

PLUTARCH

SULLA

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*HOLDEN*



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ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΣΥΛΛΑΣ

*Plutarch*  
PLUTARCH'S

*LIFE OF*

*LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA*

*WITH INTRODUCTION NOTES AND LEXICON*

BY THE

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AND OF XENOPHON'S *HIERON* AND *OECONOMICUS*

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## PREFACE

THERE is not any more marvellous character in history; certainly none more prominent among the warriors and statesmen of the Roman Republic, than Lucius Cornelius Sulla, nor is there any among Plutarch's lives of Roman worthies that surpasses in importance and interest that of the great Dictator, based, as it undoubtedly is, upon the autobiographical Memoirs, which occupied him in his retirement near Puteoli until a few days before his death. Yet, notwithstanding the interest attaching to the subject, it has shared the general neglect in which Plutarch's *Biographies* have fallen among Scholars, nor has an Editor been found to bestow any care upon this historical portrait of the foremost figure in a most eventful epoch—the deliverer of Rome and the accomplisher of Italian unity—since the year 1795, when E. H. G. Leopold published the first and only adequately annotated, though uncritical, edition of the *Life of Sulla*, combining with it those of *Marius*, *Lucullus* and *Sertorius*.

The educational value of the writings of Plutarch has been hitherto, I believe, unduly disregarded. It is no mere assumption that there is a large class of persons to whom the study of Greek as a language is distasteful, simply because the authors and subjects that

have been put before them fail to command their interest and sympathy. I cannot but think that if the at present narrow range of Greek authors commonly read in our great seats of education were extended, as has been done in France, Germany and other countries, so as to admit Plutarch, a somewhat different feeling would be excited in such minds towards the most perfect of languages.

Of one special class of students—I mean the theological—it may safely be said that they would receive more direct benefit from an acquaintance with the Greek of Plutarch than from a study of the great masterpieces of the Periclean age. Not that I wish for one moment to underrate the importance of the latter as an instrument of sound education, but for the interpretation of the Greek Testament there is surely no author who affords so much help as the delightful old sage of Chaironeia; and, if he were more widely read, we might possibly be spared the complaint of Dr Hatch<sup>1</sup> that ‘in spite of the great importance of the subject in itself, and in spite of the great interest which is shown in it throughout the

<sup>1</sup> Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, February 23, 1879.

The most recent words of the eminent American scholar Professor Gildersleeve in the *American Journal of Philology*, No. 24, p. 485 are worth quoting on this subject: ‘It is strange that while stretches of Greek literature lie absolutely untilled, at least by scholars of English speech, and men prefer to limit their vision to fields where only the scantiest gleanings can possibly fall to the lot of the most resolute and sagacious explorer, rather than subdue an immense extent of important territory, because the ground is post-classic; as if the classic could be understood without the post-classic! To be bold, who reads Plutarch outside of a few of the *Lives*? And yet who is not richer for reading Plutarch? \* \* \* To Plutarch, Mommsen (in the fifth volume of his *History of Rome*), no lover of Greeklings generally, does ample justice.’

Christian world, the knowledge of the language of the several writers of the New Testament is only now in its infancy.'

Be that as it may, I have done my best to smooth the path of any who may be led in their study of the Greek language into fresh woods and pastures new, and shall be amply repaid for any labour I have bestowed on this as on other Biographies of Plutarch, if the result be as I presume to anticipate.

The present Edition proceeds on the lines of the companion volume, the *Lives of the Gracchi*. The addition of complete Summaries of the contents of each Chapter will, I hope, enhance the usefulness of the book proportionately to the increase of its bulk.

The Text, which I have adopted, is mainly that of Bekker (Tauchnitz 1855-6), between which and that of Sintenis in his latest and improved edition (Teubner 1874), there is not any essential difference. In marking the Sections I have followed the latter. In one instance only have I ventured to introduce a conjectural emendation of my own, viz. in Ch. xxviii § 1, where ἠπείρετο, which seems to satisfy the requirements both of the text and of palaeography, has been substituted by me for the unsatisfactory and unmeaning εἶπετο of the oldest MS and ἠππετο of later MSS, for which previous editors have proposed readings even more unmeaning and unsatisfactory, as may be seen in the *Critical Appendix*.

H. A. HOLDEN

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ΑΓΑΘΙΟΥ ΣΧΟΛΑΣΤΙΚΟΥ

εἰς εἰκόνα Πλούταρχου

Σεῖο πολυκλήεντα τύπον στήσαν, Χαιρωνεῦ

Πλούταρχε, κρατερῶν γίεες Αὔσονίων,  
ὅττι παραλλήλοισι βίοις Ἕλληνας ἀρίστους

Ῥώμης εὔπολέμοις ἤρμοςας ἐνναέταις.

ἀλλὰ τεοῦ βιότοιο παράλληλον βίον ἄλλον

οὔδέ σύ γ' ἄν γράψαις· οὐ γὰρ ὁμοῖον ἔχεις.

## INTRODUCTION

### *a. Life of Plutarch*

1. Nothing is known of the personal history of Plutarch, but what may be gathered from various notices scattered through his own writings<sup>1</sup>. He was born between A.D. 46 and A.D. 51 at Chaironeia in north-west Boeotia, a town small and insignificant, but rich in historical memories. It was one of the five cities in the famous plain, called by his favourite hero Epameinondas 'the dancing-plot of Ares'<sup>2</sup> at the time when the two great battles<sup>3</sup> which were named after it were as yet not fought. Here his family had been settled for many years, and was of good standing and local repute. He speaks incidentally of his great-grandfather Nikarchos, who was at his native place at the time of the struggle between Antony and Octavius<sup>4</sup>, and makes constant mention of

<sup>1</sup> Cp. M. Octave Gréard *de la morale de Plutarque* ed. 3 Paris 1880: 'nul écrivain, grec ou latin, n'a fait pour lui ce qu'il avait fait pour tant d'autres; le biographe de l'antiquité n'a pas de biographie.'

<sup>2</sup> "Ἀρεως ὀρχήστραν *vit. Marcell.* c. 21, πολέμου ὀρχήστραν *apophthegm. reg. et imperat.* § 18.

<sup>3</sup> That in B.C. 338 when Philip of Macedon defeated the united forces of the Athenians and Boeotians, a day fatal to the liberties of Greece; and that in B.C. 86 when Sulla defeated the Pontic army.

<sup>4</sup> *Vit. Anton.* c. 68.

Lamprias, his grandfather, as taking part in the *συμποσιακά προβλήματα* or 'Table talk,' which occupy so considerable a portion of his miscellaneous writings<sup>6</sup>; and of his father, who also was a man of cultivation and could occasionally take part in the discourses on various topics recorded by his son. He had two brothers, Lamprias<sup>6</sup> and Timon<sup>7</sup>. He married, it is not known at what period of his life, Timoxena, daughter of Alexion, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. The eldest and fourth died young<sup>8</sup>. To his two surviving sons, Autobulos and Plutarchos, he dedicated his treatise *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας* or 'concerning the procreation of the soul as discoursed in the *Timaeos* of Plato.' His only daughter, named Timoxena after her mother, died when she was only two years old during her father's temporary absence. It was on occasion of her death that the affectionate and sensible letter of consolation (*παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναικα*) was addressed by Plutarch to his wife, 'showing him' as has been said 'in a very tender and attractive light as a husband and father, and affording us glimpses of a family life, the existence of which we are too apt to forget when taking account of the moral condition of the ancient heathen world<sup>9</sup>.'

<sup>5</sup> e.g. I 5, 5 ἦν δὲ Λαμπρίας, ὁ ἡμέτερος πάππος, ἐν τῷ πίνειν εὐρετικώτατος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ λογιώτατος. Comp. IV 5 where he takes part in a discourse on the reasons why the Jews abstain from pork; also I 2, 2, V 2, 6 and *vit. Ant.* c. 28, where Lamprias repeats a story told him by the physician Philotas, illustrating the luxuriousness of Antony's life in Egypt.

<sup>6</sup> *Sympos.* I 2, 5; II 2, 1; VIII 6, 5; IX 5, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Sympos.* I 2; II 5.

<sup>8</sup> *De consol. ad uxorem* c. 5: ἤδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλὴν εὐστάθειαν ἐπεδείξω, τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν τέκνων ἀποβαλοῦσα καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ Χαίρωνος ἡμᾶς προλιπόντος.

<sup>9</sup> Archbp. Trench *Five lectures on Plutarch* p. 32, who compares

2. Plutarch commenced his philosophical studies at Athens, under the direction of Ammonios, with a fellow-pupil named Themistokles, a descendant of the hero of Salamis<sup>10</sup>, in the year A.D. 66 when Nero was traveling in Greece<sup>11</sup>. On the completion of his studies under Ammonios, he returned from Athens, where the freedom of the city was conferred upon him, to his home at Chai-roneia, where he continued his literary pursuits. Not long after this he went on a voyage to Alexandria<sup>12</sup>, on his return from which he was fêted by his friends.

3. In later years, some time before A.D. 90, he paid a visit to Italy and Rome, which exercised considerable influence on his after life. He makes a general reference to this visit in his *Life of Demosthenes*<sup>13</sup>, where (after pleading the necessity for an author who has undertaken to compile a history of some foreign country from materials not ready to his hand but dispersed in different places, that he should reside in some historically famous, cultivated and populous town, where he can have unlimited access to books of all kinds, and where he can also pick up trustworthy information on such particulars, as rest upon popular tradition) he says of himself ἡμεῖς δὲ μικρὰν οἰκοῦντες πόλιν καί, ἵνα μὴ μικροτέρα γένηται, φιλοχωροῦντες, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διατριβαῖς οὐ

two striking passages, *amator.* c. 24 and *praec. coning.* c. 34. Cf. Volkman, *Leben, Schriften und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea* Berlin 1873, p. 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Vit. Them.* c. 32, 4.

<sup>11</sup> περὶ τοῦ Εἰ ἐν Δελφοῖς c. 1; ἃ πάλαι ποτε, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπεδήμει Νέρων, ἠκούσαμεν Ἀμμωνίου καὶ τινῶν ἄλλων διεξιόντων.

<sup>12</sup> *Sympos.* v. 5, 1 ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς ἃς ἐποιεῖτο τῶν φίλων ἕκαστος ἐστιῶν ἡμᾶς ἠκουσας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας.

<sup>13</sup> c. 2.

σχολῆς οὔσης γυμνάζεσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον ὑπὸ χρεῶν πολιτικῶν καὶ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιαζόντων, ὅψέ ποτε καὶ πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ἠρξάμεθα Ῥωμαϊκοῖς γράμμασιν ἐντυγχάνειν, 'as to myself, I live in a small town and am fond of living in it, that the small town may not be made yet smaller by the absence of even one inhabitant. But when I was in Rome and during my stay in different parts of Italy, I found my time so taken up with the public commissions with which I was charged, and with the number of those who came to be instructed by me in philosophy, that I had not leisure to study the Latin language. Consequently it was not till late, at an advanced period of my life, that I began to read Latin books.' Plutarch then goes on to explain that it was not words that assisted him to discover the meaning of things, but rather his knowledge of the history that enabled him to find out the meaning of the words. To appreciate the beauty and fluency of the Latin language, its various figures and the exquisite symmetry of its diction, and all the other graces of its structure, though an elegant and agreeable accomplishment, he professes himself unable, because to do so would require more practice and pains than he had time for<sup>14</sup>. The above passage is for Plutarch's life, in more than one respect, instructive. In the first place we have his own confession that he was but an indifferent Latin scholar, a fact which, to say nothing of his defective method of employing his Roman authorities, is proved by the errors into which he falls, as often

<sup>14</sup> κάλλους δὲ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀπαγγελίας καὶ τάχους αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ μεταφορᾶς ὀνομάτων καὶ ἀρμονίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷς ὁ λόγος ἀγάλλεται, χάριεν μὲν ἠγοῦμεθα καὶ οὐκ ἀτερπέες· ἡ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μελέτη καὶ ἄσκησις οὐκ εὐχερῆς, ἀλλ' οἷστισι πλείων τε σχολῆ καὶ τὰ τῆς ὥρας ἔτι πρὸς τὰς τοιαύτας ἐπιχωρεῖ φιλοτιμίας.

as he has occasion to explain Latin words and phrases<sup>15</sup>. Secondly, we learn that Plutarch was engaged in some public business at Rome, probably as representing his native town<sup>16</sup>, that he gave lectures or held conversaciones in philosophy, and that he availed himself of the opportunity his residence there gave him to make excursions in Italy, and that he must have stayed there some length of time.

One limit for the date of his visit is given in the treatise 'on the skill of animals'<sup>17</sup>, where in recording an instance of wonderful sagacity in a dog, which he had himself witnessed in the theatre of Marcellus at Rome,

<sup>15</sup> Thus he speaks of *πάτρωνας* for *πατρώνους* = *patronos*, *viz.* *Rom. c. 13*; he uses a false construction with *sine*, *σίνε πάτρις* (= *patris*), *οἶον ἄνευ πατρός*, *quaest. Rom. 103*. His remark that 'the Latin language, which had become almost the universal language, had taken away nearly all prepositions' (*ὁ Ῥωμαίων λόγος, ᾧ νῦν ὁμοῦ τι πάντες ἄνθρωποι χρῶνται...προθέσεις ἀφήρηκε πλὴν ὀλίγων ἀπάσας*) is very suspicious. He betrays his imperfect acquaintance with Latin also by his curious derivation of the word *fetialis* (*Num. c. 12*), and by his confusion of the meaning of *vicus* (*Lucull. c. 37*), where he gives it the meaning of 'village' instead of 'street' (*τὰς περιουκίδας κώμας, ἄς οὐῆκους καλοῦσιν, εἰστίασε*); again, by his imagining the form *prosequisset* to belong to *prosequi* and translating this word by *κατακολουθεῖν* (*viz. Cam. c. 5* compared with *Liv. v 21*). Cf. H. Peter *die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer*, p. 52. But it may be said that such slips are to be found in Dionysios of Halicarnassos, though he boasts of himself (*Antiq. 1 7*) *ἔτων δύο καὶ εἴκοσι—ἐν Ῥώμῃ διατρέψας διάλεκτόν τε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐκμαθῶν*; and some critics will concur with G. Lagus *Plutarchus vitae Ciceronis scriptor* Helsingf. a. 1847 p. 18 sqq. who says:—*Quomodo opinari possumus leviter tantum latinis literis eruditum, qui et Catonis et Caesaris et Sallusti et Livi aliorumque permultorum, quos longum est enumerare, scripta adierit, lectitarit, contulerit, saepe graece reddiderit?*

<sup>16</sup> 'Tout le temps, qu'il demeura en Italie, il fut, en quelque sorte, le chargé d'affaires de sa ville natale.' Gréard *l.c.* p. 32. <sup>17</sup> c. 19.

Plutarch distinctly mentions the presence of the old Emperor Vespasian—*παρῆν γὰρ ὁ γέρον Οὐεσπασιανὸς ἐν τῷ Μαρκελλου θεάτρῳ*. This must have been before the year A.D. 79, in which Vespasian died. Again he relates casually in his treatise *de curiositate*<sup>18</sup>, how on one occasion, when he was lecturing, Arulenus Rusticus, who was put to death in A.D. 94 by the Emperor Domitian, was amongst his audience. A passage in the *Symposiaca*<sup>19</sup> shows that Plutarch paid at least two visits to Rome, *Σύλλας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος εἰς Ῥώμην ἀφικομένῳ μοι διὰ χρόνου τὸ ὑποδεκτικόν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καταγγείλας δεῖπνον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐταίρων παρέλαβεν οὐ πολλοὺς κτλ.* At that time he was accompanied by his compatriot Philinos. Now we know from the *Life of Publicola*<sup>20</sup> that Plutarch was again in Greece and at Athens before A.D. 82, the year when the Capitol was restored by Domitian, for he saw there the columns of Pentelican marble destined for that building. He goes on to state that at Rome they were again cut and polished, and had lost thereby some of their original symmetry, being too slender, and he ends with a description of the imperial palace; from which it follows that Plutarch must have been at Rome after A.D. 82. We find also many other notices of his presence at Rome scattered throughout his writings, as when he refers to various bad customs existing in his time<sup>21</sup>, or speaks of buildings and localities seen by him, such as the sacred island of the Tiber<sup>22</sup>, the temple of Vica Pota<sup>23</sup>,

<sup>18</sup> c. 15.<sup>19</sup> VIII 7, 1.

<sup>20</sup> c. 15 οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντελῆσιω ἐτμήθησαν λίθου κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντες· εἶδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ῥαθήνησιω. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αὐθις καὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας, ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας <καὶ> τοῦ καλοῦ, διάκενοι καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες.

<sup>21</sup> *Vit. Marcell.* c. 3 extr.<sup>22</sup> *Vit. Public.* c. 8.<sup>23</sup> *ib.* c. 10.

the bronze statue of Titus Quintus Flamininus, opposite the Circus, with the Greek inscription on it<sup>24</sup>, or the *τεράτων ἀγορά* 'monster-market'<sup>25</sup>. In the *Life of Numa* he states that he had himself heard many Romans narrate how in obedience to an oracle bidding the Romans set up a statue of the wisest and the bravest of the Greeks in their own city, they had erected in the forum two bronze statues, one of Alkibiades, the other of Pythagoras<sup>26</sup>.

4. At Rome Plutarch became acquainted with many eminent men, and also renewed his acquaintance with several whom he had known before in Greece, as with Favorinus, the renowned rhetorician and philosopher to whom he dedicated his treatise 'on the principle of cold' (*περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ψυχροῦ*) and a lost tract 'on friendship', and with Sextius Sulla of Carthage, οὔτε μουσῶν οὔτε χαρίτων ἐπιδειξὴς ἀνήρ<sup>27</sup>. Thus he was on terms of intimacy with Gaius Sosius Senecio, one of Pliny's correspondents<sup>28</sup>, to whom Plutarch dedicates several of his *Parallel Lives*<sup>29</sup>. It was at his suggestion also that he compiled his *Symposiaca* or 'Records of Table talk', held at entertainments in which he played the part of host or guest to a circle of scholars or gentlemen devoted to literature and philosophy at Rome and elsewhere<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>24</sup> *Vit. Flam.* c. 1.

<sup>25</sup> *De curios.* c. 10.

<sup>26</sup> c. 8: αὐτοὶ δ' ἀκηκόαμεν πολλῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διεξιόντων ὅτι χρησιμοῦ ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις γενομένου τὸν φρονιμώτατον καὶ τὸν ἀνδρεϊότατον Ἑλλήμων ἰδρῦσασθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς εἰκόνας χαλκᾶς δύο, τὴν μὲν Ἀλκιβιάδου τὴν δὲ Πυθαγόρου.

<sup>27</sup> *Vit. Rom.* c. 15.

<sup>28</sup> Plin. *ep.* I 13.

<sup>29</sup> Those of *Theseus* and *Romulus*, of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, of *Dion* and *Brutus*, probably also those of *Agis* and *Kleomenes*, and the *Gracchi*, as well as the treatise *de profectibus in virtute* (πῶς ἂν τις αἰσθοῖτο ἑαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῆς.)

<sup>30</sup> Prooem. § 4: φήθης τε δεῖν ἡμᾶς τῶν σποράδην πολλάκις ἐν τε

Now we know from the *Fasti* that Sossius was four times consul under Trajan, viz., consul *suffectus* in A. D. 98 and consul *ordinarius* in A. D. 99, 102, 107. We do not, however, know whether Plutarch made his acquaintance first at Rome or in Greece, where it is certain from references in the *Symposiaca*, that he stayed some considerable time<sup>31</sup>. Another man of consular rank, a scholar and archaeologist<sup>32</sup>, was also a friend of Plutarch's, viz. Mestrius Florus. It was in his company that he travelled through Gallia Cisalpina, where the family of Mestrius was well known, and visited the battle-field of Bedriacum<sup>33</sup>, Brixellum<sup>34</sup>, Ravenna, where he saw the marble statue of Gaius Marius<sup>35</sup>. Fundanus, another friend, who is the principal interlocutor in the dialogue about ἀοργη-

ῥώμη μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, παρούσης ἅμα τραπέζης καὶ κύλικος, φιλολογοθέντων συναγαγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.

<sup>31</sup> From II 1, 1 it is plain that Plutarch was once at Patrae with him; and in v 1, 1 he speaks of their being in each other's company at Athens. Again in IV 3, 1 he tells us that Sossius was present at the marriage feast of his son Autobulos (ἐν τοῖς Αὐτοβούλου τοῦ υἱοῦ γάμοις συνεώρταξεν ἡμῖν παρῶν ἐκ Χαιρωνείας (ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ Volkmann) ὁ Σόσιος Σενεκίων).

<sup>32</sup> φιλαρχαῖος, *Symp.* VII 4: cf. *ib.* VIII 2, 2, Sueton. *Vespas.* c. 22.

<sup>33</sup> *Vit. Oth.* c. 14: ἐμοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ὀδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μέστριος Φλώρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη μετὰ τοῦ Ὄθωνος γενομένων, νεῶν ὄντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγέιτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σώρον τηλικούτον ὥστε τοὺς ἐπιπολῆς ἀπτεσθαι τῶν αἰετῶν ('the pediments').

<sup>34</sup> *ib.* c. 18: εἶδον δ' ἐν Βριξίλλῳ γερόμενος καὶ μνημα μέτριον καὶ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, εἰ μεταφρασθείη, 'δηλώσει (δαίμοσι *dis manibus* Bekker auctore Lobeckio ad. *Soph. Aiac.* p. 159) Μάρκον Ὄθωνος.'

<sup>35</sup> *Vit. Mar.* c. 2: τῆς δ' ὄψεως τῆς Μαρίου λιθίνην εἰκόνα κειμένην ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ τῆς Γαλατίας ἐθεώμεθα, πάνυ τῇ λεγομένῃ περὶ τὸ ἦθος στρυφνότητι καὶ πικρίᾳ πρέπουσαν.

σία, 'the cure of anger,' a very noble and humane character and the counterpart of Plutarch himself in his domestic life<sup>36</sup>, is probably to be identified with Minucius Fundanus, a distinguished friend of Pliny the younger<sup>37</sup>. A common friend of Sulla, Fundanus and Plutarch was Paccius, to whom the treatise *περὶ εὐθυμίας* 'of tranquillity of mind' is dedicated, a distinguished forensic speaker and a friend of the emperor<sup>38</sup>.

5. Plutarch's occupation during his residence at Rome was akin to that of the ancient *grammaticus*, whom we should describe as lecturer or private tutor<sup>39</sup>, ready to give advice to any one consulting him on questions of practical morality, a sort of physician of the soul, able to make a diagnosis of a diseased moral condition, one of 'the domestic chaplains of heathendom,' as Bishop Lightfoot calls them, ready to help all who sought his assistance as their spiritual director and adviser. He had cultivated, in a greater or less degree, the three branches of study recognized by the ancients, viz. mathematics, rhetoric and philosophy<sup>40</sup>. But his attention was mainly given to moral and religious speculations, in all of which he took the most profound interest; the one end and aim of his life and writings being the illumination of the

<sup>36</sup> Volkmann *l. c.* p. 41.

<sup>37</sup> See his three *Epistles*, I 9, IV 15, VI 6. There is also a fourth letter (V 6) concerning the death of his young daughter in which Pliny speaks of his being *eruditus et sapiens, ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dederit*.

<sup>38</sup> *De tranquill. animi* c. 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Vit. Dem.* c. 2, already quoted § 3, where he speaks of his being prevented from learning much of the Latin language ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πλησιαζόντων.

<sup>40</sup> *Sympos.* IX 14 § 3 ἀπάσας τὰς διὰ λόγου περαινομένας ἐπιστήμας καὶ τέχνας οἱ παλαιοὶ καταμαθόντες ἐν τρισὶ γένεσιν οὔσας, τῷ φιλοσόφῳ καὶ τῷ ῥητορικῷ καὶ τῷ μαθηματικῷ κτλ.

intellect by the force of morals. Thus Poetry, in his judgment, was mischievous, if it had not a direct moral tendency; his rhetorical precepts and his rules of historical criticism are alike based upon morals; does he find himself in presence of some physical phenomenon<sup>41</sup>, or confronted by a question of erudition, the solution is to be found only by recurring to moral principles. Even his rules for the preservation of health are for the most part observations of moral hygiene. If he attacks the Stoics and Epicureans, it is to vindicate providence and the moral government of the world against their tenets. Politics, moreover, are in his view nothing but the most perfect exercise of moral philosophy applied to the amelioration of society<sup>42</sup>.

Thus we see why, from the first, his miscellaneous essays on all sorts of topics were comprised under the common title of 'Moral Works.' His *Parallel Lives* are but the complement of his moral essays; his leading purpose in writing them was not, as will be seen hereafter, historical but ethical: history is only a school of manners for him; what he looks for in the example of great men is some lesson or other<sup>43</sup>. 'Vivid moral portraiture' says Archbishop Trench<sup>44</sup> 'is what he aimed at, and this is what he achieved.' And this is the secret of his vast popularity, which has stood the test of so many ages, from the fourth century, when he could be spoken of as *ὁ θειότατος, ὁ θεσπέσιος, ἡ φιλο-*

<sup>41</sup> *Vit. Nic.* c. 23.

<sup>42</sup> *περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι* c. 1; *πρὸς ἡγεμόνα ἀπαίδευτον* c. 3.

<sup>43</sup> Heeren *de fontibus et auctoritate vitarum parallelarum Plutarchi Commentatio prima*: prooem. p. 5 etc., Trench *l. c.* p. 90.

<sup>44</sup> *l. c.* p. 43.

σοφίας ἀπάσης ἀφροδίτη καὶ λύρα<sup>45</sup>, or as ὁ τῆς ἐπιστήμης πλουῦτος<sup>46</sup>.

6. We can readily imagine what a profound impression must have been made upon Plutarch by the great City, which was the heart and centre of the world's activity, with its glorious name and associations<sup>47</sup>, its beautiful and magnificent sights, not so much from isolated expressions<sup>48</sup> as from his whole method of speaking of the Roman power, and the profound interest which he manifested in Roman history at a later period of his life. He regarded the Roman empire as a special creation of Providence<sup>49</sup> for helping men to lasting peace and undisturbed possession of their property after a long and dreary period of warfare.

7. From the noise and bustle of Rome he returned to the modest and quiet place of his birth, where he spent the remaining years of his tranquil life. He made a point of undertaking its humblest offices at first<sup>50</sup>—entertaining as he did the strong conviction that the exercise of public functions was the duty and the proper education of Man. Subsequently he became its ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος for more than one year<sup>51</sup> and was nominated by his fellow-townsmen to the office of Bocotarch<sup>52</sup>. He was

<sup>45</sup> Eunapius *de vitis sophistarum*, prooem. p. 3 ed. Boissonade.

<sup>46</sup> Theophylact Sim. Q.P. p. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Rom. c. 1: τὸ μέγα τῆς Ῥώμης ὄνομα καὶ δόξη διὰ πάντων κεχωρηκός.

<sup>48</sup> Such as ἡ καλὴ Ῥώμη, *de sollertia animal.* c. 5.

<sup>49</sup> *Vit. Rom.* c. 8: οὐκ ἂν ἐνταῦθα προῦβη δυνάμει (τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα) μὴ θείαν τινα ἀρχὴν λαβόντα καὶ μηδὲν μέγα μηδὲ παράδοξον ἔχουσαν. Cf. *vit. Pomp.* c. 75, *vit. Philopoem.* c. 17, *de fortuna Romanorum* p. 316 C—326 C.

<sup>50</sup> *Praec. reip. ger.* 15, 17.

<sup>51</sup> *Sympos.* II 10, 1; VI 8, 1.

<sup>52</sup> *An seni ger. sit resp.* c. 4; *praec. reip. ger.* c. 17.

likewise chosen to officiate as priest of Apollo at Delphi<sup>53</sup>—a still higher testimony to the worth of his character—and at a later period as ἀγωνοθέτης at the Pythian games<sup>54</sup>. But his public duties did not hinder him from making frequent excursions so that he was familiar with all the principal localities, not to say the nooks and corners of Greece; he delights to relate his personal reminiscences and all he has seen of the memorials and records of her past splendour<sup>55</sup>.

8. In the retirement of a happy domestic life Plutarch had abundant leisure for the pursuit of his favourite literary and moral studies. But his useful virtues were actively employed for the good of others. Besides taking his full share in the civil and religious duties of his station, he disbursed the stores of his learning liberally, diffusing knowledge in an age which stood greatly in need of education. His profound sympathy with the young made the task of their spiritual direction a pleasant one: his lecture room was open to those who, longing to order their lives according to some higher rule in a corrupt age, sought special help in private and familiar intercourse. He gave lectures on philosophical and other subjects, expounding at one time some writing of Plato, at another answering offhand the various questions (προβλήματα) put to him, or warning his hearers against the manifold corrupt practices and luxury of the time. Many of these lectures were afterwards enlarged by him and published

<sup>53</sup> *Sympos.* VII 2, 2 where he speaks of Euthydemus as his colleague in the priesthood (συνιερεύς).

<sup>54</sup> *ib.* v 2, 3.

<sup>55</sup> See especially *vit. Phok.* c. 18, c. 22, *Demosth.* c. 7, c. 31, *Nikias* c. 3, *Perikl.* c. 13, *Agesil.* c. 19, c. 35, *Lykurg.* c. 18, *Aristeid.* c. 1, c. 17, c. 19—21, c. 27, *Themist.* c. 22, *Sol.* c. 25, *Alexandr.* c. 69, *K̄im.* c. 16.

as separate treatises<sup>56</sup>, and it is plain that they were no mere showy declamations, like those of ordinary sophists, but 'earnest efforts, as of a spiritual physician, to heal the hurts of men's souls<sup>57</sup>'.

Plutarch must have been an extensive reader, and had access to a select library, which contained a good many treasures, but he felt the want of a large library of reference<sup>58</sup> at Chaironeia, so necessary to a literary man. His wont at Rome, where he commanded an ample store of books, had been to make Extracts from the more eminent writers in Biography, History or Philosophy for his pupils or audience, which he afterwards employed in the composition of his miscellaneous Works; most of which were originally written or added to on some particular occasion, some festive event in the circle of his acquaintance, or at the special request of some friend<sup>59</sup>.

9. As to the chronological order of his works we are left very much in the dark. Most of them must have been written in his riper years after the reign of Domitian. For the date of his Biographies, there is an important passage in that of *Sulla* c. 21, where, after describing the battle of Orchomenos, fought in B.C. 85, he

<sup>56</sup> To this category belongs the treatise *de audiendis poetis*: of which he says (c. 1) ἃ δ' οὖν ἐμοὶ περὶ ποιημάτων εἰπόντι πρῶην ἐπῆλθε, νῦν πρὸς σὲ γεγραμμένα πέμψαι διενεόηθην: and that *de audiendo* which begins thus: τὴν γενομένην μοι σχολήν, ὦ Νικάνδρε, περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν ἐπέσταλκά σοι γράψας: also the ὑγιεινὰ παραγγέλματα or *de sanitate praecepta*.

<sup>57</sup> Trench *l. c.* p. 107.

<sup>58</sup> See above § 3; also *de EI* ap. Delph. c. 1.

<sup>59</sup> 'He was as indefatigable a gleaner of literary and ethical curiosities as Southey himself: and could we have his Common-place Book, it might be far more valuable and interesting than the very unequal collection of Photius.' *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1869 p. 73.

says that many relics of the dead were found in the neighbouring marshes—*σχεδὸν ἐτῶν διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης διαγεγονότων*. From which it follows that Plutarch must have composed the *Life of Sulla* at least not much before A.D. 115, at the close of Trajan's reign. He does not appear to have lived long after A.D. 120. For he speaks in his *Life of Solon* c. 32 of the Olympieion at Athens as unfinished, which we know that Hadrian completed some time between A.D. 125 and A.D. 130<sup>60</sup>. There is a passage in Artemidorus Daldianus which refers to his death<sup>61</sup>.

10. There is sufficient evidence that Plutarch's works were much read and used soon after his death. Aelius Aristeides<sup>62</sup>, the celebrated rhetorician of the second century, and Polyænos, author of the *στρατηγήματα*, borrowed largely from him. He is quoted by A. Gellius and Galen<sup>63</sup> and referred to by Tatian the Apologist in his *λόγος πρὸς Ἑλληνας*. In the 3rd century we find Athenæos constantly quoting or making tacit reference to him, also Porphyrios the neo-Platonist, and Eunapios<sup>64</sup>. Stobæos in his collection made extracts of all kinds from his works, including some that are lost. Macrobios in his *Saturnalia* has made constant use of his 'Table-talk.' In the 6th century he was carefully read by Sopater the younger of Apameia, the eighth and twelfth book of whose *ἐκλογαὶ διάφοροι* contained extracts from his writings, among others from his lost lives of Krates, Daïphantos, Pindaros, Epameinondas : also from

<sup>60</sup> Dyer's *Ancient Athens* p. 173.

<sup>61</sup> *Oneirocritica* IV 72.

<sup>62</sup> V. Sintenis *ad Plut. Pericl. Excurs.* 3 p. 302 ff. ed. Lips. a. 1835.

<sup>63</sup> *De dogmate Platonis et Hippocratis*.

<sup>64</sup> See above note 45.

his philosophical treatise *περὶ φύσεως καὶ πόνων*, and from another *περὶ ὀργῆς*, a fragment of which is found in the *Florilegium* of Stobaeos. It is remarkable that Sopater made extracts from his spurious works also, such as that 'on rivers' and 'the apophthegms of Kings and Generals.' Ecclesiastical writers, as Clement of Alexandria and even Basil, the great Bishop of Cappadocia, were not ashamed to adorn themselves with his feathers, an easy proceeding which proved too tempting for compilers like Zonaras and Michael Psellos not to imitate.

*b. The Parallel Lives of Plutarch*

11. Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* comprise nearly the whole of the history of ancient Greece and Rome from Theseus to the Emperors Galba and Otho. They are of extraordinary value for the knowledge of Greek and Roman Antiquity, in fact for many periods the only remaining source of information, and are still regarded as the legacy of a highly-cultivated man, a thorough-going advocate of truth and morality. 'It is a mistake to suppose that he was content with writing merely amusing or popular biographies' says Dr Paley; 'the *Lives* are works of great learning and research and they must for this very reason, as well as from their considerable length, have taken many years in their compilation.' They are of course of unequal merit. His *Roman Lives*, for instance, do not exhibit such an extent of research or such a range of authorities as the *Greek*, partly because he had only an imperfect acquaintance with the Latin language and with Roman history, partly because in Chaironeia<sup>65</sup> his native town, where he

<sup>65</sup> See § 8 p. xxiii.

is supposed to have composed most of them, he had not access to so great a store of books. His original idea in writing them was simply to set a Greek warrior, statesman, orator or legislator side by side with some noted Roman, celebrated for the same qualities. In his age, when Rome held the supremacy, but Greece was still looked up to as the centre and source of wisdom and art, such a comparison of the greatest men of both nations had a special propriety and significance and was more than a mere literary exercise. It was a patriotic theme, to shew the superiority of this or that race; and Plutarch, in a sense, belonged to both.

The forty-six extant *Lives* are as follows, each pair constituting one book (*βιβλίον*) usually followed by a comparison (*σύγκρισις*) between Greek and Roman:—

1. Theseus and Romulus.
2. Lykurgos and Numa.
3. Solon and Valerius Publicola.
4. Themistokles and Camillus.
5. Perikles and Q. Fabius Maximus.
6. Alkibiades and Coriolanus.
7. Timoleon and Aemilius Paulus.
8. Pelopidas and Marcellus.
9. Aristeides and Cato the elder.
10. Philopoemen and Flaminius.
11. Pyrrhos and Marius.
12. Lysander and Sulla.
13. Kimon and Lucullus.
14. Nikias and Crassus.
15. Eumenes and Sertorius.
16. Agesilaos and Pompeius.
17. Alexander and Caesar.
18. Phokion and Cato the younger.

- 19, 20. Agis and Kleomenes and Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus.  
 21. Demosthenes and Cicero.  
 22. Demetrios Poliorketes and Marcus Antonius.  
 23. Dion and M. Junius Brutus.

The earliest series was, as he himself tells us<sup>66</sup>, com-

<sup>66</sup> *Introduction to Life of Timoleon* c. 1 (ed. Sintenis, *Life of Aem. Paulus* ed. Held c. 1):—ἐμοὶ μὲν τῆς τῶν βίων ἀψασθαι μὲν γραφῆς συνέβη δι' ἐτέρους, ἐπιμένειν δὲ καὶ φιλοχωρεῖν ἤδη καὶ δι' ἐμαυτόν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ πειρώμενον ἀμωσγέπως κοσμεῖν καὶ ἀφομοιοῦν πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετὰς τὸν βίον. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἢ συνδιαιτήσῃ καὶ συμβιώσῃ τὸ γινόμενον ἕοικεν, ὅταν ὥσπερ ἐπιξενούμενον ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν μέρει διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑποδεχόμενοι καὶ παραλαμβάνοντες ἀναθεωρῶμεν, ὅσσοις ἔην οἷός τε, τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα πρὸς γνώσιν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων λαμβάνοντες.

φεῦ, φεῦ· τί τοῦτου χάρμα μείζον ἂν λάβοις;

πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἠθῶν ἐνεργότερον;... ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν διατριβῇ καὶ τῆς γραφῆς τῇ συνηθείᾳ παρασκευάζομεν ἑαυτοὺς τὰς τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ δοκιμωτάτων μνήμας ὑποδεχομένους αἰεὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εἴ τι φαῦλον ἢ κακότητες ἢ ἀγενεῖς αἱ τῶν συνόντων ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὀμιλῆαι προσβάλλουσιν, ἐκκρούειν καὶ διωθεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἕλω καὶ πράξιαν ἀποστρέφοντες τὴν διάνοιαν i.e. 'It was for the sake of others that I first undertook to write biographies, but I at once began to dwell upon and delight in them for my own sake, while I endeavoured to the best of my ability to regulate my own life and to make it resemble their virtues, which were reflected in their history as in a mirror. For it seems just as if we lived in personal intercourse with them, when we welcome each character in turn as a guest by the study of their lives, and think 'how great, how noble he was,' as we appropriate from their acts the best and most important as a means of judging of them. 'Ah! what greater joy than this could'st thou receive?' what more efficacious for the elevation of character?... By our familiarity with history and practice in writing it, we train ourselves constantly to receive into our minds the memorials of the best and most approved characters, so that, if anything low or vicious or degrading is thrown in our way by the society into which we are necessarily thrown, we reject and

posed at the suggestion of some friends; these are of an historical rather than ethical character, although here and there moral reflexions are interspersed, as might be expected in a moralist like Plutarch. To this class of biographies belong those of Lysander and Sulla, of Kimon and Lucullus, of Demosthenes and Cicero (the fifth<sup>67</sup> book of the series) with some others. The Book of Perikles and Fabius Maximus, forming the tenth<sup>67</sup> of the series, forms a new departure. The work which he had undertaken to please some friends proved so interesting and agreeable to his taste that he did not need any external pressing to continue it; but his treatment of his subject becomes more ethical, and the historical narrative a canvas on which he loves to paint beautiful pictures of virtue.

This Second Series of *Parallel Lives*, in which the moral aspect of actions is made prominent, comprises in addition to the Book already mentioned, those of Dion and Brutus (the twelfth<sup>67</sup> book of the series), of Alexander and Caesar, of Agesilaos and Pompeius, of Pyrrhos and Marius with others. Then after having introduced in his gallery of portraits all the great characters of Greek and Roman history, worthy of being proposed as models, still desirous to continue writing his *Lives*, he determined, not without regret, to teach virtue by painting its opposite, like Ismenias of Thebes, who showed his pupils how to play the flute and how not to play it<sup>68</sup>. Plutarch confined himself in this last class

expel it from our thoughts, by turning them away, calmly and gently, to the most beautiful models.'

<sup>67</sup> See *Introd.* to the *Lives of the Gracchi*, p. ix note 1.

<sup>68</sup> *Life of Demetrios* c. 1: ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐκ διαστροφῆς ἐτέρων ἐπανόρθωσιν οὐ πάνυ φιλόανθρωπον οὐδὲ πολιτικὴν ἡγοῦμεθα, τῶν δὲ κεχρημένων ἀσκεπτότερον αὐτοῖς καὶ γεγονότων ἐν ἐξουσίαις καὶ

to two pairs only of Parallel Lives, those of Demetrios and Antonius, Coriolanus and Alkibiades.

Lastly, as he did not choose to give the history of too many bad examples, he turned his attention elsewhere, overleaped the limit of historical times and plunging into 'unknown countries'<sup>69</sup> attempted to resuscitate Theseus and Romulus, Numa and Lykurgos<sup>70</sup>.

A small number of biographies, to be ranged under the first or second class, have been lost, as those of Epameinondas and Scipio.

The four extant *Lives* of Artoxerxes and Aratus on the one part and of Galba and Otho on the other, together with the lost *Lives* of Herakles, Aristomenes, Hesiod, Pindar, Daïphantos, Krates the Cynic philosopher, and others were not composed as connected with one another or with other biographies: they do not come under the category of Parallel Lives. In the

πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἐπιφανῶν εἰς κακίαν οὐ χεῖρον ἴσως ἐστὶ συζυγίαν μίαν ἢ δύο παρεμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰ παραδείγματα τῶν βίων, οὐκ ἐφ' ἡδονῇ μὰ Δία καὶ διαγωγῇ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων ποικίλλοντας τὴν γραφήν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ Θηβαῖος ἐπιδεικνύμενος τοῖς μαθηταῖς καὶ τοὺς εὖ καὶ τοὺς κακῶς αὐλοῦντας εἰώθει λέγειν 'Οὕτως αὐλεῖν δεῖ' καὶ πάλιν 'Οὕτως αὐλεῖν οὐ δεῖ'...οὕτω μοι δοκοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς προθυμότεροι τῶν βελτιόνων ἔσεσθαι καὶ θεαταὶ καὶ μιμηταὶ βίων, εἰ μὴδὲ τῶν φαύλων, καὶ ψεγομένων ἀνιστορήτως ἔχοιμεν.

<sup>69</sup> *Life of Theseus* c. 1: ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς γεωγραφίαις, ὃ Σόσιε Σενεκίων, οἱ ἱστορικοὶ τὰ διαφεύγοντα τὴν γνώσιν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσι τῶν πινάκων πιεζοῦντες ἐνίοις παραγράφουσι ὅτι 'τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα θῖνες ἄνδρῳ καὶ θηριώδει' ἢ 'πηλὸς αἰδωνῆς' ἢ 'Σκυθικὸν κρύος' ἢ 'πέλαγος πεπηγός', οὕτως ἐμοὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν βίων τῶν παραλλήλων γραφήν τὸν ἐφικτὸν εἰκότι λόγῳ καὶ βάσιμον ἱστορίᾳ πραγμάτων ἐχομένην χρόνον διελθόντι περὶ τῶν ἀνωτέρω καλῶς εἶχεν εἰπεῖν 'τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα τερατώδη καὶ τραγικὰ ποιητὰ καὶ μυθόγραφοι νέμονται καὶ οὐκέτ' ἔχει πίστιν οὐδὲ σαφήνειαν'.

<sup>70</sup> V. C. Th. Michaelis *de ordine vitarum parallelarum Plutarchi* (Berlin 1875).

greater number of MSS, including the best, the lives of Galba and Otho are ranged in the middle of what are called the *Moral Works*.

12. In order to form a proper estimate of the merits of Plutarch as a Biographer we must consider his professed purpose and the rules by which he was guided as to what he should admit or omit in his narrative. In his Introduction to the *Life of Alexander the Great*, where he makes an apology for the brevity with which he is compelled to treat of the numerous events in the lives of that hero and of Caesar, 'I am not' he says 'a writer of histories but of biographies. My readers therefore must excuse me if I do not record all events or describe in detail, but only briefly touch upon, the noblest and most famous. For the most conspicuous do not always or of necessity show a man's virtues or failings, but it often happens that some trifling incident, a word or a jest, gives a clearer insight into character, than battles with their slaughters of tens of thousands, the greatest arrays of armies and sieges of cities. Now as painters produce a likeness by a representation of the countenance and the expression of the face, in which the character is revealed, without troubling themselves about the other parts of the body, so must I be allowed to look rather into the signs of a man's character, and by these means to give a portrait of his life, leaving to others the description of their great deeds and their battles<sup>71</sup>.' In Plutarch the whole

<sup>71</sup> ch. 1 § 1: οὐδὲν ἄλλο προερούμεν ἢ παραιτησόμεθα τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκοντας, εἰὰν μὴ πάντα μηδὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξεργασμένως τι τῶν περιβοητῶν ἀπαγγέλλωμεν ἀλλὰ ἐπιτέμνοντες τα πλείστα, μὴ συκοφαντεῖν. Οὔτε γὰρ ἱστορίας γραφομεν ἀλλὰ βίους οὔτε ταῖς ἐπιφανεστάταις πράξεσι παντὼς ἔνεστι δῆλωσις ἀρετῆς ἢ κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρᾶγμα βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιὰ τις ἔμφασιν ἦθους ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι καὶ παρατάξεις αἰ μέγιστα καὶ

becomes lost in the individual, history in biography: his interest is for personal character and individual actions and motives to action: more or less of historical background he was obliged to give to the portraits he drew, but always in subordination to the portrait itself: he is, in short, only accidentally an historian; he is really and essentially a philosopher and moralist; and his *Biographies* take their tone from the spirit which animated the writer in his philosophical works, a proof of which is furnished by the preamble to the *Life of Perikles*, which is to the moral treatises what the example is to the rule<sup>72</sup>.

c. *The Life of Lucius Cornelius Sulla*

This Biography falls into the following divisions:—

A. c. 1—c. 2: (1) Sulla's lineage, (2) his early life, habits and associations, (3) his personal appearance, with some anecdotes concerning him.

B. c. 3—c. 4: his campaigns under Marius (1) in the Jugurthine and (2) Cimbrian Wars, and the origin of the feud between them.

πολιορκίαι πόλεων. ὡσπερ οὖν οἱ ζωγράφοι τὰς ὁμοιότητας ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν-ὄψιν εἰδῶν, οἷς ἐμφαίνεται τὸ ἦθος, ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ἐλάχιστα τῶν λοιπῶν μερῶν φροντίζοντες, οὕτως ἡμῖν δοτέον εἰς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς σημεῖα μᾶλλον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ διὰ τούτων εἰδοποιεῖν τὸν ἐκάστου βίον, ἐάσαντας ἑτέροις τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας. Cf. also the *Life of Kimon* c. 2, quoted in note 6 p. xi of my *Introduction* to the *Lives of the Gracchi*.

<sup>72</sup> 'Each of the two halves of Plutarch's writings, of his *Lives* and *Morals*, constitutes a complement to the other; the one half setting forth to us and, so far as this was possible, from ideal points of view, what the ancient world had aimed at and accomplished in the world of action; the other what, in like manner, it had aimed at and accomplished in the world of thought.' Trench *l.c.* p. 90.

C. c. 5.—c. 10: (1) Sulla's appointment as *Praetor* and his subsequent mission to Cappadocia. (2) Outbreak of the Social War. (3) Sulla's superstition. Inconsistency of his character. (4) His promotion to the consulship; his marriage. (5) Intrigues of Marius for the conduct of the Mithridatic War, the immediate cause of the Civil War: ominous portents. The Coalition of Marius and Sulpicius, and the transfer of the command of the war to Marius. Sulla's march upon the city; flight and outlawry of Marius. (6) Election of Cinna to the consulship.

D. c. 11—c. 26. (1) Sulla's departure for Greece. (2) The limits of the dominions of Mithridates VI, King of Pontos. (3) Corruption of the soldiers of other Roman commanders by Sulla. His conduct in Greece contrasted by the Greeks with the behaviour of the other Roman generals who drove Antiochos out of Greece. Siege and capture of Athens and death of Aristion. Capture of the Peiraeus. (4) Victory of Sulla at Chaironeia and at Orchomenos. (5) Negotiations of peace and conference at Dardanos between Sulla and the King. (6) Suicide of Fimbria, and departure of Sulla from Asia for Greece and Italy. (7) Story about the writings of Aristotle which Sulla carries to Rome.

E. c. 27—c. 32: Sulla in Italy.

(1) (Battle of Mount Tifata.) (Burning of the Capitol.) Desertion of the troops of the consul Scipio. Defeat of the younger Marius at Sacriportus.

(2) Battle with the Samnites before the Colline gate and narrow escape of Sulla. Massacre of 6000 prisoners in the Hippodrome.

(3) Change for the worse in Sulla's character after

his possession of absolute power. His proscriptions and confiscations in Rome and throughout Italy. Anecdote illustrative of the times.

(4) Surrender of Praeneste and death of the younger Marius. Charge against Lucius Sergius Catilina.

*F.* c. 33—c. 38. Sulla's Dictatorship. His treatment of Cn. Pompeius Magnus and of Lucretius Ofella. (2) His triumph. His assumption of the designation 'Felix' as a formal surname. (3) His abdication and retirement to the coast of Campania. His remark to Pompeius on the election of Lepidus to the consulate. (4) His offering to Hercules of a tenth of his substance and feasting of the people. (5) The death of Metella. Sulla's subsequent marriage with Valeria. He still continues his dissolute course of life. (6) The manner of his death and (7) funeral.

We must not look to Plutarch for any consistent account of constitutional crises, reforms or development. Accordingly he is silent about the laws enacted under Sulla's administration (*leges Corneliae*). All the essential features of his legislation—the deprivation of the equestrian order, as created by Gaius Gracchus, of its political existence, the re-organisation of the senate and increase of its power by restoring to it the initiative in legislation, the admission to that body through the quaestorship, the abolition of the censorial right to eject a senator from the senate, the restoration of the right of co-optation in the priestly colleges, the weakening of the tribunate of the people and the conversion of the office into an instrument of the senate for fettering the *imperium*, the limitation of the consular and praetorian functions and separation of the political and military authority, the re-organisation of the judicial system, the regulation of

the finances—all these institutions, planned and carried out by Sulla under the greatest difficulties, are passed over in silence by his Biographer. Not one of his laws is extant in its original form and we only know them from the writings of Cicero and other authors and from the Pandects and Digest of Justinian. The cardinal facts of his life, however, as related by Plutarch, are no doubt founded on the evidence of trustworthy contemporaneous writers, which were extant in the time of the Biographer but are now irrecoverably lost. What these sources were is an important and interesting subject of inquiry.

*d. The sources of information accessible to Plutarch for his Life of Sulla*

1. Herman Peter in his *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer* enumerates sixty-five authors, who furnished Plutarch in greater or less measure with materials for the composition of his *Roman Lives*. Five only are named or quoted by Plutarch himself in the present Biography as his authorities for particular statements. They are as follows:—

- (1) Sulla himself in his Memoirs (*ὑπομνήματα*)
- (2) Titus Livius (*ὁ Τίτος*)
- (3) Iuba (*ὁ Ἰόβας*)
- (4) Strabo (*ὁ Στράβων*)
- (5) Fenestella (*Φενεστέλλας*)

In the *Λυσάνδρου καὶ Σύλλα σύγκρισις* (c. 3), Sallust (*Σαλούστιος*) also is quoted.

‘Very many of the leading men at Rome’ says Merivale<sup>73</sup> ‘wrote their own lives. An instinct of vanity

<sup>73</sup> *History of the Romans under the Empire*, ch. lxiv, Vol. VII p. 310—1. The three books of the *Autobiography* of M. Aemilius

the outward show of which they curbed sedulously in themselves and ridiculed in others, impelled them to leave a minute record of their deeds, coloured as they themselves wished, for posterity. Their longing for posthumous fame exceeded even their anxiety for honour or power during life. 'The cynical Sulla could relinquish the dictatorship, but he could not refrain from leaving his own panegyric behind him.' He might have occupied an eminent position among Roman prose-writers, if these

Scaurus, (b. 163/591, cos. 115/639 and *princeps senatus*, censor 109/645) whose widow Caecilia was married to Sulla in 88/666, is referred to by Cicero (*Brut.* 29, 112; 35, 132), his great admirer, who prefers it to the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon, by Tacitus *Agricola* c. 1 (see my *Introduction* to Plutarch's *Lives of the Gracchi*, p. XXXVIII n. 80), and by Valerius Maximus IV 4, 11. The *Memoirs* of the upright statesman, warrior and man of letters, P. Rutilius Rufus (cos. 105/649) on his own life in five, if not more, books, are coupled by Tacitus with those of Scaurus. He was living in exile at Smyrna at the time of the great massacre of Romans in Asia by Mithridates, and declined Sulla's offer to reinstate him at Rome. See below p. XXXIX n. 86 and my n. on Cic. *de off.* III § 10 l. 5.

Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 652/102) wrote an historical Memoir on his own consulship (twice quoted by Plutarch, *vit. Mar.* c. 25 and c. 26), 'to which' says Ihne 'we are in all probability indebted for most of the nonsense and the lies which disfigure the narrative of the campaign against the Cimbri. He did all he could to tarnish the laurels of Marius by his lying reports of his own superior services'. It is praised by Cicero *Brutus*, 35, 132: *iam Q. Catulus, non antiquo illo more sed hoc nostro eruditus, multae litterae, summa non vitae solum atque naturae sed orationis etiam comitas, incorrupta quaedam Latini sermonis integritas; quae perspicui cum ex orationibus eius potest, tum facillime ex eo libro, quem de consulatu et de rebus gestis suis conscriptum molli et Xenophonteo genere sermonis misit ad A. Furium poetam, familiarem suum.* See my n. on Cic. *de off.* I § 109 l. 29, Herman Peter *Historr. Romann. reliqq.* Vol. 1 p. cclii—cclxxv.

*Memoirs* had not been lost; for the scanty fragments<sup>74</sup> that remain afford us no means of forming a judgment about them, except perhaps that they were written in Latin and not, as Heeren<sup>75</sup> assumes, in Greek. The work was dedicated to Lucius Licinius Lucullus, as we learn from Plutarch<sup>76</sup>, who also informs us that the writer was occupied with the composition of the twenty-second book only two days before his death<sup>77</sup>. The incomplete book was finished, according to Suetonius<sup>78</sup>, by Sulla's freedman Cornelius Epicadus.

Plutarch depended upon these *Memoirs* in his *Life of Marius*, and the author of them is cited by name in three places<sup>79</sup>. This will account for the partial and

<sup>74</sup> Aulus Gellius *Noct. Att.* I 12, 16: *L. Sulla rerum gestarum libro secundo ita scripsit: P. Cornelius, cui primum cognomen Sullae impositum, est flamen Dialis captus (praetor 542/212); Priscian IX p. 476 H: Sulla in vicesimo primo rerum suarum: ad summam perniciem rem publicam perventurum esse.*

<sup>75</sup> *de fontibus et auctoritate vit. parall. Plut.* p. 151: cum utraque lingua esset exercitatissimus, commentarios suos, quos Lucullo dedicaverat, scripsit graece; quo ipso maxime Plutarcho facilis ad eos aditus patebat.

<sup>76</sup> *vit. Luc. c. 1* ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος ἤσκητο καὶ λέγειν ἰκανῶς ἑκατέραν γλῶσσαν, ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐκεῖνῳ προσεφώνησεν, ὡς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσονται τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον i.e. 'Lucullus had been trained also to speak both Latin and Greek competently, so that Sulla, when he was writing of his own experiences, dedicated the work to him, in the belief that he would put it together and arrange the narrative better (than himself)'. Cf. *Vit. Sull. c. 6, 7* Λευκόλλῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν ἐκεῖνῳ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνατέθεικε, παραινεῖ κτλ.

<sup>77</sup> *Vit. Sull. c. 37, 1.*

<sup>78</sup> *de gramm. 12 Cornelius Epicadus, L. Corneli Sullae libertus, ...librum..., quem Sulla novissimum de rebus suis imperfectum reliquerat, ipse suppleverat.*

<sup>79</sup> c. 25, c. 26 and c. 35.

biased presentation which he gives of some facts, e.g. the events immediately preceding the conclusion of the Jugurthine war (c. 7—c. 10), differing as it does from that of Sallust. Plutarch's report of the punishment of Turpilius seems inspired by hostility to Marius. According to him, Metellus wished to save Turpilius, who was ἐκ πατέρων ξένος to him; but this was a reason with Marius for insisting on his punishment. Plutarch adds that Marius afterwards boasted that he had compelled Metellus to put his own friend to death; but he is silent about the massacre of the Roman garrison at Vaga, from which the commander Turpilius contrived to make his escape, and he goes so far as to assert that the innocence of Turpilius came afterwards to light<sup>80</sup>. How the relation between Marius and Metellus was further depicted in the *Memoirs* may be easily seen from the following words of the Biographer<sup>81</sup>, 'At last retribution for his conduct overtook Marius; for he was deprived of the glory of his victories by Sulla (in the capture of Jugurtha), just in the same way as he had himself deprived Metellus of his credit.' Again, the improbable statement that Marius when, on his appointment as Consul, he was raising an army for Numidia, admitted slaves as well as those of the lowest class, may doubtless be fathered on Sulla<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> c. 8 μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς αἰτίας ψευδοῦς φανείσης οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συνήχθοντο τῷ Μετέλλῳ βαρέως φέροντι, Μάριος δὲ χαίρων καὶ ποιούμενος ἴδιον τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἠσχύνετο λέγειν περιουίῳν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη προστετριμμένος ἀλάστορα τῷ Μετέλλῳ ξενοκτόνον.

<sup>81</sup> c. 10 περιῆλθέ τις νέμεσις ἐν τῷ τέλει τῶν πράξεων Μάριον· ἀφηρέθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Σύλλα τὴν τοῦ κατορθώματος δόξαν, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου Μέτελλος.

<sup>82</sup> c. 9 ἀναγορευθεὶς δὲ λαμπρῶς (ὑπατος) εὐθὺς ἐστρατολόγει παρὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν συνήθειαν, πολὺν τὸν ἄπορον καὶ δοῦλον καταγράφων. Sallust *Jug.* 86, 3 says *ipse interea milites scribere, non*

In the Cimbric War, in which Sulla was engaged, Marius is placed, it is true, in a more favourable light, but some features in the description of the great battle in the Raudian plain near Vercellae, which depreciate the merits of Marius and extol those of Catulus, are according to Plutarch taken from Sulla's *Memoirs*. 'We can see quite distinctly that jealousy of Marius guided the writer's pen. He says that Marius purposely placed Catulus and his twenty thousand and three hundred men in the centre of his line of battle, and drew the centre further back than the wings, in order that Catulus might not have a chance of coming upon the enemy before the wings where his own troops fought had closed with them and decided the victory<sup>83</sup>. But, we are told further, the result was very different from what Marius had designed. Clouds of dust arose before him and hid the enemy from his view, so that he advanced in the wrong direction, where he did not meet the enemies at all. Meanwhile Catulus' army came right upon the main body of the Cimbri and had the greatest share in the victory'. 'But' as Ihne<sup>84</sup> also remarks 'we should bear in mind that Sulla left these *Memoirs* unfinished to the care of Lucullus, and it is at least possible that the guilt of misrepresentation rests partly on other shoulders'. It is remarkable that the authority of Catulus is quoted in confirmation

*more maiorum neque ex classibus sed uti cuiusque libido erat, capite census plerosque*, but he does not include slaves. It is an anticipation of what was sometimes practised in the civil wars.

<sup>83</sup> c. 25 καὶ φησιν (ὁ Σύλλας) τὸν Μάριον ἐλπίσαντα τοῖς ἄκροις μάλιστα καὶ κατὰ κέρας συμπεσεῖν τὰς φάλαγγας, ὅπως ἴδιος ἢ νίκη τῶν ἐκείνου στρατιωτῶν γένοιτο καὶ μὴ μετάσχοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος ὁ Κάτλος μηδὲ προσμίξειε τοῖς πολεμίοις, κόλπωμα τῶν μέσων, ὥσπερ εἴωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις μετώποις, λαμβανόντων, οὕτω διαστήσαι τὰς δυνάμεις.

<sup>84</sup> *Hist. Rome*, Vol. v p. 109 f.

of the narrative of this campaign, and it may be that Sulla copied from Catulus<sup>85</sup>. Still greater antipathy to Marius is shown in the narrative of the struggle between him and Sulla (c. 28—c. 35). Once only does Plutarch appeal directly to an authority in this section of his *Biography* viz. Rutilius Rufus,—as a voucher for the statement that Marius obtained his sixth consulship by bribery<sup>86</sup>. A representation such as is here given of the events of the year 100/654, about which we are so imperfectly informed—and in particular of the ambiguous attitude of Marius in regard to the clause compelling each senator to confirm by oath the law proposed by Saturninus for the distribution of conquered lands among his veterans—could hardly have proceeded from any other pen than that of his enemy Sulla, or one of Sulla's blindest adherents, retailing the common scandal of the day concerning the pitiful part which Marius played. The depreciation of the services rendered by Marius in the Social War (c. 33), and the spiteful remarks on his ridiculous attempts to appear young and active in his

<sup>85</sup> c. 25 ὁμοῖα δὲ καὶ τὸν Κάτλον αὐτὸν ἀπολογεῖσθαι περὶ τούτων ἱστοροῦσι, πολλὴν κατηγοροῦντα τοῦ Μαρίου κακοήθειαν πρὸς αὐτόν, and again c. 26 fin. ὡς τὸν Κάτλον αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν λέγουσι, μεγαλύνοντα τοὺς στρατιώτας; also c. 27 τὰ δὲ λάφυρα—εἰς τὸ Κάτλου στρατόπεδον ἀνερχομένην λέγουσιν ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα τεκμηρίω χρῆσθαι τὸν Κάτλον, ὡς κατ' αὐτὸν ἡ νίκη γένοιτο.

<sup>86</sup> c. 28 ὡς δὲ Ῥουτίλιος ἱστορεῖ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φιλαλήθης ἀνὴρ καὶ χρηστός, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ προσκεκρουκώς, καὶ τῆς ἔκτης ἔτυχεν ὑπατείας ἀργύριον εἰς τὰς φυλὰς καταβαλὼν πολὺ καὶ πριάμενος τὸ Μέτελλον ἐκκρούσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς. H. Peter is of opinion that Plutarch did not take this statement directly from the histories of Rutilius Rufus but from Poseidonios, whom he appears to have used as an authority in the latter part of the *Biography*. *Hist. Rom. reliq.* Vol. 1 p. cclxviii, *die Quellen Plutarchs etc.* p. 103.

old age (c. 34), point also to the same conclusion. In one instance Plutarch himself seems to have had misgivings about the trustworthiness of the *Sullan Memoirs*. After giving the current story—according to which Sulla in the disturbances consequent on the promulgation of the Sulpician laws, in which the son of his colleague Pompeius was butchered, made his escape into the house of Marius, and owed his life to the generosity of his enemy,—he adds that, according to his own account of the incident, Sulla did not fly for refuge to the house of Marius, but withdrew thither to consult with him, and went direct from the house to the Rostra, where acting under compulsion he revoked the order for a *iustitium*<sup>87</sup>.

In the *Life of Sulla* the whole colour of the narrative is such as to leave little doubt that Plutarch drew upon the *Memoirs*, as his *fons primarius*. He has reproduced from them in his own delightful and uncritical manner stories and anecdotes, illustrative of his hero's character, which, however, he intersperses with excerpts from other authors not very partial to Sulla<sup>88</sup>. Reference to the

<sup>87</sup> *Vit. Mar.* c. 35 Σύλλας δὲ παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου διωκόμενος ... ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Μαρίου λέγεται κατὰ θύρας ἐτέρας ἀσφαλῶς ἀποπεμφθεὶς διεκπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. αὐτὸς δὲ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὐ φησι καταφυγεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαχθῆναι βουλευσόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν Σουλπίκιος ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἄκοντα ψηφίσασθαι κτλ. Cf. *vit. Sull.* c. 10, 1, 2.

<sup>88</sup> Such passages are easily distinguishable. Div. A, which presents some anecdotal traits of his early life till his quaestorship, cannot have been taken from Sulla any more than the statements in Div. C, (1) c. 5 that he obtained the praetorship τὸ μὲν τι θεραπεία, τὸ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι προσαγαγόμενος or (2) that, while some praised Sulla, οἱ δὲ ὡς φορτικὸν ἤτιάσαντο καὶ ἀκαίρως φιλότιμον. Again when in c. 6 Plutarch speaks of his uncertainty and inconsistency (ἀνωμαλία) of character, or says, as in c. 9, that he set fire to Rome κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν, or as in c. 10, that a reward was set

*Memoirs* is indicated by the introductory formula ὁ Σύλλας λέγει or φησίν<sup>89</sup>, or φησὶν αὐτός<sup>90</sup>, or simply φησί<sup>91</sup>, with the variations ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι λέγει or φησίν<sup>92</sup>, or γέγραφεν or ἀπολογεῖται<sup>93</sup>. Special books are referred to, viz. the xth<sup>94</sup> and xxvth<sup>95</sup>.

It is only when he comes to speak of Sulla's attainment of absolute power, that remembering *Sullam dissimilem fuisse bellatorem ac victorem, ut, dum vinceret, cautissimo lenior, post victoriam audito esset crudelior*<sup>96</sup>, Plutarch throws aside the authority which he has hitherto been following and trusts to his own moral judgment<sup>97</sup>. But there are also other passages in Div. *F* of the *Biography* which obviously could not have been taken from the Sullan *Memoirs*, such as the story of the death of Q. Aurelius<sup>98</sup> and of Lucretius Ofella<sup>99</sup>, that of the murder of his own brother by the notorious L. Sergius Catilina before he had obtained leave to have him proscribed<sup>100</sup>, the occasion of putting up the proscription lists<sup>101</sup>, the compulsory marriage of Cn. Pompeius to Sulla's step-daughter<sup>102</sup> and similar instances of arbitrary conduct on the part of Sulla, the circumstances of his own marriage with

upon the head of Marius οὐκ εὐγνωμόνως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς, because Sulla's own life had been spared by him, or as in c. 12, that he plundered the sanctuaries of Greece, he must have been quoting from some other authorities. The description of the site of Chaironeia and of the surrounding country (c. XVI) has all the appearance of being original.

<sup>89</sup> c. 6, 7; c. 19, 4; c. 28, 8; c. 37, 2.

<sup>90</sup> c. 4, 3. <sup>91</sup> c. 5, 1; c. 6, 5; c. 27, 6; c. 37, 1.

<sup>92</sup> c. 6, 5, 6; c. 14, 2, 6; c. 17, 1.

<sup>93</sup> c. 23, 3. <sup>94</sup> c. 17, 1. <sup>95</sup> c. 37, 1.

<sup>96</sup> Velleius Paterculus II 25, 3.

<sup>97</sup> c. 30, 4—5. <sup>98</sup> c. 31, 6. <sup>99</sup> c. 33, 3.

<sup>100</sup> c. 32, 2. <sup>101</sup> c. 31, 2—4. <sup>102</sup> c. 33, 3.

Valeria<sup>103</sup>, the continuance of his dissolute course of life and his fondness for the society of players, singers and dancers<sup>104</sup>, his last sickness<sup>105</sup>, death and funeral<sup>106</sup>. On the other hand, it is probable that the prodigies and other occurrences deemed supernatural, so carefully noted by Plutarch as having befallen Sulla, were originally recorded in the *Memoirs*: in fact, Plutarch quotes Sulla himself as a voucher for three of the most remarkable of them<sup>107</sup>; hence it may be assumed without any great violation of probability that he is the source whence the others are derived<sup>108</sup>, especially when it is known that Sulla so often plumed himself on the intercourse which the immortals held with him in dreams and omens and other communications. He fondly flattered himself that he was the chosen favourite of the gods—and in an altogether special manner of that goddess to whom down to his latest years he assigned the pre-eminence, Aphroditê,—and it answered his purpose to record any examples of their supposed direct interference with his affairs, in order that he might make the rest of the world share his belief.

‘His superstition<sup>109</sup>’ says Mommsen ‘was that of the fortunate player, who deems himself privileged by fate to throw on each and every occasion the right number; not the plebeian superstition of Marius, who got a priest to prophesy to him for money and determined his actions accordingly, nor yet the sullen belief of the fanatic in destiny’. Plutarch himself seems to give expression to his incredulity about these prodigies and supernatural occurrences when he says c. 6: *Σύλλας δὲ οὐ μόνον ἡδέως προσιέμενος τὸν τοιοῦτον*

<sup>103</sup> c. 35, 4.

<sup>104</sup> c. 36, 1.

<sup>105</sup> c. 36, 2.

<sup>106</sup> c. 36, 4.

<sup>107</sup> c. 17, 1; c. 27, 6; c. 37, 2.

<sup>108</sup> c. 5, 5; c. 7, 2 sq.; c. 9, 3 sq.; c. 11, 1; c. 27, 4; c. 28, 4; c. 29, 6.

<sup>109</sup> *Hist. Rom.* III p. 401.

εὐδαιμονισμόν καὶ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναύξων καὶ συνεπιθειάζων τὰ πραττόμενα τῆς τύχης ἐξῆπτεν, εἴτε κόμπω χρώμενος, εἴθ' οὕτως ἔχων τῇ δόξῃ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. Yet in practical questions Sulla understood very well how to satisfy ironically the demands of religion, as is proved by his frivolous answer to the Delphic priests (c. 12).

One of the strangest whims in which Sulla indulged, that of regularly stating the numbers of those who had fallen in battle on his side as comparatively *nil*, was no doubt intended to serve the same purpose. Thus after the battle of Chaironeia, in which the Romans fought with only 15,000 infantry and 1500 horse against a fabulous number of the enemy, Plutarch<sup>110</sup>, after Sulla, records that only fourteen men were missed and two of these, he is careful to add, afterwards turned up again; after that of Sacriportus only twenty-three, while the enemy lost twenty thousand, and eight thousand were taken prisoners. Sulla wished to show his readers that the gods favoured himself and his enterprises uniquely not only by prognostications of success but by actual success<sup>111</sup>.

2. Titus Livius was born in 59/615 and died in 17/771 at the age of 76. His history (divided by himself into Books) extended from the earliest times of Rome to the death of Drusus, nine years before the Christian era. It was contained in 142 Books, as is proved by the authentic *periochae* now extant, of which two only, namely those of Books cxxxvi and cxxxvii, including the events of nine years from 25/729 to 15/739, have been lost.

These Epitomes have been generally attributed to Florus, owing to the fact of their being commonly found in the MSS of that

<sup>110</sup> c. 19, 4.

<sup>111</sup> c. 28, 8.

writer's works, but without sufficient ground. Niebuhr (*Hist. of Rome* Vol. III n. 932) remarks that 'the author of these epitomes was nearly contemporary with Livy and well acquainted with the ancient relations', but in his *Lectures* he regards them as less ancient. We know from Polybius (XI, 1) that it was customary for historians to write their own προγραφαί, such as he himself employed in his first ten (?) books, which were of a more meagre character than the προεκθέσεις which he afterwards introduced—

ἴσως δέ τινες ἐπιζητοῦσι πῶς ἡμεῖς οὐ προγραφὰς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ βύβλῳ, καθάπερ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ (καὶ) προεκθέσεις καθ' ἑκάστην ὀλυμπιάδα πεποιήκαμεν τῶν πράξεων, ἐγὼ δὲ κρίνω χρήσιμον μὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸ τῶν προγραφῶν γένος· καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐπίστασιν ἄγει τοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκουθαι θέλοντας καὶ συνεκκαλεῖται καὶ παρορμᾷ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶν τὸ ζητούμενον ἐτοίμως ἐνεστιν εὐρεῖν διὰ τούτου (τούτων?)· θεωρῶν δὲ διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς τυχοῦσας ὀλιγωρούμενον καὶ φθειρόμενον τὸ τῶν προγραφῶν γένος, οὕτως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος κατηνέχθην· τῆς γὰρ προεκθέσεως οὐ μόνον ἰσοδυναμούσης τῇ προγραφῇ ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείον τι δυναμένης, ἅμα δὲ καὶ χώραν ἐχούσης ἀσφαλεστέραν διὰ τὸ συμπεπλέχθαι τῇ πραγματείᾳ, τούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐδοκιμάσαμεν χρῆσθαι τῷ μέρει παρ' ὅλην τὴν σύνταξιν πλὴν ἕξ (i Cobetus) τῶν πρώτων βιβλίων· ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ προγραφὰς ἐποιήσαμεθα διὰ τὸ μὴ λίαν ἐναρμόζειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ τῶν προεκθέσεων γένος, i.e. 'perhaps some would like to know how it is that I have not followed the fashion of my predecessors in the present book and composed chronological summaries of the events recorded in them, but (also) introductions. I believe in the utility of summaries; they serve to fasten the attention of those who are desirous to read the whole work and awake and excite the curiosity of those who read them to peruse the whole; besides, they enable any one to find readily anything he wants. But, as I observe that for many ordinary reasons summaries of this kind are apt to be neglected and lost, I have been led to adopt the plan of a regular introduction. For the latter is, if anything, more valuable than a mere summary, and it is also less likely to be lost, because it is interwoven with and forms a part of the history. This is why I determined to employ this kind in all except six (ten) books of my history, to which introductions were not so suitable'. The above passage seems to show that Livy himself may possibly have been the author of the *Periochae*, and Cobet (*Mnemosyne* XI

p. 15) goes so far as to say: *nihil in summariis Livianis inesse quod ab ipso Livio sic scribi non potuerit, omnes, credo, mihi concedent, et, nisi haec idoneis argumentis infringentur, posthac censeo ea quae nescio quis e Livio excerpisse putabatur ab ipso Livio scripta esse pro certo habeamus.* On the other hand, Madvig, in his Preface to Livy Vol. IV. Part II. p. vi. expresses his surprise at this conclusion of Cobet's in the following words:—*Aliquoties in minoribus rebus et quae ad orationis formam pertinent, incertum iudicium facit et ignota eius, qui epitomas confecit, actas et difficilis, quid sibi in dicendo permiserit, existimatio; nam colori orationis universe ad Livianum exemplum attemperato nonnulla ex inferioris et sui temporis sermone admiscuit. Horum quaedam ita manifestam habent notam, ut valde miraturus fuerim, ne ad haec quidem attendisse virum doctum, qui ante paucos annos suspicatus est, ab ipso Livio has epitomas compositas esse, nisi incredibilius videretur, non sensisse cum, quam ab antiquorum scriptorum (historicorum et Livianae superiorisve aetatis) instituto abhorreret totum hoc sua opera in eiusmodi epitomas redigendi consilium, omnis in epitomis rerum delectus et expositio. Hae periochae eo tempore, quo omnia studia in exiguum orbem contrahebantur, Romanarum autem rei publicae rerum cognitio ex solo fere Livii opere hauriebatur, eo consilio scriptae sunt, ut in quotidiano et scholastico usu integrorum Livii librorum, magnae molis magnique pretii voluminum, locum tenerent, eaque ipsa videtur fuisse causa, cur narrationes exemplaue ad rhetorum themata ornanda apta prolixius quam pro reliqua brevitare excerpentur, atque aliorum librorum, nobiles celebratasque fama res tractantium (ut eorum, quibus contincbatur bellum Punicum tertium et Achaicum), longiores, aliorum (ut libri LIII) breviores conficerentur periochae, eorum quidem brevissimae, qui ad Caesaris iam Augusti tempora pertinentes res haberent motibus et varietate minus insignes minusque fama claras, quam qui in liberae rei publicae temporibus versabantur.*

The Epitomes which contain the life and times of Sulla are the LXVth to the xcth.

On account of the accidental preservation of the early and the loss of the later books of his history, we are accustomed to consider Livy as an antiquarian compiler, but he was in truth regarded in quite a different light,

when his entire work was extant. His principal object was to relate the events of the period immediately preceding his own life, and partly contemporary with it. The Books of his History beginning with CIII and extending to CXLII, being nearly a third part of the entire work, were coincident with his own life-time. He himself, in his proem<sup>112</sup>, supposes his readers to be more solicitous to read the history of the civil wars, than to dwell on the early period. Augustus likewise considered him mainly in the light of a contemporary historian, when he called him a Pompeian<sup>113</sup>. The first Book of his History contains the entire regal period of 244 years; the nine following Books, the events from the beginning of the Republic to the latter part of the Samnite wars, a period of 217 years. The ten following Books (which are lost) included the history of 72 years, and the twenty-five next (which have been preserved) the his-

<sup>112</sup> *Et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem praevaletis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt.*

<sup>113</sup> 'Titus Livius, eloquentiae ac fidei praeclarus in primis, Cn. Pompeium tantis laudibus tulit, ut Pompeianum eum Augustus appellaret; neque id amicitiae eorum offecit. Tacit. Ann. IV 34, where *fidei* refers to the trustworthiness of Livy as a historical witness. Becker, *Vorarbeiten zu einer Geschichte des zweiten Punischen Krieges* (Altona, 1823) p. 206 remarks, that Livy's main object was the history of the period from the fall of the Gracchi to Augustus. He thinks, moreover, that the first decads were the production of Livy's youth, while the last decads were the fruit of his mature age, *ib.* p. 207; also that on account of the bulk of the work, few persons could afford to procure the whole of it, and that the majority of Romans probably only possessed and read the part containing the history of the last century of the Republic'. Lewis *ubi supra*.

tory of 51 years. The period of ninety years from 168/586, after the termination of the war with Perseus to the death of Sulla in 78/676, occupied the next<sup>114</sup> forty-five books—an average of about two years to each book. The only exception to the generally progressive scale of Livy's work is that the first Punic war is narrated on a more contracted scale than the preceding war with Pyrrhos and the Gauls. 'We might cheerfully resign' says Dr T. Arnold<sup>115</sup> 'not the second decade only but the first, third and fourth; in short, every line of Livy's history which we at present possess, if we could so purchase the recovery of the eighth and ninth decades, which contained the history of the Italian war and of the civil war of Marius and Sulla, which followed it. For this period, of which we know, as it is, so little, Livy's history would have been invaluable. He would have been writing of times and events sufficiently near to his own, to have been perfectly understood by him, his sources of information would have been more numerous and less doubtful; and then his fair and upright mind, and the beauty of his narrative would have given a picture at once faithful, lively and noble.'

There is only one reference in the *Life of Sulla* to Livy, namely in ch. vi., where his statement, taken from the LXXVIIIth book, is quoted concerning the gossip of various classes at Rome to which Sulla's marriage with Caecilia Metella gave rise. Dion Cassius<sup>116</sup> quotes a

<sup>114</sup> G. C. Lewis, *Credibility of early Roman History*, Vol. 1. p. 44 f.

<sup>115</sup> *Hist. of Rome* II p. 360.

<sup>116</sup> *Planudis excerpt. Dionis* in A. Maii *script. vet. nov. coll.* II 548 (Dio Cass. *ed. Bekk.* fr. 102 Vol. I, 91): μέλλοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ ἐμφυλίου ἐγείρεσθαι πολέμου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Λιούϊος καὶ Διόδωρος

passage from the same book about the portents preceding the Civil War and the Etruscan seers' theory of eight generations which corresponds nearly word for word with Plutarch c. vii §§ 2, 3. Augustin<sup>117</sup> also makes a quotation from the same book which agrees exactly with a passage in the ixth chapter of Plutarch. The unhappy fate of Quintus Aurelius, recorded in the xxxist chapter, is mentioned by Orosius<sup>118</sup> who, we know, made excerpts from Livy, and therefore probably copied it from him; that of Lucretius Ofella is related in the *Periocha* of the lxxxixth Book<sup>119</sup>. The reasonable inference is that in

ιστόρησαν καὶ ἐξ ἀνεφέλου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ αἰθρίας πολλῆς ἤχον ἀκουσθῆναι σάλπιγγος ὄξυν ἀποτεινοῦσης καὶ θρηνώδη τὸν φθόγγον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκούσαντας ἅπαντας ἐκφρονας ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους γενέσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Τυρρηνῶν μάντει μεταβολὴν τοῦ γένους καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποφήνασθαι σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας· εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὀκτῶ γένη, διαφέροντα τοῖς ἤθεσιν ἀλλήλων, ἐκάστω δ' ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδω· τῆς δ' οὖν προτέρας περιόδου τελευτώσης καὶ ἐτέρας ἐνισταμένης κινεῖσθαι τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ἢ δῆλον εὐθὺς τοῖς ταῦτα σοφοῖς γίνεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἀνθρώποι γεγόνασι χρώμενοι καὶ θεοῖς ἦττον τῶν πρότερον μέλοντες.

<sup>117</sup> *de civ. Dei* II 24:—*Sulla cum primum ad urbem contra Marium castra movisset, adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse scribit Livius, ut custodiri se Postumius haruspex voluerit, capitis supplicium subiturus, nisi ea, quae in animo Sulla haberet, dis iuvantibus implevisset.*

<sup>118</sup> V, 21: *item alia (tabula proscriptionis) proposita est, quam cum Lollius, qui ipse securus nihilque sibi conscius, legeret, ubi suum repente nomen offendit, dum se trepidus adaperto capite foro subtrahit, interfectus est.*

Orosius, it is true, tells the story of Lollius, but this divergence is due to a clerical error of either Orosius or Plutarch. Diodoros (*Exc. Vatic.* p. 616 M, p. 160 D'nd.) gives no name, but otherwise he agrees with Plutarch and Orosius.

<sup>119</sup> *Q. Lucretium Ofellam adversus voluntatem suam consula-*

the *Life of Sulla* also, as in that of *Marius* (especially cc. 35—40), Plutarch drew upon Livy, as a supplement to the *Sullan Memoirs*.

3. Juba II was a mere child at the death of his father Juba, king of Numidia. When Caesar in 46/708, at the conclusion of his campaigns, celebrated his fourfold triumph over Gaul, Egypt, Pharnakes and Africa, Juba was one of the most important of the captives, whose presence graced the conqueror's triumphal procession<sup>120</sup>. He was instructed by the best masters in Rome, and obtained a high place in the favour of Octavianus, under whose banner he fought against Antonius. In the general settlement of the affairs of the East, after the battle of Action, he was reinstated by Augustus in the possession of his paternal kingdom of Numidia, and, owing doubtless to the influence of Octavia, he concluded a marriage<sup>121</sup> with Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra. A few years afterwards, in 25/729, part of

*tum petere ausum iussit occidi in foro, et, cum hoc indigne ferret populus Romanus, contione advocata se iussisse dixit.*

<sup>120</sup> J. C. Vollgraff *Greek Writers of Roman History* (Leyden 1880) p. 72 sqq. who quotes Plut. *Vit. Caes.* c. 55 τότε καὶ Ἰόβας κομιδῆ νήπιος ἐν τῷ θριάμβῳ παρήχθη μακαριωτάτην ἀλοῦς ἄλωσι, ἐκ βαρβάρου καὶ Νομάδος Ἑλλήνων τοῖς πολυμαθεστάτοις ἐνάριθμος γενέσθαι συγγραφεῦσιν, Appian *B. C.* II c. 101 ἐνθα καὶ Ἰόβα παῖς, Ἰόβας ὁ συγγραφεύς, βρέφος ὦν ἔτι, παρήγετο.

<sup>121</sup> Dion Cassius LI c. 15 ἢ τε Κλεοπάτρα Ἰόβα τῷ τοῦ Ἰόβου παιδὶ συνῆκσε· τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τραφέντι ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ συστρατευσαμένῳ οἱ αὐτὴν τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν πατρῶαν ἔδωκεν; Plut. *Vit. Ant.* c. 87 Κλεοπάτραν τὴν ἐκ Κλεοπάτρας Ἰόβα, τῷ χαριεστάτῳ βασιλέων, συνῆκισεν; Strabo *Geogr.* XVII c. 3 § 7 p. 828; Sueton. *Vit. Calig.* c. 26 *leve ac frigidum sit his addere, quo propinquos amicosque pacto tractaverit Ptolomaeum, regis Iubae filium, consobrinum suum (erat enim et is M. Antonii ex Selene filia nepos) etc.*

Numidia was annexed to the Roman province of Africa (*Africa nova*), but Juba received in exchange for it the two provinces of Mauretania<sup>122</sup>, called afterwards Tingitana and Caesariensis, the former kingdoms of Bocchus and Bogud, and in addition a part of Gaetulia. Juba's reign was long and for the most part prosperous, an insurrection of the Gaetuli<sup>123</sup>, which was finally suppressed by the aid of the Romans, being the only disturbing event. The date of his death is supposed to be about A.D. 19 or 20<sup>124</sup>. But Juba distinguished himself more as a scholar and writer than as a monarch: *studiorum*

<sup>122</sup> Dion Cass. LIII c. 26: πανσαμένον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τούτου ὁ Αὔγουστος τῷ Ἰόβῳ τῆς τε Γαίτουλλίας τινὰ ἀντὶ τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς, ἐπεὶ περὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κόσμον οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐσεγεγράφατο, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Βόκχου τοῦ τε Βογοῦου ἔδωκεν (25/729); Strabo XVII c. 3 § 7 p. 828 μικρὸν μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἡμῶν οἱ περὶ Βόγον βασιλεῖς καὶ Βόκχον κατεῖχον αὐτῆν (Mauretania), φίλοι Ῥωμαίων ὄντες· ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τούτων, Ἰούβας παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, δόντος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τῇ πατρῴᾳ, VI c. 4 § 2 p. 288 νυνὶ δ' εἰς Ἰούβαν περιέστηκεν ἢ τε Μαυρουσία καὶ πολλὰ μέρη τῆς ἄλλης Λιβύης διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν.

<sup>123</sup> Dion Cass. LV c. 28 Γαιτοῦλοι, τῷ τε Ἰόβῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀχθόμενοι καὶ ἅμα ἀπαξιούντες μὴ οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχεσθαι, ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ· καὶ τὴν πρόσχωρον ἐπόρθησαν καὶ συχροὺς καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστρατεύσαντας σφίσιν ἀπέκτειναν. Τὸ δὲ σύμπαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπηυξήθησαν, ὥστε Κορνήλιον Κόσσον τὸν κατεργασάμενον σφᾶς τιμὰς τε ἐπινικίους καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. Cf. Florus IV 12, 40, Vell. Paterc. II 116.

<sup>124</sup> Strabo, who wrote the conclusion of the sixth book of his Geography between the years A.D. 17 and A.D. 19, there refers to Juba as a reigning prince, but in c. 3 § 7 p. 828 of his last or seventeenth book he mentions Juba's death and the succession of his son Ptolomaeos as recent occurrences. From a passage also of Tacitus (*Annal.* IV c. 23) it appears that in A.D. 24 Ptolomaeos had held the reins of government for some years. Again, the most recent of the coins stamped with Juba's image bear the date of the 48th year of his reign.

*claritate memorabilior etiam quam regno fuit* says Pliny<sup>125</sup>. He must have been a *polyhistor* almost like Varro or Pliny himself, whose admiration for his writings appears not only from the praise with which he loads him, but most clearly from the fact that in his *Historia Naturalis* he refers to him by name at least forty times and almost always to appeal to his authority. Plutarch too never speaks about Juba without the greatest respect, often quotes him as well in the *Lives* as in the *Moralia*, and has frequently made a copious use of his works<sup>126</sup>. Pausanias, a contemporary of Hadrian and the Antonini, relates that in the gymnasium of Ptolomaeos, situated close to the Theseion at Athens, he saw, in addition to the bronze statue of the Founder, the statues of Juba the Libyan and of Chrysippos, the great Stoic<sup>127</sup>; from which it may be inferred that his works were held in some sort of estimation by the Athenians.

Of the twelve separate works enumerated by C. Müller<sup>128</sup> embracing history, antiquities, ethnography, botany, zoology, painting and philology, Juba's Roman History ('Ρωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία) or Archaeology, comprised in at

<sup>125</sup> *Nat. Hist.* v 1, 1, 16; Athenaeos *Deipnos.* III p. 83 B calls him ἀνὴρ πολυμαθέστατος and Plutarch *vit. Sertor.* c. 9 ὁ πάντων ἱστορικώτατος βασιλέων.

<sup>126</sup> *Comp. Pelop.* c. *Marc.* c. 1, 5: ἡμεῖς δὲ Λιβίῳ, Καίσαρι, Νέπωτι καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ Ἰόβᾳ πιστεύομεν. By Καίσαρι is meant the Emperor Augustus, whose funeral oration over his youthful son-in-law Marcellus must have been well known to Juba living as he did on so friendly a footing with him.

<sup>127</sup> I 17, 2: ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ, Πτολεμαίου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευασαμένου καλουμένῳ, λίθου τέ εἰσιν Ἑρμαῖ θέας ἄξιοι καὶ εἰκῶν Πτολεμαίου χαλκῆ· καὶ ὅ τε Λίβυς Ἰόβας ἐνταῦθα κέεται καὶ Χρύσιππος ὁ Σολεύς.

<sup>128</sup> *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* III p. 467.

least two books, is twice mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantium. The close and literal agreement between certain historical and antiquarian statements, which Plutarch expressly declares that he read in Juba, and those that are found in the *Archaeologia* of Dionysios his contemporary, lead inevitably to the conclusion that Juba must have consulted the latter work; in fact his knowledge of the most ancient period of Roman history appears to have been wholly or in part taken from Dionysios.

Ludwig Keller<sup>129</sup> has shown that in his history of the years 204/550—201/553, Appian who differs considerably from Livy, Polybios, Dion Cassius and Zonaras, must have borrowed from an African source, who, as it is easy to see from his *de bello Hannibalico* c. 13, must have been a contemporary of Augustus and personally acquainted with him; from whom then more likely than Juba, the πάντων ιστορικώτατος βασιλέων, the direct descendant of Masinissa, who had access to the writings of his grandfather Hiempsal, and of course many other special sources of information? The probability becomes still greater when we remember that Appian was a native of Alexandria, and, being procurator of Egypt, wrote his Histories there<sup>130</sup>.

It appears from the fragments of the work that it treated of the origin and earliest history of the City<sup>131</sup>, the history of Hannibal (*fr.* 17), the siege of Numantia (*fr.* 15) and Sulla's campaign in Greece (*fr.* 18); and there is reason to believe that it contained a continuous history of Rome down to the writer's own time<sup>132</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> *Der zweite Punische Krieg und seine Quellen*, Marburg 1875.

<sup>130</sup> Just in the same manner whole chapters in the *Historiae* of Nikolaos of Damascus, known to Plutarch (*vit. Brut.* c. 53), were copied from Juba word for word. Cf. C. Müller *Fr. Hist. Gr.* III p. 313 *fr.* 69 and 79 with Dionys. I c. 82 sqq. and II c. 32 sqq.

<sup>131</sup> *Fr. Hist. Gr.* III p. 465.

<sup>132</sup> See also Appian *B. C.* II, 101 quoted in note 120.

Dr Vollgraff<sup>133</sup> has shown the great probability that in his *Life of Antony*, to which, especially the part of it relating to Egypt and Cleopatra, historical critics agree in attributing the highest value, Plutarch's principal authority was King Juba, whose account was based upon the *Commentaries* of Augustus.

The passage in the *Life of Sulla* in which Juba is directly quoted by Plutarch relates to Chaironeia his birth-place; a mistake therefore on Plutarch's part is highly improbable. But, as Dr Vollgraff<sup>134</sup> points out, we may attribute with great probability the derivation of *Θούριον* from *Θώρ*<sup>135</sup> also to Juba, of whose predilection for tracing derivations we have sufficient evidence in the extant fragments of his works.

4. Strabo, a native of Amasia in the kingdom of Pontos, before he composed his Historical Geography, wrote an historical work, entitled *ὑπομνήματα ἱστορικά*, which, as he professes, were to be *χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν*. It was comprised in 47 books, the fifth of which was the first *τῶν μετὰ Πολύβιον*<sup>136</sup>, i.e. began where the history of Polybios ended. There is a quotation from it by Josephus<sup>137</sup>, relating to the defeat of Antigonos the last of the Maccabees and the establishment of Herod as King in 38/716, from which it is plain that the history was brought down certainly to his own age and possibly to the year when Augustus became Emperor. There are also several other quotations from it by the same author,

<sup>133</sup> *l. c.* p. 107 sqq.

<sup>134</sup> *l. c.* p. 102 sqq.

<sup>135</sup> *c.* 17, 5.

<sup>136</sup> Strab. *Geogr.* XI p. 515 ap. C. Müller *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* 111

p. 491.

<sup>137</sup> *Antiq. Jud.* XV 1, 2.

one referring to the period of Sulla<sup>138</sup>, where he speaks of his expedition to Greece against the Pontic army, and of the simultaneous mission of Lucullus to put down the insurrection of the Jews in Kyrene, and takes occasion to animadvert on the rapid spread of the Jews on the borders of the Mediterranean, and the great influence they exercised everywhere. Plutarch also, in his *Life of Lucullus*<sup>139</sup>, quotes a remark of Strabo's on the battle under the walls of Tigranocerta in which the Romans defeated Tigranes, and in his *Life of Caesar* his mention of the portents that ushered in Caesar's death<sup>140</sup>.

5. Fenestella (his *nomen* and *praenomen* are unknown) was born in 52/702<sup>141</sup>. His great work, entitled *Annales*, is referred to by Asconius, A. Gellius and Pliny the Elder. Accurate quotations from it are to be found only in Nonius, one from the xxiiind Book. Like Varro, he was fond of investigating antiquarian lore and devoted much attention to the history of Roman manners and to the political condition of Rome<sup>142</sup>. His style seems to have been rather discursive and circumstantial; hence an

<sup>138</sup> *ib.* xiv 7, 2.

<sup>139</sup> c. 28, 7 Στράβων δ', ἕτερος φιλόσοφος, ἐν τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν αὐτοῦς λέγει τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ καταγελᾶν ἑαυτῶν ἐπ' ἀνδράποδα τοιαῦτα δεηθέντας ὄπλων.

<sup>140</sup> c. 63, 2.

<sup>141</sup> Hieronym. on *Euseb. Chron.* ad a. Abr. 2035=6 Tiberii =772 u. c.: *Fenestella historiarum scriptor et carminum septuagenarius moritur sepeliturque Cumis*. See W. S. Teuffel *Hist. of Rom. liter.* § 254 (tr. by W. Wagner, London 1873).

<sup>142</sup> Lactant. *inst. div.* 1, 6, 14 speaks of him as *diligentissimus scriptor* and again *de ira Dei* 22, 5 *plurimi et maximi auctores tradiderant...nostrorum Varro et Fenestella*. The fragments of Fenestella were collected for the last time in Corte's Sallust (ed. Frostcher Lips. 1825) 1 p. 489—494.

abridgment of the Annals was made, which is mentioned by Diomed. 1 p. 365, 7 sq.:—apud Fenestellam in libro epitomarum secundo; *quemadmodum Caesar a piratis captus sit*. The fourth and fifth chapters of Plutarch's *Life of Crassus* seem to have been entirely borrowed from Fenestella<sup>143</sup>; and probably the first also, as we may infer from a statement in Macrobius<sup>144</sup>.

6. Gaius Sallustius Crispus, whose life reached from 86/668 to 34/720, besides his monograph *on the Conspiracy of Catiline* and the *Life of Jugurtha*, wrote also on the same plan five books of *Historiae* commencing with the year of Sulla's death and carried down to 67/687<sup>145</sup>, though they were perhaps never completed. They extended *bis senos per annos* according to Ausonius<sup>146</sup>. It is certain that they opened with 78/676, the first words being *res populi Romani M. Lepido Q. Catulo coss. ac deinde militiae et domi gestas composui*. We have only fragments of the work, except two letters (those of Cn. Pompeius and Mithridates) and four speeches (by Lepidus, Philippus, Cotta and Macer), originally belonging to it. The History of Sulla was purposely omitted<sup>147</sup>. Plutarch refers to the *Historiae* of Sallustius twice in his narrative of the campaigns of Lucullus

<sup>143</sup> τούτων φησὶ τὴν ἑτέραν ἤδη πρεσβύτιν οὔσαν ὁ Φαινεστέλλας ἰδεῖν αὐτὸς καὶ πολλάκις ἀκούσαι μεμνημένης ταῦτα (i. e. the incidents narrated in cc. 4 and 5) καὶ διεξιούσης προθύμως.

<sup>144</sup> *Saturn.* 1, 10, 6.

<sup>145</sup> Kritz, *Sallust. Hist. fragm.* p. 18.

<sup>146</sup> *Idyll.* 4, 61 sqq.

<sup>147</sup> *Jugurth.* c. 95: *sed quoniam nos tanti viri (sc. L. Sullae) res admonuit, idoneum visum est de natura cultuque eius paucis dicere: neque enim alio loco de Sullae rebus dicturi sumus, et L. Sisenna, optume et diligentissime omnium, qui eas res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore locutus videtur.*

in Asia<sup>148</sup>, and again in the *Comp. Lys. et Sullae*<sup>149</sup>. There are a few fragments in the first Book which are supposed with a slight degree of probability to refer to Sulla, but the speech which the historian puts into the mouth of M. Aemilius Lepidus<sup>150</sup>, the renegade from the Optimate party, against him exists entire. It is a bitter invective against the ex-dictator, and an impotent attempt to undermine the influence which he undoubtedly exercised after his retirement from office. No apology is needed for printing the text in full, as it is not often found in the editions of Sallust in common use.

- 1 *Clementia et probitas vestra, Quirites, quibus per ceteras gentes maximi et clari estis, plurimum timoris mihi incipiunt adversum tyrannidem L. Sullae, ne, quae ipsi infanda aestumatis, ea parum credendo de aliis, circumveniamini (praesertim cum illi spes omnis in scelere atque perfidia sit, neque se aliter tutum putet, quam si peior atque instabilior metu vostro fuerit, quo captis libertatis curam miseria eximat), aut si provideritis, in vitandis periculis magis*  
2 *quam ulciscendo teneamini. Satellites quidem eius, homines maximi*

§ 1. *circumveniamini* i. q. opprimamini, cf. *Catil.* 16, 3; 31, 9; Cic. *de off.* II 14, 51. *instabilior* i. q. detestabilior, cf. *Jugurth.* 67, 3; Hor. *Sat.* 2, 3, 181; Tac. *Ann.* 6, 40. *metu vostro*, i. e. quam vos timetis: cf. infra § 6. *Kr.* *captis* i. e. dolo aut scelere irretitis et oppressis. *Kr.*

§ 2. *satellites* i. e. optimates qui eius causae favebant. *Kr.* *optumis maiorum exemplis*, abl. of attendant circum-

<sup>148</sup> *Vit. Luc.* c. 11, 4 Σαλλουστίου δὲ θαυμάζω τότε πρῶτον ὄφθαι Ῥωμαίοις καμήλους λέγοντος, εἰ μήτε πρότερον τοὺς μετὰ Σκιπίωνος νικήσαντας Ἀντίοχον ᾤετο μήτε τοὺς ἔναγχος πρὸς Ὀρχομενῶ καὶ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν Ἀρχελάφ μεμαχημένους ἐγνωκέναι κάμηλον: *ib.* c. 33, 3 Σαλλούστιος μὲν οὖν φησὶ χαλεπῶς διατεθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὸς αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν Λούκουλλον) εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου πρὸς Κυζίκῳ καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Ἄμισῶ, δύο χειμῶνας ἐξῆς ἐν χάρακι διαγαγεῖν ἀναγκασθέντας.

<sup>149</sup> c. 3: τοὺς περὶ γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης εἰσηγεῖτο νόμους τοῖς πολίταις αὐτὸς ἐρῶν καὶ μοιχεύων, ὡς φησὶ Σαλλούστιος.

<sup>150</sup> Plut. *Sulla* c. 34, 4; c. 37, 3; Appian *B. C.* I c. 105.

*nominis, optumis maiorum exemplis, nequeo satis mirari, qui dominationis in vos servitium suum mercedem dant, et utrumque per*  
 3 *iniuriam malunt, quam optimo iure liberi agere, praecleara Brutorum*  
*atque Aemiliorum et Lutatorum proles, geniti ad ea, quae maiores*  
 4 *virtute peperere, subvertunda! Nam quid a Pyrrho, Hannibale*  
*Philippoque et Antiocho defensum est aliud quam libertas et suae*  
 5 *cuique sedes, neu cui nisi legibus parceremus? quae cuncta scaevus iste*  
*Romulus, quasi ab externis rapta, tenet, non tot exercituum clade*  
*neque consulum et aliorum principum, quos fortuna belli consumpsit,*  
 6 *satiatus, sed tum crudelior, cum plerosque secundae res in miserationem ex ira vertunt. Quin solus omnium post memoriam hu-*

stances=quibus optima maiorum exempla sunt.  
*utrumque* sc. dominari in vos ac simul ipsi servire. *Kr.*  
*liberi agere* i.e. libertate frui. *Kr.*

§ 3. *Brutorum atque Aemiliorum et Lutatorum.* *Brutos* dixit, ut pungeret D. Junium Brutum, sequentis anni consulum, de quo v. Cic. Brut. 47, 175; *Aemilios*, ut notaret Mamercurum Aemilium Lepidum, Bruti collegam; *Lutatios*, ut morderet Q. Lutatium Catulum, collegam suum, qui omnes a Sullae partibus stabant. *Kr.* a praepositio indicat unde exstiterit periculum, quod Romani propulsarunt. *Kr.*

§ 4. *libertas* i.e. ut libertatem tueremur. *suae cuique sedes*, 'one's home', see my n. on Cic. *de off.* I 110 l. 3, II 86 l. 24.

§ 5. *scaevus iste Romulus.* Ut Romulus urbis conditor fuit, ita Sulla, qui legibus latis rempublicam labefactam restituisse se et quasi denuo condidisse gloriabatur (v. Cic. *or. p. Rosc. Am.* 47, 137), perquam acerbe a Lepido *scaevus Romulus* i.e. Romulo dissimillimus sive reipublicae eversor vocatur. *Kr.* *quasi ab externis rapta.* Cf. infra § 17 *bona civium quasi Cimbricam praedam.* This may refer to some saying of Sulla's, which is reported by Plutarch *comp. Lys. et Sull.* c. 3 ἐν φανερώ ποτὲ τοῦ δήμου περιεστῶτος οὐσίαν μεγάλην διαπιπράσκων τιμῆς τῆς τυχοῦσης εἰς ἓνα τῶν φίλων ἐκέλευε κατακηρύσσειν, ἕτερον δὲ τὴν τιμὴν ὑπερβαλομένου καὶ τοῦ κήρυκος τὸ προστεθὲν ἀγορεύσαντος, διηγανάκτησε, 'δεινά γε, ὦ φίλοι πολῖται, καὶ τυραννικὰ πάσχω' φάμενος 'εἰ τὰ ἐμά μοι λάφυρα διαθέσθαι μὴ ἐξεστίν ὡς βούλομαι.' Cf. Cic. *or. in Verr.* 3, 35, 81: *Sulla tantum animi habuit ad audaciam, ut diceret in concione non dubitaret, bona civium Romanorum cum venderet, se praedam suam vendere.* *consulum.* ut Cinnae (Appian *B. C.* I c. 78), Marii, Gaii Marii f. (*ib.* c. 94), Norbani (*ib.* c. 91), Cn. Papiri Carbonis (*ib.* c. 96). *principum* (viro-rum). Cf. Plut. *Sull.* c. 31, Appian *B. C.* I c. 95 sq., c. 103; Flor. 3, 21, 25; Valer. Max. 9, 2, 1; Eutrop. 5, 9; Oros. 5, 22; August. *de civ. Dei* 3, 28. *Kr.* *cum plerosque* etc. Cf. Plut. *Sull.* c. 30, 5.

mani generis supplicia in post futuros composuit, quis prius iniuria quam vita certa esset; pravissimeque per sceleris immanitatem adhuc tutus fuit, dum vos metu graioris serviti a repetunda libertate  
 7 terremini. Agendum atque obviam eundum est, Quirites, ne spolia  
 vostra penes illos sint; non prolatandum neque votis paranda auxi-  
 lia; nisi forte speratis taedium iam aut pudorem tyrannidis Sullae  
 8 esse, et eum per scelus occupata periculosius dimissurum. At ille eo  
 processit, uti nihil gloriosum nisi tutum, et omnia retinendae domi-  
 9 nationis honesta aestumet. Itaque illa quies et otium cum libertate  
 quae multi prohi potius quam laborem cum honoribus capescebant,  
 10 nulla sunt. Hac tempestate serviundum aut imperitandum; haben-  
 11 dus metus est aut faciendus, Quirites. Nam quid ultra? quaeve  
 humana superant, aut divina impolluta sunt? Populus Romanus,

§ 6. *in post futuros.* Cf. Plut. *Sull.* c. 31, 4. *pravissimeque* i.e. quod pravissimum est or pravitate nostra factum est, ut, 'most unjustifiably'. Ceterum similem sententiam Sallustius aliis quoque turbulentis oratoribus tribuit, notante Kritzio, velut Memmio (*Iug.* 31, 14): *ita quam quisque pessime fecit, tam maxime tutus est*, et Licinio Macr. (*frag.* III 82, 13): *nunc animum advortere* (sc. nobiles) *ad ea quae agitis, et nisi viceritis, quoniam omnis iniuria* (sc. quae inferitur) *gravitate* (sc. potentia et viribus) *tutior est* (sc. quam infirma potentia), *artius habebunt* (i.e. magis vos prement).

