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# PLUTARCH'S LIVES X AGIS AND CLEOMENES TIBERIUS AND GAIL'S GRACCHU'S PHILOPOEMEN AND FLAMININUS 



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## PLU'TARCH'S LIVES

X

# PLUTARCH'S LIVES 

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY BERNADO'T'TE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES X
agis and cleonenes, tiberius AND CAIUS GRACCHUS PHILOPOENEN AND FLAMININUS

cambridge, massachusetts HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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## PREFA'TORY NO'TE

As in the preceding volumes of this series, agreement between the Sintenis (Teubner, 1873-1875) and Bekker (Tauchnitz, 1855-1857) editions of the Parallel Lives has been taken as a basis for the text. Any preference of one to the other, and any important deviation from both, have been indicated. An abridged account of the manuscripts of Plutarch may be found in the Introduction to the first volume. No attempt has been made to furnish either a diplomatic text or a full critical apparatus. For these, the reader must be referred to the major edition of Sintenis (Leipzig, 1839-1846) or to the new text of the Lives by Lindskog and Ziegler (Teubner). In the present edition, the reading which follows the colon in the brief critical notes is that of the Teubner Sintenis, and also, unless stated in the note, that of the Tauchnitz Bekker.

In May, 1920, Professor Perrin put the finishing touches upon the eleventh and last volume of this series of the Lives of Plutarch for the "Loeb Classical Library," a task which he had undertaken nine years before. On August 31, 1920, he died after a brief illness, having nearly completed his seventythird year. During the nine years, of which he

## PREFATORY NOTE

devoted the leisure hours to the translation of his favourite author, the very magnitude of the task, and the inspiration of the hope that he might leave behind him a version of the Lives that would make the famous men of ancient Greece and Rome, so wonderfully depicted by the great biographer, as familiar to the next generation as they were to the youth in his own boyhood, seemed to sustain and strengthen his powers. The wide and discriminating experience with modern men of action which the translator possessed, combined with the classical historian's special knowledge of the times which he was called upon to interpret after Plutarch, an author whom he had studied with sympathetic interest for many yearc, gave Professor Perrin peculiar qualifications for the task; and the English-speaking world already knows with what eminent success he achieved it.

The American Editor, who had been called in constant consultation by Professor Perrin during the progress of the work, has by the wish of his family undertaken to see the present and final volume through the press. Volume XI, which will contain an extensive General Index, will, it is hoped, be published in 1922 .

THE EDITORS.

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(3) Solon and Publicola.
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## AGIS AND CLEOMENES

## AГİ KAI K $\Lambda$ EOMENH

## ATIS


Paris Edition $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \phi \iota \lambda o \delta o ́ \xi o v, ~ i ́ \pi o \nu o o v ̂ \sigma \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi i ̀ \tau \hat{\omega}$ ' $\mathrm{I} \xi i o \nu \iota$ a. 1624, p,
 795





 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \iota \mu \nu i \omega \nu \lambda$ र́́ $\quad$ ov $\sigma \iota \nu$.
 $\kappa \alpha \grave{\tau} \tau \hat{\nu} \delta^{\prime}$ à $\nu a ́ \gamma \kappa \eta \kappa а \grave{\imath} \sigma \iota \omega \pi \omega ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \kappa \lambda v \in \epsilon \nu$.
 то入८тєvó $\mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~ \pi а ́ \sigma \chi о v \sigma \iota, ~ \delta o v \lambda \epsilon v ́ o \nu т \epsilon s ~ к а і ~ с ̀ к о-~$

 $\pi \rho о о \rho \hat{\prime} \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa v \beta \epsilon \rho \nu \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ảфор $\hat{\omega} \sigma \iota \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \kappa \epsilon і$ -
 oṽт $\omega$ s oi $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \cup o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~ \kappa а \grave{~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \delta o ́ \xi a \nu ~ o ́ \rho \omega ि \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~}$ íт $\eta \rho \in ́ \tau \alpha \iota \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon i \sigma \iota \nu$, ơvoua $\delta$ є̀ ả $\rho \chi o ́ \nu-$ $\tau \omega \nu$ є́ $\chi o v \sigma \iota \nu$.

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES

## AGIS

I. Not without rhyme or reason is the supposition of some writers that the tale about Ixion-how it was the cloud that he embraced instead of Hera and begat from thence the Centaurs-has an application to lovers of glory. For such men, consorting with glory, which we may call an image of virtue, produce nothing that is genuine and of true lineage, but much that is bastard and monstrous, being swept now along one course and now along another in their attempts to satisfy desire and passion. The herdsmen of Sophocles say, ${ }^{1}$ in speaking of their flocks:-
"Of these, indeed, though masters, we are yet the slaves,
And to them we must listen even though they're dumb."
And this, in truth, is the experience of public men who act in conformity with the desires and impulses of multitudes, making themselves attendants and slaves in order that they may be called popular leaders and rulers. For just as a ship's lookout, who sees what lies ahead before the ship's captain does, nevertheless turns to him for orders and does what he ordains, so the public man whose eyes are fixed on glory is a servant of the multitude, although he has the name of ruler.
${ }^{1}$ Probably in the lost "Poimenes," or Shepherds (Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. ${ }^{2}$, p. 249).

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES




 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ е̋ $\rho \gamma \omega \nu$ каi $\delta o ́ \xi_{\eta} \tau \iota \kappa a \lambda \lambda \omega \pi i \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota$


 $\kappa \alpha \grave{\imath} \tau o ̀ ~ \lambda o \iota \pi o ̀ \nu ~ a u ̈ \xi о \nu \tau a \iota ~ \mu \epsilon \tau a ̀ ~ ф \rho о \nu \eta ́ \mu а т о я ~ є ̀ \pi a \iota-~$








 3 тoútب $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda o u ́ s . ~ " ~ O u ̀ ~ \delta u ́ v a \sigma \theta \epsilon ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~$

 $\phi \eta \sigma \iota \nu$ ó $\mu \hat{v} \theta$ os $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ oủpà $\tau \hat{n} \kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \hat{1} \sigma \tau a \sigma \iota a ́ \sigma a \sigma a \nu$




 4 тои̂тo $\pi о \lambda \lambda о$ ùs $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \chi a ́ \rho \iota \nu ~ a ̈ \pi a \nu^{\prime} \tau a, \pi \epsilon \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon v-$


[^0]II. The man, indeed, whose goodness is complete and perfect will have no need at all of glory, except so far as glory gives him access to achievement by reason of the confidence men have in him; but a man who is still young and is fond of honours may be allowed ts plume and exalt himself somewhat even upon glory, provided that glory is the outcome of noble deeds. For the virtues, which are incipient and budding in the young, are confirmed in their proper development, as Theophrastus says, by the praises of men, and complete their growth under the incentive of pride. But excess is everywhere harmful, and in the case of men who cherish political ambitions, it is deadly; for it sweeps them away into manifest folly and madness as they grasp after great power, when they refuse to regard what is honourable as glorious, but consider that what is glorious is good. Therefore, what Phocion said to Antipater, who demanded from him some dishonourable service, "Thou canst not have Phocion as thy friend and at the same time thy flatterer," this, or something akin to this, must be said to the multitude: "Ye cannot have the same man as your ruler and your slave." Since in this case also one certainly can apply the fable of the serpent whose tail rebelled against its head and demanded the right to lead in turn instead of always following; so it took the lead, and by the folly of its progress got itself into mischief and lacerated the head, which was compelled, contrary to nature, to follow a part that had neither eyes nor ears. This, as we see, has been the experience of many of the men whose whole political activity is directed towards the winning of popular favour; they made themselves dependent on the multitude, which is borne

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

aútoùs o้ $\chi \lambda \omega \nu$ єiк $\bar{\eta} \phi \epsilon \rho о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ ov̋ ${ }^{\prime}$ à $\nu a \lambda a \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$




 $\tau \rho a \phi^{\prime} \nu \tau а \varsigma, \kappa а \lambda \lambda i \sigma \tau \eta \nu \delta_{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\eta} ₹ \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i \alpha a \varsigma \dot{\nu} \pi o ́ \theta \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu$




 $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \tau o i ̂ \varsigma ~ \tau a ̀ \varsigma ~ \tau \iota \mu a ̀ \varsigma ~ \dot{v} \pi \epsilon \rho \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota, \kappa a i ̀ \tau \iota \mu \dot{\omega} \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota$




 $\sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota$.
 $\sigma \epsilon \omega \varsigma^{\cdot} \pi a \rho a \beta a ́ \lambda \omega \mu \epsilon \nu$ סє̀ aủтoîs $\Lambda а \kappa \omega \nu \iota \kappa o ̀ \nu ~ \zeta \epsilon \hat{v} \gamma о \varsigma$ $\delta \eta \mu a \gamma \omega \gamma \omega \hat{\nu},{ }^{\top} \mathrm{A} \gamma \iota \nu$ каì $\mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu$ тоѝs ßaбı $\lambda \epsilon i ̂ s$.





about at random, and then could neither recover themselves nor put a stop to the progress of disorder.

These remarks upon the glory which comes from the favour of the multitude I have been led to make because I was reminded of its great influence by the fortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were men of most generous natures, and had a most generous rearing, and adopted most generous political principles; and yet they were ruined, I will not say by an immoderate desire for glory, but rather by a fear of losing it. And this fear had no unworthy origin. For after they had enjoyed great kindness from their fellow citizens, they were ashamed to leave it unpaid, like a debt of money; and so they were forever striving by the excellence of their political services to surpass the honours conferred upon them, and were honoured all the more in consequence of their grateful political services. In this way, after kindling an equal ardour in themselves towards the people and in the people towards themselves, they engaged in enterprises wherein, though they knew it not, it was no longer honourable for them to persist, and already disgraceful for them to stop.

As to this matter, however, my reader will judge for himself from my narrative ; and I shall compare with the Gracchi a pair of popular leaders in Sparta, Agis and Cleomenes the kings. For these also tried to exalt the people, just as the Gracchi did, and tried to restore an honourable and just civil polity which had lapsed for a long time; and like the Gracchi they incurred the hatred of the nobles, who were unwilling to relax their wonted greed. It is true that the

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES






















 Платаıаîs $\mu a ́ \chi \eta$ Mapoóvıov. Mavбavías $\gamma \mathfrak{a} \rho$


 каі̀ тои́тоv тєлєvтท́барттоs д̀тє́кдои К Кєо́ $\mu \beta$ ротоя





## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, in. 6.-III. 4

Spartans were not brothers; still, they adopted political courses which were kindred and brother to one another. The occasion was as follows.
III. When once the love of silver and gold had crept into the city, closely followed by greed and parsimony in the acquisition of wealth and by luxury, effeminacy, and extravagance in the use and enjoyment of it, Sparta fell away from most of her noble traits, and continued in a low estate that was unworthy of her down to the times when Agis and Leonidas were kings. Agis was of the Eurypontid royal house, a son of Eudamidas, and the sixth in descent from the Agesilauis who crossed into Asia and became the most powerful Greek of his time. For Agesilaüs had a son Archidamus, who was slain by the Messapians at Mandurium in Italy ${ }^{1}$; Archidamus had an elder son Agis, and a younger son Eudamidas, who, after Agis was slain by Antipater at Megalopolis ${ }^{2}$ leaving no issue, became king; Eudamidas was succeeded by Archidamus, Archidamus by another Eudamidas, and Eudamidas by Agis, ${ }^{3}$ the subject of this Life. Leonidas, on the other hand, the son of Cleonymus, was of the other royal house, the Agiad, and was eighth in descent from the Pausanias who defeated Mardonius at Plataea. For Pausanias had a son Pleistoanax, and Pleistoanax a son Pausanias, upon whose exile and flight from Sparta to Tegea ${ }^{4}$ his elder son Agesipolis became king; Agesipolis, dying without issue, was succeeded by a younger brother Cleombrotus, and Cleombrotus, in turn, had two sons, Agesipolis and Cleomenes, of whom Agesipolis reigned only a short time and left no sons, while Cleomenes, who became king after him, lived to

[^1]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES



 $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s$, 'Акротáтov $\delta$ ' viós. "А $\rho \epsilon \omega s$ ठє̀ $\pi \epsilon \sigma o ́ \nu \tau о s ~$
 5 катє́ $\chi є \nu$. àтє́Өavє $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \kappa \alpha i$ oviтos $\dot{\eta} \tau \tau \eta \theta \epsilon i \varsigma \mu a ́ \chi \eta$




 $\hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu$ oủ $\pi a ́ \nu v$ тoîs $\pi о \lambda i ́ \tau a \iota s ~ \epsilon u ̛ a ́ p \mu o \sigma \tau o \nu ~ o ̋ \nu \tau a . ~$
 $\pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \dot{u} \mu a \tau o \varsigma \dot{o} \mu a \lambda \hat{\omega} \varsigma \dot{a} \pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu, \dot{\eta} \nu \quad \tau \iota \varsigma \quad \dot{\epsilon} \nu \tau \hat{\omega}$



 оข้к є’ $\mu \mu \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \varsigma ~ \mu \epsilon \tau а ф є ́ \rho о \nu \tau \iota . ~$




 $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \tau \epsilon \mu \eta \tau \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ ' А \gamma \eta \sigma \iota \sigma \tau \rho a ́ \tau a \varsigma ~ \kappa а і ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma ~ \mu и ́ \mu \mu \eta s$ 'А $\rho \chi \iota \delta a \mu i ́ a s, ~ а і ̈ ~ \pi \lambda \epsilon і ̈ \sigma \tau а ~ \chi \rho \eta ́ \mu а т а ~ \Lambda а к є \delta а ı \mu о \nu i ́ \omega \nu ~$
 $\sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota$, каì тò̀ є่тьт $\rho \in ́ \psi a \iota ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \tau \hat{\eta} ~ \chi a ́ \rho \iota \tau \iota ~$
lose his elder son Acrotatus, but left behind him a younger son Cleonymus; Cleonymus, however, did not come to the throne, but Areus, ${ }^{1}$ who was a grandson of Cleomenes and son of Acrotatus; Areus fell in battle at Corinth," and his son Acrotatus came to the throne; Acrotatus also was defeated and slain at Megalopolis, by the tyrant Aristodemus, leaving his wife with child; and after she had given birth to a son, Leonidas the son of Cleonymus was made the child's guardian. But the young king died before reaching manhood, and the kingship therefore devolved upon Leonidas, ${ }^{3}$ who was altogether unacceptable to the people. For although the destruction of the constitution had already led to a general decline in manners, there was in Leonidas a very marked departure from the traditions of his country, since for a long time he had frequented oriental courts and had been a servile follower of Seleucus, and now sought to transfer the pride and pomp which prevailed abroad into Hellenic relations and a constitutional government, where they were out of place.
IV. Agis, on the contrary, far surpassed in native excellence and in loftiness of spirit not only Leonidas, but almost all the kings who had followed the great Agesilaius. Therefore, even before he had reached his twentieth year, and although he had been reared amid the wealth and luxury of women, namely, his mother Agesistrata and his grandmother Archidamia (who were the richest people in Sparta), he at once set his face against pleasures. He put away from his person the adornments which were thought to
${ }^{1}$ See the Pyrrhus, xxvi. 8 ff .

* In 265 в.C., in battle with Antigonus Gonatas.

8 About 256 b.c.

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

$\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \mu о \rho \phi \hat{\eta} \varsigma \dot{\omega} \rho a i ̈ \sigma \mu o ̀ \nu$ ôокои̂ขта $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \pi a ́ \sigma a \varsigma ~ \tau о \hat{v}$
 $\lambda \epsilon \iota a \nu, \epsilon \in \gamma \kappa \alpha \lambda \lambda \omega \pi i \zeta \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota \tau \hat{\varrho} \tau \rho \iota \beta \omega \nu i \not \varphi, \kappa \alpha i \quad \delta \epsilon i ̂ \pi \nu a$


 $\dot{a} \gamma \omega \gamma \dot{\eta} \nu$.
V. 'A $\rho \chi \grave{\eta} \nu$ 立 $\nu$ oưv $\delta \iota a \phi \theta o \rho \hat{\varsigma}$ каi $\tau o \hat{v} \nu 0 \sigma \epsilon i ̂ \nu$



 $\phi v \lambda a \tau \tau o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \quad \dot{a} \rho \iota \theta \mu \grave{\nu}$ év таîs $\delta \iota a \delta o \chi a i ̂ s$, каì $\pi a \tau \rho o ̀ s ~ \pi a \iota \delta i ́ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu \kappa \lambda \eta \hat{\eta} \rho o \nu ~ \dot{a} \pi о \lambda \epsilon i ́ \pi о \nu \tau о \varsigma, \dot{a} \mu \hat{\omega} \varsigma$ үध́
 $\pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu \quad$ є́к $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad a ̈ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ à $\nu \in ́ \phi \epsilon \rho \epsilon \nu \quad \dot{a} \mu a \rho \tau \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$.




 $\mu \epsilon \nu o \nu$. oủtos $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ oûv aútô $\tau \iota \nu a$ $\theta u \mu o ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \pi o-~$ $\pi \iota \mu \pi \lambda a ̀ s ~ i ̋ \delta \iota o \nu ~ \epsilon i \sigma \eta ́ \nu \epsilon \gamma \kappa \epsilon ~ \tau o ̀ \nu \nu o ́ \mu o \nu \cdot ~ o i ~ \delta e ̀ ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda o \iota ~$

 $\dot{a} \phi \epsilon \iota \delta \hat{\omega} \varsigma$ そ้ $\delta \eta \pi a \rho \omega \theta 0 \hat{\nu} \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ oi $\delta \nu \nu a \tau o i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ̀ s ~ \pi \rho o \sigma \eta \eta^{\prime}-$
 єis ỏ $\lambda i ́ \gamma o v s ~ \sigma u \rho \rho v \epsilon i ́ \sigma \eta s ~ \pi \epsilon \nu i ́ a ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu \kappa a \tau \epsilon ́ \sigma \chi \epsilon \nu$, $\dot{u} \sigma \chi o \lambda i ́ a \nu \tau \omega \bar{\omega} \kappa \alpha \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa a i ̉ a ̉ \nu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \nu \theta \epsilon \rho i ́ a \nu \epsilon$ є่ $\pi \iota \phi \in ́ \rho о \nu \sigma a$

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, iv.-v. 3

befit the grace of his figure, laid aside and avoided every extravagance, prided himself on his short Spartan cloak, observed sedulously the Spartan customs in his meals and baths and general ways of living, and declared that he did not want the royal power at all unless by means of it he could restore the ancient laws and discipline.
V. And here I may say that the Lacedaemonian state began to suffer disteniper and corruption soon after its subversion of the Athenian supremacy filled it with gold and silver. However, since the number of families instituted by Lycurgus ${ }^{1}$ was still preserved in the transmission of estates, and father left to son his inheritance, to some extent the continuance of this order and equality sustained the state in spite of its errors in other respects. But when a certain powerful man came to be ephor who was headstrong and of a violent temper, Epitadeus by name, he had a quarrel with his son, and introduced a law permitting a man during his lifetime to give his estate and allotment to any one he wished, or in his will and testament so to leave it. This man, then, satisfied a private grudge of his own in introducing the law; but his fellow citizens welcomed the law out of greed, made it valid, and so destroyed the most excellent of institutions. For the men of power and influence at once began to acquire estates without scruple, ejecting the rightful heirs from their inheritances; and speedily the wealth of the state streamed into the hands of a few men, and poverty became the general rule, bringing in its train lack of leisure for noble pursuits and occupations unworthy of freemen, along with envy and

[^2]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES


 тıâтaı, каi тои́т $\omega \nu$ iै $\sigma \omega$ s Є́катò̀ $\hat{\eta} \sigma a \nu$ oi $\gamma \hat{\eta} \nu$



 $\kappa а \grave{ } \mu \epsilon \tau a \sigma \tau a ́ \sigma \epsilon \omega \varsigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi a \rho o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$.
VI. $\Delta i a ̀ ~ \tau a \hat{\tau} \tau a ~ \delta \grave{\eta} \kappa a \lambda \grave{\nu} \nu \dot{o}^{3} \mathrm{~A} \gamma \iota \varsigma, \ddot{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho \hat{\eta} \nu$, $\pi o \iota o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s \epsilon \in \xi \iota \sigma \hat{\omega} \sigma a \iota$ каi ç $\nu a \pi \lambda \eta \rho \hat{\omega} \sigma a \iota \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$,












 סó $\xi_{\eta} \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega}, \mathrm{Ma} \mathrm{\nu} \mathrm{\delta} \mathrm{\rho ок} \mathrm{\lambda} \mathrm{\epsilon í} \mathrm{\delta as} \delta \grave{\epsilon}$


 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \omega \varsigma$ каi $\delta \nu \nu a \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon i \pi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu, ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \mu a \lambda a \kappa o ̀ \nu ~ к а \grave{~}$


## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, v. $3^{-v i}$. 3

hatred towards the men of property. Thus there were left of the old Spartan families not more than seven hundred, and of these there were perhaps a hundred who possessed land and allotment; while the ordinary throng, without resources and without civic rights, lived in enforced idleness, showing no zeal or energy in warding off foreign wars, but ever watching for some opportunity to subvert and change affairs at home.
VI. Agis, therefore, thinking it a noble achievement, as it was, to equalize and restore to full numbers the body of citizens, began to sound the inclinations of people. The young men, as he found, quickly and beyond his expectations gave ear to him, and stripped themselves for the contest in behalf of virtue, like him casting aside their old ways of living as worn-out garments in order to attain liberty. But most of the older men, since they were now far gone in corruption, feared and shuddered at the name of Lycurgus as if they had run away from their master and were being led back to him, and they upbraided Agis for bewailing the present state of affairs and yearning after the ancient dignity of Sparta. Lysander, however, the son of Libys, Mandrocleidas the son of Ecphanes, as well as Agesilaïs, approved of the king's aspirations and supported him in them. Lysander was in the highest repute among the citizens, and Mandrocleidas was the ablest Greek of his time in setting schemes on foot, and his sagacity and craft were mingled with daring; Agesilaiis, who was the king's uncle on his mother's side, and a powerful orator, though otherwise effeminate and avaricious, was openly urged on and encouraged by his son

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 $\lambda a o \nu$ aiтía т $\hat{\nu} \nu \pi \rho a \tau \tau о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \mu є \tau a \sigma \chi \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ ỏ $\phi \lambda \eta \mu a ́-$ $\tau \omega \nu \pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta$ os $\hat{\eta} \nu, \omega \hat{\omega} \nu \nexists \lambda \pi \iota \zeta \epsilon \nu \dot{a} \pi a \lambda \lambda a \gamma \eta \sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ $\mu \epsilon \tau a \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ т $̀ \nu \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a \nu . ~ \dot{\omega}$ s ỡ $\nu$ тá $\chi \iota \sigma \tau a$
 aủтồ тìv $\mu \eta \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a ~ \pi \epsilon i \theta \epsilon \iota \nu$ ，à $\delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \grave{\eta} \nu$ ô̂$\sigma a \nu \tau o \hat{v}$

 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa о \iota \nu \hat{\nu} \nu \delta_{\iota} a \pi \rho a \tau \tau о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu$.






 2 тoùs ä入入ovs $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ̂ s ~ \epsilon ̧ \xi \iota \sigma \omega \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota(\sigma a \tau \rho a \pi \hat{\omega} \nu \gamma a ̀ \rho$


入ıто́тทть каі $\mu \epsilon \gamma а \lambda о \psi v \chi i ́ a ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \epsilon ́ к \epsilon i ́ \nu \omega \nu ~ \dot{v} \pi \epsilon \rho-$ ßадó $\mu \in \nu о \varsigma ~ \tau \rho \cup \phi a ̀ s ~ і \sigma о ́ т \eta \tau а ~ к а і ~ к о \iota \nu \omega \nu i ́ a \nu ~ к а т а-~$






## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, vi. $3^{-v i r} 3$

Hippomedon, who had won fair fame in many wars, and had great influence because he stcod in favour with the young men. But what really induced Agesilaiis to take part in the king's enterprise was the multitude of his debts, of which he hoped to rid himself by changing the constitution. As soon, then, as Agis had won over Agesilaiis, he straightway sought with the aid of his uncle to persuade his mother, who was a sister of Agesilaiis, and owing to the multitude of her retainers, friends, and debtors, had great influence in the state and took a large part in public affairs.
VII. When she heard her son's plea, she was at first amazed, and tried to stop the young man from attempting what she thought was neither possible nor profitable; but Agesilaiis tried to show her that the king's project would be feasible and its accomplishment advantageous, and the king himself besought his mother to contribute her wealth for the advancement of his ambition and glory. For in the matter of property, he said, he could not equal the other kings (since the servants and slaves of the satraps and overseers of Ptolemy and Seleucus had larger possessions than all the kings of Sparta put together) ; but if in self-restraint, simplicity, and magnanimity he should surpass their luxury, and thereby establish equality and community of possession among his citizens, he would win the name and fame of a really great king. The women, lifted up by the young man's high ambition, were so changed in their purposes, and possessed, as it were, by so great an inspiration to take the noble course, that they joined in urging and hastening on the projects of

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 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ idí $\omega \nu$ aíroîs $\pi 0 \lambda v \pi \rho a \gamma \mu o v \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \delta i \delta o ́ v \tau a s . ~$

 4 "Aүıסı $\delta \dot{\sigma} \sigma \epsilon \rho \gamma о \nu$ каі $\chi \alpha \lambda \epsilon \pi \grave{\eta} \nu$ є่ $\pi о i ́ \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$. à $\nu \tau \epsilon \in-$
 $\pi \tau о \nu \sigma a \iota \delta i ’ a ̀ \pi \epsilon \iota \rho о к а \lambda i ́ a \nu \epsilon \dot{\delta} \delta a \iota \mu о \nu \iota \zeta о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta s, a ̉ \lambda \lambda a ̀$
 $\pi о \hat{\nu} \nu \tau о, \pi \epsilon \rho \iota к о \pi \tau о \mu \epsilon \in \nu \eta \nu$ аíт $\hat{\nu} \nu$ ó $\rho \hat{\omega} \sigma a \iota$. каї $\pi \rho o ̀ s$







 $\mu \iota \sigma \theta \grave{\nu} \nu \tau 0 \hat{\varsigma} \varsigma \tau \epsilon \prime \nu \eta \sigma \iota \tau \grave{a} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \lambda 0 \nu \sigma i \omega \nu \pi \rho о \tau \epsilon i \nu 0 \nu \tau a$, $\kappa a \grave{~} \gamma \hat{\eta} \varsigma \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \delta o ́ \sigma \epsilon \sigma \iota$ каi $\chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{a} \phi \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \sigma \sigma \iota \quad \pi о \lambda \lambda o u ̀ s$
 то入ítas.
VIII. Óv $\mu \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a}$ סıampa乡á $\mu \in \nu o s \dot{o}^{\prime}$ 'A $\gamma \iota s$






## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, vir. 3 -viri. i

Agis, sent for their friends among the men and invited them to help, and held conference with the women besides, since they were well aware that the men of Sparta were always obedient to their wives, and allowed them to meddle in public affairs more than they themselves were allowed to meddle in domestic concerns.

Now, at this time the greater part of the wealth of Sparta was in the hands of the women, and this made the work of Agis a grievous and difficult one. For the women were opposed to it, not only because they would be stripped of the luxury which, in the general lack of higher culture, made their lives seem happy, but also because they saw that the honour and influence which they enjoyed in consequence of their wealth would be cut off. So they had recourse to Leonidas, and besought him, since he was an older man, to withstand Agis and hinder what he was trying to accomplish. Leonidas, accordingly, was desirous of aiding the rich, but he feared the people, who were eager for a revolution. He therefore made no open opposition to Agis, but secretly sought to damage his undertaking and bring it to nought by slandering him to the chief magistrates, declaring that he was purchasing a tyranny by offering to the poor the property of the rich, and by distribution of land and remission of debts was buying a large body-guard for himself, not many citizens for Sparta.
VIII. However, Agis procured Lysander's election as ephor, and at once employed him to introduce a bill into the senate, ${ }^{1}$ the chief provisions of which were that debtors should be relieved of their debts, and that the land should be divided up, that which lay between the water-course at Pellene and Taÿgetus,

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 є̀ $\lambda \epsilon v \theta \epsilon \rho i ́ o v ~ \kappa а і ~ \chi а \rho і ́ \epsilon \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \sigma \omega ́ \mu а \sigma \iota ~$

 $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho а к о \sigma i ́ o v s ~ к а i ~ \delta \iota а к о \sigma i o v s, ~ к а i ̀ ~ \delta i ́ a \iota \tau а \nu ~ \eta ̄ \nu ~ є i ̉ \chi о \nu ~$

 $\tau \omega \nu$ єis тaùтò тaîs $\gamma \nu \omega ́ \mu a \iota s$ oủ $\sigma v \mu \phi \in \rho о \mu$ '́v $\omega \nu$,



 $\tau \eta \varsigma, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \pi \rho о \tau \epsilon \epsilon \rho \omega \nu \quad \chi \rho \eta \sigma \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \nu \eta-$














Malea, and Sellasia, into forty-five hundred lots, and that which lay outside this into fifteen thousand; that this larger land should be apportioned among those of the provincials who were capable of bearing arms, and the smaller among the genuine Spartans: that the number of these Spartans should be filled up from the provincials and foreigners who had received the rearing of freemen and were, besides, of vigorous bodies and in the prime of life; and that these should be formed into fifteen public messes by four hundreds and two hundreds, and should practise the mode of life which the ancient Spartans had followed.
IX. The "rhetra" was introduced in the senate, and the senators were divided in opinion. Lysander therefore called together a general assembly and discussed the matter himself with the citizens, and Mandrocleidas and Agesilaiis begged them not to suffer the insolent opposition of a few to blind them to the prostration of Sparta's dignity, but to call to mind the earlier oracles which bade them beware of the love of riches as a fatal thing for Sparta, as well as the oracles which had lately been brought to them from Pasiphaë.

Now there was a temple of Pasiphaë at Thalamae, and her oracle there was held in honour. Some say that Pasiphaë was one of the daughters of Atlas, and the mother of Ammon by Zeus, and some that Cassandra the daughter of Priam died at Thalamae, and was called Pasiphaë because she declared her oracles to all. Phylarchus, however, says that she was a daughter of Amyclas, Daphne by name, and that, fleeing the embraces of Apollo, she was changed into the tree of like name, after which she was honoured by the god with the gift of prophetic power. Be

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 тoîs $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma o v \mu \epsilon ́ v o \iota s ~ к а і ̀ ~ \nu \epsilon \mu о \mu e ́ v o \iota s, ~ a ̈ \nu \epsilon v ~ \delta e ̀ ~ \tau o v ́-~$

 $\kappa а і ̈ ~ о і к є i ́ o v s, ~ \pi \lambda о v \sigma \iota \omega \tau a ́ \tau o v s ~ o ̋ \nu \tau a s ~ \Sigma \pi a \rho т \iota a \tau \hat{\nu} \nu$.







 $\mu o ́ \nu \omega \quad \tau \hat{\varphi} \quad \dot{a} \rho \xi a \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \quad \pi \rho o \sigma \theta \eta \dot{\eta} \sigma o v \sigma \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \tau \iota \mu \dot{\eta} \nu$,









[^3]this as it may, it was now said that the oracles brought from this goddess ordained that all Spartans should be on an equality according to the original law made by Lycurgus. And finally, King Agis came forward and after a brief discourse said that he offered very large contributions to the constitutions which he was trying to establish; for in the first place he put into the common stock his own estate, which included extensive tillage and pasture, and apart from this six hundred talents in money; and, besides, his mother and his grandmother did likewise, together with their relatives and friends, and they were the wealthiest among the Spartans.

X . The people, accordingly, were filled with amazement at the magnanimity of the young man, and were delighted, feeling that after a lapse of nearly two hundred years a king had appeared who was worthy of Sparta; but Leonidas, now more than ever, strove in opposition. For he reasoned that he would be compelled to do as Agis had done, and that he would not get the same gratitude for it among the citizens, but that if all the rich alike made their property a part of the common fund, the honour for it would be given to him alone who had led the way. He therefore asked Agis if he thought that Lycurgus had shown himself a just and worthy man, and when Agis said that he did, "When, then," said Leonidas, "did Lycurgus either grant abolition of debts or admit foreigners into citizenship-a man who held that the state was in no healthy way at all if it did not practise expulsion of foreigners?"

But Agis replied that he was not astonished to find Leonidas, who had been reared in foreign lands and

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 3 т $\hat{\imath} \nu о \mu i \sigma \mu a \tau \iota \sigma v \nu \epsilon \xi \in \notin \beta a \lambda \epsilon \nu$ є̇к $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega \varsigma, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta$ '
 таîs סıaítaıs ả $\sigma v \mu \phi u ́ \lambda o v s ~ \mu a ̂ \lambda \lambda o \nu ~ \epsilon ́ \delta v \sigma \chi є ́ p a ı \nu e . ~$ $\kappa a i ̀ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \epsilon ̇ \kappa \epsilon i ́ \nu o v s ~ \eta ้ \lambda a v \nu \epsilon \nu ~ o u ̉ ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \sigma ' \omega \mu a \sigma \iota ~ \pi о \lambda \epsilon-~$ $\mu \hat{\omega} \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda a ̀$ тoùs $\beta$ íovs aùt $\hat{\omega} \nu$ каі̆ то̀̀s трótoovs













 $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ ßí $\omega \nu$ каì т $о$ ó $\pi \omega \nu$ à $\mu \epsilon \tau \rho i ́ a ~ к а \grave{~} \pi \lambda \eta \mu \mu \epsilon ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota a$
 $\pi \epsilon \pi о \iota \eta \kappa \epsilon \nu$."








## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, x. 2-xi. 2

had children by an oriental marriage, ignorant that Lycurgus had banished from the state debts and loans along with coined money, and that foreigners in the cities were held by him in less displeasure than men to whom the Spartan practices and ways of living were not congenial ; these, indeed, he sought to drive away, not because he was hostile to their persons, but because he feared lest their lives and manners should contaminate the citizens, and breed in them a love of luxury, effeminacy, and greed; for certainly Terpander and Thales and Pherecydes were foreigners, and yet, because the teachings of their songs and philosophy always accorded with those of Lycurgus, they were held in surpassing, honour at Sparta. "Thou praisest Ecprepes," said Agis, " who, as ephor, cut out with an adze two of the nine lute-strings of Phrynis the musician, and likewise the magistrates in the time of 'Timotheus, who did the same thing in their turn, but thou blamest me for trying to remove luxury, extravagance, and ostentation from Sparta, as if those magistrates also were not on the watch to prevent the pompous and superfluous in music from making such advances as our lives and manners have come to, whose excess and discord has made the city dissonant and out of tune with itself."
XI. After this, the common people took sides with Agis, but the men of wealth entreated Leonidas not to abandon them. And by prayers and arguments with the senators, whose power lay in their privilege of presenting all measures to the people, they so far prevailed that by a single vote the proposed rhetra was rejected. Lysander, however, who was still ephor, set on foot an indictment of Leonidas by virtue of

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 таи̃та катà то̂ $\Lambda \epsilon \omega \nu i ́ \delta a ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu ~ є ́ \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o v s ~ \delta \iota \delta a ́ \xi a s, ~$ aưтòs $\pi a \rho \epsilon \phi v ́ \lambda a \tau \tau \epsilon \quad \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a}$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu$ $\sigma \nu \nu a \rho \chi o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \tau o ̀$ б $\eta \mu \epsilon$ îo $\nu$.

3





 ì $\lambda \omega \kappa o ́ \sigma \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon ́ \omega \nu \beta o \eta \theta \hat{\omega} \nu$.






 тท̂ऽ $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ́ a \varsigma ~ a ̀ \nu \tau \iota \pi т о \iota \epsilon i ̄ \theta a \iota, ~ \gamma a \mu \beta \rho o ̀ \nu ~ o ̀ \nu \tau a ~ \tau о \hat{v}$






## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xi. 2-5

an ancient law which forbade any descendant of Heracles to beget children by a foreign woman, and ordained that anyone who left Sparta to settle among foreigners should be put to death. ${ }^{1}$ After instructing others to spread these charges against Leonidas, he himself, with his colleagues, proceeded to observe the traditional sign from heaven.

This is observed as follows. Every ninth year the ephors select a clear and moonless night, and in silent session watch the face of the heavens. If, then, a star shoots across the sky, they decide that their kings have transgressed in their dealings with the gods, and suspend them from their office, until an oracle from Delphi or Olympia comes to the succour of the kings thus found guilty.

This sign Lysander now declared had been given him, and indicted Leonidas, and produced witnesses showing that he was the father of two children by a woman of Asia who had been given him to wife by one of the lieutenants of Seleucus; and that owing to the woman's dislike and hatred of him he had come back home against his own wishes, where he had assumed the royal dignity, to which there was then no direct successor. Besides bringing this indictment, Lysander tried to persuade Cleombrotus to lay claim to the royal dignity. Cleombrotus was a son-in-law of Leonidas, and one of the royal line. Leonidas, accordingly, took fright, and fled as a suppliant to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House. His daughter also forsook Cleombrotus and became a suppliant with her father. When Leonidas was summoned to his trial and did not appear, he was

[^4]
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 $\pi а \rho є ́ \delta \omega \kappa а \nu$.
 ám $\eta \lambda \lambda a ́ \gamma \eta$ тô $\chi \rho o ́ v o v ~ \delta \iota є \lambda \theta o ́ \nu \tau о я . ~ o i ~ \delta є ̀ ~ к а т а-~$ $\sigma \tau а \theta \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ єैфорои тòv $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \Lambda \epsilon \omega \nu i ́ \delta a \nu$ àvé $\sigma \tau \eta \sigma a \nu$







 $\pi$ оòs тò $\sigma v \mu \phi \epsilon ́ \rho о \nu . ~ a ̉ \mu \phi o i ̂ \nu ~ \delta e ̀ ~ \tau a u ̉ \tau a ̀ ~ \beta o v \lambda \epsilon v o-~$
 $\mu a \chi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \theta a \iota$ т $\rho$ òs тoùs $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ̂ s, ~ \dot{\omega} \nu \quad \mu a \chi o \mu e ́ v \omega \nu$ Sıaıтầ каі̀ $\beta \rho a \beta \epsilon v ́ \epsilon \iota \nu ~ a u ̉ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \epsilon i v a \iota ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \eta ̂ к о \nu, ~$
 $\pi \epsilon \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ à $\mu$ о́тєро८ каì $\mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \tau \omega ิ \nu$ фí入 $\omega \nu$ єis
 $\tau o u ̀ s ~ \epsilon ́ \phi o ́ \rho o v s, ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda o u s ~ \delta ’ ~ a ̉ \nu \tau ’ ~ a u ̛ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon ́ \delta \epsilon \iota \xi a \nu$, $\dot{\omega} \nu \epsilon \hat{i} \varsigma \hat{\eta}_{\nu}$ 'A $\gamma \eta \sigma i \lambda a o s . \quad \dot{o} \pi \lambda i ́ \sigma a \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma \delta \grave{\varepsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \epsilon \in \omega \nu$







## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xi. 5-xir. 4

deposed, and Cleombrotus was made king in his place. ${ }^{1}$
XII. At this point, Lysander's term expired and he went out of office. The new board of ephors encouraged Leonidas to leave his suppliant's asylum, and brought an indictment against Lysander and Mandrocleidas for violating the law in proposing an abolition of debts and a distribution of land. Thus put in legal peril, Lysander and Mandrocleidas persuaded the two kings to act together and disregard the edicts of the ephors; for that board of magistrates, they said, derived its power from dissension between the two kings, by giving their vote to the king who offered the better advice, whenever the other was at variance with the public good; but when the two kings were in accord, their power was indissoluble, and it would be unlawful for the ephors to contend against them, although when the kings were in contention with one another it was the privilege of the ephors to act as arbiters between them, but not to interfere when they were of one mind. Persuaded by these arguments, both the kings went with their friends into the market place, removed the ephors from their seats, and appointed others in their stead, one of whom was Agesilaüs. ${ }^{2}$ Then they armed a large body of young men and set free all who were in prison, thus striking fear into their opponents, who thought they would put many of them to death. No one, however, lost his life at their hands; on the contrary, when Agis learned that Agesilaüs had plotted to make away with Leonidas as he was trying to withdraw to Tegea, and had sent men to assault him on the road, he sent out another company of

[^5]
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 $\pi a ́ \mu \pi о \lambda \lambda a, \mu \eta \dot{\tau} \epsilon \delta \iota a \lambda \hat{v} \sigma a \iota \delta \nu \nu a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о s$ тà $\chi \rho \in ́ a$













 рढ́тєроע.

 $\lambda \epsilon \cup o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$, à $\sigma \chi o \lambda i ́ a s ~ \tau \iota \nu a ̀ s ~ \epsilon ́ ~ \epsilon \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu ~ o ́ ~ ' A \gamma \eta \sigma i ́-~$
 $\chi \rho o ́ v o \nu, ~ a ̆ \chi \rho \iota ~ o \hat{v} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon i ́ a ~ \sigma v \nu \in ́ \beta \eta ~ \tau \hat{\varphi}$ " "A $\gamma \iota \delta \iota$, $\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \pi \epsilon \mu \pi о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'A $\chi \alpha \iota \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \nu \mu \mu a ́ \chi \omega \nu$ ő $\nu \tau \omega \nu$

trusted followers who took Leonidas under their protection and brought him safely to Tegea.
XIII. Thus the enterprise of the kings was making good progress and no one tried to oppose or hinder them, when one man, Agesilaiis, upset and ruined everything. He allowed a most shameful disease of avarice to wreck a most noble and most truly Spartan plan. For since he was an exceedingly large owner of valuable land, but owed huge sums of money, being unable to pay his debts and unwilling to give up his lands, he persuaded Agis that if both his projects should be carried through at the same time the resulting convulsion in the state would be great; but that if the men of property should first be won over by a remission of their debts, they would afterwards accept the distribution of land contentedly and quietly. This was also the opinion of Lysander, who was deceived in like manner by Agesilaüs. So they caused the mortgages (the Spartans call them "klaria," or allotment pledges) to be brought into the market-place, heaped them altogether, and set fire to them. As the flames rose, the men of wealth and the lenders of money went away with heavy hearts; but Agesilaüs, as if in mockery of them, declared that his eyes had never seen a brighter or purer flame than that.

And now the multitude demanded also that the land should at once be divided, and the kings gave orders that this should be done; but Agesilaiis would always interpose some obstacle or make some excuse, and so consumed time until it became the duty of Agis to head a military expedition, when the Achaeans, who were their allies, sent

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ßoì $\theta \epsilon \iota a \nu$ èк $\Lambda а к \epsilon \delta a i ́ \mu о \nu o s . ~ A i \tau \omega \lambda o i ̀ ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \eta ̂ \sigma a \nu ~$


 є́申ópoıs $\notin \gamma \rho a \phi \in \nu$.

 $\tau \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$. עє́o८ ' $\grave{a} \rho$ ö ò $\tau \epsilon \varsigma$ oi $\pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \tau о \iota ~ \kappa а i ̀$ $\pi \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \tau \epsilon \varsigma, \kappa а i ̀ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \mu \grave{\varepsilon} \nu$ à $\pi \grave{o}$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu \quad \chi \rho \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\delta є \iota a \nu$





 $\zeta_{\epsilon \sigma \theta a \imath ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ " E \lambda \lambda \eta \nu a s ~ o i o s ~ \hat{\eta} \nu ~ a ’ p a ~ к o ́ \sigma \mu о s ~}^{\text {ºs }}$



 3 т $\hat{\nu} \nu$ бvбтратєvo $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu .{ }^{1}$ каі̀ $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \tau о \iota ~ к а і ~ a u ̀ \tau o ̀ s ~$







 $\xi \epsilon \omega \varsigma \pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ \tau о \grave{\varsigma} \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i o v \varsigma, ~ \grave{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \delta \epsilon \iota \xi а т о$ каі $\pi \rho о-$



## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xiri. $4^{-x v}$.

for aid from Sparta. For the Aetolians were expected to invade Peloponnesus by way of Megara; and Aratus, the general of the Achaeans, in an effort to prevent this, was assembling a force and wrote a letter to the ephors.
XIV. These at once sent out Agis, who was exalted in spirit by the ambition and ardour of the soldiers under him. For being young men for the most part and poor, and having now immunity from their debts and absolution, and expecting that they would receive allotments of land if they returned from the expedition, their devotion to Agis was astonishing. And they were a spectacle to the cities as they marched through the Peloponnesus without doing any injury, without rudeness, and almost without noise, so that the other Greeks were amazed and asked themselves what must have been the discipline of a Spartan army under the command of the great Agesilaiis, or the famous Lysander, or Leonidas of old, since towards a stripling who was almost the youngest of the whole army so great reverence and fear were felt by his soldiers. And indeed the young man himself, owing to his simplicity, his love of hardships, and the pride he took in clothing and arming himself with no more splendour than a common soldier, won the admiration and devotion of the multitudes; for to the rich, certainly, his innovating ways were not pleasing, owing to a fear that they might prove a disturbing force and set a bad example among the common people everywhere.
XV. Aratus, when Agis joined him near Corinth, was still deliberating whether or not to meet the enemy in open battle. Here Agis displayed great ardour, and courage which was sane and calculating.

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 $\chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ каì $\mu \grave{\eta} \pi a \rho \iota \in ́ v a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu о \nu ~ \epsilon ̋ ้ \sigma \omega$, $\tau a ̀ s$ $\pi v ́ \lambda a s ~ \tau \eta ̂ \varsigma ~ П \epsilon \lambda о \pi о \nu \nu \eta ́ \sigma o v ~ \pi \rho о є \mu \epsilon ́ v o v \varsigma, ~ \pi o \iota \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu$
 єìvaı каi $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ ' $\mathrm{A} \chi a \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$, oìs oủ $\chi i \operatorname{\pi \rho o\sigma -}$
 ŋ̈коє каї $\beta о \eta \theta \eta \dot{\sigma} \sigma \nu$. $\chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a i ́ ~ \phi \eta \sigma \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ ' A ~ \gamma \iota \nu ~ ' A \rho a ́ t o v ~ к є \lambda \epsilon v ́ o \nu \tau o s, ~ o u ̉ \kappa ~$


 $\gamma \epsilon \omega \rho \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu, \pi a \rho \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu$ тoùs $\pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i o v s \hat{\eta} \mu a ́ \chi \eta$ $\delta_{\imath} a-$ $\kappa \iota \nu \delta \nu \nu \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma \alpha \iota \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{~} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu{ }_{0}{ }^{\circ} \lambda \omega \nu$.




XVI. 'O $\gamma$ àp 'A $\gamma \eta \sigma i{ }^{\prime} \lambda a o s ~ \dot{\epsilon} \phi o \rho \epsilon \cup v \omega \nu, \dot{a} \pi \eta \lambda \lambda a \gamma-$



 тоîs тé入єбь каі таре́траттє. $\delta \epsilon \delta \iota \grave{\omega} \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ то̀̀s





## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xv. 1 -xvi. 2

For he declared that in his opinion it was best to fight a decisive battle and not to abandon the gate of the Peloponnesus and suffer the enemy to pass inside : "However," he said, "I will do as scems best to Aratus, for Aratus is an older man, and is general of the Achaeans; I did not come hither to be their leader or to give them orders, but to give them aid and share their expedition."

Baton of Sinopé, however, says that Agis himself was unwilling to give battle although Aratus urged it; but Baton has not read what Aratus wrote about this matter, ${ }^{1}$ urging in self-defence that he thought it better, now that the husbandmen had gathered in almost all their crops, to suffer the enemy to pass by, instead of risking everything in battle.

When, therefore, A ratus decided not to give battle, and dismissed his allies with praises for their proffered aid, Agis, who had won universal admiration, led his forces back to Sparta, where there was already much commotion and a revolution.
XVI. For Agesilaüs, who was one of the ephors, being now freed from what had kept him in restraint before, shrank from no injustice that brought him money, nay, contrary to the customary arrangement of the calendar, and when the time for it had not yet come, he inserted a thirteenth month ${ }^{2}$ and exacted the taxes for it. Moreover, in fear of the victims of his injustice and hated by all men, he kept an armed bodyguard, and would go down to his magistracy under their protection. And as for the kings, he wished men to think that he utterly despised the one,

[^6]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES


 $\lambda o ́ \gamma o \nu ~ \dot{\omega} \varsigma \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ a \hat{v} \theta \iota s$ є́ $\phi о \rho \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma \omega \nu$.
 каї бvбта́⿱亠тєs є̇к Тєүє́as à $\nu a \phi a \nu \delta o ̀ \nu ~ т o ̀ \nu ~ \Lambda \epsilon \omega \nu i ́ \delta a \nu ~$


 ó viòs ' $\mathrm{I} \pi \pi о \mu \epsilon$ ' $\delta \omega \nu$, $\delta \epsilon o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa а і$ $\pi a ̂ \sigma \iota \pi \rho o \sigma \phi \iota \lambda \grave{\eta} \varsigma \stackrel{\omega}{\omega} \nu \delta \iota \dot{\imath} \nu \delta \rho a \gamma a \theta i a \nu, \dot{v} \pi \epsilon \xi \eta \gamma a \gamma \epsilon$


 єं $\delta о ́ к \epsilon \iota ~ \tau о и ́ т \omega ~ \mu a ̂ \lambda \lambda o \nu ~ o ́ ~ \Lambda \epsilon \omega \nu i ́ \delta a s ~ \chi a \lambda \epsilon \pi o ̀ s ~ \epsilon i v a \iota, ~$




XVII. 'O $\mu$ èv oûv $\mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon o ̛ \mu \beta \rho o \tau o s ~ o u ̉ \delta e ̀ v ~ \epsilon i ̂ \chi \epsilon \nu ~$


 К $\lambda \epsilon о \mu \beta$ о́тоv ті̀ $\nu \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon i ́ a \nu$ тарадаßóvтоя à $\pi о-$
 $\pi а \rho o ́ \nu \tau \iota ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \sigma v \nu \iota \kappa \epsilon ́ \tau \epsilon v \epsilon, ~ \phi \epsilon र ́ \gamma о \nu \tau o s ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon ~} \pi \epsilon \nu \theta o v ̂ \sigma a$



## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xvi. 2-xvir. 1

and held Agis in some slight honour more because of his near relationship than because he was king. He also spread reports that he was going to be ephor again.

For this reason his enemies lost no time in taking the great hazard, and banding together, openly brought home Leonidas from Tegea to exercise the royal power. Even the common people were glad to see this done, for they were incensed at their deception in the promised division of the land. Agesilaüs, accordingly, was taken out of the country and saved by his son Hippomedon, who entreated his fellowcitizens, and was beloved of all because of his valour; and as for the kings, Agis fled for refuge to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, while Cleombrotus went as a suppliant to the sanctuary of Poseidon; ${ }^{1}$ for Leonidas was thought to be more bitter against him, and in fact he left Agis unmolested and went up against Cleombrotus with soldiers. And when he arrived he denounced Cleombrotus angrily because, though a son-in-law, he had plotted against him, robbed him of the royal power, and helped in driving him from the country.
XVII. Cleombrotus, on his part, had naught to say for himself, but sat perplexed and speechless; Chilonis, however, the daughter of Leonidas, who before this had felt herself wronged in the wrongs done to her father, and when Cleombrotus was made king had left him and ministered to her father in his misfortunes, -sharing his suppliant life while he was in the city, and in his exile continually grieving for him and cherishing bitter thoughts of Cleombrotus-at this

[^7]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

$\beta a ́ \lambda \lambda o v \sigma a \quad \mu \epsilon \tau a ̀ ~ \tau о \hat{v}$ ảv $\delta \rho o ̀ s ~ i \kappa \epsilon ́ т \iota \varsigma ~ \omega ̈ ф \theta \eta ~ к а \theta \epsilon-~$



 $\dot{a} \psi a \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon ́ \pi \lambda \omega \nu \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \kappa \dot{o} \mu \eta s \dot{a}^{\tau} \eta \mu \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \varsigma$
 $\sigma \chi \eta ̂ \mu a ~ к а і ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ ő $\psi \iota \nu$ où $\chi$ ó $\mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \beta$ ро́тои $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau \epsilon ́-$

 тò $\pi \epsilon ́ \nu \theta o s . \quad \pi o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$ oû̀ $\delta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \mu \epsilon \sigma o \hat{v} \beta a \sigma i \lambda \epsilon$ v́o $\mu \tau o s$
 таîs $\sigma v \mu \phi о р a i ̂ s, ~ \grave{\eta} \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \sigma \theta \hat{\eta} \tau \alpha$ 入а $\mu \pi \rho a ̀ \nu$ каі̀






 $\pi a \tau \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̈ \lambda \epsilon o ́ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \sigma \tau \iota \nu ; ~ a ̉ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ к а i ̀ ~ \gamma v \nu \eta ̀ ~ к а і ̀ ~ \theta \nu \gamma a ́ т \eta \rho ~$


 $\epsilon \xi є \tau \alpha \sigma \theta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma a$ каi катанартvрท́баба $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ iтò








## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xvir. 1 -xviil. i

time changed back again with the changed fortunes of the men, and was seen sitting as a suppliant with her husband, her arms thrown about him, and a little child clinging to her on either side. All beholders were moved to wonder and tears at the fidelity and devotion of the woman, who, touching her robes and her hair, alike unkempt, said: "This garb, my father, and this appearance, are not due to my pity for Cleombrotus; nay, ever since thy sorrows and thine exile grief has been my steadfast mate and companion. Must I, then, now that thou art king in Sparta and victorious over thine enemies, continue to live in this sad state, or put on the splendid attire of royalty, after seeing the husband of my youth slain at thy hands? That husband, unless he persuades and wins thee over by the tears of his wife and children, will pay a more grievous penalty for his evil designs than thou desirest, for he shall see me, his most beloved one, dead before he is. For with what assurance could I live and face the other women, I, whose prayers awakened no pity in either husband or father? Nay, both as wife and as daughter I was born to share only the misfortune and dishonour of the men nearest and dearest to me. As for my husband, even if he had some plausible excuse for his course, I robbed him of it at that time by taking thy part and testifying to what he had done; but thou makest his crime an easy one to defend by showing men that royal power is a thing so great and so worth fighting for that for its sake it is right to slay a son-in-law and ignore a child."
XVIII. Uttering such supplications Chilonis rested her face upon the head of Cleombrotus and turned

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES





 2 тウ̀ $\nu$ тô $\mathfrak{a} \nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ a u ̉ \tau \eta ̂ ~ \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho i ́ a \nu . ~ o u ̉ ~ \mu \grave{\eta} \nu$ é $\pi \epsilon \iota \sigma \epsilon \nu$,









 $\sigma \tau \eta ̂ \nu a \iota \kappa a i ̀ ~ \sigma v \mu \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon v \in \epsilon \iota, \dot{\omega} \varsigma \delta \epsilon \delta \omega \kappa o ́ \tau \omega \nu$ $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \nu \omega^{-}$ $\mu \eta \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \cdot \sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \xi \eta \pi a \tau \hat{\eta} \sigma \theta a \iota$ үà $\rho \dot{\nu} \pi \grave{o} \tau o \hat{v}$




 $\pi о \tau \epsilon$ каі $\pi a \rho a \lambda a \beta o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \grave{~ \lambda o v \tau \rho o ̀ \nu ~ a ̀ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau о \hat{v}}$




[^8]her eyes, all melted and marred with grief, upon the bystanders. Then Leonidas, after conference with his friends, bade Cleombrotus leave his asylum and go into exile, but begged his daughter to remain, and not to abandon him, since he loved her so much, and had made her a free gift of her husband's life. He could not persuade her, however, but when her husband rose to go she put one of her children in his arms, took up the other one herself, and went forth in his company after an obeisance to the altar of the god; so that if Cleombrotus had not been wholly corrupted by vain ambition, he would have considered that exile was a greater blessing for him than the kingdom, because it restored to him his wife.

After removing Cleombrotus from his asylum, Leonidas expelled the officiating ephors from their office, appointed others in their place, and at once began to lay plots against the life of Agis. To begin with, he tried to persuade Agis to leave his asylum and share the royal power with him, assuring Agis that the citizens had pardoned him, because, being a young man and ambitious, he had been one of those whom Agesilaüs had completely deceived. But Agis continued to be suspicious and would not leave his asylum. So Leonidas himself stopped trying to cheat and play tricks upon him, but Amphares, Damochares, and Arcesilaüs did not. They were wont to go up to the temple and converse with Agis; and once they actually took him in charge and brought him down from the temple for a bath, and after he had bathed, restored him again to the temple. They were all comrades of his, but Amphares had also borrowed recently some

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 каì таîऽ $\gamma \nu \nu a \iota \xi i \nu \dot{\omega} s ~ a ̀ \pi о \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \eta \prime \sigma \omega \nu . ~ к а i ̀ ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ́ ~$








 סé тıva $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma$ ó $\delta o \hat{v} \pi \lambda a \gamma i ́ a \nu ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta ~ \delta \epsilon \sigma \mu \omega \tau \eta ́ \rho ı o \nu ~$




 $3 \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta a \lambda \grave{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ \tau o ̀ \nu \tau \rho a ́ \chi \eta \lambda o \nu \epsilon i \lambda \kappa \epsilon \nu$. aै $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon}$













## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xviir. 4 -xix. 4

costly vestures and beakers from Agesistrata, and therefore plotted to destroy the king and the women, that he might not have to return what he had borrowed. And he, certainly, more than anyone else, as we are told, followed the counsels of Leonidas and embittered the ephors, of whom he was one, against Agis.
XIX. Now Agis spent most of his time in the sanctuary, but was wont to go down from time to time to his bath. There, then, they determined to seize him, when he was outside the sanctuary. So they waited till he had finished his bath, and then came to meet him with friendly greetings, and walked along with him, conversing and jesting with him after the manner of youthful comrades. But at a certain point the road branched off towards the prison, and when they were come to that place, Amphares, by virtue of his office, laid hands on Agis and said: "I shall lead thee, Agis, to the ephors, to answer for thy measures of state"; and Damochares, who was tall and robust, threw his cloak about the king's neck and dragged him along. Others pushed him along from behind, as had been agreed, and since he had no helper but was without a friend, they thrust him into the prison. At once Leonidas was at hand with a large band of mercenaries and surrounded the prison, while the ephors went in to Agis. After sending for those of the senators who were of the same mind as themselves, as though the king were to have a trial, the ephors ordered Agis to defend his conduct of affairs. The young king laughed at their dissimulation, whereupon Amphares threatened that he would rue the day and be punished for his temerity; but another ephor, as

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES






 $\mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \nu о \epsilon \hat{\imath}$ тoîs $\pi \epsilon \pi \rho a \gamma \mu \epsilon \in \nu o \iota \varsigma . ~ \phi \eta ́ \sigma a \nu \tau o s ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ той





 ó $\Delta a \mu o \chi a ́ \rho \eta$ s où то $\mu \hat{\omega} \nu \tau a s$ äభ $\alpha \sigma \theta a \iota \tau o u ̂ " A \gamma ı \delta o s$,


 $\chi \epsilon i ̂ \rho a s ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \phi \in ́ \rho \epsilon \iota \nu, \delta \iota a \pi \epsilon \iota \lambda \eta \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о s$ aưтоîs каì



 $\beta о \omega \overline{\sigma a \iota ~ к а і ̀ ~ \delta є о ́ \mu \epsilon \nu a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~} \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon ́ a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \Sigma \pi a \rho \tau \iota a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$






## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xix. 4-xx.

though plainly offering Agis a way ot escape from the charges against him, asked him if he had done what he did under compulsion from Lysander and Agesilaüs. And when Agis answered that he had suffered compulsion from no one, but that in admiration and imitation of Lycurgus he had adopted the same public policy as his, the same ephor asked again if he repented of what he had done. But the young king declared that he had no repentance for what he had most excellently planned, and would not have, even if he saw that he was to suffer the extremest penalty. So they condemned him to death, and ordered the officers to lead him into the "Dechas," as it was called. This is a chamber of the prison in which they strangle those who are under sentence of death. But Damochares, when he saw that the officers did not dare to lay hands on Agis, and likewise that even the mercenaries who were there shrank from the deed and were loth to do it, feeling as they did that it was contrary to the laws of God and man to lay hands upon the person of a king, heaped threats and abuse upon them and himself dragged Agis into the chamber of death. For already many people were aware of the arrest, and there was a noisy throng at the door and many torches, and the mother and grandmother of Agis were there, with cries and prayers that the king of the Spartans should have a hearing and a trial before the citizens. For this reason especially the ephors hastened on the king's execution, believing that he would be taken out of their hands in the night if the concourse should increase.
XX. Agis, then, on his way to the halter, saw one of the officers shedding tears of sympathy for him.

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES






 $\pi \epsilon \sigma o \hat{v} \sigma a \nu$ aùtê סıà $\sigma v \nu \eta \eta_{\theta \epsilon \iota a \nu ~ к а i ̀ ~ \phi ı \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ a ̀ v a-~}^{\text {a }}$






 $\sigma \phi$ óठра $\pi \rho \in \sigma \beta \hat{v} \tau \iota \nu$ ои̃ $\sigma a \nu$ каі катаүєүทракvîav






 $\pi \rho \circ \sigma \pi \epsilon \sigma \circ \hat{\sigma} \sigma$ каi $\phi \iota \lambda \prime \prime \sigma a \sigma a$ тò $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \omega \pi o \nu$, " "H $\pi 0 \lambda \lambda \eta$ ' $\sigma \epsilon$," $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu$, " $\dot{\omega} \pi a \hat{\imath}, \epsilon u ̉ \lambda a ́ \beta \epsilon \iota a \kappa a i ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi ~ \pi \rho a ̂ o \nu ~$







## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xx. 1 -5

"My man," said he, "cease weeping; for even though I am put to death in this lawless and unjust manner, I have the better of my murderers." And saying these words, he offered his neck to the noose without hesitation. But Amphares went to the door of the prison, where Agesistrata fell at his feet in an appeal to his friendship and intimacy. Amphares lifted her up and assured her that Agis was not to suffer violence or death; and he bade her, if she wished, go in to her son. And when Agesistrata begged that her mother might go in with her, Amphares said there was nothing to prevent. So he admitted both the women, and after ordering the door of the prison to be locked again, delivered Archidamia first to the executioners. She was now a very aged woman, and had lived all her days in very high repute among her countrywomen. After she had been put to death, Amphares ordered Agesistrata to enter the chamber of execution. So she went in, and when she saw her son lying dead upon the ground, and her mother's dead body still hanging in the noose, with her own hands she helped the officers to take her down, laid her body out by the side of Agis, and composed and covered it. Then, embracing her son and kissing his face, she said: "My son, it was thy too great regard for others, and thy gentleness and humanity, which has brought thee to ruin, and us as well." Then Amphares, who stood at the door and saw and heard what she did and said, came in and said angrily to her: "If, then, thou hast been of the same mind as thy son, thou shalt also suffer the same fate." And Agesistrata, as she rose to present her neck to the

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 $\Sigma \pi a ́ \rho \tau \eta!. "$
XXI. Tô $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \pi a ́ \theta o v s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ \epsilon ' \xi a \gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda-~$

 тoùs $\pi о \lambda i ́ \tau a s ~ a ̉ \lambda \gamma o ̂ ̂ \nu \tau a s ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi i ̀ ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \gamma \epsilon \gamma o \nu o ́ \sigma \iota, ~$ $\mu \iota \sigma o v ̂ \nu \tau a \varsigma ~ \delta \epsilon ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \Lambda \epsilon \omega \nu i ́ \delta a \nu ~ к а і ̀ ~ т o ̀ \nu ~ ' А \mu \phi a ́ \rho \eta \nu, ~$




 $\kappa a i ̀ ~ \sigma \epsilon \beta o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ a ̀ \xi i \omega \mu a$. ठıò каì $\pi о \lambda \lambda \omega \bar{\omega} \gamma є \gamma о-$
 $\mu o ́ \nu o s ~ a ̀ \nu \eta \rho \rho \epsilon ́ \theta \eta \pi \rho o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Фı $\lambda \iota \pi \pi \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ סó $\rho a \tau \iota \pi \lambda \eta$ -
 каì Өєóтонто⿱ v́т' 'A $\rho \iota \sigma \tau о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s ~ \pi \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \lambda \epsilon \gamma o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$
3 oú фаб८ Лакє $\delta a \iota \mu o ́ v \iota o \iota, \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \mu o ́ \nu o \nu . a ̉ \lambda \lambda \grave{a}$



 $\nu о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ ä $\nu \theta \rho \omega \pi о \iota \sigma v \gamma \gamma \nu \dot{\mu} \mu \eta \varsigma \tau v \gamma \chi a ́ \nu о v \sigma \iota, \mu \epsilon \mu \phi \theta \epsilon i \varsigma$




## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xx. 5-xxi. 3

noose, said: "My only prayer is that this may bring good to Sparta."
XXI. When tidings of the sad event had been carried to the city and the three bodies were carried forth for burial, the fear felt by the citizens was not so strong as to prevent them from manifesting sorrow over what had been done, and hatred for Leonidas and Amphares. It was thought that nothing more dreadful or heinous had been done in Sparta since the Dorians had dwelt in Peloponnesus. For against a king of the Lacedaemonians, as it seems, not even their enemies would willingly raise their hands if they met him in battle, but they would spare him, out of fear and reverence for his dignity. And for this reason, although there had been many conflicts between Lacedaemonians and other Greeks, only one Spartan king had been slain up to the time of Philip of Macedon, namely, Cleombrotus, who was smitten by a spear at Leuctra. ${ }^{1}$ The Messenians, however, say that Theopompus also fell in battle, at the hands of Aristomenes; but the Lacedaemonians deny this, and say that their king was only wounded. This matter may be disputed: but Agis was certainly the first king of Sparta to le put to death by the ephors. And yet he had chosen a line of conduct that was noble and worthy of Sparta, and was of an age in which men are usually pardoned for their errors, and his friends could with more justice blame him than his enemies, because he spared the life of Leonidas, and, most mild and gentle man that he was, put faith in his other foes.

