PLUTARCH'S LIVES
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
BERNADOTTE PERRIN
IN TEN VOLUMES
III
PERICLES AND FABIUS MAXIMUS
NICIAS AND CRASSUS

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PREFATORY NOTE

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

Among editions of special Lives included in this volume should be noted that of Fuhr, Themistokles und Perikles, Berlin, 1880, in the Haupt-Sauppe series of annotated texts; and that of Blass, Themistokles und Perikles, Leipzig, 1883, in the Teubner series of annotated texts. These editions bring F* 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.

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TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

(1) Theseus and Romulus.
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(14) Nicias and Crassus.
(15) Sertorius and Eumenes.
(16) Agesilaus and Pompey.
(17) Alexander and Julius Caesar.
(18) Phocion and Cato the Younger.
(19) Agis and Cleomenes, and Tiberius and Caius Gracchus.
(20) Demosthenes and Cicero.
(21) Demetrius and Antony.
(22) Dion and Brutus.
(23) Artaxerxes.
(24) Aratus.
(25) Galba.
(26) Otho.
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ

1. Ξένους τινὰς ἐν Ἱωάννη πλουσίους κυνῶν τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις περιφέροντας καὶ ἀγαπώντας ἰδῶν ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡρώτησεν εἰ παιδία παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς οὐ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἡγεμονικῶς σφόδρα νουθετήσας τοὺς τὸ φύσει φιλητικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ φιλόστοργον εἰς θηρία καταναλίσκοντας ἀνθρώποις υφειλόμενον.

2 ἃρ’ οὖν, ἐπεὶ φιλομαθές τι κέκτηται καὶ φιλοθέαμον ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ φύσει, λόγων ἔχει ψέγειν τοὺς καταχρωμένους τούτῳ πρὸς τὰ μηδεμᾶς ἁξίας ἀκούσματα καὶ θεάματα, τῶν δὲ καλῶν καὶ ωφελίμων παραμελοῦντας; τῇ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθήσει κατὰ πάθος τῆς πληγῆς ἀντιλαμβανομένη τῶν προστυχανόντων ἰσως ἀνάγκη πάν τὸ φαινόμενον, ἂν τε χρῆσιμον ἄν τ᾿ ἀχρηστὸν ἦ,

3 θεωρεῖν, τῷ νῦ ὃ ἐκαστὸς εἰ βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι, καὶ τρέπειν ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ καὶ μεταβάλλειν ῥάστα πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν πέφυκεν, ὅστε χρῆ διώκειν τὸ βέλτιστον, ἵνα μὴ θεωρῇ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρέφηται τῷ θεωρεῖν. ὡς γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν χρόα πρόσφορος ἦς τὸ ἀνθρωπόν ἁμα καὶ τερπνὸν ἀναξιώτυρει
PERICLES

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

1 Caesar Augustus.
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καὶ τρέφει τὴν ὃψιν, οὕτω τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπάρχειν
deί θεάμασιν ἃ τῷ χαίρειν πρὸς τὸ οἴκειον αὐτὴν
ἀγαθὸν ἐκκαλεῖ.

4 Ταύτα δὲ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς ἀπ’ ὀρετής ἔργοις, ἀ καὶ
ξηλόν τινα καὶ προθυμίαν ἁγγόγον εἰς μίμησιν
ἐμποιεῖ τοῖς ἰστορήσασιν ἐπεὶ τῶν γ’ ἄλλων
οὐκ εὑρίσκετε ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ θαυμάσαι τὸ πραξάν
ὄρμῃ πρὸς τὸ πράξαι: πολλάκις δὲ καὶ τοῦ-
ναντίου χαίροντες τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ δημουργοῦ κατα-
φρονοῦμεν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν μύρων καὶ τῶν ἄλογον
τούτως μὲν ἡδόμεθα, τοὺς δὲ βαφεῖς καὶ μυρο-
ψοὺς ἀνελευθέρους ἠγούμεθα καὶ βαναύσους.

5 διὸ καλῶς μὲν Ἀντισθένης ἄκουσας οτι σπουδαῖος
ἐστιν αὐλητής Ἰσμηνίας, "’Αλλ’ ἀνθρωπος," ἔφη,
"μοχθέρος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὕτω σπουδάιος ἦν αὐλη-
τής." ο δὲ Φιλιππος πρὸς τὸν νῦν ἐπιτερπῶς ἐν
τιν πότῳ ψήλαντα καὶ τεχνικός εἶπεν: "Οὐκ
αισχύνη καλῶς οὕτω ψάλλων;" ἀρκεῖ γὰρ, ἂν
βασιλεὺς ἀκροάσθαι ψαλλόντων σχολάζῃ, τι
πολύ νέμει ταῖς Μουσαῖς ἔτερων ἀγωνιζομένων
τα τοιαύτα θεάτης γιγνόμενοι.

Π. Ἡ δ’ αὐτοῦργία τῶν ταπεινῶν τῆς εἰς τὰ
καλὰ ῥαθυμίας μάρτυρα τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀχρίστοις
πόνον παρέχεται καθ’ αὐτὴν· καὶ οὐδεὶς εὐφυὴς
νέος ἢ τὸν ἐν Πίση θεασάμενος Δία γενέσθαι
Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν ἢ τὴν "Ἡραν τὴν ἐν "Αργεὶ-
Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ’ Ἀνακρέων ἢ Φιλήτας ἢ "Ἀρχί-2
λοχος ἡσθεὶς 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 Polyclitus; 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.
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σπουδῆς εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον. ὁδεν οὐδ’ ὤφελει τὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς θεωμένους, πρὸς ἂ μυμητικὸς οὐ γίνεται ξῆλος οὔδε ἀνάδοσις κινοῦσα προθυμίαν καὶ ὀρμήν 1 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν. ἀλλ’ ἦ γε ἄρετῆ ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐθὺς οὕτω διατίθησιν ὡστε ἀμα θαυμάζεσθαι τὰ ἑργα καὶ ξηλούσθαι τοὺς εἰργα-

3 σμένους. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν τὰς κτήσεις καὶ ἀπολάυσεις, τῶν δὲ ἀπ’ ἄρετῆς τὰς πράξεις ἀγαπῶμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἡμῖν παρ’ ἑτέρων, τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἑτέροις παρ’ ἡμῶν ὑπάρχειν βουλόμεθα. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐφ’ αὐτὸ πρακτικῶς κινεῖ καὶ πρακτικὴν εὐθὺς ὀρμήν ἐντίθησιν, ἡθο-

ποιοῦν οὐ τῇ μιμήσει τὸν θεατὴν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τοῦ ἑργοῦ τὴν προαιρέσειν παρεχόμενον.

4 Ἔδοξεν οὖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐνδιατρῆσαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς βίους ἀναγραφῆ, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον συντετάχαμεν τὸν Περικλέους βίον καὶ τὸν Φα-

βίον Μαξίμου τοῦ διαπολεμήσαντος πρὸς Ἀννί-

βαν περιέχον, ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ἄρετὰς ὀμοίων, μάλιστα δὲ προστηθαὶ καὶ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τῷ δύνασθαὶ φέρειν δήμων καὶ συναρχόντων ἀγνωμοσύνας ὀφελεμωτάτων ταῖς πατρίςι γενο-

μένων. εἰ δ’ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμεθα τοῦ δέοντος, ἔξεστι κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν γραφομένων.

III. Περικλῆς γὰρ ἦν τῶν μὲν φυλῶν Ἀκα-

μαντίδης, τῶν δὲ δήμων Χολαργεύς, οἶκου δὲ καὶ γένους τοῦ πρῶτον κατ’ ἄμφοτέρους. Ξάνθιππος γὰρ ὁ νικήσας εὖ Μυκάλη τοὺς βασιλεῖς στρατη-

γοὺς ἐγγεμεν Ἀγαρίστην Κλεισθένους ἐγγονοῦν, ὅς

1 ὀρμήν Fuhr and Blass, after Reiske: ἀφορμίν.
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, granddaughter ² of that Cleisthenes

¹ 479 B.C. ² His niece, rather.
εξήλασε Πεισιστρατίδας καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν τυραννίδα γενναίως καὶ νόμους ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν ἀριστα κεκραμένην πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ σωτηρίαν

2 κατέστησεν. αὕτη κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὸνους ἐδοξεί τεκείν λέοντα, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἔτεκε Περικλέα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τὴν ἱδέαν τοῦ σώματος ἀμεμπτον, προμήχη δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ἀσύμμετρον. οὐς αἱ μὲν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ σχέδου ἀπασαὶ κράνεςι περιέχονται, μὴ βουλομένων, ὡς ἐοίκε, τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐξουσιδίζειν. οἱ δ’ Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ σχινοκέφαλον αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν τὴν γὰρ σκίλλαν ἔστιν

3 ὀτε καὶ σχῖνον ὀνομάζουσι. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρῳ: "Στάσις δὲ" (φησὶ) "καὶ πρεσβυγενῆς Κρόνος ἀλλήλοις μιγέντε μέγιστον τίκτετον τύραννον, ὅτι κεφαληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσι." καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει: "Μόλ’,

4 ὁ Ζέυς ἔδει πενθεῖ καὶ καραίε.” Τηλεκλέιδης δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡπορημένων καθήσθαι φησιν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει "καρηβαροῦντα, ποτὲ δὲ μόνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐνδεκακλίνου θόρυβον πολῶν ἐξανατέλλειν" ὁ δ’ Εὐπολις ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις πυθανόμενος περὶ ἐκάστων τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων ἐξ ἁδον δημαγωγῶν, ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς ὀνομάσθη τελευταῖος:

"Ὁ τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ᾦγαγες.

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

1 τῇ κεφαλῇ Fuhr and Blass with FaS: τῆν κεφαλὴν.
who, in such noble fashion, expelled the Peisistratidac and destroyed their tyranny, instituted laws, and established a constitution best attenpered 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.  

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." And again in his "Nemesis": "Come, Zeus! of guests and heads the Lord!" 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."  

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."  

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

1 Cf. Herodotus, vi. 131.  
δείν τούνομα βραχύνοντας τὴν προτέραν συλλαβήν εκφέρειν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ παρὰ Πυθοκλείδη μουσικῆν διαπονηθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα φησίν. οὸ δὲ Δάμων ἐσικεν ἁκρὸς δὲ σοφιστὴς καταδύεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς ὅνομα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπίκρυπτόμενος τὴν δεινότητα, τῷ δὲ Περικλεὶ συνὴν καθάπερ ἀθλητῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλειττῆς καὶ διδάσκαλος. οὐ μὴν ἐλαθεν ὁ Δάμων τῇ λύρῃ παρακαλύμματι χρώμενος, ἀλλ’ ὡς μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ φιλοτύραννος ἔξωστρακίσθη καὶ παρέσχε τοῖς κωμικοῖς διατριβήν. οὺ γοῦν Πλάτων καὶ πυθανόμενον αὐτοῦ τινα πεποίηκεν οὕτω.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὐν μοι λέξουν, ἀντιβολῶν σὺ γὰρ, ὡς φασίν, ὁ Χείρων εξέδρεψε Περικλέα.

3 διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεάτου πραγματευομένου περὶ φύσιν, ὡς Παρμενίδης, εἰλεγκτικῆν δὲ τινὰ καὶ δί’ ἀντιλογίας κατακλείουσαν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἔξασκήσαντος ἐξίν, ὡσπερ καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φιλάσιος εἴρηκε διὰ τούτων: Ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἠλαπαδνὸν

Ζήνωνος, πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος.

4 ὁ δὲ πλείστα Περικλεὶ συγγενόμενος καὶ μάλιστα περιθεὶς οὖνοι αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ἐμβριθέστερον, ὅλος τοις μετεωρίσας καὶ συνεξάρασ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ ἣδους, Ἀναξαγόρας ἦν ὁ Κλαξομένιος, ὃν οἱ τὸτ’ ἀνθρωποὶ Νοῦν προσ-
PERICLES

with the first syllable short); but Aristotle¹ 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, Plato² 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.
ηγόρευον, εἴτε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰς φυσιολογίαν καὶ περιττὴν διαφανείσαν θαυμάσατες, εἴθ' ὅτι τοὺς ὅλους πρῶτος οὐ τύχῃν οὐδ' ἀνάγκην διακοσμήσεως ἀρχῆν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐπέστησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκρατον ἐν μεμιγμένοις πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὁμοιομερείας.

V. Τούτων ὑπερφυώς τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάσας ὁ Περικλῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης μετεωρολογίας καὶ μεταρσιολογίας ὑποπτιμπλάμενος, οὐ μόνον, ὡς ἔσικε, τὸ φρόνημα σοβαρὸν καὶ τὸν λόγον ὑψηλόν εἶχε καὶ καθαρὸν ὁχλικῆς καὶ πανούργου βωμολογίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσώπου σύστασις ἄθρυππος εἰς γελωτα καὶ πραότης πορείας καὶ καταστολὴ περιβολῆς πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκταραττομένη πάθος ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ πλάσμα φωνῆς ἀθόρυβον, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα πάντας θαυμαστῶς ἐξέπληττε. λοιδορούμενος γοῦν ποτε καὶ κακῶς ἀκούων ὑπὸ τινος τῶν βδελυρῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων ὅλην ἡμέραν ὑπέμεινε σιωπῆ κατ' ἄγοράν, ἀμα τὶ τῶν ἐπειγόντων καταπραττόμενος· ἑσπέρας δ' ἀπῆλε κοσμίως οἰκάδε παρακολουθοῦντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάσης χρωμένου βλασφημία πρὸς αὐτῶν. ὡς δ' ἐμελλεν εἰσιέναι σκότους ὄντος ἡδῆ, προσέταξε τινὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν φῶς λαβόντι παραπέμψαι καὶ καταστήσαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

Ὀ δὲ ποιητῆς Ἰων μοθωνικὴν φησὶ 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
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megalauxhiais autou pollin uperophian aname-
mixhais kai periphronhsoin tov allon evpainei de

di Kimmwvos emmelw kai ugron kai meumouwmwv

en ta ais periforaid. all' 'Iwna mew, 'osper tragn-
kwn didaskalian, axioynata tihn apetin ichei ti

pantos kai satyrikov meros edwem tois de tov

Periklouz tihn semvosteta doxokopian te kai

tufon apokaloynata o Zhvoun parakele kai

autous ti toioalto doxokopein, wos tis prosppoi-

seos autis twn kalwn upopoiouhs tina keh-

thotwv eilov kai svntheian.

VI. Oi mou wv de taata tihn 'Anaxagorou

sunnosias upelawse Periklhes, alla kai deisid-

aimonias dokiei genesthai kathupeteros, osen tiv

pros ta metewra thambos energhzetai tois autov

'te touwv tais aitias agnoussi kai peri tiv theia

daimonwsi kai taraftomwv evi' uperiain autov,

hvn o fysikos logos upallaptwv auti tihn fobere-

ras kai fleugmaunousis deisidaimonias tihn

asfalh met' elpidojv agathon evsebeian ergazetai.

2 Lefetai de pote kriov mounkerw kefalh ev

agro tov Perikleis komishnai, kai Lampona mev

tov mantiv, ois eide to kerais isxuron kai steredon

ek meso tov metwpou pevkos, eipein oti dwein

ouson ev tihn poliei dnavstekon, tihn Thoikvidon

kai Periklous, eis eva peristhestai to kratos

1 osen to older edd., Coraes, Fuhr and Blass; Bekker ose

with the MSS.: osen.

14
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.
παρ’ ω γένοιτο τὸ σημείον· τὸν δ’ Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦ κρανίου διακοπέντος ’πιδείξαι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον οὕ τεπληρωκότα τὴν βάσιν, ἀλλ’ ὤξιν ὀσπερ ὠν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἀγγείου συνωλισθήκοτα κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐκείνου οθεν ἡ ρίξα τοῦ κέρατος εἰσε 3 τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τότε μὲν θαυμασθήναι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὅλιγον δ’ ὤστερον τὸν Λάμπωνα, τοῦ μὲν Θουκυδίδου καταλυθέντος, τῶν δὲ τοῦ δήμου πραγμάτων ὀμαλῶς ἀπάντων ὑπὸ τῷ Περικλεί γενομένων.

Ἐκώλυε δ’ οὐδέν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ τὸν μάντιν, τοῦ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ τέλος καλῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντος· ὑπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ μὲν, ἐκ τῶν γέγονε καὶ πῶς πέφυκε, θεωρήσαι, τῷ δὲ, πρὸς τί γέγονε καὶ τί σημαίνει, 4 προειπεῖν. οἱ δὲ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν εὕρεσιν ἀναίρεσιν εἶναι λέγοντες τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ἐπινοοῦσιν ἀμα τοὺς θείους καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ τῶν συμβόλων ἠθετοῦντες, ψόφους τε δίσκων καὶ φῶτα πυρσῶν καὶ γνωμόνων ἀποσκιασμοὺς· ὃν ἐκαστὸν αἰτία τυ ν καὶ κατασκευῆ σημείον εἶναι τινὸς πεποίηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἑσθος ἐτέρας ἐστὶ πραγματείας.

VII. Ὅ δὲ Περικλῆς νέος μὲν ὁν σφόδρα τὸν δήμου εὐλαβεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει Πεισι- στράτῳ τῷ τυράννῳ τὸ εἶδος ἐμφερῆς εἶναι, τὴν τε φωνὴν ἤδειαν οὐσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν εὑτροχὸν ἐν τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ταχείαν οἱ σφόδρα γέροντες ἐξεπλήττοντο πρὸς τὴν
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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ομοιότητα. πλούτου δὲ καὶ γένους προσώντος αυτῷ λαμπροῦ καὶ φίλων οἱ πλείστοι ἤδυναντο, φοβούμενος ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν οὔδὲν ἔπραττεν, εὖ δὲ ταῖς στρατεύσεις ἀνήρ

2 ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλοκίνδυνος. ἐπεὶ δ’ Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἀποτεθύνηκε καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξεπεττώκει, Κύμωνα δ’ αἱ στρατεύσεις τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔξω κατείχον, οὕτω δὴ φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δήμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτῶν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ὀλίγων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πενήτων ἐλόμενος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἥκιστα δημοτικὴν οὖσαν.

3 ἀλλ’, ὡς έσικκε, δεδιῶς μὲν ὑποψία περιπεσεῖν τυραννίδος, όρῳ δ’ ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸν Κύμωνα καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπώμενον, ὑπῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, δύναμιν δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνου παρασκευαζόμενος.

4 Εὐθύς δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐτέραν τάξιν ἐπέθηκεν. ὅδιν τε γὰρ ἐν ἀστεὶ μίαν ἐωρᾶτο τὴν ἐπ’ ἄγοραν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον πορευόμενος, κλήσεις τε δείπνων καὶ τὴν τοιαῦτην ἀπασάν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνήθειαν ἐξέλισσε, ὡς ἐν οἷς ἐπολιτεύσατο χρόνοις μακροῖς γενομένοις πρὸς μηδένα τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ δείπνον ἐλθεῖν, πλὴν Εὐρυποτολέμου τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ γαμοῦντος ἄχρι τῶν
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.
5 σπουδῶν παραγενόμενος εύθὺς ἐξανέστη. δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ φιλοφροσύναι παντὸς ὅγκου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ δυσφύλακτον ἐν συνθεῖα τὸ πρὸς δόξαν σεμνὸν ἑστὶν ὁρισθητικής κἀκελάστα φαίνεται τὰ μάλιστα φαινόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν οὕτω θαυμάσιον τοῖς ἑκτὸς ὦς ὁ καθ' ἰκέραν βίος τοῖς συνούσιν.

Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ 1 τὸ συνεχές φεῦγων καὶ τῶν κόρων οἶνον ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἐπλησίαζεν, σὺν ἐπὶ παντὶ πράγματι λέγων, οὐδὲ ἀεὶ παριῶν εἰς τὸ πλήθος, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ὄσπερ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν τριήρη, φησὶ Κριτόλαος, πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας χρείας ἐπιδιούσις, τάλλα δὲ ϕίλους καὶ ῥήτορας ἑτέρους καθεὶς ἐπραττεν. ὡν ἐνα φασὶ γενέσθαι τὸν 'Εφύαλτην, ὃς κατέλυσε τὸ κράτος τῆς ἑξ 'Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, πολλῇ, κατὰ τῶν Πλάτωνα, καὶ ἄκρατον τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν οἰνοχώδων, ύφ' ἦς, ὃσπερ ἵππουν, ἐξουρίσαντα τὸν δήμου οἱ κωμῳδοποιοὶ λέγουσιν "πειθαρχεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾶν, ἀλλὰ δάκνειν τὴν Εὐβοίαν καὶ ταῖς νῆσοις ἐπιπηδᾶν."

VIII. Τῇ μέντοι περὶ τὸν βίον κατασκευῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ φρονήματος ἁρμόζοντα λόγου, ὃσπερ ὄργανον, ἐξαρτνόμενος παρεινέσων πολλαχοῦ τὸν 'Αναξιαγόραν, οἶνον βαφῆν τῇ ρήτορικῇ τήν φυσιολογίαν ὑποχεόμενος. τὸ γὰρ "ὑψη-

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

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

And so it was that Pericles, seeking to avoid the satiety which springs from continual intercourse, made his approaches to the people by intervals, as it were, not speaking on every question, nor addressing the people on every occasion, but offering himself like the Salaminian trireme, as Critolaüs says, for great emergencies. The rest of his policy he carried out by commissioning his friends and other public speakers. One of these, as they say, was Ephialtes, who broke down the power of the Council of the Areiopagus, and so poured out for the citizens, to use the words of Plato,¹ too much "undiluted freedom," by which the people was rendered unruly, just like a horse, and, as the comic poets say, "no longer had the patience to obey the rein, but nabbed 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.
λόγουν τούτο καὶ πάντη τελεσιουργόν,” ὡς ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων φησί, “πρὸς τῷ εὐφυής εἶναι κτησά-
μενος” ἐκ φυσιολογίας, καὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἐλ-
κώςας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην, πολὺ πάντων
2 διήμεγκε. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι
λέγοντι: καίτοι τινὲς ἀπὸ τῶν οίς ἐκόσμησε τὴν
πόλιν, οἳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς
στρατηγίαις δυνάμεως Ὁλύμπιον αὐτὸν οἴονται
προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ συνδραμεῖν οὐδὲν ἀπέοικεν
ἀπὸ πολλῶν προσόντων τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν δόξαν.
3 αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδίαι τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδὴ
te πολλάς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνᾶς
eἰς αὐτὸν, ἔπι τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνυμίαν
γενέσθαι δηλοῦσι, “βροντᾶν” μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ
“ἀστράπτειν,” ὅτε δημηγοροῖ, “δεινὸν δὲ κεραυ-
νὸν ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν” λεγόντων.
Διαμημονεύεται δὲ τις καὶ Θουκυδίδων τοῦ
Μελησίου λόγος εἰς τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Περι-
4 κλέους μετὰ παιδιᾶς εἰρημένος. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὁ
Θουκυδίδης τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ
πλείστων ἀντεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Περικλεὶ χρόνον·
'Αρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Δακεδαμονίων βασιλέως
πυθαγορομένου πότερον αὐτὸς ἦ Περικλῆς παλαιὲς
βέλτιον, “’Οταν,” εἴπευ, “ἐγὼ καταβαίλω πα-
λαίων, ἐκείνος ἀντιλέγων ὡς ὦ πέπτωκε, νικᾷ
καὶ μεταπέθει τοὺς ὀρῶντας.”
Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περικλῆς περὶ τὸν
λόγον εὐλαβῆς ἦν, ὡστ’ ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸ βῆμα
PERICLES

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.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

βαδίζων εὐχετο τοῖς θεοῖς μηδὲ ρήμα μηδὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἀκούσων αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην 5 χρείαν ἀνάρμοστον. ἔγραφον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπολέοιτο πλὴν τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀπομημονεύεται δ' ὀλίγα παντάπασιν οἶον τὸ τὴν Λύγιναν ὡς λήμνη τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κελεύσας, καὶ τὸ τὸν πόλεμον ἡδὴ φάναι καθορᾶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου προσφερόμενον. καὶ ποτε τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὦτε συστρατηγῶν ἔζεπλευσε μετ' αὐτοῦ, παῖδα καλὸν ἐπανέσαντος, "Οὐ μόνον," ἔφη, "τὰς χεῖρας, ὦ Σοφόκλεις, δεὶ καθαρὰς ἔχειν τὸν στρατηγὸν, ἄλλα καί τὰς 6 ὁψεις." ο" δὲ Στησίμβροτος φησιν ὅτε τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ τεθυνκότας ἐγκωμίαζον ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀθανάτους ἐλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεοὺς: οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὅρωμεν, ἄλλα ταῖς τιμαῖς ἂς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἁγαθοῖς ἄ παρέχουσιν, ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα: ταύτ' οὖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.

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

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

1 Against Samos, 440–439 B.C.
2 In the encomium on Pericles, ii. 65, 9.
φρονος καὶ αὐτοῦργον, θεωρεῖσθω διὰ τῶν πραγ-μάτων αὐτῶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μεταβολῆς.

2 Ἔν ἀρχῇ μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπερ εἰρήται, πρὸς τὴν Κύμωνος δόξαν ἀντιταττόμενος ὑπεποιεῖτο τὸν δήμον· ἐλαττούμενος δὲ πλοῦτῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἀφ’ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς πένητας, δείπνόν τε καθ’ ἡμέραν τῷ δεομένῳ παρέχον ’Αθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀμφιεννύω, τῶν τε χωρίων τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφαιρῶν ὅπως ὀπτωρίζωσιν οἱ Βουλόμενοι, τούτοις ὁ Περικλῆς καταδημαγωγού-μενος τρέπεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν δημοσίων διανομήν, συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Ὁσθεν, ὡς ’Αριστοτέλης ἱστόρηκε. καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικοὶ καὶ δικαστικοὶ λήμμασιν ἄλλαις τε μισθοφοραῖς καὶ χορηγίαις συνδεκάσας τὸ πλῆθος, ἔχρητο κατὰ τὴς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου Βουλῆς, ἡς αὐτὸς οὐ μετείχε διὰ τὸ μήτ’ ἀρχῶν μήτε θεσμοθέτης μήτε βασιλεὺς μήτε πολέμαρχος λαχεῖν. αὐταῖ γὰρ αἱ ἀρχαὶ κληρωταί τε ἦσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ δ’ αὐτῶν οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς Ἀρείου πάγου. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἠσχύσας ὁ Περικλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατεστασίασε τὴν Βουλήν, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὰς πλείστας κρίσεις δι’ Ἐφι-άλτου, Κύμωνα δ’ ὡς φιλολάκωνα καὶ μισόδημον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, πλοῦτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει μηδενὸς ἀπολειπόμενον, νίκας δὲ καλλίστας νευκηκότα
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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,³—a man who yielded to none in wealth

¹ The discussion of this change in Pericles from the methods of a demagogue to the leadership described by Thucydides, continues through chapter xv. ² Const. of Athens, xxvii. 4. ³ 461 B.C. Cf. Cimon, xvii. 2.
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tous barbarous kai chrēmatōn pollōn kai
laφyron empeplēkōta tēn pōlin, ὡς εν τοῖς
perī ekheinou gérraptaī. Tosoouton ἦν τὸ κράτος
en to dēmō tou Perikleous.

Χ. Ὡ μὲν οὖν ἐξοστρακισμὸς ὀρισμένην εἰρχὲ
νόμῳ δεκαετίαν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ
μέσου Λακεδαιμονίων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐμβαλόν-
tōn eis tēn Tanaγρικήν kai tōn 'Athenaïōn eὐθὺς
ōrmēsántos étj autōs, ó meν Kýmωn élθων eκ
tēs phughēs ñetheto metā tōn phuletōn eis lóchon tā
ōpλa kai di' ērγωn ἀπολύεσθαι tōn Lachωnismōn
éboûleto, συγκινδυνεύσας tois polītais, oǐ dé
fíloi tou Perikleousus sustántes ἀπήλασαν αὐτὸν

2 ὡς phugāda. diō kai dokē Periklēis ἐρρωμενέ-
stata 1 tēn màxhn ekheinu ēγωνίσασθαι kai
genésthai pάντων épifanéstatos ōfeidhēs tōu
sōmatos. épeson de kai tōu Kýmωnos oĩ fíloi
pάntes ōmalōs, ōus Periklēs συνεπητιάτο tōu
Lachωnismōu kai metánōia deinē tōus 'Athenaïous
kai pόθos ἔσχη tōu Kýmωnos, ἡττημένους mēn épι
tōn ōrōn tēs 'Attikēs, προσδοκῶντας de barōn
3 eis ētouς ὡραν πόλεμον. aìsthōmenos oûn ὁ Peri-
kleis ouκ ōkynēse χαρίσασθαι tōis pollois, ἀλλά
tō ψήfisma γράφas αὐτός ekalēi tōn āndrā,
kakeinōs katelōwv 2 eiρhēnē ēpōišē tais pōlesin.
oikeiōs γαρ εἰχον oĩ Lachωdaimonioi prōs αὐτόν
ōsper ἀπῆχθοντο tō Perikleī kai tōis āllōis
dηmagnostoς.

1 ἐρρωμενέστατα Cobet, Sintenis2, Fuhr, Blass; ἐρρωμενε-
stātyn Bekker, with the MSS.
2 katelōwv Sintenis2, Fuhr, Blass; ἀπελθὼν Bekker, with
the MSS.
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.
"Ενιοι δὲ φασίν ὦ πρότερον γραφῆμα τῷ Κύμωνι τὴν κάθοδον ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ συνθήκας αυτοῦς ἀπορρήτους γειέσθαι δι’ Ἕλπινίκης, τῆς Κύμωνος ἀδελφῆς, ὡστε Κύμωνα μὲν ἐκπλεύσαι λαβόντα ναῦς διακοσίαι καὶ τῶν ἐξω στρατηγεῖν, καταστρεφόμενον τὴν βασιλείας χώραν, Περικλεῖ δὲ τὴν ἐν ἀστεὶ δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν.

εὐδικεὶ δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἡ Ἕλπινίκη τῷ Κύμωνι τὸν Περικλέα πρότερον παρασχεῖν, ὡς τὴν θανατικὴν δίκην ἐφευγεν. ἤν μὲν γὰρ ἐς τῶν κατηγόρων ὁ Περικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προβεβλημένος, ἐλθούσης δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς Ἕλπινίκης καὶ δεομένης μεταίσθαι εἶπεν. "Ω Ἕλπινίκη, γραῦς εἰ, γραῦς εἰ, ὡς πράγματα τηλικάντα πράσσειν." οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπαξ ἀνέστη, τὴν προβολὴν ἀφοσιούμενος, καὶ τῶν κατηγόρων ἐλάχιστα τὸν Κύμωνα λυπῆσας ἀπεχώρησε.

Πῶς ἄν οὖν τις ἰδομενίει πιστεύει κατηγοροῦντι τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς τὸν δημαγωγὸν Ἐφιάλτην φίλον γενόμενον καὶ κοινωνὸν ὑμνητής ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως δολοφονίσσαντος διὰ ξηλοτυπίαν καὶ φθόνον τῆς δόξης; ταύτα γὰρ οὐκ οἴδ᾽ ὀδεν συναγαγοῦ ἄστερ χολὴν τάνδρι προσβεβληκέ, πάντη μὲν ἓσως οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδὲν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχὴν φιλότιμον, οἰς οὐδέν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὕτω καὶ θηρίον ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνέργειας ἂν ἐμφυεῖα πάθος ὦμον οὐκ ἀ

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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 Elphinice, 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, Elphinice had rendered Pericles more lenient towards Cimon, when he stood his trial on the capital charge of treason. Pericles was at that time one of the committee of prosecution appointed by the people, and on Elphinice's coming to him and supplicating him, said to her with a smile: "Elphinice, 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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άνειλον, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης εὑρηκεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κύμων ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγών.

XI. Οἱ δ' ἀριστοκρατικοί μέγιστον μὲν ἡδή τὸν Περικλέα καὶ πρόσθεν ὀρὼντες γεγονότα τῶν πολιτῶν, βουλόμενοι δ' ὁμως εἶναι τινα τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτασσόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀμβλύνοντα, ὡστε μὴ κομιδῆ μοναρχίαν εἶναι, Ὑσυκυδίδην τὸν Ἀλωπεκῆθεν, ἀνδρα σώφρονα καὶ κηδεστὴν Κύμωνος, ἀντέστησαν ἐναντιωσόμενον,

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

Οὐ γὰρ εἰςανε τῶς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς καλομένους ἀνδρὰς ἐνδιεσπάρθαι καὶ συμμερίκθαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ὡς πρότερον, ὑπὸ πλήθους ἡμαρωμένους τὸ ἀξίωμα, χωρὶς δὲ διακρίνας καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ταύτῳ τῆς πάντων δύναμιν ἐμβριθή 3 γενομένην ὁσπερ ἐπὶ ξυγοῦ ῥοπῆν ἐποίησεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς διπλῆ τις ὑποτολο, ὁσπερ ἐν σιδήρῳ, διαφορᾶν ὑποσημαίνουσα δημοτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατικῆς προαιρέσεως, ἡ δ' ἐκείνων ἁμιλλα καὶ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἀνδρῶν βαθυτάτην τομὴν τεμοῦσα τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν δῆμον, τὸ δ' ὀλίγους ἐποίησε καλείσθαι. διὸ καὶ τότε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡνίας ἄνεις ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτευότα πρὸς χάριν, ἀεὶ μὲν τινα θεάν πανηγυρικὴν ἡ ἑστίασιν ἡ πομ-
secretly by Aristodicus of Tanagra, as Aristotle says.\(^1\)

As for Cimon, he died on his campaign in Cyprus.\(^2\)

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

He would not suffer the party of the "Good and True," as they called themselves, to be scattered up and down and blended with the populace, as heretofore, the weight of their character being thus obscured by numbers, but by culling them out and assembling them into one body, he made their collective influence, thus become weighty, as it were a counterpoise in the balance. Now there had been from the beginning a sort of seam hidden beneath the surface of affairs, as in a piece of iron, which faintly indicated a divergence between the popular and the aristocratic programme; but the emulous ambition of these two men cut a deep gash in the state, and caused one section of it to be called the "Demos," or the *People*, and the other the "Oligoi," or the *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, xxv. 4.
πὴν εἶναι μηχανώμενος ἐν ἄστει καὶ "διαπαιδα-
γωγῶν οὐκ ἀμοῦσοι ἠδοναῖς" τὴν πόλιν, ἐξήκοντα
δὲ τριήρεις καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπέμπτων, ἐν αἷς
πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπλεον ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐμμυσθοι,
μελετῶντες ἁμα καὶ μαυθάνοντες τὴν ναυτικὴν
5 ἐμπειρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίοις μὲν ἐστειλεν
εἰς Χερρόνησον κληροῦχοι, εἰς δὲ Νάξου πεντα-
κοσίους, εἰς δὲ Ἄνδρον τοὺς ἡμίσεις1 τούτων, εἰς
δὲ Ῥώκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικίσοντας,
ἀλλος δ’ εἰς Ἰταλίαν οἰκιζομένης Συβάρεως, ἢν
Θουρίων προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπραττεν
ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολὴν πολυ-
πράγμονος ὥχλου τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενος δὲ
tὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβον δὲ καὶ φρούραν
τοῦ μὴ νεωτερίζειν τι παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμ-
μάχοις.

XII. Ὅ δὲ πλείστην μὲν ἡδονὴν ταῖς Ἀθῆναις
καὶ κόσμον ἤνεγκε, μεγίστην δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐκπλη-
ξειν ἀνθρώποις, μόνον δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μαρτυρεῖ μὴ
ψεύδεσθαι τὴν λεγομένην δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἐκείνην
καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ὀλβον, ἢ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατα-
σκευῆ, τοῦτο μάλιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων τοῦ
Πειγκλέους ἐβάσκαινοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ διέβαλλον
ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, βοῶντες ὡς ὁ μὲν δήμος ἀδο-
ξεὶ καὶ κακῶς ἀκούει τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
2 χρῆματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Δῆλου μεταγαγόν, ἢ δ’
ἐνεστὶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας εὑπρεπεστάτη
tῶν προφάσεων, δείσαντα τοὺς ἑρκάρους εἰκεῖθεν

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

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

\(^1\) An iambic trimeter from an unknown source.

\(^2\) 447 B.C. Cf. chapter xix. 1–2.

\(^3\) 444 B.C. Sybaris had been destroyed in 510 B.C.
ἀνελέσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν ἐν ὁχυρῷ τὰ κοινά, ταῦτην ἀνήρηκε Περικλῆς· καὶ δοκεῖ δεινὴν ὑβρίν ἢ Ἐλλὰς ὑβρίζεσθαι καὶ τυραννεῖσθαι περιφανῶς, ὀρῶσα τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀναγκαίως πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἕμας τὴν πόλιν καταχρυσοῦντας καὶ καλλωπίζοντας ὀσπερ ἁλαξόνα γυναίκα, περιπατομένην λίθους πολυτελεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ναοὺς χιλιοτάλαντους.

3 Ἐδίδασκεν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ὁφείλουσι τοῖς συμμάχοις λόγον προπολεμοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνείργοντες, οὐχ ἔπποι, οὐ ναῦν, οὐχ ὀπλήτην, ἀλλὰ χρήματα μόνον τελοῦντων, ἀ τῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων, ἀν παρέχωσιν ἄνθ' οὐ λαμβάνονσι· δεὶ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κατεσκευασμένης ἰκανῶς τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς ταῦτα τὴν εὐπορίαν τρέπειν αὐτῆς ἀφ' ὧν δόξα μὲν γενομένων ἄιδιως, εὐπορία δὲ γινομένων ἑτοίμη παρέσται, παντοδαπῆς ἐργασίας φανείσης καὶ ποικίλων χρεῖών, αἱ πᾶσαι μὲν τέχνην ἑγείρουσι, πᾶσαι δὲ χεῖρα κινοῦσαι, σχεδὸν ὅλην ποιοῦσιν ἐμμισθοῦν τὴν πόλιν, ἔξ αὐτῆς ἀμα κοσμουμένην καὶ τρεφομένην.

4 Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡλικίαν ἔχουσι καὶ ρώμην αἱ στρατεύει τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν εὐπορίας παρεῖχον, τὸν δ' ἁσύντακτον καὶ βάναυσον ὄχλον ὧτι ἁμοιρον εἶναι λημμάτων βουλόμενος οὐτε λαμβάνειν 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 bring, as it were, the whole city under pay, so that she not only adorns, but supports herself as well from her own resources."

And it was true that his military expeditions supplied those who were in the full vigour of manhood with abundant resources from the common funds, and in his desire that the unwarlike throng of common labourers should neither have no share at all in the public receipts, nor yet get fees for
ασμάτων ἐπιβολὰς καὶ πολυτέχνους ὑποθέσεις ἔργων διατριβῆς ἐγχόντων ἐνέβαλε φέρων εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἢττον τῶν πλεόντων καὶ φρον- ρούντων καὶ στρατευομένων τὸ οἰκουροῦν ἔχῃ πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὑφελέσθαι καὶ 6 μεταλαμβάνειν. ὅπου γὰρ ὑλὴ μὲν ἢν λίθος, χαλκός, ἐλέφας, χρυσός, ἐβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ δὲ ταύτην ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κι τῇ ῥαζόμεναι τέχναι, τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, λιθουργοί, βα- φεῖς, χρυσοῦ μαλακτήρες καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ξωγρά- φοι, ποικιλταί, τορευταί, πομποὶ δὲ τούτων καὶ κομιστήρες, ἐμποροὶ καὶ ναύται καὶ κυβερνηταὶ 7 κατὰ θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἀμαξοτηγοὶ καὶ ξευγοτρόφοι καὶ ἰμίσχοι καὶ καλωστρόφοι καὶ λινουργοὶ καὶ σκυυτόμοι καὶ ὁδοποιοὶ καὶ μεταλ- λεῖς, ἐκάστῃ δὲ τέχνῃ, καθάπερ στρατηγὸς ἰδιον στράτευμα, τὸν θητικὸν ὀχλον καὶ ἱδιῶτην συν- τεταγμένον εἰχεν, ὀργανοὶ καὶ σῶμα τῆς ὑπηρε- σίας γινόμενον, εἰς πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐποιεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἡλικίαι καὶ φύσιν αἱ χρείαν διένεμον καὶ διέσπειρον τὴν εὐπορίαν.

XIII. Ἀναβαίνοντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερή- φάνων μὲν μεγέθει, μορφῇ δὲ ἀμμιρίτων καὶ χάριτι, τῶν δημιουργῶν ἁμιλλωμένων ὑπερβάλ- λεσθαι τὴν δημιουργίαν τῇ καλλιτεχνίᾳ, μάλιστα θανμάσιον ἢν τὸ τάχος. ὧν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν φώντο πολλαῖς διεδοχάις καὶ ἡλικίαις μόλις ἐπὶ τέλος ἡφιξέσθαι, ταῦτα πάντα μιᾶς ἀκμῆς πολιτείας

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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
2 ἐλάμβανε τὴν συντέλειαν. καίτοι ποτὲ φασιν Ἀγαθάρχου τοῦ ξωγράφου μέγα φρονοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ ταχὺ καὶ ραδίως τὰ ἔργα ποιεῖν ἀκούσαντα τὸν Ζεύξιν εἰπεῖν. "Εγὼ δὲ ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ." ἢ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὐχέρεια καὶ ταχύτης οὐκ ἐντίθησι βάρος ἔργῳ μόνιμον οὔτε κάλλους ἀκριβείαν. ὁ δὲ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τῷ πόνῳ προδανεισθεὶς χρόνος ἐν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γενομένου τὴν ἴσχυν ἀποδίδοσιν. οὗτος καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενόμενα. καλλεί μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν εὐθὺς ἢν τότε ἀρχαῖον, ἀκρῆ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατόν ἐστὶ καὶ νεοργόν. οὕτως ἐπανθεῖ καινότης ἀεὶ τις ἂθικτον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου διατηροῦσα τὴν ὀφειν, ὥσπερ ἀειθαλὲς πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγήρω καταμεμφιμένη τῶν ἐργῶν ἐχόντων.

4 Πάντα δὲ διείπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἢν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἐχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἐργῶν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐκατόμπεδον Παρθενῶνα Καλλικράτης ἐιργάζετο καὶ Ἰκτίνος, τὸ δὲ ἐν Ἑλευσίνῳ τελεστήριον ἠρέατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ ἐδάφους κιόνας ἔδηκεν οὕτος καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστυλίους ἐπεξεύξατο ἀποδανόντος δὲ τούτου Μεταγένης ὁ Ξυπέτιος τὸ διάξωμα καὶ τοὺς ἀνω κιόνας ἐπέστησε. τὸ δὲ ὅπαινον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ξενοκλῆς ὁ Χολαργεύς ἐκορύφωσε. τὸ δὲ μακρὸν 160 καινότης αἰὲ τὶς Φουρ καὶ Βλας μεταφράσαντες Καινότης τὶς.
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 un faltering breath of an ageless spirit had been infused into them.

His general manager and general overseer was Pheidias, although the several works had great architects and artists besides. Of the Parthenon, for instance, with its cella of a hundred feet in length, Callicrates and Ictinus were the architects; it was 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.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

teίχος, περὶ οὗ Σωκράτης ἀκούσαί φησιν αὐτὸς εἰσηγούμενον γνώμην Περικλέους, ἢργολάβησε Καλλικράτης. κωμικεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔργον Κρατίνος ὡς βραδέως περαινόμενον.

Πάλαι γὰρ αὐτὸ, φησὶ, λόγοις προάγει Περικλέης, ἐργοῖς δὲ οὐδὲ κινεῖ.

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

'Ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεῦς ὡδὲ προσέρχεται τοῖς ὑπεροφόροις ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου ἐξων, ἐπειδὴ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται.

φιλοτιμούμενος δ' ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐνηφίφυσε τοὺς Παναθηναίους ἀγώνας τῆς Παναθηναίους ἀγεσθαι, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτὸς ἀθλοθέτης αἴρεθεκαθότι χρή τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ἀδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. ἐθέωντο δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν Ὄιδεῖῳ τοὺς μουσικοὺς ἀγώνας.

7 Τὰ δὲ Προπύλαια τῆς ἀκρόπολεως ἐξειργάζετο μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ Μυσικέλεος ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντος· τύχῃ δὲ θαυμαστῇ συμβάσει περὶ τὴν οἰκοδ. μίαν ἐμὴν περὶ τὴν θεὸν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ

1 ὡδὲ | προσέρχεται Fuhr and Blass, after Cohet: προσέρχεται | 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 Propylaea 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.
\(^3\) Kock, *op. cit.* i. p. 35.
συνεφαπτομένην τοῦ ἔργου καὶ συνεπιτελοῦσαν.

8 ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ προθυμότατος τὸν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεῖς ἐξ ύψους ἐπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἀθυμοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὅναρ φανείσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἣ χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥαδίως ἱάστο τὸν ἀνθρώπον. ἔπει τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἀγαλμα τῆς Ῥηίνας ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἤν, ὡς λέγουσιν.

9 Ὁ δὲ Φειδίας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος, καὶ τούτου δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέραται,1 πάντα δὴ ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάτει τοῖς τεχνιταῖς διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ μὲν φθόνοι, τῷ δὲ βλασφημίαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἐλευθέρας τῷ Περικλεὶ γυναίκας εἰς τὰ ἔργα φοιτῶσας ὑπο- δεχομένου τοῦ Φειδίου. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν λόγον οἱ κωμικοὶ πολλὴ ἀσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἰς τῇ Μενίππου γυναίκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ ὑποστρατηγοῦντος, εἰς τῇ Πυριλάμπου ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἔταιρος ὁν Περικλέους αἰτίαν εἰχε ταῦτας ὑφίεναι ταῖς γυναιξίν αἷς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίαζε.

10 δεχομένου τοῦ Φειδίου. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν λόγον οἱ κωμικοὶ πολλὴ ἁσέλγειαν αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἰς τῇ Μενίππου γυναίκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ ὑποστρατηγοῦντος, εἰς τῇ Πυριλάμπου ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἔταιρος ὁν Περικλέους αἰτίαν εἰχε ταῦτας ὑφίεναι ταῖς γυναιξίν αἷς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπλησίαζε.

11 Καὶ τί ἂν τις ἀνθρώπους σατυρικοὺς τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν κρειττόνων βλασφημίας ὅσπερ δαίμονι κακῷ τῷ φθόνῳ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποθύνοντας ἑκάστοτε θαυμάσειεν, ὅποι καὶ Στησίμβροτος ὁ

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

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

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
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Θάσιος δεινών ἄσεβημα καὶ μυθώδες ἐξενεγκεῖν ἑτόλμησεν εἰς τὴν γυναίκα τοῦ νιῶν κατὰ τοῦ
12 Περικλέους; οὕτως ἔοικε πάντη χαλεπῶν εἶναι καὶ ὑποθήρατον ἱστορία τάληθες, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ύστερον
γεγονότες τὸν χρόνον ἐχωσῖν ἐπιπροσθοῦντα τῇ γνώσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἢ δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ
tῶν βίων ἡλικιώτης ἱστορία τὰ μὲν φθόνοις καὶ ὑσμενείαις, τὰ δὲ χαριζομένη καὶ κολακεύονσα
λυμαίνηται καὶ διαστρέφη τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

XIV. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ῥητόρων
cαταβοῦντων τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς σπαθῶντος τὰ
χρήματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ὀπολλύντως, ἡρώ-
tησευν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸν δῆμον εἰ πολλὰ δοκεῖ
dεδαπανήσθαι φησάντων δὲ πάμπολλα: “Μὴ
tοῖνυν,” εἶπεν, “ὑμῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ δεδαπανήσθω,
kαὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἱδίαν ἐμαυτοῦ ποιήσομαι
2 τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν.” εἰπόντος οὐν ταῦτα τοῦ Περι-
kλέους, εἰτε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην αὐτοῦ θαυμά-
σαντες εἰτε πρὸς τὴν δόξαν ἀντιφιλοτιμοῦμενοι
τῶν ἔργων, ἀνέκραγον κελεύοντες ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων
ἀναλίσκειν καὶ χορηγεῖν μηδενὸς φειδόμενον.
tέλος δὲ πρὸς τὸν Θουκυδίδην εἰς ἀγώνα περὶ τοῦ
ὀστράκον καταστάς καὶ διακυνδυνεύσας ἐκείνον
μὲν ἐξέβαλε, κατέλυσε δὲ τὴν ἀντιτεταγμένην
ἐταιρείαν.

XV. Ὅσον οὖν παντάπασι λυθείσης τῆς διαφο-
ρᾶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως οἶνον ὁμαλῆς καὶ μᾶς γενο-
μένης κομιδῆ, περιήγεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰς Ἀθῆνας

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even Stesimbrotus 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.
καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔξηρτημένα πράγματα, φόρους καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ νῆσους καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν δὲ Ελλήνων, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ βαρβάρων ἡκουσαν ἵσχυν, καὶ ἡγεμονίαν ὑπηκοοὺς ἔθνεσι καὶ φιλίαις βασιλέων 2 καὶ συμμαχίαις πεφραγμένην δυναστῶν, οὐκέθ' οὗτος ἢν οὐδ’ ὁμοίως χειρόθης τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ῥάδιος ὑπείκειν καὶ συνενδίδοναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὀσπερ πυοαίς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀνειμένης ἐκείνης καὶ ὑποθρυπτομένης ἑνα δημαγωγίας, ὀσπερ αὐθηρᾶς καὶ μαλακῆς ἄρμονίας, ἀριστοκρατικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐντεινόμενος πολιτείαν, καὶ χρώμενος αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ὀρθή καὶ 3 ἀνεγκλίτω, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ βουλόμενον ἢγε πείθων καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δήμου, ἢν δ’ ὅτε καὶ μάλα δυσχεραίνοντα κατατείνων καὶ προσβιβάζων ἑκείροτο τῷ συμφέροντι, μιμούμενος ἀτεχνῶς ἰατρὸν ποικίλω νοσήματι καὶ μακρῷ κατὰ καιρὸν μὲν ἠδονᾶς ἀβλαβεῖς, κατὰ καιρὸν δὲ δηγμοῦς καὶ 4 φάρμακα προσφέροντα σωτήρια. παντοδαπῶν γὰρ, ὡς εἰκός, παθῶν ἐν ὀχλῷ τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ἄρχην ἔχοντι φυομένων, μόνος ἐμμελῶς ἐκαστα διαχειρίσασθαι πεφυκώς, μάλιστα δ’ ἐλπίσι καὶ φόβοις ὀσπερ οἰαξὶ προστελλον 1 τὸ θρασυνύμενον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δύσθυμον ἀνείς καὶ παραμυθοῦμενος, ἐδειξε τὴν ῥητορικήν κατὰ Πλάτωνα ψυχαγωγίαν οὕσαν καὶ μέγιστον ἐργον 1 προστελλον Fuhr and Blass with S (προστελλον BCF): 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 c.
αὐτῆς τὴν περὶ τὰ ἡθη καὶ πάθη μέθοδον, ὡσπερ τινὰς τόνους καὶ φθόγγους ψυχῆς μαλλ' ἐμμελοῦσιν ἅφης καὶ κρούσεως δεομένους. αἱτίη δ' οὖν ἡ τοῦ λόγου ψειλῶς δύναμις, ἀλλ' ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ἡ περὶ τὸν βίον δόξα καὶ πίστις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὑδωροτάτου περιφανῶς γενομένου καὶ χρημάτων κρείττονος: δι' καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλης μεγίστην καὶ πλουσιώτάτην ποιήσας, καὶ γενόμενος δυνάμει 1 πολλῶν βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων ὑπέρτερος, ὅπεν ἔνοιο καὶ ἐπίτροπον τοῖς υἱέσι διέθειν ἐκεῖνον, 2 μιᾶ δραχμῆς μείζονα τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἢς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸ κατέλιπε.

XVI. Καὶ τοῖς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης διηγεῖται, κακοήθως δὲ παρεμφαίνουσιν τοὺς καὶ κωμικοῖς. Πεισιστρατίδας μὲν νέους τοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἑταῖρους καλοῦντες, αὐτοῦ δ' ἀπομόσαι μὴ τυραννίσειν κελεύοντες, ὡς ἀσυμμέτρον πρὸς δημοκρατίαν καὶ βαρυτέρας περὶ αὐτοῦ οὐσίας 2 ὑπεροχὴς. ὁ δὲ Τηλεκλείδης παραδεδωκέναι φησὶν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους

Πόλεων τε φόρους αὐτὰς τε πόλεις, τὰς μὲν δεῖν, τὰς δ' ἀναλύειν,
λαίνα τείχη, τὰ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν, τὰ δ' ἐπείτα 3 πάλιν καταβάλλειν,
σπονδάς, δύναμιν, κράτος, εἰρήνην, πλούτων τ' εὐδαιμονίαν τε.

καὶ ταύτα καίρος οὐκ ἦν οὐδ' ἀκμῆ καὶ χάρις

1 δυνάμει also Fuhr and Blass with S; Bekker has καὶ δυνάμει.
2 ἐπίτροπον . . . ἐκεῖνον Madvig's restoration, adopted by Fuhr and Blass: ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱέσι διέθεντο, ἐκεῖνο (willed their property to their sons).
3 τὰ δ' ἐπείτα Fuhr: τὰ δὲ αὐτά.
of the soul," and that her chiefest business is a careful study of the affections and passions, which are, so to speak, strings and stops of the soul, requiring a very judicious fingering and striking. The reason for his success was not his power as a speaker merely, but, as Thucydides says,1 the reputation of his life and the confidence reposed in him as one who was manifestly proven to be utterly disinterested and superior to bribes. He made the city, great as it was when he took it, the greatest and richest of all cities, and grew to be superior in power to kings and tyrants. Some of these actually appointed him guardian of their sons, but he did not make his estate a single drachma greater than it was when his father left it to him.

XVI. Of his power there can be no doubt, since Thucydides gives so clear an exposition of it, and the comic poets unwittingly reveal it even in their malicious gibes, calling him and his associates "new Peisistratidae," and urging him to take solemn oath not to make himself a tyrant, on the plea, forsooth, that his preëminence was incommensurate with a democracy and too oppressive. Telecleides says2 that the Athenians had handed over to him "With the cities' assessments the cities themselves, to bind or release as he pleases, Their ramparts of stone to build up if he likes, and then to pull down again straightway, Their treaties, their forces, their might, peace, and riches, and all the fair gifts of good fortune."

(Rogers.)

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

1 ii. 65, 8.
2 In a play of unknown name. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 220.
Λάθος ήταν έναρξη, και δεν μπορούσα εν μιαν εποχή Εφιάλτης και Δεωκράτης και Μυρωνίδαις και Κίμωσι και Τολμίδαις και Θεοκυδίδαις, μετά δέ την Θεοκυδίδου κατάλυσιν και τόν ὀστρακισμόν οὐκ ελάττω τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν διηνεκῆ καὶ μίαν οὔσαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις στρατηγίαις ἄρχῃ καὶ δυναστείαι κτησάμενος, ἐφύλαξεν εἰς τόν ἀνάλωτον ὑπὸ χρημάτων, καὶ περ οὐ παντάπασιν ἄργος ἔχων πρὸς χρηματισμὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πατρὸν καὶ δίκαιον πλοῦτον, ὃς μῆτρ' ἀμελουμένος ἐκφύγοι μῆτε πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ διατριβὰς ἀσχολουμένῳ παρέχου, συνέταξεν εἰς οἰκονομίαν ἧν φητο ράστην καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην εἰναι. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπετείους καρποὺς ἀπαντὰς ἀθρόους ἐπιτραπέκεν, εἴτα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκαστον ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ὠνούμενος διὼκε τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. οἶθεν οὐχ ἢδος ἢ ἐνηλίκοις παῖσιν οὐδὲ γυναῖξι δαψιλῆς χορηγός, ἀλλὰ ἐμέμφυτο τὴν ἐφήμερον ταύτην καὶ συγγιμένην εἰς τὸ ἀκριβεστάτον δαπάνην, οὔδενός, οἶον ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεγάλη καὶ πράγμασιν ἀφθόνοις, περιρρέουτος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς μὲν ἀναλώματος, παντὸς δὲ λήμματος δ' ἀριθμοῦ καὶ μέτρου βαδίζοντος. ο' δὲ πάσαν αὐτού τὴν τοιαύτην συνέχων ἀκρίβειαν εἰς ἢν οἰκέτης, Ἐυάγγελος, ὡς έτερος οὔδεις εὖ πεφυκώς ἢ κατεσκευασμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους πρὸς οἰκονομίαν.

'Απάδοντα μὲν όν ταύτα τῆς 'Αναξαγόρου σοφίας, εἰγε καὶ την οἰκίαν ἐκεῖνος ἐξέλιπτε καὶ

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

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

1 Reckoning roundly from 469 to 429 B.C.
τὴν χώραν ἀφίκεν ἄργην καὶ μηλόβοτον ὑπ’ ἑνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, οὕτω δὲ ἐστὶν, οἷμαι, θεωρητικῷ φιλοσόφου καὶ πολιτικῷ βίος, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἀνόργανον καὶ ἀπροσδεή τῆς ἐκτὸς ὦλης ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κινεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν, τῷ δὲ εἰς ἄνθρωπείας χρείας ἀναμιγνύντι τὴν ἁρετὴν ἐστίν οὐ γένοιτ’ ἂν οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καλῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, ὡσπερ ἦν καὶ Περικλεὶ βοηθοῦντι πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων.

καὶ μέντοι γε τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν ἀσχολουμένου Περικλέους ἀμελούμενον κεῖσθαι συγκεκαλυμμένου ἠδὴ γηραιῶν ἀποκαρτεροῦντα· προσπεσόντος δὲ τῷ Περικλεὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐκπλαγέντα θείν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἂνδρα καὶ δεῖσθαι πᾶσαν δέσιν, ὀλοφυρόμενον οὐκ ἐκείνου, ἀλλ’ ἑαυτὸν, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἀπολεί τῆς πολιτείας σύμβουλον. ἐκκαλυψάμενον οὖν τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν εἰπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. “Ὤ Περίκλεις, καὶ οἱ τοῦ λύχνου χρείαν ἔχοντες ἐλαίον ἐπιχέουσιν.”

XVII. Ἀρχομένων δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀχθεσθαί τῇ αὐξήσει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἔπαιρων ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δήμον ἐτι μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων αὐτὸν ἄξιον πραγμάτων, γράφει ψήφισμα, πάντας ἑλληνας τοὺς ὁπότετο κατοικοῦντας Ἐυρώπης ἢ τῆς Ἀσίας παρακάλειν, καὶ μικρὰν πόλιν καὶ μεγάλην, εἰς σύλλογον πέμπτειν Ἀθηναζε τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν 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
κατέπρησαν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ τῶν θυσίων ἃς
οφείλουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοῖς
θεοῖς ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ
tῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἀδεῶς καὶ
tὴν εἰρήνην ἄγωσιν. ἔπὶ ταῦτα δὲ ἀνδρεὶς εἰκοσὶ
tῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἐτῆς γεγονότων ἐπέμφθησαν,
ὅν πέντε μὲν Ἰωνας καὶ Δωριές τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ
cαὶ νησιώτας ἄχρι Λέσβου καὶ Ρόδου παρεκά

λουν, πέντε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ καὶ Ὁράκη
μέχρι Βυζαντίου τόπους ἐπῆσαν, καὶ πέντε ἐπὶ
tοῦτοις εἰς Βοιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Πελοπόν-
νησον, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης διὰ Λοκρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσοι-
kον ὑπειρον ἐως Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ Ἀμβρακίας

ἀπεστάλησαν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δὲ Ἔυβοιας ἐπὶ
Οἰκίανος καὶ τὸν Μαλιέα κόλπον καὶ Φθιώτας
Ἀχαίοις καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, συμπει-
θοντες ἵναι καὶ μετέχειν τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπὶ
eἰρήνη καὶ κοινοπραγία τῆς Ἐλλάδος. ἐπράχθη
dὲ οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ συνυῆθον αἱ πόλεις, Λακεδαιμονίων
ὑπεναντιωθέντων, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν
Πελοπόννησῳ τῆς πείρας ἐλεγχθείσης. τούτῳ
μὲν οὖν παρεθήμην εὐδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φρό-

νημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην.

ΧVIII. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις εὐδοκίμει

μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, οὔτε μάχης ἔχουσις
πολλῆς ἀδηλότητα καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκουσίως ἀπτῶ-

μενος, οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραβάλλεσθαι χρησα-
mένους τύχῃ λαμπρὰ καὶ θαυμασθέντας ὦς μεγά-

λους θηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος στρατηγοῦς, ἀεὶ τε
λέγων πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ὡς ὅσον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ

μενοῦσιν ἀθάνατοι πάντα τῶν χρόνων.
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 Malian 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.
2 Ὅρων δὲ Τολμίδην τὸν Τολμαίον διὰ τὰς πρότερον εὐτυχίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι διαφερόντως ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν σὺν οὐδενὶ καιρῷ παρασκευαζόμενον εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ πεπεικότα τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ φιλοτεμοτάτους ἔθελοντι στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίους γενομένους ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως, κατέχειν ἐπειράτο καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τὸ μνημονεύμονον εἰπὼν, ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο Περικλεῖ, τὸν γε σοφώτατον οὐχ ἀμαρτίσεται σύμβουλον ἀναμείνας χρόνον. τότε μὲν οὖν μετρίως εὐδόκιμησε τοῦτ’ εἰπὼν ὅλιγας δ’ ύστερον ἥμερας, ὡς ἀνηγγέλθη τεθνεώς μὲν αὐτὸς Τολμίδης περὶ Κορώνειαν ἤττηθεὶς μάχῃ, τεθνεώτες δὲ πολλοί κἀγαθοὶ τῶν πολίτῶν, μεγάλην τούτο τῷ Περικλεὶ μετ’ εὐνοίας δόξαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἄνδρὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ.

Χ.Ι.Χ. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγίων ἡγαπήθη μὲν ἡ περὶ Χερρόνησον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, σωτήριος γενομένη τοῖς αὐτῷ κατοίκουσι τῶν Ἐλλήνων οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐποίкоς Ἀθηναίῳς χιλίους κομίσας ἔρρωσεν εὐανδρίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐχενα διαζώσας ἔρυμασε καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν Ἐρακῶν περικεχυμένων τῇ Χερρόνησῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἐνδελεχῆ καὶ βαρὺν ἐξέκλεισεν, ὡς συνείχετο πάντα τὸν χρόνον ᾗ χώρα βαρβαρικὰς ἀναμεμιμημένη γειτνιάσει καὶ γέμουσα ληστηρίων.
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So when he saw that Tolmides, son of Tolmaeus, all on account of his previous good-fortune and of the exceeding great honour bestowed upon him for his wars, was getting ready, quite inopportune, to make an incursion into Boeotia, and that he had persuaded the bravest and most ambitious men of military age to volunteer for the campaign,—as many as a thousand of them, aside from the rest of his forces,—he tried to restrain and dissuade him in the popular assembly, uttering then that well remembered saying, to wit, that if he would not listen to Pericles, he would yet do full well to wait for that wisest of all counsellors, Time. This saying brought him only moderate repute at the time; but a few days afterwards, when word was brought that Tolmides himself was dead after defeat in battle near Coroneia,¹ and that many brave citizens were dead likewise, then it brought Pericles great repute as well as goodwill, for that he was a man of discretion and patriotism.

XIX. Of all his expeditions, that to the Chersonesus² 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 συνοικων ἐθαυμάσθη δέ καὶ διεβοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπους περιπλεύσας Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Πηγῶν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνα-3 χθείς ἐκατὸν τριήρεσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπόρθησε τῆς παραλίας πολλήν, ὡς Τολμίδης πρῶτερον, ἄλλα καὶ πόρρω θαλάττης προελθὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίταις τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰ τείχη συνέστειλε δείσαντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐφόδου, ἐν δὲ Νεμέα Σικυωνίους ὑποστάντας καὶ συνάγαγας μάχην κατὰ κράτος τρεψάμενοι ἐστησε τρόπαιον. 4 ἐκ δ' Ἀχαίας φίλης οὕσης σтратιώτας ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἦπειρον ἐκομίσθη τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχε-λῶν Ἀκαρναίαν κατέδραμε, καὶ κατέκλεισεν Οἰνιάδας εἰς τὸ τείχος, καὶ τεμὼν τὴν γῆν καὶ κακώσας ἀπῆρεν ἐπὶ οἶκον, φοβερὸς μὲν φανεὶς τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀσφαλὴς δὲ καὶ δραστήριος τοῖς πολίταις. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐστησάμενων συνέβη περὶ τοὺς στρατευομένους.