§ 7. *agendum est*, 'you must be up and doing'. *spolia vestra*, cf. Cic. *de off.* III. 5 § 22 *illud natura non patitur, ut aliorum spoliis nostras facultates augeamus.* Cortius. *penes illos* sc. Sullanos. *taedium—Sullae.* Alludit ad abdicatam dictaturam. *Kr.* *occupata*, sub. periculose.

§ 8. *tutum.* Cf. § 1. *omnia retinendae dominationis* 'all the means and appliances for securing absolute power', cf. *Cat.* c. 6, 7, Cic. *Verr.* 2, 53, 132, *Caes. B. G.* 4, 17, 10.

§ 9. *otium cum libertate*: cf. infra § 25. *nulla sunt*, 'are lost, extinct', *Cat.* 52, 21; *Iug.* 86, 3.

§ 11. *quid ultra?* i.e. quid ultra est, quo Sullae dominationi ac superbia adhuc procedere possit? Profecto finem malorum attigimus. Cf. Cic. *or. in Verr.* 5, 45, 119. *Kr.* *humana* sc. *iura* s. ea quae homo ut sua sibi vindicare potest. *superant* i.e. relicua sunt: cf. *Iug.* 70, 2. *exutus imperio etc.* Cf. Appian *B. C.* I 100. *agitandi* i.e. vitam sustentandi. *servilia alimenta*, 'a slave's allowance of food'. Cf. Sen. *Epist.* LXXX *servus est: quinque modios accipit.*

The allusion is to Sulla's abolition of largesses, in the shape of regular distributions of corn to the burgesses, which were introduced by C. Gracchus. See Plut. *C. Gr.* c. 5, Appian *B. C.* I c. 21.

- paullo ante gentium moderator, exutus imperio gloria iure, agitandi*  
 12 *inops despectusque ne servilia quidem alimenta relicua habet. Socio-*  
*rum et Lati magna vis civitate, pro multis et egregiis factis a vobis*  
*data, per unum prohibentur, et plebis innoxiae patrias sedes occupa-*  
 13 *vere pauci satellites, mercedem scelerum. Leges, iudicia, aerarium,*  
*provinciae, reges penes unum, denique necis civium et vitae licentia.*  
 14 *Simul humanas hostias vidistis, et sepulera infecta sanguine civili.*  
 15 *Estne viris relicui aliud quam solvere iniuriam, aut mori per virtu-*  
*tem? quoniam quidem unum omnibus finem natura vel ferro saeptis*  
*statuit; neque quisquam extremam necessitatem nihil ausus nisi*  
 16 *muliebri ingenio exspectat. Verum ego seditiosus, uti Sulla ait, qui*  
*praemia turbarum queror, et bellum cupiens, qui iura pacis repeto.*

§ 12. *sociorum*—*prohibentur*. Cf. Appian *B. C.* i 96 πολλή δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἀναίρεσις τε καὶ ἐξέλασις καὶ δήμευσις ἦν, ὅσοι τι Κάρβωνος ἢ Νωρβανοῦ ἢ Μαρίου ἢ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις στρατηγούτων ἰπήκουσαν.—Ὡς δ' ἐξέλιπε τὰ καθ' ἓνα [ἄνδρα ἐγκλήματα], ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις ὁ Σύλλας μετῆει καὶ ἐκόλαζε καὶ τάσδε, τῶν μὲν ἀκροπόλεις κατασκάπτων ἢ τείχη καθαιρῶν ἢ κοινὰς ζημίας ἐπιτιθεὶς ἢ εἰσφοραῖς ἐκτρύχων βαρυτάταις ταῖς δὲ πλείοσι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ στρατευσαμένους ἐπώκιζεν, ὡς ἔξω φρούρια κατὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας τῆν τε γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα ἐς τοῦσδε μεταφέρων διεμέριζεν, Cic. *or. p. dom.* 30, 79 *populus Romanus L. Sulla dictatore comitiis centuriatis municipiis civitatem ademit: ademit iisdem agros*, Plut. *Sull.* c. 33. *Κτ. mercedem scelerum*, acc. in appos. to the previous sentence.

§ 13. *iudicia* sc. *senatui tradita*, qui *Sullae ex arbitrio pen-*  
*debat*. Cetera lucem accipiunt ex Appiano de *B. C.* i, 102 ἔθνη πάντα, καὶ βασιλεῖς ὅσοι σύμμαχοι, καὶ πόλεις οὐχ ὅσαι μόνον ὑποτελεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι ἑαυτὰς ἐνεκεχειρίκεσαν ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἔνορκοι, καὶ ὅσαι διὰ συμμαχίαν ἢ τινα ἀρετὴν ἄλλην αὐτόνομοι τε καὶ φόρων ἦσαν ἀτελεῖς, τότε πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν, χώρας τε ἔναι καὶ λιμένας κατα συνθήκας σφίσι δεδομένων ἀφηροῦντο. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύσαντος υἱόν—ἐψηφίσατο βασιλεύειν Ἀλεξανδρέων.

§ 14. *sepulera infecta sanguine*; in allusion to the murder of Marius Gratidianus by the tomb of Catulus.

§ 15. *solvere iniuriam* i. e. *finem ponere iniuriae*. Cf. Liv. i, 49, 7 *Tarquinius Superbus regum primus traditum a prioribus morem solvit. extremam necessitatem*: cf. Tac. *Ann.* 15, 61, 4 *intromisit ad Senecam unum ex centurionibus, qui necessitatem ultimam denunciaret*, Hist. 1, 3, 1 *supremae clarorum virorum necessitates*, 1, 72, 3 *accepto supremae necessitatis nuntio secuit fauces*.

§ 16. *qui praemia turbarum queror etc.* 'I, who complain of the prizes to be won from political disturbances,...I who want to get back the rights and privileges (of peace, of which he has robbed us).'

- 17 *Scilicet quia non aliter salvi satisque tuti in imperio eritis, nisi Vettius Picens et scriba Cornelius aliena bene parta prodegerint, nisi approbaritis omnes proscriptionem innoxiorum ob divitias, cruciatus virorum illustrium, vastam urbem fuga et caedibus, bona civium*
- 18 *miserorum quasi Cimbricam praedam venum aut dono datam. At obiectat mihi possessiones ex bonis proscriptorum; quod quidem scelorum illius vel maxumum est, non me neque quemquam omnium satis tutum fuisse, si recte faceremus. Atque illa, quae tum formidine mercatus sum, pretio, soluto iure, dominis tamen restituo, neque pati*
- 19 *consilium est ullam ex civibus praedam esse. Satis illa fuerint, quae rabie contracta toleravimus, manus conserentis inter se Romanos exercitus, et arma ab externis in nosmet versa. Scelerum et contumeliarum omnium finis sit. Quorum adeo Sullam non paenitet, ut et facta in gloria enumeret, et, si liceat, avidius fecerit.*
- 20 *Neque iam quid existumetis de illo, sed quantum audeatis vereor, ne alius alium principem exspectantes ante capiamini (non opibus*

§ 17. *Scilicet etc.* The reason, forsooth, why Sulla pronounces me to be a disturber of the public peace, is because he wants every man to take an optimist view of the present political situation.

*Vettius*, one of Sulla's emissaries. *Cornelius* i.e. P. Cornelius Sulla, a nephew of the dictator, who presided at the sales of confiscated property in the lifetime of his uncle. See my n. on Cic. *de off.* II 8, 29 l. 30. *ob divitias* stands in attributive relation to *proscriptionem*. *quasi Cimbricam praedam*. Cf. § 5. *Cimbricam* dicit quia Sullae in illo bello haud exiguae partes fuerunt; cf. Plut. in *Mario* c. 25, 26. *Kr.* *datam*. Cf. a similar attraction of gender in Corn. Nepos *Themist.* 7, 5 *illorum urbem ut propugnaculum oppositum esse barbaris* and see my supplementary note on Cic. *de off.* I 35, 128 l. 9.

§ 18. Lepidus says that Sulla charged him with having got possession of the property of some of those who had been proscribed. His answer was that this charge was one of Sulla's greatest crimes, for that neither himself nor any one else was safe in the terrible days of proscription, when to act honestly would have been a man's ruin. He says that he bought the property of the proscribed through fear and that he was ready to restore it to the owners on repayment of the purchase-money. *soluti iure*, 'though they forfeited their right of possession (at the compulsory auction)'.  
 § 19. *rabie contracta*, 'brought upon us by the madness of civil war'. *adco Sullam non paenitet* i.e. tantum abest ut Sullam paeniteat, ut etc. *facta* sc. esse.

§ 20. Lepidus concludes by calling on the people to follow him as their leader in the recovery of liberty. *principem* i.e.

- eius, quae futiles et corruptae sunt, sed vostra socordia), quam captum*
- 21 *ire licet, quem haud pudeat tam videri felicem. Nam praeter satellites commaculatos quis eadem volt? aut quis non omnia mutata praeter victorem? Scilicet milites, quorum sanguine Tarulae Scyrtoque, pessumis servorum, divitiae partae sunt! An, quibus praelatus in magistratibus capiundis Fufidius, ancilla turpis, honorum omnium*
- 22 *dehonestamentum? Itaque maxumam mihi fiduciam parit victor exercitus, cui per tot volnera et labores nihil praeter tyrannum quae-*
- 23 *situm est. Nisi forte tribuniciam potestatem evorsum profecti sunt, per arma conditam a maioribus suis, utique iura et iudicia sibimet extorquerent, egregia scilicet mercede, cum relegati in paludes et silvas contumeliam atque invidiam suam, praemia penes paucos intel-*
- 24 *legerint. Quare igitur tanto agmine atque animis incedit? Quia secundae res mire sunt vitiis obtentui; quibus labefactis, quam formidatus est, tam contemnetur; nisi forte specie concordiae et pacis, quae sceleri et parricidio suo nomina indidit; neque aliter rempubli-*

initium facientem. *ante capiamini* (i.e. a Sulla opprimamini) *quam* (vobis eum) *captum ire* (i.e. ad capiendum vos parare) *licet. Kr. felicem*, in reference to the formal surname he had arrogantly assumed.

§ 21. *Nam* refers to a suppressed sentence meaning, 'His luck is not so great as he supposes, for etc.' *scilicet*, ironical, 'his soldiers, forsooth, don't want a change, who have got nothing themselves, but enriched others.' *Fufidius*; cf. *Vit. Sull. c. 31, 3. ancilla*, so called, because of his effeminacy; cf. *Cic. ep. ad Att. 1, 14 concursabant barbatuli iuvenes, duce filiola Curionis.*

§ 23. *suam* is here used predicatively.

§ 24. *igitur* refers to a sentence implied in the preceding, 'why then (since he has so little confidence in his disappointed soldiery) does he parade in public with such a retinue and so much arrogance?' The answer is 'because prosperity serves in a marvellous manner to cover a man's faults of character (for if these were detected, his soldiers would perhaps leave him at once in the lurch)'.

*secundae res etc.* This passage is discussed by Seneca *controv. 9, 1, 13* who compares Sallust's sentiment with a similar one in Thucydides (an error for Demosthenes *Olynth. II § 20 p. 23*) *αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δεινὰ συγκρῦψαι [καὶ συσκιᾶσαι] τὰ τοιαῦτα ὀνειδῆ.*

*quam formidatus est, tam contemnetur*, 'he will be as much an object of contempt henceforward, as he has hitherto been of dread.' Cf. *Iug. 31, 14 quam quisque pessume fecit, tam maxume tutus est*, Cato *de R. R. 65 quam acerbissima olea oleum facies, tam oleum optimum erit. Kr. parricidio* i.e. nefario facinori quo in libertatem civium saeviit. *Kr. neque* i.q. nam non.

- cam et belli finem ait, nisi maneat expulsa agris plebes, praeda civilis acerbissima, ius iudiciumque omnium rerum penes se, quod populi*  
 25 *Romani fuit. Quae si vobis pax et concordia intelleguntur, maxuma turbamenta reipublicae atque exitia probate, annuite legibus impositis, accipite otium cum servitio et tradite exemplum posteris ad populum*  
 26 *Romanum suimet sanguinis mercede circumveniundum. Mihi, quamquam per hoc summum imperium satis quaesitum erat nomini maiorum, dignitati atque etiam praesidio, tamen non fuit consilium privatas opes facere, potiorque visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio.*  
 27 *Quae si probatis, adeste, Quirites, et bene iuvantibus dis M. Aemilium consulem ducem et auctorem sequimini ad recipiendam libertatem!*

*finem* sc. esse. *ius iudiciumque* i.e. summam rerum potestatem atque imperium. Cf. Gronov. ad Liv. 36, 39, 9. *Kr.*

§ 25. *Quae si vobis—intelleguntur*, ‘if this is what you mean by peace and harmony.’ *exitia* i.e. calamitates et miseriae. *otium cum servitio*: cf. § 9. *ad populum—circumveniundum*, i.e. ita opprimendum ut suum met sanguinem pro servitute profundat et quasi mercedis loco tyrannis praebeat.

§ 26. *summum imperium*: i.e. consulatum. *que*, ad-  
 versative after negative clause.

§ 27. *verba consulem—libertatem* ad evocationis formulam composita. *Wass.* Cf. Servium ad Verg. Aen. VIII: si esset tumultus, quia singulos interrogare non vacabat, qui fuerat ducturus exercitum, ibat ad Capitolium et exinde proferens duo vexilla dicebat: *qui rempublicam salvam vult, me sequatur*. Donat. ad Ter. Eun. IV, 7, 2: huiusmodi militia per tumultum repente suscipitur et dicitur evocatio, ubi dux alloquitur cives: *qui rempublicam salvam vultis, me sequimini*.

7. Such are the authorities which Plutarch himself expressly quotes in this *Life*; others are indicated by him in vague terms such as εἰοι λέγουσι<sup>151</sup>, λέγουσι<sup>152</sup>, λέγεται<sup>153</sup>, ιστοροῦσι<sup>154</sup>, ιστορεῖται<sup>155</sup>, οἱ δὲ φασι<sup>156</sup>, φασί<sup>157</sup>. Of course the credibility of his narrative depends upon its being traceable to the testimony of original witnesses, contemporary with the events described.

<sup>151</sup> 31, 3. <sup>152</sup> 1, 1; 2, 1, 2; οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λ. 17, 1.

<sup>153</sup> 1, 2; 5, 4; 11, 1; 14, 1; 26, 1; 38, 2.

<sup>154</sup> 2, 1. <sup>155</sup> 5, 5. <sup>156</sup> 17, 5. <sup>157</sup> 27, 2; 29, 7; 38, 4.

We have already<sup>158</sup> seen that Q. Lutatius Catulus (cos. 102/652) wrote an historical account of his own consulship and actions, which Plutarch appears not to have read, but he quotes it at second hand<sup>159</sup>—a plan of intermediate reference, often pursued by Appian, Dion Cassius, and others of the later compilers, following writers who had drawn their accounts from contemporary historians, on whose evidence they thus indirectly relied. The work of P. Rutilius Rufus also doubtless included the political events in which he had borne a part, and that of M. Aemilius Scaurus, who appears to be the earliest of those who composed their own Memoirs, was another authentic<sup>160</sup> source of the history of his own period. L. Otacilius Pilitus composed a memoir of his pupil Cn. Pompeius Magnus, as well as of his father Cn. Pompeius Strabo, which must have included the events of the Marsic war and the times of Marius and Sulla<sup>161</sup>.

C. Licinius Macer (B.C. 106—66) wrote a history of Rome; but whether he brought his work down to his own times is uncertain. Q. Claudius Quadrigarius may be considered as an original authority for the period from B.C. 140 to 78<sup>162</sup>. He wrote a history which began with the capture of Rome by the Gauls. The Third Book narrated the war with Pyrrhos, the Fifth and Sixth Books included the second Punic war. In the Nineteenth Book the siege of Athens by Sulla and the seventh Consulship of Marius in 86/668 were described. As the Twenty-third Book is cited, it has been conjectured that the work ended with the death of Sulla in 78/676. Facts in the Cimbrian invasion of 105/649 are cited from Valerius Antias, whose voluminous history of Rome reached from the foundation of the city to his own time.

<sup>158</sup> p. xxxv n. 73.

<sup>159</sup> p. xxxix n. 85.

<sup>160</sup> Tac. Agric. c. 1 *ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtreccationi fuit.*

<sup>161</sup> Sueton. *de claris rhet.* 3, Krause *vit. et fragm. vet. hist. Rom.* (Berolini 1853) p. 223, quoted by G. C. Lewis in his *Inquiry into the credibility of early Roman History* I p. 24.

<sup>162</sup> Lewis *ubi supra* p. 25.

He is quoted by name (Ὀυάλλεμος Ἀντίας) in several of the Biographies<sup>163</sup>.

L. Cornelius Sisenna (born about 120/634, praetor 78/676<sup>164</sup>), wrote, besides other works, a history of his own time. He was a contemporary historian in the strictest sense of the word. His *Historiae*, contained in at least 12 books, extended from the Marsic war to the civil war of Sulla and Marius<sup>165</sup>. Most of the fragments found in Nonius refer to the Marsic war<sup>166</sup>. His sixth contained the narrative of the civil strife of Marius and Sulla, of which according to Sallust<sup>167</sup> he wrote the best and most accurate account, though he was too reserved in the expression of his own opinions, which is the fault of a contemporary writer.

Lucullus, likewise, who had served in the Marsic war, composed a history of it in Greek<sup>168</sup>; and L. Lucceius, the friend of Cicero<sup>169</sup>, undertook and partly completed a contemporary history of Rome, commencing with that war.

Besides these, Poseidonios, the continuator of Polybios, wrote a history extending from 146/608 to 96/658 or to a still later date,

<sup>163</sup> *Rom. c. 14, Num. c. 22 οἱ περὶ Ἀντίαν ἱστοροῦσι κτλ, Flamin. c. 18. Cf. de fortun. Rom. c. 10 p. 323 E. Kiessling (De Dionys. Halicarnassei antiqq. auctoribus Latinis, Lips. 1858 p. 24), followed by H. Peter, considers that he is the source upon which Plutarch drew directly for his *Life of Valerius Poplicola*.*

<sup>164</sup> sc. de Asclepiade in *Corp. Inscr. lat.* I p. 110 sq.: *Cos. Q. Lutatio Q. f. Catulo et M. Aemilio... Lepido, pr. urbano et inter peregrinos L. Cornelio... f. Sisenna*, cf. *Cic. Cornel.* I, 18.

<sup>165</sup> *Cic. de legg.* I, 2, 7; *Brut.* 64, 228; *Vellei. Paterc.* II 9, 5: *historiarum (O. Jahn milesiarum) auctor iam tum (i.e. at the time of the orators Antonius and Crassus) Sisenna erat iuvenis: sed opus belli civilis (=socialis?) Sullanique post aliquot annos ab eo seniore editum est.* He was joined with his friend Hortensius in the defence of Verres. Teuffel *ubi supra* § 143.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. *Cic. de div.* I, 44, 99.

<sup>167</sup> *Iug. c. 95: L. Sisenna optime et diligentissime omnium, qui eas (i.e. Sullae) res dixere, persecutus, parum mihi libero ore iocutus videtur.*

<sup>168</sup> *Plut. Luc. c. 1 and 2.*

<sup>169</sup> *Cic. ep. ad fam. v, 12.*

and occupying more than fifty books. He appears to have lived from 136/618 to 51/703 and therefore was contemporary with the chief part of the period included in his history. He was likewise a personal witness of many of the events related. Thus he had an interview with Marius<sup>170</sup> in his last illness, as ambassador from Rhodes to Rome, and had accompanied Cn. Pompeius in his Asiatic campaigns. The curious account of the Servile War in Sicily in the remains of the thirty-fourth book of Diodoros Siculus appears to be borrowed from him<sup>171</sup>.

The abridgment of the history of Rome in the time of the Republic which bears the name of Granius Licinianus, arranged in the manner of Annals, in 40 Books, belongs probably to the second century of the imperial epoch<sup>172</sup>, though others<sup>173</sup> assume that the work was published under Augustus and epitomized in the time of the Antonines.

<sup>170</sup> Plut. *vit. Mar.* c. 45. C. Müller *Fragm. hist. gr.* Vol. III p. 266.

<sup>171</sup> Lewis *l.c.* p. 31 who in his note adds that Kiene in his *Röm. Bundesgenossenkrieg* p. 318 thinks that both Appian and Plutarch, in their account of the wars of Sulla and Marius, made great use of Poseidonios.

<sup>172</sup> W. S. Teuffel *l.c.* § 355.

<sup>173</sup> The Bonn editors, Bücheler and others, *Grani Liciniani quae supersunt emendatiora edidit philologorum Bonnensium heptas*, Lips. (Teubner) 1858. Madvig fixes its composition in the third or fourth century of the Christian era. The work was discovered by P. de Lagarde and subsequently by G. H. Pertz at the British Museum in an Egyptian *codex ter scriptus* or double palimpsest, more closely examined in 1856 and edited by his son C. A. F. Pertz Berlin 1857, 4to [Gai] *Grani Liciniani annalium quae supersunt etc.* The fragments are of books XXVI, XXVIII and XXXVI. The latter contains several stories in a very mutilated state concerning Marius, which are found in Appian and Plutarch's *Lives of Marius and Pompey* and in Valer. Max. 1, 5: also an account of Sulla's proceedings at Athens before the battle of Orchomenos (Mommsen's *Hist. of Rome* III p. 321 n.). The passage describing the meeting between Archelaos and Sulla and the terms of the treaty between them is preserved entire and affords a good specimen of his style. It is as follows:—*Archelaus parvulo navigio Chalcidem deporta-*

8. We are not, however, justified in concluding from these vague indications of authorities given by Plutarch that he had himself consulted all or any of them. It is quite possible that we have to do with merely second-hand quotations. Thus we find in the biographies of *Galba* and *Otho*, in which there is a general agreement between Plutarch, Tacitus, and Suetonius,—an agreement that can only be explained by supposing that

*tur. regii, qui Abderae praesidebant, captis Philippis dilabuntur. colloquium Sullae et Archelao in Aulide fuit et condiciones impositae, si rex pacem mallet, quibus ille tandem paruit: nam et Fimbriae adventum timebat, ut mox ordine indicabo, et se de conventis nihil novaturum Sulla praedixerat. fuerunt autem hae: Archelaus classem traderet Sullae; rex insulis omnibus, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia dederet; item Gallo-graecis Q. Oppium et M. Aquilium legatos redderet; item ceteros omnis captivos, quorum non parvus numerus erat, dimitteret. inprimis excepti Macedones, quorum fides insignis fuerat, ut uxores et liberi redderentur. praeterea naves viginti quinquaginta tectas instructas sociis daret, frumentum, vestem, stipendium ipse praestaret. Iis ipse Mithridates cum Sulla apud Dardanum compositis, relicta classe, gratia e re conciliata, Ariobardianen ut servum respuit, in Pontum proficiscitur, ac, dum de conditionibus disceptatur, Medos et Dardanos qui socios vexabant Hortensius retro fugaverat. ipse Sulla exercitum in Mediam induxerat. Priusquam in Asiam ad conloquium transiret, Dardanos quoque et Denseletas, ceterosque qui Macedoniam vexabant, in deditionem recepit. Ephesi, causis cognitis, principes belli securibus necat, civitates pecunia multat, oppida impacata redigit in suam potestatem. Nicomedi regnum Bithyniae restituit, [quod] est appellatum Paphlagonia. The same Book contains an account also of the funeral of Sulla: *condi corpus iusserat, non comburi. sed L. Philippus cremandum potius censuit, ne idem Sullae eveniret quod G. Mario, cuius corpus milites inimici extractum monumento disiecerant. itaque institutum fuit, matronaeque eum toto anno luxerunt. in campo Romae sepultus est, amplissimo funere elatus, magna populi frequentia. cuius rogo cum ignis esset inlatus, non medicris imber est insecutus.**

they each used one and the same source<sup>174</sup>—similar vague references εἴτε ὡς φασιν ἔνιοι (*Galb.* c. 19) and ὡς πλείστοι λέγουσιν, ἔνιοι δ' ιστοροῦσιν (c. 27). We might think ourselves justified in concluding from these expressions that Plutarch had consulted a number of authors; yet we observe in Tacitus (*Hist.* I, 41) the same discrepancies of statements mentioned in the same connexion and in similar terms.

9. The close and occasionally even literal agreement between the *History of Appian* and certain of the *Lives of Plutarch*, has led some scholars to consider Plutarch as one of Appian's principal sources. But detailed investigations such as those of Wjinne<sup>175</sup> and H. Peter lead to a different conclusion. We find now one, now the other, giving a more complete representation of the facts, each according to the peculiar aim of his writing. They are, in fact, complementary to each other, so that the narrative of the one is only made intelligible by that of the other. Vollgraff maintains that an enquiry into the sources of Appian leads to the following conclusions:—

(1) The only author, whom Appian can be proved to have directly followed, is *Polybios*.

(2) Appian may have directly followed *Dionysios*, *Livy* and *Sallust*, upon whose works many of his statements are evidently founded. But he may also have drawn his information from them at second hand. Cer-

<sup>174</sup> This was either Cluvius Rufus, an historian contemporary with both emperors, or the history of C. Plinius Secundus. See Teuffel *Hist. Rom. Lit.* 332, 4. (11 p. 182 transl.)

<sup>175</sup> *de fide et auctoritate Appiani* pp. 23—27, pp. 53—55, pp. 71—73.

tainty on this point is not to be attained. It may, however, be observed that the former supposition is by no means the more plausible.

(3) From the passages in Appian, where Latin authors such as *Caesar*, *Tanusius Geminus*, *Asinius Pollio*, *Augustus*, *Messalla Corvinus* and *Volumnius* are quoted, it has been erroneously concluded that he must have borrowed materials for his work from their writings. From a collation with Plutarch's *Lives* nearly all these quotations are proved to have already appeared in some source, from which Plutarch and Appian have both drawn.

(4) This source or these sources were written in Greek.

Appian probably added to his main excerpt less material drawn from various sources than Plutarch did. The Historian had no such keen literary appetite as the Biographer. Neither of them made any careful study or critical examination of documents and traditions. Even where they had several sources, more or less differing from each other, at their disposal, they often borrowed information with unlimited confidence exclusively from the author, whose personal qualities had once gained their confidence, or whose manner of writing for some reason or other pleased them most. They adhered to one chief authority, whose statements they sometimes reproduce literally, sometimes shorten or amplify, each according to the aim of his writing, and whom they only exceptionally, and even then hardly ever unless in matters of subordinate interest, refute and correct. They do not care to arrive at the greatest possible degree of certainty, in great as well as small matters; their only object

is to produce a work at once fascinating and instructive<sup>176</sup>. Plutarch's different method of working will account in some measure for the divergences in their narratives. It was his habit apparently, not to copy wholesale from this or that chronicler, but having fixed upon one as his *fons primarius*, to read him through, in order to form a conception of the character to be described, and then to write his life independently from memory. As he shaped his story dramatically, he would often draw upon the rich treasures of his wide reading for some anecdote or digression to enliven his narrative, or borrow some extract from the common-place book, in which he had probably, during his residence at Rome as a *grammaticus*, collected passages from the more eminent writers in biography, history or philosophy for the use of his lectures.

10. We have no other direct sources of information concerning the period of Sulla, besides those of Plutarch

<sup>176</sup> Comp. Grote *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. v p. 9 n. 2 ed. 1849 :—'the Moralists and Rhetoricians of ancient times were very apt to treat history, not as a series of true matters of fact, exemplifying the laws of human nature and society, and enlarging our knowledge of them for purposes of future inference—but as if it were a branch of fiction, so to be handled as to please our taste or improve our morality'. Dionysios (of Halikarnassos *ad Cn. Pompeium de praecep. historicis iudic.* p. 768 Reiske), blaming Thucydides for the choice of his subject, goes so far as to say that the Peloponnesian War, a period of ruinous discord in Greece, ought to have been left in oblivion and never to have passed into history (σιωπῆ καὶ λήθη παραδοθεῖς, ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἡγνοῆσθαι)—and that especially Thucydides ought never to have thrown the blame of it upon his own city, since there were many other causes to which it might have been imputed (ἐτέραις ἔχοντα πολλαῖς ἀφορμαῖς περιάψαι τὰς αἰτίας υ. 770).

and Appian and the *periochae* of the last books of Livy, except the summaries of Florus and Eutropius, Velleius Paterculus and Orosius, the sayings and doings of great men by Valerius Maximus, and lastly the fragments of Diodoros Siculus and Dion Cassius.

*Iuli Flori Epitomae de Tito Livio bellorum omnium annorum DCC libri duo*, from the foundation of the City to the establishment of the Empire under Augustus in A. D. 20. The chief source is Livy, whom the author often copies verbatim. The design of the author, who lived under Trajan or Hadrian, is *non tam narrare bella romana quam romanum imperium laudare* (Augustin. *de civ. Dei* III, 19). The first book treats of the good time of the Roman people, the second of its decline (since the period of the Gracchi). The work abounds in mistakes, confusions, contradictions, chronological and geographical errors, conceits and bombastic passages; but it was popular in later centuries and in the Middle Ages on account of its brevity and rhetorical style.

*Eutropii breviarium Historiae Romanae* is contained in ten books, extending from the foundation of the city to the death of Jovianus in A. D. 364 and accession of Valens, to whom it is inscribed. It is a compilation made from the best authorities with good judgment, discrimination and impartiality, and written in a pure, simple and unaffected style. Its brevity and practical arrangement made it a very popular book at an early period. The substance of it is copied into the chronicles of Hieronymus, Cassiodorus and others, and it is closely followed by Orosius.

*Vellei Paterculi historiae romanae ad M. Vinicium Consulem libri duo*. The first book brings the Roman History down to the fall of Carthage. As it approaches the Historian's own time, the work becomes more extensive. He is fond of interspersing anecdotes; though given to exaggeration and full of personal sympathies and antipathies, he excels in the delineation of character, particularly when writing of the great men of the republican period. In general he follows the current historical works, e.g. the abridgment of Atticus, Cornelius Nepos and Pompeius Trogus, in all foreign history and biographical details: with Livy he disagrees more frequently

than otherwise. See Teuffel *Hist. Rom. lit.* II § 273. The History of the period of Sulla is contained in II 15 ff.

The Spanish presbyter Orosius, born towards the close of the fourth century, was the author of a compendious History of the World from Adam to A.D. 416 (*Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII*). It was written at the request of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, as an apology for Christianity, as its title indicates, to silence the clamour of the heathens, who asserted that Christianity had been injurious rather than beneficial to mankind and attributed the decline of the Roman Empire to the indignation of the ancient deities at seeing their worship neglected and their altars profaned. Book v contains the History of Rome from the taking of Corinth to the first Civil War: Book vi that from the wars with Mithridates to the birth of Christ. Orosius drew his materials chiefly from Hieronymus' version of Eusebius' Chronicles and some lost Epitome of Livy<sup>177</sup>, probably that from which the extant *periochae* are themselves abridged, for they are frequently found to agree in their divergence from Livy. There is strong evidence that Cassiodorus in his *Chronicon* or Summary of Universal History used the same Epitome as Orosius; and Vopiscus, Aur. Victor in his *de viris illustribus*, Eutropius, Sextus Rufus, Julius Obsequens (in his History of Miracles 249/505—12/742) all used the same abridgment, as is demonstrated by Mommsen *Cassiodor.* p. 552 and 696. Orosius desired to create the impression that he used a great many works for his book, and therefore copied from his authorities those passages in which other authors are mentioned. He records only such facts as were suited to his purpose, but though liable to mistakes and confusions, he sometimes states them clearly and in such a way that we readily admit that he must have found them in the old books he used<sup>178</sup>. Even his style varies with the sources he is copying.

<sup>177</sup> Zangemeister *Praef.* p. xxv to his edition forming the vth volume of the *Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* (Vienna 1882). Cf. Niebuhr's *Lectures on the History of Rome* I p. 63 transl.

<sup>178</sup> Cf. Theodorus de Mörner *de Orosii vita* p. 130: *In singulis, in nominibus et numeris, in rebus et rerum consecutione, quae quantaque sit diversitas apud scriptores tam Graecos quam Latinos de bello Mariano Sullano, mirum est. Sic apud Nostrum in quavis*

The reputation of this History was so great in the time of King Alfred, that he determined to transfer the substance of it from the original Latin into Anglo-Saxon for the benefit of his subjects<sup>179</sup>.

*Valerii Maximi factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri novem*, a collection of anecdotes and examples for the use of rhetoricians and their schools, addressed to Tiberius, was compiled from few but good sources, but without critical method, taste or discrimination, and written in an artificial and pompous style. It is arranged according to certain terms (e.g. *de religione, auspiciis, somniis, testamentis*), chiefly moral terms (*fortitudine, moderatione, pudicitia etc.*), and each chapter is divided again into instances taken from Roman and foreign history. The work was very popular in the Middle Ages; and two abridgments were made of it by Julius Paris at the close of the 4th century and by Januarius Nepotianus in the 6th or 7th century. Plutarch does not appear to have used Valerius Maximus, though he mentions him *Marc. c. 30* and *Brut. c. 53*. See Teuffel *l. c.* II § 274.

‘Many brief notices of Roman affairs are introduced by Diodoros Siculus, under the proper years, in his Universal History (*Βιβλιοθήκη ιστορική*), the composition of which occupied him thirty years. It was published under Augustus, and extended from the remotest fabulous ages to the Gallic Wars of Julius Caesar. He states that having been a native of the Sicilian town of Agyrium, he had, from frequent intercourse with the Romans in Sicily, acquired a familiar knowledge of their language, and that he had related the events of their history from memoirs preserved among them from early times<sup>180</sup>. The voyage of Aeneas to Latium, and the foundation of Rome, were only mentioned in his viiith book, and the reign of Tarquinius Superbus in his xth book; and of the

*paene periodo vel conversiones vel differentia, vel nusquam obvia habes; in quibus tamen observes, eum maxime cum Latinis, imprimis cum Livio facere ubicumque.*

<sup>179</sup> J. Bosworth’s *Introduction to King Alfred’s Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius* p. 15.

<sup>180</sup> I c. 4. ‘This statement indicates that his notices of Roman History were extracted from Roman, not from Greek writers’.

books of his History, from VI to X, fragments alone are extant. Various events of Roman history from the consulship of Sp. Cassius and Verginius in 486/268 to that of Livius and Aemilius in 302/452 are mentioned in the ten extant books<sup>181</sup> from XI to XX. The third portion of his work, which contained books XXI—XL, is lost with the exception of a considerable number of fragments and the *Excerpta*, which are partly in Photios (Bibl. Cod. 244) and partly in the *Eclogae* made at the command of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. The work might have been valuable to the student of history, because of the sources which were accessible to the writer, but for its absence of criticism and lack of all the higher requisites of a history.

Dion Cassius Cocceianus was born about A. D. 155 at Nicaea in Bithynia, in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and coming to Rome at an early period of his life, remained there from 30 to 40 years. He was consul in A. D. 229 for the second time. Dion began by writing a history of the reign of Commodus, the favourable reception of which work encouraged him to write a history of Rome from the earliest times. The *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία*, his great work, consisting of 80 books, embraced the whole history of Rome from the earliest times until A. D. 229, the year in which he quitted Italy for Nicaea, his birth-place. The history of republican Rome is treated by him briefly: unfortunately we possess only a number of scattered fragments<sup>182</sup> of the first 24 books, and the *excerpta*, which Ursinus, Valesius and A. Mai have published successively from the collections made by command of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. The only complete part is from the 36th to the 54th book, from the wars of Lucullus and Cn. Pompeius against Mithridates to the death of Agrippa A. D. 10. Of the first 20 books we have the abridgment made by Zonaras a compiler of the 12th century, and from the 36th to the 80th that by Xiphilinus in the eleventh century. His history is valuable because he wrote with a thorough knowledge of his subject, and possessed an acquaintance with the political history of Rome and constitutional matters, as well as with military tactics.

<sup>181</sup> Lewis *l. c.* I p. 73 sq.

<sup>182</sup> The fragments down to 282/472 occupy 36 pages in the edition of Bekker (Lips. 1849).

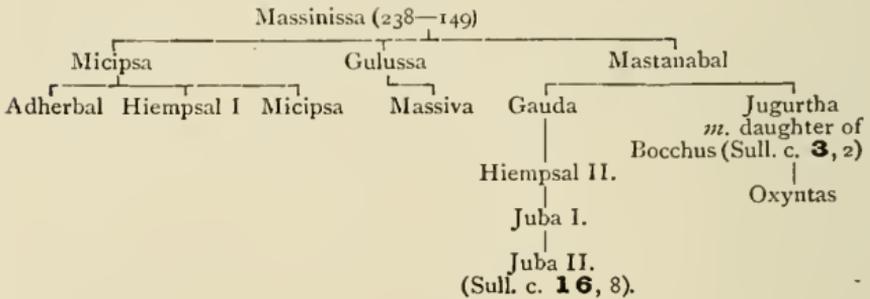
He did not acquiesce in the information he gathered from Livy, but consulted authentic sources, and he endeavoured to trace events to their causes and to analyse the motives of men's actions. After the time of Dion Cassius, the Greeks as well as the Romans confined themselves to making *excerpta* and compilations. The great works were neglected and the sketches of Florus, Eutropius and Orosius were regarded as the sources of Roman history.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## OF THE PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF SULLA

B.C./A.U.C.	COSS.	
138/616	P. Corn. Scipio Nasica Dec. Iun. Brutus	Birth of Lucius Cornelius Sulla
135/619	Servius Fulvius Flaccus Q. Calpurnius Piso	Slave war in Sicily, conducted by Eunus (Plut. vit. Sull. c. 36, 4).
134/620	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus II. C. Fulvius Flaccus	Jugurtha, C. Marius (aet. 23), Sempronius Asellio the historian, Gaius Gracchus and Lucilius the satirist serve under Scipio at Numantia.
133/621	P. Mucius Scaevola L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi	Agrarian law of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus.
132/622	P. Popillius Laenas P. Rupilius	End of the Sicilian slave-war. Aristonikos, pretender to the throne of Pergamon, conquers many cities in Asia.
131/623	P. Licinius Crassus Mu- cianus	Eunus taken prisoner.
129/625	L. Valerius Flaccus C. Sempronius Tudi- tanus M'. Aquilius	Two plebeian censors for the first time. Execution of Aristonikos at Rome. M'. Aquilius organises the new province of Asia.
125/629	M. Plautius Hypsaeus M. Fulvius Flaccus	First extension of conquest in Transalpine Gaul. Revolt of the Latin colony of Fregellae, on refusal of <i>civitas</i> .
123/631	Q. Caecilius Metellus T. Quinctius Flamini- nus	Tribunate of C. Gracchus. Establishment of the <i>Equites</i> as a new order.
122/632	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus	<i>Leges Liviae</i> .
121/633	C. Fannius Strabo Q. Fabius Maximus L. Opimius	Foundation of <i>Aquae Sextiae</i> (Aix).  Death of C. Gracchus and execution of his partizans. Temple of Concord erected by Opimius.
120/634	P. Manlius C. Papirius Carbo	Conquest of Southern Gaul and foundation of the <i>Provincia Narbonensis</i> . Pontos—Accession of Mithridates VI Eupator.
119/635	L. Caecilius Metellus L. Aurelius Cotta	Gaius Marius, tribune, carries a law against corrupt practices at elections in opposition to the Senate.

B.C./A.U.C.	COSS.	
118/636	M. Porcius Cato Q. Marcius Rex	Foundation of Narbo Martius first transmarine colony with citizen rights. Death of Micipsa, King of Numidia.



117/637	L. Caec. Metellus Q. Mucius Scaevola	C. Marius an unsuccessful candidate for the Aedileship (Plut. vit. Mar. c. 5).
116/638	C. Licinius Geta Q. Fabius Maximus	Equal Division of the Kingdom of Numidia between Jugurtha and Adherbal. Birth of M. Terentius Varro.
115/639	M. Aemilius Scaurus M. Caecilius Metellus	C. Marius Praetor. C. Marius goes to Further Spain (vit. Mar. c. 6).
114/640	M'. Acilius Balbus C. Porcius Cato	Defeat of the consul Cato in Macedonia. Birth of Q. Hortensius (Sull. c. 17, 7; c. 35, 4).
113/641	C. Caecilius Metellus Cn. Papirius Carbo	L. Licinius Lucullus quaestor (Plut. vit. Luc. c. 1). Sulla aet. 25.
112/642	M. Livius Drusus L. Calpurnius Piso	Defeat of the consul Carbo by the Cimbri. Siege and Capture of Cirta by Jugurtha and beginning of the Jugurthine War.
111/643	P. Corn. Scipio Nasica L. Calpurnius Bestia	Jugurthine War under the command of the Consul Bestia.
110/644	M. Minucius Rufus Sp. Postumius Albinus	Jugurtha comes to Rome but suddenly leaves it after procuring the murder of his cousin Massiva (Sallust Iug. cc. 33, 34). The consul Albinus returns from Africa to Rome for the elections, leaving his brother Aulus in command. The latter is defeated and concludes a peace.
109/645	Q. Caecilius Metellus M. Iun. Silanus	The consul Metellus, with P. Rutilius Rufus and Gaius Marius as his <i>legati</i> , carries on the campaign against Jugurtha (Plut. vit. Mar. c. 7). Defeat of Silanus by the Cimbri in Southern Gaul ( <i>ib.</i> c. 11)
108/646	Serg. Sulpicius Galba M. Aurelius Scaurus	Construction of <i>Via Aemilia</i> (in Liguria) and <i>Pons Mulvius</i> . Metellus continues in the command as proconsul. Vaga kills its Roman garrison. A plebiscite is passed to confer the province of Numidia with the command of

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107/647	L. Cassius Longinus Gaius Marius	<p>the war against Jugurtha on Gaius Marius' consul elect for 107/647, annulling the decree of the senate who had voted for the continuation of that province to Metellus (Plut. vit. Mar. c. 10). Marius leaves for Rome to be a candidate for the consulship (<i>ib.</i> c. 11). Defeat of Scaurus by the Cimbri (<i>ib.</i> c. 11). Metellus is superseded by C. Marius, who appoints Sulla his quaestor (Plut. vit. Mar. c. 9, Sull. c. 3, 1) aet. 31. Indecisive Campaign of Marius against Jugurtha. Overtures made to Bocchus. Disastrous defeat of consul Cassius in Gaul (Plut. vit. Mar. c. 11). Metellus obtains a triumph (Vell. Pat. c. 2 11).</p>
106/648	C. Atilius Serranus Q. Servilius Caepio	<p>Treaty made with Bocchus through Sulla (vit. Mar. c. 9, Sull. c. 3, 3). Jugurtha, betrayed by his father-in-law, is taken to Rome. Numidia divided between Bocchus and Gauda elder brother of Jugurtha. The consul Caepio recovers Tolosa. <i>Lex iudiciaria</i> (Tac. Ann. xii 60) of Q. Servilius Caepio, proposing to restore the judicial functions to the Senate. Birth of Gnaeus Pompeius and M. T. Cicero.</p>
105/649	P. Rutilius Rufus Cn. Mallius Max.	<p>Annihilation of two Roman armies under the proconsul Caepio (Plut. vit. Sertor. c. 3) and the consul Mallius by the Cimbri at Arausio on the Rhone. (Plut. <i>Lucull.</i> c. 27, 4, <i>Camill.</i> c. 19, <i>Mar.</i> 19, 2, <i>Sertor.</i> 3, 1). Caepio is deposed from his command by a plebiscite and removed from the senate.</p>
104/650	C. Marius II C. Flavius Fimbria	<p>Marius re-elected consul II. in his absence to oppose the barbarians. Marius celebrates his triumph over Jugurtha on Jan. 1 (<i>Mar.</i> 12, 2) and enters on his second consulship. Sulla, serving under him as <i>legatus</i>, takes Copillus, King of the Tectosages (<i>Sull.</i> 4, 1). Diversion of the Cimbri into Spain (<i>Mar.</i> 14, 1). Organisation of the army by Marius and employment of it in public works. He demands auxiliary troops of King Nikomedes of Bithynia.</p>
103/651	C. Marius III L. Aurelius Orestes	<p>The Cimbri, driven from Spain by the Celtiberi, move eastward and are joined by the Helvetians and Teutons. Marius remains on the defensive in Gaul. Second Sicilian Slave-war under Athenio and Trypho (103—99).</p>
102/652	C. Marius IV Q. Lutatius Catulus	<p>Sulla military tribune under C. Marius (4, 1). Marius re-elected consul for the fourth time by the aid of the tribune L. Appuleius Saturninus (<i>Mar.</i> 14, 4).</p>

B.C./A.U.C.	COSS.																					
101/653	C. Marius V M'. Aquillius	<p>Reappearance of the German tribes in Gaul. Division of their forces for the invasion of Italy (<i>Mar.</i> 15). Decisive victory of Marius at <i>Aquae Sextiae</i> over the Ambrones and Teutones (<i>Mar.</i> c. 19—21). Sulla joins Catulus in North Italy (4, 2).</p> <p>Attempt of the censor Metellus Numidicus to exclude Saturninus and Glaucia from the Senate. Embassy from King Mithridates insulted by Saturninus.</p> <p>Great battle on the 30th of July between the combined armies of C. Marius consul (<i>vit. Mar.</i> c. 22) and Q. Catulus proconsul and the Cimbri in the Raudian plain near Vercellae and total destruction of the hostile army (<i>vit. Mar.</i> c. 25).</p> <p>Triumph of Marius and Catulus (<i>vit. Mar.</i> 27, 5).</p>																				
100/654	C. Marius VI L. Valerius Flaccus	<p>Second election of Saturninus to the tribunate. Coalition between him, Marius and Glaucia the praetor (<i>vit. Mar.</i> c. 29). <i>Leges Appuleiae</i> (<i>vit. Mar.</i> c. 28).</p> <p>(1) distribution of land in Gaul, the law to be sworn to by the Senate within five days of its being passed by the people (Reversal of the old order of legislation).</p> <p>(2) foundation of colonies in Sicily, Achaea and Macedonia, in which Italians are to have a share.</p> <p>(3) cheapening the price of corn.</p> <p>Refusal of Metellus to accept the oath of obedience to the first Law of Saturninus and his consequent retirement into voluntary exile. (<i>Cic. or. p. Cn. Plancio</i> § 89 n., or. p. <i>Sest.</i> § 37.)</p> <p>Tumults at the consular elections ending in the murder of C. Memmius by the Marians.</p> <p>Marius thereupon, appealed to by the Senate, turns against the popular party (<i>vit. Mar.</i> c. 30).</p> <p>Murder of Saturninus, Glaucia and others (<i>ib.</i>).</p> <p>Discomfiture of the popular party and departure of Marius from Rome for Asia, where he attempts to embroil Mithridates with Nikomedes (<i>vit. Mar.</i> c. 31).</p> <p>Sulla aet. 38.</p> <p>Birth of C. Iulius Caesar.</p> <p>C. Iulius Caesar <i>m.</i> Marcia</p> <table border="0" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="border: none;">C. Iul. Caesar</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;">Iulia</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> </td> <td style="border: none;">Sextus</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"><i>m.</i> Aurelia</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"><i>m.</i> C. Marius</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> </td> <td style="border: none;">Iulius</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;"></td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"></td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> </td> <td style="border: none;">Caesar</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="border: none;">C. Iul. Caesar</td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> </td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"></td> <td style="border: none; text-align: center;"> </td> <td style="border: none;">cos. 91/663</td> </tr> </table>	C. Iul. Caesar		Iulia		Sextus	<i>m.</i> Aurelia		<i>m.</i> C. Marius		Iulius					Caesar	C. Iul. Caesar				cos. 91/663
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				Caesar																		
C. Iul. Caesar				cos. 91/663																		
99/655	M. Antonius A. Postumius Albinus	<p>Suppression of the insurrection of slaves under Athenio by Manius Aquillius.</p> <p>Return of Metellus.</p>																				

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97/657	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus P. Licinius Crassus	T. Didius under whom Q. Sertorius serves as trib. mil. (Plut. vit. Sert. c. 3) wages successful war in Spain.
96/658	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus C. Cassius Longinus	Q. Sertorius distinguishes himself in Spain (Plut. vit. Sert. c. 4). Ptolemaeus Apion bequeaths his kingdom of Cyrene to Rome (vit. Luc. c. 3).
95/659	L. Licinius Crassus Q. Mucius Scaevola	<i>Lex Licinia et Mucia</i> , prohibiting non-citizens from claiming the franchise. Alienation of the Italians. Birth of Lucretius the poet.
94/660	C. Caelius Caldus L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	C. Norbanus (27, 5) tribune of the plebs. Q. Hortensius, the orator, in his 19th year, <i>primum in foro dixit</i> (Cic. Brut. c. 64). Sulla an unsuccessful candidate for the Praetorship (5, 1). Birth of M. Cato.
93/661	C. Valerius Flaccus M. Herennius	Sulla elected <i>praetor peregrinus</i> (5, 2). Year of peace.
92/662	C. Claudius Pulcher M. Perperna	Aggressions of Mithridates.
91/663	L. Marcius Philippus Sext. Iulius Caesar	Sulla sent out, as propraetor of Cilicia, on a mission to Cappadocia, restores Ariobarzanes to his kingdom (5, 3). Meeting between him and the envoys from Arsakes, king of Parthia (5, 4, 5). Condemnation and exile of P. Rutilius, <i>legatus</i> of Q. Mucius Scaevola in Asia. The closing of the schools of the Latin teachers of Rhetoric by an Edict of the censors Crassus and Domitius. Repeal of the <i>leges Liviae</i> and murder of their proposer M. Livius Drusus, tribune of the people (son of the opponent of C. Gracchus in 122/632), followed by the revolt of the Italians. Death of L. Crassus.
90/664	L. Iulius Caesar P. Rutilius Lupus	Expulsion of Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia and of Nikomedes from Bithynia by Tigranes, at the instigation of Mithridates (11, 2). <b>Outbreak of the Marsian or Social War</b> , vit. Mar. c. 32, Sull. 6. 2 (where see note), Sertor. c. 4, Luc. c. 2. Northern and Central Italy. The two consuls, assisted by 10 <i>legati</i> , were charged with the duty of making war on the allies. The consul Rutilius Lupus having fallen in the war against Pompeidius Silo, the command of his army was divided between two of the <i>legati</i> Q. Caepio and C. Marius. Q. Caepio having fallen in his turn, the legate C. Marius exercised alone, at the bidding of the Senate, the command of the consular army, Appian B. C. 1 c. 44. Defeat of Perpenna. Success of Cn. Pompeius in Picenum. Revolt of Umbria and Etruria. Southern Italy.

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		<p>The consul L. Iulius Caesar opposed to C. Papius Mutilus.</p> <p>Capture of Aesernia and Nola by the Samnites. Defeat of Mutilus.</p> <p>M<sup>o</sup>. Aquillius restores the deposed Kings, Nikomedes and Ariobarzanes. Dedication of the <i>Periegesis</i> ascribed to Scymnus of Chios to Nikomedes.</p> <p>The freedom of the city is given to those states which had remained in allegiance, on which occasion eight new tribes appear to have been added (Clinton <i>Fasti Hell.</i> Vol. 111 p. 148). The second grant was made in 87/667 to those who were in arms (Liv. <i>Epit.</i> 80, Appian <i>B. C.</i> 1, 53) when the eight new tribes may have been augmented to ten.</p> <p><b>Social War continues.</b></p> <p>Northern and Central Italy.</p> <p>Cn. Pompeius Consul Marsos acie vicit Liv. <i>Epit.</i> 74. M. T. Cicero serves under him (Cic. <i>or. Phil.</i> XII 11).</p> <p>Capture of Asculum after a great battle.</p> <p>Death of the other consul (Liv. <i>Epit.</i> 75, Orosius v. 18).</p> <p>South-east Italy.</p> <p>Sulla retakes Stabiae from C. Papius Mutilus and entirely destroys it (Liv. <i>Epit.</i> 75, Plin. <i>Nat. Hist.</i> 3, 5).</p> <p>Conspicuous services of Sulla; he takes Bovianum.</p> <p><i>L. Sulla Hirpinos domuit, Samnites pluribus proeliis fudit, aliquot populos recepit, quantisque raro quisquam alius ante consulatum rebus gestis ad petitionem consulatus Romam est profectus</i> (Liv. <i>Epit.</i> 75, Plut. vit. Sull. 6. 2).</p> <p>Sulla παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπατος ἀποδείκνυται μετὰ Κοίντου Πομπηίου πενήτηντα ἔτη γεγονώς (6, 10).</p> <p>He marries Caecilia Metella.</p> <p>Murder of Albinus by his own men (6, 9).</p> <p>Removal of the seat of Government by the Confederates from Corfinium.</p> <p>Lex Plautia Papiria (Cic. <i>or. p. Arch.</i> 4, 7).</p> <p>Lex Pompeia, giving the <i>ius Latii</i> to all the towns of Transpadane Gaul.</p> <p>Cispadane Gaul becomes a part of Italy.</p> <p>The Padus (<i>Po</i>) becomes the boundary of Italy until 49/705.</p> <p>Mithridates prepares for war and forms a close alliance with Tigranes.</p> <p>Sulla now consul aet. 50 (6, 10) is appointed to the command of the Asiatic War (9, 10). His colleague takes the command in Italy.</p> <p><b>Conclusion of Social War.</b></p>
89/665	Cn. Pompeius Strabo L. Porcius Cato	
88/666	L. Cornelius Sulla Q. Pompeius Rufus	

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		<p>Silo, the confederate leader, recaptures Bovianum, but falls soon after.</p> <p>Metellus takes Venusia.</p> <p>Sulla invests Nola and captures the Samnite camp.</p> <p>The Civil War between Marius and Sulla; their first open quarrel respecting the command in the Mithridatic war.</p> <p>League between Marius and the tribune P. Sulpicius Rufus (8, 1), who proposes certain obnoxious measures, 8, 2.</p> <p>The Consuls, to prevent these being put to the vote, proclaim a <i>institium</i>, which however, Sulpicius declares illegal and void. They yield finally to force and Sulla leaves Rome for Nola (8, 3).</p> <p>A <i>plebiscitum Sulpicium</i> carried in spite of the Senate, transferring the Mithridatic war from the consul Sulla to Marius who was a <i>privatus homo</i> (Sull. 8, 4, Diod. Sic. 37, 29, 2).</p> <p>Thereupon Sulla marches from Nola on Rome at the head of six legions (9, 3).</p> <p><b>First invasion of Rome by a Roman army.</b></p> <p>The <i>Leges Sulpiciae</i> annulled (Appian <i>B. C.</i> 1 c. 59). Sulpicius put to death and ten other leaders of his faction declared outlaws by the Senate.</p> <p>Escape of Gaius Marius.</p> <p>Constitutional changes made by Sulla:—</p> <p>(1) addition of 300 members to the Senate (κατέλεξαν εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον, ὀλιγαριθρωπότατον δὴ τὸ τε μάλιστα ὄν καὶ παρὰ τοῦτ' εὐκαταφρόνητον, ἀθρόους ἐκ τῶν ἀρίστων ἀνδρῶν τριακοσίου, Appian <i>B. C.</i> 1 c. 59).</p> <p>(2) votes to be taken in the <i>Comitia centuriata</i>, not in the <i>tributa</i> (τὰς χειροτονίας μὴ κατὰ φυλὰς ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους, ὡς Τύλλιος βασιλεὺς ἔταξε, γίνεσθαι).</p> <p>(3) μηδὲν ἐπι ἀπροβούλευτον ἐς τὸν δῆμον ἐσφέρεσθαι.</p> <p><b>First Mithridatic War.</b></p> <p>After his defeat of Nikomedes and Manius Aquillius, the Roman Commissioner, Mithridates advances into the Roman province Asia (11, 2). Great massacre of the Romans and Italians in Asia by his order (24, 4).</p> <p>Murder of the consul Q. Pompeius Rufus by his own soldiers, on going to receive the command from Cn. Pompeius Strabo, who retains his command thereupon.</p> <p>L. Cornelius Cinna and Cn. Octavius elected consuls.</p> <p>Sulla tries to make himself more popular by allowing the election of Cinna as consul (10, 3).</p>

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87/667	Gnaeus Octavius L. Cornelius Cinna	<p>The Samnites and Lucani being still in arms, Sulla leaves Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius and Appius Claudius in lower Italy and sails for Greece (11, 1), where he lands probably about Midsummer, and having marched through Aetolia and Thessaly into Boeotia, where he is welcomed, and appearing in Attica in the autumn lays siege to Peiraeus, which was occupied by Archelaos, commander of the Pontic fleet (15, 1).</p> <p>During the winter he sends his legate L. Licinius Lucullus to collect a fleet (Plut. <i>Luc.</i> c. 3).</p> <p><b>Cinnan Revolution.</b> Contest of the consuls Cinna and Octavius. Cinna breaks his oath to observe the constitution (19, 4) and proposes</p> <p>(1) to equalise new citizens and freedmen with the old citizens.</p> <p>(2) to recall the Sulpician exiles.</p> <p>Deposition of Cinna and victory of Octavius and the Sullan party in the Forum (Plut. <i>vit. Sertor.</i> c. 4, Cic. <i>or. p. Sest.</i> § 77, <i>or. in Cat.</i> 3 § 24).</p> <p>Election by the Senate of L. Cornelius Merula as consul in place of the deposed Cinna.</p> <p>Appeal of Cinna to the Italian allies, and march upon Rome with the army from Nola. Return of Marius to Italy.</p> <p>Surrender of Rome to them (Liv. <i>Epit.</i> 80, Plut. <i>Mar.</i> c. 42-44, Oros. 5, 19).</p> <p><b>Marian reign of terror.</b> Murder of the consul Octavius and of M. Antonius the orator, Q. Catulus, L. Caesar consul of 90/664 and his brother Gaius, Publius Crassus consul of 97/657 and his son (Appian <i>B. C.</i> 1, 72, 73), Publius Lentulus and other victims of democratic vengeance.</p> <p>Flight of Sulla's wife Metella from Rome with her children (22, 1).</p> <p>Marius elected consul with Cinna.</p> <p>Birth of Catullus.</p>
86/668	L. Cornelius Cinna II C. Marius VII succeeded on his death by L. Valerius Flaccus (20, 1)	<p>Capture of Athens by Sulla on March 1 (14, 3).</p> <p>Defeat of the combined Pontic armies at Chaironeia (15-19).</p> <p>Revolutionary government of Cinna. Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 80 <i>Cinna et Marius—citra ulla comitia consules in sequentem annum se ipsos renuntiaverunt; Marius editis multis sceleribus Idibus Ianuariis decessit</i>, Plut. <i>Mar.</i> c. 46 ἀποθνήσκει ὁ Μάριος ἡμέρας ἑπτακαίδεκα τῆς ἑβδόμης ὑπατείας ἐπιλαβών.</p> <p>Repeal of Sulla's laws and supersession of him by the consul Flaccus (29, 1), who,</p>

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85/669	L. Cornelius Cinna III Cn. Papirius Carbo	<p>with Fimbria for his <i>legatus</i>, marches into Asia (23, 6).                      Birth of Sallust.  <b>Greece.</b>                      Defeat of Archelaos at Orchomenos (21). Peace Negotiations between Mithridates and Sulla at Dardanos (24, 1).  <b>Asia.</b>                      Murder of Flaccus by Fimbria who takes Pergamon (23, 6), Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 83: <i>Flavius Fimbria in Asia, fuis proelio aliquot praefectis Mithridatis, urbem Pergamum cepit, obsessumque regem non multum afuit quin caperet.</i>                      Flight of the most prominent members of the aristocratic party to Sulla's camp, where they formed a kind of opposition senate 22, 1. (Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 85 ad Sullam <i>se nobilitas omnis conferebat, ita ut deserta urbe ad castra veniretur, Orosius 5, 20 interea residui senatorum, qui potentiam Cinnae, Marii crudelitatem, insaniam Fimbriae Sertoriiue audaciam fuga evaserant, transvecti in Gracciam coegere precibus Sullam ut periclitanti, immo iam pene perditae, patriae opem ferret.</i>)                      Birth of M. Brutus.</p>
84/670	L. Cornelius Cinna IV Cn. Papirius Carbo II	<p>Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 83 <i>cum L. Cinna et Cn. Papirius Carbo, a se ipsis consules per biennium creati, bellum contra Sullam praepararent, effectum est per L. Valerium Flaccum principem senatus, qui orationem in senatu habuit, et per eos qui concordiae studebant, ut legati ad Sullam de pace mitterentur. Cinna ab exercitu suo, quem invitum cogebat naves conscendere et adversus Sullam proficisci, interfectus est (cf. Plut. Pomp. c. 5); consulatum Carbo solus gessit.</i>  <b>Termination of the first Mithridatic War (24, 3).</b> Liv. <i>l. c.</i> <i>Sulla, cum in Asiam traicisset, pacem cum Mithridate fecit, ita ut his cederet provinciis Asia, Bithynia, Cappadocia.</i>                      Death of Fimbria. <i>Fimbria desertus ab exercitu, qui ad Sullam transierat, ipse se percussit impetravitque de servo suo, praebens cervicem, ut se interficeret.</i>                      Settlement of the province of Asia by Sulla (25, 2). He leaves Murena with two legions to govern Asia and Gaius Scribonius Curio to restore order in Bithynia and Cappadocia.                      Sulla acquires the library of Apellikon, the friend of the tyrant Aristion (26).</p>

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83/671	L. Corn. Scipio Asiaticus Gaius Iunius Norbanus	<p>Liv. <i>Epit.</i> 84 <i>Sulla legatis, qui a senatu missi erant, futurum se in potestate senatus respondit, si cives, qui pulsati a Cinna ad se confugerant, restituerentur. Quae conditio, cum iusta senatui videretur, per Carbonem factionemque eius, cui bellum videbatur utilius, ne conveniret effectum est..... Q. Metellus Pius, qui partes optimatum secutus erat, cum in Africa bellum moliretur, a C. Fabio praetore pulsus est. Libertini in xxxv tribus distributi sunt.</i></p> <p>Sulla after an absence of four years lands with five legions in Italy (27, 4) in the beginning of the year. He is joined by Q. Metellus Pius, M. Crassus and others. (Liv. <i>Epit.</i> 86):</p> <p>L. Philippus, legatus Sullae, Sardiniam Q. Antonio praetore pulso et occiso occupavit.</p> <p>Cn. Pompeius (now in his 23rd year), raises three legions in Picenum (Plut. <i>Pomp.</i> c. 6. 7), joins Sulla and is saluted <i>Imperator</i>.</p> <p>Defeat of Norbanus and siege of Capua (27, 5).</p> <p>Desertion of Scipio's army en masse to Sulla 28, 1.</p> <p>(Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 85 <i>Sulla in Italiam cum exercitu traiecit missisque legatis, qui de pace agerent, et ab consule Norbano violatis, eundem Norbanum proelio vicit; et cum L. Scipionis, alterius consulis, castra oppugnaturus esset, universus exercitus consulis, sollicitatus per emissos a Sulla milites, signa ad Sullam transtulit; Scipio, cum occidi posset, dimissus est.</i>)</p> <p>Flight of Sertorius to Spain. (Appian <i>B.C.</i> 1 c. 86, Plut. <i>Sert.</i> c. 6.)</p> <p>Sulla and Metellus winter in Campania and maintain the blockade of Capua.</p> <p><b>Asia</b> Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 86 <i>bellum a L. Murena adversus Mithridatem in Asia renovatum.</i></p> <p>Evacuation of Cappadocia by the Romans.</p> <p>Burning of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the sixth of July, 27, 6.</p>
82/672	C. Marius C. fil. Cn. Papirius Carbo	<p>Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 87: <i>Sulla C. Marium, exercitu eius fuso delctoque ad Sacriportum (28, 4), in oppido Praeneste obsedit (28, 7).</i></p> <p>Orosius 20, 4: <i>Damasippus praetor, incensore Mario consule, Q. Scaevolam C. Carbonem L. Domitium P. Antistium in curiam quasi ad consultandum vocatos crudelissime occidit, corpora intersectorum per carnifices unco tracta atque in Tiberim missa sunt. Eodem tempore Sullae duces plurima proelia</i></p>

B. C./A. U. C.	COSS.	
81/673	M. Tullius Decula Cn. Cornelius Dolabella	<p><i>adversum Marianas partes infelicissima felicitate gesserunt. nam et Q. Metellus Carrinatis copias fulit et Cn. Pompeius Carbonis equitatum graviter trucidavit: etiam castris exiit fugientemque insecutus, nunc caedendo nunc ad deditionem cogendo plurima exercitus parte privavit. Metellus Norbani agmen oppressit. Liv. Epitom. 88: Sulla Carbonem, exercitu ad Clusium ad Faventiam Fidentiamque caeso, Italia expulit (28, 8); cum Samnitibus, qui soli ex Italicis populis nondum arma posuerant, iuxta urbem Romam ante portam Collinam debellavit, recuperataque republica, pulcherrimam victoriam crudelitate, quanta in nullo hominum fuit, inquinavit 29.</i></p> <p>Surrender of Praeneste and suicide of Marius (32, 1).</p> <p>Sulla's proscriptions and confiscations.</p> <p>Liv. Epitom. 89 <i>Sulla dictator factus, quod nemo unquam fecerat, cum fascibus XXIV processit 33, 1.</i></p> <p>Liv. <i>ib. Q. Lucretium Ofellam adversus voluntatem suam consulatum petere ausum iussit occidi in foro, et cum hoc indigne ferret pop. Rom., contione advocata se iussisse dixit 33, 3, 4.</i></p> <p>Birth of C. Licinius Calvus and P. Terentius Varro Atacinus.</p> <p><b>Sulla Dictator.</b></p> <p>His Triumph, 34, 1.</p> <p>Liv. Epitom. 89: <i>legibus novis reip. statum confirmavit; tribunorum plebis potestatem minuit et omne ius legum ferendarum ademit; pontificum augurumque collegium ampliavit ut essent xv; senatum ex equestri ordine supplevit; proscriptorum liberis ius petendorum honorum eripuit et bona eorum vendidit, ex quibus plurima rapuit; redactum est sestertium ter millies quingenties.</i></p> <p>Sulla's abolition of the Gracchan Institutions.</p> <p>He considerably weakens the power of the tribunate, by subjecting their legislative <i>rogationes</i> to the preliminary approval of the Senate, and especially by the exclusion of <i>tribunicii</i> from curule magistracies.</p> <p>[This last restriction was abolished as early as 75/679 by a <i>lex Aurelia</i> and in 70/684 a <i>lex Pompeia</i> restored to the tribunes all their former powers.]</p> <p>Abolition of the system of middle-men (<i>publicani</i>) for the collection of taxes from the Asiatics.</p>

B.C./A.U.C.	COSS.	
		<p>The equestrian Order deprived of its political existence and excluded from the law-courts. The Senate is made the only privileged order.</p> <p>The number of Quaestors augmented to twenty and the quaestorship recognised as a title to a seat in the Senate; the censorial supervision of the Senate done away with, as being superfluous, now that provision was made for a sufficient regular recruiting of its ranks.</p> <p>Co-optation is restored in the priestly colleges by the cancelling of the <i>lex Domitia</i> of 104/650.</p> <p>Regulation of the qualifications for office (a) proper order in the tenure of magistracies, (b) interval of ten years before the same office could be held a second time.</p> <p>Separation of the political and military authority of consuls and praetors; the first year to be in Italy (south of the Rubico) without military power; second year in one of the ten provinces, with military command. By this arrangement the whole military power became formally dependent on the senate, who nominated and dismissed propraetors and proconsuls.</p> <p>Cisalpine Gaul erected into a province. Sulla's reorganization of the judicial system.</p> <p>(a) establishment of criminal courts, (b) separate <i>quaestiones</i>.</p> <p>Sulla's sumptuary laws for the restraint of luxury at banquets, funerals, &amp;c.</p> <p>Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 89: <i>Cn. Pompeius in Africa Cn. Domitium proscriptum et Hiarbam, regem Numidiae, bellum molientes, victos occidit, et quattuor et viginti annos natus, adhuc eques Romanus, quod nulli contigerat, ex Africa triumphavit.</i></p> <p>Q. Sertorius quits Spain.</p> <p>Cicero's speech <i>pro Quinctio</i> at the age of 26.</p> <p>Surrender of Volaterrae after two years' siege, and slaughter of its garrison.</p> <p><b>Asia.</b></p> <p>Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 89: <i>Mitylenae in Asia, quae sola urbs post victum Mithridatem arma retinebat, expugnatae dirutaque sunt.</i></p> <p>Caesar was present at the siege, Sueton. <i>Caesar c. 2 (Caesar) stipendia prima in Asia fecit M. Thermi praetoris contubernio: et a Thermo in expugnatione Mitylenarum corona civica donatus est</i></p> <p>Cicero's Speech <i>p. Sexto Roscio Amerino</i> (A. Gell. 15, 28).</p>
80/674	<p>L. Cornelius Sulla Felix II Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius</p>	

B. C./A. U. C.	COSS.	
79/675	P. Servilius Vatia Appius Claudius Pulcher	<p><b>Resignation of Sulla, 34, 3.</b> (Appian <i>B. C.</i> 1 c. 103: τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἔτει ὁ μὲν δῆμος καὶ τότε τὸν Σύλλαν θεραπεύων ἠρέϊτο ὑπατεύειν· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχόμενος ὑπάτους μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπέφηνε Σερουίλιον Ἰσαυρικὸν καὶ Κλαύδιον Πούλχρον, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀρχὴν οὐδενὸς ἐνοχλοῦντος ἐκὼν ἀπέθετο.) He had been ten years in command from his first consulship 88/666, Plut. <i>comp. Lys. c. Sull.</i> 1: ἅπαξ αἰρεθεὶς στρατεύματος ἡγεμῶν ἔτη συνεχῶς δέκα, νῦν μὲν ὑπάτου νῦν δὲ δικτάτορα ποιῶν ἑαυτὸν, αἰεὶ δ' ὢν τύραννος, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἔμενεν.</p> <p>Cicero goes to Athens.</p>
78/676	M. Aemilius Lepidus Q. Lutatius Catulus	<p>Appian <i>B. C.</i> 1 105 ὑπάτοι αὐτοῖς (τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις) καθίστανται Κόνιτος τε Κάτλος ἀπὸ τῶν Συλλείων καὶ Λέπιδος Αἰμίλιος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐχθίστω τε ἀλλήλοι καὶ εὐθὺς ἀρξαμένω διαφέρεσθαι. Plut. <i>Sull.</i> 34, 4, 5.</p>
		<p><b>Death of Sulla 37, 4.</b> (Appian <i>l. c.</i> ἐτελεύτησεν ἐξήκοντα ἔτη βιώσας [<i>sexagesimum ingrediens annum</i> Valer. Max. 9, 3, 8]—γίγνεται δ' εὐθὺς ἐν ἄστει στάσις ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν ἀγειν ἀξιούντων τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ πομπῇ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν ἀγορᾷ προτιθέναι καὶ ταφῆς δημοσίας ἀξιούν, Λεπίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Λέπιδον ἐνισταμένων. ἐξενίκα δ' ὁ Κάτλος καὶ οἱ Σύλλειοι.)</p> <p>Plut. <i>Sull.</i> 38, 1.</p> <p>Liv. <i>Epitom.</i> 90: Sulla decessit honosque ei habitus est ut in campo Martio sepeliretur. M. Lepidus cum acta Sullae temptaret rescindere, bellum excitavit; a Q. Catulo collega Italia pulsus, et in Sardinia frustra bellum molitus perit (a. 77). Plut. <i>Pomp.</i> c. 16.</p>
		<p><b>Spain.</b> Eutrop. vi 1 M. Aemilio Lepido, Q. Catulo coss., cum Sulla remp. composuisset, bella nova exarserunt: unum in Hispania.—nam Sertorius, qui partium Marianarum fuerat, timens fortunam ceterorum, qui interempti erant, ad bellum commovit Hispanias. Missi sunt contra eum duces Q. Caecilius Metellus, filius eius qui Iugurtham regem vicit, et L. Domitius praetor. Plut. <i>Sertor.</i> c. 10—c. 13.</p> <p>Cicero hears Milo at Rhodes.</p>



## ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

**P. 59**, c. II § 2, l. 16 *add*:—

Cf. Plut. *comp. Lysandri et Sullae* c. 3, 5: Σύλλας ἀκόλαστος ὢν καὶ πολυτελῆς ἐσωφρόνιζε τοὺς πολίτας... ὥστε ἀμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν ὄντα χείρονα τῶν ἰδίων νόμων, Cic. *de fin.* III 22, 75 *Sulla trium pestiferorum vitiorum, luxuriae, avaritiae, crudelitatis magister fuit*, Sallust *Iugurth.* c. 95 *cupidus voluptatum, otio luxurioso esse; tamen ab negotiis nunquam voluptas remorata, nisi quod de uxore potuit honestius consuli*, Sallust *Hist.* fr. 40 *insanum aliter sua sententia atque aliarum mulierum moechum*,—a passage which Kritz suggests may be the original referred to by Plutarch, *comp. Lys. et Sull.* c. 3, 2: Σύλλας οὐτε νέος ὢν περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμετρίαζε διὰ τὴν πενίαν οὔτε γηράσας διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης εἰσηγεῖτο νόμους τοῖς πολίταις αὐτὸς ἐρῶν καὶ μοιχεύων, ὡς φησι Σαλλοῦστιος.

**P. 77**, § 6, l. 52 *add*: Orosius v 18 mentions a similar prodigy as happening in the same year: *In Samnitibus vastissimo terrae hiatus flamma prorupit et usque ad caelum extendi visum est* and Iulius Obsequens 54 [114] writes: *L. Marcio Sex. Iulio coss.—cum bellum Italicum consurgeret, prodigia multa apparuerunt urbi.—Aeserniae terrae hiatus flamma exorta in caelum emicuit*, from which passages H. Peter hazards the conjecture that Plutarch wrote *Aesernia*. See his *Hist. Rom. Rell.* I. p. 198.

**P. 117**, ch. XVIII § 2, l. 17. For a description of these *falcatae quadrigae* see Liv. XXXVII c. 41.

**P. 128**, ch. XXII § 1, l. 7 *add*:—**διακλέψασα ἑαυτήν**: On this sense of κλέπτειν *clam aliquid facere* cf. Caes. I, 4 *συχνόν τινα χρόνον πλανώμενος ἐν Σαβίνοις ἔκλεπτεν ἑαυτόν*, i.e. 'hid himself' from his pursuers, Timol. 17, 1 *λάβρα κλέπτων καὶ παρεισάγων τὴν συμμαχίαν dissimulans et clam introducens auxilia*, Pindar *Olymp.* VI 60 οὐδ' ἔλαθ' Αἴπυτον... κλέπτοισα θεοῖο γόνον, *Pyth.* IV 170 *κλέπτων δὲ θυμῷ δαίμα προσέννεπε*.

**P. 149**, ch. XXVII § 6, l. 47 *add*:—κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην, 'mastery in war and victory', νίκην is added as an explanation of κράτος πολέμου. Cf. Aem. Paul. c. 10, 3 νίκην καὶ κράτος πολέμου κομίζων καὶ διδοὺς τοῖς πολίταις, Mar. 17, 4 ἐφθέγγετο νίκην καὶ μέγα κράτος πολέμου Ῥωμαίοις ὑπάρχειν, Demosth. *de fals. leg.* p. 381 12 κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς συμμαχοῖς διδόναι.

**P. 153**, § 2, l. 6 *add*:—

Cf. Vell. Paterc. II 25, 2; Liv. *Epitom.* LXXXV, Cic. *Philipp.* XII II, 27 *Sulla cum Scipione inter Cales et Teanum, cum alter nobilitatis florem, alter socios belli adhibuisset, de auctoritate senatus, de suffragiis populi, de iure civitatis leges inter se et condiciones contulerunt. Non tenuit omnino colloquium illud fidem: a vi tamen periculoque afuit.* There is a fragment of Sallust *Hist.* I, 28 which apparently refers to this conference: *cuius (i. e. Sertorii, cf. Plut. Sertor. c. 6) adversa voluntate colloquio militibus permissio (sc. a Scipione) corruptio facta paucorum et exercitus Sullae datus est.*

**P. 162**, ch. XXVIII § 8, l. 1 *for exercitus read exercitum.*  
*ib.* l. 67 *at the end of note add*:—

Cf. Valer. Max. IX 13, 2; Liv. *Epit.* LXXXIX, Plut. *Pomp.* c. 10, Sallust *Hist.* I fr. 42.

**P. 166**, ch. XXIX § 6, l. 49 *add to the exx. quoted*:—Plut. *Galb.* c. 7 ταῦτ' ἀπαγγελλόμενα λαμπρὸν ἦρε τὸν Γάλβαν, *Phoc.* c. 23 λαμπρὸς ἦρθη, *Eumen.* c. 8, 1 δόξη μὲν ἦρθη μέγας, Plat. *Protag.* p. 327 C οὗτος ἂν ἐλλόγιμος ἠξήθη, *de rep.* VIII p. 565 C τρέφειν τε καὶ αὔξειν μέγαν.

**P. 168**, § 1, l. 1 *add*:—

There is a fragment in the *Historiae* of Sallust (I, 33) which refers to this escape: *ut Sullani in fugam componerent.*

**P. 169**, § 4, l. 25 *add*:—

Kritz suggests that these words may have been borrowed from Sallust *Hist.* fr. 39 *quo patefactum est rempublicam praedae, non libertati repetitam.* Cf. Appian *B. C.* I cc. 98, 99, Valer. Max. 7, 6, 4: *C. Mario et Cn. Carbone coss. bello civili cum L. Sulla dissidentibus, quo tempore non reipublicae victoria quaerebatur sed praemium victoriae res erat publica.*

**P. 170**, § 5, l. 31 *add*:—

*ib.* 28, 2 *videbantur finita civilis belli mala, cum Sullae crudelitate aucta sunt. Quippe dictator creatus—imperio in immodicae crudelitatis licentiam usus est, Sallust Hist.* I fr. 34 *mox tanta flagitia in tali viro pudet dicere, comp. with Augustin. de civ. Dei* II, 18: *dicit deinde plura Sallustius de Sullae vitiis ceteraque foeditate reipublicae.*

**P. 172**, § 3, l. 18 *add*:—

Cf. Appian *B. C.* I, 95 sqq., Sallust *Cat.* 51, 34, *Hist.* I fr. 36, 45, 17—18, Cic. *de leg. agr.* 2, 21, 56; *or. in Verr.* 3, 35, 81; *or. p. dom.* 17, 43; *or. p. Quinct.* 24, 76; Aug. *de civ. Dei* 3, 28.

**P. 176**, § 2, l. 16 *add*:—

Cf. August. *de civ. Dei* 3, 28, Sallust *Hist.* 1 fr. 35: *ut in M. Mario, cui fracta prius crura, bracchia, et oculi effossi, scilicet ut per singulos artus expiraret.*

**P. 178**, ch. XXXIII § 1, l. 6 **δημεύσεως**: This was the punishment inflicted on Julius Caesar, when he refused to divorce his wife at the bidding of Sulla. See Suet. *Iul. Caes.* c. 1 who says that Caesar was *et sacerdotio et uxoris dote et gentiliciis hereditatibus multatus*. These however were restored to him at the urgent entreaty of his friends.

**P. 180**, § 3, l. 17 **γαμετὴν ἀφεῖναι**: Velleius Paterculus *Hist. rom.* II 41 says of Julius Caesar: *Cinnae filiam ut repudiaret nullo metu compelli potuit, cum M. Piso consularis Anniam, quae Cinnae uxor fuerat, in Sullae dimisisset gratiam, Sueton. vit. Iul. Caes. c. 1 Corneliam Cinnae quater consulis filiam duxit uxorem, neque ut repudiaret compelli a dictatore Sulla ullo modo potuit.*

**P. 184**, ch. XXXIV § 4, l. 31 *add*:—

The *Histories* of Sallust (I, 45) contain the full speech of Lepidus against Sulla (*M. Aemili Lepidi consulis ad populum Romanum oratio contra Sullam*) couched in very bitter language. See *Introd.* p. lvi—lxii.







## ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΣΥΛΛΑΣ

Ed. Francof.  
1620  
Ed. Paris  
1624

1 Λεύκιος δὲ Κορνήλιος Σύλλας γένει μὲν ἦν ἐκ 45 I  
 πατρικίων, οὓς εὐπατρίδας ἄν τις εἴποι, The lineage of L. Cornelius Sulla.  
 τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ λέγουσι Ῥου-  
 φῖναν ὑπατεῦσαι, καὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῆς τιμῆς ἐπιφανεσ-  
 5 τέραν γενέσθαι τὴν ἀτιμίαν· εὐρέθη γὰρ ἀργυρίου  
 κοίλου κεκτημένος ὑπὲρ δέκα λίτρας, τοῦ νόμου μὴ  
 δίδοντας, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέπεσεν. οἱ δὲ  
 μετ' ἐκείνῳ ἤδη ταπεινὰ πράττοντες δι-  
 10 ετέλεσαν, αὐτὸς τε Σύλλας ἐν οὐκ ἀφθό- His early life.  
 νοις ἐτράφη τοῖς πατρώοις. γενόμενος δὲ μεράκιον 2  
 ᾧκει παρ' ἑτέροις ἐνοίκιον οὐ πολὺ τελῶν, ὡς ὕστερον  
 ᾧνειδίξετο παρ' ἀξίαν εὐτυχεῖν δοκῶν. σεμννομένῳ  
 μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ μεγαληγοροῦντι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ  
 15 στρατείαν λέγεται τις εἰπεῖν τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ γαθῶν  
 ἀνδρῶν 'καὶ πῶς ἂν εἴης σὺ χρηστός, ὃς τοῦ πατρός  
 σοι μηδὲν καταλιπόντος τοσαῦτα κέκτησαι;' καὶ γὰρ 3  
 οὐκέτι τῶν βίων ἐν ἡθεσιν ὀρθίοις καὶ καθαροῖς με-  
 ὄντων, ἀλλ' ἐγκεκλικότων καὶ παραδεδεγμένων τρυφῆς  
 καὶ πολυτελείας ζῆλον, εἰς ἴσον ὅμως ὕνειδος ἐτίθεντο  
 20 τοὺς ὑπάρχουσιν εὐπορίαν ἀπολέσαντας καὶ τοὺς  
 πενίαν πατρώαν μὴ διαφυλάξαντας. ὕστερον δ' ἤδη 4  
 κρατοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποκτινύντος ἀπ-

ελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος, δοκῶν κρύπτειν ἕνα τῶν προγεγραμμένων καὶ κατακρημνίζεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο μέλλων, ὠνείδισε τὸν Σύλλαν ὅτι πολὺν χρόνον ἐν μιᾷ <sup>25</sup> συνοικίᾳ διητῶντο, φέροντες ἐνοίκιον αὐτὸς μὲν τῶν ἄνω δισχιλίους νούμμους, ἐκείνος δὲ τῶν ὑποκάτω τρισχιλίους, ὥστε τῆς τύχης αὐτῶν τὸ μεταξὺ χιλίους εἶναι νούμμους, οἱ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς δύνανται. 30

- II Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἱστοροῦσι περὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τοῦ Σύλλα τύχης, τοῦ δὲ σώματος αὐτοῦ τὸ <sup>His personal appearance.</sup> μὲν ἄλλο εἶδος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων φαίνεται, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὀμμάτων γλαυκότητα δεινῶς πικρὰν καὶ ἄκρατον οὔσαν ἢ χροῖα τοῦ προσώπου φοβερῶ- <sup>5</sup> τέραν ἐποίει προσιδεῖν. ἐξήνθει γὰρ τὸ ἐρύθημα τραχὺ καὶ σποράδην καταμεμιγμένον τῇ λευκότητι· πρὸς ὃ καὶ τοῦνομα λέγουσιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τῆς χροῖας ἐπίθετον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι γεφυριστῶν ἐπέσκωψέ τις εἰς τοῦτο ποιήσας ‘συκάμινόν ἐσθ’ ὁ <sup>10</sup>
- 2 Σύλλας ἀλφίτῳ πεπασμένον.’ τοῖς δὲ τοιοῦτοις τῶν <sup>His native sense of humour led him to a fondness for the society of comedians, even in his later life.</sup> τεκμηρίων οὐκ ἄτοπόν ἐστι χρῆσθαι περὶ ἀνδρὸς ὃν οὕτω φιλοσκώμονα φύσει <sup>45</sup> 2 γεγονέναι λέγουσιν ὥστε νέον μὲν ὄντα καὶ ἄδοξον ἔτι μετὰ μίμων καὶ γελωτο- <sup>15</sup> ποιῶν διαιτᾶσθαι καὶ συνακολασταίνειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ κύριος ἀπάντων κατέστη, συναγαγόντα τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ θεάτρου τοὺς ἰταμωτάτους ὀσημέραι πίνειν καὶ διαπληκτίζεσθαι τοῖς σκώμμασι, τοῦ τε γήρως ἀωρότερα πράττειν δοκοῦντα καὶ πρὸς τῷ καταισχ- <sup>20</sup> ὕνειν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς πολλὰ τῶν δεομένων ἐπι- <sup>3</sup> 3 μελείας προϊέμενον. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τῷ Σύλλᾳ περὶ δεῖπνον ὄντι χρήσασθαι σπουδαῖον οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἐνερ-

γὸς ὢν καὶ σκυθρωπότερος παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον  
 25 ἀθρόαν ἐλάμβανε μεταβολὴν ὁπότε πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν  
 εἰς συνουσίαν καταβάλοι καὶ πότον, ὥστε μιμῶδοις  
 καὶ ὀρχησταῖς τιθασὸς εἶναι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἔντευξιν  
 ὑποχείριος καὶ κατάντης. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνέσεως  
 ἔοικε γεγενῆσθαι νόσημα καὶ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτας  
 30 εὐχέρεια καὶ ῥύσις αὐτοῦ τῆς φιληδονίας, ἧς οὐδὲ  
 γηράσας ἐπαύσατο. καὶ συνήνητησεν αὐτῷ τὸ τοιοῦ- 4  
 τον· ἀρξάμενος γὰρ ἐρᾶν κοινῆς μὲν εὐπόρου δὲ  
 γυναικός, ὄνομα Νικοπόλεως, καὶ διὰ συνήθειαν καὶ  
 χάριν, ἣν ἀφ' ὥρας εἶχεν, εἰς ἐρωμένου σχῆμα περιελ-  
 35 θῶν, ἀπελείφθη κληρονόμος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρώπου τελευτ-  
 ώσης. ἐκληρονόμησε δὲ καὶ τὴν μητριαν ἀγαπηθεὶς  
 ὥσπερ υἱὸς ὑπ' αὐτῆς.

III Καὶ μετρίως μὲν ἀπὸ τούτων εὐπόρησεν, ἀπο-  
 δειχθεὶς δὲ ταμίας ὑπατεύοντι Μαρίῳ  
 τὴν πρῶτην ὑπατείαν συνεξέπλευσεν εἰς  
 Λιβύην πολεμήσων Ἰογόρθαν. γενόμε-  
 5 νος δὲ ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου τά τε ἄλλα  
 παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐδόκιμον, καὶ καιρῷ παραπεσύντι  
 χρησάμενος εὖ φίλον ἐποίησατο τὸν τῶν Νομάδων  
 βασιλέα Βόκχον· πρεσβευτὰς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ληστήριον  
 Νομαδικὸν ἐκφυγόντας ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ φιλοφρον-  
 10 ηθεὶς, δῶρα καὶ πομπὴν ἀσφαλῆ παρασχὼν ἀπέστειλεν.  
 ὁ δὲ Βόκχος ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἔτι γε πάλαι γαμβρὸν 2  
 ὄντα μισῶν καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Ἰογόρθαν, τότε δὲ  
 ἠττημένῳ καὶ πεφευγῶτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλεύων  
 ἐκάλει τὸν Σύλλαν, δι' ἐκείνου μάλιστα βουλόμενος  
 15 τὴν σύλληψιν καὶ παράδοσιν τοῦ Ἰογόρθα γενέσθαι  
 ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ. κοινωσάμενος δὲ τῷ Μαρίῳ καὶ λαβὼν  
 στρατιώτας ὀλίγους ὁ Σύλλας τὸν μέγιστον ὑπέδου

His appoint-  
 ment as quaestor  
 to Gaius Marius  
 in the campaign  
 against Jugurtha.

κίνδυνον, ὅτι βαρβάρῳ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους ἀπίστῳ πιστεύσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν ἕτερον  
 3 ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείρισεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ὁ Βόκχος ἀμφοτέ- 20  
 ρων κύριος γενόμενος, καὶ καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ παρασπονδῆσαι τὸν ἕτερον, καὶ πολλὰ

Treacherous  
 surrender of Ju-  
 gurtha by Boc-  
 chus, King of  
 Numidia, to the  
 Romans.

διενεχθεὶς τῇ γνώμῃ, τέλος ἐκύρωσε τὴν  
 πρώτην προδοσίαν καὶ παρέδωκε τῷ  
 Σύλλᾳ τὸν Ἰογόρθαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν θριαμ- 25  
 βεύων ἐπὶ τούτῳ Μάριος ἦν, ἡ δὲ δόξα τοῦ

κατορθώματος, ἦν ὁ Μαρίου φθόνος Σύλλᾳ προσετί-  
 2 θει, παρελύπει τὸν Μάριον ἡσυχῇ. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς  
 ὁ Σύλλας φύσει τε μέγалаυχος ὢν καὶ τότε πρῶτον  
 ἐκ βίου ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἀγνώτος ἐν τινι λόγῳ γεγονῶς 30  
 παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι γενόμενος εἰς  
 τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας προῆλθεν ὥστε γλυψάμενος ἐν  
 δακτυλίῳ φορεῖν εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως, καὶ ταύτῃ γε  
 χρώμενος αἰεὶ διετέλεσεν. ἦν δ' ἡ γραφὴ Βόκχος μὲν  
 παραδιδούς Σύλλᾳ δὲ παραλαμβάνων τὸν Ἰογόρθαν. 35

IV Ἦνία μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τὸν Μάριον ἔτι δὲ ἡγούμενος  
 ἐλάττονα τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι τὸν Σύλλαν  
 ἐχρήτο πρὸς τὰς στρατείας, τὸ μὲν δεύ-  
 5 τερον ὑπατεύων πρεσβευτῇ τὸ δὲ τρίτον  
 χιλιάρχῳ, καὶ πολλὰ δι' ἐκείνου τῶν 5  
 χρησίμων κατωρθούτο· πρεσβεύων τε γὰρ ἡγεμόνα  
 Τεκτοσάγων Κόπιλλον εἶλε, καὶ χιλιάρχων μέγα καὶ  
 πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος Μαρσοὺς ἔπεισε φίλους γενέσ-  
 2 θαι καὶ συμμάχους Ῥωμαίων. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὸν  
 Μάριον αἰσθόμενος ἀχθόμενον αὐτῷ καὶ μηκέτι προ- 453  
 ἶεμενον ἠδέως πράξεων ἀφορμὰς ἄλλ' ἐνιστάμενον τῇ 11

His doings un-  
 der Catulus.

αὐξήσει, Κάτλῳ τῷ συνάρχοντι τοῦ  
 Μαρίου προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, ἀνδρὶ χρησ-

τῷ μὲν ἀμβλυτέρῳ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας. ὑφ' οὗ  
 15 τὰ πρῶτα καὶ μέγιστα πιστευόμενος εἰς δύναμιν ἅμα  
 δόξῃ προήει. καὶ πολέμῳ μὲν αἰρεῖ πολὺ μέρος τῶν 3  
 ἐν ταῖς Ἑλλεσι βαρβάρων, ἐπιλιπούσης δὲ τῆς ἀγο-  
 ρᾶς ἀναδεξάμενος τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοσαύτην ἐποίησε  
 περιουσίαν ὥστε τῶν Κάτλου στρατιωτῶν ἐν ἀφθό-  
 20 νοις διαγόντων καὶ τοῖς Μαρίου προσπαρασχεῖν, ἐφ'  
 ᾧ φησὶν αὐτὸς ἰσχυρῶς ἀνιᾶσαι τὸν Μάριον. ἢ μὲν 4  
 οὖν ἔχθρα βραχείαν οὕτω καὶ μεираκιώδη λαβοῦσα τὴν  
 πρώτην ὑπόθεσιν καὶ ἀρχήν, εἶτα χωροῦσα δι' αἵματος  
 ἐμφυλίου καὶ στάσεων ἀνηκέστων ἐπὶ τυραννίδα καὶ  
 25 σύγχυσιν ἀπάντων πραγμάτων ἀπέδειξε τὸν Εὐριπί-  
 δην σοφὸν ἄνδρα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιστήμονα νοσημά-  
 των, διακελευσάμενον φυλάττεσθαι τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ὡς  
 ὀλεθριωτάτην καὶ κακίστην δαίμονα τοῖς χρωμένοις.

V Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οἰόμενος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμ-  
 ικῶν δόξαν ἐπὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς πράξεις  
 διαρκεῖν, καὶ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατ-  
 είας εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου πρᾶξιν, ἐπὶ  
 5 στρατηγίαν πολιτικὴν ἀπεγράψατο καὶ διεψεύσθη·  
 τὴν δ' αἰτίαν τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀνατίθησιν· φησὶ γὰρ αὐ-  
 τοὺς τὴν πρὸς Βόκχον εἰδότας φιλίαν, καὶ προσδεχο-  
 μένους, εἰ πρὸ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀγορανομοίῃ, κυνηγέ-  
 σια λαμπρὰ καὶ Λιβυκῶν θηρίων ἀγῶνας, ἑτέρους  
 10 ἀποδείξαι στρατηγοὺς ὡς αὐτὸν ἀγορανομεῖν ἀναγκά-  
 σοντας. ἔοικε δὲ τὴν ἀληθῆ τῆς ἀποτεύξεως αἰτίαν 2  
 οὐχ ὁμολογῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἐλέγχεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν·  
 ἐνιαυτῷ γὰρ κατόπιν ἔτυχε τῆς στρατηγίας, τοῦ δήμου  
 τὸ μὲν τι θεραπείᾳ τὸ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι προσαγαγό-  
 15 μενος. διὸ δὴ καὶ στρατηγοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς  
 Καίσαρα μετ' ὀργῆς εἰπόντος ὡς χρήσεται τῇ ἰδίᾳ

He becomes a  
 candidate for the  
 praetorship,

πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐξουσία, γελήσας ὁ Καῖσαρ ὀρθῶς ἔφη  
 ‘τὴν ἀρχὴν ἰδίαν νομίζεις· ἔχεις γὰρ αὐτὴν πριά-  
 3 <sup>is appointed to</sup> <sup>Cappadocia.</sup> μενος.’ μετὰ δὲ τὴν στρατηγίαν εἰς τὴν  
 Καππαδοκίαν ἀποστέλλεται, τὸν μὲν 20  
 ἐμφανῆ λόγον ἔχων πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν Ἀριοβαρ-  
 ζάνην καταγαγεῖν, αἰτίαν δ’ ἀληθῆ Μιθριδάτην  
 ἐπισχεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦντα καὶ περιβαλλόμενον  
 ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς ὑπαρχούσης.  
 ἰδίαν μὲν οὖν δύναμιν οὐ πολλὴν ἐπήγετο, χρησάμενος 25  
 δὲ τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμοις, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν  
 Καππαδοκῶν πλείονας δ’ αὖθις Ἀρμενίων προσβοη-  
 4 θοῦντας ἀποκτείνας, Γόρδιον μὲν ἐξήλασεν, Ἀριοβαρ-  
 ζάνην δ’ ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα. διατρίβοντι δ’ αὐτῷ  
<sup>His interview</sup> <sup>with Orobazos the</sup> <sup>Parthian ambas-</sup> <sup>sador.</sup> παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἐντυγχάνει Πάρθος 30  
 Ὀρόβαζος, Ἀρσάκου βασιλέως πρεσ-  
 βευτῆς, οὐπω πρότερον ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμε-  
 μιγμένων τῶν γενῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς μεγάλης  
 δοκεῖ Σύλλα τύχης γενέσθαι, τὸ πρῶτῳ Ῥωμαίων  
 ἐκείνῳ Πάρθους συμμαχίας καὶ φιλίας δεομένους διὰ 35  
 λόγων ἐλθεῖν, ὅτε καὶ λέγεται τρεῖς δίφρους προθέ-  
 5 αὐτῷ, μέσος ἀμφοῖν καθεζόμενος χρηματίζειν. ἐφ’ ᾧ  
 τὸν μὲν Ὀρόβαζον ὕστερον ὁ τῶν Πάρθων βασιλεὺς  
 ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ Σύλλαν οἱ μὲν ἐπήνεσαν ἐντρυφή- 40  
 σαυτα τοῖς βαρβάροις, οἱ δὲ ὡς φορτικὸν ἠτιάσαντο  
 καὶ ἀκαίρως φιλότιμον. ἱστορεῖται δέ τις ἀνὴρ τῶν  
 μετὰ Ὀροβάζου καταβεβηκότων, Χαλδαῖος, εἰς τὸ  
 τοῦ Σύλλα πρόσωπον ἀπιδὼν καὶ ταῖς κινήσει τῆς  
 τε διανοίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος οὐ παρέργως ἐπιστήσας, 45  
 6 ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς τῆς τέχνης ὑποθέσεις τὴν φύσιν ἐπι-  
 σκεψάμενος, εἶπεῖν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον εἶη τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα

μέγιστον γενέσθαι, θαυμάζειν δὲ καὶ νῦν πῶς ἀνέχεται  
 454 μὴ πρῶτος ὢν ἀπάντων. ἀναχωρήσαντι δ' αὐτῷ  
 50 δίκην ἔλαχε δώρων Κηνσωρίνος ὡς πολλὰ He is accused  
of extortion.  
 • χρήματα συνειλοχότι παρὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκ  
 φίλης καὶ συμμάχου βασιλείας. οὐ μὴν ἀπήνητησεν  
 ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπέστη τῆς κατηγορίας.

VI Ἡ μέντοι πρὸς Μάριον αὐτῷ στάσις ἀνερριπίζετο  
 καινὴν ὑπόθεσιν λαβοῦσα τὴν Βόκχου Origin and  
growth of the  
feud between Sul-  
la and Marius.  
 φιλοτιμίαν, ὃς τὸν τε δῆμον ἅμα θερα-  
 πεύων ἐν Ῥώμῃ καὶ τῷ Σύλλᾳ χαριζό-  
 5 μενος ἀνέθηκε Νίκας ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ τροπαιοφόρους  
 καὶ παρ' αὐτὰς χρυσοῦν Ἰογόρθαν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ Σύλλᾳ  
 παραδιδόμενον. ἐφ' ᾧ τοῦ Μαρίου βαρυθυμουμένου 2  
 καὶ καθαιρεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντος, ἐτέρων δ' ἀμύνειν τῷ  
 Σύλλᾳ, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὅσον οὐπω διακεκαυμένης ὑπ'  
 10 ἀμφοῖν, ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος πάλαι τυφόμενος ἐπὶ  
 τὴν πόλιν ἀναλάμψας τότε τὴν στάσιν ἐπέσχευ. ἐν  
 τούτῳ μεγίστῳ καὶ ποικιλωτάτῳ γενομένῳ καὶ πλείστα  
 κακὰ καὶ βαρυτάτους παρασχόντι κινδύνους Ῥωμαί-  
 οῖς, Μάριος μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποδείξαι μέγα δυναθεὶς ἤλεγχε  
 15 τὴν πολεμικὴν ἀρετὴν ἀκμῆς καὶ ῥώμης δεομένην,  
 Σύλλας δὲ πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου δόξαν ἔσχεν.  
 ἡγεμόνος μεγάλου μὲν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις, μεγίστου  
 δὲ παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις, εὐτυχεστάτου δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς  
 ἐχθροῖς. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔπαθε ταῦτ' Ἰμοθέω 3  
 20 τῷ τοῦ Κόνωνος, ὃς εἰς τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ  
 τὰ κατορθώματα τῶν ἐχθρῶν τιθεμένων  
 καὶ γραφόντων ἐν πίναξι κοιμώμενον  
 ἐκεῖνον, τὴν δὲ Τύχην δικτύῳ τὰς πόλεις περιβάλλου-  
 σαν, ἀγροικιζόμενος καὶ χαλεπαίνων πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα  
 25 ποιῶντας ὡς ἀποστερούμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς

πράξεσι δόξης, ἔφη ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, ἐπανήκων  
 ἐκ στρατείας εὐ κεχωρηκέναι δοκούσης, ‘ ἀλλὰ ταύτης  
 γε τῆς στρατείας οὐδέν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῇ τύχῃ  
 4 μέτεστι.’ πρὸς Τιμόθεον μὲν οὖν φασὶν οὕτω φανέντα  
 φιλότιμον ἀντιμειρακιεύεσθαι τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὥστε μηδὲν 30  
 ἔτι πράξαι λαμπρόν, ἀλλ’ ὅλως ἀποτυγχάνοντα ταῖς  
 πράξεσι καὶ προσκρούοντα τῷ δήμῳ τέλος ἐκπεσεῖν  
 τῆς πόλεως· Σύλλας δ’ οὐ μόνον ἠδέως προσίεμενος τὸν  
 τοιοῦτον εὐδαιμονισμόν καὶ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναύξων  
 καὶ συνεπιθειάζων, τὰ πραττόμενα τῆς τύχης ἐξῆπτεν, 35  
 εἴτε κόμπῳ χρώμενος εἶθ’ οὕτως ἔχων τῇ δόξῃ πρὸς τὸ  
 5 θεῖον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφεν ὅτι  
 τῶν καλῶς αὐτῷ βεβουλευσθαι δοκούντων αἱ μὴ κατὰ  
 γνώμην ἀλλὰ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀποτολμώμεναι πράξεις  
 ἐπιπτον εἰς ἄμεινον. ἔτι δὲ καὶ δι’ ὧν φησὶ πρὸς 40  
 τύχην εὐ πεφυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς πόλεμον, τῇ τύχῃ  
 τῆς ἀρετῆς πλέον ἔοικε νέμειν καὶ ὅλως ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δαι-  
 μονος ποιεῖν, ὅς γε καὶ τῆς πρὸς Μέτελλον ὁμοιοῖας,  
 ἰσότιμον ἄνδρα καὶ κηδεστήν, εὐτυχίαν τινὰ θεῖαν αι-  
 τιᾶται· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ πράγματα παρέξειν ἐπίδοξον 45  
 ὄντα πρατότατον ἐν τῇ κοινῶνι γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς.  
 6 ἔτι δὲ Λευκόλλῳ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν ἐκείνῳ  
 τὴν γραφὴν ἀνατέθεικε, παραινεῖ μηδὲν οὕτως ἠγεῖσ-  
 θαι βέβαιον ὡς ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ προστάξῃ  
 7 ἡ νύκτωρ τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἐκπεμπομένου δ’ 50  
 αὐτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὸν συμμαχικὸν πόλεμον  
 ἱστορεῖ χάσμα τῆς γῆς μέγα γενέσθαι περὶ Λαουέρνην,  
 ἐκ δὲ τούτου πῦρ ἀναβλῦσαι πολὺ καὶ φλόγα λαμ-  
 7 πρὰν στηρίσαι πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν. εἰπεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 μάντεις ὡς ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὄψει διάφορος καὶ περιττὸς 55  
 ἄρξας ἀπαλλάξει τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς τὰς παρούσας.