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## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

## KAEOMENH乏

I. 'A $\pi o \theta a \nu o ́ \nu \tau o \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ aủtô̂ $\tau o ̀ \nu ~ \mu e ̀ \nu ~ a ́ a ~ \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi o ̀ \nu ~ 805 ~$


 $\tau \hat{\varphi}$ vị̂̂ $\sigma v \nu \omega ઼ \kappa \iota \sigma \epsilon \nu$ ov $\pi a ́ \nu v ~ \gamma a ́ \mu \omega \nu ~ \omega ̈ \rho a \nu ~ \epsilon ै \chi о \nu \tau \iota, ~$

 $\Gamma u \lambda i \pi \pi \pi o v$ то̂ $\pi a \tau \rho o ́ s, ~ \mathscr{\omega} \rho a \quad \tau \epsilon \kappa \alpha i ̀ \kappa a ́ \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \pi о \lambda \grave{v}$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{E} \lambda \lambda \eta \nu i ́ \delta \omega \nu$ ठıафє́povo ка каі̀ тò $\tau$ то́тор

















 єєкßıа ఢо́ $\mu \epsilon \nu о \nu$.

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, r. r-3

## CLEOMENES

I. Upon the death of $\mathrm{Agis}^{1}$ his brother Archidamus at once took to flight, and thus escaped arrest at the hands of Leonidas; but his wife, who had an infant son, was taken from her home by Leonidas and compelled to marry his son Cleomenes. Cleomenes was too young for marriage, but Leonidas was unwilling to have Agiatis marry anyone else. For she was heir to the great estate of her father Gylippus, in youthful beauty she far surpassed the other women of Greece, and she had an excellent disposition. Therefore she begged most earnestly, we are told, that she should not be forced into this marriage, but after she was united to Cleomenes, though she hated Leonidas, to the young man himself she was a good and affectionate wife. And he, as soon as Agiatis was his, became passionately fond of her, and in a way sympathized with her devotion to the memory of Agis, so that he would often ask her about the career of Agis, and listen attentively as she told of the plans and purposes which Agis had formed.

And, besides, Cleomenes was aspiring and magnanimous, and no less prone by nature than Agis to self-restraint and simplicity. He had not, however, the scrupulous and gentle nature for which Agis was remarkable, and his natural courage was always goading him on, as it were, and fiercely impelling him towards that which in any case appeared to be the honourable course. He thought it a most excellent thing to rule over willing subjects, but a good thing also to subdue such subjects as were disobedient, and force them towards the better goal.
${ }^{1}$ About 241 b.c.

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 $\pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu, \dot{a} \pi \rho a \gamma \mu \circ \sigma$ úv $\eta$ каì $\mathfrak{\eta} \delta о \nu \hat{\eta}$ катакєкŋ $\eta \eta \mu \in ́ \nu \omega \nu$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ каi то̂ $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon ́ \omega \varsigma ~ \pi a ́ \nu \tau \alpha ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \pi \rho a ́ \gamma-~$


 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a i ́ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ e ̂ ̀ \lambda к о \nu \tau о \varsigma ~ т o ̀ ~ к є \rho \delta а \lambda \epsilon ́ о \nu \cdot ~ a ̉ \sigma к \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \omega s ~$

 $\dot{a} \pi o \lambda \omega \lambda o ́ \tau \omega \nu \quad \mu \nu \eta \mu \circ \nu \epsilon \cup ́ \epsilon \iota \nu$.




 ๆóveє т $\omega \nu$ Z $\eta \nu \omega \nu o s ~ \tau o \hat{v} \mathrm{~K} \iota \tau \iota \in ́ \omega s ~ \mu a \theta \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ，каi то仑


$3 \Lambda \epsilon \omega \nu i ́ \delta a \nu \mu$ èv $\gamma \grave{a} \rho$ тòv $\pi a \lambda a i o ̀ \nu ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota \nu, ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \epsilon \rho \omega-$

 $\kappa а к \kappa а \nu \eta ิ \nu . " ~ \epsilon ่ \mu \pi \iota \pi \lambda a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \dot{v} \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \iota \eta-$



 $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \epsilon i ̉ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ о i к \epsilon i ̂ o \nu ~ a ̉ \gamma a \theta o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ́ \pi \iota \delta i ́ \delta \omega \sigma \iota \nu . ~$

III．＇E $\pi \epsilon i$ ì̀̀ $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \tau \tau \eta{ }^{\prime} \sigma a \nu \tau o s ~ \tau o \hat{v} \Lambda \epsilon \omega \nu i ́ \delta o u ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu$ ßaбı入єíav таре́даßє каі тоѝs то入і́тая то́тє ठ̀̀
 бiшv ка日＇j̀סovàs iठias каi $\pi \lambda \epsilon о \nu \epsilon \xi i a s ~ \pi a \rho о-$
II. Of course, then, the condition of the city was not pleasing to him. The citizens had been lulled to sleep by idleness and pleasure; the king was willing to let all public business go, provided that no one thwarted his desire for luxurious living in the midst of his wealth; the public interests were neglected, while every man was eagerly intent upon his own private gain; and as for practice in arms, self-restraint in the young, hardiness, and equality, it was even dangerous to speak of these now that Agis was dead and gone.

It is said also that Cleomenes studied philosophy when he was still a stripling, after Sphaerus of Borysthenis had made a voyage to Sparta and busied himself sedulously there with the youth and young men. Sphaerus had become one of the leading disciples of Zeno of Citium, and it would appear that he admired the manly nature of Cleomenes and increased the fires of his high ambition. For Leonidas of old, as we are told, when asked what manner of poet he thought Tyrtaeus to be, replied; "A good one to inflame the souls of young men." And indeed they were filled with divine inspiration by his poems, and in battle were prodigal of their lives. However, for great and impetuous natures the Stoic doctrines are somewhat misleading and dangerous, although when they permeate a deep and gentle character, they redound most to its proper good.
III. But at the death of Leonidas ${ }^{1}$ Cleomenes came to the throne, and saw that the citizens were by that time altogether degenerate. The rich neglected the common interests for their own private

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 $\dot{a} \pi \rho \circ \theta \dot{u} \mu \omega \nu$ каi $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{a} \gamma \omega \gamma \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{a} \phi \iota \lambda о \tau i ́ \mu \omega \nu$



 (тоиิто $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \epsilon \grave{\epsilon} \mu \pi \nu \in \hat{\imath} \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \Lambda а к \epsilon \delta а \iota \mu o ́ \nu \iota o \iota ~ к а \lambda о \hat{v} \sigma \iota \nu), ~$


 тò $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu$ oủк ả $\eta \delta \hat{\omega} \varsigma ~ є ́ \mu ́ ́ \mu \nu \eta \tau о ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \pi \rho a \gamma-~$


 $\mu \epsilon \nu$ оs íтє $\rho \phi \nu \hat{\omega} \varsigma \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \kappa а \iota \nu о \tau о \mu i ́ a \nu ~ \tau о \hat{v} " А \gamma ı \delta o s$
 $\xi \epsilon \nu$ aủт $\hat{\varphi} \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ o ̉ \rho \gamma \eta ̀ \nu ~ o ́ ~ \Xi \epsilon \nu a ́ \rho \eta s ~ ต ̀ s ~ o u ̉ \chi ~ ن ́ \gamma \iota a i ́ \nu o \nu \tau \iota, ~$













pleasure and aggrandizement; the common people, because of their wretched state at home, had lost all readiness for war and all ambition to maintain the ancient Spartan discipline; and he himself,Cleomenes, was king only in name, while the whole power was in the hands of the ephors. He therefore at once determined to stir up and change the existing order of things, and as he had a friend, Xenares, who had been his lover (or inspirer, as the Spartans say), he would make trial of his sentiments by inquiring in detail what sort of a king Agis had been, and in what way and with what assistants he had entered upon the course of action so fatal to him. At first Xenares was quite glad to recall those matters, and rehearsed the events at length and in detail; but when it was apparent that Cleomenes took an unusual interest in the story, and was profoundly stirred by the innovations of Agis, and wished to hear about him over and over again, Xenares rebuked him angrily, calling him unsound in mind, and finally stopped visiting and conversing with him. To no one, however, did he tell the reason of their variance, but merely said that Cleomenes understood it.

And so Cleomenes, finding Xenares averse, and thinking that everybody else was of like mind with him, began to arrange his project all by himself. And because he thought that he could better bring about his reforms in time of war than in the midst of peace, he embroiled the state with the Achaeans, who were themselves giving grounds for complaint. For Aratus, the most powerful man among the Achaeans, was from the outset desirous of bringing all the Peloponnesians into one confederation, and this was the end pursued by him during his many

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 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \in ́ к о \pi \tau \epsilon \nu$ aưt $\hat{\nu} \nu$ цá入ıбта тоùs тоîs 'A $\chi a \iota o i ̂ s$

 $\phi \rho o v \omega ิ \nu$.
IV. 'Ек тoútov К $\lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta ~ \pi \rho \hat{\nu} \tau о \nu$ oi $\notin \phi о \rho о \iota$





 2 'О $\rho \chi o \mu \epsilon \nu i ́ o \iota s . ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \pi \rho о \delta о \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{a} \pi \pi o \delta \epsilon \iota \lambda \iota a \sigma a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$.







 ठıафє́ $\rho є \iota, ~ \gamma \rho a ́ \psi o \nu ~ \dot{\eta} \mu i ̂ \nu, ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi i ̀ ~ \tau i ́ ~ \sigma o \iota ~ т а \rho \eta к о \lambda о v ́-~$




generalships and his long political activity, since he was of the opinion that in this way alone would they be safe from the attacks of their enemies without. Nearly all the other Peloponnesians adopted his views, but the Lacedaemonians, the Eleians, and the Arcadians who sided with the Lacedaemonians, held aloof. Therefore, as soon as Leonidas was dead, Aratus began to harass the Arcadians, and ravaged the territories of those especially who were adjacent to Achaea. His object was to put the Lacedaemonians to the test, and he despised Cleomenes as a young and inexperienced man.
IV. Upon this, the ephors began operations by sending Cleomenes to occupy the precinct of Athena at Belbina. This commands an entrance into Laconia, and was at that time a subject of litigation with the Megalopolitans. After Cleomenes had occupied and fortified this place, Aratus made no public protest, but led out his forces one night and tried to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus. Those who were to betray the places to him, however, played the coward, and Aratus withdrew, thinking that his attempt had escaped notice. But Cleomenes wrote him an ironical letter, inquiring, as from a friend, whither he had marched out in the night. Aratus wrote back that hearing of Cleomenes' intention to fortify Belbina he had gone down there to prevent it. Whereupon Cleomenes sent back word again that he believed this story to be true; "but those torches and ladders," said he, "if it is all one to thee, tell me for what purpose thou hadst them with thee." Aratus burst out laughing at the jest, and inquired what manner of youth this was. Whereupon Damocrates, the Lacedaemonian exile, replied : " If thou hast designs

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 $\nu \in о \sigma \sigma o \nu$.







 'A

 $\epsilon \check{a} a \sigma \epsilon \delta \iota a \kappa \iota \nu \delta v \nu \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma a \iota \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \sigma ́ \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda ’ a \dot{a} \pi \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon$ $\lambda o \iota \delta o \rho o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ i ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'A $\chi a \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$, $\chi \lambda \epsilon v a \zeta_{o}^{\prime}-$





 $\pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i \omega \nu$, ov̉ $\pi o ́ \sigma \sigma \iota \iota i \sigma i \nu, ~ \dot{a} \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \pi r o v ̀ ~ \epsilon i \sigma \iota \nu$.










upon the Lacedaemonians, see that thou hastenest, before this young cock grows his spurs."

After this, when Cleomenes with a few horsemen and three hundred foot-soldiers was making an expedition in Arcadia, the ephors, fearing the issue of the war, ordered him to come back home. After he had returned, however, Aratus seized Caphyae, and the ephors sent Cleomenes forth again. He seized Methydrium and overran the territory of Argolis, whereupon the Achaeans marched out with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen under Aristomachus as general. Cleomenes met them at Pallantium and offered battle, but Aratus, in fear of this boldness, would not suffer his general to hazard the issue, and retired. For this he was reproached by the Achaeans, and jeered at and despised by the Lacedaemonians, who were less than five thousand stnong. Cleomenes was therefore greatly lifted up in spirit and began to show a bold front to the citizens; and he would often remind them of one of their ancient kings ${ }^{1}$ who said, and not idly either, "The Lacedaemonians are wont to ask, not how many, but where, their enemies are."
V. After this, he went to the aid of the Eleians, upon whom the Achaeans were making war, and falling upon the Achaeans near Mt. Lycaeum, as they were withdrawing, he put their entire army to panic flight, slew great numbers of them, and took many prisoners, so that even Aratus was widely reported among the Greeks to be dead. But Aratus, making the best use of his opportunity, immediately after

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 $\pi а \nu \tau a ́ \pi a \sigma \iota ~ \tau а i ̂ \varsigma ~ \gamma \nu \omega ́ \mu a \iota \varsigma ~ \grave{~} \nu a \pi \epsilon \sigma o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ каі т $\hat{\varrho}$


 оікías $\hat{\eta} \nu \pi \rho о \sigma \hat{\eta} \kappa о \nu$, оіó $\mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma$ à $\mu \beta \lambda \nu \tau$ ќ $\rho а \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 3 каì ò $\lambda о \kappa \lambda \eta$ и́оо $\gamma є \nu о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta s$. oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ à $\nu \eta \rho \eta \kappa o ́ \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \pi \rho o ́-$






 є̇кєívous $\mathfrak{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \beta \epsilon \beta \iota a ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu \mathrm{~K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta ~ \delta о к о и ิ \nu \tau а \varsigma . ~$


 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \sigma v \chi \nu o u ̀ s ~ \delta ı a ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma ~ \mu \eta \tau \rho o ̀ s ~ K ~ \rho a \tau \eta \sigma \iota-~$







## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, v. i-vi. 2

this defeat marched to Mantineia, and to everybody's surprise captured and held the city. At this the Lacedaemonians were altogether disheartened and opposed any further expedition on the part of Cleomenes. He therefore determined to summon from Messene the brother of Agis, Archidamus, ${ }^{1}$ who was the rightful king from the other royal house, thinking that the power of the ephors would be diminished if the royal power were restored to its full strength so as to counterbalance it. But those who had formerly murdered Agis comprehended this design, and fearing that they would pay the penalty for their crime if Archidamus was restored, they did indeed receive him when he came secretly into the city, and assisted in his restoration, but immediately put him to death. Cleomenes may have been opposed to this, as Phylarchus thinks, or perhaps he was persuaded by his friends to abandon the hapless man to his murderers. For the greater part of the blame attached itself to them, since they were thought to have constrained Cleomenes.
VI. However, having determined to attempt at once his reforms in the state, Cleomenes bribed the ephors to send him on an expedition. He also won the favour of large numbers of the citizens with the help of his mother Cratesicleia, who assisted him liberally in providing ways and means, and shared his ambitions. It is even said that although she had no desire to marry again, for the sake of her son she took a husband who was foremost among the citizens in reputation and influence. So Cleomenes led forth his forces and occupied Leuctra, a stronghold of Megalopolis. The Achaeans, under the command of
${ }^{1}$ See chapter i. 1.

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'A $\chi a \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$ ßoŋ $\theta \epsilon i ́ a s ~ ' A \rho a ́ \tau o v ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma о \hat{\nu \tau т o s, ~ i ́ \pi o ̀ ~}$


 3 "A










 $\nu \epsilon \kappa \rho o ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \chi \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a i ́ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ к \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v ́ \sigma a s, ~ к о \sigma \mu \eta i \sigma a s ~$
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{M} \epsilon \gamma а \lambda о \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \epsilon \sigma \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \epsilon \nu$. оن́тоs $\hat{\eta} \nu \Lambda \nu \delta \iota a ́-$

 $\mu i \sigma a s$ 'A $\chi$ аıois.
VII. 'Еє тои́тоv K $\lambda є о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta ร ~ \mu є ́ \gamma а ~ ф \rho о \nu \omega ̂ \nu ~ \eta ้ \delta \eta, ~$ $\kappa а \grave{\imath} \pi \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \sigma \mu$ évos à̀ $\dot{\omega} s \beta o u ́ \lambda \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$ тоîs $\pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu a \sigma \iota$





 є́кєívov סv́o $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ä̀ $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ фí $\lambda \omega \nu$ ท̂ $\tau \rho \epsilon i ̂ s ~ \pi \rho o \sigma \epsilon ́-$ $\lambda a \beta \epsilon$.

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, vi. 2-vir. i

Aratus, came swiftly to the aid of their allies against him, and Cleomenes, after drawing up his forces under the very walls of the city, was worsted at one point. But Aratus would not permit the Achaeans to cross a certain deep ravine, and brought his pursuit to a stop. Lydiadas the Megalopolitan, however, chafing at this, dashed on with the horsemen under his command, and pursuing the enemy into a place full of vines, ditches, and walls, had his ranks broken and thrown into disorder thereby, and began to fall into difficulties. Cleomenes, observing this, sent against him his Tarentines and Cretans, at whose hands Lydiadas, defending himself sturdily, fell. At this the Lacedaemonians took courage and with a shout fell upon the Achaeans and routed their entire army. Great numbers of them were slain, and their bodies Cleomenes restored at the enemy's request; but the body of Lydiadas he asked to have brought to him, arrayed it in a purple robe and put a crown upon the head, and then sent it back to the gates of Megalopolis. This was the Lydiadas who renounced the tyranny, gave back to the citizens their freedom, and attached the city to the Achaean league.
VII. After this, Cleomenes, being now greatly elated, and persuaded that if he could keep the control of things entirely in his own hands during the war with the Achaeans, he would easily obtain the mastery, began to instruct his mother's husband, Megistonoüs, that they must needs get rid of the ephors, put the property of the citizens into a common stock, and rouse and incite the Spartans, thus put upon their old footing of equality, to assume the supremacy in Greece. Megistonouis was convinced, and enlisted in the cause two or three of his friends besides.

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 $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta$, тò $\mu$ ย̀v $\pi \rho \omega ิ \tau o \nu ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \tau a \rho a ́ \chi \theta \eta ~ \kappa а \theta ’ ~ \dot{v} \pi о \psi i ́ a \nu$
 $\delta \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ тòv $\delta \iota \eta \gamma о$ и́ $\mu \in \nu о \nu$, є́ $\theta$ ápp $\eta \sigma \epsilon$. каі $\lambda a \beta \grave{\omega} \nu$
 $\sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \rho \hat{a} \xi \iota \nu$, 'Hpaíav каì 'A $\lambda \sigma a i ́ a \nu$ тàs $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ \tau a \tau \tau o \mu \epsilon ́ v a s ~ i \pi o ̀ ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ ' A \chi a \iota o i ̂ s ~ \epsilon i ̉ \lambda \epsilon, ~$
 $4 \pi \alpha \rho \epsilon \sigma \tau \rho a \tau о \pi \epsilon ́ \delta \epsilon \cup \sigma \epsilon$, каі ő ${ }^{\prime} \lambda \omega s$ ä้ $\nu \omega$ каi ка́тш




 $\gamma \nu \dot{\omega} \mu \eta \nu$, каi $\pi \rho о \underline{i ́ \epsilon \iota} \sigma \chi \epsilon ́ \delta \eta \nu$, $\dot{\varsigma} \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\iota}$ то̀ $\delta \epsilon i ̂ \pi \nu о \nu$ ov̂б८ тoîs є̇фópoıs є̀ $\pi \iota \pi \epsilon \in \sigma o \iota$.



 $\sigma \nu \nu \tau \rho o ́ \phi \omega \nu$ тô̂ $\mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s, ~ o ̂ ̂ ̧ ~ \mu o ́ \theta a \kappa а \varsigma ~ \kappa а \lambda о и ̂-~$


## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, vii. 2-viif. i

Now, it came to pass about that time that one of the ephors, who was sleeping in the precinct of Pasiphaë, had an astonishing dream. He dreamed that in the place where the ephors were wont to sit for the prosecution of business, one chair only stood, but the other four had been taken away; and that in his amazement at this a voice came to him from the temple saying that this was better for Sparta. This dream the ephor related to Cleomenes, who at first was much disturbed, and thought that the other had some suspicion of his design and was making trial of him; but when he was convinced that the relater spoke the truth, his courage revived. So taking all the citizens who, as he suspected, would be most opposed to his designs, he seized Heraea and Alsaea, two cities belonging to the Achaean league, introduced supplies of food into Orchomenus, and encamped by Mantineia, from whence he made long marches up and down the land, and utterly wore out the Lacedaemonians, so that it was at their own request that he left most of them in Arcadia, while with his mercenaries he himself set out for Sparta. On the march he imparted his design to those whom he believed to be most favourably disposed to him, and went forward slowly, that he might fall upon the ephors while they were at supper.
VIII. When the city was close at hand, he sent Eurycleidas to the mess-table of the ephors, ostensibly to carry some message of the king from the army; but Therycion, Phoebis, and two of the Helots, who had been bred up along with Cleomenes ${ }^{1}$ (they call them "mothakes"), followed after with a few
${ }^{1}$ Such Helot companions afterwards became freemen, and sometimes even citizens in Sparta.

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 $\pi \epsilon \sigma \grave{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \grave{\tau} \tau \epsilon \theta \nu a ́ v a \iota ~ \delta o ́ \xi a s ~ a ̀ \tau \rho \in ́ \mu a ~ \sigma v \nu a \gamma a \gamma \grave{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \grave{ }$




 à $\nu \eta \rho$ é $\theta \eta \sigma a \nu$, каì т $\hat{\omega} \nu$ є่ $\pi \iota \beta o \eta \theta o u ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ aủтoîs oủ

 $\lambda v o \nu$. є́ $\phi \epsilon i \sigma a \nu \tau o ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \kappa \alpha i$ тồ 'A $\gamma v \lambda a i o v ~ \mu \epsilon \theta$ '




 $\beta \lambda a \beta \epsilon \rho o ́ \nu$, à $\lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a \nu ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \sigma v \nu \epsilon ́-~$ $2 \chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$ фо́ $\beta \omega$ ромі审отєя. Sıò каі троєки́ритто⿱







 עó $\mu$ ovs $\theta a \rho \rho a \lambda \epsilon \omega ́ \tau a \tau o \iota ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i ́ o u s ~ \epsilon i \sigma i . ~ . ~$

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, viri. i-ix. 3

soldiers. These men, while Eurycleidas was still making his report to the ephors, ran in upon them with drawn swords and smote them. The first of them, $A$ gylaeus, on receiving the blow, fell and lay still as though dead; but afterwards he quietly pulled himself together, dragged himself out of the room, and crept unobserved into a little building which was a temple of Fear. Usually it was closed, but at this time it chanced to be open. Into this building he betook himself and locked the door. But the other four were slain, and also about ten of those who came to their aid. For the people who kept quiet were not killed, nor were those who wished to leave the city prevented. And even Agylaeus was spared when he came out of the temple next day.
IX. Now, the Lacedaemonians have temples of Death, Laughter, and that sort of thing, as well as of Fear. And they pay honours to Fear, not as they do to the powers which they try to avert because they think them baleful, but because they believe that fear is the chief support of their civil polity. For this reason, too, when the ephors enter upon their office, as Aristotle says, they issue a proclamation commanding all men to shave their moustaches, and to obey the laws, that these may not be severe upon them. They insist upon the shaving of the moustache, I think, in order that they may accustom the young men to obedience in the most trifling matters. And the men of old, in my opinion, did not regard bravery as a lack of fear, but as fear of reproach and dread of disgrace. For the men who feel most dread of the laws have most courage in

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$\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi a \theta \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \eta ̄ \kappa \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \delta \epsilon \delta i ́ a \sigma \iota \nu ~ o i ́ ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \phi o ß o u ́-~$

 $\kappa a i{ }^{\text {" }} \mathrm{O} \mu \eta \rho о$,
 $\kappa \alpha i$
$\sigma \iota \gamma \underline{\eta}$ סєı $\delta \iota o ́ \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \sigma \eta \mu a ́ \nu \tau о \rho a s$.



 тò ảp $\chi$ єîov.
 $\pi \rho о є ́ \gamma \rho a \psi \epsilon \nu$ ỏ $\gamma \delta о \eta$ 'коута $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ oûs є้ $\delta \epsilon \iota$



 тоîs $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma \iota ~ \sigma \nu \mu \mu \iota \chi 6 \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota ~ \tau о ⿱ ̀ \varsigma ~ \gamma є ́ \rho о \nu \tau а \varsigma, ~ к а i ̀ ~$


 $\sigma l \lambda \epsilon i ̂ s, \delta i a ̀ ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon i ́ a s ~ a ̀ \sigma \chi o ́ \lambda o u s ~ o ̂ \nu \tau a s ~ a u ̉ \tau o u ̀ s ~$ $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ к \rho i ́ \nu \epsilon \iota \nu, ~ a i \rho \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \theta a i ́ ~ \tau \iota \nu a s ~ \grave{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \phi i \lambda \omega \nu$ $\kappa \alpha \grave{~ a ̀ m o \lambda \epsilon i ́ \pi \epsilon \iota \nu \tau o i ̂ s ~ \pi o \lambda i ́ \tau \alpha \iota s ~ a ̉ \nu \theta ' ~} \in a v \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$, є́фópovs 809 $\pi \rho о \sigma a \gamma \circ \rho \epsilon \nu \theta \epsilon ́ \nu \tau a \varsigma, \kappa a i$ סıaтє入єî̀ $\gamma \epsilon$ тоútovs тò

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facing their enemies; and those shun death least who most fear ill fame. Therefore it has been well said ${ }^{1}$ :
". . . for where dread is, there also is reverence."
And Homer says ${ }^{2}$ :
"Revered art thou by me, dear father-in-law, and dreaded too ;"
and
"Without a word, in dread of their leaders. ${ }^{3}$ "
For by the multitude reverence is most apt to be felt towards those whom they also fear. For this reason, too, the Lacedaemonians erected a temple to Fear alongside the mess-hall of the ephors, after they had endowed this magistracy with almost absolute powers.
X. And now to resume; Cleomenes, when day came, published a list of eighty citizens who must go into exile, and removed all the ephoral chairs except one; in this he purposed to sit himself for the transaction of public business. Then he called a general assembly and made a defence of his proceedings. He said that lycurgus had blended the powers of senate and kings, and that for a long time the state was administered in this way and had no need of other officials. But later, when the Messenian war proved to be long, the kings, since their campaigns abroad left them no time to administer justice themselves, chose out some of their friends and left them behind to serve the citizens in their stead. These were called ephors, or guardians, and as a matter of fact they
${ }^{1}$ By Stasinus of Cyprus. Cf. Plato, Euthyphro, 12 a; Kinkel, Ep. Graec. Frag. i. p. 30.
${ }^{2}$ Iliad, iii. 172, Helen to Priam.
${ }^{3}$ Iliad, iv. 431, of the Achaeans marshalled for battle.

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$\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu$ ن́ $\pi \eta \rho$ е́т $\alpha \varsigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon ́ \omega \nu$ oै $\nu \tau a \varsigma$, єiтa катà $\mu \iota \kappa \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon i ' s ~ є ́ a v \tau o u ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu ~ \epsilon ' \xi o v \sigma i ́ a \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \sigma \tau \rho \epsilon ́ \phi o \nu \tau a s ~}$
 $3 \sigma \eta \mu \epsilon \hat{\iota} o \nu$ סє̀ тov́тov тò $\mu \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \iota \nu v ̂ \nu \mu \epsilon \tau a \pi \epsilon \mu \pi o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$



 'А $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \omega \pi$ ò̀ $\dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \kappa i ́ a \iota \varsigma ~ v ̋ \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho о \nu ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda a i ̂ s ~ \epsilon ̋ \phi о \rho о \nu ~$






 $\grave{\alpha} \pi a \lambda \lambda a ́ \xi a \iota ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \epsilon є \sigma a ́ к \tau о v s ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma ~ \Lambda а к є \delta а і ́ \mu о \nu о \varsigma ~$

 $\pi \epsilon \nu i ́ a \nu$ каì $\pi \lambda o v ̂ \tau o \nu, ~ \epsilon u ̉ \tau v \chi \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau a \tau o \nu ~ a ̀ \nu ~ \grave{j} \gamma \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \theta a \iota$








continued at first to be assistants of the kings, but then gradually diverted the power into their own hands, and so, ere men were aware, established a magistracy of their own. As proof of this, Cleomenes cited the fact that down to that day, when the ephors summoned a king to appear before them, he refused to go at the first summons, and at the second, but at the third rose up and went to them ; and he said that the one who first added weight to the office, and extended its powers, Asteropus, was ephor many generations later. As long, then, he said, as the ephors kept within bounds, it had been better to bear with them; but when with their assumed power they subverted the ancient form of government to such an extent as to drive away some kings, put others to death without trial, and threaten such as desired to behold again in Sparta her fairest and most divinely appointed constitution, it was not to be endured. If, then, it had been possible without bloodshed to rid Sparta of her imported curses, namely luxury and extravagance, and debts and usury, and those elder evils than these, namely, poverty and wealth, he would have thought himself the most fortunate king in the world to have cured the disease of his country like a wise physician, without pain ; but as it was, he said, in support of the necessity that had been laid upon him, he could cite Lycurgus, who, though he was neither king nor magistrate, but a private person attempting to act as king, proceeded with an armed retinue into the market-place, so that Charillus the king took fright and fled for refuge to an altar. That king, however, Cleomenes said, since he was an excellent man and a lover of his country, speedily concurred in the measures of Lycurgus and accepted

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 $\mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota \Sigma_{\pi a \rho \tau \iota a ̂ \tau a \iota ~ \sigma \omega ́ \zeta \omega \sigma \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ o ̋ \pi \lambda o \iota s, ~}^{\text {о }}$

 є่форผ̂̀тєร.





 $\lambda o ́ \gamma \eta \sigma \epsilon \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho a \gamma \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ є̀ $\nu \quad \dot{\eta} \sigma v \chi i ́ a ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$.
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \frac{i ́ \kappa \omega \nu}{}$ отліттая $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho а к \iota \sigma \chi \iota \lambda i ́ o v s$ є̀ $\pi о i ́ \eta \sigma \epsilon$, $\kappa а i ̀ ~ \delta \iota \delta a ́ \xi a s ~ a u ̉ \tau o u ̀ s ~ a ̀ \nu \tau i ~ \delta o ́ \rho а т о s ~ \chi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \sigma a \rho i \sigma \eta$



 тробท́коута $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \tau \epsilon \quad \gamma v \mu \nu a \sigma i \omega \nu$ каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma v \sigma-$ $\sigma \iota \tau i \omega \nu$ ко́б $\mu о \nu$ à $\nu a \lambda a \mu \beta$ 人дóvт $\omega \nu$, каi $\sigma \nu \sigma \tau \epsilon \lambda \lambda о-$

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the change of constitution; still, as a matter of fact Lycurgus by his own acts bore witness to the difficulty of changing a constitution without violence and fear. To these, Cleomenes said, he had himself resorted with the greatest moderation, for he had but put out of the way the men who were opposed to the salvation of Sparta. For all the rest, he said, the whole land should be common property, debtors should be set free from their debts, and foreigners should be examined and rated, in order that the strongest of them might be made Spartan citizens and help to preserve the state by their arms. "In this way," he said, " we shall cease to behold Sparta the booty of Aetolians and Illyrians through lack of men to defend her."
XI. After this, to begin with, Cleomenes himself placed his property in the common stock, as did Megistonoüs his step-father and every one of his friends besides; next, all the rest of the citizens did the same, and the land was parcelled out. Cleomenes also assigned a portion of land to each man who had been exiled by him, and promised to bring them all home after matters had become quiet. Then he filled up the body of citizens with the most promising of the free provincials, and thus raised a body of four thousand men-at-arms, whom he taught to use a long pike, held in both hands, instcad of a short spear, and to carry their shields by a strap instead of by a fixed handle. Next he devoted himself to the training of the young men and to the "agoge," or ancient discipline, most of the details of which Sphaerus, who was then in Sparta, helped him in arranging. And quickly was the proper system of bodily training and public messes resumed, a few out

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 "A

















 каi $\beta \omega \mu о \lambda о \chi i ́ a s ~ к а i ̀ ~ \pi а \nu \eta \gamma v \rho \iota \sigma \mu о и ̂ ~ к а \theta a \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \grave{\eta} \nu$, $\tau \grave{\alpha} \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu \pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{a} \mu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \tau \omega ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \epsilon \in \omega \nu$ каì $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$




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of necessity, but most with a willing spirit, subjecting themselves to the old Spartan regime with all its simplicity. And yet, desiring to give the name of absolute power a less offensive sound, he associated with himself in royal power his brother Eucleidas. And this was the only time when the Spartans had two kings from the same house.
XII. Learning that Aratus and the Achaeans believed that this revolution had jeopardized his position, and therefore did not think that he would venture forth outside of Sparta, or leave the city while it was still in the suspense of so great an agitation, he thought it a fine and helpful thing to make a display of the ready zeal of his army to his enemies. Accordingly, he invaded the territory of Megalopolis, collected large booty, and devastated the country far and wide. And finally arresting a company of actors who were passing through the country from Messené, he built a theatre in the enemy's territory, instituted a contest for a prize of forty minae, and sat spectator for a whole day; not that he felt the need of a spectacle, but in exultant mockery, as it were, of his enemies, and to show to the world by his contempt for them that he held complete control of affairs, with something, as it were, to spare. For at other times, the Spartan alone of Greek or Macedonian armies had no players in attendance, no jugglers, no dancing-girls, no harpists, but was free from every kind of licence, scurrility, and general festivity ; while for the most part the young men practised themselves and the elder men taught them, and for amusement, when their work was over, they had recourse to their wonted pleasantries and the interchange of Spartan

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 торфи́pas тıvàs oủ $\chi \lambda a i ́ v a s ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ a u ̉ t o ̀ \nu ~ o u ̉ \delta ̀ ̀ ~ \kappa \lambda \iota-~$


 $\tau \hat{\omega} \tau v \chi o ́ \nu \tau \iota ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \delta \epsilon \xi \iota \omega \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ àmaעт $\hat{\omega} \tau \tau a \kappa a i$




$\mathrm{T} \hat{\omega} \nu$ dè $\delta \epsilon i ́ \pi \nu \omega \nu$ av̉тô $\tau o ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ к а Ө \eta \mu \varepsilon \rho \iota \nu o ̀ \nu ~ \hat{\eta} \nu$

 ä $\lambda \lambda a \iota \pi \rho о \sigma \pi a \rho \epsilon \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda о \nu \tau о$ к $\lambda i ̂ \nu a \iota, \mu \iota \kappa \rho \hat{\varrho}$ ठє̀ $\mu \hat{a} \lambda$ -

 $\dot{a} \phi \theta о \nu \omega \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a s ~ \epsilon i ̀ \nu a \iota ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \pi a \rho a \theta \epsilon ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ к а i ̀ ~ \phi \iota \lambda a \nu \theta \rho \omega-~$

witticisms. Of what great advantage this sort of amusement is, I have told in my Life of Lycurgus. ${ }^{1}$
XIII. In all these matters Cleomenes was himself a teacher. His own manner of life was simple, plain, and no more pretentious than that of the common man, and it was a pattern of self-restraint for all. This gave him a great advantage in his dealings with the other Greeks. For when men had to do with the other kings, they were not so much awed by their wealth and extravagance as they were filled with loathing for their haughtiness and pomp as they gave offensive and harsh answers to their auditors; but when men came to Cleomenes, who was a real as well as a titled king, and then saw no profusion of purple robes or shawls about him, and no array of couches and litters; when they saw, too, that he did not make the work of his petitioners grievous and slow by employing a throng of messengers and door-keepers or by requiring written memorials, but came in person, just as he happened to be dressed, to answer the salutations of his visitors, conversing at length with those who needed his services and devoting time cheerfully and kindly to them, they were charmed and completely won over, and declared that he alone was a descendant of Heracles.

His usual supper was held in a room which had only three couches, and was very circumscribed and Spartan ; but if he was entertaining ambassadors or guest-friends, two more couches would be brought in, and the servants would make the table a trifle more brilliant, not with sauces or sweetmeats, but with more generous dishes and a kindlier wine. And indeed he censured one of his friends, when he heard

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 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \xi ́ ́ \nu o u s ~ \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ a ́ к \rho \iota \beta \hat{\omega s ~ \lambda a \kappa \omega \nu i ́ \zeta є \iota \nu . ~}$










 $\delta \omega \rho \epsilon a i ̂ s ~ \delta є \lambda \epsilon a ́ \zeta о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ à̉ $\tau о \grave{\nu} \varsigma$ каi $\delta ı a \notin \theta \epsilon i \rho о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$,






〒á $о \nu \tau о, \kappa а i ̀ \nu v ́ \kappa т \omega \rho ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ \pi а \rho \epsilon \iota \sigma \pi \epsilon \sigma o ́ \nu \tau \iota ~ 811$ $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ ф роирà $\nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{A} \chi a \iota \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \kappa \beta a \lambda o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \epsilon ่ \nu \epsilon \chi \epsilon i$ ' pıбà aútoús. ò סè кaì toùs vó $\mu o v s$ aủtoîs каì $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a \nu \dot{a} \pi o \delta o u ̀ s ~ a \dot{u} \theta \eta \mu \epsilon \rho \grave{o} \nu \dot{a} \pi \eta \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \in \nu \in \dot{\varsigma}$
 као̊ías катє́ßаıуєу є̇тì тàs 'Аұаїка̀s Фєрás,
that in entertaining guest-friends he had set before them the black soup and barley-bread of the public mess-tables; "for," said he, " in these matters and before foreigners we must not be too strictly Spartan." After the table had been removed, a tripod would be brought in on which were a bronze mixer full of wine, two silver bowls holding a pint apiece, and drinking cups of silver, few all told, from which he who wished might drink; but no one had a cup forced upon him. Music there was none, nor was any such addition desired; for Cleomenes entertained the company hinself by his conversation, now asking questions, now telling stories, and his discourse was not unpleasantly serious, but had a sportiveness that charmed and was free from rudeness. For the hunt which all the other kings made for men, ensnaring them with gifts and bribes and corrupting them, Cleomenes considered unskilful and unjust. In his eyes it was the noblest method, and one most fit for a king, to win over his visitors and attach them to himself by an intercourse and conversation which awakened pleasure and confidence. For he felt that a hireling differed from a friend in nothing except that the one was captured by a man's character and conversation, the other by a man's money.
XIV. To begin with, then, the Mantineians invited him to help them, and after he had made his way into the city by night, they expelled the Achaean garrison and put themselves in his hands. Cleomenes restored to them their laws and constitution, and on the same day marched away to Tegea. Then, shortly afterwards, he fetched a compass through Arcadia and marched down upon the Achaean city of Pherae. His


 ' $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \beta a \tau a ̂ \varsigma ~ \tau o ́ \tau \epsilon, ~ \tau о \hat{v}$ ठє 'A 'átov тò $\pi a ̂ \nu ~ \grave{\nu} \nu$
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'А $\chi \alpha \iota \hat{\omega} \nu$ каі̀ $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau о \pi \epsilon \delta \epsilon v \sigma a \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ è $\nu \Delta \hat{\prime} \mu a \iota \varsigma$










XV. Oйт $\omega$ סè $\sigma v \nu \tau \epsilon \tau \rho \iota \mu \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o \iota s ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ ' A \chi a \iota o i ̂ s ~ o ́ ~$ $\mu \grave{\nu} \nu$ " $А \rho a \tau o s, ~ \epsilon i \omega \theta \grave{\omega s ~ \pi a \rho ’ ~ \epsilon ́ \nu \iota a v \tau o ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \epsilon \grave{\iota} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta-~}$






 $\mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a u ́ t o u ́ s, ~ a ̀ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ a i \chi \mu a \lambda \omega ́ т о v s ~$
 $\tau \hat{\omega \nu}$ 'А $\chi a \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$ є́тì тоúтоıs $\delta \in ́ \chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \delta \iota a \lambda v ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~$ каі тòv $\mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta ~ к а \lambda о v ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu ~ \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \Lambda \epsilon ́ \rho \nu a \nu$, öттои
desire was either to fight a battle with the Achaeans, or to bring Aratus into disrepute for running away and abandoning the country to him. For although Hyperbatas was general at that time, Aratus had the entire power in the Achaean league. Moreover, after the Achaeans had marched out with all their forces and pitched their camp at Dymae, near the Hecatombaeum, Cleomenes came up against them. He did not think it well, however, to pitch his own camp between the city of Dymae, which was hostile, and the army of the Achaeans, and therefore boldly challenged the Achaeans and forced them to engage. He was completely victorious, routed their phalanx, slew many of them in the battle, and took many prisoners also. Then he went up against Langon, drove out the Achaean garrison, and restored the city to the Eleians.
XV. The Achaeans having been thus utterly overwhelmed, Aratus, who was wont to be their general every other year, refused the office and declined to listen to their invitations and prayers; thus unwisely, when the ship of state was in a heavy storm, handing over the helm to another and abandoning the post of authority. Cleomenes, on the other hand, at the first was thought to impose moderate terms upon the Achaean embassy, but afterwards he sent other envoys and bade them hand over to him the leadership among the Greeks, assuring them that on other points he would not quarrel with them, but would at once restore to them their captives and their strongholds. ${ }^{1}$ The Achaeans were willing to settle matters on these terms, and invited Cleomenes to come to Lerna,

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 ảтє́ $\pi \epsilon \mu \psi \epsilon$ тоîs 'A $\chi a \iota o i ̂ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ є ̇ \pi \iota ф а \nu є \sigma \tau a ́ \tau o v s, ~$
 $\Lambda а к \in \delta a i ́ \mu о \nu а$.
XVI. Toûтo $\delta \iota \epsilon \lambda \nu \mu \eta ́ \nu a \tau o ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu а т а ~ \tau \eta ̂ s ~$












 $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ á $\xi^{\prime} \omega \sigma \iota \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \Lambda a \kappa \epsilon \delta a \iota \mu о \nu i \omega \nu$, єiऽ тò $\pi a ́ \tau \rho \iota о \nu$
 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ є ’ \rho \gamma o \nu ~ o u ̉ \delta \epsilon \nu \grave{\iota} \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{E} \lambda \lambda \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu \omega \nu \pi \rho о \sigma \hat{\eta} \kappa о \nu$,
 aưтồ каi $\pi \epsilon \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \nu \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ à $\nu a \xi \iota \omega \prime \tau \alpha \tau o \nu$, 'A $\nu \tau i$ i-



 $\sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma \iota \nu$ v̈тоттоs каì $\delta \iota a ́ \phi o \rho o s ~ \gamma є \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma, ~ \tau о v \tau o \nu i ̀ ~$

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where they were about to hold their assembly. But it fell out that Cleomenes, who had made a strenuous march and then too soon had drunk water, brought up a great quantity of blood and lost his speech. For this reason he sent back to the Achaeans the most prominent men among their captives, but postponed the conference and went back home to Sparta.
XVI. This ruined the cause of Greece, at a time when she was still able in some way or other to recover from her grievous plight and escape Macedonian greed and insolence. For Aratus (whether it was through distrust and fear of Cleomenes, or because he envied the king his unlooked for success, and thought it a terrible thing after three and thirty years of leadership to have his own fame and power stripped from him by an upstart of a young man, and the authority taken over in a cause which he himself had built up and controlled for so long a time), in the first place tried to force the Achaeans aside and hinder their purpose; but when they paid no heed to him in their consternation at the daring spirit of Cleomenes, but actually saw justice in the demands of the Lacedaemonians, who were seeking to restore the Peloponnesus to its ancient status, Aratus took a step which would have been unmeet for any Greek to take, but was most shameful for him and most unworthy of his career as soldier and statesman. For he invited Antigonus into Greece and filled the Peloponnesus with Macedonians, whom he himself had driven out of Peloponnesus when, as a young man, he delivered Acrocorinthus from their power ${ }^{1}$ -he who had incurred the suspicion and hostility of all the reigning kings, and of this very Antigonus had ${ }^{1}$ See the Aratus, xvi. ff.

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 $4 \dot{a} \pi о \lambda \epsilon \bar{\lambda} о \iota \pi \epsilon \nu \dot{\imath} \pi о \mu \nu \eta \mu и \dot{\tau} \omega \nu$ ．каі́тоь то入入à $\pi a \theta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ каì тараßа入 $\bar{\epsilon} \sigma \theta a \iota ~ ф \eta \sigma i ̀ \nu ~ a u ̀ \tau o ̀ s ~ v i \pi \epsilon ̀ \rho ~ ' A \theta \eta \nu a i ́ \omega \nu$ ，















 íтò фӨó̀s катабптó $\mu \in \nu о \nu$.
ô＇А入入à таиิтa $\mu$ ѐ $\nu$ oủк＇Aрáтov ßou入ó $\mu \in \nu o \iota$ $\kappa а \tau \eta \gamma о \rho \epsilon i ̂ ̀ ~ \gamma \rho а ́ ́ \phi о \mu \epsilon \nu ~(\grave{\iota} \nu \quad \pi о \lambda \lambda o i ̂ s ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ o ́ ~ a ̀ \nu \eta ̀ \rho ~$





 $\kappa а т а \beta \epsilon \beta \eta \kappa о ́ т о \varsigma ~ \epsilon ’ \lambda \pi i \varsigma ~ \hat{\eta} \nu \pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{\eta} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \dot{a} \nu \theta \rho \omega ் \pi \omega \nu$
 $\lambda o \gamma \eta \mu \epsilon \in \nu \omega \nu$ aùt $\hat{\varphi}$ т $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ ' A \nu \tau i ́ \gamma o \nu o \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \mu \epsilon-$

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xvi. 3-xvir. i

said countless evil things in the commentaries which he left behind him. And still, though he had incurred many hardships and dangers in behalf of Athens, as he says himself, in order that the city might be set free from its garrison of Macedonians, he afterwards brought these Macedonians, under arms, into his own country and into his own home; aye, even into the apartments of his women; ${ }^{1}$ but he would not consent that the man who was a descendant of Heracles and king of Sparta, and was seeking to bring its ancient polity, now like a decadent melody, back again to that restrained and Dorian law and life which Lycurgus had instituted, should be entitled leader of Sicyon and Tritaea. Instead of this, to avoid the Spartan barley-bread and short-cloak, and the most dreadful of the evils for which he denounced Cleomenes, namely, abolition of wealth and restoration of poverty, he cast himself and all Achaea down before a diadem, a purple robe, Macedonians, and oriental behests. And that he might not be thought to obey Cleomenes, he offered sacrifices to Antigonus and sang paeans himself, with a garland on his head, in praise of a man who was far gone with consumption.

1 write this, however, not with any desire to denounce Aratus, for in many ways he was a true Greek and a great one, but out of pity for the weakness of human nature, which, even in characters so notably disposed towards excellence, cannot produce a nobility that is free from blame.
XVII. When the Achaeans came to Argos again for the conference, and Cleomenes had come down from Tegea, everyone had a strong hope that they would come to an agreement. But Aratus, since the most important questions between him and Antigonus

$$
{ }^{1} \text { See the Aratus, xlix. } 1 \text {. }
$$

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 ßıабá $\mu є \nu о \varsigma, ~ \grave{\eta} \xi i o v ~ \lambda a \beta o ́ \nu \tau а ~ т \rho \iota а к о \sigma i ́ o v s ~ o ́ \mu \eta ́ \rho о v s ~$






 'A $\chi a \iota o v ́ s, ~ \grave{\eta} \varsigma ~ \hat{\eta} \nu ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \pi \lambda \epsilon \epsilon і \tau \tau о \nu ~ ' A ~ \rho a ́ т о v ~ к а т \eta \gamma о р i ́ a, ~$



 ő $\pi \omega \varsigma \phi \theta \dot{a} \sigma \eta \tau \grave{\imath} \nu \pi a \rho a \sigma \kappa \epsilon \nu \grave{\eta} \nu a \dot{\tau} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$.
3 'Еүєүóvєє ס̀ кív$\eta \mu a \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'А $\chi a \iota \omega \hat{\omega}$, каі $\pi \rho o ̀ s$

 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon} \pi \rho \omega ́ \tau \omega \nu \pi о \lambda \lambda a \chi o \hat{v} \beta a \rho v \nu o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \tau o ̀ \nu " A \rho a-$




 $\mu \epsilon \tau d$ ठє̀ таи̂та Фєขєòv тробทүа́үєто каї Пєขтє́-



$$
{ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \text { 'A } \chi \alpha \iota \omega \bar{\omega} \text { with Blass : } \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \text { 'A } \chi \alpha \iota \omega \hat{\omega} \text {. }
$$

had already been settled, and because he was afraid that Cleomenes would carry all his points by either winning over or constraining the multitude, demanded that Cleomenes, after receiving three hundred hostages, should come into the city alone for his conference with them, or else should come with his army as far as the gymnasium outside the city called Cyllarabium, and treat with them there. When Cleomenes heard this, he declared that he had been wronged ; for he ought to have been told of this when the conference was first proposed, and not be distrusted and driven away now, when he had come to their very doors. Then, after writing a letter to the Achaeans on the matter, most of which was denunciation of Aratus, and after Aratus on his part had abused him at great length to the multitude, Cleomenes broke camp with all speed and sent a herald to declare war upon the Achaeans, not to Argos, but to Aegium, in order, as Aratus says, that he might anticipate their preparations for defence. ${ }^{1}$

Now, there had been agitation among the Achaeans, and their cities were eager for revolt, the common people expecting division of land and abolition of debts, and the leading men in many cases being dissatisfied with Aratus, and some of them also enraged at him for bringing Macedonians into Peloponnesus. Therefore Cleomenes, encouraged by these conditions, invaded Achaea. First, he took Pellené by a sudden assault, and drove out the Achaean garrison ; next, he brought over to his cause Pheneus and Penteleium. Presently the Achaeans, who were afraid that some treachery was afoot in Corinth and

[^14]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES






 5 т $\epsilon \mu a$, каi тòv $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ т $\eta \nu$ ' А $\sigma \pi i \hat{i} a$ тóтоу ката$\lambda a \beta \grave{\omega} \nu$ imèp тồ $\theta \epsilon a ́ \tau \rho o v ~ \chi a \lambda \epsilon \pi o ̀ \nu ~ o ้ \nu \tau а ~ к а i ~$






















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## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xvir. 4 -xviri. 3

Sicyon, sent their horsemen and their mercenaries out of Argos to keep watch over those cities, while they themselves went down to Argos and began celebrating the Nemean games. So Cleomenes, expecting, as was the case, that while the throng was holding festival and the city was full of spectators, his unexpected approach would be more apt to cause confusion, led his army by night up to the walls, occupied the region about the Aspis overlooking the theatre, a region which was rugged and hard to come at, and so terrified the inhabitants that not a man of them thought of defence, but they accepted a garrison and gave twenty citizens as hostages, agreeing to become allies of the Lacedaemonians, and to give Cleomenes the chief command.
XVIII. This greatly increased the reputation and power of Cleomenes. For the ancient kings of Sparta, in spite of numerous efforts, were not able to secure the abiding allegiance of Argos; and the most formidable of generals, Pyrrhus, although he fought his way into the city, could not hold it, but was slain there, and a great part of his army perished with him. ${ }^{1}$ Therefore men admired the swiftness and intelligence of Cleomenes; and those who before this had mocked at him for imitating, as they said, Solon and Lycurgus in the abolition of debts and the equalization of property, were now altogether convinced that this imitation was the cause of the change in the Spartans. For these were formerly in so low a state and so unable to help themselves, that Aetolians invaded Laconia and took away fifty thousand slaves. It was at this time, we are told, that one of the elder Spartans remarked that the enemy had helped Sparta

[^15]
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 $\pi \rho о \sigma \theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \tau \hat{\varphi} \mathrm{~K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \epsilon \iota \mathrm{~K} \lambda \epsilon \omega \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$ каi Ф $\lambda_{\iota}-$










 $\mu \epsilon ́ \mu \phi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau о ⿱ ̀ s ~ K o p i \nu \theta i o v s ~ \mu \eta ̀ ~ \sigma v \lambda \lambda a \beta o ́ \nu \tau a s ~$

 К $\lambda \epsilon о \mu$ évovs $\delta є о \mu$ е́vov таралаßєî̀ тò̀ 'Акроко́рьข-






 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon \chi a \rho a ́ к \omega \sigma \epsilon, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{A} \chi a \iota \hat{\omega} \nu$ où $\beta o v \lambda o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ 90
by lightening her burden. But now only a little time had elapsed, and they had as yet barely resumed their native customs and re-entered the track of their famous discipline, when, as if before the very eyes of Lycurgus and with his co-operation, they gave abundant proof of valour and obedience to authority, by recovering the leadership of Hellas for Sparta and making all Peloponnesus their own again.
XIX. Thus Argos was taken by Cleomenes, and immediately afterwards Cleonae and Phlius came over to him. When this happened, Aratus was at Corinth, holding a judicial examination of those who were reputed to favour the Spartan cause. The unexpected tidings threw him into consternation, and perceiving that the city was leaning towards Cleomenes and wished to be rid of the Achaeans, he summoned the citizens into the council-hall, and then slipped away unnoticed to the city gate. There his horse was brought to him, and mounting it he fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were so eager to get to Cleomenes at Argos that, as Aratus says, all their horses were ruined. Aratus says also that Cleomenes upbraided the Corinthians for not seizing him, but letting him escape; however, Megistonoüs came to him, he says, bringing from Cleomenes a request for the surrender of Acrocorinthus (which was held by an Achaean garrison) and an offer of a large sum of money for it; to which he replied that he did not control affairs, but rather affairs controlled him. This is what Aratus writes.

But Cleomenes, marching up from Argos and taking over Troezen, Epidaurus, and Hermioné, came to Corinth. Its citadel he blockaded, since the Achaeans would not abandon it, and after summon-

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 $\mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \dot{o} \mu \eta \prime \rho \omega \nu$ каì $\psi \eta \phi i \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ̀ s$



 $\delta \omega \rho \epsilon \grave{a} \nu{ }^{\prime} \neq \lambda a \beta \epsilon$.





 $2 \mu$ иîs єis àmopíà каӨíбтך тò 'A $\nu \tau i ́ \gamma o \nu o \nu . ~ o u ̈ \tau \epsilon ~$ үà $\rho$, бîтоע єỉ $\chi \in \nu$ éк тарабкєvîs iкаขо́v, ойтє $\beta \iota a ́ \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ т \eta ̀ \nu ~ \pi a ́ \rho o \delta o \nu, ~ \kappa а Ө \eta \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v ~ т о \hat{v} \mathrm{~K} \lambda \epsilon о-$

 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \omega \tau \hat{\omega} \nu, \check{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \pi a \nu \tau a ́ \pi a \sigma \iota$ Өap $\hat{\eta} \sigma a \iota \tau o ̀ \nu$ K $\lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta$ каì тoùs $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath}$ aủtòv є่ $\pi \eta \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s ~ \tau!̣ ̂ ~ 814 ~$


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ing the friends and stewards of Aratus, ordered them to take the house and property of Aratus into their charge and management. Then he sent Tritymallus the Messenian once more to Aratus, proposing that Acrocorinthus should be garrisoned by Achaeans and Lacedaemonians together, and promising Aratus personally double the stipend which he was receiving from King Ptolemy. ${ }^{1}$ Aratus, however, would not listen to the proposition, but sent his son to Antigonus along with the other hostages, and persuaded the Achaeans to vote the surrender of Acrocorinthus to Antigonus. Therefore Cleomenes invaded the territory of Sicyon and ravaged it, and accepted the property of Aratus when the Corinthians voted it to him as a gift.
XX. When Antigonus with a large force was crossing the mountain-range of Geraneia, Cleomenes thought it more advisable to fortify thoroughly, not the Isthmus, but the Oneian range of hills, and to wear out the Macedonians by a war of posts and positions, rather than to engage in formal battle with their disciplined phalanx. He carried out this plan, and thereby threw Antigonus into straits. For he had not a sufficient store of provisions, and it was no easy matter to force his passage while Cleomenes sat entrenched. Moreover, when he attempted to slip past his enemy in the night by way of Lechaeum, he was driven out and lost some of his soldiers. Therefore Cleomenes was altogether encouraged, and his men, elated by their victory, betook themselves to supper; but Antigonus was dejected, since he was shut up by necessity to difficult plans. For he was

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## PLUTARCH＇S LIVES







 $\kappa a \grave{\imath}$ тò $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta o \varsigma$ oủ $\chi a \lambda \epsilon \pi \hat{\omega} \varsigma{ }_{\epsilon}^{\prime \prime} \pi \epsilon \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \nu$ ，à $\gamma a \nu a \kappa \tau \circ \hat{\nu} \nu$



 є́кєî̀ov oú $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon \nu$ ，ả $\lambda \lambda a ̀$ тoùs то入íтаs $\pi a \rho a-$ $\lambda a \beta \grave{\omega} \nu \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \mu a ́ \chi \epsilon \tau о$ тоîs фроиройб८ т̀̀ $\nu$ àкро́－






 є̇кßa入єî̀ тoùs íтómtovs．àmo入v́бas ov̂̀ тòv

 $\pi a \rho \epsilon \theta a ́ \rho \rho \nu \nu \epsilon \nu \dot{\omega} \varsigma$ oú $\delta \epsilon \nu o ̀ s ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda o u ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ " A ~ \rho \gamma o s, ~$


 єîXov oi ф


planning to mareh off to the promontory of the Heraeum, and from there to put his army across to Sicyon in transports-an undertaking requiring much time and extraordinary preparations. But when it was already towards evening, there came to him from Argos by sea some friends of Aratus, who summoned him to the city, on the ground that the Argives were ready to revolt from Cleomenes. The author of the revolt was Aristotle; and the multitude were easy to persuade, being incensed because Cleomenes had not brought about the abolition of debts which they expected. Accordingly, Aratus took fifteen hundred soldiers from Antigonus and sailed to Epidaurus. Aristotle, however, did not await his coming, but at the head of the citizens made an attack upon the garrison of the citadel; and Timoxenus came to his aid from Sicyon with the Achaean army.
XXI. It was about midnight when Cleomenes heard of these things, and summoning Megistonoüs, he angrily ordered him to go at once to Argos with assistance; for it was Megistonoüs who had given him most assuranees of the fidelity of the Argives, and had thereby prevented him from expelling the suspected citizens. After sending off Megistonoiis, then, with two thousand soldiers, he himself kept watch upon Antigonus and tried to encourage the Corinthians, telling them that there was no great trouble at Argos, but only a slight disturbance made by a few men. However, when Megistonoiis, who had made his way into Argos, was slain in battle, and the garrison held out with difficulty and kept sending frequent messengers to Cleomenes, he was afraid that if the enemy made themselves masters of

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à̉тоі̀ $\pi о \rho \theta \hat{\omega} \sigma \iota \nu$ ả $\delta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \Lambda а к \omega \nu \iota к \grave{\eta} \nu к а і ̈ ~ \pi о \lambda \iota о \rho-~$













 $\kappa \rho а т \eta ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu^{\bullet}$ каі $\sigma \nu \nu a \gamma a \gamma \grave{\omega} \nu \ddot{̈} \pi a \nu \tau a \varsigma \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a \dot{u} \tau \grave{\nu}$






 таре́ठшкаข.








## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxi. 2-xxir. i

Argos and shut up the passes, they might ravage at will the Laconian territory and lay siege to Sparta, which he had left without defenders. He therefore led his army away from Corinth. This city was at once lost to him, for Antigonus entered it and set a garrison there; but Cleomenes, on reaching Argos, made an attempt to scale the walls, and with this in view drew his forces together from their march, and cutting his way through the tunnels running under the Aspis, or citadel, he made the ascent and effected a junction with his garrison inside, which was still holding out against the Achaeans. He actually got possession of some portions of the city by using scaling-ladders, and cleared the streets of the enemy by bringing his Cretan archers into action. But when he saw Antigonus with his phalanx descending from the heights into the plain, and his horsemen already streaming into the city, he gave up trying to master it; and gathering all his troops about him he made his way safely down from the citadel and withdrew along past the city wall. He had made the greatest possible conquests in the briefest possible time, and had come within a little of making himself master of all Peloponnesus by a single march through it, but had quickly lost everything again. For some of his allies left him at once, and others after a little while handed their cities over to Antigonus.
XXII. Such was the result of his expedition, and he was leading his army home, when, as it was already evening and he was near Tegea, messengers from Sparta came with tidings of a fresh and even greater calamity, the death of his wife. It was because of her that even in his most successful campaigns he could not endure to the end, but would

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 $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \theta$ оऽ $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \psi \nu \chi \hat{\eta} \varsigma, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a}$ каі $\phi \omega \nu \grave{\eta} \nu$ каі $\sigma \chi \hat{\eta} \mu a$
 $\tau \omega \nu \tau a ́ \tau \epsilon \pi \rho о \sigma \tau а ́ \gamma \mu a \tau a$ тоîs $\mathfrak{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu о ́ \sigma \iota \nu$ є́ठíסov каi 815



 loyı $\sigma \mu$ oîs.



