason that Sulla thus made less of him.

For he was lacking in experience, and his achievements were robbed of their favour by the innate curses of avarice and meanness which beset him. For instance, when he captured the Umbrian city of Tuder, it was believed that he appropriated to him-
πλείστα τῶν χρημάτων σφετερίσασθαι, καὶ διε-
βλήθη πρὸς Σύλλαν. ἄλλ' ἐν γε τῷ περὶ τὴν
Ῥώμην ἀγῶνι πάντων γενομένῳ μεγίστῳ καὶ
tελευταῖος Σύλλας μὲν ἤττηθη, τῶν καὶ αὐτὸν
ωσθέντων καὶ συντρίβεντων, Κράσσος δὲ τὸ
dεξιόν κέρας ἔχον ἐνίκησε καὶ μέχρι νυκτὸς
dιόξας τοὺς πολεμίους ἑπεμψε πρὸς Σύλλαν, δει-
pνον αὐτῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα
φράζων. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς καὶ δημεῦσαι
πάλιν κακῶς ἤκουσεν, ἀνούμενός τε τιμῆς βρα-
χείας μεγάλα πράγματα καὶ δωρεὰς αὐτῶν.
ἐν δὲ Βρεττίοις λέγεται καὶ προγράψῃ τίνα ὁ Σύλλα
κελεύσαντος, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ χρηματισμῷ, δι' ὅ καὶ
Σύλλαν καταγνόντα πρὸς μηθὲν ἐπὶ χρήσθαι
dημόσιον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δεινότατος ἦν Κράσσος
πάντας ἀνθρώπους κολακεῖα κατεργάζασθαι,
pάλιν δ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ κολακείας εὐάλω-
tος. ἱδιον δὲ κάκεινο περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, φιλο-
κερδέστατον ὅντα μάλιστα μισεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖν
tοὺς ὁμοίους.

VII. Ἡνία δὲ Πομπήιος αὐτῶν εὐημερῶν ἐi
ηγεμονίαις καὶ πρὶν ἡ Βουλής μεταλαβεῖν θριαμ-
βεύων καὶ Μάγνος, ὁπερ ἐστὶ μέγας, ὑπὸ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀναγορευθεῖς. καὶ ποτὲ καὶ φήσαντὸς
τινος ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πρόσεις, ἐγείρας

2 ἡρωτησεν ὅπηλίκος. ἀπογνοὺς δὲ τοὺς πολέμικοὺς
ἐξισώσασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ὑπεδύετο τὴν πολίτειαν,
σπουδαίας καὶ συνηγορίαις καὶ δανεισμοῖς καὶ τῷ
συμπαραγέλλειν καὶ συνεξέταζεσθαι τοῖς δεομὲ-
νοις τὶ τοῦ δήμου κτῶμενος δύναμιν ἀντίπαλον

330
CRASSUS

self most of the spoil, and charges to this effect were laid before Sulla. But in the struggle near Rome, which was the last and greatest of all, while Sulla was defeated and his army repulsed and shattered, Crassus was victorious with the right wing,\(^1\) pursued the enemy till nightfall, and then sent to Sulla informing him of his success and asking supper for his soldiers. However, during the proscriptions and public confiscations which ensued, he got a bad name again, by purchasing great estates at a low price, and asking donations. It is said that in Bruttium he actually proscribed a man without Sulla's orders, merely to get his property, and that for this reason Sulla, who disapproved of his conduct, never employed him again on public business. And yet Crassus was most expert in winning over all men by his flatteries; on the other hand, he himself was an easy prey to flattery from anybody. And this too is said to have been a peculiarity of his, that, most avaricious as he was himself, he particularly hated and abused those who were like him.

VII. Now it vexed him that Pompey was successful in his campaigns, and celebrated a triumph before becoming a senator, and was called Magnus (that is, *Great*) by his fellow-citizens. And once when some one said: "Pompey the Great is coming," Crassus fell to laughing and asked: "How great is he?" Renouncing, therefore, all efforts to equal Pompey in military achievements, he plunged into politics, and by his zealous labours, his favours as advocate and money-lender, and his co-operation in all the solicitations and examinations which candidates for office had to make and undergo, he acquired

\(^1\) Cf. Plutarch's *Sulla*, xxix. 5.
καὶ δόξαν ἡ Πομπήιος εἶχεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ
3 μεγάλων στρατευόντων. καὶ πρᾶγμα συνέβαινεν
αὐτοῖς ἵδιον. μείζον γὰρ ἦν ἀπόλοτος ὅνομα τοῦ
Πομπήιου καὶ κράτος ἐν τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς στρα-
τεύας. παρὼν δὲ πολλάκις ἤλαττούτο τοῦ Κράσ-
σου, διὰ τὸν οὐγον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ βίου
φεύγων τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἀναδύομενος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ
τῶν δεσμέων ὅλοις καὶ μὴ πάντων προθύμως
βοηθῶν, ὡς ἀκμαίοτέραν ἔχοι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ
4 αὐτοῦ χρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐνδελεχές τὸ
χρῆσιμον ἔχων καὶ σπάνιος οὐκ ὄν όυδὲ δυσπρό-
όδος, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις ἀεὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀναστρε-
φόμενος, τῷ κοινῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ περιεγένετο
τῆς ἐκείνου σεμνότητος. σώματος δὲ ἄξιωμα καὶ
λόγου πειθῶ καὶ προσώπου χάριν ἀγωγὸν
ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοίως προσεῖναι λέγουσιν.
5 Ὡ ἡμείς πρὸς ἐξῆβαν τινὰ τὸν Κράσσον ἥ 547
κακούνιαν ἐξήνεγκεν οὕτος ὁ ξῆλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Πομπηίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τιμωμένους μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
ἡχθεῖν. τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ ταύτῃ δυσμένειαν ἢ
κακοθείαν οὐ συνήπτει καίτοι Καίσαρ ὑπὸ
ληστῶν ἄλοις ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ φρούρωμενος ἀνεβόη-
σειν. “Ἡλίκης, ὁ Κράσσε, Χαρὰς ἀπολαύσεις
6 πυθόμενος τῇ ἐμῇ ἄλωσιν.” ἄλλ' ὑστερὸν γε
φιλικῶς ἀλλήλοις προσεφέροντι καὶ ποτὲ τῷ
Καίσαρι μέλλοντι μὲν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξείναι στρα-
τηγῷ, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντι τῶν δανειστῶν
ἐπιτεσόντων καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπιλαμβανο-
332
CRASSUS

an influence and a repute equal to that which Pompey possessed from his many and great expeditions. And the experience of each man was peculiar. For Pompey’s name and power were greater in the city when he was away from it, owing to his campaigns; but when he was at home, he was often less powerful than Crassus, because the pomp and circumstance of his life led him to shun crowds, retire from the forum, and render aid to a few only of those who asked it of him, and then with no great zest, that he might keep his influence the more unimpaired for use in his own behalf. But Crassus was continually ready with his services, was ever at hand and easy of access, and always took an active part in the enterprises of the hour, and so by the universal kindness of his behaviour won the day over his rival’s haughty bearing. But in dignity of person, persuasiveness of speech, and winning grace of feature, both were said to be alike gifted.

However, this eager rivalry did not carry Crassus away into anything like hatred or malice; he was merely vexed that Pompey and Caesar should be honoured above himself, but he did not associate this ambition of his with enmity or malevolence. It is true that once when Caesar had been captured by pirates in Asia and was held a close prisoner by them,1 he exclaimed: “O Crassus, how great a pleasure wilt thou taste when thou hearest of my capture!” But afterwards, at least, they were on friendly terms with one another, and once when Caesar was on the point of setting out for Spain as praetor, and had no money, and his creditors descended upon him and began to attach his outfit,

1 See Plutarch’s Caesar, chapter ii.
μένων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ περιείδειν, ἀλλ' ἀπήλλαξεν ὑποθείς αὐτὸν ἐγγυνον τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτακοσίων
7 ταλάντων. καθόλου δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς τρεῖς νενεμημένης δυνάμεις, τὴν Πομπηίου, τὴν Καίσαρος, τὴν Κράσσου (Κάτωνος γὰρ ἡ δόξα μείζων ἢ τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον πλέον ἵσχυν), ἢ μὲν ἔμφρων καὶ καθεστῶσα μερίς ἐν τῇ πόλει Πομπηίου ἔθεράπευε, τὸ δ' ὅξυ καὶ φερόμενον μετ' εὐχερείας ταῖς Καίσαρος ἐλπίσων ἐπηκο-
8 λυθεί, Κράσσου δὲ μέσος ὦν ἀμφοτέραις ἔχρητο, καὶ πλείστας μεταβολὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβαλ-
λόμενος οὐτε φίλος ἢν βέβαιος οὐτε ἀνήκεστος ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ ραδίως καὶ χάριτος καὶ ὁργὴς
ἐξεπιτευχέν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὡστε πολλάκις μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλάκις δὲ νόμων ἐν ὀλίγῳ
φανήσας τῶν αὐτῶν συνήγορος καὶ ἀντίδικος.
9 ἵσχυν δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ φόβῳ, φόβῳ δ' οὐκ ἔλαττον. ὁ γοῦν πλείστα πράγματα παρασχὼν
τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσι καὶ δημαγωγοῖς, Σικύνιος, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τί δὴ μόνον οὐ σπαράττει τὸν
Κράσσου, ἀλλὰ παρίσι, χῶρτον αὐτὸν ἐχεῖν ἐφεσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος. εἰώθεσαν δὲ Ῥωμαίοι
τὸν κυρίττουν τῶν βωδῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι
tούς ἐντυγχάνοντας χῶρτο περιελίσεων τῷ κέρας.

VIII. Ἡ δὲ τῶν μονομάχων ἐπανάστασις καὶ
κατακαταλέξι πῆς Ἰταλίας, ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ Σπαρτάκεων
πόλεμον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοιαύτης
αἰτίας. Δέντλου τινὸς Βατιάτου μονομάχους ἐν
Καπύῃ τρέφοντος, ὡν οἱ πολλοὶ Γαλάται καὶ
CRASSUS

Crassus did not leave him in the lurch, but freed him from embarrassment by making himself his surety for eight hundred and thirty talents. And when all Rome was divided into three powerful parties, that of Pompey, that of Caesar, and that of Crassus (for Cato's reputation was greater than his power, and men admired him more than they followed him), it was the thoughtful and conservative part of the city which attached itself to Pompey, the violent and volatile part which supported the hopes of Caesar, while Crassus took a middle ground and drew from both. He made very many changes in his political views, and was neither a steadfast friend nor an implacable enemy, but readily abandoned both his favours and his resentments at the dictates of his interests, so that, frequently, within a short space of time, the same men and the same measures found in him both an advocate and an opponent. And he had great influence, both from the favours which he bestowed and the fear which he inspired, but more from the fear. At any rate, Sicinnius, who gave the greatest annoyance to the magistrates and popular leaders of his day, when asked why Crassus was the only one whom he let alone and did not worry, said that the man had hay on his horn. Now the Romans used to coil hay about the horn of an ox that gored, so that those who encountered it might be on their guard.¹

VIII. The insurrection of the gladiators and their devastation of Italy, which is generally called the war of Spartacus,² had its origin as follows. A certain Lentulus Batiatus had a school of gladiators at Capua, most of whom were Gauls and Thracians.

¹ Cf. foenum habet in cornu. Hor. Sat. i. 4, 34. ² 73–71 B.C.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Θράκες ἦσαν, έξ αυτῶν οὐ ποιηρῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀδικία τοῦ πριαμένου συνειρχέντες ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τῷ 2 μονομαχεῖν, ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν διακόσιοι φεύγειν, γενομένης δὲ μηνύσεως οἱ προαισθόμενοι καὶ φθάσαντες ὅγδοκοντα δυνῆν δέοντες ἐκ τίνος ὀπτανείον κοτίδας ἀράμευοι καὶ ὀβελίσκους ἔπειπῆδον, ἐνυχώντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὄδον ἀμάξιας ὁπλα κομιζούσας μονομάχων εἰς ἐτέραν πόλιν ἀφήρπασαν καὶ ὄψισαντο· καὶ τόπον τινὰ καρτερὸν καταλαβόντες ἤγεμόνας εἴλοντο τρεῖς, ὅν πρῶτος ἦν Σπάρτακος, ἀνὴρ Θράξ τοῦ Νο- μαδικοῦ γένους, οὐ μόνον φρόνιμα μέγα καὶ ρώμην ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει καὶ πραοτητί τῆς τύχης 3 ἁμείων καὶ τοῦ γένους Ἑλληνικότερος. τούτῳ δὲ λέγοντι, ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς Ἦχοθη, ὃς ὃν τοὺς κοιμωμένων περιπετειγμένων φανόναι περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἡ γυνὴ δὲ ὅμορφος οὕσα τοῦ Σπάρτάκου, μαντικὴ δὲ καὶ κάτοχος τοῖς περὶ τῶν Διόνυσου ὀργιασμοῖς, ἐφραζέ τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι μεγάλος καὶ φοβερὰς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς εὕτυχες 1 τέλος ἐσοφένης δυνάμεως· ἢ καὶ τότε συνὴν αὐτῷ καὶ συνέφευγε.

IX. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Καπνής ἐλθόντας ὠσάμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ὄπλων ἐπικαβόμενοι πολεμιστηρίων ἀσμενοὶ ταῦτα μεταλάβανον, ἀπορρίπτας ὅσ’ ἄτιμα καὶ βάρβαρα τὰ τῶν μονομάχων· ἑπείτα Κλωδίου στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τρισχειλίων πεμφθέντος ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦς ἐν ὧρει μίαν ἔχοντι καὶ χαλεπήν καὶ

1 εὕτυχες MSS. (including S), Coraës, and Sintenis; Sintenis and Bekker adopt ἀτυχες, Reiske's correction (an unfortunate issue).
CRASSUS

Through no misconduct of theirs, but owing to the injustice of their owner, they were kept in close confinement and reserved for gladiatorial combats. Two hundred of these planned to make their escape, and when information was laid against them, those who got wind of it and succeeded in getting away, seventy-eight in number, seized cleavers and spits from some kitchen and sallied out. On the road they fell in with waggons conveying gladiators' weapons to another city; these they plundered and armed themselves. Then they took up a strong position and elected three leaders. The first of these was Spartacus, a Thracian of Nomadic stock, possessed not only of great courage and strength, but also in sagacity and culture superior to his fortune, and more Hellenic than Thracian. It is said that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen coiled about his face as he slept, and his wife, who was of the same tribe as Spartacus, a prophetess, and subject to visitations of the Dionysiac frenzy, declared it the sign of a great and formidable power which would attend him to a fortunate issue. This woman shared in his escape and was then living with him.

IX. To begin with, the gladiators repulsed the soldiers who came against them from Capua, and getting hold of many arms of real warfare, they gladly took these in exchange for their own, casting away their gladiatorial weapons as dishonourable and barbarous. Then Clodius the praetor was sent out from Rome against them with three thousand soldiers, and laid siege to them on a hill which had but one ascent, and that a narrow and difficult one,
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

2 στενὴν ἄνοδον, ἢν οὐ Κλώδιος ἐφρούρει, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα κρημνοὺς ἀποτόμους καὶ λισσάδας, ἀμπελοῦν δὲ πολλὴν ἀγρίαν ἐπιτολῆς πεφυκνίαν, ἔτεμνον τῶν κλημάτων τὰ χρύσιμα, καὶ συμπλέκοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν κλιμακίδας εὐτόνους καὶ βαθείας, ὡστ' ἀνοθεν ἀνηρτημένας παρὰ τὸ κρημνώδες ἀπτεσθαί τῶν ἐπιπέδων, κατέβαινον ἴσφαλῶς δι’ αὐτῶν πλὴν ἐνός. οὔτος δὲ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἑνεκα μένας, ἐπεὶ κατέβησαν, ἤφει κάτω τὰ ὀπλα καὶ βαλῶν ἀπαντα τελευταῖος ἀπεσώζετο καὶ αὐτὸς. ταῦτ’ ἤγνωσον οἱ Ρωμαῖοι: διὸ καὶ περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς ἐξέπληκαν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ, καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης ἐλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ προσεικόνυτο πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ βοτήρων καὶ ποιμένων αὐτοῖς, πλήκται καὶ ποδόκεις ἀνδρεῖς, ὃν τούς μὲν ὀπλίζον, τοὺς δὲ προδρόμους καὶ ψυλοῖς ἔχρωντο.

4 Δεύτερος ἐκπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς Πούπλιος Βαρίνος, οὗ πρώτα μὲν ὑποστρατηγὸν τινα Φούριον ἔχοντα δισχελίους στρατιώτας ἐτρέψαντο συμβαλόντες. ἐπειτα σύμβουλον αὐτῷ καὶ συνάρχοντα Κοσσίνου ἀποσταλέντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτηρήσας ο Σπάρτακος λουόμενον περὶ Σαλίνας, μικρὸν ἐξῆσε συναρπάσαι.

5 χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις ἐκφυγόντος εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, ἐκ ποδὸς δὲ κατέχον καὶ διόκων φόνῳ πολλῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλεν. ἐπεσε δὲ καὶ Κοσσίνος. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄλλας μάχαις πολλάς καταγωνισάμενος, τέλος δὲ τοὺς τε παρθενοὺς καὶ τὸν ὑπὸν αὐτοῦ
CRASSUS

which Clodius closely watched; everywhere else there were smooth and precipitous cliffs. But the top of the hill was covered with a wild vine of abundant growth, from which the besieged cut off the serviceable branches, and wove these into strong ladders of such strength and length that when they were fastened at the top they reached along the face of the cliff to the plain below. On these they descended safely, all but one man, who remained above to attend to the arms. When the rest had got down, he began to drop the arms, and after he had thrown them all down, got away himself also last of all in safety. Of all this the Romans were ignorant, and therefore their enemy surrounded them, threw them into consternation by the suddenness of the attack, put them to flight, and took their camp. They were also joined by many of the herds-men and shepherds of the region, sturdy men and swift of foot, some of whom they armed fully, and employed others as scouts and light infantry.

In the second place, Publius Varinus, the praetor, was sent out against them, whose lieutenant, a certain Furius, with two thousand soldiers, they first engaged and routed; then Spartacus narrowly watched the movements of Cossinius, who had been sent out with a large force to advise and assist Varinus in the command, and came near seizing him as he was bathing near Salinae. Cossinius barely escaped with much difficulty, and Spartacus at once seized his baggage, pressed hard upon him in pursuit, and took his camp with great slaughter. Cossinius also fell. By defeating the praetor himself in many battles, and finally capturing his lictors and the very horse he rode, Spartacus was soon great and

339
λαβὼν, ἦδη μὲν μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν, ἐφρόνει δὲ τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς τὸν στρατόν, οἴμενος δὲιν ὑπερβαλόντας αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χωρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Ἰθάκην, τοὺς δὲ εἰς Γαλατίαν. οἱ δὲ πληθεὶ τε ὄντες ἵσχυροι καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες οὐχ ὑπῆκουν, ἀλλ' ἐπορθοῦν ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν.

Ὃκετ' οὖν τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἡμώ-χλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ δὴ διὰ φόβου τε καὶ κίνδυνον ὡς πρὸς ἕνα τῶν δυσκο-λωτάτων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξή-7 πεμπον τοὺς ὑπάτους. ὃν Γέλλιος μὲν τὸ Γερ-μανικὸν ὑβρεῖ καὶ φρονήματι τῶν Σπαρτακείων ἀποσχισθέν ξαίρετος ἐμπεσὼν ἀπαν διεφθειρε, Δευτέρω δὲ τῶν Σπάρτακων μεγάλων στρατο-πέδων περιλαβόντος ὁμοίας ὁμόσε καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἐκράτησε μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, ἐλαβε δὲ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀπασαν. ἀκοιμημένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς Κάσσιον ὁ τῆς περὶ Πάδου Γαλατίας στρατηγὸς ἔχουν μυρίων ἄπηγνησε καὶ γενομένης μάχης κρατηθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν μόλις αὐτὸς ἐξέφυγε.

Χ. Ταύθ' ἡ βουλὴ πυθομένη τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους πρὸς ὅργην ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, Κράσσου δὲ τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγὸν εἶλετο καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ φίλιαν συνεστράτευον τῶν ἐπι-φανῶν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπέμεινε πρὸ τῆς Πικενίδος ὡς τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐκεὶ φερόμενον δεξόμενος, Μόμ-
CRASSUS

formidable; but he took a proper view of the situation, and since he could not expect to overcome the Roman power, began to lead his army toward the Alps, thinking it necessary for them to cross the mountains and go to their respective homes, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But his men were now strong in numbers and full of confidence, and would not listen to him, but went ravaging over Italy.

It was now no longer the indignity and disgrace of the revolt that harassed the senate, but they were constrained by their fear and peril to send both consuls into the field, as they would to a war of the utmost difficulty and magnitude. Gellius, one of the consuls, fell suddenly upon the Germans, who were so insolent and bold as to separate themselves from the main body of Spartacus, and cut them all to pieces; but when Lentulus, the other consul, had surrounded the enemy with large forces, Spartacus rushed upon them, joined battle, defeated the legates of Lentulus, and seized all their baggage. Then, as he was forcing his way towards the Alps, he was met by Cassius, the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, with an army of ten thousand men, and in the battle that ensued, Cassius was defeated, lost many men, and escaped himself with difficulty.

X. On learning of this, the Senate angrily ordered the consuls to keep quiet, and chose Crassus to conduct the war, and many of the nobles were induced by his reputation and their friendship for him to serve under him. Crassus himself, accordingly, took position on the borders of Picenum, expecting to receive the attack of Spartacus, who was hastening thither; and he sent Mummius, his
μον δὲ πρεσβευτὴν ἀγοντα δύο τῶν ματα κύκλων περιέπυκιν, ἐπεσθαί κελεύσας τοὺς πολέμους, 2 συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ μὴ μηδὲ ἄδιδοικχείν. ὁ δὲ άμα τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπ’ ἐλαπίδος γενέσθαι μάχην θέμενος ἤττήθη, καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεσον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνευ τῶν ὀξὺν φεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μόμμιον ἐδέξατο τράχεως, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀπλίζων ἀθίς ἐγγυητὰς ἤτεί τῶν ὀξὺν, ὅτι φυλάξουσι, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοὺς πρώτους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τρέσαντας, εἰς πεντήκοντα διανεῖμας δεκάδας ἀφ’ ἐκάστης ἀπέκτεινεν ἢ ἐνα τοῦ κλήρῳ λαχόντα, πάτριον τι τούτο διὰ πολλῶν χρῶν κόλασμα τοῖς στρατιῶταῖς

3 ἐπαγαγών. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχύνη τοῦ θανάτου τῷ τρόπῳ πρόσεστι, καὶ δρᾶται πολλὰ φρικώδη καὶ σκυθρωπὰ περὶ τὴν κόλασιν ἀπάντων θεωμένων.

Οὕτω δ’ ἐπιστρέψας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς 549 πολέμους. ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος ὑπεξεχώρησε διὰ Λευκανίας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν δὲ πορθμῷ λυστρίσει Κιλίσσας ἐπιτυχῶν ὁρμησεν ἦφασθαι Σικελίας καὶ δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν νῆσον αθίς ἐξωτυπρῆσας τὸν δουλικὸν ἐκεῖ πολέμου, ὀὔπω πολὺν χρόνου ἀπεσβηκότα καὶ

4 μικρὸν πάλιν ὑπεκκαιμάτως δεόμενον. ὁμολογήσαντες δὲ οἱ Κιλίκες αὐτῷ καὶ ὅρα λαβόντες ἐξηπαίτησαν καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν. οὕτω δὴ πάλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναζεύξας ἐκάθισε τῶν στρατῶν εἰς τὴν Ῥηγίνων χερσῶν. ἐπελθὼν δ’ ὁ Κράσσος, καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν ὄρων ὑφηγομένην τὸ δέον, ὁρμήσαν ἀποτείχισα τὸν
CRASSUS

legate, with two legions, by a circuitous route, with orders to follow the enemy, but not to join battle nor even skirmish with them. Mummius, however, at the first promising opportunity, gave battle and was defeated; many of his men were slain, and many of them threw away their arms and fled for their lives. Crassus gave Mummius himself a rough reception, and when he armed his soldiers anew, made them give pledges that they would keep their arms. Five hundred of them, moreover, who had shown the greatest cowardice and been first to fly, he divided into fifty decades, and put to death one from each decade, on whom the lot fell, thus reviving, after the lapse of many years, an ancient mode of punishing the soldiers. For disgrace also attaches to this manner of death, and many horrible and repulsive features attend the punishment, which the whole army witnesses.