His firm belief  
in dreams.

τούτου δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναί φησιν ὁ Σύλλας· τῆς μὲν γὰρ  
 ἕψεως ἴδιον εἶναι τὸ περὶ τὴν κόμην χρυσωπὸν,  
 ἀρετὴν δ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθαι· μαρτυρῶν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ  
 60 πρᾶξεις καλὰς οὕτω καὶ μεγάλας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
 περὶ τῆς ὀσιότητος, τὸν δ' ἄλλον τρόπον His manifold  
inconsistencies.  
 ἀνώμαλός τις ἔοικε γεγονέναι καὶ διάφο-  
 455 ρος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, ἀφελέσθαι πολλὰ, χαρίσασθαι  
 πλείονα, τιμῆσαι παραλόγως, παραλόγως ἐφυβρίσαι,  
 65 θεραπεύειν ὧν δέοιτο, θρύπτεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς δεομέ-  
 νους, ὥστ' ἀγνοεῖσθαι πότερον ὑπερόπτης φύσει μᾶλ-  
 λον ἢ κόλαξ γέγονε. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις 8  
 ἀνωμαλίαν, ἐξ ὧν ἔτυχεν αἰτιῶν ἀποτυμπανίζοντος  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ πάλιν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρᾶως  
 70 φέροντος, καὶ διαλλαττομένου μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις  
 μετ' εὐκολίας, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα προσκρούσματα  
 σφαγαῖς καὶ δημεύσεσιν οὐσιῶν μετιόντος, οὕτως ἄν  
 τις διαιτήσειεν ὡς φύσει μὲν ὀργὴν χαλεπὸν ὄντα καὶ  
 τιμωρητικόν, ὑφίεμενον δὲ τῆς πικρίας λογισμῷ πρὸς  
 75 τὸ συμφέρον. ἐν αὐτῷ γε τούτῳ τῷ συμμαχικῷ 9  
 πολέμῳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ στρατηγικὸν ἄνδρα  
 πρεσβευτήν, Ἀλβίνον ὄνομα, ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις δια-  
 χρησαμένων παρήλθε καὶ οὐκ ἐπέξῆλθεν ἀδίκημα  
 τοσοῦτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνυνόμενος διεδίδου λόγον ὡς  
 80 προθυμοτέροις διὰ τοῦτο χρήσοιτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον  
 αὐτοῖς, ἰωμένοις τὸ ἀμάρτημα δι' ἀνδραγαθίας. τῶν  
 δ' ἐγκαλούντων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καταλύσαι  
 Μάριον διανοούμενος καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους  
 πολέμου τέλος ἔχειν δοκοῦντος ἀποδειχθῆναι στρατ-  
 85 ηγὸς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην, ἐθεράπευε τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρ-  
 ατιάν.

Καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑπάτος μὲν ἀποδείκ- 10

Sulla chosen  
 Consul; his mar-  
 riage with Cae-  
 cilia Metella.

νυται μετὰ Κοΐντου Πομπηίου, πεντή-  
 κοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, γαμεί δὲ γάμον ἐνδοξ-  
 ὄτατον Καικιλίαν τὴν Μετέλλου θυγατ- 90

έρα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως· ἐφ' ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἦδον  
 οἱ δημοτικοί, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐνεμέσων, οὐκ

11 ναν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Τίτος. οὐ μόνην δὲ ταύτην ἔγημεν,  
 ἀλλὰ πρώτην μὲν ἔτι μειράκιον ὦν Ἰλίαν ἔσχε τὴν 95

καὶ θυγάτριον αὐτῷ τεκούσαν, εἶτα μετ' ἐκείνην Αἰλίαν,  
 τρίτην δὲ Κλοιλίαν, ἣν ἀπεπέμψατο μὲν ὡς στείραν  
 ἐντίμως καὶ μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ δῶρα προσθείς, ὀλίγαις  
 δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἀγαγόμενος τὴν Μετέλλαν ἔδοξε

12 διὰ τοῦτο τὴν Κλοιλίαν οὐ καλῶς αἰτιάσασθαι. τὴν 100  
 μέντοι Μετέλλαν ἐν πᾶσι θεραπέων διετέλεσεν, ὥστε  
 καὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον, ὅτε τοὺς περὶ Μάριον φυγά-  
 δας ἐπεθύμει καταγαγεῖν, ἀρνούμενου τοῦ Σύλλα  
 δεόμενον ἐπιβοήσασθαι τὴν Μετέλλαν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ  
 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐλὼν τὸ ἄστυ προσενεχθῆναι τραχύ- 105  
 τερον, ὅτι τὴν Μετέλλαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους γεφυρίζοντες  
 ἔλοιδόρησαν.

VII Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον, τότε δὲ τὴν ὑπατείαν πρὸς

His ambition  
 to have the com-  
 mand of the Mi-  
 thridatic War.

τὰ μέλλοντα μικρὸν ἡγούμενος ἐπτόητο τῇ  
 γνώμῃ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον.

ἀντανίστατο δ' αὐτῷ Μάριος ὑπὸ δοξο-  
 μανίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀγηράτων παθῶν, ἀνὴρ τῷ τε 5  
 σώματι βαρὺς καὶ ταῖς ἔναγχος ἀπειρηκῶς στρα-  
 τεύειαις διὰ γήρας ἐκδήμων καὶ διαποντίων πολέμων  
 2 ἐφιεμένος. καὶ τοῦ Σύλλα πρὸς τὰς ἐπιλιπεῖς πράξ-  
 εις ὀρμήσαντος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτὸς οἰκουρῶν  
 ἔτεκταίνετο τὴν ὀλεθριωτάτην ἐκείνην καὶ ὅσα σύμ- 10  
 παντες οἱ πόλεμοι τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἔβλαψαν ἀπεργ-

ασαμένην στάσιν, ὡς καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς προ-  
 εσήμηνε. πῦρ μὲν γὰρ αὐτόματον ἐκ τῶν  
 τὰ σημεῖα δοράτων ὑποφερόντων ἀνέ- Strange portents  
before the Civil  
War.  
 15 λαμψε καὶ κατεσβέσθη μόλις, κόρακες δὲ  
 τρεῖς τοὺς νεοσσούς εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν προαγαγόντες κατ-  
 έφαγον, τὰ δὲ λείψανα πάλιν εἰς τὴν νεοσσιὰν ἀν-  
 ήνεγκαν. καὶ μυῶν δ' ἐν ἱερῷ χρυσὸν ἀνακείμενον δια- 3  
 φαγόντων μίαν οἱ ζάκοροι πάγη θήλειαν λαμβάνουσιν,  
 20 ἢ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πάγῃ τεκοῦσα πέντε κατανάλωσε τὰ  
 τρία. τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ἐξ ἀνεφέλου καὶ διαίθρου  
 τοῦ περιέχοντος ἤχησε φωνὴ σάλπιγγος ὄξυν ἀπο-  
 τείνουσα καὶ θρηνώδη φθόγγον, ὥστε πάντας ἔκφρονας  
 456 γενέσθαι καὶ καταπτῆξαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος. Τυρρηνῶν  
 25 δ' οἱ λόγιοι μεταβολὴν ἐτέρου γένους The Tuscan  
seers' theory of  
eight periods.  
 ἀπεφαίνοντο καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποση- 4  
 μαίνειν τὸ τέρας. εἶναι μὲν γὰρ ὀκτώ τὰ  
 σύμπαντα γένη, διαφέροντα τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν  
 ἀλλήλων, ἐκάστω δ' ἀφωρίσθαι χρόνων ἀριθμὸν ὑπὸ  
 30 τοῦ θεοῦ συμπεραινόμενον ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ.  
 καὶ ὅταν αὕτη σχῆ τέλος, ἐτέρας ἐνισταμένης κινεῖσ-  
 θαί τι σημεῖον ἐκ γῆς ἢ οὐρανοῦ θαυμάσιον, ὡς δῆλον  
 εἶναι τοῖς πεφροντικόσι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ μεμαθηκόσιν  
 εὐθύς, ὅτι καὶ τρόποις ἄλλοις καὶ βίοις ἀνθρωποι χρώ-  
 35 μενοι γεγονόνασι καὶ θεοῖς ἦττον ἢ μᾶλλον τῶν προτέ-  
 ρων μέλונτες· τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα φασὶν ἐν τῇ τῶν γενῶν 5  
 ἀμείψει λαμβάνειν μεγάλας καινοτομίας, καὶ τὴν  
 μαντικὴν ποτὲ μὲν αὔξεσθαι τῇ τιμῇ καὶ κατατυγ-  
 χάνειν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσι, καθαρὰ καὶ φανερὰ  
 40 σημεῖα τοῦ δαιμονίου προπέμποντος, αὐθις δ' ἐν ἐτέρῳ  
 γένει ταπεινὰ πράττειν, αὐτοσχέδιον οὐσαν τὰ πολλὰ  
 καὶ δι' ἀμυδρῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὀργάνων τοῦ μέλλοντος

ἀπτομένην. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ λογιώτατοι Τυρρηνῶν  
καὶ πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰδέναι δοκοῦντες ἐμυθολό-  
6 γουν, τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου τοῖς μάντεσι περὶ τούτων 45  
σχολαζούσης καὶ καθημένης ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἐνυοῦς  
στρουθὸς εἰσέπτῃ πάντων ὀρώντων τέττιγα φέρων  
τῷ στόματι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκβαλὼν μέρος αὐτοῦ κατ-  
έλιπε, τὸ δ' ἔχων ἀπήλθεν. ὑφειρωῶντο δὴ στάσιν οἱ  
τερατοσκόποι καὶ διαφορὰν τῶν κτηματικῶν πρὸς τὸν 50  
ἀστικὸν ὄχλον καὶ ἀγοραῖον· φωνάεντα γὰρ τοῦτον  
εἶναι καθάπερ τέττιγα, τοὺς δὲ χωρίτας ἀρουραίους.

VIII

Μάριος δὴ προσλαμβάνει δημαρχοῦντα Σουλπί-

League between  
Gaius Marius and  
P. Sulpicius Ru-  
fus.

κιον, ἄνθρωπον οὐδενὸς δεύτερον ἐν ταῖς

ἄκραις κακίαις, ὥστε μὴ ζητεῖν τίνος

ἐστὶν ἐτέρου μοχθηρότερος, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τί

μοχθηρότατος ἑαυτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ὠμότης καὶ τόλμα 5

καὶ πλεονεξία περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν ἀπερίσκεπτος αἰσχροῦ

καὶ παντὸς κακοῦ, ὅς γε τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολιτείαν

ἐξελευθερικοῖς καὶ μετοίκους πωλῶν ἀναφανδὸν ἠρίθ-

2 μει τιμὴν διὰ τραπέζης ἐν ἀγορᾷ κειμένης. ἔτρεφε

δὲ τρισχιλίους μαχαιροφόρους, καὶ πλήθος ἵππικῶν 10

νεανίσκων πρὸς ἅπαν ἐτοίμων περὶ αὐτὸν εἶχεν, οὓς

ἀντισύγκλητον ὠνόμαζε. νόμον δὲ κυρώσας μηδένα

συγκλητικὸν ὑπὲρ δισχιλίας δραχμὰς ὀφείλειν, αὐτὸς

ἀπέλιπε μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ὀφλήματος μυριάδας

τριακοσίας. οὗτος εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀφεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ 15

Μαρίου, καὶ συνταράξας πάντα τὰ πράγματα βία καὶ

σιδήρῳ, νόμους ἔγραφεν ἄλλους τε μοχθηροὺς καὶ τὸν

διδόντα Μαρῖῳ τοῦ Μιθριδατικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡγεμ-

3 ονίαν. ἀπραξίας δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τῶν ὑπάτων ψηφισ-

αμένων, ἐπαγαγὼν αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησιάζουσι περὶ τὸν 20

νεῶν τῶν Διοσκούρων ὄχλον ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ.

τὸ Πομπηίου τοῦ ὑπάτου μειράκιον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνείλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ Πομπήιος λαθὼν ἐξέφυγε. Σύλλας δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου συνδιωχθεὶς ἠναγκάσθη  
 25 προελθὼν τὰς ἀπραξίας λῦσαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν 4 Πομπήιον ἐπάρχοντα παύσας ὁ Σουλπίκιος οὐκ ἀφείλετο τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν ὑπατείαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην στρατείαν μόνον εἰς Μάριον μετ-  
 ἤνεγκε. καὶ πέμπει χιλιάρχους εὐθὺς εἰς  
 30 Νώλαν παραληψομένους τὸ στράτευμα The command of the Mithridatic War transferred from Sulla to Gaius Marius. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Μάριον ἄξοντας.

IX Φθάσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα διαφυγεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, καταλευσάντων τοὺς χιλιάρχους, οἱ περὶ τὸν Μάριον αὐθις ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς Σύλλα φίλους ἀνήρουν καὶ  
 5 χρήματα διήρπαζον αὐτῶν. ἦσαν δὲ μεταστάσεις καὶ φυγαί, τῶν μὲν εἰς πόλιν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, τῶν δ' ἐκέϊσε διαφοιτώντων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ἡ δὲ σύγκλη- 2  
 τος ἦν μὲν οὐχ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Μαρίου καὶ Σουλπίκιου διωκεῖτο προστάγμασι, πυθομένη δὲ τὸν Σύλλαν  
 457 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνειν ἔπεμψε δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν,  
 11 Βρούτον καὶ Σερούλιον, ἀπαγορεύοντας αὐτῷ βαδίζειν. τούτους θρασύτερον Σύλλα διαλεχθέντας ὥρμησαν μὲν ἀνελεῖν οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰς δὲ ῥάβδους κατέκλασαν καὶ τὰς περιπορφύρους ἀφείλοντο καὶ  
 15 πολλὰ περιυβρισμένους ἀπέπεμψαν, αὐτόθεν τε δεινὴν κατήφειαν, ὀρωμένους τῶν στρατηγικῶν παρασῆμων ἐρήμους, καὶ τὴν στάσιν οὐκέτι καθεκτὴν ἀλλ' ἀνήκεστον ἀπαγγέλλοντας. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν Μάριον 3  
 20 ἔξ τάγματα τέλεια μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἀπὸ Νώλης ἐκίνει, τὸν μὲν στρατὸν

March of Sulla with his army upon Rome.

ὀρώων πρόθυμον ὄντα χωρεῖν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν,  
 ἐνδοιάζων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ παρ' ἑαυτῷ καὶ δεδοικῶς τὸν  
 κίνδυνον. ὁ δὲ μάντις Ποιστούμιος θύσαντος αὐτοῦ  
 καταμαθὼν τὰ σημεῖα, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας τῷ <sup>25</sup>  
 Σύλλᾳ προτείνας, ἠξίου δεθῆναι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι  
 μέχρι τῆς μάχης, ὡς, εἰ μὴ πάντα ταχὺ καὶ καλῶς  
 αὐτῷ συντελεσθείη, τὴν ἐσχάτην δίκην ὑποσχεῖν  
<sup>4</sup> βουλόμενος. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ  
 Σύλλᾳ φανῆναι θεὸν ἦν τιμῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ Καπ- <sup>30</sup>  
 παδοκῶν μαθόντες, εἴτε δὴ Σελήνην οὖσαν εἴτ' Ἀθη-  
 ναῖν εἴτ' Ἐννῶ. ταύτην ὁ Σύλλας ἔδοξεν ἐπιστᾶσαν  
 ἐγχειρίσαι κεραυνὸν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἕκαστον  
 ὀνομάζουσαν τῶν ἐκείνου βάλλειν κελεῦσαι, τοὺς δὲ  
 πίπτειν βαλλομένους καὶ ἀφανίζεσθαι. θαρσήσας δὲ <sup>35</sup>  
 τῇ ὄψει καὶ φράσας τῷ συνάρχοντι μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ  
<sup>5</sup> τὴν Ῥώμην ἠγεῖτο. καὶ περὶ Πικτὰς αὐτῷ πρεσβείας  
 ἐντυχούσης καὶ δεομένης μὴ βαδίζειν εὐθύς ἐξ ἐφόδου,  
 πάντα γὰρ ἔσεσθαι τὰ δίκαια τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισα-  
 μένης, ὡμολόγησε μὲν αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύσειν <sup>40</sup>  
 καὶ διαμετρεῖν ἐκέλευε χώρας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, τῷ στρα-  
 τοπέδῳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥστε τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπελθεῖν  
 πιστεύσαντας· ἐκείνων δ' ἀπελθόντων εὐθύς ἐκπέμφσας  
 Λεύκιον Βάσιλλον καὶ Γάιον Μόμμιον καταλαμβάνει  
 τὴν πύλην δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τὰ περὶ τὸν λόφον <sup>45</sup>  
 τὸν Αἰσκυλίον· εἴτ' αὐτὸς ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ συνῆπτε.  
<sup>6</sup> τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Βάσιλλον εἰς τὴν πόλιν  
 ἐμπεσόντων καὶ κρατούντων, ὁ πολὺς  
 καὶ ἄνοπλος δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν κερά-  
 μω καὶ λίθῳ βάλλοντες ἐπέσχον αὐτ- <sup>50</sup>  
 οὺς τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν καὶ συνέστειλαν εἰς τὸ  
 τεῖχος. ἐν τούτῳ δ' ὁ Σύλλας παρῆν ἤδη, καὶ

<sup>6</sup> Conflict between Sulla's troops and the partisans of Gaius Marius and P. Sulpicius Rufus.

συνιδῶν τὸ γινόμενον ἐβόα τὰς οἰκίας ὑφάπτειν, καὶ λαβὼν δᾶδα καιομένην ἐχώρει πρῶτος αὐτός, καὶ  
 55 τοὺς τοξότας ἐκέλευε χρῆσθαι τοῖς πυροβόλοις ἄνω τῶν στεγασμάτων ἐφιεμένους, κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν ἀλλ' ἐμπαθῆς ὦν καὶ τῷ θυμῷ παραδεδωκῶς τὴν τῶν πρassoμένων ἡγεμονίαν, ὅς γε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς μόνον ἑώρα, φίλους δὲ καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους εἰς οὐδένα  
 60 λόγον θέμενος οὐδ' οἶκτον κατῆει διὰ πυρός, ᾧ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ μὴ διάγνωσις οὐκ ἦν. τούτων δὲ γινομένων Μάριος ἐξωσθεὶς πρὸς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν ἐκάλει διὰ κηρύγματος ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸ οἰκετικόν, ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων κρατηθεὶς ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως.

X Σύλλας δὲ τὴν βουλήν συναγαγὼν καταψηφίζεται θάνατον αὐτοῦ τε Μαρίου καὶ ὀλίγων ἄλλων, ἐν οἷς Σουλπίκιος ἦν ὁ δήμαρχος. ἀλλὰ Σουλπίκιος μὲν ἀπεσφάγη προδο-  
 5 θεὶς ὑπὸ θεράποντος, ὃν ὁ Σύλλας ἠλευθέρωσεν, εἶτα κατεκρήμνισε, Μαρίῳ δ' ἐπεκῆρυξεν ἀργύριον, οὐκ εὐγνωμόνως οὐδὲ πολιτικῶς, ᾧ γε μικρὸν ἔμ-προσθεν ὑποχείριον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀσφα-  
 2 λῶς ἀφείθη. καίτοι Μαρίῳ τότε μὴ διέντι Σύλλαν ἀλλ' ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Σουλπικίου προεμένῳ πάντων κρατεῖν ὑπῆρχεν· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐφείσατο, καὶ μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρασχὼν οὐκ ἔτυχε τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Σύλλας τὴν μὲν σύγκλητον ἀδήλως ἠνίασεν,  
 14 ἢ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δυσμένεια καὶ νέμεσις αὐτῷ 3  
 458 φανερὰ δι' ἔργων ἀπήντα. Νώνιον μὲν γε τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ Σερουήιον ἀρχὰς μετιόντας ἀποψηφισάμενοι καὶ καθυβρίσαντες ἐτέρους κατέστησαν ἄρχοντας, οὓς μάλιστα τιμῶντες ᾤοντο λυπεῖν ἐκείνους. ὁ δὲ τούτοις τε προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ὡς τοῦ δήμου

Flight of Marius from Rome. Measures of Sulla against his political opponents.

τῷ ποιεῖν ἂ βούλοιτο δι' αὐτὸν ἀπολαύοντας τῆς 20  
 ἐλευθερίας καί, θεραπεύων τὸ τῶν πολλῶν μῖσος,  
 ὑπατον κατέστησεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως Λεύ-  
 κιον Κίνναν ἀραῖς καὶ ὄρκους καταλαβὼν εὐνοήσειν  
 4 τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πράγμασιν. ὁ δ' ἀναβὰς εἰς τὸ Καπιτ-  
 ῶλιον ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ λίθον ὤμνυεν, εἶτα ἐπαρα- 25  
 σάμενος ἑαυτῷ μὴ φυλάττοντι τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνου  
 εὐνοίαν ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πόλεως ὥσπερ ὁ λίθος διὰ τῆς  
 χειρός, κατέβαλε χαμᾶζε τὸν λίθον οὐκ ὀλίγων παρ-  
 ὄντων. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθύς ἐπεχειρεῖ  
 τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν, καὶ δίκην ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν παρ- 30  
 εσκευάσασκε καὶ κατηγορεῖν ἐπέστησεν Οὐεργίνιον, ἕνα  
 τῶν δημάρχων, ὃν ἐκείνος ἅμα τῷ δικαστηρίῳ χαίρειν  
 εἶσας ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ἀπήρην.

XI Λέγεται δὲ ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας ἐν αἷς ὁ Σύλ-  
 λας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκίνει τὸν στόλον,  
 Departure of Sulla for Greece. ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Μιθριδάτῃ διατρίβοντι  
 περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον ἐπισκῆψαι δαιμόνια, καὶ Νίκην  
 στεφανηφόρου καθιεμένην ὑπὸ τῶν Περγαμηνῶν ἐπ' 5  
 αὐτὸν ἐκ τινῶν ὀργάνων ἄνωθεν ὅσον οὐπὼ τῆς κεφα-  
 λῆς ψαύουσαν συντριβῆναι, καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἐκπεσ-  
 ὄντα κατὰ τοῦ θεάτρου φέρεσθαι χαμᾶζε διαθρυπτό-  
 μενον, ὥστε φρίκην μὲν τῷ δήμῳ ἀθυμίαν δὲ πολλὴν  
 Μιθριδάτῃ παρασχεῖν, καίπερ αὐτῷ τότε τῶν πραγ- 10  
 2 μάτων ἐλπίδος πέρα προχωροῦντων. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ  
 Ἄσιαν τε Ῥωμαίων καὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ  
 Extent of the kingdom of Mi- Καππαδοκίαν τῶν βασιλέων ἀφηρημένος  
 thruidates. ἐν Περγᾶμῳ καθῆστο, πλούτους καὶ δυνα-  
 στείας καὶ τυραννίδας διανέμων τοῖς φίλοις, τῶν δὲ 15  
 παίδων ὁ μὲν ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Βοσπόρῳ τὴν παλαιὰν  
 ἄχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μαιώτιν ἀοικήτων ἀρχὴν κατεῖχεν

οὐδενὸς παρενοχλοῦντος, Ἀριαράθης δὲ Θράκην καὶ  
 Μακεδονίαν ἐπήει στρατῷ μεγάλῳ προσαγόμενος.  
 20 ἄλλους δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τόπους ἐχειροῦντο δυνάμεις 3  
 ἔχοντες, ὧν ὁ μέγιστος Ἀρχέλαος ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν  
 ὁμοῦ τι συμπάσης ἐπικρατῶν τῆς θαλάττης τὰς τε  
 Κυκλάδας νήσους ἐδουλοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι  
 Μαλέας ἐντὸς ἴδρυνται, καὶ τὴν Εὐβοίαν αὐτὴν εἶχεν,  
 25 ἐκ δ' Ἀθηνῶν ὀρμώμενος τὰ μέχρι Θετταλίας ἔθνη  
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφίστη, μικρὰ προσκρούσας περὶ Χαι-  
 ρώνειαν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτῷ Βρέττιος 4  
 Σούρρας ἀπήνητησε, πρεσβευτῆς μὲν ὧν  
 Σέντιου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς Μακεδονίας, ἀνὴρ δὲ  
 30 τόλμη καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρων. οὗτος Ἀρχελάῳ δίκην  
 ρεύματος φερομένῳ διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπὶ πλείστου  
 ἀντιστάς, καὶ τρισὶ μάχαις διαγωνισάμενος περὶ  
 Χαιρώνειαν, ἐξέωσε καὶ συνέστειλε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 θάλατταν. Λευκίου δὲ Λευκόλλου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν 5  
 35 ὑποχωρεῖν ἐπιόντι Σύλλῃ καὶ τὸν ἐψηφισμένου  
 ἐκείνῳ ἔαν πόλεμον, εὐθύς ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Βοιωτίαν  
 ὀπίσω πρὸς Σέντιον ἀπήλαυσε, καίπερ αὐτῷ τῶν  
 πραγμάτων ἐλπίδος πέρα προχωρούντων καὶ τῆς  
 Ἑλλάδος οἰκείως ἐχούσης πρὸς μεταβολὴν διὰ τὴν  
 40 ἐκείνου καλοκαγαθίαν.

XII Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Βρεττίῳ μὲν ταῦτα λαμπρότατα τῶν  
 πεπραγμένων· Σύλλας δὲ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις  
 εὐθύς εἶχεν ἐπιπρεσβενομένας καὶ καλούσας, ταῖς δ'  
 Ἀθήναις διὰ τὸν τύραννον Ἀριστίωνα Blockade of  
Athens and siege  
of Peiraeus by  
Sulla.  
 5 βασιλεύεσθαι ἠναγκασμέναις ἄθρους  
 ἐπέστη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ περιλαβῶν  
 ἐπολιόρκει, μηχανὴν τε πᾶσαν ἐφιστάς καὶ μάχας  
 παντοδαπὰς ποιούμενος. καίτοι χρόιον οὐ πολὺν 2

ἀνασχομένῳ παρῆν ἀκινδύνως ἐλεῖν τὴν ἄνω πόλιν,  
 ὑπὸ λιμοῦ συνηγμένην ἤδη τῇ χρεῖα τῶν ἀναγκαίων <sup>10</sup>  
 εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν· ἀλλ' ἐπειγόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην  
 καὶ δεδιὼς τὸν ἐκεῖ νεωτερισμὸν, πολλοῖς μὲν κινδύ-  
 νοις πολλαῖς δὲ μάχαις μεγάλαις δὲ δαπάναις κατ- <sup>459</sup>  
 ἔσπευδε τὸν πόλεμον, ᾧ γε δίχα τῆς ἄλλης παρα-  
 σκευῆς ἢ περὶ τὰ μηχανήματα πραγματεία ζεύγεσι <sup>15</sup>  
 μυρίοις ὀρικοῖς ἐχορηγεῖτο, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐνεργοῖς οὔσι  
<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν. ἐπιλειπούσης δὲ τῆς ὕλης διὰ  
 τὸ κόπτεσθαι πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων περικλώμενα τοῖς  
 αὐτῶν βρίθεσι καὶ πυρπολεῖσθαι βαλλόμενα συνεχῶς  
 ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἄλσεσι, καὶ <sup>20</sup>  
 τὴν τε Ἀκαδήμειαν ἔκειρε δενδροφορωτάτην προα-  
 στείων οὔσαν καὶ τὸ Λύκειον. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ χρημάτων  
 ἔδει πολλῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐκίνει τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος  
 ἄσυλα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου τοῦτο δ'  
 ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ πολυτελ- <sup>25</sup>  
 ἔστατα τῶν ἀναθημάτων μεταπεμπό-  
<sup>4</sup> μενος. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν εἰς Δελφούς  
 ὅτι τὰ χρήματα τοῦ θεοῦ βέλτιον εἶη κομισθῆναι πρὸς  
 αὐτόν· ἢ γὰρ φυλάξειν ἀσφαλέστερον ἢ καὶ ἀποχρη-  
 σάμενος ἀποδώσειν οὐκ ἐλάττω· καὶ τῶν <sup>30</sup>  
<sup>Mission of Ka-</sup> φίλων ἀπέστειλε Κάφιν τὸν Φωκέα κελ-  
<sup>phis.</sup> εῦσας σταθμῷ παραλαβεῖν ἕκαστον. ὁ δὲ Κάφισ  
 ἦκε μὲν εἰς Δελφούς, ᾧ κνει δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν θιγεῖν, καὶ  
 πολλὰ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων παρόντων ἀπεδάκρυσε τὴν  
<sup>5</sup> ἀνάγκην. ἐνίων δὲ φασκόντων ἀκοῦσαι φθεγγομένης <sup>35</sup>  
 τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις κιθάρας, εἴτε πιστεύσας εἴτε  
 τὸν Σύλλαν βουλόμενος ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν  
 ἐπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ σκώπτων ἀντέγραψε  
 θαυμάζειν τὸν Κάφιν, εἰ μὴ συνήσιν ὅτι χαίροντος,

40 οὐ χαλεπαίνοντος εἶη τὸ ἄδειν· ὥστε θαρροῦντα λαμβ-  
 άνειν ἐκέλευσεν ὡς ἡδομένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδόντος.  
 τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα διέλαθε τούτῳ γε πολλοὺς Ἑλληνας 6  
 ἐκπεμπόμενα, τὸν δ' ἀργυροῦν πίθον, ὃς ἦν ὑπόλοιπος  
 ἔτι τῶν βασιλικῶν, διὰ βάρους καὶ μέγεθος οὐ δυναμ-  
 45 ἔνων ἀναλαβεῖν τῶν ὑποζυγίων, ἀναγκαζόμενοι  
 κατακόπτειν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες εἰς μνήμην ἐβάλοντο  
 τοῦτο μὲν Τίτου Φλαμινίου καὶ Μάνιον Ἀκύλιον  
 τοῦτο δ' Αἰμίλιον Παῦλον, ὧν ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχον ἐξελά-  
 σασ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς  
 50 καταπολεμήσαντες οὐ μόνον ἀπέσχοντο τῶν ἱερῶν  
 τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δῶρα καὶ τιμὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ  
 σεμνότητα πολλὴν προσέθεσαν. ἀλλ' 7  
 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἀνδρῶν τε σωφρόνων καὶ Sharp contrast  
 μεμαθηκότων σιωπῇ τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρέ- between the con-  
 χειν τὰς χεῖρας ἡγούμενοι κατὰ νόμον, duct of Sulla and  
 αὐτοὶ τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοὶ καὶ ταῖς δαπάναις that of former  
 εὐτελεῖς ὄντες, μετρίοις ἐχρῶντο καὶ τεταγμένοις Roman generals  
 ἀναλώμασι, τὸ κολακεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας αἴσχιον in Greece.  
 ἡγούμενοι τοῦ δεδιέναι τοὺς πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ τότε 8  
 60 στρατηγοὶ βία τὸ πρωτεῖον, οὐκ ἀρετῇ κτώμενοι, καὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἀλλήλους δεόμενοι τῶν ὅπλων ἢ τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, ἡναγκάζοντο δημαγωγεῖν ἐν τῷ στρατηγεῖν,  
 εἶθ' ὧν εἰς τὰς ἡδυπαθείας τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἀν-  
 ἤλισκον ὠνούμενοι τοὺς πόνους αὐτῶν, ἔλαθον ὦνιον  
 65 ὅλην τὴν πατρίδα ποιήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς τε δούλους τῶν  
 κακίστων ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν βελτιόνων ἄρχειν. ταῦτ'  
 ἐξήλαυσε Μάριον, εἶτ' αὐθις ἐπὶ Σύλλαν κατήγε,  
 ταῦτ' Ὀκταουίου τοὺς περὶ Κίνναν, ταῦτα Φλάκκου  
 τοὺς περὶ Φιμβρίαν αὐτόχειρας ἐποίησεν. ὧν οὐχ 9  
 70 ἥκιστα Σύλλας ἐνέδωκεν ἀρχάς, ἐπὶ τῷ διαφθείρει

καὶ μετακαλεῖν τοὺς ὑπ' ἄλλοις ταπτομένους κατα-  
 χορηγῶν εἰς τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ καὶ δαπαν-  
 ὤμενος, ὥστε ἅμα τοὺς ἄλλους μὲν εἰς  
 προδοσίαν τοὺς δὲ ὑφ' αὐτῷ εἰς ἀσωτίαν διαφθείρων  
 χρημάτων δεῖσθαι πολλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὴν 75  
 πολιορκίαν ἐκείνην.

- XIII Δεινὸς γάρ τις ἄρα καὶ ἀπαραίτητος εἶχεν αὐτὸν  
 ἔρωσ ἐλεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας, εἴτε ζήλω τινὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν πάλαι σκιαμαχοῦντα τῆς πόλ-  
 εως δόξαν, εἴτε θυμῷ τὰ σκώμματα  
 φέροντα καὶ τὰς βωμολοχίας αἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν 460  
 Μετέλλαν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐκάστοτε γεφυρίζων καὶ 6  
 κατορχούμενος ἐξηρέθιζεν ὁ τύραννος  
 Ἀριστίων, ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀσελγείας ὁμοῦ  
 2 καὶ ὠμότητος ἔχων συγκειμένην τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ τὰ  
 χεῖριστα τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν συνεργηκότα νοσημάτων 10  
 καὶ παθῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνειληφώς, καὶ τῇ πόλει μυρ-  
 ίους μὲν πολέμους πολλὰς δὲ τυραννίδας καὶ στάσεις  
 διαπεφευγίᾳ πρότερον ὥσπερ νόσημα θανατηφόρον  
 εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους καιροὺς ἐπιτιθέμενος· ὃς χιλίων  
 δραχμῶν ὠνίου τοῦ μεδίμνου τῶν πυρῶν ὄντος ἐν 15  
 ἄστει τότε, τῶν ἀνθρώπων σιτουμένων τὸ  
 3 ὑποδήματα δὲ καὶ ληκύθους ἐφθὰς ἐσθιόντων, αὐτὸς  
 ἐνδελεχῶς πότοις μεθημερινοῖς καὶ κώμοις χρώμενος  
 καὶ πυρριχίζων καὶ γελωτοποιῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμ- 20  
 ίους τὸν μὲν ἱερὸν τῆς θεοῦ λύχρον ἀπεσβηκότα διὰ  
 σπάνιν ἐλαίου περιεῖδε, τῇ δ' ἱεροφάντιδι πυρῶν  
 ἡμίεκτον προσαιτούσῃ πεπέρεως ἐπεμψε, τοὺς δὲ  
 βουλευτὰς καὶ ἱερεῖς ἰκετεύοντας οἰκτεῖραι τὴν πόλιν  
 καὶ διαλύσασθαι πρὸς Σύλλαν τοξεύμασι βάλλων 25

Sulla is the first  
 to demoralise the  
 army.

Sulla's motives  
 for wishing to  
 take Athens.

Aristion.

Famine and dis-  
 tress in Athens.

διεσκέδασεν. ὄψε δ' ἤδη που μόλις ἐξέπεμψεν ὑπὲρ 4  
 εἰρήνης δύο ἢ τρεῖς τῶν συμποτῶν· πρὸς οὓς οὐδὲν  
 ἀξιούντας σωτήριον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Θησέα καὶ τὸν Εὐμολ-  
 πον καὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ σεμνολογουμένους ὁ Σύλλας  
 30 'ἄπιτε' εἶπεν 'ὦ μακάριοι, τοὺς λόγους τούτους  
 ἀναλαμβάνετε· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ φιλομαθίσων εἰς Ἀθήνας  
 ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέμφθην, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀφισταμένους  
 καταστρεψόμενος.'

XIV Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ λέγεται τινες ἐν Κεραμεικῷ πρεσβ-  
 υτῶν ἀκούσαντας διαλεγομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ  
 κακιζόντων τὸν τύραννον, ὡς μὴ φυλάττοντα τοῦ  
 τείχους τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἐπτάχαλκον ἔφοδον καὶ προσ-  
 5 βολήν, ἣ μόνῃ δυνατὸν εἶναι καὶ ῥάδιον ὑπερβῆναι  
 τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπαγγεῖλαι ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν.  
 ὁ δ' οὐ κατεφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπελθὼν νυκτὸς καὶ 2  
 θεασάμενος τὸν τόπον ἀλώσιμον εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου.  
 λέγει δ' αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τὸν πρῶ-  
 10 του ἐπιβάντα τοῦ τείχους Μάρκον Ἀτήιον ἀντιστάν-  
 τος αὐτῷ πολεμίου δόντα πληγὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς τῷ  
 κράνει περικλάσαι τὸ ξίφος, οὐ μὴν ὑφέσθαι τῆς  
 χώρας ἀλλὰ μείναι καὶ κατασχεῖν. κατελήφθη μὲν  
 οὖν ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖθεν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων οἱ <sup>Capture of</sup>  
 15 πρεσβύτατοι διεμνημόνεον· αὐτὸς δὲ <sup>Athens by Sulla.</sup> 3  
 Σύλλας τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραιϊκῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς  
 ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συνομαλύνας περὶ μέσας  
 νύκτας εἰσήλαυε φρικώδης ὑπὸ τε σάλπιγξι καὶ  
 κέρασι πολλοῖς, ἀλαλαγμῷ καὶ κραυγῇ τῆς δυνάμεως  
 20 ἐφ' ἀρπαγὴν καὶ φόνον ἀφειμένης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 φερομένης διὰ (τῶν) στενωπῶν ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς  
 ξίφεσιν, ὥστ' ἀριθμὸν μηδένα γενέσθαι τῶν ἀποσφαγ-  
 ἐντων, ἀλλὰ τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ ῥύεντος αἵματος ἔτι νῦν

4 μετρεῖσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. ἄνευ γὰρ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην  
 πόλιν ἀναιρεθέντων ὁ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν φόνος ἐπέσχε 25  
 πάντα τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Διπύλου Κεραμεικόν· πολλοῖς  
 δὲ λέγεται καὶ διὰ πυλῶν κατακλύσαι τὸ προάστειον.  
 ἀλλὰ τῶν οὕτως ἀποθανόντων τοσούτων γενομένων,  
 οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν οἱ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διαφθείροντες  
 οἴκτῳ καὶ πόθῳ τῆς πατρίδος ὡς ἀναιρεθησομένης. 30  
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἀπογνῶναι καὶ φοβηθῆναι τὴν σωτηρίαν  
 ἐποίησε τοὺς βελτίστους, οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ Σύλλα φιλάν-  
 5 θρωπον οὐδὲ μέτριον ἐλπίσαντας. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦτο  
 μὲν Μειδίου καὶ Καλλιφῶντος τῶν φυγάδων δεομένων  
 καὶ προκυλινδουμένων αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τῶν συγκλητ- 35  
 ικῶν, ὅσοι συνεστράτευον, ἐξαιτουμένων τὴν πόλιν,  
 αὐτὸς τε μεστὸς ὢν ἤδη τῆς τιμωρίας, ἐγκώμιόν τι  
 τῶν παλαιῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπειπὼν ἔφη χαρίζεσθαι  
 6 πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους, ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσιν. ἐλεῖν δὲ 40  
 τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸς φησιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι Μαρτ-  
 40 ίαις καλάνδαις, ἥτις ἡμέρα μάλιστα συμπίπτει τῇ  
 νομηνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τύχην  
 ὑπομνήματα πολλὰ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ὀλέθρου  
 καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐκείνης δρῶσιν, ὡς τότε καὶ περὶ τὸν  
 χρόνον ἐκείνον μάλιστα τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ συμπεσόν- 45  
 7 τος. ἐάλωκότος δὲ τοῦ ἄστεος ὁ μὲν τύραννος εἰς τὴν  
 ἀκρόπολιν καταφυγὼν ἐπολιορκεῖτο, Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ  
 τούτῳ τεταγμένου· καὶ χρόνον ἐγκαρτερ-  
 ἦσας συχνὸν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐνεχείρισε  
 δίψῃ πιεσθείς. καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον εὐθύς 50  
 ἐπεσήμηνε· τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας τε καὶ ὥρας ἐκείνον  
 τε Κουρίων κατῆγε, καὶ νεφῶν ἐξ αἰθρίας συνδραμ-  
 ὄντων πλῆθος ὄμβρου καταρραγὲν ἐπλήρωσεν ὕδατος  
 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. εἶλε δὲ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μετ' οὐ

The Akropolis  
 falls into the hand  
 of Gaius Scri-  
 bonius Curio.

55 πολὺν χρόνον ὁ Σύλλας, καὶ τὰ πλείστα κατέκαυσεν, ὧν ἦν καὶ ἡ Φίλωνος ὀπλοθήκη, θαυμαζόμενον ἔργον.

XV Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ Ταξιίλης ὁ Μιθριδάτου στρατηγὸς

- ἐκ Θράκης καὶ Μακεδονίας καταβεβηκῶς  
δέκα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ μυρίοις ἵππευσι  
καὶ τεθρίπποις ἐνενήκοντα δρεπανηφό-  
5 ροις ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀρχέλαον, ἔτι ναυλο-  
χοῦντα περὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν καὶ μήτε τῆς θαλάττης  
βουλόμενον ἀποστῆναι μήτε πρόθυμον ὄντα συμπλέ-  
κεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν πόλε-  
μον καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖν. ἂ δὲ πολὺ 2  
10 μᾶλλον ἐκείνου συνορῶν ὁ Σύλλας ἀνέξευξεν εἰς Βοιω-  
τίαν ἐκ χωρίων γλίσχρων καὶ μηδ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ τρέφειν  
ἱκανῶν ὄντων. καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐδόκει σφάλλεσθαι  
τὸν λογισμόν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀττικὴν τραχείαν οὔσαν καὶ  
δύσιππον ἀπολιπὼν ἐνέβαλεν ἑαυτὸν πεδιάσι καὶ  
15 ἀναπεπταμέναις ταῖς περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν χώραις, ὁρῶν  
ἐν ἄρμασι καὶ ἵπποις τὴν βαρβαρικὴν οὔσαν ἀλκὴν.  
ἀλλὰ φεύγων, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, λιμὸν καὶ σπάνιν ἠναγ- 3  
κάζετο διώκειν τὸν ἐκ τῆς μάχης κίνδυνον. ἔτι δὲ  
Ἵορτήσιος αὐτὸν ἐφόβει, στρατηγικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ φιλό-  
20 νεικος, ὃν ἐκ Θετταλίας ἄγοντα τῷ Σύλλᾳ δύνάμιν  
ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι παρεφύλαττον. διὰ  
ταῦτα μὲν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀνέξευξεν ὁ Σύλλας·  
Ἵορτήσιον δὲ Κάφισ, ἡμέτερος ὢν, ἐτέραις ὁδοῖς ψευ-  
σάμενος τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ κατήγευ  
25 ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Τιθόραν, οὐπω τοσαύτην πόλιν οὔσαν 4  
ἔση νῦν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ φρούριον ἀπορρῶγι κρημνῷ  
περικοπτόμενον, εἰς ὃ καὶ πάλαι ποτὲ Φωκέων οἱ  
Ξέρξην ἐπιόντα φεύγοντες ἀνεσκεύασαντο καὶ διε-  
σώθησαν. ἐνταῦθα καταστρατοπεδεύσας Ἵορτήσιος

Pontic armies  
enter Greece.  
Archelaos sum-  
moned by Taxiles  
from Peiraeus.

ἡμέρας μὲν ἀπεκρούσατο τοὺς πολεμίους, νύκτωρ δ' ἐπὶ Πατρωνίδα ταῖς δυσχωρίαις καταβὰς ἀπαντήσαντι τῷ Σύλλα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως συνέμιξεν.

Junction of the forces of Sulla and Hortensius.

XVI Γενόμενοι δὲ κοινῇ καταλαμβάνονται βουνὸν ἐκ μέσων ἐστῶτα τῶν Ἑλατικῶν πεδίων, εὐγέων καὶ ἀμφιλαφῆ καὶ παρὰ τὴν ῥίζαν ὕδωρ ἔχοντα· Φιλοβοιωτὸς καλεῖται, καὶ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν θέσιν ἐπαινεῖ θαυμασίως ὁ Σύλλας. στρατοπεδεύσαντες δὲ παντάπασιν ὀλίγοι τοῖς πολεμίους κατεφάνησαν· ἰππεῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐ πλείους πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐγένοντο, πεζοὶ δὲ πεντακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἐλάττους. ὅθεν ἐκβιασάμενοι τὸν Ἀρχέλαον οἱ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ καὶ παρατάξαντες τὴν δύναμιν, ἐνέπλησαν ἵππων ἀρμάτων ἀσπίδων θυρεῶν τὸ πεδίον. τὴν δὲ κραυγὴν καὶ ἀλαλαγμὸν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ ἀῆρ ἔθνῶν τοσοῦτων ἅμα καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν. ἦν δὲ ἅμα καὶ τὸ κομπῶδες καὶ σοβαρὸν αὐτῶν τῆς πολυτελείας οὐκ ἀργὸν οὐδ' ἄχρηστον εἰς ἐκπληξιν, ἀλλ' αἶ τε μαρμαρυγαὶ τῶν ὀπλων ἠσκημένων χρυσῶ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ διαπρεπῶς, αἶ τε βαφαὶ τῶν Μηδικῶν καὶ Σκυθικῶν χιτῶνων ἀναμεμιγμέναι χαλκῶ καὶ σιδήρῳ λάμπουσι πυροειδῆ καὶ φοβερὰν ἐν τῷ σαλεύεσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι προσέβαλον ὄψιν, ὥστε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ὑπὸ τὸν χάρακα συστέλλειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν μηδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ θάμβος αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖν δυνάμενον, βιάζεσθαι τε ἀποδιδράσκοντας οὐ βουλόμενον, ἠσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν βαρέως ἐφυβρίζοντας ὀρώντα κομπασμῶ καὶ γέλῳτι τοὺς βαρβάρους. ὦνησε μέντοι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων αὐτόν. οἱ γὰρ ἐναντίοι καταφρονήσαντες

ἐτράποντο πρὸς ἀταξίαν πολλήν, οὐδ' ἄλλως ὑπήκοοι  
 τῶν στρατηγῶν διὰ πολυαρχίαν ὄντες· (ὥστ') ὀλίγοι  
 30 μὲν ἐν τῷ χάρακι διεκαρτέρουν, ὁ δὲ πλείστος ὄχλος  
 ἀρπαγαῖς καὶ πορθήμασι δελεαζόμενος ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν  
 πολλῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσπείρετο. καὶ τήν  
 τε τῶν Πανοπέων πόλιν ἐκκόψαι λέγονται καὶ τὴν  
 Λεβαδέων διαρπάσαι καὶ συλῆσαι τὸ μαντεῖον, οὐδ-  
 35 ενὸς στρατηγοῦ πρόσταγμα δόντος. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας, ἐν 5  
 ὄμμασιν αὐτοῦ πόλεων ἀπολλυμένων, δυσανασχετῶν  
 καὶ λυπούμενος οὐκ εἶα τοὺς στρατιώτας σχολάζειν,  
 ἀλλὰ προσάγων αὐτοὺς ἠνάγκαζε τὸν τε Κηφιστὸν  
 ἐκ τοῦ ρείθρου παρατρέπειν καὶ τάφρους ὀρύσσειν,  
 40 ἀνάπαυλαν οὐδενὶ διδοὺς καὶ τῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἀπαραί-  
 τητος ἐφεστῶς κυλαστής, ὅπως ἀπαγορεύσαντες πρὸς  
 τὰ ἔργα διὰ τὸν πόνον ἀσπάζωνται τὸν κίνδυνον. ὁ 6  
 καὶ συνέβη· τρίτην γὰρ ἡμέραν ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ  
 Σύλλα παρεξιόντος ἐδέοντο μετὰ κραυγῆς ἄγειν ἐπὶ  
 45 τοῖς πολεμίοις. ὁ δ' οὐ μάχεσθαι βουλομένων ἀλλὰ  
 μὴ βουλομένων πονεῖν ἔφησεν εἶναι τὸν λόγον· εἰ δ'  
 ὄντως ἔχουσιν ἀγωνιστικῶς, ἐκέλευσεν ἤδη μετὰ τῶν  
 ὀπλων ἐλθεῖν ἐκείσε, δείξας αὐτοῖς τὴν πρότερον μὲν  
 γενομένην ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Παραποταμίων, τότε δ' 7  
 50 ἀνηρημένης τῆς πόλεως λόφος ἐλείπετο πετρῶδης καὶ  
 περίκρημνος, τοῦ Ἡδυλίου διωρισμένος ὄρους ὅσον ὁ  
 Ἄσσος ἐπέχει ῥέων· εἶτα συμπίπτων ὑπὸ τὴν ρίζαν  
 αὐτὴν τῷ Κηφισσῷ καὶ συνεκτραχυνόμενος ὄχυράν  
 ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι τὴν ἄκραν ποιεῖ. διὸ καὶ τοὺς  
 55 χαλκᾶσπιδας ὀρών τῶν πολεμίων ὠθουμένους ἐπ'  
 αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἐβούλετο φθῆναι καταλαβὼν τὸν  
 τόπον. καὶ κατέλαβε χρησάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις  
 προθύμοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἐκείθεν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος 8

ἄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Χαιρώνειαν, οἱ δὲ συστρατευσά-  
 μενοι τῶν Χαιρωνέων ἐδέοντο τοῦ Σύλλα μὴ <sup>60</sup>  
 προέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐκπέμπει τῶν χιλιάρχων ἓνα  
 Γαβίνιον μετὰ τάγματος ἐνὸς καὶ τοὺς Χαιρωνεῖς  
 ἀφίησι, βουλευθέντας μὲν, οὐ μὴν δυνηθέντας φθῆναι  
 τὸν Γαβίνιον· οὕτως ἦν ἀγαθὸς καὶ προθυμότερος εἰς  
 τὸ σῶσαι τῶν σωθῆναι δεομένων. ὁ δ' Ἰόβας οὐ <sup>65</sup>  
 Γαβινιὸν φησι πεμφθῆναι, ἀλλ' Ἐρίκιον.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἡμῶν παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐξέφυγε

XVII

Favourable or-  
 mens and oracu-  
 lar prophecies of  
 victory to Sulla.

τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐκ δὲ Λεβαδείας καὶ τοῦ  
 Τροφωνίου φῆμαί τε χρησταὶ καὶ νικη-  
 φόρα μαντεύματα τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐξεπέμ-  
 πουτο.

περὶ ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐπιχώριοι πλείονα λέγουσιν·  
 ὡς δὲ Σύλλας αὐτὸς ἐν δεκάτῳ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων <sup>5</sup>  
 γέγραφε, Κόιντος Τίτιος, οὐκ ἀφανὴς ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 Ἑλλάδι πραγματευομένων, ἦκε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤδη τὴν  
 ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ νενικηκότα μάχην ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι καὶ  
 δευτέραν ὁ Τροφώνιος αὐτόθι μάχην καὶ νίκην προ-  
<sup>2</sup> σημαίνει ἐντὸς ὀλίγου χρόνου. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτου ἀνὴρ <sup>10</sup>  
 τῶν ἐν τάξει στρατευομένων ὄνομα Σαλουήνιος ἀν-  
 ἦνεγκε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τέλος οἶον αἰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν  
 πράξεις ἔμελλον ἔξειν. ἀμφότεροι δὲ ταῦτ' ἀπερὶ τῆς  
 ὁμφῆς ἔφραζον· τῷ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος  
<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν. ἐπειδὴ <sup>15</sup>  
 δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἄσσον ὁ Σύλλας, παρελθὼν ὑπὸ τὸ  
 Ἠδύλιον τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ παρεστρατοπέδευσε, βεβλη-  
 μένῳ χάρακα καρτερόν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀκουτίου καὶ  
 τοῦ Ἠδυλίου πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἀσσοῖσι. ὁ μέντοι <sup>463</sup>  
 τόπος, ἐν ᾧ κατεσκήνωσεν, ἄχρι νῦν Ἀρχέλαος ἀπ' <sup>20</sup>  
 ἐκείνου καλεῖται. διαλιπὼν δὲ μίαν ἡμέραν ὁ Σύλλας  
 Μουρήναν μὲν ἔχοντα τάγμα καὶ σπείρας δύο πρὸς

τὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνοχλήσαι παραταπτομένοις ἀπέλι-  
 πειν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὸν Κηφισσὸν ἐσφαγιάζετο, καὶ 4  
 25 τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένων ἐχώρει πρὸς τὴν Χαι- Sulla's advance  
to Chaironeia.  
 ρώνειαν, ἀναληψόμενός τε τὴν αὐτόθι  
 στρατιὰν καὶ κατοφόμενος τὸ καλούμενον Θούριον ὑπὸ  
 τῶν πολεμίων προκατειλημμένον. ἔστι δὲ κορυφή τρα-  
 χεῖα καὶ στροβιλῶδες ὄρος, ὃ καλούμεν Ὀρθόπαγον,  
 30 ὑπὸ δ' αὐτὸ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Μόλου καὶ Θουρίου νεῶς  
 Ἀπόλλωνος. ὠνόμασται δ' ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ Θουρούς τῆς  
 Χαίρωνος μητρός, ὃν οἰκιστὴν γεγονέναι τῆς Χαιρω-  
 νείας ἱστοροῦσιν. οἱ δὲ φασι τὴν Κάδμω δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ 5  
 τοῦ Πυθίου καθηγεμόνα βοῦν ἐκεῖ φανῆναι, καὶ τὸν  
 35 τόπον ἀπ' αὐτῆς οὕτω προσαγορευθῆναι· θῶρ γὰρ οἱ  
 Φοίνικες τὴν βοῦν καλοῦσι. προσιόντος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα  
 πρὸς τὴν Χαιρώνειαν ὁ τεταγμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει χιλιάρ-  
 χος, ἐξωπλισμένους ἄγων τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀπήντησε  
 στέφανον δάφνης κομίζων. ὡς δὲ δεξάμενος ἠσπάσατο 6  
 40 τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ παρώρμησε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον,  
 ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐτῷ δύο τῶν Χαιρωνέων ἄνδρες, Ὀμο-  
 λώιχος καὶ Ἀναξίδαμος, ὑφιστάμενοι τοὺς τὸ Θούριον  
 κατασχόντας ἐκκόψειν, ὀλίγους στρατιώτας παρ' ἐκεί-  
 νου λαβόντες· ἀτραπὸν γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις ἄδη-  
 45 λον, ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Πετράχου παρὰ τὸ Μουσεῖον  
 ἐπὶ τὸ Θούριον ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἄγουσαν, ἣ πορευθέντες  
 οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπιπεσεῖσθαι καὶ καταλέυσειν ἄνθην αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἢ συνώσειν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. τοῦ δὲ Γαβινίου τοῖς 7  
 ἀνδράσι μαρτυρήσαντος ἀνδρείαν καὶ πίστιν, ἐκέλευ-  
 50 σεν ἐπιχειρεῖν ὁ Σύλλας· αὐτὸς δὲ συνέταπτε τὴν  
 φάλαγγα καὶ διένειμε τοὺς ἵπποτάς ἐπὶ κέρως ἐκατέ-  
 ρου, τὸ δεξιὸν αὐτὸς ἔχων, τὸ δ' εὐώνυμον ἀποδοὺς  
 Μουρήνα. Γάλβας δὲ καὶ Ὀρτήσιος οἱ πρεσβευταὶ

σπείρας ἐπιτάκτους ἔχοντες ἔσχατοι παρενέβαλον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων φύλακες πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις· ἑωρῶντο 55 γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι κατασκευάζοντες ἵππεῦσι πολλοῖς καὶ ψιλοῖς ποδώκεσιν εἰς ἐπιστροφὴν τὸ κέρας εὐκαμπές καὶ κοῦφον, ὡς μακρὰν ἀνάξοντες καὶ κυκλωσόμενοι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

XVIII Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Χαιρωνέων Ἐρίκιον ἄρχοντα

Battle of Chai-  
roneia.

παρὰ τοῦ Σύλλα λαβόντων καὶ περιελθόντων ἀδήλως τὸ Θούριον, εἴτ' ἐπιφανέντων,

θόρυβος ἦν πολὺς καὶ φυγὴ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ φόνος ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ὁ πλείστος· οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ 5 κατὰ πρανοῦς φερόμενοι τοῖς τε δόρασι περιέπιπτον αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ κατεκρήμνιζον ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους, ἄνωθεν ἐπικειμένων τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰ γυμνὰ παιόντων, ὥστε τρισχιλίους πεσεῖν περὶ τὸ Θούριον.

2 τῶν δὲ φευγόντων τοὺς μὲν εἰς τάξιν ἤδη καθεστῶς ὁ 10 Μουρήνας ἀπετέμνετο καὶ διέφθειρεν ὑπαντιάζων, οἱ δ' ὠσάμενοι πρὸς τὸ φίλιον στρατόπεδον καὶ τῇ φάλαγγι φύρδην ἐμπεσόντες ἀνέπλησαν δέους καὶ ταραχῆς τὸ πλείστον μέρος, καὶ διατριβὴν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐνεποίησαν οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάβασαν αὐτούς. 15 ὀξέως γὰρ ὁ Σύλλας ταρασσομένοις ἐπαγαγὼν καὶ τὸ μέσον διάστημα τῷ τάχει συνελὼν ἀφείλετο τὴν τῶν

3 δρεπανηφόρων ἐνέργειαν. ἔρρωται γὰρ μάλιστα 20 μήκει δρόμου σφοδρότητα καὶ ῥύμην τῇ διεξελάσει διδόντος, αἱ δ' ἐκ βραχέος ἀφέσεις ἄπρακτοι καὶ 20

Attack of Ar-  
chelaos.

ἀμβλεῖαι, καθάπερ βελῶν τάσιν οὐ λαβόντων. ὁ δὲ καὶ τότε τοῖς βαρβάρους

ἀπήντα, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν ἀρμάτων ἀργῶς ἐξελαυνόμενα καὶ προσπίπτοντα νωθῶς ἐκκρούσαντες οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μετὰ κρότου καὶ γέλωτος ἄλλα ἤτουν, ὥσπερ 25

εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς θεατρικαῖς ἵπποδρομίαις. τούντεϋ- 4  
 θεν αἱ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις συνερράγησαν, τῶν μὲν βαρ-  
 464 βάρων προβαλλομένων τὰς σαρίσας μακρὰς καὶ  
 • πειρωμένων τῷ συνασπισμῷ τὴν φάλαγγα διατηρεῖν  
 30 ἐν τάξει, τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς μὲν ὕσσοὺς αὐτοῦ  
 καταβαλόντων, σπασαμένων δὲ τὰς μαχαίρας καὶ  
 παρακρουομένων τὰς σαρίσας, ὡς τάχιστα προσμί-  
 ξειαν αὐτοῖς δι' ὄργην. προτεταγμένους γὰρ ἑώρων 5  
 τῶν πολεμίων μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους θεράπον-  
 35 τας, οὓς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων κηρύγμασιν ἐλευθεροῦντες οἱ  
 βασιλέως στρατηγοὶ κατελόχιζον εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας.  
 καὶ τις ἑκατοντάρχης λέγεται Ῥωμαῖος εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐν  
 Κρονίοις μόνον εἰδεῖν τῆς παρρησίας δούλους μετ-  
 ἔχοντας. τούτους μὲν οὖν διὰ βάθος καὶ πυκνότητα 6  
 40 βραδέως ἐξωθουμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ παρὰ  
 φύσιν μένειν τολμῶντας αἴ τε βελοςφενδόσαι καὶ οἱ  
 γρόσφοι, χρωμένων ἀφειδῶς τῶν κατόπιν Ῥωμαίων,  
 XIX ἀπέστρεφον καὶ συνετάραττον· Ἀρχελάου δὲ τὸ  
 δεξιὸν κέρασ εἰς κύκλωσιν ἀνάγοντος, Ὀρτήσιος ἐφήκε  
 τὰς σπείρας δρόμῳ προσφερομένας ὡς ἐμβαλῶν πλα-  
 γαίσις. ἐπιστρέψαντος δὲ ταχέως ἐκείνου τοὺς περὶ  
 5 αὐτὸν ἵππεῖς δισχιλίους, ἐκθλιβόμενος ὑπὸ πλήθους  
 προσεστέλλετο τοῖς ὄρεινοῖς, κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπορρηγνύ-  
 μενος τῆς φάλαγγος καὶ περιλαμβανόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν  
 πολεμίων. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ 2  
 μήπω συμπεπτωκότος εἰς μάχην ἐδίωκε βοηθῶν.  
 10 Ἀρχέλαος δὲ τῷ κονιορτῷ τῆς ἐλάσεως ὕπερ ἦν  
 τεκμηράμενος, Ὀρτήσιον μὲν εἶα χαίρειν, αὐτὸς δ'  
 ἐπιστρέψας ὥρμησεν ὅθεν ὁ Σύλλας πρὸς τὸ δεξιόν,  
 ὡς ἔρημον ἄρχοντος αἰρήσων. ἕμα δὲ καὶ Μουρήνα  
 Ταξιλῆς ἐπήγε τοὺς χαλκάσπιδας, ὥστε τῆς κραυγῆς

διχόθεν φερομένης καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνταποδιδόντων τὴν  
 περιήχησιν ἐπιστήσαντα τὸν Σύλλαν διαπορεῖν,  
 3 ὅποτέρωσε χρὴ προσγενέσθαι. δόξαν δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
 τάξιν ἀναλαμβάνειν, Μουρήνα μὲν ἀρωγὸν ἔπεμψεν  
 Ὀρτήσιον ἔχοντα τέσσαρας σπείρας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν  
 πέμπτην ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν ἠπέιγετο <sup>20</sup>  
 καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ μὲν ἀξιωμαχῶς ἤδη τῷ  
 Defeat and flight of Archelaos. Ἀρχελάῳ συνεστηκός, ἐκείνου δ' ἐπι-  
 φανέντος παντάπασιν ἐξεβιάσαντο καὶ κρατήσαντες  
 ἐδίωκον πρὸς τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸ Ἀκόντιον  
 4 ὄρος προτροπάδην φεύγοντας. οὐ μὴν ὅ γε Σύλ- <sup>25</sup>  
 λας ἠμέλησε Μουρήνα κινδυνεύοντος, ἀλλ' ὥρμησε  
 τοῖς ἐκεῖ βοηθεῖν· ἰδὼν δὲ νικῶντας, τότε τῆς  
 διώξεως μετείχε. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν  
 βαρβάρων ἀνηρῶντο, πλείστοι δὲ τῷ χάρακι προσ-  
 φερόμενοι κατεκόπησαν, ὥστε μυρίους διαπεσεῖν εἰς <sup>30</sup>  
 Χαλκίδα μόνους ἀπὸ τοσούτων μυριάδων. ὁ δὲ Σύλ-  
 λας λέγει τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα ἐπιζητῆσαι τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 στρατιωτῶν, εἶτα καὶ τούτων δύο πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν  
 5 παραγενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς τροπαιοῖς ἐπέγραψεν  
 Ἄρη καὶ Νίκην καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, ὡς οὐχ ἠττον εὐτυχία <sup>35</sup>  
 κατορθώσας ἢ δεινότητι καὶ δυνάμει τὸν πόλεμον.  
 ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ τρόπαιον ἔστηκε τῆς πεδιαδος  
 μάχης ἢ πρῶτον ἐνέκλιναν οἱ περὶ Ἀρχέλαον μέχρι  
 παρὰ τὸ Μόλου ρεῖθρον, ἕτερον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Θουρίου  
 κατὰ κορυφὴν βεβηκὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κυκλώσει τῶν βαρ- <sup>40</sup>  
 βάρων, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐπισημαῖνον Ὀμο-  
 6 λώχον καὶ Ἀναξίδαμον ἀριστεῖς. ταύτης τὰ ἐπινίκια  
 τῆς μάχης ἦγεν ἐν Θήβαις, περὶ τὴν Οἰδιπόδειον  
 κρήνην κατασκευάσας θυμέλην. οἱ δὲ κρίνοντες ἦσαν  
 Ἕλληνες ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνακεκλημένοι πόλεων, <sup>45</sup>

ἐπεὶ πρὸς γε Θηβαίους ἀδιαλλάκτως εἶχε, καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀποτεμόμενος τὴν ἡμίσειαν τῷ Πυθίῳ καὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ καθιέρωσεν, ἐκ τῶν προσ-  
 • ὁδῶν κελεύσας ἀποδίδοσθαι τὰ χρήματα τοῖς θεοῖς ἄπερ αὐτὸς εἰλήφει.

Punishment of Thebes by Sulla.

- XX Μετὰ ταῦτα πυνθανόμενος Φλάκκον ἀπὸ τῆς  
 465 ἐναντίας στάσεως ὑπίτον ἡρημένον δια-  
 περᾶν τὸν Ἴονιον μετὰ δυνάμεως, λόγῳ  
 μὲν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ἔργῳ δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνον  
 5 αὐτόν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Θετταλίας ὡς ἀπαν-  
 τήσων. γενομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Μελίτειαν  
 ἀφικνουῦνται πολλαχόθεν ἀγγελίαι πορθεῖσθαι τὰ  
 κατόπιον αὐθις οὐκ ἐλάττονι στρατιᾷ βασιλικῇ τῆς  
 πρότερον· Δορύλαος γὰρ εἰς Χαλκίδα καταχθείς 2  
 10 παρασκευῇ νεῶν πολλῇ, ἐν αἷς ἦγεν ὀκτῶ μυριάδας  
 ἡσκημένας καὶ συντεταγμένας ἄριστα δὴ τῆς Μιθρι-  
 δατικῆς στρατιᾶς, εὐθύς εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐνέβαλε καὶ  
 κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν, προθυμούμενος εἰς μάχην ἐπι-  
 σπάσασθαι τὸν Σύλλαν, οὐ προσέχων Ἀρχελάῳ  
 15 διακωλύοντι, καὶ λόγον περὶ τῆς προτέρας μάχης  
 διαδιδούς ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ προδοσίας μυριάδες τοσαῦται  
 διαφθαρεῖεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Σύλλας ταχέως ὑπο- 3  
 στρέψας ἀπέδειξε τῷ Δορυλάῳ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἄνδρα  
 φρόνιμον καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐμπειρότατον ἀρετῆς,  
 20 ὥστε μικρὰ αὐτὸν τῷ Σύλλᾳ περὶ τὸ Τιλφώσιον  
 ἐμπεσόντα πρῶτον εἶναι τῶν οὐκ ἀξιούντων κρίνεσ-  
 θαι διὰ μάχης, ἀλλὰ δαπάναις καὶ χρόνῳ τρίβειν  
 τὸν πόλεμον. ὅμως δὲ θάρσος τι τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ παρ-  
 εἶχεν ὁ πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ κατεστρατο-  
 25 πέδευσαν, εὐφύεστατος ὢν ἰπποκρατοῦσιν ἐναγωνί-  
 σασθαι. τῶν γὰρ Βοιωτίων πεδίων ὅ τι πέρ ἐστι 4

Sulla goes to confront Flaccus, but is recalled by news of the invasion of Greece by Dorylaos.

κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον, τοῦτο τῆς Ὀρχομενίων ἐξηρητημένον πόλεως ὀμαλὸν ἀναπέπταται καὶ ἄδενδρον, ἄχρι τῶν ἐλῶν ἐν οἷς ὁ Μέλας καταναλίσκεται ποταμός, ἀνατέλλων μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Ὀρχο-<sup>30</sup> μενίων πολλὸς καὶ πλώϊμος ἐν πηγαῖς μόνος τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ποταμῶν, αὐξόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τροπᾶς θερινᾶς ὡσπερ ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ φέρων ὅμοια τοῖς ἐκεῖ  
 5 τὰ φυόμενα, πλὴν ἄκαρπα καὶ ἀναυξῆ. πόρρω δ' οὐ πρόεισιν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλείστον εὐθὺς εἰς λίμνας<sup>35</sup> τυφλὰς καὶ ὑλώδεις ἀφανίζεται, μέρος δ' οὐ πολὺ τῷ Κηφισσῷ συμμίγνυται, περὶ ὃν μάλιστα τόπον ἡ λίμνη δοκεῖ τὸν αὐλητικὸν ἐκφέρειν κάλαμον.

XXI . Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς κατεστρατοπέδευσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀρχέ-  
 λαιος ἠσύχαζεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ὠρυττε  
 Roman victory at Orchomenos. τὰ φρούς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅπως, εἰ δύναίτο, τῶν στερεῶν καὶ ἵππασίμων ἀποτεμόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους ἄσειεν εἰς τὰ ἔλη. τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἀνασχομέ-<sup>5</sup> νων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀφείθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν, ἐντόνως καὶ ῥύδην ἐλαυνόντων, οὐ μόνον οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Σύλλα διεσκεδάσθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ παρατεταγμένου  
 2 συνεχύθη τὸ πλείστον φυγόντος. ἔνθα δὴ Σύλλας αὐτὸς ἀποπηδήσας τοῦ ἵππου καὶ σημεῖον ἀναρπάσας<sup>10</sup> ὠθειτο διὰ τῶν φευγόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους, βοῶν ἔμοι μὲν ἐνταῦθά που καλὸν ὦ Ῥωμαῖοι τελευτᾶν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῖς πυνθανομένοις, ποῦ προδεδώκατε τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, μεμνημένοι φράζειν ὡς ἐν Ὀρχομενῶ. τούτους τε δὴ τὸ ῥήθην ἐπέστρεψε, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ<sup>15</sup> δεξιοῦ κέρως σπειρῶν δύο προσεβοήθησαν, ἅς ἐπ-  
 3 αγαγῶν τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους. ἀναγαγῶν δὲ μικρὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ δοὺς ἄριστον αὐτοῖς, αὐθις ἀπετάφρευε τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δ' αὐθις ἐν τάξει

20 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον προσεφέροντο. καὶ Διογένης μὲν  
 ὁ τῆς Ἀρχελάου γυναικὸς υἱὸς ἀριστεύων ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 δεξιοῦ περιόπτως ἔπεσεν, οἱ δὲ τοξόται, τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 ἐκβιαζομένων, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀναστροφὴν ἀθρώοις τοῖς  
 οἰστοῖς ἐκ χειρὸς ὥσπερ ξίφεσι παίοντες ἀνέκοπτον  
 25 αὐτούς, τέλος δὲ κατακλεισθέντες εἰς τὸν χάρακα  
 μοχθηρῶς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων καὶ φόβου διενυκτέρευσαν.  
 ἡμέρας δὲ πάλιν τῷ χάρακι τοὺς στρατιώτας προσ-  
 αγαγὼν ὁ Σύλλας ἀπετάφρευεν. ἐξελθόντας δὲ τοὺς 4  
 πολλοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην συμβαλὼν τρέπεται, καὶ πρὸς  
 30 τὸν ἐκείνων φόβον οὐδενὸς μένοντος αἰρεῖ κατὰ κρά-  
 466 τος τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ κατέπλησαν ἀποθνήσκον-  
 τες αἵματος τὰ ἔλη καὶ νεκρῶν τὴν λίμνην, ὥστε  
 μέχρι νῦν πολλὰ βαρβαρικὰ τόξα καὶ κράνη καὶ  
 θωράκων σπᾶσματα σιδηρῶν καὶ μαχαίρας ἐμβεβαπτ-  
 35 ισμένας τοῖς τέλμασιν εὐρίσκεσθαι, σχεδὸν ἐτῶν  
 διακοσίων ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐκείνης διαγεγονότων.

XXII Τα μὲν οὖν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν καὶ πρὸς Ὀρχομενῶ  
 τοιαῦτα λέγεται γενέσθαι· Κίinna δὲ καὶ

Proceedings of  
 the two consuls  
 at Rome.

Κάρβωνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστά-  
 τοις ἀνδράσι χρωμένων παρανόμως καὶ  
 βιαίως, πολλοὶ τὴν τυραννίδα φεύγοντες ὥσπερ εἰς  
 5 λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφέροντο, καὶ  
 περὶ αὐτὸν ὀλίγου χρόνου σχῆμα βουλῆς ἐγεγόνει.  
 καὶ Μετέλλα μόλις διακλέψασα ἑαυτὴν  
 καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἦκεν ἀγγέλλουσα τὴν  
 οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐμπε-  
 10 πρῆσθαι καὶ δεομένη τοῖς οἴκοι βοηθεῖν. ἀπορουμένω 2  
 δ' αὐτῷ, καὶ μήτε τῆς πατρίδος ἀμελεῖν ὑπομένοντι  
 κακουμένης μήτε ὅπως ἄπεισιν ἀτελὲς λιπῶν τοσοῦ-  
 τον ἔργον, τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, ἐπινοοῦντι,

Flight of Me-  
 tella and her  
 children.

παραγίνεται Δηλιακὸς ἔμπορος Ἀρχέλαος, ἐλπίδας  
 τινὰς καὶ λόγους κρύφα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κομίζων <sup>15</sup>  
 Ἀρχελάου. καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα Σύλλας οὕτως ἠγάπησεν  
 ὥστ' αὐτὸς εἰς λόγους σπεῦσαι τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ συνελ-  
<sup>3</sup> Conference between Archelaos and Sulla at Delion. θεῖν. καὶ συνήλθον ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ περὶ  
 Δήλιον, οὗ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἔστιν. ἀρξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου <sup>20</sup>  
 διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀξιούντος ἀφέντα τὴν  
 Ἀσίαν καὶ τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πόλεμον  
 πλείν, χρήματα λαβόντα καὶ τριήρεις καὶ δύναμιν  
 ὅσῃν βούλοιο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ  
 Σύλλας Μιθριδάτου μὲν ἀμελεῖν ἐκέλευεν, αὐτὸν δὲ <sup>25</sup>  
 βασιλεύειν ἀντ' ἐκείνου σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων γενόμε-  
<sup>4</sup> νον καὶ παραδόντα τὰς ναῦς. ἀφοσιουμένου δὲ τοῦ  
 Ἀρχελάου τὴν προδοσίαν 'εἶτα' ἔφη 'σὺ μὲν ὦ  
 Ἀρχέλαε, Καππαδόκης ὢν καὶ βαρβάρου βασιλέως  
 δούλος, εἰ δὲ βούλει, φίλος, οὐχ ὑπομένεις ἐπὶ τηλι- <sup>30</sup>  
 κούτοις ἀγαθοῖς τὸ αἰσχρόν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἠγεμόνι Ῥωμαίων  
 ὄντι καὶ Σύλλα τολμᾶς διαλέγεσθαι περὶ προδοσίας,  
 ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐκείνος ὢν Ἀρχέλαος ὁ φυγῶν μὲν ἐκ  
 Χαιρωνείας ὀλιγοστός ἀπὸ μυριάδων δυοκαίδεκα,  
 κρυφθεὶς δὲ δύο ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς Ὀρχομενίων ἔλεσιν, <sup>35</sup>  
<sup>5</sup> ἄβατον δὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑπὸ νεκρῶν πλήθους ἀπολε-  
 λοιπῶς;' ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος καὶ  
 προσκυνήσας ἐδεῖτο παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου καὶ  
 διαλλαγῆναι πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην. δεξα-  
 μένου δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα τὴν πρόκλησιν ἐγγέ- <sup>40</sup>  
 νοντο συνθήκαι, Μιθριδάτην μὲν Ἀσίαν  
 ἀφεῖναι καὶ Παφλαγονίαν, ἐκστήναι δὲ Βιθυνίας  
 Νικομήδει, Καππαδοκίας Ἀριοβαρζάνη, καταβα-  
 λεῖν δὲ Ῥωμαίοις δισχίλια τάλαντα καὶ δοῦναι

The terms of  
 peace on which  
 they agree.

45 ναὺς ἑβδομήκοντα χαλκήρεις μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας παρασκευῆς, Σύλλαν δ' ἐκείνῳ τὴν τ' ἄλλην ἀρχὴν βεβαιοῦν καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων ψηφίσεσθαι.

ΚΧΠΙ Τούτων ὁμολογηθέντων ἀναστρέψας ἐβάδιζε διὰ Θετταλίας καὶ Μακεδονίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἔχων μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἐν τιμῇ. καὶ νοσήσαντος ἐπισφαλῶς περὶ Λάρισαν ἐπιστήσας τὴν πορείαν, ὡς ἐνὸς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἐπεμελήθη. ταῦτά τε διὴ διέβαλλε τὸ περὶ 2 Χαιρώνειαν ἔργον ὡς οὐχὶ καθαρῶς ἀγωνισθέν, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς ἄλλους Μιθριδάτου φίλους, οὓς εἶχεν αἰχμαλώτους, ἀποδοὺς ὁ Σύλλας Ἀριστίωνα μόνον τὸν 10 τύραννον ἀνεῖλε διὰ φαρμάκων Ἀρχελάῳ διάφορον ὄντα, μάλιστα δ' ἡ δοθεῖσα γῆ τῷ Καππαδόκῃ μυρίων πλέθρων ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ, καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων φίλον αὐτὸν καὶ σύμμαχον ὑπὸ Σύλλα ἀναγραφῆναι. περὶ μὲν 3 οὖν τούτων αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπο-  
 467 μνήμασιν ἀπολογεῖται· τότε δὲ πρεσβευ- Hesitation of Mithridates.  
 16 τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου παραγενομένων καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φασκόντων δέχεσθαι, Παφλαγονίαν δ' ἀξιούντων μὴ ἀφαιρεθῆναι, τὰς δὲ ναὺς οὐδ' ὅπως ὁμολογηθῆναι, χαλεπήνας ὁ Σύλλας 'τί φατε;' εἶπε, 20 'Μιθριδάτης Παφλαγονίας ἀντιποιεῖται καὶ περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔξαρνός ἐστιν, ὃν ἐγὼ προσκυνήσειν ἐνόμιζον, εἰ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτῷ καταλείποιμι χεῖρα, δι' ἧς τοσούτους Ῥωμαίων ἀνεῖλεν; ἐτέρας μέντοι τάχα φωνὰς 4 ἀφήσει διαβάντος εἰς Ἀσίαν ἐμοῦ· νῦν δ' ἐν Περγάμῳ 25 καθήμενος ὃν οὐχ ἑώρακε διαστρατηγεῖ πόλεμον.' οἱ μὲν οὖν πρέσβεις φοβηθέντες ἠσύχαζον, ὁ δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ κατεπράυνε τὴν ὀργήν, ἀπτόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ δακρύων. τέλος δ'

ἔπεισεν ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδάτην·  
 διαπράξεσθαι γὰρ ἐφ' οἷς βούλεται τὴν εἰρήνην, εἰ δὲ 30  
 5 μὴ πείθοι, κτενεῖν αὐτὸς αὐτόν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκπέμ-  
 ψας ἐκείνουν αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν Μαιδικὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὰ  
 πολλὰ διαπορθήσας πάλιν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς Μακεδ-  
 ονίαν, καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἐδέξατο περὶ Φιλίππου  
 ἀγγέλλοντα καλῶς ἔχειν πάντα, δεῖσθαι δὲ πάντως 35  
 6 αὐτῷ τὸν Μιθριδάτην εἰς λόγους ἐλθεῖν. αἴτιος δ'  
 ἦν μάλιστα Φιμβρίας, ὃς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐτέρας στάσεως  
 ἄρχοντα Φλάκκον ἀνελὼν καὶ τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν  
 στρατηγῶν κρατήσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνουν ἐβάδιζε·  
 ταῦτα γὰρ δεῖσας ὁ Μιθριδάτης μᾶλλον εἴλετο τῷ 40  
 Σύλλᾳ φίλος γενέσθαι.

XXIV Συνηλθον οὖν τῆς Τρωάδος ἐν Δαρδάνῳ, Μιθρι-  
 δάτης μὲν ἔχων ναῦς αὐτόθι διακοσίας  
 ἐνήρεις καὶ τῆς πεζῆς δυνάμεως ὀπίστας  
 μὲν δισμυρίους ἵππεῖς δ' ἑξακισχιλίους  
 καὶ συχνὰ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων, Σύλλας δὲ τέσσαρας 5  
 σπείρας καὶ διακοσίους ἵππεῖς. ἀπαντήσαντος δὲ  
 τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν προτείναντος, ἠρώτη-  
 σεν αὐτὸν εἰ καταλύσεται τὸν πόλεμον ἐφ' οἷς ὠμολό-  
 γησεν Ἀρχέλαος· σιωπῶντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ  
 Σύλλας ἄλλὰ μὴν ἔφη ἑτῶν δεομένων ἐστὶ τὸ προ- 10  
 τέρους λέγειν, τοῖς δὲ νικῶσιν ἕξαρκεῖ τὸ σιωπᾶν.  
 2 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρξάμενος τῆς ἀπολογίας ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἐπει-  
 ρᾶτο τοῦ πολέμου τὰ μὲν εἰς δαίμονας τρέπειν τὰ δ'  
 αὐτοὺς αἰτιᾶσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Σύλ-  
 λας ἔφη πάλαι μὲν ἐτέρων ἀκούειν νῦν δ' αὐτὸς 15  
 ἐγνωκέναι τὸν Μιθριδάτην δεινότατον ὄντα ῥητορεύειν,  
 ὃς ἐπὶ πράξεσιν οὕτω πονηραῖς καὶ παρανόμοις λόγων  
 3 ἐχόντων εὐπρέπειαν οὐκ ἠπόρηκεν. ἐξελέγξας δὲ τὰ

Conference be-  
 tween Sulla and  
 Mithridates at  
 Dardanos.

πεπραγμένα πικρῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κατηγορήσας,  
 20 πάλιν ἠρώτησεν εἰ ποιεῖ τὰ συγκείμενα δι' Ἀρχελάου.  
 φήσαντος δὲ ποιεῖν, οὕτως ἠσπάσατο καὶ Their formal  
reconciliation and  
consequent termi-  
nation of the first  
Mithridatic war.  
 περιλαβὼν ἐφίλησεν αὐτόν, Ἀριοβαρζά-  
 νην δ' αὖθις καὶ Νικομήδην τοὺς βασι-  
 25 λέις προσαγαγὼν διήλλαξεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Μιθριδάτης  
 εἰς Πόντον ἀπέπλευσεν, ὁ δὲ Σύλλας αἰσθόμενος 4  
 ἀχθομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας τῇ διαλύσει (τὸν γὰρ  
 ἔχθιστον τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεκαπέντε μυριάδας ἡμέρα  
 μιᾷ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ Ῥωμαίων κατασφαγῆναι παρασκευ-  
 30 ἄσαντα δεινὸν ἠγοῦντο μετὰ πλούτου καὶ λαφύρων  
 ὁρᾶν ἐκπλέοντα τῆς Ἀσίας, ἣν ἔτη τέσσαρα λεηλατῶν  
 καὶ φορολογῶν διετέλεσεν) ἀπελογεῖτο πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἅμα Φιμβρία καὶ Μιθριδάτῃ πολεμεῖν, εἰ  
 συνέστησαν ἀμφοτέροι κατ' αὐτοῦ, δυνηθεῖς.

XXV Ὀρμήσας δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ Φιμβρίαν πρὸς Θυατεί-  
 ροις στρατοπεδεύοντα καὶ πλησίον κατα- Suicide of Fim-  
bria.  
 ζεύξας, τάφρον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιέ-  
 βαλεν. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Φιμβρίου στρατιῶται μονοχίτωνες  
 5 ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προΐοντες ἠσπάζοντο τοὺς ἐκεί-  
 νου καὶ συνελάμβανον αὐτοῖς τῶν ἔργων προθύμως.  
 ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Φιμβρίας τὴν μεταβολὴν καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν  
 ὡς ἀδιάλλακτον δεδοικῶς αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ στρα-  
 τοπέδῳ διέφθειρε. Σύλλας δὲ κοινῇ μὲν  
 10 ἐξημίωσε τὴν Ἀσίαν δισμυρίοις ταλάν- Sulla's punish-  
ment of the provin-  
ce of Asia.  
 468 τοις, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοὺς οἴκους ἐξέτριψεν ὕβρει  
 καὶ πολιορκία τῶν ἐπισταθμευόντων· ἐτέτακτο γὰρ  
 ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τῷ καταλύτῃ τὸν ξένον διδόναι τέσ-  
 15 σαρα τετράδραχμα καὶ παρέχειν δεῖπνον αὐτῷ καὶ  
 φίλοις, ὅσους ἂν ἐθέλη καλεῖν, ταξίαρχον δὲ πεντή-

κοντα δραχμὰς λαμβάνειν τῆς ἡμέρας, ἐσθῆτα δ' ἄλλην μὲν οἰκουρῶν ἄλλην δ' εἰς ἀγορὰν προερχόμενος.

- XXVI Ἀναχθεῖς δὲ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐξ Ἐφέσου
- Departure of Sulla from Asia. *τριταῖος ἐν Πειραιεῖ καθωρμίσθη, καὶ μνηθεῖς ἐξείλεν ἑαυτῷ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶνος τοῦ Τηίου βιβλιοθήκην, ἐν ἧ τὰ πλείστα τῶν Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου βιβλίων ἦν, οὐπω τότε σαφῶς γνωριζόμενα τοῖς πολλοῖς. λέγεται δὲ κομισθείσης αὐτῆς εἰς Ῥώμην Τυραννίωνα τὸν γραμματικὸν ἐνσκευάσασθαι τὰ πολλά, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνδρόνικον εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ ἀναγράψαι τοὺς νῦν φερομένους πίνακας.* 10
- οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι Περιπατητικοὶ φαίνονται μὲν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενόμενοι χαρίεντες καὶ φιλολόγοι, τῶν δ' Ἀριστοτέλους καὶ Θεοφράστου γραμμάτων οὔτε πολλοῖς οὔτ' ἀκριβῶς ἐντετυχηκότες διὰ τὸ τὸν Νηλέως τοῦ Σκηψίου κλῆρον, ᾧ τὰ βιβλία κατέλιπε Θεόφραστος, 15 εἰς ἀφιλοτίμους καὶ ἰδιώτας ἀνθρώπους περιγενέσθαι.
- 3 Σύλλα δὲ διατρίβοντι περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἄλγημα
- Detained in Greece by symptoms of an attack of gout, Sulla visits the thermal springs of Aedepsus. *ναρκῶδες μετὰ βάρους εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἐνέπεσεν, ὃ φησιν ὁ Στράβων ποδάγρας ψελλισμὸν εἶναι. διαπλεύσας οὖν εἰς 20 Αἰδηψον ἐχρῆτο τοῖς θερμοῖς ὕδασι, ῥαθυμῶν ἅμα καὶ συνδιημερεύων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις. περιπατοῦντος δὲ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀλιεῖς τινὲς ἰχθύς αὐτῷ παγκάλους προσήνεγκαν. ἤσθεις δὲ τοῖς δώ- 25 ροις, καὶ πυθόμενος ὡς ἐξ Ἀλῶν εἶεν ἔτι γὰρ ζῆ τις Ἀλαίων;* ἔφη· ἐτύγχανε γάρ, ὅτε τὴν πρὸς Ὀρχομενῷ μάχην νενικηκὼς ἐδίωκε τοὺς πολεμίους, ἅμα τρεῖς πόλεις τῆς Βοιωτίας, Ἀνθηδόνα Λάρυμναν Ἀλάς, ἀνη-

Story of Sulla and the fishermen of Halae.

30 ρηκώς. τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ δέους ἀφώνων γενομένων,  
 διαμειδιάσας ἐκέλευσεν ἀπιέναι χαίροντας, ὡς οὐ μετὰ  
 φαύλων οὐδ' ἀξίων ὀλιγορίας ἤκοντας παραιτητῶν.

• Ἀλαῖοι μὲν ἐκ τούτου λέγουσι θαρρήσαντες αὐθις  
 XXVII εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνελθεῖν, Σύλλας δὲ διὰ Sulla prepares to  
 embark for Italy.  
 Θετταλίας καὶ Μακεδονίας καταβὰς ἐπὶ  
 θάλατταν παρεσκευάζετο χιλίαις ναυσὶ καὶ διακοσίαις  
 ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου διαβάλλειν εἰς Βρεντέσιον. ἡ δ' Ἀπολ-  
 5 λωνία πλησίον ἐστὶ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ τὸ Νύμφαιον,  
 ἱερὸς τόπος ἐκ χλοερᾶς νάπης καὶ λειμώνων ἀνα-  
 διδούς πυρὸς πηγὰς σποράδας ἐνδελεχῶς ῥέοντος.  
 ἐνταῦθά φασι κοιμώμενον ἀλῶναι σάτυρον, οἶον οἱ 2  
 πλάσται καὶ γραφεῖς εἰκάζουσιν, ἀχθέντα δὲ ὡς  
 10 Σύλλαν ἐρωτᾶσθαι δι' ἐρμηνέων πολλῶν ὅστις εἴη·  
 φθεγξαμένου δὲ μόλις οὐδὲν συνετῶς, ἀλλὰ τραχεῖάν  
 τινα καὶ μάλιστα μεμιγμένην ἵππου τε χρεμετισμῶ  
 καὶ τράγου μηκασμῶ φωνὴν ἀφέντος, ἐκπλαγέντα τὸν  
 Σύλλαν ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι. μέλλοντος δὲ τοὺς 3  
 15 στρατιώτας διαπεραιοῦν, καὶ δεδιότος μὴ Devotion of his  
 soldiers to him.  
 τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιλαβόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις  
 ἕκαστοι διαρρῶσι, πρῶτον μὲν ὤμοσαν ἀφ' αὐτῶν  
 παραμενεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ἐκουσίως κακουργήσειν τὴν  
 Ἰταλίαν, ἔπειτα χρημάτων δεόμενον πολλῶν ὀρῶντές  
 20 ἀπήρχοντο καὶ συνεισέφερον ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχεν εὐπο-  
 ρίας. οὐ μὴν ἐδέξατο τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὁ Σύλλας, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπαινέσας καὶ παρορμήσας διέβαινε, ὡς φησιν αὐτός,  
 ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγούς πολεμίους πεντήκοντα  
 καὶ τετρακοσίας σπεύρας ἔχοντας, ἐκδηλότατα τοῦ  
 25 θεοῦ τὰς εὐτυχίας προσημαίνοντος αὐτῶ. Several pres-  
 ages of victory. 4  
 Τάραντα, δάφνης στεφάνου τύπον ἔχων ὁ λοβὸς

ὄφθη, καὶ λημνίσκων δύο κατηρητημένων· μικρὸν δὲ 469  
 πρὸ τῆς διαβάσεως ἐν Καμπανίᾳ περὶ τὸ Γίφατον  
 ὄρος ἡμέρας ὄφθησαν δύο τράγοι μεγάλοι συμφερ- 30  
 ὄμενοι καὶ πάντα δρῶντες καὶ πάσχοντες ἃ συμβαίνει  
 μαχομένοις ἀνθρώποις. ἦν δ' ἄρα φάσμα, καὶ κατὰ  
 μικρὸν αἰρόμενον ἀπὸ γῆς διεσπείρετο πολλαχοῦ τοῦ  
 αἴερος, εἰδώλοισι ἀμαυροῖσι ὅμοιον, εἶτα οὕτως ἠφανίσθη.

5 Battle of Monnt καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ 35  
 Tifata. Defeat  
 of the younger  
 Marius and Nor-  
 banus. τούτῳ Μαρίου τοῦ νέου καὶ Νωρβανοῦ  
 τοῦ ὑπάτου μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπαγαγόν-  
 των, ὁ Σύλλας οὔτε τάξις ἀποδοῦς οὔτε λοχίστας τὸ οἰ-  
 κείον στράτευμα, ῥώμῃ δὲ προθυμίας κοινῆς καὶ φορᾶ  
 τόλμης ἀποχρησάμενος ἐτρέψατο τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ 40  
 κατέκλεισεν εἰς Καπύην πόλιν τὸν Νωρβανόν, ἑπτα-  
 6 κισχιλίους ἀποκτείνας. τοῦτο αἴτιον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι  
 φησὶ τοῦ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ πόλεις,  
 ἀλλὰ συμμῆναι καὶ καταφρονῆσαι τῶν ἐναντίων πολ-  
 λαπλασίων ὄντων. ἐν δὲ Σιλουίῳ φησὶν οἰκέτην Πον- 45  
 τίου θεοφόρητον ἐντυχεῖν αὐτῷ λέγοντα παρὰ τῆς  
 Ἐννοῦς κράτος πολέμου καὶ νίκην ἀπαγγέλλειν· εἰ δὲ  
 μὴ σπεύσειεν, ἐμπεπρήσεσθαι τὸ Καπιτώ-  
 10 Enrning of the μῆλιον. ὃ καὶ συμβῆναι τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης  
 Capitol. ἦς ὁ ἄνθρωπος προηγόρευσεν· ἦν δ' αὕτη πρὸ μιᾶς 50  
 7 νωνῶν Κυντιλίῳ, ἃς νῦν Ἰουλίᾳς καλοῦμεν. ἔτι δὲ  
 Μάρκος Λεύκολλος, εἰς τῶν ὑπὸ Σύλλα στρατηγούν-  
 των, περὶ Φιδεντίαν ἑκκαίδεκα σπείραις πρὸς πεντή-  
 κοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιταχθεὶς τῇ μὲν προθυμίᾳ  
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπίστευεν, ἀνόπλους δὲ τοὺς πολ- 55  
 λοὺς ἔχων ὄκνει. βουλευομένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ διαμέλ-  
 λουτος, ἀπὸ τοῦ πλησίον πεδίου λειμῶνα ἔχουτος  
 αὔρα φέρουσα μαλακῇ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθέων ἐπέβαλε

τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ κατέσπειρεν αὐτομάτως, ἐπιμένοντα  
 60 καὶ περιπίπτοντα τοῖς θυρεοῖς καὶ τοῖς κράνεσιν  
 αὐτῶν, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐστεφανωμέ-  
 νους. γενόμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τούτου προθυμότεροι συνέ- 8  
 βαλον, καὶ νικήσαντες ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μυρίοις  
 ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἶλον. οὗτος ὁ Λεύ-  
 65 κολλος ἀδελφὸς ἦν Λευκόλλου τοῦ Μιθριδάτην ὕστε-  
 ρον καὶ Τιγράνην καταπολεμήσαντος.

XXVIII Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἔτι πολλοῖς στρατοπέδοις καὶ μεγά-  
 λαις δυνάμεσι περικεχυμένους αὐτῷ τοὺς  
 πολεμίους ὁρῶν πανταχόθεν ἠπέιγετο  
 δυνάμει καὶ δι' ἀπάτης, προκαλούμενος  
 5 εἰς διαλύσεις τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὑπάτων Σκηπίωνα.  
 δεξαμένου δ' ἐκείνου σύλλογοι μὲν ἐγίνοντο καὶ κοι- 2  
 νολογίαι πλείονες, αἰεὶ δέ τινα παραγωγὴν καὶ πρό-  
 φασιν ἐμβάλλων ὁ Σύλλας διέφθειρε τοὺς περὶ  
 Σκηπίωνα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις, ἡσκημένοις πρὸς  
 10 ἀπάτην καὶ γοητείαν ἅπασαν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ὁ ἡγεμὼν·  
 εἰσιόντες γὰρ εἰς τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων καὶ  
 ἀναμιγνύμενοι τοὺς μὲν εὐθὺς ἀργυρίῳ τοὺς δ' ὑπο-  
 σχέςεσι, τοὺς δὲ κολακεύοντες καὶ ἀναπείθοντες προσ-  
 ἤγοντο. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα μετὰ σπειρῶν εἴκοσι 3  
 15 προσελθόντος ἐγγυὺς οἱ μὲν ἠσπάσαντο τοὺς τοῦ Σκη-  
 πίωνος, οἱ δ' ἀντασπασάμενοι προσεχώρησαν· ὁ δὲ  
 Σκηπίων ἔρημος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ληφθεὶς ἠφέθη, Σύλλας  
 δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι σπείραις ὥσπερ ἠθάσιν ὄρνισι τεσσα-  
 ράκοντα τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παλεύσας ἀπήγαγεν εἰς  
 20 τὸ στρατόπεδον ἅπαντας, ὅτε καὶ Κάρβωνα φασιν  
 εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀλώπεκι καὶ λέοντι πολεμῶν ἐν τῇ Σύλλα  
 ψυχῇ κατοικοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλώπεκος ἀνωῖτο μᾶλλον.  
 ἐκ τούτου περὶ Σίγνιον Μάριος ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε 4

Desertion of  
 the army of the  
 consul L. Cor-  
 nelius Scipio to  
 Sulla.

σπείρας ἔχων προῦκαλείτο Σύλλαν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πάνυ  
Defeat of the younger Marius at the battle of Sacriportus. πρόθυμος ἦν διαγωνίσασθαι κατ' ἐκείνην 25  
 τὴν ἡμέραν· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὄψιν ἑώρα-  
 κῶς τοιάνδε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους· ἐδόκει  
 τὸν γέροντα Μάριον τεθνηκότα πάλαι τῷ παιδὶ Μαρίῳ  
 παραινεῖν φυλάξασθαι τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ὡς  
 μεγάλην αὐτῷ δυστυχίαν φέρουσαν. διὰ τοῦτο μὲν 30  
 δὴ πρόθυμος ὁ Σύλλας ἦν μάχεσθαι, καὶ μετεπέμπετο 470  
 5 τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἄπωθεν στρατοπεδεύοντα· τῶν δὲ  
 πολεμίων ἐφισταμένων ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἀποφραττόντων  
 οἱ τοῦ Σύλλα προσμαχόμενοι καὶ ὁδοποιοῦντες ἔκαμ-  
 νον· καὶ πολὺς ὄμβρος ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιγενόμενος 35  
 μᾶλλον ἐκάκωσεν αὐτούς. ὅθεν οἱ ταξίαρχοι προσ-  
 ιόντες τῷ Σύλλᾳ ἐδέοντο τὴν μάχην ἀναβαλέσθαι,  
 δεικνύντες ἅμα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐρριμμένους ὑπὸ  
 κόπου καὶ προσαναπαυομένους χαμᾶζε τοῖς θυρεοῖς  
 6 κεκλιμένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεχώρησεν ἄκων καὶ πρόσ- 40  
 ταγμα καταζεύξεως ἔδωκεν, ἀρχομένων αὐτῶν τὸν  
 χάρακα βάλλειν καὶ τάφρον ὀρύσσειν πρὸ τῆς στρα-  
 τοπεδείας, ἐπήλανε σοβαρῶς ὁ Μάριος προῖππεύων  
 ὡς ἀτάκτους καὶ τεθορυβημένους διασκεδάσων. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα τῷ Σύλλᾳ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φωνὴν ὁ 45  
 δαίμων συνετέλει· ὀργὴ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς στρατιώταις  
 παρέστη, καὶ παυσάμενοι τῶν ἔργων τοὺς μὲν ὑσσοὺς  
 κατέπηξαν ἐπὶ τῇ τάφρῳ, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ξίφη  
 καὶ συναλαλάξαντες ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τῶν πολεμίων.  
 7 οἱ δ' οὐ πολὺν ὑπέστησαν χρόνον, ἀλλὰ γίνεται πολὺς 50  
 φόνος αὐτῶν τραπέντων. Μάριος δὲ φεύγων εἰς  
 Πραϊνεστόν ἤδη τὰς πύλας εὔρε κεκλειμένας, καλω-  
 δίου δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀφεθέντος ἐνζώσας ἑαυτὸν ἀνελήφθη  
 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν, ὧν καὶ Φενεστέλλας

55 ἐστίν, οὐδ' αἰσθέσθαι τῆς μάχης τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀγρυπνιῶν καὶ κόπων ὑπὸ σκιᾷ τινὶ χαμαὶ κατακλινέντα τοῦ συνθήματος δοθέντος ἐνδοῦναι πρὸς ὕπνον, εἶτα μόλις ἐξεγείρεσθαι τῆς φυγῆς γενομένης. ἐν 8 ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Σύλλας φησὶν εἰκοσιτρεῖς μόνους 60 ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ τῶν πολεμίων δισμυρίουσ καὶ λαβεῖν ζῶντας ὀκτακισχιλίους. καὶ τᾶλλα δ' ὁμοίως εὐτυχεῖτο διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν, Πομπηίου Κράσσου Μετέλλου Σερουιλίου· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢ μικρὰ προσκρούσαντες οὗτοι μεγάλας συνέτριψαν δυνάμεις 65 τῶν πολεμίων, ὥστε τὸν μάλιστα τὴν ἐναντίαν στάσιν συνέχοντα Κάρβωνα νύκτωρ ἀποδράντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιὰν εἰς Λιβύην ἐκπλεῦσαι.

XXIX Τὸν μέντοι τελευταῖον ἀγῶνα καθάπερ ἔφεδρος ἀθλητῇ καταπόνῳ προσενεχθεὶς ὁ Σαυνί-  
της Τελεσίνος ἐγγυὺς ἦλθε τοῦ σφῆλαι  
καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς Ῥώμης.

Desperate attempt of the Samnites under Pontius to surprise the Roman capital.

