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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June, 1915.
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PERICLES

VOL. III.
ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ

I. Ξένους τινὰς ἐν Ἄρωμῃ πλουσίους κυνῶν τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων ἐν τοῖς κόλποις περιφέροντας καὶ ἀγαπῶντας ἰδὼν ὁ Καίσαρ, ὡς ἐοικεῖον, ἕρωτησεν εἰ παιδία παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὗ τίκτουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες, ἡγεμονικῶς σφόδρα νουθετῆσας τοὺς τὸ φύσει φιλητικὸν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ φιλόστοργον εἰς θηρία καταναλίσκοντας ἀνθρώποις υφειλόμενον.

2 ἂρ' οὖν, ἐπεὶ φιλομαθὲς τι κέκτηται καὶ φιλοθέαμον ἠμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ φύσει, λόγον ἔχει ψέγειν τοὺς καταχρωμένους τούτῳ πρὸς τὰ μηδεμᾶς ἅξια σπουδῆς ἄκουσματα καὶ θεάματα, τῶν δὲ καλῶν καὶ ωφελίμων παραμελοῦντας; τῇ μὲν γὰρ αἰσθήσει κατὰ πάθος τῆς πληγῆς ἀντιλαμβανομένη τῶν προσταγχανόντων ἵσως ἀνάγκη πάν τὸ φαινόμενον, ἂν τε χρήσιμον ἂν τ᾽ ἀχρηστὸν ἦ, 3 θεωρεῖν, τῷ νῷ δ᾽ ἑκαστος εἰ βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι, καὶ τρέπειν ἑαυτὸν ἁεὶ καὶ μεταβάλλειν ὀρᾶτα πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν πέφυκεν, ὡστε χρὴ διώκειν τὸ βέλτιστον, ἢν μὴ θεωρῆ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρέφηται τῷ θεωρεῖν. ὡς γὰρ ὀφθαλμῷ χρόα πρόσφορος ἢς τὸ ἀνθρῆρον ἀμα καὶ τερπνὸν ἀναζωπυρεῖ
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.
kai treqe tivn ofin, ou'to tivn dia'noian evpapaiv
dei theqmasiv a tiv xairev prqs to oikeivn autan
agathon ekkalai.

4 Taunta de estin en tois ap' aretis ergois, a kal
zepivn tina kai prothumian agogon eis mupmisi
empoei tois istorhсяsin1 epel tovov el' allon
ouk euvthi akolouthei tiv theumasia to praxhev
orma pro to prazai. pollakis de kai tou-
vantion xairontes tov ergw tov dhumourgou kata-
phroumen, os esti tovov myron kai tovov alourgion
toutois mpen edomebha, toutis de bafeis kai mupe-
psiou aneleutheros hyoumbeba kai baunous.

5 die kalos mev' Antisthnei akousas oti spoudaios
estin aulth' Ismhnias, "'Allo anvroupos," ephi,
moxepris o gara en outw spoudaios hu auil-
this." o de Filippos pro tovov vidon eiptepwos
en tivn potow psilanta kai techikos eipten: "Ouk
aisxyn kalos outw psallon," urkei gara, an
basileus akroasba psallonton scholazhi, en
polu vemei tais Mouzais eteiroi agwvzomewon
ta iostuva thetas gynvomevos.

II. 'H de autouragia tovov tapaevon ths eis ta
kalas rhthmias marptura tovov en tois arhustois
ponon parxeita kath' auti: kai oudeis euvuph
veos h tovov en Piso theasamevos Dia genvdai
Feidias epevdumhse h thn "Hran thn ev "Argei
Polukleitos, ou'd 'Anakreos h Filhtas h 'Archi-
2 logos hsetheis autovn tois poimation. ou gara
anaqaioun, ei terpe to ergon wv xarive, avxou

1 istorhсяsin Bekker, Fuhr, and Blass, with Reiske, after
Amyot: istorhmasin (researches).
nourishes the vision; and so our intellectual vision must be applied to such objects as, by their very charm, invite it onward to its own proper good.

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

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

---

1 Philip of Macedon, to Alexander.
2 That is, Olympia.
σπουδῆς εἶναι τῶν εἰργασμένων. ὃθεν οὐδ’ ὥσπερ τὰ τοιαύτα τοὺς θεωμένους, πρὸς ἀ μιμητικὸς οὐ
gίνεται ξῆλος οὐδὲ ἀνάδοσις κινοῦσα προθυμίαν
cαὶ ὁρμὴν 1 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξομοίωσιν. ἀλλ’ ἡ γε ἀρετὴ
tαῖς πράξεσιν εὐθὺς οὕτω διατίθησιν ὡστε ἁμα
θαυμάζεσθαι τὰ ἔργα καὶ ξηλοῦσθαι τοὺς εἰργα-
3 σμένους. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν
tὰς κτήσεις καὶ ἀπολαύσεις, τῶν δ’ ἀπ’ ἀρετῆς
tὰς πράξεις ἀγαπῶμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἢμῖν παρ’
έτέρων, τὰ δὲ μᾶλλον ἔτεροις παρ’ ἢμῶν υπάρχειν
βουλόμεθα. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐφ’ αὐτὸ πρακτικὸς
κινεῖ καὶ πρακτικὴν εὐθὺς ὀρμὴν ἐντίθησιν, ἥθο-
ποιοῦν οὐ τῇ μιμήσει τὸν θεατὴν, ἀλλὰ τῇ
ἰστορίᾳ τοῦ ἔργου τὴν προαιρέσιν παρεχόμενον.

4 Ἐδοξεῖν οὖν καὶ ἢμῖν ἑνδιατρίψαι τῇ περὶ τοὺς
βίους ἁγαράφη, καὶ τούτῳ τὸ βιβλίον δέκατον
συντετάχαμεν τὸν Περικλέους βίον καὶ τὸν Φα-
βίου Μαξίμου τοῦ διαπολεμήσαντος πρὸς Ἀννί-
βαν περείχον, ἀνδρῶν κατὰ τε τὰς ἀλλὰς ἁρετὰς
ὀμοίων, μᾶλιστα δὲ πράοτητα καὶ δικαιοσύνην,
καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι φέρειν δήμων καὶ συναρχόντων
ἀγνωμοσύνας ὡφελιμωτάτων ταῖς πατρίσι γενο-
μένων. εἰ δ’ ὀρθῶς στοχαζόμεθα τοῦ δέοντος,
ἐξεστὶ κρίνει εκ τῶν γραμμομένων.

III. Περικλῆς γὰρ ἦν τῶν μὲν φυλῶν Ἀκα-
μαντίδης, τῶν δὲ δήμων Χολαργεὺς, οἶκου δὲ καὶ
γένους τοῦ πρώτου κατ’ ἀμφοτέρους. Ξάνθιππος
γὰρ ὁ νικήσας εὖ Μυκάλη τοὺς βασιλέως στρατη-
γοὺς ἐγήμεν Ἀγαρίστην Κλεισθένους ἐγγονοῦ, ὅς

1 ὁρμὴν Fuhr and Blass, after Reiske: ἀφορμ.ν.
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.
ἐξῆλασε Πεισιστράτιδας καὶ κατέλυσε τὴν τυραννίδα γενναίως καὶ νόμοις ἔθετο καὶ πολιτείαν ἄριστα κεκραμένην πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν καὶ σωτηρίαν

2 κατέστησεν. αὕτη κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ἔδοξε τεκεῖν λέοντα, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἔτεκε Περικλέα, τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδέαν τοῦ σώματος ἀμεμπτον, προμήκη δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἡκατέριο; καὶ ἀσύμμετρον. οἷον αἰ μὲν εἰκόνες αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἀπασαί κράνεσι ηπείρουνται, μὴ βουλομένων, ὡς ἐοικέ, τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἐξουσιδίζειν. οἱ δ’ Ἀττικοὶ ποιηταὶ σχινοκέφαλον αὐτοῦ ἐκάλουν τὴν γὰρ σκίλλαν ἐστίν

3 ὅτε καὶ σχῖνον ὑνομάζουσι. τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρωσιν ὁ Στάσις δὲ (φησὶ) καὶ πρεσβυγενὴς Κρόνος ἀλλήλοις μιγείτε μέγιστον τίκτετον τύραννον, ἄν δ’ ἐκεφαληγερέταν θεοῦ καλέονσι” καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει. “Μόλ’,

4 ὁ Ζεὺς ἐξείμε καὶ καραίε.” Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἠπορημένων καθῆσθαι φησίν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ὁ καρηβαροῦντα, ποτὲ δὲ μόνων ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐνδεκακλίνου θόρυβον πολλῶν ἐξανατέλλειν” οὐ δ’ Ἐὔπολις ἐν τοῖς Δήμοις πυθανόμενος περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ἀναβεβηκότων ἐξ ἠδου δημαγωγῶν, ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς ὀνομάσθη τελευταίος:

“Ὁ τι περ κεφάλαιον τῶν κάτωθεν ἡγαγες.

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

1 τῇ κεφαλῇ Fuhr and Blass with FaS: τῇ κεφαλῇν.
who, in such noble fashion, expelled the Peisistratidac and destroyed their tyranny, instituted laws, and established a constitution best attempered for the promotion of harmony and safety. She, in her dreams, once fancied that she had given birth to a lion, and a few days thereafter bore Pericles. 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.
δεῖν τούνομα βραχύνουτας τῇν προτέραν συλλαβῆν έκφέρειν. Ἄριστοτέλης δὲ παρὰ Πυθοκλείδη μουσικῆς διαπονηθήναι τὸν ἄνδρα φησίν. ο ἐδέ Δάμων έοικεν άκρος ὅν σοφιστῆς κατάδυεσθαι μὲν εἰς τὸ τῆς μουσικῆς ὄνομα πρὸς τοὺς πολλούς ἐπικρυπτόμενος τὴν δεινότητα, τῷ δὲ Περικλεὶ συνήν καθάπερ ἀθλητή τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀλείπτησιν 

καὶ διδάσκαλος. οὐ μὴν ἐλάθεν ὁ Δάμων τῇ λύρᾳ παρακαλύμματι χρῶμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς μεγαλοπράγμων καὶ φιλοτύραννος ἐξωστρακίσθη καὶ παρέσχε τοῖς κωμικοῖς διατριβήν. ο γονὶν Πλάτων καὶ πυθανόμενον αὐτοῦ τινα πεποιηκεν οὕτω 

Πρώτον μὲν οὖν μοι λέξον άντιβολῶν. οὐ γάρ, ὡς φασίν, ο Χείρων ἐξέθρεψας Περικλέα.

διήκουσε δὲ Περικλῆς καὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Ἐλεατοῦ πραγματευομένου περὶ φύσιν, ὡς Παρμενίδης, ελεγκτικὴν δὲ τινὰ καὶ δι' ἀντιλογίας κατακλείουσαν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐξασκήσαντος ἔξιν, ὡσπερ καὶ Τίμων ὁ Φιλάσιος εὗρηκε διὰ τούτων.

Ἀμφιτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδύνον 

Ζήνωνος, πάντων ἐπιλήπτορος.

Ο δὲ πλείστα Περικλεὶ συγγενόμενοι καὶ μάλιστα περιθεῖς ογκὸν αὐτῷ καὶ φρόνημα δημαγωγίας ἐμβριθέστερον, ὅλως τε μετεωρίσας καὶ συνεξάρας τὸ ἄξιωμα τοῦ ἕθους, Ἄναξαγόρας ἦν ὁ Κλαξομένιος, ὅν οἱ τότε ἀνθρωποὶ Νόον προσ-
PERICLES

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

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

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

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

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

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1 Plato, rather, *Alcibiades* I. 118 c.
ιηγόρευον, εἴτε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτοῦ μεγάλην εἰς φυσιολογίαν καὶ περιττὴν διαφανείσαν θαυμάσαις, εἰθ' ὅτι τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος οὐ τύχην οὐδ' ἀνάγκην διακοσμήσεως ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἔπεστησε καθαρὸν καὶ ἀκρατον ἐν μεμιγμένοις πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρίνοντα τὰς ὁμοιομερείας.

V. Τούτων ὑπερφυῶς τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάσας οἱ Περικλῆς καὶ τῆς λεγομένης μετεωρολογίας καὶ μεταρσιολεσχίας ὑποπιμπλάμενος, οὐ μόνον, ὡς ἐοικε, τὸ φρόνημα σοβαρὸν καὶ τὸν λόγον ύψηλὸν εἰχε καὶ καθαρὸν ὀχλικῆς καὶ πανούργου βωμολοχίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσώπου σύστασις ἀθρυπτος εἰς γέλωτα καὶ πραότης πορείας καὶ καταστολή περιβολῆς πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκταραττομένη πάθος ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ πλάσμα φωνῆς ἀθόρυβον, καὶ ὅσα 2 τοιαῦτα πάντας θαυμαστῶς ἐξέπληττε. λοιδοροῦμενος γοῦν ποτε καὶ κακῶς ἀκούων ὑπὸ τινος τῶν βδελυρῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων ὅλην ἡμέραν ὑπέμεινε σιωπῆ κατ' ἀγοράν, ἃμα τι τῶν ἑπειγόντων καταπραττόμενος: ἕσπέρας δ' ἀπηγεί κοσμίως οἴκαδε παρακολουθοῦντος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ πάση 3 χρωμένου βλασφημία πρὸς αὐτόν. ως δ' ἐμελλεῖν εἰσίεναι σκότος ὅντος ἡδῆ, προσέταξε τινὶ τῶν ὁικετῶν φῶς λαβόντι παραπέμψαι καὶ καταστήσαι πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν τὸν ἀνθρώπον.

'Ὁ δὲ ποιητὴς Ἰων μοθώνικὴν φησι τὴν ὀμιλίαν καὶ ὑπότυφον εἶναι τοῦ Περικλέους, καὶ ταῖς 12
"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
μεγαλαυχίαις αὐτοῦ πολλῆν ὑπεροψίαν ἀναμε-μίχθαι καὶ περιφρόνησιν τῶν ἄλλων. ἔπαινει δὲ τὸ Κύμωνος ἐμμελές καὶ ὑγρὸν καὶ μεμονωμένου ἐν ταῖς περιφοραῖς. ἀλλ' Ἰωνα μὲν, ὥσπερ τραγι-κήν διδασκαλίαν, ἥξιοντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν τι πάντως καὶ σατυρικὸν μέρος ἔδωμεν: τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους τὴν σεμνότητα δοξοκοπίαν τε καὶ τύφον ἀποκαλοῦντας ὁ Ζήνων παρεκάλει καὶ αὐτοῦς τι τοιοῦτο δοξοκοπεῖν, ὡς τῆς προσποιή-σεως αὐτής τῶν καλῶν ὑποποιούσης τινά λελη-θότως ξῆλον καὶ συνήθειαν.

VI. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Ἀνάξαγόρου συνοσίας ἀπέλαυσε Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεισι-δαιμονίας δοκεῖ γενέσθαι καθυπέρτερος, ὃσῳ τὸ 1 πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα θάμβος ἐνεργάζεται τοῖς αὐτῶν τε τούτων τὰς αἰτίας ἁγνοοῦσι καὶ περὶ τὰ θεία δαιμονῶσι καὶ ταραττομένοις δι' ἀπειρίαν αὐτῶν, ἦν ὁ φυσικὸς λόγος ἀπαλλάττων ἀντὶ τῆς φοβε-ρᾶς καὶ φλεγμαίνουσης δεισιδαιμονίας τῆς ἁσφα-λῆ μετ' ἑλπίδων ἁγαθῶν εὐσέβειαν ἐργάζεται.

2 Λέγεται δὲ ποτε κρισὶν μονόκερω κεφαλῆς ἐξ ἁγροῦ τῷ Περικλεί κομισθῆναι, καὶ Λάμπτωνα μὲν τὸν μάντιν, ὥς εἰδὲ τὸ κέρας ἵσχυρον καὶ στερεὸν ἐκ μέσου τοῦ μετώπου πεφυκός, εἴπειν ὅτι δυεῖν οὐσῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δυναστείων, τῆς Θουκυδίδου καὶ Περικλέους, εἰς ἑνα περιστήσεται τὸ κράτος

1 ὃσῳ τὸ older edd., Coraês, Fuhr and Blass; Bekker ὃσῃ with the MSS.: ὃσῃ.

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

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

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

1 Cf. Cimon, ix.
παρ' ὁ γένοιτο τὸ σημεῖον. τὸν δ' Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦ κρανίου διακοπέντος πιδείξαι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον οὐ πεπληρωκότα τὴν βάσιν, ἀλλ' ὤξυν ὦσπερ ὅλ' ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς ἄγγελον συνωλυσθῆκοτα κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἔκεινον οθεν ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ κέρατος εἶχε 3 τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ τότε μὲν θαυμασθήναι τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὀλίγο δ' ὕστερον τὸν Λάμπωνα, τοῦ μὲν Θουκυδίδου καταλυθέντος, τῶν δὲ τοῦ δήμου πραγμάτων ὀμαλῶς ἀπάντην ὑπὸ τῷ Περικλεὶ γενομένων.

Ἐκώλυε δ' οὖνεν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν ἐπιτυγχάνειν καὶ τὸν μάντην, τοῦ μὲν τὴν αἰτίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὸ τέλος καλῶς ἐκλαμβάνοντος ὑπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ μὲν, ἐκ τίνων γέγονε καὶ πῶς πέφυκε, θεωρῆσαι, τῷ δὲ, πρὸς τι γέγονε καὶ τὶ σημαίνει,

4 προειπεῖν. οἱ δὲ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν εὑρεσιν ἀναίρεσιν εἶναι λέγοντες τοῦ σημείου οὐκ ἐπινοοῦσιν ἀμα τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ τεχνητὰ τῶν συμβόλων ἀδετούντες, ψόφους τε δίσκων καὶ φῶτα πυρσῶν καὶ γνωμόνων ἀποσκιασμοῦς ὃν ἐκαστὸν αἰτία τινὶ καὶ κατασκευῇ σημείον εἶναι τινὸς πεποίηται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἵσως ἐστέρας ἐστὶ πραγματείας.

VII. Ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς νέος μὲν ὃν σφόδρα τὸν δήμον εὐλαβεῖτο. καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει Πεισιστράτῳ τῷ τυράννῳ τὸ εἰδος ἐμφερής εἶναι, τὴν τε φωνὴν ἥδειαν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν γλώτταν εὔτροχον 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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όμοιότητα. πλούτου δὲ καὶ γένους προσόντος αυτῷ λαμπροῦ καὶ φίλων οἳ πλείστον ἡδύναντο, ϕοβούμενοσ ἐξοστρακισθῆναι, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς στρατεύσεις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἦν καὶ φιλοκόμιδος. ἦπει δ' Ἀριστείδης μὲν ἀποτεθύνει καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐξεπιπτώκει, Κύμωνα δ' αἰ στρατεύαι τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐξω κατεἰχον, οὕτω δη φέρων ὁ Περικλῆς τῷ δῆμῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἀντὶ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ὀλίγων τὰ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ πενήντων ἐλόμενος παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἥκιστα δημοτικὴν οὐσίαν.

3 ἀλλ', ὡς ἐοικε, δεδώς μὲν ὑποψία περιπεσεῖν τυραννίδος, ὅρων δ' ἀριστοκρατικὸν τὸν Κύμωνα καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπώμενον, ὑπῆλθε τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀσφάλειαν μὲν ἑαυτῷ, δύναμιν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον παρασκευαζόμενος.

4. Εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦς περὶ τὴν διάιταν ἐτέραν τάξιν ἐπέθηκεν. ὅδων τε γὰρ ἐν ἄστει μίαν ἔωρατο τὴν ἐπ' ἄγοραν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον πορευόμενος, κλήσεις τε δεῖπνων καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπασαν φιλοφροσύνην καὶ συνήθειαν ἐξέλισσεν, ὡς ἐν οἷς ἐπολιτεύσατο χρόνοις μακροὺς γενομένοις πρὸς μὴδένα τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔλθειν, πλὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου 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, and Themistocles in banishment, 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, 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.
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5 σπουδῶν παραγενόμενος εὐθὺς ἐξανέστη. δεινάλ γὰρ αἱ φιλοφροσύναι παντὸς ὅγκου περιγενέσθαι, καὶ δυσφύλακτον ἐν συνθείᾳ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν σεμνὸν ἐστι· τῆς ἀληθινῆς δ' ἀρετῆς κάλλιστα φαίνεται τὰ μάλιστα φαινόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐδὲν οὗτω θαυμάσιον τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὡς ὁ καθ' ἡμέραν βίος τοῖς συνούσιν.

'Ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ 1 τὸ συνεχὲς φεύγων καὶ τὸν κόρον οἶον ἐκ διαλειμμάτων ἐπλησίαζεν, οὔκ ἐπὶ παντὶ πράγματι λέγων, οὔδ' ἀεὶ παριῶν εἰς τὸ πλήθος, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ὠσπερ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν τριήρη, φησὶ Κριτόλαος, πρὸς τὰς μεγάλας χρείας ἐπιδείδοις, τάλλα δὲ φίλους καὶ ῥήτορας ἔτερους καθεῖς ἔπραττεν. δὴν ἕνα φασὶ γενέσθαι τὸν Ἐφιάλτην, ὅς κατέλυε τὸ κράτος τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλής, πολλήν, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα, καὶ ἀκρατοῦν τοῖς πολίταις ἐλευθερίαν οἰνοχοῦν, ὕφ' ἦς, ὡσπερ ἵππου, ἐξυβρίσαντα τὸν δήμον ὦ κομιδοποιοὶ λέγουσι "πειθαρχεῖν οὐκέτι τολμᾶν, ἀλλὰ δάκνειν τὴν Ἐυβοιαν καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐπιπηδᾶν."

VIII. Τῇ μέντοι περὶ τῶν βίων κατασκευῇ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ φρονιματος ἁρμόζοντα λόγου, ὡσπερ ὄργανον, ἐξαρτνόμενος παρειδείευε πολλαχοὶ τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν, οἰον βαφὴν τῇ βητορικῇ τὴν φυσιολογίαν ὑποχεύμενος. τὸ γὰρ "ὑψη-

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1 τῷ δήμῳ Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe : τοῦ δήμου.
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, 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.
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λόνου τούτο καὶ πάντη τελεσιουργῶν,“ ὡς ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων φησί, “πρὸς τῷ εὐφυῆς εἶναι κτησά-
μενος” ἐκ φυσιολογίας, καὶ τὸ πρόσφορον ἔλ-
κύσας ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην, πολὺ πάντων
2 διήνεγκε. διό καὶ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι
λέγουσι: καὶ τοις τινὲς ἀπὸ τῶν οίς ἐκόσμησε τὴν
πόλιν, οἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ταῖς
στρατηγίαις δυνάμεως Ὀλύμπιον αὐτὸν οἴοντα
προσαγορεύθημαι καὶ συνδραμεῖν οúdeν ἀπέοικεν
ἀπὸ πολλῶν προσόντων τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὴν δόξαν.
3 αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδίαι τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδή
te πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνᾶς
eis αὐτῶν, ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνυμίαν
γενέσθαι δηλοῦσι, “βροντῶν” μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ
“ἀστράπτειν,” ὥστε δημηγοροῦν, “δεινὸν δὲ κεφα-
νὸν ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν” λεγόντων.

Διαμνημονεύεται δὲ τις καὶ Θουκυδίδων τοῦ
Μελησίου λόγος εἰς τὴν δεινότητα τοῦ Περι-
κλέους μετὰ παιδίας εἰρημένος. ἢν μὲν γὰρ ὁ
Θουκυδίδης τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ
πλεῖστον ἀντεπολιτεύσατο τῷ Περικλεί χρόνῳ.
'Αρχιδάμου δὲ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως
πυθαγομένου τότερον αὐτὸς ἡ Περικλῆς παλαίει
βέλτιον, “Οταν,” εἶπεν, “ἐγὼ καταβάλω πα-
λαίων, ἐκείνος ἀντιλέγων ὡς οὐ πέπτωκε, νικᾶ
καὶ μεταπείθει τούς ὀρώντας.”

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περικλῆς περὶ τῶν
λόγων εὐλαβῆς ἦν, ὡστ’ ὅει 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.
Βαδίζων εὐχετο τοῖς θεοῖς μηδὲ ρήμα μηδὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἀκοντος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην
χρείαν ἀνάρμοστον. ἔγγραφον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπολέομεν πλὴν τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἀπο-
μημονεύεται δ’ ὀλίγα παντάπασιν οἶον τὸ τὴν
Λύγιναν ὡς λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἄφελειν κε-
λεύσαι, καὶ τὸ τὸν πόλεμον ἦδη φάναι καθορὰν
ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου προσφερόμενον. καὶ ποτε
τοῦ Σοφοκλέους, ὅτε συστρατηγῶν ἐξέπλευσε
μετ’ αὐτοῦ, παίδα καλὸν ἐπαίνεσαντος, "Οὐ
μόνον," ἐφη, "τὰς χειρὰς, ὁ Σοφόκλεις, δεὶ
καθαρᾶς ἔχειν τὸν στρατηγὸν, ἅλλα καὶ τὰς
6 ὄψεις." ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτός φησιν ὅτι τοὺς ἐν
Σάμῳ τεθυνκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονόναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεοὺς::
οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὁρῶμεν, ἅλλα ταῖς τιμαῖς
ἄς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἃ παρέχουσιν,
ἀθανάτους εἰναι τεκμαίρομεθα· ταὐτ’ οὖν ὑπάρχειν
καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.

IX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Θουκυδίδης μὲν ἀριστοκρατικὴν
τινα τὴν τοῦ Περικλέους ὑπογράφει πολιτείαν,
"λόγῳ μὲν οὖσαν δημοκρατίαν, ἔργῳ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ
πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχῆν," ἀλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ πρῶτον
ὑπ’ ἐκείνου φασὶ τῶν δήμων ἐπὶ κληρονομίας καὶ
θεωρικὰ καὶ μισθῶν διανομὰς προαχθῆναι, κακῶς
ἐθισθέντα καὶ γενόμενον πολυτελῆ καὶ ἀκο-
λαστὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τότε πολιτευμάτων ἀντὶ σώ-
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 αὐτουργοῦ, θεωρείσθω διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἡ αἰτία τῆς μεταβολῆς.

2 Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν γὰρ, ὡσπερ εἰρήνη, πρὸς τὴν Κίμωνος δόξαν ἀντιταττόμενος ὑπεποιεῖτο τὸν δῆμον ἐλαττούμενος δὲ πλοῦτῳ καὶ χρήμασιν, ἀφ’ ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς πέντες, δείπνον τε καθ’ ἡμέραν τῷ δεσμόνῳ παρέχον Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τοὺς πρεσβύτερους ἀμφιεννύν, τῶν τε χωρίων τοὺς φραγμοὺς ἀφαιρῶν ὅπως ὄπωρίζωσιν οἱ βουλόμενοι, τούτοις ὁ Περικλῆς καταδημαγωγούμενος τρέπεται πρὸς τὴν τῶν δημοσίων διανομῆν, συμβουλεύσαντος αὐτῷ Δαμωνίδου τοῦ Ὀαθεν,

3 ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστόρηκε. καὶ ταχὺ θεωρικοὶ καὶ δικαστικοὶ λήμμασιν ἄλλας τε μισθοφοραῖς καὶ χορηγίαις συνδεκάσας τὸ πλῆθος, ἑχρῆτο κατὰ τὴς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς, ἡς αὐτὸς οὖ μετείχε διὰ τὸ μῆτ’ ἀρχῶν μήτε θεσμοθέτης μήτε βασιλεὺς μήτε πολέμαρχος λαχείν. αὐταῖ γὰρ αἰ ἀρχαὶ κληροταῖ τε ἦσαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ, καὶ δ’ αὐτῶν οἱ δοκιμασθέντες ἀνέβαινον εἰς Ἀρείου πάγον. διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἵσχύσας ὁ Περικλῆς ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατεστασίασε τὴν βουλῆν, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ἀφαιρεθήναι τὰς πλείστας κρίσεις δι’ Ἐφιάλτου, Κίμωνα δ’ ὡς φιλολάκωνα καὶ μισόδημον ἐξοστρακισθήναι, πλοῦτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει μηδενὸς ἀπολειπόμενον, νίκας δὲ καλλίστας νενικηκότα
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

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\(^1\) 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.
toûs βαρβάρους καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν καὶ λαφύρων ἐμπεπληκότα τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται. Τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ κράτος ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τοῦ Περικλέους.

Χ. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἔξοστρακισμὸς ὁρμημένην εἰχε νόμῳ δεκαετίαν τοῖς φεύγουσιν· ἐν δὲ τῷ διὰ μέσου Δακεδαιμονίων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐμβάλοντων εἰς τὴν Ταναγρικὴν καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐθὺς ὀρμησάντων ἐτ' αὐτούς, ὁ μὲν Κίμων ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς φυγής ἔθετο μετὰ τῶν φυλετῶν εἰς λόχον τὰ ὅπλα καὶ δ' ἐργων ἀπολύσθαι τοῖς Δακωνισμῷ ἐβούλετο, συγκινιδυνεύσας τοῖς πολίταις, οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῦ Περικλέους συστάντες ἀπῆλθαν αὐτὸν ὡς φυγάδα. διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ Περικλῆς ἐρρωμενεστατα ¹ τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ γενέσθαι πάντων ἐπιφανεστατος ἀφειδήςας τοῦ σῶματος, ἔπεσον δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κίμωνος οἱ φίλοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς, οὐς Περικλῆς συνεπήτιατο τοῦ Δακωνισμοῦ καὶ μετάνοια δεινή τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ πόθος ἐσχε τοῦ Κίμωνος, ἡττημένους μὲν ἐτί τῶν ὀρων τῆς Ἀττικῆς, προσδοκῶντας δὲ βαρὺν 3 εἰς ἑτοὺς ὤραν πόλεμου. αἰσθόμενος οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὐκ ἀκνης χαρίσασθαι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὸ ψήφισμα γράψας αὐτὸς ἐκάλει τὸν ἄνδρα, κάκεινος κατελθὼν ² εἰρήνην ἐποίησε ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἰκείως γὰρ εἰχον οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσπερ ἀπῆλθοντο τῷ Περικλεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις δημαγωγοῖς.

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

1 457 B.C. 2 450 B.C.
δέ φασιν οὖ πρότερον γραφήμαι τῷ Κύμωνι τὴν κάθοδου ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ συνθήκας αὐτῶς ἀπορρήτους γειέσθαι δι’ Ἐλπινίκης, τῆς Κύμωνος ἀδελφῆς, ὥστε Κύμωνα μὲν ἐκπλεῦσαι λαβόντα ναῦς διακοσίας καὶ τῶν ἔξω στρατηγεῖν, καταστρεφόμενον τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, Περικλέι δὲ τὴν ἐν ἀστεὶ δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν.

5 ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἡ Ἐλπινίκη τῷ Κύμωνι τὸν Περικλέα πρότερον παρασχεῖν, ὅτε τὴν θανατικὴν δίκην ἐφευγεν. ἢν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τῶν κατηγόρων ὁ Περικλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προβεβλημένος, ἐλθούσης δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῆς Ἐλπινίκης καὶ δεσμένης μεδιάσας εἶπεν. "Ὁ Ἐλπινίκη, γραῦς εἰ, γραῦς εἰ, ὡς πράγματα τηλικαύτα πράσσειν." οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἀπαξ ἀνέστη, τὴν προβολὴν ἀφοσιούμενος, καὶ τῶν κατηγόρων ἐλάχιστα τὸν Κύμωνα λυπήσας ἀπεχώρησε.

6 Πῶς ἂν οὖν τὶς Ἰδομενεί πιστεύσει κατηγοροῦντες τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς τὸν δημαγωγὸν Ἐφιάλτην φίλων γενόμενον καὶ κοινωνοῦν ὄντα τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ προαιρέσεως δολοφονήσαντος διὰ ξηλοτυπίαν καὶ φθόνον τῆς δόξης; ταῦτα γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅθεν συναγαγόν ὡστερ χολὴν τάνδρι προσβέβληκε, πάντη μὲν ἵσως οὐκ ἀνεπιλήπτω, φρόνημα δ᾽ εὐγενεῖς ἔχοντι καὶ ψυχῆς φιλότιμον, οἷς οὖν ἐφύμεται πάθος ὡμὸν ὑπὸ καὶ θηρίωδες.

7 Ἐφιάλτην μὲν οὖν φοβερὸν ὄντα τοῖς ὀλυγαρχικοῖς καὶ περὶ πάς εὐθύνας καὶ διόξεις τῶν τὸν δήμου ἀδικοῦντων ἀπαραίτητον ἐπίβουλεύσαντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ δι’ Ἀριστοδίκου τοῦ Ταναγρικοῦ κρυφαίως
Some, however, say that the decree for the restoration of Cimon was not drafted by Pericles until a secret compact had been made between them, through the agency of Elpinice, Cimon's sister, to the effect that Cimon should sail out with a fleet of two hundred ships and have command in foreign parts, attempting to subdue the territory of the King, while Pericles should have supreme power in the city. And it was thought that before this, too, Elpinice had rendered Pericles more lenient towards Cimon, when he stood his trial on the capital charge of treason.\(^1\) Pericles was at that time one of the committee of prosecution appointed by the people, and on Elpinice's coming to him and suppurating him, said to her with a smile: "Elpinice, thou art an old woman, thou art an old woman, to attempt such tasks." However, he made only one speech, by way of formally executing his commission, and in the end did the least harm to Cimon of all his accusers.

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

\(^1\) 463 B.C. Cf. Cimon, xiv. 2-4.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ Η ΜΟΙΧΑΙΟΣ

ανείλον, ὡς 'Αριστοτέλης εἰρήκεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ Κύμων ἐν Κύπρῳ στρατηγῶν.

XI. Οἱ δὲ ἀριστοκρατικοὶ μέγιστον μὲν ἡδή τὸν Περικλέα καὶ πρόσθεν ὀρῶντες γεγονότα τῶν πολιτῶν, βουλόμενοι δὲ ὁμοὶ εἶναι τινα τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτασσόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀμβλύνοντα, ὡστε μὴ κομιδὴ μοναρχίαν εἶναι, Θουκυδίδην τὸν 'Αλωπεκῆθεν, ἀνδρα σώφρονα καὶ κηδεστὴν Κύμωνος, ἀντέστησαν ἐναντιωσόμενον, 2 δὲ ἤττον μὲν ὅν πολεμικὸς τοῦ Κύμωνος, ἀγοραῖος δὲ καὶ πολιτικὸς μᾶλλον, οἰκουρῶν ἐν ἀστεί καὶ περὶ τὸ βήμα τῷ Περικλεὶ συμπλεκόμενος, ταχὺ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς ἀντίπαλον κατέστησεν.

Οὔ γὰρ εἶσαι τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθους καλομένους ἄνδρας ἐνδιεσπάρθαι καὶ συμμερίχθαι πρὸς τὸν δήμον, ὡς πρότερον, ὑπὸ πλῆθους ἡμαυρωμένους τὸ ἄξιόμα, χωρίς δὲ διακρίνας καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ταύτα τὴν πάντων δύναμιν ἐμβριθῆ 3 γενομένην ὡσπέρ ἐπὶ ξυγοῦ ὑποτὴν ἐποίησεν. ἢν μὲν γὰρ ἔξ ἀρχῆς διπλὸς τις ὑπολος, ὡσπέρ ἐν σιδήρῳ, διαφορὰν ὑποσημαίνουσα δημοτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατικῆς προαιρέσεως, ἢ δὲ ἐκείνων ἀμίλλα καὶ φιλοτιμία τῶν ἄνδρῶν βαθυτάτην τομῆν τεμοῦσα τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν δήμον, τὸ δὲ ὅλιγος 4 ἐποίησε καλείσθαι. διὸ καὶ τότε μάλιστα τῷ δήμῳ τὰς ἡνίας ἄνεις ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπολιτεύετο πρὸς χάριν, ἀεὶ μὲν τινα θέαν πανηγυρικὴν ἢ ἐστίασιν ἢ πομ-
PERICLES

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

XI. Then the aristocrats, aware even some time before this that Pericles was already become the greatest citizen, but wishing nevertheless to have some one in the city who should stand up against him and blunt the edge of his power, that it might not be an out and out monarchy, put forward Thucydides of Alopece, 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 ἀστεί καὶ "διαπαιδα-
γωγῶν οὐκ ἀμούσοις ἥδοναίς" τὴν πόλιν, ἐξήκοντα
δὲ τριήρεις καθ' ἑκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκπέμπτων, ἐν αἷς
πολλοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπλέον ὀκτὼ μῆνας ἐμμυσθοί,
μελετῶντες ἁμα καὶ μανθάνοντες τὴν ναυτικὴν
5 ἐμπειρίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χιλίουσ μὲν ἐστειλεν
εἰς Χερρόνησον κληρούχους, εἰς δὲ Νάξου πεντα-
κοσίους, εἷς δὲ Ἀνδρον τοὺς ἡμίσεις 1 τούτων, εἰς
δὲ Ὑβάκην χιλίους Βισάλταις συνοικίσοντας,
ἀλλοι δ᾽ εἰς Ἰταλίαν οἰκίζομένης Συβάρεως, ἦν
Θουρίους προσηγόρευσαν. καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπράττει
ἀποκουφίζων μὲν ἀργοῦ καὶ διὰ σχολήν πολυ-
πρώγιμοις ὁχλοὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπανορθούμενοι δὲ
tὰς ἀπορίας τοῦ δήμου, φόβον δὲ καὶ φρουρὰν
tοῦ μῆ νεωτερίζειν τι παρακατοικίζων τοῖς συμ-
μάχοις.

ΧΙ. Ὄ δὲ πλείστην μὲν ὣδουν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς
καὶ κόσμου ἢνεγκε, μεγίστην δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοίς ἐκπλη-
ξιν ἀνθρώποις, μόνον δὲ τῇ Ἑλλάδι μαρτυρεὶ μὴ
ψευδοῦσα τὴν λεγομένην δύναμιν αὐτῆς ἐκείνην
καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ὄλβον, ἡ τῶν ἀναθημάτων κατα-
σκευὴ, τοῦτο μάλιστα τῶν πολιτευμάτων τοῦ
Περικλέους ἐβάσκαινοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ καὶ διέβαλλον
ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, βοῶντες ως ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἄδο-
ξεῖ καὶ κακῶς ἀκούει τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
2 χρήματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκ Δήλου μεταγαγών, ἡ δ' ἐνεστὶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας εὔπρεπεστάτη
τῶν προφάσεων, δείσαντα τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκείθεν

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," 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, 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, 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 sembliest 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 ὀχυρῷ τὰ κοινὰ, ταύτην ἀνήρηκε Περικλῆς· καὶ δοκεῖ δεινὴν ὑβρῖν ἡ Ἐλλάς ὑβρίζεσθαι καὶ τυραννεῖσθαι περιφανῶς, ὁρῶσα τοῖς εἰσφερομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἀναγκαῖος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμᾶς τὴν πόλιν καταχρυσοῦντας καὶ καλλωπίζοντας ὀσπέρ ἀλαζόνα γυναίκα, περιαπτομένην λίθους πολυτελείς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ναοὺς χιλιοτάλαντος.

3 Ἐδίδασκεν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὸν δήμον ὅτι χρημάτων μὲν οὐκ ὀφείλουσι τοῖς συμμάχους λόγον προπολεμοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀνείργοντες, οὐχ ἔπτωκον, οὔναῦν, οὐχ ὀπλίτην, ἀλλὰ χρήματα μόνον τελοῦντων, ἃ τῶν διδόντων οὔκ ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ τῶν λαμβανόντων, ἂν παρέχωσιν ἂνθ’ οὗ λαμβάνουσι· δεὶ δὲ τῆς πόλεως κατεσκευασμένης ἴκανῶς τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς ταύτα τὴν εὐπορίαν τρέπειν αὐτῆς ἀφ’ ὧν δόξα μὲν γενομένων ἁίδιος, εὐπορία δὲ γινομένων ἐτοίμη παρέσται, παντοδαπῆς ἐργασίας φανείσης καὶ ποικίλων χρειῶν, αἱ πᾶσαι μὲν τέχνῃ ἐγείρουσαι, πᾶσαι δὲ χεῖρα κινοῦσαι, σχεδὸν όλην ποιοῦσιν ἐμμισθοῦν τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀμα κοσμομυμένην καὶ τρεφομένην.

4 Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἡλικίαιν ἔχουσι καὶ ρώμην αἰ στρατεύει τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν εὐπορίας παρεῖχον, τὸν δ’ ἀσώντακτον καὶ βάναυσον ὄχλον ὃτ’ ἀμοιρὸν εἶναι λημμάτων βουλόμενος οὔτε λαμβάνειν ἀργὸν 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 ἐργῶν διατριβὴν ἐχοντων ἐνέβαλε φέρων εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἵνα μηδὲν ἤττον τῶν πλεόντων καὶ φρουροῦντων καὶ στρατευομένων τὸ οἰκουροῦν ἔχῃ πρόφασιν ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὦφελείσθαι καὶ 6 μεταλαμβάνειν. ὅπου γὰρ ὑλὴ μὲν ἦν λίθος, χαλκός, ἐλέφας, χρυσός, ἐβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ δὲ ταύτην ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κῇ τῇργαζόμεναι τέχναι, τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, λιθουργοὶ, βαφεῖς, χρυσοὺ μαλακτήρες καὶ ἐλέφαντος, ξωγράφοι, ποικιλταῖ, τορευταῖ, πομποὶ δὲ τούτον καὶ κομιστήρες, ἔμποροι καὶ ναῦται καὶ κυβερνήται 7 κατὰ θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ γῆν ἀμαξοπηγοὶ καὶ ξενοτρόφοι καὶ ἴνοχοι καὶ καλωστρόφοι καὶ λινουργοὶ καὶ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ ὀδοποιοὶ καὶ μεταλλεῖς, ἐκάστη δὲ τέχνη, καθάπερ στρατηγὸς ἵδιον στράτευμα, τὸν θητικὸν ὀχλον καὶ ἱδιώτην συντεταγμένον εἰχεν, ὄργανον καὶ σῶμα τῆς ὑπηρεσίας γινόμενον, εἰς πᾶσαν, ὅς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, ἡλικίαν καὶ φύσιν αἰ χρεῖαι διένεμον καὶ διέσπειρον τὴν εὐπορίαν.

XIII. Ἀναβαινόντων δὲ τῶν ἔργων ὑπερηφάνων μὲν μεγέθει, μορφῇ δ’ ἄμμιμητων καὶ χάριτι, τῶν δημουργῶν ὑμιλλωμένων ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν δημουργίαν τῇ καλλιτεχνίᾳ, μάλιστα θαυμάσιον ἦν τὸ τάχος. ὅν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν φῶντο πολλαῖς δισδοχαῖς καὶ ἡλικίαις μόλις ἐπὶ τέλος ὑφίσεσθαι, ταῦτα πάντα μᾶς ἀκμῆ πολυτείας
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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 φασὶν Ἀγαθάρχου τοῦ ἔμβολον ἀκούσαντα τοῦ Ζεῦς εἰπεῖν: "Εγὼ δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ."

3 ἧ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιεῖν εὐχέρεια καὶ ταχύτης οὐκ ἐντίθησι βάρος ἔργῳ μόνιμον οὐδὲ κάλλους ἄκρι-βειαν. οὐ δ' εἰς τὴν γένεσιν τῷ πόνῳ προδαιμοσθεὶς χρόνος ἐν τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ γενομένου τὴν ἴσχὺν ἀποδίδωσιν. οὖν καὶ μᾶλλον θαυμάζεται τὰ Περικλέους ἔργα πρὸς πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενόμενα. κάλλει μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστον εὐθύς ἢν τότε ἄρχαίον, ἀκμῆ δὲ μέχρι νῦν πρόσφατον ἐστὶ καὶ νεουργόν: οὕτως ἐπανθεὶ καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν ὅψιν, ὡσπερ ἄειθαλῆς πνεῦμα καὶ ψυχῆν ἀγῆρω καταμεμιγμένην τῶν ἔργων ἑχόντων.

4 Πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἢν αὐτῷ Φειδίας, καίτοι μεγάλους ἀρχιτέκτονας ἑχόντων καὶ τεχνίτας τῶν ἔργων. τού μὲν γὰρ ἐκατόμπεδου Παρθενώνα Καλλικράτης εἰργάζετο καὶ Ἰκτίνος, τὸ δ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνη τελεστήριον ἥρξατο μὲν Κόροιβος οἰκοδομεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐδάφους κόσμας ἔθηκεν οὕτως καὶ τοῖς ἐπιστυλίους ἐπέξευξεν ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου Μεταγένης ὁ Εὐπέτειος τὸ διάξωμα καὶ τοὺς ἄνω κόσμας ἐπέστησε: τὸ δ' ὁπαίον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνακτόρου Ἐνοκλῆς ὁ Ἡχαργεὺς ἐκορύφωσε: τὸ δὲ μακρὸν καὶ ἐποίησε τὴν ὅψιν.
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 unfltering 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.
τείχος, περὶ οὗ Σωκράτης ἀκούσαί φησιν αὐτὸς εἰσηγομένου γνώμην Περικλέους, ἡργολάβησε Καλλικράτης. καὶ μαθωδεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔργον Κρατίνος ὡς βραδέως περαινόμενον.

Πάλαι γὰρ αὐτὸ, φησὶ, λόγοισι προάγει Περικλέης, ἔργοισι δ’ οὐδὲ κινεῖ.

Τὸ δ’ Ἡμείου, τῇ μὲν ἐντὸς διαθέσει πολύεδρον καὶ πολύστυλον, τῇ δ’ ἐρέφει περικλινὲς καὶ κάταντες ἐκ μιᾶς κορυφῆς πεποιημένου, εἰκόνα λέγονσι γενέσθαι καὶ μίμημα τῆς βασιλείας σκηνῆς, ἐπιστατούντος καὶ τουτῷ Περικλέους.

6 διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατίνος ἐν Θράκταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὁδὲ προσέρχεται 1 τῶδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου ἐχών, ἐπειδῆ τοῦστρακον παροίχεται.

φιλοτιμοῦμενος δ’ ὁ Περικλῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐψηφίσατο μουσικῆς ἀγώνα τοῖς Παναθηναίοις ἀγεσθαί, καὶ διέταξεν αὐτός ἀθλοθέτης αἱρεθεὶς καθότι χρῆ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους αὐλεῖν ἢ ἀδειν ἢ κιθαρίζειν. ἐθέωτον δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν Ὡμίδειω τοὺς μουσικοὺς ἀγώνας.

7 Τὰ δὲ Ἐπούλαια τῆς ἀκρόπολεως ἐξειργάσθη μὲν ἐν πενταετίᾳ Μυσικλέους ἀρχιτεκτονοῦντος· τύχῃ δὲ θαυμαστὴ συμβάσα περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ἐμήνυσε τὴν θείν οὐκ ἀποστατοῦσαν, ἀλλὰ

1 ὁδὲ | προσέρχεται Fuhr and Blass, after Cohet: προσέρχεται | Περικλέης.
For the long wall, concerning which Socrates says¹ 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, Mnæsicles being their architect. A wonderful thing happened in the course of their building, which indicated that the goddess was not holding herself aloof, but was a

¹ Plato, Gorgias, p.455 e.
² From a play of unknown name. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 100.
³ Kock, op. cit. i. p. 35.
συνεφαπτομένην τοῦ ἔργου καὶ συνεπιτελοῦσαν.

8 ὁ γὰρ ἐνεργότατος καὶ προθυμότατος τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἀποσφαλεὶς ἐξ ὕψους ἔπεσε καὶ διέκειτο μοχθηρῶς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀπεγνωσμένος. ἀθυμούντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὄναρ φανείσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν, ἥ χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥάδιως ἰάσατο τὸν ἀνθρωπόν. ἔπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἀγαλμα τῆς 'Τυγείας Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν.

9 ὁ δὲ Φείδιας εἰργάζετο μὲν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ χρυσοῦν ἔδος, καὶ τούτου δημουργός ἐν τῇ στήλῃ ἀναγέγραται,1 πάντα δὴ ἦν σχεδὸν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ πάσιν, ὡς εἰρήκαμεν, ἐπεστάτει τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φιλίαν Περικλέους. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ μὲν φθόνω, τῷ δὲ βλασφημίαν ἤνεγκεν, ὡς ἐλευθέρας τῷ Περικλεὶ γυναίκας εἰς τὰ ἔργα φοιτῶσας ὑπο-

10 δεχομένου τοῦ Φείδιον. δεξάμενοι δὲ τὸν λόγον οἱ κωμικοὶ πολληὶ ἀσέλγειαι αὐτοῦ κατεσκέδασαν, εἰς τὴν Μενίππου γυναίκα διαβάλλοντες, ἀνδρὸς φίλου καὶ υποστρατηγοῦντος, εἰς τὰς Πυριλάμπους ὀρνιθοτροφίας, ὃς ἐταῖρος ὁν Περικλέους αἰτιὰν εἰχε ταῦτα υφίεναι ταῖς γυναιξίν αἷς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπηλησίαζε.

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

1 ἀναγέγραται 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-culture 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
Θάσιος δεινὸν ἀσέβημα καὶ μυθώδες ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησεν εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ νιόυ κατὰ τοῦ
12 Περικλέους; οὕτως ἔοικε πάντη χαλεπῶν εἶναι καὶ
dυσθήρατον ἱστορία τάληθες, ὅταν οἱ μὲν ὦστερον
gεγονότες τὸν χρόνον ἔχωσιν ἐπιπροσθοῦντα τῇ
gνώσει τῶν πραγμάτων, ἢ δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ
tῶν βίων ἥλικιώτις ἱστορία τὰ μὲν φθόνοις καὶ
dυσμενείας, τὰ δὲ χαριζομένη καὶ κολακεύουσα
λυμαίνηται καὶ διαστρέφη τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

XIV. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ῥητόρων
καταβοῦντων τοῦ Περικλέους ὡς σπαθῶντος τὰ
χρήματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἀπολλύντος, ἡρω-
τησεν ἐν ἐκκλησία τοῦ δήμου εἰ πολλὰ δοκεῖ
dedapánvēsathai: φησάντων δὲ πάμπολλα: "Μὴ
τοῖνυν," εἰπεν, "ὕμιν, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δεδαπανήσθω,
καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἰδίαν ἐμαυτοῦ ποιῆσομαι
2 τὴν ἑπιγραφήν." εἰπόντος οὖν ταῦτα τοῦ Περι-
κλέους, 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 ἁγώνα περὶ τοῦ
ὀστράκου καταστᾶς καὶ διακυβεύσας ἐκεῖνον
μὲν ἐξέβαλε, κατέλυσε δὲ τὴν ἀντιτεταγμένην
ἐταιρείαν.

XV. Ἡς οὖν παντάπασι λυθείσης τῆς διαφο-
ρᾶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως οἷον ὄμαλῆς καὶ μᾶς γενο-
μένης κομίδῃ, περιμνηγκεν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰς Ἀθηναῖς
46
even Stesimbroitus 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, and the dissolution of the faction which had been arrayed against him.

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

1 442 B.C.
καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξηρτημένα πράγματα, φόρους καὶ στρατεύματα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ νῆσους καὶ θάλασσαν, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν δὲ Ἑλλήνων, πολλὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ βαρβάρων ἦκουσαν ἵσχύν, καὶ ἤγεμονίαν ὑπηκοοὺς ἔθνεσι καὶ φιλίαις βασιλέων

2 καὶ συμμαχίαις πεφραγμένην δυναστῶν, οὐκέθ᾽ ὁ αὐτὸς ἢν οὐδ’ ὀμοίως χειροθῆς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ράδιος ὑπείκειν καὶ συνενδίδοναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ὠσπερ πνοαῖς τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀνειμένης ἐκείνης καὶ ὑποθρυπτομένης ἐνα δημαγωγίας, ὠσπερ ἀνθρώπος καὶ μαλακῆς ἁρμονίας, ἀριστοκρατικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐντεινόμενος πολιτείαν, καὶ χρώμενος αὐτῆ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ὀρθῇ καὶ

3 ἀνεγκλῆτῳ, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ψυχλόμενον ἔγε πείθων καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δήμον, ἢν δ’ ὅτε καὶ μάλα δυσχεραῖνοντα κατατεινών καὶ προσβιβάζον ἐχειροῦτο τῷ συμφέροντι, μμούμενος άτεχνῶς ἀπόρων ποικίλῳ νοσήματι καὶ μακρῷ κατὰ καιρὸν μὲν ἱδονᾶς ἀβλαβείς, κατὰ καιρὸν δὲ δημούς καὶ

4 φάρμακα προσφέροντα σωτήρια. παντοδαπῶν γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, παθῶν ἐν ὀχλῷ τοσάυτην τὸ μέγεθος ἀρχῆν ἔχοντι φυσιμένων, μόνος ἐμμελῶς ἐκαστα διαχειρίσασθαι πεφυκὼς, μάλιστα δ’ ἐλπίσι καὶ φόβοις ὠσπερ οἰάξει προστελλῶν ὁ ἡράσυνομένοις αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ δύσθυμον ἀνείς καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ἐδειξε τὴν ῥητορικὴν κατὰ Πλάτωνα ψυχαγωγίαν οὕσαν καὶ μέγιστον ἔργουν

1 προστελλῶν Fuhr and Blass with S (προστελλῶν BCF*): προαναστελλών.
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 μάλ' ἐμμελοῦσ 5 ἄφης καὶ κρούσεως δεσμένους. αἰτία δ' οὐχ ἦ τοῦ λόγου ψειλῶς δύναμις, ἀλλ' ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ἥ περὶ τὸν βίον δόξα καὶ πίστις τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὑδωρωτάτου περιφανῶς γενομένου καὶ χρημάτων κρείττονος: ὅσ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ μεγάλης μεγίστην καὶ πλουσιωτάτην ποιήσας, καὶ γενόμενος δυνά- μεuit 1 πόλλων βασιλέων καὶ τυράννων ύπέρτερος, ὅπο ἔνιοι καὶ ἐπίτροπον τοὺς νιέσι διεθέντο ἐκείνου,2 μιᾷ δραχμῇ μείζωνα τὴν οὐσίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἢς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ κατέλιπε.

XVI. Καίτοι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς μὲν ὁ Θουκυδίδης διηγεῖται, κακοήθως δὲ παρεμφαίνου- σιν οἱ κωμικοί, Πεισιστράτιδας μὲν νέους τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐταίρους καλοῦντες, αὐτὸν δ' ἀπομόσαι μὴ τυραννήσειν κελεύοντες, ὡς ἀσυμμέτρου πρὸς δημοκρατίαν καὶ βαρυτέρας περὶ αὐτὸν οὕσης 2 ύπεροχῆς. ὁ δὲ Τηλεκλείδης παραδεδωκέναι φησίν 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, σπουδᾶς, δύναμιν, κράτος, εἰρήνην, πλοῦτον τ' εὐδαιμονίαν τε.

καὶ ταύτα καιρὸς οὖκ ἦν οὐδ' ἄκμη καὶ χάρις
1 δυνάμει also Fuhr and Blass with S; Bekker has καὶ δυνάμει.
2 ἐπίτροπον . . . ἐκείνου Madvig's restoration, adopted by Fuhr and Blass: ἐπὶ τοῖς νιέσι διεθέντο, ἐκείνος (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.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ἀνθοῦσις ἐφ' ὧρα πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ τεσσαράκοντα μὲν ἐτη πρωτεύων ἐν Ἐφιάλταις καὶ Δεωκράταις καὶ Μυρωνίδαις καὶ Κίμωσι καὶ Τολμίδαις καὶ

3 Θουκυδίδαις, μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θουκυδίδου κατάλυσιν καὶ τὸν ὁστρακισμὸν οὐκ ἔλαττω τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἑτῶν διηνεκῆ καὶ μίαν οὕσαν ἐν ταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις στρατηγίαις ἀρχὴν καὶ δυναστείαν κτησάμενος, ἐφύλαξεν ἐαυτὸν ἀνάλωτον ὑπὸ χρημάτων, καὶ

περ οὐ παντάπασιν ἄργως ἔχων πρὸς χρηματισμὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸν πατρὸν καὶ δίκαιον πλούτον, ὥς μῆτ' ἀμελούμενος ἐκφύγοι μὴτ' πολλὰ πράγματα καὶ διατριβὰς ἀσχολουμένῳ παρέχοι, συνέταξεν εἰς οἰκονομίαν ἣν φέτοι ράστην καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην

4 εἶναι. τοὺς γὰρ ἐπετέιοὺς καρποὺς ἀπανταὶ ἀθρόους ἐπίπρασκεν, εἰτὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐκαστοῦ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ὄνομασιν διόκει τὸν βίον καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ὁθεν οὐχ ἦδοι ἦν ἐνηλίκοις παισίν οὐδὲ γνωαἰξι δαψιλῆς χορηγῶς, ἀλλ' ἐμέμφυτο τὴν ἐφήμερον ταύτην καὶ συνηγμένης εἰς τὸ ἀκριβεστάτον δαπάνην, οὐδενός, οἷον ἐν οἰκίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ πράγμασιν ἄφθωνοις, περιρρέουτος, ἀλλὰ παντὸς μὲν ἀναλώματος, παντὸς δὲ λήμ-5 ματος δι' ἄρισθοῦ καὶ μέτρου βαδίζοντος. ὁ δὲ πάσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοιαύτην συνέχων ἀκριβείαν εἰς ἢν οἰκέτης, Εὐάγγελος, ὡς ἐτέρος οὐδεὶς εἰς πεφυκὼς ἢ κατεσκευασμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους πρὸς οἰκονομίαν.

'Απάδοντα μὲν οὖν ταύτα τῆς Ἀναξαγόρου σοφίας, εἰγε καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνοις ἐξελίττε καὶ

1 'Απάδοντα Valckenaeer's restoration of the MS. ἀπάντα; Bekker changes to ἀπάδει.
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 ἀφῆκεν ἀργὴν καὶ μηλόβωτον ὅπειρος ὡς ἐνθουσιασμὸν καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, οὐ ταύταν δὲ ἐστίν, οἶμαι, θεωρητικοῦ φιλοσόφου καὶ πολιτικοῦ βίος, ἀλλὰ ὁ μὲν ἀνόργανον καὶ ἀπροσδεή 
ἡς έκτὸς ὅλης ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κινεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν, 
τῷ δὲ εἰς ἀνθρωπείας χρείας ἀναμιγνύντι τὴν 
ἀρετὴν ἐστὶν οὐ γένοιτ' ἂν οὐ τῶν ἀναγκαίων 
μόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καλῶν ὁ πλοῦτος, ὥσπερ 
ἡν καὶ Περικλεῖ βοηθοῦντι πολλοῖς τῶν πενήτων. 
καὶ μέντοι γε τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν 
ἀσχολουμένου Περικλέους ἀμελούμενον κείσθαι 
συγκεκαλυμμένον ἠδὴ γηραιῶν ἀποκαρτεροῦντα: 
προσπεσόντος δὲ τῷ Περικλεὶ τοῦ πράγματος 
ἐκπλαγέντα θεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δεἶσθαι 
πᾶσαν δέσμιαν, ὀλοφυρόμενον οὐκ ἐκεῖνον, ἀλλ'A 
ἐαυτὸν, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἀπολείπῃ τῆς πολιτείας σώμα 
βουλουν. ἐκκαλυψάμενον οὖν τὸν Ἀναξαγόραν 
ἐπεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν. "Ο Περικλεῖς, καὶ οἱ τοῦ 
λύχνου χρείαν ἔχοντες ἔλαιον ἐπιχέουσιν." 
XVII. Ἀρχομένων δὲ Δακεδαιμονίων ἀχθεσθαι 
τῇ αὐξησεὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐπαίρων ο Περικλῆς 
tὸν δήμου ἐτί μᾶλλον μέγα φρονεῖν καὶ μεγάλων 
αὐτῶν ἄξιοι πραγμάτων, γράφει ψήφισμα, πάν 
tας Ἐλληνας τοὺς ὑπήρτων κατοικοῦντας Ἐυρώ 
πῆς ἡ τῆς Ἀσίας παρακαλεῖν, καὶ μικρὰν πόλιν 
καὶ μεγάλην, εἰς σύλλογον πέμπειν Ἀθηναίω 
tοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν ἱερῶν,
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actually abandoned his house and left his land to lie fallow for sheep-grazing, owing to the lofty thoughts with which he was inspired. But the life of a speculative philosopher is not the same thing, I think, as that of a statesman. The one exercises his intellect without the aid of instruments and independent of external matters for noble ends; whereas the other, inasmuch as he brings his superior excellence into close contact with the common needs of mankind, must sometimes find wealth not merely one of the necessities of life, but also one of its noble things, as was actually the case with Pericles, who gave aid to many poor men. And, besides, they say that Anaxagoras himself, at a time when Pericles was absorbed in business, lay on his couch all neglected, in his old age, starving himself to death, his head already muffled for departure, and that when the matter came to the ears of Pericles, he was struck with dismay, and ran at once to the poor man, and besought him most fervently to live, bewailing not so much that great teacher’s lot as his own, were he now to be bereft of such a counsellor in the conduct of the state. Then Anaxagoras—so the story goes—unmuffled his head and said to him, “Pericles, even those who need a lamp pour oil therein.”

XVII. When the Lacedaemonians began to be annoyed by the increasing power of the Athenians, Pericles, by way of inciting the people to cherish yet loftier thoughts and to deem itself worthy of great achievements, introduced a bill to the effect that all Hellenes wheresoever resident in Europe or in Asia, small and large cities alike, should be invited to send deputies to a council at Athens. This was to deliberate concerning the Hellenic sanctuaries which
α κατέπρησαν οι βάρβαροι, καὶ τῶν θυσίων ὡς ὀφείλουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπως πλέωσι πάντες ἀδεῶς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀγωσίν. ἔπι ταῦτα δὲ ἀνδρεὶς εἰκοσὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων ἐπέμφθησαν, ὅπερ πέντε μὲν Ἰωναὶ καὶ Δωριές τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ νησιώτας ἄχρι Λέσβον καὶ Ῥόδου παρεκάλοντες, πέντε δὲ τοὺς ἐν Ἑλλησσόντω καὶ Ὁράκη μέχρι Βυζαντίου τόπους ἐπήσαν, καὶ πέντε ἔπι τούτοις εἰς Βοιωτίαν καὶ Φωκίδα καὶ Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης διὰ λοκρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσοικον ἥπειρον ἑως Ἀκαρνανίας καὶ Ἀμβρακίας ἀπεστάλησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δὲ Ἐὔβοιας ἐπὶ Οἰταίους καὶ τὸν Μαλιέα κόλπον καὶ Φθιώτας Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Θεσσαλοὺς ἐπορεύοντο, συμπείθοντες οἷαν καὶ μετέχειν τῶν βουλευμάτων ἐπὶ εἰρήνη καὶ κοινοπραγία τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἐπράξθη δὲ οὐδέν, οὐδὲ συνήλθον αἱ πόλεις, Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπεναντιωθέντων, ὡς λέγεται, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Πελοπόννησῳ τῆς πείρας ἔλεγχθησαν. τεῦτο μὲν οὖν παρεθέμην ἐνδεικνύμενος αὐτοῦ τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην.

XVIII. Ἔν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγικαῖς εὐδοκίμει 163 μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, οὖτε μάχης ἐχούσης πολλῆν ἀδηλότητα καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκουσίως ἀπτόμενος, οὔτε τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραβάλλεσθαι χρησαμένους τύχη λαμπρᾶ καὶ θαυμασθέντας ὡς μεγάλους ξηλῶν καὶ μιμούμενος στρατηγοῦς, ἀεὶ τε λέγων πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ὡς ὅσον ἐπὶ αὐτῶ μενοῦσιν ἀθάνατοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον.
PERICLES

the Barbarians had burned down, concerning the sacrifices which were due to the gods in the name of Hellas in fulfilment of vows made when they were fighting with the Barbarians, and concerning the sea, that all might sail it fearlessly and keep the peace. To extend this invitation, twenty men, of such as were above fifty years of age, were sent out, five of whom invited the Ionians and Doriann 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 καρπῷ παρασκευαζόμενον εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐμβάλειν, καὶ πεπεικότα τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτους ἐθελοντὶ στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίων γενομένους ἀνευ τῆς ἄλλης δυνάμεως, κατέχειν ἐπειράτο καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ, τὸ μνημονεύμενον εἰπὼν, ὡς εἰ μὴ πείθοιτο Περικλεῖ, τὸν γε σοφώτατον οὐχ ἀμαρτήσεται σύμβουλον ἀναμείνας χρόνον. τὸτε μὲν οὖν μετρίως εὐδοκίμησε τοὺτ’ εἰπὼν ὀλίγαις δ’ ὑστερον ἡμέραις, ὡς ἀνηγγέλθη τεθνεώς μὲν αὐτὸς Τολμίδης περὶ Κορώνειαν ἡττηθείς máχη, τεθνεώτες δὲ πολλοὶ κάγαθοι τῶν πολιτῶν, μεγάλην τούτο τῷ Περικλεὶ μετ’ εὐνοίας δόξαν ἠνεγκεν, ὡς ἀνδρὶ φρονίμῳ καὶ φιλοπολίτῃ.

XIX. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν ἡγαπήθη μὲν ἡ περὶ Χερρόνησον αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, σωτήριος γενομένη τοῖς αὐτόθι κατοικοῦσι τῶν Ἐλλήνων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐποίκους Ἀθηναίων χιλίους κομίσας ἔρρωσεν εὐανδρίᾳ τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐχένα διαξώσας ἐρύμασι καὶ προβλήμασιν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν ἀπετείχισε τὰς καταδρομὰς τῶν Θρακῶν περικεχυμένων τῇ Χερρόνησῳ, καὶ πόλεμον ἐνδελεχῇ καὶ βαρῶν ἐξέκλεισεν, ὡς συνεῖχετο πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡ χώρα βαρβαρικᾶς ἀναμεμμένη γειτνιάσεσι καὶ γέμουσα ἀρσενικῶν.
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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.
όμόρων καὶ συνοίκων· ἐθαυμάσθη δὲ καὶ διε-βοήθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀνθρώπους περιπλεύσας Πελοπόννησον, ἐκ Πηγῶν τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀνα-3 χθείς ἐκατόν τριήρεσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐπόρθησε
tῆς παραλίας πολλήν, ὡς Τολμίδης πρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόρρω 
θαλάττης προελθὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ὀπλίταις τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰ τείχη
συνέστειλε δείσαντας αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον, ἐν δὲ
Νεμέα Σικυωνίους ὑποστάντας καὶ συνάψαντας
μάχην κατὰ κράτος τρεψάμενος ἐστησε τρόπαιον.
4. ἐκ δ’ Ἀχαιῶν φίλης οὐσίας στρατιώτας ἀναλαβὼν
εἰς τὰς τριήρεις ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον
ἐκομίσθη τῷ στόλῳ, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸν Ἀχα-
λῶν Ἀκαρνανίαν κατέδραμε, καὶ κατέκλεισεν
Οἰνιάδας εἰς τὸ τείχος, καὶ τεμὼν τὴν γῆν καὶ
κακώσας ἀπῆρεν ἐπ’ οἶκου, φοβηρὸς μὲν φανεῖς
τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀσφαλὴς δὲ καὶ δραστήριος τοῖς
πολίταις. οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδ’ ἀπὸ τὰς τετῆς προσκρο-
σμα συνέβη περὶ τοὺς στρατευόμενους.

