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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 (F⁵) 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-Sauppe 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 Nicias, 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 Nicias have already appeared in my Plutarch’s Cimon and Pericles (New York, 1910), and Plutarch’s Nicias 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.
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PERICLES
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ

I. Ξένους τινάς ἐν Ὄρμη πλουσίους κυνῶν τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις περιφέροντας καὶ ἀγαπῶντας ἴδων ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἡρώτησεν εἰ παιδία παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὐ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἡγεμονικῶς σφόδρα νουθετήσας τοὺς τὸ φύσει φιλητικὸν ἐν ἴμῳ καὶ φιλοστοργοῦν εἰς θηρία καταναλίσκοντας ἀνθρώποις ὕφειλόμενον.

2 ἃρ’ οὖν, ἐπεὶ φιλομαθές τι κέκτηται καὶ φιλοθέαμον ἴμῳ ἡ ψυχὴ φύσει, λόγον ἔχει ψέγειν τοὺς καταχρωμένους τούτῳ πρός τὰ μηδεμίας ἀξία σπουδῆς ἀκούσματα καὶ θεάματα, τῶν δὲ καλῶν καὶ ὕφελίμων παραμελοῦντας; τῇ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθήσει κατὰ πάθος τῆς πληγῆς ἀντιλαμβανομένη τῶν προστυγχανόντων ἰσως ἀνάγκη πάν τὸ φαινόμενον, ἀν τε χρήσιμον ἀν τ’ ἄχρηστον ἦν,

3 θεωρεῖν, τῷ νῦν δ’ ἐκαστὸς εἰ βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι, καὶ τρέπειν ἑαυτῶν ἀεὶ καὶ μεταβάλλειν ῥίστα πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν πέφυκεν, ὡστε χρὴ διώκειν τὸ βέλτιστον, ἵνα μὴ θεωρῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρέφηται τῷ θεωρεῖν. ὡσ γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ χρῶν πρόισφορος ἦς τὸ ἀνθρώπον ἀμα καὶ τερπυνὸν ἀναξωπυρεῖ
PERICLES

I. On seeing certain wealthy foreigners in Rome carrying puppies and young monkeys about in their bosoms and fondling them, Caesar \(^1\) 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 ὀψιν, οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπάγει δεὶ θεάμασιν ἀ τῷ χαίρειν πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον αὐτῆς ἀγαθὸν ἔκκαλεῖ.

4. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἀπ’ ἀρείης ἔργοις, ἢ καὶ ξῆλον τινα καὶ προθυμίαιν ἁγωγὸν εἰς μίμησιν ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ἰστορήσασιν ἐπὶ τῶν γ’ ἄλλων οὐκ εὑρίσκει ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ θαυμάσαι τὸ πραξθὲν ὀρμῆ πρὸς τὸ πράξαι πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοῦν αὐτῶν χαίροντες τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ κατα-
φρονούμεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν μύρων καὶ τῶν ἁλουργῶν τούτων μὲν ἠδόμεθα, τοὺς δὲ βαφεῖς καὶ μυρε-
φοὺς ἀνελευθέρωσεν ἡγούμεθα καὶ βαναύσουσιν.

5. διὸ καλῶς μὲν Ἀντισθένης ἀκούσας ὑπὶ σπουδαῖος ἐστὶν αὐτῆς Ἰσμηνίας, ὡς ἂνθρωπος,” ἔφη, ἡ μοχθηρός· οὐ γὰρ ἀν οὕτω σπουδαῖος ἡν αὐλη-
τής;” ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος πρὸς τῶν υἱῶν ἐπιτερπῶς ἐν τῷ πότῳ ψήλαντα καὶ τεχνικῶς εἶπεν: “Οὐκ
αισχύνη καλῶς οὕτω ψάλλων;” ἄρκει γὰρ, ἂν
βασιλεὺς ἀκροαῖς ψαλλοῦντων σχολὰς, τοὺς
πολὺ νέμει ταῖς Μοῦσαις ἐτέρων ἁγωνιζομένων
τὰ τοιαῦτα θεατῆς γυγνόμενοι.

Π. Ἡ δ’ αὐτούργια τῶν ταπεινῶν τῆς εἰς τὰ 153
καλὰ ῥαθυμίας μάρτυρα τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀχρίστοις
πόνων παρέχεται καθ’ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυὴς
νέος ἢ τῶν ἐν Πίσσῃ θεσαμένων Δίᾳ γενέσθαι
Φείδιας ἐπεθύμησεν ἢ τῆν Ἡραν τὴν ἐν Ἀργεῖ
Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ’ Ἀνακρέων ἡ Φιλητᾶς ἢ Ἀρχί-
2 λοχος ἡ θείας αὐτῶν τοῖς ποιήμασιν. οὐ γὰρ
ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ τέρπει τὸ ἔργον ὡς χάριν, ἄξιον

1 ἰστορήσασιν Bekker, Fuhr, and Blass, with Reiske, after Amyot: ἰστορήμασιν (researches).
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.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

σπουδῆς εἶναι τῶν εἰργασμένων. Ὑθεν οὖν ὦφελει τὰ τοιαύτα τοὺς θεωμένους, πρὸς ἅ μιμητικός οὐ γίνεται ἥλιος οὐδὲ ἀνάδοσις κινοῦσα προθυμάν καὶ όρμὴν 1 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν. ἀλλ' ἡ γε ἄρετὴ ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐθὺς οὕτω διατίθησιν ὡστε ἀμαθουμάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ἥλιοσθαι τοὺς εἰργασμένους. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν τὰς κτήσεις καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, τῶν δ' ἀπ' ἄρετῆς τὰς πράξεως ἀγαπώμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμῶν παρ' ἑτέρων, τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἑτέρως παρ' ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν βουλόμεθα. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐφ' αὐτῷ πρακτικῶς καὶ καὶ πρακτικὴν εὐθὺς ὀρμὴν ἐντίθησιν, ἠθοποιοῦν οὗ τῇ μιμήσει τῶν θεατῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου τὴν προαίρεσιν παρεχόμενον.

3 'Εδοξεν οὖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνδιατρίψαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς βίους ἀναγραφῆ, καὶ τούτο τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον συνιστάμεν τὸν Περικλέους βίον καὶ τὸν Φαιβίου Μαξίμου τοῦ διαπολεμῆσαντος πρὸς Ἀννίβαν περιέχον, ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τὰς ἀλλὰς ἁρετὰς ὁμοίων, μάλιστα δὲ πραότητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι φέρειν δήμων καὶ συναρχῶν τῶν ἀγωνισμόν τῶν ἐφελιμωτάτων ταῖς πατρίσι γενομένων. εἰ δ' ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμεθα τοῦ δέοντος, ἐξεστὶ κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν γραφομένων.

4 III. Περικλῆς γὰρ ἦν τῶν μὲν φυλῶν Ἀκαμαντάδης, τῶν δὲ δήμων Χολαργεΐων, οἶκον δὲ καὶ γένους τοῦ πρώτου κατ' ἀμφιτέρους. Ἐάνθιππος γὰρ ὁ νικήσας ἐν Μυκάλῃ τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς ἔγημεν Ἀγαρίστην Κλεισθένους ἐγγονον, ὅσον

1 ὀρμήν Fuhr and Blass, after Reiske: ἀφορμήν
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, granddaugther \(^2\) of that Cleisthenes

\(^1\) 479 B.C. \(^2\) His niece, rather.
ἔξῆλασε Πεισιστρατίδας καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν τυραννίδα γενναίως καὶ νόμους ἐθέτο καὶ πολιτείαν ἀριστα κεκραμένην πρὸς ὀμόνοιαν καὶ σωτηρίαν

2 κατέστησεν. αὐτῇ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἐδοξε τεκείν λέοντα, καὶ μεθ' ἠμέρας ὀλύγας ἐτεκε Περικλέα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὴν ἱδέαν τοῦ σώματος ἀμεμπτον, προμήκη δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἑσύμμετρον. ὦδεν αἰ μὲν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἀπασαι κράνεσι περιέχουται, μὴ βουλομένων, ὡς οἰκε, τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐξουσιδείζειν. οἱ δ' Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ σχινοκέφαλον αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν: τὴν γὰρ σκίλλαν ἔστιν

3 ὅτε καὶ σχίνον ὁνομαζοῦσι. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κράτινος ἐν Χείρωσι: “Στάσις δὲ” (φησὶ) “καὶ πρεσβυγενῆς Κρόνος ἀλλήλους μιγέντε μέγιστον τίκτητον τύραννον, ὅποι δὴ κεφαληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσι” καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει: “Μόλ’,

4 ὁ Ζεύς ξένει καὶ καραίε.” Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡπορημένου καθήσθαι φησὶν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει “καρηζαροῦντα, ποτὲ δὲ μόνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς εὐδεκακλίνου θόρυβον πολὺν ἐξανατέλλειν” ὁ δ' Εὐπολίς ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις πυθανόμενοι περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἠπατατηκότων ἐξ ἄδου δημαγωγῶν, ὡς ὁ Περσκλῆς ἀνομίαθη τελευταίος:

"Ο τι περ κεφάλαιου τῶν κατωθεν ἡγαγες.

IV. Διδάσκαλον οὐ αὐτοῦ τῶν μουσικῶν οἱ πλείστοι Δάμωνα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν, οὐ φασί

1 τῇ κεφαλῇ Fuhr and Blass with FaS: τὴν κεφαλήν.
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.
\(^2\) Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 86; p. 49; p. 220; p. 280.
Δεῖν τούνομα βραχύνοντας τὴν προτέραν συλλαβήν ἐκφέρειν. 'Αριστοτέλης δὲ παρὰ Πυθοκλείδη μουσικὴν διαπονήθηκε τὸν ἀνδρὰ φησίν. ὁ δὲ Δάμων ἐοικεν ἀκρος ὃν σοφιστὴς καταδύσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς ὅνομα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὴν δεινότητα, τῷ δὲ Περικλεὶ 154 συνῆν καθάπερ ἀθλητῆ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτης 2 καὶ διδάσκαλος. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθεν ὁ Δάμων τῇ λύρᾳ παρακλύμματι χρώμενος, ἀλλ’ ὡς μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ φιλοτύραννος ἐξωστρακίσθη καὶ παρέσχε τοὺς κωμικοὺς διατριβήν. ὁ γοῦν Πλάτων καὶ πυθαγόμενον αὐτοῦ τινα πεποίηκεν οὕτω.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι λέξων, ἀντιβολῶν σὺ γὰρ, ὥς φασίν, ὁ Χείρων ἐξέθρεψας Περικλέα.

3 διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἑλεάτου πραγματευομένου περὶ φύσιν, ὡς Παρμενίδης, ἔλεγκτικὴν δὲ τινα καὶ δι᾽ ἀντιλογίας κατακλείουσαν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐξασκήσαντος ἔξιν, ὥσπερ καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φιλάσιος εἴρηκε διὰ τούτων:

'Αμφοτερογιλῶσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἠλαπαδύνων
Ζήνωνος, πάντων ἐπιληπτορος.

4 ὁ δὲ πλείστα Περικλεὶ συγγενόμενος καὶ μάλιστα περιθεῖς ὅγκον αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ἐμβριθέστερον, ὡς τε μετεωρίσας καὶ συνεξάρα τὸ ἄειομα τοῦ ἦθους, Ἀναξαγόρας ἦν ὁ Κλαζομένιος, ὃν οἱ τοῦ ἄνθρωποι 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.
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ηγόρευον, εἴτε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰς φυσιολογίαν καὶ περίττιν διαφανεῖσαν θαυμά-
σαντες, εἶθ᾽ ὅτι τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος οὐ τύχην οὐδὲ
ἀνάγκην διακοσμήσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπε-
στησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκρατον ἐν μεμιγμένοις πᾶσι
τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὀμοιομερείας.

V. Τούτων ὑπερφυῶς τὸν ἀνδρα θαυμάσασα οἱ
Περικλῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης μετεωρολογίας καὶ
μεταρισομενίας ύποπτιμπλάμενος, οὐ μόνον, ὡς
ἔοικε, τὸ φρόνημα σοβαρὸν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὕψηλὸν
eἰχε καὶ καθαρὸν ὁχλικῆς καὶ πανούργου βιομο-
λοχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσώπου σύστασις ἀθρυπτος
εἰς γέλωτα καὶ πράζιτις πορείας καὶ καταστολῆ
περιβολῆς πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκταραττομένη πάθος ἐν τῷ
λέγειν καὶ πλάσμα φωνῆς ἄθορυβον, καὶ ὡσα

2 τοιαῦτα πάντας θαυμαστῶς ἔξεπληττε. Λοιδο-
ρούμενος γοῦν ποτε καὶ κακῶς ἄκουὼν ὑπὸ τινος
τῶν βδελυρῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων ὁλην ἤμεραν ὑπέ-
ρωμενε σιωπῆ κατ᾽ ἀγορὰν, ἀμα τι τῶν ἐπειγόντων
καταπραττομένος· ἐσπέρας δ᾽ ἀπήγει κοσμίως
οἶκαδε παρακολοουθοῦντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάση

3 χρωμένου βλασφημία πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὡς δ᾽ ἐμέλλειν
eἰσίεναι σκότους οὔτις ἤδη, προσεταξέ τινι τῶν
οἰκετῶν φῶς λαβόντα παραπέμψαι καὶ καταστή-
σαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Ὀ δὲ ποιήτης Ἰων μοθωνικὴν φησι τὴν ὀμιλίαν
καὶ ὑπότυφον εἶναι τοῦ Περικλέους, καὶ ταῖς
"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
μεγαλαυχίας αυτοῦ πολλὴν ύπεροψίαν ἀναμε-μίχθαι καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων· ἐπαινεῖ δὲ τὸ Κίμωνος ἐμμελές καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ μεμουσωμένον
4 ἐν ταῖς περιφοράῖς. ἀλλ' Ἰωνα μὲν, ὥσπερ τραγι-κὴν διδασκαλίαν, ἀξιοῦντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐχειν τι πάντως καὶ σατυρικὸν μέρος ἐδώμεν· τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους τὴν σεμνότητα δοξοκοπίαν τε καὶ τῦφον ἀποκαλοῦντας ὁ Ζήνων παρεκάλει καὶ αὐτοὺς τι τοιοῦτο δοξοκοπεῖν, ὡς τῆς προσποιή-σεως αὐτῆς τῶν καλῶν υποποιούσης τινὰ λελη-θότως ξῆλον καὶ συνήθειαν.

VI. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταύτα τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου συννοσίας ἀπέλαυσε Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεισι-δαιμονίας δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καθυπέρτερος, ὡς ἦν τὸ
1 πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα θύμβος ἐνεργάζεται τοῖς αὐτῶν
τε τούτων τὰς αἰτίας ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ περὶ τὰ θεία
dαιμονώσι καὶ ταραττομένοις δὲ ἀπειρίαν αὐτῶν,
ἡν ὁ φυσικὸς λόγος ἀπαλλάττων ἀντὶ τῆς φοβε-ρᾶς καὶ φλεγμαινοῦσης δεισιδαιμονίας τὴν ἀσφα-λῆ μετ’ ἐπιδίων ἁγαθῶν εὐσέβειαν ἐργάζεται.

2 Δέγεται δὲ ποτὲ κριόν μονόκερω κεφαλῆς ἐξ ἀγροῦ τῶν Περικλεί κομισθήναι, καὶ Λάμπωνα μὲν
tῶν μάντων, ὡς εἰδε τὸ κέρας ἱσχυρὸν καὶ στερεὸν
ἐκ μέσου τοῦ μετώπου πεφυκός, εἰπεῖν ὅτι δυνέν
οὖσών ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναστείων, τῆς Θουκυδίδου 155
καὶ Περικλέους, εἰς ἐνα περιστήρεται τὸ κράτος

1 ὡς ὡς τὸ older edd., Coraës, Fuhr and Blass; Bekker ὡς
with the MSS.: ὡς.
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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. 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.
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παρ’ ὦ γένοιτο τὸ σημεῖον. τὸν δ’ Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦ κρανίου διακοπτέντος πιδεῖξαι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον οὐ πεπληρωκότα τὴν βάσιν, ἀλλ’ ὑέν ὦσπερ ὦν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγγείου συνωλισθηκότα κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον οἶδεν ἡ ρίζα τοῦ κέρατος εἰχε
3 τὴν ἁρχήν. καὶ τὸτε μὲν θαυμασθῆναι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὀλίγῳ δ’ ὄστερον τὸν Δάμπωνα, τοῦ μὲν Θοουκυδίδου καταλυθέντος, τῶν δὲ τοῦ δήμου πραγμάτων ὁμαλῶς ἀπάνταν ὑπὸ τῷ Περικλεὶ γενομένων.

Ἐκώλυε δ’ οὐδέν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ τῶν μάντιν, τῷ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ τέλος καλὸς ἐκλαμβάνοντος: ὑπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ μὲν, ἐκ τίνων γέγονε καὶ πῶς πέφυκε, θεωρῆσαι, τῷ δὲ, πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ τί σημαίνει,
4 προειπεῖν. οἱ δὲ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν εὑρέσιν ἀναίρεσιν εἶναι λέγουτε τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ἐπινοοῦσιν ἀμα τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ τῶν συμβόλων ἀθετοῦντες, ψύφους τε δίσκον καὶ φώτα πυρσῶν καὶ γινομόνων ἀποσκιασμοὺς: δὲν ἔκαστον αἰτία τινὶ καὶ κατασκευῆ σημείου εἶναι τιδος πεποίηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἵσως ἔτερας ἔστι πραγματείας.

VII. Ὅ δ’ Περικλῆς νέος μὲν ὁν̄ σφόδρα τὸν δήμον εὐλαβεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει Πεισιστράτῳ τῷ τυράννῳ τὸ εἴδος ἐμφανὶς εἶναι, τὴν τε φωνὴν ἥδειαν οὕσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν εὐτροχον ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ταχεῖαν οἱ σφόδρα γέροντες ἐξεπλήττουσι πρὸς τὴν
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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
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ὀμοιότητα. πλούτου δὲ καὶ γένους προσόντος αὐτῷ λαμπροῦ καὶ φίλων οἱ πλείστον ἢδύναντο, φοβοῦμενος ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατείαις ἁνήρ

2 ἀγάθος ἦν καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος. ἔπει δ’ Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἀποτεθήκει καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξεπεπτώκει, Κίμωνα δ’ αἱ στρατεύματα πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔξω κατείχον, οὔτω δὴ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτὸν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ὀλίγων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πεινῶν ἐλόμενος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἥκιστα δημοτικὴν οὐσίαν.

3 ἀλλ’, ὡς ἔοικε, δεδιώκεις μὲν ὑποψία περιπεσεῖν τυραννίδος, ἥρων δ’ ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸν Κίμωνα καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπώμενον, ὑπῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἁσφάλειαν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, δύναμιν δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνον παρασκευάζομενος.

4 Εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἑτέραν τάξιν ἐπέθηκεν. ὅδ’ τις γὰρ ἐν ἀστείας μίας ἐφράτο τὴν ἐπ’ ἄγοραν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον πορεύόμενος, κληρείς τε δείπνων καὶ τὴν τοιοῦτην ἀπασαν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνήθειαν ἐξέλιπεν, ὡς ἐν ὡς ἐπολιτεύσατο χρόνους μακροῖς γενομένως πρὸς μηδένα τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ δείπνου ἐλθεῖν, πλὴν Ἑὐρυπτολέμου τοῦ ἐνεψιοῦ γαμοῦντος ἀχρι τῶν

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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.
1.1

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5 σπονδῶν παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐξανέστη. δεινὰ
gὰρ αἱ φιλοσοφοῦναι παντὸς ὅγκον περιγενέσθαι,
καὶ δυσφύλακτον ἐν συνθείᾳ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν
σεμνῶν ἔστι τῆς ἀληθείας δ' ἀρετῆς κάλλιστα
φαίνεται τὰ μᾶλλον φαινόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν οὐτῷ θαυμάζοιν τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὡς ὁ καθ' ἥμεραν
βίος τοῖς συνούσιν.

Ο δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ1 τὸ συνεχὲς φεύγων καὶ
tὸν κόρον οἰον ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἐπλησίαζεν, οὐκ
ἐπὶ παντὶ πράγματι λέγον, οὐδ' ἀλλ' παρίσιν εἰς τὸ
πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ὅσπερ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν
τρίηρη, φησὶ Κριτόλαος, πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας
χρέιας ἐπιδιδοὺς, τάλα δὲ φίλους καὶ ῥήτορας
6 ἐτέρους καθεὶς ἐπράττειν. ὡν ἕνα φασὶ γενέσθαι
τὸν Ἐφιάλτην, ὃς κατέλυσε τὸ κράτος τῆς ἔξ
Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, πολλῆς, κατὰ τὸν Πλά-
tωνα, καὶ ἀκρατῶν τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν
οἰνοχωρίον, ύφ' ὡς, ὡσπερ ἰππον, ἐξυβρίσατα τὸν
dήμου οἱ κωμοδοποιοὶ λέγουσιν "πειθαρχεῖν
οὐκέτι τολμᾶν, ἄλλα δάκνειν τὴν ἱερβοίαν καὶ 15
tαῖς νήσοις ἐπιτηδέαν."

VIII. Τῇ μέντοι περὶ τὸν βίον κατασκευὴ καὶ
tῷ μεγέθει τοῦ φρονήματος ἀρμόζοντα λόγου,
ὡσπερ ὀργανοῦ, ἐξαρτνόμενος παρενετεινε πολ-
λαχοῦ τῶν Ἀναξαγόρας, οἰον βαφὴν τῇ ῥητορικῇ
τὴν φυσιολογίαν ὑποχεόμενος. τὸ γὰρ "ὑψη-

1 τῷ δήμῳ Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: τοῦ δήμου.
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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, to 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 Euboea 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.
λόνου τούτο καὶ πάντη τελεσιουργὸν," ὡς ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων φησὶ, "πρὸς τῷ εὐφυῆς εἶναι κτησιά-
μενος" ἐκ φυσιολογίας, καὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐλ-
kύσας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην, πολὺ πάντων
2 διήνεγκε. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι
λέγουσι: καίτοι τινὲς ἀπὸ τῶν οἷς ἐκώσμησε τὴν
πόλιν, οἱ δ’ ὁπό τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς
στρατηγίαις δυνάμεως Ὀλύμπιον αὐτὸν οἴονται
προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ συνδραμεῖν οὐδὲν ἀπέοικεν
ἀπὸ πολλῶν προσόντων τῷ ἄνδρι τὴν δόξαν.
3 αἱ μέντοι κωμιδία τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδή
tε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνάς
εἰς αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωπομίαν
genésthain δηλοῦσι, "βροντάν" μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ
"ἀστράπτειν," ὅτε δημηγοροῖ, "δεινὸν δὲ κεραυ-
νόν ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν" λεγόμενον.

Διαμνημονεύεται δὲ τις καὶ Θουκυδίδης τοῦ
Μελησίου λόγος εἰς τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Περι-
4 κλέους μετὰ παιδίας εἰρημένος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ
Θουκυδίδης τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ
πλείστων ἀντεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Περικλεὶ χρόνον.
'Αρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Δακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως
πυθαγορεύου πότερον αὐτὸς ἡ Περικλῆς παλαίει
βέλτιον, ""Οταν," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ καταβάλω πα-
lαίων, ἐκείνος ἀντιλέγων ὡς οὐ πέπτωκε, νικᾶ
καὶ μεταπείθει τοὺς ὁρὸντας."

Ὄν μὴν ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περικλῆς περὶ τὸν
λόγον εὐλαβῆς ἦν, ὡστ' ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ βήμα
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It was from natural science, as the divine Plato says,¹ that he “acquired his loftiness of thought and perfectness 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.
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βαδίζων εὔχετο τοῖς θεοῖς μηδὲ ρῆμα μηδὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην
5 χρείαιν ἀνάρμοστον. ἔγγραφον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπολέοιτε πλὴν τῶν ψηφισμάτων· ἀπο-
μημονεύεται δὴ ὅλγα παντάπασιν οἷον τὸ τὴν
Αὔγουν ὡς λήμνη τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐφελεῖν κε-
λεύσαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν πόλεμον ἡδή φύναι καθοράν
ἀπὸ Πελοποπησίου προσφέρομεν. καὶ τοτε
τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὅτε συστρατηγῶν ἔξεπλευσε
μετ' αὐτοῦ, παίδα καλὸν ἐπαινέσαυτος, "Οὐ
μόνον," ἔφη, "τὰς χείρας, ὡς Σοφόκλεις, δεῖ
καθαρὰς ἔχειν τὸν στρατηγόν, ἄλλα καὶ τὰς
6 ὄψεις." ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτος φησιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν
Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἔπι τοῦ βῆματος
ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεούς·
οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς ὅρομεν, ἄλλα ταῖς τιμαῖς
ἀς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἅ παρέχουσιν,
ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαίρομεθα· ταῦτ' οὖν ὑπάρχειν
καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.

IX. Ἡπεὶ δὲ Ἰουκυδίδης μὲν ἀριστοκρατικὸν
tīνα τὴν τοῦ Περικλέους ὑπογράφει πολυτείαν,
"λόγῳ μὲν οὕσαν δημοκρατίαν, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
πρῶτον ἀνήρ ἀρχῆν," ἀλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον
ὑπ' ἐκείνου φασὶ τῶν δῆμων ἔπι κληρονομίας καὶ
θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι, 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 Aegina as the "eye-sore of the Piraeus," 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,\(^1\) 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\(^2\) 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.
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φρονος καὶ αὐτουργοῦ, θεωρείσθω διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μεταβολῆς.

2 'Εν ἀρχῇ μὲν γάρ, ὁσπέρ εἰρηται, πρὸς τὴν Κύμωνος δόξαν ἀντιταττόμενοι ὑπεποιεῖτο τὸν δήμον· ἐλαττούμενος δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκείνος ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς πένητας, δειτπνών τε καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ δεομένῳ παρέχων 'Αθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀμφιεννύων, τῶν τε χωρίων τῶν φραγμῶν ἄφαιρὼν ὅπως ὅπωρίζωσιν οἱ βουλόμενοι, τούτοις ὁ Περικλῆς καταδημαγωγοῦμενος τρέπεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν δημοσίων διανομῆν, συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ 'Οαθεν,

3 ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστορηκε. καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικοῖς καὶ δικαστικοῖς λήμμασιν ἀλλαῖς τε μισθοφοραῖς καὶ χορηγίαις συνδεκάσας τὸ πλήθος, ἐχρητο κατὰ τής ἐξ' Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, ἢς αὐτὸς οὐ μετείχε διὰ τὸ μὴ ἄρχων μήτε θεσμοθέτης μήτε βασιλεὺς μήτε τωλεμάρχος λαχεῖν. αὐταί γὰρ αἱ ἀρχαὶ κληρωταὶ τε ἢσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ἀνέβαινοι εἰς Ἀρείον

4 πάγον. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἵσχύσας ὁ Περικλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατεστασίασε τὴν βουλῆν, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ἄφαιρεθηναι τὰς πλείστας κρίσεις δι' Ἐφί- ἀλτον, Κύμωνα δ' ὡς φιλολάκωνα καὶ μισόδημον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει μηδενός ἀπολειπόμενον, νίκας δὲ καλλίστας νεικηκοτα
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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,—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.
τούς βαρβάρους καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ λαφύρων ἐμπεπληκότα τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται. Τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ κράτος ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τοῦ Περικλέους.

Χ. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸς ὁρισμένην εἰσεῖρξε νόμῳ διεκατείχαν τοὺς φεύγουσιν ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσον Λακεδαιμονίων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐμβαλόντων εἰς τὴν Ταγαρίκην καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὑρὸς ὀρμησάντων ἐπὶ αὐτούς, ὁ μὲν Κύμων ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς ἔθετο μετὰ τῶν φυλετῶν εἰς λύχνον τὰ ὀπλα καὶ δὲ ἔργων ἀπολυσθαι τὸν Λακωνισμοῦ ἐβουλεύτω, συγκινουμένας τοὺς πολίτας, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Περικλέους συστάντες ἀπήλασαν αὐτὸν ὡς φυγάδα. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ Περικλῆς ἐρωμενεστάτα 1 τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ γενέσθαι πάντων ἐπιφανεστάτος ἀφειδήσας τοῦ σώματος. ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κύμωνος οἱ φίλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς, οὐς Περικλῆς συνεπητιάτο τὸν Λακωνισμοῦ καὶ μετάνοια δεινὴ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ πόθος ἔσχε τοῦ Κύμωνος, ἤττημένους μὲν ἔπι τῶν ὀρων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, προσδοκώντας δὲ βαρὺν 3 εἰς ἐτοὺς ὀραν πόλεμον. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὐκ ὁκνήσει χαρίσασθαι τοῖς πόλλοις, ἄλλα τὸ ψήφισμα ἀγήσας αὐτὸς ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα, καίκειντον κατελθὼν 2 εἰρήνην ἐποίησε ταῖς πόλεσιν. οἰκείως γὰρ εἰχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσπερ ἀπῆκθοντο τῷ Περικλεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημαγωγοῖς.

1 ἐρωμενεστάτα Cobet, Sittenis2, Fuhr, Blass; ἐρωμενεστάτην Bekker, with the MSS.
2 κατελθὼν Sittenis2, Fuhr, Blass; ἀπελθὼν Bekker, with the MSS.

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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 the Lacedæmonians 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 between the cities. For the Lacedæmonians 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.
4 Ἐνώ δὲ φασὶν οὐ πρότερον γραφῆναι τῷ Κίμωνι τὴν κάθοδον ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους ἢ συνθῆκας αὐτοῖς ἀπορρήτους γειέσθαι δὲ Ἕλπινίκης, τῆς Κίμωνος ἀδελφῆς, ὡστε Κίμωνα μὲν ἐκπλεύσαι λαβόντα ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ τῶν ἔξω στρατηγεῖν, καταστρεφόμενον τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, Περικλεῖ δὲ τὴν ἐν ἄστει δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν.

5 εἴδωκε δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἡ Ἕλπινίκη τῷ Κίμωνι τὸν Περικλέα πραότερον παρασχεῖν, ὡτε τὴν θανατικὴν δίκην ἔφευγεν. ἢν μὲν γὰρ εἶς τῶν κατηγόρων ὁ Περικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προβεβλημένος, ἐλθούσης δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς Ἕλπινίκης καὶ δεσμένης μειδίασας εἶπεν: "ὁ Ἕλπινίκη, γραύς εἰ, γραύς εἰ, ὡς πράγματα τηλικαῦτα πράσσεις." οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπαξ ἀνέστη, τὴν προβολὴν ἀφοσιούμενος, καὶ τῶν κατηγόρων ἐλάχιστα τὸν Κίμωνα λυπῆσας ἀπεχώρησε.

6 Πῶς δὲν οὖν τις Ἰδομενεῖ πιστεύσει κατηγοροῦντι τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς τὸν δημαγωγὸν Ἐφιάλτην φίλον γενόμενον καὶ κοινώνον ὅντα τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως δολοφονήσαντος διὰ ξηλωτυπίαν καὶ φθόνον τῆς δόξης; ταύτα γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅθεν συναγαγὼν ὁπότερ χολὴν τῶν τρίπτρα προσβέβληκε, πάντη μὲν ἰσως οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτῳ, φρύνημα δ᾽ εὐγενὲς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἷς οὐδὲν ἐμφύτευται πάθος ὁμοῦν ὑπὸ καὶ θηρίωδες.

7 Ἐφιάλτην μὲν οὖν φοβερὸν ὅντα τοῖς ὀλυγαρχικοῖς καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰθύνας καὶ διώξεις τῶν τὸν δήμον ἀδικουῶν ἀπαράτητον ἐπιβουλεύσαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ δὲ Ἀριστοδίκοι τοῦ Ταναγρικοῦ κρυφαῖς.
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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 Elpinice, 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.
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ἀνείλον, ὥς 'Αριστοτέλης εἶρηκεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κίμων ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγῶν.

XI. Οἱ δ' ἀριστοκρατικοὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἢδη τὸν Περικλέα καὶ πρόσθεν ὀρῶντες γεγονότα τῶν πολιτῶν, βουλόμενοι δ' ὁμώς εἶναι τινα τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτασσόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀμβλύνοντα, ὡστε μὴ κομιδῆ μοναρχίαν εἶναι, Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, ἄνδρα σώφρονα καὶ κηδεστὴν Κίμωνος, ἀντέστησαν ἐναντιωσόμενον,

2 δὲ ήττον μὲν ὁν πολεμικὸς τοῦ Κίμωνος, ἀγοραῖος δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς μᾶλλον, οἰκουρὸν ἐν ἅτσει καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα τῷ Περικλεῖ συμπλεκόμενος, ταχὺ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον κατέστησεν.

Οὐ γὰρ εἰάσε τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς καλομένους ἄνδρας ἐνδιεσπάρθαι καὶ συμμεῖχθαι πρὸς τὸν δήμον, ὡς πρῶτον, ὑπὸ πλῆθους ἰμαυρωμένους τὸ ἀξίωμα, χωρὶς δὲ διακρίνας καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ταυτὸ τὴν πάντων δύναμιν ἐμβριθή

3 γενομένην ὦσπερ ἐπὶ ξυγοῦ ῥοτὴν ἐποίησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διπλῆ τις ὑπολογοῦσα, ὦσπερ ἐν σιδήρῳ, διαφορὰν ὑποσιμαίνονς δημοτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατικῆς προαιρέσεως, ἢ δ' ἐκείνων ἀμίλλα καὶ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἄνδρῶν βαθυτάτην τομὴν τεμοῦσα τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν δήμον, τὸ δ' ὀλίγους

4 ἐποίησε καλεῖσθαι. διὸ καὶ τότε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνείες ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτεύετο πρὸς χάριν, ἀεὶ μὲν τινὰ θέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἡ ἐστίασιν ἡ πομ-
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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 Alopecè, 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 Few. 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, xxx. 4.
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πὴν εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ἀστεί καὶ "διαπαιδαγωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσοις ἡδοναῖς" τὴν πόλιν, ἐξήκοντα δὲ τρυπῆς καθ’ ἐκκατὸν ἑνιαυτὸν ἐκπέμπτων, ἐν αἷς πολλοί τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπλεον ὅκτω μῆνας ἐμμισθοὶ, μελετῶντες ἀμα καὶ μανθάνοντες τὴν ναυτικὴν 5 ἐμπειρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίους μὲν ἐστείλει εἰς Χερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξον πεντακοσίους, εἰς δὲ "Ἄιδρον τοὺς ἡμύσεις 1 τούτων, εἰς δὲ Θράκην χιλίους Βισάλταίς συνοικίσοντας, ἀλλους δὲ εἰς Ἰταλίαν οἰκιζομένης Συβάρεως, ἦν Θουρίους προσγῆρευσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπράττει ἀποκομφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολὴν πολυπράγμονος ὄχλου τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενος δὲ τὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβου δὲ καὶ φοβώρι τοῦ μὴ νεώτερίζειν τι παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμμάχοις.

XII. "Ο δὲ πλείστην μὲν ἡδονὴν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς καὶ κόσμον ἤνεγκε, μεγίστην δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκπληξὶν ἀνθρώπων, μόνον δὲ τῇ Ἕλλαδί μαρτυρεῖ μὴ ψεύδεσθαι τὴν λεγομένην δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἐκεῖνην καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ὀλβοῦ, ἡ τῶν ἀναβημάτων κατασκευῆς, τοῦτο μάλιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων τοῦ Περικλέους ἐβάσκασαν οἱ ἑκατον καὶ διέβαλλον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, βοῶντες ὅσο μὲν δήμος ἄδοξεὶ καὶ κακῶς ἀκούει τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἕλληνων 2 χρήματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Δῆλου μεταγαγῶν, ἢ δὲ ἐνεστιν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν προφάσεων, δείσαντα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκείθεν

1 τοῖς ἡμύσεις Fuhr and Blass, after Cobet: ἡμύσεις.
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 xix. 1–2.
3 444 B.C. Sybaris had been destroyed in 510 B.C.
Εδίδασκεν οὖν ο Περικλῆς τὸν δήμον ὅτι χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ὁφείλουσι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον προσπολεμοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνείργοντες, οὐχ ἵπποι, οὐ ναῦν, οὐχ ὀπλίτην, ἀλλὰ χρήματα μόνον τελούντων, ἀ τῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἔστων, ἀλλὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων, ἄν παρέχωσιν ὁμόάθετον γενόμενον ἑπταήμερον, φανερόν καὶ ποικίλων χρεών, αἱ πᾶσαι μὲν τέχνην ἐγείρουσαν, πᾶσαι δὲ χείρα κινοῦσαι, σχεδὸν ὅλην ποιοῦσιν ἐμμυσθοῖ τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἄμα κοσμομενήν καὶ τρεφομένην.

Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐγκιάζων ἔχουσι καὶ ρώμην αἱ στρατεύει τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν εὐπορίας παρεῖχον, τὸν δ’ ἄσυντακτον καὶ βάναυσον ὀχλον οὐτ’ ἀμοιρον ἐναὶ λημμάτων βουλόμενος οὐτε λαμβανεῖν ἄργον καὶ σχολάζοντα, μεγάλας κατασκευ-
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 the 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
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ασμάτων ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πολυτέχνους ὑποθέσεις ἔργων διατριβὴν ἐχόντων ἐνέβαλε φέρων εἰς τὸν δήμον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἤττον τῶν πλεύντων καὶ φρούρωντων καὶ στρατευομένων τὸ οἰκουρόν ἔχῃ πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ᾠφελεῖσθαι καὶ

6 μεταλαμβάνειν. ὅπου γὰρ ὑλὴ μὲν ἦν λίθος, χαλκός, ἐλέφας, χρυσός, ἐβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κ. τ. ἐργαζόμεναι τέχναι, τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, λιθουργοὶ, βαρ- 

7 φεῖς, χρυσοῦ μαλακτήρες καὶ ἐλέφαντας, ζωγρά- 

φοι, ποικίλται, τορευταί, πομποὶ δὲ τοῦτων καὶ 

κομιστήρες, ἐμποροὶ καὶ ναῦται καὶ κυβερνήται 

κατὰ θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἀμαξοπηγοὶ καὶ 

ζευγοτρόφοι καὶ ἤμοχοι καὶ καλωστρόφοι καὶ 

λινουργοὶ καὶ σκυτότομοι καὶ ὀδοποιοὶ καὶ μεταλ- 

λεῖς, ἐκάστη δὲ τέχνη, καθάπερ στρατηγὸς ἴδιον 

στράτευμα, τὸν θητικὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἰδιώτην συν- 

τεταγμένον εἰχεν, ὄργανον καὶ σῶμα τῆς ὑπηρε-

σίας γυνόμενον, εἰς πᾶσαν, ὡς ἔτος εἶπείν, ἥλικιαν 

καὶ φύσιν αἱ χρεῖαι διένεμον καὶ διεσπειρον τὴν 

ἐυπορίαν.

XIII. Ἀναβαινόντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερη- 

φάνων μὲν μεγέθει, μορφῇ δ' ἀμιμήτων καὶ 

χάριτι, τῶν δημουργῶν ἀμιλλωμένων ὑπερβάλ- 

λεσθαι τὴν δημουργίαν τῇ καλλιτεχνίᾳ, μᾶλιστα 

θαυμάσιον ἦν τὸ τάχος. ὃν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν φόντο 

πολλάις διεδοχαῖς καὶ ἥλικίαις μόλις ἐπὶ τέλος 

ἀφίξεσθαι, ταῦτα πάντα μιᾶς ἀκρῇ πολιτείας

38
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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

39
2 ἐλάμβανε τὴν συντέλειαν. καίτοι ποτὲ φιλοι Ἀγαθάρχου τοῦ ξωγράφου μεγά ψομοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ ταχύ καὶ ῥαδίως τὰ ξύλα ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα τῶν Ζεῦξιν εἶπεῖν. "Ἡγὼ δὲ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ." ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὐχέρεια καὶ ταχύτης οὐκ ἐντίθησι βάρος ἔργῳ μονίμῳ οὐδὲ κάλλους ἀκρίβειαν ὅ δ’ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τῷ πόνῳ προδανεισθεὶς χρόνος ἐν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γενομένου τὴν ἰσχῦν
3 ἀποδίδοσιν. οθεν καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὀλύγῳ γενόμενα. κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν εὐθὺς ἢ τὸτε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκμῇ δὲ μέχρι τῶν πρόσφατῶν ἐστὶ καὶ νεοργόν. οὕτως ἐπανδέχεται καινότης ἀεὶ της ἀθικτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διατηροῦσα τὴν ὅψιν, ὥσπερ ἀειθαλὲς πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγίῳ καταμεμεριμμένην τῶν έργων ἐχόντων.
4 Πάντα δὲ διεἶπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἢν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκατόμπεδον Παρθενώνα Καλλικράτης ἐργαζότο καὶ Ἰκτίωνος, τῷ δὲ ἐν Ἔλευσιν τελεστήριον ἠρξατο μὲν Κώροβος ὁ κοδόμεθα, καὶ τούς ἐπὶ ἐδάφους κίονας ἐθηκεν οὕτος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίοις ἐπέζευξεν ἀποθανόντως δὲ τούτων Μεταγένθης ὁ Ξυπέτιος τὸ διάζωμα καὶ τοὺς ἀνω κίονας
5 ἐπέστησε τῷ δ’ ὅπαιν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε τῷ δὲ μακρὸν 160
καινότης ἀεὶ τῖς Fuhr and Blass with FaS: καινότης τῖς.
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 unaltering breath of an ageless spirit had been infused into them.

His general manager and general overseer was Phidias, 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 Coroebus 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 Xypete, carried up the frieze and the upper tier of columns; while Xenocles, of the deme Cholargus, set on high the lantern over the shrine.
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πείχος, περὶ οὗ Σωκράτης ἀκούσαί φησιν αὐτὸς εἰσηγουμένου γνώμην Περικλέος, ἡγολάβησεν Καλλικράτης. κωμιδεῖ δὲ τὸ ἔργον Κρατῖνος ὡς βραδέως περαινόμενον

Πάλαι γὰρ αὐτό, φησὶ, λόγοις προάγει Περικλέης, ἔργοισι δ' οὐδὲ κινεῖ.

Τὸ δ' Ὀιδείων, τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολυεδρον καὶ πολύστυλου, τῇ δ' ἐρέψει περικλινές καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾷς κορυφῆς πεποιημένου, εἰκόνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι καὶ μύθμα τῆς βασιλέως σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατούντος καὶ τούτῳ Περικλέος.

6 διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Ὁρᾶτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτὸν.

'Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὁδὲ προσέρχεται τῷ δειόν ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου ἐχών, ἐπεὶ δὴ τούστρακον παροίχεται.

φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐψη-φίσατο μουσικῆς ἀγώνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἀγεσθαί, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἰρέθεις καθότι χρὴ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αθλεῖν ἢ ἀδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. ἐθεώντο δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἀλλὸν χρόνον ἐν Ὀιδείῳ τοῖς μουσικοῖς ἀγώνας.

7 Τὰ δὲ Προπόλαια τῆς ἀκρόπολεως ἐξειργάσθη μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ Μυησικλέους ἠρχιτεκτονοῦντος· τύχη δὲ θαυμαστῇ συμβάσα περὶ τὴν οἰκοδο-μίαν ἐμήνυσε τὴν θεῶν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ

1 ὁδὲ προσέρχεται: Fuhr and Blass, after Cobet: προσέρ-χεται Περικλέης.
PERICLES

For the long wall, concerning which Socrates says \(^1\) 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." \(^2\)

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." \(^3\)

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 Propylæa of the acropolis were brought to completion in the space of five years, Mnesicles 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.
συνθετομένη τοῦ ἑργοῦ καὶ συνεπιτελοῦσαν.

8 ο γὰρ ἐνεργήτατος καὶ προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς ἐξ ύψους ἐπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἀθυμοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὠναρ φανεῖσαι συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἡ χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχύ καὶ ῥαδίως ἱάσατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκὸν ἄγαλμα τῆς 'Τυγιείας Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τῶν βωμῶν δὲ καὶ πρόσεμον ἤν, ὡς λέγουσιν.

9 Ὅ δὲ Φειδίας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσόν ἔδωκεν καὶ τούτου δημιουργός ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέγραπται, πάντα δὲ ἡν σχεδὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάτει τοῖς τεχνιταῖς διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ μὲν φθόνῳ, τῷ δὲ βλασφημίαν ἤμενεκεν, ὡς ἐλευθέρας τῷ Περικλεὶ γυναῖκας εἰς τὰ ἔργα φοιτώσας ὑπο- δεχομένου τοῦ Φειδίου. δεξαμενοὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον ὁι κωμικοὶ πολλὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἰς τὴν Μενίππου γυναίκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρός φίλον καὶ ὑποστρητηγοῦντος, εἰς τὰς Πυριλάμπου ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἑταῖρος ὁν Περικλέους αἰτίαν εἴχε ταῦτὰς υφιέναι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αῖς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίᾳ.

10 δεχομένου τοῦ Φειδίου. δεξαμενοὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον ὁι κωμικοὶ πολλὴν ἀσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἰς τὴν Μενίππου γυναίκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρός φίλον καὶ ὑποστρητηγοῦντος, εἰς τὰς Πυριλάμπου ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἑταῖρος ὁν Περικλέους αἰτίαν εἴχε ταῦτας υφιέναι ταῖς γυναιξὶν αῖς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίᾳ.

11 Καὶ τί ἂν τις ἀνθρώπους σατυρικοὺς τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων βλασφημίας ὠσπέρ δαίμονι κακῷ τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποθύμοντας ἐκάστοτε θαυμάσειεν, ὅπου καὶ Ἐπισίμβρωτος ὁ

1 ἀναγέγραπται Cobet: εἶναι γέγραπται.
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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 consortcd.

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

45
Θάσιος δεινών ἀσέβημα καὶ μυθώδες ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησεν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τοῦ
12 Περικλέους; οὕτως ἔσκε πάντη χαλεπῶν εἶναι καὶ
dυσθήρατον ἱστορία τὰληθὲς, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ύστερον
γεγονότες τὸν χρόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπιπροσθοῦντα τῇ
γνῶσι τῶν πραγμάτων, ἢ δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ
tῶν βίων ἠλικιώτες ἱστορία τὰ μὲν φθόνοις καὶ
dυσμενείας, τὰ δὲ χαριζομένη καὶ κολακεύουσα
λυμαίνηται καὶ διαστρέφη τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

XIV. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ῥητόρων
καταβοῶντων τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς σπαθῶντος τὰ
χρήματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ὄπολλωτος, ἡρώ-
tησεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν δήμων εἰ πολλὰ δοκεῖ
deδαπανήσθαι φησάντων δὲ πάμπολλα. "Μὴ
tοίνυν," εἶπεν, "ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δεδαπανήσθω,
kαὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἰδίαν ἐμαυτοῦ ποιήσομαι
2 τὴν ἐπιγραφήν." εἰπόντος οὐν ταῦτα τοῦ Περι-
κλέους, εἰτε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην αὐτοῦ θαυμά-
santes εἰτε πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενοι
161 τῶν ἔργων, ἀνέκραγον κελεύονται ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων
ἀναλίσκειν καὶ χορηγεῖν μηδενὸς φειδόμενον.
tέλος δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θουκυδίδην εἰς ἄγωνα περὶ τοῦ
ὀστράκου καταστὰς καὶ διακώδυνεύσας ἐκείνον
μὲν ἐξεβάλε, κατέλυσε δὲ τὴν ἀντιτεταγμένην
ἔταιρείαν.

XV. Ὡς οὖν παντάπασι λυθείσης τῆς διαφο-
rᾶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως οἰον ὀμαλῆς καὶ μιᾶς γενο-
μένης κομιδῆ, περιήγεγκεν εἰς ἕαυτὸν τὰς Ἀθήνας

40
PERICLES

even Stesimbrus 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, defiles and distorts the truth.

XIV. Thucydides 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 naught whatsoever. And finally he ventured to undergo with Thucydides 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.
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καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξηρτημένα πράγματα, φόρους καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ νήσους καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν δὲ Ἑλλήνων, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ βαρβάρων ἔκοψαν ἰσχύν, καὶ ἤγερον ὑπηκοοῖς έθνεσι καὶ φίλιαις βασιλέων

2 καὶ συμμαχίαις περιφραγμένην δυναστῶν, οὕκεθ' ὃντος ἢν οὐδ' ὀμοίως χειροθέτης τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ράδιος ὑπείκειν καὶ συνενδιδοῖν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὁσπερ πυναῖς τὸν πολλὸν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἀνειμένης ἐκείνης καὶ ὑποθρυτικήν ἐνια ὁμαγωγίας, ὁσπερ ἀνθρῶς καὶ μάλακης ἀρμονίας, ἄριστων καὶ ἱστοκρατικῆς καὶ βασιλείας ἐντευνάμενος πολιτείαν, καὶ χρόμενος αὐτῆ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ὑρθ' καὶ

3 ἀνεγκλίτω, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ βουλομένων ἵγη πείθον καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δήμον, ἢν δ' ὑπέ καὶ μάλα δυσχεραίνοντα κατατείνων καὶ προσβ.βάζων ἐχεῖρον εἰς ἐχεῖρον τὸ συμφέροντι, μιμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς ἰατρῶν ποικίλως νοσήματι καὶ μακρῷ κατὰ καρδών μὲν ἠδονᾶς ἀβλαβείς, κατὰ καρδῶν δὲ δηνομούς καὶ

4 φάρμακα προσφέροντα σωτ. ῥία. παντοταπών γὰρ, ὡς εἰκός, παθῶν ἐν ὁχλῷ τοσάτων τὸ μέγεθος ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι φυμένων, μόνος ἐρμηλῶς ἐκαστα διασπείρασθαι περικῶς, μάλιστα δ' ἐλπίζος καὶ φόβοις ὅσπερ οἰκεί προστέλλων ¹ τὸ θρασυνόμενον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δύσθυμον ἄνεις καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ἐδειξε τὴν ῥητορικὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα ψυχαγωγίαν οὐκαὶ καὶ ἑγίστον 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,¹ "an enchantment

¹ Phaedrus, p 271 a.
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αὐτῆς τὴν περὶ τὰ ἡθη καὶ πάθη μέθοδον, ὠσπερ τινὰς τόνους καὶ φθόγγους ψυχῆς μᾶλ' ἐμελελούσ
5 ἀφῆς καὶ κρουσεως δεσμένους. αἰτία δ' οὐχ ἢ τοῦ
λόγου ψιλῶς δύναμις, ἀλλ' ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ἢ περὶ τὸν βίον δόξα καὶ πίστις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς,
ἀδωροτάτου περιφανῶς γενομένου καὶ χρημάτων
κρείττονος· δ' καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλης μεγίστην
καὶ πλουσιωτάτην ποιήσας, καὶ γενόμενος δυνά-
μει 1 πολλῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων ὑπέρτερος,
ὅν ἔστω καὶ ἐπιτροπὸν τοὺς νικῶν, διέθεντο ἐκεῖνον, 2
μᾶ δραχμῆς, μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν ὦκ ἐποίησεν ἢς ὁ
πάθη αὐτῷ κατέλιπε.

XVI. Καίτοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς μὲν ὁ
Θουκυδίδης διηγεῖται, κακοήθους δὲ παρεμφαίνο-
σιν οὶ κακοί. Πεισιστρατίδας μὲν νέους τοὺς
περὶ αὐτὸν ἐταίρους καλοῦντες, αὐτὸν δ' ἀπομόσαι
μὴ τυραννήσειν κελεύοντες, ὡς ἰσομετρούσθη πρὸς
δημοκρατίαν καὶ βαρυτέρας περὶ αὐτὸν οὐσίας
2 ὑπεροχῆς. ὃς δ' Τηλεκλείδης παραδεδωκέναι φησίν
αὐτῶ τοὺς Ἥθηναίοις

Πόλεων τε φόρους αὐτάς τε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν
dein, τὰς δ' ἀναλύειν,
λαίνα τείχη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐπείτα 3
πάλιν καταβάλλειν,
σπονδάς, δύναμιν, κράτος, εἰρήνην, πλοῦτον τ' 4
εὐδαιμονίαν τε.

καὶ ταῦτα καιρὸς οἰκὴ ἢν οὐδ' ἀκμῇ καὶ χάρις
1 δυνάμει also Fuhr and Blass with S; Bekker has καὶ
dυνάμει.
2 ἐπιτροπὸν ... ἐκεῖνον Madvig's restoration, adopted by
Fuhr and Blass: ἐπὶ τοῖς νικῶν διέθεντο, ἐκεῖνος (willed their
property to their sons).
3 τὰ δ' ἐπείτα Fuhr: τὰ δἐ αὐτὰ.

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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, 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 says 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.
* In a play of unknown name. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 220.
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ἀνθούσης ἐφ᾽ ὅρα πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἐτη πρωτεύων ἐν Ἐφιάλταις καὶ Δεωκράταις καὶ Μυρωτίδαις καὶ Κίμωσι καὶ Τολμίδαις καὶ 3 Θουκυδίδαις, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θουκυδίδου κατάλυσιν καὶ τὸν ὀστρακισμὸν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν διηνεκῆ καὶ μίαν οὔςαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις στρατηγίαις ἀρχῆν καὶ δυναστείαν κτησίμενος, ἐφύλαξεν ἐαυτὸν ἀνάλωτον ὑπὸ χρηματισμὸν, καὶ περὶ οὔ παντάπασιν ἀργῶς ἔχων πρὸς χρηματισμὸν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πατρῴων καὶ δίκαιον πλοῦτον, ὡς μήτε ἀμελούμενος ἐκφύγοι μήτε πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ διατριβᾶς ἄσχολουμένως παρέχοι, συνετάξειν εἰς οἰκονομίαν ἢν φετος βάστην καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην 4 εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπετείους καρποὺς ἀπαντα όθρόους ἐπιπρασκεῦν, εἰτα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκαστὸν εξ ἁγορᾶς ὅνομεν διψεῖ τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. οἰθεν οὐχ ἡδὺς ἢν ἐνυλίκως παισιν οὐδὲ γυναῖξί δαψίλης χορηγός, ἀλλ' ἐμέμφιστο τὴν ἐφήμερον ταύτην καὶ συνημένην εἰς τὸ ἀκριβεστάτον δαπάνην, οὐδενός, οἷον ἐν οἰκίας μεγάλη καὶ πράγμασιν ἁθθόνοις, περιρρέοντος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς μὲν ἀναλώματος, παντὸς δὲ λύμ- 5 ματος δὲ ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μέτρου βαδίζοντος. ο δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην συνέχοι ἀκριβεῖαν εἰς ἢν οἰκέτης, Εὐάγγελος, ὡς ἐτερος οὐδείς εὗ πεφυ- κὼς ἢ κατεσκευασμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους πρὸς οἰκονομίαν.

Ἀπάδοντα 1 μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τῆς Ἀναζαγοροῦν σοφίας, εἰγε καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἑκείνον ἐξέλιπτε καὶ

1 Ἀπάδοντα Valckenaer's restoration of the MS. ἀπάντα; Bekker changes to ἀπάδει.
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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.
την χώραν ἀφίκειν ἀργὴν καὶ μηλόβοτον ὅπ' ἑνθυσιασμῷ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, οὐ ταύτῳ δ' ἐστίν, οἶμαι, θεωρητικοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ πολιτικοῦ βίος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνόργανον καὶ ἀπροσδείη τῆς ἐκτὸς ὦλης ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κινεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν, τῷ δ' εἰς ἀνθρωπείας χρείας ἀναμιγνύντι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔστιν οὐ γένοιτ' ἀν οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καλῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ Περικλεὶ βοηθοῦντι πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων.

καὶ μέντοι γε τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἀσχολουμένου Περικλέους ἁμελούμενον κεῖσθαι συγκεκαλυμμένον ἡδη γηραιὸν ἀποκαρποῦντα προσπεσόντος δὲ τῷ Περικλεὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκπλαγέντα θείν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δεῖσθαι πᾶσαν δέσιν, ὁλοφυρόμενον οὐκ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ἑαυτόν, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἀπολεῖ τῆς πολιτείας σύμβουλον. ἐκκαλυψάμενον οὖν τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν: "Ὡς Περικλεῖς, καὶ οἱ τοῖς λύχνου χρείαν ἔχοντες ἔλαιον ἐπιχέουσιν."