5 ἔσπευδε μὲν γὰρ ἕμα Λαμπωνίῳ τῷ  
Λευκανῷ χεῖρα πολλὴν ἀθροίσας ἐπὶ Πραινεστὸν ὡς  
ἐξαρπασόμενος τῆς πολιορκίας τὸν Μάριον· ἐπεὶ δ' 2  
ἦσθετο Σύλλαν μὲν κατὰ στόμα Πομπηίου δὲ κατ' οὐρὰν βοηδρομοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτόν, εἰργόμενος τοῦ πρόσω 10 καὶ ὀπίσω πολεμιστῆς ἀνὴρ καὶ μεγάλων ἀγῶνῶν ἔμπειρος ἄρας νυκτὸς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐχώρει παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ μικροῦ μὲν ἐδέησεν ἔμπεσεῖν εἰς ἀφύλακτον, ἀποσχῶν δὲ τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης δέκα σταδίους ἐπηυλίσατο τῇ πόλει, μεγαλο- 15 φρονῶν καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐπηρμένους ὡς τοσοῦτους ἡγεμόνας καὶ τηλικούτους κατεστρατηγηκῶς. ἅμα 3 δ' ἡμέρα τῶν λαμπροτάτων νέων ἐξιππασαμένων ἐπ' αὐτόν ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ Κλαύδιον Ἀππιον,

εὐγενῆ καὶ ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, κατέβαλε. θορύβου δ',  
 οἷον εἰκός, ὄντος ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ βοῆς γυναικείας καὶ 20  
 διαδρομῶν ὡς ἀλισκομένων κατὰ κράτος, πρῶτος  
 ὤφθη Βάλβος ἀπὸ Σύλλα προσελαύνων ἀνὰ κράτος  
 ἱππεύσιν ἑπτακοσίοις. διαλιπὼν δ' ὅσον ἀναψύξαι  
 τὸν ἰδρώτα τῶν ἵππων, εἶτ' αὐθις ἐγχαλινώσας διὰ  
 4 ταχέων ἐξήπτετο τῶν πολεμίων. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ 25  
 Σύλλας ἐφαίνετο, καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους εὐθις ἀριστῶν  
 κελεύων εἰς τάξιν καθίστη. πολλὰ δὲ Δολοβέλλα  
 καὶ Τορκουάτου δεομένων ἐπισχεῖν καὶ μὴ κατακό-  
 πους ἔχοντα τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀποκινδυνεύσαι περὶ τῶν  
 ἐσχάτων (οὐ γὰρ Κάρβωνα καὶ Μάριον ἀλλὰ Σαυνί- 30  
 τας καὶ Λευκανούς, τὰ ἔχθιστα τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὰ  
 πολεμικώτατα φύλα, συμφέρεσθαι), παρωσάμενος 47 I  
 αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσε σημαίνειν τὰς σάλπιγγας ἀρχὴν  
 ἐφόδου σχεδὸν εἰς ὥραν δεκάτην ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας κα-  
 5 ταστρεφούσης. γενομένου δ' ἀγῶνος οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος, 35  
 τὸ μὲν δεξιόν, ἐν ᾧ Κράσσος ἐτέτακτο,  
 λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα, τῷ δ' εὐωνύμῳ πονοῦντι  
 καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντι Σύλλας παρεβοήθει,  
 λευκὸν ἵππον ἔχων θυμοειδῆ καὶ ποδωκέστατον· ἀφ' οὗ  
 γνωρίσαντες αὐτὸν δύο τῶν πολεμίων διετείνοντο τὰς 40  
 λόγχας ὡς ἀφήσοντες. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐ προενόησε, τοῦ  
 δ' ἱπποκόμου μαστίξαντος τὸν ἵππον ἔφθη παρενεχθεῖς  
 τοσοῦτον ὅσον περὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ἵππου τὰς αἰχμὰς  
 6 συμπεσοῦσας εἰς τὴν γῆν παγῆναι. λέγεται δ' ἔχων  
 τι χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐκ Δελφῶν ἀεὶ 45  
 μὲν αὐτὸ κατὰ τὰς μάχας περιφέρειν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε τοῦτο καταφιλεῖν οὕτω δὴ λέγων ὡς  
 Πύθιε Ἀπολλον, τὸν εὐτυχῆ Σύλλαν Κορνήλιον ἐν  
 τοσοῦτοις ἀγῶσιν ἄρας λαμπρὸν καὶ μέγαν ἐνταῦθα

Battle of the  
 Colline gate.  
 Decisive vic-  
 tory of Crassus.

50 ῥίψεις ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς πατρίδος ἀγαγών, αἴσχιστα  
 τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συναπολούμενον πολίταις;’ τοιαῦτά φασι 7  
 τὸν Σύλλα θεοκλυτοῦντα πους μὲν ἀντιβολεῖν τοῖς  
 δ’ ἀπειλεῖν τῶν δ’ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι· τέλος δὲ τοῦ  
 εὐωνύμου συντριβέντος ἀναμιχθέντα τοῖς φεύγουσιν  
 55 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καταφυγεῖν, πολλοὺς ἀποβαλόντα  
 τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ γνωρίμων. οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ θέαν προελθόντες ἀπώλοντο καὶ κατ-  
 επατήθησαν, ὥστε τὴν μὲν πόλιν οἶεσθαι διαπεπρᾶχ- 8  
 θαι, παρ’ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ τὴν Μαρίου πολιορκίαν λυθῆ-  
 60 ναι, πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς ὠσαμένων ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ  
 τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τεταγμένον Ὀφέλλαν Λουκρήτιον ἀνα-  
 ζευγνύει κατὰ τάχος κελευόντων, ὡς ἀπολωλότες τοῦ  
 Σύλλα καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐχομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.

XXX Ἦδη δὲ νυκτὸς οὔσης βαθείας ἦκον εἰς τὸ τοῦ  
 Σύλλα στρατόπεδον παρὰ τοῦ Κράσσου δεῖπνον  
 αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μετιόντες· ὡς γὰρ ἐνίκησε  
 τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰς Ἄντεμναν καταδιώξαντες ἐκεῖ  
 5 κατεστρατοπέδευσαν. ταῦτ’ οὖν πυθόμενος ὁ Σύλλας,  
 καὶ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων οἱ πλείστοι διολώ-  
 λασιν, ἦκεν εἰς Ἄντεμναν ἅμ’ ἡμέρα, καὶ  
 τρισχιλίων ἐπικηρυκευσαμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέσχετο  
 δώσειν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εἰ κακόν τι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐργα-  
 10 σάμενοι πολεμίους ἔλθοιεν πρὸς αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ πιστεῖ- 2  
 σαντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς λοιποῖς, καὶ πολλοὶ κατεκόπη-  
 σαν ὑπ’ ἀλλήλων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς περιγενομένους εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους  
 ἀθροίσας παρὰ τὸν ἵππόδρομον, ἐκάλει  
 15 τὴν σύγκλητον εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἐννουῦς ἱερόν.  
 ἅμα δ’ αὐτὸς τε λέγειν ἐνήρχετο καὶ κατέ-  
 κοπτον οἱ τεταγμένοι τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους.

Sulla joins Cras-  
 sus at Antemnae.

Massacre of the  
 surviving Sam-  
 nites in the  
 Circus, while the  
 Senate are as-  
 sembled in the  
 temple of Bellona.

3 κραυγῆς δέ, ὡς εἰκός, ἐν χωρίῳ μικρῷ τοσούτων σφατ-  
τομένων φερομένης καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐκπλαγέν-  
των, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανε λέγων ἀτρέπτω καὶ καθεστηκ- 20  
ὅτι τῷ προσώπῳ προσέχειν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς τῷ λόγῳ,  
τὰ δ' ἔξω γινόμενα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν· νουθετεῖσθαι

4 γὰρ αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐνίους τῶν πονηρῶν. τοῦτο  
καὶ τῷ βραδυτάτῳ Ῥωμαίων νοῆσαι παρέστησεν ὡς  
ἀλλαγὴ τὸ χρῆμα τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴ γέγονεν. 25  
Μάριος μὲν οὖν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χαλεπὸς ὢν ἐπέτεινε, οὐ

The different  
conduct of Sulla  
before and after  
his supremacy

μετέβαλε τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τὴν φύσιν· Σύλλας  
δὲ μετρίως τὰ πρῶτα καὶ πολιτικῶς  
ὀμιλήσας τῇ τύχῃ καὶ δόξαν ἀριστοκρα-

5 τικοῦ καὶ δημοφελοῦς ἡγεμόνος παρασχών, ἔτι δὲ καὶ 30  
φιλόγελως ἐκ νέου γενόμενος καὶ πρὸς οἶκτον ὑγρὸς  
ὥστε ῥαδίως ἐπιδακρύνειν, εἰκότως προσετρίψατο  
ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις διαβολὴν ὡς τὰ ἦθη μένειν  
οὐκ ἑώσαις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τρόπων, ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτα  
καὶ χαῦνα καὶ ἀπάνθρωπα ποιούσας. 35

Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν εἴτε κίνησίς ἐστι καὶ μεταβολὴ

raises the ques-  
tion as to the ef-  
fect produced on  
a man's character  
by change of  
fortune. Sulla's  
massacres, pro-  
scriptions and  
confiscations.

φύσεως ὑπὸ τύχης, εἴτε μᾶλλον ὑποκει- 472  
μένης ἀποκάλυψις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ κακίας,  
ἑτέρα τις ἂν διορίσειε πραγματεία· τοῦ  
δὲ Σύλλα πρὸς τὸ σφάττειν τραπομένου  
καὶ φόνων οὐτ' ἀριθμὸν οὐθ' ὄρον ἐχόντων

ἐμπιπλάντος τὴν πόλιν, ἀναιρουμένων πολλῶν καὶ  
κατ' ἰδίας ἔχθρας οἷς οὐδὲν ἦν πρᾶγμα πρὸς 5  
Σύλλαν, ἐφίεντος αὐτοῦ καὶ χαριζομένου τοῖς περὶ  
αὐτόν, ἐτόλμησε τῶν νέων εἷς, Γάιος Μέτελλος, ἐν τῇ  
συγκλήτῳ τοῦ Σύλλα πυθέσθαι τί πέρας ἔσται τῶν  
κακῶν, καὶ ποῖ προελθόντος αὐτοῦ δεῖ πεπαῦσθαι τὰ

2 γινόμενα προσδοκᾶν· 'παραιτούμεθα γάρ' εἶπεν 10

'οὐχ οὖς σὺ ἔγνωκας ἀναιρεῖν τῆς τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ  
 τῆς ἀμφιβολίας οὖς ἔγνωκας σῶζειν.' ἀποκριναμένου  
 δὲ τοῦ Σύλλα μηδέπω γινώσκειν οὖς ἀφίησιν, ὑπο-  
 λαβὼν ὁ Μέτελλος 'οὐκοῦν' ἔφη 'δήλωσον οὖς μέλ-  
 15 λεις κολάζειν.' καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσειν.  
 ἔνιοι δ' οὐ τὸν Μέτελλον ἀλλὰ Φουφίδιον τινα τῶν 3  
 πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλούντων τῷ Σύλλα τὸ τελευταῖον  
 εἶπεῖν λέγουσιν. ὁ δ' οὖν Σύλλας εὐθύς ὀγδοήκοντα  
 προέγραψεν, οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει κοινωσάμενος.  
 20 ἀγανακτοῦντων δὲ πάντων, μίαν ἡμέραν διαλιπὼν  
 ἄλλους προέγραψεν εἴκοσι καὶ διακοσίους, εἶτα τρίτη  
 πάλιν οὐκ ἐλάττους. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις δημηγορῶν εἶπεν 4  
 ὅσους μεμνημένος τυγχάνοι προγράψειν, τοὺς δὲ νῦν  
 διαλαυθάνοντας αὐθις προγράψειν. προέγραψε δὲ τῷ  
 25 μὲν ὑποδεξαμένῳ καὶ διασώσαντι τὸν προγεγραμμένον  
 ζημίαν τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὀρίζων θάνατον, οὐκ ἀδελ-  
 φόν, οὐχ υἰόν, οὐ γονεῖς ὑπεξελόμενος, τῷ δ' ἀποκτείν-  
 αντι γέρας δύο τάλαντα τῆς ἀνδροφονίας, κἂν δούλος  
 δεσπότην κἂν πατέρα υἱὸς ἀνέλη. ὁ δὲ πάντων ἀδικώ-  
 30 τατον ἔδοξε, τῶν γὰρ προγεγραμμένων ἠτίμωσε καὶ  
 υἱοὺς καὶ υἰωνοὺς, καὶ τὰ χρήματα πάντων ἐδήμει-  
 σεν. προεγράφοντο δ' οὐκ ἐν Ῥώμῃ μόνον <sup>in Rome and</sup> 5  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας· καὶ <sup>throughout Italy.</sup>  
 φονευσμένων οὔτε ναὸς ἦν καθαρὸς θεοῦ οὔτε ἐστία  
 35 ξένιος οὔτ' οἶκος πατρῶος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ γυναιξὶ  
 γαμεταῖς ἄνδρες ἐσφάπτοντο καὶ παρὰ μητράσι  
 παῖδες. ἦσαν δ' οἱ δι' ὀργὴν ἀπολλύμενοι καὶ δι'  
 ἔχθραν οὐδὲν μέρος τῶν διὰ χρήματα σφαπτομένων,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ λέγειν ἐπήει τοῖς κολάζουσιν ὡς τόνδε μὲν  
 40 ἀνήρηκεν οἰκία μεγάλη, τόνδε δὲ κῆπος, ἄλλον ὕδατα  
 θερμά. Κόιντος δ' Αὐρήλιος, ἀνὴρ ἀπράγμων καὶ 6

Story illustrative of the time.

τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ μετεῖναι τῶν κακῶν νομί-  
ζων ἴσον ἄλλοις συναλγεῖν ἀτυχοῦσιν,  
εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐλθὼν ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς προγεγραμμένους,  
εὐρῶν δ' ἑαυτὸν 'οἴμοι τάλας' εἶπε, 'διώκει με τὸ ἐν 45  
'Ἀλβανῷ χωρίον.' καὶ βραχὺ προελθὼν ὑπὸ τινος  
ἀπεσφάγη καταδιώξαντος.

XXXII

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Μάριος μὲν ἀλισκόμενος ἑαυτὸν  
διέφθειρε, Σύλλας δ' εἰς Πραϊνεστὸν  
ἐλθὼν πρῶτον μὲν ἰδίᾳ κατ' ἄνδρα κρίνων  
ἐκόλαζεν, εἶτα ὡς οὐ σχολῆς οὔσης πάν-  
τας ἀθρώως εἰς ταῦτὸ συναγαγὼν, μυρίους καὶ δισχι- 5  
λίους ὄντας, ἐκέλευσεν ἀποσφάπτειν, μόνῳ τῷ ξένῳ  
διδούς ἄδειαν. ὁ δ' εὐγενῶς πάνυ φήσας πρὸς αὐτὸν  
ὡς οὐδέποτε σωτηρίας χάριν εἴσεται τῷ φονεῖ τῆς  
πατρίδος, ἀναμιχθεὶς ἐκὼν συγκατεκόπη τοῖς πολ-  
ίταις.

10

2 Ἔδοξε δὲ καινότατον γενέσθαι τὸ περὶ Λεύκιον

L. Sergius Ca-  
tilina's murder  
and subsequent  
proscription of  
his own brother.

Κατιλίαν· οὗτος γὰρ οὐπω τῶν πραγ-  
μάτων κεκριμένων ἀνηρηκῶς ἀδελφὸν  
ἐδεήθη τοῦ Σύλλα τότε προγράψαι τὸν  
ἄνθρωπον ὡς ζῶντα, καὶ προεγράφη. 15  
τούτου δὲ τῷ Σύλλα χάριν ἐκτίνων Μάρκον τινὰ  
Μάριον τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως ἀποκτείνας τὴν  
μὲν κεφαλὴν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καθεζομένῳ τῷ Σύλλα προσή-  
νεγκε, τῷ δὲ περιρραντηρίῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγγὺς  
ὄντι προσελθὼν ἀπενίψατο τὰς χεῖρας.

20

XXXIII Ἐξω δὲ τῶν φονικῶν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώ- 473

The Dictator-  
ship restored in  
the person of  
Sulla. Bill of  
indemnity passed  
in his favour.

πους ἐλύπει. δικτάτορα μὲν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν  
ἀνηγόρευσε, δι' ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τοῦτο  
τὸ γένος τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναλαβὼν· ἐψηφίσθη  
δ' αὐτῷ πάντων ἄδεια τῶν γεγονότων, 5

πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέλλον ἐξουσία θανάτου δημεύσεως κληρουχιῶν κτίσεως πορθήσεως, ἀφελῆσθαι βασιλείαν, ᾧ βούλοιτο χαρίσασθαι. τὰς δὲ διαπρά- 2  
σεις τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκῶν οὕτως ὑπερηφάνως  
10 ἐποιεῖτο καὶ δεσποτικῶς ἐπὶ βήματος καθεζόμενος ὥστε τῶν ἀφαιρέσεων ἐπαχθεστέρας αὐτοῦ τὰς δωρεὰς εἶναι, καὶ γυναιξὶν εὐμόρφοις καὶ λυρωδοῖς καὶ μίμοις καὶ καθάρμασιν ἐξελευθερικοῖς ἔθνῶν χώρας καὶ πόλεων χαριζομένου προσόδου, ἐνίοις δὲ  
15 γάμους ἀκουσίως ζευγνυμένων γυναικῶν. Πομπηίον 3  
γέ τοι βουλόμενος οἰκειώσασθαι τὸν His treatment of Gnaeus Pompeius. Μάγνον, ἣν μὲν εἶχε γαμετὴν ἀφείναι προσέταξεν, Λίμιλιαν δὲ Σκαύρου θυγατέρα καὶ Μετέλλης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γυναικός, ἀποσπάσας Μανίου  
20 Γλαβρίωνος ἐγκύμονα, συνώκισεν αὐτῷ· ἀπέθανε δ' ἡ κόρη παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τίκτουσα. Λουκρητίου δ' Ὀφέλλα τοῦ Μάριον ἐκπολιορκήσαντος His disregard of personal considerations shown in his treatment of Ofella Lucretius. αἰτουμένου καὶ μετιόντος ὑπατείαν πρῶ- 4  
τον μὲν ἐκώλυν· ὡς δ' ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ πολ-  
25 λῶν σπουδαζόμενος εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐνέ-  
βαλε, πέμψας τινὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἑκατονταρχῶν ἀπέσφαξε τὸν ἄνδρα, καθεζόμενος αὐτὸς ἐπὶ βήματος ἐν τῷ Διοσκουρείῳ καὶ τὸν φόνου ἐφορῶν ἄνωθεν· τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων τὸν ἑκατοντάρχην συλλαβόντων  
30 καὶ προσαγαγόντων τῷ βήματι, σιωπῆσαι κελεύσας τοὺς θορυβοῦντας αὐτὸς ἔφη κελεύσαι τοῦτο, καὶ τὸν ἑκατοντάρχην ἀφείναι προσέταξεν.

XXIV Ὁ μέντοι θρίαμβος αὐτοῦ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ καὶ καινότητι τῶν βασιλικῶν λαφύρων σοβαρὸς γενόμενος μείζονα κόσμον ἔσχε Magnificence of Sulla's triumph. καὶ καλὸν θέαμα τοὺς φυγάδας. οἱ γὰρ ἐνδοξότατοι

καὶ δυνατώτατοι τῶν πολιτῶν ἐστεφανωμένοι παρεί- 5  
 ποντο, σωτήρα καὶ πατέρα τὸν Σύλλαν ἀποκαλοῦντες  
 ἄτε δὴ δι' ἐκείνον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατιόντες καὶ  
 2 κομιζόμενοι παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας. ἤδη δὲ συνηρη-  
 μένων ἀπάντων, ἀπολογισμὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν πρά-  
 ξεων ποιούμενος οὐκ ἐλάσσονι σπουδῇ τὰς εὐτυχίας 10  
 ἢ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας κατηριθμεῖτο, καὶ πέρας ἐκέλευσεν  
 ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις εὔτυχῆ προσαγορεύεσθαι· τούτο

He assumes the name of Felix and Epaphroditos and calls his twin children Faustus and Fausta. His good fortune and self-reliance. His abdication of the Dictatorship.

3 γὰρ ὁ φήλιξ μάλιστα βούλεται δηλοῦν  
 αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησι γράφων καὶ χρη-  
 ματίζων ἑαυτὸν ἐπαφρόδιτον ἀνηγόρευε, 15  
 καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς τροπαιοῖς οὕτως  
 ἀναγέγραπται λεῖκιος κορνήλιος κύλ-  
 λας ἐπαφρόδιτος. ἔτι δὲ τῆς Μετέλ-  
 λης παιδία τεκούσης δίδυμα τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν φαῖστον  
 τὸ δὲ θῆλυ φαῖσταν ὠνόμασε· τὸ γὰρ εὐτυχὲς καὶ 20  
 ἰλαρὸν Ῥωμαῖοι φαῦστον καλοῦσιν. οὕτω δ' ἄρα οὐ  
 ταῖς πράξεσιν ὡς τοῖς εὐτυχήμασιν ἐπίστευεν ὥστε,  
 παμπόλλων μὲν ἀνηρημένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, καινοτομίας  
 δὲ γενομένης καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει τοσαύτης,  
 ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀρχαιρεσιῶν 25  
 ὑπατικῶν ποιῆσαι κύριον, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ προσελθεῖν,  
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸ σῶμα παρέχων τοῖς βουλομένοις  
 4 ὑπεύθυνον ὥσπερ ἰδιώτης ἀναστρέφεσθαι. καὶ τις

Election of consuls for 78/676. Marcus Lepidus, a candidate, is supported by Pompeius against Sulla's wish, who predicts the feud between the two.

5 παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ θρασὺς ἀνὴρ καὶ  
 πολέμιος ἐπίδοξος ἦν ὕπατος αἰρεθήσασ- 30  
 θαι, Μάρκος Λέπιδος, οὐ δι' ἑαυτὸν ἀλλὰ  
 Πομπηίῳ σπουδάζοντι καὶ δεομένῳ τοῦ  
 δήμου χαριζομένου. διὸ καὶ χαίροντα τῇ  
 νίκῃ τὸν Πομπήιον ὁ Σύλλας ἰδὼν ἀπι-  
 όντα καλέσας πρὸς ἑαυτὸν 'ὡς καλόν' ἔφη 'σοῦ τὸ 35

πολίτευμα ὦ νεανία, τὸ Κάτλου πρότερον ἀναγορευ-  
σαι Λέπιδον, τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου τὸν ἐμπληκτότα-  
τον. ὦρα μέντοι σοι μὴ καθεύδειν ὡς ἰσχυρότερον  
πεποιηκότι κατὰ σαυτοῦ τὸν ἀνταγωνιστήν.'

474 Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ὁ Σύλλας ὥσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε·

41 ταχὺ γὰρ ἐξυβρίσας ὁ Λέπιδος εἰς πόλε-  
μον κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον·

Death of Sulla's  
wife Metella dur-  
ing the festival  
which he was cele-  
brating in honour  
of Hercules.

XXXV ἀποθύων δὲ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπάσης ὁ Σύλλας

τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ δεκάτην ἐστίασεις ἐποιεῖτο

τῷ δήμῳ πολυτελεῖς, καὶ τοσοῦτον περιττὴ ἦν ἡ  
παρασκευὴ τῆς χρείας ὥστε παμπληθῆ καθ' ἐκάστην

5 ἡμέραν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἕψα ῥιπτεῖσθαι, πίνεσθαι  
δ' οἶνον ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ παλαιότερον. διὰ 2

μέσου δὲ τῆς θοίνης πολυημέρου γενομένης ἀπέθνησ-  
κεν ἡ Μετέλλα νόσῳ· καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τὸν Σύλλαν οὐκ

ἐώντων αὐτῇ προσελθεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ κήδει

10 μίανθῆναι, γραψάμενος διάλυσιν τοῦ γάμου πρὸς  
αὐτὴν ὁ Σύλλας ἔτι ζῶσαν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς ἑτέραν οἰκίαν

μετακομισθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἀκριβῶς τὸ νόμιμον  
ὑπὸ δεισιδαιμονίας ἐτήρησε, τὸν δὲ τῆς ταφῆς ὀρί-

15 μηδενὸς ἀναλώματος φεισάμενος. παρέβαινε δὲ καὶ 3  
τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐτελείας τῶν δείπνων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεταγ-  
μένα, πότοις καὶ συνδείπνοις τρυφὰς καὶ βωμολοχίας

ἔχουσι παρηγορῶν τὸ πένθος. ὀλίγων δὲ  
μηνῶν διαγενομένων ἦν μὲν θέα μονο-

His marriage  
with Valeria a  
few months later.

20 μάχων, οὐπω δὲ τῶν τόπων διακεκριμένων

ἄλλ' ἔτι τοῦ θεάτρου συμμιγοῦς ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν  
ὄντος ἔτυχε πλησίον τοῦ Σύλλα καθεζομένη γυνὴ τὴν

ὄψιν εὐπρεπῆς καὶ γένους λαμπροῦ· Μεσσάλα γὰρ 4  
ἦν θυγάτηρ, Ὀρτησίου δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀδελφή,

Οὐαλερία δὲ τοῦνομα· συνεβεβήκει δ' αὐτῇ νεωστὶ <sup>25</sup>  
 πρὸς ἄνδρα διάστασις. αὕτη παρὰ τὸν Σύλλαν  
 ἐξόπισθεν παραπορευομένη τὴν τε χεῖρα πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 ἀπηρείσατο καὶ κροκῦδα τοῦ ἱματίου σπάσασα παρ-  
 ῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς χώραν. ἐμβλέψαντος δὲ τοῦ  
 Σύλλα καὶ θαυμάσαντος 'οὐδέν' ἔφη 'δεινόν, αὐτό- <sup>30</sup>  
 κρατορ, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι τῆς σῆς καὶ γὰρ μικρὸν εὐτυχίας  
<sup>5</sup> μεταλαβεῖν.' τοῦτ' ἤκουσεν οὐκ ἀηδῶς ὁ Σύλλας,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δῆλος εὐθύς ἦν ὑποκεκνισμένος· ἠρώτα γὰρ  
 ὑποπέμπων αὐτῆς ὄνομα, καὶ γένος καὶ βίον ἐμάν-  
 θανεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ῥίψεις ὀμμάτων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους <sup>35</sup>  
 ἐγίνοντο καὶ παρεπιστροφαὶ συνεχεῖς προσώπων καὶ  
 μειδιαμάτων διαδόσεις, τέλος δὲ ὁμολογίαι καὶ συνθέ-  
 σεις περὶ γάμων, ἐκείνη μὲν ἴσως ἄμεμπτοι, Σύλλας  
 δ', εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα σῶφρονα καὶ γενναίαν, ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ ἐκ σῶφρονος καὶ καλῆς ἔγημεν ἀρχῆς, ὅψει καὶ <sup>40</sup>  
 λαμυρία μειρακίου δίκην παραβληθείς, ὑφ' ὧν τὰ  
 αἰσχιστα καὶ ἀναιδέστατα πάθη κινεῖσθαι πέφυκεν.

XXXVI

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας  
 συνῆν μίμοις γυναιξὶ καὶ κιθαρίστριαις

The scenes and  
 associates of his  
 later life.

καὶ θυμελικοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἐπὶ στιβάδων  
 ἀφ' ἡμέρας συμπίνων. οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ τότε

παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι μέγιστον ἦσαν, 'Ρώσκιος ὁ <sup>5</sup>  
 κωμωδὸς καὶ Σῶριξ ὁ ἀρχιμίμος καὶ Μητρόβιος ὁ  
 λυσιωδός, οὗ καίπερ ἐξώρου γενομένου διετέλει μέχρι

<sup>2</sup> Nature of his  
 last illness.

παντὸς ἐρᾶν οὐκ ἀρνούμενος. ὅθεν καὶ  
 τὴν νόσον ἀπ' αἰτίας ἐλαφρᾶς ἀρξαμένην

ἐξέθρεψε, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἠγνόει περὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα <sup>10</sup>  
 γεγωνὸς ἔμπυος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ τὴν σάρκα διαφθαρεῖσαν  
 εἰς φθεῖρας μετέβαλε πᾶσαν, ὥστε πολλῶν δι' ἡμέρας  
 ἴμα καὶ νυκτὸς ἀφαιρούντων μηδὲν εἶναι μέρος τοῦ

ἐπιγινόμενου τὸ ἀποκρινόμενον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἐσθίητα  
 15 καὶ λουτρὸν καὶ ἀπόνιμμα καὶ σιτίον ἀναπίμπλασθαι  
 τοῦ ρεύματος ἐκείνου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς· τοσοῦτον ἐξήν-  
 θει. διὸ πολλάκις τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ὕδωρ ἐνέβαινεν 3  
 ἐκκλύζων τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀπορρυπτόμενος. ἦν δ' οὐδὲν  
 ὄφελος· ἐκράτει γὰρ ἡ μεταβολὴ τῷ τάχει, καὶ περιε-  
 20 γίνετο παντὸς καθαρμοῦ τὸ πλήθος. λέγεται δὲ τῶν  
 μὲν πάνυ παλαιῶν Ἀκαστον φθειριάσαντα τὸν Πελίου  
 τελευτῆσαι, τῶν δ' ὑστέρων Ἀλκμᾶνα τὸν μελοποιὸν  
 καὶ Φερεκύδην τὸν θεολόγον καὶ Καλλισθένη τὸν  
 Ὀλύνθιον ἐν εἰρκτῇ φρουρούμενον, ἔτι δὲ Μούκιον  
 475 τὸν νομικόν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' οὐδενὸς μὲν χρη- 4  
 26 στοῦ γνωρίμων δ' ἄλλως ἐπιμνησθῆναι, λέγεται τὸν  
 ἄρξαντα τοῦ δουλικοῦ πολέμου περὶ Σικελίαν δραπέ-  
 την, Εὐνον ὄνομα, μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν εἰς Ῥώμην  
 ἀγόμενον ὑπὸ φθειριάσεως ἀποθανεῖν.

XXXVII

Ὁ δὲ Σύλλας οὐ μόνον προέγνω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευ-  
 τήν, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ γέγραφε περὶ  
 αὐτῆς. τὸ γὰρ εἰκοστὸν καὶ δεῦτερον His death.  
 τῶν ὑπομνημάτων πρὸ δυεῖν ἡμερῶν ἢ ἐτελεύτα γρά-  
 5 φων ἐπαύσατο· καὶ φησι τοὺς <τε> Χαλδαίους αὐτῷ  
 προειπεῖν ὡς δέοι βεβιωκότα καλῶς αὐτὸν ἐν ἀκμῇ  
 τῶν εὐτυχημάτων καταστρέψαι. λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸν 2  
 υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τεθνηκότα μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς Μετέλ-  
 λης, φανῆναι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐν ἐσθῆτι φαύλη  
 10 παρεστῶτα καὶ δεόμενον τοῦ πατρὸς παύσασθαι τῶν  
 φροντίδων, ἰόντα δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὴν μητέρα  
 Μετέλλαν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν μετ' αὐτῆς.  
 οὐ μὴν ἐπαύσατό γε τοῦ πράττειν τὰ δημόσια. δέκα 3  
 μὲν γὰρ ἡμέραις ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς τοὺς ἐν  
 15 Δικαιαρχείᾳ στασιάζοντας διαλλάξας νόμον ἔγραψεν

αὐτοῖς καθ' ὃν πολιτεύσονται· πρὸ μιᾶς δὲ ἡμέρας  
 πυθόμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα Γράνιον, ὡς ὀφείλων δημόσιον  
 χρέος οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν ἀλλ' ἀναμένει τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευ-  
 τήν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον,  
 καὶ περιστήσας τοὺς ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσε πνίγειν, τῇ <sup>20</sup>  
 δὲ κραυγῇ καὶ τῷ σπαραγμῷ τὸ ἀπόστημα ῥήξας  
<sup>4</sup> πλήθος αἵματος ἐξέβαλεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τῆς δυνάμεως  
 ἐπιλιπούσης διαγαγὼν τὴν νύκτα μοχθηρῶς ἀπέθανε,  
 δύο παῖδας ἐκ τῆς Μετέλλης νηπίους καταλιπών. ἡ  
 γὰρ Οὐαλερία μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν αὐτοῦ θυγάτριον <sup>25</sup>  
 ἀπεκύησεν, ὃ πόστογμαν ἐκάλουν· τοὺς γὰρ ὕστερον  
 τῆς τῶν πατέρων τελευταίας γενομένους οὕτω Ῥωμαῖοι  
 προσαγορεύουσιν.

XXVIII

ᾠρμησαν μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ καὶ συνέστησαν πρὸς

Public funeral. Λέπιδον ὡς εἴρξοντες τὸ σῶμα κηδείας

τῆς νενομισμένης· Πομπήιος δέ, καίπερ  
 ἐγκαλῶν τῷ Σύλλα (μόνον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθή-  
 καις τῶν φίλων παρέλιπε), τοὺς μὲν χάριτι καὶ <sup>5</sup>  
 δεήσει τοὺς δ' ἀπειλή διακρουσάμενος εἰς Ῥώμην  
 παρέπεμψε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ταῖς ταφαῖς ἀσφάλειαν ἅμα  
<sup>2</sup> καὶ τιμὴν παρέσχε. λέγεται δὲ τοσοῦτο πλήθος  
 ἄρωμάτων ἐπενεγκεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῷ ὥστε ἄνευ  
 τῶν ἐν φορήμασι δέκα καὶ διακοσίοις διακομιζομένων <sup>10</sup>  
 πλασθῆναι μὲν εἶδωλον εὐμέγεθες αὐτοῦ Σύλλα,  
 πλασθῆναι δὲ καὶ ῥαβδοῦχον ἕκ τε λιβανωτοῦ πολυ-  
 τελοῦς καὶ κινναμώμου. τῆς δ' ἡμέρας συννεφοῦς  
 ἔωθεν οὕσης, ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ προσδοκῶντες ἐνάτης  
<sup>3</sup> ἦραν μόλις ὥρας τὸν νεκρόν· ἀνέμου δὲ λαμπροῦ <sup>15</sup>  
 καταιγίσαντος εἰς τὴν πυρὰν καὶ φλόγα πολλὴν  
 ἐγείραντος ἔφθη τὸ σῶμα συγκομισθὲν ὅσον ἤδη τῆς  
 πυρᾶς μαραιομένης καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπιόντος ἐκχυθῆ-

ναι πολὺν ὄμβρον καὶ κατασχεῖν ἄχρι νυκτός, ὥστε  
 20 τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν τὸ σῶμα συνθάπτειν παρα-  
 μένουσαν. τὸ μὲν οὖν μνημεῖον ἐν τῷ His monument 4  
and epitaph.  
 • πεδίῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος ἔστι, τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα  
 φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπογραψάμενον καταλιπεῖν, οὗ κεφάλ-  
 λαιὸν ἔστιν, ὡς οὔτε τῶν φίλων τις αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῶν  
 25 οὔτε τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακῶς ὑπερεβάλετο.

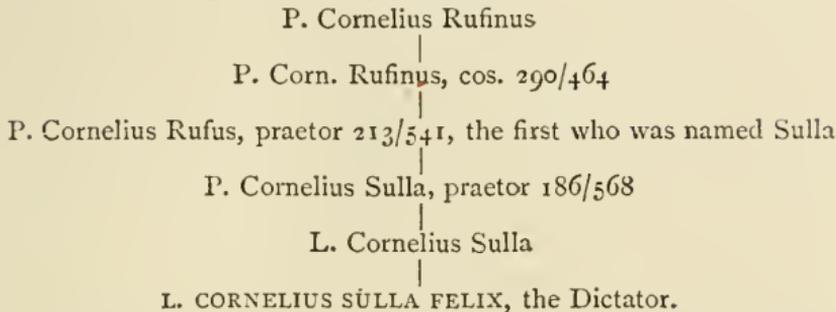
# NOTES

## CHAPTER I

*Lucius Cornelius Sulla was the architect of his own fortunes. Though a patrician by birth, he had neither an illustrious ancestry nor hereditary wealth. His father had left him so small a property that he paid for his lodgings very little more than a freedman who lived in the same house with him,—a fact of which he was tauntingly reminded, when Dictator, by the man, just before he was flung from the Tarpeian rock for harbouring a proscribed person. Sulla became rich only after he was employed in Numidia, as may be inferred from an anecdote reported of him, which shows at the same time, that although the Romans of that period had declined from the old standard of morals, it was considered even then discreditable to have emerged from the poverty of one's ancestors.*

§ 1. 1. 1. Δεύκιος δέ. The concluding clause in the Life of Lysander, the Greek hero with whom Sulla is compared, is τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Λύσανδρον οὕτως ιστορήσαμεν ἔχοντα. ἐκ πατρικίων. The equivalent term, ἐὺπατρίδαι 'men of noble family', was the name by which in the early period of Athenian history the first class in the State were designated. 2. ἄν τις εἴποι, G. § 226, 2 (b). 3. τῶν δὲ προγόνων αὐτοῦ, G. § 167, 6. 'Ρουφίνον: P. Cornelius Rufinus (*manu quidem strenuus et bellator bonus militarisque disciplinae peritus admodum, sed furax homo et avaritia acri*, A. Gell. 4, 8, 2) was twice consul, in 290/464 with M'. Curius Dentatus who defeated the Samnites, and again in 277/477 with M. Junius Brutus, when he distinguished himself in the war with Pyrrhos. (Vell. Paterc. 2, 17, 2 *hic (Sulla) natus familia nobili, sextus a Cornelio Rufino, qui bello Pyrrhi inter celeberrimos fuerat duces*.) In the following year he became dictator. In 275/479 he was expelled the senate *ob luxuriae notam, quod decem pondo libras argenti facti haberet*. A. Gell. l. c.; cf. below 1. 5.

The following is the family Stemma:—



4. ὑπατεῦσαι, *consulem factum esse*. 5. ἀργυρίου κοίλου, *argenti facti*, 'silver plate'. ὑπὲρ δέκα λίτρας, 'beyond ten pounds' weight'. The word λίτρα was a Sicelo-Greek form of the Latin *libra*, denoting (1) a coin, (2) a weight. 6. τοῦ νόμου μὴ διδοντος, 'although the law did not permit', C. Gr. 2, 4. On the use of μὴ for οὐ with participles not expressing condition see my n. to Them. 9, 3; 23, 3.

7. τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέπεσεν, *senatu motus est*, 'he was turned out of the senate', by the model censor C. Fabricius Luscinus, and his colleague Q. Aemilius Papus 275/479. Cf. Valer. Max. 2, 9, 4 *quid de Fabricii Luscinii censura loquar? narravit omnis actas et deinceps narrabit ab eo Cornelium Rufinum duobus consulatibus et dictatura speciosissime functum, quod decem pondo uasa argentea comparasset, perinde ac malo exemplo luxuriosum in ordine senatorio retentum non esse*, A. Gell. n. A. 4, 8; 17, 21, 39.

οἱ μετ' ἐκείνον ἤδη ταπεινὰ πράττοντες διετέλεσαν, 'his immediate descendants continued in a mean, humble condition', C. Gr. 1, 1; Ag. 3, 1; Cleom. 18, 2. 9. ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις—τοῖς πατρώοις, G. § 142, 3.

§ 2. 1. 11. ἐνοίκιον, 'house-rent'. 12. ὠνειδίετο κτλ., 'was reproached when he was more prosperous than as it was thought he deserved to be'. 13. μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατείαν, 'after the campaign in Africa' against Jugurtha, in which he served as quaestor to Marius. See below ch. III.

Sulla became decidedly rich only after he was employed in Numidia on his mission to Bocchus, which was half military, half diplomatic, and which gained him the clientship of the king of Mauretania. Bocchus needed a clever advocate in Rome for the claims which, by the surrender of Jugurtha, he had gained on the bounty of the republic, and he was willing and able to pay liberally the man who would extol his services and plead for him in the senate. IJNE *Hist. Rom.* 4, 228.

14. τῶν καλῶν τε κάγαθῶν. See lex. to Xen. Oecon. p. 66 b. καὶ πῶς, 'and, pray, how?' On this use of καὶ in urgent questions see lex. to Xen. Oec. p. 63 b. 16. μηδέν, above 1 l. 6. 17. ὀρθοῖς, 'upright', 'straightforward'. The metaphor is continued in ἐγκεκλικότων 'having declined', 'changed for the worse'. Cf. Agis 3, 5 ἐγκεκλικότων ἤδη τῇ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἀπάντων.

μερόντων, G. § 277, 5. 19. εἰς ὕσον—ὄνειδος ἐτίθεντο, *pariter probrosos indicabant*. Cf. de adulat. c. 2 p. 49 Ε τὸν φίλον εἰς τὸ καλὸν τιθέμενοι καὶ ὠφέλιμον.

§ 4. 1. 22. ἀπελευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος, 'one of the class of *libertini*'.

23. δοκῶν κρύπτειν ἓνα τῶν προγεγραμμένων, 'being suspected of concealing one of the proscribed'. εἰς is here used for *tis quidam*, an usage not unfrequent with the partitive genitive in later Greek. Cf. Cleom. 7, 2 τῶν ἐφόρων ἓνα, 37, 2 οἰκέτην ἓνα τῶν συνειδῶτων, Arat. 5 ἦν δὲ τῶν φυγάδων ἐνὸς Ξενοκλέους ἀδελφός, Fab. 1, 1 νυμφῶν μιᾶς Ἰρακλεῖ μιγείσης, Crass. 1, 2 τῶν Ἐστιάδων μιᾶ παρθένων, Isae. de Pyrrh. her. § 37 ξενίας φεύγων ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τῶν φρατόρων. 24. κατακρημνίζεσθαι, 'to be thrown down the (Tarpeian) rock', Dem. de f. leg. p. 446, 11. 26. συνοικία, *insula*, 'a lodging-house', a house in which several families live. τῶν ἄνω, 'for the upper rooms'. 27. νούμους, *sestertios*. 28. τὸ μεταξύ, 'the difference between'. Cf. Timocl. Μαραθ. 1 (Mein. Frag. Com. Gr. 3, 607): ὕσον τὸ μεταξύ μετὰ κορίσκης ἢ μετὰ χαμαιτύπης—κοιμᾶσθαι.

## CHAPTER II

*We may judge of Sulla's general personal appearance from his statues, which however do not represent his remarkably blue piercing eyes, and the blotched complexion, from which he is said to have derived his name and which the wits of Athens loved to ridicule (§ 1). The associates of his youth, before he emerged from obscurity, were not such as became the future dictator; he was such a lover of drollery that he spent his time in the company of actors and buffoons; and, even when at the height of his power, he could not divest himself of these low tastes and habits, but still continued his dissolute course of life, indulging in buffoonery unbecoming his age, to the degradation of his office and the too frequent sacrifice of serious business. Stiff and inflexible as he generally was, in his hours of relaxation he abandoned himself to enjoyment so completely that his boon companions could get what they pleased from him. He was passionately eager in the pursuit of pleasure and dissipation, and continued his libertinism even in his old age (§ 2—§ 3). His slender patrimony was increased by the liberality of his step-mother and of a courtesan named Nicopolis, both of whom left him all their fortune (§ 4).*

§ 1. 1. 3. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνδριάντων φαίνεται, 'is visible in the statues of him'. See ind. gr. s.v. ἐπί. There are two coins bearing the head of Sulla given by V. Duruy in his *Histoire des Romains*, T. II p. 467; one issued by the gens *Cornelia*. 4. δεινῶς πικράν, 'marvellously piercing'. V. ind. gr. s.v. δεινῶς. 5. ἄκρατον, *austeram*, 'stern'.

**ἄκρατος**, (α, *κεραννύνας*) *non temperatus, merus, austerus veluti vinum*, unde notio translata est in homines et res, quibus nil additum est, quo ad usum suaviore redderentur (Wytttenbach Not. p. 142 B): 'unmitigated', 'unchastened', 'untempered'. Cf. de solert. anim. 7, 5 p. 964 B ταῦτα μὲν ἄκρατα καὶ πικρὰ φαίνεται, *haec nimis acerba videtur esse et libera insectatio*, de adulat. p. 49 E οὐδὲ ἀγῆδης ὁ φίλος, οὐδ' ἄκρατος, coniug. praec. 29 p. 142 B ἀνδ' ἄρα φύσει τις αὐστηρὰ καὶ ἄκρατος γένηται καὶ ἐνηδύντος, εὐγνωμονεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα, Pelop. 19, 1 τὸ φύσει θυμοειδὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἄκρατον ἀνέναι καὶ ἀνυγραίνειν, Romp. c. 53, 1 ἡ σεμνότης οὐκ ἄκρατον ὄλλ' εὐχαρὶν ἔχουσα τὴν ὀμιλίαν, Cim. 15 ἄκρατον δημοκρατίαν.

**φοβερωτέραν—προσιδεῖν**, G. § 261, 2. 6. **ἐξήνθει**, a technical term for eruptions and skin diseases (36, 2), whence the medical term 'exanthemata'. It is applied by Thucydides to the skin on which such eruptions appear, 2, 49, 3 τὸ ἐξωθεν σῶμα φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἔλκεσιν ἐξήνθηκόσ. 7. **τραχύ**, G. § 142, 3. 8. **τοῦνομα—τῆς χροῶς ἐπίθετον**, *nomini suum ex colore appositum*. Coriol. c. 11 τῷ τρίτῳ (ὀνόματι) ἐχρήσαντο πράξεώς τινος ἢ τύχης ἢ ιδέας ἢ ἀρετῆς ἐπιθέτω. We do not know on what this etymology is founded. The word is generally derived from *surula* (*surla, sulla*) a diminutive of *sura*, and reckoned among the *cognomina* derived from some personal peculiarity, such as *Asper*, *Brutus*, *Capito*, *Cato*, *Naso*, *Scipio*, *Cicero*. 9. **Ἀθήνησι**, a relic of an original locative case, G. § 61 Note 2, H.A. § 220. **γεφυριστῶν**, 'gibbers', 'scoffers', lit. 'bridge-folk'. See ind. gr. s.v. Sulla did not forget these insults when he took Athens (c. 13). Cf. de garrul. c. 7, Mor. p. 505 C: χαλεπῶς δὲ (ὁ Σύλλας) ἔσχε πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τοὺς λόγους μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὰ ἔργα. κακῶς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔλεγον καὶ τὴν Μετέλλαν, ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ σκώπτοντες 'συκάμινόν ἐσθ' ὁ Σύλλας, ἀλφίτῳ πεπασμένον'. 10. **εἰς τοῦτο ποιήσας**, 'making (the following verse) on it': Apophth. p. 186 B Αἰσχύλου ποιήσαντος εἰς Ἀμφιάραον 'οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ' εἶναι δοκεῖ', Nic. c. 9 σκώποντας εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν κόμην, Lyc. c. 19 σκώπτοντος Ἀττικοῦ τινος τὰς λακωνικὰς μαχαίρας εἰς τὴν μικρότητα. **συκάμινον ἀλφίτῳ πεπασμένον**, 'a mulberry sprinkled with meal'. **ἀλφίτον** is rarely found in the singular.

§ 2. 1. 11. **τῶν τεκμηρίων**, G. § 168. 13. **φιλοσκώμματα**, 30, 5. 16. **συνακολασταίνειν**, 'to be dissolute with them', 'to join in their wanton amusements', Mor. p. 140 B coniug. praec. 16 τὸ συνακολασταίνειν καὶ παρωεῖν οἱ μεταδιδόασι (οἱ Πέρσαι) ταῖς γαμεταῖς, p. 594 D de gen. Socr. 25 πρὸς ἀνεσιν τραπέσθαι μετὰ τῶν εἰωθότων αὐτῷ συνακολασταίνειν, Demetr. c. 24 ὅτε...ταῖς πόρνοις συνακολασταῖνοι. For the allusion cf. 36, 1, Valer. Max. 6, 9, 6: *L. Sulla, usque ad quaesturae suae comitia, vitam libidine, vino, ludicrae artis amore inquinatam perduxit*. 17. **τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς**, *scenicorum*, 'stage-players', 'actors'. Cf. Dem. de cor. § 180 τούτων τινα (τῶν ἡρώων) τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς. The members of the chorus were called *θυμελικοί*, 36, 1. 19. **διαπληκτίζεσθαι τοῖς σκώμμασι**, 'to bandy coarse jests with them'. Cf. Timol. 14, 2 *διαπληκτιζόμενον ἐν μέσῳ τοῖς ἀφ' ὧρας ἐργαζομένοις γυνάοις* (of Dionysius the Tyrant at Corinth). On this use of *δια*

in composition see my note to Them. 5, 2, l. 3. τοῦ γήρως ἄωρότερα, 'too unseasonable for, unbecoming, his old age', G. § 175, HA. § 755. 20. πρὸς τῷ καταισχύνειν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς, 'besides degrading the dignity of his office', HA. § 959.

**καταισχύνειν**, 'to put to shame', 'show oneself unworthy of', is common: in Plutarch: de malign. Herod. p. 863 Ε Ἄργεῖοι κατήσχυναν ἂν τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὴν εὐγένειαν, de fac. lun. p. 929 Α γῆ καταισχύνουσα τὴν καλὴν ἐπιωνμίαν, i. e. non se dignam tam pulchro cognomine fraebens, Thes. 7, 1 τὸν πατέρα καταισχύνων, Num. 10 τὴν παρθενίαν καταισχύνασα, Arist. 12 πειρασόμεθα μὴ καταισχύνειν τοὺς προηγωνισμένους ἀγῶνας (operam dabimus ne dehonestemus priora nostra fortiter facta), Eum. 7 οὐ καταισχύνας ὁ Κράτερος τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, Demetr. 24 Κλεαίветος ἑαυτὸν κατήσχυνεν (sua ipse pudicitiam prodidit), Artox. 9, 1 ὦ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν Πέρσῃς ὄνομα Κύρου καταισχύνων. Cf. Aristoph. Nub. 1220 ἀτὰρ οὐδέποτε γε τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνω, Av. 1451 τὸ γένος οὐ καταισχύνω, Dem. de cor. § 261 οὐ κατήσχυνας οὐδὲν τῶν προῦπηργμένων τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα βίῳ, Eur. Hel. 845 τὸ Τρωικὸν γὰρ οὐ καταισχύνω κλέος, Ion 736 οὐ καταισχύνασ' ἔχεις τοὺς σοὺς παλαιούς ἐγόνους αὐτόχθονας.

§ 3. 1. 22. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τῷ Σύλλᾳ περὶ δεῖπνον ἔντι χρήσασθαι σπουδαῖον οὐδέν, 'for it was not possible to engage Sulla in any serious business, when he was once at table'. Cf. Phoc. c. 21 fin. πάντα πιστεῦν καὶ πάντα χρώμενος ἐκείνῳ, Pomp. 67, 1 ἐνιοὶ φασι διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κάτωνι μηδὲν ἀξίον σπουδῆς χρήσασθαι Πομπηίου. 23. ἐνεργός, 'a man of business'. 24. σκυθρωπότερος, 'austere rather than otherwise'. Xen. Mem. 2, 7, 12 ἰλαραὶ ἀντὶ σκυθρωπῶν ἦσαν, 3, 10, 4 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φαιδροί, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς σκυθρωποὶ γίνονται. 25. ἀθρόαν ἐλάμβανε μεταβολήν, 'all at once underwent a total change'. Cf. Aristot. Pol. 5, 8, 3 ἡ μετάβασις ἀθρόα γίνεταί. ὁπότε ἑαυτὸν—καταβάλοι, ut cumque se abiceret, G. § 233, 'whenever he plunged into' 'gave himself up to'. 26. συνουσίαν, 'a party of boon companions'. Dem. c. Mid. § 71 ἐν συνουσίᾳ τιμὴ καὶ διατριβὴ οὕτως ἰδίᾳ. πότον, potionem, 'a drinking-bout', 13, 3; ποτόν would mean 'a drink', 35, 3. 27. πρὸς πᾶσαν ἐντευξίν ὑποχείριος καὶ κατάντης, 'manageable and easily disposed to grant any kind of request'. 29. νόσημα, 'a diseased result or form'. 30. εὐχέρεια, 'proclivity', 'proneness'. Cf. Mor. p. 271 Β τῆς πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον εὐχερείας, p. 712 Α ἡ πρὸς τὰ σκώμματα καὶ βωμολοχίας εὐχέρεια, Lucian Prom. 9 πρὸς ὀργὴν εὐχέρειαν. βύσις, 'incontinence'.

§ 4. 1. 31. συνήντησεν αὐτῷ, ei obtigit, 'befel him'. τὸ τοιοῦτον, explained by the γὰρ which follows, but which need not be translated, 31, 4. 34. χάριν, ἦν ἀφ' ὧρας εἶχεν, 'the favour which he found on account of his youth'. Ὠρα denotes the 'freshness and vigour of youth' without any accessory notion of beauty: cf. Timol. 14, 2 τοῖς ἀφ' ὧρας ἐργαζομένοις γυναῖοις (quaestum corpore facientibus). περιελθὼν εἰς, 'ending in'. Cf. Herod. 7, 88 ἐς φθίσιν περιῆλθε ἡ νόσος. 35. τῆς ἀνθρώπου. See n. to Them. 16, 2 l. 22. 36. ἐκκληρονόμησε τὴν μητρειάν, 'he succeeded to the inheritance of his step-mother'. For the construction cf. Dio Cass. 56, 32 ὦν τοὺς πατέρας ἐκεκληρονομῆκει, Posidon. ap.

Athenae. 5, 48 p. 24 f. ἀποθανόντα κληρονομήσας, Alciphron Ep. 1, 39, 7 ἔναγχος γὰρ πλούσιον κεκληρονόμηκε πατέρα τὸ μεῖρακιον.

### CHAPTER III

*When Marius in his first consulship 107/647 was appointed to the conduct of the campaign against Jugurtha in Africa, L. Sulla accompanied him as his quaestor. He had not yet gained much experience in war, but he soon made his mark and got the credit of bringing the war to a close by his daring and cunning. It happened that he was in favour with King Bocchus, because of the services he had once rendered the Mauretanian envoys on their way to Rome. Now the King was at this time negotiating with Marius respecting the terms of an alliance with Rome. He had a secret plan for seizing the person of Jugurtha, who had taken refuge with him after his defeat, and betraying him to the Romans. Bocchus required the cooperation of the Romans to play his game, and, as Sulla had gained his confidence and was no doubt acquainted with his schemes and intentions, he invited him to his court, intending to make use of him as an instrument for carrying out his design. Sulla agreed to undertake the perilous task and started on this important expedition with a small escort, to put himself in the hands of a man known to be treacherous and untrustworthy, who played a double game with the Romans and Jugurtha, and who had thus obtained provisional hostages from both sides in the persons of Sulla and his own son-in-law. Bocchus remained for some time undecided which of the two he should betray, but in the end resolved to abide by his first decision to sacrifice Jugurtha, and thus the arch-traitor fell by the treachery of his own relatives. The victory was primarily associated with the name of Marius, before whose triumphal car the King was led: but it could not be denied that he had the least important share in the actual success and the glory of the day. The credit of the capture of Jugurtha rested with Sulla, to whom people were glad to give it out of dislike for Marius. Marius, himself a vain man, was jealous of the rising fame of Sulla, who also was of an arrogant temper and not disposed to let his services be forgotten. Sulla's appetite for distinction grew when he had once tasted its sweets, and he had a seal-ring cut in commemoration of his successful perfidy, which he wore constantly. The device was Bocchus surrendering and Sulla receiving the surrender of Jugurtha.*

§ 1. 1. 1. ἀποδειχθεὶς ταμίς, 'on being appointed (lit. declared) quaestor', 107/647 in his 31st year. 2. ὑπατεύοντι—ὑπατεῖαν, G. § 159. 4. πολεμήσων Ἰογόρθαν, 'to make war upon Jugurtha'. Cf. for the construction Lucull. 6, 1 πολεμήσοντα Μιθριδάτην, Cat. ma. 26, 1 πολεμοῦντας ἀλλήλους, Moral. p. 349 Α πολεμῶν τοὺς βαρβάρους, Diod. Sic. 4, 61 ὁ Μίνως πολεμῶν ἐπαύσατο τὰς Ἀθήνας (*Athenas oppugnare desiit*), Pausan. 8, 46 Ἄνγουστος Ἀντώνιον πολεμῶν (*bello adgressus Antonium*), Alciphr.

ep. 3, 22 (de vulpibus uvas infestantibus) ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐπολέμουν τὰς σταφυλάς.

5. τὰ ἄλλα, 'generally', G. § 160, 2.

6. παρείχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐδόκιμον: Sall. Iug. c. 96 *Sulla...rudis antea et ignarus belli sollertissimus omnium in faucibus tempestatibus factus est*. It was a skilful manoeuvre of Sulla's which saved the Roman army from a great reverse on its return march from Mulucha to Cirta (ib. 101, 8). But it was more especially his brilliant expedition to the desert, which led to the capture of Jugurtha, that made his courage, his presence of mind, his acuteness, his power over men to be recognized by the whole army (Mommsen *H. R.* III p. 169).

καιρῷ παραπεσόντι χρῆσάμενος εὖ, 'making a good use of an accidental occasion, an opportunity that offered'. Cf. Thuc. 4, 23, 3 σκοποῦντες καιρὸν εἴ τις παραπέσοι, Xen. eq. mag. 7, 4 ὅποτε καιρὸς παραπέσοι, Plat. legg. 8, 842 A ὅπταν γε δὴ μοι δόξη τις παραπεπτωκέναι καιρὸς, Dem. Olynth. 1, 8 οὐ δὲ τοιοῦτον παραπεπτότα καιρὸν ἀφείναι, Polyb. 1, 75, 9; 11, 16, 1 καιροῦ παραπεσόντος.

Βόκχου, Bocchus, King of Mauretania and father-in-law of Jugurtha, with whom he played a double game, at first supporting him in his resistance to the Romans, but subsequently betraying him to them (Mar. c. 10). His kingdom, originally restricted to the region of Tingis (*Morocco*), afterwards extended to the region of Caesarea (province of *Algiers*) and to that of Sitifis (western half of the province of Constantine). As Mauretania was twice enlarged by the Romans, first in 105/649 after the surrender of Jugurtha and then in 46/708 after the breaking up of the Numidian kingdom, it is probable that the region of Caesarea was added on the first, and that of Sitifis on the second augmentation. Mommsen *Hist. Rom.* III p. 170 note.

8. πρεσβευτάς, *legatos*. The usual attic form is πρέσβεις, but see n. on C. Gr. 6, 3 and cf. Timol. 9, 2.

ληστήριον Νομαδικόν, 'a band of Numidian brigands'. Cf. Sertor. c. 14, 1 ἀντὶ ληστήριου μεγάλου στρατὸν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν δύναμιν, Dio Cass. 76, 10 ληστήριον στησάμενος ὡς ἐξακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, Xen. Hell. 5, 4, 42 ἐκπέμπων ληστήρια ἔφερε καὶ ἤγε τοὺς Θηβαίους, Aesch. c. Timarch. p. 27, 8 § 181 αἱ προπετεῖς τοῦ σώματος ἡδονὰ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἱκανὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, ταῦτα πληροὶ τὰ ληστήρια.

9. ὑποδεξάμενος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς, 'giving them a kind and hospitable reception'. The reader will find the meaning and construction of the latter word explained in my note on Tib. Gr. 4, 2. The story is thus told by Sallust Iug. c. 103: *Tum rursus Bocchus...ex omni copia necessariorum quinque deligit,...Eos ad Marium ac deinde, si placeat, Romam legatos ire iubet; agendarum rerum et quocumque modo belli componendi licentiam permittit. Illi mature ad hiberna Romanorum proficiscuntur; deinde in itinere a Gaetulis latronibus circumventi spoliatique, pavidi, sine decore, ad Sullam perfugunt, quem consul, in expeditionem proficiscens, pro praetore reliquerat. Eos ille non pro vanis hostibus, ut meriti erant, sed accurate ac liberaliter habuit; quod re barbari et famam Romanorum avaritiae falsam et Sullam quo munificentiam*

*in sese amicū rati... Igitur quaestori mandata Bocchi patefaciunt; simul ab eo petunt uti fautor consultorque sibi adsit; copias, fidem, magnitudinem regis sui et alia, quae aut utilia aut benevolentiae esse credebant, oratione extollunt; dein, Sulla omnia pollicito, docti quo modo apud Mariū, item apud senatū, verba facerent, circiter dies quadraginta ibidem opperiantur.*

10. πομπήν ἀσφαλῆ παρασχών, 'providing a safe conduct', 'an escort to protect them', Alc. 31, 1 πρέσβεσιν Ἀθηναίων πρὸς βασιλέα πομπήν μετ' ἀσφαλείας παρασχεῖν, Demetr. 30 τὴν Δηϊδάμειαν εἰς Μέγαρον ἐξέπεμψαν μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ πομπῆς πρεπούσης, Cic. 41 ἐρχομένη τῇ θυγατρὶ τοσαύτην ὁδὸν οὐ πομπήν πρέπουσαν παρέσχευ.

§ 2. 1. 11. ἐτύχχανε ἔτι γε πάλαι...μισῶν, 'it happened that Bocchus still disliked, as he had done for some time', G. § 200 Note 4. γαμβρὸν ὄντα, 'though he was his son-in-law'.

16. ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ. There is a latent comparative force in verbs like βούλομαι, ἐλπίζω, ἐπιθυμῶ, ζητῶ, φθάνω etc. Cf. Eumen. 8, 3 λέγεται γελάσαι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι θαυμάζει τὸν Εὐμένη τῆς προνοίας ἐλπίζοντα λόγον αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν τῶν βασιλικῶν ἢ λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν, Timol. 2, 2. κοινωσάμενος δὲ τῷ Μαρῷ, 'after communicating with Marius'. Sallust's version of the story is different. He says (Iug. 105, 2) that Bocchus wrote to Marius requesting him to send Sulla to him, cuius arbitratu de communibus negotiis consuleretur. *Is missus cum praesidio equitum atque pedum, item funditorum Balearium; praeterea iere sagittarii et cohors Peligna cum velitaribus armis, itineris properandi causa.* 19. ὑπὲρ τοῦ παραλαβεῖν ἕτερον, 'with a view to getting another man's person from him'. On this sense of ὑπὲρ see n. on Xen. Hier. 4, 3, Plut. comp. Ag. et Cleom. 3, 1; 4, 2.

§ 3. 1. 20. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, 'however', an elliptical expression, see on 20, 3; 30, 2. 22. τοῦ παρασπονδῆσαι τὸν ἕτερον, 'of breaking faith with one or the other'. Cf. Polyb. 1, 10, 4 Ῥηγίνους παρεσπόνδησαν, 1, 43, 2 ἐπεβάλοντο παρασπονδεῖν αὐτούς, Diod. Sic. II p. 576 ed. Wesseling παρεσπόνδησε τοὺς μισθοφόρους.

πολλὰ διενεχθεὶς τῇ γνώμῃ, 'after long debate with himself', 'great fluctuations in his resolution'. See ind. gr. s. v. διαφέρειν. Sall. Iug. c. 108 sed ego comperior Bocchum magis Punica fide quam ob ea quae praedicabat, simul Romanos et Numidam spe facis adinuuisse, multumque cum animo suo volvere solitum, Iugurtham Romanis an illi Sullam traderet; libidinem adversum nos, metum pro nobis suasisse.

26. τοῦ κατορθώματος, 'the successful enterprise'. See ind. gr. s. v. 27. ἣν ὁ Μαρῖου φθόνος Σύλλα προσετίθει, 'which their dislike of Marius was for ascribing to Sulla'. Cf. Mar. 10 καὶ τοῦτο (the surrender of Jugurtha) πρῶτον ὑπῆρξεν αὐτοῖς σπέρμα τῆς ἀνηκστόου καὶ χαλεπῆς ἐκείνης στάσεως, ἣ μικρὸν ἐδέησεν ἀνατρέψαι τὴν Ῥώμην. Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ ἔργον εἶναι, τῷ

Μαρίῳ φθονοῦντες· αὐτὸς τε ὁ Σύλλας σφραγιδα ποιησάμενος ἐφόρει γλυφὴν ἔχουσαν ἐγχειρίζομενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βόκχου τὸν Ἰογόρθαν ἑαυτῷ. καὶ ταύτη χρώμενος ἀεὶ διετέλει, φιλότιμον ἄνδρα... ἐρεθίζων τὸν Μάριον.

28. παρελύπει τὸν Μάριον ἡσυχῇ, 'grieved Marius secretly'. Cf. Thuc. 8, 69, 2 τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ ξυνωμοσίᾳ εἴρητο ἡσυχῇ ubi schol. explicat per κρύφα, Plut. Alc. 24 ἡσυχῇ προγοῦς καὶ φοβηθεῖς.

§ 4. 1. 31. εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας προῆλθεν, 'he advanced to such an excess of vanity'. Cf. Dem. c. Timocr. § 182 p. 757, 16 εἰς τοῦτ' ἀναισθησίας καὶ τόλμης προεληλύθασι, Olynth. 3 § 3 p. 29, 18 εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα, c. Mid. § 131 p. 557, 24 ἐφ' ὅσον φρονήματος ἤδη προελήλυθε.

32. γλυψάμενος, G. § 199 Note 2. We have the same story in the Life of Marius c. 10, 3 quoted above, and again in the pol. praec. c. 12 p. 806 B: ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας, ὅτε τῷ Μαρίῳ στρατηγούντι συνῆν ταμειῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ, πεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βόκχον, ἤγαγεν Ἰογόρθαν αἰχμάλωτον, οἷα δὲ νέος φιλότιμος, ἄρτι δόξης γεγευμένος, οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτύχημα, γλυψάμενος δ' εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως ἐν σφραγίδι, τὸν Ἰογόρθαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόμενον, ἐφόρει· καὶ τοῦτο ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Μάριος ἀπέρριψεν αὐτόν. ἐν δακτυλίῳ, *in anulo* 'on a seal-ring'. 33. καί—γε 'and what is more'.

34. ἡ γραφή=γλυφή, 'the subject represented', 'device'.

## CHAPTER IV

*Notwithstanding his secret annoyance, Marius knew that Sulla would be useful, and he still thought him beneath his jealousy; so he continued to employ him as his legatus in his second consulship in the campaigns against the Cimbri and Teutones. Here again Sulla highly distinguished himself by his capture of Copillus, King of the Tectosages. In the next year he served under him as tribunus militum (§ 1). But in the third year, seeing or supposing that Marius was jealous and unwilling to give him opportunities of distinguishing himself, he joined the army of Marius' colleague Lutatius Catulus, under whom he made successful raids against the Alpine tribes. Catulus entrusted him with matters of the greatest importance. On one occasion, when the army was much in want of provisions, Sulla brought into the camp enough for the men of Catulus and also for those of Marius, who were suffering from scarcity. This circumstance, as Sulla himself states in his Memoirs, gave great offence to Marius (§ 2—§ 3). So childish was the motive which led to such disastrous results, civil broils and bloodshed and finally a despotism and revolution—a proof that Euripides did well and wisely to represent ambition as the most deadly enemy to mankind (§ 4).*

§ 1. 1. 1. μὲν οὖν. The μὲν has reference to δέ, the οὖν simply means 'then'. ἔτι δὲ ἡγούμενος ἐλάττονα τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι, 'but, as he still continued to regard him as a person too unimportant for him to envy', 'beneath his jealousy'. Cf. Arat. 15, 1 μείζων φθόνου, i. e. 'too great for envy to do him harm'.

3. τὸ δεύτερον ὑπατεύων (ἐχρήτη) πρεσβευτῆ, 'in his second consulship (he employed him) in the capacity of *legatus*'. This was in 104/650 when Sulla was 34 years old. 5. χιλιάρχω, *tribuno militum*. This was in 103/651, the year in which the Cimbri and Teutones had gone to Spain.

The *tribuni militum* belonged to the higher classes, while the centurions were taken from the lower classes of society. They were young men of education or property, who, under the system of conscription, which existed in the later Republic, might easily have avoided military service. The command of the legion was divided among six *tribuni militum*, each of whom commanded the whole legion for two months. For a long time the nomination of the *tribuni* was vested in the consuls, who commanded the legions to which they were attached, but in 361/393 a portion of them were chosen by the people in the *Comitia tributa*, and the choice of the rest left to the commander-in-chief. Those who were appointed by the people were named the tribunes of the first four legions and classed among the *magistratus*, as we learn from the *lex Servilia* of Glauca. LONG R. R. 2, 28.

πολλὰ δι' ἐκείνου τῶν χρησίμων κατορθῶτο, 'many useful enterprises were successfully accomplished by his means'.

6. πρεσβέων, 'as legate'. 7. Τεκτοσάγων. The Tectosages were one of the two tribes of the Volcae, a powerful Celtic people in Gallia Narbonensis extending from the Pyrenees and the frontiers of Aquitania along the coast as far as the Rhone. The country of the Tectosages reached as far as Narbo Martius (*Narbonne*); their chief town was Tolosa (*Toulouse*). A portion of them left their native country and were one of the three great tribes which composed the Galatian people, occupying a position between the other two, the Trocmi and Tolistobogii, and adopting Ancyra as their seat of government, which was regarded also as the metropolis of the whole of Galatia (Strabo 4, 1, 13; Plin. nat. hist. 3, 4). Bp Lightfoot, *Introd. to the Galatians* p. 6, p. 248.

8. πολυάνθρωπον, 'numerous'. Cf. Polyb. 3, 37, 11; πολυανθρώπων ἄνθρωποι ἐξ ἡνίοκου, 1, 2.

Μαρσούς. The Marsi were an ancient nation of central Italy, of Sabine origin, who dwelt in the highland around the basin of the lake Fucinus, where they had for their neighbours the Peligni on the E., the Sabines and Vestini on the N., and the Aequians, Hernicans and Volscians on the W. and S. From 304/450, a few years after a peace and alliance was made between Rome and the Samnites and Sabellian tribes, which was broken by the Marsi taking up arms to oppose the foundation of the Roman colony at Carseoli, they became the brave and faithful allies of Rome (Verg. Georg. 2, 167; Hor. Carm. 2, 20, 18; 3, 5, 9) and occupied a prominent position among the 'socii', who contributed so large a share to Roman victories. They were the prime movers in the great struggle of the Italian allies against Rome, known as the Marsic or Social war, which broke out in 91/663. Pompaedius Silo, one of the chief authors of this contest, was himself a Marsian. In 90/664 the Roman consul P. Rutilius was defeated and slain by them, but C. Marius retrieved the disaster, and, in conjunction with Sulla, gained a decisive victory over them. But his colleague Q. Caepio was cut to pieces with his whole army. In the next year 89/665 the consul L. Porcius

Cato was slain in a battle near the lacus Fucinus, but Cn. Pompeius Strabo gradually subdued the Marsians, who, notwithstanding their obstinate resistance, were admitted to favourable terms and received, in common with the rest of the Italians, the full rights of Roman citizens.

§ 2. l. 9. ἐκ τούτων, *propter haec*. 10. αἰσθόμενος—μηκέτι προίεμενον ἡδέως πράξεων ἀφορμάς, 'perceiving that he was no longer glad to give him opportunities of action'. After verbs of 'perceiving' 'knowing' etc. οὐ is the proper negative, when the participle dependent upon them can be resolved into a finite sentence. But Plutarch does not follow classical usage in this respect. Cf. Nic. 9 τῷ μὲν ἀδικημάτων μεγάλων, τῷ δὲ κατορθωμάτων ἀφορμάς παρέιχε, Lysandr. 23 οὐ παρέιχεν αὐτῷ πράξεων ἀφορμάς.

12. Κάτλω... προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, *Catulo se adiunxit*, 'he attached himself to Catulus'. Cf. pseudo-Dem. c. Aristog. I § 43 p. 783, 15 οὐ σωφρονοῦσι προσνέμοντες αὐτοὺς τούτῳ, pseudo-Dem. Epist. 3 p. 1475, I ταῖς τοῦ δήμου προαιρέσεσι προσένειμεν ἑαυτόν, pseudo-Dem. epitaph. § 12 p. 1392, 12 ὅπου τὸ δίκαιον εἴη τεταγμένον, ἐνταῦθα προσνέμοντες ἑαυτοῦς: in the passive Dem. Olynth. 2 § 29, p. 26, 25 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσνενέμησθε οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκείνους (a passage, however, bracketed by Rehdantz-Blass; the same words occur in the pseudo-Demosthenes περὶ συντάξεως § 20, p. 172, 5), Polyb. 9, 36, 7 ὑμᾶς εἶδει Φιλίππῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τούτοις ἑαυτοὺς προσνέμειν, 6, 10, 9 ἐμελλον αἰετῷ δικαίῳ προσνέμειν ἑαυτοῦς. I have not been able to find any good classical authority for the expression. 13. ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ, 'a worthy, kind man': Mar. 14, 4 Κάτλον ἀνδρα καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς οὐκ ἐπαχθῆ. 14. ἀμβλυτέρῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας, 'too deficient in energy for action', 'not keen enough as a soldier'. Cf. Alcib. 30, 4 ἀμβλυτέροισ ἐποίησε πρὸς τὴν μάχην, Cat. mai. 24, 6 ἀμβλύτερος εἰς τὰ πολιτικά, Nic. 9 ἀμβλυτέροισ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, Mor. p. 652 D ἀμβλύτεροισ πρὸς τὰς συνοουσίας. ὑφ' οὗ τὰ—μέγιστα πιστευόμενος, 'by whom being intrusted with the most important commissions'.

The construction πιστεύομαι τι is only found in later Greek: cf. Polyb. 8, 17, 5 συνέβαινε τὸν Καμβύλον πεπιστευθῆσθαι τι τῶν φυλακτηρίων, 2, 7, 9 παρ' οἷς πιστευθέντες πάλιν ἐσύλησαν τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, Dio Cass. 36, 8 τὸ πιστευθῆναί με τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Σεπτῶριον στρατηγίαν, 79, 1 οὐ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπεπίστευτο, Diođ. Sic. 17, 80 πεπιστευμένον τοὺς βασιλέωσ θησαυροῦσ Ep. ad Rom. 3, 2 ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Cor. 9, 17, Gal. 2, 7, 1 Thess. 2, 4.

15. ἅμα δόξῃ, 'as well as reputation'.

§ 3, l. 17. ἀγορᾶς, 'things sold in the market,' 'provisions'

18. τοσαύτην ἐποίησε περιουσίαν. Cf. Xen. Oec. 2, 10; 11, 13; 21, 9.

19. ἐν ἀφθόνοις, 'in plenty'. Cf. Xen. An. 3, 2, 25 ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, Dem. de cor. § 256 p. 312, 18 ἐν ἀφθόνοις τραφέει, Plut. Lucull. 8, 8, Crass. 19, 1, Timol. 24, 4 ἐν ἀφθόνοις διάγειν.

20. προσπαρᾶσχεῖν, 'to furnish besides', Thuc. 1, 9, 3, Plut. Timol. 8, 3 τὴν δεκάτην Λευκαδίων προσπαρᾶσχόντων.

21. φησὶν αὐτόσ, in his ἴπομνήματα,

which are referred to several times, 5, 1; 6, 5; 14, 2; 16, 1; 17, 1; 19, 4; 23, 3; 27, 3; 27, 6; 28, 8; 37, 1; Mar. 25, 4. *ἰσχυρῶς ἀνιάσαι*, 'that he greatly annoyed'. See lex. to Xen. Oecon. p. 62 s. v. *ἰσχυρῶς*.

§ 4. l. 21. *μὲν οὖν*, 'so then', 4, 1; the *οὖν* is resumptive; *μὲν* answers to the *δέ* in the beginning of the following chapter.

22. *μειρακιώδη*, 'childish', predicate adjective. Plat. rep. 5, 13 p. 466 B *ἀνόητος καὶ μειρακιώδης δόξα*, Polyb. 10, 33, 6 *τοὺς ἢ διὰ κενοδοξίαν ἢ μειρακιώδη στάσιν περιπίπτοντας τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἀλογήμασιν*.

*λαβοῦσα—ὑπόθεσιν*, *ansam, materiam, occasionem nacta*, 'having a foundation', 'ground', 'occasion'. Cf. 6, 1, Arat. 18, 1 *ἐτέραν ἔλαβε τῆς πράξεως ὑπόθεσιν*, Pyrrh. 13, 1 *ἔλαβε πραγμάτων καινῶν τοιαύτην ὑπόθεσιν*.

23. *χωροῦσα*, 'going on and on', 'continuing'. *αἵματος ἐμφυλλου*, 'civil bloodshed'. Cf. Aesch. Suppl. 449 *δμαιμον αἷμα γίγνεται*, Eur. Suppl. 148 *αἷμα συγγενές*. In Soph. Oed. T. 1406 the phrase does not mean 'murder of a kinsman', but 'kindred blood', 'incestuous kinship'. See Jebb *ad l.*

24. *ἀνηκέστων*, 'desperate', 9, 2 *τὴν στάσιν οὐκέτι καθεκτὴν ἀλλ' ἀνήκεστον*.

25. *ἀπέδειξε τὸν Εὐρύπιδην σοφὸν ἄνδρα*, 20, 3.

27. *διακελευσάμενον*, *qui monuit*, G. § 277, 2. The passage referred to is from the speech of Iocasta, Phoeniss. 531 ff.:—

τί τῆς κακίστης δαιμόνων ἐφίεσαι  
φιλοτιμίας, παῖ; μὴ σὺ γ' ἄδικος ἢ θεός·  
πολλοὺς δ' ἐς οἴκους καὶ πόλεις εὐδαίμονας  
ἐσῆλθε κάξῃλθ' ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῶν χρωμένων·  
ἐφ' ἧ σὺ μαίνει· κείνο κάλλιον, τέκνον,  
ἰσότητα τιμᾶν κτλ.

## CHAPTER V

*Sulla becomes ambitious for civil distinction. He is an unsuccessful candidate for the praetura urbana. His failure he attributes in his Memoirs to the common people, who, expecting from him, as a friend of king Bocchus, a rare show of African lions and other wild animals in the public games, which it was usual for a curule aedile to give, elected some one else to the praetorship, with the view of forcing Sulla to serve as aedile. But this could not have been the real ground of his rejection, for in the year following, when he was again a candidate for the praetorship, by the help of canvassing and bribery he succeeded (§ 1—§ 2). On the expiration of his year of office he is made governor of Cilicia, and is charged with a commission avowedly to settle the dispute about the possession of Cappadocia, but really to curb the aggressive spirit of the ambitious Pontic king Mithridates.*

*With a handful of troops, and the contingents of the Asiatic allies, he crossed the Taurus and drove the governor Gordius along with his Armenian auxiliaries out of Cappadocia and set up Ariobarzanes on his throne (§ 3).*

When in following out his expedition he arrived in the region of the Euphrates, the Romans came for the first time into contact with the Parthians, the great power of the East, who, in consequence of the variance between them and Tigranes, had occasion to make approaches to the Romans for an alliance and friendship with them. This was a rare piece of good fortune for Sulla. At the interview, Sulla, bolder than Orobasus, the general of Arsaces IX, assumed and maintained the place of honour between the king of Cappadocia and the Parthian ambassador, who afterwards forfeited his life to his master's resentment at this insult to his dignity. Some were pleased with Sulla's treatment of the barbarians; others thought it an ill-timed display of pride (§ 4—§ 5).

On this occasion a professed astrologer from Chaldaea prognosticated the great future awaiting Sulla. On his return Sulla is threatened with a prosecution for bribery by C. Censorinus, but the action was never brought (§ 5—§ 6).

§ 1. 1. 3. δούς ἑαυτόν: cf. Tib. Gr. 13, 2 δεδωκότος ἑαυτόν εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνον ἔχθραν, Dem. de Cor. p. 288, 12 § 179 ἔδωκ' ἑαυτόν ὑμῖν εἰς τοὺς περιεσθηκότας τῇ πόλει κινδύνους, § 219 ἔδωκεν ἑαυτόν εἰς οὐδὲν τῇ πόλει, Diod. Sic. 18, 47 δόντες ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ληστείας, Plut. Timol. 13, 2 ἔδωκεν αὐτόν εἰς συμμαχίαν. 4. ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου πρᾶξιν, *ad populum ambiendum* Crusenius, followed by Pierron and Long; *ad negotia civilia* Guarinus, *ad rei civilis administrationem* Wyttenbach Ind. p. 1313. ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν πολιτικὴν ἀπεγράψατο, 'entered his name as a candidate for the city praetorship'. 'Plutarch speaks of him as canvassing for the praetorship immediately after his return to Rome. The dates show that at least several years elapsed before he succeeded' (Long). 5. διεψεύσθη, sc. τῆς ἐλπίδος, 'was disappointed'. Cf. Lycurg. c. 29, Demetr. c. 44 οὐ διεψεύσθη τῶν λογισμῶν, ib. c. 30 τὸ παρ' ἐλπίδα διεψεύσθαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Flamin. 13, 1 διεψεύσατο τὰς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐλπίδας. 8. ἀγορανομοίη, *factus esset aedilis*. κυνηγέσια, *venationes*, 'hunting shows'. See Ramsay *Rom. ant.* p. 351. 9. ἐτέρους ἀποδείξαι στρατηγούς, G. § 166. 10. ὡς—ἀναγκάσοντας, G. § 277 Note 2.

§ 2. 1. 12. οὐχ ὁμολογῶν—ἐλέγχεσθαι, G. § 280. 13. ἐνιαυτῷ κατόπιν, *anno post*, G. § 189. See ind. gr. s. v. κατόπιν. ἔτυχε τῆς στρατηγίας: Sulla was elected *praetor peregrinus* in 93/661. 'Plutarch's reasoning here, as M. Ricard observes, is not very logical. For though the people, as Sulla stated, would have liked his shows well, they probably liked his money better' (*Wrangham*). 14. θεραπεία—προσαγαγόμενος, 'attaching them to his cause, gaining their votes, partly by flattery, partly by bribery'. Cf. Isocrat. Nicocl. § 22 p. 31 b τοὺς δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις θεραπείαις προσαγαγέσθαι, Plato de legg. III 3, 12 p. 695 D χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς τὸν Περσῶν δῆμον προσαγόμενος. In his praetorship he gratified the public curiosity by exhibiting the hoped-for games with a magnificence never seen before.

We are told that on this occasion he introduced a novelty in the exhibition of lion hunts (*venationes*). Hitherto the wild beasts that were baited to death had always been tied to poles. But Sulla now received from Bocchus some experienced African lion-hunters who killed the animals before the eyes of the people as in a real chase. Plin. Nat. Hist. 8, 16, 20 *centum iubatorum leonum pugnam dedit primus omnium L. Sulla qui postea dictator fuit in praetura*, Seneca de brev. vit. 13, 6 *primus L. Sulla in circo leones solutos dedit, cum aliqui adligati darentur, ad conficiendos eos missis a rege Boccho iaculatoribus*. 'There was an old decree of the Senate' says Long 'which prohibited the importation of African wild beasts, but it was repealed by a measure proposed by the tribune Cn. Aufidius so far as to render the importation legal for the games'.

16. **Καίσαρα.** Probably Sextus Iulius Caesar, who was consul in 91/663. According to Leopold it was Gaius Iulius Caesar, aedile 90/664, the year in which his brother Lucius Iulius Caesar was consul; he who was one of the victims of the Marian party in 87/667. Cic. de off. 1 § 108, § 133.

§ 3. 1. 19. **εἰς τὴν Καππαδοκίαν ἀποστέλλεται.** This was in 92/662. He was at the time in Cilicia as praetor, engaged principally in suppressing the piracy which was paralysing the trade of the Eastern seas. Mommsen, *Hist. Rom.* III p. 302.

20. **τὸν μὲν ἐμφανῆ λόγον,** 'the ostensible reason'. Cf. Agis 6, 4 *ἐμφανῶς μὲν—ἢ δ' ἀληθῶς ἀναπέλευσα αἰτία*. Polybios frequently uses *ἐμφασίς* for the alleged as opposed to the real cause, 5, 63, 2; 5, 110, 6; 2, 47, 10.

21. **Ἀριοβαρζάνην καταγαγεῖν,** *Ariobarzanem in regnum reducere*. Appian Mithr. c. 57 makes Sulla, addressing Mithridates, say *ἐς μὲν Καππαδοκίαν ἐγὼ κατήγαγον Ἀριοβαρζάνην Κιλικίας ἄρχων, ὧδε Ῥωμαίων ψηφισαμένων*, Liv. Epit. 70 *Ariobarzanes in regnum Cappadociae a L. Cornelio Sulla reductus est*.

The story of the contest for the possession of Cappadocia by the two covetous kings Mithridates and Nikomedes is best told by Justin hist. 38, 1, 2: *Mithridates parricidia necē uxoris auspiciatus sororis alterius Laudices filios, cuius virum Ariarathem, regem Cappadociae, per Gordium insidiis occiderat, tollendos statuit, nihil actum morte patris existimans, si adulescentes paternum regnum, cuius ille cupiditate flagrabat, occupassent. Igitur, dum in his cogitationibus versatur, interim Nicomedes, rex Bithyniae, vacuum morte regis Cappadociam invadit. Quod cum nuntiatum Mithridati fuisset, per simulationem pietatis auxilia sorori ad expellendum Cappadocia Nicomedem mittit. Sed iam Laudice per factionem se Nicomedi in matrimonium tradiderat. Quod aegre ferens Mithridates praesidia Nicomedis Cappadocia expellit regnumque sororis filio restituit, egregium prorsus factum, ni subsecuta fraus esset; siquidem interiectis mensibus simulat se Gordium, quo ministro usus in Ariarathē interficiendo fuerat, restituere in patriam velle, sperans, si obsisteret adulescens, causas belli futuras, aut, si permitteret, per eundem filium tolli posse, per quem interfecerat patrem. Quod ubi Ariarathes iunior moliri cognovit, graviter ferens interfectorem patris per avunculum potissimum ab exilio revocari, ingentem exercitum contrahit. Igitur cum in aciem eduxisset Mithridates peditum LXXX milia, equitum X, currus falcatos sexcentos, nec Ariarathi auxiliantibus finitimis regibus minores copiae essent, incertum belli timens consilia ad insidias transfert sollicitatoque iuvene ad*

colloquium, cum ferrum occultatum inter fascias gereret, scrutatori ab Ariarathe regio more misso curiosius in eum ventrem pertractanti ait: caveret, ne aliud telum inveniret quam quaereret. Atque ita risu protectis insidiis revocatum ab amicis velut ad secretum sermonem inspectante utroque exercitu interfecit: regnum Cappadociae octo annorum filio inposito Ariarathis nomine additoque ei rectore Gordio tradidit. 2. Sed Cappadoces crudelitate ac libidine praefectorum vexati a Mithridate deficiunt fratremque regis et ipsum Ariarathem nomine ab Asia, ubi educabatur, revocant, cum quo Mithridates proelium renovat victumque regno Cappadociae expellit. Nec multo post adulescens ex aegritudine collecta infirmitate decedit. Post huius mortem Nicomedes timens, ne Mithridates accessione Cappadociae etiam Bithyniam finitimam invaderet, subornat puerum eximiae pulchritudinis, quasi Ariarathes tres, non duos filios genuisset, qui a senatu Romano paternum regnum peteret. Uxorem quoque Laodiceam Romam mittit ad testimonium trium ex Ariarathe susceptorum filiorum. Quod ubi Mithridates cognovit, et ipse pari impudentia Gordium Romam mittit, qui senatui adseveret puerum, cui Cappadociae regnum tradiderat, ex eo Ariarathem genitum, qui bello Aristonici auxilia Romanis ferens cecidisset. Sed senatus studio regum intellectu, aliena regna falsis nominibus furantium, Mithridati Cappadociam et Nicomedi ad solacia eius Paphlagoniam ademit. Ac ne contumelia regum foret ademptum illis, quod daretur alitis, uterque populus libertate donatus est. Sed Cappadoces munus libertatis abnuentes negant vivere gentem sine rege posse. Itaque rex illis a senatu Ariobarzanes statuitur. The historian goes on to say that Mithridates, who was not ready for a final rupture with the Romans, persuaded Tigranes, king of Armenia, to expel Ariobarzanes from his kingdom, and to secure his new ally he gave him his daughter Cleopatra to wife. As soon as the army of Tigranes approached, Ariobarzanes packed up (*sublati rebus suis*) and went up to Rome. He was restored by Sulla in 92/662, but Sulla had scarce left Asia, when, on the instigation of Mithridates Gordius and Tigranes the king of Armenia fell upon Ariobarzanes and expelled him for the second time about 90/664, reinstating in his stead the Pontic pretender Ariarathes. The Roman government then despatched to Asia Minor in support of the praetor Lucius Cassius the consular Manius Aquilius, son of the conqueror of Aristonicus, as ambassador, who with a small Roman corps and some additional levies, accomplished the commission entrusted to him 90/664. The wanton invasion however of Nikomedes III Philopator, who had just succeeded to the throne of Bithynia, into the territory of Mithridates, and the refusal of the Romans to aid the king in obtaining satisfaction, led to an open rupture, and Mithridates sent his son Ariarathes with a large army to seize the throne. Ariobarzanes was driven out in a short time, and his expulsion was the signal for the outbreak of the war with Rome 88/666, in which Nikomedes sustained a decisive defeat, and a second victory over M' Aquilius in Bithynia put the whole of Western Asia in the king's power. Ariobarzanes remained dispossessed of his kingdom until the peace in 84/670, when he again obtained it from Sulla (Plut. Sull. 22, 24), and was established in it by Curio (Appian c. 60). He retained possession of Cappadocia, though frequently harassed by Mithridates, until 66/688, when it was seized by Mithridates after the departure of L. Licinius Lucullus and before the arrival of Gnaeus Pompeius (Cic. p. leg. Man. 2, 5). Pompeius however not only restored Ariobarzanes but increased his dominions. About 63/691 he resigned in favour of his son.

22. Μιθριδάτην ἐπισχεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦντα, 'to check the restless scheming, meddling, of Mithridates'. This was Mithridates VI Eupator, commonly called 'the Great', son of Mithridates Euergetes, the most dangerous foreign enemy Rome had to deal with since the days of Hannibal, who succeeded his father in 120/634 when he was only eleven years old. As king of Pontus, with one blow he overthrew the Roman dominion in Asia, carried the war into Europe, united almost the whole Eastern world in an attack upon the Republic, and resisted for 25 years the first generals of his time, Sulla, Lucullus, Pompeius (Justin 37, 1, 7 cuius ea postea

*magnitudo fuit, ut non sui tantum temporis, verum etiam superioris actatis omnes reges maiestate superaverit bellaque cum Romanis per XLVI annos varia victoria gesserit, cum eum summi imperatores Sulla, Lucullus ceterique, in summa Cn. Pompeius ita vicerit, ut maior clariorque in restaurando bello resurgeret damnisque suis terribilior redderetur*). He was born and bred at Sinope, the centre of Greek commerce in the countries round the Euxine. A man of unusual mental and physical powers, a brave soldier and an enterprising general, he was distinguished from the purely Asiatic despots of the Armenian and Parthian kingdoms by his Greek education, and boundless energy and versatility, but in cruelty and heartlessness he was, as is observed by Mommsen, unsurpassed by any of them, and he was, notwithstanding his Hellenic culture, an Oriental of the ordinary stamp throughout. His thoughts were early directed to enlarging his kingdom; his rule extended over the northern and southern shores of the Black Sea of which his fleet had exclusive command, and far into the interior of Asia Minor. But it was not until he had strengthened his power by long and successful struggles in the North, where he established the kingdom of Bosphorus (embracing the modern Crimea with the opposite Asiatic property, Strabo 7, 4, 3), that he entertained the thought of conquering Western Asia. 23. περιβαλλόμενον ἀρχήν, 'scheming to annex new dominion'. See my n. to Xen. Oecon. 2, 4. 24. τῆς ὑπαρχούσης, 'than what he already had', i. e. Pontus and the lesser Armenia, which he had converted from a dependent principality into an integral part of the Pontic kingdom, and Paphlagonia, which he occupied in concert with Nikomedes, besides the Tauric peninsula and his acquisitions in the North. He was now scheming to annex Cappadocia. 25. δύναμιν ἐπήγετο, *copas secum adduxit*. 26. χρησάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμοις, 'finding the (Asiatic) allies zealous', 6, 9; 16, 7; Xen. Hier. 5, 3 n; Oecon. 3, 11. Cf. Alcib. 14 εἰ βούλεσθε χρῆσθαι μετρίοις (τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. 26. αὐτῶν, *ipsorum*. 28. Γόρδιον, the Cappadocian, whom Mithridates employed as his instrument in his scheme of annexation of Cappadocia. See the passage from Justin quoted above. He had been the agent of Mithridates in the murder of Ariarathes VI, and was appointed guardian to the pseudo-Ariarathes, whom the king set up in his place. He was subsequently sent by Mithridates as his envoy to Rome to maintain before the senate that the youth to whom he had given the crown of Cappadocia was the son of the Ariarathes who had fallen on the side of the Romans in the war with Aristonikos. He was governor of Cappadocia, when Sulla crossed the Tauros and drove him and his Armenian auxiliaries out of Cappadocia. 29. ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, *regem instituit*.

§ 4. 131. Ἄρσακον: Arsaces was the name of the founder of the dynasty of the Parthian kings, which was also borne by his successors, hence called Arsacidae by the Greeks and Romans. This Arsaces is reckoned the ninth in the series, his title being

Arsaces IX Mithridates II. According to Justin 42, 2: *res gestae ei Magni cognomen dedere; quippe claritatem parentum aemulatione virtutis accensus animi magnitudine supergreditur. Multa igitur bella cum finitimis magna virtute gessit multosque populos Parthico regno addidit. Sed et cum Scythis prospere aliquoties dimicavit, ultorque iniuriae parentum fuit. Ad postremum Artavandi Armeniorum regi bellum intulit.* The epitomator of Livy (LXX) mentions this deputation: *Parthorum legati ab rege Arsace missi venerunt ad Sullam, ut amicitiam populi Romani peterent.* Cf. also Vell. Paterc. 2, 24.

32. οὐπω πρότερον ἀλλήλοις ἐπιμεμιγμένων τῶν γενῶν, 'although there had never before been any intercourse between the two nations'. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 7, 4, 5 νῦν οὖν χρῆ ἐπιμιγνυσθαι ἀλλήλοις φιλικῶς, Polyb. 2, 17, 3 ἐπιμιγνύμενοι αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν παράθεσιν, Thuc. 2, 1, 1 ἐπιμιγνύντε παρ' ἀλλήλους. 33. τῆς μεγάλης τύχης γενέσθαι, 'to be a part of his great good fortune', 'one of the fortunate events in his very successful career', G. § 169, 1.

36. ὅτε, 'on which occasion'. Plutarch is fond of this coordination by the relative and its particles, e.g. below 28, 3; Sol. 30, 5 ὅτε καὶ τὸ μνημονουόμενον ἔπεν, Timol. 11, 3 ὅτε καὶ παντάπασιν συνέβη τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἀπογῶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν, ib. 23, 5.

38. χρηματίζειν, 'to give audience to', Polyb. 3, 66, 6 ἐχρημάτιζε τοῖς παραγεγονόσι πρεσβευταῖς, 5, 24, 11 ἐχρημάτισε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης πρεσβευταῖς, Dio Cass. fr. 149 τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων πρέσβεσιν χρηματίζειν, 49, 27 τοῖς πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐχρημάτισεν, Diod. Sic. 17, 2 ταῖς πρεσβείαις χρηματίας φιλανθρώπως.

§ 5. 1. 38. ἐφ' ᾧ, *quam ob causam*, 4, 3; 6, 2; 7, 10; 19, 5. Greek writers commonly use the plural ἐφ' οἷς.

40. ἐντροφήσαντα τοῖς βαρβάροις, 'giving himself airs with', 'lording it over the barbarians'. For illustrations of the meaning of this verb see my note on Themist. 18, 4 l. 8, and add to the passages there quoted Pomp. c. 40 ἐντροφώμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ μῆδυσκολαῖνον.

41. φορτικόν, 'arrogant', C. Gr. 6, 3 l. 30 n.

43. καταβεβηκότων, from the upper country.

44. ἀπίυν, 'looking steadfastly at', 'fixing his gaze on', lit. away from other objects.

45. ἐπιστήσας, *immoratus, animum advertens*, 'watching closely', 'observing carefully'.

ἐφιστάναι absol. without τὴν γνώμην or τὴν διάνοιαν or τὸν νῦν in the sense of 'to fix one's attention' is used either

(1) with the dative as in Polyb. 1, 14, 1 παρωξύνθη ἐπιστῆται τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ, Plut. Mor. p. 32 B ἐφιστάντα τοῖς οὕτω λεγομένοις,

(2) or with ἐπί followed by the accusative, as in Polyb. 165, 5 ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ἐπιστῆσαι ἄξιον, 9, 23, 1 γνώη δ' ἂν τις ἐπὶ πλά τῶν ἡδη γεγονότων ἐπιστῆσας,

(3) or with περί and the genitive, as in Polyb. 6, 26, 12 μῖδον ἐπιμελέστερον ἐπιστῆσαι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων.

§ 6. 1. 46. πρὸς τὰς τῆς τέχνης ὑποθέσεις τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκεψάμενος, 'studying his character according to the principles, rules, of his art'.

48. μέγιστον γενέσθαι: Paterc. 2, 24, 3 *Tunc Sulla, compositis transmarinis rebus, cum ad primum omi-*

nium Romanorum legati Parthorum venissent, et in iis quidam magi ex notis corporis respondissent caelestem eius vitam et memoriam futuram etc.

θαυμάζειν δὲ καὶ νῦν πῶς ἀνέχεται μὴ πρῶτος ὢν ἀπάντων, 'and that he wondered how, even as it was, he could submit not to be (to be anything less than) the foremost man of all'. The use of μὴ instead of οὐ after ἀνέχεται is irregular.

50. Κησωρίνος: Censorinus was a family name of the Marcii. The person who threatened Sulla with a prosecution for bribery may have been either C. Censorinus, whom Cicero (Brutus 67, 237) speaks of as moderately versed in Greek Literature, but as *iners et inimicus fori*, or L. Censorinus son of L. Marcius Censorinus cos. 149/605, one of the orators who lost his life in the civil war of Marius and Sulla (Brut. 90, 311).

—συνειλοχόσι, *quod collegisset*. 52. οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, 'did not appear in court', the usual law term. 53. ἀπέστη τῆς κατηγορίας, 'withdrew from the prosecution'.

## CHAPTER VI

*A fresh impulse was given to the hostility which had sprung up between Marius and Sulla, when Bocchus, king of Mauretania, presented to the Romans a group of figures in gold for dedication in the Capitol, which represented himself betraying Jugurtha into the hands of Sulla. This excited the jealousy of Marius who was with difficulty prevented from removing forcibly the trophy which was so evidently designed for the glorification of his quaestor at his expense. But their animosities, and the conflict of political parties arising from them, were interrupted by the outbreak of the Social war, with which Rome had been long threatened. In this war, remarkable for its vicissitudes of fortune, Marius lost credit, and made it plain to every one that he had grown old and clumsy and was no longer the man he had been. Sulla, on the other hand, rendered signal service, and contributed more than any other man to the subjugation of the insurrection, so that his military genius was universally acknowledged by enemies no less than partizans, though the former said that he owed most to his good luck. Sulla did not, like the distinguished Athenian general Timotheos, resent this ascription of all to Fortune, as an attempt to disparage his merit, but rather favoured the notion of his being fortune's favourite, whether out of mere vanity or from a real conviction of divine agency. Hence in his Memoirs he says that every improvised enterprise turned out better with him than those which were systematically planned. To the same divine agency he ascribed even the good understanding which subsisted between himself and his father-in-law Metellus, for he expected to have found in him a troublesome colleague, whereas he proved a most obliging one. Hence also his belief in dreams, as communications from the gods, and in omens such as that afforded by a particular phaenomenon at Laverna, which the seers interpreted to refer to himself, as the coming man (§ 1—§ 7).*

As to his general character, he was inconsistent in the extreme and full of contradictions, alternately greedy and prodigal, proud and servile, exacting and patient. He was naturally of a violent and vindictive temper, which however he sometimes controlled by regard for self-interest, as when he overlooked the mutinous conduct of his soldiers who killed their general, the consular Albinus, one of his own legati. His great aim being to supplant Marius, he tried to make himself as popular as possible with the army (§ 7—§ 9).

On his return to Rome, he was elected consul, being fifty years of age: and married for his fourth wife Metella, daughter of the Pontifex Maximus, a few days after divorcing Cloelia, and lived happily with her to the end of his life. The marriage gave rise to several satirical effusions at the time, and at the capture of Athens it was thought that the inhabitants had harder measure dealt them, because they had used insulting language to Metella (§ 10—§ 12).

§ 1. 1. 1. ἀνερριπίζετο, 'was rekindled', 'broke out afresh'. Cf. Dio. Halic. 7, 15 εἰ μὴ παύσονται τὴν στάσιν ἀναρριπίζοντες, ἀξίας τίσουσι δίκας. 2. ὑπίθεσιν λαβοῦσα, *materiam, occasionem nacta*, 4, 4. G. § 166 Note 2. 6. χρυσοῦν Ἰουγόρθαν κτλ., 'a bas-relief or group of figures in gold, representing the surrender of Jugurtha by himself to Sulla'. Cf. Mar. 32, 2 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Βόκχος ἔστησεν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ Νίκας τροπαιοφόρους καὶ παρ' αὐταῖς ἐν εἰκόσι χρυσαῖς Ἰουγόρθαν ἐγχειριζόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Σύλλα, τοῦτ' ἐξέστησεν ὀργῇ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ Μάριον, ὡς Σύλλα περισπῶντος εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὰ ἔργα, καὶ παρεσκευάζετο βίᾳ τὰ ἀναθήματα καταβάλλειν.

§ 2. 1. 7. βαρυθυμουμένου, 'incensed', 'moody'. The middle occurs also in Mor. p. 739 Ε ὁρῶν τὸν γραμματικὸν ἀποσιωπῶντα καὶ βαρυθυμούμενον. 8. ἐτέρων, sc. ἐπιχειροῦντων.

9. ὅσον οὔπω, *tantum nondum*, 'all but now': Timol. 11, 3; 16, 4 ὅσον οὔπω παρακελευομένων ἀλλήλοις, Thuc. 6, 34, 8 ὅσον οὔπω πάρεσι, 4, 125, 1 ὅσον οὔπω παρῆναι.

διακαυμένης, 'in a state of complete combustion'. 10. ὁ πόλεμος—τυφόμενος, 'the smouldering embers of war'. Cf. Mar. 32, 3 τὴν στάσιν ὅσον οὔπω φερομένην εἰς μέσον ἔπεισεν ὁ συμμαχικὸς πόλεμος ἐξαίφνης ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀναρραγείς, where the metaphor is taken from the bursting of a storm. 12. ποικιλωτάτῳ, 'so very chequered', 'diversified'. Cf. Mar. 33, 1 οὗτος ὁ πόλεμος τοῖς πάθεσι ποικίλος γενόμενος καὶ ταῖς τύχαις πολυτροπώτατος ὅσον Σύλλα προσέθηκε δόξης καὶ δυνάμει, τοσοῦτον ἀφείλε Μαρίου, βραδὺς γὰρ ἐφάνη ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ὄκνου τε περὶ πάντα καὶ μελλήσεως ὑπόπλεως, Appian b. c. 40 τό τε ποικίλον τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πολυμερές ἐνθυμούμενοι.