XX. Εἰς δὲ τὸν Πόντον εἰσπλεύσας στόλῳ
μεγάλῳ καὶ κεκοσμημένῳ λαμπρῷς ταῖς μὲν
Ἐλληνίσι πόλεσιν δὲν ἐδέοντο διεπράξατο καὶ
προσηνέχθη φιλανθρώπως, τοὺς δὲ περιοικοῦσι
βαρβάρους ἐθυσει καὶ βασιλεύσων αὐτῶν καὶ
dυνάσταις ἐπεδείξατο μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως τὸ μέ-
γεθος καὶ τὴν ἅδειαν καὶ τὸ θάρσος ἦ βούλοιτο
πλεύσων καὶ πᾶσαν ύφ’ αὐτοῖς πεποιημένων τὴν
θάλασσαν, Σιμωπεύσι δὲ τρισκαίδεκα ναῦς ἀπέ-
λυπε μετὰ Δαμάχου καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ Τιμησί-
within its borders. But he was admired and celebrated even amongst foreigners for his circumnavigation of the Peloponnesus,\(^1\) when he put to sea from Pegae in the Megarid with a hundred triremes. He not only ravaged a great strip of seashore, as Tolmides had done before him, but also advanced far into the interior with the hoplites from his ships, and drove all his enemies inside their walls in terror at his approach, excepting only the Sicyonians, who made a stand against him in Nemea, and joined battle with him; these he routed by main force and set up a trophy for his victory. Then from Achaia, which was friendly to him, he took soldiers on board his triremes, and proceeded with his armament to the opposite mainland, where he sailed up the Acheloüs, overran Acarnania, shut up the people of 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\(^2\) with a large and splendidly equipped armament. There he effected what the Greek cities desired, and dealt with them humanely, while to the neighbouring nations of Barbarians with their kings and dynasts he displayed the magnitude of his forces and the fearless courage with which they sailed whithersoever they pleased and brought the whole sea under their own control. He also left with the banished Sinopians thirteen ships of war and soldiers under command of Lamachus to aid them against Timesi—

\(^1\) 453 B.C.  \(^2\) Probably about 436 B.C.
Τάλλα δ' ου συνεχώρει τας ὅρμαις τῶν πολύτων, οὔτε συνεξέπτυτεν ὑπὸ ῥώμης καὶ τύχης τοσαύτης ἐπαιρομένων Αἰγύπτου τε πάλιν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κινεῖν τῆς βασιλείας ἀρχῆς τὰ πρὸς θαλάσση. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Σικελίας ὁ δύσερος ἐκεῖνος ἦδη καὶ δύσποτοις ἔρως εἶχεν, ὅπερ ὑστερον ἐξέκασσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκηβιάδην ῥήτορες. ἦν δὲ καὶ Τυρρηνία καὶ Καρχηδών ἐνίοις ὄνειροι ὅπερ ἀπ' ἑλπίδος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἡγεμονίας καὶ τὴν εὐροϊναν τῶν πραγμάτων.

XXI. ἌΛΛΣ' ὁ Περικλῆς κατείχε τὴν ἐκδρομὴν ταύτην καὶ περιέκοπτε τὴν πολυπραγμοσύνην, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμεως ἔτρεπεν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ βεβαιότητα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, μέγα ἔργον ἤγοιμενες ἀνείργειεν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ὅλως ὑπεναντιούμενοι ἐκεῖνοι, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἐδειξε καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἱερὸν πραχθείσι 2 πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατεύσαντες εἰς Δελφοὺς Φωκέων ἔχοντων τὸ ἱερὸν Δελφοῖς ἀπεδωκαν, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνων ἀπαλλαγέντων
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.
XXII. "Οτι δ' ορθῶς εν τῇ Ἑλλάδι τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων συνεῖχεν, ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτῷ τὰ γενόμενα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Εὐβοεῖς ἀπέστησαν, ἐφ' οὕς διέβη μετὰ δυνάμεως. εἰτ' εὐθὺς ἀπηγ-γέλλοντο Μεγαρεῖς ἐκπεπολεμομένοι καὶ στρατιᾶ πολεμῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις τῆς Ἀττικῆς οὐσα, Πλειστώνακτος ἤγουμένου, βασιλέως Λακεδαι-μοίων. πάλιν οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς κατὰ τάχος ἐκ τῆς Ἕλληνας ἀνεκομίζετο πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Αἰτικῇ πόλεμῳ καὶ συνάψας μὲν εἰς χείρας οὐκ ἐθάρ-σησε πολλοίς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς ὀπλίταις προκαλο-μένοις, ὅρων δὲ τὸν Πλειστώνακτα νέου ὄντα κομιδῇ, χρώμενον δὲ μάλιστα Κλεανδρίδη τῶν συμβούλων, ὥστε ἐφοροὶ φύλακα καὶ πάρεδρον αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἥλικιν συνέπεμψαν, ἐπειρᾶτο τούτου κρύφα καὶ ταχὺ διαφθείρας χρήμασιν αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους.

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

XXII. That he was right in seeking to confine the power of the Athenians within lesser Greece, was amply proved by what came to pass. To begin with, the Euboeans revolted, 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.
XXIII. Τού δὲ Περικλέους ἐν τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀπολογισμῷ δέκα ταλάντων ἀνάλωμα γράψαντος ἀνηλωμένων εἰς τὸ δέον, ὁ δῆμος ἀπεδέξατο μὴ πολυπραγμονήσας μηδε ἐλέγξας τὸ ἀπόρρητον. ἦνοι δ' ἰστορίκαις, ὥν ἐστὶ καὶ Θεόφραστος δ' ἑιλόσοφος, ὡς καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐφοίτα δέκα ταλάντα παρὰ τοῦ Περικλέους, οἷς τοὺς ἑν τέλει πάντας θεραπεύων παρηγεῖτο τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ τὴν εἰρήνην ὕπνούμενος, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν δ' παρασκευασάμενος καθ' ἱσυχίαν ἐμελλε πολεμῆσειν βέλτιον.

1 αὐθίς, οὖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστῶτας τραπόμενος καὶ διαβὰς εἰς Εὐβοιαν πεντήκοντα ναυὶ καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις ὀπλίταις κατεστρέφατο τὰς πόλεις, καὶ Χαλκιδέων μὲν τοὺς ἱπποβότας λεγομένους πλοῦτῳ καὶ δόξῃ διαφέρουτας ἐξέβαλεν, Ἑστίεις δὲ πάντας ἀναστήσας ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἀθηναίους κατώκισε, μόνοις τούτοις ἀπαραίτητος χρησάμενος ὡς ναῦν Ἀττικὴν αἰχμάλωτον λαβόντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἀνδρας. 2

1 addis Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: εὐθὺς (at once).
the full amount of which he was unable to pay, and so betook himself out of Lacedaemon, while Cleandridas, who had gone into voluntary exile, was condemned to death. He was the father of that Gylippus who overcame the Athenians in Sicily. And nature seems to have imparted covetousness to the son, as it were a congenital disease, owing to which he too, after noble achievements, was caught in base practices and banished from Sparta in disgrace. This story, however, I have told at length in my life of Lysander.\footnote{Chapters xvi. i.}

XXIII. When Pericles, in rendering his accounts for this campaign, recorded an expenditure of ten talents as "for sundry needs," the people approved it without officious meddling and without even investigating the mystery. But some writers, among whom is Theophrastus the philosopher, have stated that every year ten talents found their way to Sparta from Pericles, and that with these he conciliated all the officials there, and so staved off the war, not purchasing peace, but time, in which he could make preparations at his leisure and then carry on war all the better. However that may be, he again turned his attention to the rebels, and after crossing to Euboea with fifty ships of war and five thousand hoplites, he subdued the cities there. Those of the Chalcidians who were styled Hippobotae, or \textit{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.
XXIV. Ἐκ τούτου γενομένων σπουδῶν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς ἔτη τριάκοντα ψηφίζεται τὸν εἰς Σάμου πλοῦν, αὔτίαν ποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους κελεύομενοι διαλύσασθαί πόλεμον οὐξ ὑπῆκονον.

Ἑπέν ὃ ὁ Ασπασία χαριζόμενος δοκεί πρᾶξαι τὰ πρὸς Σαμίους, ἐνταῦθα ἄν εἰδὴ καίρὸς διαπορίσας μάλιστα περὶ τῆς ἀνδρώπου, τίνα τέχνην ἡ δύναμιν τοσαυτὴν ἔχουσα τῶν τε πολιτικῶν τοὺς πρωτεύοντας ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις οὐ φαίλον οὐδ' ὅλγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρέσχε λόγον.

2 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἢν Μιλησία γένος, Ἀξιόχου θυγάτηρ, ὁμολογεῖται· φασὶ δ' αὐτὴν Θαργηλίαν τινὰ τῶν παλαιῶν Ἱάδων ξηλώσασαν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις ἀνδράσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Θαργηλία τὸ τ' εἴδος εὐπρεπῆς γενομένη καὶ χάριν ἔχουσα μετὰ δεινότητος πλείστοις μὲν Ἑλλήνων συνήκησαν ἀνδράσι, πάντας δὲ προσεποίησε βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλησιάσαντας αὐτῇ, καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι μηδίσμοι δι' ἐκεῖνων υπέστειρεν ἀρχὰς δυνατωτάτων ὄντων καὶ μεγίστων. τῆν δ' ὁ Ασπασίαν οἱ μὲν ὡς σοφῆν τινα καὶ πολιτικὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Περικλέους σπουδασθήναι λέγουσι· καὶ γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔστιν ὅτε μετὰ τῶν γνωρίμων ἐφοίτα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκροασμένας οἱ συνήθεις ἦγον ὡς ἡ αὐτήν, καὶ περὶ οὐ κοσμίου προεστῶσαν ἐργασίας οὐδὲ σεμνῆς, ἄλλα παιδίσκας ἑταίρούσας τρέφουσαν.

1 ῶς 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 Αἰσχύνης δὲ φησὶ καὶ Δυσικλέα τὸν προβατοκάτικον ἔξε ἀγεννοῦς καὶ ταπείνου τὴν φύσιν Ἀθηναίων γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἀσπασία συνόντα μετὰ τὴν Περικλέους τελευτήν. ἐν δὲ τῷ Μενεζέω τῷ Πλάτωνος, εἰ καὶ μετὰ παιδίας τὰ πρῶτα γέγραται, τοσοῦτον γ' ἰστορίας ἔνεστιν, ὅτι δόξαν εἰχε τὸ γύναιον ἐπὶ ῥητορικὴ πολλοῖς
5 Ἀθηναίων ὁμιλεῖν. φαίνεται μέντοι μᾶλλον ἔρωτική τις ἡ τοῦ Περικλέους ἀγάπησις γενομένη πρὸς Ἀσπασίαν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ γυνὴ προσήκουσα μὲν κατὰ γένος, συνφιλικηκυία δ' Ἰππονίκῳ πρότερον, εἷς οὖν Καλλίαν ἔτεκε τὸν πλούσιον ἔτεκε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Περικλεὶ Ἐλιβιττόνοι καὶ Πάραλον, εἰτα τῆς συμβιώσεως οὐκ οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἄρεστῆς, ἐκείνη μὲν ἐτέρῳ βουλομένην συνεξεδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν Ἀσπασίαν λαβὼν ἐστερεῖ 6 διαφερόντως, καὶ γὰρ ἔξιον, ὃς φασί, καὶ εἰσών ἀν' ἀγορᾶς ἡσπάζετο καθ' ἡμέραν αὐτὴν μετὰ τοῦ καταφιλεῖν.

Τὸν δὲ ταῖς κωμικῶς Ὄμφαλη τε νέα καὶ Δηνάντρια καὶ πάλιν "Ἡρα προσαγορεῦεται. Κρατίνος δ' ἀντικρυς παλλακὴν αὐτὴν εἰρηκεν ἐν τούτοις:

"Ἡραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγοῦσῃ παλλακὴν κυνόπιδα.

δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν νόθον ἐκ ταύτης τεκνώσαι, περὶ οὖ πεποίηκεν Εὔπολις ἐν Δήμοις αὐτὸν μὲν οὕτως ἔρωτώντα:

"Ο νόθος δὲ μοι ἔδωμ "

τὸν δὲ Μυρωνίδην ἀποκρινόμενον·

Καὶ πάλαι γ' ἄν ἦν ἄνηρ.

εἰ μὴ τὸ τῆς πόρινης ὑπωρρώδει 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 flatly called her a prostitute in these lines:

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

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

"And my bastard, doth he live?"

to which Myronides replies:

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

¹ In his "Cheirons" (see chapter iii. 3).
² Kock, op. cit. i. p. 282.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

7 Οὕτω δὲ τὴν 'Ασπασίαν ὀνομαστὴν καὶ κλεινὴν γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ὡς τε καὶ Κύρον τὸν πολεμισαντα βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας τὴν ἀγαπωμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάλιστα τῶν παλ- λακίδων 'Ασπασίαν ὀνομάσαι, καλουμένην Μιλτῶ πρότερον. ήν δὲ Φωκαίς τὸ γένος, Ἐρμοτίμου θυγάτηρ· ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ Κύρου πεσόντος ἀπα- χθείσα πρὸς βασιλέα πλείστων ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐπελθόντα τῇ μνήμῃ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἀπώσα- σθαι καὶ παρελθεῖν ἵσως ἀπάνθρωπον ἦν.

XXV. Τὸν δὲ πρὸς Σαμίους πόλεμον αἰτιῶνται μάλιστα τὸν Περικλέα ψηφίσασθαι διὰ Μιλησίους 'Ασπασίας δεσθείσης. αἰ γὰρ πόλεις ἐπολέμουν τὸν περὶ Πριήνης πόλεμον, καὶ κρατοῦντες οἱ Σάμιοι, παύσασθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων κελεύοντων καὶ δίκας λαβεῖν καὶ δοῦναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. πλεύσας οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν μὲν οὖν ὀλγαρχίαν ἐν Σάμῳ κατέλυσεν, τῶν δὲ πρῶτων λαβὼν ὀμήρους πεντήκοντα καὶ 2 παίδας ἱσοῦς εἰς Λήμνου ἀπέστειλε. καίτοι φασίν ἐκαστὸν μὲν αὐτῷ τῶν ὀμήρων διδόναι τάλαντον ὑπὲρ ἐαυτοῦ, πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα τοὺς μὴ θέλοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι δημοκρατίαν. ἔτι δὲ Πισσοῦθης ὁ Πέρσης ἔχων τινὰ πρὸς Σαμίους εὐνοιαν ἀπέστειλεν αὐτῷ μυρίους χρυ- σοὺς, παρατούμενος τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν ἐλαβεί τούτων οὐδὲν ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ χρησάμενος ὀσπηρ ἐγνώκει τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ καταστήσας 3 δημοκρατίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. οἱ δ'
PERICLES

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

XXV. But to return to the war against the Samians, they accuse Pericles of getting the decree for this passed at the request of Aspasia and in the special behalf of the Milesians. For the two cities were waging their war for the possession of Priene, and the Samians were getting the better of it, and when the Athenians ordered them to stop the contest and submit the case to arbitration at Athens, they would not obey. So Pericles set sail and broke up the oligarchical government which Samos had, and then took fifty of the foremost men of the state, with as many of their children, as hostages, and sent them off to Lemnos. And yet they say that every one of these hostages offered him a talent on his own account, and that the opponents of democracy in the city offered him many talents besides. And still further, Pissouthnes, the Persian satrap, who had much goodwill 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 ἀπέστησαν, ἐκκλέψαντος αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὀμή-ρους Πισσούθνου καὶ τάλλα παρασκευάσαντος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. αὐθις οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐξέπλευσεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐχ ἤσυχαζοντας οὐδὲ κατεπτηχότας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. γενομένης δὲ καρτερᾶς ναυμαχίας περὶ νῆσον ἦν Τραγίας καλούσι, λαμπρῶς ὁ Περικλῆς ἐνίκα, τέσσαροι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶν ἐβδομήκοντα καταναμαχῆσας, ὥν εἰκοσι στρατιώτιδες ἦσαν.

XXVI. "Ἀμα δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ τῇ διώξει τοῦ λιμένος κρατῆσας ἐπολιόρκει τοὺς Σαμίους, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἔτι τολμῶντας ἐπεξέναι καὶ διαμάχεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ τείχους. ἐπεὶ δὲ μείζων ἔτερος στόλος ἦλθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ παντελῶς κατεκλείσθησαν οἱ Σάμιοι, λαβὼν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐξήκοντα τριήρεις ἐπελεύσεν εἰς τὸν ἕξω πόλιν, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, Φοινισσῶν νεῶν ἐπικούρων τοῖς Σαμίοις προσφερομένων ἀπαντήσαι καὶ διαγωνίσασθαι πορρωτάτω βουλόμενος, ὡς δὲ Στη-σίμβροτος, ἐπὶ Κύπρον στελλόμενος· ὅπερ οὐ 2 δοκεῖ πιθανὸν εἶναι. ὁποτέρω δ' οὖν ἔχρήσατο τῶν λογισμῶν, ἀμαρτεῖν ἐδοξεῖ. πλεύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ Μέλισσος ὁ Ἰθαγένους, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος στρατηγῶν τότε τῆς Σάμου, καταφρονήσας τῆς ὀλυγότητος τῶν νεῶν ἤ τῆς ἀπειρίας τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐπεισε τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ γενομένης μάχης νικήσαντες οἱ Σάμιοι, καὶ πόλλας μὲν αὐτῶν ἄνδρας ἔλοντες,
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
πολλὰς δὲ ναῦς διαφθείραντες, ἐχρώντο τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ παρετίθεντο τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὅσα μὴ πρότερον εἰχον. ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Μελίσσου καὶ Περικλέα φησίν αὐτὸν Ἀριστοτέλης ἤττηθήναι ναυμαχοῦντα πρότερον.

Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνθυβρίζοντες ἐστίζον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον γαλάκτις καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους οἱ Ἀθηναίοι σάμαιναι. ἦ δὲ σάμαινα ναῦς ἐστὶν ὑστρωμὸς μὲν τὸ σίμωμα, κοιλοτέρα δὲ καὶ γαστροεἰδής, ὅστε καὶ ποντοπο-ρεῖν ¹ καὶ ταχυναυτεῖν. οὗτω δ’ ὄνομάσθη διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν Σάμῳ φανῆναι, Πολυκράτους τυράννου κατασκευάσαντος. πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ στίγματα λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Ἀριστοφάνειον ἢνίχθαι.

Σαμίων ὁ δὴμός ἐστὶν ὡς πολυγ. ἀμματος.

XXVII. Πυθόμενος δ’ οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς τὴν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου συμφορὰν ἐβοήθει κατὰ τάχος καὶ τοῦ Μελίσσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιταξαμένου κρατῆσας καὶ τρεφόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους εὐθὺς περιτείχισε, δαπάνη καὶ χρόνως μᾶλλον ἢ τραύμασι καὶ κινδύνοις τῶν πολιτῶν περιγενέσθαι καὶ συνελείν τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενος. ἐπεί δὲ δυσχεραίνοντας τῇ τριβῇ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ μάχεσθαι προθυμομένους ἔργον ἡν κατασχείν, ὅκτω μέρη διελῶν τὸ πάν πλῆθος ἀπεκλήρου, καὶ τῷ λαβόντι τὸν λευκὸν κύαμον εὐωχεῖσθαι καὶ

¹ ποντοπορεῖν MSS. and Blass: φορτοφορεῖν (a conjecture of Coraïs, to carry freight).
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captive, and destroying many of their ships, so that they commanded the sea and laid in large store of such necessaries for the war as they did not have before. And Aristotle says that Pericles was himself also defeated by Melissus in the sea-fight which 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 sailer too. It got this name because it made its first appearance in Samos, where Polycrates the tyrant had some built. To these brand-marks, they say, the verse of 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. διὸ καὶ φασὶ τοὺς ἐν εὐπαθείαις τισὶ γενομένους λευκὴν ἕμέραν ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ κυνόμου προσαγορεῦειν.

3 Ἐφορος δὲ καὶ μηχαναὶς χρήσασθαι τὸν Περικλέα, τὴν καινότητα θαυμάσαντα, Ἀρτέμιων τοῦ μηχανικοῦ παρόντος, ὅν χωλὸν ὄντα καὶ φορεῖν πρὸς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν ἔργων προσκομιζόμενου ὄνομασθῆναι περιφόρητον. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐλέγχει τοὺς Ἀνακρέοντος ποιήμασιν, ἐν ὧν ὁ περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμιων ὄνομάζεται πολλαῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἡλικίαις τοῦ περὶ Σάμου πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐκείνων. τοῦ δὲ Ἀρτέμιων ῥηθεὶ τρυφερόν τινα τῷ βίῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους μαλακόν ὄντα καὶ καταπλήγα τὰ πολλὰ μὲν οἷκοι καθέξεσθαι, χαλκῆν ἀστίδα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ δεινὸν οἰκετῶν ὑπερεχόντων, ὡστε μὴδὲν ἔμπεσέι τῶν ἀνωθεν, εἰ δὲ βιασθεὶς προελθεῖν, ἐν κλινιδίῳ κρεμαστῷ παρὰ τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν περιφερόμενον κομίζεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κληθῆναι περιφόρητον.

XXVIII. Ἐνάτῳ δὲ μὴν τῶν Σαμίων παραστάτων ὁ Περικλῆς τὰ τείχη καθεῖλε καὶ τὰς ναῦς παρέλαβε καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐξημίωσεν, ὡς τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰσήγεγκαν οἱ Σάμιοι, τὰ δὲ ἐν χρόνῳ ῥητῷ ταξάμενοι κατοίκεσιν ὀμίρους ἐδωκαν. Δούρις δὲ ὁ Σάμιος τούτως ἐπιτραγῳδεῖ πολλὴν ὀμότητα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους κατηγορῶν, ἢν οὔτε Θουκυδίδης ἱστορήκειν οὔτε Ἐφορος οὐτ' Ἀριστοτέλης ἀλλ' οὔδ' ἀληθεύειν ἐσικεῖν, ὡς ἀρα τοὺς τριηράρχους καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ-

1 εἰσήγεγκαν Fuhr and Blass, with F&S: ἤσεγκαν.
PERICLES did the fighting. And this is the reason, as they say, why those who have had a gay and festive time call it a "white day,"—from the white bean.

Ephorus says that Pericles actually employed siege-engines, in his admiration of their novelty, and that Artemon the engineer was with him there, who, since he was lame, and so had to be brought on a stretcher to the works which demanded his instant attention, was dubbed Periphoretus. Heracleides Ponticus, however, refutes this story out of the poems of Anacreon, in which Artemon Periphoretus is mentioned many generations before the Samian War and its events. And he says that Artemon was very luxurious in his life, as well as weak and panic-stricken in the presence of his fears, and therefore for the most part sat still at home, while two servants held a bronze shield over his head to keep anything from falling down upon it. Whenever he was forced to go abroad, he had himself carried in a little hammock which was borne along just above the surface of the ground. On this account he was called 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 σανίσι προσδήσας ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα κακῶς ἥδη διακειμένους προσέταξεν ἄνελειν, εὐλογὶς τὰς κεφάλας συγκόψαντας, εἰτὰ προβαλέιν ἀκήδευτα τὰ σώματα. Δούρις μὲν οὖν οὐδ' ὅπου μηδὲν αὐτῷ πρόσεστιν ἵδιον πάθος εἰσώθως κρατεῖν τὴν διήγησιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, μᾶλλον ἔοικεν ἐνταῦθα δειώσαι τὰς τῆς πατρίδος συμφορὰς ἐπὶ διαβολή τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

Ὁ δὲ Περικλῆς καταστρεφόμενος τὴν Σάμου ὡς ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθῆνας, ταφὰς τε τῶν ἀποθανόντων κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐνδόξους ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν λόγον εἰπὼν, ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐστίν, ἐπὶ τῶν σημάτων ἑθαναμαστώθη. καταβαίνοντα δ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος αἳ μὲν ἀλλαὶ γυναῖκες ἐδεξιοῦντο καὶ στεφάνως ἀνέδουν καὶ τανίας ὡσπερ ἄθλητὴν νικηφόρον, ἢ δ' Ἐλπινική προσελθοῦσα πλησίον: "Ταῦτ'," ἐφη, "θαυμαστά, Περίκλεις, καὶ ἄξια στεφάνων, ὃς ἦμιν πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀπόλεσας πολίτας οὐ Φοινίξι πολεμῶν οὔδὲ Μήδοις, ὡσπερ οὕμοι ἄδελφος Κίμων, ἀλλὰ σύμμαχον καὶ συγγενῆ πόλιν καταστρεφόμενος."

5 ταύτα τῆς Ἐλπινικῆς λεγούσης ὁ Περικλῆς μειδίασας ἄτρεμα λέγεται τὸ τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου πρὸς αὖτὴν εἰπεῖν:

Ὅκ κἂν μῦροισι γραῦς ἔους ἠλέιφε. θαυμαστῶν δὲ τι καὶ μέγα φρονῆσαι καταπολεμήσαντα τοὺς Σαμίους φησίν αὐτῶν ὁ Ἰων, ὡς 1 καταγαγὼν Fuhr and Blass, with Fas: ἄγαγὼν.

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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 βύρβαρον πόλιν, αὐτοῦ δὲ μησὶν ἐννέα τοὺς πρώτους καὶ 6 δυνατωτάτους Ἰώνων ἐλόντος. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀδίκος ἢ ἁξίωσις, ἀλλ’ ὄντως πολλὴν ἀδηλότητα καὶ μέγαν ἑσχε κινδύνου ὁ πόλεμος, εἶπερ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησί, παρ’ ἐλάχιστον ἠλθὲ Σαμῖων ἢ πόλις ἀφελέσθαι τῆς θαλάττης τὸ κράτος Ἀθηναίων.

XXIX. Μετὰ ταῦτα κυμαίνοντος ἦδη τοῦ Πελοποννησιακοῦ πολέμου, Κερκυραίοις πολεμούμενοι ὑπὸ Κορινθίων ἔτεισε τὸν δήμου ἄποστειλε βοήθειαν καὶ προσλαβεῖν ἐρρωμένην ναυτικὴ δυνάμει νήσου, ὡς οὖν οὐδέπω Πελο-
2 πονησίων ἐκπεπολεμωμένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ψηφισμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέστειλε δέκα ναὸς μόνας ἔχοντα Λακεδαιμόνιον, τῶν Κίμωνος νόον, οἷον ἑφυβρίζων πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν εὐνοία καὶ φιλία τῷ Κίμωνος οἶκῳ πρὸς Λακε-
δαιμονίου. ὡς δὲ υἱὸν, εἰ μηδὲν ἔργον μέγα μηδ’ ἐκπρεπὲς ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου γένοιτο, προσδιαβληθείν μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν λακωνισμόν, ὀλίγας αὐτῷ ναὸς ἐδωκε καὶ 3 μὴ βουλόμενον ἐξέπεμψε. καὶ ὅλως διετέλεις κολούων ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι γυναῖκας, ἀλλ’ ὀδυνεῖος καὶ ξένους, ὅτι τῶν Κίμωνος νόον τῷ μὲν ἦν Λακεδαιμόνιος ὄνομα, τῷ δὲ Θεσσαλός, τῷ δὲ Ἰλείας. ἐδόκουν δὲ πάντες έκ γυναικῶν Ἁρκαδι-
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 caluminated for his laconism, or sympathy with Sparta, Pericles gave him only a few ships, and sent him forth against his will. And in general he was prone to thwart and check the sons of Cimon, on the plea that not even in their names were they genuinely native, but rather aliens and strangers, since one of them bore the name of Lacedaemonius, another that of Thessalus, and a third that of Eleius. And they were all held to be the sons of a woman of Arcadia. 

1 viii. 76, 4. 2 433 b.c. 3 Cf. Cimon, xvi. 1.
Κακῶς οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς ἄκουὼν διὰ τὰς δέκα ταῦτας τριήρεις, ὡς μικρὰν μὲν βοήθειαν τοῖς δεηθεῖσι, μεγάλην δὲ πρόφασιν τοῖς ἐγκαλοῦσι παρεσχηκὼς, ἑτέραν αὕτης ἐστειλε πλείονας εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν, αἱ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀφίκοντο.

4 Χαλεπαίνουσι δὲ τοῖς Κορινθίοις καὶ κατηγοροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν Λακεδαίμονι προσεγένοντο Μεγαρεῖς, αὐτίκωνεστὶ πάσης μὲν ἁγορᾶς, πάντων δὲ λιμένων, ὅτι Ἀθηναίοι κρατοῦσιν, εἰργεσθαι καὶ ἀπελαύνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια καὶ τοὺς γεγενημένους ὀρκοὺς τοῖς "Ελλησίν. Αἰγινητὶ δὲ κακοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες καὶ βίαια πᾶσχειν ἐποτυγκῷ κρύφα πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαίμονίους, φανερῶς ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὐ θαρροῦντες. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ Ποτίδαια, πόλις ὑπῆκοος Ἀθηναίων, ἀποικος δὲ Κορινθίων, ἀποστᾶσα καὶ πολιορκοῦμένη μᾶλλον ἐπετάχυνε τὸν πόλεμον.

5 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσβείων τε πεμπομένων Ἀθηναῖες, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων Ἀρχιδάμου τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων εἰς διαλύσεις ἁγοντος καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους πραύνοντος, οὐκ ἂν δοκεὶ συμπεσεῖν ὑπὸ γε τῶν ἀλλών αἰτιῶν ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ τὸ ψῆφισμα καθελεῖν τὸ Μεγαρικὸν ἐπείσθησαν καὶ διαλαγήναι πρὸς αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τούτο Περικλῆς ἔναντιωθείς, καὶ παροξύνας τὸν
Accordingly, being harshly criticised because of these paltry ten ships, on the ground that he had furnished scanty aid and succour to the needy friends of Athens, but a great pretext for war to her accusing enemies, he afterwards sent out other ships, and more of them, to Corcyra,—the ones which got there after the battle.\(^1\)

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. Thucydides, i. 50, 5.
δήμον ἐμμεῖναι τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς φιλονεικία, μόνον ἔσχε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν αἰτίαν.

XXX. Δέγονσι δὲ πρεσβείας Ἀθηναίζε περὶ τούτων ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος ἀφιγμένης, καὶ τοῦ Περικλέους νόμον τινὰ προβαλλομένου κωλύοντα καθελεῖν τὸ πινάκιον ἐν ὦ τὸ ψήφισμα γεγραμμένον ἐτύγχανεν, εἰπεῖν Πολυάλκη τῶν πρεσβεων τινά: "Σὺ δὲ μὴ καθέλης, ἄλλα στρέψον εἰσώ τὸ πινάκιον· οὐ γὰρ ἔστι νόμος ὁ τοῦτο κωλύων." κομψοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου φανέντος οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ὁ

2 Περικλῆς ἐνέδωκεν. ὑπῆρ μὲν οὖν τις, ὡς οὐκεῖν, αὐτῷ καὶ ἱδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς Μεγαρεῖς ἀπέχθειας κοινὴν δὲ καὶ φανερὰν ποιησάμενος αἰτίαν κατ’ αὐτῶν ἀποτέμνεσθαι τὴν ἱερὰν ὁργάδα, γράφει ψήφισμα κήρυκα πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν αὐτὸν κατηγοροῦντα

3 τῶν Μεγαρέων. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ψήφισμα Περικλέους ἐστὶν εὐγνώμονος καὶ φιλανθρώπου δικαιολογίας ἐχόμενον· ἐπεὶ δ’ οἱ πεμφθεῖς κήρυξ Ἀνθεμοκρίτους αἰτία τῶν Μεγαρέων ἀποθανεῖν ἔδοξε, γράφει ψήφισμα κατ’ αὐτῶν Χαρίνος, ἀσποῦνδον μὲν εἶναι καὶ ἀκήρυκτον ἔχθραν, ὡς δ’ ἄν ἐπιβῇ τῆς Ἀττικῆς Μεγαρέων θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς, ὅταν ὁμώνυμοι τὸν πάτριον ὄρκον, ἐπομνύειν ὅτι καὶ δι’ ἄνα πάν ἔτος εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐμβαλοῦσιν· ταφῆναι δ’ Ἀνθεμοκρίτου παρὰ τὰς Ὁριασίας ἱέλας, αἱ νῦν Δίπυλον ὀνομάζονται.

1 πρὸς τοὺς Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: πρὸς.
abide by their contention with the Megarians, he alone was held responsible for the war.

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

Πόρνην δὲ Σιμαίθαν ἴόντες Μεγάραδε νεανία κλέπτουσι μεθυσοκότταβοι·
καθ’ οἱ Μεγαρεὶς ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι ἀντεξέκλεψαν Ἀσπασίας πόρνας δύο.

XXXI. Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν ὅπως ἔσχεν οὐ 169 ράδιον γυνώνα, τοῦ δὲ μὴ λυθήναι τὸ ψήφισμα πάντες ὦσαύτως τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ Περι-κλεῖ. πλὴν οἱ μὲν ἐκ φρονήματος μεγάλου μετὰ γνώμης κατὰ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀπισχυρίσασθαι φασιν αὐτὸν, πείραν ἐνδόσεως τὸ πρόσταγμα καὶ τὴν συγχώρησιν ἐξομολόγησιν ἁσθενείας ἡγού-μενον· οἱ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐθαδεία τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικία πρὸς ἐνδειξιν ἴσχύος περιφρονησάι Λακεδαι-μονίων.

2 Ἡ δὲ χειρίστη μὲν αἰτία πασῶν, ἔχουσα δὲ πλείστους μάρτυρας, οὕτω πως λέγεται. Φειδίας ὁ πλάστης ἐργολάβος μὲν ἢ τοῦ ἁγάλματος, ὡσπερ εἰρηται, φίλος δὲ τῷ Περικλεῖ γενόμενος καὶ μέγιστον παρ’ αὐτῷ δυνηθεῖς τοὺς μὲν δι’ αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ἔχθρον φθονούμενον, οἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου ποιούμενοι πείραν ἐν ἐκείνῳ, ποιός τις ἔσοιτο τῷ Περικλεὶ ¹ κριτῆς, Μένωνά τις τῶν

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

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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 versicles of the "Acharnians":—

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

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

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

1 Verses 524 ff.
Φειδίου συνεργῶν πείσαντες ἵκετην ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθίζουσιν, αὐτούμενον ἁδειαν ἐπὶ μηνύσει καὶ
3 κατηγορία τοῦ Φειδίου. προσδεξαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ἀνθρωπον καὶ γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ
dιώξεως, κλοπαὶ μὲν οὖν ἢλέγχοντο· τὸ γὰρ
χρυσίον οὕτως εὐθὺς ἔξ ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀγάλματι
προσειργάσατο καὶ περιέθηκεν ὃ Φειδίας γνώμη
tοῦ Περικλέους ὥστε πᾶν δυνατὸν εἶναι περι-
elούσιν ἀποδείξει τὸν σταθμὸν, ὃ καὶ τότε τοῦς
cατηγόρους ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν ὁ Περικλῆς.

4 Ἡ δὲ δόξα τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπίεζε φθόνῳ τὸν
Φειδίαν, καὶ μάλιστ' ὅτι τὴν πρὸς Ἀμαζώνας
μάχην ἐν τῇ ἀσπίδι ποιῶν αὐτοῦ των μορφῶν
ἐνετύπωσε προσβύτου φαλακροῦ πέτρου ἐπηρ-
mένου δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χειρῶν, καὶ τοῦ Περι-
κλέους εἰκόνα παγκάλην ἐνέθηκε μαχομένου πρὸς
Ἀμαζώνα. τὸ δὲ σχῆμα τῆς χειρός, ἀνατεινωσθῆς
δόρυ πρὸ τῆς ὀψεως τοῦ Περικλέους, πεποιη-
mένου εὐμηχάνως οἶον ἐπικρύπτειν βούλεται τὴν
ὄμοιότητα παραφαινομένην ἐκατέρωθεν.

5 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Φειδίας εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπα-
χθεῖς ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ὡς δὲ φασίν ἐνιοῦ,
φαρμάκοις, ἐπὶ διαβολὴ τοῦ Περικλέους τῶν
ἐχθρῶν παρασκευασάντων. τῷ δὲ μηνυτῇ 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 market-place and demand immunity from punishment in case he should bring information and accusation against Pheidias. The people accepted the man’s proposal, and formal prosecution of Pheidias was made in the assembly. Embezzlement, indeed, was not proven, for the gold of the statue, from the very start, had been so wrought upon and cast about it by Pheidias, at the wise suggestion of Pericles, that it could all be taken off and weighed,¹ and this is what Pericles actually ordered the accusers of Pheidias to do at this time.

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

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

¹ Cf. Thucydides, ii. 13, 5.
XXXII. Περὶ δὲ τούτων τὸν χρόνον Ἀσπασίων ἀρχηγοῦν ἀσεβείας, Ἐρμύππου τοῦ κωμῳδοποιοῦ διώκοντος καὶ προσκατηγοροῦντος ὡς Περικλεί γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτῶσας ὑποδέχομεν. καὶ ψήφισμα Διοπέιθης ἐγραφεῖν εἰσαγγέλλεσθαι τοὺς τὰ θεία μὴ νομίζοντας ἡ λόγους περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων διδάσκοντας, ἀπερειδόμενος εἰς Περικλέα δι 'Ἀναξαγόρου τὴν 2 ὑπόνοιαν. δεχομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ προσεμένου τὰς διαβολὰς, οὕτως ἦδη ψήφισμα κυροῦται, Δρακοντίδου γράψαντος, ὅπως οἱ λόγοι τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς τοὺς Πρυτάνεις ἀποτεθείεν, οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τὴν ψήφον ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φέροντες ἐν τῇ πόλει κρίνοιεν. "Ἀγνων δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἀφεῖλε τοῦ ψηφίσματος, κρίνεσθαι δὲ τὴν δίκην ἐγραψε ἐν δικασταῖς χιλίοις καὶ πεντακοσίοις, εἰτὲ κλοπῆς καὶ δώρων εἰτ' ἀδικίαν βούλοντός τις ὁνομάζειν τὴν δίωξιν.

3 Ἀσπασίαν μὲν οὖν εξητήσατο, πολλὰ πάνυ παρὰ τὴν δίκην, ὡς Αἰσχύνης φησίν, ἀφεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δάκρυα καὶ δεηθείς τῶν δικαστῶν. 'Ἀναξαγόραν δὲ φιληθεὶς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ὡς δὲ διὰ Φειδίου προσεπτασε τῷ δήμῳ, φοβηθεὶς τὸ δικαστήριον μέλλοντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὑποτυφόμενον ἔξεκαυσεν, ἐλπίζων διασκεδάζειν τὰ ἐγκλήματα καὶ ταπεινώσειν τὸν φθόνον ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ κινδύνοις τῆς πόλεως ἔκεινοι μόνῳ διὰ τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναθέσισης ἑαυτῆς. αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰτίαι δι' ἂς οὐκ 170
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
εἰσεν ἐνδοῦναί Δακεδαιμονίοις τὸν δήμον, αὐτῷ λέγονται, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἄδηλον.

XXXIII. Οἱ δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι γινώσκοντες ὡς ἐκείνου καταλυθέντος εἰς πάντα μαλακτέροις χρήσονται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐκέλευον αὐτοὺς τὸ ἀγος ἔλαυνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον, ἢ τὸ μητρόθεν γένος τοῦ Περικλέους ἔνοχον ἤν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἱστόρηκεν. ἢ δὲ πείρα περιέστη τοῖς πέμψασιν εἰς τούναντίον ἀντὶ γὰρ ὑποψίας καὶ διαβολῆς ὁ Περικλῆς ἔτι μεξόνα πίστιν ἐσχε καὶ τιμὴν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, ὡς μάλιστα μισοῦντων καὶ 2 φοβομένων ἐκείνον τῶν πολεμίων. διὸ καὶ πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἔχοντα τοὺς Πελοποννησίους προεῖπε τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοις, ἄν ἀρα τάλλα δην ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἀπέχηται τῶν ἐκείνου διὰ τὴν ἕξιάν τὴν οὔσαν αὐτοῖς, ἡ διαβολῆς τοῖς ἑχθροῖς ἐνδιδοὺς ἀφορμὰς, ὅτι τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλειες ἑπιδιδόσων.

3 Ἐμβάλλονσιν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Δακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ Βασιλέως ἡγουμένου. καὶ δηοῦντες τὴν χώραν προῆλθον εἰς Ἀχαρναὶ καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἀνεξομένων, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ φρονήματος 4 διαμαχουμένων πρὸς αὐτοὺς. τῷ δὲ Περικλεί δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τοὺς ἑξακισμυρίους Πελοποννησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ὀπλίτας (τοσοῦτοι γὰρ

1 ἐλαύνειν τὸ Κυλώνειον Fuhr and Blass, with BCFsS: έλαύνειν φ.
2 ἱστόρηκεν Fuhr and Blass, with BCFsS: εὑρηκεν.
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 Alemaeonid 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.
νεαν οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἐμβαλόντες· ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως μάχην συνάψατο· τοὺς δὲ Βουλομένους μάχεσθαι καὶ δυσπαθοῦντας πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα κατεπράψε, λέγων ὅς δὲνδρα μὲν τιμηθέντα καὶ κοπέντα φύεται ταχέως, ἀνδρῶν δὲ διαφθαρέντων

5 αὕτης τυχεῖν οὐ ράδιον ἐστὶν. τὸν δὲ δῆμον εἰς ἐκκλησίαν οὐ συνήγε δεδιώς βιασθήναι παρὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ νεὼς κυβερνήτης ἀνέμου κατιόντος ἐν πελάγει θέμενος εὐ πάντα καὶ κατατείνας τὰ ὅπλα χρήται τῇ τέχνῃ, δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις ἐπιβατῶν ναυτῶντων καὶ φοβουμένων ἐάσας, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος, τὸ τε ἀστυ συγκλείσας καὶ καταλαβῶν πάντα φυλακαίς πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ἔχριτο τοῖς αὐτοῦ λογισμοῖς, βραχέᾳ φροντίζων

6 τῶν καταβοῶντων καὶ δυσχεραίνοντων. καίτοι πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων δεόμενοι προσε-κείτο, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπείλουντες καὶ κατηγοροῦντες, χορὸλ 1 δ' ἵδον ἁσματα καὶ σκώματα πρὸς αἰσχύνην, ἐφυβρίζουντες αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατηγίαν ὡς ἀναινδρον καὶ προϊμένην τὰ πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐπεφύετο δὲ καὶ Κλέων ἡδη, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὀργῆς τῶν

7 πολιτῶν πορεύόμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν δημαγωγίαν, ὡς τινάπαυστα ταύτα δῆλοι ποιήσαντος 'Ερμίππου·

Βασίλευ σατύρων, τι ποτ' οὐκ ἔθελες
dόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν
peri tou polému deinou pařexeis; 2

ψυχὴ δὲ Τέλητος ὑπεστίν; 3

1 χορὸλ Fuhr and Blass, with F's S: πολλοὶ.
2 pařexeis Fuhr, with S: pařexe.  
3 ψυχὴ . . . ὑπεστίν Fuhr and Blass, after Emperorus: ψυχὴν . . . ὑπέστης.
(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. Πλήν ύπ’ οὐδενὸς ἐκινήθη τῶν τοιούτων ὁ Περικλῆς, ἀλλὰ πράως καὶ σιωπῆ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ύψιστάμενος, καὶ νεῶν ἐκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλεοπόννησον στόλον ἐκπέμπτων αὐτὸς οὐ συνεξέπλευσεν, ἀλλ’ ἔμεινεν οἰκουρᾶν καὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων τὴν πόλιν, ἔως ἀπηλλάγησαν οἱ Ἑλεοπόννησοι. Θεραπεύων δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄμοις ἀσχάλλοντας ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ, διανομαῖς τε χρημάτων ἀνελάμβανε καὶ κληρονομίας ἔγραφεν. Ἀιγυπτίας γὰρ ἐξελάσας ἅπαντας διενεμεῖ τὴν νῆσον Δοῦναίων τοὺς λαχοῦσιν. ἦν δὲ τις 2 παρηγορία καὶ ἄφ’ ὑπὶ ἔπασχον οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ περιπλέουσε τὴν Ἑλεοπόννησον χώραι τε πολλὴν κόμας τε καὶ πόλεις μικρὰς διεπόρθησαν, καὶ κατὰ γὴν αὐτὸς ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Μεγαρικὴν ἐφθαρε πᾶσαν. ἦ καὶ δὴλον ἦν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν δρῶντες κατὰ γῆν κακὰ 2 τοὺς Δοῦναῖους, πολλὰ δὲ πᾶσχοντες ύπ’ ἐκεῖνων ἐκ θαλάττης, οὐκ ἂν εἰς μῆκος πολέμου τοσοῦτον προύβησαν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως ἀπεἶπον, ὥσπερ ἔς ἀρχῆς ο Περικλῆς προηγόρευσεν, εἴ μὴ τι δαιμόνιον ὑπηναντιώθη τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς.

3 Νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἡ λοιμώδης ἐνέπεσε φθορά καὶ κατενεμήθη τὴν ἀκμᾶζουσαν ἠλικίαν καὶ δύναμιν ψε’ ἦς καὶ τὰ σώματα κακοὺμενοι καὶ

1 κάγχειριδίου . . . κοπίδος Coraës’ restoration of these corrupt verses, adopted by Fuhr.
2 κατὰ γῆν κακὰ Fuhr and Blass, with F* S: κακὰ.
PERICLES

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

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

As it was, in the first place, a pestilential destruction fell upon them\(^1\) and devoured clean the prime of their youth and power. It weakened

\(^1\) 430 B.C. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 47-54.
τὰς ψυχὰς παντάπασιν ἡγιώθησαν πρὸς τὸν Περικλέα, καὶ καθάπερ ἰατρὸν ἦ πατέρα τῇ νόσῳ παραφρονήσαντες ἄδικείων ἐπεχείρησαν, ἀναπει- σθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς τὴν μὲν νόσου ἢ τοῦ χωριτικοῦ πλῆθους εἰς τὸ ἀστυ συμφόρησις ἀπεργάζεται,1 θέρους ὅρα πολλῶν ὁμοῦ χύδην ἐν οἰκήμασι μικρῶς καὶ σκηνώμασι πυγηρῶς ἡμαγκασμένων διαιτάσθαι δίαιταν οἰκουρὸν καὶ ἀργὴν ἀντὶ καθαρᾶς καὶ ἀναπεπταμένης τῆς πρότερον, τοῦτον ὅ ἀιτίος ὁ τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ὁχλὸν εἰς τὰ τείχη καταχεί- μενος καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις τοσοῦτοι χρώ- μενος, ἀλλ’ ἐὼν ὁσπερ βοσκήματα καθειργμένους ἀναπίμπλασθαι φθορᾶς ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, καὶ μη- δεμίαν μεταβολὴν μηδ’ ἀναψυκὴν ἐκπορίζων.

XXXV. Ταῦτα βουλόμενοι ἱάσθαι καὶ τι παρα- λυπεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους, ἐκατόν καὶ πεπείκοντα ναῦς ἐπλήρου, καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὀπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας ἀναβιβασάμενος ἐμελλεν ἀνάγεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐλπίδα τοῖς πολίταις καὶ φόβον οὐκ ἐλατ- τω τοῖς πολεμίους ἀπὸ τοσαύτης ἵσχύς παρασχῶν. ἦδη δὲ πεπληρωμένων τῶν νεῶν καὶ τοῦ Περι- κλέους ἀναβεβηκότος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τριήρη τὴν μὲν ἢλιον ἐκλυπεῖν συνέβη καὶ γενέσθαι σκότος, ἐκπλαγήναι δὲ πάντας ὡς πρὸς μέγα σημεῖον.

2 ὁ ὅ ὁ Περικλῆς περίφοβον τὸν κυβερνήτην καὶ διηπηρημένον, ἀνέσχε τὴν χλαμύδα πρὸ τῶν

1 ἀπεργάζεται: Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: 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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οψεων¹ αυτοῦ, καὶ παρακαλύψις ἱρώτησε μὴ τι δεινοῦ ἢ δεινοῦ τινος οἶται σημειοῦ ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔφη, "Τι οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐκεῖνο τούτου διαφέρει, πλὴν ὧτι μειζόν τι τῆς χλαμύδος ἐστὶ τὸ πεποιη-κός τὴν ἐπισκόπησιν;" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς λέγεται τῶν φιλοσόφων.

3 Ἐκπλεύσας δ' οὖν ὁ Περικλῆς οὐτ' ἄλλο τι δοκεῖ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἄξιον δρᾶσαι, πολιορκήσας τε τὴν ίερὰν Ἐπίδαυρον ἐλπίδα παρασχοῦσαν ὡς ἀλωσομένην ἀπέτυχε διὰ τὴν νόσουν. ἐπιγενομένη γάρ οὖν αὐτοῦς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὅπωσον τῇ στρατιᾷ συμμίξαντας προσδιέφθειρεν. ἐκ τούτου χαλεπῶς διακειμένου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πρὸς αὐτὸν

4 ἐπειρᾶτο παρηγορεῖν καὶ ἀναθαρρύνειν. οὐ μὴν παρέλυσε τὴν ὅργῃν οὐδὲ μετέπεισε πρότερον ἢ τὰς ψῆφους λαβόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς χειράς καὶ γενομένους κυρίους ἀφελέσθαι τὴν στρατηγίαν καὶ ζημίωσαι χρήμασιν, ὅν ἀριθμὸν οἱ τὸν ἐλάχιστον πεντεκαίδεκα τάλαντα, πεντήκοντα δ' οί τὸν πλείστον γράφουσιν. ἐπεγράφη δὲ τῇ δίκῃ κατῆγορος, ὡς μὲν Ἰδομενεὺς Λέγει, Κλέων, ὡς δὲ Ἡθοφραστὸς, Συμμίας: ὁ δὲ Ποντικὸς Ἡρακλείδης Δακρατίδαν εἰρήκε.

XXXVI. Τὰ μὲν οὖν δημόσια ταχέως ἐμελλε παύσεσθαι,² καθάπερ κέντρον εἰς τούτον ἀμα πληγή τοῦ θυμὸν ἀφεικότων τῶν πολλῶν: τὰ δ' οἰκεία μοχθηρῶς εἰχεν αὐτῷ κατά τε τῶν λοιμῶν

¹ τῶν ὄψεων Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: τῆς ὄψεως.
² παύσεσθαι Fuhr and Blass, with FaS, and after Reiske: παύσεσθαι.

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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
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οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀποβαλόντι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων καὶ στάσει διατεταραγμένα ἡγαρ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν γυνήσιων ὑδόν Ξάνθιππος φύσει τε δαπανηρός ὄν καὶ γυναικὶ νέα καὶ πολυτελεὶ συνοικῶν, Τισάνδρου θυγατρὶ τοῦ Ἔπιλύκου, χαλέπιῶς ἐφερε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκριβείαν γλυ̣

2 σχρα καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν αὐτῷ χορηγοῦντος. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τινα τῶν φίλων ἐλαβει ἀργύριον ὡς τοῦ Περικλέους κελεύσαντος. ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὅστερον ἀπαιτοῦντος, ὁ μὲν Περικλῆς καὶ δίκην αὐτῷ προσέλαχε, τὸ δὲ μειράκιον ο Ξάνθιππος ἐπὶ τούτῳ χαλέπιῶς διατεθεὶς ἔλοιδόρει τὸν πατέρα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκφέρων ἐπὶ γέλωτι τάς οἰκον διατριβὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὗς ἐποιεῖτο μετὰ τῶν

3 σοφιστῶν. πεντάθλου γὰρ τινος ἀκοντίῳ παταξαντὸς Ἐπίτιμου τοῦ Φαρσάλιον ἀκουσίως καὶ κατακτείναντος, ἥμεραν ὅλην ἀναλώσας μετὰ Πρωταγόρου διαπορούντα πότερον τὸ ἀκόντιον ἢ τὸν βαλόντα μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἄγνωστας κατὰ τὸν ὀρθότατον λόγον αἰτίας χρῆ τοῦ πάθους ἤγείσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς διαβολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξάνθιππον φησίν ο Στησίμβροτος εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διασπαρῆναι, καὶ ὅλως ἀνήκεστον ἄχρι τῆς τελευτῆς τῷ νεανίσκῳ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα παραμεῖναι τὴν διαφορὰν ἀπέθανε γὰρ ο Ξάνθιππος ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ νοσήμασι.

4 Ἀπέβαλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ὁ Περικλῆς τότε καὶ τῶν κηδεστῶν καὶ φίλων τοὺς ἀνείστους καὶ

1 διατεταραγμένα Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διατεταραγμένη.
2 ἐποιεῖτο Fuhr and Blass, with FaS, and after Sauppe: ἐποίητο.
PERICLES

sorry plight, since he had lost not a few of his intimate friends during the pestilence, and had for some time been rent and torn by a family feud. The eldest of his legitimate sons, Xanthippus, who was naturally prodigal, and had married a young and extravagant wife, the daughter of Tisander, the son of 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 ἀπείπειν οὐδὲ προῦδωκε τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τῶν συμφορῶν, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ κλαίων οὐδὲ κηδεύων οὐδὲ πρὸς τάφῳ τινὸς ὀφθη τῶν ἀναγκαίων, πρὶν γε δὴ καὶ τὸν περίλοιπον αὐτοῦ 5 τῶν γυνησίων νῦν ἀποβαλεῖν Πάραλον. ἐπὶ τούτω δὲ καμφθεὶς ἐπειράτο μὲν ἐγκαρτερεῖν τῷ ἢθει καὶ διαφυλάττειν τὸ μεγαλόψυχον, ἐπιφέρων δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ στέφανον ἡττήθη τοῦ πάθους πρὸς τὴν δομίν, ὡστε κλαυθμόν τε ῥήξαι καὶ πληθος ἐκχέαι δακρύων, οὐδέποτε τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ λοιπῷ βίῳ τετοιηκός.

XXXVII. Τῆς δὲ πόλεως πειρωμένης τῶν ἀλλων στρατηγῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ῥητόρων, ὡς δ' οὐδεὶς βάρος ἔχων ἵσορροπον οὐδ' ἀξίωμα πρὸς τοσαύτην ἐχέγγυον ἡγεμονίαν ἐφαίνετο, ποθοῦσης ἐκεῖνον καὶ καλυφώς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατηγικον, ἀθυμῶν καὶ κείμενος οἴκοι διὰ τὸ πείθος ὑπ’ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἐπείσθη φίλων 2 προελθεῖν. ἀπολογησαμένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἀγνωσμοσύνην πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ὑποδεξάμενος αὐθίς τὰ πράγματα καὶ στρατηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς ἤτήσατο λυθῆναι τὸν περὶ τῶν νόθων νόμων, δὲν αὐτὸς εἰσενενόχει πρότερον, ὡς μὴ παντάπασιν ἐρημίᾳ διαδοχῆς τῶν οἰκῶν ἐκλίποι τούνομα καὶ τὸ γένος. 3 Εἰξε δ' οὐτω τὰ περὶ τῶν νόμων. ἀκμάζων ὁ

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1 γυνησίων νῦν Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: γυνησίων.
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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{1} 429 B.C.
Περικλῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ πρὸ πάντων πολλῶν χρόνων, καὶ παῖδας ἔχων, ὥσπερ εἰρήται, γνησίους, νόμον ἔγραψε μόνους Ἀθηναίους εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ δυνῆν Ἀθηναίων γεγονότας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ βασιλεῶς τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ὄφειάν τῷ ἰΗμω πέμψαντος τετρακισμυρίους πυρῶν μεδίμνους ἔδει διανέμεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, πολλαὶ μὲν ἀνεφύνοντο δίκαι τοῖς νόθοις ἐκ τοῦ γράμματος ἐκείνου τέως διαλανθάνουσι καὶ παρορμένοις,1 πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ συκοφαντήμασι περεύπιπτον. ἐπράβθησαν δὴ οὖν ἀλόντες ὅλης πεντακισχιλίων ἐλάττους, οἱ δὲ μείναντες ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ κρίθεντες Ἀθηναῖοι μῦριοι καὶ τετρακισχιλιοί καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ πλῆθος ἐξητάσθησαν. οὗτος οὖν δεινὸς τὸν κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἱσχύσαντα νόμον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πάλιν λυθῆναι τοῦ γράψαντος, ἡ παροῦσα δυστυχία τῷ Περικλεὶ περὶ τὸν οἰκοῦν, ὥς δικὴν τινὰ δεδωκότι τῆς υπερψίας καὶ τῆς μεγαλαυχίας ἐκείνης, ἐπέκλασε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ δοξαντες αὐτὸν νεμεσητά τε παθεῖν ἄνθρωπινων3 τε δεῖσθαι συνεχώρησαν ἀπογράψασθαι τὸν νόθον εἰς τοὺς φράτορας, ὡνομα θέμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτων μὲν ὕστερον ἐν Ἀρχινούσαις καταναμαχήσαντα Πελοποννησίους ἀπέκτεινεν ὁ δῆμος μετὰ τῶν συστρατηγῶν.

1 διαλανθάνουσι, παρορμένοις Fuhr and Blass, after Sauppe: διαλανθάνουταί, παρορμάνεαι (referring to the prosecutions).
2 δὴ οὖν Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: οὖν.
3 ἄνθρωπινων Fuhr and Blass, with FaS: ἄνθρωπινως.
PERICLES

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

1 451-450 B.C.  2 406 B.C.
Τότε δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἔσκεψεν ὁ λοιμὸς λαβέσθαι λαβήν οὐκ ὄξειαν, ὡσπερ ἄλλων, οὔδὲ σύντονον, ἀλλὰ βληχρὰ τινι νόσῳ καὶ μῆκος ἐν ποικίλαις ἐχώσῃ μεταβολαῖς διαχρομένην τὸ σῶμα σχολαῖς καὶ ὑπερείπουσαν τὸ φρόνημα τῆς ψυχῆς. ο ὑγόν Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς Ἡθικοῖς διαπομῆνας εἰ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τρέπεται τὰ θῆθα καὶ κινούμενα τοῖς τῶν σωμάτων πάθεσιν ἐξίσταται τῆς ἁρετῆς, ἰστόρηκεν ὅτι νοσῶν ὁ Περικλῆς ἐπισκοπούμενῷ τινὶ τῶν φίλων δείξει περίαπτον ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν τῷ τραχύλῳ περιηρτημένου, ὡς σφόδρα κακῶς ἔχων ὡπότε καὶ ταύτην ὑπομένοι τὴν ἀβελτερίαν.

"Ἡδη δὲ πρὸς τῷ τελευτῶν ὄντος αὐτοῦ, περικαθήμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ βέλτιστοι καὶ τῶν φίλων οἱ περιόντες λόγοι ἐπιούντο τῆς ἁρετῆς καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως, ὅση γένοιτο, καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀνεμετροῦντο καὶ τῶν τροπαίων τὸ πλῆθος· ἐννέα γὰρ ἤν ἡ στρατηγῶν καὶ νικῶν ἔστησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. ταύτα, ὡς οὐκέτι συνιεύς, ἀλλὰ καθηρημένου τὴν αἰσθησίαν αὐτοῦ, διελέγοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ὁ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐτύχανε τῶν νοῦν προσεσχικῶς, καὶ φθεγξάμενος εἰς μέσον ἔφη θαυμάζειν ὅτι ταύτα μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μυθομεύοντο, ἄ καὶ πρὸς τύχην ἔστι κοινὰ καὶ γέγονεν ἢδη πολλοῖς στρατηγοῖς, 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,¹ the best of the citizens and those of his friends who survived were sitting around him holding discourse of his excellence and power, how great they had been, and estimating all his achievements and the number of his trophies,—there were nine of these which he had set up as the city’s victorious general. This discourse they were holding with one another, supposing that he no longer understood them but had lost consciousness. He had been attending to it all, however, and speaking out among them said he was amazed at their praising and commemorating that in him which was due as much to fortune as to himself, and which had fallen to the lot of many generals besides, instead of mentioning his fairest and greatest title to their admiration; “for,” said he, “no living Athenian ever put on mourning because of me.”

¹ He died in the autumn of 429 B.C.
XXXIX. Θαυμαστὸς οὖν ὁ ἀνήρ οὐ μόνον τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ πράστητος, ἂν ἐν πράγμασι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἀπεχθείας διεσήκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος, εἰ τῶν αὐτοῦ καλῶν ἥγειτο βέλτιστον εἶναι τὸ μῆτε φθόνον μῆτε θυμὸν χαρίσασθαι μηδὲν ἀπὸ τηλικάντης 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 εὔμενες ἥθος καὶ βίον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀμίαντον Ὀλύμπιον προσαγορεῦσθαι, καθάπερ τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος ἀξιόμενον αἰτίων μὲν ἀγαθῶν, ἀναίτιων δὲ κακῶν πεφυκὸς ἀρχεῖν καὶ βασιλεύειν τῶν ὁπῶν, οὐχ ωσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ συνταράπτοντες ἡμᾶς ἀμαθεστάταις
3 δόξαις ἀλίσκονται τοῖς αὐτῶν μυθεύμασι, τὸν μὲν τόπον, ἐν φ. τοὺς θεοὺς κατοικεῖν λέγουσιν, ἀσφαλῆς ἔδος καὶ ἀσάλευτον καλοῦντες, οὐ πνεύμασιν, οὐ νέφεσι χρώμενον, ἀλλ' αἰθραὶ μαλακῇ καὶ φωτὶ καθαρωτάτῳ τὸν ἀπαντά χρόνον ὀμαλῶς περιλαμμόμενον, ὡς τοιαύτης τινὸς τῶν μακαρίω καὶ ἀθανάτῳ διαγωγῆς μᾶλιστα πρεποῦσι, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς ταραχῆς καὶ δυσμενεῖας καὶ ὀργῆς ἀλλῶν τε μεστοὺς παθῶν ἀποφαίνοντες οὐδ' ἀνθρώπως νοῦν ἔχουσι προσηκόντων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως ἑτέρας δόξει πραγματείας εἰναι.
4 Τοῦ δὲ Περικλέους ταχείαν αἰσθησιν καὶ σαφῆ

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1 μυθεύμασι Fuhr and Blass with S (μηθεύμασι: Fα): ποιήμασι.
2 αἰθραὶ Fuhr and Blass with FαS: αἰθρά.
3 καθαρωτάτῳ Fuhr and Blass with FαS: καθαρή.
4 τοιαύτης τινὸς Fuhr and Blass with FαS: τοιαύτης.
PERICLES

XXXIX. So, then, the man is to be admired not only for his reasonableness and the gentleness which he maintained in the midst of many responsibilities and great enmities, but also for his loftiness of spirit, seeing that he regarded it as the noblest of all his titles to honour that he had never gratified his envy or his passion in the exercise of his vast power, nor treated any one of his foes as a foe incurable. And it seems to me that his otherwise puerile and pompous surname is rendered unobjectionable and becoming by this one circumstance, that it was so gracious a nature and a life so pure and undefiled in the exercise of sovereign power which were called Olympian, inasmuch as we do firmly hold that the divine rulers and kings of the universe are capable only of good, and incapable of evil. In this we are not like the poets, who confuse us with their ignorant fancies, and are convicted of inconsistency by their own stories, since they declare that the place where they say the gods dwell is a secure abode and tranquil, without experience of winds and clouds, but gleaming through all the unbroken time with the soft radiance of purest light,¹—implying that some such a manner of existence is most becoming to the blessed immortal; and yet they represent the gods themselves as full of malice and hatred and wrath and other passions which ill become even men of any sense. But this, perhaps, will be thought matter for discussion elsewhere.

The progress of events wrought in the Athenians

¹ Cf. Odyssey, vi. 42 ff.

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πόθον Ἀθηναίοις ἐνειργάζετο τὰ πράγματα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ξώντος βαρυνόμενοι τὴν ἐνυμαίν ὡς ἀμαυροῦσαν αὐτοὺς, εὐθὺς ἐκ ποδῶν γενομένου πειρώμενοι ῥητόρων καὶ δημαγωγῶν ἐτέρων ἀνωμολογοῦντες μετριώτερον ἐν ὑγκῷ καὶ σεμνότερον ἐν πραότητι μὴ φύναι τρόπον· ἡ δ' ἐπίφθονος ἵσχυς ἐκεῖνη, μοναρχία λεγομένη καὶ τυραννίς πρότερον, ἐφάνη τότε σωτήριον ἔρμα τῆς πολιτείας γενομένη τοσαύτη φθορὰ καὶ πλῆθος ἐπέκειτο κακίας τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἄθετην 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

1. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἐν τοῖς ἀξίοις 174

μνήμης γεγονότος, ὡς παρειλήφθημεν, ἐπὶ τὸν

Φάβιον τὴν ἰστορίαν μεταγάγωμεν. νυμφῶν μιᾶς

λέγουσιν, οὗ δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπιχωρίαις, Ἡρακλεῖ,

μυγείσης περὶ τὸν Ὁμβριων ποταμὸν γενέσθαι

Φάβιον, ἄνδρα πολὺ καὶ δόκιμον ἐν Ῥώμη τὸ.

2. Φαβίων γένος ἂφ' αὐτοῦ παρασχόντα. τινὲς δὲ

τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους τοῦτου πρῶτους τῇ δὲ ὀρυ-

γμάτων χρησαμένους ἄγρα Φοβίου ἰστοροῦσιν

όνομάζεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν· οὕτω γὰρ ἀχρὶ νῦν αἱ

diωρικὲς φόσσαι καὶ φόδερε τὸ σκάψαι καλεῖται:

χρόνῳ δὲ τῶν δυεῶν φθόγγων μεταπεσόντων

Φάβιοι προσηγορεύθησαν. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγά-

λους τῆς οἰκίας ἐξενεγκαμένης ἄνδρας, ἀπὸ Ῥουλ-

λου τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Μαξίμου παρὰ

Ῥωμαίοις ἐπονομασθέντος τέταρτος ἦν Φαβίος

Μάξιμος, περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφομεν.

3. 'Ἡν δ' αὐτῷ σωματικῶν μὲν παρωνύμιων ὁ

Βερούκωςος· εἰχε γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνα μικρὰν ἐπάνω τοῦ

χείλους ἐπιπεφυκυῖαν· οὗ δὲ Ὀουι-

κούλας σημαίνει μὲν τὸ προβάτιον, ἔτεθη δὲ προς

τὴν πράσητα καὶ βαρύτητα1 τοῦ ἥθους ἐτὶ παιδὸς

ὁντος. τὸ γὰρ ἡσύχιον αὐτοῦ καὶ σιωπηλὸν καὶ

1 βαρύτητα MSS., Sint.1, Coraës, and Bekker: βραδυτήτα

slowness.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

I. Such were the memorable things in the career of Pericles, as we have received them, and now let us change the course of our narrative and tell of Fabius. It was a nymph, they say, or a woman native to the country, according to others, who consorted with Hercules by the river Tiber, and became by him the mother of Fabius, the founder of the family of the Fabii, which was a large one, and of high repute in Rome. But some writers state that the first members of the family were called Fodii in ancient times, from their practice of taking wild beasts in pitfalls. For down to the present time "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,
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

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 ύπόνοιαν εἰχε παρὰ τοῖς ἐκτός· ὅλγοι δὲ ἤσαν οἱ τὸ δυσκίνητον ὑπὸ βάθους καὶ τὸ μεγαλόφυγχον καὶ λεοντώδες ἐν τῇ φύσει καθορώντες αὐτοῦ. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προ𝒾ώντος ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγειρόμενος διεσήμαινε καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀπάθειαν μὲν οὕσαν τὴν δοκούσαν ἀπραγίαν, εὐβουλίαν δὲ τὴν εὐλαβείαν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ὅξυ μηδ' εὐκίνητον ἐν πάσι μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον. ὅρων δὲ καὶ τῆς πολιτείας τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ πλῆθος, ἦσκε τὸ μὲν σῶμα πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, ὥσπερ ὅπλον σύμφυτον, τὸν δὲ λόγον ὄργανον πειθοὺς πρὸς τὸν δήμον, εὖ μάλα πρε-

πόντως τῷ βίῳ κατακεκοσμημένον. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ὁραίσμος οὐδὲ κενὴ καὶ ἁγοραῖος χάρις, ἀλλὰ νοὺς ἱδον καὶ περιττὸν ἐν γνωμολογίαις σχήμα καὶ βάθος ἔχων, ὅσα μάλιστα ταῖς Θουκυδίδου προσεκέκανε λέγουσι. διασώζεται γὰρ αὐτοῦ λόγος, διν εἰπεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, τοῦ παιδός αὐτοῦ μεθ' ὑπατείαν ἀποθανόντος ἐγκώμιον.