When he had thus disciplined his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus avoided him, and retired through Lucania to the sea. At the Straits, he chanced upon some Cilician pirate craft, and determined to seize Sicily. By throwing two thousand men into the island, he thought to kindle anew the servile war there, which had not long been extinguished, and needed only a little additional fuel. But the Cilicians, after coming to terms with him and receiving his gifts, deceived him and sailed away. So Spartacus marched back again from the sea and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium. Crassus now came up, and observing that the nature of the place suggested what must be done, he determined to build a wall

1 102–99 B.C.
υσθμόν, ἄμα καὶ τὴν σχολὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν 5 ύφαιρων καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν πολεμίων. μέγα μὲν οὖν ἦν καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἦνυσε δὲ καὶ κατειργάσατο παρὰ δόξαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, τάφρον ἐμβαλὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αὐχένος σταδίων τριακοσίων, εὐρος δὲ καὶ βάθος ἵσον πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν. ύπὲρ δὲ τῆς τάφρου 6 τεῖχος ἔστησεν ὑψεῖ καὶ ῥώμη θαυμαστοῦ. δὴν ὁ Σπάρτακος ἦμέλει καὶ κατεφρόνει τὸ πρῶτον. ὡς δὲ τῆς λείας ἐπιλειποῦσας προϊέναι βουλόμενος συνεῖδε τὸν ἀποτειχισμὸν καὶ λαμβάνειν οὐδὲν ἦν ἐκ τῆς χερσονῆς, νῦκτα νυφετώδη καὶ πνευμά τι χειμέριον παραφυλάξας ἔχωσε τῆς τάφρου μέρος οὐ πολὺ γῆ καὶ ἴλη καὶ κλάδοις δένδρων, ὡστε τῆς στρατιάς περαιώσαι τὸ τρίτον.

XI. Ἔφοβηθή μὲν οὖν ὁ Κράσσος μὴ λάβοι τις ὄρμῃ τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐπὶ τὴν Ρώμην ἐλαύνειν, ἐθάρρησε δὲ πολλῶν ἐκ διαφορὰς ἀποστάντων αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατοπεδευσμένων καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Λευκανίδος λίμνης, ἦν φασὶ τρέπεσθαι διὰ χρόνου γινομένη γλυκείαν καὶ αὕτης ἄλμυρὰν καὶ ἀποτον. τούτοις ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κράσσος ἐξέσως μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης, ἀφηρέθη δὲ τὸν φόνον καὶ τὴν δίωξιν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανεύσως ἐξέσω τοῦ Σπαρτάκου καὶ τὴν φυγήν ἐπιστῆσαντος.

2 Γεγραφὼς δὲ τῇ βουλῇ πρῶτερον ὡς χρῆ καὶ Δούκουλλου ἐκ Θράκης καλεῖν καὶ Πομπῆίου ἔξ
CRASSUS

across the isthmus, thereby at once keeping his soldiers from idleness, and his enemies from provi-
sions. Now the task was a huge one and difficult, but he accomplished and finished it, contrary to all expectation, in a short time, running a ditch from sea to sea through the neck of land three hundred furlongs in length and fifteen feet in width and depth alike. Above the ditch he also built a wall of astonishing height and strength. All this work Spartacus neglected and despised at first; but soon his provisions began to fail, and when he wanted to sally forth from the peninsula, he saw that he was walled in, and that there was nothing more to be had there. He therefore waited for a snowy night and a wintry storm, when he filled up a small portion of the ditch with earth and timber and the boughs of trees, and so threw a third part of his force across.

XI. Crassus was now in fear lest some impulse to march upon Rome should seize Spartacus, but took heart when he saw that many of the gladiator’s men had seceded after a quarrel with him, and were encamped by themselves on a Lucanian lake. This lake, they say, changes from time to time in the character of its water, becoming sweet, and then again bitter and undrinkable. Upon this detachment Crassus fell, and drove them away from the lake, but he was robbed of the slaughter and pursuit of the fugitives by the sudden appearance of Spartacus, who checked their flight.

Before this Crassus had written to the senate that they must summon Lucullus from Thrace and Pompey from Spain, but he was sorry now that he

Marcus Lucullus, brother of Lucius.

345
'Ιβηρίας, μετενοεῖ, καὶ πρὶν ἥκειν ἔκεινος ἐσπευδὴ διαπράξασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, εἴδως ὅτι τοῦ προσ-
γενομένου καὶ βοηθῆσαισθος, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὸ κατόρ-
θωμα δόξει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν διαγνώσας τοῖς ἀφεστῶσι καὶ κατ' ἱδίαν στρατευμένοις, ὃν ἄφη-
γοῦντο Γάιος Καυνίκιος καὶ Κάστος, ἐπιθέσθαι,
λόφον τινὰ προκαταληψουμένους ἄνδρας ἔξακισχι-
λίους ἀπέστειλε, λαυθάνειν πειράσθαι κελεύσας.
3 οἴ δ' ἐπειρώντο μὲν τὴν αὐθησίν ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ κράτη καταμπέχοντες, ὀφθέντες δ' ὑπὸ δυνῶν
γυναικῶν προθυμομένων τοὺς πολέμους ἐκινδύνευ-
σαν, εἰ μὴ Κράσσος ἄξεως ἐπιφανείς μάχην
ἐθετο πασῶν καρτεροτάτην, ἐν ἡ τριακοσίοις ἐπὶ
dισχίλιοι καὶ μυρίοις καταβαλὼν δύο μόνων
ἐβρε κατὰ νῦτον τετραμένους, οἴ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες
ἐστῶτες ἐν τάξει καὶ μαχόμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἀπέθανον.
4 Σπαρτάκης δὲ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἦτταν ἀνα-
χωροῦτι πρὸς τὰ ὅρη τὰ Πετηλίνα, Κόιντος τῶν
περὶ Κράσσον ἡγεμόνων καὶ Σκρώφας ταμίας
ἐξαπτόμενοι παρηκολούθουν. ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ
γίνεται φυγῆ μεγάλη τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μόλις
τρωθέντα τῶν ταμίαν ἀρπάσαντες ἀπεσώθησαν.
τοῦτο τὸν Σπάρτακον ἀπώλεσε τὸ κατόρθωμα,
5 φρονήματος ἐπιγενομένου τοῖς δραπέταις. οὐκέτι
γὰρ ἥξιον φυγομαχεῖν οὐδ' ἐπείδοντο τοῖς
ἀρχηγοῖς, ἀλλ' ἤδη καθ' ὅδον ὄντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
περισσοχόντες ἡμάγκασαν αὕτης ὀπίσω διὰ τῆς
Λευκανίας ἀγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰς ταύτῳ τῷ
CRASSUS

had done so, and was eager to bring the war to an end before those generals came. He knew that the success would be ascribed to the one who came up with assistance, and not to himself. Accordingly, in the first place, he determined to attack those of the enemy who had seceded from the rest and were campaigning on their own account (they were commanded by Caius Canicius and Castus), and with this in view, sent out six thousand men to preoccupy a certain eminence, bidding them keep their attempt a secret. And they did try to elude observation by covering up their helmets, but they were seen by two women who were sacrificing for the enemy, and would have been in peril of their lives had not Crassus quickly made his appearance and given battle, the most stubbornly contested of all; for although he slew twelve thousand three hundred men in it, he found only two who were wounded in the back. The rest all died standing in the ranks and fighting the Romans.

After the defeat of this detachment, Spartacus retired to the mountains of Petelia, followed closely by Quintus, one of the officers of Crassus, and by Scrophas, the quaestor, who hung upon the enemy's rear. But when Spartacus faced about, there was a great rout of the Romans, and they barely managed to drag the quaestor, who had been wounded, away into safety. This success was the ruin of Spartacus, for it filled his slaves with over-confidence. They would no longer consent to avoid battle, and would not even obey their leaders, but surrounded them as soon as they began to march, with arms in their hands, and forced them to lead back through Lucania against the Romans, the very thing which Crassus
Κράσσωσ σπεύδοντες. ἦδη γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος προσών ἀπηγγέλλετο· καὶ δὴ ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντες ἦσαν οὐκ ὄλγοι τὴν νίκην ἐκείνης τοῦ πολέμου προσήκειν· ἔλθοντα γὰρ εὐθὺς μαχεῖσθαι καὶ καταλύσειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπειγόμενος οὖν διαγωνίζοντα καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύοντας τοὺς πολεμίους ὄρυττε τάφρον, πρὸς ἣν ἐκπηδόντες οἱ δούλοι προσεμάχοντο τοῖς ἐργαζόμενοι. ἀλλὰ δὲ πλείωνων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκβολῆσαι τῶν ὑποπτών ὅρων τὴν ἀνάγκην ὁ Σπάρτακος ἄπαν παρέταξε τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ὕππου προσαχθέντος αὐτῷ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι νικῶν μὲν ἐχει πολλῶν ὑποπτῶς καὶ καλῶς τῶν πολεμίων, ἡμῶνομενος δὲ οὐ δεῖται, κατεσφαξε τῶν ὕππων ἐπείτα πρὸς Κράσσων αὐτὸν ὠθοῦμοι διὰ πολλῶν ὄπλων καὶ τραυμάτων ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν, ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ δύο συμπεσόντας ἄνειλε.

7 τέλος δὲ φυγόντων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς ἐστὼς καὶ κυκλώθηκε ὕπο τοῦ πολλῶν ἀμυνόμενος κατεκότη. Κράσσων δὲ τῇ τύχῃ χρησαμένου καὶ στρατηγήσαντος ἄριστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κινδύνῳ παρασχόμενος, ὄμως ὅποι διεφυγε τὸ κατόρθωμα τῆς Πομπήιος δόξαν. οἱ γὰρ διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες αὐτῷ διεφθάρησαν, ὡς τε καὶ γράφαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι μάχη μὲν τους δραπέτες φανερὰ Κράσσος νεκρίκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τὴν ρίζαν ἀνήρρησε. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Σερτωρίου καὶ

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1 διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες Coraës' correction of the MSS. διαπεσόντες. Cf. Pompey, xx. 1, from which Graux would correct δια<πεσόντες εκ τῆς μάχης πεντακοσίων περί>πε-σόντες.

348
CRASSUS

also most desired. For Pompey's approach was already announced, and there were not a few who publicly proclaimed that the victory in this war belonged to him; he had only to come and fight and put an end to the war. Crassus, therefore, pressed on to finish the struggle himself, and having encamped near the enemy, began to dig a trench. Into this the slaves leaped and began to fight with those who were working there, and since fresh men from both sides kept coming up to help their comrades, Spartacus saw the necessity that was upon him, and drew up his whole army in order of battle.

In the first place, when his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword, and saying that if he won the day he would have many fine horses of the enemy's, but if he lost it he did not want any, he slew his horse. Then pushing his way towards Crassus himself through many flying weapons and wounded men, he did not indeed reach him, but slew two centurions who fell upon him together. Finally, after his companions had taken to flight, he stood alone, surrounded by a multitude of foes, and was still defending himself when he was cut down. But although Crassus had been fortunate, had shown most excellent generalship, and had exposed his person to danger, nevertheless, his success did not fail to enhance the reputation of Pompey. For the fugitives from the battle\textsuperscript{1} encountered that general and were cut to pieces, so that he could write to the senate that in open battle, indeed, Crassus had conquered the slaves, but that he himself had extirpated the war. Pompey, accordingly, for his

\textsuperscript{1} Their number is given as five thousand in \textit{Pompey}, xxii. 2.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΑΠΟΙΚΙΩΝ ΕΘΡΙΛΜΕΣ, ΚΡΑΣΟΣ ή τόν μὲν μέγαν θριάμβον ουδ’ αὐτός αὐτεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἑδόκει δὲ καὶ τόν πέζων, οὐκαν δὲ καλούμενον, ἀγεννῶς καὶ παρ’ ἀξίων ἐπὶ δουλικῷ πολέμῳ θριάμβευσαί. τί δ’ οὗτος ἐκείνων διαφέρει, καὶ περί τῆς κλήσεως, ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.

XII. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοῦ Πομπηίου αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τήν ὑπατείαν καλούμενον, ἐλπίδας ἐχὼν ὁ Κράσσος συνάρξειν ὁμοίως οὐκ ἀκύνησε τοῦ Πομπηίου δεπηῆμαι. δεξάμενος δὲ τῆς χρείας ἀσμένους ἐκείνοις (ἐπεθύμει γὰρ ἁμός γε πως ἂεὶ χάριτος τινος ὀφειλότεν λαβεῖν τοῦ Κράσσου) ἐσπούδασε προθύμως, καὶ τέλος εἰπεν ἐκκλησιάζων ὡς οὐκ ἔλαττονα περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος

2 ἐξει χάριν ἡ περὶ τῆς ἁρχῆς. οὐ μὴν ἐμείναν ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς φιλοφροσύνης εἰς τήν ἁρχὴν καταστάντας, ἀλλ’ ὅλως δεῖν περὶ πάντων διαφερομένων καὶ πάντα δυσκολαίνουτες ἀλλῆλοις καὶ φιλονεικοῦντες ἀπολύτευτον καὶ ἄπρακτον αὐτοῖς τήν ὑπατείαν ἐποίησαν, πλὴν ὅτι Κράσσος Ἡρακλείς μεγάλην θυσίαν ποιησάμενος εἰστίασε τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ μυρίων τραπεζῶν καὶ σῖτον

3 ἐμέτρησεν εἰς τρίμηνον. ἦδη δὲ τῆς ἁρχῆς αὐτοῖς τελευτώσης ἔτυχον μὲν ἐκκλησιάζουτες, ἀνήρ δὲ τις οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἵππεως Ῥωμαίων, ἄγροικος δὲ τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἰδιώτης, Ὀνάτιος Ἡρώνιος, ἀναβας ἐπὶ τῷ βήμα καὶ προελθὼν ὁψὶν διηγείτο κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς αὐτῶ γενομένην. "Ο γὰρ

1 Ὀνάτιος in Pompey, xxiii. 1, Γάιος. Graux would therefore read here ὑματι Γάιος.
2 προελθῶν with Stephanus, Coraës, and S: προελθών.
victories over Sertorius and in Spain, celebrated a splendid triumph; but Crassus, for all his self-approval, did not venture to ask for the major triumph, and it was thought ignoble and mean in him to celebrate even the minor triumph on foot, called the ovation, for a servile war. How the minor triumph differs from the major, and why it is named as it is, has been told in my life of Marcellus.¹

XII. After this, Pompey was at once asked to stand for the consulship, and Crassus, although he had hopes of becoming his colleague, did not hesitate to ask Pompey’s assistance. Pompey received his request gladly (for he was desirous of having Crassus, in some way or other, always in debt to him for some favour), and eagerly promoted his candidature, and finally said in a speech to the assembly that he should be no less grateful to them for the colleague than for the office which he desired. However, when once they had assumed office,² they did not remain on this friendly basis, but differed on almost every measure, quarrelled with one another about everything, and by their contentiousness rendered their consulship barren politically and without achievement, except that Crassus made a great sacrifice in honour of Hercules, feasted the people at ten thousand tables, and made them an allowance of grain for three months. And when at last their term of office was closing, and they were addressing the assembly, a certain man, not a noble, but a Roman knight, rustic and rude in his way of life, Onatius Aurelius, mounted the rostra and recounted to the audience a vision that had come to him in his sleep. “Jupiter,” he said, “appeared to me

¹ Chapter xxii. ² 70 B.C.

Χ.Π. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπατεία τοῦ Κράσσου ταῦτ’ ἔσχεν ἄξια μνήμης, ἥ δὲ τιμητεία παντάπασιν ἀτελής καὶ ἀπρακτὸς αὐτῷ διήλθεν, οὕτε γὰρ βουλῆς ἐξέτασιν οὖθ’ ἵππεων ἐπίσκεψιν οὔτ’ ἀποτίμησιν πολιτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καίτοι συν-ἀρχοντα Ρωμαίων ἔχοντι τὸν πραύτατον Δου-τάτιον Κάτλον. ἦλλ’ φασιν ἐπὶ δεινὸν ὁρμήσαντι τῷ Κράσσῳ πολίτευμα καὶ βίαιον, Αἰγυπτίων ποιεῖν ὑποτελῆ Ρωμαίοις, ἀντιβήμαι τὸν Κάτλον ἐρρομένως· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενομένης διαφορᾶς ἐκόντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῦ δεῖγμαν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην, ἦψατο μὲν τὰς ὑπόνοια τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ προσ-ήλθεν ἀνθρώπως οἰκομάξων ἀπὸ τῆς συνομοσίας, ὡδεὶς δὲ ἐπίστευσεν, ὡμοίος δ’ ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καῖσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστριβόμενος. ἀλλ’ οὕτως μὲν ὁ λόγος ἔξεσθη μετὰ τὴν ἁμφοῖν τελευτῆν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ὑπατείας
CRASSUS

and bade me declare in public that you should not suffer your consuls to lay down their office until they become friends." When the man said this and the people urged a reconciliation, Pompey, for his part, stood motionless, but Crassus took the initiative, clasped him by the hand, and said: "Fellow-citizens, I think there is nothing humiliating or unworthy in my taking the first step towards good-will and friendship with Pompey, to whom you gave the title of 'Great' before he had grown a beard, and voted him a triumph before he was a senator."

XIII. Such, then, were the memorable things in the consulship of Crassus, but his censorship passed without any results or achievements whatever. He neither made a revision of the senate, nor a scrutiny of the knights, nor a census of the people, although he had Lutatius Catulus, the gentlest of the Romans, for his colleague. But they say that when Crassus embarked upon the dangerous and violent policy of making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus opposed him vigorously, whereupon, being at variance, both voluntarily laid down their office.

In the affair of Catiline, which was very serious, and almost subversive of Rome, some suspicion attached itself to Crassus, and a man publicly named him as one of the conspirators, but nobody believed him. Nevertheless, Cicero, in one of his orations, plainly inculpated Crassus and Caesar. This oration, it is true, was not published until after both were dead; but in the treatise upon his consulship,

¹ 65 B.C. ² 63–62 B.C. ³ Not extant.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ο Κικέρων νύκτωρ φησὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζοντα 1 τὰ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν ἔξηγομένην, ὡς ἦδη βεβαιοῦντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν. ὁ δὲ ὁν Κράσσος ἅπα μὲν ἐμῖσει τὸν Κικέρωνα διὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ βλάπτειν ἀναφανθὸν ἐμποδῶν εἰς τὸν νόν. ὁ γὰρ Πόπλιος ὃν φιλολόγος καὶ φιλομάθης ἔξηγε τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡστε καὶ συμμεταβαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κρινομένῳ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς νέους ταύτα ποιοῦντας παρασχεῖν. τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα πείσας φίλον ἐποίησε τ. XI. Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ ὡς ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσάγεις, παρασκευαζόμενος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι καὶ Κράσσον ὅρων καὶ Πομπήιον αὐθείς ἐν διαφοραῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅντας, οὔτε θατέρου δεηθεὶς ἐβουλεύτω λαβεῖν ἔχθραν τὸν ἔτερον, οὔτε μηδετέρου συνεργοῦντος ἠλπίζε κατορθώσειν. 2 ἔπραττεν οὖν διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῖς προσκείμενος καὶ διδάσκοντος ὃς καταλύοντες ἀλλήλους αὐξοῦσι Κικέρωνας καὶ Κάτων καὶ Κάτωνας, ὃν ὀυδεὶς λόγος, ἃν ἐκεῖνοι συνενεγκόντες εἰς ταύτῃ τὰς φιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας ἐν κράτει καὶ μὲν γνώμη τὴν πόλιν ἀγωσίν. πείσας δὲ καὶ διαλλάξας συνήγαγε καὶ συνείσηθεν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν ἰσχύν ἀμαχοῦ, ἥ κατέλυε τ. Ρωμαίων τὴν βούλην καὶ τὸν ὄμον, οὐκ ἐκείνους δι’ ἀλλήλων μείζονας, ἀλλὰ δ’ ἐκείνων ἐαυτὸν μέγιστον ἀπεργασάμενος. 3 εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀρθεὶς ὑπ’ ἀμφοτέρων ὑπάτως ἀπεδει-

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1 κομίζοντα ... ἔξηγομένην Sintenis’ correction of the MSS. κομίζοντα περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα καὶ ζητομένην, which Coraës and Bekker retain.

354
CRASSUS

Cicero says that Crassus came to him by night with a letter which gave details of the affair of Catiline, and felt that he was at last establishing the fact of a conspiracy. And Crassus, accordingly, always hated Cicero for this, but was kept from doing him any open injury by his son. For Publius Crassus, being given to literature and learning, was attached to Cicero, so much so that he put on mourning when Cicero did at the time of his trial, and prevailed upon the other young men to do the same. And finally he persuaded his father to become Cicero's friend.

XIV. Now when Caesar came back from his province and prepared to seek the consulship, he saw that Pompey and Crassus were once more at odds with each other. He therefore did not wish to make one of them an enemy by asking the aid of the other, nor did he have any hope of success if neither of them helped him. Accordingly, he tried to reconcile them by persistently showing them that their mutual ruin would only increase the power of such men as Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, men whose influence would be nothing if Crassus and Pompey would only unite their friends and adherents, and with one might and one purpose direct the affairs of the city. He persuaded them, reconciled them, and won them both to his support, and constituted with that triumvirate an irresistible power, with which he overthrew the senate and the people, not by making his partners greater, the one through the other, but by making himself greatest of all through them. For owing to the support of both he was

1 Cf. Plutarch's Cicero, xv.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

χθη λαμπρώς. ὑπατεύοντι δ' αυτῷ ἤτηφι σάμενοι στρατευμάτων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐγχειρίσαντες ὥσπερ εἰς ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν, οἱ μὲν οὖν καὶ ήσυχίαν νεμήσεσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκεῖνοι βεβαιούντες ἦν ἔλαχεν ἀρχήν.

4 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀμέτρου ταῦτ' ἐπράττε τῶν δὲ Κράσσου νοσημάτων τὸ ἄρχαίον ἡ φιλοπλούτια καὶ νῦν ἔρωτα προσλαβοῦσα καὶ ζηλοῦν ἐπὶ ταῖς Καίσαρος ἀριστείαις τροπαίων καὶ θριάμβων, οἷς γε μόνοις ἐλαττοῦσθαι προύχοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνήκεν οὐδ' ἐλώφησε πρὶν εἰς ὀλέθρον ἀκλεή καὶ

5 δημοσίας συμφορὰς τελευτήσαι. Καίσαρος γὰρ εἰς Δοῦκαν πόλιν ἐκ Γαλατίας καταβάντος ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ Ῥωμαίοι ἀφίκοντο, καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος ἰδίᾳ συγγενόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Καίσαρος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς μένοντος, ἄλλας δὲ ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα Πομπήίου καὶ Κράσσου λαβὼν.

6 των. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁδὸς ἦν μία δεύτερας ὑπατείας αἰτήσις· ἦν μετιότοτον ἐκείνων ἑδει συμπράττειν Καίσαρα, τοῖς τε φίλοις γράφοντα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμποντα πολλοὺς ἀρχαιοεισάγοντας.

XV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ περὶ Κράσσου εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπανελθόντες εὗθὺς ἦσαν ὑποπτοί, καὶ πολὺς ἐχώρει διὰ πάνων λόγος οὐκ ἐπ' ἤγαθῷ γεγο-1 αὐτῷ after this word καλῶς is bracketed by Sintenis and Bekker.

356
CRASSUS

at once triumphantly elected consul. And during his consulship they voted him armies to command, and put Gaul into his hands, and so, as it were, established him in an acropolis, thinking to share the rest with one another at their leisure if they secured to him his allotted province.

Now Pompey did all this from an unbounded love of power; but to that ancient infirmity of Crassus, his avarice, there was now added a fresh and ardent passion, in view of the glorious exploits of Caesar, for trophies and triumphs. In these alone he thought himself inferior to Caesar, but superior in everything else. And his passion gave him no rest nor peace until it ended in an inglorious death and public calamities. For when Caesar came down to the city of Luca from Gaul, many Romans came thither to meet him, and among them Pompey and Crassus. These held private conferences with Caesar, and the three determined to carry matters with a higher hand, and to make themselves sole masters of the state. Caesar was to remain in his command, while Pompey and Crassus were to take other provinces and armies. But the only way to secure this end was by soliciting a second consulship. Since Pompey and Crassus were candidates for this, Caesar was to co-operate with them by writing letters to his friends and by sending many of his soldiers home to support them at the elections.