XVII. Ἀρχομένων δὲ Δακεδαμονίων ἁχθεσθαι τῇ αὐξήσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαύρων ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δῆμον ἐτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων αὐτῶν ἄξιων πραγμάτων, γράφει ψήφισμα, πάντας "Ἐλληνας τοὺς ὅπποτε κατοικοῦντας Ἑλρώπως ἡ τῆς Ἀσίας παρακαλεῖν, καὶ μικρῶν πόλεων καὶ μεγάλην, εἰς σύλλογον πέμπτειν Ἀθηναίζε τοὺς θολευσμένους περὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν ἱερῶν,
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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
δα κατέπρησαν οἱ βαρβαροὶ, καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἃς ὄφειλον ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἀδεώς καὶ 2 τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγωσιν. ἔπε ταύτα δ’ ἄνδρες εἰκοσι τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἑτη γεγονότων ἐπέμφθησαν, ὅλν πέντε μὲν Ἰωνᾶς καὶ Δωριές τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ νησιώτατος ἄχρη Λέσβου καὶ Ρόδου παρεκί- λουν, πέντε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ καὶ Ὑπάκη μέχρι Βυζαντίου τόπους ἐπέθεσαν, καὶ πέντε ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς Βοιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Πελοπό- νυσον, ἓκ δὲ ταύτης διὰ λοκρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσο- κον ἢπειρον ἐως Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ Ἀμβρακίας 3 ἀπεστάλησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δι’ Εὔβοιας ἐπ’ Οἰταίους καὶ τὸν Μαλεᾶ κόλπον καὶ Φθιώτας Ἁχαιοὺς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, συμπει- θοῦντες ίέναι καὶ μετέχειν τῶν θεουλεμάτων ἐπ’ εἰρήνη καὶ κοινοπραγία τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐπηράχθη δὲ οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ συνήθθησαν αἱ πόλεις, Λακεδαίμονίων ὑπεναντιωθέντων, ὡς λέγονται, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Πελοπονησῷ τῆς πείρας ἐλεγχθείσης. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φρό- νημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην.

XVIII. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις εὐδοκίμει 163 μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, οὔτε μάχης ἐχούσης πολλῆς ἀδηλότητα καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκουσίως ἀπτό- μενος, οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραβάλλεσθαι χρησα- μένους τύχη λαμπρᾶ καὶ θανασθέντας ὡς μεγά- λους ζηλῶν καὶ μεμούμενος στρατηγοῦς, ἀεὶ τε λέγων πρὸς τοὺς πολιτὰς ὡς ὅσον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ μενοῦσιν ἄθανατοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον.
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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 accomplished, 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.
Ορόν δὲ Τολμίδην τὸν Τολμαίον διὰ τὰς πρότερον εὐτυχίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν σὺν οὐδεὶς καιρῷ παρασκευαζόμενον εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ πεπεικότα τῶν ἐν ἥλικία τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἔθελοντι στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίους γενομένους ἀνευ τῆς ἀλλης δυνάμεως, κατέχειν ἐπειρᾶτο καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ μνημονευόμενον εἰπὼν, ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοιο Περικλεῖ, τὸν γε σοφότατον οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται σύμβουλον ἀναμείνας χρόνον. τίτε μὲν οὖν μετρίως εὐδοκίμησε τοῦτ' εἰπὼν· ὀλίγαις δ', ύστερον ἡμέραις, ὡς ἀνηγγέλθη τεθνείς μὲν αὐτός Τολμίδης περὶ Κορώνειαν ἤττηθείς μάχη, τεθνεώτες δὲ πολλοὶ κάγαθοι τῶν πολιτῶν, μεγάλην τοῦτο τῷ Περικλεὶ μετ' εὐνοίας δόξαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ.

ΧΙΧ. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν ἡγαπήθη μὲν ἡ περὶ Χερρόνησον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, σωτήριον γενομένη τοῖς αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐποίκους Ἀθηναίων χιλίους κομίσας ἔρρωσεν εὐανδρίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα διαξώσας ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν

2 Ἡρακλῆς περικεχυμένων τῇ Χερρονήσῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἐνδελεχὴ καὶ βαρὺν ἐξέκλισεν, ὁ συνείχέ τοῦ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡ χώρα βαρβαρικὰς ἀναμεμεγμένῃ γειτνιάσεται καὶ γέμουσα κηρυκίων
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So when he saw that Tolmides, son of Tolmæus, all on account of his previous good-fortune and of the exceeding great honour bestowed upon him for his wars, was getting ready, quite inopportuney, 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 remem-bered 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 Tol-mides 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 Cherso-nesus² 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.
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όμόρων καὶ συνοίκων. ἐθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διεβοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπους περιπλεύσασι Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Πηγῶν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνα-3 χθείς ἐκατὸν τριήρεσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἔπορθησε τῆς παραλίας πυλῆν, ὡς Τολμίδης πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω θαλάττης προελθὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίταις τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰ τείχη συνέστειλε δείσαντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἕφοδον, ἐν δὲ Νεμέα Σικυωνίων ὑποστάντας καὶ συνάψαντας μάχην κατὰ κράτος τρεψάμενος ἐστησε τρόπαιον. 4 ἐκ δὲ Ἀχαίας φίλης οὕσης στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον ἐκομίσθη τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχελώον Ἀρκανών κατέδραμε, καὶ κατέκλεισαν Οἰνώδας εἰς τὸ τείχος, καὶ τεμὼν τὴν γῆν καὶ κακώσας ἄπηρεν ἐπὶ οἶκον, φοβερὸς μὲν φανείς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀσφαλῆς δὲ καὶ δραστήριος τοῖς πολίταις. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπὸ τύχης πρόσκρουσαμα συνέβη περὶ τοὺς στρατευομένους.

XX. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσας στόλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ λαμπρῶς ταῖς μὲν Ἔλληνίσι πόλεσιν ὁν ἐδέοντο διεπράξατο καὶ προσηνέχθη φιλανθρώπως, τοῖς δὲ περιοικοῦσι βαρβάροις ἐθνεσὶ καὶ βασιλεύσιν αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάσταις ἐπεδείξατο μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀδειαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ἡ βούλιοιτο πλεόντων καὶ πάσαν ύφ' αὐτοῖς πεποιημένων τὴν θάλασσαν, Σινωπεύσι δὲ τρισκαίδεκα ναὸς ἀπέλυπε μετὰ Λαμάχου καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ Τιμησί-
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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 Acheloüs, overran Acarnania, shut up the people of Oeniadæ 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 Timei-

\(^1\) 453 B.C. \(^2\) Probably about 436 B.C.
2 λεων τύραννον. ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐψηφίσατο πλείν εἰς Σινώπην Ἀθηναίων ἔθελοντας ἐξακοσίους καὶ συγκατοικεῖν Σινωπεύσι, νειμαμένους οἰκίας καὶ χώραν ἢν πρότερον οἱ τύραννοι κατείχον.

Τάλλα δ’ οὐ συνεχώρει ταῖς ὀρμαίς τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐδὲ συνεξεπιπτεῖν ύπὸ ῥώμης καὶ τύχης τοσαύτης ἐπαιρομένων Λιγύπτου τε πάλιν ἀντιλαμβανέσθαι καὶ κινεῖν τὴς βασιλείας ὥρχης τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Σικελίας ὁ δύσερως ἐκείνος ὡδη καὶ δύσποτος ἔρως εἰχειν, ὅτι ὑστερον ἐξεκασαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ῥήτορες. ἦν δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνία καὶ Καρχηδών ἐνίοις οὐειροσ οὐκ ἀπ’ ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἑγεμονίας καὶ τὴν εὐροίαν τῶν πραγμάτων.

XXI. Ἄλλ’ ὁ Περικλῆς κατείχε τὴν ἐκδρομὴν ταύτην καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δινάμεως ἁτρεπεῖν εἰς φυλάκην καὶ βεβαιότητα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μέγα ἔργον ἡγούμενος ἀνείργων Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ὅλως ὑπεναντιούμενος ἐκείνοις, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐδείξε καὶ μᾶλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἱερὸν πραχθεῖσι

2 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς Φωκέων ἐχόντων τὸ ἱερὸν Δελφοῖς ἀπέδωκαν, εὐθὺς ἐκείνων ἀπαλλαγέντων
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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 448 B.C.
ΧΩΑ. "ΟΤΙ Δ' ὈΡΘΩΣ ἜΝ ΤΗ 'ΕΛΛΑΔΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΗ ΤΩΝ ἈΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΣΥΝΕΪΧΕΝ, ἘΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΣΕΝ ΑΥΤῷ ΤΑ ΧΕΙΡΑΜΕΝΑ. ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΕΥΒΟΙΑΣ ἈΠΕΣΤΗΣΑΝ, ἘΦ' ΟΥΣ ΔΙΕΒΗ ΜΕΤΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΣ. ΕΙΤ' ΕΥΘΩΣ ἈΠΗΓΕΛΛΟΝΤΟ ΜΕΓΑΡΕΙΣ ἘΚΠΕΠΟΛΕΜΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΩΝ ἘΠΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΌΡΟΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΤΤΙΚΗΣ ΟΥΣΑ, ΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΑΚΤΟΣ ΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΩΝ. ΠΑΛΙΝ ΟΥΝ Ὁ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΧΟΣ ἘΚ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΒΟΙΑΣ ΑΝΕΚΟΜΙΖΕΤΟ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ἘΝ ΤΗ 'ΑΤΤΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ. ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΑΓΑΙΝΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΟΥΚ ἘΘΑΡΣΗΣΕΝ ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΙΣ ὈΠΛΙΤΑΙΣ ΠΡΟΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΙ, ὌΡΟΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΩΝΑΚΤΑ ΝΕΟΝ ὍΝΤΑ ΚΟΜΙΔΗ, ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΚΛΕΑΝΔΡΙΔΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΒΟΥΛΩΝ, ὙΝ ΟΙ ἘΦΟΡΟΙ ΦΥΛΑΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΘΝΟΥΝ ΑΥΤῸ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ἩΛΙΚΙΑΝ ΣΥΝΕΠΕΜΒΑΝ, ἘΠΕΙΡΑΤΟ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΡΥΦΑ: ΚΑΙ ΤΑΧΥ ΔΙΑΦΘΕΙΡΑΧ ΧΡΗΜΑΣΙΝ ΑΥΤῸΝ ἘΠΕΙΣΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΑΤΤΙΚΗΣ ἈΠΑΓΑΓΕΙΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΙΟΥΣ.

3 ὩΣ Δ' ἈΠΕΧΩΡΗΣΕΝ Ἡ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΕΛΥΘΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ, ΒΑΡΕΩΣ ΦΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ ΟΙ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΧΡΗΜΑΣΙΝ ἘΞΙΜΙΩΣΑΝ, ὙΝ ΤῸ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ
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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,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,

¹ 446 B.C.
οὐλ ἄγων ἐκτίσσας μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, τοῦ δὲ Κλεανδρίδου φεύγοντος θάνατον κατέγρωσαν. οὕτως δὲ ἦν πατὴρ Γυλίππου τοῦ περί Σικελίαν Ἀθηναίος καταπολεμήσαντος. ἔοικε δὲ ὥσπερ συγγενικὸν αὐτῷ προστρίψασθαι νόσημα τὴν φιλαργυρίαν ἢ φύσις, ὡς ἦς καὶ αὐτὸς αἰσχρῶς ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις ἀλοῦς ἔξεπες τῆς Ὁπάρτης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δυσάνδρου δεδηλοκαμεν.

ΧΧΧΙ. Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ἐν τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπολογισμῷ δέκα ταλάντων ἀνάλωμα γράψαντος ἀνηλωμένων εἰς τὸ δέοι, ὁ δὲ Ἰομος ἀπεδέξατο μὴ πολυπραγμονήσας μηδ’ ἐλέγξας τὸ ἀπόρρητον. ένιοι δὲ ἱστορήκασιν, ὅν ἐστι καὶ Θεόφραστος ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅτι καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὴν Ὁπάρτη ἐφοίτα δέκα τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ Περικλέους, οὓς τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας θεραπεύων παρατείτο τῶν πόλεων, οὓς τὴν εἰρήνην ὁνούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν φ’ παρασκευασάμενοι καθ’ ἱσυχίας ἐμβλεπεν πολεμήσειν βέλτιον.

2 αὐθίς ὅπι τοὺς ἀφεστώτας ἐπανεμένοις καὶ διαβάς εἰς Ἑβδομαν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις ὄπλιταις καταστρέψατο τὰς πόλεις, καὶ Χαλκιδέων μὲν τοὺς ἰπποβότας λεγομένους πλοῦτος καὶ δόξης διαφέροντας ἔξεβαλεν, Ἐστιεὶς δὲ πάντας ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἀθηναίον κατόκισε, μόνοις τούτοις ἀπαραίτητος χρήσας 165 μενος ὅτι ναῦν Ἀττικῆν αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες ὑπέκειταν τοὺς ἀνδρας.

1 αὖθις Fuhr and Blass, after Saußpe: εὐθὺς (at once).
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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 Gylippus 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. Ἐκ τούτου γενομένων σπουδῶν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Δακεδαιμονίοις εἰς ἔτη τριάκοντα ψηφίζεται τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, αἰτιάν ποιησάμενος κατ' αὐτῶν ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους κελευόμενον διαλύσασθαι πόλεμον οὐχ ὑπήκοουν.

Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀσπασία χαριζόμενος δοκεῖ πράξαι τὰ πρὸς Σαμίους, ἑνταῦθα ἄν εἰθα καιρὸς διαπορίσαι μάλιστα περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου, τίνα τέχνην ἢ δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἔχουσα τῶν τε πολιτικῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους οὐ φαύλου οὐδ' ὅλιγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρέσχε λόγον.

2 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μιλησία γένος, Ἀξιόχου θυγάτηρ, ὁμολογεῖται: φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν Ὁρηγιλίαν τινὰ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἰάδων ξηλώσασαν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις ἀνδράσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Ὁρηγιλία τὸ τ' εἶδος εὔπρεπῆς γενομένη καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα μετα δεινότητος πλείστος μὲν Ἐλλήνων συνόκησεν ἀνδράσι, πάντας δὲ προσεποίησε βασιλεί τοὺς πλησιώσαντας αὐτῆς, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι μηδίσμοι δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπεσπερεῖ ἄρχας δυνατωτάτων ὄντων

3 καὶ μεγίστων. τὴν δ' Ἀσπασίαν δὲ μὲν ὡς σοφὴν τινα καὶ πολιτικὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περεκλέους σπουδασθήμει λέγουσι: καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔστιν ὅτε μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ἐφοίτα, καὶ τὰς γυναίκας ἀκροασομένας οἱ συνήθεις ἦγον ὡς 1 αὐτήν, καὶ περ ὁ κοσμίου προστῶσαν ἐργασίας οὐδὲ σεμνῆς, ἀλλὰ παιδίσκας ἐταιρούσας τρέφουσαν·

1 ὡς Fuhr and Blass, with F*S: eis.
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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,¹ 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 Aeschines² says

¹ 440 B.C.

² Aeschines the Socratic, in a dialogue entitled “Aspasia,” not extant.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

4 Αἰσχίνης δὲ φησι καὶ Δυσικλέα τῶν προβατοκάτω τηλού έξ ἄγεννοντι καὶ ταπεινοῦ τῇ φύσει ’Αθηναῖων γενέσθαι πρῶτον, ’Ασπασία συνῦντα μετὰ τήν Περικλέους τελευτήν. εὖ δὲ τῷ Μενεξένῳ τῷ Πλάτωνος, εἰ καὶ μετὰ παιδίας τὰ πρῶτα γέγραπται, τοσοῦτον γ' ἱστορίας ἔνεστιν, ὅτι δόξαν εἰχε τὸ γύμναιον ἐπὶ ῥητορικὴ πολλοῖς

5 Ἀθηναίων ὀμιλεῖν. φαίνεται μέντοι μᾶλλον ἐρωτικὴ τις ἢ τοῦ Περικλέους ἀγάπησις γενομένη πρὸς ’Ασπασίαν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ γυνὴ προσήκονσα μὲν κατὰ γένος, συναρκηκυῖα δ’ Ἰππονίκῳ πρότερον, εὖ οὗ Καλλίαν ἔτεκε τὸν πλοῦσιον· ἔτεκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Περικλεὶ Ξάνθιππον καὶ Πάραλον. εἰτα τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀρεστῆς, ἐκείνῃν μὲν ἑτέρῳ βουλομένῃ συνεξέδωκεν, αὐτοῖς δὲ τήν ’Ασπασίαν λαβῶν ἐστέρξε

6 διαφερόντως. καὶ γὰρ ἐξίων, ὡς φασί, καὶ εἰσίων ἀπ’ ἄγορᾶς ἑσπάζετο καθ’ ἡμέραν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ καταφιλεῖν.

Ἐν δὲ ταῖς καμώδιαις ’Ομφάλῃ τε νέα καὶ Δηνάεινερα καὶ πάλιν “Ἡρα προσαγορεύεται. Κρατίνος δ’ ἀντικρις παλλακήν αὐτὴν εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις:

“Ἡραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγοσύνη παλλακήν κυνώπιδα.

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν νόθον ἐκ ταύτης τεκνώσαι, περὶ οὗ πεποίηκεν Εὔπολις ἐν Δήμοις αὐτῶν μὲν οὕτως ἐρωτώντα:

’Ὁ νόθος δὲ μοι ξῆς;
τὸν δὲ Μυρωνίδην ἀποκρινόμενον.

Καὶ πάλαι γ’ ἂν ἦν ἄνηρ,
εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρνης ὑπωρρωδεῖ κακὸν."
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 Un-natural 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 “Cheirona” (see chapter iii. 3).
² Kock, op. cit. i. p. 282.
7 Ὅντω δὲ τὴν 'Ασπασίαν ὄνομαστὴν καὶ κλεινὴν
gενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὡστὲ καὶ Κύρον τὸν πολεμη-
σαντα βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας
tῆς ἀγαπωμένην ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μᾶλιστα τῶν παλ-
λακίων Ἀσπασίαν ὄνομασι, καλούμενην Μιλτῶ
πρότερον. ἦν δὲ Φωκαίς τὸ γένος, Ἐρμοτίμου
θυγάτηρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Κύρου πεσόντος ἀπα-
χθείσα πρὸς βασιλέα πλείστον ἐσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν
ἐπελθόντα τῇ μνήμῃ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπόσα-
σθαι καὶ παρελθεῖν ὅσα ἀπάνθρωπον ἦν.
XXV.Τὸν δὲ πρὸς Σαμίους πόλεμον αἰτιῶνται
μᾶλιστα τὸν Περικλέα ψηφίσασθαι διὰ Μιλη-
σίους Ἀσπασίας δεθέεσθαι. αἱ γὰρ πόλεις
ἐπολέμουν τὸν περὶ Πριήνης πόλεμον, καὶ κρα-
τούντες οἱ Σάμιοι, παύσασθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων
κελεύωντων καὶ δίκας λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι παρ’
αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς
τὴν μὲν οὐσαν ὀλυγαρχίαν ἐν Σάμῳ κατέλυσεν,
tῶν δὲ πρῶτων λαβῶν ὄμηρους πεντήκοντα καὶ
2 παῖδας ἱσσους εἰς Δήμουν ἀπέστειλε. καίτοι
φασὶν ἐκαστὸν μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ὀμῆρων διδόναι
tάλαντον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὰ δ’ ἄλλα τοὺς μὴ
θέλοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι δημοκρατίαν.
ἐτὶ δὲ Πισσούθυνης ὁ Πέρσης ἔχων τινὰ πρὸς
Σαμίους εὖνοιαν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μυρίους χρυ-
σοὺς, παρατούμενος τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἔλαβε
τούτων οὔδὲν ὁ Περικλῆς, ἄλλα χρησάμενος
δοσεῖ δι’ ἑγ νώκει τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ καταστήσας
3 δημοκρατίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας. οἱ δ’
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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.
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eυθὺς ἀπέστησαν, ἐκκλέψαντος αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὁμή-ρους Πισσούθνου καὶ τάλλα παρασκευάσαντος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. αὕθις οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐξέπλευ-σεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἡσυχάζοντας οὐδὲ κατεπτη-χότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνω προθύμως ἐγνωκότας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. γενομένης δὲ καρτεράς ναυμαχίας περὶ νῆσον ἤν Τραγίας καλοῦσι, λαμπρῶς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐνίκα, τέσσαρει καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶν ἐβδομήκοντα καταναυ-μαχήσας, ὃν εἴκοσι στρατιώτides ἦσαν.

XXVI. "Αμα δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει τοῦ λιμένος κρατήσας ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς Σαμίους, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἔτι τολμῶντας ἐπεξειναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους. ἔπει δὲ μεῖζον ἔτερος στόλος ἤλθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ παντελῶς κατεκλείσθησαν οἱ Σάμιοι, λαβὼν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις ἐπλευσεν εἰς τὸν ἔξω πόλιν, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, Φοινισσῶν νεῶν ἐπικύρων τοῖς Σαμίοις προσφερομένων ἀπαντήσαι καὶ δια-γωνίσασθαι πορρωτάτω βουλόμενος, ὡς δὲ Στη-σίμβροτος, ἐπὶ Κύπρον στελλόμενος. ὅπερ οὖν

2 δοκεὶ πιθανὸν εἶναι. ὁποτέρῳ δ' οὖν ἐχρήσατο τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀμαρτεὶν ἔδοξε. • πλεύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ Μέλισσος ὁ Ἰθαγένειος, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος στρατηγῶν τότε τῆς Σάμου, καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀλυγότητος τῶν νεῶν ἡ τῆς ἀπειρίας τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἔπεισε τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ γενομένης μάχης νικήσαντες οἱ Σάμιοι, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἐλόντες,
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the Samians at once revolted, after Pisouthnes 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 ouftighting 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
ΠΟΛΛΑΣ ΔΕ ΝΑΙΣ ΔΙΑΦΘΕΙΡΑΝΤΕΣ, ΕΧΡΩΝΤΟ ΤΗ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΤΙΘΕΝΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΝ ΩΣΑ ΜΗ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΧΟΝ. ΥΨΟ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΙΣΣΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΑ ΦΗΣΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ 'ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ ΗΤΤΗΘΗΝΑΙ ΝΑΥΜΑΧΟΥΝΤΑ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ.

ΟΙ ΔΕ ΣΑΜΙΟΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΘΥΒΡΙΖΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΣΤΙΣΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΜΕΤΩΠΟΝ ΓΛΑΥΚΑΣΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥΣ ΟΙ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΣΑΜΑΙΝΑΝ. Η ΔΕ ΣΑΜΑΙΝΑ ΝΑΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΥΠΟΡΟΩΡΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟ ΣΙΜΩΜΑ, ΚΟΙΛΟΤΕΡΑ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΣΤΡΟΕΙΔΗΣ, ΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΝΤΟΠΟ-3

ΡΕΙΝ1 ΚΑΙ ΤΑΧΥΝΑΥΝΤΕΙΝ. ΟΥΤΩ Δ' ΩΝΟΜΑΣΘΗ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΣΑΜΩ ΦΑΝΗΝΑΙ, ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝΤΟΣ. ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΑ ΣΤΙΓΜΑΤΑ ΛΕ-4

ΓΟΥΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ 'ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΕΙΟΝ ΗΝΙΧΘΑΙ.

ΣΑΜΙΩΝ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΩΣ ΠΟΛΥΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ.

ΧΧVII. ΠΥΘΟΜΕΝΟΣ Δ' ΟΥΝ Ο ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ ΣΥΜΦΟΡΑΝ ΕΒΟΗΘΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΧΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΙΣΣΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΤΑΞΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΕΨΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΙΟΥΣ ΕΥΘΥΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΤΕΙΧΙΣΕ, ΔΑΣΑΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ΕΜΑΛΛΟΝ Η ΤΡΑΥ-5

ΜΑΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΛΕΙΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ. ΕΤΕΛ ΔΕ ΔΥΣΧΕΡΑΙΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ ΤΡΙΒΗ ΤΟΥΣ 'ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΕΡΓΟΝ ΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΧΕΙΝ, ΟΚΤΩ ΜΕΡΗ ΔΙΕΛΑΒΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΑΝ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ΑΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΥΝ, ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΛΑΒΟΥΝΤΙ ΤΟΝ ΛΕΝΚΟΥΝ ΚΥΑΜΟΝ ΕΥΝΟΧΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ

1 ΠΟΝΤΟΠΟΡΕΙΝ MSS. AND BLASS: ΦΟΡΤΟΦΟΡΕΙΝ (A CONJECTURE OF CORNES, TO CARRY FREIGHT).

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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 pre-
ceded 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 sailer 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
Aristophanes ⁰ 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 im-
patience 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. διό καὶ φασὶ τοὺς ἐν εὐπαθείαις τισὶ γενομένους λευκὴν ἡμέραν ἑκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ κυάμου προσαγορεύειν.

3 Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ μηχαναῖς χρήσασθαι τῶν 167 Περικλέα, τὴν καινότητα θαυμάσαντα, Ἀρτέμιδος τοῦ μηχανικοῦ παρόντος, δόχων ὄντα καὶ φορεῖν πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἐργῶν προσκομιζόμενον ὀνομασθῆναι περιφόρητον. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικός ἐλέγχει τοὺς Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμιδος ὀνομάζεται πολλαῖς ἐμπροσθεὶς ἤλικίας τοῦ περὶ Σάμου πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἑκείνων. τὸν δὲ Ἀρτέμιον φησὶ τρυφερῶν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακῶν ὄντα καὶ καταπλήγα τὰ πολλά μὲν οὐκοὶ καθέξθαι, χαλκὴν οὐσίαν τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ δυνεῖν οἴκετὼν ὑπερχόντων, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐμπεσεῖν τῶν ἀνωθεν, εἰ δὲ βιασθεὶς προελθεῖν, ἐν κλινίδιον κρεμαστῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφήμομένου κομίζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο κληθῆναι περιφόρητον.

XXVIII. Ἔνατῳ δὲ μην τῶν Σαμίων παραστάντων ὁ Περικλῆς τὰ τείχη καθεῖλε καὶ τὰς ναῦς παρέλαβε καὶ χρύσαις πολλοῖς ἐξημιώσειν, ὅπερ τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰσήγηκαν ὁ Σάμιοι, τὰ δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ ῥητῶ ταξάμενοι κατοίκεσαν ὁμήρους ἔδωκαν. Δοῦρις δὲ ὁ Σάμιος τούτοις ἑπιτραγῳδεῖ πολλὴν ὁμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν, ἣν οὗτο Θουκυδίδης ἱστορίηκεν οὕτω:

2 Ἐφορος οὗτ' Ἀριστοτέλης: ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐλήθησεν ἐοικεν, ὡς ἀρα τοὺς τριηρίρχους καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-

1 εἰσήγηκαν Fuhr and Blass, with Fauré's: ἑισήγηκα.
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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.

Ephorus 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 Periphorectus. Heracleides Ponticus, however, refutes this story out of the poems of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphorectus 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 Periphorectus.

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 ἀγορὰν καταγαγών καὶ σανίσι προσδήσας ἐφ’ ἡμέρας δέκα κακῶς ἦδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἄνελεῖν, ξύλους τὰς κεφαλὰς συγκόψαντας, εἶτα προβαλέιν ἀκήδευτα τὰ σώματα. Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ’ ὁπον μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσεστιν ἰδιον πάθος εἰσῆλθ’ κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μᾶλλον ἑοικέν ἐνταῦθα δεινώσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς ἐπὶ διαβολὴ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Ὁ δὲ Περίκλῆς καταστρεψάμενος τὴν Σάμον ὡς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τᾶς Ἀθήνας, ταφᾶς τε τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνδοξοῦς ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν λόγον εἰπὼν, ὅπερ ἔθος ἔστιν, ἐπὶ τῶν σημάτων ἑαυμαστώθη. καταβαίνοντα δ’ αὐτόν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος αἰ μὲν ἄλλαι γυναίκες ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ στεφάνοις ἀνέδουν καὶ ταινίαις ὅπερ ἁθλητὴν νυκτόροι, ὡς ἐ’ Ἐλπινίκη προσελθοῦσα πλησίον. “Ταῦτ’, ἐφη, “θαυμαστά, Περίκλεις, καὶ ἅξια στεφάνων, ὅσ’ ἦμιν πολλοὺς καὶ ἄγαθοὺς ἀπώλεσας πολίτας οὐ Φώινξι πολεμῶν οὐδὲ Μήδοις, ὅπερ οὖμος ἀδελφὸς Κίμων, ἄλλα σύμμαχον καὶ συγγενῆ πόλιν καταστρεφόμενος.”

ταῦτα τῆς Ἐλπινίκης λεγοῦσης ὁ Περίκλῆς μειδιάς ἀτρέμα λέγεται τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου πρὸς αὐτῷν εἰπεῖν:

Οὐκ ἂν μύροισι γραῦς ἑύσ’ ἡλείφεο.

θαυμαστόν δὲ τι καὶ μέγα φρονῆσαι καταπολεμήσαντα τοὺς Σαμίους φησίν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰων, ὡς

1 καταγαγών Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: ἀγαγών.
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the 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

¹ That is, "thou art too old to meddle in affairs." Cf. chapter x. 5.
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tοῦ μὲν 'Αγαμέμνωνος ἔτεσι δέκα βύρβαρον πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ μησὶν ἐνυέα τοὺς πρώτους καὶ 6 δυνατώτατος Ἰώνων ἐλόντος. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἄδικος ἢ ἀξίωσις, ἀλλ' ὅντως πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μέγαν ἔσχε κινδύνον ὁ πόλεμος, εἴπερ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησί, παρ' ἐλάχιστον ἠλθὲ Σαμίων ἢ πόλις ἀφελέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος Ἀθηναίους.

XXIX. Μετὰ ταῦτα κυμαίνοντος ἤδη τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, Κερκυραίοι πολεμοῦμένοι ύπὸ Κορινθίων ἐπεισε τὸν δήμου ἀποστείλαι βοήθειαν καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἔρρωμένη ναυτική δύναμιν νῆσον, ὡς ὁ σωτρόπω Πελο-
2 πονησίων ἐκπεπολεμωμένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ψηφι-
σαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλε δέκα ναύς μόνας ἔχοντα Δακεδαιμόνιον, τὸν 
Κίμωνος νιῶν, οἰον ἐφυβρίζων πολλῇ γὰρ ἦν 
εὔνοια καὶ φιλία τῷ Κίμωνος σικὼ πρὸς Δακε-
δαιμόνιοι. ὡς ἄν οὖν, εἰ μηδὲν ἔργον 
μέγα μηδ' ἐκτρεπθὲ ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ 
168 Δακεδαιμονίου γένοιτο, προσδιαβληθεὶς μᾶλλον 
eis τὸν λακωνισμὸν, ὁλίγας αὐτὸ ναύς ἔδωκε καὶ 
3 μὴ βουλόμενου ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ ὅλως διετέλει 
κολούων ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι γνησίοις, ἀλλ' 
όθνείοις καὶ ξένους, ὅτι τῶν Κίμωνος νιῶν τῷ μὲν 
ἡν Δακεδαιμόνιος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ Θεσσαλός, τῷ δὲ 
'Ηλείος. ἐδόκουν δὲ πάντες ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀρκαδι-
κῆς γεγονέναι.

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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 Thucydidès 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 caluminated 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 ο Περικλῆς ἀκούων διὰ τὰς δέκα ταύτας τριήρεις, ὡς μικρὰν μὲν βοήθειαν τοῖς δεσθείσι, μεγάλην δὲ πρόφασιν τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσι παρεσχηκός, ἐτέρας αὐθίς ἐστείλε πλείονας εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν, αἱ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφίκοντο.

4. Χαλεπαίνουσι δὲ τοῖς Κορινθίοις καὶ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν Δακεδαίμονι προσεγένοντο Μεγαρεῖς, αἰτιώμενοι πάσης μὲν ἀγορᾶς, πάντων δὲ λιμένων, όν 'Ἀθηναίοι κρατοῦσι, εἰργεσθαί καὶ ἀπελαύνεσθαί παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γεγευμένους ὄρκους τοῖς Ἐλλησι. Αἰγινὴται δὲ κακοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες καὶ βιαία πάσχειν ἐποτινῷ κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαίμονίους, φανερῶς ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐ θαρροῦντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ποτίδαια, πόλις ὑπῆκοος Ἀθηναίων, ἀποικοὶ δὲ Κορινθίων, ἀποστάσα καὶ πολιορκουμείνη μᾶλλον ἐπετάχυνε τὸν πόλεμον.

5. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα πρεσβειῶν τε πεμπομένων Ἀθηναῖε, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων Ἀρχιδάμου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰς διαλύσεις ἄγωντο καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πραύνουντο, οὐκ ἄν δοκεῖ συμπεσεῖν ὑπὸ γε τῶν ἄλλων αἰτιῶν ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὸ ψήφισμα καθελεῖν τὸ Μεγαρικὸν ἐπείσθεν καὶ διαλλαγήναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦτο Περικλῆς ἐναντιωθεῖς, καὶ παροξύνας τὸν
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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.
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dημον εμμείναι τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ¹ Μεγαρείς φιλο-
νεικία, μόνον ἐσχέ τοῦ πολέμου τῆς αἵτιαν.

XXX. Λέγουσι δὲ πρεσβείας Ἀθήναζε περὶ
tούτων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀφιγμένης, καὶ τοῦ
Περικλέους νόμον τινὰ προβαλλομένου κωλύοντα
καθελεῖν τὸ πινάκιον ἐν ὁ τὸ ψῆφισμα γεγραμ-
μένου ἑτύγχανεν, εἰπεῖν Πολυάλκη τῶν πρέσβεων
τινά: "Σὺ δὲ μὴ καθέλῃς, ἀλλὰ στρέψον εἰςω τὸ
πινάκιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι νόμος ὁ τοῦτο κωλύων."
κομψοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου φανέντος οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ὁ

2 Περικλῆς ἐνέδωκεν. ὡσὶν μὲν οὖν τις, ὡς ἐσκεῖ,
αὐτῷ καὶ ἱδία πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς ἀπέχθεια:
κοινὴν δὲ καὶ φανερὰν ποιησάμενος αἵτιαν κατ'
αὐτῶν ἀποτέλεσθαι τὴν ἱερὰν ὀργάδα, γράφει
ψῆφισμα κήρυκα πεμφθῆμι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ
πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν αὐτὸν κατηγοροῦντα

3 τῶν Μεγαρεῶν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ψῆφισμα
Περικλέους ἐστὶν εὐγνώμονος καὶ φιλανθρώπου
δικαιολογίας ἐχόμενον· ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ περιφθεὶς κήρυξ
'Ανθεμόκριτος αἰτία τῶν Μεγαρέων ἀποθαναί
ἐδοξε, γράφει ψῆφισμα κατ' αὐτῶν Χαρίνων,
ἀσπούδων μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἔχθραι, ὦς δ'
ἂν ἐπιβῆ τῆς 'Αττικῆς Μεγαρέων θανάτῳ ἔμμοι-
σθαί, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς, ὅταν ὁμοφωσία
τῶν πάτριων ὀρκοῦν, ἐπομνύειν ὅτι καὶ δὴ ᾳν 
ἔτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσιν ταφῖναι δ'
'Ανθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Θριασίας ἱπύλας, αἰ
νῦν Δέπυλου ὀνομάζονται.

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

87
Μεγαρείς δὲ τὸν 'Ανθεμοκρίτου φόνον ἀπαρνομενον τὰς αἰτίας εἰς 'Ασπασίαν καὶ Περικλέα τρέτους, χρώμενοι τοῖς περιβοήτοις καὶ δημώδει τούτοις ἐκ τῶν 'Αχάρνων στιχιδίους.

Πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἱόντες Μεγάραδε νεανίας κλέπτουσι μεθυσοκότταβοι·
καθ’ οἱ Μεγαρείς ὁδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι ἀντεξέκλεψαν 'Ασπασίας πόρνας δύο.

XXXI. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἄρχην ὅπως ἔσχεν οὐ 169 ῥάδιον γυνώνα, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λυθῆναι τὸ ψῆφισμα πάντες ἀσαύτως τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ Περικλεί. πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἐκ φρονήματος μεγάλου μετὰ γυνώμης κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπίσκυρίσασθαί φασιν αὐτῶν, πείραν ἐνδόσεως τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν ἐξομολόγησιν ἀσθενείας ἠγοῦ-

μενού οῖ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐθαδεία τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ πρὸς ἐνδείξιν ἴσχύος περιφρονῆσαι Λακεδαι-

μούνων.

2 Ἡ δὲ χειρίστη μὲν αἰτία πασῶν, ἔχονσα δὲ πλείστους μάρτυρας, οὕτω πως ἄγεται. Φείδιας οἱ πλάσθης ἐργολάβος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, φίλος δὲ τῷ Περικλεί γενόμενος καὶ μέγιστον παρ’ αὐτῷ δυνηθείς τοὺς μὲν δι’

αὐτῶν ἔσχεν ἔχθροις φθονούμενος, οἳ δὲ τοῦ δήμου ποιοῦμενοι πεὶραν ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ποιός τις ἔσοιτο τῷ Περικλεί¹ κριτῆς. Μένωνά τινα τῶν

¹ τῷ Περικλεί⁴ Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: Περικλεί.
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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 verseicles 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." ¹

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.
3 κατηγορία τοῦ Φειδίου. προσδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ διώξεως, κλοπαὶ μὲν οὐκ ἥλεγχοντο· τὸ γὰρ χρυσίον οὕτως εἰθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀγάλματι προσειργάσατο καὶ περιέθηκεν ὁ Φειδίας γνώμη τοῦ Περικλέους ὡστε πάν δυνατοὶ εἶναι περιελούσιν ἀποδείξει τῶν σταθμῶν, ὁ καὶ τότε τοὺς κατηγόρους ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν ὁ Περικλῆς.

4 Ἡ δὲ δόξα τῶν ἔργων ἐπίεξε φθόνῳ τὸν Φειδίαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζόνας μάχην ἐν τῇ ἁσπίδι ποιῶν αὐτοῦ τινα μορφὴν ἐνευστύπωσε πρεσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρου ἐπηρμένου δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους εἰκόνα παγκάλην ἐνέθηκε μαχομένου πρὸς Ἀμαζόνα. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς χειρός, ἀνατεινώσῃς δόρυ πρὸ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ Περικλέους, πεποιημένου εὐμηχάνως αἰὸν ἐπικρύπτειν βούλεται τὴν ὀμοιώτητα παραφαινομένην ἐκατέρωθεν.

5 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φειδίας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαχθεῖσι ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ὡς δὲ φασίν ἐνω, φαρμάκως, ἐπὶ διάβολη τοῦ Περικλέους τῶν ἕχθρῶν παρασκευασάντων. τῷ δὲ μηνυτῇ Μένων γράψαντος Γλύκωνος ἀτέλειαν ὁ δήμος ἐδώκε, καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἀσφαλείας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
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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.
XXXII. Περὶ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρόνων Ἀσπασία δίκην ἔφευγεν ἀσεβείας, Ἐρμύππου τοῦ κωμῳδο-ποιοῦ διώκοντας καὶ προσκατηγοροῦντος ὡς Περικλῆι γυναῖκας ἐλευثέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτώ-σας ὑποδέχοντο. καὶ ψῆφισμα Διοπτίθης ἔγρα-ψεν εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς τὰ θεία μὴ νομίζοντας ἢ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρρύθμισεως διδάσκοντας, ἀπερειδήμονος εἰς Περικλέα δι᾽ Ἀναξαγόρου τὴν 2 ὑπόνοιαν. δεχόμενον δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ προσιε-μένου τὰς διαβολὰς, οὕτως ὡς ψῆφισμα κυροῦ-ται, Δρακοντίδου γράψαντος, ὅπως οἱ λόγοι τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς τοὺς Πρυτάνεις ἀποτεθέειν, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τὴν ψῆφον ὧν τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες ἐν τῇ πόλει κρίνοντες. "Ἄγνων δὲ τούτο μὲν ἀφεῖλε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, κρίνεσθαι δὲ τὴν δίκην ἔγραψεν ἐν δικασταῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις, εἴτε κλοπῆς καὶ δώρων εἴτ' ἀδικίων βούλοιτο τὰς ὀνομάζει τὴν δίωξιν. 3 Ἀσπασίαν μὲν οὖν ἐξητῆσατο, πολλὰ πάνω παρὰ τὴν δίκην, ὡς Λειχάνης ψησίν, ἀφεῖς ύπερ αὐτῆς δάκρυα καὶ δεθεῖς τῶν δικαστῶν Ἀναξα-γόραν δὲ φῆμι θείας ἔζησεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὡς δὲ διὰ Φειδίου προσέπταισθε τῷ δήμῳ, φοβηθεῖς τὸ δικαστήριον μέλλοντα τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὑποτυφόμενον ἐξέκαυσεν, ἐλπίζων διασκεδάσειν τὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ ταπεινώσειν τῶν φθόνον ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ κινδύνοις τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ διὰ τὸ ἄξιόμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναθείσης ἐαυτῆν. οἱ μὲν οὖν αἰτίαι δι᾽ ἃς οὐκ 170
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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 Diopeithes 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 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
εἰσευεν ενδούναι Λακεδαιμονίοις τῶν δῆμον, αὕται λέγονται, τὸ δ' ἄληθες ἄδηλον.

XXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γινώσκοντες ὡς ἔκεινον καταλυθέντος εἰς πάντα μαλακωτέροις χρήσονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔκελευον αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄγος ἔλαυνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον, ὁ τὸ μυτρόθεν γένος τοῦ Περικλέους ἐνοχοί ἦν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἱστορίηκεν. ἢ δὲ πειρὰ περιέστη τοῖς πέμψασιν εἰς τούπαρτίον ἀντὶ γὰρ ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς ὁ Περικλῆς ἔτι μείζονα πίστιν ἑσχε καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολῖταις, ὡς μάλιστα μισοῦντων καὶ φοβομένων ἔκεινον τῶν πολεμίων. διὸ καὶ πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐχοντα τοὺς Πελοποιησίους προείπε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀν ἄρα τάλλα δημῶν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἄπεχεται τῶν ἔκεινον διὰ τὴν ξενίαν τὴν οὕτως αὐτοῖς, ἡ διαβολῆς τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνδιδόνοις ἀφορμὰς, ὅτι τῇ πόλει καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ἐπιδίωσιν.

3 Ἐμβάλλουσιν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγουμένου. καὶ δηοῦντες τὴν χώραν προῆλθον εἰς Ἀχαρνὰς καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἀνεξομένων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ φρονήματος διαμαχομένων πρὸς αὐτούς. τῷ δὲ Περικλεῖ δεινὸν ἐφαινετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξακισμυρίους Πελοποιησίους καὶ Βοιωτῶν ὀπλίτας (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ

1 ἔλαυνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον Fuhr and Blass, with BCFs: ἔλαυνειν φ.
2 ἱστορίηκεν Fuhr and Blass, with BCFs: ἱστορίηκεν.
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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,¹ in which the family of Pericles on his mother’s side was involved, as Thucydides states.² 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 Alcmaeonid family, which was involved in the stain of bloodguiltiness when the archon Megacles, about 636 B.C., sacrilegiously slew the followers of Cylon. See Plutarch, Solon, xii. 1-3; Thucydides, i. 126.
² 1. 127, 1.
XXXIV. Πλήν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἐκινήθη τῶν τοιούτων ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγας καὶ σιωπῆ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν υφιστάμενος, καὶ νεῶν ἐκατόν ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον στόλον ἐκπέμπων αὐτὸς οὐ συνεξέπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἐμείνεν οἰκουρών καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἔως ἀπηλλάγησαν οἱ Πελοπόννησοι. Θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄμως ἀσχάλλοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, διανομαῖς τὸ χρημάτων ἀνελάμβανε καὶ κληρονομίας ἐγραφεῖν. Αἰγινητὰς γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἀπαντᾷς διένειμε τὴν νήσον Ἀθηναίων τοῖς λαχώσιν. ἦν δὲ τις 2 παρηγορία καὶ ἄφ' ὅν ἐπασχόν οἱ πολέμοι. καὶ γὰρ οὶ περιπλέοντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον χῶραν τε πολλὴν κώμας τε καὶ πόλεις μικρὰς διεπόρθησαν, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Μεγαρίκην ἐβεθείρε πᾶσαν. ἦ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν δρώντες κατὰ γῆν κακὰ 2 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολλὰ δὲ πάσχοντες ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐκ θαλάττης, οὐκ ἄν εἰς μῆκος πολέμου τοσοῦτον προβέβησαν, ἀλλ' ταχέως ἀπέπτυσαν, ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Περικλῆς προηγόρευσεν, εἰ μὴ τι δαιμόνιον ὑπηραντιώθη τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς.

3 Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λοιμόδηθε ἐνέπεσε φθορὰ καὶ κατενεμίζη τὴν ἄκμαζον ἡλικίαν καὶ δύναμιν· ὑψ' ἤς καὶ τὰ σώματα κακούμενοι καὶ

1 κἀγχειρίδιου . . . κοπίδος Coraës' restoration of these corrupt verses, adopted by Fuhr.
2 κατὰ γῆν κακα Fuhr and Blass, with Fs : κακά.

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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 them and devoured clean the prime of their youth and power. It weakened

1 430 B.C. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 47-54.
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τὰς ψυχὰς παντάπασιν ἡγιώθησαν πρὸς τὸν Περικλέα, καὶ καθάπερ ἵστρον ἡ πατέρα τῆς νόσῳ παραφρονήσαντες ἀδικεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀναπειθότες ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρων ὡς τὴν μὲν νόσου ἢ τοῦ χωρικοῦ πλῆθους εἰς τὸ ἀστυ συμφόρησις ἀπεργάζεται, 1 θέρους ὡρὰ πολλῶν ὁμοῦ χύδην ἐν οἰκήμασι μικροῖς καὶ σκηνώμασι πυγηροῖς ἠναγκασμένων διαιτᾶσθαι δίαιταν οἰκουρόν καὶ ἀργήν ἀντὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης τῆς πρότερον, τούτου δὲ αἰτίος ὁ τῷ πολέμῳ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὄχλον εἰς τὰ τείχη καταχειμενος καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄνθρωποι τοσούτοις χρόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐὼν ὀσπερ βοσκήματα καθεργοῦσιν ἀναπίμπλασθαι φθορᾶς ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, καὶ μηδεμίαν μεταβολὴν μηδ’ ἀναψυχὴν ἐκπορίζων.

XXXV. Ταῦτα βουλόμενος ἱάσθαι καὶ τι παραλυπεῖν τοὺς πολέμιους, ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντίκοντα ναὸς ἐπιλήρου, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄγαθοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἵππεας ἀναβεβασμένους ἔμελλεν ἀνάγεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐλπίδα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ φόβον όμε ἐλάττωτος πολεμίους ἀπὸ τοσαύτης ἱσχύος παρασχόν. ἦδη δὲ πεπληρωμένων τῶν νεαν καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους ἀναβεβηκότος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τοῦ μὲν ἥλιου ἐκλειπεῖν συνέβη καὶ γενέσθαι σκότος, ἐκπλαγήματε δὲ πάντας ὡς πρὸς μέγα σημεῖον.

2 ὅρων οὖν ὁ Περικλής περίφοβον τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ διηπορημένον, ἀνέσχε τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸ τῶν

1 ἀπεργάζεται: Fuhr and Blass, with F&S: 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
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όψεων 1 αυτοῦ, καὶ παρακαλύψας ἤρωτησε μὴ τι
deinōν ἢ deinōν τινος οἴεται σημείον· ὡς δ' οὐκ
έφη, "Τί οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖνο τοῦτο διαφέρει,
πλὴν ὅτι μεῖζόν τι τῆς χλαμύδος ἐστὶ τὸ πεποιη-
kός τῇ ἐπισκόπησιν;" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς
σχολαῖς λέγεται τῶν φιλοσόφων.

3 Ἕκπλευσας δ’ οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὔτ’ ἄλλο τι δοκεῖ
tῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον δρᾶσαι, πολιορκήσας τε
tὴν ἱερὰν Ἑπίδαυρον Ἐλπίδα παρασχοῦσαν ὡς
ἀλωσομένην ἀπέτυχε διὰ τὴν νόσον. ἐπιγενομένη
γὰρ οὐκ αὐτοὺς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὀπωσοῦν τῇ
στρατιᾷ συμμίξαντας προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ τούτου
χαλεπῶς διακειμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς αὐτὸν

4 ἐπειράτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνειν. οὗ μην
παρέλυσε τὴν ὄργην οὐδὲ μετέπεισε πρότερον ἢ
tὰς ψῆφους λαβόντας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χειρὰς καὶ
γενομένους κυρίους ἀφελεσθαί τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ
ζημιῶσαι χρήμασιν, ὃν ἀριθμὸν οἱ τῶν ἐλάχιστον
πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα, πεντήκοντα δ’ οἱ τῶν
πλείστων γράφουσιν. ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ δίκῃ κατή-
γορος, ὡς μὲν Ἰδομενεὺς λέγει, Ἐκλέων, ὡς δὲ
Θεόφραστος, Σιμμίας· ὃ δὲ Ποντίκος Ἡρακλείδης
Δακρατίδαν εὐρηκε.

XXXVI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δημόσια ταχέως ἐμελλέ
παύσεσθαι, 2 καθάπερ κέντρον εἰς τοῦτον ἀμα
πληγῇ τῶν θυμῶν ἀφεικότων τῶν πολλῶν· τὰ δ’
oikeία μοχθηρῶς εἶχεν αὐτῷ κατὰ τε τῶν λοιμῶν

1 τῶν ὀψεων Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: τῆς ὀψεως.
2 παύσεσθαι Fuhr and Blass, with FaS, and after Reiske: παύσεσθαι.
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 ἐπιτηδείων καὶ στάσει διατεταραγμένα 1 πόρρωθεν. ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν νῦν Ἐάνθιτπος φύσει τε δαπανηρὸς ὅν καὶ γυναικὶ νέα καὶ πολυτελεῖ συνοικῶν, Τισάνδρου θυγατρὶ τοῦ Ἐπιλύκου, χαλεπῶς ἐφερε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκρίβειαν γλίσχρα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ χορηγοῦντος. πέμψας 172 οὐν πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων ἔλαβεν ἀργύριον ὡς τοῦ Περικλέους κελεύσαντος. ἐκείνου δὲ ὑστερον ἀπαίτητοντος, ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς καὶ δίκην αὐτῷ προσέβλαχε, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ὁ Ἐάνθιτπος ἐπὶ τούτῳ χαλεπῶς διατεθεὶς ἐλοιδόρει τὸν πατέρα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκφέρων ἐπὶ γέλωτο τὰς οίκους διατριβάς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὕς ἐποιεῖτο 2 μετὰ τῶν σοφιστῶν. πεντάθλουν γὰρ τινὸς ἀκοντίου πατίζαντος Ἐπίτιμον τὸν Φαρσάλιον ἀκονσίως καὶ κατακτείναντος, ἢμέραν δὲν ἀναλώσει μετὰ Πρωταγόρου διαποροῦντα πότερον τὸ ἀκόντιον ἢ τῶν βαλόντων μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἄγωνοθέτας κατὰ τὸν ὀρθότατον λόγον αἰτίους χρῆ τοῦ πάθους ἥγεισθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς διαβολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐάνθιτπον φησιν ὁ Στησίμβροτος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διασπαρῆναι, καὶ ὅλως ἀνήκεστον ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τῷ νεανίσκῳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα παραμείναι τὴν διαφορὰν ὑπέδανε γὰρ ὁ Ἐάνθιτπος ἐν τῷ λαῷ νοσῆσας.

4 Ἀπέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὁ Περικλῆς τούτη 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 FaS, and after Sauppe: ἐπολεί.
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 Epilucus, 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 Stesimbrothus 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
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χρησιμωτάτους πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ μὴν ἀπείπεν οὐδὲ προοίωμα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ κλαίων οὐδὲ κηδεύων οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφῳ τινὸς ὄφθη τῶν ἀναγκαίων, πρὶν γε δὴ καὶ τὸν περίλοιπον αὐτοῦ τῶν γνησίων νῦν ἀποβαλεῖν Πιάραλον. ἐπὶ τοῦτω δὲ καμφθεὶς ἐπειράτο μὲν ἐγκαρτερεῖν τῷ ἥθει καὶ διαφυλάττειν τὸ μεγαλόψυχον, ἐπιφέρων δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ στέφανον ἱττήθη τοῦ πάθους πρὸς τὴν ὑψίν, ὡστε κλαυθμόν τε ρήξαι καὶ πληθος ἐκχέαι δακρύων, οὐδέποτε τοιοῦτων οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ λοίπῳ βίῳ πεποιηκώς.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ πολέως πειρωμένης τῶν ἀλλων στρατηγῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ῥητόρων, ως δ’ οὐδεὶς βάρος ἔχων ἴσορροπον οὐδ’ ἄξιωμα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἐχέγγυον ἡγεμονίαν ἐφαίνετο, ποθούσης ἐκείνων καὶ καλούσης ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα καὶ τὸ στρατηγικον, ἁθυμῶν καὶ κείμενος οἰκος διὰ τὸ πένθος ὑπ’ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἐπείσθη φίλων προελθεῖν. ἀπολογησάμενον δὲ τοῦ δῆμου τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὑποδεξάμενος αὖθις τὰ πράγματα καὶ στρατηγοῦς αἱρεθεὶς ἑτήσατο λυθῆναι τὸν περὶ τῶν νόθων νόμον, ὅτι αὐτῶς εἰσενηνόχει πρότερον, ως μὴ παντάπασιν ἐρημία διαδοχῆς τῶν οἰκῶν ἐκλάπτω τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ γένος.

3 Εἶχε δ’ οὔτω τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. ἀκμάζων ὁ

1 γνησίων νῦν Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: γνησίων.
PERICLES

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. 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.
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Περικλῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸ πάντων πολλῶν χρόνων, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων, ὢσπερ εἴρηται, γυναῖκας, νόμον ἔγραψε μόνον Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυνέων Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας. ἔπει δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λιγυπτίων δωρεάν τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαντος τετρακιςμυρίους πυρῶν μεδίμνους ἔδει διανέμεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνεφύντο δίκαι τοῖς νόθοις ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκείνου τέως διαλανθάνουσι καὶ παρορμέοντες,¹ πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συκο-φαυτήμασι περιέπιπτον. ἐπράθησαν δ' οὖν ἄλοιπες ὀλίγοι πεντακιςχιλίων ἐλάττους, οἱ δὲ μείναντες ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κριθέντες Ἀθηναίοι μύριοι καὶ τετρακιςχίλιοι καὶ τεσσάρακοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἐξητάσθησαν. ὦντος οὖν δεινοῦ τὸν κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἱσχύσαντα νόμον ὕπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν λυθῆναι τοῦ γράψαντος, ἡ παροῦσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεὶ περὶ τὸν οἶκον, ὡς δίκην τινὰ δεδωκότι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλαυχίας ἐκείνης, ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ὑπέρτατες αὐτῶν νεμεσιτῷ τε παθεῖν ἄνθρωπίνων² τε διεσθαὶ συνεχόρησαν ἀπογράψασθαι τὸν νόθον εἰς τοὺς φράτορας, ὦνομα θέμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὅστερον ἐν Ἀργινοῦσαις καταναυμαχήσαντα Πελοποννησίους ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ δήμος μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων.

¹ διαλανθάνονσι, παρορμέοντες Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διαλανθάνουσαι, παρορμώμεναι (referring to the prosecutions).
² δ' οὖν Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: οὖν.
³ ἄνθρωπίνων Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: ἄνθρωπίνως.
PERICLES

Many years before this, 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, and was put to death by the people along with his fellow-generals.

