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†E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D. †W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES
XI
First printed 1926

Printed in Great Britain
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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE PARALLEL LIVES.

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(3) Solon and Publicola.
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(5) Pericles and Fabius Maximus.
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ΑΡΑΤΟΣ

I. Παραμίαν τινὰ παλαιάν, ὦ Πολύκρατε, δείσας μοι δοκεῖ τὸ δύσφημον αὐτῆς, ὁ φιλόσοφος Χρύσιππος, οὐχ ὃν ἔχει τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος ἡμῶν εἶναι, διατίθεται,

tίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει, εἰ μὴ εὐδαιμόνες νῦι;
Διονυσόδωρος δὲ ὁ Τροιζήμως ἔλεγχων αὐτὸν ἀντεκτίθησι τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὐτως ἔχουσαν.

tίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει, εἰ μὴ κακοδαιμόνες νῦι;

2 καὶ φησὶ τοὺς ἀφ' αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς ἄξιος ὄντας, ὑποδυνόμενοι δὲ προγόνων τινῶν ἀρεταῖς καὶ πλεουξομένως ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπαίνοις ὑπὸ τῆς παρομίας ἐπιστομίζεσθαι. ἀλλ' ὃ γε φῦσει τὸ γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει ἐκ πατέρων, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, ὃς περὶ σοὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἀφομοιώτικα τῶν οἰκοθεν παράδειγματων τῶν βίων, εὐδαιμόν ἃν εἰη τὸ μεμνήσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἄριστων, ἀκούσας περὶ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ τι καὶ λέγοντας. οὐ γὰρ ἰδίων

1 ἀρεταῖς Sint. and Ziegler with S_; Bekker has ἀρετάς, with inferior MSS.
2 Pyth. viii. 44f. (φυ̂ς . . . ἐκ πατέρων παιοτι λήμα).
ARATUS

I. There is an ancient proverb, Polycrates,¹ which the philosopher Chrysippus puts not as it really is, but as he thought better:—

"Who will praise a father, except happy sons?"

But Dionysodorus of Troezen corrects him, and restores the true form thus:—

"Who will praise a father, except unhappy sons?"

And he says that the proverb stops the mouths of those who, being worthless in themselves, take refuge in the virtues of certain ancestors and are forever praising them. But surely for a man in whom, to use Pindar's words, "the noble spirit naturally displayes itself as inherited from sires," and who, like thee, patterns his life after the fairest examples in his family line,—for such men it will be good fortune to be reminded of their noblest progenitors, ever and anon hearing the story of them, or telling it themselves. For it is not that they lack

¹ A friend of Plutarch, not otherwise known, to whom he thus dedicates this Life. See the note on the Theseus, i. 1.
ἀπορία καλῶν ἐξαρτῶσιν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπαίνων τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τὸς ἐκείνων τὰ οἰκεῖα συνάπτοντες, ὡς καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τοῦ βίου καθηγεμόνας εὐφημοῦσι. διὸ κἀγὼ τὸν Ἀράτον τοῦ σου πολιτοῦ καὶ προπάτορος βίον, ὅν οὐτε τῇ δόξῃ τῇ περὶ σεαυτὸν οὕτε τῇ δυνάμει κατασχύνει, ἀπεσταλκά σοι συγγραψάμενος, οὐχ ὡς οὐχί πάντων ἀκριβέστατά σοι μεμεληκός ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπίστασθαι τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις, ἀλλ' ὅπως οἱ παῖδες σου Πολυκράτης καὶ Πυθοκλῆς οἰκείους παραδείγμασιν ἐντρέφονται, τὰ μὲν ἀκούοντες, τὰ δὲ ἀναγνώσκοντες, ἀπέρ αὐτοὺς μιμεῖσθαι προσήκει. φιλαύτου γὰρ ἀνδρός, οὗ φιλοκάλου, παντὸς ἀεὶ βέλτιστον ἤγείροι. 

Π. Ἡ Σικυωνίων πόλις, ἐπεί τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς ἀκράτου καὶ Δωρικῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὅπερ ἀρμονίας συγχυθείσης εἰς στάσεις ἐνέπεσε καὶ φιλοτιμίας δημαγωγῶν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο νοσοῦσα καὶ ταραττομένη καὶ τύραννον ἐκ τυράννου μεταβάλλουσα, μέχρι οὐ Κλέωνος ἀναρεθέντος εἶλοντο Τιμοκλείδας ἄρχοντα καὶ Κλεινίαν, ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπότας. ἥδη δὲ τινα τῆς πολιτείας κατάστασιν ἐχειν δοκούσης Τιμοκλείδας μὲν ἀπέθανεν, Ἀβαντίδας δὲ ὁ Πασέου τυραννίδα πράττων ἑαυτῷ τὸν Κλεινίαν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνείλεν. ἐξήτει δὲ καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρατοῦ, ἀνελεῖν, ἐπτατη 3 καταλελειμμένον. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τῆν οἰκίαν τα-
noble qualities of their own and make their reputation dependent on their praises of others, nay rather, they associate their own careers with the careers of their great ancestors, whom they hail both as founders of their line and as directors of their lives. And therefore, now that I have written the life of Aratus, who was thy countryman and forefather, and to whom thou thyself art no discredit in either reputation or influence, I send it to thee, not as though thou hadst not been at pains from the beginning to have the most precise knowledge of thy great ancestor's career, but in order that thy sons Polycrates and Pythocles may be reared, now by hearing and now by reading, after examples found in their own family line—examples which it well becomes them to imitate. For it is the lover of himself, and not the lover of goodness, who thinks himself always superior to others.

II. The city of Sicyon, as soon as it had fallen away from its pure Doric form of aristocracy (which was now like a harmony dissolved) and had become a prey to factions and the ambitious schemes of demagogues, was without cease distempered and agitated, and kept changing one tyrant for another, until, after the murder of Cleon, Timocleides and Cleinias were chosen chief magistrates, men of the highest repute and influence among the citizens. But no sooner did the government appear to be somewhat settled than Timocleides died, and Abantidas the son of Paseas, attempting to make himself tyrant, slew Cleinias, and, of the friends and kinsmen of Cleinias, banished some and killed others. He tried to kill also the son of Cleinias, Aratus, left fatherless at the age of seven. But in the confusion
Plutarch's Lives

ραχή συνεκπεσόν τόις φεύγουσιν ὁ παῖς, καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει περίφοβος καὶ ἄβοηθητος, κατὰ τύχην ἔλαθεν εἰς οἰκίαν παρελθὼν γυναικὸς, ἀδελφῆς μὲν Ἀβαντίδου, Προφάντῳ δὲ τῷ Κλεινίουν ἀδελφῷ γεγαμημένης, ὄνομα Σωσσός, αὕτη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱθὸς οὐσὰ γενναία καὶ σὺν θεῶ τινὶ τὸ παιδίον οἰμιένη καταπεθευγέναι πρὸς αὕτην ἀπεκρυψεν ἐνδον, εἰτὰ νυκτὸς εἰς Ἀργος ὑπεξέπεμψεν.

III. Οὔτω δ' ἐκκλαπέντι τῷ Ἄρατῳ καὶ διαφυγόντι τὸν κίνδυνον εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνεφύετο καὶ συνηώξετο τὸ σφοδρόν καὶ διάπυρον μύσος ἐπὶ τοὺς τυφάνουσ. τρεφόμενος δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Ὁργεὶ κένωσι καὶ φίλοις πατρῴοις ἐλευθερίως, καὶ τὸ σῶμα βλαστάνουν ὅρῶν εἰς εὔξεις καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀσκῆσει τῇ περὶ παλαίστραν, ὡστε καὶ πένταδικον ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ στεφάνων τυχεῖν. ἐπιφαίνεται δ' ἀμέλει καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσις ἀθλητικὴ τις ἱδέα, καὶ τὸ συνετὸν τοῦ προσώπου καὶ βασιλικὸν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀρνεῖται τὴν ἀδημαγίαν καὶ τὸ σκαφείον. οὕνεν ἐνδέεστερον ἰσως ἡ πολιτικὴ προσήκον ἢν ἀνδρὶ περὶ τῶν λόγων ἐσπούδασε· καίτοι γεγονέναι κομψότερον εἰσεῖν ἡ δοκεῖ τισιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων κρίσεωσιν, ἀ παρέργας καὶ ὑπὸ χειρὰ διὰ τῶν ἐπιτυγχάνων ὀνομάτων ἀμιλλησάμενος κατέλιπε.

3 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὅστερον Ἀβαντίδαν μὲν οἱ περὶ Δευνίαν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν διαλεκτικόν, εἰσθότα τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν σχολαζόντων ἐκά-

1 A contest involving the five arts of running, leaping, hurling the spear, boxing, and wrestling.
which prevailed about the house the boy made his escape with the fugitives, and wandering about in the city, full of fear and helpless, by chance got unnoticed into the house of a woman who was a sister of Abantidas, but had married Prophantus the brother of Cleinias. Her name was Soso. This woman, who was of a noble nature, and thought it a divine dispensation that the boy had taken refuge with her, hid him in the house, and at night sent him secretly off to Argos.

III. Thus was Aratus stolen away from the peril that threatened him, and at once that vehement and glowing hatred of tyrants for which he was noted became a part of his nature and grew with his growth. He was reared in liberal fashion among the guests and friends of his father's house at Argos, and since he saw that his bodily growth promised high health and stature, he devoted himself to the exercises of the palaestra, going so far as to win wreaths of victory in contesting the pentathlum. And indeed even his statues have plainly an athletic look, and the sagacity and majesty of his countenance do not altogether disown the athlete's full diet and wielding of the mattock. Wherefore his cultivation of oratory was perhaps less intense than became a man in public life; and yet he is said to have been a more ornate speaker than some think who judge from the Commentaries which he left; these were a bye-work, and were composed in haste, off-hand, and in the words that first occurred to him in the heat of contest.

Some time after the escape of Aratus, Abantidas was slain by Deinias and Aristotle the logician. The tyrant was wont to attend all their public disquisitions
στοτε παρείναι καὶ συμφιλονεικεῖν, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοιαύτην διατριβήν καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἐπιβουλήν ἀνέιλον, Πασέαν δὲ τὸν Ἀβαντίδου πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπολαβόντα Νικοκλῆς δολο- 

4 φονίσας ἔαυτον ἀνέδειξε τύραννον. τούτον ἐμ- 

φερέστατον λέγουσι τὴν ὁψιν Περιάνδρῳ τῷ 

Κυψέλου γενέσθαι, καθάπερ Ἀλκμαιών μὲν τῷ 

'Αμφιάρεω τὸν Πέρσην Ὀρόντην," Ἐκτορὶ δὲ τὸν 

Δακεδαίμονιον νεανίσκον, δυ ἰστορεῖ Μυρτίλος 

ὑπὸ πλῆθος τῶν θεωμένων, ὡς τούτο ἐγνωσαν, 

καταπαθήναι.

IV. Τοῦ δὲ Νικοκλέους τέσσαρας μῆνας τυραν- 

νοῦντος, ἐν οἷς πολλά κακά τὴν πόλιν ἐργασά- 

μενος ἐκινδύνευσεν ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν ἐπιβουλευμομένην 

αὐτὴν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἦδη μειράκιον ὁ "Αρατος ὃν 

ἀξίωμα λαμπρόν εἶχε δὲ εὐγένειαν καὶ φρόνημα, 

ὁ δὲ οἰκείων οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ ἄργον, ἐμβριθὲς δὲ καὶ 

παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν ἀσφαλεστέρα γυνόμη κεκραμένον. 

2 οἷς οὐ τε φυγάδες μάλιστα τὸν νοῦν ἐκείνῳ προσ- 

εῖχον, ὁ τε Νικοκλῆς οὐκ ἦμελει τῶν πραττό- 

μένων, ἀλλ᾽ ἀδήλως ἀπεθέωρει καὶ παρεφύλαττε 

αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀρμήν, τόλμημα μὲν οὐδὲν τηλικοῦτον 

δεδιώς οὐδὲ ἔργον οὐδὲν οὕτω παρακεκινδυνε- 

μένον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ τοῖς βασιλεύσιν αὐτοῦ δια- 

3 λέγεσθαι φίλοις οὐσὶ καὶ ξένοις πατριώσις. καὶ 

γὰρ ἀληθῶς ὁ "Αρατος ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ὠδὸν ἐκεί- 

νην βαδίζειν. ὡς δὲ Ἀντίγονος μὲν ὑπισχυνο- 

μένος ἦμελει καὶ παρῆγγε 1 τὸν χρόνον, αἱ δὲ ἀπ᾽ 


1 παρῆγγε Coraës and Ziegler, with S: παρῆκε (let the time 

pass).

1 251 B.C.
in the market-place and to take part in them; they encouraged him in this practice, laid a plot, and took his life. Paseas also, the father of Abantidas, after assuming the supreme power, was treacherously slain by Nicocles, who then proclaimed himself tyrant. This man is said to have borne a very close resemblance to Periander the son of Cypselus, just as Orontes the Persian did to Alcmaeon the son of Amphiaraiüs, and as the Spartan youth mentioned by Myrtilus did to Hector. Myrtilus tells us that when the throng of spectators became aware of this resemblance, the youth was trampled underfoot.

IV. Nicocles was tyrant of the city for four months, during which he wrought the city much harm, and narrowly escaped losing it to the Aetolians when they plotted to seize it. By this time Aratus, now a young man, was held in marked esteem on account of his high birth, and of his spirit. This was showing itself to be not insignificant nor yet unenterprising, but earnest, and tempered with a judgement safe beyond his years. Wherefore the exiles from Sicyon had their minds fixed most of all upon him, and Nicocles was not neglectful of what was going on, but kept secret watch and ward over his undertakings, not because he feared any deed of so great daring and hazard as that in which Aratus finally engaged, but because he suspected that Aratus was in communication with the kings who had been on terms of friendship and hospitality with his father. And in truth Aratus had attempted to travel along that path. But since Antigonus neglected his promises and prolonged the time, and since the hopes derived

1 Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia 283-239 B.C.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΔΙΑΙΡΕΣΕΩΝ

Αιγύπτου καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαίον μακρὰν ἦσαν ἐλπίδες, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτοῦ καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον.  
V. Πρώτος δὲ κοινώτατι τὴν γνώμην Ἀριστο- 
μάχῳ καὶ 'Εκδήλῳ. τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐκ Σικυώνος 
ἡν φυγάς, ὁ δὲ 'Εκδήλος Ἀρκάς ἐκ Μεγάλης 
πόλεως, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ πρακτικός, Ἀρκε-
σιλάου τοῦ Ἀκαδημιακοῦ γεγονὼς ἐν άστει συν-

2 ἡμέρας. δεξαμένων δὲ τούτων προθύμως διελέγετο 
τοῖς ἀλλοίς φυγάσιν, ὅπως ὅλγοι μὲν αἰσχυνθέντες 
ἐγκαταλιπείν τὴν ἐλπίδα μετείχον τῶν πρατ-
τομένων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀρατον ἑπειρώντο 
κατακωλύειν ὡς ἀπειρὰ πραγμάτων θρασυνό-

μενον.  

3 Βουλευομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ χωρίον τι τῆς Σικυωνίας 
καταλαβείν, οἶδεν ὁμομιμένος διαπόλεμήσει πρὸς 
τὸν τύραννον, ἤκεν εἰς Ἀργὸς ἀνὴρ Σικυώνιος ἐκ 
τῆς εἰρήνης ἀποδεδράκως. ἦν δὲ τῶν φυγάδων 
ἐνὸς Ξενοκλέους ἀδελφός· καὶ τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσ-
αχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξενοκλέους ἔλεγε τοῦ τεῖχους 
καθ’ ὅν υπερβας αὐτὸς ἐσώθη τόπου, ἐντὸς μὲν 
ὅλγοι δεῖν ἐπίπεδον εἶναι, προσπεφυκότα χωρίος 
πετρώδεσι καὶ ψιθυλοῖς, τὸ δὲ ἔξωθεν υψος ὑπὸ 

4 κλιμάκων οὐ πάνω ἀνέφικτον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἥκου-

σεν ὁ Ἀρατος, ἐκπέμπει μετὰ τοῦ Ξενοκλέους 
οἰκέτας ἱδίους δύο, Σευθᾶν τε καὶ Τέχνωνα, κατα-

σκεψιμένους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐγνωκῶς, εἰ δύνατο, 
κρύφα καὶ πρὸς ἐνα κίνδυνον ὑζέως τὸ πᾶν ἀνα-
ρίθαλος ὁ λυγρὸ πολέμῳ καὶ φανερῶς 
ἀνδρῶν ἰδιώτης ἀντικαθίστασθαι πρὸς τύραννον. 

5 ώς δὲ ἐπανηλθὼν οἱ περὶ τῶν Ξενοκλέα τοῦ μὲν 
τεῖχους εἰληφότες μέτρα καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν
from Egypt and Ptolemy\(^1\) were a long way off, he resolved to overthrow the tyrant by his own efforts.

V. The first to whom he imparted his design were Aristomachus and Ecdelus. Of these, the one was an exile from Sicyon, and Ecdelus was an Arcadian of Megalopolis, a student of philosophy and a man of action, who had been an intimate friend of Arcesilaus the Academic at Athens. These men eagerly adopted his proposals, and he then began conversations with the other exiles. A few of these took part in the enterprise because they were ashamed to disappoint the hope placed in them, but the majority actually tried to stop Aratus, on the ground that his inexperience made him over-bold.

While he was planning to seize some post in the territory of Sicyon from which he might sally forth and make war upon the tyrant, there came to Argos a man of Sicyon who had run away from prison. He was a brother of Xenocles, one of the exiles; and when he had been brought to Aratus by Xenocles, he told him that the part of the city's wall over which he had climbed to safety was almost level with the ground on the inside, where it had been attached to steep and rocky places, and that on the outside it was not at all too high for scaling-ladders. When Aratus had heard this, he sent with Xenocles two servants of his own, Seuthas and Technon, to make an examination of the wall; for he was resolved, if he could, to hazard the whole enterprise on one secret and swift attempt, rather than in a long war and in open contests to match his private resources against those of a tyrant. So when Xenocles and his party came back with measurements of the wall

\(^1\) Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt 283–247 B.C.
ἀπαγγέλλοντες οὖν ἄπορον οὐδὲ χαλεπὴν, τὸ δὲ λαθεῖν προσελθόντας ἐργῶδες εἶναι φάσκοντες ὑπὸ κηπουρὸν τινὸς κυναρίων, μικρῶν μὲν, ἐκτόπως δὲ μαχίμων καὶ ἀπαρηγορήτων, εὐθὺς εὐίστατο τὴν πράξιν.

VI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὁπλῶν παρασκευὴ συνήθης ἦν, πάντων, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, τότε κλώπειαις χρωμένων καὶ καταδρομαῖς ἐπὶ ἄλληλους· τὰς δὲ κλίμακας Εὐφράνωρ ὁ μηχανοποιὸς ἀναφανδὸν ἐπήξατο, τῆς τεχνῆς αὐτῶ τῷ ἀνύποπτῳ διδούσῃ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν τῶν φυγάδων. ἄνδρας δὲ αὐτῶ τῶν μὲν ἐν "Ἀργεῖ φίλων ἐκαστος ἐξ ὀλίγων δέκα παρέσχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ἴδιων οἰκετῶν τριάκοντα καθώπλισεν. ἐμισθώσατο δὲ καὶ διὰ πρώτου Ξενοφίλου τῶν ἀρχικλώπων οὐ πολλοὺς στρατιώτας, οῖς διεδόθη λόγος ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἱπποὺς τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἔξοδος ἐσοιτο. καὶ προετέμφησαν οἱ πολλοὶ σποράδες ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυγέρου πύργον, ἐκεῖ κελευσθένετε περιμεῖναι.

3 προετέμφηθε δὲ καὶ Καφισίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τεσσάρων ἄλλων εὐξώνων, οὓς ἔδει πρὸς τὸν κηπουρὸν ἀφικέσθαι σκοταίους, φάσκοντας ὀδοιπόρους εἶναι, καὶ καταυλισμενοὺς αὐτῶν τε συγκλείσαι καὶ τοὺς κύνας· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλη παρελθεῖν. τὰς δὲ κλίμακας διαλυτὰς οὖσας ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀχάνας καὶ κατακαλύφαντες ἐφ' ἀμαξῶν προσπέστειλαν.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατασκόπων τινῶν ἐν "Ἀργεὶ τοῦ Νικόκλεος φανέντων καὶ περιείνας λεγομένων ἀδήλως καὶ παραφυλάττειν τὸν "Ἀρατοῦ, ἀμ"
which they had taken, and with a report that the place was by nature not impassable nor even difficult (although they declared that it was hard to get to it undetected owing to a certain gardener’s dogs, which were little beasts, but extraordinarily fierce and savage), Aratus at once undertook the business.

VI. Now the laying in of arms was nothing unusual, since almost everybody at that time indulged in robberies and predatory forays; and as for scaling-ladders, Euphranor the engineer made them openly, since his trade screened him from suspicion; and he too was one of the exiles. As for men, each of the friends of Aratus in Argos furnished him with ten out of the few they had, and he himself equipped thirty of his own servants with arms. Through Xenophilus, the foremost of the robber captains, he also hired a few soldiers, to whom it was given out that a foray was to be made into the territory of Sicyon to seize the horses of Antigonus. And most of them were sent on ahead in small bands to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait there. Aratus also sent on in advance Caphisias, lightly armed, with four companions; their orders were to come to the gardener’s when it was dark, pretending to be travellers, and after taking up quarters there for the night, to shut up him and his dogs; for there was no other way to get past them. The scaling-ladders, which could be taken apart, were packed in boxes, and thus concealed were sent on ahead in waggons.

In the meantime some spies of Nicocles appeared in Argos and were reported to be secretly going about and watching the movements of Aratus. As soon as it was day, therefore, Aratus left his house
ήμερα προελθὼν καὶ φανερὸς ὁ ἄγορα διέτριβε μετὰ τῶν φίλων· εἰτ' ἀλειψάμενος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ καὶ παραλαβῶν τινας ἐκ τῆς παλαίσπρας τῶν εἰσθότων πίνειν καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ νεανίσκων ἀπῆγγει οἶκαδε' καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἐσώρατο τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ δι' ἄγορας ὁ μὲν στεφάνους φέρων, ὁ δὲ λαμπάδας ὁμούμενος, ὁ δὲ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις παρὰ πότον ψάλλειν καὶ αὐλεῖν γυναῖκας διαλεγόμενος. 

ταῦτα δὲ οἱ κατάσκοποι πάντα ὅρωντες ἐξηπάτηντο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀναγελώντες ἔλεγον "Οὔδεν ἦν ἄρα τυράννου δειλότερον, εἰ καὶ Νικοκλῆς τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἔχων καὶ τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὄρρωδει μειράκιον εἰς ἡδονᾶς καὶ πότους μεθημερισθούσα τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐφόδια καταχρώμενον.”

VII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτω παραλογισθέντες ἀπηλλάγησαν· ὁ δὲ “Ἀρατος εὐθὺς μετ’ ἀριστὸν ἐξελθὼν καὶ συνάψας πρὸς τὸν Πολυγνώτου πύργον τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς Νεμέαν προῆγεν, ὅπου τὴν πραξίν ἐξέφηνε τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸτε πρότων, ὑπο- 2 σχέσεις τε καὶ παρακλήσεις ἐποιήσατο· καὶ σύν-θημα παραδός Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπερδέξιον προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, συμμέτρως τῇ περιφορᾷ τῆς σελήνης ἐπιταχύνων καὶ πάλιν ἀνείφην τὴν πορείαν, ὡστε τῷ μὲν φωτὶ χρήσθαι καθ’ ὄδον, ἡδὴ δὲ δυνεόν ἐρθεῖ τὸν κήπον εἰναὶ πλησίον τοῦ τεί- χους· ἐνταῦθα Καφίσιας ἀπῆνυσεν αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν κυναρίων οὐ κρατήσας (ἐφθη γὰρ ἀποτηθήσαντα), τὸν δὲ κηπουρὸν ἐγκεκλεικός. ἀθύμους δὲ τοὺς πλείστους γενομένους καὶ κελευοῦντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι παρεδάρρυνεν ὁ Ὅρατος, ὡς ἀπ- 3 χοι. ἐνταῦθα Καφίσιας ἀπῆνυσεν αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν κυναρίων οὐ κρατήσας (ἐφθη γὰρ ἀποτηθή- 4 σαντα), τὸν δὲ κηπουρὸν ἐγκεκλεικός. ἀθύμους δὲ τοὺς πλείστους γενομένους καὶ κελευοῦντας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι παρεδάρρυνεν ὁ Ὅρατος, ὡς ἀπ-
and showed himself openly in the market-place, conversing with his friends; then he anointed himself in the gymnasium, took with him from the palaestra some of the young men who were wont to drink and make holiday with him, and went back home; and after a little one of his servants was seen carrying garlands through the market-place, another buying lights, and another talking with the women that regularly furnished music of harp and flute at banquets. When the spies saw all this, they were completely deceived, and with loud laughter said to one another: "Nothing, you see, is more timorous than a tyrant, since even Nicocles, though master of so great a city and so large a force, is in fear of a stripling who squanders on pleasures and mid-day banquets his means of subsistence in exile."

VII. The spies, then, thus misled, left the city; but Aratus, immediately after the morning meal, sallied forth, joined his soldiers at the tower of Polygnotus, and led them on to Nemea. Here he disclosed his design, to most of them then for the first time, and made them exhortations and promises. Then, after giving out as watchword "Apollo Victorious," he led them forward against Sicyon, quickening or retarding his progress according to the revolution of the moon, so as to enjoy her light while on the march, and as soon as she was setting to be at the garden near the wall. There Caphisias came to meet him; he had not secured the dogs (for they had bounded off before he could do this), but had locked up the gardener. Most of his men were disheartened at this and urged Aratus to retire; but he tried to encourage them, promising to lead them back if the dogs should prove too troublesome for
The sentries who had formed the night-watch came up at the sound of the bell, to be inspected, and then relieved by the morning-watch.
them. At the same time he sent forward the men who carried the scaling-ladders, under the command of Ecedelus and Mnasitheus, while he himself followed after them slowly, the dogs already barking vigorously and running along by the side of Ecedelus and his party. However, they reached the wall and planted their ladders against it without mishap. But as the first men were mounting the ladders, the officer who was to set the morning-watch began making his rounds with a bell, and there were many lights and the noise of the sentries coming up. The invaders, however, crouched down just where they were on the ladders, and so escaped the notice of this party without any trouble; but since another watch was coming up to meet the first, they incurred the greatest danger. However, they escaped the notice of this guard also as it passed by, and then the leaders, Mnasitheus and Ecedelus, at once mounted to the top, and after occupying the approaches to the wall on either side, sent Technon to Aratus, urging him to hasten up.

VIII. Now it was no great distance from the garden to the wall, and to the tower, in which a huge dog was on the watch, a hunter. The dog himself did not notice their approach, either because he was naturally sluggish, or because during the day he had become tired out. But when the gardener’s whelps challenged him from below, he began to growl in response, faintly and indistinctly at first, then bayed out more loudly as they passed by. Presently the whole place resounded with barking, so that the watchman opposite called with a loud cry to the huntsman asking why his dog was baying so savagely and whether some mischief was not afoot. The hunts-
γίνεται καινότερον. ὃ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου αὐτῶν ἄντεφώνησε μηδὲν εἶναι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν κύκλον πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῶν τειχοφυλάκων καὶ τὸν ψόφον 3 τοῦ κώδωνος παρωξύνθαι. τούτῳ μάλιστα τούς Ἀράτου στρατιώτας ἐπέρρωσεν, οἰομένους τὸν κυνηγὸν ἐπικρύπτειν κοινωνοῦντα τῇ πράξει, εἶναι δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς συνεργούντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸ τείχει προσβαλόντων χαλεπὰς ἢν ὁ κύκλος καὶ μήκος ἐλάμβανε, τῶν κλιμάκων κραδαίνομενὼν εἰ μὴ καθ’ ἑνα καὶ σχολαίς ἀναβαίνοιεν. ἢ δὲ ὀρα κατήπευγεν, ἢδη φθεγγομένων ἀλεξτρυόνων, καὶ ὁσον ὀὐτώ τῶν ἐξ ἀγροῦ τι φέρειν εἰσθότων πρὸς ἀγορὰν ἐπερχομένων. διὸ καὶ σπεύδων ὁ ᾿Αρατός ἀνέβαινε, τεσσαράκοντα τῶν πάντων ἀναβηθηκότων πρὸ αὐτοῦ· καὶ προσδεξάμενος ἐτι τῶν κάτωθεν ὀλίγους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὸ στρατηγίου ἀμήλθεν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ μισθοφόροι παρευκτέρευον. ἂφιγγ δὲ ἐπιτεσσῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ συλλαβῶν ἀπαντας, οὐδενα δὲ ἀποκτείνας, εὐθὺς διεπέμπτε πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀνακαλοῦμενος 5 ἐκαστον ἀπ’ οἰκίας. καὶ συνδραμόντων πανταχόθεν, ἡμέρα μὲν ὑπέλαμπτεν ἢδη καὶ τὸ θέατρον ἢν όχλον μεστόν, ἐτι πρὸς τὴν ἄδηλον αἰωρομένων φήμην καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἰδῶτον υπὲρ τῶν πραττομένων, πρῶν γε δὴ προελθὼν οἱ κήρυξ εἰπεν ὡς ᾿Αρατός ὁ Κλεινίου παρακαλεῖ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

IX. Τότε δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἦκεν δ’ πάλαι προσεδόκων, ὀρμησαν ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ
man answered him from the tower that there was nothing to fear, but that his dog had been excited by the lights of the sentries and the din of the bell. This more than anything else gave heart to the soldiers of Aratus. They thought that the huntsman was privy to their design and was trying to conceal it, and that there were many others also in the city who would assist them. However, when the rest of the company essayed the wall, their peril was grievous and protracted, since the ladders shook unless they mounted one by one and slowly; moreover, time was pressing, since cocks were already crowing, and directly the people who brought produce from the country to the market-place would be coming up. Therefore Aratus also mounted the wall in haste, after forty in all had mounted before him; and when he had been joined by a few more of those below, he went up against the tyrant's house and the praetorium, where the mercenary soldiers passed the night. And after falling upon these suddenly and capturing them all, but killing none, he straightway sent messages to his friends summoning them all from their homes, and they ran together from all quarters. Day was now breaking, and the theatre was thronged with people who still were in suspense because of the uncertain rumour that prevailed and in utter ignorance of what was afoot, until the herald came forward and made proclamation that Aratus the son of Cleinias invited the citizens to secure their freedom.

IX. Then, convinced that what they had long expected was come, they rushed in a body to the
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tυράννων πῦρ ἐπιφέροντες. ἡρῆθε δὲ φλὸξ μεγάλη καὶ καταφανὴς μέχρι Κορίνθου τῆς οἰκίας ἀναφθείσης, ὡστε θανμάσαντας τοὺς ἐν Κορίνθῳ παρὰ μικρὸν ὀρμήσαι πρὸς τὴν Βοήθειαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Νικοκλῆς ἔλαθε διὰ τινῶν ὑπονόμων ὑπεκδύσις 2 καὶ ἀποδρᾶς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται καταπαύσαντες μετὰ τῶν Σικυωνίων τὸ πῦρ διήρπαξον τὴν οἰκίαν. καὶ οὔτε ταύτα ἐκώλυσεν ὁ Ἀρατος, τὰ τε λοιπὰ χρήματα τῶν τυράννων εἰς μέσον ἔθηκε τοῖς πολίταις. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ἐτρώθη τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐπελθόντων οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καθαρῶς καὶ ἀθέκτων αἵματος ἐμφυλίων τὴν πραξὶν ἡ τύχη διεφύλαξε.

3 Κατῆγαγε δὲ φυγάδας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ Νικοκλέους ἐκπεπτωκότας οὐδοῦσκοντα, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεν τυράννων οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων, οἷς μακρὰ μὲν ἡ πλάνη καὶ ὁμοῦ τι πεντηκονταετῆς ἐγεγόνει. κατελθόντες δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι πένητες, ὃν κύριον πρότερον ἦσαν ἐπελαμβάνοντο, καὶ βαδίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς οἰκίας δευτὴν ἀπορίαν τῷ Ἀράτῳ παρείχου, ἐπιβουλευομένην μὲν ἐξωθεὶ καὶ φθονουμένην ὑπ’ Ἀντιγόνου τὴν πόλιν ὅρωντι διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ταραττομένην δὲ ὑφ’ αὐτῆς καὶ στασιάζουσαν.

4 Ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀριστα κρίνας προσέμεξεν αὐτὴν φέρων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ Δωρίεις ὄντες ὑπέδυσαν ἐκουσίως ὄνομα καὶ πολιτείαν τὴν Ἀχαιῶν οὔτε ἄξιόμα λαμπρὸν οὔτε μεγάλην ἱσχὺν ἐχόντων τότε. μικροπολίται γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ πολλοί, καὶ γῆν οὔτε χρηστήν οὔτε ἀφθονον
residence of the tyrant, carrying firebrands. A great flame arose as the house caught fire, and it was visible as far as Corinth, so that the people of Corinth were astonished and were on the point of sallying forth to help. Nicocles, then, slipped out unnoticed by way of certain underground passages, and ran away from the city, and the soldiers, after extinguishing the fire with the aid of the Sicyonians, plundered his house. Nor did Aratus prevent this, but put the rest of the wealth of the tyrants at the disposition of the citizens. And not a man was killed or even wounded at all, either among the assailants or their enemies, but fortune preserved the enterprise free from the taint of civil bloodshed.

Aratus restored eighty exiles who had been banished by Nicocles, and those also who had fled the city during the reign of former tyrants, to the number of five hundred. These had long been wanderers, yes, for close to fifty years. And now that they had come back, most of them in poverty, they laid claim to the property which they had formerly held, and by going to their farms and houses threw Aratus into great perplexity. For he saw that the city was plotted against by outsiders and eyed with jealousy by Antigonus because it had regained its freedom, while it was full of internal disturbances and faction.

Wherefore, as things stood, he thought it best to attach the city promptly to the Achaean League; and so, though the people of Sicyon were Dorians, they voluntarily assumed the name and civil polity of the Achaeans, who at that time had neither brilliant repute nor great strength. For most of them lived in small cities, owned land that was
εκέκτηντο, καὶ θαλάττη προσόκουν ἀλιμένῳ, τὰ πολλὰ κατὰ ραχίας ἐκφερομένη πρὸς τὴν ἥπειρον.

5 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ διέδειξαν οὕτω τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀλκην ἀπρόσμαχον οὕσαν, ὅσακις τύχοι κόσμου καὶ συντάξεως ὀμοφρονούσης καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἥγεμόνος, οὗ τῆς μὲν πάλαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκμῆς οὖν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μέρος οὗτε, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε μᾶς ἄξιολογον πόλεως σύμπαντες ὅμοι δύναμιν οὐκ ἔχοντες, εὐβουλία καὶ ὁμονοία, καὶ ὅτι τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ ἀρετῆν ἐδύναντο μὴ φθονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν, οὐ μόνον αὐτούς ἐν μέσῳ πόλεων καὶ δυνάμεως τηλικοῦτων καὶ τυραννίδων διεφύλαξαν ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνων ὡς πλείστους ἐλευθεροῦντες καὶ σώζοντες διετέλουν.

Χ. Ἡν δὲ Ἀρατός τῷ τρόπῳ πολιτικῶς, μεγαλόφρων, ἄκριβεστερος εἰς τὰ κοινὰ μᾶλλον τῶν ἱδίων, πικρῶς μισοτύραννος, ἔχθρας ὅρω καὶ 2 φιλίας ἀεὶ τῷ κοινῷ συμπέροντι χρώμενος. ὅθεν οὕς οὕτως δοκεῖ γεγονέναι φίλος ἄκριβής, ὡς ἔχθρος εὐγνώμων καὶ πρᾶος, ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτείας ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῷ καιρῷ μεταβαλλόμενος, ὁμονοίας ἐθνῶν καὶ κοινωνίας πόλεως καὶ συνεδρίου καὶ θεάτρου μίαν φωνὴν ἀφιέντος ὡς οὔδενός ἄλλου τῶν καλῶν ἔραστής, πολέμῳ καὶ ἀγών χρήσασθαι φανερῶς ἀθαρσής καὶ δύσελπις, κλέψαι δὲ πράγματα καὶ συσκευάσασθαι κρύφα πόλεις 3 καὶ τυράννους ἐπηβολώτατος. διὸ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄνελπίστων κατορθώσας ἐν οἷς ἐτόλμησεν, οὐκ ἐλάττωνα δοκεῖ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐγκαταλειπεῖν
neither fertile nor extensive, and were neighbours to a sea that had no harbours and for the most part washed a precipitous and rocky shore. But this people more than any other showed the world that Greek prowess was invincible, whenever it enjoyed good order, harmonious discipline, and a sensible leader. For though they had taken almost no part in the ancient glories of Greece, and at this time, though counted all together, had not the power of a single considerable city, still, owing to their good counsels and their concord, and because they were able, in place of envying, to obey and follow the one who was pre-eminent among them for virtue, they not only preserved their own freedom in the midst of so great cities and powers and tyrannies, but also were continually saving and setting free very many of the other Greeks.

X. Aratus was by natural bent a statesman, high-minded, more exact in his public than in his private relations, a bitter hater of tyrants, and ever making a regard for the public weal determine his enmity or his friendship. Wherefore he seems to have proved not so much a strict friend, as a considerate and mild enemy, changing his ground in either direction according to the exigencies of the state, loving concord between nations, community of cities, and unanimity of council and assembly, beyond all other blessings. It was manifest that he resorted to open warfare and strife without courage and with little confidence, but that in stealing advantages and secretly managing cities and tyrants he was most proficient. Therefore, though he won many unexpected successes where he showed courage, he seems to have lost no fewer favourable opportunities through
δι' ευλαβειαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς ἐσικε, θηρίων
tινῶν ὄψεις ἐνεργοῖ διὰ σκότους ὃσαι μεθ' ἡμέ-
ραν ἀποτυφλοῦνται ξηρότητι καὶ λεπτότητι τῆς
 peru τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὑγρότητος μὴ φεροῦσης τὴν
πρὸς τὸ φῶς σύγκρασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινότητι τῆς
ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου καὶ σύνεσις ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ
diакεκρυμένους εὐτάρακτος φύσει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς
ἐπικρύψεως καὶ λαθραίους ἀναθαρσοῦσα πράξεις.

4 τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην ἀνωμαλίαν ἑνδείκα λόγου φιλοσό-
φου περὶ τὰς εὐφυίας ἀπεργάζεται, τὴν ἀρετήν,
ὡς περί καρπὸν αὐτοφυῆ καὶ ἀγεώργητον, ἐκφερο-
σας δίχα τῆς ἐπιστήμης. ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἔξετα-
ζέσθω τοῖς παραδείγμασιν.

XI. 'Ο δὲ Ἀρατὸς, ἐπεὶ κατέμιξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
εὰντόν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐν τοῖς ἰππεῖσι στρατευ-
όμενος ἡγαπάτο δὲ εὐπεθειαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχωντων,
ὅτι, καίπερ συμβολὰς τὸ κοινὸ μεγάλας δεδωκὼς
tὴν ἐαυτοῦ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος δύναμιν,
ὡς ἐν τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων χρήσθαι παρεἴχειν αὐτῷ
tὸν ἀεὶ στρατηγοῦντα ἡμῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἶτε Δυ-
μαίος, εἶτε Τριταίες, εἰτε μικροτέρας τινὸς ὥν
2 τύχοι πόλεως. ἥκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρημάτων ὄρει
παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι τάλαντα.
ταύτα ἔλαβε μὲν ὁ Ἀρατὸς, λαβὼν δὲ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ
πολίταις ἐπεδώκεν ἀπορομμένοις εἰς τε τάλλα
καὶ λύτρωσιν αἰχμαλώτων.

XII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ φυγάδες ἦσαν ἀπαρηγόρητοι
tοῖς ἐχοῦσι τὰς κτήσεις ἐνοχλοῦντες, ἦ τε πόλις
ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀνάστατος γενέσθαι, μίαν ὄρων ἐλπίδα
tὴν Πτολεμαίου φιλανθρωπίαν ὁρμησεν ἐκπλεῦ-

1 τὸν ἀεὶ στρατηγοῦντα Ziegler, with Sint.² and the MSS.:
tὸν ἀεὶ στρατηγοῦντα.
over-caution. For not only in the case of certain wild beasts, as it would seem, is the vision strong by night but wholly blinded in the day-time (since the humour in their eyes is too dry and delicate to bear contact with the light), but there is also in some men a cleverness and sagacity which is prone to be confounded in transactions that are carried out under the open sky and proclaimed abroad by public cryers, but when confronting hidden and secret enterprises recovers its courage. Such unevenness a lack of philosophy may cause in men of good natural parts; they produce virtue without scientific knowledge, and it is like spontaneous and uncultivated fruit. This can be proved by examples.

XI. Aratus, now, after uniting himself and his city with the Achaenans, served in the cavalry, and was beloved by his commanders on account of his ready obedience. For although he had made great contributions to the commonwealth in his own reputation and the power of his native city, he gave his services like those of any ordinary person to the one who from time to time was general of the Achaenans, whether he was a man of Dyme or of Tritaea, or of a meaner city. And there came to him also a gift of money from the king of Egypt, five-and-twenty talents. These Aratus accepted, but gave them at once to his fellow-citizens, who were in want of money, especially for the ransoming of such as had been taken prisoners.

XII. But the exiles were not to be dissuaded from molesting those who were in possession of their property, and the city was in danger of an upheaval. Aratus saw that his only hope was in the generosity of Ptolemy, and therefore determined to sail to
σαι καὶ δεηθήναι τοῦ βασιλέως ὅπως αὐτῷ
2 χρήματα συμβάλλει πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις. ἀν-
ήχθη μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Μοθώνης ὑπὲρ Μαλέας, ὡς τῷ
dιὰ πόρου δρόμῳ χρησόμενος. πρὸς δὲ μέγα
πνεύμα καὶ πολλὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ πελάγους κατι-
ούσαν ἐνδόντος τοῦ κυβερνήτου, παραφερόμενος
μόλις ἦσατο τῆς Ἀδρίας πολέμιας οὕσης. ἐκρα-
teῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φυλακῆς εἶχεν ἣν
θάσας ἀπέβη, καὶ τὴν ναῦν καταλιπὼν ἀπε-
χώρησε μακράν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἔχων ἐνα τῶν
3 φίλων σὺν αὐτῷ Τιμάνθην. καὶ καταβαλόντες
ἐαυτοὺς εἰς τίνα τόπον ὕλης γέμοντα χαλεπῶς
ἐνυκτέρευον. ὁλίγῳ δὲ ύστερον ὁ φρούραρχος
ἐπελθὼν καὶ ξητῶν τῶν Ἀρατοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν θερα-
pόντων ἔξηπτατηθή τῶν ἐκεῖνοι, δεδιδαγμένων
λέγειν ὡς εὐθὺς ἀποδρᾶς εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐξέπλευσε.
tὰ μὲντοι κομιζόμενα καὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ τοὺς θερα-
pόντας ἀπέφηνε πολέμια καὶ κατέσχε.
4 Μετὰ δὲ ἤμερας οὐ πολλὰς ἐν ἀπόροις ὑμ]/ τῷ
Ἀράτῳ γίνεται τις εὐτυχία, Ἡρωϊκῆς νέως
παραβαλοῦσης κατὰ τὸν τόπον ἐν δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ
σκοπῆν ἀνίμων, τὰ δὲ κρυπτώμενος διήγεν. ἐπλεῖ
μὲν οὖν ἡ ναῦς εἰς Συρίαν, ἐπέβη δὲ πείσας τῶν
ναύκληρον ἄχρι Καρίας διακομισθῆναι καὶ διεκο-
mίσθη κυνήγους ἀθῆς οὖν ἐλάττοσι χρησάμενος
5 κατὰ θάλασσαν. ἀκ ἐκ Καρίας χρόνῳ πολλῷ
περαιωθεὶς εἰς τὸν Ἀἰγυπτον αὐτόθεν τε τῷ βασιλεῖ
διακειμένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείως ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τεθερα-
26
Egypt and beg the king to furnish him with money for the settlement of these disputes. So he put to sea from Mothone above Malea, intending to make the shortest passage. But the steersman could not make head against a strong wind and high waves that came in from the open sea, and being carried out of his course got with difficulty to Adria, which was a hostile place. For it was in the power of Antigonus, and held a garrison of his. Aratus anticipated arrest by landing, and forsaking the ship withdrew a long way from the sea, having with him one of his friends, Timanthes. They threw themselves into a place that was thickly covered with woods, and had a grievous night of it. A little later the commander of the garrison came to the ship in search of Aratus, and was deceived by his servants, who had been instructed to say that he had run away at once and had sailed off to Euboea. The ship, however, with its cargo and the servants of Aratus, was declared a prize of war and detained.

After a few days, while still in this helpless plight, Aratus met with a rare piece of good fortune, for a Roman ship put in at the place where he was staying, sometimes on a lookout-place, and sometimes hiding himself. The ship was bound for Syria, but after going on board Aratus persuaded the master of the vessel to convey him as far as Caria. Thither he was conveyed, encountering fresh perils by sea and perils as great as before. From Caria, after a long time, he made his way across to Egypt, and found the king both naturally well disposed towards him, and much grati-

1 The text is probably corrupt. Bergk suggested Hydrea, an island off the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus. Others think of Andros, an island S.E. of Euboea.
πευμένω γραφαῖς καὶ πίναξιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐν οἷς κρίσιν ἔχων οὐκ ἄμουσον ὁ Ἅρατος ἀεὶ τι τῶν τεχνικῶν καὶ περιττῶν, μάλιστα δὲ Παμφίλου καὶ Μελάνθου, συνάγων καὶ κτῶμενος ἀπέστελλεν.

XIII. Ἡνθεὶ γὰρ ἐτὶ δόξα τῆς Σικυωνίας μούσης καὶ χρηστογραφίας, ὡς μόνης ἀδιάφθορον ἐχούσης τὸ καλὸν, ὡστε καὶ Ἀπελλῆν ἐκεῖνον ἣδη θαυμαζόμενον ἀφικέσθαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ ταλάντῳ, τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς τέχνης δεόμενον μεταλαβεῖν. διὸ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας εἰκόνας τῶν τυράννων ἀνείλεν εὐθὺς ὁ Ἅρατος, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε, περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀριστράτου κατὰ Φίλιππον ἀκμάσαντος ἐβου-2 λεύσατο πολὺν χρόνον. ἐγράφη μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν περὶ τὸν Μέλανθου ἄρματι νικηφόρῳ παρεστῶς ὁ Ἀριστράτος, Ἀπελλῆν συνεφασμένου τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητής ἱστόρηκεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἄξιοβέατον, ὡστε γνάμπτεσθαι τὸν Ἅρατον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης, αὐθεὶς τε μίσει τῷ προς τοὺς τυράννους ἔξαγόμενον 3 κελεύειν καθαρεῖν. τὸν οὖν γωγράφον Νεάλκη φίλον ὅντα τοῦ Ἅρατον παρατείνεσθαι φασὶ καὶ δακρύειν, ὡς δὲ οἷς ἐπείδειν, εἰπείν ὅτι τοῖς τυράννοις πολεμηθέντων, οὔ τοῖς τῶν τυράννων. "Ἐάσω-μεν οὖν τὸ ἄρμα καὶ τὴν Νίκην, αὐτὸν δὲ σοι παρέξω τὸν Ἀριστράτον ἐγὼ παραχωροῦντα τοῦ πίνακος." ἐπιτρέψαντος οὖν τοῦ Ἅρατον δι-

1 Philip II., 382-336 B.C.
fied because Aratus had sent him drawings and paintings from Greece. In these matters Aratus had a refined judgement, and was continually collecting and acquiring works of artistic skill and excellence, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus. These he would send to Ptolemy.

XIII. For the fame of Sicyon's refined and beautiful paintings was still in full bloom, and they alone were thought to have a beauty that was indestructible. Therefore even the great Apelles, when he was already admired, came to Sicyon and gave a talent that he might be admitted into the society of its artists, desiring to share their fame rather than their art. Hence it was that Aratus, although he at once destroyed the other portraits of the tyrants when he had given the city its freedom, deliberated a long time about that of Aristratus (who flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon). For it was the work of Melanthus and all his pupils, and Aristratus was painted standing by a chariot in which was a Victory; Apelles also had a hand in the painting, as we are told by Polemon the Topographer. And the work was a marvellous one, so that Aratus was moved by the artistic skill therein; but afterwards, such was his hatred of the tyrants, that he ordered it to be removed and destroyed. Accordingly, the painter Nealces, who was a friend of Aratus, interceded with him for the picture, as we are told, and with tears, and when he could not persuade him, said that war should be waged against the tyrants, but not against the treasures of the tyrants. “Let us therefore leave the chariot and the Victory, but Aristratus himself I will undertake to remove from the picture.” Aratus
"Εκ τε δὴ τούτων ὁ Ἀρατός ἁγαπᾶτο, καὶ δίδονς πείραν ἢτι μᾶλλον ὤψατο τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ δωρεάν ἐλαβε τῇ πόλει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕκατὸν τάλαντα. καὶ τούτων τεσσαράκοντα μὲν εὐθὺς μεθ’ ἕαυτοῦ κομίζων εἰς Πελοπόννησον κατῆρε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διελὼν εἰς δόσεις ὅ βασιλεύς ύστερον κατὰ μέρος ἀπέστειλεν.

XIV. Ἡν μὲν οὖν μέγα καὶ τὸ χρήματα το- σαῦτα πορίσαι τοῖς πολίταις, ὅσων μικρὸν μέρος ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἰδιαργοὶ λαμβάνοντες παρὰ βασιλέων ἡδίκουν καὶ κατεδουλοῦντο καὶ προέπινον αὐτοῖς τὰς πατρίδας, μείζων δὲ ἡ διὰ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευασθεῖσα τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους διάλυσις καὶ ὁμο- νοία, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ παντὶ σωτηρία καὶ ἀσφάλεια, θαυμαστὴ δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἐν δυνάμει τοσαῦτῃ 2 μετριότητι. ἀποδειχθεὶς γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ διαλ- λακτής καὶ κύριος ὅλως ἐπὶ τὰς φυγαδικὰς οἰκονο- μίας μόνος οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν πολιτῶν προσκατέλεξεν ἑαυτῷ, μεθ’ ὁν πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μεγάλαις πραγματείαις κατειργάσατο καὶ συνήμοσε φιλίαι καὶ εἰρήμην τοῖς πολίταις. ἐφ’ οίδ’ οὐ μόνον κοινῇ σύμπαντες οἱ πολῖται τιμᾶς ἀπέδοσαν αὐτῷ πρεποῦσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ’
therefore yielded, and Nealces erased the figure of Aristratus, and in its place painted a palm-tree merely, not daring to introduce anything else. We are told, however, that the feet of the erased figure of Aristratus were left by an oversight beneath the chariot.

In consequence of this love of art Aratus was already beloved by the king, and in personal intercourse grew yet more upon him, and received for his city a gift of a hundred and fifty talents. Forty of these Aratus took with him at once and sailed to Peloponnesus; the rest the king divided into instalments, and sent them to him afterwards one by one.

XIV. Now it was a great achievement to procure so large a sum of money for his fellow-citizens; other generals and leaders of the people had taken but a fraction of this sum from kings in payment for wronging, enslaving, and betraying to them their native cities. But it was a far greater achievement by means of this money to have effected a harmonious adjustment of the disputes between rich and poor, and safety and security for the entire people. Moreover, we must admire the moderation of the man in the exercise of so great power. For when he was appointed independent arbiter, with absolute powers for settling the money affairs of the exiles, he would not accept the office alone, but associated with himself fifteen of his fellow-citizens, by whose aid, after much toil and great trouble, he established peace and friendship among his fellow-citizens. For these services not only did the entire body of citizens bestow fitting public honours upon him, but the exiles also on their own account erected a bronze

1 Cf. Cicero, De Off. ii. 23, 81ff.
Ъїιαν οἱ φυγάδες εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπέγραψαν τόδε τὸ ἔλεγέν."  

3 βουλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄεθλα καὶ ἀ περὶ Ἐλλάδος ἀλκά τοῦ ἀνδρὸς στάλασις πλάθεται Ἡρακλέους ἀμμες δ' εἰκόν', Ἀρατε, τεδὰν νόστοιο τυχόντες στάσαμεν ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς ἢδὲ δικαιοσύνας σωτήρος σωτήριον θεοῖς, ὅτι πατρίδι τὰ σὰ δαιμόνιον 1 θείαν τ' ὁπασᾶς εὐνομίαν.  

ΧV. Τάυτα διαπραξάμενοι ὁ Ἀρατος τοῦ μὲν πολιτικὸν φθόνου μείζων ἐγεγόνει διὰ τὰς χάριτας, Ἀντίγονος δ' ὁ Βασιλεὺς ἀνωμένος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ Βουλόμενος ἢ μετάγειν ὅλως τῇ φιλίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ διαβάλλειν πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαίον, ἀλλὰς τε φιλανθρωπίας ἐνεδείκνυσθ' ἡ πάνυ προσιμένω, καὶ θύων θεοὶς ἐν Κορινθῳ μερίδας εἰς Σικυόνα  

2 τῷ Ἀράτῳ διέπεμπτε. καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐστιωμένων πολλῶν, εἰς μέσον φθεγξάμενος, ""Ὡμῆν," ἔφη, "τὸν Σικυώνιον τοῦτον νεανίσκον ἐλευθερίου εἶναι τῇ φύσει μόνον καὶ φιλοπολίτην" ὁ δὲ καὶ βίων ἔοικε καὶ πραγμάτων βασιλικῶν ἰκανός εἶναι κριτῆς. πρότερον γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὑπερεύρα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων καὶ τὸν Ἀγύπτιον ἑθαύμαζε πλούτον, ἐλέφαντας καὶ στόλους καὶ αὐλὰς ἄκοιφον, νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σκηνῆν ἐωρακὼς πάντα τὰ ἑκεί πράγματα τραγῳδίαι ὁμο τή σκηνογραφίαν  

3 ὁλος ἢμῖν προσκεχώρηκεν. αὐτός τε ὁ ὄψι ἀποδέχομαι τὸ μειράκιον ἐγνωκὼς εἰς ἅπαντα χρή-  

1 δαμόνιον Sint. 2 and Ziegler, after Zeitz: δαμον' ἵσων.
statue of him, and inscribed thereon the following elegiac verses:

"The counsels, valorous deeds, and prowess in behalf of Hellas, which this man has displayed, are known as far as the Pillars of Heracles; but we who achieved our return through thee, Aratus, for thy virtue and justice, have erected to the Saviour Gods this statue of our saviour, because to thy native city thou hast brought a sacred and heavenly reign of law."

XV. These successful achievements placed Aratus beyond the jealousy of his fellow-citizens, owing to the gratitude which he inspired; but Antigonus, the king, was annoyed by the policy of Aratus, and wished either to bring him over into complete friendship with himself or to alienate him from Ptolemy. He therefore showed him many kindesses which were not at all welcome, and especially this, that as he was sacrificing to the gods at Corinth, he sent portions of the victims to Aratus at Sicyon. And at the banquet which followed, where many guests were present, he said, so that all could hear: "I thought this Sicyonian youth was merely free-spirited and a lover of his fellow-citizens; but he would seem to be a capable judge also of the lives and actions of kings. For formerly he was inclined to overlook us, fixing his hopes elsewhere, and he admired the wealth of Egypt, hearing tales of its elephants, and fleets, and palaces; but now that he has been behind the scenes and seen that everything in Egypt is play-acting and painted scenery, he has come over entirely to us. Therefore I both welcome the young man myself, having determined to make every possible use of
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σθαί, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἄξιον φίλου νομίζειν." τούτους τοὺς λόγους ὑπόθεσις λαβόντες οἱ φθονεροὶ καὶ κακοθείς διημιυλὼντο ταῖς ἑπιστολαῖς ἀλλήλοις, πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀράτου τῷ Πτολεμαῖῳ γράφοντες, ὡστε κάκεινον ἐγκαλοῦντα πέμψαι. ταῖς μὲν οὖν περιμαχίτοις καὶ διαπύρως τοξευμέναις ἐρωσὶ φιλίαις βασιλεῶς καὶ τυράννων τοσοῦτον προσῆν φθόνου καὶ κακοθείας.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράτος αἱρεθεῖς στρατηγὸς τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν μὲν ἀντιπέρας Δοκρίδα καὶ Καλυδωνίαν ἐπόρθησε, Βοιωτοῖς δὲ μετὰ μυρίων στρατιωτῶν βοηθῶν ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης, ἴν ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν περὶ Χαρώνειαν ἤττήθησαν, 1034 Ἀβσωκρίτου τε τοῦ Βοιωτάρχου καὶ χιλίων σὺν 2 αὐτῷ πεσόντων. ἕναυτῷ δὲ ὑστερον αὖθις στρατηγῶν ἐνίστατο τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον πράξεων, οὐ τοῖς Σικυωνίων οὐδ' Ἀχαϊῶν κηδόμενος, ἀλλὰ κοινῆν τινα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅλης τυραννίδα, τὴν Μακεδόνων φρουράν, ἐκείθεν ἐξελάσαι διανοούμενος. 3 Χάρης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τινὶ μάχῃ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς εὐτυχῆς ἐγραφῇ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς νεικήκοι τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶι μάχῃ ἀδελφῆς ταύτην δὲ τὴν πράξεων οὐκ ἄν ἀμάρτοι τις ἀδελφήν προσεπών τῆς Πελοπίδου τοῦ Ἡθβαίου καὶ Ὀρασυβοῦλου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τυραννοκτονίας, πλὴν ὅτι τῷ μὴ πρὸς Ἐλληνας, ἀλλὰ ἐπακτὸν ἀρχὴν γεγονέναι 4 καὶ ἀλλόφυλον αὐτῇ διήνεγκεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἰσθ-
him, and I ask you to consider him a friend.” These words were seized upon by the envious and malevolent, who vied with one another in writing to Ptolemy many grievous charges against Aratus, so that the king sent an envoy and upbraided him. So great malice and envy attend upon the friendships of kings and tyrants, for which men strive and at which they aim with ardent passion.

XVI. Aratus now, having been chosen general of the Achaean League for the first time, ravaged the opposite territories of Locris and Calydonia, and went to the assistance of the Boeotians with an army of ten thousand men. He came too late, however, for the battle at Chaeroneia, in which the Boeotians were defeated by the Aetolians, with the loss of Aboeocritus, their Boeotarch, and a thousand men. A year later,¹ being general again, he set on foot the enterprise for the recovery of Acrocorinthus,² not in the interests of Sicyonians or Achaeans merely, but purposing to drive from that stronghold what held all Hellas in a common subjection,—the Macedonian garrison. Chares the Athenian, having been successful in a battle with the king’s generals, wrote to the people of Athens that he had won a battle which was “sister to that at Marathon”; and this enterprise of Aratus may be rightly called a sister of those of Pelopidas the Theban and Thrasybulus the Athenian, in which they slew tyrants, except that it surpassed them in being undertaken, not against Greeks, but against a foreign and alien power. For

¹ In 243 B.C., two years later. The office of general in the League could not be held by the same person in successive years. Cf. chap. xxiv. 4.
² The citadel of Corinth.
μός εμφρασσων τὰς θαλάσσας, εἰς ταῦτα συνάγει τῷ τόπῳ καὶ συνάπτει τὴν ἥπειρον ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀκροκόρινθος, ὕψηλον ὄρος, ἐκ μέσης ἀναπεφυκὼς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅταν λάβη φρουράν, εὐσταταί καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιμεῖξιν τε καὶ παρόδων καὶ στρατεύων ἔργασίας τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, καὶ ἕνα κύριον ποιεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κατέχοντα φρουρὰ τὸ χωρίον, ὥστε μὴ παῖζοντα δοκεῖν τὸν νεότερον Φιλίππου, ἀλλ' Ἀληθῶς, ἐκάστοτε πεδας τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν προσαγορεύειν.

XVII. Πάσι μὲν οὖν περιμάχητος ἦν ὁ τόπος ἀεὶ καὶ βασιλεύς καὶ δυνάσταις, ἡ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπε πάθει τὸν ἐμμανεστάτων ἐρῶτων, ἀλλ' ὅλος ἀνήρτητο ταῖς φροντίσιν ὅπως ἀφαιρήσεται δόλῳ τοὺς ἔχοντας, ἐπεὶ φανερῶς ἀνέλπιστος ἦν ἡ ἐπιχείρησις. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ, ὡφ' ὄν τὸ χωρίον ἦν, ἀποθανόντος (ὡς λέγεται) φαρμάκοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Νικαίας δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου γυναικος ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένης καὶ φυλαττοῦσης τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, εὐθὺς ὑποπέμπων Δημήτριον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀγνοείας ἐξείσας ἐνδιόν γάμων βασιλικῶν καὶ συμβιώσεως πρὸς οὐκ ἀγάθης ἐντυχεῖν γυναικί 3 πρεσβυτέρα μειράκιον, αὐτὴν μὲν ἡρήκει, τῷ παιδὶ χρησάμενος ὅσπερ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν δελεασμάτων ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὸν δὲ τόπον οὐ προεμένης, ἀλλ' ἐγκρατῶς φυλαττοῦσης, ἀμελεῖν προσποιούμενος ἔθυε γάμους αὐτῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ θέας ἐπετέλει καὶ

1 τῷ τόπῳ Capps: τῷ τόπῳ.
the Isthmus of Corinth, forming a barrier between the seas, brings together the two regions, and thus unites our continent; and when Aerocorinthus, which is a lofty hill springing up at this centre of Greece, is held by a garrison, it hinders and cuts off all the country south of the Isthmus from intercourse, transits, and the carrying on of military expeditions by land and sea, and makes him who controls the place with a garrison sole lord of Greece. Therefore it is thought that the younger Philip of Macedon\(^1\) uttered no jest, but the truth, whenever he called the city of Corinth “the fetters of Greece.”

XVII. Accordingly, the place was always an object of great contention among kings and dynasts, but the eagerness of Antigonus to secure it fell nothing short of the most frenzied passion, and he was wholly absorbed in schemes to take it by stratagem from its possessors, since an open attempt upon it was hopeless. For when Alexander,\(^2\) in whose hands the place was, had died of poison given him (it is said) in obedience to Antigonus, and his wife Nicaea had succeeded to his power and was guarding the citadel, Antigonus at once sent his son Demetrius to her in furtherance of his schemes, and by inspiring her with pleasant hopes of a royal marriage and of wedded life with a young man who would be no disagreeable company for an elderly woman, he captured her, using his son for all the world like a bait for her. The citadel, however, she did not give up, but kept it under strong guard. Pretending, therefore, indifference to this, Antigonus celebrated the nuptials of the pair in Corinth, exhibiting

1 Philip V., 237–179 B.C.
2 The tyrant of Corinth.
πότους συνήγε καθ’ ἥμέραν, ὃς ἂν τις μάλιστα παίζειν καὶ σχολάζειν τὴν διάνοιαν ύφ’ ἡδονῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ὒψει. ἐπεὶ δὲ καίρος ἦν, ἅδωντος Ἀμοιβέως ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρέπεμπε τὴν Νίκαιαν αὐτὸς ἔπι τὴν θέαν ἐν φορείῳ κεκοσμημένῳ βασιλικῷ, ἀγαλλομένην τῇ τιμῇ καὶ πορρωτάτῳ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὖν. γενόμενος δὲ τῆς ὀδοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτροπὴν τὴν ἀνώ φέρουσαν, ἐκείνην μὲν ἐκέλευσε προάγειν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, αὐτὸς δὲ χαίρειν μὲν Ἀμοιβέα, χαίρειν δὲ τοὺς γάμους ἐάσας ἄνιηε πρὸς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἀμιλλώμενος παρ’ ἡλικίᾳ καὶ κεκλεισμένην τὴν πύλην εὐρών, ἔκοπτε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ κελεύων ἀνοίγειν. οἱ δ’ ἐνδόν ἀνέωξαν καταπλαγέντες. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ τόπου κρατήσας, οὐ κατέσχεν αὐτὸν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιε παίζων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς, καὶ δὴ ἀγορᾶς αὐλητρίδας ἐχὼν καὶ στεφάνους περικείμενος, ἦν γέρων καὶ τηλικαὕταις πραγμάτων μεταβολαῖς κεχρημένος, ἐκώμαξε δεξιούμενος καὶ προσαγορεύων τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. οὕτως ἀρὰ καὶ λύπης καὶ φοβοῦ πάλλου ἐξίστησε καὶ σάλων παρέχει τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ χαίρειν ἀνευ λογισμοῦ παραγινόμενοι.

XVIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἀντίγονον μὲν, ὅσπερ εἰρήνης, κτησάμενος τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἐφύλαττε, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς ἐπίστευε μάλιστα καὶ Περσαῖον ἐπιστῆσας ἄρχοντα τὸν φιλόσοφον. ο ὃ δὲ Ἀρατὸς ἐτὶ μὲν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ξύντος ἐπεχείρησε τῇ πράξει, γενομένης δὲ συμμαχίας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπαύσατο. τότε 1035
spectacles and giving banquets every day, as one whom pleasure and kindliness led to think chiefly of mirth and ease. But when the crucial moment came, and as Amoebus was about to sing in the theatre, he escorted Nicaea in person to the spectacle. She was borne in a litter which had royal trappings, plumed herself on her new honour, and had not the remotest suspicion of what was to happen. Then, arrived at the diverging street that led up to the citadel, Antigonus gave orders that Nicaea should be borne on into the theatre, while he himself, bidding adieu to Amoebus, and adieu to the nuptials, went up to Acrocorinthus with a speed that belied his years; and, finding the gate locked, he beat upon it with his staff and ordered it to be opened. And the guards within, stupefied, opened it. Thus master of the place, he could not contain himself for joy, but drank and disported himself in the streets, and with music-girls in his train and garlands on his head, old man that he was and acquainted with so great vicissitudes of fortune, revelled through the market-place, greeting and clasping hands with all who met him. Thus we see that neither grief nor fear transports and agitates the soul as much as joy that comes unexpectedly.

XVIII. Antigonus, then, having got Acrocorinthus into his power, as I have said, kept it under guard, putting men there whom he most trusted, and making Persaeus the philosopher their commander. Now Aratus, even while Alexander was still living, had set his hand to the enterprise, but an alliance was made between the Achaeans and Alexander, and he therefore desisted. At the time of which I speak,
δὲ αὖθις ἐξ ὑπαρχὴς ἔτέραν ἐλαβε τῆς πράξεως ὑπόθεσει τοιαύτην.

Ἡσαν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τέσσαρες ἀδελφοὶ Σύροι τὸ γένος, ὃν εἰς ὄνομα Διοκλῆς ἐν τῷ φρουρῷ μισθοφορῶν διέτριβεν. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς κλέψαντες βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἦλθον εἰς Σικυόνα πρὸς Ἀιγίλαν τινὰ τραπεζίτην, ὃ διὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὃ Ἀρατος ἐχρῆτο. καὶ μέρος μὲν εὐθὺς διέθετο τοῦ χρυσίου, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν εἰς αὐτῶν Ἑργίνους ἐπιφοιτῶν ἡσυχῇ κατῆλλαττεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενόμενος τῷ Ἀιγίλα συνήθης, καὶ προαχθεῖς εἰς λόγον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς, ἕφη πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀναβαίνων πρὸς τὸ κρημνώδες ἐντομήν καθεωράκεναι πλαγίαν, ἁγουσαν ἡ χθαμαλώτατον ἐπωκοδόμηται τῷ φρουρῷ τὸ τεῖχος. προσπαίξαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀιγίλου καὶ εἴποντος· "Εἰτα, ὃ βέλτιστε, διὰ μικρὸν οὗτῳ χρυσίῳ ἀνασπάτε τὰς βασιλικὰς πράξεις, δυνάμενοι μίαν ὀραν πολλῶν ἀποδόσθαι χρημάτων; ἡ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τοιχωρύχους καὶ προδοταῖς ἀλούσιν ἀπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχει;"

γελάσας ὁ Ἑργίνος τότε μὲν ὑμολόγησεν ἀποπειράσθαι τοῦ Διοκλέους (τοὺς γὰρ ἄλλους ἀδελφοὺς μὴ πάνυ τι πιστεύειν), ὁλίγαις δὲ ὑστερον ἡμέραις ἐπανελθὼν συνιστήται τοῦ Ἀρατος ἀξειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ὅπου τὸ ύψος οὐ μεῖζον ἦν πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν, καὶ τάλλα συμπράξειν μετὰ τοῦ Διοκλέους.