XV. With this understanding, Crassus and Pompey returned to Rome, and were at once objects of suspicion; report was rife through the whole city that their meeting with Caesar had been for no good

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1 59 B.C.  2 56 B.C.
νέαι τὴν σύνοδον αυτῶν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ Ἐρμής καὶ Δομίτιον Πομπήιον ἐρωτώντων εἰ μετείχατο ὑπάτειαν, ἀπεκρίνατο τυχόν μὲν 552 μετείχαι, τυχόν δὲ μὴ μετείχαι· καὶ πάλιν ἐρωτώμενος ἐφε μετείχαι τοῖς δικαίοις πολίταις, μὴ 2 μετείχαι δὲ τοῖς ἄδικοις. τούτου δὲ δόξαντος ὑπερήφανος ἀποκρίσεις καὶ τετυφωμένας ποιεῖσθαι μετριώτερον ὁ Κράσσος εἶπεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, μετείχαι τὴν ἁρχὴν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πεπαύσεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τινὲς ἐθάρρησαν ὑπάτειαν μετελθεῖν, ὅν ἦν καὶ Δομίτιος. γενομένων δὲ φανερῶν ἐκείνων ἐν ταῖς παραγγελίαις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι δείσαντες ἀπέστησαν, Δομίτιον δὲ Κάτων οἰκεῖον ὄντα καὶ φίλον ἐθάρρυνεν ἐγκεκλευμένος καὶ παρομών ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐλπίδος ὡς ὑπερμαχοῦντα τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας· οὐ γὰρ ὑπάτειας Πομπήιον δεῖσθαι καὶ Κράσσον, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδος, οὐδὲ ἁρχὴς αὐτῆς, ἄλλ' ἀρπαγήν ἐπαρχῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων εἶναι τὰ πραττόμενα.

3 Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγων οὕτω καὶ φρονῶν ὁ Κάτων μονονοῦ βία προῆληκεν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὸν Δομίτιον, καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς. καὶ τὸ θαυμάζον ὁκὺ ὅλον ἦν, "Τί δὴ δευτέρας οὕτως χρησίσθω ὑπάτειας; τί δὲ πάλιν μετ' ἄλληλων; τί δ' οὐ μεθ' ἑτέρων; πολλοὶ δ' εἰσίν ἄνδρες ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀνάξιοι δῆπον Κράσσῳ καὶ Πομπήίῳ συν-

4 ἀρχεῖν." ἐκ τούτου δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Πομπήίου οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο τῶν ἀκοσμοτάτων καὶ βιαστά
tων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις λόχον ὑφέντες
CRASSUS

purpose. In the senate, also, when Marcellinus and Domitian asked Pompey if he was going to be a candidate for the consulship, he replied that perhaps he was, and perhaps he was not; and when asked the question again, he said he should solicit the votes of the good citizens, but not those of the bad. Since his answers were thought to have been made in pride and arrogance, Crassus said, more modestly, when the question was put to him, that if it was for the interest of the city, he would be a candidate for the office, but otherwise he would desist. For this reason divers persons were emboldened to sue for the consulship, one of whom was Domitian. When, however, Pompey and Crassus openly announced their candidature, the rest took fright and withdrew from the contest; but Cato encouraged Domitian, who was a kinsman and friend of his, to proceed, urging and inciting him to cling to his hopes, assured that he would do battle for the common freedom. For it was not the consulate, he said, which Crassus and Pompey wanted, but a tyranny, nor did their course of action mean simply a canvass for office, but rather a seizure of provinces and armies.

With such words and such sentiments Cato all but forced Domitian to go down to the forum as a candidate, and many joined their party. Many, too, voiced their amazement thus: "Why, pray, should these men want a second consulship? And why once more together? Why not have other colleagues? Surely there are many men among us who are not unworthy to be colleagues of Pompey and Crassus!" Alarmed at this, the partizans of Crassus and Pompey abstained from no disorder or violence, however extreme, and capped the climax by way-
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΩΝ ΛΙΒΕΣ

tô Δομιτίφυς νυκτὸς ἐτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατερχομένως κτείνουσι μὲν τὸν ἀνέχοντα τὸ φῶς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, συνυτρώκουσι δὲ πολλοὺς, ὥν ἦν καὶ Κάτων. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκεῖνον ἀνηγορευθησαν ὑπατον καὶ μετ' οὕ πολὺν χρόνον αὐθίς ὠπλευς περισσότερες τὸ βῆμα καὶ τῶν Κάτωνα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκβαλόντες καὶ τινας ὑποστάντας ἀποκτείναντες, Καίσαρι μὲν ἄλλην ἔπεδοσαν πενταετίαν τῆς ἁρχῆς, αὐτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχίων ἐψηφίσαντο Συρίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίας συναμφότερας. κληρομένων δὲ Συρίαν ἑλαχε Κράσσου, τὰ δ' Ἰβηρικὰ Πομπήιος.

XVI. Ἡν δὲ οὐκ ἀκούσιον ὁ κῆρος ἀπασίων. οὐ τε γὰρ πολλοὶ Πομπῆιον μὴ μακρὰν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως ἐβούλοντο, καὶ Πομπῆιος ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικοῦκος αὐτόθι τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβειν ἐμελλε, Κράσσου δὲ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς εὑθὺς ἐκπεσόντο τῷ κλήρῳ καταφανῆς ἢν οὐδὲν εὐτύχημα λαμπρότερον ἐαυτῷ γεγονέναι τοῦ παρόντος ἡρόιμενος, ὡς μόλις ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἠσυχίαν ἔγειρεν, πρὸς δὲ τόσος συνήθεις πολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μετακινώθη λέγειν παρ' ἡλικίαν τῆν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φύσιν, ἦκιστα

κομπαστής ἤ σοβαρὸς τῷ βίῳ γεγονός, τότε δ' ἐπηρμένος κομίθη καὶ διεφθαρμένος οὐ Συρίαν οὐδὲ Πάρθους ὄρον ἐπωεῖτο τῆς εὐπραξίας, ἀλλ' ὡς παιδιὰν ἀποφανῶν τὰ Δουκουλλοῦ πρὸς Τυγράννη καὶ Πομπῆιον πρὸς Μιθριδάτην, ἀχρι Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἀνήγεν ἑαυτὸν ταῖς ἐλπίσι.

1 In codex Matritensis Graux found after this word μετὰ τῶν φίλων (together with his friends).
CRASSUS

laying Domitius, as he was coming down into the forum before day-break with his followers, killing his torch-bearer, and wounding many, among whom was Cato. After routing their opponents and shutting them up at home, they had themselves proclaimed consuls,¹ and a short time afterwards they once more surrounded the rostra with armed men, cast Cato out of the forum, slew several who made resistance, and then had another five years added to the proconsulship of Caesar in Gaul, and the provinces of Syria and both Spains voted to themselves. When the lot was cast, Syria fell to Crassus, and the Spains to Pompey.

XVI. Now the lot fell out to the satisfaction of everybody. For most of the people wished Pompey to be not far away from the city; Pompey, who was passionately fond of his wife,² intended to spend most of his time there; and as for Crassus, as soon as the lot fell out, he showed by his joy that he regarded no piece of good fortune in his whole life as more radiant than the one which had now come to him. Among strangers and in public he could scarcely hold his peace, while to his intimates he made many empty and youthful boasts which ill became his years and his disposition, for he had been anything but boastful or bombastic before this. But now, being altogether exalted and out of his senses, he would not consider Syria nor even Parthia as the boundaries of his success, but thought to make the campaigns of Lucullus against Tigranes and those of Pompey against Mithridates seem mere child’s play, and flew on the wings of his hopes as far as Bactria and India and the Outer Sea.

¹ 55 B.C. ² Julia, Caesar’s daughter, who died in 54 B.C.
3 Καίτοι τῷ γραφέντι περὶ τούτων νόμων Παρθένος πόλεμος οὐ προσήν. ἤδεσαν δὲ πάντες ὁτι πρὸς τούτοι Κράσσος ἐπτόηται καὶ Καίσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐγραφεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀρμήν ἐπαινῶν καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον. ἔπει δὲ δημαρχῶν Ἀτηίως ἐμελλε πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἐναντιώσεσθαι καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ χαλεπαίνοντες εἰ τις ἀνθρώπους οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν ἀλλ’ ἐνσπάνδοις πολεμησόντας ἀπεισά, δείσας ὁ Κράσσος ἐδείκη Πομπηίου παραγενέσθαι καὶ συμπροφέρησαι.

4 μέγα γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνῳ τὸ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ἄξιωμα· καὶ τοτε παρεσκευασμένους πολλοὺς ἐνίστασθαι καὶ καταβοάν ὀρφεύνος πρὸ αὐτοῦ φαίδρο βλέμματι καὶ προσώπῳ κατεπράγγειν ὁ Πομπῆιος, ὥσθ’ ὑπείκειν σιωπῇ δὲ αὐτῶν προεύθυνε. οὗ δ’ 553 Ἀτηίως ἀπαντήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἐκώλυυ καὶ διεμαρτύρετο μὴ βαδίζειν, ἔπειτα τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευεν ἀψάμενον τοῦ σώματος κατέχειν. ἄλλων δὲ δημάρχων οὐκ ἐόντως, ὁ μὲν ὑπηρέτης ἀφῆκε τὸν Κράσσον, ὁ δὲ Ἀτηίως προδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἔθηκεν ἐσχαρίδα καισμένην, καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου γενομένου καὶ αὐτήν ἐπιθυμῆσαι καὶ κατασπένδων ἁρὰς ἐπηρᾶτο δεινὰς μὲν αὐτῶς καὶ φρικάδεις, δείνονς δὲ τινὰς θεοὺς καὶ ἄλλακότους ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καλῶς καὶ ἦσομάζων· ταύτας φασὶ Ῥωμαιοῖ τὰς ἁρὰς ἀποθέτους καὶ παλαιάς τοιαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν ὡς περιφυγεῖν μηδένα τῶν ἐνσχέθεντων αὐτῶς· κακῶς δὲ πράσεως καὶ τῶν χρησάμενων, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχόνσιν αὐτῶς οὔτε ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀράσθαι· καὶ τὸ τούν ἐμέμφουτο τὸν

1 τούτο Bekker adopts τούτου from Reiske.
CRASSUS

And yet in the decree which was passed regarding his mission there was no mention of a Parthian war. But everybody knew that Crassus was all eagerness for this, and Caesar wrote to him from Gaul approving of his project, and inciting him on to the war. And when Ateius, one of the tribunes of the people, threatened to oppose his leaving the city, and a large party arose which was displeased that anyone should go out to wage war on men who had done the state no wrong, but were in treaty relations with it, then Crassus, in fear, begged Pompey to come to his aid and join in escorting him out of the city. For great was Pompey's reputation with the crowd. And now, when the multitude drawn up to resist the passage of Crassus, and to abuse him, saw Pompey's beaming countenance in front of him, they were mollified, and gave way before them in silence. But Ateius, on meeting Crassus, at first tried to stop him with words, and protested against his advance; then he bade his attendant seize the person of Crassus and detain him. And when the other tribunes would not permit this, the attendant released Crassus, but Ateius ran on ahead to the city gate, placed there a blazing brazier, and when Crassus came up, cast incense and libations upon it, and invoked curses which were dreadful and terrifying in themselves, and were reinforced by sundry strange and dreadful gods whom he summoned and called by name. The Romans say that these mysterious and ancient curses have such power that no one involved in them ever escapes, and misfortune falls also upon the one who utters them, wherefore they are not employed at random nor by many. And accordingly at this time they found
Κράσσω πόλιν, εἰς αὐτὴν ἀράς ἀφήκε καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην.

Ω δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἦλθεν. ἔτι δ’ ἀστατούσης χειμώνι τῆς θαλάσσης οὐ περιέμεινεν, ἀλλ’ ἀνήχθη καὶ συχνὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπέβαλε, τὴν δ’ ἀλλὴν ἀναλαβὼν δύναμιν ἥπειρον πεζῷ διὰ Γαλατίας. εὐρῶν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Δηνόταρον πάνυ μὲν ὁντα γηραιὸν ἤδη, κτίζοντα δὲ νέαν πόλιν, ἐπέσκωψεν εὐπών. "Ω βασιλεῦ, δωδεκάτης ὥρας οἰκοδομεῖν ἀρχῇν."


3 ἐν μιᾷ δ’, ής Απολλώνιος ἐτυράννει, στρατιωτῶν ἐκατὸν ἀναιρεθέντων ἐπαγαγὼν τῇ ὁμάμμων αὐτοῖς καὶ κρατήσας διήρπασε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδωτο. Ζηνοδοτίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν πόλιν οἱ "Ἐλληνες. ἐπὶ ταύτης ἀλούσης δεξαμενος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναγορεύθηκα πολλὴν ὄφλεν αἰσχύνην, καὶ ταπεινῶς ἐφάνη καὶ περὶ τὰ μείζονα δύσελπις οὕτω πλεονέκτημα μικρὸν ἡγαπηκώς. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ φρουρᾶς ταῖς προσκέχωρηκυίαις πόλεσιν, ὃν ἀριθμὸς ἦν.
fault with Ateius because it was for the city's sake that he was angered at Crassus, and yet he had involved the city in curses which awakened much superstitious terror.

XVII. But Crassus came to Brundisium. And though the sea was still rough with wintry storms, he would not wait, but put out, and so lost a great number of his vessels. With what was left of his forces, however, he hurried on by land through Galatia. And finding that King Deiotarus, who was now a very old man, was founding a new city, he rallied him, saying: "O King, you are beginning to build at the twelfth hour." The Galatian laughed and said: "But you yourself, Imperator, as I see, are not marching very early in the day against the Parthians." Now Crassus was sixty years old and over, and looked older than his years. On his arrival, things went at first as he had hoped, for he easily bridged the Euphrates and led his army across in safety, and took possession of many cities in Mesopotamia which came over to him of their own accord. But at one of them, of which Apollonius was tyrant, a hundred of his soldiers were slain, whereupon he led up his forces against it, mastered it, plundered its property, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. The city was called Zenodotia by the Greeks. For its capture he allowed his soldiers to salute him as Imperator, thereby incurring much disgrace and showing himself of a paltry spirit and without good hope for the greater struggles that lay before him, since he was so delighted with a trifling acquisition. After furnishing the cities which had come over to his side with garrisons, which amounted

1 54 B.C.  
2 Cf. Dio Cassius, x.l. 13.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ὈΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΟΣ

ἐπτακισὶν Πεζοῦ κήλιοι δ’ ἰππεῖς, ἀνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαχειμάσων καὶ δεξόμενος αὐτόθι τὸν νῦν ἥκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας αὐτὸν τε κεκοσμημένον ἀριστεῖος καὶ κήλιον ἰππεῖς ἐπιλέκτους ἄγοντα.

Τούτῳ πρῶτον ἀμαρτεῖν ἐδοξεὶ οὗ Κράσσος μετὰ γε τὴν στρατείαν αὐτὴν μέγιστον ἀμαρτήμα τῶν γενομένων, ὅτι πρὸς χωρεῖν δέον ἔχεσθαι τε Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Σελευκείας, δυσμενῶν αἰεὶ Πάρθων πόλεων, χρύουν ἐνέδωκε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρα-5 σκευῆς. ἔπειτα τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ διατριβὰς ἦτοιντο χρηματιστικὰς μᾶλλον οὕσας ἢ στρατηγικὰς· οὐ γὰρ ὅπλων ἀριθμὸν ἐξετάζον οὐδὲ γυμνασίων ποιούμενον ἀμίλλας, ἀλλὰ προσόδους πόλεων ἐκλογιζόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἐν Ἰεραπόλει θεοῦ σταθμῶς καὶ τρυτάναις μεταχειρίζομενος ἐπὶ πολλάς ἡμέρας, ἐπιγράφων δὲ καὶ δήμοις καὶ δυνάσταις στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους, εἰτ’ ἀνείς ἀρ-γύριον διδόντας, ἦδοξει καὶ κατεφρονεῖτο τούτοις.

6 γίνεται δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἢν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ "Ἡραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἔξ ὑγρῶν παρα-σχούσαν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν νομίζουσί, καὶ τὴν πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρχήν ἠγαθὸν καταδεῖξα-σαν. ἐξοίνωτον γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ίεροῦ πρῶτος ἑσφάλη κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ νεανίας Κράσσος, εἰτ’ ἐπὶ αὐτῶ περιπέπον ὁ πρεσβύτερος.

ΧVIII. "Ἡδὴ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων συναθροίζοντος αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἂφικοντο παρ’ Ἀρσάκον βραχὺν τινα λόγον κομίζοντες. ἐφασαν 366
CRASSUS

in all to seven thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen, he himself withdrew to take up winter quarters in Syria, and to await there his son, who was coming from Caesar in Gaul, decorated with the insignia of his deeds of valour, and leading a thousand picked horsemen.

This was thought to be the first blunder which Crassus committed,—after the expedition itself, which was the greatest of all his blunders,—because, when he should have advanced and come into touch with Babylon and Seleucia, cities always hostile to the Parthians, he gave his enemies time for preparation. Then, again, fault was found with him because his sojourn in Syria was devoted to mercenary rather than military purposes. For he made no estimate of the number of his troops, and instituted no athletic contests for them, but reckoned up the revenues of cities, and spent many days weighing exactly the treasures of the goddess in Hierapolis, and prescribed quotas of soldiers for districts and dynasts to furnish, only to remit the prescription when money was offered him, thereby losing their respect and winning their contempt. And the first warning sign came to him from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, others Juno, while others still regard her as the natural cause which supplies from moisture the beginnings and seeds of everything, and points out to mankind the source of all blessings. For as they were leaving her temple, first the youthful Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and then his father fell over him.

XVIII. No sooner had he begun to assemble his forces from their winter quarters than envoys came to him from Arsaces¹ with a wonderfully brief

¹ In subsequent passages called Hyrodas.
γάρ, εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ ἩΡωμαίων ὁ στρατὸς ἀπέσταλται, πόλεμον ἂσπονδον εἶναι καὶ ἀδιάλλακτον, εἰ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ἀκούσης, ώς πυθάνονται, Κράσσος ἰδίων ἑνεκά κερδῶν ὅπλα Πάρθους ἐπενήνοχε καὶ χώραν κατείληφε, μετριάζειν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τὸ μὲν Κράσσον γῆρας οἰκτείρειν, ἀφιέναι δὲ ἩΡωμαίωις τοὺς ἄνδρας, οὐς ἔχει φρουρουμένους μᾶλλον ἡ 2 φρουροῦντας. πρὸς τάῦτα Κράσσον κομπάσαντος ὡς ἐν Σελευκείᾳ δώσει τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, γελάσας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν πρέσβεων Οὐαγίσης καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ὑπτίας δεξας τὸ μέσον “Ἐντεῦθεν,” εἶπεν, “ὅ Κράσσε, φύσονται τρίχες πρότερον ἡ σὺ ὁψε Σελεύκειαν.”

Οὕτων μὲν ὡς ἀπήλαυνον ὡς βασιλεὰ Ἱδρόην πολεμητέα φράσοντες, ἔκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἐφρούρουν ἩΡωμαῖοι τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, παραβόλως τινὲς διεκπεσόντες ἄξια φροντίδων ἀνήγγελον, αὐτόπται μὲν γεγονότες τοῦ τε πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἄγωνων δὲν ἠγωνισάντο προσμαχόμενοι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οὐ δὲ φιλεῖ πάντα πρὸς τὸ δεινότερον ἐξαγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἂφικτοι μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες διόκοντες, ἀληττοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες, βέλη δὲ καῦνα 1 προθέντα τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πρὶν ὀφθήματι τῶν βάλλοντα χωροῦντα διὰ τοῦ προστυχόντος, τῶν δὲ καταφράκτων ὁπλα τὰ μὲν διὰ παντὸς ὅθενσα, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι πεποιημένα.

1 καῦνα MSS., Coraes, Sintenis, and Bekker; πτηνά (winged) from Pseudo-Appian.
CRASSUS

message. They said that if the army had been sent out by the Roman people, it meant war without truce and without treaty; but if it was against the wishes of his country, as they were informed, and for his own private gain that Crassus had come up in arms against the Parthians and occupied their territory, then Arsaces would act with moderation, would take pity on the old age of Crassus, and release to the Romans the men whom he had under watch and ward rather than watching over him. To this Crassus boastfully replied that he would give his answer in Seleucia, whereupon the eldest of the envoys, Vagises, burst out laughing and said, pointing to the palm of his upturned hand: "O Crassus, hair will grow there before thou shalt see Seleucia."2

The embassy, accordingly, rode away to King Hyrodes, to tell him there must be war. But from the cities of Mesopotamia in which the Romans had garrisons, certain men made their escape at great hazard and brought tidings of serious import. They had been eyewitnesses both of the numbers of the enemy and of their mode of warfare when they attacked their cities, and, as is usual, they exaggerated all the terrors of their report. "When the men pursued," they declared, "there was no escaping them, and when they fled, there was no taking them; and strange missiles are the precursors of their appearance, which pierce through every obstacle before one sees who sent them; and as for the armour of their mail-clad horsemen, some of it is made to force its way through everything, and some

1 In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.
2 Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 16.
4 ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἄκουόντων τὸ θράσος ὑπέπιπτεν. πεπεισμένοι γὰρ οὐδὲν Ἀρμενίων διαφέρειν Πάρθους οὐδὲ Καππαδοκῶν, οὐς ἄγων καὶ φέρων Δούκουλλος ἀπείπτε, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἡγούμενοι μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἔσεσθαι καὶ διώξει ἀνθρώπων εἰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀφιξομένων, παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἄγωνα καὶ κίνδυνον μέγαν προσεδοκοῦν, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τινὰς οἴεσθαι δεῖν ἐπισχόντα τῶν Κράσσων αὖθις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων γνώμην προθέσθαι. τούτων ἦ πάντως Κάσσιος ὁ ταμίας.

5 ἡσυχὴ δὲ παρεδῆλοι καὶ οἱ μάντεις ὡς ἄει ποιηρὰ σημεία καὶ δυσέκτυτα προφαίνοντο τῷ Κράσσῳ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἀλλ’ οὔτε τούτως προσεῖχεν οὔτε τοῖς ἐτερῶν τι πλὴν ἐπειδήνεσθαι παρανοῦσιν.

Χ. Οὐχ ἦκιστα δ’ αὐτῶν Ἀρταβάζης ὁ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς ἐπέρρωσεν. ἦλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον μεθ’ ἐξακισχιλίων ἱππέων. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἔλεγοντο φύλακες καὶ προπομποὶ βασιλέως ἐτέρους δὲ μυρίους ὑπισχυντό καταφράκτους καὶ προσμυρίους πεζοὺς ὀικοσίτους.

2 ἐπειθεὶς δὲ Κράσσον ἐμβαλεῖν δ’ Ἀρμενίας εἰς τὴν Παρθίαν νῦν γὰρ μόνον εἰν ἀφθόνοις διάξειν τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ παρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πορεύσηθαι δ’ ἀσφαλείας, ὅρη πολλὰ καὶ λόφους ὑπενεχεῖς καὶ χωρία δύσιππα πρὸς τὴν Ἰππον, ἦ
CRASSUS

of it to give way to nothing." When the soldiers heard this, their courage ebbed away. For they had been fully persuaded that the Parthians were not different at all from the Armenians or even the Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had robbed and plundered till he was weary of it, and they had thought that the most difficult part of the war would be the long journey and the pursuit of men who would not come to close quarters; but now, contrary to their hopes, they were led to expect a struggle and great peril. Therefore some of the officers thought that Crassus ought to call a halt and reconsider the whole undertaking. Among these was Cassius, the quaestor. The seers, also, quietly let it become known that the omens for Crassus which came from their sacrifices were always bad and inauspicious. But Crassus paid no heed to them, nor to those who advised anything else except to press forward.