 $\epsilon i \sigma \epsilon \lambda \theta \grave{\omega} \nu$ каі $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a u ̛ \tau \varphi ̣ ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \tau \hat{\omega}$ 入ó $\gamma \varphi$ $\kappa а т \epsilon \sigma \iota \omega ́ \pi \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu, \ddot{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \kappa \dot{\alpha} \kappa \epsilon \dot{\iota} \nu \eta \nu \dot{\nu} \pi о \nu о є \hat{\imath} \nu \kappa а \grave{i} \pi а \rho \grave{\alpha}$
 4 ßov入ómevos $\mathfrak{\epsilon} \nu \tau v \chi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu$ aùt



 $\nu о \mu і \zeta \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ тò $\sigma \hat{\omega} \mu a$ тои̂то $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \iota \mu \omega ́ \tau а т о \nu$ еै $\sigma \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$,







## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxir. $1-5$

continually be coming home to Sparta, out of love for Agiatis and in supreme devotion to her. Of course, then, he was smitten with grief, as was natural for a young man who had lost a most beautiful and most sensible wife, but he did not allow his suffering to shame or betray the loftiness of his thought or the greatness of his spirit. He maintained his usual speech, dress, and bearing, gave the customary orders to his captains, and took thought for the safety of Tegea. Next morning he returned to Sparta, and after duly mourning his loss with his mother and children at home, he at once engaged in the measures which he planned for the public good.

Now, Ptolemy the king of Egypt promised him aid and assistance, but demanded his mother and his children as hostages. For a long time, therefore, he was ashamed to tell his mother, and though he often went to her and was at the very point of letting her know, he held his peace, so that slee on her part became suspicious and enquired of his friends whether there was not something which he wished to impart to her but hesitated to do so. Finally, when Cleomenes plucked up courage to speak of the matter, his mother burst into a hearty laugh and said: "Was this the thing which thou wast often of a mind to tell me but lost thy courage? Make haste, put me on board a vessel, and send this frail body wheresoever thou thinkest it will be of most use to Sparta, before old age destroys it sitting idly here."

Accordingly, when all things were ready, they came to Taenarus by land, while the army escorted them under arms. And as Cratesicleia was about to embark, she drew Cleomenes aside by himself into the temple of Poseidon, and after embracing and kissing

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 6 тєтараүнє́vov, ""А ${ }^{\prime} \epsilon$," $\epsilon \hat{i} \pi \epsilon \nu$, " $\mathfrak{\omega} \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{v}$ Макє-


 $\delta$ '́, ö $\pi \omega \varsigma$ à̀ ó $\delta a i \not \mu \omega \nu \delta \iota \delta \hat{\omega}, \pi a ́ \rho \epsilon \iota \sigma \iota . " ~ \tau а \hat{v} \tau a ~ \delta ' ~$



入óyous таן' 'A $\bar{\tau} \iota \gamma o ́ v o v ~ к а і ̀ ~ \pi \rho є \sigma \beta є i ́ a s ~ \delta є \chi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \nu, ~$







 ßóvтos, 'О $\rho \chi о \mu є \nu o ̀ \nu ~ \delta e ̀ ~ к а i ~ M a \nu \tau i ́ v є \iota a \nu ~ \delta ı а \rho \pi a ́-~$
 ó K $\lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \varsigma ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon \iota \lambda \omega ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \pi \epsilon ́ \nu \tau \epsilon ~ \mu \nu a ̂ s ~$











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him in his anguish and deep trouble, said: "Come, $O$ king of the Lacedaemonians, when we go forth let no one see us weeping or doing anything unworthy of Sparta. For this lies in our power, and this alone; but as for the issues of fortune, we shall have what the Deity may grant." After saying this, she composed her countenance and proceeded to the ship with her little grandson, and bade the captain put to sea with all speed. And when she was come to Egypt, and learned that Ptolemy was entertaining embassies and proposals from Antigonus, and heard that although the Achaeans invited Cleomenes to make terms with them, he was afraid on her account to end the war without the consent of Ptolemy, she sent word to him that he must do what was fitting and advantageous for Sparta, and not, because of one old woman and a little boy, be ever in fear of Ptolemy. Such, then, as we are told, was the bearing of Cratesicleia in her misfortunes.
XXIII. After Antigonus had taken Tegea by siege, and had surprised Orchomenus and Mantineia, Cleomenes, now reduced to the narrow confines of Laconia, set free those of the Helots who could pay down five Attic minas (thereby raising a sum of five hundred talents), armed two thousand of them in Macedonian fashion as an offset to the White Shields of Antigonus, and planned an undertaking which was great and entirely unexpected. Megalopolis was at that time of itself fully as large and strong as Sparta, and could have assistance from the Achaeans and from Antigonus; for Antigonus was encamped near by, and it was thought that the Megalopolitans were chiefly responsible for his being called in by the
$3 \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \pi o v \delta a \sigma a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$. таи́т $\eta \nu \delta \iota a \rho \pi a ́ \sigma a \iota \delta \iota a-$



 'А $\rho \gamma о \lambda \iota \kappa \grave{\eta} \nu$ какои $\rho \gamma \eta{ }^{\prime} \sigma \omega \nu$ ' є’кєîӨєข $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ катаßàs









 рои̂дтos єن̉Ө








 $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{a} \sigma \phi a \lambda \hat{\omega} \varsigma \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \lambda \theta \epsilon i ̂ \nu \pi a \rho \epsilon \in \sigma \chi o \nu, \ddot{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \mu \grave{\eta}$ $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ o \nu a ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \chi \iota \lambda i ́ \omega \nu$ є่ $\gamma \kappa а \tau а \lambda \eta \phi \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota \quad \sigma \dot{\omega} \mu a \tau a$,





Achaeans. This city Cleomenes planned to snatch away (for nothing else could better describe the speed and unexpectedness of his famous achievement), and ordering his men to take five days' rations, he led them forth to Sellasia, as though he would ravage the territory of Argos. But from there he descended into the territory of Megalopolis, and after giving his men their supper at the Rhoeteium, he marched at once by way of Helicus against the city itself. When he was not far away he dispatched Panteus with two divisions of Lacedaemonians, ordering him to seize a portion of the wall between two towers which he had learned was the most unprotected part of the walls of Megalopolis, while he himself with the rest of his army followed slowly after. Panteus found not only that particular spot, but also a great part of the wall, undefended, and at once tore down some portions of it, undermining others, and slaying all the defenders whom he encountered. Cleomenes promptly joined him, and before the Megalopolitans were aware of it, he was inside the city with his army.
XXIV. At last the disaster became clear to the citizens, and some of them at once fled the city, taking with them what property they could lay hands on, while others banded together under arms, resisting and assaulting the enemy. These they were not strong enough to eject from the city, but they afforded a safe escape to the citizens who wished to flee, so that not more than a thousand persons were taken in the place; all the rest, together with their wives and children, succeeded in escaping to Messene. Moreover, the greater part of those who tried to save the city by fighting got off alive ; but a few of them,

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 $\tau \hat{\omega} \mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon \in \nu \epsilon \iota$ т $\rho о \sigma \hat{\eta} \gamma \sigma \nu$. ó $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \Lambda \nu \sigma a \nu \delta \rho i ́ \delta a s$ @̀s






 $\kappa є \lambda \epsilon v ́ \epsilon \iota \varsigma$;" каí ó $\Lambda v \sigma a \nu \delta \rho i ́ \delta a \varsigma, ~ " A u ̀ \tau o ̀ ~ \mu e ̀ \nu ~$

 $\sigma \nu \mu \mu a ́ \chi \omega \nu \pi \iota \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa a i ̀ \beta \epsilon \beta a i \omega \nu$, àтоסóvта Мє Ма-




 $\sigma \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \epsilon$ то̀̀s ä้סраৎ $\epsilon i \varsigma \mathrm{M} \epsilon \sigma \sigma \eta \eta_{\nu} \nu$ каі ки́рика

 $\sigma \tau a ́ \nu \tau a s$ 'А $\chi a \iota \omega \nu \nu$.
 Өрюта тоотєívàтоs ойк єїабє тоѝs Мєүадо-
 тоùs 'A $\mathrm{A} \alpha \iota o \grave{\varrho} \pi i \sigma \tau \iota \nu$, à $\lambda \lambda \grave{a}$ кат $\eta \gamma \circ \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ то仑




## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxiv. 2-5

all told, were captured, among whom were Lysandridas and Thearidas, men of the greatest reputation and influence in Megalopolis. Therefore the soldiers had no sooner seized them than they brought them to Cleomenes. Then Lysandridas, when he saw Cleomenes from afar, cried out with a loud voice and said: "It is in thy power now, O king of the Lacedaemonians, to display an action fairer and more worthy of a king than any that has preceded it, and thereby win men's highest esteem." But Cleomenes, conjecturing what the speaker wished, said: "What meanest thou, Lysandridas? Thou surely canst not bid me give your city back again to you." To which Lysandridas replied: "Indeed, that is just what I mean, and I advise thee in thine own interests not to destroy so great a city, but to fill it with friends and allies who are trusty and true by giving back to the Megalopolitans their native city and becoming the preserver of so large a people." Accordingly, after a short silence, Cleomenes said: "It is difficult to believe that all this will happen, but with us let what makes for good repute always carry the day, rather than what brings gain." And with these words he sent the two men off to Messene attended by a herald from himself, offering to give back their city to the Megalopolitans on condition that they renounce the Achaean cause and be his friends and alries.

However, although Cleomenes made this benevolent and humane offer, Philopoemen would not allow the Megalopolitans to break their pledges to the Achaeans, but denounced Cleomenes on the ground that he sought, not so much to give their city back to its citizens, as rather to get the citizens with their city ${ }^{1}$; then he drove Thearidas and Lysandridas out

[^17]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 'А $\chi a \iota \hat{\omega} \nu$ каі̀ $\mu \epsilon \gamma і \sigma \tau \eta \nu \kappa \tau \eta \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ " E \lambda . ~$





















 та؟ $\mu \epsilon \theta^{\prime}$ €́autoû.


 4 Поди́ßıos. єíd̀̀s $\gamma \grave{\alpha} \rho$ єis тà $\chi є \iota \mu a ́ \delta \iota a ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \sigma \pi a \rho$.
of Messene. This was that Philopoemen who afterwards became the leader of the Achaeans and won the greatest fame among the Greeks, as I have written in his own Life.
XXV. When tidings of these things were brought to Cleomenes, although he had taken strict care that the city should be inviolate and unharmed, so that no one took even the least thing without being detected, he was now so incensed and embittered that he plundered it, and sent its statues and pictures off to Sparta; then, after completely demolishing most and the largest portions of the city, he marched back towards home, being in fear of Antigonus and the Achaeans. But these did nothing. For they were holding a general assembly at Aegium ; and here Aratus, after mounting the bema, wept for a long time, holding his mantle before his face; and when his audience was amazed and bade him speak, he told them that Megalopolis had been destroyed by Cleomenes. Then the assembly at once broke up, the Achaeans being filled with consternation at the swiftness and magnitude of the calamity. Antigonus at first attempted to give aid, but afterwards, since his forces came up to him but slowly from their winter quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, while he himself proceeded to Argos, having only a few soldiers with him.

And this was the reason why the next attempt of Cleomenes, which was thought to be a deed of extravagant and frantic daring, was really made with great forethought, as Polybius says. ${ }^{1}$ For Cleomenes

1 "Most people thought this a hazardous and foolhardy step ; but those who were capable of judging regarded the measure as at once safe and prudent" (ii. 6i, 1).

## PLU＇TARCH＇S LIIVES

 ＇Avtíyovov oủ mo入入oùs є̂ $\chi o \nu \tau a \quad \mu \iota \sigma \theta o \phi o ́ \rho o u s ~ \epsilon ่ \nu ~$







 $\kappa а т \epsilon \beta o ́ \omega \nu, \mu a ́ \chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon$ v́oעтєऽ $\hat{\eta}$ тоîs крєітттоб८ข

 $\lambda o ́ \gamma \omega s ~ \kappa a \grave{~} \pi \rho о є ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \dot{a} \sigma \phi a ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota a \nu$ aí $\chi \chi \rho o ́ \nu$ ，ov

 $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon \sigma \mu \epsilon \in \nu \eta s \stackrel{a}{\alpha} \chi \rho \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \iota \chi \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \hat{\varphi} \pi \rho \sigma \sigma-$ $\epsilon \lambda \theta \grave{\omega \nu} \kappa а і$ каөvßрі́баs каі $\delta \iota a \lambda \nu \mu \eta \nu а ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о$ я $\dot{a} \delta \epsilon \omega \hat{\omega}$ à $\nu \epsilon \chi \omega ́ \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$.





 oi $\lambda о \iota \pi о i ́, \delta \rho \epsilon \pi a ́ v a \iota s ~ к а i ~ \mu а \chi \alpha i ́ p a \iota s, ~ a ̀ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ к o ́ \pi \tau \omega \nu ~$ そú入oıs $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda o ı s ~ \epsilon i ’ s ~ \sigma \chi \grave{\eta} \mu a$ ро $\mu \phi а i ́ a s ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon \iota \rho \gamma а \sigma-~$



 $\pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$ ढ̈s $\phi \eta \sigma \iota$.
knew that the Macedonians were dispersed among the cities in their winter quarters, and that Antigonus had only a few mercenaries with him at Argos, where he was spending the winter with his friends. Cleomenes therefore invaded the territory of Argos, calculating that Antigonus would either be shamed into fighting and would be overpowered, or, in case he did not venture to fight, would incur odium among the Argives. And this was what actually came to pass. For while Cleomenes was wasting the country and robbing it of all that was there, the Argives, in distress, kept thronging the doors of the king and calling upon him with loud voices either to fight or yield the leadership to his betters. But Antigonus, as became a prudent general, considering that disgrace lay in taking unreasonable risks and throwing away his security, rather than in being abused by the outside rabble, would not go forth from the city, but stood by his previous plans. So Cleomenes came up to the very walls of the city with his army, wrought insolent havoc, and then withdrew unmolested.
XXVI. A little later, however, hearing that Antigonus had advanced to Tegea with intent to invade Laconia from that city, Cleomenes quickly took his soldiers, marched past the enemy by a different route, and at daybreak appeared suddenly before the city of Argos, ravaging the plain and destroying the grain, not cutting this down, as usual, with sickles and knives, but beating it down with great pieces of wood fashioned like spear-shafts. These his soldiers plied as if in sport, while passing by, and with no effort at all they would crush and ruin all the crop. When, however, they were come to the

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 $\pi \rho о \sigma \phi \epsilon ́ \rho \epsilon \iota \nu \pi \hat{v} \rho$, $\epsilon \in \kappa \dot{\omega} \lambda v \sigma \epsilon \nu$, $\dot{\omega}$ каi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{~}$
 $\pi \epsilon \pi \rho a \gamma \mu \epsilon \in \nu \omega \nu$.



 $\dot{a} \xi \iota \omega \hat{\omega}$ тồ 'Hpaiov $\lambda a \beta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu$, ö $\quad \pi \omega s$ à $\pi a \lambda \lambda a ́ \tau \tau о \iota \tau о$



 $\kappa а т \epsilon ́ \beta \eta \pi а \rho a ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ ' О \rho \chi o \mu \epsilon \nu o ́ v, ~ o v ~ \mu o ́ v o \nu ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \pi о \lambda i-~$








 ф pooúrıs.
XXVII. 'A $\lambda \lambda$ ' ó $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau o s ~ \tau \grave{a} ~ \chi \rho ク ́ \mu a \tau a ~ \nu є \hat{v} \rho a$






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Cyllarabis and attempted to set the gymnasium on fire, Cleomenes stopped them, feeling that his work at Megalopolis had been done to satisfy his anger rather than his honour.

As for Antigonus, in the first place he went back at once to Argos, and then occupied the hills and all the passes with outposts. But Cleomenes pretended to despise and ignore all this, and sent heralds to the king demanding the keys to the Heraeum, that he might offer sacrifice to the goddess before he went away. Then, after this jest and mockery, and after sacrificing to the goddess under the walls of the temple, which was closed, he led his army off to Phlius. From thence, after expelling the garrison of Oligyrtus, he marched past Orchomenus, not only infusing high spirits and courage into its citizens, but also leading his enemies to think him a man capable of leadership and worthy to wield great power. For he drew his resources from but a single city, and yet waged war against the Macedonian power, all the Peloponnesians, and the treasures of a king together, and not only kept Laconia inviolate, but actually ravaged his enemies' territory and took cities of great size; and men thought this a proof of no ordinary ability and largeness of purpose.
XXVII. But he who first declared that money is the sinews of affairs would scem to have spoken with special reference to the affairs of war. And Demades, when the Athenians once ordered that their triremes should be launched and manned, but had no money, said: "Dough must be moistened before it is kneaded." It is said also that Archidamus of old,

[^18]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

'A $\rho \chi i ́ \delta a \mu o s$ o $\pi a \lambda a l o ̀ s ~ i ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \rho \chi \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \tau o \hat{v} \Pi \epsilon \lambda o-$ $\pi о \prime \nu \eta \sigma \iota a \kappa о \hat{v} \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \circ v, \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \epsilon \grave{\sigma} \phi \circ \rho a ̀ s ~ \tau a ́ \xi a \iota$
 2 тєтаүرє́va бıтєîtaı. каӨámєן үà $\rho$ oi $\sigma \epsilon \sigma \omega \mu a \sigma-$







 ßápßароь үа̀ $\pi є \rho \iota є ́ к о т т о \nu ~ a ̀ т о ́ \nu т о s ~ к а і ~ к а т є ́-~$






 крі́роиба т@̣ тарà $\mu \iota к \rho o ̀ \nu ~ т v ́ \chi \eta ~ т \eta \lambda \iota к а и ́ т \eta \nu ~ a ̀ т \epsilon-~$

 $\dot{a} \pi о \beta \epsilon \beta \lambda \eta \kappa о ́ \tau о \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \delta \dot{\nu} \nu a \mu \iota \nu \kappa \alpha \grave{\imath} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu, \epsilon \dot{\nu} \theta \grave{v} \varsigma$




 тoùs 'A $\chi \alpha \iota o u ̀ s ~ a ̈ \pi \epsilon \lambda \theta o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ М а к \epsilon \delta o ́ \nu \omega \nu$ ' $\nu \hat{v} \nu$


## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxvir. $1-5$

towards the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, when the allies ordered their contributions for the war to be fixed, said: "War has no fixed rations." ${ }^{1}$ And indeed, just as athletes who have taken a full course of training, in time bear down and overpower those who are merely graceful and skilful, so also did Antigonus, who engaged in the war with large resources, wear out and prostrate Cleomenes, who could only meagrely and with difficulty provide pay for his mercenaries and sustenance for his citizensoldiers. And yet in all other respects, certainly, time was on the side of Cleomenes; for affairs at home demanded the presence of Antigonus. During his absence Barbarians had been overrunning and devastating Macedonia, and at this particular time a large army of Illyrians from the interior had burst in, and in consequence of their ravages the Macedonians summoned Antigonus home. Their letters came within a little of reaching him before the decisive battle. If they had so reached him, he would at once have gone away and left the Achaeans to their own devices. But Fortune, who decides the most important affairs by a narrow margin, favoured him with so slight a preponderance in the scale of opportunity and power, that no sooner had the battle at Sellasia been fought, where Cleomenes lost his army and his city, than the messengers summoning Antigonus arrived. And this more than anything else made the misfortune of Cleomenes to be greatly pitied. For if he could have held out only two days, and continued his defensive tactics, he would not have needed to fight a battle, but the Macedonians would have gone away and he could have made his own terms with the Achaeans. But now, as I said before, his lack of ${ }^{1}$ See the Crassus, ii. 7.

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 Пo入v́ßıós ф $\eta \sigma \iota$, трòs трıбرvрíous à $\nu \tau \iota \pi a \rho a \tau a ́-$ $\xi a \sigma \theta a \iota$.
XXVIII. Kai $\theta a v \mu a \sigma \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \kappa \iota \nu \delta \dot{v} \nu \omega$

 $\mu \epsilon \mu \pi \tau \hat{\omega} \varsigma \dot{a} \gamma \omega \nu \iota \sigma a \mu \epsilon{ }^{\prime} \nu \omega \nu, \tau \hat{\varphi} \tau \rho o ́ \pi \omega \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \dot{o} \pi \lambda i ́ \sigma \epsilon \omega \varsigma$

 $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \tau \grave{̣}$ K $\lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \epsilon \iota \tau a ̀ ~ \pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu a \tau a ~ \delta \iota \epsilon p \gamma a \sigma a-$ $2 \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu$. тô̂ үà $\rho$ 'A $\nu \tau \iota \gamma o ́ v o v ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ ' I \lambda \lambda v \rho ı o u ̀ s ~ к а i ̀ ~$



 $\theta \epsilon \omega \rho \hat{\nu} \nu$ ó $\mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon \epsilon \nu \eta \mathrm{~s}$, $\dot{\omega}$ oú $\delta a \mu o \hat{v} \tau \grave{a}$ ö $\pi \lambda a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 $\mu \grave{~} \pi \rho o ́ s ~ \tau \iota ~ \tau о \iota o u ̂ \tau o \nu ~ a u ̀ \tau o i ̂ s ~ o ̛ ~ ' A \nu \tau i ́ \gamma o \nu o s ~ к \epsilon ́ \chi \rho \eta \tau а \iota . ~$












## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxvir. 5-xxvir. 4

resources forced him to stake the whole issue on a battle where, as Polybius says, ${ }^{1}$ he could oppose only twenty thousand men to thirty thousand.
XXVIII. He showed himself an admirable general in the hour of peril, his fellow countrymen gave him spirited support, and even his mercenaries fought in a praiseworthy manner, but he was overwhelmed by the superior character of his enemies' armour and the weight of their heavy-armed phalanx. Phylarchus, however, says that there was treachery also, and that this was chiefly what ruined Cleomenes. For Antigonus ordered his Illyrians and Acarnanians to go round by a secret way and envelope the other wing, which Eucleidas, the brother of Cleomenes, commanded, and then led out the rest of his forces to battle; and when Cleomenes, from his post of observation, could nowhere see the arms of the Illyrians and Acarnanians, he was afraid that Antigonus was using them for some such purpose. He therefore called Damoteles, the commander of the secret service contingent, ${ }^{2}$ and ordered him to observe and find out how matters stood in the rear and on the flanks of his array. But Damoteles (who had previously been bribed, as we are told, by Antigonus) told him to have no concern about flanks and rear, for all was well there, but to give his attention to those who assailed him in front, and repulse them. So Cleomenes, putting faith in what he was told, advanced upon Antigonus, and by the sweeping onset of his Spartans drove back the phalanx of the Macedonians for about five furlongs,

[^19]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

$\kappa \rho a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\eta} \kappa о \lambda о u ́ \theta \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu . \quad \epsilon i \tau \alpha \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \mathrm{E} \dot{v} \kappa \lambda \epsilon i-$

 $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu$, " oì $\chi \eta, \gamma \epsilon \nu v a i ̂ o s ~ \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa а i \quad \pi a \iota \sigma i ~ \zeta \eta \lambda \omega \tau o ̀ s$





 $\pi \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu$ ठıакобi $\omega \nu, \dot{\epsilon} \xi а к \iota \sigma \chi \iota \lambda i ́ o v s$ oै $\nu \tau a s$.



 $\pi \rho a ́ \xi \in \iota \nu$. ó $\rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ ס̀̀ тàs $\gamma v \nu a i ̂ \kappa a s ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \mu \epsilon \tau ~ a u ̉ \tau o v ̂ ~$ $\pi \epsilon \phi \epsilon \cup \gamma o ́ \sigma \iota \pi \rho о \sigma \tau \rho \epsilon \chi \circ$ v́ $\sigma a s$ каi $\delta \epsilon \chi о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu a s$ тà öтла







 $\beta a \lambda \grave{\omega} \nu \pi \lambda a \gamma i ́ a \nu \kappa \alpha \grave{\alpha}$ тò $\pi \rho o ́ \sigma \omega \pi o \nu$ є̇ $\pi i$ ì̀ $\pi \hat{\eta} \chi \nu \nu$

 тoùs $\lambda o \gamma \iota \sigma \mu o v ́ s, ~ \check{\omega} \rho \mu \eta \sigma \epsilon \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \phi i ́ \lambda \omega \nu \epsilon$ 's $\tau \grave{o}$
 $\sigma \kappa \epsilon v a \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \pi \lambda o i ́ \omega \nu$ ả̀ $\eta^{\eta} \chi \theta \eta \sigma a \nu$.

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and followed after them victoriously. Then, after Eucleidas with the other wing had been encircled, he came to a stop, and seeing their peril, said; "I have lost thee, my dearest brother, I have lost thee, thou noble heart, thou great example to Spartan boys, thou theme for a song to Spartan wives!" After Eucleidas and his forces had in this way been cut to pieces, and the enemy, after their victory there, were coming on against the other wing, Cleomenes, seeing that his soldiers were in disorder and no longer had courage to stand their ground, took measures for his own safety. Many of his mercenaries fell, as we are told, and all the Spartans, six thousand in number, except two hundred.
XXIX. When Cleomenes came to the city, he advised the citizens who met him to receive Antigonus; as for himself, he said he would do whatever promised to be best for Sparta, whether it called for his life or death. Then, seeing the women running up to those who had escaped with him, relieving them of their arms, and bringing drink to them, he went into his own house. Here his concubine, a free woman of Megalopolis whom he had taken to himself after the death of his wife, came to him, as was her wont upon his return from the field, and wished to minister to him; but he would neither drink, though he was faint with thirst, nor sit down, though he was worn out. Instead, all in armour as he was, he put his arm aslant against one of the pillars of the house, dropped his face upon his forearm, and after resting himself in this way for a short time, and running over in his thoughts all possible plans, he set out with his friends for Gythium. There he went on board of vessels provided for this very purpose and put to sea.

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## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

XXX. 'O סє̀ 'A $\nu \tau i ́ \gamma o \nu o s ~ \epsilon ' \xi ~ є ́ \phi o ́ \delta o v ~ \pi a \rho a \lambda a \beta \grave{\nu} \nu$




 $\pi о \lambda \grave{\nu} \pi о ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu о \nu$ єìvaı каì тор $\theta \epsilon i ̄ \theta \theta a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \chi \omega ́ \rho a \nu$

 2 каì ката́ $\rho \rho о \nu \nu$ бúvтovov. oủ $\mu \dot{\eta} \nu$ à $\pi \epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda$ ’







 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \tau a ̀ \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath}$ 'A $\nu \tau i ́ \gamma o \nu o \nu$.
 $\nu \eta ̂ \sigma o \nu$ є́тє́ $\rho a \nu$, Aiŋıa入íà, катє́ $\sigma \chi \epsilon \nu$. ô $\theta \epsilon \nu$ єis Kv $\nu \eta^{\prime} \nu \eta \nu \pi \epsilon \rho a \iota o v ̂ \sigma \theta a \iota \mu \epsilon ́ \lambda \lambda o \nu \tau o s ̧ a v ̃ \tau o \hat{v}, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \phi i ́ \lambda \omega \nu$










II 8
XXX. Antigonus marched up and took the city without resistance. He treated the Lacedaemonians humanely, and did not insult or mock the dignity of Sparta, but restored her laws and constitution, ${ }^{1}$ sacrificed to the gods, and went away on the third day. For he learned that there was a great war in Macedonia and that the Barbarians were ravaging the country. Moreover, his disease was already in full possession of him, having developed into a quick consumption and an acute catarrh. He did not, however, give up, but had strength left for his conflicts at home, so that he won a very great victory, slew a prodigious number of the Barbarians, and died gloriously, having broken a blood-vessel (as it is likely, and as Phylarchus says) by the very shout that he raised on the field of battle. And in the schools of philosophy one used to hear the story that after his victory he shouted for joy, "O happy day!" and then brought up a quantity of blood, fell into a high fever, and so died. So much concerning Antigonus.
XXXI. As for Cleomenes, he sailed from Cythera to Aegialia, another island, and put in there. As he was about to cross from thence to Cyrene, one of his friends, Therycion by name, a man who brought a large spirit to the conduct of affairs and was always somewhat lofty in his speech and grandiloquent, came to him privately and said: "The noblest death, O King, a death in battle, we have put away from us; and yet all men heard us declare that Antigonus should not pass the king of Sparta except over his dead body. But a death that is second in virtue and glory is now still in our power. Whither do we

[^20]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ảmофєú $о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ є่ $\gamma \gamma и ̀ s ~ o ̂ \nu ~ к а к o ̀ \nu ~ к а i ~ \mu а к \rho a ̀ \nu ~ \delta \iota \omega ́-~$






 à $\nu \theta^{\prime}$ èvòs $\delta v \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \kappa а к i ́ o u s ~ \phi a \nu \hat{\omega} \mu \epsilon \nu$, 'A $\nu \tau i ́ \gamma o \nu o \nu ~ \mu e ̀ \nu ~$









 'A $\downarrow \tau i ́ \gamma o \nu o s ~ a ̀ \pi o \lambda є ́ \lambda о \iota \pi \epsilon ; " ~$


 Өaveîv, à $\nu \delta \rho \in i ̂ o s ~ \epsilon i \nu a \iota ~ \delta o к є i ̂ s, ~ \phi \in u ́ \gamma \omega \nu ~ a i \sigma \chi i ́ o v a ~$


 $\tau а \lambda a \iota \pi \omega \rho i a s ~ \grave{\eta}$ భóyous каi $\delta o ́ \xi a s ~ a ̀ \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi \omega \nu ~ a ̉ \pi a-~$

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxxi. 2-5

unreasoningly sail, fleeing an evil that is near and pursuing one that is afar off? For if it is not shameful that the descendants of Heracles should be in subjection to the successors of Philip and Alexander, we shall spare ourselves a long voyage by surrendering to Antigonus, who is likely to surpass Ptolemy as much as Macedonians surpass Egyptians. But if we cannot consent to be ruled by those who have conquered us in arms, why should we make him our master who has not defeated us, thus showing ourselves inferior to two instead of one by running away from Antigonus and joining the flatterers of Ptolemy? Or, shall we say that it is on thy mother's account that we come to Egypt? Surely thou wilt make a noble spectacle for her, and one to awaken envy, when she displays her son to the wives of Ptolemy, a captive instead of a king, and a runaway. Let us rather, while we are still masters of our own swords and can gaze upon the land of Laconia, here rid ourselves of Fortune's yoke, and make our peace with those who at Sellasia died in defence of Sparta, instead of sitting idly down in Egypt and asking every now and then whom Antigonus has left as satrap of Lacedaemon."

Such were the words of Therycion, and to them Cleomenes replied: "It is the easiest possible step thou urgest, wretched man, and one that any man may take, this dying; and dost thou think thyself brave when thou art making a flight more shameful than the one preceding it? Better men than we have given in to their enemies before this, having been betrayed by Fortune or overwhelmed by numbers. But he who in the face of toils and hardships, or of the censorious judgments of men, gives up the fight,

## PLUTARCH＇S LIVES


 à入入à $\pi \rho \hat{a} \xi \iota \nu$ ．aí $\chi \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ к а i ̀ ~ \zeta \hat{\eta} \nu{ }^{1}$ до́voıs







 $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu$ ё $\sigma \chi \epsilon \kappa \alpha \iota \rho o ̀ \nu ~ a \pi о \sigma \tau \eta ̂ \nu a \iota ~ \tau o \hat{v} \mathrm{~K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu о \nu \varsigma$ ，










 каі ко入акєі́à $\delta \iota a \lambda \epsilon \gamma о \mu є ́ \nu \omega \nu ~ \pi \iota \theta a \nu \omega ́ т є \rho о я ~ є ́ ф а і ̈-~$
 $\mu a i ̂ o \nu ~ \epsilon i ̉ \chi \epsilon \nu ~ a ̀ \nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̀ ~ a \epsilon \lambda \eta ́ \sigma a \nu \tau а ~ \tau о \iota о v ́ т о v ~ к а і ̀ ~$






$$
{ }^{1} \text { каl } \text { ऽクึข Blass and Ziegler, after Richards. }
$$

is vanquished by his own weakness. For a self-inflicted death ought to be, not flight from action, but an action in itself. For it is shameful to die, as well as to live, for one's self alone. And yet it is to this that thou now invitest me in thine eagerness to be rid of present troubles, though beyond that thou wilt effect nothing that is honourable or useful. I, however, think it right that neither thou nor I should abandon our hopes for our country; when these abandon us, death will be very easy if we wish it."

To this Therycion made no reply, but as soon as he got an opportunity to leave Cleomenes, he turned aside along the sea-beach and slew himself.
XXXII. But Cleomenes, putting to sea from Aegialia, landed in Libya, and travelled through the King's country to Alexandria. After coming into the presence of Ptolemy, at first he met with only ordinary and moderate kindness from him; but when he had given proof of his sentiments and shown himself to be a man of good sense, and when, in his daily intercourse, his Laconian simplicity retained the charm which a free spirit imparts, while he in no wise brought shame upon his noble birth or suffered the blows of Fortune to bow him down, but showed himself more winning than those whose conversation sought only to please and flatter, then Ptolemy was filled with great respect for him, and deeply repented that he had neglected such a man and abandoned him to Antigonus, who had thereby won great glory and power. Ptolemy therefore sought to regain Cleomenes by honours and kindnesses, and kept encouraging him with assurances that he would send him back to Greece with ships and treasure and restore

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 $\lambda \epsilon i o \iota s$ à $\gamma \epsilon i ́ \rho \epsilon \iota \nu, \tau a ̀$ dè $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau a$ т $\bar{\varsigma}$ à $\rho \chi \eta ̂ \varsigma \pi \rho a ́ \gamma-$





 $\epsilon \lambda a ́ \mu \beta a \nu \epsilon \kappa а \grave{i} \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \delta i ́ \delta o v \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\pi о \rho \rho \eta \dot{\eta} \tau \omega \nu \sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \delta \rho i \omega \nu$, ßov $\lambda \epsilon v o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s$ à $\nu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ tò̀ à $\delta \epsilon \lambda$ ф̣óv. ó $\delta \epsilon \in, \kappa a i ̂ \pi \epsilon \rho$ $\dot{a} \pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ тoûтo $\pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$, $\mu$ óvos ả $\pi \eta$ -
 $\phi \hat{v} \sigma a \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ o v a s$ á $\delta \in \lambda \phi o u ̀ s \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̀ \sigma \phi a ́-$
4 入єıà каі̀ $\delta \iota a \mu о \nu \grave{\eta} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho a \gamma \mu a ́ t \omega \nu$. $\sum \omega \sigma \iota \beta i ́ o v$




## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxxir. 3-xxxiri. 4

him to his kingdom. He also gave him an annual pension of twenty-four talents. With this money Cleomenes maintained himself and his friends in a simple and modest manner, and spent the greater part in good offices and contributions to the refugees from Greece who were in Egypt.
XXXIII. Well, then, the elder Ptolemy ${ }^{1}$ died before sending Cleomenes off as he had promised; and since the court at once plunged into excessive wantonness and drunkenness, and women wielded the power, the affairs of Cleomenes were neglected. For the king himself was so corrupted in spirit by wine and women that, in his soberest and most serious moments, he would celebrate religious rites and act the mountebank in his palace, timbrelinhand, while the most important affairs of the government were managed by Agathocleia, the mistress of the king, and Oenanthe her mother, who was a bawd. But in spite of all this, at the outset Cleomenes seemed to be of some use. For Ptolemy was afraid of his brother Magas, believing that Magas had a strong following among the soldiers owing to his mother's influence, and he therefore took Cleomenes into his following and gave him a place in his privy council, all the while plotting to kill his brother. But Cleomenes, although all other counsellors urged the king to take this step, alone advised against it, saying that it were better, were it possible, to get the king more brothers to increase the security and stability of his affairs. And when Sosibius, who had the most influence among the king's ministers, declared that they could not be sure of the mercenaries as long as Magas was alive, Cleomenes bade him have no concern on that
${ }^{1}$ Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, died in 220 b.c., and was followed by Ptolemy IV., surnamed Philopator.

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є̈עєка́ үє тov́тov• тлєíous $\gamma$ à $\rho \hat{\eta} \tau \rho \iota \sigma \chi \iota \lambda i ́ o u s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 $\kappa a ̂ \nu ~ \mu o ́ v o \nu ~ \nu \epsilon v ́ \sigma \eta, ~ \pi \rho o \theta \dot{v} \mu \omega \varsigma ~ \mu \epsilon \tau a ̀ ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ơ ö $\pi \lambda \omega \nu$






 6 aủ入ıкоîs，ìs i $\sigma \chi$ v́ovта тарà тоîs $\xi^{\prime} \nu о \iota \varsigma^{\prime}$ каì
 є̀v тоútoıs тоîs троßáтoıs àvaбтрє́申єтац．＂т $\hat{\varphi}$

 $\pi \rho a \tau \tau о ́ \mu є \nu а$ ．

XXXIV．Nâ̂s $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ o \hat{v} \nu$ ait $\omega \hat{\nu}$ каì $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota a ̀ \nu$ à $\pi \epsilon i \pi \epsilon$＇$\pi \nu \nu \theta a \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ \tau \epsilon \theta \nu a ́ v a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ ' A \nu \tau i ́-~$
 ＇A $\chi a \iota o u ́ s, ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \delta ̀ ̀ ̀ ~ \pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu a \tau a ~ \pi o \theta \epsilon i ̂ ̀ ~ a u ̀ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ к а \grave{\iota}$




 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ö̀ $\lambda \omega \nu \pi \rho о є \sigma \tau \eta \kappa \grave{\omega}$ s каi $\pi \rho о \beta о \nu \lambda \epsilon v ́ \omega \nu$ ミ $\omega \sigma i$－





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point at least; for more than three thousand of the mercenaries were Peloponnesians and attached to himself, and if he but gave them a nod they would readily come to his side in arms. At the time this speech won for Cleomenes no little faith in his good will and belief in his strength; but afterwards, when Ptolemy's weakness intensified his cowardice, and, as is wont to happen where there is no sound judgment, his best course seemed to him to lie in fearing everybody and distrusting all men, it led the courtiers to be afraid of Cleomenes, on the ground that he had a strong following among the mercenaries; and many of them were heard to say: "There goes the lion up and down among these sheep." And such, in fact, he clearly was among the courtiers, eyeing with quiet contempt and closely watching what was going on.
XXXIV. For ships, therefore, and an army, he gave up asking; but on learning that Antigonus was dead ${ }^{1}$ and that the Achaeans were involved in a war with the Aetolians, and that affairs yearned and called for him now that Peloponnesus was rent asunder and in confusion, he demanded to be sent away with his friends merely; but he could persuade no one. The king would not give him a hearing, but was absorbed with women and Dionysiac routs and revels; and Sosibius, the prime minister and chief counsellor, thought that if Cleomenes remained against his will he might be hard to manage, indeed, and an object of fear, but that if he were sent away he would make some bold attempt, being a man of large undertakings, and one who had been an eye-witness of the distempers of the realm.
${ }^{1}$ Cf. chapter xxx. 2.

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3 oú $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ үà $\rho$ ai $\delta \omega \rho \epsilon a i$ катєт $\rho a ́ v ̈ \nu o \nu ~ a u ̉ \tau o ́ \nu, ~ a ̀ ~ \lambda \lambda ’ ~$


 $\epsilon$ є $\sigma \tau \iota \delta \nu \sigma a \nu a \sigma \chi \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \epsilon \in \nu \tau a i ̂ s ~ \chi \epsilon \rho \sigma i ̀ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ i $\epsilon \rho \epsilon \in \omega \nu$
 Өак $\hat{\nu}$,
$\dot{a} \lambda \lambda a ̀ \quad \phi \theta \iota \nu v ́ \theta \epsilon \sigma \kappa \epsilon$ фí $\lambda o \nu \kappa \hat{\eta} \rho$,
$\check{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ ' $A \chi \iota \lambda \lambda \epsilon v{ }^{\prime}$,

 $\pi \rho а \gamma \mu a ́ t \omega \nu$ áфıкдєîtaı Nıкаүópas ó Mєббך́dıos





 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu)$ ท̉бтá̧єто $\pi \rho о \theta \dot{v} \mu \omega \varsigma$ каi тís aùтòv
2 єis Aì Nıкауópov фıдофро́vшs à $\nu \tau а \sigma \pi а \zeta о \mu$ е́vov каì фท'$\sigma a \nu \tau o s ~ " i \pi \pi \pi o u s ~ a ̈ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega}$ ßaбı $\lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \kappa \alpha \lambda o u ̀ s ~ \tau \hat{\nu} \nu$ $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \iota \sigma \tau \eta \rho^{\prime} \omega \nu, \gamma \epsilon \lambda a ́ \sigma a \varsigma$ ó K $\lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \varsigma$, "' $\mathrm{E} \beta o v$ -

 катєтєі́үє८ то̀̀ ßaбı入є́a." каі̀ ò Nıкаүо́рая то́тє




## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxxiv. 3-xxxv. 2

For not even gifts would soften him, but just as the sacred bull Apis, though living in plenty and believed to be having a luxurious time, feels a desire for the life that was his by nature, for coursings without restraint, and leaps and bounds, and is manifestly disgusted with his treatment at the hands of the priests, so Cleomenes took no pleasure in his life of ease and luxury,
-" but kept pining away in his dear heart,"
like Achilles, ${ }^{1}$
" As he lingered there, and kept yearning for warcry and battle."
XXXV. While matters stood thus with him, Nicagoras the Messenian came to Alexandria, a man who hated Cleomenes, but pretended to be a friend. He had at one time sold Cleomenes a fine estate, and owing to the constant demands of war upon the king, as it would seem, had not received the money for it. And so now, when Cleomenes, who chanced to be taking a walk along the quay, saw Nicagoras landing from his vessel, he greeted him heartily and asked what errand brought him to Egypt. Nicagoras returned his greeting in a friendly manner, and said that he was bringing horses for the king, some fine ones for use in war. At this, Cleomenes gave a laugh and said: "I could wish that thou hadst rather brought sambuca-girls and catamites; for these now most interest the king." At the time Nicagoras merely smiled; but a few days later he reminded Cleomenes of the estate, and asked that now at any rate he might get the money for it, saying that he would not have troubled him about the matter if he had not

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 ä $\lambda \lambda \eta \nu$ ó $\mu$ oí $\omega \varsigma ~ \pi a \rho \in ́ \chi o \nu \tau a s ~ \delta i ́ a \iota \tau a \nu ~ \epsilon ’ \xi o ́ \delta \omega \nu ~ \epsilon i ้ p \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu . ~$














${ }^{1} \mu \in \tau \rho / \omega s$ Bekker and Blass correct to où $\mu \epsilon \tau \rho i \omega s$, after Reiske.

AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxxv. 2-xxxyi. 2
met with a considerable loss in the disposition of his cargo; and when Cleomenes declared that he had nothing left of the moneys that had been given him, Nicagoras was vexed, and reported to Sosibius the pleasantry of Cleomenes. Sosibius was glad to get even this matter, but he desired to have some larger accusation with which to exasperate the king, and therefore persuaded Nicagoras to write and leave behind him a letter accusing Cleomenes of planning, in case he got triremes and soldiers from Ptolemy, to seize Cyrene. So Nicagoras wrote a letter to this effect and sailed away ; and Sosibius, after four days had passed, brought the letter to Ptolemy, pretending that he had just received it, and so exasperated the young man that it was decided to remove Cleomenes into a large house, and while treating him in other ways just as before, to prevent his egress.
XXXVI. Even this usage was grievous to Cleomenes, but his hopes for the future received a greater shock from the following incident. Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus, a friend of King Ptolemy, had all the while been on friendly terms with Cleomenes, and they were quite intimate and outspoken with one another. This Ptolemy, then, now that Cleomenes begged a visit from him, came and conversed in a reasonable way with him, seeking to remove his suspicions and excusing the conduct of the king; but when he was leaving the house and did not perceive that Cleomenes was following on behind him as far as the doors, he bitterly reproached the guards for the careless and easy watch they kept upon a great wild beast that was so hard to keep.

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 'A $\nu \tau i$ 'уоvov, ä $\nu \delta \rho a$ то入є $\mu \iota \sigma \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ каі $\delta \rho a \sigma \tau \eta \prime \rho \iota о \nu$,


 $\sigma о \nu, \dot{\alpha} \pi о \kappa т є ו \frac{v}{\nu} \tau о \varsigma$ аưтóv.




 $\lambda v ́ \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \delta \epsilon i ́ \pi \nu o v ~ \tau \epsilon \pi \epsilon \mu \pi о \mu \epsilon ́ v o v ~ \kappa а i ̀ ~ \xi \in \nu i ́ \omega \nu$, oi





 $\delta_{\iota \epsilon \gamma \nu} \omega ́ \kappa \epsilon \iota \pi \rho o ̀ \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \rho \hat{a} \xi \iota \nu$ ó $\rho \mu \eta \bar{\eta} \sigma \iota, \quad \sigma v \nu a \iota \sigma \theta o ́-$






## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxxvi. 3 -xxxvir. 2

Cleomenes heard this with his own ears, and without Ptolemy's being aware of his presence went back and told his friends. At once, then, they all abandoned the hopes they had been cherishing and wrathfully determined to avenge themselves on Ptolemy for his injustice and insolence, and die in a manner worthy of Sparta, instead of waiting like sacrificial victims to be first fattened and then smitten down. For it was an intolerable thing that Cleomenes, after scorning to come to terms with Antigonus, a man who fought well and wrought much, should sit idly down and await the leisure of a begging-priest of a king, who, as soon as he could lay aside his timbrel and stop his dancing, would slay him.
XXXVII. Such being their resolve, and Ptolemy, as chance would have it, making a visit to Canopus, in the first place word was sent about that Cleomenes had been set free by the king; and next, in view of a custom which the king had of sending presents and a banquet to those who were going to be released from imprisonment, the friends of Cleomenes in the city prepared and sent in to him an abundance of such things, thus completely deceiving the guards, who thought the king had sent them. For Cleomenes made a sacrifice and gave the guards a bountiful share of his provisions, and then took his place at table with garlands on his head and feasted with his friends. We are told, too, that he set out upon his enterprise sooner than he had intended, because he learned that a slave who was privy to it had passed the night outside in company with a mistress. So fearing that his plans would be revealed, when noon came and he perceived that his guards were sleeping off their wine, he put on his tunic, opened the seam






























 $\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \pi \rho a \gamma \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ тє $\lambda \epsilon \nu \tau a ̂ \nu . ~ к а i ̀ ~ \pi \rho \hat{\tau} \tau о \varsigma ~ \mu e ̀ \nu$
over his right shoulder, and with drawn sword sprang forth, accompanied by his friends, who were likewise arrayed, thirteen in number. Hippitas, who was lame, joined in making the first onset with all his soul, but when he saw that he was a hindrance to the progress of his companions, he bade them kill him, and not ruin the enterprise by waiting for a useless fellow. As it chanced, however, an Alexandrian was leading a horse past the doors, so they seized the animal, put Hippitas on its back, and then rushed at full speed through the narrow streets of the city, summoning the throng to win their freedom. These had enough courage, as it would seem, to admire and praise the daring of Cleomenes, but not a man was bold enough to follow and help him.

Well, then, as Ptolemy the son of Chrysermus was coming out of the palace, three of them straightway fell upon him and slew him; and as another Ptolemy, who had the city in his charge, was driving towards them in a chariot, they rushed to meet him, scattered his servants and mercenaries, dragged him from his chariot, and slew him. Then they proceeded to the citadel, purposing to break open the prison and avail themselves of the multitude of prisoners. But the guards were too quick for them and barred the way securely, so that Cleomenes, batfled in this attempt also, roamed up and down through the city, not a man joining with him but everybody filled with fear and flying from him. So, then, he desisted from his attempt, and saying to his friends, "It is no wonder, after all, that women rule over men who run away from freedom," he called upon them all to die in a manner worthy of their king and their past achievements. So Hippitas first, at

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 $\lambda \iota \sigma \tau о \nu$ ढ̈ $\rho a$ каi $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ a ̉ \gamma \omega \gamma \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \epsilon \dot{\nu} \phi v$ ย́ $\sigma \tau a \tau о \nu$








 $\epsilon \in \pi \iota \kappa а т \epsilon ́ \sigma \phi a \xi \epsilon$.


 $\pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$ ö $\lambda \eta \nu \quad \sigma \kappa \epsilon \delta a \sigma \theta \epsilon i \sigma \eta s \dot{\eta} \quad \mu \in \grave{\nu} \mathrm{~K}_{\rho} a \tau \eta \sigma i \kappa \lambda \epsilon \iota a$,
 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\eta} s ~ \sigma u \mu \phi о \rho a ̂ s ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \theta o s, \kappa a i ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \beta a \lambda о \hat{v} \sigma a$ 2 тà $\pi a \iota \delta i ́ a ~ \tau o \hat{v} \mathrm{~K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o u s ~ \grave{\omega} \lambda о \phi \dot{v} \rho \epsilon \tau о$. $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ סè



 ठıaкш $\bar{v} \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \nu \tau a ̂ \nu$.


 $3 \mu \eta \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ a u ̀ t \eta ̀ \nu ~ \gamma v \nu a i ̂ \kappa a s . ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ \delta є ̀ ~$

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxxvir. 6-xxxyif. 3

his own request, was smitten down by one of the younger men, then each of the others calmly and cheerfully slew himself, except Panteus, the man who led the way in the capture of Megalopolis. ${ }^{1}$ He had once been the king's favourite, because in his youth he was most fair, and in his young manhood most amenable to the Spartan discipline ; and now his orders were to wait until the king and the rest of the band were dead, and then to die himself. At last all the rest lay prostrate on the ground, and Panteus, going up to each one in turn and pricking him with his sword, sought to discover whether any spark of life remained. When he pricked Cleomenes in the ankle and saw that his face twitched, he kissed him, and then sat down by his side; at last the end came, and after embracing the king's dead body, he slew himself upon it.
XXXVIII. Such, then, was the end of Cleomenes, who had been for sixteen years king of Sparta, and had shown himself the man whom I have described. The report of his death spread over the entire city, and Cratesicleia, although she was a woman of noble spirit, lost her composure in view of the magnitude of her misfortunes, and throwing her arms about the children of Cleomenes, wailed and lamented. But the elder of the two boys, forestalling all prevention, sprang away and threw himself headlong from the roof; he was badly injured, but did not die, and was taken up crying out resentfully because he was not permitted to end his life.

But Ptolemy, when he learned of these things, gave orders that the body of Cleomenes should be flayed and hung up, and that his children, his mother, and the women that were with her, should be killed.

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 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ є́ $\xi a \gamma о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu$ є́ $\chi \epsilon \iota \rho a \gamma \omega ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota$ ，тó $\tau \epsilon \pi \epsilon \in \pi \lambda о \nu$
 $\lambda o \hat{v} \sigma a \mu \eta \delta_{\epsilon ́ \nu}^{\nu} \tau \iota \mu \eta \delta^{\prime} a \dot{u} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu \quad \tau \grave{o} \nu$ Ө́ávatov，à à＇ề $\mu o ́ \nu o \nu ~ a i \tau o u \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu, ~ \pi \rho o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$






 $\theta \nu \eta \sigma \kappa o v \sigma \hat{\omega} \nu$ є́кá $\sigma \tau \eta \nu \quad \sigma \iota \omega \pi \hat{\eta}$ каi $\mu \epsilon \theta^{\prime}$ ท̀ $\sigma v \chi i ́ a s$







 фро⿱宀㠯à̀ $\tau \grave{\varrho} \sigma \dot{\omega} \mu a \tau \iota \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon \in \theta \eta \kappa \epsilon \nu$.

Among these women was the wife of Panteus, most noble and beautiful to look upon. The pair were still but lately married, and their misfortunes came upon them in the hey-day of their love. Her parents, indeed, would not permit her to sail away with Panteus immediately, although she wished to do so, but shut her up and kept her under constraint; a little later, however, she procured herself a horse and a small sum of money, ran away by night, made all speed to Taenarum, and there embarked upon a ship bound for Egypt. She was conveyed to her husband, and with him bore their life in a strange land without complaint and cheerfully. She it was who now took the hand of Cratesicleia as she was led forth by the soldiers, held up her robe for her, and bade her be of good courage. And Cratesicleia herself was not one whit dismayed at death, but asked one favour only, that she might die before the children died. However, when they were come to the place of execution, first the children were slain before her eyes, and then Cratesicleia herself was slain, making but this one cry at sorrows so great: "O children, whither are ye gone?" Then the wife of Panteus, girding up her robe, vigorous and stately woman that she was, ministered to each of the dying women calmly and without a word, and laid them out for burial as well as she could. And finally, after all were cared for, she arrayed herself, let down her robes from about her neck, and suffering no one besides the executioner to come near or look upon her, bravely met her end, and had no need of anyone to array or cover up her body after death. Thus her decorum of spirit attended her in death, and she maintained to the end that watchful care of her body which she had set over it in life.

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XXXIX. 'H $\mu$ èv oủ $\nu \Lambda a \kappa \epsilon \delta a i ́ \mu \omega \nu$, $\bar{\epsilon} \phi a \mu i \lambda \lambda \omega s$








 $\not{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omega \nu \kappa a \theta a \rho \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \tau a i ̂ s ~ \gamma \nu \nu a \iota \xi i \nu \dot{\alpha} \rho \chi \grave{\eta} \nu \pi a \rho a \sigma \chi \dot{\omega} \nu$,
 $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \phi \dot{v} \sigma \iota \nu$. oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ ' $\mathrm{A} \lambda \epsilon \xi a \nu \delta \rho \epsilon i ̂ s ~ \kappa а і ̈ ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \tau \rho \epsilon ́-~$
 $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta$ каì $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ таîठa тробауорєv́ovтєє, ä $\chi \rho \iota$ ov̉
 $\dot{\omega} \varsigma \mu \epsilon \lambda i \tau \tau a s \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ ßóєs, $\sigma \phi \hat{\eta} \kappa a \varsigma \delta_{\epsilon}$ í $i \pi \pi о \iota$ ката- 824







## AGIS AND CLEOMENES, xxxix

XXXIX. So, then, Sparta, bringing her women's tragedy into emulous competition with that of her men, showed the world that in the last extremity Virtue cannot be outraged by Fortune. And a few days afterwards those who were keeping watch upon the body of Cleomenes where it hung, saw a serpent of great size coiling itself about the head and hiding away the face so that no ravening bird of prey could light upon it. In consequence of this, the king was seized with superstitious fear, and thus gave the women occasion for various rites of purification, since they felt that a man had been taken off who was of a superior nature and beloved of the gods. And the Alexandrians actually worshipped him, coming frequently to the spot and addressing Cleomenes as a hero and a child of the gods; but at last the wiser men among them put a stop to this by explaining that, as putrefying oxen breed bees, and horses wasps, and as beetles are generated in asses which are in the like condition of decay, so human bodies, when the juices about the marrow collect together and coagulate, produce serpents. And it was because they observed this that the ancients associated the serpent more than any other animal with heroes.

## TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

## TIBEPIO乏 KAI 「AIO』 ГРAI＇XOI

## Т．ГРАГХОЕ






 $\kappa а т а \gamma а \gamma о ́ \nu \tau \iota ~ \lambda а \mu \pi \rho о ́ т \epsilon \rho о \nu ~ \dot{\eta} \nu$ тò ảтò $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \dot{\alpha} \rho \epsilon \tau \hat{\eta}$ ，


 $\lambda a \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu \grave{\eta} \xi \iota \iota \omega \theta \eta \quad \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ є่кєívou $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \tau \eta \eta_{\nu}$ ．$\lambda \epsilon \in-$ $\gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \delta \epsilon \in \pi о \tau \epsilon \sigma \nu \lambda \lambda a \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ aủтòv є่тì тท̂s к入ívךs

 $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{i}$ ठè $\theta a \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o v ~ \delta r a \iota \rho \epsilon i ̂ \nu, ~ \grave{\omega}$ ó $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ ä $\rho \rho \eta \nu \tau \hat{\varphi}$







## TIBERIUS AND CAIUS GRACCHUS

## TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

I. Now that we have duly finished the first part of our story, we have to contemplate fates no less tragic than those of Agis and Cleomenes in the lives of the Roman couple, Tiberius and Caius, which we set in parallel. They were sons of Tiberius Gracchus, who, although he had been censor at Rome, twice consul, and had celebrated two triumphs, derived his more illustrious dignity from his virtue. Therefore, after the death ${ }^{1}$ of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal, although Tiberius had not been his friend, but actually at variance with him, he was judged worthy to take Scipio's daughter Cornelia in marriage. We are told, moreover, that he once caught a pair of serpents on his bed, and that the soothsayers, after considering the prodigy, forbade him to kill both serpents or to let both go, but to decide the fate of one or the other of them, declaring also that the male serpent, if killed, would bring death to Tiberius, and the female, to Cornelia. Tiberius, accordingly, who loved his wife, and thought that since she was still young and he was older it was more fitting that he should die, killed the male serpent, but let the female go. A short time afterwards, as the story

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Kор $\eta \lambda i ́ a ~ \delta є ̀ ~ a ̀ \nu a \lambda a \beta o v ̂ \sigma a ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \pi a i ̂ \delta a \varsigma ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~$ oiкоу, ойтн $\sigma \omega ́ \phi \rho о \nu а$ каі фөло́тєкроу каі $\mu \epsilon \gamma а$ -




 тò̀s $\mu \in ̀ \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \frac{v}{}$ à $\pi \epsilon ́ \beta a \lambda \epsilon \pi a i ̂ \delta a \varsigma, \mu i ́ a \nu ~ \delta e ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 $\kappa а i ̀ ~ \delta$ v́o vioús, $\pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \grave{\omega \nu ~ \tau а ́ \delta є ~ \gamma є ́ \gamma \rho а т т а \iota, ~ ' Т \imath \beta є ́ \rho ь о \nu ~}$




II. 'Е $\pi \epsilon \grave{i} \delta \dot{\epsilon}, \tilde{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho \dot{\eta} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \lambda a \sigma \sigma o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \kappa a i$


 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̀ \nu \delta \rho \epsilon i ́ a \nu ~ к а i ̀ ~ \sigma \omega ф \rho о \sigma u ́ v \eta \nu, ~ є ̈ т \iota ~ \delta \grave{\varepsilon}$ ध̀ $\lambda \epsilon v \theta \epsilon \rho \iota o ́-$
 $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda a \iota ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \epsilon ้ \rho \gamma а ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a \varsigma ~ o i o v ~$
 $\chi \epsilon i ̂ \rho о \nu ~ \epsilon i \nu a i ́ ~ \mu о \iota ~ \delta о к є i ̂ ~ т а и ́ т а я ~ т \rho о є к \theta є ́ \sigma \theta a \iota . ~$
 каі кıขŋ́цать трâos каi катабтпиатькòs $\mathfrak{\eta} \nu ~ o ́$

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goes, he died, ${ }^{1}$ leaving Cornelia with twelve children by him.

Cornelia took charge of the children and of the estate, and showed herself so discreet, so good a mother, and so magnanimous, that Tiberius was thought to have made no bad decision when he elected to die instead of such a woman. For when Ptolemy ${ }^{2}$ the king offered to share his crown with her and sought her hand in marriage, she refused him, and remained a widow. In this state she lost most of her children, but three survived; one daughter, who married Scipio the Younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives I now write. These sons Cornelia reared with such scrupulous care that although confessedly no other Romans were so well endowed by nature, they were thought to owe their virtues more to education than to nature.
II. Now, just as, in spite of the likeness between Castor and Pollux as they are represented in sculpture and painting, there is a certain difference of shape between the boxer and the runner, so in the case of these young Romans, along with their strong resemblance to one another in bravery and self-command, as well as in liberality, eloquence, and magnanimity, in their actions and political careers great unlikenesses blossomed out, as it were, and came to light. Therefore I think it not amiss to set these forth before going further.

In the first place, then, as regards cast of features and look and bearing, Tiberius was gentle and sedate,
${ }^{1}$ He was consul for the second time in 163 b.c. The year of his death is unknown. This story is told and commented on by Cicero in De divinatione i. 18, 36 ; ii. 29, 62.
${ }^{2}$ Probably Ptolemy VI., surnamed Philometor, king of Egypt 181-146 в.c.

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 $\mu а т о \varsigma ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi а ́ т \omega ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \chi \rho \eta \prime \sigma а \sigma \theta a \iota ~ к а i ~ \pi є \rho \iota \sigma \pi a ́ \sigma а \iota ~$
 тòv 'A $\theta \eta \nu a i ̂ o \nu ~ i \sigma \tau o ́ \rho \eta \tau a \iota ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \pi a ́ \sigma a \iota ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$







 $\pi a \rho a \beta a \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \nu \quad \sigma \omega ́ \phi \rho \omega \nu$ каì av̇ $\sigma \tau \eta \rho o ́ s, ~ \tau \hat{\eta}$ ठ̀̀ $\pi \rho o ̀ s$
















[^24]while Caius was high-strung and vehement, so that even when haranguing the people the one stood composedly in one spot, while the other was the first Roman to walk about upon the rostra and pull his toga off his shoulder as he spoke. So Cleon the Athenian is said to have been the first of the popular orators to strip away his mantle and smite his thigh. ${ }^{1}$ In the second place, the speech of Caius was awe-inspiring and passionate to exaggeration, while that of Tiberius was more agreeable and more conducive to pity. The style also of Tiberius was pure and elaborated to a nicety, while that of Caius was persuasive and ornate. So also as regards their table and mode of life, Tiberius was simple and plain, while Caius, although temperate and austere as compared with others, in contrast with his brother was ostentatious and fastidious. Hence men like Drusus found fault with him because he bought silver dolphins at twelve hundred and fifty drachmas the pound. Again, their tempers were no less different than their speech. Tiberius was reasonable and gentle, while Caius was harsh and fiery, so that against his better judgment he was often carried away by anger as he spoke, raising his voice to a high pitch and uttering abuse and losing the thread of his discourse. Wherefore, to guard against such digressions, he employed an intelligent servant, Licinius, who stood behind him when he was speaking, with a sounding instrument for giving the tones of the voice their pitch. Whenever this servant noticed that the voice of Caius was getting harsh and broken with anger, he would give out a soft key-note, on hearing which Caius would at once remit the vehemence of his passion and of
${ }^{1}$ See the Nicias, viii. 3.

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III. Ai $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ o u ̂ \nu ~ \delta ı a \phi o \rho a \grave{~ \tau o ı a v ̂ \tau a i ́ ~ \tau \iota \nu \epsilon s ~} \mathfrak{\eta} \sigma a \nu$









 каі̀ $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath} \tau о \hat{v} \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta и \tau \epsilon ́ \rho о и ~ \pi \rho о ́ т є \rho о \nu$.

















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his speech, grow gentle, and show himself easy to recall.
III. The differences between them, then, were of this nature; but as regards bravery in the face of the enemy, just dealings with subject peoples, scrupulous fidelity in public office, and restraint in pleasurable indulgence, they were exactly alike. Tiberius, however, was nine years older than his brother ; and this set a different period for the political activity of each, and more than anything else vitiated their undertakings. They did not rise to eminence at the same time, and so did not combine their powers into one. Such an united power would have proved irresistibly great. We must therefore give an account of each by himself, and of the elder first.
IV. Tiberius, then, as soon as he got past boyhood, was so widely known as to be thought worthy of a place among the priests called Augurs; and this was due to his virtues rather than to his excellent birth, as was clearly shown by Appius Claudius. For Appius, who had been consul and censor, had been made Dean of the Roman senate ${ }^{1}$ by virtue of his dignity, and in loftiness of spirit far surpassed his contemporaries, at a banquet of the augurs ${ }^{2}$ addressed Tiberius with words of friendship, and asked him to become the husband of his daughter. Tiberius gladly accepted the invitation, and the betrothal was thus arranged, and when Appius returned home, from the doorway where he stood he called his wife and cried in a loud voice: "Antistia, I have betrothed our Claudia." And Antistia, in amazement, said: "Why so eager, or why so fast? If thou hadst only found

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 $\dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon i ̂ s ~ \gamma \rho a ́ \phi о \mu \epsilon \nu ~ i \sigma т о \rho о \hat{\sigma} \sigma \iota$, каі По入v́ßıos $\mu \epsilon \tau a ̀$


 Soтov каì à $\boldsymbol{\nu}^{\prime} \gamma \gamma \mathrm{\gamma}$






 5 à $\nu \delta \rho \epsilon i ́ c \cdot$ каì той $\gamma \epsilon \tau \epsilon \grave{\chi} \chi o v \varsigma ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \epsilon ́ \beta \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i \omega \nu$



 $\mu \in \nu o s$ аúтô̂ катє́入ıтє.