XX. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσας στόλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ λαμπρῶς ταῖς μὲν Ἐλληνίσι πόλεσιν ὄν ἐδέοντο διεπράξατο καὶ προσηνέχθη φιλανθρώπως, τοῖς δὲ περιοικοῦσι βαρβάροις ἔθνεσι καὶ βασιλεύσιν αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάσταις ἐπεδείξατο μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μέ-γεθος καὶ τὴν ἀδειαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ἢ βούλιωντο πλεόντων καὶ πᾶσαν υφ' αὐτῶν πεποιημένων τὴν θάλασσαν, Σιυωπεύσει δὲ τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς ἀπέ-λυσε 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, 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 Oeniadae 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 with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighbouring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control. He also left with the banished Sinopians thirteen ships of war and soldiers under command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesi-

1 453 B.C. 2 Probably about 436 B.C.
2 λεων τύραννον. ἐκπεσόντος δὲ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐψηφίσατο πλείν εἰς Σινώπην Ἀθηναίων ἐθελοντᾶς ἐξακοσίους καὶ συγκατοικεῖν Σινώπεῦσι, νειμαμένους οἰκίας καὶ χώραν ἢ πρότερον οἱ τύραννοι κατείχον.

Τάλλα δ’ οὖ συνεχώρει ταῖς ὅρμαις τῶν πολιτῶν, οὔδὲ συνεξέπιπτεν ὑπὸ ῥώμης καὶ τύχης τοσαύτης ἐπαιρομένων Λιγύπτου τε πάλιν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κινεῖν τής βασιλείας ἀρχῆς τὰ 3 πρὸς θαλάσσης, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Σικελίας ὁ δύσερως ἀκείνος ἦδη καὶ δύσποτος ἔρως εἴχεν, ὃν ὡστερον ἐξέκαυσαν οἱ περὶ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην ῥήτορες. ὡς δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνία καὶ Καρχηδῶν ἐνώς ὁνείρος ὑπ’ ἐπιδος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἤγεμονίας καὶ την εύροιαν τῶν πραγμάτων.

XXI. 'ἈΛΛ’ ο Περικλῆς κατείχε τὴν ἐκδρομὴν ταύτην καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην, καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῆς δυνάμεως ἔτρεπεν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ βεβαιότητα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μέγα ἔργον ἕγγορος ἀνείργηεν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ὅλως ὑπεναντιούμενος ἀκείνοις, ὡς ἄλλος τε πολλοὶς ἐδειξε καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἱερὸν πρακθείσι 2 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς Φωκέων ἐχόμενων τὸ ἱερὸν Δελφοῖς ἀπέδωκαν, εὕρος ἐκείνοις ἀπαλλαγέντον
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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.
ο Περικλῆς ἐπιστρατεύσας πάλιν εἰσήγαγε τούς Φωκέας. καὶ τῶν Ἀκεδαιμονίων ἦν ἐδωκαν αὐτοῖς Δελφοὶ προμαντείαν εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ἑγκολαψάντων τοῦ χαλκοῦ λύκου, λαβὼν καὶ αὐτὸς προμαντείαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν λύκου κατὰ τὴν δεξίαν πλευρὰν ἐνεχάραξεν.

XXII. "Ὅτι δ' ὅρθως ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνεῖχεν, ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτῷ τὰ γενόμενα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Εὔβοιες ἀπέστησαν, ἐφ' οὓς διέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως. εἶτ' εὐθὺς ἀπηγγέλλοντο Μεγαρεῖς ἐκπεπολεμομένου καὶ στρατιά πολεμῶν ἑπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Ἀττικῆς οὖσα, Πλευστώνακτος ἦγουμένου, βασιλέως Ακεδαιμονίων. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς κατὰ τάχος ἐκ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀνεκομίζετο πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ πόλεμον καὶ συνάψαι μὲν εἰς χείρας οὐκ ἐθάρσησε πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ὀπλίταις προκαλουμένοις, ὅρων δὲ τὸν Πλευστώνακτα νέον ὄντα κομιδὴ, χρώμενον δὲ μάλιστα Κλεανδρίδη τῶν συμβούλων, ὃν οἱ ἐφοροὶ φύλακα καὶ πάρεδρον αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἥλικιαν συνέπεμψαν, ἐπειρᾶτο τούτῳ κρύφα καὶ ταχὺ διαφθείρας χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἁπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους.

3 Ὡς δ' ἀπεχώρησεν ἣ στρατιὰ καὶ διελύθη κατὰ πόλεις, βαρέως φέροντες οἱ Ακεδαιμόνιοι τὸν μὲν βασιλέα χρήμασιν ἐξημίωσαν, ὃν τὸ πλήθος

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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, 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.
οὐκ ἔχων ἐκτίσαι μετέστησεν έαυτόν ἐκ Λακεδαιμονος, τοῦ δὲ Κλεανδρίδου φεύγοντος θάνατον κατέγρωσαν. οὕτως δὲ ἦν πατὴρ Γυλίτσου τοῦ περὶ Σικελίαν Αθηναίους καταπολεμήσαντος. ἐοικε δ' ὁσπέρ συγγενικών αὐτῷ προστράψασθαι νόσημα τὴν φιλαργυρίαν ἠ φύσις, ύψι καὶ αὐτὸς αὐσχρῶς ἐπὶ καλὸ ἐργοῖς ἀλὸς ἔξεπεσε τῆς Σπάρτης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Δυσανδροῦ δεδηλώκαμεν.

XXIII. Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ἐν τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπολογισμῷ δέκα ταλάντων ἀνάλωμα γράψαντος ἀνηλμένων εἰς τὸ δέον, ὁ δήμος ἀπεδέξατο μὴ πολυπραγμονήσας μηδ' ἐλέγχας τὸ ἀπόρρητον. ένοι δ' ἱστορίκαιν, ὃν ἐστὶ καὶ Θεόφραστος ὁ φιλόσοφος, ὅτι καθ' ἐκαστόν ἐνιαυτόν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐφοίτα δέκα τάλαντα παρὰ τοῦ Περικλέους, οἷς τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας θεραπεύων παρρητίτο τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ τὴν εἰρήνην οὐκοῦμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν δὲ παρασκευασάμενος καθ' ἱσυχίαν ἐμελλε πολεμήσειν βέλτιον. 2 αὐθίς1 οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας τραπόμενος καὶ διαβὰς εἰς Εὐβοιαν πεντήκοντα ναυί καὶ πεντακυσχιλίοις ὀπλίταις κατεστρέψατο τὰς πόλεις. καὶ Χαλκιδέων μὲν τοὺς ἰπποβότας λεγομένους πλοῦτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέροντας ἐξέβαλεν, Ἑστιεῖς δὲ πάντας ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἀθηναίους κατῴκισε, μόνοις τούτοις ἀπαραϊτήτως χρησάμενος ὅτι ναῦν Ἀττικὴν αἰχμαλωτῶν λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἀνδρας.

1 αὐθίς Fuhr and Bliss, after Sauppe: εὐθύς (at once).
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the full amount of which he was unable to pay, and so betook himself out of Lacedaemon, while Clean- 
dridas, who had gone into voluntary exile, was con- 
demned 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 in- 
vestigating the mystery. But some writers, among 
whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, have stated 
that every year ten talents found their way to Sparta 
from Pericles, and that with these he conciliated all 
the officials there, and so staved off the war, not 
purchasing peace, but time, in which he could make 
preparations at his leisure and then carry on war all 
the better. However that may be, he again turned 
his attention to the rebels, and after crossing to 
Euboea with fifty ships of war and five thousand 
hoplites, he subdued the cities there. Those of the 
Chalcidians who were styled Hippobotae, or Knights, 
and who were preëminent for wealth and reputation, 
he banished their city, and all the Hestiaeans he 
removed from the country and settled Athenians in 
their places, treating them, and them only, thus 
inexorably, because they had taken an Attic ship 
captive and slain its crew.

1 Chapters xvi. 1.
XXIV. 'Εκ τούτου γενομένων σπουδῶν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονιῶις εἰς ἑτη τριάκοντα ψηφίζεται τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, αἰτίαν ποιησάμενος κατ' αὐτῶν ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους κελευόμενοι διαλύσασθαι πόλεμον οὐχ ὑπήκουν.

'Εστι δ' Ἀσπασία χαριζόμενος δοκεῖ πράξαι τὰ πρὸς Σαμίους, ἐνταῦθα ἂν εἰς καριδὸς διαπορήσαι μάλιστα περὶ τῆς ἀνδρόπου, τίνα τέχνην ἢ δύναμιν τοσαύτην ἔχουσα τῶν τε πολιτικῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους οὐ φαύλον οὐδ' ὁλίγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρέσχε λόγον.

2 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἢν Μιλησία γένος, Ἀξιόχου θυγάτηρ, ὀμολογεῖται: φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν Ὁρηγηλίαν τινὰ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἰάδων ζηλώσασαν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς δυνατώτάτοις ἀνδράσι. καὶ γὰρ ἢ Θαργηλία τὸ τ' εἶδος εὐπρεπῆς γενομένη καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα μετὰ δεινότητος πλείστοις μὲν Ἑλλήνων συνώκησεν ἀνδράσι, πάντας δὲ προσεποίησε βασιλεά τοὺς πλησιώσαντας αὐτῇ, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι μηδίσμοι δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπέσπειρεν ἀρχὰς δυνατωτάτων ὄντων.

3 καὶ μεγίστων. τὴν δ' Ἀσπασίαν οἱ μὲν ὂς σοφῆν τινα καὶ πολιτικὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους σπουδασθήναι λέγουσι: καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔστιν ὅτε μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ἐφοίτα, καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς ἀκροασμένας οἱ συνήθεις ἦγον ὡς 1 αὐτήν, καὶ περ ὡς κοσμίου προεστῶσαν ἑργασίας οὐδὲ σεμνὴς, ἀλλὰ παιδίσκας ἐταιροῦσας τρέφουσαν.

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

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

1 440 B.C.
2 Aeschines the Socratic, in a dialogue entitled "Aspasia," not extant.
4 Αϊσχύνης δέ φησι καὶ Δυσικλέα τὸν προβατοκά-πηλον ἐξ ἀγεννοῦς καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὴν φύσιν Ἁθη-
ναίων γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἀσπασία συνόντα μετὰ τὴν Περικλέους τελευτήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενεξέω τῷ Πλάτωνος, εἰ καὶ μετὰ παιδίας τὰ πρῶτα γέγραπται, τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἱστορίας ἐνεστιν, ὅτι δύον εἰχε τὸ γύναιον ἐπὶ ῥητορικὴ πολλοῖς
5 Ἁθηναίων ὀμίλειν. φαίνεται μὲντοι μᾶλλον ἐρωτικὴ τις ἡ τοῦ Περικλέους ἀγάπησις γενομένη πρὸς Ἀσπασίαν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ γυνὴ προσ-
ήκουσα μὲν κατὰ γένος, συνωκήκυια δ’ Ἰππονίκῳ πρότερον, ἐξ οὐ Καλλίαν ἔτεκε τὸν πλοῦσιον ἔτεκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Περικλεὶ Σάνθιππον καὶ Πάραλον. εἶτα τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ ὁσῖς αὐτοῖς ἀρεστῆς, ἐκείνην μὲν ἔτερῳ βουλομένην συνε- ἐδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν λαβὼν ἐστέρεξεν διαφερότως. καὶ γὰρ ἔξιών, ὃς φασι, καὶ εἰσίων ἀπ’ ἄγορας ἥσσαζετο καθ’ ἥμεραν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ καταφιλεῖν.

6 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς κωμῳδίαις Ὀμφάλη τε νέα καὶ Δη- ἄνειρα καὶ πάλιν "Ἡρα προσαγορεύεται. Κρατῖνος
d’ ἀντικρυς πάλλακην αὐτὴν εἴρηκεν ἐν τούτοις:

"Ἡραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει καταπυγοσύνη πάλλακην κυνόπτιδα.

dοκεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν νόθον ἐκ ταύτης τεκνῶσαι, περὶ οὗ πεποίηκεν Εὐπόλις ἐν Δήμοις αὐτοῦ μὲν οὕτως ἐρωτώντα:

"Ὁ νόθος δὲ μοι ξῆ; τὸν δὲ Μυρωνίδην ἀποκρινόμενον;

Καὶ πάλαι γ’ ἄν ἦν ἀνήρ.

εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρινης ὑπορρώδει 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. Cratinus has flatly called her a prostitute in these lines:

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

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

"And my bastard, doth he live?"

to which Myronides replies:

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

1 In his "Cheirons" (see chapter iii. 3).
2 Kock, op. cit. i. p. 282.
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7 Οὕτω δὲ τὴν 'Ασπασίαν ὀνομαστὴν καὶ κλεινὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὅστε καὶ Κύρον τὸν πολεμησαντα βασιλέα περὶ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας τῆς ἀγαπωμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τῶν παλλακίδων 'Ασπασίαν ὀνομάσαι, καλομένην Μιλτῶ πρότερον. ἦν δὲ Φωκαῖς τὸ γένος, Ἔρμοτίμου θυγάτηρ. ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Κύρου πεσόντος ἀπαχθείσα πρὸς βασιλέα πλείστον ἵσχυσε. ταύτα μὲν ἑπελθόντα τῇ μνήμῃ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ παρελθεῖν ἵσως ἀπάνθρωπον ἦν.

XXV. Τὸν δὲ πρὸς Σαμίους πόλεμον αἰτιώντα μάλιστα τὸν Περικλέα ψηφίσασθαι διὰ Μιλησίους 'Ασπασίας δεηθείσης. αἱ γὰρ πόλεις ἐπολέμουν τὸν περὶ Πρήνης πόλεμον, καὶ κρατοῦντες οἱ Σάμιοι, παύσασθαι τῶν Αθηναίων κελεύοντων καὶ δίκας λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπείθουσος. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν μὲν οὖσαν ὀλυγαρχίαν ἐν Σάμῳ κατέλυσεν, τῶν δὲ πρῶτων λαβῶν ὀμήρους πεντήκοντα καὶ 2 παίδας ἱσους εἰς Δήμουν ἀπέστειλε. καὶ τοιοὶ φασὶν ἔκαστον μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ὀμήρων διδόναι τάλαντον ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ, πολλὰ δὴ ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι δημοκρατίαν. ἔτι δὲ Πισσούθυνος ὁ Πέρσης ἔχων τινὰ πρὸς Σαμίους εὐνοιαν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μυρίους χρυσοὺς, παραιτούμενος τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἐλαβεί τούτων οὐδὲν ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ χρησάμενος ὀσπερ ἐγνώκει τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ καταστήσας δημοκρατίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. 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. Then

1 Cf. Xenophon, Anabasis, i. 10, 2.
εὐθὺς ἄπεστήσαν, ἐκκλέψαντος αὐτοὶς τοὺς ὀμή-ρους Πισσούθνου καὶ τὰλλα παρασκευάσαντος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. αὐθίς οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἔξεπλευ-σεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἦσαν ξόος τοὺς ὑπὲρ τη-χότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν προθύμως ἐγνωκότας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς ναυμαχίας περὶ νήσου ἦν Τραγίας καλοῦσι, λαμπρῶς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐνίκη, τεσσαρσι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναυῶν ἐβδομήκοντα κατανα-μαχῆσας, ὃν εἰκοσὶ στρατιώτιδες ἦσαν.

XXVI. Ἀμα δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει τοῦ λιμένος κρατῆσας ἐπολύρκει τοὺς Σαμίους, ἀμοῦς γέ πως ἐτι τολμὸντας ἐπεξείναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζων ἐτερος στόλος ἤλθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ παντελῶς κατεκλεί-σθησαν οἱ Σάμιοι, λαβὼν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις ἐπλευσεν εἰς τὸν ἐξω πόντον, ὥς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, Φοινισσῶι νεὼν ἐπικούρων τοῖς Σαμίοις προσφερομένων ἀπαντήσαν καὶ δια-γωνίσασθαι πορρωτάτω βουλόμενος, ὡς δὲ Στη-σίμβροτος, ἐπὶ Κύπρου στελλόμενος. ὅπερ οὐ 2 δοκεῖ πιθανὸν εἶναι. ὅποτέρω δ' οὖν ἑχόμεστα τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀμαρτείν ἐδοξε. πλεύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ Μέλισσος ὁ Ἰθαγένους, 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 ἀνδρὰς ἐλώντες,
the Samians at once revolted, after Pissouthnes had stolen away their hostages from Lemnos for them, and in other ways equipped them for the war. Once more, therefore, Pericles set sail against them. They were not victims of sloth, nor yet of abject terror, but full of exceeding zeal in their determination to contest the supremacy of the sea. In a fierce sea-fight which came off near an island called Tragia, Pericles won a brilliant victory, with four and forty ships outfighting seventy, twenty of which were infantry transports.

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

Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνθυβρίζοντες ἔστιζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γλαύκας· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι σάμαιναν. ἦ δὲ σάμαινα ναῦς ἐστιν ὑστρώρος μὲν τὸ σίμωμα, κοιλοτέρα δὲ καὶ γαστροειδῆς, ὡστε καὶ ποντοποιεῖν καὶ ταχυναυτεῖν. οὕτω δὲ ὑνομάσθη διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Σάμῳ φανήναι, Πολυκράτους τυράννων κατασκευάσαντος. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ στίγματα λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Ἀριστοφάνειον ἴνιχθαι.

Σαμίων ὁ δὴμός ἐστιν ὡς πολυγ. ἅμματος.

XXVII. Πυθόμενος δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου συμφορὰν ἐβοηθεῖς κατὰ τάχος καὶ τοῦ Μελίσσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξιμένου κρατῆσας καὶ τρεψάμενος τοὺς πολέμους εὕθυς περιτείχιζε· δαπάνη καὶ χρόνος μᾶλλον ἢ τραύμασι καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν περιγενέσθαι καὶ συνελείν τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ δυσχεραίνοντας τῇ τριβῇ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μάχεσθαι προθυμομένους ἐργον ἢν κατασχεῖν, ὠκεντ ἡμὲρ διελῶν τὸ πάν πλῆθος ἀπεκλήρου, καὶ τῷ λαβόντι τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον εὐωχεῖσθαι καὶ
captive, and destroying many of their ships, so that they commanded the sea and laid in large store of such necessaries for the war as they did not have before. And Aristotle says that Pericles was himself also defeated by Melissus in the sea-fight which preceded this.

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

"For oh! how lettered is the folk of the Samians!"

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

¹ From his Babylonians, not extant. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 408.
σχολάζειν παρείχε τῶν ἄλλων μαχομένων. διό καί φασὶ τοὺς ἐν εὐπαθείας τισὶ γενομένους λευκὴν ἑμέραν ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ κυάμου προσαγορεύειν.

3 Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ μηχαναὶς χρήσασθαι τοῖς Περικλέα, τὴν καινότητα θαυμάσαντα, Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ μηχανικοῦ παρόντος, ὅν χωλὸν ὄντα καὶ φορεῖν πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἔργων προσκομιζόμενον ὀνομασθῆσαι περιφόρητον. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἠλέγχει τοὺς Ἀνακρόνοντας ποιήμασιν, ἐν οἷς ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων ὀνομάζεται πολλαῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἠλικίαις τοῦ περὶ Σάμον πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκεῖνων: τὸν δ′ Ἀρτέμωνά φησι τρυφερόν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακὸν ὄντα καὶ καταπλῆγα τὰ πολλά μὲν οἴκοι καθεξεσθαι, χαλκὴν ἀσπίδα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ δυνείν οικετῶν ὑπερεχοῦσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐμπεσέν τῶν ἀνωθεν, εἰ δὲ βιασθεὶς προελθεῖν, ἐν κλινίδιώ κρεμαστῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφερόμενον κομίζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κληθῶσιν περιφόρητον.

XXVIII. Ἐνάτῳ δὲ μηνὶ τῶν Σάμιων παραστάντων ὁ Περικλῆς τὰ τείχη καθείλε καὶ οἱ ναῖς παρέλαβε καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐξημίωσεν, ὅν τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰσήγγειλον ὁ Σάμιος, τὰ δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ ῥητῶ ταξάμενοι κατοίκευτοι ὀμήρους ἐδώκαν. Δούρις δ′ ὁ Σάμιος τοῦτοι ἐπιτραγῳδεῖ πολλὴν ὀμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν, ἢν οὔτε Θουκυδίδης ἱστορήκειν οὔτε Ἐφορος οὔτε Ἀριστοτέλης ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἀληθεύειν έσικευν, ὡς ἄρα τοὺς πριηράχχους καὶ τοὺς ἐπι-

1 εἰσήγγειλον Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: ἐσικευν.
did the fighting. And this is the reason, as they say, why those who have had a gay and festive timecall it a "white day,"—from the white bean.

Ephorus says that Pericles actually employed siege-engines, in his admiration of their novelty, and that Arteemon 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 Periphoretus. Heracleides Ponticus, however, refutes this story out of the poems of Anacreon, in which Arteemon Periphoretus is mentioned many generations before the Samian War and its events. And he says that Arteemon 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 Periphoretus.

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 Μιλησίων ἀγορὰν καταγαγὼν καὶ σανίσαι προσδήσας ἐφ' ἦμέρας δέκα κακῶς ἦδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἀνελείν, ξύλοις τὰς κεφαλὰς συγκόψαντας, εἰτὰ προβα- 

λείν ἀκίδευτα τὰ σώματα. Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὅποιν μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσεστιν ἵδιον πάθος εἰσθῶς κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μᾶλλον ἑοίκεν ἑνταῦθα δεινῶσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμ- 

φορὰς ἐπὶ διαβολῆ τῶν 'Αθηναίων.

Ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς καταστρεψάμενος τὴν Σάμον ὡς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, ταφὰς τε τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνδόξους ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν λόγον εἰπώς, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τῶν σημάτων ἑθαμαστώθη. καταβαίνοντα δ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος αἰ μὲν ἄλλας γυναίκες ἐδεξίωντο καὶ στεφάνους ἀνέδουν καὶ ταινίαις ὡσπερ ἀθλη- 

tὴν μυηφόρου, ὡς 'Ελπινίκη προσελθοῦσα πλησίον: "Ταῦτ'," ἔφη, "θαυμαστά, Περίκλεις, καὶ ἄξια στεφάνων, ὅς ἤμιν πολλοὺς καὶ ἁγαθοὺς ἀπώλεσας πολίτας οὐ Φοίνιξι πολεμῶν οὔδὲ 

Μήδοις, ὡσπερ οὕμος ἄδελφος Κύμων, ἄλλα σύμμαχον καὶ συγγενῆ πόλιν καταστρεφόμενος." 

5 ταῦτα τῆς 'Ελπινίκης λεγοῦσας ὁ Περικλῆς μειδιάσας ὑπρέμα λέγειν τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν:

Ὅκε ἂν μύροισι γραύς ἐοὺς ἦλείφεο.

θαυμαστὸν δὲ τι καὶ μέγα φρονήσαι καταπο- 

λεμύσαντα τοὺς Σαμίους φησίν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰων, ὡς 

1 καταγαγών Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: ἀγαγὼν.

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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.
τοῦ μὲν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἔτεσι δέκα βάρβαρον πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ μησίν ἐννέα τοὺς πρώτους καὶ
6 δυνατωτάτους Ἰώνων ἐλόντος. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἄδικος ἢ ἀξίωσις, ἀλλ’ οὖντος πολλῆς ἀδηλότητα καὶ
μέγαν ἐσχε κινδύνον ὁ πόλεμος, εἶπερ, ὡς Ὁσυκυδίδης φησί, παρ’ ἐλάχιστον ἠλθε Σαμίων ἡ
πόλις ἀφελέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος Ἀθηναίοις.

XXIX. Μετὰ ταῦτα κυμαίνοντος ἦδη τοῦ
Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, Κερκυραίοι πολεμοῦ-
μένοις ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἔπεισε τὸν δήμου ἀπο-
στείλαι βοήθειαν καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἐρρωμένην
ναυτική δυνάμει νῆσον, ὡς ὅσον οὐδέπω Πελο-
ποννησίων ἐκπεπολεμομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ψηφι-
σαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλε
δέκα ναῦς μόνας ἔχοντα Λακεδαιμόνιον, τὸν
Κίμωνος νῦν, οἰκὸς ἐφυβρίζων πολλή γὰρ ἦν
εὔνοια καὶ φιλία τῷ Κίμωνος οἶκῳ πρὸς Λακε-
δαιμόνιος. ὡς ἄν οὖν, εἰ μηδὲν ἔργον
μέγα μηδ’ ἔκπρεπές ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ
Λακεδαιμόνιου γένοιτο, προσδιαβληθείν μᾶλλον
εἰς τὸν λακωνισμὸν, ὁλίγας αὐτῷ ναῦς ἔδωκε καὶ
3 μὴ βουλόμενον ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ ὅλως διετέλει
κολούων ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς ὅνομασι γνησίοις, ἀλλ’
ὁθνείοις καὶ ξένους, ὅτι τῶν Κίμωνος νῦν τῷ μὲν
ἡν Λακεδαιμόνιος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ Θεσσαλός, τῷ δὲ
⇧Ηλείος. ἑδόκουν 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 Thucydides says, 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 Corecyraeans in their war with the Corinthians, and so to attach to themselves an island with a vigorous naval power at a time when the Peloponnesians were as good as actually at war with them. But when the people had voted to send the aid and succour, he despatched Lacedaemonius, the son of Cimon, with only ten ships, as it were in mockery of him. Now there was much good-will and friendship on the part of the house of Cimon towards the Lacedaemonians. In order, therefore, that in case no great or conspicuous achievement should be performed under the generalship of Lacedaemonius, he might so be all the more calumniated for his laconism, or sympathy with Sparta, Pericles gave him only a few ships, and sent him forth against his will. And in general he was prone to thwart and check the sons of Cimon, on the plea that not even in their names were they genuinely native, but rather aliens and strangers, since one of them bore the name of Lacedaemonius, another that of Thessalus, and a third that of Eleius. And they were all held to be the sons of a woman of Arcadia.  

1 viii. 76, 4. 2 433 B.C. 3 Cf. Cimon, xvi. 1.
Кακῶς οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἄκοι ὅν διὰ τὰς δέκα τάσις τριήμερες, ὡς μικρὰν μὲν βοήθειαν τοῖς δεηθεῖσι, μεγάλην δὲ πρόφασιν τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσι παρεσχηκὼς, ἐτέρας αὕτις ἔστειλε πλείονας εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν, αἱ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφίκοντο.

4 Χαλεπάνουσι δὲ τοῖς Κορινθίοις καὶ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι προσεγένοντο Μεγαρεῖς, αἰτιώμενοι πάσης μὲν ἀγορᾶς, πάντων δὲ λιμένων, ὃν Ἀθηναίοι κρατοῦσιν, εἰργεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γεγενημένους ὄρκους τοῖς Ἐλλησιν Ἀισινὴται δὲ κακοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες καὶ βίαια πάσχειν ἑποτυνίῳ κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους, φανερῶς ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐθαρροῦντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ποτίδαια, πόλις ὑπήκουσ' Ἀθηναίων, ἄποικος δὲ Κορινθίων, ἀποστᾶσα καὶ πολιορκουμένῃ μᾶλλον ἐπετάξυνε τὸν πόλεμον.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσβείον τε πεπομένων Ἀθηναῖε, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων Ἀρχιδάμου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰς διαλύσεις ἁγοντος καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πραύνοντος, οὐκ ἄν ἐδοκεὶ συμπεσεῖν ὑπὸ γε τῶν ἄλλων αἰτίων ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ τὸ ψῆφισμα καθελεῖν τὸ Μεγαρικὸν ἐπείσθησαν καὶ διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς. διὸ καὶ μᾶλιστα πρὸς τούτῳ Περικλῆς ἐναυτωθεῖς, 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.\footnote{Cf. Thucydides, i. 50, 5.}

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
δήμον ἐμμεῖναι τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ἔπεξεις φιλο-
νεικία, μόνος ἐσχῆ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αἰτίαν.

XXX. Δέγουσι δὲ πρεσβείας Ἀθηναῖες περὶ
tοῦτων ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἀφιγμένης, καὶ τοῦ
Περικλέους νόμον τινὰ προβαλλομένου κωλύοντα
καθελεῖν τὸ πινάκιον ἐν ὑ τὸ ψῆφισμα γεγραμ-
mένου ἐτύγχανεν, εἶπεῖν Πολυάλκη τῶν πρεσβεων
τινὰ: “Σὺ δὲ μὴ καθέλης, ἀλλὰ στρέψον εἰσὶν τὸ
πινάκιον οὐ γὰρ ἔστι νόμος ὁ τοῦτο κωλύων.”

κομψοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου φανέντος οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὁ

2 Περικλῆς ἐνέδωκεν. ὑπὴν μὲν οὖν τις, ὡς ἔοικεν,
αὐτῷ καὶ ἱδία πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς ἀπέχθεια
κοινὴν δὲ καὶ φανερὰν ποιησάμενος αἰτίαν κατ'
αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τὴν ἱερὰν ὁργάδα, γράφει
ψῆφισμα κήρυκα πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ
πρὸς Λακεδαίμονίους τὸν αὐτὸν κατηγοροῦντα

3 τῶν Μεγαρέων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ψῆφισμα
Περικλέους ἐστίν εὐγνώμονος καὶ φιλανθρώπων
dικαιολογίας ἔχομενον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ πεμφθεὶς κήρυξ
Ἀνθεμόκριτος αἰτία τῶν Μεγαρέων ἀποθαναί
ἔδοξεν, γράφει ψῆφισμα κατ' αὐτῶν Ἡαρίνος,
ἀσπονδοὺ μὲν εἰναι καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἔχθραν, ὅς δ' ἀν ἐπιβῆ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Μεγαρέων θανάτῳ ξημιο-
σθαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς, ὅταν ὅμωσε τὸν
πάτριον ὄρκον, ἐπομνύειν ὅτι καὶ δις ἀνὰ πᾶν
ἐτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσι ταφῆναι δ'
Ἀνθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Ἐθνισίας ἡύλας, αἱ

νῦν Δίτυλον ὀνομάζονται.

1 πρὸς τοὺς Fuhr and Blass, with F*S: 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, Polyaletes, 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.
MEGAREIS de τῶν 'Ανθεμοκρίτου φόνον ἀπαρνομένοι τὰς αἰτίας εἰς 'Ασπασίαν καὶ Περικλέα τρέπουσι, χρώμενοι τοὺς περιβοήτους καὶ δήμῳ τούτοις ἐκ τῶν 'Αχαρνέων στιχιδίοις.

Πόρνην δὲ Σιμαιθαν ἱόντες Μεγάραδε νεανία κλέπτοντο μεθυσοκότταβοι καθ' οἱ Μεγαρεῖς ὄνυναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι ἀντεξέκλεψαν 'Ασπασίας πόρνας δύο.

XXXI. Τὴν μὲν ὅπως ἐσχεν οὐ 169

ράδιον γνῶναι, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λυθῆναι τὸ ψήφισμα πάντας ὁσαύτως τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ Περικλεί. πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἐκ φρονήματος μεγάλου μετὰ γνώμης κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπισχυρίσασθαι φασίν αὐτῶν, πείραν ἐνδόσεως τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν ἐξομολογησὶν ἀσθενείας ἡγούμενοι οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐθαδείᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ πρὸς ἐνδειξὶν ἰσχύος περιφρονῆσαι Δακεδαιμονίων.

2 Ἡ δὲ χειρίστῃ μὲν αἰτία πασῶν, ἔχουσα δὲ πλείστους μάρτυρας, οὕτω πως λέγεται. Φείδιας ὁ πλάστης ἐργολάβος μὲν ἢ τοῦ ἀγάλματος, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, φίλος δὲ τῷ Περικλεὶ γενόμενος καὶ μέγιστον παρ' αὐτῷ δυνηθεὶς τοὺς μὲν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐσχεν ἐχθροὺς φθονούμενος, οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου ποιούμενοι πείραν ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ποιὸς τις ἐσοιτο τῷ Περικλεὶ¹ κριτῆς, Μένωνα των τῶν

¹ τῷ Περικλεὶ Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: Περικλεὶ.
But the Megarians denied the murder of Anthemocritus, and threw the blame for Athenian hate on Aspasia and Pericles, appealing to those far-famed and hackneyed verses of the "Acharnians":—

"Simaetha, harlot, one of Megara's womankind,
Was stolen by gilded youths more drunk than otherwise;
And so the Megarians, pangs of wrath all reeking hot,
Paid back the theft and raped of Aspasia's harlots two." 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.
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Φειδίου συνεργὸν πείσαντες ἵκέτην ἐν ἀγορᾷ
cαθίσοσιν, αὐτοῦμενον ἀδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει καὶ
3 κατηγορία τοῦ Φειδίου. προσδεξάμενον δὲ τοῦ
dήμου τὸν ἀνθρωπον καὶ γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ
dιώξεως, κλοπαὶ μὲν οὐκ ἡλέγχοντο· τὸ γὰρ
χρυσίον οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀγάλματι
προσειργάσατο καὶ περιέβηκεν ὁ Φειδίας γνώμη
tοῦ Περίκλεους ὡστε πᾶν δυνατὸν εἶναι Περι-
elοῦσιν ἀποδείξαί τὸν σταθμὸν, ὃ καὶ τότε τοὺς
κατηγόρους ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν ὁ Περίκλῆς.

4 Ἡ δὲ δόξα τῶν ἔργων ἐπίειξε φθόνῳ τὸν
Φειδίαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαξώνας
μάχην ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι ποιῶν αὐτοῦ τινα μορφήν
ἐνετύπωσε προσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρου ἔτηρ-
μένου δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ τοῦ Περι-
κλεοῦς εἰκόνα παγκάλην ἐνέθηκε μαχομένου πρὸς
Ἀμαξῶνα. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς χειρός, ἀνάτεινούσης
δόρι πρὸ τῆς ὁψεως τοῦ Περίκλεους, πεποιη-
μένου εὐμηχάνως οἶον ἑπικρύπτειν βούλεται τὴν
ὁμοίότητα παραφαινομένην ἐκατέρωθεν.

5 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φειδίας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπα-
χθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ὡς δὲ φασιν ἐνιοῦ,
φαρμάκοις, ἐπὶ διαβολῆς τοῦ Περίκλεους τῶν
ἐχθρῶν παρασκευασάντων. τῷ δὲ μενυτῇ Μένωνι
γράψαντος Γλύκωνος ἀτέλειαν ὁ δήμος ἔδωκε,
καὶ προσέταξε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς
ὑσφαλείας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.
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, 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 τούτου τὸν χρόνον Ἀσπασία
dίκην ἐφευγεν ἀσεβείας, Ἑρμύππου τοῦ κωμῳδο-
ποιοῦ διώκοντος καὶ προσκατηγοροῦντος ὡς
Περικλεῖ γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτώ-
σας ὑποδέχοιτο. καὶ ψήφισμα Διοπείθης ἐγρα-
ψεν εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς τὰ θεία μὴ νομίζοντας
ἡ λόγος περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας,
ἀπερειδόμενος εἰς Περικλέα δὲ Ἀναξαγόρου τὴν
2 ὑπόνοιαν. δεχομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ προσε-
mένου τὰς διαβολὰς, οὕτως ἤδη ψήφισμα κυροῦ-
tαι, Δρακοντίδου γράψαντος, ὅπως οἱ λόγοι τῶν
χρημάτων ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς τοὺς Πρυτάνεις
ἀποτεθεὶεν, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τὴν ψῆφον ἀπὸ τοῦ
βωμοῦ φέροντες ἐν τῇ πόλει κρίνοιεν. "Ἀγωνὶ
dὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἄφειλε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, κρίνεσθαι δὲ
tὴν δίκην ἐγραψεν ἐν δικασταῖς χιλίοις καὶ
πεντακόσιοις, εἰτε κλοπῆς καὶ δώρων εἰτ᾽ ἁδικίου
βούλοιτό τις ὀνομάζειν τὴν δίωξιν.

3 Ἀσπασίαν μὲν οὖν ἐξητήσατο, πολλὰ πάνω
παρὰ τὴν δίκην, ὡς Λισχίνης φησίν, ἄφεις ὑπὲρ
αὐτῆς δάκρυα καὶ δεηθεὶς τῶν δικαστῶν Ἀναξα-
γόραν δὲ φθηνεῖς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
ὡς δὲ διὰ Φειδίου προσεπτασε τῷ δήμῳ, φοβη-
θεῖς τὸ δικαστήριον μέλλοντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
ὑποτυφόμενον ἐξέκαστεν, ἐλπίζων διασκεδάσειν
tὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ ταπεινώσει τὸν φθόνον ἐν
πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ κινδύνοις τῆς πόλεως
ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ διὰ τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν
ἀναθέσεως ἐαύτην. αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰτίαι δὲ ἅς οὐκ
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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 entreating 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.
εἴασεν ἐνδοῦναί Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸν δήμον, αὐταί λέγονται, τὸ δ' ἀληθές ἄδηλον.

XXXIIII. Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γινώσκοντες ὡς ἐκείνου καταλυθέντος εἰς πάντα μαλακωτέροις χρήσονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς τὸ ἁγος ἔλαυνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον, ὅ το μητρόθεν γένος τοῦ Περικλέους ἐνοχὸν ἦν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἱστορηκεν. ἢ δὲ πείρα περιέστη τοῖς πέμψασιν εἰς τούναυτίον· ἀντὶ γὰρ ὑποψίας καὶ διαβόλης ὁ Περικλῆς ἐτι μείζονα πίστιν ἐσχε καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ὡς μάλιστα μισοῦντοι καὶ 2 φοβούμενοι ἐκείνων τῶν πολεμίων. διὸ καὶ πρὶν ἐμβάλασί εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τοῦ Ἀρχίδαμον ἐχουσα τοὺς Πελοποινησίους προείπε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἀν ἄρα τάλλα δηνο ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἀπέκχηται τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν ξενίαν τὴν σύσαν αὐτοῖς, ἢ διαβόλης τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐνδιδοὺς ἀφορμάς, ὅτε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλειες ἐπιδίδωσιν.

3 Ἐμβάλλονσιν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρχίδαμον τοῦ βασιλέως ἡγουμένου. καὶ δηοῦντες τὴν χώραν προῆλθον εἰς Ἀχαρνᾶς καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἄνεξαμένων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ φρονήματος 4 διαμαχομένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς. τῷ δὲ Περικλεὶ δεινόν ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τοὺς ἐξακισμυρίους Πελοποινησίους καὶ Βοιωτῶν ὀπλίτας (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ

1 ἔλαυνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον Fuhr and Blass, with BCFs: ἔλαυνειν φ.
2 ἱστορηκεν Fuhr and Blass, with BCFs: εἰρηκεν.
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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 Acharnae, 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.
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76αν οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἐμβαλόντες) ὑπὲρ αὐτής τῆς πόλεως μάχην συνάψαν· τοὺς δὲ βουλομένους μαχεθαι καὶ δυσπαθοῦντας πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα κατεπράυνε, λέγων ὃς δὲνδρα μὲν τιμήθεντα καὶ κοπέντα φύεται ταχέως, ἄνδρῶν δὲ διαφθαρέντων 5 αὕτης τυχεῖν οὐ ραδίον ἔστι. τὸν δὲ δὴμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνήγε δεδιώς βιασθῆναι παρὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ νέως κυβερνήτης ἀνέμου κατιόντος ἐν πελάγει θέμενοι εὐ πάντα καὶ κατα-τείνας τὰ ὁπλα χρήται τῇ τέχνῃ, δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις ἐπιβατῶν ναυτῶντων καὶ φοβουμένων ἑάσασ, οὔτως ἐκεῖνος, τὸ τε ἀστυ συγκλείσας καὶ καταλαβῶν πάντα φυλακαῖς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ἐχρῆτο τοῖς αὐτοῦ λογισμὸῖς, βραχέα φροντίζων 6 τῶν καταβοῶντων καὶ δυσχεραινόντων. καίτων πολλοί μὲν αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων δεόμενοι προσε-κεντο, πολλοί δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ κατηγοροῦντες, χοροὶ ¹ δ ἡδον ἁσματα καὶ σκώμ-ματα πρὸς αἰσχῦνην, ἐφυβρίζοντες αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγιάν ὡς ἀνανδρον καὶ προιέμενη τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πολέμωις. ἐπεφύετο δὲ καὶ Κλέων ἡδη, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὄργῆς τῶν 7 πολιτῶν πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν δημαγωγίαν, ὡς τινάπαιστα ταῦτα δὴλοὶ ποιήσαντος Ἐρμίππου.

Βασιλεύ σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἔθελες
dόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν
περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινοὺς παρέχεις,²
ψυχή δὲ Τέλητος ὑπεστίν; ³

¹ χοροὶ Fuhr and Blass, with F*S: πολλοί.
² παρέχεις Fuhr, with S: παρέχη.
³ ψυχή ... ὑπεστίν Fuhr and Blass, after Empirius: ψυχήν ... ὑπέστης.
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(those who made the first invasion were as numerous as that), and stake the city itself upon the issue. So he tried to calm down those who were eager to fight, and who were in distress at what the enemy was doing, by saying that trees, though cut and lopped, grew quickly, but if men were destroyed it was not easy to get them again. And he would not call the people together into an assembly, fearing that he would be constrained against his better judgement, but, like the helmsman of a ship, who, when a stormy wind swoops down upon it in the open sea, makes all fast, takes in sail, and exercises his skill, disregarding the tears and entreaties of the sea-sick and timorous passengers, so he shut the city up tight, put all parts of it under safe garrison, and exercised his own judgement, little heeding the brawlers and malcontents. And yet many of his friends beset him with entreaties, and many of his enemies with threats and denunciations, and choruses sang songs of scurrilous mockery, railing at his generalship for its cowardice, and its abandonment of everything to the enemy. Cleon, too, was already harassing him, taking advantage of the wrath with which the citizens regarded him to make his own way toward the leadership of the people, as these anapaestic verses of Hermippus¹ show:

"Thou king of the Satyrs, why pray wilt thou not
Take the spear for thy weapon, and stop the dire talk
With the which, until now, thou conductest the war,
While the soul of a Teles is in thee?

XXXIV. Πλὴν ὑπ' οὖνενδος ἐκινήθη τῶν τοιούτων ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ πράως καὶ σιωπῆ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ύψιστάμενος, καὶ νεὸν ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον στόλον ἐκπέμπτων αὐτὸς οὐ συνεχείπλευσεν, ἀλλ' ἔμεινεν οἰκουρὰν καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἐως ἀπηλλάγησαν οἱ Πελοπόννησοι. Θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὅμως ἀσχάλλοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, διανομαίς τε χρημάτων ἀνελάμβανε καὶ κληρονομίας ἔγραφεν. Αἰγυπτιὰς γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἀπαίτας διένεμε τὴν νῆσον Ἁθηναίων τοῖς λαχοῦσιν. ἦν δὲ τις 2 παρηγορία καὶ ὑφ' ὄν ἐπασχον οἱ πολέμοι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ περιπλέουστες τὴν Πελοπόννησον χώραν τε πολλὴν κόμας τε καὶ πόλεις μικρὰς διεπόθησαν, καὶ κατὰ γῆν αὐτός ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐφθαρε πάσαν. ἦ καὶ δῆλον ἦν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν δρόωντες κατὰ γῆν κακὰ 2 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, πολλὰ δὲ πάσχοντες ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐκ θαλάττης, οὐκ ἦν εἰς μῆκος πολέμου τοσοῦτον προβῆσαν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀπείπον, ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Περικλῆς προηγόρευσεν, εἰ μὴ τι δαιμόνιον ὑπηναυτιώθη τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς.

3 Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λοιμόδηθε ἐνέπεσε φθορὰ καὶ κατενεμήθη τὴν ἀκμάζουσαν ἑλκίαν καὶ δύναμιν. ὑφ' ἢς καὶ τὰ σώματα κακούμενοι καὶ

1 καγχειρίδου . . . κοπίδος Coraës' restoration of these corrupt verses, adopted by Fuhr.
2 κατὰ γῆν κακὰ Fuhr and Blass, with FS: κακά.
If the tiniest knife is but laid on the stone
    To give it an edge, thou gnashest thy teeth,
As if bitten by fiery Cleon."

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

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

⁠¹ 430 B.C. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 47-54.
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tὰς ψυχὰς παντάπασιν ἡγριῶθησαν πρὸς τὸν Περικλέα, καὶ καθάπερ ἰατρὸν ἦ πατέρα τῇ νόσῳ
παραφρονήσαντες ἀδικεῖν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀναπει-
σθέντες υπὸ τῶν ἔχθρων ὡς τὴν μὲν νόσον ἢ τοῦ
χωριτικοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸ ἀστυ συμφόρησις

4 ἀπεργάζεται,1 θέρους ὅρα πολλῶν ὁμοῦ χύδην
ἐν οἰκήμασι μικρῶς καὶ σκηνώμασι πυγηροῖς
ημαγκασμένων διαίτασθαι διάιταν οἰκουρὸν καὶ
ἀργὴν ἀντὶ καθαράς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης τῆς
πρότερον, τούτω δ’ αἶτιος ὁ τὸ πολέμῳ τὸν
ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὀχλον εἰς τὰ τείχη καταχεά-
μενος καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις τοσοῦτοι χρώ-
μενος, ἀλλ’ ἐώς ὅστερ βοσκήματα καθεργώνοις
ἀναπίπλασθαι φθορᾶς ἀπ’ ἀλλήλους, καὶ μη-
δεμίαν μεταβολὴν μηδ’ ἀναψυχὴν ἐκπορίζων.

XXXV. Ταῦτα βουλόμενος ἴσθαι καὶ τι παρα-
λυπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἔκατον καὶ πευτήκοντα
ναῦς ἐπλήρου, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἁγαθοὺς ὀπλίτας
καὶ ἱππέας ἀναβιβασάμενοι ἐμελλεν ἀνάγεσθαι,
μεγάλην ἐλπίδα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ φόβον οὐκ ἐλάτ-
τω τοῖς πολέμιοις ἀπὸ τοσαύτης ἴσχύος παρασχών.
ηδὴ δὲ πεπληρωμένων τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ Περι-
κλέους ἀναβεβηκότος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ τριήρη τὸν
μὲν ἥλιον ἐκλιπεῖν συνέβη καὶ γενέσθαι σκότος,
ἐκπλαγῆναι δὲ πάντας ὡς πρὸς μέγα σημεῖον.

2 ὡρῶν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς περίφοβον τὸν κυβερνήτην
καὶ διηπορημένον, ἀνέσχε τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸ τῶν

1 ἀπεργάζεται: Fuhr and Blass, with PsS: ἐργάζεται.
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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3 'Εκπλεύσας δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὗτ’ ἄλλο τι δοκεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἀξιον δρᾶσαι, πολιορκήσας τε τὴν ιερὰν Ἐπίδαυρον ἐλπίδα παρασχοῦσαν ὡς ἀλωσμένην ἀπέτυχε διὰ τὴν νόσον. ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ οὖν αὐτοῦς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὅπωσον τῇ στρατιᾷ συμμίχαντας προσδιέφθειρεν. έκ τούτου χαλεπῶς διακειμένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς αὐτὸν

4 ἐπειράτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνειν. οὐ μὴν παρέλυσε τὴν ὄργην οὐδὲ μετέπεισε πρότερον ἢ τὰς ψήφους λαβόντας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χείρας καὶ γενομένους κυρίους ἀφελεσθαί τὴν στρατηγιαν καὶ ζημιώσαι χρήμασιν, ὥν ἀριθμοὶ οἱ τὸν ἑλάχιστον πεντεκάιδεκα τάλαντα, πεντήκοντα δ’ οἱ τὸν πλείστου γράφουσιν. ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ δίκῃ κατηγορος, ὡς μὲν Ἰδομενεὺς λέγει, Κλέων, ὡς δὲ Θεόφραστος, Σιμμίας: ο β δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης Δακρατίδαν εἴρηκε.

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

1 τῶν ὄψεων Fuhr and Blass, with F₃S: τῆς ὄψεως.
2 παῦσεσθαι Fuhr and Blass, with F₃S, and after Reiske: παῦσεσθαι.

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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
oùk ὀλίγους ἀποβαλόντι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ στάσει διατεταραγμένα 1 πόρρωθεν. ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν γυνικῶν νῦν ᾿Εάνθιππος φύσει τε δαπανηρὸς ὄν καὶ γυναικὶ νέα καὶ πολυτελεῖσυνοικῶν. Τισάνδρου θυγατρὶ τοῦ Ῥηπιλύκου, χαλεπῶς ἐφερε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκριβείαν γλυ- 2 σχρα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ χορηγοῦντος. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων ἔλαβεν ἀργύριον ὡς τοῦ Περικλέους κελεύσαντος. ἐκείνου δ' ὑστερον ἀπαιτοῦντος, ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς καὶ δίκην αὐτῷ προσέλαχε, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ὁ ᾿Εάνθιππος ἔπὶ τούτω χαλεπῶς διατεθεὶς ἐλοίνορει τὸν πατέρα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκφέρων ἔπὶ γέλωτι τὰς οἶκους διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὐς ἐποιεῖτο 2 μετὰ τῶν

3 σοφιστῶν. πεντάθλου γὰρ τινος ἀκοντίῳ πατάξαντος ᾿Επίτιμου τὸν Φαρσάλιον ἀκουσίως καὶ κατακτείναντος, ἡμέραν ὅλην ἀναλώσαι μετὰ Πρωταγόρου διαποροῦντα πότερον τὸ ἀκόντιον ἡ τῶν βαλόντα μάλλον ἡ τοὺς ἀγωνοθέτας κατὰ τὸν ὀρθότατον λόγον αἰτίους χρή τοῦ πάθους ἤγείρθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς διαβολὴν ύπὸ τοῦ ᾿Εάνθιππον φησίν ὁ Στησίμβρο- τος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διασπαρήναι, καὶ ὅλως ἀνήκεστον ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τῷ νεανίσκῳ πρὸς τῶν πατέρα παραμεῖναι τὴν διαφορὰν ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὁ ᾿Εάνθιππος ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ νοσήματι.

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

1 διατεταραγμένα Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διατεταραγμένη.
2 ἐποιεῖτο Fuhr and Blass, with FaS, and after Sauppe: ἐποιεῖ. 104
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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 Epilycus, was much displeased at his father's exactitude in making him but a meagre allowance, and that a little at a time. Accordingly, he sent to one of his father's friends and got money, pretending that Pericles bade him do it. When the friend afterwards demanded repayment of the loan, Pericles not only refused it, but brought suit against him to boot. So the young fellow, Xanthippus, incensed at this, fell to abusing his father, publishing abroad, to make men laugh, his conduct of affairs at home, and the discourses which he held with the sophists. For instance, a certain athlete had hit Epitimus the Pharsalian with a javelin, accidentally, and killed him, and Pericles, Xanthippus said, squandered an entire day discussing with Protagoras whether it was the javelin, or rather the one who hurled it, or the judges of the contests, that "in the strictest sense" ought to be held responsible for the disaster. Besides all this, the slanderous charge concerning his own wife Stesimbrotus says was sown abroad in public by Xanthippus himself, and also that the quarrel which the young man had with his father remained utterly incurable up to the time of his death,—for Xanthippus fell sick and died during the plague.

Pericles lost his sister also at that time, and of his relatives and friends the largest part, and those
χρησιμωτάτους πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ μὴν ἀπείπην οὐδὲ προὔδωκε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ κλαῖσιν οὐδὲ κηδεύων οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰφῷ τινὸς ὥφθη τῶν ἀναγκαῖων, πρὶν γε δὴ καὶ τὸν περίλοιπον αὐτοῦ 5 τῶν γνησίων νῦν ἃ ἀποβαλείν Πάραλον. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καμφθεὶς ἔπειρατό μὲν ἐγκαρτερεῖν τῷ ἦθεί καὶ διαφυλάττειν τὸ μεγαλόψυχον, ἐπιφέρων δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ στέφανον ἡττήθη τοῦ πάθους πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν, ὡστε κλαυθμὸν τε ῥήξαι καὶ πλῆθος ἐκχέαε δακρύων, οὔδεποτε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ πεποιηκός.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως πειρωμένης τῶν ἀλλῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ῥητόρων, ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς βάρος ἔχων ἱσόρροπον οὐδ' ἄξιωμα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἐχέγγυον ἡγεμονίαν ἐφάινετο, ποθούσης ἐκείνων καὶ καλουσης ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα καὶ τὸ στρατηγίον, ἀθυμῶν καὶ κείμενος οἶκοι διὰ τὸ πειθός ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἔπεισθη φίλων 2 προελθεῖν. ἀπολογησαμένου δὲ τοῦ δῆμου τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὑποδεξάμενος αὐθίς τὰ πράγματα καὶ στρατηγὸς αἰρεθεὶς ἠττήσατο λυθῆναι τὸν περὶ τῶν νόθων νόμον, δὲν αὐτὸς εἰσενηνόχει πρότερον, ως μὴ παντάπασιν ἐρημία διαδοχῆς τὸν οἶκον ἐκλίπητο τοῦνομα καὶ τὸ γένος.

3 Εἰχε δ' οὔτω τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. ἀκμάζων ὁ

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

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

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

The circumstances of this law were as follows.

¹ 429 B.C.
Περικλῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸ πάνω πολλῶν χρόνων, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων, δ' ὁσπερ εἰρήται, γυναικώνισης, νόμον ἔγραψε μόνος Ἀθηναίος εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυνῆ Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας. ἔπει δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων δωρεὰν τῷ δήμῳ πέμψαντος τετρακισμυρίους πυρῶν μεδίμνους ἔδει διανέμεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνεφύνοντο δίκαι τοῖς νόθοις ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκείνου τέως διαλανθάνουσι καὶ παρορμήονοι,1 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συκοφαντήμασι περεπίπτον. ἐπράθησαν δ' οὖν2 ἀλόντες ὀλίγῳ πεντακισχιλίων ἐλάττους, οἱ δὲ μείναντες ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κριθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι μύριοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἐξητάσθησαν. ὄντος οὖν δεινοῦ τῶν κατὰ τοσοῦτων ἵσχυσανται νόμον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάλιν λυθῆναι τοῦ γράψαντος, ἢ παροῦσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεὶ περὶ τὸν ὅικον, ὡς δικὴν τινὰ δεδωκότι τῆς ὑπεροψίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλαυχίας ἐκείνης, ἑπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ δόξαντες αὐτὸν νεμεστήτα τε παθεῖν ἀνθρωπίνον3 τε δείσθαι συνεχόρησαν ἀπογράψαθαι τὸν νόθον εἰς τοὺς φράτορας, ὅνομα θέμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτοις μὲν ύστερον ἐν Ἀργινοῦσαις καταναμαχήσαντα Πελοποννησίους ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῶν συστρατήγων.

1 διαλανθάνουσι, παρορμήονοι Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διαλανθάνουσα, παρορμὴν (referring to the prosecutions).
2 δ' οὖν Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: οὖν.
3 ἀνθρωπίνων Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: ἀνθρωπίνως.

108
PERICLES

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

¹ 451-450 B.C. ² 406 B.C.

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XXXVIII. Τότε δέ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐσοικεν ὁ 173
λομός λαβέσθαι λαβήν οὐκ ὄξειαν, ὡσπερ ἄλλων, οὐδὲ σύντονον, ἀλλὰ βληχραὶ τινὶ νόσῳ καὶ μῆκος ἐν ποικίλαις ἐχούση μεταβολαῖς διαχρωμένην τὸ σῶμα σχολαίως καὶ ὑπερείπουσαι τὸ φρόνημα
tῆς ψυχῆς. ὁ γοῦν Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Ἡθικοῖς
διαπορίσας εἰ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τρέπεται τὰ ἡθη
cαι κινούμενα τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων πάθεσιν ἐξί-
σταται τῆς ἁρετῆς, ἱστόρηκεν ὅτι νοσῶν ὁ Πε-
ρικλῆς ἐπισκοποημένως τινὶ τῶν φίλων δείξειε
περίαπτον ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν τῷ τραχήλῳ περι-
ητημένον, ὡς σφόδρα κακῶς ἔχων ὅποτε καὶ
tαύτην ὑπομένοι τὴν ἁβελτερίαν.
2 Ἡδη δὲ πρὸς τῷ τελευτᾷν ὄντος αὐτοῦ, περι-
kαθήμενοι τῶν πολιτῶι οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ τῶν
φίλων οἱ περιόντες λόγου ἐποιοῦντο τῆς ἁρετῆς
cαὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅση γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς πράξεις
ἀνεμετροῦντο καὶ τῶν τροπαίων τὸ πλῆθος· ἐννέα
γὰρ ἢν ἁ στρατηγῶν καὶ νικῶν ἐστησεν ὑπὲρ
3 τῆς πόλεως. ταῦτα, ὡς οὐκέτι συμβέντος, ἀλλὰ
cαθηρημένου τὴν ἁίσθησιν αὐτοῦ, διελέγοντο
πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐτύγχανε τῶν νοὸν
προσεχηκός, καὶ φθεγζόμενος εἰς μέσον ἔφη
θαυμάζειν ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ
μυημονεύονσιν, ἐ τ καὶ πρὸς τύχην ἐστὶ κοινὰ καὶ
γέγονεν ἢδη πολλοὶ στρατηγοὶς, τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον
καὶ μέγιστον οὐ λέγουσιν. “Οὕδεις γὰρ,” ἔφη,
‘δι’ ἐμὲ τῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἰμάτιον
τεριεβάλετο.”
XXXVIII. At this time, it would seem, the plague laid hold of Pericles, not with a violent attack, as in the case of others, nor acute, but one which, with a kind of sluggish distemper that prolonged itself through varying changes, used up his body slowly and undermined the loftiness of his spirit. Certain it is that Theophrastus, in his "Ethics," querying whether one's character follows the bent of one's fortunes and is forced by bodily sufferings to abandon its high excellence, records this fact, that Pericles, as he lay sick, showed one of his friends who was come to see him an amulet that the women had hung round his neck, as much as to say that he was very badly off to put up with such folly as that.

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

1 He died in the autumn of 429 B.C.
XXXIX. Θαυμαστός οὖν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πράστητος, ἂν ἐν πράγμασι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀπεχθείαις διετήρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καλῶν ἡγεῖτο βέλτιστον εἶναι τὸ μήτε φθόνον μήτε θυμῷ χαρίσασθαι μηδὲν ἀπὸ τηλικάυτης δυνάμεως, μηδὲ
2 χρήσασθαι τινὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς ἀνηκέστω. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν μειρακιώδη καὶ σοβαρὰν ἐκείνην προσωνυμίαν ἐν τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἀνεπίθετον καὶ πρέπουσαν, οὕτως εὐμενεῖς ἥθος καὶ βίον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμέαντον Ὁλύμπιον προσαγορεύεσθαι, καθάπερ τοῦ τῶν θεῶν γένους ἄξιοὺς εὐτικοὺς ἁρχεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν αὐτῶν, οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ συνταράπτοντες ἡμᾶς ἀμαθεστάταις
3 δόξαις ἀλίσκονται τοῖς αὐτῶν μυθεύμασι, τὸν μὲν τόπον, ἐν ὧ τοὺς θεοὺς κατοικεῖν λέγοντες, ἀσφαλὲς ἔδος καὶ ἀσάλευτον καλοῦντες, οὐ πνεύμασιν, οὐ νέφεσι χρόμενον, ἀλλ' αἴθρα μαλακῇ καὶ φωτὶ καθαρωτάτῳ τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον ὁμαλῶς περιλαμμόμενον, ὡς τοιαύτης τινὸς τῶν μακαρίως καὶ ἀθανάτῳ διαγωγῆς μάλιστα πρεποῦσις, αὐτοῦς δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς παραχίσας καὶ δυσμενεῖας καὶ ὀργῆς ἀλλῶν τε μεστοῦς παθῶν ἀποφαίνοντες οὐδ' ἀνθρώποις νοῦν ἔχουσι προσηκόντων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἐτέρας δόξει πραγματείας εἶναι.
4 Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ταχείαν αἰσθησιν καὶ σαφή

1 μυθεύμασι: Fuhr and Blass with S (μυθεύμασι: Fa): ποιήμασι.
2 αἴθρα Fuhr and Blass with FaS: αἴθρα.
3 καθαρωτάτῳ Fuhr and Blass with FaS: καθαρφ.
4 τοιαύτης τινὸς Fuhr and Blass with FaS: τοιαύτης.
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 ζῶτος βαρυνόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ὡς
ἀμαυρώσαν αὐτούς, εὐθὺς ἐκ ποδῶν γενομένου
πειρώμενοι ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ἑτέρων ἀνωμο-
λογοῦντο μετριώτερον ἐν ὅγκῳ καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν
πραοτητί μὴ φῦαι τρόπων ἡ δ’ ἐπίφθονος ἱσχὺς
ἐκείνη, μοναρχία λεγομένη καὶ τυραννίς πρότερον,
ἐφάνη τότε σωτήριον ἔρμα τῆς πολιτείας γενο-
μένη: τοσαύτη φθόρα καὶ πλήθος ἐπέκειτο κακίας
tοῖς πράγμασιν, ἢν ἐκείνος ἁσθενῆ καὶ ταπεινὴν
ποιῶν ἀπέκρυπτε καὶ κατεκώλυεν ἀνήκεστον ἐν
ἐξουσίᾳ\(^1\) γενέσθαι.

\(^1\) εν 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

I. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐν τοῖς ἀξίωσις 174 μνήμης γεγονότος, ὡς παρειλήφαμεν, ἐπὶ τὸν Φάβιον τὴν ἱστορίαν μεταγάγωμεν. νυμφῶν μιᾶς λέγουσιν, οἰ δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίας, Ἡρακλεί μυγείσης περὶ τὸν Θύμβρων ποταμὸν γενέσθαι Φάβιον, ἄνδρα πολὺ καὶ δόκιμον ἐν Ἡρώη τὸ

2 Φαβίων γένος ἀφ' αὐτοῦ παρασχόντα. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τούτου πρῶτους τῇ δὲ ὀρυγμάτων χρησαμένους ἄγρα Φοδίους ἱστοροῦσιν ὁνομάζεσθαι τὸ παλαιόν· οὕτω γὰρ ἄρα ᾧν αἱ διώρυχες φόσσαι καὶ φόδερε τὸ σκάψαι καλεῖται. χρόνῳ δὲ τῶν δυειῶν φθόγγων μεταπεσόντων Φάβιοι προσηγορεύθησαν. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους τῆς οἰκίας ἐξενεγκαμένης ἄνδρας, ἀπὸ 'Ροῦλλου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μάξιμου παρὰ Ἡρωαῖοι ἐπονομασθέντος τέταρτος ἦν Φάβιος Μάξιμος, περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφομεν.

3 Ἡν δ' αὐτῷ σωματικὸν μὲν παρανύμμιον ὁ Βερούκώσος· εἰχὲ γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνα μικρὰν ἐπάνω τοῦ χείλους ἐπιπεφυκαίναν ὁ δὲ Ἡσιουκούλας σημαίνει μὲν τὸ προβάτιον, ἐτέθη δὲ πρὸς τὴν πράσπτα καὶ βαρύτητα τοῦ ήθους ἐτὶ παιδὸς ὠντος. τὸ γὰρ ἡσύχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σιωπηλὸν καὶ

1 βαρύτητα MSS., Sint.¹, Coraës, and Bokker: 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 ἐκτός· ὀλίγοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ τὸ δυσκίνητον ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ λεοντόδες ἐν τῇ φύσει καθορώντες αὐτοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγειρόμενος διεσήμανε καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπάθειαν μὲν οὕσαν τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἀπραγίαν, εὐβουλίαι δὲ τὴν εὐλαβείαν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ὀξὺ µηδ' εὐκίνητον ἐν πάσι µόνιµον καὶ βέβαιον. ὅρων δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ πλήθος, ἦσκει τὸ µὲν σῶµα πρὸς τοὺς πολέµους, ὥσπερ ὅπλου σύµφωτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον ὄργανον πειθῶν πρὸς τὸν δήµον, εὖ µάλα πρε-πόντως τῷ βίῳ κατακεκοσμηµένον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁραῖσµὸς οὔδὲ κενὴ καὶ ἀγοραῖος χάρις, ἀλλὰ νοῦς ἵδιον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωµολογίαις σχῆµα καὶ βάθος ἐχὼν, ὅς µάλιστα ταῖς Θουκυδίδου προσευκεῦναι λέγουσι. διασωζέται γὰρ αὐτοῦ λόγος, δὲ εἰπεν ἐν τῷ δήµῳ, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ µεθ' ὑπατείαν ἀποθανόντος ἐγκώµιον.