XIX. And most of all, Artabazes the king of Armenia gave him courage, for he came to his camp with six thousand horsemen. These were said to be the king's guards and couriers; but he promised ten thousand mail-clad horsemen besides, and thirty thousand footmen, to be maintained at his own cost. And he tried to persuade Crassus to invade Parthia by way of Armenia, for thus he would not only lead his forces along in the midst of plenty, which the king himself would provide, but would also proceed with safety, confronting the cavalry of the Parthians, in which lay their sole strength, with many mountains, and continuous crests, and regions where the horse

1 Caius Cassius Longinus, afterwards one of the assassins of Caesar.
μόνη Πάρθων ἀληθεία, προβαλλόμενον. ο ἐς τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς βοηθείας μετρίως ἤγαπησε, βαδιεῖσθαι δὲ ἐφ' ἀντὶ Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου πολλοὺς καὶ ἄγαθοὺς Ὁρ-3 μάιων ἄνδρας ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄρμενιος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡπάλαυνεν.

Τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ διαβιβάζοντι τὴν στρατιάν κατὰ τὸ Ζεύγμα πολλὰ μὲν ὑπερφυεῖς βρονταὶ περιερρήγυντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἑστραπτεῖν ἕναντία τῷ στρατῷ, πνεῦμα δὲ νέφες καὶ προστήρια μεμυγμένον ἔρεισαν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς σχεδίας ἀνέρρηξε τολλὰ καὶ συνέτριψεν· ἐβλήθη δὲ καὶ κεραυνοῖς δυσὶν ὁ χῶρος οὗ στρατοπεδεύειν ἔμελλεν. Ἡπειρὸς δὲ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἐπιφανῶς κεκοσμημένος βίᾳ συνεπιστάσας τὸν ἡμῖνοχον εἰς τὸ ἱεῖδρον ὑποβρύχιον ἡφαίσθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀετῶν ὁ πρῶτος ἄρθείς ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου μεταστραφῆναι. 555

5 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συνέπεσε μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν μετρουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πρὸς τὰ πάντων δοθῆναι φακοῦ καὶ ἀλας, ἃ νομίζουσι Ρωμαῖοι πένθιμα καὶ προτίθενται τοῖς νέκυσιν, αὐτοῦ τε Κράσσου δημηγοροῦντος ἐξέπεσε φωνὴ δεινῶς συγχέασα τοῖς στρατῶι. ἐφ' ἃ γὰρ τὸ Ζεύγμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαλύειν ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπανέλθη. καὶ δέον, ὡς ἦσθετο τοῦ ῥήματος τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διασαφήσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδειλιόντας τὸ εἰρημένον, ἡμέλησεν ὑπὸ αὐθα-6 δεῖς. τέλος δὲ τὸν εἰθισμένον καθαρμὸν ἑσφαγίας.

1 καὶ ἑστραπτεῖν MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: κατ' ἑστραπτεῖν with Pseudo-Appian.
CRASSUS

could not well serve. Crassus was tolerably well pleased with the king's zeal and with the splendid reinforcements which he offered, but said he should march through Mesopotamia, where he had left many brave Romans. Upon this, the Armenian rode away.

Now, as Crassus was taking his army across the Euphrates at Zeugma, many extraordinary peals of thunder crashed about them, and many flashes of lightning also darted in their faces, and a wind, half mist and half hurricane, fell upon their raft, breaking it up and shattering it in many places. The place where he was intending to encamp was also smitten by two thunderbolts. And one of the general's horses, richly caparisoned, violently dragged its groom along with it into the river and disappeared beneath the waves. It is said also that the first eagle which was raised aloft, faced about of its own accord. Besides all this, it happened that when their rations were distributed to the soldiers after the crossing of the river, lentils and salt came first, which are held by the Romans to be tokens of mourning, and are set out as offerings to the dead. Moreover, Crassus himself, while haranguing his men, let fall a phrase which terribly confounded them. He said, namely, that he should destroy the bridge over the river, that not one of them might return. And although he ought, as soon as he perceived the strangeness of his expression, to have recalled it and made his meaning clear to his timorous hearers, he was too obstinate to do so. And finally, when he

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1 A town in Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates, deriving its name from a bridge of boats there made across the river. 2 Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 18.
Δεν βρίσκω την ελεύθερη μετάφραση αυτής της σκηνής στην ελληνική γλώσσα επειδή τρέχουμε διαφορετικά. Εάν θέλετε μεταφράση σε άλλη γλώσσα, αναφέρετέ με τον τόπο στην οποία θα ήθελατε να μεταφράσω.
was making the customary sacrifice of purification for the army, and the seer placed the viscera in his hands, he let them fall to the ground; then, seeing that the bystanders were beyond measure distressed at the occurrence, he smiled and said: "Such is old age; but no weapon, you may be sure, shall fall from its hands."

XX. After this, he marched along the river with seven legions of men-at-arms, nearly four thousand horsemen, and about as many light-armed troops. Some of his scouts now came back from their explorations, and reported that the country was destitute of men, but that they had come upon the tracks of many horses which had apparently wheeled about and fled from pursuit. Wherefore Crassus himself was all the more confident, and his soldiers went so far as to despise the Parthians utterly, believing that they would not come to close quarters. But, nevertheless, Cassius once more had a conference with Crassus, and advised him above all things to recuperate his forces in one of the garrisoned cities, until he should get some sure information about the enemy; but if not this, then to advance against Seleucia along the river. For in this way the transports would keep them abundantly supplied with provisions by putting in at their successive encampments, and, by having the river to prevent their being surrounded, they would always fight their enemies on even terms and face to face.

XXI. While Crassus was still investigating and considering these matters, there came an Arab chieftain, Ariamnes by name, a crafty and treacherous man, and one who proved to be, of all the mischiefs which fortune combined for the destruction of the
2 γενόμενον τοῦτον δ’ ἦδεσαν ἐνοικό τῶν Ἰομπηῆς συνεστρατευμένων ἀπολαύσαντά τι τίς ἐκείνου φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δόξαντα φιλορρώμαιον εἶλαν. τότε δ’ ὑφείτο τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ γνώμης τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, εἰ δύνατο παρατρέψας αὐτῶν ἀπωτάτῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπωρείων εἰς πεδίον ἐκβάλειν ἀχανές καὶ περελαυνόμενοι. πάντα γὰρ διενούσιτο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ στόμα
3 προσφέρεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Κράσσον ὁ βαρβάρος (ὧν δὲ καὶ πιθανὸς εἶπεῖν) Πομπηῖον μὲν ὡς εὐρηγήτην ἐπῆνει, Κράσσον δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μακαρίσας ἐμέμφετο τῆς διατριβῆς μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον, ὡσπερ ὄπλων αὐτῷ δείσον, οὐ χειρῶν οὐδὲ ποδῶν τῶν ταχίστων ἐπ’ ἄνθρωπος οἱ πάλαι ξητοῦσιν ἀρπάσαντες τὰ τιμωτάτα τῶν χρησίμων καὶ σωμάτων
5 Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ψευδή πάντα. διchsel γὰρ εὐθὺς Ῥωμᾶς διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπορθεὶς τυνύμενοι Ἀρταουάσδην, Σουρῆναν δ’ ἀφίκεν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, οὕς ὑπερφροσύνη χρόμενος, ὡς ἕνοι φασίν οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κράσσου μὲν ἀπαξίων ἀνταγωνιστῆς, ἀνδρα
CRASSUS

Romans, the greatest and most consummate. Some of the soldiers who had served under Pompey in these parts knew that the fellow had profited by the kindness of that commander and was thought to be a friend of Rome; but now, with the knowledge of the royal generals, he tried to work his way into the confidence of Crassus, to see if he could turn him aside as far as possible from the river and the foothills, and bring him down into a boundless plain where he could be surrounded. For nothing was farther from the thoughts of the Parthians than to attack the Romans in front. Accordingly, coming to Crassus, the Barbarian (and he was a plausible talker, too) lauded Pompey as his benefactor, and complimented Crassus on his forces. But then he criticised him for wasting time in delays and preparations, as if it was arms that he needed, and not hands and the swiftest of feet to follow after men who had for some time been trying to snatch up their most valuable goods and slaves and fly with them into Scythia or Hyrcania. "And yet," said he, "if you intend to fight, you ought to hasten on before all the king's forces are concentrated and he has regained his courage; since, for the time being, Surena and Sillaces have been thrown forward to sustain your pursuit, but the king is nowhere to be seen."

Now this was all false. For Hyrodes had promptly divided his forces into two parts and was himself devastating Armenia to punish Artavasdes, while he despatched Surena to meet the Romans. And this was not because he despised them, as some say, for he could not consistently disdain Crassus as an antagonist, a man who was foremost of the
'Ῥωμαίων πρῶτον, Ἀρταυάσδη δὲ προσπόλεμεν 556 καὶ ταῖς Ἀρμενίων ἐπίοντα κόμαις ἔξαρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω δοκεῖ καταδείχασ τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ καραδοκεῖν τὸ μέλλον, Σουρήναν δὲ προκαθείναι πειρασόμενον μάχης καὶ 6 περιέλξοντα τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῶν τυχόντων ὁ Σουρήνας, ἀλλὰ πλοῦτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει καὶ δόξῃ μετὰ βασιλέα δεύτερος, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν Πάρθοις πρῶτος, ἔτι δὲ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει σώματος ὡς οὔδεις ἐτέρος. ἐξήλαυνε δὲ καθ' εαυτὸν ἀεὶ χιλιάδες σκευοφορούμενος καμήλοις, καὶ διακοσίαι ἀπήγα ἐπήγετο παλλακίδων, ἱππείς δὲ κατάφρακτοι χίλιοι, πλείονες δὲ τῶν κούφων παρέπεμπον, εἰχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἱππείς ὀμοῦ πελάτας τε 7 καὶ δούλους μυρίων οὐκ ἀποδέοντας. κατὰ γένος μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκέκτητο βασιλεῖ γενομένῳ Πάρθων ἐπιτιθέναι τὸ διάδημα πρῶτος, Ἰρώδην δὲ τούτον αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένον εἰς Πάρθους κατῆγαγε, καὶ Σελεύκειαι αὐτῷ τὴν μεγάλην εἰλε πρῶτος ἐπιθάς τοῦ τείχους καὶ πρεσβάμονος ἱδίᾳ χειρὶ τοὺς ἀνυστάντας. οὕτω δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτη τριάκοντα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον εὐβουλίας καὶ συνέσεως δόξαν εἰχε μεγίστην, οἷς οὖν ἤκιστα καὶ τὸν Κράσαν ἐσφήλε, διὰ θάρσος καὶ φρόνημα πρῶτον, εἰτα ὑπὸ δέους καὶ συμφορῶν ταῖς ἀπάταις εὐχείρωτον γενόμενον.

XXII. Τότ' οὖν ὁ βαρβαρὸς, ὡς ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν,
CRASSUS

Romans, and wage war on Artavasdes, attacking and taking the villages of Armenia; on the contrary, it seems that he was in great fear of the danger which threatened, and therefore held himself in reserve and watched closely the coming event, while he sent Surena forward to make trial of the enemy in battle and to distract them. Nor was Surena an ordinary man at all, but in wealth, birth, and consideration, he stood next the king, while in valour and ability he was the foremost Parthian of his time, besides having no equal in stature and personal beauty. He used to travel on private business with a baggage train of a thousand camels, and was followed by two hundred waggons for his concubines, while a thousand mail-clad horsemen and a still greater number of light-armed cavalry served as his escort; and he had altogether, as horsemen, vassals, and slaves, no fewer than ten thousand men. Moreover, he enjoyed the ancient and hereditary privilege of being first to set the crown upon the head of the Parthian king; and when this very Hyrodes was driven out of Parthia, he restored him to his throne, and captured for him Seleucia the Great, having been the first to mount its walls, and having routed with his own hand his opponents. And though at this time he was not yet thirty years of age, he had the highest reputation for prudence and sagacity, and it was especially by means of these qualities that he also brought Crassus to ruin, who, at first by reason of his boldness and conceit, and then in consequence of his fears and calamities, was an easy victim of deceits.

XXII. At this time, accordingly, after the Bar-

1 Seleucia on the Tigris, built by Seleucus Nicator.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΨΕΩΝ

ἀποσπάσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ μέσων ἤγε τῶν πεδίων ὀδὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ κούφην τὸ πρῶτον, ἐίται μοχθηράν, ἀμμοῦ βαθείας ὑποδεχομένης καὶ πεδίων ἀδένδρων καὶ ἀνύδρων καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδαμὴ πέρας ἐφικτὸν αἰσθήσει πανομένων, ὡστε μὴ μόνον δίψει καὶ χαλεπότητι τῆς πορείας

2 ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὅψεως ἀπαραμύθητον ἀθυμίαν παρέχειν οὐ φυτὸν ὀρῶσιν, οὐ ρεῖθρον, οὐ προβολὴν ὄρους καθιέντος, οὐ πόλιν διαβλαστάνουσαν, ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς πελάγιον τι χεῖμα θινῶν τινῶν ἐρήμων περιεχόντων τούν στρατόν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ὁ δόλος ὑποπτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀρταούσδου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου παρῆσαν ἄγγελοι φράζοντες ὡς πολλῷ συνέχειο τολέμωρ ῥύεντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν Ὅρῳδου, καὶ πέμπειν

3 μὲν ἔκεινοι βοήθειαν οὐ δύναται, παραίνει δὲ Κράσσω μάλιστα μὲν ἔκει τραπέζῃ καὶ γενόμενον μετ' Ἀρμενίων ὁμοί διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Ὅρῳδην, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πορεύεσθαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύειν ἀεὶ τὰ ἱππάσιμα φεύγοντα καὶ προσχωροῦντα τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς, Κράσσος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντιγράφας ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ σκαίτητος ἀπεκρίνατο τὸν μὲν Ἀρμενίους μὴ σχολάζειν, αὐθεὶς δ' ἀφίξεσθαι δίκη ἐπιθήσων Ἀρταούσδῃ τῆς προδοσίας.

4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάσσιον αὐθεὶς ἡγανάκτουν, καὶ Κράσσον μὲν ἀχθόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐπαύσαντο οὔθετοῦντες, ίδίᾳ δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον ἠλοῦδόρουν "Τίς σε δαίμων πονηρός, ὥς κακίστε ἀνθρώπων, ἥγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς; τίσι δὲ φαρμάκιοι καὶ γοητείαις ἐπείσας Κράσσον εἰς ἐρήμιαν ἁχανή καὶ βύθιον ἐκχέαντα τὴν στρατιὰν ὀδὸν ὀδεύειν Νομάδι λη-

380
CRASSUS

barian had persuaded Crassus, he drew him away from the river and led him through the midst of the plains, by a way that was suitable and easy at first, but soon became troublesome when deep sand succeeded, and plains which had no trees, no water, and no limit anywhere which the eye could reach, so that not only did thirst and the difficulties of the march exhaust the men, but also whatever met their gaze filled them with an obstinate dejection. For they saw no plant, no stream, no projection of sloping hill, and no growing grass, but only sea-like billows of innumerable desert sand-heaps enveloping the army. This of itself was enough to induce suspicion of treachery, and soon messengers came from Artavasdes the Armenian declaring that he was involved in a great war with Hyrodes, who had attacked him with an overwhelming force, and could not therefore send Crassus aid, but advised him above all things to turn his course thither, join the Armenians, and fight the issue out with Hyrodes; but if not this, then to march and encamp always where mountains were near and cavalry could not operate. Crassus sent no reply in writing, but answered at once in rage and perversity that for the present he had no time to waste on the Armenians, but that at another time he would come and punish Artavasdes for his treachery.

But Cassius was once more greatly displeased, and though he stopped advising Crassus, who was angry with him, he did privately abuse the Barbarian. “Bastest of men,” he said, “what evil spirit brought you to us? With what drugs and jugglery did you persuade Crassus to pour his army into a yawning and abysmal desert and follow a route more fit for
ΠΛΟΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

στάρχη μιλλον ἦ Ὡῳμαίων αὐτοκράτορι προσ-
ήκουσαν;" ὡ δὲ βάρβαρος ἀνήρ ὄν ποικίλος
ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποπίπτην ἐθάρρυνε καὶ παρεκάλει
μικρὸν ἐτὶ καρτέρησαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀμα
συμπαραθέων καὶ παραβοηθῶν ἐπέσκωπτε μετὰ
γέλωτος. "Ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ Καμπανίας ὀδεύειν
οἴεσθε κρήνας καὶ νάματα καὶ σκιᾶς καὶ λουτρὰ
dηλάδη καὶ παιδοκεία ποθοῦντες; οὐ μέμνησθε
dὲ τὴν Ἀράβων διεξόντες καὶ Ἀσσυρίων μεθο-
ρίαν;" οὕτω μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος διεπαιδαγώγησε
τοὺς Ὡῳμαίους, καὶ πρὶν ἡ γενέσθαι φανερὸς
ἐξαπατῶν ἀφίππευσεν, οὐ λαθῶν τὸν Κράσσον, 557
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πείσας, ὡς ὑπεργάσεται καὶ
dιαταράξει τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

XXIII. Λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τὸν
Κράσσον οὐχ ὦσπερ ἔδος ἐστὶ Ὡῳμαίων στρατη-
γοῖς ἐν φοινικίδι προελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἰματιῶ
μέλαν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀλλάξαι προοι-
σαντα, τῶν δὲ σμαιῶν οἰνάς μόλις ὦσπερ πεπη-
γυνίας πολλὰ παθόντας ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς φέροντας.

2 ὃν τὸν Κράσσον καταγελῶν ἐπετάχυν τὴν πορείαν,
προσβιαζόμενος ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ φάλαγγα τῶν
ἰππεὺσι, πρὶν γε δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπῆν ἀπο-
σταλέντων ὁλίγοι προσπελάσαντες ἀπήγγειλαν
ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς ἀλλοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων,
αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιεῖναι δὲ μαχουμένους

3 πλῆθει πολλῷ καὶ θάρσει τοὺς ἄνδρας. Ἀπαντεῖ
μὲν οὖν ἑθορυβήθησαν, ὃ δὲ Κράσσος ἐξεπλάγῃ
παντάπασι καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς οὐ πάνω καθεστηκῶς

382
CRASSUS

a robber chief of Nomads than for a Roman imperator?" But the Barbarian, who was a subtle fellow, tried to encourage them with all servility, and exhorted them to endure yet a little while, and as he ran along by the side of the soldiers and gave them his help, he would laughingly banter them and say: "Is it through Campania that you think you are marching, yearning for its fountains and streams and shades and baths (to be sure!) and taverns? But remember that you are traversing the border land between Assyria and Arabia." Thus the Barbarian played the tutor with the Romans, and rode away before his deceit had become manifest, not, however, without the knowledge of Crassus, nay, he actually persuaded him that he was going to work in his interests and confound the counsels of his enemies.

XXIII. It is said that on that day Crassus did not make his appearance in a purple robe, as is the custom with Roman generals, but in a black one, and that he changed it as soon as he noticed his mistake; also that some of the standard-bearers had great difficulty in raising their standards, which seemed to be imbedded, as it were, in the earth. Crassus made light of these things and hurried on the march, compelling the men-at-arms to keep up with the cavalry, until a few of those who had been sent out as scouts came riding up and announced that the rest of their number had been slain by the enemy, that they themselves had with difficulty escaped, and that their foes were coming up to fight them with a large force and great confidence. All were greatly disturbed, of course, but Crassus was altogether frightened out of his senses, and began to draw up his forces in haste and with no great consistency.

383
παρέτατε, πρῶτον μὲν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον ἥξιόν, ἀραίαν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνάγων τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις, τοὺς δ’ ἰππεῖς διανέμων τοῖς κέρασιν ἔπειτα μετέδοξε, καὶ συναγγαγὼν ἀμφίστομον ἐποίησε καὶ βαθὺ πλινθίον ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προερχομένης τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστης. παρὰ δὲ σπείραν Ἰλην ἰππέων ἔταξεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἐχοι μέρος ἔνδεις ἰππικῆς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ὁμαλῶς προσφέροιτο πεφραγμένος. τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν Κασσίως, τὸ δὲ τῷ νέῳ Κράσσῳ παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἔσσε μέσον κατέστη.

Καὶ προϊόγον· εἰς οὕτως ἐπὶ ἰέθρον ἤλθον ὁ καλεῖται Βάλισσος, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἀφθονον, ἀσμένοις δὲ τότε τοῖς στρατιώταις φανὲν ἐν αὐχμῷ καὶ καύματι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀλλην ἐπίπονον καὶ ἀνυδρον πορεῖαν. οἱ μὲν οὐν πλείστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὄντο δεῖν ἐνταῦθα καταυλίσαμένους καὶ νυκτερεύσαντας καὶ πυθομένους, ἐφ’ ὅσον οἶνον τε, πλήθος καὶ τάξει τῶν πολεμίων, ἀμ’ ἡμέρα χωρεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτούς. Κράσσος δὲ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἰππεύσιν ἐγκελευσμένοις ἀγείν καὶ συνάπτειν ἐπαρθείς ἐκέλευσεν ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους. καὶ πρὶν ἴ τοῦτο διὰ πάντων γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἦγεν οὐ σχέδην οὐδ’ ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην διαναπαύσω, ἀλλ’ ὃξεία καὶ συντόνῳ χρόμενος τὴν πορεία μέχρι οὗ κατώφθησαν οἱ πολέμοι, παρὰ δόξαν οὕτε πολλοὶ φανέντες οὕτε σοβαροὶ τοῖς Ἄρωμαιοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλήθος ὑπέστειλε τοῖς προ-
CRASSUS

At first, as Cassius recommended, he extended the line of his men-at-arms as far as possible along the plain, with little depth, to prevent the enemy from surrounding them, and divided all his cavalry between the two wings. Then he changed his mind and concentrated his men, forming them in a hollow square of four fronts, with twelve cohorts on each side. With each cohort he placed a squadron of horse, that no part of the line might lack cavalry support, but that the whole body might advance to the attack with equal protection everywhere. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, and one to the young Crassus, and took his own position in the centre.

Advancing in this formation, they came to a stream called Balissus, which was not large, to be sure, nor plentiful, but by this time the soldiers were delighted to see it in the midst of the drought and heat and after their previous toilsome march without water. Most of the officers, accordingly, thought they ought to bivouac and spend the night there, and after learning as much as they could of the number and disposition of the enemy, to advance against them at day-break. But Crassus was carried away by the eagerness of his son and the cavalry with him, who urged him to advance and give battle, and he therefore ordered that the men who needed it should eat and drink as they stood in the ranks. And before they were all well done with this, he led them on, not slowly, nor halting from time to time, as is usual on the way to battle, but with a quick and sustained pace until the enemy came in sight, who, to the surprise of the Romans, appeared to be neither numerous nor formidable. For Suren
τάκτοις Σουρήνας, τήν δὲ λαμπρότητα κατέκρυβε
tῶν ὀπλῶν ἱμάτια καὶ διφθέρας προσχεσθαί
κελεύσας. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ σημεῖον
ηρῆθη παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶμ-
πλαντο φθογγῆς βαρείας καὶ βρόμου φρικώδους
τὸ πεδίον. Πάρθοι γὰρ οὐ κέρασιν οὐδὲ σάλ-
pιγξίν ἐπιτρύνουσιν εαυτοῦς εἰς μάχην, ἀλλὰ
ῥόπτρα βυρσοπαγῆ καὶ κοίλα περιτείναντες
ἡχεῖσιν χαλκοῖς ἀμα πολλαχόθεν ἐπιδουσθοῦσι,
tά δὲ φθέγγεται βύθιον τι καὶ δεινόν, ὀρυγῇ
θηρίωδει καὶ τραχύτητι βροντῆς μεμγυμένον, εὖ
πως συνεφράκότες ὅτι τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀκοὴ
tαρακτικῶτατον ἔστι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ
tαύτην πάθη τάχιστα κινεῖ καὶ μάλιστα ἐξίστησι
τὴν διάνοιαν.