 $\pi о \nu \eta \rho \hat{\varphi}, \beta a \rho v \pi о \tau \mu о \tau а ́ \tau \omega$ б̀ ${ }^{\text {' } \mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i ́ \omega \nu} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \hat{\varphi}$.

 тò $\sigma v \nu \epsilon \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \kappa а i$ à̀ $\delta \rho \epsilon i ̂ o \nu, ~ a ̀ \lambda \lambda ’$, ò $\theta a v \mu a ́ \sigma \iota o \nu ~ \grave{\eta} \nu$, aí $\omega \dot{\rho} \tau \epsilon \pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{\eta} \kappa a i ̀ \tau \iota \mu \eta$ тồ ä $\rho \chi о \nu \tau о \varsigma, \dot{v} \pi \grave{o} \tau \omega \nu$ $\kappa а \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ oưס’ є́auтóv, єí $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o ́ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \sigma \tau \iota \nu$, є่ $\pi \iota \gamma \iota-$ $2 \nu \omega ́ \sigma \kappa о \nu \tau о \varsigma . \quad \grave{\eta} \tau \tau \eta \theta \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \mu a ́ \chi a \iota s ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda a \iota s ~ \epsilon ̇ т \epsilon . ~$

## TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, iv. $3^{-v .} 2$

Tiberius Gracchus for betrothal to her!'" I am aware that some ${ }^{1}$ refer this story to Tiberius the father of the Gracehi and Scipio Africanus Major, but the majority of writers tell it as I do, and Polybius says ${ }^{2}$ that after the death of Scipio Africanus the relatives of Cornelia chose out Tiberius in preference to all others and gave her to him, as one who had been left by her father unaffianced and unbetrothed.

The younger Tiberius, accordingly, serving in Africa under the younger Scipio, ${ }^{3}$ who had married his sister, and sharing his commander's tent, soon learned to understand that commander's nature (which produced many great incentives towards the emulation of virtue and its imitation in action), and soon led all the young men in discipline and bravery; yes, he was first to scale the enemies' wall, as Fannius says, who writes also that he himself scaled the wall with T'iberius and shared in that exploit. While he remained with the army Tiberius was the object of much good will, and on leaving it he was greatly missed.
V. After this campaign he was elected quaestor, and had the fortune to serve in a war against Numantia under the consul Caius Mancinus, ${ }^{4}$ who was not bad as a man, but most unfortunate of the Romans as a general. Therefore in the midst of unexpected misfortunes and adverse circumstances not only did the sagacity and bravery of Tiberius shine forth all the more, but also-and this was astonishing-the great respect and honour in which he held his commander, who, under the pressure of disasters, forgot even that he was a general. For after he had

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 тovs фоvєvóvт $\omega \nu$, тò $\delta \dot{\epsilon} \pi \hat{a} \nu$ є́ $\gamma \kappa v \kappa \lambda о \nu \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu ~ \sigma \tau \rho a ́-~$


 $3 \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath} \sigma \pi o \nu \delta \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha i \delta_{\imath} \_\lambda u ́ \sigma \epsilon \omega \nu \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a u ̛ \tau o u ́ s \cdot ~ o i ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$







 4 ойтн ס̀̀ $\pi \epsilon \mu \phi \theta \epsilon i \varsigma$ ò Tıßє́pıos каì $\sigma v \gamma \gamma \in \nu$ о́ $\mu \in \nu$ оs $\tau 0 i ̂ \varsigma ~ \grave{a} \nu \delta \rho a ́ \sigma \iota$, каì тà $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu \pi \epsilon i \sigma a \varsigma$, $\tau \grave{a} \delta \epsilon \grave{\epsilon} \delta \epsilon \xi$ á $\mu \epsilon-$

 $\tau a ́ \xi \in \omega \varsigma$ é $\pi о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$.
VI. Tà $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \epsilon \in \nu \tau \hat{u} \chi \alpha ́ \rho a \kappa \iota ~ \lambda \eta \phi \theta \epsilon ́ \nu \tau a \chi \rho \eta \prime \mu a \tau a$


 $\dot{a} \rho \chi \hat{\eta} s$, às $\pi \epsilon \rho \hat{\imath} \pi o \lambda \lambda o \hat{v} \pi o \iota o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ a ̀ \pi o \lambda a \beta \epsilon i \nu$, $\eta ้ \delta \eta \tau о \hat{v} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau о \hat{v} \pi \rho о \kappa є \chi \omega \rho \eta \kappa о ́ \tau о \varsigma ~ a ̀ \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \rho \in \psi \epsilon \pi \rho o ̀ s$

been defeated in great battles, he attempted to abandon his camp and withdraw his forces by night; but the Numantines became aware of his attempt and promptly seized his camp. Then they fell upon his men as they fled, slew those who were in the rear, encompassed his whole army, and crowded them into regions that were full of difficulties and afforded no escape. Mancinus, despairing of forcing his way to safety, sent heralds to the enemy proposing a truce and terms of peace; but the enemy declared that they had confidence in no Roman save only Tiberius, and ordered that he should be sent to them. They had this feeling towards the young man not only on his own account (for he was held in very high esteem by the Numantine soldiery), but also because they remembered his father Tiberius, who waged war against the Spaniards, ${ }^{1}$ and subdued many of them, but made a peace with the Numantines, to the observance of which with integrity and justice he always held the Roman people. So Tiberius was sent and held conference with the enemy, and after getting them to accept some conditions, and himself accepting others, effected a truce, and thereby manifestly saved the lives of twenty thousand Roman citizens, besides attendants and camp followers.
VI. However, all the property captured in the camp was retained by the Numantines and treated as plunder. Among this were also the ledgers of Tiberius, containing written accounts of his official expenses as quaestor. These he was very anxious to recover, and so, when the army was already well on its way, turned back towards the city, attended by
${ }^{1}$ In $180-179$ в..

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 aùтoùs $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i o v s, ~ a ̀ \lambda \lambda ' ~ \dot{\omega} s ~ \phi i ́ \lambda o \iota s ~ \chi \rho \eta ̂ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ к а i ̀ ~$
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \delta \epsilon ́ \lambda \tau \omega \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon \chi о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega$ каі̆ $\delta \epsilon \delta о \iota \kappa о ́ \tau \iota \pi a \rho о$ -



 ס́́ $\lambda \tau o v s ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon ́ \delta o \sigma a \nu, \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu ~ a ̀ ~ \beta o u ́ \lambda o \iota \tau o ~$

 $\lambda a \beta \dot{\omega} \nu, \dot{a} \pi \tilde{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu \dot{a} \sigma \pi a \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о s$ каì фıдоф $о \nu \eta \theta \epsilon i s$ тov̀s ävס $\rho a s$.



 $\sigma v \nu \epsilon ́ \tau \rho \epsilon \chi o \nu \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ T \iota \beta \epsilon ́ \rho \iota o \nu, ~ \tau \grave{a} ~ \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ aí $\chi \rho a ̀$ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \gamma \epsilon \gamma \circ \nu o ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ảva申є́ $\rho о \nu \tau \epsilon S$ єis тòv á $\rho \chi о \nu \tau a, \delta \iota$

2 oí $\mu \epsilon ́ \varepsilon \tau о \iota ~ \delta \nu \sigma \chi \epsilon \rho a i ̀ \nu о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{a} \pi \epsilon \pi \rho a \gamma \mu \epsilon ́ \nu a \quad \mu \iota \mu \epsilon \hat{\imath}-827$

three or four companions. After summoning forth the magistrates of Numantia, he asked them to bring him his tablets, that he might not give his enemies opportunity to malign him by not being able to give an account of his administration. The Numantines, accordingly, delighted at the chance to do him a favour, invited him to enter the city; and as he stood deliberating the matter, they drew near and clasped his hands, and fervently entreated him no longer to regard them as enemies, but to treat and trust them as friends. Tiberius, accordingly, decided to do this, both because he set great store by his tablets, and because he feared to exasperate the Numantines by showing them distrust. After he had entered the city, in the first place the Numantines set out a meal for him, and entreated him by all means to sit down and eat something in their company; next, they gave him back his tablets, and urged him to take whatever he wanted of the rest of his property. He took nothing, however, except the frankincense which he was wont to use in the public sacrifices, and after bidding them farewell with every expression of friendship, departed.
VII. When he came back to Rome, the whole transaction was blamed and denounced as a terrible disgrace to the city, although the relatives and friends of the soldiers, who formed a large part of the people, came flocking to Tiberius, imputing the disgrace in what had happened to his commander, but insisting that it was due to Tiberius that the lives of so many citizens had been saved. Those, however, who were displeased at what had been done urged for imitation the example of their ancestors, who flung' to the enemy unarmed the generals

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 т $\eta \gamma o u ̀ s ~ a ⿱ ⺌ 兀 寸 o u ́ s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i o \iota s ~ \gamma v \mu \nu o u ̀ s ~ \pi \rho o \sigma-~$










 Маүкîvoע oủ $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon ́ \sigma \omega \sigma \epsilon \nu$ ，où $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau a ̀ s ~ \sigma \pi o \nu \delta a ̀ s ~ \epsilon \epsilon ~ \epsilon \pi \epsilon-~$









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themselves who had been satisfied to be let go by the Samnites, and in like manner cast forth those who had taken hand and share in the treaty, as for instance the quaestors and military tribunes, turning upon their heads the guilt of perjury and violation of the pact. ${ }^{1}$ In the present affair, indeed, more than at any other time, the people showed their good will and affection towards Tiberius. For they voted to deliver up the consul unarmed and in bonds to the Numantines, but spared all the other officers for the sake of Tiberius. It would seem, too, that Scipio, who was then the greatest and most influential man at Rome, helped to save them; but none the less he was blamed ${ }^{2}$ for not saving Mancinus, and for not insisting that the treaty with the Numantines, which had been made through the agency of his kinsman and friend Tiberius, should be kept inviolate. It would appear that the disagreement between the two men arose chiefly through the ambition of Tiberius and from the friends and sophists who urged him on. But this disagreement certainly resulted in no mischief past remedy. And in my opinion Tiberius would never have met with his great misfortunes if Scipio Africanus had been present at Rome during his political activity. But as it was, Scipio was already at Numantia ${ }^{3}$ and waging war there when Tiberius began to agitate for his agrarian laws. The occasion of this was as follows.
VIII. Of the territory which the Romans won in war from their neighbours, a part they sold, and a

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 форà̀ oủ то入入ŋ̀̀ єís tò $\delta \eta \mu o ́ \sigma \iota o \nu ~ \tau \epsilon \lambda o u ̂ \sigma \iota \nu . ~$










 $\pi \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ ойтє таîऽ $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon i ́ a \iota \varsigma$ є́ть $\pi \rho о \theta$ ט́ $\mu$ оия $\pi a \rho \epsilon \hat{\imath}-$

 aí $\theta$ є́ $\sigma \theta a \iota, ~ \delta \epsilon \sigma \mu \omega \tau \eta \rho i ́ \omega \nu$ סє̀ $\beta a \rho \beta a \rho \iota \kappa \bar{\omega} \nu$ і $\mu \pi \epsilon$ $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \sigma \theta a \iota$, $\delta \iota \dot{\omega} \nu \bar{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \dot{\omega} \rho \gamma o v \nu$ oi $\pi \lambda o v ́ \sigma \iota o \iota \tau a ̀ ~ \chi \omega \rho i a . ~$









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part they made common land, and assigned it for occupation to the poor and indigent among the citizens, on payment of a small rent into the public treasury. And when the rich began to offer larger rents and drove out the poor, a law was enacted forbidding the holding by one person of more than five hundred acres of land. For a short time this enactment gave a check to the rapacity of the rich, and was of assistance to the poor, who remained in their places on the land which they had rented and occupied the allotment which each had held from the outset. But later on the neighbouring rich men, by means of fictitious personages, transferred these rentals to themselves, and finally held most of the land openly in their own names. Then the poor, who had been ejected from their land, no longer showed themselves eager for military service, and neglected the bringing up of children, so that soon all Italy was conscious of a dearth of freemen, and was filled with gangs of foreign slaves, by whose aid the rich cultivated their estates, from which they had driven away the free citizens. An attempt was therefore made to rectify this evil, and by Caius Laelius the comrade of Scipio; but the men of influence opposed his measures, and he, fearing the disturbance which might ensue, desisted, and received the surname of Wise or Prudent (for the Latin word "sapiens" would seem to have either meaning). Tiberius, however, on being elected tribune of the people, took the matter directly in hand. He was incited to this step, as most writers say, by Diophanes the rhetorician and Blossius the philosopher. Diophanes was an exile from Mitylene, but Blossius

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 $a \grave{\tau} \tau o \hat{v} \pi \rho o \sigma \phi \omega \nu \eta \dot{\sigma} \epsilon \sigma \iota \quad \gamma \rho a \mu \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu \quad \phi \iota \lambda o \sigma o ́ \phi \omega \nu$ ．



6 $\mu \eta \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a ~ \Gamma \rho a ́ \gamma \chi \omega \nu \pi \rho o \sigma a \gamma o \rho \epsilon \dot{v} о v \sigma \iota \nu$ ．ä入入o८ $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$
 $\sigma \iota \nu, \dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \kappa \iota \omega ́ \tau \eta \nu$ той $\mathrm{T} \imath \epsilon \rho i ́ o v$ каì $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \delta o ́ \xi a \nu$


 $\dot{\eta} \theta \in ́ \lambda \eta \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ ，$\dot{\omega} \varsigma$ єैоוкє $\nu, \dot{v} \pi \epsilon \rho \beta a \lambda \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \dot{\nu} \mu a \tau о \varsigma$ тараßó入ov каĭ $\mu є \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta \nu ~ т \rho о \sigma \delta о к i ́ a \nu ~ є ̈ \chi о \nu т о \varsigma ~$



 оікє́тая є่тєєба́ктоия каі̀ $\beta$ арßáроия，то́тє $\pi \rho \hat{\tau} \tau о \nu$ є่ $\pi \grave{\imath}$ ขov̂̀ $\beta a \lambda \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ \mu \nu \rho i ́ \omega \nu ~ к а к \omega ิ \nu ~ a ̈ \rho \xi a \sigma a \nu ~$ aưтoîs $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i a \nu . ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon} \pi \lambda \epsilon i \sigma \tau \eta \nu$ aủzòs ó $\delta \hat{\eta}$－

 $\mu \nu \eta \prime \mu a \sigma \iota \kappa а \tau а \gamma \rho a \phi о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ ả $\nu a \lambda a \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ тоîs $\pi \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \sigma \iota$ $\tau \grave{\nu} \nu \bar{\delta} \mu о \sigma i ́ a \nu \chi \omega ́ \rho a \nu$.



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## TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, viir. $5-\mathrm{Ix}$. I

was a native Italian from Cumae, had been an intimate friend of Antipater of Tarsus at Rome, and had been honoured by him with the dedication of philosophical treatises. But some put part of the blame upon Cornelia the mother of Tiberius, who often reproached her sons because the Romans still called her the mother-in-law of Scipio, but not yet the mother of the Gracchi. Others again say that a certain Spurius Postumius was to blame. He was of the same age as Tiberius, and a rival of his in reputation as an advocate; and when Tiberius came back from his campaign and found that his rival had far outstripped him in reputation and influence and was an object of public admiration, he determined, as it would seem, to outdo him by engaging in a bold political measure which would arouse great expectations among the people. But his brother Caius, in a certain pamphlet, ${ }^{1}$ has written that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and observed the dearth of inhabitants in the country, and that those who tilled its soil or tended its flocks there were imported barbarian slaves, he then first conceived the public policy which was the cause of countless ills to the two brothers. However, the energy and ambition of Tiberius were most of all kindled by the people themselves, who posted writings on porticoes, housewalls, and monuments, calling upon him to recover for the poor the public land.
IX. He did not, however, draw up his law by himself, but took counsel with the citizens who were foremost in virtue and reputation, among whom were Crassus the pontifex maximus, Mucius Scaevola the

[^29]
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 2 тои̂ Tıßєрíov. каі ठокєî vópos єis àdıкiау каi





 3 Өєías $\delta \epsilon o \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$. à $\lambda \lambda a ̀$ каítтєр ойт $\omega$






 каі̀ тávта тра́үната кıขои̂дтоя.



 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota к \epsilon \chi \nu \mu$ е́vov катабтàऽ $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o \iota ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu \pi \epsilon \nu \eta \prime \tau \omega \nu$, $\dot{\omega} \varsigma ~ \tau a ̀ a ~ \mu e ̀ v ~ O \eta \rho i ́ a ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu ~ ' ~ I \tau a \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ \nu \epsilon \mu o ́ \mu є \nu а ~ к а \grave{~}$








[^30]
## TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, ix. $1-5$

jurist, who was then consul, and Appius Claudius, his father-in-law. And it is thought that a law dealing with injustice and rapacity so great was never drawn up in milder and gentler terms. For men who ought to have been punished for their disobedience and to have surrendered with payment of a fine the land which they were illegally enjoying, these men it merely ordered to abandon their injust acquisitions upon being paid their value, and to admit into ownership of them such citizens as needed assistance. But although the rectification of the wrong was so considerate, the people were satisfied to let bygones be bygones if they could be secure from such wrong in the future; the men of wealth and substance, however, were led by their greed to hate the law, and by their wrath and contentiousness to hate the lawgiver, and tried to dissuade the people by alleging that Tiberius was introducing a re-distribution of land for the confusion of the body politic, and was stirring up a general revolution.

But they accomplished nothing; for Tiberius, striving to support a measure which was honourable and just with an eloquence that would have adorned even a meaner cause, was formidable and invincible, whenever, with the people crowding around the rostra, he took his stand there and pleaded for the poor. "The wild beasts that roam over Italy," he would say, "have every one of them a cave or lair to lurk in; but the men who fight and die for Italy enjoy the common air and light, indeed, but nothing else; houseless and homeless they wander about with their wives and children. And it is with lying lips that their imperators exhort the soldiers in their battles to

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í $\epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\mu v ́ \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i o v s \cdot ~ o v ̉ \delta \epsilon \nu i ̀ ~ \gamma a ́ \rho ~ \epsilon ̇ \sigma \tau \iota \nu ~$
 тобои́т $\omega \nu$＇ $\mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i ́ \omega \nu, \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda$＇$\dot{v} \pi \grave{\epsilon} \rho$ ả $\lambda \lambda о т \rho i ́ a \varsigma ~ \tau \rho v ф \hat{\eta} \varsigma$

 ííav ои̉к є́ $\chi о \nu \tau \epsilon$ ．























${ }^{1}$ катı́⿱亠乂гаs Bekker has кататєivovта，after Coraës，from the variant кататєívovias．
defend sepulchres and shrines from the enemy; for not a man of them has an hereditary altar, not one of all these many Romans an ancestral tomb, but they fight and die to support others in wealth and luxury, and though they are styled masters of the world, they have not a single clod of earth that is their own."
X. Such words as these, the product of a lofty spirit and genuine feeling, and falling upon the ears of a people profoundly moved and fully aroused to the speaker's support, no adversary of Tiberius could successfully withstand. Abandoning therefore all counter-pleading, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the popular tribunes, a young man of sober character, discreet, and an intimate companion of Tiberius. On this account Octavius at first tried to hold himself aloof, out of regard for Tiberius; but he was forced from his position, as it were, by the prayers and supplications of many influential men, so that he set himself in opposition to Tiberius and staved off the passage of the law. Now, the decisive power is in the hands of any tribune who interposes his veto; for the wishes of the majority avail nothing if one tribune is in opposition. Incensed at this procedure, Tiberius withdrew his considerate law, and introduced this time one which was more agreeable to the multitude and more severe against the wrongdoers, since it simply ordered them to vacate without compensation the land which they had acquired in violation of the earlier laws.

Almost every day, therefore, there were forensic contests between Tiberius and Octavius, in which, as we are told, although both strove together with the utmost earnestness and rivalry, neither abused the other or let fall a single word about the other which

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 $\pi a \iota \delta \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma \theta a \iota \quad \sigma \omega \phi$ ро́v$\omega \varsigma$ є́фíбт $\eta \sigma \iota$ каі катакоб $\mu \epsilon \hat{\imath}$

 $\chi \omega ́ \rho a s ~ \sigma u \chi \nu \grave{\eta} \nu$ ó Tıßépıos, є́ $\delta \epsilon i ̂ \tau o ~ \pi а \rho \epsilon i ̀ \nu a \iota ~ т \grave{\eta \nu}$
 $\delta \dot{\omega} \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\delta} \dot{\delta} \dot{\omega} \omega \nu$, каi$\pi \epsilon \rho$ oґे $\lambda a \mu \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$ ö $\nu \tau \omega \nu$.
 $\tau \grave{a} \varsigma ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda a \varsigma ~ a ̀ \rho \chi a ̀ \varsigma ~ \dot{a} \pi a ́ \sigma a \varsigma ~ \epsilon ’ \kappa \omega ́ \lambda \nu \sigma \epsilon ~ \chi \rho \eta \mu a \tau i \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu$,

 oi та $\mu i a \iota \mu \eta \delta \epsilon ̀ \nu, ~ \epsilon ' \xi ~ a u ̛ \tau o v ̂ ~ \lambda a \mu \beta a ́ v o \iota \epsilon \nu ~ \mu \eta \delta ' ~ \epsilon i \sigma \phi ' \epsilon ́-~$
 $\epsilon \in \pi \epsilon \kappa \eta \prime \rho \nu \xi \in \nu$, $̈ \sigma \tau \epsilon \pi a ́ \nu \tau a \varsigma ~ \dot{v} \pi о \delta \epsilon i \sigma a \nu \tau a s ~ a ̉ \phi \epsilon i ̂ v a \iota ~$
7 тウ̀ $\nu \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \alpha ́ \sigma \tau \omega ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \eta ́ к о \nu \sigma а \nu ~ о і к о \nu о \mu і а \nu . ~ \grave{\epsilon \nu \tau \tau є \hat{v} \theta \epsilon \nu}$
 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \grave{\eta} \epsilon \sigma a \nu$ оіктроі̀ каі̀ татєıvoì ката̀ ті̀ $\nu$ à $\gamma о \rho a ́ \nu$,

 $\kappa \epsilon i ̂ \nu o \nu ~ o u ̉ \delta \epsilon \nu o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \gamma \nu o o v ̂ \nu t o s ~ i ́ t o \zeta ఢ ́ \omega \nu \nu v \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \xi ı ф i ́ o ́ ı o \nu ~$ $\lambda \eta \sigma \tau \rho \iota \kappa o ́ \nu$, ò סó $\lambda \omega \nu a \kappa a \lambda o \hat{v} \sigma \iota \nu$.
 aưтô̂ ка入ои̂̀тоs є่ єi т $\grave{\nu} \nu \psi \hat{\eta} \phi o \nu, \dot{\eta} \rho \pi a ́ \sigma \theta \eta \sigma a \nu$




(Euripides, Bacchae, 310 f . (Kirchhoff)).
anger made unseemly. For not only " in Bacchic revelries," as it appears, but also in the exercise of rivalry and wrath, a noble nature and a sound training restrain and regulate the mind. Moreover, when Tiberius observed that Octavius himself was amenable to the law as a large holder of the public land, he begged him to remit his opposition, promising to pay him the value of the land out of his own means, although these were not splendid. But Octavius would not consent to this, and therefore Tiberius issued an edict forbidding all the other magistrates to transact any public business until such time as the vote should be cast either for or against his law. He also put his private seal upon the temple of Saturn, in order that the quaestors might not take any money from its treasury or pay any into it, and he made proclamation that a penalty would be imposed upon such praetors as disobeyed, so that all magistrates grew fearful and ceased performing their several functions. Thereupon the men of property put on the garb of mourning and went about the forum in pitiful and lowly guise; but in secret they plotted against the life of Tiberius and tried to raise a band of assassins to take him off, so that Tiberius on his part-and everybody knew it-wore a concealed short-sword such as brigands use (the name for it is "dolo").
XI. When the appointed day was come and Tiberius was summoning the people to the vote, the voting urns were stolen away by the party of the rich, and great confusion arose. However, the supporters of Tiberius were numerous enough to force the issue, and were banding together for this purpose, when

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 $\sigma \nu \mu \phi \rho о \nu o \hat{v} \nu \tau о \varsigma, \kappa a i \quad \delta \dot{\imath}$ aì $\hat{\omega} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{\alpha} \nu \delta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \nu \theta о-$


 $\sigma \nu \nu \in ́ \pi \epsilon \iota \sigma a \nu$.







 $\mu \iota \kappa \rho a ̀ ~ \delta e ̀ ~ a ̉ \nu \tau i ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \omega \nu ~ \pi o ́ \nu \omega \nu ~ к а і ̀ \kappa \iota \nu \delta v ́ \nu \omega \nu ~ \lambda \eta \psi о-~$









 $\psi \bar{\eta} \phi o \nu \dot{\alpha} \nu a \delta \dot{\omega} \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu, \epsilon ่ a ̀ \nu \mu \grave{\eta} \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \gamma \nu \hat{\omega} \beta o v \lambda \epsilon v \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s$.


Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell down before Tiberius, clasped his hands, and with tears besought him to desist. Tiberius, conscious that the future was now all but desperate, and moved by respect for the men, asked them what they would have him do. They replied that they were not competent to advise in so grave a crisis, and urged him with entreaties to submit the case to the senate. To this Tiberius consented.

But the senate in its session accomplished nothing, owing to the prevailing influence of the wealthy class in it, and therefore Tiberius resorted to a measure which was illegal and unseemly, the ejection of Octavius from his office ; but he was unable in any other way to bring his law to the vote. In the first place, however, he begged Octavius in public, addressing him with kindly words and clasping his hands, to give in and gratify the people, who demanded only their just rights, and would receive only a trifling return for great toils and perils. But Octavius rejected the petition, and therefore Tiberius, after premising that, since they were colleagues in office with equal powers and differed on weighty measures, it was impossible for them to complete their term of office without open war, said he saw only one remedy for this, and that was for one or the other of them to give up his office. Indeed, he urged Octavius to put to the people a vote on his own case first, promising to retire at once to private life if this should be the will of the citizens. But Octavius was unwilling, and therefore Tiberius declared that he would put the case of Octavius unless Octavius should change his mind upon reflection.
XII. With this understanding, he dissolved the

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 $\sigma \theta a \iota, \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \dot{v} \sigma a s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \sigma \chi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu ~ a \hat{v} \theta \iota \varsigma ~ \epsilon ́ \delta \epsilon i ̂ \tau o ~ \tau о \hat{v}$ ’ $\mathrm{O} \kappa \tau а-$

 830
 oűt каі̀ $\sigma \kappa v \theta \rho \omega \pi о \hat{v} \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \cup ́ \mu a \tau o s ~ a i \tau i ́ a \nu ~ \pi \rho о \sigma-$ á $\psi a \iota$.
3 Tov́т $\omega \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \epsilon \dot{\eta} \sigma \epsilon \omega \nu$ ov $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \varsigma$ äтєүктор
 à入入à каì $\delta а к \rho v ́ \omega \nu ~ \dot{~} \pi о \pi i \mu \pi \lambda a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau a ̀ ~ o ̈ ~ \mu \mu а т а ~$
 тoùs $\pi$ गovoiovs каi тò̀s кт $\eta \mu a \tau \iota \kappa о$ ̀̀s $\sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \tau a s$

 à $\gamma \epsilon \nu \nu \bar{\nu} \varsigma \kappa \alpha \grave{~ \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma a \iota ~ \pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu ~ o ̂ ~ \beta o u ́ \lambda \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~}$





 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \lambda o v \sigma i ́ \omega \nu \quad \sigma v \nu \delta \rho a \mu o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \kappa а i \quad \delta \iota a \sigma \chi o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \tau a ̀ s$


assembly for that day; but on the following day, after the people had come together, he mounted the rostra and once more attempted to persuade Octavius. When, however, Octavius was not to be persuaded, Tiberius introduced a law depriving him of his tribuneship, and summoned the citizens to cast their votes upon it at once. Now, there were five and thirty tribes, and when seventeen of them had cast their votes, and the addition of one more would make it necessary for Octavius to become a private citizen, Tiberius called a halt in the voting, and again entreated Octavius, embracing and kissing hinı in the sight of the people, and fervently begging him not to allow himself to be dishonoured, and not to attach to a friend responsibility for a measure so grievous and severe.

On hearing these entreaties, we are told, Octavius was not altogether untouched or unmoved; his eyes filled with tears and he stood silent for a long time. But when he turned his gaze towards the men of wealth and substance who were standing in a body together, his awe of them, as it would seem, and his fear of ill repute among them, led him to take every risk with boldness and bid Tiberius do what he pleased. And so the law was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to drag Octavius from the rostra; for Tiberius used his freedmen as officers, and this made the sight of Octavius dragged along with contumely a more pitiful one. Moreover, the people made a rush at him, and though the men of wealth ran in a body to his assistance and spread out their hands against the crowd, it was with difficulty that Octavius was snatched away and safely rescued from the crowd; and a trusty servant of his who

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 $\phi \lambda \omega \sigma a \nu$ ，аैкоутоя то仑＇Tıßєрíov，каi $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~$
 катабрано́дтоя．

XIII．＇Ек тoútov кupoûtą $\mu \grave{\nu} \nu$ ó $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\iota}$ т $\hat{S}$ $\chi$ б́pas $\nu o ́ \mu о \varsigma, ~ a i p o v ̂ \nu \tau a \iota ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \rho \epsilon i \varsigma ~ a ̈ \nu \delta \rho \epsilon \varsigma ~ є ่ \pi i ̀ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$
 סıos＂A $\pi \pi \iota o s$ ó $\pi \epsilon \theta \epsilon \epsilon$ òs каi Гáios Грár才os ó
 $2 \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ N o \mu a \nu \tau i a \nu ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon v o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma . ~ \tau а и ิ \tau a ~ т о \hat{~ T ~ T \imath-~}$


 тועa，$\pi \epsilon \lambda a ́ \tau \eta \nu$ aن̇тои̂，$\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \pi a ́ \nu \tau a ~ \delta \nu \sigma \chi \epsilon \rho a i ́ \nu о \nu т \epsilon \varsigma ~$



 є่ $\pi$ ’ є่ $\frac{́}{\tau} \tau о \sigma \iota ~ \chi \rho \epsilon і а \iota \varsigma ~ т о \lambda \lambda а ́ к \iota ร ~ \lambda а ß o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu, ~ a ̉ \nu a ́-~$




 そó $\mu \in \nu o s$.
 тוvòs т̂̀ $\mathrm{T} \imath \beta \epsilon \rho i \varphi$ т $\tau \lambda \epsilon \cup \tau \eta{ }^{\prime} \sigma a \nu \tau o s ~ a i \phi \nu \iota o i ́ \omega s ~ к а i ~$


stood in front of his master and protected him, had his eyes torn out, against the protest of Tiberius, who, when he perceived what was going on, ran down with great haste to appease the tumult.
XIII. After this the agrarian law was passed, and three men were chosen for the survey and distribution of the public land, Tiberius himself, Appius Claudius his father-in-law, and Caius Gracchus his brother, who was not at Rome, but was serving under Scipio in the expedition against Numantia. These measures were carried out by Tiberius quietly and without opposition, and, besides, he procured the election of a tribune in the place of Octavius. The new tribune was not a man of rank or note, but a certain Mucius, a client of Tiberius. The aristocrats, however, who were vexed at these proceedings and feared the growing power of Tiberius, heaped insult upon him in the senate. When he asked for the customary tent at public expense, for his use when dividing up the public land, they would not give it, although other men had often obtained one for less important purposes; and they fixed his daily allowance for expenses at nine obols. ${ }^{1}$ These things were done on motion of Publius Nasica, who surrendered completely to his hatred of Tiberius. For he was a very large holder of public land, and bitterly resented his being forced to give it up.

But the people were all the more inflamed; and when a friend of Tiberius died suddenly and his body broke out all over with evil spots, they ran in throngs to the man's funeral, crying out that he had been poisoned to death, and they carried the bier them-
${ }^{1}$ That is, in Roman money, nine sestertii, equivalent to about twenty pence, or forty cents.
 каì $\theta a \pi \tau о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \varphi ~ \pi a \rho \in ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma a \nu, ~ o v ̉ ~ \phi a v ́ \lambda \omega s ~ i ́ \pi o \nu o \eta ̂ \sigma a \iota ~$
 $\kappa a i ̀ ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \phi \theta о \rho о ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ن́ $\gamma \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta$ os $\epsilon^{\prime} \xi \epsilon \beta \lambda v \sigma \epsilon \nu$, $̈ \omega \tau \tau \epsilon$




 тoùs $\pi a i ̂ \delta a s ~ \pi \rho о a \gamma a \gamma \omega ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ́ \delta \epsilon i ̂ \tau o ~ \tau o v ̂ ~ \delta \eta ́ \mu о v ~ \tau о и ́ \tau \omega \nu ~$
 є́autóv.


















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## TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, xim. 4 -xiv. 3

selves, and stood by at the last ceremonies. And their suspicions of poison were thought to be not without reason. For the dead body burst open and a great quantity of corrupt humours gushed forth, so that the flame of the funeral pyre was extinguished. And when fresh fire was brought, again the body would not burn, until it was carried to another place, where, after much trouble, the fire at last took hold of it. Upon this, Tiberius, that he might exasperate the multitude still more, put on a garb of mourning, brought his children before the assembly, and begged the people to care for them and their mother, saying that he despaired of his own life.
XIV. And now Attalus Philometor died, ${ }^{1}$ and Eudemus of Pergamum brought to Rome the king's last will and testament, by which the Roman people was made his heir. At once Tiberius courted popular favour by bringing in a bill which provided that the money of King Attalus, when brought to Rome, should be given to the citizens who received a parcel of the public land, to aid them in stocking and tilling their farms. And as regarded the cities which were included in the kingdom of Attalus, he said it did not belong to the senate to deliberate about them, but he himself would submit a pertinent resolution to the people. By this proceeding he gave more offence than ever to the senate; and Pompeius, rising to speak there, said that he was a neighbour of Tiberius, and therefore knew that Eudemus of Pergamum had presented Tiberius with a royal diadem and purple robe, believing that he was going to be king in Rome. Moreover, Quintus Metellus upbraided Tiberius with the reminder that whenever

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{ }^{1} \operatorname{In} 133 \text { в.о. }
$$

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 $\dot{a} \pi о \sigma \iota \omega \pi \dot{\jmath} \sigma \alpha \iota$.

 'Oктáßıov oủ тоîs סvvaтoîs $\mu$ óvov, ả $\lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \kappa \prec a i ̀ ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~$

his father, during his censorship, was returning home after a supper, the citizens put out their lights, for fear they might be thought to be indulging immoderately in entertainments and drinking bouts, whereas Tiberius himself was lighted on his way at night by the neediest and most reckless of the populace. Titus Annius, too, a man of no high character or sobriety, but held to be invincible in arguments carried on by question and answer, challenged Tiberius to a judicial wager, ${ }^{1}$ solemnly asserting that he had branded with infamy his colleague, who was sacred and inviolable by law. As many senators applauded this speech, Tiberius dashed out of the senate-house, called the people together, and ordered Annius to be brought before them, with the intention of denouncing him. But Annius, who was far inferior to Tiberius both in eloquence and in reputation, had recourse to his own particular art, and called upon Tiberius to answer a few questions before the argument began. Tiberius assented to this and silence was made, whereupon Annius said: "If thou wish to heap insult upon me and degrade me, and I invoke the aid of one of thy colleagues in office, and he mount the rostra to speak in my defence, and thou fly into a passion, come, wilt thou deprive that colleague of his office?" At this question, we are told, Tiberius was so disconcerted that, although he was of all men most ready in speech and most vehement in courage, he held his peace.
XV. For the present, then, he dissolved the assembly; but perceiving that the course he had taken with regard to Octavius was very displeasing, not only to the nobles, but also to the multitude (for

[^31]
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 $\ddot{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \dot{i} \pi о \nu о \eta \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \iota \theta a \nu о ́ \tau \eta \tau а$ каі $\pi \nu \kappa \nu \dot{c}-$








 тòv $\delta \hat{\eta} \mu o \nu$, ov่ $\delta \eta \dot{\eta} \mu a \rho \chi o s$ є่ $\sigma \tau \iota$. $\pi \hat{\omega} s$ ov̉v oủ

 бíav ó $\delta \hat{\eta} \mu о$ о̆т öта $a \dot{u} \tau \hat{\eta}$ катà то̂̂ $\delta \in \delta \omega \kappa о ́ т о \varsigma$


 ßои̂ба каì таîs $\mu \epsilon \gamma i ́ \sigma \tau a \iota s ~ i \epsilon \rho о \cup \rho \gamma i a \iota s ~ к а \theta \omega \sigma i \omega \tau а \iota ~$





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it was thought that the high and honourable dignity of the tribunate, so carefully guarded up to that time, had been insulted and destroyed), he made a lengthy speech before the people, a few of the arguments of which it will not be out of place to lay before the reader, that he may get a conception of the man's subtlety and persuasiveness. A tribune, he said, was sacred and inviolable, because he was consecrated to the people and was a champion of the people. "If, then," said Tiberius, "he should change about, wrong the people, maim its power, and rob it of the privilege of voting, he has by his own acts deprived himself of his honourable office by not fulfilling the conditions on which he received it; for otherwise there would be no interference with a tribune even though he should try to demolish the Capitol or set fire to the naval arsenal. If a tribune does these things, he is a bad tribune; but if he annuls the power of the people, he is no tribune at all. Is it not, then, a monstrous thing that a tribune should have power to hale a consul to prison, while the people cannot deprive a tribune of his power when he employs it against the very ones who bestowed it? For consul and tribune alike are elected by the people. And surely the kingly office, besides comprehending in itself every civil function, is also consecrated to the Deity by the performance of the most solemn religious rites; and yet Tarquin was expelled by the city for his wrong-doing, and because of one man's insolence the power which had founded Rome and descended from father to son was overthrown. Again, what institution at Rome is so holy and venerable as that of the virgins who tend and watch the undying fire? And yet if one of these

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 $\kappa а i \omega s$ ë $\lambda a \beta \epsilon$ т̀̀ $\nu \quad \delta \eta \mu a \rho \chi i ́ a \nu$, т $\hat{\omega} \nu \quad \pi \lambda \epsilon i \sigma \tau \omega \nu$








 $\pi а \rho a \iota \tau \epsilon \hat{\epsilon} \sigma \theta a \iota$ ठ $\imath^{\prime}$ aút $\omega \nu$.











$$
{ }^{1} \tau \delta \nu \delta \bar{\eta} \mu_{0} \nu \text { Cobet : } \delta \bar{\eta} \mu o \nu .
$$

breaks her vows, she is buried alive; for when they sin against the gods, they do not preserve that inviolable character which is given them for their service to the gods. Therefore it is not just that a tribune who wrongs the people should retain that inviolable character which is given him for service to the people, since he is destroying the very power which is the source of his own power. And surely, if it is right for him to be made tribune by a majority of the votes of the tribes, it must be even more right for him to be deprived of his tribuneship by a unanimous vote. And again, nothing is so sacred and inviolate as objects consecrated to the gods; and yet no one has hindered the people from using such objects, or moving them, or changing their position in such manner as may be desired. It is therefore permissible for the people to transfer the tribunate also, as a consecrated thing, from one man to another. And that the office is not inviolable or irremovable is plain from the fact that many times men holding it resign it under oath of disability, and of their own accord beg to be relieved of it."
XVI. Such were the chief points in the justification of his course which Tiberius made. And now his friends, observing the threats and the hostile combination against him, thought that he ought to be made tribune again for the following year. Once more, therefore, Tiberius sought to win the favour of the multitude by fresh laws, reducing the time of military service, granting appeal to the people from the verdicts of the judges, adding to the judges, who at that time were composed of senators only, an equal number from the equestrian order, and in every way at length trying to maim the power of the senate

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 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \iota i s \beta \lambda a \sigma \phi \eta \mu i a s$ т $\rho a \pi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu \circ \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \nu \nu a \rho \chi o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \nu$







 $\kappa а і ~ \delta \iota a \nu v к \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma a \iota \pi a \rho a \phi \nu \lambda a ́ \tau \tau о \nu \tau a s$.
XVII. "A $\mu a \delta^{\prime} \dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho a \operatorname{\pi a\rho } \bar{\eta} \nu$ ó тàs ò $\rho \nu \iota \theta a s$ ais
 av̉тaîs. ai $\delta^{\prime}$ ov̀ $\pi \rho o \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta o \nu, ~ \epsilon i ~ \mu \grave{\eta} \mu i a ~ \mu o ́ \nu \eta, \delta \iota a-$


 $\sigma \kappa \epsilon ́ \lambda o s ~ \pi a ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ ~ a ̉ \gamma \gamma \epsilon i ̂ o \nu ~ к а т є ́ \phi v \gamma є . ~ т о и ̂ т о ~ к а i ̀ ~$ то̂̀ $\pi \rho о \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o v ~ \sigma \eta \mu \epsilon i ́ o v ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ T \imath \beta \epsilon ́ \rho ı o \nu ~ a ̉ \nu \epsilon ́ \mu \nu \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu . ~$






 $\tau a \iota \sigma \epsilon \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ o u ̛ \delta o ́ v, ~ \sigma \phi o \delta \rho a ̂ s ~ o u ̋ t \omega ~ \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \hat{\eta} s$


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from motives of anger and contentiousness rather than from calculations of justice and the public good. And when, as the voting was going on, the friends of Tiberius perceived that their opponents were getting the better of the contest, since all the people were not present, in the first place they resorted to abuse of his fellow tribunes, and so protracted the time; next, they dismissed the assembly, and ordered that it should convene on the following day. Then Tiberius, going down into the forum, at first supplicated the citizens in a humble manner and with tears in his eyes; next, he declared he was afraid that his enemies would break into his house by night and kill him, and thereby so wrought upon his hearers that great numbers of them took up their station about his house and spent the night there on guard.
XVII. At break of day there came to the house the man who brought the birds with which auspices are taken, and threw food before them. But the birds would not come out of the cage, with the exception of one, though the keeper shook the cage right hard; and even the one that came out would not touch the food, but raised its left wing, stretched out its leg, and then ran back into the cage. This reminded Tiberius of an omen that had happened earlier. He had a helmet which he wore in battle, exceptionally adorned and splendid; into this serpents crawled unnoticed, laid eggs there and hatched them out. For this reason Tiberius was all the more disturbed by the signs from the birds. But nevertheless he set out, on learning that the people were assembled on the Capitol ; and before he got out of the house, he stumbled against the threshold. The blow was so severe that the nail of his great toe

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 $\dot{a} \lambda \lambda \lambda^{\prime} \dot{\omega} \varsigma \tau \cup \rho a \nu \nu о \hat{\nu} \nu \tau о \varsigma ~ к а і ̈ ~ \tau \rho v ф \hat{\omega} \nu \tau о \varsigma ~ \eta ้ \delta \eta ~ к а т а-~$






 тарататтонє́עшข.
XVIII. 'A $\rho \xi a \mu \epsilon ́ v o v ~ \delta \grave{c}$ тádıv тô Mouкíov







[^32]was broken and the blood ran out through his shoe. He had gone on but a little way when ravens were seen fighting on the roof of a house to his left hand; and though there were many people, as was natural, passing by, a stone dislodged by one of the ravens fell at the foot of Tiberius himself. This caused even the boldest of his followers to pause; but Blossius of Cumae, who was present, said it would be a shame and a great disgrace if Tiberius, a son of Gracchus, a grandson of Scipio Africanus, and a champion of the Roman people, for fear of a raven should refuse to obey the summons of his fellow citizens; such shameful conduct, moreover, would not be made a mere matter of ridicule by his enemies, but they would decry him to the people as one who was at last giving himself the airs of a tyrant. At the same time also many of his friends on the Capitol came running to Tiberius with urgent appeals to hasten thither, since matters there were going well. And in fact things turned out splendidly for Tiberius at first; as soon as he came into view the crowd raised a friendly shout, and as he came up the hill they gave him a cordial welcome and ranged themselves about him, that no stranger might approach.
XVIII. But after Mucius began once more to summon the tribes to the vote, none of the customary forms could be observed because of the disturbance that arose on the outskirts of the throng, where there was crowding back and forth between the friends of Tiberius and their opponents, who were striving to force their way in and mingle with the rest. Moreover, at this juncture Fulvius Flaccus, a senator, posted himself in a conspicuous place, and since it was impossible to make his voice heard so

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 $\sigma \chi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu$ тò $\pi \lambda \grave{\eta} \theta_{0}$, à $\nu a \beta a ̀ s$ $\mu o ́ \lambda \iota s$ ка̀ $\pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \lambda \theta \grave{\omega} \nu$


 $\pi о \lambda \lambda о$ ѐs є̇тi тойто $\delta$ oú $\sigma \mu$ ќrovs є’ $\chi o \nu \tau \epsilon$ я.



















 'є $\phi \eta$, " $\pi \rho o \delta i \delta \omega \sigma \iota \nu$ ó ä $\rho \chi \omega \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$, oi ßou入ó188
far, indicated with his hand that he wished to tell Tiberius something meant for his ear alone. Tiberius ordered the crowd to part for Flavius, who made his way up to him with difficulty, and told him that at a session of the senate the party of the rich, since they could not prevail upon the consul to do so, were purposing to kill Tiberius themselves, and for this purpose had under arms a multitude of their friends and slaves.
XIX. Tiberius, accordingly, reported this to those who stood about him, and they at once girded up their togas, and breaking in pieces the spear-shafts with which the officers keep back the crowd, distributed the fragments among themselves, that they might defend themselves against their assailants. Those who were farther off, however, wondered at what was going on and asked what it meant. Whereupon Tiberius put his hand to his head, making this visible sign that his life was in danger, since the questioners could not hear his voice. But his opponents, on seeing this, ran to the senate and told that body that Tiberius was asking for a crown; and that his putting his hand to his head was a sign having that meaning. All the senators, of course, were greatly disturbed, and Nasica demanded that the consul should come to the rescue of the state and put down the tyrant. The consul replied with mildness that he would resort to no violence and would put no citizen to death without a trial; if, however, the people, under persuasion or compulsion from Tiberius, should vote anything that was unlawful, he would not regard this vote as binding. Thereupon Nasica sprang to his feet and said: "Since, then, the chief magistrate betrays the state, do ye

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 $\pi \rho o ̀ ~ a u ̀ \tau o \hat{v} \pi \epsilon \pi \tau \omega \kappa о ́ \tau a \varsigma . ~ \dot{a \nu \iota \sigma \tau a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \nu ~ \delta є ̀ ~ a u ̉ \tau o ̀ v ~}$





 oúdeís.


 ойтє $\mu \iota \kappa \rho a ̀ s ~ о и ้ т є ~ \pi є \rho \grave{~} \mu \kappa \kappa р ⿳ ⺈ \nu \nu ~ \gamma є \nu о \mu \epsilon ́ v a s ~ a ̉ \nu \theta v \pi \epsilon i ́-~$




## TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, xix. $4-\mathrm{xx}$.

who wish to succour the laws follow me." With these words he covered his head with the skirt of his toga and set out for the Capitol. All the senators who followed him wrapped their togas about their left arms and pushed aside those who stood in their path, no man opposing them, in view of therr dignity, but all taking to flight and trampling upon one another.

Now, the attendants of the senators carried clubs and staves which they had brought from home; but the senators themselves seized the fragments and legs of the benches that were shattered by the crowd in its flight, and went up against Tiberius, at the same time smiting those who were drawn up to protect him. Of these there was a rout and a slaughter; and as Tiberius himself turned to fly, someone laid hold of his garments. So he let his toga go and fled in his tunic. But he stumbled and fell to the ground among some bodies that lay in front of him. As he strove to rise to his feet, he received his first blow, as everybody admits, from Publius Satyreius, one of his colleagues, who smote him on the head with the leg of a bench; to the second blow claim was made by Lucius Rufus, who p!umed himself upon it as upon some noble deed. And of the rest more than three hundred were slain by blows from sticks and stones, but not one by the sword.
XX. This is said to have been the first sedition at Rome, since the abolition of royal power, to end in bloodshed and the death of citizens; the rest.though neither trifling nor raised for trifling objects, were settled by mutual concessions, the nobles yielding from fear of the multitude, and the people out of respect for the senate. And it was thought that even

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 à $\lambda \lambda \grave{a} \mu \epsilon \tau a ̀$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \nu \epsilon \kappa \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \pi о т а \mu o ̀ \nu ~$ 3 є’ $\rho \stackrel{\psi}{ }$



 $\lambda o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ є́ $\chi i ́ \delta \nu a s ~ к а i ̀ ~ \delta \rho a ́ к о \nu \tau а s ~ o u ̈ т \omega ~ \delta \iota є ́ \phi \theta є \iota \rho a \nu . ~$



 $\sigma \epsilon \mathrm{T} \iota \beta \dot{\beta} \rho \iota o \varsigma ~ \epsilon ่ \kappa \epsilon ́ \lambda \epsilon v \sigma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \in \mu \pi \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \mathrm{~K} a \pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon \dot{\lambda} \lambda \iota \nu ; "$






on this occasion Tiberius would have given way without difficulty had persuasion been brought to bear upon him, and would have yielded still more easily if his assailants had not resorted to wounds and bloodshed; for his adherents numbered not more than three thousand. But the combination against him would seem to have arisen from the hatred and anger of the rich rather than from the pretexts which they alleged; and there is strong proof of this in their lawless and savage treatment of his dead body. For they would not listen to his brother's request that he might take up the body and bury it by night, but threw it into the river along with the other dead. Nor was this all; they banished some of his friends without a trial and others they arrested and put to death. Among these Diophanes the rhetorician also perished. A certain Caius Villius they shut up in a cage, and then put in vipers and serpents, and in this way killed him. Blossius of Cumae was brought before the consuls, and when he was asked about what had passed, he admitted that he had done everything at the bidding of Tiberius. Then Nasica said to him, "What, then, if Tiberius had ordered thee to set fire to the Capitol?" Blossius at first replied that Tiberius would not have given such an order; but when the same question was put to him often and by many persons, he said: "If such a man as Tiberius had ordered such a thing, it would also have been right for me to do it; for Tiberius would not have given such an order if it had not been for the interest of the people." ${ }^{1}$ Well, then, Blossius was acquitted, and afterwards went to
${ }^{1}$ For the story of Blossius, cf. Cicero, De am. 11. 37; Valerius Maximus, iv. 7. 1.

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 є่кєívov $\pi \rho a \gamma \mu a ́ t \omega \nu \delta \iota a \phi \theta a \rho \in ́ v \tau \omega \nu$ є́avтò̀ ả $\nu \epsilon i ̂ \lambda \epsilon \nu$.


 $\theta \eta \kappa \epsilon$ тоîs то入入оîs ó $\iota \sigma \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ є̀ $\bar{\epsilon} \sigma \theta a \iota$. $\lambda a \beta$ óvтєя




 $\dot{a} \lambda \lambda a ̀$ oi $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ o v s ~ \dot{\omega}$ s $\dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon i ̂ s ~ \gamma \rho a ́ \phi о \mu \epsilon \nu ~ i \sigma \tau о \rho о и ̂ \sigma \iota \nu . ~$
 то̂̂ $\mathrm{T} \iota \beta \epsilon \rho i o v ~ к а і ̈ ~ ф а \nu є \rho o ̀ s ~ \hat{\eta} \nu ~ a ̉ \mu u ́ v \eta s ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu ~$
 $\sigma \epsilon i o \nu \tau o, \delta \epsilon i \sigma a \sigma a \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ \tau o \hat{u}$ à $\nu \delta \rho \grave{\varsigma} \dot{\eta} \beta o u \lambda \grave{\eta} \psi \eta \phi i-$
 3 oủ $\gamma \grave{a} \rho$ à $\pi \epsilon \kappa \rho и ́ \pi \tau \tau о \nu \tau о$ катà тàs à à $\pi \alpha \nu \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ oi a้ $\nu \theta \rho \omega \pi о \iota \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \delta v \sigma \mu \epsilon \epsilon \nu \epsilon \iota a \nu, \vec{a} \lambda \lambda \lambda^{\prime} \epsilon \in \xi \eta \gamma \rho \iota a i ́ \nu о \nu \tau о$ каі








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Aristonicus ${ }^{1}$ in Asia, and when the cause of Aristonicus was lost, slew himself.
XXI. But the senate, trying to conciliate the people now that matters had gone so far, no longer opposed the distribution of the public land, and proposed that the people should elect a commissioner in place of Tiberius. So they took a ballot and elected Publius Crassus, who was a relative of Gracchus; for his daughter Licinia was the wife of Caius Gracchus. And yet Cornelius Nepos ${ }^{2}$ says that it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of the Brutus who triumphed over the Lusitanians, whom Caius married; the majority of writers, however, state the matter as I have done. Moreover, since the people felt bitterly over the death of Tiberius and were clearly awaiting an opportunity for revenge, and since Nasica was already threatened with prosecutions, the senate, fearing for his safety, voted to send him to Asia, although it had no need of him there. For when people met Nasica, they did not try to hide their hatred of him, but grew savage and cried out upon him wherever he chanced to be, calling him an accursed man and a tyrant, who had defiled with the murder of an inviolable and sacred person the holiest and most awe-inspiring of the city's sanctuaries. And so Nasica stealthily left Italy, although he was bound there by the most important and secred functions; for he was pontifex maximus. He roamed and wandered about in foreign lands ignominiously, and after a short time ended his life at Pergamum. Now, it is no wonder that the people so much hated

[^33]
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$\mu \epsilon \mu i \sigma \eta \kappa \epsilon \nu$ оӥт $\omega \varsigma$ ò $\delta \hat{\eta} \mu о \varsigma$, öтои каі $\sum \kappa \eta \pi i \omega \nu \dot{o}$
 $\tau \epsilon \rho о \nu \mu \eta \delta \dot{\epsilon} \mu a ̂ \lambda \lambda o \nu$ à $\gamma a \pi \hat{\eta} \sigma a \iota, \pi a \rho a ̀ ~ \mu \iota \kappa \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \grave{j} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu$


 'О $\mu \eta \rho \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ '








 үє́ $\gamma \rho a \pi \tau а$.

## Г. ГРАГХОГ


 є́ $\sigma \tau \eta ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma ~ a ̀ \gamma o \rho a ̂ s ~ к а i ~ к а \theta^{\prime} \dot{\epsilon} a v \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \grave{j} \sigma v \chi i ́ a \nu$






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## TIBERIUS GRACCHUS, xxi. 4-5

Nasica, when even Scipio Africanus, than whom no one would seem to have been more justly or more deeply loved by the Romans, came within a little of forfeiting and losing the popular favour because, to begin with, at Numantia, when he learned of the death of Tiberius, he recited in a loud voice the verse of Homer ${ }^{1}$ :
"So perish also all others who on such wickedness
venture,"
and because, in the second place, when Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people what he thought about the death of Tiberius, he made a reply which showed his dislike of the measures advocated by him. Consequently the people began to interrupt him as he was speaking, a thing which they had never done before, and Scipio himself was thereby led on to abuse the people. Of these matters I have written circumstantially in my Life of Scipio. ${ }^{2}$

## CAIUS GRACCHUS

I. Caius Gracchus, at first, either because he feared his enemies, or because he wished to bring odium upon them, withdrew from the forum and lived quietly by himself, like one who was humbled for the present and for the future intended to live the same inactive life, so that some were actually led to denounce him for disliking and repudiating his brother's political measures. And he was also

1 Odysscy, i. 47 (Athena, of Aegisthus).
2 One of the lost biographies.

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 то̂̂ $\chi$ рóvou тóv $\tau \epsilon \tau$ то́то⿱








 रíay tòv Гáiov т $\quad$ роє $\lambda \theta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$.









 Bєріои $\lambda а \mu \pi \rho о ́ т є \rho о \nu ~ т \rho o ̀ s ~ т \grave{\eta \nu}$ àmò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ö $\chi \lambda \omega \nu$

 6 є́ $\mu \pi \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \epsilon i \varsigma \tau \grave{\jmath} \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a \nu$. iбторєî $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ каi $\mathrm{K} \iota \kappa \epsilon ́-$




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## CAIUS GRACCHUS, 1. 2-6

quite a stripling, for he was nine years younger than his brother, and Tiberius was not yet thirty when he died. But as time went on he gradually showed a disposition that was averse to idleness, effeminacy, wine-bibbing, and money-making; and by preparing his oratory to waft him as on swift pinions to public life, he made it clear that he was not going to remain quiet; and in defending Vettius, a friend of his who was under prosecution, he had the people about him inspired and frantic with sympathetic delight, and made the other orators appear to be no better than children. Once more, therefore, the nobles began to be alarmed, and there was much talk among them about not permitting Caius to be made tribune.

By accident, however, it happened that the lot fell on him to go to Sardinia as quaestor for Orestes the consul. ${ }^{1}$ This gave pleasure to his enemies, and did not annoy Caius. For he was fond of war, and quite as well trained for military service as for pleading in the courts. Moreover, he still shrank from public life and the rostra, but was unable to resist the calls to this career which came from the people and his friends. He was therefore altogether satisfied with this opportunity of leaving the city. And yet a strong opinion prevails that he was a demagogue pure and simple, and far more eager than Tiberius to win the favour of the multitude. But this is not the truth; nay, it would appear that he was led by a certain necessity rather than by his own choice to engage in public matters. And Cicero the orator also relates ${ }^{2}$ that Caius declined all office and had chosen to live a quiet life, but that his brother appeared to him in a dream and addressed him, saying : "Why, pray, dost

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thou hesitate, Caius? There is no escape ; one life is fated for us both, and one death as champions of the people."
II. After reaching Sardinia, then, Caius gave proof of every excellence, and far surpassed all the other young men in conflicts with the enemy, in just dealings with the subject peoples, and in the good will and respect which he showed towards his commander, while in self-restraint, frugality, and industry, he excelled even his elders. The winter in Sardinia proved to be rigorous and unhealthy, and the Roman commander made a requisition upon the cities of clothing for his soldiers, whereupon the cities sent to Rome and begged to be relieved from the exaction. The senate granted their petition and ordered the commander to get clothing for his soldiers in some other way. The commander was at a loss what to do, and the soldiers were suffering; so Caius made a circuit of the cities and induced them of their own free will to send clothing and other assistance to the Romans. This was reported to Rome, where it was thought to be a prelude to a struggle for popular favour, and gave fresh concern to the senate. So, to begin with, when ambassadors of King Micipsa came from Africa, and announced that out of regard for Caius Gracchus the king had sent grain to the Roman commander in Sardinia, the senators were displeased and turned them away. In the second place, they passed a decree that fresh troops should be sent to relieve the soldiers in Sardinia, but that Orestes should remain, with the idea that Caius also would remain with him by virtue of his office. But Caius, when this came to his ears, straightway sailed off in a passion, and his unexpected appearance in Rome

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aitíav єỉ $\epsilon \nu$, d̀ $\lambda \lambda$ à каì тоîs то入入оîs à $\lambda \lambda о$ о́котоу

















 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \quad \gamma \nu \omega \rho \dot{\prime} \mu \omega \nu$ à $\nu \delta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{o} \mu a \lambda \hat{\omega} \varsigma \dot{a} \pi a \dot{a} \nu \tau \omega \nu$


 $\lambda \iota \pi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu, \tau 0 \hat{v} \delta \epsilon ̀ \pi \epsilon \delta i o v \mu \grave{\eta} \delta \epsilon \xi a \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o u$ тò $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta o s$




## CAIUS GRACCHUS, in. 4-in. 2

not only was censured by his enemies, but also made the people think it strange that he, quaestor as he was, had left his post before his commander. However, when he was denounced before the censors, he begged leave to speak, and wrought such a change in the opinions of his hearers that he left the court with the reputation of having been most grossly wronged. For he said that he had served in the army twelve years, although other men were required to serve there only ten, and that he had continued to serve as quaestor under his commander for more than two years, although the law permitted him to come back after a year. He was the only man in the army, he said, who had entered the campaign with a full purse and left it with an empty one; the rest had drunk up the wine which they took into Sardinia, and had come back to Rome with their wine-jars full of gold and silver.
III. After this, other fresh charges and indictments were brought against him, on the ground that he had caused the allies to revolt and had been privy to the conspiracy at Fregellae, ${ }^{1}$ information of which was brought to Rome. But he cleared himself of all suspicion, and having established his entire innocence, immediately began a canvass for the tribuneship. All the men of note, without exception, were opposed to him, but so great a throng poured into the city from the country and took part in the elections that many could not be housed, and since the Campus Martius could not accommodate the multitude, they gave in their voices from the house-tops and tilings. So far, however, did the nobility prevail against the people and disappoint the hopes of Caius that he was not

[^35]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

oủ $\chi, \dot{\omega} \varsigma \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \delta_{o ́ к} \eta \sigma \epsilon$, $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a}$ тє́тартоע

























returned first, as he expected, but fourth. But after entering upon his office ${ }^{1}$ he was at once first of all the tribunes, since he had an incomparable power in oratory, and his affliction gave him great boldness of speech in bewailing the fate of his brother. For to this subject he would bring the people round on every pretext, reminding them of what had happened in the case of Tiberius, and contrasting the conduct of their ancestors, who went to war with the people of Falerii on behalf of Genucius, a tribune whom they had insulted, and condemned Caius Veturius to death because he was the only man who would not make way for a tribune passing through the forum. "But before your eyes," he said, "these men beat Tiberius to death with clubs, and his dead body was dragged from the Capitol through the midst of the city to be thrown into the Tiber; moreover, those of his friends who were caught were put to death without trial. And yet it is ancient usage among us that if anyone who is arraigned on a capital charge does not answer to his summons, a trumpeter shall go to the door of this man's house in the morning and summon him forth by sound of trumpet, and until this has been done the judges shall not vote on his case. So careful and guarded were the men of old in capital cases."
IV. Having first stirred up the people with such words as these (and he had a very loud voice, and was most vigorous in his speaking), he introduced two laws, one providing that if the people had deprived any magistrate of his office, such magistrate should not be allowed to hold office a second time;

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 $\rho \eta \sigma \epsilon, \tau \iota \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mathrm{K} o \rho \nu \eta \lambda$ ía $\nu$ oú $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \nu \hat{\eta} \tau \tau \sigma \nu$ ả $\pi \grave{o}$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu$














 $\kappa \lambda \eta \rho о \nu \chi \iota \kappa o ̀ s ~ \dot{a} \nu a \nu \epsilon ́ \mu \omega \nu^{1} \tau о i ̂ \varsigma ~ \pi \epsilon ́ v \eta \sigma \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \delta \eta \mu о \sigma i a \nu$,


[^37]and another providing that if any magistrate had banished a citizen without trial, such magistrate should be liable to public prosecution. Of these laws, one had the direct effect of branding with infamy Marcus Octavius, who had been deposed from the tribunate by 'liberius; and by the other Popillius was affected, for as praetor he had banished the friends of Tiberius. Popillius, indeed, without standing his trial, fled out of Italy; but the other law was withdrawn by Caius himself, who said that he spared Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were pleased at this and gave their consent, honouring Cornelia no less on account of her sons than because of her father; indeed, in after times they erected a bronze statue of her, bearing the inscription: "Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi." There are on record also many things which Caius said about her in the coarse style of forensic speech, when he was attacking one of his enemies: "What," said he, "dost thou abuse Cornelia, who gave birth to Tiberius?" And since the one who had uttered the abuse was charged with effeminate practices, "With what effrontery," said Caius, "canst thou compare thyself with Cornelia? Hast thou borne such children as she did? And verily all Rome knows that she refrained from commerce with men longer than thou hast, though thou art a man." Such was the bitterness of his language, and many similar examples can be taken from his writings.
V. Of the laws which he proposed by way of gratifying the people and overthrowing the senate, one was agrarian, and divided the public land among the poor citizens; another was military, and ordained that clothing should be furnished to the soldiers at

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 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau a \iota ~ \sigma \pi о \nu \delta ́ a ́ \sigma a \iota ~ \delta \iota a \phi \epsilon \rho о ́ \nu \tau \omega \varsigma, \kappa а i ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho o ̀$ aủтô̂ $\pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu ~ \delta \eta \mu a \gamma \omega \gamma \omega \hat{\nu} \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \sigma \cup ́ \gamma \kappa \lambda \eta \tau о \nu$






 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma о \nu \tau a s$.