1. 451-450 B.C. 2. 406 B.C.
XXXVIII. Τότε δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐοικεν ὁ 173
λοιμὸς λαβέσθαι λαβὴν οὐκ ὁξεῖαν, ὦστερ ἄλλων, οὐδὲ σύντονον, ἀλλὰ βλήχρα τινὶ νόσῳ καὶ μῆκος ἐν ποικίλαις ἐχῶσῃ μεταβολᾶς διαχρωμένην τὸ σῶμα σχολαίως καὶ ὑπερεῖπουσαν τὸ φρόνημα 2 τῆς ψυχῆς. ὁ γοῦν Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Ἡθικοῖς
dιαπορήσας εἰ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τρέπεται τὰ ἵθη καὶ κινούμενα τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων πάθεσιν ἐξισταταὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἱστόρηκεν ὅτι νοσῶν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπισκοπούμενος τινὶ τῶν φίλων δεῖξει περίπτωτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν τῷ τραχύλῳ περιηπτημένου, ὡς σφόδρα κακῶς ἔχουν ὅποτε καὶ ταύτην ὑπομένου τήν ἀβελτερίαν.

3 Ὅθεν δὲ πρὸς τῷ τελευταίῳ ὄντος αὐτοῦ, περικαθήμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν ὁι βέλτιστοι καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ περίουτες λόγου ἐποιοῦντο τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅση γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνεμετροῦντο καὶ τῶν τροπαίων τὸ πλῆθος: ἐννέα γὰρ ἣν ἅ στρατηγῶν καὶ νικῶν ἐστησεν ὑπὲρ 4 τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτα, ὡς οὐκέτι συνέντος, ἀλλὰ καθηρημένου τὴν αἰσθησιν αὐτοῦ, διελέγοντο πρὸς ἄλληλους· ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐτύγχανε τῶν νοῦν προσεσχῆκὼς, καὶ φθεγξάμενος· εἰς μέσον ἑφθαν ἀναμάζειν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μνημονεύσουσιν, ἀ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τύχης ἔστι κοινὰ καὶ γέγονεν ὅτι πολλοὶς στρατηγοῖς, τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον οὐ λέγουσιν. "Οὐδείς γὰρ," ἐφη, "τὰ ἐμὲ τῶν ὄντων Ἄθηναῖων μέλαν ἰμάτιον τερεβάλετο."
PERICLES

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, ¹ 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 ἄνήρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πραότητος, ἴνα ἐν πράγμασι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀπεχθεῖαις διεσήμησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καλῶν ἠγείτο βέλτιστον εἶναι τὸ μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι μηδὲν ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης δυνάμεως, μηδὲ

2 χρῆσασθαί τινι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς ἀνηκέστω. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν μειρακιώδη καὶ σοβαρὰν ἐκείνην προσωνυμίαν ἐν τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἀνετίφθονον καὶ πρέπουσαν, οὔτως εὑμενεῖς ἡθος καὶ βίον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον Ὁλύμπιον προσαγορεύεσθαι, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος ἀξιώμην αὑτὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἀναίτιον δὲ κακῶν πεφυκὸς ἄρχειν καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν ὄντων, οὐχ ὡσπέρ οἱ ποιηταὶ συντραπτότητες ἠμᾶς ἀμαθεστάταις

3 δέξαις ἀλησκονταί τοῖς αὐτῶν μυθεύμασι,1 τῶν μὲν τόπων, ἐν ὧν τοὺς θεοὺς κατοικεῖν λέγουσιν, ἀσφαλές ἑδος καὶ ἀσάλευτον καλοῦντες, οὐ πνεύμασιν, οὐ νέφεσι χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ αἰθρα2 μαλακὴ καὶ φωτικάραφωτάκω3 τῶν ἀπανταχρόνων ἀμαλάκων περιλαμπόμενον, ὡς τοιαύτης τινὸς4 τῷ μακαρίῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ διαγωγῆς μιλιστα πρεποῦσης, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ταραχῆς καὶ δυσμενείας καὶ ὅργῃς ἀλλῶν τε μεστῶν πάθων ἀποφαίνοντες οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων νοῦν ἔχουσι προσηκότων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσως ἐτέρας δόξει πραγματείας εἶναι.

4 Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ταχείαν αἰσθησιν καὶ σαφῆ

1 μυθεύμασι: Fuhr and Blass with S (μηθεύμασι: F²):

2 αἰθρα Fuhr and Blass with F²S: αἰθρά.

3 καθαρωτάτω Fuhr and Blass with F²S: καθαρφ.

4 τοιαύτης τινὸς Fuhr and Blass with F²S: 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,¹—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
ἀμαυρωθαν αὐτοῦς, ευθὺς ἐκ ποδῶν γενομένου
πειρώμενοι ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ἐτέρων ἀνωμο-
λογοῦντο μετριώτερον ἐν ὄγκῳ καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν
5 πραότητι μὴ φύιαι τρόπον· ἢ δ’ ἐπίφθουν ἰσχὺς
ἐκείνη, μοναρχία λεγομένη καὶ τυραννίς πρότερον,
ἔφανη τότε σωτηριον ἔρημα τῆς πολιτείας γενο-
μένη· τοσαύτη φθορὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἐπέκειτο κακίας
τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἤν ἐκείνος ἀσθενῆ καὶ ταπεινὴν
ποιῶν ἀπέκρυπτε καὶ κατεκώλυεν ἀνήκεστον ἐν
ἐξουσία.\(^1\) γενέσθαι.

\(^1\) ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ Fuhr and Blass with FaSC: ἐξουσίᾳ.
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 ἀξίοις μνήμην γεγονότος, ὡς παρειλήφαμεν, ἐπὶ τὸν Φάβιον τὴν ἱστορίαν μεταγάγωμεν. νυμφῶν μίας λέγουσιν, οί δὲ γυναικῶς ἐπιχορίας, Ἡρακλεί μυγείσης περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν ποταμὸν γενέσθαι Φάβιον, ἀνδρὰ πολὺ καὶ δόκιμον ἐν Ἄρῳ ὁ τὸ

2 Φαβίων γένος ἢφ' αὐτοῦ παρασχόντα. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦτου πρωτοῦ τῇ δ' ὀρνυμάτων χρησμάσαντες ἄγρα Φοδίουσ ἱστοροῦσιν ὁνομάζοντας τὸ παλαιὸν' οὕτω γὰρ ἄχρι νῦν αἱ διώρυχες φόσσαι καὶ φόδερε τὸ σκάψαι καλεῖται
χρόνω δὲ τῶν δυνεῖν φθόγγων μεταπεσόντων Φάβιοι προσηγορεύθησαν. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους τῆς οἰκίας ἐξενεγκαμένης ἀνδράς, ἀπὸ Ῥούλλου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ διὰ τούτο Μάξιμον παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπονομασθέντος τέτατος ὡν Φάβιος Μάξιμος, περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφομεν.

3 Ἡν δὲ αὐτῷ σωματικὸν μὲν παρωνύμιον ὁ Βερούκωσος' εἶχε γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνα μικρὰν ἑπάνω τοῦ χείλους ἐπιπεφυκών ὁ δὲ Ὀουνικουλάς σημαίνει μὲν τὸ προβάτιον, ἐτέθη δὲ πρὸς τὴν πραότητα καὶ βαρύτητα1 τοῦ ἱθοὺς ἐτὶ παιδὸς οὕτος. τὸ γὰρ ἱσόχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σιωπηλὸν καὶ

1 βαρύτητα MSS., Sint., Coraës, and Bekker: βραδυτήτα slowness.
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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 "fossae" 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 ἡδονῶν, βραδέως δὲ καὶ διαπόνως δεχόμενον τὰς μαθήσεις, εὐκολον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις καὶ κατήκουν ἀβελτερίας τινὸς καὶ νωθρότητος ὑπόνοιαν εἰχὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἔκτος. ὅλγοι δ’ ἦσαν οἱ τὸ δυσκίνητον ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ λεοντόδες ἐν τῇ φύσει καθορῶντες αὐτοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔγειρόμενος διεσήμανε καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπάθειαν μὲν οὕσαν τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀπραγιάν, εὐβουλίαν δὲ τὴν εὐλάβειαν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ὃς μηδ’ εὐκίνητον ἐν πάσι μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον. ὅρων δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ πλῆθος, ἦσκε τὸ μὲν σῶμα πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, ὦσπερ ὅπλον σύμφυτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον ὄργανον πειθόν πρὸς τὸν δήμον, εὔ μάλα πρε-πόντως τῷ βίῳ κατακεκοσμημένον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁραίσμος οὐδὲ κενὴ καὶ ἀγοραῖος χάρις, ἀλλὰ νοὺς ἵδιον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχήμα καὶ βάθος ἔχων, ὡς μάλιστα ταῖς Θουκυδίδου προσεικόνει λέγουσιν. διασώζεται γὰρ αὐτοῦ λόγος, ὃν εἰπεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ μεθ’ υπατείαν ἀποθανόντος ἐγκώμιον.

II. Πέντε δ’ ὑπατειῶν ἃς ὑπάτευσεν, ἡ πρώτη τὸν ἀπὸ Διηγοῦν θρίαμβου ἔσχεν. ἦττηθέντες γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μάχη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες εἰς τὰς Ἀλπεις ἀνεστάλησαν, καὶ τὴν πρόσοικον ἑπαύσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ληξόμενοι καὶ κακῶς 2 ποιοῦντες. ἐπεὶ δ’ Ἀννίβας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν
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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 besetting 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 ἐπικρατήσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἥλαυνε διὰ Τυρρηνίας πορθῶν τὴν χώραν, ἐκπλήξειν δὲ δεινὴν καὶ φόβον εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐνέβαλε, σημεία δὲ τὰ μὲν συνίθη 'Ρωμαῖοι ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν, τὰ δὲ ὅλας ἐξηλλαγμένα

3 καὶ πολλὴν ἀτοπίαν ἔχουσα προσέπιπτε (θυρεοῦσ τε γὰρ ἀφ’ αὐτῶν αὕματι γενέσθαι διαβρόχους ἑλέχθη, καὶ θέρη σταχύων περὶ Ἀντίον ἐναίμα κεῖρεθαί, καὶ λίθους μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος διαπύρους καὶ φλεγομένους φέρεσθαι, τοῦ δ’ ὑπὲρ Φαλέριος οὐρανὸς βαργῆμα δόξαντος ἐκπιπτεῖν καὶ διαστέρεσθαι πολλὰ γραμματεῖα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐν ἑνὶ γεγραμμένον φανῆναι κατὰ λέξιν: “Ἀρης τὰ

4 ἐαυτοῦ ὅπλα σαλευεῖ”, τὸν μὲν ὑπατὸν Γάϊον Φλαμῖνον οὐδὲν ἡμβλυνε τούτων, ἀνδρα πρὸς τῷ φύσει θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλοτιμῷ μεγάλας ἐπαιρομένου εὐτυχίας, ἄς πρόσθεν εὐτύχησε παραλόγως, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἄπαθούσης καὶ τοῦ συν-ἀρχοντος ἐνισταμένου βία συμβαλὼν τοῖς Γαλά-ταῖς καὶ κρατίσας, Φάβιον δὲ τὰ μὲν σημεῖα, καίπερ ἀπόμενα πολλῶν, ἦττον ὑπέθραττε διὰ

5 τὴν ἀλογίαν. τὴν δ’ ὀλυγότητα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὴν ἀχρηματίαν πυνθανόμενος χαρτερεῖν παρε-κάλει τοὺς 'Ρωμαίους καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρωπον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἡσκημένη στρατιά χρώμενον, ἄλλα τοῖς νυμ-μάχοις ἐπιπέμποντας βοσθείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας αὐτὴν ἐὰν περὶ αὐτῇ μαραίνε-σθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καθάπερ φλόγα λάμψασαν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ κούφης δυνάμεως.

1 ἀπαθούσης with CS: ἀποκαλούσης.
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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 Flamininus, 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. \(^2\) Mauors telum suum concutit (Livy, xxii. 1).
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

III. Οὐ μὴν ἔπεισε τὸν Φλαμύνιον, ἀλλὰ φήσας ὁκ ἀνέξεσθαι προσιόντα τῇ Ἱρώμῃ τὸν πόλεμον οὐδὲ, ὡσπερ ὁ παλαιὸς Κάμιλλος, ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμαχεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς χιλιάρχους, αὐτὸς δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον ἀλλόμενος ἐξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίου προδῆλου παραλόγως ἐντρόμον τοῦ ἱππον γενομένου καὶ πτυρέντος ἐξέπεσε καὶ κατενεχθεῖς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὁμως οὐδὲν ἔτρεψε τῆς γυνῆς, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὠρμησεν ἐξ ἀρχής ἀπαντήσας τῷ Ἀννίβα, περὶ τὴν καλομένην ὘ρασυμένην ἄλμην τῆς Τυρ-ρήνιας παρετάξατο.

2 Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν συμβαλόντων ἐς χεῖρας ἀμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ὥς οὖ καὶ πόλεις ἀνετράπησαν καὶ ρεύματα ποταμῶν ἐξ ἔδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημνῶν ὕπώρεια περιεφράγησαν. ἀλλὰ, καὶπερ οὗτο γενομίνον βιαίον τοῦ πάθους, οὐδεις τὸ παράπαν ἔσθε τοι τῶν μαχομένων. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Φλαμύνιος πολλὰ καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ ρώμης ἑπιδεικνύμενος ἔπεσε, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν οἱ κράτιστοι. τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τραπέτων πολὺς ἦν φόνος, καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι πρὸς μυρίοις κατεκόπησαν, καὶ ἐδάλωσαν ἐτεροι τοσοῦτοι. τὸ δὲ Φλαμύνιου σώμα φιλοτιμούμενος θάψαι καὶ κοσμήσαι δι’ ἀρετὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐχ εὑρεν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἀλλ’ ἤγνοειτο τὸ παράπαν ὅπως ἡφανίσθη.

3 Τῇ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρεβίου γενομένην ἦτταν

1 ὘ρασυμένη an early anonymous correction, adopted by Coraes and Bekker: ὘ρασυμένη.
2 περιεφράγησαν Bekker’s παρεφράγησαν is now found in S.
3 τοῦ πάθους Coraes and Bekker after Reiske: πάθους.

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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; Trasimenum, Livy, xxii. 4.
² Cf. chapter ii. 2.
οὐθ' ὁ γράφας στρατηγὸς οὖθ' ὁ πεμφθεὶς ἀγγελος ἀπ' εὐθειάς ἐφρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐψεύσατο τὴν νύκην ἐπίδικουν αὐτοὶς καὶ ἀμφίδοξον γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ ταῦτης ὡς πρῶτον ἦκουσεν ὁ στρατηγὸς Πομπώνιος, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δῆμον οὐ περιπλοκάς οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἐφι προσελθὼν. "Νευκήμεθα, ὁ ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, μεγάλη μάχη, καὶ διέφθαρται τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ Φλαμύνιος ὑπατος ἀπόλωλεν. ἀλλὰ βουλεύσθηκε 5 περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας." οὕτως μὲν οὖν ὁσπερ πνεύμα τὸν λόγον ἐμβαλὼν εἰς πέλαγος τοσοῦτον δῆμον συνετάραξε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ' ἐστάναι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἐκπληξίν οἱ λογισμοὶ καὶ διαμένειν ἐδύναντο; πάντες δ' εἰς μίαν γνώμην συνήχθησαν ἀνυπενθύνου δεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα μοναρχίας, ἢν δικατορίαν καλοῦσι, καὶ τοῦ μεταχειρισμένου ταῦτην ἀθρόπτως καὶ 6 ἄδεως ἄνδρος: εἶναι δὲ τούτων ἐνα Φάβιοι Μάξιμοι, ἰσόρροπον ἔχουσα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἄξιωμα τῶν ἡθοὺς, ἡλικίαις τε κατὰ τοῦτο γεγενημένου ἐν ὧν συνέστηκεν ἐτε πρὸς τὰ τῆς φυχῆς βουλεύματα τὸ σῶμα τῆς ρώμης καὶ συγκέκριμα τῷ φρονίμῳ τῷ θαυμαλέου.

IV. Ὅς οὖν ταῦτ' ἐδοξεῖ, ἀποδειχθεῖς δικτάτωρ Φάβιος, καὶ ἀποδείξες αὐτὸς ὑπαρχόν Μάρκοι Μινούκιοι, πρῶτον μὲν ἥτησατο τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὲρ χρήσθαι παρὰ τὰς στρατείας. οὐ γὰρ ἔξην, ἀλλ' ἀπηγόρευτο κατὰ δῆ τινα νόμον παλαίων, εἴτε τῆς ἀλκῆς τὸ πλείστου ἐν τῷ
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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.¹ 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 τούτῳ τὸν στρατηγὸν οἰομένων δεῖν παραμένειν τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ μὴ προλείπειν, εἴθ᾽ ὅτι τυραννικὸν εἰς ἀπαντὰ τάλλα 176 καὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἔστίν, ἐν γε τούτῳ βουλομένων τὸν δικτάτορα τοῦ δῆμου φαίνεσθαι

2 δεόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φάβιος εὐθὺς ἐνδείξασθαι θέλων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὅγκον, ὡς μᾶλλον ὑπηκόοις χρῆτο καὶ πειθηνίοις τοῖς πολίταις, προῆλθε συνενεγκάμενος εἰς ταύτῳ ῥαβδουχίας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαντῶντος αὐτῷ τὸν ὑπηρέτην πέμψας ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ῥαβδουχοὺς ἀπαλ-λάξαι καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποθέμενον ἰδιωτὴν ἀπαντάν.

3 Ἔτι δὲ ταύτα καλλίστην ἀρχόμενον ἐκ θεῶν ἀρχήν, καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δήμον ὡς ὀλιγωρία καὶ περιφρονήσει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ δαίμονιον, οὐ μοχθερία τῶν ἁγωνισμένων σφαλέντα, προῦτρεπτε μὴ δεδίεναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν, οὐ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐνεργαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ θαρρύνων εὑσεβεία τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίσι τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων φόβον ἀφαίρετο καὶ παραμυθοῦμενος.

4 ἐκινήθησαν δὲ τότε πολλαὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ χρησίμων αὐτοῖς βιβλίως, ἃς Σιβυλλείους καλοῦσι· καὶ λέγεται συνδραμεῖν ἐνα τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν αὐταῖς λογίων πρὸς τὰς τύχας καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἑκείνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν γνωσθὲν οὐκ ἦν ἐτέρῳ πυθέσθαι· προελθὼν δὲ ὁ δικτάτωρ εἰς τὸν

1 ἐνεργαζόμενος Coraës and Bekker after Bryan, now with S: ἐργαζόμενος.

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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,¹ 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.
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όχλου εὐξατο τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν αἰγῶν καὶ συνόν καὶ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν ἐπιγονῆς, ὡσπερ Ἰταλίας ὦρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ λείμωνες εἰς ὧραν ἐσομένην θρέψουσί, καταθύσεων ἀπαντά, θέας δὲ μουσικὰς καὶ θυμελικὰς ἄξειν ἀπὸ σηστερίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν καὶ δηναρίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν ἐτε τριτη-
5 μορίων προσώτος. τοῦτο τὸ κεφάλαιον ἐστὶν ὁκτὼ μυριάδες δραχμῶν καὶ δραχμαὶ τρισχίλαι πεντακόσιαι ὕδοικοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο ὀβολοῖ. λόγον δὲ τῆς εἰς τοῦτο τοῦ πλήθους ἐκριβεῖας καὶ διανομῆς χαλεπῶν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, εἰ μή τις ἄρα βούλοιτο τῆς τριάδος ὑμεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ὅτι καὶ φύσει τέλειος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν περιττῶν ἀρχὴ τε πλήθους ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τε πρῶτας διαφοράς καὶ τὰ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεία μίξας καὶ συναρμό-
σας εἰς ταύτων ἀνείληφεν.

V. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ὁ Φάβιος τῆς γνώμης ἀπαρτήσας εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἡδίω πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐποίησεν· αὐτός δὲ πάσας θέμενος εἰν αὐτῷ τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς εὐπραξίας δι᾽ ἁρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως παραδιδόντος, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀὐγίβαν, οὐχ ὡς διαμαχούμενος, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τὴν ἁκμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρήματι τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ πολυναθρωπίᾳ τὴν ὀλυγότητι τρίβειν καὶ 2 ὑπαναλίσκειν βεβουλευμένος. οθεν ἀεὶ μετέωρος ἀπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τοποῖς ὀρείνοις στρατοπεδευόν ἐπηρείτο, καθημένου μὲν ἰσυχί-
ζων, κινομένου δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀκρων κύκλῳ περιών

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the 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 sestertia, 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).
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καὶ περιφανόμενος ἐκ διαστήματος ὁσον ἀκοντὶ μὴ βιασθήναι μάχεσθαι καὶ φόβου ώσ μαχησο-

μενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως αὐτῆς

παρέχειν. οὕτω δὲ παράγων τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ πάντων καταφρονεῖτο, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἥκουεν ἐν

τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κομιδὴ δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἄτολμος

ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἰναι πλὴν ἐνὸς ἄνδρος

'Ἀννίβου. μόνος δ᾽ ἐκείνως αὐτοῦ τὴν δεινότητα,

καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὃ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, συνιδών, καὶ

διανοθεῖς ὡς πάση τέχνη καὶ βία κινητέος ἐστὶν

εἰς μάχην ὁ ἄνηρ ἡ διασπέρακται τὰ Καρχηδονίων,

οἷς μὲν εἰς κρείττους ὅπλοις χρύσασθαι μὴ

δυναμένων, οἷς δὲ λείπονται σώματι καὶ χρή-

μασιν ἑλαττουμένων καὶ δαπανωμένων εἰς τὸ

μηδὲν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν στρατηγικῶν σοφισμάτων

καὶ παλαισμάτων τρεπόμενος, καὶ πειρώμενος

ὡσπερ δεινὸς ἀθλητὴς λαβὴν ζητῶν, προσεβαλλε

καὶ διετάραττε καὶ μετῆγε πολλαχύσε τὸν Φάβιον,

ἐκστήσαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας λογισμῶν βου-

λόμενος.

4 Τῷ δὲ ἡ μὲν γνώμη1 πίστιν ἔχουσα τοῦ

συμφέροντος ἐν ἑαυτῇ βέβαιος εἰστίκει καὶ

ἀμετάπτωτος; ἦνωχλει δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππαρχος

Μινουκίος φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως καὶ θρασυνόμενος

καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στράτευμα μανικῆς φορᾶς καὶ

κενῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένον ὦ τὸν

μὲν Φάβιον σκώπτοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες

Ἀννίβου παιδαγωγὸν ἀπεκάλουν, τὸν δὲ Μινου-

1 Τῷ δὲ ἡ μὲν γνώμη with Bekker: Τῷ δὲ ἡ γνώμη.
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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 ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀξίον ἥγοιτο
5 στρατηγῶν ὃ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς φρόνημα καὶ θράσος ἀνειμένος ἐξελεύαζε μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων στρατοπεδείας, ὡς καλὰ θέατρα τοὺς δικτύωρος ἀei παρασκευαζομένου θεωρήσουσι πορθομένην καὶ φλεγομένην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἥρωτα δὲ τῶν φίλων τοῦ Φαβίου πότερον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀρας ἀναφέρει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς τῆς γῆς ἀπεγνωκὼς, ἢ νέφη καὶ ὀμίχλας προβαλλόμενος ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς πολεμίους, ταῦτα τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὸν Φαβίον ἀπαγγέλλωντων καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν τῶν κινδύνων λύθαι παραίνεντων, "Οὗτοι μένταν, ἐφη, "δειλότερος ἢ νῦν εἶναι δοκῶ γενοῦμην, εἰ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας φοβηθεῖς ἐκπέσομεν τῶν ἐμαυτῶν λογισμῶν. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ϊπέρ πατρίδος οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δέος, ἢ δὲ πρὸς δύσαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαβολᾶς καὶ ψόγους ἐκπληξής οὐκ ἄξιον τηλικαύτης ἁρχῆς ἄνδρός, ἀλλὰ δουλεύοντος δὲν κρατεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ δεσπόζειν κακῶς φρονοῦντον προσήκεις."

VI. Μετὰ ταῦτα γίνεται διαμαρτία τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Βουλόμενος γὰρ ἀποσπάσαι τοῦ Φαβίου πορρωτέρω τὸ στρατεύμα καὶ πεδίων ἐπιλαβέσθαι προνομάς ἑχόντων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς όδηγοὺς μετὰ δεῖπνον εὐθὺς ἤγεισθαι πρὸς τὸ Κασινάτου, οἱ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς διὰ βαρβαρισμὸν οὐκ ἔξακοισαντες ἀκριβῶς, ἐμβάλλοσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν χέρωντες εἰς τὰ καταληγοῦντα τῆς Καμπανίας εἰς πόλιν Κασιλίου, ἢν τέμνει ρέων διὰ μέσης ποταμοῦ, ἡν Οὐνουλτοῦρν οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καλοῦσιν.
2 ἐστὶ δὴ ἡ χώρα τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ περιστεφθῆς ὀρεσιν.
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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
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αὐλῶν δ' ἄναπέππταται πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ἔνθα τὰ ἔλη καταδίδωσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιχεομένου, καὶ θίνας ἄμμου βαθείας ἔχει, καὶ τελευτᾷ πρὸς αἰγιαλὸν κυματώδη καὶ δύσορμον. ἐνταῦθα καταβαίνοντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιελθὼν ἐμπειρία τῶν ὁδῶν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν διέξοδον ὀπλίτας τετρακισχιλίους ἐπιστήσας ἐνέφραξε, τὸν δ' ἄλλον στρατὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄκρων ἐν καλῷ καθίσας διὰ τῶν ἐλαφροτάτων καὶ προχειροτάτων ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ συνετάραξεν ἄπαν τὸ στράτευμα, διεφθείρε ἐς περὶ ὀκτακο-σίους. ἐκ τούτου βουλόμενος Ἀννίβας ἄπαγαγείν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τὴν διαμαρτινὰ τοῦ τόπου νοῆσας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν τοὺς ὀδηγούς, ἐκβιάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ προσμάχεσθαι τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας ἀπεγινωσκεί. δυσθύμως δὲ καὶ περιφόβως διακειμένων ἀπάντων, καὶ περιεστάναι σφάς πανταχόθεν ἀφύκτοις ἤγομένοις ἀπορίας, ἐγνως δολοῦν ἀπάτη τοὺς πολεμίοις. ἦν δὲ τοιόνδε.

4 Βοῦς ὅσον δισχελίας ἐκ τῶν αἱμαλώτων ἐκέλευσε συλλαβόντας ἀναδήσαι δάδα πρὸς ἐκαστὸν κέρας ἢ λύγων ἢ φρυγάνων αὐθῷ φάκελον' εἶτα νυκτὸς, ὅταν ἀρθῇ σημεῖον, ἀνάβαντας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς παρὰ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκευάζον οἷς προσετέτακτο, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἀναστήσας στρατὸν ἦδη σκότους ὄντος ἦγε σχολαίως.

5 αἱ δὲ βόες, ἀχρὶ μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὄλιγον ἦν καὶ περιέ-136
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 ὑλήν, ἀτρέμα προεχώρουν ἐλαυνόμεναι πρὸς τὴν υπόρειαν, καὶ θαῦμα τοῖς καθόρῳσι νομέσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκρῶν καὶ βουκόλοις ἦσαν αἱ φλόγες ἀκρῶς ἐπιλάμπουσαι τοῖς κέρασιν, ὡς στρατόπεδον καθ’ ἐνα κόσμον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων
6 πολλῶν βαδίζοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πυροῦμενον τὸ κέρας ἀχρί βίζης διέδωκε τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόνον διαφέρουσαι καὶ τιμάσσουσαι τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνεπιμπλαντὸ πολλῆς ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων φλὸ-
γῶς, οὐκ ἔνεμεναν τὴ τάξει τῆς πορείας, ἀλλ’ ἐκφοβοῦντο καὶ περιαλγεῖς οὕσαι δρόμῳ κατὰ τῶν Ἱρών ἐφέροντο, λαμπόμεναι μὲν οὐρὰς ἀκρας καὶ μέτωπα, πολλὴν δὲ τῆς ὕλης, δὲ ἔφευγον,
7 ἀνάπτουσι. δεινὸν οὐν ἦν θέαμα τοῖς παραφυλάτ-
τουσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς 'Ρωμαίοις καὶ γὰρ αἱ φλὸ-
γες ἐφέκεσαν ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων θεόντων διαφερομέναις
λαμπάσι καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺς καὶ
φόβος, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοις ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῶν πολέ-
μιών σφίσι καὶ κυκλώσθαι πανταχόθεν ἡγου-
μέινον. διὸ μένειν οὐκ ἔτολμον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ
μείζον ἀνεχώρουν στρατόπεδον προέμενοι τὰ στενά.
καὶ 1 κατὰ τούτο δὲ καρποὺ προσμέξαντες ὦ ψυλοῦ
τοῦ Ἀννίβου τὰς ὑπερβολὰς κατέσχων, ἢ ἄλλη
dύναμις ἤδη προσέβαψεν ἀδεῶς πολλὴν καὶ
βαρεῖαν εφελκομένη λείαν.
VII. Τῷ δὲ Φαθίῳ συνέβη μὲν ἐνυκτὸς
αἰσθέθαι τῶν δόλων (φεύγουσαι γὰρ ἐναὶ τῶν
βοῶν σποράδες ἦκον αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας), ἐνέδρας δὲ
dεῦδος σκοταίοις ἀτρέμα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς
ὀπλοῖς εἰχεν. ὡς δ’ ἦν ἡμέρα, διώκως ἐξήπττετο

1 καὶ bracketed by Coraës and Bekker.
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wood, went on quietly, as they were driven, towards
the slopes of the mountains, and the shepherds and
herdsman 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 an-
other with quantities of fire, then they kept no order
in their going, but, in terror and anguish, went dash-
ing 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,
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tῶν ἐσχάτων, καὶ συμπλοκαὶ περὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐγίνοντο καὶ θόρυβος ἤν πολὺς, ἐως παρ' Ἀννίβου τῶν ὅρειβατεὶν δεινῶν Ἰβήρων ἄνδρες ἐλαφροὶ καὶ ποδώκεις πεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος εἰς βαρεῖς ὀπλίτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέβαλον, καὶ διαφθείραντες οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέστρεψαν τὸν Φάβιον. τότε δὴ μάλιστα κακῶς ἀκοῦσαί καὶ καταφρονηθῆναι συνέβη τὸν Φάβιον. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τόλμης υφιέμενος, ὡς γυμνὸς καὶ προνοίᾳ καταπολεμήσων τὸν Ἀννίβαν, αὐτὸς ἦττημένος τούτους καὶ κατεστρατηγημένος ἔφανετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκκαίσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἀννίβας, ως ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ, τα μὲν ἄλλα πάντα καίειν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀπεσταλμένοι καὶ παρακατέστησε φυλακὴν οὐδὲν ἐώςαν ἄδικειν οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν ἐκεῖθεν.

3 ταῦτα προσδίήβαλε τὸν Φάβιον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν οἰχλὸν οἱ δήμαρχοι κατεβόων, ἐπάγοντος μάλιστα Μετιλίου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Φάβιον ἔχθραν, ἀλλ' οἰκεῖος ὁ Ὣμυνκίου τοῦ ἰππάρχου τιμὴν φέτος καὶ δόξαν ἐκείνω φέρειν τὰς τούτου διαβολάς· ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δι’ ὀργῆς οὕχ ἦκιστα μεμφομένη τὰς περὶ τῶν ἀἱχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ὁμολογίας. ὁμολογηθεὶσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα μὲν ἄνδρι λύσθαι τῶν ἀλισκομένων, εἰ δὲ πλείους οἱ ἐτεροὶ γένοντο, διδόναι δραχμᾶς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου τῶν κομιδομένων
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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.
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πεντίκοντα καὶ διακοσίας. ὡς οὖν γενομένης τῆς κατ’ ἄνδρα διαμείσεσθαι εὑρέθησαν ὑπόλοιποι Ῥωμαῖον παρ᾽ Ἀνυίβα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίων, τοῦτων ἡ σύγκλητος ἐγγὺς τὰ λύτρα μὴ πέμπειν, καὶ προσθηκάτο τὸν Φάβιον ὡς οὖ πρεπόντως οὐδὲ λυσιτελῶς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ δειλίας πολεμὶων ἄγραν γενομένους ἀνακομιδόμενον. ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν ὅργην ἐφερε πρᾶσμα τῶν πολιτῶν, χρήματα δ᾽ οὐκ ἔχων, διαψεύσασθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀνυίβαν καὶ προέσθαι τοὺς πολίτας οὐχ ὑπομένων, ἐπεμψε τὸν ὕδων εἰς Ῥώμην κελεύσας ἀποδόθαι τοὺς ἄγροις καὶ τὸ ἀγρύριον εὐθὺς ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κομίζειν. ἀποδομένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὰ χωρία καὶ ταχέως ἐπανελθόντος ἀπέπεμψε τὰ λύτρα τῷ Ἀνυίβα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλαβε καὶ πολλῶν ἀποδιδόντων ὑπερούρον παρ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἐλαβεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφῆκε πᾶσιν.

VIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἱερέων καλοῦντων αὐτὸν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τινας θυσίας παρέδωκε τῷ Μινούκῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν πολέμιων οὐ μόνον ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ διαγροεύς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρανεσείς καὶ δεήσεις πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος ὑμνέονος ἐκείνος ἐλάχιστα φροντίσας εὐθὺς ἐνέκειτο τοῖς πολέμιοις. καὶ ποτε παραφυλάξας τὸν Ἀνυίβαν τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ σιτολογίαν ἀφεικότα, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ, κατήραξεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐκ ὄλιγος καὶ φόβου περιέστησε πᾶσιν ὡς πολιορκησομένους ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. καὶ συλλεγομένης
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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 fields 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.
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αὕθις εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ Ἀννίβα τῆς δυνάμεως ἀσφαλῶς ἀνεχώρησεν, αὐτὸν τε μεγαλαυχίας ἀμέτρου καὶ θράσους τὸ στρατιωτικὸν

3 ἐμπεπληκώς. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου λόγος μείζων διεφοίτησεν εἰς Ῥώμην. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ἀκούσας ἔφη μᾶλλον τοῦ Μινουκίου φοβεῖσθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ἡ δὲ δήμος ἦρτο καὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς εἰς ἀγορὰν συνέτρεχε, καὶ Μετίλιος ὁ δήμαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καταστάς ἐδημηγόρει μεγαλύτων τοῦ Μινουκίου, τοῦ δὲ Φαβίου κατηγορῶν οὐδ’ ἀνανδρίαν, ἀλλ’ ἤδη

4 προδοσίαν, συναιτιομενος ἁμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ πρώτους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εὔθυς εἰς μοναρχίαν ἀνυπεύθυνον, ἢ διατρίβουσα τὰς πράξεις ἱδρυσιν ὧν Ἀννίβα παρέξει καὶ χρόνον αὕθια ἐκ Διβύης ἐτέραν δύναμιν προσγενέσθαι ως κρατοῦντι τῆς Ἰταλίας.

IX. Ἐπει δ’ οὐ Φάβιος προσελθὼν ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν οὖδ’ ἐμέλλησε πρὸς τὸν δήμαρχον, ἔφη δὲ τάχιστα τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ιερουργίας γενέσθαι, ὡστ’ ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα βαδιεῖσθαι τῷ Μινουκίῳ δίκην ἐπιθήσων, ὅτι κατ’ ἑαυτὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ πολέμου συνεβάλε, θόρυβος διῆξε τοῦ δήμου πολύς, ὡς κινδυνεύσωστος τοῦ Μινουκίου. καὶ γὰρ εἰρέξαι τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ θανατώσαι πρὸ δίκης ἐξεχθεῖ καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου τῶν θυμῶν ἐκ πολλῆς πραύτητος κεκινημένον φώντο βαρὺν εἶναι καὶ


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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
2 δυσπαραίτητον. οθεν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καταδείκτος ἔστησαν Ἡγον: ἡ δὲ Μετιλίος ἔχων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἄδειαν (μόνη γὰρ αὐτὴ δικτάτορος αἱρέθητος ἡ ἄρχη τὸ κράτος οὐκ ἀπόλλυσις, ἀλλὰ μένει τῶν ἄλλων καταλυθεῖσῶν), ἑνέκειτο τῷ δήμῳ πολὺς, μὴ προέσθαι δεόμενος τὸν Μινούκιον μηδ’ ἐᾶσαι παθεῖν ἢ Μάλλιος Τούρκουκαμίτου ἐδρασε τὸν νῦν, ἀριστεύσαντος καὶ στεφανωθέντος ἀποκόψας πελέκη τῶν τράχηλον, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ σώζειν ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ πράγματα.

3 Τοιοῦτοις λόγοις κινηθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν μὲν Φάβιον οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀναγκάσαι καταθέσθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, καίπερ ἀδοξοῦντα, τὸν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐπιφύσαντο τῆς στρατηγίας ὁμότιμον ὅντα διέπειν τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας τῷ δικτάτορι, πράγμα μὴ πρότερον ἐν ἹΡώμη γεγονός, ὁλίγῳ δ’ ύστερον αὖθις γενόμενον μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κάνναις ἀπείρα. καὶ γὰρ τὸτ’ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων Μάρκος ἢν Ἰούνιος δικτάτωρ, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀναπληρώσας δεῖσαν, ἅτε δὴ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συγκλητικῶν ἀπολλολῶν, ἐτερον εἰλοντο δικτάτορα Φάβιον Βουτεδών. πλὴν ὁúτος μὲν, ἐπεὶ προῆλθε καὶ κατέλεξε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ συνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλὴν, αὐθιμερῶν ἄφεις τοὺς ῥαβδούχους καὶ διαφυγὸν τοὺς προάγοντας, εἰς τὸν ὀχλον ἐμβαλὼν καὶ καταμίζας ἑαυτὸν ἢδη τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ διοικῶν καὶ πραγματευόμενος ὡσπερ ἰδιώτης ἐπὶ τῆς ἄγορας ἀνεστρέφετο.

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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), 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, 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. 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 δικτάτορι πράξεις ἀποδείξαντες φωντο κεκολούθησα καὶ γεγονέναι ταπείνων παντάπασιν ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ ὥρθως στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ἤγείτο τὴν ἐκείνου ἀγνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἀσπερ Διογένης ὁ σοφὸς, εἴποντος τινὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν· "Οὕτω σοῦ καταγελῶσιν," "Αλλ' ἐγώ," εἶπεν, "οὐ καταγελῶμαι," μόνους ἡγούμενος καταγελώσθη τοὺς ἐνδιδύντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
2 ταραττομένους, οὕτω Φάβιος ἔφερεν ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἁρδώς ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ γεινόμενα, συμβαλλόμενος ἀποδειξίων τῶν φιλοσόφων τοῖς ἁξίουσι μήτε ὑβρίζεσθαι μήτε ἀτιμοῦθαί τὸν ἁγαθὸν ἀνδρα καὶ σπουδαίουν. ἦνια δ' αὐτὸν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἀβουλία διὰ τὰ κοινά, δεδωκότων ἀφορμάς ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ὑγιαινούσῃ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
3 μον. καὶ δεδοικὸς μή παντάπασιν ἐκμανεῖς ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης καὶ ὅγκου φθάσῃ τὶ κακὸν ἀπεργα-
σάμενος, λαθῶν ἀπαντᾶς ἐξήλθε· καὶ παραγενό-
μενος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Μινουκίου οὐκέτι καθεκόν, ἀλλὰ βαρὺν καὶ τετυφωμένον καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἄρχειν ἁξιοῦντα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐ συνεχώρησε, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διενεί-
4 ματο πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς μέρους μόνος ἄρξων βέλτιον ἡ πάντων παρὰ μέρος. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν ταγμάτων καὶ τέταρτον αὐτὸς ἔλαβε, τὸ δὲ δευ-
τερον καὶ τρίτον ἐκεῖνος παρέδωκεν, ἐπίσης καὶ τῶν συμμαχικῶν διανεμηθέντων. σεμνυνόμενο δὲ τοῦ Μινουκίου καὶ χαιρός τούτος ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης ἄρχης ὑφείεσθαι καὶ προπεπτηλακίσθαι δ' αὐτὸν, ὑπεμείνησκεν ὁ Φάβιος ὡς οὕτως μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς Φάβιοιν, ἀλλ'
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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
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5 εἰ σωφρονεῖ, πρὸς Ἀννίβαν τοῦ ἀγώνος· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φιλονείκεϊ, σκοπεῖν οὕτως τοῦ νεικημένου καὶ καθυβρισμένου παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ὁ τετιμημένος καὶ νεικηκὼς οὗ φανεῖται μᾶλλον ὀλιγωρῶν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἁσφαλείας.

XI. Ὅ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρωνεύει τῇ γεγεντειν κριτικήν παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποκληρωθείσαν δύναμιν ἰδία καὶ χωρὶς ἐστρατοπεδευσεν, οὐδὲν ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ πάσιν ἐφεδρεύοντος. ἦν δὲ λόφος κατὰ μέσον καταληφθῆναι μὲν οὐ χαλέπος, ὄχυρος δὲ καταληφθείς στρατοπέδω καὶ διαρκῆς εἰς ἀπαντα. τὸ δὲ περὶ πεδίον ὑπάρχει μὲν ἄπωθεν ὀμαλῶν διὰ ψυλλότητα καὶ λεῖον, ἔχοι δὲ τινὰς οὐ μεγάλας

2 τάφρους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κοιλότητας ἄλλας. διὸ καὶ τῶν λόφων ἐκ τοῦ ῥάστου κρύφα κατασχεῖν παρὸν οὐκ ἔστειλεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, ἀλλ’ ἀπέληπτε μάχης ἐν μέσῳ πρόφασιν. ὡς δ’ εἰδε κεχωρισμένων τοῦ Φαβίου τῶν Μινώκιουν, νυκτὸς μὲν εἰς τὰς τάφρους καὶ τὰς κοιλότητας κατέσπειρε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινας, ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φανερῷς ἐπεμψεν οὐ πολλοὺς καταληψομένους τῶν λόφων, ὡς ἐπαγάγωτο συμπεσεῖν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τῶν Μινώκιουν.

3 "Ο δὴ καὶ συνέβη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστειλε τὴν κούφην στρατιάν, ἐπείτα τοὺς ὅππεῖν, τέλος
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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,¹ 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,² 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.
δ' ὀρῶν τὸν 'Αννίβαν παραβοηθοῦντα τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πᾶσῃ κατέβαινε τῇ δυνάμει συντεταγμένες. καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν θέμενος ἠμύνετο τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου βάλλοντας, συμπλεκόμενος καὶ ἵσα φερόμενος, ἄχρι οὗ καλῶς ἡπατημένον ὀρῶν ὁ 'Αννίβας καὶ γυμνὰ παρέχοντα τοῖς ἐνεδρεύονσι τὰ νῦν τὸ σημεῖον αἴρει. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ πολ- λαχόθεν ἐξανισταμένων ἁμα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς προσφερομένων καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἀποκτινώ- των ἀντίγραφος κατεῖχε ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοῖς τε τοῦ Μινουκίου τὸ θράσος κατακέκλαστο, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλον ἀλλοτε τῶν ἡγε- μόνων διεπάπτατεν, οὕτως ἐν χώρα μένειν τολ- µόντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγῆν ὦθουμένων οὐ σωτηρίων. οἴγαρ Νομάδες ἤδη κρατοῦντες κύκλῳ περιήλαυνον τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκευασμένους ἐκτείνουν. ΧΙ. Εν τοσούτῳ δὲ κακῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντων οὐκ ἔλαθεν ὁ κίνδυνος τὸν Φάβιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον, ὡς οἶκεν, ἤδη προειληφώς τὴν τε δύναμιν συντεταγμένην εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὃπλων καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα γυνώσκειν ἐφρόντιζεν οὐ δι’ ἀγ- γέλων, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἔχων κατασκοπὴν πρὸ τοῦ χαρακος. ὡς οὖν κατεῖδε κυκλούμενον καὶ ταρατ- τόμενον τὸ στρατεύμα, καὶ κραυγὴ προσέπτετεν ὦ µενοῦτων, ἀλλ’ ἦδη πεφοβημένων καὶ τρέπο- 2 μένων, μηρῶν τε πληξάμενος καὶ στενάζας μέγα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν. "Ὡ Ηράκλεις, ὡς τάχιον μὲν ἡ ἐγὼ προσεδόκων, βράδιον δ’ ἡ αὐτὸς ἐσπευδὸς Μινουκίος ἐαυτόν ἀπολόλεξε,” τὰς

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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
Πρώτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανείς τρέπεται καὶ διασκίδυσι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιελαύνοντας Νομάδας· εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ κατὰ νότον τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὖντα ἔχωρει καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἐκτείνειν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ, ¹ πρὶν ἀποληφθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι περιπετεῖς οἷς αὐτοὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν, ἐγκλίναντες ἐφυγον. ὅρων δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸν Φάβιον εὐρώστως παρ’ ἡλικίαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὠδούμενον ἄνω πρὸς τὸν Μινούκιον εἰς τὸν λόφον, ἐπέσχε τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημῆνας ἀνάκλησιν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους, ἀσμένως καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀποτρεπομένων. Λέγεται δ’ αὐτῶν ἀπίοντα περὶ τοῦ Φάβιον πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον μετὰ παιδιῶν: “οὐκ ἐγὼ μέντοι προύλεγον ὑμῖν πολλὰς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ταύτην καθημένην νεφέλην, ὅτι μετὰ ξύλης ποτὲ καὶ καταγίδων ὀμβρον ἔκρηξε.”

XIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Φάβιος μὲν ὅσους ἐκτείνει τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσας ἀνεχόρησεν, οὔδέν ὑπερήφανον οὐδ’ ἐπαχθὲς εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ συγάρχοντος· Μινούκιος δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιῶν ἄθροισας, “Ἀνδρές,” ἐφῆ, “συστρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν ἀμαρτεῖν μηδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις μείζον ἢ

¹ λοιπὸν MSS., Sintenis, Coraës, Bekker: πλείστοι.
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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-
kata' anátwstón ésti, to de ámartyontan khrísaðthai

toíz ptaísmasi didáýmasi pró to to loipón 'andrós

2 ágathón kai noíon ëxontos. égō méen ouí ómoloigō

mikrá meýomènos òn tìn túkhn peri meizónon ëptai-

neín. ò gár ouí ësthómmn chrónon tosoúton, ëméra

né meý mikrós petaídeumai, gnois ëmautón ouí

árhoi èteron duñámenon, òll' árhoi éteron ðéómenon

kai filotimou'menon 1 níkan úf' òn

èttásai kàllion. ùmiw dé tówn méen ãllwn èstíw

árhoi ò diktátwro, tìs dé prós èkeínou eúxará-

stías autós ëgémwn èsoimai, próton ëmautón

eúpeithi kai pòloúnta to kelenómenun ùp' èkeínou

pařehómenos.'

3 Taut' èiptow kai toíz ìeòtous ërasthai kelenússas

kal pántas úkoloulheín, ògye prós tón ñaráka

toú Phábioù. kai pàrelthow èntos ébúdiçen èpti

tìn stratanikíwmn skhnín, òste ònnumáxein kai

diaporéin pántas. pròelthóntos dé toú Phábioù

thèmenos èmpromèthn èsas sémalías autós méen èkeínou

patéra megálh fownh, ói dé stratiòtai toíz

stratanóstas pátravan ëspáxwnta. toúto dé èstiti

toíz ìepleuðhros pròsofwníma prós toíz ìpe-

4 leuvofwssántas. ësvychías dé geýmeménhs ò Mnow-

kios eìpte: 'Dúo níkas, ó diktátor, tì sémereun

ëméra neýníkhas, ándreia méen 'Annibal, euðboulía

de kai ëhròtptítí tôn suñárwnta: kai dé òs méen

séswkas ëmás, di' òs dé petaídeukas, èttwmenous

aìsçhòi méen èttan úp' èkeínou, kalh dé kai

5 sòtwríou úpò sòu. patéra déi ñe ëhròtów 2

1 filotimou'menon the MSS. have µ̣ ñilotimou'menon, which

Cornéus defends.

2 ñhròtow bracketed by Bekker.

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prises 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
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προσαγορεύω, τιμωτέραν οὐκ ἔχων προσηγορίαν, ἐπεὶ τῆς γε τοῦ τεκύντος χάριτος μείζων ἡ παρὰ σοῦ χάρις αὐτῆ. ἐγεννήθην μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου μόνος, σώζομαι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ μετὰ τοσούτων." ταῦτ᾽ εἰπὼν καὶ περιβάλών τὸν Φάβιον ἡσυχάζετο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἢν ὀράν πράττοντας ἐνεφύοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατεφίλουν, ὡστε μεστὸν εἶναι χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων ἦδυστων τὸ στρατῆπεδον.

XIV. Ἐκ τούτου Φάβιος μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὑπατω δ' αὖθις ἀπεδέκτησαν. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφύλαξαν ἡν ἐκείνου ἰδέαν τοῦ πολέμου κατέστησε, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως φεύγοντες πρὸς 'Ανυβάν, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις ἐπιβοηθοῦντες καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις κωλύοντες. Τερέντιος δὲ Βάρρων εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν προαίθεις ὑπὸ γένους ἄσημον, βίου δὲ διὰ δημοκριτίαν καὶ προπέτειαν ἐπισήμου, δήλος ἢν εὐθὺς ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητι τῶν περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀναρρίφων κύβον.

2 ἔβοα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μενεὶν 1 τῶν πολέμων ἀχριν οὐ Φάβιος χρήσαι στρατηγοῖς ἢ πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὁφεσθαί τε καὶ νικησεῖν τοὺς πολέμιους. ἀμα δὲ τούτων τοῖς λόγοις συνήγε καὶ κατέγραφε δύσαμεν τηλικαυτὴν, ἡλικὴ πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐχοίςαντο Ῥωμαῖοι. μυριάδες γὰρ ἐνεία δισχίλιων ἀνδρῶν δέονται συνετάξθησαν εἰς τὴν μάχην, μέγα δὲς Φάβιος καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἐξούσι Ρωμαίων οὐ γὰρ ἠλπιζοῦν ἐξεῖν ἀναφόραν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοσαύτη σφαλείσαν ἠλικία.

1 μενεὶν Sintenis 3, after Coraës; MSS., Sintenis 1, and Bekker, μίνειν.

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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 Διὸ καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τερεντίου Παύλου Αιμίλιον, ἀνδρὰ πολλῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρον, οὐκ ἀρεστὸν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ καταπλῆγα ἐκ τινος καταδίκης πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτῷ γεγενημένης, ἀνύστη καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας, διδάσκων ὡς οὐ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς Τερεντίου ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσοιτο· σπεύδειιν γὰρ μάχην γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς δυνάμεως, τὸν δὲ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀσθενείας. "Εγὼ δ', εἶπεν, "ὁ Παῦλε, Τερεντίου πιστεύεσθαι δικαιότερός εἰμι περὶ τῶν Ἀννίβου πραγμάτων διαβεβαιούμενος ὡς, εἰ μηδεὶς αὐτῷ μαχεῖται τοῦτον τὸν ἐμαυτόν, ἀπολεῖται μένων ὁ ἀνήρ ἡ φεύγων ἀπείσιν, ὅ γε καὶ νῦν νικᾶν καὶ κρατεῖν δοκοῦντι τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς προσκεχώρηκε, τῆς δ' οὐκοθεν δυνάμεως οὐδ' ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα πάνω περίεστι." πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεται τὸν Παύλου εἶπεν: "Ἑμοὶ μὲν, ὁ Φάβιος, τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ σχο- ποῦντι κρεῖττον ἔστι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποπε- σεῖν δόρασιν ἡ πάλιν ταῖς ψήφοις τῶν πολετῶν· εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει τὰ δημοσία πράγματα, πειρά- σομαι μᾶλλον σοι δοκεῖν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι στρατηγός ἡ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλλοῖς ἐπὶ τάναντι βιαζομένους." ταῦταν ἔχων τὴν προαιρεσίν ὁ Παῦλος ἐξήλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν πολέμων.

XV. Ἀλλ' ὁ Τερεντίος ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πάρ' ἥμεραν ἄρχείς, καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβα παραστρα- τηποδεύον περὶ τῶν Αὐφίδιον ποταμοῦ καὶ τᾶς λεγομένας Κάννας, ἀμ' ἥμερα τὸ τῆς μάχης ση- μείον ἐξῆθηκεν (ἐστι δὲ χιτῶν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος), ὅστε καὶ 160
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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 Ausidus 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-
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tous Karχηδονίουs eξ ἀρχῆς διαταραχθῆναι, τὴν
tei tólmav tou stratηγoú kai tò tou stratop-
pēou plήθos órω̂ntas, autouvs ouv ἡμισυ μέρος
ontas. 'Anvίbas de tìn dunamín ἔξοπλίζεσθαι
kelésias, autós ἵπποτης μετ' ólignon ὑπὲρ λόφου
tinós malakou katēskópei touvs polémious ἥδη
kathistaménous eis tâxin. eîpónptos de tivos tòn
perī autôn ándros isotímou, touvôroma Gískovnos,
ôs thàvmasstôn autôv faínetai tò plή̂̂θos tòn
polémîon, sunagagîon tò prósowpon tòn 'Anvίbas,
"'Eterôn," eîpên, "o Gískovn, xelhê ge toúto
thàvmasisteron." éromênou de tò Gískovnos, tò
poîon; "'Oti," efh, "toútwv óntwv tosoútwv
oudeis en autôs Gískovn kaleyta." genvomên
de parà cózan autóis tou skównmatos empîttæi
gelwos pásî, kai katēbainon ùpò tou lófoù touvs
ápantîswîn ùdi tò pepaiygmenon ápaggêllontes,
óst òpallwv polûn eînai 1 tòn gelwta kai
mhô analabêin éautous dúvasstai touvs perî tòn
'Anvîbahv. toutò toûs Karχηδονións iđoûsi thârsovs
parísth, logîgômenos ùpò polllòu kai ishuvou
tou katafrosonúntos épínei gelâv ouwos kai
pâxeiv tò stratê̂̂gô parà tòv kîndvnov.

XVI. 'En de òtî mákhe stratê̂̂ghmaswv exrh-
sato, prôtov mev tò ùpò tou tòpou, poihsî-
menos kata ùwtoû tòn ânevoun prêstîrî qâr
èoiwv flegonti katerrî̂̂gynuto, kai traxuv õk
pedîwv ùfâmûwv kai ùnapeptamaûwv aiwvn
koiırotov ùpèr tìn fâlagga tòw Karχηδôwv ë̂tî
touvs 'Pwmaîous ëó̂̂thi, kai proséballe toûs
prôswpouvs õpostrephoménuvs kai svntarattô-

1 eînai. Bekker corrects, after Schnefer, to léwai, spread.
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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 pleasantness 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 τήν τάξιν ὃ γὰρ ἦν ἰσχυρότατον αὐτῷ καὶ μαχηματώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκατέρωσε τὸν μέσον τάξας, τὸ μέσον αὐτῷ συνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων, ἐμβόλῳ τούτῳ προέχοντι πολὺ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος χρησόμενος· εἰρήτο δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις, ὅταν τούτους διακόψαντες οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸ εἴκον ἐκφερομένου τὸν μέσον καὶ κόλπον λαμβάνοντος ἐντὸς γενόμεναι τῆς φάλαγγος, ὃξεως ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιστρέφαντας ἐμβαλείν τε πλαγίως καὶ περὶ-πτύσσειν ὅπισθεν συγκλείοντας. οὗ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τὸν πλείστον ἀπεργάσασθαι φόνον. ὃς γὰρ ἐνέδωκε τὸ μέσον καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξατο διώκοντας, ἡ δὲ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μεταβαλοῦσα τὸ σχῆμα μηνοειδῆς ἐγένοιει καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οἱ ταξίαρχοι ταχὺ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ἀσπίδα, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ δόρου κλίναντες προσέπεσον κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, πάντας, ὡς ὠς τὴν κύκλωσιν ὑπεκλίναντες ἔφθασαν, ἐν μέσῳ κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν.

3 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἵππεοι τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμπτωμα παράλογον γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Πάυλον, ὡς ἐοικε, τρωθεῖς ὁ ἵππος ὑπεσείσατο, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον πεζὸς τῷ ὑπάτῳ προσήμυνε. τούτῳ δ’ οἱ ἵππεοι ἱδόντες, ὡς παραγγέλματος κοινοῦ δεδομένου, πάντες ἀποπηδήσαντες πεζοὶ συνεπλέκοντο τῶν πολεμίων. ἵσων δ’ ὁ Ἀννίβας, “Τοῦτο,” ἐφη, “μᾶλλον ἡβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον.”