XXIV. Ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ
tῶν ἥχων, ἔξαίφνης τὰ προκαλύμματα τῶν ὀπλῶν
cataβαλόντες ὄφθησαν αὐτοὶ τε φλογοειδεῖς
κράνει καὶ θοραξὶ, τοῦ Μαργιανοῦ σιδηροῦ
στιλβοῦσι δὲν καὶ περιλαμμές, οὗ θ' ἐπεὶ
καταπεφραγμένοι χαλκοῖς καὶ σιδηροῖς σκεπά-
σμασι, ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος
αὐτὸς, τῇ δὲ κατ' ἀνδρείαν δόξῃ τὴν θηλύτητα
tοῦ κάλλους οὐκ ἐοικὼς, ἀλλὰ Μηδικώτερον
ἐσκευασμένος ἐντρίμμασι προσώπου καὶ κόμης
diaκρίσει, τῶν ἄλλων Πάρθων ἐτι Σκυθεῖκὼς ἐπὶ
558
3 τὸ φοβηρὸν τῷ ἀνασίλλου κομῶτων. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν διευνουῦτο τοῖς κοντοῖς ἐσελαύνουτες ὦθειν
καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς προτάκτους· ὡς δ' ἐώρων τὸ

¹ τῷ ἀνασίλλου: the correction of Schaefer (ἀνασίλλου Coraës):
tῶν ἀνασίλλουν.
CRASSUS

veiled his main force behind his advance guard, and concealed the gleam of their armour by ordering them to cover themselves with robes and skins. But when they were near the Romans and the signal was raised by their commander, first of all they filled the plain with the sound of a deep and terrifying roar. For the Parthians do not incite themselves to battle with horns or trumpets, but they have hollow drums of distended hide, covered with bronze bells, and on these they beat all at once in many quarters, and the instruments give forth a low and dismal tone, a blend of wild beast's roar and harsh thunder peal. They had rightly judged that, of all the senses, hearing is the one most apt to confound the soul, soonest rouses its emotions, and most effectively unseats the judgment.

XXIV. While the Romans were in consternation at this din, suddenly their enemies dropped the coverings of their armour, and were seen to be themselves blazing in helmets and breastplates, their Margianian steel glittering keen and bright, and their horses clad in plates of bronze and steel. Surenas himself, however, was the tallest and fairest of them all, although his effeminate beauty did not well correspond to his reputation for valour, but he was dressed more in the Median fashion, with painted face and parted hair, while the rest of the Parthians still wore their hair long and bunched over their foreheads, in Scythian fashion, to make themselves look formidable. And at first they purposed to charge upon the Romans with their long spears, and throw their front ranks into confusion; but when they saw the depth of their formation, where shield

387
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

tε βάθος τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ μόνιμον καὶ παρεστηκός, ἀνήγον ὀπίσω καὶ σκίδνασθαι δοκοῦντες ἀμα καὶ διαλύειν τὴν τάξιν ἐλάθθανον ἐν κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες τὸ πλυνθὼν

4 αὐτῶν. Κράσσον δὲ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐκδραμεῖν κελεύσαντος, οὗτοι μὲν οὐ πολὺ προῆλθον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶς τοξεύμασιν ἐνιχθόντες ταχὺ καὶ συμπαρέντες ἀμφὶ ἐνεδύουσιν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ παρείχον ἀκοσμίας ἀρχὴν καὶ δέος, ὁρῶσι τὸν τόνον τῶν ὁστῶν καὶ τὴν ρώμην ὑπλα τε ῥηγμών των καὶ διὰ παντὸς φερομένων ὄμοιως ἀντιτύπου καὶ μάλακον στεγάσματος.

5 Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαστάντες ἐκ μήκους ἦρξαντο τοξεύειν ἀμα πανταχόθεν, οὐ τὴν ἄκριβην τοξείαν (ἡ γὰρ συνέχεια καὶ πυκνότης τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ διαμαρτάνειν ἀνδρὸς παρείχεν), εὐτόνους δὲ τὰς πληγὰς καὶ βιαίους διώκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κρατατιῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ τῆς σκολιότητι τῆς καμπῆς ἰναγκασμένον τὸ βέλος ἀποστελλόντων.

6 τῶν. ἦν οὖν αὐτῶθεν ἡ Ἐλλάδα τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ γὰρ μένουσιν ἐν τάξει συνετιτρώσκοντο, καὶ χωρεῖν ὀμόσα πειρώμενοι τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν ὦσον ἀπείχον, ὦμοιως δ’ ἔπασχον. ὦπεφευγον γὰρ ἀμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι, καὶ τὸ στοάστα ποιοῦσι μετὰ Σκύθας· καὶ σοφώτατον ἐστὶν ἀμυνομένους ἐτι σώζεσθαι καὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀφαίρειν τὸ αὐθάρρον.

XXV. Ἀρχὶ μὲν οὖν ἦλπιζον αὐτοὺς ἐκχειρεῖν τὰ βέλη σχήσεσθαι μάχης ἡ συνώψειν εἰς χείρας, ἐκαρτέρουν ὡς δ’ ἐγνωσαν ὅτι πολλαὶ
CRASSUS

was locked with shield, and the firmness and composure of the men, they drew back, and while seeming to break their ranks and disperse, they surrounded the hollow square in which their enemy stood before he was aware of the manœuvre. And when Crassus ordered his light-armed troops to make a charge, they did not advance far, but encountering a multitude of arrows, abandoned their undertaking and ran back for shelter among the men-at-arms, among whom they caused the beginning of disorder and fear, for these now saw the velocity and force of the arrows, which fractured armour, and tore their way through every covering alike, whether hard or soft.

But the Parthians now stood at long intervals from one another and began to shoot their arrows from all sides at once, not with any accurate aim (for the dense formation of the Romans would not suffer an archer to miss his man even if he wished it), but making vigorous and powerful shots from bows which were large and mighty and curved so as to discharge their missiles with great force. At once, then, the plight of the Romans was a grievous one; for if they kept their ranks, they were wounded in great numbers, and if they tried to come to close quarters with the enemy, they were just as far from effecting anything and suffered just as much. For the Parthians shot as they fled, and next to the Scythians, they do this most effectively; and it is a very clever thing to seek safety while still fighting, and to take away the shame of flight.

XXV. Now as long as they had hopes that the enemy would exhaust their missiles and desist from battle or flight at close quarters, the Romans held
κάμηλοι παρεστάσι τοξευμάτων πλήρεις, ἃφ᾽ ὡν περιελαύνοντες οἱ πρῶτοι λαμβάνονσιν, οὐδὲν πέρας ὅρῳν ὁ Κράσσος ἦθυμει, καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἀγγέλους πέμψας πρὸς τὸν νῦν, ὅπως προσμίζῃ βιάσεται τοῖς ἐναντίοις πρὶν ἡ κυκλω-θήηναι. μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκεῖνο προσέπιπτον καὶ περιέπευν τὸ κέρας ὡς κατὰ νότον γενησόμενοι. 2 λαβῶν οὖν ὁ νεανίας ἵππεῖς τε χιλίους τριακο-σίους, ὅν οἱ χίλιοι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ τῶν ἐγγίστα θυρεο-φόρων ὁκτὼ σπείρας συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐμβολῆν. τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οἱ περιελαύνοντες, εἶτε τέλμασιν ἐντυχόντες, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασίν, εἶτε λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπωτάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατηγοῦντες, 3 ὡς πίσω στρέψαντες ἐδίωκαν. ὁ δὲ βοής ὁς ὡς οὗ μένουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἠλαυνε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κην-σωρίνος τε καὶ Μεγάβακχος, ὁ μὲν ἐνυψυχὰ καὶ ρόμη διαφέρων, Κηνσωρίνος δὲ βουλευτικὸν ἔχων ἀξίωμα καὶ δεινὸς ἵππεώς, ἔταρροι δὲ Κράσσον καὶ παραπλήσιοι καθ᾽ ἥλικιαν. ἐπιστομενῷ δὲ τῶν ἰππέων οὐδὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπελείπετο προθυμία καὶ χαρὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος· ὅτι γὰρ φοντο καὶ διώκειν, ἄχρι οὗ πολὺ προελθόντες ἠσθοῦν τὴν ἀπάτην, μεταβαλλομένων ἀμα τῶν φεύγειν δοκοῦντων καὶ 4 πλειόνων ἄλλων ἐπιφερομένων. ἐνταῦθα ἐστησαν, οἱμενοι συνάψειν αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ὅλιγοις οὐσι
CRASSUS

out; but when they perceived that many camels laden with arrows were at hand, from which the Parthians who first encircled them took a fresh supply, then Crassus, seeing no end to this, began to lose heart, and sent messengers to his son with orders to force an engagement with the enemy before he was surrounded; for it was his wing especially which the enemy were attacking and surrounding with their cavalry, in the hope of getting in his rear. Accordingly, the young man took thirteen hundred horsemen, of whom a thousand had come from Caesar, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of the men-at-arms who were nearest him, and led them all to the charge. But the Parthians who were trying to envelop him, either because, as some say, they encountered marshes, or because they were manoeuvring to attack Publius as far as possible from his father, wheeled about and made off. Then Publius, shouting that the men did not stand their ground, rode after them, and with him Censorinus and Megabacchus, the latter distinguished for his courage and strength, Censorinus a man of senatorial dignity and a powerful speaker, and both of them comrades of Publius and nearly of the same age. The cavalry followed after Publius, and even the infantry kept pace with them in the zeal and joy which their hopes inspired; for they thought they were victorious and in pursuit of the enemy, until, after they had gone forward a long distance, they perceived the ruse. For the seeming fugitives wheeled about and were joined at the same time by others more numerous still. Then the Romans halted, supposing that the enemy would come to close quarters with them,
τοὺς πολεμίους. Οἱ δὲ τοὺς καταφράκτους προτά-ξαντες ἔναντι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἱππον ἄτακτον περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνουτε, καὶ συνταράττον-τες τὸ πεδίον, ἀνύσασαν ἐκ βυθοῦ θῖνας ἁμμοῦ κο-νιορτοῦ ἐπαγούσας ἄπλετον, ὡς μὴν διορᾷν ῥάδιὼς

5 μήτε φθέγγεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰλομένους δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ συμπίπτοντας ἄλληλοις βάλλοντες καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν οὐ μάθον οὐδὲ ὃτιν θάνατον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπασμοῦ καὶ ὀδύνης δυσανασχετοῦντας καὶ κυλινδουμένους περὶ τοῖς ὀἰστοῖς ἐναποθαύνειν τοῖς τραύμαις, βήτα τε πειρωμένους ἔξελκειν ἔγκιστρω-μένας ἀκίδας καὶ δεδυκυίας διὰ φλεβῶν καὶ νεύρων προσαναρρηγυναὶ καὶ λυμαινεσθαι σφάς αὐτοῖς.

6 Οὕτω δὲ πολλῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἀπρακτοῖ καὶ οἱ ξώντες ἤσαν πρὸς ἄλκην καὶ τοῦ Ποπλίου παρακαλοῦντος ἐμβάλειν εἰς τὴν καταφράκτον, ἐπεδεικνυσαν ἑαυτῶν χείρας τε θυρεοὺς συμ-πεπερονημένας καὶ πόδας διαμπτὲξ προσελήλα-μένους πρὸς τοῦδαφος, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν

7 ἀμηχάνους εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν. Αὐτὸς οὖν τοὺς ἱππεῖς παρορμήσας προσέβαλε μὲν ἐρρόμενως καὶ συνήψε τοῖς ἀνδρᾶσιν, ἴνα δὲ ἄνισος ἐν τε ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ τῷ φυλάττεσθαι, παῖσιν μὲν ἀσθενέσι καὶ μικροῖς δοράτοις θωρακας ὁμο-βύρσους καὶ σιδηροὺς, παιόμενος δὲ κοντῶς εἰς εὐσταλῆ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα τῶν Γαλατῶν τού-τως γὰρ ἐθάρρει μάλιστα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔργα

8 θαυμαστὰ διεπράττετο. τῶν τε γὰρ κοντῶν ἐπελαμβάνοντο, καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς
CRASSUS

since they were so few in number. But the Parthians stationed their mail-clad horsemen in front of the Romans, and then with the rest of their cavalry in loose array rode round them, tearing up the surface of the ground, and raising from the depths great heaps of sand which fell in limitless showers of dust, so that the Romans could neither see clearly nor speak plainly, but, being crowded into a narrow compass and falling one upon another, were shot, and died no easy nor even speedy death. For, in the agonies of convulsive pain, and writhing about the arrows, they would break them off in their wounds, and then in trying to pull out by force the barbed heads which had pierced their veins and sinews, they tore and disfigured themselves the more.

Thus many died, and the survivors also were incapacitated for fighting. And when Publius urged them to charge the enemy's mail-clad horsemen, they showed him that their hands were riveted to their shields and their feet nailed through and through to the ground, so that they were helpless either for flight or for self-defence. Publius himself, accordingly, cheered on his cavalry, made a vigorous charge with them, and closed with the enemy. But his struggle was an unequal one both offensively and defensively, for his thrusting was done with small and feeble spears against breastplates of raw hide and steel, whereas the thrusts of the enemy were made with pikes against the lightly equipped and unprotected bodies of the Gauls, since it was upon these that Publius chiefly relied, and with these he did indeed work wonders. For they laid hold of the long spears of the Parthians, and grappling with the men, pushed them from
ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ἑώθουν τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ ὀπλίσμου δυσκινήτους ὄντας, πολλοὶ δὲ τοὺς έαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες ἵππους καὶ ὑποδυόμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐτυπτον εἰς τὰς γαστέρας· οἱ δὲ ἀνεσκίρτων ὑπὸ ὀδύνης, καὶ συμπατοῦντες ἐν ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναπεφυρμένους ἀπέθνησκον.

9 ἐπείξε δὲ τοὺς Γαλάτας μάλιστα τὸ τε θάλπος καὶ τὸ δίψος, ἀμφοτέρων ἀνήθεις ὅντας· καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἀπολὼλεισαν οἱ πλείστοι πρὸς ἐναντίους ἐλαυνόμενοι τοὺς κοντούς. ἐβιώσθησαν οὖν ἀναχωρήσας πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας, ἔχοντες τὸν Πόπλιον ὕπο τραυμάτων ἢδη κακῶς διακείμενον. ἤδοντες δὲ θύμα βουνώδη πλησίον ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐν μέσῳ κατέδησαν, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοὺς θυρεοῖς συγκλείσαντες ὅπως ῥάλον ἀμυνέσθαι τοὺς Βαρβάρους. ἀπέβαινε δὲ τοῦνατόν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὀμαλῷ τοῖς ὁπισθεὶς ἀμώδης γέ πως παρέχουσιν οἱ πρῶται βαστώνης, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἄλλον ὑπὲρ ἄλλον διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν ἀνέχοντος τοῦ χωρίου καὶ μᾶλλον ἤε τὸν κατόπιν ἔξαιροντος, οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ διαφεύγουν, ἀλλὰ ἐβάλλοντο πάντες ὀμαλῶς, ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀκληθῆ καὶ ἀπρακτὸν αὐτῶν τελευτῆν.

10 Ἡσαν δὲ περὶ τῶν Πόπλιον ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες δύο τῶν αὐτοθεί κατοικοῦντων ἐν Κάρραις, Ιερόνυμος καὶ Νικόμαχος, οἳ συνεπείθουν αὐτῶν ὑπεξελθεῖν μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ διαφεύγειν εἰς Ἰχνας, πόλιν ἤρημὲν ἡ Ρωμαιῶν καὶ οὗ μακρὰν ὦσαν. ὁ δὲ φύσας οὐδένα δεινὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἐν φοβηθεὶς Πόπλιος ὑπολείψας τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους δι’ αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκέλευσε σώζεσθαι καὶ
CRASSUS

their horses, hard as it was to move them owing to the weight of their armour; and many of the Gauls forsook their own horses, and crawling under those of the enemy, stabbed them in the belly. These would rear up in their anguish, and die trampling on riders and foemen indiscriminately mingled. But the Gauls were distressed above all things by the heat and their thirst, to both of which they were unused; and most of their horses had perished by being driven against the long spears. They were therefore compelled to retire upon the men at-arms, taking with them Publius, who was severely wounded. And seeing a sandy hillock near by, they all retired to it, and fastened their horses in the centre; then locking their shields together on the outside, they thought they could more easily defend themselves against the Barbarians. But it turned out just the other way. For on level ground, the front ranks do, to some extent, afford relief to those who are behind them. But here, where the inequality of the ground raised one man above another, and lifted every man who was behind another into greater prominence, there was no such thing as escape, but they were all alike hit with arrows, bewailing their inglorious and ineffectual death.

Now there were with Publius two Greeks, of those who dwelt near by in Carrhae, Hieronymus and Nicomachus. These joined in trying to persuade him to slip away with them and make their escape to Ichnae, a city which had espoused the Roman cause and was not far off. But Publius, declaring that no death could have such terrors for him as to make him desert those who were perishing on his account, ordered them to save their own lives, bade them farewell, and
δεξιωσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ χειρὶ χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος (διελήλατο γὰρ βέλει), τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν ἐκέλευσε πατάξαι τῷ ξέφει, παρασχὼν τὸ πλευρὸν. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ Κράσσων ἀποθανεῖν λέγοντι. Ἔπειτα ἐπεβαίνοντες οἱ Πάρθοι τοὺς κοντοῖς διήλαυνον μαχομένους· ἡώτας δὲ οὐ πλεύονας ἀλῶναι φασὶ πεντακοσίων. τὰς δὲ σεβαλὰς τῶν περὶ τῶν Πόπλιων ἀποκόψαντες ἠλαυνοῦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Κράσσον.

XXVI. Εἰπε δὲ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν οὕτως. ὡς ἐκελεύσε τὸν νιοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Πάρθους καὶ τις ἠγγειλεν αὐτῷ μακρὰν τροπὴν εἶναι καὶ δίῳξιν ἰσχυρὰν τῶν πολεμίων, ἐώρα δὲ καὶ τὸν καθ’ αὐτὸν οὐκέτι προσκεμένους ὀμοίως (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐσσύνθαν οἱ πλείστοι), μικρὸν ἀνεθάρρησεν, καὶ πυγμαγῶν ὑπέστειλεν ἐν χωρίοις προσάντεσι τῶν φτωχῶν, αὐτίκα προσδοκῶν τὸν νιὸν ἐπανήξειν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως. τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποπλίου πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκινδύνευεν, οἱ μὲν πρώτοι διεθάρρησαν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τένος βαρβάρους, οἱ δ’ ὦστεροι μόνης διαφυγόντες ἀπήγγελλον ἠγεῖσθαι τὸν Ποπλίον, εἰ μὴ ταχεία καὶ πολλή 560

Θείηθεν παρ’ ἐκεῖνου γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἀμα πολλὰ πάθῃ κατέσχε: καὶ λογισμῷ μὲν οὔδὲν ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἑώρα, φόβῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀμα καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλκόμενος βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ βοηθεῖν, τέλος ὄρμησε προάγειν τὴν ὀύναμιν.
CRASSUS

diss missed them. Then he himself, being unable to use his hand, which had been pierced through with an arrow, presented his side to his shield-bearer and ordered him to strike home with his sword. In like manner also Censorinus is said to have died; but Megabacchus took his own life, and so did the other most notable men. The survivors fought on until the Parthians mounted the hill and transfixed them with their long spears, and they say that not more than five hundred were taken alive. Then the Parthians cut off the head of Publius, and rode off at once to attack Crassus.

XXVI. His situation was as follows. After ordering his son to charge the Parthians and receiving tidings that the enemy were routed to a great distance and hotly pursued, and after noticing also that his own immediate opponents were no longer pressing him so hard (since most of them had streamed away to where Publius was), he recovered a little courage, and drawing his troops together, posted them for safety on sloping ground, in immediate expectation that his son would return from the pursuit. Of the messengers sent by Publius to his father, when he began to be in danger, the first fell in with the Barbarians and were slain; the next made their way through with difficulty and reported that Publius was lost unless he received speedy and abundant aid from his father. And now Crassus was a prey to many conflicting emotions, and no longer looked at anything with calm judgement. His fear for the whole army drove him to refuse, and at the same time his yearning love for his son impelled him to grant assistance; but at last he began to move his forces forward.
'Εν τούτῳ δ’ οἶ πολέμωι προσεφέροντο κλάγγη καὶ παιándι φοβερότεροι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τυμπάνων αὕθες περιεμύκατο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτέρας μάχης ἀρχὴν προσδοκώντας. οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ποπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπεπηγυῖαν ἐγγὺς προσελάσαντες ἀνέδειξαν, ὑβρεὶ πυθηθανόμενοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος, οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρέπειν γε Κράσσοι πατρὸς ἀναιδροτάτου καὶ κακίστου γενναῖον ὑπὸ παῖδα καὶ λαμπροῦ ἀρετῆς γενέσθαι. τούτο τὸ θέαμα Ῥωμαίῶν ὑπὲρ ἀπαντά τάλλα δεινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς κατέκλασε καὶ παρέλυσεν, οὐ θυμοῦ πρὸς ἄμυναν, ὡσπερ ἦν εἰκός, ἄλλα φρίκης καὶ πρόμου πάσιν ἐγγενομένου.

καίτοι τῶν γε Κράσσου αὐτοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐν τῷ τότε πάθει φανῆται λέγουσιν ἐβόα γὰρ ἐπὶ ὅ τὰς τάξεις. "Ἐμὸν, ὃ Ῥωμαίοι, τοῦτο τὸ πένθος ἵδιόν ἔστων ἡ δὲ μεγάλη τύχη καὶ δόξα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν υμῖν ἐστηκε σωζομένοις ἀθραυστός καὶ ἀηττητός. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔμοι τις οίκτος ἀφηρημένου παῖδα πάντων ἄριστων, ἐπιδείξασθε τοῦτο ὅργῃ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀφέλεσθε τὴν χαράν αὐτῶν, τιμωρήσασθε τὴν ἀμότητα, μὴ καταπλαγῇτε τοῖς γεγενημένοις, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ παθεῖν μεγάλων ἐφιεμένους. οὐδὲ Δούκουλλος Τυγράνην ἀναιμωτῖ καθείλεν, οὐδὲ Σκητίῳν Ἀντίοχον, χιλίας δὲ ναὸς οἱ παλαιοὶ περὶ Σικελίαν ἀπώλεσαν, ἐν δ’ Ἰταλίᾳ πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγοὺς, ὡς οὔδες προητηθεῖς ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς κρατήσαι τῶν νεικηκότων. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχία τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ
At this point, however, the enemy came up with clamour and battle cries which made them more fearful than ever, and again many of their drums began bellowing about the Romans, who awaited the beginning of a second battle. Besides, those of the enemy who carried the head of Publius fixed high upon a spear, rode close up and displayed it, scornfully asking after his parents and family; for surely, they said, it was not meet that Crassus, most base and cowardly of men, should be the father of a son so noble and of such splendid valour. This spectacle shattered and unstrung the spirits of the Romans more than all the rest of their terrible experiences, and they were all filled, not with a passion for revenge, as was to have been expected, but with shuddering and trembling. And yet Crassus, as they say, showed more brilliant qualities in that awful hour than ever before, for he went up and down the ranks crying: "Mine, O Romans, is this sorrow, and mine alone; but the great fortune and glory of Rome abide unbroken and unconquered in you, who are alive and safe. And now if ye have any pity for me, thus bereft of the noblest of sons, show it by your wrath against the enemy. Rob them of their joy; avenge their cruelty; be not cast down at what has happened, for it must needs be that those who aim at great deeds should also suffer greatly. It was not without bloody losses that even Lucullus overthrew Tigranes, or Scipio Antiochus; and our fathers of old lost a thousand ships off Sicily, and in Italy many imperators and generals, not one of whom, by his defeat, prevented them from afterwards mastering his conquerors. For it was not by good fortune merely that the Roman state reached its present
τλημοσύνη καὶ ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ χωροὐτῶν ἔσ τοῦτο προῆλθε δυνάμεως."

XXVII. Τοιαύτα λέγων καὶ παραθαρσύνων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ πολλοὺς ἐώρα προθύμως ὑπακούονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναλαλάξας κελεύσας ἤλεγξε τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν κατῆφειαν, ὡς ἀσθενὴ καὶ ὀλίγην καὶ ἀνώμαλον κραυγὴν ἐποιήσαντο. ἦ δὲ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων λαμπρὰ καὶ θρασεία κατείχεν, τραπεμένων δὲ πρὸς ēργον οἱ μὲν ἢπόται 1 πλάγιοι περιελαύνοντες ἐτόξευον, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῖς κοινοῖς οἱ προτάκτοι χρώμενοι συνέστελλον εἰς 2 ὀλίγον τοὺς ῥωμαίους, πλὴν ὅσοι τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων φεύγοντες θάνατον ἀπετόλμων παραβόλως εἰς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι, μικρὰ μὲν βλάπτοντες, ὀξέως δὲ θησακοῦσας ὑπὸ τραυμάτων μεγάλων καὶ καιρών, παχύν ἐπωθοῦσαν τῷ σιδηρῷ τῶν κόμτων εἰς τοὺς ἢποτές, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διὰ δυνὲν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ ῥύμης διαποτρεπόμενον. οὔτω δὲ ἀγωνισάμενοι νυκτὸς ἐπιούσης ἀπηλλάγησαν, εἰπόντες ὅτι Κράσσῳ χαρίζονται νύκτα μίαν ἀποθρηνῆσαι τὸν νίόν, ἢν ἀρα μὴ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ σκεφταμένος ἐλθείν μᾶλλον ἐθελήσῃ πρὸς Ἀρσάκην ἡ κομισθήναι.