πλεῖστα κακά—παρασχόντι—Ῥωμαίσις. The war, which came nearer to ruining the supremacy of Rome than anything since the Hannibalian campaign, cost the lives of two consuls. It began with the surprise and defeat of Cn. Pompeius before Asculum in Picenum 90/664, where the insurrection had broken out, the defeat of the consul L. Iulius Caesar, under whom Sulla served as legatus, in the South by the confederate general Marius Egnatius, the taking of Aesernia (*Isernia*), the key of the Samnite country, the surrender of Venafrum (*Venafrum*) to the confederate general Marius Egnatius, the disgraceful defeat of Perperna, that of P. Licinius Crassus in Lucania by the confederate

general M. Lamponius, the fall of Nola in Campania, followed by the capture of Stabiae on the bay of Naples and of the Roman colony of Salerno, Pompeii, Herculaneum by the confederate consul Papius Mutilus; the siege of Acerrae; in the North the disastrous defeat of P. Rutilius Lupus, under whom Marius served, by Vettius Cato in the country of the Marsi with the loss of 8,000 men (Ov. *Fast.* 6, 557—60), the defeat of Q. Caepio by the treachery of Q. Pompeidius Silo, the revolt of the Umbrians and Etruscans, which, however, was speedily suppressed by a timely concession of the franchise by the *lex Iulia de civitate*. Thus the campaign of 90/664 had been disastrous to the Romans: that of the next year 89/665 was more favourable; the new consul L. Porcius Cato, who took the command in the Marian district, was slain by the Marsi, but the other consul Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompeius Magnus, intercepted a body of 15,000 who were on their road across the Apennines to help the Etruscan insurgents, slaying 5,000 and dispersing the rest. He followed up this success by blow after blow. One of his legati crushed the Marrucini, another subdued the Marsi: he himself fought the great battle of the war before Asculum, and accomplished the reduction of Picenum, and in the next year received the submission of the Peligni and Vestini. In the South-East Corconius became master of all Apulia, and in Campania Sulla managed the campaign in a bold masterly way. He recovered Stabiae, which had fallen into the hands of Papius Mutilus in the previous year, defeated the confederate commander Cluentius with great slaughter under the walls of Nola, and gained possession of Aeclanum on the Via Appia in the country of the Hirpini. After this success Sulla entered Samnium, which was the stronghold of the confederates, by a circuitous way, avoiding the passes which were held by them, and crossed the ridge of the Apennines to Bovianum (*Bojano*), where was the supreme council of the confederates, *κοινοβούλιον τῶν ἀποστάντων (African)*, with the capture of which his campaign ended. He was engaged in besieging Nola when he was recalled to Rome by the Sulpician revolution, and his election to the command against Mithridates. All that was left for the commanders of 88/666 was to crush the insurgents in the South of Italy where the Lucanians and Bruttians remained in arms. A desperate effort was made by the Samnites under the Marsian Q. Pompeidius Silo, who was slain soon after he had recovered Bovianum; and with the death of this great hero of Italian independence faded away the last gleam of hope for the cause. (Appian b. c. 1, 33—53; Liv. *Epit.* 72—76; Vell. Pat. c. 2, 15; Diodor. Sic. *Exc.* 538—9; Orosius 5, 18; Frontinus 1, 5, 17; Dio Cass. 43, 51.)

14. ἔλεγε τὴν πολεμικὴν ἀρετὴν—δεομένην, 'furnished (by his example) a clear proof that excellence in war requires bodily vigour and strength'. 16. πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου, Sulla, as well as Marius, failed to distinguish himself in the first year of the War. His name is scarcely mentioned. It was only in the second year that he began to display his great military capacity. See n. on l. 12.

§ 3. 1. 19. οὐκ ἔπαθε ταῦτό Τιμοθέω, 'he did not behave like Timotheus', G. § 186. 20. εἰς τὴν τύχην τὰ κατορθώματα τιθεμένων, 1, 3. 22. γραφόντων ἐν πίναξιν κτλ. This story of the painting is told by Aelianus var. *hist.* 13, 43 ὅτι Τιμόθεος, ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων, ἐπεπίστευτο εὐτυχῆς εἶναι. καὶ ἔλεγον τὴν τύχην αἰτίαν εἶναι, Τιμόθεον δὲ οὐδενός, κωμωδοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς. καὶ οἱ ζωγράφοι δὲ καθεύδοντα ἐποίουν αὐτόν, εἶτα ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπῆρρητο ἐστῶσα ἡ τύχη ἔλκουσα ἐς κύρτον τὰς πόλεις, and with some variations by Plutarch again in *Aprophth. Mor.* p. 187 c: Τιμόθεος εὐτυχῆς ἐνομιζέτο στρατηγὸς εἶναι καὶ φθονοῦντες αὐτῷ τινες ἐζωγράφουν τὰς πόλεις εἰς κύρτον αὐτομάτως ἐκείνου καθεύδοντος ἐνδονομένας. ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ Τιμόθεος 'Εἰ τηλικαύτας πόλεις λαμβάνω καθεύδων, τί με οἴεσθε ποιήσῃ ἐγρηγοροτά;' 24. ἀγροικίζόμενος,

'taking it in a boerish way', 'playing the boor'. τοὺς ταῦτα ποιούντας, 'those who did so', sc. τοὺς γράφοντας ἐν πίναξι κτλ. See lex. to Xen. Oecon. p. 127\* b. 27. εὐ κεχωρηκέσαι, *bene cessisse*. Cf. Plat. legg. 3, 6 p. 684 E πῆ δὴ ποτε κακῶς οὕτως ἐχώρησεν ἢ κατοίκισις; Herod. 3, 39 πάντα οἱ ἐχώρει εὐτυχέως, Diod. Sic. 2, 18 κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων χωρῶντων, Polyb. 28, 15, 2 τὰ πράγματα χωρεῖ κατὰ νοῦν, 10, 15, 4 ταῦτα καλῶς κατὰ νοῦν ἐχώρει αὐτῷ, Dio Cass. 48, 54 τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ γνώμην αὐτῷ ἐχώρει, Alciphr. Ep. 1, 9, 1 ἐναντίως ἡμῶν χωρεῖ τὰ πράγματα. The word generally used in this sense is *προχωρεῖν*.

§ 4. 1. 30. ἐντιμερακιέεσθαι, 'played back his boyish petulance', 'showed her spite in return for his arrogance' (*Long*). μηδὲν ἔτι πράξαι λαμπρόν, 'had no further brilliant success', 1, 1; 7, 5. 31. ὅλως ἀποτυγχάνοντα ταῖς πράξεσι, 'failing completely in his undertakings', Pseudo-Dem. p. 155, 30 τοῖς ὅλως ἀποτυχοῦσιν, Diod. Sic. 12, 12 τοὺς ἀποτυχόντας τῷ γάμῳ. Polybios uses the word with the dative and ἐν (5, 98, 6; 9, 15, 4); Xenophon with περί and gen. (Eq. 1, 16), Aristotle with κατὰ and the accusative. 32. προσκρούοντα τῷ δήμῳ, 'giving offence to the people'. See n. to Themist. 20, 2 l. 26. ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πόλεως, 'was banished from the city', 9, 7. In B.C. 357 Timotheos and Iphikrates were sent in command of the Athenian fleet to reduce to obedience the subject states. The expedition being unsuccessful, he was arraigned in B.C. 354 and condemned to pay a fine of 100 talents, but, as he was unable to pay it, he withdrew to Chalkis in Euboea, where he died shortly after. 33. προσιέμενος, 'accepting', 'welcoming'. 34. εὐδαιμονισμόν, 'felicitations on his prosperity'; ζῆλον, 'honor'. 35. συνεπιθειάζων, 'contributing to invest it with a sacred character', 'to ascribe it to divine interposition', Mor. p. 409 C μὴ θεοῦ παρόντος ἐνταῦθα καὶ συνεπιθειάζοντος τὸ χρηστήριον. τὰ πραττόμενα τῆς τύχης ἐξήπτεν, 'made all his exploits depend on fortune'. Cf. Timol. 36, 2 πάντα εἰς τὴν τύχην ἀνήπτε.

§ 5. 1. 37. ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι, 5, 1. 38. κατὰ γνώμην, 'of set purpose', 'deliberately', Dionys. Halic. 6, 81 πειρώμενος ἀποφαίνειν βραχὺ μὲν ὑπάρχον τοῦ δήμου τὸ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἀδικοῦν. Its usual meaning is *ex sententia*, 'according to one's wish'. 39. πρὸς καιρὸν, i. q. ἐκ τοῦ καιροῦ (not *opportune*, *tempestive*, as in Soph. Ai. 38, Phil. 1263, Oed. R. 325, Trach. 59) but) *ex tempore*, *prout tempus ferebat*, *raptim*, 'according to circumstances', 'on the spur of the moment'. Cf. Polyb. 1, 61, 4 τὰ πληρώματα τελέως ἢν ἀνάσκητα καὶ πρὸς καιρὸν ἐμβεβλημένα. 40. δι' ὧν φησί, i. q. διὰ τούτων ἃ φησι, 'by what he says'. We should expect ἐξ ὧν φησί. 41. πεφυκέσαι, *natura comparatum esse*, cf. Xen. Mem. 4, 1, 2 οὗ τῶν τὰ σώματα πρὸς ὦραν, ἀλλὰ τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶ πεφυκότων. 42. ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δαίμονος ποιεῖν, 'to make himself the creature of a superior power', G. § 169, 2. 43. ὡς γὰρ, *quippe*

*qui*. τῆς πρὸς Μέτελλον ὁμοιότητος, 'his unbroken friendship with Metellus'. Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, son of Numidicus, the most distinguished member of this distinguished family, was consul with Sulla 80/674 (hence he is called *ισότιμος*), and it was, according to Plutarch, his daughter Metella, widow of M. Scavrus, consul 115/639, who was afterwards married to Sulla, hence M. was his *κηδεστής*. But Drumann has shown that she was not the daughter of this Metellus, but of another member of the family, viz. L. Caec. Metellus Dalmaticus, brother of Metellus Numidicus and therefore uncle of Metellus Pius. 45. πολλὰ αὐτῷ πράγματα παρέξεν ἐπίδοξον ὄντα, 'when he was expected to give him a good deal of trouble', the personal construction for the impersonal 'when it was expected that he would etc.' See note to Them. 6, 2 l. 7 and C. Gr. 11, 2 l. 22. 46. ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀρχῆς, *in societate magistratus*, 'as his colleague' in the consulship.

§ 6. l. 47. ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν ἐκείνῳ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνατέθεικε, 'in the memoirs, (the composition of) which he dedicated to him'. Cf. Luc. 1, 3 ὁ δὲ Λούκουλλος ἤσκητο καὶ λέγειν ἱκανῶς ἐκαστέραν γλῶτταν, ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐκείνῳ προσεφώνησεν ὡς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσονται τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον, *ib.* 4, 2 τὴν γραφὴν τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἐκείνῳ δι' εὐνοίαν ἀνέθηκε. 50. νύκτωρ, *per somnium*. 51. μετὰ δυνάμεως, *cum copiis*, 5, 4. 52. ἱστορεῖ, *sc. ὁ Σύλλας*.

περὶ Λαουέρην. The place is unknown, unless it be the place near the altar of Laverna, the goddess of thieves, which was near the *porta Lavernalis* (the site of which is unknown) as Varro says (*de ling. lat.* v § 163). Horatius (*Ep.* 1, 16, 60) represents the rogue as putting up a prayer to 'the fair Laverna' that he may appear to be what he is not, an honest man, and that night and darkness may kindly cover his sins. The phenomenon which Sulla describes appears to have been of a volcanic character; and if so, it is the most recent on record within the volcanic region of the Seven Hills. (*Long.*)

53. ἀναβλύσαι, *prorupisse*, 'burst forth'. 54. στηρίσαι, *erexisse se*, 'rose like a column', 'towered high'. Cf. Eur. Hipp. 1207 κύμ' οὐρανῷ στηρίζον, Bacch. 972 κλέος οὐρανῷ στηρίζον, *ib.* 1081.

§ 7. l. 55. περιττός, 'uncommon', 'superior to ordinary men'. 56. ἀπαλλάξει τῇ πόλει ταραχὰς τὰς παρούσας, *turbas impendentes ab urbe depellet*, an unusual construction for ἀπαλλάξει τὴν πόλιν ταραχῶν τῶν παρουσῶν. 57. τῆς ὄψεως ἴδιον, 'a peculiarity in his personal appearance', G. § 168. On this use of ἴδιος see n. to Them. 18, 4 l. 12. 61. ὀσιότητος: see *ind. gr. s. v.* 62. ἀνώμαλός τις, 'an irregular, inconsistent sort of character': *τις* is frequently used by Plutarch in this limitative sense with adjectives to increase or weaken their notion, denoting that a thing is particularly so and so. Cf. Them. 22, 2 u. διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτόν, 'at variance with himself'. Cf. Alc. 2, 1 τὸ δ' ἦθος αὐτοῦ πολλὰς ἀνομοιότητας πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπεδείξατο. 63. ἀφελῆσθαι—χαρίσασθαι, 33, 1. 65. θεοαπεύειν ὧν δέοιτο

κτλ., 'to cringe to those whose assistance he wanted, to give himself airs towards those who stood in need of him'. Cf. Flamin. 18 ἐν πτότῳ τιμῇ θρυπτόμενος πρὸς τὸν Δεύκιον, Lucian dial. meretr. 12, ἰ θρύπτῃ πρὸς ἐμέ.

§ 8. 1. 67. τὴν—ἀνωμαλίαν may depend on διαιτήσειεν (see below) or be treated as an acc. of reference. 68. ἐξ ὧν ἔτυχε ἀιτιῶν, 'on any chance, slight grounds'; cf. Xen. Oec. 3, 3 ἐν χώρᾳ ἐν ἧ ἔτυχεν. ἀποτυμπαλίζοντος, 'cudgelling to death', 'bastinadoing'. 70. διαλλαττομένου ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις, sc. προσκρούσασιν, 'ready for reconciliation after the most unpardonable offences', not 'with his deadly enemies' (Long). 71. μετ' εὐκολίας, i. q. εὐκόλως, 'good-naturedly'. 72. μετιόντος, *ulciscentis*, 'prosecuting'. οὕτως ἂν τις διαιτήσειεν, 'one might settle the question' or 'reconcile it (viz. his inconsistency, τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν) on the theory that etc.' See ind. gr. s. v. 73. ὀργὴν, 'in temper', G. § 160, 1. Cf. Pyrrh. 8, 4 πρᾶος ὀργὴν. 74. ὑφιέμενον τῆς πικρίας λογισμῶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, 'moderating his bitterness in favour of calculations of (with a view to) his own interest'. The phrase ὑφιέσθαι τιμῇ πρὸς τι occurs again in Plutarch: Dion. et Bruti Comp. 4 ψυχῆς πρὸς μηθὲν ὑφιέσθαι φόβῳ τοῦ φρονήματος δυναμένης: and without the πρὸς τι frequently, as in Nic. 6 τῷ φθῶν τῆς δόξης ὑφιέμενος *invidiae* (*hominibus invidis concedens gloriam, gloria recusanda invidiam fugiens*, Rom. 18 τοῦ ἀντέχειν ὑφεμένους τοῖς Σαβίνοις, Cam. 11 μηδὲν οἴκτω τῆς ὀργῆς ὑφέσθαι, Cor. 7 πολεμικωτάτων καὶ μηδὲν φρονήματος ὑφιέμενων, Pyrrh. 7 οὐδενὶ τῶν βασιλέων ὑφιέμενος, ἀλκῆς καὶ δόξης, Agesil. 18 τῆς κατὰ στόμα μάχης ὑφέσθαι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, Cat. min. φρονήματος οὐδενὶ Ῥωμαίων ὑφιέμενος, Caes. 6, Galb. 20 τῶν πρωτείων ὑφιέμενος αὐτῷ, de Isid. et Os. c. 61 p. 376 A ὑφείλην ἂν τοῦ Σαράπιδος Αἰγυπτίοις, de def. orac. c. 3 τοῖς μαθηματικοῖς οὐκ ὑφήσονται τῆς ἀκριβείας (*accurata subtilitate superari se a mathematicis non concedent*), Mor. p. 988 B οὐδενὶ τι τὰ θήλεα τοῖς ἄρρεσιν ὑφιέται θυμοῦ καὶ ἀλκῆς, p. 54 A ὑφιέται τῇ ὁμοιώτητι τῆς ἰσότητος, i. e. *similitudinem retinens magnitudine se vinci patitur*.

§ 9. 1. 75. γε, 'thus', 'for example'. 76. στρατηγικὸν ἄνδρα, 'a man of praetorian rank'. 77. πρσβετην, 4, 1 n. Ἀλβίνον. Aulus Postumius Albinus who was consul with Marcus Antonius 99/655. The story is thus told by Valerius Maximus 9, 8, 3 Age, *illa quam execrabilis militum temeritas! fecit enim ut A. Albinus nobilitate, moribus, honorum omnium consummatione civis eximius, propter falsas et inanes suspiciones in castris ab exercitu lapidibus obrucetur, quodque accessionem indignationis non recipit, oranti atque obsecranti duci a militibus causae dicendae potestas negata est*. Orosius 5, 18, 22 states that he excited the hatred of the soldiers by his intolerable pride: *anno ab urbe condita DCLXI cum ad obsidendos Pompeios Romanus isset exercitus et Postumius Albinus vir consularis, tunc L. Sullae legatus, intolerabili superbia omnium in se militum odia suscitasset, lapidibus*

*occisus est.* 78. παρήλθε, 'passed by', 'overlooked'. οὐκ ἐπέξῆλθεν, 'did not follow up, revenge'. Cf. Caes. 69, 1 τοὺς καθ' ὅτιοις ἢ χειρὶ τοῦ ἔργου θιγόντας ἢ γνώμης μετασχόντας ἐπέξελεῖν. Comp. Ag. et Cleom. c. Gracch. 5, 1 τὸν φόνον οὐκ ἐπέξελεθῶν where see my n. 79. σεμνυνόμενος διεδίδου λόγον, not 'gave it out in a boast' (*Clough*), but 'affecting a grave and solemn air, with apparent seriousness, spread a report'. Cf. Them. 19, 2 n. ὡς προθυμοτέροις—χρήσοιτο, 'that he should find them all the more zealous', 6, 9: χρήσοιτο is the reading of Bekker after Schaefer: the vulgate, retained by Sintenis, is χρήσαιτο, 'he did find them'. 81. ἰωμένους τὸ ἀμάρτημα, 'making amends for their fault'. Cf. Comp. Ag. et Cleom. 2, 1 μικρὰ καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἰᾶσθαι. Cf. Oros. 5, 18: *Sulla consul civilem cruorem non nisi hostili sanguine expiari posse testatus est: cuius rei conscientia permotus exercitus ita pugnam adortus est, ut sibi unusquisque percundum videret nisi vicisset.* 82. καταλύσαι, 'to put down', 'overthrow the power of': Tib. Gr. 19, 2 καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον, C. Gr. 14, 3. 84. ἀποδειχθῆναι, 3, 1.

§ 10. 1. 87. ὕπατος, in 88/666 with Q. Pompeius Rufus.

89. γαμεῖ γάμον ἐνδοξότατον Καικιλίαν, 'forms a most distinguished matrimonial alliance with Caecilia', G. § 159, 4, HA. § 725. Her full name was Caecilia Metella, the latter borrowed from her father's cognomen. As a rule, Roman women had but one name that of the *gens* to which they belonged, without *praenomen* or *cognomen*. 90. Μετέλλου, 6, 5. 91. πολλὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἦδον, 'composed a variety of (satirical) songs on him', 2, 1. 'Nam Caecilia mulier habebatur impudicissima et flagitiosissima, et Sulla domestica sua dedecora aut ignorabat aut dissimulabat volens' (*Reiske*). 92. οἱ δημοτικοί, *plebeii*, *vulgus*. 94. ὁ Τίτος, i.e. Titus Livius, the historian: the passage referred to is in the LXXVIIth, one of the lost books.

§ 12. 1. 101. ἐν πάσι, *omnibus in rebus*. 103. καταγαγεῖν, 5, 3. 105. τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσενεχθῆναι τραχύτερον, 'treated the Athenians with greater harshness', Mar. 8, 2 πρᾶως καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς προσφέρεσθαι, Thuc. 1, 140, 6; 5, III, 5. 106. γεφυρίζοντες, 2, 1.

## CHAPTER VII

*Sulla, who was now occupied with the siege of Nola, as that city still refused to submit to the Romans, was eager for the conduct of the war against Mithridates, but his rival Marius, probably conscious of failure in the part he had taken in the Social war, instead of resigning himself to the fact that in his old age he was no longer what he had been in his prime, deluded himself with the idea that, if he had an independent command, he could still shine as the first general of the republic. Urged on by this morbid ambition, he intrigued to*

obtain for himself the chief command in spite of his advanced age and corpulency. The guilt of the lamentable convulsion, which ensued from this rivalry and proved more ruinous to Rome than all its wars, rested with Marius only (§ 1—§ 2).

Several premonitory portents ushered in this formidable outbreak of civil strife, the most alarming of which was the sound as of a trumpet proceeding from a clear and cloudless sky. This was interpreted by the Tuscan seers to forebode the commencement of a new period and a general change in the order of the world. While the Senate was sitting in the temple of Bellona, listening to their explanations, their attention was drawn to another omen, which, according to the seers, pointed to divisions between the landholders and the urban population (§ 2—§ 6).

§ 1. 1. 1. ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον, 'of this hereafter', or 'these things happened later' (*Langhornes*). πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα μικρόν, 'a small matter in comparison of things to come', what he expected to attain. 2. ἐπτόητο τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, 'was in a great state of excitement, passionately eager, for the (command of the) war against Mithridates'. Crass. 16, 3 ἤδεσαν πάντες ὅτι πρὸς τοῦτον (τὸν πόλεμον) Κράσσος ἐπτόηται, Flamin. 5 διεπτόηντο ταῖς ὁρμαῖς πρὸς τὸν Τίτον.

'Plutarch represents the contest for the command in the Mithridatic war as lying between Marius and Sulla; but this cannot be true. The Senate, pursuant to a law of C. Gracchus, would name in 89/665 the consular provinces for the year 88/666, and if they had determined on the war against Mithridates at the time when the consular provinces were named, we may safely affirm that the conduct of this war would be one of the consular provinces. The consuls would determine between themselves by lot or otherwise who should lead the Romans against Mithridates, and Appian states that Sulla got the command. It is possible however that early in 88/666 it was not settled who should be sent out to oppose Mithridates, and accordingly Plutarch represents Marius as intriguing for the command, and the people as divided between him and Sulla.' LONG *Decline R. R.* 2, 220.

4. ἀντανίστατο δ' αὐτῷ Μάριος, 'but Marius set himself up as a rival against him'. It is not asserted either here or elsewhere that Marius became formally a candidate for the Consulship. He seems only to have aimed at the chief command. Cf. Mar. c. 34 ἐπεὶ δ' ἤδη, τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐγκεκλικότων, ἐμνηστεύοντο πολλοὶ τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τῶν δημαγωγῶν, παρὰ πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα Σουλπίκιος δῆμαρχος παραγαγὼν Μάριον ἀπεδείκνεν ἀνθύπατον στρατηγὸν ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην. Καὶ ὁ δῆμος διέστη, τῶν μὲν αἰρουμένων τὰ Μαρίου, τῶν δὲ Σύλλαν καλούντων καὶ τὸν Μάριον ἐπὶ θερμὰ κελουόντων εἰς Βαῖας βαδίζειν καὶ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύειν ὑπὸ τε γῆρας καὶ ρευμάτων ἀπειρηκός, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγε. Plutarch adds that Marius thereupon, in order to show to the people that in spite of his old age and corpulence he was still active and vigorous, went every day to the Campus Martius, where he joined in the exercises of the young and exhibited his skill in riding and other feats of military training.

ὑπὸ δοξομανίας—ἐφιέμενος, 'out of ambition and a morbid love of glory—passions that never grow old—for, though he was

unwieldy in body and had done no service because of his age in the recent campaigns, he still coveted (the conduct of) a distant war beyond the seas'. 5. τῷ σώματι βαρύς, G. § 188 Note 1. Cf. Mar. 34, 3 ἐπεδείκνυε τὸ σῶμα κούφον μὲν ὄπλοις ἔποχον δὲ ταῖς ἰππασίαις, καίπερ οὐκ εὐσταλῆς γεγονώς ἐν γῆρᾳ τὸν ὄγκον ἀλλ' εἰς σάρκα περιπληθῆ καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐνδεδωκώς. 6. ἀπειρηκώς, 'although he had failed', 'broken down'.

ἀπειπεῖν (1) *renuntiare*, 'to give up', 'call off', either from despair or want of will or strength, 'to flag', pseudo-Demosth. adv. Polycl. p. 1213 § 22 τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπειρηκῶτων, Plut. Cleom. 30 οὐ μὴν ἀπειπεν ἀλλ' ἀντήρκεσς πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀγῶνας, Plat. legg. p. 931 A ἀπειρηκῶτας γῆρα, Isae. de Philoct. her. § 35 ἀπειρηκῶτα ὑπὸ γῆρας, Plut. Pyrrh. 18 ὑπὸ γῆρας ἀπειρηκῶς πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν, Cat. mai. 5 ἵππων ἀπειρηκῶτων ὑπὸ πόνου τροφαί, Ages. 33, 2 πρὸς τὰς στρατείας ἀπειρῆκει διὰ τὸ γῆρας. (2) 'to leave off', 'abstain from doing', with or without participle, Cleom. 34, 1 ναῦς αἰτῶν καὶ στρατιάν ἀπειπε, Xen. An. 5, 1, 2 ἀπειρηκα ἤδη συσκευαζόμενος καὶ βαδίζων, Thuc. 1, 121, 4 φέροντες ἀπεροῦσιν. (3) 'to fall short', fail in anything, c. dativo rei; Lyc. c. Leocr. § 40 τοὺς τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειρηκῶτας, Isocr. Paneg. § 92 τοῖς σώμασιν ἀπειπὸν ταῖς ψυχαῖς νικῶντες, Dem. Olynth. III § 3 p. 30 fin. ἀπειρηκῶτων χρίμασι Φωκῶν, Paus. 4, 9, 1 δαπάνη χρημάτων ἀπειρηκεσαν.

§ 2. 1. 8. πρὸς τὰς ἐπιλιπεῖς πράξεις ὀρμήσαντος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον, 'when Sulla had hastened to the camp for (to complete) some matters that still remained to be finished'. 10. ἔτεκταινο, 'was hatching all the while'. Cf. Arist. Ach. 660 πᾶν ἐπ' ἔμοι τεκταινέσθω. The order is: στάσιμ τὴν ὀλεθριωτάτην καὶ ἀπεργασαμένην ὅσα (= τοσαύτας βλαβὰς ὅσας) σύμπαντες οἱ πόλεμοι τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἔβλαψαν, 'that most fatal sedition, which did Rome more mischief than all her wars put together had wrought her'. On the double acc. see G. § 159 Note 2. 12. τὸ δαιμόνιον, 6, 4; 6, 6. 14. δοράτων, 'poles', 'wooden staves'. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 4 ἦν δ' αὐτῷ τὸ σημεῖον αἰετὸς χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ δόρατος μακροῦ ἀνατεταμένως.

§ 3. 1. 18. ἀνακείμενον, 'dedicated' as a votive offering. In purely classical Greek κεῖμαι is the recognised perfect passive of τίθημι, τέθειμαι being used as p. middle. See n. on Them. 18, 1 l. 13. 20. τὰ τρία: the article is used with cardinal numerals, where a division is made. 21. τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, sc. τοῦτό ἐστι 'but the greatest thing of all is this, that' etc., or the phrase may be considered as in apposition to the whole clause which it precedes. 22. τοῦ περιέχοντος sc. ἀέρος, 'the (circumambient) atmosphere', a common expression in Plutarch and later Greek writers. Coriol. 38, 1 ξύλα καὶ λίθοι δέχονται βαφὰς ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος, Alex. 52, 3 ὑπὲρ ὠρῶν καὶ κράσεως τοῦ περιέχοντος λόγων βυτων, 58, 1 δυσκρασίαι τοῦ π., Polyb. 5, 21, 8 αἱ ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος διαφοραί, Strab. 1, 1, 13 τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος φύσιν, Diod. Sic. 1, 7 ἐκ τῆς πιπτούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὀμίχλης, Mor. p. 361 B εἶναι φύσεις ἐν τῷ περιέχοντι μεγάλας καὶ ἰσχυράς, Polyb. 1, 37, 9 πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ πρὸς τὸ περιέχον ὅταν παραβάλλωνται καὶ βιαιομαχώσι, μεγάλοις ἐλαττώμασι περιπίπτουσιν: 3, 37, 4. The full expression τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος occurs in Mor.

p. 333 E. 24. Τυρρηῶν οἱ λόγιοι, 'the learned Etrurians' i.e. the haruspices whose science was derived directly from Etruria. They presided over that part of divination in which omens were derived from inspecting the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice.

25. μεταβολὴν ἑτέρου γένους ἀπεφαίνοντο—ἀποσημαίνειν τὸ τέρας. 'gave it as their opinion, declared that the prodigy portended a change to a new period'. Cf. Thuc. 6, 18, 8 ἀπραγμοσύνης μεταβολῆ ἢ διαφθαρῆναι, ib. 76, 4 ἐπὶ δεσπότητος μεταβολῆ οὐκ ἀξυνετωτέρου κακοξυνετωτέρου δέ, Plut. Timol. 12, 1 εἰς μεταβολὴν δεσπότητος καινοῦ τιθασεινομένων. The construction of the verb, from which μεταβολή is derived, is either μεταβάλλειν τι εἰς τι 'to change one thing for another' or μεταβάλλειν τι ἀντί τινος (ἐκ τινος) 'to change to one thing from another', 'to receive in exchange', as Plut. Timol. 1, 1 ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου μεταβάλλουσα τύραννον, Philop. 16, 5 ἀναγκάσας τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν τὴν Ἀχαικὴν ἀντὶ τῆς πατρῆου παιδείαν μεταβαλεῖν, Plat. Theaet. p. 181 C ὅταν χῶραν ἐκ χῶρας μεταβάλλῃ.

§ 4. 1. 29. ἐκάστῳ sc. τῷ γένει. 30. ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου περιόδῳ, 'by the revolution of a great year'.

This is explained by a passage in Censorinus *de die natali* c. 17, 5: *in una quaque civitate quae sint naturalia saecula, rituales Etruscorum libri videntur docere, in quis scriptum esse fertur initia sic poni saeculorum. quo die urbes atque civitates constituerentur, de his qui eo die nati essent eum qui diutissime vixisset die mortis suae primi saeculi modulum finire, eoque die qui essent reliqui in civitate, de his rursus eius mortem, qui longissimam egisset aetatem, finem esse saeculi secundi. Sic deinceps tempus reliquorum terminari. Sed ea quod ignorarent homines, portenta mitti divinitus, quibus admonerentur unum quodque saeculum esse finitum. Haec portenta Etrusci pro haruspicii disciplinae suae peritia diligenter observata in libros rettulerunt. quare in Tuscis historiis, quae octavo eorum saeculo scriptae sunt, ut Varro testatur, et quot numero saecula ei genti data sint et transactorum singula quanta fuerint quibusve ostentis eorum exitus designati sint continetur. Itaque scriptum est quattuor prima saecula annorum fuisse centenum, quintum centum viginti trium, sextum undeviginti et centum, septimum totidem, octavum tum demum agi, novum et decimum superesse, quibus transactis finem fore nominis Etrusci.*

31. σῆ ἔλος, 'has run out', 6, 9. ἐτέρας ἐνισταμένης, 'at the commencement of apother'. 32. ὡς for ὥστε, 'so that'. See lex. to Xen. Oec. p. 170\* b.

33. τοῖς πεφροντίκοσι τὰ τοιαῦτα, 'to those who have studied such subjects'. The verb φροντίζειν is generally used intransitively with περί and the gen. or the genitive alone of that which excites attention. It is not often found as transitive with the accusative. Cf. Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 11 τοὺς φροντίζοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυε.

34. εὐθύς, 'to be taken with δῆλον. τρώποις—χρώμοις γεγόνασι, 'have come into the world with other habits and modes of life', HA. § 968 b.

§ 5. 1. 37. ἀμίψει, 'succession'. λαμβάνειν καινοτομίας, 2, 2. 38. κατατυγχάνειν ταῖς προαγορεύσεσι, 'is successful in its predictions', Dem. de cor. § 178. 41. ταπεινά πράττειν, 'to be in a low, neglected, condition', 1, 1. αὐτο-

σχέδιον οὖσαν τὰ πολλά, 'being for the most part off-hand, conjectural'. See ind. gr. s. v. ἀμυδρῶν, 'dim', 'faint': v. Plat. Phaedr. p. 250 B, where the same phrase is applied to the 'imperfect' organs of sense, Timae. 72 B τὰ μαντεῖα ἀμυδρότερα ἔσχε τοῦ τι σαφὲς σημαίνειν. 43. ἀπτομένην, *attingentem*, 'endeavouring to reach', 'trying to ascertain'.

§ 6. 1. 45. τῆς συγκλήτου σχολαζούσης τοῖς μάντεσι, 'while the Senate was giving up its time, attending, to the seers'. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 7, 5, 39: πρὶν τοῖς φίλοις αὐτὸν σχολάσαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι.

46. ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἐννουῦς, 'in the temple of Bellona', where the Senate generally assembled when circumstances rendered it necessary for them to meet outside the Pomoerium, as, for example, when they gave audience to the ambassadors of a state with which the Roman people were at war, or to a general who had not laid down his military command (*imperium*). The Temple of Apollo was occasionally employed for the same purpose. (Ramsay *Rom. Ant.* p. 43. See my note on Cic. orat. pro Sest. § 116.) The Temple stood probably near the carceres of the Circus Flaminius, north-east of the Temple of Apollo; according to Livy 10, 19, Ov. Fast. 6, 203—10, it was vowed in 296/458 by Appius Claudius Caecus. See Burn *Rome and the Campagna* pp. 301, 314.

48. αὐτοῦ may be either *eius* sc. *ciadae*, the gen. after μέρος, or adv. *illico*, *ibi*, 'on the spot', 'there' (Koraes).

49. ἔχων, 'with'. H.A. § 968 b. ὑφερωῶντο, 'apprehended'. 50. τῶν κτηματικῶν, *possessorum*, 'land-holders'. Tib. Gr. 9, 3; 10, 1; 12, 2.

ὄχλον—ἀγοραίων, *turbam—circumforaneam*, not 'the merchant class' (Long).

51. τοῦτον must of course refer to τὸν ἀστικὸν ὄχλον. Koraes interprets the passage thus:—τὸν μὲν ἀστικὸν ὄχλον πολύφωνον καὶ αἰείφωνον εἶναι, ὥσπερ τέττιγα· τοὺς δὲ χωρίτας (τούτεστι τοὺς κτηματικοὺς) ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀρούραις διατρίβειν, καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς στρουθοὺς· ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γὰρ ταῖς ἀρούραις, τούτεστι τοῖς σπειρομένοις πεδίοις, ἐμφιλοχωρεῖ ὁ στρουθός, κάκεῖ ὡς ἐπίπαν φαίνεται. The reading found in x (anon.) is φωνάεντα τοῦτον εἶναι καθάπερ στρουθόν, τοὺς δὲ χωρίτας ἀρουραίους καθάπερ τέττιγας, 'the latter is always noisy like a sparrow (the bird most familiar in towns), while the farmers living in the country are like grasshoppers'. Long says 'the sentence is corrupt' and Reiske suggests that we should leave 'ineptias suas nugaci popello vatum, qui sunt impostores'. 'Quoquo me verto' he adds 'ex hoc loco me non expedio, cuius omnia sunt hiulca et impervia'.

## CHAPTER VIII

*Marius allies himself with the tribune Publius Sulpicius Rufus, a cruel, rapacious and audacious villain, who sold the Roman citizenship to libertini and resident aliens and publicly received the money at a table in the Forum; who went about with a body-guard of armed men, not less than three thousand strong, and a number of six hundred knights whom he called his anti-senate, ready for anything. He caused a law to be passed that no senator should contract a debt to the amount of more than two thousand denarii and yet at his death left behind him a debt of three millions. Such was the man whom Marius enlisted to serve his personal interests, and who introduced general disorder and riot. Among other obnoxious laws, he brought forward one to take away from Sulla the chief command in the war with Mithridates (which had been in due form of law conferred on him), and to give it to Marius, who was then only a private citizen. The consuls threw formal obstacles in the way of his resolution by issuing a decree for the observance of an extraordinary festival which would cause a total cessation of business. Riots and acts of violence were the consequence, and the life of the consuls was in imminent danger. Pompeius sought safety in flight, but his son, Sulla's grandson, was murdered. Sulla himself only escaped a like fate by taking refuge in the house of Marius and afterwards consenting to recall the edict which proclaimed the extraordinary festival. Sulla was not, like his colleague, deprived of the consulship, but he made his way to the army in Campania, where he would be safe from the violence of his enemies. Sulpicius sends some tribuni militum to take over the command of the army before Nola.*

§ 1. 1. 1. προσλαμβάνει δημαρχούντα Σουλπίκιον, 'takes (P.) Sulpicius (Rufus) as his helper, while he is in office as tribune'. Cf. Mar. 35, 1 εὐφρέστατον εὐρόντος ὄργανον Μαρίου πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ὄλεθρον τὸ Σουλπικίου θράσος, ὃς διὰ τὰλλα πάντα θαυμάζων καὶ ζηλῶν τὸν Σατουρνίνον, ἀτολμίαν ἐπεκάλει τοῖς πολιτεύμασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλησιν, Appian b.c. 1, 55: Μάριος δὲ τὸν πόλεμον (τὸν Μιθριδάτειον) εὐχερῆ τε καὶ πολὺχρυσον ἠγούμενος εἶναι καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν τῆς στρατηγίας, ὑπηγάγετό οἱ συμπράσσειν ἐς τοῦτο Πόπλιον Σουλπίκιον δῆμαρχον ὑποσχέσει πολλὰς. 2. ἄνθρωπον, 1, 4. οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, nulli secundum, Herod. 1, 23, G. § 175 Note 1, HA. § 175. 3. ὥστε μὴ ζητεῖν sc. τινα, 'so that one had not to enquire', 'the question was not'. 4. πρὸς τί μοχθηρότατος ἑαυτοῦ, 'wherein he surpassed himself in wickedness', 'exceeded his own enormities', HA. § 644 a. 6. περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν, 'were combined in him'. ἀπερίσκεπτος αἰσχροῦ, 'regardless of shame', G. § 180 Note 1, HA. § 753 d. 7. ὃς γε, qui ipse qui, 9, 7. 8. ἐξελευθερικοῖς, 'men of the class of freedmen', viz. the *dediticii* or *Latini*, Gaius 1, 12 etc.

Though Plutarch may have found this abuse in some of his authorities, it is a charge which without further evidence ought not to be accepted. Certainly many, probably most, of the *libertini* were citizens without paying for the privilege of a vote, and the aliens who became citizens under the *Julia Lex* and the *Plautia Papiria* would be numerous enough without increasing the citizens by such a strange method as selling the franchise. It is possible that Sulpicius did in some way contrive to bring a great number of men to the ballot-box who were not entitled to vote; and the transfer of the command against Mithridates from Sulla to Marius is evidence of his unscrupulous character, for Marius was not fit to conduct such a war, and Sulla, besides being entitled to the command as consul, was the ablest general that Rome then had. LONG *Decl. R. R.* 2, 218.

πωλῶν ἀναφανδόν, 'offering by public sale'. ἡρίθμει τιμήν, 'counted out (and received) the price'. Its usual meaning is 'to count out and pay', as in Xen. *Symp.* 4, 44.

§ 2. 1. 10. ἰππικῶν, *ex equestri ordine*. 12. ἀντισύγκλητον, 'an anti-senate', an 'opposition senate'. Cf. Mar. 35, ἡ ἐξακοσίους εἶχε περὶ αὐτὸν τῶν ἰππικῶν οἶον δορυφόρους καὶ τούτους ἀντισύγκλητον ὠνόμαζεν. 13. ὑπὲρ δισχιλίας δραχμῶς ὀφείλειν, 'should incur a debt of more than 2000 drachmas' (= Roman denarii), about £80.

'The Romans' says Long 'made many enactments for limiting expense (*leges sumptuariæ*, see *Dict. of Antiq.* p. 1077) in dress, entertainments, funerals (Sull. c. 35), amount of debt to be incurred and so forth, all of which were unavailing. But this measure is so absurd that we must suppose Plutarch has misunderstood it. A law by which the popular assembly affected to regulate the Roman Senate would have been a revolution greater than any Rome had seen. Our own legislation contains many instances of sumptuary laws relating to apparel from the time of Edward III at intervals to that of Philip and Mary, when these statutes were repealed by the 1st of James I'.

14. ὀφλήματος, 'debt'. See ind. gr. *s.v.* μυριάδας τριακοσίας, 'three millions of drachmae', about £120,000. 15. ἀφεθείς, 'let loose'. 17. νόμους—μοχθηρούς. One of his measures was directed towards regulating the legal condition of the new citizens who had obtained the Roman franchise in 90/664 by the *lex Iulia*, which restricted its benefits by ordaining that the new citizens should all be inscribed in eight only out of the old 35 tribes (Vell. Paterc. 2, 20). Sulpicius came forward with the proposal to distribute the Italians equally over all the 35 tribes. Liv. epit. 77, Appian b. c. 1, 55: τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας νεοπολίτας, μειονεκτοῦντας ἐπὶ ταῖς χειροποισίαις, ἐπήλπιζεν (sc. ὁ Μάριος) ἐς τὰς φυλὰς ἀπάσας διαίρησθαι, οὐ πρότερον μὲν τι περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ χρείας, ὡς δὲ ὑπηρέταις ἐς πάντα χρῆσόμενος εὖνοις. καὶ νόμον αὐτίκα ὁ Σουλπίκιος ἐσέφερε περὶ τοῦδε· οὗ κυρωθέντος ἔμελλε πᾶν ὃ τι βούλοιο Μάριος ἢ Σουλπίκιος ἔσσεσθαι, τῶν νεοπολιτῶν πολὺ παρὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους πλειόνων ὄντων. οἱ δ' ἀρχαίτεροι συνορῶντες ταῦτα ἐγκρατῶς τοῖς νεοπολίταις διεφέροντο.

§ 3. 1. 19. ἀπραξίας, *ferias, iustitium*, 'a suspension of public business'. This proclamation was in order to prevent the law of Sulpicius being put to the vote. Cf. Appian *l.c.* ξύλοις δὲ καὶ λίθοις χρωμένων αὐτῶν ἐς ἀλλήλους, καὶ μεζονος ἀεὶ γιγνομένου τοῦ

κακοῦ, δέσαντες οἱ ὕπατοι περὶ τῆ δοκιμασίᾳ τοῦ νόμου πλησιαζούσῃ προῦγραψαν ἡμερῶν ἀργίας πολλῶν, ὅποιον ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἵνα τις ἀναβολὴ γένοιτο τῆς χειροτονίας καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ.

20. ἐπαγαγὼν αὐτοῖς—*ὄχλον*, 'attacking them with a rabble, as they were holding an assembly at the temple of Castor and Pollux'. Mar. *l. c.* ἐπελθὼν μεθ' ὄπλων ἐκκλησιάσουςι τοῖς ὑπάτοις, τοῦ μὲν ἑτέρου φυγόντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς τὸν νῖόν ἐγκαταλαβὼν ἀπέσφαξε. The Temple of Castor and Pollux, one of the most magnificent of the monuments of the Forum (*celeberrimum clarissimumque monumentum*, Cic. in Verr. 2, 1, 49), of which there are three Corinthian columns still standing, was vowed by the Dictator Aulus Postumius at the battle of the Lake Regillus in the Latin War, dedicated by his son 484/270, rebuilt by L. Metellus Dalmaticus 119/635. It was frequently used for meetings of the Senate (Cic. *l. c.*) and harangues (*concionēs*) were delivered from its steps to the people in the Forum. See my n. on Cic. or. p. Sest. § 34 l. 7.

Appian continues the narrative thus:—*Σουλπίκιος δὲ τὴν ἀργίαν (iustitium) οὐκ ἀναμένων ἐκέλευε τοῖς στασιώταις ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔκειν μετὰ κεκρυμμένων ξιφιδίων καὶ δρᾶν ὅ τι ἐπείγοι, μηδ' αὐτῶν φειδόμενος τῶν ὑπᾶτων, εἰ δέοι. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα ἔτοιμα ἦν, κατηγορεῖ τῶν ἀργίων ὡς παρανόμων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους Κορνήλιον Σύλλαν καὶ Κόιντον Πομπήιον ἐκέλευεν αὐτὰς αὐτίκα ἀναρεῖν, ἵνα προθελὴ τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῶν νόμων. θορύβου δ' ἀναστάντος οἱ παρεσκευασμένοι τὰ ξιφίδια ἐπεσπάσαντο καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀντιλέγοντας ἠπέλιπον κτενεῖν, μέχρι Πομπήιος μὲν λαθὼν διέφυγε, Σύλλας δ' ὡς βουλευσόμενος ὑπεχώρει. κὰν τῷδε Πομπήιου τὸν νῖόν, κηδεύοντα τῷ Σύλλᾳ, παρρησιαζόμενόν τι καὶ λέγοντα κτείνουσιν οἱ τοῦ Σουλπικίου στασιώται.*

23. Σύλλας δ' εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου συνδιωχθεῖς: A fuller account is given by Plutarch in his Life of Marius c. 35: Σύλλας δὲ παρὰ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μαρίου διωκόμενος, οὐδενὸς ἂν προσδοκῆσαντος, εἰσέπεσε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν διώκοντας ἔλαθε δρόμῳ παρενεχθέντας, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δὲ Μαρίου λέγεται κατὰ θύρας ἑτέρας ἀσφαλῶς ἀποπεμφθεῖς διεκπεσεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. αὐτὸς δ' ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν οὐ φησι καταφυγεῖν πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, ἀλλ' ἀπαχθῆναι βουλευσόμενος ὑπὲρ ὧν Σουλπίκιος ἠνάγκαζεν αὐτὸν ἄκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, περισχῶν ἐν κύκλῳ ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς καὶ συνελάσας πρὸς τὸν Μάριον, ἄχρι οὐ προελθὼν ἐκείθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν, ὡς ἤξιον ἐκείνοι, τὰς ἀπραξίας ἔλυσε.

§ 4. 1. 25. διὰ τοῦτο, sc. quod iustitium remiserat (*Leopold*). τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπάρχοντα παύσας, 'though he deposed Pompeius from his consular authority', G. § 279, 1. But see cr. n.

29. χιλιάρχους: Mar. c. 35 δύο χιλιάρχους ἐξέπεμψε παραληφόμενος τὸ Σύλλα στρατεύμα. One of them was Gratidius, the kinsman of Marius, according to Val. Max. 9, 7, 5: *cum C. Mario lege Sulpicia provincia Asia, ut adversus Mithridatem bellum gereret, privato decreta esset, missum ab eo Gratidium legatum ad L. Sullam consulem accipiendarum legionum causa milites trucidarunt, procul dubio indignati, quod ab summo imperio ad eum qui nullo in honore versaretur transire cogerentur.*

30. Νῶλαν: the town before which Sulla had left his army to go to Rome on hearing of the

Sulpician revolution. While he was before Nola, a Samnite army came to relieve the town and encamped near it, but Sulla stormed and captured it. Cf. Vell. Pat. 2, 18, 4: *Sulla egressus urbe cum circa Nolam moraretur (quippe ea urbs pertinacissime arma retinebat exercitumque Romano obsidebatur, velut poeniteret eius fidei quam omnium sanctissimam bello praestiterat Punico), P. Sulpicius etc.*

## CHAPTER IX

On Sulla's arrival at the camp, the soldiers, hearing of the treatment he had received from Marius and Sulpicius, murdered the officers who had been sent from Rome to take over the army from him. The Marians retaliated by murdering the partisans of Sulla at Rome and plundering their property. Thereupon some hastened from the city to the camp, while others left the camp for the city (§ 1).

The Senate, no longer its own master, but under the control of Marius and Sulpicius, sent two of the Praetors to forbid Sulla to advance. These commissioners assumed a bold countenance before Sulla, but they were sent back with insult and narrowly escaped with their lives. They reported at Rome that the rising could not be checked and was past all remedy (§ 2).

Sulla, with Pompeius his colleague, marched on Rome with six legions from Nola after much hesitation about attacking the city and many misgivings of the danger, but he was reassured by the sacrifices and the declarations of the haruspex Postumius (§ 3) and by a vision which appeared to him in a dream (§ 4). At Pictae he was met by a second embassy from the Senate, requesting him not to advance further. The consul professed compliance but, as soon as they were gone, followed close upon their heels (§ 5). He sent Basillus and Gaius Mummius to advance and occupy the Gate (perhaps the Caelimontana and part of the adjoining wall. Long). The people pelted them from the house-tops and stopped the progress of the troops, until Sulla, in the heat of passion, and waving a brand, gave the order for burning the houses and discharging fire arrows at the roofs. Marius made a stand for a while at the Temple of Tellus on the Esquiline, but finally was beaten and fled from the city (§§ 6, 7).

§ 1. 1. 1. φθάσαντος—διαφυγεῖν, 'making his escape to the camp before' the arrival of the tribunes. The construction of φθάνειν with infin. instead of participle is seldom found in Attic Greek; more often in later writers. Cf. Appian b. c. 1, 56: ὁ Σύλλας—ἐς Καπύην ἐπὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ στρατόν, ὡς ἐκ Καπύης ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτου πόλεμον διαβαλῶν, ἠπεύγετο. 3. καταλευσάντων τοὺς χιλιάρχους, 8, 4 l. 29, Mar. c. 35 τοὺς δὲ χιλιάρχους, οὓς ἔπεμψε Μάριος, προσπείοντες οἱ στρατιῶται διέφθειραν. 4. αὐθις, vicissim, 'in requital'. Cf. Mar. 35 πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μάριος ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν Σύλλα φίλων ἀνῆρῆκει καὶ δούλοις ἐλευθερίαν ἐκήρυττεν ἐπὶ συμ-

μαχία· λέγονται δὲ τρεῖς μόνοι προσγενέσθαι. 6. εἰς πόλιν ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου, 'from camp to city'. The article is omitted occasionally before πόλις, ἄστυ, ἀγρός, ἀγορά, τείχος, πεδῖον and other local designations, and sometimes also before στρατός, στρατία, στράτευμα, στρατόπεδον, when they denote oppositions between the parts of a given and presupposed principal locality, and are governed by prepositions. Madvig *Gr. Sint.* § 8 Rem. 2 d. 7. ἐκείσε, i.e. εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

§ 2. 1. 8. ἦν οὐχ αὐτῆς, *non erat sui iuris*, 'was not its own master', G. § 169, 1. 10. στρατηγῶν, *praetorum*. These were D. Iunius Brutus and P. Servilius Albinovanus. 11. ἀπαγορεύοντας αὐτῷ βαδίζειν, 'to forbid him to advance'. The correct Attic form is ἀπεροῦντας, Cobet *nov. lect.* p. 778.

12. θρασύτερον Σύλλα διαλεχθέντας, 'for using bolder language than was proper to Sulla'. 13. τὰς ῥάβδους, 'their fasces'. These consisted of a bundle of rods cut from the birch or elm-tree, wattled together and bound round with thongs into the form of a fascine. They were carried by the lictors before certain of the Roman magistrates, notably the Consuls. A praetor was attended by two lictors within the city and by six when on foreign service; hence he is termed by Polybius ἑξαπέλεκτυς ἡγεμῶν or στρατηγός.

14. τὰς περιπορφύρους sc. τηβέννους, *togas praetextas*, togas ornamented with a broad border of purple, worn by the chief magistrates both at Rome and in the colonies and by the higher orders of priests, and also by all free-born youths until they assumed the *toga virilis*, and by girls until they married. Appian has nothing about the murder of the tribunes or rough treatment of the praetors. He merely says that, as Sulla's army was on its march to Rome, πρέσβεις ἐν ὁδῷ καταλαβόντες ἡρώτων, τί μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τῆν πατρίδα ἐλαῖνοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν, ἐλευθερώσω αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τυραννούντων. καὶ τοῦτο δις καὶ τρίς ἐτέροις πρέσβεσιν ἐλθοῦσιν εἰπὼν ἐπήγγελλεν ὁμως, εἰ θέλοιν τὴν τε σύγκλητον αὐτῷ καὶ Μάριον καὶ Σουλπίκιον εἰς τὸ Ἄρειον πεδῖον συναγαγεῖν, πράξειν ὃ τι ἂν βουλευομένοις δοκῆ, c. 57.

15. αὐτόθεν τε δεινὴν κατήφειαν, ὀρωμένους: Haec cum praecedenti ἀπέπεμψαν iungenda. Sententia est: *contumeliis adfectos hacque re gravioris moeroris causam remisierunt, cum praetoriis insignibus spoliati conspicerentur* etc. (*Leopold*). On the meaning of κατήφεια see my n. to Them. 9, 2 l. 24. The various meanings of αὐτόθεν are (1) local *illinc, ex eo loco*, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόπου, as in Xen. Mem. 2, 8, 1 to the question of Socrates πόθεν—φαίνη; the reply is αὐτόθεν i.e. *ex hac ipsa urbe*; Dem. adv. Androt. § 68 p. 614 in reply to the question whether the prison was built to no purpose, the answer is καταφαίην ἂν ἔγωγε, εἰ γ' ὁ σὸς πατὴρ ὦχετο αὐτόθεν αὐταῖς πέδαῖς ἐξορησάμενος.

(2) temporal *illico, ex tempore, vestigio*, 'at once', 'immediately'. (3) circumstantial, 'from this very circumstance', 'from the mere fact'. In the present passage ὀρωμένους seems to be epexegetic of αὐτόθεν: the mere sight of them, as well as the news they had to report, was a cause of terrible dejection.

17. ἀνήκεστον, 4, 4.

§ 3. I. 19. ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦσαν, 'were actively engaged in making preparations'. Cf. Thuc. 8, 14, 3 ἐν τεχνισμῶ πάντες ἦσαν καὶ παρασκευῇ πολέμου. Elsewhere the phrase has a passive meaning as in Plut. Caes. 58 ταῦτα ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦν, Thuc. 2, 80, 2 τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦν, Aeschin. 2, 103 τὴν στρατείαν ὁράτε οὖσαν ἐν παρασκευῇ.

20. ἕξ τάγματα τέλεια, 'six complete legions', viz. 35,000 men: Mar. 35, 4 ἦσαν δὲ τρισμυρίων καὶ πεντάκις χιλίων οὐ μείους ὀπλίται. Appian *l. c.* ἤγειν ἕξ τέλη στρατιωτῶν αὐτίκα. According to Orosius 5, 19, 4 he had only four legions.

μετὰ τοῦ συνάρχοντος, i.e. Quintus Pompeius Rufus, who, according to this statement, must have joined Sulla at Nola. Appian *l. c.* says that he joined him as he was approaching the city: πλησιάζοντι δὲ Πομπήϊος μὲν ὁ συναρχος ἐπαίμων καὶ ἀρεσκόμενος τοῖς γιγνομένοις ἀφίκετο, συμπράξων εἰς ἅπαντα.

21. ἐκίνει sc. τὸ στρατόπεδον (Xen. 6, 4, 27). Cf. Polyb. 2, 54, 2 αὐθις ἐκ ποδὸς ἐκίνει, Plut. Lucull. 9, 1 εὐθὺς ἀπὸ δέλπου ἐκίνει, Caes. 26 κινήσας ἐκεῖθεν, but in Nic. 17, 1 ἐκίνησε τὴν στρατιάν ἐπὶ τὰς Συρακοῦσας, Appian *l. c.* states that all Sulla's officers left him, except one quaestor, as they would not serve against their country: αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοῦ στρατοῦ, χωρὶς ἐνὸς ταμίου, διέδρασαν ἐς Ῥώμην, οὐχ ἕφιστάμενοι στρατὸν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα.

22. πρόθυμον ὄντα χωρεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν: In Appian's narrative Sulla is said to have called together his soldiers, who were eager to go to the East, for they expected rich booty and feared that if Marius had the command he would take other troops, and discoursed to them of the treatment he had received from Marius and Sulpicius, for he did not venture to tell them his intentions, and bade them be ready. But the men knew what he intended, and they called out for him to lead them to Rome. πνθόμενος δ' ὁ Σύλλας (i.e. the appointment of Marius in his place), καὶ πολέμῳ κρίνας διακριθῆναι, συνήγαγε τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τόνδε τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην στρατείας ὀρεγομεῖόν τε ὡς ἐπικερδοῦς, καὶ νομίζοντα Μάριον ἐς αὐτὴν ἐτέρους καταλέξειν αἰθ' ἑαυτῶν. τὴν δ' ὕβριν ὁ Σύλλας τὴν ἐς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν Σουλπίκιου τε καὶ Μαρίου, καὶ σαφές οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐπενεγκῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἐτόλμα πῶ λέγειν περὶ τοιοῦδε πολέμου), παρήνευσεν ἐτόιμοις ἐς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ συνιέντες τε ὧν ἐπενυει καὶ περὶ σφῶν δεδιότες μὴ τῆς στρατείας ἀποτύχοιεν, ἀπεγύμνουσιν αὐτοὶ τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Σύλλα καὶ ἐς Ῥώμην σφᾶς ἄγειν θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευον.

23. ὁ μάντις Ποστούμιος: eadem narrat Augustinus *de civ. Dei*, 2, 24 his verbis: *Sulla—cum primum ad urbem contra Marium castra movisset—adeo laeta exta immolanti fuisse scribit Livius, ut custodiri se Postumius aruspex voluerit capitis supplicium subiturus, nisi ea quae in animo Sulla haberet dis iuvantibus implevisset.* Meminit quoque huius aruspiciis, quem iam bello sociali secum habuit Sulla, Cic. *de div.* 1, 33, 72 et (ex eo repetit) Valer. Max. 1, 6, 4 (*Leopold*).

28. αὐτῷ συντελεσθείη, G. § 184, 3.

§ 4. I. 29. κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, 28, 4. 30. Καππαδοκῶν:

It is difficult to conjecture what Cappadocian goddess Plutarch means, if it be not the Great Mother, Mar. 17, 5 (*Long*).

32. ἔδοξεν, 'fancied', 'fancied he saw'. See my n. to Them. 26, 2 l. 6, and to the exx. there quoted add Timol. 8, 3 νυκτὸς ἐμβαλῶν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος...ἔδοξεν...ῥαγέντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκχέαι πῦρ. ἐπιστάσαν, 'appearing to him', lit. 'standing by'.

Cf. Herod. 1, 34 αὐτίκα οἱ εὐδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ib. 38 ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστάσα, 5, 56 ἐδόκει—ἄνδρα οἱ ἐπιστάντα μέγαν αἰνίσσασθαι τὰδε τὰ ἔπα, Lucian Gall. 8 θεῖός τις ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄνειρος ἐπιστάς, Arrian Anab. 4, 13, 5 καθευδόντι πολλάκις ἐπιστῆναι, Dio Cass. 54, 4 ὄναρ τῷ Αὐγούστῳ τοιόνδε ἐπέστη, Diod. Sic. 5, 63 τοῖς κάμνουσι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐφισταμένην φανερώς διδόναι τὴν θεραπείαν, 19, 90 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καθ' ὕπνον ἐπιστάντα φανερώς διασημᾶναι, Theocr. 21, 5 (τὸν ὕπνον) αἰφνίδιον θορυβεῖσιν ἐφισταμέναι μελεδῶναι, Luc. Evang. 24, 4 ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο ἐπέστησαν αὐτοῖς, 2, 9 ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐπέστη αὐτοῖς.

34. ἐκείνου sc. Sulla, used as an indirect reflexive in subjective reference; see my n. on Tib. Gr. 12, 2 l. 13. 36. μεθ' ἡμέραν, *postridie*, 'at day-break'.

§ 5. 1. 37. Πικτάς: Strabo 5, 9 p. 362 mentions a place of public entertainment bearing this name (Πικτὰς πανδοχεῖα); it was on the *via Labicana* about twenty-five miles from the city. See cr. n.

38. ἐξ ἐφόδου, *ex itinere, primo impetu*. Cf. Polyb. 1, 24, 10 ταύτην ἐξ ἐφόδου κατὰ κράτος ἔλαβον, 76, 10 τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας πόλιν ἐξ ἐφόδου κατέσχευεν. Appian's account is as follows:—Μάριος δὲ καὶ Σουλπίκιος ἐς παρασκευὴν ὀλίγου διαστήματος δεόμενοι πρέσβεις ἐτέρους ἔπεμπον ὡς δὴ καὶ τούσδε ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεσταλμένους, δεόμενοι μὴ ἀγχοτέρω τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραστρατοπεδεύειν, μέχρι ἐπισκέψαιτο περὶ τῶν παρόντων. Σύλλας δὲ καὶ Πομπήιος τὸ ἐνθύμημα σαφῶς εἰδότες ὑπέσχοτο μὲν ὧδε πράξειν, εὐθὺς δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀπιούσιν εἶποντο. καὶ Σύλλας μὲν τὰς Αἰσκυλείους πύλας καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτὰς τεῖχος ἐνὶ τέλει στρατιωτῶν κατελάμβανε, Πομπήιος δὲ τὰς Κολλίνας ἐτέρω τέλει· καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ τὴν ξυλίην γεφύραν ἐχώρει καὶ τέταρτον πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἐς διαδοχὴν ὑπέμενον. τοῖς δ' ὑπολοίποις ὁ Σύλλας ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐχώρει δόξῃ καὶ ἔργῳ πολεμίου, c. 57—c. 58.

46. συνήπτε, *consequabatur*, 'set out to join them'.

§ 6. 1. 49. κεράμῳ καὶ λίθῳ, 'with tiles and stones': the former word is often used in a collective sense. Cf. Appian *l. c.*: αὐτὸν οἱ περιοικούντες ἄνωθεν ἡμύνοντο βάλλοντες, μέχρι τὰς οἰκίας ἠπειλήσεν ἐμπρήσειν.

51. συνέστειλαν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος: cf. Pericl. 19 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους συνέστειλεν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη (ὁ Περικλῆς), Timocl. 9, 2 εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνεσταλμένον.

53. συνιδῶν τὸ γινόμενον, 'seeing, observing at a glance, taking a comprehensive view of, what was going on': Them. 7, 2 l. 12.

§ 7. 1. 55. χρῆσθαι τοῖς πυροβόλοις, 'to make use of their fire-darts'. By these no doubt are meant the *malleoli*, missiles employed for firing the works of an enemy. 'The *malleolus* consisted of a reed shaft, fitted at the top with a frame of wire-work, like the head of a distaff, which was filled with inflammable materials and had an arrow affixed to the top, so that the whole figure resembled a mallet. It was set alight before being discharged, and when it reached the object against which it was directed, the arrow-head stuck firmly into it, while the tow blazed away and ignited whatever it had fastened upon, Liv. 38, 6; 42, 64.' RICH *Compan. to the Lat. Dicty. etc. s. v.*

56. τῶν στεγασμάτων ἐφιέμενους, 'aiming at the roofs'. Caes. 45 τῶν ὄψεων ἐφιέμενοι, Pompl. 71

ὕψηλοῖς ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ὑσσοῖς ἐφιέμενοι τῶν προσώπων. κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν, *nullo consilio*, 'without any rational consideration'. 57. ἐμπαθῆς, 'in a passion'. τῷ θυμῷ παραδεδωκὺς τῆν τῶν πρασσομένων ἡγεμονίαν, 'having surrendered to his temper complete mastery over his actions'. 58. ὅς γε, *quippe qui*, 8, 1; 10, 1. 59. εἰς οὐδένα λόγον θέμενος, 1, 2; 6, 3. ᾧ τῶν αἰτίων καὶ (τῶν) μὴ (αἰτίων) διάγνωσις οὐκ ἦν, (*ignis*) *qui nullum inter santes ac insontes discrimen noverat*, 'which knew no distinction between the guilty and the innocent'. 62. τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν. 'The Temple of Tellus' was situated in that part of the Esquiline Hill (λόφον τὸν Αἰσκυλῖνον), which was named Carinae. It was frequently used as a place of meeting for the Senate when M. Antonius lived in the neighbouring palace, formerly that of the Pompeian family. 63. ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ, 'on condition of receiving freedom'. τὸ οἰκετικόν, 'the (body of) slaves'. Cp. Appian c. 58: οἱ δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Μάριον πρὸς τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἀκμητὰς ἀσθενῶς μαχόμενοι τοὺς τε ἄλλους πολίτας ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔτι μαχομένους συνεκάλουν καὶ τοῖς δούλοις ἐκήρυττον ἐλευθερίαν εἰ μετὰσχοιεν τοῦ πόνου. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσίοντος, ἀπογνόντες ἀπάντων ἔφευγον εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν συνεπεπράχσαν. 64. ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, 'escaped out of the city'. 1, 1; 6, 4; Thuc. 6, 95 οἱ μὲν ξυνελήφθησαν οἱ δ' ἐξέπεσον Ἀθήναζε.

It appears from Appian's narrative that Marius with his partisans had hastily armed as many men as they could and a fight was made about the market on the Esquiline. Sulla was at first repulsed, but he seized a standard and advancing to the front rallied his troops. He then summoned his legion that was lying out of the city and sent some of his men round by the Suburra quarter to attack the Marians in the rear. As the enemy were unable to resist these fresh assailants and were in danger of being surrounded, Marius attempted to collect together the citizens who were still pelting the invaders from the house-tops and summoned the slaves by a promise of freedom; but he was soon overpowered and made his escape from the city.

## CHAPTER X

*Sulla, making the Senate the instrument of his vengeance, had got them to declare the leaders of the expelled faction enemies of the state; any man might kill them; and their property was confiscated. Sulpicius was betrayed by his own slave to the pursuers who put him to death. Sulla gave the traitor slave his freedom and then had him hurled down the Tarpeian rock. He set a price on the head of Marius, an unworthy return for the treatment he had himself once received from him under similar circumstances, which drew down upon him the secret dislike of the Senate and the undisguised resentment of the People (§ 1—§ 2). To spite him, the voters rejected at the elections his sister's son and Servius, whom he put forward as candidates in the consular comitia, and elected L. Cornelius Cinna, who belonged to the most determined opposition: but Sulla concealed his disappointment and accepted the unpleasant*

election with the declaration that he was glad to see the burgesses making use of their constitutional liberty of choice (§ 3).

(This he did in order to recover some of the popularity which he had lost since he entered the city with his troops. He contented himself with exacting from Cinna an oath, attended with a solemn ceremony, that he would faithfully observe the existing constitution.)

Cinna was made to ascend the Capitol in the presence of many spectators, with a stone in his hand, and take the oath required: and, praying that if he did not keep his promise he might be cast out like the stone from his hand, he hurled it to the ground. But Cinna, directly he became consul, broke faith with Sulla, and set about reversing his policy; and instigated Verginius, one of the tribunes, to threaten him with a prosecution. However Sulla, now no longer consul, left Rome without troubling himself about tribune or court of justice, and deferred his vengeance to another day (§ 4).

§ 1. 1. 2. **ὀλίγων ἄλλων.** Appian states that there were about twelve ring-leaders in all; and he gives the names of Marius and his son, Sulpicius, P. Cethegus, Iunius Brutus, Gnaeus and Quintus Granius, Publius Albinovanus and Marcus Laetorius. The sentence against them, according to him, was as follows (c. 60):—

ὡς στάσιν ἐγείραντας καὶ πολεμήσαντας ὑπάτοις καὶ δούλοις κηρύξαντας ἐλευθερίαν ἐς ἀπόστασιν, πολεμίους Ῥωμαίων ἐψηφιστο εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ἐντυχόντα νηπιοῖ κτείνειν ἢ ἀνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους· τὰ τε ὄντα αὐτοῖς ἐδεδήμευτο.

He adds the following reflection:—

ὦδε μὲν αἱ στάσεις ἐξ ἔριδος καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐπὶ φόνοισι καὶ ἐκ φόνων ἐς πολεμους ἐντελεῖς προέκοπτον, καὶ στρατὸς πολιτῶν ὅδε πρῶτος ἐς τὴν πατρίδα ὡς πολεμίαν ἐσέβαλεν. οὐδ' ἔληξαν ἀπὸ τοῦδε αἱ στάσεις ἐτι κρινόμεναι στρατοπέδοις, ἀλλ' ἐσβολαὶ συνεχεῖς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγίνοντο καὶ τειχομαχίαι καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολέμων ἔργα, οὐδενὸς ἐτι ἐς αἰδῶ τοῖς βιαζομένοις ἐμπροσθῶν ὄντος, ἢ νόμων ἢ πολιτείας ἢ πατρίδος.

4. **Σουλπίκιος μὲν ἀπεσφάγη:** Vell. Paterc. 2, 19: *Sulpicium assecuti equites in Laurentinis paludibus iugulavere, caputque eius erectum et ostentatum pro rostris velut omen imminentis proscriptionis fuit.*

6. **εἶτα κατεκρήμνισε,** 'then had him thrown down (the Tarpeian) rock'. Liv. Epit. LXXVII *P. Sulpicium cum in quadam villa lateret, indicio servi sui retractus et occisus est. Servus, ut praemium promissum iudici haberet, manumissus et ob scelus proditi domini de saxo deiectus est.* Oros. adv. pag. 5, 196: *Sulpicium, Marii collega, servo suo prodente prostratus est; servum vero ipsum, quod hostem indicaverat, manumitti, quod vero dominum prodiderat, saxo Tarpeio deiici consules decreverunt.* **Μαρίῳ δ' ἐπεκρήρυσεν ἀργύριον,** 'he set a price on the head of Marius'.

See n. to Them. 26, 1 l. 24. 'This story' says Long 'is not credible, for under the general terms of the declaration, his life might be taken by any man and a reward would be given without being promised'.

7. **πολιτικῶς, cívilitér,** 'in a citizen-like, constitutional, manner'. **ᾧ γε, quippe cui,** 8, 1; 9, 7. 8. **ἀσφαλῶς ἀφέθη,** 'was let off safe'. Cf. Mar. c. 35.

§ 2. 1. 9. Μαρίῳ—ὕπῆρχεν, *Mario licuit*, G. § 222 Note 2, H.A. § 897. μὴ διέντι = εἰ μὴ διῆκε, 'if he had not let him pass'.

10. ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ Σουλπικίου προεμένῳ πάντων κρατεῖν, 'had he given him up to be put to death by Sulpicius, he might have been absolute master'. προεμένῳ = εἰ προεῖτο. 12. τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρασχῶν κτλ., 'when he gave him the same opportunity (lit. 'handle') of being merciful, he did not get a like return made him'. For τῶν ὁμοίων cf. Herod. 6, 62, 3 τὴν ὁμοίην ζητέων φέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου.

13. ἐφ' οἷς, 4, 3; 5, 5. 14. αὐτῷ φανερὰ—ἀπῆντα, *palam ei obvenerit*, 18, 3. See my n. to Tib. Gr. 17, 4.

§ 3. 1. 15. μὲν γε, *certe quidem*, 'thus, to take one instance'. See n. to Xen. Hier. 8, 9 l. 647, Buttman on Dem. Mid. § 21, n. 203, who observes on μὲν—γε: 'cum quis uno argumento vel exemplo aliquid probat, potest hoc ut sufficiens afferre; quod fit particula γάρ; potest etiam significare, plura quidem posse desiderari, sed hoc unum satis grave esse; quod fit addito γέ *certe, saltem*'.

ἀδελφιδούν, 'nephew', 'sister's son'. Long suggests that the other candidate, whom Plutarch simply names Servius, was probably Servius Cornelius, Sulla's brother.

16. μετιόντας, *ambientes*, C. Gr. 8, 3. ἀποψηφισάμενοι καὶ καθυβρίσαντες, 'contemptuously rejecting', 3, 1; 12, 5.

18. οὓς μάλιστα τιμῶντες ᾤοντο λυπεῖν ἐκείνον, 'by whose preferment they expected to vex him most'.

τούτοις προσεποιεῖτο χαίρειν, ὡς κτλ., 'affected to be glad of this (the choice of consuls), regarding it as a proof that the people, by doing what they liked, showed that they were really indebted to him for their independence'.

21. θεραπεύων τὸ τῶν πολλῶν μῖσος, 'by way of allaying the public hostility', 'to mitigate their dislike of him'. Cf. Lucull. 22, 1 τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐθεράπευον ὑποψίας, Cim. c. Lucull. cp. 2 εἶτ' οὐκ ἐθεράπευσε τὰς ἐν τῷ στρατιωτικῷ διαφορὰς καὶ μέμψεις, Eumen. 13 τὸν φθόνον ἐθεράπευε, Lucian adv. ind. 6 θεραπεύειν τὴν δυστυχίαν.

22. ὕπατον κατέστησεν—Δεύκιον Κίνναν, i.e. he let him be appointed for the year 87/667 with Gnaeus Octavius, a man of strictly optimate views, for his colleague. ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως, 'one of', 'belonging to the opposite faction'.

Dio Cass. *fragm. Peiresc.* cxviii: ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας τὴν τε ἀνάγκην τοῦ πολέμου ὀρῶν καὶ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ γλιχόμενος. τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ οἴκοι πρὸς τὸ ἐπιτηδεύτατον ἑαυτῷ πρὶν ἐξορμηθῆναι κατέστησάτο, καὶ τὸν Κίνναν, Γναιῶν τε τινα Ὀκταουῖον διαδόχου ἀπέφηεν, ἐλπίσας μάλιστα ἂν οὕτω καὶ ἀπὼν ἰσχύσαι τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τε ἐπιχειρεῖα ἐπαινουμένον ἠπίστατο, καὶ οὐδὲν παρακινήσειν ἐνόμιζεν. ἐκείνου δὲ εὖ μὲν ᾔδει κακὸν ἄνδρα ὄντα, οὐκ ἠθέλησε δὲ ἐκπολεμῶσαι, δυνάμενόν τε τι καὶ αὐτὴν ἦδη καὶ ἐτοιμῶς, ὥστε καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ὤμνεν, ἔχοντα πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπουργῆσαι. αὐτὸς τε οὖν καίτοι δεινότερος ἂν τὰς τε γνώμας τῶν ἀνθρώπων συνιδεῖν καὶ τὰς φύσεις τῶν πραγμάτων συλλογίσασθαι, πάνυ ἐν τούτῳ διεσφάλη καὶ πόλεμον τῇ πόλει μέγαν κατελείπεν.

23. ὄρκους καταλαβῶν κτλ., 'after binding him by solemn oaths to be faithful to his policy'. Cf. Thuc. 4, 86, 1 ὄρκους καταλαβῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ τέλη τοῖς μεγίστοις; 1, 9, 1 τοῖς Τυνδάρῳ ὄρκους

κατελιημμένους, Herod. 9, 106 πῖστι καταλαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι.

§ 4. I. 26. μὴ φύλαττοντι κτλ., 'if he did not preserve his friendship to Sulla'. Cf. Soph. Oed. Col. 632 τὸ σὸν μόνον πιστὸν φυλάσσω. 27. διὰ τῆς χειρός, sc. ἐξέπεσε. 30. τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν, 'to disturb the present settlement of affairs, the constitution'.

As soon as Sulla had embarked for Greece, Cinna, supported by the majority of the college of tribunes, immediately submitted the projects of law, which had been concerted as a partial reaction against the Sullan restoration of 88/666. They embraced the political equalization of the new burgesses and the freedmen, as Sulpicius had proposed it, and the restitution of those who had been banished in consequence of the Sulpician revolution to their former status. MOMMSEN, *Hist. Rom.* 3, 332.

In the disturbances which broke out between Cinna and the optimates, the former and his party could call the Italians to side with them, and chiefly by their aid succeeded in maintaining their power during Sulla's absence. The Social War merged into the Civil War. IHNE *Hist. Rom.* 5, 245.

δίκην ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν παρεσκεύασε: nihil hac de re apud ceteros scriptores occurrit, nisi quod Cic. in Brut. 48, 179 huc respicere videtur, qui M. Vergilium tribunum plebis L. Sullae imperatori diem dixisse refert. Haud dubie Plutarchus haec ex ipsius Sullae commentariis hausit. Actionem autem in Sullam hanc ob causam instituit Cinna, ut eum procul ab Italia amandaret, ne consiliis suis, e propinquo observatis, obsistere posset. Certe hoc ex Dione Cassio *l. c.* colligi potest. Cf. Freinsh. in suppl. Liv. LXXVIII 29 (*Leopold*). Dio Cass. *fragm. Peiresc.* CXVII (CH ed. Bekker) ὁ Κίννας ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέλαβεν, οὐδὲν οὕτω τῶν πάντων ἐσπούδασεν, ὡς καὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλεῖν, πρόφασιν μὲν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιθυμήσας αὐτὸν ἀπαρτῆσαι οἱ, ὅπως μὴ ἐγγύθεν ἐφέδρευον ἐμποδῶν πρὸς ἃ ἔπραττε γένηται. καίτοι τῆ τοῦ Σύλλου σπουδῇ ἀπεδέδεικτο καὶ οὐδὲν ὅτι οὐ κατὰ γνῶμην αὐτοῦ πράξειν ὑπέσχετο.

31. κατηγορεῖν ἐπέστησεν, 'set him to be the accuser', which he might be, for Sulla was now (87/667) no longer consul. Cf. Isocr. Areop. § 37 p. 147 β τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐπέστησαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας. 32. δν—χαίρειν ἑάσας κτλ., 'dismissing him from his mind', 'not caring for him and the Court, set out with his army'.

## CHAPTER XI

While Sulla was moving with his army from Italy, Mithridates had made Western Asia his home; Pergamon the seat of the Roman governor became his new capital. He was greatly dispirited at an incident which occurred there, and which was regarded as an unfavourable omen, although he had up to that time met with unexpected success. Cappadocia, Phrygia, Bithynia were organized as Pontic satrapies. The grandees of the empire and the king's favourites were loaded with rich gifts and fiefs. Asia Minor and most of the islands belonging to it were in his power; there was hardly a district which still adhered to Rome; the whole Aegean sea was commanded by his fleets. In the kingdoms of Pontos and Bosporos one of his sons held undisturbed sway: while another son Ariarathes

penetrated from Thrace into the weakly defended Macedonia, subduing the country as he advanced. The Pontic fleet, commanded by Mithridates' best general Archelaos, appeared in the Aegean sea, where scarce a Roman sail was to be found. Delos was occupied by him and Euboea, and all the islands to the east of the Malcan promontory were soon in his hands. As soon as the troops of Mithridates gained a footing on the Greek continent, most of the small free states—the Achaeans, Laconians, Boeotians—as far as Thessaly joined him. He met, it is true, with a slight check at Chaironeia, where Brutius Sura, the brave lieutenant of Gaius Sentius the governor of Macedonia, engaged in conflicts with Archelaos during three successive days, and forced him to retire to the coast. After this success of Sura in Boeotia, L. Licinius Lucullus, a lieutenant of Sulla, arrived and gave him notice to make room for Sulla who was coming and had a commission to carry on the war in those parts: on which Sura returned to his commander in Macedonia, not before he had by his brilliant success disposed the Greeks to view the Roman cause with more favour.

§ 1. 1. 2. ἐκίνει τὸν στόλον, 9, 3. 3. διατρίβοντι περὶ τὸ Πέργαμον, 'while he was staying at Pergamon', the seat of the Roman government of Asia Minor. The old kingdom of Sinope, now that the King had made Pergamon his new capital, was given to the King's son to be administered as a Viceroyship.

The ancient and once splendid city of Pergamon (hod. *Bergama*), the capital of the Roman province of Asia, was situated in the rich and beautiful valley of the Kaikos (hod. *Bakir Tschai*) about ten miles from that portion of the coast of Mysia, which lies opposite Mitylene. Its akropolis was on a steep and rocky conical hill (ὄρος στροβιλοειδές εἰς ὄξείαν κορυφὴν ἀπολήγον Strabo 13, 4, 1) N.E. of the city. It remained a comparatively insignificant place until the death of Alexander and owed its rise to Lysimachos, one of his greatest generals and successors, who chose it as a place of security for his treasures (γαζοφυλάκιον Strabo *l. c.*), and deposited there the sum of 9000 talents under the guardianship of the Pontic general Philetairos. The latter remained faithful to his trust for several years, but in consequence of a quarrel with his master's wife Arsinoë, he declared himself independent in B. C. 283, and for twenty years administered himself in the possession of the city and its treasures. (ἀπέστησε τὸ χωρίον... καὶ διετέλεσεν ἔτη εἴκοσι κύριος ὦν τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τῶν χρημάτων Strabo *l. c.*)

Philetairos bequeathed his treasure to his nephew Eumenes I, whose cousin and successor in 241/513, Attalus I, founded a new dynasty which he strengthened by a firm alliance with Rome. He gained a decisive victory near Pergamon over the Gauls (Strabo *l. c.* 2) who poured into Asia on the invitation of Nikomedes, King of Bithynia, in 278/476, and confined them to the province, which was named after them Galatia. Under his son Eumenes II, who succeeded in 197/557, Pergamon reached the summit of its prosperity. He employed the vast wealth which he had inherited and acquired in attracting men of letters and artists to his court, and rendered Pergamon second only to Alexandria itself as a centre of Hellenic learning and civilisation in Asia Minor (Strabo 13, 3, 4 κατεσκεύασε δ' οὗτος τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον ἄλσει κατεφύτευσε καὶ ἀναθήματα καὶ βιβλιοθήκας καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοσόνδε κατοικίαν τοῦ Περγάμου τὴν νῦν οὖσαν ἐκείνος προσεφιλολόκησε). We now know that one of the most remarkable of these great works was an altar of colossal size dedicated Δίῃ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ νικηφόρῳ, the plastic ornament of which has been recently discovered in a good state of preservation by a German expedition. See Mr W. Copland Perry's interesting article in the *Fortnightly Review* Sept. 1881, p. 332—p. 345. His brother and successor (in 159/595), Attalos II Philadelphos, was engaged for several years in war with Prusias king of Bithynia until the death of the latter in

149/605. The next king was Attalos III Philometor, son of Eumenes II (616/138—621/133), who bequeathed his kingdom, which comprised the countries in Asia Minor west of Mt Tauros, to the Roman people. See Tib. Gr. ch. xiv 1, 1 with note.

4. ἐπισκῆψαι, *invasisse*. Δαιμόνια, *divinitus missa*.

5. καθιεμένην—ἀνωθεν, 'as it was being lowered on him from above by means of some machinery, was broken in pieces just before it touched his head'. 6. ὄσον οὐπω, II, I. ἔκπεσόντα

sc. τῆς Νίκης. 8. διαθρυπτόμενον, 'falling to pieces', Xen. Ages. 2, 14 ἀσπίδας διατεθρυμμένας, Lucian dial. mort. 20, 2 διαθρύψει αὐτοῦ τὸ κρανίον γυναικείον ὄν, Hom. Il. 3, 363 τριχθὰ τε καὶ τετραχθὰ διατρυφὲν ἔκπεσε χειρός. It is mostly found in its metaphorical sense, *delicuis frangere*, 'to pamper', 'enervate'.

§ 2. 1. 12. Ἀσλαν Ῥωμαίων—ἀφηρημένος, 'having taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their (respective) kings'. He took Bithynia from Nikomedes, Cappadocia from Ariobarzanes, in 91/663. The deposed kings were restored in the year following by M'. Aquillius, Appian Mithrid. c. 10 ff.

At the time when Mithridates VI ascended the throne, the dominions of Rome in Asia Minor comprised, besides what they termed the province of Asia, Phrygia, Lycaonia and Cilicia Trachea. Cappadocia and Bithynia were still ruled by independent monarchs, as was Paphlagonia also, but the petty dynasts of that country held only the interior—the kings of Pontos having already extended their dominion over the sea-coast as far as the confines of Bithynia, including the flourishing city of Sinope, which under Mithridates became the capital of his kingdom. The Galatians, who had been settled in Asia since the time of Attalus I of Pergamon, still maintained their independence under their native rulers. E. H. BUNBURY *Hist. Ancient Geogr.* II p. 85 n.

14. δυναστείας καὶ τυραννίδας, 'principalities and kingdoms'. Plat. Gorg. p. 492 B ἀρχὴν τινα ἢ τυραννίδα ἢ δυναστείαν, Rep. p. 499 B τῶν νῦν ἐν δυναστείαις ἢ βασιλείαις ὄντων νέεσιν.

16. ὁ μὲν—κατεῖχε, sc. Pharnakes, who was afterwards defeated by Caesar in a decisive action near Zela (47/707), on which occasion the conqueror wrote his famous despatch *Veni vidi vici*. Plutarch Caes. c. 50, Appian b. c. c. 110—121. ἐν Πόντῳ καὶ Βοσπόρῳ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μαιῶτιν δοικῆτων ἀρχὴν κατεῖχεν κτλ., 'held undisturbed possession of the ancient dominions in Pontos and Bosphoros as far as the uninhabited country beyond the Moecotis'. Βοσπόρῳ, the Cimmeric Bosphoros (*Straits of Kaffa*): the name was given to the kingdom of which Pantikapaion was the capital. 17. Μαιῶτιν sc. λιμνη, *Sea of Azof*.

The narrative of Appian fixes the acquisitions of Mithridates to the east and to the north in the early part of his reign, before his contest with the Romans. He conquered the Colchi and even carried his victorious arms beyond the Caucasus as some authorities state. It is certain at least that he got a footing in the Crimea and in the countries on the north shore of the Euxine... His generals led their troops beyond the Borysthenes, westward to the Hypanis (*Boug*) and the Tyras (*Dniester*); and he finally obtained possession of the little kingdom of Bosphoros in the Tauric Chersonesus (*Crimea*) by the cession of its king Paerisades. LONG *Decline of the R. R.* II p. 260—1.

19. ἐπήει, *obibat*, 'over-ran'. προσαγόμενος, 'trying to win it over', 5, 2.

§ 3. 1. 20. οἱ στρατηγοί. Cf. App. Mithr. c. 27 αὐτὸς τ' ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὰ πολλὰ μεθεῖς ἐστρατολόγει καὶ ὥπλοποιε, καὶ τῇ Στρατονικίδι γυναικὶ διετέρπετο, καὶ δίκας ἐδίκαζε τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐς τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις ἢ νεωτερίζουσιν ἢ ὄλως ῥωμαΐζουσιν. Δυνάμεις, *coρίας*, 9, 3. By ἄλλους τόπους are meant Lycia, Pamphylia and other countries as far as Ionia.

22. ὁμοῦ τι, 'nearly', 'almost', Them. 7, 2, 11. τὰς τε Κυκλάδας νήσους ἐδουλοῦτο: Appian Mithrid. c. 28 Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας καὶ σίτῳ καὶ στόλῳ πολλῶ Δῆλόν τε ἀφισταμένην ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἔχειρώσατο βία καὶ κράτει. κτεῖνας δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς δισμυρίους ἀνδρας, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἦσαν Ἴταλοί, τὰ χωρία προσεποιεῖτο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κομπάζων περὶ τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ ἐς μέγα ἐπαίρων, ἐς φιλίαν ὑπηγάγετο· τὰ τε χρήματα αὐτοῖς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐπεμπεν ἐκ Δήλου δι' Ἀριστίωνος ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου, συμπέμψας φυλακῆν τῶν χρημάτων ἐς δισχιλίους ἀνδρας, οἷς ὁ Ἀριστίων συγχρώμενος ἐτυράννησε τῆς πατρίδος.

24. Μαλέας ἐντὸς ἴδρυνται, 'are situated within (i. e. East of) Malea, the promontory on the S.E. of Laconia' (*C. St Angelo*). ἴδρυνται is perf. pass. Cf. Appian Mithr. c. 29 Ἀρχελάῳ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ Λάκωνες προσετίθεντο καὶ Βοιωτία πᾶσα χωρὶς γε Θεοσιέων, οὓς περικαθήμενος ἐπολιόρκει· τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνον Μητροφάνης ἐπιπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Μιθριδάτου μεθ' ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς Εὐβοίαν καὶ Δημητριάδα καὶ Μαγνησίαν, οὐκ ἐνδεχομένας τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, ἐλεηλάτει· καὶ Βρέττιος ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθὼν σὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ διεναυμάχησέ τε αὐτῷ, καὶ καταποντώσας τι πλοῖον καὶ ἡμιολίαν ἔκτεινε πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐφορώντος τοῦ Μητροφάνους. 26. μικρὰ προσκρούσας περὶ Χαίρωνείαν, 'after sustaining a slight reverse at Chaeroneia'.

Cf. Appian *l.c.* ἐπὶ τε Βοιωτίαν τραπεῖς (ὁ Βρέττιος), ἐτέρων οἱ χιλίων ἰππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ἐπελθόντων, ἀμφὶ Χαίρωνείαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι τρισὶν ἡμέραις συνεπλέκετο, ἴσου καὶ ἀγχωμάλου παρ' ὄλον τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ ἔργου γιγνομένου. Λακῶνων δὲ καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἐς συμμαχίαν Ἀρχελάῳ καὶ Ἀριστίωνι προσίοντων, ὁ Βρέττιος ἅπασιν ὁμοῦ γενομένοις οὐχ ἡγούμενος ἀξιώμαχος ἐτι ἔσσεσθαι ἀνεξέγγυεν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, μεχρὶ καὶ τοῦδε Ἀρχέλαος ἐπιπλεύσας κάτεσχεν. The above account makes Sura retreat because he was not equal to maintaining the contest, whereas Plutarch represents him as leaving upon the order of Sulla to surrender the war to him, in spite of his fair prospect of success. 'It seems', says Ihne 5, 271, 'that Sullanian and anti-Sullanian reports lie at the bottom of these divergences'. Plutarch's story is the more consistent of the two.

§ 4. 1. 28. πρεσβευτῆς ὧν Σεντίου, 'a lieutenant (*legatus*) of Sentius'. 4, 1; 6, 9.

This was Gaius Sentius Saturninus, propraetor of Macedonia. He defeated the Thracians under their king Sothimus. Orosius 5, 18, 30: *Isdem temporibus rex Sothimus cum magnis Thracum auxiliis Graeciam ingressus cunctos Macedoniae fines depopulatus est tandemque a C. Sentio praetore superatus redire in regnum coactus est*, Cic. Verr. 3, 93, 217 modo C. Sentium vidinus, hominem vetere illa ac singulari innocentia praeditum, propter caritatem frumenti, quae fuerat in Macedonia, permagnam ex cibariis pecuniam deportare, or. in Pison. 34, 84: *Deuscleitis, quae natio semper*

*oboediens huic imperio etiam in illa omnium barbarorum defectione Macedonia C. Sentio praetore tutata est, bellum crudele intulisti.*

33. συνέστειλε, 9, 6.

§ 5. 1. 34. Λευκίου Λευκόλλου, L. Licinius Lucullus, quaestor or, according to Appian, *legatus* to Sulla. 37. ὀπίσω—ἀπήλαυνε, 'he marched back again'. 39. οἰκείως ἐχούσης πρὸς μεταβολήν, 'though well-disposed to a change of sides'. Plutarch is fond of the phrase ἔχειν πρὸς τι or τινὰ with an adverb; see Lex. to Gracchi p. 246 a and add to the exx. there quoted Lucull. c. 23 πάλαι ὑπόουλως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα.

## CHAPTER XII

*Sulla selects as the first objects of his attack the two strongholds on which the Asiatic invasion depended as its centre, viz. Athens and the port of Peiraeus, the former occupied by the desperate tyrant Aristion, the latter by Archelaos and a strong force of Pontic troops. Being in haste to get to Rome, where he was afraid his political opponents were getting up a revolution, he pushed on the siege of the Peiraeus with vigour, had all sorts of machines constructed and spared no expense. The wood for these numerous structures he procured by felling the noble old trees of the groves of the Akademeia and the Lykeion near Athens, and as he required large sums for the expenses of the war, he helped himself to the treasures contained in the temples of Epidaurus, Olympia and Delphi. He was not deterred from seizing those at the last place by the report which, in the hope of diverting him from his sacrilege, Kaphis sent him of a praeternatural occurrence there. Most of the things were sent away secretly, but one of the four urns, offered by king Croesus, being too large to be taken away so, had to be cut in pieces. The conduct of Sulla forms a strong contrast with that of the Roman commanders who drove Antiochos out of Greece and defeated the kings of Macedonia, for they, so far from meddling with the temples, even sent presents to them. But the state of things was different, when Roman generals employed their armies against one another as much as against the enemies of their country, and had to purchase the services of their soldiers. Sulla was chiefly to blame for introducing this system by his profuse expenditure on his own men and the corruption of those of other commanders.*

§ 1. 1. 1. ἀλλά γὰρ κτλ. 'but, however, these were Bretitius' most brilliant feats of arms'. 2. τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, i.e. Thebes and nearly all the other towns of Boeotia. Cf. Appian Mithr. c. 30: Σύλλας δ', ὁ τοῦ Μιθριδατείου πολέμου στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αἰρεθεὶς εἶναι, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐξ Ἰταλίας σὺν τέλεσι πέντε καὶ σπεύραις τισὶ καὶ ἑταῖς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιαυθεὶς χρήματα μὲν αὐτίκα καὶ συμμαχούς καὶ ἀγορὰν ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας καὶ Θεσσαλίας συνέλεγεν, ὡς δ' ἀποχρώντως ἐδόκει εἶναι, διέβαινεν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐπὶ τὸν

'Αρχέλαον' παροδεύοντι δ' αὐτῷ Βοιωτία τε ἀθρόως μετεχώρει, χωρὶς ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ μέγα ἄστυ αἱ Θῆβαι, μάλα κουφῶνως ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐλόμενοι τὰ Μιθριδάτεια, δξύτερον ἔτι, πρὶν ἐς πείραν ἐλθεῖν, ἀπὸ Ἀρχέλαου πρὸς Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐχώρει, καὶ μέρος τι στρατοῦ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ περιπέμψας Ἀριστίωνα πολιορκεῖν, αὐτὸς, ἔνθαπερ ἦν Ἀρχέλαος, ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατήλθε, κατακεκλειομένων ἐς τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων. 3. ἐπιπρεσβευομένης, 'sending deputations to him'.

'Αριστίωνα: Appian Mithr. c. 28 takes the opportunity of making a remark in reference to this Aristion, who was, he says, an Epicurean philosopher, on the inconsistency between the professions and practice of many Greek philosophers who had acquired political power: ἐδυνάστευσάν τε καὶ ἐτυράνησαν ὠμότερον τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν τυράννων, ὥστε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων φιλοσόφων ἄπορον ποιῆσαι καὶ ὑποπτον, εἴτε δι' ἀρετῆν, εἴτε πενίας καὶ ἀπραξίας τῆν σοφίαν ἐθεντο παραμύθιον, ὧν γε καὶ νῦν πολλοὶ ἰδιωτεύοντες καὶ πενόμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἀναγκάων ἐκ τῶνδε σοφίαν περικείμενοι, τοῖς πλουτοῦσιν ἢ ἀρχουσι λοιδοροῦνται πικρῶς, οὐχ ὑπεροψίας πλούτου καὶ ἀρχῆς δόξαν σφίσι μᾶλλον ἢ ζήλοτυπίας ἐς αὐτὰ προφέροντες. Poseidonios, the philosopher of Apameia, wrote a very particular account of Aristion, which is preserved in a long extract of Athenaeus (5, c. 48—53) where he is named Athenion. Plutarch *praec. reip. ger.* p. 809 E speaks of his cruel character with abhorrence and classes him with Nabis and Catiline, as a νόσθημα καὶ ἀπόστημα ('an abscess', 'imposthume') πόλεως.

5. βασιλεύεσθαι, 'to join the king's side'. This was against their own inclinations, as appears from Vell. Paterc. 2, 23: *si quis hoc rebellandi tempus, quo Athenae oppugnatae a Sulla sunt, imputat Atheniensibus, nimirum veri vetustatisque ignarus est. Adeo enim certa Atheniensium in Romanos fides fuit, ut semper et in omni re, quidquid sincera fide gereretur, id Romani Attica fieri praedicarent. Ceterum tum oppressi Mithridatis armis homines miserrimae conditionis, cum ab inimicis tenerentur, oppugnabantur ab amicis, et animos extra moenia, corpora necessitati servientes intra muros habebant.* ἄθρους, 'with all his force'. Cf. Them. 12, 1 l. 20 n.

6. ἐπέστη, 'advanced against', 'appeared before'. περιλαβών, 'investing', 'beleaguering'. Cf. Polyb. 9, 3, 1 κύκλω περιλαμβάνων τὸν χάρακα τοῦ Ἀππίου; 3, 68, 6 περιλαβών (v. l. περιβαλὼν) τάφρω καὶ χάρακι τὴν παρεμβολήν. 7. μηχανὴν πᾶσαν ἐφιστάς, 'bringing up every variety of engine'.

§ 2. 1. 9. ἀνασχομένῳ = εἰ ἠνέσχετο, 'if he had held out'. παρὴν ἔλειν, 'he might have taken'. See n. on 10, 2. τὴν ἄνω πόλιν, 'the Upper City', as opposed to the harbour.

10. συννηγμένην—εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν, 'reduced to the last extremity'. Cf. Polyb. 1, 18, 10 εἰς τοῦτο συνήγοντο τῇ σιτοδείᾳ ὥστε κτλ., 1, 18, 7 συναγομένων τῷ λιμῷ, 1, 84, 9 ὑπὸ τῆς λιμοῦ συναγομένους ἐσθίειν ἀλλήλων ἀναγκασθῆναι. 11. ἐπειγόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην, 'being in a hurry to get to Rome'. Cf. de garrul. c. 7 p. 505 B Σύλλας ἐπολιόρκει τὰς Ἀθήνας, οὐκ ἔχων σχολὴν ἐνδιατρίψαι χρόνον πολὺν 'ἐπεὶ πόνος ἄλλος ἐπείγειν', ἠρπακότης μὲν Ἀσίαν Μιθριδάτου, τῶν δὲ περὶ Μάριον αἰθῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ κρατοῦντων. 13. κατέσπευδε τὸν πόλεμον, 'was pushing, hastening on the war'. Cf. Aesch. c. Ctesiph. § 67 τῶν χρόνων ὑμῶν ὑποτεμνόμενος καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κατὰ

σπεύδων. 15. ἡ περὶ τὰ μηχανήματα πραγματεία, *machinarum molitio*, 'the business, working, of the battery engines'.  
 ζεύγεσι—ἐχορηγέιτο, 'was supplied by means of ten thousand pairs of mules'.

Χορηγεῖν, *suffeditare*, 'to furnish' is used (1) with acc. pers. and dat. rei, as in Polyb. 3, 68, 8 δαφιλῶς ἐχορηγεί τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, 3, 49, 11 σίτω ἀφθάνως ἐχορηγήσῃ τὸ στρατόπεδον, 5, 42, 7; 10, 27, 2 ἡ Μηδία τοῦτοις τοῖς ζώοις ἅπασαν χορηγεί τὴν Ἀσίαν. (2) with dat. pers. and acc. rei: 22, 26, 2 (21, 45, 2 ed. Hultsch) μηδὲ χορηγεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδέν. (3) with dat. pers. without acc. rei, as Polyb. 1, 62, 2 χορηγεῖν (*commeatus suffeditare*) ταῖς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ δυνάμεσιν, 1, 16, 10 χορηγῶν αἰεὶ τοῦτοις εἰς τὰ κατεπείγοντα τῶν πραγμάτων. (4) in pass. (1) c. dat. of thing supplied and nom. pers.: 3, 75, 3 χορηγέισθαι τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ('to be supplied with necessities'); 9, 44, 1 βουλομένοι σίτῃ χορηγηθῆναι, and metaph. 4, 77, 2 πλείουσιν ἀφορμαῖς ἐκ φύσεως κεχορηγημένον. (2) with dat. pers. and nom. of the thing supplied, as subject of the verb: 6, 15, 4 ἀνευ τοῦ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλευματος οὔτε σίτος οὔτε ἰματισμὸς οὔτε ὀψώνια δύναται χορηγέισθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις.

16. ἐνεργοῖς οὔσι πρὸς τὴν ὑπηρεσίαν, 'kept in daily employment for the service'.

§ 3. 1. 18. περικλώμενα τοῖς αὐτῶν βρίθεισιν, 'bent and broken by their own weight'. 20. ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἄλσεσιν, 'laid hands upon the sacred groves'.

'Sic Mithridates Pataras obsidens dicitur succidisse lucum Latonae ad machinas, donec minaci somnio iussus est abstinere a sacris arboribus; ut nobis auctor est Appianus Mithr. c. 27. Etiam Agrippas legitur silvam circa Avernum lacum, licet alio consilio, succidisse apud Dionem p. 388. Turullius ἐν Κῶ τοῦ Ἀσκληπίου ὕλης ξύλα ἐς ναυτικὸν κεκοφῶς legitur apud Dionem p. 448 B. In primis venit hic mihi in mentem recordari Caesaris, lucum ad Massiliam succidentis, quod eleganter describit Lucanus *Phars.* III v. 399 sqq.' REIMAR ad Dion. Cass. *fragm. Peiresc.* CXXI.

21. τὴν Ἀκαδήμειαν. The Akademeia was a well-wooded suburb about a mile on the north side of Athens, on the banks of the Kephisos and on the road to Kolonos (Liv. 31, 24). It is said to have got its name from a hero called Akademos, to whom it belonged; it became subsequently a gymnasium into which Kimon introduced streams of water, and made shady walks and broad and open drives. We know from Xenophon, Hipparch. 3, 1, that it was one of the places where the cavalry exercised. In later times it was still further improved by Attalos Philometor. The Akademeia owes its celebrity chiefly to its having been the residence and school of Plato, and thus giving rise to the so-called Academic sect. DYER, *Ancient Athens* ch. XIII. δενδροφορωτάτην, 'most wooded'. Cf. Ar. Nub. 1005, Eupolis Ἀστράεντοι ap. Diog. Laert. 3, 7 ἐν εὐσκίοις δρόμοισιν Ἀκαδήμου Θεοῦ, Horace Ep. 2, 2, 45 *inter silvas Academi quaerere verum*. 22. τὸ Λύκειον. The Lykeion was the chief of the three most famous and oldest gymnasia at Athens. It was outside the walls, not far from the Kynosarges (Themist. 1, 2). It was adorned by Peisistratos, Perikles, and Lykurgos successively. It also served as a place of exercise for the soldiery (Arist. Pac. 355—6), and was used by the archon polemarch for the administration of justice. But it owed

its chief renown to its being the seat of the teaching of Aristotle and the Peripatetic philosophers, so called from the 'promenade' (περίπατος, *ambulatio*) on which they walked while lecturing.

23. ἐκίνει τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄσυλα sc. χρήματα, 'he meddled with, seized, the holy treasures of Greece', not 'he violated the sacred depositaries' (*Long*), or 'he broke into the sanctuaries' (*Clough*).

Cf. Thuc. 2, 24, 2 κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα, 1, 143, 1 κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπιάσιν ἢ Δελφοῖς χρημάτων, 6, 70, 4 μὴ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ ἦν αὐτόθι κινήσωσι, 8, 15, 1; Dem. c. Androt. § 71 p. 615, 22 χρήματα κινῶν ἱερά, c. Tim. § 179 p. 755 ult.

24. τοῦτο μὲν—τοῦτο δέ, 'partly—partly', G. § 148 n. 4, § 160, 2. Ἐπιδαύρου: Epidaurus in Argolis on the Eastern coast of the Peloponnesus, nearly opposite the harbours of Athens from which it was distant only a six hours' sail, was once one of the chief commercial cities of the Peloponnesus, but in the time of the Romans it was little more than the harbour of the temple of Asklepios. This with its surrounding ἄλσος was one of the most celebrated and most frequented spots in Greece, patients flocking to it from all parts for the cure of their diseases. When L. Aemilius Paulus visited Epidaurus 167/587 after the conquest of Macedonia, the sanctuary was still rich in the votive offerings (ἀναθήματα) of those who had been cured of their diseases, but it was afterwards robbed of most of these; see Liv. 45, 28, 3 *Sicyonem inde et Argos, nobiles urbes, adit (Paulus); inde haud parvam opibus Epidaurum sed inclytam Aesculapi nobili templo, quod quinque milibus passuum ab urbe distans, nunc vestigiis revolsorum donorum, tum donis dives erat, quae remediorum salutarium aegri mercedem sacraverant deo.*

For an account of the excavations going on at Epidaurus through which so much that is interesting in art and architecture has already been recovered the reader may consult the *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*, p. 461 (Murray 1884). A full and interesting account of the curious inscription recently dug up with its extraordinary list of cures effected in the temple on apparently hopeless subjects, being one of the six spoken of by Pausanias 2, 27, 3, will be found in the *Quarterly Review*, April 1885, p. 301—2.