II. Πέντε δ' ὑπατείων ἄς ὑπάτευσεν, ἢ πρώτη τῶν ἀπὸ Δυνύων θρίαμβον ἔσχεν. ἦττηθέντες γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μάχη καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντες εἰς τὰς Ἁλπεῖς ἀνεστάλησαν, καὶ τὴν πρόσοικον ἐπαύσαντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ληξόμενοι καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντες. ἐπειδ' Ἄννίβας 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

\(^2\) 233 B.C.
καὶ μαχῆ πρῶτον περὶ τὸν Τρεβίαν ποταμὸν ἑπικρατῆσας αὐτὸς μὲν ἦλαυνε διὰ Τυρρηνίας πορθῶν τὴν χώραν, ἐκπλήξει δὲ δεινῶν καὶ φόβου εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐνέβαλε, σημεῖα δὲ τὰ μὲν συνήθη Ῥωμαίοις ἀπὸ κεραυνῶν, τὰ δ’ ὃλως ἐξηλλαγμένα

3 καὶ πολλὰν ἀτοπίαν ἔχοντα προσέπιπτε (θυρεοῦν τε γὰρ ἀφ’ αὐτῶν αἰματι γενέσθαι διαβρόχους ἐλέχθη, καὶ θέρη σταχύων περὶ ’Ἀντιοῦ ἐναίμα κείρεσθαι, καὶ λίθους μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος διαπύρους καὶ φλεγομένους χέρεσθαι, τοῦ δ’ ὑπὲρ Φαλερίους ὀὐρανοῦ ῥαγήναι δόξαντος ἐκπίπτεναι καὶ διαστείρεσθαι πολλὰ γραμματεία, καὶ τούτων ἐν ἐνὶ γεγραμμένον φανῆναι κατὰ λέξιν. “Ἄρης τὰ

4 ἀειτοῦ ὀπλα σαλεύει”), τὸν μὲν ὑπατον Γάιον Φλαμίνιον οὐδὲν ἥμβλυνε τούτων, ἀνδρά πρὸς τῷ φύσει θυμοειδεῖ καὶ φιλοτύμῳ μεγάλαις ἐπαιρόμενον εὐτυχίας, ἃς πρόσθεν εὐτύχησε παραλόγως, τῆς τε βουλῆς ἀπαδούσης καὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐνισταμένου βίᾳ συμβαλῶν τοῖς Γαλάταις καὶ κρατῆσας, Φάβιον δὲ τὰ μὲν σημεῖα, καίπερ ἀπτόμενα πολλῶν, ἦττον ὑπέθραττε διὰ τὴν ἀλογίαν τὴν δ’ ὀλυγότητα τῶν πολεμῶν καὶ τὴν ἄχρηματιαν πυνθανόμενος καρτερεῖν παρεκάλει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ μὴ μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀνθρωπον ἐτ’ αὐτὸ τοῦτῳ διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἧσκημένη στρατιὰ χρώμενοι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις ἐπιπεμποῦντας βοηθείας καὶ τὰς πόλεις διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντας αὐτὴν ἐών περὶ αὐτῆς μαραίνεσθαι τὴν ἄκμην τοῦ Ἀνώβου, καθάπερ φλόγα λάμψασαν ἀπὸ μικρᾶς καὶ κούφης δυνάμεως.

1 ἀπαδούσης with CS: ἀποκαλούσης.
burst into Italy, 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." 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 Mauors telum suum concutit (Livy, xxii. 1).
III. Οὐ μὴν ἔπεισε τὸν Φλαμίνον, ἀλλὰ φήσας οὐκ ἀνέξεσθαι προσιόντα τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τὸν πόλεμον οὔδ', ὡσπερ ὁ παλαῖος Κάμιλλος, ἐν τῇ πόλει διαμαχεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, τὸν μὲν στρατὸν ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς χιλιάρχους, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππου ἀλλόμενος εξ οὐδενὸς αἰτίας προδήλου παραλόγως ἐιτρόμου τοῦ ἵππου γενομένου καὶ πτυρεῦτος ἐξέπεσε καὶ κατενεχθεὶς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὀμως οὐδὲν ἔτρεψε τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄρμησεν εξ ἀρχῆς ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ Ἀννίβα, περὶ τὴν καλουμένην Ὁρασυμένην ἐλίμην τῆς Τυρ-ρηνίας παρετάξατο.

2 Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν συμβαλόντων εἰς χεῖρας ἀμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς μάχης συνέπεσε σεισμός, ύφ' οὐ καὶ πόλεις ἀνετράπησαν καὶ ἱδρύματα ποταμῶν εξ ἔδρας μετέστη καὶ κρημνῶν ὑπώρειαν περιερράγησαν. ἀλλὰ, καὶ περὶ οὗτω γενομένου βιαιοῦ τοῦ πάθους, οὔδεις τὸ παράστα τῇ σθετο τῶν μαχομένων. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὁ Φλαμίνος ποιλὰ καὶ τόλμης ἔργα καὶ ρόμης ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἐπέσε, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν δ' ἄλλων τραπέντων πολὺς ἡ φόνος, καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι πρὸς μυρίους κατεκόπησαν, καὶ ἔαλωσαν ἐτεροι τοσontology. τὸ δὲ Φλαμινίου σῶμα φιλοτιμούμενος θάψαι καὶ κοσμῆσαι δι' ἀρετὴν ὁ Ἀννίβας οὐχ ἐυρέν ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς, ἀλλ' ἡγνοεῖτο τὸ παράπαν ὅτις ἡφανίσθη.

3 Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρεβίου γενομένην ἤτταν

1 Ὅρασυμένην an early anonymous correction, adopted by Coraës and Bekker: Ὅρασυμένην
2 περιερράγησαν Bekker's παρερράγησαν is now found in S.
3 τοῦ πάθους Coraës and Bekker after Reiske: πάθους.
FABIUS MAXIMUS

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

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

Now of the defeat sustained at the Trebia,² neither

¹ Tarsimene, Polybius, iii. 82; Trasimenus, Livy, xxii. 4.
² Cf. chapter ii. 2.
οὐθ' ὁ γράψας στράτηγὸς οὐθ' ὁ περιφθείς ἀγγελος ἀπ' εὐθείας ἔφρασεν, ἀλλ' ἐπευσάτο τὴν νίκην ἑπίδικον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀμφίδοξον γενέσθαι. περὶ δὲ ταῦτης ὡς πρῶτον ἥκουσεν ὁ στράτηγὸς Πομπώ-
νιος, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν ὄμην οὐ
περιπλοκᾶς οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἔφη
προσελθὼν. "Νευκήμεθα, ὁ ἀνδρεὶς Ἄρωμαιοι,
μεγάλη μάχη, καὶ διεφθарται τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ
Φλαμίνιος ὑπατος ἀπόλωλεν. ἄλλα βουλευσόθε

5 περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσφαλείας." οὕτος μὲν
οὐν ὀσπερ πνεύμα τὸν λόγον ἐμβαλὼν εἰς
πέλαγος τοσοῦτον δήμου συνετάραξε τὴν πόλιν,
οὐθ' ἐστάναι πρὸς τοσαῦτην ἐκπληξίν οἱ λογισμοὶ
καὶ διαμένειν ἐδύναντο. πάντες δ' εἰς μία
gνώμην συνήχθησαν ἀνυπευθύνου δείσθαι τὰ
πράγματα μοναρχίας, ἡν δικτατορίαν καλοῦσι,
καὶ τοῦ μεταχειριουμένου ταύτην ἀθρόυπτως καὶ

6 ἀδεὼς ἄνδρός εἰναι δὲ τούτον ἔνα Φάβιον
Μάξιμον, ἱσόρροπον ἔχοντα τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἁρχῆς
tὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ ἄξιομα τοῦ ἥθους, ἡλικίας τε
catâ toûto γεγενημένον ἐν ὁ συνεστήκεν ἐτὶ πρὸς
tâ tê̂s ψυχῆς βουλεύματα τὸ σῶμα τῆς ρώμη καὶ
συγκέκριμα τῷ φρονίμῳ τὸ θαρραλέον.

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

IV. Accordingly, this course was adopted, and Fabius was appointed dictator.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 τοῦτο τὸν στρατηγὸν οἰόμενων δεῖν παραμένειν τῇ φάλαγγι καὶ μὴ προλείπειν, εἰδ’ ὅτι τυραννικὸν εἰς ἀπαντὰ τάλλα καὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κράτος ἐστὶν, ἐν γε τούτῳ βουλομένων τὸν δικτάτορα τοῦ δῆμου φανερῶθαι

2 δεόμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Φάβιος εὐθὺς ἐνδείξασθαι θέλων τῆς ἀρχῆς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸν ὅγκον, ὡς μᾶλλον ὑπηκόους χρότο καὶ πειθηνίους τοὺς πολίτας, προῆλθε συνενεγκάμενος εἰς ταύτα βαθδούχας εἰκοσιτέσσαρας· καὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ὑπάτων ἀπαντῶντος αὐτῶ τὸν ὑπηρέτην πέμψας ἐκέλευε τοὺς βαθδούχους ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ τὰ παράσημα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀποθέμενον ἰδιώτην ἀπαντᾶν.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα καλλίστην ἀρχόμενος ἐκ θεῶν ἀρχήν, καὶ διδάσκων τὸν δήμον ὡς ὀλιγωρία καὶ περιφρονήσει τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ δαίμονιον, οὐ μοιχηρία τῶν ἀγωνισμένων σφαλέτα, προῦτρετε μὴ δεδιέναι τοὺς ἔχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐξευμενίζεσθαι καὶ τιμᾶν, οὐ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἐνεργαζόμενος, ἀλλὰ βαρρύνων εὐσεβεία τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ταῖς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐλπίσι τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολέμιων φόβου ἁφαίρων καὶ παραμυθούμενος.

4 ἐκινήθησαν δὲ τότε πολλαὶ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρητῶν καὶ χρησίμων αὐτοῖς βίβλων, ὡς Σιβυλλεῖους καλοῦσι· καὶ λέγεται συνδραμεῖν ἐναὶ τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν αὐτῶς λογίων πρὸς τὰς τύχας καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἑκείνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν γνωσθὲν οὐκ ἦν ἐτέρῳ πυθέσθαι· προελθὼν δὲ ὁ δικτάτωρ εἰς τὸν

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

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

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

¹ Each consul was allowed twelve.
όχλων εὐξατο τοῖς θεοῖς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὲν αἰγῶν καὶ συνὸν καὶ προβάτων καὶ βοῶν ἐπιγονήν, ὡσιν Ἰταλίας ὑπή καὶ πεδία καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ λειμῶνες εἰς ὤραν ἐσομένην θρέψονσι, καταθύσειν ἀπαντα, θέας δὲ μονοίκας καὶ θυμελικάς ἄξειν ἀπὸ σηστερτίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν καὶ διηναρίων τριακοσίων τριάκοντα τριῶν ἔτη τριτη-
5 μορίον προσόντος. τούτο τὸ κεφάλαιόν ἐστιν ὅκτω μυριάδες δραχμῶν καὶ δραχμαῖς τρισχίλιαι πεντακόσιαι ὑγδόκοντα τρεῖς καὶ δύο ὀβολοί. λόγον δὲ τῆς εἰς τούτο τοῦ πλῆθους ἀκριβείας καὶ διανομῆς χαλεπόν ἐστιν ἐπεὶ, εἰ μὴ τὶς ἀρα βοῦλοιτο τῆς τριάδος ὑμεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, δι᾽ ἣ τι καὶ φύσει τέλειος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν περιττῶν ἁρχή τε πλῆθους ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τὰ πρῶτας διαφορὰς καὶ τὰ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα μίξας καὶ συναρμό-
σας εἰς ταύτων ἀνείληφεν.

V. Τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ὁ Φάβιος τὴν γυνὸμην ἀπαρτήσας εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἥδιω πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐποίησειν αὐτὸς δὲ πάσας θέμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τῆς νύκτος ἐλπίδας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς εὐπραξίας δι᾽ ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως παραδιδόντος, τρέπεται πρὸς Ἀμνίβαν, οὐχ ὡς διαμαχοῦμενος, ἀλλὰ χρόνῳ τὴν ἀκμὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρήματι τὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ πολυανθρωπίᾳ τὴν ὀλυγότητα τρίβειν καὶ
2 ὑπαναλίσκειν βεβουλευμένοις. οἶθεν αὐτὶ μετέωρος ἀπὸ τῆς ἕπος τῶν πολεμίων ἐν τόποις ὄρεινοις στρατοπεδεύων ἐπηρωεῖτο, καθημένου μὲν ἡσυχά-
ξων, κινομένου δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀκρῶν κύκλῳ περιῶν

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FABIUS MAXIMUS

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 περιφαινόμενος ἐκ διαστήματος ὅσον ἀκούσὶ
μὴ βιασθήναι μάχεσθαι καὶ φόβον ὡς μαχησο-
μενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπὸ τῆς μελλήσεως αὐτῆς
παρέχειν. οὕτω δὲ παράγοι τὸν χρόνον ὑπὸ
πάντων κατεφρονεῖτο, καὶ κακῶς μὲν ἢκουεν ἐν
tῷ στρατοπέδῳ, κομιδῇ δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀτολμος
ἐδόκει καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι πλὴν ἔνδο ἀνδρὸς
3 Ἀννίβου. μόνος δ’ ἐκείνος αὐτοῦ τῇ
deinótητα, καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὃς πολεμεῖν ἐγνώκει, συνιδὼν, καὶ
dιανοηθεῖς ὡς πάση τέχνη καὶ βία κυνητέος ἐστὶν
εἰς μάχην ὃ ἀνήρ ἢ διαπέπρακται τὰ Καρχηδονίων,
oὶς μὲν εἰς κρέπττους ὄπλοις χρὴσάσθαι μὴ
dυναμένων, οἷς δὲ λειπονται σώματι καὶ χρή-
μασίν ἐλαττομένων καὶ δακανωμένω: εἰς τὸ
μηδὲν, ἐπὶ πάσαν ἱδέαν στρατηγικῶν σεφισμάτων καὶ
παλαισμάτων τρεπόμενος, καὶ πειρωμένος
ὡσπερ δεινὸς ἀθλητής λαβῆν ζητῶν, προσέβαλλε
καὶ διετάραττε καὶ μετήγε πολλαχοὶ τὸν Φάβιον,
ἐκστίησαι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας λογισμῶν βου-
λόμενος.
4 Τῷ δ’ ἡ μὲν γνώμη1 πίστιν ἔχουσα τοῦ
συμφέροντος ἐν ἑαυτῇ βέβαιοις εἰστήκει καὶ
ἀμετάπτωτος: ἡμῶχλε δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ ἵππαρχος
Μινούκιος φιλομαχῶν ἀκαίρως καὶ θραυσυμένος
καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στράτευμα μανικῆς φορᾶς καὶ
κενῶν ἐλπίδων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πεπληρωμένων οἱ τῶν
μὲν Φάβιον σκώπτοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες
Ἀννίβου παιδαγωγοί: ἀπεκάλουν, τὸν δὲ Μινοῦ-

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 ἂξιον ἤγουντο
5 στρατηγῶν ὸ δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς φρόνημα καὶ θράσος ἀνειμένος ἔχλευαζε μὲν τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων στρατοπεδείας, ὡς καλὰ θεάτρα τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀεὶ παρασκευαζομένου θεωρήσουσι πορθομένην καὶ φλεγομένην τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἱρώτα δὲ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ Φαβίου πότερον εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄρας ἀναφέρει τὸν στρατὸν ὡς τῆς γῆς ἀπεγνωκός, ἡ νέφη καὶ ὅμιχλας προβαλλόμενος ἀποδιδράσκει τοὺς
6 πολέμιους. ταῦτα τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὸν Φαβίου ἀπαγγέλλοντων καὶ τὴν ἁδοξίαν τῷ κινδύνῳ λύσαι παραινοῦντων, “Ὀὔτω μὲντάς,” ἐφι, “δειλότερος ἢ νῦν εἶναι δοκῶ γενοίμην, εἰ σκώμματα καὶ λοιδορίας φοβηθείς ἐκπέσειμι τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ λογισμῶν. καίτοι τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ πατρίδος οὐκ αἰσχρὸν δεός, ἢ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἀνθρώπων καὶ διαβολάς καὶ ψόγους ἐκπλήξεις οὐκ ἄξιον τῆλικαύτης ἀρχῆς ἄνδρός, ἀλλὰ δουλεύοντος ὄν κρατεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ δεσπόζειν κακῶς φρονοῦντων προσήκει.”

VI. Μετὰ ταῦτα γίνεται διαμαρτία τοῦ Ἀννίβου. Βουλόμενος γὰρ ἀποσπάσαι τοῦ Φαβίου πορρωτέρω τὸ στρατεύμα καὶ πεδίων ἐπιλαβέσθαι προνομᾶς ἔχοντων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ὁδηγοὺς μετὰ δείπνου εὐθὺς ἤγεισθαι πρὸς τὸ Κασινᾶτον. οἶ δὲ τῆς φωνῆς διὰ βαρβαρισμὸν οὐκ ἐξακούσαντες ἄκριβῶς, ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν φέροντες εἰς τὰ καταλήγοντα τῆς Καπτανίας εἰς πόλιν Κασιλίνου, ἵνα τέμνει ἰέως διὰ μέσης ποταμοῦ, ὦν Ὀὐνολτοῦρνον οἶ ‘Ῥωμαιοὶ καλόςσων. 2 ἐστι δ’ ἡ χώρα τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ περιστεφθης ὀρεσιν
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 Vulturinum by the Romans. The region is otherwise encompassed by mountains, but a narrow defile opens
αύλων δ’ ἀναπέπτταται πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ἐνθα
tὰ ἐλη καταδίδωσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιχεομένου, καὶ θίνας ἄμμου βαθείας ἔχει, καὶ τελευτά πρὸς αἰγιαλὸν κυματώδη καὶ δύσορμον. ἐνταῦθα κατα-
βαίνοντος τοῦ Ἀννίβου περιελθὼν ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν ὀδών ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν διέξοδον ὀπλίτας τετρα-
kισχιλίους ἐπιστήσας ἐνέφραξε, τὸν δ’ ἄλλον στρατὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκρῶν ἐν καλῷ καθίσας
dιὰ τῶν ἐλαφροτάτων καὶ προχειροτάτων ἐνέβαλε
tοῖς ἐσχάτοις τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ συνετάραξεν ἀπαν τὸ στράτευμα, διέφθειρε δὲ περὶ ὀκτακο-
sίους. ἐκ τούτου βουλόμενος Ἀννίβας ἀπαγαγεῖ
tὸ στράτευμα, καὶ τὴν διαμαρτίαν τοῦ τόπου
νόησας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον, ἀνεσταύρωσε μὲν τοὺς
ὄδηγοὺς, ἐκβιάζεσθαι δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ προσ-
mάχεσθαι τῶν ὑπερβολῶν ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας ἀπεγί-
νωσκε. δυσθύμως δὲ καὶ περιφόβως διακειμένων
ἀπάντων, καὶ περιεστάναι σφᾶς πανταχόθεν
ἀφύκτους ἤγουμένων ἀπορίας, ἐγνω δολοῦ ἀπάτη
tοὺς πολεμίους. ἢν δὲ τοιόῦδε.
4 Βοῦς ὦσον δισχιλίας ἐκ τῶν αἰγιαλῶτων ἐκέ-
λευσε συλλαβόντας ἀναδήσαι δύδα πρὸς ἑκαστὸν
κέρας ἢ λύγων ἢ φρυγάνων αὐτῶν φάκελον· εἶτα
νυκτὸς, ὅταν ἄρθη σημεῖον, ἀνάψαντας ἐλαύνειν
ἐπὶ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς παρὰ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς φυλα-
kὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα παρεσκεύαζον
οἱ προσετέτακτο, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἀναστή-
σας στρατὸν ἢδη σκότους ὄντος ἤγε σχολαίως.
5 αἱ δὲ βόες, ἀχρὶ μὲν τὸ πῦρ ὀλίγον ἢν 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 ὑλὴν, ἀτρέμα προεχώρουν ἐλαυνόμεναι πρὸς τὴν ὑπώρειαν, καὶ θαῦμα τοῖς καθορῶσι νομεύσων ἀπὸ τῶν ἄκρων καὶ βουκύλοις ἦσαν αἱ φλόγες ἄκροις ἐπιλήμπουσαί τοῖς κέρασιν, ὡς στρατοπέδου καθ' ἕνα κόσμον ὑπὸ λαμπάδων
6 πολλῶν βαδίζοντος. ἔπει δὲ πυροῦμενον τὸ κέρας ἄχρι ρίζης διέδωκε τῇ σαρκὶ τὴν αἴσθησιν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόνον διαφέρουσαι καὶ τινάσσοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀνεπίμπλαντο πολλῆς ἄπ' ἄλληλων φλογὸς, οὐκ ἐνέμελναν τῇ τάξει τῆς πορείας, ἀλλ' ἐκφοβοῦντες καὶ περιαλγεῖς οὐσία δρόμῳ κατὰ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐφέροντο, λαμπτόμενοι μὲν οὐράς ἄκρας καὶ μέτωπα, πολλὴν δὲ τῆς ὑλῆς, δι' ἣς ἔφευγον,
7 ἀνάπτουσαί. δεινὸν οὖν ἦν θέαμά τοῖς παραφυλαττοῦσι τὰς ὑπερβολὰς Ῥωμαίοις. καὶ γὰρ αἱ φλόγες ἐφύκεσαν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων θεότυντων διαφερομέναις λαμψάς, καὶ θόρυβος ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺς καὶ φόβος, ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλοις ἐπιφέροντες τῶν πολεμιῶν σφῖσι καὶ κυκλούσθαι πανταχόθεν ἡγουμένων. διὸ μὲν εἰς οὐκ ἐτόλμων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μεῖζον ἀνεχώρουν στρατόπεδον προέμενοι τὰ στενά. καὶ 1 κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ καιροῦ προσμίγαντες οἱ ψυλοὶ τοῦ Ἀννίβου τὰς ὑπερβολὰς κατέσχουν, ἡ δ' ἄλλη δύναμις ἡδη προσέβαινειν ἀδεῶς πολλὴν καὶ βαρείαν ἐφελκομένη λείαν.

VII. Τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ συνέβη μὲν ἔτι νυκτὸς αἰσθέσθαι τὸν δόλον (φεύγουσι γὰρ ἐνιαὶ τῶν βοῶν σποράδες ἦκον αὐτῶν εἰς χεῖρας), ἐνέδρας δὲ δεδώσες σκοταίους ἀτρέμα τὴν δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς εἰχεν. ὡς δ' ἦν ἡμέρα, διώκον καὶ ἐξήπτυσε

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

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

Βουλόμενος δὲ μάλλον ἐκκαῦσαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἀννίβας, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄγρους αὐτοῦ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα καίειν καὶ διαφθείρειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀπέτει- πέν ἀπτεσθαι μόνων, καὶ παρακατέστησε φυλακήν οὐδὲν ἔωσαν ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲ λαμβάνειν ἐκεῖθεν.

3 ταύτα προσδιέβαλε τὸν Φάβιον εἰς Ῥώμην ἀγγελθέντα: καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οἱ δήμαρχοι κατεβῶν, ἐπάγοντος μάλιστα Μετιλίου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οὐ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Φάβιον ἔχθραν, ἀλλ’ οἰκείος ὁ Μινουκίον τοῦ ἱππάρχου τιμήν φέτο καὶ δόξαν ἐκεῖνοι φέρειν ταῖς τούτου διαβολαῖς. ἐγεγόνει δὲ καὶ τῇ Βουλῇ δὴ ὀργῆς οὐχ ἦκιστα μεμφομένη τὰς περὶ τῶν ἁλμαλῶτων πρὸς Ἀννίβαν ὁμολογίας. ὁμολογη- κείσαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄνδρα μὲν ἄνδρι λύσθαι τῶν ἀλισκομένων, εἰ δὲ πλείους οἱ ἑτεροι γένοντο, διδόναι δραχμὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκάστοτος τὸν 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, and forced Fabius to turn back. And now more than ever was Fabius the mark for scorn and abuse. He had renounced all bold and open fighting, with the idea of conquering Hannibal by the exercise of superior judgment and foresight, and now he was clearly vanquished himself by these very qualities in his foe, and outgeneralled.

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

1 One thousand, according to Polybius, iii. 94.
2 Cf. Pericles, xxxiii. 2.
πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας. ὡς οὖν γενομένης τῆς κατ' ἄνδρα διαμείβεσθαι εὐφέρθησαν ὑπόλοιποι Ἡρωμαίων παρ' Ἀννίβα τεσσαράκοντα καὶ διακοσίου, τούτων ἡ σύγκλητος ἤγεν τὰ λύτρα μὴ πέμπειν, καὶ προσήνηε ὁ τὸν Φάβιον ὡς οὖ πρεπόντως οὐδὲ λυσιτελῶς ἄνδρας ὑπὸ δειλίας πολε-μίων ἀγράν γενομένους ἀνακομιζόμενον. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Φάβιος τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἐφερε πράως τῶν πολιτῶν, χρήματα δ' οὐκ ἔχων, διαψεύσασθαὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀννίβαν καὶ προεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας οὐχ ὑπομένων, ἔπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν εἰς Ἡρώμην κελεύσας ἀποδῶσαι τοὺς ἄγραν καὶ τὸ ἄργυρον εὐθὺς ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κομίζειν. ἀποδομένον δὲ τοῦ νεανίσκου τὰ χωρία καὶ ταχέως ἐπανελθόντος ἀπέτεμψε τὰ λύτρα τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέλαβε; καὶ πολλῶν ἀποδιδόντων ύστερον παρ' οὐδενὸς ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ ἀφίκε τᾶςι.

VIII. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἱερεῶν καλοῦντων αὐτὸν εἰς Ἡρώμην ἐπὶ τινας θυσίας παρέδωκε τῷ Μινουκίῳ τὴν δύναμιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχεσθαι μηδὲ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολέμοις οὐ μόνον ὡς αὐτοκράτωρ διαγορεύσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ δεήσεις πολλὰς αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος· οὓς ἔκεινος ἐλάχιστα φροντίσας εὐθὺς ἐνέκειτο τοῖς πολέμοις. καὶ ποτὲ παραφυλάξας τὸν Ἀν-νίβαν τὸ πολὺ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ συτολογίαν ἅφεικότα, καὶ προσβάλων τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ, κατήραξεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα καὶ διέφθειρεν οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ φῶβον 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.
aúthi s eis to stratopedeo to' Anuβa ti's dunameós asfalós anechórisen, autón te megalaun-axis ámétro kai theásou to stratistoiñoν 3 émpetplhików. tachу de toú érgon logos melíwv diefoitísen eis 'Rómhn. kai Fάbios mén àkoúsa ephí mállon toû Miuουκíou foβeisíthai tìn étuvχíain ἢ tìn átvχíain,1 o de dímos ἱρτο kai metá χάρας eis ágoran svnètræxe, kai Μετίλios ο δήμαρχος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος καταστάς ἐδημηγόρει megalúnon toû Miuουκíou, toû de Fαbíou katê−gōroro ou malakian ou'd anavdrían, all' ἕδη 4 prodośian, svnaiptiýmenos áma kai tón allon ánðrōn tòu συνατωτάτουs kai pròton ἐπαγαγε−θαι toû pólemou eξ áρχēs ἐπὶ καταλύσεi toû dímov, tìn te polin èmβαλεin éνθηs eis mónarχíān ἀνυπεύθυνon, ἢ diatrébουsa tás práxeis ἵδρων 'Anuβa paraexei kai χρόnon aúthi s ek Lívnyς étēran δύναμιν προσγενέσθαι ὡς κρατοῦντi tîs 'Itálías.

IX. Ἑπεὶ δ' ὁ Fάbios proselthdov upoloγá−
θhai mēn ou'd ἐμέλλησε πρὸς τὸν δήμαρχον, ἐφη
de tâξiosta tās thúsias kai tās ierouργiā: γενέ−
θαι, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα βαδιεῖσθαι τῷ
Miuουκίω δίκην ἐπιθήσων, ὦτι κωλύσαντος αὐτοῦ
tòs polémíos svnéβale, thónbhos diήξε τοῦ dímov
polúς, ὥς κωνδυνεύσοντος τοῦ Miuουκíou. kai γὰρ
eîrxi tā diktatóri kai theánatôsai πρὸ δίκης
ἐξεστι καὶ τοῦ Fαbíou τοῦ θυμὸν ἐκ πολλῆς
πραότητος kekinnèmenon φωντο βαρν ἐναι καὶ

1 ἢ τὴν ἀτυχίαν supplied by Sintenis, followed by Bekker.
Cf. Morals, p. 193 d. Secunda se magis quam adversa−
timere, Livy, xxii. 25.
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. θε οι μὲν ἄλλοι καταδείσαντες ἡσυχίαν ἤγουν. ὁ δ' Μετήλιος ἔχων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δημαρχίας ἀδειαν (μονὴ γὰρ αὐτὴ δικτάτορος αἱρεθέντος ἢ ἀρχὴ τὸ κράτος οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν, ἀλλὰ μένει τῶν ἄλλων καταλυθείσων), ἐνέκειτο τῷ δήμῳ πολύς, μὴ προεσθαί δεόμενος τὸν Μινωύκιον μὴ δ' ἐάσαι παθεῖν ὁ Μάλλιος Τουρ-κουάτος ἔδρασε τὸν υἱὸν, ἀριστεύσαντος καὶ στεφανωθέντος ἀποκόψας πελέκει τὸν τράχηλον, ἀφελέσθαι δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ βουλομένῳ σώζειν ἐγιτρέψα τὰ πράγματα.
3 Τοιούτοις λόγοις κινηθέντες οἱ ἄνδρωποι τῶν μὲν Φαβίου οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀναγκάσαι καταθέ-σθαι τὴν μοναρχίαν, καίπερ ἀδοξοῦντα, τὸν δὲ Μινωύκιον ἐψηφίσαντο τῆς στρατηγίας ὀμότιμον ὄντα διέπει πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας τῷ δικτάτορι, πράγμα μὴ πρότερον ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγονός, ὁλίγῳ δ' ὑστερον αὖθις γενόμενον μετὰ τὴν ἐν Καύναις ἡμι-χίαν. καὶ γὰρ τὸτ' ἐπὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων Μάρκος ἢν Ἰούνιος δικτάτωρ, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν τὸ βουλευτικόν ἀναπληρώσαι δεῖσαν, ἀτε δὴ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ συγκλητικῶν ἀπο-λωλότων, ἔτερον ἐιλοντὸ δικτάτορα Φαβίου Βου-τεώνα. πλὴν οὗτος μέν, ἐπεὶ προῆλθε καὶ κατέλεξε τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ συνεπλήρωσε τὴν βουλήν, αὐθημερόν ἀφεῖς τοὺς ῥαβδούχους καὶ διαφυγὼν τοὺς προάγοντας, εἰς τὸν ὀχλὸν ἐμβα-λὼν καὶ καταμίξας ἑαυτὸν ἦδη τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ διοικῶν καὶ πραγματευόμενος ὤσπερ ἰδιώτης ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνεστρέφετο.
and implacable. Wherefore they were all terrified and held their peace, excepting only Metilius. He enjoyed immunity of person as tribune of the people (for this is the only magistracy which is not robbed of its power by the election of a dictator; it abides when the rest are abolished\(^1\)), and vehemently charged and prayed the people not to abandon Minucius, nor permit him to suffer the fate which Manlius Torquatus inflicted upon his son, whom he beheaded although crowned with laurel for the greatest prowess,\(^2\) but to strip Fabius of his tyrant's power and entrust the state to one who was able and willing to save it.

The rabble were moved by such utterances. They did not dare to force Fabius to resign his sovereignty, unpopular as he was, but they voted that Minucius should have an equal share in the command, and should conduct the war with the same powers as the dictator,—a thing which had not happened before in Rome. A little while afterwards, it is true, it happened again, namely, after the disaster at Cannae.\(^3\)

At that time Marcus Junius the dictator was in the field, and at home it became necessary that the senate should be filled up, since many senators had perished in the battle. They therefore elected Fabius Buteo a second dictator. But he, after acting in that capacity and choosing the men to fill up the senate, at once dismissed his lictors, eluded his escort, plunged into the crowd, and straightway went up and down the forum arranging some business matter of his own and engaging in affairs like a private citizen.

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

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

\(^3\) Cf. chapter xvi.
X. Τόν δὲ Μινούκιον ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς τῷ δίκτυ- 
tορι πράξεις ἀποδείξαντες ὄντο τεκελοῦσθαι καὶ 
γεγονέναι ταπεινὸν παντάπασιν ἐκεῖνον, οὐκ 
ὀρθῶς στὸχαζόμενοι τοῦ ἀνδρός. οὐ γὰρ αὐτοῦ 
συμφόρων ἥγειτο τὴν ἐκεῖνων ἁγνοιαν, ἀλλ’ ὠστερ 
Διογένης ὁ σοφός, εἰπόντος τινὸς πρὸς αὐτόν: 
"Οὕτω σοῦ καταγελῶσιν," "Ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ," εἶπεν, 
"οὐ καταγελῶμαι," μόνους ἡγούμενος καταγελά-
σθαι τοὺς ἐνδιδόντας καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
2 ταραττομένους, οὕτω Φάβιος ἐφερεν ἀπαθῶς καὶ 
ῥαδίως ὅσον ἔπ’ αὐτῷ τὰ γινόμενα, συμβαλλ-
λόμενος ἀποδείξαντος τῶν φιλοσόφων τοῖς ἁξιοῦσι 
mήτε ὑβρίζεσθαι μήτε ἀτμοῦσθαι τὸν ἁγαθὸν 
ἀνδρα καὶ σπουδαῖον, ἦνια δ’ αὐτὸν ἡ τῶν πολ-
λῶν ἄβουλία διὰ τὰ κοινά, δεδωκότων ἀφορμᾶς 
ἀνδρὸς οὐχ ὑγιαινοῦσῃ φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὸν πόλε-
3 μον. καὶ δεδουκός μὴ παντάπαισιν ἐκμαίεις ὑπὸ 
κενῆς δόξης καὶ ὅγκου φθάσῃ τι κακὸν ἀπεργα-
σάμενος, λαθῶν ἀπαντας ἐξῆλθε καὶ παραγενο-
μένος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ καταλαβὼν τὸν 
Μινούκιον οὐκέτι καθεκτόν, ἀλλὰ βαρὺν καὶ 
tετυφωμένον καὶ παρὰ μέρος ἁρχεῖν ὑξιόωντα, 
tοῦτο μὲν οὐ συνεχώρησε, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διενεί-
ματο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς μέρους μόνος ἁρξὼν βέλτιον 
4 ἡ πάντων παρὰ μέρος. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν 
tαγμάτων καὶ τέταρτον αὐτὸς ἐλαβε, τὸ δὲ δεύ-
tερον καὶ τρίτον ἐκεῖνῳ παρέδωκεν, ἐπίσης καὶ 
tῶν συμμαχικῶν διανεμηθέντων. σεμμυνομένου δὲ 
τοῦ Μινουκίου καὶ χαίροντος ἐπὶ τῷ τὸ πρόσχιμα 
tῆς ἀκροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης ἁρχῆς ύφεισθαι καὶ 
προπεπηλακίσθαι δι’ αὐτοῦ, ὑπεμίμησκεν ὁ 
Φάβιος ἃς οὐκ ὄντος μὲν αὐτῶ πρὸς Φάβιον, ἀλλ᾽, 
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FABIUS MAXIMUS

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

XI. Ὅ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν εἰρωνεῖαν ἡγεῖτο γεροντικῆς· παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποκληρωθείσαν δύναμιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ χωρίς ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, οὐδὲν ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ 'Αννίβου τῶν γινομένων, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἐφεδρεύοντος. ἤν δὲ λόφος κατὰ μέσον καταληφθῆναι μὲν οὐ χαλεπὸς, ὁχυρὸς δὲ καταληφθεῖσι στρατοπέδῳ καὶ διαρκῆς εἰς ἄπαντα. τὸ δὲ πέριξ πεδίου ὀφθῆναι μὲν ἀπωθεὶν ὀμαλὸν διὰ ψιλότητα καὶ λείον, ἔχον δὲ τινας οὐ μεγάλας

2 τάφρους ἐν αὐτῶ καὶ κοιλότητας ἄλλας. διὸ καὶ τὸν λόφον ἐκ τοῦ ράστου κρύφα κατασχεῖν παρὸν οὐκ ἡθέλησεν ὁ 'Αννίβας, ἀλλ' ἀπέλιπε μάχης εἰς μέσῳ πρόφασιν. ὡς δ' εἶδε κεχωρισμένον τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν Μινώκιον, νυκτὸς μὲν εἰς τὰς τάφρους καὶ τὰς κοιλότητας κατέσπειρε τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινας, ἀμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ φανερῶς ἔπεμψεν οὐ πολλοὺς καταληψιμένους τὸν λόφον, ὡς ἐπαγάγοιτο συμπεσεῖν περὶ τοῦ τόπου τὸν Μινώκιον.

3 Ὅ δὲ καὶ συνέβη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπέστειλε τὴν κούφην στρατιὰν, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἒπτεις, τέλος
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,
δ' ὁρῶν τῶν 'Αὐνίβαυν παραβοηθοῦντα τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πάση κατέβαινε τῇ δυνάμει συντεταγμένης. καὶ μάχην καρτερὰν θέμενος ἦμύνετο τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου βάλλοντας, συμπλεκόμενος καὶ ἰσα χερόμενος, ἀρχὶ οὗ καλῶς ἤπατημένου ὁρῶν ὁ 'Αὐνίβας καὶ γυμνὰ παρέχοντα τοῖς ἐνεδρεύονσιν ἀνωτὰ τὸ σημεῖον αἰρεῖ. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ πολλαχόθεν ἐξανισταμένων ἁμα καὶ μετὰ κραυγῆς προσφερόμενων καὶ τοὺς ἑσχύτους ἀποκτινώντων ἀδιήγητος κατείχε ταραχὴ καὶ πτοίᾳ τοῖς Ἄρμαίοις, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Μινουκίου τὸ θράσος κατακέκλαστο, καὶ πρὸς ἄλλου ἄλλοτε τῶν ἠγεμόνων διεπάπταινεν, οὐδενὸς ἐν χώρᾳ μένειν τολμῶντος, ἄλλα πρὸς φυγὴν ὁθομένων οὐ σωτηρίον. οἱ γὰρ Νομάδες ἤδη κρατοῦντες κύκλῳ περιήλαυνον τὸ πεδίον καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκιδαμένους ἐκτεινον.

XII. Ἐν τοσοῦτῳ δὲ κακῷ τῶν Ἄρμαίων ὀντων οὐκ ἔλαβεν ἡ κύνδυνος τοῦ Φύβιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μέλλον, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἦδη προειλήφως τὴν τε δύναμιν συντεταγμένην εἶχεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄπλων καὶ τὰ πραττόμενα γινώσκειν ἐφροντίζεν οὐ δι’ ἀγγέλων, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἔχων κατασκοπῆν πρὸ τοῦ χάρακας. ὡς οὖν κατείδε κυκλούμενον καὶ τραπτόμενον τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ κραυγὴ προσέπιπτεν οὐ μενόντων, ἀλλ’ ἦδη πεφοβημένοι καὶ τρεπο-2 μένων, μηρὸν τε πληξάμενοι καὶ στενάξας μέγα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν. "Ω Ηράκλεις, ὅσ τάχιον μὲν ἡ ἔγω προσεδόκων, βράδιον δ’ ἡ αὐτὸς ἐσπευδεὶ Μινουκίος ἑαυτὸν ἀπολόλεκε,” 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


Πρώτον μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεῖς τρέπεται καὶ διασκίδυσι τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ περιελαύνοντας Νομάδας; εἶτα πρὸς τοὺς μαχομένους καὶ κατὰ νῦν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὄντας ἐχώρει καὶ τοὺς ἐμποδῶν ἐκτενεῖν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ, πρὶν ἀποληφθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι περιπετείς ὀλι αὐτοῖ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐποίησαν, ἐγκλινάντες ἐφυγον. ὡρῶν δ' ὁ Ἀναβάς τῆς μεταβολῆς καὶ τὸν Φάβιον εὐρωστος παρ ἡλικίαν διὰ τῶν μαχομένων ὥθουμενον ἄνω πρὸς τὸν Μινούκιον εἰς τὸν λόφον, ἐπέσχε τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημνὰς ανάκλησιν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὸν χάρακα τοὺς Καρχηδονίους, ἀσμένους καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποτρεπομένων. λέγεται δ' αὐτὸν ἀπίόντα περὶ τοῦ Φάβιον πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπείν τι τοιοῦτον μετὰ παιδίας: "οὐκ ἐγὼ μέντοι προῦλεγον ὡμῖν πολλάκις τῇ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκρῶν ταύτην καθημένην νεφέλην, ὅτι μετὰ ξάλης ποτὲ καὶ καταυγῶν ὁμβρον ἐκρήξει;"

Χ. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Φάβιος μὲν ὅσους ἐκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων σκυλεύσας ἀνεχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ὑπερῆφανον οὐδ' ἐπαχθὲς εἰπὼν περὶ τοῦ συνάρχοντος. Μινούκιος δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν ἄθροίσας, "Ἀνδρέας, ἐφη, "συστρατιώται, τὸ μὲν ἀμαρτεῖν μηδὲν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις μείζον η

1 λοιπὸν MSS., Sintenis1, Coraës, Bekker: πλεῖστον.
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-
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κατ' ἀνθρωπὸν ἔστι, τὸ δ' ὑμαρτόντα χρήσασθαι τοῖς πταίσμασι διδάγμασι πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνδρὸς

2 ἀγαθοῖ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὁμολογῶ μικρὰ μεμφόμενος τὴν τύχην περὶ μειξόνων ἐπαινεῖν. ἀ γὰρ οὐκ ἥσθόμην χρόνου τοσοῦτον, ἡμέρας μέρει μικρῷ πεπαίδευμαι, γνοὺς ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἄρχειν ἐτέρων δυνάμενον, ἀλλ' ἄρχοντος ἐτέρου δεόμενον καὶ φιλοτιμοῦμενον ἕνεκαν ὑφ' ἃν ἢττάσθαι κάλλιον. ὑμῖν δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐστὶν ἄρχων ὁ δικτάτωρ, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐχαριστίας αὐτὸς ἥγεμὼν ἔσομαι, πρῶτον ἐμαυτὸν εὐπειθῇ καὶ ποιοῦντα τὸ κελευνόμενον ὑπ' ἐκείνου παρεχόμενος.

3 Ταῦτ' εἴπον καὶ τοὺς ἀετοὺς ἀρασθαὶ κελεύσας καὶ πάντας ἀκολουθεῖν, ἤγε πρὸς τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Φαβίου. καὶ παρελθὼν ἐντὸς ἐβάδεις ἐπὶ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σκηνὴν, ὡστε θαυμάζειν καὶ διαπορεῖν πάντας. προελθόντος δὲ τοῦ Φαβίου θέμενος ἐμπροσθεῖν τὰς σημαίας αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνον πατέρα μεγάλης φωνῆς, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τοὺς στρατιώτας πάτρων ἡσπάζοντο. τούτο δ' ἐστι τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους προσφώνημα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπελευθέρωσαν. ἡσυχίας δὲ γενομένης ὁ Μινουκιος εἶπε: "Δύο νίκας, ὃ δικτάτορ, τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρα νενίκηκας, ἀνδρεία μὲν Ἄννιβαν, εὐβουλία δὲ καὶ χρηστότητι τοῦ συνάρχοντα: καὶ δι' ἥς μὲν σέσωκας ἡμᾶς, δι' ἃς δὲ πεπαίδευκας, ἡττωμένους αἰσχρὰν μὲν ἢτταν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, καλὴν δὲ καὶ σωτηρίου ὑπὸ σοῦ. πατέρα δὴ σε χρηστὸν."  

1 φιλοτιμοῦμενον the MSS. have μὴ φιλοτιμοῦμενον, which Coraës defends.

2 χρηστὸν bracketed by Bekker.
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
προσαγορεύων, τιμωτέραν οὐκ ἔχων προσηγορίαν, ἔπει τῆς γε τοῦ τεκόντος χάριτος μείζον ἢ παρά σοι χάρις αὐτῆ. ἔγεννήθην μὲν γὰρ ὕπ' ἐκείνου μόνους; σῶξομαι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ μετὰ τοσοῦτων." ταῦτ' εἶπον καὶ περιβαλὼν τὸν Φάβιον ἥσπια-ζετο. τοῦ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἦν ὄραν πράττοντας· ἐνεφύνοντο γὰρ ἀλλήλοις καὶ κατε-φίλουν, ὡστε μεστὸν εἶναι χαρᾶς καὶ δακρύων ἡδόστων τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XIV. Ἐκ τούτου Φάβιος μὲν ἀπέθετο τὴν ἀρχὴν, ὑπατοὶ δ' αὐθίς ἀπεδείκνυτο. καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι διεφύλαξαν ἡν ἐκείνου ἰδέαν τὸν πολέμου κατέστησε, μάχεσθαι μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως φεύγοντες πρὸς Ἀνυίβαν, τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις ἑπιβοηθοῦντες καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις κωλύοντες. Τερέντιος δὲ Βάρρων εἰς τὴν ὑπατείαν προαχθεῖς ἀπὸ γένους ἁσῆμον, βίου δὲ διὰ δημοκρίτων καὶ προπέτειαν ἑπισήμου, δῆλος ἦν εὐθὺς ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητα τὸν περὶ τῶν ὀλίων ἄναρρίψων κύβον.

2 ἐβόα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μενείν τὸν πολέμομ πάχροι ὡς Φαβίος χρήματι στρατηγοῦ τή πόλις, αὐτός δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἠμέρας ὑφεσθαί τε καὶ νικήσεων τοῖς πολεμίων. ἀμα δὲ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις συνήγα καὶ κατέγραφε δύναμιν τηλικαύτην, ἡλίκη πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐχρήσαντο Ῥωμαίοι. μυριάδες γὰρ ἐννέα δισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν δέουσαι συνετάχθησαν εἰς τὴν μάχην, μεγά δέος Φαβίω καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι Ῥωμαίοις ὡς γὰρ ἡλπίζον ἔξειν ἀναφορὰν τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοσαυτῇ σφαλείσαν ἡλικίᾳ.

1 μενείν Sintenis 2, after Coraës; MSS., Sintenis 1, and Bekker, μενείν.
excellent name of Father, because there is no more honourable name which I can use; and yet a father’s kindness is not so great as this kindness bestowed by you. My father did but beget me, while to you I owe not only my own salvation, but also that of all these men of mine.” So saying, he embraced Fabius and kissed him, and the soldiers on both sides in like manner embraced and kissed each other, so that the camp was filled with joy and tears of rejoicing.

XIV. After this, Fabius laid down his office, and consuls were again appointed. The first of these maintained the style of warfare which Fabius had ordained. They avoided a pitched battle with Hannibal, but gave aid and succour to their allies, and prevented their falling away. But when Terentius Varro was elevated to the consulship, a man whose birth was obscure and whose life was conspicuous for servile flattery of the people and for rashness, it was clear that in his inexperience and temerity he would stake the entire issue upon the hazard of a single throw. For he used to shout in the assemblies that the war would continue as long as the city employed men like Fabius as its generals; but that he himself would conquer the enemy the very day he saw them. And not only did he make such speeches, but he also assembled and enrolled a larger force than the Romans had ever employed against any enemy. Eighty-eight thousand men were arrayed for battle, to the great terror of Fabius and all sensible Romans. For they thought their city could not recover if she lost so many men in the prime of life.
3 Διό καὶ τὸν συνάρχοντα τοῦ Τερεντίου Παύλου Λίμίλιου, ἀνδρὰ πολλῶν πολέμων ἐμπειρῶν, οὐκ ἀρεστὸν δὲ τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ καταπλῆγα ἐκ τινος καταδίκης πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον αὐτῶ γεγενημένης, ἀνίστη καὶ παρεθάρρυνεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς ἑκείνου μανίας, διδάσκουν ὡς οὐ πρὸς Ἀννίβαν αὐτῶ μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς Τερεντίου ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ὁ ἰγνὸν ἔσοιτο· σπεύδειν γὰρ μάχην γενέσθαι τὸν μὲν οὐκ αἰσθανόμενον τῆς δυνάμεως, τὸν δ' αἰσθανόμενον τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν ἀσθενείας. "Εγὼ δ', εἶπεν, "ὁ Παύλε, Τερεντίου πιστεύεσθαι δικαιότερος εἰμι περὶ τῶν Ἀννίβου πραγμάτων διαβεβαιομένους ὡς, εἰ μηδεὶς αὐτῶ μαχεῖται τούτων τῶν ἑναυτῶν, ἀπολεῖται μένων οἱ ἀνήρ ἢ φεύγων ἀπείσιν, ὦ γε καὶ νῦν νικάν καὶ κρατεῖν δοκοῦντι τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς προσκεχώρηκε, τῆς δ' οὔκοθεν δυνάμεως οὖθ' ἡ τρίτη μοῖρα πάνυ

4 περίστι." πρὸς ταῦτα λέγεται τὸν Παύλου εἶπεῖν: "Εμοὶ μέν, ὦ Φάβιε, τὰ ἑμαυτοῦ σκοποῦντο κρεῖττον ἐστὶ τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ὑποπεσείν δόρασιν ἡ πάλιν ταῖς σφίφοις τῶν πολιτῶν· εἰ δ' οὔτως ἔχει τὰ δημόσια πράγματα, πειράσομαι μᾶλλον σοι δοκεῖν ἀγαθός εἶναι στρατηγὸς ἡ πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ ταύτην τινάντια βιαζόμενος." ταῦτην ἔχον τὴν προαίρεσιν ὁ Παύλος ἐξήλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πολέμου.

XV. Ἀλλ' ὁ Τερεντίος ἐμβαλὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ παρ' ἥμέραν ἄρχειν, καὶ τὸ Ἀννίβα παραστρατοπεδεύσας περὶ τὸν Λυφίδιου ποταμὸν καὶ τὰς λεγομένας Κάννας, ἀμ' ἥμέρα τὸ τῆς μάχης σημείον ἔξεθηκεν (ἔστι δὲ χιτῶν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινομένος), ὡστε καὶ

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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-
τοὺς Καρχηδόνιους εξ ἀρχῆς διαταραχθῆναι, τὴν τε τόλμαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλήθος ὀρῶντας, αὐτοὺς οὐδ’ ἦμιαν μέρος 2 ὄντας. Ἐννίβας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐξοπλίζεσθαι κελεύσας, αὐτὸς ἵππότης μετ’ ὀλύγων ὑπὲρ λόφου τινὸς μαλακοῦ κατεσκόπει τοὺς πολεμίους ἥδη καθισταμένους εἰς τάξιν. εἰπόντος δὲ τυχὸς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀνδρὸς ἴσοτίμου, τούνομα Γίσκωνος, ὡς θαυμαστὸν αὐτῷ φαίνεται τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων, συναγαγὼν τὸ πρόσωπον ὁ Ἐννίβας, "Ετερον," εἶπεν, "ὁ Γίσκων, λέληθε σε τούτον θαυμασιώτερον." ερωμένου δὲ τοῦ Γίσκωνος, τὸ ποιῶν; "Ὅτι," ἐφη, "τοῦτων ὄντων τοσοῦτον 3 οὐδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς Γίσκων καλεῖται." γενομένου δὲ παρὰ δόξαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ σκώμματος ἐμπίπτει γέλως πᾶσι, καὶ κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν αἱ τοῦ πεπαιγμένου ἀπαγγέλλοντες, ὡστε διὰ πολλῶν πολὺς εἶναι τὸν γέλωτα καὶ 

XVI. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μάχῃ στρατηγήμασιν ἐχρήσατο, πρῶτω μὲν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, ποιησάμενος κατὰ νότου τὸν ἀνεμον ὑποστήρι γὰρ ἐνεικὼς φλέγοντι κατερρήγυντο, καὶ τραχὺν ἐκ πεδίων υφάμμων καὶ ἀναπετπαμένων αἰρῶν κοινοτόν ὑπὲρ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν Καρχηδονίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐφραίους ἐσώθει, καὶ προσέβαλλα τοῖς προσώποις ἀποστρεφομένοις καὶ συνταραττο-

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

XVI. In the battle Hannibal practiced a double strategy. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground to put the wind at his back. This wind came down like a fiery hurricane, and raised a huge cloud of dust from the exposed and sandy plains and drove it over the Carthaginian lines hard into the faces of the Romans, who turned away
2 μένοις. δευτέρω δὲ τῷ περὶ τὴν τάξιν· ὃ γὰρ ἦν ἰσχυρότατον αὐτῷ καὶ μαχιμωτάτον τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκατέρωσε τοῦ μέσου τάξας, τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ συνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν ἀχρειστάτων, ἐμβόλω τούτῳ προέχοντι πολὺ τῆς ἀλλής φάλαγγος χρησόμενος· εἵρητο δὲ τοῖς κρατίστοις, ὅταν τούτους διακόψαντες οἱ 'Ῥωμαίοι καὶ φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸ εἶκον ἐκφερομένου τοῦ μέσου καὶ κόλπων λαμβάνοντος ἑντὸς γένονται τῆς φάλαγγος, ὃζέως ἐκατέρωθεν ἐπιστρέφαντας ἐμβαλεῖν τε πλαγίοις καὶ περι-
3 πτύσσειν ὀπισθεν συγκλείοντας. ὃ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ τὸν πλεῖστον ἀπεργάσασθαι φόνοι. ὡς γὰρ ἐνεδώκε τὸ μέσον καὶ τοὺς 'Ῥωμαίοις ἐδέξαντο διώκοντας, ἢ δὲ φάλαγξ τοῦ Ἀννίβου μεταβαλοῦσα τὸ σχῆμα μηνοεῖδης ἐγεγονεί καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων οἱ ταξιαρχοὶ ταχὺ τοὺς μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδα, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ δόρυ κλίναντες προσέπεσον κατὰ τὰ γυμνά, πάντας, ὅσοι μὴ τὴν κύκλωσιν ὑπεκκλίναντες ἐφθασαν, ἐν μέσῳ κατεργάσαντο καὶ διέφθειραν.

4 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἰππεύσι τῶν 'Ῥωμαίων σύμπτωμα παράλογον γενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Παῦλον, ὡς έοικε, τρωθεὶς ὁ ἰππὸς ἀπεσείστατο, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλος καὶ ἄλλος ἀπολυτῶν τὸν ἰππὸν πεζὸς τὸ ὑπάτῳ προσήμυνε. τούτῳ δὲ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἴδοντες, ὡς παραγγέλματος κοινοῦ δεδομένου, πάντες ἀποπηδήσαντες πεζοὶ συνεπλέκοντο τοὺς πολεμίους. ἠδὼν δ' ὁ Ἀννίβας, ὡς 'Τούτ', ἔφη, "μᾶλλον ἡ βουλόμην ἡ εἰ δεδεμένους παρέλαβον." 5 ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἱ τὰς διεξοδικὰς γράψαντες ἱστορίας ἀπηγγέλκασι.
to avoid it, and so fell into confusion. In the second place, he formed his troops as follows: the sturdiest and most warlike part of his force he stationed on either side of the centre, and manned the centre itself with his poorest soldiers, intending to use this as a wedge jutting out far in advance of the rest of his line. But orders were given to the picked troops, when the Romans should have cut the troops in the centre to pieces, pursued them hotly as they retreated and formed a deep hollow, and so got within their enemy's line of battle,—then to turn sharply from either side, smite them on the flanks, and envelop them by closing in upon their rear. And it was this which seems to have produced the greatest slaughter. For the centre gave way and was followed by the Romans in pursuit, Hannibal's line of battle thus changing its shape into that of a crescent; and the commanders of the picked troops on his wings wheeled them swiftly to left and right and fell upon the exposed sides of their enemy, all of whom, except those who retired before they were surrounded, were then overwhelmed and destroyed.

It is said, further, that a strange calamity befell the Roman cavalry also. The horse of Paulus, as it appears, was wounded and threw his rider off, and one after another of his attendants dismounted and sought to defend the consul on foot. When the 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.
The page contains a section from Plutarch's Lives, specifically discussing a person named Βάρρως (Varro) and his own convictions. The text is in Greek and provides context about his thoughts and actions regarding certain philosophical or political matters. The page includes footnotes and references to other works, such as Livy, for further clarification or historical context. The text is clear and well-formatted, ensuring readability and comprehension for the reader.
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 τύχῃ καὶ συνεπεισοπεσεῖν ἀμα τῇ φυγῇ τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν, πεμπταῖον γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ δειπνήσειν, οὐ δάβδοι εἰπείν, ὡστε ἀπετρεψε λογισμός, ἄλλα μᾶλλον δαίμονος ἡ θεοῦ τινος ἐμποδῶν στάντος ἐσικεῖν ἔργον ἡ πρὸς τούτῳ μέλλησις αὐτοῦ καὶ δειλίασις γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ Βάρκαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον εἰπεῖν μετ’ ὀργῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντες: “Σὺ νικᾶν οἶδας, νίκη δὲ χρῆσθαι 2 οὐκ οἶδας.” καίτοι τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἡ νίκη περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησεν, ὡς πρὸ τῆς μάχης οὐ πόλιν, οὐκ ἐμπόριον, οὐ λιμένα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἔχοντα, χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ δι’ ἀρπαγῆς κομιζόμενον, ὄρμωμενον ἡπ’ οὐδενὸς Βεβαίου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ ληστηρίῳ μεγίλῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πλανώμενον καὶ περιφερόμενον, τότε πάσαν ὀλίγον δεῖν υφ’ αὐτῶ ποιήσαι τὴν Ἰταλίαν. τὰ γὰρ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐθνῶν αὐτῷ προσεχώρησεν ἐκούσια, καὶ Καπύη, ἢ μέγιστον ἔχει μετὰ 'Ῥώμην ἡξίωμα τῶν πόλεων, προσθεμένην κατέσχεν.

Οὐ μόνον δ’ ἦν ἄρα τὸ φίλων πείραν λαβεῖν, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, 1 οὐ σμικρὸν κακὸν, ἄλλα καὶ τὸ φρονίμων στρατηγῶν. ἢ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς μάχης Φαβίου δειλία καὶ ψυχρότης λεγομένη μετὰ τὴν μάχην εὕθες οὐδ’ ἀνθρώπινος ἔδοκει λογισμός, ἄλλα θείον τῇ χρῆμα διανοίας καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐκ τοσοῦτον τὰ μέλλοντα προορμένης, ἢ μόλις ἦν

XVII. In view of such a complete success, Hannibal's friends urged him to follow up his good fortune and dash into their city on the heels of the flying enemy, assuring him in that case that on the fifth day after his victory he would sup on the Capitol. It is not easy to say what consideration turned him from this course, nay, it would rather seem that his evil genius, or some divinity, interposed to inspire him with the hesitation and timidity which he now showed. Wherefore, as they say, Barca, the Carthaginian, said to him angrily: "Thou canst win a victory, but thy victory thou canst not use." 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

πιστὰ πάσχοσιν. ὦθεν εὐθὺς εἰς ἐκείνον ἡ Ῥώμη συνενεγκοῦσα τὰς λοιπὰς ἐξπίδας, καὶ προσφυγοῦσα τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡσσερὶ ἰερῷ καὶ βωμῷ, πρῶτην καὶ μεγίστην αἰτίαν ἐσχε τοῦ μείναι καὶ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τὴν ἐκείνου φρονήσιν, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς

Κελτικοὶς πάθεσιν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν ἐδόξει δεινὸν εἶναι καίρως εὐλαβῆς φαινόμενος καὶ δυσέλπιστος τὸτε πάντων καταβεβληκότων ἐαυτούς εἰς ἀπέραντα πένθη καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπράκτους, μόνος ἐφοίτα διὰ τῆς πόλεως πρᾶξι βαδίσματι καὶ προσώπῳ καθεστῶτι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ προσαγορεύσει, κοπετοὺς τε γυναικεῖους ἀφαιρῶν καὶ συντάσεις εἴργων τῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπὶ κοινοῖς ὁδυρμοῖς ἐκφερομένων, βουλῆν τε συνελθεῖν ἔπεισε καὶ παρεθάρσον τὰς ἀρχὰς, αὐτὸς ὁν καὶ ῥώμη καὶ δύναμις ἀρχῆς ἀπάσης πρὸς ἐκείνων ἀποβλεπούσης.

XVIII. Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πύλαις ἐπέστησε τοὺς τῶν ἐκπίπτοντα καὶ προλείποντα τὴν πόλιν ὄχλον ἀπείρξοντας, πένθους δὲ καὶ τόπον καὶ χρόνον ὀρίσε, καὶ οίκιαν ἀποθρημένης κελεύσας ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα τὸν βουλόμενον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτας ἔδει πάν πένθος λύσθαι καὶ καθαρέυειν τῶν τοιούτων τὴν πόλιν. ἔορτῆς τε Δήμητρος εἰς τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας καθηκούσης βέλτιον ἐφάνη παραλιπεῖν ὅλως τὰς τε θυσίας καὶ τὴν πομπὴν ἡ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ὀλυγότητι καὶ κατηφέια τῶν συνερχομένων ἐλέγχεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ θείον

3 ἢδεσθαι τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων. ὡσα μέντοι πρὸς ἰλασμοὺς θεῶν ἡ τεράτων ἀποτροπᾶς συνηγόρευον οἱ μάντεις ἐπράττετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμφθη θεοπρόπος Πίκτωρ, συγγενῆς.
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, ὥσπερ ἔστιν ἔθος, ξώσαν κατώρυξαν, ἡ δὲ υφ' έαυτῆς ἀπέθανεν.

4 Μάλιστα δ' ἂν τις ἀγάσαιτο τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν πράοτητα τῆς πόλεως, ὅτε τοῦ ὑπάτου Βάρ- ρωνος ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς ἐπανιότος, ὡς ἂν τις αἰσχριστα καὶ δυσποτμότατα πεπραχώς ἐπανίοι, ταπεινοῦ καὶ κατηφοὺς, ἀπῆλθη σεν αὐτῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἢ τε βουλή καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπαν ἀσταξό- μενοι. οἱ δ' ἐν τέλει καὶ πρῶτοι τῆς γερουσίας, ὅν καὶ Φάβιος ἦν, ἡσυχίας γενομένης ἐπήνεσαν, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀπέγνω μετὰ δυστυχίαν τηλικαύτην, ἀλλὰ πάρεστιν ἄρξων ἐπὶ τὰ πράγ- ματα καὶ χρησόμενος τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς πολίταις ὡς σώζεσθαι δυναμένοις.

XIX. Ἐπει δ' Ἀννίβανεπύθοντο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἀποτετράβθαι πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν, ἀναθαρ- ρήσαντες ἐξέπεμπον ἡγεμόνας καὶ στρατεύματα. τούτων δ' ἐσπαφανέστατοι Φάβιος τε Μάξιμος καὶ Κλαύδιος Μάρκελλος ἦσαν, ἀτό τῆς ἐναντίας σχεδὸν προαρέσεως θαυμαζόμενο παραπλησίως.

2 ὅ μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένοις εὑρήται, περιλαμβάνει τὸ δραστηριον ἔχων καὶ γαύ- ρον, ἀτε δὴ καὶ κατὰ χειρὰ πλήκτης ἀνὴρ καὶ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὃν οἷος Ἰμηρος μάλιστα καλεὶ "φιλοπολέμους" καὶ "ἀγερωχούς," ἐν τῷ παρα- βόλῳ καὶ ἑταμῷ καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα τολμηρὸν τὸν Ἀννίβαν ἀντιτολμῶντι τρόπῳ πολέμου συνύστατο

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

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

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

\(^1\) Cf. \textit{Numa}, x. 4 ff. \(^2\) Chapter i.
reásen ëautò kai katantríbhísesthai peri tôn pòlemou, ósper ãblhtikov ówmato tìs dyná-
meos úperstónou gevoménhs kai katanóponu, tachú-
tata tìn ãkmh'n úpofbalónta. ðid tòuton mév ò
Poseidónios fhsì thureò, tôn ò Márekéllo
xìfòs úpò tòv 'Rwmaiów káléisðai, kíraaménh
ò tìn Ëabhìob -bebaióttta kai áspháleIan
ìn Márekéllo suðntheia1 swtÌrióon gevésðai
1 tòv 'Rwmaiów. ò 'Aivibas tòv mév òs
réonti sfódra potamò polllákìs àpantò
èseísto kai pàrereèghnu to tìn dyàmaiwn, òf' òn
dè kai kàta mi크on úpofróontos ãÝsofhtì kai
pàremiptìontos èndèlechòs úpereiòmenos kai
dàpànòmenos èlánðanìe kai tèlèntòw eìs úporìa
katesth tosaùnì òstè Márekéllo mév ìpò-
kamein mákhìnen, Ëabhìob dè fòbèísðai mi'
mákhìnen.
5 Òò ãàr plèíston, òs eìpein, tòv xrônon ton òutois
dièpòlèmhènì ò stràtòghòs ò ànàvamátòs ò úpa-
tòs àpòdeìghìménoi. èkàteros òàr àvtoùn pèv-
tákìs úpàteusèn. ìllà Márekéllo men úpàteùnò
ò to pèmpton ènèdra peribàlلو èkteein, Ëabhìò ò
písan àpàtnì kai diîpeiràn èpàgon polllàkìs
òndèn èpèraîne, plînh ìpàx òlìgon pìrakeuroús-
6 menos èsfhìle tôn àndra. suðtheî òàr épìstòlás
parà tòn èn Metàpòntìkò ìnàtòn kai òròtòn
èpeimìe pròs tòn Ëabhìob, òs tìs pòleos ènò-
thìsòménhs eì paragénoîto, kai tòn òutò pràt-
tònòtò èkeìnon èlðeîn kai ìpàní ìn plèsiòn

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

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

1 In Lucania, 208 B.C. Cf. the Marcellus, xxix.
ταὐτ' ἐκίνησε τὸν Φάβιον τὰ γράμματα, καὶ λαβὼν μέρος τῆς στρατιάς ἐμελλέν ὀρμήσειν διὰ νυκτὸς· εἰτα χρησάμενος ὅρμησιν οὐκ αἰσχὸς ἀπετράπη, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀννίβου δόλῳ συντεθέντα κάκεινος ἐνεδρεύων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆν πόλιν. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἀν τις εὐνοίᾳ θεῶν ἀναθεῖη.