4 Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας ἀπηγγέλκασι.
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.”¹ But such particulars as these may be found in the detailed histories of the war.

¹ Quam mallem vincitos mihi traderet. Livy, xxii. 49.
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Τῶν δ' ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Βάρρων ὀλιγοστὸς ἀφίππευσεν εἰς Οὐγενούσιαν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Πάυλος ἐν τῷ βυθῷ καὶ κλύδων τῆς φυγῆς ἐκείνης βελῶν τε πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς προφάσεων ἐγκεκρέων ἄνωπλεως, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πένθει τοσοῦτο βαρυνόμενος, πρὸς τινι λέῳ καθήστο, τὸν ἐπισφάξοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἀναμένον. ἦν δὲ δι' αἴματος πλῆθος, ὁ συνεπέφυρτο τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, οὐ πολλοὶς διάδημον, άλλα καὶ φίλοι καὶ θεράτουντας αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας παρῆλθον. μόνος δὲ Κοριήλιος Λέντλος, εὐπατρίδης νέος, ἴδων καὶ προνοῆσας ἀπετήδευσε τοῦ ἱπποῦ, καὶ προσαγαγὸν παρεκάλει χρῆσθαι καὶ σῶζειν αὐτὸν τοῖς πολίταις ἀρχοντος ἄγαθον τὸτε μαλίστα χρήζουσιν. ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἀπετρήψατο τὴν δέσιν, καὶ τὸ μειράκιον αὐθίς ἡνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππόν ἀναβηναι δακρύς, εἶτα δὲ τὴν δεξίαν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ συνεξαναστάς, ἑλεονέηλε, εἶπεν, ὡς Λέντλε, Φαβίω Μαξίμω μὲν γένος μάρτυς αὐτός, οὔτε Πάυλος Αἰμύλιος ἐνεμεύειν αὐτὸν τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀχρεί τέλους καὶ τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲν ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνικήθη πρότερον ὑπὸ Βάρρωνος, εἰθ' ὑπὸ Ἀμιβοῦ. τροσάυτ' ἐπιστείλας τὸν μὲν Λέντλον ἀπέτεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ρίψας ἐαυτὸν εἰς τοῖς φονευσμένοις ἀπέθανε. λέγονται δὲ πεσεῖν μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαιῶν πεντακισμύριοι, ξύνετε δ' ἀλώνια τετρακισχίλιοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἵ ληφθέντες ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέρους τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μυρίων οὐκ ἔλαττοις.

1 αὐτοῦ Coraës and Bekker, now with S: αὐτοῦ ἵς own convictions. Cf. praeceptorum eius memorem, Livy, xxii. 49. 166
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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.
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XVII. Τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐπὶ ἡλικοῦτῳ κατορθώματι τῶν φίλων παρομοίων τῶν ἕμετερα τῇ τύχῃ καὶ συνεπεισπεσεῖν ἄμα τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πεμπταίον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ δεισυνήσειν, οὐ ράδιον εἰπεῖν, ὡστὶς ἀπετρεψε λογισμὸς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δαίμονος ἡ θεοῦ τιμος ἐμποδόων στάντος ἐσεικεν ἔργον ἡ πρὸς τοῦτο μέλλησις αὐτοῦ καὶ δειλίας γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ Βάρκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον εἰπεῖν μετ' ὀργῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντι: "Σὺ νικὰν οἶδας, νῖκη δὲ χρῆσθαι

2 οὐκ οἶδας." καίτοι τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἡ νίκη περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν, ὡς πρὸ τῆς μάχης οὐ πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμπόριον, οὐ λιμένα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔχοντα, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις τὰ ἐπιτηθεῖα τῇ στρατιᾷ δι’ ἀρπαγῆς κοµιζόμενον, ὀρμώμενον αἰτοῦν τοῦ βεβαίου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ἄσπιρ ληπτηριώ μεγάλῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλανώμενον καὶ περιφερόμενον, τότε πᾶσαν οἶλον δεῖν ὡς αὐτῷ ποιήσας τῆς Ἰταλίας τὰ γὰρ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἑθῶν αὐτῶν προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσια, καὶ Καπιτη, ἡ μέγιστον ἐξεῖ μετὰ Ὀρμήν ἄξιομα τῶν πόλεων, προσθεμένην κατέσχεν.

Οὐ μόνον δ’ ἦν ἁρα τὸ φίλων πειραν λαβεῖν, ὡς Ἐὐριπίδης φησίν, 1 οὐ σμικρὸν κακόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ φρονίμων στρατηγῶν. ἡ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς μάχης Φαβίου δειλία καὶ Ψυχρότητις λεγομένη μετὰ τῆς μάχης εὐθὺς οὐδ’ ἀνθρώπινος ἐδόκει λογισμὸς, ἀλλὰ θείον τῇ χρήμα διανοίας καὶ δαίμονον ἐκ τοσοῦτον τὰ μέλλοντα προορομένης, ὁ μόλις ἦν


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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

4 πισταὶ πάσχουσιν, οὕτως εἰς ἑκεῖνον ἡ Ῥώμη συνενεγκούσα τὰς λοιπὰς ἐλπίδας, καὶ προσφυγοῦσα τῇ γυνώμῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὁσπερ ἱερῷ καὶ βωμῷ, πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ μείναι καὶ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τὴν ἑκείνου φρόνησιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς
5 Κελτικοῖς πάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἔδοξε δει
νὸν εἶναι καίροῖς εὐλαβῆς φαινόμενος καὶ δυσέλπιστος τὸτε πάντων καταβεβληκότων ἐαυτούς εἰς ἀπέραντα πένθη καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπρίκτος, οὕτως ἐφοίτα διὰ τῆς πόλεως πράφω βαδίσματι καὶ προσωπίκαὶ καθεστώτι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ προσαγορεύσει, κοπετοὺς τε γυναικείους ἀφαιρῶν καὶ συστά
σεις εἰργαν τῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπὶ κοινοῖς ὀδυρμοῖς ἐκφερομένων, βουλήν τε συνελθεῖν ἔπεισε καὶ παρεθάρησε τὰς ἀρχὰς, αὐτὸς ὃν καὶ ῥώμη καὶ δύναμις ἀρχῆς ἀπάσῃς πρὸς ἑκείνου ἀποβλε
ποῦσης.

XVIII. Ταῦς μὲν οὖν πῦλαις ἐπέστησε τοὺς τῶν ἐκπίπτοντα καὶ προλείποντα τὴν πόλιν ὁχλον ἀπείρωντας, πένθους δὲ καὶ τόπον καὶ χρῶν ὀρίσε, καὶ οἵκιαν ἀποθρηνεῖν κελεύσας ἐφ' ἡμέρᾳς τριάκοντα τῶν βουλόμενων· μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἐδει πάν πένθος λύεσθαι καὶ καθαρεύειν τῶν
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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 troublous 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 Ἐστιάδων παρθένων δῦο διεθαρμέναι εὐρόντες, τὴν μὲν, ὅσπερ ἐστὶν ἔθος, ζώσαυ κατώρυξαν, ἢ δ' ὑφ' έαυτῆς ἀπέθανε.

4 Μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις ἀγάσαιτο τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν πραότητα τῆς πόλεως, ὅτε τοῦ ὑπάτου Βάρρωνος ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἔπαινοντος, ὡς ἄν τις αὐχείπτα καὶ δυσποτμότατα πεπραχῶς ἔπαινοι, ταπεινοὶ καὶ κατηφοὺς, ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ περὶ τᾶς πῦλας ἢ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπαν ἀσπαζόμενοι. οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει καὶ πρῶτοι τῆς γερουσίας, ὅν καὶ Φάβιος ᾧν, ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἐπήνευσαν, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέγνω μετὰ δυστυχείαν τηλικαύτην, ἀλλὰ πάρεστιν ἄρξων ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ χρησάμενος τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὡς σώζεσθαι δυναμένοις.

XIX. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐπύθοντο μετὰ τῆς μάχης ἀποτετράψατο πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, ἀναθαρήσαντες εξεχεμποῦς ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατεύματα, τούτων δ' ἐπιφανέστατοι Φάβιος τε Μάξιμος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος ἦσαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας σχέδου προαιρέσεως θαυμαζόμενοι παραπλησίως.

2 ὁ μὲν γὰρ, ὅσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένοις εὑρῆται, περιλαμβάνει τὸ δραστήριον ἔχων καὶ γαῦρον, ἢτε δὴ καὶ κατὰ χειρὰ πλήκτης ἀνήρ καὶ φύσει τοιούτω ὡν ὅιος Ὁμηρὸς μάλιστα καλεῖ “φιλοπτολέμοις” καὶ “ἀγερώχους,” ἐν τῷ παραβολῷ καὶ ἱταμφῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὰ τολμηρὸν τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀντιτολμώντι πρότῳ πολεμοῦ συνίστατο

3 τοὺς πρῶτους ἀγώνας. Φάβιος δὲ τῶν πρῶτων ἐχόμενος λογισμῷ ἐκείνων ἥλπιξε 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, 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, 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

1 Cf. Numa, x. 4 ff. 2 Chapter i.
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ρεάσειν ἐμυτῆ καὶ κατατριβησθεῖσθαι περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὡσπερ ἄθλητικον σῶματος τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπερτόνου γενομένης καὶ καταπόνου, ταχύτατα τῆν ἀκμήν ἀποβαλόντα. διὸ τούτων μὲν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος φησὶ θυρεόν, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ἐφος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλείσθαι, κυριαμένην δὲ τὴν Φάβιον βεβαιότητα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Μαρκέλλῳ συνηθείᾳ1 σωτηρίου γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. ὁ δ' Ἀννίβας τῷ μὲν ὡς ἰέντι σφόδρα ποταμῷ πολλάκις ἀπαντῶν ἐσείτο καὶ παρερρήγυντο τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς οὖν δὲ καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέοντος ἀψοφητί καὶ παρεμπιπτοντος ἐνδελεχῶς ὑπερεπόμενος καὶ δαπανώμενος ἐλάβανε καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς ὑπορίαν κατέστη τοσαύτην ὡστε Μαρκέλλῳ μὲν ἀποκαμεῖν μαχόμενον, Φάβιον δὲ φοβείσθαι μὴ μαχόμενον.

5 Τὸ γὰρ πλείστον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τοῦ χρόνου τούτως διεπολέμησεν ἡ στρατηγὸς ἡ ἀνθυπάτωσι ἡ ὑπάτως ἀποδεεχείμενοις· ἐκάτερος γὰρ αὐτῶν πεντάκις ὑπάτευσεν. ἀλλὰ Μάρκελλον μὲν ὑπατεύοντα τὸ πέμπτον ἐνέδρα περιβαλών ἐκτεινε, Φάβιον δὲ πᾶσαν ἀπάτην καὶ διώπειραν ἐφάγων πολλάκις οὐδὲν ἐπέραινε, πλὴν ἀπαξ ὀλίγον παρακρουσάμενος ἐσφῆλε τὸν ἄνδρα. συνθέεις γὰρ ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Μεταποπτῷ δυνατῶν καὶ πρώτων ἐπεμψὲ πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον, ὡς τῆς πόλεως ἐνδοθερμομένης εἰ παραγένοιτο, καὶ τῶν τούτων πραττότων ἐκείνον ἐλθεῖν καὶ φαυνῆαι πλησίον

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

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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.
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άναμενόντων. ταύτ' ἐκίνησε τῶν Φάβιον τὰ γράμματα, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τὶς στρατιάς ἐμπλεκὼν ὀρμήσειν διὰ νυκτὸς· εἶτα χρησάμενος ἀρνίσειν σῶκ αἰσθός ἀπετράπη, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπ’ Ἀμνιβοῦ δόλω συντεθέντα κάκεινος ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν ἀν τις εὐνοία θεῶν ἀναθείη.

XX. Ταῦτα δ’ ἀποστάσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῶν συμμάχων ὁ Φάβιος μᾶλλον φέτος δειν ἦπιως ὁμολογεῖται καὶ πράξεις ἀνείρχειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν, μὴ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἐλέγχοντα καὶ χαλεπῶν ὄντα παντάπασι τοῖς ὑπόπτοις. λέγεται γὰρ ὃτι στρατιώτην ἄνδρα Μάρσον, ἀνδρεία καὶ γένει τῶν συμμάχων πρῶτον, αἰσθόμενος διείλευ-μένου τισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περί ἀποστά-

2 σεως οὖ διηρέθισεν, ἀλλ’ ὁμολογήσας ἢμελήσθαι παρ’ ἀξίαν αὐτὸν, νῦν μὲν ἐφ’ οὖς ἡγεμόνας αἰτιάσθαι πρὸς χάριν μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὰς τιμὰς νέμοντας, ἦστερον δ’ ἐκεῖνον αἰτιάσσεθαί μὴ φράζοντα μὴδ’ ένυγχάνοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν, ε’ τοῦ δέοιτο. καὶ ταύτ’ εἶπὼν ὑπ’ τοὺς πολεμιστὶς ἐξορήσατο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀριστείους ἐκόσμησεν, ὡστε πιστότατον εξ’ ἐκείνου καὶ προθυμότατον

3 εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. δεινὸν γὰρ ἦγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν ἰππικοὺς καὶ κυνηγετικοὺς ἐπιμελεία καὶ συνθέσεια καὶ τροφὴ μᾶλλον ἡ μᾶστιξ καὶ κλοιοῖς τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν ἄξιων καὶ τὸ θυμοῦμενον καὶ τὸ δυσκολάινον ἔξαιρειν, τὸν δ’ ἀνθρώπων ἀρχοντα μὴ τὸ πλείστον ἐν χάριτι καὶ πράσινα τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως πίθεσθαι, σκληρότερον δὲ προσ-

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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 discountenanced rather 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
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φέρεσθαι καὶ βιαίοτερον ἥπερ οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἐρινεοῖς καὶ ἀχράσι καὶ κοτίνοις προσφέρονται, 
τὰ μὲν εἰς ἐλαίας, τὰ δ' εἰς ἄπλως, τὰ δ' εἰς συκᾶς ἐξημεροῦντες καὶ τιθασεύοντες.

4 Ἐτερον τούννυ τῷ γένει Δευκανὸν ἄνδρα προσήγγειλαν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἰρεμβόμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ 
στρατουπέδου καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείποντα πολλάκις. 
ὁ δ' ἡρωτήσε, τάλλα πολὺ τινα τὸν ἀνθρωπον 
eidein ounta. 

μαρτυροῦντων δὲ πάντων ὅτι 


ραδίως ἔτερος οὐκ εἰ ἡ στρατιώτης τοιοῦτος, 
żąra τ' αὐτοῦ τινας ἀνδραγαθίας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ 

πράξεις λεγόντων, αἰτίαν τῆς ἀταξίας ξητῶν 

εὑρεν ἔρωτι παιδίσκης κατεχόμενον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ 
kainuνεύοντα μακρᾶς ὁδοὺς ἐκάστοτε φοιτῶντα

5 πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατουπέδου. πέμψας οὖν 
tinαs ἀγνοούντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαβῶν ὅ' γύναιον 

ἐκρυψέν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δευκανὸν 

idia πρὸς αὐτόν, "Οὐ λέληθας," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὰ 

Ῥωμαίων πάτρια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀπονυκτερεύων 
toO στρατουπέδου πολλάκις. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρηστὸς 

ὁ πρότερον ἐλελήθεις. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα 

soi λελύσθω τοῖς ἡνδραγαθημένοις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν 

6 ἔφ' ἐτέρῳ ποιήσωμαι τὴν φρουρᾶν." θαυμάζοντος 
dὲ τοῦ στρατιώτου προαγαγὼν τὴν ἀνθρωπον 

eνεχείρισεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν "Αὕτη μὲν ἐγγυναται σε μενειν ἐν τῷ στρατουπέδῳ μεθ' ἡμῶν 

σὺ δ' ἐργον δεῖξεις, εἰ μὴ δ' ἀλλὴν τινὰ 

μοχθηρίαν ἀπέλειπτες, ὁ δ' ἔρως καὶ αὕτη πρό 

φασίς ἢν λεγομένη." ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τούτων 


XXI. Τὴν δὲ Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἐσχεν ἐαλω-
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 τοῦτον. ἔστρατεύετο παρ’ αὐτῷ νεανίας Ταραντίνος ἔχων ἀδελφήν πιστῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοστόργως διακειμένην πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦρα δὲ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Βρέττιος τῶν τεταγμένων ὑπ’ Ἀννίβου τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας. τούτῳ πράξεως ἐλπίδα τῷ Ταραντίνῳ παρέσχε, καὶ τοῦ Φάβιον συνειδότος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφείδη, λόγῳ δ’ ἀποδεδράκει πρὸς τὴν ιδελφήν εἰς Τάραντα. αἴ μὲν οὖν πρῶται τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦσαν, καὶ καθ’ ἔαυτον ὁ Βρέττιος ἀνεπαύετο, λαυδάνειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἰομένης ἐκείνης. ἔπειτα λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅ νεανίας: “Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖ λόγος ἐφοίτα πολὺς ἄνδρι σε τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ μεγάλων συνεῖναι. τὸς οὗτός ἐστιν; εἰ γὰρ εὐδόκιμος τις, ὡς φασίν, ἀρετὴ καὶ λαμπρός, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζει γένους ὁ πάντα συμμμυγνὸς πόλεμος: αἰσχρῶν δὲ μετ’ ἄνωγκης οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ εὐτυχίᾳ τις ἐν καιρῷ τὸ δίκαιον ἀσθενεῖς ἔχοντι προστάτῳ χρῆσασθαι τῷ βιαξο-μένῳ.” ἐκ τούτου μεταπέμπεται μὲν ἡ γυνὴ τὸν Βρέττιον καὶ γυνωρίζει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ· ταχὺ δὲ συμπράττων τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκείνος καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον εὖνου καὶ χειροθεὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ παρέχειν δοκῶν τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἔσχε πιστῶς, ὡστε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἐρώτος ἀνθρώπου μισθοφόρου μεταστήσαι διάνοιαν ἐπ’ ἐλπίσι δωρεῶν μεγάλων, ὅς ἐπηγγέλλετο παρέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν Φάβιον.
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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.
Ταύτα μὲν οὖν οἱ πλεῖστοι γράφοντι περὶ τούτων· ἐνιοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπον ῥήσεως οὐκ ὡς ὁ Βρέττιος μετήχθη, φασίν οὐ Ταραντίνην, ἀλλὰ Βρέττιαν τὸ γένος οὖν, τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ παλλακενομένην, ὡς ἤσθετο πολύτιμην καὶ γνώριμον οὖν τὸν τῶν Βρέττιων ἄρχοντα, τῷ τε Φαβίῳ φράσαι καὶ συνελθοῦσαν εἰς λόγους ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος ἐκπείσαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπον.

XXII. Πραππομένου δὲ τούτων, οἱ Φάβιος περιστάσας τὸν Ἀννίβαν τεχνώτατον ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐν Ρηγίῳ στρατιώτασι τὴν Βρέττιαν καταδραμεῖν καὶ Καυλωνίαν ἐξελεῖν κατὰ κράτος στρατοπεδεύσαντας, ὡς κατακυσχίλους ὅντας, αὐτομόλους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου κεκομισμένων ἀτύμων τοὺς ἀχρηστοτάτους καὶ μετʼ ἐλαχίστης τῇ πόλει λύπης καὶ βλάβης ἀπολογομένους. ἦλπιζε γὰρ τούτους προεμένους τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ δελεάσας ἀπάξειν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τάραντος· ὁ καὶ συνέβαινεν. ἐνθὸς γὰρ ἐκεῖ διόνυσου ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐρρύη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἡμέρα δὲ ἐκτῇ τοὺς Ταραντίνους τοῦ Φαβίου περιστρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ προδιελεγμένος τῷ Βρέττιῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄδελφης νεανίσκους ἤκεν νῦκτώρ πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθωρικῶς τὸν τόπον ἐφʼ ὑμῖν παραφυλάττων ὁ Βρέττιος ἐμελλεῖν ἐνδώσειν καὶ παρὴσεῖν τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς γε τῆς προδοσίας ἐξήρτησεν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκεῖσε παρελθὼν ἥσυχιαν ἤγειν, ἢ δὲ ἀλλῆς στρατιᾶς προσβάλλετο τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκ τῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀμα, ποιοῦσα πολλὴν κραυγήν.
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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.
καὶ θόρυβοιν, ἄχρι οὗ τῶν πλείστων Ταραντίνων ἐκεῖ βοηθοῦντων καὶ συμφερομένων τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἐσήμηνε τῷ Φαβίῳ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ Βρέττιος, καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβὰς ἐκράτησε τῆς πολεώς.

4 Ἑνταῦθα μέντοι δοκεῖ φιλοτιμίας ἦττων γενέσθαι τοὺς γὰρ Βρεττίους πρώτους ἀποσφάττειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ προδοσία τὴν πόλιν ἔχων φανερὸς γένοιτο. καὶ ταύτης τε διήμαρτε τῆς δόξης καὶ διαβολῆν ἀπεισίας προσέλαβε καὶ ὁμοτητος. ἀπέθανον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων οἱ δὲ πραθέντες ἐγένοντο τρισμύριοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὴ στρατία διήρπασεν ἀνηνέχθη δὲ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τρισχίλια τάλαντα. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων λέγεται τὸν γραμματέα πυθέσθαι τοῦ Φαβίου περὶ τῶν θεῶν τί κελεύει, τὰς γραφὰς οὕτω προσαγορεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας· τὸν οὖν Φάβιον εἶπεὶν "Ἀπολείπωμεν τοὺς θεοὺς Ταραντίνους κεχολωμένους." οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τὸν κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους μετακομίσας ἢκ Τάραντος ἐστησεν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ πλησίον ἐφιππὸν εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἑαυτοῦ, πολὺ Μαρκέλλου φανεῖς ἀποτωπέρος περὶ ταύτα, μάλλον δὲ ὅλως ἐκείνων ἀνδρα πραότητι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ θαυμαστοῦν ἀποδείξας, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνων γέγραπται.

XXIII. Ἀννίβαν δὲ λέγεται διώκοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνοις ἀπολειφθῆναι σταδίους, καὶ
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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 præda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus, xxvii. 16. Fabius killed the people but spared their gods; Marcellus spared the people but took their gods.
φανερῶς μὲν εἴπειν. οὐ ἢ ἁρα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Ἀννίβας τις ἔτερος ἀπεβάλομεν γὰρ τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ὡσπερ ἐλάβομεν, ὡδιὰ δὲ τότε πρῶτον αὐτῶ παραστηνῄναί πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν, ὡς πάλαι μὲν ἐώρα χαλεπον αὐτῶς, νῦν δ' ἀδύνατον

2 κρατεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων Ἑλλάδας, τοῦτον δὲ όπερ θράμβου ἐβριάμβευσε λαμπρότερον τοῦ προτέρου Φάβιος, ὡσπερ ἁθλητὴς ἄγαθος ἐπαγωγιζομενος τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ ῥάδιος ἀπολυμενος αὐτῶ τὰς πράξεις, ὡσπερ ἀμματα καὶ λαβᾶς οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτῶν ἔχουσας τόμον. ὅ μὲν γὰρ ἀνείτο τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶ διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ πλούτον, ὡ δ' ὁσπερ ἐξήμβλυντο καὶ κατατριπτο τοῖς ἀλωφῆτοις ἄγωσιν.

3 Ὅν δ' Ἐσράηλ Ἀβίας, οὗ τῶν Τάραντα φρονροῦντος ὁ Ἀννίβας ἀπεστησεν ὅμως δ' τὴν ἄκραν κατέχας οὐκ ἐξεκρούσθη, καὶ διεφύλαξεν άχρι τοῦ πάλιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι τοὺς Ταραντίνους. τοῦτον ἤνια Φάβιος τιμῶμενος, καὶ ποτε πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὸ θόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐξενεχθεῖς εἰπεν ὅς οὗ Φάβιος, ἀλλ' αὐτῶ αἴτιος γένοιτο τῷ τὴν Ταραντίνων ἄλωναι. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Φάβιος, Ἀληθὴ λέγεις, εἰπεν, ἐὰν μὴ γὰρ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ παρέλαβον.

XXIV. Οἱ δ' Ῥωμαίοι τα τ' ἄλλα τῷ Φαβίῳ προσέφεροντο λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸν νιῶν αὐτῶν Φάβιου ἀνέδειξαν ὑπατον. παραλαβόντος δ' τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διοικοῦντος τῷ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὁ πατὴρ, εἰτε διὰ γῆς καὶ ἀσθένειαν

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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 hogs and grigs no longer had their old time vigour. For his forces were partly enervated by luxury and wealth, 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. 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.
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eîte διαπειρώμενος τοῦ παιδός, ἀναβας ἐφ’ ἱππον προσήει διὰ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων καὶ περιεστώτων. ὦ δὲ νεανίας κατιδών πόρρωθεν οὐκ ἦνέχεο, πέμψας δ’ ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευσε καταβῆναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ προσελθεῖν, εἰ δὴ τι τυγχά

νει τῆς ἀρχῆς δεόμενος. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἦνιασε τὸ ἐπίταγμα, καὶ σιωπὴ πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον ὥς ἀνάξια πάσχοντα τῆς δόξης ἀπέβλεψαν αὐτὸς δ’ ἐκεῖνος ἀποτηθήσας κατὰ τάχος, θάττων ἡ βάδην πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν ἑπειχθεῖς, καὶ περιβαλὼν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, “Ἐν γε,” εἶπεν, “ὁ παῖ, φρονεῖς καὶ πράττεις, αἰσθόμενος τίνων ἀρχεῖς καὶ πηλίκης μέγεθος ἀνείληφας ἀρχῆς. οὐτώ καὶ ἢμεῖς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι τὴν Ῥώμην πυξῆσαμεν, ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ γονεῖς καὶ παῖδας ἀεὶ τῶν τῆς πατρίνως καλῶν τιθέμενοι.”

3. Δέγεται δ’ ὦς ἄληθῶς τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν πρόπαππον ἐν δόξῃ καὶ συνάμει μεγίστῃ Ῥωμαίων γενόμενον πεντάκις μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπατεύει καὶ θριάμβους ἐκ πολέμων μεγίστων ἐπιφανεστάτων καταγαγεῖν, ὑπατεύοντι δ’ νῦν προσβευτὸν συνεξελθείν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ τῷ θριάμβῳ τὸν μὲν εἰσελαύνειν ἐπὶ τεθρίππῳ, τὸν δ’ ἱππον ἔχοντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀγαλλόμενον ὅτι τοῦ μὲν νῦν κύριος, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν μέγιστος καὶ οὐ καὶ προσαγορεύμενος, ὕστερον αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος τίθησιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτων μόνον θαυμαστὸς ἦν.

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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, satín acires consulem te esse." Livy, xxiv. 44 ² 292 B.C.
Τοῦ δὲ Φάβιον τὸν νῦν ἀποθανεῖν συνέβη· καὶ τὴν μὲν συμφοράν ὡς ἀνήρ τε φρόνιμος καὶ πατήρ χρηστὸς ἤγεγκε μετριῶτατα, τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον, ὅ ταῖς ἐκκομιδαῖς τῶν ἐπτειφάνων οἱ προσήκοντες ἐπιτελοῦσιν, αὐτὸς εἰπε καταστάς ἐν ἁγορᾷ, καὶ γράψας τὸν λόγον ἐξέδωκεν.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Σκηπτίων Κορυήλιος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν πεμφθεὶς Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐξῆλασε μᾶχαις πολλαῖς κρατήσας, ἐθνὶ δὲ πάμπολλα καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ πράγματα λαμπρὰ Ρωμαίοις κτησάμενος εὔνοιαν εἰχε καὶ δοξαν ἐπανελθὼν ὅσην ἄλλοις οὐδείς, ὕπατος δὲ κατασταθεὶς καὶ τὸν δήμον αἰσθόμενος μεγάλην ἀπαιτοῦντα καὶ προσ-

1 δεχόμενον πράξειν αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν αὐτόθι συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἀρχαῖον ἤγειτο λίαν καὶ πρεσβυτικον, αὐτὴν δὲ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Διβύνην εὐθὺς ἐμπλήσας ὁπλῶν καὶ στρατευμάτων διενοεῖτο πορθεῖν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκεῖ μεθιστάναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο παντὶ τῷ θυμῷ συνεξώρμα τὸν δήμον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Φάβιος ἐπὶ πᾶν δέος ἄγων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ὑπ’ ἄνδρὸς ἀνοήτου καὶ νέου φερομένην εἰς τὸν ἐσχατὸν καὶ μέγιστον κίνδυνον, ὁμοιότατον τους πολίτας τῆς μὲν βουλήν ἐπεισε, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ διὰ φθόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ Σκηπτίωνος εὐημεροῦντος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι, μὴ τι μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξεργασαμένου καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ παντάπασιν ἀνελόντος ἡ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβάλλοντος

1 αὐτοῦ Bekker corrects to παρ’ αὐτοῦ.
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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 ἄργος φανῇ καὶ μαλακὸς ἐν τοσοῦτῳ χρόνῳ μὴ διαπεπολεμήκως.

4 Ἐσικε δ’ ὀρμήσαι μὲν ἐξ ἄρχης ὁ Φάβιος πρὸς τὸ ἀντιλέγειν ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ προ-

νοίας, μέγαν ὄντα δεδώς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐντείνα δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον ἔαντόν καὶ πορρωτέρω προαχθῆναι

φιλοτιμία τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ, κωλύων τοῦ Σκη-

πίωνος τὴν αὐξήσιν, ὃς γε καὶ Κράσσου ἐπείθε, τὸν συνυπατεύοντα τῷ Σκηπίων, μὴ παρεῖναι τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδ’ ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ, εἰ

δοξεῖν, ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους περαιούσθαι, καὶ χρή-

5 ματα δοθήναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ εἴησε. ἤρη-

ματα μὲν ὁν Σκηπίων ἐαυτῷ πορίζειν ἀναγκα-

ζόμενος ἥγειρε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων ἱδία

πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκεῖος διακειμένων καὶ χαριζομένων.

Κράσσου δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡ φύσις οὐκ ὄντα φιλόνεικον,

ἀλλὰ πρᾶσον, οίκοι κατείχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ νόμοις θείοις

ἰερωσύνην ἔχοντα τὴν μεγίστην.

XXVI. Αὐθίς οὖν καθ’ ἠτέραν ὁ ὁν Φάβιος τῷ Σκη-

πίωνι κατεκώλυε τοὺς ὀρμομένους αὐτῷ συστρατεύεσθαι τῶν νέων καὶ κατείχεν, ἐν τῇ ταῖς

βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις βοῶν ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἀννίβαν ἀποδιδράσχει μόνος ὁ Σκη-

πίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐκπλεούν λαβὼν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δημαργῶν ἐπιτίθεν τοῖς

νέοις καὶ ἑπατείθων ἀπολιπεῖν γονίας καὶ γυναι-

κας καὶ πόλει, ἡς ἐν θύραις ἐπικρατῶν καὶ ἀἵτ-

τητος ὁ πολέμιος κάθηται. καὶ μέντοι ταῦτα

2 λέγων ἐφόβησε τοὺς Ρωμαίους, καὶ μόνοις αὐτῶν

ἐπηφίσαντο χρήσθαι τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατεύμασι

1 μὴ supplied by Sintenis and Bekker.
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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 Ἰβηρία γεγονότων μετ’ αὐτοῦ τριακοσίων ἄγεων, ὡς ἔχρητο πιστοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ὦ Φάβιος.

'Επεὶ δὲ Σκητίωνος εἰς Διβύην διαβάντος εὐθὺς ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ πράξεις ὑπερήφανοι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπηγγέλλοντο, καὶ μαρτυροῦντα ταῖς φήμαις εἶπετο λάφυρα πολλά,

καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Νομάδων αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ δύο στρατοπέδων ὕψ’ ἔνα καὶ ἐν ἐμπρήσεις καὶ φθορά πολλῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶν δ’ ὀπλῶν καὶ ἱππῶν εν αὐτοῖς συγκατακεκαμένων, καὶ προσβείοις τρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπέμποντο παρὰ Καρχηδονίων καλούστων καὶ δειμένων ἐόντα ταῖς

ἀτελεῖς ἐκείναις ἐλπίδας οὐκαδε βοηθεῖν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμη πῶς τῶν ἐχόντων τῶν Σκητίωνα διὰ στοµατος ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, Φάβιος ἦξιον πέμπεσθαι Σκητίωνι διάδοχον, ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐκ ἐχῶν πρόφασιν, ἐπὼν δὲ τὸ μνημονεύμενον, ἡς ἐπισφάλεις ἐστὶ πιστεύειν ἀνδρός ἐνὸς ὑπὸ τὴν τῆλικαῦτα πράγματα, χαλεπὸν γὰρ ἀεὶ εὐτυχεῖν τὸν αὐτόν, οὕτω προσέκρουσεν ἡ ἐν πολλίσ, ὡς δύσκολος ἀνήρ καὶ βάσκανος ἡ πάμπαν ὑπὸ γήρως ἄτολμος γεγονὸς καὶ δύσελπις, περαιτέρω τοῦ

μετρίου καταθεσμημένος τὸν Ἀννίβαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκπλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων εἴς Ἰταλίας εἶσαυσ τὸ χαῖρων καὶ τεθαρρηκός τῶν πολιτῶν ἀθόρυβον καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ τότε δὴ μάλιστα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει θεούσῃ παρὰ τὸν ἐσχατὸν κίνδυνον ἐπισφάλως ἔχειν ἔλεγε.
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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\(^1\) 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;\(^2\) 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 inmoderately in awe of Hannibal. For not even after Hannibal and his army had sailed away from Italy\(^3\) 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.
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βαρύτερον γὰρ ἐν Διβύῃ πρὸ Καρχηδόνος αὐτοῦς Ἄννιβαν ἐμπεσεἰσθαι, καὶ στρατὸν ἀπαντήσειν Σκηπτίων πολλῶν ἐτὶ θερμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων αἰματὶ καὶ δικτατορῶν καὶ ὑπάτων· ὥστε τὴν πόλιν αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τοῦτων ἀναταραττεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μεθεστῶτος εἰς Διβύῃν ἐγγυτέρω τῆς Ρώμης οἴεσθαι γεγονόναι τῶν φόβου.

XXVII. Ἀλλὰ Σκηπτίων μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον αὐτῶν τε νικήσας μάχῃ κατὰ κράτος Ἄννιβαν καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ καταπτήσας τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὑποπεσοῦσης, ἀπέδωκε μείζονα χαράν ἀπάσης ἐπίδοσ τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὡς ἀληθῶς "πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθέεσαν ὀρθωσε πάλιν" 1 Φάβιος δὲ Μάξιμος οὐ διήρκεσε τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, οὐδὲ ἦκουσεν Ἄννιβαν ἠττημένου, οὐδὲ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ βέβαιον εὐτυχίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπείδειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὑπὸ χρόνον Ἄννιβας ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἰταλίας 2 νόσῳ καμάρων ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μὲν οὖν Θηβαιοὶ δημοσία διὰ πενίαι, ἢν ἀπέλιπεν ὁ ἀνήρ, ἔθαψαν οὐδὲν γὰρ οἴκου τελευτήσαντος εὑρεθήσαν πλὴν ὀβελίσκον σιδηρὸν λέγοντο: "Φάβιον δὲ Ῥωμαιοὶ δημοσία μὲν οὖκ ἐκήδευσαν, ἴδια δὲ ἐκάστω τὸ σμικρότατον αὐτῶ τῶν νομοσκότων ἐπενεγκόντως, οὐχ ὡς δι’ ἐνδεικνύουσαν προσαρκούντων, ἀλλ’ ὡς πατέρα τοῦ δῆμου θάπτοντος, ἐσχε τιμῆν καὶ δόξαν οἱ θάνατος αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ πρέπουσαν.

1 πολλῷ...πάλιν with Bekker, as adapted from (theol) πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθέεσαν ὀρθωσεν πάλιν, Sophocles, Antigone, 163. Sintenis corrected ὀρθωσε to ὀρθωσεν, after Coraës, and printed the whole as an iambic trimeter verse.
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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.

\(^1\) 203 B.C. Cf. Livy, xxx. 26.
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΒΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

1. Οί μὲν οὖν βίοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιαύτης ἔχουσιν ἱστορίαν. ἔτει δὲ καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ παραδείγματα καταλελοίπασιν ἀμφότεροι, φέρε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκείνο πρῶτον λάβωμεν, ὡς Περικλῆς μὲν ἄριστα πράττοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ καθ᾽ αὐτὸν ὄντι καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς δύναμιν ἀκμαίζοντι χρώμενος ὑπὸ κοινῆς ἀν ὀδευεῖν εὑρυχίας καὶ ρώμης πραγμάτων ἁσφαλῆς διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἀπταίστως, αἳ δὲ Φαβίου πρᾶξεις ἐν αἰσχροῖς καὶ δυσποτομοτάτοις καιροῖς ἀναδεξαμένου τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς ἁσφαλῆ διετήρησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ κακῶν εἰς βελτίων μετέστησαν. καὶ Περικλεῖς μὲν αἳ Κίμωνος εὐπραξίας καὶ τὰ Μυρωνίδου καὶ τὰ Δεωκράτους τρόπαια καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα Τολμίδης κατορθῶν ἐνερτάσας μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμπανηγυρίσας στρατηγοῦντι τὴν πόλιν ἡ κτῆσας·

2 σοθαί πολέμῳ καὶ φυλάξας παρέδωκαν. Φάβιος δὲ ὄρισεν πολλὰς μὲν φυγὰς καὶ ἦττας, πολλοὺς δὲ θανάτους καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτοκράτορων καὶ στρατηγῶν, λίμνας δὲ καὶ πεδία καὶ δρυμοὺς νεκρῶν στρατοπέδων πλῆθοντας, αἵματι δὲ καὶ φόνω ποταμοῦς ἀχιλθθαλάττης ἱέκουτας, ἐν τῷ καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ὀρμωμέ. ὥ 1 καὶ βεβηκότι τὴν πόλιν ἀντιλαμβανόμενος καὶ ὑπερεῖδων, οὐκ εἰσαε τοῖς

3

1 ὀρμωμένῳ. Bekker corrects to ἢρμοσμένῳ (tempered), after Corisias.
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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


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καὶ τοι δόξειν ἂν οὐχ οὕτω χαλεπῶν εἶναι πόλιν ἐν συμφοραῖς μεταχειρίσασθαι ταπεινήν καὶ τοῦ φρονοῦντος ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης κατήκουν γενομένην, ὥσ ἐν χειριάν ἐπηρμένω καὶ σπαργάζω τῷ δήμῳ χαλινῶν ἐμβαλεῖν ὑβρεῖς καὶ θρασύτητος· ὥς ἡ μάλιστα φαίνεται τρόπῳ Περικλῆς Ἀθηναίων περιγεγομένεος, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμπεσόντων τότε κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἵσχυρόν τινα τὴν γνώμην· καὶ μέγαν ἔδειξεν ἄνδρα τὸν μὴ συγχυθέντα μηδὲ προέμενον τοὺς αὐτὸν λογισμοὺς.

Π. Καὶ Σάμῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους ἀλούσῃ τὴν Τάραντος ἔστι κατάληψιν ἀντιδεῖν, καὶ νὴ Δί’ Ἕβοια τὰς περὶ Καμπανίαν πόλεις· ἐπεὶ αὐτὴν ἔτη Καπνίν ὀπὶ περὶ Φούλβιοι καὶ Ἀππίων ὑπατοὶ κατέσχον. ἐκ δὲ παρατάξεως Φάβιος οὗ φαίνεται μάχη νευκηκώς πλῆν ἀφ ἕ τον πρότερον εἰσήλασε θραμβον, Περικλῆς δ’ ἐννέα τρόπαια κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐστησει ἃ ποὺ τῶν πολέμιων. οὐ μὴν λέγεται τοιαύτη πράξεις Περικλέους, οἷαν ἔπραξε Φάβιος Μινώκιον ἐξαρπάζας Ἀννίβου καὶ διασώσας ἐντελεῖς στρατόπεδον Ῥωμαίων· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἑργον καὶ κοινὸν ἀνδρείας ὁμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ χρηστότητος· ὃτι πάλιν οὐδὲ σφάλμα λέγεται Περικλέους οἷον ἐσφαλῆς Φάβιος διὰ τῶν βοῶν καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπ’ Ἀννίβου, λαβὼν μὲν αὐτομάτως καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὑπελθόντα τοῖς στενοῖς τῶν πολέμιων, προεμενος δὲ νυκτὸς λαθόντα καὶ μεθ’ ἵμοραν βιασάμενον καὶ φθάσαντα μέλλοντος καὶ κρατή-

1 τὴν γνώμην Coræs: γνώμην.
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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\(^1\); 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 συλλαβόντος. εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ μόνον χρήσθαι τοῖς παρόνσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς τὸν ἁγαθὸν στρατηγόν, Ἁθηναίοις μὲν ὡς Περικλῆς προέγρω καὶ προείπεν ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πόλεμος· πολυπραγμονοῦντες γὰρ ἀπώλεσαν τὴν δύναμιν. Ῥωμαίοι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Φαβίου λογισμοὺς ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους Σκηπτίωνα πάντων ἐκράτησαν, οὐ τύχη, σοφία δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀνδρεία κατὰ κράτος νικήσαντος τοὺς πολεμίους. ὡστε τῷ μὲν τὰ πταίσματα τῆς πατρίδος μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι καλῶς ἔγνω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἐσφαλμένον. ἦσθα δ’ ἀμαρτία στρατηγοῦ κακῶς περιπεσεῖν μὴ προσδοκήσαντα καὶ κατορθώματος καίρον ἀπιστία προέσθαι. μία γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπειρία καὶ θράσος γεννᾶ καὶ θάρσος ἀφαιρεῖται. ταῦτα περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν.

3. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας μέγα μὲν ἐγκλημα τοῦ Περικλέους ὁ πόλεμος. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπακτὸς ὅπ’ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίδης ἐρίσαντος μὴ ἐνδοῦναι. δοκῶ δὲ μηδ’ ἂν Φάβιον Μάξιμον ἐνδοῦναι τι Καρχηδονίοις, ἀλλ’ εὐγενῶς ὑποστήναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἤγερμονίας κίνδυνον. ἦ μὲντοι πρὸς Μινωίκιον ἐπιείκεια τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ πραότης ἐλέγχει τῶν πρὸς Κίμωνα καὶ Θουκυδίδην στασιασμόν, ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἀριστο-
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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. οθεν οὖδ' ἄλλον
εἶσαιν ἐνυστυχήσαι τῇ πόλει κακῶς βουλευ-
σάμενον στρατηγόν, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος αὐτὸν ἐκφυγὼν
Τολμίδης καὶ διωσάμενος βία προσέπταισε 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
ἀν καὶ ἀναμάρτητος τῷ πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἐτέρους
ἀδυνατόν φαίνεται λειτόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἀν το-
σαύταις συμφοραῖς ἐχρήσαντο 'Ρωμαίοι Φαβίου
παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅσον 'Αθήνησι Περικλέους δυνη-
θέντος.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν γε πρὸς χρήματα μεγαλοφροσύνην
ὁ μὲν τῷ μηδὲν λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν διδόντων, ὁ δὲ
τῷ προέσθαι πολλὰ τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπεδείξατο,
λυσάμενος τοῖς ἴδιοις χρήμασι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.

4 πλὴν τούτων μὲν οὐ πολὺς ἢν ἀριθμός, ἀλλ' ὅσον
ἐξ τάλαντα. Περικλῆς δ' οὐκ ἀν ἰσως εἴποι τις
ὡς καὶ παρὰ συμμάχων καὶ βασιλέων ὁφελει-
σθαι καὶ θεραπεύσθαι παρὸν, τῆς δυνάμεως
διδούσης, ἀδωρότατον ἐαυτὸν καὶ καθαρώτατον
ἐ菲尔αξεν.

5 Ἑργὼν γε μὴν μεγέθεσι καὶ ναδῶ καὶ κατα-
σκευαῖς οἰκοδομημάτων, εξ ὧν ἐκόσμησεν ὁ
Περικλῆς τὰς 'Αθήνας, οὐκ ἄξιον ὥμοι πάντα τὰ
πρὸ τῶν Καισάρων φιλοτιμήματα τῆς 'Ρώμης
παραβάλειν, ἀλλ' ἐξοχὸν τι πρὸς ἐκείνα καὶ
ἀσύγκριτον ἢ τούτων ἐσχε μεγαλουργία καὶ
μεγαλοπρέπεια τὸ πρωτεῖον.

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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

I. Ἔπει δοκούμεν οὐκ ἀτόπως τῷ Νικίᾳ τῶν Κράσσου παραβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ Παρθικὰ παθήματα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς, ὥρα παρατεῖσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς συγγράμμασι τούτους, ὅπως ἐπὶ ταῖς διηγήσεσιν αἰς Θουκυδίδης, αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ ταῦτα παθητικῶτατος, ἐναργεστάτος, ποικιλῶτατος γενόμενος, ἀμιμήτως ἐξενήσυχε, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπολάβωσιν 2 πεπονθέναι Τιμαίῳ πάθος ὁμοίον, ὅς ἐλπίζασα τοῦ μὲν Θουκυδίδην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι δεινότητι, τὸν δὲ Φίλιστον ἀποδείξειν παντάπασι φορτικὸν καὶ ἰδιώτην, διὰ μέσων ὅθεν ἡ ἱστορία τῶν μάλιστα κατωρθωμένων ἑκείνους ἀγώνων καὶ ναυμαχιῶν καὶ δημηγορίῶν, οὐ μᾶ Δία

παρὰ Δύδιοιν ἀρμα πεζὸς οἰχυεύων

ὅς φησι Πίνδαρος, ἀλλ’ ὅλως τῆς ὀψιμαθῆς καὶ μειρακιώδης φαινόμενος ἐν τούτοις, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δίφιλον

παχὺς, ὠνθυλευμένος στέατι Σικελικῷ,

3 πολλαχοῦ δ’ ὑπορρέων εἰς τὸν Ἑναρξοῦν, ὥσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἰωνὸν ἡγήσασθαι γεγονέναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔχουτα τοῦνομα

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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

\(^1\) One of the Fragmenta Incerta (Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, i\(^4\). p. 450).  
στρατηγὸν ἀντειπόντα πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ τῇ περικοπῇ τῶν Ἐρμών προσημαίνειν αὐτοῖς τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὥς ὑπὸ Ἐρμοκράτους τοῦ Ἐρμώνος πλείστα πείσονται παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον· ἐτὶ δ' εἰκῶς εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις βοηθεῖν διὰ τὴν Κόρην, παρ' ἥς ἐλαβε τὸν Κέρθερον, ὀργίζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς Αθηναίοις, ὅτι τοὺς Αἰγιστέας, ἀπογόνους οὗτος Τρώων, ἔσωξον, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὸ Δασμέδοντος ἀδικηθεὶς ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἵσως ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας ταῦτά τε γράφειν ἐπ’ ἕξιν καὶ τὴν Φιλίστου διάλεκτον εὐθύνειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην λοιδορεῖσθαι· ἐμοί δ' ὅλως μὲν ἡ περὶ λέξιν ἀμιλλα καὶ ξηλοτυπία πρὸς ἐτέρους μικροπρεπεῖς φαινεται καὶ σοφιστικός, ἀν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀμίμητα γίγνεται, καὶ τελέως ἀναίσθητον. ὅσ' γοῦν Θουκυδίδης ἔξηγεγε πράξεις καὶ Φιλιστος, ἐπεὶ παρελθεῖν ὑπὸ ἐστι, μάλιστα γε δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν καλυπτομένην περιέχοισας, ἐπιδραμῶν βραχέως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἢν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελής δοκῶ καὶ ἀργὸς εἶναι, τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὑφ' ἐτέρων 524 δ' εἰρημένα σποράδην ἢ πρὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἥ ψηφίσμασιν εὐρημένα παλαιοῖς πεπειραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἀχρηστον ἀθροίζων ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανόησιν ἔθους καὶ τρόπου παραδίδοις.

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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.
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II. Ἐνεστὶν οὖν περὶ Νικίαν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ὅ γέγραφεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικῆς ἔχοντες εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ Μελησίου καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ "Ἀγνωνος, ὃτιν δὲ σύντος ἐκεῖνον καὶ γὰρ εἰς δυσγένειαν ὡς ξένοις ἐκ Κέω λελοιθόρηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον, ἀλλ' ἐπαμφιτερίζον ἢ τῇ προ-2 αιρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκλήθη Κόθορνος. ἐκεῖνον δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἦν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ Περικλέη δημαγωγοῦντες τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἄγαθῶν προϊστάμενοι ἀντεπολιτεύοντο, νεώτερος δὲ Νικίας γενόμενος ἦν μὲν ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ καὶ Περικλέους ξώντος, ὡστε κάκεινος συστρατηγήσας καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀρξαὶ πολλάκις, Περικλέους δ' ἀποθανόντος εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προήθη, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ γυνώριμων, ἀντίταγμα ποιομένων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Κλέωνος βδελυρίαν καὶ τόλμαν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἴχεν εὖνοιν καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενον.

3 Ἡσυχεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κλέων μέγα "γερονταγωγῶν κάναμοςθαρνεὶν διδοὺς," ὁμος δὲ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἱσιμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος ὁρῶντες αὐτοὶ οἷς πρὸς χάριν ἐπραττεν, οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἐπήγγευσαν. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοτηροῦν

1 τὸ θράσος Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: θράσος.

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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.

οὐδ’ ἐπαχθὲς ἄγαν αὐτοῦ τὸ σεμνόν, ἀλλ’ εἰλαβεία τινὶ μεμιγμένον αὐτῷ τῷ δεδιέναι δοκοῦντι 4 τους πολλοὺς δημαγωγούν. τῇ φύσει γὰρ ἂν ἄθαρσης καὶ δύσελπις, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀπέκρυπτεν εὐτυχία τὴν δείλιν’ κατώρθου γὰρ ὀμαλῶς στρατηγῶν; τὸ δ’ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ψοφοδεῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας εὐθορύβητον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικὸν ἔδοκει, καὶ δύναμιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀπ’ εὐνόιας τοῦ δήμου παρεῖχε τῷ δεδιέναι τοὺς υπεροχῶντας, αὐξεῖν δὲ τοὺς δεδιότας. τοῖς γὰρ πολλοῖς τιμῇ μεγίστῃ παρὰ τῶν μειζόνων τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι.

III. Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τε ἀρετῆς ἀληθείας καὶ λόγου δυνάμεως τὴν πόλιν ἄγων οὐδενὸς ἐδείτο σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οὐδὲ πιθανότητος, Νικίας δὲ τούτῳ μὲν λειπόμενος, οὐσία δὲ προέχων, ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐδημαγώγηκε. καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος εὐχερείᾳ καὶ βωμολοχίᾳ πρὸς ἕδονην μεταχειριζόμενη τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀντιπαρεξιγείν ἀπίθανος ὄν, χορηγίαις ἀνελάμβανε καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις ἑτέραις τε τοιούταις φιλοτιμίαις τῶν δήμου, ὑπερβαλλόμενος πολυτελείᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοὺς πρὸ ἐαυτοῦ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἀπαντάς.

3 εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τὸ τε Παλλάδιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκός, καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν

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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.
υποκείμενος εἰν Διονύσου νεώς· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγήσας, ἐλείφθη δὲ οὐδέποτε. Λέγεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς χορηγίαις παρέλθειν οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ κεκοσμημένος εἰς σχῆμα Διονύσου, κάλλιστος ὁφθήναι καὶ μέγιστος, οὐπώ γενεῖσων ἤσθεντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῇ ὑπεῖ καὶ κροτούντων ἐπὶ πολλῶν χρόνων, ἀναστάς ὁ Νικίας εἴπεν ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον ἡγοῖτο δουλεύειν καταπεφημισμένον θεῷ σῶμα, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀπηλευθέρωσε.

4 Μνημονεύεται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ Δήλου ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ θεοπρεπὴ φιλοτιμήματα. τῶν γὰρ χορῶν, οὐς αἱ πόλεις ἐπεμπότις ἀσομένους τῷ θεῷ, προσπλεόντων μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν, εὐθὺς δ' ὁχλόν πρὸς τὴν ναὸν ἀπαντῶντος ἄδειν κελευομένων καὶ οὐδένα κόσμου, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀσυντάκτως ἀποβαινόντων ἃμα καὶ στεφανομένων καὶ

5 μεταμφιεσμένων, ἐκεῖνος, ὅτε τὴν θεωρίαν ἤγεν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ρήνειαν ἀπέβη τὸν χορὸν ἔχουν καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὴν ἅλλην παρασκευήν, ζεύγμα δὲ πεποιημένον Ἀθήνης πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπῶς χρυσῶσει καὶ βαφαίς καὶ στεφάνοις καὶ αὐλαίαις κομίζων, διὰ νυκτός ἐγεφύρωσε τὸν μεταξὺ Ρήνειας καὶ Δήλου πόρον οὐκ ὄντα μέγαν· εἰθ' ἀμα ἠμέρα τὴν τε πομπὴν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἄγων κεκοσμημένον πολυτελῶς

καὶ ἄδωντα διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἀπεβίβαζε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα καὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις τὸν τε φοίνικα τὸν χαλκοῦν ἔστησεν ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ, καὶ χορίον μυρίων δραχμῶν πριάμενος

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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 knowingly 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, οὗ τὰς προσόδους ἔδει Δηλίων κατα-
θύστας ἐστιάσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ Νικία παρὰ
tῶν θεῶν αἰτομένους· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ στήλῃ
ἐνέγραψεν, ἢν ὀσπέρ φύλακα τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐν Δήλῳ
κατέλυσεν. ὦ δὲ φοινικὸς ἐκείνος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμά-
tων ἀποκλασθεῖς ἐνέπεσε τῷ Ναξίων ἀνδριάντι
τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνέτρεψε.

IV. Τούτως δὲ ὦτὶ μὲν πολὺ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ
φιλοτιμίαν πανηγυρικὸν 1 καὶ ἀγοραίον ἐνεστὶν,
οὕκ ἄδηλου, ἀλλὰ τῷ λοιπῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
καὶ ζητεῖ πιστεύσειν ἵνα τις εὐσεβείας ἐπακολού-
θημα τὴν τοιαύτην χάριν καὶ δημαγωγίαν γενέ-
θαι· τρόδα γὰρ ἢν τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων τὰ
dαιμόνια καὶ "θειασμῷ προσκείμενος," ὡσ φησι
2 Θουκυδίδης. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τῶν Πασιφώτων διάλογοις
γέγραπται ὦτι καθ' ἡμέραν ἔθυν τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ
μάντων ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προσποιεῖτο μὲν ἂεὶ
σκέπτεσθαι περὶ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δὲ πλεῖστα
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀργυρεῖων
μετάλλων· ἐκείνητο γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λαυρεωτικῇ πολι-
λά, μεγάλα μὲν εἰς πρόσοδον οὐκ ἀκινδύνους δὲ
τὰς ἐργασίας ἔχοντα· καὶ πλήθος ἀνδραπόδων
ἐτρήφει αὐτόθι, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τὸ
3 πλεῖστον εἶχεν. οὗτοι οὖν ὀλίγοι περὶ αὐτῶν
ὁσιο αἰτοῦντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες. ἐδίδου γὰρ οὐχ

1 πανηγυρικὸν Madvig’s conjecture : πανηγυρική».
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land which he bought at the price of ten thousand drachmas,¹ 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.² And in one of the dialogues of Pasiphon ³ 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.
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ηττον τοίς κακῶς ποιεῖν δυναμένοις ἢ τοῖς εἰ πάσχειν ἀξίως, καὶ ὅλωσ πρόσοδος ἢν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε πονηροῖς ἢ δειλία καὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἢ φιλανθρωπία.