XIX. Ὁ δὲ ὁ Ἀρατος ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα δώσειν καταρθώσας ὑμολόγησεν, ἢν δὲ ἀποτύχῃ, σωθῆ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνων, οίκιαι ἐκατέρω καὶ τάλαντον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδει παρὰ τῷ Ἀιγίλα τὰ ἐξήκοντα τάλαντα κείσθαι τοῖς περὶ τοῦ Ἑργίνου,
however, a new and fresh basis for the enterprise was found by him in the following circumstances.

There were in Corinth four brothers, Syrians by race, one of whom, Diocles by name, was serving as a mercenary soldier in the citadel. The other three, after stealing some gold plate of the king's, came to Aegias, a banker in Sicyon with whom Aratus did business. A portion of the gold they disposed of to him at once, but the remainder was being quietly exchanged by one of them, Erginus, in frequent visits. Erginus thus became well acquainted with Aegias, and having been led by him into conversation about the garrison in the citadel, said that as he was going up to see his brother he had noticed in the face of the cliff a slanting fissure leading to where the wall of the citadel was at its lowest. Thereupon Aegias fell to jesting with him, and said: "Do you, then, best of men, thus for the sake of a little gold plate rifle the king's treasures, when it is in your power to sell a single hour's work for large sums of money? Don't you know that burglars as well as traitors, if they are caught, have only one death to die?" Erginus burst out laughing, and as a first step agreed to make trial of Diocles (saying that he had no confidence at all in his other brothers), and a few days afterwards came back and bargained to conduct Aratus to the wall at a spot where it was not more than fifteen feet in height, and to aid in the rest of the enterprise together with Diocles.

XIX. Aratus on his part agreed to give the men sixty talents if he was successful, and in case he failed, and he as well as they got off safely, to give each of them a house and a talent. Then, since the sixty talents had to be deposited with Aegias for
ο δὲ Ἀρατος οὖτε αὐτὸς εἶχεν οὐτε ἐβούλετο δανειζόμενος αἰσθησιν ἔτέρι τῆς πράξεως παρα-
σχεῖν, λαβὼν τῶν ἐκπωμάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τὰ
χρυσία τῆς γυναικὸς ύπέθηκε τῷ Αἰγίλα πρὸς τὸ
2 ἀργύριον. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπήρτο τῇ ψυχῆ καὶ τοσοῦ-
τον ἔρωτα τῶν καλῶν πράξεων εἶχεν, ὡστε τὸν
Φωκίωνα καὶ τὸν ᾿Επαμεινώνδαν ἐπιστάμενος
᾿Ελλήνων δικαιοτάτους καὶ κρατίστους γεγονότας
δοκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ διώσασθαι δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ
μὴ προέσθαι χρημάτων τὸ καλὸν, αὐτὸς εἰς ταῦτα
dαπανᾶσθαι κρύφα καὶ προεισφέρειν, ἐν οἷς ἐκιν-
δύνευς μόνος ὑπὲρ πάντων οὐδὲ εἰδότων τὰ πρατ-
τόμενα, ἱρεῖτο. τῆς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσσει καὶ
συναγωνίσαιτο ἐτὶ νῦν τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τοῦ ἀν-
δρός, ὡνομένου χρημάτων τοσοῦτων κίνδυνον
τηλικοῦτον, καὶ τὰ τιμιότατα δοκοῦντα τῶν κτη-
μάτων ὑποτιθέντος, ὅπως παρεισαχθεῖς νυκτὸς
eἰς τοὺς πολεμίους διαγωνίσηται περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς,
ἐνέχυρον λαβὼν τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ καλοῦ παρ’ αὐτῶν,
ἀλλὸ δὲ οὔδεν;

XX. Ὅσαν δὲ καθ’ αὐτὴν ἐπισφαλῆ τήν πρά-
ξιν ἐπισφαλεστέραν ἐποίησεν ἀμαρτία τις εὐθὺς
ἐν ἀρχῇ συμβάσα δι’ ἁγνοιάν. ὁ γὰρ οἰκέτης τοῦ
Ἀράτου Τέχνων ἐπέμφθη μὲν ὡς μετὰ τοῦ Διο-
κλέους κατασκεύομενος τὸ τεῖχος, οὕτω δ’ ἤν τῷ
Διοκλεῖ πρότερον ἐντευκηκὼς κατ’ ὁψιν, ἀλλὰ
τὴν μορφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εἶδος δοκῶν κατέχειν ἐξ
ἀυτοῦ ἐρεύνως ἐπεσήμηνεν οὐλοκόμην καὶ μελάγ-
2 χρων καὶ ἀγένειον. ἐλθὼν οὖν ὁπον συνετέ-

1 ἀγένειον. ἐλθὼν οὖν Coraës and Ziegler, with the MSS.: ἄγενειον, ἐλθὼν.
Erginus, and Aratus neither had them himself nor was willing by borrowing them to give anyone else a suspicion of his undertaking, he took most of his plate and his wife's golden ornaments and deposited them with Aegias as security for the money. For he was so exalted in spirit and had so great a passion for noble deeds that, knowing as he did that Phocion and Epaminondas were reputed to have been the justest and best of Greeks because they spurned great gifts and would not betray their honour for money, he elected to expend his own substance secretly, as an advance, on an enterprise in which he alone was risking his life for the whole body of citizens, who did not even know what was going on. For who will not admire the magnanimity of the man, and yearn even now to lend a helping hand, who purchased at so high a price so great a danger, and pledged what he thought the most precious of his possessions in order that he might be introduced by night among his enemies and contend for his life, receiving as his security from his countrymen the hope of a noble action, and nothing else?

XX. Now the enterprise was dangerous in itself, but was made more dangerous still by a mistake which occurred at the very beginning through ignorance. For Technon, the servant of Aratus, had been sent to inspect the wall with Diocles, and had not yet met Diocles face to face, but thought he would know how he looked because Erginus had described him as curly-haired, of a swarthy complexion, and without a beard. Having come, therefore, to the place appointed, he was
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τάκτω, τόν Ἐργίνον ὡς ἀφιξόμενον μετὰ τοῦ Διοκλέους ἀνέμενε πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πρὸ τοῦ καλωμένου Ὀρνιθοῦ. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς Ἐργίνον καὶ Διοκλέους ὄνομα Διονύσιος οὐ συνειδῶς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐδὲ κοινωνῶν, ὁμοίος δὲ τῷ Διοκλεί, προσήκει κατὰ τύχην. ὁ δὲ Τέχνων πρὸς τὰ σημεία τῆς μορφῆς τῇ ὁμοιότητι κινηθεὶς ἤρωτησε τὸν ἀνθρώπον εἴ τι συμβόλαιον αὐτῷ

3 πρὸς Ἐργίνον εὐχ. φήσαντος δὲ ἀδελφὸν εἶναι, παντάπασιν ὁ Τέχνων ἑπείσθη τῷ Διοκλεί διαλέγεσθαι καὶ μήτε τούνομα πυθόμενος μήτ' άλλο μηδέν προσμείνας τεκμήριον ἐμβάλλει τε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν συγκειμένων πρὸς τὸν Ἐργίνον ἐλάλησε κάκεινον ἀνέκρινεν. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν άμαρτίαν πανούργος ὠμολόγει τε πάντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέψας ὑπήγειν

4 ἀνυπόπτως διαλεγόμενος. ἡδὴ δὲ πλησίον ὅπως αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος ὅσον οὕτω τῶν Τέχνωνα διαλαμβάνειν, ἀπὸ τύχης αὖ πάλιν ὁ Ἐργίνος αὐτοῖς ἀπήγινεσεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον διὰ νεύματος ἐδῆλος τῷ Τέχνωνι φεύγειν καὶ ἀποπτηδήσατες ἀμφότεροι δρόμοι πρὸς τὸν 'Αρατον ἀπεσώθησαν. οὐ μὴν ἀπέκαμε ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔκεινος, ἀλλ' ἐπεμψεν εὐθὺς τὸν Ἐργίνον χρυσίον τε τῷ Διονυσίῳ κομίζοντα καὶ

5 δεησόμενον αὐτοῦ σιωπᾶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ἐποίησε καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον ἄγων μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸν 'Αρατόν ἥλθεν. ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκέτι διήκαν, ἀλλὰ δήσαντες ἐφύλαττον εὖ οἰκίσκῳ κατακεκλεισμένου αὐτοῦ δὲ παρεσκευᾶσθο ὑπὸ τὴν ἐπιθέσειν.

XXI. Ἔπει δὲ ἦν ἔτοιμα πάντα, τὴν μὲν ἀλλήν
waiting for Erginus to come there with Diocles, just outside the city, near what was called the Ornis. As he was waiting, however, the oldest brother of Erginus and Diocles, named Dionysius, who was not privy to the enterprise and took no part in it, but resembled Diocles, chanced to come up. So Technon, moved by the similarity in the marks of his outward appearance, asked him if he was connected at all with Erginus; and on his saying that he was a brother, Technon was altogether convinced that he was talking with Diocles, and without inquiring his name, or waiting for any other proof whatever, gave him his hand and began chatting with him and asking him questions about what had been agreed upon with Erginus. Dionysius took cunning advantage of his mistake, assented to all that he said, and turning his back towards the city led him along in unsuspicious conversation. But just as he was near the city, and was at the very point of seizing Technon, by a second chance Erginus met them. Erginus comprehended the trick and the danger, motioned Technon to fly, and both of them ran off and got safely to Aratus. Aratus, however, would not give up hope, but at once sent Erginus to bribe Dionysius and beg him to hold his tongue. Erginus not only did this, but actually brought Dionysius with him to Aratus. And now that Dionysius was there they would not let him go, but bound him and kept him indoors under lock and key, while they themselves prepared for their attack.

XXI. When all things were ready, Aratus ordered
δύναμιν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλῶν νυκτερεύειν, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ λογίας τετρακοσίους οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς εἰδότας τὰ πραττόμενα, πλὴν ὀλέγων, ἤγε πρὸς τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον. ἤν δὲ τοῦ ἐτους ἤ
περὶ θέρος ἀκμάζον ὃρα, τοῦ δὲ μηνὸς πανσέληνος, ἤ δὲ νυξ ἀνέφελος καὶ καταφανῆς, ὡστε καὶ φόβον τὰ ὁπλα παρέχειν ἀντιλάμποντα πρὸς
2 τὴν σελήνην, μὴ τοὺς φύλακας οὐ λάβωσιν. ἤδη δὲ τῶν πρῶτων ἐγγὺς οὖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνέδραμε νέφη καὶ κατέσχε τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν ἔξω τόπων ἐπίσκιον γενὸμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ
οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συγκαθίσαντες ὑπελύνοντο τὰς κρηπιδὰς. οὕτε γὰρ ψόφον ποιοῦσι πολὺν οὐτ’ ὀλισθήματα λαμβάνονσι γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσῶν ἀντι-
λαμβανομενοί τῶν κλιμάκων ὁ δὲ Ἑργίνος ἐπτὰ
λαβὼν νεανίσκοις ἐσταλμένους ὅδωροποικὸς ἐλαθε
3 τῇ πύλῃ προσμίζαις. καὶ τῶν πυλωρὸν ἀποκτιν-
νύσι καὶ τοὺς μετ’ αὐτῶν φύλακας. ἀμα δὲ αἰ
τε κλίμακες προσετίθεντο καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ
Ἀφατος ὑπερβιβάζασι ἐκατὸν ἄνδρας, τοὺς ο’
ἄλλους ἐπεσθαί κελεύσας ώς ἀν δύνωνται τάχιστα,
τὰς κλίμακας ἀναρπάζασι ἐχώρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως
μετὰ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκραν, ἤδη περιχαρῆς
diὰ τὸ λανθάνειν ὡς κατορθῶν.
4 καὶ πως ἐτὶ πρόσωθεν αὐτοῖς ἀπῆνα τὰν φωτὶ
φύλακη τεσσάρων ἄνδρῶν οὐ καθορωμένωι. ἐτὶ
γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ σκιαξομένῳ τῆς σελήνης. ἐκεῖνοις
δὲ προσιόντας ἐξ ἐναντίας καθορώσι. μικρὸν οὖν
ὑποστῆλας τεχίοις τισὶ καὶ οἰκοπέδοις, ἐνέδραν
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καθίζει. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν αὐτῶν
ἐμπεσόντες ἀποθνησκοῦσιν, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος πλη-
γείς ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφυγε, βοῶν ἐνδοὺ εἶναι
46
the rest of his forces to pass the night under arms, and taking with him four hundred picked men, few of whom knew what was on foot themselves, led them towards the gate of Corinth near by the temple of Hera. It was midsummer, the moon was at its full, and the night was cloudless and clear, so that they feared lest the gleam of their arms in the moonlight should disclose them to the sentinels. But just as the foremost of them were near the wall, clouds ran up from the sea and enveloped the city itself and the region outside, which thus became dark. Then the rest of them sat down and took off their shoes, since men make little noise and do not slip if they are barefooted when they climb ladders; but Erginus, taking with him seven young men equipped as travellers, got unnoticed to the gate. Here they slew the gate-keeper and the sentries who were with him. At the same time the ladders were clapped to the wall, and after getting a hundred men over in all haste, Aratus ordered the rest to follow as fast as they could; then he pulled his ladders up after him and marched through the city with his hundred men against the citadel, being already full of joy at his escape from detection and confident of success.

A little farther on they encountered a watch of four men with a light; they were not seen by them, being still in the shade of the moon, but saw them coming up in the opposite direction. So they drew back a little for shelter beneath some walls and buildings, and set an ambush for the men. Three of them they killed in their attack, but the fourth, with a sword-wound in his head, took to flight, crying
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5 toûς πολεμιοῦς. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν αἶ ὑ τε σάλπτυγγες ἐπεσήμαινον, ὡ τε πόλις ἔξανιστάτο πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα, πλήρεις τε ἦσαν οἱ στενωποὶ διαθέουντων, καὶ φῶτα πολλά, τὰ μὲν κάτωθεν ἦδη, τὰ δὲ ἀνώθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας περιέλαμπτε, καὶ κραυγὴ συνερήγυντο πανταχόθεν ἁσημόσ.

XXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀρατὸς ἐμφύς τῇ πορείᾳ παρὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ἰμιλλάτο, βραδέως καὶ ταλαιπώρως τὸ πρῶτον, οὐ κατακρατῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀποπλανώμενος τοῦ τρίβου παντάπασιν ἐνδεδυκότος καὶ πεοισκιαζομένου ταῖς τραχύτησι καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἐλυμῶν καὶ παραβολῶν περαινοῦντος πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. εἶτα θαυμάσιον οὖν ἡ σελήνη λέγεται διαστέλλουσα τὰ νέφη καὶ ὑπολαμπόσα, τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ χαλεπώτατον σαφηνίζει, ἔως ἡματο τοῦ τεῖχους καθ’ ὅν ἐδεί τόπον ἐκεῖ δὲ πάλιν συνεκλάει καὶ ἀπέκρυψε νεφῶν συνελθόντων.

2 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔξω περὶ τὸ Ἡραίον ἀπολειφθέντες τοῦ Ἀρατοῦ στρατιώται, τριακόσιοι τὸ πλήθος ὄντες, ὡς ποτε παρεισέπεσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν θορύβου τε παντοδαποῦ καὶ φῶτων γέμουσαν, οὐ δυνηθέντες ἐξανευρεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν τρίβον οὐδ’ εἰς ἰχνος ἐμβηναι τῆς ἐκείνων πορείας, ἐπτηξαν ἀθρόοι πρὸς τιν παλινσκίῳ λαγόν τοῦ κρημνοῦ συστείλαντες ἐαυτούς, καὶ διεκαρτέρουν ἐνταῦθα περιταθοῦντες καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες.

3 βαλλομένων γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας ἦδη τῶν περὶ τῶν Ἀρατοῦ καὶ μαχομένων, ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐναγόμενος ἐχώρει κάτω, καὶ κραυγὴ περιήχει, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνάκλασιν συγκεχυμένη καὶ ἀδηλος ὑπολαμπόσα Coraës and Bekker, adopting an anonymous conjecture: ὑπολαμπόσα.
out that the enemy were in the city. And presently the trumpets were sounding, the city was in an uproar over what was happening, the streets were full of people running up and down, many lights were flashing, some in the city below and some in the citadel above, and a confused shouting broke forth on all hands.

XXII. Meanwhile Aratus was struggling up the steep with all his might, slowly and laboriously at first, unable to keep to the path and wandering from it, since it was everywhere sunk in the shadows of the jutting cliffs and had many twists and turns before it came out at the wall of the citadel. Then, marvellous to relate, the moon is said to have parted the clouds and shone out, making the most difficult part of the road plain, until he got to the wall at the spot desired; there the clouds came together again and everything was hidden in darkness.

But the soldiers of Aratus whom he had left at the gate outside near the temple of Hera, three hundred in number, when once they had burst into the city and found it full of lights and manifold tumult, were unable to discover the path which their comrades had taken or follow in their steps. So they crouched down and huddled themselves together in a shaded flank of the cliff, and there remained in great distress and impatience. For Aratus and his party were now assailed with missiles from the citadel and were fighting, the shouts of the combatants came down the slopes, and cries echoed round about which the reverberations from
οδεν εύλιθε την ἀρχήν. διαπορούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφ’ ὃ τι χρῆ τραπέζθαι μέρος, Ἄρχελαος ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἵγεμὼν στρατιώτας ἔχων πολλοὺς μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀνέβαινε καὶ σαλπίγγων, ἐπιφερόμενος τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρατοῦ, καὶ παρῆλθατε τοὺς τριακοσίους. οἱ δὲ ὀσπέρ ἐξ ἑνέδρας ἀναστάντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ διαφθείρουσιν οἷς ἐπέθεντο πρῶτοι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Ἄρχελαον φοβησαντες ἐτρέφαντο καὶ κατεδῖξαν ἄχρι τοῦ σκεδασθῆναι περὶ τὴν πόλιν διαλυθέντας. ἀρτί δὲ τούτων νεκυκήκτων Ἑργίνος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνω μαχομένων ἦλθεν, ἀγγέλλων συμπεπλέχθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν Ἀρατοῦ ἀμυνομένους εὐρώστως, καὶ μέγαν ἄγωνα περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος εἶναι, καὶ τάχους δὲιν τῆς βοηθείας. οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσαν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ προσβαίνοντες ἀμα φωνῇ διεσήμαινον ἕαυτοὺς, ἐπιθαρρύνοντες τοὺς φίλους· ἡ τε παυσέληνος ὑπέφαινε τὰ ὅπλα πλείονα φαινόμενα τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ τὸ μήκος τῆς πορείας, καὶ τὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἡχώδες τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν ἀπὸ πολλαπλασιόνων ἦ
5 τοσούτων ἐποίει δοκεῖν φέρεσθαι. τέλος δὲ συνερείσαντες ἐξωθοῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ καθυπέρτεροι τῆς ἄκρας ἤσαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἔχουν, ἡμέρας ἡδι διανυσοῦσης, ὁ τε ἡλιος εὐθὺς ἐπέλαμπε τῷ ἑργῷ, καὶ παρην ἐκ Σικυὼν ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις τῷ Ἀράτῳ, δεχομένων κατὰ πύλας τῶν Κορινθίων προθύμως καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς συλλαμβανόντων.

XXIII. Ἐπεῖ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἐδόκει πάντα ἐχειν, κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας, πλήθους
the hills rendered confused and of uncertain origin. Then, as they were at a loss which way to turn, Archelaüs, the commander of the king's forces, having many soldiers with him, made up the ascent amid shouts and the blare of trumpets to attack Aratus and his party, and thus passed by the three hundred. These, rising up from ambush as it were, fell upon him, slew the first whom they attacked, put the rest, together with Archelaüs, to panic flight, and pursued them until they were scattered and dispersed about the city. And just as this victory had been won, Erginus came from the party fighting on the heights, with tidings that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, that these were defending themselves vigorously, that a great struggle was going on at the very wall, and there was need of speedy help. The three hundred at once ordered him to lead the way; and as they took to the ascent their cries signalled their coming and encouraged their friends; the light of the full moon also made their arms appear more numerous to the enemy than they really were, owing to the length of their line of march, and the echoes of the night gave the impression that the shouts proceeded from many times the number of men there really were. At last, with a united onset, they repulsed the enemy, mastered the citadel, and held its garrison in their power. Day was now breaking, the sun at once shone out upon their success, and the rest of the forces of Aratus came up from Sicyon, the Corinthians readily receiving them by the gates and helping them to seize the king's soldiers.

XXIII. When everything appeared to be safe Aratus came down from the citadel into the theatre
άπειρον συρρέοντος ἐπιθυμία τῆς τε ὀψεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν λόγων οἷς ἐμέλλε χρήσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους. ἐπιστήσας δὲ ταῖς παρόδοις ἐκατέρωθεν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς εἰς μέσον προῆλθε, τεθωρακισμένος καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ διὰ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν ἡλιοσωμένος, ὥστε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ γανούμενον καὶ χαίρον ὑπὸ τῆς 3 περὶ τὸ σῶμα βαρύτητος κατακρατεῖσθαι. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀμα τῷ προσελθεὶν αὐτὸν ἐκχυθέντων ταῖς φιλοφροσύναις, μεταλαβὼν εἰς τὴν δεξίαν τὸ δόρον, καὶ τὸ γόνυ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ῥοπῇ μικρὸν ἐγκλίνας καὶ ἀπερευσάμενος, εἰστίκει πολὺν χρόνον σιωπῆ δεχόμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς κρότους καὶ τὰς ἐπιβοήθειας, ἐπαινούντων μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν, 4 ξηλούντων δὲ τὴν τύχην. ὦς δὲ ἐπαινοῦσαν καὶ κατέστησαν, συναγαγὼν ἐαυτὸν δεξίῃλθε λόγων ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τῇ πράξει πρέποντα, καὶ συνέπεισε τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖδας ἀπέδωκε τὸτε πρὸς τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν καιρῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνους γενομένας. τῶν δὲ Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγῶν Ἀρχέλαον μὲν ἀφῆκεν ὑποχείριον γενόμενον, Θεόφραστον δὲ ἀν- 5 εἶλεν οὐ βουλόμενον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. Περσαῖος δὲ τῆς ἄκρας ἀλισκομένης εἰς Κεγχρεᾶς διεξέπεσεν. ὑστερον δὲ λέγεται σχολάζων πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον αὐτῷ δοκεῖν στρατηγῶν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν, Ἀλλὰ νηθεοὺς, φάναι, τοῦτο μάλιστα καμοὶ ποτε τῶν Ζήσων ἥρεσε δογμάτων· νῦν δὲ μεταβάλλομαι νουθετηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σικυωνίου νεανίου. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Περσαίου πλείονες ἵστορούσιν.
whither an immense multitude streamed with an eager desire to see him and hear what he would say to the Corinthians. After stationing his Achaean at both the side-entrances, he himself advanced from the back-scene into the orchestra, with his breastplate still on and his countenance altered by toil and loss of sleep, so that the exultation and joy of his spirit were overpowered by the weariness of his body. Since the multitude, when he came forward to address them, were profuse in their friendly expressions, taking his spear in his right hand and slightly inclining his knee and his body, he supported himself upon it and stood thus for a long time silently receiving their applause and acclamations, their praises of his valour and their congratulations on his success. But when they had ceased and quiet had ensued, he summoned his strength and in behalf of the Achaean made a speech which befitted their exploit, and persuaded the Corinthians to join the Achaean League. He also gave them back the keys to their gates, of which they then became possessed for the first time since the time of Philip of Macedon. Of the officers of Antigonus, he dismissed Archelaüs, who had been taken prisoner, but Theophrastus, who would not quit his post, he slew; as for Persaeus, on the capture of the citadel he made his escape to Cenchreae. And at a later time, as we are told, when he was leading a life of leisure, and someone remarked that in his opinion the wise man only could be a good general, "Indeed," he replied, "there was a time when I too particularly liked this doctrine of Zeno's; but now, since the lesson I got from the young man of Sicyon, I am of another mind." This story of Persaeus is told by many writers.
XXIV. Ο δὲ Ἀρατὸς εὐθὺς τὸ Ἰεραίον ὕψι ἔαυτῷ καὶ τὸ Ἰεραίον ἐποίησατο· καὶ νεὼν μὲν 1038 εἰκοσιπέντε βασιλικῶν ἐκυρίευσεν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ πεινακοσίους καὶ Σύρους τετρακοσίους ἀπέδοτο· τόν τε Ἀκροκόρινθων ἐφύλαττον οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τετρακοσίοις ὀπλίταις καὶ πεντήκοντα κυσὶ καὶ κυνηγοῖς ἱσοίς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τρεφομένοις.

2 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίοι τὸν Φιλοποίμενα θαυμάζοντες Ἑλλήνων ἐσχατον προσηγόρευσον, ὡς μιθεύδος μεγάλου μετ' ἑκείνῳ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι γενομένου ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πράξεων ταύτην ἐσχάτην καὶ νεωτάτην φαίνειν ἀν πεπράχθην, τούτο μὲν τὸλμη, τούτο δὲ τύχῃ ταῖς ἀρίσταις ἐνάμιλλον, ὡς ἐδήλωσεν εὐθὺς τὰ γινόμενα.

3 Μεγαρεῖς τε γὰρ ἀποστάντες Ἀντιγόνου τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσέθεντο, καὶ Ἱπποζήνου μετὰ Ἑπιδαυρίων συνετάχθησαν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἔξοδόν τε πρώτην θεμένος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα διαβᾶς ἐλεηλάτησεν, ὡσπερ εἰς εἰρκής λελυμένη τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Ἀχαϊῶν ἐφ' ὁ τι βούλοιτο χρόνευος. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, ἀρχὰς ἀποστάσεως εὐδιδοὺς αὐτοῖς.

4 Πτολεμαῖον δὲ σύμμαχον ἐποίησε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἤγεμονίαν ἔχοντα πολέμου καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν. οὗτῳ δὲ ἴσχυσεν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ὡστ', εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἔξην, παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄφενίζαται στρατηγοῦν αὐτῶν, ἔργω δὲ καὶ γνώμη διὰ παντὸς ἀρχεῖν. ἔώρων γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ πλοῦτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐ φιλίαν βασιλικῆν, οὐ τὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος συμφέρον, οὐκ ἀλλο τῇ τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπίπροσθεν ποιοῦμενον.
XXIV. As for Aratus, he at once made himself master of the temple of Hera and the harbour of Lechaeum; he also seized five-and-twenty of the king's ships, and sold five hundred horses and four hundred Syrians; Acrocorinthus, too, was garrisoned by the Achaean with four hundred men-at-arms, and fifty dogs with as many keepers were maintained in the citadel.

Now the Romans, in their admiration of Philopoemen, call him "the last of the Greeks," implying that no great man arose among the Greeks after him; but I should say that this capture of Acrocorinthus was the very last and latest achievement of the Greeks, and that it rivalled their best, not only in daring, but also in happy results, as events at once showed. For Megara seceded from Antigonus and attached herself to Aratus; Troezen and Epidaurus were enrolled in the Achaean League; and Aratus, making a distant expedition for the first time, invaded Attica, and crossing the strait plundered Salamis, his Achaean forces, as though released from prison, obeying his every wish. But the freemen among his prisoners he sent back to the Athenians without ransom, thus laying a foundation for their revolt from Antigonus. He also made Ptolemy an ally of the Achaean, with the leadership in war on land and sea. And he was so influential among the Achaean that, since it was not permissible every year, they chose him general every other year, though, in fact, his wisdom made him their leader all the time. For they saw that he put first and foremost, not wealth, not fame, not friendship with kings, not his own native city's advantage, but only the growth in power of the Achaean League. For he considered
5 ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς ἵδια τὰς πόλεις ὑπαρχοῦσας σωζεσθαι δι’ ἄλληλων ὀ̣στερ ἐνδεδεμένως τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροντι, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ μέρη τοῦ σῶματος ξώντα καὶ συμπνέοντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἄλληλα συμφυών, ὅταν ἀποσπασθῇ καὶ γένηται χωρίς, ἀτροφεῖ καὶ σήπεται, παραπλησίως τὰς πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν διασπώντων τὸ κοινὸν, αὐξεσθαι δὲ ὑπ’ ἄλληλων, ὅταν ὀλοντινὸς μεγάλον μέρη γενόμεναι κοινῆς προοίμιας τυγχάνωσιν.

XXV. Ὁρὼν δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν προσοικιῶν αὐτονομομένους, Ἀργεῖοις δὲ δουλεύονσιν ἀχθῶνοι, ἐπεβούλευεν ἀνελείν τὸν τύραννον αὐτῶν Ἀριστομαχοῦν, ἀμα τῇ τε πόλει θρεπτηρίᾳ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοῦναι φιλοτιμούμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς προσκομισάς τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὐν τολμόντες εὑρέθησαν, ὃν Αἰσχύλος προειστήκει καὶ Χαριμένης ὁ μάντις ἡξίφη δὲ οὐκ εἰχον, ἀλλ’ ἀπείρητο κεκτήσαν καὶ ξημίας μεγάλας τοῖς κεκτημένοις ἐπῆσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τύραννον. κατασκευάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀρατὸς αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ μικρὰς παραξιφίδας ἐνέρραψεν εἰς σάγματα καὶ ταῦτα περίθεις ὑποξυγίος σκεῦη τινὰ παρημελημένα κομίζουσιν εἰς ὁ Ἀργός ἀπέστειλε. Χαριμένους δὲ τοῦ μάντεως προσλαβόντος ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄνθρωπον, οἱ περὶ τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἡγανάκτησαν καὶ δι’ ἔαυτῶν ἐπραττοῦν, τὸν Χαριμένους καταγρώντες. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὄργῆ κατεμήνυσε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡδη βαδίζοντας ἐπὶ τῶν τύραννον ὧν οἱ πλείστοι φθάσαντες εἰς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέφυγον καὶ διεξέπεσον εἰς Κόρινθον.

1 Cf. chap. iii. 1.
that the Greek states which were weak would be preserved by mutual support when once they had been bound as it were by the common interest, and that just as the members of the body have a common life and breath because they cleave together in a common growth, but when they are drawn apart and become separate they wither away and decay, in like manner the several states are ruined by those who dissever their common bonds, but are augmented by mutual support, when they become parts of a great whole and enjoy a common foresight.

XXV. And so, since he saw that the best of the neighbouring peoples were autonomous, and was distressed at the servitude of the Argives, he plotted to kill Aristomachus the tyrant of Argos, being ambitious to restore its freedom to the city as a reward for the rearing it had given him,¹ as well as to attach it to the Achaean League. Accordingly, men were found to dare the deed, of whom Aeschylus and Charimenes the seer were the chief. They had no swords, however, the tyrant having prohibited the possession of them under heavy penalties. Aratus, therefore, ordered small daggers to be made for them in Corinth and sewed them up in pack-saddles; these he put upon beasts of burden carrying ordinary wares and sent them into Argos. But Charimenes the seer took on a partner in the enterprise, at which Aeschylus and his friends were incensed and proceeded to act on their own account, ignoring Charimenes. When Charimenes was aware of this, he was angry and informed against the men just as they were setting out to attack the tyrant; most of them, however, succeeded in escaping from the marketplace and fled to Corinth.
4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ χρόνου βραχέος διελθόντος ἀποθνῄσκει μὲν ὑπὸ δούλων 'Αριστόμαχος, ὑπολαμβάνει δὲ τὴν ἄρχῃν φθάσας 'Αρίστιππος, ἐξωλέστερος ἐκείνου τύραννος. ὅσοι δὴ τῶν Ἀχαίων ἐν ἧλικίᾳ παρόντες ἐτυχον, τούτους ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Ἀράτος ἐβοήθει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ὄξεως, οἴομενος εὐρήσειν τὰ τῶν Ἀργείων πρὸ-5 θύμα. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἣδε διὰ συνήθειαν ἔθελο-δούλως ἔχοντων καὶ μηδενὸς ἀφισταμένον πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀνεχώρησεν ἐγκλήμα κατεσκευάκως τοῖς Ἀχαίοις ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλεμον ἐξεννυχόσι. καὶ δίκην ἑσχὸν ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ παρὰ Μαντινεύσιν, ἢν Ἀράτου μὴ παρόντος Ἀρίστιππος εἶλε διώκων 6 καὶ μιν ἐτιμήθη τριάκοντα. τῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀράτου αὐτὸν ἁμα καὶ μισῶν καὶ δεδοικὸς ἐπεθυμευν ἄνελειν συνεργοῦντος Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παυταχοῦ σχεδὸν ἦσαν οἱ τούτῳ πράττοντες αὐτοῖς καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες.

7 'Αλλ' οὔδεν οἶνον ἄληθινή καὶ βέβαιος εὖνοια φυλακτήριον ἀνδρὸς ἄρχοντος. ὅταν γὰρ ἔθισθώ-σιν οὐ τε πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ δυνατοὶ μὴ τὸν ἤγομενον, ἄλλ' ύπερ τοῦ ἤγομενον δεδέναι, πολλοῖς μὲν ὄμμασιν ὅρα, διὰ πολλῶν δὲ ὠτῶν ἱκουεί, καὶ προαισθάνεται τὰ γινόμενα. διὸ καὶ βούλομαι τὸν λόγον ἐπιστήσας ἐνταῦθα που διεξελθεῖν περὶ τῆς Ἀριστίππου διαίτης, ἣν ἡ ζηλοτυπου-μένη τυραννίς αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ περιβοῆτου μοναρχίας ὄγκος περιέθηκεν.

XXVI. Ἐκείνος γὰρ Ἀντίγονον μὲν ἔχων 58
Nevertheless, after a little while Aristomachus was killed by slaves, and Aristippus, a more pernicious tyrant than he, soon succeeded in seizing the power. Aratus at once took all the Achaeans of military age who were at hand and went swiftly to the aid of the city, supposing that he would be welcomed by the Argives. But since most of them were by this time habituated to slavery and willing to endure it, so that not a man came over to his side, he retired, after involving the Achaeans in the charge of having gone to war in time of peace. They were prosecuted on this charge before the Mantineans, and in the absence of Aratus, Aristippus as plaintiff won his case and was awarded damages to the amount of thirty minas.\(^1\) Aratus himself the tyrant both hated and feared, and so laid plots to kill him with the assistance of Antigonus the king; and almost everywhere there were men who undertook this deed for them and watched for an opportunity.

But there is no safeguard for a ruler like a sincere and steadfast goodwill on the part of the ruled. For when both the common people and the leading men are afraid, not of their leader, but for their leader, he sees with many eyes, hears with many ears, and so perceives betimes what is going on. Therefore I wish to stop my story at this point, in order to describe the life that Aristippus led. This was laid upon him by his office of tyrant, so envied of men, and by the pride and pomp of monarchy, which men celebrate and call blessed.

XXVI. For though he had Antigonus as ally, and

\(^1\) Half a talent, equivalent to about £118, or $600, a merely nominal fine. Mantineia acted as arbitrator, perhaps by special agreement.
σύμμαχον, τρέφων δὲ πολλοὺς ἔνεκα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας, οὐδένα δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ζώντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπολελοιπῶς, τοὺς μὲν δο- ῥυφόρους καὶ φύλακας ἐξω παρεμβάλλειν ἐκέ- 2 λευν ἐν τῷ περιστύλῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας, ὅποτε δειπνήσαι, τάχιστα πάντας ἐξελαύνων καὶ τὴν μέταυλον ἀποκλείων μετὰ τῆς ἐρωμένης αὐτὸς εἰς οἶκημα κατεδύσεο μικρον ὑπερφῶν, θύρα καταρρακτὴ κλεώμενον· ἡς ὑπεράνω τὴν κλίνην ἔπιτιθεις εκάθευδεν, ὡς εἰκὸς καθευδεὶν τὸν οὕτως 3 ἔχοντα, παραχωδῶς καὶ περιφόβως. τὸ δὲ κλω- μάκιον ἢ τῆς ἐρωμένης μήτηρ ὕφαιροῦσα κατε- κλείεν εἰς ἔτερον οἶκημα, καὶ πάλιν ἀμὴ ἡμέρα προσετῖθει καὶ κατεκάλει τὸν θαυμαστὸν τύραν- νον, ὥσπερ ἔρπττον ἐκ φωλεού κατερχόμενον. ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὅπλοις κατὰ βίαν, νόμῳ δὲ ὑπ’ ἀρετῆς ἀκατάπαυστον ἀρχὴν περιπεπωμένος, ἐν ἰματίῳ καὶ χλαμυδίῳ τῷ τυχόντι, τῶν πόροτε τυράννων κοινὸς ἀποδεδειγμένος ἐχθρός, ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας γένος εὐδοκιμώτατον ἀπολέοιτον ἐν τοῖς 4 Ἐλλησιν. ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν τὰς ἀκρας κατα- λαμβανόντων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τρέφοντων καὶ τὰ ὑπλα καὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας προβαλλομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφα- λείας ὀλγοὺ τὸν ἐκ πληγῆς θάνατον, ὥσπερ οἱ λαγωνί, διεφυγοῦν· οίκος δὲ ὅ γένος ἡ τάφος ἔχων τιμωμένην μιμήμον οὐδενὸς λέλειπται.

XXVII. Πρὸς δ’ οὖν τὸν Ἀρίστιτππον ὁ Ἀρα- τος καὶ κρύφα πολλάκις καὶ φανερῶς προσ- ἐπταις ἐπιχειρήσας καταλαμβάνειν τὸ Ἀργος. ἅπαξ δὲ κλίμακας προσθεῖς μετ’ ὀλγων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἀνεβή παραβόλως, καὶ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας 60
kept many guards to protect his person, and had left no single enemy alive in the city, yet he would order his spearmen and guards to bivouac outside in the colonnade; and as for his servants, as soon as supper was over he would drive them all out. Then he would lock the doors of the inner house, and betake himself with his mistress to a little upper room, which was closed by a trap-door; on this door he would place his couch and sleep, as one in his state of mind would naturally sleep, by fits and starts and in great fear. The ladder the mother of his mistress would take away and lock up in another room, and in the morning would put it in place again and call the wonderful tyrant, who would come down like a creeping thing out of its hole. Aratus, on the other hand, not by force of arms, but legally and in consequence of his virtues, had invested himself with an enduring power, and yet went about in ordinary tunic and cloak; he declared himself a public foe of any and every tyrant; and he left behind him a posterity of the highest repute among the Greeks down to this day.¹ But of the men who seize citadels, maintain spearmen, and depend upon arms and gates and trap-doors for the safety of their persons, only a few, like timorous hares, have escaped a violent death; while not one of them has left a house, or a family, or a tomb to keep his memory in honour.

XXVII. Against Aristippus, then, and in trying to seize Argos, Aratus made many open and secret attempts in vain. Once he set up scaling-ladders, at great hazard got upon the wall with a few followers, and killed the sentries that defended the

¹ Cf. chap. liv. ad fin.
2 ἐνταῦθα τῶν φυλάκων ἀπέκτεινεν. εἰτα ἡμέρας ἐπιφανείσης καὶ τοῦ τυράννου πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ προσβάλλοντος, οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι, καθάπερ οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας τῆς μάχης οὕσης, ἀλλ' ὡς τὸν ἁγώνα τῶν Νεμείων βραβεύοντες, ἵσοι καὶ δίκαιοι θεαταὶ καθήμε στῶν γυνομένων, πολλὴν ἴσυχίαν ἀγοντες, ὁ δὲ Ὁρατος εὐρωστῶς ἀμυνόμενος λόγχη μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς διελαύνεται τῶν μηρῶν, ἐκράτησε δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεόσθη μέχρι νυκτός ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

3 εἶ δὲ καὶ τὴν νύκτα τῷ πόλῳ προσεταλαίησεν, οὐκ ἄν διημαρτεν' ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἦδη περὶ δρασμὸν εἰχὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν προεξέπεμψε· νῦν δὲ τούτῳ μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐξαγγείλαντος πρὸς τὸν Ὁρατον, ὦδατος δὲ ἐπελιπόντος, εαυτῷ δὲ χρῆσασθαι διὰ τὸ τραύμα μὴ δυνάμενος, ἀπήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας.

XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτην ἀπέγνω τὴν ὀδὸν, ἐμβαλὼν φανερῶς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν Ἀργολίδα χώραν ἐπόρθεσεν καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἡρήτα ποταμοῦ ἰσχυρὰς μάχης γενομένης πρὸς Ὁραστιππον αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς ἐγκαταλιπών τῶν ἁγῶνα καὶ προέμενος τῷ νίκημα. τῆς γὰρ ἀλλῆς δυνάμεως ὀμολογομένως ἐπικρατοῦσης καὶ τῷ διῳγμῷ πολὺ προελθοῦσης εἰς τοῦπροσθεν, αὐτός οὐχ οὗτως ἐκβιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀπιστῶν τῷ καταρθώματι καὶ φοβηθείς, ἀνεχώρησε

2 τεταραγμένος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως ἐπανελθόντες οἱ λοιποὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον ὅτι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς πολέμιους καὶ πολὺ πλείονας ἐκείνων καταβαλόντες ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπολέσαντες παραλειούπασι τοῖς ἔτη-
Then day came and the tyrant attacked him from all sides, while the Argives, as though it were not a battle to secure their liberties, but a contest in the Nemean games of which they were the judges, sat as just and impartial spectators of what was going on, without lifting a finger. Aratus, fighting sturdily, had his thigh transfixed by a spear-thrust, yet held his ground, and could not be dislodged at close quarters until night, though harassed by his enemies. And if through the night also he had maintained the struggle, he would not have failed in his attempt; for the tyrant was already bent on flight and had sent on many of his goods to the sea. As it was, however, no one told Aratus of this, and since water was failing him and he could not use his strength by reason of his wound, he led his soldiers away.

XXVIII. Then, since he despaired of success in this way, he openly invaded the territory of Argos with his army and ravaged it; and in a fierce battle with Aristippus at the river Chares, he was accused of abandoning the struggle and throwing away the victory. For although the rest of his forces admittedly had the upper hand and had gone far on ahead in pursuit, he himself, not so much because he was ousted from his position by his opponents, as out of mistrust of success and in utter fear, withdrew in disorder to his camp. But when the rest of his army came back from the pursuit and were indignant because, though they had routed the enemy and slain far more of them than they had lost of their own number, they had suffered the vanquished to
μένους στησαί κατ' αὐτῶν τρόπαιον, αἰσχυνθεὶς πάλιν ἐγνὼ διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ τρόπαιον, καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν διαλιπὼν αὖθις ἐξέτασσε τὴν στρατιάν. ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο πλείονας γεγονότας καὶ θαρραλεώτερον ἄνθισταμένους τοὺς περὶ τὸν τυραννὸν, οὐκ ἔτολμησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποστόνδους ἀνελόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ περὶ τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐμπειρία καὶ χάριτι τὴν διαμαρτήμας ταύτην ἀναμαχόμενος προσηγάγετο τὰς Κλεονᾶς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, καὶ τὸν ἀγώνα τῶν Νεμείων ἤγαγεν ἐν Κλεωναῖς, ὡς πάτριον ὄντα καὶ μᾶλλον προσήκοντα τούτοις. ἤγαγον δὲ καὶ Ἀργείοι, καὶ συνεχύθη τότε πρῶτον ἡ δεδομένη τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἠσυλία καὶ ἀσφάλεια, πάντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὡς ἔλαβον ἡγωνισμένους ἐν Ἀργεῖ, διὰ τῆς χώρας πορευομένους ὡς πολεμίους ὑποδομένων. οὐτως σφοδρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαραιτητος ἐν τῷ μυσεῖ τοὺς τυράννους.

XXIX. Ὄληγο δὲ υστερον ἀκούσας τὸν Ἀρίστιππον ἐπιβουλεύειν μὲν ταῖς Κλεωναῖς, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ ἔκεινον ἐν Κορίνθῳ καθεζόμενοι, ἡθροισεν ἐκ παραγγέλματος στρατείαν, καὶ συτία κελεύσας πλείονοι ἡμερῶν κομίζειν εἰς Κεγχρεᾶς κατῆλθεν, ἐκκαλούμενος δὲ ἀπάτης τῶν Ἀρίστιππον ὡς αὐτοῦ μὴ παρόντος ἐπιθέσατο τοῖς Κλεωναίοις· ὁ καὶ συνέβη. παρῆν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἡ 2 Ἁργους ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ Ἁρατος εἰς Κόρινθον ἥδη σκοτάζοις ἐκ Κεγχρεῶν ὑποστρέψας,

1 After the events narrated in xxxiv. ff.
erect a trophy over the victors, Aratus was ashamed and determined again to fight out the question of the trophy, and on the next day but one put his army once more in battle array. However, on perceiving that the forces of the tyrant were more numerous than before and more courageous in their resistance, he would not venture a decisive battle, but withdrew after being allowed to take up his dead under a truce. Nevertheless, by his skill in dealing with men and public affairs, and by the favour in which he stood, he retrieved this failure, brought Cleonae into the Achaean League, and celebrated the Nemean games in that city, on the ground that it had an ancient and more fitting claim upon them. But the games were also celebrated at Argos, and then for the first time the privilege of asylum and safe-conduct which had been granted to contestants in the games was violated, since the Achaens treated as enemies and sold into slavery all contestants in the games at Argos whom they caught travelling through their territory. So fierce and implacable was Aratus in his hatred of tyrants.

XXIX. A little while after this,\(^1\) Aratus heard that Aristippus was plotting against Cleonae, but feared to attack it while his enemy was posted at Corinth; he therefore assembled an army by public proclamation. And after ordering his troops to carry provisions for several days, he marched down to Cenchreae, by this stratagem inviting Aristippus to attack Cleonae in the belief that his enemy was not at hand; and this was actually what happened. For the tyrant set out at once from Argos with his forces. But Aratus, returning from Cenchreae to Corinth as soon as it was dark, and posting guards
καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς φυλακαῖς διαλαβῶν, ἤγε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπομένους οὕτω μὲν εὐτάκτως, οὕτω δὲ ταχέως καὶ προθύμως ὡστε μὴ μόνον ὁδεύοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρελθόντας εἰς τὰς Κλεωνᾶς ἐτί υπκτὸς οὐσὶς καὶ συνταξαμένους ἐτὶ μάχην ἁγνοεῖτι
3 σθαί καὶ λανθάνειν τὸν Ἀριστιππον. ἀμα δὲ ἡμέρα τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιχθεὶσῶν καὶ τῆς σάλπιγγος ἐγκελεσθμένης, ὅρομω καὶ ἀλαλαμφῳ προσπεσῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐθὺς ἐτρέψατο, καὶ κατεῖχε διόκους ἦ μάλιστα φεύγειν ὑπενοεῖ τὸν Ἀριστιππον, ἐκτροπᾶς πολλὰς τῶν χωρίων ἐχόντων. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διώξεως ἀχρὶ Μυκηνῶν, ὁ μὲν τύραννος ὑπὸ Κριτός τινος, ὡς Δεινίας ἱστορεῖ, τοῦνομα Ἰραγίσκου, καταληφθεὶς ἀποσφάττεται, τῶν δὲ ἅλλων ἔπεσον ύπὲρ χίλιους πεντακισίους. ὁ δὲ Ἀρατος οὕτω λαμπρῶς εὐτυχήσας καὶ μηδένα τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀποβαλὼν, ὁμως οὐκ ἔλαβε τὸ Ἀργὸς οὐδε ἠλευθέρωσε, τῶν περὶ Ἀγίαν καὶ τὸν νεώτερον Ἀριστόμαχον μετὰ δυνάμεως βασιλικῆς παρεισπεσόντων καὶ κατασχόντων τὰ πράγματα.
4 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πολὺ τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ λόγους καὶ σκώμματα καὶ βωμολοχίας παρείλετο τῶν κολακεύοντων τοὺς τυράννους καὶ διεξιότων, ἐκείνους χαριζομένων, ὡς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκταράττοιτο μὲν ἡ κοιλία παρὰ τὰς μάχας, καίρος δὲ προσπίπτοι καὶ ἰλλιγγος ἀμα τῷ παραστήναι τὸν σαλπιγκτήν, ἐκτάξας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παρεγγυῆς, καὶ πυθόμενος τῶν ὑποστρατήγων καὶ λοχυγών, μὴ τις αὐτοῦ χρεία παρόντος (βεβληθαὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους), ἀπέρχοτο καραδοκιὸς πώρωθεν τὸ
5
along all the roads, led his Achaeans towards Cleonae, and they followed him in such good order and with such swiftness and alacrity that not only while they were on the march, but also when they had got into Cleonae, before the night was over, and had arrayed themselves for battle, Aristippus knew nothing at all of it. Then, at daybreak, the gates were thrown open, the trumpet gave its loud signal, and dashing at a run and with shouts upon the enemy Aratus routed them at once, and kept on pursuing where he most suspected that Aristippus was in flight, the country having many diverging routes. The pursuit continued as far as Mycenae, where the tyrant was overtaken and slain by a certain Cretan named Tragiscus, as Deinias relates; and besides him there fell over fifteen hundred. But although Aratus had won so brilliant a success, and had lost not a single one of his own soldiers, he nevertheless did not take Argos nor set it free, since Agias and the younger Aristomachus burst into the city with troops of the king and took control of affairs.

This success, then, refuted much of the calumny heaped upon Aratus, as well as the scoffing and abusive stories of the flatterers of the tyrants, who would recount, to please their masters, how the general of the Achaeans always had cramps in the bowels when a little was imminent, and how torpor and dizziness would seize him as soon as the trumpeter stood by to give the signal, and how, after he had drawn up his forces and passed the watchword along, he would ask his lieutenants and captains whether there was any further need of his presence (since the die was already cast), and then go off to await the issue anxiously at a distance. For
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6 συμβησόμενον. ταύτα γὰρ οὔτως ἵσχυσεν ὡστε καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς ξητοῦντας εἰ τὸ πάλλεσθαι τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ χρώμα τρέπεσθαι καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἐξυγραίνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα δεινὰ δειλίας ἐστὶν ἡ δυσκρασίας τινὸς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ψυχρότητος, ὄνομάζειν ἀεὶ τὸν Ἀρατὸν ὡς ἁγαθὸν μὲν ὄντα στρατηγόν, ἀεὶ δὲ ταύτα πάσχοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἁγώνας.

XXX. Ὡς δ′ οὖν τὸν Ἀριστιππον ἀνείλεν, 1041 εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευσε Λυδιάδη τῷ Μεγαλοπολίτῃ τυραννοῦντι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος. ὦ δὲ οὐκ ὃν ἁγενής οὐδὲ ἀφιλότιμος τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲ ὁσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν μονάρχων ἀκρασία καὶ πλεονεξία πρὸς ταύτην ῥυείς τὴν ἀδικίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπαρθεὶς ἔρωτι δόξης ἐτι νέος καὶ λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ κενοὺς λεγομένους περὶ τυραννίδος, ὡς μακαρίου καὶ θαναμστοῦ πράγματος, εἰς μέγα φρόνημα παραδεξάμενος ἀνοίητος, καὶ καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν τύραννον ταχὺ μεστὸς ἡν τῆς ἐκ μοναρχίας βαρύτητος. ἂμα δὲ ξηλῶν εὐημεροῦντα καὶ δεδοκικῶς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τὸν Ἀρατὸν ὥρμησε καλλίστην ὀρμῆν μεταβαλόμενος, πρὸτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσας μίσους καὶ φόβου καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ δορυφόρων, εἰτα τῆς πατρίδος εὔρηγέτης γενέσθαι καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Ἀρατὸν ἁφήκε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μετεκόμεσεν. ἔφ' οίς μεγαλύνοντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ στρατηγὸν ἐἵλοντο.

2 Ἐφετερόν τὸν Ἀρατόν ἀλλὰς τῇ πολλᾷ πράξεις οὐκ ἀναγκαίας εἶναι δοκοῦσας καὶ στρατεύαν ἐπὶ Δακεδαμονίους παρῆγγελλεν. ἐνιστάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρατὸς ἀυτῷ
these stories were so prevalent that even in the schools of philosophy, when the query arises whether palpitation of the heart and change of colour and looseness of the bowels, in the presence of seeming peril, are the mark of cowardice, or of some faulty temperament and chilliness in the body, Aratus is always mentioned by name as one who was a good general, but always had these symptoms when a contest was impending.

XXX. Having thus made away with Aristippus, Aratus at once began to plot against Lydiades, who was tyrant in his native city of Megalopolis. This Lydiades was neither of mean birth nor naturally lacking in high ambition, nor, like most sole rulers, had he been driven by licence and rapacity into this iniquity, but he had been fired with a love of glory while still young, and had thoughtlessly associated with his high spirit the false and empty doctrines current concerning tyranny, to the effect that it was a wonderful and blessed thing. And now that he had made himself tyrant, he was quickly sated with the burdens which devolve upon the sole ruler. Therefore, at once envying the successes of Aratus and fearing his plots, he adopted a new and most admirable plan, first, to free himself from hatred and fear and guards and spearmen, and second, to become a benefactor of his native city. So he sent for Aratus, resigned his power, and made his city a member of the Achaean League. Wherefore the Achaeans exalted him and chose him general.

Lydiades was at once ambitious to surpass Aratus in reputation, and not only did many other things which were thought unnecessary, but also proclaimed an expedition against the Lacedaemonians. Aratus
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φθορείν ἐδόκειν· καὶ τὸ γε δεύτερον ὁ Λυδιάδης στρατηγὸς ἦρέθη, ἀντιπράπτουντος ἀντικρυς Ἀράτου καὶ σπουδάζοντος ἐτέρω παραδοθήματι τὴν ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ, ὅς εὑρηται, παρ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἦρχε. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τρίτης στρατηγίας ὁ Λυδιάδης εὖ φεύγομεν διετέλει καὶ παρ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἦρχεν ἐναλλὰς τῷ Ἀράτῳ στρατηγών· φανερῶν δὲ ἐξενεγκάμενος ἐχθραν καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ κατηγορήσας ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαίοις ἀπερρίφη καὶ παρώφθη, πεπλασμένῳ δοκῶν ζητεῖ πρὸς ἀληθευνητῆν καὶ ἀκέραιον ἀρετὴν ἀμιλλάσθαι. καὶ καθάπερ τῷ κόκκυγι φησιν Ἀισιωτός, ἐρωτῶντι τοὺς λεπτοὺς ὀρνιθὰς ὅ τι φεύγοιεν αὐτὸν, εἰπέν ἐκεῖνοις ὃς ἔστατο ποτὲ ἱέραξ, οὕτως ἐοικε τῷ Λυδιάδῃ παρακολοθεῖν ἐκ τῆς τυραννικῆς ὑποψία βλάπτονσα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς μεταβολῆς.

XXXI. 'Ο δὲ Ἀρατὸς εὐδοκίμησε καὶ περὶ τὰς Αἰτωλικὰς πράξεις, ὅτε συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὑτοῖς πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ὀρμημένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων Ἀγίδος ἀφικομένου μετὰ δυνάμεώς καὶ συνεξορμώντος ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς, ἐναντιωθεῖς καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὀνείδη, πολλὰ δὲ εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ ἀτολμίαν καὶ σκώμματα καὶ χλεασμοὺς ὑπομείνας οὐ προήκατο τοῦ τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμοῦ διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσχρόν, ἄλλα παρεχώρησε τοῖς πολεμίσων ὑπερβαλοῦσι τὴν Γεράνειαν ἀμα-χεῖ παρέλθειν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. ὡς μέντοι παρελθόντες ἐξαιρήθησαν Πελλήνην κατέλαβον, οὐκέτ' ἦν ὁ αὐτός, οὐδ' ἐμελλε διατρίβων καὶ περιμένων

1 Chap. xxiv. 4. 2 About 241 B.C. Cf. the Agis, xiv. f.
opposed him, but was thought to do so out of jealousy; and Lydiades was chosen general for the second time, though Aratus openly worked against him and was eager to have the office given to someone else. For Aratus himself, as I have said, held the office every other year. Accordingly, until he was general for the third time, Lydiades continued to be held in favour, and held the office every other year in alternation with Aratus; but after displaying an open enmity to him and frequently denouncing him before the Achaeans, he was cast aside and ignored, since it was apparent that he was contending, with a fictitious character, against a genuine and unadulterated virtue. And just as the cuckoo, in the fable of Aesop, when he asks the little birds why they fly away from him, is told by them that he will one day be a hawk, so it would seem that since Lydiades had once been a tyrant he was never free from a suspicion, which did injustice to his real nature, that he would change again.

XXXI. In the Aetolian war also Aratus won a good repute. For when the Achaeans were bent on an engagement with the Aetolians in front of Megara, and Agis the king of the Lacedaemonians was come up with an army and joined in urging the Achaeans on to battle, Aratus opposed this counsel, and in spite of much vilification and much scoffing abuse for weakness and cowardice would not abandon, because of any seeming disgrace, which he judged to be for the general advantage, but allowed the enemy to cross the Geraneian range without a battle and pass on into Peloponnesus. When, however, after thus passing on, they suddenly seized Pellene, he was no longer the same man, nor would he wait at
ἀθροισθήναι καὶ συνελθεῖν εἰς ταῦτα πανταχόθεν τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' εὑθὺς ὄρμησε μετὰ τῶν παρόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἀσθενεῖς 3 στάτους δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ ὑβρίν ὄντας. ἀμα γὰρ τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται διασπαρέντες ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν, ἐξωθοῦντες ἀλλήλους καὶ διαμαχόμενοι περί τῶν χρημάτων, ἡγεμόνες δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς γυνατέρας τῶν Πελληνέων περιόντες ἤρπαζον, καὶ τὰ κράνη τὰ αὐτῶν ἀφαίροῦντες ἐκεῖναι περιετίθεσαν τοῦ μηδένα λάβειν ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ τῷ κράνει δήλου εἶναι τὸν δεσπότην ἑκάστης. οὕτω δὲ διακειμένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα πράττονσιν ἐξαισθηθεῖς ὁ Ἀρατός ἐπιπεσὼν προσηγγέλθη. καὶ γενομένης ἐκπλήξεως, οἶνον εἰκὸς ἐν ἀταξία τοι- αύτη, πρῖν ἡ πάντας πυθέσθαι τὸν κάνδυνον οἱ πρώ- τοι περὶ τὰς πύλας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τὰ προάστεια συμπεσόντες ἐφευγον ἢ δὴ νευκημένοι, καὶ κατε- πιμπλασάνε κατανοομένοι προτροπάδην ἀπορίας τοὺς συνισταμένους καὶ προσβοηθοῦντας.

XXXII. 'Εν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ταράχῳ μία τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, Ἐπιγήθους ἄνδρος εὐδόξου θυγάτηρ, αὐτὴ δὲ καλλίες καὶ μεγέθει σώματος εὐπρεπὴς, ἐτυχε μὲν ἐν τῷ ιερῷ καθεξομένη τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, οὐ κατέστησεν αὐτήν ὁ ἔπιλεκτάρχης ἔλων ἐαυτῷ καὶ περεθεὶς τῆς τριλοφίας, ἄφνω δὲ ἐκδραμοῦσα 2 πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον, ὡς ἔστη πρὸ τῶν θυρών τοῦ ιεροῦ καὶ κατέβλεψεν εἰς τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνωθεν ἔχουσα τὴν τριλοφίαν, αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς πολίταις
all in order that his forces might assemble and come together from all quarters, but at once set out with those he had against the enemy, whom the disorder and wantonness attendant upon their success had wholly weakened. For as soon as they had entered the city, the common soldiers had scattered themselves among the houses, jostling and fighting with one another over the booty, while the leaders and captains were going about and seizing the wives and daughters of the Pellenians, on whose heads they put their own helmets, that no one else might seize them, but that the helmet might show to whom each woman belonged. But while they were in this situation and thus engaged, word was suddenly brought them that Aratus had attacked. Dismay fell upon them, as was natural amid such disorder, and before all had learned of the danger the foremost of them, engaging with the Achaeans at the gates and in the suburbs, were already conquered and in full flight, and being driven in headlong rout, they filled with dismay those who were collecting together and coming to their aid.

XXXII. In the midst of this confusion, one of the captive women, daughter of Epigethes, a man of distinction, and herself conspicuous for beauty and stateliness of person, chanced to be sitting in the sanctuary of Artemis, where she had been placed by the captain of a picked corps, who had seized her for his prize and set his three-crested helmet upon her head. But suddenly she ran forth to view the tumult, and as she stood in front of the gate of the sanctuary and looked down upon the combatants from on high, with the three-crested helmet on her head, she seemed to the citizens themselves a vision
θέαμα σεμνότερον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωτον ἐφάνη, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίωις φάσμα θείον ὅραν δοκοῦσι φρίκην ἐνέβαλε καὶ θάμβος, ὥστε μηδένα τρέπεσθαι πρὸς ἂλκην.

Αὐτοὶ δὲ Πελληνεῖς λέγουσι τὸ βρέτας τῆς θεοῦ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἀποκεῖσθαι χρόνον ἀψαυστον, ὅταν δὲ κυνηθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας ἐκφέρηται, μηδένα προσβλέπειν ἐναυτῖοι, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπεσθαι πάντας. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ὁμάμα φρικτὸν εἶναι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δένδρα ποιεῖν ἄφορα καὶ καρποὺς ἀπαμβλύσκειν, δι' ὧν ἂν κομίζεται.

3 τούτο δὴ τότε τὴν ἱερείαν ἐξενεγκαμένην καὶ τρέπουσαν ἀεὶ κατὰ τοὺς Αἴτωλους ἀντιπρόσωπον ἐκφρονας καταστήσας καὶ παρελέεσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν. ὁ δὲ ὁ Ἀρατὸς οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἶρηκε τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ φησι τρεψάμενος τοὺς Αἴτωλους καὶ φεύγοντι συνεισπέσον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξελάσας κατὰ κράτος, ἐπτακοσίους δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι. τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διεβοήθη, καὶ Τιμάνθης ὁ ζωγράφος ἐποίησεν ἐμφαντικῶς τῇ διαθέσει τὴν μάχην ἐχοῦσαν.

XXXIII. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα πολλῶν ἔθνων καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς συνισταμένων εὐθὺς ὁ ὁ Ἀρατὸς ἔπραττε φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Αἴτωλοὺς, καὶ Πανταλέουτι τῷ πλείστον Αἴτωλῶν δυναμένῳ συνεργῷ χρησάμενος οὐ μόνον εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Αἴτωλοὺς ἐποίησε.

2 Τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους σπουδάζων ἐλευθερώσατι διεβλήθη καὶ κακῶς ἦκουσεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι σπουδὰς πεποιημένων αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ ἀνοχὰς ἀγόντων ἐπεχείρησε τὸν Πειραιά.
of more than human majesty, while the enemy thought they saw an apparition from heaven and were struck with amazement and terror, so that not a man of them thought of defending himself.

But the Pellenians themselves tell us that the image of the goddess usually stands untouched, and that when it is removed by the priestess and carried forth from the temple, no man looks upon it, but all turn their gaze away; for not only to mankind is it a grievous and terrible sight, but trees also, past which it may be carried, become barren and cast their fruit. This image, then, they say, the priestess carried forth from the temple at this time, and by ever turning it in the faces of the Aetolians robbed them of their senses and took away their reason. Aratus, however, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of such a thing, but says that after routing the Aetolians and bursting into the city with them as they fled, he drove them out by main force, and slew seven hundred of them. The action was ex- tolled as among the greatest exploits, and Timanthes the painter made a picture of the battle which in its composition vividly pourtrayed the event.

XXXIII. Notwithstanding, since many peoples and dynasts were combining against the Achaeans, Aratus at once sought to make friends of the Aetolians, and with the assistance of Pantaleon, their most influential man, not only made peace, but also an alliance between them and the Achaeans.

But in his eagerness to set Athens free he incurred the bitter reproaches of the Achaeans, because, though they had made a truce and suspended hostilities with the Macedonians, he attempted to seize
Antigonus Gonatas died in 239 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Demetrius II., who reigned ten years.
the Peiraeus. He himself, however, in the Commentaries which he left, lays the blame for this attempt upon Erginus, with whose aid he had effected the capture of Acrocorinthus. He says that Erginus attacked the Peiraeus on his own private account, and that when his scaling-ladder broke and the enemy were pursuing him, he kept calling upon Aratus by name, as if Aratus were there, and thus deceived and made his escape from them. But this defence does not seem to be convincing. For Erginus was a private man and a Syrian, and there is no likelihood that he would have conceived of so great an undertaking if he had not been under the guidance of Aratus and obtained from him the force and the fitting time for the attack. And Aratus himself also made this plain, since he assaulted the Peiraeus, not twice or thrice, but many times, like a desperate lover, and would not desist in spite of his failures, but was roused to fresh courage by the very narrowness of the slight margin by which he was disappointed of his hopes. And once he actually put his leg out of joint as he fled through the Thriasian plain; and while he was under treatment for this, the knife was often used upon him, and for a long time he was carried in a litter upon his campaigns.

XXXIV. When Antigonus died and Demetrius succeeded to the throne,¹ Aratus was all the more bent upon getting Athens, and wholly despised the Macedonians. And so, after he had been overcome in a battle at Phylacia by Bithys the general of Demetrius, and reports were rife, one that he had been captured, and another that he was dead, Diogenes, the guardian of the Peiraeus, sent a letter to
Κόρινθου εξίστασθαι τῆς πόλεως κελεύων τοὺς Ἀχαῖούς, ἐπειδή ὁ Αρατός ἀπέθανεν· ἐτυχε δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων κομισθέντων παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ διατριβῆν οἱ τοῦ Διογένους καὶ γέλωτα πολὺν παρασχόντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναῦν ἐπεμψε, ἃ ἡς κομισθήσεται 3 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ὁ Αρατός δεδεμένος. πᾶσαν δὲ Ἀθηναίοι κοινότητα κολακείας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδόνας ὑπερβάλλοντες ἐστεφανηφόρησαν ὅτε πρῶτον ἤγγελθη τεθνηκός. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ὄργην εὐθὺς ἑκ-στρατεύσας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῆς Ἀκαδημείας προήλθεν· είτα πεισθεὶς οὐδὲν ἧδικήσεν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναίοι συμφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁρε-τὴν, ἔτει Δημητρίου τελευτήσαντος ὁμηρησάν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἐκείνον ἐκάλουν. ὁ δὲ, καίπερ ἐτέ-ρου μὲν ἄρχοντος τότε τῶν Ἀχαίων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρρωστία μακρὰ κλινήρης ὑπάρχων, ὡμος ἐν φορεῖοι κομιζόμενος ὑπήντησε τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς Διογένης συνεπε-σὺν ἀποδόναν τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυκίαν καὶ τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ τὸ Σοῦνιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ταλάντοις, ὡν αὐτὸς ὁ 5 Ἀρατός εἶκοσι τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. προσεχώ-ρησαν δὲ εὐθὺς Λεγενίται καὶ Ἐρμονεῖς τοῖς Ἀχαῖοις, ἢ τε πλείστῃ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας αὐτοῖς συν-ἐτέλει. καὶ Μακεδόνων μὲν ἄσχολων ὄντων διὰ τινας προσοίκους καὶ ὀμόρους πολέμους, Αἰτώ- λῶν δὲ συμμαχοῦντων, ἐπίδοσιν μεγάλην ἢ τῶν Ἀχαίων ἐλάμβανε δύναμις.
Corinth ordering the Achaeans to quit the city, since Aratus had been killed; but when the letter arrived at Corinth, Aratus chanced to be there in person, and so the messengers of Diogenes, after furnishing much diversion and laughter, went away. Moreover, the king himself sent a ship from Macedonia, on which Aratus was to be brought to him in chains. And the Athenians, carrying their flattery of the Macedonians to the highest pitch of levity, crowned themselves with garlands as soon as they heard that Aratus was dead. Therefore he was wroth, and at once made an expedition against them, and advanced as far as the Academy; then he listened to their entreaties and did them no harm.