II. Πέντε δ’ ὑπατειῶν ἃς ὑπάτευσεν, ἡ πρώτη τὸν ἀπὸ Λιγύων θρίαµβον ἔσχεν. ἤτηθὲν τε γὰρ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ µάχη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες εἰς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς ἀνεστάλησαν, καὶ τὴν πρόσοικον ἐπαύσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ληξὸµενοι καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντες. ἔπει δ’ Ἀννύβας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.
the great caution with which he indulged in childish pleasures, the slowness and difficulty with which he learned his lessons, and his contented submissiveness in dealing with his comrades, led those who knew him superficially to suspect him of something like foolishness and stupidity. Only a few discerned the inexorable firmness in the depth of his soul, and the magnanimous and leonine qualities of his nature. But soon, as time went on and he was roused by the demands of active life, he made it clear even to the multitude that his seeming lack of energy was only lack of passion, that his caution was prudence, and that his never being quick nor even easy to move made him always steadfast and sure. He saw that the conduct of the state was a great task, and that wars must be many; he therefore trained his body for the wars (nature's own armour, as it were), and his speech as an instrument of persuasion with the people, giving it a form right well befitting 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 first\(^2\) 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

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\(^2\) 233 B.C.
καὶ μαχη πρωτον περὶ τὸν Τρεβιαν ποταμὸν ἐπικρατήσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἦλαυνε διὰ Τυρρηνίας πορθῶν τὴν χώραν, ἐκπληξίν δὲ δεινὴν καὶ φόβου εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνεβάλε, σημεία δὲ τὰ μὲν συνήθη Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν, τὰ δὲ ὅλως ἔξελλαγμένα
3 καὶ πολλὴν ἀτοπίαν ἔχοντα προσέπιπτε (θυρεοὺς τε γὰρ ἄφ’ αὐτῶν αἴματι γενέσθαι διαβρόχους ἐλέχθη, καὶ θέρη σταχύνων περὶ Ἀντίοκοις ἕναιμα κείμεθάν, καὶ λίθους μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος διασύρουσι καὶ φλεγομένους φέρεσθαι, τὸν δ’ ὑπὲρ Φαλερίου οὐρανοῦ ραγίναι δύσαντος ἐκπίπτειν καὶ διαστείρεσθαι πολλὰ γραμματεῖα, καὶ τοῦτων ἐν ἐνὶ γεγραμμένον φανήματι κατὰ λέξειν. ’’Ἀριης τὰ
4 ἐαυτοῦ ὅπλα σαλεύει’’), τὸν μὲν ὑπατον Γαίων Φλαμίνιον οὐδὲν ἠμβλύνε τούτων, ἀνδρὰ πρὸς τῷ φύσει θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλοτιμῷ μεγάλαις ἐπαιρόμενον εὐτυχίαις, ἄς πρόσθεν εὐτύχησε παραλόγως, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπαδούσης καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐνισταμένου βία συμβαλλόν τοῖς Γαλαταις καὶ κρατήσας, Φάβιον δὲ τὰ μὲν σημεῖα, καίπερ ἀπτόμενα πολλῶν, ᾧττον ὑπέθραττε διὰ τὴν ἀλογίαν την δ’ ὀλγώτητα τῶν πολεμῶν καὶ τὴν ἀχρηματίαν πυνθανόμενος καρτερεῖν παρεκάλει τοὺς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τούτῳ διὰ πολλῶν ἁγώνων ἰςκημένη στρατιά χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἑπιπέμποντας βοηθεῖς καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας αὐτὴν ἕως περὶ αὐτῆς μαραίνεσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ Ἀννίβου, καθάπερ φλόγα λάμψασαν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ κούφης δυνάμεως.

1 ἀπαδούσης with CS: ἀποκαλούσης.
burst into Italy,^1 and was at first victorious in battle at the river Trebia. Then he marched through Tuscany, ravaging the country, and smote Rome with dire consternation and fear. Signs and portents occurred, some familiar to the Romans, like peals of thunder, others wholly strange and quite extraordinary. For instance, it was said that shields sweated blood, that ears of corn were cut at Antium with blood upon them, that blazing, fiery stones fell from on high, and that the people of Falerii saw the heavens open and many tablets fall down and scatter themselves abroad, and that on one of these was written in letters plain to see, "Mars now brandisheth his weapons."^2 The consul, Gaius Flamininius, 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 Manors telum suum concutit (Livy, xxii. 1).
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

III. Οὐ μὴν ἔπεισε τὸν Φλαμύνον, ἀλλὰ φήσας οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι προσιόντα τῇ Ῥώμῃ τὸν πόλεμον οὐδ', ὡσπερ ὁ παλαῖος Κάμιλλος, ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμαχεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς χιλιάρχους, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ῥππον ἀλλόμενος εἰς οὔδενος αἰτίον προδήλου παραλόγως εἰτρόμου τὸν ῥππον γενομένου καὶ πτυρέστος ἐξέπεσε καὶ κατενεχθεῖς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὃμως οὔδεν ἔτρεψε τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄρμησεν εἰς ἄρχης ἀπαντήσαι τῷ Ἀννίβα, περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ὁρασυμένην ἡμῆν τῆς Τυρ- ρηνίας παρετάξατο.

2 Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν συμβαλόντων εἰς χείρας ἀμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ὡδ' οὐ καὶ πόλεις ἀνετράπησαν καὶ αἰείματα ποταμῶν εἰς ἐδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημνῶν ὑπώρειαν περιερράγησαν. ἀλλά, καίπερ οὕτω γενομένου βιαίου τοῦ πάθους, οὐδεὶς τὸ παράπαν ἦσθετο

3 τῶν μαχομένων. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Φλαμύνος πολλὰ καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ ῥώμης ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἔπεσε, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν δ' ἀλλῶν τραπέντων πολὺς ἴδο φόνος, καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι πρὸς μυρίως κατεκόπησαν, καὶ ἐάλωσαν ἔτεροι τοσοῦτοι. τὸ δὲ Φλαμυνίου σῶμα φιλοτιμούμενος θάψαι καὶ κοσμῆσαι δι' ἀρετὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐχ εὗρεν εν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἀλλ' ἡγνοεῖτο τὸ παράπαν ὅπως ἡφανίσθη.

4 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρεβίου γενομένην ἦτταν

1 Ὁρασυμένην an early anonymous correction, adopted by Coraës and Bekker: Ὁρασυμέναν.
2 περιερράγησαν Bekker's παρερράγησαν is now found in S.
3 τοῦ πάθους Coraës and Bekker after Reiske: πάθους.
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 Thrasyymenê, 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, neither

1 Tarsimene, Polybius, iii. 82; Trasimenus, Livy, xxii. 4.
2 Cf. chapter ii. 2.
οὐθ’ ὁ γράφας στρατηγὸς οὐθ’ ὁ περμφθεὶς ἀγγελὸς ἀπ’ εὐθείας ἐφρασεν, ἀλλ’ ἐψεύσατο τὴν νίκην ἐπίδικον αυτοῖς καὶ ἀμφίδοξον γενέσθαι: περὶ δὲ ταύτης ὡς πρῶτον ἦκουσεν ὁ στρατηγὸς Πομπώνιος, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν δήμον οὐ περιπλοκὰς οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς ἀλλ’ ἀντικυρισ ἐφή προσελθὼν: “Νευκήμεθα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ρωμαίοι, μεγάλη μάχη, καὶ διέφθαρται τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ Φλαμίνιος ὑπατος ἀπόλολεν. ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθε 5 περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας.” οὕτοι μὲν οὖν ὁσπερ πνεῦμα τὸν λόγον ἐμβαλὼν εἰς πέλαγος τοσοῦτον δήμου συνετάραξε τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ’ ἐστάναι πρὸς τοσαύτην ἐκπλήξειν οἱ λογισμοὶ καὶ διαμένειν ἐδύναντο. πάντες δ’ εἰς μίαν γνώμην συνήχθησαν ἀνυπευθύνου δείσθαι τὰ πράγματα μοναρχίας, ἴνα δικτατορίαν καλοῦσι, καὶ τοῦ μεταχειριομένου ταύτην ἀθρόπτως καὶ 6 ἀδεώς ἄνδρός εἰναι δὲ τούτων ἐνα Φάβιον Μάξιμον, ἱσόρροπον ἔχοντα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἁρχῆς τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἄξιωμα τοῦ ἦθους, ἡλικίας τε κατὰ τούτο γεγενημένον ἐν οὐ συνέστηκεν ἐτε πρὸς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς βουλεύματα τὸ σῶμα τῆς ῥώμης καὶ συγκέκριμα τῷ φρονίμῳ τὸ θαρραλέον.

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

IV. Accordingly, this course was adopted, and Fabius was appointed dictator.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 τούτο τὸν στρατηγὸν
οἴμένων δεῖν παραμένειν τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ μή
προλείπειν, εἴθ', ὅτι τυραννικὸν εἰς ἀπαντα τάλλα
καὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἑστίν, ἐν γε τούτῳ
βουλομένων τὸν δικτάτορα τοῦ δήμου φαίνεσθαι
2 δεόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φάβιος
eὐθὺς ἐνδείξασθαι θέλων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος
καὶ τῶν ὁγκῶν, ὡς μᾶλλον ὑπηκόοις χρώτο καὶ
πειθηνίοις τοῖς πολίταις, προῆλθε συνενεγκάμενος
eἰς ταῦτα ῥαβδουχίας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας. καὶ τοῦ
ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαντῶντος αὐτῶ τῶν ὑπηρε-
tην πέμψας ἐκέλευε τοὺς ῥαβδουχοὺς ἀπαλ-
lάξαι καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποθέμενον
ἰδιώτην ἀπαντᾶν.
3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καλλίστην ἀρχόμενος ἐκ θεῶν
ἀρχῆν, καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δήμον ὡς ὀλιγωρία καὶ
περιφρονήσει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον,
οὐ μοχθηρία τῶν ἁγωνισμένων σφαλέντα, προὐ-
tρεπε μὴ δεδεῖνα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἐξευμενίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν, οὐ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐνερ-
γαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ δαρρύνων εὐσεβεία τὴν ἄρετήν
καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίς τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν
πολεμίων φόβον ἀφαιρῶν καὶ παραμυθούμενος.
4 ἐκινήθησαν δὲ τότε πολλαὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων
καὶ χρησίμων αὐτοῖς βίβλων, ὡς Σιβυλλείους
cαλοῦσι· καὶ λέγεται συνδραμεῖν ἐναὶ τῶν ἀπο-
κειμένων ἐν αὐταῖς λογίων πρὸς τὰς τύχαις καὶ
tὰς πράξεις ἐκείνας. 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.
strength in their infantry, and for this reason thought that their commander ought to be with the phalanx and not leave it; or because they wished, since the power of the office in all other respects is as great as that of a tyrant, that in this point at least the dictator should be plainly dependent on the people. However, Fabius himself was minded to show forth at once the magnitude and grandeur of his office, that the citizens might be more submissive and obedient to his commands. He therefore appeared in public attended by a united band of twenty-four lictors with their fasces, and when the remaining consul was coming to meet him, sent his adjutant to him with orders to dismiss his lictors, lay aside the insignia of his office, and meet him as a private person.

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

1 Each consul was allowed twelve.
οχλον εὐξατο τοις θεοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖ μὲν αἰγῶν καὶ συνών καὶ προβάτων καὶ βωών ἐπιγονήν, ὅσην Ἰταλίας ὅρη καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοῦ καὶ λειμῶνες εἰς ὄραν ἐσομένην θρέψουσι, καταθύσειν ἀπαντα, θέας δὲ μονυμάς καὶ θυμελίας ἄξειν ἀπὸ σηστερίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν καὶ διηναρίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν ἐτὶ τριτη-5 μορίων προσόντος. τούτῳ τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἔστιν ὅκτῳ μυριάδες δραχμῶν καὶ δραχμαὶ τρισχίλιαι πεντακόσιαι ὑγδοίκοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο όβολοι. λόγον δὲ τῆς εἰς τούτῳ τοῦ πλήθους ἀκριβείας καὶ διανομῆς χαλεπῶν ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὴ τις ἀρα βούλοιτο τῆς τριάδος ὑμείν τὴν δύναμιν, ὅτι καὶ φύσει τέλειος καὶ πρώτος τῶν περιττῶν ἀρχή τε πλῆθους ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τε πρώτας διαφορὰς καὶ τὰ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα μίξας καὶ συναρμο-σας εἰς ταὐτὸν ἀνείληφεν.

V. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν γνώμην ἀπαρτήσας εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἡδίῳ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐποίησεν· αὐτὸς δὲ πάσας θέμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τῆς νύκτις ἐλπίδας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς εὐπραξίας δι' ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως παραδίδοντος, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, οἷς ὡς διαμαχοῦμενος, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τὴν ἀκμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρήματι τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ πολυανθρωπία τὴν ὀλγότητα τρίβειν καὶ 2 ὑπαναλίσκειν βεβουλευμένοι. οἴθεν οὖν μετέωρος ἀπὸ τῆς ἵππου τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τόποις ὅρειν οὐ στρατοπεδεύσων ἐπηρεῖτο, καθημένου μὲν ἂσυκα-ζων, κινομένου δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀκρων κύκλῳ περιῶν
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. 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).
καὶ περιφανόμενος ἐκ διαστήματος ὁσον ἀκονί
μὴ βιασθήναι μάχεσθαι καὶ φόβον ὡς μαχησό-
μενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπὸ τής μελλήσεως αὐτῆς
παρέχειν. οὔτω δὲ παράγω τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ
πάντων κατεφρονεῖτο, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἤκουεν ἐν
tῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κομιδῇ δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀτολμος
edókei καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι πλὴν ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς

3 Ἀννίβου, μόνος δ' ἐκείνος αὐτοῦ τὴν δεινώτητα,
καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὃ πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, συνεδών, καὶ
diανοηθεῖς ὡς πάση τέχνη καὶ βία κωντέος ἐστίν
eἰς μάχην ὅ ἀνήρ ἡ διαπέπακται τὰ Καρχηδονίων,
οἷς μὲν εἰς κρέιττον ὁπλοις χρήσασθαι μὴ
dυναμένων, οἷς δὲ λείπονται σώματι καὶ χρή-
μασιν ἑλαττομένων καὶ δακανωμένων: εἰς τὸ
μηδὲν, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἱδέαν στρατηγικῶν σοφισμάτων
cαὶ παλαισμάτων τρεπόμενος, καὶ πειρώμενος
ὡς περὶ δεινὸς ἀθλητῆς λαβῆν ζητῶν, προσέβαλλε
cαὶ διετάραττε καὶ μετῆγε πολλαχόσε τὸν Φάβιον,
ἐκστίςαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας λογισμῶν βου-
λόμενος.

4 Τῷ δ' ἡ μὲν γνώμη1 πίστιν ἔχουσα τοῦ
συμφέροντος ἐν ἑαυτῇ βέβαιος εἰστήκει καὶ
ἀμετάπτωτος· ἡμῶν ἣλει δ' αὐτῶν ὁ ἵππαρχος
Μινούκιος φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως καὶ θρασυνόμενος
καὶ δήμαγωγῶν τὸ στράτευμα μανικῆς φορᾶς καὶ
κενῶν ἑλπίδων ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπληρωμένων οὐ τὸν
μὲν Φάβιον σκόπτοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες
Ἀννίβου παιδαγωγοῦ· ἀπεκάλουν, τὸν δὲ Μινού-

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

But the purpose of Fabius, confident of a favourable issue, remained consistent and unchangeable. He was annoyed, however, by his Master of Horse, Minucius, who was eager to fight all out of season, and over bold, and who sought to win a following in the army, which he filled with mad impetuosity and empty hopes. The soldiers railed at Fabius and scornfully called him Hannibal's pedagogue; but
κιον μέγαν ἀνδρα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄξιον ἠγούντο
5 στρατηγόν ὁ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς φρόνιμα καὶ θράσος ἀνειμένος ἔχλευαζε μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων στρατοπεδείας, ὡς καλὰ θέατρα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀεὶ παρασκευαζομένου θεωρίσουσι πορθομένην καὶ φλεγομένην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἡρώτα δὲ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Φαβίου πότερον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀράς ἀναφέρει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς τῆς γῆς ἀπεγνωσκός, ἡ νέφη καὶ ὀμίχλας προβαλλόμενοι ἀποδειδράσκει τοὺς
6 πολεμίους, ταῦτα τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον ἀπαγγελλόντων καὶ τὴν ἀδοξίαν τῷ κωδύνῳ λύσαι παραινοῦντων, "Οὔτω μεντάν," ἐφι, "δειλότερος ἢ νῦν εἶναι δοκῶ γενοίμην, εἰ σκῶμματα καὶ λοιδορίας φοβηθεῖς ἐκπέσσιμοι τῶν ἐμαυτῶν λογισμῶν. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δέος, ἡ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαβολάς καὶ ψόγους ἐκπληξίς οὐκ ἄξιον τηλικαύτης ἄρχης ἀνδρός, ἀλλὰ δουλεύοντος ὅπνευ ταῖς αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπόζειν κακῶς φρονοῦντων προσήκει.

VI. Μετὰ ταῦτα γίνεται: διαμαρτία τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Βουλόμενος γὰρ ἀποσπᾶσαι τοῦ Φαβίου πορρωτέρῳ τὸ στρατεύμα καὶ πεδίων ἔπιλαβέσθαι προνομᾶς ἐχόντων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς οίκηγοὺς μετὰ δείπνου εὖθὺς ἤγεισθαι πρὸς τὸ Κασινάτου. οἱ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς διὰ βαρβαρισμῶν οὐκ ἐξακούσαντες ἄκριβῶς, ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν φέροντες εἰς τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς Καμπανίας εἰς πόλιν Κασιλίνου, ἣν τέμνει ρέων διὰ μέσης ποταμοῦ, ὧν Ωυουλτούρνον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλούσιν.

2 ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιστεφθῆς ὀρέσιν.
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 Vulturinus by the Romans. The region is otherwise encompassed by mountains, but a narrow defile opens
αὐλῶν δ' ἀναπέπτταται πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ἐνθα τὰ ἐλη καταδίδωσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιχεομένου, καὶ θίνας ἀμμοῦ βαθείας ἔχει, καὶ τελευτά πρὸς αἰγιαλὸν κυματώδη καὶ δύσορμον. ἑνταῦθα κατα-
βαίνοντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιελθὼν ἐμπειρία τῶν ὀδῶν ὁ Ψάβιος τὴν μὲν διέξοδον ὀπλίτας τετρα-
κισχιλίους ἐπιστήσας ἐνέφραξε, τὸν δ' ἄλλον στρατὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἄκρον ἐν καλῷ καθίσας διὰ τῶν ἐλαφροτάτων καὶ προχειροτάτων ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ συνετάραξεν ἂπαν τὸ στράτευμα, διέφθειρε δὲ περὶ ὀκτακο-
σίους. ἐκ τούτου δευλόμενος Ἀννίβας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τὴν διαμαρτίαν τοῦ τόπου νόησας καὶ τῷ κίνδυνῳ, ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν τοὺς ὀδηγοὺς, ἐκβιαίζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ προσ-
μάχεσθαι τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας ἀπεγί-
nωσκε. δυσθύμως δὲ καὶ περιφόβως διακειμένων ἀπάντων, καὶ περιεστάναι σφᾶς πανταχόθεν ἄφυκτους ἠγουμένων ἀπορίας, ἔγνω δολοῦ ἀπάτη τοὺς πολεμίους. ἦν δὲ τοιόνιτε.
4 Βοῦς ὁςον δισχιλίας ἐκ τῶν αἰγιαλῶτων ἐκ-
λευσε συλλαβόντας ἀναδήσατι δᾶδα πρὸς ἐκαστὸν κέρας ἢ λύγων ἢ φρυγάνων αὐων φάκελον· εἰτα νυκτός, ὅταν ἀρθῇ σημεῖον, ἀνάψαντας ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς παρὰ τὰ στενᾶ καὶ τὰς φυλα-
κὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκεύαζον οἷς προσετέακτο, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἀναστή-
σας στρατὸν ἥδη σκότους ὄντος ἤγε σχολαίως.
5 αἱ δὲ βοῖες, ἀχρὶ μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὀλύγον ἦν καὶ περιέ-
out towards the sea, in the vicinity of which it becomes marshy, from the overflow of the river, has high sand-heaps, and terminates in a beach where there is no anchorage because of the dashing waves. While Hannibal was descending into this valley, Fabius, taking advantage of his acquaintance with the ways, marched round him, and blocked up the narrow outlet with a detachment of four thousand heavy infantry. The rest of his army he posted to advantage on the remaining heights, while with the lightest and readiest of his troops he fell upon the enemy’s rear-guard, threw their whole army into confusion, and slew about eight hundred of them. Hannibal now perceived the mistake in his position, and its peril, and crucified the native guides who were responsible for it. He wished to effect a retreat, but despaired of dislodging his enemies by direct attack from the passes of which they were masters. All his men, moreover, were disheartened and fearful, thinking that they were surrounded on all sides by difficulties from which there was no escape. He therefore determined to cheat his enemies by a trick, the nature of which was as follows.

He gave orders to take about two thousand of the cattle which they had captured, fasten to each of their horns a torch consisting of a bundle of withes or faggots, and then, in the night, at a given signal, to light the torches and drive the cattle towards the passes, along the defiles guarded by the enemy. As soon as his orders had been obeyed, he decamped with the rest of his army, in the darkness which had now come, and led it slowly along. The cattle, as long as the fire was slight, and consumed only the
καὶ εἰ τὴν ὕλην, ἀτρέμα προεχώρουν ἐλαινύμεναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπώρειαν, καὶ θαύμα τοῖς καθορώσι νομεύσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ βουκόλων ἦσαν αἱ φλόγες ἄκροις ἐπιλάμπουσι τοῖς κέρασιν, ὡς στρατόπεδον καθ’ ἕνα κόσμον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων

6 πολλῶν βαδίζοντος. ἔπει δὲ πυρούμενον τὸ κέρας ἀχρὶ βίξης διέδωκε τῇ σαρκί τὴν αἰσθησιν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλον διαφέρουσαν καὶ τινάσσονται τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνεπιμπλαντὸ πολλῆς ἀπ’ ἄλληλων φλο- γός, οὐκ ἐνεμελαν τῇ τάξει τῆς πορείας, ἄλλῃ ἐκφοβοί καὶ περιαλγεῖς οὕσα θρόμῳ κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐφέροντο, λαμπόμεναι μὲν οὐρὰς ἄκρας καὶ μέτωπα, πολλῆν δὲ τῆς ὕλης, δι’ ἦς ἐφευγον,

7 ἀνάπτουσαν. δεινῶν οὖν ἦν θέαμα τοῖς παραφυλάτ- τοσι τὰς υπερβολὰς 'Ρωμαίοις· καὶ γὰρ αἱ φλό- γες ἐφίκεσαν ὑπ’ ἄνθρωπον θεότον διαφερομέναι λαμπάσι, καὶ θορυβὸς ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς πόλεως καὶ φόβους, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλους ἐπιφέρονται τῶν πολε- μίων σφίσι καὶ κυκλοῦσαν πανταχόθεν ἤγον- μένων. διὸ μένειν οὐκ ἑτόλων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον ἀνεχώρουν στρατόπεδον προέμενοι τὰ στενὰ. καὶ 1 κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ καιρόν προσμύξαντες οἱ ψυλοὶ τοῦ Αννίβου τὰς υπερβολὰς κατέσχον, ἡ δὲ ἀλλη ὑάμες ὢδη προσέβαινεν ἄδεως πολλῆν καὶ βαρείαν ἐφελκομένη λείαν.

VII. Τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ συνέβη μὲν ἐνυκτὸς αἰσθέσθαι τὸν δόλον (φεύγουσαι γὰρ ἐνιαὶ τῶν βοῶν σποράδες ἦκον αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας), ἐνέδρας δὲ δεδιώκεν σκοταίους ἀτρέμα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς εἶχεν. ὡς δ’ ἦν ἡμέρα, διώκων ἐξῆπτετο

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

VII. It was still night when Fabius became aware of the ruse, for some of the cattle, in their random flight, were captured by his men; but he was afraid of ambushes in the darkness, and so kept still, with his forces under arms. When it was day, however, he pursued the enemy, and nung upon their rear-guard,
τῶν ἐσχάτων, καὶ συμπλοκαὶ περὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐγίνοντο καὶ θόρυβος ἦν πολύς, ἐως παρ’ Ἀννίβου τῶν ὀρειβατεῖν δεινῶν ἵβηρων ἄνδρες ἐλαφροὶ καὶ ποδώκεις πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ στόματος εἰς βαρεῖς ὁπλίτας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐνέβαλον, καὶ διαφθείραντες οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀπέστρεψαν τὸν Φάβιον. τότε δὴ μάλιστα κακῶς ἀκοῦσαί καὶ καταφρονηθήναι συνέβη τὸν Φάβιον. τῆς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τόλμης υφιέμενος, ὡς γνώμη καὶ προνοία καταπολεμήσων τὸν Ἀννίβαν, αὐτὸς ἤττημένος τούτοις καὶ κατεστρατηγημένος ἑφαίνετο.

Βουλόμενος δὲ μάλλον ἐκκαύσα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄργην τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἀννίβας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα καίειν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκεῖνως δ᾽ ἀπείπεν ἀπτεσθαί μόνων, καὶ παρακατέστησε φυλακήν οὐδὲν ἐώσαν ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν ἐκεῖθεν. 3 ταῦτα προσδιέβαλε τὸν Φάβιον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ὅχλον οἱ δήμαρχοι κατεβόων, ἐπάγωντος μάλιστα Μετιλίου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Φάβιον ἔχθραν, ἀλλ᾽ οἰκείος ὁν Μινουκίου τοῦ ἑπτάρχου τιμὴν ὑπέται καὶ δόξαν ἐκείνῳ φέρειν τὰς τούτοις διαβολὰς· ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῇ βουλῇ δι᾽ ὄργῃς οὐχ ἤκιστα μεμφομένη τὰς περὶ τῶν 4 αἰχμαλώτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ὀμολογίας. ὀμολογηκείσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα μὲν ἰνδρὶ λύσθαι τῶν ἀλησκομένων, εἰ δὲ πλείους οἱ ἔτεροι γένοιτο, διδόναι δραχμὰς ὕπερ ἐκάστου τῶν κομιζόμενον.
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 out-generalled.

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.
πεντάκοντα καὶ διακοσίας. ὃς οὖν γενομένης τῆς κατ' ἀνδρὰ διαμεῖψεσαι εὐρέθησαν ὑπὸ λοιποῦ Ὁρμαίων παρ’ Ἀννίβα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακό-
σιοι, τούτων ἡ σύγκλητος ἔγνω τὰ λύτρα μὴ πέμπειν, καὶ προσημιᾶτο τὸν Φάβιον ὡς οὐ πρε-
πόντως οὐδὲ λυσιτελῶς ἀνδρας ὑπὸ δειλίας πολε-

5 μίων ἄγραν γενομένους ἀνακομιξόμενον. ταύτ’ ἀκούσας ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἐφερὲ πρῶς τῶν πολιτῶν, χρήματα δ’ οὐκ ἔχων, διαφεύσα-
σθαι δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ προέσθαι τοὺς πολίτας οὐχ ὑπομένων, ἔπεμψε τὸν νίον εἰς Ὁρμὴν κελεύ-
σας ἀποδόσθαι τοὺς ἄγρους καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον εὐθὺς ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κομίζειν. ἀποδο-
μένου δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὰ χωρία καὶ ταχέως ἐπιβελθόντος ἀπέπεμψε τὰ λύτρα τῷ Ἀννίβα
cαὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλαβεν καὶ πολλῶν ἀποδιόντων ύστερον παρ’ οὐδενὸς ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ’ ἀφῆξεν πᾶσι.

VIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἱερῶν καλοῦντων αὐτὸν εἰς Ὁρμὴν ἐπὶ τινας θυσίας παρέδωκε τῷ 
Μινουκίῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ μόνον ὡς 
αὐτοκράτωρ διαγορεύσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ 
δεήσεις πολλὰς αὐτὸν ποιησάμενος ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἑλάχιστα φροντίσας εὐθὺς ἔνεκειτο τοῖς 

2 πολεμίοις. καὶ ποτὲ παραφυλάξας τὸν Ἀν-

νίβαν τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιάς ἐπὶ συνολογίαν ἄφεικότα, καὶ προσβαλὼν τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ, 
κατήραξεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ φόβου περιέστησε πᾶσιν ὡς 
πολιορκησομένοις 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.
αὕθις εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ Ἀννίβα τῆς δυνάμεως ἀσφαλῶς ἀνεχώρησεν, αὐτὸν τε μεγαλαυχίας ἀμέτρου καὶ θράσους τὸ στρατιωτικὸν
3 ἐμπεπληκώς. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ ἐργον λόγος μεῖζων διεφοτήσεν εἰς Ὀρμην. καὶ Φάβιος μὲν ἀκούσας ἐφὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ Μινουκίου φοβείσθαι τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν, ἢ δὲ δήμος ἤρτο καὶ μετὰ χάρας εἰς ἄγορὰν συνέτρεχε, καὶ Μειώνος ὁ δήμαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καταστὰς ἐδημηγόρει μεγαλύνων τοῦ Μινουκίου, τὸ δὲ Φαβίου κατηγορῶν οὐ μαλακίαν οὐδ' ἀνανδρίαν, ἀλλ' ἤδη
4 προδοσίαν, συναιτιώμενος ἀμα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ πρῶτους ἐπαγαγέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ καταλύσει τοῦ δήμου, τὴν τε πόλιν ἐμβαλεῖν εὐθὺς εἰς μοναρχίαν ἀνυπεύθυνον, ἢ διατρίβουσα τὰς πράξεις ἱδρυσιν Ἄννιβα παρέξει καὶ χρόνον αὕθις ἐκ Διβίς ἔτεραν ἰδυνάμιν προσγενέσθαι ὡς κρατοῦντι τῆς Ἱταλίας.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ Φάβιος προσελθὼν ἀπολογείσθαι μὲν οὐδ' ἐμέλλησε πρὸς τὸν δήμαρχον, ἐφὶ δὲ τάχιστα τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας γενέσθαι, ὡστ' ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα βαδιείσθαι τῷ Μινουκίῳ δίκην ἐπιθήσον, ὅτι κωλύσαντος αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέβαλε, θόρυβος διῆξε τοῦ δήμου πολύς, ὡς κινδυνεύσοντος τοῦ Μινουκίου. καὶ γὰρ εἴρξαι τῷ δικτάτορι καὶ θανατώσαι πρὸ δίκης ἔξεστιν καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ πολλῆς πραότητος κεκινημένου φῶντο βαρὺν εἶναι καὶ

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 οι μὲν ἄλλοι καταδείσαντες ἤσυχιάν ἤγοιν· ὁ δὲ Μετίλιος ἔχων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἤδειαν (μονὴ γὰρ αὐτὴ δικτάτορος αἱρέθετος ἢ ἄρχῃ τὸ κράτος οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν, ἀλλὰ μένει τῶν ἄλλων καταλυθείσῶν), ἐνέκειτο τῷ δήμῳ πολὺς, μὴ προέσθαι δεόμενος τὸν Μινούκιον μὴ ἐὰςαι παθεῖν ἃ Μάλλιος Τουρκούνατος ἔδρασε τὸν ὑπόν, ἀριστεύσαντος καὶ στεφανωθέντος ἀποκόψας πελέκει τὸν πράξηλον, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τοῦ Φάβιου τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ σώζειν ἐπιτρέψαι τὰ πράγματα.

3 Τοιούτοις λόγοις κινηθέντες οἱ ἄνδρωποι τῶν μὲν Φάβιον οὐκ ἔτολμησαν ἀναγκάσας καταθέσας τὴν μοναρχίαν, καίπερ ἔδοξοῦντα, τὸν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς στρατηγίας ὁμότιμον οὐντα διέπειν τὸν πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας τῷ δικτάτορι, πράγμα μὴ πρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγονός, ὅλως δ᾽ ὑστερον αὕτους γενόμενον μετὰ τὴν ἐν Κάστανα ἄτυχιαν. καὶ γὰρ τότ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατηγεῖων Μάρκος ἢν Ἰουῦνος δικτάτωρ, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν τὸ βουλευτικὸν ἀναπληρόσαι δεχόμην, ἀτε δὴ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συγκλητικῶν ἀπολολότων, ἔτερον εἴλοντο δικτάτορα Φάβιον Βουτεῶνα. πλὴν οὕτως μὲν, ἐπεὶ προῆλθε καὶ κατέλεξε τοὺς ἁνδρας καὶ συνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλήν, αὐθημερόν ἅφεις τοὺς ῥαβδοῦχους καὶ διαφυγὼν τοὺς προάγοντας, εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἐμβαλὼν καὶ καταμίξας ἑαυτὸν ὑδῆ τι τῶν ἑαυτῶν διοικῶν καὶ πραγματευόμενος ὀστερ ἰδιώτης ἐπὶ τῆς ἅγορᾶς 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 abolished¹), and vehemently charged and prayed the people not to abandon Minucius, nor permit him to suffer the fate which Manlius Torquatus inflicted upon his son, whom he beheaded although crowned with laurel for the greatest prowess,² but to strip Fabius of his tyrant's power and entrust the state to one who was able and willing to save it.

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

¹ See Polybius, iii. 87.
² The son had disobeyed consular orders and engaged in single combat with a Latin, in the great battle at the foot of Vesuvius, 340 B.C. ³ Cf. chapter xvi.
X. Τὸν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τῶ τικτα-τορί πρᾶξεις ἀποδείξαντες ὄντο κεκολούθησαί καὶ γεγονέναι ταπείνῳ παντύπασιν ἐκείνου, οὐκ ὁρθῶς στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ συμφορᾶν ἦγειτο τὴν ἐκείνων ἁγνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ Διογένης οἱ σοφός, εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν: “Οὐτοί σοῦ καταγελῶσιν,” “’Αλλ’ ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “οὐ καταγελῶμαι,” μόνους ἡγούμενος καταγελά-σθαι τοὺς ἐνδεδόντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
2 ταττομένους, οὕτω Φάβιος ἐφερεν ἀπαθῶς καὶ ἱδίως ὅσον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα, συμβαλ-λόμενος ἀπόδειξιν τῶν φιλοσόφων τοῖς ἄξιοιν μὴν ὑβρίζεσθαι μὴν ἀτιμοῦσθαι τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἀνδρα καὶ σπουδαίον. ημία δ’ αὐτὸν ἦ τῶν πολ-
λῶν ἀβουλία διὰ τὰ κοινά, δεδωκότων ἀφορμὰς ἀνδρὸς οὐχ υγιαινούσῃ φιλοτιμίᾳ πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
3 μον. καὶ δεδοικῶς μὴ παντύπασιν ἐκμανεὶς ὑπὸ κενῆς δοξῆς καὶ ὕγκου φθάσῃ τι κακόν ἀπεργα-
σάμενος, λαθῶν ἀπαντας ἐξῆλθεν καὶ παραγενό-
μενος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν Ἐνούκιον οὐκέτι καθεκτόν, ἀλλὰ βαρῶν καὶ 
tετυφωμένοι καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἄρξειν ἅξιοῦντα, τοῦτο μὲν οὐ συνεχώρησε, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διενε-
ματο πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὡς μέρους μόνος ἄρξειν βέλτιον
4 ἡ πάντων παρὰ μέρος. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν 
tαγμάτων καὶ τέταρτον αὐτὸς ἐλαβε, τὸ δὲ δεύ-
τερον καὶ τρίτον ἐκείνῳ παρέδωκεν, ἐπίσης καὶ 
tῶν συμμαχικῶν διανεμηθέντων. σεμινυμομένον δὲ 
tοῦ Μινούκιον καὶ χαίροντος ἐπὶ τῶ τὸ πρόσχημα 
tῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης ἄρχῆς ύφεισθαι καὶ 
προπετηλακίσθαι δι’ αὐτῶν, ὑπεμίμησκεν ὁ 
Φάβιος ὥς οὐκ ὅντος μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς Φάβιον, ἀλλ’
FABIUS MAXIMUS

X. Now that they had invested Minucius with the same powers as the dictator, the people supposed that the latter would feel shorn of strength and altogether humble, but they did not estimate the man aright. For he did not regard their mistake as his own calamity, but was like Diogenes the wise man, who, when someone 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
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

5 εἰ σωφρονεί, πρὸς Ἀννίβαν τοῦ ἀγώνος· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν συνάρχοντα φιλονεικεῖ, σκοπεῖν ὅπως τοῦ νεικημένου καὶ καθυβρισμένου παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις οἰ τετιμημένος καὶ νεικηκὼς οὐ φανεῖται μᾶλλον ὁλιγωρῶν τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας.

XI. Ὅ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρωνείαν ἥγειτο γεροντικὴν· παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποκληρωθείσαν δύναμιν ἴδια καὶ χωρὶς ἐστρατοπεδεύσεων, ούδὲν ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐφεδρεύοντος. ἦν δὲ λόφος κατὰ μέσον καταληψθῆναι μὲν οὐ χαλεπός, ὁχυρὸς δὲ καταληψθεὶς στρατοπέδῳ καὶ διαρκὴς εἰς ἀπαντα. τὸ δὲ πέριξ πεδίων ὀφθηναι μὲν ἄπωθεν ὀμαλὸν διὰ ψυλλότητα καὶ λείον, ἔχον δὲ τινας οὐ μεγάλας 2 τάφρους ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ κοιλότητας ἄλλας. διὸ καὶ τὸν λόφον ἐκ τοῦ ράστου κρύφα κατασχεῖν παρὸν οὐκ ἤθελησεν ὁ Ἀννίβας, ἀλλ' ἀπέλιπτε μάχης ἐν μέσῳ πρόφασιν. ὡς δὲ εἰδε κεχωρισμένον τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν Μινούκιον, νυκτὸς μὲν εἰς τὰς τάφρους καὶ τὰς κοιλότητας κατέσπειρε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινας, ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φανερῶς ἐπεμψεν οὐ πολλοὺς καταληψιομένους τὸν λόφον, ὡς ἐπαγάγωτο συμπεσεῖν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μινούκιου.

3 "Ο δὴ καὶ συνέβη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστειλε τὴν κοῦφην στρατιάν, ἐπειτα τοὺς ἱππεῖς, 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, while Hannibal, not unaware of what was going on, kept a watchful eye on everything. Now there was a hill between him and the Romans which could be occupied with no difficulty, and which, if occupied, would be a strong site for a camp and in every way sufficient. The plain round about, when viewed from a distance, was perfectly smooth and level, but really had sundry small ditches and other hollow places in it. For this reason, though it would have been very easy for him to get possession of the hill by stealth, Hannibal had not cared to do so, but had left it standing between the two armies in the hope that it might bring on a battle. But when he saw Minucius separated from Fabius, in the night he scattered bodies of his soldiers among the ditches and hollows, and at break of day, with no attempt at concealment, sent a few to occupy the hill, that he might seduce Minucius into an engagement for it.

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

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

2 Five thousand horsemen and footmen, according to Livy, xxii. 28; five thousand light-armed and other infantry, and five hundred cavalry, according to Polybius, iii. 104.
δ' ὀρῶν τῶν Ἀννίβαν παραβοηθοῦντα τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πάση κατέβαινε τῇ δυνάμει συντεταγμένης. καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν θέμενος ἦμύνετο τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου βάλλοντας, συμπλεκόμενος καὶ ἱσα 

φερόμενος, ἂρτο οὐ καλῶς ἡπατημένον ὀρῶν ὦ Ἀννίβας καὶ γυμνὰ παρέχοντα τοῖς ἐνεδρεύσοι 

4 τὰ νῦτα τὸ σημείον αἴρει. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο πολ-

λαχόθεν ἔξανισταμένων ἅμα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς 

συνφερομένων καὶ τοὺς ἑσχάτους ἀποκτινών-

τών ἀδιήγητος κατείχε ταραχῇ καὶ πτοίᾳ τοὺς 

Ῥωμαίους, αὐτοῦ τε τὸν Μινουκίον τὸ θράσος 

κατακέκλαστο, καὶ πρὸς ἅλλον ἅλλοτε τῶν ἱγε-

μόνων διεπάπτανεν, οὕδενος ἐν χώρᾳ μένειντολ-

μῶντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς φυγὴν ὠθουμένων οὐ σωτήριον. 

οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες ἦδη κρατοῦντες κύκλῳ περιήλαυνον 

τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκίδιαμένους ἐκτείνον. 

ΧII. Ἔν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ κακῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων 

ὀντων οὐκ ἔλαβεν ὁ κίνδυνος τὸν Φάβιον, ἀλλὰ 

καὶ τὸ μέλλον, ως ἐοικεῖν, ἢδη προειληφός τὴν τε 

dύμαμιν συντεταγμένην εἰχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν καὶ 

tὰ πραττόμενα γινώσκειν ἐφρόντιζεν οὐ δὲ ἀγ-

γέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔχων κατασκοπὴν πρὸ τοῦ 

χάρακος. ως οὖν κατεὶδε κυκλούμενον καὶ παρα-

τόμενον τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κραυγὴ προσέπιπτεν 

οὐ μενόντων, ἀλλ' ἦδη πεφοβημένων καὶ τρεπο-

2 μένων, μηρὸν τε πληξάμενος καὶ στενᾶς μέγα 

πρὸς μὲν τοὺς παροῦντας εἶπεν: "Ὤ Ἰράκλεις, 

ὡς τάχιον μὲν ἥ ἐγὼ προσεδόκων, βραδίον δὲ ἦ 

αὐτὸς ἐσπευδὲ Μινουκίος εαυτὸν ἀπολόλεκεν," τὰς
and finally, when he saw Hannibal coming to the support of his troops on the hill, he descended into the plain with all his forces in battle array. In a fierce battle he sustained the discharge of missiles from the hill, coming to close quarters with the enemy there and holding his advantage, until Hannibal, seeing that his enemy was happily deceived and was exposing the rear of his line of battle to the troops who had been placed in ambush, raised the signal. At this his men rose up on all sides, attacked with loud cries, and slew their foes who were in the rear ranks. Then indescribable confusion and fright took possession of the Romans. Minucius himself felt all his courage shattered, and looked anxiously now to one and now to another of his commanders, no one of whom dared to hold his ground, nay, all urged their men to flight, and a fatal flight too. For the Numidians, now masters of the situation, galloped round the plain and slew them as they scattered themselves about.

XII. Now that the Romans were in such an evil pass, Fabius was not unaware of their peril. He had anticipated the result, as it would seem, and had his forces drawn up under arms, wisely learning the progress of events not from messengers, but by his own observations in front of his camp. Accordingly, when he saw the army of Minucius surrounded and confounded, and when their cries, as they fell upon his ears, showed him that they no longer stood their ground, but were already panic-stricken and routed, he smote his thigh, and with a deep groan said to the bystanders: “Hercules! how much sooner than I expected, but later than his own rash eagerness demanded, has Minucius destroyed himself!” Then
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

δὲ σημαίνει ἐκφέρειν κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐπεσθαί κελεύσας ἀνεβόησεν: "Νῦν τις, ὦ στρατιώται, Μάρκου Μινουκίου μεμνημένος ἐπειγέσθω λαμπρῶς ἡμᾶς ἀνήρ καὶ φιλόπατρις. εἰ δὲ τι σπεύδων ἐξελάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἠμαρτεν, αὕτης αἰτιασόμεθα."

3 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανείς τρέπεται καὶ διασκίδυσι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιελαύνοντας Νομάδας: εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ κατὰ νῶτον τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντας ἐχώρει καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἐκτεινεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ, 1 πρὶν ἀποληφθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι περιπετείας οἱ αὐτοὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν, ἐγκλίναντες ἐφυγον. ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Ἁνωβάσα τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸν Φάβιον εὐρωστῶς παρ' ἥλικιαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὥθούμενον ἀνω πρὸς τὸν Μινουκίου εἰς τὸν λόφον, ἐπέσχε τὴν μάχην, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας ἀνάκλησιν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀσμένους καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποτρπεμένων. λέγεται δ' αὐτῶν ἀπίοντα περὶ τοῦ Φάβιον πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν τι τοιοῦτον μετὰ παιδιὰς: "οὐκ ἐγὼ μέντοι προύλεγον ὡμῶν πολλάκις τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων ταύτην καθημένην νεφέλην, ὡτι μετὰ ξάλης ποτὲ καὶ κατανύδων ὁμβρῶν ἐκρήξει;"

XIII. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Φάβιος μὲν ὅσους ἐκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσας ἀνεχώρησεν, οὐδὲν υπερῆφανον οὐδ' ἐπαχθὲς εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος. Μινουκίος δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἀθροίσας, "Ἀνδρεῦ, ἐφη, "συστρατιῶτα, τὸ μὲν ἀμαρτεῖν μηδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις μεῖζον ἢ

1 λοιπὸν MSS., Sintenis 1, Coraës, Bekker: πλειστοί.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

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

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

XIII. After the battle, Fabius despoiled all of the enemy whom he had slain, and withdrew to his camp, without indulging in a single haughty or invidious word about his colleague. And Minucius, assembling his own army, said to them: "Fellow-soldiers, to avoid all mistakes in the conduct of great enter-
κατ' ἀνθρωπῶν ἦστι, τὸ δ' ἥμαρτόντα χρῆσασθαι τοῖς πταίσμασι διδάγμασι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὀμολογῶ μικρὰ μεμφόμενος τὴν τύχην περὶ μειζόνων ἐπαίνειν. ἃ γὰρ οὐκ ἡσθόμην χρόνου τοσοῦτον, ἡμέρας μέρει μικρὸ πεπαίδευμαι, γνῶν ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἄρχειν ἐτέρων δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἐτέρου δεόμενον καὶ φιλοτιμούμενον 1 νικῶν ὑφ' ὧν ἤπτᾶσθαι κάλλιον. ὑμῖν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἠστὶν ἄρχων ὁ δικτάτωρ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου εὐχαριστίας αὐτὸς ἤγεμὼν ἔσομαι, πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν εὐπειθῇ καὶ ποιοῦντα τὸ κελεύμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεχόμενον."  

3 Ταῦτ' εἴπὼν καὶ τοὺς ἄετοὺς ἀρασθαὶ κελεύσας καὶ πάντας ἀκολουθεῖν, ἤγε πρὸς τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Φαβίου. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐντὸς ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνὴν, ὡστε θαυμάζειν καὶ διαπορεῖν πάντας. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου θέμενος ἐμπροσθεν τὰς σημαίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείνου πατέρα μεγάλη φωνῇ, οἱ δὲ στρατιώται τοὺς στρατιώτας πάτρων ἠσπάζοντο. τούτῳ δ' ἔστι τοῖς ἀπελευθέρωσι προσφώνημα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπε-  

4 λευθερώσαντας. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ὁ Μινώ- κιος εἰπέν: "Δύο νικᾶς, ὁ δικτάτωρ, τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ νενίκηκας, ἀνδρεία μὲν Ἀνιβάν, εὐβουλία δὲ καὶ χρηστότητι τῶν συνάρχοντα. καὶ δι' ἂς μὲν σέσωκας ἡμᾶς, δι' ἂς δὲ πεπαίδευκας, ἡττωμένους αἰσχρὰν μὲν ἦτταν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καλὴν δὲ καὶ  

5 σωτήριον ὑπὸ σοῦ. πατέρα δὴ σε χρηστὸν 2

1 φιλοτιμούμενον the MSS. have μὴ φιλοτιμούμενον, which Cornæus defends.
2 χρηστῶν 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
προσαγορεύω, τιμιωτέραν οὐκ ἔχων προσηγορίαν, ἐπεὶ τῆς γε τοῦ τεκόντος χάριτος μείζων ἡ παρὰ σοῦ χάρις αὐτῆ. ἐγεννήθην μὲν γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου μόνος; σώζομαι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ μετὰ τοσοῦτων." ταῦτ' εἶπον καὶ περιβαλὼν τὸν Φάβιον ἡστά- ξετο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἦν ορᾶν πράττοντας· ἐνεφύοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατε- φίλουν, ὡστε μεστὸν εἶναι χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων ἡδίστων τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XIV. Ἔκ τούτου Φάβιος μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἄρχην, ὑπατοὶ δ' αὐθίς ἀπεδείκνυστο. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφύλαξαν ἣν ἐκείνος ἱδέαν τοῦ πολέμου κατέστησε, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως φεύγοντες πρὸς Ἀννίβαν, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις ἐπιβοηθοῦσι καὶ τὰς ἁποστάσεις κωλύουσι. Τερέντιος δὲ Βάρρων εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν προαχθεὶς ἀπὸ γένους ἁσῆμου, βίον δὲ διὰ δημοκρία καὶ προπέτειαν ἐπισήμου, δῆλος ἦν εὐθὺς ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ θρασύτητι τὸν περὶ τῶν ὀλῶν ἀναρρίψων κύβον.

2 ἐβόα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μενείν 1 τοῦ πολέμου ἀχρὶ οὗ Φαβίους χρήται στρατηγοὶ ἡ πόλις, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ὤψεθαί τε καὶ νικήσει τοὺς πολεμίους. ἅμα δὲ τούτως τοῖς λόγοις συνήχει καὶ κατέγραφε δύναμιν τηλικαύτην, ἡλίκῃ πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἔχρησαν Ρωμαίοι. μνημάδες γὰρ ἐννέα δισχιλίων ἄνδρῶν δέουσαι συνετάχθησαν εἰς τὴν μάχην, μέγα δέος Φαβίῳ καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαίων· οὐ γὰρ ἡλπίζον ἐξείν ἀναφορὰν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοσαύτη σφαλείσαν ἡλικία.

1 μενείν Sintenis 2, after Coraës; MSS., Sintenis 1, and Bekker, μένειν.
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.
Διδ καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα τὸν Τερεντίου Παύλου Αἰμίλιον, ἀνδρα πολλῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρῶν, οὐκ ἀρεστὸν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ καταπλῆγα ἐκ τινος καταδίκης πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτῶ γεγενημένης, ἀνίστη καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου μανίας, διδύσκων ὡς οὐ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν αὐτῶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς Τερεντίου ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὁ ἄγων ἐσούτοι σπεύδειν γὰρ μάχην γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς δυνάμεως, τὸν δὲ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσθενείας. "Ἐγὼ δ', εἶπεν, "ὁ Παύλε, Τερεντίου πιστεύεσθαι δικαιότερός εἰμι περὶ τῶν Ἀννίβου πραγμάτων διαβεβαιούμενος ὡς, εἴ μηδεὶς αὐτῶ μαχεῖται τούτοι τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν, ἀπολεῖται μὲν ὁ ἀνήρ ἢ φεύγων ἀπεισίων, ὃ γε καὶ νῦν νικᾶν καὶ κρατεῖν δοκοῦντι τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὔδεὶς προσκεχώρηκε, τῆς δ' οἴκοθεν δυνάμεως οὐδ' ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα πάνυ περίεστι." πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεται τὸν Παύλου εἶπεὶν: "Ἐμοί μέν, ὁ Φάβιε, τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ σκοποῦντο κρείττον ἐστὶ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποπέσειν δόρασιν ἡ πάλιν ταῖς ψήφοισ τῶν πολετῶν: εἰ δ' οὖτως ἔχει τὰ δημόσια πράγματα, πειράσομαι μᾶλλον σοὶ δοκεῖν ἁγαθὸς εἶναι στρατηγὸς ἡ πάσι τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐπὶ ταναντία βιαζόμενος." ταῦτην ἔχων τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ Παύλος ἐξήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον.

ΧV. Ἀλλ' ὁ Τερεντίους ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ παρ' ἡμέραν ἄρχειν, καὶ τῷ Ἀννίβα παραστρατευόμενος περὶ τὸν Ἀντικήν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰς λεγομένας Κάννας, ἀμ' ἡμέρα τῇ τῆς μάχης σημεῖον ἐξέθηκεν (ἐστὶ δὲ χείλῶν κόκκινος ύπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος), ὡστε 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 Aufidus 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-
τοῦς Καρχηδονίους ἐξ ἀρχῆς διαταραχθῆναι, τὴν
τε τόλμαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου πλήθος ὄρωντας, αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἦμισυ μέρος
2 ὡντας. 'Αννίβας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι
κελεύσας, αὐτὸς ἵπποτῆς μετ' ὀλύγων ὑπὲρ λόφου
τινὸς μαλακοῦ κατεσκύπει τοὺς πολεμίους ἣν
καθισταμένους εἰς τάξιν. εἰπόντος δὲ τινὸς τῶν
περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἴσοτίμου, τοῦνομα Γίσκωνος,
ὡς θαυμαστὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
πολεμίων, συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ 'Αννίβας,
"Ετερον," εἶπεν, "ὁ Γίσκων, λέληθε σε τοῦτον
θαυμασίωτερον." ἐρωμένου δὲ τοῦ Γίσκωνος, τὸ
ποίον; "Οτι," ἐφη, "τοῦτων ὄντων τοσοῦτων
3 οὔδεις ἐν αὐτοῖς Γίσκων καλεῖται." γενομένου
δὲ παρὰ δόξαιν αὐτοῖς τοῦ σκόμματος ἐμπίπτει
γέλως τάσι, καὶ κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοῖς
ἀπαντώσιν αἱ τὸ πεπαιγμένον ἀπαγγέλλοντες,
ὡστε διὰ πολλῶν πολὺν εἶναι 1 τὸν γέλωτα καὶ
μηδ' ἀναλαβεῖν ἐαυτοὺς δύνασθαι τοὺς περὶ τὸν
'Αννίβαν. τούτο τοῖς Καρχηδονίους ἱδοῦσι θάρσος
παρίστη, λογιζομένοις ἀπὸ πολλοῦ καὶ ἱσχυροῦ
tοῦ καταφρονοῦντος ἐπιέναι γελᾶν οὕτως καὶ
παίξειν τῷ στρατηγῷ παρὰ τὸν κίνδυνον.

XVI. Ἔν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ στρατηγήμασιν ἐχρή-
σατο, πρῶτοι μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, ποιησά-
μενος κατὰ νώτου τὸν ἀνεμόν πρηστῆρι γὰρ
ἔοικὼς φλέγοντι κατερρήγυντο, καὶ τραχὺν ἐκ
πεδίων υφάμμων καὶ ἀναπετταμένων αἱρών κο-
νυρτόν ὑπὲρ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ
tοὺς Ἡρωμαίους ἑώθει, καὶ προσέβαλλε τοῖς
προσώποις ἀποστρεφομένοις καὶ συνταραττο-

1 εἶναι: Bekker corrects, after Schaefer, to εἶναι, 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 pleasantry to all who met them, so that great numbers were laughing heartily, and Hannibal's escort could not even recover themselves. The sight of this infused courage into the Carthaginians. They reasoned that their general must have a mighty contempt for the enemy if he laughed and jested so in the presence of danger.

XVI. In the battle Hannibal practiced a double strategy. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground to put the wind at his back. This wind came down like a fiery hurricane, and raised a huge cloud of dust from the exposed and sandy plains and drove it over the Carthaginian lines hard into the faces of the Romans, who turned away
2 μένοις. δευτέρω δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν τάξιν. ὦ γὰρ ἦν ἰσχυρότατον αὐτῷ καὶ μαχιμώτατον τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκατέρωσε τοῦ μέσου τάξις, τὸ μέσον αὐτῷ συνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἀχρειοτάτων, ἐμβόλω τούτω προέχοντι πολυ τῆς ἄλλης φάλαγγος χρησόμενος. εἰρητο δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις, ὅταν τούτους διακόψαντες οἱ Ῥωμαίοι καὶ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸ εἶκον ἐκφερομένου τοῦ μέσου καὶ κόλπων λαμβάνοντος ἑντὸς γένονται τῆς φάλαγγος, ὥστε ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιστρέψανται ἐμβαλεῖν τε πλαγίοις καὶ περὶ...

3 πτύσσειν ὀπίσθεν συγκλειόντας. ὁ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τὸν πλείστον ἀπεργάσασθαι φόνον. ὡς γὰρ ἐνέδωκε τὸ μέσον καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐδέξαντο διόκοντας, ἡ δὲ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μεταβαλοῦσα τὸ σχῆμα μυνοειδῆς ἐγενώμενος καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οἱ ταξιαρχοὶ ταχὺ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ἀσπίδια, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίναντες προσέποσαν κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, πάντας, ὅσοι μὴ τὴν κύκλωσιν ὑπεκκλίναντες ἐφθασαν, ἐν μέσῳ κατειργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν.

4 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἵππεύσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων σύμπτωμα παράλογον γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Παύλον, ὡς ἐοίκε, τρωθεὶς ὁ ἵππος ἀπεσείσατο, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον πεξὸς τῷ ὑπάτῳ προσῆμυνε. τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἱδοντες, ὡς παραγγέλματος κοινοῦ δεδομένου, πάντες ἀποπηδήσαντες πεξοῦν συνεπλέκοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἵδιν δὲ ὁ Ἀννίβας, "Τοῦτο," ἐφη, "μᾶλλον ἡβουλόμην ἢ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον." 5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας ἀπηγγέλκασι.
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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 horse-men saw this, supposing that a general order had been given, they all dismounted and engaged the enemy on foot. On seeing this, Hannibal said: "This is more to my wish than if they had been handed over to me in fetters." But such particulars as these may be found in the detailed histories of the war.

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

Τὸν δ' ὑπάτων ὁ μὲν Βάρρων ὀλιγοστὸς ἀφίππευσεν εἰς Οὐενουσίαν πόλιν, ὁ δὲ Παύλος ἐν τῷ βυθῷ καὶ κλύδων τῆς φυγῆς ἐκείνης βελῶν τε πολλῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς πραγμασίων ἐγκειμένων ἀνάπλεως, τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πένθει τοσοῦτο βαρυνόμενος, πρὸς τινὶ λίθῳ καθίστο, τὸν ἐπισφάζοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἀναμένουν. ἢν δὲ δ' ἀματος πλήθος, ὁ συνεπέφυρτο τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, οὐ πολλοῖς διάδηλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλοι καὶ θεράποντες αὐτόν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας παρῆλθον. μόνος δὲ Κορνήλιος Λέντλος, εὐπατρίδης νέος, ἰδὼν καὶ προνοήσαι ἀπεπήδηος τοῦ ὑπ'που, καὶ προσαγαγόν παρεκάλει χρήσθαι καὶ σώζειν αὐτὸν τοῖς πολίταις ἀρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ τότε μάλιστα χρή-7 ξοσιν. ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν ἀπετρίψατο τὴν δέοσιν, καὶ τὸ μετακινο ἁθις ἡνάγκασεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὕπτον ἀναβηίναι δακρύνων, εἶτα δὲ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ συνεξαναστάς, ἢ Ἀπαγγελλε, εἶπεν, ὃς Λέντε, Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ γενοῦ μάρτυς αὐτός, ὅτι Παύλος Λιμίλιος ἐνέμεινεν αὐτοῦ 1 τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀχρί τέλους καὶ τῶν ὁμολογηθέντων πρὸς ἐκείνου οὖν ἔλυσεν, ἀλλ' ἐνικήθη πρότερον ὑπὸ 8 Βάρρωνος, εἴθ' ὑπὸ Ἀνυίβο. τοσαῦτ' ἐπιστείλας τὸν μὲν Λέντλον ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ρήσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς φονευομένους ἀπέθανε. λέγονται δὲ πεσεῖν μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαιῶν πεντακισμύριοι, ξύντες δ' ἀλῶναι τετρακισθιλιοι, καὶ μετὰ τὴν μάχην οἱ ληφθέντες ἐπ' ἀμφότεροις τοῖς στρατοπέδοις μυρίῳς οὐκ ἐλάττους.

1 αὐτοῦ Coraës and Bekker, now with S: αὐτοῦ his own convictions. Cf. praeceptorum eius memorem, Livy, xxii. 49. 166
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.
XVII. Τὸν δ' Ἀννίβαν ἐπὶ τηλικούτῳ κατορθώματι τῶν φίλων παρορμώντων ἀμὴ ἐπεσθαί τῇ τῆς φυγῆς τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πεμπταῖον γάρ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ δειπνήσειν, οὐ ράδιον εἰπεῖν, ὡστε ἀπετρεψε λογισμὸς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον δαίμονις ἥθεοὺς τινως ἐμποδῶν στάντος ἐοικεν ἐργον ἦ πρὸς τοῦτο μέλλησις αὐτοῦ καὶ δειλίασις γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ Βάρκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον εἰπείν μετ' ὀργῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγουσι: "Σὺ νικᾷν οἶδας, νίκη δὲ χρήσθαι

περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν, ὡς πρὸ τῆς máχης ὑπὸ πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμπόριον, οὐ λιμένα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔχοντα, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ ὑπ' ἀρπαγῆς κομιζόμενον, ὀρμώμενον ἀπ' οὐνεδοῖς βεβηλοῦν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὡσπέρ ληστηρίῳ μεγάλῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλανώμενον καὶ περιφερόμενον, τότε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν ὑφ' αὐτῶ ποιήσαται τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν αὐτῶ προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσως, καὶ Καπύνη, ἢ μέγιστον ἔχει μετὰ Ῥώμην ἄξιωμα τῶν πόλεων, προσθεμένην κατέσχεν.

Οὐ μόνον δ' ἦν ἄρα τὸ φίλων πεῖραν λαβεῖν, ὡς Ἐὐριπίδης φησίν, όποι σμικρὸν κακὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ φρονίμων στρατηγῶν. ἡ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς máχης Φαβίου δείλια καὶ ψυχρότης ληγομένη μετὰ τὴν máχην εὔθυς οὐδ' ἀνθρώπινος ἐδόκει λογισμὸς, ἀλλὰ θεῖον τῷ χρήμα διανοίᾳ καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐκ τοσοῦτον τὰ μέλλοντα προορωμένης, ἢ 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 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." 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

1 Turn Maharbal: "Non omnia nimium eidem di dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis." Livy, xxii. 51.
πιστὰ πάσχουσιν. ὅθεν εὐθὺς εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἡ Ῥώμη συνενεγκούσα τὰς λοιπὰς ἐλπίδας, καὶ προσφυγοῦσα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὠσπερ ιερῶ καὶ βωμῷ, πρώτην καὶ μεγίστην αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ μεῖναι καὶ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τὴν ἐκείνου φρόσην, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς

Κελτικοῖς πάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν ὦς οὐδὲν ἐδοξεῖ δεινὸν εἶναι καιροῖς εὐλαβῆς φαινόμενος καὶ δυσέλπιστος τότε πάντων καταβεβληκότων ἐαυτοὺς εἰς ἀπέραντα πένθη καὶ παραχασ ἀπράκτους, μόνον ἑφοίτα διὰ τῆς πόλεως πρᾶξιν βαδίσματι καὶ προσώπῳ καθεστῶτι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ προσαγορεύσει, κοπετούς τε γυναικεῖος ἁφαίρων καὶ συστάσεις ἐγρυγὼν τῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπὶ κοινοῖς ὀδυρμοῖς ἐκφερομένων, βουλήν τε συνελθεῖν ἐπείσε καὶ παρεθάρσυνε τὰς ἁρχὰς, αὐτὸς ὁν καὶ ῥώμη καὶ δύναμις ἁρχῆς ἀπάσης πρὸς ἐκείνου ἀποβλεπούσης.