Δαβεῖν δὲ περὶ τούτων μαρτυρίαν καὶ παρὰ 4 τῶν κωμικῶν ἔστι. Τηλεκλείδης μὲν γὰρ εἰς τινά τῶν συκοφαντῶν ταυτὶ πεποίηκε·

Χαρικλέης μὲν οὖν ἐδωκε μνᾶν, ἵν' αὐτὸν μὴ λέγη

ὡς ἐφι τῇ μητρὶ παιδῶν πρῶτος ἐκ βαλλαντίου·

τέσσαρας δὲ μνᾶς ἐδωκε Νικίας Νικηράτου·

ὁν δ' ἔκατο τούτ' ἐδωκε, καίπερ εὖ εἴδως ἐγὼ

οὐκ ἔρω, φίλος γὰρ ἀνήρ, σωφρονεῖν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ.

5 ὁ δ' ὑπ' Εὐπόλιδος κωμφόρομενος ἐν τῷ Μαρικῇ

παράγων τινὰ τῶν ἄπραγμόνων καὶ πενήτων

λέγει·

A. Πόσου χρόνου γὰρ συγγεγένησαι Νικία;  
B. οὐδ' εἶδον, εἰ μὴ 'ναγχος ἐστῶτ' ἐν ἁγορᾷ.

A. ἀνήρ ὁμολογεῖ Νικίαν ἑορακέναι.

καίτοι τί μαθῶν¹ ἂν εἶδεν, εἰ μὴ προὐδίδου;

¹ μαθῶν MSS. and edd., including Sintenis¹: παθῶν, an anonymous correction.
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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. ἥκουσατ', ὦ ξυνηλικεσ,
ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ Νικίαν εἰλημμένου.
Β. ὑμεῖς γάρ, ὦ φρενοβλαβεῖς,
λάβοιτ’ ἀν ἀνδρ’ ἀριστον ἐν κακῷ τινὶ;
6 ὁ δ’ Ἀριστοφάνους Κλέων ἀπειλῶν λέγει:
Δαρυγμὸ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταράξω.
ὑποδηλοὶ δὲ καὶ Φρύνιχος τὸ ἀθαρσεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ
καταπεπληγμένου ἐν τούτοις:
Ἡν γὰρ πολίτης ἀγαθός, ὡς εὖ οἶδ’ ἐγὼ,
κοὐχ ὑποταγεῖς ἐβάδιξεν, ὥσπερ Νικίας. 526

V. Οὗτω δὴ διακείμενος εὐλαβῶς πρὸς τοὺς
συκοφάντας οὔτε συνεδείπνει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
οὔτε κοινολογίας οὔτε συνδιμηρεύσεσιν ἐνέ-
βαλλει ἑαυτὸν, οὐδ’ ὅλως ἔσχολαξε ταῖς τοιαύ-
ταις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλ’ ἄρχων μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ
καί ἰδιόν μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ
ἄρχει πρῶτος ἀφικνούμενος. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν
κοινῷ πράττειν ἔχοι, δυσπρόσωδος ἦν καὶ δυσέν-
2 τευκτός οἰκουρῶν καὶ κατακεκλεισμένος. οἱ δὲ
φίλοι τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θυραῖς φοινίκωσιν ἐνετύγχανον,
καὶ παρητοῦντο συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ τότε
Νικίου πρὸς δημοσίας χρείας τινᾶς καὶ ἀσχολίας
ὅντος.
Καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγῳδῶν καὶ συμ-
περιτιθεῖς ὅγκον αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν Ἰέρων ἦν, ἀνήρ

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(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 Aristophanes¹ 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.
² From a play of unknown name. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i.
p. 385.
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tetra'ménoς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ Νικίου, περὶ τε γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν ἐξησκημένος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, προσποιούμενος δ’ ὕδ’ εἶναι Διονυσίων τοῦ Χαλκοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, οὗ καὶ θυμάτα σώζεται, καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀποικίας ἡγεμονί
g3 γενόμενος ἔκτισε Θουρίους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ιέρων τ’ ἐπὶ τε πρὸς τοὺς μάντεις ἀπόρρητα διεπράττετο τῷ Νικίᾳ, καὶ λόγους ἔξερεν εἰς τὸν δήμον ὡς ἐπιτύπων τινα καὶ ταλαίπωρον διὰ τὴν πόλιν ξόντος αὐτοῦ βίου. ζ’ γ’ ἔφη καὶ περὶ λουτρων ὀντι καὶ περὶ δειπνον ἀεὶ τι προσπίπτοντι δημόσιον: "ἀμελῶν δὲ τῶν ἱδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ φροντίζει μόλις ἄρχεται καθεύδειν περὶ πρῶτον υπνον. ὃθεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακεῖται κακῶς, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὓς προσέχεις οὐδὲ ἡδὺς ἑστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους προσαποβεβληκε τοὺς χρήμασι πολιτεύμενος. οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι καὶ φίλους κτώμενοι καὶ πλουτίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐπαθοῦσι καὶ προσπαίζουσι τῇ πολιτείᾳ." τῷ δ’ ὀντι τοιούτος ἦν ὁ Νικίου βίος ὡστ’ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰς αὐτὸν.

Προστάτην γε τοῦ βίου
tὸν ὄγκον ἐχομεν, τῷ τ’ ὀχλῷ δουλεύομεν.1

VI. Ὄρων δ’ τῶν ἐν λόγῳ δυνατῶν ἢ τῷ φρονεῖν διαφερόντων ἀποχρώμενον εἰς ἐνα ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις τὸν δήμον, ὑφορόμενον δ’ ἀεὶ καὶ

1 Euripides, Iphigeneia at Aulis, 445 f. (Kirchhoff), where the MSS. have προστάτην γε, τὸν δήμον, τῷ τ’ ὄχλῳ. The MSS. of Plutarch have προστάτην δὲ, τὸν ὄγκον, τῷ δ’ ὄχλῳ.
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

¹ Seven fragments appear in Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii, pp. 262 ff.
² Cf. Pericles, xi. 5.
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φυλαττόμενον τὴν δεινότητα καὶ κολούοντα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ὡς δῆλον ἂν τῇ Περικλέους καταδίκη καὶ τῷ Δάμωνος ἐξοστρακισμῷ καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφώντα τὸν Ῥαμνοῦσιον ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τοῖς περὶ Πάχητα 2 τὸν ἔλοντα Λέσβου, δὴ εὐθύνας δίδονς τῆς στρατηγίας εὐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σπασάμενος ξίφος ἀνείλεν εαυτὸν, τάς μὲν ἐργώδεις πάνυ καὶ μακρὰς ἐπειρᾶτο διακρούεσθαι στρατηγίας, ὅπου δ' αὐτὸς στρατεύοιτο τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐχόμενος καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατορθῶν, ὡς εἰκός, εἰς οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν ἢ δύναμιν ἢ ἀρετὴν ἀνέφερε τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ παρεχώρη τῇ τύχῃ καὶ κατέφευγεν εἰς τὸ θείον, τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης υφίστενος.

3 Ἐπεμαρτύρει δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα· πολλῶν γὰρ τότε προσκρουσμάτων τῇ πόλει καὶ μεγάλων γενομένων, οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἑκεῖνοι μετέσχεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ Θράκην μὲν ἦττήθησαν ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων Καλλιάδου τε καὶ Ξενοφώντος στρατηγοῦντων, τὸ δ' Αἰτωλικὸν πταῖσμα συνέβη Δημοσθένους ἀρχοντος, ὤν δὲ Δηλίῳ χιλίους αὐτῶν ἀπέβαλον Ἰπποκράτους ἤγουμένου, τοῦ δὲ λοιμοῦ τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔλαβε Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὸ ἀστυ κατακλείσας τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας.
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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 Rhamnusan,\(^3\) 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 Calliades\(^5\) and Xenophon that his countrymen met defeat at the hands of the Chalcidians in Thrace; the Aetolian disaster occurred when Demosthenes was in command;\(^6\) Hippocrates was general when a thousand citizens were sacrificed at Delium;\(^7\) 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
\(^3\) He 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).
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δύναμης των τόπων καὶ διαίτης

ἄρχον, ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς τῶν τόπων καὶ διαίτης

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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 Thrace\(^3\) 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 Nisaea\(^5\); 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

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\(^1\) 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 καταλυπεῖν ἄταφους δύο τῶν πολιτῶν.

Πορθῆσας δὲ τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας Λακεδαιμονίων τρεψάμενος, εἴλε Θυρέαν Αἰγινητῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἀπήγαγε ζῶντας εἰς Ἀθήνας.

VII. Ἐπεῖ δὲ Δημοσθένους Πύλον τεῖχισαντος ἐπεστράτευσαν ἁμα πεζῷ καὶ ναυσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ μάχης γεγομένης ἀπελήφθησαν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νῆσῳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, μέγα μὲν ὁσπερ ἦν, ἡγούμενοι τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοι, χα- λεπῆς δὲ καὶ δυσέργου τῆς πολιορκίας οὖσας ἐν χωρίοις ἀνύδρους, καὶ θέρους μὲν μακρὰν καὶ πολυτέλῃ τὴν περιαγωγὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐχούσης, σφαλερὰν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ παντελῶς ἀποροῦν, ἠχθοντο καὶ μετεμέλουσαν προσβείαν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀπωσάμενοι περὶ σπουδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης 2 ἀφικομένην πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἀπεσωσάτο δὲ Κλέωνος ἐναντίωθεντος οὗχ ἦκιστα διὰ Νικίαν ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ὑπὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προθύμως ὅρῳ συμπράττοντα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐτείση τῶν δήμου ὑποψη- φίασθαι τὰς σπουδὰς. ὡς δὲν ἦ τε πολιορκία μῆκος ἐλάμβανε καὶ δεινὰς ἀπορίας ἐπυθανοῦντο περιεστάναι τὸ στρατόπεδον, δι’ ὅργης εἰχον τὸν Κλέωνα.

3 Τοῦ δ’ εἰς τὸν Νικίαν ἐκτρέποντος τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ κατηγορούντος ὅτι δειλία καὶ μαλακία προσε- ται τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὡς αὐτοῦ γε στρατηγοῦντος οὐκ 230
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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).
ΠΛΟΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΓΕΣ

ἀν περιγενομένους χρόνου τοσούτον, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰπεῖν παρέστη: "Τί δ’ οὖχι καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς σὺ πλεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας;" ὁ τε Νικίας ἀναστὰς ἐξίστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλου στρατηγίας αὐτῆς, καὶ λαμβάνειν ὁπόσην βούλεται δύναμιν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ μὴ ἡρασύνεσθαι λόγοις ἀκινδύνοις, ἀλλ’ ἔργον τι τῇ πόλει παρασκεύω ἄξιον σπουδῆς. ὁ δὲ τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεδύετο, τῷ μὴ προσδοκῆσαι τοῦτο θορυβοῦμενοι· ἐγκελεστομένων δὲ ταύτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Νικίου καταβοῶντος, ἐξαρθεῖς καὶ ἀναφλεξθεῖς τὸ φιλότιμον ὑπεδέξατο τε τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ προσδιορίσατο πλεύσας ἐντὸς ἡμερῶν ἐκκοσιν ἡ κατακτεῖνέν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἡ ξύνταξά ἄξιων Ἀθηναζέ. τοῖς δ’ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπήλθε γελάσαι μέγα μᾶλλον ἡ πιστεύσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως εἰώθεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν κοινότητα καὶ μανίαν φέρειν μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐκ ἂν ἄρροι.

Δέχεται γὰρ ἐκκλησίας ποτὲ οὕσης τοῦ μὲν δήμου καθήμενον ἄνω περιμένειν πολὺν χρόνον, ὡς δ’ εἰσέθειν ἐκεῖνον ἐστεφανωμένον καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς αὐριον· "Ἀρχολούμασι γὰρ," ἐφη, "σήμερον, ἐστὶν μέλλουσιν ξένους καὶ τεθυκὼς τοῖς θεοῖς." τοῖς δ’ Ἀθηναίοις γελάσαντας ἀναστηναι καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

VIII. Οὔ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τότε τύχει χρησάμενος ἀγαθῆ καὶ στρατηγίας ἁρίστα μετὰ Δημοσθένους, ἐντὸς οὗ ἐποίησεν χρόνου τῶν Σπαρτιωτῶν.
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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 ὀπλα παραδόντας ἤγαγεν αἰχμαλώτους. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ Νικίᾳ μεγάλην ἤγεγκεν ἄδοξίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀσπίδας ῥήψει, ἀλλὰ αἰσχίνον τι καὶ χεῖρον ἔδόκει τὸ δειλία τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκουσίως, καὶ προέσθαι τῷ ἐχθρῷ τηλικούτοι κατορθώματος ἀφορμάς, αὐτῶν ἀποχειροτονήσαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς. 2 σκόπτει δ' αὐτὸν εἰς ταύτα πάλιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν μὲν "Ὀρνίσιν οὖτω πώς λέγον".

Καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐχὶ νυστάξειν γ' ἔτι ὥρα στὶν ἡμῖν, οὔδε μελλονικιάν.

ἐν δὲ Γεωργοῖς ταύτα γράφων:

Α. Ἐθέλω γεωργεῖν. Β. εἶτα τίς σε κωλύει;  
Α. ύμεῖς· ἐπεὶ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμάς,  
ἐάν με τῶν ἱρχῶν ἀφήτε. Β. δεχόμεθα·  
δισχίλιαι γάρ εἰσι σὺν ταῖς Νικίου.

3 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβλάψεν οὐ μικρὰ 
τῷ Κλέωνι τοσοῦτον προσγενέσθαι δόξης εὔσας 
καὶ δυνάμεως, ύφ' ἡς εἰς βαρὺ φρόνημα καὶ θρά- 
σος ἐμπεσὼν ἀκάθεκτον ἄλλας τε τῇ πόλει προσ- 
ετρέψατο συμφοράς, δῶν οὐχ ἤκιστα καὶ αὐτὸς 
ἀπέλαυσε, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κόσμον ἀνε- 
λῶν καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν ἀνακραγόν καὶ 
περισπάσας τὸ ἴματιον καὶ τὸν μηρὸν πατάξας

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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.”

‘Tis 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.
καὶ δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἀμα χρησάμενος, τὴν ὀλίγον ύστερον ἀπαντα τὰ πράγματα συγχεισάνει, εὐχέρειαν καὶ ὀλυγωρίαν τοῦ πρέποντος ἐνεποίησε τοῖς πολιτευομένοις.

IX. "Ἡδη δὲ ποῦ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνεφύετο τηνικάντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημαγωγὸς οὐχ ὁμοίος ἄκρατος, ἀλλ' οἶον ἡ Ἀγυιντίων χώρα λέγεται δι' ἀρετῆν ἐκφέρειν ὁμοῦ

Φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμηγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά,

οὕτως ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπ' ἀμφότερα πολλῆ ῥυήσα καὶ λαμπρά, μεγάλων ἐνέδωκεν ἄρχας 2 νεωτερισμῶν. οὗ ποὺ ἀπαλλαγεὶς τοῦ Κλέωνος ὁ Νικίας καιρὸν ἔσχε παντάπασιν ἄναπάσαι καὶ καταστορέσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὁδὸν τὰ πράγματα σωτηρίων καταστήσας ἐξέστησε, ρύμη καὶ σφοδρότητι τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου φιλοτιμίας αὐθες ἐξωσθεὶς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

'Επράθη δὲ οὕτως. οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Εὖλάδος Κλέων καὶ Βρασίδας ἔσαν, διὸ τὸ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκρυπτε τὴν κακίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκούσει. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικημάτων μεγάλων, τῷ δὲ κατορθωμάτων ἀφορ-3 μᾶς παρεῖσχε. τούτων οὖν ἀμα πεσόντων ἐν μάχῃ μιὰ περὶ Ἀμφόπολιν, εὐθὺς ὁ Νικίας παραλαβὼν τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἐκπαλαί τῆς εἰρήνης ὄρεγομένους, τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι τῷ πόλεμῳ ταρ-ροῦντας, ἀμφοτέρους δ' οἶον ἐκλελυμένους καὶ

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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.
παρακαθιέντας ἐκουσίως τὰς χεῖρας, ἔπραττεν ὅπως εἰς φιλίαν τὰς πόλεις συναγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς Ἐλληνας ἀπαλλάξας κακῶν καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος, βέβαιων οὐτω τὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅνομα 4 πρὸς τὸν αὐθεις χρόνον ποιοῖτο. τοὺς μὲν ὅνων εὐπόρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτόθεν εἰρηνικὸν εἶχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀλλών πολλοῖς ἐνυγχάνων ἴδια καὶ διδάσκον ἀμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ἦδη τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἐπιτίθεις ἐνδιδοὺς προ- ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ προὔτρεπεν ἐξεσθαί τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ’ ἐπίστευον αὐτῶ διὰ τε τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιείκειαν, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἠλωκόσι περὶ Πύλων καὶ δεδεμένοις ἐπι- μελόμενοι καὶ περιέπων φιλανθρώπως ἐλαφρο- 5 τέραν ἐποίει τὴν ἀτυχίαν. ἦσαν οὖν πρότερον πεποιημένοι τινὰ πρὸς ἄλληλος ἐκεχειρίαν ἐνιαύσιον, ἐν ἥ συνιότας εἰς ταύτω καὶ γενόμενοι πάλιν ἰδείας καὶ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ οἰκείους ἐπιμέξιας, ἐπόθουν τὸν ἀμηητὸν καὶ ἀπόλημον βίον, ἦδεως μὲν ἀδόντων τὰ τοιαῦτα χορὸν ἀκούοντες:

Κείσθω δόρυ μοι μέτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις:

ἡδεως δὲ μεμνημένοι τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι τοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεύδοντας οὐ σάλπιγγες, ἀλλ’ ἀλεκ- 6 τρυόνες ἀφυπνίζουσι. λοιδοροῦντες οὖν καὶ προ- βαλλόμενοι τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς τρὶς ἐννέα ἔτη διαπολεμηθήναι πέπρωταί τοῦ πόλεμον, ἐπειδή

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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

1 The first verse of a beautiful fragment of the Erechtheus of Euripides (Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. 2 p. 474).
οὔτω περὶ παντὸς εἰς λόγους συμβαίνουτες ἐποίησαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, δόξα τε παρέστη τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπαλλαγὴν κακῶν σαφῆ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸν Νικίαν διὰ στόματος εἰχον, ὡς ἀνὴρ εἰς θεοφιλής καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν ἐπωνυμῷ γενέσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ καλλίστου τῶν ἀγάθων δέδωκε· τῷ γὰρ οὕτω Νικίου τὴν εἰρήνην ἐνόμιζον ἔργον, ὡς Περικλέους τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ αἰτίαις μικραῖς εἰς συμφορὰς μεγάλας ἐμβαλεῖν ἔδοκε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ὃ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἐπεισεν ἐκλαθέσθαι φίλους γενομένους. διὸ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἑκείνην ἄχρι νῦν Νικίειον καλοῦσι.

X. Γενομένων δὲ συνθηκῶν ὑπὸς τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὡς εἰχον ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοὺς αἴχμαλωτοὺς ἀποδιδόσατο, προτέρων ἀποδιδόντων τῶν κλήρων λαχόντων, ὅνησατο τὸν κλῆρον ὁ Νικίας κρύφα χρήμασιν, ὥστε προτέρους ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς.

2 Δακεδαιμονίους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἵστορεῖ Θεόφραστος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς τὰ πραττόμενα δυσκολαίνουσιν αἰτίαις, καὶ μέμψειν αὐθίς ἐδόκουν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπεισεν ο Νικίας τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Δακεδαιμονίους τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὴν συμμαχίαν ὡσπερ κράτος ἡ δεσμὸν ὑπιθέντας, φοβερωτέρους τε τοὺς ἀφισταμένοις καὶ βεβαιοτέρους ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι.

3 Πραττόμενων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὕτε πρὸς ἑυσήκιαν εὐ πεφυκός, καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαι-
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years, and then, in this spirit, debated the whole issue, and made peace. 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 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 προσεῖχον, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπερεώρων καὶ κατεφρόνουν, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπεναντιωθεὶς τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀντιστὰς οὐδὲν ἐπέραιψεν, ὅληγο δ' ὑστερον ὅρῶν οὼκ ἐτὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως ἀρέσκοντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖν δοκοῦντας ὅτι Βοιωτοῖς ἔθεντο συμμαχίαν καὶ Πάνακτον ἐστώσαν οὖ παρέδωκαν οὐδ' Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐπεφύετο ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν δῆμον ἐφ' ἐκάστῃ.

4 τέλος δὲ πρεσβείαν μεταπεμψάμενος Ἀργείων ἐπραττε συμμαχίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἔπει δὲ πρέσβεις ἐλθόντες ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος αὐτοκράτορες καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προεντυγχάνοντες ἐδοξάν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἤκειν τοῖς δικαίοις, δείσας ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐπαγάγωσαν, περιήλθεν αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπάτης καὶ ὅρκων ὡς ἀπαντα συμπράξων, ἀν μὴ φῶσει μηδ' ὀμολογήσωσιν ἤκειν αὐτοκράτορες· μάλιστα γὰρ

5 οὕτως ἡ βουλὴν ται γενήσεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ καὶ μεταστάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίον πρὸς ἐκείνου, ἐμβαλὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἠρώτα πρῶτον εἰ περὶ πάντων ἤκουσιν αὐτοκράτορες· ὡς δ' ἠρωνυτο, παρ' ἑλπίδας μεταβαλόμενος τὴν τε βουλὴν ἐπεκαλεῖτο μάρτυρα τῶν λόγων, καὶ τὸν

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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,¹ 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 ἐκέλευεν μῆ προσέχειν μηδὲ πιστεύειν οὐτω περιφανῶς ψευδομένοις καὶ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ τὰναντία περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγουσι. θορυβομένων δ’, ως εἰκός, αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Νικίου μηδὲν ἔχοντος εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀχεῖ καὶ θαύματι πεπληγότος, ὁ μὲν δήμος εὐθὺς ὄρμητο τοὺς Ἀργείους καλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι συμμάχους, ἐβοήθησε δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ σεισμὸς τις διὰ μέσου γενόμενος καὶ διαλύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. τῇ δ’ ὑστεράσα πάλιν τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος πολλὰ ποιήσας καὶ εἰπὼν ἔπεισε μόλις ἐπισχεῖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους, αὐτὸν 530 δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ως πάντων καλῶς γενησομένων.

7 Ἐλθὼν δ’ εἰς Σπάρτην τᾶλα μὲν ως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήθη, πράξας δ’ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν βοιωτιαξόντων ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐ μόνον ἀδοξὼς καὶ κακῶς ἄκοινων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδώσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λυπουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτούντας ὅτι πεισθέντες ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον τοσοῦτος καὶ τοιοῦτος ἀνδρας ἀπέδωκαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ἦσαν ἄδικων τε πρῶτων τῆς Σπάρτης, καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενέως τοὺς 8 δυνατωτάτους ἔχοντες. οὐ μὴν ἐπραξαν· τι πραξάρτητον ὁργῆ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο, καὶ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἡλείους Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντας ἐποίησαντο συμμάχους μετ’ Ἀργείων, καὶ ληστὰς εἰς Πύλου
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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
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ἐπεμψαν κακουργεῖν τὴν Δακωνικῆν· ἐξ ὧν αὐθις εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XI. Ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διαφορᾶς, καὶ γιγνομένης οὐσικοφορίας, ἦν εἰώθει διὰ χρόνου τινὸς ὁ δῆμος ποιεῖσθαι, ἕνα τῶν υπόπτων ἢ διὰ δόξαν ἄλλως ἢ πλοῦτον ἐπιφθόνων ἀνδρῶν τῷ οὐσικῷ μεθιστὰς εἰς δέκα ἑτη, πολὺς θόρυβος ἀμφοτέρους περιϊστατό καὶ κίνδυνος, ὡς θατέρου πάντως ὑπο-

2 πεσουμένου τῷ ἐξουσιασμῷ τοῦ µὲν γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τὸν βίου ἐβδελύττοντο καὶ τὸ θράσος ὁρρῶδουν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφομένους δηλοῦταί, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ὁ τε πλοῦτος ἐπιφθόνων ἐποίει καὶ μάλιστα τῇ διαίτῃ τῷ χρήσιμῳ ἐν πολλά δ' ἦδη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν ἀντιτείνων, παρὰ γνώμην βια-

3 ξόμενος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπαχθῆς ἦν. ὡς δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, νέων ἦν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἰμιλλα πρὸς εἰρηνοποιοῦν καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, τῶν μὲν εἰς τούτον, τῶν δ' εἰς ἐκείνου τῷ οὐσικῷ ἐπομένων.

'Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίᾳ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἐμμορε τιµῆς· ὡς που καὶ τότε διαίτας ὁ δῆμος δίχα χώραν ἐδωκε τοῖς ἰταμωτάτοις καὶ πανουργοτάτοις, ὡν

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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," ¹

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.).
Τὸν πρώτον ἀξίαν, ἀυτὸν δὲ καὶ τῶν στυγμάτων ἀνάξια.

1 τῶν πρωτέων a correction suggested by Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 654: τῶν τρόπων (a fate worthy of his ways).
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Hyperbolus of the deme Perithoedae, 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 οὖν ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐξωστρακισθη τε Ἡπερβολοῦ, ἀλλ’ ἐσχατὸς ἐκεῖνος, 531 πρῶτος δ’ Ἰππαρχὸς ὁ Χολαργεὺς συγκεκριμένος τις ἦν τοῦ τυράννου.

7 "Ἀκριτοῦ δ’ ἡ τύχη πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀληττῶν λογισμός. Νικίας γὰρ, εἰ τὸν περὶ ὀστράκου 
κίνδυνον ἀνέρρησε πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἡ κρατήσας 
ἀν ἀσφαλῶς ὡκεί τὴν πόλιν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελάσας, 
ἡ κρατηθείς αὐτὸς ἐξήλθε πρὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων 
ἀτυχίων, τὸ δοκεῖν ἁριστὸς εἶναι στρατηγὸς 
διαφυλακές.

Οὐκ ἰσοφράστου ἐξωστρακισθήναι 
φησὶ τὸν Ἡπερβολοῦ Φαίακον, οὗ Νικίου, πρὸς 
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐρίσαστος. ἀλλ’ οἱ πλείονες οὕτω 
γεγράφασιν.

XII. Ο δ’ οὖν Νικίας, τῶν Ἀγεστέων πρέσβεων 
καὶ Δεοτίνων παραγενομένων καὶ πειθόντων 
τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατεύων ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, ἀνθι-
στάμενος ἤττα τῆς βουλῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ 
φιλοτιμίας, πρὶν ὅλως ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, κατα-
σχόντος ὡς πλήθος ἐλπίζεται καὶ λόγοι προ-
διεφθαρμένων, δῶσε καὶ νέους ἐν παλαιστραῖς 
καὶ γέροντας ἐν ἔργαστρησίως καὶ ἡμικυκλίοις 
συγκαθεξομένους ὑπογράφειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς 
Σικελίας, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς περὶ αὐτῆς 
θαλάσσης, 
καὶ λιμένας καὶ τόπους οὓς τέτραπται πρὸς 
2 Διβύην ἡ νήσος, οὐ γὰρ ἄθλον ἔποικοντο 
τοῦ πολέμου Σικελίαν, ἀλλ’ ὀρμητήριον, ὡς ἄτ’ αὐτῆς 
διαγωνισόμενοι πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ σχῆσαντες 
ἄμα Διβύην καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν 
θάλασσαν.
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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 ὁρμητο πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ Νικίας ἐναντιούμενος οὐτε πολλοὺς οὐτε δυνατοὺς εἶχε συμαγωνιστάς. οἱ γὰρ εὐποροὶ δεδίότες μὴ δοκῶσι τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ τριηραρχίας ἀπο- 3 διδράσκειν, παρὰ γνώμην ἡσύχαζον· ὃ δ' οὐκ ἔκαμνεν οὐδ᾽ ἀπηγόρευεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψηφίσασθαι 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 ἕνεκα κερδῶν καὶ φιλοτιμίας τὴν πόλιν εἰς χαλεπόν ἔξωθεν καὶ διαπόν- τιον κίνδυνον. ἔπραξε δ' οὔδὲν μάλλον, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ ἐμπειρίας δόξας ἐπιτηθείτερος εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔχειν πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸλμαν καὶ τὴν Δαμάχου τραχύτητα ¹ τῆς ἔκεινον συνεργασμένης εὐλαβείας, βεβαιότεραν ἐποίησε τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀναστὰς γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα τῶν ἰδιμαγώγων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παραξύνων τοὺς Ἀθηναίος, Δημόστρατος, ἔφη τὸν Νικίαν προ- φάσεις λέγοντα παύσειν καὶ ψήφισμα γράψας ὅπως αὐτοκράτορες ὄσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κανταύθα κἀκεῖ βουλευόμενοι καὶ πράττοντες, ἐπεισε τὸν δήμον ψηφίσασθαι.

ΧΙΠ. Καίτοι λέγεται πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐναντιοῦσθαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐτέρους ἔχουν μάντεις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ δὴ τῶν

¹ τραχύτητα Reiske's correction: πράτητα (mildness); cf. chapter xv. 1.
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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,
Λογίων προύφερε παλαιῶν μέγα κλέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐσεσθαί. καὶ θεοπρόπου τινὲς αὐτῷ παρ᾽ Ἀμμωνος ἀφίκοντο χρησμῶν κομίζοντες ὡς λήψονται Συρακοσίους ἀπανταὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ δ᾽ ἐναντία φοβούμενοι δυσφημεῖν 2 ἐκρυπτοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ προὔπτα καὶ καταφάνῃ τῶν σημείων ἀπέτρεπεν, ἢ τε τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπῆ, μιὰ νυκτὶ πάντων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων πλὴν ἔνος, ὅν Ἀνδοκίδου καλοῦσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγη- δος φυλῆς, κείμενον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τότε οὐσίας Ἀνδο- κίδου οἰκίας, καὶ τὸ πραξθὲν περὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, ἀνθρωπος γὰρ τις ἔξαιρής ἀνα- πηδήσας ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, εἶτα περιβὰς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτόυ λίθῳ τὸ αἴδοιον.

3 Ἔν δὲ Δελφοῖσ Παλλάδιον ἐστηκε χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ φοίνικος χαλκοῦ βεβηκός, ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀριστείων τούτ᾽ ἐκοπτοῦν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας πολλὰς προσπετόμενοι κόρα- kes, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ὅντα χρυσοῦν τοῦ φοίνικος 4 ἀπέτρωγον καὶ κατέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν 532 ἔφασαν εἶναι Δελφῶν πλάσματα πεπεσμένων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων χρησμὸν δὲ τίνος κελεύοντος αὐτοῦς ἐκ Κλαζομενῶν τὴν ἱδρειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἄγειν, μετεπέμψαντο τὴν ἀνθρωποῦ ἐκάλειτο δὲ Ἑσυχία. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς έοικεν, ὁ παρῆλε τῇ πόλει τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν ἱσυχίαν ἄγειν.

5 Εἴτε ὡς ταῦτα δείσας εἴτε ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογίσμῳ

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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 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 Aegeid 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 1.
τὴν στρατείαν φοβηθείς, ὁ ἀστρολόγος Μέτων
(ἂν γὰρ ἐφ᾽ ἡγεμονίας τινὸς τεταγμένος) προσ-
εποιεῖτο τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφάπτειν ὡς μεμνημένος. οἱ δὲ
φασίν οὐ μανίαν σκηψάμενον, ἀλλὰ νῦκτιρ
ἐμπρήσαντα τὴν οἰκίαν προελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἁγο-
ραν ταπεινόν, καὶ δείσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως ἐπὶ
συμφορά τοσαύτη τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντα πλεῖν
τριήραρχον εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφῶσι τῆς στρατείας.
6 Σωκράτει δὲ τῷ σοφῷ τὸ δαιμόνιον οἷς εἰσθῇ
συμβόλαις χρησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμήνυσε
κάκεινα, τὸν ἐκπλουν ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως
πραττόμενον. ὁ δὲ τοῖς συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις
ἐφρασε, καὶ διήλθεν εἰς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος.
7 Οὕκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἠμερῶν ἐν αἷς τὸν
στόλον ἐξέπεμπον ὑπέθραττεν. Ἀδώνια γὰρ
εἶχον αἱ γυναῖκες τότε, καὶ προοίκειτο πολλαχόθι
τῆς πόλεως εἴδωλα, καὶ ταφαὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καὶ
κοπετοὶ γυναικῶν ἤσαν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ ποιο-
μένους τινὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσχεραίνειν καὶ δεδιέναι
περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐκείνης καὶ δυνάμεως, μὴ
λαμπρώτητα καὶ ἀκμὴν ἐπιφυνεστάτην σχοῦσα
tαχέως μαρανθῆ.

XIV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἑναντιωθῆναι ψηφιζομένῃ τῇ
στρατείᾳ τὸν Νικίαν, καὶ μὴ ὑπ᾽ ἐλπίδων
ἐπαρθέντα μὴτε πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἁρχῆς μέγεθος
ἐκπλαγέντα μεταθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς ἡν
χρηστοῦ καὶ σώφρονος· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὔτε τοῦ πολέμου

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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 δῆμον ἀποτρέψαι πειρώμενος οὔθ' αὐτὸν ἐξελέσθαι τῆς στρατηγίας δεόμενος ἵσχυσεν, ἀλλ' ἀσπερ ἀράμενος καὶ φέρων αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος ἐπέθηκε

2 τῇ δυνάμει στρατηγῶν, οὐδεὶς ἐτι καιρὸς ἦν τῆς πολλῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ μελλήσεως, ὥστε παιδὸς δίκην ἀπὸ τῆς νεῶς ὀπίσω βλέποντα καὶ τὸ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τοὺς λογισμοῖς ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ στρέφοντα πολλάκις ἐναμβλύναται καὶ τοὺς συνάρ-χοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν διαφθείραι τῶν πράξεων, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἔδει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμφύτευται καὶ προσκεῖμενον ἐλέγχεν τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ τῶν

3 ἀγώνων. ὁ δὲ, Δαμάχου μὲν ἀντικρός ἀξιοῦντος πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ μάχην ἐγκάμα τῆς πόλεως τιθέναι, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἀφιστάναι Συρακουσίων, εἰθο' οὕτως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν, τὰ ἐναντία λέγων καὶ κελεύων ἀτρέμα παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν κομιζομένους καὶ περι-πλέους ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰ ὅτα καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, εἰτ' ἀποπλεῖεν Ἀθήνας μικρὸν τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀιγυπτίων ἀπαρξαμένους, αὐτίκα τε τὴν γνώ-μην ὑπεξέλυσε καὶ κατέβαλε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

4 Καὶ μέτ' ὀλίγον χρόνον Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἀθηναίων μεταπεμψαμένοις εἰς κρίσιν, λόγος μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς δεύτερος ἠγεμών, δυνάμει δὲ μένος ὅν, οὐκ ἐπαύ-σατο καθήμενος ἢ περιπλέων ἢ βουλευόμενος, πρὶν ἐγγυθαί μὲν αὐτῷ1 τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἐλ-πίδος, ἐκρυήναι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ θάμβος καὶ τὸν φόβον ὑπ' ἡ πρώτη παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὅψι τῶν δυνάμεων.

1 αὐτῷ MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: αὐτῶν.
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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 'Ετι δὲ τού 'Αλκιβιάδου παρόντος ἐξήκοντα
ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνείχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λιμένος ἔξω παρατάξαντες,
δέκα δὲ κατάλαυνον εἰσώ κατασχοτῆς εἴνεκα· καὶ
Δεοντίνους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποκαλοῦσαι διὰ
κήρυκος, αὐτὴ λαμβάνουσι ναῦν πολεμίαν σανί-
δας κομίζουσαν, εἰς ὧς ἀπεγράφοντο κατὰ φυλὰς
αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακούσιοι κείμεναι δῷ ἀπωθεῖν τὴς
πόλεως ἐν ἱερῷ Δίος Ὁλυμπίου τότε πρὸς ἐξέ-
tασιν καὶ κατάλογον τῶν ἐν ἑλικίᾳ μετεπέμφθη-
sαν. ὡς οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀλούσαι πρὸς 533
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκομίσθησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος
ὡρθὴ τῶν ὄνομάτων, ἡχεόθησαν οἱ μάντεις μὴ
ποτὲ ἀρα τὰ χρεῶν ἑνταῦθα τοῦ χρησμοῦ περεάνοι,
λέγοντος ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λήψονται Συρακούσιους
ἀπαντας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλῳ ἐπέροι 1 φασίν ἐργῳ τούτῳ
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι ἐπιτελές καθ’ ἐν χρόνον
ἀποκτείνας Δίωνα Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐσχε
Συρακούσας.

ΧV. Ἀποπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μετ’
ὅλιγον ἐκ Σικελίας, τὸ πάν ἢδὴ κράτος ὁ Νικίας
ἔσχεν. ὁ δὲ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν ἀνδρώδης καὶ δίκαιος
ἀνήρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ χρώμενος ἀφειδῶς κατὰ τὰς
μάχας, πένθη δὲ τοσοῦτον καὶ λιτός ὡστε καθ’
ἐκάστην στρατηγίαν ἀπολογίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις μικρὸν ἀργύριον εἰς ἐσθήτα καὶ κρητίδας
2 ἐσαυτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Νικίου καὶ διὰ τὰλλα μέγας ἡν

1 ἐπέροι MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: ἐπέροι (others say that
the prophesy was really fulfilled, etc.).

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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.

XV. A little while after this Alcibiades sailed away from Sicily, 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 τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὁ ὅγκος. λέγεται δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ ποτὲ βουλευομένων τι κοινῆ τῶν συναρχόντων, κελευσθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρῶτος εἰπεῖν γνώμην Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ποιητὴς ὁς πρεσβύτατος ὄν τῶν συστρατηγῶν, "Ἐγώ," φάναι, "παλαιότατος εἰμί, σὺ δὲ πρεσβύτατος."

Οὕτω δὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Λάμαχον ἄγων ὑφ’ ἕαυτῷ στρατηγικῶτερον ὄντα, καὶ χρώμενος εὑλαβῶς καὶ διὰ μελλήσεως ἄει τῇ δυνάμει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπεριπλέων Σικελίαν θάρσος ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ἑπειτὰ προσβαλὼν "Τβλή, πολιχνίῳ μικρῷ, καὶ πρὶν ἔλειν ἀποστάσις,

κομιδὴ κατεφρονήθη. καὶ τέλος εἰς Κατάνην ἀπῆλθε πράξας οὐδὲν ἢ καταστρεψάμενος "Τκκάρα, βαρβαρικὸν χωρίον, ὅθεν λέγεται καὶ Δαίδα τὴν ἑταίραν ἐτὶ κόρην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις πραθείσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κομισθήναι.

ΧΧΙ. Τοῦ δὲ θέρους διελθόντος, ἑπεὶ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἐπυνθάνετο προτέρους ἐτ’ αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι τεθαρρηκότας, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς υβρεῖ προσελαύνουτες ἥδη πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἡρώτων εἰ Καταναῖοις συνοικήσοντες ἢ Λεοντίνους κατοικιοῦντες ἤκουσι, μόλις ὁ Νικίας ὁρμήσε πλεῖν ἐπὶ

2 Συρακούσας. καὶ βουλόμενος ἄδεως καὶ καθ’ ἑσυχίαν ἱδρύσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπέπεμψεν ἀνθρω-πον ἐκ Κατάνης κελεύοντα τοὺς Συρακοσίους, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὸ στρατό-
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 Laïs 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 Syracusans 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 Syracusans: if they wished to find the camp and
πεδον καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ βραδείᾳ πρὸς Κατάνην πανοπηριάν ἐπαγγελθεὶς, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πλείστα διατριβῶν ἐγνωκέναι τοὺς Συρακούσίων φίλους, ὅταν ἐκεῖνους προσέγγιναι αἰσθητοῖς, τὰς τε πύλας καταλαμβάνειν ἀμα καὶ τὸν ναῦσταθμὸν ὑποπταμρᾶναι πολλοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς συνεστῶς ἦδη καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων περιμένοντας ἀφίξειν.

3 Τοῦτ’ ἀριστα Ἕτικας ἐστρατήγησε περὶ Σικελίαν. πανοπηριά γὰρ ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμοῦ τι ποιήσας ἔρημον ἄνδρων, αὐτὸς ἐκ Κατάνης ἀναχθεὶς τῶν τε λιμένων ἐκράτησε καὶ τὸ στρατοπέδῳ κατέλαβε χώραν, ὅθεν ἤκιστα βλαπτόμενος οἷς ἐλεύθερος τῶν πολεμίων, ἦπιζεν ἐξ ὧν ἐθάρρη πολεμήσειν ἀκωλύτως.

4 ἔπει δ’ai̇αναστρέψαντες ἐκ Κατάνης οἱ Συρακούσιοι παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπαγαγὼν ταχὺ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησε. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ γὰρ ἰππεῖς ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο τῇ διώξει· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ διαφθείρων καὶ ἀποκόπτον τὰς γεφύρας, παρέσχεν Ἐρμοκράτει λέγειν παραθαρρύνοντι τοὺς Συρακούσίους ὅτι γελοῖος ἐστιν οἱ Ἕτικας, ὅπως οὐ μαχεῖται

5 στρατηγῶν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔπι μάχῃ πεπλευκώς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φόβον τε καὶ κατάπληξιν ἴσχυρὰν ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς Συρακούσίοις, ὅστ’ ἀντὶ τῶν ὄντων τότε πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγῶν ἔτερους ἔλεγαν τρεῖς, οἷς πίστιν ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος δι’ ὀρκῶν, 534 ἢ μὴν ἐάσειν ἄρχειν αὐτοκράτορας.

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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 manœuvring 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.
Τοῦ δ’ Ὀλυμπιείου πλησίον ὄντος ὄρμησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καταλαβεῖν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῷ χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων. ο̣ δὲ Νικίας ἐπίτηδες ἀναβαλλόμενος ὑστερήσε καὶ περιείδε φρουρὰν εἰσελθοῦσαν παρὰ τῶν Συρακούσιων, ἡγούμενος, ἐὰν τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν κοινὸν οὐκ ἄφεληθῇσθαι,

τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν αὐτὸς ἔξειν τοῦ ἀσεβήματος. τῇ δὲ νίκῃ περιβοήθῳ γενομένη χρησάμενος εἰς οὐδέν, ὅλων ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων αὐθὶς ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Νάξον, κἀκεῖ διεχέμασε, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλίσκων στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης, πράττων δὲ μικρὰ πρὸς Σικελοῦς τινας ἀφισταμένους πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡστε τοὺς Συρακούσιους αὐθὶς ἀναθαρρήσατας ἔξελάσαι πρὸς Κατάνην καὶ τὴν τε χώραν τεμεῖν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακαῦσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

"Α δὴ πάντες ἤτιόντο τὸν Νικίαν, ὡς ἐν τῷ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ μέλλειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τῶν πράξεων ἀπολλύντα καιρὸν" ἐπεὶ τὰς γε πράξεις οὐδείς ἀν ἐμέμψατο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀρμήσας ἥρ ἐνεργὸς καὶ δραστήριος, τολμησαί δὲ μελλητῆς καὶ ἀτολμοῖς.

ΧVII. Ὡς δ’ οὖν ἐκίνησε τὴν στρατιὰν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσιας, οὕτως ἐστρατήγησε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὀξύτητος ἂμα καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐπήλθεν, ὡστε λαθεῖν μὲν εἰς Θάψον ταῖς ναυσὶ προσμίξας καὶ ἀποβάς, φθάσαι δὲ τὰς Ἑπιπολάς.
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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.

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κατασχών, τῶν δὲ προσβοηθοῦντων λογάδων κρατήσας ἐλεῖν μὲν τριακοσίους, τρέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑπταν τῶν πολεμίων ἀμαχὸν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν.

2 Ὅδε πάντων μάλιστα καὶ Σικελίωτας ἐξέπληξε καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλήσιοι ἀποστίαν παρέσχεν, ὅλγῳ χρόνῳ περιτείχισε Συρακούσας, πόλιν Ἀθηνῶν οὔκ ἐλάττονα, δυσεργοτέραν δὲ χωρίων ἀνωμαλίαις καὶ θαλάσσῃ γειτνιώσῃ καὶ παρακειμένοις ἐλεσί τείχος κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον

3 ἀγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ ἐξεργάσασθαι μικρὸν ἐδέσσε τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρωπος οὐδ' ὑγιαίνοντι χρώμενος ἐαυτῷ πρὸς τοσαύτας φροντίδας, ἀλλὰ νόσον νοσῶν νεφρῖτιν, ἢς τῷ μὴ προσεκπονηθέν τείμμα ποιεῖσθαι δίκαιον ἔστι. θαυμάζω δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῇν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τῆν τῶν στρατιωτῶν

4 ἑνδραγαθίαν ἐν οἷς κατώρθουν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἐὐριπίδης μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὀλεθρον γράφων ἐπικήδειον ἐποίησεν.

Οἴδε Συρακοσίους ὅκτῳ νίκας ἐκράτησαν

"Ἀνδρεῖς, ὅτι ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἦσον ἄμφοτέροις.

5 οὐκ ὅκτῳ δὲ νίκας, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ἃν τοὺς εὑρεῖς Συρακοσίους νευκηκέμους ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, πρὶν ἐκ θεῶν ὅντως ἢ τύχης ἀντίστασιν των γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πλείστω τινὰς αἰρομένοις δυνάμεως.

XVIIIον Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πλείσταις πράξεις βιαζόμενος τὸ σῶμα παρῆν ὁ Νικίος. ἀκμὴν δὲ ποτὲ τῆς ἀρρωστίας λαβοῦσης ο μὲν ἐν τείχεσι μετ'
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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.
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ολίγων υπηρετῶν κατέκειτο, τήν δὲ στρατιάν ἔχων ὁ Δάμαχος προσεμάχετο τοῖς Συρακουσίοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος ἀνάγουσι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅ χωλύσειν ἐμελλε διὰ μέσου τὸν ἀπο-

teichismōn. τῷ δὲ κρατεῖν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτακτό-
terōn φερομένων πρὸς τὰς διώξεις, ἀπομονωθέν τὸ Δάμαχος ὑπέστη τῶν Συρακουσίων τῶν ἰπτεῖς ἐπιφερομένους. ἦν δὲ πρῶτος αὐτῶν Καλλικράτης, ἀνήρ πολεμικὸς καὶ θυμοειδὴς. πρὸς τοῦτον ἐκ προκλήσεως καταστὰς ὁ Δάμαχος ἐμονομάχησε, καὶ λαβὼν πληγήν πρότερος, εἶτα δοὺς καὶ πεσὼν

ὁμοὶ συναπέθανε τῷ Καλλικράτει. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κρατήσαντες αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἔξηραν οἱ Συρακουσίοι, δρόμῳ δ’ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν οἷς ὁ Νικίας ἦν οὐχ ἔχων τοὺς βοηθοῦντας. ὅμως δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐξαναστὰς καὶ κατιδὼν τὸν κύδνυον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς καθ’ ἐαυ-

tόν, ὅσα ξύλα πρὸ τῶν τείχων ἐτύγχανεν εἰς μηχανὰς παραβαθημένα, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτὰς τὴν κομίσαντας ἅψα. τοῦτο τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπέσχε καὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἔσωσε καὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. φλόγα γὰρ ἀρέθεισαν διὰ μέσου πολλήν ἰδόντες ἀπετράπησαν όι Συρα-

κουσίοι.

Τούτων δὲ πραγμάτων ἀπολέεσθε μὲν ὁ Νικίας μόνος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἦν δ’ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις μεθίσαντο καὶ πλοῖα μεστὰ σύντων πολλαχόθεν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατό-

πεδον, τοῖς πράγμασιν εὗ φερομένους πάντων προστιθεμένων. καὶ λόγοι τινὲς ἦδη παρὰ τῶν

εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον MSS. and edd.; ἦλθεν added by Sintenensis.

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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
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Συρακούσιων ἐγίνοντο περὶ συμβάσεως πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀπεγυνωκότων τὴν πόλιν. ὅπου καὶ Γύλιππος ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος πλέων βοηθός αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἦκουσε κατὰ πλοῖν τὸν ἀποτελείσμον καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας, οὕτως ἐπλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἐχομένης μὲν ἤδη τῆς Σικελίας, Ἰταλιώταις δὲ τὰς πόλεις διαφυλάξων, εἰ καὶ τούτο πως ἐγγένοιτο. μεγάλη γὰρ ἡ δόξα διεφοίτα τοῦ κρατεῖν πάντα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐχειν ἀμαχον δι᾽ εὐτυχίαν καὶ φρόνησιν.

6 Ὅ δὲ Νικίας εὖθὺς αὐτὸς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν ὕπο τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥώμης καὶ τύχης ἀνατεθαρρηκός, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Συρακούσων διαλεγόμενοις κρύφα καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον οὕτω τὴν πόλιν ἐνδίδοσθαι κατὰ συμβάσεις νομίζων, οὐδένα τοῦ Γυλίππου λόγον ἐσχε προσπλέουτος, οὐδὲ φυλακὴν ἐποίησατο καθαρῶν, ἀλλὰ τῷ παντελῶς ὑπερορᾶσθαι καὶ καταφρονεῖσθαι λαθῶν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰσέπλευσε διὰ πορθμοῦ, καὶ προσκομισθεὶς ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν Συρακούσων στρατιῶν συνηγάγετο πολλῆς, οὐδὲ εἶ πάρεστι τῶν Συρακούσιων ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ προσδοκῶν τῶν. διὸ καὶ παρῆγγελτο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησία περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν ὁμολογῶν, καὶ τινες ἐβάδιζον ἡδή, πριν ἢ παντελῶς ἀποτελείσθηναι τὴν πόλιν οἴομενοι δεῖν γενέσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις· βραχὺ γὰρ ἢ κομιδῆ τὸ ἀπολειπόμενον τοῦ ἔργου, καὶ τούτῳ παραβεβλημένην εἰχε τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς τειχοδομίας σύμπασαν.

ΧΙΘ. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καιρῷ παρόντος τοῦ κινδύνου ἀφικνεῖται Γογγύλος ἐκ Κορίνθου μιὰ

1 εὖθὺς deleted by Coraës and Bekker.
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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
τριήρεις καὶ συνδραμόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς εἰκός, πάντων ἐφραζέον ὅτι Γύλιππος ἂφίξεται διὰ ταχέων καὶ νῆς ἀλλαὶ βοηθοὶ προσπλέουσιν. 2 οὔτω δὲ τῷ Γογγύλῳ πιστεύοντο βεβαίως, ἦκεν ἀγγελὸς παρὰ τοῦ Γύλιππου κελεύοντος ἀπαντᾶν. οἱ δὲ θαρρήσαντες ἐξωπλίζοντο· καὶ προσήγγειν εὐθὺς ὁ Γύλιππος ἐξ ὁδοῦ παρατεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ κακεῖνοι ἀντέταξεν οἱ Νικίας, θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Γύλιππος τὰ ὄπλα καὶ κήρυκα πέμψας ἔλεγε διδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἄδειαι ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ Σικελίας. 3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικίας οὔθεν ἤξισεν ἐποκρίνασθαι τῶν δὲ στρατιώτων τινες καταγελώντες ἥρωτων εἰ διὰ παρουσίαν ἐνὸς τρίβωνος καὶ Βακτηρίας Δακωνικῆς οὕτως ἱσχυρὰ τὰ Συρακουσίων ἐξαιρήθη γέγονεν ὡστε Ἀθηναίοις καταφροεῖν, οἱ πολὺ ὑμαλεωτέρους Γυλίππου καὶ μᾶλλον κομῶντας τριακοσίους ἑχοντες ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένους ἀπέδωκαν Δακεδαιμονίους. Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σικελιώτας φησίν ἐν μηδενί λόγῳ ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ Γύλιππου, ὕστερον μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μικρολογίαν καταγγύνει, ὡς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ὅφθη, σκόπτοντας εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν κόμην. εἶτα μέντοι φησίν αὐτῶς ὅτι τῷ Γυλίππῳ φανέντι καθάπερ γλαυκι πόλλοι προσέπτησαν ἐτοίμως στρατευόμενοι. καὶ ταύτα τῶν πρώτων ἀληθέστερά εἰσιν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ 536 τρίβων τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἄξιομα τῆς Σπάρτης.
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single trireme. All flocking to meet him, as was natural, he told them that Gyliippus 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 Gyliippus bidding them come out to meet him. Then they plucked up heart and donned their arms. No sooner had Gyliippus come up than he led his men in battle array against the Athenians. But when Niciaes arrayed his men too over against him, Gyliippus halted under arms, and sent a herald with the message that he offered the Athenians safe conduct if they would depart from Sicily.

Niciaes 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 Gyliippus, and longer haired. Timaeus says that the Sicilians also made no account of Gyliippus, 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 Gyliippus 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 Gyliippus 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
Φιλιστος, ἀνὴρ Συρακούσιος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
ὀρατῆς γενόμενος.
Τῇ μὲν οὖν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες οἱ Ἀθη-
ναιοὶ τῶν Συρακούσιων ὁλίγους τινάς ἀπέκτειναν
καὶ Γογγύλου τὸν Κορώνθιον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑπταοχώρησα
ἡμέραν ἐδείξεν οἱ Γόλιπποι οἶον ἑστὶν ἐμπειρία.
τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁπλοῖς καὶ ὑποτοῖς καὶ χωρίοις
χρησάμενοι οὐχ ὡσαύτως, ἀλλὰ μεταθεὶς τὴν
τάξιν, ἐνώκησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· καὶ φυγόντων εἰς
τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑπιστήσας τοὺς Συρακούσιους,
τοῖς λύθοις οἷς ἐκεῖνοι προσεκόμιζον καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ
παροικοδομῶν εἰς διαστολὰς ἀπέκοψε τὸν ἐκείνων
περιτεχνισμὸν, ὥστ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον
κρατοῦσιν.
'Εκ τούτου δὲ θαρρήσαντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι τᾶς
tε ναῦς ἐτησύμηκαν, καὶ τοῖς ἑπεδόσα τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
καὶ ἀκολούθους περιελαύνουσα πολλοὺς ἱππῶν.
καὶ οἱ Γόλιπποι ἑπιδοὺν ἔπὶ τᾶς πόλεις αὐτῶν
ἐξώρμα καὶ συνιστήν πάντας ἐρρωμένους ὑπακούον-
tας αὐτῷ καὶ συλλαμβανομένους, ὡστε τὸν
Νικίαν αὐθίνας εἰς ἐκείνους ἀποτρεπόμενον τοὺς
πρώτους λογισμοὺς καὶ συμφρονοῦντα τὴν τῶν
πραγμάτων μεταβολῆν ἀδυμείν, καὶ γράφειν τοῖς
Ἀθηναῖοι κελεύοντα πέμπειν ἑτερον στρατὸν ἡ
καὶ τούτου ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτῷ δὲ
πάντως αἰτούμενον τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφεσιν διὰ
τὴν νόσον.
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 dispatch¹ 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.
XX. Οἱ δ’ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ὧρμητο πέμπειν ἐτέραν δύναμιν εἰς Σικελίαν, φθόνῳ δὲ τῶν πρῶτον πραττομένων πρὸς εὐτυχίαν τοῦ Νικίου τοσαῦτην πολλὰς διατριβᾶς ἐμβαλόντων τότε γοῦν ἐςπευδον βοηθεῖν. καὶ Δημοσθένης μὲν ἔμελλε μεγάλῳ στόλῳ πλεῖν ἐκ χειμώνος, Εὐρυμέδων δὲ διὰ χειμώνος προεξέπλευσε χρήματα κομίζων καὶ συστρατήγους ἀποφαίνων ἦρημένους τῷ Νικίᾳ τῶν αὐτῶν στρατευομένων Εὐθύδημον καὶ Μένανδρον.

2 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἕξαίφνης ἐπιχειρούμενος ὁ Νικίας ταῖς μὲν ναυσίν ἡπτώμενος τὸ πρῶτον ὀμώς ἔξεσε καὶ κατέδυσε πολλὰς τῶν πολέμιων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πεῖζον οὐκ ἐφθασε βοηθῶν, ἀλλ’ ἄφων προσπέπεσον ὁ Γύλιππος εἴλε τὸ Πλημμύριον, ἐν ό σκευῶν τριηρικῶν καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐκράτησε πάντων καὶ διέφθειρεν ἄνδρας οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ἔζωντας ἔλαβε.