So the Athenians came to recognize the excellence of his character, and when, upon the death of Demetrius, they set out to regain their freedom, they called upon him. Then Aratus, although another was at that time general of the Achaeans, and he himself was confined to his bed by a long sickness, nevertheless was carried in a litter to help the city in its time of need, and joined in persuading Diogenes, the commander of the garrison, to give up the Peiraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians for a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which Aratus contributed himself. Moreover, Aegina and Hermione at once came over to the Achaeans, and the greater part of Arcadia joined their league. And since the Macedonians were busy with certain neighbouring and adjacent wars, and the Aetolians were in alliance with the Achaeans, the power of the Achaean League was greatly increased.

1 In 229 B.C. He was succeeded by Antigonus Doson, who reigned nine years.
XXXV. 'Ο δὲ 'Ἀρατος ἐξεργαζόμενος τὴν παλαιὰν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ δυσανασχετῶν τὴν ἐν 'Ἀργει τυραννίδα γειτνιώσαν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειθε πέμπτων τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον εἰς μέσον θείναι καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἤλωσαντα Λυδιάδην ἔθνους τηλικοῦτον μετ᾽ εὐφημίας καὶ τιμῆς στρατηγὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ μᾶς πόλεως κυνδυνεύοντα καὶ μισούμενον τύραννον. ὕπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πέμψα τὸν Ἀρατον, ὅπως ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ διαλυσήται τοὺς παρ’ αὐτῷ στρατευμένους, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ποριζομένων, ὁ Λυδιάδης ἔτη στρατηγῶν καὶ φιλοτιμοῦμενος ἰδιόν αὐτοῦ πολιτευμα τούτῳ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι, τοῦ μὲν Ἀράτου κατηγόρει πρὸς Ἀριστόμαχον ὡς δυσμενῶς καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτως ἀεὶ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἔχοντος, αὐτῷ δὲ πείσας τὴν πραξὶν ἐπιτρέψα προσήγαγε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν ἀνθρώπον. ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα φανερὰν ἐποίησαν οἱ σύνεδροι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρατον εὐνοιαν καὶ πίστιν. ἀντειπόντος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ δὴ ὀργὴν ἀπήλασαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συμπεισθεὶς πάλιν αὐτὸς ἠξίατο περὶ αὐτῶν διαλέγεσθαι παρῶν, πάντα ταχέως καὶ προθύμως ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ προσεδέξαντο μὲν τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Φιλισίους εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὑστερον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον ἐξόντω στρατηγὸν. Ὁ δὲ εὐημερῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ βουλομένους εἰς τὴν Δακωνικὴν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐκάλει τῶν Ἀρατον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. ὁ δὲ ἐγραφεῖ μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν στρατείαν ἀπαγορεύουν καὶ τῷ Κλεομένει θράσος 1 καὶ bracketed by Sint. 2
XXXV. And now Aratus, seeking to effect his long-standing purpose, and impatient of the tyranny so near the Achaeans in Argos, sent messengers and tried to persuade Aristomachus to give his city freedom and attach it to the Achaean League, urging him to imitate Lydiades and be general of so great a nation with praise and honour, rather than tyrant of a single city with peril and hatred. Aristomachus consented, and told Aratus to send him fifty talents, in order that he might disband and send away the soldiers under him, and the money was being provided. Upon this, Lydiades, who was still general and had an ambition that the Achaeans should regard this transaction as his own work, denounced Aratus to Aristomachus as a man who had always been an implacable enemy of tyrants, and after persuading Aristomachus to entrust the matter to himself, brought him before the Achaean council. Then the members of the council put into clearest light their goodwill towards Aratus and their confidence in him. For when he angrily opposed the project, they drove Aristomachus away; but when he had been won over again, and came before them in person, and began to argue for the project, they speedily and readily adopted all his proposals, admitted Argos and Phlius into the league, and a year later \(^1\) actually choose Aristomachus general.

Aristomachus, then, being in high favour with the Achaeans, and wishing to invade Laconia, summoned Aratus from Athens. Aratus wrote him a letter in which he tried to dissuade him from the expedition, and expressed unwillingness to involve the Achaeans in hostilities with Cleomenes, who was daring and

\(^1\) In 227 B.C.
PLUTARCH’S LIVES

ἐχοντι καὶ παραθόλως αὐξανομένως συμπλέκεσθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ βουλόμενος, ὥρμημένου δὲ πάντως ὑπῆκουσε καὶ παρὼν συνεστράτευν. ὅτε δὴ καὶ κωλύσας περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐπιφανέντος αὐτοῖς μάχην συνάψαι τὸν Ἀριστομάχον ὑπὸ Δυδίδου κατηγορήθη, καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας εἰς ἀγώνια καὶ ἀντιπαραγγελίαν αὐτῷ καταστάς ἐκράτησε τῇ χειροτονίᾳ καὶ τὸ δοδέκατον ἡρέθη στρατηγός.

ΤΟΝΟΤ. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ περὶ τὸ Δύκαιον ἠτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐφυγε· καὶ πλανηθένες νυκτὸς ἐδοξε μὲν τεθνάναι καὶ πάλιν ὁμός ὁ λόγος κατ’ αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἐξεφοίτησεν εἰς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας· ἀνασωθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν οὐκ ἡγάπησεν ἁσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν,

2 ἀλλ’ ἀριστα τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος οὐδενὸς προσδοκῶντος οὐδὲ συνλογιζομένου τὸ μέλλον ἐξαιρετικὴ ἐπέπεσε Μαντινεύσι συμμάχοις οὐσὶ τοῦ Κλεομένους· καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλαβον φρουρὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους πολίτας ἐποίησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ μόνον ἃ νικῶντες οὐκ ἄν ραδίως ἔσχον ἐκτῆσατο νευκημένους τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς.

3 Ἀδῆς δὲ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν στρατευσάντων βοήθησας ὅκενει μὲν ἄψιμαχοὺς τῷ Κλεομένει λαβῆν παρασχεῖν καὶ τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις βιαζομένους ἀντεῖχεν, οὗτο ἄλλως πρὸς τὰς κατὰ στόμα μάχας εὐ πεφυκὼς καὶ τότε λειπόμενος τε πλῆθει καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα τολμήτην καὶ νέον ἡδὴ παρακιμάζοντι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ κεκολασμένη τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ συνεστηκός, καὶ

1 See the Cleomenes, iv. 3–4.
2 226 B.C. Cf. the Cleomenes, v. 3 Cf. the Cleomenes, vi.
growing marvellously in power; but, since Aristo-
machus was altogether insistent, Aratus obeyed
orders and accompanied the expedition in person.
It was at this time that he prevented Aristomachus
from joining battle when Cleomenes came upon them
at Pallantium,¹ and was denounced therefore by
Lydiades, with whom he came into contest and
competition for the office of general, winning the
vote and being chosen general for the twelfth time.

XXXVI. In the campaign of this year² he was
defeated by Cleomenes near Mount Lycaeum, and
took to flight; and, since he lost his way in the
night, he was thought to be dead, and once more
a story to this effect had wide currency among the
Greeks. But he escaped alive and rallied his soldiers,
and then was not content to come off safely, but
making the best use of his opportunity, when no
one expected or had any idea of what was to happen,
he suddenly made an assault upon Mantinea, which
was in alliance with Cleomenes; and having taken
the city, he set a garrison there, and made its alien
residents full citizens, thus acquiring single-handed
for the conquered Achaeans what they could not
easily have obtained as conquerors.

And again, when the Lacedaemonians made an
expedition against Megalopolis,³ he went to the aid
of the city, but was loth to give Cleomenes a chance
for the hand-to-hand fighting which he desired, and
resisted the importunities of the Megalopolitans.
For he was never at any time well fitted by nature
for set battles, and at this time in particular he was
inferior in numbers, and was matched against a man
who was young and daring, while his own courage
was past its prime, and his ambition chastened. He
νομίζων ἂν διὰ τοῦ τολμᾶν ἐκείνος ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων ἐκτάτο δόξαν αὐτῶ κεκτημένω φυλακτέον εἶναι διὰ τῆς εὐλαβείας.

XXXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ψυλῶν ἐκδραμόντων καὶ ὁσαμένων τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἀχρὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ περὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διασπαρέντων, ὥς τῶν Ἀρατος οὐδ' ὅσ ἐπήγαγεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν χαράδραν ἐπέστησε καὶ κατεκώλυσε διαβῆναι τοὺς ὁπλίτας· ὥς δὲ Δυνάδης περιπαθῶν πρὸς τὰ γυνόμενα καὶ τὸν Ἀρατον κακίζουν ἀνεκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὃς αὐτῶν, ἀξιῶν ἐπιφανήναι τοῖς διώκουσι καὶ μη προέσθαι τὸ νῖκημα μηδὲ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγω-2 νίζομενον. πολλῶν δὲ συστραφέντων καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρωσθεὶς ἐνέβαλε τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τρεψάμενος ἐδώκεν, ὕπο θυμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀταμεύτως ἐπισπασθεὶς εἰς χωρία σκολιὰ καὶ μεστὰ δένδρων πεφυτευμένων καὶ τάφρων πλατεῖων, ἐν οἷς ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ Κλεομένου ἐπέσε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν ἀγώ-3 νων ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς πατρίδος. οἱ δ' ἀλλοι φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ συντάραξαν τοὺς ὀπλίτας ὅλου τοῦ στρατευμα τής ἤττης ἐνέπλησαν, αὐτίαν δὲ μεγάλην ὥς Ἀρατος ἐλαβεί δόξας προέσθαι τοῦ Δυνάδην· καὶ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀπερχομένων πρὸς ὡργήν ἥκολοῦσθε στρεψάμενοι αὐτοῖς εἰς Δἰγῖον. ἔκει δὲ συνελθόντες ἐγκυρίσαντο μὴ διδόναι χρήματα αὐτῶ μηδὲ μυσθοφόρους τρέφειν, ἀλλ' αὐτῶ πορίζειν, εἰ δέοιτο πολεμεῖν.
also thought that the glory which his adversary was trying to acquire by his daring and did not possess, had already been acquired by himself and must be preserved by his caution.

XXXVII. Nevertheless, his light infantry once made a sally, drove the Spartans as far as to their camp, and were scattered about among the tents. Aratus, however, would not even then lead up his men, but putting a ravine between himself and the enemy, halted there, and would not suffer his men-at-arms to cross it. Then Lydiades, distressed at what was going on, and loading Aratus with reproaches, called his horsemen to him and exhorted them to go to the help of the pursuers, and not to let the victory slip out of their hands nor leave in the lurch a commander who was fighting in behalf of his native city. Many brave men gathering at his call, he was emboldened to charge upon the right wing of the enemy, which he routed and pursued. But his ardour and ambition robbed him of discretion, and he was drawn on into places that were intricate and full of planted trees and broad trenches. Here Cleomenes attacked him and he fell, after a brilliant and most honourable combat at the gates of his native city. The rest of his men fled to their main line, threw the men-at-arms into confusion, and thus infected the whole army with their defeat. Aratus was severely blamed for this, being thought to have betrayed Lydiades; and when the Achaeans left the field in anger, they forced him to accompany them to Aegium. Here they held an assembly, and voted not to give him money and not to maintain mercenaries for him; if he wanted to wage war, he must provide the means himself.
XXXVIII. Οὗτος δὲ προτηλαισθεὶς ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν εὖθυς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν σφραγίδα καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφεῖναι, λογισμῷ δὲ χρησάμενος τότε μὲν ὑπὲμεινε, καὶ πρὸς Ὄρχομενον ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μάχην ἔθετο πρὸς Μεγιστούνον τὸν Κλεομένους πατρὸν, ἐν ἦ διὰ τῆς τριακοσίους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, ζῶντα δὲ τὸν Μεγιστόνον ἐνυβα. εἰσθοὺς δὲ στρατηγεῖν παρ’ ἐνιαυτὸν, ὡς ἢ τάξις αὐτῷ περιῆλθε, καλούμενος ἐξωμόσατο, καὶ Τιμόξενος ἥρεθη στρατηγός. ἔδοκει δὲ ἢ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὀχλοὺς ὅργῃ πρόφασις εἶναι λεγομένη τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἀπίθανον, αὐτία δ’ ἀληθῆς τὰ περιεστώτα τούς Ἀχαιοὺς, οὐκὲθ’ ὡς πρῶτον ἀτρέμαι καὶ σχέδην τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐπιβαίνοντος οὐδ’ ἐμπλεκομένου ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὴν χωρὰν ἀναδασάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν μετοικῶν ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐσχεν ἱσχύν ἀνυπεύθυνον, εὐθὺς ἐπικείμενου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τῆς ἤγεσιον ἔαυτὸν ἀξίωντος. διὸ καὶ μέμφονται τὸν Ἀρατον ἐν σάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ χειμῶν τῶν πραγμάτων φερομένων ὥσπερ κυβερνήτην ἀφείται καὶ προε- μενον ἐτέρῳ τοὺς οἰκεῖος, ὅτε καλῶς εἰχε καὶ ἀκού- τον ἐπιστάντα σώζειν τὸ κοινὸν εἰ δ’ ἀπεγνώκει τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀχαίων, εἰξαι τῷ Κλεομένει, καὶ μὴ πάλιν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκβαρβαρῶσαι φρουραῖς Μακεδόνων, μηδὲ πληρω- σαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον Ἰλλυρικῶν ὄπλων καὶ Γαλατικῶν, μηδὲ οὖς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι κατα-

1 Cf. the Cleomenes, xv. 1.
2 For the year 224 B.C.
3 Cf. the Cleomenes, viii., xi.

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XXXVIII. Smarting under this insult, he resolved to give up his seal at once, and resign the office of general, but upon reflection he held on for the present, and after leading the Achaeans forth to Orchomenus, fought a battle there with Megistonoös, the stepfather of Cleomenes, in which he got the upper hand, killing three hundred of the enemy and taking Megistonoös prisoner. But when, accustomed as he was to be general every other year, his turn came round again and he was invited to take the office, he formally declined, and Timoxenus was chosen general. Now the grounds usually given for this refusal of Aratus, namely, his anger at the people, were not thought to be convincing, and the real reason for it was the situation of the Achaeans. For the invasions of Cleomenes were no longer quiet and restrained, as formerly, nor was he fettered by the civil authorities, but after he had killed the ephors, divided up the land, advanced many resident aliens to the citizenship, and thus got an irresponsible power, he immediately pressed the Achaeans hard, and demanded the supreme leadership for himself. And therefore men blame Aratus, because, when the ship of state was driving in a great surge and storm, he forsook the pilot’s helm and left it to another, although it had been well, even if the people were unwilling, to remain at their head and save them; and if he despaired of the government and power of the Achaeans, he ought to have yielded to Cleomenes, and not to have made Peloponnesus quite barbarous again under Macedonian garrisons, nor to have filled Acrocorinthus with Illyrian and Gallic arms, nor, in the case of
στρατηγῶν καὶ καταπολεμευόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι λοιδορῶν διετέλει, τούτους ἐπάγεσθαι δεσπότας ταῖς πόλεσι συμμάχους ὑποκοριζόμενον. 5 εἰ δὲ Κλεομένης ἦν, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως, παράνομος καὶ τυραννικὸς, ἀλλὰ Ἤρακλείδαι πατέρες αὐτῷ καὶ Σπάρτη πατρὶς, ἦς τὸν ἀφανέστατον ἄξιον ἀντὶ τοῦ πρώτου Μακεδονῶν ἡγεμόνα ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς τιθεμένους εὐγένειαν. καίτοι Κλεομένης ὤτε τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὡς πολλὰ ποιήσων ἀγαθὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκείνης, 6 Ἀντίγονος δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσάν αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμόναν ἀναγορευθεὶς οὐχ ὑπῆκουσε πρὶν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὑμολογηθῆναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, ἀπεχνώσε τὸν Αἰσιώπον μιμησάμενος κυνηγόν. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἐπέβη τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς δεομένοις καὶ ὑποβάλλουσιν αὐτοὺς διὰ τῶν πρεσβειῶν καὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἡ τῇ φρουρᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὀμήροις ὠσπερ χαλινομένους ἀνασχέσθαι. καίτοι πᾶσαι ὁ Ἀρατος ἀφίησε φωνῆς ἀπολογιζόμενος τὴν ἀνάγκην. ὁ Πολύβιος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ πολλοῦ φησί καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης υφορώμενον τὸ θράσος τὸ τοῦ Κλεομένου κρύφα τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας προκαθίεναι δεομένους Ἀχαιῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀντίγονον. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπιέξοντο τῷ πολέμῳ μάλιστα, συνεχῶς ἀγοντος αὐτοὺς καὶ φέροντος 7 τοῦ Κλεομένους. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ Φύλαρχος ἱστό- 8

1 Histories, ii. 47, 4 ff.
men whom he was always defeating in the fields of war and statesmanship and abusing in the pages of his Commentaries, to have made these men lords over the cities under the endearing name of allies. And if Cleomenes was, as must be granted, lawless and arbitrary, still, Heracleidae were his ancestors, and Sparta was his native land, the meanest citizen of which was more worthy than the foremost Macedonian to be made their leader by those who had any regard for Greek nobility of birth. And yet Cleomenes asked the Achaeans for the office, with the promise that he would confer many benefits upon their cities in return for that honour and its title, whereas Antigonus, although he was proclaimed leader with full powers by land and sea, would not accept the office until Acrocorinthus had been promised him as the pay for his leadership. In this he acted just like Aesop's hunter. For he would not mount the Achaeans, although they prayed him to do so and presented their backs to him by way of embassies and decrees, until they consented to wear the bit and bridle of the garrison they received and the hostages they gave. And yet Aratus says everything that he can say in explaining the necessity that was upon him. Polybius, however, says that for a long time, and before the necessity arose, Aratus mistrusted the daring temper of Cleomenes and made secret overtures to Antigonus, besides putting the Megalopolitans forward to beg the Achaeans to call in Antigonus. For the Megalopolitans were most oppressed by the war, since Cleomenes was continually plundering their territory. A similar account of these matters is given by Phylarchus also, in whom, but for the testimony of
κρηκε περὶ τούτων, ὃ μὴ τοῦ Πολυβίου μαρτυροῦν-
tos οὐ πάνυ τι πιστεύειν ἄξιον ἦν. ἐνθουσιὰ γὰρ
όταν ἄψηται τοῦ Κλεομένους, ὑπ’ εὐνοίας, καὶ
καθάπερ ἐν δίκη τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῷ μὲν ἀντιδικῶν
dιατελεῖ, τῷ δὲ συναγορεύων.

XXXIX. Ἀπέβαινον δ’ οὖν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τῆς
Μαντίνειας, πάλιν ἐλόντος αὐτῆς τοῦ Κλεομέ-
nους, καὶ μάχη μεγάλη περὶ τὸ Ἐκατόμβαιον
ήττηθέντες οὐτώ κατεπλάγησαν ὡστε πέμπτειν
eὐθὺς ἐφ’ ἠγεμονία τοῦ Κλεομένη καλοῦντες εἰς
2 Ἀργος. ὁ δὲ Ἀράτος ὡς ἤσθετο βαδίζοντα καὶ
περὶ Δέρναν ὅντα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, φοβηθεὶς
ἀπέστελλε πρὸσβεις τοὺς ἄξιοντας ὡς παρὰ
φίλους καὶ συμμάχους αὐτὸν ἤκειν μετὰ τρι-
ακοσίων, εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ, λαβεῖν ὁμήρους. ταῦτα
ὕβριν εἶναι καὶ χλευασμὸν αὐτοῦ φήσας ὁ
Κλεομένης ἀνέξευξεν, ἐπιστολὴν γράφας τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀράτου
3 καὶ διαβολὰς ἔχουσαν. ἔγραψε δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐπι-
στολὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους· καὶ ἐφέροντο
λοιδορίαι καὶ βλασφημίαι μέχρι γάμων καὶ
γυναικῶν ἀλλήλοις κακῶς λεγόντων.

Ἐκ τούτου κήρυκα πέμψας ὁ Κλεομένης
πόλεμον προεροῦντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, μικροῦ μὲν
ἔλαβε τὴν Σικυωνίαν πόλιν ἀρπάσας διὰ προδο-
σίας, ἐγγυθεὶς δὲ ἀποτραπεῖς Πελλήνη προσέβα-
λε καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεσόντος
ἐσχε τὴν πόλιν. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ύστερον καὶ Φενεὸν
4 ἔλαβε καὶ Πεντέλειον. εἰτ’ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀργεῖοι προσ-
ἐχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ Φλιάσιοι φρουρὰν ἐδέξαντο·
καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἐπικτήτων βέβαιον ἦν

1 ἐγγυθεὶς Bekker reads ἐκείθεν, with the Aldine.
Polybius, one should not put entire credence. For goodwill makes his every mention of Cleomenes ecstatic, and as if he were pleading in a court of law, he is for ever accusing Aratus in his history, and defending Cleomenes.

XXXIX. So, then, the Achaeans lost Mantinea, which was taken again by Cleomenes, and after being defeated in a great battle at Hecatombaeum they were so dismayed that they sent at once and invited Cleomenes to come to Argos and assume the leadership. But Aratus, when he learned that Cleomenes was on the way and at Lerna with his forces, feared the issue, and sent an embassy to demand that he should come with three hundred men only, as to friends and allies, and that if he was distrustful, he should accept hostages. Cleomenes declared that he was insulted and mocked by this demand, and retired with his army, after writing a letter to the Achaeans which was full of bitter accusations against Aratus. Aratus also wrote letters against Cleomenes; and their mutual abuse and defamation reached the point of maligning one another's marriages and wives.

As a result of this, Cleomenes sent a herald to declare war against the Achaeans, and almost succeeded in seizing the city of Sicyon with the help of traitors; he turned aside, however, when close at hand, and assaulted and took the city of Pellene, from which the Achaean commander fled. And not long afterwards he took Pheneus also and Penteleium. Then Argos went over to his side, and Phlius received a garrison which he sent. In a word, not one of their acquisitions longer held firm to the
τοῖς Ἀχαῖοῖς, ἅλλα θόρυβος πολὺς ἄφνω περιειστήκει τὸν Ἀρατον, ὀρῶντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον κραδαίνομενήν καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐξαισταμένας ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτεριζόντων πανταχόθεν.

XL. Ἡτρέμει γὰρ οὖν ὡδὲ ἐστεργεν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι, ἅλλα καὶ Σικυωνίων αὐτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων θῖων ἐγένοτο πολλοὶ καταφανεῖς διειλεγμένοι τῷ Κλεομένει καὶ πάλαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἰδίων ἐπιθυμία δυναστείων ὑπούλως ἔχοντες. ἐπὶ τούτους ἔξουσίαν ἀνυπεύθυνον ὁ Ἀρατος λαβὼν τοὺς μὲν ἐν Σικυωνὶ διεφθαρμένους ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Κορινθῳ πειρόμενος ἀναζητεῖν καὶ κολάζειν ἔξηγράινε τὸ πλῆθος ἢδη νοσοῦν καὶ βαρυνόμενον τὴν υπὸ τοῖς Ἀχαῖοῖς πολιτειῶν συνδραμώντες οὖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν μετεπέμπων τὸν Ἀρατον, ἀνελείν ἡ συλλαβεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγνωκότες. ὅ δὲ ἤκε μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφελκόμενος τὸν ἵππον ὡς οὐκ ἀπιστῶν οὐδὲ ὑποπτεύων, ἀνατηθησάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ λοιποφοβομένων αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγοροῦντων εὐ πῶς καθεστώτι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πρᾶξιν ἐκεῖνεν καθίσαι καὶ μὴ βοῶν ἀτάκτως ἐστῶτας ἅλλα καὶ τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὄντας εἰς ἥξιν παριέναι καὶ ταῦθ' ἄμα λέγων ὑπεξῆι βάδην ὡς παραδώσων τινὶ τὸν ἱππον. οὕτως δὲ ὑπεκδύσε καὶ τοῖς ὑπαντῶσι τῶν Κορινθίων ἀθορύβως διαλεγόμενος καὶ κελεύων πρὸς τὸ Ἀπόλλωνιον βαδίζειν, ὡς ἐλαθε πλησίον τῆς ἀκρας γενόμενος, ἀναπηθήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ Κλεοπάτρῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς φρουρῶς διακελευσάμενος ἐγκρατῶς

1 With this chapter cf. the Cleomenes, xvii.—xix. 1.
2 See chap. xli. 1.

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AchaeanSj but a vast confusion suddenly encompassed Aratus. He saw Peloponnesus shaking, and its cities everywhere stirred to revolt by restless agitators.¹

XL. For there was no quiet anywhere, and no contentment with present conditions, but even among the Sicyonians and Corinthians themselves there were many who were known to have been in conference with Cleomenes, men whom a desire for private domination had long ago led into secret hostility towards the common interests. For the punishment of these men Aratus was clothed with absolute power,² and seizing those in Sicyon who were thus corrupted he put them to death; but when he tried to seek out and chastise those in Corinth, he roused the resentment of the populace there, which was already disaffected and ill at ease under the Achaean administration. So they assembled hastily in the temple of Apollo and sent for Aratus, determined to kill him or seize him, and then to revolt. He came, accordingly, leading his horse after him, as though he had no distrust or suspicion, and when many sprang up and abused and denounced him, with a composed countenance and gentle words he bade them sit down and not stand there shouting in disorderly fashion, but to admit also those who were outside at the door; and as he spoke, he withdrew slowly, as if he would hand his horse over to somebody. Having thus slipped out of the crowd, he conversed calmly with the Corinthians who met him, biding them go to the temple of Apollo, and so, before his enemies were aware of it, came nigh the citadel. Then he leaped upon his horse, and after giving orders to Cleopater the commander of the garrison in the citadel to guard
φυλάττειν ἀφίππευσεν εἰς Σικυώνα, τριάκοντα μὲν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἐπομένων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγκαταλιπόντων καὶ διαρρέωτων.

5 Ἀδισθομένου δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετ' ὀλίγου τὴν ἀπόδρασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διώξαντες, ὡς οὐ κατέλαβον, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ παρέδωσαν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν οἰομένῳ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὤσον διήμαρτεν ἀφέντων Ἀρατοῦ. οὕτος μὲν οὖν, προσγενόμενων αὐτῷ τῶν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀκτην κατοικούντων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρισάντων, ἀπεσταύρου καὶ περιστεῖχίζε τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον.

XLI. Τῷ δὲ Ἀράτῳ συνήλθον εἰς Σικυώνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ἤρεθη στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ περιεστήσατο φρουράν ἐκ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη καὶ τρία πεπολυτευμένος ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, πεπρωτευκὼς δὲ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τότε δὲ ἔρημος καὶ ἀπόρος συντετριμμένος, ὡσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσοῦτῳ ἑνεκὸς καὶ κυνοῦν διαφερόμενος. καὶ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὺς δεομένου βοηθεῖν ἀπείπαντο, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν χάριτι τοῦ Ἀράτου πρόθυμον οὖσαν οἱ περὶ Εὐρυκλείδην καὶ Μικίωνα διεκώλυσαν. ὡστού δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ καὶ χρημάτων ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ οἴκιας, ὁ Κλεομένης ἡψατο μὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ ἄλλον εἰάσε, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς διοικητὰς ἐκέλευε

1 οὐ πολλοὶ Ziegler, with Sg and most good MSS. : οἱ πολλοὶ.
it with a strong hand, he rode off to Sicyon, followed by only thirty of his soldiers; the rest deserted him and dispersed.

After a little while the Corinthians learned of his flight and pursued him, but did not overtake him. Then they sent for Cleomenes and delivered their city into his hands, although he thought that he had gained by what they gave him far less than he had lost by their letting Aratus get away. Cleomenes, accordingly, after the accession to him of the inhabitants of Acte, as the district is called, who placed their cities in his hands, proceeded to run a wall and palisade about Acrocorinthus.

XLI. But a few of the Achaeans came together with Aratus at Sicyon; and in an assembly there held he was chosen general with full powers. And now he surrounded himself with a guard from among his own citizens. For three-and-thirty years he had directed public affairs among the Achaeans, and had enjoyed more power and reputation than any other Greek; but now, abandoned by his allies and helplessly crushed, he was like one drifting about in great surge and peril on the wreck of his native city. For the Aetolians refused him their aid when he asked for it, and the Athenians, whom gratitude made eager to help him, were prevented by Eurycleides and Micion. As for the house and property belonging to Aratus in Corinth, Cleomenes would not touch them at all, nor permit anyone else to do so, but sent for the friends and stewards of Aratus and ordered them to administer and watch over

1 Early in 223 B.C. The story is told very differently in the Cleomenes. xix. 1 f.
2 Two leading orators of the time.
πάντα διοικεῖν ἐκαί φυλάσσειν ὡς 'Αράτῳ λόγον

3 υφέξοντας: ἤδια δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεμψε Τρίπυλον
καὶ πάλιν Μεγιστόνουν τὸν πατρῶν ὑπισχνοῦ-
μενος ἄλλα τε πολλά καὶ δώδεκα τάλαντα
σύνταξιν ἐνιαύσιον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῷ ἦμίσει
Πτολεμαίοιν ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔξ τάλαντα τῷ 'Αράτῳ
καὶ ἐνιαύτῳ ἀπέστελλεν. ἤξιον δὲ τῶν 'Ἀχαιῶν
ἡγεμῶν ἀναγορευθῆναι καὶ κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν

4 φυλάσσειν τὸν Ἀκροκόριμθον. τοῦ δὲ 'Αράτου
φήσαντος ὡς οὐκ ἔχοι τὰ πράγματα, μᾶλλον δὲ
ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔχοιτο, καὶ κατειρωνέσσασθαι δό-
ξαντός, ἐμβαλὼν εὐθὺς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐπόρθει
καὶ κατέφθειρε καὶ προσεκάθητο τῇ πόλει πρεῖς
μῆνας, ἐγκαρτερωῦντος τοῦ 'Αράτου καὶ δια-
ποροῦντος εἰ δέξεται τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τῷ
παραδούναι τὸν Ἀκροκόριμθον' ἄλλος γὰρ οὐκ
ἐβούλετο βοηθεῖν.

XLIII. Οί μὲν οὖν 'Ἀχαιοὶ συνεληλυθότες εἰς
Λήγιον ἔκει τὸν 'Αρατον ἐκάλουν. ἢν δὲ κάινδυνος,
tοῦ Κλεομένους πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύοντος,
dιελθεῖν. καὶ κατείχον οἱ πολίται, δεόμενοι καὶ

1047 προῆσθαι τὸ σῶμα τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς οὕτων
οὐ φάσκοντες· ἔξηρτηντο δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναικεῖς
ἡδη καὶ παίδες ὡσπερ πατρὸς κοινοῦ καὶ σωτήρος

2 περιεχόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ θαρ-
ρύνας καὶ παραμυθησάμενος αὐτούς ἐξῆπτευσεν
ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἔχων δέκα φίλους καὶ τὸν

1 διοικεῖν suggested by Sintenis, with comparison of
Cleomenes, xix. 3: ποιεῖν.
everything as though they are to render an account to Aratus. Moreover, he privately sent Tripylus to Aratus, and afterwards Megistonoüs, his stepfather, promising to give him, besides many other things, a yearly pension of twelve talents, thus doubling the amount which Aratus received annually from Ptolemy; for he sent six talents each year to Aratus.\(^1\) Cleomenes demanded, however, that he should be proclaimed leader of the Achaeans, and together with them should have the keeping of Acrocorinthus. Aratus made answer that he did not control affairs, but rather was controlled by them; whereupon Cleomenes, thinking himself mocked, at once invaded the territory of Sicyon, ravaged and laid it waste, and encamped before the city three months. All this while Aratus held out patiently, and debated with himself whether he should accept Antigonus as an ally on condition of handing over to him Acrocorinthus! for on any other terms Antigonus was unwilling to give him help.\(^2\)

XLII. Accordingly, the Achaeans came together at Aegium and invited Aratus thither. But there was danger in his trying to get there, since Cleomenes was encamped before Sicyon. Besides, the citizens tried to detain him, beseeching him not to go and refusing to let him expose himself while the enemy were near; and presently the women and children were clinging to him and tearfully embracing him as a common father and preserver. Nevertheless, after encouraging and comforting them, he rode out to the sea, accompanied by ten friends and by his

\(^1\) Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247—222 BC.

\(^2\) Cf. the Cleomenes, xix. 3 ff.
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υίον ἢδη νεανίαν ὄντα· καὶ παρομοίντων ἐκεῖ πλοίων, ἐπιβάντες εἰς Αἴγιον παρεκομισθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ᾗ καλεῖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ παραδίδοναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον.

3 ἐπεμψε δὲ καὶ τὸν υίον Ἀρατὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀμήρων. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Κορίνθιοι χαλεπῶς φέροντες τὰ τε χρήματα διήρπασαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κλεομένει δωρεάν ἐδωκαν.

XLIII. Τοῦ δ' Ἀντίγονον προσιόντος ἢδη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως (ἤγε δὲ πεζοὺς δισμυρίους Μακεδόνας, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους) ἀπήντα μετὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν ὁ Ἀρατὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Πηγάς, λαθὼν τούς πολεμίους, οὐ πάνυ τι θαρρῶν τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐδὲ πιστεύον τοὺς Μακεδόσιν. ἦδει γὰρ ἡυξίμενον ἐαυτὸν ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνους κακῶς ἐποίησε καὶ πρῶτην εἰληφότα μεγίστην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν πρὸς

2 Ἀντίγονον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐχθραν. ἄλλα ὀρὸν ἀπαραίτητον ἐπικειμένην ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν καράτων, ὃ δουλεύουσιν οἱ δοκούντες ἀρχεῖν, ἔχορει πρὸς τὸ δεινόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος, ὡς τις αὐτῷ προσιόντα τὸν Ἀρατὸν ἐφρασε, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἥσπασατο μετρίως καὶ κοινῶς, ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν πρῶτην ἀπάντησιν ἐδέξατο τῇ τιμῇ περιττῶς, καὶ τάλα πειρώμενος ἄνδρῶς ἁγαθῶς καὶ νοῦν ἐχοντος ἐυδοτέρῳ τῆς χρείας προσηγάγετο.

3 Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρατὸς οὐ μόνον ἐν πράγμασι 98
son, who was now a young man. Vessels were lying at anchor off the shore, and upon these the party were conveyed to Aegium, where the assembly was sitting. Here it was voted to call in Antigonus and hand over to him Acrocorinthus. Aratus even sent his son to Antigonus with the other hostages. At this the Corinthians were indignant; they plundered his property and made a present of his house to Cleomenes.

XLIII. And now, as Antigonus was approaching with his forces (he was followed by twenty thousand Macedonian footmen and thirteen hundred horse), Aratus, in company with his High Councillors, went by sea to meet him at Pegae, eluding the enemy. He had no very great confidence in Antigonus, and put no trust in the Macedonians. For he knew that his own rise to power had been a consequence of the harm he had done to them, and that he had found the first and the chief basis for his conduct of affairs in his hatred towards the former Antigonus. But seeing how inexorable was the necessity laid upon him in the demands of the hour, to which those we call rulers are slaves, he went on towards the dread ordeal. But Antigonus, when he was told that Aratus was coming to him, gave the rest of the party an ordinary and moderate welcome; Aratus, however, he received at this first meeting with superlative honour, and afterwards, finding him to be a man of worth and wisdom, drew him in closer intimacy to himself.

For Aratus was not only helpful in large under-

1 In the spring of 223 B.C. Cf. the Cleomenes, xix. 4.
2 A body of ten men, chosen as admirers of the general.
3 Antigonus Gonatas. See the note on xxxiv. 1.
μεγάλοις ωφέλιμοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολάζοντι βασιλεῖ συγγενέσθαι παρ' οὖνιν ἐπίχαρι. διό, καὶ περὶ ὅν νέοις ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ὡς κατενόησε τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μηδὲν ἀργὸν εἰς φιλίαν βασιλικῆν ὁδάν, οὐ μονον Ἀχαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μακεδόνων τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα. ¹ χρώμενος

4 ἐκείνω διετέλει καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἀπέβαλεν ως ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ιερῶν ἑδείξε. λέγεται γὰρ οὗ πρὸ πολλοῦ θύουτι τῷ Ἀράτῳ δύο χολάς ἐν ἦπατι φαινὴν μιὰ πιμελή περιεχομένας· καὶ τὸν μάντιν εἰπέν ὡς ταχὺ πρὸς τὰ ἔχθιστα καὶ πολεμιώτατα σύνεισιν εἰς ἀκραν φιλίαν. τότε μὲν οὖν παρίθνευκε τὸ ῥηθὲν, οὐδὲ ἄλλος πολὺ νέμων πίστεως ιεροὶ καὶ μαντέύμασιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ⁵ λογισμῷ χρώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑστερον εὑ χωροῦν τι τῷ πολέμῳ συναγαγὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἐστίασιν ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ὑποδεχόμενος τὸν Ἀρατον ἐπάνῳ κατέκλινεν έαυτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν αὐτίσας περιβόλαιον ἤρωτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ κάκεινος ψύχος εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ριγοῦν φήσαντος, ἐκέλευσε προσχωρεῖν ἑγγυτέρω καὶ δάπιδος κομισθείσης ἀμφωτέρους ὁμοῦ περιεβάλλον οἱ παῖδες, τότε δὴ τὸν Ἀρατον ἀναμνησθέντα τῶν ιερῶν ἐκείνων γέλως ἔλαβε, καὶ διηγεῖτο τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ σημεῖον καὶ τὴν προαγόρευσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἑπράξθη χρώμοις ὑστερον.

XLIV. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πηγαίς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ὀρκοὺς εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἁγῶνες ἤσαν, εὑ πεφραγμένον

¹ πάντων μάλιστα Coraës and Ziegler, after Reiske: πάντα.
takings, but also more acceptable than anyone else as a companion in the king's leisure hours. Therefore, although Antigonus was young, as soon as he perceived that Aratus was naturally well fitted to be a king's friend, he continually treated him with greater intimacy than anyone else, whether of the Achaeans, or of the Macedonians in his following; and thus the omen proved true which the god had given to Aratus in his sacrificial victims. For it is related that as he was sacrificing a little while before this, a liver was found which had two gall-bladders enclosed in a single coil of fat; whereupon the seer had declared that Aratus would soon enter into close friendship with what he most hated and fought against. At the time, then, Aratus paid no heed to the utterance, since in general he put little faith in victims and divinations, and trusted rather to his reasoning powers. Later, however, when the war was going on well, Antigonus gave a feast in Corinth, at which he had many guests, and made Aratus recline just above himself. After a little while the king called for a coverlet, and asked Aratus if he too did not think it cold; and when Aratus replied that he was very chilly, the king ordered him to come nearer; so that the rug which the servants brought was thrown over both of them together. Then, indeed, Aratus called to mind his sacrificial victims and burst out laughing, and told the king about the omen and the seer's prediction. But this took place at a later time.

XLIV. At Pegae Antigonus and Aratus exchanged oaths of fidelity, and straightway marched against the enemy at Corinth. And there were conflicts about the city, Cleomenes being well fortified, and
τοῦ Κλεομένους καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀμυνομένων προθύμως. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Ἀργεῖος φίλος ὥσ Ἀράτου διαπέμπεται κρύφα πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὡς ἀποστήσων τὴν πόλιν, εἰ στρατιώτασ
2 ἐκείνος ἔχων ἐλθον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου φράσαντος τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ πλοίοις κομιζομένου κατὰ τάχος, οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι προεξαναστάντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς τοῦ Κλεομένους καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πυθόμενος 1048 ταῦτα, καὶ δείσας μὴ κατασχόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ Ἀργος ἀποκάψωσιν αὐτὸν τῆς οὐκαδε σωτηρίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἔτεν νυκτὸς ἐβοήθησιν καὶ παρελθὼν μὲν εἰς Ἀργος ἐφῆθη καὶ τροπὴν τινα τῶν πολεμίων ἐποίησεν, ὅληγῳ δὲ ύστερον Ἀράτου προσφερομένου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιφαίνομένου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Μαντίνειαν. ἐκ τούτου τοῖς μὲν Ἀχαιοῖς πάλιν αἱ πόλεις ἀπασαὶ προσεχώρησαν, Ἀντιγόνους δὲ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον παρέλαβεν, Ἀρατος δὲ στρατηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀργεῖων ἐπεισεν αὐτοὺς Ἀντιγόνῳ τὰ τέ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν χρήματα δωρεάν δοῦναι.
3 τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστόμαχου ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς στρεβλώσαντες κατεπόντισαν, ἐφί ὅ καὶ μάλιστα κακῶς ἦκουσιν ὁ Ἀρατος, ὡς ἀνθρωπον οὐ πονηρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεχρημένον ἐκείνῳ καὶ πεπεισμένον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς περίδον παρανόμως ἀπολλύμενον.
4 τοῦ δὲ Ἀριστόμαχου ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς στρεβλώσαντες κατεπόντισαν, ἐφί ὅ καὶ μάλιστα κακῶς ἦκουσιν ὁ Ἀρατος, ὡς ἀνθρωπον οὐ πονηρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεχρημένον ἐκείνῳ καὶ πεπεισμένον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς περίδον παρανόμως ἀπολλύμενον.

XLV. Ἡδή δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνῳ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπέφερον, οἶον ὅτι τὴν μὲν Κορινθίων πόλιν

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the Corinthians defending themselves with ardour. Meanwhile, however, Aristotle the Argive, who was a friend of Aratus, sent secretly to him and promised to bring his city to revolt from Cleomenes if Aratus would come thither with soldiers. So Aratus, after informing Antigonus, took fifteen hundred men and sailed from the Isthmus to Epidaurus with all speed. But the Argives, revolting prematurely, attacked the garrison of Cleomenes and shut them up in the citadel, and Cleomenes, learning of this, and fearing that if his enemies got possession of Argos they would cut him off from a safe return home, abandoned Acrocorinthus while it was still night and went to their aid. He succeeded in getting into Argos first, routing some of the enemy on the way; but shortly afterwards Aratus came up, and Antigonus showed himself with his forces, and Cleomenes therefore retreated to Mantinea. Upon this the cities all came over to the Achaeans again, Acrocorinthus was handed over to Antigonus, and Aratus, having been chosen general by the Argives, persuaded them to make a present to Antigonus of the property of the tyrants and of the traitors. As for Aristomachus, he was tortured at Cenchreae and then thrown into the sea; for which deed, more than any other, Aratus was reproached, on the ground that he had allowed a man to be lawlessly put to death who was not wicked, but had coöperated with him, and at his persuasion had renounced his power and attached his city to the Achaean League.

XLV. Presently, too, men began to blame Aratus for whatever else was done, as, for instance, that the

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1 Cf. the Cleomenes, xx. 3 f.
2 Cf. chap. xxxv.
'Αντιγόνῳ δώρεαν ἔδωκαν, ὡσπερ κόμην τῇ τυχόσαν, τόν Ὑρχομενὸν δὲ συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ διαρπάσαντι φρουρὰν ἐμβαλεῖν Μακεδονικῆν, ἐσφίσαντο δὲ ἄλλῳ μὴ γράφειν βασιλεῖ μὴ δὲ πρεσβεύειν πρὸς ἄλλου ἄκοντος 'Αντιγόνου, τρέφει τε καὶ μισθοδοτεῖν ἄναγκαζόντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας, θυσίας δὲ καὶ πομπὰς καὶ ἄγωνας 'Αντιγόνῳ συνετέλουν, ἀρξαμένων τῶν 'Αράτου πολιτῶν καὶ δεξαμένων τῇ πόλει τὸν 'Αντίγονον ὑπ' 'Αράτου ξενιζόμενον, ἥτιοντο πάντων ἐκεῖνον, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τὰς ἴνιας ἐκεῖνῳ παραδεδωκός καὶ τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐφελκόμενος ἐξουσίας οὐδενὸς ἦν ἡ μόνης φωνῆς ἐτὶ κύριος, ἐπισφαλῆ.

3 τὴν παρρησίαν ἔχουσης. ἔπει διαφωτὸς γε πολλὰ τῶν πραττομένων ἐλύπει τὸν 'Αρατοῦ, ὡσπερ τὸ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων· ο γὰρ 'Αντίγονος τὰς μὲν τῶν ἐν 'Αργεί τυράννων καταβεβλημένας ἀνέστησε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἐλόντων τὸν 'Ακροκόρινθον ἑστώσας ἀνέτρεψε πλὴν μίας τῆς ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τούτων δεηθεῖς ὁ 'Αρατος οὐκ ἔπεισεν. ἐδοκεὶ δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ Μαντῖνειαν οὐχ Ἑλληνικῶς διψφῆσαν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. κρατήσαντες γὰρ αὐτῶν δι' 'Αντιγόνου τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πρώτους ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέδουντο, τοὺς δ' εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέστειλαν ἐν πέδαις ἱδεμένους, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἡνδραποδίσαντο, τοὺς δὲ συναχθέντος ἄργυροί τοῦ τρίτου αὐτοῦ διείλοντο, τὰς δὲ δύο μοῖρας ἔνειμαν τοῖς

1 ἐν πέδαις Sint. 2, followed by Ziegler: πέδαις.

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Achaeans made a present to Antigonus of the city of Corinth, as if it had been an ordinary village; that they allowed the king to plunder Orchomenus and put a Macedonian garrison in it; that they decreed not to write or send an embassy to any other king against the wishes of Antigonus; that they were forced to furnish supplies and pay for the Macedonian troops; and that they celebrated sacrifices, processions, and games in honour of Antigonus, the fellow-citizens of Aratus leading the way and receiving Antigonus into their city, where he was the guest of Aratus. For all these things men blamed Aratus, not knowing that, since he had entrusted the reins to the king and was dragged along in the wake of the king's power, he was no longer master of anything except his tongue, which it was dangerous for him to use with freedom. At any rate Aratus was plainly annoyed at many acts of the king, and especially at his treatment of the statues in Argos; for those of the tyrants, which had been cast down, Antigonus set up again, while those of the captors of Acrocorinthus, which were standing, he threw down, that of Aratus only excepted; and though Aratus made many appeals to him in the matter, he could not persuade him. It was thought also that the treatment of Mantinea by the Achaeans was not in accord with the Greek spirit. For after mastering that city with the aid of Antigonus, they put to death the leading and most noted citizens, and of the rest, some they sold into slavery, while others they sent off into Macedonia in chains, and made slaves of their wives and children, dividing a third of the money thus raised among themselves, and giving the remaining two-thirds to the Macedonians.
5 Μακεδόσι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐσχε τὸν τῆς ἀμύνης νόμον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ δεινὸν ἀνδρας ὁμοφύλους καὶ συγγενεῖς οὕτω μεταχειρίσασθαι δι’ ὄργην, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀνάγκαις γλυκὺ γίνεται καὶ σκληρόν, κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ὥστερ ἀλγοῦντι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ φλεγμαίνοντι θεραπείαν καὶ ἀναπλήρωσιν προσφερόντων. τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντα περὶ τὴν πόλιν οὔτ’ εἰς καλὴν οὔτ’ εἰς ἀναγκαίαν ἐστὶ

6 θέσθαι τῷ Ἀράτῳ πρόφασιν. τῶν γὰρ Ἀχαίων τὴν πόλιν παρ’ Ἀντιγόνον δωρεάν λαβόντων καὶ κατοικίζειν εὐγνωκότων αὐτὸς οἰκιστὴς αἱρεθεὶς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὃς ἐγκαθίσταυ μηκέτι καλεῖν Μαντίνειαν, ἀλλ’ Ἀντιγόνειαν, ὁ καὶ μέχρι νῦν καλεῖται. καὶ δοκεῖ δι’ ἐκείνου ἢ μὲν ἔρατεν Ἡ Μαντίνεια παντάπασιν ἔξαλληλύθαι, διαμένει δὲ ὑπὸ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τῶν ἀπολεσάντων καὶ ἀνελόντων τοὺς πολίτας.

XI. VI. Ἐκ τούτων Κλεομένης μὲν ἡττηθεὶς μάχη μεγάλη περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐξέλυτε τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λυγύπτου, Ἀντιγόνος δὲ πάντα τὰ δίκαια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῷ Ἀράτῳ πεποιηκὼς ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, 1049 κακεὶ νοσῶν ὡς τὸν διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας Φιλίππου, οὕτω πάνω μειράκιον ὁμντα, πέμπων εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀράτῳ μάλιστα προσέχειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ δι’ ἐκείνου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐντυχείν ή καὶ γυνωρισθῆναι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. καὶ μάντου καὶ

1 καὶ σκληρόν with Bergk (Poet. Lyr. Gr. iii. 4 p. 530): καὶ οὐ σκληρόν.

1 The repeated treacheries of the Mantineians towards the Achaeans are related at length in Polybius, ii. 57 f.
2 Homer, Iliad, ii. 607.
It is true that this came under the law of reprisal; for though it is a terrible thing to treat men of the same race and blood in this way, out of anger, still "in dire stress even cruelty is sweet," as Simonides says, when men, as it were, give satisfaction and healing care to a mind that is in anguish and inflamed. But the subsequent treatment of the city by Aratus was neither necessary nor honourable, and cannot be excused. For after the Achaeans had received the city from Antigonus as a present and had decided to colonize it, Aratus himself was chosen to be the founder of the new settlement, and being then general, got a decree passed that the city should no longer be called Mantinea, but Antigoneia, and this is its name down to the present time. And so it was due to Aratus that the name of "lovely Mantinea" was altogether extinguished, and the city continues to bear the name of him who destroyed and slew its former citizens.

XLVI. After this, Cleomenes, having been defeated in a great battle at Sellasia, forsook Sparta and sailed off to Egypt, and Antigonus, after having accorded to Aratus fair and kindly treatment in every way, led his army back to Macedonia. There, being now a sick man, he sent Philip, his successor in the kingdom, who was still a stripling, into the Peloponnesus, and urged him to attach himself to Aratus above all others, and through him to deal with the cities and make the acquaintance of the Achaeans.

3 The old name of the city was restored by the Emperor Hadrian. Pausanias, viii. 8. 12.
4 In 221 B.C., cf. the Cleomenes, xxviii. ff.
παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀράτος οὕτως διέθηκεν ὡστε πολλῆς μὲν εἰνοίας πρὸς αὐτὸν, πολλῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὁρμῆς μεστὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀποστείλαι.

XLVII. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου κατα-
φρονήσαντες Αἰτωλοὺ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὴν βαθυ-
μίαν (ἐθισθέντες γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας σωζοθαί χεροὶ 
καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόνων ὀπλοῖς αὐτοὺς ὑπεσταλκότες 
ἐν ἄργια πολλῆ καὶ ἀταξία διῆγον) ἐπέθεντο 
τοῖς κατὰ Πελοποννησοῦ πράγμασί καὶ τὴν μὲν 
Πατρέων καὶ Δυμαίων λειτασίαν ὅδοι πάρεργον 
ἐποιήσαντο, τὴν δὲ Μεσσήνην ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρ-
θουν. ἐφ' οίς ὁ Ἀράτος ἀγανακτῶν καὶ τὸν 
στρατηγοῦντα τότε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Τιμόξενον ὅρὼν
ὄκνωντα καὶ διατρίβοντα τὸν χρόνον, ἤδη τῆς 
στρατηγίας αὐτῶ τελευτώσῃς, αὐτὸς ἡρημένος 
Ἴρχειν μετ' ἐκείνον προέλαβεν ἱμέραις πέντε τὴν 
ἄρχην ἔνεκα τοῦ βοηθῆσαι Μεσσήνιοι. καὶ 
συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἁγυ-
μνάστους ὄντας καὶ ταῖς διανοιαῖς ἐκλευμένους

2 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡττᾶται περὶ Καφύας· καὶ 
θυμικώτερον ἐστρατηγήκεναι δόξας οὕτως αὐ
πάλιν ἀπημβλύνθη καὶ προϊκατό τὰ πράγματα 
καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὡστε πολλὰς λαβίν τοὺς 
Αἰτωλοὺς παρασχόντας ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ περιορὰν 
ὁσπερ κωμάζοντας ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μετὰ 

3 πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύτητος. αὖθις οὖν 
tὰς χείρας ὀρέγοντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπεσπῶντο 
καὶ κατῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις τοῦ 
Φιλιπποῦ, οὐχ ἤκιστα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἁρατοῦ

1 In 221 B.C. See the Cleomenes, xxx.
2 In 220 B.C. See the Cleomenes, xxxiv. 1.
And indeed Aratus did take the prince in hand, and managed matters so as to send him back to Macedonia full of great goodwill towards his patron and of ardour and ambition for the conduct of Hellenic affairs.

XLVII. But upon the death of Antigonus the Aetolians, despising the Achaeans on account of their slothful ways (for now that they were accustomed to save themselves by other men’s prowess and had taken shelter behind the Macedonian arms, they were living in great inactivity and lack of discipline), proceeded to interfere in the affairs of Peloponnesus; and after plundering the territories of Patrae and Dyme on their way, they invaded Messenia and ravaged it. At this Aratus was incensed, and seeing that Timoxenus, who at that time was general of the Achaeans, was hesitant and dilatory, since his term of office was just about to expire, he himself, having been chosen to succeed Timoxenus, anticipated his term of office by five days for the sake of giving aid to the Messenians. And having assembled the Achaeans, who were physically and mentally unfit for war, he met with defeat at Caphyae. Then, being thought to have conducted the campaign with too much ardour, his purposes were once more blunted and he gave up the cause and his hopes for lost, so that oftentimes, when the Aetolians gave him an advantage, he neglected it, and suffered them to revel, as it were, in Peloponnesus, with great boldness and wantonness. Once more, therefore, the Achaeans stretched out their hands imploringly to Macedonia, and brought Philip down to take part in Hellenic affairs, above all things because his goodwill towards Aratus
eννοιαν αυτοῦ καὶ πίστιν ἐλπίζοντες εὐκόλω περὶ 
πάντα χρῆσεθαι καὶ χειροῖθει.

XLVIII. Καὶ τότε πρῶτον Ἀπελλοῦ καὶ Μεγα-
λέου καὶ τινῶν αὐλικῶν ἄλλων διαβαλλόντων 
τῶν Ἄρατον ἀναπεισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ συν-
αρχαιεσιάσας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως, 
ἐσπούδασε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἔλεσθαι στρατηγὸν

2 Ἐπήρατον. ὡς δ’ ἐκεῖνον μὲν καταφρονομένον 
τελέως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου παρ-
αμελοῦντος ἐγίνετο τῶν χρησίμων οὐδέν, ἐγὼν 
διαμαρτάνων τοῦ παντὸς ὁ Φίλιππος. καὶ ἀνα-
κρουσάμενος αὐθίς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράτου ὄλος ἦν ἐκεῖνον, 
καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ πρὸς τε δύναμιν καὶ 
πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἐπιδιδόντων ἐξηρτητο τοῦ ἀνδρός,

3 ὡς δ’ ἐκεῖνον εὐδοκίμῳ καὶ αὐξόμενος. ἐδόκει 
τε πᾶσιν ὁ Ἀράτος οὐ μόνον δημοκρατίας, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ βασιλείας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι παιδαγωγός· ἢ γὰρ 
προαίρεσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἢθος ὃς χρῶμα ταῖς 
πράξεως τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπεφαίνετο. καὶ γὰρ ἡ 
πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους ἀμαρτόντας μετριότης τοῦ 
νεανίσκου καὶ ἡ πρὸς Κρῆτας ὁμιλία, δι’ ἦς ὅλην 
προσηγάγετο τὴν νήσου ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, ἡ τε 
πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς στρατεία γενομένη θανμαστὼς 
ἐνεργὸς εὐπειθείας μὲν τῷ Φιλίππῳ δόξαν, εὔβου-

4 λίας δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσετίθει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα 
μᾶλλον οἱ βασιλικοὶ φθονοῦντες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπέραι-

νον κρύφα διαβάλλοντες, ἀναφανὺν ἑλοιδοροῦντο 
καὶ προσέκρουν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοὺς πότος μετὰ

and his confidence in him led them to hope that they would find him easy-tempered in all things and manageable.

XLVIII. And now for the first time Apelles, Megaleas, and sundry other courtiers made false charges against Aratus to which the king listened, and joining in the canvass made by those of the opposite faction, he favoured the election of Eperatus as general of the Achaean. But Eperatus was altogether despised by the Achaean, and as long as Aratus gave little heed to public matters nothing went well. Philip therefore perceived that he had been entirely wrong. So he reversed his course, went back to Aratus, and was wholly his; and since the progress of events now brought him increased power and reputation, he depended altogether upon Aratus, convinced that his repute and strength were due to him. And all the world thought that Aratus was a good guardian and tutor for a kingdom no less than for a democracy; for his principles and character were manifest, like colour in a fabric, in the actions of the king. For instance, the moderation of the young prince in dealing with the offending Lacedaemonians, his engaging behaviour towards the Cretans, by means of which he won the whole island to obedience in a few days, and the astonishingly vigorous conduct of his campaign against the Aetolians, all added to the reputation of Philip for taking good advice, and to that of Aratus for giving it. For this reason, too, the royal courtiers were all the more envious of him, and since they could accomplish nothing by their secret calumnies, they took to abusing and insulting him openly at their banquets,
πολλῆς ἰσελγείας καὶ βωμολοχίας· ἀπαξ δὲ καὶ λίθοις βάλλουτες ἀπιόντα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον κατεδώξαν. ἐφ' οίς ὁ Φίλιππος ὀργίσθεις εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐξημέωσεν εἰκοσὶ ταλάντοις, ὕστερον δὲ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα καὶ ταράττειν δοκοῦντας ἀπέκτεινεν.

XLIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς τύχης εὐροούσης ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς πράγμασι πολλὰς μὲν ἀνέφυε καὶ μεγάλας ἑπιθυμίας, ἡ δ' ἐμφυτος κακία, τὸν παρὰ 1050 φύσιν σχηματισμὸν ἐκβιαζομένη καὶ ἀναδύουσα, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπεγύμνου καὶ διέφαινεν αὐτοῦ τὸ ἴθος, πρῶτον μὲν ἵδια τὸν νεότερον "Ἀρατον ἱδίκει περὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἑλάνθησεν ἐφέστιον δὲν καὶ ἐξενίζομενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπείτα πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἐξετραχύνετο πολιτείας καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἢδη τὸν Ἄρατον ἀπο-2 σειόμενος. ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑποψίας τὰ Μεσσηνικὰ παρέσχε. στασισάσαντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος υστέρει βοηθῶν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἡμέρα μιὰ πρότερον ἔλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς ὀιστρῶν τινα κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἵδια μὲν ἐρωτῶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Μεσσηνίων εἰ νόμους κατὰ τῶν πολλῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἵδια δὲ πάλιν τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν προεστῶτας εἰ χείρας κατὰ 3 τῶν τυραννοῦντων οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θαρρήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπελ-
with great wantonness and scurrility; and once they actually pursued and threw stones at him as he was going to his tent after supper. At this Philip was enraged, and for the nonce fined them twenty talents; afterwards, however, regarding them as a noxious and confusing element in his affairs, he put them to death.¹

XLIX. But soon, as the king’s fortune flowed smoothly on, he was lifted up by his success, and developed many inordinate desires; his inherent badness, too, forcing aside the unnatural restraints of his assumed deportment and making its way to the light, little by little laid bare and revealed his true character. In the first place he inflicted a private wrong upon the younger Aratus by corrupting his wife, and was for a long time undetected, since he was a housemate and a guest of the family; in the second place, he began to show hostility towards the civil polities of the Greeks, and it was presently clear that he was trying to shake off Aratus. First grounds of suspicion were afforded by his conduct at Messene. For there was factional strife in the city, and Aratus was tardy in coming to its aid, and Philip, who got to the city a day before Aratus, at once goaded on the two parties against one another. In private he asked the generals of the Messenians if they had not laws to enforce against the common people, and again in private he asked the leaders of the common people if they had not hands to lift against the tyrants. Upon this the officials plucked up courage and tried to lay hands upon the leaders of the people, and they, coming to the attack at the head of their followers,

¹ Cf. Polybius, v. 15 f.
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θόντες τούς τε ἀρχοντας ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ὄλγον ἀπολείποντας διακοσίων.

1. Οὔτω δὲ δεινὸν ἔργον ἐξειργασμένον τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ συγκρούοντος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐαυτοῖς τοὺς Μεσσηνίαν, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἀρατός αὐτὸς τε δήλος ἂν φέρων βαρέως καὶ τὸν ύιὸν ἐπιτιμῶντα πικρῶς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ λοιδορούμενον ὦν ἐκώλυσεν. ἔδοκεὶ δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος ἐρᾶν τοῦ Φιλίππου· καὶ τότε λέγων εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς οὐδὲ καλὸς ἦτι φαύνοιτο τῇ ὤψιν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα δράσας, ἀλλὰ πάντων αἰσχρότος. ὁ δὲ Φιλίππος ἐκεῖνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε, καὶ πολλάκις ἐξυλακτήσας λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον, ὡς ἐνηνυχὼς πράξῃ τὰ λεχέντα καὶ τις ὧν μέτριος καὶ πολιτικὸς τῇ φύσιν, ἀνεστησεν ἐκ τοῦ θείτρου τῇ δεξιᾷ ἐμβαλὼν, καὶ προσήγηεν εἰς τὸν Ἰθαμάταν τῷ τε Δίῳ τύσων καὶ 

2 θεωρήσων τὸν τόπον. ἔστι γὰρ οὐχ ἢττον εὐερκῆς τοῦ Ἀκροκοίνθου, καὶ λαβὼν φρουρὰν γίνεται χαλεπὸς καὶ δυσεκβλάστος τοῖς παροικοῦσιν. ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ θύσας, ὡς προσήνησαν αὐτῷ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ βοὸς ὁ μάντις, ἀμφοτέρας ταῖς χεραῖς ὑπολαβὼν ἐδείκνυε τῷ Ἀράτῳ καὶ τῷ Φαρίῳ Δημητρίῳ, παρὰ μέρος ἀποκλίνουν εἰς ἐκάτερον καὶ πυθανόμενοι τὰ καθορῶσιν εἰν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, κρατοῦντα τῆς ἄκρας αὐτῶν ἡ τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις ἀποδιδόντα. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Δημητρῖος, "Εἰ μὲν," ἐφη, "μάντεως ἔχεις ὕψην, ἀφήσεις τὸν τόπον· εἰ δὲ βασιλέως, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κεράτων τῶν βοῶν καθέξεις," αἰνητόμενος τῇ Πελοπόν-

1 A precinct of Zeus, on the summit of Mt. Ithome. Cf. Pausanias, iv. 3. 9.
slew the officials and nearly two hundred citizens besides.

L. After this outrageous deed of Philip's, and while he was striving more than ever to set the Messenians by the ears, Aratus reached the city. He showed clearly that he was indignant himself, and would not check his son when he bitterly reproached and reviled Philip. Now, it would seem that the young man was a lover of Philip; and so at this time he told Philip, among other things, that he no longer thought him fair to look upon, after so foul a deed, but the most repulsive of men. Philip made no answer to him, although it was expected that he would, since in his anger he had many times cried out savagely while the young man was speaking, but as though he meekly submitted to what had been said and was a person of moderation and not above the ordinary citizen, he gave the elder Aratus his hand, led him forth from the theatre, and brought him to the Ithomatas, in order to sacrifice to Zeus and take a view of the place. For it is quite as well walled in as Acrocorinthus, and with a garrison in it is difficult of access and a hard place for its neighbours to take by force. Thither Philip went up, and offered sacrifice, and when the seer brought him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands and showed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos, leaning towards each one in turn and asking them what indications they saw in the omens; was he to be master of the citadel, or to give it back to the Messenians? Demetrius, with a laugh, replied: "If thou hast the spirit of a seer, thou wilt give up the place; but if that of a king, thou wilt hold the ox by both its horns," speaking darkly of Peloponnesus,

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LI. ὁ δὲ Ἀρατὸς ἀπορρέων ἤδη τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἐαυτὸν ἀνακομμῷμενος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τον Φίλιππον συνθείας, διαβαίνοντος εἰς Ἔπειρον αὐτοῦ καὶ δεομένου συντρατεύειν, ἀπείπατο καὶ κατέμειν, δεδὼς ἀναπληθήραι δόξης πονηρᾶς ἀφ' ὄντ' ἐκείνοις ἐπραττεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς τε ναῦς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσας αἰσχυστὰ καὶ ὅλως ἀποτυχῶν ταῖς πράξεσι ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους αὐθίς ἐπιχειρήσας φενακίζειν καὶ μὴ λαθῶν ἥδικες φανερῶς καὶ τὴν
which, if Philip added the Ithomatas to Acrocorin-
thus, would be altogether subject and submissive to
him. Aratus held his peace for a long time, but
upon Philip's asking him to express his opinion, said:
"There are many lofty hills in Crete, O Philip, and
many towering citadels in Boeotia and Phocis; in
Acarnania, too, I suppose, as well inland as on its
shores, there are many places which show an amazing
strength; but not one of these dost thou occupy, and
yet all these peoples gladly do thy bidding. For it is
robbers that cling to cliffs and crags, but for a king
there is no stronger or more secure defence than
trust and gratitude. These open up for thee the
Cretan sea, these the Peloponnesus. Relying upon
these, young as thou art, thou hast already made
thyself leader here, and master there." While he
was yet speaking, Philip handed the entrails to the
seer, and drawing Aratus to him by the hand, said:
"Come hither, then, and let us take the same road,"
implying that he had been constrained by him and
made to give up the city.

LI. But Aratus presently began to withdraw from
the court and little by little to retire from his
intimacy with Philip. When the king was about
to cross into Epeirus ¹ and asked him to join the ex-
pedition, he refused and remained at home, fearing
that he would be covered with ignominy by the
king's proceedings. Philip lost his fleet most shame-
fully at the hands of the Romans, and after utter
failure in his undertakings, came back into Pelopon-
nesus. Here he tried once more to hoodwink the
Messenians, and after being detected in this, wronged

¹ In 215 B.C. Philip had made an alliance with the
Carthaginians against the Romans.
χώραν αὐτῶν ἔπορθει, παντάπασιν ὁ Ἄρατος ἀπεστράφη καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἦδη καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν ἀδικημάτων αἰσθόμενος καὶ φέρων ἀνιαρῶς αὐτός, ἀποκρυπτόμενος δὲ τῶν υἱῶν εἰδέναι γὰρ ὑβρισμένοι περὶ ἅμα, ἀλλὰ δὲ οὐδὲν, ἀμύνασθαι μὴ δυνάμενος. μεγίστην γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος δοκεῖ καὶ παραλογωτάτην μεταβαλέσθαι μεταβολὴν, ἐξ ἡμέρου βασιλέως καὶ μειρακίου σώφρονος ἀνήρ ἀσελγῆς καὶ τύραννος ἐξώλης γενόμενος, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἂρα μεταβολὴ φύσεως, ἀλλὰ ἐπίδειξις ἐν ἀδείᾳ κακίας πολὺν χρόνου διὰ φόβου ἀγνοηθείσης.