XX. Τὰς δ' ἀποστάσεις τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰ κινήματα τῶν συμμάχων ὁ Φάβιος μᾶλλον ὀφει δεῖν ἡπίως ὁμιλοῦντα καὶ πράως ἀνείργειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν, μη πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν ἔλεγχοντα καὶ χαλεπὸν ὅντα παντάπασι τοῖς ὑπόπτοις. λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι στρατιῶτην ἀνδρα Μάρσου, ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ γένει τῶν συμμάχων πρώτου, αἰσθόμενος διειλεγ-

μένον τισὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περὶ ἀποστά-

σεως οὐ διηρέθησεν, ἀλλ' ὀμολογήσας ἠμελήθηθαι παρ' ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ, νῦν μὲν ἐφι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας αἰτίασθαι πρὸς χάριν μᾶλλον ἡ πρὸς ἁρετὴν τὰς τιμὰς νέμοντας, ὦστερον δ' ἐκεῖνον αἰτιάσεσθαι μη φρούζοντα μηδ' ἐνυγχάνοντα πρὸς αὐτοῦ, εἰ τὸν ὀδεύτο. καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὑπ' ὑπὸ τὸν τολεμιστήν ἐδώρησατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀριστείοις ἐκόσμησεν, ὥστε πιστότατον ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ προθυμότατον εἰναι τὸν ἄνδρα. δείνον γὰρ ἡγεῖτο τοὺς μὲν ἰππικοὺς καὶ κυνηγητικοὺς ἐπιμελεῖα καὶ συνιθεία καὶ τροφὴ μᾶλλον ἡ μάστεξι καὶ κλοοὶς τὴν χαλεπότητα τῶν ἤμων καὶ τὸ υμούμενον καὶ τὸ δυσκολαίνον ἔξαιρεῖν, τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἠρχοντα μη τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν χάριτι καὶ πραότητι τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως τίθεσθαι, σκληρότερον δὲ προσ-
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
φέρεσθαι καὶ βιοιτερον ἦπερ οἱ γεωργοῦντες ἐρυνεῖς καὶ ἀχράσι καὶ κοτίνους προσφέρονται, τὰ μὲν εἰς ἐλαίας, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἁπίους, τὰ δὲ εἰς συκᾶς ἔξημεροῦντες καὶ τιθασεύοντες.

4 "Ετερον τούν τῷ γένει Δευκανόν ἄνδρα προσήγγειλαν οἱ λοχαγοὶ ἐμβόμβων ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείποντα πολλάκις. ὁ δὲ ἡρώτησε, τάλλα ποιῶν τινα τῶν ἀνθρωπον εἶδεῖν ὅντα. μαρτυροῦντων δὲ πάντων ὡς ῥαδίως ἔτερος οὐκ εἰς στρατιώτης τοιοῦτος, ἀμα τ' αὐτοῦ τινας ἀνδραγαθίας ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ πράξεις λεγόντων, αἰτίαν τῆς ἀταξίας ζητῶν εὑρεν ἐρωτὶ παιδίσκης κατεχόμενον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ κυνύνευοντα μακρὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκάστοτε φοιτῶντα

5 πρὸς ἐκείνην ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. πέμψας οὖν τινας ἀγνοοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ συλλαβῶν τὸ γύναιον ἐκρυψεν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ, καὶ καλέσας τὸν Δευκανόν ὁδιὰ πρὸς αὐτόν, "Οὐ λέληθας," ἔφη, "παρὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων πάτρια καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀποσκευασμένοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου πολλάκις: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ χρηστὸς ὁν πρότερον ἐλεληθεῖς. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἡμαρτημένα σοι λελύσθω τοῖς ἀνδραγαθημένοις, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν

6 ἔφ' ἐτέρῳ ποιήσομαι τὴν φρουράν." ταυμάζοντος δὲ τοῦ στρατιώτου προσαγαγὼν τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐνεχείρισεν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπεν. "Αὕτη μὲν ἐγγυνατὶ σε μενεῖν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ μεθ' ἡμῶν· σὺ δ' ἔργῳ δείξεις, εἰ μὴ δ' ἄλλῃ τινὰ μοχθηρίαν ἀπέλειπες, ὃ δ' ἔρως καὶ αὕτη πρόφασις ἢν λεγομένην." ταύτα μὲν περὶ τούτων ἑστοροῦσιν.

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

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

XXI. The city of Tarentum, which had been lost
κυναιν ἐκ προδοσίας τὸν τρόπον τούτον. ἐστρατεύετο παρ’ αὐτῷ νεανίας Ταραντίνος ἑξων ἀδελφήν πιστῶς πάνυ καὶ φιλοστόργως διακειμένην πρὸς αὐτόν. ἦρα δὲ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Βρέττιος τῶν τεταγμένων ὑπ’ Ἀννίβου τὴν πόλιν φρουρεῖν ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας. τούτῳ πράξεως ἐλπίδα τῷ Ταραντίνῳ παρέσχε, καὶ τοῦ Φαβίου συνειδότος εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφείθη, λόγῳ δ’ ἀποδεδράκει πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφήν εἰς Τάραντα. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρῶται τῶν ἡμερῶν ἡσαν, καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Βρέττιος ἀνεπαύετο, λαυθάνειν τῶν ἀδελφῶν οἰομένης ἐκείνης. ἐπείτα λέγει πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ νεανίας: “Καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖ λόγος ἐφοίτα πολὺς ἀνδρὶ σε τῶν δυνατῶν καὶ μεγάλων συνεϊναι. τῖς οὔτὸς ἔστιν; εἰ γὰρ εὐδόκιμὸς τις, ὃς φασίν, ἀρετῇ καὶ λαμπρῷ, ἐλάχιστα φροντίζει γένοις ὁ πάντα συμμιγνύσ πόλεμος: αἰσχρὸν δὲ μετ’ ἀνάγκης οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ εὐτυχία τις ἐν καιρῷ τὸ δίκαιον ἀσθενεῖς ἔχουτι πραοτάτῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ βιαζόμενῳ.” ἐκ τούτου μεταπέμπεται μὲν ἡ γυνὴ τῶν Βρέττιον καὶ γνωρίζει τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῷ. ταχὺ δὲ συμπράττων τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐκείνος καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον εὐνοῦν καὶ χειροίθη τῷ βαρβάρῳ παρέχειν δοκῶν τὴν ἀδελφήν, ἔσχε πιστῶς, ὡστε μὴ χαλεπῶς ἐρωτός ἀνθρώπου μισθοφόρου μεταστῆσαι διάνοιαν ἐπ’ ἐλπίςι δωρεῶν μεγάλων, ἀς 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
deeply enamoured, and the circumstance led her
brother to hope that he could accomplish something
by means of it. He therefore joined his sister in
Tarentum, ostensibly as a deserter from the Romans,
though he was really sent into the city by Fabius,
who was privy to his scheme. Some days passed,
accordingly, during which the Bruttian remained at
home, since the woman thought that her amour was
unknown to her brother. Then her brother had the
following words with her: “I would have you know
that a story was very current out there in the Roman
camp that you have interviews with a man high in
authority. Who is this man? For if he is, as they
say, a man of repute, and illustrious for his valour,
war, that confounder of all things, makes very little
account of race. Nothing is disgraceful if it is done
under compulsion, nay, we may count it rare good 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.
4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἵ πλεῖστοι γράφονσι περὶ τούτων· ἐνιοὶ δὲ τὴν ἀνθρώπων ύφ᾽ ἦς οἱ Βρέττιοι μετήχθη, φασίν οὖν Ταραντίνην, ἀλλὰ Βρέττιαν τὸ γένος οὖσαν, τῷ δὲ Φαβίῳ παλλακευμένην, ὡς ἠσθετος πολίτην καὶ γνώριμον οὖντα τὸν τῶν Βρέττιων ἀρχοντα, τῷ τε Φαβίῳ φράσαι καὶ συνελθοῦσαν εἰς λόγους ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος ἐκπείσαι καὶ κατεργάσασθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν.

XXII. Πραπτομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ Φαβίος περισπάσαι τὸν Ἀννίβαν τεχνάζων ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐν Ἤηγίῳ στρατιώταις τὴν Βρέττιαν καταδραμεῖν καὶ Καυλωνίαν ἐξελεῖν κατὰ κράτος στρατοπεδεύσαντας, ὁκτακισχιλίους οὖντας, αὐτομόλους δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας ὑπὸ Μαρκέλλου κεκομισμένων ἀτίμων τοὺς ἄχρηστοτάτους καὶ μετ᾽ ἐλαχίστης τῇ πόλει λύπης καὶ 2 βλάβης ἀπολογούμενους. ἦλπίζε γὰρ τούτους προέμενος τῷ Ἀννίβα καὶ δειλαῖσας ἀπάξειν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱάραντος· ὁ καὶ συνεβαινεν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐκεῖ διώκων ὁ Ἀννίβας ἐρρύη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. ἠμέρα δὲ ἐκτῇ τούς Ταραντίνους τοῦ Φαβίου περιστρατοπεδεύσαντος, ὁ προδεικλεγμένος τῷ Βρέττιῳ μετὰ τῆς ἄδελφῆς νεανίσκος ἤκε νῦκτις πρὸς αὐτῶν, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς καὶ καθεωρακὼς τὸν τόπον ἐφ᾽ οὗ παραφυλάττων ὁ Βρέττιος ἐμελλεν ἐνδώσειν καὶ παρῆσιν τοῖς 3 προσβάλλουσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀπλῶς γε τῆς προδοσίας ἐξήρτησεν ὁ Φαβίος τὴν πράξειν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐκείσε παρελθὼν ἤσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἢ δ᾽ ἀλλὰ στρατιὰ προσβάλλε τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἀμα, ποιοῦσα πολλὴν κραυγὴν

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

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

1 So, substantially, by Livy, xxvii. 15.
καὶ θόρυβον, ἀρχὴ οὐ τῶν πλείστων Ταραντίνων ἐκεῖ βοηθοῦντων καὶ συμφερομένων τοῖς τειχο- 
μαχοῦσιν ἐσῆμην τῷ Φαβίῳ τὸν καίρον ὁ Βρέτ-
τιος, καὶ διὰ κλιμάκων ἀναβάς ἐκράτησε τῆς 
pολεως.

4 Ἐνταῦθα μὲντοι δοκεῖ φιλοτιμίας ἦττων γενέ-
σθαι τοὺς γὰρ Βρεττίους πρῶτους ἀποσφάπτειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς μὴ προδοσία τὴν πόλιν ἔχουν 
φανέρος γένουτο, καὶ τάντας τε διήμαρτε τῆς 
δόξης καὶ διαβολὴν ἀπιστίας προσέλαβε καὶ 
ὡμοτητος. ἀπέθανον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ταρα-
νίων: οἱ δὲ πραθέντες ἐγένοςτο τρισμύριοι, καὶ 
τὴν πόλιν ἡ στρατιά διήρπασεν ἀνηνέχθη δ’ 
5 εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τρισχίλια τάλαντα. πάντων δὲ 
tῶν ἄλλων ἀγομένων καὶ φερομένων λέγεται τὸν 
γραμματέα πυθέσθαι τοῦ Φαβίου περὶ τῶν θεῶν 
tί κελεύει, τὰς γραφὰς οὔτω προσαγορεύσαντα 
καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας: τὸν οὐν Φάβιον εἰπείν 
"Ἀπολείπωμεν τοὺς θεοὺς Ταραντίνους κεχολω-
6 μένους." οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τὸν κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡρα-
κλέους μετακομίσας ἐκ Τάραντος ἐστησεν ἐν 
Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ πλησίον ἐφιππὸν εἰκόνα χαλκὴν 
έαντον, πολὺ Μαρκέλλου φανεῖς ἀτοπώτερος 
περὶ τάντα, μᾶλλον δ’ ὄλως ἐκεῖνον ἄνδρα 
πράσητε καὶ φιλανθρωπία θαυμαστὸν ἀποδείξας, 
ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

XXIII. Ἀννίβαν δὲ λέγεται διώκοντα τεσ-
σαράκοντα μόνοις ἀπολειφθήματι σταδίοις, καὶ
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

"'Ην ἄρα καὶ Ῥωμαίοις 'Ἀννίβας τις ἐτερος· ἀπεβάλομεν γὰρ τὴν Ταραντίνων πόλιν ὡσπερ ἐλάβομεν," ἴδια δὲ τότε προτού αὐτῶ παραστήναι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεῖν, ὡς πάλαι μὲν ἔωρα χαλεπὸν αὐτοῖς, νῦν δὲ ἀδύνατον

2 κρατεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων Ἰταλίας. τούτων δεύτερον θρίαμβον ἐθριάμβευσε λαμπρότερον τοῦ προτέρου Φάβιος, ὡσπερ ἀθλητής ἄγαθὸς ἐπισγωνιζόμενος τῷ 'Ἀννίβα καὶ ῶδίως ἀπολυόμενος αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις, ὡσπερ ἀμματα καὶ λαβᾶς οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχούσας τόνων. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἀνείτω τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτῶ διὰ τρυφῆν καὶ πλοῦτον, ἢ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐξήμβλυντο καὶ κατατετριπτο τοῖς ἀλωφήτοις ἄγωσιν.

3 Ἡν δὲ Μάρκος Λίβιος, οὐ τοῦ Τάραντα φρουροῦντος ὁ 'Ἀννίβας ἀπεστησεν ὄμως δὲ τὴν ἀκραν κατέχων οὐκ ἐξεκρούσθη, καὶ διεφύλαξεν ἄχρι τοῦ πάλιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις γενέσθαι τοὺς Ταραντίνους. τούτων ἠνία Φάβιος τιμώμενος, καὶ ποτὲ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐξενεχθεῖσα εἶπεν ὡς οὔ Φάβιος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αἰτίος γένοιτο τοῦ τὴν Ταραντίνων ἀλώναι. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Φάβιος, "Ἀληθῆ λέγεις," εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ γὰρ σὺ τὴν πόλιν ἀπέβαλες, οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ παρέλαβον."

XXIV. Οἱ δὲ 'Ρωμαῖοι τὰ τ' ἄλλα τῷ Φαβίῳ προσεφέροντο λαμπρῶς, καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ Φάβιον ἀνέδειξαν ὑπατον. παραλαβόντος δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ διοικοῦντος τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ὁ πατήρ, εἶτε διὰ γῆς καὶ ἀσθένειαν
FABIUS MAXIMUS

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.
εἴτε διαπειρώμενοι τοῦ παιδός, ἀναβὰς ἐφ' ὑπ' εἰς τῶν ἐνυγχαϊνόντων καὶ περιστώτων. ὃ δὲ νεανίας κατιδὼν πόρρωθεν οὐκ ἦνέσχετο, πέμψας δ' ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευσε καταβῆναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ προσελθεῖν, εἶ δὴ τι τυγχά-νει τῆς ἀρχῆς δεόμενος. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἡμίσεις τὸ ἐπίταγμα, καὶ σιωπῆ πρὸς τὸν Φάβιον ὡς ἀνάξια πάσχοντα τῆς δόξης ὑπέβλεψαν· αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖνος ὠποτιθήσας κατὰ τάχος, θάττων ἥ βάδην πρὸς τὸν ύιὸν ἐπεισθεῖς, καὶ περιβαλὼν καὶ ἀσπασάμενος, "Ἐγ' γε," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, φρο-νεῖς καὶ πράττεις, αἰσθόμενος τίνων ἄρχεις καὶ πηλίκης μέγεθος ἀνείληφας ἁρχῆς. οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς Ῥώμης ἡμεῖς ἑμεῖς, ἐν δευτέρῳ καὶ γονεῖς καὶ παίδας ἀλή τῶν τῆς πατρί-δος καλῶν πιθέμενοι."

3 Λέγεται δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς τοῦ Φαβίου τὸν πρό-παππον ἐν δόξῃ· καὶ δυνάμει μεγίστῃ Ῥωμαίων γενόμενον πεντάκις μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπατεύσας καὶ θριάμβους ἐκ πολέμων μεγίστων ἐπιφανεστάτως καταγαγεῖν, ὑπατεύοντι δ' υἱό πρεσβευτὴν συν-εξελθεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεμον, ἐν δὲ τῷ θριάμβῳ τὸν μὲν εἰσελαύνειν ἐπὶ τεθρίπτηρον, τὸν δ' ὑπὸν ἔχοντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀγαλ-λόμενον ὅτι τοῦ μὲν υἱοῦ κύριος, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν μέγιστος καὶ ὁν καὶ προσαγορεύμενος, ὠστερον αὐτὸν τοῦ νόμου καί τοῦ ἄρχοντος τίθησιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτων μόνον θαυ-μαστός ἦν.
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, sat in seires consulem te esse.” Livy, xxiv. 44  
2 292 B.C.
4 Τοῦ δὲ Φαβίου τὸν ὑδὸν ἀποθανεῖν συνέβη· καὶ τὴν μὲν συμφορὰν ὡς ἀνήρ τε φρόνιμος καὶ πατήρ χρηστός ἦνεγκε μετριώτατα, τὸ δ' ἐγκώ-
μιον, ὃ ταῖς ἐκκομιδαῖς τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οἱ προσ-
ήκοντες ἐπιτελοῦσιν, αὐτὸς εἶπε καταστάς ἐν ἀγορᾷ, καὶ γράψας τὸν λόγον ἐξέδωκεν.

XXV. 'Επεὶ δὲ Σκηπίων Κορνίλλιος εἰς 'Ἰβηρίαν
πεμφθεῖς Καρχηδονίους μὲν ἐξῆλασε μάχαις πολ-
λαίς κρατήσας, ἑβην δὲ πάμπολλα καὶ πόλεις
μεγάλας καὶ πράγματα λαμπρὰ Ρωμαίοις κτησά-
μενος εὐνουαν εἰχὲ καὶ δόξαν ἐπανελθὼν ὡση
アルバム συνεῖς, ὑπατος δὲ κατασταθεῖς καὶ τὸν
δήμον αἰσθόμενος μεγάλην ἀπαιτοῦντα καὶ προσ-
2 δεχόμενον πράξειν αὐτοῦ,1 τὸ μὲν αὐτόθι συμ-
πλέκεσθαι πρὸς Ἀινίβαν ἀρχαῖον ἤγειτο θίαν
καὶ πρεσβυτικόν, αὐτὴν δὲ Καρχηδόνα καὶ Δι-
βύνην εὐθὺς ἐμπλήσας ὅπλων καὶ στρατευμάτων
διενείτο πορθεῖν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς 'Ἰταλίας
ἐκεί μεθιστάναι, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο παντὶ τῷ θυμῷ
συνεξώρμα τὸν δήμον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Φάβιος ἐπὶ πᾶν
δέους ἄγων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ύπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνοίητον καὶ
νέου φερομένην εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον καὶ μεγίστον κύδυ-
3 νον, οὐτε λόγου φειδόμενος οὔτ' ἔργον δοκοῦντος
ἀποτρέψειν τοὺς πολίτας τὴν μὲν βουλήν ἐπεισε,
tῷ δὲ δήμῳ διὰ φθόνον ἐδόκει τοῦ Σκηπίωνος εὐμη-
ροῦντος ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ διδεῖναι, μὴ τὶ μέγα
καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐξεργασαμένου καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἢ
παντάπασιν ἀνελόντος ἢ τῆς 'Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντος

1 αὐτοῦ Bekker corrects to παρ' αὐτοῦ.
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’ ὀρμῆσαι μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ Φάβιος πρὸς τὸ ἀντιλέγειν ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀσφαλείας καὶ προνοίας, μέγαν ὄντα δεδιώς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἑντείναι δέ πως μᾶλλον ἐαυτὸν καὶ πορρωτέρῳ προαχθῆναι φιλοτιμία τινὶ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ, κωλύσων τοῦ Σκηπτίων τὴν αὔξησιν, δε γε καὶ Κράσσον ἐπειθεῖ, τὸν συνυπατεύοντα τῶ Σκηπτίων, μὴ παρεῖναι τὴν στρατηγίαν μηδ’ ύπείκειν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν, εἰ δόξειν, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνιος περαιοῦσθαι, καὶ χρήματα δοθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ εἴσασθε. χρήματα μὲν οὖν Σκηπτίων ἐαυτῷ πορίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενος ἥγειρε παρὰ τῶν ἐν Τυρρηνίᾳ πόλεων ἱδίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείως διακειμένων καὶ χαριζομένων Κράσσον δὲ τὰ μὲν ἡ φύσις οὖν ὄντα φιλόνεικον, ἀλλὰ πράσσον, οἴκοι κατείχε, τὰ δὲ καὶ νόμος θείος ἱερωσύνην ἔχοντα τὴν μεγίστην.

XXVI. Αὕθις οὖν καθ’ ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ὑπαντῶν ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Σκηπτίῳ κατεκόλυτος τὸν ὀρμομένους αὐτῷ συστατεύεισθαι τῶν νέων καὶ κατείχεν, ἐν τε ταῖς βουλαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις βοῶν ὡς οὖν αὐτὸς Ἀππίαν ἀποδιδράζοικοι μόνος οἱ Σκηπτίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκπλείον λαβών δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, δημαγωγῶν ἐλπίς τοὺς νέους καὶ ἀναπείθων ἀπολυτείν γονίας καὶ γυναικας καὶ πόλιν, ὃς ἐν θύραις ἐπικρατῶν καὶ ὑπήτητος ὁ πολέμιος κάθηται. καὶ μέντοι ταῦτα

2 λέγων ἐφόβησε τοὺς Ρωμαίους, καὶ μόνοις αὐτῶν ἐψηφίσαντο χρῆσθαι 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 Ἰβηρία γεγονότων μετ' αὐτοῦ τριακοσίων ἀγεν, οἷς ἔχριτο πιστοὶ. ταῦτα μὲν ὦν ἔδοκει πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ὁ Φάβιος.

'Επεὶ δὲ Σκηπτίωνος εἰς Διβύνην διαβάντως εὐθὺς ἔργα θαυμαστὰ καὶ πράξεις ὑπερήφανοι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀπηγγέλλοντο, καὶ μαρτυροῦντα ταῖς φήμαις εἴπετο λάφυρα πολλά,

3 καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Νομάδων αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ δύο στρατοπέδων ύφ' ἐνα καιρὸν ἐμπρήσεις καὶ φθορὰ πολλῶν μὲν ἀνθρώπων, πολλῶν δ' ὀπλῶν καὶ ἑπτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς συγκατακεκαμένων, καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς Ἀυνίβαν ἐπέμποντο παρὰ Καρχηδονίων καλούντων καὶ δεομένων ἐάσαντα τὰς ἀτελεῖς ἐκείνας ἐπίπεδας οἰκαὶ βοηθεῖν, ὡς ἐν δὲ Ῥώμη πάντων ἐχόντων τὸν Σκηπτίωνα διὰ στόματος ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι, Φάβιος ἦξιον πέμπεσθαι Σκηπτίωνι διάδοχον, ἀλλην μὲν οὐκ ἔχων πρόφασιν, εἰπὼν δὲ τὸ μυθομοιούμενον, ὦς ἐπισφαλές ἐστι πιστεύειν ἄνδρος ἐνὸς τοὺς τῆς καύτα πράγματα, χαλεπὸν γὰρ αἳ ἐντυχεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν, οὕτω προσέκρουσεν ἢδη πολλοῖς, ὡς δύσκολος ἀνὴρ καὶ βάσκανος ἢ πάμπαν ὕπο γῆρως ἀτολμος γεγονός καὶ δύσελτις, περαιτέρω τε τοῦ μετρίου κατατεθαμβημένος τῶν Ἀυνίβαν. οὔδε γὰρ ἐκπλεῦσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξ Ιταλίας εἶσε τὸ χαίρον καὶ τεθαρρηκός τῶν πολιτῶν ἀθόρυβον καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ τὸτε δὴ μάλιστα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει θεούσῃ παρὰ τῶν ἐσχατοῦ κίνδυνον ἐπισφαλῶς ἔχειν ἐλεγεν.
men who had been with him in Spain,—men who had served him faithfully. In this course, at any rate, Fabius seems to have been influenced by his own cautious temper.

But as soon as Scipio had crossed into Africa, tidings were brought\(^1\) to Rome of wonderful achievements and of exploits transcendent in magnitude and splendour. These reports were confirmed by abundant spoils which followed them; the king of Numidia was taken captive; two of the enemy's camps were at once destroyed by fire, and in them a great number of men, arms, and horses; embassies were sent from Carthage to Hannibal urgently calling upon him to give up his fruitless hopes in Italy and come to the aid of his native city;\(^2\) and when every tongue in Rome was dwelling on the theme of Scipio's successes, then Fabius demanded that a successor should be sent out to replace him. He gave no other reason, but urged the well remembered maxim that it was dangerous to entrust such vast interests to the fortune of a single man, since it was difficult for the same man to have good fortune always. By this course he gave offence now to many, who thought him a captious and malicious man, or one whose old age had robbed him utterly of courage and confidence, so that he was immoderately in awe of Hannibal. For not even after Hannibal and his army had sailed away from Italy\(^3\) would he suffer the rejoicing and fresh courage of the citizens to be undisturbed and assured, but then even more than ever he insisted that the city was running into extremest peril and that her affairs were in a dangerous plight.

\(^1\) 204 B.C. \(^2\) Cf. Livy, xxx. 19. \(^3\) 203 B.C.
βαρύτερον γὰρ ἐν Διβύη πρὸς Καρχηδόνος αὐτοῖς Ἀννίβαν ἐμπεσεῖσθαι, καὶ στρατὸν ἀπαντήσειν Σκητίων πολλῶν ἔτι θερμῶν αὐτοκρατόρων αἵματι καὶ δικτατόρων καὶ ὑπάτων· ὥστε τὴν πόλιν αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ἀναταράττεσθαι, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μεθευστῶτος εἰς Διβύην ἐγγυτέρω τῆς Ῥώμης οἴεσθαι γεγονέναι τὸν φώβου.

XXVII. Ἀλλὰ Σκητίων μὲν οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνου αὐτόν τε νικήσας μάχῃ κατὰ κράτος Ἀννίβαν καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ καταπατήσας τῆς Καρχηδόνος ὑποπεσοῦσης, ἀπέδωκε μείζονα χαράν ἀπάσης ἐλπίδος τοῖς πολίταις, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὡς ἀληθῶς "πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθείσαν ὄρθωσε πάλιν." 1 Φύβιος δὲ Μάξιμος οὔ διήρκεσε τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος, οὔτ' ἦκουσεν Ἀννίβαν ἠττημένον, οὐδὲ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ βέβαιον εὔνυχιάν τῆς πατρίδος ἑπείδειν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ὅν χρόνον Ἀννίβας ἄπηρεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας 2 νόσῳ καμών ἐπελεύσθησε. Ἐπαμεινάνθαν μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι δήμοσία διὰ πενίαν, ἣν ἀπέλιπεν ὁ ἄνήρ, έθαψαν οὔτε γὰρ οἴκοι τελευτήσαντος εὑρέθηναι πλὴν ὀβελίσκοι σιδηροῦν λέγουσι. Φύβιον δὲ Ρωμαιοὶ δήμοσία μὲν οὐκ ἐκήδευσαν, ἵδια δ' ἐκάκτου τὸ σμικρότατον αὐτῷ τῶν νομισμάτων ἐπενεγκόντος, οὐχ ὡς δ' ἐνδεικνύει προσαρκοῦντων, ἀλλ' ὡς πατέρα τοῦ δήμου θάπτουτος, ἔσχε τιμήν καὶ δόξαν ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ πρέπουσαν.

1 πολλῷ...πάλιν with Bekker, as adapted from (θεόι) πολλῷ σάλῳ σεισθείσαν ὄρθωσαν πάλιν, Sophocles, Antigone, 163. Sintenis corrected ὄρθωσε to 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 ἔχονσιν ἱστορίαν. ἔπει δὲ καὶ πολιτικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς ἀρετῆς πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ παραδείγματα καταλελοίπασιν ἀμφότεροι, φέρε τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐκείνῳ πρότον λάβωμεν, ὅτι Περικλῆς μὲν ἀρίστα πράττοντι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ μεγίστῳ καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπά καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς δύναμιν ἀκμάζοντι χρόμενος ὑπὸ κοινῆς ἀν δόξειεν εὐτυχίας καὶ ῥώμης πραγμά-
2 των ἀσφαλῆς διαγενέσθαι καὶ ἀπταίστος, οἱ δὲ Φαβίου πράξεις ἐν αἰσχίστος καὶ δυσπότιμο-
tάτοις καιροῖς ἀναδεξαμένου τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ἀσφαλῆ διετήρησαν, ἄλλ' ἐκ κακῶν εἰς 
βελτίω μετέστησαν. καὶ Περικλῆς μὲν αἱ Κήμωνος εὐπραξίας καὶ τὰ Μυρωνίδου καὶ τὰ 
Δεωκράτους τρόπαια καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα 
Τοῦμίδης κατορθῶν ἐνεορτάσαι μᾶλλον καὶ ἐμπανηγυρίσαι στρατηγοῦντι τὴν πόλιν ἡ κτήσα-
3 σθαι πολέμῳ καὶ φυλάξαι παρέδωκαν. Φάβιος δ' ὀρῶν πολλὰς μὲν φυγάς καὶ ἤττας, πολλοὺς δὲ 
θανάτους καὶ σφαγὰς αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ στρα-
tηγῶν, λίμνας δὲ καὶ πεδία καὶ ὅρμους νεκρῶν 
στρατοπέδων πλήθοντας, ἀματὶ δὲ καὶ φόνω 
ποταμοὺς ἄχρι θαλάττης ῥέοντας, ἐν τῷ καθ' 
ἐαυτὸν ὅρμωμε ὁ καὶ βεβηκότι τὴν πόλιν ἀντι-
λαμβανόμενος καὶ ύπερείδων, οὐκ εἰσασε τοῖς 

1 ὅρμωμεν Bekker corrects to ἱρμοσμένῳ (uttempered), after Corœs.
COMPARISON OF PERICLES AND FABIUS

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
ἐκεῖνων ὑποφερομένην πταίσμασι τελέως ἐκχυ-θήναι. καίτοι δόξειεν ἂν όυχ οὕτω χαλεποῦ εἶναι πόλειν ἐν συμφοραῖσ μεταχειρίσασθαι ταπεινήν καὶ τοῦ φρονοῦντος ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης κατήκουν γενομένην, ὥσ δὲ εὐτυχίαν ἐπηρμένω καὶ σπαργάντι τῷ δήμῳ χαλινῶν ἐμβαλεῖν ύβρεως καὶ θρασύτη-τος, ὅ δὲ μάλιστα φαίνεται τρόπῳ Περικλῆς Ἀθηναίων περιγενόμενος. ἀλλὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμπεσόντων τότε κακῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἴσχυρὸν τινα τὴν γνώμην καὶ μέγαν ἐδειξεν ἀνδρὰ τὸν μὴ συγχυθέντα μηδὲ προέμενον τοὺς αὐτοῦ λογισμοὺς.

II. Καὶ Σάμῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους ἀλούσῃ τὴν Τάραντος ἐστὶν κατάληψιν ἀντιθείναι, καὶ νὴ Δί. Ἐνθοὶ τὰς περὶ Καμπανίαν πόλεις εἶπε αὐτὴν γε Καπύνην οἱ περὶ Φούλβιον καὶ Ἀππιον ὑπατοὶ κατέσχον. ἐκ δὲ παρατάξεως Φάβιος οὐ φαίνεται μάχῃ νεκικηκὼς πλῆν ἄφ’ ἂς τὸν πρό-τερον εἰσήλασε θρίαμβον, Περικλῆς δ’ ἐννέα τροπαία κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἔστησεν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. οὐ μὴν λέγεται τοιαύτῃ πράξις Περικλέους, οἰναν ἐπραξέ Φάβιος Μινούκιον ἐξαρπάζας Ἀννίβου καὶ διασώσας ἐντελές στρα-τόπεδον Ῥωμαίων καλὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔργον καὶ κοινὸν ἀνδρείας ὁμοῦ καὶ φρονήσεως καὶ χρηστότητος· ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν οὔδε σφάλμα λέγεται Περικλέους οἰον ἑσφάλη Φάβιος διὰ τῶν βοῶν καταστρατη-γηθεὶς ὑπ’ Ἀννίβου, λαβὼν μὲν αὐτομάτως καὶ κατὰ τύχην ὑπελθόντα τοῖς στενοῖς τὸν πολέμιον, προέμενος δὲ νυκτὸς λαθόντα καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν βιασάμενον καὶ θάσαντα μέλλοντος καὶ κρατή-

1 τὴν γνώμην Coraēs: 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. εἶ δὲ δὲὶ μὴ μόνον χρὴσθαι
toῖς παροῦσιν, ἄλλα καὶ τεκμαίρεσθαι περὶ τοῦ
μέλλοντος ὅρθως τὸν ἀγαθὸν στρατηγὸν, Ἡθη-
ναίοις μὲν ὡς Περικλῆς προέγνω καὶ προείπεν
ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πόλεμος. πολυπραγμονοῦντες γὰρ
ἀπώλεσαν τὴν δύναμιν. Ὁρμαίοι δὲ παρὰ τοὺς
Φαβίου λογισμοὺς ἐκπέμψαντες ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους
Σκηπίωνα πάντων ἐκράτησαν, οὐ τὕχη, σοφία
δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἀνδρεία κατὰ κράτος
νυκήσαντος τοὺς πολεμίους. ὥστε τῷ μὲν
tὰ πταίσματα τῆς πατρίδος μαρτυρεῖν ὅτι
καλῶς ἔγνω, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν κατορθωμάτων
ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἐσφαλμένου. ἵση δ' ἀμαρτία
στρατηγοῦ κακῶς περιπεσεῖν μὴ προσ-
δοκήσαντα καὶ κατορθώματος καιρὸν ἀπιστία
προέσθαι. μία γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπειρία καὶ
θράσος γεννᾶ καὶ θάρσος ἀφαιρεῖται. ταῦτα
περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν.

III. Τῆς δὲ πολιτείας μέγα μὲν ἐγκλῆμα τοῦ
Περικλέους ὁ πόλεμος. λέγεται γὰρ ἐπακτὸς ὑπ' ἐκείνου γενέσθαι Δακεδαιμονίους ἐρίσαντος μὴ ἐνδοῦναι. δοκῶ δὲ μὴ ἂν Φάβιον Μάξιμον
ἐνδοῦναι τι Καρχηδονίοις, ἀλλ' εὐγενῶς ὑπο-
στήναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἤγερμονίας κίνδυνον. ἦ μέντοι
πρὸς Μινουκίον ἐπιείκεια τοῦ Φαβίου καὶ
πραότης ἐλέγχει τὸν πρὸς Κίμωνα καὶ Θου-
κυδίδην στασιασμόν, ἀνδρας ἄγαθους καὶ ἄριστο-
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. Inexperienced, 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,
κρατικοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦστρακον
2 ἐκπεσόντας. ἀλλ' ἦ γε δύναμις μεῖζων ἡ τοῦ
Περικλέους καὶ τὸ κράτος. δὴν οὐδ' ἄλλον εἰςασεν ἐνδυστυχήσαι τῇ πόλει κακῶς βουλευ-
σάμενον στρατηγὸν, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνος αὐτὸν ἐκφυγὼν
Τολμίδης καὶ διωσάμενος βία προσεπταίε Βοιω-
τοῖς· οῦ δ' ἄλλοι προσετίθεντο καὶ κατεκοσμοῦντο
πάντες εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ὑπὸ μεγέθους αὐτοῦ
3 τῆς δυνάμεως. Φάβιος δὲ τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσφαλῆς
ὡν καὶ ἀναμάρτητος τῷ πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν ἐπέρους
ἀδυνάτῳ φαίνεται λειπόμενος. οὐ γὰρ ἂν το-
σαύταις συμφόραις ἐχρήσαντο 'Ῥωμαίοι Φαβίου
παρ' αὐτοῖς ὥσον 'Ἀθηνᾶς Περικλέους δυνη-
θέντος.

Καὶ μὴν τὴν γε πρὸς χρήματα μεγαλοφροσύνην
ὁ μὲν τῷ μηδὲν λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν διδόντων, ὡ δὲ
tῷ προέσθαι πολλὰ τοῖς δοσμένοις ἐπεδείξατο,
λυσάμενος τοῖς ἱδίοις χρήμασι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.
4 πλὴν τούτων μὲν οὐ πολὺς ἢν ἄριθμός, ἀλλ' ὥσον
ἐξ τάλαντα. Περικλῆς δ' οὐκ ἂν ἵσως εἴποι τις
ὅσα καὶ παρὰ συμμάχων καὶ βασιλέων ὥφελει-
σθαι καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι παρόν, τῆς δυνάμεως
dιδούσης, ἀδωρότατον ἑαυτὸν καὶ καθαρώτατον
eφύλαξεν.

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

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

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

I. Ἐπεὶ δοκεύμεν οὐκ ἄτοπως τῷ Νικίᾳ τὸν Κράσσον παραβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ Παρθικὰ παθηματα τοῖς Σικελικοῖς, ὥρα παρατείνει καὶ παρακαλεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς συγγράμμασι τούτοις, ᾧ διὰ ταῖς δυνήσειν αἰς Θουκυδίδης, αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ περὶ ταύτα παθητικώτατος, ἐναργέστατος, ποικιλώτατος γενόμενος, ἀμυνήτως ἐξενήνοχε, μηδὲν ἥμας ὑπολάβωσι

2 πεπονθέναι Τιμαίῳ πάθος ὅμοιον, ὡς ἐλπίσας τὸν μὲν Θουκυδίδην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι δεινότητι, τὸν δὲ Φίλιστον ἀποδείξειν παντάπασι φορτικὸν καὶ ἰδιώτην, διὰ μέσων ὡθεῖται τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῶν μάλιστα κατωρθωμένων ἐκείνως ἁγώνων καὶ ναυμαχίων καὶ δημηγοριῶν, οὐ μὰ Δία

παρὰ Δύδιον ἄρμα πεζὸς οἰχνεύων

ὡς φησὶ Πίνδαρος, ἀλλὰ ὅλως τις ὑψιμαθῆς καὶ μειρακιῶδης φαινόμενος ἐν τούτοις, καὶ κατὰ τὸν Δίφιλον

παχύς, ὀνθυλευμένος στέατι Σικελικῷ,

3 πολλαχοῦ δ᾽ ὑπορρέων εἰς τὸν Ἐναρχὸν, ὡσπερ ὅταν λέγῃ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἶων ἡγήσασθαι γεγονέναι τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἔχουτα τούμορα

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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 Thucydidès has inimitably set forth, surpassing even himself in pathos, vividness, and variety, I am so disposed as was Timaeus. He, confidently hoping to excel Thucydidès 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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στρατηγοῦν ἀντειπόντα πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν, καὶ τῇ περικοπῇ τῶν Ἐρμῶν προσημαίνειν αὐτοῖς τὸ δαίμόνιον, ὥς ὑπὸ Ἐρμοκράτους τοῦ "Ερμῶνος πλείστα πείσονται παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον· ἔτι δ᾿ εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς μὲν Συρακουσίοις βοήθειν διὰ τὴν Κόρην, παρ᾿ ἣς ἔλαβε τὸν Κέρβερον, ὁργίζεσθαι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι τοὺς Αἰγεστέας, ἀπογόνους ὤντας Τρώων, ἐσωζοῦν, αὐτὸς δ᾿ ὑπὸ Λαομέδοντος ἄδικηθεὶς ἀνάστατον ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν.

4 Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ἵσως ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐμμελείας ταῦτά τε γράφειν ἐπήει καὶ τὴν Φιλίστον διάλεκτον εὐθύνειν, καὶ τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Αριστοτέλην λοιδορεῖσθαι· ἐμοὶ δ᾿ ὅλως μὲν ἢ περὶ λέξιν ἀμιλλα καὶ ζηλοτυπίᾳ πρὸς ἑτέρους μικροπρεπεῖς φαίνεται καὶ σοφιστικὸν, ἃν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἀμίμητα γίγνηται, καὶ τελέως ἀναίσθητον. ὅσον Ὑπουκυδίδης ἔξηγεν γε πράξεις καὶ Φιλίστος, ἐπεὶ παρελθεῖν οὐκ ἐστὶ, μάλιστα γε δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων παθῶν καλυπτομένην περιεχόμενα, ἐπιδραμών βραχέως καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἵνα μὴ παντάπασιν ἀμελής δοκῶ καὶ ἀργὸς εἶναι, τὰ διαφεύγοντα τοὺς πολλούς, ὥσ᾿ ἐτέρων δ᾿ εἰρημένα σποράδην ἢ πρὸς ἀναθήμασιν ἢ ψηφίσμασιν εὐρημένα παλαιοῖς πεπείραμαι συναγαγεῖν, οὐ τὴν ἀχρηστον ἀθροίζων ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς κατανόησιν ἰθους καὶ τρόπου παραδιδοὺς.

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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. "Ενεστιν οὐν περὶ Νικίου πρῶτον εἶπείν ὁ γέγραφεν Ἀριστοτέλης, ὅτι τρεῖς ἔγενοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικὴν ἔχοντες εὐνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δήμον, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ Μελησίων καὶ Ἑραμένης ὁ "Ἀγνωνος, ἦττον δὲ οὕτος ἢ ἐκεῖνος καὶ γαρ εἰς δυσγένειαν ὡς ξένος ἐκ Κέω λελοιδώρηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον, ἀλλ' ἐπαρμοφοτείζον ἱπτὴ προ-2 αἰρέσει τῆς πολιτείας ἐπεκληθη Κόθορνος. ἐκεῖνων δὲ πρεσβύτερος μέν ὁ Θουκυδίδης ἦν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ Περικλεῖ δημαγωγοῦντι τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν προϊστάμενος ἀντεπολιτεύσατο, νεώτερος δὲ Νικίας γενόμενος ἦν μὲν ἐν τινι λόγῳ καὶ Περικλέους ξώντος, ὡστε κάκεινο συστατηγήσαι καὶ καθ' αὐτόν ἄρξαι πολλάκις, Περικλέους δὲ ἀποθανόντος εὐθὺς εἰς τὸ πρωτεύειν προήχθη, μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ γνωρίμων, ἀντίταγμα ποιομένων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν Κλέωνος βδελυρίαν καὶ τόλμαν, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὸν δήμον εἰχεν εὐνοιν καὶ συμφιλοτιμούμενον.

3 Ἡσχύε μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κλέων μέγα "γερουνταγωγῶν καναμισθαρνεῖν διδοὺς," ὡμος δὲ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἴταιμότητα καὶ τὸ θράσος ὁρῶντες αὐτοὶ ὁι πρὸς χάριν ἐπτάττεν, οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Νικίαν ἐπήγγοντο. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αὐστηρὸν

1 τὸ θράσος Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: θράσος.
II. Accordingly, I may say of Nicias, in the first place, what Aristotle wrote, 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." 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, 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," 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 δεδείναι δοκοῦντι
τοὺς πολλοὺς δημαγωγούν. τῇ φύσει γὰρ ὄν ἅθαρσίς καὶ δύσελπης, ἐν μὲν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀπέκρυπτεν εὐτυχία τὴν δειλίαν· κατώρθου γὰρ ὀμαλῶς στρατηγῶν· τὸ δ’ ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ ψυφο-δεῖς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας εὐθορύβητον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικὸν έδόκει, καὶ δύναμιν οὐ μικρὰν ἀπ’ εὐνοίας τοῦ δήμου παρεῖχε τῷ δεδείναι τοὺς ὑπερορώντας, αὐξεῖν δὲ τοὺς δεδίστας. τοῖς γὰρ πολλοῖς τιμή μεγίστη παρὰ τῶν μειζόνων τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι.

III. Περικλῆς μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τε ἄρετῆς ἀληθινῆς καὶ λόγου δυνάμεως τὴν πόλιν ἄγων οὔδενός ἐδείτο σχηματισμοῦ πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον οὔδε πιθανότητος. Νικίας δὲ τούτως μὲν λειπόμενος, οὔσια δὲ προέ-γεν, ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἐδημαγωγεί. καὶ τῇ Κλέωνος εὐχερεία καὶ βωμολοχία πρὸς ἱδονὴν μεταχειρι-ξομένη τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τῶν ὁμοίων ἀντιπαρ-εξαίγειν ἀπίθανος ὄν, χορηγίαις ἀνελάμβανε καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις ἐτέραις τε τοιαύταις φιλοτιμίαις τὸν δήμον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος πολυτελεῖα καὶ χάριτι τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἀπαντᾶς. 3 εἰστήκει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς τὸ τε Παλλάδιον ἐν ἄκροπόλει, τὴν χρύσωσιν ἀποβεβληκός, καὶ ὁ τοῖς χορηγικοῖς τρίποσιν
The dignity of Nicias was not of the harsh, offensive sort, but was blended with much circumspection, and won control of the people from the very fact that he was thought to be afraid of them. Timid as he was by nature, and distrustful of success, in war he managed to succeed in hiding his cowardice under a cloak of good fortune, for he was uniformly successful as a general; while in political life his nervousness, and the ease with which he could be put to confusion by accusers, actually tended to make him popular, and gave him in high degree that power which comes from the favour of the people, because they fear men who scorn them, but exalt men who fear them. The multitude can have no greater honour shown them by their superiors than not to be despised.

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

¹ Bronze tripods were awarded as prizes to the victorious *choregi* in the dithyrambic choral contests.
υποκείμενος εν Διονύσου νεώς· ἐνίκησε γὰρ πολ-
λάκις χορηγήσας, ἐλείφθη δὲ οὐδέποτε. Λέγεται
δὲ ἐν τινὶ χορηγίᾳ παρελθεῖν οἰκέτης αὐτοῦ κεκοσ-
μημένος εἰς σχήμα Διονύσου, κάλλιστος ὁμοῖαι
καὶ μέγιστος, οὕπω γενεῖὼν· ἦσθέντων δὲ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων τῇ ὠψει καὶ κροτοῦντων ἐπὶ πολὺν
χρόνον, ἀναστὰς ὁ Νικίας εἶπεν ὡς οὖχ ὄσιον
ἡγοῦτο δουλεύειν καταπεφημισμένον θεῷ σῶμα,
καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀπηλευθέρωσε.

4 Μνημονεύται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ Δήλου ὡς
λαμπρὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῇ φιλοτιμήματα. τῶν γὰρ
χορῶν, οὓς αἱ πόλεις ἐπεμπὼν Ἀρμένους τῷ θεῷ,
προσπλεόντων μὲν ὡς ἐτυχεὶν, εὐθὺς δὲ ὀχλοῦ
πρὸς τὴν ναῦν ἀπαντῶντος ἄδειν κελευομένων
καὶ οὐδένα κόσμον, ἄλλῳ ἕπτο σπουδῆς ἀσυντάκ-
tως ἀποβαίνοντων ἀμα καὶ στεφανομένων καὶ

5 μεταμφιεσθήσας, ἐκεῖνος, ὅτε τὴν θεωρίαν ἤγεν,
αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς Ῥήνειαν ἀπέβη τὸν χορὸν ἔχων καὶ
τὰ ἱερεῖα καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν παρασκευὴν, ξενήμα δὲ
πεποιημένου Ἀθηναίοι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα καὶ κεκοσ-
μημένον ἐκπρεπῶς χυσωσθεῖ καὶ θαφαίς καὶ
στεφάνους καὶ αὐλαίας κομίζων, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐγε-
φύρωσε τὸν μεταξὺ Ῥήνειας καὶ Δήλου πόρου οὐκ
ὄντα μέγαν· εἰθ’ ἄμα ὁμέρα τῆς τε πομπῆς τῷ
θεῷ καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἀγών κεκοσμημένον πολυτελῶς

6 καὶ ἄδωντα διὰ τῆς γεφύρας ἀπεβίβαζε. μετὰ δὲ
tὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἄγων καὶ τὰς ἑστιάσεις τῶν
tε φοίνικα τὸν χαλκοῦν ἐστησεν ἀνάθημα τῷ
θεῷ, καὶ χωρίον μυρίων δραχμῶν πριάμενος

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

It is matter of record also how splendid and worthy of the god his lavish outlays at Delos were. The choirs which cities used to send thither to sing the praises of the god were wont to put in at the island in haphazard fashion. The throng of worshippers would meet them at the ship and bid them sing, not with the decorum due, but as they were hastily and tumultuously disembarking, and while they were actually donning their chaplets and vestments. But when Nicias conducted the festal embassy, he landed first on the neighbouring island of Rheneia, with his choir, sacrificial victims, and other equipment. Then, with the bridge of boats which he had brought along with him from Athens, where it had been made to measure and 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 ἐδει Δηλίους κατα-
θύνοντας ἐστιάσθαι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ Νικία παρὰ
τῶν θεῶν αὐτομένους· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο τῇ στήλῃ
ἐνέγραψεν, ἣν ᾠστερ φύλακα τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐν Δήλῳ
κατέλιπεν. ὡδὲ φοινίξ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμά-
των ἀποκλασθεὶς ἐνέπεσε τῷ Ναξίων ἀνδριαντὶ
tῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀνέτρεψε.

IV. Τούτοις δ' ὅτι μὲν πολὺ τὸ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ
φιλοτιμίαν πανηγυρικὸν 1 καὶ ἀγοραῖον ἐνεστὶν,
οὐκ ἄδηλον, ἀλλὰ τῷ λοιπῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ ἀνδρῶς
καὶ ἦθει πιστεύσειν ἂν τὸς εὐσεβείας ἐπακολού-
θημα τὴν τοιαύτην χάριν καὶ δημαισωγίαν γενε-
σθαι· σφόδρα γὰρ ἂν τῶν ἐκπεπληγμένων τὰ
dαιμόνια καὶ "θειασμῷ προσκείμενος," ὡς φησι

2 Θουκυδίδης. ἐν δὲ τινὶ τῶν Πασιφώντων διαλόγων
γέγραπται ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν έθυν τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ
μάντιν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας προσεποιεῖτο μὲν ἀεὶ
σκέπτεσθαι περὶ τῶν δημοσίων, τὰ δὲ πλείστα
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τῶν ἀργυρείων
μετάλλων· ἐκεκτητο γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λαυρεωτικῇ πολ-
λά, μεγάλα μὲν εἰς πρόσοδον, οὐκ ἄκινδυνους δὲ
tὰς ἔργασίας ἔχοντα· καὶ πλήθος ἀνδραπόδων
ἐτρέφεν αὐτῶθι, καὶ τῆς οὐσίας ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τὸ

3 πλείστον εἶχεν. ὅθεν οὐκ ὁλίγοι περὶ αὐτῶν
ήσαν αὐτούντες καὶ λαμβάνοντες. ἐδίδου γὰρ οὐχ

1 πανηγυρικὸν Madvig’s conjecture: πανηγυρικῆν.
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.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΝΑΙΩΧΩΝ

ηττον τοις κακῶς ποιεῖν δυναμένους ἡ τοῖς εὐ πα-
σχειν ἄξιοις, καὶ ὅλως πρόσοδος ἡν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε
πονηροῖς ἡ δειλία καὶ τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἡ φιλαν-
θρωπία.

Lambdai δὲ περὶ τούτων μαρτυρίαν καὶ παρὰ
4 τῶν κωμικῶν ἔστι. Τηλεκλείδης μὲν γὰρ εἰς τινα
τῶν συκοφαντῶν ταυτὶ πεποίηκε:

Χαρικλέης μὲν οὖν ἐδωκε μνᾶν, ἵνα αὐτὸν μὴ
λέγῃ
ὡς ἐφι τῇ μητρὶ παιδῶν πρῶτος ἐκ βαλλαντίου
τέσσαρας δὲ μνᾶς ἐδωκε Νικίας Νικηράτου.
ὅν δὲ ἐκατὶ τούτ’ ἐδωκε, καὶ περὶ εὐ εἰδῶς ἐγὼ
οὐκ ἔρω, φίλος γὰρ ἀνήρ, σωφρονεὶν δὲ μοι
δοκεῖ.

5 ὁ δὲ ὑπ’ Εὐπόλιδος κωμωδοῦμενος ἐν τῷ Μαρικᾶ
παράγων τινὰ τῶν ἀπραγμόνων καὶ πενήτων
λέγειν:

Α. Πόσον χρόνον γὰρ συγγεγένησαι Νικία;
Β. οὔδ’ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ ἵναγχος ἐστῶτ’ ἐν ὑγορᾶ.
Α. ἀνήρ ὀμολογεῖ Νικίαν ἑορακέναι.
καίτοι τι μαθôν1 ἄν εἶδεν, εἰ μὴ προῦδίδειν;

1 μαθôν MSS. and edd., including Sintenis1: παθôν, an
anonymous correction.

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

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) From a play of unknown name. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 219.
\(^2\) A caricature of the demagogue Hyperbolus. Kock, op. cit. i. p. 308.
Γ. ἥκουσατ', ὁ ξυνήλικες,
ἐπ' αὐτοφῶρῳ Νικίαν εἰλημμένον.
Β. ὑμεῖς γὰρ, ὁ φρενοβλαβεῖς,
λάβοιτ' ἄν ἀνδρ' ἀριστον ἐν κακῷ τινι;

6 ὁ δ' Ἀριστοφάνους Κλέων ἀπειλῶν λέγει:

Δαρυγγιῳ τούς ῥήτορας καὶ Νικίαν ταράξω.

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

'Ἡν γὰρ πολίτης ὑγαθός, ὡς εὐ οἰο' ἐγὼ,
κοὐχ ὑποταγεῖς ἔβαδιζεν, ὡσπερ Νικίας.

V. Οὕτω δὴ διακείμενος εὔλαβῶς πρὸς τοὺς
συκοφάντας οὖτε συνεδείπνευ τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
οὐτὲ κοινολογίας οὖτε συνδημερεύσεσιν ἐνεβάλλει ἐαυτόν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἑσχόλαζε ταῖς τοιαύταις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλ' ἄρχων μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ
dιετέλει μέχρι νυκτός, ἐκ δὲ βουλῆς ύστατος
ἀπῆλε πρῶτος ἀφικνούμενος. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐν
κοινῷ πρᾶττειν ἔχοι, δυσπρόσοδος ἢν καὶ δυσέν
2 τευκτὸς οὐκούρων καὶ κατακεκλεισμένος. οἱ δὲ
φίλοι τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις φοιτῶσιν ἐνετύγχανον,
καὶ παρητοῦντο συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ τότε
Νικίου πρὸς δημοσίας χρείας τινὰς καὶ ἀσχολίας
ὀντος.

Καὶ ὁ μάλιστα ταῦτα συντραγῳδῶν καὶ συμ
περιτιθεῖς ὅγκον αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαι Ἰέρων ἢν, ἀνήρ
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(Chorus?) "Ye heard, ye heard, my comrades, O! Our Nicias was taken in the very act!"

(Pauper) "What! you? O crazy-witted folk! You catch a man so good in sin of any sort?"

And the Cleon of Aristophanes¹ blusteringly says:—
"I'll bellow down the orators, and Nicias I'll rattle."

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

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

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

¹ Knights, 358. It is not Cleon, but his adversary, the rampant sausage-seller, who utters the verse.
tebramménos èpì tῆς οἴκιας τοῦ Νικίου, περὶ τε γράμματα καὶ μουσικῆν ἐξηκηκμένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, προσποιούμενος δ' υίὸς εἶναι Διονυσίου τοῦ Χαλκοῦ προσαγορευθέντος, οὐ καὶ ποιήματα σώζεται, καὶ τῆς εἰς 'Ιταλίαν ἀποικίας ἡγεμῶν

3 γενόμενος ἐκτισε Θουρίους. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἰέρων τά τε πρὸς τοὺς μάντεις ἀπόρρητα διεπράττετο τῷ Νικίᾳ, καὶ λόγοις ἐξέφερεν εἰς τὸν δήμον ως ἐπίπονόν τινα καὶ ταλαίπωρον διὰ τὴν πόλιν ξώντος αὐτοῦ βίον. ϕ γ' ἔφη καὶ περὶ λουτρόν ὅντι καὶ περὶ δείπνου αἰε τι προσπίπτειν δημό-

σιον" ἀμελῶν δὲ τῶν ἱδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ τά κοινά

φροντίζειν μόλις ἀρχεῖαι καθεύδειν περὶ πρῶτον

υπνοῦ. ὅθεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ σώμα διάκειται κακῶς,

καὶ τοῖς φίλοις οὐ προσηνήση οὐδὲ ἕδυς ἔστιν,

ἄλλα καὶ τούτους προσαποβέβληκε τοῖς χρήμασι

πολιτευόμενοι. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι καὶ φίλους κτώμενοι

καὶ πλουτίζοντες αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος εὐπα-

θοῦσι καὶ προσπαίζουσι τῇ πολιτείᾳ." τῷ δ' ὅντι
toioitosis ḣn o Nikiou bivos woste avtov eiteiv
ta tov 'Agamémenon eis avton.

Προστάτην γε τοῦ βίου
ton ovkou exomven, tov τ' ovklh douléumven.1

VI. 'Oroûn de tōn en lôgô dvnatôn ḣ tâ

froneîn diapheróntωn ἀποχρώμενον eis ēnia tais

ēmpeirías tov dîmou, uforómenov δ' αεὶ καὶ

1 Euripides, Iphigénie a Athenae, 445 f. (Köchhoff), where the MSS. have προστάτην γε, tōn dîmou, τῷ τ' 'ovkl. The MSS. of Plutarch have προστάτην δέ, tōn ovkou, τῷ δ' 'ovkl.
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 poems¹ are indeed extant, and who, as leader of the colonizing expedition to Italy, founded Thurii.² This Hiero it was who managed for Nicias his secret dealings with the seers, and who was forever putting forth among the people moving tales about the life of severe hardships which his patron led for the sake of the city. "Why!" said he, "even when he takes his bath and when he eats his dinner, some public business or other is sure to confront him; he neglects his private interests in his anxiety for the common good, and scarcely gets to sleep till others wake. That's the reason why he is physically all run down, and is not affable or pleasant to his friends, nay, he has actually lost these too, in addition to his substance, and all in the service of the city. Other public men not only win friends but enrich themselves through their influence as public speakers, and then fare sumptuously, and make a plaything of the service of the city." In point of fact, such was the life of Nicias that he could say of himself what Agamemnon did:—

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

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

² Cf. *Pericles*, xi. 5.
ϕυλαττόμενον τὴν δεινότητα καὶ κολούοντα τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ὡς δὴ λοιπὸν ἦν τῇ Περι-
κλέους καταδίκη καὶ τῷ Δάμωνος ἔξοστρακισμῷ καὶ τῇ πρὸς Ἀντιφώντα τὸν Ῥαμνοῦσιον ἀπιστίᾳ 
τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τοῖς περὶ Πάρχητα 

2 τὸν ἐλόντα Δέσβον, δὲ εὐθύνας διδοὺς τῆς στρα-
τηγίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ δικαστηρίῳ σπασάμενος ξίφος 
ἀνείλεν ἑαυτόν, τὰς μὲν ἐργάδες πάνυ καὶ μακρὰς 
ἐπειράτο διακρούσθαι στρατηγίας, ὅπου δ’ αὐτὸς 
στρατεύοντο τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐχόμενος καὶ τὰ 
πλείστα κατορθῶν, ὡς εἰκός, εἰς οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ 
σοφίαν ἢ δύναμιν ἢ ἀρετὴν ἀνέφερε τὰς πράξεις, 
ἀλλὰ παρεχώρει τῇ τύχῃ καὶ κατέφευγεν εἰς τὸ 
θείον, τῷ φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης υφίμενος.

3 Ἐπεμαρτύρει δὲ καὶ τὰ πράγματα: πολλῶν 
γὰρ τότε προσκρουσμάτων τῇ πόλει καὶ μεγάλων 
γενομένων, οὐδενὸς ἀπλῶς ἐκείνος μετέσχεν, ἀλλὰ 
περὶ Θράκην μὲν ἔττηθησαν ὑπὸ Χαλκιδέων 
Καλλιάδοι τε καὶ Ξενοφώντος στρατηγούντων, 
τὸ δ’ Αἰτωλικὸν πταῖσμα συνεβη Δημοσθένους 
ἀρχοντος, ἐν δὲ Δηλίῳ χιλίοις αὐτῶν ὑπέβαλον 
Ἅπποκράτους ἤγουμένου, τοῦ δὲ λοιμοῦ τὴν 
πλείστην αἰτίαν ἔλαβε Περικλῆς διὰ τὸν πόλεμον 
eἰς τὸ ἀστυ κατακλείσας τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας

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

Events bore witness to his wisdom, for in the many great reverses which the city suffered at that period he had absolutely no share. It was under the leadership of Calliades\(^5\) and Xenophon that his countrymen met defeat at the hands of the Chalcidians in Thrace; the Aetolian disaster occurred when Demostenes 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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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).
δόχλοι, ἐκ τῆς μεταβολῆς τῶν τόπων καὶ διαίτης
4 ἀνθήνους γενομένου. Νικίας δὲ τούτων ὑπάντων ἀναίτιος ἐμείνε· καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐλε μὲν Κύθηρα, νῆσον εὗ κατὰ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πεφυκυίαν καὶ Δακεδαμονίους ἔχουσαν οἰκήτορας, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ 527 πολλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀφεστῶτων καὶ προσηγάγετο, κατακλείσας δὲ Μεγαρεῖς εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς μὲν ἔσχε Μίνωαν τὴν νῆσον, ὀλύγῳ δ’ ὕστερον ἐκ ταύτης ὀρμώμενος Νισαιας ἐκράτησεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Κορινθίαν ἀποβᾶς ἐνίκησε μάχη καὶ διέφθειρε Κορινθίων πολλοὺς καὶ Λυκόφρονα τὸν στρατηγόν.

5 "Ευθα δ’ αὐτῷ συνέβη τῶν οἰκείων δύο νεκροὺς ἀπολυμπεῖν διαλαβόντας περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. ὡς οὖν τούτῃ ἔγνω, τάχιστα τὸν στόλον ἑπιστῆσας ἐπεμψε κήρυκα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους περὶ ἀναίρεσεως. καὶ τοιαὶ κατὰ νόμον τινὰ καὶ συνήθειαν ἐδόκουν οἱ νεκρῶν ὑποσπόνδων λαβόντες ἀναίρεσιν ἀπολέγεσθαι τὴν νίκην, καὶ τρόπαιον ἱστάναι τοὺς τούτους τυχόντας οὐκ ἐνθεσμον ἤν νικᾶν γὰρ τοὺς κρατοῦντας, μὴ κρατεῖν δὲ τοὺς αἴτούν-6 τας, ὡς λαβεῖν μή δυναμένους. ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἐκεῖνος ὑπέμεινε μᾶλλον προέσθαι 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.¹ For all these things Nicias was free from blame, while as general he captured Cythera,² an island favourably situated for the command of Laconia and inhabited by Lacedaemonians; he captured also many places in Thrace³ which had revolted, and brought them back to their allegiance; having shut up the Megarians in their city he straightway seized the island of Minoa,⁴ and shortly after, from this base of operations, got possession of Nisaea⁵; he also made a descent upon the territory of Corinth,⁶ defeated the Corinthians in battle and slew many of them, including Lycophron their general.

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

¹ Cf. Pericles, xxxiv. 3f.
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.

Πορθήσεις δὲ τὴν παραλίαν τῆς Δακωνικῆς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας Δακεδαλμονίων τρεφόμενος, εἴλε Θυρέαν Αἰγινητῶν ἐχόντων, καὶ τοὺς αἴρε-θέντας ἀπῆγαγε ξώντας εἰς Ἀθήνας.

VII. Ἡπεὶ δὲ Δημοσθένους Πύλον τείχισαντος ἐπεστράτευσαν ἀμα πεζῷ καὶ ναύσι Πελοποννήσιοι, καὶ μάχης γενομένης ἀπελήφθησαν ἐν τῇ Σφακτηρίᾳ νῆσῳ Σπαρτιατῶν ἄνδρες ἀμφὶ τοὺς τετρακοσίους, μέγα μὲν, ὡσπέρ ἤν, ἤγούμενοι τὸ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοι, χαλεπῆς δὲ καὶ δυσέργου τῆς πολιορκίας οὐσῆς ἐν χωρίοις ἀνύδροις, καὶ θέρους μὲν μακρὰν καὶ πολυτελῆ τὴν περιαγωγὴν τῶν εἴπτηδείων ἐχοῦσης, σφαλερὰν δὲ χειμώνος καὶ παντελῶς ἄπορον, ἤχθοντο καὶ μετεμέλουντο πρεσβείαν Δακεδαιμονίων ἀπωσάμενοι περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης

2 ἀφικομένην πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἀπεσώσαντο δὲ Κλέωνος ἐναντιωθέντος ὅχι ἤκιστα διὰ Νικίαν ἐχθρὸς ἡ γαρ ὁι αὐτοῦ, καὶ προθυμῶς ὀρῶν συμπράττοντα τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεισε τὸν δῆμον ἀποψηφίσασθαι τὰς σπονδᾶς. ὥς οὖν ἦ τε πολιορκία μῆκος ἐλάμβανε καὶ δεινὰς ἀπορίας ἐπυνθάνοντο περιστασάναι τὸ στρατόπεδον, δὲ ὀργῆς εἶχον τὸν Κλέωνα.

3 Τοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν Νικίαν ἐκτρέποντος τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ κατηγοροῦντος ὅτι δειλία καὶ μαλακία προτετάται 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).
ἐν περιγενομένους χρόνον τοσοῦτον, τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰπεῖν παρέστη: "Τί δ' οὖν καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς σὺ πλεῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας;" ο̣ τε Νίκιας ἀναστὰς ἔξιστατο τῆς ἐπὶ Πύλον στρατηγίας αὐτῷ, καὶ λαμβάνειν ὁπόσην βούλεται δύναμιν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ μὴ θρασύνεσθαι λόγοις ἀκινδύνοις, ἀλλ' ἔργον τι τῇ πόλει παρασχεῖν ἄξιον σπουδῆς. ο̣ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεδύετο, τῷ μὴ προσδοκησαί τοῦτο θορυβούμενοι: ἐγκελευομένων δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῦ Νίκίου καταβόωτος, ἐξαρθεῖς καὶ ἀναφλεξθεῖς τὸ φιλότιμον ὑπεδέξατό τε τῇ στρατηγίαν, καὶ προσδιωρίσατο πλεύσας ἐντὸς ἥμερῶν εἰκοσιν ἡ κατακτενεῖν ἐκεῖ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡ ξύντας ἄξειν Ἀθηναζέ. τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις ἐπήλθε γελάσαι μέγα μᾶλλον ἡ πιστεύσαι: καὶ γὰρ ἀλ- λως εἰώθεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν κούφοτητα καὶ μανίαν φέρειν μετὰ παιδιάς οὐκ ἄγδως.


VIII. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τότε τύχῃ χρησάμενος ἀγαθὴ καὶ στρατηγήσας ἀριστά μετὰ Δημο- σθένους, ἐντὸς οὐ προεῖπε χρόνου τῶν Σπαρτία- 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
τῶν οὖσι μὴ κατὰ μάχην ἔπεσον τὰ ὀπλα παραδόντας ἢγαγεν αἷχμαλώτους. καὶ τούτῳ τῇ Νικίᾳ μεγάλην ἤνεγκεν ἀδοξίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἀστιδος βίψις, ἀλλ’ αἰσχίον τι καὶ χεῖρον ἐδόκει τὸ δειλία τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐκουσίως, καὶ προέ- σθαι τῷ ἔχθρῳ τηλικούτου κατορθώματος ἀφορ- μᾶς, αὐτὸν ἀποχειροτονήσαντα τῆς ἀρχῆς.

2 σκόπτετε δ’ αὐτὸν εἰς ταῦτα πάλιν Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν μὲν Ὀρνισιν οὕτω πῶς λέγων:

Καὶ μὴν μᾶ τῶν Δ΄ οὐχὶ νυστάζειν γ’ ἐτὶ ὀρα’ στιν ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ μελλονικιάν.

ἐν δὲ Γεωργοίς ταῦτα γράφων:

Α. Ἐθέλω γεωργεῖν. Β. εἶτα τίς σε κωλύει;
Α. ύμείς. ἐπεὶ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμάς, εάν με τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀφῆτε. Β. δεχόμεθα. δισχίλιαι γὰρ εἰσὶ σὺν ταῖς Νικίοι.

3 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐβλαφεῖν οὐ μικρὰ τῷ Κλέωνι τοσοῦτον προσγενέσθαι δόξης ἐάσας καὶ δυνάμεως, ύφ’ ἂς εἰς βαρὺ φρόνημα καὶ θρά- σος ἐμπεσῶν ἀκάθεκτον ἄλλας τε τῇ πόλει προσ- ετρίψατο συμφοράς, ὅν οὐχ ἤκιστα καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυσε, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος κόσμου ἀνε- λῶν καὶ πρῶτος ἐν τῷ δημηγορεῖν ἀνακραγὼν καὶ περισπώσας τὸ ἱμάτιον 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.
² This play is not extant. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 416.
καὶ δρόμω μετὰ τοῦ λέγειν ἀμα χρησάμενος, τὴν ὀλίγον ὑστερον ἀπαντα τὰ πράγματα συγχέασαν εὐχέρειαν καὶ ὀλγωρίαν τοῦ πρέποντος ἐνεποίησε τοὺς πολιτευμένους.