3 Οὕτω μὲν οὐν ἐπαυλισάμενοι πλησίων ἐν ἐλπίδι μεγάλαις ἦσαν. νυὲς δὲ χαλεπὶ τοὺς ῥωμαίους κατελάμβανεν, οὔτε ταφῆς τῶν κειμένων οὔτε θεραπείας τῶν τετρωμένων καὶ ψυχοφραγούντων ποιομένων λόγου, ἔκαστῳ δ' ἑαυτῷ ἀποκλαίοντος. ἀφυκτα γὰρ ἐφαίνετο τὴν τε ἡμέραν ἑαυτοῦ προσμείνασι καὶ νῦκτωρ εἰς πεδίον ἄχανες ἐμβα-

1 ἢπόται with the MSS. (including S): οἰκέται καὶ πελάται (slaves and vassals).

400
CRASSUS

plenitude of power, but by the patient endurance and valour of those who faced dangers in its behalf.’’

XXVII. Even as he spoke such words of encouragement, Crassus saw that not many of his men listened with any eagerness, but when he also bade them raise the battle cry, he discovered how despondent his army was, so weak, feeble, and uneven was the shout they made, while that which came from the Barbarians was clear and bold. Then, as the enemy got to work, their light cavalry rode round on the flanks of the Romans and shot them with arrows, while the mail-clad horsemen in front, plying their long spears, kept driving them together into a narrow space, except those who, to escape death from the arrows, made bold to rush desperately upon their foes. These did little damage, but met with a speedy death from great and fatal wounds, since the spear which the Parthians thrust into the horses was heavy with steel, and often had impetus enough to pierce through two men at once. After fighting in this manner till night came on, the Parthians withdrew, saying that they would grant Crassus one night in which to bewail his son, unless, with a better regard for his own interests, he should consent to go to Arsaces instead of being carried there.

The Parthians, then, bivouacked near by, and were in high hopes; but it was a grievous night for the Romans. They took no steps to bury their dead nor to care for their wounded and dying, but every man was lamenting his own fate. Escape seemed impossible, whether they waited there for day to come, or plunged by night into a limitless plain.
λούσιν· ο usleep ην τε τραυματία τολλήν ἀπορίαν παρεί-
χου, καὶ κομίζειν, ἐμποδῶν τῷ τάχει τῆς φυγῆς
ἐσόμενοι, καὶ ἀπολείπειν, βοή τῆν ἀπόδρασιν
4 ἐξαγγελοῦντες. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου, καὶ περ αύτιον
ἀπάντων νομίζοντες, ἔποδον ὁμοι τὴν τε ὅψιν·
καὶ τὴν φωνὴν. ὁ δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος ᾗ ὑπὸ
σκότους ἑκεῖτο, παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς
τύχης, τοῖς δ' εἴν φρονοῦσιν ἄβουλιας καὶ φιλο-
τιμίας, δι' ἦν οὐκ ἡγάπα πρῶτος ὁν καὶ μέγιστος
ἐν μυρίσιν ἄνθρωπων τοσαύταις, ἀλλ' ὅτι δνεὶν
μόνον ἄνδρῶν ὑπεροχοῦ ἐκλίνετο, τοῦ παντὸς ἀπο-
δεῖν νομίζοιν.
5 Τὸτε δ' οὖν αὐτὸν 'Οκταούιος ὁ πρεσβευτῆς καὶ
Κάσσιος ἀνίστασαι καὶ παρεβάρμουν. ὡς δ' ἀπηγορεύκει παντάπασιν, αὐτοὶ συγκαλέσαντες
ἐκατοντάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς, ὡς ἕδοξε λουλιο-
μένοις μὴ μένειν, ἀνίστασαν τὸν στρατὸν ἄνευ
σάλπιγγος καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας τὸ πρῶτον· εἰτ' αἰ-
σθομένους ὡς ὑπελείποντο τῶν ἁδύνατων, ἀκοσμία
dεινὴ καὶ σύγχυσις μετ' οἴμων καὶ βοής τὸ
6 στρατόπεδον κατείχεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ
πτολαὶ προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν, ὡς ἐπιφε-
ρομένων τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ προλάκις μὲν ἐκτρε-
πόμενοι, πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τάξιν καθιστάμενοι, τῶν
dὲ τραυματών ὅσοι παρηκολούθουν τοὺς μὲν
ἀναλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποτιθέμενοι, διατριβὴν
εἶχον, πλὴν τριακοσίων ἑπτῶν, οὐς 'Ἰγνάτιος
ἐχων προσέμειξε ταῖς Κάρραις περὶ μέσας νύκτας.
7 φθεγξάμενος δὲ 'Ρωμαϊστὶ τοῖς τειχοφυλακοῦσιν,
CRASSUS

And their wounded caused them much perplexity: they were sure to impede flight if they were carried away, and if they were left behind, their cries would herald to the enemy the retreat of their companions. Although the soldiers held Crassus to blame for all their ills, still they yearned to see his face and hear his voice. But he was lying on the ground by himself, enveloped in darkness, to the multitude an illustration of the ways of fortune, but to the wise an example of foolish ambition, which would not let him rest satisfied to be first and greatest among many myriads of men, but made him think, because he was judged inferior to two men only, that he lacked everything.

At this time, then, Octavius the legate and Cassius tried to rouse him up and encourage him. But since he was in utter despair, they called together on their own authority the centurions and captains, and when they had decided, upon deliberation, not to remain where they were, they put the army in motion without trumpet signal, and in silence at first. Then the sick and wounded perceived that their comrades were abandoning them, and dreadful disorder and confusion, accompanied by groans and shouts, filled the camp. And after this, as they tried to advance, disorder and panic seized upon them, for they felt sure that the enemy was coming against them. Frequently they would change their course, frequently they would form in order of battle, some of the wounded who followed them had to be taken up, and others to be laid down, and so all were delayed, except three hundred horsemen under Ignatius, who reached Carrhae about midnight. Ignatius hailed the sentinels on the walls in the Roman tongue, and
ὡς ἤπικουσαν, ἐκέλευσε Κοπωνῖφω τῷ ἄρχοντι φράζειν ὅτι γέγονε μάχη μεγάλη Κράσσω πρὸς Πάρθους, ἀλλὰ δ’ οὐδὲν εἰπὼν οὐδ’ αὐτὸν ὅστις ἦν ἀπήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεύγμα, καὶ διέσωσε μὲν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, κακῶς δ’ ἠκουσε καταλιπτῶν τῶν στρατήγων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ὠνήσε γε τὸν Κράσσον ἡ προσφείσα τότε τῷ Κοπωνῖφῳ φωνῇ συμφρονήσας γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν χρηστῶν ἀγγέλλειν ἔχοντός ἐστι τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ συγκεχυμένου τοῦ λόγου, παρήγγειλεν εὐθὺς ἐξοπλίζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ ἅμα τῷ πρῶτον αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Κράσσον ἐν ὁδῷ γεγενημένον ἀπαντήσας ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρέτεμπε τὴν στρατὶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

XXVIII. Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι νυκτὸς μὲν αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἀπόδρασιν οὐκ ἐδίωκον, ἁμα δ’ ἡμέρα τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ καταλειφθέντας εὔ μείνας τετρακισχιλίων ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσφαξαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ πλανωμένους πολλοὺς ἰππασάμενοι συνέλαβον. τέσσαρας δ’ ὁμοῦ στείρας, ὅτι ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπέρρηξε Βαργοντής ὁ πρεσβευτής, ἐκπεσοῦσας τῆς ὁδοῦ περισσόντες ἐν τινι λόφῳ διέφθειραν ἀμυνομένας, πλὴν ἄνδρῶν εὐκοστῶν. τούτους δὲ γυμνῶς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὠθομένους δι’ αὐτῶν θαναμάσαντες εἶξαν, καὶ διέξοδον ἀποιύσι βάδην εἰς τὸς Κάρρας ἐδίδοσαν.

Τῷ δὲ Σουρίμα προσέπτεσε ψευδῆς λόγος ἐκπεφευγέναι Κράσσον μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δ’ εἰς Κάρρας συνερρυκὸς ἄχλου εἶναι σύμμικτον 3 οὐκ ἄξιων σπουδῆς ἀνθρώπων. οἴμοις οὖν
CRASSUS

when they answered, ordered them to tell Coponius, their commander, that there had been a great battle between Crassus and the Parthians. Then, without another word, and without even telling who he was, he rode off to Zeugma. He saved himself and his men, but got a bad name for deserting his general. However, the message shouted to Coponius at that time was of some advantage to Crassus. For Coponius, concluding that the haste and brevity of the message argued a bearer of no good news, ordered his men to arm forthwith, and as soon as he learned that Crassus was on the march, he went out to meet him, relieved him, and escorted his army into the city.

XXVIII. During the night the Parthians, although they were aware of the flight of the Romans, did not pursue; but as soon as day came, they attacked and slaughtered those who had been left behind in the Roman camp, to the number of four thousand, and then rode about and seized many who were wandering in the plain. Four cohorts together, also, which Vargontinus the legate had suffered to get detached from the main body while it was still dark, and which had lost their way, were surrounded on a sort of hill, and cut to pieces as they fought, all except twenty men. The Parthians, admiring these men, who tried to push their way through them with drawn swords, made way for them and suffered them to pass through and march deliberately to Carrhae.

A false report now reached Surena that Crassus, along with the men of highest rank, had made his escape, and that the fugitives who had streamed into Carrhae were a mixed rabble unworthy of his notice.
 Nero άποβεβληκέναι τὸ τῆς νίκης τέλος, ἐτὶ ὁ ἀμφι- 
δοξῶν καὶ μαθείν βουλόμενος τάληθές, ὅπως ἢ 
προσμένων ἐνταύθα πολιορκοῖκα Κράσσον ἡ διόκοι 
χάρειν εάσας Καρρηνοὺς, ὑποπέμπει τινὰ τῶν 
παρ’ αὐτῷ διγλώττων πρὸς τὰ τείχη, κελεύσας 
ιέντα Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον καλεῖν Κράσσον αὐτὸν 
ἡ Κάσσιον, ὡς Σουρήνα διὰ λόγων ἐθέλοντος 
4 αὐτοῖς συγγενέσθαι. ταῦτα τοῦ διγλώττου φρά- 
σαντος, ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη τοῖς περὶ Κράσσον, ἐδέχοντο 
tὰς προκλήσεις· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἦκον ἀπὸ τῶν 
βαρβάρων Ἀραβῶν, οἱ Κράσσον εὖ καὶ Κάσσιον 
ἀπ’ ὄψεως ἐγνώριζον, ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πρὸ τῆς 
μάχης γεγονότες. οὗτοι τὸν Κάσσιον ἱδόντες ἀπὸ 
tοῦ τείχους, ἔλεγον ὅτι Σουρήνας σπένδεται καὶ 
δίδωσι αὐτοῖς φίλοις οὕσι βασιλεῖς σώζεσθαι, 
Μεσοποταμίων ἐκκλησίου· τούτῳ γὰρ ὀραν λυσι- 
tελές ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἁμάγκης. 
5 δεξαμένον δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ τότεν ὄρισ- 
θήναι καὶ χρόνον ἐξεύοντος, ἐν ὕ συνίασι 562 
Σουρήνας καὶ Κράσσος, οὗτω φάμενοι ποιήσεων 
ἀπῆλανον.

ΧΧΧΙ. Ἡσθεῖς οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας ἐτὶ τῷ τοῦ 
ἀνδρας ἐνέχεσθαι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, μεθ’ ἤμεραν 
ἐπηγε τοὺς Πάρθους πολλὰ καθυβρίζοντας καὶ 
κελεύοντας, εἰ βούλονται τυχεῖσθαι Ῥωμαῖοι, 
Κράσσον ἐγχειρίζει σφίσει καὶ Κάσσιον δεδε- 
2 μένους. οἱ δ’ ἥχθυντο μὲν ἡπατημένοι, μακρὰς 
δὲ καὶ κενὰς τὰς Ἀρμενίων ἐλπίδας καταβάλλειν 
τῷ Κράσσῳ φράζαντες εἶχοντο δραμοῦ· καὶ 
τούτ’ ἐδεί μηδένα πρὸ καρυῶν Ἀρμενίων πυθέσθαι. 
πυνθάνεται δ’ ὁ πάντων ἀπιστότατος Ἀνδρόμαχος,
CRASSUS

Supposing, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory, but being still in doubt and wishing to learn the truth, in order that he might either wait there and lay siege to Crassus in the city, or else let Carrhae alone and pursue him, he sent one of his attendants who could speak both languages up to the walls, with orders to call out in the Roman tongue for Crassus himself or Cassius, saying that Suraena wished to have a conference with them. The interpreter gave this message, and when it was reported to Crassus, he accepted the invitation. A little while afterwards there came from the Barbarians some Arabs, who knew Crassus and Cassius well by sight, having been in their camp before the battle. When these men saw Cassius on the wall, they said that Suraena proposed a truce, and offered them safe conduct if they would be friends of the king and leave Mesopotamia; for this he saw was more advantageous to both parties than any resort to extreme measures. Cassius accepted the proposal, and asked that time and place be fixed for a conference between Suraena and Crassus. The men said that this should be done, and rode away.

XXIX. Now Suraena was delighted that the men were where he could besiege them, and when day came, he led his Parthians up against the city. With many insults they ordered the Romans, if they wished to obtain a truce, to deliver Crassus and Cassius into their hands in fetters. The Romans were distressed to find themselves deceived, and telling Crassus to abandon his distant and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, prepared for flight, of which none of the men of Carrhae were to know beforehand. But Andromachus, the most faithless of men, learned of
υπὸ Κράσσου καὶ τοῦτο πιστευθεῖς καὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς ἕγεμονίαν. οὐδὲν οὐν ἐλαθεῖ τοὺς Πάρθους, ἐξαγγέλλοντος τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου καθ᾽ ἐκαστῷ.

3 ἔτει δὲ νυκτομαχεῖν ὑπὸ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον, ἐκεῖ δὲ νύκτωρ ὁ Κράσσος, ὅπως μὴ καθυστερήσωσι πολὺ τῇ διώξει στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀνδρομάχος ἀλλατε ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ὕφηγεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἐξέτρεψεν εἰς ἑλη βαθέα καὶ χωρία τάφρων μεστὰ τῆς πορείαν, χαλεπῆν καὶ πολυπλανῆ.

4 γνωμενήν τοῖς ἐπιστομοένοις. ἐγένοτο γὰρ τινες οὐ μηδὲν ὑγίες τοὺς Ἀνδρομάχου στρεφεῖν καὶ περιελίττειν εἰκάσαντες οὔκ ἔκολούθησαν, ἄλλα Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπαινίλθεν εἰς Κάρρας πάλιν, καὶ τῶν ὀδηγῶν Ἄραβες δ᾽ ἦπαν ἀναμένειν κελευνόντων ἀχρί ἀν σελήνη παραλλάξῃ τῶν σκορπίων,

5 "Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώγε," εἰπών, "ἐτὶ τοῦτο μᾶλλον φοβοῦμαι τὸν τοξότην," ἀπῄλανεν εἰς Συρίαν μεθ᾽ ἱππεῶν πεντακεσίων· ἄλλοι δὲ χρησάμενοι πιστοῖς ὀδηγοῖς ἐλάβοντο χωρίων ὅρεινδων, ἄ καλεῖται Σίννακα, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐν ἀσφαλεί πρὸ ἤμερας. οὔτοι περὶ πεντακεσίων ἦσαν ἦγεῖτο δ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Ὁκταοῦς.

6 Τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἤμερα κατελάμβανεν ἐπίβουλευόμενον ὑπ᾽ Ἀνδρομάχου περὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας καὶ τὸ ἔλος. ἦσαν δὲ τέσσαρες στείραι σὺν αὐτῷ τυρεσφόρων, ἱππεῖς δὲ παυτελῶς ὀλύγοι καὶ πέντε ῥαβδοῦχοι, μεθ᾽ ὃν ἐπιπόνως εἰς τὴν ὀδὸν καὶ μόλις καταστάσει, ἦδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐπίκειμένων, ὦςον δόδεκα στάδιους ἀπολιπὼν τοῦ συμμέξῃ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὁκταοῦν ἐπ᾽ ἄλλον

1 ἐπίβουλευόμενον Bekker reads Ἕτι ἄγόμενον (still led), with Pseudo-Appian.
CRASSUS

it, for Crassus not only confided the secret to him, but made him the guide for the journey. Accordingly, everything was known to the Parthians, for Andromachus reported to them all the details. But since it is not the custom, and so not easy, for the Parthians to fight by night, and since Crassus set out by night, Andromachus, by leading the fugitives now by one route and now by another, contrived that the pursuers should not be left far behind, and finally he diverted the march into deep marshes and regions full of ditches, thus making it difficult and circuitous for those who still followed him. For there were some who conjectured that the twisting and turning of Andromachus boded no good, and therefore did not follow him. Cassius, indeed, went back again to Carrhae, and when his guides, who were Arabs, urged him to wait there until the moon had passed the Scorpion, he said that he feared the Archer 1 even more than the Scorpion, and rode off into Syria with five hundred horsemen. And others, too, employing trusty guides, reached a hill country called Sinnaca, and established themselves in safety before day came. These were about five thousand men, and they were led by Octavius, a brave man.

But day found Crassus a prey to the wiles of Andromachus in the difficult places and the marsh. There were with him four cohorts of men-at-arms, a few horsemen all told, and five lictors. With these he got back into the road, with great difficulty, when the enemy at once pressed upon him, and since he was about twelve furlongs short of a junction with Octavius, he took refuge on another hill, not so

1 Sagittarius, the sign of the zodiac following Scorpio.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀναφεύγει λόφον, οὐχ οὐτω μὲν ἀφιπτοῦ οὐδ’ ὀχυρόν, ὑποκείμενον δὲ τοῖς Σιννάκοις καὶ συνηρτη-

μένον αὐχένι μακρῷ διὰ μέσου κατατείνομεν τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοῦτον. ἦν οὖν ἐν ὠψει τῶν περὶ

τῶν 'Οκταούειον ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος
'Οκταούειος ἔθει μετ’ ὀλίγων ἀνώθεν ἐπιβοηθῶν,

εἰτα οἱ λοιποὶ κακίστατε ἐαυτοὺς ἐπεφέροντο,

καὶ προς πεσοῦντες καὶ ὡσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους

ἄπο τοῦ λόφου περιέσχον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν Κράσσου

καὶ προεβάλλοντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς, μεγαληγοροῦντες

ὡς οὐκ ἔστι Πάρθοις βέλος ὁ προσπεσεῖται τῷ

σώματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὶν ἢ σφᾶς ἀπαντᾶς

ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἀποθανεῖν.

XXX. Ὡρῶν οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας τοὺς τε Πάρθους

ἀμβλύτερον ἦδη κινδυνεύοντας, καὶ ἦν ἦ τε νῦς

ἐπίσχη καὶ τῶν οὗτοι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λάβονται,

παντάπασιν αὐτοὺς ἐσομένους ἀλήττους, ἔπηγε

τῷ Κράσσῳ δόλου. ἀφείθησαν μὲν γὰρ ἐνιοῦ

τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἁγιοῦτες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ

τῶν ἑρμάρων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπίτηδες διαλεγο-

μένων ὡς οὐ βούλεται βασιλεὺς ἀσπούνον αὐτῷ

τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίοις, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν

ἀναλαβεῖν χάριτι, Κράσσῳ χρησάμενος φιλαν-

2 θρώπως, ἐσχοντο δὲ μάχης οἱ βάρβαροι, Σου-

ρήνας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων προσελάσας ἀτρέμα

τῷ λόφῳ τοῦ μὲν τόξου τοῦ τόνου ἀνήκε, τὴν δὲ

dεξιάν προὔπεινεν, ἐκάλει δὲ τῶν Κράσσου ἐπὶ

συμβάσεις, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας καὶ

dυνάμεως ἀκοντος πεπείραται βασιλέως, πραό-

tητα δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃς ἐκὼν ἐπι-

dείκνυται σπευδόμενος ἀπιόυσι καὶ παρέχων

σώζεσθαι.

410
CRASSUS

difficult for cavalry nor yet so strong a position, but one that lay below Sinnaca and was connected with it by a long ridge running through the midst of the plain. His danger was therefore to be seen by Octavius. And Octavius ran first with a few men to bring him aid from the higher ground; then the rest of his men, reproaching themselves with cowardice, plunged forward, and falling upon the enemy and sweeping them from the hill, enveloped Crassus round about, and covered him with their shields, boldly declaring that no Parthian missile should smite their imperator until they had all died fighting in his defence.

XXX. And now Surena, observing that his Parthians were already less impetuous in their attacks, and that if night should come on and the Romans should reach the hills, it would be altogether impossible to capture them, brought a stratagem to bear on Crassus. Some of his Roman captives were first released, who, while in his camp, had heard the Barbarians saying to one another, as they had been ordered to do, that the king did not wish the war between him and the Romans to be waged relentlessly, but preferred to regain their friendship by doing them the favour of treating Crassus kindly. Then the Barbarians ceased fighting, and Surena with his chief officers rode quietly up to the hill, unstrung his bow, held out his right hand, and invited Crassus to come to terms, saying: "I have put your valour and power to the test against the wishes of the king, who now of his own accord shows you the mildness and friendliness of his feelings by offering to make a truce with you if you will withdraw, and by affording you the means of safety."
Ταῦτα τοῦ Σουρήνα λέγοντος ὦ μὲν ἄλλοι προθύμως ἐδέξαντο καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος συνεῖν ὦ τι μὴ δὲ ἀπάτης ἐσφαλμένος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς ἁλογον ἡγούμενος, οὐχ ὑπῆκουν, ἀλλ’ ἐβουλεύετο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βοῶντων καὶ κελευόντων, εἴτε λοιδορούντων καὶ κακιζόντων ὡς προβάλλοντα μαχουμένους αὐτοὺς ὡς αὐτὸς ἀνόητος εἰς λόγους οὐ θαρρεῖ συνελθεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειράτο δεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ λείπομενον μέρος τῆς ἄμερας διακαρτηρήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καὶ πραξάσας δύνανται διὰ νυκτὸς ἱέναι, καὶ τὴν ὄδον ἐδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ προέθαλε τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγγὺς οὕσης. ὡς δὲ χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κρούοντες ἠπείλουν, φοβηθεῖς ἐχώρει, καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶπε μεταστραφείς. "Ὁκταοῦίε καὶ Πετρώνιε καὶ ὅσοι πάρεστε Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες, ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶτε τῆς ἐμῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ σύνιστε παρόντες ὡς αἰσχρὰ πάσχω καὶ βίαια, τοῖς δ’ ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἀνθρώπους λέγετε σωθέντες ὡς Κράσσος ἀπατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐκ ἐκδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπόλετο." XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἔμειναν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὁκταοῦίον, ἀλλὰ συγκατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοὺς ὑπὸ Ῥαβδούχους ἐπομένους ὁ Κράσσος ἀπήλασεν. πρώτοι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο μιξέλληνες, οἱ καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπὸ τῶν ὕππων ἀλόμενοι, καὶ προσαγορεύσαντες ἐλλάδι φωνῇ παρεκάλουν προπέμψαι τινάς, οἷς
CRASSUS

When Surena said this, the rest of the Romans eagerly accepted his proposal and were full of joy, but Crassus, whose every discomfiture at the hands of the Barbarians had been due to fraud, and who thought the suddenness of their change a strange thing, would not reply, but took the matter into consideration. His soldiers, however, cried out and urged him to accept, then fell to abusing and reviling him for putting them forward to fight men with whom he himself had not the courage to confer even when they came unarmed. At first he tried entreaties and arguments. If they would hold out for what was left of the day, during the night they could reach the mountains and rough country; and he showed them the road thither, and exhorted them not to abandon hope when safety was so near. But when they grew angry with him, and clashed their arms together, and threatened him, then he was terrified and began to go towards Surena. As he went, however, he turned and said: "Octavius and Petronius and ye other Roman commanders here present, ye see that I go because I must, and ye are eyewitnesses of the shameful violence I suffer; but tell the world, if ye get safely home, that Crassus perished because he was deceived by his enemies, and not because he was delivered up to them by his countrymen."