私立 "Ὀτι γὰρ ἦν μεμιγμένον αἰσχύνη καὶ φόβῳ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον αὐτοῦ πάθος ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς συντεθραμμένου, ἐδηλώσεν οἶς ἐπραξεν περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐπιθυμῶν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ νομίζουν οὖν ἄν ἑλεύθερος ἐκεῖνον ζῶντος εἶναι, μὴ τί γε τύραννος ἤ βασιλεύς, βία μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπεχειρήσε, Ταυρίωνα δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τινα καὶ φίλων ἐκέλευσεν ἄδηλῳ τρόπῳ τούτῳ πράξαι, μάλιστα διὰ φαρμά-κων, αὐτοῦ μὴ παρόντος. ὁ δὲ ποιησάμενος τὸν Ἄρατον συνήθη φάρμακον αὐτῷ δίδωσιν, οὐκ οξὺ καὶ σφοδρόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν θέρμας τε μαλακᾶς τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ βῆχα κινούντων ἀμβλειαν, εἴτε οὕτως κατὰ μικρῶν εἰς φθορὰν περαινόντων. οὐ μὴν ἔλαβε γε τὸν Ἄρατον ἀλλὰ ὡς οὐδέν ἦν ὁφέλος ἐλέγχοντι, πράως καὶ σιωπῆ τὸ πάθος, ὡς δὴ τινα ύσων κοινὴν καὶ συνῆθη νοσῶν, διήνυλει. πλὴν ἐνώς γε τῶν συνήθων ἐν

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them openly and ravaged their territory. Then Aratus was altogether estranged and filled with distrust of the king, being now aware also of the crime committed against his domestic life. At this he was sorely vexed himself, but kept it hidden from his son, who could only know that he had been shamefully abused, seeing that he was not able to avenge himself. For Philip would seem to have undergone a very great and inexplicable change, in that from a gentle prince and chaste youth he became a lascivious man and a pernicious tyrant. In fact, however, this was not a change of nature, but a showing forth, in time of security, of a baseness which his fears had long led him to conceal.

LII. For that the feelings which he had cherished from the beginning towards Aratus had an admixture of shame and fear, was made plain by what he did to him at the last. For he desired to kill Aratus, and thought he could not be a free man while Aratus lived, much less a tyrant or a king. In a violent way, however, he made no attempt upon him, but ordered Taurion, one of his officers and friends, to do this in a secret way, preferably by poison, when the king was absent. So Taurion made an intimate companion of Aratus, and gave him poison, not of a sharp and violent sort, but one of those which first induce gentle heats in the body, and a dull cough, and then little by little bring on consumption. The thing was not hidden from Aratus, but since it was no use for him to convict the criminal, he calmly and silently drank his cup of suffering to the dregs, as if his sickness had been of a common and familiar type. However, when one of his intimate com-

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τῷ δωματίῳ παρόντος ἀναπτύσσας διαίμον, ἴδόντος ἐκείνον καὶ θαναμάσαντος, "Ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ὁ Κεφάλων, ἐπίχειρα τῆς βασιλικῆς φιλίας."

LIII. Οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῖς τελευτῆσαντος ἐν Αἰγίῳ τὸ ἐπτακαίδεκατον στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τῶν Ἀχαίων φιλοτιμομένων ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι ταφὰς καὶ μνήματα πρέποντα τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἄνδρος, Σικυώνιοι συμφορὰν ἐποιοῦντο μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς τεθῆναι

τὸ σῶμα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπείσαν ἐφιέναι, νόμου δὲ οὗτος ἀρχαίον μηδένα θάπτεσθαι τειχῶν ἐντός, ἵσχυρὰς τε τῷ νόμῳ δεσιδαιμονίας προσούσης, ἐπεμψαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔρησομεν τῇν Πυθίαν. ἦ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναρεῖ τὸν χρησμὸν τόνδε;

βουλεύῃ, Σικυών, ζωάγριον αἰὲν Ἀράτου, ἀμφ' ὁσίη θαλήν τε κατοιχομένου ἄνακτος; ὡς τὸ βαρυνόμενον τᾶδ' ἀνέρι καὶ τὸ βαρύνον γαίης ἔστ' ἀσέβημα καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἢδὲ θαλάσσης.

3 κομισθείσης δὲ τῆς μαντείας οὗ τε Ἀχαιοὶ σύμπαντες ἦσθησαν, καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ Σικυώνιοι μεταβαλόντες εἰς ἔορτὴν τὸ πένθος εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγίου τῶν νεκρῶν ἐστεφανωμένου καὶ λευχειμονοῦντες ὑπὸ παιάνων καὶ χορῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνήγγον, καὶ τόπον ἐξελόμενοι περὶ ὁσπῶν ὀἰκίστην καὶ σωτηρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐκήδευσαν. καὶ καλεῖται μέχρι νῦν Ἀράτειον, καὶ θύονσιν αὐτῶ

1 In 213 B.C.
companions who was with him in his chamber saw him spit blood, and expressed surprise, "Such, my dear Cephalo," said Aratus, "are the wages of royal friendship."

LIII. And so he died,¹ at Aegium, while general for the seventeenth time, and the Achaeans were very desirous that he should have burial there and memorials befitting his life. But the Sicyonians regarded it as a calamity that he should not be buried in their city, and persuaded the Achaeans to surrender his body to them. They had, however, an ancient law that no one should be buried inside the city walls, and the law was supported by strong feelings of superstition. So they sent to Delphi to get advice in the matter from the Pythian priestess, and she gave them the following oracular answer:—

"Would'st thou, O Sicyon, pay Aratus lasting honour for the lives he saved,  
And join in pious funeral rites for thy departed lord?  
Know that the place which vexes or is vexed by him  
Is sacrilegious, be it in earth or sky or sea."

When the oracle was brought to them the Achaeans were all delighted, and the Sicyonians, in particular, changing their mourning into festival, at once put on garlands and white raiment and brought the body of Aratus from Aegium into their city, amid hymns of praise and choral dances; and choosing out a commanding place, they buried him there, calling him founder and saviour of the city. And the place is called to this day Arateium, and yearly sacrifices are made to Aratus there, one on the day when he

¹
θυσίαν, τὴν μὲν, ἔτη ἡ τὴν πόλιν ὑπῆλλαξε τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρα πέμπτη Δαισίου μηνός, ὅν ἂν θηρωναίου καλοῦσιν Ἀνθεστηριῶν, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐκείνην Σωτήριος προσαγορεύουσα, τὴν δὲ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐν ἦ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀνδρὰ διαμωμονεύουσι. τῆς μὲν οὖν προτέρας ὁ τοῦ Δίδο τοῦ Σωτήρος κατηρχεῖτο θυηπόλος, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ὁ τοῦ Ἀράτου, στρόφιον οὖχ ὀλὸλευκον, ἀλλὰ μεσο-5 πόρφυρον ἔχων, μέλη δὲ ἤδετο πρὸς κιθάραν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόμυσον τεχνιτῶν, καὶ συνεπόμενον ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἱγούμενος τῶν τε παίδων καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων, εἶτα ἐφείπετο ἡ βουλὴ στεφανηφοροῦσα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὁ βουλόμενος. ὃν ἦτι δείγματα μικρὰ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἕξοσιομενοι διαφυλάττουσιν· αἱ δὲ πλεῖσται τῶν τιμῶν ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ πραγμάτων ἄλλων ἐκλελοίπασιν.

LIV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἀράτος οὔτω βιώσαι καὶ τοιοῦτος γενέσθαι τὴν φύσιν ἱστορεῖται· τὸν δὲ νῦν αὐτοῦ μιαρὸ ὁν φύσει καὶ μετ’ ἀμότητος ύβριστὴς ο λιλιπτος οὐ θανασίμοις, ἀλλὰ μανικοῖς ἐξέστησε τοῦ λογισμοῦ φαρμάκοις· καὶ παρέτρεψεν εἰς δεινὸς καὶ ἄλλοκότοις ἐπιφοράς, πράξεων ἀτόπων καὶ σὺν αἰσχύνη παθῶν ὀλεθρίων ὄρεγόμενον, ὡστε τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ, καίπερ ὀντὶ νέῳ καὶ ἀνθριντι, μὴ συμφοράν, ἀλλ’ ἀπόλυσιν κακῶν καὶ σωτηρίαν
2 γενέσθαι. δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φιλιππός οὐ μεμπτᾶς Διῷ ξενίῳ καὶ φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης τίνων διετέλεσε. καταπολεμηθεὶς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἱωμαίων ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνους τὰ καθ’ αὐτὸν, ἐκ-
freed the city from its tyranny—the fifth day of the month Daesius (which the Athenians call Anthesterion), which sacrifice has the name Soteria, and one on the day of the month when, according to the records, he was born. The first of these sacrifices was performed by the priest of Zeus the Saviour; the second by the priest of Aratus, who wore a headband, not pure white but purple and white, and hymns with accompaniment of lyre were sung by the artists of Dionysus, and the gymnasiarch took part in the procession, at the head of the boys and young men of military age; then followed the councillors wearing garlands, and all other citizens who desired. Of these ceremonial rites the Sicyonians still preserve slight traces, celebrated on the same days of the year, but most of them, owing to the passage of time and the pressure of other matters, have lapsed.

LIV. Such was the life and such the nature of the elder Aratus, as history tells us; and as for his son, he was deprived of his reason by Philip, who had an abominable nature and added savage cruelty to his wanton exercise of power. He gave the young man poisons which did not kill, but crazed, and thus made him a prey to strange and dreadful impulses, under which he grasped at absurd activities, and experiences not only shameful but destructive, so that death came to him, although he was young and in the flower of his life, not as a calamity, but as release from evils, and salvation. For this unholy deed, however, Philip paid ample penalties to Zeus, the guardian of hospitality and friendship, as long as he lived. For after being subdued by the Romans and putting his fortunes in their hands, he was
πεσών δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχής καὶ τὰς ναύς πλῆν πέντε πάσας προέμενος καὶ χίλια προσεκτίσειν ὁμολογήσας τάλαντα καὶ τὸν ύιὸν ομηρεύσοντα παραδοὺς δὲ οἰκτον ἔτυχε Μακεδονίας καὶ τῶν συντελοῦντων. ἀποκτείνων δὲ ἀεὶ τοὺς ἄριστους καὶ συγγενεστάτους φρίκης ἐνέπλησε καὶ μίσους ἀρήν τῆς βασιλείας πρὸς αὐτὸν. ἐν δὲ μόνον ἐν τοσούτοις κακοῖς εὐτύχημα κτησάμενοι, ύιὸν ἀρετὴν διαφέροντα, τοῦτον φθόνῳ καὶ ξηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τιμῆς ἀνείλε, Περσεὶ δὲ θατέρῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς παρέδωκεν, ὅπως οὐ γνῆσιον, ἄλλῳ ὑπόβλητον εἶναι φασίν, ἕκ Γναθαινίου τυφῶς ἀκεστρίας γενόμενον. τοῦτον Αἱμίλιος ἑθραμβεύσει καὶ κατέστρεψεν ἐνταύθα τῆς Ἀντιγονικῆς βασιλείας ἡ διαδοχή. τὸ δὲ Ἀράτου γένος ἐν τῇ Σικυώνι καὶ τῇ Πελλήνῃ διέμεινε καθ’ ἡμᾶς.
stripped of most of his dominions, surrendered all his ships but five, agreed to pay a thousand talents besides, gave up his son to serve as hostage, and only out of pity obtained Macedonia and its tributaries. But he was for ever putting to death the noblest of his subjects and his nearest kin, and thus filled his whole kingdom with horror and hatred of him. One piece of good fortune only was his, amid so many ills, and that was a son of surpassing excellence; but this son he killed, out of envy and jealousy of the honour paid him by the Romans, and left his kingdom to his other son, Perseus, who was not legitimate, as we are told, but supposititious, the child of a sempstress, Gnathaenion. But he was for ever putting to death the noblest of his subjects and his nearest kin, and thus filled his whole kingdom with horror and hatred of him. One piece of good fortune only was his, amid so many ills, and that was a son of surpassing excellence; but this son he killed, out of envy and jealousy of the honour paid him by the Romans, and left his kingdom to his other son, Perseus, who was not legitimate, as we are told, but supposititious, the child of a sempstress, Gnathaenion. This king graced the triumph of Aemilius, and with him ended the royal line of the Antigonids; whereas the descendants of Aratus were living at Sicyon and Pellene in my time.

1 See the Aemilius Paulus, viii. 6 f.; xxxiv., xxxvi.
ARTAXERXES
ΑΡΤΟΞΕΡΞΗΣ

I. Ὅ μὲν πρῶτος Ἀρτοξέρξης, τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις βασιλέων πραύτητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ πρωτεύσας, Μακρόχειρ ἔπεκαλεῖτο τὴν δεξιὰν μείζονα τῆς ἐτέρας ἔχων, Ἐρξον δὲ ἦν υἱὸς· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος, περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφεται, Μνήμων ἐπικληθεὶς ἐκ θυγατρὸς ἦν ἐκεῖνος. Δαρείου γὰρ καὶ Παρνασῶ- 
τιδος παιδεῖς ἐγένοντο τέσσαρες, πρεσβύτατος μὲν Ἀρτοξέρξης, μετ’ ἐκείνου δὲ Κύρος, νεώτεροι δὲ ἂν ὀμανῆν ὁ παῖς τοῦ Πέρσας τὸν ἡλίου. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης Ἀρσίκας πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο· καὶ τοῖς Δεινῶν φησίν ὅτι Ὀάρσης. ἀλλὰ τῶν Κτησίαν, εἰ καὶ τάλλα μῦθων ἀπιθάνων καὶ παραφόρων ἐμβέβληκεν εἰς τὰ βιβλία παντοδαπῆν πυλαίαν, οὐκ εἰκός εστιν ἄγνοεῖν τούνομα τοῦ βασιλέως παρ’ ὃ διέτριβε θεραπεύων αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μητέρα καὶ παῖδας.

II. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Κύρος ἐντονών τὶ καὶ σφοδρὸν εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἥλικίας εἴχεν, ἄτερος δὲ πραύ- 
τερος ἔδοκει περὶ πάντα καὶ τὰς ὀρμαίς φύσει 

1 Artaxerxes I. 465–425 B.C. The parallel form Artaxerxes has become fixed in English.
ARTAXERXES

I. The first Artaxerxes,¹ preëminent among the kings of Persia for gentleness and magnanimity, was surnamed Longimanus, because his right hand was longer than his left, and was the son of Xerxes; the second Artaxerxes,² the subject of this Life, was surnamed Membror, or Mindful, and was the grandson of the first by his daughter Parysatis. For Dareius ³ and Parysatis had four sons—an eldest, Artaxerxes, and next to him Cyrus, and after these Ostanes and Oxathres. Cyrus took his name from Cyrus of old,⁴ who, as they say, was named from the sun; for "Cyrus" is the Persian word for sun. Artaxerxes was at first called Arsicas; although Deinon gives the name as Oarses. But it is unlikely that Ctesias, even if he has put into his work a perfect farrago of extravagant and incredible tales, should be ignorant of the name of the king at whose court he lived as physician to the king's wife and mother and children.

II. Now Cyrus, from his very earliest years, was high-strung and impetuous, but Artaxerxes seemed gentler in everything and naturally milder in his impulses. His wife, a beautiful and excellent woman, he married in compliance with his parents' bidding,

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¹ Artaxerxes II. 404–362 B.C.
² Dareius II. 424–404 B.C.
³ Cyrus the Elder, 559–529 B.C.
ο βασιλεὺς ἐβουλεύετο κᾶκείνην ἀνελεῖν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρσίκας τῆς μητρὸς ἱκέτης γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ κατακαλάυσας μόλις ἑπείσε μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι μήτε αὐτοῦ διαστῆσαι τὴν ἀνθρωπον. ἦ δὲ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε τὸν Κύρου μᾶλλον φιλοῦσα καὶ βουλομένη βασιλεύειν ἑκείνον. διὸ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς νοσοῦντος ἤδη μετάπεμπτος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης γενόμενος παντάπασιν ἀνέβαινεν ἐυελπίς ὅπως κατειργασμένη ἑκείνης διάδοχον αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς. καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν εὐπρεπὴ λόγον ἡ Παρυσάτις, ὡς Ξέρξης ὁ παλαιὸς ἔχρησατο, Δημαράτου διδάξαντος, ὡς Ἀρσίκαν μὲν ἰδιωτὴν, Κύρου δὲ βασιλεύοντι Δαρείῳ τεκείν.1 οὐ μὴν ἑπείσεν, ἀλλ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς, Ἀρτοξέρξης μετονομασθεὶς, Κύρος δὲ Λυδίας σατράπης καὶ τῶν ἑπὶ θαλάσσης στρατηγῶς.

III. Ὅλῳφ δ' ὡστερον ἡ τελευτῆσαι Δαρείου ἐξῆλασεν εἰς Πασαργάδας ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅπως τελεσθεὶς τὴν βασιλικὴν τελετὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἱερῶν. ἦστι δὲ θεὰς πολεμικῆς ἱερῶν, ἣν Ἀθηναίων ἄν τις εἰκάσεειν. εἰς τοῦτο δεὶ τὸν τελοῦμεν οὐτάλθοντα τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἀποθέσθαι στολῆν, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ ἢν Κύρος ὁ παλαῖος ἐφόρει πρὶν ἡ βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ σύκων παλάθης ἐμφαγόντας τερμίνθον κατατραγεῖν καὶ ποτήριον ἐκπιεῖν ὅξυγαλακτός. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτερ' ἄττα δρώσιν, ἢ ἀδηλόν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα δράν ἀρτοξέρξου

1 tekein Bekker has τέκοι, after Coraèes.
and kept her in defiance of them; for after the king had put her brother to death, he wished to kill her also. But Arsicas, throwing himself at his mother's feet and supplicating her with many tears, at last obtained her promise that his wife should neither be killed nor separated from him. But the mother had more love for Cyrus, and wished that he should succeed to the throne. Therefore, when his father was now lying sick, Cyrus was summoned home from the sea-coast, and went up in full hope that by his mother's efforts he had been designated as successor to the kingdom. For Parysatis had a specious argument (the same that Xerxes the Elder employed on the advice of Demaratus\(^1\)), to the effect that she had borne Arsicas to Dareius when he was in private station, but Cyrus when he was a king. However, she could not prevail, but the elder son was declared king, under the new name of Artaxerxes, while Cyrus remained satrap of Lydia and commander of the forces in the maritime provinces.\(^2\)

III. A little while after the death of Dareius, the new king made an expedition to Pasargadae, that he might receive the royal initiation at the hands of the Persian priests. Here there is a sanctuary of a warlike goddess whom one might conjecture to be Athena. Into this sanctuary the candidate for initiation must pass, and after laying aside his own proper robe, must put on that which Cyrus the Elder used to wear before he became king; then he must eat of a cake of figs, chew some turpentine-wood, and drink a cup of sour milk. Whatever else is done besides this is unknown to outsiders. As Artaxerxes

\(^1\) See Herodotus, vii. 3.
\(^2\) Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 1, 1 ff.
μέλλοντος ἀφίκετο Τισαφέρνης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων ἐνα τῶν ἱερέων, δὲ ἐν παισὶ Κύρου τῆς νομιζομένης ἀγωγῆς ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος καὶ διδάξας μαγεύειν αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἐδόκει Περσῶν ἀνιασθαι μὴ ἀποδειχθέντος ἑκεῖνος βασιλέως· διὸ καὶ πίστιν ἔσχε κατηγοροῦν Κύρου. κατηγόρει δὲ ὡς μέλλοντος ἐνεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐκδύναται τὴν ἐσθήτα ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ διαφθείρειν αὐτόν. οἱ μὲν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς διαβολῆς τὴν σύλληψιν γενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ παρελθεῖν τὸν Κύρον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ παραδοθῆναι κρυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως. μέλλοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἡδὴ ἀποθνῄσκειν ἡ μήτηρ περισχοῦσα ταῖς ἀγκάλαις καὶ τοῖς βοστρύχοις περιελίξασα καὶ συλλαβοῦσα τὸν ἑκεῖνον τράχηλον πρὸς τὸν αὐτῆς, ὀδυρομένη πολλὰ καὶ ποτινωμένη παρητήσατο καὶ κατέπεμψεν αὖθις ἐπὶ θάλατταν, οὐκ ἄγαπώντα τὴν ἄρχην ἑκείνην, οὐδὲ μεμνημένον τῆς διέσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς συλλήψεως, καὶ δι’ ὦργῆν σπαργώντα μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

IV. Ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασίν οὐκ ἄρκούμενον οἷς ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὸ καθ’ ἡμέραν δείπνου ἀποστήναι βασιλέως, εὐθῆ πέμποντες. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλο μηδὲν, ἀλλὰ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπήρχε, χρῆσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν ὃσα βουλοῦτο τῶν αὐτῆς παρέχουσα καὶ διδοῦσα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τῷ μισθοφορικῷ πολλαχῶθι διὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ξένων αὐτῶ παρατρέφομεν, ὡς Ξενοφῶν εἰρηκεν. ἄθρόνοις μὲν γὰρ οὐ συνήγαγεν, ἔτι τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπικρυπτό-
was about to perform these rites, Tissaphernes brought to him a certain priest who had conducted Cyrus through the customary discipline for boys, had taught him the wisdom of the Magi, and was thought to be more distressed than any one in Persia because his pupil had not been declared king. For this reason, too, his accusation against Cyrus won credence. And he accused him of planning to lie in wait for the king in the sanctuary until he should put off his garment, and then to fall upon him and kill him. Some say that Cyrus was arrested in consequence of this false charge, others that he actually made his way into the sanctuary and hid himself there, and was delivered into custody by the priest. But now, as he was about to be put to death, his mother clasped him in her arms, twined her tresses about him, pressed his neck against her own, and by much lamentation and entreaty prevailed upon the king to spare him, and sent him back to the sea-coast. Here he was not satisfied with the office assigned to him, nor mindful of his release, but only of his arrest; and his anger made him more eager than before to secure the kingdom.

IV. Some say that he revolted from the king because his allowance did not suffice for his daily meals, which is absurd. For had no other resource been his, still, his mother was resource enough, who gave freely from her own wealth all that he wished to take and use. And that he had wealth is proved by the mercenary troops that were maintained for him in many places by his friends and connections, as Xenophon tells us. For he did not bring these together into one body, since he was still trying to conceal his preparations, but in one place and another,
μενος, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ ἄλλους ἐπὶ πολλαῖς προφάσεις
2 ξενολογούντας εἰχε. βασιλέως δὲ ἦ τε μήτηρ
παρόνσα τὰς υποψίας ἀφῆρει, καὶ Κύρος αὐτὸς ἀεὶ
τεραπευτικῶς ἔγραφε, τὰ μὲν αἰτούμενος παρ’
αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ Τισαφέρνους ἀντικατηγορῶν, ὡς δὴ
πρὸς ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ ζήλου καὶ ἄγωνος ὄντος.
3 Ἡν δὲ τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ βασι-
λέως, ἐπιείκεια φαινομένη τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐν ἀρχῇ
δὲ καὶ πάνω ζηλοῖν ἔδοξε τὴν Ἀρτοξέρξου τοῦ
ὄμωνύμου πραότητα, ὡς τε έαυτοῦ παρέχων
ἐνυγχάνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι
τὸ κατ' ύξιάν υπερβάλλων, κολάσεως δὲ πάσης
ἀφαίρων τὸ ἐφυβρίζον καὶ ἰδόμενων, ἐν δὲ τῷ
dέχεσθαι χάριτας ὡς ἤττον τοῖς διδοῦσιν ἥ τοῖς
λαμβάνονσιν ἐν τῷ διδόναι φαινόμενος εὐχαρις
4 καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν οὕτως μικρὸν τι
τῶν διδομένων ὁ μή προσεδέξατο προθύμως, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ρόαν μίαν υπερφυῆ μεγέθει προσενέγκαντος
'Ωμίσου τινὸς αὐτῷ, “Νὴ τὸν Μίθραν,” εἶπεν,
“οὕτος ὁ ἀνήρ καὶ πόλιν ἄν ἐν μικρᾶς ταχὺ
ποιῆσει μεγάλην πιστευθείς.”
5. 'Ἐπεί δὲ ἄλλων ἄλλα προσφερόντων καθ'
όδον αὐτουργὸς ἀνθρωπός οὐδὲν ἐπὶ καιροῦ φθέγας
ἐὑρείν τῷ ποταμῷ προσέδραμε καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν
ὑπολαβῶν τοῦ ὑδατος προσήνεγκεν, ἡσθεις ὁ
'Αρτοξέρξης φιάλην ἐπεμψεν αὐτῷ χρυσῆν καὶ
χίλιοις δαρεικοῦσ. Εὐκλείδα δὲ τῷ Δάκωνι, πολ-
λά παρρησιαζομένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐθαδῶς, ἐκε-
λευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν χιλιάρχον ὅτι “Σοὶ μὲν ἐξεστιν
and on many pretexts, he kept recruiting-agents. And as for the king's suspicions, his mother, who was at court, tried to remove them, and Cyrus himself would always write in a submissive vein, sometimes asking favours from him, and sometimes making countercharges against Tissaphernes, as if his eager contention were against him.

There was, too, a certain dilatoriness in the nature of the king, which most people took for clemency. Moreover, in the beginning he appeared to be altogether emulous of the gentleness of the Artaxerxes whose name he bore, showing himself very agreeable in intercourse, and bestowing greater honours and favours than were really deserved, while from all his punishments he took away the element of insult or vindictive pleasure, and in his acceptance and bestowal of favours appeared no less gracious and kindly to the givers than to the recipients. For there was no gift so small that he did not accept it with alacrity; indeed, when a certain Omisus brought him a single pomegranate of surpassing size, he said: "By Mithra, this man would speedily make a city great instead of small were he entrusted with it."

V. Once when he was on a journey and various people were presenting him with various things, a labouring man, who could find nothing else at the moment, ran to the river, and, taking some of the water in his hands, offered it to him; at which Artaxerxes was so pleased that he sent him a goblet of gold and a thousand darics. To Eucleidas the Lacedaemonian, who would often say bold and impudent things to him, he sent this word by his officer of the guard: "It is in thy power to say
eipeiν ἄ βούλει, ἐµοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν." 2 ἐν δὲ θῆρα τυί Τηριβάζου δείξαντος αὐτῷ τὸν κάνδυν ἐσχισμένου, ὑρώτησεν ὁ τι δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἐκείνου δὲ εἰπόντος, "Ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἐνδύσαι, τούτον δὲ ἐµοὶ δός," οὕτως ἐποίησεν, εἰπών, "Δίδωμι μὲν, ὥ Τηρίβαζε, σοι τούτον, φορεῖν δὲ ἀπαγορεύω." τοῦ δὲ Τηριβάζου μὴ φροντίσαντος (ὡν γὰρ οὐ πουνηρός, ὑπόκοουφος δὲ καὶ παράφορος), ἀλλὰ τὸν τε κάνδυν εὐθὺς ἐκείνου ἐνδύντος καὶ δέραια χρυσὰ καὶ γυναικεῖα τῶν βασιλικῶν περιθεμένου, πάντες μὲν ἡγανάκτουν (ὡν γὰρ ἐξῆν), ὃ μέντοι βασιλεὺς κατεγέλασε καὶ εἶπε: "Δίδωμι σοι καὶ τὰ χρυσὰ φορεῖν ὡς γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν 3 στολὴν ὡς μαυμακένω." τραπέζης δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μηδενὸς μετέχοντος ἀλλ' ἡ μητρὸς βασιλέως ἢ γαμετῆς γυναικὸς, καθεξομένων τῆς μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, 'Αρτοξέρξης καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάλει τράπεζαν, 'Οστάνην καὶ 'Οξάθρην, νεωτέρους ὄντας. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα κεχαρισμένην ὤψιν παρεῖχε τοῖς Πέρσαις ἢ τῆς γυναικὸς Στατείρας ἀρμάμαξα γυμνὴ τῶν παραπετασμάτων ἀεὶ προφερομένη καὶ διδοῦσα ταῖς δημόσιαις ἀσπάσασθαι αὐτὴν καὶ προσελθεῖν, ὅθεν ἡγαπάτο τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ βασιλεία.

VI. Τὸν μέντοι Κύρου οἱ νεωτερισταὶ καὶ πολυπράγμονες ὡς λαμπρὸν ἀνδρᾶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ πολεμικῶν διαφέροντως καὶ φιλέταιρον φιόντο τὰ πράγματα ποθεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας βασιλέως δεῖσθαι φρόνιμα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἔχουν-2 τοσ. οὔχ ἢττον οὖν τοῖς ἀνω πιστεύων ὁ Κύρος ἢ τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεχείρει τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ
what thou pleasest, but it is in mine both to say and to do." Again, when he was hunting once and Teribazus pointed out that the king's coat was rent, he asked him what was to be done. And when Teribazus replied, "Put on another for thyself, but give this one to me," the king did so, saying, "I give this to thee, Teribazus, but I forbid thee to wear it." Teribazus gave no heed to this command (being not a bad man, but rather light-headed and witless), and at once put on the king's coat, and decked himself with golden necklaces and women's ornaments of royal splendour. Everybody was indignant at this (for it was a forbidden thing); but the king merely laughed, and said: "I permit thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe as a madman." Again, no one shared the table of a Persian king except his mother or his wedded wife, the wife sitting below him, the mother above him; but Artaxerxes invited to the same table with him his brothers Ostanes and Oxathres, although they were his juniors. But what gratified the Persians most of all was the sight of his wife Stateira's carriage, which always appeared with its curtains up, and thus permitted the women of the people to approach and greet the queen. This made her beloved of the common folk.

VI. Nevertheless, restless and factious men thought that affairs demanded Cyrus, a man who had a brilliant spirit, surpassing skill in war, and great love for his friends; and that the magnitude of the empire required a king of lofty purpose and ambition. Accordingly, Cyrus relied quite as much upon the people of the interior as upon those of his own province and command, when he began the war.
Δακεδαιμονίοις ἐγραφεὶ παρακαλῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ συνεκπέμπειν ἀνδρας, οἰς ἐφη δῶσειν, ἀν μὲν τεξοὶ παρόσιων ὑπονοι, ἀν δὲ ὑπείς, συνωρίδας· ἕαν δ' ἀγρόν ἔχωσιν, κώμας· ἕαν δὲ κώμας, πόλεις· μισθοῦ δὲ τοὺς στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἀριθμον, ἀλλὰ 3 μέτρον ἔσεσθαι. μεγαληγορῶν δὲ περι αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ καρδίαν ἐφη τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φορεῖν βαρυτέραν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν μᾶλλον καὶ μαγεύειν βέλτιον, οἷον δὲ πλείονα πίνειν καὶ φέρειν· ἐκείνου δὲ ύπὸ δειλίας καὶ μαλακίας ἐν μὲν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις μηδὲ ἐφ' ὑπον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κυνδύνοις μηδὲ ἔπι τοῦ θρόνου καθῆσθαι. Δακεδαιμονίοι μὲν οὖν σκυτάλην πρὸς Κλέαρχον ἀπέστειλαν ὕπηρετείν Κύρων πάντα κελεύοντες. δ' ὑπὸ Κύρος ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ βασιλεὰ βαρβαρικῆν τε πολλήν ἔχων δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους Ἐλληνας ὀλίγω τρισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἀποδέοντας, ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλας ποιούμενος προφάσεις τῆς στρατείας. οὐ μὴν ἐλαθὲ γε εἰς πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἢ κε βασιλεῖ Τισαφέρνης αὐτάγγελος· καὶ πολὺς θόρυβος εἴχε τὰ βασιλεία, τῆς τε Παρυσάτιδος τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου φερομένης, καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῆς ἐν 5 υποψίαις οὕτων καὶ διαβολαῖς. μάλιστα δὲ ἤνια τῆν Παρύσατιν ἡ Στάτειρα τῷ πολέμῳ περιπαθοῦσα καὶ βοῶσα, "Ποῦ νῦν αἱ πίστεις ἐκεῖναι; τοῦ δὲ αἱ δεήσεις, αἰς ἐξελομένη τὸν ἐπιβουλευσάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἐμπέπληκας ἤμᾶς;" ἐκ δὴ τούτων μισοῦσα τὴν Στάτειραν ἡ Παρύσατις, καὶ φύσει βαρύϑυμος οὕσα καὶ βάρ-

1 Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 1, 9; 2, 21; 4, 3.
He also wrote to the Lacedaemonians, inviting them to aid him and send him men, and promising that he would give to those who came, if they were footmen, horses; if they were horsemen, chariots and pairs; if they had farms, he would give them villages; if they had villages, cities; and the pay of the soldiers should not be counted, but measured out. Moreover, along with much high-sounding talk about himself, he said he carried a sturdier heart than his brother, was more of a philosopher, better versed in the wisdom of the Magi, and could drink and carry more wine than he. His brother, he said, was too effeminate and cowardly either to sit his horse in a hunt, or his throne in a time of peril. The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, sent a dispatch-roll to Clearchus ordering him to give Cyrus every assistance. So Cyrus marched up against the king with a large force of Barbarians and nearly thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries, alleging one pretext after another for his expedition. But the real object of it was not long concealed, for Tissaphernes went in person to the king and informed him of it. Then there was a great commotion at the court, Parysatis being most blamed for the war, and her friends undergoing suspicion and accusation. And above all was she vexed by Stateira, who was greatly distressed at the war, and kept crying: "Where now are those pledges of thine? And where are the entreaties by which thou didst rescue the man who had plotted against the life of his brother, only to involve us in war and calamity?" Therefore Parysatis hated Stateira, and being naturally of a harsh

2 Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 7, 10, where the force of Barbarians is said to have numbered one hundred thousand.
βαρός ἐν ὅργαις καὶ μνησικακίαις, ἔπεβούλευεν
6 αὐτήν ἀνελεῖν. ἑπεὶ δὲ Δείων μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
συντελεσθῆ, τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν εἶρηκε, Κτησίας δὲ
ὑστεροῦν, ὥς οὔτε ἄγνοεὶν τὸν χρόνον έἰκός ἔστι
παρόντα ταῖς πράξεσιν, οὔτε ἐκών αὐτίνα εἰχεν ἐκ
tοῦ χρόνου μεταστῆσαι τὸ ἔργον, ὡς ἐπράξῃ
διηγοῦμενος, οἰα πᾶσχει πολλάκις ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ
πρὸς τὸ μυθώδες καὶ δραματικὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος
τῆς ἀληθείας, τοῦτο μὲν ἢν ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδωκε
χώραν ἐξει.

VII. Κύρω δὲ προσιόντι φῆμαι καὶ λόγοι προσ-
ἐπιπτοῦν, ὡς οὐ μάχεσθαί βασιλέως εὑρῆς ἐγνω-
κότος οὐδὲ συνδραμεῖν εἰς χείρας αὐτῶ σπεύδοντος,
ἀλλ' ἐν Πέρσαις ὑπομένειν ἄχρι ἂν αἱ δυνάμεις
ἐκεὶ πανταχόθεν συνέλθωσι. καὶ γὰρ τάφρων
ἐνρὸς ὀργιῶν δέκα καὶ βάθος ὅσων ἐπὶ σταῖνοις
diā τοῦ πεδίου τετρακοσίων ἐνέβαλε: καὶ ταύτης
tε περιείδε τὸν Κύρων ἐντὸς παρελθόντα καὶ Βα-
2 βυλῶνος αὐτῆς οὐ μακράν γενόμενον. Τηριβάζου
δὲ, ὡς φασί, πρῶτον τολμήσαντος εἴπειν ὡς οὐ
dei φυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ Μηδίας ἐκστάντα καὶ Βα-
βυλῶνος ἁμα 1 καὶ Σοῦσων ἐνδύσθαι τῇ Περσίδι,
pολλαπλασίαν μὲν ἔχοντα δύναμιν τῶν πολεμίων,
μυρίους δὲ σατράπας καὶ στρατηγοὺς Κύρου καὶ
φρονεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι βελτίωνας, ὁρμήσε διαγω-
νίσασθαι τήν ταχίστην.

3 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαιρηθη ἐκαταφανεῖς ἐνενή-
kοτα μυριάσι στρατοῦ διακεκοσμημέναις λαμ-

1 ἁμα Bekker and Ziegler, after Coraïs: ἀλλά.
temper and savage in her wrath and resentment, she plotted to kill her. Deinon says that her plot was carried out during the war. Ctesias, however, says that it was accomplished afterwards, and neither is it likely that he was ignorant of the time since he was at the scene of action, nor had he any occasion, in his narrative of the deed, to change the time of it on purpose, however often his story turns aside from the truth into fable and romance. I shall therefore give the event the place which he has assigned to it.¹

VII. As Cyrus proceeded on his march, rumours and reports kept coming to his ears that the king had decided not to give battle at once, and was not desirous of coming to close quarters with him, but rather of waiting in Persia until his forces should assemble there from all parts. For he had run a trench, ten fathoms in width and as many in depth, four hundred furlongs through the plain; and yet he allowed Cyrus to cross this and to come within a short distance of Babylon itself.² And it was Teribazus, as we are told, who first plucked up courage to tell the king that he ought not to shun a battle, nor to retire from Media and Babylon, as well as Susa, and hide himself in Persia, when he had a force many times as numerous as that of the enemy, and countless satraps and generals who surpassed Cyrus in wisdom and military skill. The king therefore determined to fight the issue out as soon as possible.

So, to begin with, by his sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men in brilliant

¹ See chap. xix.
² Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 7, 14–17.
πρῶς, τοὺς πολεμίους ἀσυντάκτους καὶ ἀνόπλους διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν ὀδοιποροῦντας ἐξέπληξε καὶ συνετάραξεν, ὥστε σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ βοᾷ πολλῇ μόλις εἰς τάξειν καθιστασθαι τὸν Κύρον. Ἐπειτα συγη καὶ σχέδην ἐπάγων θαύμα τοῖς Ἐλλησι τῆς εὐτάξιας παρείχε, κραυγὰς ἀτάκτους καὶ σκιρτήματα καὶ πολὺν τάραχον αὐτῶν καὶ διασπασμὸν ἐν πλήθει τοσοῦτο προσδεχομένους. εὐ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἀντέταξε τῶν δρεπανηφόρων τὰ βωμαλεώτατα πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φάλαγγος, ὡς πρὶν ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι διακόψαντα τὰς τάξεις βίᾳ τῆς εἰσελάσεως.

VIII. Τὴν δὲ máξην ἐκεῖνην πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγγελκότων, Ἐνοσφόντος δὲ μονονουχὶ δεικύνοντος ὄψει, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς ὅν γεγενεμένοις, ἄλλα γινομένους, ἐφιστάντος ἦν τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐμπαθή καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν, οὕτω ἑστὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἐπεξηγεῖσθαι, πλὴν ὅσα τῶν ἁξίων λόγου παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνον. ὁ μὲν οὖν τόπος, ἐν ὅ παρετάξαντο, Κοῦναξα καλεῖται καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπέχει σταδίους πεντακοσίους. Κύρον δὲ πρὸ τῆς máχης Κλεάρχου παρακαλοῦντος ἐξόπισθεν τῶν μαχομένων εἶναι καὶ μὴ κινδυνεύειν αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν φασὶ, “Τῆ λέγεις, ὅ Κλεάρχε; σὺ κελεύεις με τὸν βασιλείας ὅργο-3 μενον ἀνάξιον εἶναι βασιλείας;” ἀμαρτόντος δὲ Κύρου μέγα τῷ δύναι προπετῶς εἰς μέσα τὰ δεινὰ καὶ μὴ φυλάξασθαι τῶν κινδυνοῦν, οὐχ ἦττον ἠμαρτεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, Κλεάρχος ἀντιτάξαι

1 Anab. i. 8.
array, he so terrified and confounded the enemy, who were marching along in loose order and without arms because of their boldness and contempt for the king, that Cyrus could with difficulty bring them into battle array amid much tumult and shouting; and again, by leading his forces up slowly and in silence, he filled the Greeks with amazement at his good discipline, since they had expected in so vast a host random shouting, and leaping, with great confusion and dissipation of their lines. Besides this, he did well to draw up in front of his own line, and over against the Greeks, the mightiest of his scythe-bearing chariots, in order that by the force of their charge they might cut to pieces the ranks of the Greeks before they had come to close quarters.

VIII. Now, since many writers have reported to us this battle, and since Xenophon brings it all but before our eyes, and by the vigour of his description makes his reader always a participant in the emotions and perils of the struggle, as though it belonged, not to the past, but to the present, it would be folly to describe it again, except so far as he has passed over things worthy of mention. The place, then, where the armies were drawn up, is called Cunaxa, and it is five hundred furlongs distant from Babylon. And we are told that Cyrus, before the battle, when Clearchus besought him to remain behind the combatants and not risk his life, replied: "What sayest thou, Clearchus? Dost thou bid me, who am reaching out for a kingdom, to be unworthy of a kingdom?"

It was a great mistake for Cyrus to plunge headlong into the midst of the fray, instead of trying to avoid its dangers; but it was no less a mistake, nay, even a greater one, for Clearchus to refuse to array his
κατὰ τὸν βασιλέα μὴ θελήσας τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ἀλλὰ προσμίξας τὸ ποτάμῳ τὸ δεξιόν, ὡς μὴ κυκλώθει. τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν εξ ἀπαντος διώκοντα καὶ πλέοστον λόγον ἔχοντα τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν οὐκοι μένειν ἢν κράτιστον. ὁ δὲ μνήμοις στάδιος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν ὅπλοις ἀναβεβηκὼς μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, ἀλλ’ ὅπως Κῦρον εἰς τὸν θρόνον καθίσῃ τὸν βασίλειον, εἶτα περισκοπῶν χώραν καὶ τάξιν, οὐκ ἀφ’ ἃς σώσει τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ μισθοδότην, ἀλλ’ ἐν τίνι θέμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀσφαλῶς μαχεῖται καθ’ ἱσοχίαν, ὁμοίος ἢν ὑπὸ δέους τῶν παρόντων ἐκβεβληκότι τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὅλων λογισμοὺς καὶ προϊέμενο τὴν τῆς στρατείας υπόθεσιν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐδέσαν ὑπέμεινε τῶν τεταγμένων περὶ βασίλεα τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἐμπεσόντας, ὅσθεντον δ’ ἔκεινων καὶ βασιλέως φυγόντος ἢ πεσόντος ὑπήρχε Κῦρῳ νικῶντι σώζοναι καὶ βασιλεύειν, εκ τῶν πεπραγμένων δὴλόν ἐστι. διὸ τὴν Κλεάρχου μᾶλλον εὐλαβεῖαν ἢ τὸ τοῦ Κῦρου θράσος αἰτιατέον ὡς τὰ πράγματα καὶ Κῦρον ἀπολέσασαν. εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐσκόπει βασιλεύς ὅπου τάξιν τοὺς Ἐλληνας ἅβλαβεστάτους χρήσεται πολεμίως, οὐκ ἀν ἐτέραν ἐξεύρεν ἢ τὴν ἀπωτάτῳ χώραν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀφ’ ἃς οὔτε νικηθείας αὐτὸς ἐσθετο καὶ Κῦρος ἐφθακατακόπτει ἢ χρησάμενος τι τῇ Κλεάρχου νίκη. καίτοι Κῦρος τὸ συμφέρον οὐκ ἡγούμην, ἀλλ’ ἔκει Κλέαρχον ἐκέλευε τάττεσθαι κατὰ μέσου. ὁ δ’ αὐτῷ μέλειν εἰπὼν ὅπως ἔξει κάλλιστα, τὸ πάν διέφθειρεν.
Greeks over against the king, and to keep his right wing close to the river, that he might not be surrounded. For if he sought safety above everything else and made it his chief object to avoid losses, it had been best for him to stay at home. But he had marched ten thousand furlongs up from the sea-coast under arms, with no compulsion upon him, but in order that he might place Cyrus upon the royal throne; and then, in looking about for a place and position which would enable him, not to save his leader and employer, but to fight safely and as he pleased, he was like one who, through fear of instant peril, had cast aside the plans made for general success and abandoned the object of the expedition. For had the Greeks charged upon the forces arrayed about the king, not a man of them would have stood his ground; and had these been routed and the king either slain or put to flight, Cyrus would have won by his victory, not only safety, but a kingdom. This is clear from the course of the action. Therefore the caution of Clearchus rather than the temerity of Cyrus must be held responsible for the ruin of Cyrus and his cause. For if the king himself had sought out a place to array the Greeks in which their attack would be least injurious to him, he could have found no other than that which was most remote from himself and his immediate following, since he himself did not know that his forces had been defeated there, and Cyrus could take no advantage at all of the victory of Clearchus, because he was cut down too soon. And yet Cyrus well knew what was for the best, and ordered Clearchus to take his position accordingly in the centre. But Clearchus, after telling Cyrus he would see to it that the best was done, ruined everything.
IX. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ὄσον ἐβούλουτο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν καὶ διώκοντες ἐπὶ πλείστον προῆλθον. Κύρῳ δὲ γενναίον ἤππου, ἀστωμον δὲ καὶ ύβριστὴν ἐλαιόντι, Πασακᾶν καλούμενον, ὦς Κτησίας φήσιν, ἀντεξῆλασεν ὁ Καθονσίων ἄρχων 2 Ἀρταγέρσης μέγα βοῶν, "Ὤ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν Ὑπέσαις ὄνομα Κύρου κατασχύνων, ἀδικώτατε ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀφρονέστατε, κακοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας ἔρχῃ κακὴν ὄδον ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἀγαθά, δεσπότην δὲ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἐλπίζων ἀναιρήσεως, ὃς σοῦ μυρίακις μυρίους δούλους ἔχει κρεῖσσονας. αὐτίκα δὲ πειράσῃ πρότερον γὰρ ἀπολεῖς ἐνταῦθα τὴν σεαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἢ θεάν·
3 σασθάι τὸ βασιλέως πρόσωπων." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἔξεχοντισεν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. οὐ δὲ θώραξ στερεώς ἀντέσχε, καὶ οὐκ ἔτρωκθα μὲν ὁ Κύρος, ἐκραδάμνθη δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἱσχυρᾶς προσπεσοῦσης. ἀποστρέψαντος δὲ τὸν ἤππου τοῦ Ἀρταγέρσου Βαλλών ὁ Κύρος ἔτυχε, καὶ διήλασε παρὰ τὴν κλεῖδα διὰ τοῦ τραχύλου τὴν αἰχμήν.
4 Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρταγέρσην ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου σχεδὸν ἀποτελεῖτο ὅμολογοὺς: περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ Κύρου τελευτής ἐπεὶ Ἐνεορῶν ἄπλως καὶ συντόμως, άτε δὴ μὴ παρὼν αὐτός, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἵσως κωλύει τὰ Δείνωνος ἱδία καὶ πάλιν τὰ Κτησίου διελθεῖν.
Χ. Φησίν οὖν ὁ μὲν Δείνων ὅτι τοῦ Ἀρταγέρσου πεσόντος εἰσελάσας βιαίως ὁ Κύρος εἰς τοὺς προτεταγμένους τοῦ βασιλέως κατέτρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἤππου, ὦ δὲ ἄπερρυῇ Θηριβάζο γε

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IX. For the Greeks were victorious to their hearts' content over the Barbarians, and went forward a very great distance in pursuit of them; but Cyrus, riding a horse that was high-bred, but fierce and hard to guide (his name was Pasacas, as Ctesias tells us), was met in full course by Artagerses, commander of the Cadusians, who cried with a loud voice: "O thou who disgracest the name of Cyrus, that noblest name among the Persians, thou most unjust and senseless of men, thou art come with evil Greeks on an evil journey after the good things of the Persians, and thou hopest to slay thine own brother and thy master, who hath a million servants that are better men than thou. And thou shalt at once have proof of this; for thou shalt lose thine own head here before thou hast seen the face of the king." With these words he hurled his spear at Cyrus. But the breastplate of Cyrus stoutly resisted, and its wearer was not wounded, though he reeled under the shock of the mighty blow. Then, as Artagerses turned his horse away, Cyrus hurled his spear and hit him, and drove its head through his neck past the collar-bone. Thus Artagerses died at the hands of Cyrus, as nearly all writers are agreed in saying; but as regards the death of Cyrus himself, since Xenophon makes simple and brief mention of it, ¹ because he was not present himself when it happened, there is no objection perhaps to my recounting, first what Deinon says about it, and then what Ctesias says.

X. Accordingly, Deinon says that after Artagerses had fallen, Cyrus charged furiously into those drawn up in front of the king, and wounded the king's horse, and that the king fell to the ground; but

¹ Anab. i. viii. 26f.
άναβαλόντος αὐτὸν ἐπ’ ἀλλον ἵππων ταχὺ καὶ εἰπόντος, "Ὤ βασιλεῦ, μέμνησο τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης; οὐ γὰρ ἀξία λήθης ἐστί," πάλιν ὁ Κῦρος ἐνσείσας τῶ ἵππῳ κατέβαλε τῶν Ἀρτοξέρξην.

2 πρὸς δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἐπέλασιν δυσανασχετήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς βέλτιον ἔστι μὴ ξῆν, ἀντεξῆλαυς τῷ Κῦρῳ προπετῶς καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως εἰς ἐναντία βέλη φερομένῳ, καὶ βάλλει μὲν αὐτὸς ἀκούτω, βάλ-λουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτῶν. πίπτει δὲ ὁ Κῦρος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσι, πληγεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς δὲ ἐτεροί τινες, Κάρος ἀνθρώπων πατέξαντος, ὃς γέρας ἔδωκε τῆς πράξεως ταύτης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀλεξτρώνα χρυσῶν ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀεὶ πρὸ τῆς τάξεως ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις κομίζειν καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Κάρας ἀλεξτρώνας οἱ Πέρσαι διὰ τοὺς λόφους, οἱς κοσμοῦσι τὰ κράνη, προσ-ηγόρευν.

XI. Ἡ δὲ Κτησίου διήγησις, ὡς ἐπιτεμόντι πολλὰ συντόμως ἀπαγγέλλαι, τοιαύτη τίς ἐστί. Κῦρος ἀποκτείνας Ἀρταγέρσην ἦλαυνεν εἰς αὐτὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἵππον, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἐκεῖνον, ἀμφό-τεροι σιωπῆ. φθάνει δὲ βαλῶν Ἀριάδνος ο Κῦρον φίλος βασιλέα, καὶ οὐκ ἐτρωσε. βασιλεὺς δὲ ἀφεῖς τὸ δόρυ Κῦροι μὲν οὐκ ἐτυχε, Σατιφέρνην δὲ, πιστὸν ἀνδρα Κῦρῳ καὶ γενναίον, ἔβαλε καὶ 2 ἀπέκτεινε. Κῦρος δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἑξακοντίσας διὰ τοῦ θώρακος ἐτρωσε τὸ στήθος, ὡς φήγουν δύο δακτύλους τὸ ἀκούτιον, πεσεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. φυγῆς δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἀναστὰς μετ’
Teribazus quickly mounted him upon another horse, saying, "O king, remember this day, for it deserves not to be forgotten"; whereupon Cyrus again plunged in and dismounted Artaxerxes. But at his third assault, the king, being enraged, and saying to those who were with him that death was better, rode out against Cyrus, who was rashly and impetuously rushing upon the missiles of his opponents. The king himself hit him with a spear, and he was hit by the attendants of the king. Thus Cyrus fell, as some say, by a wound at the hands of the king, but as sundry others have it, from the blow of a Carian, who was rewarded by the king for this exploit with the privilege of always carrying a golden cock upon his spear in front of the line during an expedition; for the Persians call the Carians themselves cocks, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets.

XI. But the narrative of Ctesias, to give it in a much-abbreviated form, is something as follows. After he had slain Artagerses, Cyrus rode against the king himself, and the king against him, both without a word. But Ariaeus, the friend of Cyrus, was beforehand in hurling his spear at the king, though he did not wound him. And the king, casting his spear at Cyrus, did not hit him, but struck and killed Satiphernes, a trusted friend of Cyrus and a man of noble birth. But Cyrus threw his spear at the king and wounded him in the breast through the cuirass, so that the weapon sank in two fingers deep, and the king fell from his horse with the blow. Amid the ensuing confusion and flight of his immediate followers, the king rose to his feet, and with a few companions
ολίγων, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας ἦν, λόφον τινὰ πλη-
σίον καταλαβὼν ἠσύχαζε. Κύρον δὲ τοῖς πολε-
μίοις ἐνειλούμενον ὦ ὑπποῦς ἐξέφερεν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ
μακράν, ἣδη σκότους ὄντος ἀγνοούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
3 πολεμῶν καὶ ξητούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων. ἐπαι-
ρόμενοι δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ μεστὸς ὄν ὀρμῆς καὶ
θράσους διεξήλαυνε βοῶν, "Εξίστασθε, πενι-
χροί." τούτῳ δὲ Περσιστὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ
βοώντος, οἱ μὲν ἐξίσταντο προσκυνοῦντες, ἀπο-
πίπτει δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ τιάρα τοῦ Κύρου. καὶ
παρατρέχων νεανίας Πέρσης ὄνομα Μιθριδάτης
ἀκοντίω βάλλει τῶν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν
4 ὀφθαλμόν, ἀγνωσῶν ὡστὶς εὖ. πολὺ δὲ αἶμα τοῦ
τραύματος ἐκβάλοντος ἱλυγγίασα καὶ καρωθεὶς
ὁ Κύρος ἐπεσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπποῦς ὑπεκφυγὼν ἐπλά-
ζετο, τὸν δὲ ἐφίππειον πίλον ἀπορρυνότα λαμβάνει
tοῦ τῶν Κύρου βαλόντος ἀκόλουθος αἴματος περὶ-
πλεώ. τὸν δὲ Κύρου ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέροτα
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις εὐνοῦχοί τινες ὀλίγοι παρόντες
ἐπεχείρουν ἐπ’ ἄλλον ὑπποῦν ἀναθέσθαι καὶ σῶξειν.
5 ὑδυνάτως δ’ ἐχοντα καὶ δ’ αὐτοῦ προθυμοῦμενον
βαδίζειν ὑπολαβόντες ἤγον, τῷ μὲν σῶματι καρπ-
βαροῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον, σιόμενον δὲ νικᾶν
ἀκούοντα τῶν φευγόντων ἀνακαλομένων Κύρου
βασιλέα καὶ θείδεσθαι δεομένον. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
Καῦνιοί τινες ἀνθρώποι κακοβίοι καὶ ἀποροί καὶ
tαπεινῶν ὑπουργημάτων ἔνεκα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως
στρατιά παρακολουθοῦντες ἔτυχον συναναμιχθέν-
6 τες ὡς φίλοις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κύρον. ὡς δὲ μόλις
among whom also was Ctesias, took possession of a certain hill near by and remained there quietly; but Cyrus, enveloped by his enemies, was borne on a long distance by his spirited horse, and since it was now dark, his enemies did not recognize him and his friends could not find him. But lifted up by his victory, and full of impetuosity and confidence, he rode on through his foes, crying out, "Clear the way, ye beggars!" Thus he cried out many times, in Persian, and they cleared the way, and made him their obeisance. But the turban of Cyrus fell from his head, and a young Persian, Mithridates by name, running to his side, smote him with his spear in the temple, near the eye, not knowing who he was. Much blood gushed from the wound, and Cyrus, stunned and giddy, fell to the ground. His horse escaped and wandered about the field, but the horse's saddle-cloth, which had slipped off, was captured by the attendant of the man who had struck Cyrus, and it was soaked with blood. Then, as Cyrus was slowly and with difficulty recovering from the blow, a few eunuchs who were at hand tried to put him upon another horse and bring him to a place of safety. But since he was unable to ride and desired to go on his own feet, they supported him and led him along. His head was heavy and he reeled to and fro, but he thought he was victorious because he heard the fugitives saluting Cyrus as king and begging him to spare them. Meanwhile some Caunians—low and poverty-stricken men who followed the king's army to do menial service—chanced to join the party about Cyrus, supposing them to be friends. But when at last they perceived that the tunics
συνείδον τὰ ἑπταθερακίδια φοινικά, λευκοὶς χρωμένων τῶν βασιλικῶν ἀπάντων, ἐγνωσαν πολεμίους ὄντας. εἰς οὖν ἐκείνων ἐτόλμησεν ἀγνοῶν ἐξόπισθεν βαλείν τὸν Κύρον ἄκοντῷ. τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἤγνυαν φλεβὸς ἀναρραγείσης πεσὼν ὁ Κύρος ἀμα παίει πρὸς τινὶ λίθῳ τὸν τετρωμένον κρόσαφον καὶ ἀποδυνήσκει. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Κτησίου λόγος, ὁ καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖς ζιθιδίῳ μόλις ἀναιρῶν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀνήρκεν.

Χ.Π. Ἡδὲ δὲ αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος Ἀρτασύρας ὁ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμὸς ἑτυχεὶ ἵππῳ παρεξελαύνων. γνωρίσας οὖν τοὺς εὐνούχους ὀλοφυρωμένους ἠρώτησε τὸν πιστότατον αὐτῶν, “Τίνα τοῦτον, ὁ Παρίσκα, κλαίεις παρακαθήμενος;” ὁ δὲ εἶπεν Ὥν όρᾶς, ὁ Ἀρτασύρα, Κύρον τεθνηκότα;” θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀρτασύρας τῷ μὲν εὐνούχῳ θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύσατο καὶ φυλάττειν 2 τὸν νεκρὸν, αὐτὸς δὲ συντείνας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτασύρα ἐξέρξην, ἀπεγνωκότα μὲν ἣδη τὰ πράγματα, κακῷς δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακείμενον ύπὸ τε δύσης καὶ τοῦ τραύματος, χάρισιν φράξει ὡς αὐτὸς ἰδοί τεθνηκότα Κύρον. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς ὄρμησεν αὐτὸς ἴέναι, καὶ τὸν Ἀρτασύραν ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ὑπὲρ δὲ πολὺς ἦν λόγος τῶν Ἐλλήνων καὶ φόβος ὡς διωκόντων καὶ πάντα μικάντων καὶ κρατοῦντων, ἐδοξε πλείονας πέμψαι τοὺς κατοψομένους· καὶ τριάκοντα λαμπάδας 3 ἑχόντες ἐπέμφθησαν. αὐτῷ δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολείποντι τοῦ τεθνάναι διὰ τὸ δυσῆν Σατιβαρζάνης
over their breastplates were of a purple colour, whereas all the king's people wore white ones, they knew that they were enemies. Accordingly, one of them, not knowing who Cyrus was, ventured to smite him from behind with his spear. The vein in the ham of Cyrus was ruptured and he fell, and at the same time struck his wounded temple against a stone, and so died. Such is the story of Ctesias, in which, as with a blunt sword, he is long in killing Cyrus, but kills him at last.

XII. When Cyrus was now dead, Artasyras, the king's Eye, chanced to pass by on horseback, and recognizing the eunuchs as they lamented, he asked the trustiest of them, "Who is this man, Pariscas, by whom thou sittest mourning?" And Pariscas answered: "O Artasyras, dost thou not see Cyrus dead?" Astonished at this, then, Artasyras bade the eunuch be of good courage and guard the dead body, but he himself went in hot haste to Artaxerxes (who had already given up his cause for lost, and besides was physically in a wretched plight from thirst and from his wound), and joyfully told him that with his own eyes he had seen Cyrus dead. At first the king promptly set out to go in person to the place, and ordered Artasyras to conduct him thither; but since there was much talk about the Greeks, and it was feared that they were pursuing and conquering and making themselves masters everywhere, he decided to send a larger company to see where Cyrus lay. So thirty men were sent, with torches. Meanwhile, since the king was almost dead with thirst, Satibarzanes the eunuch

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1 A confidential officer of high rank, a Superintendent of the Realm.
ο ευνούχος περιθέων ἐξήτει ποτόν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τὸ χωρίου ὕδωρ, οὐδὲ ἦν ἐγγὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον· μόλις οὖν ἐπιτυγχάνει τῶν Καυνίων ἐκεῖνων τῶν κακοβίων ἔνδο ἐν ἀσκίῳ φαύλῳ διεφθαρμένον ὕδωρ καὶ ποιητῶν ἔχοντος, ὅσον ὅκτω κοτύλας· καὶ λαβὼν τούτο καὶ κομίσας τῷ βασιλεῖ δίδωσιν. ἐκπίνοντα δὲ ἀπαν ἴσωτησεν εἰ μὴ πάννυ δυσχε-ραίνει τὸ ποτόν. ὁ δὲ ὀμοσε τοὺς θεοὺς μῆτε οἰνον ἠδέως οὔτως πῶς τολμήσον οὕτως ὕδωρ τὸ κοιφότατον καὶ καθαρώτατον, "Ὤστε," ἐφί, "τὸν δῶντα σοι τούτο ἀνθρωπὸν, ἂν ἔγω μὴ δυνηθῶ ζητήσας ἀμείψασθαι, τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομαι ποιήσαι μακάριον καὶ πλούσιον.

XIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσήλαυνον οἱ τριάκοντα λαμπροὶ καὶ περιχαρεῖς, ἀναγγέλλοντες αὐτῶ τὴν ἀνέλπιστον εὐτυχίαν. ἢδὲ δὲ καὶ πλήθει τῶν συντρεχόντων πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνισταμένων ἐθάρρει, καὶ κατέβαινεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου φωτὸς πολλῶ περιλαμπόμενος. ὡς δὲ ἐπέστη τῷ νεκρῷ, καὶ κατὰ δὴ τίνα νόμον Περσῶν ἢ δεξιὰ χεῖρ ἀπεκόπη καὶ ἢ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶ κομισθῆναι καὶ τῆς κόμης δραζόμενος οὐσίας βαθείας καὶ λασίας ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμφιδοξούσιν ἐτί καὶ φεύγουσιν. οἱ δὲ θαύμαζον καὶ προσεκύνουν, ὅστε ταχὺ μυριάδας ἐπτὰ περὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ συνεισελάσαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐξεληλάκει δὲ, ὡς ὁ Κτησίας φησίν, ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Δείνωνα καὶ Ξενοφόντα πολὺ πλείονας γενέσθαι λέγουσι τὰς μεμαχημένας. ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν ὁ Κτησίας ἐνακισχιλίοις ἀνενεχθηναι.
ran about in quest of a drink for him; for the place had no water, and the camp was far away. At last, then, he came upon one of those low Caunians, who had vile and polluted water in a wretched skin, about two quarts in all: this he took, brought it to the king, and gave it to him. After the king had drunk it all off, the eunuch asked him if he was not altogether disgusted with the drink. But the king swore by the gods that he had never drunk wine, or the lightest and purest water, with so much pleasure. "Therefore," said the king, "if I should be unable to find and reward the man who gave thee this drink, I pray the gods to make him rich and happy."

XIII. And now the thirty messengers came riding up with joy and exultation in their faces, announcing to the king his unexpected good fortune. Presently, too, he was encouraged by the number of men who flocked back to him and formed in battle array, and so he came down from the hill under the light of many torches. And after he had halted at the dead body of Cyrus, and its right hand and head had been cut off (in accordance with a law of the Persians), he ordered the head to be brought to him; and grasping it by the hair, which was long and bushy, he showed it to those who were still wavering and disposed to fly. These were amazed, and made obeisance to the king, so that very soon seventy thousand men were about him and marched back with him to their camp. He had marched out to the battle, as Ctesias says, with four hundred thousand men. But Deinon and Xenophon say that the army which fought under him was much larger. As to the number of his dead, Ctesias says that it
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φησι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην, αὐτῷ δὲ διαμυρίων οὐκ ἐλάττους φανήσας τοὺς κειμένους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει διαμφισβήτησιν ἐκεῖνο δὲ τοῦ Κτησίου λαμπρὸν ἦδη ψεύσμα, τὸ πεμφθῆναι φάναι πρὸς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας αὐτὸν μετὰ Φαλίνου τοῦ Ζακύνθιου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων. ὁ γὰρ Ἐνενίφω ἦπιστατο συνδιατριβοῦντα βασιλεῖ Κτησίαν μέμνηται γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς βιβλίους τούτους ἐντετυχηκώς δήλος ἐστὶν οὐκ ἄν οὖν ἐλθόντα καὶ λόγων τοσοῦτον ἑρμηνέα γενόμενον παρῆκεν ἀνώνυμον, Φαλίνων δὲ τοῦ Ζακύνθιον ὤνομαζεν. ἀλλὰ δαιμονίως ὁ Κτησίας, ὃς ἑοίκε, φιλότιμος ὁν και οὔ ς ἤττον φιλολάκων καὶ φιλοκλέαρχος ὡς τινας ἐν ἡ διηγήσει χώρας ἐαυτῷ δίδωσιν, ἐν αἰς γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ μεμνησταί Κλεάρχου καὶ τῆς Δακεδαίμονος.

XIV. Μετά δὲ τὴν μάχην δώρα καλλιστα μὲν ἐξεπεμψε καὶ μέγιστα τῷ Ἀρταγέρσου παίδι τοῦ πεσοῦτος ὑπὸ Κύρου, καλῶς δὲ καὶ Κτησίαν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπίμησε. τὸν δὲ Καύνιον ἐκείνον ἐξανευρὼν, ὃς ἔπεδωκε τὸ ἀσκίον, ἐξ ἄδοξον καὶ πένητος ἐντύμων καὶ πλοῦσιον ἐποίησεν. ἦν δὲ τις ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἐξαμαρτώντων δικαιώσεις. Ἀρβάκην μὲν γὰρ τινα ΜΗΔΩΝ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πρὸς Κύρον φυγόντα καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνον πεσόντος μεταστάντα, δειλίαν καὶ μαλακίαν καταγγοὺς, οὐ προδοσίαιν οὐδὲ κακόνοιαν, ἐκέλευσε γυμνὴν ἀναλαβόντα πόρυν περιβάδην ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχύλου δι' ἡμέρας ὅλης ἐν ἀγορᾷ περιφέρειν. ἐτέρου δὲ πρὸς

1 Anab. ii. 1. 7–23.
was reported to Artaxerxes as nine thousand, but that he himself thought the slain no fewer than twenty thousand. This matter, then, is in dispute. But it is certainly a glaring falsehood on the part of Ctesias to say that he was sent to the Greeks along with Phalinus the Zacynthian and certain others. For Xenophon knew that Ctesias was in attendance upon the king, since he makes mention of him and had evidently read his works; if, then, Ctesias had come to the Greeks and served as an interpreter in so momentous a colloquy, Xenophon would not have left him nameless and named only Phalinus the Zacynthian.¹ The truth is that Ctesias, being prodigiously ambitious, as it would seem, and none the less partial to Sparta and to Clearchus, always allows considerable space in his narrative for himself, and there he will say many fine things about Clearchus and Sparta.

XIV. After the battle, the king sent the largest and most beautiful gifts to the son of that Artagerses who fell at the hands of Cyrus; he also gave generous rewards to Ctesias and others, and when he had found out the Caunian who had given him the skin of water, he raised him from obscurity and poverty to honour and wealth. There was much watchful care also in his punishment of those who had gone wrong. For example, in the case of Arbaces, a Mede, who had run away to Cyrus during the battle, and, when Cyrus fell, had changed back again, the king pronounced him guilty, not of treachery, nor even of malice, but of cowardice and weakness, and ordered him to take a naked harlot astride his neck and carry her about in the market-place for a whole day. And in the case of another man, who, besides

¹
τὸ μεταστῆμα ψευσαμένον καταβαλεῖν δύο τῶν πολεμίων, προσέταξε διαπείρας τριοῦ βελώνας

3 τὴν γλώτταν. οἴόμενος δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος δοκεῖν καὶ λέγειν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὡς αὐτὸς ἀπεκτόνοι Κύρου, Μιθριδάτη τε τῷ βαλόντι πρῶτῳ Κύρου ἔξεπεμψε δῶρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς διδόντας ὡς "Τούτοις σε τιμᾶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι τὸν ἐφίπτοντα Κύρου πίλον εὐρῶν ἀνήγερκας," τοῦ δὲ Καρός, ψυ' οὐ τὴν ἰγνώμην πληγεῖς ὁ Κύρος ἔπεσε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δωρεάν αἰτοῦντος, ἐκέλευσεν εἶπειν τοὺς διδόντας ὡς "Σοὶ ταῦτα δίδωσιν βασιλεὺς εὐαγγελίων δευτερεία: πρῶτος γὰρ Ἀρτασύρας, μετ' ἐκείνου δὲ σὺ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν ἀπήγγειλας."