ΧVIII. Ταῖς μὲν ὀυν πῦλαις ἐπέστησε τοὺς τὸν ἐκπίπτοντα καὶ προλέιποντα τὴν πόλιν ὁχλον ἀπείροντας, πένθους δὲ καὶ τόπον καὶ χρόνον ὠρισε, κατ' οἰκίαν ὑποθρυμωνεὶ κελεύσας ἐθ ἱμέρας τριάκοντα τὸν Βουλόμενον· μετὰ δὲ ταύτας ἔδει πάν πένθος λύσθαι καὶ καθαρεύειν τῶν τοιούτων τὴν πόλιν. ἔορτῆς τε Δήμητρος εἰς τὰς ἱμέρας ἐκεῖνας καθηκούσης βέλτιον ἐφάνη παραλιπτεῖν ὅλως τὰς τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἡ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὀλυγότητι καὶ κατηφεία τῶν συνερχομένων ἐλέγχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ θείου ἱδέσθαι τιμῶμεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων. ὅσα μέντοι πρὸς ἱλασμοὺς θεῶν η τεράτων ἀποτροπὰς συνηγόρευν οἱ μάντεις ἐπράττετο· καὶ γὰρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμφθη θεοπρόπος Πίκτωρ, συγγενῆς

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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
Φαβίου, καὶ τῶν Ἐστιάδων παρθένων δύο διε- 
φθαρμένας εὑρόντες, τὴν μὲν, ώσπερ ἐστὶν έθος, 
ζώσαν κατώρυξας, ἥ δ' ύφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

4. Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις ἀγάσατο τὸ φρόνημα καὶ 
τὴν πραότητα τῆς πόλεως, ὅτε τοῦ ὑπάτου Βάρ-
ρωνος ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανύντος, ὡς ἂν τις 
αἰσχύστα καὶ δυσποτμότατα πεπραχός ἐπανίου, 
tαπεινοῦ καὶ κατηφοῦς, ἀπήνυτησεν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς 
πύλας ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπαν ἀσπαζο-
μενοι. οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει καὶ πρῶτοι τῆς γερουσίας, 
ἂν καὶ Φάβιος ἦν, ἰσυχίας γενομένης ἐπήνεσαν, 
ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ὅπως ἀπέγνω μετὰ δυστυχίαν 
τηλικαύτην, ἀλλὰ πάρεστιν ἅρξον ἔπε τὰ πράγ-
ματα καὶ χρησάμενος τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολύτατοι 
ὡς σώζεσθαι δυναμένοις.

XIX. Ἐπεὶ δ' Ἀννίβανεπύθουντομετὰ τὴν μάχην 
ἀποτετράβθαι πρὸς τὴν Ἑλλῆν Ἰταλίαν, ἀναθαρ-
ρήσαντες ἐξεπεμπον ἡγεμόνιας καὶ στρατεύματα. 
τούτων δ' ἐπιφανέστατοι Φάβιος τε Μάξιμος καὶ 
Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος ἤσαν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας 
σχεδὸν προαιρέσεως θαυμαζόμενοι παραπλησίως.

2. ο μὲν γὰρ, ώσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένοις 
eἰρητι, περιλαμπὲς τὸ δραστήριον ἔχων καὶ γαῦ-
ρον, ἀτε δὴ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα πλῆκτις ἄνηρ καὶ 
φύσει τοιούτος ὅπως οἶος "Ομήρος μάλιστα καλεῖ 
"φιλοποτέμους" καὶ "ἀγερώχους," ἐν τῷ παρα-
βολῷ καὶ ἱταμῷ καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα τολμῆσι καὶ 
τῶν Πρώτων ἄγονας. Φάβιος δὲ τῶν πρώτων 
ἐχόμενος λογισμὸν ἔκεινον ἡλπίζε μηδενὸς μαχο-
mένου μὴ ἐρεθίζοντος τῶν Ἀννίβαν αὐτὸν ἔπη-
consult the oracle at Delphi; and when two of the vestal virgins were found to have been corrupted, one of them was buried alive, according to the custom,¹ and the other slew herself.

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

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

¹ Cf. Numa, x. 4 ff. ² Chapter i.
καὶ κατατριβήσεσθαι περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, ὅσπερ ἀθλητικὸν σώματος τῆς δυνάμεως ὑπερτόνου γενομένης καὶ καταπόνου, ταχύτατα τὴν ἀκρίνη ἀποβαλόντα. διὸ τούτων μὲν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος φησὶ θυρεόν, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον ξίφος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλεῖσθαι, κηρυμένην δὲ τὴν Φαβίου βεβαιότητα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τῇ Μαρκέλλων συνθεία. ὁ δ’ Ἀινίβας τῷ μὲν ως ἰέντυ σφόδρα ποταμῷ πολλάκις ἀπαντῶν ἐσεῖτο καὶ παρεπρήγμυτο τῇ δύναμιν, ὥφ’ οὖ δὲ καὶ κατὰ μικρᾶν ὑπορρέουτος ἁγορυτῇ καὶ παρεμπίπτοντος ἐνδελεχῶς ὑπερειπόμενος καὶ δαπανώμενος ἐλάνθανε καὶ τελευτῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν κατέστη τοσαύτην ὡστε Μαρκέλλῳ μὲν ἀποκαμεῖν μαχόμενον, Φάβιον δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὴ μαχόμενον.

5 Ῥ γὰρ πλείστου, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τοῦ χρόνου τούτου διεπολέμησεν ἡ στρατηγοῦς ἡ ἄνθυπτάτοις ἡ υπάτους ἀποδεδειγμένους. εἰκάτερος γὰρ αὐτῶν πεντάκις υπάτευσεν, ἀλλὰ Μαρκέλλου μὲν υπατεύοντα τὸ πέμπτον ἐνέδρα περιβαλὼν ἐκείνε, Φαβίῳ δὲ πᾶσαν ἀπάτην καὶ διαίπειραν ἐπάγων πολλάκις οὐδὲν ἐπέρασεν, πλὴν ἀπάξ οἶλιγον πιαρακρουσά-

6 μενος ἐσφηλε τὸν ὤνδρα. συνθεὶς γὰρ ἐπιστολάς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ δυνατῶν καὶ πρώτων ἐπεμψε τρός τὸν Φαβίου, ὡς τῆς πόλεως ἐνδοθησομένης εἰ παραγένοιτο, καὶ τῶν τούτων πραττόντων ἐκείνου ἐλθεῖν καὶ φανῆναι πλησίον

1 συνθεία Bekker adopts συντυχία (rehehence), the suggestion of Coraës, based on Amyot.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

fought with him or harassed him, become his own worst enemy, wear himself out in the war, and speedily lose his high efficiency, like an athlete whose bodily powers have been overtaxed and exhausted. It was for these reasons, 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\(^1\); 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.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀναμενόντων. ταῦτ' ἐκίνησε τὸν Φάβιον τὰ γράμματα, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τὶς στρατιάς ἐμελλεν ὅρμησειν διὰ νυκτὸς· εἶτα χρησάμενος ὄρνισιν οὐκ αἰσίοις ἀπετράπη, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀννίβου δόλῳ συντεθέντα κάκεινος ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἂν τις εὐνοία θεόν ἀναθείη.

XX. Τὰς δ' ἀποστάσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῶν συμμάχων ὁ Φάβιος μᾶλλον ὀφεῖ δεῖν ἥπιος ὁμιλοῦτα καὶ πρᾶσις ἀνείργειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν, μὴ πᾶσαν ὑπόνουιαν ἑλέγχουντα καὶ χαλεπὸν ὅντα παντάπασι τοῖς υπόπτοις. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι στρατιώτην ἄνδρα Μάρσου, ἀνδρεία καὶ γένει τῶν συμμάχων πρῶτον, αἰσθόμενος διειλεγμένον τισι τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περὶ ἀποστάσεως οὐ διηρέθησεν, ἄλλ' ὁμολογήσας ἠμελήσθαι παρ' ἄξιαν αὐτὸν, νῦν μὲν ἐφ' ὑπὸ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰτιᾶσθαι πρὸς χάριν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὰς τιμὰς νέμοντας, ὑστερον δ' ἐκεῖνων αἰτιάσσεσθαι μὴ φρύζοντα μηδ' ἐντυγχάνοντα πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἰ τὸν δέοι. καὶ ταῦτ' εἶπὼν ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμιστὶς ἐδωρήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστείοις ἐκόσμησεν, ὥστε πιστότατον ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ προθυμότατον 3 εἶναι τὸν ἄνδρα. δεινῶν γὰρ ἡγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν ἰππικοὺς καὶ κυνηγητικοὺς ἐπιμελεῖ καὶ συνηθεῖα καὶ τροφῆς μᾶλλον ἢ μάστιξι καὶ κλοοδῃς τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν ξών καὶ τὸ θυμούμενον καὶ τὸ δυσκολαίνον ἐξαιρεῖν, τὸν δ' ἄνθρωπων ἄρχοντα μὴ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν χάριτε καὶ πραότητι τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τίθεσθαι, σκληρότερον δὲ προσ-176
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

XXI. Τὴν δὲ Ταραντίνων πόλιν ἐσχευ 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 έκ προδοσίας τόν τρόπον τούτον. έστρατεύετο παρ’ αυτῷ νεανίας Ταραντίνως έχων ἀδελφήν πιστῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοστόργως διακεμένην πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦρα δὲ ταύτης ἀνήρ Βρέττιος τῶν τεταγμένων ὑπ’ Ἀννίβου τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας. τοῦτο πράξεως ἐλπίδα τῷ Ταραντίνῳ παρέσχε, καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου συνειδότος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφείθη, λόγῳ δ’ ἀποδεδράκει πρὸς τὴν 2 ἀδελφήν εἰς Τάραντα. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦσαν, καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτόν ὁ Βρέττιος ἀνεπαύετο, λανθάνειν τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἰομένης ἐκείνης. ἔπειτα λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὃ νεανίας: “Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖ λόγος ἐφοίτα πολὺς ἀνδρὶ σε τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ μεγάλων συνεῖναι. τίς οὐτὸς ἔστιν; εἴ γὰρ ευδόκιμός τις, ὃς φασίν, ἄρετή καὶ λαμπρός, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζει γένους ὁ πάντα συμμιχύς πόλεμος: αἰσχρὸν δὲ μετ’ ἀνάγκης οὔδεν, ἀλλ’ εὐτυχία τις ἐν καιρῷ τὸ δίκαιον ἀσθενεῖς ἔχοντι πραστάτω χρήσασθαι τῷ βιαζο-3 μένῳ.” ἐκ τούτου μεταπέμπεται μὲν ἡ γυνὴ τὸν Βρέττιον καὶ γνωρίζει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ· ταχὺ δὲ συμπράττων τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκείνου καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον εὐνοῦν καὶ χειροβοσθη τῷ βαρβάρῳ παρέχειν δοκῶν τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἐσχε πιστῶς, ὡστε μὴ χαλέπως ἐρωτός ἀνθρώπου μισθοφόρου μεταστήσαι διάνοιαν ἐπ’ ἐλπίσει δωρεῶν μεγάλων, ἃς ἐπηγγέλλετο παρέξειν αὐτῷ τὸν Φαβίου.
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
deply 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 for-
tune, 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 γράφουσι περὶ τούτων ἐνυπὸ δὲ τὴν ἀνθρωπὸν ύφ᾽ Ὑς ὁ Βρέττιος μετήχθη, φασίν οὖν ΢αραντίνην, ἀλλὰ Βρέττιαν τὸ γένος οὖσαν, τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ παλακευμένην, ὡς ἤσθετο πολίτην καὶ γνώριμον ὡντα τῶν τῶν Βρεττίων ἄρχοντα, τῷ τε Φαβίῳ φράσας καὶ συνελθοῦσαν εἰς λόγους ὑπὸ τὸ τείχος ἐκπείζας καὶ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν.

ΧΧII. Πραπτομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ Φαβίος περισπάσαι τὸν 'Αννίβαν τεχνάζων ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐν 'Ρηγίῳ στρατιώταις τὴν Βρέττιαν καταδραμεῖν καὶ Καυνωνίαν ἐξελεῖν κατὰ κράτος στρατοπεδεύσαντας, ὁκτακισχίλιοι οὖντας, αὐτομόλους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου κεκομισμένων ἀτίμων τοὺς ἀχρηστοτάτους καὶ μετ᾽ ἐλαχίστης τῇ πόλει λύπης καὶ 2 βλάβης ἀπολουμένους. ἦλπιζε γὰρ τούτους προέμενος τῷ 'Αννίβα καὶ δελεάσας ἀπάξειν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σαραντοῦ· καὶ καὶ συνέβαινεν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκεῖ διώκων ὁ 'Αννίβας ἐρρήνη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἠμέρα δ᾽ ἐκτῆ τοὺς ΢αραντίνους τοῦ Φαβίου περιστρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ προδειλεγμένος τῷ Βρέττῳ μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς νεανίσκος ἦκε νύκτωρ πρὸς αὐτῶν, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθεωρακῶς τὸν τόπον ἐφ᾽ οὖ ὑπαφυλάττων ὁ Βρέττιος εἰμελλὼν ἐνδώσειν καὶ παρῆσειν τοῖς 3 προσβάλλουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς γε τῆς προδοσίας ἐξήρθησεν ὁ Φαβίος τὴν πράξειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτῶς μὲν ἐκεῖσε παρελθὼν ἰσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἡ δ᾽ ἄλλη στρατιὰ προσέβαλλε τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀμα, ποιοῦσα πολλὴν κραυγὴν
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 θόρυβον, ἀχρὶ οὗ τῶν πλείστων Ταραντίνων ἐκεῖ βοηθοῦντο καὶ συμφερομένων τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν ἐσήμνη τῷ Φαβίῳ τὸν καίρον ὁ Βρέττιος, καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβὰς ἐκράτησε τῆς πολεως.

4 'Ενταῦθα μέντοι δοκεῖ φιλοτιμίας ἣττων γενέσθαι τοὺς γὰρ Βρεττίους πρώτους ἀποσφάττειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ προδοσίᾳ τὴν πόλιν ἔχουν φανερὸς γένοιτο, καὶ ταύτης τε διήμαρτε τῆς δόξης καὶ διαβολὴν ἀπιστίας προσέλαβε καὶ ὁμοτητος. ἀπέθανον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων οἱ δὲ πραθέντες ἐγένοντο τρισμύριοι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡ στρατιὰ διήρπασεν ἀνηνέχθη δ’

5 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τρισχίλια τάλαντα. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων λέγεται τὸν γραμματέα πυθέσθαι τοῦ Φαβίου περὶ τῶν θεῶν τί κελεύει, τὰς γραφὰς οὕτω προσαγορεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρίαντας τὸν οἶνον Φάβιον εἰπεῖν "Ἀπολείπωμεν τοὺς θεοὺς Ταραντίνους κεχολωμένους." οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τὸν κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἑρακλέους μετακομίσας ἐκ Τάραντος ἐστησεν ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ πλησίον ἐφιπτον εἰκόνα χαλκῆν έαυτοῦ, πολὺ Μαρκέλλου φανείς ἀποπώτερος περὶ ταύτα, μάλλον δ’ ὅλως ἔκεινον ἀνδρὰ πραστητὶ καὶ φιλανθρωπία θαυμαστὸν ἀποδείξας, ὥσ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

XXIII. Ἀνυίβαν δὲ λέγεται διώκοντα τεσσαράκοντα μόνοις ἀπολειφθῆναι στάδιοις, 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 praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus, xxvii. 16. Fabius killed the people but spared their gods; Marcellus spared the people but took their gods.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

фαυερώς μὲν εἶπεῖν "'Ην ἄρα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Ἀν-
νίβας τις ἐτερος· ἀπεβάλομεν γὰρ τὴν Ταραν-
τίνων πόλιν ὡσπερ ἐλέβομεν," ἵδια δὲ τότε πρῶ-
tον αὐτῷ παραστήναι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεῖν, ὡς
πάλαι μὲν ἔφρα χαλεπῶν αὐτοῖς, νῦν δ' ἀδύνατον

2 κρατεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων Ἰταλίας. τούτων
dεύτερον θρίαμβον ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρότερον
tοῦ προτέρου Φάβιος, ὡσπερ ἄθλητὴς ἀγαθὸς
ἐπογωινιζόμενος τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ ραδίως ἀπολυο-
μενος αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις, ὡσπερ ἄμματα καὶ
λαβᾶς οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχουσας τόνον. η μὲν
γὰρ ἀνείτο τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶν διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ
πλούτον, ἡ δ' ὡσπερ εξήμβλυντο καὶ κατατέ-
τριπτο τοῖς ἀλωφήτοις ἀγῶσιν.

3 Ἡν δὲ Μάρκος Λίβιος, οὗ τῶν Τάραντα φρου-
ρούντος ὅ Ἀννίβας ἀπέστησεν ὁμοίς δὲ τῆν ἀκραν
κατέχων οὐκ ἐξεκρούθη, καὶ διεφύλαξεν ἄχρι
tοῦ πάλιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι τοὺς Ταραντί-
νους. τούτων ἦν Φάβιος τιμώμενος, καὶ ποτε
πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας
ἐξενεχθεῖς εἶπεν ὡς οὐ Φάβιος, ἀλλ' αὐτῶς αἴτιος
γένοιτο τοῦ τῆν Ταραντίνων ἀλῶναί. γελάσας
οὐν ο Φάβιος, "Ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ
γὰρ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἔγω παρέ-
λαβον."

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τά τ' ἄλλα τῷ Φαβίῳ
προσεφέροντο λαμπρῶς, καὶ τοῦ νιὸν αὐτοῦ Φα-
βίου ἀνέδειξαν ὑπατον. παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν
ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διοικοῦντος τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν
πόλεμον ὁ πατὴρ, εἰτε διὰ γῆρας 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 hugs and grips no longer had their old time vigour. For his forces were partly enervated by luxury and wealth,¹ and partly blunted, as it were, and worn out by their unremitting struggles.

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

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

¹ In 216-215 B.C. Hannibal made the opulent city of Capua his winter quarters. ² 213 B.C.
eīte diaphereōmenos toû païdōs, anakás èf' įππουν
prosēi diâ tôwn éntyugxanóntwv kai periustwton.
ò dè neanías kathîdan pórrwothen ouk ãnē̂scēto,
pémpsas ò' ùpìrēτhν ekélēuse katabbhîai tôu
patēra kai di' autōûn proselðeîn, eî ðî tî tunghx-
2 neî tîs árchiâs deómenos. kai tōûs mèn álloûs
yniaste è toû építâgma, kai siwþpî pròs tônu Fâbiov
ôs anakîa ñâqchonta tîs dô̂zheîs ápëblefâvne
autōs ò' ekeînos ápophîðhâs kata tâxos, ðâttou
h bâðn pròs tônu vîôn èpeichheîs, kai periulâw
kai âspasâmeneîs, "Èv ge," eîpeîn, "ò paî, froy-
neîs kai prâttieîs, aîsthômenos tînou árcheîs kai
pîlikhîs mègeðhos âneîlîfhas árchiâs. ouîw kai
îmêîs kai òi prôgonoî tîn 'Rômhn ã̃xîsâmeneîn, èn
deu térêw kai gôneîs kai paîdâs ãèî tôw tîs pâtâri-
dos kalôwnt tiðemênu." 3

Lêgetai ò' wôs âlθhôs tôu Fâbiov tôu prò-
pañpou èn dô̂zhe kai dûnâmeî megîstt'h 'Rômâiôn
ge nómenon pevtâkis mèn autôun ùpatausai kai
ôriámboous êk polèmow megîstwv èptifanestatou
katagygeîn, ùpatausînte ò' vîô prèsebeuçtîn sâv-
eçeltheîn épî tôw polèmou, èn dè tôiôôriámbo
 tôw mèn eîsekalûnéen épî teðrîpþpo, tôu dî' ðîpou
èxounta metâ tôw álloûn èpakołountheîn, âgâl-
lâmēnen òti tôu mèn vîôû kûrios, tôw dè poûtōw
mègîstos kai òn kai prôsaγoreuômenos, ðûsteron
autôn tôu nómu kai tôu árchoûtos tîðhseîn.
ãlîlâ gâp ekeînos ouk àpô tôûtwv móôn ðau-
masthôs ãn.
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."  

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, 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, satinscires consulem te esse." Livy, xxiv. 44
2 292 B.C.
Τοῦ δὲ Φάβιον τὸν νῦν ἀποθανεῖν συνέβη; καὶ τὴν μὲν συμφορὰν ὡς ἀνήρ τε φρόνιμος καὶ πατήρ χρηστὸς ἤγεγκε μετριώτατα, τὸ δ’ ἐγκώμιον, δ’ ταῖς ἐκκομιδαῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ προσήκοντες ἐπιτελοῦσιν, αὐτὸς εἶπε καταστάς ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ γράψας τὸν λόγον ἑξέδωκεν.

XXV. 'Επεὶ δὲ Σκητῶν Κορυνίλιος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν πεμφθεὶς Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐξῆλασε μάχαις πολλαῖς κρατήσας, ἐθνὶ δὲ πάμπολλα καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας καὶ πράγματα λαμπρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κτησάμενοι εὔνοιαν εἰχε καὶ δόξαν ἐπανελθὼν ὅσην ἄλλος οὐδείς, ὑπατὸς δὲ κατασταθεὶς καὶ τὸν δήμου αἰσθόμενος μεγάλην ἀπαιτοῦντα καὶ προσ-

2 δεχόμενον πράξειν αὐτοῦ, τὸ μὲν αὐτόθι συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς Ἀινύβαν ἀρχαίον ἥγεϊτο Λίαν καὶ πρεσβυτικὸν, αὐτὴν δὲ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Λιβύην εὐθὺς ἐμπλήσας ὁπλῶν καὶ στρατευμάτων διενοεῖτο πορθεὶν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκεῖ μεθιστάναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο παντὶ τῷ θυμῷ συνεξώρμα τὸν δήμου, ἐνταύθα δὴ Φάβιος ἐπὶ πᾶν δέους ἄγων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς ἀνοίγοι καὶ νέου φερομένη εἰς τὸν ἐσχατὸν καὶ μέγιστον κύνδυ-

3 νοῦν, οὔτε λόγου φειδόμενος οὔτ’ ἑργον δοκοῦντος ἀποτρέψειν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν μὲν βουλὴν ἐπείσε, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ διὰ φθόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ Σκητῶνος εὐμεροῦντος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ δεδεῖναι, μη τι μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξεργασαμένου καὶ τὸν πόλεμον Ἡ παντάπασιν ἀνελόντος ἡ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντος

1 αὐτοῦ Bekker corrects to παρ’ αὐτοῦ.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

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

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

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

4 Ἐοικε δ' ὀρμήσαι μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Φάβιος πρὸς τὸ ἀντιλέγειν ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ προνοίας, μέγαν ὄντα δεδιώς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐντείναν δὲ πως μᾶλλον ἐαυτὸν καὶ πορρωτέρω προσχήναι φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ, κωλύων τῶν Σκηπτίων τὴν αὐξήσιν, ὅσ γε καὶ Κράσσου ἐπείθε, τὸν συνυπατεύοντα τῷ Σκηπτίῳ, μὴ παρείναι τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδ' ὑπείκειν, ἀλλ' αὐτόν, εἰ δόξειν, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνιονς περαιοῦνθαι, καὶ χρήματα δοθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ εἴσασε. χρήματα μὲν οὖν Σκηπτίων ἐαυτῷ πορίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ἥγειρε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων ἰδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκεῖως διακειμένων καὶ χαριζομένων Κράσσου δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡ φύσις οὐκ ὄντα φιλόνεικον, ἀλλὰ πρᾶσσει, οἰκοι κατεῖχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ νόμοι θείος ιερωσύνην ἔχοντα τὴν μεγίστην.

XXVI. Αὐθίς οὖν καθ' ἐτέραν ὀδὸν ἅπαντῶν ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Σκηπτίῳ κατεκώλυε τοὺς ὀρμομένους αὐτῷ συστρατεύοσθαι τῶν νέων καὶ κατείχεν, ἐν τῇ ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις βοῶν ὡς οὐκ αὐτὸς Ἀννίβαν ἀποδιδράσκοι μόνος ὁ Σκηπτίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκπλεόν λαβῶν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δημαγωγῶν ἐλπίζει τοὺς νέους καὶ ἀναπείθεων ἀπολυπτεῖν γονίας καὶ γυναικῶς καὶ πόλεων, ὡς ἐν θύραις ἐπικρατῶν καὶ ἀνήρτητος ὁ πολέμιος κάθηται. καὶ μέντοι ταῦτα 2 λέγων ἐφόβησε τοὺς Ρωμαίους, καὶ μόνος αὐτὸν ἐψηφίσαντο χρήσθαι τοῖς ἐν Σικελίᾳ στρατεύμασι

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

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

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

'Επεὶ δὲ Σκηπίωνος εἰς Λιβύην διαβάντος εὐθὺς ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ πράξεις ὑπερήφανοι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπηγγέλλοντο, καὶ μαρτυροῦντα ταῖς φήμαις εἴπετο λάφυρα πολλά, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Νομάδων αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ δύο στρατοπέδων ὑφ᾽ ἐνα καιρὸν ἐμπρήσεις καὶ φθορὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶν δὲ ὀπλῶν καὶ ἑπτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς συγκατακεκαμένων, καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ἐπέμποντο παρὰ Καρχηδονίων καλούντων καὶ δεομένων ἑάυτα τὰς ἀτελείς ἐκείνας ἐλπίδας οἴκαδε βοηθεῖν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμη πάντων ἔχοντων τὸν Σκηπίώνα διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, Φάβιος ἦξιον πέμπεσθαι Σκηπίωνι διάδοχον, ἀλλην μὲν οὐκ ἔχων πρόφασιν, εἰπὼν δὲ τὸ μημονεύομεν, ὡς ἐπισφαλές ἐστὶ πιστεύειν ἄνδρος ἐνὸς τύχῃ τηλικαῦτα πράγματα, χαλεπών γὰρ ἀεὶ εὐτυχεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν, οὗτο προσέκρουσεν ἡδὴ πολλοῖς, ὡς δύσκολος ἄνηρ καὶ βάσκανοι ἢ πάμπαν ὑπὸ γῆρως ἀτομὸς γεγονὼς καὶ δύσελπις, περαιτέρω τε τοῦ μετρίου κατατεθαμβημένος τὸν Ἀννίβαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκπλεύσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξ Ἰταλίας εἶσε τὸ χαῖρον καὶ τεθαρρηκός τῶν πολιτῶν ἄθορυβον καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ τὸτε δὴ μάλιστα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει θεοῦση παρὰ τὸν ἐσχατὸν κίνδυνον ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν ἐλεγε...
men who had been with him in Spain,—men who had served him faithfully. In this course, at any rate, Fabius seems to have been influenced by his own cautious temper.

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

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1 204 B.C.  
2 Cf. Livy, xxx. 19.  
3 203 B.C.
BARÔTERON γὰρ ἐν Διβύῃ πρὸ Καρχηδόνος αὐτοῖς Ἀννίβαν ἐμπεσεῖσθαι, καὶ στρατὸν ἀπαντήσειν Σκητίων πολλῶν ἐτὶ θερμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων αἵματι καὶ δικτατόρων καὶ ὑπάτων ὡστε τὴν πόλιν αὔθεις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀναταράτ- τεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μεθεστῶτος εἰς Διβύνην ἐγγυτέρῳ τῇς 'Ῥώμης οἰεσθαι γεγονέναι τὸν φόβον.

XXVII. Α' Ἀλλὰ Σκητίων μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνου αὐτὸν τε νικήσας μάχῃ κατὰ κράτος Ἀννίβαν καὶ καταβαλῶν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ κατα- πατήσας τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὑποτεσσούσης, ἀπέδωκε μείζονα χαράν ἀπάσης ἐλπίδας τοῖς πολῖταις, καὶ τὴν ἤγερμονίαν ὡς ἄληθῶς "πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθείσαν ὄρθωσε πάλιν."1 Φάβιος δὲ Μάξιμος οὐ διήρκεσε τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, οὐδὲ ἦκουσεν Ἀννίβαν ἡττημένον, οὐδὲ τὴν μεγά- λην καὶ βέβαιον εὐτυχίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἐπείδειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὃν χρόνον Ἀννίβας ἀπῆρεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας

2 νόσῳ καμὼν ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἐπαμεινόνδαν μὲν οὖν Θηβαίοι δημοσία διὰ πενίαν, ἢν ἀπέλιπον ὁ ἀνήρ, ἔθαψαν οὖν δὲ γὰρ οἰκεῖοι τελευτήσαντος εὑρεθῆναι πλὴν ὢβελίσκον σιδηροῦν λέγουσιν: Φάβιον δὲ ᾽Ῥωμαῖοι δημοσία μὲν οὐκ ἐκιδεέσαν, ιδία δ' ἐκάστου τὸ σμικρότατον αὐτῷ τῶν νομισμάτων ἐπενεγκόμενον, οὐχ ὡς δὲ ἐνδείαν προσαρκοῦντος, ἀλλ' ὡς πατέρα τοῦ δήμου θάπτοντος, ἔσχε τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ πρέποσαν.

1 πολλῷ . . . πάλιν with Bekker, as adapted from (theol) πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισαντες ὄρθωσαν πάλιν, Sophocles, Antigone, 163. Sintenis corrected ὄρθωσα τὸ ὄρθωσεν, after Coraës, and printed the whole as an iambic trimeter verse.
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. Epaminondas, it is true, was buried by the Thebans at the public cost, because of the poverty in which he died, for it is said that nothing was found in his house after his death except a piece of iron money. Fabius, however, was not buried by the Romans at the public charge, but each private citizen contributed the smallest coin in his possession, not because his poverty called for their aid, but because the people felt that it was burying a father, whose death thus received honour and regard befitting his life.

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΑΒΙΟΥ ΜΑΞΙΜΟΥ
ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΙΣ

I. Οἱ μὲν οὖν βίοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοιαύτην ἐχοσιν ἱστορίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς ἁρετῆς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ παραδείγματα καταλειπόσαντοι ἀμφότεροι, φέρε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον λάβωμεν, ὅτι Περικλῆς μὲν ἁριστα πράττοντι τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ καθ’ αὐτὸν ὄντι καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς δύναμιν ἀκμάζοντι χρώμενος ὑπὸ κοινῆς ἄν δόξειν εὐτυχίας καὶ ρώμης πραγμάτων ἡμαθής διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἀπταίστος, αἱ δὲ Φάβιον πράξεις ἐν αἰσχίστοις καὶ δυσποτοματοῖς καίροις ἀναδεξαμένου τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἔπει ἀγαθοὶς ἁραλὴς διετήρησαν, ἀλλ’ ἕκ κακῶν εἰς βελτίων μετέστησαν. καὶ Περικλεῖ μὲν αἱ Κύμωνος εὐπραξίας καὶ τὰ Μυρωνίδος καὶ τὰ Λεοκράτους τρόπαια καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα Τολμίδης κατορθῶν ἐνεορτάσαι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμπανηγυρίσαι στρατηγοῦντι τὴν πόλιν ἡ κτήσασθαι πολέμῳ καὶ φυλάξαι παρέδωκαν. Φάβιος δ’ ὀρῶν πολλὰς μὲν φυγὰς καὶ ἠττας, πολλοὺς δὲ θανάτους καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ στρατηγῶν, λίμνας δὲ καὶ πεδία καὶ ὅρμους νεκρῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθοντας, αἵματι δὲ καὶ φόνῳ ποταμοὺς ἄχρι θαλάττης ἰέοντας, ἐν τῷ καθ’ έαυτὸν ὁρμωμένον καὶ βεβηκότι τὴν πόλιν ἀντι- Λιμβανομένοις καὶ ύπερείδων, οὐκ εἰσασε τοῖς

1 ὁρμωμένῳ Bekker corrects to ἤρμοσμένῳ (attempered), after Coraës.

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COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS

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
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἐκείνων ὑποφερομένη πταῖσμασι τελέως ἐκχύθηναι. καίτοι δόξειεν ἀν οὐχ οὔτω χαλεπῶν εἶναι πόλιν ἐν συμφοραῖς μεταχειρίσασθαι ταπείνην καὶ τοῦ φρουροῦντος ὑπ' ἀνάγκης κατήκουν γενομένην, ὥς δὲ εὐτυχίαν ἐπηρμένῳ καὶ σπαργάτῳ τῷ δήμῳ χαλινὸν ἐμβαλεῖν ύβρεως καὶ θρασύτητος· ὅ δὲ μάλιστα φαίνεται τρόπῳ Περικλῆς 'Ἀθηναίων περιγενόμενος. ἀλλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμπεσόντων τότε κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἵσχυρόν τινα τὴν γνώμην καὶ μέγαν ἔδειξεν ἀνύπα καὶ συγχυθέντα μηδὲ προέμενον τοὺς αὐτοῦ λογισμοὺς.

II. Καὶ Σάμῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους ἀλούσῃ τὴν Τάραντος ἐστὶ κατάληψιν ἀντίδειναι, καὶ νὴ Δῆ Ἕνβοια τὰς περὶ Καμπανίαν πόλεις· ἐπεὶ αὐτὴν γε Καπύνη οἱ περὶ Φοῦλβιον καὶ Ἀππιον ὑπατοὶ κατέσχον. ἐκ δὲ παρατάξεως Φάβιος οὖ φαίνεται μάχῃ νευκηκως πλήν ἀφ' ἕς τῶν πρῶτον εἰσήλασε θρίαμβον, Περικλῆς δ' ἐννέα τρόπαια κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐστησεν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. οὐ μὴν λέγεται τοιαῦτη πράξις Περικλέους, οἰον ἔστραξε Φάβιος Μινυκίου ἐκαρπάσας Ἀντίβου καὶ διασώσας ἐντελές στρατόπεδον 'Ῥωμαιῶν· καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔργον καὶ κοινὸν ἁνδρείας ὑμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ χρηστότητος· φόσπορ αὐν πῶλιν οὐδὲ σφάλμα λέγεται Περικλέους οἰον ἐσφάλῃ Φάβιος διὰ τῶν βοῶν καταστρατηγηθῆς ὑπ' Ἀντίβου, λαβῶν μὲν αὐτομάτως καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὑπελθόντα τοῖς στενοῖς τὸν πολέμιον, προέμενος δὲ νυκτὸς λαθόντα καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν βιασάμενον καὶ φθάσαντα μέλλοντος καὶ κρατή-

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

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

1 Cf. chapter ii. 1.
3 σαντα συλλαβόντος. εἰ δὲ δεῖ μή μόνον χρῆσθαι τοῖς παρόσιν, ἄλλα καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀρθῶς τῶν ἁγαθῶν στρατηγών, Ἄθηναίοις μὲν ὡς Περικλῆς προέγνω καὶ προείπεν ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πόλεμος: πολυπραγμονοῦντες γὰρ ἀπώλεσαν τὴν δύναμιν. Ἡρώδαιοι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Φάβιον λογισμοὺς ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους Σκηπίωνα πάντων ἐκράτησαν, οὐ τύχῃ, σοφία δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἄνδρεια κατὰ κράτος νυκτίσαντος τοὺς πολέμιους. ὃστε τῷ μὲν τὰ πταισματα τῆς πατρίδος μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι καλῶς ἔγνω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἐσφαλμένον. ἦσθι δ' ἁμαρτία στρατηγοῦ κακῶς περιπεσεῖν μὴ προσδοκήσαντα καὶ κατορθώματος καρδῶν ἀπιστία προέσθαι. μία γὰρ, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἀπειρίᾳ καὶ θράσος γεννᾷ καὶ θάρσος ἀφαιρεῖται. ταῦτα περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν.

III. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας μέγα μὲν ἐγκλημα τοῦ Περικλέους ὁ πόλεμος. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπακτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου γενέσθαι Δακεδαιμονίως ἐρίσαντος μὴ ἐνδοῦναι. δοκῶ δὲ μὴ ἂν Φάβιον Μάξιμον ἐνδοῦναι τι Καρχηδονίως, ἀλλ' εὐγενῶς ὑποστήναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κίνδυνον. ἢ μέντοι πρὸς Μινούκιον ἐπιείκεια τοῦ Φάβιου καὶ πραότης ἐλέγχει τὸν πρὸς Κύμωνα καὶ Θουκυδίδην στασιασμόν, ἄνδρας ἁγαθούς καὶ ἀριστο-
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' ἦ γε δύναμις μείζον ἦ τοῦ
Περικλέους καὶ τὸ κράτος. οθὲν οὐδ' ἄλλον εἰάσεν ἐνδυστυχῆσαι τῇ πόλει κακῶς βουλευ-
σάμενον στρατηγὸν, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνος αὐτὸν ἐκφυγὼν
Τολμίδης καὶ διωσάμενος βιὰ προσέπτασε Λοιπο-
τοῖς: οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσετίθεντο καὶ κατεκοσμοῦντο
πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ὑπὸ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ
3 τῆς δυνάμεως. Φάβιος δὲ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῆς
ὁν καὶ ἀναμάρτητος τῷ πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἑτέρους
ἀνυνάτῳ φαίνεται λειτομένος. οὐ γὰρ ἀν το-
σαῦταις συμφοραῖς ἐχρῆσαντο 'Ρωμαίοι Φαβίου
παρ' αὐτοῖς ὅσον 'Ἀθήνησι Περικλέους δυνη-
θέντος.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν γε πρὸς χρῆματα μεγαλοφροσύνην
ὁ μὲν τῷ μηδὲν λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν διδότων, ὥ δὲ
tῷ προέσθαι πολλὰ τοῖς δεσμένοις ἐπεδείξατο,
λυσάμενος τοῖς ἱδίοις χρήμασι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.
4 πλὴν τούτων μὲν οὐ πολὺς ᾄν ἄριθμός, ἀλλ' ὅσον
ἐξ τάλαντα: Περικλῆς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἱσσος εἴποι τις
ὁσα καὶ παρὰ συμμάχους καὶ βασιλέων ὥφελει-
σθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι παρόν, τῆς δυνάμεως
διδοῦσι, ἀδωρότατον ἔαυτον καὶ καθαρώτατον
ἐφύλαξεν.

5 Ἔργων γε μὴν μεγέθεσι καὶ ναῦν καὶ κατα-
σκευαὶς οἰκοδομημάτων, ἐξ ὧν ἐκόσμησεν ὁ
Περικλῆς τὰς 'Ἀθήνας, οὐκ ἄξιον ὡμοῦ πάντα τὰ
πρὸ τῶν Καισάρων φιλοτιμήματα τῆς 'Ῥώμης
παραβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξοχὸν τι πρὸς ἐκείνα καὶ
ἀσύγκριτον ἦ τούτων ἐσχὲ μεγαλουργία καὶ
μεγαλοπρέπεια τὸ πρωτεῖον.

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COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS

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.
NIKIAΣ

I. Ἐπεὶ δοκεύμεν οὐκ ἀτόπως τῷ Νίκια τὸν Κράσσον παραβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ Παρθικὰ παθήματα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς, ὥρα παρατείσθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς συγγράμμασι τούτοις, ὅπως ἐπὶ ταῖς διηγήσεσιν αἰς Θουκυδίδης, αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ ταῦτα παθητικῶτατος, ἐναργέστατος, ποικιλώτατος γενόμενος, ἀμιμήτως ἐξενήνυχε, μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ὑπολάβωσιν

2 πεπονθέναι Τιμαίῳ πάθος ὁμοίον, ὅς ἐλπίσας τὸν μὲν Θουκυδίδην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι δεινότητι, τὸν δὲ Φίλιστον ἀποδείξειν παντάπασι φορτικοῦ καὶ ἰδιώτην, διὰ μέσων ὦθεται τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν μάλιστα κατωρθωμένων ἐκείνως ἀγώνων καὶ ναυμαχιῶν καὶ δημηγορίῶν, οὐ μὰ Δία

παρὰ Λύδιον ἁρμα πεζὸς οἰχνεύων

ὡς φησὶ Πινδαρός, ἀλλ' ὅλως τις ὄψιμαθῆς καὶ μειρακιώδης φαινόμενος ἐν τούτοις, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δίψιλον

παχὺς, ὄνθυλευμένος στέατι Σικελικῷ,

3 πολλαχοῦ δ' ὑπορρέων εἰς τὸν Ἐνάρχου, ὡσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἰωνίων ἡγήσασθαι γεγονέναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔχοντα τοῦνομα

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NICIAS

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

"By Lydian car a footman slowly plodding,"
to use Pindar's comparison,¹ nay rather, a perfect example of senile learning and youthful conceit, and, in the words of Diphilus,

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

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


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στρατηγὸν ἀντειπόντα πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ τῇ περικοπῇ τῶν Ἑρμών προσημαίνειν αὐτοῖς τὸ δαίμόνιον, ὡς ὑπὸ Ἑρμοκράτους τοῦ Ἑρμῶνος πλείστα πεισοῦντα παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον. ἔτι δὲ εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἱπακλέα τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις βοήθειν διὰ τὴν Κόρην, παρ' ἦς ἐλαβε τὸν Κέρβερον, ὡργίζοντας δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὦτι τοὺς Αἰγεστέας, ἀπογόνους ὄντας Τρώων, ἔσωξον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ Λαομέδοντος ἀδικηθεὶς ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ἀλλὰ τούτω μὲν ἵσως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας ταύτα τε γράφειν ἐπηεὶ καὶ τὴν Φιλίστον διάλεκτον εὐθύνειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην λοιδορεῖσθαι· ἐμοὶ δ' ὅλως μὲν ἡ περὶ λέξειν ἀμιλλα καὶ ζηλοτυπία πρὸς ἐτέρους μικροπρεπὲς φαίνεται καὶ σοφιστικόν, ἀν δὲ πρὸς τὰ 5 ἀμίμητα γίγνηται, καὶ τελέως ἀναισθητον. ἃς γοῦν Θουκυδίδης ἐξήνεγκε πράξεις καὶ Φιλιστος, ἐπεὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἐστι, μάλιστα γε δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν καλυπτομένην περιεχούσας, ἐπιδραμῶν βραχέως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἴνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελῆς δοκῶ καὶ ἀργὸς εἶναι, τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡφ' ἐτέρων δ' εἰρημένα σποράδῃν ἢ πρὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἢ ψφήσμασιν εὐρημένα παλαιοῖς πεπείραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἄχρηστον ἀθροίζων ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανόησιν ἡθοὺς καὶ τρόπον παραδίδονυ.
NICIAS

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

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

1 See chapter xiii. 2.
II. Ἐνεστὶν οὖν περὶ Νικίαν πρῶτον εἰπεῖν ὁ γεγραφεῖν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι πρεσὶ ἐγένοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικὴν ἑχοντες εὐνοιαν καὶ φιλιὰν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ Μελησίον καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ Ἀγνωνος, ήττον δὲ οὗτος ἐκεῖνος καὶ γὰρ εἰς δυσγένειαν ὡς ξένους ἐκ Κέω λελοιδόρηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον, ἀλλὰ ἐπαμφοτερίζον ἄει τῇ προ-
2 αιρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκλήθη Κόθορνος. ἐκείνων δὲ πρεσβύτερος μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἦν, καὶ πολλά καὶ Περικλεῖ δημαγωγοῦντι τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν προϊστάμενον ἀντεπολιτεύσατο, νεώτερος δὲ Νικίας γενόμενος ἦν μὲν ἐν τινι λόγῳ καὶ Περικλέους ἵνωτος, ὡστε κάκεινο συστατηγήσαι καὶ καθ' αὐτὸν ἄρξαι πολλάκις, Περικλέους δ' ἀποδανώτος εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προῆχθη, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ γνωρίμων, ἀντίταγμα ποιομένων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Κλέωνος βδελυρίαν καὶ τὸλμαν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δῆμον εἶχεν εὐνοι καὶ συμφιλοτιμοῦμενον.
3 Ἰσχυε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κλέων μέγα "γερονταγωγῶν κάναμισθαρνεῖν διδοῦς," ὡμως δὲ καὶ τὴν πλεονε-
ξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἱταμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος ὁ ἀρωντες αὐτοὶ οἰς πρὸς χάριν ἐπραττεν, οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἐπήγγοντο. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αὐστηρὸν

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.
\(^4\) An iambic trimeter from an unknown comic poet (Kock, Com. Att. Fray., iii. p. 400).
οὐδ’ ἐπαχθὲς ἄγαν αὐτοῦ τὸ σεμνὸν, ἀλλ’ εἰλα.

βεία τινὶ μεμυγμένον αὐτῷ τῷ δεδιέναι δοκοῦντι

tοὺς πολλοὺς δημαγωγοῦν. τῇ φύσει γὰρ ὅν ἀθαρσίας καὶ δύσελπις, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀπέκρυπτεν εὐτυχία τὴν δειλίαν· κατώρθοι γὰρ ὀμαλῶς στρατηγῶν: τὸ δ’ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ὕφο.

dεῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συνοφάντας εὐθορύβητον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικὸν ἐδόκει, καὶ δύναμιν ὑπὸ μικ.

ραν ἀπ’ εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου παρεῖχε τῷ δεδιέναι τοὺς ὑπερορῶντας, αὐξεῖν δὲ τοὺς δεδιότας. τοὺς γὰρ πολλοῖς τιμὴ μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν μειζόνων τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖθαν.

III. Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τε ἄρετῆς ἀληθείας καὶ λόγου δυνάμεως τὴν πόλιν ἄγων οὐδενὸς ἐδείτο σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὀχλον οὐδὲ πιθανότητος, Νικίας δὲ τούτοις μὲν λειτομένος, οὐσία δὲ προέ.

χων, ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐδημαγόγηε. καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος εὐχερεία καὶ βωμολοχία πρὸς ἡδονὴν μεταχειρ.

ζομένη τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τῶν ὀμοίων ἀντιπαρ.

eξάγειν ἀπίθανος ὅν, χορηγίαις ἀνελάμβανε καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις ἐτέραις τε τοιαύταις φιλοτιμίαις τὸν δήμου, ὑπερβαλλόμενος πολυτελείᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀπαντᾶς.

3 εἰστήκην δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τὸ τε Παλλάδιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσοςιν ἀποβεβληκός, καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν
The dignity of Nicias was not of the harsh, offensive sort, but was blended with much circumspection, and won control of the people from the very fact that he was thought to be afraid of them. Timid as he was by nature, and distrustful of success, in war he managed to succeed in hiding his cowardice under a cloak of good fortune, for he was uniformly successful as a general; while in political life his nervousness, and the ease with which he could be put to confusion by accusers, actually tended to make him popular, and gave him in high degree that power which comes from the favour of the people, because they fear men who scorn them, but exalt men who fear them. The multitude can have no greater honour shown them by their superiors than not to be despised.

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

1 Bronze tripods were awarded as prizes to the victorious choregi in the dithyrambic choral contests,
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

υποκείμενος ἐν Διονύσου νεώς· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολλάκις χορηγήσας, ἐλείφθη δὲ οὔδέποτε. Λέγεται δ' ἐν τινὶ χορηγίᾳ παρελθεῖν οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ κεκοσμημένος εἰς σχῆμα Διονύσου, κάλλιστος ὄφθηναι καὶ μέγιστος, οὕτω γενειῶν· ἱσθέντων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῇ ὦψει καὶ κροτοῦντων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον, ἀναστὰς ο Νικίας εἰπεν ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον ἡγοῖτο δουλεύειν καταπεφημισμένον θεῷ σῶμα, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀπηλευθέρωσε.

4 Μνημονεύεται δ' αὐτὸκαὶ τὰ περὶ Δήλου ὡς λαμπρὰ καὶ θεοπρεπὴς φιλοτιμήματα. τῶν γὰρ χορῶν, οὕτως αἱ πόλεις ἐπεμποῦν ἀσομένους τῷ θεῷ, προσπλεύοντων μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν, εὔθες δ' ὄχλου πρὸς τὴν ναῦν ἀπαντῶντος ἄδειν κελευομένων κατ' οὐδένα κόσμου, ἄλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀσυντάκτως ἀποβαινόντων ἁμα καὶ στεφανουμένων καὶ μεταμφιεσμένων, ἐκείνος, ὅτε τὴν θεωρίαν ἤγεν, αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ρήνειον ἀπέβη τὸν χορὸν ἔχων καὶ τὰ ἱερεία καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν, ζεύγμα δὲ πεποιημένον Ἀθηνὴς πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ κεκοσμημένον ἡκπρεπῶς χρυσώσει καὶ βαφαίς καὶ στεφάνοις καὶ αὐλαίαις κομίξων, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐγεφύρωσε τὸν μεταξὺ Ρήνειας καὶ Δήλου πόρου οὐκ ὄντα μέγαν· εἰθ' ἁμα ἡμέρα τὴν τε πομπὴν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἄγων κεκοσμημένον πολυτελῶς καὶ ἄδοντα διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἀπεβίβαζε. μετὰ δὲ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἄγων καὶ τὰς ἐστιάσεις τῶν τε φοινικά τὸν χαλκοῦν ἐστησεν ἀνάθημα τῷ θεῷ, καὶ χωρίον μυρίων δραχμῶν πριάμενος
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 signally 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, οὐ τὰς προσόδους ἔδει Δηλίους κατα-
θύνοντας ἐστιάσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ Νικίας παρά
tῶν θεῶν αἰτουμένους: καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ στήλῃ
ἐνέγραψεν, ἕνώστερ φύλακα τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐν Δήλῳ
cατέλιπεν. ὁ δὲ φοίνιξ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμά-
tων ἀποκλασθεῖς ἐνέπεσε τῷ Ναξίων ἀνδριάντι
τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνέτρεψε.

IV. Τούτοις δ' ὅτι μὲν πολὺ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ
φιλοτιμῶν πανηγυρικὸν καὶ ἀγοραῖον ἐνεστιν,
οὐκ ἄδηλον, ἀλλὰ τῷ λοιπῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
καὶ ἦθει πιστεύσειν ἃν τὶς εὐσεβείας ἐπακολού-
θημα τὴν τοιαύτην χάριν καὶ δημαγωγίαν γενε-
σθαι: σφόδρα γὰρ ἢν τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων τὰ
dαιμόνια καὶ "θειασμῷ προσκείμενος," ὡς φησι

2 Θουκυδίδης. ἐν δὲ τινὶ τῶν Πασιφώντων διαλόγων
γέγραπται ὅτι καθ' ἠμέραν ἔθνε τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ
μάντιν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἀεὶ
σκέπτεσθαι περὶ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δὲ πλείστα
περὶ τῶν ἱδίων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀργυρείων
μετάλλων: ἐκέκτητο γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λαυρεωτικῇ πολ-
λά, μεγάλα μὲν εἰς πρόσοδον, οὐκ ἀκινδύνους δὲ
τὰς ἐργασίας ἔχοντα: καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων
ἐτρεφεν αὐτόθι, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τὸ
3 πλείστον εἶχεν. ὅθεν οὐκ ὀλίγοι περὶ αὐτὸν
 Erotauv aitouwtes kai laimbatontes. edidon gar oux

1 πανηγυρικὸν Madvig's conjecture: πανηγυρικὴν.

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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

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\(^1\) About £400, or $2000, with four or five times the present purchasing power of money.

\(^2\) vii. 50, 4.

\(^3\) Not extant.
Λαβεῖν δὲ περὶ τούτων μαρτυρίαν καὶ παρὰ τῶν κωμικῶν ἐστὶ. Τηλεκλείδης μὲν γὰρ εἰς τινὰ τῶν συκοφαντῶν ταυτὶ πεποίηκε.

Χαρικλέης μὲν ὁυν ἔδωκε μνᾶν, ἵνα αὐτὸν μὴ λέγῃ ὡς ἐφι τῇ μητρί παιδῶν πρῶτος ἐκ βαλλαντίου πέσσαρας δὲ μνᾶς ἔδωκε Νικίας Νικηράτου ὁν δ' ἐκατί τούτ' ἔδωκε, καίπερ εὐ ἐιδὼς ἐγὼ οὖν ἐρῶ, φίλος γὰρ ἀνήρ, σωφρονεῖν δὲ μοι δοκεῖ.

5 ὁ δ' ὑπ' Εὐπόλιδος κωμῳδούμενος ἐν τῇ Μαρικᾷ παράγων τινά τῶν ἀπραγμόνων καὶ πενήτων λέγειν.

A. Πόσον χρόνου γὰρ συγγεγένησαι Νικία;
B. οὐδ' εἶδον, εἰ μὴ ναγχὸς ἐστῶτ' ἐν ὑγορᾷ.
A. ἀνήρ ὀμολογεῖ Νικίαν ἑορακέναι.
καίτοι τί μαθῶν1 ἂν εἶδεν, εἰ μὴ προῦδίδειν;

1 μαθῶν MSS. and edd., including Sintenis: παθῶν, an anonymous correction.
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. ἦκούσατ', ὃ ξυνήλικες,
ἐπ' αὐτοφόρῳ Νικίαν εἶλημένου.

Β. ὑμεῖς γὰρ, ὃ φρενοβλαβεῖς,
λάβοιτ' ἂν ἀνδρ' ἀριστὸν ἐν κακῷ τινί;

6 ὁ δ' Ἀριστοφάνους Κλέων ἀπειλῶν λέγει:

Δαρυγμιὸ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταράξω.

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

'Ἡν γὰρ πολιτῆς ἁγαθὸς, ὡς εὖ οἶδ' ἐγὼ,
κοὺχ ὑποταγεῖς ἐβάδιζεν, ὡςπερ Νικίας.

V. Οὕτω δὲ διακείμενος εὐλαβῶς πρὸς τοὺς
συκοφάντας οὔτε συνεδείπνει τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
οὔτε κοινολογίας οὔτε συνδιημερεύσεσιν ἐνε-
βαλλει ἑαυτόν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐςχόλαζε ταῖς τοιαύ-
ταις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλ' ἄρχων μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ
dιετέλει μέχρι νυκτὸς, ἐκ δὲ βουλῆς ὑστατος
ἀπῆλε πρῶτος ἄφικνούμενος. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν
κοινῷ πράττειν ἑχοι, δυσπρόσδοκος ἢν καὶ δυσέν-
2 τευκτὸς οἴκουρὸν καὶ κατακεκλεισμένος. οἱ δὲ
φίλοι τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις φοιτῶσιν ἐνετύχανον,
καὶ παρητούντο συγγυμνῷν ἑχειν, ὡς καὶ τότε
Νικίου πρὸς δημοσίας χρείας τινὰς καὶ ἀσχολίας
donτος.

Καὶ ο μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγῳδῶν καὶ συμ-
περιτιθεῖς ὄγκον αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν Ἰέρων ἢν, ἀνὴρ
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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 Aristophanes 1 blusteringly says:—
"I'll bellow down the orators, and Nicias I'll rattle."

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

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

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

1 Knights, 358. It is not Cleon, but his adversary, the
rampant sausage-seller, who utters the verse.
2 From a play of unknown name. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i.
p. 385.
τεθραμμένος ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ Νικίου, περὶ τε
γράμματα καὶ μουσικήν ἐξηκηκήμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
pροσποιοῦμενος δ' υίός εἶναι Διονυσίου τοῦ
Χαλκοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, οὐ καὶ ποιήματα
σώζεται, καὶ τῆς εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀποικίας ἠγεμῶν
γενόμενος ἔκτισε Θουρίους. οὕτος οὖν ὁ Ἀεών
τὰ τε πρὸς τοὺς μάντεις ἀπόρρητα διεπράττετο
tῷ Νικίᾳ, καὶ λόγους ἐξέφερεν εἰς τὸν δήμον ὡς
ἐπίπονον τινα καὶ ταλαϊπώρουν διὰ τὴν πόλιν
ξώντος αὐτοῦ βίον. ὁ γ' ἡπη καὶ περὶ λουτρὸν
ὀντι καὶ περὶ δεῖπνων ἀεὶ τι προσπίπτειν δημό-
σιον "ἀμελῶν δὲ τῶν ἱδίων ὕπο τοῦ τὰ κοινά
φροντίζειν μόλις ἄρχεται καθεύδειν περὶ πρῶτον
ὕπνων. οθὲν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διάκειται κακῶς,
καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οἷς προσηνήσει οὐδὲ ἥδυς ἔστιν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτος προσαποβέβληκε τοῖς χρήμασι
πολιτεύμενος. οἷ δ' ἄλλοι καὶ φίλους κτώμενοι
καὶ πλουτίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὔπα-
θοῦσι καὶ προσπαίξουσι τῇ πολιτείᾳ." τῷ δ'
ὁντι τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ Νικίου βίος ὡστ' αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν
τὰ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος εἰς αὐτὸν.

Προστάτην γε τοῦ βίου
tὸν ὄγκον ἔχομεν, τῷ τ' ὀχλῷ δουλεύομεν.1

VI. Ὄρων δὲ τῶν ἐν λόγῳ δυνατῶν ἢ τῷ
φρονεῖν διαφερόντων ἀποχρώμενον εἰς ἑνα ταῖς
ἐμπειρίαις τὸν δήμον, ύφορώμενον δ' ἀεὶ καὶ

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

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\(^2\) Cf. *Pericles*, xi. 5.
φυλαττόμενον τὴν δεινότητα καὶ κολούοντα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ὡς δήλον ἦν τῇ Περικλέους καταδίκη καὶ τῷ Δάμωνος ἐξοστρακισμῷ καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφώντα τὸν Ῥαμνοῦσιον ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τοῖς περὶ Πάχητα 2 τὸν ἐλόντα Δέσβον, ὅσ εὐθύναις διδοὺς τῆς στρατηγίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σπασόμενος ξιφὸς ἀνεῖλεν ἑαυτὸν, τὰς μὲν ἐργώδεις πάντι καὶ μακρὰς ἐπειράτο διακρούσθαι στρατηγίας, ὅποιν δ' αὐτὸς στρατεύοιτο τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐχόμενος καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατορθῶν, ὡς εἰκὸς, εἰς οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν ἢ δύναμιν ἢ ἀρετὴν ἀνέφερε τὰς πράξεις, ἀλλὰ παρεχώρει τῇ τύχῃ καὶ κατέφευγεν εἰς τὸ θείον, τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης ύφιέμενος.

3 Ἐπεμαρτύρει δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα οἱ πολλῶν γὰρ τότε προσκροισμάτων τῇ πόλει καὶ μεγάλων γενομένων, οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἐκεῖνος μετέσχε, ἀλλὰ περὶ Θράκην μὲν ὑπτηθῆσαν ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων Καλλιάδου τε καὶ Ξενοφῶντος στρατηγοῦντων, τὸ δ' Ἀιτωλικὸν πταῖσμα συνέβη Δημοσθένους ἀρχοντος, ἐν δὲ Δηλίῳ χιλίους αὐτῶν ἀπέβαλον Ἰπποκράτους ἔγομένου, 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, Antipho[n] the Rhamnusian,\(^3\) and finally, above all, in the fate of Pachos, the captor of Lesbos,\(^4\) who, while he was giving the official account of his general[ship], 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 thereof 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 compatriots 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

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\(^1\) 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).
όχλον, ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς τῶν τόπων καὶ διαίτης ἄλφθους γενομένου. Νικίας δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων ἀναίτιος ἑμείνε· καὶ στρατηγῶν εἶλε μὲν Κύθηρα, νῆσον εὗ κατὰ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πεφυκιᾶν καὶ Ῥακεδαιμονίους ἐχούσαν οἰκήτορας, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ 527 πολλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰθάκης ἀφεστῶτων καὶ προσηγαγόμενος, κατακλείσας δὲ Μεγαρείς εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἔσχε Μίνωαν τὴν νῆσον, ὅλγῳ δ’ ύστερον ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος Νισαίας ἐκράτησεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀποβάς ἐνίκησε μάχη καὶ διέφθειρε Κορινθίων πολλοὺς καὶ Λυκόφρονα τὸν στρατηγόν.

5 Ἕνθα δ’ αὐτῷ συνέβη τῶν οἰκείων δύο νεκρῶς ἀπολιπτέων διαλαθόντας περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. ὡς οὖν τούτ’ ἐγγύω, τάχιστα τὸν στόλον ἐπιστῆσας ἐπεμψε κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους περὶ ἀναίρεσεως. καίτοι κατὰ νόμον τινὰ καὶ συνήθειαν ἐδόκουν οἱ νεκρῶν ὑποσπόνδων λαβόντες ἀναίρεσιν ἀπολέγεσθαι τὴν νίκην, καὶ τρόπαιοι ἰστάναντο τοὺς τούτου τυχόντας οὐκ ἐνθέσμου ἢν νικᾶν γὰρ τοὺς κρατοῦντας, μὴ κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς αἰτοῦν·

6 τας, ὥς λαβεῖν μὴ δυναμένους. ἀλλ’ ὁμως ἐκείνοις ὑπέμεινε μᾶλλον προεσθαι τὸ νίκημα

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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. For all these things Nicias was free from blame, while as general he captured Cythera, an island favourably situated for the command of Laconia and inhabited by Lacedaemonians; he captured also many places in Thrace 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, and shortly after, from this base of operations, got possession of Nisaea; he also made a descent upon the territory of Corinth, defeated the Corinthians in battle and slew many of them, including Lycophron their general.

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

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

Πορθήσας δὲ τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Δακωνικῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας Δακεδαιμονίων τρεφάμενος, εἶλε Θυρέαν Ἀιγινητῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ τοὺς αἱρεθέντας ἀπήγαγε ἃντις εἰς Ἀθήνας.

VII. Ἡ στρατιά τούτη τοῦ Πύλου τείχισαν ἐπεστράτευσαν ἀμα πεζῷ καὶ ναυσὶ Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἀπελήφθησαν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νῆσῳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἄνδρες ἀμφί τῶν τετρακοσίων, μέγα μὲν, ὦσπερ ἦν, ἡγούμενοι τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοι, χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ δυσέργου τῆς πολιορκίας ύστης ἐν χωρίοις ἀνύδρωσι, καὶ θέρους μὲν μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ τὴν περιαγωγὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐχοῦσα, σφαλερὰν δὲ χειμῶνος καὶ παντελῶς ἀπορον, ἢχθοντο καὶ μετεμέλουσο πρεσβείαν Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπωσάμενοι περὶ σπουδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης ἡ ἀφικομένη πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἀπεωσαντο δὲ Κλέωνος ἐναντιωθέντος ὑπὸ ἦκιστα διὰ Νικίαν ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ὅσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προθύμως ὅρῶν συμπράττοντα τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεισε τὸν δήμον ἀποψώφισασθαι τὰς σπουδὰς. ὡς οὖν ἦ τε πολιορκία μήκος ἐλάμβανε καὶ δεινὰς ἀπορίας ἐπυνθανόντο περιστάναι τὸ στρατόπεδον, δι' ὀργῆς εἶχον τὸν Κλέωνα.

3 Τοῦ δ' εἰς τῶν Νικίαν ἐκτρέποντος τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος ὅτι δειλία καὶ μαλακία προέται τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς αὐτοῦ γε στρατηγοῦντος οὐκ
victory than to leave unburied two of his fellow citizens.

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

VII. After Demosthenes had fortified Pylos,² the Peloponnesians came up against it by land and sea, a battle was fought, and about four hundred Spartans were shut off on the island of Sphacteria. Then the Athenians considered that their capture would be a great achievement, as was true. But the siege was difficult and toilsome, since the region afforded little fresh water. Even in summer the shipping of the necessary supplies round Peloponnesus was a long and expensive process, while in winter it was sure to be perilous if not altogether impossible. The Athenians were therefore in bad humour, and repented them of having repulsed an embassy of the Lacedaemonians which had come to treat with them for a truce and peace. They had repulsed it because Cleon, chiefly on account of Nicias, was opposed to it. For he hated Nicias, and when he saw him zealously cooperating 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).
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ἄν περιγενομένους χρόνου τοσοῦτον, τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις εἰπεῖν παρέστη: "Τι δ' οὐχί καὶ νῦν αὐτῶς σὺ πλεῖς ἐπί τούς ἀνδρας;" ο τε Νικίας ἀναστάς ἔξιστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλων στρατηγίας αὐτῷ, καὶ λαμβάνειν ὁπόσην βουλεῖται δύναμιν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ μὴ θρασύνεσθαι λόγοις ἀκινδύνοις, ἀλλ' ἔργον τι τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖν ἄξιον σπουδῆς. ὦ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεδύετο, τῷ μὴ προσδοκῆσαι τούτῳ θορυβούμενος· ἐγκελευομένων δὲ ταὐτά τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Νικίου καταβοῦντος, ἐξαρθεῖς καὶ ἀναφλεγθεῖς τὸ φιλότιμον ὑπεδέξατο τῇ τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ προσδιωρίσατο πλεύσας ἔντος ἡμερῶν εἰκοσιν ἡ κατακτευεῖν ἔκει τοὺς ἀνδρας ἡ ξώνας ἄξειν Ἀθῆναξε. τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐπήλθε γελάσαι μέγα μᾶλλον ἡ πιστεύσαι καὶ γὰρ ἄλλως εἰώθεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν κοιφότητα καὶ μανίαν φέρειν μετὰ παιδίας οὐκ ἄχδως.