IX. Ἡδη δὲ που καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐνεφύτο τηνικάυτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δημαγωγὸς οὐχ ὀμοίως ἅκρατος, ἀλλ' οἶον ἡ Αἰγυπτίων χώρα λέγεται δι' ἀρετήν ἐκφέρειν ὁμοῦ

Φάρμακα πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρὰ,

οὕτως ἡ Ἀλκιβιάδου φύσις ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα πολλὴ ῥυείσα καὶ λαμπρά, μεγάλων ἐνέδωκεν ἀρχάς 2 νεωτερισμῶν. ὃθεν οὐδ' ἀπαλλαγεῖς τοῦ Κλέωνος ὁ Νικίας καίρον ἔσχε παντάπασιν ἀναπάσαι καὶ καταστορέσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ὁδὸν τὰ πράγματα σωτήριον καταστήσας ἐξέπεσε, ρύμῃ καὶ σφοδρότητι τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου φιλοτιμίας αὐθίς ἐξωθεῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

Ἑπράχθη δὲ οὕτως. οἱ μάλιστα προσπολεμοῦντες τῇ εἰρήνῃ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Κλέων καὶ Βρασίδας ἦσαν, ἐν ὁ πόλεμος τοῦ μὲν ἀπέκρυπτε τὴν κακίαν, τοῦ δὲ τὴν ἀρετήν εκόσμη. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀδικημάτων μεγάλων, τῷ δὲ κατορθωμάτων ἀφορ-3 μᾶς παρεῖχε. τούτων οὖν ἀμα πεσόντων εν μαχὴ μᾶ περὶ Ἀμφίπολιν, εὐθὺς ὁ Νικίας παραλαβὼν τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἐκπαλαι τῆς εἰρήνης ὀρεγομένους, τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι τῷ πολέμῳ βαρροῦνται, ἀμφοτέροις δ' οἶον ἐκκλεμυμένους καὶ
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 ἐκοινώσως τὰς χεῖρας, ἔπραττεν ὅπως εἰς φιλίαν τὰς πόλεις συναγαγὼν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας ἀπαλλάξας κακῶν καὶ ἀναπαυσάμενος, βέβαιον οὔτω τὸ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅνομα πρὸς τὸν αὖθις χρόνον ποιοῖτο. τοὺς μὲν οὖν εὐπόρους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτόθεν εἰρηνικὸν εἶχεν ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοῖς ἐνυπαγόν τινα καὶ δεδάσκων ἀμβλυτέρους ἔποίησε πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ἥδη τοῖς Σπαρτιάταις ἑλπίδας ἐνδιδοὺς προεκαλεῖτο καὶ προὔτετεν ἐχεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης. οἱ δὲ ἐπίστευον αὐτῷ διὰ τε τὴν ἄλλην ἐπείκειαν, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἥλωκοσι περὶ Πήλου καὶ δεδεμένοις ἐπιμελόμενοι καὶ περίεπων φιλανθρώπως ἐλαφρο-τέραν ἐποίει τὴν ἄτυχίαν. ἦσαν οὖν πρότερον πεποιημένοι τινά πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐκεχερίαν ἐναύσιον, ἐν ἂν συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτα καὶ γευόμενοι πάλιν ἁδείας καὶ σχολῆς καὶ πρὸς ξένους καὶ οἰκείους ἐπιμιξίας, ἐπόθουν τὸν ἀμίαντον καὶ ἀπόλεμον βίον, ἠδέως μὲν ἄδοντων τὰ τοιαῦτα χορῶν ἀκούοντες.

Κεῖσθω δόρυ μοι μίτον ἀμφιπλέκειν ἀράχναις· ἠδέως δὲ μεμημένου τοῦ εἴποντος ὅτι τοὺς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καθεύδοντας οὐ σάλπιγγες, ἀλλ' ἀλεκ-τρυόνες ἀφυπνίζουσι. λοιδοροῦντες οὖν καὶ προβαλλόμενοι τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς τρίς ἐνεια ἐτή διαπολεμηθήματι πέπρωται τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπειδ'
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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

ούτω περὶ παντὸς εἰς λόγους συμβαίνοντες ἐποιήσαντο τὴν εἰρήνην, δόξα τε παρέστη τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπαλλαγὴν κακῶν σαφῆ γεγονέναι, καὶ τὸν Νικίαν διὰ στόματος εἶχον, ὡς ἀνὴρ εἴη θεοφιλῆς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ δὴ εὑσέβειαν ἐπωνύμῳ γενέσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ καλλίστου τῶν ἀγα- 7 θῶν δέδωκε· τῷ γὰρ ὦντι Νικίοι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐνόμιζον ἔργον, ὡς Περικλέοις τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔπεις αἰτίας μικράς εἰς συμφορὰς μεγάλας ἐμβαλεῖν ἑδόκει τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ὁ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν ἐπείσεν ἐκλαθέσθαι φίλους γενομένους. διὸ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκείνην ἄχρι νῦν Νικίειον καλοῦσι.

Χ. Γενομένων δὲ συνθηκῶν ὁπως τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὡς εἶχον ἄλληλων, καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδίδῳσι, προτέρων ἀποδιδόντων τῶν κλήρων λαχόντων, ὄνησατο τὸν κλήρον ὁ Νικίας κρύφα χρήμασιν, ὥστε προτέρους ἀποδίδοναι τοὺς

2 Δακεδαιμονίους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἰστορεῖ Θεόφραστος. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ πρὸς τὰ πραττόμενα δυσκολαίνοντες αἰτίαις καὶ μέμψεσιν αὕτης ἑδόκουν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπείσεν ὁ Νικίας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Δακεδαιμονίους τῇ εἰρήνῃ τὴν συμμαχίαν ὅσπερ κράτος ἡ δεσμὸν ἐπιθέντας, φοβερωτέρους τε τοὺς ἀφισταμένους καὶ βεβαιοτέρους ἄλληλοις γενέσθαι.

3 Πραττομένων δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὕτε πρὸς ἡσυχίαν εὐκοπίζων, καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαι-
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.
μονίωις ἀχθόμενος ὅτι τῷ Νικίᾳ προσέκειντο καὶ προσεῖχον, αὐτὸν δ’ ὑπερεώρων καὶ κατεθρόνουν, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν εὑρᾶς ὑπεναντιωθεὶς τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀντιστὰς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινεν, ὅλιγον δ’ ὥστερον ὅρῳν οὖκ ἔτι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως ἀρέσκοντας τοὺς Λακεδαίμονιος, ἄλλ’ ἀδικεῖν δοκοῦντας ὅτι Βοιωτοῖς ἐθέντο συμμαχίαι καὶ Πάνακτοι ἐστῶσαν οὐ παρέδωκαν οὐδ’ Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐπεφύετο ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ παρόξυνε τὸν δήμον ἐφ’ ἐκάστην.

4 τέλος δὲ πρεσβείαν μεταπεμψάμενος Ἀργείων ἐπραττε συμμαχίαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρεσβείς ἐλθόντες ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος αὐτοκράτορες καὶ τῇ βουλῇ προεντυγχάνοντες ἐδοξασαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἤκειν τοῖς δικαίοις, δείσας δ’ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὴ καὶ τὸν δήμον ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐπαγάγοντας, περιήλθεν αὐτοῖς δι’ ἀπάτης καὶ ὀρκῶν ὡς ἄπαντα συμπράξων, ἄν μὴ φῶσι μηδ’ ὀμολογήσωσιν ἤκειν αὐτοκράτορες μάλιστα γὰρ

5 οὕτως ὁ βούλοντας γενήσεσθαι. πεισθέντων δὲ καὶ μεταστάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ Νικίου πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἐμβαλῶν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν δήμον ἠρώτα πρῶτον εἰ περὶ πάντων ἤκουσιν αὐτοκράτορες ὡς δ’ ἤρνοντο, παρ’ ἐλπίδας μεταβαλόμενος τὴν τε βουλὴν 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 coöperate with them fully in the assembly if they would only not claim nor even admit that they had come with full powers to treat all issues; for thus, he declared, they would most surely attain their desires. After they were persuaded by him, and had put themselves out of the guiding hands of Nicias and into his, he introduced them to the assembly, and asked them first whether they had come with full powers to treat all issues. On their saying "No" to this, he surprised them by changing front and calling on the members of the council who were present to bear witness to what they had said before that body. He then urged the

1 In the spring of 419 B.C.
δήμου ἐκέλευεν μὴ προσέχειν μηδὲ πιστεύειν οὕτω περιφανῶς ψευδομένοις καὶ νῦν μὲν ταύτα, νῦν δὲ τάναντια περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγονσιν. θορυβουμένων δ’, ὡς εἰκός, αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῦ Νικίου μηδὲν ἐχοντος εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀχεὶ καὶ θαύματι πεπληγότος, ὁ μὲν δήμος εὐθὺς ὄρμητο τούς Ἀργείους καλεῖν καὶ ποιεῖσθαι συμμάχους, ἐβοήθησε δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ σεισμὸς τις διὰ μέσον γενόμενος καὶ διαλύσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν τοῦ δήμου συνελθόντος πολλά ποιήσας καὶ εἰπὼν ἐπείσε μόλις ἔπισχεῖν τὰ πρὸς Ἀργείους, αὐτὸν 530 δὲ πέμψαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὡς πάντων καλῶς γενησομένων.

7 Ἐλθῶν δ’ εἰς Σπάρτην τάλλα μὲν ὡς ἀνήρ ἁγαθὸς καὶ πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐτιμήθη, πράξας δ’ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ κρατηθεὶς υπὸ τῶν βοιωτιαζόντων ἐπανῆλθεν, οὐ μόνον ἄδοξῶν καὶ κακῶς ἀκούσων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδίως τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λυπουμένους καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντας ὅτι πεισθέντες ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἀπέδωκαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ Πύλου κομισθέντες ἦσαν ἐξ οἰκῶν τε πρῶτων τῆς Σπάρτης, καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγενεῖς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἔχοντες. οὐ μὴν ἔπραξήν τι τραχύτερον ὀργῆ πρὸς ἐκείνου, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀλκιβιάδην στρατηγὸν εἶλοντο, καὶ Μαντινεῖς καὶ Ἡλεῖους Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντας ἐποίησαντο συμμάχους μετ’ Ἀργείων, καὶ θηστὰς εἰς Πύλου 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
ἐπεμψαν κακουργεῖν τὴν Δακωνικὴν· εξ ὧν αὐθις εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν.

XI. Ἀκμαζούσης δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου διαφοράς, καὶ γεγομένης ὀστρακο-

φορίας, ἦν εἰώθει διὰ χρόνου τινὸς ὁ δῆμος ποιεῖ-

σθαι, ἔνα τῶν ὑπόπτων ἢ διὰ δόξαν ἄλλως ἢ

πλοῦτον ἐπιφθόνων ἄνδρῶν τῷ ὀστράκῳ μεθιστάς

εἰς δέκα ἐτη, πολὺς θόρυβος ἀμφοτέρους περι-

ίστατο καὶ κίνδυνος, ὡς θατέρου πάντως ὑπο-

2 πεσομένου τῷ ἐξοστρακισμῷ. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ

Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τὸν βίον ἐβδελύττοντο καὶ τὸ

θράσος ὄφρον, ὡς μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου

γραφομένους δηλοῦται, τὸν δὲ Νικίαν ὁ τε πλοῦτος

ἐπιφθόνου ἐποίει καὶ μάλιστα τῆς διαίτης τὸ μὴ

φιλάνθρωπον μηδὲ δημοτικὸν, ἄλλ' ἄμικτον καὶ

ὁλιγαρχικὸν ἄλλοκοτον ἐδόκει, πολλὰ δ' ἡδη ταῖς

ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν ἀντιτείνων, παρὰ γνώμην βια-

3 ξόμενος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἐπαχθής ἦν. ὡς δ' ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, νέων ἦν καὶ πολεμοποιῶν ἀμιλλα

πρὸς εἰρηνοποιοὺς καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, τῶν μὲν εἰς

τούτον, τῶν δ' εἰς ἐκείνου τὸ ὀστράκον τρεπόντων.

Ἐν δὲ διχοστασίᾳ καὶ ὁ πάγκακος ἐμορε τιμῆς·

ὡς ποὺ καὶ τότε διαστὰς ὁ δῆμος δίχα χώραν

ἐδωκε τοῖς ἱταμωτάτοις καὶ πανουργοτάτοις, ὡν

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

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

“But in a time of sedition, the base man too is in honour,” ¹

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

¹ A proverb in hexameter verse, attributed to Callimachus, the Alexandrian poet and scholar (310–235 B.C.).
ὁμιλεῖ ὁ Περιστοίδης, ἀνθρωπὸς ἀπ' ἀνδρὸν καὶ ἀνδρῶν δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τολμάν εἰς δύναμιν προελθὼν, καὶ γενόμενος δι' ἐκεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει δόξαν ἄδοξον τῆς πόλεως. οὕτως ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τοῦ μὲν ὀστράκου πόρρω τιθεμένος ἑαυτὸν, ἀτε δὴ τῷ κύψων μᾶλλον προσήκων, ἐλπίζων δὲ θατέρου τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκπετ. οὕτως αὐτός ἀντίπαλος τῷ λειπομένῳ γενέσθαι, καταφανὴς ἦν ἡδομενὸς τε τῇ διαφορᾷ καὶ παροξύνων τὸν δήμον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους. συνίδοντες οὖν τὴν μοχθηρίαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀλκεβιάδην, καὶ λόγου δόντες ἀλλήλους κρύφα, καὶ τὰς στάσεις συναγαγόντες εἰς ἐν ἀμφοτέρας καὶ ἀναμίξαντες, ἐκράτησαν ὅστε μηδέτερον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἡπερίβολον ἔξοστρακισθήναι.

καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν ἡδονὴν τοῦτο καὶ γέλωτα τῷ δήμῳ παρέσχεν, ὡστερον δὲ ἡγανάκτουν ὡς καθυβρισμένον τὸ πράγμα τοῦτο πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν ἀνάξιον γεγονέναι νομίζοντες, εἶναι γὰρ τι καὶ κολάσεως αξίωμα, μᾶλλον δὲ κόλασιν τοῦ ἐξ ὀστρακισμοῦ ἠγούμενον Ὀουκυνίδη καὶ Ἀριστείδη καὶ τοὺς ὁμόίους Ἡπερίβολῳ δὲ τιμὴν καὶ προσποίησιν ἁλαζονείας, εἰ διὰ μοχθηρίαν ἐπαθεὶ ταύτα τοῖς ἀρίστοις, ὡς που καὶ Πλάτων ὁ

κωμικὸς εὑρήκε περὶ αὐτοῦ.

Καίτοι πέπραξε τῶν προτέρων μὲν ἄξια, αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν συνμάτων ἀνάξια. οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων εἶνεκ ὀστραχείον.
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 οὔδεὶς ἔτι τὸ παράπαν ἐξωστρα-
κίσθη μετὰ 'Ἱππαρχος ὁ Χολαργεὺς συγγενῆς, τις ὄν τοῦ 
τυράννου.

7 Ἀκρίτου δ᾽ ἡ τύχη πρᾶγμα καὶ ἀληττοῦν
λογισμὸς. Νίκιας γάρ, εἰ τὸν περὶ ὀστράκου
κινδύνου ἀνέρριψε πρὸς Ἀλκιβιάδην, ἡ κρατήσας
ἐν ἀσφαλῶς ώς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐκεῖνον ἐξελάσας,
ἡ κρατηθεὶς αὐτὸς ἔξηε πρὸ τῶν ἐσχατῶν
ἀτυχίων, τὸ δοκεῖν ἄριστος εἶναι στρατηγὸς
diaφυλάξας.

Οὐκ ἄγνοοι δ᾽ ὅτι Θεόφραστος ἐξωστρακισθήναι
φησι τὸν 'Ἱππαρχον Φαίακος, οὐ Νίκιον, πρὸς
Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐρήσαντος. ἀλλ᾽ οἱ πλείονες οὐτοῦ
γεγράφασιν.

XII. Ὁ δ᾽ οὖν Νίκιας, τῶν Αἰγεστέων πρέσ-
βεων καὶ Δεοτίνων παραγενομένων καὶ πειθόντων
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Σικελίαν, ἀνθι-
στάμενος ἤττάτο τῆς βουλῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ
φιλοτιμίας, πρὶν ὅλως ἐκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, κατα-
σχόντος ἤδη πλήθος ἑλπίζει καὶ λόγοις προ-
diebathmenou, ὡστε καὶ νέους ἐν παλαιόστρας
καὶ γεροντας ἐν ἐργαστηρίοις καὶ ἡμικυκλίοις
συγκαθεξομένους ύπογράφειν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Σι-
celías, καὶ τὴν φύσιν τῆς περὶ αὐτῆς θαλάσσης,
cαὶ λιμένας καὶ τόπους οίς τέτραπται πρὸς

2 Λιβύην ἡ νήσος. οὐ γὰρ ἄθλον ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ
πολέμου Σικελίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὀρμητήριον, ὡς ἄπτ᾽ αὐτῆς
diagwvsoomou πρὸς Καρχηδονίους καὶ σχήσουτε
άμα Λιβύην καὶ τὴν ἔντος Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν
θάλασσαν.
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And in the end no one was ever ostracised after Hyperbolus, but he was the last, as Hipparchus of Cholargus, a kinsman of the famous tyrant Peisistratus, was the first to be so banished.¹

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

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

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

¹ 488–487 B.C. ² In the spring of 415 B.C.
"Ως οὖν ὃμηντο πρὸς ταῦτα, ὁ Νικίας ἑναντιούμενος οὔτε πολλοὺς οὔτε δυνατοὺς εἴχε συναγωνιστάς. οἱ γὰρ εὐποροὶ δεδίστες μὴ δοκῶσι τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ τριημαρχίας ἀπο-

3 διδράσκειν, παρὰ γνώμην ῥήμαξον· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἐκαμνεν οὐδ' ἀπηγόρευεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἀθηναίοις καὶ στρα-

τηγὸν ἔλεσθαι πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον μετ' Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Δαμάχου, πάλιν ἐκκλησίας γενομένης, ἀναστάς ἀπέτρεπε καὶ διεμαρτύρετο, καὶ τελευτῶν διέβαλε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἰδίων ἔνεκα κερδῶν καὶ φιλοτι-

μίας τὴν πόλιν εἰς χαλεπὸν ἐξωθεῖν καὶ διαπό-

4 τινος κίνδυνων. ἔπραξε δ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἐμπειρίας δόξας ἑπιτηδείοτερος εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἄσφαλειαν ἔξειν πρὸς τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου τόλμαν καὶ τὴν Δαμάχου τραχύτητα 1 τῆς ἐκείνου συγκεραυνυμένης εὐλαβείας, βεβαιοτέραν ἐπιόησε τὴν χειροτονίαν. ἀναστὰς γὰρ ὁ μάλιστα τῶν δημαγωγῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παροξύνον τους Ἀθηναίος, Δημόστρατος, ἐφη τὸν Νικίαν προ-

φάσεις λέγοντα παύσειν καὶ ψήφισμα γράψας ὅπως αὐτοκράτορες ὃσιν οἱ στρατηγοὶ κάνταθα κάκει βουλευόμενοι καὶ πράττοντες, ἐπεισε τὸν δήμον ψηφίσασθαι.

XIII. Καὶ τοιο λέγεται πολλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἑναντιούσθαι πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν· ἀλλ' ἐτέρους ἔχων μάντεις ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ δὴ τινῶν

1 τραχύτητα Reiske's correction: πράότητα (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 προέφερε παλαιών μέγα κλέος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἔσεσθαι. καὶ θεοπρόποι τινὲς αὐτῷ παρ’ Ἀμμωνος ἀφίκοντο χρησμὸν κομίζοντες ὡς λήψουντι Συρακουσίους ἀπαντας Ἀθηναίοι: τὰ δ’ ἐναντία φοβοῦμενοι δυσφημεῖν 2 ἐκρυπτον. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ προύπτα καὶ καταφανῆ τῶν σημείων ἀπέτρεπεν, ἢ τε τῶν ἕρμων περικοπῆ, μιὰ νυκτί πάντων ἀκρωτηριασθέντων πλὴν ἐνὸς, ὅν Ἀνδοκίδου καλοῦσιν, ἀνάθημα μὲν τῆς Αἰγήνης φυλῆς, κείμενον δὲ πρὸ τῆς τότε οὖσης Ἀνδοκίδου οἰκίας, καὶ τὸ πραχθὲν περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν. ἀνθρωπὸς γὰρ τις ἐξαίφνης ἀναπηδήσας ἐπ’ αὐτόν, εἶτα περιβάς ἀπέκοψεν αὐτοῦ λύθω τὸ αἴδοιον.

3 Ἔν δὲ Δελφοῖς Παλλάδιον ἐστηκε ἐχρυσοῦν ἐπὶ φοίνικος χαλκοῦ βεβηκός, ἀνάθημα τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀριστείων τοῦτ’ ἐκοπτον ἐφ’ ἡμέρας πολλὰς προσπετόμενοι κόρακες, καὶ τὸν καρπὸν ὄντα ἐχρυσοῦν τοῦ φοίνικος 4 ἀπέτρωγον καὶ κατέβαλλον. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐφασαν εἶναι Δελφῶν πλάσματα πεπεισμένων ὑπὸ Συρακουσίων: χρησμὸν δὲ τινὸς κελεύοντος αὐτοῦς ἐκ Κλαξομενῶν τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγείν, μετεπέμψαντο τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἡσυχία. καὶ τούτο ἦν, ὡς έοικεν, δ’ παρῆμει τῇ πόλει τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγείν.

5 Εἶτε δὴ ταῦτα δείσας εἶτ’ ἄνθρωπινος λογισμὸ
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 (ἡν γὰρ ἐφ’ ἡγεμονίας τινὸς τεταγμένος) προσεποιεῖτο τὴν οἰκίαν ὑφήπτειν ὡς μεμηνός. οἱ δὲ φασίν οὐ μανίαν σκηψάμενοι, ἅλλα νῦκτωρ ἐμπρήσαντα τὴν οἰκίαν προελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν ταπευών, καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν ὅπως ἐπὶ συμφορᾶ τοσαύτη τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ μέλλοντα πλεῖν τριήραρχον εἰς Σικελίαν ἀφώσι τῆς στρατείας.

6 Σωκράτει δὲ τῷ σοφῷ τὸ δαμόνιον οἷς εἰώθει συμβόλους χρησάμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐμήνυσε κάκεινα, τὸν ἐκπλουν ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως πραττόμενον. ὁ δὲ τοῖς συνήθεις καὶ φίλοις ἐφρασε, καὶ διήλθεν εἰς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος.

7 Ὁυκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐν αἷς τὸν στόλον ἐξέπεμπον ὑπέδρατεν. Ἀδώνια γὰρ εἰχον αἱ γυναῖκες τότε, καὶ προούκειτο πολλαχόθι τῆς πόλεως εἰδωλα, καὶ ταφαὶ περὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κοπετοὶ γυναικῶν ἦσαν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐν λόγῳ ποιομένους τινὶ τὰ τοιαύτα δυσχεραίνει καὶ δεδεῖναι περὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐκείνης καὶ δυνάμεως, μὴ λαμπρύνῃ καὶ ἀκμὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην σχούσα ταχέως μαρανθῆ.

XIV. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐναντιωθῆναι Ψηφιζομένη τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν Νικίαν, καὶ μὴ τυ γὰρ ἐλπίδαν ἐπαρθένα μήτε πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς μέγεθος ἐκπλαγέντα μεταθέσθαι τὴν γνώμην, ἀνδρὸς ἦν χρηστοῦ καὶ σώφρονος· ἐπεὶ δ’ οὕτε τοῦ πολέμου
or because, from mere human calculation, he was alarmed about the expedition, that the astrologer Meton, who had been given a certain station of command, pretended to be mad and set his house on fire. Some, however, tell the story in this way: Meton made no pretence of madness, but burned his house down in the night, and then came forward publicly in great dejection and begged his fellow citizens, in view of the great calamity which had befallen him, to release from the expedition his son, who was about to sail for Sicily in command of a trireme. To Socrates the wise man also, his divine guide, making use of the customary tokens for his enlightenment, indicated plainly that the expedition would make for the ruin of the city. Socrates let this be known to his intimate friends, and the story had a wide circulation.

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

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

2 τῇ δυνάμει στρατηγόν, οὔδεις ἐτὶ καιρὸς ἢν τῆς πολλῆς εὐλαβείας καὶ μελλῆσεως, ὡστε παιδὸς δίκην ἀπὸ τῆς νεως ὁπίσω βλέποντα καὶ τὸ μὴ κρατηθῆναι τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ στρέφοντα πολλάκις ἐναμβλύναι καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν διαφθείρατ τῶν πράξεων, ἀλλ’ εὔθὺς ἐδει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμφύτηκα καὶ προσκείμενον ἐλέγχειν τὴν τύχην ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγώνων. ο ὁ δε, Δαμάχου μὲν ἀντικρος ἀξιούντος πλεῖν ἐπὶ Συρακούσας καὶ μάχην ἐγγιστα τῆς πόλεως τιθέναι, Ἀλκιβιάδου δὲ τὰς τόλεις ἄφισταν Συρακούσίων, εἴθ’ οὕτως ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς βαδίζειν, τὰ ἐναντία λέγων καὶ κελεύων ἄτρέμα παρὰ τὴν Σικελίαν κομιζομένους καὶ περιπλέοντας ἐπιδείξασθαι τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, εἰτ’ ἄποπλειν Ἀθηναζέ μικρὸν τῆς δυνάμεως Αἰγυπτίων ἀπαρξαμένους, αὐτίκα τε τὴν γυνώμην ὑπεξέλυσε καὶ κατέβαλε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

3 Καὶ μετ’ ὄλγον χρόνον Ἀλκιβιάδην Ἀθηναίων μεταπεμψαμένων εἰς κρίσιν, λόγῳ μὲν ἀποδείχθεις δεύτερος ἡγεμών, δυνάμει δὲ μόνος ὁμν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο καθήμενος ἢ περιπλέον ἢ βουλευόμενος, πρὶν ἐγγηρᾶσαι μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐκρυνημὲν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων τὸ θάμβως καὶ τὸν φόβου ὑπ’ ἡ πρώτη παρέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὡψις τῶν δυνάμεων.

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

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

After a little while the Athenians summoned Alcibiades home to stand his trial, and then Nicias, who nominally had still a colleague in the command, but really wielded sole power, made no end of sitting idle, or cruising aimlessly about, or taking deliberate counsel, until the vigorous hopes of his men grew old and feeble, and the consternation and fear with which the first sight of his forces had filled his enemies slowly subsided.
5 Ἐτι δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου παρόντος ἐξήκοντα ναουσὶ πλεύσαντες ἐπὶ Συρακοῦσας, τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀνείχον ὑπὲρ τοῦ λιμένος ἐξω παρατάξαντες, δέκα δὲ κατήλαυνον εἰσὶν κατασκοπής εἶνεκα· καὶ Δεοντίνους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποκαλοῦσαι διὰ κήρυκος, αὐταὶ λαμβάνουσιν ναῦν πολεμίαν σανίδας κομίζουσαν, εἰς ἀς ἀπεγραφόντο κατὰ φυλὰς αὐτοὺς οἱ Συρακούσιοι· κεῖμεναι δὲ ἀπώθεν τῆς πόλεως ἐν ἱερῷ Δίως Ὀλυμπίου τότε πρὸς ἐξέτασιν καὶ κατάλογον τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μετεπέμφθησαν. ὡς οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀλοῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκομίσθησαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅφθη τῶν ὄνομάτων, ἡχηθέσθησαν οἱ μάντεις μὴ ποτε ἄρα τὸ χρεών ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρησμοῦ περαίνοι, λέγοντος ὡς Ἀθηναίοι λήψονται Συρακοῦσιοι ἀπαντας. οὐ μὴν ἄλλῃ ἔτερῳ 1 φασιν ἔργῳ τούτῳ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γενέσθαι ἐπιτελές καθ᾽ ὑπὸ χρόνου ἀποκτείνας Δίωνα Κάλλιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐσχε Συρακοῦσας.

XV. Ἀποπλεύσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου μετ᾽ ὀλίγου ἐκ Σικελίας, τὸ πὰν ἤδη κράτος ὁ Νικίας ἐσχεν. οὐ δὲ Λάμαχος ἦν μὲν ἀνδρώδης καὶ δίκαιος ἀνήρ καὶ τῇ χειρὶ χρώμενος ἀφειδῶς κατὰ τὰς μάχας, πένης δὲ τοσοῦτον καὶ λυτὸς ὡστε καθ᾽ ἐκάστην στρατηγίαν ἀπολογίζεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μικροῖν ἁργύριοι εἰς ἐσθήτα καὶ κρησίδας 2 ἐαυτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Νικίου καὶ διὰ τᾶλα μέγας ἦν

1 ἔτερῳ MSS., Cornēς, and Bekker: ἔτεροι (others say that the prophesy was really fulfilled, etc.).

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While Alcibiades was yet with the fleet, sixty ships sailed for Syracuse, of which fifty lay out in the offing, drawn up so as to command the harbour, while ten rowed in to reconnoitre. These made formal proclamation by voice of herald that the people of Leontini should return to their homes. They also captured a ship of the enemy with tablets on board in which the Syracusans had recorded lists of their citizens by tribes. These lists had been deposited at some distance from the city, in the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus, but had been sent for at that time with a view to determining and enrolling those who had come to military age. Now when these had been captured by the Athenians and brought to their generals, and the number of names was seen, the soothsayers were in distress lest in this circumstance lie the fulfilment of what was predicted by the oracle which said: "The Athenians shall take all the Syracusans." However, they say that it was in another circumstance altogether that this prophecy was fulfilled for the Athenians, namely, at the time when Callippus the Athenian slew Dion and got possession of Syracuse.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, xxi. 1.
καὶ διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὁ ὤγκος. λέγεται δ᾿ ἐν τῷ στρατηγῷ ποτὲ βουλευομένων τι κοινὴ τῶν συναρχῶν, κελευσθεὶς ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ πρώτος εἰπεῖν γνώμην Σοφοκλῆς οığı ποιητής ὡς πρεσβύτατος ὦν τῶν συστρατηγῶν, "Ἔγω," φάναι, "παλαιότατος εἰμὶ, σὺ δὲ πρεσβύτατος."

3 Ὁυτῷ δὴ καὶ τότε τὸν Δάμαχον ἁγῶν ύφ᾿ ἐαυτοῦ στρατηγικότερον ὄντα, καὶ χρώμενος εὐλαβῶς καὶ διὰ μελλῆσεως ἀεὶ τῇ δυνάμει, πρώτον μὲν ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκπεριπλέουν Σικελίαν θάρσος ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπείτα προσβαλὼν "Τβλη, πολιχνίῳ μικρῷ, καὶ πρὶν ἐλεῖν ἀποστάσι, κομιδῇ κατεφρονήθη. καὶ τέλος εἰς Κατάννυ ἀπῆλθε πράξας οὐδὲν ἡ καταστρεψάμενος "Τκ-καρα, βαρβαρικὸν χωρίον, ὅθεν λέγεται καὶ Λαίδα τὴν ἑταίραν ἐτι κόρην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις πραβείσαν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κομισθῆναι.

XVI. Τοῦ δὲ θέρους διελθόντος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Συρακουσίους ἐπυνθάνετο προτέρους ἐπ᾿ αὐτοὺς ἀφίξεσθαι τεθαρρηκότας, οἱ δ᾿ ἵππεις ύβρεῖ προσελαύνουτες ἢδη πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἥρωτον εἰ Κατανάλιος συνοικίσοντες ἡ Δεοντίους κατοικοῦντες ἑκουσί, μόλις ὁ Νικίας ὀρμήσε πλεῖν ἐπὶ 2 Συρακούσας. καὶ βουλόμενος ὀδεῖς καὶ καθ᾿ ἡσυχίαν ἱδρύσαι τὸν στρατόν, ὑπέπεμψεν ἀνθρω-πον ἐκ Κατάνης κελεύοντα τοὺς Συρακουσίους, εἰ βούλονται λαβεῖν ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν τὸ στρατό-
portance, especially because of his wealth and reputation. It is said that once at the War Department, when his fellow commanders were deliberating on some matter of general moment, he bade Sophocles the poet state his opinion first, as being the senior general on the Board. Thereupon Sophocles said: “I am the oldest man, but you are the senior general.”

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

XVI. The summer was now spent when Nicias learned that the Syracusans had plucked up courage and were going to take the initiative and come out against him. Their horsemen already had the insolence to ride up to the Athenian camp and ask its occupants whether they had come to share the homes of the Catanians or to restore the Leontines to their old homes. At last, therefore, and reluctantly, Nicias set out to sail against Syracuse. Wishing to establish his forces there deliberately and without fear of interruption from the enemy, he secretly sent on a man of Catana with a message for the Syracusans: if they wished to find the camp and
πεδον καὶ τὰ ὄπλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, εῦ ἡμέρα ῥητῇ πρὸς Κατάννην πανστρατίᾳ παραγενέσθαι, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ πλείστα διατριβόντων ἐγνωκέναι τοὺς Συρακουσίους φίλους, ὅταν ἐκεῖνοι προσιόντας αἰσθοῦνται, τὰς τε πύλας καταλαμβάνειν ἀμα καὶ τὸν ναῦσταθμὸν ὑποπιμπράναι πολλοὺς δὲ εἶναι τοὺς συνεστῶτας ἦδη καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων περιμένοντας ἀφίξειν.

3 Τούτ’ ἄριστα Νικίας ἐστρατήγησε περὶ Σικελίαν. πανστρατίᾳ γὰρ ἔξαγαγὼν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὅμω τὶ ποιήσας ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν, αὐτὸς ἐκ Κατάνης ἀναχθεὶς τῶν τε λιμένων ἐκράτησε καὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατέλαβε χώραν, ὅθεν ἦκιστα βλαπτόμενος οἷς ἐλείπετο τῶν πολεμίων, ἠλπίζειν εὲ ὅν ἑθάρρει πολεμήσειν ἀκωλύτως.

4 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναστρέψαντες ἐκ Κατάνης οἱ Συρακουσίοι παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλους, ἑπαγαγὼν ταχὺ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκράτησε. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε τῶν πολεμίων· οἱ γὰρ ἵππεις ἐμποδῶν ἐγένοντο τῇ διώξει· τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ διαφθείρων καὶ ἀποκόπτων τὰς γεφύρας, παρέσχεν Ἐρμοκράτει λέγειν παραθαρρύνοντι τοὺς Συρακουσίους ὅτι γελοῖος ἐστὶν ὁ Νικίας, ὅπως οὐ μαχεῖται

5 στρατηγῶν, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ μάχῃ πεπλευκὼς. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα φόβον τε καὶ κατάπληξιν ἰσχυρὰν ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, ὅστ' ἀντὶ τῶν ὄντων τότε πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγῶν ἐτέρους ἐλέσθαι τρεῖς, οἷς πίστιν ἔδωκεν ὁ δήμος δὲ ὥρκων, 534 ἦ μὴν ἐάσειν ἄρχειν αὐτοκράτορας.
equipment of the Athenians abandoned of defenders, they must come in full force to Catana on a given day, for that the friends of the Syracusans in the city, where the Athenians spent most of their time, had determined, on perceiving their approach, to seize the gates and set fire to the Athenian fleet; the conspirators were already many and awaited their coming.

This was the best generalship that Nicias displayed in Sicily. He brought his enemy out of their city in full force, thereby almost emptying it of defenders, while he himself put out to sea from Catana, got control of the enemy's harbours, and seized a spot for his camp where he was confident that he would suffer least injury from that arm of the service in which he was inferior, the cavalry, and meet no hindrance in fighting with that arm whereon he most relied. When the Syracusans hurried back from Catana and drew up in order of battle before their own city, Nicias led his Athenians swiftly against them and carried the day. He did not slay many of the enemy, it is true, for their horsemen prevented his pursuit; he had to content himself with cutting to pieces and destroying the bridges over the river, and thus gave Hermocrates occasion to say, as he sought to encourage the Syracusans, that Nicias was ridiculous in manœuvring so as not to give battle, as though it was not for battle that he had crossed the seas. However, he did infuse fear and mighty consternation into the Syracusans, so that in place of their fifteen generals then in office they elected three others, to whom the people pledged themselves under oath that they would surely suffer them to command with full and independent powers.
6 Ὑμνὸς Ἐρέμου πλησίον ὑποστέως ὑφήμησαν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι καταλαβεῖν, πολλῶν ὑποτον ἐν αὐτῷ ἄρχεται καὶ ἀργυρῶν ἀνάθημάτων. ὃ δὲ Νικίας ἐπίτηδες ἀναβαλλόμενος ύστερησε καὶ περιέβαινε φρονών εἰσελθοῦσαν παρὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἢγούμενος, ἐὰν τὰ χρήματα διαρπάσωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὸ μὲν κοίνον οὐκ ὕφελθησεσθαι, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν αὐτὸς ἔξειν τὸν ὑστερήματος. τῇ δὲ νίκῃ περιβοήτῳ γενομένῳ χρησάμενος εἰς οὐδέν, ἀλλόγων ἢμερῶν διαγενομένων αὖθις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς Νάξον, κἀκεῖ διεχείμασε, πολλὰ μὲν ἀναλίσκων στρατιὰ τοσαύτη, πράττων δὲ μικρὰ πρὸς Σικελίων τινας ἀφισταμένους πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡστε τοὺς Συρακουσίους αὖθις ἀναθαρρήσαντας ἐξελάσαι πρὸς Κατάνην καὶ τὴν τε χώραν τεμεῖν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον κατακαύσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

8 "Α δὴ πάντες ἤτιόντο τὸν Νικίαν, ὅς ἐν τῷ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ μέλλειν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τῶν πράξεων ἀπολλύντα καιρὸν· ἐπεὶ τὰς γε πράξεις οὔτε ἂν ἐμέμψατο τοῦ ἀνδρός· ἀρμῆσας γὰρ ἦν ἑνεργὸς καὶ δραστήριος, τολμῆσαι δὲ μελλητὴς καὶ ἀτολμὸς.

ΧVII. 'Ὡς δ' οὖν ἐκίνησε τὴν στρατιὰν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακούσας, οὔτως ἐστρατήγησε καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὧξυτήτος ἁμα καὶ ἀσφαλείας ἐπήλθεν, ὡστε λαθεῖν μὲν εἰς Θάψον ταῖς ναυὶ προσμίζας καὶ ἀποβάς, φθάσαι δὲ τὰς Ἑπιπολὰς
The Olympieum was hard by, and the Athenians set out to seize it, inasmuch as it contained many offerings of gold and silver. But Nicias purposely delayed operations until it was too late, and allowed a garrison from Syracuse to enter in, because he thought that if his soldiers plundered the temple's treasures the commonwealth would get no advantage from it, and he himself would incur the blame for the sacrilege. Of his victory, which was so noised about, he made no use whatever, but after a few days had elapsed withdrew again to Naxos, and there spent the winter, making large outlays on his vast armament, but effecting little in his negotiations with the few Sicels who thought of coming over to his side. The Syracusans therefore plucked up courage again, marched out to Catana, ravaged the fields, and burnt what had been the Athenian camp.

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

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

1 In the spring of 414 B.C., as described by Thucydides in vi. 97.
2 A triangular plateau, rising gradually to the westwards of Syracuse, visible from the interior of the city, and surrounded by precipitous cliffs.
κατασχῶν, τῶν δὲ προσβοηθοῦντων λογάδων κρατῆσαι ἔλειν μὲν τριακοσίους, τρέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑπ'πον τῶν πολεμίων ἀμαχόν εἶναι δοκοῦσαν.

2 Ὅ δὲ πάντων μάλιστα καὶ Σικελιώτας ἐξεπληξε καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἀπιστίαν παρέσχεν, ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ περιετείχισε Συρακοῦσας, πόλιν Ἀθηνῶν οὐκ ἔλαττονα, δυσεργοτέραν δὲ χωρίων ἀνωμαλίαις καὶ θαλάσσῃ γειτνιώσῃ καὶ παρακειμένους ἔλεσε τείχος κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον

3 ἀγαγεῖν. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ ἐξεργάσασθαι μικρόν ἐδέσθη τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρωπος οὐδ' ὑγιαίνοντι χρώμενος ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τοσαύτας φροντίδας, ἀλλὰ νόσον νοσῶν νεφρίτιν, ἢσ τὸ μὴ προσεκπονηθὲν λείμμα ποιεῖσθαι δίκαιόν ἐστι. θαυμάζω δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν

4 ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐν οἷς κατώρθουν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὔριπίδης μετὰ τὴν ἤτταν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ὀλέθρου γράφων ἐπικήθειον ἐποίησεν:

Οἴδε Συρακοσίους ὁκτὼ νίκας ἐκράτησαν
          'Ανδρεσ, ὅτι τὴν τὰ θεῶν ἐξ ἰσον ἄμφοτέροις

5 οὐκ ὁκτὼ δὲ νίκας, ἀλλὰ πλείονας ἄν τις εὗροι Συρακοσίους νευκικήμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, πρὶν ἐκ θεῶν ὡντος ἢ τύχης ἀντίστασιν τινα γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πλείστων αἱρομένοις δυνάμεως.

ΧVIII Ταῖς μὲν οὖν πλείσταις πράξει βια-ξόμενος τὸ σώμα παρῆν ὁ Νικίας. ἀκμὴν δὲ ποτε τῆς ἀρρωστίας λαβοῦσης ὁ μὲν ἐν τείχεσθι 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.”

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

^ Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graeci, ii. p. 265. 1
Plutarch's Lives

οὐλόγων ὑπηρετῶν κατέκειτο, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν ἔχων ὁ Λάμαχος προσεμάχετο τοῖς Συρακούσιοις ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τείχως ἀνάγονισι πρὸς τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, δ' κωλύσειν ἔμελλε διὰ μέσου τῶν ἀπο-

2 τειχισμῶν. τῷ δὲ κρατείν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀτακτό-

τερον φερομένων πρὸς τὰς διώξεις, ἀπομονωθεὶς ὁ Λάμαχος ὑπέστη τῶν Συρακούσιων τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους. ἦν δὲ πρῶτος αὐτῶν Καλλικράτης, ἀνήρ πολεμικὸς καὶ θυμοειδῆς. πρὸς τούτου ἐκ προκλήσεως καταστὰς ὁ Λάμαχος ἐμονομάχησε, καὶ λαβὼν πληγὴν πρῶτος, εἶτα δοὺς καὶ πεσὼν

3 ὁμοὶ συναπέθανε τῷ Καλλικράτει. καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα κρατήσαντες αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἔξηραν οἱ Συρακούσιοι, δρόμῳ δ' ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐν οἷς ὁ Νικίας ἦν οὐκ ἔχων τοὺς βοηθοῦντας. ὁμως δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐξαναστὰς καὶ κατιδών τὸν κίνδυνον ἐκέλευσε τοὺς καθ' ἑαυ-

τόν, ὅσα ξύλα πρὸ τῶν τείχῶν ἑτύγχανεν εἰς μηχανὰς 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 μέσου πολλὴν ἱδόντες ἀπετράπησαν οἱ Συρα-

κούσιοι.

4 Τούτων δὲ πραξθέντων ἀπολέσθησαν μὲν ὁ Νικίας μόνος τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἦν δ' ἐξίσος μεγάλης. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις μεθίσταντο καὶ πλοῖα μεστὰ σίτου πολλαχόθεν ἥλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατό-

πεδον, τοῖς πράγμασιν εὗροι περὶ προστιθεμένων. καὶ λόγου τινές ἦδη παρὰ τῶν

1 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον MSS. and odd.; ἠθέν added by

Sintenis.

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

Thus it came to pass that Nicias was left sole general; but he was in great hopes. Cities were inclining to take his side, and ships full of grain came to his camp from every quarter. Everybody hastens to join a successful cause. Besides, sundry proposals for a treaty were already coming to him from those
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Συρακοσίων ἐγίνοντο περὶ συμβασεσ ς πρὸς
5 αὐτῶν, ἀπεγνωκότων τὴν πόλιν. ὅπου καὶ Γυλίπ-
πος ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος πλέων θόδος αὐτοῖς, ὡς
ἡκουσε κατὰ πλοῦν τὸν ἀποτελάκας καὶ τὰς
ἀπορίας, οὔτως ἔπλει τὸ λουτρὸν ὡς ἔχομέγνης μὲν
ἠδὲ τῆς Σικελίας, Ἰταλιώταις δὲ τὰς πόλεις δια-
φυλάξων, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο ποὺ ἐγγένοιτο. μεγάλη γὰρ
ἡ δόξα διεφοίτα τοῦ κρατεῖν πάντα τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους καὶ στρατηγόν ἔχειν ἄμαχον δὴ εὐτυχίαν
καὶ φρόνησιν.

6 οὗ δὲ Νικίας εὐθὺς1 αὐτῶς καὶ παρὰ φύσιν
ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ρώμης καὶ τύχης ἀνατε-
θαρρηκός, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἐκ Συρακοσίων δια-
λεγομένοις κρύφα καὶ πέμπουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅσον
οὔπω τὴν πόλιν ἐνδίδοσθαι κατὰ συμβάσεις
νυμίζων, οὐδένα τοῦ Γυλίππου λόγον ἐσχε προσ-
πλέουτος, οὐδὲ φυλακὴν ἐποίησατο καθαράν,
ἀλλὰ τῷ παντελῶς ὑπερορᾶθαι καὶ καταφρονεῖ-
σθαι λαθῶν αὐτὸν ὁ ἄνὴρ εἰςἐπλευσε διὰ πορθ-
μοῦ, καὶ προσκομισθεῖς ἀπωτάτω τῶν Συρακοσίων
στρατίαν συνηγάγετο πολλὴν, οὐδ’ εἰ πάρεστι
τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπισταμένων οὐδὲ προσδοκῶν-
7 τῶν. διὸ καὶ παρῆγγελτο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησία
περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Νικίαν ὁμολογίων, καὶ τινες
ἐβάδιξον ἡδὲ, πρὶν ἡ παντελῶς ἀποτελεσθῆται
τὴν πόλιν οἴμονει δὲν γενέσθαι τὰς διαλύσεις
βραχὺ γὰρ ἡ κομιδὴ τὸ ἀπολειπόμενον τοῦ ἐργοῦ,
καὶ τούτο παραβεβλημένη εἴχε τὴν παρασκευὴν
τῆς τελευταίας σύμπασαν.

XIX. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καμίνος παρόντος τοῦ κυ-
δύνου ἀφικνεῖται Γογγύλος ἐκ Κορίνθου μὲν

1 εὐθὺς deleted by Coraës and Bekker.
NICIAS

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

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

XIX. But in this nick of time and crisis of their peril Gongylus came to them from Corinth with a
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tυρήρεν καὶ συνδραμόντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς εἰκός, πάντων ἐφφαζέν ὅτι Γύλιππος ἀφίξεται διὰ ταχέων καὶ νησὶς ἄλλαι βοηθὸι προσπλέουσιν.

2 οὗτος δὲ τῷ Γογγύλῳ πιστεύοντων βεβαιῶς, ἥκεν ἀγγελος παρὰ τοῦ Γυλίππου κελεύοντος ἀπαντᾶν. οἱ δὲ θαρρήσαντες ἐξωπλάζοντο· καὶ προσήγεν εὖθυς ὁ Γύλιππος ἐξ ὀδοῦ παρατεταγμένοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὡς δὲ κἀκείνους ἀντέταξεν ὁ Νικίας, θέμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὁ Γύλιππος τὰ ὅπλα καὶ κήρυκα πέμψας ἔλεγε διδόναι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἄδειαν ἀπισθῶσιν ἐκ Σικελίας.

3 'Ο μὲν οὖν Νικίας οὖθεν ἡξίωσεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν τινὲς καταγελώντες ἡρώτων εἰ διὰ παρουσίαν ἐνδὸς τρίβωνως καὶ βακτηρίας λακωνικὴς οὕτως ἵσχυρά τὰ Συρακοσίων ἑξαίφης γέγονεν ὡςτ' Ἀθηναίων καταφρονεῖν, οὗ πολὺ ῥωμαλεστέρους Γυλίππου καὶ μᾶλλον κομῶντας τριακοσίους ἔχοντες ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένους ἀπέδωκαν Λακεδαιμονίοις. Τίμαιος δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σικελιώτας φησὶν ἐν μηδενὶ λόγῳ ποιεῖσθαι τὸν Γύλιππον, ύστερον μὲν αἰσχροκέρδειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μικρολογία καταγινότας, ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ὥφθη, σκόπτοντας εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν κόμην. εἶτα μέντοι φησὶν αὐτὸς ὅτι τῷ Γύλίππῳ φανέντι καθὰ περ γλαυκὶ πολλὸν προσέπετησαν ἑτοῖμῳ στρατευόμενοι. καὶ ταύτα τῶν πρῶτων ἀληθέστερά εἰσιν· ἐν γὰρ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ καὶ τῷ 536 τρίβων τὸ σύμβολον καὶ τὸ ἄξωμα 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 men 1 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 Sphacteria (chapter viii. 1), two hundred and ninety-two in number (Thuc. iv. 38, 5).
καθορώντες συνίσταντο. κάκεινον τὸ πᾶν ἐργὸν
gεγονέναι φησίν οὐ Θουκυδίδης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Φίλιστος, ἀνὴρ Συρακούσιος καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
ὀρατῆς γενόμενος.

Τῇ μὲν οὖν πρώτῃ μάχῃ κρατήσαντες οἱ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι τῶν Συρακούσιων ὀλίγους τινὰς ἕπεκτειναν
καὶ Γογγύλον τὸν Κορίνθιον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπιούσαν
ἡμέραν ἐδείξειν ὁ Γύλιππος οἶδ᾽ ἑστὶν ἐμπειρίᾳ.
τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ λοιπὸν καὶ ἦποις καὶ χωρίοις
χρησάμενοι οὐχ ὤσαύτως, ἀλλὰ μεταθεῖς τὴν
6 τάξιν, ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους· καὶ φυγὸντων εἰς
tὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπιστῆσας τοὺς Συρακούσιους,
tοῖς λίθοις οἷς ἐκείνοι προσεκόμιζον καὶ τῇ ὑλῇ
παροικοδομῶν εἰς διαστολὰς ἀπέκοψε τὸν ἐκεῖνῶν
περιτειχισμὸν, ὡςτ᾽ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον
κρατοῦσιν.

Ἔκ τούτου δὲ θαρρήσαντες οἱ Συρακούσιοι τάς
τε ναῦς ἐπλήρουν, καὶ τοῖς ἵππευσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν
καὶ ἀκολούθοις περιελαύνοντες πολλοὺς ἱπποὺν.
7 καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτὸς
ἐξώρμα καὶ συνίστῃ πάντας ἐρρωμένος ὕπακούον-
tας αὐτῷ καὶ συλλαμβανόμενος, ὡςτε τὸν
Νικίαν αὐτῷς εἰς ἐκείνους ἀποτρεπόμενον τοὺς
πρῶτους λογισμοὺς καὶ συμφρονοῦντα τὴν τῶν
πραγμάτων μεταβολῆν ἂθυμεῖν, καὶ γράφειν τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις κελεύοντα πέμπτειν ἑτέρου στρατὸν ἢ
καὶ τούτον ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκ Σικελίας, αὐτῷ δὲ
πάντως αὐτούμενον τῆς στρατηγίας ἄφεσιν διὰ
tῆν νόσον.

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

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

After this the Syracusans plucked up heart and went to manning their ships, while their own horsemen and those of their allies would ride about and cut off many of their besiegers. Gylippus also went out in person to the cities of Sicily and roused up and united them all into vigorous and obedient concert with him. Nicias therefore fell back again upon those views of the undertaking which he had held at the outset, and, fully aware of the reversal which it had suffered, became dejected, and wrote a dispatch 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.
PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XX. Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὀρμηνυτὸν 
πέμπειν ἐτέραν δύναμιν εἰς Σικελίαν, φθόνῳ δὲ 
tῶν πρῶτον πραττομένων πρὸς εὐτυχίαν τοῦ 
Νικίου τοσαύτην πολλὰς διατριβὰς ἐμβαλόντων 
tότε γοῦν ἔσπευδον βοηθεῖν. καὶ Δημοσθένης 
μὲν ἔμελλε μεγάλῳ στόλῳ πλεῖν ἐκ χειμῶνος, 
Εὐρυμέδων δὲ διὰ χειμῶνος προεξέπλευσε χρῆματα 
kομίζων καὶ συστρατήγους ἀποφαίνων ἥρημένους 
tῷ Νικίᾳ τῶν αὐτῶθι στρατευομένων Εὐθύδημον 
cαὶ Μένανδρον.

2 Ἔν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν 
ἐξαίφνης ἐπιχειροῦμενος ὁ Νικίας ταῖς μὲν ναυσῖν 
ἡττώμενος τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοῖς ἐξέωσε καὶ κατέδυσε 
pολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν οὐκ ἔφθασε 
βοηθῶν, ἀλλ' ἄφνῳ προσπεσῶν ὁ Γύλιππος εἶλε 
tὸ Πλημμύριον, ἐν ζεκενῶν τριηρικῶν καὶ χρημά 
τῶν πολλῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐκράτησε πάντων καὶ 
dιέφθειρεν ἀνδρὰς οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ ξώντας ἔλαβε·

3 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἀφείλετο τοῦ Νικίου τῆς ἀγορᾶς 
tῆν εὐπέτειαν. ἦν γὰρ ἡ κομιδὴ παρὰ τὸ Πλημ 
μύριον ἀσφαλῆς καὶ ταχεία τῶν Ἀθηναίων 
kρατοῦντων, ἐκπεσόντων δὲ χαλεπῇ καὶ μετὰ 
mάχης ἐγίνετο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκεῖ ναυλοχοῦν 
tας. ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν τοῖς Συρακουσίωις 
oὐκ ἀπὸ κράτους ἐφαίνετο νεικημένου, 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.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

άταξία περὶ τὴν δίωξιν. αὖθις οὖν ἐπεχείρουν παρασκευαζόμενοι λαμπρότερον.

4 Ὁ δὲ Νικίας οὐκ ἐβούλετο ναυμαχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἔλεγεν εἶναι, στόλου τοσοῦτον προσπλέοντος αὐτοῖς καὶ δυνάμεως ἀκραίφυος, ἢν ἦγε Δημοσθένης σπεύδων, ἀπ’ ἐλαττόνων καὶ χορηγουμένων φαύλως διαγωνίσασθαι. τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μένανδρον καὶ τὸν Εὐθύδημον ἀρτίως εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καθισταμένοις φιλοτιμία καὶ ἥξιος ἢν πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς στρατηγούς, τὸν μὲν Δημοσθένην φθινὰ πράξαντά τι λαμπρόν,

5 ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ τὸν Νικίαν. πρόσχημα δ’ ἢν ἢ δόξα τῆς πόλεως, ἢν ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ καταλύσθαι παντάπασι φάσκοντες εἰ φοβηθῆσονται Συρακουσίους ἐπιπλέονται, ἐξεβιάσαντο ναυμαχῆσαι. καὶ καταστρατηγηθέντες ὑπ’ Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ Κορινθίου κυβερνήτου τοῖς περὶ τὸ ἀριστον, ὡς εἰρήκε Θουκυδίδης, κατὰ κράτος ἡττήθησαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλον· καὶ ἀθυμία πολλῇ περὶ ἑστήκει τὸν Νικίαν τῇ τε μοναρχίᾳ κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον αὖθις ὑπὸ τῶν σύναρχῶντων.

XXI. Ἕν τούτῳ δὲ Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ τῶν λιμένων ἐπεφαίνετο λαμπρότατος τῇ παρασκευῇ καὶ δεινότατος τοῖς πολεμίσις, ὃπ’ νεῶν ἐβδομηκοῦντα καὶ τριῶν ἄγων ὀπλίτας πεντακισχιλίους, ἀκοντιστᾶς δὲ καὶ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας τρισχιλίων οὐκ ἐλάττους, ὅπλων δὲ κόσμῳ καὶ

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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-maneuvered by Ariston, the Corinthian captain, in the matter of the noon-day meal, as Thucydides relates, 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, 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 άυλητῶν θεατρικῶς καὶ πρὸς ἐκπληξίν πολεμίων

2 ἔξησκημένος. ἦν οὖν, ὡς εἰκός, αὕθες ἐν φόβῳ μεγάλῳ τὰ Συρακουσίων εἰς οὐδὲν πέρας οὐδὲ ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἀλλὰ πονοῦντας ἀλλως καὶ φθειρομένους αὐτοὺς μάτην ὅρωντων.

Τὸν δὲ Νικίαν οὖ πολὺν χρόνον εὑφρανεν ἡ παρουσία τῆς δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον ἐν λόγοις γενέσθαι, τοῦ Δημοσθένους εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις κελεύοντος καὶ τῷ ταχύτω τῶν κινδύνων περὶ τοῦ παντὸς διαγωνισμένους ἐλείν Συρακούσας ἡ ἀποπλείεν οἰκαδε, δείσας καὶ θαυμάσας τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ τόλμαν ἐδείτο μηδὲν

3 ἀπεγνωσμένως πράττειν μηδὲ ἀνοίτως. τὴν γὰρ τριβὴν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν πολεμίων οὔτε χρήματα κεκτημένου ἔτι, μήτε τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς πολὺν χρόνον παραμενοῦντων, εἰ δὲ θλίβοντο ταῖς ἀπορίαις, ταχὺ πάλιν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ συμβάσεις τραπετσομένων, ὡς πρότερον. καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἄνδρες οὐκ ὅλως τῶν ἐν Συρακούσαις διαλεγόμενοι τῷ Νικίᾳ κρύφα καὶ μένειν κελεύοντες, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπερπονοῦντων τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τὸν Γύλιππον βαρυνομένων, ἐὰν δὲ μικρὸν ἐπιτείνωσιν αἰ ἀνάγκαι, παντάπασιν ἀπαγορευσόντων.

4 τούτων ὁ Νικίας τὰ μὲν αἰνητόμενοι, τὰ δ' οὖ θέλων ἐν φανερῷ λέγειν, ἀυτολίας παρέσχε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς δόξαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνα πάλιν ἤκειν φάσκοντες αὐτοὺ, μελλῆμα καὶ διατριβᾶς καὶ ἀκριβολογίας, αἰς ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἰκμὴν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπιχειρῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ἐωλος 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
φρονούμενοι, τῷ Δημοσθένει προσετέθεντο. καὶ ὁ Νικίας μόλις συνεχώρησεν ἐκβιασθείς.

5 Ὅπως δὴ τὴν πεζὴν στρατιάν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Δημοσθένης νυκτὸς ἐπεχείρη ταῖς Ἐπιπολαίας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν φθάσας πρὶν αἰσθήσασθαί τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἀμυνομένους ἐτρέψατο· καὶ κρατών οὐκ ἔμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἔχωρει προσωτέρω, μέχρι οὖ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ἐνέτυχε. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι συστρέφαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ συνδραμόντες εἰς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἑναντίοις τοῖς δόρασι μετὰ βοῖς ἐώσαντο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ κατέβαλον.

6 δὲ ὅλον δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος εὐθὺς ἦν πτολεί καὶ ταραχή, καὶ τοῦ φεύγοντος ἢδη καταπιστόλαμενον τὸ ἔτο νικῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον καὶ προσφερόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πεφυγομένων ἀνακοπτόμενον ἑαυτὸ περιέππιττε, τοὺς μὲν φεύγοντας οἴσθενον διὸκείν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὡς πολεμίους χρώμενον. ἦ γὰρ ἀτάκτος ἀνάμιξις ἐν ταύτῳ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγνοίας, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑψίστου ἀπιστοῦ ἐν νυκτὶ μήτε σκότος ἀκρατοῦ μήτε φῶς ἔχοισθε βέβαιοι, ἀλλ' οἶναν εἰκὸς ἢδη καταφερόμενης σελήνης καὶ περισκιαζομένης ὀπλοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ σώματι κινομένοις διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς μὴ διασαφοῦσαν τὰ εἰδὴ φόβω τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ὀκεῖον ποιεῖν ὑποπτῶν, εἰς δεινὰς ἀπορίας καὶ περιπετείας καθίστη τοὺς.

7 τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ἡ πολέμους χρώμενον. η γὰρ ἀτάκτος ἀνάμιξις ἐν ταύτῳ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγνοίας, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὑψίστου ἀπιστοῦ ἐν νυκτὶ μήτε σκότος ἀκρατοῦ μήτε φῶς ἔχοισθε βέβαιοι, ἀλλ' οἶναν εἰκὸς ἢδη καταφερόμενης σελήνης καὶ περισκιαζομένης ὀπλοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ σώματι κινομένοις διὰ τοῦ φωτὸς μὴ διασαφοῦσαν τὰ εἰδὴ φόβω τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὸ ὀκεῖον ποιεῖν ὑποπτῶν, εἰς δεινὰς ἀπορίας καὶ περιπετείας καθίστη τοὺς.

8 Ἀθηναίοις. ἔτυχον δὲ πως καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἔχοντες ὀπισθεν· ὅθεν αὐτὸι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰς σκιὰς ἐπιβάλλοντες ἀπέκρυπτον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα, τοὺς δ' ἑναντίους ὁ πρὸς τὴν
NICIAS

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

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

9 Τέλος δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοῖς, ὃς ἐνέδοσαν, προσκειμένων τῶν πολεμίων φεύγοντες οἱ μὲν ὑπ' ἐκεῖνων, οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέθυμησκον, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν ὁλισθαίνοντες· τοὺς δ' ἀποσκε- δασθέντας καὶ πλανωμένους ἠμέρας ἐπιγενομένης οἱ ἱππεῖς καταλαμβάνοντες διέφθειρον. ἔγένοντο δὲ νεκροὶ δισχίλιοι, καὶ τῶν περιγενομένων ὅλων μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπεσώθησαν.

ΧΧΙΙ. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικίας πληγεὶς οὐκ ἀπροσ- δοκήτως ἤτιοτο τοῦ Δημοσθένους τὴν προπέτειαν· ἐκεῖνος δὲ περὶ τοῦτον ἀπολογησάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀποπλείν τὴν ταχύτητι· οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλην ἀφέξ- εσθαί δύναμιν αὐτοῖς, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης τῶν πολεμίων κρατεῖν, ὅπου γε καὶ κρατοῦντας ἐκεί- νον ἔδει μεταστῆναι καὶ φυγεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀεὶ μὲν, ὡς πυνθάνονται, βαρὺ καὶ νοσῶδες ὅν στρα- τοπέδῳ, νῦν δ', ὡς βλέπουσι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑφαν ὀλέθριον. μετοπώρου γὰρ ἡ ἡ ἀρχη ἤ καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἡσθένουν ἤδη, πάντες δὲ ἡθύμουν.

Ὁ δὲ Νικίας χαλεπῶς ἠκούε τὴν φυγήν καὶ τὸν ἀπόπλουν, οὐ τῷ μὴ δεδείναι τοὺς Συρακου- σίους, ἄλλα τῷ μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων δίκας καὶ συκοφαντίας φοβείσθαι. δεινὸν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτὸθι προσδοκῶν ἐφασκεν, εἰ δὲ συμβαίη, μᾶλλον αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐχ ὄμοια 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
φρονῶν οῖς ὑστερον ὁ Βυζάντιος Δέων εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας· "Βούλομαι γὰρ," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον υφ' ύμῶν ἢ μεθ' ύμῶν ἀποθανεῖν". περὶ μέντοι τόπου καὶ χώρας εἰς ἢν μετατάξουσι τὸ στρατόπεδον, βουλεύσεσθαι καθ' ἱσυχίαν.

4 ταύτα δ' αυτοῦ λέγοντος ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης οὐδὲ τῇ προτέρᾳ γνώμῃ κατευναχθεὶς ἐπαύσατο βιαζόμενος, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις παρέσχε τὸν Νικίαν προσδοκῶντα καὶ πιστεύοντα τοῖς ἐιδον οὕτως ἐρρωμένως ἀναμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς ἀποβάσεως· διὸ καὶ συνεχώρησαν. ὡς μὲντοι στρατιὰ Συρακοσίος ἐπῆλθεν ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἤπειτο τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ νόσος, ἣδη καὶ τῷ Νικίᾳ συνεδόκει μεθίστασθαι, καὶ παρῆγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις εὑτρεπεῖς εἶναι πρὸς ἀπόπλουν.

XXIII. Ὡς δ' ἦν ἔτοιμα ταύτα πάντα καὶ τῶν πολεμίων οὐδεὶς παρεφύλαττεν, ἀτε δὴ μὴ προσδοκῶντων, ἐξέλιπεν ἡ σελήνη τῆς νυκτὸς, μέγα δὲς τῷ Νικίᾳ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἡ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐκπεπληγμένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡλίου τῆν περὶ τὰς τριακάδας ἐπισκόπησιν ἀμοῦς γε πῶς ἢδη συνεφρόνουν καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ γενομένην ὑπὸ τῆς σελήνης·

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

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

1 Perhaps in 340 B.C., when Philip of Macedon was besieging Byzantium. Leon was a rhetorician and historian.
'Ο γὰρ πρῶτος σαφέστατον τε πάντων καὶ θαρραλεώτατον περὶ σελήνης κατανυγασμῶν καὶ σκιάς λόγον εἰς γραφὴν καταθέμενος Ἀναξιγόρας ὦτ' αὐτὸς ἢν παλαιὸς οὔτε ὁ λόγος ἐνδόξος, ἀλλ' ἀπόρρητος ἔτι καὶ δὲ οὖλίγων καὶ μετ' εὐλαβείας τινὸς ἡ πίστεως βαδίζων. οὐ γὰρ ἤνείχοντο τοὺς φυσικοὺς καὶ μετεωρολέοσχας τότε καλομένους, ὥς εἰς αἰτίας ἁλόγους καὶ δυνάμεις ἀπρονοήτους καὶ κατηναγκασμένα πάθη διατρίβοντας τὸ θείον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πρωταγόρας ἔφυγε, καὶ Ἀναξιγόραν εἰρχθέντα μόλις περιποίησατο Περικλῆς, καὶ Σωκράτης, οὔδεν αὐτῷ τῶν γε τοιούτων προσήκον, ὅμως ἀπώλετο διὰ φιλοσοφίαν.

4 οὖν ἐντὸς Πλάτωνος ἐκλάμψασα δόξα διὰ τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ὅτι ταῖς θείαις καὶ κυριωτέραις ἀρχαῖς ὑπέταξε τὰς φυσικὰς ἀνάγκας, ἀφεὶλε τὴν τῶν λόγων τούτων διαβολήν, καὶ τοῖς μαθήμασιν εἰς ἀπαντᾶς ὁδὸν ἐνέδωκεν. οἱ γοῦν ἔταφροι αὐτοῦ Δίῳν, καθ' ὅν χρόνον ἐμελλεν ἄρας ἐκ Ζακύνθου πλεῖν ἐπὶ Διονύσιον, ἐκλιπτοῦσις τῆς σελήνης, οὔδεν διαταραχθεῖς ἀνήχθη, καὶ κατασχὼν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐξέβαλε τὸν τύραννον.