3 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀφείλετο τοῦ Νικίου τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν εὐπέτειαν. ᾧ γὰρ ἡ κομίδη παρὰ τὸ Πλημμύριον ἀσφαλῆς καὶ ταχεία τῶν Ἀθηναίων κρατοῦντων, ἐκπεσόντων δὲ χαλεπῇ καὶ μετὰ μάχης ἐγένετο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἑκεῖ ναυλοχούντας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖς Συρακουσίοις οὐκ ἀπὸ κράτους ἐφαίνετο νεικημένου, ἀλλ’
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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 Gylippus, who had fallen upon it suddenly, captured it. Large naval stores and moneys were in deposit there, all of which Gylippus 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.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

άταξία περί τήν δίωξιν. αὐθις οὖν ἐπεχείρουν παρασκευαζόμενοι λαμπρότερον.
4 ὁ δὲ Νίκιας οὐκ ἔβουλετο ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι, στόλου τοσοῦτον προσπλέοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δυνάμεως ἀκραίφοις, ἢν ἦν Δημοσθένης σπεῦδων, ἀπ’ ἐλαττόνων καὶ χορηγουμένων φαύλως διαγωνίσασθαι. τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μένανδρον καὶ τὸν Εὐθύδημον ἀρτίως εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθιστάμενοι φιλοτιμία καὶ ζῆλος ἦν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς στρατηγούς, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην φθέγανε πράξαντας τοὺς λαμπρούν,
5 ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸν Νίκιαν. πρόσχημα δ’ ἦν ἡ δόξα τῆς πόλεως, ἢν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ καταλύσθαι παντάπασι φάσκοντες εἰ φοβηθήσονται Συρακοσίους ἐπιπλέοντας, ἔξεβιάσαντο ναυμαχήσει. καὶ καταστρατηγηθέντες ὑπ’ Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Κορινθίων κυβερνήτου τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἀριστον, ὡς εἰρήκε Θουκυδίδης, κατὰ κράτος ἦττηθησαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον· καὶ ἄθυμα πολλὴ περιεστήκει τὸν Νίκιαν τῇ τε μοναρχίᾳ κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων.

XXI. Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν λιμένων ἐπεφαίνετο λαμπρότατος τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δεινότατος τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ νεών ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ τριῶν ἄγων ὁπλίτας πεντακισχιλίους, ἀκοντιστὰς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας τρισχιλίων οὖκ ἐλάττους, ὄπλων δὲ κόσμοι 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-maneuuvred 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 javeliners 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 πλῆθει κελευστῶν καὶ
ινθήτων θεατρίκως καὶ πρὸς ἐκπληξίων πολεμίων
τὴν οὐν, ὡς εἰκὸς, αὖθις ἐν φόβῳ
μεγάλῳ τὰ Συρακούσιων εἰς οὔδὲν πέρας οὐδὲ
ἀπαλλαγῆν, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦντας ἄλλως καὶ φθειρο-
μένους αὐτοὺς μᾶτη ὅρωντων.

Τὸν δὲ Νικίαν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εὑρανεὶ ἡ
παρουσία τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν
λόγοις γενέσθαι, τοῦ Δημοσθένους εὐθὺς ἐπιχει-
ρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις κελεύοντος καὶ τῷ ταχύστῳ
τῶν κινδύνων περὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαγωνισμένους
ἐλεῖν Συρακούσας ἢ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, δεῖσας καὶ
θαυμάσας τὴν ὑζύτητα καὶ τὸλμαν ἐδειτο μηδὲν

ἀπεγνωσμένοις πράττειν μηδὲ ἀνοίτως. τῇ γὰρ
τριβῇν εἶναι κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὐτε χρήματα
κεκτημένων ἐτί, μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς
πολὺν χρόνον παραμενοῦντων, εἰ δὲ θλίβοιυτο
ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ταχὺ πάλιν ἔπ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμ-
βάσεις τραπεζομένων, ὡς πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ
ἡσαν ἀνδρεὶς οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις δια-
λεγόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ κρύφα καὶ μένειν κελεύοντες,
ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπερπονοῦντων τῶν πολέμω καὶ τῶν
Γύλιππων βαρυνομένων, ἐὰν δὲ μικρὸν ἐπιτείνω-
σιν αἱ ἀνάγκαι, πανταπασιν ἀπαγορευσόντων.

τούτων ὁ Νικίας τὰ μὲν αὐτικόμενος, τὰ δ' οὖ
θέλων ἐν φαινῷ λέγειν, ἀτολμίας παρέσχε τοῖς
στρατηγοῖσι δόξαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἤκειν
φάσκοντες αὐτῶν, μελλήματα καὶ διατριβὰς καὶ
ἀκριβολογίας, αἰς ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀκμὴν οὐκ εὐθὺς
ἐπιχειρῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐως καὶ κατα-
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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 Gylenus, 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 προσετέθευτο. καὶ ὅ
Νικίας μόλις συνεχώρησεν ἐκβιασθείς.
5 Οὕτω δὴ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ
Δημοσθένης υπκτὸς ἐπεχέιρε ταῖς Ἐπιτολαίσις·
καὶ τοὺς μὲν φθάσας πρὶν αἰσθέσαί τῶν πολε-
μῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἀμυνομένους ἐτρέψατο.
καὶ κρατῶν οὐκ ἐμενεν, ἀλλ' ἐχώρει προσωτέρω,
μέχρι οὐ τοὺς Βουωτοῖς ἐνέτυχε. πρῶτοι γὰρ
οὕτωι συστρέψαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συνδραμώντες
εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐναυτοὶ τοῖς δόρασι μετὰ
βοής ἐώσαυτοι καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον.
6 δὴ ὁλοὺ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐθὺς ἦν πτολαὶ καὶ
ταραχῆ, καὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἢδη καταπιμπλάμενου
τὸ ἐτὶ νικῶν, καὶ τὸ ἑπιβαίνον καὶ προσφερόμενου
ὑπὸ τῶν πεφοβημένων ἀνακοπτόμενον ἑαυτῷ
περιέππητε, τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας οἴμενοι διώκειν,
7 τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς πολεμίοις χρωμένοι. ἢ γὰρ
ἄτακτος ἀνάμιξις ἐν ταυτῷ μετὰ φόβου καὶ
ἀγνοίας, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὤψεως ἀπιστοῦν ἐν νυκτὶ μήτε
σκότος ἀκρατοῦ μήτε φῶς ἔχοσῃ βέβαιον, ἀλλ' ὅπως
ἐκὸς ἢδη καταφερομένης σελήνης καὶ περι-
σκιαξομένης ὀπλοὶς πολλοῖς καὶ σώμασι κινούμε-
νοις διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς μὴ διασαφοδεν ὑπὲρ 
τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ποιεῖν ὑποπτοῦν, εἰς
δεῖν ἄπορίας καὶ περιπετείας καθίστη τοὺς
8 Ἀθηναίους. ἐτυχών δὲ τῶς καὶ τὴν σελήνην
ἐχοντες ὁπισθεν. ὁθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν αὐτοὶς τὰς σκιὰς
ἐπιβάλλοντες ἀπέκρυπτον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὄπλων
καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα, τοὺς δὲ ἐναυτοὺς οἱ πρὸς τὴν
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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 πλείο
νας ὀρᾶσθαι καὶ λαμπροτέρους ἔποιει.

9 Τέλος δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἔνεδοσαν, προσκειμένων ἰὸν πολεμίων φεύγοντες οἱ μὲν ὑπ’
ἐκείνων, οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων ἀπέθνησκον, οἱ δὲ
kατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὁλισθαίνοντες· τοὺς δ’ ἀποσκε-
dασθέντας καὶ πλανωμένους ἡμέρας ἐπιγενομένης
οἱ ἴππεις καταλαμβάνοντες διέφθειρον. ἐγένοντο
δὲ νεκροὶ δισχίλιοι, καὶ τῶν περιγενομένων ὀλίγοι
μετὰ τῶν ὄπλων ἀπεσώθησαν.

XXII. Ὡ μὲν ὅπερ Νίκιας πληγεῖς οὐκ ἀπροσ-
δοκήτως ἢτιάτο τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὴν προπέτειαν·
ἐκείνος δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀπολογησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν
ἀποπλεῖν τὴν ταχιστὴν’ οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλην ἀφίξ-
esθαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς, οὔτ’ ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης τῶν
2 πολεμίων κρατεῖν, ὅτου γε καὶ κρατοῦσας ἐκεί-
nων ἐδει μεταστήναι καὶ φυγεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀεὶ
μὲν, ὡς πυθάνονται, βαρὺ καὶ νοσῶδες ὁν στρα-
tοπέδω, νῦν δ’, ὡς βλέπουσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὄραν
όλεθριον. μετοπώρου γὰρ ἡ ἡ ἄρχη· καὶ πολλοὶ
μὲν ἴσθενουν ἡδη, πάντες δὲ ἡθύμουν.

Ὡ δὲ Νίκιας χαλεπῶς ἦκατε τὴν φυγήν καὶ
τῶν ἀπόπλουν, οὐ τῷ μὴ δεδέναι τοὺς Συρακού-
σίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ μάλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰς
3 ἐκείνων δίκας καὶ συκοφαντίας φοβεῖσθαι. δεινῶν
μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτὸθι προσδοκᾶν ἐφασκεν, εἰ δὲ
συμβαίνῃ, μάλλον αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων
θάνατον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, οἷς ὅμοια
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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
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φρονῶν αἰς ύστερον ὁ Βυζάντιος Δέων εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας· "Βούλομαι γὰρ," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον υφ' ὑμῶν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν". περὶ μέντοι τόπου καὶ χώρας εἰς ἢν μετατάξουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, βουλεύσεσθαι καθ’ ἰσοχίαν.

4 ταύτα δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης οὐδὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κατευνάχθησας ἐπαύσατο βιαζόμενος, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις παρέσχε τὸν Νικίαν προσδοκώντα καὶ πιστεύοντα τοῖς ἐνδον οὕτως εἰρρωμένοις ἀναμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀποβάσεως· διὸ καὶ συνεχώρησαν. ὡς μέντοι στρατιὰ Συρακουσίων ἐπῆλθεν ἄλλη καὶ μᾶλλον ἤπτετο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ νόσος, ἦδη καὶ τῷ Νικίᾳ συνεδόκει μεθίστασθαι καὶ παρῆγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις εὔτρεπεῖς εἶναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν.

XXIII. Ὡς δ' ἦν ἐποίμα ταύτα πάντα καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδ' ἔφη παρεφύλαττεν, ἀτε δὴ μὴ προσδοκώντων, ἐξέλαιπεν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτός, μέγα δὲος τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς ὕπο ἀπειρίας ἢ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκπεπληγμένοις τὰ τοιάυτα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἠλίου τὴν περὶ τὰς τριακάδας ἐπισκότησιν ἀμῶς γε' πως ἦδη συνεφρύνουν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ γενομένως ὕπο τῆς σελήνης·

2 αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ὅτι εἰς συντυχάνουσα καὶ πῶς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ παυσελήνην τὸ φῶς ἀπόλυσε καὶ χρόας ἔτη παντοδαπᾶς, οὐ βραδίον ἦν καταλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄλλοκοτον ἠγούντο καὶ πρὸ συμφορῶν τινῶν μεγάλων ἐκ θεοῦ γινόμενου σημεῖον.

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not like-minded with Leon of Byzantium, who, at a later time,\(^1\) 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 σαφέστατον τε πάντων καὶ
θαρραλεότατον περὶ σελήνης κατανυγασμῶν καὶ
σκιᾶς λόγων εἰς γραφὴν καταθέμενος 'Αναξαγόρας
οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἢν παλαιὸς οὔτε ὁ λόγος ἐνδοξος, ἀλλ' ἀπόρρητος ἔτι καὶ δι' ὀλίγῳ καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας
3 τινὸς ἢ πίστεως βαδίζων. οὐ γὰρ ἤπειροντο
τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μετεωρολέσχας τὸτε καλοῦ-
μένους, δὲ εἰς αὐτίας ἄλογους καὶ δυνάμεις
ἀπρονοήτους καὶ κατανυγκασμένα πάθη δια-
τρίβοντας τὸ θείον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἔφυγε,
καὶ 'Αναξαγόραν εἰρχθέντα μόλις περιποιήσατο
Περικλῆς, καὶ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲν αὐτῷ τῶν γε
τοιούτων προσήκον, ὦμος ἀπώλετο διὰ φιλοσοφίαν.
4 ὥστε δ' ἡ Πλάτωνος ἐκλαμψασα δόξα διὰ τὸν
βίον τοῦ ἄνδρος, καὶ ὡς ταῖς θείαις καὶ κυριω-
τέραις ἄρχαις ὑπέταξε τὰς φυσικὰς ἀνάγκας, 531
ἀφεὶλε τὴν τῶν λόγων τούτων διαβολήν, καὶ τοῖς
μαθήμασιν εἰς ἀπαντας ὀδὸν ἐνέδωκεν. ὁ γοῦν
ἐταῖρος αὐτοῦ Δίων, καθ' ὅν χρόνον ἐμελλεν ἄρας
ἐκ Ζακύνθου πλεῖν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον, ἐκλιποῦσις
τῆς σελήνης, οὐδὲν διαταραχθεῖς ἀνήχθη, καὶ
κατασχὼν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐξέβαλε τῶν τύραν-
νων.
5 Τῷ μέντοι Νικία συνηνέχθη τότε μηδὲ μάντη
ἐχειν ἐμπειροῦν· ὁ γὰρ συνήθης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πολὺ
tῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄφαιρὼν Στιλβίδης ἐτεθνήκει

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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, Anaxagoras was with difficulty rescued from imprisonment by Pericles, and Socrates, though he had nothing whatever to do with such matters, nevertheless lost his life 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.

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

1 Not far from 411 B.C.
2 About 432 B.C. See the Pericles, xxxii. 8.
3 In the spring of 399 B.C.
4 In 357 B.C. See the Dion, xxiv.
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μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν. ἔπει τὸ σημείον, ὡς φησὶ Φιλό-
χορος, φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἴν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ
χρηστὸν· ἐπικρύψεως γὰρ αἱ σὺν φόβῳ πράξεις
δέονται, τὸ δὲ φῶς πολέμιον ἐστίν αὐταῖς. ἀλλὰς
tε καὶ τῶν περὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας
ἐποιοῦντο φυλακῆν, ὡς Αὐτοκλείδης διεγράφευ
ἐν τοῖς ἐξηγητικοῖς· ὃ δὲ Νικίας ἄλλην ἐπεισε
σελήνης ἀναμένειν περίοδον, ὡσπερ οὐκ εὐθὺς
θεασάμενος αὐτὴν ἀποκαθαρθείσαν, ὅτε τὸν
σκιέρον τόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀντιφραττόμενον
παρῆλθε.

XXIV. Μικρὸν δὲ πάντων ἀφέμενος τῶν ἄλλων
ἐθνε τε καὶ διεμαντεύετο καθήμενος, ἐως ἐπηλθοῖ
αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ τὲ
στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν πολιορκοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ
κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα περιλαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αὐτοῖς
μόνον ταῖς τριήρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια
πανταχόθεν ἐπιβαίνοντα τῶν ἀλιάδων καὶ ταῖς
σκάφαις προσπέλευτα προύκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἀθη-

2 ναίους καὶ προὐπηλάκιζεν. ὄν ἐνα, παῖδα γυνωρί-
μων γονέων, Ἡρακλείδην, προεξελάσαντα τῷ
πλοῖῳ ναύς Ἀττικῆ διώκουσα κατελάμβανε.
δείσας δὲ περὶ αὐτὸς Πόλλιχος ὁ θεῖος ἀντελαύνει
δέκα τριήρεις δὲν ἦρξεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι περὶ τοῖς
Πόλλιχου φοβηθέντες ὡσαύτως ἀνήγοντο. καὶ
ναυμαχίας ἵσχυρᾶς γενομένης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Ἶπυρ-
κούσιοι, καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων
dιέφθειραν.

3 Ἡν οὖν οὐκέτι μένειν ἀνασχέτα 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
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ἀλλὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατεβόων πεζῇ κελεύοντες ἀναχωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Συρακούσιοι νικήσαντες εὐθὺς ἐνέφραξαν καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὸν διέκπλουν τοῦ λιμένος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπολιπεῖν ὅλκάδας τε πολλὰς καὶ τριήρεις ὅλγον ἀριθμὸν διακοσίων 4. ἀποδεούσας· ἐμβιβάσαντες δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους ἐπλήρωσαν ἐκατόν καὶ δέκα τριήρεις· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι παρσῶν ἐνδεικτικὲς ἦσαν. τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ὅχλον ἔστησε παρὰ τάλασσαν ὁ Νικίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τέιχη τὰ συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὅστε μὴ τεθυκότων τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν Συρακοσίων, θύσαι τότε τοὺς ἰερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἀναβάντας ἢδη πληρομένων τῶν τριήρων.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ μάντεις τοῖς Σωτικούσιοι ἀπῆγγειλαν ἕκ τῶν ἰερῶν λαμπρότητα καὶ νίκην μὴ καταρχομένοις μάχης, ἀλλ’ ἀμυνόμενοι (καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων κρατεῖν ἀμυνόμενον καὶ προεπιχειρούμενον), ἀνήχθησαν.

Ἡ δὲ ναυμαχία πολὺ μεγάλη καὶ καρτερω-τάτη γενομένη, καὶ μηδὲν ἐλάττονα πάθη καὶ θορύβους παρασχοῦσα τοῖς θεωμένοις ἢ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις διὰ τὴν παντὸς ἐπιθετικὴν τοῦ ἔργου ποικίλας μεταβολὰς καὶ ἀποροσδοκήτους ἐν ὀλίγω λαμβάνοντος, ἐβλάπτε ταῖς αὐτῶν παρα-σκευαῖς οὐχ ἤττου τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. 2 ἄρθροις γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ βαρέλαις

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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 javel ineers 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.
πρὸς κούφας ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλας ἐπιφερομένας, καὶ βαλλόμενοι λίθοις ὁμοίων ἔχουσι τὴν πληγὴν πανταχόθεν ἀντέβαλλον ἀκοντίους καὶ τοξεύμασιν, ὡς ὁ σάλος τὴν εὐθυβολίαν διέστρεφεν, ὅστε μὴ πάντα κατ’ αἰχμὴν προσφέρεσθαι. ταῦτα δ’ Ἀριστων ὁ Κορίνθιος κυβερνήτης ἐδίδαξε τοὺς 540 Συρακούσιους, καὶ παρὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτὴν ἀγωνιζόμενος προθύμως ἔπεσεν ἣδη κρατοῦντων τῶν Συρακούσιων.

3 Τενομένης δὲ μεγάλης τροπῆς καὶ φθορᾶς, ἡ μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν φυγῇ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀποκέκοπτον χαλεπὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ γῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν ὀρῶντες οὔτε νὰς ἀφελκοντας ἐγγύθεν ἐτὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκώλυνον οὔτε νεκρῶν ἔτησαν ἀναίρεσιν, ἠτε δὴ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀταφίας τὴν τῶν νοσοῦντων καὶ τετρωμένων ἀπόλειψιν οἰκτροτέραν οὔσαν ἢδη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἔχουσες, αὐτοὺς δὲ κακείνων ἐπιτονωτέρους ἤγομονες, μετὰ πλειόνων κακῶν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πάντως ἀφεξομένους τέλος.

XXVI. Ὁμηρομένων δ’ αὐτῶν ἀπαντεῖν διὰ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν περὶ τῶν Γύλισσων, ὀρῶντες ἐν θυσίαις καὶ πότοις τοὺς Συρακούσιους διά τε τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν ἔορτὴν οὔτας, οὔτε πείσειν οὔτε βιάσεσθαι προσεδόκων ἀναστάντας ἢδη προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίωις ἀποιοῦσιν, Ἐρμοκράτης δ’ αὐτὸς ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ συνεῖδε ἐπὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἀπάτην,

2 ἐπημερήτης τίνας τῶν ἑταῖρων πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀπ’ ἐκείνων μὲν ἤκειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φάσκοντας, οὐκοὶ πρὸ- τερον εἰσθήσαντο κρύφα τῷ Νικίᾳ διαλέγεσθαι,

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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
παραινούντας δὲ μὴ πορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς, ὥς τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐνεδρας πεποιημένων αὐτοῖς καὶ προκατεχόντων τὰς παρόδους. τούτῳ δὲ καταστρατηγηθεῖς ὁ Νικίας ὑπέμενεν ἄψευδῳς ἐδείσεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀληθῶς παθεῖν.

3 προελθόντες γὰρ ἀμ’ ἡμέρα τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν ὄδων κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπετείχισαν τὰς τε γεφύρας ἄπεκοψαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀμαλοῖς καὶ πεδινοῖς τοὺς ἵππεις ἔταξαν, ὅστε μηδένα λελείφθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τόπῳ ἀμαχεὶ προελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἔτεραν ἐπιμείναντες ἐπορεύοντο κλαυμιῷ καὶ ὀλοφυρμῷ, καθάπερ ἐκ πατρίδος, οὐ πολεμίας, ἀνιστάμενοι, διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὰς ἀπολείψεις τῶν ἀδυνάτων φίλων καὶ συνήθων, ὅμως τὰ παρόντα κακὰ κοινοτερα τῶν προσδοκομένων νομίζοντες εἶναι. πολλῶν δὲ δεινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φαινομένων, οὐδὲν ἦν οἰκτρότερον αὐτοῦ Νικίου θέαμα, κεκακωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας, συνεσταλμένου δὲ παρ’ ἄξιαν εἰς ἀναγκαίαν διάστα τὰ μικρῶτα τῶν ἐφοδίων εἰς τὸ σῶμα πολλῶν, διὰ τὴν νόσον δεόμενον, πράπτοντος δὲ μετ’ ἀρρωστίας καὶ καρπέροντος ὧ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐφρωμένων μόλις ὑπέμενον, καταφανοῦς δὲ πᾶσιν ὄντος οὐ δ’ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τῷ Φιλόφυλχεῖν τοῖς πόνοις ἐμμένοντος, ἀλλὰ 4 τοῦ ἐκείνους τῆς ἐλπίδα μὴ προϊμένου. καὶ γὰρ εἰς δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ λύπης τρεπομένων, ἐκείνος, εἰ ποτε βιασθεῖ τοῦτο ποιήσαι, δῆλος ἦν τὸ οἰσχρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀκλεῆς
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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


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tῆς στρατείας ἀναλογιζόμενος πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὧν ἦλπίζε κατορθώσειν.

6 Οὐ μόνον ὦ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὤψιν ὀρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λόγων μνημονεύοντες καὶ τῶν παραινέσεων ἀς ἐποιήσατο κωλύων τὸν ἐκπλουν, ἔτι μάλλον ἐνόμιζον ἀναξίως ταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἐλπίδας ἄθυμως ἔχουν, ἐννοοῦντες ὡς ἀνήρ θεοφιλής καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα λαμπρυνόμενος πρὸς τὸ θείον οὐδείν ἐπεικεστέρα τύχη χρήται τῶν κακίστων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ταπεινοτάτων.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὦ γε Νικίας ἐπειράτο καὶ φωνή καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ δεξιώσει κρείττων ὀράσθαι τῶν δεινῶν. καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν γε τὴν πορείαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὅκτω βαλλόμενος καὶ τραυματιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀήττητον ἐφύλαττε τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἀχρί οὗ Δημοσθένης εὔλω 541 καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκείνου στράτευμα, περὶ τὴν Πολυζήλειον αὐλὴν ἐν τῷ διαμάχεσθαι καὶ ὑπολείπε-2 σθαι κυκλωθέν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δημοσθένης σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπληξε μὲν ἐαυτὸν, οὗ μὴν ἀπε-θανε, ταχὺ τῶν πολεμίων περισχύτων καὶ συλλαβότων αὐτὸν.

Ὡς δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ προσελάσαντες ἐφέραξον οἱ Συρακούσιοι καὶ πέμψας ἅπαν σοὶ ἐγὼ τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀλώσας, ἥξιον σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Γύλιππον, ὅπως ἀφώσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ Σικελίας ὁμηρα λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων ὁσα Συρακούσιοις ἀνάλωτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.

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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, 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 Gyippus 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.
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3 οἱ δ' οὖ προσείχον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ύβριν καὶ μετ’ ὀργῆς ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἐβαλλον ἦδη πάντων ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντα τῶν ἄναγκαίων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νῦκτα διεκαρτήση καὶ τὴν ἐπι- νύσαν ἦμεραν προῆι βαλλόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀσίναρον ποταμόν. ἐκεί δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι συνενεγκόντες ἐνέσεισαν εἰς τὸ ἰείδρον, οἱ δὲ

4 φθάνοντες ὑπὸ δίψους ἔρριπτον ἐαυτοὺς καὶ πλείστος ἐνταύθα μόρος ἴνα καὶ ὠμότατος εἰς τῷ ποταμῷ πινόντων ἁμα καὶ σφατομένων, ἀχρι Νικίας Γυλίππων προσπέσων εἶπεν "Ἐλεος ύμᾶς, ὡ Γὐλίππε, λαβήτω νικώντας, ἐμοῦ μὲν μηδείς, ὅσ ἐπὶ τηλικάνταις εὐτυχίαις οἴομα καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, ἐνυποθέντας ὅτι κοιναὶ μὲν αἱ τύχαι τοῦ πολέμου, μετρίως δ' αὐταῖς καὶ πράως ἔχρησαντο ἐν οἷς εὐτύχων Ἀθηναίοι πρὸς ύμᾶς."

5 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Νικίου λέγοντος ἔπαθε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ὁ Γυλίππος. ἦδει γὰρ τοὺς Δακεδαμίους εἰ πεποιθότας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς γενομένας διαλύσεις· μέγα δ' ἡγεῖτο. πρὸς δόξαν εἰ χῶντας ἀπαγάγοι τοὺς ἀντιστρατήγους. διὸ τὸν τε Νικίαν ἀναλα- βὼν ἔθαρρυνε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄγηρεῖν παρῆγ- γειλε. Ἑβραίως δὲ τοῦ παραγγέλματος διϊκνου- μένου πολλῷ τῶν φονευθέντων ἐλάττονες οἱ διασωθέντες ἐγένοντο· καίτοι πολλοὶ διεκλάτησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

6 Τοὺς δὲ φανερῶς ἐαλωκότας ἑθροίσαντες τὰ μὲν κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα δένδρα τῶν περὶ τὸν
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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
ποταμὸν ἀνέδησαν αἰχμαλώτοις πανοπλίαις, ἑστεφανωμένοι δὲ αὐτὸι καὶ κοσμῆσαντες τοὺς ἱπποὺς διαπρεπῶς, κείραντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων εἰς ἡλαύνων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀγώνα λαμπρότατον ὁν" Ἐλληνες πρὸς Ὑπποπόντος καὶ νίκην τελευτάτην κράτει πλείστοι καὶ ῥώμη μεγίστη προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς κατωρθωκότες.

XXVIII. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ παυδήμον Συρακούσιων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γενομένης, Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἐγγέφυρε πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἥ τοῦ Νικίαν ἔλαβον, ἰερὰν ἔχειν, θύοντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἔργων, Ἀσιναρίαν τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλοῦντας· ἡμέρα δὲ ἡ τετράφθη φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνεῖου μηνός, ὅπως Ἁθηναῖοι

2 Μεταγειτινωδια προσαγορεύοντο· τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας φρονεῖν ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὰς λατομίας, πλὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἀποκτείναι.

Ταύτα προσδεχομένων τῶν Συρακούσιων, Ἐρμοκράτης μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τοὺ νικᾶν κρειττῶν ἐστὶ τὸ καλὸς χρήσθαι τῇ νίκῃ, οὐ μετρίως ἐθορυβήθη, Γύλιππον δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαιτούμενον ξύνοντας ἀγαγεῖν Δακεδαλοκονίων ὑβρίζοντες ἢδη τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν οἱ

3 Συρακούσιοι κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεμον αὐτοὺ τὴν πραξύτητα καὶ τὸ Δακωνικὸν τῆς ἐπιστασίας οὐ βας ἐνυχοκότες, ὡς δὲ

1 tōs supplied by Corices and Bekker
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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 πλεονεκροτοκτόνα, ἀρρώστημα πατρῴου, ἐφ' ὦ καὶ Κλεανδρίδης ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ δώρων ἄλοιπα ἔφυγε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτὸς, ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ταλάντων ἢ Δύσανδρος ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ἐπιάρτην ὑφελόμενος τριάκοντα καὶ χρύσας ὑπὸ τῶν ὄροφον τῆς οἰκίας, εἶτα μηνυθεῖς, αἰσχρίστα πάντων ἐξέπεσεν. ἀλλὰ τάντα μὲν ἐν τῷ Δύσανδρῳ βίω μᾶλλον ἐνηκρίβωται.

4 Δημοσθένην δὲ καὶ Νικίαν ἀποθανεῖν Τίμαιος ὡς φησιν ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων κελευθέντας, ὡς Φιλιστὸς ἔγραψε καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' Ἐρμοκράτους πέμψαντος, ἐτὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνεστώσης, καὶ δι' ἐνὸς τῶν φυλάκων παρέντων αὐτοὺς δι' αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν τὰ μέντοι σώματα πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἐκβληθέντα κεῖσθαι φαινερὰ τοῖς δεομένοις τοῦ θεάματος. πυνθάνομαι δὲ μέχρι νῦν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἀσπίδα κειμένην πρὸς ἱερῷ δεικνυσθαι, Νικίαν μὲν λεγομένην, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ πορφύρας εὐ ποὺς πρὸς ἀλληλα μεμιγμένον δι' ὑφῆς συγκεκροτημένην.

5 Τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν πλείστοι διεφθάρησαν ἐν ταῖς λατοστίαις ὑπὸ νόσου καὶ διαίτης ποιημάτων, εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην κοτύλας δύο κριθῶν λαμβάνοντες καὶ μίαν ὑδατας, οὐκ ὅλης χρυσοῦ δ' ἐπράθησαν διακλαπατέντες ἢ καὶ διαλαθόντες ὡς οἰκέται. καὶ τούτους ὡς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν, στίζοντες ἑπτοῦν εἰς τὸ μέτωπον· ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τῷ δουλεύων ὑπομένοντες.

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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 Gylippus 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 Thucydides ² 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.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

2 Ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἢ τ’ αἰδῶ καὶ τὸ κόσμουν ἡ γὰρ ἥλευθεροῦντο ταχέως ἢ τιμῶμενοι παρέμενον τοῖς κεκτημένοις. ἦνοι δὲ καὶ δι’ Εὐριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. μάλιστα γὰρ, ὡς ἐοικε, τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἐλλήνων ἐπόθησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῦσαν οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἐκάστοτε δείγματα καὶ γεύματα κομιζόντων ἐκμαν-

3 θάνοντες ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις. τότε γοῦν φασὶ τῶν σωθέντων οὐκαδε συχνοὺς ἀσπάσασθαί τὸν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διηγεῖσθαί τοὺς μέν, ὦτι δουλεύοντες ἀφεῖθησαν ἐκδιδάξαντες ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμνηστο, τοὺς δ’, ὥτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην τροφῆς καὶ ὅδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ἄσαντες. οὐ δὲ 

δὴ θαυμάζειν ὅτι τοὺς Καυνίους φασὶ πλοίου προσφερομένου τοῖς λιμέσιν ὑπὸ ληστρίδων διωκομένου μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλ’ ἀπείργειν, εἰτα μέντοι διαπυθανομένους εἰ γινώσκουσιν ἄσματα τῶν Εὐριπίδου, φησάντων ἐκείνων, οὕτω παρεῖναι καὶ καταγαγεῖν τὸ πλοίον.

XXX. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φασὶ τὴν συμφορὰν ὅχι ἢ κιστα διὰ τὸν ἁγγελον ἀπιστον γενέσθαι. ἤενοι γὰρ τις, ὡς ἐοικε, ἀποβὰς εἰς Πειραιά καὶ καθί- 

σας ἐπὶ κουρεῖον, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ἢδη τῶν Ἀθη-

ναίων λόγους ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ὁ δὲ 

κουρεῖς ἀκούσας, πρὶν ἄλλους πυθάνεσθαι, ὅρμῳ
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 ἁρχοῦσιν εὐθὺς κατ᾿ ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε τὸν λόγον. 2 ἐκπλήξεως δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς, ὡς εἰκός, γενομένης, οἱ μὲν ἁρχοῦτες ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες εἰσήγαγον τὸν ἀνθρώπον. ὡς δὲ ἐρωτῶμενος παρ᾿ οὗ πύθοιτο σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἶχε φράζειν, δόξας λογοποιῶς εἶναι καὶ ταράττειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὸν τροχὸν καταδεθείς ἑστρεβλοῦτο πολὺν χρόνον, ἔως ἐπήλθον οἱ τὸ πᾶν κακὸν, ὡς εἶχεν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οὕτω μόλις ὁ Νικίας ἐπιστεύθη παθὼν ἃ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς προείπεν.
NICIAS

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 πατρὸς, ἔτραφη δ’ ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ μετὰ δυοῖν ἁδελφῶν. καὶ τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες ἦσαν ἐτὶ τῶν γονέων ζώντων, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφοίτων τράπεζαν, ὅθεν οὐχ ἦκιστα δοκεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σώφρων καὶ μέτριος γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ἁδελφῶν τῇ γυναικὶ συνφίκησε καὶ τοὺς παιδας ἐξ ἐκείνης ἐσχεν, οὐδενὸς ἦττον καὶ περὶ ταῦτα

2 Ἐρμαίων εὐτακτος γενόμενος, καίτοι προϊόν καθ’ ἡλικίαν αἰτίαν ἔσχε ἐκεῖνη Λικιννία συνιέναι τῶν Ἑστιάδων μὲ παρθένων καὶ δίκην ἐφυγεν ἡ Λικιννία Πλωτίου τινός διώκοντος. ἦν δὲ προϊόστειον αὐτῆς καλὸν, ὅ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν ὀλίγης 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 φθορᾶς ἀπολυσάμενος ὕπο τῶν δικαιοστῶν ἀφείθη. τὴν δὲ Λικιννίαν οὐκ ἀνήκε πρότερον ἢ τοῦ κτήματος κρατῆσαι.

II. Ἐρμαιων μὲν οὖν λέγονσι πολλαῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ Κράσσου κακίαν μόνην ἐπισκοπῆσαι τὴν φιλοπλουτίᾳ ἐσκε δὲ μία πασῶν ἐρρωμενεστέρα

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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
τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κακίων γενομένη τὰς ἄλλας ἀμαυρώσας. τεκμήρια δὲ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας αὐτοῦ μέγιστα ποιοῦνται τὸν τε τρόπον τοῦ πορισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὀψίας τὸ μέγεθος. τριακοσίων γὰρ οὐ πλείως κεκτημένος ἐν ἀρχῇ ταλάντων, εἶτα παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀποθύσας μὲν τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ τὸν δήμον ἐστιάσας, τρεῖς δὲ μῆνας ἐκάστῳ Ῥωμαίων σημείωσαν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ παρασχόν, οἷς πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατείας αὐτὸς αὐτῷ θέμενος ἐκλογισμὸν τῆς ὀψίας εὑρέν ἐκατόν ταλάντων τίμημα πρὸς ἐπτακισχίλειος. τὰ δὲ πλείστα τούτων, εἰ δεῖ μετὰ βλασφημίας εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀληθὲς, ἐκ πυρὸς συνήγαγε καὶ πολέμου, ταῖς κοιναις ἀτυχίαις προσόδῳ τῇ μεγίστῃ χρησάμενος.

"Ὅτε γὰρ Σύλλας ἔλθει τὴν πόλιν ἐπώλει τὰς ὀψίας τῶν ἀνηρημένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, λάφυρα καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὅνομάξων, καὶ βουλόμενος ὅτι πλείστους καὶ κρατίστους προσομόρξασθαι τὸ ἄγος, οὐτε λαμβάνων οὐτ’ ὄνομενος ἀπεῖπε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅρων τὰς συγγενεῖς καὶ συνοίκους τῆς Ῥώμης κήρας ἐμπρησμοῦς καὶ συνιδέοθες διὰ βάρος καὶ πλῆθος οἰκοδομήματος, ἐωνεῖτο δουλοῦς ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους. εἰτ’ ἔχων τούτους ὑπὲρ πεντακοσίους οῦντας, ἐξηγόραζε τὰ καιόμενα καὶ γειτυόντα τοῖς καιόμενοις, διὰ φόβου καὶ ἀδηλότητα τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπ’ ὀλίγης τιμῆς προϊμένων, ὡστε τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὑπ’ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. τοσοῦτοι δὲ κεκτημένος

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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 consul-
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 great-
est 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 desile
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
adjointed 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

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.
τεχνήτας ούδέν ὑκοδόμησεν αὐτὸς ἢ τὴν ἱδίαιν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγε τοὺς φιλοικοδόμους αὐτοὺς υφ' έαυτῶν καταλύεσθαι χώρας ἀνταγωνιστῶν. ὅντων δ' αὐτῷ παμπόλλων ἀργυρείων, πολυτιμήτου δὲ χώρας καὶ τῶν εργαζομένων ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅμως ἂν τις ἡγήσατο μηδὲν εἶναι ταύτα πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν
6 οἰκετῶν τιμῆν· τοσοῦτοις ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοιούτους, 544 ἀναγνώστας, ὑπογραφεῖς, ἀργυρογυμνόνας, διοικη-
τάς, τραπεζοκόμους, αὐτὸς ἐπιστατῶν μανθάνουσι καὶ προσέχουν καὶ διδάσκουν καὶ ὅλως νομίζουν τῷ δεσπότῃ προσήκειν μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπιμέλειαν ὡς ὀργανα ἐμψυχα τῆς ὀικονομικῆς.
7 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὅρθως ὁ Κράσσος, εἴπερ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἡγεῖτο τα μὲν ἄλλα διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρη-
ναί, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας δι' αὐτοῦ κυβερνῶν· τὴν γὰρ ὀικονομικὴν ἐν ἀψύχως χρηματιστικὴν οὐσάν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτικὴν γιγνομένην ὀρῶμεν· ἐκείνο δὲ 
8 στρατόπεδον ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος οὐ τεταγμένα στει-
ται, κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὡσθ' ὁ πρὸς πόλεμον πλούτος ἀόριστος), καὶ πολὺ τῆς Μαρίου γνώμης ἀπηρτημένως. ἐκείνος γὰρ, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄνδρα νείμας ἐκάστῳ δέκα καὶ τέσσαρα πλέθρα γῆς ἐγνω 
πλέουν ἐπιζητοῦντας, "Μηδείς," ἐφη, "γένοςτο 
Ῥωμαίων ὀλίγην ἤγοομενος τὴν τρέφειν ἄρ-
κοῦσαν."
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. Cleomnes xxvii. 1; Morals, 190 a; 219 a. In Demosthenes, xvii. 3, the saying is put in the mouth of “Crobylus,” as Hegesippus the Athenian orator was familiarly called.
III. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ξένους ἢν φιλότιμος ὁ Κράσσος: ἀνέφεκτο γὰρ ἡ οἰκία πάσι, καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐδάνειζεν ἀνευ τόκων, ἀπῆτει δ' ἀποτόμως τοῦ χρόνου παρελθόντος εἰς ὅν ἐδάνεισε, καὶ τὸ προῖκα πολλῶν ἐγκυντό τόκων ἐπαχθέστερον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις ἡ μὲν κλῆσις ἦν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δημοτικὴ καὶ λαώδης, ἡ δ' εὐτέλεια τὴν καθαριότητα καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην ἡδίονα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς εἶχε.

2 Παιδείας δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγον μάλιστα μὲν τὸ ῥητορικὸν καὶ χρειώδες εἰς πολλοὺς ἡσκησε, καὶ γενόμενος δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἑπιμελεία καὶ πόνῳ τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους ὑπερέβαλεν. οὖδεμιαν γὰρ οὕτω δίκην φασί μικρὰν ομὸς εἰκαταφρόνητον γενέσθαι πρὸς ἣν ἀπαράσκευος ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πομπηίον πολλάκις ὁκνοῦντος καὶ Καλσαρος ἐξαναστίναι καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἐκεῖνος ἀνεπλήρου τὴν συνηγορίαν. καὶ διὰ τούτο μᾶλλον

3 ἦρεσκεν ώς ἑπιμελητὴς καὶ θορητικός. ἦρεσκε δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλάνθρωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικῶν. οὖδεν γὰρ οὕτως ἀπήντησε Ῥωμαίων ἀδόξοι καὶ ταπεινῷ Κράσσος δὲν ἀπασάμενον οὐκ ἀντιπροσωποῦσαν εἰς ὀνόματι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ ιστορίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὶ καὶ φιλοσοφήσατο τοὺς Ἀριστοτέλους λόγους προσθέμενος, ἄν διδάσκαλον εἶχεν Ῥέξανδρον, ἀνθρωπον εὐκολίας καὶ πραθό-
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\(^1\) as a teacher. This man gave proof of

\(^1\) Perhaps Alexander Cornelius, surnamed Polyhistor, a contemporary of Sulla.
τητος ἀπόδειξιν διδόντα τὴν πρὸς Κράσσου συνή-
θειαν. οὐ γὰρ ἢν ἀποφήνασθαι ῥαδίως πότερον
προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ πενέστερος ἢ προσέλθων ἐγένετο.
μόνος γοῦν ἀεὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῷ συναποδημόν
στέγαστρον ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τοῦτ'
ἐπανελθῶν ἀπηρτείτο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον.

IV. Ἐπεί δὲ Κίννας καὶ Μάριος κρατήσαντες
eὐθὺς ἦσαν ἐνδηλοι κατιόντες οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τῆς
πατρίδος, ἐπ᾽ ἀναίρεσιν ἐπὶ ἀντικρὺς καὶ ὀλέθρῳ
tῶν ἀριστῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἀπέθνη-
σκον, ὡν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Κράσσου καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς,
αὐτὸς δὲ νέος ἄν παντάπασι τὸ μὲν
αὐτικά δεινὸν ἔξεφυγε, πάντῃ δὲ περιβαλλόμενον
ἔαυτὸν αἰσθανόμενος καὶ κυνηγητούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
tυράννων τρεῖς φίλους ἀναλαβῶν καὶ θεράπουτας
dέκα, τάχει δ᾽ ὑπερβάλλοντι χρησάμενος εἰς Ἰβη-
ρίαν ἔγυνε, γεγονός πάλαι στρατηγοῦντος τοῦ
2 πατρὸς αὐτὸθι καὶ φίλους πεποιημένος. εὐρῶν δὲ
πάντας περιδεέις καὶ τὴν ὁμότητα τὴν Μαρίου
καθάπερ ἐφεστῶτος αὐτοῖς τρέμοντας, οὐδεὶς
γενέσθαι φαινομένως ἐθάρρησεν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς ἄγρος
ἐμβαλῶν παραλίους Οὐίβιον Πακιακὸν σπῆλαιον
ἐχοντας εὐμέγεθες, ἐκρυψεν ἐαυτὸν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν
Οὐίβιον ἐπεμψεν ἑνα δούλον ἀπθείρωμενος, ἥδη
3 καὶ τῶν ἐφιδίων ἐπιλυπότων. ὁ δὲ Οὐίβιος ἀκού-
σας ἣςθη τε σωζομένῳ καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πλῆθος
tῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἠλθεν

1 ἀλλὰ. Before this sentence the words φεῦ τῆς ὑπομενῆς,
οὐδὲ τὴν πενίαν ὁ τλῆμον ἀδιάφορον ἦγομενος 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).

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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.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

eis òpsiw, tôn dé tôv χωρίων ἐπίτροπον προσω-
γαγὼν ἐγγύς ἐκέλευσε καθ’ ἡμέραν δείπνων πεποι-
mévon κομίζειν, καὶ τιθέντα παρὰ τὴν πέτραν ἀπέρχεσθαι σιωπὴ καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδ’ ἔξετάζειν, προειπὼν πολυπραγμονοῦντι θάνατον, συμπράττοντι δὲ τούτο πιστῶς ἔλευ-
θερίαν.

4 Ὁ δὲ σπήλαιον οὐκ ἀπώθεν μὲν ἔστι θαλάσσης,
kρημνοὶ δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ συμφερόμενοι λεπτὴν καὶ
ἀσαφὴν παραπέμπουν λαύραν ἄγουσαν εἰσόω,
παρελθόντι δ’ ὕψος τε θαναμαστὸν ἀναπέπτταται,
καὶ κατ’ εὖρος ἔχει κόλπους δὲ ἀλλήλων ἁνοιγμέ-
νους μεγάλαις περιφερείαις. ἀμοιρεῖ δ’ οὔτε ὤδατος
οὔτε φωτὸς, ἀλλὰ πηγὴ μὲν ἡδίστου νάματος
ὑπορρέει παρὰ τὸν κρημνὸν, αὐτοφυεῖς δὲ ῥωχμοὶ
tῆς πέτρας ἡ μάλιστα περιπίπτει τὸ φῶς ἔξωθεν
ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ καταλάμπτει ἡμέρας τὸ
χωρίον. ὁ δ’ ἐντὸς ἀὴρ ἀστάλακτος καὶ καθαρὸς,
πυγνότητι τῆς πέτρας τὸ νοτέρον καὶ ἀποτηκόμε-
νου εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἐκπεισούσης.

V. Ἔνταῦθα διατρίβοντι τῷ Κράσσῳ τὰ ἐπιτή-
δεια καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐφοίτα κομίζον ὁ ἀνθρωπος,
αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὀρῶν ἐκείνως οὐδὲ γυνώσκων, ὡς
ἐκείνων δὲ καθορώμενοι εἰδότων καὶ παραφυλατ-
tότων τὸν καυρόν. ἦν δ’ ἄφθονα καὶ πρὸς
ηδονήν, οὐ μόνον χρείαν, ποιούμενα τὰ πρὸς τὸ
2 δείπνου. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Οὐίβιος ἀπάση φιλο-
φροσύνη θεραπεύειν τὸν Κράσσου, ὅ γε καὶ τὸ
tῆς ὠρας ἐν νῷ λαβεῖν ἐπήλθεν, ὡς παντάπασι
νεανίας εἴη καὶ τι καὶ ταῖς καθ’ ἥλικιαν ἡδοναῖς
αὐτοῦ χαριστέον, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε χρείαν ἀναγκαίως
CRASSUS

came 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 Vibilius 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
μάλλον ἡ προθύμως ὑπουργοῦντος εἶναι. δύο ὑπ' θεραπαινίδαις ἐυπρεπεῖς ἀναλαβῶν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὡς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, δείξας τὴν ἀνοδὸν ἐκέλευεν εἰσώ πορεύεσθαι καὶ

3 θαρρεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἰδόντες προσερχο-
μένας ἔδειςαν μὴ καταφάνες καὶ γνώριμον εἰκὸ τὸ χωρίον ἀνέκρινον οὕν αὐτὰς τὶ βούλονται καὶ τῆς εἰσὶν. ὡς δ' ἀπεκρίναντο δεδιδαγμέναι δεσπότην ζητεῖν ἐνταῦθα κρυπτόμενον, μαθὼν ὁ Κράσσος τοῦ Οὐίβιον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν παιδιαν

4 καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἀνέλαβε τὰς παιδίσκας καὶ συνήσαν αὐτὸ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, δόν ἐδείτο φράξουσι καὶ διαγγέλουσι πρὸς τὸν Οὐίβιον. τούτων φησὶ τὴν ἐτέραν ἡδὴ πρεσβύτων οὕσαν ὁ Φαυνεστέλλας ἰδεῖν αὐτοὺς, καὶ πολλάκις ἀκούσαι μεμνημένης τάτα καὶ διεξιόύσας προθύμως.

VI. Ὅ δὲ Κράσσος ὅκτῳ μῆνας οὕτω διαγαγὼν καὶ διακλαπεῖς, ἀμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὴν Κίννα τελευτὴν φανερὸς γενόμενος, συνδραμόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ὁλίγων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλεξάμενος δισχι-
λίους καὶ πεντακόσίους ἐπήρχετο τὰς πόλεις καὶ μίαν γε διήρπασε Μαλάκην, ὡς πολλοὶ γεγρά-
phasis, αὐτὸν δὲ φασίν ἠρνεῖσθαι καὶ διαμά-

2 χεισθαὶ πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας. ἐκ τούτων συναγα-
γὼν πλοία καὶ διαπεράζας εἰς Διβύην ἀφίκετο πρὸς Μέτελλον Πλοῦ, ἐνδοξον ἄνδρα, συνειλοχότα στρατιάν οὐκ ἐυκαταφρονητον. οὐ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων ἑνταῦθα παρέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ στασιάσας τῷ Μέτελλῳ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπῆσε, καὶ συνῆν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμώμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβάς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ὁ Σύλλας πάντας ἐβούλετο 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 ἔταττε πράξειν, ἀποστελλόμενος εἰς Μαρσύος ἐπὶ στρατιᾶν ὁ Κράσσος ἦτει φύλακας; η γὰρ πάροδος ἦν παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους. εἰσόντος 546 δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ σφόδρα πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Δίδωμι σοι φύλακας τὸν πατέρα, τὸν ἀδελφόν, τοὺς φίλους, τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ὃν παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἀναιρεθέντων ἐγὼ ¹ μετέχομαι τοὺς φονεῖς," οὕτω παθῶν τι καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ο Κράσσος εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὠσάμενος εὐρώστως δύναμιν τε συχνὴν ἅθροισε καὶ πρόθυμον αὐτὸν ἐν τῆς ἀγωσί τῷ Σύλλα παρεῖχεν.

4 Ἀπὶ ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν πράξεων λέγοντιν αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἐγγενέσθαι τὴν πρὸς Πομπῆιον ὑπὲρ δόξης ἀμιλλαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν. ο.rawValue Πομπῆιος ἡλικία τε λειπόμενος αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὸς γεγονὸς ἀδοξήσαντος ἐν Ἡρώη καὶ μισθέντος ἐσχάτων μίσος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν ἐκείνως τῶν πράγμασιν εξέλαμψε καὶ διεφανή μέγας, ὡστε Σύλλα, ἃ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἱσοτίμοι οὐ πάνω πολλάκις παρεῖχεν, ὑπεξανιστάσθαι προσίτων αὐτοῦ καὶ κεφαλῆ ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι καὶ προσετέων αὐτοῦ κράτορα. ταῦτα διέκαιε καὶ παράξυνε τὸν Κράσσον οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐλασσούμενον.

5 Ἐμπειρίας τε γὰρ ἐνδέχεται ἥν καὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀφήνουν αἱ συγγενεῖς κῆρες ἐπιφερόμεναι, φιλοκέρδεια καὶ μικρολογία. καὶ γὰρ πόλιν Ὀμβρικὴν Τουδερτίαν ἐλῶν ἐδοξεί

¹ ἐγὼ the conjecture of Bryan, mentioned by many editors with approval, and found in codex Matritensis by Graux: ἐγὼ actually.
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 σφετερισασθαί, καὶ διε-
βλήθη πρὸς Σύλλαν. ἄλλ' ἐν γε τῷ περὶ τὴν
'Rώμην ἀγῶνι πάντων γενομένῳ μεγίστῳ καὶ
tελευταίῳ Σύλλας μὲν ὑπτήθη, τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
ὡσθέντων καὶ συντριβέντων, Κράσσος δὲ τὸ
dεξιὸν κέρας ἔχων ἐνίκησε καὶ μέχρι νυκτὸς
dιώξας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεμψε πρὸς Σύλλαν, δει-
pνον αὐτῶν τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα
φράζων. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς καὶ δημεύσει
πάλιν κακῶς ἤκουσεν, ἄνωμενὸς τε τιμῆς βρα-
χείας μεγάλα πράγματα καὶ δωρεὰς αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ
Βρεττίοις λέγεται καὶ προγράψῃ τινὰ οὐ Σύλλα
κελεύσαντος, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ χρηματισμῷ, δι' οἶ καὶ
Σύλλαν καταγνύντα πρὸς μηθέν ἐτι χρῆσθαι
dημόσιον αὐτῷ. καίτοι δεινότατος ὡς Κράσσος
πάντας ἀνθρώπους κολακεία κατεργάσασθαι,
pάλιν δ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ κολακείας εὐάλω-
tος. ἔδιον δὲ κάκεινο περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, φιλο-
κερδάστατον ὄντα μάλιστα μισεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖν
τοὺς ὅμοιους.

VII. Ἡνία δὲ Πομπήιος αὐτὸν εὐημερῶν ἐi
ηγεμονίαις καὶ πρὸν ἡ βουλῆς μεταλαβεῖν θριαμ-
βεύων καὶ Μάγνος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μέγας, ὑπὸ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀναγορευθεῖς. καὶ ποτὲ καὶ φήσαντὸς
τινὸς ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἀπροσεις, γελάσας

2 ἡρώτησεν ὅπηλίκοις. ἀπογνώσθη τοῖσ πολεμικοῖς
ἐξισώσασθαι πρὸς ἐκείνου, ὑπεδύετο τὴν πολιτείαν,
σπουδαῖς καὶ συνηγορίαις καὶ δανεισμοῖς καὶ τῷ
συμπαραγγέλλειν καὶ συνεξετάζεσθαι τοῖσ δεομε-
νοις τι τοῦ δήμου κτώμενοι δύναμιν ἀντίπαλον
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 Πομπηίος εἶχεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ
3 μεγάλων στρατεύων. καὶ πράγμα συνέβαινεν
αὐτοῖς ἰδιον. μεῖζον γὰρ ἦν ἀπόντος ὄνομα τοῦ
Πομπηίου καὶ κράτος ἐν τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς στρα-
τεύες: παρὼν δὲ πολλάκις ἤλαττοῦτο τοῦ Κράς-
σου, διὰ τὸν ὁγκον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ βίου
φεύγων τὰ πλῆθη καὶ ἀναδυόμενος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ
τῶν δεσμῶν ὁλύγοις καὶ μὴ πάνω προθύμως
βοηθῶν, ὡς ἀκμαίοτέραν ἔχοι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ
4 αὐτοῦ χρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐνδελεχὲς τὸ
χρήσιμον ἔχων καὶ σπάνιος οὐκ ὄν ὀυδὲ δυσπρόσ-
ῳδός, ἀλλ᾿ ἐν μέσαις ἀεὶ ταῖς σπουδαίς ἀναστρε-
φόμενος, τῷ κοινῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ περιεγένετο
τῆς ἐκείνου σεμνότητος. σώματος δὲ ἀξίωμα καὶ
λόγου πειθῶ καὶ προσώπου χάριν ἀγωγὸν
ἀμφιτέρως ὁμοίως προσείναι λέγουσιν.
5 Οὐ μέντοι πρὸς ἔχθραν τινὰ τὸν Κράσσου ἢ 547
κακόνοιαν ἐξήνεγκεν οὕτως ὁ ζήλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Πομπηίῳ καὶ Κάισαρι τιμωμένοις μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
ἠχῆτε, τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ ταύτη δυσμένειαν ἢ
κακοήθειαν οὐ συνήπτε καίτοι Κάισαρ ὑπὸ
ληστῶν ἄλοις ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ φρονούμενος ἀνεβόη-
σεν. "Ὑλίκης, ὁ Κράσσος, ἡ χαρᾶς ἀπολαύσεις
6 πυθόμενος τὴν ἐμὴν ἀλωσίν." ἀλλ' ὑπερῶν γε
φιλικῶς ἀλλήλοις προσεφέροντο ταῦτα ποτὲ τῷ
Κάισαρι μέλλοντι μὲν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξεῖναι στρα-
τηγὸ, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχοντι τῶν δανειστῶν
ἐπιπτομένων καὶ τῆς παρασχευῆς ἐπιλαμβανο-
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.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΥΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

μένων ὁ Κράσσος οὖ περιείδειν, ἀλλ’ ἀπήλλαξεν ὑπὸθεὶς αὐτὸν ἐγγυνον τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιον 7 ταλάντων. καθόλου δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰς τρεῖς νενεμημένης δυνάμεις, τὴν Πομπηίον, τὴν Καίσα- 
ρος, τὴν Κράσσον (Κάτωνος γὰρ ἡ δόξα μείζων ἢν τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον πλέον ἵσχυν), ἤ μὲν ἐμφρων καὶ καθεστώσα μερίς ἐν τῇ ἐπολεὶ Πομπηίον ἐθεράπευε, τὸ δ’ ὤξυ καὶ φερόμε-

νον μετ’ εὐχερείας ταῖς Καίσαρος ἐπίστιν ἐπηκο-

8 λούθει, Κράσσος δὲ μέσος ὧν ἀμφοτέραις ἔχριτο, καὶ πλείστας μεταβολας ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβαλ-

λόμενος οὐτε φίλος ἢν βέβαιος οὔτε ἀνήκεστος ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ βασιν καὶ χάριτοι καὶ ὀργή ἐξεπιττεν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὥστε πολλάκις ἡν ἀνθρώπων, πολλάκις δὲ νόμων ἐν ὅλην 

φανήναι τῶν αὐτῶν συνήγορος καὶ ἀντίδικος.