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the public cost, that nothing should be deducted from their pay to meet this charge, and that no one under seventeen should be enrolled as a soldier; another concerned the allies, and gave the Italians equal suffrage rights with Roman citizens; another related to the supplies of grain, and lowered the market price to the poor; and another dealt with the appointment of judges. This last law most of all curtailed the power of the senators; for they alone could serve as judges in criminal cases, and this privilege made them formidable both to the common people and to the equestrian order. The law of Gracchus, however, added to the membership of the senate, which was three hundred, three hundred men from the equestrian order, and made service as judges a prerogative of the whole six hundred. In his efforts to carry this law Caius is said to have shown remarkable earnestness in many ways, and especially in this, that whereas all popular orators before him had turned their faces towards the senate and that part of the forum called the "comitium," he now set a new example by turning towards the other part of the forum as he harangued the people, and continued to do this from that time on, thus by a slight deviation and change of attitude stirring up a great question, and to a certain extent changing the constitution from an aristocratic to a democratic form; for his implication was that speakers ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.
VI. The people not only adopted this law, but also entrusted to its author the selection of the judges who were to come from the equestrian order, so that he found himself invested with something like monarchical power, and even the senate

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 à $\pi о \delta о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \sigma i ̂ \tau o \nu ~ a ̉ \nu a \pi \epsilon ́ \mu \psi \alpha \iota ~ \tau a i ̂ s ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \sigma \iota ~$ тò à $\rho \gamma \dot{\rho} \rho \iota o v, \kappa а i ̀ ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \pi a \iota \tau \iota a ́ \sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ Ф a ́ \beta ı о \nu ~$

 єủroías є̇v тaîs є̀ $\pi a \rho \chi i ́ a \iota s$.
 каì тàs ódoùs тоเєîбӨaı каі̀ катабкєváそєбӨaı бוтоßó入ıa，тои́тоьs äтaбı тратто廷оьs aútò̀
 $\dot{a} \pi о \tau \rho \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau о \sigma о$ и́ $\tau \omega \nu$ каі̀ $\tau \eta \lambda \iota \kappa о$ и́ $\tau \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a}$





 $\tau \epsilon \chi \nu \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu, \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \epsilon \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu, \quad \dot{a} \rho \chi o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu, \quad \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \omega \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ， $\phi \iota \lambda o \lambda o ́ \gamma \omega \nu$ ，oîs $\pi a ̂ \sigma \iota \nu$ є่ $\nu \tau v \gamma \chi a ́ \nu \omega \nu \nu \epsilon \tau a ̀ ~ \epsilon \dot{\jmath} \kappa о \lambda i ́ a s$






## CAIUS GRACCHUS, vi. s-4

consented to follow his counsel. But when he counselled them, it was always in support of measures befitting their body; as, for instance, the very equitable and honourable decree concerning the grain which Fabius the pro-praetor sent to the city from Spain. Caius induced the Senate to sell the grain and send the money back to the cities of Spain, and further, to censure Fabius for making his government of the province intolerably burdensome to its inhabitants. This decree brought Caius great reputation as well as popularity in the provinces.

He also introduced bills for sending out colonies, for constructing roads, and for establishing public granaries, making himself director and manager of all these undertakings, and showing no weariness in the execution of all these different and great enterprises; nay, he actually carried out each one of them with an astonishing speed and power of application, as if it were his sole business, so that even those who greatly hated and feared him were struck with amazement at the powers of achievement and accomplishment which marked all that he did. And as for the multitude, they were astonished at the very sight, when they beheld him closely attended by a throng of contractors, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and literary men, with all of whom he was on easy terms, preserving his dignity while showing kindliness, and rendering properly to every man the courtesy which was due from him, whereby he set in the light of malignant slanderers those who stigmatised him as threatening or utterly arrogant or violent. Thus he was a more skilful popular leader in his private intercourse with men

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 үのүо́s.
VII. 'Е $\sigma \pi o u ́ \delta a \sigma \epsilon$ ס̀̀ $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu ~ o ́ \delta o \pi o \iota i ́ a \nu, ~}$









 кíovas $\lambda \iota \theta i ́ \nu o v s ~ \sigma \eta \mu \epsilon i ̂ a ~ т о \hat{u} ~ \mu \epsilon ́ т \rho o v ~ к а т є ́ \sigma т \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu . ~$


 $\mu \grave{\eta} \delta \epsilon о \mu$ évoıs.










and in his business transactions than in his speeches from the rostra.
VII. But he busied himself most earnestly with the construction of roads, laying stress upon utility, as well as upon that which conduced to grace and beauty. For his roads were carried straight through the country without deviation, and had pavements of quarried stone, and substructures of tight-rammed masses of sand. Depressions were filled up, all intersecting torrents or ravines were bridged over, and both sides of the roads were of equal and corresponding height, so that the work had everywhere an even and beautiful appearance. In addition to all this, he measured off every road by miles (the Roman mile falls a little short of eight furlongs) and planted stone pillars in the ground to mark the distances. Other stones, too, he placed at smaller intervals from one another on both sides of the road, in order that equestrians might be able to mount their horses from them and have no need of assistance.
VIII. Since the people extolled him for all these services and were ready to show him any token whatsoever of their good will, he said to them once in a public harangue that he was going to ask a favour of them, which, if granted, he should value supremely, but if it were refused, he should find no fault with them. This utterance was thought to be a request for a consulship, and led everybody to expect that he would sue for a consulship and a tribuneship at the same time. But when the consular elections were at hand and everybody was on the tip-toe of expecta tion, he was seen leading Caius Fannius down into the Campus Martius and joining in the canvass for

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 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ v ̈ \pi a \tau o s, ~ Г a ́ i o s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ \delta \eta ́ \mu a \rho \chi o s ~ a ̉ \pi \epsilon \delta \epsilon i ́ \chi \theta \eta ~ \tau o ̀ ~$
 $\delta \eta ́ \mu o v ~ \sigma \pi o v \delta a ́ \sigma a \nu \tau o s$.
3






 тоîs $\pi о \lambda \lambda о \hat{\varsigma}$ àmотрот $\hat{\varsigma}$ ，à $\nu \tau \iota \delta \eta \mu a \gamma \omega \gamma \circ \hat{v} \sigma a$ каі̀
 тô̂ 「aîov ouvap才óvтفע $\Lambda i ́ \beta ı o s ~ \Delta \rho o \hat{v} \sigma o s, ~ a ̉ \nu \grave{\eta} \rho$



 $\pi а \rho \epsilon \kappa a ́ \lambda o v \nu ~ a u ̉ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ a ̈ \psi a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau о \hat{v}$ Гaîov каì $\mu \epsilon \tau$＇


 ả $\pi \epsilon \chi \theta a ́ \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ к а \lambda \omega ิ \varsigma ~ \epsilon i \chi \chi \iota$ ．

IX．＇E $\pi \iota \delta o u ̀ s$ ov̂v ó $\Lambda i ̂ \beta ı o s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau a v ̂ \tau a ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \beta o u \lambda \hat{\eta}$


[^38]
## CAIUS GRACCHUS, vin. 2-xx. I

him along with his friends. This turned the tide strongly in favour of Fannius. So Fannius was elected consul, and Caius tribune for the second time, though he was not a candidate and did not canvass for the office; but the people were eager to have it so.

However, he soon saw that the senate was hostile to him out and out, and that the good will of Fannius towards him had lost its edge, and therefore again began to attach the multitude to himself by other laws, proposing to send colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and inviting the Latins to a participation in the Roman franchise. But the senate, fearing that Gracchus would become altogether invincible, made a new and unusual attempt to divert the people from him; they vied with him, that is, in courting the favour of the people, and granted their wishes contrary to the best interests of the state. For one of the colleagues of Caius was Livius Drusus, a man who was not inferior to any Roman either in birth or rearing, while in character, eloquence, and wealth he could vie with those who were most honoured and influential in consequence of these advantages. To this man, accordingly, the nobles had recourse, and invited him to attack Caius and league himself with them against him, not resorting to violence or coming into collision with the people, but administering his office to please them and making them concessions where it would have been honourable to incur their hatred.
IX. Livius, accordingly, put his influence as tribune at the service of the senate to this end, and drew up laws which aimed at what was neither honourable

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$\kappa a \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \iota \nu o \varsigma ~ o u ̛ \tau \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \lambda \nu \sigma \iota \tau \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ є่ $\chi o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v \varsigma, ~ \grave{a} \lambda \lambda d$ €̂̀ $\mu o ́ \nu o \nu, ~ \dot{v} \pi \epsilon \rho \beta a \lambda \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \Gamma a ́ i o v ~ \dot{\eta} \delta о \nu \hat{\eta}$ каì


 тoîs тô Гaîov то入ıтєúpaбıv，ả入入à aủtòv є̇кєî̀ov à $\nu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \hat{\eta} \tau a \pi \epsilon \iota \nu \omega ิ \sigma a \iota \pi a \nu \tau a ́ \pi a \sigma \iota$ ßоu入o $\frac{\mu}{\nu} \eta \nu$ ．
 $\chi a \rho \iota \epsilon \sigma \tau a ́ \tau o u s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon i \sigma a ́ \gamma о \nu \tau a$ $\delta \eta \mu о к о \pi \epsilon \hat{\nu} \nu$
 $\chi \iota \lambda i ́ o v s ~ \epsilon i s ~ є ́ \kappa a ́ \sigma \tau \eta \nu ~ a ̉ \pi о \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \lambda \lambda о \nu \tau \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega \nu}$ ảтóp $\omega \nu$

 єis тò $\delta \eta \mu o ́ \sigma \iota o \nu, \dot{\omega} \varsigma \kappa о \lambda a \kappa \epsilon \cup ́ o \nu \tau \iota ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda o u ̀ s ~$




 каì $\mu$ évтои каì aủtòs ó $\Lambda i ́ \beta \iota o s ~ a ̉ \in \grave{~} \delta \eta \mu \eta \gamma о \rho \omega \hat{\nu}$




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nor advantageous; nay, he had the emulous eagerness of the rival demagogues of comedy to achieve one thing, namely, to surpass Caius in pleasing and gratifying the people. ${ }^{1}$ In this way the senate showed most plainly that it was not displeased with the public measures of Caius, but rather was desirous by all means to humble or destroy the man himself. For when Caius proposed to found two colonies, and these composed of the most respectable citizens, they accused him of truckling to the people; but when Livius proposed to found twelve, and to send out to each of them three thousand of the needy citizens, they supported him. With Caius, because he distributed public land among the poor for which every man of them was required to pay a rental into the public treasury, they were angry, alleging that he was seeking thereby to win favour with the multitude; but Livius met with their approval when he proposed to relieve the tenants even from this rental. And further, when Caius proposed to bestow upon the Latins equal rights of suffrage, he gave offence ; but when Livius brought in a bill forbidding that any Latin should be chastised with rods even during military service, he had the senate's support. And indeed Livius himself, in his public harangues, always said that he introduced these measures on the authority of the senate, which desired to help the common people; and this in fact was the only advantage which resulted from his political measures. For the peopie became more amicably disposed towards the senate; and whereas before this they had suspected and hated the nobles, Livius softened and

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$\mu \iota \sigma о \hat{\nu} \nu \tau o s ~ \epsilon ̇ \xi \epsilon ́ \lambda \nu \sigma \epsilon \kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \pi \rho a ́ v ̈ \nu \epsilon ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \mu \nu \eta \sigma \iota \kappa a$ кíà «аì $\chi a \lambda \epsilon \pi о ́ т \eta \tau а ~ \tau а u ́ \tau \eta \nu ~ o ́ ~ \Lambda i ́ \beta ı o s, ~ \dot{\omega s ~ є ̇ \kappa ~} 839$
 $\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \chi a \rho i \zeta \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau о i ̂ \varsigma ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda о i ̂ s . ~$







 $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \nu$ ímò $\Sigma \kappa \eta \pi i ́ \omega \nu o s, \kappa \lambda \eta \prime \rho \omega \quad \lambda a \chi \grave{\omega} \nu$ ó Гáios
 $\mu \hat{a} \lambda \lambda o \nu$ є̇ $\pi \iota \beta$ às ó $\Delta \rho o \hat{v} \sigma o s$ ảmóvtos aủtov тòv
 3 катà тov̂ Фou入ßíov $\delta \iota a \beta o \lambda a i ̂ s . ~ o ́ ~ \delta e ̀ ~ Ф o u ́ \lambda \beta ı o s ~$

 $\kappa а i ̀ ~ \mu \iota \sigma o u ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ ن ́ \pi o ̀ ̀ ~ \tau \eta ̂ ऽ ~ \beta o v \lambda \eta ̂ s ~ a ̈ \nu \tau \iota \kappa \rho \nu \varsigma, ~$

 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \pi o ́ \sigma \tau а \sigma \iota \nu . ~ o i s ~ a ̀ \nu а т о \delta є i ́ \kappa \tau \omega \varsigma ~ к а i ̀ ~ a ̀ \nu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma-~$



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dissipated their remembrance of past grievances and their bitter feelings by alleging that it was the sanction of the nobles which had induced him to enter upon his course of conciliating the people and gratifying the wishes of the many.
X. But the strongest proof that Livius was well disposed towards the people and honest, lay in the fact that he never appeared to propose anything for himself or in his own interests. For he moved to send out other men as managers of his colonies, and would have no hand in the expenditure of moneys, whereas Caius had assigned to himself most of such functions and the most important of them. And now Rubrius, one of his colleagues in the tribuneship, brought in a bill for the founding of a colony on the site of Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, and Caius, upon whom the lot fell, sailed off to Africa as superintendent of the foundation. In his absence, therefore, Livius made all the more headway against him, stealing into the good graces of the people and attaching them to himself, particularly by his calumniations of Fulvius. This Fulvius was a friend of Caius, and had been chosen a commissioner with him for the distribution of the public land; but he was a turbulent fellow, and was hated outright by the senators. Other men also suspected him of stirring up trouble with the allies and of secretly inciting the Italians to revolt. These things were said against him without proof or investigation, but Fulvius himself brought them into greater credence by a policy which was unsound and revolutionary. This more than anything else was the undoing of Caius, who came in for a share of the hatred against Fulvius. And when Scipio Africanus


 $\gamma \rho a \pi \tau a \iota$, тò $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \pi \lambda \epsilon \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \tau o \nu$ є̇ $\pi \grave{\iota}$ тò $\nu$ Фoú $\beta \iota o \nu \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon$

 5 ク̈чато $\delta$ є̀ каi то̂̂ Гaîov ímóvoıa. каi $\delta є \iota \nu o ̀ \nu ~$











 тà iє $\rho a ̀$ тоîs $\beta \omega \mu о i ̂ s ~ \epsilon ̇ т \iota к \epsilon i ́ \mu \epsilon \nu а ~ \delta \iota є \sigma \kappa є ́ \delta a \sigma \epsilon \nu ~ a ̉ \nu є ́-~$


 2 фє́роутєя. ои̉ $\mu \grave{\eta} \nu$ ả $\lambda \lambda a ̀$ тávта $\sigma \nu \nu \tau a ́ \xi a s ~ к а i ́ ~$

 Фоú入ßıov úтò тov̂ $\Delta \rho o v ́ \sigma o v ~ \pi v \nu \theta a \nu o ́ \mu \in \nu o s, ~ к а i ~$


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died without any apparent cause, and certain marks of violence and blows were thought to be in evidence all over his dead body, as I have written in his Life, ${ }^{1}$ most of the consequent calumny fell upon Fulvius, who was Scipio's enemy, and had abused him that day from the rostra, but suspicion attached itself also to Caius. And a deed so monstrous, and perpetrated upon a man who was the foremost and greatest Roman, went unpunished, nay, was not even so much as probed; for the multitude were opposed to any judicial enquiry and thwarted it, because they feared that Caius might be implicated in the charge if the murder were investigated. However, this had happened at an earlier time. ${ }^{2}$
XI. In Africa, moreover, in connection with the planting of a colony on the site of Carthage, to which colony Caius gave the name Junonia (that is to say, in Greek, Heraea), there are said to have been many prohibitory signs from the gods. For the leading standard was caught by a gust of wind, and though the bearer clung to it with all his might, it was broken into pieces; the sacrificial victims lying on the altars were scattered by a hurricane and dispersed beyond the boundary-marksin the plan of the city, and the boundary-marks themselves were set upon by wolves, who tore them up and carried them a long way off. Notwithstanding this, Caius settled and arranged everything in seventy days all told, and then returned to Rome, because he learned that Fulvius was being hard pressed by Drusus, and because matters there required his presence. For

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Дєúкıos үà $\rho$ ' $\mathrm{O} \pi i ́ \mu \iota o s, ~ a ̉ \nu \grave{\eta} \rho$ ò $\lambda \iota \gamma а \rho \chi \iota к o ̀ s ~ к а i ̀ ~$
 ن̇тaтєíà тараүүє́ $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$, тov̂ Гaîov тòv Фávעıov



 $\kappa a i ̀ ~ \tau o \hat{v} ~ \delta \eta ́ \mu о v ~ \mu \epsilon \sigma \tau о \hat{v} ~ \gamma є \gamma о \nu o ́ т о s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \tau о ь о и ́ \tau \omega \nu ~$ $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \nu \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ठıà тò $\pi о \lambda \lambda o u ̀ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \chi a ́ \rho ı \nu ~$
 єャкоиิ $\sigma a \nu$.
XII. 'Е $\pi a \nu \epsilon \lambda \theta \grave{\varrho} \nu \delta \bar{\epsilon} \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \tau o \hat{v} \Pi a \lambda a$ -
 $\dot{\omega} \varsigma \delta \eta \mu о \tau \iota \kappa \dot{\omega} \tau \epsilon \rho о \nu$, öтоv $\pi \lambda \epsilon \iota ́ \sigma \tau o v s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau a \pi \epsilon \iota \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$

 aủtoîs. ő $\chi \lambda o u$ ס̀̀ $\pi a \nu \tau a \chi o ́ \theta \epsilon \nu ~ a u ̉ \tau \hat{̣}$ бuvióvtos












Lucius Opimius, a man of oligarchical principles and influential in the senate, who had previously failed in a candidacy for the consulship (when Caius had brought forward Fannius and supported his canvas for the office), ${ }^{1}$ now had the aid and assistance of many, and it was expected that he would be consul, and that as consul he would try to put down Caius, whose influence was already somewhat on the wane, and with whose peculiar measures the people had become sated, because the leaders who courted their favour were many and the senate readily yielded to them.
XII. On returning to Rome, in the first place Caius changed his residence from the Palatine hill to the region adjoining the forum, which he thought more democratic, since most of the poor and lowly had come to live there ; in the next place, he promulgated the rest of his laws, intending to get the people's vote upon them. But when a throng came together from all parts of Italy for his support, the senate prevailed upon the consul Fannius to drive out of the city all who were not Romans. Accordingly, a strange and unusual proclamation was made, to the effect that none of the allies and friends of Rome should appear in the city during those days; whereupon Caius published a counter edict in which he denounced the consul, and promised the allies his support, in case they should remain there. He did not, however, give them his support, but when he saw one of his comrades and guest-friends dragged off by the lictors of Fannius, he passed by without giving him any help, either because he feared to give a proof that his power was already on the decline, or because
${ }^{1}$ See chapter viii. 2.

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 $\pi a \rho a \sigma \chi \epsilon i \hat{\nu}$.


 áрхо́vт $\omega \nu$ oi тлєíбтоь $\theta \epsilon \omega \rho \eta т \eta ́ \rho ı а ~ к и ́ к \lambda \omega ~ к а т а-~$







 тоѝs dè ouváp








 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \kappa є ́ \chi \nu \tau a \iota \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \cup \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$.

## CAIUS GRACCHUS, xir. 2-5

he was unwilling, as he said, by his own acts to afford his enemies the occasions which they sought for a conflict at close quarters.

Moreover, it chanced that he had incurred the anger of his colleagues in office, and for the following reason. The people were going to enjoy an exhibition of gladiators in the forum, and most of the magistrates had constructed seats for the show round about, and were offering them for hire. Caius ordered them to take down these seats, in order that the poor might be able to enjoy the spectacle from those places without paying hire. But since no one paid any attention to his command, he waited till the night before the spectacle, and then, taking all the workmen whom he had under his orders in public contracts, he pulled down the seats, and when day came he had the place all clear for the people. For this proceeding the populace thought him a man, but his colleagues were annoyed and thought him reckless and violent. It was believed also that this conduct cost him his election to the tribunate for the third time, since, although he got a majority of the votes, his colleagues were unjust and fraudulent in their proclamation and returns. This, however, was disputed. But he took his failure overmuch to heart, and what is more, when his enemies were exulting over him, he told them, it is said, with more boldness than was fitting, that they were laughing with sardonic laughter, and were not aware of the great darkness that enveloped them in consequence of his public measures. ${ }^{1}$

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 Гáiov, $\dot{\omega} s$ à̀ aỉíà ỏ $\rho \gamma \hat{\eta} \pi \pi a \rho a \sigma \chi \grave{\omega} \nu$ ảvaı $\rho \in \theta \epsilon i \not \eta$,








 $\tau \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota \lambda \in ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota \nu$.





 $\kappa а к о \grave{~ \pi о \lambda i ̂ \tau a \iota . " ~ \tau \iota \nu \epsilon ̀ s ~ \delta є ́ ~ \phi а \sigma \iota \nu ~ a ̆ \mu a ~ \tau \hat{\eta} ~ \phi \omega \nu \hat{\eta}, ~}$ таи́т!̣ каi тòv $\beta \rho a \chi$ iova $\gamma \nu \mu \nu o ̀ \nu ~ o i o \nu ~ \epsilon ’ ф ' ~ v ̋ \beta \rho є \iota ~$







## CAIUS GRACCHUS, xiir. x-4

XIII. The enemies of Caius also effected the election of Opimius as consul, and then proceeded to revoke many of the laws which Caius had secured and to meddle with the organization of the colony at Carthage. This was by way of irritating Caius, that he might furnish ground for resentment, and so be got rid of. At first he endured all this patiently, but at last, under the instigations of his friends, and especially of Fulvius, he set out to gather a fresh body of partisans for opposition to the consul. Here, we are told, his mother also took active part in his seditious measures, by secretly hiring from foreign parts and sending to Rome men who were ostensibly reapers; for to this matter there are said to have been obscure allusions in her letters ${ }^{1}$ to her son. Others, however, say that Cornelia was very much displeased with these activities of her son.

Be that as it may, on the day when Opimius and bis supporters were going to annul the laws, the Capitol had been occupied by both factions since earliest morning, and after the consul had offered sacrifice, one of his servants, Quintus Antyllius, as he was carrying from one place to another the entrails of the victims, said to the partisans of Fulvius: " Make way for honest citizens, ye rascals!" Some say, too, that along with this speech Antyllius bared his arm and waved it with an insulting gesture. At any rate he was killed at once and on the spot, stabbed with large writing styles said to have been made for just such a purpose. The multitude were completely confused by the murder, but it produced an opposite state of mind in the leaders of the two factions. Caius was distressed, and upbraided his followers for

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 є̇ாi т $\grave{\nu} \nu$ ä $\mu \nu \nu a \nu$.
XIV. Kaì тótє $\mu$ ย̀̀ ỏ $\mu \beta \rho o v ~ \gamma є \nu o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \lambda u ́-~$

 'A $\nu \tau v \lambda \lambda i ́ o v ~ \sigma \hat{\omega} \mu a$ уv $\mu \nu o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \pi i ~ \kappa \lambda i ́ \nu \eta \varsigma ~ \pi \rho о \theta \epsilon ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~$

 тоs $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \tau o \hat{v}$ 'О $\pi \iota \mu i ́ o v ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \pi \rho а т \tau o ́ ~ \mu \epsilon \nu а, ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \pi o \iota o v-~ 841 ~$

 oi $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ є̇ $\sigma \chi \epsilon \tau \lambda i ́ a \zeta o \nu ~ \dot{\omega} \varsigma ~ \epsilon ่ \pi i ̀ ~ \delta \epsilon \iota \nu \hat{̣}$ каi $\mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \omega$


 $\mu a \rho \chi о \nu$ ö $\nu \tau а$ каì тò̀ $\nu \epsilon \kappa \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \xi є ́ \beta a \lambda о \nu, \dot{o} \delta^{\prime}$








 тuрávdous.

having given their enemies ground for accusing them which had long been desired; but Opimius, as though he had got something for which he was waiting, was elated, and urged the people on to vengeance.
XIV. A shower of rain fell just then, and the assembly was dissolved; but early next morning the consul called the senate together indoors and proceeded to transact business, while others placed the body of Antyllius without covering upon a bier, and carried it, as they had agreed to do, through the forum and past the senate-house, with wailings and lamentations. Opimius knew what was going on, but pretended to be surprised, so that even the senators went out into the forum. After the lier had been set down in the midst of the throng, the senators began to inveigh against what they called a heinous and monstrous crime, but the people were moved to hatred and abuse of the oligarchs, who, they said, after murdering Tiberius Gracchus on the Capitol with their own hands, tribune that he was, had actually flung away his dead body besides; whereas Antyllius, a mere servant, who perhaps had suffered more than he deserved, but was himself chiefly to blame for it, had been laid out in the forum, and was surrounded by the Roman senate, which shed tears and shared in the obsequies of a hireling fellow, to the end that the sole remaining champion of the people might be done away with. Then the senators went back into the senate-house, where they formally enjoined upon the consul Opimius to save the city as best he could, ${ }^{1}$ and to put down the tyrants.
The consul therefore ordered the senators to take

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## PLUTARCH'S LIVES












 кро́тоия каі ả入адаүноі̂s тіродтєs каi $\theta \rho a \sigma v \nu o ́-$
 $\mu \epsilon \theta v \sigma \kappa о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v ~ к а і ̈ ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{a}$ фортьк$ิ \varsigma ~ \pi а \rho ’ ~ \grave{\eta} \lambda \iota \kappa i ́ a \nu ~$
















up arms, and every member of the equestrian order was notified to bring next morning two servants fully armed; Fulvius, on the other hand, made counter preparations and got together a rabble, but Caius, as he left the formm, stopped in front of his father's statue, gazed at it for a long time without uttering a word, then burst into tears, and with a groan departed. Many of those who saw this were moved to pity Caius; they reproached themselves for abandoning and betraying him, and went to his house, and spent the night at his door, though not in the same manner as those who were guarding Fulvius. For these passed the whole time in noise and shouting, drinking, and boasting of what they would do, Fulvius himself being the first to get drunk, and saying and doing much that was unseemly for a man of his years; but the followers of Caius, feeling that they faced a public calamity, kept quiet and were full of concern for the future, and passed the night sleeping and keeping watch by turns.
XV. When day came, Fulvius was with difficulty roused from his drunken sleep by his partisans, who armed themselves with the spoils of war about his house, which he had taken after a victory over the Gauls during his consulship, and with much threatening and shouting went to seize the Aventine hill. Caius, on the other hand, was unwilling to arm himself, but went forth in his toga, as though on his way to the forum, with only a short dagger on his person. As he was going out at the door, his wife threw herself in his way, and with one arm round her husband and the other round their little son, said: "Not to the rostra, O Caius, do I now send thee forth, as formerly, to serve as tribune and law-giver, nor yet to

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 סі́кая $\pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau о v \sigma \iota \nu . ~ \epsilon i ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ~ N o \mu a \nu \tau i ́ a \nu ~ o ̀ ~ \sigma o ̀ s ~$






 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ фì $\lambda \omega \nu$. $\dot{\eta}$ dè $\tau o \hat{v}$ í $\mu a \tau i ́ o v ~ \lambda a \beta \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \gamma \lambda \iota \chi o-~$

 oi өєра́тоутєs à $\rho a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~ т \rho o ̀ s ~ К \rho a ́ \sigma \sigma o \nu ~ e ้ \chi о \nu т о ~$






 2 тウ̀v $\sigma u ́ \gamma \kappa \lambda \eta \tau o \nu$. oi $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ oû̀ $\pi o \lambda \lambda o i ̀ ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ \pi a \rho o ́ v \tau \omega \nu ~$ oủ火 à $\eta \delta \hat{\omega} s$ т $\rho o ̀ s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \delta \iota a \lambda v ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota s ~ \epsilon i ̂ \chi o \nu ' ~ o ̀ ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon ~ ' O \pi i ́-~}$





a glorious war, where, shouldst thou die (and all men must die), thou wouldst at all events leave me an honoured sorrow; but thou art exposing thyself to the murderers of Tiberius, and thou doest well to go unarmed, that thou mayest suffer rather than inflict wrong; but thy death will do the state no good. The worst has at last prevailed ; by violence and the sword men's controversies are now decided. If thy brother had only fallen at Numantia, his dead body would have been given back to us by terms of truce ; but as it is, perhaps I too shall have to supplicate some river or sea to reveal to me at last thy body in its keeping. Why, pray, should men longer put faith in laws or gods, after the murder of Tiberius?" While Licinia was thus lamenting, Caius gently freed himself from her embrace and went away without a word, accompanied by his friends. Licinia eagerly sought to clutch his robe, but sank to the ground and lay there a long time speechless, until her servants lifted her up unconscious and carried her away to the house of her brother Crassus.
XVI. When all were assembled together, Fulvius, yielding to the advice of Caius, sent the younger of his sons with a herald's wand into the forum. The young man was very fair to look upon; and now, in a decorous attitude, modestly, and with tears in his eyes, he addressed conciliatory words to the consul and the senate. Most of his audience, then, were not disinclined to accept his terms of peace; but Opimius declared that the petitioners ought not to try to persuade the senate by word of messenger; they should rather come down and surrender themselves for trial, like citizens amenable to the laws, and then beg for mercy; he also told the young man plainly to come

 $\tau \omega \hat{\nu}$ ă $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \sigma v \gamma \chi \omega \rho о \hat{\nu} \nu \tau о \varsigma, a \dot{v} \theta \iota \varsigma$ ё $\pi \epsilon \mu \psi \epsilon \nu$ ó Фоú $\lambda-$



 $\dot{\epsilon} \pi \eta \eta^{\prime} \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha} \pi \sigma \lambda \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ ó $\pi \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \grave{\imath} \tau о \xi \circ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{~K} \rho \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$,




 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \dot{v} \pi$ ’ oủ $\delta \epsilon \nu o ̀ s ~ \mu a \chi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s, ~ a ̉ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \delta \nu \sigma a \nu a \sigma \chi \epsilon \tau \omega ิ \nu$




 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau a \iota$ ка $\theta \epsilon \sigma \theta \epsilon i \varsigma$ єís 耳óvv каì тàs $\chi \epsilon i ̂ \rho a s$ àva-


 oi $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \tau о \iota ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda о \nu \tau о ~ к \eta \rho u ́ \gamma \mu a \tau \iota ~ \delta о \theta \epsilon i ́ \sigma \eta s$ à $\delta$ єias.
XVII. Ф $\epsilon$ v́


 $\sigma \tau \eta \sigma a \nu$ каì $\mu a \chi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota ~ \pi \rho o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma ~ \gamma \epsilon \phi и ́ \rho a s ~ o u ̉ \delta e ́ v a ~$

back again on these terms or not come back at all. Caius, accordingly, as we are told, was willing to come and try to persuade the senate; but no one else agreed with him, and so Fulvius sent his son again to plead in their behalf as before. But Opimius, who was eager to join battle, at once seized the youth and put him under guard, and then advanced on the party of Fulvius with numerous men-at-arms and Cretan archers. And it was the archers who, by discharging their arrows and wounding their opponents, were most instrumental in throwing them into confusion. After the rout had taken place, Fulvius fled for refuge into an unused bath, where he was shortly discovered and slain, together with his elder son. Caius, however, was not seen to take any part in the battle, but in great displeasure at what was happening he withdrew into the temple of Diana. There he was minded to make away with himself, but was prevented by his most trusty companions, Pomponius and Licinius; for they were at hand, and took away his sword, and urged him to flight again. Then, indeed, as we are told, he sank upon his knees, and with hands outstretched towards the goddess prayed that the Roman people, in requital for their great ingratitude and treachery, might never cease to be in servitude ; for most of them were manifestly changing sides, now that proclamation of immunity had been made.
XVII. So then, as Caius fled, his foes pressed hard upon him and were overtaking him at the wooden bridge over the Tiber, but his two friends bade him go on, while they themselves withstood his pursuers, and, fighting there at the head of the bridge, would suffer no man to pass, until they were killed. Caius had with him in his flight a single servant, by name

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 èv á $\mu i \lambda \lambda!$ !, таракє $\epsilon \epsilon v o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$, oủ $\delta \epsilon \nu o ̀ s ~ \delta є ̀ ~ \beta o \eta-~$














 ن́тò тov $\sum \epsilon \pi \tau о \cup \mu o v \lambda \eta i ̂ o v ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi \epsilon \pi a \rho \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta$ סópatı




 $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu \kappa о \mu i \sigma a \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ ( $\hat{\eta} \sigma a \nu$ रà $\rho \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ à $\sigma \eta \mu о-$




 $\pi \rho о \iota к о ̀ s ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \eta \sigma а \nu . ~ \grave{\mu o ́ \tau а т о \nu ~ \delta є ̀ ~ \pi \rho о \sigma є \iota р \gamma а ́-~} 843$


## CAIUS GRACCHUS, xvir. 2-5

Philocrates; and though all the spectators, as at a race, urged Caius on to greater speed, not a man came to his aid, or even consented to furnish him with a horse when he asked for one, for his pursuers were pressing close upon him. He barely succeeded in escaping into a sacred grove of the Furies, and there fell by the hand of Philocrates, who then slew himself upon his master. According to some writers, however, both were taken alive by the enemy, and because the servant had thrown his arms about his master, no one was able to strike the master until the slave had first been dispatched by the blows of many. Someone cut off the head of Caius, we are told, and was carrying it along, but was robbed of it by a certain friend of Opimius, Septimuleius; for proclamation had been made at the beginning of the battle that an equal weight of gold would be paid the men who brought the head of Caius or Fulvius. So Septimuleius stuck the head of Caius on a spear and brought it to Opimius, and when it was placed in a balance it weighed seventeen pounds and two thirds, since Septimuleius, besides showing himself to be a scoundrel, had also perpetrated a fraud; for he had taken out the brain and poured melted lead in its place. But those who brought the head of Fulvius were of the obscurer sort, and therefore got nothing. The bodies of Caius and Fulvius and of the other slain were thrown into the Tiber, and they numbered three thousand; their property was sold and the proceeds paid into the public treasury. Moreover, their wives were forbidden to go into mourning, and Licinia, the wife of Caius, was also deprived of her marriage portion. Most cruel of all, however, was the treatment of the younger son of Fulvius, who had neither lifted a hand

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 $6 \sigma v \lambda \lambda a \beta o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mu a ́ \chi \eta \nu \dot{a} \nu \epsilon \lambda o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$. ở $\mu \grave{\nu} \nu \grave{a} \lambda \lambda a ̀$ каì тои́тоv каì $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ả $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \dot{a} \pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ $\mu a ̂ \lambda \lambda o \nu ~ \eta ̉ \nu i ́ a \sigma \epsilon ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda o u ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \kappa а \tau а \sigma \kappa \epsilon v a \sigma \theta \epsilon ̀ \nu ~$




 voías vaòv ópovoías moьєî."
 тороs є̇v íтатєía $\chi \rho \eta \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о s$ каі̆ катактєívаs






 рабє $\mu \iota \sigma о и ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о s ~ к а і ~ \pi \rho о \pi \eta \lambda а к \iota \zeta о ́ \mu є \nu о s ~ i ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau о \hat{u}$







 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \mathrm{s}$.
XIX. Kai $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \tau o \iota ~ к а i ̀ ~ \grave{\eta ~ K o \rho \nu \eta \lambda i ́ a ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma є \tau а \iota ~ \tau a ́ ~}$
against the nobles nor been present at the fighting, but had come to effect a truce before the battle and had been arrested; after the battle he was slain. However, what vexed the people more than this or anything else was the erection of a temple of Concord by Opimius ${ }^{1}$; for it was felt that he was priding himself and exulting and in a manner celebrating a triumph in view of all this slaughter of citizens. Therefore at night, beneath the inscription on the temple, somebody carved this verse :-" A work of mad discord produces a temple of Concord."
XVIII. And yet this Opimius, who was the first consul to exercise the power of a dictator, and put to death without trial, besides three thousand other citizens, Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, of whom one had been consul and had celebrated a triumph, while the other was the foremost man of his generation in virtue and reputation-this Opimius could not keep his hands from fraud, but when he was sent as ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian was bribed by him, and after being convicted most shamefully of corruption, he spent his old age in infamy, hated and abused by the people, a people which was humble and cowed at the time when the Gracchi fell, but soon afterwards showed how much it missed them and longed for them. For it had statues of the brothers made and set up in a conspicuous place, consecrated the places where they were slain, and brought thither offerings of all the first-fruits of the seasons, nay, more, many sacrificed and fell down before their statues every day, as though they were visiting the shrines of gods.
XIX. And further, Cornelia is reported to have
${ }^{1}$ Opimius restored the temple of Concord which had been built by Camillus (sce the Camillus, xlii. 4).

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 $\dot{a} \pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ סє̀ т $\hat{\nu} \nu \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \in \omega \nu$ каі̀ $\delta є \chi о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \pi a \rho ’$

 тò̀ то̂ татоòs＇Aфрıка⿱亠䒑ô $\beta$ iò каi סíaıтаע， $\theta a \nu \mu a \sigma \iota \omega \tau a ́ \tau \eta \delta_{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi a i ́ \delta \omega \nu \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \nu \theta \eta \eta_{\varsigma} \kappa \alpha \grave{a} \dot{a} \delta a ́-$ критоя $\mu \nu \eta \mu о \nu є$ v́ovба，каi та́Ө $\begin{array}{r}\text { каi } \pi \rho а ́ \xi є \iota \varsigma ~\end{array}$ $a \dot{\tau} \hat{\omega} \nu, \tilde{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ à $\rho \chi a i ́ \omega \nu \tau \iota \nu \hat{\omega} \nu, \epsilon \notin \xi \eta \gamma o u \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta$ тоîs







 тараıрєі̂таı．

## ACIDOZ KAI KAEOMENOY』 KAI IPATX 2 N sy「KPIEIS


 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta i ́ \omega \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{a} \pi о \theta \epsilon \epsilon \dot{\rho} \rho \eta \iota \nu$ ．тoùs $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ ô̂̀ $\Gamma \rho a ́ \gamma-$ 240
borne all her misfortunes in a noble and magnanimous spirit, and to have said of the sacred places where her sons had been slain that they were tombs worthy of the dead which occupied them. She resided on the promontory called Misenum, and made no change in her customary way of living. She had many friends, and kept a good table that she might show hospitality, for she always had Greeks and other literary men about her, and all the reigning kings interchanged gifts with her. She was indeed very agreeable to her visitors and associates when she discoursed to them about the life and habits of her father Africanus, but most admirable when she spoke of her sons without grief or tears, and narrated their achievements and their fate to all enquirers as if she were speaking of men of the early days of Rome. Some were therefore led to think that old age or the greatness of her sorrows had impaired her mind and made her insensible to her misfortunes, whereas, really, such persons themselves were insensible how much help in the banishment of grief mankind derives from a noble nature and from honourable birth and rearing, as well as of the fact that while Fortune often prevails over virtue when it endeavours to ward off evils, she cannot rob virtue of the power to endure those evils with calm assurance.

## AGIS AND CLEOMENES AND THE GRACCHI COMPARED

I. Now that I have brought this story of the Gracchi also to an end, it remains for me to take a survey of all four lives in parallel. As for the Gracchi,

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 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \grave{~} \rho \epsilon \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ є́ $\gamma \epsilon \in \nu о \nu \tau о$ ' $\mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i ́ \omega \nu$ à $\pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$, каì




 $\rho \epsilon \iota \sigma a \nu$, aútoùs $\dot{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \mu o ́ \nu a s ~ \epsilon \dot{v} \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i ́ a \varsigma ~ \kappa а i ̀ ~ \sigma \omega ф \rho о-~$





 $\pi \alpha \rho a \lambda a \beta o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma, ~ o u ̛ \delta \in ́ \nu ~ \tau \iota ~ \delta \iota a ̀ ~ \tau a \hat{v} \tau a ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~$ $4 \kappa \alpha \lambda \grave{o} \nu \quad \dot{a} \pi \eta \dot{\eta} \mu \beta \lambda \nu \nu a \nu$ óp $\mu \dot{\eta} \nu$. каì $\mu \grave{\eta} \nu$ т $\eta$ s $\gamma \epsilon$ Г $\rho a ́ \gamma \chi \omega \nu$ àфı入o $\chi \rho \eta \mu a \tau i ́ a s ~ к а i ̀ ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \rho \gamma v ́ \rho ı o \nu ~$ є่ $\gamma \kappa \rho а т є i ́ a \varsigma ~ \mu є ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau о ́ \nu ~ є ̇ \sigma \tau \iota \nu$ ӧть $\lambda \eta \mu \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ ảdíк $\omega \nu$ $\kappa а Ө a \rho о и ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ a ̀ \rho \chi a i ̂ s ~ к а i ̀ ~ \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a \iota \varsigma ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \phi u ́ \lambda a \xi a \nu$
 $\mu \eta \delta \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ ả $\lambda \lambda o ́ \tau \rho \iota o \nu ~ \lambda a \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \pi a \iota \nu o u ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \varsigma, ~ o ̂ s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$
 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu \kappa \tau \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ є́ $\xi \alpha \kappa o ́ \sigma \iota a ~ \tau a ́ \lambda a \nu \tau a ~ \nu о \mu i ́ \sigma-~$



11. "Н $\gamma \epsilon \mu \grave{\eta} \nu$ є่ $\pi \iota \beta$ оид̀̀ каі̀ тó $\lambda \mu a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa а \iota \nu о-$

## AGIS, CLEOMENES AND GRACCHI, i. i-II. 1

then, not even those who utterly revile and hate them on other grounds have ventured to deny that of all Romans they were best equipped by nature for the practice of virtue, and enjoyed a rearing and training which were preëminent; but Agis and Cleomenes would appear to have had even sturdier natural gifts than theirs, in so far as, though they did not receive a correct training, and were reared in those customs and ways of living by which their elders had long ago been corrupted, they nevertheless made themselves leaders in simplicity and self-restraint. And further, the Gracchi, at a time when Rome had her greatest and most splendid repute and an ardour for noble deeds, were prevented by a sense of shame from abandoning what was like an inheritance of virtue from ancestors near and remote ; Agis and Cleomenes, on the other hand, though they were sons of fathers who had adopted opposite principles to theirs, and found their country in a wretched plight and full of distempers, did not suffer these things to blunt the edge of their zeal for what was noble. Moreover, the chief proof that the Gracchi scorned wealth and were superior to money lies in the fact that they kept themselves clear from unrighteous gains during their official and political life; whereas Agis would have been incensed to receive praise for not taking anything that was another's, since he freely gave to his fellow citizens his own property, which amounted to six hundred talents in ready money alone, to say nothing of other valuables. How great a baseness, then, would unlawful gain have been held to be by one in whose eyes even the lawful possession of more than another was rapacity ?
II. Again, the enterprise and boldness of their

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES




 $\tau a ̀ ~ \delta \iota к а \sigma \tau \eta \dot{\rho} \iota a$ т $\rho о \sigma \epsilon \mu \beta a \lambda o ́ \nu \tau \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ і \pi \pi \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \rho \iota a$ -
 тò $\mu \iota \kappa \rho a ̀$ каì катà $\mu \epsilon ́ \rho о \varsigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \nu \dot{\eta} \mu a \rho \tau \eta \mu \in ́ \nu \omega \nu$ îâб $\theta a \iota$









 $\pi а \rho a \delta є \iota \gamma \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ тò ка́ $\lambda \lambda \iota \sigma \tau о \nu$ v̇тє́кєьто каі̀ $\mu є \gamma а \lambda о-$ $\pi \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau a \tau о \nu$, аі $\pi a ́ т \rho \iota о \iota ~ \dot{\rho} \eta \tau \rho a \iota \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath} \sigma \omega \phi \rho о \sigma v ́ \nu \eta$ ऽ


 $\epsilon \in \pi \epsilon ́ \delta \omega \kappa \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{v} \pi a \rho \chi o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu, \epsilon \in \kappa \delta \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\omega} \nu \dot{o} \mathrm{~K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \varsigma$




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## AGIS, CLEOMENES AND GRACCHI, ir. I-4

attempted reforms were certainly very different in magnitude. For in their political activities Caius had in view the construction of roads and the founding of cities, and the boldest of all the projects of the Romans were, in the case of Tiberius the recovery of the public lands, and in that of Caius the reconstitution of the courts of justice by the addition of three hundred men from the equestrian order; whereas Agis and Cleomenes in their reforms, considering that the application of trifling and partial remedies and excisions to the disorders of the state was nothing more than cutting off a Hydra's heads (as Plato says ${ }^{1}$ ), tried to introduce into the constitution a change which was able to transform and get rid of all evils at once; though perhaps it is more in accordance with the truth to say that they banished the change which had wrought all sorts of evils, by bringing back the state to its proper form and establishing it therein. Besides, this also can be said, that the policies of the Gracchi were opposed by the greatest Romans, whereas those which Agis instituted and Cleomenes consummated were based upon the fairest and most imposing precedents, namely, the ancient rhetras or unwritten laws concerning simplicity of life and equality of property, for which Lycurgus was voucher to them, and the Pythian Apollo to Lycurgus. ${ }^{2}$ But the most important consideration is that through the political activity of the Gracchi Rome made no advance in greatness, whereas, in consequence of the achievements of Cleomenes, within a short time Greece beheld Sparta mistress of the Peloponnesus and carrying on a struggle for the supremacy with those who then had the greatest power, the object of

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## PLUTARCH'S LIVES


 $\kappa о \sigma \mu \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota \pi a ́ \lambda \iota \nu \dot{v} \phi^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{H} \rho а \kappa \lambda \epsilon i ́ \delta a \iota s$.
III. Oỉpaı סє̀ кaì тàs $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v \tau a ̀ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ à $\nu \delta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu$


 $\kappa \tau \epsilon i ̂ \nu a \iota ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ò $\lambda i ́ \gamma o v ~ \delta \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \dot{\epsilon} \kappa \grave{\omega} \nu ~ d \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \in \theta a \nu \epsilon$,
 $\mu \eta \sigma \epsilon \mu$ èv $\dot{\alpha} \mu \dot{\nu} \nu a \sigma \theta a \iota, \tau o \hat{v} \delta \grave{\epsilon} \kappa a \iota \rho o \hat{v} \mu \grave{\eta} \pi a \rho a \sigma \chi o ́ \nu \tau о \varsigma$








 इapסóvı $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon \nu o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ a ̀ \nu \delta \rho a \gamma a \theta i ́ a \nu$ є’ $\phi \eta \nu \epsilon \nu, \omega ँ \sigma \tau \epsilon$
 $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o i ̂ s, ~ \epsilon i ~ \mu \eta$ т $\pi о \alpha \nu \eta \rho \epsilon ́ \theta \eta \sigma a \nu$.





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which struggle was to set Greece free from Illyrian and Gaulish troops and array her once more under descendants of Heracles.
III. I think, too, that the way in which the men died makes manifest a difference in their high excellence. For the Gracchi fought against their fellow citizens, and then died as they sought to make their escape; but in the case of the Greeks, Agis would not kill a single citizen, and therefore died what one might almost call a voluntary death, and Cleomenes, after setting out to avenge himself for insults and wrongs, found the occasion unfavourable and with a good courage slew himself. Butagain, when we take the opposite view of their relative merits, Agis displayed no deed worthy of a great commander, but was cut off untimely, and with the many honourable victories won by Cleomenes we can compare the capture of the wall at Carthage by Tiberius, which was no trifling deed, and his truce at Numantia, by which twenty thousand Roman soldiers who had no other hope of salvation were spared ; and Caius, too, manifested great bravery in military service at home, and great bravery in Sardinia, so that the brothers might have vied successfully with the foremost Roman generals, had they not been cut off untimely.
IV. In their civic activities, however, Agis would seem to have taken hold of things with too little spirit; he was baffled by Agesilaüs, and broke his promise to the citizens about the re-distribution of lands, and in a word abandoned and left unfinished the designs which he had deliberately formed and announced, owing to a lack of courage due to his youth. Cleomenes, on the contrary, undertook his change of the constitution with too

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 $\pi \rho о \sigma a \gamma a \gamma \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota$ тоîs öтлоıs кратои̂дта каі $\mu \epsilon \tau а$ -


 ойтє $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa o ́ \nu, ~ a ̉ \lambda \lambda ’ ~ a ̉ \tau \epsilon \chi \nu i ́ a s ~ \mu e ̀ \nu ~ a ̉ \mu ф o ́ т є \rho a, ~$

 є́ $\mu \phi \cup \lambda i ́ o v, ~ \Gamma a ́ i o s ~ \delta є ̀ ~ \lambda e ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau a \iota ~ \mu \eta \delta є ̀ ~ \beta a \lambda \lambda o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~$ ó $\mu \hat{\eta} \sigma \alpha \iota \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̈ \mu v \nu a \nu, a ̀ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \lambda a \mu \pi \rho o ́ \tau a \tau o s ~ \grave{\omega} \nu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ тоîs $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \iota \kappa о i ̂ s ~ a ̀ \rho \gamma o ́ т а т о \varsigma ~ \epsilon ่ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\eta} \sigma \tau a ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu \in ́ \sigma \theta a \iota . ~$





 V. T $\hat{\omega} \nu \tau о i ́ \nu v \nu \epsilon ่ \gamma \kappa \lambda \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa a \tau a ̀ ~ T \iota \beta \epsilon \rho i ́ o v$
 є’ $\xi \in \notin \beta a \lambda \epsilon$ каi $\delta є u \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a \nu$ aùтòs $\delta \eta \mu a \rho \chi i ́ a \nu \mu \epsilon \tau \eta!\epsilon \iota$.



 $2 \stackrel{\text { äтà }}{ }$ нóvos, $\tau \hat{\omega}$ ס̀̀ ò óó $\mu a \tau \iota ~ \delta \epsilon u ́ \tau \epsilon \rho o s, ~ \mathrm{E} u \kappa \lambda \epsilon i ́ \delta a \nu ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~$
much rashness and violence, killing the ephors in unlawful fashion, when it would have been easier to win them over to his views or remove them by superiority in arms, just as he removed many others from the city. For a resort to the knife, except under extremest necessity, is not the mark either of a good physician or statesman, but in both cases shows a lack of skill, and in the case of the statesman there is added both injustice and cruelty. Neither of the Gracchi, however, initiated civil slaughter, and Caius, we are told, would not resort to self-defence even when his life was threatened, but though he was a most brilliant soldier in the field, he showed himself most inactive in civil strife. For he went forth from his house unarmed and withdrew when the battle began, and in a word was seen to be more intent upon not doing any harm to others than upon not suffering harm himself. Therefore we must hold that the flight of the brothers was not a mark of cowardice, but of caution. For they were obliged either to yield to their assailants, or, in case they held their ground, to defend themselves actively against harm.
V. Again, the greatest of the accusations against Tiberius is that he deposed his colleague from the tribuneship and canvassed for a second tribuneship himself; and as for Caius, the murder of Antyllius was unjustly and falsely attributed to him, for it happened contrary to his wishes and much to his displeasure. But Cleomenes, not to mention again his slaughter of the ephors, set free all the slaves, and was king by himself in point of fact, though nominally with another, after he had chosen his brother Eucleidas, a man from the same house, as his col-

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 $\epsilon \lambda \theta \grave{\omega} \nu \quad \epsilon \beta \epsilon \beta a i ́ \omega \sigma \epsilon \quad \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ aiтíà ка $\theta^{\prime}$ aúто̂ $\tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma$

 $\pi a \iota \delta i ̀ \tau o \hat{v}$ à $\delta \epsilon \lambda \phi o \hat{\mathrm{X}} \mathrm{X} a \rho i \lambda \lambda \omega, \phi o \beta o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s \delta_{\epsilon} \mu \dot{\eta}$,

 $\tau \epsilon \rho o \nu \dot{\epsilon} \pi a \nu \eta \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu \hat{\eta} \pi a \hat{\imath} \delta a \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \mathrm{X} a \rho i \lambda \lambda \omega$ $\gamma \in \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \theta a \iota$

 тоîs $\mathrm{K} \lambda \epsilon о \mu$ ย́vovs тодıтєч́ $\mu а \sigma \iota ~ к а \iota \nu о т о \mu і ́ а \iota ~ к а і ̀ ~$






 $\pi \nu o a i ̂ s, ~ \grave{\epsilon} \phi \epsilon i v a \iota ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath} \tau \grave{\alpha}$ є้ $\sigma \chi a \tau a$ $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ тo入ıтєíà


 $\pi \lambda o v ́ \sigma \iota o \iota \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma a \nu \dot{\alpha} \mu \phi \circ \tau \epsilon ́ \rho o \iota \varsigma \mathfrak{a} \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu a \varsigma, \tau \hat{\omega} \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$


## AGIS, CLEOMENES AND GRACCHI, v. 2-5

league; and he persuaded Archidamus, who belonged to the other house and should have been his colleague on the throne, to come back to Sparta from Messene, and upon his death, by not following up the murder, he fixed upon himself the blame for his taking off. And yet Lycurgus, whom he professed to imitate, voluntarily surrendered the royal power to Charillus his brother's son, and because he feared lest, if the young man should die by another's hand, some blame might attach to himself, he wandered a long time in foreign parts, and would not come back until a son had been born to Charillus who should succeed to his office. ${ }^{1}$ However, with Lycurgus no other Greek is worthy to be compared; but that the political measures of Cleomenes were marked by greater innovations and illegalities than those of the Gracchi, is evident. And indeed those who are inclined to criticize their characters accuse the two Greeks of having been from the outset over fond of power and strife, and the two Romans of having been by nature immoderately ambitious, though their detractors could bring no other charge against them; nay, it was agreed that they were caught up by the fury of the contest with their opponents and by a passion contrary to their own natural bent, as by blasts of wind, and so let the state drive into extremest danger. For what could be more just and honourable than their original design? And they would have succeeded in it, had not the party of the rich, by their violent and partisan attempts to abrogate the agrarian law, involved both of them in fierce struggles, Tiberius through fear for his own life, and Caius in an effort to avenge his brother, who had been slain without justice or

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 ảעaı $\rho \in \theta$ ย́vтa;







## AGIS, CLEOMENES AND GRACCHI, v. 5-6

senatorial decree and without the concurrence even of a magistrate.

From what has been said, then, my reader will perceive for himself the difference between these men; but if I am to express my opinion of them individually, I should say that Tiberius led them all in exemplary virtues, that the youthful Agis committed the fewest errors, and that in achievement and courage Caius fell far short of Cleomenes.

## PHILOPOEMEN

## ФІАОПОІМНN

## 

 $\kappa a i ̀ \delta \nu \nu \eta \theta \epsilon i ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu, \tau v \chi \eta \eta$







 «̀ $\chi \hat{\eta} \varsigma \pi \lambda a ́ \sigma \iota \nu \kappa a i ̀ ~ a \nu ้ \xi \eta \sigma \iota \nu \lambda a \mu \beta a ́ \nu o \nu \tau o s . \quad \eta ้ \delta \eta \delta \grave{\epsilon}$


 үєуоро́тєя каї ф८лобофíà $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \tau \omega ิ \nu ~ к а \Theta ' ~$ є́avтоѝs є̇ $\pi \grave{\imath} \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon i ́ a \nu ~ \kappa а і ̀ ~ \pi \rho a ́ \xi \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ \pi \rho о a \gamma a \gamma o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon s . ~$





## PHILOPOEMEN

I. Cleander was a man of the highest lineage and greatest influence among the citizens of Mantineia, but he met with reverses and was exiled from his native city. He then betook himself to Megalopolis, chiefly because of Craugis, the father of Philopoemen, a man in every way illustrious, and attached to him by ties of personal friendship. As long as Craugis lived, Cleander's wants were all supplied, and when Craugis died, Cleander, wishing to requite him for his hospitality, undertook the rearing of his orphan son, just as Homer says that Achilles was reared by Phoenix, ${ }^{1}$ so that the boy's character took on from the very outset a noble and kingly mould and growth. But as soon as Philopoemen had ceased to be a boy, Ecdemus and Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, were put in charge of him. ${ }^{2}$ They had been comrades of Arcesilaüs at the Academy, and beyond all men of their day had brought philosophy to bear upon political action and affairs of state. They freed their own native city from tyranny, by secretly procuring men to kill Aristodemus; they joined with Aratus in expelling Nicocles the tyrant of Sicyon; ${ }^{3}$ and at the request of the people of Cyrene, whose city was full
${ }^{1}$ Cf. Iliad, ix. 438 ff .
$2^{2}$ A brief biography of Philopoemen may be found in Pausanias, viii. 49-51. It agrees, in the main, with that of Plutarch. Philopoemen was born about 252 в.о.
${ }^{3}$ See the Aratus, ii.-x.

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$\delta \epsilon \eta \theta \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \iota, \tau \epsilon \tau a \rho a \gamma \mu \in ́ \nu \omega \nu$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu$ катà $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu \kappa а \grave{\iota}$











 $\nu о \mu i \zeta o v \sigma \iota \nu \cdot ~ \epsilon i \kappa o ̛ v a ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ a u ̉ \tau o ̂ ̂ ~ \delta ı a \mu e ́ v o v \sigma a \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~$
 aै $\gamma \nu o \iota a \nu ~ \sigma \nu \mu \beta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota ~ \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota ~ \delta i ̀ ~ \epsilon v ̉ к о \lambda i ́ a \nu ~ \tau \iota \nu a ̀ ~ к а \grave{~}$
 aủтoùs тòv $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o ̀ \nu ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{A} \chi a \iota \omega \bar{\nu}$ є่ $\theta o \rho v \beta \epsilon i ̂ \tau o$





 $\xi \in ́ \nu o s ~ є ̇ \pi \epsilon \iota \sigma \epsilon \lambda \theta \grave{\omega} \nu$ каi $\theta \epsilon a \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s, ~ " T i ́ ~ \tau о \hat{\tau} \tau о$,"

 3 тov̂ $\delta$ è ă $\lambda \lambda o v \sigma \omega ́ \mu a \tau o s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \phi \cup \cup \sigma \iota \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \sigma \kappa \omega ́ \pi \tau \omega \nu ~ o ́ ~$

## PHILOPOEMEN, I. 3-II. 3

of confusion and political distemper, they sailed thither, introduced law and order, and arranged matters in the city most happily. They themselves, however, counted the education of Philopoemen also among their many achievements, believing that their philosophical teachings had made him a common benefit to Greece. For since he was the child, as it were, of her late old age and succeeded to the virtues of her ancient commanders, Greece loved him surpassingly, and as his reputation grew, increased his power. And a certain Roman, in praising him, called him the last of the Greeks, ${ }^{1}$ implying that Greece produced no great man after him, nor one worthy of her.
II. In looks he was not, as some suppose, illfavoured; for a statue of him is still to be seen at Delphi ; and the mistake of his Megarian hostess was due, as we are told, to a certain indifference and simplicity on his part. This woman, learning that the general of the Achaeans was coming to her house, in great confusion set about preparing supper; besides, her husband chanced to be away from home. Just then Philopoemen came in, wearing a simple soldier's cloak, and the woman, thinking him to be one of his servants who had been sent on in advance, invited him to help her in her housework. So Philopoemen at once threw off his cloak and fell to splitting wood. Then his host came in, and seeing him thus employed, said: "What does this mean, Philopoemen?" "What else," said Philopoemen in broad Doric, "than that I am paying a penalty for my ill looks?" And once Titus Flamininus, making fun of certain parts of his
${ }^{1}$ See the Aratus, xxiv. 2.

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 $\epsilon \epsilon \kappa \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \epsilon ́ \sigma \omega \nu \quad \sigma \tau \epsilon \nu \omega ́ \tau \epsilon \rho о \varsigma$. тò $\mu \epsilon \in \nu \tau о \iota ~ \sigma \kappa \hat{\omega} \mu \mu a$


 $\sigma \chi o \lambda a i ̂ s ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o \hat{v}$ Фıдотоí $\mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \lambda e ́ \gamma є \tau \alpha \iota$.


