5 Τῷ μέντοι Νικία συνηνέχθη τότε μηδὲ μάντιν ἔχειν ἐμπειρον· ο γὰρ συνήθης αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἄφαιρὼν 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.
μικρού ἐμπροσθεν. ἐπεὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὡς φησι Φιλό-
χορος, φεύγουσιν οὐκ ἢν πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνη
χρηστῶν ἐπικρύψεως γὰρ αἱ σὺν φόβῳ πράξεις
6 δέονται, τὸ δὲ φῶς πολέμιον ἑστὶν αὐταῖς. ἀλλὰς
tε καὶ τῶν περὶ ἢλιον καὶ σελήνην ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἠμέρας
ἐποιεύντο φυλακῆν, ὡς Αὐτοκλείδης διέγραψεν
ἐν τοῖς ἐξηγητικοῖς: ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἀλλην ἐπείσε
σελήνης ἀναμένειν περίδον, ὡσπερ οὐκ εὐθὺς
θεασάμενος αὐτὴν ἀποκαθαρθείσαν, ὅτε τὸν
σκιερὸν τόπον καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀντιφραττόμενον
παρῆλθε.

XXIV. Μικροῦ δὲ πάντων ἀφέμενος τῶν ἀλλων
ἐθνε τε καὶ διεμαντεύετο καθήμενος, ἔως ἐπήλθον
αὐτοῖς οἱ πολέμιοι, τῷ μὲν πεξῷ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸ
στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν πολιορκοῦντες, ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ
kύκλῳ τὸν λιμένα περιλαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αὐτοὶ
μόνον ταῖς τριήρεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παιδαρία
πανταχόθεν ἐπιβαίνοντα τῶν ἀλιάδων καὶ ταῖς
σκάφαις προσπλέοντα προῦκαλεῖτο τούσ Ἀθη-
2 ναίους καὶ προὕπηλάκιζεν. ὅν ἔνα, παίδα γνωρί-
μων γονέων, Ἡρακλείδην, προεξελάσαντα τῷ
πλοίῳ ναύς Ἀττικὴ διώκουσα κατελάμβανε.
δείσας δὲ περὶ αὐτῷ Πόλλιχος ὁ θεῖος ἀντελάυνει
δέκα τριήρεσιν ὅπ τῇ ἤρχετο οἱ δ’ ἀλλοι περὶ τοῦ
Πόλλιχον φοβηθέντες ὡσαύτως ἀνήγοντο. καὶ
ναυμαχίας ἵσχυρὰς γενομένης ἐνίκησαν οἱ Συρκ-
κούσιοι, καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα πολλῶν μετ’ ἄλλων
dιέφθειραν.

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

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

Accordingly the Athenians could no longer endure
ἄλλα τῶν στρατηγῶν κατεβόων πεζῇ κελεύοντες ἀναχωρεῖν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Συρακούσιοι νικήσαντες εὐθὺς ἐνέφραξαν καὶ ἀπέκλεισαν τὸν διέκπλουν τοῦ λιμένος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικίαν τούτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· δεινὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπολυπτεῖν ἕλκαδας τε πολλὰς καὶ τριήρεις ὀλίγον ἀριθμῷ διακοσίων ἀποδεούσας· ἐμβιβάσαντες δὲ τῶν πεζῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τοὺς ἀλκιμωτάτους ἐπλήρωσαν ἕκατὸν καὶ δέκα τριήρεις· αἱ γὰρ ἄλλαι ταρσῶν ἐνδεεῖς ἦσαν. τὸν δὲ λοιπὸν ὄχλον ἐστησαί παρὰ θάλασσαν ὁ Νικίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ συνάπτοντα πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὅστε μὴ τεθυκότων τὴν εἰθισμένην θυσίαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν Συρακούσιων, θύσαι τότε τοὺς ιερεῖς καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἀναβάντας ἣδη πληρουμένων τῶν τριήρων.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μάντεις τοῖς Συρακούσιοις ἀπήγγειλαν ἐκ τῶν ιερῶν λαμπρότητα καὶ νίκην μὴ καταρχομένους μάχης, ἄλλ’ ἀμυνομένους (καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων κρατεῖν ἀμυνόμενον καὶ προεπιχειροῦμενον), ἀνήχθησαν.

Ἡ δὲ ναυμαχία πολὺ μεγίστη καὶ καρτερωτάτη γενομένη, καὶ μηδὲν ἐλάττονα πάθη καὶ θορύβους παρασκούσα τοῖς θεωμένοις ἢ τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις διὰ τὴν παντὸς ἐπίβλεψιν τοῦ ἔργου ποικίλας μεταβολάς καὶ ἀπροσδόκητος ἐν ὀλίγῳ λαμβάνοντος, ἔβλαπτε ταῖς αὐτῶν παρασκευαῖς οὐχ ἦττον τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ἡ ἄθροις γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ βαρείαις 294
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to remain there, but cried out loudly upon their generals and bade them withdraw by land; for the Syracusans, immediately after their victory, had blocked up and shut off the mouth of the harbour. But Nicias could not consent to this. He said it would be a terrible thing to abandon so many transports, and triremes almost two hundred in number. So he embarked the best of his infantry and the most efficient of his 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 κούφιας ἀλλαχόθεν ἀλλας ἐπιφερομένας, καὶ
βαλλόμενοι λίθοις ὁμοίαν ἔχουσί τὴν πληγήν
πανταχόθεν ἀντέβαλλον ἀκούτιοι καὶ τοξεύμασιν,
ὡς ὁ σάλος τὴν εὐθυβολίαν διέστρεφεν, ὡστε μὴ
πάντα καὶ ἀιχμὴν προσφέρεσθαι. ταύτα δ' Ἀρίστων ὁ Κορίνθιος κυβερνήτης ἐδιδάξε τοὺς
Συρακουσίους, καὶ παρὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτὴν ἀγωνι-
ζόμενος προβύμως ἐπέσεν ἢδη κρατούντων τῶν
Συρακουσίων.

3 Γενομένης δὲ μεγάλης τροπῆς καὶ φθορᾶς, ἢ
μὲν κατὰ θάλασσαν φυγῇ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀπο-
κέκοπτοι, χαλεπὴν δὲ καὶ διὰ γῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν
ὁρῶντες οὔτε ναῦς ἀφέλκωντας ἐγγύθεν ἐτὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐκώλυν οὔτε νεκρῶν ἤτησαν ἀναίρεσιν,
ἀτε δὴ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀταφίας τὴν τῶν νοσοῦντων
καὶ πετρωμένων ἀπόλειψιν οἰκτροτέραν οὐσαν
ἡδη πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐχοῦτε, αὐτοὺς δὲ κάκεινων
ἐπιπονωτέρους ἡγούμενοι, μετὰ πλειώνων κακῶν
ἐπὶ ταύτο πάντως ἀφιξομένους τέλος.

XXVI. Ὄρμημένων δ' αὐτῶν ἀπαίρειν διὰ
νυκτὸς οἱ μὲν περὶ τῶν Γύλιππον, ὀρῶντες ἐν
θυσίαις καὶ πότοις τοὺς Συρακούσιους διὰ τε τὴν
νίκην καὶ τὴν ἐορτήν ὄντας, οὔτε πείσεων οὔτε
βιάσεσθαι προσεδόκων ἀναστάντας ἢδη προσφέ-
ρεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπιούσιν, Ἔρμοκράτης δ' αὐτῶς ἢφ' ἐαυτοῦ συνιδεῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Νικίαν ἀπάτην,

2 ἔπεμψε τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀπ' ἐκεί-
νων μὲν ἦκειν τῶν ἀνδρῶν φάσκοντας, οἱ καὶ πρό-
τερον 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
παραινούντας δὲ μὴ πορεύεσθαι διὰ τῆς νυκτός, ὡς τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐνέδρας πεποιημένων αὐτοῖς καὶ προκατεχόντων τὰς παρόδους. τούτῳ δὲ καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὁ Νικίας ὑπέμενεν ἀ' ψευδῶς ἐδεισεν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀληθῶς παθεῖν. 3 προελθόντες γὰρ ἀμὴν ἴμέρα τὰς δυσχωρίας τῶν ὀδών κατέλαβον καὶ τὰς διαβάσεις τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπετείχισαν τὰς τε γεφύρας ἀπέκοψαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὀμαλοῖς καὶ πεδίνοις τοὺς ἵππεῖς ἔταξαν, ὡστε μηδένα λελείφθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τόπου ἀμαχεῖ προελθεῖν. Οἱ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἴμεραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἔτεραν ἐπιμείναντες ἐπορεύοντο κλαυθμῷ καὶ ὀλοφυρμῷ, καθάπερ ἐκ πατρίδος, οὐ πολεμίας, ἀνιστάμενοι, διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ τὰς ἀπολείψεις τῶν ἀδυνάτων φίλων καὶ συνήθων, ὡμοὶ τὰ παρόντα κακὰ κοινότερα τῶν 4 προσδοκομένων νομίζοντες εἶναι. πολλὰν δὲ δεινῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ φαινομένων, οὐδὲν ἦν οἰκτρότερον αὐτοῦ Νικίου θέαμα, κεκακωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας, συνεσταλμένου δὲ παρ᾽ ἄξιαν εἰς ἀναγκαίαν δίαιταν καὶ τὰ μικρότατα τῶν ἐφοδίων εἰς τὸ σῶμα πολλῶν διὰ τὴν νόσον δεόμενον, πράττοντος δὲ μετ᾽ ἀρρωστίας καὶ καρτεροῦντος ἀ πολλοῖ τῶν ἐφρωμένων μόλις ὑπέμενον, καταφανοὺς δὲ πᾶσιν οὖντος οὐ δι᾽ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τῷ φιλοψυχεῖν τοῖς πόνοις ἐμμένοντος, ἀλλὰ 5 δι᾽ ἐκείνους τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ προφέμενου. καὶ γὰρ εἰς δάκρυα καὶ ὀδυροῦσι τῶν ἀλλῶν ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ λύπης τρεπομένων, ἐκείνους, εἰ ποτε βιασθείη τούτο ποιήσαι, δῆλος ἦν τὸ αἰσχρὸν καὶ τὸ ἄκλεες
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 στράτευσις ἀναλογιζόμενος πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν δόξαν ὥν ἦλπιζε κατορθώσειν.

6. Οὐ μόνον δ’) αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁψιν ὀρόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λόγων μνημονεύοντες καὶ τῶν παρανεώσεων ἀς ἐποιήσατο κωλύνων τῶν ἔκπλουν, ἐτι μᾶλλον ἐνόμιζον ἀναξίως ταλαιπωρεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκ θεῶν ἐλπίδας ἀθύμως εἶχον, ἐννοοῦντες ὡς ἀνήρ θεοφιλῆς καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα λαμπρονόμενος πρὸς τὸ θείον ὀυδενὸς ἐπιεικεστέρα τύχῃ χρήται τῶν κακίστων ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ ταπεινοτάτων.

XXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα δ’) γε Νικίας ἐπειράτο καὶ φωνῇ καὶ προσώπῳ καὶ δεξιώσει κρείττων ὀράσθαι τῶν δεινῶν. καὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν γε τὴν πορείαν ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ὡκτὸ βαλλόμενον καὶ τραυματιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀντήτητον ἐφύλαττε τὴν σὺν αὐτῷ δύναμιν, ἀχρι οὗ Δημοσθένης ἐώλω καὶ τὸ μετ’ ἐκείνου στράτευμα, περὶ τὴν Πολυξήλειου αὐλῆν ἐν τῷ διαμάχεσθαι καὶ ὑπολειπεῖν σοθαί κυκλωθέν. αὐτὸς δὲ Δημοσθένης σπασάμενος τὸ ἔξιος ἐπληξὲ μὲν ἑαυτὸν, οὗ μὴν ἀπέθανε, ταχὺ τῶν πολεμίων περισσόντων καὶ συλλαβόντων αὐτὸν.

Ὡς δὲ τῷ Νικίᾳ προσελάσαντες ἐφράζον οἱ Συρακούσιοι καὶ πέμψας ἰππέας ἐγνώ τὴν ἐκείνων τοῦ στρατεύματος ἄλωσιν, ἧξιον σπείρασθαι πρὸς τῶν Γύλιππον, ὅπως ἀφῶσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ Σικελίας ὀμήρα λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τῶν χρημάτων ὅσα Συρακούσιοι ἀνάλωτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεµον. 300
come with the great and glorious successes which he had hoped to achieve.

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

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

When the Syracusans rode up and told Nicias of this disaster, he first sent horsemen to make certain that the force of Demosthenes was really taken, and then proposed to 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 οί δ' οὗ προσείχον, ἄλλα πρὸς ὑβρίαν καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀπειλοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἔβαλλον ἡδῆ πάντων ἐνυδεύων ἔχοντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὴν νῦκτα διεκαρτέρησε καὶ τὴν ἐπι- ὁύσαν ἡμέραν προσει βαλλόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀσίναρον ποταμόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἱ πολέμιοι συνενεγκώντες ἐνέσεισαν εἰς τὸ ἤπειρον, οἱ δὲ
4 φθάνοντες ὑπὸ δίψους ἔρριπτον έαυτοὺς· καὶ πλεῖστος ἐνταῦθα μόρος ἡν καὶ ὁμότατος ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ πινόντων ἁμα καὶ σφαττομένων, ἀχρι Νικίας Γυλιππῷ προσπεσῶν εἶπεν: “’Ελεος νῦμάς, οί Γυλιπτῆ, λαβέτω νικώντας, ἐμοῦ μὲν μηδείς, δὲ ἐπὶ τηλικαύτας εὐνυχίας ὅνομα καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἀθηναίων, ἐννοηθέντας ὅτι κοιναί μὲν αἱ τύχαι τοῦ πολέμου, μετρίως δ' αὐταῖς καὶ πράξις ἐχρήσαντο ἐν οἷς εὐνύχουν Ἀθηναίοι πρὸς νῦμάς.”
5 Τοιαύτα τοῦ Νικίου λέγοντος ἐπάθε μὲν τι καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οἱ Γυλιπτοῦς· ἤδει γὰρ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους εὐ πεπονθότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τᾶς γενομένας διαλύσεως· μέγα δ' ἤγειτο πρὸς δόξαν εἰ ἧντας ἀπαγάγου τοὺς ἀντιστράτηγους. διὸ τὸν τε Νικίαν ἀναλαβῶν ἑθάρρυνε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξωγρεῖν παρῆγελε. ἦβραδεως δὲ τοῦ παραγγέλματος διίκνου- μένου πολλῶν τῶν φονευθέντων ἐλάττονες οἱ διασωθέντες ἐγένουτο· καὶ τοῦ πολλοὶ διεκλάπτησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.
6 Τοὺς δὲ φανερῶς ἐαλωκότας ἀθροίσαντες τὰ μὲν κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα δένδρα τῶν περὶ τῶν
expended on the war. But they would not entertain the proposal. Nay, with insolent rage they reviled and insulted him, and kept pelting him with missiles, destitute as he was of all the necessaries of life. However, through that night and the following day he managed to hold out, and finally came, under constant fire, to the river Asinarus. There some of his men were crowded along by the enemy and thrust into the stream, while others, in advance of pursuit, were impelled by their thirst to cast themselves in, and an exceeding great and savage carnage raged in the river itself, men being butchered as they drank. At last Nicias fell down at the feet of Gylippus and cried: “Have pity, Gylippus, now that you are victorious, not on me at all, though my great successes have brought me name and fame, but on the rest of these Athenians. Remember that the fortunes of war are common to all, and that the Athenians, when they were in good fortune, used it with moderation and gentleness toward you.”

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

The public prisoners were collected together, the fairest and tallest trees along the river bank were
ποταμὸν ἀνέδησαν αἰχμαλώτοις πανοπλίαις, ἐστεφανωμένοι δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ κοσμήσαντες τοὺς ὑπον διαπρεπῶς, κείραντες δὲ τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων εἰσήλαυνον εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀγῶνα λαμπρότατον δὲ "Ελλήνες πρὸς "Ελλήνας ἡγωνισαντο καὶ νίκην τελεωτάτην κράτει πλείστῳ καὶ ρώμη μεγίστη προθυμίας καὶ ἁρετῆς κατωρθωκότες.

XXVIII. Ἐκκλησίας δὲ πανδήμου Συρακούσιων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων γενομένης, Ἐυρυκλῆς ὁ δημαγωγὸς ἔγραψε πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἑν τῶν Νικιάν ἔλαβον, ἱερὰν ἔχειν, θύσιν τας καὶ σχολάζοντας ἔργων, Ἀσιαρίαν τὴν ἐστρήν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλοῦντας· ἡμέρα δὲ ἐν τετράς φθίνοντος τοῦ Καρνείου μηνός, ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων.

2 Μεταγειτιώνα προσαγορεύουσι τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων τοὺς μὲν οἰκείας ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συμμάχους, αὐτοὺς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας φρουρέων ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὰς λατομίας, πλὴν τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐκεῖνοις δὲ ἀποκτείναι.

Ταῦτα προσδεχομένων τῶν Συρακούσιων, Ἐρμοκράτης μὲν εἰπὼν ὅτι τοῦ νικῶν κρείττόν ἐστι τὸ καλῶς χρήσθαι τῇ νίκῃ, οὐ μετρίως ἐθορυβήσθῃ, Γύλιππον δὲ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαιτούμενον ζῶντας ἀγαγείν Δακηδαιμονίως ὑβρίζοντες ἥδη τοῖς εὐτυχήμαισιν οἱ

3 Συρακούσιοι κακῶς ἐλεγοῦν, ἄλλως τε καὶ παρὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῦ τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ τὸ Δακωνικὸν τῆς ἐπιστασίας οὐ ῥαδίως ῥηνοχότες, ὡς δὲ

1 τοὺς supplied by Coraës and Bekker.
NICIAS

hung with the captured suits of armour, and then the victors crowned themselves with wreaths, adorned their own horses splendidly while they sheared and cropped the horses of their conquered foes, and so marched into the city. They had brought to successful end a struggle which was the most brilliant ever made by Hellenes against Hellenes, and had won the completest of victories by the most overwhelming and impetuous display of zeal and valour.

XXVIII. At a general assembly of the Syracusans and their allies, Eurycles, the popular leader, brought in a motion, first, that the day on which they had taken Nicias be made a holy day, with sacrifices and abstention from labour, and that the festival be called Asinaria, from the river Asinarus (the day was the twenty-sixth of the month Carneius, which the Athenians call Metageitnion); and second, that the serving men of the Athenians and their immediate allies be sold into slavery, while the freemen and the Sicilian Hellenes who had joined them be cast into the stone quarries for watch and ward,—all except the generals, who should be put to death.

These propositions were adopted by the Syracusans. When Hermocrates protested that there was something better than victory, to wit, a noble use of victory, he was met with a tumult of disapproval; and when Gylippus demanded the Athenian generals as his prize, that he might take them alive to the Lacedaemonians, the Syracusans, now grown insolent with their good fortune, abused him roundly. They were the more ready to do this because, all through the war, they had found it hard to put up with his harshness and the Laconian style with which he
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΦΗΣΙ, ΚΑΙ ΜΙΚΡΟΛΟΓΙΑΝ ΤΙΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΛΕΟΝ 

Τίμαιος φησι, καὶ μικρολογίαν τινὰ καὶ πλεονεκράν καὶ 

εξίαν κατεγνωκότες, ἀρρώστημα πατρὸν, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ 

Κλεανδρίδης ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ δόρων ἄλοις ἐφυγε, καὶ οὗτος αὐτός, ἀπὸ τῶν χιλίων ταλάντων ἅ διὸ 

Λύσανδρος ἐπεμψεν εἰς Ἡπείρου ὕψοςοις 

τριάκοντα καὶ κρύψας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄροφον τῆς οἰκίας, 

εἶτα μηνυθεὶς, αἰσχυστά πάντων ἐξέπεσεν. ἀλλὰ 

ταύτα μὲν ἐν τῷ Λυσάνδρου βίῳ μᾶλλον διηκρίβωταν. 

4 Δημοσθένην δὲ καὶ Νικίαν ἀποθανεῖν Τίμαιος 

οὗ φησιν ὑπὸ Συρακούσιων κελευσθέντας, ὡς 

Φίλιππος ἐγραψέ καὶ Θεοκράτος, ἀλλ' Ἐρμοκράτος, 

πέμψαντος, ἐτὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας συνεστώσης, 

καὶ δὲ ἐνὸς τῶν φυλάκων παρέντων αὐτοῦ δὲ 

αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν τὰ μέντοι σώματα πρὸς ταῖς 

πύλαις ἐκβληθέντα κείσθαι φανερὰ τοῖς δεομένοις 

5 τοῖς θεάματος. πυμπάνομαι δὲ μέχρι νῦν ἐν 

Συρακούσαις ἀστίδα κειμένην πρὸς ἵερῷ δεῖκνυσθαι, 

Νικίον μὲν λεγομένην, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ 

πορφύρας εὐ πωσ πρὸς ἄλληλα μεμιγμένων δὲ 

ὕφης συγκεκροτημένην. 

XXIX. Τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων οί μὲν πλεῖστοι 

διεφθάρησαν ἐν ταῖς λατομίαις ὑπὸ νόσου καὶ 

diαίτης πονηρὰς, εἰς ἑκάστην κοτύλας δύο 

κριθῶν λαμβάνοντες καὶ μίαν ὕδατος, οὐκ ὠλίγοι 

d' ἐπράθησαν διακλαπέντες ἡ καὶ διαλαθόντες ὡς 

οἰκέται. καὶ τούτους ὡς οἰκέτας ἐπώλουν, στίζοντες 

ἵππου εἰς τὸ μέτωπον ἀλλ' ἥσαν οἱ καὶ τούτο 

πρὸς τῷ δουλεύειν ὑπομένοντες.
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.
2 Ἐβοήθει δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἡ τ' αἰδὼ καὶ τὸ κόσμιον. ἡ γὰρ ἡλευθεροῦντο ταχέως ἡ τιμώμενοι παρέμενον τοῖς κεκτημένοις. ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ δι' Ἐὔριπίδην ἐσώθησαν. μάλιστα γὰρ, ὡς ἐοίκε, τῶν ἐκτὸς 'Ἐλλήνων ἐπόθησαν αὐτού τὴν μούσαν οἱ περὶ Σικελίαν, καὶ μικρὰ τῶν ἀφικνυμένων ἐκάστοτε δείγματα καὶ ἑγάματα κομιζόντων ἐκμανθάνοντες ἀγαπητῶς μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις. τὸτε γοῦν φασὶ τῶν σωθέντων οἶκαδε συχνοὺς ἀστάσασθαι τὸν Ἐὔριπίδην φιλοφρόνως, καὶ διηγεῖσθαι τοὺς μὲν, ὅτι δουλεύοντες ἀφείθησαν ἐκεῖνοι δάξαντες ὡς τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμηντο, τοὺς δ', ὅτι πλανώμενοι μετα τὴν μάχην τροφῆς καὶ ὑδατος μετέλαβον τῶν μελῶν ἁσαντες. οὐ δεῖ δὴ θαυμάξειν ὅτι τοὺς Καννίους φασὶ πλοῖον προσφέρομένου τοῖς λιμέσιν ὕπο ληστρίδων διωκόμενον μή δέχεσθαι τὸ πρῶτον, ἀλλ' ἀπείργειν, εἴτε μέντοι διαπυνθανομένους εἰ γινώσκοις ἁσιματα τῶν Ἐὐριπίδου, φησάντων ἐκείνων, οὕτω παρείναι καὶ καταγαγεῖν τὸ πλοῖον.

XXX. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φασὶ τὴν συμφορὰν οὕς ἢκιστα διὰ τὸν ἀγγελον ἀπίστων γενέσθαι. ξένος γὰρ τις, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἀποβὰς εἰς Πειραιᾶ καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ κουρεῖον, ὡς ἐγνυκότων ἢδι τῶν 'Ἀθηναίων λόγους ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ὁ δὲ κουρεὺς ἀκούσας, πρὶν ἄλλους πυθάνεσθαι, ἀδρόμῳ
But even these were helped by their restrained and decorous bearing; some were speedily set free, and some remained with their masters in positions of honour. Some also were saved for the sake of Euripides. For the Sicilians, it would seem, more than any other Hellenes outside the home land, had a yearning fondness for his poetry. They were forever learning by heart the little specimens and morsels of it which visitors brought them from time to time, and imparting them to one another with fond delight. In the present case, at any rate, they say that many Athenians who reached home in safety greeted Euripides with affectionate hearts, and recounted to him, some that they had been set free from slavery for rehearsing what they remembered of his works; and some that when they were roaming about after the final battle they had received food and drink for singing some of his choral hymns. Surely, then, one need not wonder at the story that the Caunians, when a vessel of theirs would have put in at the harbour of Syracuse to escape pursuit by pirates, were not admitted at first, but kept outside, until, on being asked if they knew any songs of Euripides, they declared that they did indeed, and were for this reason suffered to bring their vessel safely in.

XXX. The Athenians, they say, put no faith in the first tidings of the calamity, most of all because of the messenger who brought them. A certain stranger, as it would seem, landed at the Piraeus, took a seat in a barber’s shop, and began to discourse of what had happened as if the Athenians already knew all about it. The barber, on hearing this, before others learned of it, ran at the top of his
συντείνας εἰς τὸ ἀστυ καὶ προσβαλὼν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εὐθὺς κατ' ἀγορὰν ἐνέβαλε τὸν λόγον. 2 ἐκπλήξεως δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς, ὡς εἰκός, γενομένης, οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγόντες εἰς ἡγαγον τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν· ὡς δ' ἐρωτώμενοι παρ' οὐ πύθοιτο σαφὲς οὔδὲν εἰχε φράζειν, δόξας λογοποίος εἶναι καὶ ταράττειν τὴν πόλιν, εἰς τὸν τροχὸν καταδε- θεῖς ἐστρεβλοῦτο πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως ἐπήλθουν οἱ τὸ πᾶν κακὸν, ὡς εἰχεν, ἀπαγγέλλοντες. οὔτω μόλις ὁ Νικίας ἐπιστεύθη παθὼν ἃ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς προεῖπεν.
NICIAS

speed to the upper city, accosted the archons, and at once set the story going in the market place. Con-
sternation 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

Ι. Μάρκος δὲ Κράσσος ἦν τιμητικοῦ καὶ θριαμβικοῦ πατρός, ἐτράφη δ' ἐν οἰκίᾳ μικρᾷ μετὰ δυοῖν ἄδελφῶν. καὶ τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες ἦσαν ἐτὶ τῶν γονέων ξώντων, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐφοίτων τράπεζαν, ὅθεν οὐχ ἦκιστα δοκεῖ καὶ διὰ τούτο σώφρον καὶ μέτριος γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν δίαιταν. ἄποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου τῶν ἄδελφῶν τῇ γυναικὶ συνῳκίσει καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐξ ἐκείνης ἔσχεν, οὔδενὸς ἦττον καὶ περὶ ταύτα

2 Ἦρωμαῖων εὐτακτος γενόμενος. καίτοι προϊόν καθ' ἡλικίαν αἰτίαν ἔσχε Δικινυία συνιέναι τῶν Ἐστιάδων μιὰ παρθένῳ καὶ δίκην ἔφυγεν ἡ Δικινυία Πλωτίου τινὸς διώκοντος. ἦν δὲ προ-άστειον αὐτῇ καλὸν, ὁ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν ὅλην τιμῆς ὁ Κράσσος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο προσκείμενος ἀεὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ θεραπεύων, εἰς τὴν ύποψίαν ἐκείνην ἐνέπεσε· καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τῇ φιλοπλουτίᾳ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπολυσάμενος ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀφείθη. τὴν δὲ Δικινυίαν οὐκ ἄνηκε πρότερον ἢ τοῦ κτήματος κρατῆσαι.

II. Ἦρωμαῖοι μὲν οὖν λέγουσι πολλαῖς ἀρεταῖς τοῦ Κράσσου κακίαν μόνην ἐπισκοτῆσαι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν έσοικε δὲ μία πασῶν ἐρρωμενεστέρα 314
CRASSUS

I. Marcus Crassus was the son of a man who had been censor and had enjoyed a triumph; but he was reared in a small house with two brothers. His brothers were married while their parents were still alive, and all shared the same table, which seems to have been the chief reason why Crassus was temperate and moderate in his manner of life. When one of his brothers died, Crassus took the widow to wife, and had his children by her, and in these relations also he lived as well-ordered a life as any Roman. And yet when he was further on in years, he was accused of criminal intimacy with Licia, one of the vestal virgins, and Licia was formally prosecuted by a certain Plotius. Now Licia 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 Licia 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 ἀμαρωσαί. τεκμῆρια δὲ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας αὐτοῦ μέγιστα ποιούνται τὸν τε τρόπον τοῦ πορισμοῦ καὶ τῆς

2 οὐσίας τὸ μέγεθος. τριακοσίων γὰρ οὐ πλείω κεκτημένος ἐν ἄρχῃ ταλάντων, εἰτὰ παρὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἀποθύσας μὲν τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ τὴν δεκάτην καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἐστιάσας, τρεῖς δὲ μῆνας ἐκάστῳ Ῥωμαίων σιτηρέσιοι ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ παρασχῶν, ὅμως πρὸ τῆς ἑπὶ Πάρθους στρατείας αὐτὸς αὐτῷ θέμενος ἐκλογισμὸν τῆς οὐσίας εὑρεν ἐκατὸν ταλάντων τίμημα πρὸς ἐπτακισχιλίοις. τὰ δὲ πλείστα τούτων, εἰ δεῖ μετὰ βλασφημίας εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀληθὲς, ἐκ πυρὸς συνήγαγε καὶ πολέμου, ταῖς κοιναις ἀτυχίαις προσόδῳ τῇ μεγίστῃ χρησάμενος.

"Οτε γὰρ Σύλλας ἐλὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐπώλει τὰς οὐσίας τῶν ἀνηρμενῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, λάφυρα καὶ νομίζων καὶ ὅνομαζων, καὶ βουλόμενος ὅτι πλείστοις καὶ κρατίστοις προσομόρξασθαι τὸ ἄγος, 4 οὕτε λαμβάνων οὕτ’ ὁνομένος ἀπείπε. πρὸς δὲ τούτους ὅρων τὰς συγγενεῖς καὶ συνοικίας τῆς Ῥώμης κήρας ἐμπρησμοὺς καὶ συνιζήσεις διὰ βάρος καὶ πλῆθος οἰκοδομημάτων, ἐωεύτο δούλους ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους. εἰτ’ ἔχων τούτους ὑπὲρ πεντακοσίους ὄντας, ἐξηγόραζε τὰ καϊμένα καὶ γειτνιώντα τοὺς καιομένους, διὰ φόβου καὶ ἀδηλότητα τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπ’ ὅλης τιμῆς προϊμένων, ὡστε τῆς Ῥώμης τὸ πλείστον μέρος 5 ὑπ’ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. τοσούτοις δὲ κεκτημένοις
CRASSUS

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; 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. 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.
τεχνίτας οὐδὲν ἑκοδόμησεν αὐτὸς ἢ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ' ἔλεγε τοὺς φιλοκοδόμους αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν καταλύεσθαι χωρίς ἀνταγωνιστῶν. ὄντων δ' αὐτῷ παμπόλλων ἀργυρεῖων, πολυτιμήτου δὲ χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐργαζομένων ἐν αὐτῇ, ὡμως ἂν τις ἠγήσατο μηδὲν εἶναι ταύτα πάντα πρὸς τὴν τῶν οἰκετῶν τιμὴν· τοσούτους ἐκέκτητο καὶ τοιούτους, ἀναγνώστας, ὑπογραφεῖς, ἀργυρογώμονας, διοικητάς, τραπεζοκόμους, αὐτός ἐπιστατῶν μανθάνουσι καὶ προσέχων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ ὅλως νομίζων τῷ δεσπότῃ προσήκειν μάλιστα τὴν περὶ τοὺς οἰκετὰς ἐπιμέλειαν ὡς ὀργάνα ἐμψυχα τῆς οἰκονομικῆς.

7 Καὶ τούτο μὲν ὅρθως ὁ Κράσσος, εἶπερ, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἤγειτο τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρήναι, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας δὲ αὐτοῦ κυβερνᾶν· τὴν γὰρ οἰκονομικὴν ἐν ἀψύχωι χρηματιστικὴν οὕσαν, ἐν ἀνθρώποις πολιτικήν γνωμομένην ὄρομεν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκ ἔδω, τὸ μηδένα νομίζειν μηδὲ φάσκειν εἶναι πλοῦσιον, ὅσον δύναται τρέφειν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας.

8 στρατόπεδον (ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος οὐ τεταγμένα σιτεῖται, κατὰ τὸν 'Αρχίδαμον, ὡς ὁ πρὸς πόλεμον πλούτος ἀόριστος), καὶ πολὺ τῆς Μαρίου γνώμης ἀπηρτημένως. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ, ἐπεὶ κατ' ἄνδρα νείμας ἐκάστῳ δέκα καὶ τέσσαρα πλέθρα γῆς ἐγὼ πλέον ἐπιζητοῦντας, "Μηδεῖς," ἐφη, "γένοιτο Ἡρωμαίων ὀλίγην ἡγοῦμενος τὴν τρέφειν ἄρκοῦσαν."
no house for himself other than the one in which he lived; indeed, he used to say that men who were fond of building were their own undoers, and needed no other foes. And though he owned numberless silver mines, and highly valuable tracts of land with the labourers upon them, nevertheless one might regard all this as nothing compared with the value of his slaves; so many and so capable were the slaves he possessed,—readers, amanuenses, silversmiths, stewards, table-servants; and he himself directed their education, and took part in it himself as a teacher, and, in a word, he thought that the chief duty of the master was to care for his slaves as the living implements of household management.

And in this Crassus was right, if, as he used to say, he held that anything else was to be done for him by his slaves, but his slaves were to be governed by their master. For household management, as we see, is a branch of finance in so far as it deals with lifeless things; but a branch of politics when it deals with men. 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, and therefore the wealth requisite for war cannot be determined. Far different was the opinion of Marius, who said, after distributing to each of his veterans fourteen acres of land and discovering that they desired more, "May no Roman ever think that land too small which suffices to maintain him."

1 Cf. Aristotle, Pol. i. 1253 b, 32.
2 Cf. Cleomenes xxvii. 1; Morals, 190 a; 219 a. In Demosthenes, 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 πᾶσι, καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἐδάνειζεν ἀνευ τόκων, ἀπῆτει δ’ 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, ἢ δ’ εὐτέλεια τὴν καθαριότητα καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην ἰδίονα τοῦ πολυτελοῦς εἶχε.

2 Παιδείας δὲ τῆς περὶ λόγου μάλιστα μὲν τὸ ῥητορικὸν καὶ χρειῶδες εἰς πολλοὺς ἤσκησε, καὶ γενόμενος δεινὸς εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Ῥωμαίου εὔπιμελεία καὶ πόνῳ τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους ὑπερβαλεν. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ οὕτω διὰ τὴν φασὶ μικρὰν οὐδ’ εὐκαταφρόνητον γενέσθαι πρὸς ἦν ἀπαράσκευος ἦλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Πομπηίου πολλάκις ὁκνοῦντος καὶ Καίσαρος ἐξαναστήναι καὶ Κικέρωνος, ἐκεῖνος ἀνεπλήρω τὴν συννηγορίαν. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

3 ἡρεσκεν ὡς ἐπιμελής καὶ βοηθητικός. ἦρεσκε δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις φιλάνθρωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ δημοτικῶν. οὐδενὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἀπῆντησε Ῥωμαίων ἀδόξῳ καὶ ταπεινῶ Κράσσος ὅτι ἀσπασάμενον οὐκ ἀντιπροσηγόρευσεν εἶcsv ὑνόματος. λέγεται δὲ καὶ πολυμάθης καθ’ ἱστορίαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τι καὶ φιλοσοφήσαι τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους λόγοις προσθέμενος, ὅν διδάσκαλοι εἶχεν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἀνθρωπον 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 as a teacher. This man gave proof of

1 Perhaps Alexander Cornelius, surnamed Polyhistor, a contemporary of Sulla.
τητος ἀπόδειξιν διδόντα τὴν πρὸς Κράσσον συνή-4 θειαν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀποφήνασθαι ραδίως πότερον προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ πενέστερος ἡ προσελθὼν ἐγένετο. 
μόνος γοῦν ἀεὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῶ συναποδημῶν 
στέγαστρον ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ τοῦτ 
ἐπανελθὼν ἀπητεῖτο. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑστερον.

IV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κίννας καὶ Μάριος κρατήσαντες 
ἐβιβάζον εὐδηλοι κατιόντες οὐκ ἐπὶ ἴγαθὸ τῆς 
pateridōs, ἐπὶ ἀναίρεσει δ’ ἀντικρός καὶ ὀλέθρῳ 
τῶν ἀρίστων, οἱ μὲν ἐγκαταληφθέντες ἀπεθνη-
σκοι, ὃν ἦν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ Κράσσου καὶ ὁ ἀδελφός, 
αὐτῶς δὲ νέος ὁν παντάπασι τὸ μὲν 
αὐτικά δεινὸν ἐξέφυγε, πάντη δὲ περιβαλλόμενον 
ἐαυτὸν αἰσθανόμενος καὶ κυνηγητούμενο ὑπὸ τῶν 
τυράννων τρεῖς φίλους ἀναλαβῶν καὶ θεράποντας 
δέκα, τάχει δ’ ὑπερβάλλοντι χρησάμενος εἰς Ἰβη-
ρίαν ἐφυγε, γεγονός πάλαι στρατηγοῦντος τοῦ 
2 πατρὸς αὐτὸθι καὶ φίλους πεποιημένοις. εὑρὼν δὲ 
pάντας περιδεείς καὶ τὴν ὁμότητα τὴν Μαρίου 
καθάπερ ἐφεστώτος αὐτῶς τρέμουντας, οὐδεὶ 
γενέσθαι φανερὸς ἔθαρρησεν, ἀλλ’ εἰς ἀγροὺς 
ἐμβαλὼν παραλίους Οὐίβιον Πακιακοῦ σπῆλαιον 
ἔχοντας εὐμέγεθες, ἐκρυφθέν ἐαυτὸν. πρὸς δὲ τὸν 
Οὐίβιον ἐπεμψεν ἕνα δούλον ἀποτειρώμενος, ἤδη 
3 καὶ τῶν ἐφοδίων ἐπιλιπόντων. ὁ δὲ Οὐίβιος ἁκού-
σας ἥσσῃ τε σωζομένῳ καὶ πυθόμενος τὸ πλήθος 
tῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν τόπον αὐτῶς μὲν οὐκ ἠλθεν 

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

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

1 In 87 B.C. Crassus was then not quite twenty years of age.
eis ὅψιν, τὸν δὲ τῶν χωρίων ἐπίτροπον προσαγαγὼν ἐγγὺς ἐκέλευσε καθ' ἡμέραν δείπνον πεποιημένον κομίζειν, καὶ τιθέντα παρὰ τὴν πέτραν ἀπέρχεσθαι σιωπῆ καὶ μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν μηδ' ἐξετάζειν, προεπτὸν πολυπραγμονοῦντι θάνατον, συμπράττοντι δὲ τούτο πιστῶς ἐλευθερίαν.

4 Τὸ δὲ σπήλαιον οὐκ ἀπώθεν μὲν ἐστὶ θαλάσσης, κρήμνοι δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ συμφερόμενοι λεπτὴν καὶ ἀσαφῆ παραπέμπουσι λαύραν ἄγουσαν εἰσώ, παρελθόντι δ' ὕψος τε θαυμαστῶν ἀναπέπταται, καὶ κατ' εὐρὸς ἔχει κόλπους δὲ ἀλλήλων ἀνουγμένους μεγάλαις περιφερείαις. ἀμοιρεῖ δ' οὖτε ὕδατος οὐτε φωτός, ἀλλὰ πηγὴ μὲν ἡδίστων νάματος ὑπορρεῖ παρὰ τὸν κρήμνον, αὐτοφυεῖς δὲ ῥωχυολ τῆς πέτρας ἡ μάλιστα περιπίπτει τὸ φῶς ἐξωθεὶν ὑπολαμβάνουσι, καὶ καταλάμπτεται ἡμέρας τὸ χωρίον. οδ' ἐντὸς ἀὴρ ἀστάλακτος καὶ καθαρός, πυκνότητι τῆς πέτρας τὸ νοτερὸν καὶ ἀποτηκόμενον εἰς τὴν πηγὴν ἐκπειεξοῦσης.

V. Ἐπταύθα διατρίβοντι τῷ Κράσσῳ τὰ ἐπιτή- δεια καθ' ἡμέραν ἐφοίτα κομίζὼν ὁ Ἀνθρωπὸς, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐχ ὅρον ἐκείνων οὐδὲ γινώσκων, ὑπ' ἐκείνων δὲ καθορόμενος εἰδότων καὶ παραφυλατ- τότων τὸν καιρόν. ἢν δ' ἀφθονα καὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν, οὐ μόνον χρείαν, ποιούμενα τὰ πρὸς τὸ 2 δείπνον. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Οὐήβιος ἀπάση φιλο- φροσύνης θεραπεῦειν τὸν Κράσσου, ὃ γε καὶ τὸ τῆς οἴρας ἐν νῦ λαβεῖν ἐπῆλθεν, ὡς παντάπασιν νεανίας εἰη καὶ τι καὶ ταῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν ἡδοναῖς αὐτοῦ χαριστεόν, ἐπεὶ τὴν γε χρείαν ἀναγκαῖως
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 ὑποργούντος εἶναι. δύο δὲ θεραπαυόντος ἑυπρεπεῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. ὡς δ’ ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, δείξας τὴν ἀνοδον ἐκέλευεν εἰσὶν πορεύεσθαι καὶ
3 θαρρεῖν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἱδόντες προσερχο-
μένας ἐδείσαν μὴ καταφανές καὶ γνώριμον εἰς τὸ
χωρίον· ἀνέκρινον οὖν αὐτᾶς τὶ βούλονται καὶ
τίνες εἰσίν. ὡς δ’ ἀπεκρίναντο δεδιδαγμέναι
δεσπότην ξιτεῖν ἐνταύθα κρυπτόμενον, μαθῶν ὁ
Κράσσος τοῦ Οὐίβιον τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν παλιάν
4 καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἀνέλαβε τὰς παιδόσκας· καὶ
συνήσαν αὐτῷ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ὡς ἐδείτο
φράζουσαι καὶ διαγγέλλουσαι πρὸς τὸν Οὐίβιον.
tούτων φιλό τὴν ἔτεραν ἡδὴ πρεσβύτων ὕσσαν ὁ
Φαινεστέλλας ἰδεῖν αὐτός, καὶ πολλάκις ἀκούσαι
μεμνημένης ταύτα καὶ διεξούσας προθύμως.
VI. Ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ὁκτὼ μῆνας οὖτω διαγαγών
καὶ διακλαπεῖς, ἀμα τῷ πυθεσθαι τὴν Κίννα
tελευτὴν φανερὸς γενόμενος, συνδραμόντων πρὸς
αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιλεξάμενοι δισχι-
λίως καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐπηρχετο τὰς πόλεις· καὶ
μίαν γε διήρπασε Μαλάκην, ὡς πολλοὶ γεγρά-
φασιν, αὐτὸν δὲ φασίν ἀρνεῖσθαι καὶ διαμά-
2 χεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας. ἐκ τούτων συναγα-
γών πλοῦτα καὶ διαπεράσας εἰς Διβυὴν υφίκετο
πρὸς Μετέλλου Πίων, ἕνδοξον ἄνδρα, συνειλοχότα
στρατιάν οὐκ εἰκαταφρονητον. οὐ πολὺν δὲ
χρόνον ἐνταύθα παρέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ στασιάσας τῷ
Μετέλλῳ πρὸς Σύλλαν ἀπῆκε, καὶ συνῆν ἐν τοῖς
μᾶλστα τιμώμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαβᾶς εἰς Ἰταλίαν
ὁ Σύλλας πάντας ἐβουλεῦε τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ
CRASSUS

than with ready zeal. So he took with him two comely female slaves and went down towards the sea. When he came to the place of the cave, he showed them the path up to it, and bade them go inside and fear nothing. When Crassus saw them approaching, he was afraid that the place had been discovered and was now known. He asked them, accordingly, who they were and what they wanted. They answered, as instructed, that they were in search of a master who was hidden there. Then Crassus understood the kindly joke which Vibius was playing upon him, and received the girls; and they lived with him the rest of the time, carrying the necessary messages to Vibius. 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.
νέους ἐχεῖν ἐνεργοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην ἄλλουν ἔταττε πράξειν, ἀποστειλλόμενος εἰς Μαρσοὺς ἐπὶ στρατιὰν ὁ Κράσσος ἦτει φύλακας. ή γὰρ

3 πάροδος ὑπο παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ σφόδρα πρὸς αὐτὸν, "Δίδωμι σοι φύλακας τοῦ πατέοα, τὸν ᾠδέλφον, τοὺς φίλους, τοὺς συγγενεῖς, ὧν παρανόμως καὶ ἀδίκως ἀναρεθέντων ἐγὼ 1 μετέρχομαι τοὺς φονεῖς," οὕτω παθῶν τι καὶ παροξυνθεὶς ὁ Κράσσος εὐθὺς ἐξῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὁσάμενος εὑρώστως δύναμίν τε συχνὴν ἤθροισε καὶ πρόθυμον αὐτὸν ἐν τις ἀγώσι τῷ Σύλλα παρεῖχεν.

4 Ἀπ’ ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν πράξεων λέγοντιν αὐτῷ πρῶτον ἐγγενεσθαι τὴν πρὸς Πομπήιον ὑπὲρ δόξης ἀμιλλαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπῆιος ἤλικία τε λειτόμενος αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὸς γεγονός ἀδοξησάντος ἐν 'Ρώμῃ καὶ μισηθέντος ἐσχατον μίσος ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐξελαμψε καὶ διεφύνη μέγας, ὡστε Σύλλαν, ἀ πρεσβυτέρως καὶ ισοτίμως οὐ πάνυ πολλάκις παρείχεν, ὑπεξανίστασθαι προσιόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κεφαλῆν ἀποκαλύπτεσθαι καὶ προσεπτεῖν αὐτο-

5 κράτορα. ταῦτα διέκατε καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν Κράσσον οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐλασσούμενον.

'Εμπειρίας τε γὰρ ἐνδείξε ἦν καὶ τῶν πράξεων αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀφήρουν αἱ συγγενεῖς κήρες ἐπιφερόμεναι, φιλοκέρδεια καὶ μικρολογία. καὶ γὰρ τόλιν Ὄμβρικην Τούδερτιάν ἐλών ἔδοξε

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

and assigned different ones to different undertakings. Crassus, being sent out to raise a force among the Marsi, asked for an escort, since his road would take him past the enemy. But Sulla was wroth, and said to him vehemently: "I give thee as an escort thy father, thy brother, thy friends, and thy kinsmen, who were illegally and unjustly put to death, and whose murderers I am pursuing." Thus rebuked and incited, Crassus set out at once, and forcing his way vigorously through the enemy, raised a considerable force, and showed himself an eager partisan of Sulla in his struggles.

Out of these activities first arose, as they say, his ambitious rivalry with Pompey for distinction. For although Pompey was the younger man, and the son of a father who had been in ill repute at Rome and hated most bitterly by his fellow-citizens, still, in the events of this time his talents shone forth conspicuously, and he was seen to be great, so that Sulla paid him honours not very often accorded to men who were older and of equal rank with himself, rising at his approach, uncovering his head, and saluting him as Imperator. All this inflamed and goaded Crassus, although it was not without good reason that Sulla thus made less of him.

For he was lacking in experience, and his achievements were robbed of their favour by the innate curses of avarice and meanness which beset him. For instance, when he captured the Umbrian city of Tuder, it was believed that he appropriated to him-
πλείστα τῶν χρημάτων σφετερισάσθαι, καὶ διε-
6 βλήθη πρὸς Σύλλαν. ἀλλ' ἐν γε τῷ περὶ τὴν
Ῥώμην ἀγῶν πάντων γενομένῳ μεγίστῳ καὶ
tελευτάω Σύλλας μὲν ἡττήθη, τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
ωσθέντων καὶ συντριβέντων, Κράσσος δὲ τὸ
δεξίον κέρας ἑξων ἐνύχθη καὶ μέχρι νυκτὸς
dιώξας τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπεμψε πρὸς Σύλλαν, δει-
πνον αὐτῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα
φράξων. ἦν δὲ ταῖς προγράφαις καὶ δημεύσεις
πάλιν κακῶς ἤκουσεν, ὑπούργον τε τιμής βρα-
χείας μεγάλα πράγματα καὶ δωρεὰς αὐτῶν. ἦν δὲ
Βρεττίους λέγεται καὶ προγράψει τινὰ οὐ Σύλλα
κελεύσαντος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ χρηματισμῷ, δι' ὅ 
καὶ 
Σύλλαν καταγρόντα πρὸς μηθὲν ἐτί χρῆσθαι
dημόσιον αὐτῷ, καὶ τοι δεινότατος ἦν Κράσσος
πάντας ἀνθρώπους κολακείᾳ κατεργάσασθαι,
pάλιν δ' αὐτὸς ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ κολακείας εὐάλω-
tos. ὦδιον δὲ κάκεινο περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεται, ϕίλο-
κερδέστατον ὡντα μᾶλιστα μισεῖν καὶ λοιδορεῖν
tους ὁμοίους.

VII. Ἡνία δὲ Πομπήιος αὐτὸν ἐυημερῶν ἐi
ηγεμονίαις καὶ πρὸν ἡ βουλής μεταλάβειν θριαμ-
βεύων καὶ Μάγνος, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μέγας, ὑπὸ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀναγορευθέοις. καὶ ποτὲ καὶ ϕήσαντὸς
tiνοι ὡς Πομπήιος Μάγνος πρὸςεις, ἔλασας
2 ἡρώτησεν ὅπηλίκος. ἀπογνοῖς δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς
ἐξισῶσασθαι πρὸς ἐκεῖνν, ύπεδύετο τὴνπολιτείαν,
σπουδαῖς καὶ συνηγορίαις καὶ δανεισμοῖς καὶ τῶν
συμπαραγγέλλειν καὶ συνεξετάζεσθαι τοῖς δεσμε-
νοῖς τι 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 ἦ Ὀμπηθῖος εἶχεν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ
3 μεγάλων στρατευῶν. καὶ πράγμα συνέβαινεν
αὐτοῖς ἰδιον. μείζον γὰρ ἦν ἀπόντος ὄνομα τοῦ
Ὅμπηθίου καὶ κράτος ἐν τῇ πόλει διὰ τὰς στρα-
τείας· παρὼν δὲ πολλάκις ἤλαττοῦτο τοῦ Κράσ-
σου, διὰ τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα τοῦ βίου
φεύγων τὰ πλῆθη καὶ ἀναδυόμενος ἔξω ἀγορᾶς, καὶ
τὸν δεμένων ὀλγοῖς καὶ μὴ πάνυ προθύμως
βοηθῶν, ὃς ἄκραιστέραν ἔχοι τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ
4 αὐτοῦ χρώμενος. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐνδελεχῆς τὸ
χρῆσιμον ἔχων καὶ σπάνιος οὐκ ὅν οὐδὲ δυσπρόσ-
οδος, ἀλλ’ ἐν μέσαις ἀεὶ ταῖς σπουδαῖς ἀναστρε-
φόμενος, τῷ κοινῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ περιεγίνετο
τῆς ἐκείνου σεμνότητος. σώματος δὲ ἄξιωμα καὶ
λόγου πειθῶ καὶ προσώπου χάριν ἄγωγὸν
ἀμφοτέρως ὁμοίως προσεῖναι λέγουσιν.
5 Οὐ μέντοι πρὸς ἐχθραν τινὰ τὸν Κράσσου ἦ
κακονοιαν ἔξηνεγκεν οὗτος ὁ ξῆλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ
Πομπηῦ καὶ Κάισαρι τιμωμένοις μὲν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
ήχθετο, τῇ δὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ ταῦτῃ δυσμένειαν ἡ
κακοπήθειαν οὐ συνῆπτε· καίτοι Κάισαρ ὑπὸ
ληστῶν ἀλοὺς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ καὶ φρουρούμενος ἀνεβόη-
σεν. “Ἡλίκης, ὁ Κράσσε, χαρᾶς ἀπολαύσεις
6 πυθόμενος τὴν ἐμὴν ἄλωσιν.” ἀλλ’ ὑστερὸν γε
φιλικῶς ἀλλήλοις προσεφέροντι καὶ ποτε τῷ
Κάισαρι μέλλοντι μὲν εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐξεῖναι στρα-
τηγῷ, χρήματα δ’ οὐκ 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, 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 οὖ περιείδεν, ἀλλ' ἀπήλλαξεν ὑποθείς αὐτὸν ἔγγυνον τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτακοσίων
7 ταλάντων. καθόλου δὲ τῆς Ρώμης εἰς τρεῖς νενεμημένης δυνάμεις, τὴν Πομπηίου, τὴν Καίσα-
ρος, τὴν Κράσσου (Κάτωνος γὰρ ἦ δόξα μεῖζων ἦν τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον πλέον ἕσ
cχυνεν), ἢ μὲν ἔμφρων καὶ καθεστῶσα μερίς ἐν τῇ πόλει Πομπηίου ἐθεράπευε, τὸ δὲ ὤν καὶ 
φερόμε-
νον μετ' εὐχερείας ταῖς Καίσαρος ἐλπίσων ἐπήκο-
8 λούθει, Κράσσος δὲ μέσος ὄν ἀμφότεραις ἐχρήτο, 
καὶ πλείστας μεταβολὰς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ μεταβαλ-
λόμενος οὔτε φίλοις ἦν βέβαιος οὔτε ἀνήκεστος ἐχρόδος, ἀλλὰ ῥάδιως καὶ χάριτος καὶ ὀργῆς 
ἐξέπιπτεν ύπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὡστε πολλάκις 
αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων, πολλάκις δὲ νόμων ἐν ὀλύνθ 
φανήμα 
tὸν αὐτὸν συνήγορος καὶ αὐτίκος.
9 ἔσχυν δὲ καὶ χάριτι καὶ φόβῳ, φόβῳ δ' οὐκ 
ἐλαττον. ὁ γοῦν πλείστα πράγματα παρασχὼν 
tοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσι καὶ δημαγωγοῖς, Σικάινοις, 
πρὸς τὸν ἐπίτοντα τὰ ἀθηναίου ὀποῖ οὐ σπαρύττει τὸν 
Κράσσου, ἀλλὰ παρίσης, χόρτον αὐτὸν ἔχειν 
ἐφησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ κέρατος. εἰσέθεισαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι 
tὸν κυρίττοντα τῶν βοῶν ύπὲρ τοῦ φιλάττεσθαι 
tόυς ἐντυγχάνοντας χόρτων περιελίσσειν τὸ κέρας.
VIII. Ἡ δὲ τῶν μονομάχων ἐπανάστασις καὶ 
λειψασία τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἦν οἱ πολλοὶ Σπαρτάκειοι 
pλέον ὄνομαζον, ἄρχὴν ἐλαβεν ἐκ τοιαύτης 
aἰτίας. Λέντλου εἰδὸς Βασιλέως Μονομάχους ἐν 
Καπύῃ 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.
Θράκες ἦσαν, ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐ πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀδικία τοῦ πριαμένου συνειρχέντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τῷ μονομαχεῖν, ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν διακόσιον φεύγειν, γενομένης δὲ μηνύσεως οἱ προαισθήμονες καὶ φθάσαντες οὔτως ὁπτανεῖον κοπίδας ἀράμενοι καὶ ὄβελίσκους ἐξε-πήδησαν, ἐνυχώντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὅδον ἀμάξαις ὀπλὰ κομιζούσαις μονομάχων εἰς ἐτέραν πόλιν ἀφήρπασαν καὶ ὠπλίσαντο καὶ τόπον τινὰ καρτερὸν καταλαβόντες ἡγεμόνας εἴλοντο τρεῖς, ὁν πρῶτος ἦν Σπάρτακος, ἀνὴρ Θράξ τοῦ Νο- μαδικοῦ γένους, οὐ μόνον φρόνημα μέγα καὶ ρώμην ἔχουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεσεὶ καὶ πραοτητὶ τῆς τύχης ἀμέιων καὶ τοῦ γένους Ἑλληνικῶτερος. τοῦτω δὲ λέγοντι, ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς Ἡρόμην ὄνιος ἦχθη, δράκοντα κοιμομένων περιπεπλεγμένον φανῆαι περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, ἡ γυνὴ δ' ὁμόφυλος οὔσα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου, μαντικὴ δὲ καὶ κάτοχος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς, ἐφραζεῖ τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι μεγάλης καὶ φοβερᾶς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς εὐτυχῆς τέλος ἐσομένης δυνάμεως· ἡ καὶ τότε συνήν αὐτῷ καὶ συνέφευγε.

IX. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Καπτῆς ἐλθόντας ὀσάμενοι καὶ πολλῶν ὅπλων ἐπιλαβόμενοι πολε-μιστηρίων ἀσμένου τοίνυν μετελάμβανον, ἀπορρί-ψαντες ὡς ἀτίμα καὶ βάρβαρα τὰ τῶν μονομά-χων· ἐπείτα Κλωδίου στρατηγοῦ μετὰ τρισχι-λίων πεμφθέντος ἐκ Ἡρόμης καὶ πολιορκοῦντος αὐτοῦς ἐν ὄρει μίαν ἔχοντι καὶ χαλεπὴν καὶ

1 εὐτυχῆς MSS. (including S), Coraës, and Sintenias; Sintenis2 and Bekker adopt ἄητυχῆς, 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.

IX. To begin with, the gladiators repulsed the soldiers who came against them from Capua, and getting hold of many arms of real warfare, they gladly took these in exchange for their own, casting away their gladiatorial weapons as dishonourable and barbarous. Then Clodius the praetor was sent out from Rome against them with three thousand soldiers, and laid siege to them on a hill which had but one ascent, and that a narrow and difficult one,
2 στενήν ἄνοδον, ἦν ὁ Κλώδιος ἔφρουρει, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κρημνοὺς ἀποτόμους καὶ λισσάδας, ἀμπελοῦν δὲ πολλὴν ἀγρίαν ἐπιπολὴς πεφυκυῖαν, ἑτεμνον τῶν κλημάτων τὰ χρῆσιμα, καὶ συμπλέκοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν κλιμακίδας εὐτόνους καὶ βαθείας, ὅστ' ἄνωθεν ἀνηρτημένας παρὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ἀπτεσθαί τῶν ἐπιπέδων, κατέβαινον ἀσφαλῶς δι' αὐτῶν πλὴν ἐνόσ. οὕτος δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἕνεκα μέινας, ἐπεὶ κατέβησαν, ἥφει κάτω τὰ ὅπλα καὶ βαλὼν
3 ἀπαντά τελευταίος ἀπεσώζετο καὶ αὐτός. ταῦτ' ἡγνόουν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι· διὸ καὶ περιελθόντες αὐτοὺς ἐξέπληξαν τὸ αἰφνιδίως, καὶ φυγῆς γενομένης ἔλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ προσεγύνοντο πολλοὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ θετήρων καὶ ποιμένων αὐτοῖς, πλῆκται καὶ ποδώκεις ἄνδρες, ὅν τοὺς μὲν ὀπλιζον, τοὺς δὲ προδρόμους καὶ ψυλοὶς ἐχρῶντο.
4 Δεύτερος ἐκπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸς Πούπλιος Βαρίνος, οὗ πρῶτα μὲν ὑποστρατηγὸν τινα Φούριον ἔχοντα δισχίλιους στρατιώτας ἔτρεψαντο συμβαλόντες· ἔπειτα σύμβουλον αὐτῶ καὶ συνάρχοντα Κοσσίνιον ἀποσταλέντα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιτηρήσας ὁ Σπάρτακος λουόμενον περὶ Σαλίνας, μικρὸν ἐδέησε συναρπάσαι.
5 χαλεπῶς δὲ καὶ μόλις ἐκφυγόντος εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀποσκευῆς, ἐκ ποδὸς δὲ κατέχων καὶ διώκων φόνῳ πολλῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλεν. ἐπεσε δὲ καὶ Κοσσίνιος. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἄλλαις μάχαις πολλαῖς καταγωνισάμενος, τέλος δὲ τοὺς τε ῥαβδούχους καὶ τὸν ἅπτον 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 herdsmen and shepherds of the region, sturdy men and swift of foot, some of whom they armed fully, and employed others as scouts and light infantry.

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

Ὀυκέτ' οὖν τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἠνώ-χλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως τῆς σύγκλητου, ἀλλὰ δὴ διὰ φόβον τε καὶ κίνδυνον ὡς πρὸς ἕνα τῶν δυσκο-λωτάτων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων ἀμφοτέρους ἐξῄ-7 πεμπον τοὺς ὑπάτους. δὲν Γέλλιος μὲν τὸ Γερ-μανικὸν ύβρεὶ καὶ φρονήματι τῶν Σπαρτακείων ἀποσχισθεῖν ἐξαιφνῆς ἐμπεσὼν ἀπαν διέφθειρε, Δέντλου δὲ τὸν Σπάρτακον μεγάλοις στρατο-πέδοις περιλαβόντος ὀρμήσας ὁμόσε καὶ μάχην συνάψας ἐκράτησε μὲν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, ἔλαβε δὲ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἅπασαν. ὢθομένω δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεῖς Κάσσιος ὁ τῆς περὶ Πάδουν Γαλατίας στρατηγὸς ἔχων μυρίους ἀπήνυτης· καὶ γενομένης μάχης κρατηθεῖς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν μόλις αὐτὸς ἐξέφυγε.

Χ. Ταῦθ' ἡ βουλὴ πυθομένη τοὺς μὲν ὑπάτους πρὸς ὄργην ἐκέλευσεν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, Κράσσον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγοῦν εὑλετο· καὶ πολλοὶ διὰ δόξαν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλίαν συνεστράτευον τῶν ἐπι-φανῶν. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ὑπέμεινε πρὸ τῆς Πικηνίδος ὡς τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐκεῖ φερόμενον δεξάμενος, Μόμ-
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 ἀγοντα δύο τάγματα κύκλῳ περιέπεμψεν, ἐπεσθαί κελεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις, συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ μὴ μηδὲ ἀψιμαχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἄμα τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπὶ ἐλπίδος γενέσθαι μάχην θέμενος ἤττήθη καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν ἔπεσον, πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνευ τῶν ὀπλῶν φεύγοντες ἑσώθησαν. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος αὐτὸν τε τὸν Μόμμιον ἐδέξατο τραχέως, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὀπλίζων αὐθίς ἐγγυητὰς ἦτει τῶν ὀπλῶν, ὅτι φυλάξουσι, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοὺς πρῶτους, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τρέσαντας, εἰς πεντήκοντα διανείμας δεκάδας ἀφ' ἐκάστης ἀπεκτείνειν ἕνα τὸν κλήρῳ λαχόντα, πάτριον τι τούτο διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων κόλασμα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπαγαγών. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχύνη τοῦ θανάτου τῷ τρόπῳ πρόσεστι, καὶ δρᾶται πολλὰ φρικώδη καὶ σκυθρωπὰ περὶ τὴν κόλασιν ὑπάντων θεωμένων.

Οὕτω δ' ἐπιστρέψας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος ὑπεξεχώρηκε διὰ Δευκανίας εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν· ἐν δὲ πορθμῷ λιστρὶ Κιλίσσας ἐπιτυχὼν ὀρμησαν ἄφαινα Σικελίας καὶ δισχίλιοι ἄνδρας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν νῆσον αὐθίς ἐκζωπυρῆσαι τὸν δουλικὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον, ὅπως πολὺν χρόνον ἀπεσβηκότα καὶ μικρῶν πάλιν ὑπεκκαμμάτων δεόμενον. ὁμολογήσαντες δὲ οἱ Κίλικες αὐτῷ καὶ δώρα λαβόντες ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν. οὕτω δὴ πάλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀναζεύξας ἐκάθισε τὸν στρατὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥηγίνων χερρόνησον. ἐπελθὼν δ' ὁ Κράσσος, καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν ὄρων υφηγουμένην τὸ δέον, ὀρμήσει ἀποτείχισαι τὸν
CRASSUS

legate, with two legions, by a circuitous route, with orders to follow the enemy, but not to join battle nor even skirmish with them. Mummius, however, at the first promising opportunity, gave battle and was defeated; many of his men were slain, and many of them threw away their arms and fled for their lives. Crassus gave Mummius himself a rough reception, and when he armed his soldiers anew, made them give pledges that they would keep their arms. Five hundred of them, moreover, who had shown the greatest cowardice and been first to fly, he divided into fifty decades, and put to death one from each decade, on whom the lot fell, thus reviving, after the lapse of many years, an ancient mode of punishing the soldiers. For disgrace also attaches to this manner of death, and many horrible and repulsive features attend the punishment, which the whole army witnesses.

When he had thus disciplined his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus avoided him, and retired through Lucania to the sea. At the Straits, he chanced upon some Cilician pirate craft, and determined to seize Sicily. By throwing two thousand men into the island, he thought to kindle anew the servile war there,¹ 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.
ισθμόν, ἀμα καὶ τὴν σχολὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν
5 υφαιρῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν πολεμίων. μέγα
μὲν ὄν πὴν ἴν καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἰδυσε δὲ καὶ
κατειργάσατο παρὰ δόξαν ἐν ὅλῃ χρόνῳ, τάφρον
ἐμβαλὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ
αὐχένος σταδίων τριακοσίων, εὔρος δὲ καὶ βάθος
ἰσον πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τάφρου
6 τείχος ἐστησεν ψυει καὶ ρώμη θαυμαστὸν. ὅν ὁ
Σπάρτακος ἦμελει καὶ κατεφρόνει τὸ πρῶτον. ὡς
dὲ τῆς λείας ἐπιλειπούσης προϊήναι βουλόμενος
συνείδει τὸν ἀποτελείσμον καὶ λαμβάνειν οὐδὲν
ἡν ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου, νῦκτα νυφετώδη καὶ
πνευμα τι χειμέριον παραφυλάξεις ἔχωσε τῆς
tάφρου μέρος οὗ πολὺ γῆ καὶ ὕλη καὶ κλάδωις
dένδρων, ὥστε τῆς στρατιᾶς περαιώσαι τὸ τρότον.
XI. Ἐφοβίθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Κράσσος μὴ λάβοι
tῆς ὁμῆς τὸν Σπάρτακον ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἑλαύνειν,
ἔθαρρησε δὲ πολλῶν ἐκ διαφορᾶς ἀποστάντων
αὐτοῦ καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενων καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ
Δευκανίδος Λίμνης, ἢν φασι τρέπεσθαι διὰ χρόνου
γινομένης γλυκείαν καὶ αὐθις ἀλμυρὰν καὶ
ἀποτοῦ. τούτως ἐπελθὼν ὁ Κράσσος ἔξωσε μὲν
ἀπὸ τῆς Λίμνης, ἀφηρέθη δὲ τὸν φόνον καὶ τὴν
dἰωξεν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέντος ὄξεως τοῦ Σπαρτάκο
καὶ τὴν φυγήν ἐπιστήσατος.
2 Γεγραφῶς δὲ τῇ Βουλῇ πρότερον ὡς χρή καὶ
Δούκουλλον ἐκ ὘ράκης καλείν καὶ Πομπήιον ἔξ
CRASSUS

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 Lucullus¹ from Thrace and Pompey from Spain, but he was sorry now that he

Marcus Lucullus, brother of Lucius.