9 ἵσχυν δὲ καὶ χάριτε καὶ φόβῳ, φόβῳ δ’ οὔκ ἑλαττον. ὁ γοῦν πλείστα πράγματα παρασχὼν τοῖς καθ’ αὐτὸν ἄρχουσι καὶ δημαγωγοῖς, Σικύνιος, πρὸς τὸν εἰσόντα τί δὴ μόνον οὐ σπαράττει τὸν Κράσσον, ἀλλὰ παρίσης, χόρτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἐφησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος. εἰώθησαν δὲ Ῥωμαίοι τὸν κυρίττοντα τῶν βωμῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας χόρτω θερελίσσειν τὸ κέρας.

VIII. Ἡ δὲ τῶν μονομάχων ἐπανάστασις καὶ 

λειλασία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ Σπαρτάκεων πόλεων ὃνομάζουσιν, ἄρχην ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοιούτης αἰτίας. Λέοντος τινὸς Βατιάτου μονομάχους ἐν Κατύη τρέφοντος, ὃν 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, ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ ποιηρῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀδικία τοῦ πριαμένου συνειρχέντες ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τῷ

2 μονομαχεῖν, ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν διακόσιοι φεύγειν, γενομένης δὲ μηνύσεως οἱ προαιρέσθαι καὶ

φθάσαντες ὑγοῦκοντα δυνῆν δεόντες ἐκ τινος ὀπτανεῖον κοπίδας ἀράμενοι καὶ ὀβέλισκους ἐξε-

πήδησαν, ἐντυχόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἀμάξισ

ἐπλα κομιζούσας μονομύχως εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἀφῆρπασαι καὶ ὡπλίσαντο, καὶ τόπον τινὰ

καρτερὸν καταλαβόντες ἑγεμόνας εἶλοντο τρεῖς,

ὡν πρῶτος ἦν Σπάρτακος, ἀνὴρ Θράξ τοῦ Νο-

μαδικοῦ γένους, οὐ μόνον φρόνημα μέγα καὶ ῥόμηρ

ἐχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει καὶ πραοτητι τῆς τύχης

3 ἀμείωναν καὶ τοῦ γένους Ἐλληνικότερος. τούτῳ

δὲ λέγουσι, ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς Ῥώμην ὄνοις ἡχθῇ,

ὅρακοντα κοιμωμένῳ περιπετευμένου φανῄναι

περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἡ γυνὴ δ’ ὀμόφυλος οὐσά τοῦ

Σπάρτάκου, μαυτικῆ δὲ καὶ κάτοχος τοῖς περὶ

τοῦ Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς, ἐφράξῃ τὸ σημεῖον εἰναι

μεγάλης καὶ φοβερᾶς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς εὐφυκές

télos ἐσομένης δυνάμεως· ἢ καὶ τότε συνῆν αὐτῷ

καὶ συνέφευγε.

IX. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Καπύης ἑλθόντας

ὡς αμενοὶ καὶ πολλῶν ὄπλων ἐπικαθόμενοι πολε-

μιστηριῶν ἀσμενοὶ ταῦτα μετελάμβανον, ἀπορρί-

ψαντες ὡς ἀτιμά καὶ βάρβαρα τὰ τῶν μονομά-

χων. ἐπειτὰ Κλωδίου στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τρισχε-

λῶν πεμφθέντος ἐκ Ῥώμης καὶ πολιορκοῦντος

αὐτῶν ἐν ὀρεῖ μίαν ἔχοντι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ

1 εὐφυκές MSS. (including S), Coraës, and Sintenis; Sintenis and Bekker adopt ἀτυχές, 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,
2 στενήν ἀνοδον, ἢν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐφρούρει, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα 548 κρημνοὺς ἀποτόμους καὶ λυσσάδας, ἀμπελοῦν δὲ πολλὴν ἀγρίαν ἐπιτολῆς πεφυκυίαν, ἔτεμνον τῶν κλημάτων τὰ χρήσιμα, καὶ συμπλέκοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν κλιμακίδας εὐτόνους καὶ βαθείας, ὡστ’ ἀνοδεὶς ἀνηρτημένας παρὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ἀπτεσθαι τῶν ἐπιπέδων, κατέβαινον ἄσφαλῶς δι’ αὐτῶν πλήν ἐνός. οὕτως δὲ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἑνεκα μείνας, ἐπεὶ κατέβησαν, ἤφει κάτω τὰ ὀπλα καὶ βαλῶν
3 ἀπαντα τελευταίως ἀπεσώζετο καὶ αὐτὸς. ταύτ’ ἤγιονον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι: διὸ καὶ περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς ἐξεπληξαν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ, καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης ἔλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ προσεγύνοντο πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτοθί βοτηρῶν καὶ ποιμένων αὐτοῖς, πλῆκται καὶ ποδόκεις ἀνδρείς, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλιζοῦν, τοὺς δὲ προδρόμους καὶ ψυλοῖς ἔχρωντο.
4 Δεύτερος ἑκτέμπεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς Πούπλιος Βαρίνος, οὐ πρῶτα μὲν ὑποστρατηγὸν τινα Φούριον ἔχοντα δισχελίσους στρατιῶτας ἐτρέψαντο συμβαλόντες· ἔπειτα σύμβουλον αὐτῷ καὶ συνάρχοντα Κοσσίνου ἀποσταλέντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Σπάρτακος λούιμενον περὶ Σαλίνας, μικρὸν ἐξέθεσε συναρπάσαι.
5 χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις ἐκφυγόντος εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, ἐκ ποδὸς δὲ κατέχων καὶ διώκων φόνφο πολλῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλεν. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ Κοσσίνος. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄλλως ἔκαμας πολλαῖς καταγωνισάμενος, τέλος δὲ τοὺς τε μαθιαύχους καὶ τὸν ἵππον 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 herdsmen 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
λαβών, ἦδη μὲν μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν, ἐφρόνει δὲ τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ μῆ προσδοκῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεὺς τοῦ στρατοῦ, οἴμενος δὲιν ὑπερβαλόντας αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χωρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Θράκην, τοὺς δ' εἰς Γαλατίαν. οἱ δὲ πλῆθει τε ὄντες ἱσχυροὶ καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες οὐχ ὑπῆκουν, ἀλλ' ἐπόρθουν ἐπιπορεύομενοι τῇ Ἰταλίᾳν.

Οὐκέτ' οὖν τὸ παρ' ἄξιαν καὶ τὸ αἱσχρὸν ἴνω-χλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῆς σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ δὴ διὰ φόβου τε καὶ κίνδυνον ὡς πρὸς ἐνα τῶν δυσκο-λωτάτων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων ἀμφοτέρως ἔξε-7 πεμπον τοὺς ὑπάτους. τὸν Γέλλιος μὲν τὸ Γερμανίκων ὑβρεί καὶ φρονήματι τῶν Σπάρτακείων ἀποσχισθέν ἔξαίφνης ἐμπεσὼν ἂπαν διέφθειρε, Δεύτερον δὲ τὸν Σπάρτακον μεγάλους στρατο-πέδους περιλαβόντος ὀρμήσας ὀμόσε καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἐκράτησε μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, ἐλαβε δὲ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἄπασαν. ἡθομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὺς Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίασ στρατηγὸς ἔχουσα μυρίων ἄπηντησε· καὶ γενομένης μάχης κρατήθεις καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόν μόλις αὐτὸς ἔξεφυτε·

X. Ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ πυθομένη τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους πρὸς ὄργην ἐκέλευσεν ἵστυχών ἄγειν, Κράσσου δὲ τοὺ πολέμον στρατηγὸν εἴλετο· καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλίαν συνεστράτευον τῶν ἐπι-φανῶν. αὐτῶς μὲν οὖν ὑπέμεινεν πρὸ τῆς Πικηνίδος ὡς τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐκεῖ φερόμενον δεξόμενος, Μόμ-340
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 τάγματα κύκλῳ περιεπεμψει, ἐπεσθαί κελεύσας τοῖς πολέμίωις,
2 συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ μὴ μηδὲ ἀψιμαχεῖν. ὁ δ’ ἀμα τῶ πρῶτων ἐπ’ ἐλπίδος γενέσθαι μάχην θέμενος
ήττηθη καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπέσουν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνευ τῶν ὅπλων φεύγουσες ἐσώθησαν. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος
αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μόμμιον ἐδέξατο τραχέως, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀπλίζων ἄδεις ἐγγυητᾶς ἦτει τῶν
ὄπλων, ὅτι φυλάξουσι, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τρέσαντας, εἰς
πεντήκοντα διανείμας δεκάδας ἀφ’ ἐκάστης ἀπέ-
κεινεν ἔνα τὸν κλήρῳ λαχόντα, πάντων τι τούτο
diὰ πολλῶν χρόνων κόλασμα τοῖς στρατιώταις
3 ἐπαγαγών. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχύνη τοῦ θανάτου τῷ
τρόπῳ πρόσεστι, καὶ δρᾶται πολλὰ φρικώδη
cαὶ σκυθρωπὰ περὶ τὴν κόλασιν ἀπάντων
θεωμένων.
Οὐτὸς δ’ ἐπιστρέψας τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἤγει ἐπὶ τοὺς
549 πολέμιους. ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος ὑπεξεχώρει διὰ
Λευκανίας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν δὲ πορθμῷ
λυστρίσι Κίλλασις ἐπιτυχῶν ὀρμήσεν ἀψαθαι
Σικελίας καὶ δισχίλιους ἀνδρὰς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς
tὴν νῆσον ἄθετα ἐκζωπυρήσας τὸν δουλικὸν ἑκεῖ
πολέμου, οὕτω πολὺν χρόνον ἀπεσβηκότα καὶ
μικρὸν πάλιν ὑπεκκαυμάτως ἐδόμενον. ὰμό-
λογισάντες δὲ οἱ Κίλλεις αὐτῷ καὶ δῷρα λα-
βόντες ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν. οὕτω δ’
pάλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναζεύξας ἐκάθισε τὸν
στρατὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥηγίνων χερρύνην. ἐπελθὼν
δ’ οἱ Κράσσος, καὶ τοῦ τόπον τὴν φύσιν ὠρῶν
ὕφηγομένην τὸ δέον, ὀρμήσεν ἀποτείχίσαι τὸν

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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

\[1 \text{ 102–99 B.C.}\]
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

ισθμόν, ἀμα καὶ τὴν σχολὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
5 ύφαιρῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν πολεμῶν. μέγα
μὲν οὖν ἦν καὶ χαλέπτον τὸ ēργον, ἦνυσε δὲ καὶ
κατειργάσατο παρὰ δόξαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, τάφρον
ἐμβαλὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ
αὐχένου σταδίων τριακοσίων, εὑρός δὲ καὶ βάθος
ἰσον πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τάφρου
6 τείχος ἠσθησεν ὑψεῖ καὶ ῥώμη θαυμαστὸν. δὲν ὁ
Σπάρτακος ἡμέλει καὶ κατεφρόνει τὸ πρῶτον. ὦς
δὲ τῆς λείας ἐπιλειπότις προϊέναι θουλώμενος
συνείδε τὸν ἀποτελείσμον καὶ λαμβάνειν οὐδὲν
ηὼ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου, νῦκτα νυφτόδη καὶ
πνεύμα τι χειμέριον παραφυλάξει ἔχωσε τῆς
tάφρου μέρος οὐ πολὺ γῆ καὶ ἕλη καὶ κλάδοις
dένδρων, ὡστε τῆς στρατιάς περαιώσαι τὸ τρίτον.

Χ. Ἐφοβήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Κράσσος μὴ λάβοι
tις ὀρμὴ τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐλαύνειν,
ἔθαρσε δὲ πολλῶν ἐκ διαφορᾶς ἀποστάντων
αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενων καθ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
Λευκανίδος λίμνης, ἦν φασὶ τρέπεσθαι διὰ χρόνου
gυμνῆν γυλκείαν καὶ αὐθίς ἀλμυρὰν καὶ
ἀποτον. τούτως ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κράσσος ἐξέσω μὲν
ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης, ἀφηρέθη δὲ τοῦ φόνου καὶ τὴν
dióξιν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανείτος ἐξέσω τοῦ Σπαρτάκου
καὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπιστήσατος.

2 Γεγραφῶς δὲ τῇ βουλῇ πρῶτερον ὡς χρὴ καὶ
Δοῦκουλλον ἐκ Θράκης καλεῖν καὶ Πομπήιον ἐξ
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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 Lucullus¹ from Thrace and Pompey from Spain, but he was sorry now that he

Marcus Lucullus, brother of Lucius.

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Ἰθιρίας, μετενόει, καὶ πρὶν ἦκειν ἐκεῖνος ἐσπευδῇ διαπράξασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, εἶδὼς ὅτι τοῦ προσ-
γενομένου καὶ βοηθῆσαι, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὸ κατόρ-
θωμα δόξει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν διαγνοὺς τοῖς ἄφεστῶι καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαιν στρατευομένοις, ὅν ἄφε-
γωντο Γάιος Καννίκιος καὶ Κάστος, ἐπιθέσθαι,
λόφον τινὰ προκαταληψιμένους ἀνδρας ἐξακισχι-
λίους ἀπέστειλε, λαυθάνειν πειράσθαι κελεύσας.
3 οἱ δ’ ἐπειρῶντο μὲν τὴν αὐσθησίν ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ
cράινη καταμάζοντες, ὁφθέντες δ’ ὑπὸ δυνῶν
gυναικῶν προθυμιμένων τοῖς πολέμοις ἐκινδύνευ-
σαν, εἰ μὴ Κράσσος δέξεως ἐπιφανεὶς μάχην
ἐθετο πασῶν καρτερισμᾶτιν, ἐν ἤ τριακοσίοις ἐπὶ
dισχίλιοι καὶ μυρίοις καταβαλὼν δύο μόνους
eὑρε κατὰ νότου τετραμένους, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες
ἐστῶτες ἐν τάξει καὶ μαχόμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαῖοις
ἀπέθανον.

4 Σπαρτάκῳ δὲ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἦτταν ἀνα-
χωροῦντε πρὸς τὰ ὄρη τὰ Πετηλίνα, Κόιντος τῶν
περὶ Κράσσου ἤγεμόνων καὶ Σκρώφας ταμίας
ἐξαπτόμενοι παρηκμολούθουν. ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ
γίνεται φυγὴ μεγάλη τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μόλις
πρωθέντα τῶν ταμίαν ἀρπάζαντες ἀπεσώθησαν.
tοῦτο τὸν Σπάρτακον ἀπόλλεσε τὸ κατόρθωμα,
5 φρουρόμετο τὴν ὑπενομένου τοῖς δραπέταις. οὐκέτι
γὰρ ἦξιον φυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ ἔπειδοντο τοῖς
ἀρχουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἦδη καθ’ ὅδον ὅντας ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς
περισχότεις ἥμαγκασαν αὖθις ὀπίσω διὰ τῆς
Λευκάνιας ἀγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰς ταὐτὸ τῷ

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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
Κράσσω σπεύδοντες. ἦδη γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος 550 προσών ἀπηγγέλλετο· καὶ δὴ ἀρχαιστιάζοντες ἦσαν οὐκ ἄλλοι τὴν νίκην ἐκείνη τοῦ πολέμου προσήκειν· ἐλθόντα γὰρ εὐθὺς μαχεῖσθαι καὶ καταλύσει τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπειγόμενος οὖν διαγωνισμα χεῖσθαι καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις ὀρυττε τάφρον, πρὸς ἤν ἐκπηδώντες οἱ δοῦλοι προσεμάχοντο τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις. ἀλλὰ δὲ πλειώνων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκβοηθοῦντων ὁρῶν τὴν ἀνάγκην ὁ Σπάρτακος ἄπαν παρέταξε τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ἐπιποὺ προσαχθέντος αὐτῶ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι νικῶν μὲν ἔχει πολλοὺς ἐπίπους καὶ καλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων, ἥττωμενος δὲ οὐ δεῖται, κατέσφαξε τὸν ἐπίπον ἐπείτα πρὸς Κράσσον αὐτὸν ὠδούμενος διὰ πολλῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τραυμάτων ἐκεῖνο μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν, ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ δύο συμπαράστατος ἀνείλε.

7 τέλος δὲ φυγόντων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς ἐστῶς καὶ κυκλώθεις ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀμυνόμενος κατεκότη. Κράσσον δὲ τῇ τύχῃ χρησαμένου καὶ στρατηγήσαντος ἀριστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κινδύνῳ παρασχόντος, ὅμως οὐ διέφυγε τὸ κατόρθωμα τὴν Πομπηίου δόξαν. οἱ γάρ διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες 1 αὐτῶ διεφθάρσαν, ὅστε καὶ γράψαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι μάχη μὲν τοὺς δραπέτες φανερὰ Κράσσος νεκρικευ, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ρίζαν ἀνήρικε. Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Σερτωρίου καὶ

1 διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες Corbæi correction of the MSS. διαπεσόντες. Cf. Pompey, xxi. 2, from which Graux would correct δια <πεσόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης πεντασέκολης περί> πε- σόντες.

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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 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

¹ Their number is given as five thousand in Pompey, xxi. 2.
XII. Metà dé taúta toû Pompèiou autóthn esti tîn upateiaîn kaloumênon, elptiásas exwv ò Krâssos sunàrxeiv omwos ouk ókhnose toû Pompèiou deðhînai. deðaimenos dé toû xréion âsmeinos ékeînos (êpethûmei gâr ármos gé píos àei xáritos tîn òphelètyn labeiâv toû Krâssou) espoûdase proðûmos, kai telos éitev ekklhisiáxvow òs ouk élâttvna peri toû sunârkoxontos

2 êxev xâriv ò peri tîs ârkhês. ou ìthn êmeînav êpi taúthis tîs filofrosoûnhs eis tîn ârkhê kata-stântes, álloî olígon deîn peri pántan diapheró-menoi kai pánta dúsokolâinontes álhlîois kai filoveisîontes ápòliténtov kai âpraktov autôi tîn upateiâv éposîsan, plîn òti Krâssos Hrákksiux megálhîn thûsîan poînêamenois eîstíasa tîn dîmov àpò munîwv trapezwv kai sîton

3 emêtrhsev eîs trîmmonv. ëdh ded tîs ârkhês autôi têleutwosèt hêvkhôn mèn èkkâkhxiáxontes, ánîr ëde tîs ou tîn epifanwv, ìpseus Pômavîwv, ágrôikos ded tîw bîw kai idiwthth, òunátois 1 Lûrîlês, ánabas èpì tî bîmâ kai próselôwv 2 òphin dînîgeto kata toûs ùpvnous autôî genomênhn. "O gâr

1 'Ounátois in Pompey, xxiii. 1, Gáios. Graux would therefore read here ònìbmati Gáios.
2 próselôwv with Stephanus, Coraês, and S: próselôwv.
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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 ταύτ’ ἐσχεν ἀξία μνήμης, η δὲ τιμητεία παυτάπασιν ἀτελῆς καὶ ἀπρακτος αὐτῷ διήλθεν, οὔτε γὰρ βουλῆς ἐξέτασιν οὔθ’ ἱππέων ἐπίσκεψιν οὔτ’ ἀποτίμησιν πολιτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καλτοῦ συν- ἀρχοντα Ρωμαίων ἔχοντι τὸν πραύτατον Λοντάτιον Κάτλων. ὦλλας φασιν ἔπει δεινῶν ὁρμῆσαντι τῷ Κράσσῳ πολίτευμα καὶ βίαιον, Αὐγυπτίων ποιεῖν ὑποτελῇ Ρωμαίῳς, ἀντιβῇν τὸν Κάτλων ἐρρωμένως· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενομένης διαφορᾶς ἐκόντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν.

2 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῦ δεήσασιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ὀμῆν, ἦσατο μὲν τις ὑπόνοια τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ προσήλθεν ἄνθρωπος ὄνομαξιν ἀπὸ τῆς συνομοσίας, οὐδὲις δὲ ἐπίστευσεν. ὦμοι δ’ ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τινι λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστρεμόμενος. ἀλλ’ οὕτως μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφότερ τελευτῆν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ὑπατείας.
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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, clapped 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 τὰ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐξηγουμένην, ώς ἢδη βεβαιοῦντα τὴν συνωμοσίαν. ὁ δὲ οὖν Κράσσος ἦλε μὲν ἐμίσει τὸν Κικέρωνα διὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ βλάπτειν ἀναφανδὺν ἐμποδῶν εἰς τὸν νιών. ὁ γὰρ Πόπλιος ὃν φιλολόγος καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἐξήρτητο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡστε καὶ συμμεταβαλείν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσθῆτα κρισμένην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νέους ταῦτα ποιοῦντας παρασχεῖν. τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα πείσας φίλον ἐποίησεν.

XIV. 'Ο δὲ Καίσαρ ὃς ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, παρασκευαζόμενος ὑπατείαν μετιέναι καὶ Κράσσον ὅρων καὶ Πομπήίων αὐθίς ἐν διαφοράς πρὸς ἄλληλους ὄντας, οὔτε θατέρου δεηθεὶς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν ἐχθρὸν τὸν ἐτερον, οὔτε μηδετέρου συνεργοῦντος ἥλπις κατορθώσειν.

ἐπράττειν οὖν διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῖς προσκείμενος καὶ διδάσκων ὃς καταλύοντες ἄλληλους αὐξοῦσι Κικέρωνας καὶ Κατλοὺς καὶ Κάτωνας, ὃν οὐδεὶς λόγος, ἃν ἐκεῖνοι συνενεγκόντες εἰς ταῦτα τὰς φιλίας καὶ τὰς ἑταρείας ἐν κράτει καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ τὴν πόλιν ἀγωσίω. πείσας δὲ καὶ διαλλάξας συνήγαγε καὶ συνεστησεν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν ἵσχυν ἀμαχον, ἡ κατέλυσε 'Ῥωμαίων τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δήμον, οὐκ ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀλλήλων μείζονας, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἑαυτῶν μέγιστον ἀπεργασάμενος.

εὐθὺς γὰρ ἄρθεις ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὑπατος ἀπεδει-

1 κομίζοντα... ξηγουμένην Sintenis' correction of the MSS. κομίζοντα περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα καὶ ξηγουμένην, which Coraës and Bekker retain.

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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.

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χθη λαμπρώς. ὑπατεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ ἡ σφυρὶ σάμενοι στρατευμάτων ἤγεμονιαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐγχειρίσαντες ὡσπερ εἰς ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν, οἵμενοι καθ' ἃνυχίαις νεμήσεσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκεῖνῳ βεβαιοῦντες ἂν ἔλαχεν ἄρχῃν.

4 Πομπήιος μὲν оὐν ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ὑμέτερον ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράττε· τοῖς δὲ Κράσσου νοσημάτων τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡ φιλοπλούτια καινὸν ἔρωτα προσλαβούσα καὶ ζήλουν ἐπὶ ταῖς Καίσαρος ἀριστείαις τροπαίων καὶ θριάμβων, οἷς γε μόνοις ἐλατοῦσθαι προύχοντα τοῖς ἀλλοις, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄνηκεν οὔδ᾽ ἐλώφησε πρὶν εἰς ὀλέθρον ἀκλεή καὶ δημοσίαις συμφορᾶς τελευτήσαι. Καίσαρος γὰρ εἰς Δούκαν πόλιν ἐκ Γαλατίας καταβάντος ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ Ρωμαίων ἄφικοντο, καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ Κράσσος ἵδια συγγενόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγνωσαν ἐγκρατέστερον ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πᾶσαν ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῶς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Καίσαρος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μένοντος, ἄλλας δὲ ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα Πομπήιου καὶ Κράσσου λαβόν.

5 των. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὅδε ἢν μία δεύτερας ὑπατείας αἰτησις· ἢν μετιόντων ἐκείνων ἐδει συμπράττειν Καίσαρα, τοῖς τε φίλοις γράφοντα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμποντα πολλοὺς ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας.

XV. Ἔπει τούτως οἱ περὶ Κράσσου εἰς Ὀμην ἐπανελθόντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ὑποπτοὶ, καὶ πολὺς ἔχωρει διὰ πάντων λόγως οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γεγο-1 αὐτῷ after this word καλός is bracketed by Sintenis and Bekker.

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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

1 59 B.C.  2 56 B.C.
νέαι τὴν σύνοδον αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Βουλῇ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Δομίτιον Πομπήιον ἔρωτόντων εἰ μετείησιν ὑπατείαν, ἀπεκρίνατο τευχὸν μὲν μετείηαι, τευχὸν δὲ μὴ μετείηαι· καὶ πάλιν ἔρωτόμενος ἐφ᾽ ἡμείς μετείηαι τοῖς δικαίοις πολίταις, μὴ 2 μετείηαι δὲ τοῖς ἅδικοις. τούτου δὲ δόξαντος ὑπερηφάνους ἀποκρίσεις καὶ τετυφωμένας ποιεῖσθαι μετριώτερον ὁ Κράσσος εἶπεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, μετείηαι τῇν ἀρχήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πεπαύσεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τινες ἐθάρρησαν ὑπατείαν μετέλθειν, ὃν ἦν καὶ Δομίτιος. γενομένου δὲ φανερῶν ἔκεισιν εἰς ταῖς παραγγελίαις οἳ μὲν ἄλλοι δείσαντες ἀπέστησαν, Δομίτιον δὲ Κάτων οἰκεῖον ὄντα καὶ φίλον ἐθάρρυνεν ἐγκελεστέμονος καὶ παρομών ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐλπίδος ὡς ὑπερμαχοῦντα τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας· οὐ γὰρ ὑπατείας Πομπήιον δεῖσθαι καὶ Κράσσον, ἄλλα τυραννίδος, οὐδ' ἀρχής αἴτησιν, ἄλλο ἀρπαγήν ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ στρατοπέδων εἶναι τὰ πραττόμενα.

3 Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγων οὔτω καὶ φρονῶν ὁ Κάτως μονονοῦ βία προῆγεν εἰς ἄγορὰν τὸν Δομίτιον, καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ θαυμάζουσιν οὐκ ὄλγον ἦν, ὡς ὁ δὴ δευτέρας οὔτοι χρήζουσιν ὑπατείας; τί δὲ πάλιν μετ᾽ ἄλληλους; τί δ' οὗ μεθ' ἐτέρων; πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἡμῖν οὐκ ἀνάξιοι δῆποι Κράσσῳ καὶ Πομπήῖῳ συν-

4 ἄρχειν." ἐκ τούτου δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Πομπήῖον οὖν εὗρος ἀπείχουσι τῶν ἀκοσμοτάτων καὶ βιασιτάτων, ἄλλα πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς ἀλλοις λόχον ὑφέντες

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purpose. In the senate, also, when Marcellinus and Domitius 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 Domitius. When, however, Pompey and Crassus openly announced their candidature, the rest took fright and withdrew from the contest; but Cato encouraged Domitius, 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 Domitius 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-
τῷ Δομιτίῳ νυκτὸς ἔτι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατ- 
ερχομένως κτείνουσι μὲν τὸν ἀνέχοντα τὸ ὕδως 
πρὸ αὐτοῦ, συνυπτρώκουσι δὲ πολλοῖς, ὥς ἦν καὶ 
Κάτων. τρεφάμενοι δὲ καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς 
τὴν σκιάν ἐκείνους ἀνηγορεύθησαν ὑπατοὶ καὶ 
μετ’ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον αὖθις ὀπλοὺς περισσότερος 
τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκβαλόντες1 
καὶ τινὰς ὑποστάντας ἀποκτείναντες, Καλλοπερ 
μὲν ἄλλην ἐπέδοσαν πενταετίαν τῆς ἁρχῆς, 
αὐτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχίων ἐψηφίσαντο Συρίαν 
καὶ Ἰβηρίας συναμφότερας. κληρομένων δὲ 
Συρίαν ἐλαχίς Κράσσος, τὰ δ’ Ἰβηρικὰ Πομ-
πηίος.

XVI. Ἡν δὲ οὐκ ἄκουσιος ὁ κληρὸς ἄπασιν. 
οὐτὲ γὰρ πολλοὶ Πομπηίοι μὴ μακρὰν εἶναι τῆς 
πόλεως ἐβούλουστο, καὶ Πομπηίοις ἑρῶν τῆς γυναι-
κὸς αὐτὸθα τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβειν ἐμελλε, Κράσσος 
δὲ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκπεσόντι τῷ κληρῷ κατα-
φανὴς ἢν οὔδεν εὐτύχημα λαμπρότερον ἑαυτῷ 
γεγονεῖν τοῦ παρόντος ἡγούμενος, ὡς μόλις ἐν 
ἀλλοτρίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἱστυχιὰν ἄγειν, πρὸς δὲ 
τοὺς συνήθεις πολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μειρακιώδη λέγειν 
παρ’ ἡλικίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φύσιν, ἥκιστα

2 κομματιῶν ἢ σοβορὸς τῷ βίῳ γεγονός. τότε δ’ ἐπιτηρούν κομιδῇ καὶ διεφθαρμένος οὐ Συρίαν 
οὔς Δαρδανὸς ὥρον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς ἐντεχνίας, ἀλλ’ 
ὡς παιδίαν ἄποφαντο τὰ Δουκούλλων πρὸς 
Τυραννὴν καὶ Πομπηίον πρὸς Μιθριδάτην, ἀχρὶ 
Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῆς ἐξώ θαλάσσης ἄνηγεν 
ἐαυτὸν ταῖς ἐλπίσι.

1 In codex Matritensis Graux found after this word μετὰ 
tῶν φίλων (together with his friends).

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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 Καίτου τῷ γραφέντι περὶ τούτων νόμῳ Παρθικὸς πόλεμος οὗ προσήν. ἤδεσαν δὲ πάντες ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτο 1 Κράσσος ἐπτάσισε καὶ Καῖσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἔγραφεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀρμήν ἐπαινῶν καὶ παραξύνων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δημάρχων ἀτής ἐμελλε πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον ἐναντιώσεσθαι, καὶ συνήσταντο πολλοὶ χαλεπαίνοντες εἰ τις ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν ἁδίκον, ἀλλ' ἐναπόνοιοι, πολεμήσων ἀπεις, δείσας ὁ Κράσσος ἐδείξε ὁ Πομπήιος παραγενέσθαι καὶ συμπροτέμψαι.

4 μέγα γὰρ ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον ἄξιωμα· καὶ ἄρα παρεκεφασμένους πολλοὺς ἐνίστασθαι καὶ καταβοάν ὅρμων πρὸς αὐτὸν θανάτῳ βλέψω τοῖς παρεσσάτοις κατεπραύνεν ὁ Πομπήιος, ὡσθ' ὑπείκειν σιωπὴ δι' αὐτῶν προιόσιν. ὁ δ' 553 Ἀτής ἄπαντησας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἐκώλυκε καὶ διεμαρτύρετο μὴ βαδίζειν, ἐπείτι τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευεν ἀψάμενον τοῦ σῶματος κατέχειν. ἄλλων δὲ δημάρχων οὐκ ἐώτων, ὁ μὲν ὑπηρέτης ἄφηκε τὸν Κράσσον, ὁ δ' Ἀτής προδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἔβεβηκεν ἑσχαρίδα καυσίμων, καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου γενομένου καὶ αὐτῆς ἐπιθυμοῦν καὶ καταστένδων ἀράς ἐπηράτο δεινᾶς μὲν αὐτάς καὶ φρικῶδεις, δεινοῖς δὲ τυφαὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀλλοκοτονέως ἐπὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τυφαὶ παλαιὰς καὶ ἄρρητων ἐνεχθῶν δύναμιν ὡς περιφυγεῖν μηδενά τῶν ἐνσεβεῖν τῶν αὐταῖς, κακῶς δὲ πράσσειν καὶ τῶν χρησάμενον, οθὲν οὔκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυφαῖς αὐτῶν οὐδ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀράσθαι. καὶ τότ' οὖν ἐμέμφοντο τὸν

1 τοῦτο Bekker adopts τούτον from Reiske.
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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
'Αρτέιος, εἰ δὲ ἐν ἐκαλέσαι τῷ Κράσσῳ πόλιν, εἰς αὐτὴν ἅρας ἀφῆκε καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην.


3 ἐν μιᾷ δ', ἦς Ἀπολλώνιος ἑτυράγησε, στρατιτωτῶν ἐκατόν ἀναἱρεθέντων ἐπαγαγών τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ κρατήσας διήρπασε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδωσεν. Ζηνοδοτίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν πόλιν οἱ Ἑλληνες. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἀλούσης δεξάμενος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀναγορευθή- ναι πολλὴν ὡφλεν ἀισχὺν, καὶ ταπεινὸς ἐφανε καὶ περὶ τὰ μείζονα δύσελπις οὕτω πλεονέκτημα

4 μικρὸν ἡγαπηκός. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ φρουρᾶς ταῖς προσκεχωρηκυνίαις πόλεσιν, ὃν ἀριθμὸς ἦν
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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.  
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ἐπτακισχίλιοι πεξοὶ χίλιοι δ’ ἵππεῖς, ἀνεχώρησεν αὐτὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαχειμάσων καὶ δεξόμενος αὐτόθι τὸν νῦν ἥκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας αὐτόν τε κεκοσμημένον ἀριστείοις καὶ χιλίοις ἵππεῖς ἐπιλέκτους ἄγοντα.

Τούτο πρῶτον ἀμαρτείν ἐδοξεῖν ὁ Κράσσος μετὰ γε τὴν στρατείαν αὐτὴν μέγιστον ἀμάρτημα τῶν γενομένων, ὅτι πρόσω χωρεῖν δέον ἔχεσθαι τε Βαβυλώνας καὶ Σελευκείας, δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ Πάρθοις πόλεων, χρόνων ἐνέδωκε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρα-5 σκευῆς. ἔπειτα τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ διατριβὰς ἦτιώντο χρηματιστικὰς μᾶλλον οὐσάς ἡ στρατηγικὰς· οὐ γὰρ ὅπλων ἀριθμὸν ἐξετάζων οὐδὲ γυμνασίων ποιούμενοι ἀμίλλας, ἀλλὰ προσόδους πόλεων ἐκλογιζόμενοι καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἐν Ἰεραπόλει θεοῦ σταθμοῖς καὶ τρυπαίναις μεταχειριζόμενοι ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἐπιγράφῳ δὲ καὶ δήμοις καὶ δυνάσταις στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους, εἰτ’ ἀνείς ἄρ-γύριοι διδόντας, ἡδοξεῖ καὶ κατεφρονεῖτο τούτους.

6 γίνεται δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἢν οἱ μὲν Ἀφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ "Ηραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν ἐξ υγρῶν παρα-σχοῦσαν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν νομίζουσι, καὶ τὴν πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἄρχην ἄγαθῶν καταδείξα-σαν. ἐξιότων γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐσφάλη κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὁ νεᾶνια Κράσσος, εἰτ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ περιπεσῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος.

XVIII. Ἡδη δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων συναθροίζοντος αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο παρ’ Ἀρσάκου βραχὺν τινα λόγον κομίζοντες. ἐφασαν 366
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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 Arsaces\(^1\) with a wonderfully brief

\(^1\) In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.
γάρ, εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ Ὑρμαίων ὁ στρατὸς ἀπέσταλται, πόλεμον ἀστονδον εἶναι καὶ ἀδιάλλακτον, εἰ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ἀκούσης, ὡς πυνθάνονται, Κράσσος ἰδίων ἐνεκα κερδῶν ὅπλα Πάρθους ἐπενήνοχε καὶ χώραν κατείληφε, μετριάζειν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τὸ μὲν Κράσσου γῆρας οἰκτείρειν, ἀφιέναι δὲ Ὑρμαίοις τοὺς ἀνδρας, οὓς ἔχει φρευρουμένους μᾶλλον ἡ 2 φρονοῦντας. πρὸς ταῦτα Κράσσου κομπάσαν- τος ὡς ἐν Σελευκείᾳ δῶσει τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, γελά- σας ὁ προσβύτατος τῶν πρέσβεων Οὐαγίσης καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ὑπτίας δείξας τὸ μέσον “Ἐντεῦθεν,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Κράσσε, φύσονται τρίχες πρότερον ἢ σὺ ὑφει Σελεύκειαν.”

Οὕτοι μὲν οὖν ἀπήλανυν ὡς βασιλέα Ὑρμάδῃ πολεμητέα φράσοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων ἃς ἐφρούρον Ὑρμαίοι τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, παραβό- λως τινὲς διεκπεσόντες ἀξία φροντίδων ἀνήγγελ- 3 λον, αὐτόπται μὲν γεγονότες τοῦ τε πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων ὡς ἠγωνίσαντο προσ- μαχόμενοι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἵ δὲ φιλεὶ πάντα πρὸς τὸ δεινότερον ἐξαγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἄφυκτοι μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες διώκοντες, ἀληττοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες, βέλη δὲ καὶ 1 προθέοντα τῆς ὑψης καὶ πρὶν ὃθηναι τῶν βάλλοντα χωροῦντα διὰ τοῦ προστυχόντος, τῶν δὲ καταφράκτων ὅπλα τὰ μὲν διὰ παυτὸς ὅθει- σθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι πεποιημένα.

1 καὶ Bekker; πτηνά (winged) from Pseudo-Appian.
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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.
* Cf. Dio Cassius, xI. 16.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

4 ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀκούοντων τὸ θράσος ὑπέπεπτεν. πεπεισμένοι γὰρ οὐδὲν Ἀρμενίων
dιαφέρειν Πάρθους οὐδὲ Καππαδοκῶν, οὕς ἀγών
cαι φέρων Δούκουλλος ἀπείπε, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου
tὸ χαλεπώτατον ἡγούμενοι μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἔσεσθαι
cαι διώξων ἀνθρώπων εἰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀφεξομένων,
παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἀγώνα καὶ κίνδυνου μέγαν προσεδο-
kων, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τινὰς οἰεσθαι δεῖν
ἐπισχόντα τὸν Κράσσου αὖθις ὕπερ τῶν ὅλων
gνώμην προθέσθαι. τούτων ἡν Κάσσιος ὁ ταμίας.

5 ἦσυχῇ δὲ παρεδήλουν καὶ οἱ μάντεις ὡς ἂεὶ
ποιηρὰ σημεῖα καὶ δυσέκθυτα προφαίνοιτο τῷ
Κράσσῳ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἀλλ’ οὔτε τούτως προσ-
εἰχεν οὔτε τοῖς ἔτερον τι πλὴν ἐπείγεσθαι
παραίνοσιν.

ΧΙ. Οὕς ἦκιστα δ’ αὐτὸν Ἀρταβάζης ὁ
Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς ἐπέρρωσεν. ἦλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ
στρατόπεδον μεθ’ ἐξακισχιλίων ἱππέων. καὶ
οὕτωι μὲν ἐλέγοντο φύλακες καὶ προπομποὶ
βασιλέως· ἐτέρους δὲ μυρίους ὑπισχεῖτο κατα-
φράκτους καὶ τρισμυρίων τεξοῦς οἰκοσίτους.

2 ἔπειθε δὲ Κράσσου ἐμβαλεῖν δι’ Ἀρμενίας εἰς τὴν
Παρθίαν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάξειν τὴν
στρατιὰν αὐτὸν παρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πορευο-
σθαι δι’ ἀσφαλείας, ὡρή πολλὰ καὶ λόφους
συνεχεῖς καὶ χωρία δύσιππα πρὸς τὴν ἵππον, ἡ
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,¹ 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.
ΠΛΟΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΗΣ

μόνη Πάρθων ἅλκη, προβαλλόμενον. ο δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς θο-θελας μετρίως ἠγάπησε, βαδιεῖσθαι δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὀλὰ
Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου πολλοὺς καὶ ἁγαθοὺς Ὕρω-
3 μαίων ἀνδρῶν ἀπέληπεν. ὦ μέν οὖν Ἀρμενίως ἐπὶ
tούτοις ὕπηλαυνεν.

Τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ διαβιβάζοντι τὴν στρατιάν κατὰ τὸ ζεύγμα πολλὰ μὲν ύπερφυεῖς βρονταλ
περιερρήγυντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἱστραπτεῖν1 ἔναντι
tῶν στρατῶν, πνεύμα δὲ νέφει καὶ πρηστήρι
μένον ἐρείσαν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς σχεδίας ἀνέρρησε
4 πολλὰ καὶ συνέτριψεν: ἐβλήθη δὲ καὶ κεραυνοῖς
dυσὶν ὁ χῶρος οὗ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐμελλεν. ἱπτος
dὲ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἐπιφανῶς κεκοσμημένος βία
συνεπιστάσας τῶν ἤμισοιρ εἰς τὸ δείθρων ὑπο-
βρύχιος ἡφανίσθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀετῶν ὁ
πρῶτος ἀρθέας ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου μεταστράφηναι. 555
5 πρὸς δὲ τούτους συνέπεσε μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν
μετρουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πρῶ-
tα πάντων δοθῆναι φακοὺς καὶ ἄλας, ἀ νομίζουσι
ὠμαῖοι πένθιμα καὶ προτίθενται τοῖς νέκυσιν,
αὐτοῦ τε Κράσσου δημηγοροῦντός έξέπεσε φωνὴ
δεινῶς συγχέασα τῶν στρατῶν. ἔφη γὰρ τὸ ζεύγμα
tοῦ ποταμοῦ διαλύειν ὅπως μηδεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπαν-
έλθη. καὶ δέον, ὡς ἦσθετο τοῦ ρήματος τὴν
ἀτοπίαν, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διασαφῆς πρὸς τοὺς
ἀποδειλιώντας τὸ εἰρημένον, ἡμέλησεν ὑπὸ αὐθα-
6 δεῖσας. τέλος δὲ τὸν εἰθισμένον καθαρμὸν ἐσφαγιά-

1 καὶ ἱστραπτεῖν MSS., Corœbs, and Bekker: κατὰ ἱστραπτεῖν
with Pseudo-Appian.

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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 cagle 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

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.
Ταύτα τοῦ Κράσσου διασκοποῦντος ἐτὶ καὶ βουλευομένου παραγίνεται φύλαρχος Ἀράβων, Ἄριάμηνς ὄνομα, δολερὸς καὶ παλέμβολος ἀνή στὸ πάντων ὡσα συνήγηκεν εἰς ὀλθερὸν ἡ τύχῃ κακά, μέγιστον αὐτοῖς καὶ τελειότατον

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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· τούτον δ’ ἥδεσαν ἐνιοῦ τῶν Πομπηίας συνεστατευμένων ἀπολαύσαντά τι τῆς ἐκείνου φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δόξαντα φιλορρώμαιον εἶναι· τότε δ’ ὑφεῖτο τῷ Κράσσου μετὰ γνώμης τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, εἰ δύνατο παρατρέψας αὐτὸν ἀπωτάτῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπωρειῶν εἰς πεδίον ἐκβαλεῖν ἄχανες καὶ περιελαύνόμενον. πάντα γὰρ διενεύθυτο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ στόμα

3 προσφέρεσθαι Ἱρωμαίοις. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Κράσσου ὁ βάρβαρος (ἡν δὲ καὶ πιθανῶς εἰπεῖν) Πομπηίον μὲν ὡς εὐεργέτην ἐπήνει, Κράσσου δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μακαρίσας ἐμέμφετο τῆς διατριβῆς μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον, ὡσπερ ὅπλων αὐτῷ δεήσουν, οὐχιρὸν οὐδὲ ποδῶν τῶν ταχύστων ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους οἱ πάλαι ζητοῦσιν ἀρπάσαντες τὰ τιμωτάτα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων εἰς Σκύθας ἢ Ἱρκανοὺς ἀναπτέσθαι. "Καίτοι μάχεσθαι: μέλλοντας," ἐφι, "ὑπεύθεν ἔδει, πρὶν ἀπασαν ἐν ταύτῳ γενέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἀναθαρσίας τοῦ βασιλέως· ἐπεὶ γὰρ εἰς Σουρήνας ὡμίν προβέβληται καὶ Σιλλάκης ἐφ’ αὐτοὺς ἀναδεξάμενοι τὴν δίωξιν, ὅ δ’ οὕδαμι φανέρος ἔστων."

4 Ταῦτα δὲ ἢν πευδὴ πάντα. διὰ γὰρ εὐθὺς Ἱρώνης διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπόρθει τινοῦμεν Ἀρταουάσδην, Σουρήνας δ’ ἀφίκετο ὡς Ἱρωμαίοις, οὐχ ὑπερφροσύνη χρώμενος, ἠς ἐνιοὶ φασίν οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κράσσου μὲν ἀπαξιοῦν ἀνταγωνιστὴν, ἀνδρα

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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
Ρωμαίων πρώτον, Ἀρταούσδη δὲ προσπολεμεῖν 556 καὶ ταῖς Ἀρμενίων ἐπίοντα κῶμαις ἐξαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ καταδείσας τὸν κληρόν τοῦ βασιλέως μὲν ἐφεδρεῦειν καὶ καραδοκεῖν τὸ μέλλον, Σουρήναν δὲ προκαθείναι πειρασόμενον μάχης καὶ 6 περιέλξοντα τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῶν τυχόντων ὁ Σουρήνας, ἀλλὰ πλούτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει καὶ δόξῃ μετὰ βασιλεά δεύτερος, ἄνδρεια δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν Πάρθοις πρῶτος, ἔτι δὲ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει σώματος ὃς οὔδεις ἔτερος. ἐξῆλαυν δὲ καθ' έαυτὸν αἰει χιλίας σκευοφυτούμενος καμήλοις, καὶ διακοσίας ἀπήγας ἐπήγατο παλλακίδων, ἵππεῖς δὲ κατάφρακτοι χίλιοι, πλείονες δὲ τῶν κούφων παρέπεμπον, εἰχὲ δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἵππεῖς ὁμοὶο πελάτας τε 7 καὶ δούλους μυρίων οὐκ ἀποδέοντας. κατὰ γένος μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκέκτητο βασιλεῖ γενομένῳ Πάρθων ἐπιτιθέναι τὸ διάδημα πρῶτος, Τρόῳδην δὲ τούτον αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένον εἰς Πάρθους κατηγαγε, καὶ Σελεύκειαν αὐτὸ τὴν μεγάλην εἶλε πρῶτος ἐπιβᾶς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τρεψάμενος ἱδιὰ χειρὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας. οὔτω δὲ γεγονὼς ἡτη τριάκοντα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον εὑβουλίας καὶ συνέσεως δόξαν εἰχε μεγίστην, οἷς οὖν ἥκιστα καὶ τὸν Κράσσουν ἐσφηλε, διὰ θάρσος καὶ φρόνιμα πρῶτον, εἶτα οὕτω δέοις καὶ συμφορῶν ταῖς ἀπάταις εὐχείρωτον γενόμενον.

XXII. Τότ' οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, ὡς ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν,
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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,¹ 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.
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ἀποσπάσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ μέσων ἤγε τῶν πεδίων ὅδον ἐπιεικῆ καὶ κούφην τὸ πρῶτον, ἐητα μοχθηράν, ἄμμου βαθείας ύποδεχομένης καὶ πεδίων ἀδεύδρων καὶ ἀνύδρων καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ πέρας ἐφικτὸν αἰσθήσει πανομένων, ὡστε μὴ μόνον δίψαι καὶ χαλεπότητι τῆς πορείας ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἀπαραμπήθητον ἀθυμίαν παρέχειν οὐ φυτὸν ὄρωσιν, οὐ ρεῖθρον, οὐ προβολὴν ὄρους καθιέντος, οὐ πόαν διαβλαστάνουσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀτεχνὸς πελάγιον τἱς χεῦμα θινῶν τινῶν ἐρήμων περιεχόντων τὸν στρατόν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ὁ δόλος ὑποπτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀρταούασδου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου παρῆσαν ἀγγέλου φράζοντες ὡς πολλῷ συνέχοντο πολέμῳ ῥύνετος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν Τρώδου, καὶ πέμπειν μὲν ἔκεινῳ βοήθειαν οὐ δύναται, παρανεῖ δὲ Κράσσῳ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκεὶ τραπέσθαι καὶ γενόμενον μετ’ Ἀρμενίων ὁμοῦ διαγωνίσομαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταούασδον, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πορεύεσθαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύειν ἀεὶ τὰ ἱππάσιμα φεύγοντα καὶ προσχωροῦντα τοῖς ὄρεοις, Κράσσος μὲν οὐδὲν ἄντιγράψας ὑπ’ ὅργῆς καὶ σκαστητοῦ ἀπεκρίνατο νῦν μὲν Ἀρμενίους μὴ σχολάζειν, αὐθές δ’ ἀφίξεσθαι δίκην ἐπιθήσων Ἀρταούασδῳ τῆς προδοσίας.

4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάσσιον αὖθις ἡγανάκτουν, καὶ Κράσσον μὲν ἄχθομενον αὐτοῖς ἑπαύσαντο νουθετοῦντες, ἱδιὰ δὲ τὸν Βάρβαρον ἔλοιδόρον. "Τίς σε δαίμονα πονηρός, θαύματε ἄνθρωπον, ἦγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς; τίς δὲ φαρμάκοις καὶ γοταίας ἐπείς Κράσσον εἰς ἐρημίαν ἄχανη καὶ βύθιον ἐκχέαντα τὴν στρατ. ὁδὸν ὄδευεν Νομάδι λη-380
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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. "Basetest 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

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ΑΡΝΑΚΗ ΜΙΛΛΟΝ ἢ 'Ρωμαῖων αὐτοκράτορι προσ-γύκουσαν;” ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ἄνηρ ὄν ποικίλος ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποπίπτων ἐθάρρυνε καὶ παρεκάλει μικρὸν ἔτι καρτερῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀμα συμπαραθέων καὶ παραβοηθῶν ἐπέσκωπτε μετὰ γέλωτος: “Τμεῖς δὲ διὰ Καμπανίας ὠδεύειν ὀισθὲ ἀράβων καὶ κάματα καὶ σκιᾶς καὶ λουτρά δηλαδὴ καὶ παιδοκεία ποδοῦντες; οὐ μέμνησθε δὲ τὴν Ἀράβων διεξέστε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων μεθορίαν;” οὕτω μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος διεπαιδαγόγησε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, καὶ πρὶν ἦ γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἐξαπατῶν ἀφίππευσεν, οὐ λαθὼν τὸν Κράσσον, 557 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πείσας, ὡς ὑπεργάσεται καὶ διαταράξει τὰ τῶν πολέμιων.

XXIII. Λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τοῦ Κράσσου ὅπερ ἠθος ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατη-γοῖς ἐν φοινικίδι προελθεῖν, ἄλλʾ ἐν ἰματίῳ μέλαιν, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀλλάξαι προνοί-σαντα, τῶν δὲ σμαίων ἐνίας μόνε τὸ σπερ πεπηγνίας πολλὰ παθόντας ἡνελέσοντας τοὺς φέροντας.  

2 ὃν ὁ Κράσσος καταγελῶν ἐπετάχυνε τὴν πορείαν, προσβιαζόμενος ἀκολουθεῖν τὴν φάλαιγγα τοῦ ἐπιπέδου, πρὶν γε δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἀπο-σταλέντων ὁλῖγοι προσπελάσαντες ἀπήγγειλαν ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιέναι δὲ μαχωμένους

3 πλήθει πολλῷ καὶ θάρσει τοὺς ἀνδρας. ἀπαντεῖ μὲν οὖν ἐθορυβήθησαν, ὃ δὲ Κράσσος ἔξεπλάγη παντάπασι καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς οὐ πάνω καθεστηκὼς

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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.
παρέταττε, πρῶτον μέν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον ἥξιον, ἀραίαν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνάγων τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις, τοὺς δὲ ἰππεῖς διανέμων τοῖς κέρασιν ἔπειτα μετέδοξε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ἀμφίστομον ἐποίησε καὶ βαθὺ πλινθίον ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προερχομένης τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστης. παρὰ δὲ σπείραν ἦλθαν ἰππέων ἔταξεν, ὡς μηδεν ἔχοι μέρος ἐνδεές ἰππικῆς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ πανταχῶθεν ὁμαλῶς προσφέροιτο πεφραγμένος. τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν Κασσίως, τὸ δὲ τῷ νέῳ Κράσσῳ παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς μέσον κατέστη.

Καὶ προάγοντες οὕτως ἐπὶ ἱεύθρον ἦλθον διαλείταται Βαλισσος, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἀφθονον, ἀσμένοις δὲ τότε τοῖς στρατιῶταις φανέν ἐν αὐχμῷ καὶ καύματι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπίπονον καὶ ἀνυδρον πορείαν. οἱ μὲν οὐν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ὕστο ἐντάθα καταυλισμένους καὶ νυκτερεύσαντας καὶ πυθομένους, ἐφ’ ὁσον οἶνον τε, πλήθος καὶ τάξιν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀμ’ ἡμέρα χωρεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς. Κράσσος δὲ τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ἰππεύσιν ἐγκελευομένοις ἀγείν καὶ συνάπτειν ἐπαρθείς ἐκέλευσεν ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους.

καὶ πρὶν ἡ τούτο διὰ πάντων γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἦγεν οὐ σχέδην οὐδ’ ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην διαναπαύων, ἀλλ’ ὦξεία καὶ συντόνω χρώμενος τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι οὗ κατώφθησαν οἱ πολέμοι, παρὰ δόξαν ὀὔτε πολλοὶ φανέντες ὀὔτε σοβαροὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος ὑπέστειλε τοῖς προ-
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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 Surena had
τάκτοις Σουρήνας, τὴν δὲ λαμπρότητα κατέκρυβε τῶν ὀπλῶν ἰμάτια καὶ διφθέρας προσχεσθαι κελεύσας. ὡς δ’ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ σημεῖον ἢρθῃ παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶμπλαντο φθογγῆς βαρείας καὶ βρόμου φρικώδους 7 τὸ πεδίον. Πάρθοι γὰρ οὐ κέρασιν οὐδὲ σαλπιγγίζων ἐποτρύνουσιν ἐαυτοὺς ἐἰς μάχην, ἀλλὰ ῥόπτρα βυρσοπαγῆ καὶ κοῦλα περιτείναντες ἤχειοις χαλκοῖς ἀμα πολλαχόθεν ἐπιδουποῦσι, τὰ δὲ φθεγγεται βύθιον τὶ καὶ δεινὸν, ὀρυγῆ θηρώδει καὶ τραχύτητι βροντῆς μεμυγμένων, εἷς τῶν συνεφρακτεῖς ὅτι τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀκοῆς ταρακτικότατον ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην πάθη τάχιστα κινεῖ καὶ μάλιστα ἔξιστησι τὴν διάνοιαν.

XXIV. Ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸν ἤκον, ἔξαιφνης τὰ προκαλύμματα τῶν ὀπλῶν καταβαλόντες ὡφθησαν αὐτοὶ τε φλογοειδεῖς κράνεις καὶ θώραξι, τοῦ Μαργιανοῦ σιδήρου στίλβοντος ἐξ καὶ περιλαμπτές, οἳ ὅπποι καταπεφραγμένοι χαλκοῖς καὶ σιδηροῖς σκέπασιν, ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος αὐτῶς, τῇ δὲ κατ’ ἀνδρείᾳ δόξῃ τῆς θηλύτητα τοῦ κάλλους οὐκ ἑοικώς, ἀλλὰ Μηδικώτερον ἐσκευασμένοι εὐτρῆμασι προσώπου καὶ κόμης διακρίσει, τῶν ἄλλων Πάρθων ἐτὶ Σκυθικῶς ἐπὶ 558 3 τὸ φοβερὸν τὸ ἀνασίλλῳ κομῶντων, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διενεοῦντο τοῖς κοντοῖς ἐσελαύνουτες ἀθέων καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς προτάκτους· ὡς δ’ ἐὼρων τὸ

1 τῷ ἀνασίλλῳ the correction of Schaefer (ἀνασίλλῳ Coraës): τῶν ἀνασίλλων.
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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. Surena 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
τε βάθος τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ μόνιμον καὶ παρεστηκός, ἀνήγον ὅπισώ καὶ σκιδνασθαὶ δοκοῦντες ἁμα καὶ διαλύειν τὴν τάξιν ἐλάνθανον ἐν κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες τὸ πλυνθιόν

4 αὐτῶν. Κράσσου δὲ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐκδραμεῖν κελεύσαντος, οὕτωι μὲν οὐ πολύ προῆλθον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶς τοξεύμασιν ἐντυχόντες ταχὺ καὶ συμπαρέντες ἁδίκες ἐνεδύοντο τοῖς ὑπλίταις, καὶ παρείχον ἀκοσμίας ἀρχῆς καὶ δέους, ὀρῶσι τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀιστῶν καὶ τὴν ρώμην ὀπλα τε ῥηγμών των καὶ διὰ παντὸς φερομένων ὁμοίως ἀντιτύπου καὶ μαλακοὺς στεγάσματος.