XXXI. Octavius, however, and those about him, did not remain, but went down from the hill with Crassus; the lictors, who were following him, Crassus drove back. The first of the Barbarians to meet him were two half-breed Greeks, who leaped from their horses and made obeisance to him; then addressing him in the Greek tongue, they urged him to send a party forward to assure themselves that Surena and
ἐπιδείξεται Σουρήνας ἐαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡμετέρας πρὸς ἐναρξάμενος. οὐ δὲ Κράσσων ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὡς, εἴ καὶ τὸν ἐκάλυπτον εἶχε τοῦ ξήνῳ λόγον, οὐκ ἂν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦς ἦλθεν, ὡμως δὲ δύο Ῥωσκίους ἀδελφοὺς ἐπεμψε πεντεμένους ἐπὶ τίσι καὶ πόσοι συνίασιν. οὐς εὐθὺς συνελήφθη οἱ Σουρήνας κατέσχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππότης προσῆκε καὶ "Τί τούτ'," ἐφη, "πεξός ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ, ἢμεῖς δὲ ὧχούμεθα;"; καὶ προσαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν

3 ἢππον αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου φίλοντος οὔτε αὐτὸν ἀμαρτάνειν οὔτε ἐκεῖνον, ὃς ἐκατέρθη πάτρωι ἐστιν ποιούμενος τὴν σίνδον, εἶναι μὲν αὐτóθεν ἐφη σπουδᾶς καὶ εἰρήνην ὁ Σουρήνας Ῥώδη τε βασιλεῖ καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, δεῖν δὲ γράψασθαι τὰς συνθήκας ἐπὶ τόν ποταμὸν προσελθόντας. "Οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς γε," ἐφη, "πάνυ μνήμονες ὁμολογίων οἱ Ῥωμαίωι," καὶ προφήτευε τὴν δεξιάν αὐτῷ. μεταπεμπομένου δ' ἢππον οὐδὲν ἐφη δεῖν. "Βασιλεὺς

4 γὰρ σοι δίδωσι τοῦτον." ἀμα δ' ἢππος τε τῷ Κράσσῳ παρέστη χρυσοχάλκινος, οἱ τε ἀναβολεῖς αὐτὸν ἀράμενοι περιβεβάζασιν καὶ παρείπτοντο πληγὴ τόν ἢππον ἐπιταχύνοντες. Ὅκταούιος δὲ πρῶτος ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῶν χαλινῶν, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου εἰς τῶν χιλιάρχων Πετρώνιος, εἰτα οἱ λοιποὶ περίσταντο τόν τε ἢππον ἀνακόπτειν πειρώμενοι καὶ τοὺς πιεζόντας τόν Κράσσον ἔξ

5 ἐκατέρθους μέρους ἄφελκοντες. ἀθισμοῦ δὲ γενομένου καὶ ταραχῆς, εἰτα πληγῶν, Ὅκταούιος μὲν ἀναστάσας τὸ ἔφος ἐνὸς τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνει τὸν ἢπποκόμον, ἔτερος δὲ τῶν Ὅκταούιον ἐκ τῶν

414
CRASSUS

those about him were advancing to the conference without armour and without weapons. Crassus replied that if he had the least concern for his life, he would not have come into their hands; but nevertheless he sent two Roscii, brothers, to enquire on what terms and in what numbers they should hold their meeting. These men were promptly seized and detained by Surena, while he himself with his chief officers advanced on horseback, saying: “What is this? the Roman imperator on foot, while we are mounted?” Then he ordered a horse to be brought for Crassus. And when Crassus answered that neither of them was at fault, since each was following the custom of his country in this meeting, Surena said that from that moment there was a truce and peace between King Hyrodes and the Romans, but it was necessary to go forward to the river Euphrates and there have the contracts put in writing; “for you Romans at least,” said he, “are not very mindful of agreements,” and he held out his right hand to Crassus. Then when Crassus proposed to send for a horse, Surena said there was no need of it, “for the king offers you this one.” At the same time a horse with gold-studded bridle stood at Crassus’ side, and the grooms lifted Crassus up and mounted him, and then ran along by him, quickening his horse’s pace with blows. Octavius was first to seize the bridle, and after him Petronius, one of the legionary tribunes; then the rest of the Romans in the party surrounded the horse, trying to stop him, and dragging away those who crowded in upon Crassus on either side. Scuffling followed, and a tumult, then blows. Octavius drew his sword and slew the groom of one of the Barbarians, but another smote Octavius down from
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

οπίσθεν πατάξας. Πετρώνιος δὲ ὀπλῶν μὲν οὐκ εὐπόρησεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν θώρακα πληγεὶς ἀπεπήδησεν ἀτρωτος· τὸν δὲ Κράσσων ὄνομα Πομαξάθρης Πάρθος ἀπέκτεινεν.

6 Οἱ δὲ οὖν φασιν, ἀλλ' ἔτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, τοῦτον δὲ κειμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαι καὶ τὴν δεξιάν. εἰκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἡ γινώσκεια· τῶν γὰρ παρόντων οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ μαχόμενοι περὶ τὸν Κράσσων ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ εὕθεως ἀνεπήδησαν ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων. ἐπιλθόντων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων καὶ λεγόντων ὧτι Κράσσως μὲν δίκην δέδωκε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κελεύει Σουρήνας κατιέναι θαρροῦντας, οἱ μὲν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτοὺς καταβάντες, οἱ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐσπάρθησαν, καὶ τούτων ὁλίγοι παντάπασι διεσώθησαν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκθηρεύοντες οἱ Ἀραβεῖς συνελάμβανον καὶ διέφθειρον. λέγονται δὲ οἱ πάντες δισμύριοι μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, μῦροι δὲ ἀλώναι ξύνες.

XXXII. Ο δὲ Σουρήνας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς Ὄροδην ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαδόσει λόγων ὑπ' ἀγγέλων εἰς Σελεύκειαν ὡς ξύντα Κράσσου ἄγων, παρεσκευάζεται πομπὴν τινα γέλοιαν ὑβρεῖς προσαγορεύων 2 θρίαμβον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐμφερέστατος Κράσσῳ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Γαίος Πακκιανός, ἐς θῆτα βασιλικὴν γυναικῶς ἐνδὺς καὶ διδαχθεὶς Κράσσου υπακούων καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς καλοῦσιν, ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενος ἂγετο· πρὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλπιγκταὶ καὶ ῥαβδοῦχοί τινες ὑχούμενοι καμῆλοις ἠλαιοῦν ἐξήριστο δὲ τῶν ῥάβδων βαλάντια καὶ παρὰ τοὺς

416
CRASSUS

behind. Petronius had no offensive weapons, but when he was struck on the breastplate, leaped down from his horse unwounded. Crassus was killed by a Parthian named Pomaxathres.

Some, however, say that it was not this man, but another, who killed Crassus, and that this man cut off the head and right hand of Crassus as he lay upon the ground. These details, however, are matters of conjecture rather than of knowledge. For of the Romans who were present there and fighting about Crassus, some were slain, and others fled back to the hill. Thither the Parthians came and said that as for Crassus, he had met with his deserts, but that Surena ordered the rest of the Romans to come down without fear. Thereupon some of them went down and delivered themselves up, but the rest scattered during the night, and of these a very few made their escape; the rest of them were hunted down by the Arabs, captured, and cut to pieces. In the whole campaign, twenty thousand are said to have been killed, and ten thousand to have been taken alive.

XXXII. Surena now took the head and hand of Crassus and sent them to Hyrodes in Armenia, but he himself sent word by messengers to Seleucia that he was bringing Crassus there alive, and prepared a laughable sort of procession which he insultingly called a triumph. That one of his captives who bore the greatest likeness to Crassus, Caius Paccianus, put on a woman's royal robe, and under instructions to answer to the name of Crassus and the title of Imperator when so addressed, was conducted along on horseback. Before him rode trumpeters and a few lictors borne on camels; from the fasces of the
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

πελέκεις πρόσφατοι κεφαλαί Ρωμαίων ἀποτέτμη- 
3 μέναι. κατόπιν δ’ εἰς ποντό Σελευκίδες ἔταιραι μουσ- 
ουργοὶ, πολλὰ βωμολόχα καὶ γέλοια δὲ ἀσμάτων 
eἰς θηλύτητα καὶ ἀνανδρίαν τοῦ Κράσσου λέγου- 
sαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντες ἔθεδυτο.

Τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν τῶν Σελευκέων ἀθροίσας 
eἰσήνεγκεν ἄκολαστα βιβλία τῶν Ἀριστείδου 
Μιλησιακῶν, οὕτω ταῦτα γε καταψευσάμενος-
εὐρέθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ῥωσκίου σκευοφόροις, καὶ 
παρέσχε τῷ Σουρήνα καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ καὶ 
κατασκώψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μηδὲ πολεμοῦντες 
ἀπέχεσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ γραμμάτων δύνανται 

4 τοιούτων. τοῖς μέντοι Σελευκεύσιν ἐδόκει σοφὸς 
ἀνὴρ Λίσσωπος εἶναι, τὸν Σουρήναν ὧρῳ τῆν 
τῶν Μιλησιακῶν ἄκολαστημάτων πήραν ἐξηρτημένον 
πρόσθεν, ὅπισθεν δὲ Παρθικὴν Σύβαριν ἐφελκό-
μενον ἐν τοσάτταῖς παλλακίδων ἀμάξισι, τρόπον 
tινὰ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἕχιδναις καὶ σκυτάλαις 
ἀντιμόρφως τὰ μὲν ἐμφανῆ καὶ πρόσθια μέρη 
φοβέρα καὶ θηριώδη δόρασι καὶ τόξοι καὶ ῥπτοῖς 

5 προβαλλομένην, κατ’ οὕραν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος εἰς 
χορείας καὶ κρόταλα καὶ ψαλμός καὶ παννυχίδας 
ἀκολούθους μετὰ γυναικῶν τελευτῶσαν. Ὑπεκτὸς 
mὲν γὰρ ὁ Ῥώσκιος, ἀναίδεις δὲ Πάρθοι τὰ Μιλη-
σιακὰ ψέγοντες, ὃν πολλοὶ βεβαισιλεύκασιν ἔκ

1 Probably a collection of love stories, the scenes of which were laid in Miletus. Of its author, who flourished perhaps in the second century B.C., almost nothing is known.

418
CRASSUS

lictors purses were suspended, and to their axes were fastened Roman heads newly cut off; behind these followed courtezans of Seleucia, musicians, who sang many scurrilous and ridiculous songs about the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus; and these things were for all to see.

But before the assembled senate of Seleucia, Surena brought licentious books of the "Milesiaca"¹ of Aristides, and in this matter, at least, there was no falsehood on his part, for the books were found in the baggage of Roscius, and gave Surena occasion to heap much insulting ridicule upon the Romans, since they could not, even when going to war, let such subjects and writings alone. The people of Seleucia, however, appreciated the wisdom of Aesop² when they saw Surena with a wallet of obscenities from the "Milesiaca" in front of him, but trailing behind him a Parthian Sybaris in so many waggon-loads of concubines.³ After a fashion his train was a counterpart to the fabled echidnae and scytalae among serpents, by showing its conspicuous and forward portions fearful and savage, with spears, archery, and horse, but trailing off in the rear of the line into dances, cymbals, lutes, and nocturnal revels with women. Roscius was certainly culpable, but it was shameless in the Parthians to find fault with the "Milesiaca," when many of the royal line of their

² In the fable of the two wallets, which everyone carries, one in front containing his neighbour's faults, which are therefore always before his eyes; and one behind containing his own faults, which he therefore never sees.
³ Cf. chapter xxi. 6.
Μιλησίων καὶ Ἰωνίδων ἑταῖρῶν γεγονότες Ἀρσακίδαι.

XXXIII. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ὁ Στράτης ἐτύγχανεν ἣδη διηλλαγμένος Ἀρταουάσδη τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ τὴν ἁδελφὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Πακόρῳ τῷ παιδὶ καθωμολογημένους, ἐστιάσεις τε καὶ πότως δὲ ἀλλήλων ἡσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ παρεισῆγετο τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀκουσμάτων.

2 ἦν γὰρ οὕτε φωνῆς οὕτε γραμμάτων ὁ Στράτης Ἑλληνικῶν ἀπειρος, οδ' ὁ Ἀρταουάσδης καὶ τραγῳδίας ἐποίει καὶ λόγους ἔγραφε καὶ ἱστορίας, ὥν ἔνιας διασώζονται. τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Κράσσου κομισθείσης ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπηρμέναι μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τράπεζαι, τραγῳδίων δὲ ὑποκριτῆς Ἰάσων ὄνομα Τραλλιανὸς ἦδεν Εὐριπίδου Βακχῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀγαύην. εὐδοκιμοῦντος δ' αὗτοῦ Σιλλάκης ἐπιστᾶς τῷ ἀνδρῶν καὶ προσκυνήσας προύβαλεν εἰς μέσον τοῦ Κράσσου τὴν κεφαλήν. κρότω δὲ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ χαρᾶς ἀραμένων, τὸν μὲν Σιλλάκην κατέκλιναν οἱ ὑπηρέται βασίλεως κελεύσαντος, οδ' Ἰάσων τὰ μὲν τοῦ Πενθέως σκευοποιήματα παρέδωκε τινὶ τῶν ἥρων τῶν, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου κεφαλῆς λαβόμενος καὶ ἀναβακχεῦσας ἐπέραυνε ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέλη μετ' ἐνθουσια-σμοὶ καὶ φίλης:

Φέρομεν ἐξ ὀρεως
ἐλικα νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα,
μακαρίαν θήραν.1

3 Euripides, Bacchae, 1170–72 (Kirchhoff μακάριων).

420
CRASSUS

Arsacidae were sprung from Milesian and Ionian courtesans.

XXXIII. While this was going on, it happened that Hyrodes was at last reconciled with Artavasdes the Armenian, and agreed to receive the latter's sister as wife for his son Pacorus, and there were reciprocal banquets and drinking bouts, at which many Greek compositions were introduced. For Hyrodes was well acquainted both with the Greek language and literature, and Artavasdes actually composed tragedies, and wrote orations and histories, some of which are preserved. Now when the head of Crassus was brought to the king's door, the tables had been removed, and a tragic actor, Jason by name, of Tralles, was singing that part of the "Bacchae" of Euripides where Agave is about to appear.1 While he was receiving his applause, Sillaces stood at the door of the banqueting-hall, and after a low obeisance, cast the head of Crassus into the centre of the company. The Parthians lifted it up with clapping of hands and shouts of joy, and at the king's bidding his servants gave Sillaces a seat at the banquet. Then Jason handed his costume of Pentheus to one of the chorus, seized the head of Crassus, and assuming the role of the frenzied Agave, sang these verses through as if inspired:

"We bring
A tendril fresh-cut to the palace,
A wonderful prey."

1 Pentheus, king of Thebes, the son of Agave, refused to recognize the divinity of Dionysus, whereupon the god infuriated the women, and Agave killed her own son. She appears in the Bacchae with his head in her hand, exulting over the death of the supposed wild beast.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πάντας ἔτερπεν· ἄδομένων δὲ τῶν ἑφεξῆς ἀμοιβαίων πρὸς τὸν χορὸν,

ΧΟ. τίς ἐφόνευσεν;
ΑΠ. ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας.  

ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Πομαξάθρης (ἐτύγχανε δὲ δειμνῶν) ἀντελαμβάνετο τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς ἐαυτῷ λέγειν ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνῳ προσήκον. ἴσθεισ δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν οἷς πάτριον ἐστιν ἐδωρήσατο, τῷ δ’ Ίάσονι τάλαντον ἐδωκεν. εἰς τοιοῦτον φασίν ἐξόδιον τὴν Κράσσου στρατηγίαν ὄσπερ τραγῳδίαν τελευτήσαι.

5 Δίκη μέντοι καὶ τῆς ὁμότητος Τρώδην καὶ τῆς ἑπιορκίας Σουρήναν ἀξία μετῆλθεν. Σουρήνας μὲν γὰρ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον Τρώδης φθόγω τῆς δόξης ἀπέκτεινεν, Τρώδη δὲ ἀποβαλόντι Πάκορον ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων μάχῃ κρατηθέντα, καὶ νοσήσαντι νόσου εἰς ὑδροσα τραπείσαν, Φραίτης ὁ νῖός ἐπιβουλεύων ἀκόνιτον ἐδωκεν. ἀναδεξαμένης δὲ τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον εἰς ἑαυτὴν, ὡστε συνεκκριθηναι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος κοψοθέντος, ἐπὶ τὴν ταχίστην τῶν ὀδῶν ἐλθὼν ὁ Φραίτης ἀπέπνεψεν

1 Euripides, Bucchae, 1179 (Kirchhoff, ΧΟ. τίς ἀ βαλοῦσα πρώτα;)
CRASSUS

This delighted everybody; but when the following dialogue with the chorus was chanted:

(Chorus) "Who slew him?"
(Agave) "Mine is the honour,"

Pmaxathres, who happened to be one of the banqueters, sprang up and laid hold of the head, feeling that it was more appropriate for him to say this than for Jason. The king was delighted, and bestowed on Pmaxathres the customary gifts, while to Jason he gave a talent. With such a farce as this the expedition of Crassus is said to have closed, just like a tragedy.¹

However, worthy punishment overtook both Hyrodes for his cruelty and Surena for his treachery. For not long after this Hyrodes became jealous of the reputation of Surena, and put him to death; and after Hyrodes had lost his son Pacorus, who was defeated in battle by the Romans,² and had fallen into a disease which resulted in dropsy, his son Phraates plotted against his life and gave him aconite. And when the disease absorbed the poison so that it was thrown off with it and the patient thereby relieved, Phraates took the shortest path and strangled his father.

¹ A poet competing at the Athenian City Dionysia exhibited three tragedies and a satyric drama, "the four plays being performed in succession in the course of the same day."
² 38 B.C. Cf. Plutarch’s Antony, xxxiv. 1. According to Dio Cassius, xlix, 21, Pacorus fell on the same day on which Crassus had been slain fifteen years before.
ΝΙΚΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΡΑΣΣΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

1. Ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκρίσει πρῶτον ὁ Νικίου πλοῦτος τῷ Κράσσου παραβαλλόμενος ἀμεμπτοτέραν ἔχει τὴν κτήσιν. Ἀλλὰς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν τις δοκιμάσει τὴν ἀπὸ μετάλλων ἐργασίαν, ἢς τὰ πλείστα περαινεῖται διὰ κακούργων ἢ βαρβάρων, ἐνίων δὲμένων καὶ φθειρομένων ἐν τόποις ὑπούλων καὶ νοσεροῖς· παραβαλλομένη δὲ πρὸς τὰ Ἀνδρέα, δημόπρατα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔργαλα βίας, ἐπιεικεστέρα φανεῖται. ταύταις γὰρ ὁ Κράσσος ἀναφανδόν ὡς τῷ γεωργεῖν ἔχρητο καὶ τῷ δανείζειν· ἢ δὲ ἐξαρνοῦσιν ἢν ἐλεγχόμενοι, ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν ἐν βουλή λέγειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀδικεῖν καὶ γυναίκα περιὶ κακοποιεῖν καὶ συνεπικρύπτειν τοὺς πονηροὺς, τούτων αἰτίαν οὐδὲ ψευδὴ ποτὲ Νικίας ἐλαβεῖν, ἀλλὰς δὲ διδοὺς καὶ προϊμοῦσιν ἀργύριον ὑπὸ δειλίας τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐχλευάζετο, πράγμα ποιῶν Περικλεῖ μὲν ἱσως καὶ Ἀριστείδη μὴ πρέπον, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἰ πεφυκότι πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν· ἢ καὶ Δυκαύρηγος ύστερον ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπαρρησιάσατο πρὸς τοῦ δῆμου, αἰτιῶν ἔχουν ἐξωνήσασθαι τινα τῶν συκοφάντων· "Ἡδομαι γὰρ," εἶπεν, "εἰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον πεπολιτευμένος πάρ' ύμῖν διδοὺς πεφώραμαι πρότερον ἥ λαμβάνων."

4. Ἡν δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις πολιτικῶτερος μὲν ὁ Νικίας ἀναθήμασι καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ διδα-
COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

I. In comparing the men, first, the wealth of Nicias was acquired in a more blameless manner than that of Crassus. For although it is true that the working of mines cannot be highly regarded, since most of it is carried on by employing malefactors or Barbarians, some of whom are kept in chains and done to death in damp and unwholesome places, still, when compared with the public confiscations of Sulla and the making of contracts where fire is raging, it will appear in the more favourable light. For Crassus openly utilized these opportunities as men do agriculture and money-lending. And as for the practices which he denied when on trial, namely, taking bribes for his voice in the senate, wronging the allies, circumventing weak women with his flatteries, and aiding base men to cloak their iniquities, no such charges, even though false, were ever made against Nicias; nay, he was rather laughed at for spending his money lavishly on informers out of cowardice, a practice unbecoming, perhaps, in a Pericles and an Aristides, but necessary for him, since he was not well stocked with courage. And for this practice Lycorbus the orator, in later times, boldly took to himself credit before the people, when accused of buying up one of these informers; "I am glad indeed," he said, "that after such a long political career among you, I have been detected in giving rather than receiving money."

As for their outlays of money, Nicias was more public spirited in his noble ambition to make offerings
σκάλαις χορῶν φιλοτιμούμενος, δὲν δ’ ὁ Κράσσος ἀνάλωσεν ἐστιάσας ἁμα τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, εἰτὰ θρέψας πάλιν, οὐδὲν ἦν μέρος ἀντικείμενος Νικίας ἐκέκτητο σὺν οἷς ἀνάλωσεν, ὡστε θαυμάζειν, εἰ τινὰ λέηθε τὸ τῆς κακίας ἀνωμαλίαν εἶναι τινὰ πρότυπα καὶ ἀνομολογίαν, ὄρωτα τοὺς αἰσχρῶς συνελέγοντας εἰτ’ ἀχρήστως ἐκχέοντας.

II. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλούτου τοσαύτας τοῖς δὲ πολιτεύμασι τοῦ μὲν Νικίου πανούργου οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀδίκον οὐδὲ βίαιον πρόσεπτιν οὐδὲ θρασύτης, ἀλλ’ ἐξεπατάτω μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβίαδον καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσήχει μετ’ εὐλαβείας. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου πολλὴν μὲν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἑχθραν καὶ φιλίαις μεταβολαῖς ἀπιστίαι καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν κατηγοροῦσι, βία δὲ οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἤρνετο τὴν ὑπατείαν μετιέναι, μισθωσάμενος ἀνδρας τοὺς Κάτων καὶ Δομιτίων τὰς χεῖρας προσοίσοντας. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τῶν ἑπαρχίων ψηφοφορία τοῦ δήμου πολλοῖς μὲν ἑτρώθησαν, ἔπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες, αὐτὸς δ’, ὅπερ ἦμας ἐν τῇ διηγήσει παρελήλυθε, Δεύκιον Ἀννίλιον, ἀνδρα Βουλευτῆς, ἀντιλέγοντα πνευμάτας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἔξεβαλεν ἡμαμένον.

3 Ὁς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα βίαιος ὁ Κράσσος καὶ τυραννικὸς, οὕτως αὐ τῶν πάλιν ἐκεῖνον τὸ ψοφοδέξας 56 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἀτολμοῦ καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις ύφειμένον τῶν μεγίστων ἐπιλήψεων ἄξιον ὑπὸ Κράσσος ψηλὸς περὶ γε ταῦτα καὶ μεγαλοφρων, οὐ πρὸς Κλέωνας οὖν ἰτερβόλους, μα Δία, τοῦ
to the gods and provide the people with gymnastic exhibitions and trained choruses; and yet his whole estate, together with his expenditures, was not a tithe of what Crassus expended when he feasted so many myriads of men at once, and then furnished them with food afterwards. I am therefore amazed that anyone should fail to perceive that vice is a sort of inequality and incongruity of character, when he sees men amassing money shamefully and squandering it uselessly.

II. So much regarding their wealth. And now in their political careers, no chicanery nor injustice, no violence nor harshness attaches to Nicias, but he was deceived the rather by Alcibiades, and made his appeals to the people with too much caution. Whereas Crassus is accused of much ungenerous faithlessness in his vacillations between friends and enemies; and as for violence, he himself could not deny that when he stood for the consulship, he hired men to lay hands on Cato and Domitius. And in the assembly which voted on the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded and four killed; and Crassus himself (a fact which escaped us in the narrative of his life), when Lucius Annalius, a senator, was speaking in opposition, smote him in the face with his fist and drove him bleeding from the forum.