5 Ἀγεταὶ γὰρ ἐκκλησίας ποτὲ οὕσης τὸν μὲν δῆμον καθήμενον ἀνω περιμένειν πολὺν χρόνου, ὡσε δ' εἰσελθεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐστεφανωμένου καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰς αὖριον "Ἀσχολοῦμαι γὰρ," ἐφή, "σήμερον, ἔστιν μέλλων ἔξους καὶ τεθυκὼς τοῖς θεοῖς." τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους γελάσαντας ἀναστήναι καὶ διαλύσαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸτε τύχῃ χρησάμενος ἀγαθὴ καὶ στρατηγήσας ἀρίστα μετὰ Δημοσθένους, ἐντὸς οὐ προεῖπε χρόνου τῶν Σπαρτια- 528 232
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
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tῶν ὁσοὶ μὴ κατὰ μάχην ἔπεσον τὰ ὅπλα παραδόντας ἤγαγεν αἰχμαλώτους. καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Νικίᾳ μεγάλην ἤνεγκεν ἄδοξίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀσπίδος ῥήσις, ἀλλ' αἰσχίνον τι καὶ χείρον ἐδόκει τὸ δείλια τὴν στρατηγιάν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκουσίως, καὶ προέσθαι τῷ ἔχθρῳ τηλικούτου κατορθώματος ἀφορμᾶς, αὐτὸν ἀποχειροτονήσαντα τῆς ἁρχῆς. 2 σκόπτει ὁ αὐτὸν εἰς ταύτα πάλιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν μὲν Ὁρνισίων οὕτω πως λέγων:

Καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δ' οὐχὶ νυστάξειν γ' ἐτί ὀφρ' στίν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ μελλονικιάν.

ἐν δὲ Γεωργοῖς ταύτα γράφων:

Λ. Ἰθέλω γεωργεῖν. Β. εἶτα τὸς σε κωλύει;
Λ. ύμεῖς· ἐπεὶ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμᾶς,
ἐάν με τῶν ἁρχῶν ἄφητε. Β. δεχόμεθα·
δισχίλιαι γὰρ εἰσὶ σὺν ταῖς Νικίοις.

3 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβλαψεν οὐ μικρὰ τῷ Κλέωνι τοσοῦτον προσγενέσθαι δόξης ἑάσας καὶ δυνάμεως, ύψωσε τὸν θαυμάσιον ἄλλας τῇ πόλει προσετριψάτο συμφορᾶς, ὅν οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυε, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κόσμον ἀνελὼν 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;" 1

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." 2

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.
καὶ δρόμῳ μετὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἀμα χρησάμενος, τῆς ὀλίγου ύστερον ἀπαντὰ τὰ πράγματα συγχέασαν εὐχέρειαν καὶ ὀλιγωρίαν τοῦ πρέποντος ἐνεποίησε τοὺς πολιτευομένους.

IX. Ἡδὲ δέ ποι καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνεφύετο τηνικάυτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημαγωγὸς οὐχ ὀμοίως ἄκρατος, ἀλλ’ οἶνον ἡ Αἰγυπτίων χώρα λέγεται δι’ ἀρετὴν ἐκφέρειν ὁμοῦ.

Φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρὰ,

οὕτως ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα πολλὴ ῥυεῖσα καὶ λαμπρά, μεγάλων ἐνέδωκεν ἄρχας 2 νεωτερισμῶν. ὃθεν οὐδ’ ἀπαλλαγεῖς τοῦ Κλέωνος ὁ Νικίας καίρον ἐσχε παντάπασιν ἀναπάυσαι καὶ καταστρέσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ’ εἰς ὁδὸν τὰ πράγματα σωτηρίου καταστήσας ἐξέπεσε, τρόμη καὶ σφοδρότητι τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου φιλοτιμίας αὐθεὶς ἐξωθεῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

Ἐπράξθη δὲ οὕτως. οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλέων καὶ Βρα- σίδας ἦσαν, ὡς τὸ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκρυπτε τὴν κακίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκόσμει. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικημάτων μεγάλων, τῷ δὲ κατορθωμάτων ἀφο- 3 μᾶς παρεῖχε. τούτων οὖν ἀμα πεσοῦντων ἐν μάχῃ μᾶ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλιν, εὐθὺς ὁ Νικίας παραλαβὼν τοὺς μὲν Σπάρτιάτας ἐκπαλαί τῆς εἰρήνης ὄρεγο- μένους, τοὺς δ’ Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι τῷ πολέμῳ θαρ- ροῦντας, ἀμφοτέρους δ’ οἶον ἐκκλελυμένους καὶ 236
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.
παρακαθίεντας ἐκουσίως τὰς χεῖρας, ἔπραττεν ὅπως εἰς φιλίαν τὰς πόλεις συναγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. Εὐλήνας ἀπαλλάξας κακῶν καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος, βέβαιον οὕτω τὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ονόμα πρὸς τὸν αὐθις χρόνον ποιιτο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν εὐπόρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτόθεν εἰρήνικον εἶχεν ἔτει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοῖς εὐτυχίαν ἴδια καὶ διδάσκων ἁμβλυτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὐτως ἄδη τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἐλπίδας ἐνδιδοὺς προεκαλεῖτο καὶ προὔτερευν ἔχεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δ᾿ ἐπίστευσον αὐτῷ διὰ τε τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιείκειαν, καὶ ὁτι τοῖς ἠλωκόσι περὶ Πύλου καὶ δεδεμένοις ἐπιμελόμενοι καὶ περιέτων φιλανθρώπως ἑλαφρο. τέραν ἐποίει τὴν ἀτυχίαν. ἦσαν οὖν πρὸτερον πεποιημένοι τινα πρὸς ἄλλην ἐκεχειρίαν ἐναύσιον, ἐν η τυχόντες εἰς ταύτο καὶ γενόμενοι πάλιν ἰδείας καὶ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ οἰκείους ἐπιμιξίας, ἐπόθουν τὸν ἁμίαντον καὶ ἀπόλεμον βίον, ἢδεως μὲν ἀδόντων τὰ τοιαύτα χορῶν ἀκούοντες.

Κείσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἄραχναις· ἢδεως δὲ μεμυημένοι τοῦ εἰπόντος ὅτι τοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεύδοντας οὐ σάλπιγγες, ἀλλ’ ἀλεξ-τρυόνες ἀφυπνίζουσι. λοιδοροῦσι οὖν καὶ προβάλλομενοι τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς τρῖς ἐνεά ἐτη διαπολεμηθήναι πέπρωται τὸν πόλεμον, ἔπειδθ'
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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

οὔτω περὶ παντὸς εἰς λόγους συμβαίνοντες ἐποίησαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, δόξα τε παρέστη τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπαλλαγὴν κακῶν σαφῆ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸν Νικίαν διὰ στόματος εἴχον, ὡς ἀνήρ εἰς θεοφίλης καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ δὲ εὐσέβειαι ἐπωνύμῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ καλλίστου τῶν ἁγαθῶν δέδωκε· τῷ γὰρ ὑπελήφη Νικίου τὴν εἰρήνην ἐνόμιζον ἔργον, ὡς Περικλέους τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπ’ αἰτίας μικραῖς εἰς συμφορὰς μεγάλας ἐμβαλεῖν ἐδόκει τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, ὁ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἐπείσεν ἐκλαθέσθαι φίλους γενομένους. διὸ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἑκείνην ἄχρι νῦν Νικίειον καλοῦσι.

Χ. Γενομένων δὲ συνθηκῶν ὡσεὶς τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ἂς εἴχον ἀλλήλων, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδιδόσι, προτέρων ἀποδιδότων τῶν κλήρων λαχόντων, ἀνήσατο τὸν κλήρον ὁ Νικίας κρύφα χρήμασιν, ὥστε προτέρους ἀποδιδόναι τοὺς

2 Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ τούτω μὲν ἰστορεῖ Θεόφραστος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς τὰ πραττόμενα δυσκολαίνοντες αἰτίαις καὶ μέμψεσιν αὕτης ἐδόκουν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπείσεν ὁ Νικίας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὴν συμμαχίαν ὡσπερ κράτος ἡ δεσμῶν ἐπιθέντας, φοβερωτέρους τε τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις καὶ βεβαιοτέρους ἀλλήλους γενέσθαι.

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

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. Thuc. v. 26, 4. \(^2\) Signed in the spring of 421 B.C. \(^3\) Cf. Thuc. v. 18.
μονίοις ἄχθομενοι ὑπὲρ τῷ Νικία προσέκειντο καὶ 
προσεῖχον, αὐτὸν δ’ ὑπερεώρων καὶ κατεφρόνουν, 
ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὐθὺς ὑπεναντιωθεὶς τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ 
αὐτιστὰς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ὡςκόρ ἔστερον ὅρὸν 
οὐκ ἔτι τοῖς ‘Αθηναίοις ἐμοίως ἀρέσκοντας τοὺς 
Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλ’ ἄδικεὶν δοκοῦντας ὑπὶ Βοιω-
τοῖς ἔθεντο συμμαχίαν καὶ Πάνακτον ἔστῳσαν 
οὐ παρέδωκαν οὐδ’ Ἀμφιπολίν, ἐπεφύζετο ταῖς 
αἵτις καὶ παρόξυνε τὸν δῆμον ἐφ’ ἐκάστῃ.

4 τέλος δὲ πρεσβείαν μεταπεμψάμενος Ἀργείων 
ἐπραττε συμμαχίαν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἐπεὶ 
δὲ πρέσβεις ἐλθόντες ἐκ Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτο-
κράτορος καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προεντυγχάνοντες ἐδοξα 
ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἤκειν τοῖς δικαίοις, δεῖσας ὁ Ἀλκι-
βιάδης μὴ καὶ τὸν δήμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων 
ἐπαγάγονται, περὶ ἤλθεν αὐτός δ’ ἀπάτης καὶ 
ὀρκων ὡς ἀπαντα συμπράξων, ἄν μὴ φῶσι μηδ’ 
ὁμολογήσωσιν ἢκειν αὐτοκράτορες: μάλιστα γὰρ 
5 οὕτως ἃ βούλονται γενίσεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ 
καὶ μεταστάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίου πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, 
ἔμβαλὼν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δήμον ἠρώτα πρώτον εἰ 
περὶ πάντων ἥκουσιν αὐτοκράτορες: ὡς δ’ 
ήρνούντο, παρ’ ἐλπίδας μεταβαλόμενος τὴν τε 
βουλήν ἐπεκαλεῖτο μάρτυρα τῶν λόγων, καὶ τὸν
fully ignored him in their fond attachment to Nicias, promptly opposed and obstructed the general peace. At the outset he made no headway; but a little while after, seeing that the Athenians were not so well pleased as before with the Lacedaemonians, but thought they had wronged them in making a separate alliance with the Boeotians, and in not restoring Panactum with its walls intact, nor Amphipolis at all, he laid great stress on these grounds of complaint, and tried to incense the people over each one of them. Finally he managed to have an embassy sent from Argos to Athens, and tried to effect a separate alliance between these two cities. Ambassadors came at once from Sparta with full powers to treat all issues, and at their preliminary audience with the council were declared by that body to come with nothing but just proposals. But Alcibiades was afraid they would bring the assembly over to their views with the same arguments which had won the council. He therefore circumvented them by deceitfully swearing that he would cooperate 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.
δῆμον ἐκέλευε μὴ προσέχειν μηδὲ πιστεύειν οὔτω περιφανῶς ψευδομένως καὶ νῦν μὲν ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ τὰναντία περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγουσι. ἂθευβουμένων δ', ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Νικίου μηδὲν ἐχοντος εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄχει καὶ θαύματι πεπληγότος, ὥς μὲν δῆμος εὔθις ὀρμητο τοὺς Ἀργείους καλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι συμμάχους, ἐβοήθησε δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ σεισμὸς τις διὰ μέσου γενόμενος καὶ διαλύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. τῇ δ' ἤστεραία πάλιν τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος πολλὰ ποιήσας καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπείσε μόλις ἐπισχεῖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους, αὐτῶν δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς πάντων καλὸς γενησομένων.

6 Ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς Σπάρτην τάλλα μὲν ὡς ἀνήρ ἀγαθός καὶ πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήθη, πράξας δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κρατηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν βοιωτιαξόντων ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐ μόνον ἀδοξόν καὶ κακῶς ἀκούσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδίως τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λυπουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτούντας ὅτι πεισθέντες ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοσοῦτος καὶ τοιοῦτος ἀνδρας ἀπέδωκαν οἱ γὰρ ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ἦσαν ἐξ οἰκῶν τε πρῶτων τῆς Σπάρτης, καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἔχοντες. οὐ μὴν ἐπραξάν τι τραχύτερον ὀργῆ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο, καὶ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἡλείους Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντας ἐποίησαντο συμμάχους μετ' Ἀργείων, καὶ ληστὰς εἰς Πύλου

7 530

8 244
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
επεμψαν κακοφυσιν την Λακωνικήν· εξ ὧν αὐθις εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XI. Ἀκμαζοῦσης δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διαφορᾶς, καὶ γεγονόμενης ὀστρακο-φορίας, ἦν εἰώθει διὰ χρόνου τινὸς ὁ δήμος ποιεῖ-σθαι, ἐνα τῶν ὑπόπτων ἦ διὰ δόξαν ἄλλως ἦ πλούτου ἐπιφθόνων ἄνδρων τῷ ὀστράκῳ μεθιστάς εἰς δέκα ἔτη, πολὺς θόρυβος ἀμφοτέρους περι-ιστατο καὶ κίνδυνος, ὡς θατέρου πάντως ὑπο-

2 πεσουμένου τῷ ἐξοστρακισμῷ. τοῦ μέν γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τὸν βίον ἐβδελύττουντο καὶ τὸ θράσος ὄρράδουν, ὡς μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γραφομένους δηλοῦται, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ὁ τε πλούτος ἐπιφθόνου ἐποίει καὶ μάλιστα τῆς διαίτης τὸ μὴ φιλάνθρωπον μηδὲ δημοτικὸν, ἀλλ' ἁμικτὸν καὶ ὀλυγαρχικὸν ἀλλόκοτον ἐδόκει, πολλὰ δ' ἦδη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν ἀντιτείνουν, παρὰ γνώμην βια-

3 ξόμενος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπαχθῆ ήν. ὡς δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, νέων ἦν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἁμιλλα πρὸς εἰρηνοποιοῦσα καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, τῶν μὲν εἰς τούτον, τῶν δ' εἰς ἐκείνου τὸ ὀστρακὸν τρεπόντων.

Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίᾳ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἐμμορε τιμῆς· ὡς ποὺ καὶ τότε διαστὰς ὁ δήμος δίχα χώραν ἐδωκε τοῖς ἱπαμωτάτοις καὶ πανουργοτάτοις, ὥν

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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,"

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.).
δὴ καὶ Ὅσερβολος ὁ Περιθοίδης, ἀνθρωπος ἀπ' οὐδεμίᾶς τολμῶν δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τολμᾶν εἰς δύναμιν προελθὼν, καὶ γενόμενος δι' ἤν εἶχεν 4 ἐν τῇ πόλει δόξαν ἀδοξία τῆς πόλεως. οὕτως ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τοῦ μὲν ὀστράκου πόρρω τιθέμενος ἑαυτὸν, ἀτε δὴ τῷ κύφων μᾶλλον προσήκων, ἐλπίζων δὲ θατέρου τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκπεσόντος αὐτὸς ἀντίπαλος τῷ λειπομένῳ γενέσθαι, καταφανῆς ἦν ἢδομενός τε τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ παροξύνουν τὸν δήμον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους. συνιδόντες οὖν τὴν μοχθηρίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ λόγον δόντες ἀλλήλους κρύφα, καὶ τὰς στάσεις συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἀναμίξαντες, ἐκράτησαν ἐκτε ἡδέτερον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ὅσερβολον ἐξοστρακισθῆναι. 5 καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ἢδονὴν τούτο καὶ γέλωτα τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχεν, ὡστερον δὲ ἡγανάκτουν ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πράγμα τούτο πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν ἀνάξιον γεγονόναι νομίζοντες, εἰναι γάρ τι καὶ κολάσεως ἄξιωμα, μᾶλλον δὲ κόλασιν τὸν ἐξοστρακισμὸν ἤγοιμενοι Θουκυδίδη καὶ Ἀριστείδη καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις, Ὅσερβολος δὲ τιμήν καὶ προσποίησιν ἀλαξονεῖας, εἰ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἐπαθεὶ ταυτὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ὡς ποῦ καὶ Πλάτων ὁ 6 κωμικὸς εἰρήκε περὶ αὐτοῦ.

Καίτοι πέτραχε τῶν προτέρων¹ μὲν ἄξια, αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν στυγμάτων ἄναξια: οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτων εἴνεκ' ὀστραχ' εὑρέθη.

¹ τῶν προτέρων a correction suggested by Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 654: τῶν τρόπων (a fate worthy of his ways).
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 οὖδεὶς ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐξωστρακίσθη μετὰ 'Τπέρβολον, ἀλλ' ἐσχατος ἐκεῖνος, 531 πρώτος δ' Ἰππαρχος ὁ Χολαργεὺς συγγενῆς τις ὧν τοῦ τυράννου.

7 Ἀκριτον δ' ἦ τύχη πράγμα καὶ ἄληπτου λογισμῷ. Νικίας γὰρ, εἰ τὸν περὶ ὀστράκου κίνδυνον ἀνέρριψε πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἡ κρατήσας ἄν ἀσφαλῶς ὅκει τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνου ἐξελάσασ, ἡ κρατηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξῆι πρὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἀτυχιῶν, τὸ δοκεῖν ἀριστος εἶναι στρατηγὸς διαφυλάξας.

Οὔκ ἄγνωδ δ' οτὶ Θεόφραστος ἐξοστρακισθῆναι φησι τὸν 'Τπέρβολον Φαίακος, οὐ Νικίου, πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐρίσαντος. ἀλλ' οἱ πλείονες οὕτω γεγράφασιν.

ΧΙΠ. 'Ο δ' οὖν Νικίας, τῶν Λιγεστέων πρέσβεων καὶ Λεοντίων παραγενομένων καὶ πειθόντων τοὺς 'Ἀθηναίους στρατευέναι ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, ἀνθιστάμενος ἦττάτο τῆς Βουλῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ φιλοτιμίας, πρὶν ὅλως ἐκκλησίαις γενέσθαι, κατασχόντος ἡδὴ πλήθος ἐλπίσι καὶ λόγοις προδιεφθαρμένοι, ὡστε καὶ νέους ἐν παλαιόστρας καὶ γέροντας ἐν ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ ἡμικυκλίοις συγκαθεξομένους ὑπογράφειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Σικελίας, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν θαλάσσης, καὶ λιμένας καὶ τόπους οἷς τέτραπται πρὸς 2 Διβύην ἡ νήσος. οὐ γὰρ ἄθλον ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ πολέμου Σικελίαν, ἀλλ' ὀρμητήριον, ὡς ἀπ' αὐτῆς διαγωνίσομενοι πρὸς Καρχηδώνιους καὶ σχήσοντες ἀμα Διβύην καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν θάλασσαν.
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.  

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 Leontini 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 415 B.C.
'Ως οὖν ὄρμηντο πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ Νικίας ἐναντιούμενος οὔτε πολλοὺς οὔτε δυνατοὺς εἰχε συναγωνιστάς. οἱ γὰρ εὐποροὶ δεδίοτες μὴ δοκῶσι τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ τριηραρχίας ἀπο-
3 δεδράσκειν, παρὰ γνώμην ἠσύχαζον ὁ δ᾿ οὐκ ἐκαμνεν οὐδ᾿ ἀπηγόρευεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἀθηναίους καὶ στρα-
tηγὸν ἔλεσθαί πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον μετ’ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Λαμάχου, πάλιν ἐκκλησίας γενομένης, ἀναστὰς ἀπέτρεπε καὶ διεμαρτύρετο, καὶ τελευτῶν διέβαλε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἰδιῶν ἕνεκα κερδῶν καὶ φιλοτι-
μίαις τὴν πόλιν εἰς χαλεπὸν ἐξωθεῖν καὶ διαπώ-
tιον κίνδυνον. ἔπραξε δ᾿ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, ἀλλ᾿ ὑπὸ ἐμπερίας δόξας ἐπιτηδειότερος εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔσειν πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου τόλμαν καὶ τὴν Λαμάχου πραχύτητα1 τῆς ἐκεῖνου συγκεραννυμένης εὐλαβείας, βεβαιοτέραν ἑποίησε τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀναστὰς γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παροξύνων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, Δημόστρατος, ἔφη τὸν Νικίαν προ-
φάσεις λέγοντα παύσειν καὶ ψήφισμα γράψας ὅπως αὐτοκράτορες ὄσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κάνταθα κἀκεῖ βουλευόμενοι καὶ πράττοντες, ἔπεισε τὸν δὴμον ψηφίσασθαι.

XIII. Καίτοι λέγεται πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐναντιούσθαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν· ἀλλ᾿ ἐτέρους ἔχων μάντεις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ δὴ τινων

1 τραχύτητα Reiske’s correction: πράσιτη (mildness); cf. chapter xv. 1.
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 προξερε παλαιῶν μέγα κλέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἐσεσθαί. καὶ θεοπρόποι τινὲς αὐτῷ παρ' Ἀρμονος ἀφίκοντο χρησμὸν κομίζοντες ὡς λήψονται Συρακοσίους ἀπαντάς Ἀθηναίοι: τὰ δ' ἐναντία φοβοῦμενοι δυσφημεῖν ἑκρυπτον. οὕτῳ γὰρ τὰ προὺπτα καὶ καταφανῆ τῶν σημείων ἀπέτρεπεν, ἤτε τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπῆ, μιᾶ νυκτὶ πάντων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων πλὴν ἐνός, ὅν Ἀνδοκίδου καλοῦσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγη- δος φυλῆς, κείμενοι δὲ πρὸ τῆς τότε οὐσιος Ἀνδο- κίδου οἰκίας, καὶ τὸ πραξθὲν περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. ἀνθρωπος γὰρ τις ἑξαίφης ἀνα- πηδήσας ἐπ' αὐτῶν, εἶτα περιβάς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ λίθῳ τὸ αἰδοῖν.

3 Ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς Παλλάδιον ἔστηκε χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ φοίνικος χαλκὸ βεβηκός, ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἁριστείων τοῦτ ἐκοπτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς προσπετόμενοι κόρα- κες, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ὄντα χρυσοῦν τοῦ φοίνικος ἀπέτρωγον καὶ κατέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφασαν εἶναι Δελφὸν πλάσματα πεπεισμένων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων χρησμοῦ δὲ τινὸς κελεύοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ Κλαξομενῶν τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγείν, μετεπέμψαντο τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἰουχία. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν, ὡς οὐκεκαὶ, ὁ παρῆνε τῇ πόλει τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τῇ ἰσινχίαι ἀγείν.

4 Ἐκεῖ δὴ ταῦτα δείσας εἶτ' ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ
NICIAS

and from sundry oracles reputed ancient he cited one saying that great fame would be won by the Athenians in Sicily. To his delight also certain envoys who had been sent to the shrine of Ammon 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 "Hermæ." 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 f.
τὴν στρατείαν φοβηθείς, ὁ ἀστρολόγος Μέτων
(ἠν γὰρ ἐφ' ἤγερεν τινὸς τεταγμένος) προσ-
εποιεῖτο τὴν οἰκίαν ύφάντειν ὡς μεμνημόνης. οἱ δὲ
φασίν οὐ μανίαν σκηψάμενοι, ἀλλὰ νῦκτωρ
ἐμπρήσαντα τὴν οἰκίαν προελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγο-
ρὰν ταπεινὸν, καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως ἐπὶ
συμφορᾷ τοσαύτη τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντα πλεῖν
τριήραρχον εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφώσι τῆς στρατείας.
6 Σωκράτει δὲ τῷ σοφῷ τὸ δαίμονιον οἷς εἰώθει
συμβόλοις χρησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμήνυσε
κάκεινα, τὸν ἐκπλουν ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως
πραττόμενον. ὁ δὲ τοῖς συνήθεις καὶ φίλοις
ἐφφασε, καὶ διῆλθεν εἰς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος.
7 Οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν αἷς τὸν
στόλον ἐξέπεμπον ὑπέθραττον. Ἀδώνια γὰρ
εἶχον αἱ γυναῖκες τὸτε, καὶ προούκειτο πολλαχόθι
τῆς πόλεως εἴδωλα, καὶ ταφαὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καὶ
κοπετοὶ γυναικῶν ἥσαν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ ποιοῦ-
μένους τινί τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσχεραίνειν καὶ δεδιέναι
περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἑκείνης καὶ δυνάμεως, μὴ
λαμπρύτητα καὶ ἀκμὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην σχοῦσα
ταχέως μαρανθῆ.

XIV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐναντιωθήναι ἡσφιξομένη τῇ
στρατείᾳ τῶν Νικίαν, καὶ μὴ ὑπ' ἐλπίδων
ἐπαρθέντα μήτε πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος
ἐκπλαγέντα μεταθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς ἢ
χρηστοῦ καὶ σώφρονος· ἐπεὶ δ' οὖτε 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
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

τὸν δήμον ἀποτρέψαι πειρώμενος οὔθ αὐτὸν ἔξελέσθαι τῆς στρατηγίας δεόμενος ἵσχυσεν, ἀλλ’ ἀσπερ ἀράμενος καὶ φέρων αὐτὸν ὁ δήμος ἐπέθηκε.

1 τῇ δυνάμει στρατηγῶν, οὐδεὶς ἐτὶ καιρὸς ἦν τῆς πολλῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ μελλήσεως, ὥστε παιδὸς δίκην ἅπας τῆς νεώς ὁπίσω βλέποντα καὶ τὸ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ στρέφοντα πολλάκις ἐναμβλύναι καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἄκμην διαθείραι τῶν πράξεων, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἔδει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμφύντα καὶ προσκείμενον ἐλέγχειν τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγώνων.

ο ὁ δὲ, Δαμάχον μὲν ἀντικρυς ἄξιοντος πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ μάχην ἐγχιστα τῆς πόλεως τιθέναι, ’Αλκιβιάδον δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἄφιστάναι Συρακούσιων, εἴθ’ οὗτως ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν, τὰ ἐναντία λέγων καὶ κελεύων ἀτρέμα παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν κομιζομένους καὶ περιπλέοντας ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τὰς τρυγίεις, εἰτ’ ἀποπλεῖν ’Αθηναξε μικρὸν τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀιγεστεύσιν ἀπαρξαμένους, αὐτίκα τε τὴν γνώμην ὑπεξέλυσε καὶ κατέβαλε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἄνδρων.

4 Καὶ μετ’ ὅλιγον χρόνον ’Αλκιβιάδην Ἀθηναίων μεταπεμψαμένων εἰς κρίσιν, λόγω μὲν ἀποδειχθεὶς δεύτερος ἤγερμον, δυνάμει δὲ μόνος ὅν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο καθήμενος ἡ περιπλέων ἡ βουλευόμενος, πρὶν ἐγγηρᾶσαι μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄκμην τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐκρυμέναι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ θάμβος καὶ τὸν φόβον ὅπως πρῶτη παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὅψις τῶν δυνάμεων.

1 αὐτῷ MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: αὐτῶν.
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 Ἅτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου παρόντος ἐξήκοντα ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνέιχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λιμένος ἐξω παρατάξαντες, δέκα δὲ κατήλαυνον εἰςω κατασκοπῆς εἶνεκα· καὶ Δεοντῖνος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποκαλοῦσαι διὰ κήρυκος, αὐτὶ λαμβάνουσι ναῦν πολεμίαν σανίδας κομίζουσαν, εἰς ὃς ἀπεγράφοντο κατὰ φυλὰς αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακούσιοι. κείμεναι δὲ ἀπωθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἴερῷ Δίος Ὀλυμπίου τὸτε πρὸς ἐξετασίν καὶ κατάλογον τῶν ἐν ἥλικίᾳ μετεπέμφθησαν. ὡς οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀλούσαι πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκομίσθησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὥφθη τῶν ὄνομάτων, ἡχόθθησαν οἱ μάντεις μή ποτὲ ἁρὰ τὸ χρεών ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρησμοῦ περαινοι, λέγοντος ὡς 'Ἀθηναίοι λήψονται Συρακούσιος ἀπαντας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἐτέρῳ 1 φασιν ἔργῳ τούτῳ τοὺς Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι ἐπίτελες καθ' ὅν χρόνον ἀποκτείνας Δίωνα Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔσχε Συρακούσας.

XV. Ἀποπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μετ' ὀλίγον ἐκ Σικελίας, τὸ πᾶν ἦδη κράτος ὁ Νικίας ἔσχεν. οὐ δὲ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν ἀνδρῶδης καὶ δίκαιος ἀνήρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ χρώμενος ἀφειδῶς κατὰ τὰς μάχας, πένης δὲ τοσοῦτον καὶ λιτὸς ὡστε καθ' ἐκάστην στρατηγίαν ἀπολογίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μικρὸν ἀργύριον εἰς ἐσθήτα καὶ κρητίδας 2 ἑαυτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Νικίου καὶ διὰ τἀλλα μέγας ἦν

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

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

¹ In 353 B.C. See Plutarch, Dion, liv.–lvii.
² See the Alcibiades, xxii. 1.
καὶ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὁ οὐκος. λέγεται δὲ ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ ποτὲ βουλευομένων τι κοινῇ τῶν συναρχόντων, κελευσθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρῶτος εἰπεῖν γνώμην Σοφοκλῆς ὁ ποιητὴς ὡς πρεσβύτατος ὅν τῶν συστρατήγων, "Εγώ," φάναι, "παλαιότατος εἰμί, σὺ δὲ πρεσβύτατος."

3 Οὔτω δὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Λάμαχον ἄγων ύφ’ ἐαυτῷ στρατηγικότερον ὄντα, καὶ χρώμενος εὐλαβώς καὶ διὰ μελλήσεως ἄει τῇ δυνάμει, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπεριπλέων Σικελίαν θάρσος ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπειτα προσβαλὼν "Τβλη, πολιχνίῳ μικρῷ, καὶ πρὶν ἑλεῖν ἀποστάσι, 4 κομιδῇ κατεφρονήθη. καὶ τέλος εἰς Κατάνην ἀπῆλθε πράξας οὐδὲν ἡ καταστρεψόμενος "Τκ-καρα, βαρβαρικὸν χωρίον, ὥθεν λέγεται καὶ Δαίδα τὴν ἑταίραν ἑτὶ κόρην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις πραθείσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κομισθήματι.

XVI. Τοῦ δὲ θέρους διελθόντος, ἔπει τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπυνθάνετο προτέρους ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι τεθαρρηκότας, οἱ δ’ ἰππεῖς ὑβρεὶ προσ-ελαύνουτες ἤδη πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἡρώτων εἰ Καταναίους συνοικίσοντες ἢ Δεούτινους κατοι-κιόντας ἠκουσί, μόλις ὁ Νικίας ὄρμησε πλεῖν ἐπὶ 2 Συρακοῦσας. καὶ βουλήμενος ἄδεως καὶ καθ’ ἡσυχίαν ἱδρύσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπέπεμψεν ἀνθρώ-πον ἐκ Κατάνης κελεύοντα τοὺς Συρακουσίους, εἰ βουλούνται λαβεῖν ἔρημον ἄνδρῶν 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 ὀπλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ πρὸς Κατάνην πανστρατιά παραγενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πλείστα διατριβώντων ἐγνωκέναι τοὺς Συράκουσίων φίλους, ὅταν ἐκεῖνοι προσιόντας αἰσθόνται, τὰς τε πύλας κατα- λαμβάνειν ἁμα καὶ τὸν ναῦσταθμὸν ὑποπληρῶν· πολλοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς συνεστῶτας ἦδη καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων περιέμενοντας ἄφιξιν.

3 Τούτ' ἀριστα Νικίας ἐστρατήγησε περὶ Σικελίαν. πανστρατιά γὰρ ἔσαγαγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὁμοῦ τὶ ποιήσας ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν, αὐτὸς ἐκ Κατάνης ἀναχθεῖς τῶν τε λιμένων ἐκράτησε καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατέλαβε χώραν, δὴν ἥκιστα βλαπτόμενος ὁς ἔλειπετο τῶν πολεμίων, ἢλπιζεν εξ ὧν ἐθάρρη πολεμήσειν ἀκωλύτως.

4 ἔπει δ' ἀναστρέψαντες ἐκ Κατάνης οἱ Συρακούσιοι παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἐπαγαγὼν ταχὺ τοὺς 'Ἀθηναίους ἐκράτησε. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ γὰρ ἔπεις ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο τῇ διώξει· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ διαφθείρων καὶ ἀποκοπτῶν τὰς γεφύρας, παρέσχεν Ἔρμοκράτει λέγειν παραθαρρύνοντι τοὺς Συρακούσιος ὅτι γελοῖος ἐστιν ὁ Νικίας, ὅπως οὐ μαχεῖται

5 στρατηγῶν, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχη πεπλευκῶς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φόβον τε καὶ κατάπληξιν ἵσχυρὰν ἐνειργάσατο τοὺς Συρακούσιοι, ὡστ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὄντων τὸτε πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγῶν ἐτέρους ἔλεσθαι τρεῖς, οῖς πίστιν ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος δὲ ὅρκων, 534 ἢ μὴν ἔσειν 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 manoeuvring so as not to give battle, as though it was not for battle that he had crossed the seas. However, he did infuse fear and mighty consternation into the Syracusans, so that in place of their fifteen generals then in office they elected three others, to whom the people pledged themselves under oath that they would surely suffer them to command with full and independent powers.
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6. Τοῦ δ’ 'Ολυμπιείου πλησίον ὄντος ὀρμησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καταλαβεῖν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐν αὐτῷ χρυσῶν καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀναθημάτων. ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἑπίτηδες ἀναβαλλόμενος ύστερησε καὶ περιείδε φρονέαν εἰσελθοῦσαν παρὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἥγούμενος, ἐὰν τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσσωσιν οἱ στρατιώται, τὸ μὲν κοινὸν οὐκ ὠφεληθήσεσθαι,

7. τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν αὐτός ἔξειν τοῦ ἀσεβήματος. τῇ δὲ νίκῃ περιβοήτῳ γενομένῃ χρησάμενος εἰς οὐδέν, ὁλόγων ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων αὐθεὶς ἄνεχώρησεν εἰς Νάξον, κἀκεῖ διεχείμασε, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλίσκων στρατιά τοσαύτη, πρᾶττων δὲ μικρὰ πρὸς Σικελοὺς τινὰς ἀφισταμένους πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡστε τοὺς Συρακουσίους αὐθεὶς ἀναθαρρήσαντας ἔξελάσαι πρὸς Κατάνην καὶ τὴν τε χώραν τεμεῖν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακαύσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

8. 'Α δὴ πάντες ἤτιώτοτο τὸν Νικίαν, ὡς ἐν τῷ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ μέλλειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τῶν πράξεων ἀπολλύντα καιρόν, ἐπεὶ τὰς γε πράξεις οὐδεὶς ἄν εμέμψατο τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὀρμήσας γὰρ ἣν ἐνεργὸς καὶ δραστήριος, τομήσαι δὲ μελλήτης καὶ ἀτολμος.

XVII. Ὡς δ’ οὖν ἐκίνησε τὴν στρατιάν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας, οὕτως ἐστρατήγησε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὁξύτητος ἁμα καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐπῆλθεν, ὡστε λαθεῖν μὲν εἰς Θάυμον ταῖς ναυαὶ προσμίξας καὶ ἀποβάς, φθάσαι δὲ τὰς 'Επιπολάς

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The Olympicum 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,¹ 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 Epipolae² 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.
κατασχών, τῶν δὲ προσβοηθούντων λογάδων κρατήσας ἐλεῖν μὲν τριακοσίους, τρέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων ἀμαχὸν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν.

2 Ὅ τοι δὲ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ Σικελιώτας ἐξε- πληξε καὶ τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ἀπιστίαν παρέσχεν, ὅλῳ χρόνῳ περιετείχισε Συρακούσας, πόλιν Ἀθηνῶν οὐκ ἐλάττωνα, δυσεργοτέραν δὲ χωρίων ἀνωμαλίαις καὶ θαλάσσῃ γειτνιώσῃ καὶ παρακει- μένοις ἐλεσι τείχος κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον

3 ἀγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τούτ' ἐξεργάσασθαι μικρῶν ἐδέσα τὸν παντὸς ἀνθρώπος οὐδ' ὑμιᾶνοντι χρόμενος ἐαυτῷ πρὸς τοσαῦτας φροντίδας, ἀλλὰ νόσον νοσῶν νεφρίτων, ἢ τὸ μὴ προσεκπονηθέν λείμμα ποιεῖσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστι. θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν στρατη- γοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν

4 ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐν οἷς κατωρθοῦν. ο μὲν γὰρ Εὐρι- πίδης μετὰ τὴν ἤπταν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὀλέθρον γρά- φων ἐπικήθειευ ἐποίησεν.

Οἶδε Συρακοσίους ὁκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν

"Ἀνδρέε, ὅτ' ἦν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἵσου ἄμφοτέροις.

5 οὐκ ὁκτὼ δὲ νίκας, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ἂν τις εὗροι Συρακοσίους νευκηκήμενους ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πρὶν ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἡ τύχης ἀντίστασιν τινα γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αἱρομένους δυνάμεως.

XVIII Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πλείσταις πράξεις βια- ζόμενος τὸ σῶμα παρῆν ὁ Νικίας ἀκμῆν δὲ ποτε τῆς ἀρρωστίας λαβοῦσης ὁ μὲν ἐν τείχεσι μετ'
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

ολίγων ὑπηρετῶν κατέκειτο, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν ἔχων ὁ Λάμαχος προσεμάχετο τοῖς Συρακούσιοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τεῖχος ἀνάγομεν πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐ κωλύσειν ἐμελλε διὰ μέσον τὸν ἀποτειχισμὸν. τῷ δὲ κρατεῖν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτακτοτερον φερομένων πρὸς τὰς διώξεις, ἀπομονωθεῖς ὁ Λάμαχος ὑπέστη τῶν Συρακούσιων τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἐπιφερομένους. ἣν δὲ πρῶτος αὐτῶν Καλλικράτης, ἀνήρ πολεμικὸς καὶ θυμοειδής. πρὸς τούτων ἐκ προκλήσεως καταστᾶς ὁ Λάμαχος ἐμονομάχησε, καὶ λαβών πληγὴν πρότερος, εἶτα δοῦς καὶ πεσὼν ὁμοὶ συναπέθανε τῷ Καλλικράτει. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κρατήσαντες αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξῆραν οἱ Συρακούσιοι, δρόμῳ δὲ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν οἷς ὁ Νικίας ἦν οὐκ ἔχων τοὺς βοηθοῦντας. ὁμοὶ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐξαναστὰς καὶ κατἰδὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς καθ᾽ ἕαυτόν, ὡσα ξύλα πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐτύγχανεν εἰς μηχανᾶς παραβεβλημένα, καὶ τὰς μηχανὰς αὐτὰς πῦρ κομίσαντας ἄψαι. τοῦτο τοὺς Συρακούσιους ἐπέσχε καὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἔσωσε καὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. φλόγα γὰρ ἀρθείσαν διὰ μέσον πολλὴν ἱδόντες ἀπετράπησαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι.

4 Τούτων δὲ πραξθέντων ἀπολέλειπτο μὲν ὁ Νικίας μόνος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἢν δ᾽ έλπίδος μεγάλης. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις μεθισταυτο καὶ πλοῖα μεστὰ σίτου πολλαχόθεν ἢλθεν εἰς τὸ τρατόπεδον, τοῖς πράγμασιν εὐ φερομένως πάντων προστιθεμένων. καὶ λόγοι τινὲς ἢδη παρὰ τῶν

1 eis τὸ στρατόπεδον MSS. and eod.; ἡθεν added by Sintenis.
NICIAS

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

Thus it came to pass that Nicias was left sole general; but he was in great hopes. Cities were inclining to take his side, and ships full of grain came to his camp from every quarter. Everybody hastens to join a successful cause. Besides, sundry proposals for a treaty were already coming to him from those
Συρακουσίων ἐγίνοντο περὶ συμβάσεως πρὸς
5 αὐτῶν, ἀπεγνωκότων τὴν πόλιν. ὅπου καὶ Γύλιπ-
πος ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος πλέων βοηθὸς αὐτοῖς, ὡς
ήκουσε κατὰ πλοῦν τὸν ἀποτελείσμον καὶ τὰς
ἀπορίας, οὕτως ἔπλει τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἔχομένης μὲν
ηδὴ τῆς Σικελίας, Ἰταλίωταις δὲ τὰς πόλεις δια-
φυλάξων, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο πως ἐγγένειοτο. μεγάλη γὰρ
ἡ δόξα διεφόρτα τοῦ κρατεῖν πάντα τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐχειν ἀμαχον δι' ἐντυχίαν
καὶ φρόνησιν.

6 Ὅ δὲ Νικίας εὐθὺς ἀὐτῶς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν
ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ρώμης καὶ τύχης ἀνατε-
θαρρηκός, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Συρακουσῶν δια-
λεγομένοις κρύφα καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον
οὕτω τὴν πόλιν ἐνδίδοσθαι κατὰ συμβάσεις
νομίζων, οὐδένα τοῦ Γύλιππου λόγον ἐσχε προσ-
πλέοντος, οὐδὲ φυλακὴν ἐποίησατο καθαράν,
ἀλλὰ τῷ παντελῶς ὑπεροφάσθαι καὶ καταφρονεῖ-
σθαι λαθῶν αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνήρ εἰσέπλευε διὰ πορθ-
μοῦ, καὶ προσκομισθεῖς ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν Συρακουσῶν
στρατιῶν συνηγάγετο πολλήν, οὐδ’ εἰ πάρεστι
τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ προσδοκῶν-

7 τῶν. διὸ καὶ παρήγγελτο μὲν αὐτῶς ἐκκλησία
περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν ὁμολογιῶν, καὶ τινὲς
ἐβάδιζον ἢδη, πρὶν ἴ παντελῶς ἀποτελεῖσθήναι
τὴν πόλιν οἷομενοὶ δει γενέσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις·
βραχὺ γὰρ ἢν κομιδὴ τὸ ἀπολειπόμενον τοῦ ἔργου,
καὶ τοῦτο παραβεβλημένην εἰχε τὴν παρασκευὴν
τῆς τεχνοδομίας σύμπασαν.

ΧΙX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καίροῦ παρόντος τοῦ κιν-
δύνου ἀφικνεῖται Γογγύλος ἐκ Κορίνθου μᾶ

1 εὐθὺς deleted by Coraës and Bekker.
Nicias

Syracuseans 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
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tριήρει· καὶ συνδραμόντων πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἰκός, πάντων ἔφραζεν ὅτι Γογγύλῳ πιστεύοντος βεβαιῶς, ἣκεν ἀγγελος παρὰ τοῦ Γογγύλου κελεύοντος ἀπαντᾷν. οἱ δὲ θαρρήσαντες ἐξωπλίζοντο· καὶ προσήγγεν εὑρὸς ὁ Γογγύλος ἐξ ὧδοῦ παρατεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς Αθηναίους. ὡς δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἀντέταξεν ὁ Νικίας, θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Αθηναίους ὁ Γογγύλος τὰ ὀπλα καὶ κήρυκα πέμψας ἔλεγε διδόναι τοῖς Αθηναίοις ἀδειαν ἀπιούσιν ἐκ Σικελίας.

3 Ὅ μὲν οὖν Νικίας οὐθέν ἡξίωσε ν ἀποκρίνα-
σθαι τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινὲς καταγελώντες ἰρῶτων εἰ διὰ παρουσίαν ἐνὸς τρίβωνος καὶ βακτηρίας Δακωνικῆς οὔτως ἵσχυ ὁ τὰ Συρακού-
σίων ἐξαιφύης ἔγονεν ὡστ' Ἀθηναίων κατα-
φροεῖν, οἱ πολὺ ῥωμαλεστέρους Γογγύλον καὶ 
μᾶλλον κομῶντας τριακοσίους ἔχοντες ἐν πέδαις 
4 δεδεμένον ἀπέδωκαν Δακεδαιμονίοις. Τίμαιος δὲ 
καὶ τοὺς Σικελιώτας φησίν ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖ-
σθαι τὸν Γογγύλον, ύστερον μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν 
αὐτοῦ καὶ μικρολογίαν καταγγύνοτας, ὡς δὲ πρῶ-
τον ὁφθη, σκόπποντας εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν 
κόμην. εἶτα μέντοι φησίν αὐτὸς ὁ τὸ Γογγύλῳ 
φανέντι καθάπερ γλαυκί πολλοὶ προσέπτησαν 
ἐτοίμως στρατευόμενοι. καὶ ταῦτα τῶν πρῶτων 
ἀληθεστερά εἰςιν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ 
τρίβωνι τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Σπάρτης

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single trireme. All flocking to meet him, as was natural, he told them that Gylippus 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 Gylippus bidding them come out to meet him. Then they plucked up heart and donned their arms. No sooner had Gylippus come up than he led his men in battle array against the Athenians. But when Nicias arrayed his men too over against him, Gylippus halted under arms, and sent a herald with the message that he offered the Athenians safe conduct if they would depart from Sicily.

Nicias deigned no answer to this; but some of his soldiers mocked, and asked the herald if the presence of a single Spartan cloak and staff had made the prospects of the Syracusans on a sudden so secure that they could afford to deride the Athenians, who had restored to the Lacedaemonians, out of prison and fetters, three hundred men¹ far sturdier than Gylippus, and longer haired. Timaeus says that the Sicilians also made no account of Gylippus, 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 Gylippus 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 Gylippus men beheld the symbols of the majesty of Sparta, and rallied round

¹ The captives of Sphaeteria (chapter viii. 1), two hundred and ninety-two in number (Thuc. iv. 38, 5).
5 καθορώντες συνίσταντο. κάκείνου τὸ πᾶν ἔργον χρησίμωταν φησί τὸ Θουκυδίδης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Φιλιστος, ἀνήρ Συρακούσιος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὀρατῆς γενόμενος.

Τῇ μὲν οὖν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες οἱ ᾿Αθηναῖοι τῶν Συρακούσιων διάνοις τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν καὶ Γογγύλον τὸν Κορίνθιον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἐδείξειν ὁ Γύλιππος οἶον ἐστὶν ἐμπειρία. τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπλοῖς καὶ ἱπποῖς καὶ χωρίως χρησάμενος οὐχ ὡσαύτως, ἀλλὰ μεταθεὶς τὴν 6 τάξιν, ἐνίκησε τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίους· καὶ φυγόντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιστήσας τοὺς Συρακούσιους, τοῖς λίθοις οἷς ἐκείνοι προσεκόμιζον καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ παροικοδομῶν εἰς διαστολὰς ἀπέκοψε τὸν ἐκείνων περιτειχισμὸν, ὡστε αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον κρατοῦσιν.

Εἰκ τούτον δὲ θαρρήσαντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι τὰς τε ναὸς ἐπιλήσαν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιπέδις τοῖς ἐαυτῶν καὶ ἀκολούθοις περιελάύνοντες πολλοὺς ἔρξαν. 7 καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐπίων ἐπὶ τᾶς πόλεως αὐτὸς ἐξώρισε καὶ συνίστην πάντας ἐρρομένως ὑπακούοντας αὐτῷ καὶ συλλαμβανομένους, ὡστε τὸν Νικίαν ἀδικεῖν εἰς ἐκείνους ἀποτρεπόμενον τοὺς πρώτους λογισμοὺς καὶ συμφρονοῦντα τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολὴν ἀδυμεῖν, καὶ γράφειν τοῖς ᾿Αθηναίοις κελεύοντα πέμπειν ἔτερον στρατὸν ἢ καὶ τούτον ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτῷ δὲ πάντως αἰτούμενον τῆς στρατηγίας ἄφεσιν διὰ τὴν νόσον.
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Moreover, that the whole achievement of deliverance was his, is the testimony not only of Thucydides, but also of Philistus, who was a Syracusan, and an eye-witness of the events thereof.

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

After this the Syracusans plucked up heart and went to manning their ships, while their own horsemen and those of their allies would ride about and cut off many of their besiegers. Gylippus also went out in person to the cities of Sicily and roused up and united them all into vigorous and obedient concert with him. Nicias therefore fell back again upon those views of the undertaking which he had held at the outset, and, fully aware of the reversal which it had suffered, became dejected, and wrote a dispatch ¹ 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' Ἀθηναιοὶ καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν ὄρμηντο πέμπειν ἐτέραν δύναμιν εἰς Σικελίαν, φθόνῳ δὲ τῶν πρῶτον πραττομένων πρὸς εὐτυχίαν τοῦ Νικίου τοσαύτην πολλὰς διατριβὰς ἐμβαλόντων τότε γοῦν ἐσπευδον βοηθεῖν. καὶ Δημοσθένης μὲν ἐμελλὲ μεγάλω στόλῳ πλεῖν ἐκ χειμῶνος, Ἐυρυμέδων δὲ διὰ χειμῶνος προεξέπλευσε χρήματα κομίζων καὶ συστρατήγους ἀποφαίνων ἤρημένους τῷ Νικίῳ τῶν αὐτόθι στρατευομένων Ἐυθῦδημον καὶ Μένανδρον.

2 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξαίφνης ἐπιχειροῦμενος ὁ Νικίας ταῖς μὲν ναυσίν ἡττώμενος τὸ πρῶτον ὁμός ἐξέωσε καὶ κατέδυσε πολλὰς τῶν πολέμιων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν οὐκ ἐφθάσε βοηθῶν, ἀλλ' ἄφνω προσπέσων ὁ Γύλιππος ἔλεξε τὸ Πλημμύριον, ἐν ὦ σκευῶν τριηρικῶν καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐκράτησε πάντων καὶ διέφθειρεν ἀνδρᾶς οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ἔστας ἐλαβε' τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀφείλετο τοῦ Νικίου τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὴν εὐπέτειαν. ἦν γὰρ ἡ κομιδὴ παρὰ τὸ Πλημμύριον ἀσφαλῆς καὶ ταχεία τῶν 'Ἀθηναίων κρατοῦντων, ἐκπεσόντων δὲ χαλεπῆ καὶ μετὰ μάχης ἐγίνετο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκεῖ ναυλοχοῦτας. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις οὐκ ἀπὸ κράτους ἐφαίνετο νευκημένου, ἀλλ'
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.
ἀταξία περὶ τὴν δίωξιν. αὐθίς οὖν ἐπεχείρουν παρασκευαζόμενοι λαμπρότερον.

4 Ὅ δὲ Νικίας οὐκ ἐβούλετο ναμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι, στόλον τοσοῦτον προσπλέοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δυνάμεως ἄκραιφνοις, ἦν ἢγε Δημοσθένης σπεύδων, ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων καὶ χορηγουμένων φαύλως διαγωνίσασθαι. τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μένανδρον καὶ τὸν Εὐθύδημον ἀρτίως εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένοις φιλοτιμία καὶ ἥθος ἦν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς στρατηγούς, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην φθινήν πράξαντάς τι λαμπρόν, 5 ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸν Νικίαν. πρόσχημα δ' ἤν ἢ δόξα τῆς πόλεως, ἢν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ καταλύεσθαι παντάπασι φάσκοντες εἰ φοβηθήσονται Συρακοσίους ἐπιπλέοντας, ἐξεβιάσαντο ναυμαχῆσαι. καὶ καταστρατηγηθέντες ὑπ' Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Κορινθίων κυβερνήτου τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἀριστον, ὡς εἰρήκε Θουκυδίδης, κατὰ κράτος ἴτηθησαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον καὶ ἄθυμα πολλή περιεστήκει τὸν Νικίαν τῇ τε μουρχίᾳ κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον αὐθίς ὑπὸ τῶν συναρχόντων.

XXI. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν λιμένων ἐπεφαίνετο λαμπρότατος τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δεινότατος τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἐπὶ νεῶν ἐβδομῆν κοντα καὶ τριῶν ἄγων ὀπλίτας πεντακισχιλίους, ἀκοντιστᾶς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ὀπλων δὲ κόσμῳ 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-maneuvred 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 πλήθει κελευστῶν καὶ
αὐλητῶν θεατρικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἐκπλήξιν πολεμίων
2 ἐξησκημένος. ἦν όνυ, ὡς εἰκός, αὖθις ἐν φόβῳ
μεγάλῳ τὰ Συρακούσιων εἰς οὐδὲν πέρας οὐδὲ
ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἀλλὰ πονοῦντας ἀλλως καὶ φθειρο-
μένους αὐτοὺς μάτην ὅρωντων.
Τὸν δὲ Νικίαν οὐ πολὺν χρόνον εὑφρανεν ἡ
παρουσία τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ’ ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν
λόγοις γενέσθαι, τοῦ Δημοσθένους εὐθὺς ἐπιχει-
ρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις κελεύσεις καὶ τῷ ταχύτω
τῶν κινδύνων περὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαγωνισμένους
ἐλεῖν Συρακούσας ἡ ἀποπλεῖν οἰκαδε, δείκας καὶ
θαυμάσας τὴν ὁξύτητα καὶ τόλμαν ἐδείτο μηδὲν
3 ἀπεγνωσμένως πράττειν μηδὲ ἀνοίτως. τὴν γὰρ
τριβὴν εἶναι κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων οὔτε χρῆματα
κεκτημένων ἐτι, μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς
πολὺν χρόνον παραμενοῦντων, εἰ δὲ θλίβοιτο
ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ταχὺ πάλιν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμ-
βάσεις τραπεσομένων, ὡς πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ
ησαν ἄνδρες οὐκ ὅλοι τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις δια-
λεγόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ κρύφα καὶ μένειν κελεύσεις,
ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπερπονοῦντων τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τὸν
Γόλιππον βαρυμομένων, ἐὰν δὲ μικρὸν ἐπιτείνω-
σιν αἱ ἀνάγκαι, παντάπασιν ἄπαγορευσόντων.
4 τούτων ὁ Νικίας τὰ μὲν αἰνητόμενος, τὰ δ’ οὐ
θέλων ἐν φαινομένῳ λέγειν, ἀποτέλεσα παρέσχε τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς δόξαν, καὶ ταῦτ ἐκεῖνα πάλιν ἥκειν
φάσκουτε αὐτοῖ, μελλήματα καὶ διατριβᾶς καὶ
ἀκριβολογίας, αἰς ἀπόλεσε τὴν ἀκμὴν οὐκ εὐθὺς
ἐπιχειρῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ’ ἐως καὶ κατα-
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 Gylippus, 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 Δημοθένει προσετίθεντο. καὶ ὁ Νικίας μόλις συνεχώρησεν ἐκβιασθείς.

5 Ὑπὸ δὴ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιάν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρησε ταῖς Ἑπιπολαίας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν φθάσας πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἀμυνομένους ἔτρεψατο. καὶ κρατῶν οὐκ ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἔχορει προσωτέρω, μέχρι οὗ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἐνέτυχε. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὕτω συστρέψαντες ἑαυτούς καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ἐναντίος τοῖς δόρασι μετὰ βοής ἐώσαντο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον.

6 δὲ ὅλου δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐθὺς ἦν πτολαί καὶ ταραχή, καὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἢδη καταπιμπλάμενον τὸ ἐς νικῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνον καὶ προσφερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πεθοβημένων ἀνακοπτόμενον ἑαυτῷ περιέπιπτε, τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας οἴμενον διόκειν,

7 τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς πολεμίους χρώμενον. ἡ γὰρ ἀτακτὸς ἀνάμιξις ἐν ταύτῳ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγνοίας, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὦψεως ἀπιστοῦν ἐν νυκτὶ μήτε σκότος ἀκρατὸν μήτε φῶς ἔχουσῃ βέβαιον, ἀλλ' οίμαν εἰκὸς ἡδη καταφερομένης σελήνης καὶ περισκιαζομένης ὑπόλοιπος πολλοὶ καὶ σώμασι κινούμενοι διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς μὴ διασαφοῦσαν τὰ εἴδη φόβῳ τοῦ πολεμίου καὶ τὸ ὀίκειον ποιεῖν ὑποπτοῦν, εἰς δεινῶς ἀπορίας καὶ περιπετείας καθίστη τοὺς.

8 Ἀθηναίους. ἔτυχον δὲ πῶς καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἔχοντες ὀπίσθεν· οἴθεν αὐτοὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰς σκιὰς ἐπιβάλλουντες ἀπέκρυπτον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα, τοὺς δὲ ἑναντίους ὀ 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 πλείονας ὤρασθαί καὶ λαμπροτέρους ἔποιεῖ.  
9 Τέλος δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐνέδοσαν, 538 προσκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων φεύγοντες οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἐκείνων, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέθυμησκον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὀλισθαίνοντες· τοὺς δ' ἀποσκεδασθέντας καὶ πλανωμένους ἤμέρας ἐπιγενομένης οἱ ἐπιεύς καταλαμβάνοντες διέφθειρον. ἐγένοντο δὲ νεκρῷ δισχίλιοι, καὶ τῶν περιγενομένων ὅλης μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἀπεσφάθησαν.  

XXII. Ὡ μὲν οὖν Νικίας πληγεῖς οὐκ ἀπροσδοκίτως ἤτιατο τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὴν προπέτειαν ἐκείνοις δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀπολογησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποπλείων τὴν τάχιστην· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλην ἀφίξεσθαι δύναμιν αὐτοῖς, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν, ὅποι γε καὶ κρατοῦντας ἐκεῖνων ἔδει μεταστήναι καὶ φυγεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀεὶ μὲν, ὡς πυνθάνονται, βαρὺ καὶ νοσῶν ὄν στρατοπέδῳ, νῦν δ', ὡς βλέπουσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὠραν ὀλέθριον. μετοπώρου γὰρ ἡ ἡ ἀρχή καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡσθένουν ἡδή, πάντες δὲ ἠθύμουν.  

'Ὁ δὲ Νικίας χαλεπῶς ἤκουε τὴν φυγήν καὶ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, οὗ τῷ μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς Συρακουσίους, ἀλλὰ τῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας καὶ συκοφαντίας φοβεῖσθαι. δεινὸν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτόθι προσδοκᾶν ἔφασκεν, εἰ δὲ συμβαίη, μᾶλλον αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων βάνατον ἡ τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐχ ὁμοια 286
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

4 ταύτα δ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης οὐδὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κατευθυνήσας ἐπαύσατο βιαζόμενος, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις παρέσχε τὸν Νικίαν προσδοκώντα καὶ πιστεύοντα τοῖς ἐξ ὀφείλεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀποβάσεως διὸ καὶ συνεχώρησαν. ὡς μέντοι στρατιά Συρακοσίως ἐπῆλθον ἄλλῃ καὶ μᾶλλον ἦπτετο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ νόσος, ἡδὴ καὶ τῷ Νικίᾳ συνεδόκει μεθίστασθαι, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐτρεπεῖς εἶναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν.

XXIII. 'Ως δ' ἦν ἔτοιμα ταύτα πάντα καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὕδεις παρέμειναν, ἀτε δὴ μὴ προσδοκώντων, ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτός, μέγα δέος τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἡ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκπεπληγμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἤλειν τὴν περὶ τὰς τριακάδας ἐπισκόπησιν ἀμῶς γέ πως ἡδὴ συνεφρόνουν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ γενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης.

2 αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν σελήνην, ὅτινες συντυχχάνουσα καὶ πῶς αἰφνίδιον ἐκ πανσελήνου τὸ φῶς ἀπόλλυσι καὶ χρόας ἢσι παντοδαπᾶς, οὐ ράδιον ἢν καταλαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ἄλλοκοτον ὡγοῦντο καὶ πρὸ συμφορῶν τινῶν μεγάλων ἐκ θεοῦ γινόμενον υμεῖσιν.
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not like-minded with Leon of Byzantium, who, at a later time, said to his fellow citizens: "I would rather be put to death by you than with you." However, regarding the exact spot to which they should remove their camp, Nicias said they would deliberate at their leisure. Thereupon Demosthenes, who had not been successful in his previous plan, ceased trying to carry his point, and so led the rest of the generals to believe that Nicias must have confident expectations from his correspondents in the city in making such a sturdy fight against the proposed retreat; they therefore sided with him. However, a fresh army came to the aid of the Syracusans, and sickness kept spreading among the Athenians, so that at last Nicias also decided in favour of a change of base, and ordered the soldiers to hold themselves in readiness to sail away.

XXIII. But just as everything was prepared for this and none of the enemy were on the watch, since they did not expect the move at all, there came an eclipse of the moon by night. This was a great terror to Nicias and all those who were ignorant or superstitious enough to quake at such a sight. The obscurcation of the sun towards the end of the month was already understood, even by the common folk, as caused somehow or other by the moon; but what it was that the moon encountered, and how, being at the full, she should on a sudden lose her light and emit all sorts of colours, this was no easy thing to comprehend. Men thought it uncanny,—a sign sent from God in advance of divers great calamities.

1 Perhaps in 340 B.C., when Philip of Macedon was besieging Byzantium. Leon was a rhetorician and historian.
'Ο γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατόν τε πάντων καὶ θαρραλεώτατον περὶ σελήνης κατανγκασμῶν καὶ σκιῶν λόγων εἰς γραφήν καταθέμενος Ἀναξαγόρας οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἢν παλαιὸς οὔτε ὁ λόγος ἑνδοξος, ἀλλ' ἀπόρρητος ἦτο καὶ δι' ὁλίγων καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἢ πίστεως βαδίζων. οὗ γὰρ ἤνείχοντο τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μετεωρολέσχας τότε καλομένους, ὡς εἰς αἰτίας ἁλόγους καὶ δυνάμεις ἀπρονοήτους καὶ κατηγακασμένα πάθη διατρίβονται τῷ θείῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἔφυγε, καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰρχθέντα μόλις περιποιήσατο Περικλῆς, καὶ Σωκράτης, οὗδέν αὐτῷ τῶν γε τοιούτων προσήκον, ὁμοὶς ἀπώλετο διὰ φιλοσοφίαν.

4 ὅσε δ' ἡ Πλάτωνος ἐκλάμψασα δόξα διὰ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι ταῖς θείαις καὶ κυριωτέραις ἀρχαῖς ὑπέταξε τὰς φυσικὰς ἀνάγκας, ἀφείλε τὴν τῶν λόγων τούτων διαβολὴν, καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασιν εἰς ἀπαντᾶς ὁδὸν ἐνέδωκεν. ὁ γοῦν ἔταιρος αὐτοῦ Δίων, καθ' ἐν χρόνον ἐμελλέν ἁρας ἐκ Ζακύνθου πλεῖν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον, ἐκλειπούσης τῆς σελήνης, οὐδέν διαταραχθεὶς ἀνήχθη, καὶ κατασχὼν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐξέβαλε τὸν τύραννον.