25. ἐξ Ὀλυμπίας, 'from Olympia', the celebrated plain in Elis containing the sacred grove of Zeus, called Altis (the Aeolic form of ἄλσος), and a number of temples, the most celebrated of which was the Ὀλυμπιεῖον or that of Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος, said to have been erected by the Eleians from the spoils of Pisa in B.C. 472, which contained the masterpiece of Pheidias, the colossal chryselephantine statue of Zeus. The whole edifice was shattered by the great earthquake of A.D. 522 or 554. The columns which supported it are the largest Grecian known. The excavations made by the Germans from Nov. 1875 to April 1881 brought to light a great number of valuable relics of art and antiquity.

'This and other temples were also used' says Long 'as places of deposit for the preservation of valuable property. These rich deposits were a tempting booty to those who were in want of money and were strong enough to seize it. At the commencement of the Peloponnesian war (B.C. 431) it was proposed that

the Peloponnesian allies should raise a fleet by borrowing money from the deposits at Olympia and Delphi (Thuc. I, 121), a scheme which the Athenians, their enemies, appear to have looked upon as a mode of borrowing of which repayment would form no part (I, 143).

§ 4. I. 27. τοῖς Ἀμφικτύοσιν. See n. to Them. 20, 2.

εἰς Δελφούς: Delphi (originally named Pytho, now *Kastrî*) was celebrated for its oracle as early as the 9th century. The temple was destroyed in B.C. 548, but rebuilt at the cost of 300 talents, = £115,000, by Spintharos the Corinthian. In B.C. 480 Xerxes sent to plunder the temple, but the advance of his troops was arrested by an avalanche of crags. In B.C. 357 the Phokians under Philomelos seized Delphi with all its treasures, which they used for the purpose of paying their troops (Diod. Sic. 16, 30). This was the origin of the Sacred War, at the close of which the temple was restored to the custody of the Amphiktyonic council, and the Phokians were sentenced to refund the missing treasure, estimated at nearly £2,500,000. In B.C. 279 Brennus and his Gauls advanced to the attack on Delphi, but they were repulsed almost in the same manner as the Persians. It was plundered by Sulla and again by Nero, but was restored by Hadrian and the Antonines to much of its former splendour. The oracle was finally abolished by Theodosius. The Pythian sanctuary, like the more extensive Altis at Olympia, was an enclosure, surrounded by a wall (ὁ ἱερός περίβολος), containing many buildings and *anathemata* and other monuments, besides the principal temple. No remains have been found of the latter *in situ*, but it appears from the fragments of columns that it was a hexastyle hypaethral temple, the exterior of the Doric, the interior of the Ionic order. Pausan. 10, 3 ff., Strabo 9, 3.

28. βέλτιον εἶη, 'it was better' than otherwise, 'it was as well'. So Hesiod opp. 748 μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίξειν, οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον, παῖδα δυωδεκατάϊον, *non melius est quam si non facias h.e. non conducit*. 29. ἀποχρησάμενος, 'if he spent them', Them. 28, 2 n. 30. ἐλάττω sc. χρήματα. According to Appian Mithr. c. 54 he made some compensation, ἀντιδοὺς πρὸς λόγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς Θηβαίων γῆς πολλακίς ἀποστάντων. Cf. below c. 19 § 6. τῶν φίλων, *unum ex amicis*, G. § 168. 32. σταθμῶ παραλαβεῖν ἕκαστον, *ut singula ad pondus acciperet*, 'to receive each item by weight'.

So Philomelos, though he afterwards seized the Delphic treasures, had pledged his word that he was ready to give an account of the exact weight and number of the 'anathemata', Diod. Sic. 16, 27 τὸν τε σταθμὸν καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀναθημάτων ἔτοιμος εἶναι παραδίδόναι τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐξετάζειν.

§ 5. I. 35. ἀκοῦσαι φθεγγομένης, G. § 279, 2. 36. πιστεύσας sc. τοῖς φάσκουσι. 38. ἐπίστειλε πρὸς αὐτόν, 'sent word to him'. 39. θαυμάζειν τὸν Κάφιν εἰ, i.e. θαυμάζειν εἰ ὁ Κάφης, 'he wondered that Kaphis' etc., the anticipatory accusative, see my n. to Xen. Oecon. 13, 3. χαίροντος εἶη, G. § 169, 1, HA. § 732 c. 41. ὡς ἡδομένου—καὶ δδιδόντος, 'since, as he said, the deity gladly offered it'. G. § 277, 6 Note 2 (a).

§ 6. I. 42. διέλαθε τοὺς γε πολλοὺς ἐκπεμπόμενα, 'were sent out without being observed by the greater part at least of them', G. § 279, 4. 43. πίθον—τῶν βασιλικῶν: The royal presents were the gifts of Croesus, last king of Lydia B.C. 560—546, the most munificent of all the donors to the temple. Among his other presents Herodotos mentions four of these silver casks or jars, 1, 51 πίθους ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίῳ

θησανρῶ ἐστάσι. The rest had been taken probably by the Phocians, Strabo 9, 3, 8, Pausan. 10, 2, 2. 46. εἰς μνήμην

ἐβάλλοντο, 'called to mind'. Cf. Them. 24, 1 μέγα ἔργον εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος, Cat. ma. 13, 1, Cleom. 28, 1 ἔργον ἐπὶ νοῦν βάλλεται μέγα.

48. ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχον ἐξελάσας τῆς Ἑλλάδος: This was Manius Acilius Glabrio cos. 191/563, who defeated in that year Antiochos III, king of Syria, commonly called the Great (B.C. 223—187), at Thermopylae, and compelled him to return into Asia.

49. οἱ δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς καταπολεμήσαντες sc. Titus Quintius Flamininus, cos. 198/556, who defeated Philip V, king of Macedonia, at Kynoskephalae 197/557 (Liv. 33, 10), and L. Aemilius Paulus (Macedonicus), who won a signal victory over Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, at Pydna 168/586 (Liv. 45, 1), upon which Macedonia became a Roman province. Plutarch has written the lives of both. The whole of this passage has been copied by Dion Cassius.

52. προσέθεσαν, 6, 11.

§ 7. 1. 53. σωφρόνων, 'law-abiding'. 54. μεμαθηκότων—παρέχειν τὰς χεῖρας, 'who had been taught to obey their leaders without a murmur'. 55. ἡγούμενοι κατὰ νόμον, 'legally appointed to command', 'lawful commanders of'. 56. ταῖς δαπάναις εὐτελεῖς, 'sparing in their expenses', Tib. Gr. 2, 3.

§ 8. 1. 59. οἱ τότε στρατηγοί, 'the then generals', G. § 141 N. 3. So in Latin: *ubi ille post phaselus antea fuit comata silva*, Catull. 4, 10.

60. τὸ πρωτεῖον, 'the lead', 'their rank'. 62. δημαγωγεῖν ἐν τῷ στρατηγεῖν, *militibus in imperio blandiri*, Tib. Gr. 14, 1 l. 5 n.

63. ὧν ἀνήλισκον ὠνούμενοι, 'purchasing the services of their soldiers with the money which they expended on their gratification'. ὧν=τούτων ἄ. G. § 153, § 178.

64. ἔλαθον—ποιήσαντες κτλ., 'they unconsciously made their country a thing for bargain and sale, and themselves the slaves of the worst, for the purpose of governing the better'. ὦνιον—ποιήσαντες, G. § 166.

65. δούλους sc. ποιήσαντες. 66. ταῦτα—ἐπὶ Σύλλαν κατήγε κτλ., 'it was this which drove Marius into exile and afterwards brought him back home to oppose Sulla, it was this which made Cinna and Fimbria the murderers of Octavius and Flaccus respectively'.

67. κατήγε, *exulem reducebat*, 5, 3; 6, 12. 68. Ὀκταουίου, Mar. 42, 5. τοὺς περὶ Κίνναν, 'Cinna'. See n. on Them. 7, 3. Φλάκκου, 23, 6.

§ 9. 1. 70. ἐνέδωκεν ἀρχάς, *occasionem praebeuit*, Mor. p. 1118 C δ δὴ καὶ Σωκράτει ἀπορίας καὶ ζητήσεως ἀρχάς ἐνέδωκε, Arist. Eq. 847 λαβὴν γὰρ ἐνδέδωκας. See my n. to C. Gracch. 12, 2 l. 20.

ἐπὶ τῷ—μετακαλεῖν, 'with the object of gaining to his side'. vit. Dion. 38 τοὺς ξένους ὑποπέμποντες κρύφα τοῦ Δίωνος ἀπίστασαν καὶ μετεκάλουν πρὸς αὐτούς.

71. καταχορηγῶν εἰς τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ καὶ δαπανώμενος, 'by lavish expenditure upon the soldiers under his own command'.

Cf. Cat. mai. 3 καταχορηγούντα τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀφειδῶς τῶν χρημάτων, Lys. 9, 1 νεανισάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου χάριν . . . καταχορηγήσειν τὰ οἰκεία, Compar. Lys. et Sull. 3 τῶν καταχορηγουμένων εἰς τοὺς κόλακας, Eumen. 13 καταχορηγούντες εἰς δείπνα. See my n. to Xen. Oecon. 3, 61, 44.

## CHAPTER XIII

*Sulla's irresistible desire to take Athens may have been due to mere sentiment, or to indignation at the personal insults of the tyrant Aristion, a compound of lust and cruelty and the sink of all the vices and follies of Mithridates, who came like some mortal disease upon a city that had survived so many despotic rulers and so many civil commotions. The provisions in Athens were all exhausted and shoes and leather bottles were being cooked for food; yet Aristion all the time was enjoying himself, having laid up a store of good things. The members of the Boulé and the priests entreated him to come to terms with Sulla, and at last he gave way and sent some of his boon companions to treat of peace. When they came to the Roman general, they could only deal in pompous generalities about the past glories of their city; Sulla cut their fine talk short by telling them he had not come to Athens to learn a lesson, but to compel rebels to submit.*

§ 1. 1. 1. ἀπαραίτητος, 'irresistible', chiefly used of persons, seldom of things. Cor. 34 τοῖς ἀτρέπτοις καὶ ἀπαραιτήτοις λογισμοῖς, Demetr. 27, 1 τῆς εἰσπράξεως συντόνου καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου γενομένης, Dion. 39, 1 ὡς ἦν ἀπαραίτητος ἡ τῶν πολλῶν φορά, Arat. 43, 1 ἀπαραίτητον ἀνάγκην. 3. πρὸς τὴν πάλαι σκιαμαχοῦντα τῆς πόλεως δόξαν, 'fighting, as with a shadow, against the former glory of the city', i.e. fighting against a city which retained only a shadow of its former glory. 4. θυμῷ τὰ σκώμματα φέροντα, 'exasperated with the scoffs', 2, 2. 6. γεφυρίζων, 6, 12. Cf. de garrul. c. 7 p. 505 B: χαλεπῶς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔσχε διὰ τοὺς λόγους μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τὰ ἔργα· κακῶς γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔλεγον καὶ τὴν Μετέλλαν, ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη καὶ σκώπτοντες

Συκάμινόν ἐσθ' ὁ Σύλλας, ἀλφίτῳ πεπασμένον, καὶ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ φλυαροῦντες, ἐπεσπάσαντο κουφοτάτου πράγματος, λόγων, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, βαρυτάτην ζημίαν. 7. κατορχούμενος, 'treating with contumely', lit. 'dancing in triumph over'. Cf. Mor. p. 57 A κατορχούμενος τῆς ἀναισθησίας αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις.

§ 2. 1. 14. ἐπιτιθέμενος, *adoriens*, 'attacking': but the fragm. Peiresc. of Dion Cassius has ἐπιγενόμενος 'supervening', perhaps a better reading. 15. δραχμῶν, G. § 178. 17. παρθένιον, 'fever-few', a plant of the chamomile kind.

Plin. *N. H.* 22, 17, 20: *perdicium sive parthenium*,—*nam sideritis alia est*,—*a nostris herba urceolaris vocatur, ab aliis astericum, folio similis ocimo, nigrior tantum, nascens in tegulis parietinisque. Medetur cum mica salis trita iisdem omnibus quibus lamium et eodem modo; item vomicae, calfacto*

*suco pota, sed contra volva, rupta lapsusque et praecipitia aut vehiculorum eversiones singularis. Verna carus Pericli Atheniensium principi, cum is in arce templum aedificaret repissetque super altitudinem fastigi et inde cecidisset, hac herba dicitur sanatus monstrata Pericli somnio a Minerva; quare parthenium vocari coepit est adsignaturque ei deae. Hic est vernula cuius effigies ex aere fusa est et nobilis ille Splanchnoptes. Cf. Plut. Pericl. c. 13, and on the herb parthenium Dioscor. III 155, IV 191, Theophr. Hist. Pl. 7, 7.*

§ 3. I. 18. **ληκύθους**, 'oil-flasks' of leather. Cf. Appian Mithr. c. 38: αἰσθόμενος τοὺς ἐν ἄστει μᾶλλον τι πεπεισμένους καὶ κτήνη πάντα καταθύσαντας δέρματά τε καὶ βύρσας ἔψοντας καὶ λιχμημένους τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐξ αὐτῶν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων ἀπτομένους. 19. **πότοις**, 2, 3 n. 20. **γελωτοποιῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους**, 'playing the buffoon in sight of', or 'jeering and flouting, the enemy'. 21. **ἀπεσβηκότα περιεΐδε**, G. § 279, 3.

The incident is referred to by Plutarch, Numa 9, 6: τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅπου πῦρ ἀσβεστόν ἐστιν, ὡς Πυθοὶ καὶ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ παρθένοι, γυναῖκες δὲ πεπαυμένα γάμων ἔχουσι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν' ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὸ τύχης τινὸς ἐκλίπη, καθάπερ Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀριστίωνος λέγεται τυραννίδος ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν ἱερὸν λύχνον . . . φασὶ μὴ δεῖν ἀπὸ ἐτέρου πυρὸς ἐναύεσθαι, καὶνὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ νέον ἀνάπτοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φλόγα καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμίαντον. At Athens the sacred golden lamp made by Kallimachos, was kept in the temple of Athena Πολιάς: it was replenished with oil on a certain day in every year, which sufficed till the same day recurred, though the lamp was kept burning day and night. It had a wick of Karpasian flax, which is the only sort that fire does not consume. The smoke was carried off through a bronze palm-tree over the lamp, which reached to the roof. (Pausan. Att. 26.)

23. **προσαιτούση**, 'begging', Eur. Hel. 791 οὐ ποὺ προσήτεις βίστον; Hence **προσαιτῶν** = πτωχός Aristoph. Ach. 428. **πεπέρεως** sc. ἡμίεκτον.

§ 4. I. 27. **οὐδὲν ἀξιοῦντας σωτήριον**, 'instead of making any proposals tending to save the city'. 28. **τὸν Εὐμόλπον**, the founder of the Eleusinian mysteries and the first priest of Demêtêr and Dionysos. 29. **τὰ Μηδικὰ σεμνολογούμενους**, 'talking pompously about the Persian wars'. 31. **ἀναλαβόντες**, 12, 6.

## CHAPTER XIV

*It happened that some Roman soldiers, who were stationed at the outer Kerameikos, overheard some old men in the city abusing the tyrant for not guarding the approach to the wall about the Heptachalkon, the only part, as they said, where it was easy to get in. Sulla's story of the soldier who was the first to mount the wall (§ 1—§ 2). Sulla levelled the wall between the Peiraic and Sacred gates. The resistance was feeble, and at midnight the besiegers broke into the city, striking terror into the inhabitants with the sound of trumpets and horns and loud cries. Men, women and children were massacred without mercy. Many of the Athenians, seeing no hope, presented themselves to the soldiers, and some killed themselves. A large number fell about the Agora and the blood streamed down the inner Kerameikos and even into the suburbs. Aristion escaped*

to the Akropolis (§ 3—§ 4). Two Athenian exiles, who were with Sulla, and some Roman senators also who were in his army, at last prevailed on him to stay the slaughter (§ 5). The city was taken, as Sulla says in his Memoirs, on the Kalends of March, the anniversary of the deluge (§ 6). Sulla left an officer, C. Scribonius Curio, to besiege Aristion in the Akropolis. The tyrant was compelled by famine to surrender after some time. Portent following his surrender. After the capture of Athens, Sulla stormed the Peiraeus and burned the greater part of it together with the sheds of the dry docks and the noble arsenal constructed by the architect Philo (§ 7).

§ 1. 1. 1. ἐν Κεραμεικῷ, 'at Kerameikos', i. e. that outside the walls on the north-west side of Athens, which was connected with the Inner Kerameikos by a gate called Dipylon or the Thriasian Gate. The Kerameikos included the Akademeia as well as the Agora, whence it was sometimes called the Akademeia. Sulla was probably encamped on the Outer Kerameikos. 3. τοῦ τείχους τῆν—προσβολήν, G. § 168. 4. περὶ τὸ Ἐπτάχαλκον: Plutarch tells the same story elsewhere, de garrul. c. 7 p. 505 B: πρεσβυτῶν τινῶν ἐπὶ κουρείου διαλεγομένων ὡς οὐ φυλάττεται τὸ Ἐπτάχαλκον, καὶ κινδυνεύει τὸ ἄστυ κατ' ἐκείνο ληφθῆναι τὸ μέρος, ἀκούσαντες οἱ κατασκοποῖσι πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν ἐξήγγειλαν. 'Ο δ' εὐθὺς τὴν δύναμιν προσαγαγὼν περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰσῆγαγε τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ μικροῦ μὲν κατέσκαψε [τὴν πόλιν] ἐνέπλησε δὲ φόβου καὶ νεκρῶν ὥστε τὸν Κεραμεικὸν αἵματι ρυῖναι. 5. ἧ—ὑπερβῆναι, G. § 260, 2 Note 2, HA. § 947.

§ 2. 1. 8. ἀλώσιμον sc. ὄντα, a common ellipse in Plutarch. εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου, 'set to, about, the task'. Cf. Xen. Hell. 7, 2, 19 ἐπεὶ ἐνέτυχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εὐθὺς ἔργου εἶχοντο, Herod. 8, 11. 9. ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, 4, 3. 11. πληγὴν ἐκ καταφορᾶς, 'a sword-wound'. For ἐκ καταφορᾶς caesim, cf. Polyb. 3, 114, 3; 18, 13, 7. 12. ὑφέσθαι τῆς χώρας, 'gave ground'. Cf. Lucian de luct. § 2 οὐδενὶ τῆς ἀνω ὁδοῦ ὑφιέμενον, Dion. Halic. 8, 84 ἀντείχον τῆς χώρας, ἐν ἧ τὸ πρῶτον ἔστησαν, οὐχ ὑφιέμενοι. 13. κατασχεῖν, 'held him fast' (*Clough*). We might also understand τὴν χώραν, 'kept the place'.

§ 3. 1. 13. μὲν οὖν, not 'certainly' (*Clough*), but 'so then', 4, 1; 4, 4. 16. τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραϊκῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς, 'the part of the wall which lay between the Peiraic and the sacred gate'. The Peiraic gate was in the valley beneath the Nymphs' Hill and was the usual road to the Peiraeus; the Sacred gate was identical with the Dipylon; it was so called because through it the annual procession passed at the Eleusinia on their road to Eleusis. 17. συνομαλύνας, 'levelling to the ground'.

Several hundred yards of the city ramparts, which were formed of sun-baked bricks, were thrown down; hence a vast mass of ruin which completely overwhelmed and buried the lines of tombs immediately without the gate and pre-

served them almost uninjured, until one day when they were once more brought to light by a French archaeological expedition in the year 1863. The suddenness with which these monuments were overwhelmed is indicated by the fact that some of them were and remain unfinished; the completeness of their disappearance is proved by the silence of Pausanias the traveller, who, passing through all quarters of Athens in the time of the Antonines, would appear to have seen no trace of them. These monuments, all of which are of course Athenian, have been left standing, just where they were disinterred by the old road which led through Dipylon from Athens to Eleusis. PERCY GARDNER, in an interesting article on 'the Greek mind in the presence of Death', *Contemporary Review* Dec. 1877.

18. *νύκτας, horas noctis.* εἰσήλανε, 'was seen riding in', dramatic imperfect. ὑπὸ σάλπιγγι, 'to the blast of trumpets'. Cf. Hesiod sc. Herc. 283 ὑπ' ἀύλητῆρι ἕκαστος πρόσθ' ἔκειο, Lucian dial. deor. 2, 2 ὑπ' ἀύλῳ καὶ τυμπάνοις εὐρυθμα βαίνει, Dio Chrysost. orat. 33 p. 407 M χόρους ὑπὸ τῷ μέλει τούτῳ στησόμεθα παίδων καὶ παρθένων. The genitive is more common in this sense. 19. τῆς δυνάμεως, 6, 6.

§ 4. 1. 25. ἐπέσχε, 'extended over', 'covered'. 31. τοῦτο, 'this conviction', viz. that their city was going to be destroyed. ἀπογῶναι: Tib. Gr. 5, 2 n. φοβηθῆναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπόησε, 'made them dread to survive'.

§ 5. 1. 33. τοῦτο μὲν—τοῦτο δέ, 12, 3. 36. ἐξαιτουμένων τὴν πόλιν, 'begging off, interceding for, the city'. Cf. Dem. c. Mid. § 151 p. 563, 27 ὅρα μὴ τούτοις αὐτὸν ἐξαιτήσῃται, Aesch. c. Timarch. § 169 p. 24, 35. 37. μεστὸς ὢν τῆς τιμωρίας, 'because he had his fill of vengeance'. 38. ὑπειπῶν, 'premisng', Tib. Gr. 11, 4 n. ἔφη χαρίζεσθαι πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους, ζῶντας δὲ τεθνηκόσιν, 'he said that he spared the few for the sake of the many, the living for the sake of the dead'. Iul. Flor. 1, 40, 10: *postquam domuerat ingratisimos hominum, tamen, ut ipse dixit, in honorem mortuorum sacris suis famaeque donavit.*

§ 6. 1. 40. Μαρτίαις καλάνδαις, *Martiis Kalendis.* Appian Mithr. c. 38 gives a long account of the siege and capture of Athens: ἐπέπεσεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν (ὁ Σύλλας), καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις σφαγὴ πολλῆ ἦν καὶ ἀνηλεὴς· οὔτε γὰρ ὑποφεύγειν ἐδύνατο δι' ἀτροφίαν, οὔτε παιδίων ἢ γυναικῶν ἔλεος ἦν τοῦ Σύλλα τὸν ἐν ποσὶν ἀναιρεῖν κελεύοντος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὡς ἐπὶ ταχεῖα δὴ καὶ ἐς βαρβάρους ἀλόγῳ μεταβολῇ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀκράτῳ φιλονεικία· ὅθεν οἱ πλέονες, ἀσθανόμενοι τοῦ κηρύγματος, ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς σφαγεῦσιν ὑπερρίπτουν ἐς τὸ ἔργον. ὀλίγων δ' ἦν ἀσθενῆς ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν δρόμος· καὶ Ἀριστίων αὐτοῖς συνέφηνεν, ἐμπρήσας τὸ ῥόδιον, ἵνα μὴ ἐτοίμοις ξύλοις αὐτίκα ὁ Σύλλας ἔχοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐνοχλεῖν. ὁ δ' ἐμπιπρᾶναι μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἀπέειπε, διαρπάσαι δὲ ἔδωκε τῷ στρατῷ. 43. ὑπομνήματα, 'as memorials', 'in commemoration of', predicate accusative, G. § 166, Note 2. τὴν ἐπομβρίαν, 'the deluge', in the time of Deucalion. 'In the time of Pausanias' (1, 18) says Long 'in the second century of our era, they still showed at Athens the hole through which the waters of the deluge ran off'.

§ 7. I. 47. ἐπὶ τούτῳ sc. τῷ πολιορκεῖν, 29, 8. The officer meant is Gaius Scribonius Curio, son of the orator of that name and the friend of M. T. Cicero. He became praetor in 82/672 and consul in 76/678. As proconsul he had Macedonia for his province, and was the first Roman general who advanced in Moesia as far as the river Danube. He was appointed Pontifex Maximus in 57/697.

50. δίψει πιεσθείς: Appian c. 39 τὸν Ἀριστίωνα καὶ τοὺς συμπεφευγότας λιμῶ καὶ δίψει πιεσθέντας ἐξέειλεν οὐ μετὰ πολὺ. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Σύλλας Ἀριστίωνα μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ δορυφορήσαντας...ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ. According to Plutarch below, c. 23, 2 he was poisoned; Pausanias, Att. 1, 20, relates that he took refuge in the temple of Athena and was dragged out of it.

51. ἐπεσήμηνε: Wesseling in Diod. Sic. 11, 45: τὸ δὲ δαιμόνιον τῆς τῶν ἱκετῶν σωτηρίας καταλυθείσης ἐπεσήμηνε, 19, 103 ταχὺ τὸ δαιμόνιον αὐτοῖς ἐπεσήμηνε, quibus locis ἐπισημαίνειν numinis est cum irae suae manifesta ostendat argumenta, sicuti et in Plutarch. Demetr. 12 ἐπεσήμηνε δὲ τοῖς πλείστοις τὸ θεῖον, Pausan. 3, 12 Ταλθυβίου δὲ τούτου μήνιμα—Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπισημαίνειν. Hinc ἐπισημασία ipsa exprimit irati numinis indicia 16, 84 et 20, 102.

52. κατήγε, ex arce deducebat. 55. τὰ πλείστα κατέκαυσεν: cf. Appian Mithr. 41 ὁ δὲ Σύλλας τὸν Πειραῖα τοῦ ἄστεος μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσαντὰ οἱ κατεπίμπρη φειδόμενος οὕτε τῆς ὀπλοθήκης οὕτε τῶν νεωσοίκων οὕτε τινὸς ἄλλου τῶν αἰοιδίμων. 56. ἡ Φίλωνος ὀπλοθήκη, 'the arsenal of Philo'. See my n. on Xen. Oecon. 8, 12 l. 74 and cf. Strab. 9, 1, 15 p. 395 d; Valer. Max. 1, 12, 2 gloriantur Athenae armamentario suo, nec sine causa: est enim illud opus et infensa et elegantia visendum. cuius architectum Philonem ita facunde rationem institutionis suae in theatro reddidisse constat, ut disertissimus populus non minorem laudem eloquentiae eius quam arti tribueret, Plin. Nat. Hist. 7, 37, 125 laudatus est... Philon Athenis armamentario CD navium. See Index I s.v. Philo.

## CHAPTER XV

Another army from Asia was now coming against Sulla under Taxiles, a general of Mithridates. He was moving from Thrace and Macedonia with 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse and 90 scythe chariots. He summoned Archelaos to join him. Archelaos' plan was to protract the war and to cut off the enemy's supplies. The chariots of the enemy and the superiority of his cavalry rendered it hazardous for Sulla to meet him in the plain of Boeotia; on the other hand Attica was no longer able to afford supplies, especially since Archelaos, occupying Munychia with his fleet, had prevented the arrival of supplies by sea. The more powerful motive prevailing, Sulla moved into Boeotia and encamped at a place in the plain of Chaironeia called Patronis. Here he was joined by Hortensius, who made his way from Thessaly by a circuitous route over the rugged mountain mass of Parnassus to Tithora (the place which had afforded

a refuge to the Phokians in their flight from Xerxes), where he came into contact with the enemy's forces, but having resisted their attacks during the day succeeded in the following night in descending through difficult passes to the place where Sulla was expecting him.

§ 1. l. 5. ἐκάλει τὸν Ἀρχέλαον, 'summoned Archelaos to join him'. Appian does not record this fact. ἔτι ναυλοχοῦντα περὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν, 'while he was still lying with his ships at Munychia', the smallest of the three harbours in the peninsula of Peiraeus.

Appian's account is different. He says (c. 41) that Archelaos after the capture of Athens marched through Boeotia into Thessaly, and that near Thermopylae he collected the remains of the troops which partly himself, partly Dromichaites, had brought into Greece. He also summoned the force which had accompanied Ariathios the king's son, and some other troops just despatched by Mithridates, making in all 120,000 men.

6. μήτε for οὔτε, I, I. 7. συμπλέκεσθαι, 'to engage in close fight', a favourite word of Plutarch and Polybios, but not used in this sense in Attic Greek. 8. χρονοτριβεῖν τὸν πόλεμον, 'to prolong the war', Cat. min. c. 53. 9. τὰς εὐπορίας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖν, 'to cut off from them their supplies', 8, 4; 11, 2.

§ 2. l. 10. ἐκείνου sc. Archelaos. ἀνέζηυξεν, Tib. Gr. 5, 2 l. 10 n. 11. γλισχρῶν, 'niggardly', 'barren', Flam. 4, 1 τόπους γλισχρῶς καὶ σπειρομένους πονηρῶς. μηδέ for οὐδέ, I, I. 12. σφάλλεσθαι τὸν λογισμόν, 'to be wrong in his calculation'. 14. δύσιππον, 'ill-suited for cavalry movements'. 15. ἀναπεπταμέναις, 'open'. See n. to Them. 8, 2 l. 7. ὄρων, 'although he saw', G. § 277, 5.

§ 3. l. 19. Ὀρτήσιος αὐτὸν ἐφόβει, 'Hortensius caused him anxiety'. This was probably the celebrated orator Q. Hortensius, born 114/640, cons. 69/685, who was serving as *legatus* under Sulla; according to Long, his brother Lucius is meant. 21. ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, 'in the straits' or 'pass' of Thermopylae. παρεφύλαττον, 'were watching', 'on the look out for', Them. 26, 1 l. 20 n. 23. ἡμέτερος ὢν, 'who was a countryman of mine'; he was of Phokis, near which Plutarch's native town, Chaironeia, was situate. Cf. the use of *noster* Cic. de Off. 1 § 33. ἐτέραις ὁδοῖς, 'by a different route' from what they expected.

§ 4. l. 25. ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Τιθόραν, 'just below Tithora'. Tithora (or Tithorea as it is called in Herodotos (8, 33) and Pausanias (Phoc. c. 32) but Τιθάρρα in inscriptions) was, according to this statement of Plutarch, 'a fortress on a steep rock scarped all round', where the Phokians took refuge from the soldiers of Xerxes B.C. 480. Therefore it could not be the same place as the old city Neon from which they fled, and which was destroyed by the Persians, though Pausanias says, that the new name Tithorea was substituted after the time of Herodotos for that of Neon. It was according to the same writer about 80 stadia from Delphi. 'The

city Tithorea of Plutarch's time was situated at Velitza, at the N.E. base of the great mass of Parnassos, near the small river Cachales, which flows into the Kephissos' (*Long*). 28. ἀνεσκευάσαντο = τὰ σκευῆ ἀνέλαβον, 'packed up and marched away'. Cf. Thuc. I, 18, 4 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπίοντων τῶν Μήδων, διανοηθέντες ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἀνασκευασάμενοι, ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβάντες ναυτικοὶ ἐγένοντο. 29. καταστρατοπεδεύσας, *castris positis*. The verb is used by Xenophon transitively 'to put into cantonments'. Polybios employs it, as here, intransitively 'to take up quarters', a sense which the middle bears in Xenophon. 31. Πατρωνίδα: videtur vicus quidam ignobilis ad radices Oetae vel Cnemidis montis fuisse. (*Leopold.*)

## CHAPTER XVI

*In the Elatic plain, being copiously supplied with water and defended towards the enemy by the pass of Parapotamioi, Sulla found a safe and convenient place of encampment until he was reinforced by Hortensius. He then advanced toward the enemy and took up a position on a fertile woody hill in the midst of the Elatic plains named Philobocotos, at the foot of which there was water. (The Romans probably occupied both that height and the hill of Krevasará, as in that position they were not only masters of any sources of water there may be at the foot of those heights, but were near the Kephissos, their proximity to which is evident from what follows. LEAKE.)*

*As the Roman army consisted of only 15,000 infantry and 1500 cavalry, while the enemy's amounted to six or eight times that number, the former kept close within their entrenchments, when the Asiatics drew out their forces to display their strength and strike terror into the small body of their adversaries; but when they proceeded to straggle over the country, destroying Panopeus and pillaging Lebadcia and the oracular temple of Trophonios, Sulla became very desirous of engaging. In order to inspire his troops with an inclination to fight, he first imposed some severe labours upon them, such as cutting dikes in the plain and turning the channel of the Kephissos; and when they began to be tired of this employment, and to prefer the hazard of a fight, praying Sulla to lead them against the enemy, he pointed out to them a position which he wished to occupy. It was a hill near the Kephissos, on which formerly stood the Akropolis of the abandoned city of the Parapotamioi—a stony height surrounded with a precipice, and separated only from Mount Hedylium by the river Assos, which at the foot of the hill fell into the Kephissos and rendered the position very strong. The Romans drove away a body of Chalkaspides, who were moving to the defence of the hill of Parapotamioi and seized the position first. Archelaos then made an attempt on Chaironeia, but Sulla was again beforehand with him and the city was saved by the timely arrival of one legion under Gabinius, accompanied by the Chaironeans in Sulla's army.*

§ 1. 1. 1. γενόμενοι κοινῇ, 'when they had united their forces', καταλαμβάνονται i. q. καταλαμβάνουσιν, 'they occupy'. Diodor. Sic. 1, 56: καταλαβομένους παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν χωρίον καρτερόν, 5, 83 κατελάβετο νήσον ἔρημον οὔσαν. ἐκ μέσων ἐστῶτα τῶν Ἑλατικῶν πεδίων, 'rising out of the midst of the plains of Elateia', the famous plain, called by Plutarch's favourite hero Epameinondas 'the dancing-plot of Arês' (Marc. 21). Elateia, the most important place in Phokis after Delphi was situated about the middle of the great fertile basin which extends near 20 miles from the narrows of the Kephissos below Amphikleia to those which are at the entrance into Boeotia. Hence by its admirable position for commanding the passes southward from Mt Oeta, it became a post of great military importance and the key of Southern Greece. The alarm felt at Athens, when the news came of its occupation by Philip of Macedon, shows that it was so regarded then. See Dem. de cor. p. 284. 3. ἀμφιλαφῆ, 'shaded with trees' (*Clough*), 'well sheltered with trees' (*Langhorns*), 'extensive' (*Long*): cf. Plat. Phaedr. p. 230 B πλάτανος μάλ' ἀμφιλαφής, Dionys. Halic. 2, 20 χωρίον ὕλαις ἀμφιλαφέσι ἐπίσκιον. 5. ἐπαινεῖ, in his Ἐπομνήματα, see on 4, 3. 7. ἵππεῖς—ἐλάττους: according to Appian c. 41 they had not so much as a third of the enemy's forces, οὐδ' ἐς τριτημόριον τὰ πάντα τῶν πολεμίων.

§ 2. 1. 9. ὅθεν ἐκβιασάμενοι τὸν Ἀρχέλαον, 'for which reason forcing action upon Archelaus'. 12. θυρεῶν, *scutorum*, the large oblong shield, generally adopted by the Roman infantry, about 4 feet long by 2½ wide, formed out of boards like a door (*θύρα*), firmly joined together and covered over with coarse cloth under an outer coating of raw hide, with a metal rim round the edges. 13. οὐκ ἔστειγεν, *non sustinebat*, 'could not support', 'was rent with'; v. Ind. gr. ἔθνῶν τοσοῦτων: the barbarian army was composed of Thracians, men from Pontos, Scythians, Cappadocians, Bithynians, Gauls from Galatia, Phrygians and others who were included in the new acquisitions of Mithridates, in all 120,000 men, as Appian reports c. 42. 14. τῆν δὲ ἅμα καί—εἰς ἐκπληξιν, 'at the same time also the pomp and ostentatious magnificence of their costly array was not without effect and use in producing consternation'.

§ 3. 1. 19. πυροειδῆ καὶ φοβερὰν—προσέβαλον ὄψιν, 'presented a flaming and formidable appearance, as the masses waved to and fro and swayed about in their ranks'. 21. ὑπὸ τὸν χάρακα συστέλλειν ἑαυτοῦς, 'cooped themselves up', 'shrunk behind their ramparts'. On χάραξ see n. to Tib. Gracch. 6, 1; and for συστέλλειν cf. above 9, 6; 11, 4. 22. μηδενὶ for οὐδενί, 16, 3.

§ 4. 1. 28. οὐδ' ἄλλως κτλ., 'otherwise also inclined to be disobedient owing to the number of their officers'. Each of the

nationalities had its own general, Archelaos being commander-in-chief: Appian *l. c.* στρατηγοὶ αὐτῶν ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστῳ, αὐτοκράτωρ δ' Ἀρχέλαος ἐπὶ πᾶσιν.

32. τὴν τῶν Πανοπέων πόλιν, Panopeus or Panope was a very ancient town (Hom. II. 2, 520) the frontier fortress of Phokis towards Boeotia, and on the road from Daulis to Chaironeia. It was destroyed by Xerxes (Herod. 8, 34) and again by Philip at the close of the Sacred war (Pausan. 10, 3, 1). It was taken by the Romans in 198/556. 33. τὴν Λεβαδέων: Lebadeia (*Livadhía*) lay near the western frontier of Boeotia, between Chaironeia and Mt Helikon, at the foot of a precipitous height from which the river Herkyna flows. It owed its importance to the celebrated oracle of Trophonios, which continued to be consulted even in Plutarch's time, when all the others in Boeotia had become dumb, *de defectu orae.* c. 5, Pausan. Boeot. cc. 39, 40. 35. πρόσταγμα δόντος, 28, 6.

§ 5. 1. 38. προσάγων, sc. πρὸς τὸν Κηφισόν. 39. ἐκ τοῦ ρείθρου παρατρέπειν, 'to divert from its course'. 41. ἀπαγορεύσαντες πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, 'exhausted with their labours'. Cf. Cor. 13 πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἀπαγορεύοντων. On the form ἀπαγορεύσαντες for ἀπειπόντες see Cobet *var. lect.* p. 39, *nov. lect.* p. 778. 42. ἀσπάζονται τὸν κίνδυνον, 'may welcome danger', as a release from hardship. This artifice of Sulla's of employing an insubordinate soldiery, had been previously practised by Marius in the war with the Cimbri, when he had a canal cut from the Rhone (*fossa Mariana*), vit. Mar. c. 15 ff. It is referred by Frontinus, *Strategem.* I, 11, 20, to another occasion: *L. Sulla, quia adversus Archelaum, praefectum Mithridatis, apud Piraeceae pigrioribus ad proelium militibus ulteretur, opere eos fatigando compulit ad poscendum ultro pugnae signum.*

§ 6. 1. 43. τὴν—ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Παραποταμίων, 'what was formerly the Akropolis of the Parapotamioi'. These were a people on the confines of Boeotia and Phokis (Strabo 9, 19), whose city had been destroyed by Xerxes (Herod. 8, 33, Pausan. 10, 33).

§ 7. 1. 51. τοῦ Ἠδυλλίου διωρισμένος ὄρους ὅσον ὁ Ἄσσος ἐπέχει ῥέων, 'separated from Mount Hedyllium by the space covered by the river Assos', 14, 4. 52. συμπίπτων τῷ Κηφισῷ, 'flowing into the Kephissos'. 53. συνεκτραχυνόμενος κτλ. 'growing rapid by the confluence makes the citadel a strong place to encamp in'.

'There is a difficulty in this passage:—The testimony of Strabo, Theopompos and of Plutarch himself, shows that Paleókastro is the ancient Parapotamioi and the rocky summit above it Hedyllium; in which case there is no stream which can correspond with the Assos but that named Kinéta, which flows from the marsh of Sfaka, and is joined by the torrent of the vale of Khúbavo. This river however does not divide the hill of Paleókastro from Mount Hedyllium, as Plutarch leads us to expect, but leaves it on the left and joins the Kephissos a little below the hill of Paleókastro, which is in fact a low extremity of the mountain itself'. LEAKE, *Travels in Northern Greece*, II 195.

55. ὠθουμένους, 'pushing forward', 'forcing their way'.

57. χρησάμενος τοῖς στρατιώταις προθύμοις, 5, 3; 6, 9.

§ 8. 1. 58. ἀποκρουθεῖς, 15, 4.

60. τῶν Χαιρωνέων,

G. § 168.

61. προσέθαι, 10, 2.

62. Γαβίνιον.

This was Aulus Gabinius who was sent by Sulla in 81/673 with orders to L. Licinius Murena to put an end to the war with Mithridates.

65. τῶν σωθῆναι δεομένων, 'than those who required aid to be brought'. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 2, 3, 3 οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀργεῖται τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων. The active infinitive is occasionally thus used in place of the passive after δεῖσθαι; see my n. on Xen. Oecon. 12, 11, 1. 59.

ὁ δ' Ἰόβας: Juba II, son of the King of Numidia, was on his father's death in 46/708 carried a prisoner to Rome, where he was brought up and so well educated that he turned out one of the most learned men of the day. On the death of M. Antonius in 30/724, Augustus conferred on Juba his paternal kingdom of Numidia, and gave him in marriage Cleopatra (Selene) the daughter of Antonius and Cleopatra. Afterwards Augustus gave him Mauretania in exchange for Numidia, which was reduced to a Roman province, and here he continued to reign until his death in A.D. 19. Juba was a voluminous writer in the Greek language, he composed among other histories, one of Rome, which reached from the primitive period to the times of Sulla and Sertorius (see C. Müller *Fragm. hist. gr.* III p. 469—484). Strabo, Plinius and Plutarch often quote him: in Sertor. c. 9, 5 Plutarch calls him πάντων ἱστορικώτατον βασιλέων. See Index I s. v. 67. ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν. See my *Introduction* to Themist. p. ix f. 'This will explain' says Long 'why Plutarch has described the campaign in the plains of Boeotia at such length'.

παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον, 'within so much, so narrowly, did it escape the danger', παρὰ here implies comparison, 29, 8.

## CHAPTER XVII

*Encouraged by favourable oracles, Sulla quitted his position at the Akropolis of the Parapotamioi and crossing the Assos proceeded to the foot of Mount Hedyllion, and took up a position opposite Arche-laos, who was encamped behind a strong entrenchment at a place called Assia, on the north side of the lower Kephissos, between Hedyllion and Akontion. Having remained a day in this position, Sulla left L. Licinius Murena there with one legion and two companies to watch the enemy, and having sacrificed at the Kephissos, crossed the river and moved south to Chaironeia for the purpose of joining the troops who had occupied that place, as well as to examine the position of a detachment of the enemy, which, after the unsuccessful movement upon Chaironeia, had occupied Mount Thurion or Orthopagos, a rugged pine-shaped mountain south of Chaironeia. Below it were the torrent Molos and the temple of Apollo Thurios, who received that epithet from Thuro, mother of Chairon, the founder of Chaironeia. Two men of Chaironeia having proposed to lead a detachment to the*

summit of Thurion by a road unknown to the Asiatics and to dislodge the enemy, Sulla ordered upon this service a body of Romans under Gabinus (some say Ericius) and then drew out his army in the plain, placing the cavalry on either flank, himself commanding the right, Murena the left, and Hortensius with a reserve of five cohorts to keep watch on the heights in the rear, in order to prevent the enemy from circumventing the Romans by means of their numerous cavalry and light troops.

§ 1. 1. 1. τοῦ Τροφωνίου, 'the oracular shrine of Trophonios', 16, 4. 2. φῆμαι, *voces divinae, oraculi sortes*. νικηφόρα, i. q. τὴν νίκην ἐπαγγέλλοντα. 5. τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, 16, 1. 6. τῶν πραγματευομένων, 'those who were engaged in mercantile business'. 8. νενικηκότα μάχην, G. § 159 Rem.

§ 2. 1. 10. ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν τάξει στρατευομένων, *quidam ex cohorte praetoria* (Crusierus): *miles legionarius* (Freinsheim). 12. τέλος—ἔξιν, 6, 9; 7, 4. 13. περὶ τῆς ὀμφῆς, 'concerning the revelation'. Wyttenbach and others understand the word to mean 'vision', but unnecessarily: it means the 'voice' of the god who appeared to them. 15. παραπλήσιον sc. τὸν θεόν, implied in ὀμφῆς: κάλλος and μέγεθος are accusatives of respect.

§ 3. 1. 16. παρελθὼν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἡδύλιον, 'advancing with his army to the foot of Hedylium'. 17. βεβλημένῳ χάρακα καρτερὸν κτλ. 'for he had thrown up a strong entrenchment'. Cf. Plat. legg. 6 p. 779 B τὰς οἰκοδομίας βάλλεσθαι. 19. πρὸς τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἀσσίοις sc. πεδίοις, 'at a place named the Assian plains', on the north side of the lower Kephissos, between Mount Hedylium and Mount Akontion, which is nearer the lake than Hedylium.

Leake conjectures that Assia may be in that recess of the plain between Hedylium and Akontion, through which a small branch of the Kephissos runs, and where the modern village Karamura stands.

20. ἀπ' ἐκείνου, 'from his name', 'after him', not 'from that time', 17, 4; cf. Thuc. 1, 46, 3 ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχει. 22. πρὸς τὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνοχλῆσαι παραταττομένοις, 'with a view to annoy the enemy, if he should attempt to form in order of battle'.

§ 4. 1. 25. τῶν ἱερῶν γενομένων, *cum sacra litassent*. 27. Θούριον: Thurion was a conical-shaped (στροβιλώδης) hill south of Chaironeia and part of a small range which separates the plain of Chaironeia from the plain of Lebadeia. 31. Θουρούς: Pausanias (Bocot. 9, 40, 3) gives her name as Thero.

§ 5. 1. 33. ὑπὸ τοῦ Πυθίου—βουῖν. The common story was that Kadmos, unable to find his sister Europa, who had been carried off by Zeus, consulted the oracle of Delphi, and was commanded by the god to follow a cow of a certain kind and to build a

town on the spot on which the cow should sink down with fatigue. Kadmos found the cow and followed her from Phokis into Boeotia, where she sank down on the spot where Kadmos built Kadmeia, afterwards the citadel of Thebes. Cf. Eur. Ehoen. 638 ff.

Κάδμος ξμολε<sup>ε</sup> τάνδε γᾶν  
 Τύριος, ᾧ τετρασκελῆς  
 μόσχος ἀδάματον πέσημα  
 δίκε τελεσφόρον διδούσα  
 χρησμόν, οὐ κατοικίσαι  
 πεδία μὲν τὸ θέσφατον  
 χρῆσε πυροφόρ' Ἀδωνων, κτλ.

Ovid tells the same story, *Metam.* 3, 10 ff.

§ 6. 1. 45. ἀπὸ τοῦ καλουμένου Πιτράχου: Paus. Boeot. 9, 41, 6 ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κρημνὸς Πιτράχου καλούμενος· Κρόνον δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀπατηθῆναι δεξάμενον ἀντὶ Διὸς πέτρον παρὰ τῆς Ῥέας καὶ ἄγαλμα Διὸς οὐ μέγα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους.

46. ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, *supra illorum carut.* ἧ πορευθέντες sc. ἀτραπῶ, 'by taking which path'.

§ 7. 1. 48. τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρτυρίσαντος ἀνδρείαν καὶ πίστιν, 'bearing testimony in favour of the men to their courage and fidelity'. Gabinius had been sent in advance to Chaironeia with one legion, 16, 8.

50. συνέταπτε τὴν φάλαγγα, 'proceeded to form his line'. 'We must conclude from this that when Sulla crossed the river to Chaironeia, Archelaos followed him, and Murena who would then have nothing to do on the north side of the river, crossed it also and joined the general with his legion and two companies in the plain between Chaironeia and the Kephissos' (*Long*).

53. οἱ πρῶβενταί, *legati*, 4, 1; 6, 9; 11, 4. 54. σπέρας ἐπιτάκτους ἔχοντες ἔσχατοι, 'having some companies of reserve in the rear'. παρενέβαλον, 'planted themselves', 'took up a position'.

The verb *παρεμβάλλειν* is a military term frequently met with in Polybios either (1) with an acc. i. q. *τάττειν locare, collocare*, sive in acie: 'to put in rank', 'draw up in battle order', 1, 33, 7 τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας παρενέβαλε, 2, 27, 7; 2, 28, 3; 2, 65, 10; 3, 72, 8; 5, 53, 3, etc. sive in castris: 'to encamp': 6, 28, 2; 6, 29, 6 ἀντίους παρεμβάλλουσι τοῖς τριαρίοις τοὺς πρίγκιπας; 6, 30, 1; 6, 41, 2 παρεμβάλλειν τὰ στρατόπεδα. or (2) absol. *castra locare* 'to encamp': 1, 77, 6 τοῦ δ' Ἀμίλκου παρεμβεβληκότος ἐν τινὶ πεδίῳ, 3, 110, 1 δευτεραῖσι δ' ἐπιβαλόντες παρενέβαλον; 5, 13, 8 παρενέβαλε περὶ τὴν καλουμένην πόλιν Ἄκρας; 6, 32, 6; 11, 23, 5 οἱ πεζοὶ ἐξ ἀσπίδος παρενέβαλον; 6, 29, 2 αἰς μὲν (ῥύμαις) ταγμάτων, αἰς δὲ οὐλαμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μήκος παρεμβεβληκότων. Also *aciem instruere*, 'to fall into line', as 5, 69, 7 παρενέβαλον εἰς ναυμαχίαν; 18, 7, 3 ἐξ ἀσπίδος παρενέβαλε. or (3) *invadere* 'to make an inroad': 5, 14, 10 εἰς οὖς (τόπους) οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε πρότερον στρατοπέδῳ παρεμβάλλειν; 29, 7, 8 παρεμβεβληκότων τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων εἰς Μακεδονίαν. The derivative *παρεμβολή* is used to signify either (1) 'an encampment', 'camp', and generally 'soldier's barracks' (*Act. Ap.* 21, 34); or (2) 'an arraying in battle order', or (3) 'a body so drawn up'.

55. φύλακες πρὸς τὰς κυκλώσεις, 'to watch the enemy's movements and prevent them from attacking Sulla's flank'. ἑωρώντο γάρ—τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, 'for the enemy were observed making their

wing agile and ready for evolution (so forming their wing as to allow it readily to change about and alter its position) with a large body of cavalry and light-armed foot, their design being to extend their line and encompass the Romans'. For ἐπιστροφή see Ind. gr. s. v.

## CHAPTER XVIII

*The road indicated to Ericius by the two Chaironeans led from Mount Petrachus by a temple of the Muses. As soon as he had obtained possession of the summit of the mountain, the Asiatics were immediately thrown into confusion by the unexpected attack of the Romans from above; three thousand were slain on the hill, others, who got safe to the foot of the hill, fell into the hands of Murena, and the remainder arrived in such confusion at their own camp, as to create a general disorder. Sulla, seizing the critical moment, moved forward his right so promptly, that the chariots of the Asiatics, which depended on traversing a certain space to enable them to acquire velocity and momentum, were now driven feebly against the Romans, who easily eluded them, or opened their lines and let them pass to the rear, where, before they could turn round, horses and drivers were pierced with the Roman javelins. The combat now became general: the Romans threw down their pila and then fought against the enemy with swords only, but could not make any impression upon the long pikes and locked shields of the Asiatics, or upon the dense order of 150,000 slaves, whom the Asiatic commanders had invited from the Greek cities by a promise of freedom and armed; these, however, were at length broken by the javelins and sling-shot of the adverse light-armed and fell into complete confusion.*

§ 1. 1. 3. ἐπιφανέντων, 'discovering themselves', 'coming suddenly into view': Thuc. 8, 42, 3: Herod. 4, 122: Polyb. 5, 109, 2 παραδόξως ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τοῖς πολεμοῖς; 31, 26, 10 (27, 10 ed. Hultsch) κατὰ νότου τοῖς πολεμοῖς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, Xen. Cyr. 6, 3, 13 ἐπιφάνηθι ἐναντίος τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει, 8, 5, 15; An. 3, 5, 2 ἑξαπίνης οἱ πολέμοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, de rep. Lac. 11, 8 εἰάν ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολεμῖα φάλαγξ ἐπιφανῆ, Mag. Eq. 2, 8 ἦν τι ὀπισθεν ἐπιφαίνηται.

4. φόνος ὑπ' ἀλλήλων: for the use of ὑπό with verbal substantives to denote the acting person or efficient cause, cf. Plat. Apol. 17 τὰ τοῦ Κρόνου ἔργα καὶ παθήματα ὑπὸ τοῦ νείεος, Rep. 2 p. 378 D "Ἡρας δεσμοὺς ὑπὸ νείεος καὶ Ἡφαιστοῦ ῥίψεις ὑπὸ πατρός, Xen. Hier. 8, 4 αἱ ὑπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπείαι.

6. κατὰ πρανοῦς, 'down hill': Xen. Anab. 1, 5, 8 καὶ μάλα κατὰ πρανοῦς γηλόφου, de re eq. 3, 7 πρὸς ἄναντες καὶ κατὰ πρανοῦς καὶ πλάγια ἐλαύνοντα.

τοῖς δόρασι περιέπιπτον αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, 'fell upon the points of their own spears'. Cf. Arist. Vesp. 523 περιπεσοῦμαι τῷ ξίφει, Antiph. τετρ. B. γ. § 6 p. 123, 8 διὰ τὴν

τοῦ βαλόντος ἀκολασίαν πολεμῶ τῷ τούτου βέλει περιπεσῶν ἀθλίως ἀπέθανεν.

8. τὰ γυμνά, 'their exposed parts', i. e. those not covered by armour, especially the right side; Xen. Hell. 4, 4, 12 πολεμίων πλήθος πεφοβημένον, τὰ γυμνὰ παρέχον, Thuc. 3, 23, 4; 5, 10, 4 τὰ γυμνὰ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους δούς; 5, 71, 1 διὰ τὸ φοβούμενους προστέλλειν τὰ γυμνὰ ἕκαστον τῇ τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ παραταγμένου ἀσπίδι; Polyb. 3, 81, 2 δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα νικᾶν συνθεωρεῖν ...τί γυμνὸν ἢ ποῖον ἔξοπλον μέρος φαίνεται τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν.

§ 2. 1. 10. εἰς τάξιν—καθεστῶς, 16, 2. 11. ἀπετέμνετο, 'cut off their retreat', a military term, often found in later Greek.

Cf. Xen. Hell. 6, 2, 7 κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐπὶ λόφῳ πρὸ τῆς χώρας ὄντι, ὅπως ἀποτέμνοιτο ἐντεῖθεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐξίει, Polyb. 1, 84, 7 πολλοὺς ἀποτεμνόμενος καὶ συγκλεῖων ὡσπερ ἀγαθὸς πεπτευτῆς ἀμαχεῖ διέφθειρε, 9, 7, 10 πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκπεπορευμένους ἀποτεμέσθαι; 10, 32, 4 ἀποτέμνονται τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ διακλείουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας παρεμβολῆς, 11, 32, 4 ἐπεβάλετο τοῖς ἀκροβολιζομένοις ἀποτεμόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς παρωρείας.

13. ἀνέπλησαν: the notion of 'contagion' may be implied. See Liddell-Scott Lex. s. v.

16. ὀξέως—ταρασσομένοις ἐπαγαγών, 'promptly charging them while they were still in disorder'. This use of ἐπάγειν without δύναμιν, στρατιάν or στρατόπεδον is confined to late Greek, Polyb. 1, 76, 7; 2, 29, 2 ἐξ ἀμφόιν τοῖν μεροῖν ἅμα τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαγόντων αὐτοῖς, 10, 49, 11; 12, 18, 11.

τὸ μέσον διάστημα τῷ τάχει συνελών, 'abridging by the rapidity of his movements the distance that separated the two lines'. Cf. Lucull. 28, 2 συναίρησειν τὴν διατοξεύσιμον χώραν τῷ τάχει τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς, i. e. *spatium, quo uti missilibus poterant, incursus celeritate contrahendum esse*, Mar. 8, 3 πολλὴν ὁδὸν ἡμέραις δυοὶ καὶ μιᾷ νυκτὶ συνελών.

17. ἀφειλετο τὴν τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐνέργειαν, 'prevented the efficient action of the scythe-armed chariots'. According to Appian Mithr. c. 42—43 the Romans opened their ranks and let them pass through, attacking them successfully on their return. ὁ δ' (sc. Ἀρχέλαος) ἐξήκοντα αὐθις ἐπεμψεν ἄρματα, εἰ δύναιτο μετὰ ῥύμης κόψαι καὶ διαρρῆξαι τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν πολεμίων. διαστάντων δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τὰ μὲν ἄρματα ὑπὸ τῆς φορᾶς ἐς τοὺς ὀπίσω παρενεχθέντα τε καὶ δυσεπίστροφα ὄντα πρὸς τῶν ὑστάτων περιστάντων αὐτὰ καὶ ἑσακοντιζόντων διεφθίετο.

§ 3. 1. 18. ἔρρωται sc. τὰ δρεπανηφόρα ἄρματα. 19. σφοδρότητα καὶ ῥύμην τῇ διεξέλσει διδόντος, 'giving them velocity and impetus for breaking through the enemy's line'.

20. ἐκ βραχείος, *ex brevi spatio*. ἄπρακτοι καὶ ἀμβλείαι sc. εἰσὶ, 'are ineffective and feeble'.

21. καθάπερ βελῶν sc. ἀφέσεις. τάσιν οὐ λαβόντων, 'when they do not get propelled with due force, full swing.'

23. ἀπήντα, *usu venit*, 10, 2.

24. νωθρῶς, 'lifelessly'.

§ 4. 1. 26. τούντεῖθεν, 'thereupon'. 28. προβαλλομένων τὰς σαρίσσας μακράς, not 'pushing forward their long spears'

(*Long*), nor 'fixing their long pikes' (*Clough*), but 'protecting themselves by their pikes at their full length', *μακράς* being predicate adjective.

29. τῷ συνασπισμῷ, 'by locking their shields close together', 'by presenting a compact front'. Arrian Tactic. II, 4 συνασπισμὸς δὲ (ἔστιν) ἐπὶ εἰς τοσοῦνδε πυκνώσας τὴν φάλαγγα, ὡς διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν μηδὲ κλισίην τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἔτ' ἐγχερεῖν τὴν τάξιν. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε τοῦ συνασπισμοῦ τὴν χελώνην (*testudinem*) Ῥωμαῖοι ποιοῦνται, Plut. Timol. 27, 6 τοὺς προμάχους πυκνώσας τῷ συνασπισμῷ.

τὴν φάλαγγα διατηρεῖν ἐν τάξει, 'to preserve their line of battle entire'.

30. τοὺς ὑσσοὺς αὐτοῦ καταβαλόντων, 'throwing away then and there their *pila*'. The *pilum* was the national arm of the Roman infantry, used chiefly as a missile, but serving also as a pike for thrusting. It was shorter, stronger and larger in the head than the *hasta* or 'spear'. The wooden shaft was square at the top and of the same length as the iron head (Polyb. 6, 23, 9 προσήρμωσται δὲ τοῖς ὑσσοῖς) βέλος σιδηροῦν ἀγκιστρωτόν, ἴσον ἔχον τὸ μῆκος τοῖς ξύλοις). We have no authentic specimen of this national weapon either in artistic representations or as the product of excavations. 'We should expect' says Ihne 'that instead of throwing down their *pila*, the Romans would have discharged them upon the enemies before falling upon them with their swords. Is it possible that Plutarch makes a mistake in translating?' Long and Clough settle the matter by translating the word 'hurled', 'discharged', which is of course wrong.

§ 5. 1. 36. κατελόχιζον, 'ranged', 'enrolled'. 37. ἐν Κρονίοις, 'during the Saturnalia', the great festival of the god Saturnus (*Κρόνος*), which was celebrated annually on the 17th of December, at this time for one day and at a later period for more. It was a time of general license, mirth and feasting, serving as the prototype of the modern Carnival. Friends sent presents to one another (Martial, Ep. 9, 46), and masters treated their slaves upon an equal footing (Hor. Sat. 2, 7, 4; Plin. Ep. 2, 17).

§ 6. 1. 40. παρὰ φύσιν, *praeter naturam*, ut servi qui timidiore erant neque pugnae adsueverant (*Leopold*). 41. αἱ βελοςφενδόναι, *falaricae*: v. ind. gr. s. v. οἱ γρόσφοι *haestae velitares*, the spears or darts used by the light-armed troops, the shaft of which was about 3 ft. long and of the thickness of a finger, while the head was only a span in length, but so thin that they bent upon coming into contact with anything that offered solid resistance. Polyb. 6, 22, 4 τὸ δὲ τῶν γρόσφων βέλος ἔχει τῷ μὲν μήκει τὸ ξύλον ὡς ἐπίπαν δίπηχυν, τῷ δὲ πάχει δακτυλιαῖον, τὸ δὲ κέντρον σπιθαμαῖον, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἐπὶ λεπτόν ἐξεληλασμένον καὶ συνωξυσμένον ὥστε κατ' ἀνάγκην εὐθέως ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐμβολῆς κάμπτεσθαι καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀντιβάλλειν· εἰ δὲ μή, κοινὸν γίνεται τὸ βέλος, 42. χρωμένων ἀφειδῶς sc. τούτοις τοῖς βέλεσιν.

## CHAPTER XIX

*As Archelaos was extending his right wing in order to surround Murena, Hortensius advanced rapidly to defeat this manoeuvre, but was obliged to retreat before the Asiatic cavalry to the hills, where he was in so much danger of being cut off, that Sulla hastened from the right to his aid. Archelaos seeing Sulla coming, instantly counter-marched and attacked Sulla's right, while Taxiles with his Chalkaspides assailed Murena, so that a shout arising on both sides, and the hills around echoing it, Sulla was for a moment in suspense which way to move; but having resolved to return to his own post on the right, he took one of the cohorts of Hortensius with him, and sent the other four to the support of Murena. On his arrival he found the right hard pressed by Archelaos, but his men, receiving a new impulse from the presence of their commander, in one great effort routed the enemy, and drove him to the Kephissos and Mount Akontion. Sulla then moved to the assistance of Murena, but found him already victorious over Taxiles and joined him in the pursuit. Ten thousand only of the vanquished Asiatics arrived in safety at Chalkis, while Sulla, according to his own assertion in his Memoirs, had only twelve men missing. He erected two trophies, one in the plain where the troops of Archelaos first gave way and fled to the river Molos, the other on the top of Mount Thurion. The latter was inscribed with the names of the two Chaironeans, who had led thither the Romans under Ericius. Sulla commemorated his victory by a dramatic representation at Thebes in a theatre erected for the purpose. He selected his judges from the other cities of Greece, to spite the Thebans, whom he deprived of half their territory because they had wavered in their allegiance. This act of severity enabled him to repay without expense to himself the debt he owed to the sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia.*

§ 1. 1. 2. ἀνάγοντος, 17, 7. Ὀρτήσιος, who had been left behind with Galba in charge of a body of reserves, 17, 7. 3. δρόμῳ προσφερομένος, 'advancing against them at a run, with the intention of charging them in the flank'. ὡς ἐμβάλων, 5, 1. Polyb. 2, 67, 5 ἐνέβαλε τοῖς πολεμοῖς πολμηρῶς, 10, 3, 6. The word ἐμβάλλειν is in classical usage applied either to the action of a ship charging another with the ram, or else to a hostile inroad into a country. 4. ἐπιστρέψαντος, 17, 7. 5. ἐκθλιβόμενος ὑπὸ πλήθους, 'driven from his position by numbers'.

Xen. Anab. 3, 4, 19 ἀνάγκη ἐστίν, ἣν μὲν συγκύπη τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου ἢ ὀδοῦ στενωτέρας οὐσης ἢ ὀρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπίτας καὶ πορεύεσθαι πορηρῶς, Plut. Mar. 21, 1 ὡς ἀντιστάντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ συμπεσόντες ἔσχον ἄνω φερομένους, ἐκθλιβόμενοι κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. It is strange that no notice is taken of this meaning of the verb in Liddell-Scott, who, however, quote the above passage of Xenophon but under the head 'to distress much', a sense which the verb often bears in the LXX.

6. προσετέλλετο τοῖς ὄρειναις, 'kept close to the heights'. ἀπορρηγνύμενος, 'becoming severed'. Thuc. 5, 10, 7 τὸ

εὐώνυμον κέρας εὐθὺς ἀπορραγὲν ἔφυγεν which the scholiast explains ἀποσπασθὲν τῆς ἄλλης τάξεως.

§ 2. 1. 19. μήπω συμπεπτωκότος εἰς μάχην, 'which had not yet engaged in the action', 1, 2. ἐδίωκε βοηθῶν, 'came rapidly up to his succour'. Xen. Anab. 6; 5, 25 ἐπεσθαι βάδην καὶ μηδένα

δρόμῳ διώκειν, 7, 2, 20 custodes ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐδίωκον προφεράbant ad Seuthem, rem indicaturi, Plut. Pomp. 8, 1 ἐδίωκε βοηθήσων.

10. Ἀρχέλαος—ἔα χαίρειν, 'Archelaos, guessing the matter from the dust raised by the cavalry charge, quitted (lit. 'bade good bye to', 10, 4) Hortensius'. Cf. Appian c. 43 ὁ Ἀρχέλαος ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων στρατηγικῶν ὄντων καὶ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ πλείονος αἰρομένου τεκμηρίμενος εἶναι Σύλλαν τὸν ἐπιόντα, λύσας τὴν κύκλωσιν εἰς τάξιν ἀνεχώρει.

12. ὅθεν ὁ Σύλλας sc. ὤρμησεν. πρὸς τὸ δεξιόν sc. κέρας.

13. ὡς ἔρημον ἄρχοντος αἰρήσων, 'in the hope of surprising it without a commander'.

15. ἀνταποδιδόντων, 're-echoing', Timol. 27, 6 τὴν κραυγὴν ἀνταποδόντων.

16. ἐπιστήσαντα, 'halting', Xen. Anab. 1, 8, 15 ὁ δ' ἐπιστήσας (sc. τὸν ἵππον) εἶπε. Others translate by *animadvertentem*, on which meaning of the verb see my n. to Tib. Gracch. 10, 3 l. 27.

17. ὁποτέρωσε χρή πρόσγενέσθαι, *utram ad partem accurreret*.

§ 3. 1. 17. δόξαν, 'when he had decided', G. § 278, 2, H.A. § 973.

19. ἔχοντα, 7, 5. 21. καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ—συνεστηκός, 'which had already of itself (unaided) held its ground on equal terms against Archelaos'.

22. ἐπιφανέντος, 18, 1. 23. ἐξεβιάσαντο, 16; 2. 24. τὸν ποταμόν, the Kephissos, on the north side of which and near Akontion Archelaos had pitched his camp.

§ 4. 1. 29. τῷ χάρακι προσφερόμενοι, 'as they were making for their entrenchment'.

30. διαπεσεῖν, 'slipt through', 'made their escape'. Xen. Hell. 3, 2, 4 διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν; 4, 3, 18; Polyb. 1, 75, 6 μηδὲ τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν θέλοντας διαπεσεῖν ῥαδίως ἂν δύνασθαι λαθεῖν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους; 1, 34, 11 αἱ σημαῖαι αἱ σωθεῖσαι διέπεσον εἰς τὴν Ἀσπίδα παραδόξως; 20, 11, 4 αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπεβάλετο... διαπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἰπάταν.

31. Χαλκίδα: Chalkis (*Egribo* or *Negroponete*), the principal town of Euboea, situated on the narrowest part of the Euripus and united with the mainland by a bridge. It was a place of considerable military importance, as it commanded the navigation between the N. and S. of Greece. It gave its name to the peninsula of Chalkidike, because it was the founder of so many cities there. Cf. Appian c. 45 Ἀρχέλαος δὲ καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι κατὰ μέρος ἐξέφυγον, εἰς Χαλκίδα συνελέγοντο, οὐ πολὺ πλείους μυρίων ἐκ δώδεκα μυριάδων γενόμενοι.

32. ἐπιζητήσαι, 'missed'. Appian *I. c.* Ῥωμαῖον δὲ ἔδοξαν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρες, δύο δ' αὐτῶν ἐπανήλθον. The same writer states that the Romans completed their victory by breaking into the camp of Archelaos, which was pitched on the further bank of the Molos. He closes his report of the battle with these words: τοῦτο μὲν δὴ... τῆς περὶ Χαϊρώνειαν μάχης τέλος ἦν, δι' εὐβουλίαν δὴ μάλιστα Σύλλα καὶ ἀφροσύνην

'Αρχελαίου τοιόνδε ἐκατέρῳ γεγόμενον. 'The battle of Chaironeia' says Ihne 'differed very much from those of Kynoskephalae, Magnesia and Pydna, which were commenced without a plan and gained merely by the bravery of the Roman soldiers. It compares creditably with the great battles fought by Hannibal and shows that Sulla, like the great Carthaginian, was a consummate general'.

§ 5. 1. 35. 'Αφροδίτην: 'Venus is often considered as the deity of Good Fortune, and the best throw of the Roman dice was called by her name: it was no wonder therefore that Sulla, who valued himself upon his good luck, should inscribe to her one of his trophies' (*Langhornes*). Pausanias 9, 40, 4 mentions that he saw these trophies.

39. παρὰ τὸ Μόλου ρεῖθρον, 17, 4.  
40. βεβηκός, 'fixed'. ἐπὶ τῇ κυκλώσει τῶν βαρβάρων, 'where the barbarians were environed' (*Clough*), or 'to commemorate the environment of the barbarians'.

§ 6. 1. 42. τὰ ἐπινίκια—ἤγεν, 'celebrated the festival (a dramatic representation) in honour of this victory'.

43. περὶ τὴν Οἰδιπόδειον κρήνην, 'at the fountain of Oedipus', so called, according to Pausanias 9, 18, 4 ὅτι ἐς αὐτὴν τὸ αἷμα ἐνίψατο Οἰδῖπους τοῦ πατρῷου φόνου.

44. οἱ κρίνοντες, 'the judges' of the performances, G. § 276, 2.

46. ἀδιαλλάκτως εἶχε, 'he was irreconcilably hostile', 11, 5; 16, 6. Sulla could not pardon the Thebans for having once joined Archelaos.

47. ἀποτεμόμενος, Tib. Gr. 8, 1.

49. ἀποδίδοσθαι τὰ χρήματα, 'that the money should be repaid', 12, 3. Cf. my n. to Tib. Gr. 1, 1.

## CHAPTER XX

*In the course of this summer Mithridates sent into Greece another army of eighty thousand men under Dorylaos to join the ten thousand that Archelaos still had. Sulla had left Boeotia and advanced as far as Meliteia in Phthiotis with the intention of confronting the consul L. Valerius Flaccus, who was crossing the Hadriatic with a force to oppose Mithridates, as it was said, but in fact to supersede Sulla. The news of Dorylaos landing at Chalkis brought Sulla back to Boeotia, which was again occupied by the King's troops. Dorylaos gave no heed to the advice of Archelaos, and was impatient for immediate action and for forcing the Romans to a battle. He circulated a report that the defeat of Chaironeia could only be accounted for by the treachery of the general. However, a slight skirmish with the Romans near Tilphosion brought Dorylaos to a sense of his inferiority in judgment, and he submitted to the decision of the more experienced Archelaos, who knew the Roman soldiers too well to hope that the newly levied bands of Asiatics would be a match for them without a good deal of previous training. Archelaos, warned by the experience of the last battle, kept away from the mountains and had pitched his camp at Orchomenos near the bank of the lake Kōpais. The town of Orchomenos stood on an elevation round the southern base of which the Kephissos flows into the lake. The north end of the hill of*

*Orchomenos is opposite Mount Akontion. The little river Melas rose on the east side of the hill and was a copious stream even at its sources, but the greater part of the water was lost in impervious and muddy marshes and only a small part flowed into the Kephissos near the point where this river entered the lake. The ground near Orchomenos was favourable for the enemy who had a superiority in cavalry, for of all the plains in Boeotia noted for their beauty and extent, this, which commences at the city of Orchomenos, is the only one which spreads without interruption and without any trees, as far as the marshes in which the river Melas is lost.*

§ 1. 1. 1. Φλάκκον, i.e. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, cos. 100/654 with C. Marius, censor 97/657 with M. Antonius, the orator, *consul suffectus* in place of Marius who had died in his 7th consulship 86/668, in which year he was sent by his colleague Cinna into Asia to oppose Sulla and bring the Mithridatic war to a close. Liv. Epit. LXXXII, Appian Mithr. c. 51 Κίνας δὲ Φλάκκον ἐλόμενός οἱ συνάρχειν τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχήν, ἐπεμπεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν μετὰ δύο τελῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Σύλλα, ὡς ἤδη πολεμίου γεγονότος, τῆς τε Ἀσίας ἀρχειν καὶ πολεμεῖν τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ, bell. civ. 1, 75. 3. τὸν Ἴόνιον sc. κόλπον. HA. § 621 c. μετὰ δυνάμεως, according to Appian *ubi supra*, his force consisted of two legions. 6. γενομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ περὶ πόλιν Μελίτειαν, 'when he was come to Meliteia', a town in Phthiotis, which was a district included in Thessalia in the larger sense of the word. It was on the N. slope of Mt Othrys and near the Enipeus, a branch of the Peneus. Thucydides means the same place when he speaks (4, 78) of Melitia in Achaea.

§ 2. 1. 11. ἡσκημένας, not 'appointed' (*Clough*), or 'equipped' (*Langhorns*), but 'trained' (*Long*). συντεταγμένας κτλ. 'by far the best disciplined of the army of Mithridates', G. § 168. 14. οὐ προσέχων Ἀρχελάῳ διακωλύοντι, 'paying no regard to Archelaos' attempts to prevent him'. 15. λόγον—διαδιδούς, 6, 9. 17. διαφθαρείεν, G. § 243. The translation given by *Clough* and *Long* 'could never have perished, been destroyed', is misleading, the sentence not being conditional.

§ 3. 1. 18. ἀπέδειξε—ἄνδρα φρόνιμον, 4, 4. 20. μικρὰ τῷ Σύλλᾳ περὶ τὸ Τιλφώσιον ἐμπεισόντα, 'after a slight skirmish with Sulla near Tilphosium'. Tilphosium (dor. Tilphosium) was a town in Boeotia, situated upon a mountain of the same name, on the south side of lake Kopais and between Koroneia and Haliartos. It was called after the fountain Tilphusa, which was sacred to Apollo, where Teiresias is said to have died on his road from Thebes to Delphi and to have been buried (Pausan. Boeot. c. 33, 34). 21. τῶν οὐκ ἀξιούντων, *noletium*, 'of those who thought it unadvisable'. See my n. on Them. 7, 2. κρίνεσθαι διὰ μάχης, 'to have the matter decided by a battle', 'to put things to the arbitrament of the sword'. 22. δαπάναις καὶ χρόνῳ τρίβειν τὸν πόλεμον, 'to wear out the war

by dint of time and treasure', 15, 1.

25. εὐφύστατος ὢν ἵπποκρατοῦσιν ἐναγωνίσασθαι, 'being most favourable as a battle-field for an army superior in cavalry'. Cf. Polyb. 1, 8, 3 πόλις εὐφύης πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολάς, 2, 68, 5 διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων εὐφύταν, 2, 3, 4 εὐφύως κειμένους τόπους. For ἐναγωνίσασθαι cf. 16, 7; 18, 2; Thuc. 2, 74, 2 παρέσχετε αὐτὴν (τὴν γῆν) εὐμενῇ ἐναγωνίσασθαι 'propitious to fight in': so 2, 20, 2 ὁ χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ἐφαίνετο ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι, Soph. Oed. Col. 790 χθονὸς λαχεῖν τοσοῦτον, ἐνθανεῖν μόνον, 'earth enough to die in', Xen. Symp. 2, 18 οἰκῆμα ἐνιδρῶσαι, Herod. 7, 59 ὁ χῶρος ἐπιτήδεος ἐνδιατάξαι τε καὶ ἐναριθμῆσαι, Ael. hist. anim. 6, 42 στιβάδα ἐγκαθεύδειν.

§ 4. I. 27. τῆς Ὀρχομενίων ἐξηρημένον πόλεως, 'adjacent to, commencing from, the city of Orchomenos'.

Orchomenos (or Erchomenos on coins and in inscript.), *hod. Scripsi*, was an ancient, powerful and wealthy city, the capital of the kingdom of the Minyae in the ante-historical ages of Greece, and not only the chief city of Boeotia but one of the most powerful and wealthy cities of Greece. During the historical period it was second only to Thebes in the Boeotian confederacy. By the peace of Antalkidas its independence was acknowledged by the Thebans, but after the battle of Leuktra they took and destroyed it (Dem. c. Lept. p. 490) out of revenge for their having fought against them in the army of Agesilaos. During the Phokian war it was rebuilt but in B.C. 346 it was given by Philip to its old enemy, who destroyed the city a second time. It was rebuilt again after the battle of Chaironeia in B.C. 338 by order of Philip. It was famous for the worship of the Χάριτες. Orchomenos stands at the end of the valley through which the Kephissos flows close to the marshes of the lake Kopais (*Topolias*). Like many other Greek cities, it occupied the triangular face of a steep mountain, at its rise from the plain; and possessed in perfection those advantages of position, which the Greek engineers generally sought for, being defended on every side by precipices, rivers and marshes. The summit is naturally separated from the ridge of Akonition. But the upper part of the hill forming a very acute angle, was fortified differently from the customary modes. Instead of a considerable portion of it having been inclosed to form an akropolis, there is only a small castle on the summit, having a long narrow approach to it from the body of the town. The Kephissos winds like a serpent (δὲ Ὀρχομενοῦ εἰλιγμένος εἶσι, δράκων ὡς Hesiod ap. Strab. 9, 16) round the southern base of the mountain. At its north-eastern base are the sources of the river Melas. The marble treasury of Minyas, remains of which are still in existence, gives striking evidence of the former greatness and magnificence of the city, and elicits the admiration of Pausanias:

28. ἀναπέπταται, 'lies open', 'spreads out', Them. 8, 2; 21, 3. 29. καταναλίσκεται, *absumitur, sorbetur*, 'loses itself'. 31. πολὺς καὶ πλώμιος—πρωταμῶν, 'the only river of Greece that is a copious and navigable stream at its sources'.

Pausanias 9, 38, 5 says that the sources of the river Melas were about a mile from Orchomenos, near the temple of Herakles. 'Exactly at the foot of the precipitous rocks which formed the limit of the northern side of the city, are the sources of the river Melas, now *Μαυροπόταμι*, synonyms derived apparently from the dark colour of its deep transparent waters. Among several sources there are two much larger than the others and both considerable rivers. One flows north-eastward, and at a distance of a little more than half-a-mile meets the Kephissos, which a little beyond the junction becomes so enveloped among the marshes extending from thence to the heights to the north-east, as to be scarcely traceable....The other large source or branch of the Melas, which is

to the westward of the former, follows for a considerable distance the foot of the cliffs of Orchomenos and is then lost in the marshes'. LEAKE

32. ὑπὸ τροπᾶς θερινᾶς, *sub solstitium*. Cf. Diod. Sic. 1, 39 ὁ Νεῖλος ἄρχεται μὲν πληροῦσθαι κατὰ τὰς θερινὰς τροπᾶς, οὕτω τῶν ἐτησίων πνεόντων, λήγει δ' ὕστερον ἰσημερίας φθινοπωρινῆς.

33. ὅμοια, predicate adjective, 20, 4. 35. τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον εἰς λίμνας τυφλὰς καὶ ὑλῶδεις ἀφανίζεται, κτλ. 'the greater part is lost in marshes, impervious and overgrown with shrub, and only a small part unites with the Kephissos somewhere near the place, where the lake produces, as it is reputed, the auletic reed'.

36. τυφλὰς, 'choked with mud', 'without any outlet'. Cf. Caesar 58, 5 τὰ τυφλὰ καὶ δύσσορμα τῆς Ὠστιανῆς ἡβότος ἀνακαθηράμενος.

38. τὸν αὐλητικὸν κάλαμον. Cf. Strab. 9, 2, 18 γενέσθαι δὲ φασιν καὶ κατὰ Ὀρχομενὸν χάσμα καὶ δέξασθαι τὸν Μέλανα ποταμὸν τὸν ῥέοντα διὰ τῆς Ἀλιαρτίας καὶ ποιοῦντα ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἔλος τὸ φύον τὸν αὐλητικὸν κάλαμον, Plinius, nat. hist. 16, 36, gives a description of this reed or cane for pipes or flutes, and it is mentioned by Pindar Pyth. 12, 26 :

τοὶ (sc. δόνακες) παρὰ καλλιχόρῳ ναίοισι πόλει Χαρίτων  
Καφισίδος ἐν τεμένει, πιστοὶ χορευτῶν μάρτυρες.

## CHAPTER XXI

*Sulla, again, as in the previous campaign, took the offensive, and began to narrow the field for the conflict by drawing two deep ditches, one on each flank, with the view, if possible, of cutting the enemy off from the firm ground, where their cavalry could operate, and forcing them upon the marshes. Archelaos, seeing the danger of being hemmed in, made a vigorous attack upon the men working at the entrenchment and the detachment of troops stationed for their protection. A sharp conflict ensued and the Romans were forced to give way. In this emergency Sulla showed the qualities of a brave soldier. Leaping from his horse, he seized a standard and advanced towards the enemy. As his soldiers hesitated to follow him, he called out to them that they should tell their friends at home that they had forsaken their general like cowards at Orchomenos. His reproach put them to shame: the fight was restored and the enemy repulsed. The work of entrenchment was now continued, after a brief period of repose, during which the men were allowed to take some food. The barbarians again assaulted the Romans, but they were driven back to their camp, where they spent a wretched night. In this battle, Diogenes, the son of Archelaos' wife, fell while fighting bravely. At daybreak Sulla again led his soldiers up to the enemy's camp, and again began working at the trenches for the purpose of shutting him in. The camp was at last assailed and taken by storm. The barbarians attempted to escape, but many were killed or driven into the swamps which fringed the lake to be miserably*

drowned. Even two hundred years later, bows, helmets, pieces of iron cuirasses and swords were found in the bed of the lake.

§ 1. 1. 2. ὠρυττε τάφρους: cf. Appian Mithr. c. 49 ὁ δὲ Σύλλας ἀντεστρατοπέδευε μὲν, Ἀρχελάω περὶ Ὀρχομενόν, ὡς δὲ εἶδε τῆς ἐπελθούσης ἵππου τὸ πλήθος, ὠρυσσε τάφρους πολλὰς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον, εὖρος δέκα πόδας, καὶ ἐπίοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ Ἀρχελάου ἀντιπαρέταξεν. Frontinus also mentions this stratagem of Sulla's, Strateg. 2, 3, 17: *Archelaus adversus L. Sullam in fronte ad perturbandum hostem falcatas quadrigas locavit, in secunda acie phalangem Macedonicam, in tertia Romanorum more armatos auxiliaries, mixtis fugitivis Italicae gentis, quorum pernicitiae plurimum fidebat; levem armaturam in ultimo statuit: in utroque dein latere equitatum, cuius amplum numerum habebat, circueundi hostis causa posuit. contra haec Sulla fossas amplae latitudinis in utroque latere duxit et in capitibus earum castella communiit; qua ratione, ne circumiretur ab hoste, et peditum numero et maxime equitatu superante, consecutus est.*

4. τῶν ἵππασίμων ἀποτεμόμενος, 'by cutting them off from the ground which was favourable to cavalry'.

7. ῥύδην, *effusus habentis*, 'at full speed'. Cf. Cleom. 21, 4 τοὺς ἵππεῖς ῥύδην ἐλαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Brut. 50, 1 βαρβάρους τινὰς ἵππεὰς ἐλαύνοντας ῥύδην ἐπὶ τὸν Βροῦτον. It means also 'lavishly': Luc. 39, 1 τῷ πλούτῳ ῥύδην καταχρώμενος, Caes. 29, 1 Καίσαρος τὸν Γαλατικὸν πλοῦτον ἀρέσθαι ῥύδην ἀφεικότος.

8. τοῦ παρατεταγμένου—τὸ πλείστον sc. στρατεύματος, 'the greater part of those who were drawn up in arms' for the protection of the men at work. Reiske understands τῶν ἔργων with τὸ πλείστον, but this is clearly an error.

9. συνεχύθη—φυγόντος, 'were thrown into disorder as they fled', 'fled in disorder'. Cf. Polyb. 1, 40, 13 τὰς τάξεις συγχέοντα καὶ κατασπῶντα τὰς αὐτῶν, speaking of the elephants in the Punic army.

§ 2. 1. 10. σημεῖον, 7, 2. 11. διὰ τῶν φευγόντων, 'through the fugitives'. This is Bryan's reading adopted by Sintenis and Bekker for the vulgate φονεύοντων, which, however, Reiske sees fit to retain and explains 'medios per enses hostium utrinque ferientes et stragem edentes'. 13. τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, *imperatorem*, Tib. Gr. 9, 4.

14. μεμνημένοι φράζειν ὡς ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ. Appian *l. c.* ἀσθενῶς δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων διὰ δέος τῆς ἵππου μαχομένων, ἐς πολὺ μὲν αὐτοὺς περιπεύων παρεκάλε καὶ ἐπέσπερξε οὐκ ἀπειλῆ, οὐκ ἐπιστρέφων δ' αὐτοὺς ἐς τὸ ἔργον οὐδ' ὡς, ἐξήλατο τοῦ ἵππου καὶ σημεῖον ἀρπάσας ἀνὰ τὸ μεταίχιμιον ἔθει μετὰ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, κεκραγῶς 'εἰ τίς ὑμῶν, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, πύθοιτο, ποῦ Σύλλαν τὸν στρατηγὸν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν προδῶκατε, λέγειν, ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ μαχομένον'; Ammianus Marcellinus 16, 12, 41 de Constantio: *haec reverenter dicendo reduxit omnes ad munia subeunda bellandi imitatus salva differentia veterem Sullam, qui cum contra Archelaum Mithridatis ducem educta acie proelio fatigabatur ardentis, relictus a militibus cunctis ducerrit in ordinem primum raptique et coniecto vexillo in partem hostilem 'ite' dixerat 'socii periculatorum electi et scitantibus ubi relictus sim imperator, respondete nihil fallentes: solus in Boeotia pro omnibus nobis cum dispendio sanguinis sui decernens'*, Front. Strat. 2, 8, 12 *L. Sulla, cedentibus iam legionibus exercitui Mithridatico ductu Archelai, stricto gladio in primam*

*aciem procucurrit adpellansque milites dixit: si quis quaesisset, ubi imperatorem reliquissent, responderent, pugnantem in Boeotia. cuius rei pudore universi cum secuti sunt.*

15. τὸ ῥῆθὲν ἐπέστρεψε, 'his words made them repent', Poly-aen. Strateg. 8, 9. Appian continues his narrative thus:—οἱ δ' ἠγεμόνες αὐτῷ κινδυνεύοντι συνεξέθειον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τάξεων, συνεξέθειον δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πληθὺς αἰδουμένη, παλιώξιν τε εἰργάσαντο. καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀρχομένης ἀναθορῶν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἐπήγει τὸν στρατὸν περιῶν καὶ ἐπέσπερχεν, ἕως τέλεον αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔργον ἐξετελέσθη. καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπώλοντο μὲν ἀμφὶ τοὺς μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, καὶ τούτων ἦσαν οἱ μύριοι ἵππεῖς μάλιστα, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ παῖς Ἀρχελάου Διογένης· οἱ περὶ δ' ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον συνέφυγον.

§ 3. 1. 17. ἀναγαγὼν μικρόν, 'falling back a short distance'. The word more commonly used is ἀπαγαγὼν, but cf. Xen. Cyr. 7, 1, 45 ἤδη σκοταῖος ἀναγαγὼν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Θυμβράροις, 3, 3, 69. 22. περιόπτως, *conspicue, magna cum laude*, 'gallantly'. Marc. 10, 2 ἐν Κάνναις περιόπτως ἀγωνισάμενον. 23. ἀθρόοις τοῖς ὀιστοῖς παίοντες, *integris manibus sagittis ferientes* (Reiske), 'striking with their arrows by handfuls'. 24. ἐκ χειρὸς, *cominus*, 'from close quarters'. Xen. An. 3, 3, 15 οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες=ἀκοντισταί, Polyb. 13, 3, 4 τὴν ἐκ χειρὸς καὶ συστάδην γινομένην μάχην )( ἐκηβόλοις βέλεσιν, 4, 58, 7 τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἐκ χειρὸς καὶ κατ' ἀνδρα γινομένης. 26. μοχθηρῶς ὑπὸ τραυμάτων καὶ φόβου διενυκτέρευσαν, 'spent a wretched night owing to their wounds and consternation'. The common reading is φόβου, 'what with their wounded and slain'. 27. τῷ χάρακι sc. *hostium*. Appian c. 50 gives the reason: δέσας ὁ Σύλλας μὴ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀρχέλαος, οὐκ ἔχοντα ναῦς, ἐς Χαλκίδα ὡς πρότερον διαφύγει, τὸ πεδῖον ὄλον ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐνυκτοφυλάκει. καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, στάδιον οὐχ ὄλον ἀποσχῶν τοῦ Ἀρχελάου, τάφρον αὐτῷ περιώρυσεν οὐκ ἐπέξιόντι.

§ 4. 1. 29. συμβαλὼν, *signis collatis*, often used in this sense by Herodotus and Polybios. It will be seen from the account of Appian quoted above that there is a discrepancy between his and Plutarch's narrative. πρὸς τὸν ἐκείνων φόβον οὐδενὸς μένοντος, 'as no one stood his ground in consequence of their panic'. 30. αἰρεῖ κατὰ κράτος, 'takes by storm'. 33. μέχρι νῦν—διαγεγονότων: for the bearing of this passage on the date of Plutarch's biographies see my *Introd. to Themist.* p. xxxi. 37. μὲν οὖν, 'so then', in concluding one subject and passing on to a fresh one.

'The descriptions' says Long, *Decline of the R. R.* II p. 304 f. 'of the Battle of Orchomenos by Plutarch and Appian agree in some respects but neither description is clear. There is a much better description in Frontinus (2, 3, 17), which explains how Sulla with his small army defeated the superior force of Archelaos'. Frontinus states that Archelaos placed his scythe chariots in front; behind them he placed his Macedonian phalanx; then his auxiliaries, including Italian deserters, on whom Archelaos greatly relied, for these men could expect no mercy from the enemy, and lastly his light-armed troops. On each flank he posted his cavalry. Sulla, who was weak in cavalry, dug two broad ditches guarded by forts, one on each flank, so as to keep off the enemy's horse. Then he

drew up his infantry in three lines, leaving gaps in them for the light troops and cavalry to pass through from the rear when needed. To the second line stakes were given with orders to fix them firmly in the ground so as to form a palisade, and the first line were ordered to retire within the palisade when the scythe chariots charged. The battle cry was then raised and, as the chariots advanced, they came upon the stakes and were received with a shower of missiles from the light troops which were sent forward. The chariots turned and threw the phalanx into disorder. Archelaos then ordered up his cavalry, but Sulla's cavalry took them in the rear and completed the rout. All this is intelligible. Sulla showed his military talent by arranging his troops in an unusual order, but an order which secured him a victory. Caesar made a similar-disposition for the protection of his camp when he was in presence of the great army of the Belgian confederation, *B. G.* 2, 8'.

## CHAPTER XXII

*While Sulla was carrying on the war in Boeotia, he had with him in his camp a semblance of a senate, consisting of distinguished men, refugees from the tyranny and violence of the dominant faction at Rome under the consuls Cinna and Carbo. Amongst others his wife Metella came with her children reporting the destruction of his town and country houses, and entreating him to go to the aid of his friends in Italy. Sulla could not endure the thought of leaving his country to the tender mercies of his political opponents, yet he felt it was impossible to leave the war with Mithridates unfinished, and a man of his sagacity must have seen that he would more easily put down his enemies at home, after he had humbled the great enemy of Rome. He was relieved from his perplexity by the timely appearance of a Delian merchant, a namesake of Archelaos, who brought secret proposals from the King's general. Sulla welcomed the opportunity and a peace-meeting was arranged between him and Archelaos at Delion. Archelaos tried at first to save the lost cause of the King by offering Sulla, as an equivalent for favourable terms of peace, the aid of Mithridates against the democratic party at Rome. Sulla in reply advised Archelaos to play false to his master, and to accept from Rome, as her ally, the kingdom of Pontos, and to give up the ships of Mithridates. But Archelaos rejected the proposal with indignation. Sulla then asked Archelaos how he—the mere slave or, if he pleased so to call himself, the friend of a barbarian king—could refuse to become a traitor himself, and yet venture to propose to him, a Roman, who had inflicted on Archelaos two severe defeats at Chaironcia and Orchomenos, that he should sacrifice the honour and public interests of Rome to his own private advantage. Finally they agreed upon the following terms: Mithridates was to give up Asia and Paphlagonia, and to surrender Bithynia to Nikomedes and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes, to pay down to the Romans two thousand talents and give up seventy ships of war, completely equipped. In consideration of this he was to be allowed to retain his hereditary kingdom and to resume the position of a friend and ally of the Roman people.*

§ 1. 1. 1. Κίνα καὶ Κάρβωνος: L. Cornelius Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo were not consuls until the next year, 85/669, the former for the third time. Plutarch, therefore, may not be quite accurate here.

4. ὡσπερ εἰς λιμένα τοῦ Σύλλα τὸ στρατόπεδον κατεφέροντο, 'repaired to Sulla's camp as to a harbour of refuge'. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2, 23, 3 *dominante in Italia Cinna maior pars nobilitatis ad Sullam in Achaïam ac deinde post in Asiam perfugit*. The whole of this passage is transcribed by Dio Cassius fragm. Peiresc. cxxvi. For illustrations of the omission of the preposition in the correlative member of the comparison, see my n. on Them. 32, 2 l. 25.

5. καταφέρεσθαι is very often used of being driven ashore by a storm: Thuc. 4, 3; 1, 137, 2; 4, 26, 7; 4, 120; 6, 2, 3; Polyb. 3, 22, 6; 3, 23, 3. 6. ὀλίγου χρόνου, G. § 179, 1.

σχῆμα βουλῆς, 'the semblance of a senate', 'a form of senate'.

7. διακλέψασα ἑαυτὴν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας, 'keeping herself and her children out of harm's way'. Herod. 1, 38, 2 φυλακὴν ἔχων εἰ πως δυναίμην σε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ζῆς διακλέψαι. Or it may mean 'conveying herself and children away by stealth'.

9. τὰς ἐπαύλεις, 'his villas', 'farm-buildings'; Diod. Sic. 20, 80 τὰς ἐπαύλεις σχεδὸν ἀπάσας ἐπυρρόλησαν, ib. 83 καθείλε τὰς ἐπαύλεις, Appian c. 51 Κορνηλίου τε Κίνα καὶ Γάτου Μαρίου, τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ, ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐψηφισμένον εἶναι Ῥωμαίων πολέμιον καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς ἐπαύλεις καθρηκῶτων καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελόντων.

§ 2. 1. 11. μήτε—ὑπομένοντι, 1, 1; 15, 1. 12. μήτε ὅπως ἄπεισιν—ἐπινοοῦντι, 'and not being able to see how to go away and leave so great an undertaking as the war with Mithridates unfinished'.

14. Δηλιακός, either from Delos, one of the Kyklades, which was at this time a great slave-market (Strabo 14, 5, 2 ἡ δὲ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων ἐξαγωγή προῦκαλεῖτο μάλιστα εἰς τὰς κακουργίας, ἐπικερδεστάτη γενομένη καὶ γὰρ ἠλίσκοντο ῥαδίως, καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον οὐ παντελῶς ἄπωθεν ἦν μέγα καὶ πολυχρήματον, ἢ Δῆλος, δυναμένη μυριάδας ἀνδραπόδων αὐθημερὸν καὶ δέξασθαι καὶ ἀπόπεμψαι), or from Delion, the small town in Boeotia, on the Euripus near Tanagra, where Sulla and Archelaos subsequently met.

15. παρὰ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ Ἀρχελάου, *ab Archelao regis duce*. Appian c. 54 ὁ δὲ Μιθριδάτης ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς περὶ Ὀρχομενὸν ἡττης ἐπύθετο, διαλογιζόμενος τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπεπόμφει, καὶ τὴν συνεχῆ καὶ ταχεῖαν αὐτοῦ φθορὰν, ἐπέστελλεν Ἀρχελάω διαλύσεις ὡς δύναίτο εὐπρεπῶς ἐργάσασθαι.

16. τὸ πρᾶγμα Σύλλας ἠγάπησεν. Them. 26, 1 n. Appian gives the reasons why Sulla was anxious to come to terms: καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἀπορία τε νεῶν καὶ χρήματα οὐκ ἐπιπεμπόντων οὐδ' ἄλλο οὐδὲν οἰκοθεν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὡς πολεμῖφ, ἀψάμενος ἤδη τῶν ἐν Πυθοὶ καὶ Ὀλυμπία καὶ Ἐπιδαύρῳ χρημάτων καὶ ἀντιδοῦς πρὸς λόγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὸ ἡμισυ τῆς Θηβαίων γῆς πολλάκις ἀποστάντων, ἕς τε τὴν στάσιν αὐτῆν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπειγόμενος ἀκραιφνῆ καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὸν στρατὸν μεταγαγεῖν, ἐνεδίδου πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις.

19. Δήλιον οὐ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔστιν, Liv. 35, 51 *templum est Apollinis Delium*,

*imminens mari; quinque milia passuum ab Tanagra abest: minus quattuor milium inde in proxima Euboeae est mari traiectus:* Strabo 9, 7 εἷτα Δήλιον, τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐκ Δήλου ἀφιδρυμένον, Ταναγραίων πολυχνιον, Αὐλίδος διέχον σταδίους τριάκοντα, ὅπου μάχη λειφθέντες Ἀθηναῖοι προτροπάδην ἔφυγον (B.C. 424). ἐν δὲ τῇ φυγῇ πεσόντα ἀφ' ἵππου Ξενοφῶντα ἰδὼν κείμενον τὸν Γρυλλοῦ Σωκράτης ὁ φιλόσοφος, στρατεῦν πεζός, τοῦ ἵππου γεγονότος ἐκποδῶν, ἀνέλαβε τοῖς ὤμοις αὐτόν, καὶ ἔσωσεν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους, ἕως ἐπαύσατο ἡ φυγή.

21. τὴν Ἀσίαν, i.e. the Roman province of Asia.

23. λαβόντα—δύναμιν ὅσην βούλοιο παρά τοῦ βασιλέως, 'on condition of receiving as large a force as he wanted from the king'. Appian represents Archelaos as merely saying:—'φίλος ὢν ὑμῶν πατρῶος, ᾧ Σύλλα, Μιθριδάτης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπολέμησε μὲν διὰ στρατηγῶν ἐτέρων πλεονεξίαν, διαλύσεται δὲ διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀρετὴν, ἣν τὰ δίκαια προστάσῃς'.

25. Μιθριδάτου μὲν ἀμελεῖν: Appian puts a long speech into Sulla's mouth, in which he points out that Mithridates has no ground for complaint against the Romans: the king had been guilty of wholesale rapine and murder; had shown his inveterate hatred to Rome by a general massacre of the Italians in Asia and confiscation of their property. There should properly therefore be no truce with such a monster: but for the sake of Archelaos he would be forgiven by the Romans, if he really changed his purpose. If not, he would advise Archelaos to consider his own interests, independently of the king, who would probably treat him as badly as he had treated some of his other friends and ministers.

§ 4. 1. 27. ἀφοσιουμένου—τὴν προδοσίαν, 'professing his abhorrence of such treason', Pomp. c. 42 (de Mithridate defuncto ad Pompeium allato) οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἀφοσιούμενος τὸ νεμεσητὸν εἰς Σινώπην ἀπέπεμψε, Poplic. 7, 3 ἀφοσιούμενοι τὸν Ταρκύνιον. The verb is also used to signify *abnuere*, *recusare munus oblatum*, 'to decline', primarily on conscientious grounds, as Num. 6, 1 τοιοῦτοις λόγοις ἀφοσιουμένου τὴν βασιλείαν, Anton. 28 ἀφοσιουμένου καὶ δεδοκίOTOS λαβεῖν (τὰ ἐκπώματα). Cf. Appian *l.c.* ὁ δ' (sc. Ἀρχέλαος) ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πείραν ἀπεσεῖετο καὶ δυσχεράνας ἔφη τὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά οἱ τὴν στρατηγίαν οὐ ποτε προδώσειν 'ἐλπίζω δὲ σοι διαλλάξειν, ἣν μέτρια προστάσῃς'.

28. εἷτα, 'and so', 'so then', serving as an exclamation of indignation or contempt.

29. Καππαδόκης, e Cappadocia quippe oriundus erat Archelaos, cf. 23, 2. Sed adiuncta est usui huius nominis exprobratio quaedam servilis ingenii, quo Cappadoces olim famosi erant (*Leopold*).

30. ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις ἀγαθοῖς, *propositis tantis praemiis*.

33. ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐκεῖνος ὢν Ἀρχέλαος, 'as if you were not that Archelaos, who fled from Chaironeia with a few survivors out of one hundred and twenty thousand'.

34. ἀπὸ μυριάδων δυοκαίδεκα, 19, 4.

35. κρυφθεὶς δὲ δύο ἡμέρας ἐν τοῖς Ὀρχομενῶν ἔλεσιν, Appian c. 50 Ἀρχέλαος δ' ἐν ἔλει τιμὴ ἐκρύφθη καὶ σκάφος ἐπιτυχῶν ἐς Χαλκίδα διέπλευσεν.

ὁ—ἄβατον—ἀπολελοιπώς, 'who left Boeotia impassable for heaps of dead bodies'.

§ 5. 1. 37. μεταβαλὼν καὶ προσκυνήσας, 'changing his tone to that of a humble suppliant'.

39. δεξαμένου τὴν πρόκλη-

σιν, 'accepting his proposal', Thuc. 3, 64, 3 τὴν τελευταίαν...πρόκλησιν ἐς ἡσυχίαν ἡμῶν...οὐκ ἐδέχεσθε. 43. καταβαλεῖν, 'to pay down', Thuc. 1, 27 πενήτηκοντα δραχμὰς—καταβάλλοντες, Plut. Them. 24, 1 l. 20 n. 45. μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας παρασκευῆς, 'with their proper, complete, equipment'. 47. σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων ψηφίσεσθαι, 'should vote him an ally of the Romans'. Cf. Mor. p. 187 E ὃν ψηφίσεσθε θεόν.

The form of the agreement as reported by Appian expresses the surrender of territory in general terms, but it contains some other conditions not mentioned in Plutarch:—εἶαν τὸν στόλον ἡμῖν, ὃν ἔχεις ὁ Ἀρχελαε, παραδῶ πάντα Μιθριδάτης, ἀποδῶ δὲ καὶ στρατηγούς ἡμῖν ἢ πρέσβεις ἢ αἰχμαλώτους ἢ αὐτομόλους ἢ ἀνδράποδα ἀποδράντα καὶ Χίους ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, καὶ ὅσους ἄλλους ἀνασπαστοὺς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐποίησας, μεθῆ, ἐξαγάγῃ δὲ καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ πάντων φρουρῶν, χωρὶς ὧν ἐκράτει πρὸ τῆσδε τῆς παρασπονδῆσεως, ἐσενέγκῃ δὲ καὶ τὴν δαπάνην τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν δι' αὐτὸν γενομένην, καὶ στέργῃ μόνῃς ἄρχων τῆς πατρίδος δυναστείας, ἐλπίζω πείσειν Ῥωμαίους αὐτῷ μηδὲν ἐπιμηνῖσαι τῶν γεγονότων, c. 55.