 $\tau \epsilon \pi о \lambda \lambda \hat{\varphi}$ каі $\pi \lambda \eta \sigma \mu о \nu a i ̂ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu \delta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \chi \epsilon ́ \sigma \iota \kappa \alpha i \kappa \iota \nu \eta{ }^{\prime} \sigma \epsilon \sigma \iota$





## PHILOPOEMEN, in. $3^{- \text {-in. }} 3$

figure, said: "Philopoemen, what fine arms and legs thou hast; but belly thou hast not"; for Philopoemen was quite slender at the waist. This piece of fun, however, was aimed the rather at his resources. For though he had excellent men-at-arms and horsemen, he was often at a loss for money. However, these stories are told of Philopoemen in the schools of philosophy.
III. But the love of distinction which marked his character was not altogether free from contentiousness nor devoid of anger; and although he desired to pattern himself most of all after Epaminondas, it was the energy, sagacity, and indifference to money in Epaminondas which he strenuously imitated, while his proneness to anger and contentiousness made him unable to maintain that great leader's mildness, gravity, and urbanity in political disputes, so that he was thought to be endowed with military rather than with civic virtues. For from his very boyhood he was fond of a soldier's life, and readily learned the lessons which were useful for this, such as those in heavyarmed fighting and horsemanship. He was also thought to be a good wrestler, but when some of his friends and directors urged him to take up athletics, he asked them if athletics would not be injurious to his military training. They told him (and it was the truth) that the habit of body and mode of life for athlete and soldier were totally different, and particularly that their diet and training were not the same, since the one required much sleep, continuous surfeit of food, and fixed periods of activity and repose, in order to preserve or improve their condition, which the slightest influence or the least departure from routine is apt to change for the worse; whereas the

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$\pi a ́ \sigma \eta \varsigma ~ a ̀ \nu \omega \mu a \lambda i ́ a s ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \hat{\eta} \kappa о \nu$ єival, $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$

 Єैфиүє тò $\pi \rho \hat{a ̂ \gamma \mu a ~ к а \grave{̀} \kappa а \tau \epsilon \gamma \epsilon ́ \lambda а \sigma \epsilon \nu, ~ \grave{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a} \kappa а \grave{̀}}$

 $\tau \grave{a} \chi \rho \eta \sigma \iota \mu \omega ́ \tau а \tau a \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \omega \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ єis тov̀s à $\nu a \gamma \kappa a i ́ o v s$ à $\bar{\omega} \nu a \varsigma$ à $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \tau a \pi o \iota o \hat{v} \sigma a \nu$.
IV. 'А $\pi a \lambda \lambda a \gamma \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ $\delta \iota \delta a \sigma \kappa \alpha ́ \lambda \omega \nu$ каi $\pi a \iota \delta a-$ $\gamma \omega \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu$ ढ้̇ $\mu$ è $\nu$ тaîs то入८т८каîs $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon i a \iota \varsigma$, às

 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \grave{\epsilon} \kappa \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon v o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$, v̈ $\sigma \tau a \tau o \nu$ ठ̀̀ à $\pi \epsilon \rho \chi \circ \mu \epsilon \in \nu \omega \nu$






 d̀ $\nu a \sigma \tau a ̀ \varsigma ~ \kappa а i ̀ ~ \sigma v \nu \epsilon \phi а \psi a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma ~ є ้ \rho \gamma о v ~ \tau о i ̂ \varsigma ~ a ̀ \mu \pi \epsilon-~$
 каì тєрі̀ тà $\delta \eta \mu$ о́бıa тоîs фìдoıs каì тоîs äp $\chi o v \sigma \iota$ $\sigma \nu \nu \eta \sigma \chi o \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \tau o$.
3 T à $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ oừ $\epsilon \in \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon \iota \omega ิ \nu \pi \rho о \sigma \iota o ́ \nu \tau a \kappa а \tau а \nu-$



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## PHILOPOEMEN, in. 3-iv. 3

soldier ought to be conversant with all sorts of irregularity and all sorts of inequality, and above all should accustom himself to endure lack of food easily, and as easily lack of sleep. On hearing this, Philopoemen not only shunned athletics himself and derided them, but also in later times as a commander banished from the army all forms of them, with every possible mark of reproach and dishonour, on the ground that they rendered useless for the inevitable struggle of battle men who would otherwise be most serviceable.
IV. And when, set free from teachers and tutors, he took part in the incursions into Spartan territory which his fellow-citizens made for the sake of booty and plunder, he accustomed himself to march first as they went out, but last as they came back. And when he had leisure, he would give his body hard exercise in hunting, thus rendering it agile and at the same time sturdy, or in cultivating the soil. For he had a fine farm twenty furlongs from the city. To this he would go every day after dinner or after supper, and would throw himself down upon an ordinary pallet-bed, like anyone of his labourers, to sleep for the night. Then, early in the morning, he would rise and go to work along with his vine-dressers or his herdsmen, after which he would go back again to the city and busy himself about public matters with his friends or with the magistrates.

As for what he got from his campaigning, he used to spend it on horses, or armour, or the ransoming of captives; but his own property he sought to increase by agriculture, which is the justest way to make money. Nor did he practise agriculture merely as a side issue, but he held that the man who purposed to

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 $4 \pi \rho o ̀ s \dot{\alpha} \rho \epsilon \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{\omega} \phi \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \hat{\sigma} \sigma \theta a \iota$. каі̀ $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{O} \mu \eta \rho \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu$ ö $\sigma \alpha$
 фаутабía૬, тои́тоıऽ $\pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \hat{\imath} \chi \epsilon . \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta^{\prime}$ aै $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ ảva-







 каі $\pi \epsilon \delta i ́ \omega \nu$ àтокота́я, каì ӧба $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\rho} \epsilon i \theta \rho о \iota s$ ท̀ та́фро८s $\hat{\eta} \sigma \tau \epsilon \nu \omega \pi о i ̂ s ~ \pi a ́ \theta \eta ~ к а i ̀ ~ \sigma \chi \eta ́ \mu а т а ~ \delta ı а \sigma \pi \omega-~$

 6 тоîs $\mu \epsilon \theta^{\prime}$ є́avто̂̀ $\pi \rho \circ \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu$. єैоוкє үà oủtos
 тоîs $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa о i ̂ s, \kappa а i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \mu о \nu ~ \dot{s ~ \pi о \iota к \iota \lambda \omega-~}$

 $\kappa \tau \omega \nu$.




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keep his hands from the property of others ought by all means to have property of his own. He also listened to the discourses and applied himself to the writings of philosophers--not all of them, but those whom he thought helpful to him in his progress towards virtue. And as for the poems of Homer, whatever in them was thought by him to rouse and stimulate the activities of the soul which made for valour, to this he would apply himself. Among other writings, however, he was most of all devoted to the "Tactics" of Evangelus, and was familiar with the histories of Alexander, thinking that literature was conducive to action, unless it were prosecuted merely to while away the time and afford themes for fruitless small talk. Indeed, he would ignore the charts and diagrams for the illustration of tactical principles, and get his proofs and make his studies on the ground itself. The ways in which places slope to meet one another, and level plains come to an abrupt end, and all the vicissitudes and shapes of a phalanx when it is elongated and contracted again in the vicinity of ravines or ditches or narrow defiles, these he would investigate by himself as he wandered about, and discuss them with his companions. For it would seem that he brought more zeal than was necessary to the study of military science, setting his affections on war as affording a most manifold basis for the practice of virtue, and despising as unsuccessful men those who left it to others.
V. He was now thirty years of age, when Cleomenes, King of the Lacedaemonians, suddenly attacked Megalopolis by night, forced the guard, made his way into the city, and occupied the market-place. Philopoemen came to the help of the citizens, but had not

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$\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i o v s$ oن катí $\quad \chi \nu \sigma \epsilon \nu$ є́ $\xi є \lambda a ́ \sigma a \iota$, каíтєр




















 каі та́s тєрi $\sum є \lambda \lambda a \sigma i ́ a \nu$ äкраs каі тàs є́ $\mu \beta о \lambda a s$


 - Ф८入отоí $\eta \nu \nu$, каi тарабта́таs єi $\chi \in \nu$ 'I $\lambda \lambda \nu \rho ю u ́ s$,


[^47]
## PHILOPOEMEN, v. i-vi. i

force enough to drive the enemy out, although he fought with vigour and daring. He did, however, steal the citizens out of the city, as it were, by attacking their pursuers and drawing Cleomenes against himself, so that with the greatest difficulty he got away last of all, after losing his horse and receiving a wound. Moreover, when Cleomenes sent to them at Messene, whither they had gone, and offered to give them back their city with its valuables and their territory, Philopoemen, seeing that the citizens would be glad to accept the offer and were eager to go back home, opposed and dissuaded them from it, showing them that Cleomenes was not so much offering to restore their city as he was trying to win over to himself its citizens, that so he might have the city also more securely in his possession ; for he would not be able, Philopoemen said, to remain there and guard empty houses and walls, but the solitude would force him to abandon these also. By this speech Philopoemen diverted the citizens from their purpose, but furnished Cleomenes with an excuse for devastating and demolishing the greater part of the city and marching off loaded with booty. ${ }^{1}$

Vl. Soon, however, Antigonus the king marched with the Achaeans to give aid against Cleomenes, and finding that his enemy was occupying the heights and passes about Sellasia, he drew up his forces near by with the purpose of attacking him and forcing a passage. ${ }^{2}$ Philopoemen was stationed among the Macedonian cavalry with his own fellow-citizens, ${ }^{3}$ and had as a support the Illyrians, a large body of
${ }^{3}$ According to Polybius, ii. 66. 7, a thousand Achaeans and as many Megalopolitans were stationed with the Macedonian cavalry.

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 $\mu о \nu i o v \varsigma, \kappa a i ̀ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'А $\chi a \iota \hat{\omega} \nu, \tilde{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \tau \epsilon ́ \tau а \kappa \tau о$,


 $\phi \rho о \tau a ́ \tau o v s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \psi \iota \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon ́ \pi \epsilon \mu \psi \epsilon \nu$, ' $\xi^{\prime}$ ó $\pi \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon \nu \tau o i ̂ s$ 'I $\lambda \lambda \nu \rho \iota o i ̂ s ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \pi \epsilon \sigma \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \kappa \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v ́ \sigma a s ~ к а i ̀ ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \pi a ̂ ̀ ~ \epsilon ่ \rho \eta '-~$ $\mu o v s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ i $\pi \pi \epsilon \in \omega \nu$ à $\pi o \lambda \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \iota \mu \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s . ~$




 à入入à $\mu а і \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \delta о к \omega ิ \nu ~ к а т \epsilon ф р о \nu \epsilon i ̂ т о, ~ о и ̉ \delta є ́ \pi ~ т \omega ~$






 av̉тòs $\delta$ è $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \chi \omega \rho i ́ a ~ \sigma к о \lambda \iota a ̀ ~ к а i ~ \mu \epsilon \sigma \tau a ̀ ~ \grave{\rho} \epsilon i ́ \theta \rho \omega \nu$




## PHILOPOEMEN, vi. 2-4

good fighters, who closed up the line of battle. They had been ordered to lie quietly in reserve until, from the other wing, a signal should be made by the king with a scarlet coat stretched upon a spear. But the Illyrians, at the command of their officers, tried to force back the Lacedaemonians, while the Achaeans, as they had been ordered to do, kept quietly waiting at their post. Therefore Eucleidas, the brother of Cleomenes, who noticed the gap thus made in the enemies' line, quickly sent round the most agile of his light-armed troops, with orders to attack the Illyrians in the rear and rout them, now that they had lost touch with the cavalry.

These orders were carried out, and the light-armed troops were driving the Illyrians before them in confusion, when Philopoemen perceived that it would be no great task to attaek the light-armed troops, and that the occasion prompted this step. At first he pointed this out to the king's officers. Then, when they were not to be persuaded by him, but looked down upon him as a madman (since his reputation was not yet great enough to justify his being entrusted with so important a manœuvre), he took matters into his own hands, formed his fellow-citizens into a wedge, and charged upon the enemy. At first the light-armed troops were thrown into confusion, then put to rout with great slaughter. And now Philopoemen, wishing to encourage still fuither the king's troops and bring them swiftly upon the enemy thus thrown into disorder, quitted his hors:, and with grievous difficulty forced his way along on foot, in his horseman's breastplate and heavy equipment, towards ground that was irregular and full of water-courses and ravines. Here he had both his thighs pierced

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 $\tau \hat{\eta} \pi a \rho a \lambda \lambda a ́ \xi \epsilon \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \kappa \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \delta_{\iota a ̀} \mu \epsilon ́ \sigma o v \kappa \lambda a ́ \sigma a \varsigma ~ \tau o ̀$


 $\pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i o v \varsigma, \ddot{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \rho o \theta \nu \mu i a \nu \kappa a i \quad \zeta \hat{\eta} \lambda o \nu$
 ô̂̀ ó 'A $\downarrow \tau i ́ \gamma o \nu o s ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \rho a ̂ т o ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ М а к \epsilon \delta o ́ v \omega \nu, ~$


 кíov $\mathrm{M} \epsilon \gamma а \lambda о \pi о \lambda \iota \tau \iota к о \hat{v} \pi \rho о є \mu \beta a \lambda o ́ \nu \tau о s, ~ у є \lambda$ áбаs









 2 бтратєíà. ка̉кєî $\sigma v \chi \nu o ̀ \nu \chi \rho o ́ \nu о \nu ~ є ́ \gamma \gamma v \mu \nu а \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma ~$
through by a thonged javelin. The wound was not fatal, though severe, and the head of the weapon came out on the other side. At first, then, he was held fast as by a fetter, and was altogether helpless; for the fastening of the thong made it difficult to draw the weapon back through the wound. But since those about him hesitated to attempt this, and since, now that the battle was at its hottest, the ardour of his ambition made him impatient to join in the struggle, by moving his legs backward and forward he broke the shaft of the weapon in two in the middle, and then ordered each fragment to be drawn out separately. Thus set free, he drew bis sword and made his way through the front ranks against the enemy, thereby greatly animating the combatants and inspiring them with a desire to emulate his valour. After his victory, therefore, Antigonus put his Macedonians to the question, and asked them why, without his orders, they had brought the cavalry into action. They defended themselves by saying that they had been forced against their will to attack the enemy, because a young man of Megalopolis had first led a charge against them. At this, Antigonus gave a laugh and said: "Well, then, that young man behaved like a great commander."
VII. This naturally brought Philopoemen into high repute. Antigonus was eager that he should take service under him, and offered him command and pay. These Philopoemen declined, chiefly because he well knew that it was naturally unpleasant and hard for him to be under another man's orders. Not wishing, however, to be inactive and idle, for the sake of training and practice in war he sailed to Crete in search of military service. In Crete he practised

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 סíaıтav, є̇ $\pi a \nu \eta \hat{\lambda} \theta \epsilon \nu$ oúт $\omega$ 入a $\mu \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ ' A \chi a \iota-~$ 3 oùs $\check{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon \epsilon \dot{U} \theta \grave{v} \varsigma ~ i ́ \pi \pi a \rho \chi o s ~ a ̀ \pi o \delta \epsilon \iota \chi \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota$. $\pi a \rho a-$
 є́к то仑 $\pi \rho о \sigma \tau v \chi o ́ \nu \tau о \varsigma$, ő о̋є $\sigma v \mu \beta a i ́ \nu o \iota ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon i ́ a, ~$ $\pi \rho о \sigma \chi \rho \omega \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s, a \dot{\tau} \tau o u ̀ s ~ \delta \grave{e} \tau \grave{a} \varsigma \pi o \lambda \lambda a ̀ s \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \tau \rho a-$

 $\pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ ov̉ $\sigma a \nu, \pi \epsilon \rho \iota o \rho \hat{\nu} \nu \tau a \varsigma \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau a \hat{v} \tau a$ тoùs ảp $\chi o \nu-$
 $i \pi \pi \epsilon i ̂ \varsigma ~ \delta u ́ v a \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \kappa а i ̀ ~ \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ к v \rho i ́ o v s ~ \epsilon i ̀ \nu a \iota ~ \tau \iota \mu \hat{\eta} s$

 $\epsilon \in \pi \grave{\tau} \tau \grave{\nu} \phi \iota \lambda о \tau \iota \mu i ́ a \nu \quad \sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \xi о \rho \mu \hat{\omega} \nu, \kappa \alpha i ̀ \kappa о \lambda a ́ \zeta \omega \nu$ то̀̀s




 $\pi \rho o ́ s ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ к а \tau ' ~ o u ̉ \lambda a \mu o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \sigma \tau \rho о ф a ̀ \varsigma ~ к а \grave{~} \pi \epsilon \rho \iota-$


 $\tau o v ̂ \sigma v \sigma \tau \eta{ }^{\prime} \mu a \tau o s$ ẻv $\tau a i ̂ \varsigma \mu \epsilon \tau a \beta o \lambda a i ̂ \varsigma ~ \epsilon \dot{\cup} \chi \epsilon ́ \rho \epsilon \iota a \nu$.
 тотанòv í $\chi$ vрâs $\mu a ́ \chi \eta s ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ A i \tau \omega \lambda о u ̀ s ~ к а i ̀ ~$


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himself for a long time among men who were not only warlike and versed in many kinds of warfare, but also still moderate and restrained in their ways of living, and he came back to the Achaeans with such distinction that they at once made him commander of their cavalry. ${ }^{1}$ but he found that the horsemen whom he was to command used worthless animals acquired at random, whenever a campaign was to be undertaken; that they shirked most campaigns themselves, and sent others out in their places; that they were all characterized by a shocking lack of experience, together with its resultant cowardice ; and that their commanders always overlooked these things because the knights had the greatest power and influence among the Achaeans and the chief voice in the assignment of rewards and punishments. Philopoemen, however, did not yield or give way to them. He went round to the different cities and roused the spirit of ambition in each young man individually, punished those who needed compulsion, introduced drills, parades, and competitive contests in places where there would be large bodies of spectators and thus in a short time inspired them all with an astonishing vigour and zeal, and, what is of the greatest importance in tactics, rendered them agile and swift in wheeling and deploying by squadrons, and in wheeling and turning by single trooper, making the dexterity shown by the whole mass in its evolutions to be like that of a single person moved by an impulse from within.

Moreover, in the fierce battle which they fought at the river Larissus against Aetolians and Eleians, the commander of the Eleian cavalry, Damophantus,
${ }^{1}$ For the year 209-208 b.c.

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 àто入є८тó $\mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a}$ каì $\mu a ́ \chi \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \kappa а \grave{\imath} ~ \sigma \tau \rho a-$ т $\eta \boldsymbol{\epsilon}$ і̂ ікаую́татоя．




 $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ ỏ入íq$\omega \nu$ í申íбтабӨa८ каі̀ $\mu \iota \kappa \rho \omega ิ \nu ~ \sigma \omega \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$,
 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi i \pi \pi \tau о \nu \tau a \quad \pi \hat{\eta} \xi \iota \nu$ í $\sigma \chi \rho a ̀ \nu$ каi $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon о ́ т \eta \tau а$





 éavтоús，ề $\sigma \hat{\omega} \mu a \kappa \alpha i ̀ \mu i ́ a \nu ~ \delta u ́ v a \mu \iota \nu ~ к а т а \sigma к є v a ́ \sigma a \iota ~$






rode out from the ranks and charged upon Philopoemen. But Philopoemen received his onset, was first to drive home a spear-thrust, and threw Damophantus to the ground. Their leader fallen, the enemy at once took to flight, and Philopoemen was in high renown, as one who yielded to none of the young men in personal prowess, and to none of the elder men in sagacity, but both in fighting and in commanding was most capable.
VIII. The commonwealth of the Achaeans was first raised to dignity and power by Aratus, who consolidated it when it was feeble and disrupted, and inaugurated an Hellenic and humane form of government. Then, just as in running waters, after a few small particles have begun to take a fixed position, others presently are swept against the first, adhere and cling to them, and thus form a fixed and solid mass by mutual support, so the Achaeans, at a time when Greece was weak and easily dissolved and drifting along by individual cities, first united themselves together, and then, by receiving into their number some of the cities round about which they had aided and assisted in shaking off their tyrants, and by uniting others with themselves in a harmonious civil polity, they purposed to form the Peloponnesus into a single political body and one power. As long, however, as Aratus lived, they were dependent for the most part on Macedonian armies, paying court to Ptolemy, and then again to Antigonus and Philip, all of whom busied themselves in the affairs of Greece. But when Philopoemen was advanced to leadership among them, ${ }^{1}$ they were at last capable of contending
${ }^{1}$ In 207 в.о. ; Aratus had died in 213.

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 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ үáp, ả $\rho \gamma o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho о s$ єival ठок $\omega \bar{\nu} \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \pi о \lambda \epsilon-~$







 $\pi \lambda \epsilon i ́ \sigma \tau o \iota s a \dot{a} \gamma \omega \bar{\omega} \iota$.
 тoùs ó $\pi \lambda \iota \sigma \mu o u ̀ s ~ \phi a u ́ \lambda \omega s ~ e ́ \chi o \nu \tau a ~ \tau o i ̂ s ~ ' A \chi a \iota o i ̂ s ~$










 $\lambda a \beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$ каì $\sigma a ́ \rho \iota \sigma a \nu, \kappa \rho a ́ \nu \epsilon \sigma \iota ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \kappa а i ̀ ~ \theta \omega ́ \rho а \xi \iota ~ к а і ~$

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alone with their most powerful neighbours, and ceased to rely upon foreign protectors. Aratus, indeed, who was thought to be too sluggish for warlike contests, accomplished most of his undertakings by conference, urbanity, and royal friendships, as I have written in his Life; ${ }^{1}$ whereas Philopoemen, who was a good warrior and effective with his weapons, besides proving himself fortunate and successful in his very first battles, increased not only the power but also the courage of the Achaeans, who were accustomed to be victorious under him and to win success in most of their contests.
IX. In the first place, however, he changed the faulty practice of the Achaeans in drawing up and arming their soldiers. For they used bucklers which were easily carried because they were so light, and yet were too narrow to protect the body; and spears which were much shorter than the Macedonian pike. For this reason they were effective in fighting at a long distance, because they were so lightly armed, but when they came to close quarters with the enemy they were at a disadvantage. Moreover, a division of line and formation into cohorts was not customary with them, and since they employed a solid phalanx without either levelled line of spears or wall of interlocking shields such as the Macedonian phalanx presented, they were easily dislodged and scattered. Philopoemen showed them all this, and persuaded them to adopt long pike and heavy shield instead of spear and buckler, to protect their bodies with helmets and breastplates and greaves, and to practise stationary and steadfast fighting instead of the nimble movements of light-armed troops. After

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 $\tau \grave{\varrho} \tau \tau \cup \phi a ̀ \varsigma ~ a v ̇ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa a i$ тàs $\pi о \lambda v \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon i ́ a \varsigma ~ a ̈ \rho \iota \sigma \tau a$

 є́ $\sigma \hat{\eta} \tau a \varsigma \dot{a} \gamma a \pi \dot{\omega} \nu \tau \omega \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \tau \tau \grave{a} \varsigma \sigma \tau \rho \omega \mu \nu a ́ s \tau \epsilon \beta a \pi \tau o-$


 $\phi \iota \lambda о к о \sigma \mu i a \nu, \tau a \chi \grave{v} \pi a ́ \nu \tau a s$ ё $\pi \epsilon \iota \sigma \epsilon \kappa а i ̀ \pi a \rho \omega ́ \rho \mu \eta \sigma \epsilon$

 5 aîs $\delta \iota a \pi \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon \hat{\imath} \mathrm{~s}$ ópâ $\sigma \theta a \iota$ кєкоб $\mu \eta \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s . ~ \hat{\eta} \nu$ ơ̂̀


 $\sigma \tau a ́ \delta \iota a \pi \omega \prime \lambda \omega \nu \delta a \mu a \zeta о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \kappa a i ̀ \nu \epsilon a \nu i ́ \sigma \kappa \omega \nu$ óт $\pi$ о-

 $\kappa \hat{\nu} \nu \kappa а \grave{\imath} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota \omega \tau \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \chi \lambda a \mu v ́ \delta \omega \nu \delta \iota \eta \nu \theta \iota \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$.
6 ì $\delta ’$ oै $\psi \iota s$ аür $\eta$ тò $\theta a ́ \rho \sigma o s ~ a u ̈ \xi о v \sigma a ~ к а і ~ т а р а к а-~$


 $\mu а \lambda а к і ́ a \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \nu \delta i ́ \delta \omega \sigma \iota ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \chi \rho \omega \mu \epsilon ́ v o \iota s, ~ \omega ̈ \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho ~ i ́ v o ̀ ~$

 каї $\mu \epsilon \gamma а \lambda$ úvєє тòv $\theta \nu \mu o ́ \nu, ~ \ddot{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ " $\mathrm{O} \mu \eta \rho о$ є́ єоі́ $\eta \sigma \epsilon$ тò ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{A} \chi \iota \lambda \lambda \in ́ a ́ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa \alpha \iota \nu \omega \nu \nu$ ö $\pi \lambda \omega \nu \pi a \rho a \tau \epsilon \theta \in ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$
he had persuaded those of military age to arm themselves in this manner, in the first place he inspired them with confidence that they had thus become invincible, and then made most excellent reforms in their luxurious and extravagant ways of living. For it was not possible to remove altogether their empty and idle emulation from a people long addicted to it. They were fond of costly apparel, the coverings of their couches were dyed purple, and they vied with one another in banquets and table array. But he made a beginning by diverting their love of show from what was unnecessary to what was serviceable and honourable, and speedily persuaded and incited them all to check their daily expenditures upon bodily wants, and to find their chief adornment in military and warlike equipments. And so one might have seen the workshops filled with goblets and Therycleian plate ${ }^{1}$ which were being broken up, with breastplates being gilded, with shields and bridles being silvered over, while in the places of exercise colts were being broken in and young men were learning the use of heavy armour, and in the hands of women there were helmets and plumes for dyeing, and horsemen's tunics or soldiers' cloaks for embroidering. The sight of all this increased men's courage, called forth their energies, and made them venturesome and ready to incur dangers. For extravagance in other objects of display induces luxury and implants effeminacy in those who use them, since something like a pricking and tickling of the senses breaks down serious purpose; but when it is seen in the trappings of war it strengthens and exalts the spirit, just as Homer represented Achilles, when his
${ }^{1}$ See the Aemilius Paulus, xxxiii. 2.

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 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \delta \iota$ av̉т $\hat{\omega} \nu$ є่ ยє́ $\rho \gamma \epsilon \iota a \nu$.


 クुүатâто äӨраvбтóv ть $\lambda a \mu \beta a ́ \nu \epsilon \iota \nu ~ \pi и ́ к \nu \omega \mu a ~ \delta о-~$

 $\kappa a ́ \lambda \lambda о \varsigma ~ a ́ \pi \tau о \mu \in ́ \nu \omega \nu ~ к а i ̀ ~ ф о \rho о и ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu, ~ \grave{\epsilon} \nu a \gamma \omega \nu i ́ \sigma a \sigma \partial a i ́$
 тoùs $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu i ́ o u s$.








 тоîs $\xi^{\prime} \nu 0 \iota \varsigma ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'A $\chi a \iota \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \rho о \tau \epsilon \tau a \gamma \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v \varsigma$
 то̂̂ $\chi \omega \rho \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ \epsilon u ̛ \theta u ̀ s ~ \epsilon ́ \pi i ̀ ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \mu a \chi o \mu e ́ \nu o u s ~ к а i ̀ ~$



 $\dot{a} \pi о \lambda \omega \lambda \epsilon ́ \nu a \iota ~ \kappa о \mu \iota \delta \hat{̣}$ каi $\delta \iota \epsilon \phi \theta a ́ \rho \theta a \iota ~ \delta о к о v ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \nu$,
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new armour was laid down near him, as exulting at the sight and all on fire to get to work with it. ${ }^{1}$

After he had thus arrayed and adorned the young men, Philopoemen exercised and drilled them, and they eagerly and emulously obeyed his instructions. For the new order of battle pleased them wonderfully, since it seemed to secure a close array that could not be broken; and the armour which they used became light and manageable for them, since they wore or grasped it with delight because of its beauty and splendour, and wished to get into action with it and fight a decisive battle with their enemies as soon as possible.
X. At this time the Achaeans were carrying on war with Machanidas the tyrant of Sparta, who, relying upon his large and strong forces, was scheming to get control of the whole Peloponnesus. Accordingly, when word came that the tyrant had invaded the territory of Mantincia, Philopoemen quickly led his army out against him. They drew up in battle array near the city, both parties having many mercenaries and almost all their citizen soldiery. When battle was joined, Machanidas with his mercenaries routed the javelineers and Tarantines who had been stationed in front of the Achaean line, and then, instead of advancing directly against the main body of the enemy and breaking up their close array, he dashed off in pursuit of the fugitives, and so passed by the phalanx of the Achaeans, which remained drawn up in position. Then Philopoemen, although so great a disaster had occurred at the outset and his cause was thought to be utterly lost and ruined, professed to ignore and make light of it, and seeing what

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{ }^{1} \text { Iliad, xix. } 15 \mathrm{ff} \text {. }
$$

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 4 фєújovtas, à $\lambda \lambda$ ' є́á $\sigma a s ~ \pi a \rho є \lambda \theta \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ к а i ̀ ~ \delta \iota a ́ \sigma т ~ т a \sigma \mu a ~$


 $\beta a \lambda \epsilon$, $\mu \dot{\eta} \tau \epsilon$ á $\rho \chi o \nu \tau o s$ aủtoîs $\pi \alpha \rho o ́ v \tau o s ~ \mu \eta ́ \tau \epsilon ~$








 oै $\downarrow \iota$ ờ $\chi \dot{\omega}$ s $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu \mu a \chi o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda$ ’ $\omega \sigma \pi \tau \rho$



 $\mu \eta \sigma \epsilon \tau \mathfrak{\eta} \delta_{\iota} \alpha \beta a ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota$, каі $\pi \rho о \sigma \beta a \lambda \omega ̀ \nu \tau \mathfrak{\eta}$ та́фрю тò



 aỉ $\mu a ̀ \varsigma \kappa \lambda i ́ \nu a \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu a \nu \tau i ́ a s . ~ \phi \theta a ́ v \epsilon \iota ~ \delta e ̀ ~ a u ̀ t o ̀ ̀ s ~ o ́ ~$


a great mistake the enemy had made by going off in pursuit, thus breaking away from his phalanx and leaving a vacant space there, did not oppose or resist their chase after the fugitives, but let them pass him by and make a great gap. Then he led straight against the Lacedaemonian heavy-armed, seeing that their phalanx had been left exposed, and fell upon them in a flank attack, while their commander was away and they were not expecting to fight; for they thought they were victorious and getting the upper hand altogether, since they saw Machanidas pursuing. After Philopoemen had routed these with great slaughter (more than four thousand of them are said to have fallen), he set out against Machanidas, who was returning with his mercenaries from the pursuit. But a broad and deep ditch stretched between them, along which the two leaders rode opposite each other, one wishing to get across and escape, the other to prevent this. The spectacle was not that of two commanders fighting, but that of a powerful hunter attacking a wild beast that has been forced to turn at bay, and Philopoemen was the hunter. And now the tyrant's horse, which was vigorous and high-spirited and felt the bloody spurs in his sides, essayed to make the leap across, and striking against the edge of the ditch with his breast, was struggling with his fore-feet to extricate himself. At this point Simmias and Polyaenus, who were always at Philopoemen's side when he was fighting and protected him with their shields, rode up both at the same time and levelled their spears at the horse. But Philopoemen was before them in attacking Machanidas, and seeing that the tyrant's horse was lifting its head up in front of its rider's body, he

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 8 тòv ă $\nu \delta \rho a \quad \sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \epsilon i ́ \sigma a s$. тои̂то ${ }^{\epsilon} \chi \omega \nu$ тò $\sigma \chi \hat{\eta} \mu a$
 Өav $\mu \alpha \sigma a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a \kappa a i ~ \tau \eta ̀ \nu ~ \pi \rho \hat{a} \xi \iota \nu$ av่то̂̂ каì

XI. $\Lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \tau a \iota ~ \delta \grave{~} \tau \eta \hat{\eta}$ т $\hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{N} \epsilon \mu \epsilon i \omega \nu \pi a \nu \eta \gamma u ́ \rho \epsilon \omega \varsigma$














 Tı $\mu$ о白о́о Пє́ $\rho \sigma a \varsigma$ є̇̀á $\rho \xi a \sigma \theta a \iota$
 ко́б $\mu о \nu$.
 $\pi о i ́ \eta \sigma \iota \nu$ ö $\gamma к о \nu \quad \sigma \nu \mu \pi \rho \epsilon ́ \psi а \nu \tau о s ~ є ่ \pi i ́ \beta \lambda \epsilon \psi \iota \nu ~ \gamma є \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota$
 $\kappa \rho o ́ \tau o \nu ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \chi a \rho a ̂ \varsigma, \tau \omega \nu \nu$ ' $\mathrm{E} \lambda \lambda \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu \omega \nu$ тò тa入aiò
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gave his own horse a little swerve to one side, and then, clasping his spear firmly in the middle, pushed it home with all his weight and overturned his enemy. This is the attitude in which he is represented by a bronze statue set up at Delphi by the Achaeans, who admired especially both his deed of prowess and his generalship on that day.
XI. Moreover, we are told that at the celebration of the Nemean games, ${ }^{1}$ when he was general of the Achaeans for the second time and had recently won his victory at Mantineia, ${ }^{2}$ but was at leisure the while on account of the festival, Philopoemen in the first place displayed before the assembled Greeks his phalanx, with its splendid array, and performing its tactical evolutions, as it was wont to do, with speed and vigour. Then, while the minstrels were contending for the prize, he came into the theatre with his young men. They wore their soldiers' cloaks and their purple tunics, were all in the prime of their strength and of the same age, and showed not only great respect for their commander, but also that high spirit which young men have after many honourable contests. And just as they made their entrance it chanced that Pylades the minstrel was chanting the opening verse of the Persians of Timotheus-
> " Glorious the crown of freedom which he fashioneth for Hellas";

whereupon, as the splendid voice of the singer fitly sustained the majesty of the poet's words, all the spectators turned their eyes upon Philopoemen and gave him glad applause; for in their hopes the
${ }^{1}$ In the summer of 205 в.c.
2 In the spring of 206 в.c.

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XII. Парà $\delta \grave{\varepsilon} \tau a ̀ \varsigma ~ \mu a ́ \chi a \varsigma ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau о u ̀ s ~ к \iota \nu \delta u ́ v o v s, ~$ $\tilde{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ oi $\pi \hat{\omega} \lambda о \iota$ тoùs $\sigma v \nu \eta \eta^{\theta} \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \beta a ́ t a s ~ \pi о-~$



 ク้̉ $\delta \iota a ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \theta a \rho \rho є i ̂ \nu, ~ a ̈ \tau є ~ \delta \grave{\eta}$ каї тоѝs є̇vaขтíous










 $\pi \rho о \sigma \pi \epsilon \sigma o ́ \nu \tau o s$ aủzoîs, òs oủk $\hat{\eta} \nu \dot{a} \lambda \eta \theta \hat{\eta}$ 's, Фı入o-








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 ${ }^{1} \gamma \iota \nu o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ Bekker after Coraës : $\gamma \epsilon \nu 0 \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$.

Greeks were recovering their ancient dignity, and in their courage they were making the nearest s.pproach to the high spirit of their fathers.
XII. But when it came to perils and battles, just as young horses long for their accustomed riders, and if they have others on their backs, are shy and wild, so the Achaean army, when someone other than Philopoemen was commander-in-chief, ${ }^{1}$ would be out of heart, would keep looking eagerly for him, and if he but came in sight, would at once be alert and efficient because of the courage he inspired. For they perceived that he was the one general whom their enemies were unable to face, and whose name and fame they feared, as was evident from what they did. For Philip the king of Macedon, thinking that if Philopoemen could be got out of the way the Achaeans would again submit abjectly to his sway, secretly sent men to Argos who were to assassinate him; but the plot became known, and Philip was atterly condemned and hated among the Greeks. Again, the Boeotians were besieging Megara and had hopes of its speedy capture, when suddenly a report reached their ears (and it was a false report) that Philopoemen was coming to the aid of the besieged and was close at hand; so they abandoned their scaling-ladders, which were already planted against the walls of the city, and fled away. And once again, when Nabis, who succeeded Machanidas as tyrant of Sparta, suddenly seized Messene, it chanced that Philopoemen was out of office and had no force under his command; but since Lysippus, the commander-in-chief of the Achaeans, could not be persuaded by him to go to the rescue of the

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 $\chi \in \iota \rho о т о \nu i ́ a \nu ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \mu \epsilon i \nu a \nu \tau a s, a ̉ \lambda \lambda ’$ ís $\delta \iota a ̀ ~ \pi a \nu \tau o ̀ s ~$

 oủ $\chi \dot{v} \pi \epsilon \in \sigma \tau \eta$, каím $\epsilon \rho$ є้̇ $\tau \hat{\eta}$ тó $\lambda \epsilon \iota ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau о \pi \epsilon \delta \epsilon \dot{v} \omega \nu$, à $\lambda \lambda$ ’ $\dot{\iota} \pi \epsilon \kappa \delta \grave{v} \varsigma ~ \delta ı a ̀ ~ \pi v \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu ~ є ́ \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \nu ~ \kappa а \tau a ̀ ~ \tau a ́ \chi o s ~$


XIII. Tâ̂ta $\mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ oûv ка入à то̂̂ Фı入отоípevos.




 $\sigma \nu \nu \tau o ́ \nu \omega \varsigma$ oűt $\omega \varsigma$ є่тод $\epsilon \mu \eta^{\prime} \theta \eta \sigma \alpha \nu \mathrm{M} \epsilon \gamma a \lambda o \pi o \lambda i ̂ \tau \alpha \iota$ $\kappa а т a ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \chi \rho o ́ \nu o \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \kappa \epsilon i ̂ \nu о \nu ~ \tilde{\omega} \sigma \tau \epsilon ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \tau \epsilon i ́ \chi \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu ~$


 $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$ т $\eta \nu \iota \kappa \alpha \hat{\tau} \alpha$ каі $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu$ סıaто́ขтьоя






[^50]Messenians, because, as he said, the city was utterly lost now that the enemy were inside, Philopoemen himself went to their rescue, taking with him his fellow-citizens of Megalopolis, who did not wait for any law or commission, but followed the man whom nature had made superior as though he were always in command. And when Nabis heard that Philopoemen was already close at hand, he did not wait for him to come up, although he was encamped in the city, but stole out by an opposite gate and led his forces off as fast as he could, thinking that he would be fortunate if he should escape; and he did escape, and Messene was set free.
XIII. All these things, then, made for the honour of Philopoemen ; but his going away to Crete again at the request of the Gortynians, who wanted him to be their general in their war, brought calumny upon him, and it was said that when his native city was at war with Nabis, he was away, either to avoid fighting or to show kindness out of all season to others. And yet so continuously were the Megalopolitans under hostile attack all that time that they lived upon their walls and planted their grain in the streets, since their fields were ravaged and the enemy were encamped almost in their gates. Philopoemen, however, was waging war in Crete all that while, and serving as general across the sea, and so afforded his enemies a chance to accuse him of running away from the war at home. But there were some who said that since the Achaeans chose other men as their generals and Philopoemen was without public office, he merely put the leisure which belonged to him at the service of the Gortynians when they

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 ßоv入ó $\mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma, \dot{\omega} \varsigma \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \tau \hat{\varphi} \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{~ П \tau о \lambda \epsilon \mu a i ́ o v ~ \pi о т \grave{\epsilon}}$


 $\phi \iota \lambda o \pi o ́ \nu \omega \varsigma \delta_{\imath a} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ö $\pi \lambda \omega \nu$ тò $\sigma \hat{\omega} \mu a$, "Kaì $\tau i \varsigma$


$4 \mathrm{X} a \lambda \epsilon \pi \omega \hat{\varsigma} \delta^{\prime}$ ov̉ $\nu$ oi $\mathrm{M} \epsilon \gamma а \lambda о \pi о \lambda і ̂ \tau a \iota ~ \phi \epsilon ́ \rho о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$
 ảто $\epsilon \in \nu \circ \hat{\nu} \nu$ av̉тóv' oi $\delta$ ' 'A $\chi a \iota o i ̀ ~ \delta \iota є \kappa \omega ́ \lambda \nu \sigma а \nu ~ ' A \rho i ́-~$ $\sigma \tau \alpha \iota \nu o \nu \pi \epsilon ́ \mu \psi a \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma \epsilon i \varsigma \mathrm{M} \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta \nu \pi{ }^{\prime} \lambda \iota \nu$ бт $\rho a \tau \eta \gamma o ́ \nu$,

 5 є่к $\delta$ є̀ тои́тоv $\pi a \rho о \rho \omega ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \varsigma ~ \dot{v} \pi \grave{o} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \lambda \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ó Ф८лотоі́ $\mu \eta \nu$ ả $\pi \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \epsilon \pi о \lambda \lambda a ̀ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota o \iota \kappa i ́ \delta \omega \nu$

 фаעєр $\hat{\varsigma} \sigma \nu \nu \eta \gamma \omega \nu i \sigma a \tau о$ каі $\sigma \nu \kappa а \tau \epsilon \sigma \tau а \sigma i ́ a \sigma \epsilon \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ $\pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu \epsilon ่ \pi i ̀ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{A} \chi a \iota \omega \bar{\nu}$. $\tau a \hat{v} \tau a \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ ov̉ $\nu$ v̈ $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \circ \nu$.



 $\kappa \lambda \omega \pi \epsilon i ́ a l s ~ \tau \epsilon \kappa а i ̀ ~ \lambda о \chi \iota \sigma \mu о i ̂ s ~ \chi \rho \omega ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \epsilon ่ \pi ’$ aùtoùs 290
asked him to be their leader. For he was averse to inactivity, and wished to keep his skill as a commander in war, like any other possession, all the while in use and exercise. And he made this evident by what he once said about King Ptolemy. When certain persons were extolling that monarch because he carefully drilled his army day by day, and carefully and laboriously exercised himself in arms, "And yet who," said Philopoemen, "can admire a king of his years for always practising but never performing anything?"

The Megalopolitans, nevertheless, were displeased at this absence, and looking upon it in the light of a betrayal, undertook to make him an exile; but the Achaeans prevented this by sending to Megalopolis Aristaenus, their commander-in-chief, who, although politically at variance with Philopoemen, would not suffer sentence of condemnation to be passed upon him. In consequence of this displeasure, Philopoemen was ignored by his fellow-citizens, and therefore induced many of their outlying villages to secede from them, instructing them to say that they did not belong to the city and were not under their rule; and when they made this plea, he openly supported them in their contention and helped them to raise a faction against the city in the assembly of the Achaeans. This, however, was at a later time.

In Crete he waged war in the service of the Gortynians; not the straightforward and honourable warfare of a Peloponnesian and Arcadian, but one in which he adopted the Cretan practices, and turning their tricks and wiles and stolen marches and ambuscades against themselves, speedily showed them

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 $\kappa а т а \pi \epsilon \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \eta \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o \nu, ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \mathrm{~N} a ́ \beta \iota \nu$ ن́тò т $\hat{\omega} \nu$



 2 ка́кьо⿱ ả $\gamma \omega \nu \iota \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma . \quad \pi \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{E} \pi a \mu \epsilon \iota \nu \omega ́ \nu \delta a \nu \mu$ ѐ̀





 סıà $\theta a \lambda a ́ \tau \tau \eta \varsigma ~ \grave{a} \rho \kappa \epsilon ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu ~ a u ̉ \tau \hat{\omega}$ т $\rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ к а \lambda \hat{\omega} \varsigma$









[^51]that they were children opposing foolish and vain mischievousness to genuine military experience.
XIV. Having thus won admiration, and having come back to Peloponnesus with a brilliant reputation from his exploits in Crete, he found that Philip had been defeated and subdued by Titus Flamininus, ${ }^{1}$ and that the Achaeans and the Romans were waging war upon Nabis. He was at once chosen general against Nabis, and by lazarding the issue on a naval battle would seem to have fared as Epaminondas once did, since he fought on the sea in a manner which fell far short of his great reputation. Epaminondas, however, as some say, was reluctant to give his fellow-citizens a taste of the advantages accruing from naval superiority, in order that they might not surprise him by becoming, instead of " steadfast hoplites," to use Plato's words, ${ }^{2}$ degenerate mariners; and therefore he purposely came back from Asia and the islands without achieving anything. ${ }^{3}$ Philopoemen, on the other hand, was persuaded that his skill in handling land forces would suffice to give him success in fighting also on the sea, and therefore learned to his cost how large a part of superior excellence consists in practice, and how much additional power it gives to men who have accustomed themselves to all methods of fighting. For not only was he worsted in the sea-fight, owing to his lack of experience, but he actually launched an old but famous ship after forty years of disuse, and manned her, the result being that her seams took in water and her crew came into peril of their lives.
${ }^{2}$ Laves, iv. p. 706. Cf. the Themistocles, iv. 3.
${ }^{3}$ In 364 b.c., two years before his death, Epaminondas successfully inaugurated a naval policy for Thebes, which enabled her to cope with Athens on the sea.

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 є่к $\beta \iota \beta$ с́бая тоѝs $\sigma \tau \rho а \tau \iota \omega ́ \tau а \varsigma ~ к а і ~ \pi \rho о \sigma а \gamma а \gamma \omega ́ \nu, ~$



 'A $\chi a \iota o u ̀ s ~ a ̀ \nu \epsilon ́ \lambda \pi \iota \sigma \tau o \nu ~ \grave{\gamma} \gamma o v \mu \epsilon ́ v o v s ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu} \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho i ́ a \nu$

 $\lambda a \beta \grave{\omega} \nu$ oै $\psi \in \iota \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \tau o \hat{v} \chi \omega \rho i ́ o v$ фú $\sigma \iota \nu$ є̇ $\pi \epsilon \in \epsilon \iota \xi \epsilon \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$


 ठıєкрои́бато т $̀ \nu$ àторíà, каі̀ $\pi \rho о \sigma \beta a \lambda \grave{\omega} \nu$ тоîs



 $\phi a \rho a ́ \gamma \gamma \omega \nu), \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \mu \grave{\nu} \nu \delta i ́ \omega \xi \iota \nu$ є̇ $\pi \epsilon \in \sigma \chi \in \kappa а \grave{~ \kappa а т є \sigma \tau \tau \rho a-~}$


 $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{~ \tau o ̀ ~ a ̈ \sigma \tau v ~ \rho ́ \epsilon i ́ \theta \rho o \iota s ~ к а i ̀ ~ \lambda o ́ \phi o \iota s ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda о и ̀ s ~ e ́ \chi o \nu \tau а s ~}$



Understanding that in consequence of this disaster his enemies despised him, thinking that he had altogether given up activity on the sea, and that they were insolently besieging Gythium, he promptly sailed against them when they did not expect it and were careless because of their victory. He landed his soldiers by night and led them to the attack, set fire to the enemy's tents, burned down his camp, and slew many of his men. A few days afterward, as he was marching through a rough country, Nabis came suddenly upon him and threw the Achaeans into a fright; they despaired of saving themselves from a position which was difficult and already commanded by the enemy. But Philopoemen waited a little while, surveyed the nature of the ground, and then demonstrated that skill in drawing up an army is the crowning feature in the art of war. For by changing his order of battle a little and adapting it to the present exigency, with no confusion and no trouble he evaded the difficulty, and charging upon the enemy put them to utter rout. Then, observing that they were not fleeing towards the city, but scattering themselves hither and thither through the region (which was woody, entirely surrounded by hills, and impracticable for cavalry owing to watercourses and ravines), he checked his pursuit and encamped while it was still light. But judging that the enemy after their flight would steal back to the city by ones and twos under cover of the night, he placed large numbers of his Achaeans armed with swords in ambush among the water-courses and hills about the city. Here very many of the followers of Nabis met their death; for since they did not make

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 бтоьs ai фuүai $\sigma v \nu \epsilon \tau v ́ \gamma \chi a \nu o \nu, ~ \ddot{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ őp $\rho \iota \theta \epsilon s$
 $\chi є i ̂ \rho a s ~ к а т а i ́ \rho о д т є s . ~$



 $\theta a v \mu a ́ \zeta \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \mu a ̂ \lambda \lambda o \nu ~ \dot{v} \pi \grave{o} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'А $\chi a \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$, каì таîs $\epsilon \dot{v} \epsilon \rho \gamma \epsilon \sigma$ ía८ৎ $\dot{v} \pi \epsilon \rho \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu$ oủ тарà $\mu \iota \kappa \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \grave{\eta} \gamma \epsilon i ̂ \tau o$,


2 'Ек ס̀̀ тои́тои ката入и́єтаו $\mu є ̀ \nu ~ o ́ ~ T i ́ t o s ~ \tau \hat{̣ ̂}$


 $\pi i ́ \pi \tau \epsilon \iota \mu \epsilon \tau a ̀$ §vvá $\mu \epsilon \omega \varsigma$, каì т $\hat{\nu} \nu \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ ảкóvт $\omega \nu$, то̀̀s ס̀̀ $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \epsilon i ́ \sigma a \varsigma ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \eta \gamma a ́ \gamma є \tau о ~ к а і ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \epsilon к о ́ \mu \iota \sigma є \nu ~ \epsilon i \varsigma ~$
 $\sigma \tau \hat{\varsigma} \varsigma \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ єủסокí $\eta \sigma \epsilon$ тарà тoîs 'A $\chi a \iota o i ̂ s, ~ \pi \rho о \sigma-~$







[^52]their return in a body, but as the chances of fight disposed them severally, they fell into the hands of their enemies and were caught like birds about the city.
XV. In consequence of this exploit Philopoemen was beloved by the Greeks and conspicuously honoured by them in their theatres, thus giving secret umbrage to Titus Flamininus, who was an ambitious man. For as Roman consul he thought himself more worthy of the Achaeans' admiration than a man of Arcadia, and he considered that his benefactions far exceeded those of Philopoemen, since by a single proclamation he had set free all those parts of Greece which had been subject to Philip and the Macedonians. ${ }^{1}$

After this Flamininus made peace with Nabis, ${ }^{2}$ and Nabis was treacherously put to death by the Aetolians. ${ }^{3}$ Sparta was therefore in a state of confusion, and Philopoemen, seizing his opportunity, fell upon the city with an armed force, and partly by compulsion, partly by persuasion, brought it over to his purposes and made it a member of the Achaean league. This achievement brought him an amazing repute among the Achaeans, since through his efforts they had acquired a city of so great dignity and power (and indeed it was no slight matter that Sparta had become a member of the Achaean league); moreover, Philopoemen carried with him the principal men among the Spartans, who hoped to have in him a guardian of their liberties. Therefore, after they had confiscated the house and property of Nabis and obtained thereby a

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 $\epsilon i \varsigma \mathrm{M} \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta \nu$ тó $\lambda \iota \nu, \dot{\varepsilon} \sigma \tau \iota a \theta \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \pi a \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \grave{̣}$ Фı入oтoí-

 oủ $\delta a \mu \hat{1} \pi \rho о \sigma \iota \tau o ̀ \nu ~ o u ̉ \delta \epsilon ̀ ~ \epsilon u ̉ a ́ \lambda \omega \tau o \nu ~ i ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \chi \rho \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ $\kappa а \tau а \nu о \eta ́ \sigma a \varsigma, \dot{a} \pi \epsilon \sigma \iota \omega ́ \pi \eta \sigma \epsilon \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath} \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma \delta \omega \rho \epsilon \hat{a} \varsigma, \dot{\epsilon} \tau \epsilon \in \rho a \nu$








 $\dot{\omega \nu \epsilon i ̄ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ к а i ̀ ~ \delta \iota a \phi \theta \epsilon i \rho \epsilon \iota \nu, ~ і ̀ \nu a ~ \tau \hat{̣} \lambda \alpha \beta \epsilon i ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \sigma \tau о-~}$



[^54]hundred and twenty talents, they voted to make a present of the money to Philopoemen, and to send an embassy to Megalopolis on the matter. Here, indeed, it became perfectly clear that Philopoemen not only seemed to be, but actually was, a most excellent man. ${ }^{1}$ For, to begin with, no Spartan was willing to confer with a man of his character about the acceptance of a gift, but they were all so reluctant and afraid to do it that they entrusted the business to a guest-friend of his, Timolaüs. And in the second place, Timolaüs himself, when he came to Megalopolis, having been entertained at the house of Philopoemen, and having learned thoroughly how dignified he was in his converse with others, how simple his ways of living, and how his character was nowhere to be approached and much less easy to be overcome by bribes, held his peace about the gift of money, and after giving some other excuse for his visit to him, went back home. And when he was sent a second time on the same errand, he did as before. On his third visit, however, he at last got so far as to acquaint Philopoemen with the earnest desire of his city. Then Philopoemen, who was pleased by what he heard, went in person to Sparta, and counselled the people there not to try to bribe good men who were their friends, and by whose virtues they could profit without payment of money, but rather to buy up and corrupt the bad men who were ruining the city by their factious conduct in the assembly, to the end that such might have their mouths stopped in consequence of their venality, and so be less annoying to their fellowcitizens; for it was better, he said, to take away freedom of speech from their enemies rather than

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 $\lambda a \mu \pi \rho o ́ s$.
 $\nu \epsilon \omega \tau \epsilon \rho \grave{\zeta} \epsilon \iota \nu$ àкои́баs ó $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o ̀ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ 'А $\chi a \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$
 $\kappa \alpha \theta \iota \sigma \tau \alpha ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \iota \delta_{\iota \epsilon \tau \alpha ́ \rho a \sigma \sigma o \nu}^{\tau \grave{\eta} \nu} \Pi_{\epsilon \lambda о \pi o ́ \nu \nu \eta \sigma o \nu}$,

















 ноvíoıs $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu$ ó Фıлотoí $\mu \eta \nu \tau a ̀ s ~ \mu e ̀ \nu ~ \phi u \gamma a ̀ s ~$


${ }^{1}$ Philopoemen was for the sixth time general in 188 b.c. 300

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from their friends. Such was his splendid spirit in matters of money.
XVI. Soon, however, Diophanes, the general of the Achaean league, hearing that the Lacedaemonians were once more agitating for a change, determined to punish them, and the Lacedaemonians determining upon war, were throwing the Peloponnesus into confusion. Here Philopoemen tried to mollify Diophanes and put a stop to his wrath, showing him what the occasion demanded, and that since King Antiochus and the Romans were hovering about in Greece with armies so great, it behoved the general of the league to pay attention to them, and not to stir up domestic troubles, but even to be somewhat oblivious to the transgressions of his colleagues. Diophanes, however, paid no heed to this advice, but invaded Laconia along with Titus Flamininus, and marched directly upon the city of Sparta. Incensed at this, Philopoemen ventured upon an act which was not lawful, nor even exactly just, but great and prompted by a great spirit. He went on past them into Sparta, and, private man though he was, shut out therefrom both the general of the Achaean league and the Roman consul, put an end to the disorders in the city, and brought the Lacedaemonians back again into the league, as they were at the outset.

At a later time, however, when he had some ground for accusation against the Lacedaemonians, as general of the league ${ }^{1}$ Philopoemen brought back its exiles to the city, and put to death eighty Spartans, according to Polybius, ${ }^{2}$ or according to

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 5 є́ $\mu \pi \iota \pi \lambda a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma \quad \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \Lambda а к \epsilon \delta a \iota \mu о \nu i ́ \omega \nu$ каі тар' á $\xi^{\prime} a \nu \quad \pi \epsilon \pi \rho a \chi o ́ \sigma \iota \nu$ Ł̇ $\pi \epsilon \mu \beta a i ́ \nu \omega \nu$, тò $\pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o \lambda \iota-$




 ขó $\mu o \iota s$ фроขท́бортаs.
6 Tótє $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ oû̀ $\dot{v} \pi o ̀ ~ \sigma v \mu \phi o \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \omega \nu \check{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$











[^56]Aristocrates, three hundred and fifty. He also tore down the walls of the city, and cutting off a large part of its territory, annexed it to Megalopolis; moreover, in the case of those who had been made citizens of Sparta by the tyrants, he removed them all into Achaia, with the exception of three thousand who would not obey him and were unwilling to go away from Sparta. These he sold into slavery, and then, as if in mockery of their fate, erected a portico in Megalopolis with the money which they brought. And now, glutting his anger at the Lacedaemonians and unworthily trampling upon them in their misery, he treated their constitution in the most cruel and most lawless fashion. For he took away and abolished the system of training which Lycurgus had instituted, and compelled their boys and their young men to adopt the Achaean in place of their hereditary discipline, being convinced that while they were under the laws of Lycurgus they would never be humble.

For the time being, then, owing to their great calamities, the Spartans suffered Philopoemen to cut away, as it were, the sinews of their city, and became tractable and submissive; but a while afterwards, ${ }^{1}$ having obtained permission from the Romans, they abandoned the Achaean polity, and resumed and re-established that which had come down from their fathers, so far as was possible after their many misfortunes and great degeneration.
XVII. When the Romans went to war with Antiochus in Greece, ${ }^{2}$ Philopoemen was without command, and seeing that Antiochus himself was sitting idly down in Chalcis and spending his time

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 $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \sigma \iota \pi \lambda a \zeta о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s ~ \kappa а і ̀ ~ \tau \rho v \phi \hat{\omega} \nu \tau а \varsigma$, ${ }^{\eta} \chi \theta \epsilon \tau о ~ \mu \grave{\eta}$ $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu \tau о ́ \tau \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{A} \chi \alpha \iota \omega \hat{\nu}, \kappa \alpha{ }^{\prime} \mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i o \iota s$ ’’ $\lambda \epsilon \gamma \epsilon$










 $\pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ \delta \epsilon ̀ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi \lambda \epsilon i \sigma \tau \omega \nu \delta \iota a \phi \epsilon \rho o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s ~ \tau o v ̀ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu$ $\kappa а \grave{~ \pi} \pi \rho a ́ \tau \tau \epsilon \iota \nu$ í $\chi \chi$ v́ovтas $\dot{u} \nu \tau \iota \sigma \pi a ̂ \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \epsilon \iota \rho a ̂ \tau o ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~$ $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \epsilon \in \lambda \epsilon v \theta \epsilon \rho i ́ a \nu$.
 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ '̇̀ тoîs 'A $\chi a \iota o i ̂ s ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau o \nu, ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ \delta e ̀ ~ ' ~ P \omega \mu a i o v s ~$ áєi $\theta \epsilon \rho a \pi \epsilon v ́ o \nu \tau o s ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ ’ A ~ \chi a ı o u ̀ s ~ \mu \grave{~ o i o \mu e ́ v o v ~}$


 סuбavaб $\chi \tau о \hat{\nu} \nu \tau a \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ ' A ~ \rho i ́ \sigma \tau a \iota \nu o \nu ~ \epsilon i \pi \epsilon i ̂ \nu . ~$


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in a courtship and marriage which were not suited to his years, ${ }^{1}$ while his Syrian troops, in great disorder and without leaders, were wandering about among the cities and living luxuriously, he was distressed because he was not general of the Achaeans at that time, and kept saying that he begrudged the Romans their victory. "For if I had been general," he said, "I would have cut off all these fellows in their taverns." But soon the Romans, after conquering Antiochus, applied themselves more closely to the affairs of Greece. They encompassed the Achaean league with their power, since the popular leaders gradually inclined to their support; their strength, under the guidance of the heavenly powers, grew great in all directions; and the consummation was near to which the fortunes of Greece must come in their allotted revolution. Here Philopoemen, like a good helmsman contending against a high sea, was in some points compelled to give in and yield to the times; but in most he continued his opposition, and tried to draw to the support of freedom the men who were powerful in speech or action.

Aristaenus the Megalopolitan ${ }^{2}$ was a man of the greatest influence among the Achaeans, but he always paid court to the Romans and thought that the Achaeans ought not to oppose or displease them in any way. As this man was once speaking in the assembly, we are told that Philopoemen listened to him a while in silent indignation, but at last, overcome by anger, said to him: "My man, why art thou eager to behold the fated end of Greece?" Again, Manius, the Roman consul, after his victory

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 ó Фıлотоí $\eta \nu$ oủ тоîs фvүáбı $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \hat{\omega} \nu$, $\grave{a} \lambda \lambda a ̀$
 Т'íтои $\mu \eta \delta$ є́ ' $\mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i ́ \omega \nu$ Хá $\rho \iota \tau \iota$ тои̃то $\pi \rho a \chi \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota \cdot$



 oै $\gamma \delta o o \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ' $\mathrm{A} \chi a \iota \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu, \vec{\eta} \lambda \pi \iota \zeta \epsilon \nu$ ov
 $\kappa a i ̀ \tau o v ̂ \beta i ́ o v ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \lambda о \iota \pi o ̀ \nu ~ a u ̀ \tau \hat{\varphi} \mu \epsilon \theta^{\prime} \dot{\eta} \sigma v \chi i ́ a s ~ к а \tau а-~$
 $\tau а \hat{\imath} \varsigma ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \omega \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ $\rho \dot{\rho} \mu a \iota \varsigma ~ \sigma v \nu a \pi о \mu a \rho a i ̀ \nu \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$


 $\mu о \hat{\nu} \nu \tau \alpha \pi \rho o ̀ s \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \mu a \sigma \iota \tau о \hat{v} \beta \grave{o v} \kappa а \tau \epsilon \in \beta a \lambda \epsilon$. 入є́ $\gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$




 ó M $\operatorname{co\sigma } \bar{\eta} \nu \iota o s, \stackrel{a}{a} \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi o s ~ i \delta i ́ a ~ \tau \epsilon ~ \tau \hat{c}$ Фı Фотоí $\mu \in \nu \iota$


${ }^{1}$ Cf. chapter xiii. 3.
over Antiochus, asked the Achaeans to permit the exiles from Sparta to go back home, and Titus Flamininus joined Manius in making this request. But Philopoemen successfully opposed the request, not out of hostility to the exiles, but from a desire that they should owe this favour to himself and the Achaeans, and not to Flamininus and the Romans; indeed, as general for the following year he restored the exiles to their city. ${ }^{1}$ To such a degree did his lofty spirit lead him to strive and contend against men in power.
XVIII. But being now seventy years of age, and for the eighth time general of the Achaeans, ${ }^{2}$ he hoped not only to pass that year of office without war, but also that affairs would permit him to spend the rest of his life in peace and quiet. For as our diseases seem to lose their virulence as our bodily strength declines, so among the Greek cities the spirit of contention lapsed as their power waned. Nevertheless, some divine displeasure threw him down, like an all but victorious runner, at the very goal of his life. For it is recorded that at some conference, when others present were lavishing praise upon one who was reputed to be a redoubtable general, Philopoemen contemptuously said: "Yet why should any account be made of this man, who has been taken alive by his enemies?" And a few days afterwards Deinocrates the Messenian, a man who had a private quarrel with Philopoemen ${ }^{3}$ and was obnoxious to everybody else because of his baseness and unbridled life, induced Messene to
${ }^{2}$ In 182 b.c. Plutarch passes over the years 187-183, during which the Achaean league and Philopoemen came increasingly into collision with the Roman power.
${ }^{8}$ Cf. the Flamininus, xvii. 3.

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 $\kappa а \tau \epsilon i ̂ \delta o \nu, ~ a \hat{v} \theta \iota \varsigma$ à $\nu \grave{a}$ тov̀s $\lambda o ́ \phi o v s ~ a ̀ ~ \theta \rho o \iota \zeta о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu, ~$



 $\tau о \lambda \mu \dot{\omega} \nu \tau \omega \nu \dot{a} \nu \tau \epsilon \mu \beta a \lambda \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \stackrel{\epsilon}{\epsilon} \kappa \epsilon i ́ \nu \omega \nu$, ${ }^{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a} \kappa \rho a v \gamma a i ̂ s$




 ßıаЧ'́нєvos $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \chi \omega \rho i ́ a ~ \pi є \tau \rho \omega ́ \delta \eta ~ к а і ~ \pi а р а ́ к \rho \eta \mu \nu а ~$


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revolt from the Achaean league, and was reported about to seize the village called Colonis. Philopoemen at the time lay sick of a fever at Argos, but on learning these facts, he hastened to Megalopolis in a single day, a journey of more than four hundred furlongs. From there he at once set out for the rescue, taking with him the horsemen. These were the city's most prominent men, but altogether young, and serving as volunteers under Philopoemen out of good will and admiration for him. They rode off towards Messene and encountered Deinocrates, who came to meet them at Evander's hill. Him they put to flight; but the five hundred men who were guarding the open country of Messene suddenly attacked them, and when those who had before been worsted saw this, they collected together along the hills. Then Philopoemen, fearing that he would be enveloped, and trying to spare his horsemen, withdrew over difficult ground, bringing up the rear himself and frequently riding out against the enemy, and trying to draw their attacks entirely upon himself. They did not venture, however, to return his attacks, but merely shouted and threatened his flanks. Withdrawing from the line frequently, then, to spare his young men, and sending them one by one into safety, before he was aware of it he was left alone among numerous enemies. Even then no one ventured to come to close quarters with him, but he was pelted with missiles from a distance and forced upon rocky and precipitous places, so that he had difficulty in managing his horse and kept tearing him with the spur. His age, owing to his generous exercise, was not burdensome, and in no way impeded his escape; but at that time his body

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$\sigma \omega \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota, ~ \tau о ́ \tau \epsilon ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \kappa \alpha \grave{\imath}$ ठıà т̀̀ $\nu \dot{a} \rho \rho \omega \sigma \tau i ́ a \nu$ той

 $\sigma \phi a \lambda \epsilon i \varsigma$ о і"ттоя єis т $\eta \nu \gamma \hat{\eta} \nu \kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \in \beta a \lambda \epsilon . \quad \sigma \kappa \lambda \eta \rho о \hat{v}$




 $\sigma o ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ a ̀ \pi \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \rho \epsilon ф о \nu ~ a u ̀ \tau o \hat{v} \tau a ̀ s ~ \chi \epsilon i ̂ \rho a s ~ o ́ \pi i ́ \sigma \omega ~ к а i ~$

 $\Delta є \iota \nu о к \rho a ́ т о \nu \varsigma ~ \tau а \hat{\tau} т а ~ \pi \rho о \sigma \delta о к \eta ́ \sigma а \nu \tau о \varsigma . ~$
XIX. Oí $\delta^{\prime} \epsilon ่ \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau \hat{\eta} \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ á $\gamma \gamma \epsilon \lambda i ́ a ~ \theta a v \mu a-$














 $\kappa о \mu i ́ \sigma a \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ aủтò̀ єís тòv ка入ои́ $\mu \epsilon \nu о \nu$ Ө $\eta \sigma a \nu \rho o ́ \nu$,
 $\phi \hat{\omega} \varsigma \epsilon^{\prime \prime} \xi \omega \theta \epsilon \nu$ oứтє $\theta \dot{v} \rho a s$ є้ $\chi o \nu$, à $\lambda \lambda a ̀ \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \omega \lambda i ́ \theta \omega$
was enfeebled by sickness and worn out with a long journey, so that he was heavy and stiff, and at length his horse stumbled and threw him to the ground. His fall was a heavy one and his head was hurt, and he lay for a long time speechless, so that his enemies thought him dead and tried to turn his body over and strip it of its armour. But when he raised his head and opened his eyes, they threw themselves in a throng upon him, tied his hands behind his back, and led him away, treating with great insolence and contumely a man who could never have even dreamed that he would suffer such a fate at the hands of Deinocrates.
XIX. The people of Messene, wonderfully elated at the news, gathered in throngs at the gates. But when they saw Philopoemen dragged along in a manner unworthy of his fame and of his former exploits and trophies, most of them were struck with pity and felt sympathy for him, so that they actually shed tears and spoke with bitterness of the inconstancy and vanity of human greatness. And so, little by little, many were led to say humanely that they ought to remember his former benefactions, and especially how he had restored to them their freedom by expelling the tyrant Nabis. But there were a few who, to gratify Deinocrates, urged that the captive should be tortured and put to death as a stern and implacable enemy, and one more than ever to be feared by Deinocrates himself in case he made his escape after having been taken prisoner and loaded with insults by him. However, they carried Philopoemen into the Thesaurus, as it was called, a subterranean chamber which admitted neither air nor light from outside and had no door,

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 $\kappa v ́ \kappa \lambda \omega \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta \sigma a \nu$.