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\'Ιβηρίας, μετενόει, καὶ πρὶν ἥκειν ἐκείνους ἔσπευδε διαπράξασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ προσγενομένου καὶ βοηθήσαντος, οὐκ αὐτοῦ τὸ κατόρθωμα δόξει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν διαγνοὺς τοῖς ἀφεστῶσι καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν στρατευομένους, ὅν ἀφηγοῦντο Γάιος Καννίκιος καὶ Κάστος, ἐπιθέσθαι, λόφον τινὰ προκαταληψομένους ἀνδρὰς ἐξακισχιλίους ἀπέστειλε, λανθάνειν πειρᾶσθαι κελεύσας. 3 οὐ δ' ἐπειρώντο μὲν τὴν αἰσθησιν ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ κράνη καταμπέχοντες, ὥθεντες δ' ὑπὸ δυναὶ γυναικῶν προθυμομένων τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκινδύνευσαν, εἰ μὴ Κράσσος ὄξεως ἐπιφανεῖς μάχην ἔθετο πασῶν καρτεροτάτην, ἐν ἦ τριακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους καταβαλῶν δύο μόνους εὗρε κατὰ νότου τετρωμένους, οὐ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐστῶτες ἐν τάξει καὶ μαχόμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέθανον.

4 Σπαρτάκω δὲ μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἦτται ἀναχωροῦντι πρὸς τὴν ὦρη τὰ Πετηλίνα, Κόιντος τῶν περὶ Κράσσον ἡγεμόνων καὶ Σκρώφας ταμίας ἐξαπτόμενοι παρηκολούθουν. ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ γίνεται φυγὴ μεγάλη τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ μόλις τρωθέντα τὸν ταμίαν ἄρπάσαντες ἀπεσώθησαν. τοῦτο τὸν Σπάρτακον ἀπώλεσε τὸ κατόρθωμα,  

5 φρονήματος ἐπιγενομένου τοῖς δραπέταις. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἡξίους φυγομαχεῖν οὐδ' ἐπείθοντο τοῖς ἀρχούσιν, ἀλλ' ἦδη καθ' ὅδον ὄντας ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις περισχύντες ἡμῶν κασαν αὐθισ ὀπίσω διὰ τῆς Λευκανίας ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰς ταυτὸ τῷ 346
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had done so, and was eager to bring the war to an
end before those generals came. He knew that
the success would be ascribed to the one who came
up with assistance, and not to himself. Accordingly,
in the first place, he determined to attack those of
the enemy who had seceded from the rest and were
campaigning on their own account (they were com-
manded 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. ἦδη γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος 550
προσιών ἀπηγγέλλετο· καὶ δὴ ἄρχαιρεσιάζοντες
ήσαν οὐκ ὁλίγοι τὴν νίκην ἐκείνῳ τοῦ πολέμου
προσήκειν ἐλθόντα γὰρ εὐθὺς μαχεῖσθαι καὶ
καταλύσειν τὸν πόλεμον. ἔπεισομένως οὖν διαγωνί-
σασθαί καὶ παραστρατοπεδεύσασ τοῖς πολεμίοις
ἀρνυτε τάφρον, πρὸς ἡν ἐκπηδώντες οἱ δούλοι
6 προσεμάχοιτο τοῖς ἐργαζόμενοι. ἀεὶ δὲ πλειόνων
ἐκατέρωθεν ἐκβοηθοῦντοι ὁρῶν τὴν ἡλικὴν ὁ
Σπάρτακος ἀπαν παρέταξε τὸ στρατεύμα.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ ἵππου προσαχθέντος αὐτῷ
σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι νικῶν μὲν ἔχει
πολλοὺς ἵππους καὶ καλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων,
ηττώμενος δὲ οὐ δεῖται, κατέσφαξε τὸν ἵππον·
ἐπειτα πρὸς Κράσσον αὐτὸν ὡθούμενος διὰ
πολλῶν ὁπλών καὶ τραυμάτων ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκ
ἐτυχεν, ἐκατοντάρχας δὲ δύο συμπεσόντας ἀνείλε.
7 τέλος δὲ φυγόντων τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν, αὐτὸς ἐστῶς
καὶ κυκλωθεὶς ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἀμυνόμενος κατεκόπτη.
Κράσσον δὲ τῇ τύχῃ χρησαμένου καὶ στρατηγι-
σαντος ἁριστα καὶ τὸ σώμα τῷ κινδύνῳ παρασχόν-
τος, ὅμως οὐ διέφυγε τὸ κατόρθωμα τὴν Πομπήίου
dόξαν. οἱ γὰρ διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες 1 αὐτῷ
dιεφθάρησαν, ὡστε καὶ γράψαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλη-
tον ὃτι μᾶχη μὲν τοὺς δραπέτας φανερὰ Κράσσος
νεύκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν βίζαν
8 ἀνήρηκε. Πομπήίος μὲν οὖν ὁπὸ Σερτωρίου καὶ

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1 διαφυγόντες ἐμπεσόντες Coræs’ correction of the MSS.

διαπεσόντες. Cf. Pompey, xxi. 2, from which Graux would
correct δια<πεσόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης πενταχισχίως περὶ>πε-

σόντες.

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

In the first place, when his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword, and saying that if he won the day he would have many fine horses of the enemy's, but if he lost it he did not want any, he slew his horse. Then pushing his way towards Crassus himself through many flying weapons and wounded men, he did not indeed reach him, but slew two centurions who fell upon him together. Finally, after his companions had taken to flight, he stood alone, surrounded by a multitude of foes, and was still defending himself when he was cut down. But although Crassus had been fortunate, had shown most excellent generalship, and had exposed his person to danger, nevertheless, his success did not fail to enhance the reputation of Pompey. For the fugitives from the battle 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 θριαμβὸν οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸς αὐτεῖν ἐπεχείρησεν, ἔδοκει δὲ καὶ τὸν πεζὸν, οὕτως δὲ καλούμενον, ἀγεννῶς καὶ παρ᾽ ἄξιαν ἔτι δουλικῷ πολέμῳ θριαμβεύσαι. τί δ᾽ οὕτος ἐκεῖνον διαφέρει, καὶ περὶ τῆς κλησεως, ἐν τῷ Μαρκέλλου βιῷ γέγραπται.

ΧΧΙ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Πομπήιου αὐτόθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν καλούμενον, ἔπιπίδας ἔχον ὁ Κράσσος συναρέξειν ὅμως οὐκ ἤκνησε τοῦ Πομπήιου δειηθῆναι. δεξάμενος δὲ τὴν χρείαν ἀσμένως ἐκείνος (ἐπεθύμει γὰρ ἀμῶς γέ πῶς ἀεὶ χάριτος τινος ὀφειλέτην λαβεῖν τῷ Κράσσοι) ἐσπούδασε προθύμως, καὶ τέλος εἶπεν ἐκκλησιάζων ὡς οὐκ ἔλαττονα περὶ τοῦ συνάρχουντος ἐξείρχαριν ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. οὐ μὴν ἔμεναν ἐπὶ ταῦτα τῆς φιλοφροσύνης εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καταστάντες, ἀλλ᾽ ὅλιγον δεῖν περὶ πάντων διαφερόμενοι καὶ πάντα δυσκολαίνοντες ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλονεικοῦντες ἀπολίτευτον καὶ ἀπρακτὸν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐποίησαν, πλὴν ὅτι Κράσσος Ἡρακλεί μεγάλην θυσίαν ποιησάμενος εἰςτίασε τὸν δήμον ἀπὸ μυρίων τραπέζων καὶ σίτον ἐμέτρησεν εἰς τρίμηνον. ἢδη δὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῖς τελευτώσης ἐτυχον μὲν ἐκκλησιάζουτες, ἀνήρ δὲ τις οὐ τῶν εὐπαθῶν, ὕππεις Ἅρμαιών, ἀγροῖκος δὲ τῷ βίῳ καὶ ἰδιώτης, Ὁνάτιος1 Λύρήλιος, ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ προσελθὼν2 ὅψιν διηγεῖτο κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς αὐτῷ γενομένην. "Ὁ γὰρ

1 Ὁνάτιος in Pompey, xxiii. 1, Γάιος. Graux would therefore read here ὁ νόματι Γάιος.
2 προσελθών 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.

XIII. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπατεία τοῦ Κράσσου ταῦτ’ ἐσχεν ἀξια μνήμης, ἡ δὲ τιμητεία παντάπασιν ἀτελῆς καὶ ἀπρακτος αὐτῷ διήλθεν, ὥστε γὰρ βουλῆς ἐξέθασιν οὖθ’ ἱπτέων ἐπίσκεψιν οὔτ’ ἀποτίμησιν πολιτῶν ἐποίησατο, καίτοι συν- ἀρχοντα Ῥωμαίων ἔχοντι τὸν πραύτατον Λου- τάτιον Κάτλου. ἀλλὰ φασὶν ἐπὶ δεινὸν ὀρμήσατι τῶ Κράσσῳ πολίτευμα καὶ βίαιον, Αἰγυπτον ποιεῖν ὑποτελῆ Ῥωμαίως, ἀντιβῆναι τῷ Κάτλῳ ἔρρωμένως: ἐκ δὲ τούτον γενομένης διαφορᾶς ἐκόντας ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν.

2 Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν πράγμασι μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῦ δεήσασιν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην, ἦσατο μὲν τὸς ὑπόνοια τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ προσ- ἴλθεν ἀνθρώπος ὀνομάζων ἀπὸ τῆς συνωμοσίας, 3 οὕτε δὲ ἐπιστεύσεως, ὦμοι δ’ ὁ Κικέρων ἐν τῷ λόγῳ φανερὸς ἦν Κράσσῳ καὶ Καίσαρι τὴν αἰτίαν προστριβόμενος. ἀλλ’ ὦτες μὲν ὁ λόγος ἐξεδόθη μετὰ τὴν ἀμφοῖν τελευτήν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Περὶ ὑπατείας 352
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\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) 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,\(^3\) 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,\(^3\)

\(^1\) 65 B.C. \(^2\) 63–62 B.C. \(^3\) Not extant.
ο Κικέρων νῦκτωρ φησὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὴν κομίζοντα τὰ περὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν ἐξηγουμένην, ὅς ἦδη βεβαιοῦντα τὴν συνομοσίαν. οὐδὲν Κράσσος ἦν μὲν ἐμίσει τὸν Κικέρωνα διὰ τοῦτο, τοῦ δὲ βλάπτειν ἀναφανδὸν ἐμπόδων εἰχε τὸν νῦν. ὁ γὰρ Πότιος ὃν φιλολόγον καὶ φιλομαθῆς ἔξηρτη τοῦ Κικέρωνος, ὡστε καὶ συμμεταβαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐσθήτα κρινομένω καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους νέους ταύτα ποιοῦντα παρασχεῖν. τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα πείσας φίλον ἐποίησεν.

XIV. Ὅ δὲ Καίσαρ ὡς ἐπανῆλθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, παρασκευαζόμενος ὑπατείαν μετίεναι καὶ Κράσσον ὅρῶν καὶ Πομπήιον αὕθεις ἐν διαφοραῖς πρὸς ἅλληλους ὄντας, οὔτε θατέρου δεηθεὶς ἐβοῦλετο λαβεῖν ἐχθρὸν τοῦ ἐτερουν, οὔτε μηδετέρου συνεργοῦντος ἥπιπεξ κατορθώσειν. ἐπραττεν οὖν διάλαγας αὐτοῖς προσκείμενος καὶ διδάσκων ὃς καταλύοντες ἅλληλους αὐξοῦσι Κικέρωνας καὶ Κάτλους καὶ Κάτωνας, ὃν ὅπείς λόγος, ἄν ἐκεῖνοι συνενεγκόντες εἰς ταύτο τὰς φίλιας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας ἐνι κράτει καὶ μᾶ γυώμη τὴν πόλιν ἁγωσιν. πείσας δὲ καὶ διὰλάξας συνήγαγε καὶ συνέστησεν ἐκ τῶν τριῶν ἱσχὺν ἁμαχον, ἢ κατέλυσε Ἐρωμαίων τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δήμου, οὐκ ἐκεῖνους δὲ ἅλληλων μείζονας, ἅλλα δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἐαυτῶν μέγιστον ἀπεργασάμενοι.

3 εὐθὺς γὰρ ἀρθεὶς ὑπ' ἅμφοτέρων ὑπατος ἀπεδει-

1 κομίζοντα... ἐξηγουμένην S'lintenis' correction of the MSS. κομίζοντα περὶ τοῦ Κατιλίνα καὶ ξητουμένην, which Coraës and Bekker retain.
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.
κθη λαμπρως. ὑπατεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ ψηφισμενοι στρατευμάτων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν ἐγχειρίσαντες ὠσπερ εἰς ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν, οἰομενοι καθ' ἡσυχίαν νεμήσεσθαι τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἕκειν ἑβασιοῦντες ἢ ἐλαχεῖν ἀρχήν.

4 Πομπηίως μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας ἀμέτρου ταύτ' ἑπραττε· τῶν δὲ Κράσσου νοσημάτων τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἡ φιλοπλούτια καὶνὸν ἔρωτα προσλαβοῦσα καὶ ξῆλον ἑπὶ ταῖς Καῖσαρος ἀριστείαις τροπαίων καὶ θριάμβων, οἷς γε μόνοις ἐλαττοῦσθαι προῦχοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀνήκεν οὐδ' ἐλώφησε πρὶν εἰς ὀλέθρου ἀκλεή καὶ δημοσίας συμφορᾶς τελευτήσαι. Καῖσαρος γὰρ εἰς Δοῦκαν πόλιν ἐκ Γαλατίας καταβάντος ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ ἡΡωμαίων ἀφίκοντο, καὶ Πομπηίως καὶ Κράσσος ἰδία συγγενόμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐγνωσαν ἐγκρατέστερον ἐχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ πᾶσαν υφ' ἐαυτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Καῖσαρος μὲν εν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς μένοντος, ἄλλας δὲ ἐπαρχίας καὶ στρατεύματα Πομπηίου καὶ Κράσσου λαβὼν

5 των. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὁδὸς ἦν μία δευτέρας ὑπατείας αἰτησις· ἦν μετιόντων ἑκείνων ἔδει συμπράττειν Καῖσαρα, τοῖς τε φίλοις γράφοντα καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πέμποντα πολλοὺς ἀρχαιρεσιάσοντας.

6 των. Ἐπὶ τούτων οἱ περὶ Κράσσου εἰς Ἑρώμην ἐπανελθόντες εὐθὺς ἦσαν ὑποπτοὶ, καὶ πολλὸς ἐχώρει διὰ πάντων λόγος οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γεγονο

1 αὐτῷ after this word καλῶς 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.
νέαν τὴν σύνοδον αὐτῶν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ Μαρκελλίνου καὶ Δομίτιου Πομπήιον ἐρωτώντων εἰ μέτεισιν ὑπατεῖαν, ἀπεκρίνατο τυχόν μὲν μετιέναι, τυχόν δὲ μὴ μετιέναι· καὶ πάλιν ἐρωτώμενος ἐφη μετιέναι τοῖς δικαίοις πολίταις, μὴ 2 μετιέναι δὲ τοῖς ἁδίκοις. τοῦτον δὲ δόξαντος ὑπερηφάνους ἀποκρίσεις καὶ τετυφωμένας ποιεῖσθαι μετριώτερον ὁ Κράσσος εἶπεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, μετιέναι τὴν ἁρχήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, πεπαύσεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τινες ἐθάρρησαν ὑπατεῖαν μετελθεῖν, ὅν ἦν καὶ Δομήτιος. γενομένων δὲ φανερῶν ἐκείνων ἐν ταῖς παραγγελίαις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι δείσαντες ὑπέστησαν, Δομίτιον δὲ Κάτων οἰκεῖον ὁντα καὶ φίλον ἐθάρρυνεν ἐγκελευόμενος καὶ παρορμῶν ἔχεσθαι τῆς ἐλπίδος ὡς ὑπερμαχοῦντα τῆς κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας· οὐ γὰρ ὑπατείας Πομπήιον δείσθαι καὶ Κράσσον, ἀλλὰ τυραννίδος, οὐδ' ἁρχῆς αἰτησιν, ἀλλ' ἀρπαγῆν ἐπαρχὼν καὶ στρατοπέδων εἶναι τὰ πραττόμενα.

3 Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ λέγων οὕτω καὶ φρονῶν ὁ Κάτων μονονοῦ βία προῆγεν εἰς ἀγορὰν τὸν Δομίτιον, καὶ συνίσταντο πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς. καὶ τὸ θαυμαζοῦν οὐκ ὁλίγον ἦν, "Τί δὴ δεύτερας οὕτως χρήζουσιν ὑπατεῖας; τί δὲ πάλιν μετ' ἄλληλων; τί δ' οὔ μεθ' ἑτέρων; πολλοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ἄνδρες ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀνάξιοι δῆτον Κράσσῳ καὶ Πομπῆιῳ συν- ἀρχεῖν." ἐκ τούτου δείσαντες οἱ περὶ Πομπήιον οὐδένος ἀπείχοντο τῶν ἀκοσμοτάτων καὶ βιαιστά- των, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις λόχον ύφέντες 4
CRASSUS

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 κατερχομένῳ κτείνουσι μὲν τὸν ανέχοντα τὸ φῶς πρὸ αὐτοῦ, συνυπτρώκουσι δὲ πολλοὺς, ὃν ἦν καὶ Κάτων. τρεψάμενοι δὲ καὶ κατακλείσαντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκείνους ἀνηγορεύθησαν ὑπατού· καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνου αὐθίς ὅπλοις περισχύντες τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐκβαλόντες καὶ τινας ὑποστάντας ἀποκτείναντες, Καίσαρι μὲν ἄλλην ἐπέδοσαν πενταετίαν τῆς ἁρχῆς, αὐτοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐπαρχῶν ἐψηφίσαντο Συρίαν καὶ Ἰβηρίας συναμφοτέρας. κληρουμένων δὲ Συρίαν ἐλαχε Κράσσος, τὰ δ' Ἰβηρικὰ Πομπηίου.

ΧVΙ. 'Ἡν δὲ οὐκ ἀκούσιος ὁ κλήρος ἀπασιν. οὔτε γὰρ πόλλοι Πομπηίου μὴ μακρὰν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως ἐβούλουτο, καὶ Πομπηίος ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοθε τὰ πολλα διατρίβειν ἐμελλε, Κράσσος δὲ ὑπὸ χαρᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκπεσόντι τῷ κλήρῳ καταφανῆς ἦν οὐδὲν εὐτύχισμα λαμπρότερον ἐαυτῷ γεγονέναι τοῦ παρόντος ἑγούμενος, ὡς μόλις ἐν ἀλλοτρίου καὶ πολλοῖς ἥσυχίαν ἀγείν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς συνήθεις πολλὰ κενά καὶ μειρακιώδη λέγειν παρ' ἥλικιαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ φύσιν, ἢκιστα 2 κομπαστῆς ἡ σοβαρὸς τῷ βίῳ γεγονός. τότε δ' ἐπηρμένος κομιδὴ καὶ διεφθαρμένος οὐ Συρίαν οὔδὲ Πάρθους ὄρον ἐποιεῖτο τῆς εὐπραξίας, ἀλλ' ὡς παιδιάν ἀποφανῶν τὰ Δοικοῦλλον πρὸς Τιγράνην καὶ Πομπηίου πρὸς Μιθρεδάτην, ἄχρι 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. Καίτω τῷ γραφέντι περὶ τούτων νόμῳ Παρθικούς πόλεμους οὐ προσήν. ἢδεσαν δὲ πάντες ὃτι πρὸς τοῦτο Κράσσος ἐπτόθηται καὶ Καίσαρ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐγραφείν αὐτῷ τὴν ὀρμὴν ἐπαίνων καὶ παροξύνων ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ δὲ δημαρχῶν Αττίος ἐμελλε πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον ἐναντιώσεσθαι, καὶ συνισταντο πολλοὶ χαλεπαίνοντες εἰ τις ἀνθρώπως οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐνσπόνδοις, πολεμήσων ἀπεις, δείσας ο Κράσσος ἐδεήθη Πομπηίου παραγενέσθαι καὶ συμπροσέμψαι

4. μέγα γὰρ ἢν ἔκεινον τὸ πρὸς τὸν ὀχλὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ τοτε παρεσκευασμένους πολλούς ἐνίστασθαι καὶ καταβοάν ὀρόμενος πρὸ αὐτοῦ φαινὸν βλέπματι καὶ προσώπως κατεπράψεν ὁ Πομπηίος, ὡςθ' ὑπείκεν σιωπὴ δ' αὐτῶν προἰόωσιν. ὁ δ' Ἀττίος ἀπαντήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ φωνῆς ἔκώλυν καὶ διεμαρτύρετο μὴ βαδίζειν, ἐπειτα τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἐκέλευεν ἄψαμενον τοῦ σώματος κατεχεῖν. ἄλλων δὲ δημάρχων οὐκ ἔσωτον, ὁ μὲν ὑπηρέτης ἄφηκε τὸν Κράσσον, ὁ δ' Ἀττίος προδραμὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην ἔθηκεν ἐσχαρίδα καἰςεμένην καὶ τοῦ Κράσσου γενομένου καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ καταστείνουν ἁρᾶ ἐπηρᾶτο δεινὰ μὲν αὐτᾶς καὶ φρικώδεις, δεινοὺς δὲ τινὰς θείους καὶ ἀλλοκό

5. τους ἐπὶ αὐτὰς καλῶν καὶ ὄνομαξών ταύτας φασὶ Ῥωμαιοὶ τὰς ἁρᾶς ὑποθέτους καὶ παλαιὰς τωιαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν ὡς περιφυγεῖν μηδένα τῶν ἐνσχεθέντων αὐτάς, κακῶς δὲ πράσσειν καὶ τὸν χρησάμενον, ὅθεν οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχ. ὅσιν αὐτὰς οὐδ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἁρᾶσθαι. καὶ τότ' οὖν ἐμέμφοντο τὸν

1 τούτο Bekker adopts τοῦτον from Reiske.
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
'Ατητίον, εἰ δ' ἦν ἐχαλάταινε τῷ Κράσσῳ πόλιν, εἰς αὐτὴν ἀράς ἀφῆκε καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν τοσαύτην.

ΧVII. 'Ο δὲ Κράσσος εἰς Βρεντέσιον ἠλθεν. ἔτι δ' ἀστατούσης χειμῶσι τῆς θαλάσσης οὐ περιέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἀνήχθη καὶ συχνὰ τῶν πλοίων ἀπέβαλε, τὴν δ' ἄλλην ἀναλαβὼν δύναμιν ἥπειγετο πεζῇ διὰ Γαλατίας. εὐρῶν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Δηϊόταρον πάνυ μὲν οὖντα γηραιόν ἡδη, κτίζοντα δὲ νέαν πόλιν, ἐπέσκωψεν εἰπὼν. "Ὡ βασιλεὺς, δωδεκάτης ώρας οἰκοδομεῖν ἄρχη." 2 γελάσας δ' οἱ Γαλάτης. "Ἄλλ' οὐδ' αὐτός," εἶπεν, "ὁ αὐτόκρατορ, ὃς ὤρω, προὶ λίαν ἐπὶ Πάρθους ἐλαύνεις." ἢν δ' οἱ Κράσσος ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἔτη παραλλάττων, πρεσβύτερος δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ἡ καθ' ἡλικίαιν. ἀφικόμενον δ' αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο τὰ πράγματα τῆς ἐλπίδος ἄξιως τὸ πρῶτον. καὶ γὰρ ἔζευξε βαδίως τὸν Εὐφράτην καὶ διήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ πόλεις πολλὰς ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ κατέσχεν ἐκουσίως προσθεμένας. 3 ἐν μιᾷ δ', ἢς Ἀπολλώνιος ἑτυράννει, στρατιωτῶν ἐκατὸν ἀναιρεθέντων ἐπαγαγὼν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ κρατῆσας διήρπασε τὰ χρῆματα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδοτο. Ζηυδοτίαν ἐκάλουν τὴν πόλιν οἱ "Ελληνες. ἐπὶ ταύτης ἀλούσης δεξάμενος αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῆς στρατίας ἀναγορευθήναι πολλὴν ἀφλεν αἰσχύνην, καὶ ταπεινὸς ἐφάνη καὶ περὶ τὰ μείζονα δύσελπις οὕτω πλεονέκτημα 4 μικρὸν ἡγαπηκώς. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ φρουρὰς ταῖς προσκεχωρικυίαις πόλεσιν, ὑν 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.\(^1\) 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,\(^2\) whereupon he led up his forces against it, mastered it, plundered its property, and sold its inhabitants into slavery. The city was called Zenodotia by the Greeks. For its capture he allowed his soldiers to salute him as Imperator, thereby incurring much disgrace and showing himself of a paltry spirit and without good hope for the greater struggles that lay before him, since he was so delighted with a trifling acquisition. After furnishing the cities which had come over to his side with garrisons, which amounted

\(^1\) 54 B.C. \(^2\) Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 13.
ἐπτακισχίλιοι πεζοὶ χίλιοι δ' ἵππεῖς, ἀνεχόρησεν αὐτὸς ἐν Συρίᾳ διαχειμάσων καὶ δεξόμενος αὐτόθι τὸν ύδων ήκοντα παρὰ Καίσαρος ἐκ Γαλατίας αὐτῶν τε κεκοσμημένον ἀριστείοις καὶ χίλιοις ἵππεῖς ἐπιλέκτους ἁγοντα.

Τούτῳ πρώτον ἀμαρτείν ἔδοξεν ὁ Κράσσος μετὰ γε τὴν στρατεύαν αὐτὴν μέγιστον ἀμάρτημα τῶν γενομένων, ὅτι πρόσω χωρεῖν δέον ἐχεσθαί τε Βαβυλῶνος καὶ Σελευκείας, δυσμενῶν ἀεὶ Πάρθοις πόλεων, χρόνον ἐνέδωκε τοῖς πολεμίοις παρα-5 σκευῆς. ἔπειτα τὰς ἐν Συρίᾳ διατριβὰς ἤτιοντο χρηματιστικὰς μᾶλλον οὐσας ἡ στρατηγικὰς. οὐ γὰρ ὃπλων ἀριθμὸν ἕξετάζων οὐδὲ γυμνασίων ποιούμενος ἀμίλλας, ἀλλὰ προσόδους πόλεων ἐκλογιζόμενος καὶ τὰ χρήματα τῆς ἐν 'Ιεραπόλει θεοῦ σταθμοῖς καὶ τρυπάναις μεταχειριζόμενος ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἥμερας, ἐπιγράφων δὲ καὶ δήμοις καὶ δυνάσταις στρατιώτων καταλόγους, εἰτ' ἀνιείς ἀργύριον διδόντας, ἢδόξει καὶ κατεφρονεῖτο τούτοις. 6 γίνεται δὲ πρώτον αὐτῷ σημεῖον ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἢν οἱ μὲν Ἀφρόδιτην, οἱ δὲ ''Ηραν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἄρχας καὶ σπέρματα πᾶσιν εξ ὕγρῶν παρα-σχούσαν αϊτίαι καὶ φύσιν νομίζοντο, καὶ τὴν πάντων εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἄρρη ἀγαθῶν καταδείξα-σαν. ἔξιόντων γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρῶτος ἐσφαλῆ κατὰ τᾶς πύλας ὁ νεανίας Κράσσος, εἰτ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ περιπεσῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος.

ΧVIII. "Ηδὴ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῶν χειμάδιων συναθροίζοντος αὐτοῦ πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο παρ' Ἀρσάκου βραχὺν τινα λόγου κομίζοντες. ἔφασαν 366
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in all to seven thousand men-at-arms and a thousand horsemen, he himself withdrew to take up winter quarters in Syria, and to await there his son, who was coming from Caesar in Gaul, decorated with the insignia of his deeds of valour, and leading a thousand picked horsemen.

This was thought to be the first blunder which Crassus committed,—after the expedition itself, which was the greatest of all his blunders,—because, when he should have advanced and come into touch with Babylon and Seleucia, cities always hostile to the Parthians, he gave his enemies time for preparation. Then, again, fault was found with him because his sojourn in Syria was devoted to mercenary rather than military purposes. For he made no estimate of the number of his troops, and instituted no athletic contests for them, but reckoned up the revenues of cities, and spent many days weighing exactly the treasures of the goddess in Hierapolis, and prescribed quotas of soldiers for districts and dynasts to furnish, only to remit the prescription when money was offered him, thereby losing their respect and winning their contempt. And the first warning sign came to him from this very goddess, whom some call Venus, others Juno, while others still regard her as the natural cause which supplies from moisture the beginnings and seeds of everything, and points out to mankind the source of all blessings. For as they were leaving her temple, first the youthful Crassus stumbled and fell at the gate, and then his father fell over him.

XVIII. No sooner had he begun to assemble his forces from their winter quarters than envoys came to him from Arsaces\(^1\) with a wonderfully brief

\(^1\) In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.
γάρ, εἰ μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαιῶν ὁ στρατὸς ἀπεσταλται, πόλεμον ἀσποῦνδον εἶναι καὶ ἄδιάλλακτον, εἰ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος ἀκούσθη, ὃς πυνθάνονται, Κράσσος ἵδιων ἔνεκα κερδῶν ὅπλα Πάρθους ἐπενήνοχε καὶ χώραν κατείληφε, μετριάζειν Ἀρσάκην καὶ τὸ μὲν Κράσσου γῆρας οἰκτείρειν, ἀφιέναι δὲ Ῥωμαιῶν τοὺς ἀνδρας, οὕς ἔχει φρουρομένους μᾶλλον ἢ 2 φρουροῦντας. πρὸς ταῦτα Κράσσου κομπάσαν- τος ὡς ἐν Σελευκείᾳ δώσει τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, γελά- σας ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν πρέσβεων Οὐαγίσθης καὶ τῆς χειρὸς ὑπτίας δείξας τὸ μέσον: "Ἐντεῦθεν," εἶπεν, "ἀν Κράσσε, φύσονται τρίχες πρότερον ἢ σὺ ὄψει Σελεύκειαν."

Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἀπήλαυνον ὡς βασιλέα Ἱτρόδην πολεμητέα φράσοντες, εκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων ὅς ἐφρούρουν Ῥωμαιοὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, παραβο- λως τινὲς διεκπεσόντες ἀξία φροντίδων ἀνήγγειλ- λον, αὐτόπται μὲν γεγονότες τοῦ τε πλήθους τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἄγων ὧν ἡγωνίσαντο προσ- μαχόμενοι ταῖς πόλεσιν, οἵα δὲ φιλεῖ πάντα πρὸς τὸ δεινὸτερον ἔξαγγέλλοντες, ὡς ἀφυκτοὶ μὲν οἱ ἄνδρες διώκοντες, ἀλληποὶ δὲ φεύγοντες, βέλη δὲ καὶ 1 προθέωντα τῆς ὄψεως καὶ πρὶν ὀφθῆναι τὸν βάλλοντα χωριστά διὰ τοῦ προστυχόντος, τῶν δὲ καταφράκτων ὅπλα τὰ μὲν δία παυτὸς ὕθει- σθαι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι πεποιημένα.

1 καὶνα MSS., Coräs, Sintenis,1 and Bekker; πτηνα (winged) from Pseudo-Appian.

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message. They said that if the army had been sent out by the Roman people, it meant war without truce and without treaty; but if it was against the wishes of his country, as they were informed, and for his own private gain that Crassus had come up in arms against the Parthians and occupied their territory, then Arsaces would act with moderation, would take pity on the old age of Crassus, and release to the Romans the men whom he had under watch and ward rather than watching over him. To this Crassus boastfully replied that he would give his answer in Seleucia, whereupon the eldest of the envoys, Vagises, burst out laughing and said, pointing to the palm of his upturned hand: "O Crassus, hair will grow there before thou shalt see Seleucia."  

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

1 In subsequent passages called Hyrodes.
2 Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 16.
4 ταῦτα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀκούοντων τὸ θράσος ὑπεπιπτεν. πεπεισμένοι γὰρ οὐδὲν Ἀρμενίων διαφέρειν Πάρθους οὐδὲ Καππαδοκῶν, οὗς ἄγων καὶ φέρων Δούκουλλος ἀπείπτε, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου τὸ χαλεπῶτατον ἡγούμενοι μακρὰν ὦδὸν ἔσεσθαι καὶ δίωξιν ἀνθρώπων εἰς χείρας οὐκ ἄφιξομένων, παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἁγώνα καὶ κίνδυνον μέγαν προσέδωκαν, ὡστε καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τινὰς οἴεσθαι δεῖν ἐπισχόντα τὸν Κράσσου αὖθις ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄλων γνώμην προθέσθαι. τοῦτων ἦν Κάσσιος ὁ ταμίας.

5 ἡσυχὴ δὲ παρεδήλουν καὶ οἱ μάντεις ὃς ἂεὶ ποιηρὰ σημεία καὶ δυσεκθυτα προφαίνοιτο τῷ Κράσσῳ διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἀλλ’ οὔτε τούτοις προσεῖχεν οὔτε τοῖς ἐτερόν τι πλὴν ἐπείγεσθαι παραίνουσιν.

XIX. Οὕχ ἠκίστα δ’ αὐτῶν Ἀρταβάζης ὁ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεὺς ἐπέρρωσεν ἢλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον μεθ’ ἐξακισχιλῶν ἱππέων. καὶ οὔτοι μὲν ἐλέγοντο φύλακες καὶ προπομποῦ βασιλέως· ἐτέρους δὲ μυρίους ὑπισχυότο καταφράκτους καὶ τρισμυρίους πεζοὺς οἰκοσίτους.

2 ἐπειθεὶς δὲ Κράσσου ἐμβαλεῖν δ’ Ἀρμενίας εἰς τὴν Παρθίαν· οὔ γὰρ μόνον ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάξειν τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ παρέχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πορεύσεθαι δ’ ἀσφαλείας, ὡρὶ πολλὰ καὶ λόφους συνεχεῖς καὶ χωρία δύσιππα πρὸς τὴν ἱππον, ἦ
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 ἄλκη, προβαλλόμενον. ὁ δὲ τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τῆς βοηθείας μετρίως ἤγαπήσε, βαδιεῖσθαι δὲ ἐφη διὰ Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς Ρω-3 μαίων ἀνδράς ἀπέλιπεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρμένιος ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπῆλανεν.

Τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ διαβιβάζοντι τὴν στρατιάν κατὰ τὸ Ζεύγμα πολλαὶ μὲν ὑπερφυεῖς βροντάτ περιερρήγυντο, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἱστραπτεῖν1 ἕναντι τῶν στρατῶν, πνεύμα δὲ νέφει καὶ προστήρι μεμψιμένον ἑρείσαν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τῆς σχεδίας ἀνέρρηξε 4 πολλὰ καὶ συνέτριψεν. ἐβληθή δὲ καὶ κεραυνοῖς δύσιν ὁ χῶρος οὗ στρατοπεδεύειν ἐμελλεν. Ἡπόπος δὲ τῶν στρατηγικῶν ἐπιφανῶς κεκοσμημένος βία συνεπιστάσας τῶν ἤνιοχον εἰς τὸ πείθρου ὑποβρύχιος ἤφανίζθη. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀετῶν ὁ πρῶτος ἀρθείς ἀπὸ ταύτομἀτον μεταστραφῆναι. 5 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συνέπεσε μετὰ τὴν διάβασιν μετρουμένοις τὰ ἑπιτίθεια τοῖς στρατιώταις πρῶ-τα πάντων δοθήναι φακοὺς καὶ ἀλας, ἃ νομίζουσι Ρωμαίοι πένθιμα καὶ προτίθενται τοῖς νέκυσιν, αὐτοῦ τε Κράσσου δημηγοροῦντος ἐξέπεσε φωνὴ δεινῶς συγχέασα τὸν στρατὸν. ἐφη γὰρ τὸ ζεύγμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαλύειν ὅπως μηδεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπαν-ελθη. καὶ δέον, ως ἰσθετο τοῦ βήματος τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ διασαφῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀποδειλώντας τὸ εἰρημένου, ἡμέλησεν ὑπὸ αὐθα-6 δείας. τέλος δὲ τὸν εἰθισμένον καθαρμὸν ἐσφαγιά-

1 καὶ ἱστραπτεῖν MSS., Coraës, and Bekker: καθ' ἱστραπτεῖν with Pseudo-Appian.
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

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^1 A town in Syria, on the right bank of the Euphrates, deriving its name from a bridge of boats there made across the river.  
² Cf. Dio Cassius, xl. 18.
ξετο, καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ μάντεως αὐτῷ προσδόντος ἐξέβαλε τῶν χειρῶν ἐφ’ ὦ καὶ μάλιστα δυσχεραίνοντας ἢδ’ τοὺς παρόντας ἐμειδίασε καὶ “Τοιοῦτον,” ἔφη, “τὸ γῆρας ἀλλὰ τῶν γε ὅπλων οὐδὲν ἄν ἐκφύγοι τὰς χειρὰς.”

XX. Ἐκ τούτου παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξῆλαννεί ἐπὶ τὰ μὲν ἔχων ὀπλιτῶν τάγματα καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ὀλίγον ἀποδέοντας ἱππεῖς, ψιλοὺς δὲ τοῖς ἱππεύον παραπλησίους. τῶν δὲ προδρόμων τινές ἀπὸ σκωπίας ἐπανελθόντες ἤγγελλον ἀνθρώπων μὲν ἐρήμων εἶναι τὴν χώραν, ὑπ’ ὅπως ὃ ἐντευχηκέναι πολλῶν ἵχνεσιν ὅλον ἐκ μεταβολῆς ὀπίσω διωκομένων. οὗτοι αὐτὸς τε Κράσσος ἐτί μᾶλλον ἐνελπίζετι ὑπ’ αὐτὸς τὸ στρατιωτικὰ παντάπασι τῶν Πάρθων παρέστη καταφρονεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀφιξομένων 2 εἰς χεῖρας. ὅμως δ’ οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον ἀνθίς διελέγοντο τῷ Κράσσῳ, καὶ παρῆκαν μάλιστα μὲν ἐν πόλει τινὶ τῶν φρουρουμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, ἄρα ὑπ’ τι πῦθηται περὶ τῶν πολεμίων βέβαιον, εἰ δὲ μή, χωρεῖν ἐπὶ Σελευκείας παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εὐπορίαν γὰρ τὰ σιτηρὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς παρέξειν ἀμα συγκαταίροντα πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ φύλακα τοῦ μῆ κυκλωθήναι τὸν ποταμὸν ἔχοντας ἀπ’ ἱσης ἀεὶ πρὸς ἐναντίον μαχεῖται τους πολεμίους.

XXI. Ταῦτα τοῦ Κράσσου διασκοπούντος ἔτι καὶ βουλευομένου παραγίνεται φύλαρχος Ἀράβων, Ἀριάμνης ὄνομα, δολερός καὶ παλίμβολος ἄνηρ καὶ πάντων ὅσα συνήνεγκεν εἰς ὀλεθρον ἡ τύχη κακά, μέγιστον αὐτοῖς καὶ τελείωτατον
was making the customary sacrifice of purification for the army, and the seer placed the viscera in his hands, he let them fall to the ground; then, seeing that the bystanders were beyond measure distressed at the occurrence, he smiled and said: "Such is old age; but no weapon, you may be sure, shall fall from its hands."

XX. After this, he marched along the river with seven legions of men-at-arms, nearly four thousand horsemen, and about as many light-armed troops. Some of his scouts now came back from their explorations, and reported that the country was destitute of men, but that they had come upon the tracks of many horses which had apparently wheeled about and fled from pursuit. Wherefore Crassus himself was all the more confident, and his soldiers went so far as to despise the Parthians utterly, believing that they would not come to close quarters. But, nevertheless, Cassius once more had a conference with Crassus, and advised him above all things to recuperate his forces in one of the garrisoned cities, until he should get some sure information about the enemy; but if not this, then to advance against Seleucia along the river. For in this way the transports would keep them abundantly supplied with provisions by putting in at their successive encampments, and, by having the river to prevent their being surrounded, they would always fight their enemies on even terms and face to face.

XXI. While Crassus was still investigating and considering these matters, there came an Arab chieftain, Ariamnes by name, a crafty and treacherous man, and one who proved to be, of all the mischiefs which fortune combined for the destruction of the
2 γενόμενον τούτον δ' ἦδεσαν ἐνιοῦ τῶν Πομπηίων συνεστρατευμένων ἀπολαύσαντά τι τῆς ἐκείνου φιλανθρωπίας καὶ δόξαντα φιλορρώμαν εἶναι τότε δ' ὑφεῖτο τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ γνώμης τῶν βασιλέως στρατηγῶν, εἰ δύνατο παρατρέψας αὐτὸν ἀπωτάτῳ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπωρειῶν εἰς πεδίον ἐκβαλεῖν ἄχανες καὶ περιελαυνόμενον. πάντα γὰρ διενούντο μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ στόμα στρατευμένοι. Ἐξείς πρὸς τὸν Κράσσον ὁ βάρβαρος (ἤν δὲ καὶ πιθανὸς εἰπεῖν) Πομπηίου μὲν ὡς ευεργέτην ἐπήνει, Κράσσον δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μακαρίσας ἐμέμφετο τῆς δια- τριβῆς μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευάζόμενον, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ λαοῦ αὐτῷ δεήσουν, οὐ χειρῶν οὐδὲ ποδῶν τῶν ταχίστων ἐπ' ἀνθρώπον οἱ πάλαι ξητούσιν ἄρπά- σαντες τὰ τιμῶτα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων

3 προσφέρεσθαι Ἐρμαίοις. Ἐξοθὼν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Κράσσον ὁ βάρβαρος (ἤν δὲ καὶ πιθανὸς εἰπεῖν) Πομπηίου μὲν ὡς ευεργέτην ἐπήνει, Κράσσον δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μακαρίσας ἐμέμφετο τῆς δια- τριβῆς μέλλοντα καὶ παρασκευάζόμενον, ὡσπερ ὑπὸ λαοῦ αὐτῷ δεήσουν, οὐ χειρῶν οὐδὲ ποδῶν τῶν ταχίστων ἐπ' ἀνθρώποις εἰς πάλαι ξητούσιν ἄρπά- σαντες τὰ τιμῶτα τῶν χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων

4 εἰς Σκύθας ἢ Ἰτρκανοὺς ἀναπτέσθαι. "Καίτοι μάχεσθαι μέλλοντας," ἐφη, "σπεύδειν ἐδει, πρὶν ἄπασαι ἐν ταύτῳ γενέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν ἀναδάσῃ- σαντος βασιλέως" ἐπεὶ νῦν ἡ Σουρήνας ὑμήν προβέβληται καὶ Σιλλάκης ἐφ' αὐτοῖς ἀναδεξά- μενοι τὴν δίωξιν, ὁ δ' οὐδαμὴ φανερὸς ἐστίν."

5 Ταύτα δὲ ἦν ψευδὴ πάντα. διχῇ γὰρ εὐθὺς Ἰτρόδης διελῶν τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ μὲν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπόρθει τινύμενος Ἀρταουάσδην, Σουρήναν δ' ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ Ἐρμαίοις, οὐχ ὑπερφροσύνη χρώ- μενος, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασίν οὐ γὰρ ἦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Κράσσον μὲν ἀπαξιοῦν ἀνταγωνιστῆν, ἀνδρα
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Romans, the greatest and most consummate. Some of the soldiers who had served under Pompey in these parts knew that the fellow had profited by the kindness of that commander and was thought to be a friend of Rome; but now, with the knowledge of the royal generals, he tried to work his way into the confidence of Crassus, to see if he could turn him aside as far as possible from the river and the foothills, and bring him down into a boundless plain where he could be surrounded. For nothing was farther from the thoughts of the Parthians than to attack the Romans in front. Accordingly, coming to Crassus, the Barbarian (and he was a plausible talker, too) lauded Pompey as his benefactor, and complimented Crassus on his forces. But then he criticised him for wasting time in delays and preparations, as if it was arms that he needed, and not hands and the swiftest of feet to follow after men who had for some time been trying to snatch up their most valuable goods and slaves and fly with them into Scythia or Hyrcania. "And yet," said he, "if you intend to fight, you ought to hasten on before all the king's forces are concentrated and he has regained his courage; since, for the time being, Surena and Sillaces have been thrown forward to sustain your pursuit, but the king is nowhere to be seen."

Now this was all false. For Hyrodes had promptly divided his forces into two parts and was himself devastating Armenia to punish Artavasdes, while he despatched Surena to meet the Romans. And this was not because he despised them, as some say, for he could not consistently disdain Crassus as an antagonist, a man who was foremost of the
'Ρωμαίων πρῶτον, Αρταούκδη δὲ προσπολεμεῖν καὶ ταῖς 'Αρμενίων ἐπίοντα κῶμας ἔξαιρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ δοκεῖ καταδείσας τὸν κίνδυνον αὐτῶς μὲν ἐφεδρεύειν καὶ καραδοκεῖν τὸ μέλλον, Σουρήναν δὲ προκαθεῖναι πειρασόμενον μάχης καὶ 6 περιέλξοντα τους πολεμίους. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἢν τῶν τυχόντων ὁ Σουρήνας, ἀλλὰ πλοῦτῳ μὲν καὶ γένει καὶ δόξῃ μετὰ βασιλεὰ δεύτερος, ἀνδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν Πάρθοις πρῶτος, ἔτι δὲ μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει σώματός ώς οὐδεὶς ἐτέρος. ἐξῆλανυ δὲ καθ' ἐαυτὸν ἅπει χιλίαις σκευοφορούμενος καμήλοις, καὶ διακοσίας ἀτήνας ἐπήγετο παλλακίδων, ἱππείς δὲ κατάφρακτοι χίλιοι, πλείονες δὲ τῶν κούφων παρέπεμπον, εἰς δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας ἱππεῖς ὀμοῦ πελάτας τε 7 καὶ δούλους μυρίων οὐκ ἀποδέοντας. κατὰ γένος μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἁρχῆς ἐκέκτητο βασιλεῖ ἑγεμόνῳ Πάρθων ἔπιτιθέναι τὸ διάδημα πρῶτος, Τράῳ δὲ τούτον αὐτὸν ἐξεληλαμένου εἰς Πάρθους κατηγαγέ, καὶ Σελεύκειαν αὐτὸ τὴν μεγάλην εἰλε πρῶτος ἐπιβᾶς τὸν τείχους καὶ τρεψάμενος ἱδιὰ χειρὶ τοὺς ἀντιστάντας. οὕτω δὲ γεγονὼς ἔτη τριάκοντα κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον εὐβουλίαις καὶ συνέσεως δόξαν εἰχε μεγίστην, οἷς οὐχ ἢκιστα καὶ τὸν Κράσσον ἐσφηλε, διὰ θάρσος καὶ φρόνημα πρῶτον, εἶτα ύπὸ δέος καὶ συμφορῶν ταῖς ἀπάταις εὐχειρωτὸν γενόμενον.

XXII. Τότ' οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, ὡς ἐπεισεν αὐτὸν,
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.
πόσπάσας τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ μέσων ἦγε τῶν πεδίων ὀδὸν ἐπιεικὴ καὶ κούφην τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα μοχθηράν, ἀμμον βαθείας ὑποδεχομένης καὶ πεδίων ἀδένδρων καὶ ἀνύδρων καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν οὐδαμὴ πέρας ἐφικτῶν αἰσθήσει παυομένων, ὡστε μὴ μόνον δίψει καὶ χαλεπότητι τῆς πορείας ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς ὄφεως ὀπαραμύθητον ἀθυμίαν παρέχειν οὐ φυτὸν ὅρωσιν, οὐ ρείθρον, οὐ προβολὴν ὄρους καθιέντος, οὐ πόαν διαβλαστάνουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄτεχνος πελάγιον τι χεῦμα θινὸν τινῶν ἐρήμων περιεχόντων τὸν στρατόν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον οὐ δόλος ὑποττος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἀρταυνάσδου τοῦ Ἀρμενίου παρῆσαν ἄγγελοι φράζοντες ὡς πολλῷ συνέχουτο πολέμῳ ῥύεντος ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Τρώδου, καὶ πέμπειν 3 μὲν ἔκεινον βοήθειαν οὐ δύναται, παραίνει δὲ Κράσσω μάλιστα μὲν ἔκει τραπέζῃα καὶ γενόμενον μετ' Ἀρμενίων ὁμοῦ διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς τὸν 'Τρώδην, εὶ δὲ μὴ, πορένεσθαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύειν ἂν τὰ ἱππάσιμα φεύγοντα καὶ προσχω- ροῦντα τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς, Κράσσως μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντι- γράψας ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ σκαίοτητος ἀπεκρίνατο νῦν μὲν Ἀρμενίος μὴ σχολάξειν, αὖθις δ' ἀφίξεσθαι δίκην ἐπιθήσον Ἀρταυνάσδη τῆς προδοσίας.

4 Οἶ δὲ περὶ Κάσσιον αὖθις ἧγανάκτου, καὶ Κράσσου μὲν ἀχθόμενον αὐτοῖς ἐπαύσαντο νουθε- τῶντες, ἵδια δὲ τὸν βάρβαρον ἐλοικόροον· "Τίς σε δαίμων πονηρός, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνθρώποι, ἥγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς; τίσι δὲ φαρμάκοις καὶ γοητείαις ἐπεισας Κράσσου εἰς ἐρημίαν ἀχανή καὶ βύθιον ἐκχέαντα τὴν στρατιὰν ὀδὸν ὀδενεῖν Νομάδι νη-

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

But Cassius was once more greatly displeased, and though he stopped advising Crassus, who was angry with him, he did privately abuse the Barbarian. "Baset 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 μᾶλλον ἢ Ἦρωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι προσ-
5 ἰκουσαν;" ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος ἀνήρ ὅν ποικίλος ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποπίπττων ἐθάρρυνε καὶ παρεκάλει 
μικρόν ἐτι καρτερῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἀμα 
συμπαραθέων καὶ παραβοθθῶν ἐπέσκοπτε μετὰ 
γέλωτος: "Τμεῖς δὲ διὰ Καμπανίας ὀδεύειν 
6 οἴεσθε κρήνας καὶ νάματα καὶ σκίας καὶ λουτρά 
δηλαδὴ καὶ πανδοκεία ποδοῦντες; οὐ μέμνησθε 
δὲ τὴν Ἀράβων διεξιόντες καὶ Ἀσσυρίων μεθο-
ρίαν;" εὕτω μὲν ὁ βάρβαρος διεπαιδαγώγησε 
τοὺς Ἦρωμαίους, καὶ πρὶν ἡ γενέσθαι φανέρος 
ἐξαπατῶν ἀφίππευσεν, οὐ λαθῶν τὸν Κράσσον, 557 
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πείσας, ὡς ὑπεργάστει καὶ 
διαταράξει τὰ τῶν πολεμίων.

XXIII. Λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης τὸν 
Κράσσον οὖchs ὡσπερ ἔθος ἐστὶ Ἦρωμαίων στρατη-
γοῖς ἐν φοινικίδι προελθεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἴματι 
μέλανι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εὔθες ἀλλάξαι προνοί-
σαντα, τῶν δὲ σημαιῶν ἐνίας μόλις ὡσπερ πεπη-
γυίας πολλὰ παθόντας ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς φέροντας.

2 ὅν ὁ Κράσσος καταγελῶν ἐπετάχυνε τὴν πορείαν, 
προσβιαζόμενος ἄκολουθεὶν τὴν φάλαγγα τοῖς 
ἅπευσι, πρὶν γε δὴ τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπήν ἀπο-
σταλέντων ὁλίγοι προσπελάσαντες ἀπῆγγειλαν 
ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, 
αὐτοὺς δὲ μόλις ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπιέναι δὲ μαχουμένους 
3 πλήθει πολλῷ καὶ θάρσει τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἀπαντεῖς 
μὲν οὖν ἔθορυβήθησαν, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἐξεπλάγη 
παντάπασι καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς ὀλ πάνω καθεστηκὼς

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a robber chief of Nomads than for a Roman imperator?" But the Barbarian, who was a subtle fellow, tried to encourage them with all servility, and exhorted them to endure yet a little while, and as he ran along by the side of the soldiers and gave them his help, he would laughingly banter them and say: "Is it through Campania that you think you are marching, yearning for its fountains and streams and shades and baths (to be sure!) and taverns? But remember that you are traversing the border land between Assyria and Arabia." Thus the Barbarian played the tutor with the Romans, and rode away before his deceit had become manifest, not, however, without the knowledge of Crassus, nay, he actually persuaded him that he was going to work in his interests and confound the counsels of his enemies.

XXIII. It is said that on that day Crassus did not make his appearance in a purple robe, as is the custom with Roman generals, but in a black one, and that he changed it as soon as he noticed his mistake; also that some of the standard-bearers had great difficulty in raising their standards, which seemed to be imbedded, as it were, in the earth. Crassus made light of these things and hurried on the march, compelling the men-at-arms to keep up with the cavalry, until a few of those who had been sent out as scouts came riding up and announced that the rest of their number had been slain by the enemy, that they themselves had with difficulty escaped, and that their foes were coming up to fight them with a large force and great confidence. All were greatly disturbed, of course, but Crassus was altogether frightened out of his senses, and began to draw up his forces in haste and with no great consistency.
παρέταττε, πρώτον μέν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Κάσσιον ἥξιον, ἀραὶν τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπὶ πλείστουν ἀνάγων τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις, τοὺς δ᾽ ἱππεῖς διανέμων τοὺς κέρασιν· ἔπειτα μετέδοξε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ἄμφιστου μον ἐποίησε καὶ βαθὺ πλυνθίον ἐν δώδεκα σπέραις προερχομένης τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστης. παρὰ δὲ σπέραν ἵλην ἱππέων ἔταξεν, ὡς μηδὲν ἔχοι μέρος ἐνδεε ἱππικῆς βοηθείας, ἀλλὰ παυταχύθην ὄμαλῶς προσφέροντο πεφραγμένοις. τῶν δὲ κεράτων τὸ μὲν Κασσίας, τὸ δὲ τῷ νέῳ Κράσσῳ παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δ᾽ εἰς μέσον κατέστη.

Καὶ προάγοντες οὕτως ἐπὶ ἰεθροῦν ἥλθον ὁ καλεῖται Βάλισσος, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ἄλλως οὐδὲ ἀφθονον, ἀσμένους δὲ τότε τοῖς στρατιώταις φανέν ἐν αὐχμῷ καὶ καύματι καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπίπονον καὶ ἀνύδρον πορείαν. οἱ μὲν οὐν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων φοντο δεῖν ἐνταῦθα καταυλισμένους καὶ νυκτερεύσαντας καὶ πυθομένους, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον ὦν τε, πλῆθος καὶ τάξιν τῶν πολεμίων, ἢμερὰ χωρεῖν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς. Κράσσος δὲ τῷ παιδί καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππεύσιν ἐγκελευμένους ἄγειν καὶ συνάπτειν ἐπαρθεῖς ἐκέλευσεν ἐστῶτας ἐν τάξει φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν τοὺς δεομένους.

καὶ πρὶν ἡ τοῦτο διὰ πάντων γενέσθαι καλῶς, ἤγειν οὐκ σχέδην οὐδ᾽ ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην διαναπαύον, ἀλλὰ ὀξεία καὶ συντόνω χρώμενος τῇ πορείᾳ μέχρι οὗ κατώφθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι, παρὰ δόξαν οὕτε πολλοὶ φανεύτες οὕτε σοβαροὶ τοῖς Ἦρωμαίοις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πλῆθος 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
tῶν ὄπλων ἰμάτια καὶ διφθέρας προσχεσθαι
cελεύσας. ὡς δ’ ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ σημεῖον
ηρῆ ηπά τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ-
πλαντο φθογγὸς βαρείας καὶ βρόμου φρυκώδους
1 τὸ πεδίον. Πάρθοι γὰρ οὐ κέρασιν οὖδὲ σάλ-
πιγξιν ἐποτρύνουσιν ἐαυτοὺς εἰς μάχην, ἀλλὰ
ῥόπτρα βυρσοπαγὴ καὶ κοίλα περιτείναντες
ἡχείως χαλκοῖς ἀμα πολλαχόθεν ἐπιδουποῦσι,
tὰ δὲ φθεγγεται βυθίον τι καὶ δεινὸν, ὀρυγὴ
θηρώδει καὶ τραχύτητι βροντῆς μεμυγμένου, εὐ
πως συνεωρακότες ὅτι τῶν αἰσθητήριων ἀκοὴ
tαρακτικῶτατον ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ περὶ
tαύτην πάθη τάχιστα κινεῖ καὶ μάλιστα ἐξίστησι
τὴν διάνοιαν.

XXIV. Ἐκπεπληγμένων δὲ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων διὰ
tῶν ἲχουν ἐξαίφνης τὰ προκαλύμματα τῶν ὄπλων
cαταβαλόντες ὠφθησαν αὐτοὶ τε φλογειδεῖς
cράνεσι καὶ θώραξι, τοῦ Μαργιανοῦ σιδήρου
στιλβοῦσος ὃν καὶ περιλαμπτές, οἳ θ’ ὕπποι
καταπεφραγμένοι χαλκοῖς καὶ σιδηροῖς σκεπά-
2 σμασιν, ὅ δ’ Σουρήνας μέγιστος καὶ κάλλιστος
αὐτός, τῇ δὲ κατ’ ἀνδρείαν δόξῃ τὴν θηλύτητα
tοῦ κάλλους οὐκ ἐοικώς, ἀλλὰ Μηδικώτερον
ἔσκευασμένος ἐντρίμμασι προσώπου καὶ κόμης
dιακρίσει, τῶν ἀλλῶν Πάρθων ἐτὶ Σκυθικῶς ἐπὶ 550
3 τὸ φοβερὸν τῷ ἀνασίλλη 1 κομὼντον, καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν διενοοῦντο τοῖς κοινοῖς εἰσελαύνουσε ὁθεῖν
καὶ βιαζέσθαι τοὺς προτάκτους· ὡς δ’ ἑώρων τὸ

1 τῷ ἀνασίλλῃ the correction of Schaefer (ἀνασίλλῃ Coraes):
tῶν 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 τού συνασπισμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ μόνιμον καὶ παρεστηκός, ἀνήγον ὅπισώ καὶ σκίδνασθαι δοκοῦντες ἀμα καὶ διαλύειν τὴν τάξιν ἐλάνθανον ἐν κύκλῳ περιβάλλοντες τὸ πλυνθίον αὐτῶν. Κράσσου δὲ τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐκδραμεῖν κελεύσαντος, οὗτοι μὲν οὐ πολὺ προῆλθον, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ τοξεύμασιν ἐντυχόντες ταχῦ καὶ συμπαρέντες αὕθις ἐνεδύουν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ παρεῖχον ἄκοσμίας ἄρχην καὶ δέους, ὀρῶσι τὸν τόνον τῶν ὀιστῶν καὶ τὴν ρώμην ὅπλα τε ῥηγνύντων καὶ διὰ παντὸς φερομένων ὀμοίως ἀντιτύπου καὶ μαλακοῦ στεγάσματος.

5. Οἱ δὲ Πάρθοι διαστάντες ἐκ μῆκους ἠξαντο τοξεύειν ἀμα πανταχόθεν, οὐ τὴν ἀκριβὴ τοξείαν (ἡ γὰρ συνέχεια καὶ πυκνότης τῶν Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲ τῷ βουλομένῳ διαμαρτάνειν ἀνδρὸς παρείχειν), εὐτόνους δὲ τὰς πληγὰς καὶ βιαίους διδόντες ἀπὸ τοξῶν κραταίων καὶ μεγάλων καὶ τῇ σκολιότητι τῆς καμπής ἤμαγκασμένον τὸ βέλος ἀποστέλλοντων. ἦν οὖν αὐτόθεν ἢδη μοχθηρὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ γὰρ μένοντες ἐν τάξιν συνετιτρώσκοντο, καὶ χωρεῖν ὀμόσε πειρόμενοι τοῦ μὲν ποιεῖν ἵσον ἀπείχον, ὀμοίως δ' ἐπασχον. ὑπέφευγον γὰρ ἀμα βάλλοντες οἱ Πάρθοι, καὶ τοῦτο κράτιστα ποιοῦσι μετὰ Σκύθας καὶ σοφώτατον ἔστιν ἀμυνομένους ἐτι σώζεσθαι καὶ τῆς φυγῆς ἀφαίρειν τὸ αἰσχρόν.

XXV. Ἀχρὶ μὲν οὖν ἦλπιζον αὐτοὺς ἐκχειρεμένους τὰ βέλη σχῆσεσθαι μάχης ἡ συνάψειν εἰς χειρας, ἐκαρτέρουν ὡς δ' ἐγνωσαν ὅτι πολλαὶ 388
was locked with shield, and the firmness and com-
posure of the men, they drew back, and while
seeming to break their ranks and disperse, they
surrounded the hollow square in which their enemy
stood before he was aware of the manœuvre. And
when Crassus ordered his light-armed troops to make
a charge, they did not advance far, but encountering
a multitude of arrows, abandoned their undertaking
and ran back for shelter among the men-at-arms,
among whom they caused the beginning of disorder
and fear, for these now saw the velocity and force of
the arrows, which fractured armour, and tore their
way through every covering alike, whether hard or
soft.

But the Parthians now stood at long intervals
from one another and began to shoot their arrows
from all sides at once, not with any accurate aim (for
the dense formation of the Romans would not suffer
an archer to miss his man even if he wished it), but
making vigorous and powerful shots from bows which
were large and mighty and curved so as to discharge
their missiles with great force. At once, then, the
plight of the Romans was a grievous one; for if
they kept their ranks, they were wounded in great
numbers, and if they tried to come to close quarters
with the enemy, they were just as far from effecting
anything and suffered just as much. For the Par-
thians shot as they fled; and next to the Scythians,
they do this most effectively; and it is a very clever
thing to seek safety while still fighting, and to take
away the shame of flight.

XXV. Now as long as they had hopes that the
enemy would exhaust their missiles and desist from
battle or fight at close quarters, the Romans held
κάμηλοι παρεστάσι τοξευμάτων πλήρεις, ἀφ' όν περιελαύνοντες οἱ πρώτοι λαμβάνοντες, οὐδὲν πέρας ὤρων ὁ Κράσσος ἠθύμει, καὶ σκοπεῖν ēκέλευεν, ἀγγέλους πέμψας πρὸς τὸν νιόν, ὅπως προσμύξῃ βιάσεται τοῖς ἐναντίοις πρὶν ἥ κυκλωθήναι. μάλιστα γὰρ ἐκεῖνῳ προσέπιπτον καὶ περιύπτευον τὸ κέρας ὡς κατὰ νότου γενησόμενοι.

2 λαβὼν οὖν ὁ νεανίας ἵππεῖς τε χίλιοις τριακοσίοις, δὴ οἱ χίλιοι παρὰ Καίσαρος ἤσαν, καὶ τοξότας πεντακοσίους καὶ τῶν ἐγγιστα θυρεοφόρων ὀκτὼ σπείρας συνήγαγεν εἰς ἐμβολήν. τῶν δὲ Πάρθων οἱ περιελαύνοντες, εἰτε τέλμασιν ἐντυχόντες, ως ἐνιοί φασίν, εἰτε λαβεῖν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπωτάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς στρατηγοῦντες,

3 ὅπισώ στρέψαντες ἐδίωκον. ὁ δὲ βοήθας ὡς οὐ μένουσιν οἱ ἀνδρεῖς, ἦλαυνε, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κηνσωρίνος τε καὶ Μεγάβακχος, ὁ μὲν ἐνυψίχιά καὶ ρόμη διαφέρων, Κηνσωρίνος δὲ βουλευτικὸν ἔχων ἀξίωμα καὶ δεινὸς εἰπεῖν, ἐταῖροι δὲ Κράσσον καὶ παραπλήσιοι καθ' ἥλικίαν. ἐπισπομένων δὲ τῶν ἵππεων οὐδὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπελεύπτετο προσβυμία καὶ χαρᾷ τῆς ἐλπίδος· νικᾶν γὰρ φῶντο καὶ διώκειν, ἀχρὶ οὐ πολὺ προελθόντες ήσθοντο τὴν ἀπάτην, μεταβαλλομένων ἀμα τῶν φεύγειν δοκοῦντων καὶ

4 πλειόνων ἄλλων ἐπιφερομένων. ἐνταῦθα ἐστησαν, οἴομενοι συνάψειν αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ὀλίγοις οὐσι
out; but when they perceived that many camels laden with arrows were at hand, from which the Parthians who first encircled them took a fresh supply, then Crassus, seeing no end to this, began to lose heart, and sent messengers to his son with orders to force an engagement with the enemy before he was surrounded; for it was his wing especially which the enemy were attacking and surrounding with their cavalry, in the hope of getting in his rear. Accordingly, the young man took thirteen hundred horsemen, of whom a thousand had come from Caesar, five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of the men-at-arms who were nearest him, and led them all to the charge. But the Parthians who were trying to envelop him, either because, as some say, they encountered marshes, or because they were manoeuvring to attack Publius as far as possible from his father, wheeled about and made off. Then Publius, shouting that the men did not stand their ground, rode after them, and with him Censorinus and Megabacchus, the latter distinguished for his courage and strength, Censorinus a man of senatorial dignity and a powerful speaker, and both of them comrades of Publius and nearly of the same age. The cavalry followed after Publius, and even the infantry kept pace with them in the zeal and joy which their hopes inspired; for they thought they were victorious and in pursuit of the enemy, until, after they had gone forward a long distance, they perceived the ruse. For the seeming fugitives wheeled about and were joined at the same time by others more numerous still. Then the Romans halted, supposing that the enemy would come to close quarters with them,
τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ τοὺς καταφράκτους προτά-
ξαντες ἐναυτίους τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, τὴν δ' ἀλλην ἢππον
ἀτακτον περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλαύνοντες, καὶ συνταράττον-
tes τὸ πεδίον, ἀνίστασαν ἐκ βυθοῦ θίνας ἄμμον κο-
νικροτὸν ἐπαγούσας ἀπλετον, ὡς μήτε διορᾷν ῥάδίως
5 μήτε φθέγγεσθαί τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰλουμένους δὲ
ἐν ὄλγῳ καὶ συμπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις βάλλεσθι καὶ
ἀποθνήσκειν οὐ μόνον ἢξον θάνατον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπασμοῦ καὶ ὀδύνης δυσαναςχετοῦντας καὶ
κυλινδομένους περὶ τοῖς δῖστοις ἐναποθραύειν τοὺς
τραύμασι, βίᾳ τε πειρωμένους ἐξέλκειν ἥγκιστρω-
μένας ἀκίδας καὶ δεδυκνίας διὰ φλεβῶν καὶ νεύρων
προσαναρρηγυναὶ καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς.
6 Οὕτω δὲ πολλῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἀπρακτοι καὶ
οἱ ξόντες ἦσαν πρὸς ἀλκήν καὶ τοῦ Ποτλίου
παρακαλοῦντος ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν κατάφρακτον,
ἐπεδείκνυσαν ἑαυτῶν χειρᾶς τε θυρεοῖς συμ-
πεπερονημένας καὶ τόδας διαμπάξ προσεληλα-
μένους πρὸς τοῦδαφος, ὡστε καὶ πρὸς φυγήν
7 ἀμηχάνους εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἄμμυναιν. αὐτὸς οὖν
τοὺς ἵππεις παρομῆσας προσέβαλε μὲν ἐρρω-
μένος καὶ συνῆψε τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἧν δὲ ἀνύσος ἐν
τε ταῖς πληγαῖς καὶ τῷ φυλάττεσθαι, παῖων μὲν
ἀσθενέσι καὶ μικροίς δορατίοις θώρακας ωμο-
βύρτους καὶ σιδηρούς, παιόμενος δὲ κοντοῖς εἰς
εὐσταλῆ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα τῶν Γαλατῶν τοῦ-
tους γὰρ ἐθάρρει μάλιστα, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἐργα
8 θαυμαστὰ 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
πό τῶν ἵππων ἐόθουν τῇ βαρύτητι τοῦ ὀπλισμοῦ δυσκινήτους ὄντας, πόλλοι δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἀπολείποντες ἵππους καὶ ὑποδύμενοι τοῖς ἐκείνων ἔτυπτον εἰς τὰς γαστέρας· οἱ δ' ἀνεσκίρτων ὑπ' ὀδύνης, καὶ συμπατοῦντες εἰς ταύτῳ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀναπεφυμένους ἀπέθνησον.