Granius Licinianus, supposed to be a contemporary of Sallust, is the nearest writer in time to the period of Sulla, and a fragment of his *Annals* contains the terms of this treaty, which agree in the main with Plutarch and Appian, though there are some variations. The fragments of Dion Cassius (ed. Reimar I p. 73) relating to this treaty are nearly a verbal copy of Plutarch. According to Licinianus, Archelaos agreed to surrender his fleet to Sulla, and the king was to retire from all the islands, also from the province Asia, from Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Galatia; to give up Q. Oppius and M'. Aquillius and set free all the captives, the number of whom was not small. It was also agreed that the king should give seventy ships decked and equipped to the Socii.

## CHAPTER XXIII

*After the agreement was made, Sulla began his march towards Asia in company with Archelaos, whom he treated with marked respect and when he fell sick on the march at Larisa, he tarried to nurse him with as much attention as if he had been one of his own generals. Sulla's behaviour to him gave rise to the suspicion that the battle of Chaironeia had been won through treachery on the side of Archelaos, and this suspicion was confirmed by Sulla giving up all the friends of Mithridates whom he had taken prisoners, except Aristion whom he had put to death, and Aristion was an enemy of Archelaos. Sulla also made Archelaos a present of a large estate in the island of Euboea and gave him the title of friend and ally of the Roman people. These charges are noticed by Sulla in his Memoirs (§ 1—§ 2). When Sulla was on his march, Mithridates sent an embassy to him, approving the general terms of peace made by Archelaos, but protesting against the surrender of Paphlagonia, and refusing to confirm the agreement about the ships. Upon this Sulla fell into a passion and refused to haggle about terms which he had resolved upon as final. He declared that he should soon be in Asia himself, and warned Mithridates that he would do well not to delay the agreement till then. In this stage of the negotiations Archelaos obtained from Sulla a postponement of his decision, promising to use his personal influence with Mithridates in the interest of peace. He would either procure the acceptance of the proposed terms, he said, or*

lay down his life. During the absence of Archelaos on this mission, Sulla advanced into Macedonia, and restored order and a regular government in that province, and made several expeditions into the adjacent regions of Thrace to punish the barbarians for molesting the subjects of Rome by their predatory incursions, and thus at the same time kept his troops in practice and in good humour by giving them opportunities for plunder. Sulla was at Philippi, which town he had taken, when Archelaos returned from the king with the message that there was a fair prospect of agreement, but at the same time Mithridates particularly wished to have an interview with Sulla. It was the fear of Fimbria—the daring adventurer who had put the consul Flaccus to death—and inflicted several defeats on the king's generals, that inclined Mithridates to make a friend of Sulla.

§ 1. 1. 3. νοσήσαντος ἐπισφαλῶς, 'when he fell dangerously ill'. Cf. Sol. 13, 2 παντάπασιν ἐπισφαλῶς ἢ πόλις διέκειτο, Mor. p. 676 D τοὺς ἐπισφαλῶς νοσοῦντας δεῖσθαι τοῦ σελίνου φάμεν, Demetr. 43, 1 ἐπισφαλέστατα νοσήσας, Pyrrh. 10, 1; Pomp. 57, 1.

4. περὶ Λαρίσαν, 'at Larissa', an important town of Thessaly, situated on the Peneus, Strabo, 9, 5, 3.

ἐπιστήσας τὴν πορείαν, 'stopping his march'. Cim. 1, Dion. 27, Aem. Paul. 17, 1, Eum. 14, Caes. 32, Cleom. 6, 2 ἐπέστησε τὴν δίωξιν, Diod. Sic. 17, 112 τὴν βεβουλευμένην ὁδὸν ἐπιστήσας.

§ 2. 1. 6. διέβαλλε τὸ περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἔργον κτλ., 'discredited the battle at Chaironeia, as not having been fairly fought', 'gave rise to suspicion of foul play in the battle'.

11. τῷ Καππαδόκῃ, h. e. Archelaos, 22, 4.

13. ἀναγραφῆναι, 'to be entitled', 'recorded as', lit. 'registered'; Lucull. 24, 1 δέόμενος Ῥωμαίων ἀναγραφῆναι φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος, Mar. 32 σύμμαχος Ῥωμαίων ἀναγεγραμμένος, Plat. Gorg. p. 506 C μέγιστος εὐεργέτης παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀναγεγράφει, Thuc. 1, 129, 33; Xen. de red. 3, 11 εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀναγραφῆσθαι εὐεργεταὶ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

§ 3. 1. 17. Παφλαγονίαν ἀφαιρεθῆναι, 'to have Paphlagonia taken from him', or 'that P. should be taken from him'. Cf. Appian Mithr. c. 56 ἐλθόντων δὲ τῶν Μιθριδάτου πρέσβειων, οἱ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις συνετίθεντο, μὴν δ' ἔξαιρούμενοι Παφλαγονίαν κτλ.

18. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οὐδ' ὄλως ὁμολογηθῆναι, 'and as to the ships, that he absolutely refused to ratify the agreement about them'.

20. περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔξαρνός ἐστι, *naves tradere recusat*. Appian's account is that the ambassadors of Mithridates told Sulla that the king could have obtained better terms from Fimbria, whereupon δυσχεράνας ὁ Σύλλας τῇ παραβολῇ καὶ Φιμβρίαν ἔφη δώσειν δίκην καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ γενόμενος εἰσεσθαι πρότερα συνθηκῶν ἢ πολέμου δεῖται Μιθριδάτης.

21. προσκυνήσειν εἰ—καταλείπομι κτλ. 'would prostrate himself at my feet to thank me, if I should leave him so much as that right hand of his, by which he took the lives of so many of the Romans'.

§ 4. 1. 24. ἐν Περγάμῳ, 11, 1. 25. διαστρατηγεῖ, 'he is directing the conduct of the campaign'. See cr. n.

29. ἔπεισεν ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτός, 'he obtained Sulla's permission to go himself in person': for (he said) that he would either obtain a ratification of the peace on Sulla's own terms, or, if he could not prevail upon the king, he would kill himself'.

§ 5. l. 32. εἰς τὴν Μαδικὴν ἐνέβαλε, 'made an inroad into Maedice', the country of the Maedi (Thuc. 2, 98, 2), who were a powerful people in the west of Thrace (Strabo, 7, 7), on the W. bank of the Strymon and the S. slope of Mt. Scomios. The country became incorporated with Macedonia after B. C. 210, and formed its N.E. district. Cf. Appian c. 55 καὶ Σύλλας, τὴν ἐν τοσῶδε ἀργίαν διατιθέμενος, Ἐνετοὺς καὶ Δαρδανέας καὶ Σιντοὺς (neighbours of the Maedi), περίοικα Μακεδόνων ἔθνη, συνεχῶς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβάλλοντα, ἐπιῶν ἐπύρθει, καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐγύμναζε καὶ ἐχρηματίζετο ὁμοῦ. Macedonia had been completely disorganized by the occupation of Mithridates' troops and the incursions of the barbarians on the frontiers. Sulla reduced these marauders to submission, and thus at the same time gave employment to his men and enriched them with plunder.

32. περὶ Φιλίππου, 'at Philippi', the city in Macedonia founded by the great king whose name it bears, which became afterwards celebrated as being the scene of the victory won by Octavianus and Antonius over Brutus and Cassius in 42/712, and as the place where the Apostle Paul first preached the gospel in Europe A. D. 52. It was situated in a very fertile plain, washed by the Gangites, a tributary of the Strymon, and there were rich gold and silver mines near it, but it owed its importance more to its geographical position, commanding the great high-road between Europe and Asia. Augustus founded a Roman military colony there, which he called *Colonia Augusta Iulia Philippensis*, and conferred the special privilege of the *ius Italicum* upon it. Bp. Lightfoot *Epistle to the Philippians*, p. 47.

§ 6. l. 37. Φιμβρίας. Flavius Fimbria was *legatus* to the consul L. Valerius Flaccus, who had been appointed by the Marian party to the command of the two legions which were sent into Asia to carry on the war against Mithridates and wrest the command from Sulla. He was a violent, passionate, but highly-gifted demagogue (*homo audacissimus et insanissimus*, Cic. p. Rosc. Amer. 12, 33; *Marianorum scelerum satelles*, Oros. 6, 2; *ultima audaciae homo* Liv. Epit. 82, *saeuissimus Cinnae satelles*, Aurel. Vict. 70). During his march from Macedonia through Thrace to the Bosphoros, the consul quarrelled for some trifling cause with his *legatus*, the consequence of which was that Fimbria, availing himself of a temporary absence of Flaccus, caused a mutiny in the camp and persuaded the soldiers to declare that Flaccus had forfeited the command. The rioters elected Fimbria as their leader, who thereupon caused Flaccus to be apprehended and put to death (12, 8). Appian Mithr. c. 51 sq.: ἀπειροπολέμω δ' ὄντι τῷ Φλάκκω συνεξήλθεν ἐκὼν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνὴρ πιθανὸς εἰς στρατηγίαν, ὄνομα Φιμβρίας....μοχθηρὸν δ' ὄντα τὸν Φλάκκον καὶ σκαιὸν ἐν ταῖς κολάσει

καὶ φιλοκερδῆ ὁ στρατὸς ἅπας ἀπεστρέφετο...ὡς δ' ἔν τινι καταγωγῇ περὶ ξενίας ἔριδος αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ταμίᾳ γενομένης ὁ Φλάκκος διαιτῶν οὐδὲν ἐς τιμὴν ἐπέσημνε τοῦ Φιμβρίου, χαλεπήνας ὁ Φιμβρίας ἠπειλήσεν ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανελεύσεσθαι. καὶ τοῦ Φλάκκου δόντος αὐτῷ διάδοχον ἐς ἃ τότε διψέει, φυλάζας αὐτὸν, ὁ Φιμβρίας ἐς Χαλκηδόνα διαπλέοντα, πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Θέρμον τὰς ῥάβδους ἀφείλετο, τὸν ἀντιστράτηγον ὑπὸ τοῦ Φλάκκου καταλελειμμένον, ὡς οἱ στρατοὺ τὴν στρατηγίαν περιθέντος, εἶτα Φλάκκον αὐτὸν σὺν ὀργῇ μετ' ὀλίγον ἐπανιόντα ἐδίωκεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν Φλάκκος...ἐς Χαλκηδόνα πρῶτον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς εἰς Νικομήδειαν ἔφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Φιμβρίας αὐτὸν ἐπελθὼν ἔκτεινεν ἐν φρέατι κρυπτόμενον, ὑπατόν τε ὄντα Ῥωμαίων καὶ στρατηγὸν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἰδιώτης αὐτὸς ὢν καὶ ὡς φίλῳ κελεύοντι συνελθυσῶς. ἐκτεμῶν τε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ μεθῆκεν ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἀπέφηνε τοῦ στρατοῦ.

38. τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν στρατηγῶν κρατήσας: He was victorious in several engagements with a son of Mithridates; one was fought, according to Orosius (6, 2) at Mele-topolis; another, according to Frontinus (Strateg. 3, 17, 5) at Rhyndakos with a loss of 6000 men to the Pontic army. Livy (Epit. 83) says that Fimbria defeated generals of Mithridates several times. Cf. Appian c. 52 μάχας τινὰς εὐκἀγεννῶς ἠγωνίσαστο τῷ παιδί τοῦ Μιθριδάτου. αὐτὸν τε βασιλέα συνεδίωξεν ἐς τὸ Πέργαμον καὶ ἐς Πιτάνην ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου διαφυγόντα ἐπελθὼν ἀπετάφρευεν, ἕως ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ νεῶν ἔφυγεν ἐς Μιτυλήνην, ὁ δὲ Φιμβρίας, ἐπιὼν τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐκόλαξε τοὺς καππαδοκίσαντας καὶ τῶν οὐ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τὴν χῶραν ἐλεηλάτει, Plut. Lucull. c. 3.

## CHAPTER XXIV

*The negotiations between Archelaos and Sulla had led to the acceptance of the Roman terms by Mithridates. The final settlement of the various stipulations was reserved for a meeting between the king and Sulla, fixed to take place at Dardanos on the Hellespont. At this interview Mithridates, trusting to his powers of persuasion, tried once more to cast the guilt of the rupture on the greediness of the Roman commissioners and commanders and to clear himself from all responsibility. But Sulla was inaccessible to his rhetoric and recapitulated all his many crimes and proofs of hostility to the Romans. Mithridates had no choice but to submit. A formal reconciliation took place and Sulla embraced and kissed the king. He then ordered the kings of Bithynia and Cappadocia to be admitted to seal their peace with Mithridates in like manner. The king gave up to Sulla seventy ships and sailed off to the Pontus. Sulla's men were dissatisfied with this settlement. They thought it a shame that the greatest enemy of all kings to the Romans, who had massacred so many thousands in the province of Asia, should be allowed to slip out of their hands and sail off with the spoils of the country which he had been plundering for four years. Sulla's apology to the soldiers was that he could not have opposed both Fimbria and Mithridates, if they had united against him.*

§ 1. 1. 1. τῆς Τρωάδος ἐν Δαρδάνῳ, 'at Dardanus, a city of the Troad', G. § 168. Troas was the name given to the district forming the north-west angle of Asia Minor, which borders on the Hellespont and the Aegean sea. Dardanos was situated on the Hellespont near the mouth of the river Rhodios, about 12 Roman miles from Ilion and nine from Abydos (Thuc. 8, 104). It was an Aeolian settlement, built near but not on the site of the old Dardania mentioned by Homer (Il. 2, 216), as having been built by Dardanos before the building of Ilion. At this time it was a free city, having been made so by the Romans at the conclusion of the war with King Antiochos the Great 190/564, in honour of the Trojan descent of the people. The *Dardanelles* is supposed to be derived from the name. 3. ἐνήρεις, 'fitted with oars'. 5. τῶν δρεπανηφόρων sc. ἀρμάτων, 18, 2.

§ 2. 1. 13. εἰς δαίμονας τρέπειν, 'to shift on (ascribe to) the deities', Deinarch. c. Dem. § 29 p. 94, 6 εἰς τούτους τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τὰς ἀποτυχίας τρέψαντες, ib. § 113 p. 104, 40 εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὴν τούτων δωροδοκίαν τρέψετε. 18. εὐπρέπειαν, 'colourable appearance', 'plausibility'.

§ 3. 1. 18. ἐξελέγξας—πικρῶς, 'reproaching him in bitter terms'.

Appian has given a full report of the conference and the speeches of the king and Sulla, which, as Long says, are no doubt the embellishments of the historian. Mithridates, after reminding him of the friendship and alliance subsisting between himself and between his father and the Romans, and complaining of the injustice done to him by the restoration of Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia, the loss of Phrygia, and the connivance at the proceedings of Nikomedes, concludes his speech thus;—καὶ τάδε πάντα ἐπραξαν ἐπὶ χρήμασι, παραλὰς παρ' ἐμοῦ τε καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ Αἰριοβάρζανος λαμβάνοντες ὃ γὰρ δὴ μάλιστα ἂν τις ὑμῶν, ὦ Ῥωμαῖαι, τοῖς πλείοσις ἐπικαλέσειεν, ἔστιν ἢ φιλοκερδία ἀναρραγέτος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν τοῦ πολέμου, πάντα ὅσα ἀμυνάμενος ἐπρατταν, ἀνάγκη μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ γνώμην ἐγίγνετο. Sulla replied by disproving the charges laid against the Romans and recapitulating all the crimes of Mithridates and the many proofs of his hostility to the Romans, especially in taking advantage of the time when Rome was engaged in war with the revolted Italians, and winds up by saying: ὃ καὶ θαυμάζω σὺν δικαιολογουμένῳ νῦν ἐφ' οἷς δι' Ἀρχελάου παρεκάλες. ἢ πόρρω μὲν ἄντα με ἐδεδοίκες, ἀχχοῦ δὲ γενομένου ἐπὶ δίκην ἐληλυθέναι νομίζεις; ἥς ὁ καιρὸς ἀνύλωται, σοῦ τε πολεμήσαντος ἡμῖν, καὶ ἡμῶν ἀμυναμένων ἤδη καρτερῶς καὶ ἀμνονυμένων ἐς τέλος. Mithr. c. 56—c. 58.

20. εἰ ποιεῖ τὰ συγκεῖμενα δι' Ἀρχελάου, 'whether he is for carrying out the agreement of Archelaos'. 21. φήσαντος ποιεῖν, οὕτως, 'when he (Mithridates) said that he did intend to carry it out, then etc.' On this use of οὕτως after participles as a corroborating word see my lex. to Xen. Oecon. p. 111 a and comp. Tib. Gr. 20, 3; C. Gr. 16, 2. 22. περιλαβῶν, *complexus*. On the constant confusion in the MSS. between περιβαλῶν the reading of C here and περιλαβῶν see my lex. to Plut. Gracch. p. 240—1. 26. εἰς Πόντον ἀπέπλευσεν: cf. Appian c. 58: τοσαῦτα τοῦ Σύλλα μετ' ὀργῆς ἔτι λέγοντος, μετέππητε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐδεδοίκει, καὶ ἐς τὰς δι' Ἀρχελάου γενομένας συνθήκας

ἐνεδίδου, τὰς τε ναῦς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παραδοὺς ἐς τὸν Πόντον ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίαν ἀρχὴν ἐπανήει μόνην, Vell. Paterc. 2, 23.

§ 4. 1. 27. τῇ διαλύσει, 'the cessation of hostilities'. See my n. on Tib. Gr. 5, 2 l. 18. τὸν γὰρ ἔχθιστον—τῆς Ἀσίας, 'for they thought it a shame that the king—who was of all kings their bitterest enemy and who had caused one hundred and fifty thousand Romans in Asia to be massacred on one day—should be seen by them sailing off with the riches and spoils of Asia'.

29. κατασφαγῆναι παρασκευάσαντα. This was in 88/666, when Mithridates sent forth orders from Ephesos to all the cities dependent on him to put to death on one and the same day every Roman within their districts. According to Appian 80,000 were thus massacred in Asia Minor. Cf. Liv. Epit. LXXVIII, Vell. Paterc. 2, 18, Flor. 3, 5, Appian Mithr. c. 22. Merivale (*Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, 1 p. 35) is of opinion that the massacre was rather an outbreak of national rage than the execution of an order issued by Mithridates. 'This' says Ihne v p. 267 'is highly probable, and the conjecture may be supported by the following passage of Appian (Mithr. c. 23) who, after speaking of the atrocities committed, concludes by saying: ὦ καὶ μάλιστα δῆλον ἐγένετο τὴν Ἀσίαν οὐ φόβῳ Μιθριδάτου μάλλον ἢ μίσει Ῥωμαίων τοιαύτε ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐργάσασθαι. It is quite possible then that we have here another instance of the partiality of Roman writers, who, by ascribing the whole guilt to Mithridates, obtained two ends, that of reviling their enemy and that of concealing the fact of the hatred which they had awakened generally in their subjects'.

31. ἦν—φορολογῶν διετέλεσεν, 'on which he had continued to levy contributions'. Cf. Polyb. 1, 8, 1 πολλά μέρη τῆς Σικελίας ἐφορολόγουν, Diod. Sic. 5, 32 πολλὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης φορολογήσαντες. 33. οὐκ ἄν—δυνηθείς: the participle represents the aorist indicative with ἄν (οὐκ ἄν ἐδυνήθη). If the reading in Ursinus and the Peiresc. fragm. of Dio Cassius, viz. συσταίησαν, be correct, the participle would of course represent the aor. opt. with ἄν (οὐκ ἄν δυνηθείη), G. § 211.

## CHAPTER XXV

*Sulla now marched against Fimbria, who lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Thyateira. Fimbria's soldiers showed no desire to encounter the superior forces of Sulla. When therefore Sulla approached and began to dig trenches round their encampment for the purpose of enclosing them, crowds of them deserted Fimbria, ran over to the Sullan troops and lent their help in the work of digging the trenches. When Fimbria saw this, fearing Sulla's unforgiving temper, he committed suicide in the camp (§ 1). Sulla then turned to the affairs of the province of Asia, on which he levied a war indemnity of twenty thousand talents (£4,800,000). But this was not all. The people of the towns were compelled not only to provide the men quartered on them with all that they, and as many friends as they chose to invite, needed of food and drink, but actually to furnish their pay and two suits of clothes, one to wear indoors, the other in public (§ 2).*

§ 1. 1. 1. πρὸς Θυατείροις: Thyateira was a considerable city in the north of Lydia, on the Lykos, to the left of the road leading from Pergamon to Sardes, on the southern incline of the watershed which separates the valley of the Kaikos from that of the Hermos, on the confines of Mysia. Its ancient names were Pelopeia, Eutrippa and Semiramis. Strabo (13, 4, 4) calls it κατοικία Μακεδόνων, but it was not founded, only improved and embellished, by the Macedonians in the sequel of the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander. After the time of Antiochos Nikator it became an important place. It surrendered to the Romans on the defeat of Antiochos the Great, who was encamped there, when the two Scipios arrived in Asia (Liv. 37, 37, 6). The prosperity of the city seems to have received a new impulse under Vespasian. Its principal deity was Apollo, who was worshipped as the Sun-god, under the name Tyrimnas. Dyeing formed a chief part of its industrial activity in Christian times (Acts xvi. 14); it appears as one of the Seven Churches in the Apocalypse (iii. 18). Its modern name is *Akhissar*, given it by the Turks in the middle ages.

2. καταξέυξας, 'halting', 'fixing his quarters'. Cf. Polyb. 3, 95, 3 σπεύδων ἀμφοτέραις ἅμα ταῖς δυνάμεισι καταξέυξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμόν; 8, 15, 2 ποιησάμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας κατέξευξε παρὰ τὸν Ἀρδάξανον ποταμόν; 5, 46, 7 καταξέυξας εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν. The word of opposite meaning is ἀναξευγνύναι, on which see my note to Tib. Gracch. 5, 2 l. 11.

3. τάφρον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιέβαλε, 'dug trenches round the encampment', for the purpose of shutting him in and blockading him. When Sulla was within two stadia of Fimbria, he first summoned him to give up his army, Appian *l.c.* c. 59 Σύλλας δὲ Φιμβρίου δύο σταδίου ἀποσχὼν ἐκέλευε παραδοῦναι οἱ τὸν στρατόν, οὐ παρανόμως ἄρχοι. ὁ δ' ἀντέσκωπτε μὲν ὡς οὐδ' ἐκείνος ἐνόμως ἔτι ἄρχοι, περιταφρεύοντος δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύλλα, καὶ πολλῶν οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἀποδιδρασκόντων, εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τοὺς λοιποὺς ὁ Φιμβρίας συναγαγὼν παρεκάλει παραμένειν.

4. μονοχίτωνες, *sine armis, solis tunicis induti*, 'with only their tunics on'. Cf. Polyb. 14, 11, 2 εἰκόνας μονοχίτωνες, Lucian Cronosol. c. 11 οὐ κατὰ τὴν ὥραν μονοχίτων. The word οἰοχίτων occurs in Homer *Odys.* 14, 489, where, however, χιτῶν means *thorax ferreus*, 'a coat of mail'.

6. συνελάμβανον αὐτοῖς τῶν ἔργων, 'began to assist them in their work of digging the trenches'. See *ind. gr. s.v. συλλαμβάνειν*.

τὴν μεταβολήν, *sc. τῶν στρατιωτῶν*. Appian tells us that Fimbria tried to induce his men to remain faithful to their standards and to swear that they would not abandon him, and he first called on Nonius who had been his adviser (*κοινωνόν*) throughout. Nonius refused to take the oath, and Fimbria drawing his sword threatened to kill him. This only made matters worse and Fimbria found it prudent to desist. He then tried to persuade a slave to enter the camp of Sulla as a deserter, to obtain access to his person and assassinate him. Sulla's men were infuriated at this attempt on the life of their general, and standing round Fimbria's entrenchments abused him and called him *Athenion*, the name of the slave king in Sicily who had a short reign. When this plan also had failed, Fimbria had the face to ask Sulla to grant him an interview.

Sulla would not go himself but sent Rutilius, one of his officers. Fimbria asked for pardon if he had done anything wrong, and urged his youth as an apology. Rutilius promised that Sulla would allow him a safe conduct to the sea, if he would leave Asia of which Sulla was proconsul (ὕπεσθη Σύλλαν ἀφήσειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἀπαθῆ διελθεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι τῆς Ἀσίας, ἧς ἐστὶν ὁ Σύλλας ἀνθύπατος, ἀποπλευσεῖσθαι). Fimbria's answer was that he had a better way than that, and thereupon he retired to Pergamon, and going into the temple of Asclepius stabbed himself. The wound proving not mortal, Fimbria ordered his slave to despatch him, which the man did, and then killed himself on the body of his master (ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἔχειν κρείττονα ἐπανήλθεν ἐς Πέργαμον καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἱερὸν παρελθὼν ἐχρίσατο τῷ ξίφει. οὐ καιρίον δ' αὐτῷ τῆς πληγῆς γενομένης, ἐκέλευε τὸν παῖδα ἐπερείσαι. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὸν δεσπότην ἔκτεινε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεσποτῇ). Plutarch says that Fimbria feared Sulla's unforgiving temper and committed suicide in the camp; and 'this' adds Long 'seems a more probable story, for it is not easy to conceive how Fimbria could make his escape to Pergamon, more than forty miles distant from Thyateira, nor why he should go there merely to die'. Orosius 6, 2, 11 follows Appian.

§ 2. 1. 10. **ἐξημίωσε τὴν Ἀσίαν δισμυρίοις ταλάντοις**: Arrian c. 62 says that Sulla made those who were liable to taxes pay down in cash according to valuation the whole arrears of tenths and customs for the last five years (πέντε ἐτῶν φόρους ἐσενεγκεῖν), besides a war indemnity (τὴν τοῦ πολέμου δαπάνην, ὅση τε γέγονέ μοι καὶ ἔσται καθισταμένῳ τὰ ὑπόλοιπα). **11. ἐξέτριψεν**, 'utterly ruined'. Reiske's emendation ἐπέτριψε is uncalled for.

**12. πολιορκία τῶν ἐπισταθμεόντων**, 'by the pestering of the soldiers quartered on them'. There is a similar use of πολιορκεῖν in Xenophon Mem. 2, 1, 13 πάντα τρόπον πολιορκοῦντες τοὺς ἥττονας, 'besieging' i.e. 'harassing their inferiors', where Kühner quotes in illustration Dem. c. Aristog. § 42 p. 783, 8, Plat. Alcib. II p. 142 A ὑπὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν πολιορκούμενοι πολιορκίαν. **ἐπισταθμεόντων**: cf. Demetr. 23 οὐδὲ ὡς παρθένῳ πρῶως ἐπισταθμεύοντα, Mor. p. 828 E (of the money-lender), κἀν οἴκοι μένης, ἐπισταθμεύοντα καὶ θυροκοπούντα: in the pass. it means 'to be assigned as quarters', Anton. c. 9 σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν οἴλαι σαμβυκιστρίαις ἐπισταθμεύμεναι; or 'to have quartered on one', Polyb. 21, 4, 1 ἐπισταθμεύμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων, i.e. *hospitiis pressi a Romanis*. Cf. Diod. Sic. 17, 47 τῷ ξένῳ παρ' ᾧ τὴν ἐπισταθμίαν ἐπεποίητο κεχαρισμένως.

**14. τετράδραχμα**, sc. νομίσματα, 'silver coins of four drachms' (= 3s. 2d. of our money), the ordinary large silver piece of the Greek currency, a sort of small dollar called sometimes by later writers *στατήρ*. Attic tetradrachms were issued at Ephesos shortly before its capture by Antiochos, about B.C. 202 to B.C. 133, bearing the types of Alexander the Great, the founder of her liberties. See B. V. Head, *History of the coinage of Ephesos*, p. 55 f.

**17. οἰκουρῶν**, 7, 2. This is an anakolouthon: we should expect of course *οἰκουροῦντα* and *προερχόμενον* in agreement with *ταξίαρχον*.

'These payments' says Ihne 'not only absorbed all that was left them after such continued spoliation, but compelled them to raise loans at exorbitant rates of interest from Italian usurers who had quickly found their way in the wake of the victorious army. As a security for these loans private persons and corporations were compelled to mortgage lands and houses, the property of the temples, theatres, gymnasia, in short everything of any value: and this load of debt

weighed for many years on the shoulders of the afflicted population'. Appian c. 63 αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἀποροῦσαι τε καὶ δανειζόμεναι μεγάλων τόκων, αἱ μὲν τὰ θεάτρα τοῖς δανειζούσιν, αἱ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια ἢ τείχος ἢ λιμένας ἢ εἴ τι δημόσιον ἄλλο, σὺν ὕβρει στρατιωτῶν ἐπειγόντων, ὑπετίθεντο. The historian adds that the province was in a wretched condition, being left to the mercy of lawless bands of pirates (ληστήρια), who infested the seas with numerous ships like regular fleets (στόλοις εὐκότα μᾶλλον ἢ λήσταις). They were turned loose in the first instance by Mithridates and they took not only the traders whom they found on the sea, but they attacked the sea-port towns. Iassos, Samos, Clazomenae and Samothrace were captured, while Sulla was still in Asia. From the temple of the latter island they carried off χιλίων ταλάντων κόσμον. Appian does not determine whether Sulla allowed these people to be plundered for their defection from Rome or whether he had no time to put down the pirates, for he was in a hurry to return to Italy (εἶτε ἐκὼν ὡς ἀμαρτόντας ἐννιβρίεσθαι καταλιπών, εἶτε ἐπὶ τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην στάσιν ἐπειγόμενος—ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ διέπλει). The second was probably the true reason.

We learn from Appian that the few communities which had remained faithful—particularly the island of Rhodes, the province of Lykia, Magnesia on the Maeander—were richly rewarded; Rhodes received back at least a portion of the possessions withdrawn from it after the war against Perseus. Compensation also was made to the Chians and people of Ilion for the hardships they had borne.

## CHAPTER XXVI

*Sulla collected his army at Ephesus and sailed with all his ships straight across the Aegean to the Peiraeus. He caused himself to be initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries and showed his interest in Greek literature by taking for his share of the spoil the library of Apellikon, in which were the original writings of Aristotle, till then unknown to the world. When these were taken to Rome, they were arranged by the grammarian Tyraunion, who supplied Andronikos of Rhodes with copies which he published (§ 1—§ 2).*

*Sulla spent the winter in Greece, being detained by an attack of suppressed gout, for the relief of which he went to Boeotia to take the mineral waters of Aedepeus, where he sought recreation in the company of actors. Story about him and some fishermen of Halae who had crossed over from the opposite mainland to make their offering to the great Roman general, and who were encouraged by his gracious reception of them to occupy again their little town which had been destroyed by him (§ 3—§ 4).*

§ 1. 1. 1. ἀναχθείς 'putting to sea'. 3. μυηθείς, 'when he had first been initiated in the (Eleusinian) mysteries'.  
ἐξέλεν ἑαυτῷ, *suum in usum seposuit*, 'he reserved for himself', 'took for his own share of the booty', Ar. Pac. 1021 τὰ μηρὶ ἐξελών, Aesch. Ag. 954 χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον ἄνθος, Eum. 402 ἐξαίρετον δώρημα. Cf. Strab. 13, 54 εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἀπελλικῶντος τελευταίην Σύλλας ἤρε τὴν Ἀπελλικῶντος βιβλιοθήκην ὃ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐλών. Ἀπελλικῶνος τοῦ Τηίου: Apellikon of Teos was a Peripatetic philosopher and a great book-collector. Athenaeus

*Deipnos.* 5, 53, p. 214 sq. has a story about his being detected stealing books also from several Greek cities: Ἀπελλικῶντα τὸν Τήιον, πολίτην δὲ Ἀθηναίων γενόμενον, ποικιλώτατόν τινα καὶ ἀψίκορον ('fastidious') ζήσαντα βίον ὅτε μὲν γὰρ... ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ τὰ περιπατητικὰ καὶ τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους βιβλιοθήκην καὶ ἄλλας συνηγόραζε συχνὰς ἦν γὰρ πολυχρήματος· τὰ τ' ἐκ τοῦ μητρῷου τῶν παλαιῶν αὐτογραφα ψηφίσματα ὑφαιρούμενος ἐκτάτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πύλων εἶ τι παλαιὸν εἶη καὶ ἀπόθετον. ἐφ' οἷς φωραβετο ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκινδύνευσεν ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἔφυγεν. He afterwards returned during the tyranny of Aristion (nicknamed 'Athenion'), who patronized him as a brother peripatetic and gave him the command of an expedition against Delos, where ὁ καλὸς στρατηγὸς ἔλαθε φυγῶν, having lost his whole army through carelessness.

Plutarch, no doubt, borrowed from the *locus classicus* in Strabo 13, 1, 54 about Aristotle's writings. Neleus, a native of Skepsis, was a pupil both of Aristotle and Theophrastos. Aristotle gave his library to Theophrastos, who left his own library, together with that of his master, to Neleus (Diogen. Laert. 5, 2), and Neleus took the books to Skepsis, and left them to his descendants (ιδιώταις ἀνθρώποις, οἱ κατάκλειστα εἶχον τὰ βιβλία οὐδ' ἐπιμελῶς κείμενα). When the Attalid kings of Pergamon were looking for books to form their great library, these people hid the books in their possession in an underground cellar, where they were injured (διώρνυ' τιν' ὑπὸ δὲ νοτίας καὶ σηπῶν κακωθέντα ὅψε ποτε ἀπεδοντο Ἀπελλικῶντι τῷ Τηίῳ πολλῶν ἀργυρίων). Apellikon had the books copied and published them with the damaged passages incorrectly restored and many errors (ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀπελλικῶν φιλόβιβλος μάλλον ἢ φιλόσοφος· διὸ καὶ ζητῶν ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν διαβρωμάτων εἰς ἀτίγραφα καινὰ μετήνεγκε τὴν γραφὴν, ἀναπληρῶν οὐκ εὖ, καὶ ἐξέδωκεν ἀμαρτᾶδων πλήρη τὰ βιβλία). The old Peripatetics after the time of Theophrastos had only a few of Aristotle's writings, and those chiefly 'exoteric', consequently they could not learn his philosophy thoroughly (φιλοσοφεῖν πραγματικῶς), but only furbish up common-places in rhetorical fashion (θέσεις ληκνυθίζειν, cf. Cic. Tusc. 2, 3, 9; Orat. c. 4, Quintil. Instit. 12, 2, 25). The later Peripatetics, after the publication of these books could teach his philosophy better and follow Aristotle's principles (ἀριστοτελιζέειν), but yet owing to the many errors in the text they were often driven to guess at his meaning (τὰ πολλὰ εἰκότα λέγειν). When Apellikon's library was taken to Rome, Tyrannion, by permission of the librarian, occupied himself with the books (τὴν βιβλιοθήκην διεχειρίσατο φιλαριστοτέλης ὢν), as did also certain booksellers, who had copies made of the writings by inferior scribes and did not compare these with the originals (γραφεῦσι φανύλοι χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἀντιβάλλοντες). 'This' Strabo adds 'is the case with other books that are copied for sale both at Rome and at Alexandria'. 'To what extent the story related by Strabo and taken from him by Plutarch may be correct is an interesting but as yet unsolved problem. That the writings of Aristotle were altogether kept secret after his death is neither probable, nor is it asserted by Plutarch or Strabo. They can have spoken only of the copies of Aristotle's writings coming directly from the library of Aristotle himself, and it is most likely that this collection contained much which was altogether unknown to the general public or not known in the form and completeness of the original copies'. *IHNE Hist. R.* v p. 310f. See J. G. Schneider *Epimetrium* II proem. Aristot. de animal. hist. 1, p. LXXVI sqq.; BLAKESLEY *Life of Aristotle*, Cambridge, 1839.

7. **Τυραννίωνα**: Tyrannion was a Greek grammarian, a native of Amisos on the coast of Pontos; his original name is said to have been Theophrastos, the name Tyrannion having been given him on account of his domineering conduct to his fellow pupils. He was among the captives brought to Rome by Lucullus 72/682 (Plut. Luc. c. 19), where, after he had been emancipated by

Murena, he occupied himself in teaching and in arranging, as we are told by Plutarch, the library of Apellikon. He became a friend of Cicero and afterwards the instructor of Strabo (12, 16), and of the young Ciceros (Cic. ep. ad Quint. fr. 2, 4, 2). Cicero had a high opinion of his ability and learning.

8. ἐνσκευάσασθαι, 'arranged'. See cr. n. παρ' αὐτοῦ—εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων, being supplied with copies from him'.

τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνδρόνικον, Andronikos of Rhodes, head of the Peripatetic school at Rome about 58/696. This statement of Plutarch concerning him is of special interest in the history of philosophy. The arrangement which he made of Aristotle's writings seems to be the one which forms the basis of our present editions, and a considerable number of the philosopher's works have been preserved through him. The fifth book of his work upon Aristotle contained a complete list of that philosopher's writings. The work is unfortunately lost, together with the Commentaries on the Physics, Ethics and Categories. (The paraphrase of the Nicomachean ethics, which is ascribed to him, was written by some one else.)

9. εἰς μέσον θείναι, *in medium protulisse*, 'published'. Cf. vit. Ag. 9, 3 εἰς μέσον παρελθών, vit. Deom. 7, 1 εἰς μέσον θείναι τὰ κτήματα τοῖς πολίταις, ib. 10, 5 τὴν γῆν εἰς μ. τιθέναι, vit. Rom. 27, 1 εἰς μ. ἔθηκε τὴν πολιτείαν. 10. τοὺς νῦν φερομένους πίνακας, 'the tables that are now in current use'.

§ 2. 1. 11. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι Περιπατητικοὶ φαίνονται μὲν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γενόμενοι χαρίεντες καὶ φιλολόγοι, τῶν δ' Ἀριστοτέλους—γραμμάτων οὔτε πολλοῖς οὔτ' ἀκριβῶς ἐντετυχηκότες, 'the older Peripatetics were evidently of themselves accomplished and learned men, but they had not read many of Aristotle's writings nor correct copies of these' or 'of the writings of Aristotle they had not large or exact knowledge' (*Clough*). There is a difficulty in this passage, which Reiske would solve by reading ἀκριβῶς γεγραμμένοις *diligenter exaratis*. Plutarch takes his statement evidently from Strabo, but he gives us only half of it and, if we had not the original to correct him by, might lead us to suppose that most of the writings of Aristotle and Theophrastos were unknown and unpublished until the capture of Athens by Sulla.

14. ἐντετυχηκότες: this use of ἐντυγχάνειν in the sense of *scriptum legere* is found in Plato and is common in later Greek: cf. Plat. Lys. p. 214 A ἢ οὐκ ἐντετύχηκας τούτοις τοῖς ἔπεσιν; Βούκοῦν καὶ τοῖς τῶν σοφωτάτων συγγραμμάσιν ἐντετύχηκας; conv. p. 177 B ἔγωγε ἤδη τινὶ ἐνέτυχον βιβλίῳ ἀνδρός σοφοῦ, de leg. 316 C ἤδη ποτὲ ἐνέτυχες συγγράμματι περὶ ὑγείας τῶν καμνόντων; Dio Cass. 39, 15 τοῖς Σιβυλλείοις ἔπεσιν ἐντυχόντες, 78, 2 τῷ βιβλίῳ τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντι οἱ ἐνέτυχον, 58, 11; Alciphr. Ep. 2, 1, 1 οὐχ ἠγησάμενος δεινὸν ἐντυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γράμμασιν ὅλη μοι ἐντυχάνων, Dio Chrys. or. 18 ἐντυγχάνειν Ὑπερείδῃ τε καὶ Αἰσχίνῃ, Strabo Geogr. 1, 1, 2 τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇ γραφῇ ταύτῃ, Polyb. 1, 35, 5 ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην χάριν τῆς τῶν ἐντυγχάνοντων τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι διορθώσεως, 2, 61, 3 τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν. Polybios uses also οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες absolutely for 'readers', 1, 3, 10; 1, 4, 1 δεῖ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπομίαν σύνοψιν ἀγαγεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τον χειρισμὸν τῆς τυχῆς, 1, 15, 13 εἰς ἀληθινὰς ἐννοίας ἀγειν

τοὺς ἐ., 2, 40, 5 ὑπολαμβάνω ῥάστην ἐμοί τ' ἂν γενέσθαι τὴν διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς ἐ. εὐπαρακολουθητὸν τὴν μάθησιν, 3, 9, 2.

14. **Νηλέως τοῦ Σκηψίου.** Neleus of Skepsis, of whose personal history nothing further is known than what is recorded in the passage of Strabo quoted above. The ancient Skepsis was a town in the Troad, about 20 miles S.E. of Alexandria Troas, in the mountains of Ida (κατὰ τὸ μετεωρότατον τῆς Ἰδης Strabo 13, 1, 52). The inhabitants were twice transferred, first at an early period to a site lower down about eight miles from the old one, which was thenceforward called Palaiskepsis, and again by Antigonos to Alexandria Troas. Lysimachos afterwards permitted them to return to their ancient home (Strabo 13, 1, 33), which at a later period became subject to the kings of Pergamon. This new city became an important centre of learning and philosophy. It was the birth-place of Metrodoros the philosopher and Demetrios the grammarian. τὸν κλῆρον, 'the estate': see cr. n. 15. **τὰ βιβλία κατέλιπε:** the will of Theophrastos, by which he bequeathed his library to Neleus, is to be found in Diogenes Laertios 5, 52. 16. **ιδιώτας,** 'illiterate') (πεπαιδευμένους. See my n. to Xen. Hier. 4, 6 l. 376. Cf. Dem. Phil. 1, 35 p. 7 ἂν τε δεινοὶ λάχουσιν ἂν τε ιδιώται i.e. ἄπειροι. περιγενέσθαι, 'devolved'. See cr. n.

§ 3. 1. 17. **περὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας,** 11, 3; 22, 1; 23, 5. **ἄλγημα ναρκῶδες μετὰ βάρους εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἐνέπεισεν,** 'numbness, accompanied with a sense of heaviness, attacked his feet'. Cf. Thuc. 2, 49, 2 λυγξ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπεισε κενή, Dem. de fals. leg. § 259 p. 424, 3 νόσημα δεινὸν ἐμπέπτωκεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. 19. **ὁ Στράβων:** Strabo the geographer, but the passage is not in his Geography and was probably in the work to which he himself refers 1, 1, 23 where he says: ἡμεῖς πεποιηκότες ὑπομνήματα ἱστορικὰ χρήσιμα εἰς τὴν ἠθικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἔγνωμεν προσθεῖναι καὶ τήνδε τὴν σύνταξιν. **ποδάγρας ψελλισμὸν,** 'stammering gout' (*Loisg*), 'the first inarticulate sounds of gout' (*Clough*), 'the lisping of the gout' (*Langhorns*), 'unpronounced (i.e. suppressed) gout' (*Liddell-Scott*). 20. **διαπλεύσας εἰς Αἰδέψον,** 'crossing (the Euripus) to Aedepsus'. Aedepsus (*Lipso*), a town on the N.W. coast of Euboea, about 20 miles from Kynos, on the opposite coast of the Opuntian Locri (Strabo 9, 4, 2), was a favourite watering place in the time of Plutarch (de frat. am. c. 17 p. 487 F, Sympos. 4, 4, 1 p. 667 B) on account of its warm springs, sacred to Hercules. It had also, as the story is in Athenaeus, **ναμάτιον τι ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προϊέμενον οὐ πύρρω τῆς θαλάσσης, οὐ πίνοντες οἱ ἄρρωστοῦντες τὰ μέγιστα ὠφελοῦντο** διὸ πολλοὶ παρεγίνοντο καὶ μακρόθεν τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσόμενοι. Demetrios of Kallatis ap. Strab. 1, 3, 20, in his record of all the earthquakes that had ever occurred in Greece, mentions that the hot springs at Thermopylae and at Aedepsus once ceased to flow for three days, and those of Aedepsus, when they flowed again, broke out in a fresh place (ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπισχεθέντα πάλιν ῥυῆναι, τὰ δ' ἐν Αἰδέψῳ καὶ καθ'

ἐτέρας ἀναρραγῆναι πηγάς). See also Aristot. Meteor. 2, 8, 8 p. 366<sup>a</sup> where he explains the origin of these springs.

21. ῥαθυμῶν, 'taking a holiday', 'indulging in relaxation': cf. Polyb. 1, 66, 11; 20, 20, 2 τῆ δ' ἐξῆς (ἐκέλευσεν) ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν, Plut. Sertor. 13, 1 μέθης οὐδὲ ῥαθυμῶν ἤπτετο, Arat. 6 τῶν εἰωθότων πίνειν καὶ ῥαθυμεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ.

22. συνδιημερεῖων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις, 'spending his days in the company of theatrical artists', musicians and actors. Cf. Lucull. 29, 4, Polyb. 16, 21, 8, Diodor. Sic. 4, 5. Polybios calls such also τεχνῖται simply, 6, 47, 8; 30, 13, 2.

26. Ἄλων: Halae was a town on the Euripus, within Boeotia and on the borders of Phokis, so called probably from some salt springs near it (Leake *Northern Greece* 2, 288). Pausan. 9, 24 ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ (Πλατανίου) ἔσχατοι ταύτῃ πόλισμα οἰκοῦσιν Ἄλας ἐπὶ θαλάσση, ἣ τὴν Λοκρίδα ἤπειρον ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐβοίας διέρχει. The gentile name is Ἄλαϊος.

§ 4. 1. 31. διαμεδιάσας, *arridens*, a favourite word with Plutarch, Mor. p. 401 B, 412 D, 563 B, 1099 E, Pyrrh. c. 20, 2, Pomp. c. 77, Alex. c. 32, Cat. min. c. 2, 1, c. 21, Oth. c. 1.

32. οὐ φαύλων οὐδ' ἀξίων ὀλιγορίας—παραιτητῶν, 'no insignificant nor contemptible intercessors'.

## CHAPTER XXVII

*From Euboea Sulla went through Thessalia and Macedonia to meet his fleet, which had sailed round the Peloponnesos, on the coast of the Adriatic. While he was at Dyrrhachium, a satyr, such as exists in the imagination of painters and sculptors, is said to have been brought to him, which was captured while asleep at Nymphaeon near Apollonia,—the cries of the creature shocked Sulla so much that he ordered it at once out of his sight) (§ 1—§ 2). Before crossing to Italy, he had misgivings as to his men, whom he was going to lead against their own countrymen, lest upon landing they might disperse to their several homes. But they voluntarily took a solemn oath that they would remain faithful to him and abstain from devastations in Italy. They knew that his enterprise would require much money and they offered to contribute each according to his means, from the private hoards they had collected and were now bringing home. But Sulla declined making himself the debtor of his soldiers, and addressing them with encouraging words proceeded to cross the Ionian sea, 'to oppose' as he said in his Memoirs 'fifteen hostile commanders at the head of 450 cohorts' (§ 3). He was attended with the surest prognostics of success. Immediately on landing, it was found that the liver of the animal offered up in sacrifice had on it the figure of a crown of bay with two ribands attached to it. In Campania also a wonderful apparition was seen of two large he-goats fighting just like men on Mt Tiphata. The phaenomenon lifted itself gradually from the earth into the air, where it dispersed like a shadowy phantom and totally disappeared. This was the scene of the subsequent engagement*

with Marius the younger and Norbanus, when Sulla gained an easy and decisive victory and compelled his opponent, with the loss of six thousand men, to retire within the walls of Capua. Sulla confesses in his Memoirs that this success inspired his troops with renewed confidence and prevented their desertion (§ 4—§ 6). Again when he was at Silvium in Apulia, he was met by a slave who declared that he brought from Bellona assurance of victory, but, if he did not make haste, the Roman Capitol would be burnt. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was in fact burnt this year 83/671 on the sixth of July. Lastly, while Marcus Lucullus, the brother of Lucius the conqueror of Mithridates, one of Sulla's generals, who with only sixteen cohorts, and those incompletely armed, under his command found himself on the point of engaging near Fidentia one of Carbo's commanders with fifty, was hesitating to engage the enemy, a quantity of flowers were borne upon the breeze from a neighbouring field, covering the shields and helmets of his men, in such a manner as to give them the appearance of being crowned with garlands. This praeternatural circumstance had such an effect on the men's spirits that they at once charged the enemy with double vigour, killed 18,000 and became complete masters of the field and of the camp (§ 6—§ 8).

§ 1. 1. 2. **καταβὰς ἐπὶ θάλατταν**: Appian *B. C.* c. 77 f. states that soon after his arrival in Greece Sulla addressed a letter to the Roman senate in which he reported the termination of his campaigns in Greece and Asia, and announced his return to Italy, ignoring the fact of his deposition. After enumerating his military successes, he dwelt particularly on the fact that he had received and protected those whom Cinna's tyranny had driven from Rome (τοὺς ἐξελαθέντας ἐκ Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κίνας, καταφυγόντας ἐς αὐτόν, ὑποδέξαιτο ἀπορομένους καὶ ἐπικρουφίζοι τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς), and complained that in return for his services his adversaries had declared him an enemy to the Roman state (πολέμιον αὐτόν ἀναγράψαι καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀνελεῖν). But he should soon come and protect the city, and the measures of punishment, which were inevitable, would fall upon the authors of the mischief (τῇ πόλει πάση τιμωρὸς ἦξειν ἐπὶ τοὺς εἰργασμένους). He stated also that he would respect the rights conferred on the new burgesses (τοῖς νεοπολίταις προὔλεγεν οὐδενὶ μέμψεσθαι περὶ οὐδενός). The majority of the senate resolved to set on foot an attempt at reconciliation, and with that view to summon Sulla to come under the guarantee of a safe conduct to Italy, and to suggest to the consuls Cinna and Carbo that they should suspend their military preparations until Sulla's answer came (μὴ στρατολογεῖν ἕστε ἐκείνον ἀποκρίνασθαι). Sulla did not absolutely reject the proposals. He sent a second message to the senate, in which he reiterated his peaceful promises to the people in general, and said that, though he never could be reconciled himself to his political enemies who had committed such crimes, he would not grudge the Romans pardoning them. As regarded his own safety he said very significantly that it was not necessary for the senate to guarantee it: he was coming rather to assure their safety and that of all his

friends, he had an army on whose fidelity he could rely, showing in a word, what he took to be the nature of the situation ( $\omega\delta\eta$  καὶ μάλιστα δῆλος ἐγένετο, ἐνὶ ῥήματι τῶδε, οὐ διαλύσων τὸν στρατὸν ἀλλὰ τὴν τυραννίδα ἥδη διανοούμενος). As to his demands, Sulla said that he must be reinstated in his rank and his property and all honours he had enjoyed must be given back to him ( $\eta\tau\epsilon\iota$  δ' αὐτοὺς τὴν τε ἀξίωσιν καὶ τὴν περιουσίαν καὶ ἰερωσύνην, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο γέρας εἶχεν, ἐντελεῖ πάντα ἀποδοθῆναι). He sent some of his own friends with the commissioners to support his demands before the senate. His envoys found the state of things altered. Cinna and Carbo, having proclaimed themselves consuls for the next year that after leaving Rome they might have no occasion to return in a hurry for the sake of holding the comitia (τοῦ μὴ διὰ τὰ ἀρχαιρέσια θάττον ἐπανήκειν), had resolved to cross in all haste to Greece, without concerning themselves further about the decree of the senate. Cinna proceeded to the army and urged its embarkation. The summons to trust themselves to the sea at that unfavourable season of the year provoked further dissatisfaction among the troops in the headquarters at Ancona, which ended in a mutiny, to which Cinna fell a victim in 84/670. Thereupon his colleague Carbo recalled the detachment that had already crossed, and abandoning the idea of taking up the war in Greece, determined to await Sulla's arrival in Italy. He refused for a long time to return to Rome for the purpose of presiding at the elections for Cinna's successor in the consulship, till the tribunes threatened him with deposition: and when he did come, he prevented the election from taking place under the pretext of an unfavourable omen, and so he remained in office as sole consul (μόνος ἦρχεν ὁ Κάρβων) for the rest of the year 84/670. When Sulla's messengers heard of Cinna's death and that the republic was in a state of anarchy (τὴν πόλιν ἀδιοίκητον εἶναι), instead of continuing their way to Rome, they turned back and brought him the news they had heard as a sort of ultimatum.

4. ἀπὸ Δυρραχίου: His armament had sailed from the Peiraeus round the Peloponnesos to Patras (*Patras*) in Achaia, from which place it would follow the coast to the parts of the mainland opposite Brundisium. Appian *B. C.* c. 79 ἐπὶ τε Πάτρας ἀπὸ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν ἐς Βρεντέσιον—διέπλει. Dyrrhachion (*Durazzo*), formerly called Epidamnus, the usual landing place for passengers from Italy, was founded on the Isthmus of an outlying peninsula on the sea-coast of the Illyrian Taulantii by settlers from Corkyra (Thuc. 1, 24). The dispute between Corinth and Corkyra, so intimately connected with the origin of the Peloponnesian war, arose from an incident in the history of Epidamnus, but we are left in ignorance of the issue of the struggle between the oligarchical and democratical party in the town till B. C. 312, when it fell into the hands of Glaukias, king of the Illyrians (Diod. Sic. 19, 70, 78). Some years afterwards it placed itself under the protection of the Romans, who changed its name to Dyrrhachion. It was at a later period the scene of the contest between Caesar and Pompeius: during the last civil

wars of the Republic it sided with M. Antonius and was afterwards presented by Augustus to his soldiers.

**Βρεντέσιον:** Brundisium (*Brindisi*) in Calabria, where the *via Appia* terminated, was the usual place of embarkation for Greece and the East. It became a Latin colony 244/510.

**5. πλησίον ἑστί,** sc. τοῦ *Δυρραχίου*. Apollonia (*Pollina*), founded by the Corinthians and Corkyraeans was celebrated as a place of commerce, and later, towards the end of the Roman republic, of learning. Augustus was studying here when the death of his uncle summoned him to Rome.

**τὸ Νύμφαιον:** This phenomenon is described by Strabo, 7, 5, 8, who had not seen it himself, after Poseidonios: ἐν δὲ τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν καλεῖται τι Νυμφαῖον, πέτρα δ' ἐστὶ πῦρ ἀναδιδούσα· ὑπ' αὐτῇ δὲ κρῆναι ῥέουσι χλιαροῦ (sc. ὕδατος) καὶ ἀσφάλτου, καιομένης, ὡς εἰκόσ, τῆς βώλου τῆς ἀσφαλτίτιδος· μέταλλον δ' αὐτῆς ἐστὶ πλησίον ἐπὶ λόφου· τὸ δὲ τμηθὲν ἐκπληροῦται πάλιν τῷ χρόνῳ, τῆς ἐγχωινυμένης εἰς τὰ ὀρύγματα γῆς μεταβαλλούσης εἰς ἀσφαλτον, ὡς φῆσι Ποσειδώνιος. 'We cannot' says Long 'conclude from this confused description what the real nature of the phenomenon was. Probably the asphaltos or bitumen was occasionally set on fire by the neighbouring people'. Dion Cassius (41, 45) adds to his description of the place some superstitions concerning it, ὅ τε μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἐθαύμασα, πῦρ πολὺ πρὸς τῷ 'Ανα ποταμῷ ἀναδίδονται· καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς περίξ γῆς ἐπέξερχεται, οὔτ' αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ἐν ἣ διατατάτα ἐκπυροῖ ἢ καὶ κραυροτέραν ('more friable') πῆ ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πῶς καὶ δένδρα καὶ πάντα πλησίον θάλλοντα ἔχει· πρὸς τε τὰς ἐπιχύσεις τῶν ὄμβρων ἐπαύξει καὶ ἐς ὕψος ἐξαιρέται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸ τε Νυμφαῖον ὀνομάζεται· καὶ δὴ καὶ μαντεῖον τοῖονδε τι παρέχεται. λιβανῶτον δὴ λαβῶν, καὶ προσευξάμενος, ὅ τι ποτε καὶ βούλει, ῥίπτεις αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα. κὰν τοῦτω τὸ πῦρ, ἂν μὲν τι ἐπιτελεῖς ἢ ἐσόμενον, δέχεται αὐτὸν ἐτοιμότατα, κὰν ἄρα καὶ ἔξω πον προσπέσῃ, προσδραμὸν ἦρπασε καὶ κατονάλωσεν· ἂν δὲ ἀτέλεστον ἦ, οὔτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσέρχεται, κὰν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα φέρηται, ἐξαναχωρεῖ τε καὶ ἐκφεύγει. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐκάτερα περὶ πάντων ὁμοίως, πλην θανάτου τε καὶ γάμου, ποιεῖ, περὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲ ἕξεστί τιμι ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι τι. Aelian also has a notice of it in his *Var. Hist.* 13, 16:—ἐν τοῖς πλησίον αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας) χωρίοις ἀσφαλτός ἐστὶν ὀρυκτὴ καὶ πίττα τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀνατέλλουσα τρόπον, ὃν καὶ αἱ πλείσται πηγαὶ τῶν ὑδάτων. οὐ πόρρω δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀθάνατον δέικνυται πῦρ. ὃ δὲ καόμενος τόπος ἐστὶν ὀλίγος καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ μέγα δίκαιε καὶ ἔχει περίβολον οὐ πολὺν, ὅς ἐστι θεῖον καὶ στυπτηρίας, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐστὶ δένδρα εὐθαλῆ καὶ πῶα χλωρά· καὶ τὸ πῦρ πλησίον ἐνακμάζον οὐδὲν λυπεῖ οὔτε τὴν τῶν φυτῶν βλάστην οὔτε τὴν τεθληνίαν πῶαν. κάεται δὲ τὸ πῦρ καὶ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ διελίπεν οὐδέποτε, ὡς Ἀπολλωνιῶνται λέγουσι, πρὶν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς συμβάντος αὐτοῖς. Aristotle also mentions the phenomenon of mirab. ausc. 36 p. 833<sup>a</sup>: φασὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἀιτιανίαν, πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς Ἀπολλωνιατίδος, εἶναι τινα πέτραν ἐξ ἧς τὸ μὲν ἀνιόν πῦρ οὐ φανερόν ἐστιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἔλαιον ἐπιχυθῆ ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ἐκφλογούται.

§ 2. l. 14. ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι sc. αὐτόν, *aversatum esse*, *ut monstrum a se amolitum esse*, 'ordered it out of his sight as a shocking thing'.

The word ἀποδιοπομπείσθαι is illustrated by Ruhnken on Timaeus lex. Plat. p. 40. Its proper meaning is *scelus vel prodigium depellere quasi Διὸς ἀλεξικάκου invocatione, averruncare*. In later Greek it lost its original force and came to mean simply *rem aliquam procul amandare, recicere, respicere*, 'to reject with abhorrence' as in Dion Cass. 37, 46 τὸ μίσημα αὐτοῦ ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι, speaking of Clodius. Wyttenbach *animadv. in Plut. Mor.* p. 73 D has collected passages to illustrate Plutarch's usage of the verb:—def. orac. p. 435 A ἐκ τῶν θεῶν τὴν μαντικὴν εἰς δαίμονας ἀτεχνῶς ἀποδιοπομπούμενοι, Sympos. VIII p. 730 D παρ' Ἑλλήσι γέγονεν ἀγνείας μέρος ἀποχὴ ἰχθύων, μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τὸ περιέργον, οἶμαι, τῆς βρώσεως ἀποδιοπομ-

πουμενοίς, de Herodot. malign. p. 860 ε εὐρυθμάς τε καὶ πολιτικὸς ὁ μυκτῆρ τοῦ συγγραφέως, εἰς Κἄρας ὡσπερ εἰς κόρακας ἀποδιοπομπουμένον τὸν Ἰσαγόραν, Cat. mai. c. 22 ἔγνω μετ' εὐπρεπείας ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, Lysand. 17, 1 διεμαρτύρατο ταῖς ἐφόροις ἀποδιοπομπείσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ὡσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγίμους, Caes. 21 ἐπιτηδῆς αὐτὰν εἰς Κύπρον ἀπεδιοπομπήσατο, Athenae. 7 p. 401 B ὁ δὲ σφόδρα φροντίσας καὶ τὰ προβληθὲν ἀποδιοπομπήσάμενος. The substantive ἀποδιοπόμπησις represents the primary force of the verb, as used by Plato Legg. 9, 1 p. 853 C, where it signifies 'the removal of something obnoxious by expiatory sacrifices'.

§ 3. 1. 15. μὴ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιλαβόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι διαρρῶσι, 'lest on first setting foot in Italy they should disperse to their several cities one by one'. 16. ἐπιλαβόμενοι, 'when they had reached'. Plut. Anton. 41 τῶν ὁρῶν ἐπιλαβόμενον, Xen. Hell. 6, 5, 52 χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο.

17. Διαρρεῖν is used similarly like the Latin *dilabi* of soldiers 'moving away in different directions', 'scattering', 'dispersing', by Plutarch Ages. 32 τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὀρξαμένων ἀπείναι καὶ διαρρεῖν ἀτάκτως, Phoc. 26, 1 ἀπειθεία πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας διαρρύνετες, Demetr. 48 οἱ μὲν ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, οἱ δὲ διερρῦθησαν αὐτοῦ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Arat. 40 τριάκοντα μὲν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἐπομένων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγκαταλιπόντων καὶ διαρρύντων, and by Polybios 1, 74, 10 διαρρέοντας ἐκ τῆς στρατείας, 4, 58, 1 βραχὺν χρόνον ἀθροῖσι συμμείναντες περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν λοιπὸν διέρρεον, 15, 28, 4 χρόνον γινομένου κατὰ βραχὺ διέρρεον οἱ παρεστῶτες.

ἀφ' αὐτῶν, 'of themselves', 'of their own accord'. 18. παρამεῖν, 'that they would stand firm by him'. Cf. Xen. Oec. 3, 4. 20. ἀπήρχοντο, 'made a free-will offering', not as Langhormes, 'went away', which would be ἀπήεσαν, see Cobet Nov. lect. p. 425, Var. lect. p. 308. This meaning is a deviation from its ordinary signification in Plutarch, which is that of classical Greek also, viz. 'to offer the firstlings'. συνεισέφερον ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχεν εὐπορίας, 'joined in contributing, each according to his means, from what they had'. On the genitive with adverbs of condition or degree see G. § 168 Note 3, HA. § 757 a.

22. ἐπαινέσας, 'thanking them', the term usually employed in declining an offer. Cf. Xen. Symp. 1, 7 οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σωκράτην πρῶτον μὲν, ὡσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν κλήσιν οὐχ ὑπισχυνοῦντο συνδειπνήσειν, Plutarch de aud. poet. p. 23 A τῷ ἐπαινεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ παραιτεῖσθαι κέχρηται, καθάπερ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ καλῶς φαιμέν ἔχειν ὅταν μὴ δεώμεθα μηδὲ λαμβάνωμεν. Cf. Lat. *gratia est, benigne*. διέβαινε, 'proceeded to cross'. ὡς φησιν αὐτός, 'as he himself says' in his *Memoirs* referred to in 15, 2; 16, 1;

23, 3. 23. ἐπὶ πεντεκαίδεκα στρατηγούς πολεμίους, 'to oppose fifteen hostile generals'. These were—besides the two consuls, L. Corn. Scipio and Gaius Junius Norbanus—Appius Claudius, Q. Sertorius, Gaius Marius the younger, M. Marius, L. Brutus, Damasippus, Albinovanus, Flavius Fimbria brother of Gaius, Marcius and Albinus together with M. Lamponius and Pontius Telesinus and Gutta.

πεντήκοντα καὶ τετρακοσίας σπέρας ἔχοντας, 'with 450 cohorts'. 'If there is no error in Plutarch's numbers' says Long 'and the cohorts contained at that time 500 men each, as

Appian *B.C.* 1, 82 states, the Senate had 225,000 men in arms when Sulla landed. Appian reduces the force of the Republic to 200 cohorts or twenty legions, but he adds that there were more afterwards (*σπείραις ἐκ πεντακοσίων ἀνδρῶν διακοσίας τότε πρῶτον ὕστερον γὰρ καὶ πλέοσι τούτων*). According to this estimate there were 100,000 men under arms to oppose Sulla, who had five legions of Italian soldiers and some Graeco-Macedonian auxiliaries, in all about 40,000 men, Appian *B.C.* 1, 79 *ἅπαντας ἄγων ἐς μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τέσσαρας*. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2, 24, 3 *revertus in Italiam haud plura quam triginta armatorum milia adversus ducenta milia amplius hostium exposuit Brundisi*. 24. *ἐκδηλότατα*, 'most unmistakably'.

§ 4. 1. 26. ἡ διέβη περὶ Τάραντα, 'where he first landed at Tarentum'. Plutarch has said just before that he made preparation to cross to Brundisium on the opposite side of the narrow peninsula, the usual and most convenient landing-place; perhaps part of the troops were landed at Tarentum. 27. ὁ λοβός, *fibra*, 'the lobe of the liver'. August. *de civ. Dei* 2, 24 *cum venisset Tarentum Sulla atque ibi sacrificasset, vidit in capite vitulini iecoris similitudinem coronae aureae*.

The priest traced on his hand whatever figures he chose, and by holding it very close to the liver, easily made the impression upon it while it was warm and pliant (*Langhorns*). Agesilaos by the same trick inscribed the word 'Victory' on the liver of one of his victims to the effectual encouragement of his troops, who were dismayed by the number of the enemy (*Wrangham*).

28. *λημνίσκων δύο κατηρτημένων*, 'two ribbons attached to it'. v. Ind. gr. s. v. *λημνίσκος*. 'This' says Long 'was the triumphal crown, which is represented on some Roman medals in the hand of a winged victory. Sulla would not fail to record such a fact in his *Memoirs*, for he believed in signs and omens, and that he was favoured by the Gods. But Plutarch has through carelessness or ignorance confused all the narrative by speaking of Sulla landing near Tarentum'. *Decline of the R. R.* II p. 327. 29. *περὶ τὸ Τίφατον ὕρος*: Tifata is a ridge belonging to the Apennines, which bounds the plains of Capua on the east (*imminentes Capuae colles* Liv. 8, 29, 6). It was in the plain between Capua and the hills (*planitiem quae Capuam Tifataque interiacet*) that Norbanus was beaten, according to Velleius Paterc. 2, 25, 2, who says that after this victory Sulla to show his gratitude to Diana, the patron of all that region, gave the goddess, i.e. her temple, certain springs famed for healing properties and all the lands of the district: *post victoriam, qua descendens montem Tifata cum C. Norbano concurrerat, Sulla gratis Dianae, cuius numini regio illa sacrata est, solvit; aquas salubritate in medendisque corporibus nobilis agrosque omnis addixit Deae. Huius gratiae religionis memoriam et inscriptio templi affixa posti hodieque et tabula testatur in area interna*. Cf. Flor. 3, 21, 19 *primum apud Capuam sub amne Vulturno signa concurrunt, et statim Norbani fusus exercitus*. 30. *συμφερόμενοι*, 'fighting together'. 32. *ἦν δ' ἄρα φάσμα*, 'but after all, as it

turned out, it was an apparition. 33. **πολλαχού του αέρος**,  
G. § 182, 2. 34. **ούτως**, 24, 3.

§ 5. 1. 35. **έν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ** i.e. in the plain of Capua. According to Appian *B.C.* 1, 84 the battle was fought at Canusium (*Canosa*) in Apulia: *πρώτη μὲν ἀμφὶ Κανύσιον τοῖς ἀνθυπάτοις πρὸς Νωρβανὸν ἐγίγνετο μάχη· καὶ θνήσκουσι Νωρβανοῦ μὲν ἑξακισχίλιοι, τῶν δ' ἀμφὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐβδομήκοντα, τραυματῖαι δ' ἐγένοντο πολλοί. καὶ Νωρβανὸς ἐς Καπύην ἀνέξευξεν.* Drumann (*Geschichte Roms* 2, 459) has suggested that Canusium is a mistake for Casilinum, a town on the Vulturnus, near Capua. 36. **Μαρίου του νέου**:

Gaius Marius, the adopted son of Gaius Marius, was consul 82/672 when only twenty-six years old. He possessed some of his father's mettle, his martial spirit, courage and perseverance. Velleius (2, 26, 1) calls him *vir animi magis quam ingenii paterni, multa fortiter molitus neque usquam inferior nomine consulis*, and again (2, 27, 5): *hodieque tanta patris magnitudine non obscuratur eius memoria.* Comp. Diod. Sic. 38, 15: *ὁ δὲ Μάριος μάχη τῇ πρὸς Σύλλαν γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος ὅμως ἡττηθεὶς κατέφυγεν εἰς Πραίνεστον.*

**Νωρβανού του ύπάτου**: Gaius Norbanus was consul 83/671. He recommended himself to the multitude as a political opponent of the oligarchy. As tribune of the plebs in 95/659, he had made himself notorious by accusing the consular Q. Servilius Caepio, the author of the defeat at Arausio, who was defended by L. Crassus then consul (Cic. Br. c. 43), of *maiestas* and drove him into exile; but was himself accused under the *lex Apuleia* of the same crime in 82/672 on account of disturbances during Caepio's trial, on which occasion he was defended by the celebrated orator M. Antonius, who gives in the *de oratore* of Cicero an interesting account of the line of argument which he adopted on the occasion (*de orat.* 2, 40, 167; 48, 199; 49, 200; 3, 21, 25, 39, 40). In 90/664 he was praetor in Sicily during the Social war. After his double defeat by Sulla and Metellus Pius he escaped from Italy and fled to Rhodes, where, his person having been demanded by Sulla, he put an end to his life in the middle of the market-place, while the Rhodians were consulting whether they should deliver him up or not. (Mommsen *H. R.* vol. IV pp. 196, 226.)

38. **ούτε τάξιν ἀποδοῦς οὔτε λοχίστας τὸ οἰκείον στράτευμα**, 'without either prescribing the order of battle or marshalling his men in companies'. Cf. Herod. 1, 103 *ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν Ἀσίῃ.*

39. **ῥώμη προθυμίας**. One is tempted to replace *ῥώμη* by *ῥύμη*: but cf. Pericl. c. 20, comp. Pericl. cum Fab. c. 1 *ὑπὸ κοινῆς ἀν δόξειεν εὐτυχίας καὶ ῥώμης πραγμάτων ἀσφαλῆς διαγενέσθαι*, Nic. 18 *ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥώμης καὶ τύχης ἀνατεθαρρηκῶς*, Pomp. 12, Aem. Paul. 9, 1 *ὑπὸ ῥώμης τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφερόμενος πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον*, Pyrrh. 21 *ἐπῆγε μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ βίας τὴν δύναμιν*, Philop. 11, Lysand. 11, Dion. 42, Pelop. 32. On the constant confusion between *ῥύμη* and *ῥώμη* in the MSS see a note by F. Jacobs on Achilles Tatius 1, 12 p. 462—3.

**φορᾶ τόλμη**, 'vehement impulse, transport, of courage'.

This use of the word *φορά* is unknown to classical Greek but common in Plutarch and later writers. Plut. Fab. Max. 5 *μανικῆς φορᾶς πεπληρωμένον*, Cor. 32 *πράξει φορᾶς τινοῦ ἐνθουσιωδοῦς δεομένης*, Tit. 11 *τὴν φορᾶν τοῦ πλήθους ἐξέκλινεν*, 20, Pyrrh. 8, Mar. 11, Caes. 34 *συμπαρηρέχθησαν τῷ ρεύματι τῆς φορᾶς ἐκείνης*, Cat. min. 64 *οὐκ ἦν ἄδελος ἢ πρὸς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ φορᾶ*, Anton. 2 *τῇ Κλωδίου φορᾶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ταρατούσῃ*, Dion. 13 *φορᾶ τις ἦν ἐπὶ λόγους*, 39 *ἦν ἀπαραίτητος ἢ τῶν πολλῶν φορᾶ*, Brut. 21 *ἐν πλήθει φορᾶς ἀσταθμῆτους καὶ ταχείας φερομένοις*, 34 *οὐ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ φορᾶ τινι φιλοσόφων*, Gall. 4 *καρδοκοῦντα τίνα κίνησιν ἢ Ῥώμῃ καὶ φορᾶν ἐξεῖ πρὸς τὸν νεωτερισμὸν*, Appian B. C. 4, 122; 5, 16 *μανιδεῖ φορᾶ*.

40. ἀποχρησάμενος, *libere usus*, 'making full use of'. See my n. to Themist. 28, 2.

41. ἑπτακισχιλλίους ἀποκτείνας. Orosius 5, 20, 2 *igitur Sulla mox ut Campanum litus attigit, Norbanum consulem proelio oppressit: septem milia tunc Romanorum Romani interfecerunt, sex milia eorundem ab isdem capta sunt, centum viginti et quattuor de Sullana parte ceciderunt*, Eutrop. 5, 7 *primo proelio contra Norbanum dimicavit non longe a Capua. Tum VII milia eius cecidit, VI milia cepit, CXXIV suorum amisit*.

§ 6. 1. 42. τοῦτο, 'this success'. 43. φησί, sc. Sulla in his *Memoirs*, 23, 3.

44. συμμειναι, *una mansisse*, 'kept together'. Thuc. 7, 80, 3 *τὸ μὲν Νικίου στράτευμα ξυνέμενε, τὸ δὲ Δημοσθένους ἀπεσπάσθη*, Dem. de reb. in Chers. § 46 p. 101 *ὅπως τὸ συνεστηκὸς τοῦτο συμμενεῖ στράτευμα ὄρᾶν*, Isocr. 71 c *τῶν στρατιωτῶν συμμεινάντων καὶ καλῶς ἐνεγκόντων τὴν συμφορᾶν*, Polyb. 1, 27, 9 *τῶν τριαρίων συμμενονόντων*, 4, 10, 3 *πυθανόμενοι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ἀντιπαράγειν αὐτοῖς καὶ συμμενεῖν*, Plut. Arist. 17, 1, Sertor. 27, 1 *οἱ πλείστοι ᾤχοντο—τοὺς δὲ συμμειναντας*, Cic. 22 *μετὰ τῶν συμμεμενηκότων αὐτῷ διαγωνισάμενος*, Dem. 44 *συμμενεῖν οὐκ ἤθελον ἀλλ' ἀπίενα*, Brut. 43 *μηδὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τεταμένων αὐτοῦ προθύμως ἔτι συμμενονόντων*.

πολλαπλασίων ὄντων sc. αὐτῶν, 'though they were many times more numerous than themselves'. 45. ἐν Σιλουίῳ, 'at Silvium' (*Garagnone*), a town in the interior of Apulia. It is placed by the Itineraries 20 miles from Venusia, on the branch of the Appian way which led to Tarentum. (*E. H. Bunbury*)

46. θεοφόρητον, 'moved by a divine impulse', 'inspired'. λέγοντα παρὰ τῆς Ἐννοῦς—νίκην ἀπαγγέλλειν, 'declaring that he brought from Bellona assurance of victory'. Cf. Augustin. de civ. Dei 2, 24: *servus cuiusdam Lucii Pontii vaticinando clamavit 'a Bellona nuntius venio, victoria tua est, Sulla'. Deinde adiecit arsurum esse Capitolium. Hoc cum dixisset, continuo egressus e castris postera die citatior reversus est et Capitolium arsisse clamavit. Arserat autem revera Capitolium*. 48. ἐμπεπρήσεσθαι, *arsurum esse*.

49. συμβῆναι sc. φησί. 50. προηγόρευσεν, late Greek for προεῖπε, Cobet *nov. lect.* p. 778, *var. lect.* p. 35, 39.

πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν Κυντιλίῳν, *fridie nonas Quintiles*, 'on the day before the nones, the sixth of July'. The burning of the magnificent temple of Jupiter on the Capitol—a structure in which the majesty of Rome seemed symbolized and which was almost coeval with the republic—with all the monuments

of antiquity, trophies and sacred offerings, was interpreted as an omen portending the speedy downfall of the republic. How the fire originated no one can tell. See Appian *B. C.* 1, 86 αἰς ἡμέραις καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐνεπίμπρατο καὶ τὸ ἔργον τινὲς ἐλογοποιοῦν Κάρβωνος ἢ τῶν ὑπάτων ἢ Σύλλα πέμψαντος εἶναι. τὸ δ' ἀκριβὲς ἀδύηλον ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔχω τὴν αἰτίαν ἐγὼ συμβαλεῖν δι' ἣν ἂν οὕτως ἐγένετο: Tac. Hist. 3, 72 says *arserat et ante Capitolium civili bello sed privata fraude*, Cic. Cat. 3, 4; Verr. 4, 31. 'The most probable explanation is that given by Cassiodorus (*Chron. ad 670*), who speaks of *custodum negligentia*'. (*Ihne*)

The *Capitolium* (known in early time as the *Mons Tarpeius*) was on the western peak of the Capitoline Hill.

The earliest temple mentioned by any classical writer was built on the *Capitolium*; this was the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius* vowed by Romulus after hanging the *spolia opima*, taken from the defeated Akron, king of the Coesinenses, on an oak which grew on the *Capitolium* (Liv. 1, 10; Dionys. 11 34). It may, however, be presumed that *Roma quadrata* from the date of its founding, possessed that joint temple to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva (*Tinia, Thalna* and *Menrva*), which, according to the religious rites of the Etruscans, was erected in every new-built town. It was to this triad of deities that the great temple on the *Capitolium* was consecrated, though it is usually spoken of as the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* alone. Its *cella* was divided into three chambers, each containing a statue of one of these deities; and from its combined antiquity, size, and magnificence, this may be regarded as the most important of all the temples in Rome. It was the goal of triumphal processions, and in front of it a solemn sacrifice was offered by the victorious general or emperor.

The original building was founded by Tarquinius Priscus, built by his son Tarquinius Superbus (Liv. 1, 38 and 53), but not consecrated till after his expulsion from Rome, when it was solemnly dedicated by M. Horatius Pulvillus, consul suffectus, in the year B. C. 509 (Liv. 11 8 and 14 51; Dionys. 5, 35; Plut. Popl. c. 15, vid. *Corp. Insc. Lat.* 1 p. 487; Tac. Hist. 111 72; Valer. Max. v 10). The temple was built on an enormous platform, partly constructed of the native tufa, of which the hill itself is formed, and partly of *peperino*; this extended over the slope of the hill, making a lofty *podium*, ἐπὶ κρηπίδος ὑψηλῆς, as Dionysios says; and in consequence of its three cellae being not side by side, the temple was nearly square in shape; it is described with some minuteness by Dionysios (14 61); and Vitruvius (14 7) gives a technical account of its proportions and details. This ancient building survived the Gaulish invasion in B. C. 390 and lasted till B. C. 83, when it was burnt. Its reconstruction was then begun by Sulla (Plut. Sull. 37, 3) on its old foundations and plan, but with much increased magnificence both of material and design. The columns of its *Peristyle* were taken by Sulla from the Corinthian Temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens (Plin. N. H. xxxvi 5); it was however left incomplete by Sulla and finished by Q. Lutatius Catulus, who also appears to have rebuilt the so-called *Tabularium* of the Capitol. Augustus assisted in the restoration of the temple, but the name of Catulus appeared alone on the frieze of the building. This second temple lasted till A. D. 70, when it was again burnt, with other buildings on the Capitoline Hill, during the attack of the rioters who were supporting Vitellius against Sabinus, Vespasian's brother; Sueton. Vit. 15. Immediately on succeeding to the throne Vespasian began the rebuilding of the temple with great enthusiasm, even labouring at clearing the site with his own hands—τόν τε νέων τὸν ἐν Καπετωλίῳ εὐθὺς οἰκοδομεῖν ἤρξατο Dion Cass. LXVI 10; Suet. Vesp. 8; Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 9 and Tac. Hist. 14 53. In this third temple, which was consecrated in A. D. 71, the old plan was still, for religious reasons, strictly adhered to, but Vespasian was allowed by the priests to increase its height, Tac. Hist. 14 53.

During the reign of Titus, in A. D. 80, the temple was burnt again, for the third time, during a fire which raged for three days. It was rebuilt by Domitian, with greater splendour than ever, with Corinthian columns of Pentelic

marble; Sueton. *Dom.* 5; Dion Cass. LXVI 24 and Plut. Popl. 15. See two interesting inscriptions relating to this rebuilding in Henzen *Acta frat. Arval.* 91, 118. The roof was covered with bronze tiles, which were gilt; and, according to Plutarch, no less than 2½ millions sterling were spent in the last rebuilding on the gilding alone of this temple. Its three doors were covered with gold reliefs, which remained intact till about the year A. D. 390, when they were stripped off by Stilicho; see Zosim. v 38. The gold-plated bronze tiles were partly taken from the roof by the Vandal Genseric in A. D. 455, Procop. bell. Vandal. 15; and the rest by Pope Honorius, who removed them in A. D. 630 to cover the roof of the Basilica of St Peter; see Marliani *Topogr.* II 1. Many interesting representations of this triple temple and its sculpture exist on coins and reliefs, concerning which see J. H. MIDDLETON'S *Ancient Rome in 1885*.

§ 7. 1. 52. Μάρκος Δεύκολλος: M. Licinius L. f. L. n. Lucullus, brother of Lucius L. Lucullus the conqueror of Mithridates, was adopted by M. Terentius Varro, and afterwards bore the names of M. Terentius M. F. Varro Lucullus. He was probably quaestor under Sulla. In 79/675 he held the office of curule aedile, together with his brother Lucius. In 77/677 he obtained the praetorship, in the administration of which he distinguished himself (Cic. or. p. Tullio § 8); in 73/681 he succeeded his brother in the consulship, during which a law (*lex Terentia et Cassia*) was passed for the distribution of corn among the lower classes. In 71/683 he obtained a triumph for his successes in his province Macedonia and among the Greek cities on the Euxine. He retained thereafter a prominent place among the leaders of the *optimates* at Rome. His services to himself and his party are frequently acknowledged by Cicero, who calls him (de provinc. cons. § 22) one of the *lumina atque ornamenta reipublicae*.

53. Περὶ Φιδεντᾶν: Fidentia (*Borgo S. Donnino*) was a town in Gallia Cispadana, situated on the *Via Aemilia*, between Parma and Placentia, and distant about 15 miles from the former city (Plin. nat. hist. 3, 15 s. 20). M. Lucullus was besieged within its walls by Carbo's generals, but by a sudden sally defeated them (Vell. Paterc. 2, 28, Liv. Epitom. LXXXVIII, Appian *B. C.* c. 92 who speaks of this battle as having been fought near Placentia. Carbo himself was in Central Italy at the time.

54. τῆ μὲν προθυμῆ—ἄκνει, 'although he had confidence in the valour of his men, yet as most of them were unarmed he was discouraged, hesitated with respect to the onset'.

58. πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, i. q. πολλὰ ἀνθῆ. Cf. Arist. Plut. 623 τῆς ἀθάρης πολλὴν ἐφλων, Ach. 350 τῆς μαρίλης συχνήν.

59. κατέσπειρεν, sc. αὐτῆς, 'scattered' over it like seed. Cf. Cam. 34 κατέσπειρε τοῦ χάρακος ἄφθονα τῶν πυροβόλων, Dion. 25 ἀθυμοῦσι δ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν γαλήνην αὔραν τινὰ κατέσπειρεν ἢ χῶρα νότιον.

61. φαίνεσθαι, sc. αὐτοῦς.

§ 8. 1. 62. ὑπὸ τούτου, 'by this circumstance'. 63. ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐπὶ μύριοις, '18,000 men'.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

When Sulla and Metellus had crossed the Apennines into Campania, they were met by the other consul Scipio about Teanum between the rivers Liris and Volturnus. Sulla tried again the effect of negotiations, seeing himself surrounded still by so many powerful enemies. Scipio was persuaded to agree to an armistice, during which Sulla devised various pretexts for putting off the final settlement, and in the meantime the soldiers of the two camps mingled; the Sullans, copiously furnished with money by their general, had no great difficulty in decoying the recruits—not too eager for warfare—and persuading them that it was better to have them as comrades than as foes. The result was, that, when Sulla advanced close to Scipio's camp near Teanum, the forty cohorts deserted their general and went over in a mass to the ranks of the enemy amid an universal embracing, leaving Scipio alone in the camp, so that he could be made a prisoner. Sulla dismissed him unharmed. It was on this occasion that Carbo's remark was made, that in Sulla he had both a lion and fox to contend with, but the fox gave him most trouble. [The defeat of Norbanus and the desertion of the army of Scipio weakened the democratic leaders so effectively that they were no longer in a condition to keep open the field against Sulla in Campania. They could only retain possession of the fortresses such as Nola, Capua, and Neapolis, where they left garrisons. The rest of their troops they moved northward toward Rome. When, after an unusually cold and protracted winter, military operations were resumed, Sulla penetrated into Latium, where he found himself opposed by the younger Marius, whose task was to cover Rome.] Marius, with eighty-five cohorts, took up a position, and offered battle to Sulla at a place between Signia and his chief stronghold Praeneste. Sulla was anxious to fight, for he had dreamed in the night that the elder Marius was advising his son to beware of the following day, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his officers who kept urging the necessity of rest for his men, accepted the challenge. The Marians soon gave way. Those who were not slain or taken prisoners, unable either to keep the field or to gain the other bank of the Tiber, were compelled to seek protection in the neighbouring fortress of Praeneste. As Sulla pressed close on the fugitives, the gates were closed and Marius only escaped by being hoisted up the walls by a rope. Some historians, and among them Fenestella, say that Marius saw nothing of the battle. Being exhausted by fatigue he was lying on the ground, and fell asleep as soon as the signal for battle was given, and was with difficulty roused, when the fight began. Sulla in his Memoirs says that he lost only 23 men, and killed 20,000 of the enemy, and took 8000 prisoners. Sulla's generals Pompeius Crassus Metellus Servilius were equally successful in their encounters with

*the enemy; so that Carbo lost his resolution and secretly escaped from his headquarters and embarked for Africa.*

§ 1. 1. 2. ἔτι περικεχυμένους αὐτῷ, 'still surrounding him'.

3. ἠπέιγέτο, see cr. n. 5. διαλύσεις, *conditiones pacis*: see n. to C. Gr. 16, 2 l. 9. Σκηπίωνα: L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, whose only recommendation was that he was the great-grandson of the conqueror of Antiochos, is first mentioned in 100/654 when he took up arms with other members of the senate against Saturninus (Cic. or. p. Rabir. Perd. 7). In the Social war he was at Aesernia, with L. Acilius, when Vettius Scato approached it, and made his escape in the dress of a slave (Appian *B. C. c.* 41). His daughter was the wife of P. Sestius, Cic. or. p. Sest. 3, 7, where he is called *optimus et calamitosissimus vir*, see my n. *ad l.* Cic. speaks favourably of his oratorical powers (*dicebat non imperite*, Brut. 47, 175).

§ 2. 1. 6. κοινολογίαι, 'conferences', 'negotiations', Polyb. 5, 102, 8 μεθέξοντας τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν διαλύσεων κοινολογίας, 5, 103, 2 σπεύδοντες διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐξάπεστελλον πρέσβεις.....ἵνα τῆς κοινολογίας ἐκ χειρὸς γενομένης τύχη τὰ πράγματα τῆς ἀρμοσύνης διεξαγωγῆς.

'Sulla's troops had by the victory over Norbanus at Mount Tifata gained a full conviction of their military superiority; instead of pausing himself to besiege the remains of the defeated army, Sulla left the towns where they took shelter to be invested, and advanced along the Appian highway against Teanum, where Scipio was posted. To him also, as to Norbanus, before beginning battle he made fresh proposals for peace, apparently in good earnest. Scipio, weak as he was, entered into them; an armistice was concluded; between Cales and Teanum, the two generals, both members of the same noble gens, both men of culture and refinement and for many years colleagues in the senate, met in personal conference; they entered upon the several questions; they made such progress that Scipio despatched a messenger to Capua to procure the opinion of his colleague'. MOMMSEN *Hist. Rome* 3, 350. Appian *B. C. c.* 85 Σύλλα δὲ καὶ Μετέλλω περὶ τὸ Τεανὸν οὐσι Λεύκιος Σκιπίων ἐπήει μεθ' ἑτέρου στρατοῦ, πάνν ἀθύμως ἔχοντας καὶ ποθοῦντος εἰρήνην γενέσθαι. αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύλλαν πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα περὶ συμβάσεων ἐπρέσβευον, οὐχ οὕτως ἐλπίζοντες ἢ χρῆζοντες, ὡς στασιάζειν προσδοκῶντες αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατόν. ὁ καὶ συνηέχθη γενέσθαι.

7. αἰεὶ τινα παραγωγὴν καὶ πρόφασιν ἐμβάλλων, 'by continually interposing some pretext for gaining time'. Cf. Cat. min. c. 63 οὐκέτι σκῆψεισιν οὐδὲ παραγωγὰς πλασσομένοις, Lucull. 29, 1 τῇ συνῆπει τὸν Λεύκουλλον εὐλαβεῖα καὶ παραγωγῇ πολεμήσειν οἴομενος. ἐμβάλλων, 'throwing in the way of a final agreement', cf. Cam. 7 προφάσεις ἐνέβαλλε τῷ δημῷ καὶ ἀσχολίας, Them. 19, 1 ἐμβάλλων τῷ τειχισμῷ χρόνον. 8. διέφθειρε—τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις, 'corrupted—by means of his own men', G. § 188, 1.

9. ἡσκημένοις πρὸς—γοητεῖαν ἅπασαν, 'trained to, practised in, every kind of ruse and deceit, like their general himself'. 11. τὸν χάρακα, 'the leaguer'; 16, 3; 21, 3. 12. ἀναμιγνύμενοι, sc. τοῖς πολεμοῖσι, 'mingling, fraternizing with', Num. c. 20 παρ' ἀλλήλους ἀδεῶς ἰόντων καὶ ἀναμιγνυμένων. 13. προσήγοντο, 5, 2; 11, 3.

§ 3. 1. 16. προσεχώρησαν, 'went over to them'. Appian c. 85 tells the story with more minuteness and very clearly: Σκιπίων ὀμηρα τῆς συνόδου λαβὼν ἐς τὸ πεδῖον κατῆι, καὶ συνήεσαν τρεῖς ἐκατέρωθεν, ὅθεν οὐδὲ γινῶναι τὰ λεχθέντα συνέβη· ἐδόκει δ' ἀναθέμενος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐς Νωρβανὸν τὸν σύναρχον περὶ τῶν λελεγμένων πέμψαι Σερτώριον ἀπαγγελοῦντα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς ὁ ἐκατέρων ἠσύχαζε, τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀναμένοντες. Σερτωρίου δ' ἐν παρόδῳ Σύεσσαν, ἢ τὰ Σύλλα ἤρητο, καταλαβόντος ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ἠτιάτο πέμπων ἐς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, ὁ δέ, εἴτε τῷ γενομένῳ συνεγνωκῶς, εἴτε ἀποκρίσεως ἀπορῶν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοκότῳ δὴ τῷ Σερτωρίου ἔργῳ, τὰ ὀμηρα ἀπέπεμπε τῷ Σύλλῃ. καὶ αὐτίκα ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ, τῇ τε τῆς Σύνεσης ἐν σπονδαῖς ἀλόγῳ καταλήψει καὶ τῇ τῶν ὀμήρων οὐκ ἀπαιτουμένων ἀποπέμψει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες ἐν αἰτίαις, κρύφα τῷ Σύλλῃ συνετίθεντο μεταθήσασθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, εἰ πελάσειεν. καὶ προσιώντος αὐτίκα πάντες ἀθρώως μετέστησαν, ὡς τὸν ὑπατοῦ Σκιπίωνα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Λεύκιον μόνους ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ παντὸς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ διηπορημένους, Σύλλαν καταλαβεῖν, 'Scipio, receiving hostages for the meeting, went down into the plain, and there were but three persons from each side present, so that it was not known what passed in the conference. It was supposed that Scipio determined to consult his colleague Norbanus before finally coming to terms, for he sent Sertorius to report what had passed. Meantime, while they staid for an answer, the two armies remained inactive. But Sertorius, on his way to Norbanus, seized upon the town of Suessa, which had declared for Sulla, so the latter sent to Scipio, and complained to him. Scipio, either because he was privy to the act or did not know what answer to make to account for the strange proceeding of Sertorius, sent back the hostages to Sulla. The result was, that his soldiers, holding the consuls responsible for the act of seizing Suessa during an armistice and the sending back of the hostages, when they had not been demanded, made a secret engagement with Sulla to go over to his side, if he would approach the camp. As soon as he came, they went over in a mass to him, so that Sulla found the consul Scipio with his son Lucius alone of all the army in the camp, utterly helpless'. 17. ἠφείθη: cf. Appian *l.c.* Σκιπίωνα μὲν δὴ μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς οὐ μεταπέιθων ὁ Σύλλας ἀπέπεμπεν ἀπαθῆ, Vell. Pat. 2, 25, 2 *Scipio, ab exercitu suo desertus ac proditus, inviolatus a Sulla dimissus est*, Liv. Epit. LXXXV *Scipio, cum occidi posset, dimissus est*. 18. ὡσπερ ἠθάσιν ὄρνισι—παλεύσας, 'entrapping by means of his twenty cohorts, like so many decoy birds'. For παλεύσας cf. Arist. Av. 1083:

κάπαναγκάζει (τὰς περιστερὰς) παλεύειν δεδεμένας ἐν δικτύῳ.

20. ὅτε, *quo tempore*, 'on which occasion'. 22. κατοικοῦσιν, *habitantibus, sedem habentibus*. ἀνιῶτο, *infestaretur*, G. § 242, 1.

Sulla and Metellus took up winter quarters in Campania, and, after the failure of a second attempt to come to terms with Norbanus, maintained the blockade of Capua during the winter.

The results of the first campaign in favour of Sulla were the submission of Apulia, Picenum and Campania, the dissolution of the one, and the vanquishing

and blockading of the other, consular army. The Italian communities, compelled severally to choose between their two oppressors, already entered in many instances into negotiations with him, and caused the political rights which had been won from the opposition-party to be guaranteed to them by formal separate treaties on the part of the general of the oligarchy....But despair seemed to furnish the revolution with fresh energies. The consulship was committed to two of its most decided leaders, Carbo and Gaius Marius the younger (who was too young to be legally invested with it). Quintus Sertorius was sent to Etruria to procure new levies and thence to his province Hither Spain. To replenish the treasury, the senate had to decree the melting down of the gold and silver vessels of the temples in the capital. From Etruria, where the communities of new burgesses were very numerous, and from the region of the Po there came newly formed divisions of some strength. But nowhere were preparations made with such eagerness as in the insurgent Samnium and some districts of Lucania. For Samnium and Latium this war was as much a national struggle as the wars of the fifth century; they strove not for a greater or less amount of political rights, but for the purpose of appeasing long-suppressed hate by the annihilation of their antagonist. No compromise was attempted here, no quarter was given or taken, and the pursuit continued to the very uttermost....The army of the Optimates was divided. The proconsul Metellus undertook, resting on the support of the Picenian insurrection, to advance to Upper Italy, while Sulla marched from Campania straight against the capital. Carbo threw himself in the way of the former; Marius would encounter the main army of the enemy in Latium. MOMMSEN, *H. R.* 3, 351—3.

§ 4. 1. 23. *περὶ Σίγνιον*: Signia (*Segni*) was an ancient city of Latium, occupying a commanding position on a lofty hill, which stands boldly out from the N.W. angle of the Volscian mountains, with which it is connected only by a narrow neck, and overlooking all the valley of the Trerus (*Sacco*) and the broad plain between it and Praeneste. It was a Roman colony, founded by Tarquinius Superbus at the same time with Circeii (Liv. 1, 56). In 340/414 the inhabitants of Signia shared in the general defection of the Latini (Liv. 8, 3), but were afterwards readmitted to the privileges of a *colonia Latina*, and continued faithful to Rome during the Second Punic War (Liv. 27, 10). Under the empire Signia was celebrated chiefly for its produce, wine, pears (Juv. Sat. 11, 75) and excellent vegetables (Colum. 10, 131); and for a particular kind of cement, used for pavements (*opus Signinum*, Plin. nat. hist. 35, 12). There are considerable remains of its original walls of Cyclopean construction, and one of its five gates presents a remarkable instance of this style of building. The action took place in the plain between Signia and Praeneste. 27. *κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους*, 9, 4. On Sulla's belief in dreams see c. 8. *ἔδοκει*—*Μάριον*—*παραίνειν*, 'he dreamed that Marius was advising'. Cf. 9, 4 n., Timol. 8, 3 *ἔδοξεν αἰφνιδίως βαλέντα τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐκχέαι πῦρ*.

§ 5. 1. 33. *ἐφισταμένων ταῖς ὁδοῖς*, 'besetting the roads', Polyb. 12, 4, 2 *ἐφιστάμενοι κατὰ τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους*.

34. *ὁδοποιούντες*, 'road-making', 'opening the roads', not 'marching' (*Clough*).

35. *τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιγενόμενος*, 'coming on them while at work'. Cf. Thuc. 3, 74, 2 *εἰ ἄνεμος ἐπεγίνετο τῇ φλογί*, 4, 25, 1 *νῦξ ἐπεγένετο τῷ ἔργῳ*, 4, 26, 3, Herod. 5, 85, 3 *καὶ σφί ἔλκουσι βροντὴν τε καὶ ἅμα τῇ βροντῇ σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι*, 8, 70 *πλώουσι αὐτοῖσι χειμῶν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπεγένετο*, Xen.

Hell. 5, 4, 17 ἀπίοντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαισιος ἐπεγίνετο, 1, 6, 28 ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγὴν. 36. ἐκάκωσεν, 'incommoded', 'distressed'.

38. ἐρριμμένους, 'thrown to the ground', 'prostrate': Polyb. 5, 48, 2 καταλαβὼν ἐρριμμένους καὶ μεθύοντας πάντας. 39. προσαναπαυομένους χαμάζε τοῖς θυρεοῖς κεκλιμένοις, *inclinatis scutis humi incumbentes*, 'resting upon their shields laid on the ground'. See cr. n. Polybios has the active twice in the sense of 'resting an army', the preposition being otiose: 4, 73, 3 τὴν λοιπὴν προσαναπαύσας δύναμιν, 5, 7, 3 περὶ τὸν Ἀχελῶον στρατοπεδεύσαντα προσαναπαύσαι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς νυκτοπορίας.

§ 6. 1. 40. πρόσταγμα καταζεύξεως ἔδωκεν, 'gave orders for a halt, to pitch the camp', 16, 4. Cf. 25, 1 καταζεύξασ, Anton. 47, 4 τοὺς μαχομένους ἀνεκαλείτο καὶ κατάζευξιν ἐστήμαιεν, ὡς σκιάς γοῦν μεταλάβοιεν οἱ στρατιῶται· πηγνυμένων οὖν τῶν σκηνῶν κτλ.

41. τὸν χάρακα βάλλειν, *vallum iacere* (Liv. 30, 10), 'to throw up a rampart'. The middle βάλλεσθαι, not the active, is generally found in this sense of *condere, figere*: Diod. Sic. 16, 42 βαλλόμενοι χάρακα καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὄχυρώσαντες, 14, 22 στρατοπεδείαν ἐβάλετο, Plut. Luc. 32 βαλλόμενος στρατόπεδον. 42. τῆς στρατοπεδείας = τῆς χώρας τοῦ στρατοπέδου, 'the site of the encampment'.

A word found only in later Greek, Diod. Sic. 14, 26 τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐποιήσατο, Plut. Arist. c. 11 τῆς στρατοπεδείας παρὰ τὸν Ἀσωπον ποταμὸν παρεκτεταμένης οὐδεὶς ἦν ὕρος, c. 17, 1, Lucull. 25 καθίστατο τὴν στρατοπεδείαν, Anton. 63, Aem. Paul. c. 17, Mar. 18, 2 ὄχυραῖς χρώμενος στρατοπεδείαις, except in one passage only of Xen. Hell. 4, 1, 2 ἐπιπεσὼν τῇ Φαρναβάζου στρατοπεδείᾳ. 43. ἐπήλανε σοβαρῶς, not 'came riding up furiously' (*Clough*), but 'advanced against them confidently' (*Long*).

Cf. Polyb. 3, 72, 13 ἐπήει τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις σοβαρῶς ἐν τάξει καὶ βάδην ποιοῦμενος τὴν ἐφοδὸν, 11, 1, 4 ἀντεπήει τοῖς πολεμίοις σοβαρῶς, 15, 12, 7 αἱ φάλαγγες ἀμφότεραι βάδην ἀλλήλαις καὶ σοβαρῶς ἐπήσαν, 18, 6, 7 (18, 23, 7 ed. Huitsch), Plut. Lys. 5, 1 παρὰ τὸν ναύσταθμον γέλωτι καὶ πατάγῃ χρώμενος σοβαρῶς παρήλανε, Ages. c. 21, Caes. 45, 1 οἱ Πομπηίου ἱππεῖς σοβαρῶς ἐπήλανον εἰς κύκλωσιν τοῦ δεξιῦ, Anton. c. 7 πλέων σοβαρῶς ὄρᾳ ναυαγίων περίπλεον τὸν αἰγιαλόν.

45. τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους φωνήν, *quae in somnis (per somnium) filio suo Marius dicere visus est*. 46. ὄργη—παρέστη, 'indignation was excited'.

Thuc. 8, 96, 1 τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκπληξίς μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὶν παρέστη, Dem. c. Mid. § 15 p. 519, 2 ἔμοι τῷ ὑβριζομένῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ὄργην ἕκαστον τούτων ἦν παρ' ἄλλ'· οἰοῦν δὲ νομοτάτων παρίστη, ib. p. 537, 22 οὐ γὰρ ἡ πληγὴ παρέστησε τὴν ὄργην, ἀλλ' ἡ αἰτία; c. Aristocr. § 103 p. 654, 25 ψήφισμα τοῖς στρατηγῶσι φόβον καὶ δέος μή τιν' αἰτίαν ἔχωσι παρίσταν, Polyb. 3, 111, 7 ποῖος ἂν ἐτι λόγος ὑμῖν ἰσχυρότερον παραστήσῃ θάρσος αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων; 5, 83, 5 φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος τοῖς φαλαγγίταις ἐπειρώοντο παρίσταναι, 1, 45, 3 παραστήσας ὄρμην ὑπερβάλλουσαν, 2, 48, 5; 4, 5, 9; 5, 36, 8 παρέστησε τῷ βασιλεῖ ὄρμην εἰς τὸ συγκλείσαι τὸν Κλεομένην, 1, 48, 6 τοιαύτην ἐκπληξιν παρίστα τὸ συμβαῖνον τοῖς βοηθοῦσιν, 3, 94, 7 μέγαν φόβον καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρεστακῶς ταῖς πόλεσι, 6, 44, 4 ὅταν ὄρμη παραστή τοῖς ἐπιβάταις συμφορέν. By a curious transition of meaning Polybios uses the verb absolutely

without ὄρη) to denote 'excitement': 6, 53, 10 τὸ τὰς τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δεδοξασμένων ἀνδρῶν εἰκόνας ἰδεῖν ὁμοῦ πάσας οἰονεῖ ζώσας τιν' οὐκ ἂν παραστήσῃαι; 23, 8, 13 (22, 11, 13 ed. Hultsch) ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρέστη τὸ πλῆθος (*adeo commota est multitudo*), from which usage is derived that of παράστασις in the sense of *impetus, animi ardor*, 'eagerness', 'courage', 3, 63, 14 λαμβανόντων ὄρην καὶ παραστάσιν, 16, 33, 2 ἠγωνίζοντο μετὰ παραστάσεως, i.e. *fortiter, intrepide*, and that of παραστατικός, which properly means 'able to excite' as in Plut. Lyc. 21, 1 παραστατικὸν ὄρημα ἐνθουσιώδους, Polyb. 3, 43, 8 ἦν τὸ γινόμενον παραστατικὸν ἀγωνίας (*terrorem adferens*), 18, 8, 1 (18, 25, 1 ed. Hultsch), in the sense of *animosus, audax*; 16, 5, 7 τῆ τῆς ψυχῆς γενναϊότητι λαμπρότερος ὢν καὶ παραστατικώτερος ἢ πρόσθεν.