5 Τῷ μέντοι Νικία συνηνέχθη τότε μηδὲ μάντιν ἐχειν ἐμπειρον· ὁ γὰρ συνήθης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἁφαιρῶν Στιλβίδης ἐτεθνήκει.
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. 3.
3 In the spring of 399 B.C.
4 In 357 B.C. See the Dion, xxiv.
μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν. ἐπεὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὡς φησὶ Φιλό-
χορος, φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἢν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ
χρηστῶν ἐπικρύψεως γὰρ αἱ σὺν φόβῳ πράξεις
δὲονται, τὸ δὲ φῶς πολέμιον ἐστὶν αὐταῖς. ἀλλως
τε καὶ τῶν περὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην ἔπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας
ἐποιοῦντο φυλακῆς, ὡς Αὐτοκλείδης διέγραψεν
ἐν τοῖς ἐξηγητικοῖς: οὐ δὲ Νικίας ἀλλὴν ἔπεισε
σελήνης ἀναμένειν περίδον, ὡσπερ οὐκ εὐθὺς
θεασάμενοι αὐτὴν ἀποκαθαρθεῖσαν, ὅτε τὸν
σκιερὸν τόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀντιφραττόμενον
παρῆλθε.

XXIV. Μικρὸν δὲ πάντων ἀφέμενος τῶν ἀλλῶν
ἐθνε τε καὶ διεμαντεύετο καθήμενος, ἐως ἐπῆλθον
 αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι, τῷ μὲν πεζῷ τὰ τεῖχῃ καὶ τὸ
στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν πολιορκοῦσιν, ταῖς δὲ ναυσί
κύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα περιλαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αὐτοῖς
μόνον ταῖς τριήρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια
πανταχόθεν ἐπιβαίνοντα τῶν ἀλιάδων καὶ ταῖς
σκάφαις προσπλέοντα προὔκαλεῖτο τοὺς Ἀθη-
2 ναίους καὶ προὔπηλικίζειν. δὲν ἔνα, παῖδα γνωρί-
μων γονέων, Ἡρακλείδην, προεξελάσαντα τῷ
πλοίῳ ναῦς Ἀττικὴ διώκουσα κατελάμβανε.
δεῖσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῷ Πόλλιχος ὁ θείος ἀντελαύνει
δέκα τριήρεσιν ὅν ἤρχεν· οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι περὶ τοῦ
Πολλίχου φοβηθέντες ὠσαύτως ἀνήγοντο. καὶ
ναυμαχίας ἵσχυρᾶς γενομένης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Συρκοῦσιοι,
καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα πολλῶν μετ’ ἄλλων
διέφθειραν.

3 Ἡν οὖν οὐκέτι λένειν ἀνασχετὰ Ἀθηναίοις,
died a short time before. For indeed the sign from Heaven, as Philochorus observed, was not an obnoxious one to fugitives, but rather very propitious; concealment is just what deeds of fear need, whereas light is an enemy to them. And besides, men were wont to be on their guard against portents of sun and moon for three days only, as Autocleides has remarked in his "Exegetics"; but Nicias persuaded the Athenians to wait for another full period of the moon, as if, forsooth, he did not see that the planet was restored to purity and splendour just as soon as she had passed beyond the region which was darkened and obscured by the earth.

XXIV. Abandoning almost everything else, Nicias lay there sacrificing and divining until the enemy came up against him. With their land forces they laid siege to his walls and camp, and with their fleet they took possession of the harbour round about. Not only the men of Syracuse in their triremes, but even the striplings, on board of fishing smacks and skiffs, sailed up from every side with challenges and insults for the Athenians. To one of these, a boy of noble parentage, Heracleides by name, who had driven his boat well on before the rest, an Attic ship gave chase, and was like to capture him. But the boy's uncle, Pollichus, concerned for his safety, rowed out to his defence with the ten triremes which were under his orders, and then the other commanders, fearing in turn for the safety of Pollichus, likewise put out for the scene of action. A fierce sea fight was thus brought on, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and slew Eurymedon along with many others.

Accordingly the Athenians could no longer endure
αλλα των στρατηγῶν κατεβόντων πεζῷ κελεύοντες ἀναχωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Συρακούσιοι νικήσαντες εὖθὺς ἐνέφραξαν καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὸν διέκπλουν τοῦ λιμένος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν τούτο μὲν ὁυκ ἐπείθοντο· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπολιπεῖν ὁλκάδας τε πολλὰς καὶ τριήρεις ὀλίγον ἀριθμῷ διακοσίων ἀποδοξοῦσας· ἐμβιβάσαντες δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἁρίστους καὶ τῶν ἁκοντιστῶν τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους ἐπλήρωσαν ἵκατὸν καὶ δέκα τριήρεις· αἱ γὰρ ἀλλαὶ ταρσῶν ἐνδεεὶς ἔσαν. τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ὄχλον ἐστησε παρὰ θάλασσαν ὁ Νικίας, ἐκλιψὼν τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὡστε μὴ τεθυκότων τὴν εἰδισμένην θυσίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ τῶν Συρακούσιων, θύσαι τότε τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἀναβάντας ἱδὰ πληρομένων τῶν τριήρων.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μάντεις τοῖς Συρακούσιοι ἀπήγγειλαν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν λαμπρότητα καὶ νίκην μὴ καταρχομένους μάχης, ἀλλ’ ἀμυνομένους (καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων κρατεῖν ἀμυνόμενον καὶ προεπιχειρούμενον), ἀυὴθρῆσαν.

Ἡ δὲ ναυμαχία πολὺ μεγίστη καὶ καρπερωτάτη γενομένη, καὶ μηδὲν ἐλάττονα πάθη καὶ θορύβους παρασχοῦσα τοῖς θεωμένοις ὥ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις διὰ τὴν παντὸς ἐπίβλεψιν τοῦ ἔργου ποικίλας μεταβολᾶς καὶ ἀπροσδοκότων ἐν ὀλίγῳ λαμβάνοντος, ἐβλαπτε ταῖς αὐτῶν παρασκευαίς οὐχ ἦττον τῶν πολεμῶν τοῦ Ἀθηναίων. 2 ἀθρόαις γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ βαρείαις 294
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 javelineers 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 ὁμοίαν ἔχουσι τὴν πληγὴν πανταχόθεν ἀντέβαλλον ἀκούτιοι καὶ τοξεύμασιν, ὅν ὁ σάλος τῆς εὐθυβολίας διέστρεφεν, ὡστε μὴ πάντα κατ' αἴχμην προσφέρεσθαι. ταῦτα δ' Ἀρίστων ὁ Κορίνθιος κυβερνήτης ἐδίδαξε τοὺς 540 Ἐυρακοσίους, καὶ παρὰ τῇ μάχῃ αὐτὴν ἄγωνιζόμενος προθύμως ἐπεσεν ἡδὲ κρατοῦντων τῶν Ἐυρακοσίων.

3. Γενομένης δὲ μεγάλης τροπῆς καὶ φθορᾶς, ἡ μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν φυγῇ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀποκέκοπτον χαλέπην δὲ καὶ διὰ γῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν ὄρωντες οὔτε ναὺς ἀφέλκοντας ἐγγύθεν ἐτί τοὺς πολέμιοις ἐκώλυνοι οὔτε νεκρῶν ἔτησαν ἀναίρεσιν, ἀτε δή τῆς ἐκείνων ἀταφίας τῆς τῶν νοσοῦντων καὶ τετρωμένων ἀπόλειψιν ὀικτροτέραν οὖσαν ἡδὴ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐχοντες, αὐτοὺς δὲ κάκεινων ἐπιποιωστέρους ἡγούμενοι, μετὰ πλείων κακῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα πάντως ἀφιξομένους τέλος.

XXVI. Ὡρμημένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπαίρειν διὰ νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν περὶ τῶν Γύλιπποι, ὄρωντες ἐν θυσίαις καὶ πότοις τοὺς Ἐυρακοσίους διὰ τῷ τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς ὑντας, οὔτε πείσεων οὔτε βιάσεσθαι προσεδόκων ἀναστάντας ἡδὴ προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς πολέμιοις ἀπιοῦσιν. Ἐρμοκράτης δ' αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ συνθείς ἐπὶ τῶν Νικίαν ἀπάτην,

2 ἐπεμψε τινας τῶν ἑταίρων πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀπ' ἑκείνων μὲν ἦκειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φάσκοντας, οἳ καὶ πρῶτοι εἰώθεσαν κρύφα τῷ Νικίᾳ διαλέγεσθαι,
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
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παραμονοῦντας δὲ μὴ πορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς, ὥς τῶν Συρακουσίων ἐνέδρας πεποιημένων αὐτοῖς καὶ προκατεχόντων τὰς παρόδους. τούτῳ δὲ καταστρατηγηθεῖς ὁ Νικίας ὑπέμενεν ἃ ψευδὸς ἐδείσεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἄληθῶς παθεῖν.

3 προελθόντες γὰρ ἀμ ἠμέρα τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν ὀδῶν κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπετείχισαν τὰς τε γεφύρας ἀπέκοψαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὁμαλοῖς καὶ πεδινοῖς τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἔταξαν, ὥστε μηδένα λελειφθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τόπον ἀμαχεῖ προελθεῖν.

Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἠμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐτέραν ἑπιμείναντες ἐπορεύοντο κλαυθμῷ καὶ ὀλοφυρμῷ, καθάπερ ἐκ πατρίδος, ὡς πολεμίας, ἀνιστάμενοι, διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὰς ἀπολείψεις τῶν ἀδυνάτων φίλων καὶ συνήθων, ὅμως τὰ παρόντα κακὰ κοινῆτερα τῶν προσδοκομένων νομίζοντες εἶναι. πολλῶν δὲ δεινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φαινομένων, οὔδὲν ἦν οἰκτρότερον αὐτοῦ Νικίου θέαμα, κεκακωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας, συνεσταλμένου δὲ παρ᾽ ἀξίαν εἰς ἀναγκαίαν διαίταν καὶ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν ἐφοδίων εἰς τὸ σῶμα πολλῶν διὰ τὴν νόσου δεόμενον, πράπτοντος δὲ μετ᾽ ἀρρωστίας καὶ καρτεροῦντος ἀ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐρρωμένων μόλις ὑπέμενον, καταφανοὺς δὲ πᾶσιν ὅντος οὐ δῆ αὐτῶν οὔδε τῷ φιλοφυχεῖν τοῖς πόνοις ἐμμένοντος, ἀλλὰ 4 δι᾽ ἐκείνους τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ προϊμένου. καὶ γὰρ εἰς διάκρινα καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς τῶν ἀλλῶν ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ λύπης τρεπομένων, ἐκείνως, εἰ ποτὲ βιασθεὶς τούτῳ ποιῆσαι, δῆλος ἦν τὸ αἰσχρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀκλεές

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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
τῆς στρατείας ἀναλογιζόμενος πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὑπερτησεῖν.

6. Οὐ μόνον δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὄψιν ὁρῶντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λόγων μνημονεύοντες καὶ τῶν παραινέσεων ἀς ἐποίησατο κολύμων τὸν ἔκπλουν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνόμιζον ἀναξίως ταλαιπωρεῖν· καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἔλπίδας ἀθύμως εἶχον, ἐννοοῦντες ὡς ἀνήρ θεοφιλὴς καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα λαμπρύναμενος πρὸς τὸ θείον οὐδενὸς ἐπιεικεστέρα τῦχη χρῆται τῶν κακίστων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ταπεινοτάτων.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ γε Νικίας ἐπειράτο καὶ φωνῇ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ δεξιώσει κρείττων ὁρᾶσθαι τῶν δεινῶν. καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν γε τὴν πορείαν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ βαλλόμενος καὶ τραυματιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἠττηθον ἐφύλαττε τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἀρχὴν θεοσθένης ἐώλῳ καὶ τὸ μετ' ἐκείνου στράτευμα, περὶ τὴν Πολυξῆλεον ἀυλὴν ἐν τῷ διαμάχεσθαι καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι κυκλωθέν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δημοσθένης σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπληξῆ μὲν ἑαυτὸν, οὐ μὴν ἀπέθανε, ταχὺ τῶν πολεμίων περισχόντων καὶ συλλαβόντων αὐτὸν.

'Ὡς δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ προσελάσαντες ἐφραζόν οἱ Συρακούσιοι καὶ πέμψας ἵππεας ἑγὼν τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀλωσιν, ἥξιον σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Γύλιππον, ὡς ἄφοι οὖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ Σικελίας ὀμηρὰ λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων ὡσα Συρακούσιοι ἀνάλωτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
come with the great and glorious successes which he had hoped to achieve.

Besides, it was not merely the sight of him now, but also the memory of the arguments and exhortations with which he had once tried to prevent the sailing of the expedition, that led men to think him all the more unworthy to suffer such hardships now; and they had no courage to hope for aid from the gods when they reflected that a man so devout as he, and one who had performed so many great and splendid religious services, now met with no seemlier fortune than the basest and most obscure man in his army.

XXVII. However, it was this very Nicias who tried, both by words and looks and kindly manner, to show himself superior to his dreadful lot. And during all the march which he conducted for eight successive days,¹ though suffering from the missiles of the enemy, he yet succeeded in keeping his own forces from defeat, until Demosthenes and his detachment of the army were captured. These fell behind as they fought their way along, and were surrounded on the homestead of Polyzelus. Demosthenes himself drew his sword and gave himself a thrust; he did not, however, succeed in killing himself, since the enemy quickly closed in upon him and seized him.

When the Syracusans rode up and told Nicias of this disaster, he first sent horsemen to make certain that the force of Demosthenes was really taken, and then proposed to Gylippus a truce permitting the Athenians to depart from Sicily after giving hostages to the Syracusans for all the moneys which they had

¹ Minutely described, day by day, in Thuc. vii. 78-85.
3 οἴ δ' οὗ προσεἵχον, ἄλλα πρὸς ὑβριν καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἐβάλλον ἥδη πιάντων ἐνδεῖς ἑχοντα τῶν ἀναγκαῖων. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὴν νῦκτα διεκαρτέρησε καὶ τὴν ἐπι-
οὐσαν ἰμέραν προῆι βαλλόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀσίναρον ποταμόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι συνενεγκόντες ἐνέσεισαν εἰς τὸ ἁρείθρον, οἳ δὲ
4 φθάνοντες ὑπὸ δίψους ἔρριπτον ἑαυτοῦς· καὶ πλεῖστος ἐνταῦθα μόρος ἢν καὶ ὦμότατος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ πιάντων ἁμα καὶ σφατομένων, ἀχρι Νικίας Γυλίππω προσπεσὼν εἶπεν· ὁ Ἕλεος ἕμας, ὁ Γύλιππε, λαβέτω νικόντας, ἔμοι μὲν μηδεῖς, οὐ ἐπὶ τηλικάυταis εὐτυχίαis ὅνομα καὶ
dόξαν ἔσχον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, ἐνυνο-
θέντας ὅτι κοιναί μὲν αἱ τύχαι τοῦ πολέμου,
μετρίως δ' αὐταῖς καὶ πράσωσ ἑχρήσαντο ἐν οἷς εὐτύχουν Ἀθηναίοι πρὸς ὕμας."
5 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Νικίου λέγοντος ἐπάθε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τὸ Γυλίππος· ἵδει γὰρ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους εὐ πε-
ποιθότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τὰς γενομένας διαλύσεις·
μέγα δ' ἤγειτο πρὸς δόξαν εἰ ξώντας ἀπαγάγοι
τοὺς ἀντιστρατήγους. διὸ τὸν τε Νικίαν ἀναλα-
βὼν ἐθάρρυνε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ζωγρεῖν παρή-
γειλε. βραδεός δὲ τοῦ παραγγέλματος διίκνου-
μένου πολλῷ τῶν φονευθέντων ἐλάττονες οἱ
dιασωθέντες ἑγένοντο· καίτοι πολλοὶ διεκλάπησαν
ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.
6 Τοὺς δὲ φανερῶς ἐαλωκότας ἄθροίσαντες τὰ
μὲν κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα δένδρα τῶν περὶ τῶν
NICIAS

expended on the war. But they would not entertain the proposal. Nay, with insolent rage they reviled and insulted him, and kept pelting him with missiles, destitute as he was of all the necessaries of life. However, through that night and the following day he managed to hold out, and finally came, under constant fire, to the river Asinarus. There some of his men were crowded along by the enemy and thrust into the stream, while others, in advance of pursuit, were impelled by their thirst to cast themselves in, and an exceeding great and savage carnage raged in the river itself, men being butchered as they drank. At last Nicias fell down at the feet of Gylippus and cried: “Have pity, Gylippus, now that you are victorious, not on me at all, though my great successes have brought me name and fame, but on the rest of these Athenians. Remember that the fortunes of war are common to all, and that the Athenians, when they were in good fortune, used it with moderation and gentleness toward you.”

So spake Nicias, and Gylippus felt some compunction, both at the sight of him, and at what he said. For he knew that the Lacedaemonians had been well treated by him when the peace was made, and, besides, he thought it would increase his own fame if he should bring home alive the generals who had opposed him. Therefore he raised Nicias up, gave him words of cheer, and issued command to take the rest of his men alive. But the command made its way slowly along, so that the spared were far fewer than the slain. And yet many were stolen and hidden away by the soldiery.

The public prisoners were collected together, the fairest and tallest trees along the river bank were
plutarch's lives

ποταμὸν ἀνέδησαν αἰχμαλώτοι πανοπλίας, ἐστεφανωμένοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ κοσμήσαντες τοὺς ἔπος διαπρεπῶς, κείραντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων εἰσῆλθαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀγώνα λαμπρότατον ὁ "Ελληνες πρὸς "Ελληνας ἡγωνίσαυτο καὶ νίκην τελεωτάτην κράτει πλείστῳ καὶ ῥώμη μεγίστη προθυμίας καὶ ἀρετῆς κατωρθωκότες.

XXVIII. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ πανδήμου Συρακουσίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γενομένης, Εὐρυκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἔγραψε πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἕ τὸν Νικίαν ἔλαβον, ἱερὰν ἔχειν, θύσιντας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἔργων, Ἀσιαρίαν τὴν ἐορτὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλοῦντας· ἡμέρα δὴ ἡν τετράς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνείου μηνός, ὁν Ἄθηναιοι

2 Μεταγεινώνα προσαγορεύουσι· τῶν δ' Ἄθηναιῶν τοὺς μὲν οἰκέτας ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας φουρεῖν ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὰς λατομίας, πλὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι.

Ταῦτα προσδεχόμενων τῶν Συρακουσίων, Ἐρμοκράτης μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τοῦ νικῶν κρείττον ἐστὶ τὸ καλῶς χρήσθαι τῇ νίκῃ, οὐ μετρίως ἐθορυβήθη, Γύλιππον δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαιτούμενον ζῶντας ἀγαγεῖν Δακεδαιμονίως ὑβρίζοντες ἢδη τοῖς εὐτυχήσασιν οἴ

3 Συρακούσιοι κακῶς ἔλεγον, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρά τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ τὸ Δακωνίκον τῆς ἐπιστασίας οὐ ἡδίως ἐννοοῦσιν, ὡς δὲ

1 toûs supplied by Coraës and Bekker.
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 Gyliippus 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 πλεονεκρισά γείαν κατεγυνώκότες, ἀρρώστημα πατρὸν, ἐφ' ὦ καὶ Κλεανδρίδης ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ δώρων ἄλοιπος ἐφυγε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτός, ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ταλάντων ἀ Λύσανδρος ἔπεμψεν εἰς Σπάρτην υφελόμενος τριάκοντα καὶ κρύψας ύπὸ τὸν ὄροφον τῆς οἰκίας, εἶτα μηνυθεῖς, αἰσχυντα πάντων ἐξέπεσεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ βίῳ μᾶλλον ἐνηκρίβωται.

4 Δημοσθένης δὲ καὶ Νικίαν ἀποθάνειν Τίμαιος οὗ φήσιν ύπὸ Συρακούσιων κελευσθέντας, ὡς Φίλιστος ἔγραψε καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' Ἐρμοκράτους πέμψαντος, ἑτὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνεστώσης, καὶ δὲ ἐνὸς τῶν φυλάκων παρέντων αὐτοῦς δὲ αὐτῶν ἀποθάνειν· τὰ μέντοι σώματα πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἐκβληθέντα κεῖσθαι φανερὰ τοῖς δεομένοις τοῦ θεάματος. πυθανόμαι δὲ μέχρι νῦν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἀσπίδα κειμένην πρὸς ἵερῷ δείκνυσθαι, Νικίοι μὲν λεγομένην, χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ πορφύρας εὐ πως πρὸς ἄλληλα μεμιγμένων δὲ ύφῆς συγκεκροτημένην.

XXIX. Τὸν δ' Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν πλείστοι διεφθάρσαν ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις ύπὸ νόσου καὶ διαίτης πονηρᾶς, εἰς ἡμέραν ἐκάστης κοτύλας δύο κρυθῶν λαμβάνοντες καὶ μίαν ὑδάτος, οὐκ ὁλίγοι δ' ἐπράθησαν διακλαπέντες ἢ καὶ διαλαθόντες ὑπὸ οἰκέται. καὶ τούτους ὡς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν, στίζοντες ὑπέπον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον· ἀλλ' ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τούτο πρὸς τῷ δουλεύειν ύπομένοντες.
NICIAS

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 Thucydides² state; but rather, Hermocrates sent word to them of the decision of the assembly while it was yet in session, and with the connivance of one of their guards they took their own lives. Their bodies, however, he says, were cast out at the prison door, and lay there in plain sight of all who craved the spectacle. And I learn that down to this day there is shown among the treasures of a temple in Syracuse a shield which is said to have been the shield of Nicias. It is a welded mosaic of gold and purple interwoven with rare skill.

XXIX. Most of the Athenians perished in the stone quarries of disease and evil fare, their daily rations being a pint of barley meal and a half-pint of water; but not a few were stolen away and sold into slavery, or succeeded in passing themselves off for serving men. These, when they were sold, were branded in the forehead with the mark of a horse,—yes, there were some freemen who actually suffered this indignity in addition to their servitude.

¹ Chapters xvi. f. ² vii. 86, 2.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

2. Ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἢ τ' αἰδῶ καὶ τὸ κόσμιον· ἢ γὰρ ἠλευθερώντο ταχέως ἢ τιμώμενοι παρέμενον τοῖς κεκτημένοις. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δι' Εὐριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. μάλιστα γὰρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν ἐκτὸς Ἐλλήνων ἐπόθησαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῦσαν οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν· καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνουμένων ἕκαστοτε δείγματα καὶ γεύματα κομιζόντων ἐκμανθάνοντες ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις. τότε γοῦν φασί τῶν σωθέντων οἴκαδε συχνῶς ἀσπάσασθαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διηγείσθαι τοὺς μέν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφείθησαν ἐκδιδάξαντες ὡς στὸν ἔκεινον ποιημάτων ἐμέμνητο, τοὺς δ', ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετὰ τὴν μάχην τροφῆς καὶ ὑδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ἁςαντες. οὐ δὲ δὴ θαυμάζειν ὅτι τοὺς Καυνίους φασὶ πλοίον προσφερομένου τοῖς λιμέσιν ὑπὸ ληστρίδων διωκομένου μὴ δέχεσθαι τὸ πρώτον, ἀλλ' ἀπείργειν, εἰτὰ μέντοι διαπυθανομένους εἰ γινώσκουσιν ἁςματά τῶν Εὐριπίδου, φησάντων ἔκεινων, οὗτω παρείναι καὶ καταγαγεῖν τὸ πλοῖον.

XXX. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φασὶ τὴν συμφορὰν οἷς ἤκιστα διὰ τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπιστοῦ γενέσθαι. ξένος γὰρ τις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀποβάς εἰς Πειραιὰ καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ κουρείου, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ἢ ἡ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων λόγους ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ὁ δὲ κουρεὺς ἀκούσας, πρὶν ἄλλους πυθάνεσθαι, δρόμῳ
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 ἄστυ καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἀρχονσίν εὐθὺς κατ᾽ ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε τὸν λόγον.

2 ἐκπλήξεως δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς, ὡς εἰκός, γενομένης, οἱ μὲν ἀρχοντες ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες εἰσῆγαγον τὸν ἀνθρώπον· ὡς δὲ ἐρωτώμενος παρ᾽ οὗ πῦθοι τοι σαφῆς οὐδὲν εἰχε φράζειν, δόξας λογοποίος εἶναι καὶ ταράττειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὸν τροχὸν καταδεθεῖς ἐστρεβλοῦτο πολὺν χρόνον, ἐως ἐπήλθον οἱ τὸ πᾶν κακὸν, ὡς εἰχεν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οὔτω μόλις ὁ Νικίας ἑπιστεύθη παθῶν ἃ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς προείπεν.
speed to the upper city, accosted the archons, and at once set the story going in the market place. Consternation and confusion reigned, naturally, and the archons convened an assembly and brought the man before it. But, on being asked from whom he had learned the matter, he was unable to give any clear answer, and so it was decided that he was a story-maker, and was trying to throw the city into an uproar. He was therefore fastened to the wheel and racked a long time, until messengers came with the actual facts of the whole disaster. So hard was it for the Athenians to believe that Nicias had suffered the fate which he had often foretold to them.
CRASSUS
ΚΡΑΣΣΟΣ

I. Μάρκος δὲ Κράσσος ἦν τιμητικὸς καὶ θριαμβικὸν πατρὸς, ἔτράφη δ’ ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ μετὰ δυοῖν ἄδελφῶν. καὶ τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες ἦσαν ἔτι τῶν γονέων ξώντων, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφοίτων τράπεζαν, ὥσεπ ὅπως ἦκιστα δοκεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σώφρων καὶ μέτριος γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν διάιταν. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἔτερου τῶν ἄδελφῶν τῇ γυναικὶ συνήκησε καὶ τοὺς παιδὰς ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔσχεν, οὐδενὸς ἦττον καὶ περὶ ταῦτα

II. Ἡμναῖοι μὲν ὁμόν λέγουσι πολλαῖς ἄρεταῖς τοῦ Κράσσου κακίαν μόνην ἐπισκοτήσαι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν· ἑοίκε δὲ μία πασῶν ἐρρωμενεστέρα
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 κακιῶν γενομένη τὰς ἄλλας ἀμαυρώσαι. τεκμήρια δὲ τῆς φιλοποιτίας αὐτοῦ μέγιστα ποιοῦνται τῶν τε τρόπων τοῦ πορισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ὁυσίας τὸ μέγεθος. τριακοσίων γὰρ οὖ πλεῖον κεκτημένος ἐν ἀρχῇ ταλάντων, εἰτα παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀποθύσας μὲν τῷ Ἦρακλεῖ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐστιάσας, τρεῖς δὲ μῆνας ἐκάστῳ ’Ῥωμαίων σιτηρέσιον ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ παραχῶν, ὡμοὶ πρὸ τῆς ἕπι Πάρθους στρατείας αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ θέμενος ἐκλογισμὸν τῆς ὁυσίας εὐρεν ἐκατὸν ταλάντων τίμημα πρὸς ἐπτακισχιλίοις. τὰ δὲ πλείστα τούτων, εἰ δὲὶ μετὰ βλασφημίας εἰπεὶν τὸ ἀληθὲς, ἐκ πυρὸς συνήγαγε καὶ πολέμου, ταῖς κοιναῖς ἄτυχίαις προσόδῳ τῇ μεγίστῃ χρησάμενος.

"Οτε γὰρ Σύλλας ἐλὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐπώλει τὰς ὁυσίας τῶν ἀνηρρημένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, λάφυρα καὶ νουμίζου καὶ ὅμομάζων, καὶ βουλόμενος ὅτι πλείστοις καὶ κρατίστοις προσομόρξασθαι τὸ ἁγός, οὔτε λαμβάνων οὐτ’ ὁνομένος ἀπεῖπε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅρῶν τὰς συγγενεῖς καὶ συνοικίσ τῆς ’Ῥώμης κήρας ἐμπρησμοὺς καὶ συνιζήσεις διὰ βάρος καὶ πλῆθος οἰκοδομημάτων, ἐωνείτο δούλους ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους. εἰτ’ ἔχων τούτους υπὲρ πεντακοσίους οὐνας, ἐξηγόραξ τὰ καίομενα καὶ γειτνιώντα τοῖς καιομένοις, διὰ φόβου καὶ ἀδηλότητα τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπ’ ὀλίγης τιμῆς προϊομένων, ὡστε τῆς ’Ῥώμης τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος ὑπ’ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. τοσοῦτος 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 consulship he sacrificed the tenth of his goods to Hercules, feasted the people, gave every Roman out of his own means enough to live on for three months, and still, when he made a private inventory of his property before his Parthian expedition, he found that it had a value of seventy-one hundred talents. The greatest part of this, if one must tell the scandalous truth, he got together out of fire and war, making the public calamities his greatest source of revenue.

For when Sulla took the city and sold the property of those whom he had put to death, considering it and calling it spoil of war, and wishing to defile with his crime as many and as influential men as he could, Crassus was never tired of accepting or of buying it.² And besides this, observing how natural and familiar at Rome were such fatalities as the conflagration and collapse of buildings, owing to their being too massive and close together, he proceeded to buy slaves who were architects and builders. Then, when he had over five hundred of these, he would buy houses that were afire, and houses which adjoined those that were afire, and these their owners would let go at a trifling price owing to their fear and uncertainty. In this way the largest part of Rome came into his possession. But though he owned so many artisans, he built

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.
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tεχνίτας οὐδὲν ἐκεῖ ὁδόμησεν αὐτὸς ἢ τὴν ἴδιαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ’ ἔλεγε τοὺς φίλους καταλύσει πλανούς ἄνταγωνιστῶν. ὅντων δ’ αὐτῷ παμπόλλων ἄργυρεῖων, πολυτιμήτων δὲ χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅμως ἄν τις ἴγις τοῦ ἡμέραν εἶναι ταῦτα πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν
6 οἰκετῶν τιμήν' τοσοῦτοις ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοιούτους, ἀναγνώστασι, ὑπογραφεῖς, ἄργυρογνώμονας, διοικητάς, τραπεζοκόμους, αὐτοῦ ἐπιστατῶν μανθάνουσι καὶ προσέχουν καὶ διδάσκουν καὶ ὅλως νομίζουν τῷ δεσπότῃ προσήκειν μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τοὺς οἰκετὰς ἐπιμέλειαν ὡς ἄργανα ἑμψυχα τῆς οἰκονομικῆς.
7 Καὶ τούτο μὲν ὅρθως ὁ Κράσσος, εἶπερ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἠγείτο τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρη

ναι, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας δὲ αὐτοῦ κυβερνᾶν, τὴν γὰρ οἰκονομικὴν ἐν ἄψυχοις χρηματιστικὴν οὖσαν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτικὴν γιγνομένην ὀρῶμεν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ εὖ, τὸ μηδένα νομίζειν μηδὲ φάσκειν εἶναι πλούσιον, δὲ οὐ δύναται τρέφειν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας
8 στρατόπεδον (ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεί

ται, κατὰ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ὡσθ’ ὁ πρὸς πόλεμον πλούτος ἀόριστος), καὶ πολὺ τῆς Μαρίου γνώμης ἀπηρτημένως. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ, ἐπεὶ κατ’ ἀνδρα νείμας ἐκάστῳ δέκα καὶ τέσσαρα πλέθρα γῆς ἔγνω πλέον ἐπιζητοῦντας, “Μηδείς,” ἐφη, “γένοιτο Ῥωμαιῶν ὀλίγην ἡγούμενος τὴν τρέφειν ἄρ

κόουσαν.”

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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, silver-
smiths, stewards, table-servants; and he himself
directed their education, and took part in it himself
as a teacher, and, in a word, he thought that the
chief duty of the master was to care for his slaves as
the living implements of household management.

And in this Crassus was right, if, as he used to
say, he held that anything else was to be done for
him by his slaves, but his slaves were to be governed
by their master. For household management, as we
see, is a branch of finance in so far as it deals with
lifeless things; but a branch of politics when it
deals with men.\(^1\) He was not right, however, in
thinking, and in saying too, that no one was rich who
could not support an army out of his substance; for
"war has no fixed rations," as King Achidamus said,\(^2\)
and therefore the wealth requisite for war cannot be
determined. Far different was the opinion of Marius,
who said, after distributing to each of his veterans
fourteen acres of land and discovering that they
desired more, "May no Roman ever think that land
too small which suffices to maintain him."

\(^1\) Cf. Aristotle, Pol. i. 1253 b, 32.
\(^2\) Cf. Cleomenes xxvii. 1; Morals, 190 a; 219 a. In Demo-
thenes, 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 ἦν φιλότιμος ὁ Κράσσος· ἀνέφικτο γὰρ ἡ οἰκία πάσιν, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδάνειζεν ἀνευ τόκων, ἀπήτευ δὲ ἀποτόμως τοῦ χρόνου παρελθόντος εἰς ὅν ἐδάνεισε, καὶ τὸ προίκα πολλῶν ἐγίνετο τόκων ἐπαχθέστερον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς δείπνοις ἦ μὲν κλήσις ἦν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δημοτικὴ καὶ λαώδης, ἡ δ᾿ εὐτέλεια τὴν καθαριότητα καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην ἠδίονα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς εἶχε.

2 Παιδείας δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγου μάλιστα μὲν τὸ ῥητορικὸν καὶ χρειῶδες εἰς πολλοὺς ἦσκησε, καὶ γενόμενος δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελεία καὶ πόνῳ τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους ὑπερβαλεν. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ οὕτω διὰ ἴδιην φασὶ μικρὰν οὐδενεκαταφρόνητον γενέσθαι πρὸς ἢν ἀπαράσκευος ἦλθεν, ἄλλα καὶ Πομπηίου πολλάκις ὁκνοῦντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἐξαναστήναι καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἐκεῖνος ἀνεπλήρου τὴν συνηγορίαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

3 ἤρεσκεν ὡς ἐπιμελής καὶ βοηθητικὸς. ἤρεσκε δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλάνθρωπων αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικῶν. οὐδενί γὰρ οὕτως ἀπήντησε Ῥωμαίων ἀδόξῳ καὶ ταπεινῷ Κράσσος διὰ ἀσπασόμενου οὗκ ἀντιπροσηγορέσειν ἐξ ὁνόματος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολυμαθὴς καὶ ἱστορίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τὶ καὶ φιλοσοφήσα τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους λόγοις προσθέμενος, ὥν διδάσκαλοιν ἐἰχεν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀνθρωπὸν εὐκολίας καὶ πραό−
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 Κράσσον συνήθειαν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀποφήμασθαι ῥάδίως πότερον προσήλθεν αὐτῷ πενέστερος ἡ προσέλθειν ἐγένετο. μόνος γοῦν ἂεὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῶ συναποδημῶν στέγαστρον ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὴν ὄδον καὶ τούτ' ἐπανελθὼν ἀπητείτο. ἁλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κίννας καὶ Μαρίος κρατήσαντες εὐθὺς ἤσαν ἐνδηλοὶ κατιόντες οὐκ ἦν ἀγαθῶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἐπ' ἀναίρεσει δ' ἀντικρός καὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῶν ἀρίστων, οἱ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἀπέθνησκον, ὅν ἦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Κράσσον καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, αὐτὸς δὲ νέος ὄν παυτάπασι τὸ μὲν αὐτίκα δεινὸν ἐξέφυγε, πάντη δὲ περιβαλλόμενον ἔστων αἰσθανόμενος καὶ κυνηγητοῦμεν ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων τρεῖς φίλους ἀναλαβόντα καὶ θεράποντας δέκα, τάχει δ' ὑπερβάλλοντες χρησάμενος εἰς Ἰβρικίαν ἐφύγε, γεγονὼς πάλαι στρατηγόυντος τοῦ 2 πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ φίλους πεποιημένος, εὐρὼν δὲ πάντας περιδεείς καὶ τὴν ὁμότητα τὴν Μαρίου καθάπερ ἐφεστῶτος αὐτοῖς τρέμουσας, οὐδενὶ γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἔθαρρησεν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀγροὺς ἐμβαλὼν παραλίους Οὐίβιον Πακιακοῦ σπήλαιον ἔχοντας εὐμέγεθες, ἐκρυψεν ἐαυτὸν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Οὐίβιον ἐπημεῦσεν ἕνα δούλον ἀποπειρόμενος, ὡσ' 3 καὶ τῶν ἐφθαίνων ἐπιλιπόντων. ὁ δὲ Οὐίβιος ἂκούσας ἥσθη τε σωζομένῳ καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πλήθος τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν τόπον αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθεν

1 ἁλλὰ. Before this sentence the words οὗτ ἐπομενὴν, οὐδὲ τὴν πεινῶν ὁ τλῆμον ἀδάφορον ἡγούμενος were early stricken from the text as a gloss (oh, the patience of the poor fellow! for his philosophy did not regard poverty as a thing indifferent).
contentedness and meekness by his intimacy with Crassus; for it is not easy to say whether he was poorer before or after his relations with his pupil. At any rate he was the only one of the friends of Crassus who always accompanied him when he went abroad, and then he would receive a cloak for the journey, which would be reclaimed on his return. But this was later on.

IV. When Cinna and Marius got the upper hand, it was at once apparent that they would re-enter the city not for the good of their country, but for the downright destruction and ruin of the nobles; those who were caught were slain, and among them were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus himself, being very young, escaped the immediate peril, but perceiving that he was surrounded on all sides by the huntsmen of the tyrants, he took with him three friends and ten servants and fled with exceeding speed into Spain, where he had been before, while his father was praetor there, and had made friends. But finding all men filled with fear and trembling at the cruelty of Marius as though he were close upon them, he had not the courage to present himself to any one. Instead, he plunged into some fields along the sea-shore belonging to Vibius Paciacus. In these there was a spacious cave, where he hid himself. However, since his provisions were now running low, and wishing to sound the man, he sent a slave to Vibius. But Vibius, on hearing the message, was delighted that Crassus had escaped, and after learning the number of his party and the place of their concealment, did not indeed

1 In 87 B.C. Crassus was then not quite twenty years of age.
eis ὃψιν, τὸν δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἐπίτροπον προσαγαγὼς ἔγγυς ἐκέλευσε καθ’ ἡμέραν δείχνον πεποιημένον κομίζειν, καὶ τιθέντα παρὰ τὴν πέτραν ἀπέρχεσθαι σιωπῇ καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδὲ ἐξετάζειν, προειπὼν πολυπραγμονοῦντι θάνατον, συμπράττοντι δὲ τούτῳ πιστῶς ἑλευθερίαν.

4 Τὸ δὲ στῆλαιον οὐκ ἀπώθεν μὲν ἑστὶ ταλάσσης, κρημνοὶ δὲ περί αὐτὸ συμφερόμενοι λεπτὴν καὶ ἀσαφῆ παραπέμπον θαύραν ἄγουσαν εἰσώ, παρελθόντι δ’ ύψος τε θαυμαστὸν ἀναπέταται, καὶ κατ’ εὐρός ἔχει κόλπους ὅλ’ ἀλλήλων ἁνουγομένους μεγάλας περιφερείας. ἀμοιρεῖ δ’ οὔτε ὦδατος οὔτε φωτός, ἀλλὰ πηγὴ μὲν ἡδίστον νάματος ὑπορρέει παρὰ τὸν κρημνὸν, αὐτοφυεὶς δὲ ῥώχμοι τῆς πέτρας ἦ μάλιστα περιπίπτει τὸ φῶς ἐξώθεν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ καταλάμπεται ἡμέρας τὸ χωρίον. ὃ δ’ ἐντὸς ἀχρ’ ἀστάλακτος καὶ καθαρός, πυκνότητι τῆς πέτρας τὸ νοτερὸν καὶ ἀποτηκόμε-νον εἰσὶ τὴν πηγὴν ἐκπιεζούσης.

5 Κ. Εὐταῦθα διατρίβοντι τὸ Κράσσω τὰ ἐπιτή-δεια καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐφοίτα κομίζον ὁ ἀνθρωπος, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὅρδον ἐκείνοις οὐδὲ γυνάσκων, ὑπ’ ἐκείνων δὲ καθορόμενος εἰδότων καὶ παραφυλαττόντων τὸν καιρὸν. ἢν δ’ ἄφθονα καὶ πρὸς ἠδονήν, οὐ μόνον χρείαν, ποιούμενα τὰ πρὸς τὸ δείπνον. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Ὄψιβιος ἀπάσῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ θεραπεύειν τὸν Κράσσον, ὦ τί καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁρας ἐν νῦ λαβεῖν ἐπήλθεν, ὡς παντάπασι νεανίας εἰς καὶ ταῖς καθ’ ἡλικίαν ἡδοναῖς αὐτοῦ χαριστέον, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε χρείαν ἀναγκαῖως

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come in person to see them, but brought the overseer of the property near the place, and ordered him to bring a complete meal there every day, put it near the cliff, and then go away without a word; he was not to meddle in the matter nor investigate it, and was threatened with death if he did meddle, and promised his freedom if he co-operated faithfully.

The cave is not far away from the sea, and the cliffs which enclose it leave a small and indistinct path leading inside; but when one has entered, it opens out to a wonderful height, and at the sides has recesses of great circumference opening into one another. There is no lack of water or of light, but a spring of purest flow issues from the base of the cliff, and natural fissures in the rock, where its edges join, admit the light from outside, so that in the day-time the place is bright. The air inside is dry and pure, owing to the thickness of the rock, which deflects all moisture and dripping water into the spring.

V. Here Crassus lived, and day by day the man came with the provisions. He himself did not see the party of the cave, nor even know who they were, but he was seen by them, since they knew and were on the watch for the time of his coming. Now, the meals were abundant, and so prepared as to gratify the taste and not merely satisfy hunger. For Vibius had made up his mind to pay Crassus every sort of friendly attention, and it even occurred to him to consider the youth of his guest, that he was quite a young man, and that some provision must be made for the enjoyments appropriate to his years; the mere supply of his wants he regarded as the work of one who rendered help under compulsion rather
μᾶλλον ἡ προθύμως ὑποργοῦντος εἶναι. δύο δὲ
θεραπανίδας εὐπρεπεῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ
tὴν θάλασσαν. ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον,
deἶξα: τὴν ἀνοδὸν ἐκέλευεν εἰσὶν πορεύεσθαι καὶ
3 θαρρεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράσσου ἱδόντες προσερχο-
μένας ἔδεικναν μὴ καταφανές καὶ γνώριμον εἰς τὸ
χωρίον ἀνέκρινον οὖν αὐτὰς τί βούλονται καὶ
tίνες εἰσὶν. ὡς δ’ ἀπεκρίναντο δεδιδαγμέναν
dεσπότην ξιτείν ἐνταύθα κρυπτόμενον, μαθῶν ὁ
Κράσσος τοῦ Οὐίβιον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν παιδιάν
4 καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἀνέλαβε τὰς παιδίσκας· καὶ
συνήσαν αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἔδειτο
φράζουσαι καὶ διαγγέλλουσαι πρὸς τὸν Οὐίβιον.
tούτων φησὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἦδη πρεσβύτων οἶδαν ὁ
Φαινεστέλλας ἰδεῖν αὐτός, καὶ πολλάκις ἀκούσας
μεμνημένης ταῦτα καὶ διηξιούσης προθύμως.

VI. Ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ὁκτὼ μῆνας οὔτω διαγαγὼ
καὶ διακλαπεῖς, ἀμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τῇ Κίννα
τελευτὴν φανερὸς γενόμενος, συνδραμόντων πρὸς
αὐτὸν οὐκ ὁλίγων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλεξάμενος δισχε-
λίους καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐπῆρχετο τὰς πόλεις· καὶ
μίαν γε διήρπασε Μαλάκην, ὃς πολλοὶ γεγρά-
φασιν, αὐτὸν δὲ φασίν ἀρείεσθαι καὶ διαμά-
2 χεσθαὶ πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας. ἐκ τούτου συναγα-
γὼν πλοῖα καὶ διαπέραςας εἰς Λιβύην ἀφίκετο
πρὸς Μέτελλον Πίον, ἐνδοξον ἄνδρα, συνειλοχῶτα
στρατιὰν οὖν εὐκαταφρονήτων. οὐ πολὺν δὲ
χρόνον ἐνταύθα παρέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ στασίσας τῷ
Μέτελλῳ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπῆκε, καὶ συνῆν ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα τιμῶμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβᾶς εἰς Ἰταλίαν
ὁ Σύλλας πάντας ἐβούλετο τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ

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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. Fenestella¹ 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.
nēous ἔχειν ἐνεργοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην ἄλλον ἔταττε πράξειν, ἀποστελλόμενος εἰς Μαρσοῦς ἐπὶ στρατιὰν ὁ Κράσσος ἦτε φύλακας: ἦ γὰρ
dὲ τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν ὄργῃ καὶ σφόδρα πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Δίδωμι σοι φύλακας τὸν πατέος, τὸν ἄδελφόν, τοὺς φίλους, τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ὅν παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἀναρεθέντων ἐγὼ 1 μετέρχομαι τοὺς φονεῖς," οὕτω παθῶν τι καὶ παροξυνθείς ὁ Κράσσος εὐθὺς ἔξηλθε, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὁσάμενος εὐρώστως δύναμιν τε συχνὴν ἠθροισε καὶ πρόθυμον αὐτόν ἐν τίς ἀγωσὶ τῷ Σύλλα παρείχεν.

4 Ἀπ’ ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν πράξεων λέγουσιν αὐτὸ
πρῶτον ἐγγενέσθαι τὴν πρὸς Πομπῆίον ύπὲρ δόξης ἀμιλλαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, ὁ γὰρ Πομπῆιος ἤλικια
tε λειτούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ πατρὸς γεγονός ἀδοξη-
σαντος ἐν 'Ρώμη καὶ μισηθέντος ἐςχατον μῆνος
ὕπο τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἐξέλαμψε καὶ διεφάνη μέγας, ὡστε Σύλλαν, ἃ
πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἵσοτίμους οὐ πάνω πολλάκις
παρείχεν, ὑπεξανίστασθαι προσίστοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
κεφαλὴν ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι καὶ προσειπεῖν αὐτο-
5 κράτορα. ταῦτα διέκατε καὶ παρώξυσε τὸν Κράσ-
σον ὅλη ἀλόγως ἐλασσούμενον.

Ἐμπειρίας τε γὰρ ἐνδείχνῃ ἦν καὶ τῶν πράξεων
αὐτὸν τὴν ψάριν ἀφήρουν αἱ συγγενεῖς κήρες
ἐπιφερόμεναι, φιλοκέρδεια καὶ μικρολογία, καὶ
γὰρ πόλιν Ὄμβρικην Τουδερτίαν ἔλων ἔδοξε

1 ἐγὼ the conjecture of Bryan, mentioned by many
editors with approval, and found in codex Matritensis by
Graux: ἤγγυ actually.

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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 σφετερισάσθαι, καὶ διε-
6 βλήθη πρὸς Ζύλλαν. ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ περὶ τὴν
Ῥώμην ἀγώνι πάντων γενομένῳ μεγίστῳ καὶ
tελευταῖῳ Ζύλλας μὲν ἡττήθη, τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
ωσθέντων καὶ συντριβέντων, Κράσσος δὲ τὸ
dεξίον κέρας ἔχων ἐνίκησε καὶ μέχρι νυκτὸς
dυώξας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπέμψε πρὸς Ζύλλαν, δει-
πνον αὐτῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα
φράξω. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προγραφαῖς καὶ δημεύσει
pάλιν κακῶς ἤκουσεν, ὄνωμενός τε τιμῆς βρα-
χείας μεγάλα πράγματα καὶ δωρεὰς αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ
Βρεττίοις λέγεται καὶ προγράψεται τινὰ οὗ Ζύλλα
κελεύσαντος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χρηματισμῷ, διὸ καὶ
Ζύλλαν καταγρύντι πρὸς μηθέν ἔτι χρήσθαι
dημόσιον αὐτῷ· καίτοι δεινότατος ἦν Κράσσος
πάντας ἄνθρωπους κολακεῖα κατεργάσασθαι,
pάλιν δ' αὐτῶς ύπὸ πάντων διὰ κολακείας εὐάλω-
tος. ᾽διον δὲ κάκεινο περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, φίλο-
κερδέστατον οὖντα μάλιστα μισεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖν
tοὺς ὁμοίους.

VII. Ἡνία δὲ Πομπήιος αὐτῶν εὐημερῶν εἰ
ἡγεμονίαις καὶ πρὶν ἡ Βουλής μεταλαβεῖν θριαμ-
βεύων καὶ Μάγνος, ὑπερ ἐστὶ μέγας, ύπὸ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀναγορευθεῖς. καὶ ποτὲ καὶ φήσαντος
tινος ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πρόσεις, ἡμέλασας
2 ἡρώτησεν ὁπιλίκος. ἀπογιόνοι δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς
ἐξισῶσασθαὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ὑπεδύετο τὴν πολιτείαν,
σπουδαῖς καὶ συνηγορίαις καὶ δανεισμοῖς καὶ τῷ
συμπαραγγέλлειν καὶ συνεξετάζεσθαι τοῖς δεσμε-
νοῖς τὶ τοῦ δήμου κτώμενος δύναμιν ἀντίπαλον

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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 Πομπηίου εἴχεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ
3 μεγάλων στρατευόν. καὶ πράγμα συνέβαινεν
αὐτοῖς ἱδιον. μείζον γὰρ ἦν ἀπόντος ὄνομα τοῦ
Πομπηίου καὶ κράτος ἐν τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς στρα-
τείας· παρὼν δὲ πολλάκις ἠλαττοῦτο τοῦ Κράσ-
σου, διὰ τὸν ογκον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ βίου
φεύγων τὰ πλήθη καὶ ἀναδυόμενος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, καὶ
τῶν δεομένων ὀλίγοις καὶ μὴ πάνυ προθύμως
βοηθῶν, ὡς ἀκμαιότεραν ἔχοι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ
4 αὐτοῦ χρώμενοι. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐνδελεχές τὸ
χρῆσιμον ἔχων καὶ σπάνιος οὐκ ὁν ὀυδὲ δυσπρό-
όδος, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσαις ἀεὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀναστρε-
φόμενος, τῷ κοινῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ περιεγένετο
τῆς ἐκείνου σεμνότητος. σώματος δὲ ἀξίωμα καὶ
λόγου πειθῶ καὶ προσώπου χάριν ἀγωγὸν
ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως προσείναι λέγονσιν.
5 Οὗ μέντοι πρὸς ἔχθραν τινὰ τὸν Κράσσον Ἡ
κακόνοιαν ἐξήνεγκεν οὗτος ὁ ξῆλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Πομπηίῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τιμωμένοις μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
ἥχθετο, τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμία ταύτη τυσμέναι ἢ
κακοίθειαν οὐ συνῆπτε: καίτοι Καίσαρ ὑπὸ
ληστῶν ἀλούς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ φρουρούμενος ἀνεβόη-
σεν. "Ἡλίκης, ὁ Κράσσε, χαρᾶς ἀπολαύσεις
6 πυθόμενος τὴν ἐμὴν ἀλωσίν." ἀλλ' ὑστερῶν ἦν
φιλικῶς ἀλλήλοις προσεφέροντι· καὶ ποτὲ τῷ
Καίσαρι μέλλοντι μὲν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξίεναι στρα-
τηγῷ, χρήματα δ' οὖν ἔχοντι τῶν δανειστῶν
ἐπιπεσόντων καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐπιλαμβανο-
an influence and a repute equal to that which Pompey possessed from his many and great expeditions. And the experience of each man was peculiar. For Pompey's name and power were greater in the city when he was away from it, owing to his campaigns; but when he was at home, he was often less powerful than Crassus, because the pomp and circumstance of his life led him to shun crowds, retire from the forum, and render aid to a few only of those who asked it of him, and then with no great zest, that he might keep his influence the more unimpaired for use in his own behalf. But Crassus was continually ready with his services, was ever at hand and easy of access, and always took an active part in the enterprises of the hour, and so by the universal kindness of his behaviour won the day over his rival's haughty bearing. But in dignity of person, persuasiveness of speech, and winning grace of feature, both were said to be alike gifted.

However, this eager rivalry did not carry Crassus away into anything like hatred or malice; he was merely vexed that Pompey and Caesar should be honoured above himself, but he did not associate this ambition of his with enmity or malevolence. It is true that once when Caesar had been captured by pirates in Asia and was held a close prisoner by them,¹ he exclaimed: "O Crassus, how great a pleasure wilt thou taste when thou hearest of my capture!" But afterwards, at least, they were on friendly terms with one another, and once when Caesar was on the point of setting out for Spain as praetor, and had no money, and his creditors descended upon him and began to attach his outfit,

¹ See Plutarch's *Caesar*, chapter ii.
μένων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ περιείδεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλλαξεν ὑποθείς αὐτὸν ἐγγυον τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτακοσίων
7 ταλάντων. καθόλου δὲ τῆς Ρώμης εἰς τρεῖς νενεμημένης δυνάμεις, τὴν Πομπηίου, τὴν Καίσαρος, τὴν Κράσσου (Καίτωνος γὰρ ἡ δόξα μείζων ἦν τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸ θαυμαξόμενον πλέον ἵσχυν), ὃ μὲν ἐμφρων καὶ καθεστῶσα μερὶς ἐν τῇ πόλει Πομπηίου ἐθεράπευε, τὸ δ' ὡψ καὶ φερόμενον μετ' εὐχερείας ταῖς Καίσαρος ἐλπίσιν ἐπηκολούθει, Κράσσου δὲ μέσος ὃν ἀμφότερας ἑχρῆτο, καὶ πλείστας μεταβολάς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβαλλόμενος οὕτε φίλος ἦν βέβαιος οὕτε ἀνήκεστος ἐχθρός, ἀλλὰ ῥαδίως καὶ χάριτος καὶ ὀργής ἐξεπιπτεν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὡστε πολλάκις μὲν ἄνθρωπων, πολλάκις δὲ νόμων ἐν ὀλγῷ φανήναι τῶν αὐτῶν συνήγορος καὶ ἀντίδικος.
9 ἵσχυε δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ φόβῳ, φόβῳ δ' οὐκ ἐλαττον. ὁ γοῦν πλείστα πράγματα παρασχὼν τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἀρχουσι καὶ δημαγωγοῖς, Σικάνιος, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα τί δὴ μόνον οὐ σπαρίττει τὸν Κράσσου, ἀλλὰ παρέση, χόρτον αὐτὸν ἕχειν ἐφησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος. εἰώθειςαν δὲ Ῥωμαίοι τοῦ κυρίττου τῶν βοῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας χόρτῳ περιελύσειν τὸ κέρας.

VIII. Ἡ δὲ τῶν μονομάχων ἐπανάστασις καὶ λειλασία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἣν οἱ πολλοὶ Σπαρτάκειοι πόλεμον ὑνομάξουσιν, ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Λέντλου τινὸς Βατιάτου μονομάχους ἐν Καπνῷ τρέφοντος, ὃν οἱ πολλοὶ Γαλάται καὶ
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.
Θραξες ἦσαν, ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀδικίᾳ τοῦ πριαμένου συνειρχέντες ὡς ἀνάγκης ἔπλ τῷ μονομαχεῖν, ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν διακόσιοι φεύγειν, γενομένης δὲ μηνύσεως οἱ προασθόμενοι καὶ φθάσαντες ὑγιοῦκοντα διεῖν δέοντες έκ τινος ὀπτανείου κοπίδας ἀράμενοι καὶ ὀβελίσκους ἐξεπίδησαν, ἐντυχόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀμάξαις ὀπλα κομιζούσαις μονομάχων εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἀφήρτασαι καὶ ὀψλίσαντο· καὶ τόπον τινά καρτερὸν καταλαβόντες ἡγεμόνας εἴλοντο τρεῖς, ὁν πρῶτος ἦν Σπάρτακος, ἀνὴρ Θραξ τοῦ Νομαδικοῦ γένους, οὐ μόνον φρόνημα μέγα καὶ ρώμην ἔχουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει καὶ πραοτητῆς τῆς τύχης ἀμείων καὶ τοῦ γένους Ἑλληνικῶτερος. τούτῳ δὲ λέγουσιν, ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς 'Ρώμην ὁνιον ἡχθη, δράκοντα κοιμωμένοι περιπετεπεγέμενον φανήαι περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἡ γυνὴ δ' ὁμόφυλος σύστα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου, μαντικὴ δὲ καὶ κάτοχος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς, ἐσφραξε τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι μεγάλης καὶ φοβερᾶς περὶ αὐτόν εἰς εὑρίσκεις 1 τέλος ἐσομένης δυνάμεως· ἡ καὶ τότε συνήν αὐτῷ καὶ συνέφευγε.

IX. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Καπνῆς ἐλθόντας ὁσάμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ὀπλῶν ἐπιλαβόμενοι πολεμιστηρίων ἀσμενοὶ ταῦτα μετέλαμβανοι, ὑπορρήψαντες ὡς ἀτίμα καὶ βάρβαρα τὰ τῶν μονομάχων ἐπείτα Κλωδίου στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τρίσχειλίων πεμφθέντος ἐκ 'Ρώμης καὶ πολιορκόντος αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀρεί μίαν ἑχοντι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ

1 εὑρίσκει MSS. (including S), Coraes, and Sintenis; Sintenis and Bekker adopt ἐντυχεῖ, Reiske's correction (an unfortunate issue).

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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.

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 στενὴν ἀνοδον, ἵν ὁ Κλώδιος ἐφρούρει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κρημνοὺς ἀποτόμους καὶ λισσάδας, ἀμπελον δὲ πολλὴν ἀγρίαν ἐπιπολήσ πεφυκυῖαν, ἔτεμνον τῶν κλημάτων τὰ χρῆσιμα, καὶ συμπλέκοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν κλιμακίδας εὐτόνους καὶ βαθείας, ὥστ' ἀνωθεν ἀνηρτημένας παρὰ τὸ κρημνώδες ἀπτεσθαί τῶν ἐπιτέδων, κατέβαινον ἀσφαλῶς δι' αὐτῶν πλῆν ἔνος. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἑνεκα μείνας, ἔπει κατέβησαν, ἥφιει κάτω τὰ ὀπλα καὶ βαλὼν

3 ἀπαντα τελευταῖος ἀπεσώζετο καὶ αὐτὸς. ταῦτ' ἦγνον ὁι 'Ῥωμαῖοι· διὸ καὶ περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς ἐξέπληξαν τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ, καὶ φυγής γενομένης ἔλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ προσεγίνοντο πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτοθ' βοτήρων καὶ ποιμένων αὐτοίς, πληκται καὶ ποδόκεις ἄνδρες, ὥν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλίζον, τοὺς δὲ προδρόμους καὶ ψυλὸς ἔχρωντο.

4 Δεύτερος ἐκπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς Πούπλιος Βαρίνος, οὗ πρῶτα μὲν ὑποστρατηγὸν τινα Φούριον ἔχοντα δισχιλίους στρατιώτας ἐτρέψαντο συμβαλόντες· ἔπειτα σύμβουλον αὐτῷ καὶ συνάρχοντα Κοσσίνων ἀποστάλεντα μετὰ πολλὴς δυνάμεως ἐπιτηρήσασ ὁ Σπάρτακος λονόμενον περὶ Σαλίνας, μικρὸν ἐδέησε συναρπάσαι.

5 χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις ἐκφυγόντος εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀποσκευής, ἐκ ποδὸς δὲ κατέχον καὶ διώκον φόνῳ πολλῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλεν. ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ Κοσσίνως. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄλλας μάχαις πολλαῖς καταγωγισάμενος, τέλος δὲ τοὺς τε ῥαβδοῦχος καὶ τὸν ἕπτον αὐτοῦ
which Clodius closely watched; everywhere else there were smooth and precipitous cliffs. But the top of the hill was covered with a wild vine of abundant growth, from which the besieged cut off the serviceable branches, and wove these into strong ladders of such strength and length that when they were fastened at the top they reached along the face of the cliff to the plain below. On these they descended safely, all but one man, who remained above to attend to the arms. When the rest had got down, he began to drop the arms, and after he had thrown them all down, got away himself also last of all in safety. Of all this the Romans were ignorant, and therefore their enemy surrounded them, threw them into consternation by the suddenness of the attack, put them to flight, and took their camp. They were also joined by many of the herds-men and shepherds of the region, sturdy men and swift of foot, some of whom they armed fully, and employed others as scouts and light infantry.

In the second place, Publius Varinus, the praetor, was sent out against them, whose lieutenant, a certain Furius, with two thousand soldiers, they first engaged and routed; then Spartacus narrowly watched the movements of Cossinius, who had been sent out with a large force to advise and assist Varinus in the command, and came near seizing him as he was bathing near Salinae. Cossinius barely escaped with much difficulty, and Spartacus at once seized his baggage, pressed hard upon him in pursuit, and took his camp with great slaughter. Cossinius also fell. By defeating the praetor himself in many battles, and finally capturing his lictors and the very horse he rode, Spartacus was soon great and
λαβὼν, ἦδη μὲν μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς ἦν, ἐφρόνει δὲ τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς τὸν στρατὸν, οἰόμενος δὲν ὑπερβαλόντας αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία χωρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Ὄρακην, τοὺς δὲ εἰς Γαλατίαν. οἱ δὲ πλήθει τε δυντε ἵσχυροι καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες οὐχ ὑπῆκουν, ἀλλ' ἐπόρθουν ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὴν Ἑταλίαν.

Οὐκέτ' οὖν τὸ παρ' αὐξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἡνων ἀλλ' ἥλε τὴς ἀποστάσεως τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλὰ δὴ διὰ φόβου τε καὶ κίνδυνον ὡς πρὸς ἕνα τῶν ὁμοίων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων ἀμφοτέρους ἐξή-7 πεμπον τοὺς ὑπάτους. ὥν Γέλλιος μὲν τὸ Γερμανικὸν ὑβρεί καὶ φρονήματι τῶν Σπαρτακείων ἀποσχισθείν ἐξαίφυς ἐμπεσὼν ἅπαν διέθειρε, Δέντλον δὲ τὸν Σπάρτακον μεγάλους στρατο-πέδους περιλαβόντος ὀρμήσας ὀμόσε καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἐκράτησε μὲν τῶν προσβευτῶν, ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν. ὅθομενω δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς Κάοσιος ὁ τῆς περὶ Πάδον Γαλατίας στρατηγὸς ἐχὼν μυρίου ἀπήνυθησε' καὶ γενομένης μάχης κρατιθεῖς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν μόλις αὐτὸς ἐξέφυγε.

X. Ταύθ' ἡ βουλὴ πυθομένη τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους πρὸς ὑγίνῃ ἐκέλευσεν ἱσυχίαν ἁγεῖν, Κρασσον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγὸν εἰλετο' καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ φελίαν συνεστράτευον τῶν ἐπι-φανῶν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπέμεινε πρὸ τῆς Πικνίδος ὡς τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐκεί φερόμενον δεξίομενος, Μόν-
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
μιν δὲ πρεσβευτὴν ἄγοντα δύο τὰ γματα κύκλω
περιέπεμψεν, ἐπεσθαί κελεύσας τοῖς πολεμίως,
2 συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ μὴ μηδὲ ἁγιμαχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἅμα
tὸ πρῶτον ἐπ' ἐλπίδος γενέσθαι μάχην θέμενος
ηττίθη καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεσοῦν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνεύ
τῶν ὀπλῶν φεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος
αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μόμμιον ἐδέξατο τραχέως, καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας ὀπλίζων αὐθίς ἐγχυντὰς ἦτε τῶν
ὀπλῶν, ὅτι φυλάξουσι, πευτακοσίους δὲ τοὺς
πρῶτος, καὶ μύλιστα τοὺς τρέσαντας, εἰς
πεντήκοντα διανείμασθα δεκάδας ἢφ’ ἐκάστης ἀπε-
κτεινεν ἕνα τὸν κλήρῳ λαχοντα, πάτριοι τι τοῦτο
διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων κόλασμα τοῖς στρατιώταις
ἐπαγαγόν. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχύνη τοῦ θανάτου τῷ
τρόπῳ πρόσετι, καὶ δρᾶται πολλὰ φρικώδη
καὶ σκυθρωπὰ περὶ τὴν κόλασιν ἄπαντων
θεωμένων.