4 ὁ μὲν οὖν Μιθριδάτης ἀπήλθε σιωπῆ λυπούμενος τοῦ δὲ ἄθλιον Κάρα κοινὸν τι πάθος εξ ἀβελτερίας κατέσχε. διαφθαρεῖς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς ἐσκευῖς, ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἀναπεισθεὶς εὐθὺς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἤξιον τὰ δοθέντα μισθῶν εὐαγγελίων ἐχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἡγανάκτει μαρτυρόμενος καὶ βοῶν ὅτι Κύρου οὐδεὶς ἔτερος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπεκτόνοι, καὶ τὴν δοξαν ἀδίκως ἀποστερῶτο. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς σφόδρα παρωξύνθη καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτελεῖν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. παροῦσα δ' ἡ μῆτηρ, "Μη σὺ γε," εἶπεν, "οὕτω τὸν Κάρα τούτον, ὁ βασιλεὺ, τὸν ὀλεθροῦν ἀπαλλᾶξης, ἄλλα παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἄξιον ἀπολήψεται μισθὸν ὃν τολμᾶ λέγειν." ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τιμωρῶν ἢ Παρύσατις λαβόντας τὸν

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going over to the enemy, had lyingly boasted that he had slain two of them, the king ordered that his tongue should be pierced with three needles. Moreover, believing, and wishing all men to think, and say, that he had killed Cyrus with his own hand, he sent gifts to Mithridates, the one who first hit Cyrus, and ordered the bearers of the gifts to say: "This is thy reward from the king because thou didst find and bring to him the trappings of the horse of Cyrus." Again, when the Carian, from whom Cyrus received the blow in the ham which brought him down, asked that he also should receive a gift, the king ordered its bearers to say: "The king gives thee these things as a second prize for good tidings; for Artasyras came first, and after him thou didst come, with tidings of the death of Cyrus." Now, Mithridates went away without a word, although he was vexed; but the wretched Carian, in his folly, gave way to a common feeling. That is, he was corrupted, it would seem, by the good things which he had, and led by them to aspire at once to things beyond his reach, so that he would not deign to take the gifts as a reward for good tidings, but was indignant, calling men to witness and crying in loud tones that it was he himself, and no one else, who had killed Cyrus, and that he was unjustly robbed of his glory. When the king heard of this, he was vehemently angry and gave orders that the man should be beheaded. Whereupon the king's mother, who was present, said to him: "O King, do not let this accursed Carian off so easily, but leave him to me, and he shall receive the fitting reward for his daring words." So the king consigned the man to Parysatis, who ordered the executioners to
άνθρωπον ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα στρεβλοῦν, εἰτὰ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑξορύξαντας εἰς τὰ δώτα θερμὸν ἐντη-κεῖν χάλκων ἔως ἀποθάνη.

take him and rack him on the wheel for ten days, then to gouge out his eyes, and finally to drop molten brass into his ears until he died.

XV. Mithridates also came to a miserable end a little while after, owing to the same folly. For being invited to a banquet at which eunuchs of the king and of the queen-mother were present, he came decked out with raiment and gold which he had received from the king. And when the company were at their cups, the chief eunuch of Parysatis said to him: “Mithridates, how beautiful this raiment is which the king gave thee, and how beautiful the collars and bracelets! Costly, too, is thy scimitar. Verily the king has made thee happy in the admiring eyes of all men.” Then Mithridates, now flushed with wine, replied: “Sparamizes, what do these things amount to? Surely my services to the king on that day were worthy of greater and more beautiful gifts.” Here Sparamizes smiled at him and said: “There’s no grudging them to thee, Mithridates; but since, according to the Greek maxim, there is truth in wine, what great or brilliant exploit was it, my good fellow, to find a horse’s trappings that had slipped off, and bring them to the king?” In saying this, Sparamizes was not ignorant of the truth, but he wished to unveil Mithridates to the company, and therefore slyly stirred up his vanity when wine had made him talkative and robbed him of self-control. Accordingly, Mithridates threw away constraint and said: “Ye may talk as ye please about horse-trappings and such nonsense; but I declare to you explicitly that Cyrus was slain by this hand of mine; for I did not, like Artageres, make a futile and an idle cast of spear, but I
μικρὸν ἡμαρτον, τοῦ δὲ κροτάφου τυχών καὶ διελά-
σας κατέβαλον τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τέθυηκεν ὑπ’ ἐκεῖ-
5 νοῦ τοῦ τραύματος.” οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τὸ τέλος
ηδὴ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὴν κακοδαίμονιαν ὅριν-
tes εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐκνυψαν· ὁ δὲ ἔστιῶν αὐτοὺς, “‘Ω
τάν,” ἔφη, “Μιθριδάτα, πίνωμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
καὶ ἐσθίωμεν τῶν βασιλέως δαίμονα προσκυνοῦν-
tes, λόγους δὲ μείζους ἢ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐάσωμεν.”

XVI. Ἐκ τούτου τῇ μὲν Παρυσάτιδι φράζει
τὸν λόγον ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐκείνη δὲ βασιλεί· βασιλεύς
de ἡγανάκτησεν ὡσπερ ἐξελεγχόμενος καὶ τὸ
kάλλιστον καὶ ἡδίστον ἀπολλυόν τῆς νίκης.
ἐβούλετο γὰρ βαρβάρους ἀπαντας πεπείσθαι καὶ
'Ἐλληνας ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐξελάσεσι καὶ συμπλοκαῖς
dοὺς καὶ λαβῶν πληγῆν ἐτρώθη μὲν αὐτὸς, ἐκ-
teine δὲ ἐκείνων. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν τὸν Μιθριδάτην
ἀποθανεῖν σκαφευθέντα.

2 Τὸ δὲ σκαφευθήναι τοιούτων ἐστὶ· σκάφας δύο
πεποιημένας ἐφαρμόζειν ἀλλήλαις λαβώντες, εἰς
τὴν ἐτέραν κατακλύσουσι τὸν κολαζόμενον ὕπτιον;
eίτα τὴν ἐτέραν ἐπάγοντες καὶ συναρμόζοντες,
ὡστε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐξω καὶ τοὺς
πόδας ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα πῶς
ἀποκεκρύφθαι, διδόσιν ἐσθίειν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, κἂν
μὴ θέλη, προσβιάζονται κεντοῦντες τὰ ὁμματα·
φαγόντι δὲ πιείν μέλι καὶ γάλα συγκεκραμένον
ἐγχέουσιν εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου
3 καταχέουσιν. είτα πρὸς τὸν ἡλιον ἀεὶ στρέφο-
σιν ἐναντία τὰ ὁμματα, καὶ μυϊῶν προσκαθημέ-
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narrowly missed his eye, struck him in the temple, pierced it, and brought the man down; and it was of that wound that he died.” The rest of the company, then, who already saw the end of Mithridates and his hapless fate, bowed their faces towards the ground; and their host said: “My good Mithridates, let us eat and drink now, revering the good genius of the king, and let us waive discourse that is too weighty for us.”

XVI. Afterwards the eunuch told the matter to Parysatis, and she to the king; and the king was incensed, as being openly convicted of falsehood, and likely to forfeit the fairest and most pleasing feature of his victory. For he wished that all Barbarians and all Greeks should be fully persuaded that when he and his brother had charged and grappled with each other, he had given and received a blow, being only wounded himself, but killing his brother. He therefore gave orders that Mithridates should be put to death by the torture of the boats.

Now, this torture of the boats is as follows. Two boats are taken, which are so made as to fit over one another closely; in one of these the victim is laid, flat upon his back; then the other is laid over the first and carefully adjusted, so that the victim’s head, hands, and feet are left projecting, while the rest of his body is completely covered up. Then they give him food to eat, and if he refuse it, they force him to take it by pricking his eyes. After he has eaten, they give him a mixture of milk and honey to drink, pouring it into his mouth, and also deluge his face with it. Then they keep his eyes always turned towards the sun, and a swarm of flies settles down
νων πλήθος πάν ἀποκρύπτεται τὸ πρόσωπον. ἐντὸς δὲ ποιοῦντος ὅσα ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν ἐσθίοντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πίνοντας, εὑρισκόμενες ὑπὸ φθορᾶς καὶ σηπεδόνος ἐκ τοῦ περιττόματος ἀναζέουσιν, ὑπὸ ὅποι ἀναλίσκεται τὸ σῶμα διαδυομένων εἰς τὰ ἐντός. ὅταν γὰρ ἦδη φανερός ἡ τεθυματίκως ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ἀφαιρεθείσης τῆς ἐπίσω σκάφης ὥρις τὴν μὲν σάρκα κατεδη- δεσμένην, περὶ δὲ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοιούτων θηρίων ἐσμοὺς ἐσθίοντων καὶ προσπεφυκότων. οὕτως ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπτακαίδεκα ἡμέρας φθειρόμενος μόλις ἀπέθανεν.

XVII. Δοιπότις δ’ ἦν τῇ Παρυσάτιδι σκοπός ὁ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμών καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Κύρου Μασαβίτης, βασιλέως εὐνοῦχος. ὡς οὖν αὐτὸς ὄμοιόν καὶ θ’ ἐαυτὸι λαβὴν παρεδίδον, τοιοῦτον ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπων ἡ Παρύσατις συνέθηκεν. ἦν τά τε ἅλλα θυμόσοφος γυνὴ καὶ δεινὴ κυβερνητικὴ καὶ βασιλεῖ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πολλάκις συνεκύβευε· μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον διαλυθεῖσα πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐφευγε τὰς φιλοφροσύνας, ἅλλα καὶ συνεπαίζει καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐκουσώνει συμπράττουσα καὶ παροῦσα, καὶ ὅλως μικρότατον αὐτοῦ τῇ Στατείρᾳ μετεδίδον χρῆσθαι καὶ συνείναι, μισουσάτε μάλιστα πάντων ἐκεῖνην καὶ μέγιστον 3 αὐτὴ βουλομένη δύνασθαι. λαβοῦσα δὴ ποτε τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην ὁμμημένον ἀλύειν σχολῆς οὐσίας προφακεῖτο περὶ χιλίων δαρεικῶν κυβεύσαι καὶ κυβεῦντα περείδει νικῆσαι καὶ τὸ χρυσὸν ἅπασκε. προσποιομένη δὲ ἀνιάσθαι καὶ φιλονει-
upon his face and hides it completely. And since inside the boats he does what must needs be done when men eat and drink, worms and maggots seethe up from the corruption and rottenness of the excrement, devouring his body, and eating their way into his vitals. For when at last the man is clearly dead and the upper boat has been removed, his flesh is seen to have been consumed away, while about his entrails swarms of such animals as I have mentioned are clinging fast and eating. In this way Mithridates was slowly consumed for seventeen days, and at last died.

XVII. And now there was one mark left for the vengeance of Parysatis—the man who had cut off the head and right hand of Cyrus, Masabates, an eunuch of the king. Against this man, then, since he himself gave her no chance to get at him, Parysatis concocted a plot of the following sort. She was in general an ingenious woman, and greatly addicted to playing at dice. For this reason she frequently played at dice with the king before the war, and after the war was over and she had been reconciled with him, she did not try to avoid his friendly overtures, but actually joined in his diversions, and took part in his amours by her coöperation and presence, and, in a word, left very little of the king for Stateira’s use and society. For she hated Stateira above all others, and wished to have the chief influence herself. So, one day, finding Artaxerxes trying to amuse himself in a vacant hour, she challenged him to play at dice for a thousand darics, allowed him to win the game, and paid the money down. Then, pretending to be chagrined at her loss and to seek revenge, she challenged the king to play
4 diaκυβεύσαι κάκεινος υπήκουσε. ποιησάμενοι δὲ συνθήκας πέντε μὲν ἐκάτερον ὑπεξελέσθαι τοὺς πιστοτάτους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὄν ἄν ὁ νικῶν ἔληται, δούναι τὸν ἡττώμενον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκύβευν. σφόδρα δὴ γενομένη πρὸς τῷ πράγματι καὶ σπουδάσας περὶ τὴν παιδιὰν, εὖ δὲ πως αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν κύβων πεσόντων, νικήσασα λαμβάνει τὸν Μασαβάτην· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὑπεξηρήμενοι. καὶ πρὶν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενεσθαι βασιλέα τοῦ πράγματος ἐγχειρίσασα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν προσέταξεν ἐκδείρας ξώντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα πλάγιον διὰ τριῶν σταυρῶν ἀνατῆξαι, τὸ δὲ δέρμα χωρίς διαπατταλεύσαι. γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ βασιλέως χαλεπῶς φέροντο καὶ παροξυνομένου πρὸς αὐτὴν, εἰρωνευμένη μετὰ γέλωτος, "Ὄς ἡδὺς," ἐφασκεν, "εἰ καὶ μακάριος, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις διὰ γέφοντα ποιηρὸν εὐνούχον, ἐγὼ δὲ χιλίους ἐκ-κυβευθεῖσα δαρεικοὺς σιωπᾶ καὶ στέργω." βασι-λεὺς μὲν οὖν ἐφ’ οἷς ἐξηπατήθη μεταμελόμενος ἤσυχίαν ἤγεν, ἢ δὲ Στάτερα καὶ πρὸς τάλλα φανερῶς ἤναντιοῦτο καὶ τούτως ἐδυσχέραινεν, ὡς ἀνδρας εὐνούχους καὶ πιστοὺς βασιλεῖ διὰ Κῦρον ὡμῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἀπολλυσοῦσα αὐτῆς.

XVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλέαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατηγοὺς Τισαφέρνης ἐξηπάτησε καὶ παρεσπόνδησεν ὀρκῶν γενομένων καὶ συλλαβῶν ἄν-𝑒πεμψεν ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένοις, δεηθῆναι φησιν αὐτοῦ τὸν Κλέαρχον ὁ Κτησίας ὅπως κενῶς εὐπορήσει. τυχόντα δὲ καὶ τημελήσαντα τὴν κεφαλὴν ἥσθηναι τε τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον
a second game, with an eunuch for the stake, and the king consented. They agreed that both might reserve five of their most trusty eunuchs, but that from the rest the loser must give whichever one the winner might select, and on these conditions played their game. Parysatis took the matter much to heart and was in great earnest with her playing, and since the dice also fell in her favour, she won the game, and selected Masabates; for he was not among those who had been excepted. And before the king suspected her design, she put the eunuch in the hands of the executioners, who were ordered to flay him alive, to set up his body slantwise on three stakes, and to nail up his skin to a fourth. This was done, and when the king was bitterly incensed at her, she said to him, with a mocking laugh: "What a blessed simpleton thou art, to be incensed on account of a wretched old eunuch, when I, who have diced away a thousand darics, accept my loss without a word." So the king, although sorry that he had been deceived, kept quiet in the matter, but Stateira openly opposed Parysatis in other things, and above all was angry with her because, for the sake of Cyrus, she was cruelly and lawlessly putting to death eunuchs and others who were faithful to the king.

XVIII. Now, when Clearchus and his fellowgenerals had been completely deceived by Tissaphernes,¹ and, contrary to solemn oaths, had been seized and sent up to the king in chains, Ctesias tells us that he was asked by Clearchus to provide him with a comb. Clearchus got the comb and dressed his hair, and being pleased at the service

¹ Cf. Xenophon, Anab. ii. 5.
αὐτῷ δοῦναι σύμβολον φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Δακεδαίμονι συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους· εἶναι δὲ γλυφὴν ἐν τῇ σφραγίδι Καρνάτιδας ὄρχουμένας.

2 τὰ δὲ πεμπόμενα σιτία τῷ Κλεάρχῳ τοὺς συν-

dεδεμένους στρατιώτας ἀφαίρεσθαι καὶ κατ-

αναλίσκειν, ὅλιγα τῷ Κλεάρχῳ διδύνατο ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἰάσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο φησιν ὁ Κτησίας, πλείονα

τῷ Κλεάρχῳ πέμπεσθαι διαπραξάμενος, ίδια δὲ ἐτέρα τοῖς στρατιώταις δίδοσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπουργῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν χάριτι καὶ γνώμη τῆς

3 Παρυσάτιδος. πεμπόμενον δὲ καθ' ἠμέραν τῷ

Κλεάρχῳ κωλήνος ἐπὶ τοῖς σιτίοις, παρακαλεῖν

αὐτὸν καὶ διδάσκειν ὡς χρῆ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ κρέας ἐμβαλόντα μαχαίριον ἀποκρύψαντα πέμψαι καὶ

μὴ περιδεῖν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως ὑμότητι τὸ τέλος

αὐτοῦ γενόμενον· αὐτὸς δὲ φοβούμενος μὴ ἑθελή-

σαί. βασιλέα δὲ τῇ μὲν μητρὶ παραπτομένη

μὴ κτεῖναι τὸν Κλέαρχον ὀμολογῆσαι καὶ ὁμόσαι

πεισθέντα δὲ αὐθίς ὑπὸ τῆς Στατείρας ἀποκτεῖναι

4 πάντας πλὴν Μένωνος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν Παρύ-

σατιν ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῇ Στατείρα καὶ συσκευά-

σασθαι τὴν φαρμακείαν κατ’ αὐτῆς, οὐκ εἰκότα

λέγων, οὐκ πολλὴν ἀλογίαν ἔχοντα τῆς αἰτίας, εἰ
deioun ἔρχον οὔτως ἐδρασε καὶ παρεκδύνευσεν

ἡ Παρύσατις διὰ Κλέαρχον, ἀνελεῖν τολμήσασα
tὴν γνησίαν βασιλέως ἐρωτικὰ καὶ τέκνων κοινω

νῶν ἐπὶ βασιλεία τρεφομένων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν

οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς ἐπιτραγῳδεῖται τῇ Κλεάρχου

μνήμη, καὶ γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντων φησὶ τῶν στρα-

τηγῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπὸ κυνῶν σπαράττεσθαι

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rendered, gave Ctesias his ring as a token of friendship which he might show to his kindred and friends in Sparta; and the device in the seal was a group of dancing Caryatides. Moreover, as Ctesias says, the provisions sent to Clearchus were seized by the soldiers in captivity with him, who consumed them freely and gave only a small part of them to Clearchus. This hardship also Ctesias says he remedied, by getting more provisions sent to Clearchus, and a separate supply given to the soldiers; and these services he says he rendered and performed to please Parysatis, and at her suggestion. He says further that a flitch of bacon was sent to Clearchus every day to supplement his rations, and that Clearchus earnestly advised him that he ought to bury a small knife in the meat and send it to him thus hidden away, and not allow his fate to be determined by the cruelty of the king; but he was afraid, and would not consent to do this. The king, Ctesias says, at the solicitation of his mother, agreed and swore not to kill Clearchus; but he was won back again by Stateira, and put all the generals to death except Menon. It was because of this, Ctesias says, that Parysatis plotted against the life of Stateira and prepared the poison for her. But it is an unlikely story, and one that gives an absurd motive for her course, to say that Parysatis thus risked and wrought a dreadful deed because of Clearchus, and dared to kill the king’s lawful wife, who was the mother by him of children reared for the throne. Nay, it is quite evident that he adds this sensational detail out of regard for the memory of Clearchus. For he says that after the generals had been put to death, the rest of them were torn by dogs and birds, but that
καὶ ὅρνέων, τῷ δὲ Κλεάρχου νεκρῷ θύελλαι ἀνέμου γῆς θώνα πολλὴν φέρουσαν ἐπιχώσαι καὶ ἐπικρύψαι τὸ σῶμα· φοινίκων δὲ τινῶν διασπαρέντων ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ θαυμαστοῦ ἄλοιπος ἀναφύναι καὶ κατασκιάσαι τὸν τόπον, ὡστε καὶ βασιλεῖ σφόδρα μεταμελεῖν, ὡς ἄνδρα θεοῖς φίλον ἀνηρηκότι τὸν Κλέαρχον.

Χ IX. Ἡ δ' οὖν Παρύσατις, μίσους τε πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν ἔξ ἄρχης ὑποκειμένου καὶ ξηλοτυπίας, ὀρῶσα τὴν μὲν αὐτῆς δύναμιν αἰδοῦμένου βασιλέως καὶ τιμῶντος ὦσαν, τὴν δ' ἐκείνης ἔρωτι καὶ πίστει βέβαιον καὶ ἴσχυράν, ἐπεβούλευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν 2 μεγίστων, ὡς ζέτο, παραβαλλομένη. θεράπταυαν εἰχε πιστὴν καὶ δυναμένην παρ' αὐτῇ μέγιστον ὄνομα Γῆγην, ἣν ὁ μὲν Δείνων ὑπουργῆσαι τῇ φαρμακείᾳ φησί, συγγνώναι δὲ μόνον ἀκουσαν ὁ Κτήσιας. τὸν δὲ δόντα τὸ φάρμακον ὡστὸς μὲν ὀνομάζει Βελιτάραν, ὁ δὲ Δείνων Μελάνταν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρόσθεν ὑποψίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ὑρξάμεναι πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτᾶν καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἄλληλαι, ὡμος τῷ δεδείναι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν σειτίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑχρώντω. 3 γίνεται δὲ μικρὸν ἐν Πέρσαις ὀρνίθιον, ὁ περιττῶματος οὐδέν ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὅλον διάπλευσιν πιμελῆς τὰ ἐντός· καὶ νομίζομεν ἀνέμω καὶ δρόσω τρεφεσθαι τὸ ξόων· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ῥυντάκης. τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Κτήσιας μικρὰ μαχαίριδι κεχρισμένη τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατὰ θάτερα τὴν Παρύσατιν διαμοῦσαν ἐκμάζει τῷ ἐτέρῳ μέρει τὸ φάρμακον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀχραντὸν καὶ καθαρὸν εἰς τὸ στόμα βαλοῦσαν.
in the case of Clearchus, a blast of wind carried a great mass of earth and heaped it in a mound which covered his body; upon this some dates fell here and there, and in a short time a wonderful grove of trees sprang up and overshadowed the place, so that even the king was sorely repentant, believing that in Clearchus he had killed a man whom the gods loved.

XIX. Parysatis, accordingly, who from the outset had a lurking hatred and jealousy of Stateira, saw that her own influence with the king was based on feelings of respect and honour, while that of Stateira was grounded fast and strong in love and confidence; she therefore plotted against her life and played for what she thought the highest stake. She had a trusted maidservant named Gigis, who had most influence with her and assisted her in preparing the poison, according to Deinon, although Ctesias says she was merely privy to the deed, and that against her will. The poison was actually given by a man named Belitaras, according to Ctesias; Deinon gives his name as Melantas. After a period of dissension and suspicion, the two women had begun again to meet and eat with one another, although their mutual fear and caution led them to partake of the same dishes served by the same hands. Now, there is a little Persian bird which has no excrement, but is all full of fat inside; and the creature is thought to live upon air and dew; the name of it is "rhyntaces." It was a bird of this species, according to Ctesias, that Parysatis cut in two with a little knife smeared with poison on one side, thus wiping the poison off upon one part only of the bird; the undefiled and wholesome part she then put into her

1 *i.e.*, Parysatis and Stateira.
αὐτὴν ἐσθήειν, δοῦναι δὲ τῇ Στατείρᾳ τὸ πεφαρμαγ-4 μένον. ὃ δὲ Δείνων οὐ τὴν Παρύσατιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
Μελάνταν τέμνοντα τῷ μαχαιρίῳ τὰ φαρμασ-
σόμενα τῶν κρεῶν τιθέναι κατὰ τὴν Στατείραν.
ἀποθνήσκουσα δ’ οὖν ἡ γυνὴ μετὰ πόνων μεγάλων
καὶ σπαραγμῶν αὐτὴ τε συνήσαντο τοῦ κακοῦ
καὶ βασιλεῖ παρέσχεν ὕποψιαν κατὰ τῆς μητρός,
4 εἰδότι τὸ θηριῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ δυσμείλικτον. ὃθεν
εὐθὺς ἔπι τὴν ζητησίν ὁρμήσας τοὺς μὲν ὑπηρέτας
καὶ τραπεζοκόμους τῆς μητρός συνέλαβε καὶ
κατεστρέβλωσε, τὴν δὲ Γίγιν ᾧ Παρύσατις πολὺν
χρόνον ἔχεν οἷκοι μεθ’ αὐτῆς καὶ βασιλέως
ἐξαιτοῦντος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ’ ὑστερον αὐτῆς
dεθείσης εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἠφεθήναι νικτός, αἰσθό-
μενος καὶ λόχον ὑφεὶς συνήρτιας καὶ κατέγνω
6 θάνατον. ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ οἱ φαρμακεῖς ἐν
Πέρσαις κατὰ νόμον οὔτως: λίθος ἐστὶ πλατύς,
ἐφ’ οὗ τὴν κεφαλήν καταθέντες αὐτῶν ἐτέρῳ λίθῳ
παίουσι καὶ πιέζουσιν, ἀρχὰς οὖ συνθλάσωσι τὸ
πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. ἢ μὲν οὖν Γίγις
οὔτως ἀπέθανε, τὴν δὲ Παρύσατιν ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης
ἀλλὰ μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπε παῦνιν οὔτε ἐποίησεν,
εἰς δὲ Βαβυλῶνα βουλομένην ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν,
ὡς ἐκεῖνη περίεστιν αὐτὸς οὐκ ὤφεσθαι Βαβυ-
λῶνα. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὔτως εἶχεν.

XX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς Κύρῳ συναναθάντας "Ἐλ-
λίμας σπουδάσας λαβεῖν ὃ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἤττον
ἡ Κύρου περιγενέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατα-
σχεῖν οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ Κύρου τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ
τοὺς αὐτῶν στρατηγοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν
μονονοιχὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἐσώθησαν, ἐξελέγξαντες
own mouth and ate, but gave to Stateira the poisoned part. Deinon, however, says it was not Parysatis, but Melantas who cut the bird with the knife and placed the flesh that was poisoned before Stateira. Be that as it may, the woman died, in convulsions and great suffering, and she comprehended the evil that had befallen her, and brought the king to suspect his mother, whose fierce and implacable nature he knew. The king, therefore, at once set out upon the inquest, arrested the servants and table-attendants of his mother, and put them on the rack. Gigis, however, Parysatis kept for a long time at home with her, and would not give her up at the king's demand. But after a while Gigis herself begged to be dismissed to her own home by night. The king learned of this, set an ambush for her, seized her, and condemned her to death. Now, the legal mode of death for poisoners in Persia is as follows. There is a broad stone, and on this the head of the culprit is placed; and then with another stone they smite and pound until they crush the face and head to pulp. It was in this manner, then, that Gigis died; but Parysatis was not further rebuked or harmed by Artaxerxes, except that he sent her off to Babylon, in accordance with her wish, saying that as long as she lived he himself would not see Babylon. Such was the state of the king's domestic affairs.

XX. Now, the king was no less eager to capture the Greeks who had come up with Cyrus than he had been to conquer Cyrus and preserve his throne. Nevertheless, he could not capture them, but though they had lost Cyrus their leader and their own commanders, they rescued themselves from his very palace, as one might say, thus proving clearly to the
καὶ ἀποφήμαντες τὰ Περσῶν καὶ βασιλέως πράγματα χρυσῶν ὄντα πολύν καὶ τρυφήν καὶ γυν. 2 ναῦκας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τύφον καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐξεθάρρησε καὶ κατεφρόνησε τῶν βαρβάρων, Δακεδαιμονίοις δὲ καὶ δεινῶν ἐφαίνετο μὴ νῦν γε δουλείας ἐξελέσθαι τοὺς τῆς Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας Ἑλληνας μηδὲ παύσαι προπηλακιζομένους ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. πρότερον δὲ διὰ Θιμβρώνος, εἶτα διὰ δερκλίδου πολεμοῦντες, οὐδὲν δὲ πράττοντες ἄξιόλογουν, Ἀγησιλάω τῷ βασίλει 3 τῶν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ὁ δὲ περαιωθεὶς ναυσίν εἰς Ἀσίαν εὐθὺς ἦν ἐνεργός καὶ δόξαν εἰχὲ μεγάλην καὶ Τισαφέρην παρατάξαμενος εὐκίςησε καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀφίςτην. τούτων δὲ γενομένων συμφοροῦσα ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὑπὸ τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ πολεμιτέοις, ἔπεμψε Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρυσίον πολὺ κομίζοντα, διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς πλείστων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δυναμένους κελεύσας, καὶ πόλεμον Ἑλληνικὸν 4 κινεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Δακεδαιμονίαν. τοῦ δὲ Τιμοκράτους ταῦτα πράττοντο καὶ τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων συνισταμένων καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου διαταρατημένης, μετεπέμπτοντο τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ ἄρχοντες. ὅτε δὴ καὶ φασὶν αὐτοῦ ἀπίστων πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν ὡς τρισμυρίους τοξότας ἐξελαύνοιτο τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως· τὸ γὰρ Περσικὸν νόμισμα τοξότην ἐπισήμουν εἴχεν.

XXI. Ἐξέβαλε δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης Δακεδαιμονίου Κόνωνι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ μετὰ Φαρμαβάζου στρατηγῷ χρησάμενος. ὁ γὰρ Κόνων
world that the empire of the Persians and their king abounded in gold and luxury and women, but in all else was an empty vaunt. Therefore all Greece took heart and despised the Barbarians, and the Lacedaemonians in particular thought it strange if now at least they could not rescue the Greeks that dwelt in Asia from servitude, and put a stop to their outrageous treatment at the hands of the Persians. The war they waged was at first conducted by Thimbron, and then by Dercyllidas, but since they accomplished nothing worthy of note, they at last put the conduct of the war in the hands of their king, Agesilaüs. He crossed over to Asia with a fleet, went to work at once, won great fame, defeated Tissaphernes in a pitched battle, and set the Greek cities in revolt. This being the case, Artaxerxes considered how he must carry on the war with Agesilaüs, and sent Timocreon the Rhodian into Greece with a great sum of money, bidding him use it for the corruption of the most influential men in the cities there, and for stirring up the Greeks to make war upon Sparta. Timocrates did as he was bidden, the most important cities conspired together against Sparta, Peloponnesus was in a turmoil, and the Spartan magistrates summoned Agesilaüs home from Asia. It was at this time, as we are told, and as he was going home, that Agesilaüs said to his friends; "The king has driven me out of Asia with thirty thousand archers"; for the Persian coin has the figure of an archer stamped upon it.¹

XXI. The king also expelled the Lacedaemonians from the sea, employing Conon the Athenian as his commander along with Pharnabazus. For Conon

¹ Cf. the Agesilaüs, xv. 6.
διέτριβε μὲν ἐν Κύπρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγῶς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίαν, οὐ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῆν, ὡσπερ ἐν πελάγει τροπῆν, περιμένων. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν βασιλέως δύναμιν ἀνδρὸς ἐμφρονος δεομένην, ἐπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν βασιλεί περὶ ὁν διενοεῖτο. καὶ ταύτην ἔκέλευσε τὸν κομίζοντα μᾶλλον μὲν ἀποδοῦναι διὰ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κρητῶς ἡ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Μενδαίου τούτων δ' ἦν ὁ μὲν Ζήνων ὀρχηστής, ὁ δὲ Πολυκρίτος ἴατρός ἄν δὲ οὖτοι μὴ παρὼσι, διὰ Κτησίου τοῦ ἴατροῦ. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Κτησίας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λαβὼν παρεγράφασε τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κόνωνος ἐπεσταλμένους ὅπως καὶ Κτησίαν ἀποστέιλῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡς ὄφελιμον ὁντα ταῖς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πράξεσιν. ὁ δὲ Κτησίας αὐτὸν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα φησὶ προσθεῖναι τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην.

4 Ἀλλ' ἐπει κρατήσας τῇ περὶ Κυνίδου ναυμαχίᾳ διὰ Φαρναβάζου καὶ Κόνωνος ἀφείλετο τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀρχὴν Δακεδαιμονίους, ἐπέστρεψε πάσαν ὑμοῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν περιβόητον εἰρήνην βραβεύσαι τοῖς Ἑλλησπονίοις ἑπὶ Ἑλλάς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν περιβόητον εἰρήνην βραβεύσαι τοῖς Ἑλλησπονίοις.
passed the time at Cyprus, after the sea-fight at Aegospotami,1 not satisfied with mere safety, but awaiting a reversal in the course of affairs, as he would a change of wind at sea. And seeing that his own plans needed a military force, and the king’s force needed a sagacious leader, he wrote a letter to the king explaining his purposes. This letter he ordered the bearer, if possible, to give the king by the hand of Zeno the Cretan or Polycritus the Mendaean (Zeno was a teacher of dancing, and Polycritus was a physician); but if these were not at court, by the hand of Ctesias the physician. And it is said that Ctesias, on receiving the letter, added to the suggestions which Conon made to the king a request to send Ctesias also to him, as likely to be of service in matters on the sea-coast. Ctesias, however, says that the king of his own accord conferred upon him this new duty.

But after Artaxerxes, by the sea-fight which Pharnabazus and Conon won for him off Cnidus, had stripped the Lacedaemonians of their power on the sea, he brought the whole of Greece into dependence upon him, so that he dictated to the Greeks the celebrated peace called the Peace of Antalcidas.2 Now Antalcidas was a Spartan, son of Leon, and acting in the interests of the king he induced the Lacedaemonians to surrender to the king all the Greek cities of Asia, and all the islands adjacent to Asia, to possess them on payment of tribute; and peace was thus established among the Greeks, if the mockery and betrayal of Greece can be called peace, a peace than which no war ever brought a more inglorious consummation to the defeated.

1 405 B.C. Cf. the Alcibiades xxxvii. 2.
2 In 387 B.C. Cf. the Agesilaüs, xxiii. 1 ff.
XLII. Σιδ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς Σπαρτιάτας ἀεὶ βδελυγμένοις ἄρτοξέρξης, καὶ νομίζων, ὡς φησι Δείνων, ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἀναιδέστατοις εἶναι, τῶν 'Ἀνταλκιδάν ύπερηγάπησέν εἰς Πέρσας ἀναβάντα. καὶ ποτὲ λαβὼν ἕνα τῶν ἀνθινῶν στεφάνων καὶ βάψας εἰς μύρων τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐπεμψε τῷ 'Ἀνταλκίδα καὶ τὰ πάντες ἑθαύμασαν τὴν φιλοφροσύνην. ἢν δὲ, ὡς ἐοικε, ἐπιτίθειες οὖτος ἐντρυφῆθηναι καὶ τοιοῦτον λαβεῖν στέφανον, ἔξορχησάμενος ἐν Πέρσαις τῶν Δεονίδαν καὶ τῶν Καλλικράτιδων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς ἐοικε, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "Φεῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπου μηδίζουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ Λάκωνες," "Οὐ μάλλον," εἶπεν, "οἱ Μῆδοι λακωνίζουσιν;" τοῦ δὲ ῥήματος ἡ κομψότης τῆς τοῦ πράγματος αἰσχύνης οὐκ ἄφειλεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπώλεσαν ἐν Δεύκτραις ἀγωνισάμενοι κακῶς, ἡ δὲ δὸξα τῆς Ἡσπάρτης προσπώλετο ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἐκείναις.

3 "Ἀχρὶ μὲν οὖν ἐπρώτευεν ἡ Ἡσπάρτη, ξένον ἔποιείτο καὶ φίλου ὄνομαζεν ἐαυτοῦ τὸν 'Ἀνταλκίδαν ἐπει δὲ ἡττήθησαν ἐν Δεύκτραις, ταπεινὰ πράττοντες ἐδέοντο μὲν χρημάτων καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εἰς Ἀγαμπτον ἐξέπεμψαν, ὁ δὲ 'Ἀνταλκίδας ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην παρακάλων ἐπαρκέσαι τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοις. ὁ δ’ οὖτως εξημέλησε καὶ παρεῖδε καὶ ἀπέρριψεν αὐτόν, ὡστε καταβάντα καὶ χλευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, φοβοῦμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἀποκαρτησάμεν ἐστιν Ἀνεβη δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ
XXII. For this reason Artaxerxes, although he always held other Spartans in abomination, and considered them, as Deinon tells us, the most shameless of all mankind, showed great affection for Antalcidas when he came up to Persia. On one occasion he actually took a wreath of flowers, dipped it in the most costly ointment, and sent it to Antalcidas after supper; and all men wondered at the kindness. But Antalcidas was a fit person, as it would seem, to be exquisitely treated and to receive such a wreath, now that he had danced away among the Persians the fair fame of Leonidas and Callicratidas. For Agesilaüs, as it would appear, when someone said to him: "Alas for Greece, now that the Spartans are medizing," replied, "Are not the Medes the rather spartanizing?" However, the wittiness of the speech could not remove the shame of the deed, and the Spartans lost their supremacy in the disastrous battle of Leuctra, though the glory of Sparta had been lost before that by this treaty.

So long, then, as Sparta kept the first place in Greece, Artaxerxes treated Antalcidas as his guest and called him his friend; but after the Spartans had been defeated at Leuctra, they fell so low as to beg for money, and sent Agesilaüs to Egypt, while Antalcidas went up to Artaxerxes to ask him to supply the wants of the Lacedaemonians. The king, however, so neglected and slighted and rejected him that, when he came back home, being railed at by his enemies, and being in fear of the ephors, he starved himself to death.

Ismenias the Theban also, and Pelopidas, who had

1 Cf. the Pelopidas, xxx. 4.
2 In 371 B.C. Cf. the Agesilaüs, xxviii. 5.
Θηβαῖος καὶ Πελοπίδας ἦδη τὴν ἐν Δεύκτροις μάχην νεικηκώς. ἀλλ’ οὕτως μὲν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἔποιησεν. Ἰσμηνίας δὲ προσκυνήσας κελευόμενος ἐξέβαλε πρὸ αὐτοῦ χαμάξε τὸν δακτύλιον, εἰτὰ κύψας ἀνείλετο καὶ παρέσχε δόξαν προσκυνοῦντος. Τιμαγόρα δὲ τῷ 'Αθηναίῳ διὰ Βηλούριδος τοῦ γραμματέως εἰσπέμψατο γραμματίδιον ἀπόρρητον ἡσθείς μυρίους τε δαρεικούς ἔδωκε, καὶ γάλακτος θεοῦ διεμένω δὲ ἀσθενεῖαν ὅγον-κοντα βοῦς ἀμέλγεσθαι παρηκολούθουν· ἐτὶ δὲ κλίνῃ καὶ στρώματα καὶ τοὺς στρωμνύττας ἐπεμψε, ὡς οὐ μεμαθηκότων Ἑλλήνων ὑποστρω-νύναι, καὶ φορεῖς τοὺς κομίζοντας αὐτὸν μέχρι θαλάσσης μαλακῶς ἐχοντα. παρόντι δὲ δεῖπνον ἐπέμπτε το λαμπρότατον, ὅστε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, Ὀστάνην, "Ὄ Τιμαγόρα," φάναι, "μέμνησο ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης: οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικροῖς οὕτω σοι κεκοσμημένη παράκειται." τούτο δ’ ἣν ὄνειδισμὸς εἰς προδοσίαν μᾶλλον ἡ χάριτος ὑπόμνησις. Τιμαγόρον μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν δωροδο-κίαν Ἀθηναίοι θάνατον κατέγνωσαν.

XXIII. Ὅ δὲ 'Αρταξέρξης ἐν ἀντὶ πάντων ὃν ἐλύπει τοὺς Ἐλλήνας εὐφραίνει, Τισαφέρνην τὸν ἐγχιστὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ δυσμενέστατον ἀποκτείνας. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ ταῖς διαβολαῖς αὐτοῦ τῆς Παροσά-τιδος συνεπιθεμένης. οὐ γὰρ ἐνέμεινε τῇ ὀργῇ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ διηλλάγη τῇ μητρὶ καὶ μετεπέμψατο, νοῦν μὲν ὀρῶν ἔχουσαν

1 Cf. the Pelopidas, xxx. 1-3.
2 Cf. the Pelopidas, xxx. 6 f.
3 Cf. the Agesilaus, x. 3 f.
just been victorious in the battle of Leuctra, went up to the king. Pelopidas did nothing to disgrace himself; but Ismenias, when ordered to make the obeisance to the king, threw his ring down on the ground in front of him, and then stooped and picked it up, thus giving men to think that he was making the obeisance. With Timagoras the Athenian, however, who sent to him by his secretary, Beluris, a secret message in writing, the king was so pleased that he gave him ten thousand darics, and eighty milch cows to follow in his train because he was sick and required cow's milk; and besides, he sent him a couch, with bedding for it, and servants to make the bed (on the ground that the Greeks had not learned the art of making beds), and bearers to carry him down to the sea-coast, enfeebled as he was. Moreover, during his presence at court, he used to send him a most splendid supper, so that Ostanes, the brother of the king, said: "Timagoras, remember this table; it is no slight return which thou must make for such an array." Now this was a reproach for his treachery rather than a reminder of the king's favour. At any rate, for his venality, Timagoras was condemned to death by the Athenians.

XXIII. But there was one thing by which Artaxerxes gladdened the hearts of the Greeks, in return for all the evils which he wrought them, and that was his putting Tissaphernes to death, their most hated and malicious enemy. And he put him to death in consequence of accusations against him which were seconded by Parysatis. For the king did not long persist in his wrath against his mother, but was reconciled with her and summoned her to court, since he saw that she had intellect and a lofty
καὶ φρόνημα βασιλείας ἄξιον, αὐτίας δὲ μηδεμίας οὐσίας ἐμποδῶν ἐτι δι' ἡν ὑπόψονται συνόντες

2 ἀλλήλοις ἡ λυπησοῦσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάντα πρὸς χάριν ὑπουργοῦσα βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ πρὸς μηδὲν δὲν ἐκείνον ἐπραττε δυσκολαίνειν ἐχουσα τὸ δύνασθαι παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τυγχάνειν ἀπάντων, ἡσθετο τῆς ἐτέρας τῶν θυγατέρων, Ἀτόσσης, ἐρωτός ἔρωτα δεινὸν, ἐπικρυπτομένου δὲ δι' ἐκείνην οὐχ ἦκιστα καὶ κολάζοντος τὸ πάθος, ὡς φασιν ἐνιού, καίτοι γεγενημένης ἂν ἄν πρὸς τὴν

3 παρθένου ὁμιλίας αὐτῷ λαθραίας. ὡς οὖν ὑπώπτευσεν ἡ Παρύσατις, τῇ παίδα μᾶλλον ἡ προτεροὶ ἡσπαζετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην ἐπήνει τὸ τε κάλλος αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἦθος, ὡς βασιλικῆς καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς. τέλος οὖν ἡμῖν τὴν κόρην ἔπεισε καὶ γνησίαν ἀποδείξας γυναικα, χαίρειν ἐώςαντα δόξας Ἐλλήνων καὶ νόμους, Πέρσαις δὲ νόμον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δικαιωτῆς αἰσχρῶν

4 καὶ καλῶν ἀποδεεγμένου. ἐνιοί μὲντοι λέγουσιν, ὅν ἡστὶ καὶ Ἡρακλείδῆς ο Ὀμαῖος, οὐ μίαν μόνον τῶν θυγατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν, Ἀμηστρίνη, γημαί τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην, περί ἧς ὀλέγον ὑστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν. την δ' Ἀτοσῶν οὕτως ἡγάπησεν ὁ πατὴρ συνοικούσαν ὡστε ἀλφοὺ κατανεμηθέντος αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα δυσχεραῖν μὲν ἐπὶ

5 τούτῳ μηδ' ὀτιὸν, εὐχόμενος δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τῇ Ἡρᾶ προσκυνήσαι μόνην θεῶν ἐκείνην, ταῖς χερσὶ τῆς γῆς ἀψάμενος, δῶρα τῇ θεῷ τοσαῦτα πέμψαι τοὺς σατράπας καὶ φίλους αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ὡστε τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἐκκαίδεκα στάδια χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ πορφύρας καὶ ἵππων ἐμπλησθήματι.
spirit worthy of a queen, and since there was no longer any ground for their suspecting and injuring one another if they were together. After this she consulted the king's pleasure in all things, and by approving of everything that he did, acquired influence with him and achieved all her ends. She perceived that the king was desperately in love with one of his two daughters, Atossa, and that, chiefly on his mother's account, he was trying to conceal and restrain his passion, although some say that he had already had secret intercourse with the girl. When, accordingly, Parysatis became suspicious of the matter, she showed the girl more affection than before, and would speak to Artaxerxes in praise of her beauty and her disposition, saying that she was truly royal and magnificent. At last, then, she persuaded the king to marry the girl and proclaim her his lawful wife, ignoring the opinions and laws of the Greeks, and regarding himself as appointed by Heaven to be a law unto the Persians and an arbitrator of good and evil. Some, however, say, and among them is Heracleides of Cymé, that Artaxerxes married, not one of his daughters only, but also a second, Amestris, of whom we shall speak a little later.¹ Atossa, however, was so beloved by her father as his consort, that when her body was covered with leprosy he was not offended at this in the least, but offered prayers to Hera in her behalf, making his obeisance and clutching the earth before this goddess as he did before no other; while his satraps and friends, at his command, sent the goddess so many gifts that the sixteen furlongs between her sanctuary and the royal palace were filled with gold and silver and purple and horses.

¹ Chap. xxvii. 4.
XXIV. Πόλεμον δὲ πρὸς μὲν Αιγυπτίους διὰ Φαρναβάζου καὶ Ιφικράτους ἐξενεγκών ἀπέτυχε, στασιασάντων ἑκείνων· ἐπὶ δὲ Καδουσίους αὐτὸς ἑστράτευσε τριάκοντα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ μυρίους ἵππευσιν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ εἰς χώραν τραχύτητι χαλεπὴν καὶ ὀμιχλώδη καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σπόρου καρπῶν ἄγονον, ἀπίστος δὲ καὶ μήλοις καὶ τινοῦτοις ἄλλοις ἀκροδρύοις τρέφονταν ἀνθρώπους πολεμικοὺς καὶ θυμοειδεῖς, ἐλαθε μεγάλαις ἀπο-ρίαις καὶ κινδύνοις περιπεσάνω. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐδώδιμον ἦν λαμβάνειν οὐδὲ ἐξωθεὶν ἐπεισάγεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὑποξύγια μόνον κατέκοπτον, ὥστε ὄνον κεφαλὴν μόλις ὀρχικῶν ἱξῆκοντα ἄνιον εἶναι. τὸ δὲ βασιλικὸν δείπνον ἐξελείφθη καὶ τῶν ἵππων ὅλγοι περιήσαν ἑτὶ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐσθίοντες κατανηλώκεσαν.

'Ἐνταῦθα Τηρίβαζος, ἀνήρ πολλάκις μὲν ἐν πρώτῃ δι' ἀνδραγάθιαν τάξει γενόμενος, πολλάκις δὲ ἀπορριφεὶς διὰ κουφότητα καὶ τὸτε ταπεινὰ πράττων καὶ περιορόμενος, ἔσωσε βασιλέα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν. οὐνων γὰρ δυνέν ἐν τοῖς Καδουσίοις βασιλέων, ἔκατερον δὲ χωρὶς στρατοπε- δεύοντος, ἐντυχὼν τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ καὶ φράσας περὶ ὧν διενοεῖτο πράττειν, ἐβαδίζεν αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν ἔτερον τῶν Καδουσίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔτερον κρύφα τὸν ύιὸν ἔπεμπεν. ἐξηπάτα δὲ ἐκάτερον ἐκάτερος, λέγων ὡς ἄτερος ἐπιπρεπεῖται πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξῃ φιλίαν μόνῳ πράττων ἑαυτῷ καὶ συμμαχίαν· οὐκόν, εἰ σοφρονεὶ, χρῆναι πρότερον ἐντυγχάνειν ἑκείνῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ συμπράξειν ἀπάντα. 4 τούτοις ἐπείσθησαν ἀμφότεροι, καὶ φθάνειν ἀλλή-
XXIV. In the war which Pharnabazus and Iphicrates conducted for him against Egypt he was unsuccessful, owing to the dissensions of these commanders; against the Cadusians, therefore, he made an expedition in person, with three hundred thousand footmen and ten thousand horse. But the country which he penetrated was rough and hard to traverse, abounded in mists, and produced no grains, although its pears and apples and other such tree-fruits supported a warlike and courageous population. Unawares, therefore, he became involved in great distress and peril. For no food was to be got in the country or imported from outside, and they could only butcher their beasts of burden, so that an ass's head was scarcely to be bought for sixty drachmas. Moreover, the royal banquets were abandoned; and of their horses only a few were left, the rest having been consumed for food.

Here it was that Teribazus, a man whose bravery often set him in a leading place, but whose levity as often cast him down, so that at this time he was in disgrace and overlooked, saved the king and his army. For the Cadusians had two kings, and each of them encamped separately. So Teribazus, after an interview with Artaxerxes in which he told him what he purposed to do, went himself to one of the Cadusian kings, and sent his son secretly to the other. Each envoy, then, deceived his man, telling him that the other king was sending an embassy to Artaxerxes to secure friendship and alliance for himself alone: he should, therefore, if he were wise, have an interview with Artaxerxes before the other did, and he himself would help him all he could. Both kings were persuaded by this argument, and
λους νομίζοντες ὁ μὲν τῷ Τηριβάζῳ συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὁ δὲ τῷ παίδι τοῦ Τηριβάζου. διατριβής δὲ γενομένης ὕποψίας καὶ διαβολαὶ κατὰ τοῦ Τηριβάζου τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ προσέπιπτον, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑσθύμως εἶχε καὶ μετενέχει πιστεύσας τῷ Τηριβάζῳ, καὶ τοὺς φθονοῦσιν ἐγκαλεῖν παρεῖχεν.

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκεν ὁ Τηρίβαζος, ἦκε δὲ καὶ ὁ νίός αὐτοῦ τοὺς Καδουσίους ἁγοντες, ἐγένοντο δὲ σπονδαὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ εἰρήνη, μέγας δὲν ὁ Τηρίβαζος ἦδη καὶ λαμπρὸς ἀνεξεύγυμεν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπιδεικνυμένου πᾶσαν τὴν δειλίαν καὶ τὴν μαλακίαν οὐ τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας, ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἐκγονον οὐσαν, ἀλλὰ μοχθηρὰς φύσεως καὶ ἀγεννοῦς καὶ δόξας πονηραῖς

6 ἐπομένης. οὐτε γὰρ χρυσὸς οὔτε κάνδυς οὔτε ὁ τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχίλιων ταλάντων περικείμενος ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλέως σώματι κόσμος ἐκεῖνον ἀπεκώλυεν πονεῖν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν, ὡσπερ οἱ τυχόντες, ἀλλὰ τὴν τε φαρέτραν ἐνημέμενος καὶ τὴν πέλτην φέρων αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζε πρῶτος ὁδὸς ὀρεινᾶς καὶ προσάντεις, ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἱππόν, ὡστε τοὺς ἄλλους πτεροῦσθαι καὶ συνεπικουφίζεσθαι τὴν ἐκείνου προθυμίαν καὶ ῥώμην ὀρῶντας καὶ γὰρ διακοσίων καὶ πλειόνων σταδίων κατήνυνεν ἥμερας ἐκάστης πορείαν.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς σταθμὸν κατέβη βασιλικὸν παραδείσους ἔχοντα θαυμαστοὺς καὶ κεκοσμημένους διαπρέποντα ἐν τῷ πέριξ ἁδενδρῷ καὶ ψιλῷ χωρίῳ, κρύον όντος, ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρατιώτασις ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ἕνωσε σεβαστὰς τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντας, 2 μῆτε πεύκης μῆτε κυπαρίστου φειδομένους.
each thinking that he was anticipating the other, one sent his envoys along with Teribazus, and the other with the son of Teribazus. But matters were delayed, and suspicions and calumnies against Teribazus came to the ears of Artaxerxes; he himself also was ill at ease, and repented him of having put confidence in Teribazus, and gave occasion to his rivals to malign him. But at last Teribazus came, and his son came too, both bringing their Cadusian envoys, and a peace was ratified with both kings; whereupon Teribazus, now a great and splendid personage, set out for home with the king. And the king now made it plain that cowardice and effeminacy are not always due to luxury and extravagance, as most people suppose, but to a base and ignoble nature under the sway of evil doctrines. For neither gold nor robe of state nor the twelve thousand talents' worth of adornment which always enveloped the person of the king prevented him from undergoing toils and hardships like an ordinary soldier; nay, with his quiver girt upon him and his shield on his arm he marched in person at the head of his troops, over precipitous mountain roads, abandoning his horse, so that the rest of the army had wings given them and felt their burdens lightened when they saw his ardour and vigour; for he made daily marches of two hundred furlongs and more.

XXV. At length he came down to a royal halting-place which had admirable parks in elaborate cultivation, although the region round about was bare and treeless; and since it was cold, he gave permission to his soldiers to cut the trees of the park for wood, sparing neither pine nor cypress. And when they
νοῦντων δὲ καὶ φειδομένων διὰ τὰ κάλλη καὶ τὰ μεγέθη, λαβὼν πέλεκυν αὐτὸς ὅπερ ἦν μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον τῶν φυτῶν ἔκοψεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου χυλιζόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ πυρὰ ποιοῦντες εὐμαρῶς ἐνυκτέρευσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀποβαλών ἄνδρας, ἵππους δὲ ὀμοῦ τι πάντας

3 ἐπανήλθε. καὶ δόξας καταφρονεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἄτυχίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπότευξιν τῆς στρατείας, ἐν ὑποψίαις εἰχε τοὺς πρώτους· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς ὁργήν, πλείονας δὲ φοβούμενος. ἦ γὰρ δειλία φονικότατον ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς τυραννίσιν, ἱλεων δὲ καὶ πράοι καὶ ἀνύποπτον ἡ θαρραλείς. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ ἀτιθάσευτα καὶ δυσεξημέρωτα ψυφοδεῖ καὶ δείλα, τὰ δὲ γειναία πιστεύοντα μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν οὐ φεύγει τὰς φιλοφροσύνας.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης ἦδη πρεσβύτερος ὡν ἡσθάνετο τοὺς νίκους ἄγωνα περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἔχοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐγνώμονες ἦξιον, ὡς ἑλαβεν αὐτὸς, οὕτως ἀπολίπετο πρεσβεία Δαρείῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ νεώτατος Ὁχος ὡξὺς ὥν καὶ βίαῖος εἰχε μὲν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειον οὐκ ὁλογος σπουδαστάς, ἦλπιζε δὲ μάλιστα κατεργάσεσθαι τὸν πατέρα

2 διὰ τῆς Ἀτόσσης. ἐκείνην γὰρ ἑθεράτευεν ὡς γαμησομένην καὶ συμβασιλεύσουσαν αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν. ἦν δὲ λόγος ὅτι καὶ ξώντος ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῇ πλησιάζων. ἀλλὰ τούτο

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hesitated and were inclined to spare the trees on account of their great size and beauty, he took an axe himself and cut down the largest and most beautiful tree. After this the men provided themselves with wood, and making many fires, passed the night in comfort. Nevertheless, he lost many and brave men, and almost all his horses before he reached home. And now, thinking that his subjects despised him because of the disastrous failure of his expedition, he was suspicious of his chief men; many of these he put to death in anger, and more out of fear. For it is cowardly fear in a tyrant that leads to most bloodshed; but bold confidence makes him gracious and mild and unsuspicous. So also among wild beasts, those that are refractory and hardest to tame are timorous and fearful, whereas the nobler sorts are led by their courage to put more confidence in men, and do not reject friendly advances.

XXVI. But Artaxerxes, being now advanced in years, perceived that his sons were forming rival parties among his friends and chief men with reference to the royal succession. For the conservatives thought it right that, as he himself had received the royal power by virtue of seniority, in like manner he should leave it to Dareius. But his youngest son, Ochus, who was of an impetuous and violent disposition, not only had many adherents among the courtiers, but hoped for most success in winning over his father through the aid of Atossa. For he sought to gain Atossa’s favour by promising that she should be his wife and share the throne with him after the death of his father. And there was a report that even while his father was alive Ochus had secret relations with Atossa. But Artaxerxes
μὲν ἡγούμενος ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης ταχὺ δὲ βουλόμενος ἐκκρούσαι τῖς ἐλπίδος τῶν Ὑχου, ὅπως μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ Κῦρῳ τολμήσαντος αὐτὸν πόλεμοι καὶ ἀγώνες ἀνθίς καταλάβωσι τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀνέδειξε τὸν Δαρείου βασιλέα πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότα, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην κίταριν ὅρθην
3 φέρειν ἐδώκε. νόμον δὲ ὄντος ἐν Πέρσαις δωρεάν αἵτειν τὸν ἀναδειχθέντα καὶ διδόναι τὸν ἀναδει-
ξάντα πᾶν τὸ αἰτηθέν, ἀυτῷ ἣ δυνατόν, ἤτησεν Ἀσπασίαν ὁ Δαρείος τὴν μᾶλιστα σπουδασθεί-
σαν ὑπὸ Κῦρου, τότε δὲ τῷ βασιλεὶ παλλακευ-
ομένην. ἢν δὲ Φωκάς τὸ γένος ἀπ' Ἰωνίας,
4 ἐλευθέρων γονέων καὶ τεθραμμένης κοσμίως. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κῦρου δειπνούντος εἰσήκθη μεθ' ἐτέρων γυναι-
κῶν, αἱ μὲν ἄλλα παρακαθέξομεναι προσπαί-
ζοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπομένου καὶ σκώπτοντος οὐκ ἰχθῶς ἐνεδέχοντο τὰς φιλοφροσύνας, ἔκειν ὑπὲρ
παρὰ τὴν κλίνην εἰστήκει σιωπὴ καὶ Κῦρο
καλοῦντος οὐχ ὑπῆκουν βουλομένων δὲ προσ-
ἀγει τῶν κατευναστῶν, "Οὐμόθεται μέντοι τού-
των," εἶπεν, "ὅσ ἂν ἐμοὶ προσαγάγῃ τὰς χειρὰς." ἔδοξεν οὖν ἄξαρχος τοῖς παροῦσιν εἶναι καὶ ἄγορι-
5 κος. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἰσθιεὶς ἐγέλασε, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς
τῶν ἄγαγοντα τὰς γυναικάς, "Αρά ἢδη συνορᾶς
ὅτι μοι μόνῳ ταύτην ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον ἢκεὶς κομίζων;" ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσεῖχεν ἀρξά-
μενος αὐτῇ, καὶ μᾶλιστα πασῶν ἔστερξε καὶ
σοφὴν προσηγόρευσεν. ἐάλῳ δὲ Κῦρου πεσόντος
ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ διαρραξόμενον τοῦ στρατοπέδου.
ΧΧVII. Ταύτην ὁ Δαρείος αἰτήσας ἤνισε τὸν

1 Cf. Xenophon, Anab. i. 10. 2; Plutarch, Pericles, xxiv. 7.
was ignorant of this; and wishing to shatter at once the hopes of Ochus, that he might not venture upon the same course as Cyrus and so involve the kingdom anew in wars and contests, he proclaimed Dareiis, then fifty years of age, his successor to the throne, and gave him permission to wear the upright "kitanis," as the tiara was called. Now, there was a custom among the Persians that the one appointed to the royal succession should ask a boon, and that the one who appointed him should give whatever was asked, if it was within his power. Accordingly, Dareius asked for Aspasia, who had been the special favourite of Cyrus, and was then a concubine of the king. She was a native of Phocaea, in Ionia, born of free parents, and fittingly educated. Once when Cyrus was at supper she was led in to him along with other women. The rest of the women took the seats given them, and when Cyrus proceeded to sport and dally and jest with them, showed no displeasure at his friendly advances. But Aspasia stood by her couch in silence, and would not obey when Cyrus called her; and when his chamberlains would have led her to him, she said: "Verily, whosoever lays his hands upon me shall rue the day." The guests therefore thought her a graceless and rude creature. But Cyrus was delighted, and laughed, and said to the man who had brought the women: "Dost thou not see at once that this is the only free and unperverted woman thou hast brought me?" From this time on he was devoted to her, and loved her above all women, and called her The Wise. She was taken prisoner when Cyrus fell in the battle at Cunaxa and his camp was plundered.¹

XXVII. This was the woman for whom Dareiis
πατέρας δύσεξιλα γὰρ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ δεινῶς περὶ τὸ ἀκόλαστον, ὡστε μὴ μόνον τὸν προσελθόντα καὶ θυγόντα παλλακῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐν πορείᾳ προεξελθόντα καὶ διεξελάσαντα τὰς ἀμάξας ἐφ’ αἰσ κομίζονται, θανάτῳ κολάζεσθαι.

2 καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀτοσσαν εἶχεν ἔρωτι ποιησάμενος γυναῖκα παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐξήκοντα δὲ καὶ τριακόσιαν παρατρέφοντο κάλλει διαφέρονσαν παλλακίδες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτηθεῖς ἐκείνην ἐλευθέραν ἐφησεν εἶναι καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσε βουλομένην, ἀκουσαν δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι. μεταπεμφθείης δὲ τῆς Ἀσπασίας καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδας τοῦ βασιλέως ἑλομένης τὸν Δαρείου, ἐδωκέ μὲν ὑπ’ ἀνάλκης τοῦ ρόμου, δοὺς δὲ ὀλίγον ύστερον

3 ἀφείλετο. τῆς γὰρ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Ἕκβαστανοις, ἦν Ἀναίτων καλοῦσιν, ίέρειαν ἀνέδειξεν αὐτὴν, ὅπως ἀγνὴ διάγη τὸν ἐπιλοιπὸν βίον, οἰόμενος οὐ χαλεπῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετρίαν τινὰ καὶ παιδιὰ μεμυγμένην ταύτην λήψεσθαι δίκην παρὰ τοῦ παιδός. ο ὅ’ ἤνεγκεν οὐ μετρίως, εἴτ’ ἔρωτι τῆς Ἀσπασίας περιπαθῆς γεγονός, εἴτε ὑβρίσθαι καὶ κεχλευάσθαι νομίζων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός.

4 Λισθόμενος δ’ αὐτῶν οὗτως ἔχοντα Τηρίβαξος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετράχυνεν, ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου συνιδὼν τὰ καθ’ αὐτῶν. ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα. πλειώνων οὕσων βασιλεῖ θυγατέρων ὁμολόγησε Φαριβάξῳ μὲν Ἄπαμιν δώσειν γυναῖκα, Ῥοδογούνην δὲ Ὕροντὶ,
asked, and he gave offence thereby to his father; for the Barbarian folk are terribly jealous in all that pertains to the pleasures of love, so that it is death for a man, not only to come up and touch one of the royal concubines, but even in journeying to go along past the waggons on which they are conveyed. And yet there was Atossa, whom the king passionately loved and had made his wife contrary to the law, and he kept three hundred and sixty concubines also, who were of surpassing beauty. However, since he had been asked for Aspasia, he said that she was a free woman, and bade his son take her if she was willing, but not to constrain her against her wishes. So Aspasia was summoned, and contrary to the hopes of the king, chose Dareius. And the king gave her to Dareius under constraint of the custom that prevailed, but a little while after he had given her, he took her away again. That is, he appointed her a priestess of the Artemis of Ecbatana, who bears the name of Anaitis, in order that she might remain chaste for the rest of her life, thinking that in this way he would inflict a punishment upon his son which was not grievous, but actually quite within bounds and tinctured with pleasantry. The resentment of Dareius, however, knew no bounds, either because he was deeply stirred by his passion for Aspasia, or because he thought that he had been insulted and mocked by his father.

And now Teribazus, who became aware of the prince's feelings, sought to embitter him still more, finding in his grievance a counterpart of his own, which was as follows. The king had several daughters, and promised to give Apama in marriage to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes, and Amestris
Τηρίβαξο δὲ Ἄμηστριν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἔδωκε, Τηρίβαξον δὲ ἐψεύσατο γῆμας αὐτῶς τὴν Ἀμηστριν, ἀντὶ ἔκεινης δὲ τῷ Τηρίβαξῳ τὴν 5 νεωτάτην Ἀτοσσαν ἐνεγύγησεν. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ταύτην ἔρασθεὶς ἔγγυεν, ὡς εἰρήται, παντάπασι δυσμενῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν οὗ Τηρίβαξος ἐσχεν, οὔδὲ ἄλλως στάσιμος ὑπὸ τὸ ἥθος, ἀλλ’ ἀνώμαλος καὶ παράφορος. διὸ καὶ τὸν εὐήμερον ὁμοία τοῖς πρῶτοι, νῦν δὲ προσκρούοι καὶ σκορακεύ- μενος οὔδεμιᾶν ἐφερεν ἐμμελῆς μεταβολήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμώμενος ἡν ἑπαχθῆς ὑπὸ χαυνότητος, καὶ τὸ κολουόμενον οὐ ταπεινὸν οὔδὲ ἑσυχαῖον, ἀλλὰ τραχὺ καὶ ἀγέρωχον εἶχε.

XXVIII. Πῦρ οὖν ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐγένετο τῷ νεανίσκῳ προσκείμενος ὁ Τηρίβαξος ἀεὶ καὶ λέγων ὡς οὐδὲν ὄλυνησιν ἡ κύταρις ἐστῶσα περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς ὑφ’ αὐτῶν μὴ ἄντούντας ὀρθούσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, κάκεινον ἀβέλτερα φρονεῖν, εἰ, τοῦ μὲν ἀδελφοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐνδυομένου τοῖς πράγμασι, τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς οὕτως ἐμπληκτὸν ἥθος καὶ ἀβέβαιον ἔχοντος, οἶεται βέβαιον αὐτῷ τὴν 2 διαδοχὴν ὑπάρχειν. ὁ γὰρ Ἐλληνικοῦ χάριν γυναὶκὸν τὸν ἀψευστὸν ἐν Πέρσαις οὐσάμενος νόμων οὐ δὴ που πιστὸς ἐστὶ τὰς περὶ τῶν μεγί- στων ὀμολογίας ἐμπεδώσειν. οὐ ταύτῳ δ’ εἶναι τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν ὁχθ’ κάκεινος τὸ στέρεοθαι τῆς βασιλείας. Οὐχον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲνα κωλύσειν ἴδιωτὴν βιούν μακαρίως, ἐκεῖνος δ’ ἀποδεδειγμένῳ βασιλεῖ βασιλεύειν ἀνάγκην ἡ μηδὲ ξῆν εἶναι.

1 Chap. xxiii. 2 ff. 2 Cf. chap. xxvi. 2.
to Teribazus. He kept his promise to the other two, but broke his word to Teribazus and married Amestris himself, betrothing in her stead to Teribazus his youngest daughter, Atossa. But soon he fell enamoured of Atossa also and married her, as has been said,¹ and then Teribazus became a downright foe to him. Teribazus was at no time of a stable disposition, but uneven and precipitate. And so, when he would be at one time in highest favour, and at another would find himself in disgrace and spurned aside, he could not bear either change of fortune with equanimity, but if he was held in honour his vanity made him offensive, and when he fell from favour he was not humble or quiet, but harsh and ferocious.

XXVIII. Accordingly, it was adding fire to fire when Teribazus attached himself to the young prince and was forever telling him that the tiara standing upright on the head ² was of no use to those who did not seek by their own efforts to stand upright in affairs of state, and that he was very foolish if, when his brother was insinuating himself into affairs of state by way of the harem, and his father was of a nature so fickle and insecure, he could suppose that the succession to the throne was securely his. Surely he whom regard for a Greek courtesan had led to violate the inviolable custom of the Persians, could not be trusted to abide by his agreements in the most important matters. Moreover, he said it was not the same thing for Ochus not to get the kingdom and for Dareius to be deprived of it; for no one would hinder Ochus from living happily in private station, but Dareius had been declared king, and must needs be king or not live at all.
Καθόλου μὲν οὖν ἵσως, τὸ Σοφόκλειον,
tαχεία πειθῶ τῶν κακῶν ὀδοιπορεῖ.

λεία γάρ τις ἡ πορεία καὶ κατάντης ἐπὶ τὸ βουλό-

μενον. Βουλοῦται δὲ οἱ πλείστοι τὰ φαύλα δι’ ἀπειρίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἄγνωσις οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
tὸ μέγεθος τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ἡ

χον τοῦ Δαρείου δέος ὑπόθεσιν τὸ Τηριβάζω παρ-

εἴχε. Κυριογένεια δ’ οὐ πάμπαν ἀναιτίος, ἡ
tῆς Ἀσπασίας ἀφαίρεσις.