 ＇A $\chi a \iota \omega \hat{\nu}$ ．oi סè $\sigma v \mu \phi o \rho a ̀ \nu ~ \pi o \iota o v ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o l ~ \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta \nu$

 $\sigma \kappa \epsilon v a ́ \zeta о \nu \tau o \quad \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon v ́ \epsilon \iota \nu$.

 Фı入отоі́ $\mu \epsilon \nu \iota \delta \epsilon \delta о \iota \kappa \grave{\omega} \varsigma \kappa \alpha \grave{\imath} \phi \theta a ́ \sigma a \iota \tau a ̀ ~ \pi a \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$
 $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta o s$ ả $\pi \epsilon \chi \omega \dot{\rho} \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ M $\epsilon \sigma \sigma \eta \nu i \omega \nu$ ，à $\nu o i ́ \xi a s \tau o ̀$



 каї $\theta о \rho v ́ \beta \omega$ катє $\chi о ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma, ~ i \delta \omega ̀ \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ ф $\omega$ s каі̀ тарє－
 той фарнáкоv，бuvaүаү⿳亠凶禸 $\mu$ о́入ıs є́autòv ír＇

but was closed by dragging a huge stone in front of it. Here they placed him, and after planting the stone against it, set a guard of armed men round about.

Meanwhile the horsemen of the Achaeans recovered themselves after their flight, and when Philopoemen was nowhere to be seen, but was thought to be dead, they stood for a long time calling aloud upon their leader and reproaching one another for having won an unlawful and shameful safety by abandoning to the enemy their general, who had been prodigal of his life for their sakes. Then they went forward in a body, and by diligent effort learned of his capture, and sent word of it to the cities of the Achaeans. The Achaeans felt that they had suffered a great calamity, and determined to send an embassy and demand Philopoemen from the Messenians, while they themselves prepared an expedition against the city.
XX. The Achaeans, then, were thus engaged. But Deinocrates, who feared that delay was the one thing most likely to save Philopoemen, and wished to forestall the efforts of the Achaeans, when night came on and the multitude of Messene had dispersed, opened the prison and sent in a public official with poison, ordering him to give it to Philopoemen and to stand by his side until he had drunk it. Now, Philopoemen was lying down wrapped in his soldier's cloak, not sleeping, but overwhelmed with trouble and grief. When, however, he saw a light and a man standing by him holding the cup of poison, he pulled himself together as much as his weakness permitted and sat up. Then taking the cup he asked the man if he had heard anything

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$\tau \iota \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\tau} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ iттє́ $\omega \nu$ каі̀ $\mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a ~ \Lambda \nu \kappa o ́ \rho т а ~ \pi \epsilon \pi \tau \nu . ~$ $3 \sigma \mu \epsilon ́ v o s ~ \epsilon ̇ \sigma \tau i \nu . ~ \epsilon i m o ́ v \tau o s ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau a ̉ \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi o v ~ \delta \iota a \pi \epsilon \phi \epsilon v-$

 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \varsigma$," $\epsilon i \pi \epsilon \nu$, " $\epsilon i$ i $\mu \grave{\eta} \pi a ́ \nu \tau a \kappa \alpha \kappa \omega ิ \varsigma \pi \epsilon \pi \rho a ́ \chi a \mu \epsilon \nu$."


 $\tau \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{a} \sigma \theta \in \epsilon \nu \epsilon \iota a \nu$.
 $\epsilon i s ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ ' A \chi a l o u ́ s, ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \mu e ̀ v ~ \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota s ~ a u ̉ \tau \hat{\nu} \nu ~ \kappa o \iota \nu \grave{\eta}$








 ßaбavíaal, toútovs є̇т’ aiкíaıs àmo入ovpévovs $\sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \lambda a ́ \mu \beta a \nu \epsilon \nu$ ó $\Lambda \nu \kappa o ́ \rho \tau а \varsigma . ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \sigma \hat{\omega} \mu a$ каи́-






 є́ко́ $\mu \iota \zeta \epsilon \nu$ ó то̂̂ $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o \hat{v} ~ \tau \hat{\nu} \nu$ 'A $\chi a \iota \omega \hat{\nu} \pi a i ̂ s$

[^59]
## PHILOPOEMEN, xx. 2-xxi. 3

about the horsemen, and particularly about Lycortas, and on being told by him that the greater part of them had escaped, he nodded his head, and with a kindly look at the man said to him : "That is good news, if we have not wholly lost." Without another word and even without a sigh he drained the cup and laid himself down again. He did not give the poison much to do, but breathed his last speedily, so weak was he.
XXI. Accordingly, when the report of his death reached the Achaeans, their cities were filled with general dejection and grief, and the men of military age, together with the members of the council, assembled at Megalopolis. With no delay whatsoever they proceeded to take revenge. They chose Lycortas general, invaded Messenia, and ravaged the country, until the Messenians with one consent received them into their city. Deinocrates anticipated their vengeance by making away with himself, but all the others who had voted to put Philopoemen to death they slew, and as for those who would have had him tortured also, these Lycortas seized and held for a more excruciating death. Then they burned Philopoemen's body, collected his ashes in an urn, and set out for home, not in loose or promiscuous order, but with a blending of triumphal procession and funeral rites. For their heads were wreathed with garlands while their eyes were full of tears, and they led their foes along with them in chains. The urn itself, almost hidden from sight by a multitude of fillets and wreaths, was borne by Polybius, the son of the Achaean general, and about

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 $\kappa \omega \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{a} \pi a \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma, ~ \ddot{\sigma} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ aủtò̀ àmò $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon i ́ a s$
 $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \rho o \eta ̂ \gamma o \nu \epsilon i \varsigma \mathrm{M} \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$. $\dot{\varsigma}$ ồv $\sigma v \nu a \nu \epsilon-$ $\mu i \chi \chi \eta \sigma a \nu$ av̉тоîs oi $\pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \hat{\prime} \tau \epsilon \rho о \iota ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a}$ үvעаıк $\omega \nu$
 тố $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon \cup ́ \mu a \tau o s ~ \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \pi \iota \pi o \theta o \hat{v} \sigma a \nu \tau \grave{\nu} \nu$
 $\beta \epsilon \beta \lambda \eta \kappa \epsilon ́ v a \iota$ тò $\pi \rho \omega \tau \epsilon \nu \in \iota \nu$ є̀v тoîs 'A $\chi a \iota o i ̂ s$.
 $\mu \nu \eta \mu \epsilon i ̂ o \nu$ oi $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{M} \epsilon \sigma \sigma \eta \nu i ́ \omega \nu$ aỉ $\chi \mu a ́ \lambda \omega \tau о \iota \kappa a \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon v ́-$







 íтє́ $\mu \epsilon \iota \nu a \nu$ ả $\nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu \delta o ́ \xi о v ~ \tau \iota \mu a ̀ s ~ a ̀ ф а \nu i \sigma a \iota, ~ к а i ́ т є є \rho ~$



[^60]
## PHILOPOEMEN, xxi. 3-6

him were the chief men of the Achaeans. The soldiers followed after, in full armour themselves, and with their horses decorated; they were neither dejected in view of their great affliction nor exultant over their victory. Moreover, the people from the cities and villages on the way came to meet them, as if receiving Philopoemen on his return from an expedition; they laid their hands upon his urn, and accompanied him to Megalopolis. And so when they had been joined by the old men and by the women and children, a lamentation at once spread through the entire army and into the city, which longed for the presence of Philopoemen and was grievously cast down at his death, feeling that with him it had lost its supremacy among the Achaeans.

He was buried, then, as was fitting, with conspicuous honours, and at his tomb the captive Messenians were stoned to death. Many statues of him were erected and many honours decreed him by the cities. All these a Roman, in the disastrous days of Greece following the fall of Corinth, ${ }^{1}$ attempted to have removed, and he attacked the memory of Philopoemen himself, accusing him, as if still alive, of having been a malevolent enemy of the Romans. After the proposal had been discussed and Polybius had spoken in opposition to Philopoemen's detractor, neither Mummius nor the members of the commission ${ }^{2}$ would consent that the honours paid to an illustrious man should be obliterated, although he had made no little opposition to Flamininus and Manius. These judges distinguished, as
${ }^{2}$ A commission of ten, appointed by the Roman senate to settle the affairs of Greece. It was before this body that Philopoemen's memory was attacked and defended.

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 $\kappa а i ̀ \pi \rho о \sigma \eta \kappa о ́ \nu \tau \omega \varsigma ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\omega} \phi \epsilon \lambda о \hat{v} \sigma \iota \mu \iota \sigma \theta \grave{\nu} \kappa \kappa a \grave{\imath}$ $\chi a ́ \rho \iota \nu \pi a \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \epsilon \dot{v} \pi a \theta o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$, $\tau o i ̂ \varsigma ~ \delta ' ~ a ̉ \gamma a \theta o i ̂ s ~$ $\tau \iota \mu \grave{\eta} \nu \dot{o} \phi \epsilon i \lambda \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota \quad \pi a \rho a ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \dot{a} \gamma a \theta \hat{\omega} \nu$ à $\epsilon \grave{i} \nu 0 \mu i ́-$ そоעтєs.

Таиิта $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{~ Ф ı \lambda о \pi о і ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s . ~}$

## PHILOPOEMEN, xxı. 6

it would appear, between virtue and necessity, between honour and advantage. They rightly and fitly considered that benefactors ought always to receive reward and gratitude from their beneficiaries, and good men honour from the good.

So much concerning Philopoemen.

## TITUS FLAMININUS

## TITOE



 єіко́ขos, ท̂ кєїтає тарà тòv $\mu \in ́ \gamma \alpha \nu$ ' $\mathrm{A} \pi o ́ \lambda \lambda \omega \nu a$ тò $\nu$




 oupjòs каì тoîs є $\dot{\epsilon} \rho \gamma \epsilon \tau \eta \theta \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \iota$ ठià $\pi \alpha \nu \tau o ̀ s ~ \tilde{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$



 $\mu \epsilon \gamma i \sigma \tau \omega \nu \pi \rho a ́ \xi \epsilon \omega \nu$ à̉тovpزòs єìvaı, каì тоîs $\delta \epsilon o-$

 $\check{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ ảעтıTáخous $\pi \rho o ̀ s \delta^{\prime} \xi a \nu \dot{\eta} \gamma o u ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o s$.



## TITUS FLAMININUS

I. In parallel with Philopoemen we shall put Titus Quintius Flamininus. What his outward appearance was may be seen by those who wish it from the bronze statue of him at Rome. It stands by the side of the great Apollo from Carthage, opposite the Circus, ${ }^{1}$ and has upon it an inscription in Greek characters. As to his disposition, he is said to have been quick to show anger as well as to confer favours, though not in like extent. For he was gentle in his punishments and not persistent, whereas in his favours he was unremitting, always well disposed towards his beneficiaries as though they were his benefactors, and eager to protect at all times and preserve those who had ever met with kindness at his hands, as though they were his choicest possessions. But since he was covetous of honour and fame, he desired that his noblest and greatest achievements should be the result of his own efforts, and he took more pleasure in those who wanted to receive kindness than in those who were able to bestow it, considering that the former were objects upon which he could exercise his virtue, while the latter were his rivals, so to speak, in the struggle for fame.

From his earliest years he was trained in the arts of war, since at that time Rome was carrying on
${ }^{1}$ The Circus Flamininus is meant, which was erected in 221 b.c. by the censor Flamininus Nepos.

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 4 бато. каі̀ Ма́ркєл入оs $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu є ́ \delta \rho a ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi \epsilon \sigma \grave{\omega ̀ \nu}$






 $\mu \epsilon ́ \sigma o v ~ к а i ̆ ~ \sigma \nu \nu \eta ̀ \theta \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \nu є ́ o \iota s ~ a ̉ \rho \chi a ̀ s ~ \dot{v} \pi \epsilon \rho \beta a ́ \nu \tau а$,











 $\omega \nu \sigma v \lambda \lambda a \chi \grave{\omega} \nu \pi \rho a ́ \gamma \mu a \sigma \iota \kappa \alpha \grave{~ a ̀ \nu} \nu \rho \omega \dot{\pi}$ оьऽ ò $\pi a ́ \nu \tau a$


## TITUS FLAMININUS, $1.3-\mathrm{nr} .2$

many great contests and her young men from the very outset were taught by service as soldiers how to command soldiers. To begin with, then, he served as military tribune in the war against Hannibal under Marcellus the consul. Marcellus fell into an ambush and lost his life, ${ }^{1}$ but Titus was appointed governor of the country about Tarentum and of Tarentum itself, now captured for the second time. Here he won a good name, no less for his administration of justice than for his conduct in the field. For this reason he was also chosen director-in-chief of the colonists sent out to the two cities of Narnia and Cosa.
II. This success more than anything else so exalted his ambition that he ignored the intervening offices which young men generally sought, the offices of tribune, praetor, and aedile, and thought himself worthy at once of a consulship; so he became a candidate for that office, with the eager support of his colonists. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manius opposed his course, and said that it was a monstrous thing for a young man to force his way into the highest office contrary to the laws, before he had been initiated, as it were, into the first rites and mysteries of government. The senate, however, refcrred the matter to the votes of the people, and the people elected him consul ${ }^{2}$ along with Sextus Aelius, although he was not yet thirty years old. The lot assigned him to the war with Philip and the Macedonians, and it was a marvellous piece of good fortune for the Romans that he was thus designated for a field of activity where the people did not require a leader relying entirely upon war and

[^61]
## PLUTARCH＇S LIVES

$\dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{a} \pi \epsilon \iota \theta о \hat{\imath}$ каì ó $\mu \iota \lambda i ́ a ~ \mu a ̂ \lambda \lambda o \nu ~ a ̀ \lambda \omega \sigma i \mu o \iota s . ~$

 $\tau \rho \iota \beta \grave{\nu} \nu$ €̈ Хоутоя каi $\chi о \rho \eta \gamma i ́ a ~ к а і ̈ ~ к а т а ф и \gamma \grave{\eta ~ к а і ~}$




 $\epsilon i \mu \grave{\eta}$ фv́ $\sigma \epsilon \iota \tau \epsilon \chi \rho \eta \sigma \tau o ̀ s ~ \grave{\eta} \nu$ ó äp $\chi \omega \nu \kappa \alpha i$ 入óy $\omega$ $\mu a ̂ \lambda \lambda o \nu ~ \grave{\eta} \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \varphi ~ \chi \rho \omega ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \varsigma, ~ \grave{\epsilon} \nu \tau v \gamma \chi a ́ \nu о \nu \tau i ́ c ~ \tau \epsilon 370$



 ठŋ入ои̂тal．
 бтратךүov́s，тои̂тo $\mu$ è̀ इov入тiкıov，тov̂тo סè

 $\kappa а \tau а \tau \epsilon \tau \rho i ̂ \phi \theta a \iota ~ \tau о \pi о \mu а \chi о \hat{\nu \tau а я ~ к а i ~ \delta \iota a \pi \lambda \eta к \tau \iota \zeta о-~}$




 $\tau o ̀ \nu \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ i ́ \pi a \tau \epsilon v ́ \sigma a \varsigma, \tau \hat{\varphi} \delta_{\epsilon} \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu \eta{ }_{\eta} \sigma a \varsigma, \dot{a} \lambda \lambda ’ \dot{o} \mu o \hat{v}$ 326

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violence, but were rather to be won over by persuasion and friendly intercourse. For the realm of Macedonia afforded Philip a sufficiently strong force for actual battle, but in a war of long duration his phalanx was dependent for its vigour, its support, its places of refuge, and in a word for its entire effectiveness, upon the states of Greece, and unless these were detached from Philip, the war with him would not be a matter of a single battle. Greece, however, had not yet been brought into much contact with the Romans, and now for the first time was drawn into political relations with them. Unless, therefore, the Roman commander had been a man of native goodness who relied upon argument more than upon war, and unless he had been persuasive when he asked an audience and kind when he granted one, ever laying the greatest stress upon what was right and just, Greece would not so easily have been satisfied with a foreign supremacy instead of those to which she had been accustomed. However, this will be made clear in the story of his achievements.
III. Titus learned that the generals who had preceded him in this field, first Sulpicius, and then Publius Villius, had invaded Macedonia late in the season, had prosecuted the war slowly, and had wasted time in manœuvring for position or in long range skirmishes with Philip to secure roads and provisions. These men had squandered the year of their consulship at home in the honours and political activities of their office, and afterwards had set out on their campaigns. But Titus did not think it right to imitate them and thus add a year to his term of office, acting as magistrate during one, and

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 ả $\nu a \lambda a \beta \grave{\omega} \nu \stackrel{\omega}{\sigma} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ $\sigma \tau o ́ \mu \omega \mu a$, $\tau \rho \iota \sigma \chi \iota \lambda i ́ o v s ~ \gamma \epsilon \nu о-$










 $\kappa \alpha i ̀ ~ \dot{v} \psi \eta \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ є́катє́р $\kappa \theta \epsilon \nu$ єis $\mu i ́ a \nu$ фа́раүүа $\mu \epsilon-$



 тò $\dot{\rho} \epsilon \hat{\imath} \theta \rho o \nu$ ả $\pi о \lambda \epsilon i ́ \pi \omega \nu$ ả $\tau \rho a \pi o ́ \nu, ~ o u ̉ \delta \grave{c}$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma \stackrel{\rho}{\rho} a-$
 $\pi a \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \varsigma$ ä $\pi о \rho o \nu$.

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as general for a second. On the contrary, he was ambitious to prosecute the war at the same time that he served as consul, and therefore renounced his honours and special privileges in the city, and after asking the senate that his brother Lucius might accompany him on his expedition as naval commander, he took with him as the main part of his force those of Scipio's soldiers who were still in full vigour of body and spirit after conquering Hasdrubal in Spain and Hannibal himself in Africa (they were three thousand in number), and crossed safely into Epirus. He found Publius Villius encamped with his forces over against Philip, who for a long time now had been guarding the narrow passes along the river Apsus. Publius was making no progress, owing to the strength of his adversary's position, and Titus therefore took over his army, sent Publius home, and began an examination of the ground. It has no less natural strength than the Vale of Tempe, but is without the beautiful trees, green woods, agreeable haunts, and pleasant meadows which there abound. Great and lofty mountains on either side slope down and form a single very large and deep ravine, and through this the Apsus dashes with a volume and speed which make it the equal of the Peneius. Its water covers all the rest of the ground at the foot of the mountains, but leaves a cut, precipitous and narrow, for a path along past its current; this path would not be easy for an army to traverse at any time, and when guarded, it would be utterly impassable.
IV. There were some, therefore, who tried to have Titus lead his forces by a roundabout way through

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 $\gamma \lambda i ́ \sigma \chi \rho o v s$ каì $\sigma \pi \epsilon \iota \rho \circ \mu \epsilon ́ \nu o v s ~ \pi о \nu \eta \rho \hat{\omega} \varsigma ~ \tau о \hat{v} \Phi_{\iota} \lambda i \pi-$






 $\mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu \quad \phi \epsilon \rho о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu, \pi \lambda \eta \gamma a i ̀ \mu$ ѐ $\nu$ є่ $\gamma i ́ \nu o \nu \tau o ~ к а \grave{~}$


 $\kappa v ́ \kappa \lambda \omega \sigma \iota \nu$ à $\mu \epsilon \lambda о \nu \mu \in ́ \nu \eta \nu$ úmò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i \omega \nu \nu$, $\mathfrak{\eta}$ тò̀ $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau o ̀ \nu$ ả $\xi є \iota \nu$ íт८бұขои̂̀то каi катабтทंбє८ע









 бихо́ $\quad \eta \nu о$.
4
O Sè Títos toútous áтобтєí入as $\tau a ̀ \varsigma ~ \mu e ̀ \nu ~ a ̆ \lambda \lambda a s ~ 371 ~$ $\grave{\eta} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho a s$ ठıavé $\pi a v є$ тòv $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau o ̀ \nu$ ớ $\sigma a \mu \grave{\eta} \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \pi a ̂ \nu$



## TITUS FLAMININUS, iv. i-4

Dassaretis towards Lycus, a safe and easy road. But he was afraid that if he went far away from the sea and got into regions that were poorly tilled and barren, while Philip avoided a battle, lack of provisions would compel him to come back again to the sea with his task undone, like the general who had preceded him. He therefore determined to attack with all his might, and force his passage through the heights. But Philip was occupying the mountains with his phalanx, and on the flanks of the Romans javelins and arrows came flying from all directions against them. Sharp encounters took place, men were wounded and men fell dead on both sides, and no end of the war was in sight. But at last some herdsmen of the vicinity came to Titus and told him of a roundabout path which the enemy was neglecting to guard; over this they promised to lead his army and bring it, in three days at the farthest, to a position on the heights. As surety and voucher for their good faith they brought Charops the son of Machatas, a leading man in Epirus, who was welldisposed to the Romans and was secretly co-operating with them through fear of Philip. In him Titus put confidence, and sent out a military tribune with four thousand foot-soldiers and three hundred horsemen. They were conducted by the herdsmen, who were in bonds. By day they rested under cover of caves or woody places, and they travelled in the night, by the light of the moon, which was at the full.

After sending off this detachment, Titus kept his army quiet for two days, except so far as he drew off the enemy's attention by skirmishes; but when the day came on which the enveloping party were expected to show themselves on the heights, at daybreak

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 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ єís тò бтєעผ́татоע тарà тò $\rho \in i ̂ \theta \rho o \nu ~ o ̉ \rho \theta i a s ~$ ả $\nu \hat{\eta} \gamma \epsilon$ тàs $\sigma \pi \epsilon i ́ \rho a s \beta a \lambda \lambda o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma ~ i ́ \pi o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Макєठóv $\omega \nu$ каì $\sigma \nu \mu \pi \lambda \epsilon \kappa о ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ a ̉ \pi a \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma \iota ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath}$
5 тàs $\delta v \sigma \chi \omega \rho i ́ a \varsigma, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ ä $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ є́катє́ $\rho \omega \theta \epsilon \nu$ ä $\mu a$ $\pi \epsilon \iota \rho \omega \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \quad \dot{a} \mu \iota \lambda \lambda a \hat{\sigma} \sigma \theta \iota$ каì таîऽ т $\rho a \chi$ v́т $\eta \sigma \iota \nu$
 $\kappa а \pi \nu o ̀ s ~ o u ̉ ~ \beta \epsilon ́ \beta a \iota o s, ~ a ̉ \lambda \lambda ’ ~ o i o v ~ o ̋ \rho є \iota o s ~ o ́ ~ \mu i ́ \chi \lambda \eta ~ \pi o ́ \rho-~$

 ク้ $\delta \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ăкр $\rho \nu$ є่ $\chi о \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$, oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ ' $\mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i ̂ o \iota ~ \delta o ́ \xi a \nu$
 $6 \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ ~ \beta o v \lambda o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \nu ~ \lambda a \mu \beta a ́ \nu o \nu \tau \epsilon s . ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \epsilon \grave{~} \delta$ ¢̀ $\mu a ̂ \lambda$ -


 $\sigma v \nu \in ́ \sigma \tau \epsilon \lambda \lambda o \nu \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \tau a ̀ ~ \tau \rho a \chi u ́ \tau a \tau a ~ \tau o \grave{s ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu i o v ৎ, ~ o i ~}$ $\delta \epsilon ̀ ~ o ̋ \pi \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon \nu \dot{a} \pi \grave{̀} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \stackrel{a}{\alpha} \kappa \rho \omega \nu \dot{a} \nu \tau \eta \lambda a ́ \lambda a \xi a \nu$.



 $\tau o v \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \tau \epsilon \nu \hat{\omega} \nu, \kappa a i ̀ \delta \iota \omega ́ \delta \epsilon v o \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu " H \pi \epsilon \iota \rho \circ \nu$ oṽ $\tau \omega$



he put all his heavy-armed and all his light-armed troops in motion. Dividing his forces into three parts, he himself led his cohorts in column formation up into the narrowest part of the ravine along the stream, pelted with missiles by the Macedonians and engaging at close quarters with those who confronted him at each difficult spot; the other divisions, one on either side, strove to keep pace with him, and grappled eagerly with the difficulties presented by the rough ground. Meanwhile the sun rose, and a smoke-not clearly defined, but resembling a mountain mist-lifted itself and came into view from afar. The enemy did not notice it, for it was behind them, where the heights were already occupied, and the Romans were of doubtful mind about it, but as they struggled and laboured on, they let their wishes determine their hopes. Put when the smoke increased in size and darkened the air, and ascending in great volume was clearly seen to be a fire-signal from their friends, then the Romans below raised shouts of triumph and dashed upon their foes and crowded them together into the roughest places, while the Romans behind the enemy sent down answering shouts from the heights.
V. At once, then, the enemy fled precipitately, but not more than two thousand of them fell; ${ }^{1}$ for the difficulties of the ground made pursuit impossible. However, the Romans made spoil of their money, tents, and slaves, mastered the pass, and traversed all parts of Epirus, but in such an orderly manner and with so great restraint that, although they were far from their fleet and the sea, and although their monthly rations of grain had not been measured out

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 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \omega \nu$ à $\nu \iota \sigma \tau \eta \sigma \iota \nu$ єiऽ $\tau \grave{a}$ ỏ $\rho \eta$, $\tau \grave{a} \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ $\kappa а \tau а \pi i \mu \pi \rho \eta \sigma \iota, \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \delta є ̀ \chi \rho \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu \quad \tau a ̀ ~ \lambda \epsilon \iota \pi o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu a$






 $\Pi \nu \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ "Е $\lambda \lambda \eta \nu \epsilon \varsigma$ є̇тóӨov̀ каì $\delta \iota \epsilon \pi \tau o ́ \eta \nu \tau о$ таîs
 $\sigma \nu \mu \mu a \chi i ́ a \nu$ à $\pi \epsilon \iota \pi a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \iota ~ \pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \epsilon \imath ̂ \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \psi \eta \phi i ́ \sigma a \nu \tau o$
 $\pi \epsilon \rho$ Аіт $\omega \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ то́тє ${ }^{\text {' } \mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i o \iota s ~ \sigma \nu \nu a \gamma \omega \nu \iota \zeta о \mu ' є \nu \omega \nu}$
 $\beta \epsilon i ̂ \nu \kappa a i ̀ ~ \phi \nu \lambda a ́ \tau \tau \epsilon l \nu$, ov̀ $\pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon ́ \sigma \chi о \nu$, à $\lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon \tau a \pi \epsilon \mu$ -
 каі тарє́ঠшкау.

Пú $\rho \rho o \nu \quad \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ oû̀ $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota \nu$, ôтє $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau o \nu$ ảmò $\sigma \kappa о \pi \eta \hat{\varsigma} \kappa а \tau \epsilon \hat{\iota} \delta \epsilon$ тò $\sigma \tau \rho a ́ \tau \epsilon \nu \mu a \quad \tau \hat{\nu} \nu \quad$ 'Р $\omega \mu a i \omega \nu$
 $\phi a \nu \eta ̂ \nu a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta a \rho \beta a ́ \rho \omega \nu \pi a \rho a ́ \tau a \xi \iota \nu$ oi $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ Тїтє $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu$ є̀ $\nu \tau v \gamma \chi a ́ \nu о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ \grave{\eta} \nu а \gamma к а ́ \zeta о \nu \tau о ~ \pi а \rho а-~$



## TITUS FLAMININUS, v. i-5

to them and they could buy little, they nevertheless refrained from plundering the country, which offered abundant booty. For Titus had learned that Philip, in passing through Thessaly like a fugitive, was driving the inhabitants from their cities into the mountains, burning down the cities, and allowing his soldiers to plunder the wealth which was too abundant or too heavy to be carried away, thus in a manner ceding the country already to the Romans. Titus was therefore ambitious, and exhorted his soldiers accordingly to spare the country in marching through it, and to treat it as though it had been handed over to them and were their own. And indeed the results showed them at once the advantages of this orderly conduct. For as soon as they reached Thessaly the cities came over to them, the Greeks south of Thermopylae were all eagerness and excitement to find Titus, and the Achaeans, renouncing their alliance with Philip, voted to join the Romans in making war upon him. The Opuntians, moreover, although the Aetolians, who were at that time fighting most zealously on the side of the Romans, asked permission to take Opus in charge and protect the city, would not grant the request, but sent for Titus and gave themselves with the fullest confidence into his hands.

Now, we are told that Pyrrhus, when for the first time he beheld from a look-out place the army of the Romans in full array, had said that he saw nothing barbaric in the Barbarians' line of battle; ${ }^{1}$ and so those who for the first time met Titus were compelled to speak in a similar strain. For they had heard the Macedonians say that a commander

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 $\dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \kappa i ́ a \nu \nu$ ข' $\omega$ каі тŋ̀ $\nu$ oै $\psi \iota \nu \phi \iota \lambda a \nu \theta \rho \omega ́ \pi \omega, \phi \omega \nu \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu$





 "E入入ךขas aủtovó $\mu o v s ~ \epsilon ́ a ̂ ̀ ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \phi \rho o v \rho a ̀ s ~ a ̉ \pi a \lambda-~$ 372

 'P $\omega \mu$ aíovs тол $\epsilon \mu \eta$ боотая $\eta^{\prime} \kappa \epsilon \iota \nu$ oủ $\chi$ " $\mathrm{E} \lambda \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu$, $\dot{a} \lambda \lambda ’$ ข́лє̀ $\rho{ }^{`} \mathrm{E} \lambda \lambda \eta{ }^{\prime} \nu \omega \nu \mathrm{M} \alpha \kappa \epsilon \delta_{o ́ \sigma \iota}$.
VI. Tà $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ oûv ä̀ $\lambda \lambda a \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon \chi \omega ́ \rho \epsilon \iota \kappa a \theta^{\prime} \dot{\eta} \sigma v \chi i ́ a \nu$
 $\Theta \eta \beta a i ́ \omega \nu$ à $\pi \eta \dot{\nu} \tau \eta \sigma \alpha \nu$ oi $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau o \iota, \phi \rho o \nu 0 \hat{\nu} \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma \mu_{\epsilon ̇ \nu}$ $\tau \grave{a} \tau о \hat{\mathrm{M}} \mathrm{M} \boldsymbol{\alpha} \epsilon \delta o ́ \nu o s ~ \delta \iota a ̀ \mathrm{~B} \rho a \chi u ́ \lambda \lambda \eta \nu, \dot{a} \sigma \pi a \zeta_{o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \iota}$

 $\theta \rho \omega \prime \pi \omega \varsigma \kappa \alpha i \quad \delta \epsilon \xi \iota \omega \sigma a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma$ т $\rho о \hat{\eta} \gamma \epsilon \nu \quad \dot{\eta} \sigma v \chi \hat{\eta} \kappa a \theta^{\prime}$


 $\pi \rho \circ \alpha \dot{\gamma} \omega \nu \sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \iota \sigma \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon$ тoîs $\Theta \eta \beta a i ́ o \iota s ~ \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi o ́ \lambda \iota \nu$,


## TITUS FLAMININUS, v. 5-vi. 3

of a barbarian host was coming against them, who subducd and enslaved everywnere by force of arms; and then, when they met a man who was young in years, humane in aspect, a Greek in voice and language, and a lover of genuine honour, they were wonderfully charmed, and when they returned to their cities they filled them with kindly feelings towards him and the belief that in him they had a champion of their liberties. After this Titus had a meeting with Philip (who seemed disposed to make terms), and proffered him peace and friendship on condition that he allowed the Greeks to be independent and withdraw his garrisons from their cities; but this proffer Philip would not accept. Then at last it became quite clear even to the partisans of Philip that the Romans were come to wage war, not upon the Greeks, but upon the Macedonians in behalf of the Greeks.
VI. Accordingly, the other parts of Greece came over to the side of Titus without any trouble; but as he was entering Boeotia without hostile demonstrations, the leading men of Thebes came to meet him. They were in sympathy with the Macedonian cause through the efforts of Brachyllas, but welcomed Titus and showed him honour, professing to be on friendly terms with both parties. Titus met and greeted them kindly, and then proceeded quietly on his journey, sometimes asking questions for his own information and sometimes discoursing at length, and purposely diverting them until his soldiers should come up from their march. Then he led them forward and entered the city along with the Thebans, who were not at all pleased thereat, but hesitated to oppose him, since a goodly number of

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 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \omega s$ бvvaүopєv́ovтоs aùt $\hat{\omega}$ каì $\sigma v \nu \epsilon \xi_{0 \rho} \mu \hat{\omega} \nu \tau о s$


 $\pi \rho о \sigma \pi \epsilon \sigma o ́ \nu \tau o s ~ i \lambda i ́ \gamma \gamma o v ~ \tau \iota v o ̀ s ~ \grave{\eta}$ ค́єú $\mu a \tau o s$ ä́ $\phi \nu \omega \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$









 $\pi \rho a \xi a \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \phi i ́ \lambda \omega \nu a \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \mu \eta \eta^{\prime} \tau \epsilon \tau \grave{o} \nu$ Фí $\lambda \iota \pi-$






 $\sigma \tau \rho a ́ \tau \epsilon \cup \mu a \quad \tau \hat{\omega} \pi \lambda \eta \eta^{\prime} \theta \epsilon \iota \pi \alpha \rho a \pi \lambda \eta \prime \sigma \iota \circ$.



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## TITUS FLAMININUS, vi. 3 -vir. 3

solaiers were in his following. Titus, however, just as though the city were not in his power, came before their assembly and tried to persuade them to side with the Romans, and Attalus the king seconded him in his appeals and exhortations to the Thebans. But Attalus, as it would appear, in his eagerness to play the orator for Titus, went beyond his aged strength, and in the very midst of his speech, being seized with a vertigo or an apoplexy, suddenly fainted and fell, and shortly afterwards was conveyed by his fleet to Asia, where he died. The Boeotians allied themselves with the Romans.
VII. Philip now sent an embassy to Rome, and Titus therefore dispatched thither his own representatives, who were to induce the senate to vote him an extension of command in case the war continued, or, if it did not, the power to make peace. For he was covetous of honour, and was greatly afraid that he would be robbed of his glory if another general were sent to carry on the war. His friends managed matters so successfully for him that Philip failed to get what he wanted and the command in the war was continued to Titus. On receiving the decree of the senate, he was lifted up in his hopes and at once hastened into Thessaly to prosecute the war against Philip. He had over twenty-six thousand soldiers, of whom six thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry were furnished by the Aetolians. ${ }^{1}$ Philip's army also was of about the same size. ${ }^{2}$

The two armies advanced against each other until they came into the neighbourhood of Scotussa, and there they proposed to decide the issue by battle. ${ }^{3}$

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 $\epsilon i$ Макє $\delta_{o ́ \nu \omega \nu ~ к р а т \eta ́ \sigma о v \sigma \iota \nu, ~}^{\omega} \nu$ ő $\nu о \mu a$ $\delta \iota^{\prime}$ ' $\mathrm{A} \lambda \epsilon \in \xi$ -


 $4 \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu \dot{a} \pi \sigma \delta \epsilon i \xi \epsilon \iota \nu$ 'A $\lambda \epsilon \xi$ द́v $\delta \rho o v$ Фí $\lambda \iota \pi \pi o \nu$. ó $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ ои̂̀ Tíтоs тарєка́дєє тоѝs $\sigma т \rho a \tau \iota \omega ́ \tau а \varsigma ~ a ̈ \nu \delta \rho a s ~$






 $\kappa а \grave{i} \pi а \rho о \rho \mu a ̂ \nu, \dot{a} \theta \nu \mu i a s ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \delta \epsilon \iota \nu \hat{\eta} s \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ o i \omega \nu o ̀ \nu$ $\dot{\epsilon} \mu \pi \epsilon \sigma o v ́ \sigma \eta \varsigma \quad \delta \iota a \tau a \rho a \chi \theta \epsilon \grave{\varsigma}$ є่тє́ $\sigma \chi є$ т̀̀ $\nu \quad \grave{\eta} \mu \epsilon ́ \rho a \nu$ е̇кєі̀р $\nu$.
VIII. Tị̂ $\delta^{\prime}$ v́ $\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho a i ́ a ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ o ̋ \rho \theta \rho о \nu, ~ \epsilon ̇ \kappa ~$







 $\lambda a ́ s, ~ a i ̂ ~ \lambda o ́ \phi \omega \nu ~ o ̂ ̂ \sigma a \iota ~ \pi ข к \nu \omega ิ \nu ~ к а i ~ \pi а \rho а \lambda \lambda \eta ̀ \lambda \omega \nu$

Their mutual proximity did not inspire them with fear, as might have been expected; on the contrary, they were filled with ardour and ambition. For the Romans hoped to conquer the Macedonians, whose reputation for prowess and strength Alexander had raised to a very high pitch among them; and the Macedonians, who considered the Romans superior to the Persians, hoped, in case they prevailed over them, to prove Philip a more brilliant commander than Alexander. Accordingly, Titus exhorted his soldiers to show themselves brave men and full of spirit, assured that they were going to contend against the bravest of antagonists in that fairest of all theatres, Greece; and Philip, too, began a speech of exhortation to his soldiers, as is the custom before a battle. But, either by chance or from ignorance due to an inopportune haste, he had ascended for this purpose a lofty mound outside his camp, beneath which many men lay buried in a common grave, and a dreadful dejection fell upon his listeners in view of the omen, so that he was deeply troubled and refrained from battle that day.
VIII. Towards morning on the following day, after a mild and damp night, the clouds turned to mist, the whole plain was filled with profound darkness, a dense air came down from the heights into the space between the two camps, and as soon as day advanced all the ground was hidden from view. The parties sent out on either side for purposes of ambush and reconnaissance encountered one another in a very short time and went to fighting near what are called the Cynoscephalae, or Dog's Heads. These are the sharp tops of hills lying close alongside one another,

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 $\sigma \kappa \lambda \eta \rho \circ \stackrel{\imath}{\varsigma} \mu \epsilon \tau a \beta o \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \kappa а \tau a ̀ ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \phi v \gamma a ̀ \varsigma ~ \kappa а \grave{~} \delta \iota \omega ́ \xi \in \iota \varsigma$,
 $\pi \epsilon ́ \mu \pi о \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma \beta o \eta \prime \theta \epsilon \iota a \nu$ є่к т $\hat{\omega} \nu$ бтратотє́ $\delta \omega \nu$, каї $\eta^{\prime} \delta \eta$
 $\mu \in \nu a \operatorname{\pi a\nu \sigma \tau \rho a\tau \iota ậ~\sigma v\nu \epsilon ́\beta } \beta a \lambda o \nu$.
 $\kappa а \tau a \phi \epsilon \rho \hat{\nu} \nu$ ö $\lambda \eta \nu$ є̇тє $\epsilon \epsilon$ í $\sigma a \varsigma ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu$ фá $\lambda a \gamma \gamma a$ тоîs 'P $\omega \mu$ аíoıs, тò $\beta a ́ \rho o s ~ \tau о \hat{~} \sigma v \nu a \sigma \pi \iota \sigma \mu о \hat{v}$ каì тท̀ $\nu$ $\tau \rho a \chi u ́ \tau \eta \tau a$ т $\hat{\varsigma} \pi \rho o \beta o \lambda \eta ̂ \varsigma ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \sigma a \rho \iota \sigma \hat{\omega} \nu$ oủ $\chi$ í $\pi o-$ $3 \mu \epsilon \iota \nu a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \cdot \tau o \hat{v} \delta^{\prime} \epsilon \dot{u} \omega \nu u ́ \mu o v$ סıa $\sigma \pi a \sigma \mu o ̀ \nu$ à $\nu a ̀ ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~$

 $\pi а \rho \epsilon \lambda a ́ \sigma a \varsigma, \pi \rho о \sigma \epsilon ́ \beta a \lambda \epsilon \tau о i ̂ \varsigma ~ М а к є \delta o ́ \sigma \iota ~ \sigma v \sigma т \eta ̂ \nu a \iota ~$


 $\chi \omega \rho i ́ \omega \nu, \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ тò кат’ ä้ $\delta \rho a \quad \sigma \nu \mu \pi \lambda \epsilon ́ \kappa \epsilon \sigma \theta a \iota$




 $\dot{\varsigma} \pi \lambda i \sigma \in \omega \varsigma$ каі̀ öтє $\pi a \nu \tau o ̀ s$ ö $\lambda о \cup$ тоîৎ $\pi a \rho ’ \mathfrak{a} \lambda \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} \lambda \omega \nu$




## TITUS FLAMININUS, viil. i-4

and got their name from a resemblance in their shape. As was natural on a field so difficult, there were alternations of flight and pursuit, each party sending out aid from their camps to those who from time to time were getting the worst of it and retreating, until at last, when the air cleared up and they could see what was going on, they engaged with all their forces. ${ }^{1}$

With his right wing, then, Philip had the advantage, since from higher ground he threw his entire phalanx upon the Romans, who could not withstand the weight of its interlocked shields and the sharpness of its projecting pikes; but his left wing was broken up and scattered along the hills, and Titus, despairing of his defeated wing, rode swiftly along to the other, and with it fell upon the Macedonians. These were unable to hold their phalanx together and maintain the depth of its formation (which was the main source of their strength), being prevented by the roughness and irregularity of the ground, while for fighting man to man they had armour which was too cumbersome and heavy. For the phalanx is like an animal of invincible strength as long as it is one body and can keep its shields locked together in a single formation; but when it has been broken up into its parts, each of its fighting men loses also his individual force, as well because of the manner in which he is armed as because his strength lies in the mutual support of the parts of the whole body rather than in himself. This wing of the Macedonians being routed, some of the Romans pursued the fugitives, while others dashed out upon the flank of the

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є’к $\pi \lambda a \gamma i ́ \omega \nu$ єैк $\kappa \epsilon \iota \nu о \nu, \omega ̈ \sigma \tau \epsilon \tau a \chi \grave{v} \kappa a i ̀ \tau o u ̀ s \nu \iota \kappa \hat{\omega} \nu \tau a s$ $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \pi \hat{a} \sigma \theta a \iota$ каì $\phi \epsilon v ́ \gamma \epsilon \iota \nu$ тà ő ö $\pi \lambda a \kappa а \tau а \beta a ́ \lambda-$











 $2 \tau \omega \nu \tau o ̀ ~ \epsilon ้ \rho \gamma o \nu . ~ \grave{\omega} \nu \mu a ́ \lambda \iota \sigma \tau a$ סıà $\sigma \tau o ́ \mu a \tau o s \hat{\eta}^{\nu} \nu \tau o v \tau i$ тò є̇тi' $\boldsymbol{\tau} \boldsymbol{\alpha} \mu \mu a$.
 Өєбба入íns трıббаì кєí $\mu \epsilon \theta a \operatorname{\mu \nu \iota á\delta \epsilon s,~}$





 $\lambda \epsilon \gamma o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \nu$ ठè $\pi o \lambda \lambda a \chi o \hat{v} \kappa a i ̀ ~ v i \pi o ̀ ~ \pi o \lambda \lambda \omega ิ \nu ~ \mu a ̂ \lambda \lambda o \nu$


enemy who were still fighting and cut them down, so that very soon their victorious wing also faced about, threw away their weapons, and fled. The result was that no fewer than eight thousand Macedonians were slain, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Philip, however, got safely away, and for this the Aetolians were to blame, who fell to sacking and plundering the enemy's camp while the Romans were still pursuing, so that when the Romans came back to it they found nothing there.
IX. This, to begin with, gave rise to mutual quarrels and recriminations; but afterwards the Aetolians vexed Titus more and more by ascribing the victory to themselves and prepossessing the minds of the Greeks with the fame of it, so that they were mentioned first in the writings and songs of poets and historians who celebrated the event. Of these the one most in vogue was the following epigram in elegiac verses :-
"Unwept and without graves are we, O traveller, who on this ridge of Thessaly lie dead, in number thirty thousand, subdued by the sword of the Aetolians, and of the Latins whom Titus led from spacious Italy, Emathia's great bane. And the bold spirit that Philip had displayed was gone; it showed itself more agile than swift deer."

This poem was composed by Alcaeus in mockery of Philip, and its author exaggerated the number of the slain; however, being recited in many places and by many persons, it gave more annoyance to Titus than to Philip. For Philip simply made fun of Alcaeus with an answering elegiac distich :-

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 є่ $\pi i ̀ ~ \sigma u \mu \beta a ́ \sigma \epsilon \sigma \iota ~ \pi а \rho a ̀ ~ \tau о \hat{~ М а к є \delta o ́ v o s, ~ т о \hat{\tau о ~}}$



 Aiт $\omega \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ $\lambda є \gamma o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ каi ठıатараттóvт $\omega \nu$ то̀̀s $\sigma \nu \mu \mu a ́ \chi o v s, ~ a ⿱ ̉ \tau 兀 o s ~ o ́ ~ \Phi i ́ \lambda ı \pi \pi o s ~ \epsilon ̇ \lambda \theta \grave{\omega \nu} \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ 374$



 ＇Е入入áסos $\pi \rho о \sigma є ́ \tau a \xi \in \nu ~ a ̉ \pi о \sigma \tau \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota, \chi \iota \lambda i ́ o \iota s ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \alpha-$







 Reiske．

## TITUS FLAMININUS, ix. 3-6

" Leafless and without bark, O traveller, on this ridge A cross is planted for Alcaeus, and it towers in the sun";
but Titus was ambitious to stand well with the Greeks, and such things irritated him beyond measure. For this reason he conducted the rest of his business by himself, and made very little account of the Aetolians. They on their part were displeased at this, and when Titus received an embassy from the Macedonian king with proposals for an agreement, they went round to the other cities vociferously charging him with selling peace to Philip, when it was in his power to eradicate the war entirely and destroy a power by which the Greek world had first been enslaved. While the Aetolians were making these charges and trying to make trouble among the Roman allies, Philip himself removed all grounds for suspicion by coming to terms and putting himself and his realm in the hands of Titus and the Romans. And in this manner Titus ${ }^{1}$ put an end to the war; he returned to Philip his kingdom of Macedonia, but ordained that he should keep aloof from Greece, exacted from him an indemnity of a thousand talents, took away all his ships except ten, and taking one of his sons, Demetrius, to serve as hostage, sent him off to Rome, thus providing in the best manner for the present and anticipating the future.

For Hannibal the African, a most inveterate enemy of Rome and an exile from his native country, had already at that time ${ }^{2}$ come to the court of King

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7 خıбта ठє̀ катà 'P $\omega \mu a i ́ \omega \nu$ ù $\nu \iota \sigma \tau a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \nu, ~ \epsilon i ̀ ~ \mu \grave{\eta}$



 $\mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau о \iota \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau о ́ \tau \epsilon \kappa а \grave{\iota} \delta \nu \nu a \tau \omega ́ \tau а \tau о \iota \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \in \omega \nu$ є่ $\pi \grave{\imath}$

 $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \omega \nu \mu \epsilon ́ \sigma \eta \nu \kappa а \tau \grave{a} \kappa \alpha \iota \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \epsilon \not \epsilon \beta \beta \lambda \grave{\omega} \nu \tau \eta \nu$

 є่ $\lambda \pi i ́ \delta a, \tau o \hat{v} \delta_{\epsilon} \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \rho \omega ́ \tau \eta \nu \dot{v} \phi \epsilon i ̂ \lambda \epsilon \nu$.




 píaıs $\lambda a \mu \pi \rho o i ̀ ~ \lambda a \mu \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \varsigma \tau a ̀ \varsigma \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ a ̀ \nu \epsilon \rho \rho \eta ́ \gamma \nu v \sigma a \nu$

 $2 \pi \rho о є \iota \rho \eta \mu \epsilon \in \nu a \varsigma \pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ ò $\nu о \mu a ́ \zeta \epsilon \iota \nu)$, тoùs $\delta^{\prime \prime} \mathrm{E} \lambda \lambda \eta \nu a \varsigma$
 $\lambda \epsilon \iota o ́ \tau \epsilon \rho о \nu$ $\delta \grave{\epsilon}$ то̂̂ $\pi a ́ \lambda a \iota ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ \nu v ̂ \nu, ~ \chi a i ́ \rho o v \sigma \iota, ~ к а i ̀ ~$

 oîs à $\chi$ Өó $\mu \epsilon \nu$ оs ó Títos каì ßарє́шs фє́ршу, каi


Antiochus, and was trying to incite him to further achievements while fortune gave his power successful course. Antiochus himself also, in consequence of the magnitude of his achievements, by which he had won the title of Great, was already fixing his eyes on universal dominion, and had a particular hostility to the Romans. Therefore, had not Titus, in view of all this, made favourable terms of peace, and had the war with Antiochus in Greece found the war with Philip still in progress there, and had a common cause brought these two greatest and most powerful kings of the time into alliance against Rome, that city would have undergone fresh struggles and dangers not inferior to those which marked her war with Hannibal. But as it was, by interposing an opportune peace between the two wars, and by cutting short the existing war before the threatening war began, Titus took away the last hope from Philip, and the first from Antiochus.
X. And now the ten commissioners, who had been sent to Titus by the senate, advised him to give the rest of the Greeks their freedom, but to retain Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias under garrisons, as a safeguard against Antiochus. Thereupon the Aetolians stirred up the cities with the most vociferous denunciations, ordering Titus to strike off the shackles of Greece (for that is what Philip was wont to call these three cities), and asking the Greeks whether they were glad to have a fetter now which was smoother than the one they had worn before, but heavier; and whether they admired Titus as a benefactor because he had unshackled the foot of Greece and put a collar round her neck. Titus was troubled and distressed at this, and by labouring with the commission

## PLU＇TARCH＇S LIVES

тàs $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ a ̉ \nu \epsilon i v a \iota ~ \tau \eta ̂ \varsigma ~ \phi \rho o v \rho a ̂ s, ~ o ̈ \pi \omega s ~ o ́ \lambda o ́ к \lambda \eta \rho o s ~$

3 ＇$\sigma \sigma \mu^{\prime} \omega_{\nu}$ o $o \hat{v} \nu \dot{a} \gamma o \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ ，$\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta o s \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu \dot{a} \nu \theta \rho \dot{\omega} \pi \omega \nu$
 $\mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ ，oia ठ̀̀ $\delta i a ̀ ~ \chi \rho o ́ \nu \omega \nu ~ \pi \epsilon \pi a v \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \eta \varsigma ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon ́-~$



 Títos Koívтıos $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o ̀ s ~ v ̈ т а т о s ~ к а т а т о \lambda є \mu \eta ́-~$ баутєя ßабь入є́a Фì̀ıтто⿱ каі Макєסóvая， àфıâбıv àф


 $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ oûv $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau o \nu$ où $\pi a ́ \nu v ~ \pi a ́ \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma ~ o u ̉ \delta e ̀ ~ \sigma a \phi \hat{\omega} \varsigma$



 $\phi \omega \nu \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \rho о \theta \nu \mu$ о́тє $\rho о \nu$ єis äтаутаs є่ $\gamma \epsilon \gamma \dot{\omega} \nu \epsilon \iota$ каі




 ＇E入入áסоs каі̀ тоо́ $\mu \neq \nu$.
 $\phi \omega \nu \eta ̂ \varsigma ~ \kappa а i ̀ ~ \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \epsilon Ө о \varsigma ~ \omega ̈ \phi \theta \eta ~ т о ́ т є . ~ к о ́ \rho а к є \varsigma ~ \gamma а ̀ \rho ~$ 350
finally persuaded it to free these cities also from their garrisons, in order that his gift to the Greeks might be whole and entire.

Accordingly, at the Isthmian games, where a great throng of people were sitting in the stadium and watching the athletic contests (since, indeed, after many years Greece had at last ceased from wars waged in hopes of freedom, and was now holding festival in time of assured peace), the trumpet signalled a general silence, and the herald, coming forward into the midst of the spectators, made proclamation that the Roman senate and Titus Quintius Flamininus proconsular general, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians, restored to freedom, without garrisons and without imposts, and to the enjoyment of their ancient laws, the Corinthians, the Locrians, the Phocians, the Euboeans, the Achaeans of Phthiotis, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, and the Perrhaebians. At first, then, the proclamation was by no means generally or distinctly heard, but there was a confused and tumultuous movement in the stadium of people who wondered what had been said, and asked one another questions about it, and called out to have the proclamation made again; but when silence had been restored, and the herald in tones that were louder than before and reached the ears of all, had recited the proclamation, a shout of joy arose, so incredibly loud that it reached the sea. The whole audience rose to their feet, and no heed was paid to the contending athletes, but all were eager to spring forward and greet and hail the saviour and champion of Greece.

And that which is often said of the volume and power of the human voice was then apparent to the

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 $\sigma \theta \eta \mu a \quad \pi о \iota \epsilon \hat{\imath} \kappa a \theta a ́ \pi \epsilon \rho$ кєขє $\mu \beta a \tau о \hat{v} \sigma \iota \nu, \epsilon i \quad \mu \eta े \nu \grave{\eta}$ $\Delta i ́ a \pi \lambda \eta \gamma \hat{\eta}$ тıvı $\mu \hat{a} \lambda \lambda o \nu$ òs $\dot{v} \pi o ̀ ~ \beta e ́ \lambda o v s ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \lambda a v \nu o ́-$


 $\lambda a \mu \beta a ́ \nu o \nu \tau о я$.


 $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota ~ \tau о \sigma о и ́ \tau \omega \nu ~ o ́ \mu о \hat{v}$ каi $\pi a ́ \nu \tau о \theta \epsilon \nu$ aủ $\tau \hat{\omega}$





 'E入入áסos, ö $\sigma o v s ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon \mu \eta ́ \sigma a \sigma a ~ \pi o \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu o v s ~ \delta ı a ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\eta \nu}$
 $\alpha u ̛ \tau \eta ̂ s, ~ \grave{\epsilon} \tau \epsilon \in \rho \omega \nu \quad \pi \rho o a \gamma \omega \nu \iota \sigma a \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$ ỏ $\lambda i ́ \gamma o v ~ \delta \epsilon i ̂ \nu$

 $\sigma \pi a ́ \nu \iota o \nu ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu ~ a ̀ \nu \delta \rho \epsilon i ́ a ~ к а i ̀ ~ ф \rho o ́ v \eta \sigma \iota \varsigma ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ a ̉ \nu ~ Ө \rho \omega ́ т т ь я, ~$ $\sigma \pi a \nu \iota \omega ́ \tau a \tau o \nu ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ă $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu$ ảya $\theta \hat{\omega} \nu$ ó סíкаוоя. 3 oi $\gamma$ à ${ }^{\prime} \mathrm{A} \gamma \eta \sigma i ́ \lambda a o \iota ~ к а i ̀ ~ \Lambda v ́ \sigma a \nu \delta \rho o \iota ~ к а i ̀ ~ o i ~ N \iota к i ́ a \iota ~$ $35^{2}$
eye. For ravens which chanced to be flying overhead fell down into the stadium. The cause of this was the rupture of the air; for when the voice is borne aloft loud and strong, the air is rent asunder by it and will not support flying creatures, but lets them fall, as if they were over a vacuum, unless, indeed, they are transfixed by a sort of blow, as of a weapon, and fall down dead. ${ }^{1}$ It is possible, too, that in such cases there is a whirling motion of the air, which becomes like a waterspout at sea with a refluent flow of the surges caused by their very volume.
XI. Be that as it may, had not Titus, now that the spectacle was given up, at once foreseen the rush and press of the throng and taken himself away, it would seem that he could hardly have survived the concourse of so many people about him at once and from all sides. But when they were tired of shouting about his tent, and night was already come, then, with greetings and embraces for any friends and fellow citizens whom they saw, they betook themselves to banqueting and carousing with one another. And here, their pleasure naturally increasing, they were moved to reason and discourse about Greece, saying that although she had waged many wars for the sake of her freedom, she had not yet obtained a more secure or more delightful exercise of it than now, when others had striven in her behalf, and she herself, almost without a drop of blood or a pang of grief, had borne away the fairest and most enviable of prizes. Verily, they would say, valour and wisdom are rare things among men, but the rarest of all blessings is the just man. For men like Agesilaüs, or Lysander, or Nicias, or Alcibiades could indeed
${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Pompey, xxv. 7.

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 Kúmpov Kíu$\omega \nu o s, ~ \epsilon ’ \rho \gamma a, ~ \pi a ́ \sigma a s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \mu a ́ \chi a s ~ \dot{~}$

















 Títos $\epsilon i s ~ X a \lambda \kappa i ́ \delta a ~ \pi a \rho \epsilon \lambda \theta \dot{\omega} \nu$, єiтa $\pi \lambda \epsilon v \in \sigma a s$






## TITUS FLAMININUS, xi. 3-xir. 2

conduct wars well, and understood how to be victorious commanders in battles by land and sea, but they would not use their successes so as to win legitimate favour and promote the right. Indeed, if one excepts the action at Marathon, the sea-fight at Salamis, Plataea, Thermopylae, and the achievements of Cimon at the Eurymedon and about Cyprus, Greece has fought all her battles to bring servitude upon herself, and every one of her trophies stands as a memorial of her own calamity and disgrace, since she owed her overthrow chiefly to the baseness and contentiousness of her leaders. Whereas men of another race, who were thought to have only slight sparks and insignificant traces of a common remote ancestry, from whom it was astonishing that any helpful word or purpose should be vouchsafed to Greece-these men underwent the greatest perils and hardships in order to rescue Greece and set her free from cruel despots and tyrants.
XII. So ran the thoughts of the Greeks; and the acts of Titus were consonant with his proclamations. For at once he sent Lentulus to Asia to set Bargylia free, and Stertinius to Thrace to deliver the cities and islands there from Philip's garrisons. Moreover, Publius Villius sailed to have a conference with Antiochus concerning the freedom of the Greeks who were under his sway. Titus himself also paid a visit to Chalcis, and then sailed from there to Magnesia, removing their garrisons and restoring to the peoples their constitutions. He was also appointed master of ceremonies for the Nemeian games at Argos, where he conducted the festival in the best possible manner, and once more publicly proclaimed freedom to the

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES


 $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ a ̉ \lambda \lambda \eta ́ \lambda o v s ~ \pi a \rho \epsilon i ̂ \chi \epsilon, ~ к а \tau а \pi a v ́ \omega \nu ~ \mu \grave{\nu} \nu ~ \tau a ̀ s$
 $\tau \hat{\varphi} \pi \epsilon i \theta \epsilon \epsilon \nu$ каì $\delta \iota a \lambda \lambda a ́ \sigma \sigma \epsilon \iota \nu$ тoùs "E $\lambda \lambda \eta \nu a s$ oủ

 то̂̂̀то.
 376 $\kappa o v ̂ \rho \gamma o s ~ a u ̉ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ o ́ ~ \rho ْ ~ 冃 ́ ~ \tau \omega \rho ~ i ́ v o ̀ ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \lambda \omega \nu \omega \nu$ ả $\gamma o ́ \mu \epsilon-$ $\nu о \nu$ тоо̀s тò $\mu \epsilon \tau о і ́ к \iota о \nu ~ a ̀ \phi \epsilon i ́ \lambda \epsilon \tau о ~ к а і ̀ ~ \tau о і ̂ s ~ a ̈ \gamma о v \sigma \iota \nu ~$



 Tíт







 $\theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$ бvvєфаттонévov, тávта aن̉тоîs $\dot{v} \pi \eta$ и́коа $\gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota$. каì aủtòs $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \mu \epsilon ́ \gamma \iota \sigma \tau o \nu$ є́ $\phi \rho o ́ \nu \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$ є̇ $\pi i$

 є̇ $\pi \epsilon \in \rho а \psi \epsilon$.

## TITUS FLAMININUS, xir. $3^{-6}$

Greeks. Then he visited the different cities, establishing among them law and order, abundant justice, concord, and mutual friendliness. He quieted their factions and restored their exiles, and plumed himself on his persuading and reconciling the Greeks more than on his conquest of the Macedonians, so that their freedom presently seemed to them the least of his benefactions.

Xenocrates the philosopher, as the story runs, was once being haled away to prison by the tax-collectors for not having paid the alien's tax, but was rescued out of their hands by Lycurgus the orator, who also visited the officials with punishment for their impudence. Xenocrates afterwards met the sons of Lycurgus, and said : "My boys, I am making a noble return to your father for his kindness towards me; for all the world is praising him for what he did." In the case of Titus and the Romans, however, gratitude for their benefactions to the Greeks brought them, not merely praises, but also confidence among all men and power, and justly too. For men not only received the officers appointed by them, but actually sent for them and invited them and put themselves in their hands. And this was true not only of peoples and cities, nay, even kings who had been wronged by other kings fled for refuge into the hands of Roman officials, so that in a short time-and perhaps there was also divine guidance in thiseverything became subject to them. But Titus himself took most pride in his liberation of Greece. For in dedicating at Delphi some silver bucklers and his own long shield, he provided them with this inscription:-

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES





 є́ $\pi \iota \gamma \rho a ́ \psi a s$.
 $\kappa \epsilon i ̂ \sigma \theta a \iota, \Lambda а \tau o i ́ \delta a, \chi \rho v \sigma o \phi a \hat{\eta} \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \phi a \nu o \nu$,
 'Ека́єрүє,









XIII. 'O סє̀ Títos тótє ка入入íбтои каі סєкаıо-
 $\Lambda а к \epsilon \delta а \iota \mu о \nu i ́ \omega \nu ~ \epsilon ’ \xi \omega \lambda e ́ \sigma \tau а т о \nu ~ к а і ̀ ~ т а р а \nu о \mu \omega ́ \tau а т о \nu ~$



 $\lambda a \mu \beta a ́ \nu o \nu \tau o s ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda o s ~ a ̀ \pi o ̀ ~ ' P \omega ́ \mu \eta s ~ є ̇ \pi \epsilon \lambda \theta \grave{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma \tau \rho a-$
${ }^{1}$ ยоккє an anonymous correction adopted by Sintenis ${ }^{2}$ and Blass; Coraës and Bekker retain the vulgate é $\theta \eta \kappa \epsilon$.
${ }^{2}$ ô $\nu$ Bekker corrects to $8 s$, after Jacobs.
${ }^{3} \delta^{\prime}$ oй̀ Bekker and Blass : yoîv.
"O ye sons of Zeus, whose joy is in swift horsemanship, O ye Tyndaridae, princes of Sparta, Titus, a descendant of Aeneas, has brought you a most excellent gift, he who for the sons of the Greeks wrought freedom."