Οὕτω δ’ ἐπιστρέψας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἴχνεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος ὑπεξεχώρη διὰ
Δευκανίας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐν δὲ πορθμῷ
λιστρίῳ Κιλίσσας ἐπιτυχῶν ὀρμησεν ἁγασθαῖ
Σικελίας καὶ δισχιλίως ἄνδρας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς
tὴν νησον αὐθίς ἐκξυπνοῦσα τῶν δουλικῶν ἐκεῖ
πόλεμον, οὕτω πολὺν χρόνον ἀπεσβηκότα καὶ
4 μικρῶν πάλιν ὑπεκκαμάτων δέομενον. ὀμο-
λογήσαντες δὲ οἱ Κίλικες αὐτῷ καὶ δώρα λα-
βόντες ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν. οὕτω δὴ
πάλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναζεύξας ἐκάθισε τὸν
στρατὸν εἰς τὴν Ρηγίνων χερρονησον. ἐπελθὼν
δ’ ὁ Κράσσος, καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν ὀρὸν
ὑφηγουμένην τὸ δέον, ὀρμησεν ἀποτειχίσαι 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

1 102–99 B.C.
ίσθμόν, ἀμα καὶ τὴν σχολὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
5 ύφαιρών καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν πολεμῶν. μέγα
μὲν οὖν ἢν καὶ χαλεπῶν τὸ ἔργον, ἤπιο ψε δὲ καὶ
cateirgάσατο παρὰ δόξαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, τάφρον
ἐμβαλὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ
αὐχένος σταδίων τριακοσίων, εὔρος δὲ καὶ βάθος
ἰσον πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν: ύπὲρ δὲ τῆς τάφρου
6 τείχος ἔστησεν ύψει καὶ ῥώμη θαυμαστόν. ὅτι ὁ
Σπάρτακος ἡμέλει καὶ κατεφρόνει τὸ πρώτον: ὡς
dὲ τῆς λείας ἐπίλειπουσίς προϊέναι θουλόμενος
συνείδε τῶν ἀποτείχισμῶν καὶ λαμβάνειν οὕδεν
ήν ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου, νῦκτα νυφετώδη καὶ
πνεύμα τι χειμέριον παραφυλάξας ἔχωσε τῆς
tάφρου μέρος οὐ πολὺ γῆ καὶ ύλῆ καὶ κλάδωις
dένδρων, ὡστε τῆς στρατιάς περαιώσαι τὸ τρίτον.
XI. Ἐφοβήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Κράσσος μὴ λάβοι
tis ὀρμῆ τῶν Σπάρτακου ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ρώμην ἐλαύνειν,
ἐθάρρησε δὲ πολλῶν ἐκ διαφορᾶς ἀποστάντων
αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατοπεδευσμένων καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
Δευκανίδος Λίμνης, ἢν φασι τρέπεσθαι διὰ χρόνου
γινομένης γλυκείαν καὶ αὐθικὸς άλμυρὰν καὶ
ἀποτο. τούτοις ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κράσσος ἔξωσε μὲν
ἀπὸ τῆς Λίμνης, ἄφηρεθη δὲ τὸν φόνον καὶ τὴν
dίωξιν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέντος ἔξως τοῦ Σπαρτάκου
καὶ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπιστήσατος.
2 Γεγραφώς δὲ τῇ Βουλῇ πρότερον ὡς χρῆ καὶ
Δούκουλλου ἐκ Ὁρίκης καλεῖν καὶ Πομπήιου ἐξ
across the isthmus, thereby at once keeping his soldiers from idleness, and his enemies from provisions. Now the task was a huge one and difficult, but he accomplished and finished it, contrary to all expectation, in a short time, running a ditch from sea to sea through the neck of land three hundred furlongs in length and fifteen feet in width and depth alike. Above the ditch he also built a wall of astonishing height and strength. All this work Spartacus neglected and despised at first; but soon his provisions began to fail, and when he wanted to sally forth from the peninsula, he saw that he was walled in, and that there was nothing more to be had there. He therefore waited for a snowy night and a wintry storm, when he filled up a small portion of the ditch with earth and timber and the boughs of trees, and so threw a third part of his force across.

XI. Crassus was now in fear lest some impulse to march upon Rome should seize Spartacus, but took heart when he saw that many of the gladiator's men had seceded after a quarrel with him, and were encamped by themselves on a Lucanian lake. This lake, they say, changes from time to time in the character of its water, becoming sweet, and then again bitter and undrinkable. Upon this detachment Crassus fell, and drove them away from the lake, but he was robbed of the slaughter and pursuit of the fugitives by the sudden appearance of Spartacus, who checked their flight.

Before this Crassus had written to the senate that they must summon Lucullus from Thrace and Pompey from Spain, but he was sorry now that he

Marcus Lucullus, brother of Lucius.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

'Υβηρίας, μετενόει, καὶ πρὶν ἦκειν ἐκεῖνος ἐσπευδὴ
dιαπράξασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ προσ-
γενομένου καὶ βοηθήσαντος, ὥς αὐτὸν τὸ κατόρ-
θωμα δόξει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν διαγνοῦσ τοῖς
ἀφεστῶσι καὶ κατ’ ἱδίαν στρατευομένοις, ἃν ἀφη-
γοῦντο Γάιος Καννίκιος καὶ Κάστος, ἐπιθέσθαι,
λόφον τινὰ προκαταληψομένους ἄνδρας ἐξακισχι-
λίους ἀπέστειλε, λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι κελεύσας.

3 οἱ δ’ ἐπειρώντο μὲν τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ
κράνη καταμπέχοντες, ὀφθέντες δ’ ὑπὸ δυὲῖν
γυναικῶν προθυμομένων τοῖς πολεμοῖς ἐκκυνδύνευ-
σαν, εἰ μὴ Κράσσος ὄξεως ἐπιφανείς μάχην
ἐθετο πασῶν καρτερωτάτην, ἐν ἦ τριακοσίων ἐπὶ
dισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων καταβαλῶν δύο μόνους
ἐνρε κατὰ νότου τετρωμένους, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες
ἐστώτες ἐν τάξει καὶ μαχόμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἀπέθανον.

4 Σπαρτάκω δὲ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἦτταν ἀνα-
χωροῦντι πρὸς τὰ ὅρη τὰ Πετηλίνα, Κόιντος τῶν
περὶ Κράσσον ἱγμόνων καὶ Σκρόφας ταμίας
ἐξαπτόμενοι παρηκολούθουν. ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ
gίνεται φυγὴ μεγάλη τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μόλις
tρωθέντα τὸν ταμίαν ἀρπάσαντες ἀπεσώθησαν.
τούτο τὸν Σπάρτακον ἀπώλεσε τὸ κατόρθωμα,

5 φρουράματος ἐπιγενομένου τοῖς δραπέταις. οὐκέτι
gὰρ ήξίον φυγομαχεῖν οὖν ἐπείθουν τοῖς
ἀρχουσιν, ἀλλ’ ἦδη καθ’ ὀδὸν ὄντας ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς
περισχότες ἦμυγκασαν αὕθις ὀπίσω διὰ τῆς
Λευκανίας ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰς ταύτὸ τὸ
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
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

Κράσσω σπεύδοντες. ἢδη γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος 550 προσιων ἀπηγγέλλετο καὶ δὴ ἄρχαρεσιάζοντες ἦσαν οὐκ ὁλίγοι τὴν νίκην ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πολέμου προσήκειν ἐλθόντα γὰρ εὐθὺς μαχεῖσθαι καὶ καταλύσειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπειγόμενος οὖν διαγωνίσασθαι καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσας τοῖς πολέμιοις ὄρυτε τάφρον, πρὸς ἦν ἐκπηδώντες οἱ δούλοι προσεμάχοντο τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις. ἀεὶ δὲ πλειόνων ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκβοηθοῦντων ὀρὸν τὴν ἀνάγκην ὁ Σπάρτακος ἀπαν παρέταξε τὸ στράτευμα.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ἵππου προσαχθέντος αὐτῶν σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι νικῶν μὲν ἔχει πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ καλοὺς τῶν πολέμων, ἠττώμενος δὲ οὐ δεῖται, κατέσφαξε τὸν ἤπτον ἐπειτα πρὸς Κράσσον αὐτῶν ὀδούμενος διὰ πολλῶν ὅπλων καὶ τραυμάτων ἐκείνου μὲν οὖν ἠττωσαν, ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ δύο συμπεσόντας ἀνεῖλε. 7 τέλος δὲ φυγόντων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς ἐστῶς καὶ κυκλωθεῖς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀμυνόμενος κατεκόπη. Κράσσον δὲ τῇ τυχῇ χρησαμένου καὶ στρατηγῆςαυτὸς ἀριστα τῷ κολύμφῳ παρασχὼτος, ὅμως οὐ διέφυγε τὸ κατστρόφωμα τὴν Πομπήίου δόξαν. οἱ γὰρ διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες καὶ διεφθάρσαν, ὡστε καὶ γράψαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι μάχη μὲν τοὺς δραπέτας φανερὰ Κράσσος νενίκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν πολέμον τὴν ῥίζαν 8 ἀνήρηκε. Πομπήίος μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Σερτωρίου καὶ

1 διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες Coraës' correction of the MSS. diapessontes. Cf. Pompey, xxii. 2, from which Graux would correct dia<πεσόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης πεντακισχίλιων περι>πε- σόντες.
CRASSUS

also most desired. For Pompey's approach was already announced, and there were not a few who publicly proclaimed that the victory in this war belonged to him; he had only to come and fight and put an end to the war. Crassus, therefore, pressed on to finish the struggle himself, and having encamped near the enemy, began to dig a trench. Into this the slaves leaped and began to fight with those who were working there, and since fresh men from both sides kept coming up to help their comrades, Spartacus saw the necessity that was upon him, and drew up his whole army in order of battle.

In the first place, when his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword, and saying that if he won the day he would have many fine horses of the enemy's, but if he lost it he did not want any, he slew his horse. Then pushing his way towards Crassus himself through many flying weapons and wounded men, he did not indeed reach him, but slew two centurions who fell upon him together. Finally, after his companions had taken to flight, he stood alone, surrounded by a multitude of foes, and was still defending himself when he was cut down. But although Crassus had been fortunate, had shown most excellent generalship, and had exposed his person to danger, nevertheless, his success did not fail to enhance the reputation of Pompey. For the fugitives from the battle 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.
'Ιβηρίας ἐπιφανῶς ἑθριάμβευσε, Κράσσος δὲ τὸν μὲν μέγαν θρίαμβον οὐδ’ αὐτὸς αἰτεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὸν πεζὸν, δοῦναι δὲ καλομενον, ἄγεννὸς καὶ παρ’ ἄξιον ἐπὶ δουλικῷ πολέμῳ θριαμβεύσαι. τι δ’ οὕτος ἐκεῖνον διαφέρει, καὶ περὶ τῆς κλήσεως, ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου βίῳ γέγραπται.

XII. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοῦ Πομπηίου αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν καλομένου, ἐλπίδας ἔχων ὁ Κράσσος συνάρρεξεν ὡμίας οὐκ ἀκνησε τοῦ Πομπηίου δεηθῆναι. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν χρείαν ἄσμενος ἐκεῖνος (ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ ἁμός γέ τοῖς αἰει χάριτος τινὸς ὀφειλέτην λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον) ἐσπούδασε προθύμως, καὶ τέλος ἐπιεῖν ἐκκλησιάζων ὡς οὐκ ἐλάττωνα περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος 2 ἐξει χάριν ἥ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. οὐ μὴν ἔμειναν ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς φιλοφροσύνης εἰς τὴν ἁρχὴν καταστάντες, ἀλλ’ ὅλιγον δεῖν περὶ πάντων διαφερομένου καὶ πάντα δυσκολαίνοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλονεικοῦντες ἀπολίτευτον καὶ ἀπρακτὸν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐποίησαν, πλὴν ὅτι Κράσσος Ἡρακλεῖ μεγάλην θυσίαν ποιησάμενος εἰστίασε τὸν δήμον ἀπὸ μυρίων τραπεζῶν καὶ σῖτον 3 ἐμέτρησεν εἰς τρίμηνον. ἦδη δὲ τῆς ἁρχῆς αὐτοῖς τελευτώσῃς ἔτυχον μὲν ἐκκλησιάζοντες, ἀνὴρ δὲ τις οὐ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν, ἵππεσ φιλοικός ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ προελθὼν ἐν ἄγγειτο κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς αὐτῶν γενομένην. "Ὁ γὰρ

1 'Ονάτιος in Pompey, xxiii. 1, Γάιος. Graux would therefore read here ὁμοματί Γάιος.
2 προελθὼν with Stephanus, Coraës, and S: προσελθὼν.
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.
Zeus,' ἐφη, "μοι φανεῖς προσέταξεν εἰς κοινὸν εἰπεῖν ὅπως μὴ πρότερον περιήγητε τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀποδέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν ἡ φίλους γενέσθαι." ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαλλάττεσθαι κελεύοντος, ὁ μὲν Πομπήιος ἦσυχιαν ἦγεν ἑστώς, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐμβαλὼν τὴν δεξίαν αὐτῶν πρότερος, "Οὔδεν," εἶπεν, "ὦ ἄνδρες, οἴμαι, πολιταῖ, ταπεινῶν πράττειν οὐδὲ ἀνάξιον ἐμαυτοῦ καταρχόμενοι εύνοιας καὶ φιλίας πρὸς Πομπήιον, ὑν ὑμεῖς μῆπω γενειώντα Μέγαν ἀνηγορεύσατε καὶ μῆπω μετέχοντι βουλής ἐψηφίσσασθε θρίαμβον."

ΧΙΙΙ. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπατεία τοῦ Κράσσου ταῦτ' ἐσχεν ἀξία μνήμης, ὁ δὲ τιμητεία παντάπασιν ἀτελῆς καὶ ἀπράκτος αὐτῶ διῆλθεν, οὔτε γὰρ βουλῆς ἐξέτασιν οὐδ' ἐπίθεου ἐπίσκεψιν οὔτ' ἀποτίμησιν πολιτῶν ἐποίησατο, καίτοι συν-ἀρχοντα Ρωμαίοις ἔχοντι τὸν πράστατον Δου- τάτιον Κάτλον. ἀλλὰ φασίν ἐπὶ δεινὸν ὀρμήσαντι τῷ Κράσσῳ πολίτευμα καὶ βλαίον, Λυγυππον ποιεῖν ὑποτελῇ Ρωμαίοις, ἀντιβηναὶ τῷ Κάτλον ἔρρωμένως· ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενομένης διαφορᾶς ἐκόντας ἀποδέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν.

2 Ἔν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίνα πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῦ δεήσασιν ἀνατρέψας τὴν 'Ρώμην, ἦψατο μὲν τις ὑπόνοια τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ προσ-ήλθεν ἀνθρώπος ὀνομάζων ἀπὸ τῆς συνωμοσίας, 3 οὔδεις δὲ ἐπίστευσεν. ὡμοὶ δ' ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τινὶ λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστριβόμενος. ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ὑπατείας
and bade me declare in public that you should not suffer your consuls to lay down their office until they become friends." When the man said this and the people urged a reconciliation, Pompey, for his part, stood motionless, but Crassus took the initiative, clasped him by the hand, and said: "Fellow-citizens, I think there is nothing humiliating or unworthy in my taking the first step towards good-will and friendship with Pompey, to whom you gave the title of 'Great' before he had grown a beard, and voted him a triumph before he was a senator."

XIII. Such, then, were the memorable things in the consulship of Crassus, but his censorship passed without any results or achievements whatever. He neither made a revision of the senate, nor a scrutiny of the knights, nor a census of the people, although he had Lutatius Catulus, the gentlest of the Romans, for his colleague. But they say that when Crassus embarked upon the dangerous and violent policy of making Egypt tributary to Rome, Catulus opposed him vigorously, whereupon, being at variance, both voluntarily laid down their office.

In the affair of Catiline, which was very serious, and almost subversive of Rome, some suspicion attached itself to Crassus, and a man publicly named him as one of the conspirators, but nobody believed him. Nevertheless, Cicero, in one of his orations, plainly inculpated Crassus and Caesar. This oration, it is true, was not published until after both were dead; but in the treatise upon his consulship,

1 65 B.C.  
2 63–62 B.C.  
3 Not extant.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ό Κικέρων νύκτωρ φησὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζοντα εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐξηγομένην, ὡς ἦδη βεβαιοῦντα τὴν συνομοσίαν, ὁ δὲ οὖν Κράσσος ἀεὶ μὲν ἔμισεί τὸν Κικέρωνα διὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ βλάπτειν ἀναφανδὸν ἐμποδῶν εἰχε τὸν νῦν. ὁ γὰρ Πόπλιος ὁν φιλολόγος καὶ φιλομαθὴς ἐξήρητο τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡστε καὶ συμμεταβαλέειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσθήτα κρινομένῳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νέους ταῦτα ποιοῦντα παρασχεῖν. τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα πείσας φίλον ἐποίησεν.

XIV. 'Ο δὲ Καίσαρ ὡς ἐπανήλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, παρασκευάζομεν ὑπατεῖαν μετιέναι καὶ Κράσσον ὁρῶν καὶ Πομπῆίου αὐθίς ἐν διαφοραῖς πρὸς ἄλληλους ὀντας, οὔτε θατέρου δεηθείς ἐβούλετο λαβεῖν ἑχθρὸν τὸν ἑτέρον, οὔτε μνητέρου συνεργοῦντος ἡλπίζε κατορθώσειν.

2 ἔπραττεν οὖν διαλλαγὰς αὐτοῖς προσκείμενοι καὶ διδάσκων ὡς καταλύοντες ἄλληλους αὐξουσι Κικέρωνας καὶ Κάτλους καὶ Κάτωνας, ὅπον οὔδεις λόγοι, ὧν ἐκείνοι συνενεγκόντες εἰς ταῦτά τὰς φιλίας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας εἰνὶ κράτει καὶ μιὰ γνώμη τὴν πόλιν ἀγωσιν. πείσας δὲ καὶ διαλλάξας συνήγαγε καὶ συνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν ἕχον ἀμαχον, ἣ κατέλυσε Ρωμαίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν ὅμοι, οὔκ ἐκείνοις δὲ ἄλληλων μείζονας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἐκείνων ἐαυτὸν μέγιστον ἀπεργασάμενος. 3 εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀρϑεῖς ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων ὑπατος ἀπεδεὶ-

1 κομίζοντα . . . ἐξηγομένην S'intennis' correction of the MSS. κομίζοντα περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα καὶ Ἑπομένην, which Coraës and Bekker retain.

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CRASSUS

Cicero says that Crassus came to him by night with a letter which gave details of the affair of Catiline, and felt that he was at last establishing the fact of a conspiracy. And Crassus, accordingly, always hated Cicero for this, but was kept from doing him any open injury by his son. For Publius Crassus, being given to literature and learning, was attached to Cicero, so much so that he put on mourning when Cicero did at the time of his trial, and prevailed upon the other young men to do the same. And finally he persuaded his father to become Cicero's friend.

XIV. Now when Caesar came back from his province and prepared to seek the consulship, he saw that Pompey and Crassus were once more at odds with each other. He therefore did not wish to make one of them an enemy by asking the aid of the other, nor did he have any hope of success if neither of them helped him. Accordingly, he tried to reconcile them by persistently showing them that their mutual ruin would only increase the power of such men as Cicero, Catulus, and Cato, men whose influence would be nothing if Crassus and Pompey would only unite their friends and adherents, and with one might and one purpose direct the affairs of the city. He persuaded them, reconciled them, and won them both to his support, and constituted with that triumvirate an irresistible power, with which he overthrew the senate and the people, not by making his partners greater, the one through the other, but by making himself greatest of all through them. For owing to the support of both he was

1 Cf. Plutarch's Cicero, xv.
χθη λαμπρῶς. ὑπατεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ ὕψηφι
σύμενοι στρατευμάτων ἠγεμονίαν καὶ Γαλα-
tίαν ἐγχειρίσαντες ὅσπερ εἰς ἄκροτολυν κατέ-
στησαν, οἴομενοι καὶ ἕσυχίαν νεμήσεσθαι τὰ
λοιπὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐκεῖνοι βεβαιοῦντες ἤ
ἔλαχεν ἄρχην.

4 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀμέτρου
ταύτ' ἐπράττε τῶν δὲ Κράσσου νοσημάτων τὸ
ἄρχαίον ἡ φιλοπλουτία καὶνὸν ἔρωτα προσλα-
βοῦσα καὶ ζήλουν ἐπὶ ταῖς Καίσαρος ἀριστείαις
τροπαίων καὶ θριάμβων, οἷς ὑπὸ μόνοις ἐλατ-
tούσθαι προύχοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, αὐτὸν οὐκ
ἀνήκεν οὐδ' ἐλώφησε πρὶν εἰς ὀλέθρον ἀκληῇ καὶ

5 δημοσίας συμφοράς τελευτῆσαι. Καίσαρος γὰρ
εἰς Δούκαν πόλιν ἐκ Γαλατίας καταβάντος ἄλλοι
τε πολλοὶ Ἄρωμαίων ἀφίκοντο, καὶ Πομπήιος καὶ
Κράσσος Ἰδία συγγενόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔγνωσαν
ἐγκρατέστερον ἔχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πᾶσαν
ὕφ' ἐαυτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἴγεμονίαν, Καίσαρος
μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις μένουσι, ἄλλας δὲ ἐπαρχίας
καὶ στρατεύματα Πομπήιου καὶ Κράσσου λαβὼν.

6 τῶν. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁδὸς ἦν μία δευτέρας ὑπατείας
αὐτῆς: ἦν μετιόντων ἐκείνων ἔδει συμπράττειν
Καίσαρα, τοῖς τε φίλοις γράφοντα καὶ τῶν στρα-
tιωτῶν πέμποντα πολλοὺς ἄρχαιρεσίαστονας.

XV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ περὶ Κράσσου εἰς Ὁρμῃ
ἐπανελθόντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ὑποπτοί, καὶ πολὺς ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων λόγος οὐκ ἔπ' ἄγαθῳ γεγο-
atalo. After this word kalós is bracketed by Sintenis and Bekker.
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 Δομίτιου Πομπήίου ἐρωτῶντων εἰ μέτεισιν ὑπατεῖαν, ἀπεκρίνατο τυχόν μὲν μετείναι, τυχόν δὲ μὴ μετείναι· καὶ πάλιν ἐρωτώ-


μένος ἐφ' μετείναι τοῖς δικαίοις πολίταις, μὴ 2 μετείναι δὲ τοῖς ἄδικοις. τούτου δὲ δόξαντος ὑπερηφάνους ἀποκρίσεις καὶ τετυφωμένας ποιεῖ-

σθαι μετριώτερον ὁ Κράσσος εἶπεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, μετείναι τὴν ἄρχην, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πεπαύσε-

σθαι. διὸ καὶ τινες ἑθάρρησαν ὑπατεῖαν μετελ-

θεῖν, ὃν ἦν καὶ Δομίτιος. γενομένων δὲ φανερῶν 


ἐκείνων ἐν ταῖς παραγγελίαις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι δείσαντες ἀπέστησαν, Δομίτιον δὲ Κάτων οἰκεῖον ὄντα καὶ φίλον ἑθάρρυνεν ἐγκελευόμενος καὶ 


παρομοίων ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἑλπίδος ὡς ὑπερμαχῶντα τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας· οὐ γὰρ ὑπατείας Πομ-


πήίου δεῖσθαι καὶ Κράσσου, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδος, 


οὐδ' ἄρχης αἰτήσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρπαγῆν ἐπαρχῶν καὶ 


στρατοπέδων εἶναι τὰ πραττόμενα.


3 Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγων οὗτω καὶ φρονῶν ὁ Κάτων 


μοιονοῦ βία προῆγεν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὸν Δομίτιον, 


καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς. καὶ τὸ 


θαυμάζον ὡς ὑλίγου ἦν, "Τί δὴ δεύτερας οὗτοι 


χρήζουσιν ὑπατεῖας; τί δὲ πάλιν μετ' ἀλλήλων; 


tί δ' οὐ μεθ' ἑτέρων; πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἦμιν 


οὐκ ἀνάξιοι δῆπον Κράσσῳ καὶ Πομπήίῳ συν-


ἀρχεῖν." ἐκ τούτου δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Πομπήίον 


οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο τῶν ἀκοσμοτάτων καὶ βιαστά-


tων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις λόχων ύφεντες
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 ἐτὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατεχομένωι κτείνουσι μὲν τὸν ἀνέχοντα τὸ φῶς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, συνιτρώκουσι δὲ πολλοὺς, ὃν ἦν καὶ Κάτων. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς τὴν οἴκιαν ἐκείνους ἀνηγορεύθησαν ὑπάτου· καὶ μετ’ οὗ πολὺν χρόνον αὖθις ὅπλοις περισχόντες τῷ βῆμα καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνα τῆς ἄγορᾶς ἐκβάλοντες’ καὶ τινὰς ὑποστάντας ἀποκτείναντες, Καίσαρι μὲν ἄλλην ἐπέδοσαν πενταετίαν τῆς ἀρχῆς, αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ἐψηφίσαντο Συρίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίας συναμφότερας. κληρουμένων δὲ Συρίαν ἐλαχε Κράσσος, τὰ δ’ Ἰβηρικὰ Πομπ.πίος.

XVI. Ἡν δὲ οὐκ ἀκούσιος ὁ κλήρος ἀπασίν. οὔ τε γὰρ πολλοὶ Πομπήιοι μὴ μακρὰν εἰναι τῆς πόλεως ἐβούλουτο, καὶ Πομπήιοι ἔρων τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ πολλὰ διατρίβειν ἐμελλε, Κράσσος δὲ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκπεσόντι τῷ κλήρῳ καταφανῆς ἢν οὐδὲν εὐτύχημα λαμπρότερον ἐαυτῷ γεγονέναι τοῦ παρόντος ἥγοιμενος, ὡς μόλις ἐν ἄλλοτριος καὶ πολλοῖς ἵσχυσιν ἄγειν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις πολλὰ κενὰ καὶ μειρακιώδη λέγειν παρ’ ἥλικιαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φύσιν, Ἦκιστα 2 κομπαστῆς ἢ σοβαρὸς τῷ βίῳ γεγονός. τότε δ’ ἐπημένους κομιδή καὶ διεφθαρμένοις οὐ Συρίαν οὐδὲ Πάρθους ὄρον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς εὐπραξίας, ἀλλ’ ὡς παιδιὰν ἀποφανὼν τὰ Δουκούλλου πρὸς Τιγράνην καὶ Πομπηίου πρὸς Μιθριδάτην, ἅρι Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάσσης ἀνήγεν ἑαυτὸν ταῖς ἐλπίσι.

1 In codex Matritensis Graux found after this word μετὰ τῶν φίλων (together with his friends).
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  Καὶ τῷ γραφέντι περὶ τούτων νόμῳ Παρθηνοῦς πόλεμος οὐ προσήν. ἦδεσαν δὲ πάντες ὅτι πρὸς τούτον 1 Κράσσου ἐπτόηται καὶ Καίσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐγραφεῖ αὐτῷ τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐπαίνων καὶ παρεξῆνων ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δημαρχῶν Ἀτηίος ἐμελλε πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον ἐναντιώσεσθαι, καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ χαλεπαίνοντες εἰ τις ἀνθρώποις οὐδὲν ἄδικον ὁ, ἀλλ' ἐνσπόνδοις, πολεμήσων ἀπεισὶ, δεύσας ο Κράσσους ἐδεήθη Πομπηίου παραγενέσθαι καὶ συμπροπέμψαι·

4  μέγα γὰρ ἦν ἐκείνου τὸ πρὸς τῶν ὁχλον ἄξιόμα· καὶ τὸτε παρεσκευασμένους πολλοὺς ἐνίστασθαι καὶ καταβοῦν ὀρῶμενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ φαιδρῷ βλέμματι καὶ προσώπῳ κατεπράύνειν ο Πομπηίος, ὥςθ' ὑπείκειν σιωπῆ δ' αὐτῶν προϊόσων. ὁ δ' Ἀτηίος ἀπαντήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἐκώλυνε καὶ διεμάρτυρε τοῦ βαδίζειν, ἐπειτα τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευεν ἰψάμενον τὸν σώματος κατέχειν. ἄλλων δὲ δημαρχῶν οὐκ ἔστων, ὁ μὲν ὑπηρέτης ἀφῆκε τὸν Κράσσον, ὁ δ' Ἀτηίος προδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἔδηκεν ἐσχαρίδα καὶ ἐσχαρίνην, καὶ τὸν Κράσσον γενομένου κατ' αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ κατασπένδουν ἄρας ἐπηράτο δευνᾶς μὲν αὐτὰς καὶ φρικώδεις, δευνοὺς δε τυνας θεους καὶ ἀλλοκό-

5  τους ἐπ' αὐτάς καλῶν καὶ ὀνομάζων· ταύτας φασὶ Ῥωμαίοι τὰς ἄρας ὑποθέτους καὶ παλαιὰς τοιαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν ὡς περιφυγεῖν μηδένα τῶν ἐνσχέδεντων αὐτάς, κακῶς δὲ πράσειν καὶ τὸν χρισάμενον, οὔτε οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχ' ὑσταν αὐτὰς οὐδ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀράσθαι. καὶ τὸτ' οὖν ἐμέμφοντο τὸν

1 τοῦτο Bekker adopts τοῦτον 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
'Ατηίον, εἶ δὲ ἵνα ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ Κράσσῳ πόλιν, εἰς αὐτὴν ἄρας ἀφήκε καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην.

ΧVII. Ὅ δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἤλθεν. ἔστι δ’ ἀστατοῦσις χειμώσι τῆς θαλάσσης οὐ περιέμενεν, ἀλλ’ ἀνίχθη καὶ συχνὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπέβαλε, τὴν δ’ ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν δύναμιν ἤπείγετο πεξη διὰ Γαλατίας. εὐρῶν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Δηιόταρον πάνυ μὲν ὄντα γηραιὸν ἡδη, κτίζοντα δὲ νέαν πόλιν, ἐπέσκυψεν εἰπὼν· "ὁ Βασιλεὺς, δωδεκάτης ὥρας οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχης."


3 ἐν μιᾷ δ’, ὡς Ἀπολλωνίος ἔτυράννει, στρατιωτῶν ἑκατὸν ἀναιρεθέντων ἐπαγαγόν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοὺς καὶ κρατῆσας διήρπασε τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδω. Ζηνοδοτίαν ἔκαλον την πόλιν οἴ "Ελληνες. ἐπὶ ταύτης ἀλούσης δεξάμενος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατίας ἀναγορευθῆναι πολλὴν ὀφλευ αἰσχύνην, καὶ ταπεινὸς ἐφάνη καὶ περὶ τὰ μείζονα δύσελπις οὕτω πλεονέκτημα

4 μικρὸν ἡγατηκῶς. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ φρουρὰς ταῖς προσκεχωρηκυῖαις πόλεσιν, ὃν ἀριθμὸς ἦν
fault with Ateius because it was for the city’s sake that he was angered at Crassus, and yet he had involved the city in curses which awakened much superstitious terror.

XVII. But Crassus came to Brundisium. And though the sea was still rough with wintry storms, he would not wait, but put out, and so lost a great number of his vessels. With what was left of his forces, however, he hurried on by land through Galatia. And finding that King Deiotarus, who was now a very old man, was founding a new city, he rallied him, saying: “O King, you are beginning to build at the twelfth hour.” The Galatian laughed and said: “But you yourself, Imperator, as I see, are not marching very early in the day against the Parthians.” Now Crassus was sixty years old and over, and looked older than his years. On his arrival, things went at first as he had hoped, for he easily bridged the Euphrates and led his army across in safety, and took possession of many cities in Mesopotamia which came over to him of their own accord. But at one of them, of which Apollonius was tyrant, a hundred of his soldiers were slain, whereupon he led up his forces against it, mastered it, plundered its property, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. The city was called Zenodotia by the Greeks. For its capture he allowed his soldiers to salute him as Imperator, thereby incurring much disgrace and showing himself of a paltry spirit and without good hope for the greater struggles that lay before him, since he was so delighted with a trifling acquisition. After furnishing the cities which had come over to his side with garrisons, which amounted

1 54 B.C.  
ἐπτακισθῆτε ταῖς ἥλιοις τοῦ ἡμέρας, ἀναχώρησεν
αὐτὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαχειμᾶσων καὶ δεξώμενος αὐτὸθεί
τῶν υἱῶν ἦκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρα έκ Παλαιας
αὐτῶν τε κεκοσμημένου ἀριστείοις καὶ χιλίοις
ἰππεῖς ἐπιλέκτους ἅγουτα.
Τοῦτο πρώτον ἀμαρτείν ἐδοξεῖν ὁ Κράσσος μετὰ
γε τήν στρατεύαν αὐτὴν μέγιστον ἀμάρτημα τῶν
γενομένων, ὅτι πρόσω χωρεῖν δέον ἔχεσθαι τε
Βαβυλώνοις καὶ Σελευκείας, δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ Πάρθοις
πόλεων, χρόνον ἐνέδωκε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρα-
5 σκεῦσις. ἔπειτα τάς ἐν Συρίᾳ διατριβάς ἠτίωντο
χρηματιστικάς μᾶλλον οὕσας ἡ στρατηγικὰς· οὐ
gάρ ὅπλων ἀριθμὸν ἐξετάζων οὐδὲ γυμνασιῶν
ποιούμενος ἁμίλλας, ἀλλὰ προσόδους πόλεων
ἐκλογιζόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἐν Ιεραπόλει
θεοῦ σταθμοῖς καὶ τρυτάναις μεταχειριζόμενος
ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἑμέρας, ἐνυγράφων δὲ καὶ δήμοις καὶ
dυνάσταις στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους, εἰτ' ἀνεῖς ἀρ-
gύριοι διδόντας, ἢδοξεὶ καὶ κατεφρονεῖτο τούτοις.
6 γίνεται δὲ πρώτον αὐτῷ σημείον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ
tαυτῆς, ἢν οἱ μὲν 'Αφροδίτην, οἱ δὲ "Ἡραν, οἱ δὲ
tὴν ἀρχὰς καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν εξ ὑγρῶν παρα-
σχοῦσαν αἰτίαν καὶ φύσιν νυμίζουσι, καὶ τὴν
πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν καταδείκ-
σαν. ἐξίσουν γάρ ἐκ τοῦ ιεροῦ πρώτος ἑσφάλη
κατὰ τάς πύλας ὁ νεανίας Κράσσος, εἰτ' ἐπὶ αὐτῷ
περιπεσών ὁ προσβύτερος.

XVIII. "Ἡδὴ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν χειμαδίων
συναθροίζοντος αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο παρ'
Ἀρσάκου βραχύν τινα λόγου κομίζοντες. ἔφασαν
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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 Arsaces¹ with a wonderfully brief

¹ In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.
γάρ, εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ὁ στρατὸς ἀπέσταλται,
pόλεμον ἀσπιόνδον εἶναι καί ἁδιάλλακτον, εἰ δὲ
tῆς πατρίδος ἀκούσης, ως πυνθάνονται, Κράσσος
ιδίων ἕνεκα κερδῶν ὑπλα Πάρθοις ἐπενήνοχε καὶ
χώραν κατείληφε, μετριάζειν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τὸ μὲν
Κράσσου γῆρας οἰκτείρειν, ἀφιέναι δὲ Ῥωμαίους
tοὺς ἄνδρας, οὓς ἔχει φρουρουμένους μᾶλλον ἡ
2 φρουροῦντας. πρὸς ταῦτα Κράσσου κομπάσαν-
tος ὡς ἐν Σελευκείᾳ δώσει τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, γελά-
σας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν πρέσβεων Οὐαγίσης καὶ
tῆς χειρὸς ὑπτίας δείξας τὸ μέσων Ἔνετεῦθεν,
εἶπεν, ὡς Κράσσε, φύσονται τρίχες πρότερον ἡ
σὺ ὄφει Σελευκείαιν.

Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀπήλαυνον ὡς βασιλέα Ἰρώδην
πολεμητέα φράσοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων ἃς
ἐφρούρουν Ῥωμαίοι τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, παραβὸ-
λως τινὲς διεκπεσόντες αξία φροντίδων ἀνήγγελ-
λον, αὐτόπται μὲν γεγονότες τοῦ τε πλῆθους τῶν
πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἁγώνων ἃν ἣγωνίσαντο προσ-
μαχόμενοι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἴα δὲ φιλεὶ πάντα πρὸς
τὸ δεινότερον ἐξαγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἀφυκτοί μὲν οἱ
ἀνδρεὶς διώκοντες, ἀληττοὶ δὲ φεύγοντες, βέλη δὲ
καὶνά 1 προθέοντα τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πρὶν ὀφθήναι τὸν
βάλλοντα χωροῦντα διὰ τοῦ προστυχόντος, τῶν
dὲ καταφράκτων ὑπλα τὰ μὲν διὰ παντὸς ὅθει-
σθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδιδοῦν πεποιημένα.

1 καὶνὰ MSS., Coraës, Sintenis,1 and Bekker; πτηνὰ (winged) from Pseudo-Appian.
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." ¹

The embassy, accordingly, rode away to King Hyrodes, to tell him there must be war. But from the cities of Mesopotamia in which the Romans had garrisons, certain men made their escape at great hazard and brought tidings of serious import. They had been eyewitnesses both of the numbers of the enemy and of their mode of warfare when they attacked their cities, and, as is usual, they exaggerated all the terrors of their report. "When the men pursued," they declared, "there was no escaping them, and when they fled, there was no taking them; and strange missiles are the precursors of their appearance, which pierce through every obstacle before one sees who sent them; and as for the armour of their mail-clad horsemen, some of it is made to force its way through everything, and some

¹ In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.
² Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 16.

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4 ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀκοῦόντων τὸ θράσος ὑπέπιπτεν. πεπεισμένοι γὰρ οὐδὲν Ἀρμενίων διαφέρειν Πάρθους οὐδὲ Καππαδοκῶν, οὕς ἄγων καὶ φέρων Δούκουλλος ἀπείπτε, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἡγούμενοι μακράν οὖν ἐσεσθαί καὶ δίωξιν ἀνθρώπων εἰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀφιξομένων, παρ' ἑλπίδας ἀγώνα καὶ κίνδυνον μέγαν προσέδο-κων, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τινῶν οἴεσθαι δεῖν ἐπισχόντα τὸν Κράσσου αὖθις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁλων γνώμην προθέσθαι. τούτων ἦν Κάσσιος ο ταμίας.

5 ἡσυχὴ δὲ παρεδήλουν καὶ οἱ μάντεις ὡς ἂει ποιηρὰ σημεῖα καὶ δυσέκθυτα προφαίνοιτο τῷ Κράσσῳ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἀλλ' οὔτε τούτοις προσ-εἰχεν οὔτε τοῖς ἑτερῶν τι πλὴν ἐπείγεσθαι παραίνοσιν.

ΧΙΧ. Οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' αὐτῶν Ἀρταβάζης ὁ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεύς ἐπέρρωσεν. ἦλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον μεθ' ἐξακισχιλίων ἄπειρων. καὶ οὔτοι μὲν ἐλέγοντο φύλακες καὶ προπομποὶ βασιλέως· ἐτέρους δὲ μυρίους ὑπισχυεῖτο καταφράκτους καὶ τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς οἰκοσῖτους.

2 ἔπειθε δὲ Κράσσου ἐμβαλεῖν δ' Ἀρμενίας εἰς τὴν Παρθίαν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάξειν τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ παρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πορεύσε-σθαι δ' ἄσφαλείας, ὡρὶ πολλὰ καὶ λόφους συνεχεῖς καὶ χωρία δύσιππα πρὸς τὴν ἱππον, ἢ
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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.
μόνη Πάρθων ἀλκή, προβαλλόμενον. ο δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς βοήθειας μετρίως ἡγάπησε, βαδιέσθαι δὲ ἔφη διὰ Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου πολλοὺς καὶ ἅγαθοὺς Ἐρω-3 μαίων ἄνδρας ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρμένιος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπῆλανεν.

Τὸ δὲ Κράσσω διαβιβάζοντι τὴν στρατιάν κατὰ τὸ Ζεύγμα πολλαὶ μὲν ὑπερφυεῖς βρονταὶ περιερρήγυντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἡστραπτεῖν ἑναντία τῷ στράτῳ, πνεῦμα δὲ νέφει καὶ προστήρι μεμεγμένον ἐρείσαν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς σχεδίας ἀνέρρηξε 4 πολλὰ καὶ συνέτριψεν· εβλήθη δὲ καὶ κεραινοὶ δυσὶν ὁ χώρος οὗ στρατοπεδεύειν ἔμελλεν. Ὑποσ δὲ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἐπιφανῶς κεκοσμημένοις βίᾳ συνεπισπάσας τὸν ἤνιοχον εἰς τὸ ἰεθρόν ὑπο-βρύχιοι ἤφανίσθην. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄετῶν ὁ πρῶτος ἀρθείς ἀπὸ ταύτομάτου μεταστραφῆναι. 5 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συνέπεσε μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν μετρουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτίθεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πρῶ-τα πάντων δοθῆναι φακοὺς καὶ ἄλας, ἀ νομίζουσι Ἐρωμαίοι πένθιμα καὶ προτίθενται τοῖς νέκυσιν, αὐτοῦ τε Κράσσου δημηγοροῦντος ἐξέπεσε φωνὴ δεινῶς συγκέασα τῶν στρατῶν. ἔφη γὰρ τὸ Ζεύγμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαλύειν ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐπαν-έλθῃ. καὶ δέον, ὡς ἦσθετο τοῦ ῥήματος τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἀναλαβέω καὶ διασαφῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδεικλῶτας τὸ εἰρημένον, ἡμέλησεν ὕπο αὐθα-6 δειας. τέλος δὲ τῶν εἰθισμένων καθαρμὸν ἐσφαγιά-

1 καὶ ἡστραπτέν MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: κατὰ ἡστραπτέν 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,1 many extraordinary peals of thunder crashed about them, and many flashes of lightning also darted in their faces, and a wind, half mist and half hurricane, fell upon their raft, breaking it up and shattering it in many places. The place where he was intending to encamp was also smitten by two thunderbolts. And one of the general’s horses, richly caparisoned, violently dragged its groom along with it into the river and disappeared beneath the waves. It is said also that the first eagle which was raised aloft, faced about of its own accord.2 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.
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ζητο, καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ μάντεως αὐτῷ προσδόντος ἐξέβαλε τῶν χειρῶν ἐφ᾽ ψ ἐν καὶ μάλιστα δυσχεραινομένας ἱδὼν τοὺς παρόντας ἐμειδίασε καὶ "Τοιοῦτον," ἐφη, "τὸ γῆρας ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ὀπλῶν οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκφύγοι τὰς χειρὰς."

ΧΧ. Ἐκ τούτου παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐξήλαυνεν ἐπτὰ μὲν ἔχων ὀπλιτῶν τάγματα καὶ τετρακισ-
χιλίων ὅλγον ἀποδέοντας ἰππεῖς, ψυλαῖς δὲ τοὺς ἰππεύσι παραπλησίους. τῶν δὲ προδρόμων τινὲς ἀπὸ σκοπιαῖς ἐπανελθόντες ἤγγελλον ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἔρημον εἶναι τὴν χώραν, ἵππων δὲ ἐντυχη-
κέναι πολλῶν ἤχεσιν οἶον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὕπνω ὀϊκομένων. οἶδεν αὐτός τε Κράσσος ἐτί μᾶλλον εὐελπίς ἦν, καὶ τοῖς στρατωταῖς παντάπασι τῶν Πάρθων παρέστη καταφρονεῖν, ὥς οὐκ ἄφιξομένων
ἐἰς χείρας. ὡς δ᾽ οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον αὐθίς διε-
λέγοντο τῷ Κράσσῳ, καὶ παρῆμονοι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν πόλει τινὶ τῶν φρουρομένων ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ἀχρὶ οὗ τι πῦθηται περὶ τῶν πολεμίων βέβαιον, εἴ δὲ μή, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Σελευκίας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εὐπορίαν γὰρ τὰ σιτηρὰ τῆς ἁγο-
ρᾶς παρέξειν ἀμα συγκαταίροντα πρὸς τὸ στρα-
τόποδον, καὶ φύλακα τοῦ μῆ κυκλώθηναι τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντας ἀπ᾽ ἱσης ἄεὶ πρὸς ἐναντίοις μαχεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους.

XXI. Ταύτα τοῦ Κράσσου διασκοπούντος ἐτὶ καὶ βουλευομένου παραγίνεται φύλαρχος Ἀρά-
βων, Ἀριάμνης ὄνομα, δολερός καὶ παλιμπόλος ἄνηρ καὶ πάντων ὃσα συνήνεγκεν εἰς ὀλέθρον ἡ ἑτέρος κακὰ, 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
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2 γενόμενον τούτον δ’ ἦδεσαν ἐνιοί τῶν Πομπηίων συνεστρατευμένων ἀπολαύσαντα τι τῆς ἐκείνου φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δόξαν τα φιλορρόμαιον εἶναι τότε δ’ ὕφειτο τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ γνώμης τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, εἰ δύνατο παρατρέψας αὐτοῦ ἀπωτάτῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὕπωρειῶν εἰς πεδίον ἐκβαλεὶν ἄχανες καὶ περιελαννόμενον. πάντα γὰρ διενοῦσαν μᾶλλον ἥ κατὰ στόμα

3 προσφέρεσθαι Ἡρωμαίοις. ἐλθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Κράσσον ὁ βάρβαρος (ἢν δὲ καὶ πιθανὸς εἰπεῖν) Πομπηίον μὲν ὡς εὐφρέτην ἐπήνει, Κράσσον δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μακαρίσας ἐμέμφετο τῆς διατριβῆς μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον, ὡσπερ ὅπλων αὐτῷ δεῖσον, οὐ χειρῶν οὐδὲ ποδῶν τῶν ταχίστων ἐπ’ ἀνθρώπους οἱ πάλαι ξητούσιν ἀρπάσαντες τὰ τιμώτατα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων

4 εἰς Σκύθας ἡ Ἡρκανοῦς ἀναπτέσθαι. “Καίτοι μάχεσθαι μέλλοντας,” ἑφη, “σπεύδεις ἐδει, πρὶν ἀπασαν ἐν ταύτῳ γενέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἀναθαρσῆςαντος βασιλέως· ἐπεὶ νῦν ὁ Σουρήνας ὕμιν προβέβληται καὶ Σιλλάκης ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ ἀναδεξάμενοι τὴν δίωξιν, ὁ δ’ οὐδαμὴ φανερὸς ἔστιν.”

5 Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ψευδή πάντα. δικὴ γὰρ εὑθὺς Ἡρώδης διελὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶς μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπόρθει τινὺςμενὸς Ἀρταυνάδην, Σουρὴναν δ’ ἄφηκεν ἐπὶ Ἡρωμαίοις, οὐχ ὑπερφροσῦνῃ χρώμενος, ὥς ἐνιὸς φασίν οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κράσσον μὲν ἀπαξιοῦν ἀνταγωνιστὶν, ἀνδρα
CRASSUS

Romans, the greatest and most consummate. Some of the soldiers who had served under Pompey in these parts knew that the fellow had profited by the kindness of that commander and was thought to be a friend of Rome; but now, with the knowledge of the royal generals, he tried to work his way into the confidence of Crassus, to see if he could turn him aside as far as possible from the river and the foothills, and bring him down into a boundless plain where he could be surrounded. For nothing was farther from the thoughts of the Parthians than to attack the Romans in front. Accordingly, coming to Crassus, the Barbarian (and he was a plausible talker, too) lauded Pompey as his benefactor, and complimented Crassus on his forces. But then he criticised him for wasting time in delays and preparations, as if it was arms that he needed, and not hands and the swiftest of feet to follow after men who had for some time been trying to snatch up their most valuable goods and slaves and fly with them into Scythia or Hyrcania. "And yet," said he, "if you intend to fight, you ought to hasten on before all the king's forces are concentrated and he has regained his courage; since, for the time being, Surena and Sillaces have been thrown forward to sustain your pursuit, but the king is nowhere to be seen."

Now this was all false. For Hyrodes had promptly divided his forces into two parts and was himself devastating Armenia to punish Artavasdes, while he despatched Surena to meet the Romans. And this was not because he despised them, as some say, for he could not consistently disdain Crassus as an antagonist, a man who was foremost of the
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Ῥωμαίων πρῶτον, Ἀρταούσδη δὲ προσπολεμεῖν καὶ ταῖς Ἀρμενίων ἐπίοντα κόμαις ἐξαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ καταδείσας τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτὸς μὲν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ καραδοκεῖν τὸ μέλλον, Σουρήναν δὲ προκαθεῖναι πειρασόμενον μάχης καὶ 6 περιέλξοντα τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῶν τυχόντων ὁ Σουρήνας, ἀλλὰ πλοῦτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει καὶ δόξῃ μετὰ Βασιλέα δεύτερος, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῶν καθ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν Πάρθων πρῶτος, ἔτι δὲ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει σώματος ὡς οὐδεὶς ἐτερός. ἤξιλαυνε δὲ καθ’ ἑαυτόν ἀεὶ χειλίαις σκευοφορούμενος καμήλοις, καὶ διακοσίας ἀπῆνας ἐπήγετο παλλακίδων, ἱππεῖς δὲ κατάφρακτοι χίλιοι, πλείονες δὲ τῶν κούφων παρέπεμπον, εἰχὲ δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἱππεῖς ὀμοῦ πελάτας τε 7 καὶ δούλους μυρίων οὐκ ἀποδέοντας. κατὰ γένος μὲν οὖν ἔξ ἄρχης ἐκέκτητο βασιλεῖ γενομένῳ Πάρθων ἐπιτιθέναι τὸ διάδημα πρῶτος, Τρώδην δὲ τούτον αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένον εἰς Πάρθους κατήγαγε, καὶ Σελεύκειαιν αὐτῷ τὴν μεγάλην εἶλε πρῶτος ἐπιβᾶς τοῦ τείχους καὶ τρεψάμενος ἰδίᾳ χείρὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας. οὕτω δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον εὐβουλίας καὶ συνέσεως δόξαν εἶχε μεγίστην, οἷς οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ τὸν Κράσσου ἐσφυλεῖ, διὰ θάρσος καὶ φρόνημα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὑπὸ δέους καὶ συμφορῶν ταῖς ἀπάταις εὐχείρωτον γενόμενον.

XXII. Τότ’ οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, ὡς ἐπεισεν αὐτόν,
CRASSUS

Romans, and wage war on Artavasdes, attacking and taking the villages of Armenia; on the contrary, it seems that he was in great fear of the danger which threatened, and therefore held himself in reserve and watched closely the coming event, while he sent Surena forward to make trial of the enemy in battle and to distract them. Nor was Surena an ordinary man at all, but in wealth, birth, and consideration, he stood next the king, while in valour and ability he was the foremost Parthian of his time, besides having no equal in stature and personal beauty. He used to travel on private business with a baggage train of a thousand camels, and was followed by two hundred waggons for his concubines, while a thousand mail-clad horsemen and a still greater number of light-armed cavalry served as his escort; and he had altogether, as horsemen, vassals, and slaves, no fewer than ten thousand men. Moreover, he enjoyed the ancient and hereditary privilege of being first to set the crown upon the head of the Parthian king; and when this very Hyrodes was driven out of Parthia, he restored him to his throne, and captured for him Seleucia the Great,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 ἦγε τῶν πεδίων ὁδὸν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ κούφην τὸ πρώτον, εἶτα μοιχηράν, ἄμμον βαθείας ὑποδεχομένης καὶ πεδίων ἀδένδρων καὶ ἀνύδρων καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ πέρας ἐφικτὸν αἰσθῆσει παυμένων, ὡστε μὴ μόνον δίψει καὶ χαλεπότητι τῆς πορείας

2 ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὠψεως ἀπαραμύθητον ἀθυμίαν παρέχειν οὐ φυτῶν ὀρόσιν, οὐ ἤρθον, οὐ προβολὴν ὀροὺς καθιέντος, οὐ πόαν διαβλαστάνουσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀτεχνῶς πελάγιοι τὶ χένα θινῶν τιμῶν ἐρήμων περιεχόμενοι τῶν στρατῶν, ἤν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ὁ δόλος ὑποττος: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀρτανόσδου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου παρῆσαν ἄγγελοι φράζοντες ὡς πολλῶν συνέχουσι τοιοῦ ῥυέντος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν Ἰρώδου, καὶ πέμπτων

3 μὲν ἐκείνῳ βοήθειαν οὐ δύναται, παραίνει δὲ Κράσσῳ μάλιστα μὲν ἐκεὶ τραπέζαθαι καὶ γενόμενοι μετ’ Ἀρμενίου ὁμοί διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰρώδην, εἰ δὲ μῆ, πορεύεσθαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαι ἀεὶ τὰ ἱππάσιμα φεύγοντα καὶ προσχωροῦντα τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς, Κράσσῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντιγράψας ὑπ’ ὀργῆς καὶ σκαλύτητος ἀπεκρίνατο νῦν μὲν Ἀρμενίος μὴ σχολάζειν, αὖθις δ’ ἐφιξεσθαί δίκην ἐπιθήσων Ἀρτανόσδη τῆς προδοσίας.

4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ Κάσσιον αὖθις ἠγανάκτουν, καὶ Κράσσον μὲν ἄχθομενον αὐτοῖς ἐπαύσαντο νουθετοῦντες, ἵδια δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐλοιδόρουν “Τὰς σε δαίμον πονηρὸς, ὃς κάκιστε ἄνθρώπων, ἡγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς; τίσ δὲ φαρμάκοις καὶ γοητείαις ἐπεισάς Κράσσον εἰς ἐρημίαν ἡχάνῃ καὶ βύθιον ἐκχέαντα τὴν στρατιῶν ὁδὸν ὀδενεὶν Νομαδί λῃ-
CRASSUS

barian had persuaded Crassus, he drew him away from the river and led him through the midst of the plains, by a way that was suitable and easy at first, but soon became troublesome when deep sand succeeded, and plains which had no trees, no water, and no limit anywhere which the eye could reach, so that not only did thirst and the difficulties of the march exhaust the men, but also whatever met their gaze filled them with an obstinate dejection. For they saw no plant, no stream, no projection of sloping hill, and no growing grass, but only sea-like billows of innumerable desert sand-heaps enveloping the army. This of itself was enough to induce suspicion of treachery, and soon messengers came from Artavasdes the Armenian declaring that he was involved in a great war with Hyrodes, who had attacked him with an overwhelming force, and could not therefore send Crassus aid, but advised him above all things to turn his course thither, join the Armenians, and fight the issue out with Hyrodes; but if not this, then to march and encamp always where mountains were near and cavalry could not operate. Crassus sent no reply in writing, but answered at once in rage and perversity that for the present he had no time to waste on the Armenians, but that at another time he would come and punish Artavasdes for his treachery.

But Cassius was once more greatly displeased, and though he stopped advising Crassus, who was angry with him, he did privately abuse the Barbarian. "Basest 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
στάρχη μ.λλον ἡ Ἦρωμαιὼν αὐτοκράτορι προσ-5 ἴκουσαν;” ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ἀνήρ ὅν ποικίλος ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑποπίπτων ἐθάρρυνε καὶ παρεκάλει μικρὸν ἄτι καρτερῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀμα συμπαραθέων καὶ παραβοηθῶν ἐπέσκωπτε μετὰ γέλωτος: “Τρεῖς δὲ δὲ Ἡρμανίας οἴευεν οἰεσθε κρήνας καὶ νάματα καὶ σκιᾶς καὶ λοντρὰ δηλαδὴ καὶ πανδοκεία ποδοῦντες; οὐ μέμνησθε δὲ τὴν Ἀράβων διεξόντες καὶ Ἀσσυρίων μεθο-6 ρίαν;” εὕτω μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος διεπαίδαγγυσσι τοὺς Ἦρωμαιος, καὶ πρὶν ἡ γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἐξαπατῶν ἄφιππευσεν, οὐ λαθῶν τὸν Κράσσον, ἄλλα καὶ τοῦτο πεῖσας, ὡς ὑπεργάστηκαί καὶ διαταράξει τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

XXIII. Λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τὸν Κράσσον ὦχ ὀσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ Ἦρωμαιῶν στρατη-γοῖς ἐν φοινικίδι προελθεῖν, ἄλλ᾽ ἐν ἰματίῳ μέλανι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀλλάξει προνοή-σαντα, τῶν δὲ σημαιῶν ἐνίας μόλις ὀσπερ πεπη-γυίας πολλὰ παθόντας ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς φέρουτας. 2 ὁν ὁ Κράσσος καταγελῶν ἐπετάξυνε τὴν πορείαν, προσβιαζόμενος ἄκολουθεσι τὴν φάλαγγα τοὺς ἰππεῦσι, πρὶν γε δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἀπο-σταλέσωμοι ὁλίγοι προσπελάσαντες ἀπήγγειλαν ἀπολοώνειν τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιέναι δὲ μαχουμένους 3 πληθεὶς πολλῷ καὶ θύρσει τοὺς ἀνδρὰς. ἀπαντες μὲν ὦν ἐθορυβηθησαν, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἔξεπλάγη παντάπασι καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς οὐ πάνυ 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, πρώτον μέν, ώς οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον ἥξιοι, ἄρα ἵνα τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνάγων του πεδίου πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις, τοὺς δ᾽ ἵππεις διανέμων τοῖς κέρασιν ἔπειτα μετέδοξε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ἀμφίστομον ἐποίησε καὶ βαθὺ πλυνθῖον ἐν δώδεκα σπείραις προερχομένης τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστης. παρὰ δὲ σπείραι ἐλην ἵππεων ἔταξεν, ώς μηδὲν ἔχοι μέρος ἐνδεῖς ἱππικῆς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ παυταχύθην ὀμαλῶς προσφέροιτο πεφραγμένος. τὸν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν Κασσίς, τὸ δὲ τῷ νέῳ Κρύσσῳ παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἰς μέσον κατέστη.

Καὶ προάγοντες οὕτως ἔπι βεδρὸν ἄθθου ὃ καλεῖται Βάλλισσος, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἄφθονον, ἀσμένοις δὲ τὸ τοῖς στρατιώταις φανέν ἐν αὐχμῷ καὶ καύματι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπίπονον καὶ ἄνυδρον πορείαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων φοντο δείν ἐνταῦθα καταυλίσαμένοις καὶ νυκτερεύσαντας καὶ πυθόμενοις, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον οἶλον τε, πλήθος καὶ τάξιν τῶν πολεμίων, ἢμ᾽ ἡμέρα χωρεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς. Κρύσσος δὲ τῷ παιδί καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱππεύσαν ἐγκαλευμένοις ἄγειν καὶ συνάπτεις ἐπαρθεῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους.

καὶ πρὶν ἡ τούτο διὰ πάντων γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἤγεν οὐ σχέδην οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην διαναπαύων, ἀλλ᾽ ἄξεια καὶ συντόνως χρώμενος τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι οὐ κατώφθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, παρὰ δόξαν οὔτε πολλοὶ φανέντες οὔτε σοβαροὶ τοῖς Ρωμαίοις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλήθος ὑπέστειλε τοῖς προ-
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 ὁπλῶν ἰμάτια καὶ διφθέρας προσχεσθαι κελεύσας. ὡς δ’ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ σημεῖων ἑρῆθη παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶμπλαντο φθογγῆς βαρείας καὶ βρόμου φυκώδους τὸ πεδίον. Πάρθοι γὰρ οὐ κέρασιν οὐδὲ σάλπιγξιν ἐποτρύνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς οἰς μάχην, ἀλλὰ ῥόπτρα βυρσοπαγῆ καὶ κοῖλα περιτείνασιν ἥχειος χαλκοῖς ἀμα πολλαχόθεν ἐπιδουλόσιν, τὰ δὲ φθέγγεται βυθίων τι καὶ δεινῶν, ὁρυγῆ θηρώδει καὶ τραχύτητι βροντῆς μεμυγμένου, εὐ πως συνεωρακότες ὅτι τῶν αἰσθητηρίων ἀκοὴ ταρακτικῶτατον ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην πάθη τάξιστα κινεῖ καὶ μάλιστα ἐξίστησι τὴν διάνοιαν.

XXIV. Ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ τῶν ἧχων, ἐξαιροῦς τὰ προκαλύμματα τῶν ὁπλῶν καταβαλόντες ὥφθησαν αὐτοὶ τε φλογοειδεῖς κράνεσι καὶ θώραξι, τοῦ Μαργιανοῦ σιδηροῦ στίλβοντος ἐξ καὶ περιλαμπτές, οἷς ἔποι Καταπεφραγμένου χαλκοῖς καὶ σιδηροῖς σκεπάσμασιν, ὃ δὲ Σουρήνας μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος αὐτὸς, τῇ δὲ κατ’ ἀνδρείαν δόξῃ τῆς θηλύτητα τοῦ κάλλους οὐκ ἐοικώς, ἀλλὰ Μηδικῶτερον ἐσκευασμένος ἐντρίμμασι προσώπου καὶ κόμης διακρίσει, τῶν ἄλλων Πάρθων ἔτι Σκυθικῶς ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερὸν τῷ ἀνασίλλω 1 κομώντων, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν διενοούντο τοὺς κομῶντας ἐσελαίνουστε ὧθεῖν καὶ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς προτάκτους· ὡς δ’ ἑώρων τὸ

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1 τῷ ἀνασίλλῳ the correction of Schaefer (ἀνασίλλῳ Coraës): τῶν ἀνασίλλων.
CRASSUS

veiled his main force behind his advance guard, and concealed the gleam of their armour by ordering them to cover themselves with robes and skins. But when they were near the Romans and the signal was raised by their commander, first of all they filled the plain with the sound of a deep and terrifying roar. For the Parthians do not incite themselves to battle with horns or trumpets, but they have hollow drums of distended hide, covered with bronze bells, and on these they beat all at once in many quarters, and the instruments give forth a low and dismal tone, a blend of wild beast's roar and harsh thunder peal. They had rightly judged that, of all the senses, hearing is the one most apt to confound the soul, soonest rouses its emotions, and most effectively unseats the judgment.

XXIV. While the Romans were in consternation at this din, suddenly their enemies dropped the coverings of their armour, and were seen to be themselves blazing in helmets and breastplates, their Margianian steel glittering keen and bright, and their horses clad in plates of bronze and steel. 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 μύσμον καὶ παρεστηκός, ἀνήγου ὅπισω καὶ σκίνωσαθι δοκοῦντες ἁμα καὶ διαλύειν τὴν τάξιν ἐλάνθανον ἐν κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες τὸ πλαύθιον αὐτῶν. Κράσσον δὲ τοὺς ψυλοὺς ἐκδραμείν κελεύσαντος, οὕτω μὲν ὦ πολὺ προήλθον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ τοξεύμασιν ἐντυχόντες ταχὺ καὶ συμπαρέντες αὕθις ἐνεδύοντο τοὺς ὀπλίταις, καὶ παρείχον ἀκοσμίας ἀρχὴν καὶ δέους, ὀρῶσι τοῦ τόνον τῶν ὄιστών καὶ τὴν ρώμην ὀπλα τὴν ρήγμυντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς φερομένων ὀμοίως ἀντιτύπου καὶ μαλακοῦ στεγάσματος.

5. Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαστάντες ἐκ μῆκους ἡρξαντο τοξεύειν ἁμα πανταχώθεν, οὐ τὴν ἀκριβῆ τοξείαν (ἡ γὰρ συνεχεία καὶ πυκνότης τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ διαμαρταύνειν ἄνδρος παρείχειν), εὐτόνους δὲ τὰς πλήγας καὶ βιαιός διδόντες ἀπὸ τόξων κραταίων καὶ μεγάλων καὶ τῇ σκολιότητι τῆς καμπής ἡμαγκασμένου τὸ βέλος ἀποστελλόντων. ἡν οὖν αὐτὸθεν ἴδῃ μοχθηρὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ γὰρ μένοντες ἐν τάξει συνετιτρώσκοντο, καὶ χωρείν ὀμόσε πειρώμενοι τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν ἵσον ἀπείχου, ὀμοίως δὲ ἐπασχοῦ. ὑπέφευγον γὰρ ἁμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι, καὶ τοῦτο κράτιστα ποιοῦσι μετὰ Σκύθας καὶ σοφῶτατον ἐστιν ἀμυνομένους ἐτι σώζονται καὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀφαιρεῖν τὸ αἰσχρὸν.