But if Crassus was violent and tyrannical in these matters, Nicias went to the other extreme. His timidity and cowardice in the public service, and his subservience to the basest men, deserve the severest censure. Crassus, indeed, showed a certain loftiness and largeness of spirit in this regard, for he contended not with men like Cleon and Hyperbolus,
αγώνος ὄντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος λαμπροτητα καὶ τρεῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου θριάμβους, οὐχ ὑπείξας, ἀλλ’ ἀντάρας ἐκατέρῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ἀξιώματι δὲ τῆς τιμητικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ Πομπηίου ύπερβαλόμενος. δεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγίστοις οὐ τὸ ἀνεπίθυμον, ἀλλὰ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ λαμβάνειν, μεγέθει δυνάμεως ἐξαραυροῦντα τὸν φθόνον. εἰ δ’ ἐξ ἀπαντῶν ἀγαπᾶς ἁσφάλειαν καὶ ἥσυχίαν, καὶ δέδιας Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐν δὲ Πύλω Λακεδαιμονίους, Περδίκκαν δ’ ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἡ πόλις ἔχει σχολῆς ἐκ μέσου γενόμενον καθῆσθαι πλέκοντα τῆς ἀταραξίας σεαυτῷ στέφανον, ὡς ἐνιοὶ σοφισταὶ λέγουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔρως θείος ἤν ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὸ λύσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἑλληνικότατον πολίτευμα: καὶ τῆς πράξεως ἑνεκα ταύτης οὐκ ἄξιον Νικία παραβαλεῖν Κράσσον, οὐδ’ εἰ τὸ Κάσπιον φέρων πέλαγος ἢ τὸν Ἰνδόν ὀκεανὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἔγγενοι προσώρισεν.

III. Πόλει μέντοι χρώμενον ἄρετῆς αἰσθανομενή καὶ κρείττονα ὄντα τῇ δυνάμει χώραν οὐ ἐστέον τοῖς ποιητοῖς τῶν ἀρχηγῶν ὡς ἡ ἀρχή τῆς πολέμου ὡς ἐπιστημονέοις. ὅτε ἐποίησεν ὁ Νικίας, τῶν Ἰσραήλ τοις ὁπεδικοῖς. οὐκ ἐπαινῶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν τοὺς Σπαρτακείους ἐπεί-

1 μὲν γὰρ Stephanus, Bekker, and S: μεν.
COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

far from it, but against the brilliant Caesar, and against Pompey with his three triumphs; and he did not shrink from their path, but made himself a match for each in power, and in the dignity of his censorial office actually surpassed Pompey. For in the supreme struggles of a political career one must not adopt a course which awakens no envy, but one which dazzles men, throwing envy into the shade by the greatness of one’s power. But if, like Nicias, you set your heart above all else on security and quiet, and fear Alcibiades on the bema, and the Lacedaemonians at Pylos, and Perdiccas in Thrace, then there is ample room in the city where you can sit at leisure, removed from all activity, and “weaving for yourself,” as sundry Sophists say, “a crown of tranquillity.” His love of peace, indeed, had something godlike about it, and his putting a stop to the war was a political achievement most truly Hellenic in its scope. And because Nicias did this, Crassus is not worthy of comparison with him, nor would he have been even though in his ardour he had made the Caspian Sea or the Indian Ocean a boundary of the Roman empire.

III. When, however, a man wields superior power in a city which is open to the appeals of virtue, he should not give a footing to the base, nor command to those who are no commanders at all, nor confidence to those who deserve no confidence. But this is just what Nicias did when, of his own motion, he set Cleon in command of the army, a man who was nothing more to the city than a shameless brawler from the bema. I do not, indeed, commend Crassus, in the war with Spartacus,
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

χθένα θάσσον ἡ ἀσφαλέστερον διαγωνίσαθαι, καίτοι φιλοτιμίας ἢν τὸ δεῖσαι μὴ Πομπήιος ἐλθὼν ἀφελήται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἀφείλετο Μετέλλου Μόμμιος τὴν Κόρινθον· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Νικίου παυντάπασιν ἄτοποι καὶ δεινοί. οὐ γὰρ ἐλπίδας οὐδὲ ῥαστῶν ἑχοῦσις ἐξέστη τῷ ἐχθρῷ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ κινδύνων υφορώμενος ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μέγαν ἡγάπησε, τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ θέμενος, προέθαμι τὸ κοινὸν. καίτοι ὁ γε Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἵνα μὴ φαύλος ἀνθρωπος ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ ἀφρῶν στρατηγήσας ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀργυρίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ Κάτων, ὅτε μάλιστα ἑώρα πράγματα καὶ κινδύνους ἑχοῦσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὴν δημαρχίαν, μετῆλθεν· ὁ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίνωαν καὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Μηλίους τοὺς ταλαιπώρους φυλάττων στρατηγὸν, εἰ δὲ 1 δέοι μίκησθαι Δακεδαιμονίοις, ἀντοδύομενος τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ θρασύτητι ναις καὶ ἀνδρας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατηγίαν ἐμπειρίας ἄκρας δεσμένην παραδίδουσι, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προίται δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς 2 πατρίδος ἀσφαλεῖαν καὶ σωτηρίαν. οὗθεν ύστερον οὖν ἐκὼν οὐδὲ βουλόμενος Συρακουσίως πολέμειν ἡναγκάζετο, δοκῶν οὐ λογισμῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλὰ ῥαστῶν καὶ μαλακία τὸ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἀποστερεῖν Σικελίας τὴν πόλιν.

Ἐκεῖνο μέντοι μεγάλης ἐπιεικείας σημείον, ὅτι δυσχεραίνοντα τὸ πολέμειν ἀεὶ καὶ φεύγοντα τὸ

1 εἰ δὲ Coraës and Bekker, after Bryan: εἰ.
2 τὴν τῆς Stephanus, Bekker, and S: τῆς.

439
COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

for pressing forward into action with greater speed than safety, although it was natural for a man of his ambition to fear that Pompey would come and rob him of his glory, just as Mummius had robbed Metellus of Corinth; but the conduct of Nicias was altogether strange and terrible. For it was not while it afforded him good hopes of success, or even of ease, that he renounced his ambition to hold the command in favour of his enemy, but when he saw that his generalship involved him in great peril, then he was content to betray the common good at the price of his own safety. And yet Themistocles, during the Persian wars, to prevent a worthless and senseless man from ruining the city as one of its generals, bought him off from the office; and Cato stood for the tribuneship when he saw that it would involve him in the greatest toil and danger in behalf of the city. Nicias, on the other hand, kept himself in the command against Minoa, and Cythera, and the wretched Melians, but when it was necessary to fight the Lacedaemonians, stripped off his general’s cloak, handed over to the inexperture and rashness of Cleon ships, men, arms, and a command requiring the utmost experience, and so betrayed not only his own reputation, but the security and safety of his own country. Wherefore he was afterwards forced, against his wish and inclination, to wage war on Syracuse, for it was thought to be no calculation of what was expedient, but merely his love of ease and lack of spirit which made him use all his efforts to rob the city of Sicily.

There is, however, this proof of his great reasonableness, namely, that although he was always averse to war
στρατηγείν τού ἑπαύντο χειροτονοῦντες ὡς ἐμπειρότατον καὶ βέλτιστον· τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐφιεμένῳ στρατηγίας οὐχ ὑπήρξε τυχεῖν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῶν δούλικῶν πόλεμον ἔξ ἀνάγκης, Πομπηίου καὶ Μετέλλου καὶ Δούκουλλου ἀμφοτέρων ἀπόντων, καίτοι τότε τιμωμένῳ μάλιστα καὶ δυναμένῳ πλείστον. ἀλλ’, ὡς ἑοίκε, καὶ τοῖς σπουδᾶσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν "ἀνὴρ ἀριστος" εἶναι "τὰλα πλὴν ἐν 7 ἀσπίδι" καὶ τούτῳ Ἐρωμαίοις οὐδὲν ὡνήσεν 567 ἐκβιασθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φιλαρχίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοσφιμίας. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντα Νικίαν ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ἐρωμαίοις δὲ Κράσσοις ἄκοντας ἐξήγαγεν καὶ διὰ μὲν τούτων ἡ πόλις, ἐκεῖνος δὲ διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἠτύχησεν.

IV. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα μᾶλλον ἐστιν ἐν τούτοις τῶν Νικίαν ἐπαυνεῖν ἡ ψέγεων τὸν Κράσσον. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἐμπειρία καὶ λογισμὸς χρησάμενος ἤγεμόνος ἐμφρονος οὐ συνηπατήσῃ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀπεῖπε καὶ ἀπέγνω λήψεσθαι Σικελίαν· οὁ δ’ ὡς ἐπὶ ράστον ἔργον τὸν Παρθικὸν ὅρμησας πόλεις· μον ἡμαρτεν. ὥρειθη δὲ μεγάλων, Καίσαρος τὰ ἐστέρια καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Γερμανοὺς καταστρέφοντο καὶ Βρεττανίαν, αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐλάσαι θάλασσαν καὶ προσεργάσασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν οῖς Πομπηίος ἐσῆκε καὶ Δούκουλλοις αὐτέσχεν, ἄνδρες εὐμενεῖς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἄγαθοι διαμείναντες, προελόμενοι δ’ ὅμοια
and avoided military command, the Athenians ceased not to elect him to it, believing him to be their most experienced and best general. Whereas Crassus, though he was all the while eager for military command, did not succeed in getting it except in the servile war, and then of necessity, because Pompey and Metellus and both the Luculli were away. And yet by that time he had acquired the greatest honour and influence in the city. But it would seem that even his best friends thought him, in the words of the comic poet, "The bravest warrior everywhere but in the field." And yet this did not prevent the Romans from being overwhelmed by his ambitious love of command. For the Athenians sent Nicias out to the war against his will; but the Romans were led out by Crassus against theirs. It was owing to Crassus that his city, but to his city that Nicias, suffered misfortune.

IV. However, in this there is more ground for praising Nicias than for blaming Crassus. The former brought into play the experience and calculation of a wise leader, and did not share the deceitful hopes of his fellow-citizens, but insisted that it was beyond his power to take Sicily; whereas Crassus made the mistake of entering upon the Parthian war as a very easy undertaking. And yet his aims were high; while Caesar was subduing the West,—Gaul and Germany and Britain,—he insisted on marching against the East and India, and on completing the reduction of Asia which had been begun by Pompey and Lucullus. Now these were men of good intentions and honourably disposed towards all, and yet they elected the same course as Crassus, and

1 An iambič trimeter of unknown authorship (Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 493).
3 Κράσσω καὶ τὰς αυτὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες, ἔτει καὶ Πομπηίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς διδομένης ἡ σύγκλητος ἡναντιώτου, καὶ Καίσαρα μυριάδας τριάκοντα Γερμανῶν τρεφόμενον συνεβούλευεν ὁ Κάτων ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ τρέψας τὸ μῆνιμα τοῦ παρασποινήματος εἰς ἐκεῖνον· ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐρρώσθαι φράσας Κάτωνι, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας
4 ἔθυνεν ἐπινικίως καὶ περιχαρῆ ἦν. πῶς οὖν ἂν διετέθη καὶ τόσας ἐθυσεν ἡμέρας, εἰ Κράσσος ἐκ Βαβυλώνως ἐγραψε νικάν, εἰτ' ἐπελθὼν Μηδίαν, Περσίδα, Ὁρκανοὺς, Σοῦσα, Βάκτρα, Ὁρμαίων ἐπαρχίας ὑπέδειξεν; εἰπερ γὰρ ἅδικεῖν χρή, κατὰ τὸν Εὐρυπίδην, ἡσυχαίαν ἀγείν µὴ δυναμένους µὴδὲ χρήσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἁγαθοῖς εἰδότας, οὐ Σκάνδειαν, οὐ Μένδην ἐκκοπτέων, οὐδὲ φεύγοντας
5 Ἀιγυπταῖς ἀπολελοιπότας τὴν ἐαυτῶν, ὅσπερ ὀρνιθας εἰς ἑτέραν χώραν ἀποκεκρυμμένους, ἐκθή- 

ratέου, ἄλλα πολλοὶ τιμητέων τὸ ἅδικεῖν, µὴ ῥαδίως µὴδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχόντως, ὅσ τι φαύλον ἢ µικρόν, προϊμένους τὸ δίκαιον. οἱ δὲ τὴν µὲν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ὀρμῆν ἐπαινοῦντες, τὴν δὲ Κράσσου ψέγοντες, οὐκ εὗ τὰ πρῶτα κρίνοντιν ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων.

V. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις αὐταῖς Νικίου µὲν ὀὐκ ὀλίγα γενναία: καὶ γὰρ µαχαὶ πολλαῖς ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν Συρακούσας ὀλίγον ἐδέσθε, καὶ πάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔπται-

1 Eteoeles in the Phoenissae, 524 f. (Kirchhoff):

'eipere γὰρ ἅδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι κάλλιστον ἅδικεῖν· τὰλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.
COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

adopted the same principles. For Pompey met with opposition from the senate when his province was allotted to him, and when Caesar routed three hundred thousand Germans, Cato moved in the senate that he should be delivered up to those whom he had vanquished, and so bring upon his own head the punishment for his breach of faith; but the people turned contemptuously from Cato, sacrificed to the gods for fifteen days in honour of Caesar’s victory, and were full of joy. What, then, would have been their feelings, and for how many days would they have sacrificed to the gods, if Crassus had written to them from Babylon that he was victorious, and had then overrun Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and declared them Roman provinces? “For if wrong must be done,” as Euripides says, when men cannot keep quiet, and know not how to enjoy contentedly the blessings which they already have, then let it not be in raiding Scandeia or Mende, nor in beating up fugitive Aeginetans, who have forsaken their own, and hidden themselves away like birds in another territory, but let a high price be demanded for the wrongdoing, and let not justice be thrown to the winds lightly, nor on the first best terms, as if it were some trifling or insignificant thing. Those who have praise for Alexander’s expedition, but blame for that of Crassus, unfairly judge of a beginning by its end.

V. As to the actual conduct of their expeditions, Nicias has not a little to his credit, for he conquered his enemies in many battles, and barely missed taking Syracuse, and not all his failures were due to himself, but they might be ascribed to his
σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσου ἂν τις αἰτιάσαιτο καὶ φθόνον
tῶν οὐκο πολιτῶν. Κράσσος δὲ διὰ πλῆθος
ἀμαρτημάτων οὐδὲν τῇ τύχῃ χρηστὸν ἀποδει-
ξασθαί παρῆκεν. ὥστε θαυμᾶζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν
ἀβελτερίαν οὐ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως ἤτηθείσαν,
ἀλλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐτυχίας περιγενομένην.

Επεὶ δ’ ο μὲν μηδὲνὸς τῶν ἀπὸ μαντικῆς κατα-
φρονῶν, ὦ δὲ πάντα ὑπερορῶν ὁμοίως ἀπόλοντο,
χαλεπῇ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἡ ἀσφάλεια καὶ δύσκριτος,
ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ ¹ τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ αὐθάδους τὸ
μετὰ δόξης παλαιᾶς καὶ συνήθους δι’ εὐλάβειαν
ἀμαρτανόμενον.

Περὶ μέντοι τὴν τελευτὴν ἀμεμπτότερος ο Κράσσος
οὐ παράδοις ἑαυτῶν οὐδὲ δεθεὶς οὐδὲ
φενακισθεὶς, ἀλλ’ εἴξας τοῖς φίλοις δεομένοις καὶ
παρασπούδθεις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὦ δὲ Νικῶς
αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ἀκλεοῦς ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας ὑποπεσὼν
τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσχίνα ἑαυτῷ τὸν θάνατον
ἐποίησεν.

¹ ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ a following αὐτῆς of the MSS. is suspected
by Coraes, namely defended by Sintenis, and bracketed by
Bekker.
disease and to the jealousy of his fellow-citizens at home; but Crassus made so many blunders that he gave fortune no chance to favour him. We may not therefore wonder that his imbecility succumbed to the power of the Parthians, but rather that it prevailed over the usual good fortune of the Romans.

Since one of them was wholly given to divination, and the other wholly neglected it, and both alike perished, it is hard to draw a safe conclusion from the premises; but failure from caution, going hand in hand with ancient and prevalent opinion, is more reasonable than lawlessness and obstinacy.

In his end, however, Crassus was the less worthy of reproach. He did not surrender himself, nor was he bound, nor yet beguiled, but yielded to the entreaties of his friends, and fell a prey to the perfidy of his enemies; whereas Nicias was led by the hope of a shameful and inglorious safety to put himself into the hands of his enemies, thereby making his death a greater disgrace for him.
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acharnae, 95, the largest deme, or township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.

Aesop, 419, 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.

Agatharchus, 41, of Samos, prominent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter 460–420 B.C. Cf. the Alcibiades, xvi. 4.

Alopecè, 33, a deme, or township, of Attica, some two or three miles east of Athens.

Anacreon, 5, of Teos, a popular lyric poet, honoured at the courts of Polycrates of Samos and Hipparchus of Athens, lived circa 563–478 B.C.

Anaxagoras, 11, 21, 53 f., 291, of Clazomenae, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.C.

Andros, 35, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, to the S.E. of Euboea.

Antisthenes, 5, the Socrates, a pupil of Gorgias and friend of Socrates, circa 450–366 B.C.

Archilochus, 5, of Paros, a roving soldier-poet of the earlier part of the seventh century B.C., famous for his satyric iambics.

Arginusae Islands, 109, three small islands lying between Lesbos and the mainland of Asia Minor.

Autocleides, 293, an Athenian, of unknown date, author of a work on sacrificial ritual and tradition.

B

Balissus, 385, a small tributary of the Euphrates, south of Carrhae.

Brasidas, 237, the ablest and noblest Spartan leader during the first decade of the Peloponnesian war. He attempted to rob Athens of her allied cities in the north.

Brundisium, 365, 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 the chief naval station of the Romans on the Adriatic Sea.

C

Carrhae, 395, 403–409, a town in the northern part of Mesopotamia.

Casinum, 135, the last city of Latium towards Campania on the Via Latina.

Catana, 263–267, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Tauromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.

Caunians, 309. Caunus was a city of Caria, in Asia Minor, belonging to the Rhodians.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Chersonesus, 35, 59, the Thracian Chersonesus (peninsula), extending southwards into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.
Cholargus, 41, an Attic deme, or township, of uncertain site.
Clazomenae, 253, an Ionian city, situated on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.
Crilolaxis, 21, of Phaselis in Lycia, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens, orator and statesman, eighty-two years of age when, in 156 B.C., he was sent on an embassy to Rome (see the Cato Major, xxii.).

D

Damon, 11, probably the same person as Damonides of Oea (p. 27).
Damonides, 27, of Oea, probably the same person as Damon (p. 11).
Delos, 33, 217, the central island of the Cyclades group, east of Attica.
Diphilus, 209, a prominent poet of the New Comedy, 336–250 B.C.
Durus, 79, the Samian, a pupil of Theophrastus, historian and, for a time, tyrant of Samos, circa 350–280 B.C.

E

Egesta, 251, or Segesta, an ancient city in the N.W. of Sicily, neither Greek nor native Sicilian, said to have been founded by Trojans.
Eleusis, 41, the sacred city of the Mysteries, some twelve miles west of Athens.
Ephorus, 79, of Cymó in N.W. Asia Minor, a pupil of Isocrates, author of a highly rhetorical history of Greece from the "Dorian Invasion" down to 340 B.C., in which year he died.

Epidaurus, 103, a city on the north-eastern coast of Peloponnesus, noted for its cult of Aesculapius.

G

Galatia, 365, the central province of Asia Minor, occupied by Gallic tribes from Europe late in the third century B.C.

H

Heracleides, 79, 103, called Ponticus from his birth in Heraclea of Pontus, a pupil of Plato and Aristotle, and a learned and voluminous writer on almost all possible subjects.
Hyrcania, 377, 435, a district of central Asia lying immediately south of the Caspian Sea.

I

Idomeneus, 31, 103, of Lampsacus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342–270 B.C.), author of biographical works entitled "The Socrates" and "The Demagogues."
Ion, 13, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., and author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

L

Lampon, 15, the most famous seer of his time, apparently trusted by Pericles. He played a prominent part in the colonization of Thrace, 444 B.C.
Leocrates, 53, commander in the final triumph of Athens over Aegina (456 B.C.).
Leontini, 251, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, lying between Syracuse and Catana, about eight miles inland.
Luca, 357, the southermost city in Caesar's province of Cisalpine Gaul, afterwards included in Etruria.

Lycurgus, 425, Athenian orator and statesman, 396–323 B.C.

M

Margiana, 387, a district in central Asia lying south of Scythia and west of Bactria.

Melissus 75, a native of Samos, and a disciple of Parmenides. Malicious report made him a teacher of Themistocles (Themistocles, li. 3).

Metellus, 431, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Macedonicus, won victories over Macedonian and Achaean armies in Greece, but could not bring the war to a close before he was superseded by Mummius (146 B.C.).

Mummius, 431, Lucius, superseded Metellus in 146 B.C., and completed the subjugation of Greece by the capture of Corinth.

Myronides, 53, leader of the "reserves" in the Athenian victory over Corinth in 458 B.C., and in the following year victor over the Boeotians at Oenophyta.

N

Naxos, 35, 210 (Naxians), the largest island of the Cyclades group, lying half-way between Attica and Asia Minor.

Naxos, 267, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, on the N.E. coast, just south of Tauromenium.

Parthen中药材, 11, of Elea in Italy, founder of a school of idealistic philosophy (see Zeno the Eleatic).

Pessinon, 219, of Eretria, a notorious imitator of the Socratic disciples, to whom he attributed his own compositions, circa 300–250 B.C.

Petelia, 347, an ancient city and district of Bruttium.

Phedias, 5, 89 f., of Athens, the greatest sculptor and statuary of Greece, ob. 432 B.C.

Philetas, 5, of Cos, a poet and critic of the earlier Alexandrian school, who flourished under the first Ptolemy (circa 318–275 B.C.).

Philistia, 209, 277, 307, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.

Philochorus, 293, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306–260 B.C.

Polycleitus, 5, of Argos, a famous sculptor, statuary, and architect, who flourished circa 452–412 B.C.

Polycrates, 77, tyrant of Samos from about 530 till his death in 522 B.C. His career forms one of the great features of the third book of Herodotus.

Poseidonius, 175, of Apamia in Syria, a distinguished Stoic philosopher, resident in Athens, Rhodes, and Rome, contemporary with Cicero.

Protagoras, 291, of Abdera in Thrace, the first to call himself a "sophist," and to teach for pay. On a third visit to Athens, about 411 B.C., he was accused of impiety and fled, but only to perish at sea.

Pylos, 231, 245, 247, an ancient city on the west coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus, on a promontory commanding the north entrance to the great bay of Pylos (the modern Navarino).

Seleucia, 367 f., 369, 379, 417 f., the Seleucia which was built by Seleucus Nicator, on the right
bank of the Tigris, about forty miles N.E. of Babylon.
Sphacteria, 231, an island lying in front of the great bay of Pylos.
Stesimbroton, 25, 47, 75, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note at Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.

Tolmides, 53, 59, 61, leader of an Athenian naval expedition round Peloponnesus in 455 B.C., and of other expeditions by sea.
Tralles, 421, a large and flourishing city of Caria, in Asia Minor.

T

Tanagra, 33, a town in eastern Boeotia, between Thebes and Attica.
Thapsus, 267, a peninsula just to the north of Syracuse.
Theophrastus, 67, 103, 111, 241, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was a native of Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.
Thimaecus 209, 275, 307, of Taurumium in Sicily, whose life falls between the years 350-250 B.C., during a long exile in Athens wrote a voluminous history of his native island from earliest times down to 264 B.C.
Timon, 11, of Philus, a composer of satiric poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy, 320-230 B.C.

Xenarchus, 209, apparently cited by Plutarch as an historian; but no historian of this name is known.
Xypeté, 41, an Attic deme, or township, near Phalerum or Piraeus.

Z

Zacynthus, 291, an island off the N.W. coast of Peloponnesus, the modern Zante.
Zeno, 11, the Eleatic, a disciple of Parmenides, with whom he visited Athens when Socrates was a very young man (Plato, Parmenides, p. 27 a).
Zeuxis, 41, of Heraclea in Magna Graecia, the most celebrated painter of antiquity, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth and the earlier part of the fourth centuries B.C.
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