XXIX. Ἐπέδωκεν οὖν ἐαυτὸν τῷ Τηριβάζῳ·

καὶ πολλῶν ήδη συνισταμένων, εὐνοῦχος ἐδήλωσε τῷ

βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, εἰδὼς

ἀκριβῶς ὅτι νυκτὸς ἐγνώκασιν ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ

κατακείμενον ἀναίρεων οὗτον ἐπεισελθόντες. ἀκού-

σαντι δὲ τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ καὶ τῷ παριδεῖν κύδυνον

τηλικοῦτοι, ἀμελήσαντα τῆς διαβολῆς, δεινὸν

ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ πιστεύει τῷ ἀδείς ἐλέγχου γενο-

2 μένου δεινότερον. οὕτως οὖν ἐποίει· τὸν μὲν

εὐνοῦχον ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευσε παρεῖναι καὶ παρ-

ακολουθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ θαλάμου τὸν ὀπίσθεν
tῆς κλίνης τοῖχον ἐκκόψας καὶ θυρώσας κατ-

εκάλυψεν αὐλαία τὰς θύρας. ἐνστάσας δὲ τῆς

ώρας καὶ φράσαντος τοῦ εὐνοῦχου τῶν καιρῶν,

ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης υπέμεινε καὶ οὐκ ἐξανέστη πρό-

τερον ἢ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔρχομενον τὰ πρόσωπα

3 κατεδεῖν καὶ γνωρίσαι σαφῶς ἐκαστὸν. ὡς δὲ

εἶδεν ἐσπασμένους τὰ ἐγχειρίδια καὶ προσφερο-

μένους, ταχὺ τὴν αὐλαίαν ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεχώρησεν

ARTAXERXES xxviii. 3–xxix. 3

Now, perhaps it is generally true, as Sophocles says,¹ that—

"Swiftly doth persuasion unto evil conduct make its way";

for smooth and downward sloping is the passage to what a man desires, and most men desire the bad through inexperience and ignorance of the good. However, it was the greatness of the empire and the fear which Dareius felt towards Ochus that paved the way for Teribazus although, since Aspasia had been taken away, the Cyprus-born goddess of love was not altogether without influence in the case.

XXIX. Accordingly, Dareius put himself in the hands of Teribazus; and presently, when many were in the conspiracy, an eunuch made known to the king the plot and the manner of it, having accurate knowledge that the conspirators had resolved to enter the king's chamber by night and kill him in his bed. When Artaxerxes heard the eunuch's story, he thought it a grave matter to neglect the information and ignore so great a peril, and a graver still to believe it without any proof. He therefore acted on this wise. He charged the eunuch to attend closely upon the conspirators; meanwhile he himself cut away the wall of his chamber behind the bed, put a doorway there, and covered the door with a hanging. Then, when the appointed hour was at hand and the eunuch told him the exact time, he kept his bed and did not rise from it until he saw the faces of his assailants and recognised each man clearly. But when he saw them advancing upon him with drawn swords, he quickly drew aside the
eis to éntos oíkēma kai tás thūras épírrapaxe
kražoun. oφθέντεs ouv oi σφαγεις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
přá̂xantos de μυθέν, ἀπεχώρουν φυγῇ διὰ θυρῶν,
kaĩ tous peri ton Tηρίβαζον ἐκέλευον ἀποχωρεῖν

4 ὡς φανεροὺς γεγονότας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι διαλυ-
thέντεs ἐφυγον: ὁ de Tηρίβαζος συλλαβάβανόμενος
πολλοὺs ἀνέκτευεν τῶν βασιλέως δορυφόρων καὶ
μόγιs ἀκοντίω πληγεῖς πόρρωθεν ἑπεσε. τῷ de
Δαρείῳ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀναχέντει καθίσας τοὺs
βασιλείουs δικαστάς, οὐ παρὼν αὐτός, ἀλλ' ἐτέρων
κατηγορησάντων, ἐκέλευσεν ὑπηρέτας τὴn
ἐκάστον γράψαμένουs ἀπόφασιν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπανε-

5 νεγκεῖν. ἀποφηναμένων de πάντων ὀρμώωs καὶ
καταγγύ̂ντων τοῦ Δαρείου θύατον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέ-
tai συλλαβάβοντεs αὐτὸν eis oíkēma πλησίον ἀπ-
ήγαγον, ὁ de δήμιος κλήθεις ἤκε μὲν ἐξυρόν ἔχον,
ὁ tás kefalās ἀποτέμνουσι τῶν κολαζομένων,
ἵδων de tòν Δαρείον ἔξεπλάγη καὶ ἄνεχώρει πρὸς
tás thūra ἀποβλέπων, ὦ; οὐ δυνησόμενος οὔδε

6 τολμή̂σων αὐτόχειρ γενέσθαι βασιλέως. ἔξωθεν
de tòν δικαστῶν ἀπειλοῦντων καὶ διακελευομένων
ἀναστρέψας καὶ tῆ ἐτέρα χειρὶ δραξάμενος tῆs
κόμης αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγγαλω ἀπέτεμε τῷ ἐξυρῷ
tὸν τράχηλον.

"Ἐνιοὶ de fasi tīn krisin genvē̂sai basileōs
aughto parontos, toû de Darēioun, ὡς katelemb-
βάνετo toîs elēγχois, ἐπὶ στόμα pēsônta deîsthai
7 kai ikeutēûn. toû de ὑπ' ὀργῆs anastά̂nta kai
spasámēnov tòn akinākhn túpstein ἐωs ἀνεκτεινεν.
hanging, retired into the inner chamber, closed the
door with a slam, and raised a cry. The murderers,
accordingly, having been seen by the king, and
having accomplished nothing, fled back through the
door by which they had come, and told Teribazus
and his friends to be off since their plot was known.
The rest, then, were dispersed and fled; but Teri-
bazus slew many of the king's guards as they sought
to arrest him, and at last was smitten by a spear at
long range, and fell. Dareius, together with his
children, was brought to the king, who consigned
him to the royal judges for trial. The king was not
present in person at the trial, but others brought in
the indictment. However, the king ordered clerks
to take down in writing the opinion of each judge
and bring them all to him. All the judges were of
one opinion and condemned Dareius to death, where-
upon the servants of the king seized him and led him
away into a chamber near by, whither the executioner
was summoned. The executioner came, with a sharp
knife in his hand, wherewith the heads of condemned
persons are cut off; but when he saw Dareius, he
was confounded, and retired towards the door with
averted gaze, declaring that he could not and would
not take the life of a king. But since the judges
outside the door plied him with threats and com-
mands, he turned back, and with one hand clutching
Dareius by the hair, dragged him to the ground, and
cut off his head with the knife.

Some say, however, that the trial was held in the
presence of the king, and that Dareius, when he was
overwhelmed by the proofs, fell upon his face and
begged and sued for mercy; but Artaxerxes rose up
in anger, drew his scimitar, and smote him till he

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είτα εἰς τὴν αὐλήν προελθοῦτα τὸν "Ηλιον προσκυνήσαι καὶ εἶπείν: "Εὐθραίνεσθε ἀπίοντες, ὁ Πέρσαι, καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι τοῖς ἄθεσμα καὶ παράνομα διανοθεῖσιν ὦ μέγας Ὄρομάζης δίκην ἐπιτείθεικεν."

XXX. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιβουλὴ τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τέλος. ο νὲν Ὁχος ἦδη μὲν ἣν ταῖς ἐλπίσι λαμπρὸς υπὸ τῆς Ἀτόσσης ἐπαιρόμενος, ἔτι δὲ ἐφοβεῖτο τῶν μὲν γυνσίων τὸν ὕπόλοιπον Ἀριάσπην, τῶν δὲ νόθων Ἀρσάμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριάσπης οὐ διὰ τὸ πρεσβύτερον εἶναι τοῦ Ὁχου, πράος δὲ καὶ ἄπλοι καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ἥξιοῦτο βασιλεύειν υπὸ τῶν Περσῶν. ο νὲν Ἀρσάμης καὶ νοῦν ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ μάλιστα τῷ πατρὶ προσφιλῆς ὡν οὐκ ἐλαύνανε τὸν Ὁχον. ἐπιβουλεύον οὖν ἀμφότερος καὶ δολερός ὅν ὦμοι καὶ φονικὸς ἐχρήσατο τῇ μὲν ὠμότητι τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὸν Ἀρσάμην, τῇ δὲ κακουργίᾳ καὶ δεινότητι πρὸς τὸν Ἀριάσπην. ὑπέπεμψε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοῦχους καὶ φίλους βασιλέως ἀπειλᾶς τινας ἀεὶ καὶ λόγους φοβεροὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας, ὡς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγνωκότος ἀποκτυνεῖν αὐτὸν ὠμοῖς καὶ ἐφυβρίστως. ο νὲν ταῦτα καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ἐκφέρειν δοκοῦντες ὡς ἀπόρρητα, καὶ τὰ μὲν μέλλειν, τὰ δὲ ὅσον οὕπω πρᾶσσει βασιλέα λέγοντες, οὗτος ἐξέπληξαν τὸν ἀνθρωπον καὶ τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλον πτοίαν αὐτῷ καὶ ταραχήν καὶ δυσθυμίαν εἰς τοὺς λογισμοὺς, ὡστε φάρμακον σκευάσαντα τῶν θανασίμων καὶ πιόντα τοῦ ξῆν ἀπαλλαγῆναι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν τρόπον τῆς τελευτῆς, ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπέκλαυσε, τὴν δ᾽ αἰτίαν ὑπόπτευεν. ἐλέγχειν δὲ καὶ ξητείν ἐξαδυνατῶν διὰ γῆρας ἐτὶ 200.
had killed him; then, going forth into court, he made obeisance to the sun and said: "Depart in joy and peace, ye Persians, and say to all whom ye meet that those who contrived impious and unlawful things have been punished by great Oromasdes."

XXX. Such, then, was the end of the conspiracy. And now Ochus was sanguine in the hopes with which Atossa inspired him, but he was still afraid of Ariaspes, the only legitimate son of the king remaining, and also of Arsames among the illegitimate sons. For Ariaspes, not because he was older than Ochus, but because he was mild and straightforward and humane, was deemed by the Persians worthy to be their king; Arsames, however, was thought to have wisdom, and the fact that he was especially dear to his father was not unknown to Ochus. Accordingly, he plotted against the lives of both, and being at once wily and bloody-minded, he brought the cruelty of his nature into play against Arsames, but his villainy and craft against Ariaspes. For he secretly sent to Ariaspes eunuchs and friends of the king, who constantly brought him word of sundry threatening and terrifying utterances implying that his father had determined to put him to a cruel and shameful death. Since they pretended that these daily reports of theirs were secrets of state, and declared, now that the king was delaying in the matter, and now that he was on the point of acting, they so terrified the prince, and filled his mind with so great trepidation, confusion, and despair, that he drank a deadly poison which he had prepared, and thus rid himself of life. When the king was informed of the manner of his death, he bewailed his son. He also suspected what had caused his death, but being
μᾶλλον ἡσπάζετο τῶν ’Αρσάμην, καὶ δήλος ἦν μᾶλιστα πιστεύων ἐκείνῳ καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος. ὅθεν οἱ περὶ τὸν ’Ωχον οὐκ ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ’ Ἀρπάτην νῦν Τηριβάζου παρασκευάσαντες ἀπέκτειναν δὲ ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

ὁ οὖν ἐπὶ ροπῆς μικράς ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἢδη τότε προσπεσόντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἀρσάμην πάθους οὐδὲ ὁλίγον ἀντέσχεν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ ἑυσθυμίας ἀπεσβέσθη, βιώσας μὲν ἑνενήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ δύο καὶ ἑξήκοντα, δόξας δὲ πράος εἶναι καὶ φίλυπήκος οὗ ἡκιστα διὰ τὸν νῦν ’Ωχον ὡμότητι καὶ μιαφονίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενον.
unable by reason of his age to search out and convict the guilty one, he was still more well-affectioned towards Arsames, and clearly made him his chief support and confidant. Wherefore Ochus would not postpone his design, but set Arpates, a son of Teribazus, to the task and by his hand slew the prince. Now Artaxerxes, by reason of his age, was already hovering between life and death; and when the sad fate of Arsames came to his ears, he could not hold out even a little while, but straightway expired of grief and despair. He had lived ninety-four years, and had been king sixty-two, and had the reputation of being gentle and fond of his subjects; though this was chiefly due to his son Ochus, who surpassed all men in cruelty and blood-guiltiness.
ГАЛВАΣ

1. 'Ο μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Ἰφικράτης τὸν μισθοφόρον ἥξιον στρατιώτην καὶ φιλόπλουτον εἶναι καὶ 
φιλήδονον, οπως ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χορηγίαν ἐπιζητῶν ἀγωνίζεται παραβολώτερον, οἵ δὲ πλείστοι,
καθάπερ ἐρρωμένον σῶμα, τῷ στρατιωτικῷ ἀξιούσιν ἴδια μηδέποτε χρώμενον ὀρμῇ συγκινεῖσθαι

2 τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. διὸ καὶ Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον 
λέγοντι τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δύναμιν παραλαβόντα 
λαλιᾶς καὶ περιεργίας, οἶνον διαστρατηγοῦσαν,
ἀνάπλεων, παρεγγυησάν τὴν χεῖρα ποιεῖν ἐτοίμην 
καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ὀξείαν ἔκαστον, αὐτῷ δὲ 

3 τῶν ἄλλων μελησειν. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων οὐδὲν ἐργόν 
ὄρων ἀρχοντος ἁγαθοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῦ στρατιὰς 
μὴ σωφρονούσης μηδὲ ὀμοπαθοῦσης, ἀλλὰ τὴν 
πειθαρχικὴν ἀρετὴν ὁμοίως τῇ βασιλικῇ νομίζων 
φύσεως γενναίας καὶ τροφῆς φιλοσόφου δείσθαι,
μάλιστα τῷ πράψῃ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τῷ θυμοειδέ 
καὶ δραστήριον ἐμμελῶς ἀνακεραυνυμένης, ἀλλὰ 
τε πάθη πολλὰ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαιῶς συμπεσόντα 
μετὰ τὴν Νέρωνος τελευτὴν ἔχει μαρτύρια καὶ 
παραδείγματα τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι φοβερώτερον ἀπαι-

1 With Plutarch's Galba may be compared Suetonius, 
Galba; Dion Cassius, lxiv. 1-9; Tacitus, Hist. i. 1-45.

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I. Iphicrates the Athenian used to think that the mercenary soldier might well be fond of wealth and fond of pleasure, in order that his quest for the means to gratify his desires might lead him to fight with greater recklessness; but most people think that a body of soldiers, just like a natural body in full vigour, ought to have no initiative of its own, but should follow that of its commander. Wherefore Paulus Aemilius, as we are told, finding that the army which he had taken over in Macedonia was infected with loquacity and meddlesomeness, as though they were all generals, gave out word that each man was to have his hand ready and his sword sharp, but that he himself would look out for the rest. Moreover, Plato sees that a good commander or general can do nothing unless his army is amenable and loyal; and he thinks that the quality of obedience, like the quality characteristic of a king, requires a noble nature and a philosophic training, which, above all things, blends harmoniously the qualities of gentleness and humanity with those of high courage and aggressiveness. Many dire events, and particularly those which befell the Romans after the death of Nero, bear witness to this, and show plainly that an empire has—nothing more fearful to

2 See the Aemilius, xiii. 4.
3 Cf. e. g. Republic 376 C.
δεύτερος χρωμένης καὶ ἀλόγους ὀρμαίς εν ἡγεμονίᾳ
4 στρατωτικῆς δυνάμεως. Δημάδης μὲν γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος εἰκαζε τὴν Μακε-
δόνων στρατιὰν ἐκτετυφλωμένην τῷ Κύκλωπι, πολλὰς κινομένην ὀρῶν κινήσεις ἀπάκτους καὶ
παραφόρους τὴν δὲ Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ὀμοία
tοῖς λεγομένοις Τιτανικοῖς πάθει καὶ κινήμασι
κατελάμβανεν, εἰς πολλὰ διασπωμένην ἀμι καὶ
πολλαχόθεν αὐθις ἑαυτῇ συμπίπτουσαν, οὐχ
οὕτως ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας τῶν ἀναγορευομένων αὐτο-
κρατόιων, ὡς φιλοπλούτιας καὶ ἀκολασίας τοῦ
στρατιωτικοῦ δὲ ἄλληλων ὠσπερ ἠλόως τοὺς
5 ἡγεμόνας ἐκκρούοντος. καίτοι Διονύσιος Φεραῖον
ἀρέσαντα Θετταλῶν δέκα μῆνας, εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀν-
αιρεθέντα, τὸν τραγικὸν ἀνεκάλει τυραννῷ, ἔπνευ-
σκόπτοι τὸ τάχος τῆς μεταβολῆς. ἦ δὲ τῶν
Καίσαρων ἑστία, τὸ Παλάτιον, ἐν ἑλάσσονι χρό-
νῳ τέσσαρας αὐτοκράτορας ὑπεδέξατο, τὸν μὲν
εἰσαγόντων ὠσπερ διὰ σκηνῆς, τὸν δὲ ἐξαγόντων.
ἄλλῳ ἦν γε παραμυθία τοῖς κακῶς πᾶσχοντι μὲν
τὸ μὴ δειθήναι δίκης ἐτέρας ἐπὶ τοὺς αὕτους, ἄλλῳ
ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς υφ’ ἑαυτῶν φονευομένους, πρῶτον δὲ
καὶ δικαιότατα πάντων τὸν δελεάσαντα καὶ δι-
δαξαντα τοσοῦτον ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ μεταβολή Καίσα-
ρος ὁσον αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο, κάλλιστον ἔργον δια-
βαλὼν τῷ μισθῷ, τὴν ἀπὸ Νέρωνος ἀποστασίαν
προδοσίαν γενομένην.

II. Νυμφίδιος γὰρ Σαβῖνος ὃν ἐπαρχός, ὠσπερ
εἰρηταί, μετὰ Τιγελλίνων τῆς αὐλῆς, ἔπει 
τὰ Νέρωνος ἀπέγνωστο παυτάπασι καὶ δῆλος ἦν

1 An allusion to the proverb ἦλφ ὁ ἠλός ἐκκρούεται.
show than a military force given over to untrained and unreasoning impulses. Demades, indeed, after Alexander had died, likened the Macedonian army to the blinded Cyclops, observing the many random and disorderly movements that it made; but the Roman Empire was a prey to convulsions and disasters like those caused by the Titans of mythology, being torn into many fragments, and again in many places collapsing upon itself, not so much through the ambition of those who were proclaimed emperors, as through the greed and licence of the soldiery, which drove out one commander with another as nail drives out nail. And yet the Pheraean who ruled Thessaly for ten months and was then promptly killed, was called the tragedy-tyrant by Dionysius, with scornful reference to the quickness of the change. But the house of the Caesars, the Palatium, in a shorter time than this received four emperors, the soldiery ushering one in and another out, as in play. But the suffering people had one consolation at least in the fact that they needed no other punishment of the authors of their sufferings, but saw them slain by one another's hands, and first and most righteously of all, the man who ensnared the soldiery and taught them to expect from the deposition of a Caesar all the good things which he promised them, thus defiling a most noble deed by the pay he offered for it, and turning the revolt from Nero into treachery.

II. It was Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the court guard along with Tigellinus, as I have already stated, who, when Nero's case was altogether desperate, and

1 Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. See the Pelopidas, xxiv.-xxxv.
2 Probably in the lost Life of Nero.
Plutarch uses the Greek word drachma for the corresponding Roman denarius, a silver coin about equivalent to
it was clear that he was going to run away to Egypt, persuaded the soldiery, as though Nero were no longer there but had already fled, to proclaim Galba emperor, and promised as largess seventy-five hundred drachmas apiece for the court, or praetorian, guards, as they were called, and twelve hundred and fifty drachmas¹ for those in service outside of Rome, a sum which it was impossible to raise without inflicting ten thousand times more evils upon the world than those inflicted by Nero. This promise was at once the death of Nero, and soon afterwards of Galba: the one the soldiers abandoned to his fate in order to get their reward, the other they killed because they did not get it. Then, in trying to find someone who would give them as high a price, they destroyed themselves in a succession of revolts and treacheries before their expectations were satisfied. Now, the accurate and circumstantial narration of these events belongs to formal history; but it is my duty also not to omit such incidents as are worthy of mention in the deeds and fates of the Caesars.

III. That Sulpicius Galba was the richest private person who ever came to the imperial throne, is generally admitted; moreover, his connection with the noble house of the Servii gave him great prestige, although he prided himself more on his relationship to Catulus, who was the foremost man in his time in virtue and reputation, even if he gladly left to others the exercise of greater power. Galba was also somehow related to Livia, the wife of Augustus Caesar, and therefore, at the instance of Livia, he was made

the franc. But a Roman writer would reckon by sestertii, the sestertius being worth about a quarter of the denarius.
σης ὑπατος ἐκ Παλατίου προῆλθε. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ στρατεύματος ἐν Γερμανίᾳ καλῶς ἀρξαί καὶ Διβύς ἀνθύπατος γενόμενος σὺν ὀλύγοις ἐπανεθήναι. τὸ δὲ εὐκολόν αὐτοῦ τῆς διαίτης καὶ φειδωλὸν ἐν δαπάναις καὶ ἀπέριττον αἰτίαν ἔσχεν αὐτοκράτορος γενομένου μικρολογίας, ἡν ἐωλόν τινα δόξαν εὐταξίας ἤφερε καὶ σωφροσύνης.

3 ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος Ἰβηρίας ἄρχων, οὕτω δεδεδαγμένου φοβείσθαι τοὺς ἐν ἄξιώμασι μεγάλοις τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ καὶ φύσει δοκοῦντι πράξιν γεγονέναι προσετίθει πίστιν εὐλαβείας τὸ γῆρας.

IV. Ἔπει 2 δὲ, τῶν ἀλιτηρίων ἐπιτρόπων ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγρίως τὰς ἑπαρχίας ἑκείνῳ διαφοροῦντον, ἄλλο μὲν εἰχεν οὖδὲν βοηθεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερῷ εἶναι συναλγῶν καὶ συναδικούμενος ἁμῶς γε πως ἀναπνοὴν τινα καὶ παραμυθίαν τοὺς καταδικαζόμενος καὶ πωλουμένοις παρέσχε καὶ ποιημάτων εἰς Νέρωνα γινομένων καὶ πολλαχοῦ περιφερομένων καὶ ἀδομένων, οὐκ ἐκώλυυν οὖδὲ συνηγανάκτει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις. ἐφ' οίς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡγαπᾶτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἣδη συνήθης, ἔτος ὁγδοον ἑκεῖνῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐν ὧ Ιουνίος Οὐίνδιξ ἐπανέστη Νέρωνι, Γαλατίας ὑν στρατηγός. Λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀποστάσεως γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Οὐίνδικος, οἷς μήτε πιστεύσατι μήτε μηνύσαι καὶ κατειπεῖν,

1 μεγάλοις Coraës and Bekker have μεγάλοις, after Reiske.
2 ἐπεὶ Sint. 2 corrects to ἐκεῖ (there).
consul\(^1\) by the emperor. We are told also that he commanded an army in Germany with distinction, and that when he was pro-consul of Africa,\(^2\) he won such praise as few have done. But his simple and contented way of living, the sparing hand with which he dealt out money, always avoiding excess, were counted unto him, when he became emperor, as parsimony, so that the reputation which he bore for moderation and self-restraint was an insipid sort of thing. By Nero he was sent out as governor of Spain,\(^3\) before Nero had yet learned to be afraid of citizens who were held in high esteem. Galba, however, was thought to be of a gentle nature, and his great age gave an added confidence that he would always act with caution.

IV. But when, as the nefarious agents of Nero savagely and cruelly harried the provinces, Galba could help the people in no other way than by making it plain that he shared in their distress and sense of wrong, this somehow brought relief and comfort to those who were being condemned in court and sold into slavery. And when verses were made about Nero, and men circulated and sang them freely, he did not put a stop to it nor share in the displeasure of Nero's agents; wherefore he was still more beloved by the inhabitants. For he was by this time well known to them, since it was in the eighth year of his governorship that Junius Vindex, a general in Gaul, revolted against Nero. It is said, indeed, that even before the open rebellion Galba received letters from Vindex, and that he neither put any trust in them nor gave accusing information

\(^{1}\) In 33 A.D. \(^{2}\) In 45 A.D. \(^{3}\) In 61 A.D.
ός ἔτεροι τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῖς γραφεῖσας ἐπεμψαν πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ διέθειραν ὅσον ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῖς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἦς ὑστερον μετα-
χόντες ὁμολόγησαν αὐτῶν οὔδεν ἦττον ἦ ἐκεῖ-

3 νο προδόται γεγονέναι. ἀλλ᾿ ἐπειδὴ λαμπρῶς 
τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφήνας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἔγραψε τῷ Γάλβα 
παρακαλῶν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ 
παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἱσχυρῷ σώματι ἠτούντι κε-
φαλῆς, ταῖς Γαλατίαις δέκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν 
ὡπλισμένων ἔχουσας ἄλλας τε πλείονας ὀπλίσα 
δυναμέναις, προύθηκε βουλή τοῖς φίλοις. ὃν 
ὅι μὲν ἥξιον περιμένειν καραδοκοῦντα τίνα κίνησιν ἦ 

4 Ἐρώμη καὶ φορὰν ἔξει πρὸς τὸν νεωτερισμὸν. Τίτος 
δὲ Οὐίνος ὁ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ τάγματος ἡγεμό 
νοίς ἰσχυρὸς τὰν Ὀλύμπος τίνα τρόπον βου-
λεύσθη; τὸ γὰρ ἕξετει Ἡρώνου εἰ πιστοὶ μενοῦ-
μεν, οὐκ ἥδη μενόντων ἔστιν. ὡς οὖν ὑπάρχοντος 
ἐχθροῦ Νέρωνος οὐ δὴ προετέον τὴν τοῦ Οὐίνδι-
κος φιλίαν, ἡ καὶ κατηγορητέον εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ 
πολεμήτεον, ὅτι σὲ βούλεται Ἐρώμαίους ἐχεῖν 
ἀρχοντα μᾶλλον ἡ Ἡρώνα τύραννον.

V. Ἐκ τούτου προγράμματι μὲν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ 
Γάλβας ἡμέραν ἐν ἦ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐλευθερώ-
σεις ἀποδώσει τοῖς δεσμεύοντας, λαλιὰ δὲ καὶ φήμη 
προεκπεσοῦσα πλῆθος ἀνδρῶτον ἠθροῖσε προ-
θύμων ἐπὶ τὸν νεωτερισμὸν. οὐκ ἐφθῇ γοῦν 
φανερῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος γενόμενος, καὶ πάντες 

2 αὐτὸν ὀμοφῶνως αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπον. ὁ δὲ 
tαύτην μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ προσεδέξατο τὴν προσ-
ηγορίαν, κατηγορήσας δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ τῶν 
ἀνηρμένων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστά-

1 αὐτοῖς suggested by Sint. 2 for the αὐτός of the MSS.
about them, although other provincial governors sent to Nero the letters written to them, and thus did all they could to ruin the enterprise of Vindex; and yet they afterwards took part in it, and thus confessed that they had been false to themselves no less than to Vindex. But after Vindex had openly declared war, he wrote to Galba inviting him to assume the imperial power, and thus to serve what was a vigorous body in need of a head, meaning the Gallic provinces, which already had a hundred thousand men under arms, and could arm other thousands besides. Then Galba took counsel with his friends. Some of these thought it best for him to wait and see what movement Rome would set on foot in response to the revolution; but Titus Vinius, the captain of the praetorian guard, said to them: "O Galba, what counsels are these? For to ask whether we shall remain faithful to Nero means that we are already unfaithful. Assuming, then, that Nero is an enemy, we surely must not reject the friendship of Vindex; or else we must at once denounce him and make war upon him because he wishes the Romans to have thee as their ruler rather than Nero as their tyrant."

V. After this, Galba issued an edict appointing a day on which he would grant individual muniments to all who desired them, and gossip and rumour flying all abroad brought together a multitude of men who were eager for the revolution. At any rate, no sooner was Galba seen upon the tribunal than all with one voice hailed him as emperor. However, he did not at once accept this appellation, but after denouncing Nero, and bewailing the most illustrious of the men who had been put to
τους ὀλοφυράμενος, ὁμολόγησεν ἐπιδώσειν τῇ πατρίδι τήν ἔαυτον πρόνοιαν, οὔτε Καίσαρ οὔτε αὐτοκράτωρ, στρατηγὸς δὲ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενος.

3 Ὅτι δ’ ορθῶς ὁ Οὐίνδιξ καὶ λελογισμένως ἠξεκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάλβαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπιστώσατο μάρτυρι τῷ Νέρωνι. προσποιούμενος γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονεῖν καὶ παρ’ οὔδεν ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ Γαλατῶν, ἀμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Γάλβαν (ἔτυχε δὲ λελουμένοις καὶ ἀριστῶν) ἀνέτρεψε τὴν τράπεζαν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης πολέμιον τὸν Γάλβαν αὐτὸς τε παῖς καὶ θρασύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους βουλόμενος, οὐ φαύλην ἐφ’ πρόρρησιν ἐμπεπτωκέναι λογισμοῦ δεομένῳ χρημάτων αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ μὲν Γαλατῶν, ὅταν ὑποχείριον γένοιτο, λαφυραγωγήσεσθαι, ἢ δὲ Γάλβα πάρεστιν οὔσια χρήσθαι καὶ πολεῖν ἣδη πολεμίου πεφηνότος. οὐτός τε δὴ τὰ Γάλβα πιπράσκειν ἔκελευε, καὶ Γάλβας ἀκούσας, ὣσα Νέρωνος ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ κηρύττων εὑρίσκε πολλοὺς προθυμοτέρους ἄνητας.

VI. Ἀφισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ πάντων ἐπιεικῶς τῷ Γάλβα προστιθεμένων, μόνος Κλάδιος Μάκρος ἐν Διβύῃ καὶ Οὐεργύνιος Ρούφος ἐν Γαλατίᾳ τοῦ Γερμαυκοῦ στρατεύματος ήγούμενος αὐτοῦ καθ’ ἕαυτος ἐπιταττοῦ, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν αὑρεσιν ἔχοντες. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Κλάδιος, ἐν ἀρταγάνιοι πραγμάτων γεγονός καὶ φόνοις ἀνδρῶν δι’ ὀμότητα καὶ πλεονεξίαν, δήλος ἦν ἐν τῷ μήτε κατέχειν μήτε ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἄρχην δύνασθαι περιφερόμενος, Οὐεργύνιος δὲ ταγμάτων ἐπιστατῶν δυνατωτάτων πολλακις αὐτὸν ἀναγορευόντων αὐτοκράτορα καὶ

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death by him, promised to devote his best powers to the service of his country, taking as his title, not Caesar, nor Emperor, but General of the Roman Senate and People.

Now, that Vindex acted wisely and well in calling upon Galba to be emperor, was convincingly proved by Nero. For though he pretended to despise Vindex and to regard matters in Gaul as of no moment, as soon as he learned what Galba had done—Nero had just taken his bath and was at breakfast—he overturned his table. However, after the Senate had voted Galba an enemy, Nero, with a desire to jest and put on a bold countenance with his friends, said that an excellent idea had occurred to him in his need of money: the property of the Gauls would not fall to him as spoil of war until after they should be subdued; but Galba's estate was ready to be used and sold at once, now that Galba had been declared a public enemy. So he ordered the property of Galba to be sold, and Galba, when he heard of it, put up at public sale all that Nero owned in Spain, and found many readier buyers.

VI. Many were now falling away from Nero, and almost all of them attached themselves to Galba; only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Verginius Rufus in Gaul (where he commanded the German forces), acted on their own account, though each took a different course. Clodius, whose cruelty and greed had led him into robberies and murders, was clearly in a strait where he could neither retain nor give up his command; while Verginius, who commanded the strongest legions and was often saluted by them as emperor and strongly urged to take the title, declared
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βιαζομένων ούτε αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑλπὶ ἠλάβεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὔτε ἄλλω περιόψεσθαι διδομένην, ὅπερ ἀν' μὴ ἢ 3 συγκλήτως ἔληται. ταῦτα τὸν Γάλβαν οὐ μετρίως ἐθορύβει τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Ὀὐεργινίου καὶ Οὐνίδικος στρατεύματα πρῶτον τινὰ βία τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥστερ ἵνα οὐκ ἑταῖσαι χαλινών μὴ δυνηθέντας, εἰς μάχην ἐξενεγκόντα μεγάλην συνέρραξαν, καὶ Οὐνίδικος ἐαυτὸν ἀνελοντος ἐτὶ δισμυρίως Γαλατῶν πεσοῦσί, διήλθε λόγος ὡς Βουλομένων πάντων ἐπὶ νίκη τοσαύτη τὸν Ὀὐεργίνιον ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάλιν 4 μεταβαλυμένων πρὸς Νέρωνα, τότε δὴ παντάπασι περίφοβοι γενόμενοι ο Γάλβας ἐγραψε τῷ Ὀὐεργίνῳ, παρακαλῶν κοινοπραγεῖν καὶ διαφυλάσσειν ἄμα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν Ῥομαίων· αὕτης δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Κλοννίαν, Ἰβηρικήν πόλιν, ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τῷ μετανοεῖν περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ποθεῖν τὴν συνήθη καὶ σύντροφον ἀπραγμοσύνην μᾶλλον ἢ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων διέτριβεν.

VII. Ὅν δὲ θέρος ἤδη, καὶ βραχὺ πρὸς δείλης ἤκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης Ἰκελος ἀνήρ ἀπελεύθερος ἐβδομαίος. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἀναπαύεσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐβάδιζε συντόνως ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ βιὰ τῶν θαλαμητόλων ἀνοίξας καὶ παρελθὼν 2 ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι καὶ ξώντος ἐτὶ τοῦ Νέρωνος, οὐκ ὄντος δὲ φανεροῦ, τὸ στράτευμα πρῶτον, ἐίτα ὁ δήμος καὶ ἡ συγκλήτως αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀναγορεύσειν, ὅλιγον δὲ ύστερον ἀπαγγέλθειν τεθυγκώς ἐκεῖνος· οὐ μὴν αὐτὸς γε πιστεύσας ἐφ' τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντι, ἄλλα ἐπελθὼν τὸ νεκρῷ καὶ κείμενον θεασάμενος, οὔτως ἐξελθεῖν.
that he would neither assume the imperial power himself, nor allow it to be given to anyone else whom the senate did not elect. These things greatly disturbed Galba at first; but presently the armies of Verginius and Vindex in a manner forced their leaders, like charioteers who had lost control of the reins, into the crash of a great battle, and Vindex, after the loss of twenty thousand Gauls, died by his own hand, and a report was current that all the soldiers desired Verginius, in view of the great victory he had won, to assume the imperial power, or they would go back again to Nero. Then indeed Galba was all alarm, and wrote to Verginius inviting him to join in efforts for the preservation alike of the empire and the freedom of the Romans. But after this he retired with his friends to Clunia, a city in Spain, and spent his time in repenting of what he had done and in longing for his habitual and wonted freedom from care, rather than in taking any of the steps now made necessary.

VII. It was now summer,¹ and shortly before sunset there came from Rome a freedman named Icelus, who had made the journey in seven days. Having learned that Galba was reposing by himself, he went in hot haste to his chamber, opened the door in spite of the chamberlains, entered, and announced that while Nero was still alive, but in hiding, that the army first, and then the senate and people, had proclaimed Galba emperor, and that a little while afterwards it was reported that Nero was dead; Icelus himself, however, as he said, had not believed the report, but had gone and seen the dead body where it lay, and then had set out on his journey. This announcement

¹ Of 68 A.D.
3 Ταύτα ἀπαγγέλλομενα λαμπρῶν ἢρε τὸν Γάλβαν, καὶ συνέδραμε πλήθος ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ θύρας ἐκτεθαρ-ρηκότων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βεβαιῶς. καὶ τοι τὸ τάχος ἢν ἀπιστον. ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον ὁ Οὐίνιος Τίτος ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μεθ' ἐτέρων ἀφίκετο τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἀπαγγέλλων. οὕτως μὲν οὖν εἰς τάξιν ἐντιμον προήχθη· τῷ δ' ἀπελευθέρω δακτυλίους τε χρυσοὺς ἔδωκε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὁ Ἰκελος ἦδη καλούμενος εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐν τοῖς ἀπελευθέρως ὄνυμιν.

VIII. Ἕν ἐὰν ἩΡώη Νυμφίδιος Σαβίνος, οὐκ ἡρέμα καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ὁμοῦ, πάντα πράγματα φέρων περιήγηκεν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ώς Γάλβαν μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτην καὶ μόλις εἰς ἩΡώην ἐξαρκέσοντα φοράδην κομισθῆναι διὰ γῆρας· ἦν γὰρ ἑτῶν τριῶν καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα· τὰ δὲ αὐτόθι στρατεύματα, καὶ πάλαι πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνόως ἔχοντα καὶ υἱὸν ἐνὸς ἐξηρτημένα μόνου, διὰ τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς μέγεθος ἐνεργήτην ἐκεῖνον ἡγεῖσθαι,

2 Γάλβαν δὲ χρεωφειλέτην. εὐθὺς οὖν Τιγελλίῳ μὲν τῷ συνάρχοντι προσέταξεν ἀποθέσθαι τῷ ξῆφος, ὑποδοχὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς ὑπατικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονικούς, ἐτι τὸ Γάλβα προστιθεὶς ὅνομα ταῖς κλῆσιςιν, ἐν τῷ στρατο-πέδῳ πολλοῖς παρεσκεύασε λέγειν ὡς πεμπτέον ἐστι πρὸς Γάλβαν αὐτομένους ἐπαρχον εἰσαει Νυμφίδιον ἀνευ συναρχοντος.

3 'Α δὲ ἡ συγκλητος εἰς τιμὴν ἐπραττεν αὐτοῦ

1 ὕστερον supplied by Coraës, after Amyot.
highly elated Galba, and there came running to his
door a multitude of men who had gained complete
confidence as the result of Icelus' report. And yet
the messenger's speed was incredible. But two days
afterwards Titus Vinius with others came from the
camp and reported in detail the decrees of the senate.
Vinius, accordingly, was advanced to a position of
honour, and as for the freedman, he was allowed to
wear the gold ring, received the name of Marcianus
instead of Icelus, and had the chief influence among
the freedmen.

VIII. But at Rome Nymphidius Sabinus was
forcing the entire control of affairs into his own
hands, not slowly and little by little, but all at once.
He thought that Galba was an old man and would
hardly have the strength to be carried to Rome on a
litter, by reason of his age, for he was in his seventy-
third year; moreover, he knew that the soldiery in
the city had long been well disposed towards him
and were now devoted to him alone, regarding him
as their benefactor because of the large gifts which
he promised, but Galba as their debtor. Straight-
way, therefore, he ordered his colleague Tigellinus
to lay down his sword, gave receptions at which he
banqueted men who had been consuls or in high
command (although he still affixed the name of
Galba to his invitations), and instigated many of the
soldiers to declare that a deputation ought to be sent
to Galba demanding that Nymphidius be made pre-
flect for life without a colleague.

Moreover, the senate did much to enhance his

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2 Titos after this name the words πολλά τῶν, deleted by
Coraës and Bekker, are retained by Sint.* with indication
of a lacuna (πολλά . . . τῶν).
καὶ δύναμιν, ἀνακαλοῦσα ἐνεργήτην καὶ συντρέχουσα καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παντὸς ἐξάρχειν δόγματος ἄξιοῦσα καὶ βεβαιοῦν, ἐτι περαιτέρω τόλμης ἀνήγειν αὐτὸν, ὡστε ὀλγον χρόνου τοῖς θεραπεύουσι μὴ μόνον ἐπίφθονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβερὸν εἶναι. τῶν δ’ ὑπάτων οίκεται δημοσίους προχειρισαμένων τὰ δόγματα κομίζοντας τῷ αυτοκράτορι, καὶ τὰ καλούμενα διπλώματα σεσημασμένα δόντων, ἀ γυναῖκες οἱ κατὰ πόλιν ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀχημάτων ἁμοιβαίς ἐπιταχυνοῦσι τὰς προπομπὰς τῶν γραμματηφόρων, οὐ μετρίως ἡγαίακτησεν ὦτι μὴ παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ σφραγίδα καὶ στρατιώτας λαβόντες ἀνέπεμψαν, ἀλλὰ λέγεται καὶ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν ὑπάτων, ἡτα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπολογησαμένοις καὶ δεηθείσιν ἀνήκε. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἐκώλυσε τὸν παραπίπτοντα τῶν Νέρωνος ἀποτυμπανίζειν. Σπίκλου μὲν οὖν τὸν μονομάχον ἀνδριάσθη Νέρωνος ἐλκομένοις ὑποβαλόντες ἐν ἀγορᾶ διέφθειραν, Ἀπόνου δὲ τινα τῶν καθηγορικῶν ἀνατρέψαντες ἄμαξας λιθοφόρους ἐπήγαγον, ἄλλους δὲ διεστασάντο πολλοὺς, ἐνίους μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ὡστε καὶ Μαύρικον, ἀνδρὰ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ οὕτα καὶ δοκοῦντα, πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰπεῖν ὦτι φοβεῖται μὴ ταχὺ Νέρωνα ξητήσωσιν. IX. Οὕτω δὲ προσάγων οὖν Νυμφίδιος ἐγγυτέρω ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οὐκ ἐφευγε Γαίον Καισάρος υἱὸς λέγεσθαι τοῦ μετὰ Τιβέριον ἀρξαντός. ἐγγώκει γὰρ ὁ Γαίος, ὡς ἐοικε, τὴν τεκούσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι

1 Caligula.
honour and power, giving him the title of benefactor, assembling daily at his door, and allowing him the privilege of initiating and confirming all their decrees. This raised him to a still higher pitch of boldness, so that within a short time those who paid court to him were filled, not only with jealousy, but also with fear. When the consuls provided public servants to carry the decrees of the senate to the emperor, and gave to these the diplomas, as they were called, sealed with their official seal (in order that the magistrates of the various cities, recognising this, might expedite the supply of fresh vehicles for the journey of the couriers), he was vexed beyond all bounds because the decrees had not been sent under his seal and in charge of his soldiers, nay, it is said that he actually thought of proceeding against the consuls, but put away his wrath when they excused themselves and begged for forgiveness. Again, in his desire to gratify the people, he would not prevent them from beating to death any follower of Nero who fell into their hands. Accordingly, they cast Spiculus the gladiator under statues of Nero that were being dragged about in the forum, and killed him; Aponius, one of Nero's informers, they threw to the ground and dragged waggons laden with stone over him; and many others, some of whom had done no wrong, they tore in pieces, so that Mauricus, who was justly deemed one of the best men in Rome, told the senate that he was afraid they would soon be searching for a Nero.

IX. Thus coming in his hopes nearer and nearer to his goal, Nymphidius was not averse to having it said that he was the son of the Caius Caesar who succeeded Tiberius. For Caius, as it would appear, while still
μειράκιον δὲν οὐκ ἀειδὴ τὴν ὁψιν οὖσαν, ἐκ δὲ ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου Καλλίστω, Καίσαρος ἀπ-2 ελευθέρῳ, γεγενημένην. ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ πρὸς Γάιον ἐντευξις αὐτῆς, ὡς ἔοικε, νεωτέρα τῆς Νυμφίδιου γενέσεως, αἰτίαν δὲ ἐσχέν ἔκ Μαρτιανοῦ τοῦ μο-νομάχου γεγονόναι, τῆς Νυμφίδιας ἐρασθείσης διὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καθ' ὁμοιότητα 3 τῆς ἱδέας ἐκείνω προσήκειν. ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶν γε Νυμφίδιας εἶναι μητρὸς ἔργων μὲν αὐτοῦ μόνου τῆς Νέρωνος ἐποιεῖτο κατάλυσιν, ἀθλα δὲ αὐτῆς οὐ νομίζων ἵκανα καρποῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸ Σπόρῳ τοῦ Νέρωνος συγκαθεύδειν, ὅν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐτί καιομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκείνος ἐν γαμετῆς εἰχε τάξει καὶ Ποππαίαν προσηγόρευεν, ἔτι τὴν διαδοχήν παρ-4 εὐφέτο τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶς ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ διὰ τῶν φίλων ύπειραγίζετο, καὶ γυναικῶν τινῶν αὐτῶ καὶ συγκλητικῶν ἀνδρῶν κρύφα συλλαμβα-νομένων, ἐνα δὲ τῶν φίλων, Γελλιανοῦ, εἰς Ἰβηρίαν ἐπιμενέν κατασκεψόμενον.

Χ. Τῷ δὲ Γάλβῳ μετὰ τὴν Νέρωνος τελευτήν ἐχώρει πάντα. Ὅμεργίνιοις δὲ Ἄρωφος ἀμφίβολος ὡν ἐτὶ φροντίδα παρεῖχε, μὴ τῷ δυνάμεως πολλῆς καὶ μαχιμωτάτης ἄρχειν προσεϊληφώς τὸ νευκηκέ-ναι Οὐίνδικα καὶ κεχειρώθηκα μέγα μέρος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, ἐν σάλῳ γενομένην ἀποστα-τικῷ Γαλατίαν ἀπασαν, ὑπακοῦσαι τοῖς παρα-2 καλοῦσιν αὐτοῦ ἑτὶ τὴν ἄρχην. οὖν ἕνεος γὰρ ἦν ὀνόμα μείζον, οὐδὲ εἰχὲ δόξαν οὐδεὶς ὅσην ὁ Ὅιερ-
a young man, had been intimate with the mother of Nymphidius, a woman of comely appearance and a daughter of Callistus, Caesar’s freedman, by a hired sempstress. But this intimacy, as it would seem, was later than the birth of Nymphidius, and it was believed that he was a son of Martianus, the gladiator (with whom Nymphidia fell in love on account of his fame), and his resemblance to Martianus was thought to favour this connection. But although he certainly admitted that Nymphidia was his mother, he took to himself sole credit for the overthrow of Nero, and thinking himself insufficiently rewarded for this by the honours and wealth which he enjoyed, and by the company of Sporus, Nero’s favourite (whom he had sent for at once, while Nero’s body was yet burning on its pyre, and treated as his consort, and addressed by the name of Poppaea), he aspired to the succession in the empire. Some secret steps to this end he himself took at Rome through the agency of his friends, and certain women and men of senatorial rank secretly assisted him, and one of his friends, Gellianus, he sent to Spain to keep an eye upon matters there.

X. But everything went well with Galba after the death of Nero. Verginius Rufus, it is true, who was still hesitating, gave him anxiety. For besides commanding a large and most efficient army, Verginius had the added prestige of his victory over Vindex and his subjugation of all Gaul, which was a large part of the Roman Empire and had been in the throes of revolt. Galba therefore feared that Verginius might listen to those who invited him to take the supreme power. For no man’s name was greater than that of Verginius, and no man had a reputation
γύνιος, ὃς μεγίστη ῥοπῇ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις πρωγμασὶ τυραννίδος ὅμοι χαλεπῆς καὶ Γαλατικῶν πολέμων ἀπαλλαγῆ γενόμενος. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τότε τοὺς ἕξ ἄρχῃς ἐμμένων λογισμοῖς ἐφύλαττε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν αἰφρείν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καίτοι φανέρας γε τῆς Νέρωνος τελευτῆς γενομένης τὸ τε πλήθος ἐνέκειτο τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ πάλιν, καὶ τῶν χαλιάρχων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐκέλευε τὸν Οὐεργινίον δέχεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ τὸν σίδηρον. ἔπει δὲ Φάβιος Οὐάλης ἄρχων ἐνὸς τάγματος ἀρκωσε πρῶτος εἰς Γάλβα, καὶ γράμματα ἤκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης περὶ ὅν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσατο, χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, ἔπεισε δ' οὖν τοὺς στρατιῶτας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀνεπείν καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ διάδοχον Φλάκκον Ὀρδεώνιον ἐδέξατο. καὶ παραδόσει ἐκείνῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶς ἀπήντησε τῷ Γάλβα πρόσω χωρούντι, καὶ συνανέστρεφεν, οὔτε ὀργῆς οὔτε τιμῆς ἐπιδήλου τυγχάνων. αὐτίος δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Γάλβας αἰδούμενος τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῦ δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ μάλιστα Οὐίνιος Τίτος, ὑπὸ φθόνον τὸν Οὐεργινίου οἰόμενος μὲν κολούειν, ἵπποι δὲ ἀρὰ τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ χρηστῷ δαίμονι συνεργῶν, ἦδη τὸν ἄνδρα πολέμων καὶ κακῶν, ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους ἠγεμόνας κατέσχεν, ἐκτὸς εἰς βίον ἀκύμονα καὶ γῆρας εἰρήνης καὶ ἴσυχίας μεστὸν ὕπεκτιθεμένω. XI. Γάλβαν δὲ περὶ Νάρβωνα, πῶλιν Γαλατικῆς, οἱ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου πρέσβεις ἐντυχόντες ἥσπάζοντο, καὶ παρεκάλουν ἐπιφανῆναι τῷ δήμῳ ποθοῦντι ταχέως. ὁ δὲ τὰς τε ἄλλας παρεῖχεν ἐντεύξεις καὶ συνουσίας αὐτοῖς φιλανθρώπους καὶ
equal to his, since he had exercised the greatest influence in ridding the Roman state alike of a grievous tyrant and of Gallic wars. But in the present crisis he was true to his original resolves and maintained the senate’s right to choose the emperor. And yet when Nero’s death was known for certain, the mass of his soldiery were insistent again with Verginius, and one of the military tribunes in his tent drew his sword and ordered Verginius to choose between imperial power and the steel. But after Fabius Valens, commander of a legion, had led off in taking the oath of allegiance to Galba, and letters had come from Rome telling of the senate’s decrees, he succeeded at last, though with the greatest difficulty, in persuading his soldiers to declare Galba emperor; and when Galba sent Flaccus Hordeonius to succeed him, Verginius received that officer, handed over his army to him, and went himself to meet Galba as he advanced, and turned back in his company without receiving any clear mark either of his anger or esteem. This was due, in the one case, to Galba himself, who had a wholesome respect for Verginius, and in the other to Galba’s friends, especially Titus Vinius. Vinius was jealous of Verginius, and thought to block his career; but without knowing it he was aiding the man’s good genius, which was now removing him from all the wars and miseries which encompassed the other leaders, and bringing him into a calm haven of life, and an old age full of peace and quiet.

XI. At Narbo, a city of Gaul, Galba was met by the deputies from the senate, who greeted him and begged him to gratify speedily the eager desire of the people to see him. In his general interviews and meetings with them he was kind and unassuming,
δημοτικάς, πρός τε τὰς ἐστιάσεις πολλῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ θεραπείας βασιλικῆς παρούσης, ἂν ἐκ τῶν Νέρωνος ὁ Νυμφίδιος αὐτῷ προσέπεμψεν, οὔτεν χρώμενος ἐκεῖνων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ πᾶσιν, εὐδοκίμει, μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ κρείττων ἀπειροκαλίας φαινόμενος. ταχὺ μέντοι τὰ γεγονά ταῦτα καὶ ἀτυφα καὶ πολιτικὰ δημαγωγίαν Οὐνίος ἀποφαίνων καὶ κομψότητα μεγάλων ἀπαξιοῦσαν αὐτήν, ἔπεισε χρήματι τε χρήσθαι τοῖς Νέρωνος καὶ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς πολυτελείας. καὶ ὅλως αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐνίῳ γενησομένου παρεῖχεν ὁ πρεσβύτης.

ΧΙΙ. Ἦν δὲ Οὐνίος ἀργυρίου μὲν ἑσχάτως καὶ παρ’ ὀντινοῦν ἥπτων, ἐνοχὸς δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ γυναίκας ἀμαρτήμασιν. ἦτα γὰρ ὃν νέος καὶ στρατευόμενος ὑπὸ Καλβισίῳ Σαβίνῳ τῆς πρώτης στρατείας ἀκόλαστον ὅσαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρεισήγαγε νῦκτωρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἑσθῆτι στρατιωτικῇ καὶ διέφθειρεν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις, ἁ προγκίπτω μαλακεὶς Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Γαῖος Καῖσαρ ἐδήσεν αὐτῶν· ἐκεῖνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἐντυχὶα χρησάμενος ἀπελύθη. δειπνῶν δὲ παρὰ Κλαυδῖῳ Καῖσαρι ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν ὑφεῖλετο· πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῇ ὑπερεῖα πάλιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνου ἐκάλεσεν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκεῖνῳ μηδὲν ἀργυροῦν, ἀλλὰ κεράμεα πάντα προσφέρειν καὶ παρατιθέναι τοὺς ὑπηρέτας.

3 τούτῳ μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν Καῖσαρος μετρότητα κωμικῶτεραν γενομένην γέλωτος, οὐκ ὄργης ἄξιον ἔδοξεν· ἃ δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἑχὼν ύφ’ αὐτῷ, καὶ δυνάμενος
and when he entertained them, though there was an abundance of royal furniture and service at his command, which Nymphidius had sent him from Nero's palace, he used none of it, but only what was his own, thus winning a good repute, and showing himself a man of large mind who was superior to vulgarity. Vinius, however, by declaring to him that this dignified, simple, and unassuming course was merely a flattery of the people and a refinement of delicacy which thought itself unworthy of great things, soon persuaded him to make use of Nero's riches, and in his receptions not to shrink from a regal wealth of outlay. And in general the aged man let it be seen little by little that he was going to be under the direction of Vinius.

XII. Now Vinius was to the last degree and beyond all compare a slave of money, and was also addicted to loose conduct with women. For when he was still a young man and was serving his first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought his commander's wife, an unchaste woman, by night into the camp in the garb of a soldier, and had commerce with her in the general's quarters (the Romans call them "principia"). For this offence Caius Caesar put him in prison; but on the death of the emperor he had the good fortune to be released. While he was at supper with Claudius Caesar, he purloined a silver drinking-cup, and Caesar, learning of it, invited him to supper again the next day, and when he came, ordered the attendants to set before him no silver plate at all, but only earthenware. This misdeed, it is true, owing to the comic turn which Caesar's moderation took, was thought worthy of laughter, not of anger; but what he did when he had
μέγιστον ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἔπραττε, τραγικῶν παθῶν καὶ συμφορῶν μεγάλων τοῖς μὲν αὐτίαν, τοῖς δὲ πρόφασιν παρέσχεν.

ΧΙΙΙ. Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφίδιος εὐθὺς ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ Γελλιανοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν, ὃν ἔπεμψε τοῦ Γάλβα τρόπων τινὰ κατάσκοπον, ἀκούσας τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἔπαρχων ἀποδεδείχθαι Κορνήλιον Λάκωνα, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι τοῦ Οὐσίου κράτος, αὐτῷ δὲ μηδέποτε τοῦ Γάλβα στήναι πλησίον ἐγγεγονέναι μηδὲ ἐντυχεὶν ἰδίᾳ, πάντων αὐτῶν ύφορωμένων καὶ διαφυλαττόντων, ἔθο-2 ρυβήθη καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρα-τεύματος ἐφῆ Γάλβαν μὲν αὐτὸν εἶναι πρεσβύτην ἐπιείκη καὶ μέτριον, ἐλάχιστα δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῦ χρώμενων λογισμοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐσίου καὶ Λάκωνος οὐκ εὗ διοικεῖσθαι. πρὶν οὖν λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἢν ἐσχε Τιγελλίνος ἵσχυν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι κτησα-μένους, πεμπτέον εἶναι πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τοὺς διδάξοντας ὅτι τῶν φίλων δύο μόνους τούτους ἀποσκευασάμενος ἦδιν παρέ-3 σταὶ πᾶσι καὶ ποθεινότερος. ἔπει δὲ ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἀτοπον ἐδόκει καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ἡγεμόνα πρεσβύτην, ὡς περ ἄρτι γενόμενον ἐξου-σίας μειράκιον, ὃς χρηστάει φίλοις ἡ μῆ, βυθμί-ζειν, ἑτέραν ὁδὸν τραπόμενον ἐγράφε τῷ Γάλβα δεδιττόμενος, διόν μὲν ὡς ὑπούλλα καὶ μετέωρα πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης, διόν δὲ Κλώδιον Μάκρον ἐν Διβύῃ τὰ σιτηγὰ κατέχειν, αὕτες δὲ παρακινεῖν τὰ Γερμανικὰ τάγματα, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Ιουδαίᾳ δυνάμεων ὁμοίᾳ πυνθάνεσθαι.

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Galba under his control and was most influential with him in financial matters, was partly a cause and partly a pretext for tragic events and great calamities.

XIII. For Nymphidius, as soon as Gellianus had come back to him, whom he had sent to be a sort of spy upon Galba, heard that Cornelius Laco had been appointed prefect of the praetorian guard, and that Vinius was all powerful with Galba, while Gellianus had never stood near him or seen him in private, but had been looked upon with suspicion and distrust by everyone. Nymphidius was therefore much disturbed, and calling together the officers of the army, told them that Galba himself was a well-meaning and moderate old man, but did not follow his own counsels in the least, and was badly directed by Vinius and Laco. Therefore, before these men had succeeded in secretly acquiring the power which Tigellinus had held, a deputation should be sent to the emperor from the camp, to inform him that if he would put away from his company of friends only these two men, he would be more acceptable and welcome to all on his arrival. But this speech of Nymphidius did not convince his hearers; nay, they thought it a strange and unnatural thing to dictate to an aged emperor, as if he had been a youth just tasting power, what friends he was to have or not to have. Nymphidius therefore took another course, and wrote to Galba messages intended to alarm him—now, that there was much hidden distemper and unrest in the city, now, that Clodius Macer was holding back the grain supplies in Africa; again, that the legions in Germany were mutinous, and that like news came concerning the forces in Syria and Judaea. But since Galba gave
4 τοῦ δὲ Γάλβα μὴ πάντων νοῦν προσέχοντος αὐτῷ μηδὲ πιστεύοντος ἔγνω προεπιχειρεῖν· καίτοι Κλάωδιος Κέλτως Ἀντιοχεύς, ἀνὴρ ἐμφρων, εὔνοισς δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πιστῶς, ἀπηγόρευε, λέγων ὅτι ἄν ὁ ὅις ἔσθαι μίαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνοικίαν Κάισαρα προσευπεῖν Νυμφίδιον. ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ κατεγέλων, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐπισκόπτων τὴν φαλακρότητα καὶ ρυσσότητα τοῦ Γάλβα τυόν ἔφη τινά δοκεῖν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ὁρθέντα δὲ φανεῖσθαι τῶν ἁμερῶν τούτων ἂς καλεῖται Κάισαρ, ὅνειδος.

XIV. Ἕπεθεν οὖν περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν παραγαγόντας ἀναδεικνύειν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ Νυμφίδιον. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν χιλιάρχων Ἀντώνιος Ὀνωράτος ἐσπέρας γενομένης τοὺς ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν ἐκάκιζε μὲν αὐτὸν, ἐκάκιζε δὲ ἐκείνους ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τροπᾶς τοσαύτας τρπομένους κατ’ οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδὲ αἴρεσιν ἁμεινόνων, ἀλλὰ δαίμονός τινὸς αὐτοῦς ἐκ προδοσίας εἰς προδοσίαν ἑλάυνοντος.

2 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα προφάσεις ἔχειν τὰ Νέρωνος ἐγκλήματα· νῦν δὲ Γάλβαν προδίδοναι, τίνα φόνον μητρὸς ἐγκαλοῦντας ἢ σφαγὴν γυναικὸς, ἢ ποἰαν αἰδούμενος θυμέλην ἢ τραγοδίαν τοὐ αὐτοκράτορος; Ἐ’ Ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐκείνον ἐπὶ τούτων υπεμέναμεν ἐγκαταλιπτεῖν, ἀλλὰ Νυμφιδίῳ πεισθέντες ὅτι πρῶτος ἡμᾶς ἐγκατέλιπτε καὶ πέφευγεν εἰς

3 Ἀγριππον. πότερον οὖν Νέρων Γάλβαν ἐπιθυσόμεθα, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Νυμφίδίας ἐξόμενον Κaiser τὸν ἐκ Διβίας ἀνέλωμεν, ὡς τὸν ἐξ Ἀγριπ-
no heed to him whatever and put no confidence in his reports, he determined not to wait before making his attempt. And yet Clodius Celsus of Antioch, a man of good sense, who was well-disposed and faithful to him, tried to dissuade him, saying that in his opinion not a single precinct in Rome would give Nymphidius the title of Caesar. But many ridiculed Galba, and especially Mithridates of Pontus, who scoffed about his bald head and wrinkled face, and said that now the Romans thought him a great personage, but when they saw him they would regard all the days in which he had borne the title of Caesar as a disgrace to them.

XIV. It was decided, therefore, to bring Nymphidius into the camp about midnight and proclaim him emperor. But when it was evening, the leading military tribune, Antonius Honoratus, calling together the soldiers under his command, reviled himself, and reviled them for changing about so often in so short a time, not according to any plan or choice of better things, but because some evil spirit drove them from one treachery to another. In the first instance, he said, they had an excuse in the crimes of Nero; but now, if they were to betray Galba, what charge of murdering his mother or slaying his wife could they bring against him, or what feelings of shame that their emperor should appear in public as musician or tragic actor? "Nay, not even with these provocations would we consent to abandon a Nero, but we had to be persuaded by Nymphidius that Nero had first abandoned us and fled to Egypt. Shall we, then, sacrifice Galba after Nero, and choosing the son of Nymphidia as our Caesar, shall we slay the scion of the house of Livia,
πίνης ἀνέλομεν; ἢ τούτῳ δίκην ἐπιθέντες ὑπὸ δέδρακε, τιμωροὶ μὲν Νέρωνος, Γάλβα δὲ φύλακες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ φανόμεν;"

Ταῦτα λέγοντι τῷ χιλιώρχῳ προσέθεντο πάντες οἱ στρατιώται, καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς προσιόντες ἐμμελείν παρεκάλουν τῷ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πίστευν καὶ τοὺς πλείους μετέστησαν. ἀρθείσης δὲ βοής, εἶτε πεισθεὶς ὁ Νυμφίδιος, ὡς φασιν ἐνιοῦ, καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἥδη τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἶτε προλαβεῖν σπεύδουν τὸ θορυβοῦν ἐτι καὶ διστάζουν, ὡπὸ φωτὶ πολλῷ προῃ, λόγον τινὰ κομίζων ἐν βιβλίῳ γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ Κιγγωνίου Βάρρωνος, ὑν ἐκμε-
as we have slain the son of Agrippina? Or, shall we inflict punishment on Nymphidius for his evil deeds, and thereby show ourselves avengers of Nero, but true and faithful guardians of Galba?"

So spoke the tribune, and all his soldiers took his side, and visiting their fellow-soldiers, exhorted them to maintain their fidelity to the emperor; and they brought over the greater part of them. But now loud shouts arose, and Nymphidius, either because he was convinced, as some say, that the soldiers were already calling him, or because he was anxious to win over betimes the element that was still unruly and mutinous, came up in a glare of lights, carrying in his hand a speech written out for him by Cingonius Varro; this he had got by heart to deliver to the soldiers. But when he saw the gate of the camp closed and a great number of men under arms along the walls, he was struck with fear; and drawing near, he asked what they meant, and by whose command they were under arms. One cry came to him from the lips of all, and this was that they acknowledged Galba as emperor, whereupon he also, as he joined them, shouted in approval, and bade his followers do the same. But after the soldiers at the gate had permitted him to enter with a few followers, a lance was hurled at him. This weapon was received in the shield which Septimius interposed, but others assailed him, with drawn swords, whereupon he fled, was pursued, and was cut down in a soldier’s hut. His dead body was dragged forth, surrounded with a paling, and exposed to public view all day.

XV. Such was the violent end of Nymphidius, and when Galba learned of it, he ordered such of his
κελεύσας ἀποθανεῖν ὁσιῷ μὴ δὲ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἀπέθανον, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κυργώνιος ὁ τὸν λόγον γράψας καὶ Μαθριδάτης ὁ Πουτικός, ἐδοξε μὴ νομίμως, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, μηδὲ δημοτικῶς ἀνηρηκέναι πρὸ κρίσεως ἄνδρας οὐκ ἁσῆμοι. ἔτερον γὰρ ἡγεμονίας σχῆμα προσεδέχοντο πάντες, ἔξαπατώμενοι συνήθεσις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγομένων. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἡνίασεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ Νέρωνι πιστὸς ἀποθανεῖν κελευσθείς, Πετρώνιος Τουρπιλιανός. Μάκρον ¹ γὰρ ἐν Διοβύη διὰ Τρεβωνίου καὶ Φοιτήτου ἐν Γερμανίᾳ διὰ Οὐάλεντος ἀνελῶν πρόφασιν εἶχεν ἐν ὀπλοῖς καὶ στρατοπέδοις ὀντας φοβηθῆναι. Τουρπιλιανὸν δὲ, γέρωντα γυμνὸν καὶ ἀνωπλον, λόγου μεταλαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυνεν, εἰ τις ἦν ἐπαγγέλλεται μετριότητα τοῖς πράγμασιν ² ἐργῳ φυλάξειν ἐμελλε.  

3 Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ οὖν τοιαύτας ἔχει μέμψεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσιδω τοπείχη τῇς πόλεως περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, ἐνετύγχην ἀκοσμία καὶ θορύβω τῶν ἑρτῶν τῆς ὀδοῦ προκατεχόντων καὶ περικεχυμένων πανταχόθεν. οὕτω δὲ ἵσαν οὕς εἰς ἐν τάγμα  

4 ὁ Νέρων συλλοχίας ἀπέφηνε στρατιώτας καὶ τότε παρόντες ἐκεβεβαιώσασθαι τῇς στρατεύμας ὀὑτ' ὀφθηναι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν ὀὑτ' ἀκουσθήναι παρίεσαν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' ἑθορύβουν βοή σημεία τῷ τάγματι καὶ χώραν αὐτούς. ἐκείνον δὲ ὑπερτιθεμένου καὶ πάλιν εἰπεῖν ³ κελεύσαντος,

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1 Μάκρον (as in xiii. 3), Τρεβωνίου, suggested by Sint.² for Μάκρωνα and Τρεβωνίανοῦ of the MSS.  
2 πράγμασιν Sint.² has γράμμασιν (in his letters), after Emporius.  
3 πάλιν εἰπεῖν Bekker has παρελκεῖν (yield), after Coraës.
fellow-conspirators as had not at once taken their own lives to be put to death. Among these was Cingonius, who wrote the speech for Nymphidius, and Mithridates of Pontus. But it was held to be illegal and despotic, even though just, to put to death without a trial men who were not without distinction. For everyone expected a different mode of government, being thoroughly deceived, as is usual, by assurances made in the beginning. And people took it still more amiss when Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity who was faithful to Nero, was ordered to take his own life. For in having Macer taken off in Africa at the hands of Trebonius, and Fonteius in Germany at the hands of Valens, Galba could excuse himself with the fear they inspired as commanders of armed forces. But there was no reason why Turpilianus, a helpless old man and unarmed, should not have a chance to defend himself, if the emperor was really going to observe that moderation in his dealings which he promised.

Such, then, was the censure to which these acts exposed Galba. Moreover, when, in his approach to the city, he was distant from it about five-and-twenty furlongs, he fell in with a disorderly and tumultuous crowd of seamen, who beset his way and encompassed him on all sides. These were men whom Nero had formed into a legion and given the title of soldiers. And now they were there to enforce their just rights as soldiers, and would not suffer the emperor to be seen or heard by those who came to meet him, but with tumultuous shouts demanded standards for their legion and regular quarters. When Galba put off their demand and told them to renew it at another time, they declared
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ἀριστεοσεως σχῆμα τὴν ἀναβολὴν εἶναι φάσκοντες ἡγανάκτουν καὶ παρεῖποντο μὴ φειδόμενοι βοῆς. ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας σπασαμένων, ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἵππεις ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γάλβας. ὑπέστη δὲ οὕδεις ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνατραπέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες διεφθάρησαν, οὐ χρηστὸν οὐδὲ αὐτοῦ ποιοῦντες τῷ Γάλβῳ τὸν οἴων διεισόντι διὰ πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τοσοῦτως εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τὸς αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνει πρότερον ἀσθενοὺς καὶ γέροντος ὀρμώμενον, τότε πᾶσι φρικώδης καὶ φοβερὸς ἐγένετο.