He also dedicated a golden wreath to Apollo, and it bore this inscription :-
" This will fitly lie on thine ambrosial locks, O son of Leto, this wreath with sheen of gold; it is the gift of the great leader of the children of Aeneas. Therefore, O Far-darter, bestow upon the god-like Titus the glory due to his prowess."

It follows, then, that the city of Corinth has twice now been the scene of the same benefaction to the Greeks; for it was in Corinth that Titus at this time, and at Corinth that Nero again in our own times-in both cases at the Isthmian games-made the Greeks free and self-governing, Titus by voice of herald, but Nero in a public address which he delivered in person, on a tribunal in the market-place amidst the multitude. This, however, came at a later time. ${ }^{1}$
XIII. Titus now began a most honourable and rightcous war, the war against Nabis, that most pernicious and lawless tyrant of Sparta, but in the end he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For though it was in his power to capture the tyrant, he refused to do so, and made peace with him, thus leaving Sparta to the fate of an unworthy servitude. He was led to this step either by his fear that a protraction of the war would bring another general from Rome

[^68]
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т $\eta \gamma o ̀ s ~ a ̀ \nu e ́ \lambda \eta \tau а \iota ~ \tau \grave{\nu \nu ~ \delta o ́ \xi ̆ a \nu, ~ є і ̈ т є ~ ф \iota \lambda о \nu є ь к i ́ a ~ к а i ̀ ~}$


























[^69]
## TITUS FLAMININUS, xim. i-5

to succeed him and rob him of his glory, or by his jealous displeasure at the honours paid to Philopoemen. For in all other matters Philopoemen was a most capable man among the Greeks, and in that war particularly he displayed astonishing deeds of ability and daring, so that he was extolled by the Achaeans as much as Titus, and equally honoured in their theatres. This annoyed Titus, who thought it out of keeping that a man of Arcadia, who had held command in small border wars, should receive just as much admiration from the Achaeans as a Roman consul, who was waging war in behalf of Greece. ${ }^{1}$ However, Titus himself had this to say in defence of his course, namely, that he put an end to the war when he saw that the destruction of the tyrant would involve the rest of the Spartans also in serious disaster. ${ }^{2}$

The Achaeans voted Titus many honours, none of which seemed commensurate with his benefactions except one gift, and this caused him as much satisfaction as all the rest put together. And this was the gift: The Romans who were unhappily taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal had been sold about hither and thither, and were serving as slaves. In Greece there were as many as twelve hundred of them. The change in their lot made them pitiful objects always, but then even more than ever, naturally, when they fell in with sons, or brothers, or familiar friends, as the case might be, slaves with freemen and captives with victors. These men Titus would not take away from their owners, although he was distressed at their condition, but the Achaeans

[^70]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES





 $\pi \rho o ̀ s \tau o ̀ \nu \theta \rho i ́ a \mu \beta o \nu$ aùт $\hat{\varphi} \pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \dot{v} \pi a ́ \rho \xi a \iota \lambda a \mu \pi \rho o ́-$




XIV. Ka $\lambda \lambda i ́ \omega$ סє̀ каì тă $\lambda$ áф $v \rho a \pi о \mu \pi \epsilon v o ́ \mu \epsilon \nu a$
 Макєठор七каi каì ба́ $\iota \sigma а \iota$. тó $\tau \epsilon \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \chi \rho \eta \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$ $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta$ os oùк ỏ $\lambda i ́ \gamma o \nu ~ \hat{\eta} \nu$, $\dot{\omega}$ s à $\nu a \gamma \rho a ́ \phi o v \sigma \iota \nu$ oi $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\imath}$



2 трıбұıлías סıакобías $\dot{\epsilon} \beta \delta о \mu \eta ́ к о \nu \tau а, ~ ф \iota \lambda \iota \pi \pi \epsilon i o v s ~$





 о $\mu$ дрєías.
 $\nu a v \sigma i \quad \pi о \lambda \lambda a i ̂ s ~ \kappa a i ̀ ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \hat{ف} \pi \epsilon \rho a \iota \omega \theta \epsilon i \varsigma ~ a ̀ \phi i \sigma \tau \eta$ тàs $\pi o ́ \lambda \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ к а i ̀ ~ \delta \iota \epsilon \sigma \tau a \sigma i ́ a \zeta \epsilon \nu, ~ A i \tau \omega \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$ au̇т $\hat{\omega}$


[^71]362

## TITUS FLAMININUS, xiri. $5-\mathrm{xv}$. i

ransomed them all at five minas ${ }^{1}$ the man, collected them together, and made a present of them to Titus just as he was about to embark, so that he sailed for home with a glad heart; his noble deeds had brought him a noble recompense, and one befitting a great man who loved his fellow citizens. This appears to have furnished his triumph with its most glorious feature. For these men shaved their heads and wore felt caps, as it is customary for slaves to do when they are set free, and in this habit followed the triumphal car of Titus.
XIV. But a more beautiful show was made by the spoils of war which were displayed in the procession -Greek helmets and Macedonian bucklers and pikes. Besides, the amount of money exhibited was large. Tuditanus records that there were carried in the procession three thousand seven hundred and thirteen pounds of gold bullion, forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy pounds of silver, and fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen gold coins bearing Philip's effigy. ${ }^{2}$ And apart from this money Philip owed his fine of a thousand talents. ${ }^{3}$ This fine, however, the Romans were afterwards persuaded to remit to Philip, and this was chiefly due to the efforts of Titus; they also made Philip their ally, and sent back his son whom they held as hostage.
XV. Presently, however, Antiochus crossed into Greece ${ }^{4}$ with many ships and a large army, and began to stir the cities into faction and revolt. The Aetolians made common cause with him, a people which had long been most inimically disposed towards

[^72]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 $\theta \epsilon \sigma \iota \nu ~ \tau о \hat{v} \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu о v ~ к а і ~ \pi \rho o ́ \phi а \sigma \iota \nu ~ \delta \iota \delta o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu ~ \epsilon ่ \lambda \epsilon v-~$
 $2 \gamma \grave{a} \rho \hat{\eta} \sigma a \nu)$, ả $\lambda \lambda^{\prime} \epsilon \dot{u} \pi \rho \epsilon \pi \epsilon \sigma \tau \epsilon ́ \rho a s$ aiтías ảmopiá $\tau \hat{\varphi}$

 $\kappa \alpha i ~ \delta o ́ \xi a \nu ~ a v ̇ \tau o \hat{v} ~ \tau \eta ิ \varsigma ~ \delta v \nu a ́ \mu \epsilon \omega \varsigma, ~ \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma o ̀ \nu ~ \mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$






 $\pi \alpha \sigma \iota \nu$ ímò $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Ait $\omega \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$, oûs каímєр ỏpyı $\sigma \epsilon$ is $\kappa \alpha i \quad \pi \alpha \rho o \xi v \nu \theta \epsilon i \varsigma ~ o ̋ \mu \omega \varsigma ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \quad \mu a ́ \chi \eta \nu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon-$ $\pi о i ́ \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$. 'A $\nu \tau i ́ o \chi o s ~ \gamma a ̀ \rho ~ \tilde{\eta} \tau \tau \eta \theta \epsilon i s ~ \epsilon ̇ \nu ~ \Theta \epsilon \rho \mu о \pi u ́ \lambda a \iota s$
 $\delta^{\prime}$ ó ứratos $\tau o u ̀ s ~ \mu \grave{\epsilon} \nu$ aủtòs є̇ $\pi \iota \grave{\omega} \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{A} i \tau \omega \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$








[^73]
## TITUS FLAMININUS, xv. 1-4

the Romans, and they suggested to him, as a pretext that would account for the war, that he should offer the Greeks their freedom. The Greeks did not want to be set free, for they were free already; but for lack of a more appropriate ground for his action the Aetolians taught Antiochus to make use of that fairest of all names. The Romans, greatly alarmed by reports of defection among the Greeks and of the power of Antiochus, sent out Manius Acillius as consular general for the war, but made Titus his lieutenant to please the Greeks. The mere sight of him confirmed some of these in their loyalty to Rome, while to others, who were beginning to be infected with disloyalty, he administered a timely medicine, as it were, in the shape of good will towards himself, and thus checked their malady and prevented them from going wrong. A few, however, escaped his influence, having been already won over beforehand and totally corrupted by the Aetolians, but even these, in spite of his vexation and anger, were spared by him after the battle. For Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylae ${ }^{1}$ and put to flight, and at once sailed back to Asia; while Manius the consul went against some of the Aetolians himself and besieged them, leaving others to King Philip to destroy. And so it came about that the Dolopians and Magnesians here, the Athamanians and Aperantians there, were harried and plundered by the Macedonians, while Manius himself, after sacking Heracleia, was engaged in the siege of Naupactus, which the Aetolians held. Then Titus, out of pity for the Greeks, sailed across from Peloponnesus to

[^74]
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 $\tau v \chi \epsilon i ้ \nu$ à $\iota \iota \sigma \sigma o v \sigma \iota$.
 $\pi a \rho \epsilon i ̂ \chi o \nu ~ a i ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ X a \lambda \kappa \iota \delta \epsilon ́ \omega \nu ~ \delta \epsilon \eta \prime \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~$







 $\dot{\omega} \varsigma \tau a ́ \chi \iota \sigma \tau a \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{\alpha}$ тì $\nu \mu \dot{\chi} \chi \eta \nu \phi \epsilon \dot{\gamma} \gamma \omega \nu \pi \rho о \sigma є ́ \mu \iota \xi \epsilon$




## TITUS FLAMININUS, xv. 4-xvi. 2

the consul. At first he chided Manius because, although the victory was his own, he was permitting Philip to carry off the prizes of the war, and to gratify his anger was wasting time in the siege of a single city, while the Macedonians were subduing many nations and kingdoms. Then, when the besieged citizens caught sight of him from their walls and called aloud upon him and stretched out their hands to him imploringly, he turned away, burst into tears, and left the place, without saying anything more at the time; afterwards, however, he had an interview with Manius, put an end to his wrath, and induced him to grant the Aetolians a truce, and time in which to send an embassy to Rome with a plea for moderate terms.
XVI. But the hardest toils and struggles fell to Titus when he interceded with Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. They had incurred the consul's wrath because of the marriage which Antiochus had made in their city after the war had already begun, a marriage which was not only unseasonable, but unsuitable for the king's years, since he was an elderly man and had fallen in love with a girl (the girl was a daughter of Cleoptolemus, and is said to have been most beautiful among maidens). ${ }^{1}$ This marriage induced the Chalcidians to take the king's side most zealously and allow their city to be his base of operations for the war. Antiochus, therefore, fleeing with all speed after the battle at Thermopylae, came to Chalcis, and taking with him his girl-wife, his treasure, and his friends, sailed back to Asia; but Manius immediately marched against Chalcis in a rage. He was accompanied, however, by Titus, who
${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Philopoemen, xvii. 1.

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 $\lambda \epsilon ́ \gamma o v \sigma \iota$.

## $\pi i \sigma \tau \iota \nu \delta{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\text {＇}} \mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i \omega \nu \sigma \epsilon{ }^{\prime} \beta o \mu \epsilon \nu$,

 $\mu \epsilon ่ \lambda \pi \epsilon \tau \epsilon \kappa о \hat{\imath} \rho a \iota$ ，
 $\tau \epsilon \pi i \sigma \tau \iota \nu^{\bullet}$ iŋ̆íє Паıáv，同 Ті́тє $\sigma \hat{\tau} \tau \epsilon \rho$ ．










[^75]tried to mollify and intercede with him and at last won him over and calmed him down by entreaties addressed both to him and the other Romans in authority.

Having been thus saved by Titus, the Chalcidians dedicated to him the largest and most beautiful of the votive offerings in their city, and on them such inscriptions as these are still to be seen: "This gymnasium is dedicated by the people to Titus and Heracles," and again in another place, "This Delphinium is dedicated by the people to Titus and Apollo." Moreover, even down to our own day a priest of Titus is duly elected and appointed, and after sacrifice and libations in his honour, a set hymn of praise to him is sung: it is too long to be quoted entire, and so I will give only the closing words of the song:
"And the Roman faith we revere, which we have solemnly vowed to cherish; sing, then, ye maidens, to great Zeus, to Rome, to Titus, and to the Roman faith: hail, Paean Apollo! hail, Titus our saviour!"
XVII. He also received from the rest of the Greeks fitting honours, and these were made sincere by the astonishing good will which his equitable nature called forth. For even if the conduct of affairs or the spirit of rivalry brought him into collision with any of them, as, for instance, with Philopoemen, and again with Diophanes the general of the Achaeans, his resentment was not heavy, nor did it carry him into violent acts, but when it had vented itself in the outspoken language of free public debate, there was an end of it. However, he was never bitter,

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

$\kappa o v ̂ \phi o s ~ \epsilon i v a \iota ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \quad \phi \hat{\sigma} \sigma \iota \nu, ~ a ̈ \lambda \lambda \omega \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon} \sigma v \gamma \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon ́ \sigma \theta a \iota$ $\pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ ท̋ $\delta \iota \sigma \tau o s$ каì єiтєî̀ є $\pi i ́ \chi a \rho \iota s ~ \mu \epsilon \tau a ̀ ~ \delta \epsilon \iota \nu o ́-~$

 $\check{\omega} \sigma \pi \epsilon \rho$ ai $\chi \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu a \iota \pi о \rho \rho \omega \tau \epsilon ́ \rho \omega \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \kappa \epsilon \phi a \lambda \eta े \nu \tau \hat{\eta} \varsigma$
 $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{\iota} \sigma \pi о \nu \delta \hat{\omega} \nu$ каі єiрŋ́vŋs тò $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu$ єis $\lambda o ́ \gamma o v s$

 є́ $\eta$, " $\mu$ óvov є̇ $\pi$ оí $\eta \sigma a s$ à áтоктєivas тò̀s фí入ovs






 4 каì ậ $\delta \epsilon \iota \nu$. $\pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \delta \grave{\epsilon}$ тoùs 'A $\chi a \iota o u ̀ s ~ \tau \hat{\omega} \nu ~ \pi a \rho a ̀ ~$
 $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota a ̂ s ~ к а т а \lambda \epsilon \gamma o ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ каì катарı $\theta \mu о \nu \mu \epsilon ́ \nu \omega \nu$



 є่ $\sigma \tau i$ т $\hat{\eta} \sigma \kappa \epsilon v a \sigma i ́ a ~ \delta \iota a \phi \epsilon ́ \rho о \nu \tau а ~ к а i ̀ ~ \tau о i ̂ s ~ \dot{\eta} \delta v ं \sigma \mu a \sigma \iota . ~$

${ }^{1} \pi \backslash \hat{\eta} \theta_{o s} \pi$ Coraës and Bekker have $\pi \lambda \hat{\eta} \theta_{o s} \tau \epsilon$, after Bryan.
although many imputed hastiness and levity to his nature, and in general he was a most agreeable companion and able to say a graceful thing with force. For instance, when he was trying to dissuade the Achaeans from appropriating the island of Zacynthos, he said it would be dangerous for them, like a tortoise, to stick their head out of its Peloponnesian shell. ${ }^{1}$ Again, when he held his first conference with Philip concerning a truce and peace, and Philip remarked that Titus had eome with many attendants while he himself had come alone, Titus answered, "Yes, thou hast made thyself alone by slaying thy friends and kindred." ${ }^{2}$ Again, when Deinocrates the Messenian, who had taken too much wine at a drinking-party in Rome, and after putting on a woman's robe had executed a dance, on the following day asked Titus to assist him in his plan to separate Messene from the Achaean league, Titus said he would consider the matter ; "But I am amazed," said he, " that when thou hast matters of so great moment in hand, thou canst dance and sing at a drinkingparty." ${ }^{3}$ And once more, when an embassy from Antiochus was recounting to the Achaeans the vast multitude of the king's forces and enumerating them all by their various appellations, Titus said that once, when he was dining with a friend, he criticised the multitude of meats that were served, wondering where he had obtained so varied a supply; whereupon his host told him they were all swine's flesh, and differed only in the way they were cooked and dressed. "And so in your case," said he, "men of

[^76]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES













廿 $\eta$ фі́ $\sigma a \sigma \theta a \iota$.







 $\mu \in \iota \rho а \kappa i \sigma \kappa о \varsigma$ є́ $\rho \omega ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma$, òv каi $\sigma \tau \rho a \tau \iota a ̂ \varsigma ~ a ̈ \rho \chi \omega \nu$



[^77]
## TITUS FLAMININUS, xvir. 5-xvin. 3

Achaia, do not be astonished when you hear of the Spear-bearers and Lance-bearers and Foot-companions in the army of Antiochus; for they are all Syrians and differ only in the way they are armed." ${ }^{1}$
XVIII. After his achievements in Greece and the war with Antiochus, Titus was appointed censor. ${ }^{2}$ This is the highest office at Rome, and in a manner the culmination of a political career. Titus had as colleague in this office a son of the Marcellus ${ }^{3}$ who had been five times consul, and the two censors ejected from the senate four men of lesser note, and received into citizenship all who offered themselves for enrolment, provided they were born of free parents. To this step they were forced by the tribune Terentius Culeo, who wanted to spite the nobility and so persuaded the people to vote the measure.

The two men of his time who were most notable and had the greatest influence in the city, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were at variance with one another. Of these, Titus appointed Scipio to be Dean of the Senate, ${ }^{4}$ believing him to be its best and foremost man; but with Cato he came into hostile relations, owing to the following unfortunate circumstances. Titus had a brother, Lucius, who was unlike him in all other ways, and especially in his shameful addiction to pleasure and his utter contempt of decency. This brother had as companion a young boy whom he loved, and took him about and kept him always in his train, whether he was commanding an army or administering a province. At some drinking party, then, this boy was playing the coquet

[^78]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES






 ठíк $\omega \nu$ éк то仑 $\delta \in \sigma \mu \omega \tau \eta \rho i o v ~ \pi \rho о а \chi \theta \hat{\eta} \nu a \iota$, каі̀ тòv i $\pi \eta \rho \epsilon ́ \tau \eta \nu \mu \epsilon \tau a \pi \epsilon \mu \psi a ́ \mu \epsilon \nu о \varsigma$, ѐ $\nu \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma v \mu \pi о \sigma \iota \omega \pi \rho о \sigma-$











反ıŋ́ $\eta \sigma \iota \nu$ à $\nu a \theta \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \epsilon i ้ \rho \eta \kappa \epsilon \nu$.
 $\kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \kappa \alpha \theta a i \rho \omega \nu \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \sigma \dot{\gamma} \gamma \kappa \lambda \eta \tau о \nu \dot{a} \pi \eta \dot{\eta} \lambda a \sigma \epsilon \tau \bar{\eta} \varsigma \beta о v \lambda \hat{\eta} \varsigma$




[^79]
## TITUS FLAMININUS, xviir. 3-xix. i

with Lucius, and said he loved him so ardently that he had come away from a show of gladiators in order to be with him, although he had never in all his life seen a man killed; and he had done so, he said, because he cared more for his lover's pleasure than for his own. Lucius was delighted at this, and said : " Don't worry about that! I will give thee thy heart's desire." Then ordering a man who had been condemned to death to be brought forth from his prison, and sending for a lictor, he commanded him to strike off the man's head there in the banquet-hall. Valerius Antias, however, says it was not a lover, but a mistress whom Lucius thus sought to gratify. ${ }^{1}$ And Livy says that in a speech of Cato himself it is written that a Gaulish deserter had come to the door with his wife and children, and that Lucius admitted him into the banquet-hall and slew him with his own hand to gratify his lover. This feature, however, was probably introduced by Cato to strengthen the force of his denunciation; for that it was not a deserter, but a prisoner, who was put to death, and one who had been condemned to die, is the testimony of many others, and especially of Cicero the orator in his treatise "On Old Age," where he puts the story in the mouth of Cato himself. ${ }^{2}$
XIX. In view of this, when Cato became censor ${ }^{3}$ and was purging the senate of its unworthy members, he expelled from it Lucius Flamininus, although he was a man of consular dignity, and although his brother Titus was thought to be involved in his disgrace. Therefore the two brothers came before the people in lowly garb and bathed in tears, and

[^80]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES




 $\pi \rho о \hat{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon$, каi катабтàs $\mu \epsilon \tau a ̀ ~ \tau о \hat{v} ~ \sigma v \nu a ́ \rho \chi о \nu \tau о \varsigma ~$




 $\kappa \alpha \grave{~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ К ~} \alpha ́ \tau \omega \nu a \operatorname{\pi } \rho о є ́ \pi \epsilon \mu \psi \epsilon \lambda a \mu \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \varsigma$ ảmò то̂
 $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi a \theta \hat{\omega} \nu \quad \sigma v \nu \epsilon \in \sigma \tau \eta \mu \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \pi a ́ \lambda a \iota \mu \iota \sigma o v ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$















made what seemed a reasonable request of their fellow citizens, namely, that Cato should state the reasons which had led him to visit a noble house with a disgrace so great. Without any hesitation, then, Cato came forward, and standing with his colleague before Titus, asked him if he knew about the banquet. Titus said he did not, whereupon Cato related the incident and formally challenged Lucius to say whether any part of the story told was not true. But Lucius was dumb, and the people therefore saw that he had been justly disgraced, and gave Cato a splendid escort away from the rostra. Titus, however, was so affected by the misfortune of his brother that he leagued himself with those who had long hated Cato, and after getting the upper hand in the senate, revoked and annulled all the public rentals and leases and contracts which Cato had made, besides bringing many heavy indictments against him. ${ }^{1}$ That he acted the part of a good man or a good citizen I cannot affirm, in thus cherishing an incurable hatred against a lawful magistrate and a most excellent citizen on account of a man who, though a kinsman, was nevertheless unworthy and had suffered only what he deserved. However, as the Roman people was once enjoying a spectacle in the theatre, and the senate, according to custom, had seats of honour in the foremost rows, Lucius was seen sitting somewhere in the rear among the poor and lowly, and excited men's pity. The multitude could not bear the sight, but kept shouting to him to change his place, until he did change his place, and was received among their own number by the men of consular rank.

[^81]
## PLUTARCH'S LIVES




 $\dot{\alpha} \pi a \lambda \lambda a \gamma \epsilon i \varsigma ~ \delta \grave{~} \tau о \hat{v}$ ä $\rho \chi \epsilon \iota \nu \kappa a i ̀ \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta v ́ \tau \epsilon \rho о \varsigma ~ \hat{\omega} \nu$
 $\lambda o \iota \pi \hat{\omega} \beta i \not \varphi \sigma \pi a \rho \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu \tau a$ т $\rho o ̀ s \delta^{\prime} \xi^{\prime} a \nu$ каі̀ $\nu \epsilon a \nu i \zeta о \nu \tau a$




 єípŋ́vךs ả $\gamma a \pi \eta \tau \hat{\omega} \varsigma ~ \tau v \chi o ́ \nu \tau о \varsigma, ~ a \hat{v} \theta \iota \varsigma ~ \phi \in u ́ \gamma \omega \nu ~ \kappa a i ̀ ~$ $\pi \lambda a \nu \eta \theta \epsilon i s ~ \pi о \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \tau \epsilon ́ \lambda o s ~ \grave{\epsilon} \nu ~ \tau \hat{\eta}$ Bı $\theta v \nu i ́ a ~ \kappa а \tau \epsilon ́ \sigma \tau \eta ~$
 ô̂vтos, à $\lambda \lambda \grave{a} \pi a \rho о \rho \omega ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu$ á $\pi a ́ \nu \tau \omega \nu \delta \iota \grave{a} \sigma \theta \epsilon ́ \nu \epsilon \iota a \nu$
 3 Títos $\delta \grave{\epsilon} \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \epsilon v \tau \grave{\eta} s \iota_{\imath}$ є́ $\tau \epsilon ́ \rho a s \delta_{\eta}^{\prime} \tau \iota \nu a s \pi \rho a ́ \xi \epsilon \iota \varsigma$ ímò т $\hat{\varsigma}$ ß $\kappa a i ̀ ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ ' A \nu \nu i ́ \beta a \nu ~ i ́ \delta \grave{\omega} \nu ~ a ̀ ̇ \tau o ́ \theta \iota ~ \delta \iota a \iota \tau \omega ́ \mu \epsilon \nu o \nu, ~ \eta ु \gamma a \nu a ́-$
 $\kappa а i ̀ ~ \lambda \iota \pi a \rho o v ̂ \nu t o s ~ v i \pi \epsilon ̀ \rho ~ \dot{a} \nu \delta \rho o ̀ s ~ i к є ́ \tau o v ~ к а i ̀ ~ \sigma v \nu \eta ̉ \theta o v s ~$




[^82]
## TITUS FLAMININUS, xx. $1-3$

XX. Now, the native ambition of Titus, as long as it had sufficient material to gratify it in the wars which I have mentioned, met with praise, as, for instance, when he served a second time as military tribune after having been consul, though there was no necessity for it; but after he had ceased to hold office and was well on in years, he met the rather with censure, because, although the portion of life which still remained to him did not admit of great activity, he was unable to restrain his passion for glory and his youthful ardour. For by some such fierce impulse, as it would seem, he was led to his treatment of Hannibal, which made him odious to most people. Hannibal had secretly fled from his native Carthage and spent some time at the court of Antiochus; but when Antiochus, after the battle in Phrygia, ${ }^{1}$ had gladly accepted terms of peace, Hamnibal took to flight once more, and after many wanderings, finally settled down at the court of Prusias in Bithynia. No one at Rome was ignorant of this, but all ignored him on account of his weakness and old age, regarding him as a castaway of Fortune. Titus, however, who had been sent by the senate as ambassador to the court of Prusias on some other business, ${ }^{2}$ and saw that Hannibal was staying there, was incensed that he should be alive, and although Prusias made many fervent intercessions in behalf of a man who was a suppliant and familiar friend, would not relent. There was an ancient oracle, as it would appear, concerning Hannibal's death, and it ran as follows :-
"Libyssan earth shall cover the form of Hannibal."
${ }^{2}$ According to Livy (xxxix. 51), Hannibal's presence in Bithynia was part of Rome's complaint against Prusias.

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES



 $\kappa \omega ́ \mu \eta ~ \tau \iota \varsigma \mu \epsilon \gamma a ́ \lambda \eta ~ \Lambda i ́ \beta v \sigma \sigma a ~ к а \lambda \epsilon i ̂ \tau a \iota . ~ \pi \epsilon \rho i ̀ ~ \tau a v ́-~$










耳óvv каì $\sigma \phi o \delta \rho \hat{\omega} s$ ả $\nu a \kappa \lambda a ́ \sigma a \nu \tau a \quad \sigma \nu \nu \tau \epsilon i ̂ \nu a \iota ~ \kappa a i ̀ ~$




 $\pi о \lambda \lambda \grave{\eta} \nu$ ф $о \nu \tau i ́ \delta a{ }^{\text {e }} \mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i ́ \omega \nu$, ої $\mu а \kappa \rho o ̀ \nu ~ \grave{\eta} \gamma \dot{\eta} \sigma a \nu \tau о$






## TITUS FLAMININUS, xx. 3-6

Hannibal thought this referred to Libya and a purial at Carthage, and believed that he would end his days there ; but there is a sandy tract in Bithynia on the sea-shore, and on its border a large village called Libyssa. Near this village Hannibal was living. But he had always distrusted the weakness of Prusias and feared the Romans, and therefore even before this time his house had been provided with seven underground exits leading from his own chamber. These ran in different directions beneath the surface of the ground, but all had secret issues far away. Accordingly, when he now heard of the behest of Titus, he set out to make his escape by way of the underground passages, but encountered guards of the king, and therefore determined to take his own life. Some say that he wound his cloak about his neck and then ordered a servant to plant his knee in the small of his back, pull the rope towards him with all his might until it was twisted tight, and so to choke and kill him ; some, too, say that he drank bull's blood in imitation of Themistocles ${ }^{1}$ and Midas; but Livy says ${ }^{2}$ that he had poison which he ordered to be mixed, and took the cup with these words: " Let us now at last put an end to the great anxiety of the Romans, who have thought it too long and hard a task to wait for the death of a hated old man. Nevertheless, Titus will not bear away an enviable victory, nor one worthy of his forefathers, who sent secret information to Pyrrhus, when he was at war with them and a victor over them, of the poisoning that was going to be attempted." ${ }^{3}$

[^83]
## PLUTARCH'S ILIVES
















 $\tau \hat{\varphi} \sigma v \mu \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi a \tau \epsilon i ̂ \nu \tau o \hat{v}$ 'A $\nu \nu i ́ \beta o v \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \pi \rho о \sigma \eta ́ \kappa о v \sigma a \nu$
 $\sigma \theta a \iota ~ к а і ̈ ~ \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \pi а т \epsilon i ̂ \nu ~ a ̀ \phi \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ ' А ф \rho ı к а \nu o ́ v, ~$





 $\dot{a} \lambda \lambda \grave{\alpha} \pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau о \nu$ є่ $\pi о \iota o u ́ \mu \eta \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \hat{\omega} \nu$.'


[^84]
## TITUS FLAMININUS, xxi. i-4

XXI. Such are the accounts of the death of Hannibal. When the story of it was brought to the senate, many of them thought the conduct of Titus odious, officious, and cruel ; for he had killed Hannibal when he was like a bird permitted to live a tame and harmless life because too old to fly and without a tail, and there had been no necessity for his doing this, but he did it to win fame, that his name might be associated with the death of Hannibal. Men also pointed to the clemency and magnanimity of Scipio Africanus and admired it all the more, since after defeating a Hannibal who had not been conquered before and was filling Africa with fear, he neither drove him from the country nor demanded his surrender by his fellow citizens, nay, he actually gave him a kindly greeting when he held conference with him before the battle, and after the battle, in making terms of peace, he did not insult or trample upon the fortunes of his foe. ${ }^{1}$ Moreover, we are told that the two men met again at Ephesus, and in the first place, that when, as they were walking about together, Hannibal took the side which more properly belonged to Scipio as the superior, Scipio suffered it and walked about without paying any heed to it; and again, that when they fell to discussing generals and Hannibal declared Alexander to have been the mightiest of generals, and next to him Pyrrhus, and third himself, Scipio asked with a quiet smile, "And what wouldst thou have said if I had not conquered thee?" To which Hannibal replied, "In that case, Scipio, I should not have counted myself third, but first of generals. " ${ }^{2}$

Such conduct on the part of Scipio most people

[^85]
## PLU'TARCH'S LIVES





 $\chi \epsilon i ̂ \rho a ~ ф о \beta \epsilon \rho a ́ \nu, ~ a ̀ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \delta \epsilon \iota \nu o ́ \tau \eta \tau а \kappa \alpha \grave{\tau} \tau \grave{\nu} \nu \epsilon \not \mu \pi \epsilon \iota-$



 $\sigma \theta a \iota \tau a i ̂ \varsigma ~ \epsilon ่ \lambda \pi i \sigma \iota \pi \rho o ̀ s ~ \tau a ̀ s ~ \epsilon ̇ \pi \iota \theta \epsilon ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma ~ \tau o u ̀ s ~ a ̀ \epsilon \grave{~} \tau \hat{̣}$
 $\mu a ̄ \lambda \lambda о \nu$ є่ $\mu a \rho \tau \dot{\rho} \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \tau \hat{\varphi}$ Ті́т $\omega$, то仑̂ro $\mu \epsilon ̀ \nu$ 'А $\rho \iota \sigma \tau o ́-$


 Фı $\mu \beta$ рíà каі тобойтоу ö $\lambda \epsilon \theta \rho о \nu \quad \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \epsilon v \mu a ́ \tau \omega \nu$
 каї $\theta a \lambda a ́ \tau \tau \eta$ s ảvaбтàs т $\eta \lambda \iota \kappa о \hat{\tau} \tau о \varsigma$.



 $\tau u ́ \chi a s$ ' $\mathrm{P} \omega \mu a i ̂ o \iota \gamma \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon \varsigma$ à $\lambda \omega \mu \epsilon$ ย́vov каi $\pi \tau \omega \chi \epsilon v{ }^{\prime}-$



$$
{ }^{1} \text { In 131-130 в.б. } \quad{ }^{2} \text { In 88-84 в.о. }
$$

admired, and they blamed Titus for having laid violent hands on one whom another had slain. But some there were who praised what he had done and thought that Hannibal, as long as he was alive, was a consuming fire which needed only to be fanned; for when he was in his prime, they said, it was not his body nor his arm that had been formidable to the Romans, but his ability and experience coupled with his ingrained bitterness and hostility, and from these naught is subtracted by old age, but the natural characteristics remain unchanged: whereas fortune does not remain the same, but changes sides, and summons with hope to fresh undertakings those whom hatred makes perpetual foes. And subsequent events were perhaps still more a justification of Titus; for Aristonicus, the son of a harpist's daughter, used his reputed connexion with Eumenes to fill all Asia with wars and rebellions, ${ }^{1}$ and Mithridates, notwithstanding his defeats by Sulla and Fimbria and his great losses in armies and generals, ${ }^{2}$ rose once more to be a formidable antagonist of Lucullus by land and sea. ${ }^{3}$

However, not even Hannibal was reduced to a lower level than Caius Marius. For Hannibal had a king as his friend, and his days as usual were occupied with ships and horses and the care of soldiers; whereas Marius in his misfortunes was a laughingstock to the Romans as he wandered about and begged his way in Africa, though after a little while he was in Rome with his axes at their necks and his rods at their backs, and they were humbly begging his mercy. So true is it that nothing in the present
${ }^{3}$ In 74-67 в.c. The argument is that if so great dangers to Rome were latent in Asia, the presence of Hannibal there was a menace.

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES

 тò $\mu \epsilon ́ \lambda \lambda \lambda o \nu ~ \epsilon ̇ \sigma \tau i \nu, ~ a ̀ \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \mu i ́ a ~ \tau o ̂ v ~ \mu \epsilon \tau \alpha \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu ~$




 $\pi о \lambda \iota \tau \iota \kappa \grave{\eta} \nu$ то̂̂ Títov $\pi \rho \hat{\jmath} \xi_{\iota \nu}$ oüтє $\pi о \lambda \epsilon \mu \iota \kappa \grave{\eta} \nu$ iбто-
 ढ́ $\rho a \tau \grave{\tau} \nu \sigma ט ́ \gamma \kappa \rho \iota \sigma \iota \nu \dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \sigma \kappa о \pi \epsilon i ̂ \nu$.

## ФIAOHOIMENO』 KAI TITOY SYГKPIEIE

 $\epsilon \dot{v} \epsilon \rho \gamma \epsilon \sigma \iota \hat{\nu} \nu$ ойтє Фıлотоі́ $\epsilon \in \nu a$ Tíт $\omega$ та $\rho a \beta a ́ \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu$









 ${ }_{\alpha}^{\alpha} \nu \epsilon i \lambda \lambda \epsilon$.
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## PHILOPOEMEN, TITUS COMPARED, ı i-z

is either small or great in view of what may happen in the future, but change, like life, can only end with death. For this reason some say that Titus did not take this step on his own account, but that he was sent as ambassador with Lucius Scipio, and their embassy had no other object than the death of Hannibal.

We do not find that Titus was active after this, either as statesman or soldier, and his end was a peaceful one. It is therefore time to think of our comparison.

## COMPARISON OF PHILOPOEMEN AND TITUS

I. Accordingly, in the magnitude of their benefactions to the Greeks, neither Philopoemen nor any one of the Greeks who were better men than Philopoemen is worthy of comparison with Titus. For they were Greeks and waged their wars against Greeks; whereas Titus was not a Greek and waged war in behalf of Greeks; and at a time when Philopoemen was unable to defend his own countrymen from the attacks of their enemies, and had gone off into Crete, at that very time Titus won a victory over Philip in the heart of Greece and set her peoples and all her cities free. And if we examine into the battles which each fought, we shall find that the Greeks slain by Philopoemen as general of the Achaeans were more in number than the Macedonians slain by Titus as helper of the Greeks.

And then as to their errors, in the one they were

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES














 $\lambda_{\epsilon \epsilon a \nu} \sigma \tau \rho a \tau \eta \gamma \eta \eta^{\prime} a s$.
II. 'А $\lambda \lambda \lambda a ̀ ~ \pi \lambda \eta \dot{\eta} \theta \epsilon \iota \quad \gamma \epsilon \pi о \lambda \epsilon ́ \mu \omega \nu \kappa a \grave{~} \tau \rho о \pi a i \omega \nu \dot{\eta}$










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due to ambition, in the other to a spirit of contention. For 'Titus preserved Philip's royal dignity and showed favour to the Aetolians; whereas the anger of Philopoemen led him to rob his native city of its supremacy over the surrounding villages. And further, the one was always constant towards his beneficiaries, while the other, to indulge his wrath, was ever ready to cancel a kindness. For instance, though he had once been a benefactor of Sparta, he afterwards tore down her walls, reduced her territory, and finally altered and destroyed her very constitution. And it would appear that he threw away his life in a fit of anger and contentiousness, by hastening to attack Messene before occasion offered and more quickly than was feasible; for he did not, like Titus, conduct all his military operations with deliberation and a due regard for safety.
II. But surely the multitude of his wars and trophies put the military experience of Philopoemen on a firmer basis. For the campaign of Titus against Philip was decided by two conflicts, whereas Philopoemen was successful in countless battles and left no room for the claim that his victories were due to fortune rather than to skill. And besides, Titus, in his quest of fame, availed himself of the culminating power of Rome; whereas Philopoemen flourished when Greece was already in declension. Therefore the success of Philopoemen was his own work, while that of Titus was the result of a community of effort; for the latter was commander of good soldiers, while the former, as commander, had to make his soldiers good. And surely the fact that Philopoemen's conflicts were with Greeks furnished a proof of his valour which was convincing even

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$\dot{a} \pi o ́ \delta \epsilon \iota \xi_{\iota \nu} \pi a \rho \epsilon i ̂ \chi \epsilon \nu$. ois $\gamma$ à $\rho$ ö $\mu o \iota a \quad \tau \hat{a} \lambda \lambda a, \tau \hat{\varphi}$ $\pi \rho о \stackrel{\chi}{ } \epsilon \iota \nu \dot{a} \rho \epsilon \tau \hat{\eta}$ кратойб८. каі̀ $\gamma$ à $\rho$ ठ̀̀ $\pi о \lambda \epsilon-$

 $\delta^{\prime}$ ả $\lambda \kappa \iota \mu \omega \tau a ́ \tau \omega \nu \tau o ́ \lambda \mu \eta \pi \epsilon \rho \iota \epsilon \bar{\epsilon} \nu \epsilon \tau о$.









 тоѝs $\sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \tau a \varsigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu \mathrm{Ma} \mathrm{\kappa} \mathrm{\epsilon} \mathrm{\delta ó} \mathrm{\nu} \mathrm{\omega} \mathrm{\nu}, \mathrm{\tau ov̂} \mathrm{Títov} \mathrm{\tau às}$ $\chi \epsilon i ̂ \rho a s ~ \epsilon i s ~ \tau o ̀ \nu ~ o u ̉ \rho a \nu o ̀ \nu ~ \dot{v} \pi \tau i ́ a s ~ a ̀ \nu a \tau \epsilon i \nu a \nu \tau o s ~ e ́ ~ \sigma \tau \hat{\omega}-$

III. Kai $\mu \grave{\eta} \nu$ Títe $\mu \in ̀ \nu$ ä $\rho \chi о \nu \tau \iota ~ \sigma v \nu є ́ \beta \eta$ каì





 2 ミла́ртךऽ каi $\Lambda а к \epsilon \delta a \iota \mu о \nu i ́ o v s ~ \delta \iota ' \sigma \omega \sigma \epsilon \nu$. ойт $\omega \varsigma$ 390

## PHILOPOEMEN, TITUS COMPARED, in. 2-in. 2

though unfortunate: for where other things are equal, they prevail who surpass in valour. And so it was that although he carried on war with the most warlike of the Greeks, namely, the Cretans and Lacedaemonians, he surpassed the first in wiles, though they were most crafty, and the second in daring, though they were most brave.

In addition to this it may be said that Titus won his victories by using what lay ready to his hand, since he availed himself of styles of armour and formation which had come down to him, whereas Philopoemen won his successes by making contributions and changes of his own in these matters, so that in the one case what was most essential for victory did not exist and had to be discovered, while in the other it lay ready for service. In the way of personal prowess, moreover, Philopoemen performed much that was great, but Titus nothing at all; nay, an Aetolian named Archedemus mocked at him because, when he himself had drawn his sword and was running at full speed against the Macedonians who were holding together and fighting, Titus was standing with his hands stretched up towards heaven and praying for help.
III. And further, Titus was either a commander or an ambassador when he did all his noble deeds, whereas Plilopoemen showed himself no less active and effective for the Achaeans when he was a private citizen than when he was their general. For it was as a private citizen that he expelled Nabis from Messene and set the Messenians free, and as a private citizen that he shut the gates of Sparta against the coming of Diophanes the general and Titus, and so saved the Lacedaemonians.

## PLUTARCH'S LIVES


















Having this natural gift of leadership, he not only knew how to use it in accordance with the laws, but also how to dominate the laws for the common good; he did not think it necessury to be appointed commander by the people, but took them under his command when occasion required it, considering that he who took wise counsel in their behalf, rather than he who had been elected by them, was their real general.

Nobly generous, then, was the clemency and humanity which Titus showed to the Greeks, but more nobly generous was the firmness and love of freedom with which Philopoemen opposed the Romans; for it is easier to confer favours on suppliants than it is to vex with opposition those who are more powerful. But since, after this examination, the difference between the two men is hard to define, I leave it to my reader to say whether, if we award to the Greek the crown for military experience and generalship, and to the Roman that for justice and goodness of heart, we shall not make a fair decision.

## A PARTIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

## A PAR'TIAL DICTIONARY OF PROPER NAMES

## A

Acrotatus, 11, elder son of Cleomenes King of the Lacedaemonians, died before coming to the throne.
Acrotatus, 11, grandson of above, became King of the Lacedaemonians ca. 265 B.c.; defeated and slain at Megalopolis, 11.
Agathocleia, Mistress of Ptolemy IV Philopator, her influence, 125.
Agesilaüs, uncle of King Agis, supported him in his reforms, 15 ; his motives corrupt, 17 ; appointed ephor, 29 ; his deception of Agis, 31 ; tampered with the calendar, 35 ; driven into exile, 37.

Agesilauls, king of the Lacedaemonians, his descendants in the royal line, 9.
Agesipolis, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians in 395 B.0.
Agesipolis, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after Cleombrotus.
Agesistrata, 11, mother of King Agis; supported him in his reforms, 17 ; her death, 47.
Agiatis, wife of King Agis, married Cleomenes, son of King Leonidas, 51 ; his great love for her, her death, 99.
Agis, 9, third in descent from Agesilaüs, slain by Antipater at Megalopolis in 330 B.c.
Agis, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians, sixth in descent from Agesilaüs.
Agis, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians from 244 B.c.; his qualities and achievements, passim in his Life.
Amphares, betrayal of Agis, 41.

Antigonos Doson, king of Macedon, intervened in Peloponnesian affairs by invitation of Aratus, 83 ; captured Argos, 97 ; victory over Cleomenes at Sellasia, 113, 267 ; captured Sparta, 119.
Antiochus II, king of Syria, made war with the Romans in Greece in 191 B.0., 303, 349 ; defeated by Titus Flamininus, 365.
Antipater, second son of Cassander, regent of Alexander, attempt to corrupt Phocion, 5; slew Agis at Megalopolis in 330 B.c., 9.
Aratus, general of the Achaean League, was assisted by Agis in opposing the Aetolian invasion of the Peloponnesus, 33 ; attempt to bring Sparta into the League, 55; captured Mantineia, 61; refused the generalship of the League after the defeat at Dymae, 81 ; invited the intervention of Antigonus, 83 ; dependence of the League upon Macedonian help during his life, 275.
Arcesilaüs, betrayed Agis, 41.
Archidamia, 11, grandmother of King Agis; supported him in his reforms, 17 ; her death, 47.
Archidamus, son of Agesilaüs king of the Lacedaemonians, slain by the Messapians at Mandurium in Italy in 338 в.o., 9.
Archidamus, brother of King Agis, placed on the throne of Sparta by Aratus, but put to death by the murderers of Agis, 61.
Areus, 11, son of Acrotatus, king of the Lacedaemonians, 11 ; fell in battle at Corinth about 265 B. 0 .

Argos, occupied by Cleomenes, 89 ;

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successfully revolted from Cleomenes and joined Antigonus, 95, 97.
Aristomenes, king of the Messenians, wounded and slew the Spartan king Theopompus in battle, 49.
Attalus Philometor, king of Pergamum, made the Roman people his heir, 177.

## B

Belbina, precinct of Athena on the borders of Arcadia and Lacedaemon, 57.

## C

Cassandra, daughter of Priam, supposed to give oracles as Pasiphaë at Thalamae in Laconia, 21.
Centaurs, begotten by Ixion, who embraced a cloud, not Hera, 3.
Chalcis, saved by Titus Flamininus, 367.

Chilonis, daughter of Leonidas and wife of King Cleombrotus, her loyalty to both father and husband, 37.
Claudius, Appius, marries his daughter to Tiberius Clandius, 151.

Clcombrotus, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after his brother Agesipolis.
Cleombrotus, only Spartan king to be slaln in battle, 49 .
Cleombrotus, son-in-law of Leonidas, became king of the Lacedaemonians in his stead ca. 242 B.O., 20 ; was deposed, 37 ; his life spared by the supplications of his wife Chilonis, 40.
Cleomenes, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after his brother Agesipolis.
Cleomenes, son of Leonidas, married the wife of Agis, 51; came to the throne of Sparta in 235 B.C., 53 ; his character and achievements, passim in his Life.
Cleonymus, 11, son of Cleomenes king of the Lacedaemonians, did not succeed to the throne.

Corinth, occupied by Cleomenes, 92.

Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, her demeanour after the death of her sons, 241.
Cratesicleia, mother of Cleomenes, 61 ; went to Egypt as hostage, 99 ; executed by I'tolemy, 13.9.
Cynoscephalae, defeat of Philip V by Titus Flamininus, 341 ff .

## D

Daphne, daughter of Amyclas, fleeing from Apollo, was metamorphosed into a tree, becoming the oracular Pasiphaë, 21.
Demochares, betrayer of Agis, 41.
Diophanes, general of the Achaean League, opposed to Philopocmen, 301.

Drusus, Iivius, popular tribune with Caius Gracchus, took the side of the Senate in the conflict with Caius, 215.
Dymae, battle at, between Cleomenes and the Arcadians, 81.

## E

Ectrephes, ephor at Sparta, cut out two of the nine strings in the harp of Phrynis, 25.
Epitadeus, ephor at sparta, changed the law regulating inheritance, 13.

Eudamidas, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after the death of Agis in 330 1.0.
Endamidas, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians after Archidamus.

## F

Flamininus, Titus, defeated Phillp V of Macedon at Cynoscephalae, 293; became jealous of Philopoemen, 297; his character and achievements, passim in his Life.

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Fulvius Flaccus, friend and supporter of Caius Gracchus, 219 ; murdered by the agents of Opimiue, $235 \mathrm{ff} . ;$ his high character, 239.

## G

Gracchus, Caius, character and achievements, passim in his Life. Gracchus, Tiberius, character and achievements, passim in his Life.

## H

Hannibal, Carthaginian general, stirred Antiochus against the Romans, 347 ; his death through the persecution of Titus Flamininus, 381.
Hera, loved by Ixion, 3.
Hippomedon, supported the reforms of King Agis, 17.

## I

Ixion, embraced a cloud instead of Hera and begat the Centaurs, 3.

## L

Laelius, Caius, attempted without success to remedy the social and economic condition of the Romans, 161.
Leonidas, king of the Lacedaemonians, eighth in descent from the Pausanias who defeated Mardonius at Plataea in 488 B.c., 9.

Leonidas, 11, became king of the Lacedaemonians ca. 256 B.C., luxury-loving and weak; assisted the rich in opposing the reforms of Agis, 19, 24; was indicted for having children by a foreign woman, 27 ; deposed as king about 242 B.c., 29 ; was brought back to Sparta by his partisans, 37 ; expelled the ephors from office, 41.

Leuctra, rout of the Arcadians by Cleomenes there, 61.
Lycurgus, founder of the Spartan institutions, 13 ; his memory detested by Spartans in later times, 15.
Lysander, supported the reforms of King Agis, 15 ; became ephor, and introduced a bill for the abolition of debts, 19 ; indicted Leonidas, 25 ; was indicted in turn, 29.

## M

Machanidas, tyrant of Sparta, defeated and killed by Philopoemen at Mantineia, 281 ff.
Mancinus, Caius, campaign against Numantia, 153.
Mandrocleidas, supported the reforms of King Agis, 15 ; indicted for this, 29.
Megalopolis, captured by Cleomenes, 103.
Megistonoüs, step-father of King Cleomenes of Sparta, assisted the latter in overthrowing the ephors, 65.

## N

Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, yielded to Philopoemen at Messene, 289 ; defeated Philopoemen at sea, 293 ; was defeated at Sparta by Philopoemen, 295 ; assassinated, 297.

Nasica, P. Cornelius Scipio, leader of the Senate in the murder of Tiberius Gracchus, 193; incurred thereby the popular hatred, 195.
Nicanor, Messenian, enemy of King Cleomenes of Sparta, plotted against him in Egypt, 129.

## 0

Octavius, Marcus, popular tribune, opposed the measures of Tiberius Gracchus, 167 ; was ejected from his office by Tiberius, 173.

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Opimius, Lucius, as consul led in the opposition to Caius Gracchus, $223,227,229,233$; restored the Temple of Concord, 239 ; guilty of corruption, 239.

## P

Pasiphaë, her temple and oracle at Thalamae in Laconia; she was daughter of Atlas and mother by Zeus of Hermes, or else was another name for Cassandra, daughter of Priam, or else identical with Daphne, 21.
Pausanias, 9, king of the Lacedaemonians, defeated Mardonius at Plataea in 488 b.c.; his successors on the throne down to Agis, 9.
Pausanias, 9, son of Pleistoanax, king of the Lacedaemonians, went in exile to Tegea.
Pherecydes, though a foreigner, was honoured in Sparta, 25.
Philip V, king of Macedon, opposed Philopoemen, 287 ; the campaign of Titus Flamininus against him, 329 ff., 339 ff. ; his defeat at Cynoscephalae, 341 ff.
Philopoemen, snccessor of Aratus as leader of the Achaean League, his character and achievements, passim in his Life; aroused the jealousy of Titus Flamininus, 361 ; kept Megalopolis faithful to the League, $105,265$.
Phrynis, harpist, was obliged in Sparta to modify his harp of nine strings, 25.
Pleistoanax, king of the Lacedaemonians after his father Pausanias, 9.
Ptolemy II, Euergetes, aided King Clcomenes of Sparta, 99 ; gave
him asylum after his defeat at Sellasia, 123.
Ptolemy IV, Philopator, his character and his attitude toward King Cleomenes of Sparta, 125.

## S

Sellasia, decisive defeat of King Cleomenes there by Antigonus, 113, 267.
Sosibius, minister of Ptolemy IV, Philopator, hostile to King Cleomenes of Sparta, 125.
Sparta, the two lines of kings in descent from Agesilaüs and Pausanias, 9 ff. ; after its overthrow of Athens became wealthy and corrupt, 11; decline in Spartan families and concentration of the wealth in the hands of a few 15 ; its wealth in the hands of the women, 17 ; economic and social condition when Cleomenes came to the throne in 235 B.0., 54 ; defeated by Philopoemen and forced into the Achaean League, 297.

## T

Terpander, though an alien, was honoured at Sparta, 25.
Thalamae, in Laconia, seat of the oracle of Pasiphaë, 21.
Thales, though a foreigner, was honoured at Sparta, 25.
Theopompus, king of the Lacedaemonians, wounded (or slain) by Aristomenes in battle, 49.

## X

Xenares, friend of King Cleomenes of Sparta, 55.

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ ò̀̀̀ $\tau o \hat{u} \pi$., Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan : кal סià $\tau o v ̂ \pi$.
    

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 338 в.с.
    ${ }^{2}$ In 330 в.c. $\quad{ }^{8}$ In 244 в.c.
    ${ }^{4}$ In 395 b.c. See the Lysander, xxx. 1.

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Lycurgus, viii. f.

[^3]:    ${ }^{1} \delta \mu \circ \hat{v} \tau \iota \delta \iota a \kappa o \sigma l \omega \nu$ Blass (Fuhr) : $\delta \mu о \hat{v} \tau р ı а к о \sigma\{\omega \nu$.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ Plutarch here merges two separate laws. Cf. the Lycurgus, xxvii. 3.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ About 242 b.c. $\quad{ }^{2}$ See chapter vi. 3 f.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ In his "Commentaries." See the Aratus, iii. 2.
    ${ }^{2}$ This was regularly done thrice during a period of nine years, but in distinctly specified years. The object was to equalize the lunar and solar years.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ On the promontory of Taenarum. See the Cleomenes, xxii. 5.

[^8]:    ${ }^{1} \tau v \hat{v} \theta \in o \hat{v}$ Coraës, Bekker, and Ziegler, after Bryan; $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ өєov̀. $\quad{ }^{2}$ каl кє $\chi \rho \eta \mu \epsilon ́ \nu о s$ Coraës and Bekker delete кal.

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Pelopidas, xxiii.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 235 b.c. Cleomenes was then about twenty-four years of age.

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ Agis II. (427-398 в.c.); cf. the Morals, pp. 190 c; 215 d.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ Chapter xii.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Aratus, xxxiii. 5 f.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Aratus, xxxix.

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Pyrrhus, xxxii. ff.

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247$2: 2$ в.c. See the Aratus, xli. 3.

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Philopoemen, v.

[^18]:    Schoemann: $\tau 0 \hat{v} \pi \rho \omega \rho \alpha \tau \epsilon \hat{v} \sigma \alpha \iota ~ \tau \grave{\partial}$ фupẫaı (before the lookoutman comes the bread-maker) with the MSS.

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hist. ii. 65. 2 and 7. The battle of Sellasia was fought in June of 221 b.c.
    ${ }^{2}$ A rural police with the special duty of watching the Helots, or slave population.

[^20]:    ${ }^{1}$ As they were before the reforms of Cleomenes.

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ таракалєì Ziegler ：таракалєì ѐкєїбє Bekker：тара－ $\kappa а \lambda \epsilon i v e ́ \kappa \epsilon i v o \nu$（with the MSS．）．

[^22]:    ${ }^{1}$ See chapter xxiii. 4.

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 183 в.о.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1} \delta \in \lambda \phi i v a s$ Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, with the MSS. : sé่фıкаs (Delphic tables, or tripods), after Amyot.

[^25]:     and Fuhr ci $\mu \dot{\eta}$ єíphreis (unless thou hadst found), after Stephanus.

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ Princeps Senatus.
    ${ }^{2}$ Presumably at the induction of Tiberius into office.

[^27]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy. xxxviii. 57.
    ${ }^{3}$ In the campaign of 146 destruction of Carthage.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Polybius, xxxii. 13.
    B.c., which ended with the ${ }^{4}$ Consul in 137 в.c.

[^28]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 321 b.c. Cf. Cicero, De off., iii. 30, 109.
    ${ }^{2}$ By Tiberius and his friends.
    ${ }^{3}$ Scipio was sent against Numantia in 134 b.c., and took and destroyed the city in ths following year, in which year also Tiberius was killed.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ Probably a political pamphlet in the form of a letter. Cf. Cicero, de div. ii. 29, 62.

[^30]:    ${ }^{1} \kappa \alpha \tau \alpha \delta u ́ \sigma \epsilon \iota s$ Bekker and many other editors have кaтáסvбıs, after Stephanus and Reiske.

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Cato Major, xxii. 5.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}{ }^{2} \nu$ eivaı Cobet and Fuhr : [map]eiva..

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ The pretender to the throne of Attalus Philometor (xiv.1). He was defeated and taken prisoner by the Romans in 130 в.c.
    ${ }^{2}$ In a lost biography.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 126 в.о. ${ }^{2}$ De div. i. 26, 56.

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ Fregellae revolted, and was destroyed in 125 в.с.

[^36]:    ${ }^{1}$ For the year 123 b.c., ten years after Tiberius had entered upon the same office.

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ à $\nu a \nu{ }^{\prime}{ }^{\prime} \mu \omega \nu$ Coraës and Bekker, after Du Soul, for the MSS. ${ }_{\alpha}^{\alpha} \mu \alpha . \nu \epsilon \epsilon \mu \omega \nu$. Ziegler adopts $\delta \iota a \nu \dot{\epsilon} \mu \omega \nu$, proposed by Sint. ${ }^{2}$ and Cobet.

[^38]:    ${ }^{1}$ そ̈धєı Cordës and Bekker retain the old vulgate $\check{\eta} \delta \eta$ ．

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ An allusion to the rival demagogues in the Knights of Aristophanes.

[^40]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Tiberius Gracchus, ad fin., and cf. the Romulus, xxvii. 4 f.
    ${ }^{2}$ In 129 b.c., six years before Caius became tribune.

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ Blass compares the laughter of the doomed suitors in Odyssey, xx. 346 ff .- the fatuous smile of men whose fate is sealed, though they are unaware of it.

[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Cicero, Brutus, 58, 211.

[^43]:    1 The formal decree of martial law : consul videret ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet (Cicero, In Cat. i. 2, 4).

[^44]:    ${ }^{1}$ éкeive Blass, Fuhr, and Ziegler, after Madvig: éseívors.

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ Republic, p. 426 e.
    2 See the Lycurgus; xiii.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Lycurgus, iii. 5.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Clesmenes, xxiv.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. the Cheornenes, xxvii. and xxviii. The battle of Sellasia was fought in 221 8.c.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Aratus, x.

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ As a rule, the same man could not be general of the Achaean league two years in succession.

[^50]:     $\pi \in р$ ркєкощие́гоия.

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ In the battle of Cynoscephalae, 197 b.c. See the Flamininus, xiii.

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Flamininus, chapter $\mathbf{x}$.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. the F/amininus, ix. 5.

[^53]:    ${ }^{3}$ In 102 b.c. Nabis had called in the Aetolians to help him against the Achaeans and Romans (Livy, xxxv. 35-37).

[^54]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the Aristides, iii. 4.

[^55]:    ${ }^{2}$ In a passage not extant. Livy gives the same number (xxxviii. 33).

[^56]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 184 b.c. (Livy, xxxix. 34).

[^57]:    \& In 191 b.c. Cf. the Flamininus, xv.

[^58]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Flamininus, xvi. i. $\quad{ }^{2}$ Cf. chapter xiii. 4.

[^59]:    ${ }^{1} \delta i ' a u ̀ \tau \omega \hat{\omega}$ Bekker and Blass have $\delta \iota^{\prime}$ aú $\bar{\omega} \nu$ (died by their own hands), with Stephanus.

[^60]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 146 b.c., at the close of Rome's war with the Achaean league.

[^61]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 208 в.c. Cf. the Marcellus, xxviii. f.
    ${ }^{2}$ In 198 b.c.

[^62]:    ${ }^{1}$ So Livy, xxxii. 12.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Pyrrhus, xvi. 5.

[^64]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 1 f.
    ${ }^{2}$ So Livy, xxxiii. 4.

[^65]:    ${ }^{3}$ On the same battlefield Pelopidas had been defeated and slain by Alexander of Pherae, in 364 b.c. Cf. the Pelopidas, xxxii.

[^66]:    ${ }^{1}$ For a fuller description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxiii. 710 (Polybius, xviii. 20-27).

[^67]:    ${ }^{1}$ Rather, the ten commissioners sent from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece (chapter x. 1). Cf. Livy, xxxiii. 30 (Polybius xviii. 44).
    ${ }^{2}$ In 196 в.c., according to Nepos, Hannibal, vii. 6. According to Livy (xxxiii. 47), it was in the following year.

[^68]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 67 A.d.

[^69]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Philopoemen, xv. 1-3.

[^70]:    ${ }^{2}$ Titus offered this defence of his course to the congress of Greek states at Corinth (Livy, xxxiv. 48 f.).

[^71]:    ${ }^{1}$ The mina was one sixtieth part of a talent, or one hundred drachmas.

[^72]:    ${ }^{2}$ These "Philips" were nearly equivalent to sovereigns. Cf. Livy's description of the triumph (xxxiv. 52).
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. chapter ix. 5. ${ }^{4}$ In the autumn of 192 b.c.

[^73]:    ${ }^{1} \ddot{\omega} \sigma \pi \in \rho \tau<$ Coraës, Bekker, and Blass, after Stephanus: $\ddot{\omega} \sigma \pi \in \rho \tau i s$.
    $3^{64}$

[^74]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 191 b.c. For a description of the battle, cf. Livy, xxxvi. 14-2l.

[^75]:    ${ }^{1} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ă $\lambda \lambda \omega \nu{ }^{\text { }} \mathrm{E} \lambda \lambda \eta \nu \omega \nu$ Coraës and Blass，after Bryan ：$\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ ＇E入入ウ $\nu \omega \nu$ 。

[^76]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy, xxxvi. 32 ; Plutarch, Morals, p. 197 b.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Morals, p. 197 a (Polybius, xviii. 7).
    ${ }^{3}$ Cf. the Philopoemen, xviii. ff. (Polybius, xxiii. 5).

[^77]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Morale, p. 197 c (Livy, xxxv. 49).

[^78]:    ${ }^{2}$ In 189 b.c. $\quad{ }^{3}$ Cf. chapter i. 3.
    ${ }^{4}$ Cf. the Tiberius Gracchus, iv. 1; Cato the Elder, xvii. 1.

[^79]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy, xxxix. 43.

[^80]:    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Cato the Elder, xvii. 1-4; Livy, xxxix. 42. ${ }^{3}$ In 184 b.c.

[^81]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Cato the Elder, xix. 2; Livy, xxxix. 44.

[^82]:    ${ }^{1}$ The battle at Magnesia, in Lydia. 191 b.c. Under the terms of peace, Antiochus was to deliver Hannibal to the Romans. Cf. Livy, xxxvii. 45.

[^83]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. the Themistocles, xxxi. 5.
    ${ }^{2}$ Livy, xxxix. 51. ${ }^{3}$ Cf. the Pyrrhus, xxi. 1-3.

[^84]:    ${ }^{1}$ éкeivy Coraës and Bekker, after Reiske: єìva. Blass corrects to $\pi \rho \rho \eta \dot{\kappa} \kappa \boldsymbol{\sigma} \sigma \alpha \nu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\alpha} . \tau \alpha \dot{\alpha} \dot{\nu}$.

[^85]:    ${ }^{1}$ Cf. Livy, xxx. 29 ff.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cf. Livy, xxxv. 14.

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