5 Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαστάντες ἐκ μέκους ἢξαντο τοξεύειν ἁμα πανταχόθεν, οὐ τὴν ἀκριβὴ τοξείαν (ἡ γὰρ συνέχεια καὶ πυκνότης τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ διαμαρτάνειν ἄνδρὸς παρείχειν), εὐτόνους δὲ τὰς πληγὰς καὶ βιαίους διεόντες ἀπὸ τόξων κραταῖων καὶ μεγάλων καὶ τῇ σκολιότητι τῆς καμπῆς ἧμαγκασμένον τὸ βέλος ἀποστελλόντων.

6 ἢν οὖν αὐτόθεν ἦδη μοχθηρὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ γὰρ μένοντες ἐν τάξει συνετιτωσκόντο, καὶ χωρεῖν ὁμόσε πειρώμενοι τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν ἵσον ἀπείχον, ὁμοίως δ’ ἐπασχον. ὑπέθενον γὰρ ἁμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι, καὶ τοῦτο κράτιστα ποιοῦσι μετὰ Σκύθας καὶ σοφότατον ἔστιν ἀμνομένους ἐτι σάξεσθαι καὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ αὐσχρόν.

XXV. Ἀχρι μὲν οὖν ἢλπιζον αὐτοὺς ἐκχειρεμένους τὰ βέλη σχῆσεσθαι μάχης ἡ συνάψειν εἰς χειρας, ἑκατέρους ὡς δ’ ἐγνωσαν ὅτι πολλαὶ
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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 fight at close quarters, the Romans held
κάμηλοι παρεστάσι τοξευμάτων πλήρεις, ἀφ’ ὧν περιελαύνοντες οἱ πρῶτοι λαμβάνουσιν, οúdeν πέρας ὅρων ο Κράσσος ἡθύμει, καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἀγγέλους πέμψας πρὸς τὸν νιόν, ὅπως προσμίξαι βιάσεται τοῖς ἐναντίοις πρὶν ἥ κυκλωθήναι. μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκεῖνω προσέπιπτον καὶ περιπτευόν τὸ κέρας ὡς κατὰ νῶτον γενησόμενοι.

2 λαβὼν οὖν ὁ νεανίας ἵππεῖσ τε χιλίους τριακοσίους, ὃν οἱ χίλιοι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ τῶν ἤγγιστα θυρεοφόρων ὁκτὼ σπείρας συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐμβολήν. τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οἱ περιελαύνοντες, εἰτε τέλμασιν ἐπτυχόντες, ὡς ἐνοί φασιν, εἰτε λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπωτάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατηγοῦντες,

3 ὁπίσω στρέψαντες ἐδίωκον. ο δὲ βοήσεις ὡς οὐ μένουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἠλαυνε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κηνσωρίνος τε καὶ Μεγάβακχος, ὃ μὲν ἐνυψυχία καὶ ῥώμη διαφέρων, Κηνσωρίνος δὲ βουλευτικὸν ἔχων ἀξίωμα καὶ δεινὸς εἶπεῖν, ἑταῖροι δὲ Κράσσου καὶ παραπλήσιοι καθ’ ἡλικίαν. ἐπιστομένων δὲ τῶν ἵππεων οúde τὸ πεζὸν ἀπελεύπετο προθυμία καὶ χαρὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος· νικῶν γὰρ φόντο καὶ διώκειν, ἀχρὶ οὐ ποιλ προελθόντες ἔσθοντο τὴν ἀπάτην, μεταβαλλομένων ἀμα τῶν φεύγειν δοκοῦντων καὶ

4 πλειόνων ἄλλων ἐπιφερομένων. ἐνταίθα ἐστησάν, οἴόμενοι συνάψειν αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ὀλίγοις οὔσι

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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,
τούς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ τοὺς καταφράκτους προτάξαντες ἐναντίον τοῖς Ρωμαίοις, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ὑπον ἀτακτόν περὶ αὐτούς ἐλαύνοντες, καὶ συνταράττοντες τὸ πεδίον, ἀνίστασαν ἐκ βυθοῦ θίνας ἁμμοῦ κονιορτῶν ἐπαγούσας ἀπλετοῦ, ὡς μήτε διορᾶν ῥάδιως μήτε φθέγγεσθαι τοῖς Ρωμαίοις, εἰλουμένους δὲ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ συμπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις βαλλεσθεὶ καὶ ἀποθνῄσκειν οὐ τρίῳ οὐδὲ ὀξὺν θάνατον, ἄλλυ ὑπὸ σπασμοῦ καὶ ὀξὺς δυσανασχετοῦντας καὶ κυλινδουμένους περὶ τοῖς ὀίστοις ἐναποθραυσάμεν τὸς πραῦμαι, βίω τε πειρωμένους ἑξέλκειν ἡγκιστρωμένας ἄκιδας καὶ δεδυκνιάς διὰ φλεβῶν καὶ νεύρων προσαναρρηγύναι καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι σφάς αὐτοῦς.

5 Οὕτω δὲ πολλῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἀπρακτοὶ καὶ οἱ ξίνιν ἔσαν πρὸς ἀλκήν καὶ τοῦ Ποπλίου παρακαλοῦντος ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάφρακτον, ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἑαυτῶν χειρᾶς τε ϑυρεοίς συμπεπερονημένας καὶ πόδας διαμπτὰς προσεληλαμένους πρὸς τούδαφος, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν

6 ἀμηχάνους εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἁμναν. αὐτὸς οὖν τοὺς ἱππεῖς παρορμήσασ προσέβαλε μὲν ἐρρωμένους καὶ συνῆψε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἥν δὲ ἁυσος ἐν τῆς πληγαῖς καὶ τῷ φυλάττεσθαι, παῖων μὲν ἄσθενεσι καὶ μικρῶς δορατίοις θώρακας ὠμοβύρσους καὶ σιδηρῶς, παιόμενος δὲ κοντῶς εἰς εὐσταλῆ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα τῶν Γαλατῶν τοῦτος γὰρ θάρρει μάλιστα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔργα

7 θαυμαστά διεπράττετο. τῶν τε γὰρ κοντῶν ἐπελαμβάνοντο, καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρας
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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 ἐαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες ἵππους καὶ ὑποδυόμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνων ἑτυπτον εἰς τὰς γαστέρας· οἱ δὲ ἀνεσκίρτων ὑπὸ ὁδύνης, καὶ συμπατοῦντες ἐν ταύτῳ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναπεφυρμένους ἀπέθνησκον.

9 ἐπίεξε δὲ τοὺς Γαλάτας μάλιστα τὸ τε θάλπος καὶ τὸ δίψος, ἀμφοτέρων ἀνήθεις ὄντας· καὶ τῶν ἱππῶν ἀπολώλεσαν οἱ πλείστοι πρὸς ἐναντίους ἐλαυνόμενοι τοὺς κωντοὺς. ἐβιάζθησαν οὖν ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλῖτας, ἔχοντες τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἑκτὸς κακῶς διακείμενον. ἠδόντες δὲ θύμα βουνώδῃ πλησίον ἔχρουν ἐπὶ αὐτὴν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐν μέσῳ κατέδησαν, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοῖς θυρεοῖς συγκλείσαντες ὄσοντο ῥάον ἀμυνεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐξαρέα.  ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὀμαλῷ τοῖς ὑπισθεν ἀμώδες γε πως παρέχουσιν οἱ πρῶτα κοίτα ῥαστών, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἄλλων ὑπὲρ ἄλλου διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν ἀνέχοντος τοῦ χωρίου καὶ μᾶλλον ἂεὶ τῶν κατόπιν ἐξαιροῦσος, οὐδὲν ἦν τῷ διαφεύγον, ἀλλ' ἐβάλλοντο πάντες ὀμαλῶς, ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀκληθεν καὶ ἀπρακτον αὐτῶν τελευτήν.

10 Ἡσαν δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἄνδρες Ἔλληνες δύο τῶν αὐτῶθι κατοικοῦντων ἐν Κάρραις, Ιερόνυμος καὶ Νικόμαχος, οἳ συνεπείθον αὐτῶν ὑπεξελθεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ διαφεύγειν εἰς Ἰχνας, πόλιν ἡμέρες τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὔ μακράν οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ φήσας οὗδένα δεινὸν οὕτως ἐσεσθαι θάνατον ὅσον φοβηθεῖς Πόπλιος ὑπολείψει 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
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dεξιωσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ χειρὶ χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος (διελήλατο γὰρ βέλει), τὸν ὑπασπιστήν ἐκέλευσε πατάξαι τῷ ξίφει, παρα-
12 σχὼν τὸ πλευρόν. ὦμοῖος δὲ καὶ Κράσσουν ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν. Μεγάβακχος δ' ἄυτὸς ἄυτὸν διεχρήσατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. τοὺς
d' ὑπολειμμένους ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ Πάρθοι τοῖς κοντοῖς δὴλαυνοῦν μαχομένους: ξόντας δ' οὐ πλείονας ἀλώναι φασὶ πεντακοσίων. τὰς δὲ
εὐθαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἄποκόψαντες ἥλαυνον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Κράσσον.

ΧΧϚ. Εἶχε δὲ τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν οὕτως. ὡς ἐκέλευσε τὸν νιου εμβαλεῖν τοῖς Πάρθοις καὶ τῖς ἠγγειλέν αὐτῷ μακράν τροπὴν εἶναι καὶ δίωξιν ἴσχυρὰν τῶν πολεμίων, ἔωρα δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ'
αὐτὸν οὐκέτι προσκεμένους ὦμοῖως (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐρινίσαν οἱ πλείστοι), μικρὸν ἀνεθάρρησε, καὶ συμμαχῶν ὑπέστειλεν ἐν χωρίοις προσάντες τὸν
υποτάτον, αὐτίκα προσδοκὼν τὸν ὦν ἐπανήξειν ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως. τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποπλίον πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκινδύνευεν, οἱ μὲν πρῶ-
τοι διεφθάρησαν ἔμπεσόντες εἰς τέσσερας βαρβάρους, ἦ δ' ὑστεροί μόνοις διαφυγόντες ἀπῆγγελλον
ὁνεσθαί τὸν Πόπλιον, εἰ μὴ ταχεία καὶ πολλή 560

2 Ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως. τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποπλίου πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ἐκινδύνευεν, οἱ μὲν πρῶ-
τοι διεφθάρησαν ἔμπεσόντες εἰς τέσσερας βαρβάρους, ἦ δ' ὑστεροί μόνοις διαφυγόντες ἀπῆγγελλον
ὁνεσθαί τὸν Πόπλιον, εἰ μὴ ταχεία καὶ πολλή 560

2 Ὁσίθεια παρ' ἐκείνου γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ Κράσσουν ἂμα
πολλὰ πάθη κατέσχε: καὶ λογισμῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι
tῶν πραγμάτων ἐώρα, φόβῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος
ἀμα καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ παιδός ἐλκόμενος βοήθειν καὶ
μὴ βοηθεῖν, τέλος ὧμηστε προάγειν τὴν ὁνταμα.
CRASSUS

dismissed 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.
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Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ πολέμοι προσεφέροντο κλάγγῃ καὶ παιᾶνι φοβερότεροι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τυμπάνων αὖθις περιεμκάτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτέρας μάχης ἀρχὴν προσδοκώντας. οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ποπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπεπηγυῶν ἐγγύς προσελάσαντες ἀνέδειξαν, ὑβρεὶ πυνθανόμενοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος: οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρέπειν γε Κράσσου πατρὸς ἀναιδροτάτου καὶ κακίστου γενναίου οὕτω παῖδα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀρετῆ γενέσθαι. τούτο τὸ θέαμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ ἀπαντὰ τάλλα δεινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς κατέκλασε καὶ παρέλυσεν, οὐ θυμοῦ πρὸς ἀμυναν, ὀστερὴ ἦν εἰκός, ἀλλὰ φρίκης καὶ τρόμου πᾶσιν ἐγγενομένου.

καίτοι τὸν γε Κράσσου αὐτοῦ λαμπροτάτον ἐν τῷ τότε πάθει φανήμα λέγουσιν ἐβόα γὰρ ἐπὶ ὅν τὰς τάξεις: "Εμῶν, ὡς Ῥωμαίοι, τοῦτο τὸ πένθος ἰδιὸν ἐστιν. ἢ δὲ μεγάλη τύχῃ καὶ δόξα τῆς Ῥώμης ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστηκε σωζόμενος ἀθραυστὸς καὶ ἀκτυττητός. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ τις οίκτος ἀφηρημένου παῖδα πάντων ἄριστον, ἐπιδείξασθε τοῦτο ὅργῃ πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους. ἄφελεσθε τὴν χαρὰν αὐτῶν, τιμωρήσασθε τὴν ὁμότητα, μὴ καταπλαγῇτε τοῖς γεγενημένοις, εἰ δεὶ τι καὶ παθεῖν μεγάλων ἐφεμένους. οὔ δὲ Δούκουλλος Τυγράνην ἀναιμωτῆ καθείλεν, οὔ δὲ Σκητίνων Ἀντίοχον, χιλίας δὲ ναῦς οἱ παλαιοὶ περὶ Σικελίαν ἀπόλλεσαν, ἐν δὲ Ἰταλίᾳ πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγοὺς, δὲν οὔδεὶς προηττηθεῖς ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι τῶν νεκρικῶτων. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχία τὰ Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ
CRASSUS

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
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tημοσύνη καὶ ἀρετὴ πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ χωροῦτων εἰς τὸντο προῆλθε δυνάμεως."

XXVII. Τοιαύτα λέγων καὶ παραθαρσύνων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ πολλοὺς ἔωρα προβῆμως ὑπακούοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναλαλάξας κελεύσας ἠλεγξε τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν κατήφειαν, ὡς ἄσθενῆ καὶ ὅλην καὶ ἀνώμαλον κραυγὴν ἐποιήσαντο. ἦ δὲ πάρα τῶν βαρβάρων λαμπρὰ καὶ θρασεία κατείχεν. τραπομένων δὲ πρὸς ἔργον οἱ μὲν ἰππόται 1 πλάγιοι περιελαύνοντες ἐτόξευον, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοῖς κοντοῖς οἱ πρότακτοι χρώμενοι συνέστελλον εἰς ὅλην τοῦς Ῥωμαιοὺς, πλὴν ὅσοι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων φεύγοντες θάνατον ἀπετόλμουν παραβόλως εἰς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι, μικρὰ μὲν βλάπτοντες, ὀξεῖς δὲ θυγκούτες ὑπὸ τραυμάτων μεγάλων καὶ καρύων, παχύν ἐπωθοῦντον τῷ σιδήρῳ τῶν κόντων εἰς τοὺς ἰππούς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διὰ δυνῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ ρύμης διαπροερόμενον. οὕτω δὲ ἀγωνισάμενοι νυκτὸς ἐπιούσῃς ἀπηλλάγησαν, εἰπόντες ὅτι Κράσσῳ χαριζοῦνται νῦκτα μίαν ἀποθρηνήσαι τὸν νῦο, ἢν ἁρὰ μὴ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ σκεψάμενος ἔλθειν μᾶλλον ἑθελήσῃ πρὸς Ἀρσάκην ἢ κομισθήσῃ.

3 Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἐπαυλισάμενοι πλησίον ἐν ἐλπίδι μεγάλαις ἦσαν. νῦξ δὲ χαλεπῆ τοὺς Ῥωμαιοὺς κατελάμβανεν, οὕτε ταφῆς τῶν κειμένων οὕτε θεραπείας τῶν τετρωμένων καὶ ψυχορραγοῦντων ποιουμένως λόγου, ἐκάστου δὲ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποκλαίοντος. ἀφυκτα γὰρ ἐφαινοτο τὴν τε ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ προσμέινασι καὶ νύκτωρ εἰς πεδίον ἁχανεῖς ἐμβα-

1 ἰππόται with the MSS. (including S): οἰκέται καὶ πελάται (slaves and vassals).
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· οί τε τραυματίαι πολλήν ἀπορίαν παρεῖ-χον, καὶ κομίζειν, ἐμποδῶν τῷ τάχει τῆς φυγῆς ἐςόμενοι, καὶ ἀπολείπειν, βοή τήν ἀπόδρασιν

4 ἐξαγγελοῦντες· τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου, καὶ περ αὖτιον ἀπάντων νομίζοντες, ἔπόθουν ὅμως τὴν τε ὅψιν· καὶ τὴν φωνῆν. ὦ δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος 561 ὑπὸ σκότους ἐκείτο, παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τύχης, τοῖς δ' εὐ φρονοῦσιν ἀβουλίας καὶ φιλο-τυμίας, δι' ἢν οὐκ ἡγάπα πρῶτος ὁν καὶ μέγιστος ἐν μυρίσιν ἀνθρώπων τοσαύταις, ἀλλ' ὅτι δνεῖν μόνον ἀνδρῶν ὑστερος ἐκρῖνετο, τοῦ παντὸς ἀπο-δεῖν νομίζων.

5 Τότε δ' οὖν αὐτὸν Ὀκταούίος ὁ πρεσβευτής καὶ Κάσσιος ἀνίστασαν καὶ παρεθαρρύνων. ὡς δ' ἀπηγορεύκει παντάπασιν, αὐτοὶ συγκαλέσαντες ἐκατοντάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς, ὡς ἐδοξεῖ θουλεύ-μένοις μὴ μένειν, ἀνίστασαν τὸν στρατὸν ἀνευ σάλπιγγος καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας τὸ πρῶτον· εἰτ' αἰ-σθομένων ὡς ὑπελεῖποντο τῶν ἁδυνάτων, ἀκοσμία δεινῇ καὶ σύγχυσις μετ' οἰμωγῆς καὶ βοής τὸ

6 στρατόπεδον κατείχεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ πτολ᾽ προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν, ὡς ἐπιφε-ρομένων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ πρωλάκις μὲν ἐκτρε-πόμενοι, πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τάξιν καθιστάμενοι, τῶν δὲ τραυματῶν ὁσοὶ παρηκολούθουν τοὺς μὲν ἀναλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποτίθεμενοι, διατριβὴν εἶχον, πλὴν τριακοσίων ἱππέων, οἷς Ἰγνάτιος ἔχων προσέμεξε ταῖς Κάρραις περὶ μέσας νύκτας.

7 φθειξάμενος δὲ Ἐρωμαῖστὶ 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
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ὡς ἵππηκοςαν, ἐκελευθὲς Κοπωνίῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι
φράζειν ὅτι γέγονε μάχη μεγάλη Κράσσῳ πρὸς Πάρθους, ἀλλὰ δὴ ὦδέν εἰπὼν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ὅστις ἦν ἀπήλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεύγμα, καὶ διέσωσε μὲν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, κακῶς δ' ἦκουσε καταλιπτῶν τὸν στρατηγὸν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὄνησέ γε τὸν Κράσσου ἡ προσφείσα τὸτε τῷ Κοπωνίῳ φωνῆ συμφρονήσας γὰρ ὅτι ὦδὲν χρηστὸν ἀγγέλλειν ἔχοντός ἐστι τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ συγκεκυμένον τοῦ λόγου, παρήγγειλεν εὐθὺς ἐξοπλίζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιῶτας καὶ ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Κράσσου εὖ ὁδὸ γεγενημένον ἀπαντήσας ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρέτειμε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

XXVIII. Οί δὲ Πάρθοι νυκτὸς μὲν αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἀπόδρασιν οὐκ ἔδιωκον, ἀμα δὴ ἡμέρα τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καταλείφθεντας εὐ μείως τετρακισχιλίων ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσφαξαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ πλανωμένους πολλοὺς ἱππασάμενοι συνέλαιβαν. τέσσαρας δ' ὀμοῦ σπείρας, ὡς ἔτι νυκτὸς ἀπέρρηξε Βαργοντῆσος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς, ἐκπεσοῦσας τῆς ὀδοὺ περισσοφότεν ἐν τινὶ λόφῳ διέφθειραν ἀμυνομένας, πλὴν ἄνδρῶν εἰκοσὶν. τούτους δὲ γυμνοὺς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὀθομένους δι' αὐτῶν θαυμασάντες εἴξαν, καὶ διεξόδου ἀποκύψα βάδην εἰς ταῖς Κάρρας ἐδίδοσαν.

Τῷ δὲ Σουρίνα προσέπτεσε ψευδῆς λόγος ἐκπεφευγέναι Κράσσου μετὰ τῶν ἁρίστων, τὸ δ' εἰς Κάρρας συνερρήσκος ὁχλον εἶναι σύμμικτον οὐκ ἄξιως σπουδῆς ἀνθρώπων. οἴμοιενος 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.

XXIX. Ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας ἐτῆ τῷ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐνέχεσθαι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπηγε τοὺς Πάρθους πολλὰ καθυβρίζοντας καὶ κελεύοντας, εἰ βουλοῦντας τυχεῖστας καταβάλλειν τῷ Κράσῳ φράσαντες ἐχόντο δραμοῦ. καὶ τοῦτ ἐδει μηδένα πρὸ κατοικὸς Καρπηνῶν πυθέσθαι. πυθάνεται δ’ ὁ πάντων ἀπιστότοτος 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 Surena 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 Surena 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 Surena and Crassus. The men said that this should be done, and rode away.

XXIX. Now Surena 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 πιστευθεὶς καὶ τῆς ὅδοι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. οὔτεν οὖν ἔλαθε τοὺς Πάρθους, ἔξαγγέλλοντος τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου καὶ θ’ ἔριστον.

3 ἐπεὶ δὲ νυκτομαχεῖν οὐ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔστιν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον, ἐξῆλθεν οἱ Κράσσος, ὅπως μὴ καθυστερήσωσι πολὺ τῇ διώξει στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀνδρομάχος ἀλλοτε ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ὑπηγείτο, καὶ τέλος ἐξέτρεψεν εἰς ἔλη βαθάεα καὶ χωρία τάφρων μεστὰ τὴν πορείαν, χαλεπῆν καὶ πολυπλανή.

4 γυνομένην τοῖς ἐπιστομένοις. ἐγένοντο γὰρ τινες οὐ μηδὲν υγίες τοῦ Ἀνδρομάχου στρέφειν καὶ περιελίτεις εἰκάσαντες οὐκ ἠκολούθησαν, ἀλλὰ Κάσσιος κεῖν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Κάρρα πάλιν, καὶ τῶν ὁδηγῶν (Ἀράβες δ’ ἦσαν) ἀναμένειν κελευνότων ἀχρὶ ἄν σελήνη παραλλάξῃ τὸν σκορπίον, ἀλλ’ ἔγορας, εἰπὼν, “ἐτι τούτου μᾶλλον φοβοῦμαι τὸν τοξότην,” ἀπῆλλανεν εἰς Συρίαν

5 μεθ’ ἱππέων πεντακοσίων: ἄλλοι δὲ χρησάμενοι πιστοῖς ὁδηγοῖς ἔλαβοντο χωρίων ὁρεινῶν, ἀ καλεῖται Σιννακα, καὶ κατεστήσαν εἰς ἀσφαλεῖ πρὸ ἡμέρας. οὕτων περὶ πεντακισχίλιον ἦσαν ἡγεῖτο δ’ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Ὁκταούιος.

Τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἡμέρα κατελάμβανεν ἐπιβουλεύομενον1 ὑπ’ Ἀνδρομάχον περὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας καὶ τὸ ἔλος. ἦσαν δὲ τέσσαρες στείραι σὺν αὐτῷ θυρεοφόροι τε, ἱππεῖς δὲ παντελῶς δίλγου καὶ πέντε ραβδοῦχου, μεθ’ ὄν ἐπιτῶν ἔστι τῆν ὁδὸν καὶ μόλις καταστᾶς, ἐδοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικείμενων, ὀσοὶ δ’ ἄδεκα σταδίους ἀπολιπὼν τοῦ συμμέτει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὁκταούιον ἐπ’ ἄλλον

1 ἐπιβουλεύομενον Bekker reads ἔτι ἄγομεν (still led), with Pseudo-Appian.
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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.
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ἀναφεύγει λόφου, οὐχ οὔτω μὲν ἀφίπποι οὖδ' ὄχυρον, ὑποκείμενον δὲ τοῖς Σιννάκοις καὶ συνηρτη-μένον αὐχένι μακρῷ διὰ μέσου κατατείνοντι τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοῦτον. ἦν οὖν εὖ ὅψει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὄκταούλιον ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος Ὅκταούλιος ἔθει μετ' ὀλίγων ἀνώθεν ἐπιβοηθῶν, εἰτα οἱ λοιποὶ κακίσταντες ἐαυτοὺς ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ προσπέσωντες καὶ ὅσαμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου περιέσχον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν Κράσσων καὶ προεβάλλοντο τοὺς θυρεούς, μεγαληγοροῦντες ὃς οὖν ἔστι Πάρθδοις βέλος ὁ προσπεσεῖται τῷ σώματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὸν ἡ σφᾶς ἀπαντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἀποθανεῖν.

XXX. Ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Σούρηνας τοὺς τε Πάρθδους ἀμβλύτερον ἦδη κινδυνεύοντας, καὶ ἦν ἡ τε νυξ ἐπίσχη καὶ τῶν ὅρων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λάβονται, παντάπασιν αὐτοὺς ἐσομένους ἀλήττους, ἐπήγε τῷ Κράσσῳ δόλον. ἀφείθησαν μὲν γὰρ ἐνω τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκηκοότες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιτηθεὶς διαλεγομένων ὡς οὐ βούλεται βασιλεὺς ἀσπούν· αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν ἀναλαβεῖν χάριτι, Κράσσῳ χρησάμενος φίλον-2 θρόπως, ἐσχοντο δὲ μάρχης οἱ βάρβαροι, Σού-ρηνας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων προσελάσας ἀτρέμα τῷ λύφῳ τοῦ μὲν τόξου τὸν τόνον ἀνήκε, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν προύπτεινεν, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπὶ συμβάσεις, εἰπὼν ὃτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἀκούστως πεπείραται βασιλεύς, πρᾴ-τητα δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἐκὼν ἐπὶ-δείκνυται σπευδόμενος ἀποιοῦσι καὶ παρέχων σώζεσθαι.
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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.”
3 Ταῦτα τοῦ Σουρῆνα λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι 563 προθύμως ἐδέξαντο καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος οὐδὲν ὁ τι μὴ δι᾽ ἀπάτης ἐσφαλμένος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς ἄλογον ἠγούμενος, οὐχ ὑπήκουεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔβου- 
4 λεύτο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βοῶντων καὶ κη- 
λευόντωι, εἰτα λοιδοροῦντοι καὶ κακιζόντων χρὸς 
προβάλλοντα μαχουμένους αὐτοὺς οἷς αὐτὸς ἄν- 
ὄπλος εἰς λόγους οὐ θαρρεῖ συνελθεῖν, πρῶτον 
μὲν ἐπειράτο δεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ λειτόμενον 
μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας διακαρτηρήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ὁρε- 
νοίς καὶ τραχέοι δύνανται διὰ νυκτὸς ἱέναι, καὶ 
τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ 
5 προέσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγγὺς οὕσης. ως δὲ 
χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κρούοντες ἦπείλουν, φοβηθεὶς ἔχωρει, καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶπε 
μεταστραφεῖς. "Ὅκταούιε καὶ Πετρώνιε καὶ ὅσοι 
pάρεστε Ρωμαίων ἄρχοντες, ὑμεῖς ὅρατε τῆς ἐμῆς 
ὁδοῦ τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ σύνιστε παρόντες ως αἰσχρὰ 
πάσχω καὶ βίαια, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἀνθρώπων 
λέγετε σωθέντες ως Κράσσος ἀπαθηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν 
pολεμίων, οὐκ ἔκδοθεις υπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπώλετο.” 

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἔμειναν οἱ περὶ τῶν Ὥκταούιων, 
ἀλλὰ συγκατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου, τοὺς δὲ 
ῥαβδούχους ἐπομένους ὁ Κράσσος ἀπήλασεν. 
πρῶτον δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο 
μιξέλληνες, οἱ καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν Κράσσον 
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτὼν ἀλόμενοι, καὶ προσαγορεύσαντες 
ἐλλάδι φωνῇ παρεκάλουν προπέμψαι τινάς, οἷς
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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 ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν
2 ἀνότπλους καὶ ἀστιδήμους προσερχομένους. οὗ δὲ
Κράσσος ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὡς, εἴ καὶ τὸν ἐλάχιστον
εἰχε τὸν ἥν λόγον, οὐκ ἂν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς
ήλθεν, ὡμως δὲ δύο Ῥωσίκους ἀδελφοὺς ἐπεμψε
πενθομένους ἐπὶ τίσι καὶ πόσωι συνήσειν. οὕς
εὐθὺς συλλαβὼν ὁ Σουρήνας κατέσχεν, αὐτός
de μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππῶν προσήκε καὶ “Τί
tούτ’, “ἐφη, “πείδος ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ,
ημεῖς δὲ ὅχουμεθα;” καὶ προσαγαγείν ἐκέλευσεν
3 ἱππὸν αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου φίλοντος οὔτε
αὐτὸν ἀμαρτάνειν οὔτ’ ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ἐκατέρω διηρέγον
ἐστι ποιομένους τῆς σίνοδον, εἰναι μὲν αὐτόθεν
ἐφή σπουδάς καὶ εἰρήνην ὁ Σουρήνας Ῥωμαίοις
tε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις, δεῖν δὲ γράψασθαι τὰς
συνθήκας ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν προσελθόντας· “Οὐ
gὰρ ὑμεῖς γε,” ἐφη, “πάνυ μνήμονες ὅμολογών οἱ
Ῥωμαίοι,” καὶ προὔτευν τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ. μετα-
πεμπομένου δ’ ἱππὸν οὐδὲν ἐφὴ δεῖν. “Βασιλεὺς
4 γὰρ σοι δίδωσι τούτον.” ἀμα δ’ ἱππὸς τε τῷ
Κράσσῳ παρέστη χρυσοχάλκινος, οἱ τε ἀναβολεῖς
αὐτὸν ἀράμενοι περιεβίβασαν καὶ παρεῖπουν
πληγῇ τὸν ἱππὸν ἐπιταχύνοντες. Ὁκταούιος δὲ
πρῶτος ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῶν χαλίνων, καὶ μετ’
kαὶ ἐκείνον εἰς τῶν χιλιάρχων Πετρώνιος, εἰτα
ἱππὸλοι περιώσταντο τὸν τε ἱππὸν ἀνακόπτειν
πειρόμενοι καὶ τοὺς πιέζοντας τὸν Κράσσον ἐξ
5 ἐκατέρω γέρους ἀφέλκοντες. ἀλλισομενοῦ δὲ γενο-
μένου καὶ ταραχής, εἰτα πληγῶν, Ὅκταούιος μὲν
ἀναστάσας τὸ ἔφος ἐνὸς τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνει
tὸν ἱπποκόμον, ἐτερος δὲ τῶν Ὅκταούιον ἐκ τῶν
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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's 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

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οπισθεν πατάξας. Πετρώνιος δὲ ὅπλου μὲν οὐκ εὐπόρησεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν θώρακα πληγεὶς ἀπεπηδήσεν ἀτρώτος· τὸν δὲ Κράσσου ὄνομα Πομαξάθρης Πάρθος ἀπέκτεινεν.

Οἱ δὲ οὖ γάρ, ἀλλ' ἐτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, τοῦτον δὲ κειμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαν καὶ τὴν δεξιάν. εἰκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἡ γινώσκεται· τῶν γὰρ παρόντων οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ μαχόμενοι περὶ τὸν Κράσσου ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ εὖθὺς ἀνεπήδησαν ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων. ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Κράσσου μὲν δίκην δέδωκε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κελεύει Σουρήνας κατείναι θαρροῦντας, οἱ μὲν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτούς καταβάντες, οἱ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐστάρησαν, καὶ τούτων ὅλων παντάπασι διεσώθησαν· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκβηθρεύουσας οἱ Ἀραβὲς συνελάμβανον καὶ διεφθείρον. λέγονται δ' οἱ πάντες δισμύρου μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, μύριοι δὲ ἀλῶναι ζώντες.

XXXII. 'Ο δὲ Σουρήνας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ τὴν χείρα πρὸς 'Τρώδην ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαδοῦς λόγον ὡς ἀγγέλων εἰς Σέλευκειαν ὡς ζώντα Κράσσου ἄγοι, παρεσκευάζοντο πομπὴν τινα γελοίαν ύβρις προσαγορεύων 2 θρίαμβον. ο μὲν γὰρ ἐμφερέστατος Κράσσῳ τῶν αἰχμαλωτῶν Γαῖος Πακκιανός, ἐσθήτα βασιλικὴν γυναικὸς ἐνδὺς καὶ διδαχθεῖς Κράσσος ἔπακοιλεν καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς καλοῦσιν, ἐφ' ἱππὸν καθήμενος ἤγετο· πρὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλπιγκταὶ καὶ ῥαβδούχοι τινες ὄχουμενοι καμήλοις ἠλαυνοῦν ἐξήρπητο δὲ τῶν ῥάβδων βαλάντια καὶ παρὰ τοὺς

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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
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πελέκεις πρόσφατοι κεφαλαί Ρωμαίων ἀποτέμη-3 ἡπειροί. κατόπιν δ' εἰποντο Σελευκίδες ἐταῖραι μουσ-ουργοί, πολλὰ βωμολόχα καὶ γέλοια δὲ ἀσμάτων εἰς θηλύτητα καὶ ἀναιδρίαν τοῦ Κράσσου λέγου-σαι. ταύτα μὲν οὐν πάντες ἑθεῦντο.

Τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν τῶν Σελευκέων ἀθροίσας εἰσήγησεν ἄκολαστα βιβλία τῶν Ἀριστείδου Μιλησιακῶν, οὕτω ταύτα γε καταψευσάμενος· εὐρέθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ῥωσκίου σκευοφόροις, καὶ παρέσχε τῷ Σουρήνᾳ καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ καὶ κατασκῳσαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μὴδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀπέχεσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ γραμμάτων δύνανται 4 τοιούτων. τοῖς μὲντοι Σελευκεύσιν ἐδόκει σοφὸς ἄνηρ Αἴσωπος εἶναι, τὸν Σουρήναν ὀρθοὶ τὴν τῶν Μιλησιακῶν ἄκολαστημάτων πήραν ἐξηρτημένον πρόσθεν, ὑπισθέν δὲ Παρθικὴν Σύβαριν ἐθελκό- μενον ἐν τοσαύταις παλλακίδων ἀμάξαις, τρόπου 5 τινὰ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐχίδναις καὶ σκυτάλαις ἀντιμόρφως τὰ μὲν ἐμφανῆ καὶ πρόσθεν μέρη φοβερὰ καὶ θηριώδη δόρασι καὶ τόξοις καὶ ὦπτοις προβαλλομένην, κατ' οὗραν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐς χορείας καὶ κρόταλα καὶ ψαλμοῦς καὶ παννυχίδας ἀκολάστους μετὰ γυναικῶν τελευτῶσαν. ψεκτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ῥόσκιος, ἀναίδεες δὲ Πάρθοι τὰ Μιλη- σιακὰ ψέγοντες, ὧν πολλοὶ βεβασιλεύκασιν ἐκ

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.
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” 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 Aesop 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. 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. Τουτον δὲ πραττομένων Τρώδης ἐτύγχανεν ἣδη διηλλαγμένος Ἀρταούσδη τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Πακόρῳ τῷ παιδὶ καθωμολογημένος, ἐστιάσεις τε καὶ πότοι δὲ ἀλλήλων ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ παρεισῆγετο τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀκουσμάτων.

2 ἦν γὰρ οὕτε φωνῆς οὕτε γραμμάτων Τρώδης Ἑλληνικῶν ἀπειρὸς, ὁ δ’ Ἀρταούσδης καὶ τραγῳδίας ἐποίει καὶ λόγους ἐγράφει καὶ ᾿Ιστορίας, ὅν ἐνιαὶ διασώζονται. τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Κράσσου κομισθείσης ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπηρμέναι μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τράπεζας, τραγῳδίων δὲ ὑποκρίτης ᾿Ιάσων ὄνομα Τραλλιανὸς ἦδεν Εὐριπίδου Βακχῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν Ῥαγαίνην. εὐδοκιμοῦντος δ’ αὐτοῦ Σιλλάκης ἐπιστάς τῷ ἀνδρῷ καὶ προσκυνήσας προῦβαλεν εἰς μέσον τοῦ Κράσσου τὴν κεφαλήν. κρότῳ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ χαρᾶς ἀραμένων, τὸν μὲν Σιλλάκην κατέκλιναν οἱ υπηρέται βασιλέως κελέυσαντο, ὁ δ’ ᾿Ιάσων τὰ μὲν τοῦ Πενθέως σκευοποιήματα παρέδωκε τινι τῶν ἄργουτῶν, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου κεφαλῆς λαβόμενος καὶ ἀναβακχεύσας ἐπέραινεν ἐκείνα τὰ μέλη μετ’ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ φίδης:

Φέρομεν ἐξ ὅρεος
ἔλικα νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα,
μακαρίαν θήραν.1

3 Euripides, Bacchae, 1170–72 (Kirchhoff μακαρίων).

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CRASSUS

Arsacidae were sprung from Milesian and Ionian courtizens.

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 from the mountain
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.
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4 καὶ ταύτα μὲν πάντας ἐτερπεῖν· ἄδομένων δὲ τῶν 565 ἐφεξῆς ἀμοιβαίων πρὸς τὸν χορόν,

ΧΟ. τίς ἐφόνευσεν;
ΑΠ. ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας. ¹

ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Πομαξάθρης (ἐτύγχανε δὲ δειπνῶν) ἀντελαμβάνετο τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς ἑαυτῷ λέγειν ταύτα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ πρὸς ἰκανοῦ. Ἡσθεὶς δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν οἷς πάτριον ἔστιν ἐδωρήσατο, τῷ δ’ Ἰάσωνι τάλαντον ἐδωκεν. εἰς τοιοῦτον φασίν ἐξόδιον τὴν Κράσσου στρατηγίαν ὀσπερ τραγῳδίαν τελευτήσαι.

5 Δίκη μέντοι καὶ τῆς ὁμότητος Ὅρώδην καὶ τῆς ἐπιορκίας Σουρήναν ἄξια μετήλθεν. Σουρήναν μὲν γὰρ οὗ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον Ὅρώδης φθόγγω τῆς δόξης ἀπέκτεινεν, Ὅρώδη δὲ ἀποβαλόντι Πάκορον ὑπὸ Ἐρωμαίων μάχῃ κρατηθέντα, καὶ νοσήσαντι νόσου εἰς ὑδρωπα τραπεῖσαν, Φραίτης ὁ νῖός ἐπιβουλεύων ἀκόνιτου ἐδωκεν. ἀπαθεμένης δὲ τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον εἰς ἑαυτὴν, ὡστε συνεκκριθήμαν, καὶ τοῦ σώματος κουφισθέντος, ἐπὶ τὴν ταχίστην τῶν ὀδῶν ἐλθὼν ὁ Φραίτης ἀπέπνιξεν

¹ Euripides, Bacchae, 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,"

Pomaxathres, 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 Pomaxathres 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, xl ix, 21, Pacorus fell on the same day on which Crassus had been slain fifteen years before.
Ι. Ἐν δὲ τῇ συγκρίσει πρῶτον ὁ Νικίων πλοῦτος τῷ Κράσσου παραβαλλόμενος ἀμεμπτοτέραν ἔχει τὴν κτῖσιν. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τις δοκιμάσει τὴν ἢπό μετάλλων ἐργασίαν, ἢς τὰ πλείστα περαίνεται διὰ κακούργων ἤ βαρβάρων, ἐνίων δεδεμένων καὶ φθειρομένων ἐν τόποις ὑπούλοις καὶ νοσεροῖς· παραβαλλομένη δὲ πρὸς τὰ Σύλλα δημόπρατα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἔργολα-βίας, ἐπιεικεστέρα φανεῖται. ταύταις γὰρ ὁ Κράσσος ἀναφανδὸν ὡς τῷ γεωργεῖν ἐχρήτο καὶ τῷ δανείζειν ἃ δὲ ἔξαρνος ἢς ἐλεγχόμενος, ἐπὶ κέρδεσιν ἐν βουλῇ λέγειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀδικεῖν καὶ γύναια περιῳδον κολακεύειν καὶ συνεπικρύπτειν τοὺς πονηροὺς, τούτων αἰτιάν οὐδὲ ψευδὴ ποτε Νικίας ἔλαβεν, ἄλλως δὲ διδοὺς καὶ προϊέμενος ἀργύριον ὑπὸ δειλίας τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἐχλευάζετο, πράγμα ποιών Περικλεῖ μὲν ἱσως καὶ Ἀριστείδη μὴ πρέπον, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ὁυκ εὖ πεφυκότι πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν. ὡς καὶ Δυκάργος ὑστερον ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπαρρησιάσατο πρὸς τὸν δήμον, αἰτιάν ἔχων ἐξωνήσαμεν τίνα τῶν συκοφαντῶν· "Ηδομαι γὰρ," εἶπεν, "εἰ τοσοῦτον χρόνου πεπολιτευμένοις πάρ ὑμῖν διδοὺς πεφώρα-μαι πρῶτον ἡ λαμβάνω." Ὑπὲρ ταῖς διαπάναις πολιτικῶτερος μὲν ὁ Νικίας ἀναθήμασι καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ δίδα-
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 Lycurgus 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
σκαλίας χορών φιλοτιμούμενος, δ' ο Κράσσος ἀνάλωσεν ἑστιάσας ἀμα τοσαῦτας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, εἰς θρέψας πάλιν, οὔδεν ἦν μέρος ἦ Νικίας ἐκέκτητο σὺν οἷς ἀνάλωσεν, ὡστε θαυμάζειν, εἰ τινὰ λέληθε τὸ τὴν κακίαν ἀνωμαλίαν εἶναι τινὰ τρόπου καὶ ἀνομολογίαν, ὅρωντα τοὺς αἰσχρῶς συλλέγοντας εἰτ' ἀχρήστως ἐκχέοντας.

II. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλούτου τοσαῦτα: τοῖς δὲ πολιτεύμασι τοῦ μὲν Νικίου πανούργου οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἄδικον οὐδὲ βιαίον πρόσεστιν οὐδὲ θρασύτης, ἀλλ' ἔξηπατάτο μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσήει μετ' ευλαβείας. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου πολλὴν μὲν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἔχθραν καὶ φιλίαν μεταβολαὶ ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν κατηγοροῦσι, βία δ' οὖν' αὐτὸς ἥρνειτο τὴν ὑπατελαὶ μετείναι, μισθωσάμενος ἀνδρᾶς τοὺς Κάτων καὶ Δομιτίω.

2 τὰς χεῖρας προσοίσοντας. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ψηφοφορία τοῦ δήμου πολλοῖ μὲν ἐπρόσθεσαν, ἔπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες, αὐτὸς δ', ὅπερ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ διηγήσει παρελήλυθε, Δεύκιον Ἀνναλίου, ἀνδρα βουλευτήν, ἀντιλέγοντα πῦξ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξέβαλεν ἰμαχημένου.

3 Ὕσς δὲ περὶ ταύτα βιαίοις ο Κράσσος καὶ τυραννικός, οὕτως αὐ πάλιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ψυφοδεῖς 56 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἀτολμοῦ καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις ύφειμένον τῶν μεγίστων ἐπιλήψεων ἀξιον' ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ψηλὸς περὶ γε ταύτα καὶ μεγαλόφρων, οὐ πρὸς Κλέωνας οὖ' Ττερβόλους, μὰ Δία, τοῦ
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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,
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ἀγώνος ὄντος, ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος λαμπροτητα καὶ τρεῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου θριάμβους, οὕχ ὑπείξας, ἄλλα ἀντάρας ἐκατέρῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ἀξιώματι δὲ τῆς τιμητικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ Πομπηίου ὑπερβαλόμενος. δεῖ γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγίστοις οὐ τὸ ἀνεπίθετον, ἄλλα τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐν πολιτείᾳ λαμβάνειν, μεγέθει δυνάμεως ἐξαμαυροῦντα τὸν φθόνον. εἰ δ’ εἴ ἀπαντὸς ἀγαπᾶς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἰσχύιαν, καὶ δέδιας Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος, ἐν δὲ Πύλω Λακεδαιμονίως, Περδίκκαν δ’ ἐν Θράκῃ, πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἡ πόλις ἔχει σχολῆς εκ μέσου γενόμενον καθήσατε πλέκοντα τῆς ἀπαράξιας σεαυτῷ στέφανον, ὡς ἠνικοὶ σοφισταὶ λέγουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔρως θείος ἦν ὡς ἄληθῶς, καὶ τὸ λύσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἐλληνικῶτατον πολίτευμα· καὶ τῆς πράξεως ἐνεκα ταύτης οὐκ ἀξιον Νικία παραβαλεὶν Κράσσου, οὐδ’ εἰ τὸ Κάσπιον φέρων πέλαγος ἡ τὸν Ἰουδόν ὠκεανὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίοι ἡγεμονίᾳ προσώρισεν.

III. Πόλει μέντοι χρώμενον ἀρετής αἰσθανομένη καὶ κρείττονα ὄντα τῇ δυνάμει χώραν οὐ γετέον τοῖς πονηροῖς οὐδ’ ἀρχῆς μὴ ἀρχοῦσιν οὐδὲ πιστὶς ἀπεισούμενοι, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ο Νικίας, τοῦ Κλέωνα μηδὲν ὄντα πλέον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀντὶ τοῦ βῆματος ἀναισχυντικὰ καὶ κραυγῆς αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατηγεῖν καταστήσας. οὐκ ἐπανώ χαὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράσσου ἐν τοῖς Ἐπαρτακείοις ἐπει-

1 μὲν γὰρ Stephanus, Bekker, and S: μὲν.
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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,
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χθέντα θᾶσσον ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον διαγωνίσαθαι, καίτοι φιλοτιμίας ἢν τὸ δείσαι μὴ Πομπήίου ἐλθὼν ἀφέληται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἀφείλετο Μετέλλου Μόμμιος τὴν Κόρινθον· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Νικίου παυτάπασιν ἄτοπον καὶ δεινόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐλπίδας οὐδὲ ῥαστῶν ἠ킵οσ ξέστη τῷ ἐχθρῷ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ κίνδυνον υφορώμενον ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μέγαν ἡγάπησε, τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενος, προεσθαί τὸ κοινὸν. καίτοι δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἣν μὴ φαιλος ἀνθρωπος ἐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ ἀφρῶν στρατηγήσας ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀργυρίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ Κάτων, ὅτε μάλιστα ἑώρα πράγματα καὶ κίνδυνος ἀχοισαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὴν δημαρχίαν, μετῆλθεν· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μιναῶν καὶ Κόρηρα καὶ Μηλίους τοὺς ταλαιπώρους φυλάττων στρατηγόν, εἰ δὲ 1 δειν μέχρεσθαι Δακέδαιμονίος, ἀντοδυόμενος τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητι ναῦς καὶ ἀνδρας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατηγίαν ἐμπειρίας ἄκρας δειμένην παραδίδοις, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προετεῖται δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς 2 πατρίδος ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν. οἴθεν ὑστερον οὐχ ἐκὼν οὐδὲ βουλόμενος Συρακούσιοι πολέμειν ἤναγκαζετο, δοκοῖν ὅτι λογισμὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλὰ ῥαστῶν καὶ μαλακίας παρ' αὐτὸν ἀποστερεῖν Σικελίας τὴν πόλιν.

'Εκεῖνο μέντοι μεγάλῃς ἐπιεικείαις σημεῖον, 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.
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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 inexperience 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 reasonable-ness, namely, that although he was always averse to war
στρατηγεύειν οὐκ ἐπαύοντο χειροτονοῦντες, ὡς ἐμπειρότατον καὶ βέλτιστον, τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ παρὰ πάντα τῷ χρόνῳ ἐφιεμένος στρατηγίας οὐχ ὑπήρξε τυχεῖν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τῶν δουλικῶν πόλεμον ἐξ ἀνάγκης, Πομπηίου καὶ Μετέλλου καὶ Λουκούλλων ἀμφοτέρων ἀπόντων, καίτοι τότε τιμωμένῳ μάλιστα καὶ δυναμένῳ πλείστον. ἀλλὰ, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ τοῖς σπουδαίοις περὶ αὐτῶν ἔδοκε κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν "ἀνήρ ἀριστος" εἶναι "τὰλλα πλὴν ἐν 7 ἀσπίδε." καὶ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ὠνήσεων 567 ἐκβιασθέντας υπὸ τῆς φιλαρχίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ ἀκοντα Νικίαν ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ Κράσσος ἀκοντας ἐξήγαγεν καὶ διὰ μὲν τοῦτον ἡ πόλις, ἐκεῖνος δὲ διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡτύχησεν.

IV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις τῶν Νικίαν ἑπαυνεῖν ἡ ψέγειν τὸν Κράσσον. ο μὲν γὰρ ἐμπειρία καὶ λογισμὸς χρησάμενος ἡγεμόνος ἐμφρονος οὐ συνηπατήθη ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀπεῖπε καὶ ἀπέγνω λήψεσθαι Σικελίαν· ὁ δ’ ὡς ἐπὶ βάσταν ἔργον τὸν Παρθικὸν ὀρμήσας πόλεις 2 μον ἡμαρτείν. ἀφρέχθη δὲ μεγάλων. Καίσαρος τὰ ἐσπέρια καὶ Κελτοὺς καὶ Γερμανοὺς καταστρε- φομένου καὶ Βρεττανίαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑώ καὶ τὴν Ἦνδικην ἑλάεσθαι θάλασσαν καὶ προσεργάσα- σθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν οἷς Πομπηίος ἔτηλθε καὶ Δούκουλλος ἀντέσχειν, ἄνδρες εὑμενεῖς καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἄγαθοι διαμεῖντες, προελόμενοι δ’ ὁμοία
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.”\(^1\) 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 iambic trimeter of unknown authorship (Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii. p. 493). \(\bullet\)
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

3 Κράσσω καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες, ἔπει 
καὶ Πομπήιος τῆς ἁρχῆς διδομένης ἡ σύγκλητος 
ήματιοῦτο, καὶ Καίσαρα μυριάδας τριάκοντα 
Γερμανῶν τρεξάμενον συνεβούλευν οἱ Κάτων 
ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ τρέψαι τὸ μήνια 
τοῦ παρασποιήματος εἰς ἐκεῖνον· ὥ δὲ δῆμος 
ἐρρῶσθαι φράσας Κάτωνι, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας

4 ἔθυνεν ἐπινίκιοι καὶ περιχαρῆς ἦν. πῶς οὖν ἄν 
διετέθη καὶ τάσας ἔθυσεν ἡμέρας, εἰ Κράσσος ἐκ 
Βαβυλῶνος ἔγραψε νικᾶν, εἴτε ἐπελθὼν Μησίαν, 
Περσίδα, Ἰρνανοὺς, Σοῦσα, Βάκτρα, Ῥωμαίων 
ἐπαρχίας ὑπέδειξεν; εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, κατὰ 
τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἡ θυσίαν ἀγείν μὴ δυνάμενος 
μηδὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἰδότας, οὐ 
Σκάνδειαν, οὔ Μένδην ἐκκοπτέων, οὔδὲ φεύγοντας

5 Ἀγνωστὸς ἀπολελοιπότας τὴν ἐαυτῶν; ὅσπερ 
ὄρμιθας εἰς ἑτέραν χώραν ἀποκεκρυμμένους, ἐκθέ-
ρατέον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς τιμητέον τὸ ἀδικεῖν, μὴ 
ῥαδίως μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ὡς τι φαίλοι ἡ 
μικρῶν, προϊεμένους τὸ δίκαιον. οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῆς 
Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ὀρμηθὲν ἐπαινοῦστε, τὴν 
δὲ Κράσσου ψέγοντες, οὐκ εἰ τὰ πρῶτα κρίνουσιν 
ἀπὸ τῶν τελευτῶν.

V. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις αὐταῖς Νικίου μὲν 
οὐκ ὀλίγα γενναία· καὶ γὰρ μαχαῖς πολλαῖς 
ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν Συρακοῦ-
σας ὀλίγον ἐδέσε, καὶ πάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔπται-

1 Eteoeclus in the Phoenissae, 524 f. (Kirchhoff):

εἴπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρῆ, τυραννίδος πέρι 
κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν· τάλα δὲ εὐσεβεῖν χρεών.
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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 contempituous 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 ἄν τις αἰτιάσαιτο καὶ φθόνον τῶν οὐκοι πολιτῶν. Κράσσος δὲ διὰ πλῆθος ἀμαρτημάτων οὐδὲν τῇ τύχῃ χρηστὸν ἀποδείξασθαι παρῆκεν. ὡστε θαυμάζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁβελτερίαν οὐ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως ἠτηθείσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐτυχίας περιγενομένην.

Ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ μὲν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπὸ μαυτικῆς καταφρονῶν, ὁ δὲ πάντα ὑπερορῶν ὀμοίως ἀπώλοντο, χαλεπῇ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἡ ὠσφάλεια καὶ δύσκριτος, ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ ¹ τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ αὐθάδους τὸ μετὰ δόξης παλαιὰς καὶ συνήθους δι’ εὐλάβειαν ἀμαρτανόμενον.

Περὶ μὲντοι τὴν τελευτὴν ἀμεμπτότερος ὁ Κράσσος οὐ παραδούς ἐαυτὸν οὐδὲ δεθεῖς οὐδὲ φενακισθεῖς, ἀλλ’ εἴξας τοῖς φίλοις δεομένους καὶ παρασπονδηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων: ὁ δὲ Νικίως αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ἀκλεοῦς ἐπίδιδε σωτηρίας ὑποτεσσάρων τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσχύνα ἐαυτῷ τὸν θάνατον ἐποίησεν.

¹ ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ a following αὐτῆς of the MSS. is suspected by Coraës, namely defended by Sintenis, and bracketed by Bekker.
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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., 201, 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.

Autokleides, 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.

Casalum, 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.

Caudius, 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 cf the Hellespont.
Cholargus, 41, an Attic deme, or township, of uncertain site.
Clazomenae, 255, an Ionian city, situated on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.
Crito, 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, 35, 217, the central island of the Cyclades group, east of Attica.
Diphilus, 209, a prominent poet of the New Comedy, 336–250 B.C.
Duris, 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 Cymé 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.
Hyrcaea, 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 Persicles. He played a prominent part in the colonization of Thril, 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.
**DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES**

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.


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 Mummilius (146 B.C.).

Mummilius, 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, 219 (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.

P

Parmenides, 11, of Elea in Italy, founder of a school of idealistic philosophy (see Zeno the Eleatic).

Pausanias, 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.

Phidias, 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.).

Philistus, 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.

Philochoerus, 298, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306–260 B.C.

Polycletus, 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 Apamea in Syria, a distinguished Stoic philosopher, resident in Athens, Rhodes, and Rome, contemporary with Cicero.

Protagoras, 291, of Abdere 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).
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

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.

T
Tanagra, 33, a town in eastern Bocotia, 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.
Timaeus, 209, 275, 307, of Tauromenium 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 Phlius, a composer of satiric poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy, 320–230 B.C.

Tolmides, 53, 59, 61, leader of an Athenian naval expedition round Peloponnesus in 455 B.C., and of other expeditions by sea.
Trales, 421, a large and flourishing city of Caria, in Asia Minor.

X
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, 201, 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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