Χ. Βουλόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀμετρίας καὶ πολυτελείας τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποδεικνύναι μεγάλην μεταβολήν, ἀστοχεῖν ἐδόκει τοῦ πρεπόντος. Κάνων γὰρ αὐλήσαντος αὐτῷ παρὰ δεῖπνον (ἀκρόαμα δὲ ἢν ὁ Κάνως εὐδοκιμοῦμενον) ἐπινέσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι τὸ γλωσσόκομον· καὶ λαβῶν χρυσοῦς τινὰς ἐπέδωκε τῷ Κάνῳ, φῆσας ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων, σὺν 2 ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χαρίζεσθαι. τὰς δὲ δωρεὰς ἃς Νέρων ἐδωκε τοῖς περὶ σκηνῆν καὶ παλαιστραν, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι συντόνοις κελεύσας πλὴν τοῦ δεκάτου μέρους, εἶτα μικρὰ καὶ γλύσχρα κομιζόμενος (ἀνηλώκεσαν γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν λαβόντων, ἐφήμεροι καὶ σατυρικὸς τοῖς βίοις ἀνθρωποί) τοὺς πριαμένους παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ λαβόντας ὤτιον 3 ἀνεξίτει καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐξέπραττε. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος ὀροῦν. οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ πόρρω νεμομένου καὶ προϊόντος ἐπὶ πολλοῦς, αὐτὸς μὲν 238
that the postponement was merely a way of refusing their demands, and were incensed, and followed along with unremitting shouts. Some actually drew their swords, and then Galba ordered his horsemen to charge upon them. Not a man of them stood his ground, but some were done to death at once in the rout, and others as they fled, nor was it a happy and auspicious omen that Galba should enter the city through so much slaughter and so many dead bodies. But whereas many had before this despised him and looked upon him as a weak old man, now all regarded him with shuddering fear.

XVI. And now, in his desire to display a great change from Nero’s immoderate and extravagant manner of giving, he was thought to fall short of what was fitting. For example, after Canus had played on the flute for him at a banquet (now Canus was a performer of high repute), he was loud in his praises and ordered his purse to be brought to him; and taking from it a few gold pieces, he gave them to Canus, with the remark that the gift was made from his own, and not from the public moneys. Again, he ordered that the gifts which Nero had made to people of the theatre and palaestra should be demanded back again with strictness, all but the tenth part; and then, when he got only slight and grudging returns (for most of the recipients had squandered their largess, being men of a loose and improvident way of living), he had a search made for such as had bought or received anything whatsoever from them, and tried to exact it from these. The business had no limits, but was far extended and affected many; it gave the emperor himself a bad
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ηδόξει, φθόνον δὲ καὶ μίσος εἶχεν Οὐίνιος, ώς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἀνελεύθερον παρέχων τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ μικρολόγον, αὐτὸς δὲ χρώμενος ἀσώτως καὶ λαμβάνων πάντα καὶ πιπράσκων.

4 ο μὲν γὰρ Ἡσίοδος ἀρχομένου τε πίθου καὶ λήγοντος κορέσασθαι φησὶ δειν, ὃ δὲ Οὐίνιος ὅρων ἀσθενή καὶ γέροντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἐνεπίμπλατο τῆς τύχης, ώς ἀμα μὲν ἀρχομένης, ἀμα δὲ φθινούσης.

XVII. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἡδικείτο τὰ μὲν πρώτα τοῦ Οὐίνιου κακῶς διοικοῦντος, ἂ δὲ αὐτὸς ὅρθως προηρείτο διαβάλλουντος ἡ κωλύοντος· οἶον ἦν τὸ περὶ τὰς κολάσεις τῶν Νερονιανῶν.

2 ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ τοὺς ποιηροῦς, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ Ἡλιός καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Πετίνος καὶ Πατρόβιος. ὃ δὲ δήμος ἐκρότει, καὶ δὴ ἀγορὰς αὐτῶν ἀγομένων ἐβόα καλὴν μὲν εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλὴ πομπὴν, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ παιδαγωγὸν τῆς τυραννίδος Τιγέλλινον. ἐφθάκει δὲ ὁ γενναῖος προειληφὼς ἀρραβῶσι

3 μεγάλοις τοῦ Οὐίνιου. ἔπη Τουρπιλιανὸς μὲν, ὅτι μὴ προεδίδου μηδὲ ἐμίσει τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοιοῦτον ὅντα μισοῦμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲ ἐν μέγα συναδικήσας, ἀπέθανεν· ὃ δὲ καὶ ποιήσας ἄξιον θανάτου Νέρωνα καὶ γενόμενον τοιοῦτον ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ προδοὺς περιήν, μέγα διδαγμα

1 Works and Days, 366.
name, and brought envy and hatred upon Vinius as having made the emperor ungenerous and sordid with everybody else, while he himself used money lavishly, taking everything that was offered and selling freely. For Hesiod\(^1\) bids men to

"Drink without stint at the beginning and end of the cask,”

and so Vinius, seeing that Galba was old and feeble, sated himself with the good fortune which he thought was just beginning and at the same time was soon to end.

XVII. But the aged emperor suffered injustice not only when Vinius, as at first, administered affairs badly, but also when he brought into odium or prevented wise measures set on foot by Galba himself; as, for instance, in the matter of punishing the adherents of Nero. For Galba set out to kill the bad ones, among whom were Helius and Polycleitus and Petinus and Patrobius. And the people applauded the act, and shouted, as the culprits were dragged through the forum to their doom, that it was a goodly procession indeed, and acceptable to the gods, but that gods and men alike demanded justice on the tutor and teacher of the tyrant, namely, Tigellinus. That worthy minister, however, had won the protection of Vinius betimes, by means of large advances. Again, Turpilianus, who was hated merely because he would not betray nor show hatred to Nero in spite of all that emperor's crimes, but apart from this had participated in no one serious offence, was put to death; whereas the man who had made Nero worthy of death, and betrayed and forsook him when he had come to that pass, was left alive — a great
τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπρακτον ἐναι παρὰ Ὀυίνιῳ μηδὲ
4 ἀνέλπιστον τοὺς διδοῦσιν. οὐδὲν ὡς ὑπὸ τὴν ἑμεῖς ἐρασθεὶς ὁ Ῥωμαῖον ἡμῶν ὡς τοῦ Τιγελλίνου Ἥδη ἅπασα ἀπαγόρευσεν, οὐδὲ παυσάμενος ἐν πᾶσι θεάτροι καὶ σταδίοις αὐτούμενος ἐκεῖνον, ἑπεπλήξθη διαγράμματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Τιγελλίνου μὲν οὖ πολὺν ἔτι βιώσεσθαί φάσκοντος χρόνον ὑπὸ φθινόδος νόσου δαπανῶμεν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ παραιτούμενον μὴ διαγραφάνειν
5 μηδὲ τυραννικὴν ποιεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἀχθο- 
μένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καταγελώντες ὁ μὲν Τιγελ- 
lίνος ἔθυσε σωτήρια καὶ παρασκεύασε λαμπρὰν 
ἐστίασιν, ὁ δὲ Ὀυίνιος ἀναστὰς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτο- 
κράτορος μετὰ δείπνων ἐκώμασεν ὡς ἐκεῖνον, 
ἀγων τὴν θυγατέρα χήραν οὔσαν. καὶ προύπιεν ὁ 
Τιγελλίνος αὐτῇ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἄργυρίου, καὶ τῶν παλλακίδων τὴν ἀγελα- 
χούσαν ἐκέλευσε τὸν περιδέραιον κόσμον ἄφεσε- 
μένην ἐκείνη περιάψαι, πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων 
eiναι λεγόμενον.

XVIII. Ἔκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὰ μετρίως πρατ- 
tόμενα διαβολὴν εἶχεν, ὡς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας 
Οὐίνδικι συναραμένους. ἐδόκουν γὰρ οὐ φιλαν- 
θρωπία τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ ὀνούμενοι παρὰ 
Οὐίνιον τυγχάνειν ἀνέσεως τε δασμῶν καὶ 
2 πολιτείας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ διὰ τάῦτα πρὸς 
τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπηχθάνοντο, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας 
τὴν δωρεὰν μὴ κομιζόμενος ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐλπὶς 
παρῆγεν ὡς, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον 
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object-lesson to show that Vinius could do anything and fulfil any expectation for those who gave him enough. For there was no spectacle on which the Roman people had so set their hearts as that of Tigellinus dragged away to punishment, and in all the theatres and circuses they would not cease demanding him, until they were quelled by an edict of the emperor in which he declared that Tigellinus was wasting away with consumption and had not much longer to live, and advised them not to exasperate the government or force it to be tyrannical. Then, in mockery of the dissatisfied people, Tigellinus offered sacrifices for his preservation and prepared a splendid feast; and Vinius, rising from beside the emperor, afterwards went to a drinking-bout in Tigellinus' house, leading his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus pledged her health with a gift of twenty-five myriads of money,¹ and ordered the governess of his concubines to take the necklace from her own neck and put it about hers. The necklace was said to be worth fifteen myriads.

XVIII. After this, even the reasonable measures of the emperor fell under censure, as, for instance, his treatment of the Gauls who had conspired with Vindex. For they were thought to have obtained their remission of tribute and their civil rights, not through the kindness of the emperor, but by purchase from Vinius. Such were the reasons, then, why most of the people hated the government; but the soldiers, though they had not received their promised largess, were led on at first by the hope that Galba would give them, if not the whole of it, at least as much as

¹ See the note on Chap. ii. 2.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΓΕΩΡΓΩΝ

Νέρων ἐδωκεν, ἀποδώσοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεμφομένους ἀκούσας ἄφηκε φωνὴν ἡγεμόνι μεγάλῳ πρεποῦσαν, εἰπὼν εἰσθέναι καταλέγειν στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἄγοράζειν, πυθομένοις τούτῳ δεινὸν εἰσῆλθε μίσος καὶ ἄγριον πρὸς αὐτὸν. ἔδοκεί γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστειρῶν μὸνος, ἀλλὰ νομοθετεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς μεθ’ αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορας.

3 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἔν Ὄρῳς τυφλὸν ἦν ἔτι κίνημα, καὶ τις αἴτῶς ἁμα πρὸς παρόντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀμβλύτητα καὶ μέλλησιν ἐνεποίει τὸ νεωτερισμόν, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀρχήν ἐμφανῆ μεταβολῆς ὀρᾶθαι συνεστελλε καὶ συνέκρυπτεν ἁμῶς γέ πως τὴν δυσμένειαν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ὑπὸ Οὐρεγινίῳ γενόμενοι, τότε δὲ ὄντες ὑπὸ Φλάκκῳ περὶ Γερμανίαν, μεγάλων μὲν ἀξιόντες αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν μάχην ἢν ἐμαχέσαντο πρὸς Οὐάνδικα, μηδενὸς δὲ τυγχάνοντες, ἀπαρηγόρητοι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἦσαν. αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν Φλάκκον ὑπὸ συντόνου ποδάγρας ἀδύνατον ὄντα τῷ σώματι καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπειρὸν ἐν οὐδείν λόγῳ τὸ παράσαν ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ ποτὲ θέας οὔσης, καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν τὸ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες εὐτυχίαν ἐπευχομένων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Γάλβα, διεθορύβησαν οἱ πολλοὶ τῷ πρῶτον, εἶτα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐπιμενοῦτων ἑκεῖνων ἀντεφώνουν “Εἰ ἄξιος.”

XIX. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἔτερα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνῳ ταγμάτων ύβριζόντων πολλάκις, ἐπέμπτε το γράμματα τῷ Γάλβα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων· ο ὑδὲ φοβηθεῖς ὡς μὴ μόνον διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ

1 τὸ μὲν Coraës and Bekker have τῶν μὲν, the correction of Reiske.
Nero had given. When, however, Galba heard that they were complaining, he spoke out as became a great emperor, and declared that it was his custom to enroll soldiers, not to buy them; whereupon they began to cherish a dire and savage hatred towards him. For they thought that he was not only defrauding them himself, but laying down the law and giving instructions for succeeding emperors.

But the agitation at Rome was still smouldering, and at the same time a certain respect for Galba's presence blunted and delayed the spirit of revolution, and the absence of any manifest occasion for a change repressed and kept under cover, somehow or other, the resentment of the soldiers. But the army which had formerly served under Verginius, and was now serving under Flaccus in Germany, thinking themselves deserving of great rewards on account of the battle they had fought against Vindex, and getting nothing, could not be appeased by their officers. Of Flaccus himself, who was physically incapacitated by an acute gout, and inexperienced in the conduct of affairs, they made no account whatever. And once at a spectacle, when the military tribunes and centurions, after the Roman custom, invoked health and happiness upon the emperor Galba, the mass of the soldiery raised a storm of dissent at first, and then, when the officers persisted in their invocation, cried out in response, "If he deserves it."

XIX. The legions also that were under the command of Tigellinus frequently behaved with similar insolence, and letters on the subject were sent to Galba by his agents. So the emperor, fearing that it was not only his old age but also his
διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρονούμενος, ἐβούλευτον παῦσα δὲ σιδηραὸν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινά ἱερατικόν καὶ διάδοχουν ἀποδείξει τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἤν δὲ Μάρκος ὁ Θωμαῖος ἄνηρ γένετο μὲν οὐκ ἀφανής, τρυφὴ δὲ καὶ φιληδονίας εὑνός ἐκ παῖδων ἐν ὀλίγοις Ρωμαίων διεφθαρμένος. ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁμηρός "Ελένης πόσιν ἥικόμοιον," ἡμένεν ἔχοντα πρὸς δόξαν ἀλλο σεμνύνων ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, ὅνομάζει πολλάκις, οὕτως γεγονὸς περιβόλους ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν Ποππαίας γάμου, ἢς ἦρα μὲν ὁ Νέρων Κριστίνος συνυόσης, ἔτι ὁ αἰδοῦμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναίκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα φοβοῦμενος ύφικε τὸν ὁθώνα πειρώντα τὴν Ποππαίαν. φίλω δὲ τῷ ὁθώνε καὶ συμβιωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἔχρητο, καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πολλάκις εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἔχαρε. λέγεται δὲ ποτε μύρῳ τῶν πολυτελῶν χρισαμένου τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ τὸν ὁθώνα καταβρέχαντος, ἐκεῖνος πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δεχόμενος αὐτὸν ἀμα πολλαχόθεν ἀργυροὺς καὶ χρυσούς προβαλεῖν ἀφίσῃ σωλήνας, ὡσπερ ὑδρῷ τὸ μύρον ἐκχέοντας καὶ κατακλύζοντας. ἀλλὰ τὴν γε Ποππαἰαν προμοιχεύσας τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ διαφθείρας ταῖς εἰς ἐκείνον ἐπίθεσιν, ἐπεισεν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐλθούσης δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ως γαμετῆς οὐκ ἤγατα μετέχων, ἀλλ’ ἤσχαλλε μεταδίδουσιν, οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἀγθομένης, ως φασὶ, τῇ ξηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς Ποππαίας. καὶ γὰρ ἀποκλείσαι τὸν Νέρωνα λέγεται μὴ παρόντος τοῦ ὁθώνος, εἴτε τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀφαιροῦσα τὸ πλῆσμον, εἴτε, ως φασίν ἑνιοῦ, βαρυνομένη
childlessness that brought him into contempt, planned to adopt some young man of illustrious family and appoint him his successor. Marcus Otho, now, was a man of good lineage, but from his very childhood corrupted by luxury and the pursuit of pleasure as few Romans were. And as Homer often calls Paris "the husband of fair-haired Helen," giving him a dignity borrowed from his wife, since he had no other title to fame, so Otho was celebrated at Rome for his marriage with Poppaea. With Poppaea Nero was enamoured while she was the wife of Crispinus, but since he respected his own wife still and feared his mother, he put Otho up to soliciting her favours for him. For because of Otho's lavish prodigality Nero made an intimate friend of him, and was well pleased to be rallied by him often for parsimony and meanness. Thus, we are told that Nero once anointed himself with a costly ointment and sprinkled a little of it upon Otho; whereupon Otho, entertaining the emperor in his turn on the following day, suddenly brought into play gold and silver pipes on all sides of the room, out of which the ointment gushed freely, like so much water. But as for Poppaea, Otho corrupted her with hopes of Nero's favour and seduced her first himself, and persuaded her to leave her husband. However, after she had come to live with him as his wife, he was not content to have only a share in her favours, and was loth to give Nero a share, while Poppaea herself, as we are told, was not displeased at the rivalry between them. For it is said that she would shut out Nero although Otho was not at home; whether it was that she sought to keep his pleasure in her from cloying, or whether, as some
τον Καίσαρος γάμον, ἐραστῇ δὲ μή φεύγουσα
χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ φιλακόλαστον. ἐκινδύνευσεν
οὖν ὁ Ὄθων ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παράλογον ἦν ὁτι
τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἀποκτείνας διὰ τὸν
Ποππαίας γάμον ἑφείσατο τοῦ Ὄθωνος.

XX. Σενέκαν δὲ εἰχὲν εὐνοῦν κακείνου τῶν
Νέρωνα πείσαντο καὶ παραινέσαντος ἐξεπέμφθη
Αυστανῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν. καὶ
παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν ὕπειρα ἀχαριν οὐδὲ ἐπαξῆθη τοῖς
ὑπηκόοις, εἰδὼς φυγὴς ὑποκόρισμα καὶ παρακά-

2 λυμμα τὴν ἁρχὴν αὐτῶ δεδομένην. ἀποστάντος
δὲ Γάλβα πρῶτος αὐτῶ 1 προσεχώρησε τῶν
ἡγεμόνων, καὶ φέρων ὅσον εἰχὲν εἰν ἐκπώμασι καὶ
τραπέζας ἀργυρὸν καὶ χρυσὸν ἔδωκε κατακόψας
ποιουμένῳ νόμισμα, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐδωρήσατο
τοὺς εἰθισμένους περὶ διαίταν ἡγεμόνι ἐμμελῶς
ὑπογείειν. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστῶ ἂν αὐτῷ, καὶ
διδοὺς πέταν οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἐδόκει πραγμάτων
ἐμπειρῶς εἶναι καὶ βαδίζοντι τὴν ὄδον ἀπασαν
εφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς συνοχούμενος διετέλεσεν.

3 εν δὲ τῇ συνοδίᾳ καὶ τῇ συνηθείᾳ τῶν Οὐών
ἐξεθεράπευσεν ὁμιλία καὶ δῶροις, μάλιστα δὲ
τῶν πρωτείων υφιέμενοι αὐτῶ τὸ γε μετ' ἑκείνων
dύνασθαι δι' ἑκείνων εἰχε βεβαιώς. τῷ δὲ ἀν-
ἐπιθυμῶν περιήν, προῖκα συμπράττων πάντα τοῖς
deομένοις, καὶ παρέχων ἑαυτὸν εὐπροσήγορον καὶ
φιλάνθρωπον ἀπασι. πλεῖστα δὲ τοῖς στρατιω-
tικοῖς συνελάμβανε καὶ προῆγε πολλοὺς ἐφ'

1 αὖτω Coraës and Bekker, after Du Soul: αὐτὸς.

1 Cf. Tacitus, Annals, xiii. 45 f.

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say, she recoiled from a marriage with the emperor, but was not averse to having him as a lover, out of mere wantonness. Otho, accordingly, came into peril of his life; and it was strange that although his own wife and sister were put to death by Nero on account of his marriage with Poppaea, Otho himself was spared.¹

XX. But Otho had the good will of Seneca, by whose advice and persuasion Nero sent him out as governor of Lusitania to the shores of the western ocean. Here he made himself acceptable and pleasing to his subjects, although he knew that his office had been given him to disguise and mitigate his banishment. When Galba revolted, Otho was the first of the provincial governors to go over to him, and bringing all the gold and silver that he had in the shape of drinking-cups and tables, he gave it to him for conversion into coin, presenting him also with those of his servants who were qualified to give suitable service for the table of an emperor. In other ways he was trusted by Galba, and when put to the test was thought to be inferior to none as a man of affairs; and during the entire journey of the emperor he would travel in the same carriage with him for many days together. Moreover, amid the intimacies of the common journey he paid court to Vinius, both in person and by means of gifts, and, above all else, by yielding to him the first place, he got his aid in holding securely the place of influence next to him. But in avoiding envy he was superior to Vinius, for he gave his petitioners every aid without any reward, and showed himself easy of access and kindly to all men. But it was the soldiers whom he was most ready to help, and he advanced many of
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... τα μεν αιτουμενοσ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰ δὲ τῶν Οὐίνιου καὶ τοὺς ἀπελευθερούς παρακαλῶν Ἴκελον καὶ Ἀσιατικον οὗτοι ἤρσαν ἐν δυνάμει μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ὀσάκις δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν εἰστιά, τὴν παραφυλάττουσαν ἀεὶ σπείραν ἐδέκαζε χρυσῶν ἐκάστῳ διανέμων, οἷς τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ἐδόκει καταπολιτεύμενος καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν.

XXI. Ἀλλ' οὖν βουλευομένου γε τοῦ Γάλβα περὶ διαδόχου τὸν Ὀθωνα παρεισήγην ὁ Οὐίνιος, οὐδὲ τούτῳ προίκα πράσσων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῆς θυγατρὸς, ὁμολογίας γενομένης γαμεῖν αὐτήν τὸν Ὀθωνα παίδα τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ διάδοχον ἀποδειχθέντα τῆς ἤγερμονίας. ὁ δὲ Γάλβας ἀεὶ μὲν ἢν δήλος πρὸ τοῦ ἱδίου τὸ κοινὸν τιθέμενος καὶ ἥστων ὧν αὐτῷ θέσθαι τὸν ἱδίονος, ἀλλὰ Ρωμαῖος τὸν ὑφελιμωτατον. δοκεῖ δὲ μηδ' ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱδίοις χρήμασι μόνον ἐλέοσθαι τὸν Ὀθωνα κληρονόμον, ἀκόλαστον εἰδὼς καὶ πολυτελῆ καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι μυριάδων ὄψινμασι βεβαπτισμένον. οὗτοι ἀκούσας τοῦ Οὐίνιου σιωπῆ καὶ πρᾶσος ὑπερέθετο τῇ διάδεσιν. ἀποδεῖξας δ' αὐτὸν ὑπατον καὶ συναρχοντα τοῦ Οὐίνιον ἐπίδοξος ἢν ἐτος ἀρχή τοῦ διάδοχον ἀναγορεύσειν καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἱδέως εἰχε τὸν Ὀθωνα παρ' ὀντινοῦν ἄλλον ἀναγορευθήναι.

XXII. Καταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἐτι μέλλοντα

1 See the note on Chap. ii. 2.
them to places of command, sometimes asking the appointment from the emperor, and sometimes getting the support of Vinius, and of the freedmen Icelus and Asiaticus; for these were the most influential men at court. And as often as he entertained Galba, he would compliment the cohort on duty for the day by giving each man a gold piece, thus showing honour to the emperor, as it was thought, while really scheming for the support and favour of the soldiery.

XXI. So, then, while Galba was deliberating upon a successor, Vinius suggested Otho. And yet not even this was done for nothing, but as a return for the marriage of his daughter. For it had been agreed that Otho should marry her when he had been adopted by Galba and declared his successor. But Galba always showed clearly that he placed the public good before his private interests, and in the present case that he aimed to adopt, not the man who was most agreeable to himself, but the one who would be most serviceable to the Romans. And it does not seem that he would have chosen Otho merely as the heir of his own private fortune, since he knew that he was unrestrained and extravagant and immersed in debts amounting to five millions.\(^1\) Wherefore, after listening to Vinius calmly and without a word, he postponed his decision. But he appointed himself and Vinius consuls for the following year, and it was expected that on their accession to office he would declare his successor. And the soldiery would have been glad that Otho, rather than anyone else, should be so declared.

XXII. But while the emperor was hesitating and deliberating, he was overtaken by the dis-
καὶ βουλευόμενον ἐκραγέντα τὰ Γερμανικά. κοινὴ γὰρ ἀπαντησεις οἱ στρατευομένοι τὸν Γάλβαν ἐμίσσουν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τὴν δωρεάν, ἵνα καὶ ἐκεῖνοι προ-φάσεις ἐποιοῦντο Ὑπεργίνον τε Ῥώμον ἀπερρυμ-μένοι αἵμας καὶ Γαλατῶν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας
2 αὐτοῖς δορεῶν τυγχάνοντας, ὅσοι δὲ μὴ προσ-έθεντο Ὑπίνδικι κολαζομένους, δὲ μόνῳ τὸν Γάλβαν χάριν εἰδέναι καὶ τιμᾶν τεθυγιάτο καὶ γεραίρειν δημοσίους ἐναγισμοῖς, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνον Ὁρμαίων
3 ἀποδεδειγμένον αὐτοκράτορα. τοιούτων ἀναφαν-δον ἡδὴ λόγων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερομένων ἐπήλθεν ἡ νουμηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣν κα-λάκδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι τοῦ δὲ Φλάκκου συναγαγόντος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ὄρκον ἄν ἔθος ἐστὶν ὁμόφων ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ Γάλβα προσελθόντες ἀνέτρεψαν καὶ κατ-έσπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὀμόσαντες ὑπὲρ συγκλήτου καὶ
4 δῆμον Ὁρμαίων διελύθησαν. εἶτα τοῖς ἠγεμονι-κοῖς παρίστατο διδοικέναι τὴν ἀναρχίαν ὡς ἀπόστασιν. λέγει δὲ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς: "Τί πάσχο-μεν, ὡς συστράτισώτα, μὴ τέρεξιν ἡγεμόνα ποιού-μενοι μήτε τὸν νῦν ὄντα φυλάττοντες, ὅσπερ οὖν Γάλβαν, ἄλλοι ὀλοίς ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι
5 φεύγοντες; Φλάκκον μὲν ὅν ὅρδεωνι διδὲν ἄλλο ἡ σκίαν ὅταν Γάλβα καὶ εἴδωλον ἐατένω, ἡμέρας δὲ μιᾶς ὄδον ἀφεστηκεν ἡμῶν Ὑπίτελλιος, ὁ τῆς ἐτέρας Γερμανίας ἡγούμενος, πατρὸς τε τιμητοῦ καὶ τρὶς υπάτου γενομένου καὶ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι τρόπον τινὰ συνάρξαντος, αὐτὸς τε τὴν

1 See Chap. iv. 3.
orders which broke out among the troops in Germany. For the soldiers in all parts of the empire had a common hatred of Galba because he had not given them their usual largess, but those in Germany made special excuses for themselves out of the fact that Verginius Rufus had been cast off in dishonour; that the Gauls who had fought against them were getting rewards, while all those who had not joined Vindex were being punished; and that to Vindex alone Galba showed gratitude by honouring him when he was dead and giving him the distinction of public obsequies, on the ground that Vindex had proclaimed him emperor of the Romans.¹ Such arguments as these were already circulating openly in the camp, when the first day of the first month came, which the Romans call the Calends of January. On this day Flaccus assembled the soldiers that they might take the customary oath of allegiance to the emperor; but they overturned and pulled down all the statues of Galba which they could find, and after swearing allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, went to their quarters. Then their officers began to fear that their lawless spirit might issue in revolt, and one of them made this speech: "What is wrong with us, my fellow soldiers? We are neither supporting the present emperor nor setting up another. It is as though we were averse, not to Galba, but to all rule and obedience. Flaccus Hordeonius, indeed, who is nothing but a shadow and image of Galba, we must ignore, but there is Vitellius, who is only a day's march distant from us, and commands the forces in the other Germany. His father was censor, thrice consul, and in a manner the colleague of Claudius Caesar, and
λοιδορομένην ύπ’ ενίων πενίαιν δείγμα λαμπρόν ἐχων χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης. Φέρε, τούτων ἐλόμενοι δείξωμεν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ὡς Ἰβήρων καὶ Λυσιτανῶν ἀμείνους ἐσμὲν αὐτο-κράτορα αἱρεῖσθαι.

6 ἦδη προσιεμένων, τῶν δ’ οὐ προσιεμένων, εἰς ὑπεξελθῶν σημαιοφόρος ἄπηγ-γειλε τῷ Οὐίτελλίῳ νυκτὸς, ἐστιωμένων πολλῶν παρ’ αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ λόγου διαπεσόντος εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα πρώτος Φάβιος Οὐάλης, ἠγεμόν ἐνὸς τάγματος, τῇ ὕστεραία μετὰ ἱππέων συχνῶν ἐλάσσας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Οὐίτελλιον προσείπεν.

7 ὁ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἐμπροσθεν ἡμέρας ἐδόκει διωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναδύσθαι, τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἁρχῆς φοβούμενος, τότε δὲ φασίν οὖν διαπλευν καὶ τροφῆς ὡντα μεσημβρινῆς προελθεῖν καὶ ὕπακοῦσαι Γερμανικὸν ὄνομα θεμένων αὐτό, τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος ὥν προσδεξάμενον. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ Φλάκκον στράτευμα τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ δημοκρατικοὺς εἰς συγκλητον ὥρκους ἀφέντες ὅμοσαν Οὐίτελλίῳ τὸν αὐτοκράτορι ποιήσειν τὸ προστασσόμενον.

XXIII. Οὔτω μὲν ἀνηγορεύθη Οὐίτελλιος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν ἐκεί νεωτερισμὸν ὁ Γάλβας οὐκέτι τὴν εἰσποίησιν ἀνεβάλλετο. γινώσκων δὲ τῶν φίλων εὐνίους μὲν ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ὑπὲρ "Οθωνος ἀρχαιοσιάζοντας, ὃν οὐδέτερον ἐδοκίμαζεν αὐτός, ἀφίων μηδὲν προειπὼν μετετέμψιτο Πεἰσώνα, Κρύσσου καὶ Σκριβωνίας ἐκχυονον, οὐδὲ Νέρων 2 ἦν θερίκει, νεανιῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εὐφυίᾳ τὸ κόσμου καὶ αὐτοτηρὸν ἐμφανέστατα
Vitellius himself, in the poverty with which some reproach him, affords a splendid proof of probity and magnanimity. Come, let us choose him, and so show the world that we know how to select an emperor better than Iberians and Lusitanians."

While some of the soldiers were already for adopting this proposal and others for rejecting it, one standard-bearer stole away and brought tidings of the matter by night to Vitellius, as he was entertaining many guests. The news spread swiftly to the troops, and first Fabius Valens, commander of a legion, rode up next day with a large body of horsemen and saluted Vitellius as emperor. Hitherto Vitellius had seemed to decline and avoid the office, fearing the magnitude of it; but on this day, as they say, being fortified with wine and a midday meal, he came out to the soldiers and accepted the title of Germanicus which they conferred upon him, though he rejected that of Caesar. And straightway the army with Flaccus also, casting aside those fine and democratic oaths of theirs to support the senate, took oath that they would obey the orders of Vitellius the emperor.

XXIII. Thus was Vitellius proclaimed emperor in Germany; and when Galba learned of the revolution there he no longer deferred his act of adoption. Knowing that some of his friends favoured the selection of Dolabella, and most of them that of Otho, neither of whom was approved by himself, he suddenly, and without any previous notice of his intention, sent for Piso (whose parents, Crassus and Scribonia, had been put to death by Nero), a young man in whose predisposition to every virtue the traits of gravity and decorum were most conspicuous; then
ἐχοντα' καὶ κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδου ἐκεῖνον ἀποδείξων Καίσαρα καὶ διάδοχου. καίτοι μεγάλαι μὲν εὐθὺς ἔξιοντι διοσήμαι παρηκολούθουν, ἀρξαμένου δὲ τὰ μὲν λέγειν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ, τὰ δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν, τοσαυτάκις ἐβρόντησε καὶ κατήστραψε, καὶ τοσοῦτος ὦμβρος καὶ ξόφος ἐξεχύθη εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς κατάδηλον εἶναι μὴ προσίμευον μηδὲ ἔπαινον τὸ δαίμόνιον γινομένην οὐκ ἔπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ τὴν εἰσποίησιν. ἤν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑπούλα καὶ σκυθρωπὰ μηδὲ τότε δωρεὰς αὐτοῖς δοθείσης.

Τοῦ δὲ Πείσωνος οἱ παρόντες ἔθαυμασαν τῇ τε φωνῇ τεκμαίρομενοι καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ τηλικαύτην χάριν ἀνεμπλήκτως, οὗ μὴν ἀναισθήτως δεχόμενον, ὥσπερ αὖ τοῦ Ὁθωνος ἐπεφαίνετο πολλὰ σημεῖα τῇ μορφῇ πικρῶς καὶ σὺν ὄργῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν ἀπότευξιν φέροντος, ἂς πρὸς τὸν αἰσθηθῆς καὶ τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐγγυτάτω γενόμενος τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖον ἔχθους ἀμα καὶ κακονοίας τοῦ Γάλβα πρὸς αὐτὸν. οὖθεν οὔδε ἄφοβος ἦν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πείσωνα δεδιώκας καὶ τὸν Γάλβαν προβαλλόμενος καὶ τῷ Ὀὐνίῳ χαλεπαίνων ἀπήει πολλῶν παθῶν πλήρης. οὔδε γὰρ τὸ ἐλπίδον ἐκλιπεῖν οὔδε ἀπαιγρεῖσαι παντάπασιν εἰσὶν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες αἵ μᾶντεις καὶ Χαλδαῖοι, εἰς τὰ μάλιστα δὲ Πτολεμαίος ἵσχυριζόμενος τῷ προειπεῖν πολλάκις ὡς οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖ Νέρων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τεθνύξεται πρότερος, αὐτὸς δὲ περιέσται καὶ ἄρξει Ρωμαίων (ἐκεῖνο γὰρ
he went down to the camp to declare him Caesar and heir to the throne. And yet as soon as he set out, great signs from heaven accompanied him on his way, and after he had begun to pronounce and read his address to the soldiers, there were many peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, and much darkness and rain pervaded both the camp and the city, so that it was plain that the act of adoption was inauspicious and was not favoured or approved by the heavenly powers. The soldiers also were secretly disloyal and sullen, since not even then was their largess given to them.

As for Piso, those who were present at the scene and observed his voice and countenance were amazed to see him receive so great a favour without great emotion, though not without appreciation; whereas in the outward aspect of Otho there were many clear signs of the bitterness and anger with which he took the disappointment of his hopes. He had been the first to be thought worthy of the prize, and had come very near attaining it, and his not attaining it was regarded by him as a sign of ill-will and hatred on Galba's part towards him. Wherefore he was not without apprehension for the future, and fearing Piso, blaming Galba, and angry with Vinius, he went away full of various passions. For the soothsayers and Chaldaeans who were always about him would not suffer him to abandon his hopes or give up altogether, particularly Ptolemaeus, who dwelt much upon his frequent prediction that Nero would not kill Otho, but would die first himself, and that Otho would survive him and be emperor of the Romans (for now that he could point to the first part of the prediction as true, he thought that Otho
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άληθες ἀποδείξας ἥξιον μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπελπίξειν·
οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ οἱ συναχθόμενοι κρύφα καὶ συν-
επιστένοντες ὃς ἀχάριστα πεποιθοῦτο. πλείστοι
δὲ τῶν περὶ Τυγελλίνον καὶ Νυμφίδιον ἐν τιμῇ
γεγονότων ἄπερριμένοι τότε καὶ ταπεινά πράτ-
τοντες ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνηγαγόντο
καὶ παρῷξυνον.

XXIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτως Οὐετούριος καὶ Βάρβιος,
ὡς ὡσπίων, ὧ δὲ τεσσεράριος· οὕτω γὰρ κα-
λοῦντα ὡς διαγγέλων καὶ διοπτήρων ὑπηρεσίας
tελοῦντες. μεθ’ ὄν Ὀθωνος ἀπελεύθερος Ὀυνόμα-
στος ἐπιφοιτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίων, τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίζο
διέφθειρεν ἥδη σαθροὺς ὄντας καὶ δεομένους προ-
φάσεως. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ἔργον
ὑγιαίνοντος στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι πίστιν ὀσα
μεταξὺ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἐγένοτο καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς.
Ἐκτῇ γὰρ ἀνηρέθησαν, ἦν ἀγοςὶ Ῥωμαίοι πρὸ
dεκαοκτὼ καλαιδῶν Φεβρουαρίων.

2 Ἐκεῖνη γὰρ ἐωθεν εὐθὺς ὁ μὲν Γάλβας ἔθνεν
ἐν Παλατίῳ τῶν φίλων παρόντων, ὡ δὲ θύτης
Ὀμβρίκιος ἄμα τῷ λαβεὶν εἰσ τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ
ἴρειον τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ προσδεῖν ὦ δ’ αὐνγ-
μῶν, ἀλλ’ ἀντικρυς ἐφ’ ὑπεμένα μεγάλης ταραχῆς,
καὶ μετὰ δόλων κάδυνου ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐπικείμενον
τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, μονονουχῆ τὸν Ὀθωνα τοῦ θεοῦ
3 χειρὶ ληπτὸν παραδιόντος. παρὴρ γὰρ ὅπισθεν
τοῦ Γάλβα, καὶ προσεῖχε τῶν λεγομένων καὶ
deικνυμένως ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμβρίκιον. θορυβοῦμένω

1 January 15th (A.D. xviii. Cal. Feb.), 68 A.D.
should not despair of the second part). Above all, Otho was encouraged by those who secretly shared his resentment and chagrin on the ground that he had been thanklessly treated. Moreover, most of the adherents of Tigellinus and Nymphidius, men who had once been in high honour, but were now cast aside and of no account, treacherously went over to Otho, shared his resentment, and spurred him on to action.

XXIV. Among these were Veturius and Barbius, the one an "optio," the other a "tesserarius" (these are the Roman names for scout and messenger). In company with these Onomastus, a freedman of Otho's, went round corrupting the soldiers, some with money, and others with fair promises. The soldiers were already disaffected and wanted only a pretext for treachery. For four days would not have sufficed to change the allegiance of a loyal army, and only so many days intervened between the act of adoption and the murder, since on the sixth day after the adoption (the Romans call it the eighteenth before the Calends of February¹), Galba and Piso were slain.

On that day, shortly after dawn, Galba was sacrificing in the Palatium in the presence of his friends; and as soon as Umbricius, the officiating priest, had taken the entrails of the victim in his hands and inspected them, he declared not ambiguously, but in so many words, that there were signs of a great commotion, and that peril mixed with treachery hung over the emperor's head. Thus the god all but delivered Otho over to arrest. For Otho was standing behind Galba, and noted what was said and pointed out by Umbricius. But
δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρόας ἀμείβοντι παντοδαπᾶς ὑπὸ δέους παραστάς 'Ονόμαστος ἀπελεύθερος ἤκειν ἔφη καὶ περιμένειν αὐτὸν οἶκοι τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας. ἦν δὲ σύμβολον καιροῦ, πρὸς ὄν ἔδει ἀπαντῆσαι τὸν Ὀθωνα τοῖς στρατιώταις. εἰπὼν οὖν, ὅτι παλαιῶν ἐωνημένοι οἰκίαι βούλεται τὰ ὕποττα δείξαι τοῖς πωληταῖς, ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς Τίβερίου καλουμένης οἰκίας καταβὰς ἐβάδιξεν εἰς ἀγοράν, οὔ χρυσοὺς εἰστήκει κίων, εἰς ὅν αἱ τετμημέναι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι τελευτῶσιν.

XXV. Ἔνταῦθα τοὺς πρῶτους ἐκδεξαμένους αὐτὸν καὶ προσεπόντας αὐτόκρατορά φασὶ μὴ πλείους τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσι γενέσθαι. διό, καίπερ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μαλακίαν καὶ θηλύτητα τῆς ψυχῆς διετεθρυμμένος, ἀλλὰ ἱπταμός ὄν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἀτρεπτὸς, ἀπεδειλίασεν. οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐκ εἰσών, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔθεσι γυμνοῖς περιόντες αὐτὸν τὸ φορεῖν ἐκέλευον αἱρέσθαι, παραβῇθεγμένου πολλάκις ἀπολωλέναι καὶ τοὺς φορειαφόρους ἐπιταχύνοντος. ἐξήκουσον γὰρ ἐνιοὶ θαυμάζοντες μᾶλλον ἡ ταραττόμενοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἀποτετολμημένων. φερομένῳ δὲ οὕτω δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀπῆλθησαν ἐτεροὶ τοσοῦτοι, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέταρτας ἄλλοι προσεπελαζόν. εἶτα συνανέστρεφον ἀπαντεῖ ἀνακαλούμενοι Καίσαρα καὶ γυμνά τὰ ἔφη προὐσχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μαρτίαλις, ως φασὶ, μὴ συνειδώς, ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τῶν ἀπροσδοκητῶν καὶ φοβηθεῖς.
as he stood there in confusion and with a countenance changing to all sorts of colours through fear, Onomastus his freedman came up and told him that the builders were come and were waiting for him at his house. Now, this was a token that the time was at hand when Otho was to meet the soldiers. With the remark, then, that he had bought an old house and wished to show its defects to the vendors, he went away, and passing through what was called the house of Tiberius, went down into the forum, to where a gilded column stood, at which all the roads that intersect Italy terminate.

XXV. Here, as we are told, the soldiers who first welcomed him and saluted him as emperor were no more than twenty-three. Therefore, although he was not sunken in spirit to match the weakness and effeminacy of his body, but was bold and adventurous in presence of danger, he began to be afraid. The soldiers who were there, however, would not suffer him to desist, but surrounding his litter with their swords drawn, ordered it to be taken up, while Otho urged the bearers to hasten, saying to himself many times that he was a lost man. For he was overheard by some of the bystanders, and they were astonished rather than disturbed, owing to the small number of those who had ventured upon the deed. But as he was thus borne through the forum, he was met by as many more soldiers, and others again kept joining the party by threes and fours. Then all crowded around the litter, saluting Otho as emperor and brandishing their drawn swords. At the camp, Martialis, the military tribune in charge of the watch at the time, who was not privy to the plot, as they say, but was confounded by their unexpected
έφηκεν εἰσελθεῖν. γενομένω δὲ ἐντὸς οὐδεὶς ἀντέπεσεν. οἱ γὰρ ἁγνοοῦντες τὰ πραττόμενα τοῖς εἰδῶσι καὶ συνεστῶσιν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμπεριεχόμενοι καθ’ ένα καὶ δύο σποράδες, ὑπὸ δέον τῷ πρῶτῳ, εἶτα πεισθέντες ἐπηκολουθήσαν.

4 Eἰς δὲ τὸ Παλάτιον εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρόντος ἔτι τοῦ θυτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν χερσίν ὄντων, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς πάντα πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα δυσπειθός καὶ ἀτενῶς ἐχουτας ἐκπλήττε-θαί καὶ θαυμάζειν τὸ θείον. ὥρχλου δὲ παντοδαποῦ συρρέωντο εἰς ἀγορᾶς, αὐτὸ μὲν Οὐίνιος καὶ Λάκων καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἐνιοί γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προισχόμενοι παρέστησαν, ὁ δὲ Πείσων προελθὼν τοὺς φυλάττουσι τὴν αὐλὴν δορυφόροις

5 ἐνετύγχανε. τοῦ δ’ Ἰλυρικοῦ τάγματος εῦ τῇ καλουμένῃ παστάδι Βυθανία στρατοπεδεύοντος ἀπεστάλη Μάριος Κέλσος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, προκαταληψόμενος.

XXVI. Βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γάλβα προελθείν, καὶ Οὐίνιον μὲν οὐκ ἐδωτος, Κέλσον δὲ καὶ Λά-κανος παρομῶντων καὶ σφοδρότερον τοῦ Οὐίνιον καθαπτομένων, θροῦς διηλθεί τολύως ὡς ἀνηρη-μένου τοῦ Ὀθώνος εὗ τὸ στρατόπεδο. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὀφθη Ἰούλιος Ἀττικος τῶν οὐκ ἁσῃμῶν εν τοῖς δορυφορίσι στρατευόμενος γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει προσφερόμενος καὶ βοῶν ἀνηρκέναι τοῦ Καίσα-ρος πολέμιον ὁσάμενος δὲ διὰ τῶν προεστότων

2 ἐδείξε τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸ ξίφος ἡμαγμένον. ὁ δὲ βλέψας πρὸς αὐτὸν, “Τίς σε,” εἶπεν, “ἐκέλευσε;” τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὴν πίστιν εἰπόντος καὶ τὸν
appearance and terrified, permitted them to enter. And after Otho was inside the camp, no one opposed him. For those who were ignorant of what was going on, scattered about as they were by ones and twos, were designedly enveloped by those who knew and were privy to the plot, and so gave in their adherence, at first through fear, and then under persuasion.

News of this was carried at once to Galba in the Palatium and the priest was still standing there with the entrails in his hands, so that even men who were altogether indifferent and sceptical about such matters were confounded and filled with wonder at the divine portent. And now a motley crowd came streaming out from the forum; Vinius and Laco and some of the freedmen stood at Galba's side brandishing their naked swords; Piso went out and held conference with the guards on duty in the court; and Marius Celsus, a man of worth, was sent off to secure the allegiance of the Illyrian legion encamped in what was called the Vipsanian portico.

XXVI. And now, as Galba purposed to go forth, and Vinius would not permit it, while Celsus and Laco urged it and vehemently chided Vinius, a rumour spread insistently that Otho had been slain in the camp; and after a little, Julius Atticus, a soldier of distinction among the guards, was seen rushing up with his sword drawn, and crying out that he had slain the enemy of Caesar; and forcing his way through the crowd about Galba, he showed him his sword all stained with blood. Then Galba fixed his eyes upon him and said, "Who gave thee thy orders?" Whereupon the man replied that it was his fidelity and the oath that he had sworn, at
όρκον δὲ ὤμοσε, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοῶντος ὡς εὖ, καὶ κροτοῦντος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ φορεῖον ἐκομί-
ζετο τῷ τε Διῷ θύσαι καὶ φανῆναι τοῖς πολίταις
βουλόμενος. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν,
ὡσπερ τροπαία πνεύματος, ἀπήντησε φήμη κρα-
3 τείν τῶν Ὄθωνα τοῦ στρατεύματος. οἴα δὲ ἐν
πλήθει τοσούτω, τῶν μὲν ἀναστρέφειν, τῶν δὲ
προϊέναι, τῶν δὲ θαρρεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀπιστεῖν βοῶν-
tων, καὶ τοῦ φορείου, καθάπερ ἐν κλύδωνι, δεύρῳ
κάκει διαφερομένου καὶ πυκνῶν ἀπονεύοντος, ἐφαί-
nυντο πρῶτον ἱππεῖς, εἴτα ὀπλῖται διὰ τῆς Παύ-
λου βασιλικῆς προσφερόμενοι, μιὰ φωνῇ μέγα
4 βοῶντες ἐκποδῶν ἱστασθαί τὸν ἰδιώτην. τῶν
μὲν οὖν πολλῶν δρόμος ἦν, οὗ φυγῇ σκιδναμένων,
ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς στοὰς καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς ἀγορᾶς,
ὡσπερ θέαν καταλαμβανόντων. Ἀτιλλίου δὲ
Βεργελίωνος εἰκόνα Γάλβα προσουδίσαντος, ἀρ-
χῆν τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι περιηκόντισαν τὸ
φορείον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, προσηγοῦν
ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσι. ἦμυνε δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ
ὑπέστη πλὴρ ἐνὸς ἄνδρός, ὅτι μόνον ἠλιος ἐπείδε
ἐν μυρίασι τοσαύταις ἄξιον τῆς Ῥωμαίῶν ἠγε-
5 μονίας. Σεμπρώνιος ἢν Δήμος ἐκατοντάρχης,
οὐδὲν ἰδία χρηστὸν ὑπὸ Γάλβα πεπονθὼς, τῷ δὲ
καλῷ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθῶν προέστη τοῦ φορείου.
kαὶ τὸ κλήμα πρῶτον, ὁ κολάζουσιν ἐκατοντάρ-
χα τοὺς πληγῶν δεομένους, ἐπαράμενους τοῖς
ἐπιφερομένους ἐβόα καὶ διεκελεύετο φείδεσθαι τοῦ
αὐτοκράτορος. ἔπειτα συμπλεκομένων αὐτῷ
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which the multitude cried out that he had done well, and gave him their applause. Then Galba got into his litter and was carried forth, wishing to sacrifice to Jupiter and show himself to the citizens. But when he was come into the forum, there met him, like a change of wind, a report that Otho was master of the army. Then, as might be expected in so great a crowd, some cried out to him to turn back, others to go forward; some bade him to be of good courage, others urged him to be cautious; and so, while his litter was swept hither and thither, as in a surging sea, and often threatened to capsize, there came into view, first horsemen, and then men-at-arms, charging through the basilica of Paulus, and with one voice loudly ordering all private citizens out of their way. The multitude, accordingly, took to their heels, not scattering in flight, but seeking the porticoes and eminences of the forum, as if to get a view of a spectacle. Hostilities began with the overthrow of a statue of Galba by Attilius Vergilio, and then the soldiers hurled javelins at the litter; and since they failed to strike it, they advanced upon it with their swords drawn. No one opposed them or tried to defend the emperor, except one man, and he was the only one, among all the thousands there on whom the sun looked down, who was worthy of the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus, a centurion, and though he had received no special favours from Galba, yet in defence of honour and the law he took his stand in front of the litter. And first, lifting up the switch with which centurions punish soldiers deserving of stripes, he cried out to the assailants and ordered them to spare the emperor. Then, as they came to
XXVII. Τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν, ἀποκλιθέντος τοῦ φορείου περὶ τὸν Κουρτίου καλούμενον λάκκον, ἐκκυλισθέντα τεθωρακισμένου ἐτυπτοὺς ἐπιδραμόντες. οὗ δὲ τὴν σφαγήν προτείνας, "Δράτε," εἶπεν, "εἰ τούτο τῷ ἡμῖν Ῥωμαίων ἀμεινὸν ἑστὶ." 2 πολλὰς μὲν ὁν̄ ἐλαβὲ πληγὰς εἰς τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας, ἀπέσφαξε δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι. Καμοῦριός τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκα-deκάτου τάγματος. ἐνιοὶ δὲ Τερέντιοι, οἱ δὲ Δεκάνιοι ἵστοροσιν, οἱ δὲ Φάβιοι Φάβουλον, ὃν καὶ φασιν ἄποκόψαντα τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίζειν τῷ ἰματίῳ συλλαβόντα, διὰ τὴν ψιλότητα δυσπερίας τουπτὸν ὅσαν: ἔπειτα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κρύπτειν οὐκ ἐσώντων, ἀλλ' ἐκφανὴ πάσι ποιεῖν τὴν ἀν-δραγαθίαν, περιπείραντα περὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀνατύλαντα πρεσβύτου πρόσωπον, ἄρχοντος τε κοσμίου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ὑπάτου, ὄρμων χωρεῖν, ὅσπερ αἱ βάκχαι, πολλάκις μεταστρεφόμενον, καὶ κραδαίνοντα τὴν λόγχην αἱματὶ καταρ-ρεσεμένην.

Τὸν δ' Οθωνα, τῆς κεφαλῆς κομισθείσης, ἀνακραγείων λέγουσιν: "Οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τούτο, ὡς συστρα-τιώται, τὴν Πείσωνος μοι κεφαλῆς δεῖξαι." μετ' ὁλίγον δὲ ἦκε κομίζομένη τροθεὶς γαρ ἐφευγεν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ καταδιώκθεις ὑπὸ Μούρκου τίνος ἀπεσφάγη πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἑστίας. ἀπεσφάτ-τετο δὲ καὶ Οὐίνιος ὁμολογῶν κοινωνῶς γεγονέναι τῆς ἑπὶ τὸν Γάλβαν συνωμοσίας: ἔβωα γαρ ἀποθυήσεις παρὰ τὴν "Οθωνος γυμόμην. ἀλλὰ
close quarters with him, he drew his sword, and fought them off a long time, until he fell with a wound in the groin.

XXVII. The litter was upset at the place called Lacus Curtius, and there Galba tumbled out and lay in his corselet, while the soldiers ran up and struck at him. But he merely presented his neck to their swords, saying: "Do your work, if this is better for the Roman people." So, then, after receiving many wounds in his legs and arms, he was slain, as most writers state, by a certain Camurius, of the fifteenth legion. Some, however, ascribe his death to Terentius, others to Lecanius, and others still to Fabius Fabulus, who, they say, cut off Galba's head and was carrying it wrapped in his cloak, since its baldness made it difficult to grasp; then, since his companions would not suffer him to hide his deed of valour, but insisted on his displaying it to all eyes, he impaled on his spear and thrust on high the head of an aged man, who had been a temperate ruler, a high priest, and a consul, and ran with it, like a bacchanal,\(^1\) whirling about often, and brandishing the spear all dripping with blood.

But Otho, as they say, when the head was brought to him, cried out: "This is nothing, fellow-soldiers; show me the head of Piso." And after a little it was brought to him; for the young man had been wounded and tried to escape, and a certain Murcus ran him down and slew him at the temple of Vesta. Vinius also was slain, and he admitted himself a party to the conspiracy against Galba by crying out that he was put to death contrary to the wishes of

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\(^1\) So the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1153 ff.).
γὰρ καὶ τούτον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες καὶ Λάκωνος ἐκόμισαν πρὸς τὸν Ὀθωνα δωρεὰς αἱ 5 τοῦτοι. ὡς δὲ φησίν Ἀρχίλοχος,

ἐπτα γὰρ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, οὗς ἐμάρψαμεν ποσίν,

χίλιοι φονίες ἐσμέν,

οὕτως τότε πολλοὶ τοῦ φόνου μὴ συνεφασά-

μενοί, χείρας δὲ καὶ ξίφη καθαιμάσσοντες ἐπε-

δείκνυτο καὶ δωρεὰς ἢτονι βιβλία διδόντες τῷ Ὀθωνι. εἴκοσι γοῦν καὶ ἐκατὸν εὐρέθησαν ὑστερον ἐκ τῶν γραμματίων, οὕς ὁ Οὐιτέλλιος ἀναξητήσας ἀπαντᾷ ἀπέκτεινεν. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Μάριος Κέλσος εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. καὶ πολ-

λῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγοροῦντων ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπείθε τῷ Γάλβᾳ βοηθεῖν, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἀποκτινώνυειν βοῶντος, Ὁθων ὡς ἐβούλετο φο-

βούμενος δὲ ἀντιλέγειν οὐχ οὕτως ἐφη ταχέως ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτῶν· εἶναι γὰρ ἃ δὲ πρότερον ἐκπυ-

θέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἄνδρος. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν δήσαντας φυλάττειν, καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς μάλιστα πιστευ-

ομένοις.

XXVIII. Εὐθὺς δὲ βούλη συνεκαλεῖτο. καὶ καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες ἡ θέων ἄλλων γεγονώ-

tων συνελθόντες ὠμνυν ὅρκον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὁθωνος, ὅν αὐτὸς ὠμόσας οὐκ ἔτήρησε· καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ Σεβαστὸν ἀνηγόρευν, ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀκεφάλων ἐν ταῖς ὑπατικαῖς ἐσθήσει ἐρριμμένων ἔπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ταῖς δὲ κεφαλαῖς ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον ἔτι χρήσθαι, τὴν μὲν Ὀυινίου τὴν θυγατρὶ δισχίλιων

1 Bergk, Lyr. Gr. Frag. ii.4 p. 398.
Otho. However, they cut off his head, and Laco's too, and brought them to Otho, of whom they demanded largess. And as Archilochus says\(^1\) that,

"Only seven lay dead on the ground, where we trod their bodies under foot. But we who slew are a thousand,"

so in this case, many who had no part in the murder smeared their hands and swords with blood and showed them to Otho, as they presented him with written petitions for largess. At any rate, a hundred and twenty were afterwards discovered by means of these petitions, all of whom were sought out and put to death by Vitellius. Marius Celsus also came into the camp. There many denounced him for trying to persuade the soldiers to defend Galba, and the majority clamoured for his death, but Otho did not wish it; however, since he was afraid to oppose them, he said he would not put Celsus to death so quickly, since there were matters about which he must first question him. He therefore ordered that he be fettered and kept under guard, and handed over to those in whom he put most trust.

XXVIII. A senate was at once convened. And as if they were now other men, or had other gods to swear by, they united in swearing an oath to support Otho—an oath which he himself had sworn in support of Galba, but had not kept. Moreover, they gave him the titles of Caesar and Augustus, while the dead bodies, all headless in their consular robes, were still strewn over the forum. And as for the heads, when they had no further use for them, that of Vinius they sold to his daughter for twenty-
καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν ἀπέδοντο, τὴν δὲ Πεισώνος ἡ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν Οὐερανία δεηθείσα, τὴν δὲ Γάλβα τοῖς Πατροβίοις δούλοις ἐδωρήσαντο.

3 λαβόντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πάντα τρόπον αἰκισάμενοι καὶ καθυβρίσαντες ἔρριψαν ἡ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Καισάρων κολαξομένους θανατοῦσιν ὁ δὲ τόπος. Σεσσωρίων καλεῖται. τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Γάλβα
Πρίσκος Ἑλβίδιος ἀνείλετο, τοῦ Ὅθωνος ἐπιτρέψαντος ἐθαψε δὲ νυκτὸς Ἀργείος ἀπελευθερος.

XXIX. Τοιαύτα τὰ κατὰ τοῦ Γάλβαν, ἄνδρα μήτε γένει μήτε πλούτῳ πολλῶν ἀπολειφθέντα Ῥωμαίων, ὁμοί δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει πρωτευσάντα πάντων τῶν καθ᾽ αὐτὸν, πέντε αὐτοκρατόρων ἡγεμονίας ἐμβιώσαντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, ὥστε τῇ δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει καθ᾽

2 εἰλείν Νέρωνα. τῶν γὰρ συνεπιτιθεμένων τότε τοὺς μὲν οὔδεὶς ἤξιόσε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἱ δ᾽ ἐαυτοὺς ἀπηξίωσαν, Γάλβας δὲ καὶ κληθεὶς καὶ ὑπακούσας αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τῇ Ὀὐκίδικος ἐμπαρασχὼν ὤνομα τόλμη, κίνημα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν αὐτοῦ λεγομένην τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἑποίησε πόλεμον

3 ἐμφύλιον, ἄνδρος ἡγεμονικοῦ τυχούσαν. οἷον οὐχ ἐαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐαυτὸν οἰόμενος διδόναι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἄρχειν ἤξιού τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνων καὶ Νυμφίδιου τετιθασεμένων ὡς Σκηνοι ἤρχε καὶ Φαβρίκιος καὶ

4 Κάμιλλος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων. ὑπερεπόμενος ὑπὸ τῷ γήρᾳ, ἀχρί τῶν ὀπλῶν καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀκρατοῦ ἢν καὶ ἀρχαίος αὐτοκράτωρ, Οὐκίνω

1 καθελείν Νέρωνα. τῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Bekker, after Coraës : καθελὼν Νέρωνα τῶν κ.τ.λ.
five hundred drachmas; that of Piso was given to his wife Verania in answer to her prayers; and that of Galba was bestowed upon the servants of Patrobius. They took it, and after heaping all manner of insult and outrage upon it, cast it into a place called Sessorium, where those under condemnation of the emperors are put to death. The body of Galba was taken up by Priscus Helvidius, with the permission of Otho; and it was buried at night by Argivus, a freedman.

XXIX. Such were the fortunes of Galba, a man surpassed by few Romans in lineage and wealth, and both in wealth and lineage the foremost of his time. During the reigns of five emperors he lived with honour and high repute, so that it was by his high repute, rather than by his military power, that he overthrew Nero. For of his partners in the task, some were by all men deemed unworthy of the imperial dignity, and others deemed themselves unworthy. But to Galba the imperial title was offered and by him it was accepted; and by simply lending his name to the bold measures of Vindex, he gave to his revolt (as his rebellious agitation was called) the character of a civil war, because it had acquired a man who was worthy to rule. Wherefore, in the belief that he was not seizing the conduct of affairs for himself, but rather giving himself for the conduct of affairs, he set out with the idea of commanding the petted creatures of Tigellinus and Nymphidius as Scipio and Fabricius and Camillus used to command the Romans of their time. But being gradually weighed down by his years, in arms and camps, indeed, he was an "imperator" of a severe and ancient type; but
δὲ καὶ Λάκωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις πάντα τὰ πράγματα πωλοῦσι παρέχων έαυτόν, οἷον Νέρων παρεῖχε τοῖς ἀπληστοτάτοις, οὐδένα ποθοῦντα τὴν ἀρχήν, οἰκτείοντας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν θάνατον ἀπέλιπεν.
just as Nero put himself in the hands of his most insatiate favourites, so Galba put himself in the hands of Vinius and Laco and their freedmen, and they made merchandise of everything, so that he left behind him no one who wished him still in power, but very many who were moved to pity at his death.
OTHO
ΟΘΩΝ

I. 'Ο δὲ νεώτερος αὐτοκράτωρ ἀμ' ἡμέρα προ-
ελθὼν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔθυσε· καὶ κελεύσας
Μάριον Κέλσον ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡσπάσατο
καὶ διελέχθη φιλανθρώπως, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τῆς
αἰτίας ἐπιλαθέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἄφεσεως μνη-
μονεύειν. τοῦ δὲ Κέλσου μὴ' ἀγεννῶς ἀποκρι-
ναμένου μὴ' ἀναισθήτως, ἀλλὰ φήσαντος αὐτὸ
τοῦ τρόπου διδόναι τὸ ἐγκλήμα πίστιν, ἐγκεκλή-
σθαι γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβα βέβαιον ἐαυτὸν παρέσχεν,
ὡς χάριν οὐδεμίαν ὡφείλειν, ἡγάσθησαν οἱ παρόντες

2 ἀμφότεροι καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπήνευεν. ἐν δὲ
συγκλήτῳ πολλὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα δια-
λεχθεῖσιν, ὃν μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπατεύειν χρόνον ἤμελλε,
tούτοι μέρος ἐνειμεν Οὐεργινὼ ᾽Ρούφῳ, τοῖς δὲ
ἀποδεδειγμένοις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἢ Γάλβα πᾶσιν
ἐτήρησε τὰς ὑπατείας. ἱερωσύναις δὲ τοὺς καθ'

3 ἡλικίαν προϊκοντας ἢ δόξαν ἐκόσμησε. τοῖς δὲ
ἐπὶ Νέρωνος φυγοῦσι καὶ κατελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ Γάλβα
συγκλητικοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπέδωκεν ὡσα μὴ πεπραμένα
τῶν κτημάτων ἐκάστου 1 ἐξεύρισκεν. ὃθεν οἱ
πρῶτοι καὶ κράτιστοι πεφρίκοτες πρότερον ως

1 ἐκάστου Coraës and Bekker, after Stephanus, for the ἐκάστος of the MSS.: ἐκάστων.

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I. At daybreak the new emperor went forth to the Capitol and sacrificed; then, having ordered Marius Celsus to be brought to him, he greeted that officer, conversed with him kindly, and urged him to forget the cause of his imprisonment rather than to remember his release. Celsus replied in a manner that was neither ignoble nor ungrateful, saying that the very charge made against him afforded proof of his character, for the charge was that he had been loyal to Galba, from whom he had received no special favours. Both speakers were admired by those who were present, and the soldiery gave their approval. In the senate Otho spoke at length in a kindly strain and like a popular leader. For part of the time during which he himself was to have been consul, he assigned the office to Verginius Rufus, and all those who had been designated as future consuls by Nero or Galba he confirmed in their appointment. To the priesthoods he promoted those who were preeminent in age or reputation. Moreover, to all the men of senatorial rank who had been exiled under Nero and restored under Galba, he restored whatever portions of each man's property he found to be unsold. Wherefore the citizens of highest birth and greatest influence, who before this

1 With Plutarch's Otho may be compared Suetonius, Otho; Dion Cassius, lxiv. 10—15; Tacitus, Hist. i. 46—ii. 49.
οὐκ ἀνδρὸς, ἀλλὰ τινὸς ἡ Ποινῆς ἡ παλαμναίον
deίκησος ἀφ' ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιπεπτωκότος,
ἡδίους ἐγένοντο ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὴν ἠγεμονίαν
ὡσπερ διαμειδίωσαν.

II. Ὁμοι δὲ Ὀμαλίους πάντας οὔδὲν εὐφράνεν
οὕτως οὐδὲ ὄκεισάτο πρὸς αὐτῶν ὡς τὰ περὶ
Τιγελλίνου· ἐλελήθη χρῶν ὡς κολαζόμενος
αὐτῷ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς κολάσεως ἢν ὡς χρέος ἀπήτει
2 δημόσιον ἡ πόλις, καὶ νοσήμασιν ἀνηκέστοις
σώματος, αὐτάς τε τὰς ἀνοσίαις καὶ ἄρρητος ἐν
γνακές πόρναις καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις ἐγκυλινδήσεις,
αἰς ἐτὶ προσεσπαίρε δυσθανατοῦντοι αὐτοῦ τὸ
ἀκόλαστον ἐπιδραττόμενον, ἐσχάτην τιμωρίαν
ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πολλῶν ἀντάξια θανάτων οἱ
σωφρονοῦντες. ἡμιὸμ ὁ δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὅμοις τὸν
ἡμῖον ὀρθῶν μετὰ τοσοῦτοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι δι' ὧν
3 αὐτὸν οὐχ ὀρώντας. ἐπεμψεν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ
'Οθων εἰς τοὺς περὶ Σινόεσσαν ἀγροῦς· ἐκεῖ γὰρ
διητάτο, πλοῖων παρομοίωντων, ὡς φευξόμενος
ἀπωτέρω. καὶ τὸν ἐς πεμφθέντα χρυσίῳ πολλῷ
πείθειν ἐπεχείρησε παρείναι· μὴ πεισθέντι δὲ
δώρα μὲν ἐδώκεν οὐδὲν ἤττον, ἐδεήθη δὲ υπομείναι
ἔως ἀν ἀποξύρηται τὸ γένειον καὶ λαβῶν αὐτὸς
ἐαυτὸν ἐλαμβάνωσεν.

III. Οὕτω δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τῆς δικαιοτάτην ἡδονήν
ἀποδοῦσιν ὁ Καίσαρ, αὐτὸς ἰδίας ἔχθρας οὐδενὶ
tοπαράπαν ἐμνησικάκησε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς χαρι-
ζόμενοι οὐκ ἔφευγε τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις
Νέρων προσαγορεύεσθαι καὶ τινῶν εἰκόνας Νέ-
had felt a shuddering fear that it was not a man, but some genius of retribution or avenging spirit, that had suddenly fallen upon the state, became more cheerful in their hopes for a government which wore a face so smiling.

II. But nothing so gladdened all Romans alike, and won their allegiance to the new emperor so much, as his treatment of Tigellinus. Men were not aware that Tigellinus was already punished by his very fear of that punishment which the city was demanding as a debt due to the public, and also by incurable bodily diseases; and besides, there were those unhallowed and unspeakable grovelings of his among the vilest harlots, for which his lustful nature still panted, clutching after them as his life painfully ebbed away; these were looked upon by reasonable men as extremest punishment and an equivalent of many deaths. Nevertheless it vexed the common people that he should see the light of day after so many good men had been robbed of that light by him. Accordingly, Otho sent a messenger to fetch him from his country estate at Sinuessa; for he was staying there, where vessels lay at anchor, that he might fly to more distant parts. He tried to bribe the messenger with a large sum of money to let him go, but failing in this, he made him gifts nevertheless, and begged him to wait till he had shaved; and taking the razor he cut his own throat.

III. And now that the emperor had given the people this most righteous gratification, he did not remember his own private grievances against any man soever, and in his desire to please the multitude did not refuse at first to be hailed in the theatres by the name of Nero, and when statues of Nero
ρωνος εἰς τούμφανες προθεμένων οὐκ ἐκώλυσε.

2 Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν φησὶ κομισθήναι διπλώματα, οἷς ἐκπέμπουσι τοὺς γραμματῆ-φόρους, τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος θετὸν ὄνομα προσγεγραμμένου ἔχοντα τῷ τοῦ Ῥωμαίωνος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοὺς πρῶτους καὶ κρατίστους αὐσθόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπαύσατο.