XXV. Ἄχρι μὲν οὖν ἦλπίζουν αὐτοὺς ἐκχεια-μένους τὰ βέλη σχήσεσθαι μάχη ἡ συνάψειν εἰς χείρας, ἐκαρτέρουν ὡς δὲ ἐγνωσαν ὦτι πολλαὶ 388
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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 manoeuvre. 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

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κόμηλοι παρεστάσι τοξευμάτων πλήρεις, ἀφ' ὧν περιελαύνοντες οἱ πρῶτοι λαμβάνοντιν, οὐδὲν πέρας ὄρον ὁ Κράσσος ἦθυμει, καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ἀγγέλους πέμψας πρὸς τὸν νιόν, ὅπως προσμίζαι βιάσεται τοῖς ἐναντίοις πρὶν ἡ κυκλωθῇν. μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ προσέπιπτον καὶ περιπεπεύον τὸ κέρας ὡς κατὰ νότον γενησόμενοι.

2 λαβὼν οὖν ὁ νεανίας ἵππεῖς τε χιλίους τριακοσίους, δόν οἱ χίλιοι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἦσαν, καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ τῶν ἐγγίστα θυρεοφόρων ὅκτω σπείρας συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐμβολήν. τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οἱ περιελαύνοντες, εἰτε τέλμασιν ἐντυχόντες, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασίν, εἰτε λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπωτάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατηγοῦντες,

3 ὁπίσω στρέψαντες ἐδίωκον. ὁ δὲ βοήσας ὡς οὐ μένουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες, ἡλαυνε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κηνσωρῖνός τε καὶ Μεγάβακχος, ὁ μὲν ἐνυφυχία καὶ ρώμη διαφέρων, Κηνσωρῖνος δὲ βουλευτικὸν ἔχων ἀξίωμα καὶ δεινὸς ἵππεῖν, ἐταῖροι δὲ Κράσσου καὶ παραπλήσιοι καθ' ἡλικίαν. ἐπισπομένων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων οὐδὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπελείπετο προθυμία καὶ χαρῆ τῆς ἐλπίδος· νικᾶν γὰρ ψόντο καὶ διόκειν, ἀρχι οὐ πολὺ προελθόντες ἤσθοντο τὴν ἀπάτην, μεταβαλλομένων ἀμα τῶν φεύγειν δοκοῦντων καὶ

4 πλειώνων ἄλλων ἐπιφερομένων. ἐνταῦθα ἐστησαν, οἰόμενοι συναίσβειν αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ὀλίγοις οὖσιν

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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 προτά-
ξαντες ἐναντίον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἒπο
άτακτον περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντες, καὶ συνταράττο-
tes τὸ πεδίον, ἀνίστασαν ἐκ βυθοῦ θίνας ἄμμου κο-
nιορτὸν ἐπαγούσας ἀπλετον, ὡς μήτε διορᾶν ῥαδίως
5 μήτε φθέγγεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰλουμένους δὲ
ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ συμπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις βάλλεσθιν καὶ
ἀποθήσκειν οὐ βάδιον οὐδ' οἷον θάνατον, ἄλλο
ὑπὸ σπασμοῦ καὶ ὅδυνης δυσανασχετοῦντας καὶ
κυλινδομένους περὶ τοῖς ὄστοις ἐναπόθραψεν τοῖς
τραύμασι, βία τε πειρωμένους ἐξέλκειν ἡγκιστρω-
μένας ἀκίδας καὶ δεδυκνίας διὰ φλεβῶν καὶ νεύρων
προσαναρρηγύναι καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς.
6 Οὐτω δὲ πολλῶν ἀποθησκόντων ἀπρακτοὶ καὶ
οἱ ἄνωτες ἠσαν πρὸς ἄλκην καὶ τοῦ Ποτλίου
παρακαλοῦντος ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάφρακτον,
ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἐαυτῶν χειρὰς τε θυρεοὶς συμ-
πεπερονημένας καὶ πόδας διαμπάξ προσεληλα-
μένους πρὸς τοῦδαφος, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς φυγῆν
7 ἄμηχάνους εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἄμυναν. αὐτὸς οὖν
τοὺς ἑπείς παρορμήσας προσέβαλε μὲν ἐρρω-
μένως καὶ συνήψε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἦν δὲ ἁνίστος ἐν
tε ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ τῇ φυλάττεσθαι, παῖων μὲν
ἀσθενεῖ καὶ μικροὶς δορατίοις θώρακας ὁμο-
βύρσους καὶ σιδηροῦς, παιόμενος δὲ κοντοῖς εἰς
ἐυσταλῆ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα τῶν Γαλατῶν τού-
tοις γὰρ ἐθάρρει μάλιστα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἔργα
8 ἑαυμαστὰ διεπράττετο. τῶν τε γὰρ κοντῶν
ἐπελαμβάνοντο, καὶ συμπλεκόμενοι τοὺς ἄνδρας
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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 ἐώθουν τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ ὀπλισμοῦ δυσκινήτους ὄντας, πολλοὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες ἵππους καὶ ὑποδύομενοι τοὺς ἐκείνους ἐτύπτον εἰς τὰς γαστέρας· οἱ δὲ ἀνεσκίρτων ὑπὸ ὁδύνης, καὶ συμμπατοῦντες ἐν ταὐτῷ τοὺς ἑπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναπεφυρμένους ἀπέθνησκον.

9 ἐπιείξε δὲ τοὺς Γαλάτας μάλιστα τὸ τε θάλπος καὶ τὸ δίψος, ἀμφοτέρων ἄρθεις ὄντας· καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἀπολώλεισαν οἱ πλείστοι πρὸς ἐναντίους ἐλαυνόμενοι τοὺς κοντοὺς. ἐβιάσθησαν οὖν ἀναχωρήσαν πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔχοντες τὸν Πόπλιον ὑπὸ τραυμάτων ἡδὴ κακῶς διακείμενον. ἦδοντες δὲ θίνα βουνόδη πλησίον ἔχορουν ἐπὶ αὐτὴν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐν μέσῳ κατέδησαν, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοὺς θυρεοὺς συγκλείσαντες ὑόντο ῥάον ἀμύνεισθαι τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἀπέβαινε δὲ τούκατον. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὀμαλῷ τοῖς ὀπισθεὶς ἀμῶς γέ πως παρέχουσιν οἱ προτάκτοι ῥαστώνην, ἐκεῖ δὲ ἄλλον ὑπὲρ ἄλλου διὰ τὴν ἀμωμαλίαν ἀνέχοντος τοῦ χωρίου καὶ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ τὸν κατόπιν ἐξαίροντος, οὐδὲν ἦν τὸ εἰσαφεύγω, ἀλλ' ἐβάλλοντο πάντες ὀμαλῶς, ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀκλειή καὶ ἀπρακτον ἀυτῶν τελευτὴν.

10 Ἡσαν δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἄνδρες Ἔλληνες δύο τῶν αὐτῶθι κατοικούντων ἐν Κάρραις, Ιερόπυρ- μος καὶ Νικόμαχος, οἱ συνεπείδουσιν αὐτῶν ὑπεξελθεῖν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ διαφεύγειν εἰς Ἰχνας, πόλιν ἤρημην τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ οὐ μακρὰν οὕσαν. ὁ δὲ φήσας ουδὲνα δεινὸν οὕτως ἔσεσθαι θάνατον ἡν φοβηθείς Πόπλιος ἀπολείψει τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους δι' αὐτῶν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἐκέλευσε σώζεσθαι καὶ
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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Δεξιωσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ χειρὶ χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος (διελήλατο γὰρ βέλει), τὸν ύπασπιστὴν ἐκέλευσε πατάξαι τῷ ξίφει, παρασχὼν τὸ πλευρόν. ὦμοίως δὲ καὶ Κηνσωρίνον ἀποθανεῖν λέγουσιν. Μεγάβακχος δ’ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. τοὺς δ’ ὑπολειπομένους ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ Πάρθοι τοῖς κοντοῖς διήλαυνον μαχομένους· ἔδωτας δ’ οὐ πλείονας ἄλωναὶ φασὶ πεντακοσίων. τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀποκόψαντες ἥλαυνον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Κράσσον.

XXVI. Ἐξε δὲ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν οὕτως. ὡς ἐκελεύσε τὸν ὑιὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς Πάρθοις καὶ τις ἦγγειλεν αὐτῷ μακρὰν τροπὴν εἶναι καὶ διώξιν ἵσχυρὰν τῶν πολεμίων, ἔωρα δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ’ αὐτὸν οὐκέτι προσκειμένους ὦμοίως (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἔρρυησαν οἱ πλείστοι), μικρὸν ἀνεθάρρησε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ὑπέστειλεν ἐν χωρίοις προσάντεσι τὸν στρατὸν, αὐτίκα προσδοκῶν τὸν ὑιὸν ἔπανήξειν 2 ἀπὶ τῆς διώξεως. τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Πόπλιον πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς εἰκινδύνευν, οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφθάρησαν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοὺς βαρβαροὺς, οἱ δ’ ὑστεροι μόνισς διαφυγόντες ἀπήγγελλον οἰχεσθαί τὸν Πόπλιον, εἰ μὴ ταχεία καὶ πολλῇ

3 βοήθεια παρ’ ἑκείνου γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἀμα πολλὰ πάθη κατέσχε· καὶ λογισμῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν πραγμάτων ἔωρα, φόβῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀμα καὶ πόθῳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκκόμενος βοηθείν καὶ μὴ βοηθείν, τέλος ὀρμήσε προάγειν τὴν δύναμιν.
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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 Megabacechus took his own life, and so did the other most notable men. The survivors fought on until the Parthians mounted the hill and transfixed them with their long spears, and they say that not more than five hundred were taken alive. Then the Parthians cut off the head of Publius, and rode off at once to attack Crassus.

XXVI. His situation was as follows. After ordering his son to charge the Parthians and receiving tidings that the enemy were routed to a great distance and hotly pursued, and after noticing also that his own immediate opponents were no longer pressing him so hard (since most of them had streamed away to where Publius was), he recovered a little courage, and drawing his troops together, posted them for safety on sloping ground, in immediate expectation that his son would return from the pursuit. Of the messengers sent by Publius to his father, when he began to be in danger, the first fell in with the Barbarians and were slain; the next made their way through with difficulty and reported that Publius was lost unless he received speedy and abundant aid from his father. And now Crassus was a prey to many conflicting emotions, and no longer looked at anything with calm judgement. His fear for the whole army drove him to refuse, and at the same time his yearning love for his son impelled him to grant assistance; but at last he began to move his forces forward.
'Εν τούτω δ' οί πολέμωι προσεφέροντο κλαγή
καὶ παίαν τοῖς φοβερότεροι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τυμπά-
νων αὖθις περιεμυκᾶτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐτέρας
4 μάχης ἁρχὴν προσδοκῶντας. οἳ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν
τοῦ Ποπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπέπη-
γυίαν ἐγγὺς προσελάσαντες ἀνέδειξαν, ὑβρεῖ πυν-
θανόμενοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος; οὐ γὰρ δὴ
πρέπειν γε Κράσσου πατρὸς ἀναινοτάτου καὶ
κακίστου γενναίον οὕτω παῖδα καὶ λαμπρὸν
ἀρετὴ γενέσθαι. τοῦτο τὸ θέαμα Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ
ἀπαντα τάλλα δεινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς κατέκλασε καὶ
παρέλυσεν, οὐ θυμοῦ πρὸς ἁμναν, ὡσπερ ἤν
εἰκὸς, ἄλλα φρίκης καὶ τρόμου πᾶσιν ἐγγενομένου.
καίτοι τὸν γε Κράσσον αὐτοῦ λαμπρότατον ἐν τῷ
τότε πάθει φανῆναι λέγουσιν ἐβόα γὰρ ἐπὶ ω
τὰς τάξεις: "Γέμων, ὁ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦτο τὸ πένθος
ἰδιὸν ἐστὶν; ἡ δὲ μεγάλη τύχη καὶ δόξα τῆς
Ῥώμης ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστηκε σωζομένοις ἀθραυστὸς καὶ
ἀγήττητος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔμοι τὸς οἰκτός ὕφηρημένου
παῖδα πάντων ἀριστον, ἐπιδείξασθε τοῦτο ὅργη
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ὑφέλεσθε τὴν χαρὰν αὐτῶν,
tιμωρήσασθε τὴν ὁμότητα, μὴ καταπλαγήτε τοῖς
γεγενημένοις, εἰ δὲ τὶ καὶ παθεῖν μεγάλων ἐφιε-
6 μένους. οὐδὲ Λούκουλλος Τιγράνην ἀναμωτὶ
kathêleven, οὐδὲ Σκηπτίων Ἀντίοχον, χιλίας δὲ ναῦς
οἱ παλαιοὶ περὶ Σικελίαν ἀπώλεσαν, ἐν δ' Ἰταλία
πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγοὺς, δὲν οὐδεὶς
προηττθεῖς ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς κρατήσαι τῶν
νεικηκότων. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχία τὰ Ῥωμαῖων, ἀλλὰ
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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
XXVII. To: aúta légy và paratharsoúnh o
Krássos oû tollous èôra prothímous úpakoúntas,
állass và sullalázei kelleúsas ēleugże tou
strapotí tîm kathfieian, ós ásthev và olíghn
kai ánómoalou kranugí̂n èpoutásanto. hé dé para
tovn bærbáρwv lâmpra và thraseía kateíxeun.
trapoménon dé proès èrgon òi mèn ípoptai 1
plágyoi periełanúnteis ètòxeunou, autói dé tois
koutois òi pròtaktoí chrómeioun swnestelexv eis
2 olígon toû 'Rwmaíoun, plh'n ósou toû úpò toû
tóxeumátovn feígontes thánatov òpetólwmov para-
bólws eis autous fèresathai, mikrà mèn bláptou-
tes, òxév ws dé thénhskontes úpò tranumátovn megalov
kai kaiříon, pachvû èpíthoûntov tòv sîdhrw tòv
kòntov eis toûs ípounos, polukís de kai diâ dveíν
âmðów úpò rûmhs diaporèumovn. òutw dé àgwn-
niçísaiwv nukteòs èpíouûwv àpitllágwn, èpíontes
ótì Krássos xarízountai núcita miân èpouthneiàs
 tôv uîôn, òn ìrâ mh bêltwv úpèr èautovn skêfà-
mevos èlthein màllwn èbethhà ïpros 'Arsákhn ē
koomitènìa.
3 Óoutoi mèn òin èpauliçísaiwv plôsiwv èn èlpîswi
megálaí ìsanâ, nùs dé xalulh toûs 'Rwmaíoun
cateleímbave, tûte taφhîs tôv keimènov òùte
therapeias tûv têtrômwn và òxchorragóûntov
pouménous logon, èkástov ò èautovn èpoklaioun-
tos. àfukta ħâp èfaiînto tîn te ìméraì autòn
prosméívasi kai nûktwv eis pediouv àxanès èmba-

1 ípoptai with the MSS. (including S): òikîta kai pelàtaì
(slaves and vassals).
CRASSUS

plenitude of power, but by the patient endurance and valour of those who faced dangers in its behalf."

XXVII. Even as he spoke such words of encouragement, Crassus saw that not many of his men listened with any eagerness, but when he also bade them raise the battle cry, he discovered how despondent his army was, so weak, feeble, and uneven was the shout they made, while that which came from the Barbarians was clear and bold. Then, as the enemy got to work, their light cavalry rode round on the flanks of the Romans and shot them with arrows, while the mail-clad horsemen in front, plying their long spears, kept driving them together into a narrow space, except those who, to escape death from the arrows, made bold to rush desperately upon their foes. These did little damage, but met with a speedy death from great and fatal wounds, since the spear which the Parthians thrust into the horses was heavy with steel, and often had impetus enough to pierce through two men at once. After fighting in this manner till night came on, the Parthians withdrew, saying that they would grant Crassus one night in which to bewail his son, unless, with a better regard for his own interests, he should consent to go to Arsaces instead of being carried there.

The Parthians, then, bivouacked near by, and were in high hopes; but it was a grievous night for the Romans. They took no steps to bury their dead nor to care for their wounded and dying, but every man was lamenting his own fate. Escape seemed impossible, whether they waited there for day to come, or plunged by night into a limitless plain.
λούσιν· οἳ τε τραυματίαι πολλήν ἀπορίαν παρεῖχον, καὶ κομίζειν, ἐμποδών τῷ τάχει τῆς φυγῆς ἑσόμενοι, καὶ ἀπολείπειν, βοή τὴν ἀπόδρασιν ἔξαγγελούντες. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου, καίπερ αὐτοῖς ἀπάντων νομίζοντες, ἐπόθουν ὅμως τὴν τε ὄψιν καὶ τὴν φωνήν. ὁ δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος ὑπὸ σκότους ἔκειτο, παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τύχης, τοῖς δ' εὖ φρονοῦσιν ἄβουλίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, δι' ἢν οὐκ ἡγάπα πρῶτος ὄν καὶ μέγιστος ἐν μυράσιν ἀνθρώπων τοσαύταις, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐνεῖν μόνον ἀνδρῶν ὕστερος ἐκρίνετο, τοῦ παντὸς ἀποδείκνυσιν.

5 Τότε δ' οὖν αὐτὸν Ὄκταούιος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ Κάσσιος ἀνίστασαν καὶ παρεθάρρυσαν. ὡς δ' ἀπηγορεύκει παντάπασιν, αὐτοὶ συγκαλέσαντες ἐκατοντάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς, ὡς ἐδοξε βουλευμένοις μὴ μένειν, ἀνίστασαν τὸν στρατὸν ἀνευσάλπιγγος καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας τὸ πρῶτον εἰτ' αἰσθομένων ὡς ἀπελεύσοντο τῶν ἄδυνάτων, ἀκοσμία δεινὴ καὶ σύγχυσις μετ' οἴμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς τὸ

6 στρατόπεδον κατείχεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν, ὡς ἐπιφερομένων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐκτρεπόμενοι, πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τάξιν καθιστάμενοι, τῶν δὲ τραυματιῶν ὅσοι παρηκολούθουν τοὺς μὲν ἀναλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποτιθέμενοι, διατριβὴν εἶχον, πλὴν τριακοσίων ἑπτὼν, οὐς Ἰγνάτιος ἕχων προσέμιζε ταῖς Κάρραις περὶ μέσας νύκτας. 7 φθειγόμενος δὲ Ὄρωμαίστι τοῖς τειχοφυλακοῦσιν,
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
ὁς ὕπήκοουσαν, ἐκελευσε Κοπωνίω τῷ ἀρχοντὶ φράζειν ὅτι γέγονε μάχη μεγάλη Κράσσω πρὸς Πάρθους, ἀλλὰ δ’ οὐδὲν εἴπον οὐδ’ αὐτῶν ὅστις ἦν ἀπῆλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεύγμα, καὶ διέσωσε μὲν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ, κακῶς δ’ ἦκουσε καταλειπὼν τῶν στρατηγῶν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ’ ὄνησε γε τὸν Κράσσον ἡ προσφείσα τοῦτο τῷ Κοπωνίῳ φωνῇ· συμφρονήσας γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἁγγέλλειν ἐχοντὸς ἐστὶ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ συγκεκριμένου τοῦ λόγου, παρῆγγειλεν εὐθὺς ἐξοπλίζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας· καὶ ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Κράσσον ἐν ὁδῷ γεγενημένοι ἀπαντήσας ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρέπεμπε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

ΧΧΧΠ. Οὶ δὲ Πάρθοι νυκτὸς μὲν αἰσθόμενοι τὴν ἀπόδρασιν οὐκ ἐδίωκον, ἀμα δ’ ἡμέρα τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καταλειφθέντας οὐ μείονς τετρακισχιλίων ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσφαξαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ πλανωμένους πολλοὺς ἑππασάμενοι συνέλαβον. τέσσαρας δ’ ὁμοῦ σπείρας, ἃς ἐτή νυκτὸς ἀπέρρησε Βαργοντήμος ὁ πρεσβευτής, ἐκπεσοῦσας τῆς ὅδοι περισχόντες ἐν τινὶ λόφῳ διέφθειραν ἀμυνομένας, πλὴν ἄνδρῶν εἰκοσι. τούτους δὲ γυμνοὺς τοῖς ξέφεσιν ὀδοιμένους δὲ αὐτῶν θευμάσαντες εἶξαν, καὶ διέξοδον ἁπίουσι βάδην εἰς τὰς Κάρρας ἐδίδοσαν.

Τῷ δὲ Σουρήμα προσέπεσε ψευδῆς λόγος ἐκπεφυγέναι Κράσσον μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δ’ εἰς Κάρρας συνερραυηκός ὄχλον εἶναι σύμμικτον 3 οὐκ ἀξίων σπουδῆς ἀνθρώπων. οἱόμενος 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.
άποβεβληκέναι τὸ τῆς νίκης τέλος, ἐτι δ' ἀμφι-
δοξῶν καὶ μαθεῖν βουλόμενος τάληθες, ὅπως ἡ
προσμένων ἐνταῦθα πολυροκοιή Κράσσου ἡ διώκοι
χαίρειν ἐάσας Καρρηνοῦς, ὑποπέμπει τινὰ τῶν
παρ' αὐτῷ διγλώττων πρὸς τὰ τείχη, κελεύσας
ἵνα τ' Ρωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον καλεῖν Κράσσουν αὐτὸν
ἢ Κάσσιον, ὡς Σουρήνα διὰ λόγων ἐθέλοντος
4 αὐτοῖς συγγενεῖσθαι. ταῦτα τοὺς διγλώττως φρά-
σαντος, ὡς ἀπηγγέλῃ τοῖς περὶ Κράσσου, ἐδέχοντο
τὰς προκλίσεις· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἤκον ἀπὸ τῶν
βαρβάρων Ἀραβές, οἱ Κράσσου εὖ καὶ Κάσσιον
ἐπ' ὤφεις ἐγκώριζον, ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πρὸ τῆς
μάχης γεγονότες. οὕτω τῶν Κάσσιον ἔδοντες ἀπὸ
tοῦ τείχους, ἔλεγον ὅτι Σουρήνας σπένδεται καὶ
dίδωσιν αὐτοῖς φίλοις οὕσι βασιλέως σώζεσθαι,
Μεσοποταμίαν ἐκλιποῦσιν· τούτο γὰρ ὅραν λυσι-
tελές ἀμφοτέροις πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης.
5 δεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ τόπου ὁρισ-
θήναι καὶ χρόνον ἀξιοῦντος, ἐν ὧν συνίασι
Σουρήνας καὶ Κράσσους, οὕτω φάμενοι ποιήσειν
ἀπήλαυνον.

XXIX. Ἡθεῖς οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας ἔπλ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἐνέχεσθαι τῇ πολυρκίᾳ, μεθ' ἢμέραν
ἐπ' ὅρα τῶν Πάρθων πολλὰ καθυβρίζοντας καὶ
κελεύοντας, εἰ βούλονται τυχεῖν στοιχῶν Ῥωμαῖοι,
Κράσσον ἐγχειρήσαι σφίσι καὶ Κάσσιον δεδε-
μένους. οἱ δ' ἦχθοντο μὲν ἡπατημένοι, μακρὰς
δὲ καὶ κενὰς τὰς Ἀρμενίων ἑλπίδας καταβάλλειν
tῷ Κράσσῳ φράσαντες εἴχοντο δρασμοῦ καὶ
tοῦτ' ἐδει μηδένα πρὸ καιροῦ Καρρηνῶν πυθέσθαι.
πυνθάνεται δ' ὁ πάντων ἀπιστότατος Ἀνδρόμαχος,
CRASSUS

Supposing, therefore, that he had lost the fruits of his victory, but being still in doubt and wishing to learn the truth, in order that he might either wait there and lay siege to Crassus in the city, or else let Carrhae alone and pursue him, he sent one of his attendants who could speak both languages up to the walls, with orders to call out in the Roman tongue for Crassus himself or Cassius, saying that 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
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

υπὸ Κράσσου καὶ τοῦτο πιστευθεῖς καὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ τῆς ἠγεμονίας. οὐδὲν οὐν ἔλαθε τοὺς Πάρθους, ἐξαγγέλλοντος τοῦ 'Ανδρόμαχου καθ᾽ ἐκαστον.

3 ἐπεὶ δὲ νυκτομαχεῖν οὐ πάτριοι αὐτοὶς ἐστιν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον, ἐξῆλθεν δὲ νύκτωρ ὁ Κράσσος, ὅτι μὴ καθυστερήσωσι πολὺ τῇ διώξει στρατηγῶν ὁ 'Ανδρόμαχος ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ὁδοὺς ὕφηγεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἐξέτρεψεν εἰς ἐλή βαθέα καὶ χωρία τάφρων μεστὰ τὴν τοπείαν, χαλεπήν καὶ πολυπλανή

4 γινομένην τοῖς ἐπιστομένοις. ἐγένοντο γὰρ τινες οὶ μηδὲν υγίες τοῖς Ανδρόμαχον στρέφειν καὶ περιελίττειν εἰκάσαντες οὐκ ἠκολουθήσαν, ἄλλα Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Κάρρας πάλιν, καὶ τῶν ὁδηγῶν ('Ἀραβῆς δ’ ἦσαν) ἀναμένειν κελευντών ἀχρὶ ἀν σέληνη παραλλάξῃ τῶν σκορπίων, "Ἀλλὰ ἐγώγε," εἰπὼν, "ἐτὶ τούτον μᾶλλον φοβοῦμαι τὸν τοξότην," ἀπῆλαυνεν εἰς Συρίαν

5 μεθ’ ἑπέων πεντακοσίων ἄλλοι δὲ χρησάμενοι πιστοῖς ὄδηγοῖς ἐλάβοντο χωρίων ορεινῶν, ἄ καλεῖται Σίννακα, καὶ κατέστησαν εὖ ἀσφαλεί πρὸ ἡμέρας. οὕτω περὶ πεντακοσίωις ἦσαν ἤγειτο δ’ αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Ὁκταούιος.

Τὸν δὲ Κράσσου ἡμέρα κατελάμβανεν ἐπιβουλεύομενοι 1 ὑπ’ Ἀνδρόμαχον περὶ τὰς δυσχω-6 ρίας καὶ τὸ ἔλος. ἦσαν δὲ τέσσαρες στείραι σὺν αὐτῷ θυρεοφόρων, ἑπεῖς δὲ παντελῶς ὅλιγοι καὶ πέντε ῥαβδούχοι, μεθ’ ὅν ἑπιτόνως εἰς τὴν ὀδὸν καὶ μόλις καταστάς, ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων, ὅσον διώδεκα σταδίους ἀπολιτῶν τοῦ συμμίξαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὁκταούιον ἐπ’ ἄλλον

1 ἑπιβουλεύομεν Bekker reads ἤτι ἀγόμενον (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.
ἀναφεύγει λόφον, οὐχ οὖτω μὲν ἀφιπποῦν οὐδ’ ὁχυρὸν, ὑποκείμενον δὲ τοῖς Σιννάκοις καὶ συνηρτημένον αὐχένι μακρῷ διὰ μέσου κατατείνοντι τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τούτον. ἢν οὖν ἐν ὦφει τοῖς περὶ 7 τοῦ Ὀκταούιον ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ. καὶ πρῶτος Ὀκταούιος ἔθει μετ’ ὅλιγων ἀνωθεν ἑπιβοηθῶν, εἰτα οἱ λοιποὶ κακίστας ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ προσπεσόντες καὶ ὠσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου περιέσχον ἐν μέσῳ τὸν Κράσσου καὶ προεβάλλοντο τοὺς θυρεόν, μεγαληγοροῦντες ὡς οὐκ ἔστι Πάρθοις βέλος ὁ προσπεσεῖται τῷ σώματί τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὶν ἢ σφῆς ἀπαντάς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἀποθανείν.

XXX. Ὁρῶν οὖν Ὁ Σουρήνας τοὺς τε Πάρθους ἀμβλύτερον ἥδη κινδυνεύοντας, καὶ ἢν ἢ τε νῦξ ἐπίσχυ καὶ τῶν ὥρῶν οἳ Ὁρμαιοι λάβωνται, πανταπασίν αὐτοὺς ἐσομένους ἁλῆπτους, ἐπήγε τῷ Κράσσῳ δόλῳν. ἀφείθησαν μὲν γὰρ ἐνιοὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκηκούτες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπίτηδες διάλεγομένων ὡς οὐ βούλεται βασιλεὺς ἀσπονδοῦν αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι πρὸς Ὁρμαίοις, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν ἀναλαβεῖν χάριτι, Κράσσῳ χρησάμενος φιλαν-2 θρόπως, ἐσχοῦτο δὲ μάχης οἱ βάρβαροι, Σουρήνας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἁρίστων προσελάσας ἀτρέμα τῷ λόφῳ τοῦ μὲν τόξου τῶν τόνων ἀνὴκε, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν προὔτεινεν, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Κράσσον ἐπὶ συμβάσεις, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδρείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἄκοντος πεπείραται βασιλεὺς, πραύτητα δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἔκων ἐπι-δείκνυται σπευδόμενος ἀπιούσι καὶ παρέχων σῴζεσθαι.

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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.”
Ταῦτα τοῦ Σουρῆνα λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι προθύμως ἔδεξαντο καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, οὐ δὲ Κράσσος οὐδέν ὅ τι µὴ δὲ ἀπάτησ ἐσφαλμένος ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς ἄλογον ἡγούμενος, οὐχ ὑπῆκουν, ἀλλ' ἐβουλεύτο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βοῶντων καὶ κελεύοντων, εἰτα λοιδοροῦντων καὶ κακιζότων ὡς προβάλλοντα μαχουμένους αὐτοὺς οἰς αὐτὸς ἀνόπλοις εἰς λόγους οὐ θαρρεῖ συνελθεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειράτο δεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ λευτόμενον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας διακαρτηρήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καὶ τραχεῖς δύνανται διὰ νυκτὸς ἴεναι, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἐπίδα µῆ

προέθαν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγγύς οὐσίας. ὡς δὲ χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ὅπλα κρύοντες ἠπείλουν, φοβηθεῖς ἐχώρει, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπεραιεῖες. "Οκταούιε καὶ Πετρώνε καὶ ὅσοι πάρεστε Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες, ὑμεῖς ὅρατε τῆς ἐμῆς ὁδοῦ τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ σὺνιστε παρόντες ὡς αἰσχρὰ πάσχω καὶ βίαια, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀπασίω ἀνθρώποις λέγετε σωθέντες ὡς Κράσσος ἄπασθεῖς ὕπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς ἐκδοθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμιῶν ἀπώλετο."

XXXI. Οὐ µὴν ἔμειναν οἱ περὶ τῶν Ὀκταούιον, ἀλλὰ συγκατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου· τοὺς δὲ ραβδοῦχους ἐπομένους ὁ Κράσσος ἀπῆλασεν. πρῶτοι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήντησαν αὐτῷ δύο μιξέληνες, οἱ καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπτὼν ἀλόμενοι, καὶ προσαγορεύσαντες ἐλλάδι φωνῇ παρεκάλουν προπέμψαι τινάς, οἶς
CRASSUS

When Surena said this, the rest of the Romans eagerly accepted his proposal and were full of joy, but Crassus, whose every discomfiture at the hands of the Barbarians had been due to fraud, and who thought the suddenness of their change a strange thing, would not reply, but took the matter into consideration. His soldiers, however, cried out and urged him to accept, then fell to abusing and reviling him for putting them forward to fight men with whom he himself had not the courage to confer even when they came unarmed. At first he tried entreaties and arguments. If they would hold out for what was left of the day, during the night they could reach the mountains and rough country; and he showed them the road thither, and exhorted them not to abandon hope when safety was so near. But when they grew angry with him, and clashed their arms together, and threatened him, then he was terrified and began to go towards Surena. As he went, however, he turned and said: "Octavius and Petronius and ye other Roman commanders here present, ye see that I go because I must, and ye are eyewitnesses of the shameful violence I suffer; but tell the world, if ye get safely home, that Crassus perished because he was deceived by his enemies, and not because he was delivered up to them by his countrymen."

XXXI. Octavius, however, and those about him, did not remain, but went down from the hill with Crassus; the lictors, who were following him, Crassus drove back. The first of the Barbarians to meet him were two half-breed Greeks, who leaped from their horses and made obeisance to him; then addressing him in the Greek tongue, they urged him to send a party forward to assure themselves that Surena and
ἐπιδείξεται Σουρήνας ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτῶν
2 ἰμόπλους καὶ ἁσιδήρους προσερχομένους. ὁ δὲ
Κράσσος ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἐλάχιστον
εἴχε τοῦ ξῆν λόγου, οὐκ ἀν εἰς χειρὰς αὐτοῖς
ήλθεν, ὡμως δὲ δύο Ἦρωκίους ἀδελφοὺς ἔπεμψε
πενθομένους ἐπὶ τίσι καὶ πόσιν συνίασιν. οὐς
ἐνθύνει συναλβὼν ὁ Σουρήνας κατέσχε, αὐτὸς
dε μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππότης προσήκε καὶ “Τί
τούτ,” ἐφη, “πεξος ὁ Ἦρωμαιὸν αὐτοκράτωρ,
ἡμεῖς δὲ ὑχούμεθα;” καὶ προσαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν
3 ἱππον αὐτῶ. τὸν δὲ Κράσσου φήσαντο; οὔτε
αὐτὸν ἀμαρτάνειν οὔτ’ ἐκεῖνον, ὡς ἐκατέρω πάτριῶν
ἐστι ποιομένους τὴν σύνοδον, εἶναι μὲν αὐτόθεν
ἐφὶ σπουδὰς καὶ εἰρήνην ὁ Σουρήνας Τρώδη τε
βασιλεί καὶ Ἦρωμαιοι, δεῖν δὲ γράψασθαι τὰς
συνθήκας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν προσελθόντας. “Οὐ
γὰρ υμεῖς γε,” ἐφη, “πάνυ μνήμονες ὁμολογῶν οἱ
Ἦρωμαιοί,” καὶ προστεινε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῶ. μετα-
πεμπομένου δ’ ἱππον οὐδὲν ἐφὶ δεῖν. “Βασιλεὺς
4 γὰρ σοι δίδωσιν τοῦτον.” ἀμα δ’ ἱππος τῷ
Κράσσῳ παρέστη χρυσοχάλινος, οὐ τε ἀναβολεῖς
αὐτὸν ἄραμενοι περιεβίβασαν καὶ παρεῖποντο
πληγῇ τῶν ἱππον ἐπιταχύνουτες. Ὁκταοῦίος δὲ
πρῶτος ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῶν χαλικῶν, καὶ μετ’
ἐκείνου εἰς τῶν χιλιάρχων Πετρώνιος, εἶτα οἱ
λοιποὶ περιστάντο τὸν τε ἱππον ἀνακόπτειν
πειρώμενοι καὶ τοὺς πιεζούντας τὸν Κράσσουν ἔξ
5 ἐκατέρου μέρους ἅφελκοντες. ὠθισμὸν δὲ γενο-
μένου καὶ ταραχῆς, εἶτα πληγῶν, Ὁκταοῦίος μὲν
ἀνασπάσας τὸ ἔφος ἐνὸς τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνει
τὸν ἱπποκόμον, ἄτερος δὲ τὸν Ὁκταοῦίον ἐκ τῶν
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
οπισθεν πατάξας. Πετρώνιος δὲ ὅπλου μὲν οὐκ εὐπόρησεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν θώρακα πληγεῖς ἀτεπηθη-
σεν ἀτρωτος· τὸν δὲ Κράσσου ὄνομα Πομαξάθρης Πάρθος ἀπέκτεινεν.

6. Οἱ δὲ οὗ φασὶν, ἀλλ' ἔτερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν ἀπο-
κτείναντα, τοῦτον δὲ κειμένον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπο-
κόψαι καὶ τὴν δεξιάν. εἰκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλ-
λον ἡ γινώσκεται· τῶν γὰρ παρόντων οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ
μαχόμενοι περὶ τὸν Κράσσου ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δ' εὐθὺς ἀνεπτύθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον. ἐπελθόντων δὲ
τῶν Πάρθων καὶ λεγόντων ἃτι Κράσσος μὲν
dίκην δέδωκε, τούς δὲ ἄλλους κελεύει Σούρήνας
cατείναι θαρροῦντας, οἱ μὲν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτοὺς
cαταβάντες, οἱ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐσπάρησαν, καὶ
tούτων οἷοι παντάπασι διεσώθησαν· τοὺς
d' ἄλλους ἐκθρήσαντες οἱ Ἀραβεῖς συνελάμ-
βανοι καὶ διέφθειρον. λέγονται δ' οἱ πάντες
dισμύριοι μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, μῦριοι δὲ ἰλώναι
ξώντες.

XXXII. Ὁ δὲ Σούρήνας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ
Κράσσου καὶ τὴν χείρα πρὸς Τρώδην ἐπεμψεν
eἰς Ἀρμενίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαδόσας λόγον ὑπ' ἀγγέλων
eἰς Σελεύκειαν ὡς ζῶντα Κράσσου ἄγοι, παρεσκευ-
άζετο πομπὴν τινα γελοιάν ὑβρεὶ προσαγορεύων
2 θρίαμβον. ο μὲν γὰρ ἐμφερέστατος Κράσσῳ τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων Γαίου Πακκιαίνου, ἐσσήτα βασιλικῆν
γυναικὸς ἐνδὺς καὶ διδαχθεῖς Κράσσος ὑπακούειν
καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς καλοῦσιν, ἐφ' ἵππου καθή-
μενος ἤγετο· πρὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλπιγκταί καὶ
ῥαβδοχοῖ τινες ὀνομένοι καμῆλοις ἤλαυνον·
ἐξήργητο δὲ τῶν ῥάβδων βαλάντια καὶ παρὰ τοὺς
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 Pacciananus, 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
πελέκεις πρόσφατοι κεφαλαὶ Ἦρωμαιῶν ἀποτετμη-
3 μέναι. κατόπιν δ’ εἴποντο Σελευκίδες ἑταῖραι μουσ-
ουργοί, πολλὰ βωμολόχα καὶ γελοῖα δι’ ἁσμάτων
εἰς θηλύτητα καὶ ἀνανδρίαν τοῦ Κράσσου λέγον-
σαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντες ἔθεδντο.

Τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν τῶν Σελευκέων ἄθροίσας
εἰσήγεικεν ἀκόλαστα βιβλία τῶν Ἄριστείδου
Μιλησιακῶν, οὕτω ταῦτα γε καταφευσάμενος·
εὐρέθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ὄρωσίου φανοφόροις, καὶ
παρέσχε τῷ Σουρῆνα καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ καὶ
κατασκόψαι τοὺς Ὄρωμαίους, εἰ μὴ δὲ πολεμοῦντες
ἀπέχεσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ γραμμάτων δύνανται

tοιοῦτοι. τοῖς μέντοι Σελευκεΐσιν ἐδόκει σοφὸς
ἀνὴρ Αἰσωπὸς εἶναι, τὸν Σουρῆναν ὥρῳσι τὴν τῶν
Μιλησιακῶν ἀκολαστημάτων πήραν ἐξηρτημένον
πρόσθεν, ὅπισθεν δὲ Παρθικήν Σύβαριν ἐφελκό-
μενον ἐν τοσαύταις παλλακίδιοι ἀμάξαις, τρόπον
τινὰ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐχίνδυαις καὶ σκυτάλαις
ἀντιμόρφως τὰ μὲν ἐμφανῆ καὶ πρόσθια μέρη
φοβερὰ καὶ θηριώδη δόρασι καὶ τόξοις καὶ ἱπποῖς
5 προβαλλομένην, κατ’ οὐρὰν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος εἰς
χορείας καὶ κρόταλα καὶ ψαλμοῦς καὶ πανεύχιδας
ἀκολαστοὺς μετὰ γυναικῶν τελευτῶσαν. ψεκτὸς
μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ὄρωσκιος, ἀναίδεις δὲ Πάρθοι τὰ Μιλη-
σιακὰ ψέγοντες, ὃν 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.
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

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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.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΩΝ

Μιλήσων καὶ Ἰωνίδων ἐταίρων γεγονότες Ἀρσακίδαι.

XXXIII. Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων 'Τρώδης ἐτύγχανεν ἡδὲ διηλλαγμένος Ἀρταούασδη δῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφήν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Πακόρφῳ τῷ παιδὶ καθωμολογήμενος, ἐστιάσεις τε καὶ πότι δὲ ἀλλήλων ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ παρεισήκετο τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀκουσμάτων.

2 ἧν γὰρ οὔτε φωνὴς οὔτε γραμμάτων 'Τρώδης Ἑλληνικὸν ἀπειρος, ὁ δὲ 'Ἀρταούασδης καὶ τραγωδίας ἐποίει καὶ λόγους ἔγραφε καὶ ἱστορίας, ὥν ἐναὶ διασώζονται. τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Κράςσου κοιμοθείσης ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπηρμέναι μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τράπεζαι, τραγωδιῶν δὲ ὑποκρῆς Ἰάσων ὄνομα Τραλλιανὸς ὥδεν Ἐυριπίδου Βακχὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀγαθὴν. εὐθοκήμοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Σιλλάκης ἐπιστὰς τῷ ἀνδρῶν καὶ προσκυνήσας προῦ-

3 βαλεν εἰς μέσον τοῦ Κράςσου τὴν κεφαλὴν. κρότω δὲ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ χαρὰς ἀραμένων, τὸν μὲν Σιλλάκην κατέκλιναν οἱ ὑπηρέται βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, ὁ δὲ Ἰάσων τὰ μὲν τοῦ Πενθέως σκευοποιήματα παρέδωκε τινὶ τῶν χορευτῶν, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Κράςσου κεφαλῆς λαβόμενος καὶ ἀναβακχεύσας ἐπέραινεν ἑκεῖνα τὰ μέλη μετ' εὐθοσιασμοῦ καὶ φῶδης·

Φέρομεν εξ ὀρεως
ἔλικα νεότομον ἐπὶ μέλαθρα,
μακαρίαν θήραν.¹

¹ Euripides, Bacchae, 1170-72 (Kirchhoff μακάριον).

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CRASSUS

Arsacidae were sprung from Milesian and Ionian courtezans.

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. 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.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πάντας ἔτερπεν· ἀδομένων δὲ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀμοιβαίων πρὸς τὸν χορόν,

ΧΟ. τίς ἐφόνευσεν;
ΑΓ. ἐμὸν τὸ γέρας."  

ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Πομαξίδρης (ἐτύγχανε δὲ δειπνῶν) ἀντελαμβάνετο τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς ἐαυτῷ λέγειν ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσήκον. ἦσθεις δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν οἷς πάτριον ἐστιν ἔδωρήσατο, τῷ δ’ Ἰάσωνι τάλαντον ἐδωκεν. εἰς τοιοῦτον φασίν ἐξόδιον τὴν Κράσσου στρατηγίαν ὥσπερ τραγῳδίαν τελευτᾷ.

Δίκη μέντοι καὶ τῆς ὁμότητος 'Τρώδην καὶ τῆς ἐπιορκίας Σουρήμαν ἀξία μετῆλθεν. Σουρήμαν μὲν γὰρ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον 'Τρώδης φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης ἀπέκτεινεν, 'Τρώδη δὲ ἀποβαλόντι Πάκορον ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων μάχη κρατηθέντα, καὶ νοσήσατι νόσου εἰς ὑδρωπα τραπεῖσαν, Φραάτης οὐ νίος ἐπιβυζεύων ἀκόνιτον ἐδωκεν. ἀναδεξαμένης δὲ τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον εἰς ἑαυτήν, ὡστε συνεκκριθήματι, καὶ τοῦ σώματός κοψίσθεντος, ἐπὶ τὴν ταχύστην τῶν ὀδῶν ἐλθὼν ὁ Φραάτης ἀπέπνευξεν αὐτὸν.

1 Euripides, Bacchae, 1179 (Kirchhoff, ΧΟ. τίς ἐ βαλοῦσα πρῶτα;).
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 satyrical drama, "the four plays being performed in succession in the course of the same day."
² 38 B.C. Cf. Plutarch's Antony, xxxiv. 1. According to Dio Cassius, xlix, 21, Pacorus fell on the same day on which Crassus had been slain fifteen years before.
Nikkioy Kai Kraassoy Sygkriqes

I. 'En de tη συγκρίσει πρώτον ο Νικιών πλούτος το Κράσσου παραβαλλόμενος ἀμεμπτο-
tέραν ἐχει την κτήσιν. Ἀλλως μὲν γάρ οὐκ ἂν τις
dοκιμάσει την ὀποὶ μετάλλων ἐργασίαν, ἢ τὰ
pλείστα περαινεται διὰ κακούργων ἡ βαρβάρων,
ἐνών δεδεμένων καὶ φθειρομένων ἐν τόποις ὑπού-
λοις καὶ νουσεροῖς παραβαλλόμενη δὲ πρὸς τὰς
Σύλλα δημιοπρατα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐργολα-
βίας, ἐπιεικεστέρα φανεῖται. ταύταις γὰρ οἱ
Κράσσους ἀναφανδὸν ὡς τὸ γεωργεῖν ἐχρῆτο καὶ
tὸ δανείζειν. ὡς δὲ ἐξαρνὸς ἡν ἐλεγχόμενος, ἐπὶ
kέρδεσιν ἐν βουλῇ λέγειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους
ἀδικεῖν καὶ γύναια περιών κολακεύειν καὶ
συνεπικύπτειν τοὺς πονηροῖς, τούτων αἰτίαν
οὐδὲ ψευδῆ ποτε Νικίας ἔλαβεν, ἀλλως δὲ δίδους
καὶ προίμενος ἀργύριον ὑπὸ δειλίας τοῖς συκοφάν-
tαις ἐχλευάζετο, πράγμα ποιῶν Περικλεῖ μὲν
ἰσως καὶ Ἀριστείδης μὴ πρέπον, αὐτῷ δ' ἀναγκαῖον
3 οὐκ εὑ πεφυκότι πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν. ὡς καὶ Λυκοῦρ-
γος ὑστερον ὁ ρήτωρ ἐπαρρησιάσατο πρὸς τὸν
dήμον, αἰτίαν ἔχων ἐξωνήσασθαι τινα τῶν συκο-
φάντων. ""Ηδομαί γάρ," εἶπεν, "ἐι τοσοῦτον
χρόνον πεπολιτευμένος πάρ' ὑμῖν δίδους πεφώρα-
μαι πρότερον ἢ λαμβάνων."
4 Ἡν δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις πολιτικότερος μὲν ὁ
Νικίας ἀναθήμασι καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ δίδα-
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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
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σκαλίας χρων φιλοτιμούμενος, οὐν δ' ὁ Κράσσος ἀνάλωσεν ἑστιάσας ἀμα τοσαῦτας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, εἶτα θρέψας πάλιν, οὔδεν ἦν μέρος ἡ Νικίας ἐκέκτητο σὺν οἷς ἀνάλωσεν, ὡστε θαυμάζειν, εἰ τινα λέληθε τὸ τῆς κακίας ἀνωμαλίαν εἶναι τινα τρόπου καὶ ἀνομολογίαν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς αἰσχρῶς συνελέγοντας εἰτ' ἀχρήστως ἐκχέοντας.

II. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλούτου τοσαῦτα: τοῖς δὲ πολιτεύμασι τοῦ μὲν Νικίου πανούργον οὔδεν οὐδὲ ἀδικον οὔδὲ βίαιον πρόσεστιν οὔδὲ θρασύτητις, ἀλλ' ἐξισιπατάτο μᾶλλον ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσημεί μετ' εὐλαβείας. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου πολλήν μὲν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἑχθραν καὶ φιλίαις μεταβολαῖς ἀπίστιαν καὶ ἀνελευθέριαν κατηγοροῦσι, βια δ' οὔδ' αὐτὸς ἠρνεῖτο τὴν ὑπατείαν μετιέναι, μισθωσάμενος ἄνδρας τοὺς Κάτων καὶ Δομιτίω 2 τὰς χεῖρας προσοίσωντας. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ψηφοφορία τοῦ δήμου πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπρώθησαν, ἑπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες, αὐτὸς δ', ὡστε ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ διηγήσει παρελήλυθε, Λεύκιον Ἀννάλιον, ἄνδρα βουλευτῆν, ἀντιλέγοντα πῦξ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξέβαλεν ἡμαγμένον.

3 'Ως δὲ περὶ ταῦτα βίαιος ὁ Κράσσος καὶ τυραννικός, οὕτως αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐκεῖνον τὸ ψοφοδέες 566 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἀτολμον καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις ύφεμένον τῶν μεγίστων ἐπιλήψεων ἀξίων· ὁ δὲ Κράσσος υψηλὸς περὶ γε ταῦτα καὶ μεγαλόφρων, οὐ πρὸς Κλέωνας οὐδ' Ἑπερβόλους, μᾶ Δία, τοῦ 426
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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 Aleibiades, 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,
ἀγώνος ὄντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν Καίσαρος λαμπρότητα καὶ τρεῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου θριάμβους, οὕχ ὑπείξας, ἀλλ’ ἀντάρας ἐκατέρω τὴν δύναμιν, ἀξιώματι δ’ τῆς τιμητικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ Πομπηίου ὑπερβαλόμενος. δει γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγίστους οὐ τὸ ἀνεπίφθονον, ἀλλὰ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐν πολυτείᾳ λαμβάνειν, μεγέθει δυνάμεως ἔξαμανροῦντα τὸν φθόνον. εἰ δ’ ἐξ ἀπαντος ἀγατάς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἁυλικίαν, καὶ δέδιας Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος, ἐν δὲ Πύλω Λακεδαιμονίους, Περδίκκαν δ’ ἐν Θράκη, πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἡ πόλις ἔχει σχολῆς ἐκ μέσου γενόμενον καθήσθαι πλεκόντα τῆς ἀπαραξίας σεατῷ στέφανον, ὡς ἐνιο 5 σοφισταὶ λέγουσιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔρως ἡμεῖς ἢν ὡς ἄλθος, καὶ τὸ λύσαι τὸν πόλεμον 'Ελληνικότατον πολίτευμα καὶ τῆς πράξεως ἐνεκα ταύτης οὐκ ἄξιον Νικίας παραβαλεῖν Κράσσον, οὐδ’ εἰ τὸ Κάσπιον φέρων πέλαγος ἢ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὁκεανὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίοις ἡγεμονία προσώρισεν.

III. Πόλει μέντοι χρώμενον ἁρετῆς αἰσθανομένη καὶ κρεῖττονα ὅντα τῇ δυνάμει χώραν οὐ δοτέον τοῖς πονηροῖς οὐδ’ ἀρχὴν μὴ ἄρχουσιν οὐδὲ πίστιν ἀπιστομένους, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Νικίας, τὸν Κλέωνα μηδέν ὅντα πλέον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀναίσχυντιας καὶ κραυγῆς αὐτὸς 2 εἰς τὸ στρατηγεῖν καταστήσας. οὐκ ἐπαινῶ μὲν γὰρ 1 ἐγὼ τὸν Κράσσον ἐν τοῖς Σπαρτακείοις 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,
καὶ τοὺς περσικοῖς καὶ ἀφρων στρατηγήσας ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀργυρίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν αὐτού, καὶ Κάτων, ὅτε μάλιστα ἑώρα πράγματα καὶ κινδύνους ἔχουσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὴν δημαρχίαν, μετῆλθεν· ὃ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίνυαν καὶ Κύθνα καὶ Μηλίους τοὺς ταλαιπώρους φυλάττων στρατηγόν, εἰ δὲ 1 δεός μάχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτοδυόμενος τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τὴν Κλέωνος ἀπείρια καὶ θρασύτητον ναῦς καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ ὀπλα καὶ στρατηγίαν ἐμπειρίας ἀκρας δεσμένην παραδίδοις, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτὸν προίται δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς 2 πατρίδος ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν. ὃθεν ὄστερον οὐχ ἐκὼν οὐδὲ βουλόμενος Συρακούσιοι πολέμειν ἡναγκάζετο, δοκῶν οὐ λογισμῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλὰ ῥαστώνη καὶ μαλακίᾳ τὸ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀποστερεῖν Σικελίας τὴν πόλιν.

'Εκείνο μέντοι μεγάλης ἐπιεικείας σημεῖον, ὅτι δυσχεραίνοντα τὸ πολέμειν αἰτὶ καὶ φεύγοντα τὸ

1 εἰ δὲ Coraës and Bekker, after Bryan: εἰ.
2 τῆς τῆς Stephanus, Bekker, and S: τῆς.
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 reasonableness, namely, that although he was always averse to war
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στρατηγεῖν οὐκ ἐπαύνοντο χειροτονοῦντες ὡς 6 ἐμπειρότατοι καὶ βέλτιστοι, τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐφιεμένῳ στρατηγιᾷ οὐχ ὑπήρξε τυχεῖν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δουλικὸν πόλεμον ἐξ ἀνάγκης, Πομπηίου καὶ Μετέλλου καὶ Δουκούλλων ἀμφοτέρων ἀπόντων, καίτοι τότε τιμωμένῳ μάλιστα καὶ δυναμένῳ πλείστοι. ἀλλ’, ὡς ἑσκε, καὶ τοῖς σπουδάζουσι περὶ αὐτῶν ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν “ἀνὴρ ἄριστος” εἶναι “τάλλα πλὴν ἐν 7 ἀσπίδι.” καὶ τούτῳ Ἡρωμίους οὐδὲν ὄνησεν ἐκβιασθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φιλαρχίας αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντα Νίκιαν ἔξεπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ἡρωμίους δὲ Κράσσος ἄκοντας ἔξηγαγεν καὶ διὰ μὲν τούτων ἡ πόλις, ἔκεινος δὲ διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡτύχησεν.

IV. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἐν τούτωι τὸν Νίκιαν ἔπαινειν ἢ ψέγειν τὸν Κράσσον. ο μὲν γὰρ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ λογισμῷ χρησάμενος ἣγεμόνος ἐμφρονος οὐ συνηπατήθη ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀπείπε καὶ ἀπέγνω λήψεθαι Σικελίαν. ο δ’ ὡς ἐπὶ βάστων ἔργον τὸν Παρθικὸν ὀρμῆσας πόλε-2 μον ἠμαρτεν. ἀφέχθη δὲ μεγάλων, Καίσαρος τὰ ἐσπέρια καὶ Κελτῶς καὶ Γερμανοὺς καταστρέφομεν καὶ Βρεττανίαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἔλασαι θάλασσαν καὶ προσεργάσα-σθαί τῇ Ἀσίαν οἰς Πομπηίος ἐπῆλθε καὶ Δουκούλλος ἀντέσχεν, ἄνδρες εὔμενεις καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀγαθοὶ διαμείναντες, προελόμενοι δ’ ὀμοι
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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

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3 Κράσσω καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες, ἔπει καὶ Πομπηῖο τῆς ἄρχης διδομένης ή σύγκλητος ἡμαντιοῦτο, καὶ Καίσαρα μυριάδας τριάκοντα Γερμανῶν τρεψάμενον συνεβούλευσαν ὁ Καῦτων ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ τρέψαντο ὑπὸ μὴν σοῦ τοῦ παρασπονδύματος εἰς ἔκεινον ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐφρῶσθαι φράσας Καύτων, πειτεκαίδεκα ἡμέρας

4 ἔθυεν ἐπτυκία καὶ περιχαρῆς ἦν. πῶς οὖν ἄν διετέθη καὶ πόσας ἔθυσεν ἡμέρας, εἰ Κράσσως ἐκ Ἐλβύλων ἔγραψε νικᾶν, εἰτ ἐπελθὼν Μηδίαν, Περσίδα, Τρκανοῦς, Σουῆς, Βάκτρα, Ρωμαίων ἐπαρχίας ἀπέδειξεν: εἰπέρ γὰρ ἄδικεν χρῆ, κατὰ τὸν Ἐὐρόπιδην, ἡσυχίαν ἀγειν μὴ δυναμένους μηδὲ χρήσατε τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἰδότας, οὐ Σκάνδελαν, οὐ Μένδην ἐκκοπτέον, οὐδὲ ἰεύγοντας

5 Αἰγινήτας ἀπολελοιπότας τῆς ἐαυτῶν, ὁσπερ ὀρνιθας εἰς ἐτέραν χώραν ἀποκεκρυμμένους, ἐκθηρατέον, ἀλλὰ πολλού τιμητῶν τὸ ἦδ.κεϊν, μὴ ῥάδιως μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν, ὡς τι φαύλων ἢ μικρόν, προϊμένους τὸ δίκαιον, οἱ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξινδρου στρατείας ὀρμὴν ἐπαινοῦσες, τὴν δὲ Κράσσου ψέγοντες, οὐκ εὖ τὰ πρώτα κρίνονσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τελευτῶν.

V. 'Εν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις αὐταῖς Νικίον μὲν οὐκ ὅλιγα γενναία: καὶ γὰρ μαχαίς πολλαῖς ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν Συρακούσας ὅλιγον ἐδέση, καὶ πάντα δ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπταί-

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1 Eteocles in the Phoenissae, 524 f. (Kirchhoff):
   εἰπέρ γὰρ ἄδικεν χρῆ, τυραννίδος πέρι καλλιστον ἄδικειν τάλλα δ' εὔσεβειν 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 contemptuously from Cato, sacrificed to the gods for fifteen days in honour of Caesar's victory, and were full of joy. What, then, would have been their feelings, and for how many days would they have sacrificed to the gods, if Crassus had written to them from Babylon that he was victorious, and had then overrun Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and declared them Roman provinces? “For if wrong must be done,” as Euripides says, when men cannot keep quiet, and know not how to enjoy contentedly the blessings which they already have, then let it not be in raiding Scandeia or Mende, nor in beating up fugitive Aeginetans, who have forsaken their own, and hidden themselves away like birds in another territory, but let a high price be demanded for the wrongdoing, and let not justice be thrown to the winds lightly, nor on the first best terms, as if it were some trifling or insignificant thing. Those who have praise for Alexander's expedition, but blame for that of Crassus, unfairly judge of a beginning by its end.

V. As to the actual conduct of their expeditions, Nicias has not a little to his credit, for he conquered his enemies in many battles, and barely missed taking Syracuse, and not all his failures were due to himself, but they might be ascribed to his
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σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νόσου ἄν τις αἰτιάσατο καὶ φθόνον τῶν οἴκοι πολιτῶν. Κράσσος δὲ διὰ πλῆθος ἀμαρτημάτων οὐδὲν τῇ τύχῃ χρηστῶν ἀποδείξασθαι παρῆκεν. ὡστε θαυμάζειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν οὐ τῆς Πάρθων δυνάμεως ἠττηθείσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐτυχίας περιγενομένην.

2 Ἐπεὶ δ’ ὁ μὲν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπὸ μαντικῆς καταφρονῶν, ὁ δὲ πάντα ὑπερορῶν ὁμοίως ἀπώλοντο, χαλεπὴ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἡ ἀσφάλεια καὶ δύσκριτος, ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ ὁ τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ αὐθάδους τὸ μετὰ δόξης παλαιῶς καὶ συνήθους δ’ εὐλάβειαν ἀμαρτανόμενον.

Περὶ μὲντοι τὴν τελευτην ἀμεμπτότερος ὁ Κράσσος οὐ παραδοὺς ἐαυτὸν οὐδὲ δεθεὶς οὐδὲ φενακισθεὶς, ἀλλ’ εἶξας τοῖς φίλοις δεσμένοις καὶ παρασπόνθηθεις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ Νικίας αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ἀκλεοῦς ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας ὑποπέσων τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσχίνα ἐαυτῷ τὸν θάνατον ἐποίησεν.

1 ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ α' following αὐτῆς of the MSS. is suspected by Coraïs, 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.

Alopece, 33, a deme, or township, of Attica, some two or three miles east of Athens.

Anacreon, 5, of Teos, a popular lyric poet, honoured at the courts of Polycrates of Samos and Hipparchus of Athens, lived circa 563–478 B.C.

Anaxagoras, 11, 21, 53 f., 291, of Clazomenae, influential at Athens as an advanced thinker from about 460 to 432 B.C.

Andros, 35, the most northerly island of the Cyclades group, to the S.E. of Euboea.

Antisthenes, 5, the Socratic, 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 satyril lambs.

Arginusae islands, 109, three small islands lying between Lesbos and the mainland of Asia Minor.

Autocleides, 293, an Athenian, of unknown date, author of a work on sacrificial ritual and tradition.

B

Balissus, 385, a small tributary of the Euphrates, south of Carrhae.

Brasidas, 237, the ablest and noblest Spartan leader during the first decade of the Peloponnesian war. He attempted to rob Athens of her allied cities in the north.

Brundisium, 365, an important city on the eastern coast of Italy (Calabria), with a fine harbour. It was the natural point of departure from Italy to the East, and the chief naval station of the Romans on the Adriatic Sea.

C

Carrhae, 395, 403–409, a town in the northern part of Mesopotamia.

Casinum, 135, the last city of Latium towards Campania on the Via Latina.

Catana, 263–267, an ancient city on the eastern coast of Sicily, about midway between Syracuse and Tauromenium, directly at the foot of Mt. Aetna.

Caunians, 309. Caunus was a city of Caria, in Asia Minor, belonging to the Rhodians.
DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

Chersonesus, 35, 59, the Thracian Chersonesus (peninsula), extending southwards into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.
Cholargus, 47, an Attic deme, or township, of uncertain site.
Clazomenae, 255, an Ionian city, situated on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.
Critolaïs, 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 Damoules 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 Cyme 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.
Hyreania, 377, 435, a district of central Asia lying immediately south of the Caspian Sea.

I

Idomenes, 31, 103, of Lampsaenus, a pupil and friend of Epicurus (342-270 B.C.), author of biographical works entitled "The Socrates" and "The Demagogues."
Ion, 13, of Chios, a popular poet at Athens between 452 and 421 B.C., and author of a prose work entitled "Sojourns," in which he recounted his experiences with famous men of his time.

L

Lampon, 15, the most famous seer of his time, apparently trusted by Pericles. He played a prominent part in the colonization of Thurii, 444 B.C.
Leocrates, 53, commander in the final triumph of Athens over Aegina (456 B.C.).
Leontini, 251, an ancient Greek city of Sicily, lying between Syracuse and Catana, about eight miles inland.
Luca, 357, the southermost city in Caesar's province of Cisalpine Gaul, afterwards included in Etruria.

Lycurgus, 425, Athenian orator and statesman, 396-323 B.C.

M

Margiana, 387, a district in central Asia lying south of Scythia and west of Bactria.

Melissus, 75, a native of Samos, and a disciple of Parmenides. Malicious report made him a teacher of Themistocles (Themistocles, ii. 9).

Metellus, 431, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Macedonicus, won victories over Macedonian and Achaean armies in Greece, but could not bring the war to a close before he was superseded by Mummius (146 B.C.).

Mummius, 431, Lucius, superseded Metellus in 146 B.C., and completed the subjugation of Greece by the capture of Corinth.

Myronides, 53, leader of the "reserves" in the Athenian victory over Corinth in 458 B.C., and in the following year victor over the Boeotians at Oenophyta.

N

Naxos, 35, 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, of Athens, the greatest sculptor and statuary of Greece, ob. 432 B.C.

Philetares, 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.

Philochorus, 293, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306-260 B.C.

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

Protagoras, 291, of Abdera in Thrace, the first to call himself a "sophist," and to teach for pay. On a third visit to Athens, about 411 B.C., he was accused of impiety and fled, but only to perish at sea.

Pylos, 231, 245, 247, an ancient city on the west coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus, on a promontory commanding the north entrance to the great bay of Pylos (the modern Navarino).

S

Seleucia, 367 f., 369, 379, 417 f., the Seleucia which was built by Seleucus Nicator, on the right
bank of the Tigris, about forty miles N.E. of Babylon.

Sphacteria, 231, an island lying in front of the great bay of Pylos.

Stesimbrotus, 25, 47, 75, of Thasos, a sophist and rhapsodist of note at Athens during the times of Cimon and Pericles.

Tolmides, 53, 59, 61, leader of an Athenian naval expedition round Peloponnesus in 455 B.C., and of other expeditions by sea.

Trapezus, 421, a large and flourishing city of Caria, in Asia Minor.

T

Tanagra, 33, a town in eastern Boeotia, between Thebes and Attica.

Thapsus, 267, a peninsula just to the north of Syracuse.

Theophrastus, 67, 103, 111, 241, the most famous pupil of Aristotle, and his successor as head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens. He was a native of Eresos in Lesbos, and died at Athens in 287 B.C., at the age of eighty-five.

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.