9 ἐπίεζε δὲ τοὺς Γαλάτας μάλιστα τὸ τε θάλπος καὶ τὸ δίψος, ἀμφοτέρων ἀίθεις ὄντας· καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἀπολάλεισαν οἱ πλείστοι πρὸς ἑαυτῶς ἑλαυνόμενοι τοὺς κοινοὺς. ἐβιάζοντας οὐν ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τοὺς ὀπλίτας, ἔχουντες τὸν Πόπλιον ὕπτο τραματῶν ἢδη κακῶς διακείμενον. ἦδοντες δὲ θύνα βουνόδη πλησίον ἐξώρουν ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἐν μέσῳ κατέδησαν, ἔξωθεν δὲ τοὺς θυρεοὺς συγκλείσαντες ἄστρο βάλεν ἀμυνείσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους. ἀπέβαινε δὲ τούναντιόν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ ὀμαλῷ τοῖς ὄπισθεν ἀμῶς γέ τῶς παρέχουσιν οἱ πρότακτοι ραστώνην, ἐκεῖ δ' ἅλλον ὑπέρ ἅλλον διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν ἀνέχοντος τοῦ χωρίου καὶ μᾶλλον ἄει τὸν κατόπιν ἐξαίροντος, οὐδὲν ἢν τὸ διαφεύγου, ἀλλ' ἐβάλλοντο πάντες ὀμαλῶς, ὀδυρόμενοι τὴν ἀκλειὴ καὶ ἀπρακτόν αὐτῶν τελευτήν.

10 Ἡσαν δὲ περὶ τοῦ Πόπλιον ἀνδρεῖς Ἔλληνες δύο τῶν αὐτῶθι κατοικοῦντων ἐν Κύρραις, Ιερώνπυ- μος καὶ Νικόμαχος, οἱ συνέστειθον αὐτῶν ὑπεξελ- θείν μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ διαφεύγειν εἰς Ἰχναῖς, πόλιν ἡρμῆνην τὰ Ρωμαίων καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ὤσον. ὁ δὲ φήσας οὐδένα δεινὸν οὐτῶς ἔσεθαι θάνατον ὃν φοβηθείς Πόπλιος ἀπολείψει τοὺς ἀπολλυμένους δι' αὐτῶν, ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐκέλευσε σώζεσθαι καὶ
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their horses, hard as it was to move them owing to the weight of their armour; and many of the Gauls forsook their own horses, and crawling under those of the enemy, stabbed them in the belly. These would rear up in their anguish, and die trampling on riders and foemen indiscriminately mingled. But the Gauls were distressed above all things by the heat and their thirst, to both of which they were unused; and most of their horses had perished by being driven against the long spears. They were therefore compelled to retire upon the men at-arms, taking with them Publius, who was severely wounded. And seeing a sandy hillock near by, they all retired to it, and fastened their horses in the centre; then locking their shields together on the outside, they thought they could more easily defend themselves against the Barbarians. But it turned out just the other way. For on level ground, the front ranks do, to some extent, afford relief to those who are behind them. But here, where the inequality of the ground raised one man above another, and lifted every man who was behind another into greater prominence, there was no such thing as escape, but they were all alike hit with arrows, bewailing their inglorious and ineffectual death.

Now there were with Publius two Greeks, of those who dwelt near by in Carrhae, Hieronymus and Nicomachus. These joined in trying to persuade him to slip away with them and make their escape to Ichnae, a city which had espoused the Roman cause and was not far off. But Publius, declaring that no death could have such terrors for him as to make him desert those who were perishing on his account, ordered them to save their own lives, bade them farewell, and
δεξιωσάμενος ἀπέλυσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ χειρὶ χρήσασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος (διελήλατο γὰρ βελεῖ), τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν ἐκέλευσε πατάξαι τῷ ξίφει, παρα-σχὼν τὸ πλευρὸν. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ Κηνσωρίνων ἀποθανεῖν λέγονσιν. Μεγάβακχος δ’ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι. τοὺς δ’ ὑπολειμμένους ἀναβαίνοντες οἱ Πάρθοι τοῖς κοντοῖς διήλαυνον μαχομένους. ξόντας δ’ οὐ πλείονας ἀλώναι φασὶ πεντακοσίων. τὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον ἀποκόψαντες ἠλαυνοῦν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Κράσσον.

XXVI. Εἰπε δὲ τὰ κατ’ αὐτὸν οὖτως. ὡς ἐκέλευσε τὸν ὑδὸν ἐμβαλεῖν τοῖς Πάρθοις καὶ τις ἡγγειλεν αὐτῷ μακρὰν τροπῆν εἶναι καὶ διώξιν ἵσχυρὰν τῶν πολεμίων, ἔωρα δὲ καὶ τοὺς καθ’ αὐτὸν οὐκέτι προσκειμένους ὀμοίως (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐρρύησαν οἱ πλείστοι), μικρὸν ἀνεθάρρησε, καὶ συναγαγὼν ὑπέστειλεν ἐν χωρίοις προσάντησι τὸν στρατόν, αὐτίκα προσδοκῶν τὸν υἱὸν ἐπανήξειν 2 ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως. τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποπλίου πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς εκινδύνευεν, οἱ μὲν προτοῦ διεφθάρησαν ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους, οἱ δ’ ύστεροι μόγις διαφυγόντες ἀπῆγγελλον οἰχεσθαι τὸν Πόπλιον, εἰ μὴ ταχεία καὶ πολλῇ 560

3 βοήθεια παρ’ ἐκείνου 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 ἐλκόμενος βοηθεῖν καὶ μὴ βοηθεῖν, τέλος ὄρμησε 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 Megabacchus took his own life, and so did the other most notable men. The survivors fought on until the Parthians mounted the hill and transfixed them with their long spears, and they say that not more than five hundred were taken alive. Then the Parthians cut off the head of Publius, and rode off at once to attack Crassus.

XXVI. His situation was as follows. After ordering his son to charge the Parthians and receiving tidings that the enemy were routed to a great distance and hotly pursued, and after noticing also that his own immediate opponents were no longer pressing him so hard (since most of them had streamed away to where Publius was), he recovered a little courage, and drawing his troops together, posted them for safety on sloping ground, in immediate expectation that his son would return from the pursuit. Of the messengers sent by Publius to his father, when he began to be in danger, the first fell in with the Barbarians and were slain; the next made their way through with difficulty and reported that Publius was lost unless he received speedy and abundant aid from his father. And now Crassus was a prey to many conflicting emotions, and no longer looked at anything with calm judgement. His fear for the whole army drove him to refuse, and at the same time his yearning love for his son impelled him to grant assistance; but at last he began to move his forces forward.
'Εν τούτῳ δ’ οἱ πολέμοι προσεφέροντο κλαγή καὶ παιάνι φοβερότεροι, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν τυμπάνων αὖθις περιεμυκάτο τοὺς Ρωμαίους ἑτέρας μάχης ἄρχὴν προσδοκῶντας. οἱ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ποσπλίου κομίζοντες ὑπὲρ αἰχμῆς ἀναπεπηγνίαν ἐγγύς προσελάσαντες ἀνέδειξαν, ὑβρεῖ πυνθανόμενοι τοκέας αὐτοῦ καὶ γένος· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρέπειν γε Κράσσου πατρὸς ἀναιδροτάτου καὶ κακίστου γενναίου οὕτω παῖδα καὶ λαμπροῦ ἅρτη γενέσθαι. τοῦτο τὸ θέαμα Ρωμαίων ὑπὲρ ἀπαντα τάλλα δεινὰ τὰς ψυχὰς κατέκλασε καὶ παρέλυσεν, οὐ θυμοῦ πρὸς ἀμυναν, ὡσπερ ἤν εἰκός, ἀλλὰ φρίκης καὶ τρόμου πάσιν ἐγγενομένου.

καίτοι τὸν γε Κράσσου αὐτοῦ λαμπρότατον ἐν τῷ τότε πάθει φανήναι λέγουσιν· ἐβόα γὰρ ἐπιῶν τὰς τάξεις· "Γιμών, ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦτο τὸ πένθος ἔδειον ἐστιν· ἢ δὲ μεγάλη τύχη καὶ δόξα τῆς Ρώμης ἐν ύμῖν ἐστηκε σωζομένοις ἂθραυστος καὶ ἀήττητος. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμοῦ τις οἰκτὸς ἀφηρημένου παῖδα πάντων ἀριστοῦ, ἐπιδείξασθε τοῦτο ὅργῃ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀφέλεσθε τὴν χαράν αὐτῶν, τιμωρήσασθε τὴν ὁμότητα, μὴ καταπλαγήτε τοῖς γεγενημένοις, εἰ δὲ τι καὶ παθεῖν μεγάλων ἐφίε-μένους. οὐδὲ Δούκουλλος Τυγράνην ἀναιμωτὶ καθείλεν, οὐδὲ Σκητίων Ἀντίσχου, χελίας δὲ ναῦς οἱ παλαιοὶ περὶ Σικελίαν ἀπόλεσαν, ἐν δ’ Ἰταλία πολλοὺς αὐτοκράτορας καὶ στρατηγοὺς, ὅν οὐδεῖς προητηθεῖς ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς κρατῆσαι τῶν νεικικώτων. οὐ γὰρ εὐτυχία τὰ Ῥωμαίων, 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
τλημοσύνη καὶ ἀρετή πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ χωροῦντων εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθε δυνάμεως.

XXVII. Το οὐδὲν πάντως καὶ παραθαρσύνων ὁ Κράσσος οὐ πολλοὺς ἑώρα προβήμως ὑπακούοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναλαλάξαι κελεύσας ἣλεγξε τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν κατήθειαν, ὡς ἀσθενῆ καὶ ὅλγην καὶ ἀνωμαλὸν κραυγὴν ἐποίησαντο· ἦ δὲ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων λαμπρὰ καὶ θρασεῖα κατείχεν. τραπομένων δὲ πρὸς ἔργον οἱ μὲν ἵπποται 1 πλάγιοι περιελαύνοντες ἑτοξευνοῦσαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς κοντοὺς οἱ πρότακτοι χρώμενοι συνέστελλον εἰς 2 ὁλίγον τοὺς Ἐρμαῖους, πλὴρ ὅσοι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων φεύγοντες θάνατον ἀπετόλμων παραβόλως εἰς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι, μικρὰ μὲν βλάπτοντες, ἄξεως δὲ θυνήσοντες ὑπὸ τραυμάτων μεγάλων καὶ καιρῶν, παχὺν ἐπωθοῦντων τῷ σιδήρῳ τῶν κόντων εἰς τοὺς ὦποιοὺς, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ διὰ δυεὶ ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ ῥύμης διαπορεύμενον. οὐτώ δὲ ἀγωνισάμενοι νυκτός ἐπιούσης ἀπηλλάγησαν, εἰπόντες ὡς ὁ Κράσσος χαρίζονται νύκτα μίαν ἀποθρηνησάς τὸν υἱόν, ἦν ἁρὰ μὴ βέλτιον ὑπὲρ ἕαυτοῦ σκεψάμενος ἐλθεὶν μᾶλλον ἐθελήσῃ πρὸς Ἀρσάκην ἥ κομισθήναι.

3 Οὐτοὶ μὲν οὐν ἐπαυλισάμενοι πλησίον ἐν ἐλπίδι μεγάλας ἤσαν· νῦξ δὲ χαλεπής τοὺς Ἐρμαῖους κατελάμβανεν, οὐτέ ταφῆς τῶν κειμένων οὐτέ θεραπείας τῶν τετρωμένων καὶ ψυχορραγοῦντων ποιομένων λόγον, ἐκάστων δὲ ἕαυτον ἀποκλαύοντος. ἀφυκτὰ γὰρ ἐφαίνετο τὴν τε ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ προσμείνας καὶ νῦκτωρ εἰς πεδίον ἅχανες ἐμβα-

1 ἵπποται with the MSS. (including S) : οἰκέται καὶ πελάται (slaves and vassals).
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.
λοῦσιν: οἳ τε τραυματίαι πολλῆς ἀπορίαν παρεῖ- χον, καὶ κομίζειν ἐμποδῶν τῷ τάχει τῆς φυγῆς ἐσόμενοι, καὶ ἀπολείπειν, βοή τὴν ἀπόδρασιν
έξαγγελοῦντες. τοὺ δὲ Κράσσου, καίπερ αὐτῶν ἀπάντων νομίζοντες, ἐπόθουν ὅμως τὴν τε ὅψιν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν. ὁ δὲ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἐγκεκαλυμμένος ὑπὸ σκότους ἐκείτο, παράδειγμα τοῖς πολλοῖς τύχης, τοῖς δ’ ἐν φρονοῦσιν ἄβουλίας καὶ φιλο-
τιμίᾳς, δι’ ἣν οὐκ ἡγάπα πρῶτος ὄν καὶ μέγιστος ἐν μυρίασιν ἀνδρῶτων τοσαύταις, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐνεῖν μόνον ἀνδρῶν ὑστέρους ἐκρίνετο, τοῦ παντὸς ἀπο-
δεῖν νομίζον.

5 Τότε δ’ οὖν αὐτὸν Ὁκταούιος ὁ πρεσβευτὴς καὶ Κάσσιος ἀνίστασαν καὶ παρεθάρρυνον. ὡς δ’ ἀπηγορεύκει παντάπασιν, αὐτοὶ συγκαλέσαντες ἐκατοντάρχας καὶ λοχαγοὺς, ὡς ἐδοξε βουλευο-
μένοις μὴ μένειν, ἀνίστασαν τὸν στρατὸν ἀνευ σάλπιγγος καὶ δι’ ἴστουσι τὸ πρῶτον εἰτ’ αἰ-
σθομένων ὡς ἀπελείποντο τῶν ἄδυνατων, ἀκοσμία δεινή καὶ σύγχυσις μετ’ οἴμωγῆς καὶ βοῆς τὸ
6 στρατόπεδον κατείχεν. ἐκ τούτου δὲ ταραχὴ καὶ πτοία προϊόντας αὐτοὺς ὑπελάμβανεν, ὡς ἐπιφε-
ρομένων τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν ἐκτρε-
pόμενοι, πολλάκις δὲ εἰς τάξιν καθιστάμενοι, τῶν δὲ τραυματῶν ὅσοι παρηκολούθοι τοὺς μὲν ἀναλαμβάνοντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποτιθέμενοι, διατριβῇν εἰχον, πλήν τριακοσίων ἔπτεων, οὐς Ἰγνάτιος ἔχων προσέμειξε ταῖς Κάρραις περὶ μέσας νῦκτας.

7 φθειξάμενος δὲ Ῥωμαιοί 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
δως ὑπήκουσαν, ἐκέλευσε Κοπωνίῳ τῷ ἀρχοντὶ
φράζειν ὅτι γέγονε μάχη μεγάλη Κράσσω πρὸς
Πάρθους, ἀλλὰ δ' οὐδὲν εἶπόν οὐδ' αὐτὸν ὡστὶς ἦν
ἀπῆλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ζεῦγμα, καὶ διέσωσε μὲν τοὺς
σὺν αὐτῷ, κακῶς δ' ἠκουσε καταλιπὼν τὸν στρα-
τηγόν. οὐ μὲν ἄλλο ὄνησε γε τὸν Κράσσον ἢ
προσφείσα τότε τῷ Κοπωνίῳ φωνῇ· συμφρονή-
σας γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἀγγέλλειν ἑχοντὸς
ἐστὶ τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ συγκεχυμένον τοῦ λόγου,
παρήγγειλεν εὐθὺς ἐξοπλίζεσθαι τοὺς στρατιώτας·
καὶ ἀμα τῷ πρῶτον αἰσθέσθαι τὸν Κράσσον ἐν
ὁδῷ γεγενημένον ἀπαντήσας ἀνελάμβανε καὶ
παρέπεμπε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

XXVIII. Οἳ δὲ Πάρθοι νυκτὸς μὲν αἰσθόμενοι
τὴν ἀπόδρασιν οὐκ ἔδιωκον, ἀμα δ' ἡμέρᾳ τοὺς
μὲν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καταλειφθέντας οὐ μείωσι
τετρακισχιλίων ἐπελθόντες ἀπέσφαξαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ
πεδίῳ πλανωμένους πολλοὺς ἱππασάμενοι συνέλα-
βον. τέσσαρας δ' ὀμοῦ σπείρας, ἃς ἐτὶ νυκτὸς
ἀπέρρηξε Βαργοντῆιος ὁ πρεσβευτής, ἐκπεσοῦσας
τῆς ὀδοῦ περισχόντες ἐν τοῖς λόφῳ διέφθειραν
ἀμυνομένας, πλῆν ἄνδρῶν ἐίκοσιν. τούτοις δὲ
γυμνοὶς τοῖς ξίφεσιν ὕθουμένους δῆ αὐτῶν θαυ-
μάσαντες εἴξαν, καὶ διέξοδον ἀπισοῦσι βάδην εἰς
τάς Κάρρας ἐδίδοσαν.

Τῷ δὲ Σουρήμα προσέπεσε ψευδῆς λόγος
ἐκπεφυγέναι Κράσσον μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων, τὸ δ'
eis Κάρρας συνεργοῦν δόχου εἶναι σύμμικτον
οὐκ ἄξιων σπουδῆς ἀνθρώπων. οἷομένος οὖν

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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.
ἀποβεβληκέναι τὸ τῆς νύκης τέλος, ἕτερον δὲ ἀμφι-
δοξῶν καὶ μαθεῖν βουλόμενος τάληθες, ὅπως ἡ
προσμένων ἐνταῦθα πολιορκοῖ Ἐρᾶςσον ἡ διώκοι
χαιρεῖν ἐάσας Καρρηνοῦ, ὑποτέμπει τινὰ τῶν
παρ᾽ αὐτῷ διηγώμενον πρὸς τὰ τείχη, κελεύσας
ιέντα Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον καλεῖν Κράσσων αὐτὸν ἡ
Κάσσιον, ὥς Σουρῆνα διὰ λόγων ἐθέλοντος
αὐτοῦς συγγενέσθαι. ταύτα τοῦ διηγώμενον φρά-
σαντος, ὡς ἀπηγγέλῃ τοῖς περὶ Κράσσων, ἐδέχοντα
τὰς προκλήσεις: καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἤκον ἀπὸ τῶν
βαρβάρων Ἀραβῶν, οἱ Κράσσων εὐ καὶ Κάσσιον
ἀπ᾽ ὅψεως ἐγνώριζον, ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πρὸ τῆς
μάχης γεγονότες. οὕτω τὸν Κάσσιον ἴδοντες ἀπὸ
τοῦ τείχος, ἐλεγον ὅτι Σουρῆνας σπένδεται καὶ
dίδωσιν αὐτοῖς φίλος οὕσι βασιλέως σώζεσθαι,
Μεσοποταμίαν ἐκλιποῦσιν: τούτο γὰρ ὀρᾶν λυσι-
tελές ἀμφοτέρως πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνάγκης.

5 ἅξιαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κασσίου, καὶ τόπου ὀρισ-
θῆναι καὶ χρόνου ἄξιοντος, ἐν ὃς συνίασι
Σουρῆνας καὶ Κράσσως, οὕτω φάμενοι ποιήσειν
ἀπῆλανον.

XXIX. Ἡ ἡσθείς οὖν ὁ Σουρήνας ἐπὶ τῶν
ἀνδρῶν ἐνέχεσθαι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ, μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν
ἐπηγε τοὺς Πάρθους πολλὰ καθυβρίζοντας καὶ
κελεύοντας, ἐϊ βούλονται τυχεῖν στονδῶν Ῥωμαϊοῖ,
Κράσσων ἐγχειρίσας σφίσι καὶ Κάσσιον δεδε-

2 μένουσι. οἱ δὲ ἥχοντο μὲν ἡπατημένοι, μακρὰς
δὲ καὶ κενὰς τὰς Ἀρμενίων ἐλπίδας καταβάλλειν
tῶν Κράσσῳ φράσαντες ἐχοῦντο δρασμοῦ: καὶ
tούτ᾽ ἔδει μηδένα πρὸ καιροῦ Καρρηνῶν πυθέσθαι.

πυθάνεται δὲ ὁ πάντων ἀπιστότατος Ἀνδρόμαχος,

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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
υπό Κράσσου καὶ τοῦτο πιστευθεῖς καὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ τὴν ἤγεμονίαν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔλαβε τοὺς Πάρθους, ἐξαγγέλλοντος τοῦ Ἄνδρομάχου καὶ ἐκαστον. 3 ἐπεὶ δὲ νυκτομαχεῖν οὐ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν οὐδὲ ῥάδιον, ἐξῆγε δὲ νύκτωρ ὁ Κράσσος, ὅπως μὴ καθυστερήσωσι πολὺ τῇ διώξει στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀνδρομάχος ἄλλοτε ἄλλας ὀδοὺς ὑφηγεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἐξέτρεψεν εἰς ἐλη βαθέα καὶ χωρία τάφρων μεστὰ τὴν πορείαν, χαλεπὴν καὶ πολυπλανή 4 γινομένην τοῖς ἐπιστομένοις. ἐγένοστο γὰρ τινὲς οἳ μηδὲν ὑγιὲς τῶν Ἀνδρομάχου στρέφειν καὶ περιελάττειν εἰκάσαντες οὐκ ἥκολοῦθησαν, ἄλλα Κάσσιος μὲν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Κάρρας πάλιν, καὶ τῶν ὀδηγῶν ("Αραβῆς δὲ ἦσαν) ἀναμένειν κελευντῶν ἄχρι ἄν σελήνη παραλλάξῃ τὸν σκορπίον, "Ἀλλ' ἐγώγε," εἰπὼν, "ἔτει τούτου μᾶλλον φοβοῦμαι τὸν τοξότην," ἀπῆλαυνεν εἰς Συρίαν 5 μὲθ' ἵππεων πεντακοσίων ἄλλοι δὲ χρησάμενοι πιστοῖς ὀδηγοῖς ἐλάβοντο χωρίων ὀρεινῶν, ἢ καλεῖται Σίννακα, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐν ἀσφαλεὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας. οὐτοὶ περὶ πεντακισχιλίων ἦσαν ἡγεῖτο δ' αὐτῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς Ὀκταύιος.

Τὸν δὲ Κράσσον ἡμέρα κατελάμβανεν ἐπιβουλεύμενον ὡς Ἀνδρομάχου περὶ τᾶς δυσχω- 6 ρίας καὶ τὸ ἐλος. ἦσαν δὲ τέσσαρες στειρὰς σὺν αὐτῷ θυρεοφόρων, ἵππεις δὲ παντελῶς ὀλίγοι καὶ πέντε ραβδοῦχοι, μεθ' δ' ὄν ἐπιτόνως εἰς τὴν ὀδὸν καὶ μόλις καταστᾶς, ἢδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικει- μένων, ὅσον δώδεκα σταδίους ἀπολιπών τοῦ συμμίξαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀκταύιον ἐπ' ἄλλου

1 ἐπιβουλεύμενον Bekker reads ἐτὶ 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 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 λόφοι, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν ἄφιττον οὐδ’ ὄχυρον, ὑποκείμενον δὲ τοῖς Σιννάκοις καὶ συνηρτημένον αὐχενί μακρῷ διὰ μέσου κατατείνοντι τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τοῦτον. ἦν οὖν ἐν ὦψε οἷς περὶ 7 τόν Ὅκταούιον ὁ κίνδυνος αὐτοῦ. καὶ πρὸ τοῦ Ὅκταούιος ἔθει μετ’ ὀλίγων ἀνωθὲν ἐπιβοηθῶν, εἰτα οἱ λοιποὶ κακίσαντες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ προσπεσόντες καὶ ἁσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου περίσσιχον ἐν μέσῳ τῶν Κράσσου καὶ προεβάλλοντο τοὺς θυρεοὺς, μεγαληγοροῦντες ὡς οὐκ ἔστι Πάρθοις βέλος ὁ προσπεσεῖται τῷ σώματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος πρὸς ἡ σφᾶς ἁπαντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μαχομένους ἀποθανεῖν.

XXX. Ὑπὸ όμοιος τοῦς τε Πάρθους ἀμβλύτερον ἦδη κινδυνεύοντας, καὶ ἦν ἦ τε νῦς ἐπίσχυ καὶ τῶν ὄρων οἱ Ρωμαῖοι λάβωνται, παντάπασιν αὐτοὺς ἐσομένους ἀλήπτους, ἐπῆγε τῷ Κράσσῳ δόλου. ἄφενθησαν μὲν γὰρ ἐνυι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀκηκοότες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐπίτηδες διάλεγομενόν ὡς οὐ βούλεται βασιλεὺς ἁσπονδοῦ αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον εἶναι πρὸς Ρωμαίοις, τὴν δὲ φιλίαν ἀναλαβεῖν χάριτι, Κράσσῳ χρησάμενος φιλαν-

2 θρόπως, ἔσχοντο δὲ μάχης οἱ βάρβαροι, Σουρήνας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄριστων προσελάσας ἀτρέμα τῷ λόφῳ τοῦ μὲν τόξου τοῦ τόνου ἀνήκε, τὴν δὲ δεξίαν προύτεινεν, ἐκάλει δὲ τὸν Κράσσον ἐτί συμβάσεις, εἰπὼν ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἄνδρείας καὶ δυνάμεως ἁκοντος πεπείραται βασιλεῶς, πράο-

τητα δ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλοφροσύνην ἐκὼν ἐπι-

δείκνυται σπευδόμενος ἀπιούσι καὶ παρέχων σώζεσθαι.

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difficult for cavalry nor yet so strong a position, but one that lay below Sinnaca and was connected with it by a long ridge running through the midst of the plain. His danger was therefore to be seen by Octavius. And Octavius ran first with a few men to bring him aid from the higher ground; then the rest of his men, reproaching themselves with cowardice, plunged forward, and falling upon the enemy and sweeping them from the hill, enveloped Crassus round about, and covered him with their shields, boldly declaring that no Parthian missile should smite their imperator until they had all died fighting in his defence.

XXX. And now Surena, observing that his Parthians were already less impetuous in their attacks, and that if night should come on and the Romans should reach the hills, it would be altogether impossible to capture them, brought a stratagem to bear on Crassus. Some of his Roman captives were first released, who, while in his camp, had heard the Barbarians saying to one another, as they had been ordered to do, that the king did not wish the war between him and the Romans to be waged relentlessly, but preferred to regain their friendship by doing them the favour of treating Crassus kindly. Then the Barbarians ceased fighting, and Surena with his chief officers rode quietly up to the hill, unstrung his bow, held out his right hand, and invited Crassus to come to terms, saying: "I have put your valour and power to the test against the wishes of the king, who now of his own accord shows you the mildness and friendliness of his feelings by offering to make a truce with you if you will withdraw, and by affording you the means of safety."

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3 Ταύτα τοῦ Σουρήνα λέγοντος οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι προθύμως ἐδέξαντο καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν, ὁ δὲ Κράσσος οὐδὲν ὃ τι μὴ δι᾽ ἀπάτης ἐσφαλμένος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ αἰφνίδιον τῆς μεταβολῆς ἄλογον ἤγοувενός, οὐχ ὑπῆκουεν, ἀλλ' ἐβου-κεύετο. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βοώντων καὶ κελεύοντων, εἶτα λοιδορούντων καὶ κακιζόντων ὡς προβάλλοντα μαχουμένους αὐτοὺς οἷς αὐτὸς ἀν-όπλος εἰς λόγους οὐθαρρεῖ συνελθεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπειράτο δεῖσθαι καὶ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ λειπόμενον μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας διακαρτηρήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ὀρει- νοῖς καὶ τραχέτας δύναντας διὰ νυκτὸς ἴέναι, καὶ τὴν ὄδον ἐδείκνυε, καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν ἐλπίδα μὴ 5 προέσθαι τῆς σωτηρίας ἐγγύς ὑύσης. ὡς δὲ χαλεπαίνοντες αὐτῷ καὶ τα ὅπλα κρούόντες ἦπείλουν, φοβηθεῖς ἔχωρει, καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶπε μεταστραφεῖς: "Ὁκταούιε καὶ Πετρώνιε καὶ ὅσοι πάρεστε Ῥῳμαίων ἄρχοντες, ὑμεῖς ὅρατε τῆς ἐμῆς ὄδοι τῆς ἀνάγκην, καὶ σύνιστε παρόντες ὡς αὐσχρά πάσχο καὶ βίαια, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἀπασώ ἀνθρώποις λέγετε σωθέντες ὡς Κράσσος ἀπατήθεις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οὐκ ἐκδοθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμιτῶν ἀπώλετο."  

XXXI. Οὐ μὴν ἔμειναν οἱ περὶ τῶν Ὁκταούιον, ἀλλὰ συγκατέβαινον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου· τοὺς δὲ ῥαβδοῦχους ἐπομένους ὁ Κράσσος ἀπήλασεν. πρῶτοι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀπήνυσαν αὐτῷ δύο μιξέληνες, οἱ καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν Κράσσον ἀπὸ τῶν ἑπτών ἀλόμενοι, καὶ προσαγορεύσατες ἐλλάδι φωνὴ παρεκάλουν προτέμψαι τινάς, οἷς
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When Surena said this, the rest of the Romans eagerly accepted his proposal and were full of joy, but Crassus, whose every discomfiture at the hands of the Barbarians had been due to fraud, and who thought the suddenness of their change a strange thing, would not reply, but took the matter into consideration. His soldiers, however, cried out and urged him to accept, then fell to abusing and reviling him for putting them forward to fight men with whom he himself had not the courage to confer even when they came unarmed. At first he tried entreaties and arguments. If they would hold out for what was left of the day, during the night they could reach the mountains and rough country; and he showed them the road thither, and exhorted them not to abandon hope when safety was so near. But when they grew angry with him, and clashed their arms together, and threatened him, then he was terrified and began to go towards Surena. As he went, however, he turned and said: "Octavius and Petronius and ye other Roman commanders here present, ye see that I go because I must, and ye are eyewitnesses of the shameful violence I suffer; but tell the world, if ye get safely home, that Crassus perished because he was deceived by his enemies, and not because he was delivered up to them by his countrymen."

XXXI. Octavius, however, and those about him, did not remain, but went down from the hill with Crassus; the lictors, who were following him, Crassus drove back. The first of the Barbarians to meet him were two half-breed Greeks, who leaped from their horses and made obeisance to him; then addressing him in the Greek tongue, they urged him to send a party forward to assure themselves that Surena and
2 ἐπειδεὶξεται Σουρῆνας ἐαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἄνοπλοὺς καὶ ἁσιδήρους προσερχομένους. ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὡς, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἐλάχιστον εἰχε τοῦ ζῆν λόγον, οὐκ ἂν εἰς χειρὰς αὐτοὶς ἤλθεν, ὦμος δὲ δύο Ἡσιπτίους ἀδελφοὺς ἔπεμψε πευσομένους ἐπὶ τίσι καὶ πόσοι συνίσσαν. οὗς εὐθὺς συλλαβὼν ὁ Σουρῆνας κατέσχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππότης προσήκει καὶ "Τί τούτ," ἔφη, "πεξὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὁ χούμεθα," καὶ προσαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσεν

3 ἐπον αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου φήσαντος οὔτε αὐτὸν ἀμαρτάνειν οὔτε ἐκείνου, ὡς ἐκατέρω πάτριον ἐστὶ ποιουμένους τὴν σένοδον, εἶναι μὲν αὐτόθεν ἔφη σπουδᾶς καὶ εἰρήνην ὁ Σουρῆνας Ἰρώνη τε βασιλεί καὶ Ῥωμαίων, δεῖν δὲ γράψας ταῖς συνθήκας ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν προσελθόντας. "Οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς γε," ἔφη, "πάνω μνήμονες ὁμολογίων οἱ Ῥωμαίοι," καὶ προὔτεινε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ. μεταπεμπομένου δὲ ἵππου οὐδὲν ἔφη δεῖν. "Βασιλεὺς γὰρ σοι δίδωσι τοῦτον." ἀμα δ' ἵππος τε τῷ Κράσσῳ παρέστη χρυσοχάλινος, οὗ τε ἀναβολεῖς αὐτὸν ἁρέμενοι περιεβίβασαν καὶ παρείπουντο πληγὴ τὸν ἵππον ἐπιταχύνοντες. Ὁκταούιος δὲ πρῶτος ἀντιλαμβάνεται τῶν χαλινῶν, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου εἰς τῶν χιλιάρχων Πετρώνιος, εἰτα οἱ λοιποὶ περιστάντο τὸν τε ἵππου ἀνακόπτειν πειρώμενοι καὶ τοὺς πειζοῦντας τὸν Κράσσον ἔξ

4 ἐκατέρω μέρους ἀφέλκοντες. ὀθισμοῦ δὲ γενομένου καὶ ταραχῆς, εἰτα πληγῶν, Ὁκταούιος μὲν ἀνασπᾶσας τὸ ἔφος ἐνὸς τῶν βαρβάρων κτείνει τὸν ἵπποκόμον, ἐτερος δὲ τὸν Ὁκταούιον 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
πισθεὶν πατάξας. Πετρώνιος δὲ ὁπλοῦν μὲν ύπερῴσεν, εἰς δὲ τὸν θώρακα πληγείς ἀπεπήδησεν ἀτρωτὸς τὸν δὲ Κράσσου ὄνομα Πομαξάθρης Πάρθος ἀπέκτεινεν.

6. Οἱ δ' οὖν φασιν, ἄλλη ἔτερον μὲν εἰναι τὸν ἀποκτείναντα, τούτον δὲ κειμένου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκόψαντα καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν. εἰκάζεται δὲ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ἡ γινώσκεται: τῶν γὰρ παρόντων οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖ μαχόμενοι περὶ τὸν Κράσσου ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δ' εὔθυς ἀνεπηδήσαν ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον. ἑπελθόντων δὲ τῶν Πάρθων καὶ λεγόντων ὅτι Κράσσος μὲν δίκην δέδωκε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κελεύει Σουρήνας κατιέναι θαρροῦντας, οἱ μὲν ἐνεχείρισαν αὐτοὺς καταβάντες, οἱ δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἑστάρησαν, καὶ τούτων ὅληγοι παντάπασι διεσώθησαν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐκθηρεύοντες οἱ Ἀραβεῖς συνελάμβανον καὶ διέφθειρον. λέγονται δ' οἱ πάντες δισμύριοι μὲν ἀποθανεῖν, μύριοι δὲ ἀλώναι ξώντες.

XXXII. Ὁ δὲ Σουρήνας τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς 'Τρώδην ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ διαδόχος λόγου ὑπ' ἄγγέλων εἰς Σελεύκειαν ὡς ξώντα Κράσσου ἁγοί, παρεσκευάζετο πομπῆν τινα γελοιαν ὑβρεὶ προσαγορεύων 2 θρίαμβον. ο μὲν γὰρ ἐμφερέστατος Κράσσῳ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτων Γάιος Πακκιανός, ἐσθίτα βασιλικὴν γυναικὸς ἐνδὸς καὶ διδαχθεῖς Κράσσου ὑπακούειν καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς καλούσιν, ἐφ' ἵππου καθήμενος ἤγετο: πρὸ αὐτοῦ δὲ σαλπιγκταὶ καὶ ραβδουχοὶ τινες ὁγούμενοι καμήλοις ἠλαυνοῦν εξηρτήτῳ δὲ τῶν ράβδων 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 Paccianus, put on a woman’s royal robe, and under instructions to answer to the name of Crassus and the title of Imperator when so addressed, was conducted along on horseback. Before him rode trumpeters and a few lictors borne on camels; from the fasces of the
πελέκεις πρόσφατοι κεφαλαί.Ρωμαίων ἀποτετμη-
3 μέναι. κατόπιν δὲ εὑπόντο Σελευκίδες ἔταϊραι μουσ-
ουργοί, πολλὰ βωμολόχα καὶ γελοία δι᾽ ἀσμάτων
 eius θηλύτητα καὶ ἀνανδριὰν τοῦ Κράσσου λέγου-
σαι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντες ἔθεωντο.

Τὴν δὲ γερουσίαν τῶν Σελευκέων ἀθροίσας
eἰσήνεγκεν ἀκόλαστα βιβλία τῶν Ἀριστείδου
Μιλησιακῶν, οὕτι ταύτα γε καταψευσάμενος:
εὐρέθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ῥωσκίων σκευοφόροις, καὶ
παρέσχε τῷ Σουρήνα καθυβρίσαι πολλὰ καὶ
κατασκώψαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, εἰ μηδὲ πολεμοῦντες
ἀπέχεσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ γραμμάτων δύνανται
τοιούτων. τοῖς μέντοι Σελευκεύσιν ἔδόκει σοφὸς
ἀνὴρ Αἰσώπος εἶναι, τὸν Σουρήναν ὅρωσι τὴν τῶν
Μιλησιακῶν ἀκολαστημάτων πήραν ἐξηρτημένον
πρόσθεν, ὅπισθεν δὲ Παρθικῆν Σύβαριν ἐφελκό-
μενον ἐν τοσαύταις παλλακίδων ἁμάξαις, τρόπον
τινὰ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐχίδναις καὶ σκυτάλαις
ἀντιμόρφως τὰ μὲν ἐμφανῆ καὶ πρόσθια μέρη
φοβερὰ καὶ θηριώδη δόρασι καὶ τόξοις καὶ ἵπποις
5 προβαλλομένην, κατ’ οὐρὰν δὲ τῆς φάλαγγος εἰς
χορείας καὶ κρόταλα καὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ παννυχίδας
ἀκολάστους μετὰ γυναικῶν τελευτῶσαν. ἤσεκτός
μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ῥώσκιος, 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.
lection 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.

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ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΛΙΒΕΣ

Μιλησίων καὶ Ἱωνίδων ἔταιρῶν γεγονότες Ἄρσακίδαί.

XXXIII. Τούτων δὲ πρατημένων Τρώδης ἐτύγχανεν ἦδη διηλλαγμένος Ἀρταουάσδη τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ γυναίκα Πακόρῳ τῷ παιδὶ καθωμολογημένος, ἐστιάσεις τε καὶ πότοι δὲ ἀλλήλων ἦσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ πολλὰ παρεισήγητο τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀκουσμάτων.

2 ἂν γὰρ οὕτε φωνῆς οὕτε γραμμάτων Τρώδης Ἐλληνικῶν ἀπειρος, δ’ Ἀρταουάσδης καὶ τραγῳδίας ἐποίει καὶ λόγους ἐγραφε καὶ ἱστορίας, διὸ ἐνιαὶ διασώζονται. τῆς δὲ κεφαλῆς τοῦ Κράσσου κομισθείσης ἐπὶ θύρας ἀπηρμέναι μὲν ἦσαν αἱ τράπεζαι, τραγῳδίων δὲ ὑποκρίθης Ἰάσων ὄνομα Τραλλιανὸς ἦδεν Εὐριπίδου Βακχῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀγαύην. εὐδοκιμοῦντος δ’ αὐτοῦ Σιλλάκης ἐπιστάς τῷ ἀνδρῶν καὶ προσκυνήσας προῦ-

3 βαλεν εἰς μέσον τοῦ Κράσσου τὴν κεφαλήν. κρότῳ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ χαρὰς ἀραμένων, τοῦ μὲν Σιλλάκην κατέκλιναν οἱ ὑπηρέται βασιλέως κελεύσαντος, δ’ Ἰάσων τὰ μὲν τοῦ Πενθέως σκευοποιήματα παρέδωκε τινὶ τῶν χορευτῶν, τῆς δὲ τοῦ Κράσσου κεφαλῆς λαβόμενος καὶ ἀναβακχεῦσά ἐπέρανεν ἐκείνα τὰ μέλη μετ’ ἐνθουσιασμοῦ καὶ φώνης·

Φέρομεν ἐξ ὀρέων ἐλικα νεότομον ἑπὶ μέλαθρα, μακαρίαν θήραν.¹

¹ Euripides, Bacchae, 1170–72 (Kirchhoff μακάριον).
Arsacidae were sprung from Milesian and Ionian courtesans.

XXXIII. While this was going on, it happened that Hyrodes was at last reconciled with Artavasdes the Armenian, and agreed to receive the latter's sister as wife for his son Pacorus, and there were reciprocal banquets and drinking bouts, at which many Greek compositions were introduced. For Hyrodes was well acquainted both with the Greek language and literature, and Artavasdes actually composed tragedies, and wrote orations and histories, some of which are preserved. Now when the head of Crassus was brought to the king's door, the tables had been removed, and a tragic actor, Jason by name, of Tralles, was singing that part of the "Bacchae" of Euripides where Agave is about to appear. 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.
4 καὶ τάυτα μὲν πάντας ἔτερπεν· ἄδομένων δὲ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἀμοιβαῖων πρὸς τὸν χορόν,

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

ἀναπηδήσας ὁ Πομαξίθρης (ἐτύγχανε δὲ δειπνῶν) ἀντελαμβάνετο τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς ἐαυτῷ λέγειν ταύτα μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκείνῳ προσήκον. ἦσθείς δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν μὲν οἷς πάτριοι ἔστιν ἔδωρήσατο, τῷ δ' Ἰάσωνι τάλαντον ἐδωκεν. εἰς τοιοῦτο ὁ φασιν ἐξόδιον τὴν Κράσσου στρατηγίαν ὥσπερ τραγῳδίαν τελευτήσαι.

5 Δίκη μέντοι καὶ τῆς ὁμότητος Ὑρώδην καὶ τῆς ἐπιορκίας Σουρήμαν ἀξία μετῆλθεν. Σουρήμαν μὲν γὰρ οὗ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον Ὑρώδης φθόνῳ τῆς δόξης ὑπέκτεινεν, Ὑρώδη δὲ ὑποβαλόντι Πάκορον υπὸ Ῥωμαίων μάχη κρατηθέντα, καὶ νοσησαντι νόσον εἰς ὑδρωπα τραπεῖσαν, Φραάτης ὁ νῖος ἐπιβουλεύων ἀκόνιτον ἐδωκεν. ἀναδεξαμένης δὲ τῆς νόσου τὸ φάρμακον εἰς ἐαυτὴν, ὡστε συνεκριθήναι, καὶ τοῦ σώματος κουφισθέντος, ἔπε τὴν ταχίστην τῶν ὀδῶν ἐλθὼν ὁ Φραάτης ἀπέπνευσεν αὐτὸν.

¹ Euripides, Bacchae, 1179 (Kirchhoff, ΧΟ. τίς ἡ 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 satyric drama, "the four plays being performed in succession in the course of the same day."
² 38 B.C. Cf. Plutarch’s Antony, xxxiv. 1. According to Dio Cassius, xlix, 21, Pacorus fell on the same day on which Crassus had been slain fifteen years before.
Ι. Ἑν δὲ τῇ συγκρίσει πρῶτον οὖ νικίον πλοῦτος τῷ Κράσσου παραβαλλόμενος ἀμεμπτοτέραν ἔχει τὴν κτήσιν. ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τίς δοκιμάσει τὴν ἀπὸ μετάλλων ἐργασίαν, ἂς τὰ πλείστα περαιτέρω διὰ κακούργων ἡ βαρβάρων, ἐνών δεδεμένων καὶ φθειρομένων ἐν τόποις ὑπούλοις καὶ νοσεροῖς παραβαλλομένη δὲ πρὸς τὰ Σύλλα δημιοῦργα καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ πῦρ ἐργολα

2 βίας, ἐπιεικεστέρα φανεῖται. ταύταις γὰρ ὁ Κράσσος ἀναφανδὸν ὡς τῷ γεωργεῖν ἐχρῆτο καὶ τῷ δανείζειν· δὴ δὲ ἔξαρνος ἢν ἑλεγχόμενος, ἔτι κέρδευεν ἐν βουλῇ λέγειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἄδικείν καὶ γύναια περιίον κολακεύειν καὶ συνεπικρύπτειν τοὺς πονηροὺς, τούτων αἰτίαν οὐδὲ ψευδὴ ποτὲ Νικίας ἔλαβεν, ἄλλως δὲ δίδοις καὶ προϊέμενος ἀργύριον ὑπὸ δειλίας τοῖς συκοφάνταις ἐχλενάζετο, πράγμα ποιῶν Περικλεὶ μὲν ἴσως καὶ Ἀριστείδη μὴ πρέπουν, αὐτῷ δὲ ἀναγκαίον οὐκ εἰ πεφυκότι πρὸς τὸ θαρρεῖν. ὃ καὶ Ἀυκούργος ὑπέτευν ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπαρρησιάσατο πρὸς τὸν δήμον, αἰτίαν ἔχων ἐξονήσασθαι τίνα τῶν συκοφαντῶν· "Ἡδομαι γὰρ," εἶπεν, "εἰ τοσοῦτον χρόνου πεπολιτευμένος πάρ' ὑμῖν δίδοις πεφώραμαι πρότερον ἡ λαμβάνων."  

4 Ἡν δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις πολιτικῶτερος μὲν ὁ Νικίας ἀναθήμασι καὶ γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ διδα-
COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

I. In comparing the men, first, the wealth of Nicias was acquired in a more blameless manner than that of Crassus. For although it is true that the working of mines cannot be highly regarded, since most of it is carried on by employing malefactors or Barbarians, some of whom are kept in chains and done to death in damp and unwholesome places, still, when compared with the public confiscations of Sulla and the making of contracts where fire is raging, it will appear in the more favourable light. For Crassus openly utilized these opportunities as men do agriculture and money-lending. And as for the practices which he denied when on trial, namely, taking bribes for his voice in the senate, wronging the allies, circumventing weak women with his flatteries, and aiding base men to cloak their iniquities, no such charges, even though false, were ever made against Nicias; nay, he was rather laughed at for spending his money lavishly on informers out of cowardice, a practice unbecoming, perhaps, in a Pericles and an Aristides, but necessary for him, since he was not well stocked with courage. And for this practice 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
πλούταρχος λόγου μεταφράσας, οὐ δ' ὁ Κράσσος ἀνάλωσεν ἑστίασας ἀμα τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων, εἰτα θρέψας πάλιν, οὐδὲν ἦν μέρος ἃ Νικίας ἐκέκτητο σὺν οἷς ἀνάλωσεν, ὡστε θαυμάζειν, εἰ τινα λέληθε τὸ τὴν κακίαν ἀνωμαλίαν εἶναι τινα τρόπου καὶ ἀνομολογίαν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς αἰσχρῶς συλλέγοντας εἰτ' ἄχρηστως ἐκχέοντας.

II. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ πλούτου τοσαύτα: τοῖς δὲ πολιτεύμασι τοῦ μὲν Νικίου πανούργου οὐδέν οὐδὲ ἄδικον οὐδὲ βίαιον πρόσεστιν οὐδὲ θρασύτης, ἀλλ' ἐξιππατάτο μάλλον ὑπὸ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προσημεί μετ' εὐλαβείας. τοῦ δὲ Κράσσου πολλὴν μὲν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς ἔχθραν καὶ φιλίαν μεταβολὴς ἀπιστίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν κατηγοροῦσι, βία δ' οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἤρνειτο τὴν ὑπατείαν μετιέναι, μισθωσάμενος ἀνδρας τοὺς Κάτων καὶ Δομιτίω 2 τὰς χειρὰς προσοίσοντας. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν ψηφοφορία τοῦ δήμου πολλοί μὲν ἀτρώθησαν, ἔπεσον δὲ τέσσαρες, αὐτὸς δ', ὅπερ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ διηγήσει παρελήλυθε, Δεύκιον Ἀβναλίου, ἀνδρα βουλευτὴν, ἀντιλέγοντα πῦξ πατάξας εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον ἐξέβαλεν ἡμαγμένου.

3 Ὁς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα βίαιος ὁ Κράσσος καὶ τυραννικὸς, οὕτως αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐκεῖνον τὸ ψοφοδέες 566 ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ ἄτολμον καὶ τοῖς κακίστοις ύφειμένον τῶν μεγίστων ἐπιλήψεως ἄξιον ὁ δὲ Κράσσος ψηφιλὸς περὶ γε ταῦτα καὶ μεγαλόφρων, οὖ πρὸς Κλέωνας οὐδ' Ἐπερβόλους, μᾶ Δία, τοῦ 426
COMPARISON OF NICIAS AND CRASSUS

to the gods and provide the people with gymnastic exhibitions and trained choruses; and yet his whole estate, together with his expenditures, was not a tithe of what Crassus expended when he feasted so many myriads of men at once, and then furnished them with food afterwards. I am therefore amazed that anyone should fail to perceive that vice is a sort of inequality and incongruity of character, when he sees men amassing money shamefully and squandering it uselessly.

II. So much regarding their wealth. And now in their political careers, no chicanery nor injustice, no violence nor harshness attaches to Nicias, but he was deceived the rather by Alcibiades, and made his appeals to the people with too much caution. Whereas Crassus is accused of much ungenerous faithlessness in his vacillations between friends and enemies; and as for violence, he himself could not deny that when he stood for the consulship, he hired men to lay hands on Cato and Domitius. And in the assembly which voted on the allotment of the provinces, many were wounded and four killed; and Crassus himself (a fact which escaped us in the narrative of his life), when Lucius Annalius, a senator, was speaking in opposition, smote him in the face with his fist and drove him bleeding from the forum.

But if Crassus was violent and tyrannical in these matters, Nicias went to the other extreme. His timidity and cowardice in the public service, and his subservience to the basest men, deserve the severest censure. Crassus, indeed, showed a certain loftiness and largeness of spirit in this regard, for he contended not with men like Cleon and Hyperbolus,
ἀγώνος ὄντος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν Καῖσαρος λαμπροτητα καὶ τρεῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου θριάμβους, οὐχ υπείξας, ἀλλὰ ἀντάρας ἐκατέρω τὴν δύναμιν, ἀξιῶματι δὲ τῆς τιμητικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ Πομπηίουν ὑπερβαλόμενος. δεί γὰρ ἐπὶ μεγίστους οὗ τὸ ἀνεπίφθονον, ἀλλὰ τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐν πολυτείᾳ λαμβάνειν, μεγέθει δυνάμεως ἐξαμαυροῦντα τὸν φθόνον. εἰ δὲ εἶ ἄπαντος ἀγαπᾶς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἰσουχίαν, καὶ δέδιας Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐν δὲ Πύλω Λακεδαιμονίους, Περδίκκαν δὲ ἐν Ὁράκῃ, πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἥ πόλις ἔχει σχολῆς ἐκ μέσου γενόμενον καθίσσαι πλέκοντα τῆς ἀταραξίας σεαυτῷ στέφανον, ὡς ἐνοι 5 σοφισταὶ λέγουσιν. ὦ μὲν γὰρ τῆς εἰρήνης ἔρως θείος ἢς ἢς ἀληθῶς, καὶ τὸ λύσαι τὸν πόλεμον Ἀλληνικῶτατον πολίτευμα· καὶ τῆς πράξεως ἑκείκα ταύτης οὐκ ἄξιον Νικίας παραβάλειν Κράσσου, οὐδὲ εἰ τὸ Κάστιου φέρων πέλαγος ἢ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ὀκεανὸν τῇ Ῥωμαίοι ἡγεμονία προσώρισεν.

III. Πόλει μέντοι χρώμενον ἀρετῆς αἰσθανομένη καὶ κρεῖττονα ὄντα τῇ δυνάμει χώραν οὐ δοτέον τοις πονηροῖς οὐδὲ ἀρχῆν μὴ ἄρχουσιν οὐδὲ πίστιν ἀπιστομένους, ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ Νικίας, τὸν Κλέωνα μηδὲν ὄντα πλέον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀνασχυντίας καὶ κραυγῆς αὐτὸς 2 εἰς τὸ στρατηγεῖν καταστήσας. οὐκ ἐπαινῶ μὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸν Κράσσου ἐν τοῖς Ὑπαρτακεῖοις ἐπει-
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,
χθέντα θάσσων ἢ ἀσφαλέστερον διαγωνίσασθαι, καίτοι φιλοτιμίας ἢν τὸ δεῖσαι μὴ Πομπήιος ἐλθὼν ἀφέληται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ἀφείλετο Μετέλλου Μόμμιος τὴν Κόρινθον· τὸ δὲ τοῦ Νικίου παντάπασιν ἀτοποῦν καὶ δεινόν. οὐ γὰρ ἐλπίδας οὔδε βαστώνῃν ἐχούσης ἐξέστη τῷ ἐχθρῷ φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ κύνδυνον ὑφορώμενον ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ μέγαν ἡγάπησε, τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ θέμενος, προέσθαι τὸ 3 κοινῶν. καίτοι ὁ γε Θεμιστοκλῆς, ἵνα μὴ φαύλοις ἀνθρωπος εὐν τοῖς Περσικοῖς καὶ ἀφρῶν στρατηγήσας ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πόλιν, ἀργυρίῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέστησεν αὐτὸν, καὶ Κάτων, ὅτε μάλιστα ἑώρα πράγματα καὶ κυνήγουσιν ἐχοῦσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως 4 τὴν δημαρχίαν, μετῆλθεν· ὁ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίνωαν καὶ Κύθηρα καὶ Μηλίους τοὺς τάλαντο- ρους φυλάττων στρατηγόν, εἰ δὲ 1 δέοι μάχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀυτοδυόμενος τὴν χλαμύδα καὶ τὴν Κλέωνος ἀπειρία καὶ θρασύτητα ναῦς καὶ ἀνδρας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ στρατηγίαν ἐμπειρίας ἀκρας δεομένην παραδίδουσί, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προίται δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῆς 2 πατρίδος ἀσφάλειαν καὶ 5 σωτηρίαν. θευν υπερον οὐχ ἐκὼν οὔδε βουλό- μενος Συρακουσίως πολεμεῖν ἡναγκάζετο, δοκῶν οὐ λογισμῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλὰ βαστώνῃ καὶ μαλακία τὸ παρ’ αὐτὸν ἀποστερεῖν Σικελίας τὴν πόλιν.

Ἐκείνο μέντοι μεγάλης ἐπιεικείας σημειοῦν, ὅτι δυσχεραίνοντα τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀεὶ καὶ φεύγοντα τὸ

1 εἰ δὲ Coraeb and Bekker, after Bryan: εἰ.
2 τὴν 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
στρατηγεῖν οὐκ ἐπαύσωτο χειροτονοῦντες ὡς
6 ἐμπειρότατον καὶ βέλτιστον· τῷ δὲ Κράσσῳ
παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐφιεμένῳ στρατηγίας οὐχ
ὑπῆρξε τυχεῖν, πλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν δουλικὸν πόλεμον ἐξ
ἀνάγκης, Πομπήίου καὶ Μετέλλου καὶ Δουκούλλων
ἀμφοτέρων ἀπόντων, καίτοι τότε τιμωμένῳ μάλι-
στα καὶ δυναμένῳ πλείστον. ἀλλ’, ὡς έσικε, καὶ
toῖς σπουδάζοντι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔδοκει κατὰ τὸν
κωμικὸν "ἀνὴρ ἀριστος" εἶναι "τὰλλα πλὴν ἐν
7 ἀστίδι." καὶ τούτῳ Ρωμαίους οὔδὲν άνησυν 561
ἐκβιασθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς φιλαρχίας αὐτοῦ καὶ
φιλοτιμίας. Ἀθηναίοι μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντα Νικίαν
ἐξέπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον, Ρωμαίους δὲ Κράσ-
σος ἄκοντας ἐξήγαγεν καὶ διὰ μὲν τούτον ἡ πόλις,
ἐκείνος δὲ διὰ τὴν πόλιν ἠτύχησεν.

IV. Οὐ µὴν ἀλλὰ µᾶλλον ἔστιν ἐν τούτοις τὸν
Νικίαν ἐπαινεῖν ἢ ψέγειν τὸν Κράσσουν. ὅ µὲν
γὰρ ἐμπειρία καὶ λογισµῷ χρησάµενος ἤγεµόνος
ἐµφρονος οὐ συνηπατήθη ταῖς ἐλπίσι τῶν πολιτῶν,
ἀλλ’ ἀπείπε καὶ ἀπέγνω λήψεσθαι Σικελίαν· ὁ δ’
ὡς ἐπὶ βάστον ἔργον τοῦ Παρθικὸν ὀρµήσας πόλε-
2 µὸν ἤµαρτεν. ὥρεχθη δὲ µεγάλων, Καῖσαρος τὰ
ἐσπέρια καὶ Κελτῶς καὶ Γερµανῶς καταστρε-
φοµένου καὶ Βρεττανίαν, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω καὶ
tὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐλάσαι θάλασσαν καὶ προσεργάσα-
σθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν οἷς Ποµπήῖος ἐπῆλθε καὶ
Δούκουλλος ἀντέσχεν, ἀνδρεῖς εὑµενεῖς καὶ πρὸς
πάντας ἀγαθοὶ διαµείναντες, προελµένοι δ’ ὀµοια
and avoided military command, the Athenians ceased not to elect him to it, believing him to be their most experienced and best general. Whereas Crassus, though he was all the while eager for military command, did not succeed in getting it except in the servile war, and then of necessity, because Pompey and Metellus and both the Luculli were away. And yet by that time he had acquired the greatest honour and influence in the city. But it would seem that even his best friends thought him, in the words of the comic poet, "The bravest warrior everywhere but in the field." \(^1\) And yet this did not prevent the Romans from being overwhelmed by his ambitious love of command. For the Athenians sent Nicias out to the war against his will; but the Romans were led out by Crassus against theirs. It was owing to Crassus that his city, but to his city that Nicias, suffered misfortune.

IV. However, in this there is more ground for praising Nicias than for blaming Crassus. The former brought into play the experience and calculation of a wise leader, and did not share the deceitful hopes of his fellow-citizens, but insisted that it was beyond his power to take Sicily; whereas Crassus made the mistake of entering upon the Parthian war as a very easy undertaking. And yet his aims were high; while Caesar was subduing the West,—Gaul and Germany and Britain,—he insisted on marching against the East and India, and on completing the reduction of Asia which had been begun by Pompey and Lucullus. Now these were men of good intentions and honourably disposed towards all, and yet they elected the same course as Crassus, and

\(^1\) An iambic trimeter of unknown authorship (Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 493).
3 Κράσσω καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ὑποθέσεις λαβόντες, ἔπει καὶ Πομπηῖο τῆς ἀρχῆς διδομένης ἡ σύγκλητος ἡμαντιοῦτο, καὶ Καίσαρα μυριάδας τριάκοντα Γερμανῶν τρεψάμενον συνεβούλευεν ὁ Κάτων ἐκδύναι τοῖς ἡττημένοις καὶ τρέσαι τὸ μήνιμα τοῦ παρασπονδήματος εἰς ἐκεῖνον· ὁ δὲ δήμος ἐφρώσθαι φράσας Κάτων, πειτεκαϊδεκα ἡμέρας

4 ἔθυνεν ἐπινίκια καὶ περιχαρῆς ἦν. πῶς οὖν ἂν διετῆ καὶ πόσας ἔθυσε ἡμέρας, εἰ Κράσσος ἐκ Βασιλωίος ἔγραψε νικᾶν, εἰτ' ἐπελθὼν Μηδίαν, Περσίδα, Ἰρκανοὺς, Σοῦσα, Βάκτρα, Ἰρωμαίων ἐπαρχίας ἀπέδειξεν; εἰπερ γὰρ ἄδικειν χρή, κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην, ἡσυχίᾳ ἄγειν μὴ δυναμένους μηδὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς εἰδότας, ὦ Σκάνδειαν, ὦ Μένδην ἐκκοπτέων, οὔδε φεύγοντας

5 Ἀγαυνήτας ἀπολελοιπότας τὴν ἑαυτῶν, ὀσπερ ὀρνιθας εἰς ἑτέραν χώραν ἀποκεκρυμμένοις, ἐκθηρατέον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῦ τιμητέον τὸ ἄδ.κεῖν, μὴ ῥαδίως μηδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχόνωσιν, ὅσ τι φαύλων ἢ μικρῶν, προἰεμένους τὸ δίκαιον. οὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείας ὀρμῆν ἐπαυνοῦντες, τὴν δὲ Κράσσου ψέγοντες, οὐκ εὖ τὰ πρῶτα κρίνουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τελευταίων.

V. Ἔν δὲ ταῖς στρατηγίαις αὐταῖς Νικίου μὲν οὐκ ὄλγα γενναία· καὶ γὰρ μαχαῖς πολλαῖς ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους, καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν Συρακούσας ὄλγον ἐδέησε, καὶ πάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπταια-

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1 Eteocles in the Phoenissae, 524 f. (Kirchhoff): 
εἰπερ γὰρ ἄδικειν χρή, τυραννὸς πέρι καλλιστον ἄδικειν τάλλα δ' εὐσεβεῖν χρεῶν.
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 contumaciously from Cato, sacrificed to the gods for fifteen days in honour of Caesar's victory, and were full of joy. What, then, would have been their feelings, and for how many days would they have sacrificed to the gods, if Crassus had written to them from Babylon that he was victorious, and had then overrun Media, Persia, Hyrcania, Susa, and Bactria, and declared them Roman provinces?

"For if wrong must be done," as Euripides says, when men cannot keep quiet, and know not how to enjoy contentedly the blessings which they already have, then let it not be in raiding Scandeia or Mende, nor in beating up fugitive Aeginetans, who have forsaken their own, and hidden themselves away like birds in another territory, but let a high price be demanded for the wrongdoing, and let not justice be thrown to the winds lightly, nor on the first best terms, as if it were some trifling or insignificant thing. Those who have praise for Alexander's expedition, but blame for that of Crassus, unfairly judge of a beginning by its end.

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

2 Ἕστει δ’ ὁ μὲν μηδενὸς τῶν ἀπὸ μαντικῆς καταφρονῶν, ὁ δὲ πάντα ὑπερορῶν ὀμοίως ἀπώλοντο, χαλεπῇ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἢ ἀσφάλεια καὶ δύσκριτος, ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ τοῦ παρανόμου καὶ αὐθάδους τὸ μετὰ δόξης παλαιᾶς καὶ συνήθους δι’ εὐλάβειαν ἀμαρτανόμενων.

Περὶ μέντοι τῆς τελευτημὸς ἀμεμπτότερος ὁ Κράσσος ὁποῖος παραδοῦσ ἐαυτὸν οὐδὲ δεθεὶς οὐδὲ φενακισθεῖς, ἄλλ’ εἰθης τοῖς φίλοις δεσμένους καὶ παρασπονθηήθεις ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ὁ δὲ Νικίας αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ἀκλεοῦς ἐλπίδι σωτηρίας ὑποθεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἰσχίνα ἐαυτῷ τῶν θάνατον ἐποίησεν.

1 ἐπιεικέστερον δὲ a following αὐτῆς of the MSS. is suspected by Coraës, namely defended by Sintenis, and bracketed by Bekker.
disease and to the jealousy of his fellow-citizens at home; but Crassus made so many blunders that he gave fortune no chance to favour him. We may not therefore wonder that his imbecility succumbed to the power of the Parthians, but rather that it prevailed over the usual good fortune of the Romans.

Since one of them was wholly given to divination, and the other wholly neglected it, and both alike perished, it is hard to draw a safe conclusion from the premises; but failure from caution, going hand in hand with ancient and prevalent opinion, is more reasonable than lawlessness and obstinacy.

In his end, however, Crassus was the less worthy of reproach. He did not surrender himself, nor was he bound, nor yet beguiled, but yielded to the entreaties of his friends, and fell a prey to the perfidy of his enemies; whereas Nicias was led by the hope of a shameful and inglorious safety to put himself into the hands of his enemies, thereby making his death a greater disgrace for him.
A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

A

Acharnae, 95, the largest deme, or township, of Attica, some eight miles to the north of Athens.

Aesop, 419, a Greek writer of fables, who flourished in the first half of the sixth century B.C. Fables bearing his name were popular at Athens in the time of Aristophanes.

Agatharchus, 41, of Samos, prominent at Athens as a theatrical scene-painter 460-420 B.C. Cf. the Alcibiades, xvi. 4.

Alopecó, 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 482 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 satyric iambics.

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

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

B

Balissus, 385, a small tributary of the Euphrates, south of Carrhae. Brasidas, 237, the ablest and noblest Spartan leader during the first decade of the Peloponnesian war. He attempted to rob Athens of her allied cities in the north.

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

C

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

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

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

Caunians, 309, Caunus was a city of Carla, in Asia Minor, belonging to the Rhodians.
Chersonesus, 35, 59, the Thracian Chersonesus (peninsula), extending southwards into the Aegean Sea west of the Hellespont.
Cholargus, 41, an Attic deme, or township, of uncertain site.
Clazomenae, 253, an Ionian city, situated on the southern shore of the bay of Smyrna.
Critoilus, 21, of Phaselis in Lycaia, head of the Peripatetic school of philosophy at Athens, orator and statesman, eighty-two years of age when, in 156 B.C., he was sent on an embassy to Rome (see the Cato Major, xxii.).

D
Damon, 11, probably the same person as Damonides of Oea (p. 27).
Damonides, 27, of Oea, probably the same person as Damon (p. 11).
Delos, 35, 217, the central island of the Cyclades group, east of Attica.
Diphilus, 209, a prominent poet of the New Comedy, 336–250 B.C.
Duris, 70, 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.
Hyrcania, 377, 435, a district of central Asia lying immediately south of the Caspian Sea.

I
Idomeneus, 31, 103, of Lampsacon, a pupil and friend of Epelleus (342–270 B.C.), author of biographical works entitled "The Socrates" and "The Demagogues."
Ioa, 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 (450 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. 3).
Metellus, 431, Quintus Caecilius, surnamed Macedonicus, won victories over Macedonian and Achaean armies in Greece, but could not bring the war to a close before he was superseded by Mummius (146 B.C.).
Mummius, 431, Lucius, superseded Metellus in 146 B.C., and completed the subjugation of Greece by the capture of Corinth.
Myronides, 53, leader of the "reserves" in the Athenian victory over Corinth in 458 B.C., and in the following year victor over the Boeotians at Oenophyta.

N
Naxos, 35, 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.
Pheldias, 5, 89 f., of Athens, the greatest sculptor and statuary of Greece, ob. 432 B.C.
Philetas, 5, of Cos, a poet and critic of the earlier Alexandrian school, who flourished under the first Ptolemy (circa 318-275 B.C.).
Philistus, 209, 277, 307, the Syracusan, an eyewitness of the events of the Athenian siege of Syracuse, which he described thirty years later in a history of Sicily.
Philochnor, 293, the most celebrated writer on the antiquities of Athens, 306-260 B.C.
Polycleitus, 5, of Argos, a famous sculptor, statuary, and architect, who flourished circa 452-412 B.C.
Polycrates, 77, tyrant of Samos from about 550 till his death in 522 B.C. His career forms one of the great features of the third book of Herodotus.
Posidonius, 175, of Apamia in Syria, a distinguished Stoic philosopher, resident in Athens, Rhodes, and Rome, contemporary with Cicero.
Protagoras, 291, of Abdera in Thrace, the first to call himself a "sophist," and to teach for pay. On a third visit to Athens, about 411 B.C., he was accused of impiety and fled, but only to perish at sea.
Pylos, 231, 245, 247, an ancient city on the west coast of Messenia, in Peloponnesus, on a promontory commanding the north entrance to the great bay of Pylos (the modern Navarino).

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.
Sphactera, 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.

T

Tanagra, 33, a town in eastern Bocotla, 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 Philus, a composer of satiric poems on earlier and current systems of philosophy, 320-230 B.C.
Tolmides, 53, 59, 61, leader of an Athenian naval expedition round Peloponnesus in 455 B.C., and of other expeditions by sea.
Tralles, 421, a large and flourishing city of Caria, in Asia Minor.

X

Xenarchus, 209, apparently cited by Plutarch as an historian; but no historian of this name is known.
Xypetê, 41, an Attic deme, or township, near Phalerum or Piraeus.

Z

Zacynthus, 291, an island off the N.W. coast of Peloponnesus, the modern Zante.
Zeno, 11, the Eleatic, a disciple of Parmenides, with whom he visited Athens when Socrates was a very young man (Plato, Parmenides, p. 127 a).
Zeuxis, 41, of Heraclea in Magna Graecia, the most celebrated painter of antiquity, who flourished in the latter part of the fifth and the earlier part of the fourth centuries B.C.