Τοιαύτῃ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν αὐτῷ λαμβανούσης, οἱ μισθοφόροι χαλεποὺς παρεῖχον ἑαυτούς, ἀπιστεῖν παρακελεύομενοι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ κολούειν τοὺς ἁξιολόγους, εἰτ’ ἀληθῶς φοβούμενοι δι’ εὐνοιαν, εἰτὲ προφάσει χρώμενοι

3 ταύτῃ τοῦ ταράττειν καὶ πολεμοποιεῖν. Κρισπίνου δὲ πέμψαντός αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑπτακαίδεκάτην σπείραν ‘Ωστίας ἀπάξουτα, κάκεινον νυκτὸς ἐτὶ συσκευαζομένου καὶ τὰ ὄπλα ταῖς ἀμάξισι ἐπιτιθέντος, οἱ θρασύτατοι πάντες ἐβόων οὐδὲν ὑγίες τὸν Κρισπίνου ἥκειν διανοούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύγκλητον ἐπιχειρεῖν προάγμασι νεωτέροις, καὶ τὰ ὄπλα κατὰ Καίσαρος, οὐ Καίσαρι παρακομίζεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ λόγου πολλῶν ἀποτεθέντο γραμματοσάμα δι’ αὐτὸ τῶν ἀμάξων, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐνισταμένους ἐκατοντάρχας δύο καὶ τὸν Κρισπίνον αὐτὸν ἀπέκτειναν, πάντες δὲ διασκευασάμενοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους Καίσαρι βοηθεῖν ἠλαυνόν εἰς τὴν ‘Ρώμην καὶ πυθόμενοι παρ’ αὐτῷ ἐπιπείνων ὀγδοίκοντα συγκλητικοῦς, ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰ βασίλεια, νῦν καιρὸν εἶναι λέγοντες ἐν ταύτῳ

4 ταύτῃ ἀνελεῖν τοὺς Καίσαρος πολεμίους. ἡ μὲν ὀυὶ πόλις ὡς αὐτίκα διαρπαγησομενὴ θόρυβον

1 Of. Chap. viii 4

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were produced in public, he did not prevent it. Moreover, Cluvius Rufus tells us that "diplomas," such as couriers are provided with, were sent to Spain, in which the cognomen of Nero was added to the name of Otho. However, perceiving that the men of highest birth and greatest influence were displeased at this, Otho gave up the practice.

But while he was placing his government on this basis, the paid soldiers began to make themselves troublesome by urging him not to trust the influential citizens, but to be on his guard against them and restrict their power. It is uncertain whether their goodwill led them to be really apprehensive for him, or whether they used this pretext for raising disturbance and war. And so, when the emperor sent Crispinus to bring back the seventeenth legion from Ostia, and while that officer was still getting the baggage together at night and loading the arms upon the waggons, the boldest of the soldiers all began to cry out that Crispinus was come on no good errand, and that the senate was attempting to bring about a revolution, and that the transportation of the arms was an act of hostility, not of service, to the emperor. The notion prevailed with great numbers and exasperated them; some attacked the waggons, others killed two centurions who opposed them, as well as Crispinus himself; and then the whole body, putting themselves in array and exhorting one another to go to the help of the emperor, marched to Rome. Here, learning that eighty senators were at supper with Otho, they rushed to the palace, declaring that now was a good time to take off all the emperor's enemies at one stroke. Accordingly, the city was in great commotion,
eiχε πολύν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἦσαν διαδρομαί, καὶ τὸν Ὀθωνα δεινὴ κατελάμβανεν ἀπορία. φοβούμενος γὰρ ύπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἦν φοβερὸς ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνηρτημένους ἔωρα ταῖς ὑφεσιν ἀναύδους καὶ περιδεεῖς, ἐνίωσι καὶ μετὰ 6 γυναικῶν ἦκοντας ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον. ἀμα δὲ τοὺς ἐπάρχουσι ἀπέστελλε τοῖς στρατιώταις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ πραύνειν κελεύσας, ἀμα δὲ τοὺς κεκλημένους ἄνδρας ἀναστήσας καθ' ἐτέρας θυρας ἀφήκει καὶ μικρὸν ἔφθησαν ὑπεκφυγόντες, διὰ τῶν μυσθόφορων ὠθουμένων εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα καὶ πυθανομένων τί γεγονασιν οἱ Καίσαρος πολέ-7 μοι. τότε μὲν ὅπως ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης πολλὰ παρηγορήσας καὶ δεηθεὶς καὶ μηδὲ δακρύων φεισάμενος μόλις ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτοὺς· τῇ δ' ὑστεραιᾳ δωρησάμενος ἀπαντας κατ' ἄνδρα χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὸ 8 στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπήμεσεν, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνουν καὶ πρόθυμον, ὀλύγους δὲ τινας ὅντι ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ φήσας ὑποικουρεῖν, διαβάλλοντας αὐτοῦ τὴν μετρίωτητα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων εὐστάθειαν, ἦξιον συναγανακτεῖν καὶ συγκολάξειν. ἐπαινοῦντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κελευόντων, δύο μόνον παράλαβόν, οίς οὐδεὶς ἔμελλεν ἀχθεσθαι κολασθεῖσιν, ἀπηλλάγη.

IV. Ταύτα οἱ μὲν ἀγαπώντες ἦδη καὶ πιστεύοντες ἑθαύμαζον τὴν μεταβολήν, οἱ δ' ἀναγκαῖα πολιτεύματα πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἤγοντο, 282
expecting to be plundered at once; in the palace there were runnings to and fro; and a dire perplexity fell upon Otho. For while he had fears about the safety of his guests, he himself was an object of fear to them, and he saw that they kept their eyes fixed upon him in speechless terror, some of them having even brought their wives with them to the supper. But he sent the prefects of the guard with orders to explain matters to the soldiers and appease them, while at the same time he dismissed his guests by another door; and they barely succeeded in making their escape as the soldiers, forcing their way through the guards into the great hall, asked what was become of the enemies of Caesar. In this crisis, then, Otho stood up on his couch, and after many exhortations, and entreaties, and not without plentiful tears, at last succeeded in sending them away; but on the following day, after making a gift of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas to every man, he went into the camp. There he commended the great body of the soldiers for their goodwill and zeal in his service, but said that there were a few of them who were intriguing to no good purpose, thereby bringing his moderation and their fidelity into disrepute, and he demanded that they share his resentment against these and assist him in punishing them. All his hearers approving of this and bidding him to do as he wished, he took two men only, at whose punishment no one was likely to be distressed, and went away.

IV. Those who were already fond of Otho and put confidence in him admired this change in his behaviour, but others thought it a policy forced upon him by the situation, wherein he courted popular
δημαγωγοῦντος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. ἦδη γὰρ ἤγγελλε τοῦ βεβαιῶς Οὐιτέλλιος ἁξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοκράτορος ἀνειλήφως καὶ πτεροφόροι συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων αἰτὶ προσχωρεῖν ἐκεῖνῳ φράξοντες, ἔτεροι δὲ 1 τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Δαλματικὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ Μυσίαν στρατεύματα δηλοῦντες

2 ἡρήσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ὀθωνα. ταχὺ δὲ ἀφίκετο καὶ παρὰ Μουκιανὸν γράμματα καὶ παρὰ Οὐεσπεσιανὸν φίλια, τοῦ μὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ μεγάλα δυνάμεις ἐχόντων. ὑφ᾽ ὧν ἐπαιρόμενος ἐγραφεὶν Οὐιτελλίῳ παραινῶν στρατιωτικὰ φρονεῖν, ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ δῶσοντος αὐτῷ καὶ πόλιν, ἐν ἡ βιῶσεται ῥᾴστον καὶ ἦδιστον

3 βιον μεθ᾽ ἰσυχίας. ἀντέγραψε δὲ κάκεινος αὐτῷ κατειρωνεύμενος ἰσυχίᾳ πρώτων ἐκ δὲ τούτου διερεθιζόμενοι πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῆ χλευάζοντες ἄλληλοις ἐγραφοῦν, οὐ ψεудῶς μὲν, ἀυὴτῶς δὲ καὶ γελοῖος θατέρου τὸν ἔτερον ἀ προσήν ἀμφοτέροις ὀνειδὴ λοιδοροῦντος. ἀσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μαλακίας καὶ ἀπειρίας πολέμων καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ χρεῶν πλήθους ἔργον ἢν εἶπεῖν ὀποτέρῳ μείον αὐτῶν μέτεστι.

4 Σημείων δὲ καὶ φαντασμάτων πολλῶν λεγομένων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φήμας ἀδεσπότους καὶ ἀμφιβολοὺς εἰχὲν, ἐν δὲ Καπιτωλίῳ Νίκης ἑφεστῶσις ἄρματι τὰς ἥνιας πάντες εἶδον ἀφειμένας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, ὀσπερ κρατεῖν μὴ δυναμένης, καὶ τὸν ἐν μεσποταμίᾳ νήσῳ Γαίου Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα.
favour because of the war. For already there were sure tidings that Vitellius had assumed the dignity and power of emperor; and swift couriers were continually coming with accounts of ever new accessions to him, although others made it clear that the armies in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their leaders, adhered to Otho. And quickly there came also friendly letters from Mucianus and Vespasian, who were at the head of large forces, the one in Syria, the other in Judaea. Otho was elated by these, and wrote to Vitellius advising him not to have more than a soldier's ambitions, in which case he should be rewarded with a large sum of money, and a city, where he could live in the utmost ease and pleasure and be undisturbed. Vitellius also wrote to Otho in reply, at first in a somewhat dissembling manner; but afterwards both got excited and wrote one another abusive letters filled with shameful insults; not that either brought false charges, but it was foolish and ridiculous for one to storm the other with reproaches applicable to both. For as regards prodigality, effeminacy, inexperience in war, and multiplicity of debts incurred in a previous state of poverty, it were hard to say which of them had the advantage.

There were many reports of signs and apparitions, most of which were of uncertain and dubious origin; but everybody saw that a Victory standing in a chariot on the Capitol had dropped the reins from her hands, as if she had not power to hold them, and that the statue of Caius Caesar on the island in

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1 δὲ supplied by Sint., after Schaefer; Bekker assumes a lacuna before ἐποι.
μήτε σεισμοῦ γεγονότος μήτε πνεύματος ἄφετε ἐστὶν
5 πέρας μεταστραφέντα πρὸς τὰς ἁνατολὰς. οἱ φασὶ
συμβῆναι περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας εἰν αἰσθεῖ
τοῦ Ὀὐσπεσιανὸν ἐμφανῶς ἡδύ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντε-
λαμβάνοντο. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Ὀὐμβρίν δὲ σύμ-
πτωμα σημείων ἐποίουντο οἱ πολλοὶ μοχθηροί.
ὁν μὲν γὰρ ὦρα περὶ τὴν μάλιστα τοίς ποταμοῖς πλῆ-
θουσιν, ἀλλ' οὕτω τοσότος ἤρθη πρότερον, οὐδὲ
ἀπώλεσε τοσαῦτα καὶ διεφθείρεν, ὑπερχυθεῖς καὶ
κατακλύσας πολὺ μέρος τῆς πόλεως, πλείστον
δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ πράσει διαπωλοῦσι σῶτον, ὡς
δεινὰ ἀπορίαν ἡμερῶν συχνῶν κατασχεῖν.

V. Ἐσπεῖ δὲ τὰς Ἀλπεὺς κατέχοντες ἡδύ
προσηγγέλλοντο Κεκίνας καὶ Οὐάλης Οὐιτελλίῳ
στρατηγοῦντες, ἐν Ρώμη Δολοβέλλας, εὐπατρί-
δης ἀνήρ, ὑποψίαν παρείχε τοῖς μισθοφόροις
νέωτερα φρονεῖν. ἐκείνου μὲν οὖν, εἰτε αὐτὸν εἰτε
ἀλλον διδοκικός, εἰς πόλιν Ἀκύνων παρέπεμψε πα-
ραθαρρύνας. καταλέγων δὲ τὸν ἐν τέλει συνεκδή-
μους ἐτάξεν ἐν τούτοις καὶ Δεύκιον τὸν Οὐιτελλίῳ
ἀδελφὸν, οὔτε προσθείς οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελῶν ἂς
2 εἰχε τιμῆς. ἱσχυρῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπεμε-
λῆθη τοῦ Οὐιτελλίου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς, ὅπως
μηδὲν φοβησώσουν τοῖς αὐτῶν. τῆς δὲ Ρώμης
φύλακα Φλαούιον Σαβίνον, ἀδελφὸν Οὐεσπεσια-
νοῦ, κατέστησεν, εἰτε καὶ τούτῳ πράξας ἐπὶ τιμῆ
Νέρωνος (παρ' ἐκείνου γὰρ εἰλήφει τὴν ἀρχὴν
ὁ Σαβίνος, ἀφείλετο δὲ Γάλβας αὐτὸν), εἰτε μάλ-
λον εὐνοιὰν ἐνεδείκνυτο Οὐεσπεσιανὸ καὶ πίστιν
αὐξών Σαβίνον.

3 Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν Βριξίλλῳ, πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας
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the Tiber, without the occurrence of earthquake or wind, had turned from west to east, which is said to have happened during the time when Vespasian was at last openly trying to seize the supreme power. The behaviour of the Tiber, too, was regarded by most people as a baleful sign. It was a time, to be sure, when rivers are at their fullest, but the Tiber had never before risen so high, nor caused so great ruin and destruction. It overflowed its banks and submerged a great part of the city, and especially the grain-market, so that dire scarcity of food prevailed for many days together.

V. And now, when word was brought to Rome that Caecina and Valens, who were in command with Vitellius, were in possession of the Alps, Dolabella, a man of noble family, was suspected by the praetorian soldiers of revolutionary designs. Otho therefore sent him away (through fear of him or of someone else) to the town of Aquinum, with words of encouragement. And in his selection of the men in authority who were to accompany him on his expedition he included also Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, without either increasing or diminishing his honours. He also took strong measures for the safety of the wife and mother of Vitellius, that they might have no fear for themselves. Moreover, he appointed Flavius Sabinus, a brother of Vespasian, prefect of the city, either because in this way also he could honour the memory of Nero (for Nero had bestowed the office upon Sabinus, but Galba had deprived him of it), or rather because, by advancing Sabinus, he could show how he favoured and trusted Vespasian.

Well, then, Otho himself tarried behind at Brixil-
περὶ τὸν Ἡρίδανον ἀπελείφθη, στρατηγοὺς δὲ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξέπεμψε Μάριον τε Κέλσον καὶ Σουητώνιον Παυλίνον ἐτί τε Γάλλον καὶ Σπουρίναν, ἀνδρας εὐνόζους, χρήσασθαι δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς προηροῦντο τοῖς ἐαυτῶν λογισμοῖς δὲ ἀταξίαν καὶ θρασύτητα τῶν στρατιωτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἥξιον ἐτέρων ἀκούειν, ὡς παρ’ αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἀρχεῖν ἔχοντος. ήν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων υγιαίνοντα παντάπασιν οὐδὲ χειρόθη τοῖς ἤγεμόσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐμπληκτα καὶ σοβαρὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐκείνοις ἐμπειρία γε παρῆν τοῦ μάχεσθαι καὶ τὸ κάμνειν ἐθάδες ὑντες οὐκ ἐφευγοῦν, οὐτοὶ δὲ μαλακοὶ μὲν ἤσαν ὑπὸ σχολῆς καὶ διαίτης ἀπολέμου, πλείστων χρόνων ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ παρὰ σκηνῆν βεβιώκοτες, ὑβρεῖ δὲ καὶ κόμπῳ ἐπαμπέχειν ἐβούλουντο, προσποιήσασθαι τὰς λειτουργίας ὡς κρεῖττον ἄπαξιοιντες, οὐχ ὡς ἀδύνατοι φέρειν. ὁ δὲ Σπουρίνας προσβιαζόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκινδύνευσε μικρον ἑλθόντας ἀνελείν αὐτῶν. ὑβρεως δὲ καὶ βλασφημίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐφείσαντο, προδότην καὶ λυμεώνα τῶν Καίσαρος καιρῶν καὶ πραγμάτων λέγοντες. ἐνιοὶ δὲ καὶ μεθυσθέντες ἤδη νυκτὸς ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφόδιον αἰτοῦντες εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα βαδιστέον, ὅπως ἐκείνοι κατηγορήσωσιν.

VI. Ὄνυσε δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ Σπουρίναν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκῳ λοιδορίᾳ περὶ Πλακεντίαν γενομένη τῶν στρατιωτῶν. οἱ γὰρ Ὀὐτελλίου τοῖς τείχεσι προσβάλλοντες ἐχλευάζον τοὺς Ὁθωνοὺς ἐστῶτας

1 τὸ κάμνειν Bekker, after Coraës: τοῦ κάμνειν.
OTHO v. 3–VI. 1

ium, a town of Italy on the river Po, but sent his forces on under the command of Marius Celsus and Suetonius Paulinus, besides Gallus and Spurina. These were men of distinction, but were unable to conduct the campaign according to their own plans and wishes, owing to the disorderly and arrogant spirit of their soldiers. For these would not deign to obey other officers, since, as they said, they had made the emperor their commander. It is true that the enemy's troops also were not altogether in condition, nor under the control of their officers, but fierce and haughty, and for the same reason. Nevertheless, they were certainly experienced in fighting, and being accustomed to hard labour, they did not shun it; whereas Otho's men were soft, owing to their lack of employment and their unwarlike mode of life, having spent most of their time at spectacles and festivals and plays, and they wished to cloak their weakness with insolence and boasting, disdaining to perform the services laid upon them because they were above the work, not because they were unable to do it. When Spurina tried to force them into obedience, he came near being killed by them. They spared him no abuse nor insolence, declaring that he was betraying and ruining the opportunities and the cause of Caesar. Nay, some of them who were drunk came at night to his tent and demanded money for a journey, for they must go, they said, to Caesar, in order to denounce their commander.

VI. But Spurina and the emperor's cause were helped for the time by the abuse which his soldiers received at Placentia. For when the troops of Vitellius assaulted the walls, they railed at the
παρὰ τὰς ἑπάλξεις, σκηνικοὺς καὶ πυρριχιστὰς καὶ Πυθίων καὶ Ὀλυμπίων θεωροὺς, πολέμου δὲ καὶ στρατείας ἀπείρους καὶ ἀθεάτους ἀποκαλούντες, καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ γέροντος ἄν-
ύπλου κεφαλῆς ἀποτεμεῖν, τὸν Γάλβαν λέγοντες, εἰς δὲ ἀγώνα καὶ μάχην ἄνδρον οὐκ ἂν ἐκφανῦς
2 καταβάντας. οὔτω γὰρ ἐπαράχθησαν ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ὀνειδῶν καὶ διεκάθησαν ὡστε προσπεσεῖν τῷ Σπουρίνα, δεόμενοι χρῆσθαι καὶ προστάτευειν αὐτοῖς, ὀὔδενα κύδινυν οὐδὲ πόνον ἀπολεγο-
μένοις. ἴσχυρᾶς δὲ συστάσεως τειχομαχίας καὶ μηχανημάτων πολλῶν προσαχθέντων ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Σπουρίνα, καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ τοὺς ἑναντίους ἀποκρουσάμενοι διετήρησαν ἐνδοξῶν πόλιν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν ὑδεμάς ἢπτον ἀνθοῦσαν.
3 Ἡσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν Οὐτελλίου στρατη-
γῶν οἱ Ὁθωνος ἐντυχεὶν ἀλυπότεροι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἱδιώταις· ἐκεῖνων δὲ Κεκίνας μὲν οὔτε φωνῆν ὁὔτε σχῆμα δημοτικός, ἀλλ’ ἐπαχθῆς καὶ ἀλλό-
κοτος, σώματος μεγάλου, Γαλατικὸς ἀνάξυρις καὶ χειρῆσιν ἐνεσκευασμένος, σημείοις καὶ ἀρχο-
σι Ρωμαϊκοῖς διαλεγόμενοι. καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρέπεμπον αὐτῷ λογάδην ἱππεῖς όχυμενῆν ἱππὼν κεκοσμημένην ἐπιφανὸς. Φάβιον δὲ Οὐα-
λεντα τὸν ἑτερον στρατηγὸν οὔτε ἄρπαγαί πολε-
μίων οὔτε κλοπαὶ καὶ δωροδοκίαι παρὰ συμμάχων ἐνεπίμπλασαν χρηματιζόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδοκεῖ διὰ τοῦτο βραδεῶς ὀδεύων ὑστερῆσαι τῆς προτε-
ρας μάχης. οἱ δὲ τῶν Κεκίναν αἰτιώνται, σπεύ-
δοντα τὴν νίκην ἐαυτοῦ γενέσθαι πρὶν ἐκείνων

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soldiers of Otho who manned the ramparts, calling them actors, dancers, spectators at Pythian and Olympian games, men who had never known or seen a campaign or fighting, and thought highly of themselves because they had cut off the head of a defenceless old man (meaning Galba), but would not openly enter a conflict and battle of men. Otho’s soldiers were so disturbed by these reproaches, and so inflamed, that they threw themselves at the feet of Spurina, begging him to use them and command them, and pleading excuse from no danger or toil. And so, when a fierce assault was made upon the walls and many siege-engines were brought to bear upon them, Spurina’s men prevailed, repulsed their opponents with great slaughter, and held safe a city which was famous and more flourishing than any in Italy.

In other ways, too, the generals of Vitellius were more vexatious than those of Otho in their dealings with both cities and private persons. One of them, Caecina, had neither the speech nor the outward appearance of a Roman citizen, but was offensive and strange, a man of huge stature, who wore Gaulish trousers and long sleeves, and conversed by signs even with Roman officials. His wife, too, accompanied him, with an escort of picked horsemen; she rode a horse, and was conspicuously adorned. Fabius Valens, the other general, was so rapacious that neither what he plundered from the enemy nor what he stole or received as gifts from the allies could satisfy him. Indeed, it was thought that this rapacity of his had delayed his march, so that he was too late for the battle at Placentia. But some blame Caecina, who, they say, was eager to win the
έλθειν, ἀλλοι τε μικροτέροις περιπεσεῖν ἀμαρτή-
μασί καὶ μάχην οὐ κατὰ καίρον οὐδὲ γενναίως 
συνάψαι, μικρὸν πάντα τὰ πράγματα διαφθεί-
ρασαν αὐτοῖς.

VII. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀποκρουσθείς τῆς Πλακεντίας 
ὁ Κεκίνας ἔπι Κρεμώνην ὀρμησεν, έτέραν τόλιν 
eυδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, πρώτος μὲν Ἀννίος 
Γάλλος πρὸς Πλακεντίαν Σπουρίνα βοηθῶν, ὡς 
ήκουσε καθ’ ὀδὸν τοὺς Πλακεντίνους περιγεγονε-
ναι, κινδυνεύειν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Κρεμώνῃ, μετήγαγεν 
ἐκεῖ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλη-
σίον τῶν πολεμίων ἐπείτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

2 ἐκαστὸς ἐβοήθη τῷ στρατηγῷ, τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα 
λοχίσαντος εἰς λάσια χωρία καὶ υλώδῃ πολλοὺς 
ὀπλίτας, ἵππεις δὲ προεξελάσαι κελεύσαντος, καὶ 
συνάψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναχωρεῖν 
καὶ ἀναφεύγειν, ἀχρὶ ἄν υπάγοντες οὕτως ἐμβά-
λωσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξήγγειλαν αὐτο-
μολοι τῷ Κέλσῳ. καὶ οὕτος μὲν ἵππευσιν 
ἄγαθοὶς ἀντεξελάσας, πεφυλαγμένως δὲ χρω-
μενος τῇ διώξει καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν περισχῶν καὶ 
συνταράξας, ἐκάλει τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-

3 πέδου. καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἂν ἐπελθόντες ἐν καίρῳ μη-
δένα λιπεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ πάν τὸ μετὰ 
Κεκίνα στράτευμα συντρίψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐπιστό-
μενοι τοῖς ἵππευσιν νυνὶ δὲ ὁ Παυλίνος ὅψε 
καὶ σχολὴ προσβοηθήσας αὐτίαν ἐσχεν ἐνδέστερον

4 τῆς δόξης στρατηγῆσαι δι’ εὐλάβειαν. οἱ δὲ 
pολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ προδοσίαν ἐνεκά-
λουν αὐτῷ, καὶ παρώξυνον τὸν Ἐοθώνα, μεγαλη-

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victory himself before Valens came, and so not only made other minor mistakes, but also joined battle inopportune and without much spirit, thereby almost ruining their whole enterprise.

VII. For when Caecina, repulsed from Placentia, had set out to attack Cremona, another large and prosperous city, first Annius Gallus, who was coming to the help of Spurina at Placentia, hearing upon the march that Placentia was safe, but that Cremona was in peril, changed his course and led his army to Cremona, where he encamped near the enemy; then his colleagues came one by one to his aid. Caecina now placed a large body of men-at-arms in ambush where the ground was rough and woody, and then ordered his horsemen to ride towards the enemy, and if they were attacked, to withdraw little by little and retreat, until they had in this way drawn their pursuers into the ambush. But deserters brought word of all this to Celsus, who rode out with good horsemen to meet the enemy, followed up his pursuit with caution, surrounded the men in ambush, and threw them into confusion. Then he summoned his men-at-arms from the camp. And apparently, if these had come up in time to the support of the cavalry, not a man of the enemy would have been left alive, but the whole army with Caecina would have been crushed and slain. As it was, however, Paulinus came to their aid too slowly and too late, and incurred the charge of sullying his reputation as a commander through excessive caution. But most of the soldiers actually accused him of treachery, and tried to incense Otho against him,

1 Celsus, Paulinus, and Spurina (v. 3), although Spurina is not mentioned further.
γορούντες ὡς νενικηκότων αὐτῶν, τῆς δὲ νίκης ὡς ἐπὶ πάν προελθούσης κακία τῶν στρατηγῶν. ο Opcodeis υπήκουσαν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ Πρόκλου τὸν ἐπαρχόν, ὃς εἶχεν ἀρχὴν τῆς πάσαν ἀρχήν,

5 πρόσχημα δὲ ἦν ὁ Τιτιανός. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κέλ-
σον καὶ Παυλίνου ἀλλὸς ἐφείλκουσαν συμβούλων ὄνομα καὶ φίλων, ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι μηδεμίαν ἔχοντες. ἦν δὲ θορυβώδη καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀὐαλεντῷ καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν μάχης ἀπαγγελθέσσαν ἐχαλέπαινον ὅτι μὴ παρεγένοντο μηδὲ ἦμυναν ἄνδρῶν τοσοῦτον ἀποθανόντων. μόλις δὲ πείσας καὶ παρατησάμενος ὁμομεμενος αὐτοῦ βάλλειν ἄνεξευξί καὶ συνήψῃ τοῖς περὶ Κεκίναιν.

VIII. Ὅ δὲ Ὁθων παραγενόμενος εἰς Βιτριακὸν

2 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον (ἐστὶ δὲ πολίχυν πλησίον Κρεμώνης τὸ Βιτριακὸν) ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς μάχης. καὶ Πρόκλω μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ Τιτιανῷ, τῶν στρατευμάτων ὀυτῶν προθύμων καὶ προσφά-
των τῆς νίκης, διαγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ καθίσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν ἅμβλύνουτα τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ περι-
μένοντα Οὐιτέλλιον αὐτοῦ ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐπέλθειν.

3 Παυλίνος δὲ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἔφη πάντα μεθ᾽ ὧν μαχοῦνται παρεῖναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν, Ὅθων δὲ τῆς ἦδη παροῦσης ὑπὶ ἐλάττων προσδόκειμον εἶναι δύναμιν ἐκ Μυσίας καὶ Παννονίας, ἄν τὸν αὐτοῦ περιμένῃ καιρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στρατηγὴν πρὸς τὸν τῶν πολεμίων. οὐ γὰρ ἅμβλυτέροις γε χρῆ-

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loudly boasting that they had been victorious, but that their victory was made incomplete by the cowardice of their commanders. Otho did not believe them, and yet wished to avoid the appearance of disbelieving them. He therefore sent to the armies his brother Titianus, and Proculus, the prefect of the guards; of these two men Proculus had the entire authority in reality, and Titianus only in appearance. Celsus and Paulinus, too, enjoyed the empty title of friends and counsellors, but had no power or influence in the conduct of affairs. There were disturbances also among the enemy, and especially among the troops of Valens; for when these were told about the battle at the ambuscade, they were enraged because they were not present and had given no aid where so many men had lost their lives. They actually began to stone Valens, but he finally succeeded in pacifying them, and then broke camp and joined Caecina.

VIII. Otho now came to the camp at Bedricum (a little village near Cremona) and held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of the opinion that he ought to fight a decisive battle while his armies were flushed with their recent victory, and not sit there dulling the efficiency of his troops and waiting for Vitellius to come in person from Gaul. Paulinus, on the contrary, said that the enemy already had all the resources with which they would give battle, and lacked nothing, whereas, in the case of Otho, a force as large as the one he already had might be expected from Mysia and Pannonia, if he would only wait for his own best opportunity and conduct the campaign to suit that of the enemy. For his men were now confident of success in spite
σεσθαί τότε τοῖς ὑνὶς θαρροῦσιν ἀπ’ ἐλαττώνων, ἀν πλείονας τοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοις προσλάβωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ περιουσίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ χωρίς δὲ τούτου τὴν διατριβήν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν ἀφθόνοις πᾶσιν ὄντων, ἐκείνοις δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἀπορίαν παρέξειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν πολεμίᾳ καθεξομένοις.

4 ταῦτα λέγοντι Παυλίνῳ Μάριος Κέλσος ἐγένετο σύμψηφος. Ὁ Άννιος δὲ Γάλλος οὐ παρῆν μὲν, ἀλλ’ ἐθεραπεύετο πεπτωκός ἀφ’ ἦππου, γράψαντος δὲ ὁΘωνὸς αὐτῷ συνεβούλευσε μὴ σπεῦδειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας περιμένειν δύναμιν ἵδη καθ’ ὀδὸν οὐσαν. οὐ μὴν ἐπείθετο τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ἐκράτησαν οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην παραμῶντες.

IX. Αὖτί λαὶ δὲ πλείονες ἄλλαι ὑπ’ ἄλλων λέγονται προδήλως δὲ οἱ στρατηγικοὶ προσαγορεύομενοι καὶ τάξιν ἔχουτες δορυφόρων, τότε μᾶλλον ἀληθινῆς γενόμενοι στρατείαις καὶ τὰς ἐν Ῥώμη διατριβᾶς καὶ διαίτασις ἀπολέομενα καὶ πανηγυρικὰς ποθοῦντες, ὥσκεν καθεκοτι σπεῦδοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀναρπασό-2 μενοι τοὺς ἑναντίους. δοκεῖ δὲ μὴ δὲ αὐτὸς ὁΘων ἐξαναφέρειν ἐτὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀδηλότητα μὴ δὲ ὑπομένειν ἀνθεία καὶ μαλακότητι τοὺς περὶ τῶν δεινῶν λογισμοὺς, ἐκπονοῦμενος δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι σπεῦδειν ἐγκαλυψάμενος, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ, 3 μεθείλαι τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τὸ συντυχόν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν διηγεῖτο Σεκοῦνδος ὁ Ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ ὁΘωνοῦ. ἔτερων δὲ ἦν 296
of their inferior numbers, and he would not find them less keen after they had received reinforcements, nay, their superiority would lead them to fight all the better. And besides, delay was to their advantage, since they had everything in abundance, while to the enemy time would bring a scarcity of supplies, since they were occupying a hostile country. So Paulinus argued, and Marius Celsus voted with him. Annius Gallus was not present, being under treatment for a fall from his horse, but Otho asked his advice by letter, and his counsel was not to hasten the battle, but to await the forces from Mysia, which were already on the march. Nevertheless, Otho would not listen to these counsels, and the day was carried by those who urged immediate battle.

IX. Various other reasons for this are given by various writers; but manifestly the praetorian soldiers, as they were called, who served as the emperor's guards, since they were now getting a more generous taste of real military service and longed for their accustomed life of diversion at Rome in which festivals abounded and war was unknown, could not be restrained, but were eager for the battle, feeling sure that at the very first onset they would overwhelm their opponents. Moreover, it would seem that Otho himself could not longer bear up against the uncertainty of the issue, nor endure (so effeminate was he and so unused to command) his own thoughts of the dire peril confronting him; but worn out by his anxieties, he veiled his eyes, like one about to leap from a precipice, and hastened to commit his cause to fortune. And this is the account given by Secundus the rhetorician, who was Otho's secretary. But others would tell us
άκοϋειν ὅτι τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀμφιτέροις παρίσταντο ὁρμαί πολλαί ὡς εἰς ταῦτο συνελθεῖν· καὶ μᾶλλον, μὲν αὐτοὺς ὁμοφρονήσαντας ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἡγεμονικῶν ἐλέσθαι τὸν ἀριστοῦν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τὴν σύγκλητον ὁμοῦ καθίσαντας ἐφείναι τὴν

4 αἴρεσιν ἐκείνη τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καὶ ὅυκ ἀπεικόμενος ἔστι, μηδετέρου τότε τῶν προσαγορευμένων αὐτοκράτορῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ἐπιτίππειν τοιούτους διαλογισμοὺς τοῖς γνησίοις καὶ διαπόνοις καὶ σωφρονοῦσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἐχθριστον εἰη καὶ δεινόν, ἀ πάλαι διὰ Σύλλακα καὶ Μάριον, εἰτα Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον ὁκτέροντο δρόντες ἀλλήλους καὶ πάσχοντες οἱ πολίται, ταῦτα νῦν ὑπομένειν ἢ Οὐιτελλίῳ λαμαργίας καὶ οὐνοφλυγίας ἢ τρυφῆς καὶ ἄκολασίας Ὁθωνι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν χορήγημα προθεμένους. ταύτ' οὖν ὑπονοοῦσι τοὺς τε περὶ τὸν Κέλσον αἰσθανομένους ἐμβαλεῖν διατρίβην, ἐλπίζοντας ἄνευ μάχης καὶ πόνον κριθήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὁθωνι φοβουμένους ἐπιταχύναι τὴν μάχην.

5 Χ. Αὐτός δὲ πάλιν εἰς Βρίξιλλον ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ τούτῳ προσεξαμαρτών, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τὴν ἐν ἀφθαλμὸς αὐτοῦ παρόντος αἰδῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἀφείλε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους δι' αὐτοῦ ἰππείς καὶ πεζοὺς ἀπαγαγών φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος ὠσπερεὶ στόμωμα1 τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέκοψε.

2 Συνεβη δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἡριδάνων ἄγωνα γενέσθαι, τοῦ μὲν Κεκίνα ξενηγοῦντος τὴν διάβασιν, τῶν δὲ Ὅθωνος εἰργόντων

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that both armies were strongly inclined to confer; and above all, if they could agree, to elect as emperor the best of the commanders who were with them, but if not, to convene the senate and commit to it the choice of an emperor. And since neither of the men who then had the title of emperor enjoyed high repute, it is not unlikely that the real soldiers, those who knew what hardship was and had sense, should be led to reflect that it would be a dreadful and most hateful thing if the evils which the citizens had once to their sorrow inflicted upon one another and suffered because of Sulla and Marius, and again because of Caesar and Pompey, should now be endured again only to make the imperial power a means for providing for the gluttony and drunkenness of Vitellius or for the luxury and licentiousness of Otho. It is suspected, then, that Celsus was aware of these feelings, and therefore tried to interpose delay, hoping that the issue would thus be decided without hardship and battle, and that Otho, fearing this, hastened on the battle.

X. Otho himself returned to Brixillum, and in this too he made a mistake, not only because he took away from the combatants the respect and ambition which his presence and oversight inspired, but also because, by leading away as his bodyguard of foot and horse the men who were most vigorous and eager to please him, he cut away, as it were, the head and front of his army.

During this time there was also a conflict at the river Po, where Caecina tried to build a bridge across the stream, and Otho's soldiers attacked him

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1 στρατηγοί. Doehner's correction of the vulgate τί στρατηγοι, adopted by Sint. 2
καὶ προσμαχομένων. ὦς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέρατον, ἐνθεμένων εἰς τὰ πλοῖα δάδα θείον καὶ πίττης ἀνάπλων, διὰ τοῦ πόρου πνεῦμα προσπεσοῦ ἀφνω τὴν παρεσκευασμένην ὕλην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξερρήτησε. καπινοῦ δὲ πρώτου, εἶτα λαμπρᾶς φλογὸς ἐκπεσοῦσις, ταραττόμενοι καὶ ἀποτη- δῶντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τὰς τε ναῦς ἀνέτρεπον καὶ τὰ σώματα τοῖς πολεμίοις μετὰ γέλωτος παρεῖχον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τοῖς Ὀθωνοῖς μονομάχοις περὶ νησίδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσμέτοντες ἐκράτησαν καὶ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὄλγους.

XI. Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ τῶν ἐν Βηθριακῷ στρατιωτῶν τοῦ Ὀθωνος ἐκφερομένων μετ’ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, προῆγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρόκλος ἐκ τοῦ Βηθριακοῦ, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων οὕτως ἀπείρως καὶ καταγελαστῶς ὡστε, τῆς μὲν ὄρας ἐαρινῆς οὐσης, τῶν δὲ κύκλω πεδίων πολλὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐκενόντων, ὡδατος σπάνει πιέζεσθαι. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Βουλόμενον προάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὀδὸν ὡς ἐλάττωνα σταδίων ἐκατὸν οἱ περὶ τῶν Παυλίνων οὐκ εἴων, ἀλλ’ ὠντο δεχο περιμένειν καὶ μὴ προπονεῖν ἐαυτοὺς, μηδὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ πορείας μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας ὄπλισμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους καθ’ ἡσυχίαν, ἐν ὀσφύ χρόνῳ προάσιν αὐτὸ τοσαύτην ὀδὸν ἀναμεμιγμένην ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἄραντες ἐχώρουν, ὃ δὲ Κεκίνας 300
and tried to prevent it. Not succeeding, Otho's men loaded their vessels with torchwood full of sulphur and pitch, and began to cross the river; but a blast of wind suddenly smote the material which they had prepared for use against the enemy, and fanned it afire. First smoke arose from it, then bright flames, so that the crews were confounded and leaped overboard into the river, upsetting their boats, and putting themselves at the mercy of a jeering enemy. Moreover, the Germans attacked Otho's gladiators at an island in the river, overpowered them and slew not a few of them.

XI. These disasters threw Otho's soldiers at Bedriacum into a rage for battle, and Proculus therefore led them forth out of Bedriacum, and after a march of fifty furlongs pitched his camp, but in a manner so ignorant and ridiculous that his men were troubled by lack of water, although it was the spring of the year and the plains around abounded in running streams and rivers that never dried up. On the following day he proposed to make a march of no less than a hundred furlongs and attack the enemy, but Paulinus objected, and thought they ought to wait and not tire themselves beforehand, nor join battle immediately after a march with men who had armed and arrayed themselves at their leisure, while they themselves were advancing so great a distance with all their beasts of burden and camp-followers. While the generals were disputing about the matter, there came from Otho a Numidian courier with a letter which ordered them not to wait or delay, but to march at once against the enemy. Accordingly, they decamped and moved forward, and Caecina, who was much disturbed on
πυθόμενος τήν ἐφοδον αὐτῶν ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἄπολιπὼν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἤκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὁπλισμένων δὲ ἦδη τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παραλαμβανόντων παρὰ τοῦ Οὐάλεντος, ἐν ὅσῳ τὴν τάξιν διελάγχανε τὰ τάγματα, τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων προεξέπεμψαν.

ΧΙΙ. Ἐμπίπτει δὲ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις τῶν Ὀθωνος ἐκ δὴ τινος αὐτίας δόξα καὶ λόγοι ὡς μεταβαλουμένων τῶν Οὐίτελλίου στρατηγῶν πρὸς αὐτούς. ὡς οὖν ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἦσπάσαντο φιλίως συστρατίωτας προσαγορεύσαντες. ἐκεῖνων δὲ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐκ εὐμενῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ φωνῆς πολεμικῆς ἀμενισμένων, τοῖς μὲν ἀσπασαμένοις ἀθυμίᾳ, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπόνοια κατὰ τῶν ἀσπασαμένων ὡς προδιδόντων

2 παρέστη. καὶ τούτῳ πρῶτον αὐτοῦς ἐτάραξεν ἢδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων. εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἦν κόσμῳ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν μὲν ἀταξίαν τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς μαχόμενοις ἐμπλαξόμενα παρεῖχε, πολλοὺς δὲ τὰ χωρία διασπασμοὺς ἔποιεῖ τάφρων ὄντα μεστά καὶ ὀρνυ-μάτων, ἃ φοβούμενοι καὶ περιόπτες ἤγαγόκυντο φύρδην καὶ κατὰ μέρη πολλὰ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐναυτίοις. μόναι δὲ δύο λεγεώνες (οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τάγματα Ὁρμαίοι καλοῦσιν), ἐπίκλησιν ἦ μὲν Οὐίτελλίῳ Ἀρπαξ, ἢ δὲ Ὀθωνος Βοηθός, εἰς πεδίον ἐξελίξασαι ψιλὸν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένον, νόμιμον τινα μάχην, συμπεσοῦσαι φαλαγγῇ διόν, ἐμάχοντο πολὺν χρόνον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ὀθωνος ἀνδρεῖς ἦσαν εὐρωστοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί, πολέμου δὲ καὶ μάχης τότε πρῶτον πείραν λαμβάνοντες· οἱ

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learning of their approach, hastily abandoned his operations at the river and came to his camp. There most of the soldiers had already armed themselves, and Valens was giving out the watchword to them, and while the legions were taking up their positions, the best of the cavalry were sent out in advance.

XII. And now, for some reason, it was believed and rumoured among Otho's vanguard that the generals of Vitellius would come over to their side. Accordingly, when these drew near, Otho's men greeted them in a friendly fashion and called them fellow-soldiers. The enemy, however, returned the salutation in no kindly spirit, but with anger and hostile cries, so that those who had greeted them were dejected, and were suspected of treachery by the others on their side. This was the first thing that threw Otho's men into confusion, and at a time when the enemy were close at hand. And besides, nothing else was done properly, since the baggage-train wandered about among the fighting men and caused great disorder. Moreover, the line of battle was often broken by the nature of the ground, which was full of trenches and pits, and in avoiding or going around these the men were compelled to engage their opponents promiscuously and in many detachments. Only two legions (to use the Roman word), that of Vitellius called "Rapax" (or Devourer) and that of Otho called "Adiutrix" (or Helper), got out into a treeless and extended plain, engaged in full formation, and fought a regular battle for a long time. Otho's men were sturdy and brave, but were now for the first time getting a taste of war and fighting; those of Vitellius, on the
δὲ Οὐίτελλίου πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἑθάδες, ἦδη δὲ γηραιοὶ καὶ παρακμάζοντες.

4 Ὅμωσαντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτούς οἱ Ὀθωνος ἐώσαντο καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἀφείλοντο, παντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς προμάχους ἀποκτείναντες· οἱ δὲ υπὸ αἰσχύνης καὶ ὀργῆς ἐμπεσόντες αὐτοῖς τὸν τε πρεσβευτὴν τοῦ τάγματος Ὀρφίδιον ἔκτειναν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν σημείων ἤρπασαν. τοῖς δὲ μονομάχοις ἐμπερίαν τε καὶ θάρσος ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς συμπλοκὰς δοκοῦσιν ἐπήγαγεν Οὐάρος Ἀλήνος τοὺς καλομένους

5 Βατάβους. εἰς δὲ Γερμανῶν ἅπαντες ἀριστοι, νήσου οἰκούντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου περιρρεομένην. τούτους ὁλίγοι μὲν τῶν μονομάχων ὑπέστησαν, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς σπείρας τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ τινῶν τεταγμένας, υφὶ δὲν ἀμυνόμενοι πάντες ὄμαλῶς διεφθάρμασαν.

6 ἀλλιστα δὲ ἡγονύσαντο πάντων οἱ στρατηγικοὶ, μηδὲ όσον ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ὑπομείναντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀχτητοὺς ἐπὶ φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀνετίμπλασαν φεύγοντες δὲ αὐτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλῷ γε τῶν Ὀθωνος νευκηκότες τοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐβιάσαντο καὶ διεξέπεσον διὰ τῶν πολεμίων κρατοῦντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XIII. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὔτε Πρόκλος οὔτε Παυλῖνος συνεισέλθειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐξεκλιῶν φοβοῦμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἦδη τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τρέποντας. Ἀννίος δὲ Γάλλος ἀνελάμβανεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρεμβείτο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης συλλεγομένους, ὡς ἀγχωμάλου γεγενημένης καὶ πολλῶς κεκρατηκότας μέρεσι 2 τῶν πολεμίων. Μάριος δὲ Κέλσος τοὺς ἐν τέλει

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other hand, had seen many battles and were used to them, but they were now old and past their prime.

So Otho's men charged upon them, drove them back, and captured their eagle, killing nearly all who stood in the first rank; but the others, impelled by shame and anger, fell upon their foes, slew Orsidius, the commander of the legion, and seized many of their standards. Against Otho's gladiators, too, who were supposed to have experience and courage in close fighting, Alfenus Varus led up the troops called Batavians. They are the best cavalry of the Germans, and come from an island made by the Rhine. A few of the gladiators withstood these, but most of them fled towards the river, where they encountered cohorts of the enemy in battle array, and in defending themselves against these, were cut off to a man. But the praetorian soldiers fought more shamefully than any others. They did not even wait for their opponents to come to close quarters, but fled through the ranks of their still unvanquished comrades, filling them with fear and confusion. Notwithstanding all this, many of Otho's men conquered those who opposed them, forced their way through the victorious enemy, and regained their camp.

XIII. But as for their generals, neither Proculus nor Paulinus ventured to enter the camp with them, but turned aside through fear of the soldiers, who were already laying the blame for their defeat upon their commanders. But Annius Gallus received into the town the soldiers who gathered there out of the battle, and tried to encourage them. The battle had been nearly equal, he said, and in many parts of it they had overcome their enemies. Marius Celsus,
συναγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε σκοπεῖν τὸ κοινὸν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾶ τηλικαύτη καὶ φόνῳ τοσοῦτῳ πολιτῶν μηδὲ Ὄθωνος, εὔπερ ἀνήρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν, ἐθελήσοντος ἐτί πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης, ὅπου καὶ Κάτων καὶ Σκηπίων, Καίσαρι κρατοῦντι μετὰ Φάρσαλον εἶπεν ἡθελήσαντες, αὐτίαν ἔχουσιν ὡς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν Διβύῃ παραναλώσαντες οὐκ ἀναγκαίως, καὶ περὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας. τὰ γὰρ ἀλλὰ κοινὴν ἢ τύχη παρέχουσα πάσιν ἑαυτὴν ἐν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὸ κάν πταίσωσιν εὐλογιστεῖν πρὸς τὰ συντυχάνοντα.

Ταῦτα λέγων ἐπείθε τοὺς ἡγεμονικοὺς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρώμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐώρων εἰρήνης δεομένους καὶ Τιτιανὸς ἐκέλευε προσβείειν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας, ἐδοξεὶ Κέλσω καὶ Γάλλῳ βαδίζειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν καὶ Οὐάλεντα.

4 βαδίζουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπῆντησαν ἐκατοντάρχαι τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἴδῃ κεκινημένην λέγοντες ἐρχομένην ἐπὶ τὸ Βηθριακόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπεστάλθαι περὶ ὁμονοίας. ἐπαινέσαντες οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἀπαντῶν μετ’ αὐτῶν τὸι περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκινδύνευσαν ὁ Κέλσος. ἐτυχὼν γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἠττηθεὶς μένου πρότερον ἢππεῖς προεξελάυνοντες, ὡς οὖν προσιόντα τὸν Κέλσον κατείδου, εὐθὺς βοήσαντες ὀρμησάν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ ἐκατοντάρχαι προ- ἑστησαν ἀνείργοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λοχαγῶν.
moreover, assembled the officers and urged them to consult the public good. In view of so great a calamity, he said, and the slaughter of so many citizens, not even Otho himself, if he were a good man, would wish to make further trial of his fortune, since even Cato and Scipio, by refusing to yield to a victorious Caesar after Pharsalus, had incurred the charge of needlessly squandering the lives of many brave men in Africa, although their struggle was in behalf of Roman freedom. For in general all men alike are subject to the decrees of fortune, but of one thing she cannot rob a good man, and that is the privilege, in case of adversity, of taking reasonable measures to correct the situation that confronts him.

By this speech Celsus won over the officers. And after they had sounded the soldiers and found them desirous of peace, and when Titianus urged that an embassy be sent in the interest of concord, Celsus and Gallus decided to go and confer with Caecina and Valens. But as they were on the way they were met by some centurions of the enemy, who said that their army was already in motion and was on its way to Bedriacum, and that they themselves had been sent out by their generals to treat for concord. Accordingly, Celsus commended them, and bade them turn back with him and go to meet Caecina. But when they were near the army of Caecina, Celsus ran risk of his life. For it chanced that the horsemen who had formerly been worsted by him at the ambush were riding on in advance. So when they saw Celsus coming up, they forthwith raised a shout and dashed against him. But the centurions stood in front of him and kept them off;
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φείδεσθαι βοώντων οἱ περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν πυθόμενοι καὶ προσελάσαντες τὴν ἄκοσμίαν ταχὺ τῶν ἱππέων ἔπαυσαν, τὸν δὲ Κέλσον ἀσπασάμενοι φιλοφρόνως ἔβαδιζον μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ Βητριακὸν.

6 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μετάνοια Τιτιάνῳ ἔσχεν ἐκπέμψαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις· καὶ τὸν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς θρασυνομένους αὐθίς ἄνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχὶ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα προσελάσαντος τῷ ἦππῳ καὶ τὴν δεξίαν ὅρεγοντος οὐδεὶς ἀντέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὅι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἥσπάζοντο τοὺς στρατιώτας, οἱ δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίζαντες ἔξησαν καὶ ἀνεμώγυντο τοῖς προσήκουσιν. ἦδικε δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοφροσύναι καὶ δεξιώσεις ἢσαν, ὡμοσαν δὲ πάντες περὶ τοῦ Οὐίτελλίου καὶ προσεχώρησαν.

XIV. Οὗτῳ μὲν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν παραγενομένων ἀπαγγέλλουσι γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ σαφῶς ὀμολογοῦντες εἰδέναι τὰ καθ’ ἑκαστα διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. ὡμοί δὲ ύστερον ὄδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μέστριος Φλώρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ’ ἀνάγκη μετὰ τοῦ Ὀθωνος γενομένων, νεὼν ὅντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγεῖτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σωρὸν τῆλικούτον ὡστε

7 τοὺς ἐπιτολῆς ἀπτεσθαί τῶν ἄετῶν. καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐφῆ ξητῶν οὔτε αὐτὸς εὕρειν οὔτε παρ’ ἄλλου τοῦ πυθέσθαι. θυήσειν μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους, ὡταν τροπὴ γένηται, πλείσανα εἰκός ἐστι, τῷ μηδένα ξωγρεῖν, χρησθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἐστι τοῖς ἀλισκομένοις, ἡ δ’ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο
the other officers also shouted to the horsemen to spare Celsus, and Caecina, hearing their cries, rode up and speedily brought his horsemen to order. Then he greeted Celsus in a friendly manner and went on with him to Bedriacum. But meanwhile Titianus had repented of having sent the embassy, and after ordering the more resolute of the soldiers back again upon the walls, he exhorted the rest to go to their support. However, when Caecina rode up on his horse and stretched out his hand to them, not a man resisted further, but some greeted his soldiers from the walls, while others, throwing open the gates, went forth and mingled with the advancing troops. There were no hostilities, on the part of Otho’s men, but only friendly salutations and greetings, and all took oath to support Vitellius and went over to his side.

XIV. This is the account which most of the participants give of the battle, although they themselves confess that they were ignorant of its details, owing to the disorder and the unequal fortunes of the several groups. At a later time, when I was travelling through the plain, Mestrius Florus, one of the men of consular rank who were at that time with Otho (by constraint, and not of their own will), pointed out to me an ancient temple, and told me how, as he came up to it after the battle, he saw a heap of dead bodies so high that those on top of it touched the gable of the temple. The reason for this he said he could neither discover himself nor learn from anyone else. It is natural, indeed, that in civil wars, when a rout takes place, more men should be killed, because no quarter is given (there being no use for prisoners); but why the dead
σωρεία καὶ συμφόρησις οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αὐτίαν εὔσυγγλόμιστον.

XV. Τῶν δὲ Ὑθων πρῶτον μὲν ἀσαφῆς, ὡσπερ ἥφθηνε περὶ τῶν τηλικοῦτων, προσέπεσε λόγος: ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τετρωμένου τινὸς ἤκον ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἄπαγγέλλοντες, τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἤπττον ἀν τις ἔθαύμασεν οὐκ ἔωτας ἄπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν παρακελευμένους, τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάθος ἀπασαν ὑπερέβαλε πῖστιν. ὡς οὖδεις ἀπῆλθειν,

2 οὖδὲ μετέστη πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας, οὔδ' ὁφθη τὸ καθ' αὐτὸν ξητῶν ἀπεγνωσμένου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, πάντες δ' ὁμαλῶς ἐπὶ θύρας ἠλθον, ἐκάλουν αὐτοκράτορα, προελθόντος ἐγίνοντο προστροπαιοι, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ἱκεσίας χειρῶν ἠπττοντο, προσέπιπτον, ἐδάκρυν, ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπέειν, μὴ προδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ χρησθαι μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέωσι καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασιν ὑπὲρ

3 αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὁμοῦ πάντες ἰκέτευον. εἰς δὲ τῶν ἀφανιστέρων ἀνατείνας τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπὼν, "Ἰσθι, Καίσαρ, οὔτως ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρατεταγμένους ἀπαντάς," ἀπεσφαξεν εαυτόν.

'Αλλὰ τούτων οὖδὲν ἐπέκλασε τὸν Ὑθωνα, φαιδρῷ δὲ καὶ καθεστῶτι προσώπῳ πανταχόσε τας ὤψεις περιαγαγών, "Ταύτην," ἐπιεῖν, "ὁ συστρατιῶται, τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκεῖνης, ἐν ἦ μὲ πρῶτον ἐποιήσατε αὐτοκράτορα, μακαριωτέραν ἡγοῦμαι, τοιούτους ὅρων ὑμᾶς καὶ τηλικοῦτων

4 ἄξιούμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ μείζονος ἀποστερεῖτε, τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιούτων πολιτῶν. εἰ τής Ὑφαίσθων ἡγεμονίας ἄξιος γέγονα, δεὶ μὲ τής ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀφεθείναι. οἶδα τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἐναντίοισιν οὔτε βεβαιαίν οὔτε
bodies should be collected and heaped up in such a manner is not easy to determine.

XV. To Otho there came at first, as is usual in such catastrophes, an indistinct rumour of the result; but presently some of his soldiers who had been wounded came with direct tidings of the battle. Here one cannot so much wonder that his friends would not let him give up all for lost, and exhorted him to be of good cheer; but the feelings of his soldiers towards him passed all belief. Not a man of them left him, or went over to the victorious side, or was seen to despair of the emperor's cause and seek his own safety, but all alike came to his door, called upon him as emperor, became his humble suppliants when he appeared before them, seized his hands with cries and prayers, fell down before him, wept, begged him not to abandon them, and not to betray them to their enemies, but to use their lives and persons in his service as long as they had breath. Such were their united supplications. And one obscure soldier held up his sword, and with the words "Know, O Caesar, that all of us stand in this fashion at thy side," slew himself.

None of these things, however, broke Otho down, but looking all around with a countenance composed and cheerful, he said: "This day, my fellow-soldiers, I deem more blessed than that on which ye first made me emperor, since I see you so devoted to me and am judged worthy of so high honour at your hands. But do not rob me of a greater blessed-ness—that of dying nobly in behalf of fellow-citizens so many and so good. If I was worthy to be Roman emperor, I ought to give my life freely for my country. I know that the victory of our adversaries
ισχυράν οὖσαν. ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας ἡμῶν δύναμιν οὐ πολλῶν ἠμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχειν,
5 ἡδὴ καταβαίνουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν 'Αδριαν. Ἀσία καί Συρία καὶ Αἰγύπτος καὶ τὰ πολεμοῦντα Ἰουδαίοις στρατεύματα μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν, ἡ τε σύγκλητος παρ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ τέκνα τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ γυναίκες. ἀλλὰ οὖν ἔστι πρὸς 'Αννίβαν οὐδὲ Πύρρον οὐδὲ Κύμβρους ὁ πόλεμος ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολεμοῦντες ἀμφότεροι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ νικώντες ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ νικώμενοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ
6 κρατοῦντος ἐκείνη κακὸν ἐστὶ. πιστεύσατε πολλάκις ὑπὶ δυνάμαι κάλλιον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἄρχειν. οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ τὴν πτυχίνον Ῥωμαίοις ὀφεῖν έσομαι κρατήσας, ἥλικον ἐπιδοῦς ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὲρ εἰρήνης καὶ ὀμονόιας, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πάλιν ἡμέραιν τοιαύτην ἐπιδείχνῃ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.”

XVI. Τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνυπιστασθαὶ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀποσχυρισάμενος, τοὺς τε φίλους ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοὺς παρόντας· τοὺς δὲ μὴ παροῦσιν ἐπέστελλε καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ὅπως παρακομισθῶσιν ἐντίμως καὶ μετὰ
2 ἀσφαλείας. προσαγόμενοι δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Κοκκῆιον, ἐτὶ μειράκιον ὄντα, θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ δεδείναι Ὀὐὶτέλλιον, οὐ καὶ μητέρα καὶ γενεὰν καὶ γυναῖκα αὐτὸς, ὡσπερ οἰκείων κηδομένος, διαφυλάξαι. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ θέσθαι παῖδα βουλόμενος αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν εἰσποίησιν, ὅπως συνάρχις κρατήσαντος αὐτῶν, μὴ προσπόλοιοτο πταίσαντος. “Ἐκεῖνο δὲ,” εἶπεν, “ὡς παῖ, παρεγγυώμαι σοι τελευταίον,
is neither decisive nor assured. I have word that our forces from Mysia are already approaching the Adriatic, and are only a few days distant from us. Asia, Syria, Egypt, and the armies fighting against the Jews, are on our side; the senate, too, is with us, as well as the wives and children of our adversaries. Still, it is not to defend Italy against Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbri, that our war is waged, but both parties are waging war against Romans, and we sin against our country whether we conquer or are conquered. For the victor's gain is our country's loss. Believe me when I insist that I can die more honourably than I can reign. For I do not see how my victory can be of so great advantage to the Romans as my offering up my life to secure peace and concord, and to prevent Italy from beholding such a day again."

XVI. So he spake, and after resisting firmly those who tried to oppose and dissuade him, he ordered his friends to depart, as well as the men of senatorial rank who were present; to those who were absent he sent the same command, and wrote to the cities urging them to escort the travellers on their way with honour and in safety. Then he sent for his nephew Cocceius, who was still a youth, and bade him be of good cheer and not fear Vitellius, whose mother and wife and children he had kept safe and cared for as though they were his own. He had desired, he said, to make him his son, but had put off the adoption, in order that the youth might share his power after he had prevailed, and not perish with him after he had failed. "And now, my boy," he said, "this is my last charge to thee; do not alto-
μήτε ἐπιλαθέσθαι παντάπασι μήτε ἂγαν μνημονεύειν ὅτι Καίσαρα θέειν ἔσχεσ.

3. Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτων μετὰ μικρὸν ἢκουσε θορύβοι καὶ Βοής ἐπὶ θύραις. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοῖς ἀπιούσι διηπείλουν ἀποσφάξειν, εἰ μὴ παραμενοῦσιν, ἄλλα οἰχήσονται τοῦ αὐτοκράτορα καταλιπόντες. πάλιν οὖν προήλθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φοβηθεῖς, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὐκέτι δεητικὸς οὐδὲ πρᾶος, ἄλλα τραχὺς ὑφθείς, καὶ μετ᾽ ὀργής εἰς τὸ θορυβοῦν μάλιστα διαβλέψας, ἀπελθεῖν ἔποιήσεν εἰξαντας καὶ διατρέσατας.

XVII. "Ἡδὴ δὲ ἑσπέρας οὕσης ἐδίψησε, καὶ πιὸν ὀλίγον ὕδατος, δυεῖν ὄντων αὐτῶ ἐξισῶ, ἐκατέρον κατεμάνθανε τὸ στάσμα πολὺν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἔτερον ἀπέδωκε, θάτερον δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλιας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς οἰκέτας προσεκαλέιτο. καὶ φιλοφρονοῦμενος διέμεθε τῶν χρημάτων τῷ μὲν πλέον, τῷ δὲ ἐλαττον, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἀλλοτριῶν ἀφειδῶν, ἄλλα τὸ κατ᾽ ἄξιαν καὶ τὸ μέτριον ἐπιμελῶς φιλάττων. ἀποσείμας δὲ τούτους ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνεπαύετο τῆς νυκτὸς, ὡστε τοὺς κατευναστὰς αἰσθάνεσθαι βαθέως αὐτοῦ καθεύδοντος. ὀρθοὺν δὲ καλέσαν ἀπελεύθερον ὡς συνδιώκησε τὰ περὶ τοὺς συγκλητικοὺς, μαθεῖν προσέταξε καὶ πυθόμενος γεγονέναι τοῖς ὑπερχομένοις ὅν ἔκαστος ἔχρηζεν, "Ἰθι τοῖνυν," ἔφη, "ἡ σύ, καὶ ποιεῖ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμφανὴ σεαυτὸν, εἰ μὴ θέλεις κακῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν ὡς ἐμοὶ συμπράξας τὸν θάνατον." ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἔθος ὑποστήσας ὅρθον ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσί, καὶ περιπεσὼν ἀνωθέν, ὡς οἴπαξ.
OTHO xvi. 2–xvii. 3

gether forget, and do not too well remember, that thou hadst a Caesar for an uncle."

This done, after a little he heard tumult and shouting at his door. For as the men of senatorial rank were departing, the soldiers threatened to kill them if they did not remain, instead of forsaking their emperor. Once more, then, he went forth, since he feared for the men's safety. He was no longer gentle and suppliant, however, but stern of countenance, and looking angrily round upon the most turbulent of the soldiers, he made them go away submissively and in fear.

XVII. It was now evening, and being thirsty, he drank a little water. He had two swords, and after examining the blade of each for a long time, he laid one of them aside, but put the other under his arm, and then called his servants. These he addressed kindly, and distributed money to them, more to one and less to another, not as though lavish with what was no longer to be his, but with strict regard to moderation and the claims of merit. After sending the servants away, he betook himself to rest for the remainder of the night, and slept so soundly that his chamberlains heard his heavy breathing. Just before dawn he called a freedman with whom he had arranged for the departure of the senators, and bade him learn how they fared. And when he was told that all of them had what was needful for their journey, "Go thou, then," he said to the freedman, "and show thyself to the soldiers, unless thou wishest them to put thee to a miserable death for helping me to die." Then, when the man had gone out, with both hands he held his sword upright beneath him, and fell upon it, giving but a
στενάξαι μόνον ἡσθετο τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς αἰσθησιν παρέσχεν. ἀραμένων δὲ τῶν παῖδων οἰμωγήν εὐθὺς ἀπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπείχε κλαυθμός· καὶ μετὰ βοῆς οἱ στρατιῶται εἰσεδεσσον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας καὶ ὠλοφύροντο, περιπαθοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἐαυτούς μὴ φυλά-ξαντας τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲ κωλύσαντας ἀπο-4 θανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ἀπέστη δὲ οὖδεις τῶν κατ' αὐτόν, ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ κοσμῆσαντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρᾶν κατασκευάσαντες ἔξεκομιζον ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς οἱ φθάσαντες ὑποδύναν καὶ βαστάσαι τὸ λέχος ἐπιγαυρούμενοι. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν τὸ τραύμα τοῦ νεκροῦ κατεφίλουν προσπιττοῦντες, οἱ δὲ ἦπτοντο τῶν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ προσεκύνουν πόρρωθεν. ἕνιοι δὲ τῇ πυρᾷ λαμπά-δας ύφέντες ἐαυτούς ἀπέσφαξαν, οὐδὲν ἐκδήλως οὔτε πεπονθότες χρηστῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τεθνηκότος οὔτε πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεδί-5 τες. ἀλλ' ἐοίκε μηδενὶ τῶν πωποτε τυράννων ἡ βασιλέως δεινὸς οὕτως ἔρως ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ περιμανῆς τοῦ ἄρχεων, ὡς ἐκείνοι τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι καὶ υπακούεων "Οθωνος ἡράσθησαν· οὐς γε μηδ' ἀποθανόντος ὁ πόθος προύλιπεν, ἀλλὰ παρέμεινεν εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἔχθους Οὐιτελλίῳ τελευτήσας.

XVIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλὰ καίρὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχει λεχθήναι κρύψαντες δὲ τῇ γῇ τὰ λέιψανα τοῦ "Οθωνος οὔτε μεγέθει σήματος οὔτ' ἐπιγραφῆς όγκῳ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν ἐπίφθονον. εἶδον δὲ ἐν Βριξίλλῳ γενόμενος καὶ μνῆμα μέτριον καὶ 316
single groan as he felt the pang. The servants outside heard his groan and raised a wailing cry, and at once the whole camp and the city were filled with lamentation. The soldiers, with loud cries, burst in at the door, and then bewailed their emperor, full of anguish, and reviling themselves because they had not watched over him and prevented him from dying in their behalf. Not one of his followers went away, although the enemy were near, but after attiring the body and preparing a funeral pyre for it, they escorted it thither with military honours, and full of exultation were those who won the privilege of carrying the bier. Of the rest, some embraced the emperor's body and kissed his wound, others grasped his hands, and others still made him their obeisance at a distance. There were some, too, who first put their torches to the pyre and then slew themselves, not, so far as could be known, because they were either indebted to the dead for favours, or fearful of punishment at the hands of the victor. Nay, it would seem that no king or tyrant was ever possessed by so dire and frenzied a passion for ruling as was that of these soldiers for being ruled and commanded by Otho; not even after his death did their yearning for him leave them, nay, it abode with them until it finally changed into an incurable hatred for Vitellius.

XVIII. Well, then, the rest of the story is now in place. They buried the remains of Otho, and made a tomb for them which neither by the great size of its mound nor by the boastfulness of its inscription could awaken jealousy. I saw it when I was at Brixillum. It is a modest memorial and the inscrip-
1 Δηλώσει Bekker adopts Δαίμωσι, the correction of Lobeck.
tion on it, in translation, runs thus: "To the memory of Marcus Otho."

Otho died at the age of thirty-seven years, but he had ruled only three months, and when he was gone, those who applauded his death were no fewer or less illustrious than those who blamed his life. For though he lived no more decently than Nero, he died more nobly.

As for his soldiers, when Pollio, their remaining prefect, ordered them to swear allegiance at once to Vitellius, they were incensed; and when they learned that some of the senators were still there, they let all of them go except Verginius Rufus, and him they annoyed by going to his house in military array and inviting him again, and even urging him, to assume the imperial power, or to go on an embassy in their behalf. But Verginius thought it would be madness for him to accept the imperial dignity now, when they were defeated, after refusing it before, when they were victorious, and as for going on an embassy to the Germans, he feared to do so, since they felt that he had often done them violence beyond all reason; and so he stole away unobserved by another door. When the soldiers learned of this, they consented to take the oaths, and joined the forces of Caecina, thus obtaining pardon.

1 The other was Proculus, (vii. 4; xiii. 1).
2 See The Galba, vi. 3; x. 2 ff.
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The Roman numerals refer to the volume, the Arabic to the page. Numbers marked off by semicolons belong to lemmata omitted for the sake of brevity.
A name without a number following two or more with numbers indicates uncertainty as to the identity of the person referred to.
Bergk is used for Bergk, Poetae Lyrici Graeci, 4th ed.; Kock for Kock, Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta; Nauck for Nauck, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, 2nd ed.

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Quoted: (Frg. 1, Bergk p4.) I. 422; (Frg. 5) 452; (Frg. 6) 570; (Frg. 7) 476; (Frg. 9) 410; (Frg. 11. vv. 1–4) 492; (Frg. 11. vv. 5, & 6) 490; (Frg. 12) 410; (Frg. 13. vv. 7 f.) 408, 566; (Frg. 14) 408; (Frg. 15) 406, 496; (Frg. 19) 478; (Frg. 21) 566; (Frg. 24) 406; (Frg. 26) 496; (Frg. 28) 476; (Frg. 31) 410; (Frg. 32) 440; (Frg. 33) 440; (Frg. 34. vv. 4 f.) 448; (Frg. 36. 4 f.) 444; (Frg. 36. vv. 9–12) 444; (Frg. 36. v. 14) 442.

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