47. τοὺς ὑσσοῦς, 18, 4. 49. ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τῶν πολεμίων, *manus cum hostibus conseruere, cominus cum hostibus pugnant*, 'they were at close quarters with the enemy'. Cf. Xen. Hell. 4, 6, 11 μικροῦ ἔδεον ἤδη ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὀπλιτῶν εἶναι. The dative generally follows, as in Thuc. 5, 72, 2 ἐπειδὴ ἐν χερσὶν ἐγίγνοντο τοῖς πολεμίοις, Plut. Timol. 31, 4 ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, Dem. 41, 1 αὐτὸν ἄχρι τοῦ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν πληγὴν ἐν χερσὶ γενόμενον ἐτρέψατο. Hence with other verbs ἐν χερσὶ came to signify *cominus*, as Brut. 42, 1 διέφθειραν ἐν χερσὶν τρία τάγματα, Caes. 15 fin. ἑκατὸν ἐν χερσὶ διέφθειρεν, Eumen. 16 τῶν πλείστων ἐν χερσὶ διαφθαρέντων.

### § 7. 1. 50. ὑπέστησαν, 'stood their ground'.

Appian's account of the battle, which he says took place at Sacriportus, is as follows (c. 87): Σύλλα Σήτιον καταλαβόντος, ὁ Μάριος ἀγχοῦ στρατοπεδεύων ὑπεχώρει κατ' ὀλίγον, ὡς δ' ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν καλούμενον Ἱερὸν λιμένα, ἐξέτασεν ἐς μάχην καὶ ἠγωνίζετο προθύμως. ἀρχομένου δ' ἐνδιδοῦναι τοῦ λαοῦ μέρους, σπείραι πέντε πεζῶν καὶ δύο ἰππέων οὐκ ἀναμείνασαι τὴν τροπὴν ἐκφανῆναι, τὰ τε σπῆμια ἐρριψαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σύλλαν μετετίθεντο. καὶ τὸδ' εὐθὺς ἤρχε τῷ Μαρῷ δυσχεροῦς ἡττης. κοπτόμενοι γὰρ ἐς Πραυνεστὸν ἐβηνγον ἅπαντες, ἐπομένου τοῦ Σύλλα σὺν δρόμῳ. καὶ οἱ Πραυνεστῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους αὐτῶν ἐσεδέξαντο, Σύλλα δ' ἐπικειμένου τὰς πύλας ἀπέκλεισαν καὶ Μάριον καλωδίοις ἀνμύησαντο· πολὺς δ' ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦδε περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐγίγνετο φόνος, καὶ πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων ὁ Σύλλας ἔλαβεν, ὡν τοὺς Σαννίτας ἔκτεινε πάντας ὡς αἰεὶ χαλπεοῦς Ῥωμαῖοις γενομένου i.e. 'when Sulla had seized Setia, Marius who was encamped near, fell back slowly, but when he had reached Sacriportus, he drew up his army for battle and fought with determination. But when his left wing began to give way, five cohorts of foot and two squadrons of cavalry, without waiting for the general rout which must come, flung away their standards and passed over to Sulla. This defection was the beginning of Marius' disastrous defeat, for they all rushed in wild flight from the field to Praeneste, Sulla following close at their heels. Those who first reached the town were let in, but as Sulla was pressing close upon the fugitives, the gates were closed, and Marius was hoisted up the walls by a rope. Great numbers of the defeated army were slain or captured under the walls by Sulla, who ordered all the prisoners who were Samnites to be put to death without discrimination, because they had been throughout the most dangerous opponents of the Romans in the Social War'. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2, 26 C. *Marius septiens consulis filius, annos natus xxvi, vir animi magis quam ingeni palerni, multa fortiterque molitus neque usquam inferior nomine consulis, apud Sacriportum pulsus a Sulla acie, usquam quod ante natura munitum praesidiis firmaverat, se exercitumque contulit.*

52. Πραυνεστόν: Praeneste (*Palestrina*), one of the most ancient as well as in early times most powerful and important of the cities of Latium, was situated on an abrupt offset, projecting like a great bastion from the angle of the Apennines, towards the Alban Hills (a part of the same range on which Tivoli stands),

about 23 miles S.E. from Rome, with which it was connected by a road called the *via Praenestina*. The ground rises in terraces up to the highest point of the hill, where is the village of San Pietro, formerly the strong citadel of Praeneste, which is connected at the back by a lower neck of land with the mountain range. It frequently resisted the attacks of the Romans, until at the close of the Latin war in 338/416 it became an independent state, in alliance with the republic. 'The celebrity of the shrine or sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste is attested by many ancient writers. The *sortes Praenestinae* were consulted not only by distinguished Romans, but even by foreign potentates. The modern city is almost entirely built upon the substructions of this temple, which after its restoration and enlargement by Sulla, occupied the whole of the lower slope of the hill, the summit of which (more than 2400 feet above the sea and 1200 above its base) was crowned by the ancient citadel' (*E. H. Bunbury*).

53. ἐνζώσας ἐάντον sc. τῷ καλωδίῳ, 'fastening the rope round his waist'. The verb ἐνζωννύναι is omitted in the lexicons. ἀνελήφθη πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, 'he was hoisted up the wall'. Cf. Polyb. 30, 9, 8 ἀναλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐκόλυσαν τὸν ἄρχοντα, Ev. Marc. xvi 19 ἀνελήφθη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, Acts Ap. i 2, 11, 22. 54. ὦν Φενεστέλλας ἐστίν, G, § 169, 1.

Fenestella (his praenomen and nomen are unknown) was born 52/702 and flourished at the close of the Augustan period, perhaps under Tiberius. He died according to the Eusebian Chronicle in A.D. 18. The statement of Pliny nat. hist. 33, 52, 146 *sua memoria coeptum Fenestella tradit, qui obiit novissimo Tiberi principatu* is not very probable. He is quoted as an authority on all sorts of subjects, but exact quotations of his *Annales* are found only in Nonius. There is no doubt that this is the work from which Plutarch borrows his information both here and elsewhere as in Crass. c. 5. In it Fenestella devoted much attention to the history of Roman manners and to the political condition of Rome. The errors traced in him by Asconius and A. Gellius do not upset the judgment of Lactantius (*inst. div.* 1, 6, 14); *Fenestella diligentissimus scriptor*. The few connected passages, which we know, prove his style to have been discursive and circumstantial. The abridgment of his *Annals* mentioned by Diomed. 1 p. 365, 7 appears to have been a kind of table of contents, like, though much more extensive than, the prologues of Trogus. See W. S. TEUFFEL *History of Roman Literature* 1 p. 508 § 254, Engl. Tr. 1873, Mayor's *Bibliogr. Clue*, p. 119.

This great battle, which compelled Marius to shut himself up in Praeneste with no hope of escape, gave a peculiar character to the remaining operations of the war. The impregnable fortress of Praeneste became the centre and principal object of attack and defence. The Marians made in succession four attempts to relieve the town, whilst Sulla's chief attention was occupied with the task of meeting the armies which were despatched by his opponents to the north as well as the south. After the battle of Sciprius the Romans could no longer expect to hold Rome. They resolved to give it up; but before doing so they levelled a parting blow at their political opponents which was a mere act of sanguinary spite without the least practical object. The praetor Lucius Brutus Damasippus, at the bidding of Marius, convoked the senate, and caused several of its most eminent members to be murdered either on the spot or in their flight from the senate-house. Among the victims of this atrocious act were the late aedile Publius Antistius, father-in-law of Gnaeus Pompeius, and the late praetor Gaius Papirius Carbo, son of the well-known friend and subsequent opponent of the Gracchi; the consular Lucius Domitius, and above all the venerable *pontifex maximus* Mucius Scaevola, who had escaped the dagger of Fimbria, only to bleed to death during these

last throes of the revolution in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta entrusted to his guardianship. MOMMSEN, *H. R.* 3, 353—4, IHNE, *H. R.* 5, 355.

57. τοῦ συνθήματος δοθέντος, *signo pugnae dato*: an unclassical expression, perhaps a Latinism, similar to πρόσταγμα δόντος 16, 4; 28, 6. ἐνδούσαι πρὸς ὕπνον, 'gave way to sleep'. Cf. Tit. 9 ἐμφρόνως ἐνέδωκε πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις, Lysandr. 15 ἐνδόντων Ἀθηναίων πρὸς ἅπαντα, de gen. Socr. c. 20 p. 588 F ἐνδίδωσι πρὸς τὸ κινεῖν. The usual construction is with the dative, as οἴκτω ἐνδῶτε Thuc. 3, 47, 2. Cf. Aurel. Vict. *de vir. illustr.* 1, 68 in apparatu belli, quod contra Sullam parabatur apud Sacriportum, vigiliis et labore defessus sub divo requievit (Marius) et absens victus fugae, non pugnae interfuit.

§ B. 1. 59. εἴκοσιτρέις, a late form for τρεῖς καὶ εἴκοσι or εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς, G. § 77, 2 Note 2. So δεκάπεντε 24, 4, δεκάδυο Tib. Gr. 1, 2, δεκαεπτὰ Tib. Gr. 12, 2.

60. διςμυρίους: Oros. 5, 20 *Sullae etiam et Marii adulescentis maximum tunc proelium apud Sacriportum fuit, in quo de exercitu Marii caesa sunt xxv milia, sicut scribit Claudius* (i.e. Q. Claudius Quadrigrarius fl. 100/654—78/676).

61. καὶ τᾶλλα δ' ὁμοίως εὐτυχεῖτο, 'and the other operations also were alike successfully carried out by his generals', not 'he was equally successful with respect to his lieutenants' (*Langhornes*), as if it had been εὐτύχει. Cf. Thuc. 7, 77, 3 ἰκανὰ τοῖς πολεμοῖς εὐτύχηται, Plut. Num. 12 τὰ τῆς μάχης εὐτυχεῖτο.

62. Πομπηίου, Κράσσου, Μετέλλου, Σερουίλλου. Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, the Triumvir, son of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, was born in 106/648, the same year as Cicero. Like his father he was originally an opponent of the oligarchical party, but on the news of Sulla's landing he went to Picenum, where he had extensive possessions and the best municipal connexions derived from his father and the Social War, and set up the standard of the Optimate party in Auximum (*Osimo*). The district which was mostly inhabited by old burgesses joined him; the young men, many of whom had served with him under his father, readily ranged themselves under the courageous leader, who, not yet twenty-three years of age, was as much soldier as general, sprang to the front of the combat, and vigorously assailed the enemy along with them. Several divisions were despatched from the capital to put down the Picenian insurrection, but the extemporized general had the skill to evade them or beat them in detail, and to effect his junction with the main army of Sulla, apparently in Apulia. Sulla saluted him in 83/671 as *imperator*, i.e. as an officer commanding in his own name and holding not a subordinate but a parallel position, and distinguished the youth by marks of honor such as he showed to none of his noble clients. Next year 82/672 he stormed Sena Gallica and broke Carbo's rear-guard in a brilliant cavalry engagement, as that general fell back on the *via Flaminia*, with a view to take up his headquarters at his rallying point Ariminum and from that point to hold the passes of the Apennines on the one hand and

the valley of the Po on the other. He also with Crassus penetrated from Picenum by mountain paths into Umbria and gained the *via Flaminia* at Spolegium, an Umbrian town a few miles west of the Nar, a branch of the Tiber, where they defeated Carbo's legate Carrinas and shut him up in the town; and again, when Gaius Marcius Censorinus was sent with eight legions by Carbo to the relief of Praeneste, he was waylaid and completely routed by Pompeius near Sena (*Sinigaglia*) on the Adriatic. According to a passage in Frontinus, after Carbo's flight to Africa, Pompeius attacked and utterly annihilated his army at Clusium (Plut. Pomp. c. 6, Liv. Epit. 88, Dion Cass. fragm. Peiresc. 133, Vell. Paterc. 2, 29, Appian, *B. C.* 1, 88—89). When the war in Italy was brought to a close, he was sent against the remnants of the Marian party in Sicily and in Africa. On his return to Rome in 81/673 he was greeted by Sulla with the surname *Magnus*, which he ever afterwards bore, but, not satisfied with this distinction, he sued for and at last obtained a triumph, though he was still a simple *eques*, only twenty-five years of age, and had held no public office. MOMMSEN *H. R.* 3, 349 f.

Marcus Crassus Dives, the Triumvir, was the youngest son of Publius Crassus Dives, consul 97/657, who was an adherent of Sulla and put an end to his own life, when Marius and Cinna returned to Rome in 87/667. His life was spared by Cinna, but he fled to Spain where he remained until the death of Cinna in 84/670, when he crossed over into Africa and thence returned to Italy when Sulla landed there. He undertook a service of considerable danger in levying troops for Sulla among the Marsi and he distinguished himself afterwards in a successful campaign in Umbria, conquering the town of Tuder near the Tiber between Spolegium and Clusium. Sulla reminded him that in fighting against the Marians he was avenging the wrongs of his house, and flattered his ruling passion by donations of confiscated property or by allowing him to purchase the estates of the proscribed for an almost nominal sum. In 70/684 he was consul with Pompeius, in 60/694 he was one of the so-called triumvirate, in 55/699 he was again consul with Pompey and received Syria for his province: in 53/701 he was defeated with immense slaughter by the Parthian king Orodes.

Q. Caecilius Metellus, son of Numidicus, surnamed *Pius* because of the devoted affection which he manifested for his father, when he besought the people to recall him in 99/655 (Cic. de orat. 2 § 167). He became praetor in 87/667 and took an active part in the Social war. When Marius landed in Italy in that year and joined the consul Cinna, he declined to take the supreme command, but left for Africa; whence he returned to Italy and remained in Liguria until Sulla's return from Asia, when he was one of the first to join him. Early in 82/672 Metellus gained a victory over Carrinas, one of the legates of Carbo near the river Aesis in Picenum, and again over another division of Carbo's army, and

finally gained a decisive victory over Carbo and Norbanus, who had crossed the Apennines with the hope of crushing him at Faventia (*Faenza*), a town on the Via Aemilia about half way between Rimini and Bologna, on which occasion a legion of Lucanians, who were advancing under the command of P. Tullius Albinovanus, deserted to Metellus on hearing of the great rout (Appian *B. C. c.* 91 τῆς ἥττης πυθόμενον μετεχώρει πρὸς Μέτελλον). In 80/674 he was consul with Sulla himself, and the next year went as proconsul into Spain, where he continued eight years prosecuting the war against Sertorius who adhered to the Marian party. After frequent disasters he at length gained a victory over Sertorius, and celebrated a triumph in 71/683 along with Cn. Pompeius in honour of the close of the war: he afterwards became *pontifex maximus*. Cicero speaks of him (or. p. Archia § 9) as *santissimus modestissimusque omnium*.

P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, the grandson of Q. Metellus Macedonicus, was raised to the consulship by Sulla in 79/675 when he declined the office for himself, and in the following year was sent as proconsul to Cilicia to clear the seas of the pirates. He prosecuted the war successfully and obtained the agnomen of Isauricus from his conquest of the Isauri, a robber tribe who lived on the N. side of the Taurus between Pisidia and Cilicia.

Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2, 28 *paulo ante quam Sulla ad Sacripontum dimicaret, magnificis proelii partium eius viri hostium exercitum fuderant, duo Servilii apud Clusium, Metellus Pius apud Faventiam, M. Lucullus circa Fidentiam.* 63. μικρά προσκρούσαντες, 11, 3. 64. συνέτριψαν, 'crushed' 'annihilated'.

The verb **συντρίβειν** in this sense is of common occurrence in Plutarch, Aem. Paul. 7, 2 ἐν Θετταλία συντρίψαντες Φίλιππον, Demosth. 24, 1 τοῦ δ' Ἀγίδος πεσόντος καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συντρίβέντων, Lucull. 23 ἀπολέσθαι εἰσάσας καὶ συντριβῆναι (τὸν Μιθριδάτην), Crass. 7, Sertor. 16 οὐ πάντως συντριβέντας ἀλλὰ πληγὰς λαβόντας, ib. 27, Eum. 15 οὐ μέγα ἔργον ἤγειτο συντρίψαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκείνου νοσοῦντος, Pomp. 33, 1 ὁ βασιλεὺς Τιγρᾶνης ἐναγχος ὑπὸ Λευκόλλου συντετριμμένος, 65 μικροῦ συντριβῆναι καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀποβαλεῖν, Caes. 18 Τιγυρινούς οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀλλὰ Λαβιηὸς πεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συνέτριψεν; so Polyb. 5, 47, 1 ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ἵππεις...ὡς συντρίψων τοὺς διαβεβηκότας, 5, 95, 11 τὴν τε χώραν κατέσυρε καὶ τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτῶν συνέτριψε δις, Diod. Sic. 12, 28 βουλομένος συντρίψαι τὸν ἐναντίον στόλον. Plutarch uses the verb also metaphorically in the sense of *frangere animum*, as in Timol. 7, 1 κατέκλασε καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διανοίαν, de superst. 2 p. 165 β δέους...συντρίβοντος τὸν ἄνθρωπον, Dion 10, 1 διαλελωθμένον ἀπαιδευσίᾳ καὶ συντετριμμένον τὸ ἦθος.

65. τὸν—συνέχοντα, 'who was the prime support of the opposite party', lit. 'kept together', prevented from falling to pieces. This was Gnaeus Papirius Cn. f. Cn. n. Carbo, 22, 1; 28, 3. After making a third attempt to turn the fortune of war in his favour by the relief of Praeneste, though he had still a force of 30,000 men united at Clusium, and though the Samnites, in spite of all reverses and sacrifices, remained faithful to his cause, yet he left Italy and fled to Africa. Sallust Hist. fr. 1, 28 *Carbo turpi*

*formidine Italiam atque exercitus deseruit*, Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 92 ὧν ὁ Κάρβων πυνθανόμενος (viz. the desertion of some of his troops to Metellus and the victory of Lucullus at Fidentia) τρισμυρίουσ ὄμως ἔτι ἔχων περὶ τὸ Κλούσιον καὶ δύο τέλη τὰ Δαμασίππου καὶ ἕτερα περὶ Καρρίναν καὶ Μάρκιον, Σαννιτῶν τε αὐτῷ χειρὶ πολλῇ προθύμως περὶ τὰ στενὰ κακοπαθούτων, ἀπογνοὺς ἀπάντων ἀσθενῶσ ἔφευγε σὺν τοῖσ φίλοισ ἐς Λιβύην ἐξ Ἰταλίας. Ihne suggests that in crossing to Africa he hoped perhaps to imitate Sulla's example, and to return at some future time from Africa to Italy with a strong force, as Sulla had returned from Asia after the war with Mithridates. From Africa he intended to cross into Sicily, not knowing that this province was already lost to the Marian party. He tarried with a number of his friends on the island Cossyra (*Pantellaria*) half way between the coast of Africa and Sicily, where he was taken prisoner and brought to Lilybaeum before Pompeius (Liv. epit. 89), who, in order to gain the approbation of Sulla, subjected him to the indignity of being examined like a vulgar offender, and then delivered him to the executioner and sent his head to Rome as a proof of his zeal in Sulla's service: Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 96 Κάρβωνα παρασησάμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖσ ποσὶ δεσμώτην τρὶς ὕπατον ἐπεδημηγόρευσε καὶ κατέκανε, Plut. *Pomp.* c. 10 ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων τρὶς ὑπατεύσαντα πρὸ τοῦ βήματος στήσας καθεζόμενος αὐτὸσ ἀνέκρινεν ἀχθομένων καὶ βαρυνόμενων τῶν παρόντων, Valer. *Max.* 5, 3, 5 *nobis quoque tacentibus, Magne Pompei, Cn. Carbonis, a quo admodum adulescens de paternis bonis in foro dimicans protectus es, iussu tuo interempti mors animis hominum non sine aliqua reprehensione obversabitur, quia tam ingrato facto plus L. Sullae viribus quam propriae indulgisti verecundiae*, Cic. *ep. ad fam.* 9, 21.

## CHAPTER XXIX

*The last struggle for the supremacy was fought in the immediate vicinity of the Capital, and nearly ended in the defeat of Sulla. Seeing the attempts to relieve Praeneste must end in failure, as the net was being drawn tight round the army of the democrats and the Samnites, Sulla being in the way and Pompeius coming on their rear, Pontius of Telesia took the desperate resolution of throwing himself with the united strength of the two armies on Rome, which was only a good day's march distant. They were very near surprising the city; as it was, they halted about a mile from the Colline Gate, the Samnite commander being elated at the thought of having outwitted so many distinguished generals and buoyant with hope. At day-break some of the most distinguished young men came out to meet him on horseback, but they were defeated with great loss. Rome was in alarm, women were shrieking, men hurrying in all directions, expecting that the city would be destroyed by the most inveterate of their enemies. The appearance in the course of the morning of Balbus, whom Sulla had sent forward with a detachment of 700*

horsemen to oppose the enemy, revived the sinking courage of the citizens: in the afternoon Sulla appeared in person with his main force, and immediately drew up his ranks for battle before the Colline Gate. His officers adjured him not to send the troops exhausted by the forced march at once into action; but Sulla took into consideration what the night might bring on Rome, and, late as it was in the afternoon, ordered the attack (§ 1—§ 4).

The battle was the most obstinately contested and bloody of all in the campaign. On the right wing Marcus Crassus obtained a decisive victory over the enemy. But the left wing was hard pressed when Sulla came to the relief mounted on a spirited white horse. Two of the enemy's men, recognising the Roman commander, made ready to discharge their javelins at him. Sulla did not see them, but his groom did, and he whipped Sulla's horse, which made a bound and carried him just so far beyond the range of the spears, that they stuck in the ground. Sulla had in his bosom a small golden figure of Apollo, part of the spoil of Delphi. He kissed the image and prayed to the god not to desert him in this final struggle. By threats and persuasion he tried to stop his men who were giving way, but the left wing was completely broken, and Sulla mingling with the fugitives made his escape to the camp. Some of the fugitives quickly carried the news of the fight to Praeneste, and urged Ofella to raise the siege immediately, for Sulla was killed and the enemy was in Rome (§ 5—§ 8).

§ 1. 1. 1. τὸν τελευταῖον ἀγῶνα, G. § 159 Rem. καθάπερ ἑφένδρος ἀθλητῆ καταπόνῳ προσενεχθεῖς, 'just like a fresh combatant attacking an exhausted wrestler'. 3. ἐγγὺς ἦλθε τοῦ σφῆλαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν, 'was near tripping up and overthrowing', a continuation of the metaphor. Cf. Lucull. 33 ἐγγὺς ἦλθε ἀποβαλεῖν (*prope amisit*), Sertor. 19 ἐγγὺς ἐλθὼν ἀποθανεῖν (*cum raene interfectus esset*). Cf. the phrases παρ' οὐδέν or παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθεῖν followed by the infinitive with or without the article, Plut. Arist. 20, 1 παρ' οὐδέν ἂν ἦλθεν εὐθὺς ἀπολέσθαι τὰ πράγματα, Alex. 62 παρ' οὐδέν ἦλθε τὰ πράγματα λαβεῖν Ἀλέξανδρος, Polyb. 2, 55, 4 παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε τοῦ ἐκπεσεῖν. 5. Δαμπώνῳ τῷ Λευκανῷ: Florus 3, 21, 22 *Lampronius atque Telesinus, Samnitium duces, atrocius Pyrrho et Annibale Campaniam Etruriamque populantur*, Orosius 5, 20 *Sulla deinde cum Campronio (v. l. Lampronio) Samnitium duce et Carrinatis reliquis copiis ante ipsam Urbem portamque Collinam ad horam diei nonam signa contulit gravissimoque proelio tandem vicit*. Appian (*B. C.* 1, 93) agrees with Plutarch in making him a Lucanian. 7. ἔξαρπασόμενος, 'to relieve him'. Appian *B. C.* 1, 90 Μάρκον δὲ Λαμπώνιον ἐκ Λευκανίας καὶ Πόντιον Τελεσίνονον ἐκ τῆς Σαννιτιδος... μεθ' ἐπτά μυριάδων ἐπιειγομένου Μάρκον ἐξελέσθαι τῆς πολιορκίας, ὁ Σύλλας ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς, ἧ μόνῃ διαβατὸν ἦν, ἀπέκλειε τῆς παρόδου, *ib.* 92 Καρρίνας δὲ καὶ Μάρκιος καὶ Δαμάσιππος, οἷς εἶχον ἅπασιν, ἐπὶ τὰ στενὰ ἐχώρουν ὡς ὁμοῦ τοῖς Σαννιταῖς βιασόμενοι πάντως αὐτὰ περᾶσαι. οὐ δυνήθέντες δὲ οὐδ' ὡς, ἐφέροντο ἐς Ῥώμην ὡς ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν καὶ τροφῶν ἅμα καταληψόμενοι

τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ πρὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἰστρατοπέδειον ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἀλβανῶν γῆν, i.e. 'Marcus Lamponius of Lucania and Pontius Telesinus of Samnium, as they were pressing forward with 70,000 men to relieve Marius from the siege, were intercepted by Sulla from the only pass by which Praeneste could be reached... And Carrinas, Marcius, and Damasippus marched with all the forces they had to this pass, hoping with the assistance of the Samnites to force it at any cost. But finding that they could not even thus succeed, they advanced to Rome which they thought they could easily take, as being without men and provisions, and took up a position in the country of Alba a hundred stadia from it'.

§ 2. 1. 8. κατὰ στόμα, 'in his front'. So οἱ κατὰ στόμα Xen. Anab. 5, 2, 26 are 'those in the front rank' (κατ' οὐράν, *a tergo*, 'in the rear', Herod. 8, 11, Eur. Rhes. 409 Θρηγκῶν ἀρίστοις ἐμπεσῶν κατὰ στόμα. 9. εἰργόμενος τοῦ πρόσω καὶ ἔπισω sc. ἰέναι, 'since he was being hemmed in before and behind, so that he could neither advance nor retreat, like a valiant and experienced soldier, he broke up his encampment by night and marched with all his forces upon Rome'. 11. ἄρας: This intransitive use of αἰρεῖν for 'to decamp', 'depart', is common in Thucydides, e.g. (α) of an army, 2, 23, 1 ἄραντες ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν, 2, 98, 1; 3, 96, 1; 4, 11, 1; (β) of ships, 2, 22, 3; 2, 25, 3; 3, 32, 1; 3, 91, 2; 3, 106, 1; 4, 51, 1. It is not so often found in other Attic writers. See my note on Them. 11, 2, 1. 9.

ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐχώρει—τὴν Ῥώμην. By so doing they were, in a military point of view, ruined; the line of retreat, the Latin road, would by such a movement fall into Sulla's hands; and, even if they got possession of Rome, they would be infallibly crushed there, enclosed as they would be within a city by no means fitted for defence, and wedged in between the far superior armies of Metellus and Sulla. Safety, however, was no longer thought of; revenge alone dictated this march to Rome, the last outbreak of fury in the passionate revolutionists and especially in the despairing Sabellian nation. Pontius Telesia was in earnest, when he called out to his followers that, in order to get rid of the wolves which had robbed Italy of freedom, the forest in which they harboured must be destroyed. Never was Rome in more fearful peril than on the 1st November 82/672, when Pontius, Lamponius, Carrinas, Damasippus, advanced along the Latin road towards Rome, and encamped about a mile from the Colline Gate. It was threatened with a day like the 20th of July 390/364, or the 15th of June A.D. 455—the days of the Celts and the Vandals. The band of volunteers, which sallied from the city, mostly youths of quality, was scattered like chaff before the immense superiority of force. MOMMSEN, *II. R.* 3, 357—8.

παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, G. § 188, 5. 12. μικροῦ ἐδέησεν κτλ. 'he was within a little of falling upon it unguarded'. Cf. Thuc. 2, 77, 4 τοῦτο... τοὺς Πλαταιέας ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι.

13. τῆς Κολλίνης πύλης: The *Porta Collina* (called also *Agonalis* or *Quirinalis*) was one of the chief gates of Rome and from it issued the main road to the country of the Sabines (see Dionys. A. R. 9, 68; Strabo 5, 3; and Liv. 2, 11). Thus far in its course from the Tiber the Servian wall mostly skirted the edges of hills, once much more precipitous than they are now, but from the angle by the *horti Sallustiani* for a long distance southwards the wall had to cross a level plain. On this account the *porta Collina* was the gate which

was most frequently attacked by foreign enemies; as, for example, by the Gauls in B. C. 360, by Sulla in B. C. 88, and by the Democrats and Samnites in B. C. 82, when it was the scene of one of the bloodiest battles that occurred in the history of the Republic. J. H. MIDDLETON, *Ancient Rome in 1885*. Hannibal, too, encamped outside this gate when he was preparing to make an attack on Rome, which might have been successful if his courage had not failed, causing him to retreat after throwing one javelin at the city (see Mommsen *Hist. of Rome*, iii pp. 264, 318, 340). During the excavations made for the foundations of the new *Ministero delle Finanze* the *Porta Collina* was discovered, a little to the south of the present road to the *Porta Pia*.

14. ἐπηυλίσατο τῇ πόλει, 'encamped near the city'.

15. ἐπηρμένος, 'elated'. ὡς—κατεστρατηγηκώς, 'at the thought of having outgeneralled so many great commanders'.

§ 3. 1. 17. ἐξίπασαμένων ἐπ' αὐτόν, 'coming out of the city on horseback to oppose him'. Aem. Paul. 18, 2 ἐξίπασάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀκροβολιζομένους, Lucull. 31, Caes. 27 κοσμήσας τὸν ἵππον ἐξίπάσατο διὰ τῶν πυλῶν, Brut. 49.

18. Κλαύδιον Ἀππιον. It is uncertain who this Appius Claudius was. On the transposition of names see n. to Tib. Gr. 9, 1; 21, 2 § 6 l. 48.

19. κατέβαλε, *oppressit*, *trucidavit*. Mar. 21, 2 δέκα μυριάδας ἢ ζῶντας εἶλον ἢ κατέβαλον. 20. οἶον εἰκός sc. ἦν, 'as was natural, likely'.

21. διαδρομῶν (sc. οὐσῶν) ὡς ἀλίσκομένων κατὰ κράτος, 'there being a hurrying in all directions, in expectation that they were going to be taken by assault'. Polyb. 15, 30, 2 πᾶσα πλήρης ἦν ἡ πόλις θορύβου καὶ φώτων καὶ διαδρομῆς.

22. ἀνὰ κράτος, 'at full speed', Xen. de re eq. 8, 10 τὸν ἵππον ἀνὰ κράτος ἐλαύνοντα, Cyr. 4, 2, 30 ἔφευγον ἀνὰ κράτος, 5, 4, 3 διώκει ἀνὰ κράτος, Anab. 4, 3, 20 ἔθει ἀνὰ κράτος. 23. ἵππεύσιν ἐπτακοσίοις, above § 2 l. 11. Cf. Appian, *B. C.* c. 93 δείσας οὖν ὁ Σύλλας περὶ τῇ πόλει, τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας προὔπεμψε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁδεύουσιν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπειχθεὶς ἀθρόω τῷ στρατῷ παρὰ ταῖς Κολλίνας πύλαις περὶ μεσημβριαν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν, ἀμφὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, ἤδη καὶ τῶν πολεμίων περὶ τὴν πόλιν στρατοπεδεύοντων.

24. ἐγαλινώσας = τοῖς τῶν ἵππων στόμασιν χαλινὸν ἐνθεῖς, Babrius 76, 14.

25. ἐξήπτετο τῶν πολεμίων, 'attacked (lit. hung on) the enemy'. Cf. Polyb. 3, 51, 2; 4, 11, 6 ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς πορείας.

§ 4. 1. 27. εἰς τάξιν καθίστη, 'proceeded to marshal them in order of battle', 17, 3. πολλά, 9, 2; 12, 4. 28. κατακόπους, 'fatigued', 'spent'. Diod. Sic. 13, 18 ὑπὸ τῆς μάχης κατακόπους τοῖς σώμασιν, Dion. Hal. 6, 29 ὡς ἐξ ὁδοῦ μακρᾶς κατακόπους. 32. συμφέρεσθαι, 27, 4. παρωσάμενος κτλ. 'putting them by, without paying regard to them, commanded the trumpets to sound the charge'. 34. καταστρεφούσης, 'inclining', i.e. though it was getting on for four o'clock in the afternoon. App. *B. C.* c. 93 μάχης εὐθὺς αὐτοῖς περὶ δειλὴν ἐσπέραν

γενομένης, τῷ μὲν δεξιῷ Σύλλας ἐκράτει, τὸ δὲ λαῖον ἠττώμενον ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας κατέφυγεν, Oros. 5, 20 quoted at l. 5.

§ 5. l. 35. οἶος οὐχ ἕτερος sc. ἐγένετο, 'the like of which (so obstinate that such another) was not fought' in this campaign.

37. λαμπρῶς ἐνίκα, not 'won a brilliant victory', but 'had clearly the advantage'. Cf. Thuc. 1, 49, 6 ἐπεὶ ἡ τροπὴ ἐγένετο λαμπρῶς i.e. φανερώς, 2, 7, 1 λελυμένω λαμπρῶς τῶν σπονδῶν, 7, 55, 1 γεγεννημένης τῆς νίκης λαμπρᾶς ἤδη, Arrian Anab. 2, 11, 3 τότε ἤδη λαμπρὰ τε καὶ ἐκ πάντων ἡ φυγὴ ἐγίγνετο.

πονοῦντι, 'being hard pressed'. Thuc. 1, 49, 3 μάλιστα δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τῶν Κορινθίων ἐπόνει, 4, 96, 4 ὡς ἐπόνει τὸ εὐώνυμον αὐτῶν; 5, 73, 2; 6, 67, 2 ἢ ἂν τοῦ στρατεύματός τι ποινὴ μάλιστα.

39. ἔχων, 7, 5; 19, 3. θυμοειδῆ, 'full of mettle'. Philopoem. 10 ὁ ἵππος τοῦ τυράννου ῥωμαλέος ὦν καὶ θυμοειδῆς. The word is used in a bad sense 'restive' (εὐπειθής by Xen. Mem. 4, 2, 25; Symp. 2, 10. It is a favourite one with Plutarch, Rom. 6, 16; Num. 8, Aem. Paul. 6, 22; Coriol. 15; Nic. 18; Pelop. 19, 25, 29; Arist. 17, 18; Artox. 24; Agesil. 2; Alexandr. 2, 4, 26; Tib. Gr. 2; Brut. 8, 29; Pyrrh. 24; Galb. 1.

ἀφ' οὗ (sc. ἵππου) γνωρίσαντες, 'by which recognising him, distinguishing him from the rest'.

40. διετείνοντο τὰς λόγχας ὡς ἀφήσοντες, 'they had their lances poised, as if they were about to throw them', 'levelled them at him'. Cf. Herod. 9, 18, 1 διετείνοντο τὰ βέλεα ὡς ἀφήσοντες, Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 23 διατεινάμενοι οἱ μὲν τὰ παλτά, οἱ δὲ τὰ τόξα, Polyb. 15, 28, 2 διατεταμένοι τὰς μάστιγας, *intenta tenentes flagra*.

42. ἔφθη παρενεχθεὶς τοσοῦτον ὅσον—τὰς αἰχμάς—παγῆναι, 'he was carried only just so far beyond their reach that the points fell beside the horse's tail, and stuck in the ground'. Clough in his translation mistakes ἔφθη for ἔλαθε. For τοσοῦτον ὅσον 'only so much', 'no further than', cf. Lex. to Xen. Oecon. p. 154\* b.

§ 6. l. 45. χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιον. We have here another instance of Sulla's tendency to superstition. Cf. Valer. Max. 1, 1, 2 *L. Sulla, quotiens proclium committere destinabat, parvum Apollinis signum Delphis sublatum in conspectu militum complexus orabat uti promissa maturaret*, Frontin. Strateg. 1, 11, 11 *L. Sulla, quo paratiorem militem ad fugnandum haberet, praedici sibi a dis futura simulavit. Postremo etiam in conspectu exercitus, priusquam in aciem descenderet, signum modicae amplitudinis, quod Delphis sustulerat, orabat petebatque, promissam victoriam maturaret.* ἐκ Δελφῶν, 12, 4.

47. καταφιλεῖν, 'to kiss tenderly', a stronger word than φιλεῖν: Xen. Mem. 2, 6, 33 ὡς τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς φιλήσοντός μου, τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς καταφιλήσοντος.

48. Σύλλαν Κορνήλιον, 29, 3. 49. ἄρας λαμπρόν, 'after raising him to glory', G. § 166 Note 3. Aesch. 2, 174 ἦ (sc. εἰρήνη) τὸν δῆμον ὑψηλὸν ἤρεν, Demosth. Olynth. 2 § 5, p. 19, 19 μέγας ηὔξῃθη, § 8 p. 20, 9 ἤρθη μέγας, Xen. Cyr. 4, 2, 3 μέγιστον ηὔξητο. ἐνταῦθα ῥίψει ἀγαγών, 'have you brought him

here only to throw him prostrate at the gates of his native city to perish most ignobly with his fellow-citizens?'

§ 7. 1. 51. *τοιαῦτα—θεοκλυτοῦντα*, 'with such an invocation of the god'. Cf. Aristid. 28 *ταῦτα τοῦ Πausανίου θεοκλυτοῦντος*, Ages. 33 *τὰς τε χεῖρας ὀρεγόντων καὶ θεοκλυτοῦντων*, Alex. 19 *θεοκλυτοῦντος καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατελινοντος τὰς χεῖρας*, Cat. min. 58. It is also used with acc. of the person: Rom. 28 *εὐχεσθαι Κυρίῳ καὶ θεοκλυτεῖν ἐκεῖνον*. Cf. Eur. Med. 206 *θεοκλυτεῖ τὰν Θέμιν*. 56. *ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως*, for *ὁ. τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκ τῆς πόλεως προελθόντες*.

§ 8. 1. 58. *ὥστε οἶσθαι διαπεπραχθαι τὴν πόλιν*, 'so that they fancied that the city was done for', a poetical expression; Aesch. Choeph. 880 *οὐχ ὥστ' ἀρήξει διαπεπραγμένῳ*, Soph. Trach. 784 *τοῦ μὲν νοσοῦντος, τοῦ δὲ διαπεπραγμένου*, Eur. Hel. 858 *Μενέλαε, διαπεπράγμεθα*. 59. *παρ' ὀλίγον τὴν Μαρίου πολιορκίαν λυθῆναι*, 'that the blockade of Marius was all but raised', 28, 7. 60. *ὡσαμῶν ἐκεῖ*, 18, 2. 61. *Ὀφέλλαν Λουκρήτιον*: Vell. Paterc. 2, 27, 6 *obpugnatiōni autem Praenestis ac Mari praefuerat Ofella Lucretius, qui, cum ante Marianarum fuisset partium, proditor ad Sullam transfugerat*, Appian, B. C. 1 c. 88, Liv. Epit. 88. *ἀναξενγύναι*, 15, 2, 3.

Appian's account is hardly consistent with Plutarch's statement, which indeed is hardly consistent with itself. He says that the left wing fled to the gates of the city followed by the enemy, and that the older citizens who manned the walls, when they saw the enemy press in with them, let down the gates, and so killed many of their own men and some of the senators among them. The Romans, finding the gates closed, turned again on the enemy and the battle continued through the night. B. C. 1 c. 93.

## CHAPTER XXX

*In the night Crassus sent to Sulla for something to eat for his wearied soldiers, and Sulla then learned that the enemy's left wing was nearly destroyed. He came up with Crassus at Antemnae by daybreak. The enemy were still there in force. Three thousand of them prepared to surrender, and Sulla promised to spare them, if they would punish the rest of his enemies before joining him. The men trusted to his promise and attacked their comrades. When a great number had fallen on both sides, Sulla took the survivors to Rome, six thousand in number. They were placed in the Circus Flaminius and the Senate was summoned in the neighbouring temple of Bellona. As soon as Sulla began to address the Senate the men who were appointed for the work began to cut the prisoners down. The shrieks startled the Senate, but Sulla told them to attend to what he was saying and not to trouble themselves about what was going on outside: it was only some villains who were being punished by his orders. It was hence evident to the least discerning of the Romans that they had only exchanged one tyrant for another (§ 1—§ 4).*

*Marius was naturally harsh and cruel, and the possession of power did not change but aggravated his disposition: Sulla, unlike his rival, was fond of pleasure and jollity: from his early years he was tender-hearted and easily moved to tears, and yet he became the most cruel tyrant. He bore himself at first with moderation, but his character was not fully shown till opportunity came. His behaviour when he was absolute master led some to think that power changes men's tempers and makes them violent, proud and inhuman. The question whether change of fortune really does change a man's temper, or whether power merely discovers the bad qualities which have hitherto been concealed, is one which must be left for discussion elsewhere (§ 4—§ 5).*

§ 1. 1. 1. νυκτὸς οὔσης βαθείας, 'the night being far advanced', Lucian Asin. c. 34 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν νύξ βαθεῖα, Plato Crit. 43 A ἄρθρος βαθύς, Protag. 310 A ἐτι βαθέος ἄρθρον, Plut. Mor. p. 179 D περὶ ἐσπέραν βαθειαν. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2, 27, 3 *post primam demum horam noctis et Romana acies respiravit et hostium cessit.*

4. εἰς Ἄντεμναν: Antemnae (*ante amnem*) was a very ancient city of Latium, only three miles from Rome, just below the confluence of the Anio with the Tiber (Verg. Aen. 7, 631), on a hill of moderate extent, surrounded on all sides by steep declivities, which rises on the left of the *Via Salaria*.

6. τῶν πολεμίων οἱ πλείστοι διολώσιν: Sulla's vengeance was directed principally against the Samnites, as if he intended the annihilation of the Italian race, Strabo 5, 11, Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 93. Pontius of Telesia, who was found mortally wounded on the morning after the battle, Carrinas, Marcius and other leaders who soon afterwards fell into the hands of the victors were put to death. Appian says that as many as 50,000 fell on both sides, 'a number which may be much above the truth' says Long 'but in such battles no quarter was given, and when men fought obstinately hand to hand, the numbers that fell must not be estimated by the result of modern battles'. Cf. Eutrop. 5, 8 *LXX milia hostium in eo proelio contra Sullam fuisse dicuntur. XII milia se Sullae dederunt, ceteri in acie, in castris, in fuga, insatiabili ira victoris consumpti sunt*, Oros. 5, 20 *octoginta milia hominum ibi fusa dicuntur: duodecim milia sese dederunt, reliquam multitudinem in fugam versam insatiabilis victorum civium ira consumpsit.*

9. εἰ κακόν τι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐργασάμενοι πολεμίοις ἔλθοιεν πρὸς αὐτόν, 'if they would punish the rest of his enemies, before they joined him'.

§ 2. 1. 12. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους κτλ., 'he did not however (receive them to mercy), but he got together both those who had offered to surrender, and of the others those who had survived the massacre, in the circus etc.' Oros. 5, 21 *Sulla mox atque urbem victor intravit, tria milia hominum, qui se per legatos dederant, contra fas contraque fidem datam inermes securosque interfecit.*

13. εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, 'to the number of 6000'. According to Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 93 more than 8000 were killed:

τά τε αἰχμαλωτὰ ὀκτακισχιλίων πλείω γενόμενα Σύλλας, ὅτι Σαυνῖται τὸ πλεόν ἦν, καιηκόντισεν. Sulla pretended that he was going to enrol them among his troops. 14. παρὰ τὸν ἱππόδρομον, i.e. the Circus Flaminius, which was in the Campus Martius close to the temple of Bellona (τὸ τῆς Ἐννοῦς ἱερόν).

The epitomator of Livy makes the massacre take place *in villa publica*: so Flor. 3, 21, 24 *quattuor milia deditorum inermium civium in villa publica interfici iussit*, and Dion Cass. fragm. Peiresc. 135 (109 ed. Bekk.) καὶ τῇ ὕστεραία τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς ἐς τὸ Ἐννεῖον ὡς καὶ ἀπολογιούμενός τι αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ζωγραθεῖσιν ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν τὸν δημόσιον καλούμενον ὡς καὶ ἐς τὸν κατάλογον αὐτοῦ ἐσγράψων συνελθεῖν κελεύσας, τούτους ἅμα δι' ἐτέρων ἐφόνευσε (καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀνθρώπων ἀναμυχθέντες σφίσι παραπῶλοντο), καὶ ἐκεῖνοι αὐτοῦ πικρότατα διελέξατο. 'The *Villa publica* was a building in the *Campus Martius*, employed by the censors when numbering the people, by the consuls when holding levees, and by the Senate when receiving foreign ambassadors. We hear of its existence as early as 437/317'. RAMSAY *Rom. Ant.* p. 46.

15. τὸ τῆς Ἐννοῦς ἱερόν, 7, 5.

§ 3. 1. 18. κραυγῆς—φερομένης, 19, 2. 20. ἀτρέπτω, 'unmoved', cf. Luc. ver. hist. 2, 23 *προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἐξυγε καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἀτρεπτος ἦν*. καθεστηκότι, 'settled', 'composed', 'calm'. Fab. c. 17 *προσώπω καθεστῶτι*. 22. τὰ δ' ἕξω γινόμενα κτλ., 'not to concern themselves about, pry into, what was going on out of doors: it was only some (of the) villains who were being (brought to their senses) chastised by his orders'. For *νουθετεῖσθαι* cf. Ar. Vesp. 25 *εἰ κονδύλοισ νουθετήσθεθ' ἡμᾶς*, Plat. legg. IX p. 879 D *πληγαῖς τὸν τοιοῦτον νουθετεῖν*.

§ 4. 1. 24. νοῆσαι παρέστησεν, 'put it into his head to understand', 'made him see', 28, 6. ὡς ἀλλαγὴ τὸ χρῆμα τυραννίδος, οὐκ ἀπαλλαγὴ γέγονεν, 'that this fine tyrannical government has proved an exchange only, not a total change', 'that they had merely exchanged, not escaped, tyranny'. For the use of *χρῆμα* in a periphrasis to express something strange or extraordinary cf. Anton. 31 *χρῆμα θαυμαστὸν γυναικός, de sol. anim. 19 p. 973 c θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα πολυφώνου καὶ πολυφθόγγου κίττης*, Arist. Lys. 1085 *τὸ χρῆμα τοῦ νοσήματος*, Av. 827 *λιπαρὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῆς πόλεως*, Ran. 1278 *τὸ χρῆμα τῶν κόπων ὄσον*. So in Latin Plaut. Amphitr. 2, 2, 1 *res volupratum*.

26. ἐπέτεινεν, 'intensified'. 28. πολιτικῶς—ὀμιλήσας, 'using—like a citizen of a free state'. 29. δόξαν—παρασχών κτλ. 'raising expectation', 'giving good hopes of being a leader attached to the aristocratical party, yet regarding the interests of the commonalty'. Cf. Thuc. 2, 84 *δόκησεν παρέχοντες αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν*.

§ 5. 1. 31. φιλογέλως ἐκ νέου γενόμενος, 'being from his youth of a gay temper', 2, 2. Dion Cassius fr. Peir. 135 (109 ed. Bekk.) presents us with a similar portrait of Sulla's character: ὁ Σύλλας νικήσας τοὺς Σαυνῖτας, μέχρι μὲν δὴ οὖν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνης διαπρεπῆς ἦν, καὶ ἔνομα ἀπὸ τε τῶν στρατηγημάτων καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βουλευμάτων μέγιστον

ἔσχε, φιλανθρωπία τε καὶ εὐσεβεία πολὺ πρόεχεν ἐνομιζέτο, ὥστε καὶ τὴν τύχην σύμμαχον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς πάντας ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἠγείσθαι. μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐποιήσατο, ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν τοῦ αὐτοῦ τινὰ φάναι ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ ἔπειτα εἶναι. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἠμεγκεν εὐτυχῆσας. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ἃ ἕως ἀσθενῆς ἦν ἄλλοις ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἕτερα πλείω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἔπραξε, βουλόμενος μὲν πού καὶ αἰεὶ αὐτά, ἐλεγχοίς δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ. ἀφ' οὐπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔδοξέ τισιν ἢ κακοπραγία μέρος οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἔχειν. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2, 25, 3, *adeo Sulla dissimilis fuit bellator ac victor, ut, dum vincit acie, iustissimo lenior, post victoriam audito fuerit crudelior.*

πρὸς οἰκτον ὑγρός, 'easily moved to pity'. Appian, *B. C.* 5, 8 λεγόμενος ὑγρότατος ἐς ταῦτα αἰεὶ φῦναι. 32. προσετρίψατο

ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐξουσίαις διαβολήν, 'cast a blemish, fixed the imputation, on offices of great authority'. On Plutarch's use of προστρίβεσθαι see my n. on *Comp. Ag. et Cleom. etc.* 5, 1.

34. ἔμπληκτα καὶ χαῦνα, 'capricious and vain'.

36. μεταβολὴ φύσεως ὑπὸ τύχης. For this use of ὑπὸ with verbal substantives to denote the acting person or effective cause see my n. on *Xen. Hier.* 7, 6.

37. ὑποκειμένης ἀποκαλύψις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ κακίας, 'a disclosure, when in power, of native bad qualities'. 39. ἕτερα τίς—πραγματεία, 'some other history',

*Polyb.* 1, 1, 4; 1, 4, 1; 2, 56, 3; 3, 1, 1; 3, 3, 32; 5, 33, 8.

## CHAPTER XXXI

*Blood now began to flow freely, and many persons were put to death. Some, who had taken no part against Sulla, were murdered through private enmity, and Sulla consented to their death to please his partisans. At last a young man asked him in the Senate, when would these things end? he did not ask for mercy to those whom it was determined to destroy, but he intreated Sulla to release from suspense those whom he intended to spare. Sulla replied that he had not yet determined whom he would spare. 'Then tell us' said the senator 'whom you intend to punish'. Sulla said that he would do so; and immediately, without consulting his friends, published his first list of proscriptions, containing the names of eighty who were to be put to death; to this, on the following day, he added two hundred and twenty names more; and, again, on the third day the fatal list was increased by an equal number. 'These' said Sulla to the people 'are all that I can at present remember; if there are others who now escape my observation, I will proscribe their names hereafter'. Whoever killed one of these outlaws was not only exempt from punishment, but also obtained for the execution a compensation of two talents; any one, on the contrary, who befriended an outlaw was liable to the punishment of death. The property of the proscribed was forfeited to the state, like the spoil of an enemy, and their children and grandchildren lost all title to it, and, contrary to the old Roman*

principle of not punishing children for the crimes of their parents, they were excluded from a political career. Those who fled from Rome were followed by the pursuers and killed wherever they were found. No hiding-place, no sanctuary could shield any one doomed to die: husbands were butchered in the presence of their wives, children before their mothers.

The victims of revenge or personal animosity were few in comparison to those who were murdered in the general license for the sake of their riches. One man, Quintus Aurelius, who never meddled in public affairs, happened to be reading the list of the proscribed in the forum and found his own name there. He said 'Alas, it is my farm at Alba that is my persecutor'; and he had not gone far from the spot, before he was assassinated by a man who was in search of him.

§ 1. 1. 3. φόνων οὐτ' ἀριθμὸν οὐθ' ὕρον ἔχόντων. Cf. Augustin. de civ. Dei 3, 28: *in urbe tota quem vellet Sullanus quisque feriebat. Unde tot funera numerari omnino non poterant, donec Sullae suggereretur, sinendos esse aliquos vivere, ut essent quibus posset imperare*, Flor. 3, 21, 25 *quis autem illos potest computare, quos in urbe passim quisquis voluit occidit? donec admonente Fufidio, vivere aliquos debere, ut essent quibus imperaret, proposita est ingens illa tabula etc.*

6. ἐφίεντος αὐτοῦ καὶ χαριζομένου τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν, 'since he gave his permission to please his adherents'. Cf. Dion Cass. fr. Peiresc. 109 ed. Bekk. πολλοὺς μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἐπ' ἀληθείας οἱ δὲ καὶ προσποιούμενοι, ἐμίσουν, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔργων ὁμοιότητος τό τε ὁμῆθές οἱ ἐνδεικνύοντες καὶ τὴν φιλίαν βεβαιοῦντες, μὴ ἐκ τοῦ διαφόρου αὐτῶν ὑποπτειθῶσί τε καὶ καταγινώσκειν τι αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κινδυνεύσωσιν.

7. τῶν νέων εἰς, 1, 2; 16, 8.

Γάιος Μέτελλος: According to Orosius *l. c.* it was Q. Catulus: *cunctis iam, quod singuli timebant, aperte frementibus Q. Catulus palam Sullae dixit: cum quibus tandem victuri sumus, si in bello armatos, in pace inermes occidimus?*

9. ποῖ προελθόντος—προσδοκᾶν, 'how far he would proceed before they could expect his doings to be at an end'.

§ 2. 1. 10. παραιτούμεθα—τῆς τιμωρίας, 'we are not begging off from your vengeance, those whom you have determined to put out of the way, but we beg you to relieve from their suspense those whom you have decided to spare'.

12. ἀποκριναμένου μηδέπω γινώσκειν, 'replying that he has not yet decided whom he intends to spare'. Notice the deviation from Attic usage, which requires οὐ with the infinitive after verbs of saying and thinking.

13. ὑπολαβῶν, 22, 3; 24, 2. 14. οὓς μέλλεις κολάζειν, not *quos velis punire* but *eos quos vis punire*. 15. τοῦτο ποιήσειν, 6, 3.

§ 3. 1. 16. τῶν πρὸς χάριν ὁμιλούντων τῷ Σύλλᾳ, 'one of Sulla's servile followers'. Cf. Alcib. 4 τῶν πρὸς χάριν ἐξομι-

λούντων, *adulatores, qui ad gratiam eblandiendam consuetudinem agunt* (Baehr). 17. τὸ τελευταῖον, *hoc postremum*.

18. δ' οὖν, 'anyhow', 'be that as it may', whichever of the two it was that said so. See my n. to Them. 27, 2 l. 13. ὀγδοήκοντα προέγραψεν, 'proscribed eighty persons'.

A proscription was a list of persons posted in public, and every man whose name was in the list might be killed by any one who chose to do it. 'The proscriptions' says Ihne p. 375 'were intended to be not an encouragement to indiscriminate murder, but rather a barrier for the rage of over-zealous or unscrupulous partisans'. We learn from Appian that the proscriptions took place after the conclusion of the war in Italy (B. C. c. 95 ἡνυσμένον τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν πολέμῳ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ φόβῳ πολλῶ). The same author tells us that they were invented on this occasion (οὗτος (ὁ Σύλλας) δοκεῖ πρῶτος οὓς ἐκόλασε θανάτῳ προγράψαι καὶ γέρα τοῖς ἀναιροῦσι καὶ μὴνυτρα τοῖς ἐλέγχουσι καὶ κολάσεις τοῖς κρύπτουσιν ἐπιγράψαι). Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2, 28, 3: *Primus ille (Sulla), et utinam ultimus, exemplum proscriptionis invenit, ut in qua civitate petulantis convici iudicium histrioni exoleto redditur, in ea iugulati civis Romani publice constitueretur auctoramentum*. But that the practice was older appears from Plutarch Tib. Gr. 20, 2 where ἐξεκρήρυτον ἀκρίτους must mean 'outlawed', Oros. 5, 21 *Tunc Sulla auctore L. Fursidio primipilari primus infamem illam tabulam proscriptionis induxit. prima proscriptio octoginta hominum fuit, in quibus quattuor consulares erant, Carbo Marius Norbanus et Scipio, et inter eos Sertorius tunc maxime pertinescendus*.

19. τῶν ἐν τέλει, *magistratum*. κοινωσάμενος, 3, 2.

20. διαλιπὼν, 17, 3. Does this mean that Sulla let one day pass as this caused a general murmur (*Long, Pierron*), or, in spite of the general indignation, after one day's interval, he proscribed two hundred and twenty more? What does Ihne mean by saying that 'it is a sad proof of the low moral status of the Roman people, that not a single man was bold enough to resist the cruel mandate for shedding blood. *No general indignation was roused!*'?

21. ἑξοκί καὶ διακοσίους: Oros. *l.c. item alia (tabula) cum quingentis nominibus proposita est*.

τρίτη πάλιν οὐκ ἐλάττους. Authorities differ widely on the number of the victims. Appian *l.c.* says: βουλευτὰς ἐς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων ἀμφὶ χιλίους καὶ ἑξακοσίους ἐπὶ θανάτῳ προύγραψεν. ...μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ βουλευτὰς ἄλλους αὐτοῖς προσετίθει. Cf. Flor. 3, 25 *admonente Fufidio, vivere aliquos debere, ut essent quibus imperaret, proposita est ingens illa tabula, et ex ipso equestris ordinis flore ac senatu duo militia electi qui mori iuberentur: novi generis edictum*. Valerius Maximus 9, 2, 1 gives the total as 4700.

'There is no material contradiction' says Mommsen *Hist. Rom.* 3, 370 n. 'between these various reports, for it was not senators alone and equites that were put to death, and the list remained open for months. On a comparison of the figures given by Appian (1, 103) who confounds the victims of the civil war throughout with the victims of Sulla, and those of the Livian account in Eutropius (5, 9) and Orosius (5, 22), 50 senators and 1000 equites were regarded as victims of Marius, and 40 senators and 1600 equites as victims of Sulla; this furnishes a standard—at least not altogether arbitrary—for estimating the extent of the mischief on both sides'.

§ 4. 1. 22. ἐπὶ τούτοις, not 'in reference to these measures' (*Long*), nor 'on this occasion', but 'ensuite' (*Pierron*), 'hereupon', 'after this'. Δημηγορῶν εἶπε—προγράψεν, 'he stated in a public harangue that he was proscribing all he could think of at present, and as to those who now escaped his notice he would pro-

scribe them hereafter'. 24. προέγραψε—θάνατον, i. q. προέγραψε τὸν ὑποδεξάμενον καὶ διασώσαντα τὸν προγεγραμμένον ζημίαν αὐτῷ τῆς φ. ὀρίζων θάνατον, 'he proscribed every man who harboured or saved a proscribed person, ordaining death as a punishment for his humanity'. This sentence affords an apt illustration of an important rule of Greek Syntax—viz. that, when a participle and a verb of different construction refer to one and the same object, the case of that object is determined not by the verb but by the participle. Thus Thuc. 6, 11, 1 ὧν κρατήσας μὴ κατασχῆσει τις for ἃ μὴ κατασχῆσει τις κρατήσας αὐτῶν, 7, 5, 3, Eur. Hel. 753 τοῖς θεοῖσι χρῆ θύοντας αἰτεῖν ἀγαθὰ, for τοὺς θεοὺς χρῆ αἰτεῖν ἀγαθὰ θύοντας αὐτοῖς, Hipp. 663 τῆς σῆς τὸλμης εἶσομαι γεγευμένος. 28. γέρας sc. ὀρίζων. κᾶν, i. q. καὶ ἑάν, *etiamsi*.

30. γάρ, 'namely', is merely explanatory of τὸ ἀδικώτατον. It often appears redundant in a proposition which has been announced by a preceding demonstrative pronoun or after σημείον δέ, τεκμήριον δέ, δῆλον δέ (sc. ἐστὶ). So An. doc. 24, 17 αὐτὸ τὸ ἐναντιώτατον· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ εἰρήνη τὸν δῆμον ὑψηλὸν ᾗρεν, Isocr. 14, 15 τὸ ἐχόμενον· στρατόπεδον γὰρ ἔτη δέκα κάτεσχεν. ἡτίμως καὶ υἱοὺς καὶ υἰωνοὺς, 'he inflicted civil disability on the sons and grandsons of the proscribed'.

*υἰωνοὺς* is a poetical word used by Homer: the usual expression in prose is *παῖδας παίδων*. Cf. Vell. Paterc. 2, 28, 4 *nec tantum in eos, qui contra arma tulerant, sed in multos insontis sacvitum. Adiectum etiam, ut bona proscriptorum venirent, exclusique paternis opibus liberi etiam pretendorum honorum iure prohiberentur, simulque (quod indignissimum est) senatorum filii et onera ordinis sustinerent et iura perderent*, Dionys. Halic. 8, 80 οἱ τε καταλῦσαι τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο (viz. that children should not be included in the attainder or punishment of their parents) ἐπιβαλόμενοι κατὰ τοὺς ἡμετέρους χρόνους μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ τε καὶ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ἐπὶ Σύλλα πατέρων ἀφελόμενοι τὸ μετεῖναι τὰς πατρῶους ἀρχὰς καὶ βουλῆς μετέχειν καθ' ὃν ἐδυνάστευον αὐτοὶ χρόνον, ἐπίφθονόν τε ἀνθρώποις καὶ νεμεσητὸν θεοῖς ἔργον ἔδοξαν ἀποδείξασθαι. Lepidus in his speech ap. Sallust Hist. 41, 6 says of Sulla: *solus omnium post memoriam hominum supplicia in post futuros composuit, quis prius iniuria quam vita certa esset*.

This penalty bore some resemblance to the English old barbarous doctrine of attainder and corruption of blood. In the same way after one of the revolutions of Florence, the Ghibellini were excluded by their political opponents from the offices of the republic. It is not certain whether these penalties were fixed now or by a subsequent *lex Cornelia de proscriptis*. LONG *R. R.* 2, 359.

The consequence of these measures of Sulla was a great change of property all through Italy. Cities which had favoured the opposite faction were punished by the loss of their fortifications and heavy requisitions, such as the French army in the Revolutionary wars levied in Italy. Sulla settled the soldiers of twenty-three legions in the Italian towns as so many garrisons, and he gave them lands and houses by taking them from their owners. These were the men who stuck to Sulla while he lived, and attempted to maintain his acts after his death, for their title could only be defended by supporting his measures. These are 'the men of Sulla' as Cicero sometimes calls them, whose lands were purchased by murder, and who, as he says (*c. Rullum* 2, 26), were in

such odium that their title could not have stood a single attack of a true and courageous tribune. LONG *note to transl.* p. 281.

§ 5. 1. 33. ἐν πάσῃ πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας: cf. Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 95 πολλῆ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰταλιῶν ἀναίρεσις τε καὶ ἐξέλασις καὶ δήμενσις ἤν... κρίσεις τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπὸ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὅλην πικραὶ καὶ ἐγκλήματα ποικίλα, στρατηγίας ἢ στρατείας ἢ ἐσφορᾶς χρημάτων ἢ ἄλλης ὑπηρεσίας ἢ βουλευσεως ὅλης κατὰ Σύλλα. ἐγκλήματα δ' ἦν καὶ ξενία καὶ φιλία καὶ δάνεισμα, λαβάντος ἢ δόντος. ἤδη δὲ τις καὶ προθυμίας ἢ μόνης συνοδίας (συνθηβίας conī. Musgr.) ἠλίσκετο, Liv. *Epitom.* LXXXVIII *urbem ac totam Italian caedibus replevit*, Flor. 3, 28 *municipia Italiae splendidissima sub hasta venierunt, Spoletium, Interamnium, Praeneste, Florentia. nam Sulpionem, vetus oppidum socium atque amicum (facinus indignum!) non expugnat aut obsidet iure belli; sed vivo modo morte damnati duci iubentur, sic damnatam civitatem iussit Sulla deleri.*

34. φονευομένων—καθαρός, 'free from the stain of bloodshed'. For the construction cf. Xen. *Oecon.* 16, 12 with note. Appian c. 95 οἱ μὲν ἀδοκῆτως καταλαμβανόμενοι διεφθείροντο ἔνθα συναλαβάνοντο, ἐν οἰκίαις ἢ στενωποῖς ἢ ἱεροῖς, οἱ δὲ μετέωροι πρὸς τὸν Σύλλα φερόμενοί τε καὶ πρὸ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ῥιπτούμενοι. 37. ἦσαν—οὐδὲν μέρος τῶν διὰ χρήματα σφαττομένων, 'were as nothing in comparison with those who were butchered for the sake of their property'. Cf. Isocr. *Philipp.* § 43 p. 90 E οὐδὲν ἂν μέρος οὔσαι φανείεν (αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συμφοραὶ) τῶν διὰ Θηβαίους καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιους ἡμῖν γεγενημένων, Panath. § 54 p. 243 E ὧν ἐπιχειρήσας τις κατηγορεῖν τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας συνεχῶς οὐδὲν ἂν μέρος εἰρηκέναι δόξειε τῶν ἐκείνοις ἡμαρτημένων.

33. τῶν διὰ χρήματα σφαττομένων; Dion Cass. *l. c.* ἔσφαζον δὲ καὶ ὅσους πλουτοῦντας ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως ὑπερχοντας εἰρων, τοὺς μὲν φθόνῳ τοὺς δὲ διὰ χρήματα· πλείστοι γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ τῶν μέσων, κἀν μὴδὲ ἑτέροις ὡσι συναίροντες, ἰδίον τὴν ἐγκλημα τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ἢ καὶ γένει πλούτῳ τέ τινος προέχειν λαμβάνοντες, Oros. *l. c.* *ita liberae per Urbem caedes, percussoribus passim vagantibus ut quemque vel ira vel praeda sollicitabat, agitabantur*, Valer. *Max.* 9, 2, 1 *nec contentus in eos saevire qui armis a se dissenserant, etiam quieti animi cives propter pecuniae magnitudinem per nomenclatorem conquisitos proscriptorum numero adiecit.*

33. ἐπήει, *in mentem veniebat*, 'it occurred'.

§ 6. 1. 41. ἀνήρ ἀπράγμων, 'an inoffensive man', 'one who kept aloof from public affairs'.

29, 5.

45. εὐρὼν ἑαυτόν sc. προγεγραμμένον.

46. Ἄλβανῶ, sc. ἀγγρῶ or ὄρει.

## CHAPTER XXXII

*Meanwhile Marius the younger, rather than fall into the enemy's hands, kills himself. Sulla on his arrival at Praeneste (the garrison of which seeing that further resistance was hopeless had surrendered to Ofella), began by trying and punishing the inhabitants one by one; but, as this process took up too much time, he had them all brought into one place together and then massacred, to the number*

of twelve thousand. He offered to spare an old friend, but the man refused to accept such an offer from the destroyer of his country (§ 10).

The most monstrous act was that of Lucius Sergius Catilina, who, having murdered his brother during the civil war, begged Sulla to allow his name to appear in the proscription lists as if he were still alive, and, in return for the favour which was granted him, brought to Sulla, as he was seated in the Forum, the head of M. Marius, a relation of his great rival, and then went and washed his hands in the lustral vessel, at the entrance to the temple of Apollo (§ 2).

§ 1. 1. 1. ἐν τούτῳ, 9, 1. ἀλισκόμενος, 'when he was on the point of being taken'. ἐαυτὸν διέφθειρε: The story is repeated by Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 94 Πραϊνέστιοι δὲ...τὴν πόλιν τῷ Λουκρητίῳ παρέδωσαν, Μαρίου καταδύντος εἰς τάφρους ὑπονόμου καὶ μετὰ βραχὺ καὶ ἀνελόντος ἐαυτὸν. [By ὑπόνομος is meant one of the underground passages which supplied the town with water and were also intended for the purpose of escape. Ὑπόνομοι τάφροι is used by Dionys. Halic. *A. R.* 3, 67 to translate *cloacae* and ὑπόνομοι simply by Dion Cassius 49, 43.]

Another version is given by the Epitomator of Livy LXXXVIII, and by Orosius 5, 21, viz. that Marius and Telesinus, a younger brother of Pontius Telesinus, were together in the subterranean passage, and that when they found no outlet they drew their daggers to kill one another. Telesinus was killed by Marius, who, not being mortally wounded, prevailed on a slave to despatch him. Whether he perished thus, or, as Velleius Paterculus 2, 27 says, was caught, just as he put his head out of the hole (*cum foramine e terra emersisset*), must be of course uncertain. According to Appian Ofella cut off the head of Marius and sent it to Sulla, who set it up in front of the Rostra in the Forum, and uttered with a contemptuous smile at the youth of Marius the words of Aristophanes 'ἐρέτην δεῖν πρώτα γενέσθαι, πρὶν πηδαλίους ἐπιχειρεῖν'.

### 3. κατ' ἄνδρα, *viritim*.

4. πάντας—ἐκέλευσεν ἀποσφάττειν: The story of the massacre is thus told by Appian c. 94 Λουκρήτιος δ', ἐπεὶ Πραϊνεστον εἶλε, τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐνταῦθα Μαρῖῳ στρατηγούτων τοὺς μὲν αὐτίκα ἀνήρει, τοὺς δ' ἐς φυλακὴν ἐσέβαλλεν οὓς ὁ Σύλλας ἐπελθὼν ἀνείλεν. καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πραϊνεστῷ προσέταξε χωρὶς ὀπλων προελθεῖν ἅπαντας ἐς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ προελθόντων τοὺς μὲν ἐαυτῷ τι χρησίμους γενομένους, ὀλίγους πάμπαν, ἐξείλετο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἐς τρία ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διαστήναι, Ῥωμαίους τε καὶ Σαυνίτας καὶ Πραϊνεστίους, ἐπεὶ δὲ διέστησαν, τοῖς μὲν Ῥωμαίοις ἐπεκήρυξεν ὅτι καὶ οἶδε ἄξια θανάτου δεδράκασι καὶ συγγνώμην ἔδωκεν ὁμως, τοὺς δὲ ἐτέρους κατηκόντισεν ἅπαντας· γυναῖα δ' αὐτῶν καὶ παιδία μεθήκεν ἀπαθείς ἀπίεναί. καὶ τὴν πόλιν διήρπαξε, πολυχρήματων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τότε οὖσαν. Cf. Valer. Max. 9, 2, 1 *L. Sulla quinque milia Praenestinatorum spe salutis per P. Cethegum data extra moenia municipii evocata, cum abiectis armis humi corpora prostravissent, interficienda protinusque per agros dispergenda curavit*, Lucan Pharsal. 2, 193;

*vidit Fortuna colonos  
Praenestina suos cunctos simul ense recisos,  
unius populum pereuntem tempore mortis.*

6. μόνῳ τῷ ξένῳ διδοὺς ἄδειαν, 'offering pardon to none but his great friend'. The story is repeated by Plutarch in his *praeccepta ger. rei.* c. 19 p. 816 A: ἐπεὶ ἐλὼν Πραϊνεστον ὁ Σύλλας ἔμελλε τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀποσφάττειν, ἕνα δ' ἐκεῖνον ἠφίει διὰ

τὴν ξενίαν, εἰπὼν ὡς οὐ βούλεται σωτηρίας χάριν εἶδέναι τῷ φονεῖ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀνέμιξεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ συγκατεκόπη τοῖς πολίταις.

8. σωτηρίας χάριν εἴσεται, *pro salute gratiam habebit*.

9. ἀναμιχθεὶς τοῖς πολίταις, 28, 2; 29, 7. See n. on 31, 4.

§ 2. 1. 11. καινότατον, 'strangest', 'most unheard of'.

12. Κατιλίαν, L. Sergius Catilina, who formed the conspiracy in the consulship of M. T. Cicero 63/691. οὐπω τῶν

πραγμάτων κεκριμένων, *rebus nondum decisis*, 'before matters came to an issue', 'before the civil war was ended'.

14. τὸν ἄνθρωπον, 27, 6. We have the same story told in the Life of Cicero c. 10.

16. Μάρκον τινὰ Μάριον, M. Marius Gratidianus, concerning whom see my n. to Cic. de off. 3, 11, 67.

Other writers speak of the inhuman tortures which Sulla allowed to be inflicted on him; Liv. Epitom. LXXXVIII *Marium, senatorii ordinis virum, cruribus brachiiisque fractis, auribus praesectis et effossis oculis necavit*, Valerius Maximus 9, 2, 1 borrowing from Livy says *quam porro crudeliter se in M. Mario praetore gessit! quem per ora vulgi ad sepulcrum Lutetiae gentis (in retaliation for the death of Catulus, who was the personal enemy of the elder Marius) pertractum non prius vita privavit, quam oculos infelices erueret et singulas corporis partes confringeret*, Oros. 5. 21 *M. Marium de caprili casa extractum vinciri Sulla iussit ductumque trans Tiberim ad Lutetiorum sepulcrum effossis oculis membrisque minutatim desectis vel etiam fractis trucidari*, Seneca de ira 3, 18 *M. Mario cui vicatim populus statuas posuerat, cui ture ac vino supplicarat, L. Sulla praefringi crura, erui oculos, amputari manus iussit et quasi totiens occiderat quotiens vulnerabat, paulatim et per singulos artus lacerabat. quis erat huius imperii minister? quis, nisi Catilina iam in omne facinus manus exercens? is illum ante bustum Q. Catuli carpebat gravissimum mitissimè viri cineribus, supra quos vir mali exempli, popularis tamen et non tam inmerito quam nimis amatus per stillicidia sanguinem dabat. dignus erat Marius qui illa pateretur, Sulla qui tuberet, Catilina qui faceret, sed indigna respublica quae in corpus suum pariter et hostium et vindicum gladios reciperet*, Lucan Pharsal. 2, 173;

*quid sanguine manes*

*placatos Catuli referam? cum victima tristes inferias Marius, forsitan nolentibus umbris, pendit, inexpleto non fanda piacula busto: cum laceros artus, aequataque vulnera membris vidimus, et toto quamvis in corpore caeso nil animae letale datum moremque nefandae dirum saevitiae, pereuntis parcere morti. Avolsae cecidere manus exsectaque lingua palpitat et muto tacitum ferit aëra motu: hic aures, alius spiramina naris aduncae amputat; ille cavis evolvit sedibus orbes vitimaque effundit spectatis lumina membris.*

'As Plutarch says nothing of the torturing of Marius, it is possible that we have here a huge exaggeration or a mere fiction before us. Perhaps it originated in the charges which Cicero's brother Quintus brought against Catiline (Q. Cicero de petit. consul. 3, 10). It is very curious that Cicero himself never mentions these atrocities, though he surely would not have willingly lost an opportunity for representing Catiline as the most execrable miscreant'. HINE H. R. 5, 381 n.

17. τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως, *unum ex adversa factione* 1, 1; 12, 4.

19. τῷ περιρραντηρίῳ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, the stone vessel, containing lustral water, placed at the entrance of the

temple of Apollo, for those who entered to wash their hands or dip their fingers in. The temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius was built in 428/326.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

*There were other things besides the work of massacre by which Sulla aroused general indignation. He got himself declared Dictator for the settlement of the State, reviving an office which had not been filled for 120 years, and which conferred upon him unlimited plenitude of power. He received a retrospective approval of all his official acts as consul and proconsul; he was empowered to adjudicate without appeal on the life and property of the burgesses, to deal as he liked with the state-domains, to alter at discretion the boundaries of Rome, of Italy and of the state, to dissolve or establish civic communities in Italy, and to dispose of the provinces and dependent states. By virtue of his new official authority Sulla settled matters according to his pleasure: the sales of confiscated properties were openly made by the Dictator himself, and he disposed of the proceeds in a despotic and capricious manner.*

*Handsome women, and other boon companions, musicians, actors, and even freedmen of the very lowest class were allowed to purchase without competition or had the purchase money remitted. Some, notably Cn. Pompeius Magnus, he even compelled to put away their own wives and marry those of others. He got rid of enemies in order to secure himself, and of friends too when they stood in his way. Lucretius Ofella, presuming on his services, canvassed for the consulship. Sulla attempted to persuade him to desist from his pretensions, but Ofella refused and lost his life. The people seized the centurion, whom Sulla had ordered to kill him, and brought him before Sulla; but he silenced their clamours by declaring that the centurion had only done what he was bid.*

§ 1. 1. 1. ἔξω τῶν φονικῶν, 'besides his work of massacre'. Isocr. p. 48 C οἱ ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ τῶν φονικῶν ἐγκαλέσαντες (qui in principio causam homicidii egerunt) ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἡμετέροις τὰς κρίσεις ἐποίησαντο περὶ αὐτῶν. 2. δικτάτορα ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε, 'proclaimed himself dictator', not literally but virtually. This was in 81/673. As both the consuls of 82/672, Marius and Carbo, were dead, and Sulla himself possessed really only proconsular, that is to say, purely military power, the republic was without a legally appointed head. Sulla left Rome for a time, as if he wished to avoid the appearance of exercising an undue pressure on the decisions of the Senate, but he wrote a letter to them, in which he announced that it seemed to him indispensable that they should place the regulation of the State in the hands of one man invested for an indefinite period with unlimited plenitude of power (οὐκ ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὄλην στάσει καὶ πολέμοις σεσαλευμένην στηρίσειεν

Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 98), and at the same time that he thought himself qualified to fulfil this difficult task (ὅτι οἱ δοκοῖη μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τῷδε γενέσθαι χρήσιμος). The suggestion was of course equivalent to an order, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the interrex, as interim holder of the supreme power, submitted a formal proposal to the people to elect Sulla to the office of Dictator for re-establishing peace, to confer on him the supreme legislative and judicial authority; and that it should be left to his judgment to determine when he had fulfilled his task and might deem it time to resign the extraordinary magistracy. 'This new office derived its name from the Dictatorship, which had been practically abolished since the Hannibalic war; but it was quite different from the earlier limited magistracy. It much more resembled that of the *decemviri legibus scribundis*, or rather this new office, with its absolute power based on a decree of the people and restrained by no term or colleague, was no other than the old monarchy'. MOMMSEN *H. R.* 3, 367. Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 99 says 'Ρωμαῖοι δ' οὐχ ἐκόντες μὲν οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον ἐπι χειροτονοῦντες οὐδέν, οὐδ' ἐπὶ σφίσιν ἠγούμενοι τὸ ἔργον ὄλως, ἐν δὲ τῇ πάντων ἀπορία τῇν ὑπόκρισιν τῆς χειροτονίας ὡς ἐλευθερίας εἰκόνα καὶ πρόσχημα ἀσπασάμενοι, χειροτονοῦσι τὸν Σύλλαν ἐς ὅσον θέλοι τυράννον αὐτοκράτορα.

3. ἀνηγόρευσε, post-classical for ἀνεῖπε, 27, 6.

δι' ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, 'after an interval of 120 years'. Cf. Velleius Paterc. 2, 28 *videbantur finita belli civilis mala, cum Sullae crudelitate aucta sunt. Quippe dictator creatus (cuius honoris usurpatione per annos centum et viginti intermissa; nam proximus post annum (202/552), quam Hannibal Italia excesserat, uti appareat populum Romanum usum dictatoris ut in metu desiderasse, ita in otio timuisse potestatem) imperio, quo priores ad vindicandam maximis periculis rempublicam olim usi erant, eo in immodicae crudelitatis licentiam usus est.* The last Dictator had been Gaius Servilius Geminus, who was appointed for the purpose of holding the consular elections in the 17th year of the second Punic War.

4. ἀναλαβῶν, 19, 3.

ἐψηφίσθη δ' αὐτῷ πάντων ἄδεια τῶν γεγονότων. Cf. Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 97 πάντα ὅσα διώκησεν ὁ Σύλλας ὑπατεύων τε καὶ ἀρθυπατεύων, βέβαια καὶ ἀνεύθυνα ἐψηφίζοντο εἶναι. Cic. de leg. agr. III 2, 5 *omnium legum iniquissimam dissimillimamque legis esse arbitror eam, quam L. Flaccus interrex de Sulla tulit, ut omnia, quaecumque ille fecisset, essent rata. nam cum ceteris in civitatibus tyrannis institutis leges omnes extinguantur atque tollantur hic reipublicae tyrannum lege constituit.*

6. ἐξουσία θανάτου δημεύσεως. Cic. de legg. 1, 15, 42 *nihil, credo, magis (cae leges iustae haberentur) illa quam interrex noster tulit, ut dictator quem vellet civium indicta causa impune posset occidere, Verr. 3, 35, 81 unus adhuc fuit post Romam conditam—cui respublica se totam traderet—, L. Sulla. Hic tantum potuit, ut nemo, illo invito, nec bona nec patriam nec vitam retinere posset.*

7. κληρουχίων, κτίσεως, πορθήσεως. In

Campania the democratic colony of Capua was done away with

and its domain given back to the state; in Latium Sulmo in the Pelignian district was razed, Samnium was laid waste for ever, its flourishing towns, even Aesernia, the former Latin colony, were left in ruins. In Etruria a number of the most considerable communes, such as Florentia, Volaterrae, Faesulae, Arretium, were visited with total confiscation. The two latter became Sullan colonies, as also Praeneste and Pompeii. ἀφελῆσθαι βασιλείαν, G.

§ 259. 'The expression' says Ihne 'appears to have reference to Sulla's dispositions in the Asiatic and Numidian kingdoms'. Dion. Hal. 5, 77 after writing of the Dictatorship and the moderate use previously made of the power it conferred, adds: ἐν ταῖς ἐμφυλίοις διχοστασίαις πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γενομέναις καὶ ἐπὶ καταλύσει βασιλείων καὶ τυραννίδων ὑποπτευομένων καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων συμφορῶν κωλύσει μυρίων ὄσων οἱ τηλικαύτης τυχόντες ἐξουσίας ἅπαντες ἀνεπιλήπτους ἑαυτοὺς παρέσχοντο... ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἡλικίας ὁμοῦ τι τετρακοσίων διαγενομένων ἐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Τίτου Λαρκίου δικτατορίας διεβλήθη καὶ μισητὸν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἐφάνη τὸ πρᾶγμα Λευκίου Κορνηλίου Σύλλα πρώτου καὶ μόνου πικρῶς αὐτῆ καὶ ὡμῶς χρησαμένου· ὥστε τότε πρώτον αἰσθῆσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ὃ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα χρόνον ἠγγόουν, ὅτι τυραννίς ἐστίν ἢ τοῦ δικτάτορος ἀρχή. βουλὴν τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀνθρώπων συνέστησε—καὶ πόλεις ὅλας ἐξέψικε καὶ βασιλείας τὰς μὲν ἀνεῖλε, τὰς δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπέδειξε καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ αὐθάδη διεπράξατο.

§ 2. 1. 9. οἴκων, 'estates'. Xen. Oec. 1, 4. It is stated by the Epitomator of Livy that the sale of the confiscated estates amounted to 350,000,000 sesterces or nearly three millions sterling.

12. λυρῳδοῖς καὶ μίμοις: cf. Athen. Deipnos. 6, 78 Νικόλαος δ' ἐν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ καὶ ἑκατοστῇ τῶν ἱστοριῶν Σύλλα φησὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν οὕτω χαίρειν μίμοις καὶ γελωτοποιοῖς, φιλόγελων γενόμενον, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ γῆς μέτρα αὐτοῖς χαρίζεσθαι τῆς δημοσίας. ἐμφανίζουσι δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ ταῦτα ἰλαρὸν αἰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γραφεῖσαι κωμωδίαι τῇ πατρίῳ φωνῇ.

λυρῳδοί are 'musicians', lit. 'those who sing to the lyre'; but see cr. n. 13. μίμοις, 2, 2. καθάρμασιν ἐξελευθερικοῖς, *purgamentis libertinorum*, i. e. *libertinis abiectissimis*, 'the lowest of the freed slaves'. Cf. Arist. Plut. 454, Eupol. Δημ. 15 αἰρούμενοι καθάρματα στρατηγούς. Such was Chrysogonus, concerning whom see Plut. Cic. c. 3, Cic. or. p. S. Rosc. Am. c. 8.

14. χῶρας, *agros*, 'lands': the plural is rarely found, Xen. Cyr. 8, 6, 4 χῶρας καὶ οἴκους, Oecon. 4, 17 χῶρας ἐνέργους ποιεῖν.

15. ἀκουσίως ζευγνυμένων, 'compelled to marry against their will'.

§ 3. 1. 15. Πομπήμιόν γέ τοι, 'it is certain at all events as to Pompey', that etc. This was the young Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus, who obtained for himself from Sulla—half in recognition, half in irony—the surname of Magnus. A remarkable delineation of his character is given by Mommsen *H. R.* 4, 10 ff. His future great rival C. Julius Caesar refused to send a divorce to his young wife at the bidding of Sulla. οἰκειώσασθαι, *ad suas partes*

- adiungere*, 'to win over to his side', *οικειώτητι προσθέσθαι* Pomp. 9.
17. ἦν εἶχε γαμετήν, 6, 11. This was Antistia, as we know from Pomp. c. 9 *πέθουσι τὸν Πόμπηιον ἀπαλλαγέντα τῆς Ἀντιστίας λαβεῖν γυναῖκα τὴν Σύλλα πρόγονον (privignam) Αἰμιλιαν... ἀνδρὶ συνοικοῦσαν ἤδη καὶ κύουσαν τότε.*
18. Σκαύρου θυγατέρα, M. Aemilius Scaurus, cos. 115/639 with M. Caecilius Metellus, and afterwards *princeps senatus*, whose widow Caecilia Sulla married in 88/666, c. 6, vit. Pomp. c. 9.
19. Μανλίου Γλαβρίωνος: Manius Acilius Glabrio, who was praetor in 70/684 during the proceedings against Verres. He was the son of the M'. Acilius Glabrio who got a law passed on mal-administration in office (*repetundae*), and the grandson of the Glabrio who defeated king Antiochos near Thermopylae (c. 12). (*Long*).
20. ἐγκύμονα, sc. οὔσαν, *praegnantem*: vit. Pomp. l. c. ἦν οὖν τυραννικὰ τὰ τοῦ γάμου καὶ τοῖς Σύλλα καιροῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ Πομπηίῳ βίῳ πρόποντα, τῆς μὲν Αἰμιλίας ἀγομένης ἐγκύμονος παρ' ἐτέρου πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐξελαυνομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀντιστίας ἀτίμως καὶ οἰκτρῶς, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐναγχος ἐστερημένης διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα κατεσφάγη γὰρ ὁ Ἀντιστίος ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ δοκῶν τὰ Σύλλα τηρεῖν διὰ Πομπηίον· ἢ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἐπιδοῦσα τοιαῦτα προήκατο τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως, ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος τῆ περὶ τὸν γάμον ἐκείνων τραγωδία προσγενέσθαι καὶ νῆ Δία τὸ τὴν Αἰμιλιαν εὐθὺς διαφθαρῆναι παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τίκτουσαν.
21. Λουκρητίου Ὀφέλλα, 29, 8.
23. μετιόντος, *ambientis*, 'canvassing for'.
- § 4. 1. 24. ὑπὸ πολλῶν σπουδαζόμενος, 'supported by a large party'. See n. on Them. 5, 2.
27. τὸν ἄνδρα, Them. 12, 3 n.
28. ἐν τῷ Διοσκουρείῳ, 'in the Temple of Castor' on the south-western side of the Forum, of which there are three Corinthian columns still remaining. On account of the height to which the basement of the temple was raised, it commanded the Forum, (*ἐφορῶν ἄνωθεν*) and afforded a convenient place for the delivery of harangues to the crowds assembled in it. See Burn's *Rome and the Campagna* p. 100 ff.
31. αὐτὸς ἔφη κελεύσαι τοῦτο: Appian's narrative is more circumstantial. He says that Ofella put forward his claims to the consulship διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εἰργασμένων, when he was only an *eques* and had not yet served the offices of quaestor and praetor: and that Sulla justified the execution of Ofella Lucretius before the burgesses, and silenced remonstrance by relating to the people the fable of the countryman and the lice: 'φθειρες γεωργὸν ἀροτριῶντα ὑπέδακνον· ὁ δὲ δις μὲν τὸ ἀροτρον μεθεῖς τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἐκάθηρεν, ὡς δ' αὖθις ἐδάκνετο, ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις ἀργοίη, τὸν χιτωνίσκον ἔκαυσεν· κἀγὼ τοῖς δις ἠττημένοις παραινῶ τρίτου πυρὸς μὴ δεηθῆναι', 'a clown while ploughing was pestered by lice. Twice he let go his plough and cleaned his jacket of them. But, as they continued to bite him, he burnt his jacket that he might not be constantly interrupted in his work. So I advise those who have been twice beaten not to make fire necessary the third time'.

## CHAPTER XXXIV

Rome never witnessed a more gorgeous triumph than that which Sulla celebrated for his victories in the Mithridatic war. The chief spectacle, however, was the procession of distinguished citizens, restored by him from banishment, who accompanied his triumphal car with chaplets on their heads and loudly proclaimed him as their saviour. After the triumph the Dictator made a speech before the people, in which he recounted all the incidents of his life, his successes as well as his brave deeds, and in conclusion he bade them salute him by the name of *Felix*, the nearest translation of which is εὐτυχής. In writing or giving an audience to Greeks, he signed or called himself an *Epaphroditos*; and the name *Lucius Cornelius Sulla Epaphroditos* appeared also on his trophies in Boeotia. Some time after his return *Metella* bore him twins, a boy and a girl. He named the boy *Faustus* and the girl *Fausta*, the Latin word for 'happy and joyous'. He was so proud of his uniquely faithful fortune, that though he had made so many enemies by the horrors attaching to his re-organisation of the state—the proscriptions and confiscations—the absolute autocrat, when his work was finished, of his own accord returned to the condition of a private citizen. He allowed the people to elect whom they would as consuls and refrained from interference. Only when *Pompeius* had canvassed for *Lepidus*, a headstrong partisan of the opposite faction and scoured his election contrary to Sulla's wish, seeing that *Pompeius* was pleased at the result, he told him that he was only strengthening a rival. Sulla's foresight was just, as events soon showed.

§ 1. 1. 2. **σοβαρός**, 'imposing', 'magnificent', a post-classical use of the word: cf. Sert. 22, 3 δέπνων σοβαρωτέρων ὑποδοχάς, Alex. 45 σοβαρωτέραν στολήν. His triumph was celebrated on the 29th and 30th January 81/673. On the first day there were exhibited fifteen thousand pounds weight of gold and one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds of silver, the produce of Sulla's victories and pillage: on the second day, thirteen thousand pounds of gold and six thousand pounds of silver, which the younger *Marius* had carried to *Præneste* from the ruins of the capitol and from the other temples in Rome, Plin. Nat. Hist. 33, 1. 3. **μείζονα**—**τοὺς φυγάδας**, 'imposing as it was in the costliness and rarity of the regal spoils, had a greater ornament in the exiles', those whom the Marian faction had expelled. 5. **παρέπιοντο**, 'followed in the procession'. 6. **ἀποκαλοῦντες**, here used in a good sense: see my n. on Tib. Gracch. 21, 3. 7. **κατιόντες**, *ab exilio redeuntes*, Them. 11, 1 with note. 8. **παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας**, on the omission of the article in enumeration, see n. on Them. 10, 2 l. 20.

§ 2. 1. 8. **συνηρημένων ἀπάντων**, *omnibus transactis*, a post-classical sense of the verb; cf. Marc. 3, 1 τοῦ πολέμου συναίρε-

θέντος, Timol. 9, 3 ὡς τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἀπολείποντος συνηρησθαι, Mar. 45, 1 συνηρηκῶς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον, Lysandr. 11, Pomp. 38, 1 συνηρημένον πόλεμον καὶ πέρας ἔχοντος, Sertor. 13 συναιρήσων τὴν πολιορκίαν, Brut. 36 εἰ συνέλοι τὴν περὶ ταῦτα χρεῖαν, Mar. 8, 4 ὁδὸν συνελών.

9. ἀπολογισμὸν τῶν πράξεων ποιούμενος, not 'rendering an account of his actions' (*Clough*), but 'giving an account of them in a set speech' (*Langhornes*). Cf. Polyb. 10, 24, 8 ὁ κεφαλαιώδης τῶν πράξεων ἀπολογισμὸς, *brevis rerum gestarum expositio per summa capita*, ib. ὁ μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἀπολογισμὸς, *uberior expositio cum explicatione causarum*.

10. εὐτυχίας—ἀνδραγαθίας, 'his successes—acts of gallantry', 27, 3. See my n. to Xen. Oecon. 1, 21, Plut. Tib. Gr. 2, 1.

11. πέρας, adv. 'finally', G. § 160, 2.

12. Εὐτυχῆ προσαγορεύεσθαι: Vell. Paterc. 2, 27, 5 *occiso deum eo* (Mario adulescente) *Felicitis nomen assumpsit, quod quidem usurpasset iustissime, si eundem et vincendi et vivendi finem habuisset*, Aurel. Vict. de vir. ill. 1, 75 *Mario Praeneste interfecto, Felicem se edicto appellavit*. Cf. Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 97 εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἐπίχρσον ἐπὶ ἵππου πρὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων ἀνέθεσαν καὶ ὑπέγραψαν Κορνηλίου Σύλλα ἡγεμόνος εὐτυχούς. ὦδε γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ κόλακες, διευτυχοῦντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὠνόμαζον· καὶ προῆλθεν ἐς βέβαιον ὄνομα ἡ κολακεία.

13. ὁ Φῆλιξ, 'the word Felix'. βούλεται δηλοῦν, 'professed to express'. Plat. Cratyl. 412 C τὸ γε ἀγαθόν, τοῦτο τῆς φύσεως πάσης τῶ ἀγαστῶ βούλεται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπικεῖσθαι, 414 A γυνή δὲ γυνή μοι φαίνεται βούλεσθαι εἶναι.

14. χρηματίζων, not 'when he had any business to transact with them' (*Long*), but 'in his answers to their applications' (*Langhornes*). See on 5, 4 and Index s.v.

15. Ἐπαφρόδιτον, 'chosen favourite of Aphrodite', Appian *l.c.* ἤδη δὲ πού γραφῆ περιέτυχον ἡγουμένη τὸν Σύλλαν ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν τῷδε τῷ ψηφίσματι ἀναγραφῆναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἐφαίνετό μοι καὶ τόδε, ἐπεὶ καὶ Φαῦστος ἐπωνομάζετο· δύναται δὲ τοῦ αἰσίου καὶ ἐπαφροδίτου ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα εἶναι τὸ ὄνομα.

One of the Dictator's coins, of which a cut is given in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Lat. Biogr.* Vol. III p. 943, has on the obverse the head of Venus before which Cupid stands holding in his hand the branch of a palm tree, and on the reverse a *guttus* and a *lituus* between two trophies, with IMPER. ITERV(M).

16. παρ' ἡμῖν, 'amongst us', i.e. in our country.

§ 3. 1. 18. ἕτι δέ, 6, 5; 15, 3. 19. Φαῦστον, mentioned in Pomp. c. 42.

21. οὐ—ὡς for οὐχ οὕτως—ὡς.

23. καινοτομίας γενομένης—τοσαύτης, 'though so many reforms had been made in the state'. The principal changes introduced by the Sullan constitution were the restoration of the Senate as the one supreme privileged, judicial and legislative power, the recognition of the quaestorship as a title to a seat in the Senate, the abolition of the censorial right to eject a senator from the Senate—the degradation of the tribunate, (1) by loss of free initiative in legislation, (2) by making it a bar to higher office (Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 100)—the enforcement of proper order in the tenure of magistracies, and

of an interval of ten years between two tenures of the same magistracy (Appian *ib.*),—the separation between the home and foreign command of consuls and praetors by transferring the latter from the popularly elected magistrate to the senatorial officer. These changes, however, were not so much the creations of Sulla, as institutions<sup>7</sup> which had previously grown out of the oligarchic government, and which he merely regulated and fixed. MOMMSEN *H. R.* 3, 405.

25. ἀποθέσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, 'laid down his dictatorship', after he had held it for two years from the end of 82/672 to the beginning of 79/675. He had been ten years in command from his first consulship 88/666; Plut. comp. Lys. et Sull. c. 1 ἔτη συνεχῶς δέκα νῦν μὲν ὑπατον νῦν δ' ἀνθύπατον νῦν δὲ δικτάτορα ποιῶν ἑαυτὸν. He was consul in 80/674 and the people re-elected him for 79/675, supposing that it would gratify him. But he declined the honour and named P. Servilius Isauricus and Appius Claudius Pulcher consuls (Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 103). 26. μὴ προσελθεῖν sc. τοῖς ἀρχαιρεσίοις.

27. τὸ σῶμα παρέχων—ὑπεύθυνον, *corpus nihil est ad iniuriam obnoxium praebens.*

28. ὡσπερ ἰδιώτης ἀναστρέφεσθαι: Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 103 τοσοῦτον ἦν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀνδρὶ τόλμης καὶ τύχης· ὃν γέ φασι ἐπειπεῖν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποτιθέμενον, ὅτι καὶ λόγον, εἴ τις αἰτοίη, τῶν γερονότων ὑφέξει, καὶ τὰς ῥάβδους καθελόντα καὶ τοὺς πελεκέας τὴν φρουρὰν [ἀπὸ] τοῦ σώματος ἀπέσασθαι, καὶ μόνον μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐς πολὺ ἐν μέσῳ βαδίσει, θεωμένον τοῦ πλήθους καὶ καταπεπληγότος αὐτὸν καὶ τότε, 'such an extraordinary amount of self-confidence and success was there in this man, for it is said that when he was abdicating his office, he stated publicly that he would give an account of all that he had done, if any person chose to ask for it; he laid down the fasces and dismissed his body-guard and walked about for some time with his friends only, the people looking on the while and regarding him with the same awe as before'.

§ 4. 1. 29. παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ, 'contrary to his wish'. 30. ἐπίδοξος ἦν αἰρεθήσεσθαι, 'was expected, likely, to be chosen', 6, 5.

31. Λέπιδος: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, father of the triumvir, once a zealous optimate and a large purchaser at the auctions of the proscribed estates. He had, as governor of Sicily, so scandalously plundered the province that he was threatened with impeachment, and to evade it threw himself into opposition. Unfit to become a leader either in council or in the field, he was nevertheless welcomed by the opposition and succeeded not only in deterring his accusers from prosecuting the attack which they had begun, but also in carrying his election to the consulship for 79/675. In this he was helped by the foolish endeavour of Pompeius to show Sulla what he could do. Pompeius however did not support his *protégé* when, on the death of the Dictator, he headed an insurrection and attempted to overthrow the Sullan constitution. He was despatched by the senatorial party to the valley of the Po, and succeeded in wresting it from the enemy, shutting up Lepidus' lieutenant Marcus Brutus in Mutina. Meanwhile Lepidus himself, who

had marched against Rome, was defeated by the proconsul Catulus in a decisive battle fought on the Campus Martius. Lepidus fled to Etruria, where he fought another unsuccessful engagement and then embarked for Sardinia, where he soon died 77/677. MOMMSEN *R. H.* 4, 23—27. Orosius 5, 22, 16 *Sulla mortuo, Lepidus, Marianae partis adsertor, adversus Catulum Sullanum ducem surgens, redivivos bellorum civilium cineres suscitavit. bis tunc acie certatum est; plurimi Romanorum, iam ipsa paucitate miserorum et adhuc illo furore insanientium, caesi sunt... Scipio, Lepidi filius, captus atque occisus est. Brutus in Cisalpinam Galliam fugiens persequente Pompeio apud Regium interfectus est: ita hoc bellum civile non magis clementia Catuli quam taedio Sullanæ crudelitatis, ut ignis in stipula, eadem celeritate, qua exarsit, evanuit.*

32. σπουδάζοντι, 'anxious for his success', 'canvassing for him', 33, 4

§ 5. 1. 36. πολίτευμα, *consilium*, 'act of policy'. Cf. Pomp. c. 15: Σύλλας δὲ ἠνιάτο μὲν ὁρῶν εἰς ὅσον δόξης (Πομπήσιος) πρόεισι καὶ δυνάμει, αἰσχυρόμενος δὲ κωλύειν ἡσυχίαν ἦγε· πλὴν, ὅτε βία καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ Λέπιδον εἰς ὑπατείαν κατέστησε συναρχαιρεσιάσας..., θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ἀπίοντα μετὰ πλήθους δι' ἀγορᾶς ὁ Σύλλας 'Ὁρῶ σε' εἶπεν 'ὦ νεανία, χαίροντα τῇ νίκῃ. πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ γενναῖα ταῦτα καὶ καλὰ, Κάτλου τοῦ πάντων ἀρίστου Λέπιδον τὸν πάντων κίκιστον ἀποδειχθῆναι πρότερον ὑπατον, σοῦ τὸν δῆμον οὕτω παρασκευάσαντος; ὦρα μέντοι σοι μὴ καθεῦδειν, ἀλλὰ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασιν' ἰσχυρότερον γὰρ τὸν ἀνταγωνιστὴν σεαυτῷ παρεσκεύακας'.

Κάτλου, Q. Lutatius Catulus, the son of the victor of Vercellae, was like his father, a man of refined culture and an honest aristocrat, but of moderate talents and no soldier. He became consul in 78/676 with Lepidus, whom he defeated in the battle on the Campus Martius. Cicero bestows unqualified praise on both son and father, de off. 1 § 76 l. 12. 37. ἐμπληκτότατον, 30, 5. 38. ὦρα sc. ἐστί.

καθεύδειν, *sedere*, 'to sit still', with an implication of inactivity. Cf. Cic. or. p. Sest. § 34 l. 17. ἰσχυρότερον,

G. § 166, § 138 Rem. 40. ὡσπερ ἀπεθέσπισε, 'said this with something like a prophetic instinct', 'in a kind of prophetic tone'.

## CHAPTER XXXV

*After his abdication Sulla performed a solemn act of piety. He made an offering of the tenth part of his substance to Hercules and feasted the people. So great was the preparation for this entertainment that a large amount of provisions was daily thrown into the river, and wine forty and more years old was drunk. In the midst of this feasting, which lasted several days, Metella Sulla's wife was so seriously ill that her death was hourly expected. The priests, as the expounders of the divine law, would not allow Sulla to see his dying wife and ordained that to prevent a desecration of the festival, she must not be allowed to die in the house, nor as Sulla's wife. A*

bill of divorce was sent to her in all haste, and she was removed to another house in a dying state. So far he complied with custom; but he spared no expense in the funeral of Metella, going beyond the limits permitted by his own sumptuary laws. A few months later Sulla was at a gladiatorial show, where a coquettish and beautiful woman, named Valeria, attracted his notice. She was a daughter of Valerius Messala and had lately had a quarrel with her husband. The levity with which so soon after the death of his beloved Metella he contracted this marriage was an action hardly worthy of Sulla's position and age.

§ 1. 1. 1. ἀποθύων, 'offering up as a votive sacrifice'. Cf. Xen. Hell. 3, 3, 1 τὴν δεκάτην ἀποθυσας, 4, 3, 21 δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας ἀπέθυσαν τῷ θεῷ, Anab. 3, 2, 12; 4, 8, 25; 5, 1, 1; Diod. Sic. 14, 84. 2. τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ: Hercules was worshipped as the bestower of wealth (πλουτοδότης).

Plutarch proposes as the subject of one of his Roman problems (15) Διὰ τί τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ πολλοὶ τῶν πλουσίων ἐδεκάτεον τὰς οὐσίας.

On the origin of the practice of the dedication of a tithe of all their possessions by very rich men, in gratitude or in fulfilment of a vow, see Dionys. Halic. A. R. 1, 40 where, after recounting the legend of the erection of an altar to Hercules by Evander and of the sacrifice of a tithe of his spoils by the hero himself he adds;—ὁ βωμὸς, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς δεκάτας ἀπέθυσεν Ἡρακλῆς, καλεῖται ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Μέγιστος (sc. *ara maxima*) ἀγιστενόμενος εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὄρκοι τε γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ δεκατεύσεις χρημάτων γίνονται συχναὶ κατ' εὐχάς. So Diodorus Siculus (4, 21) after narrating the hospitable reception given to Hercules by the inhabitants of the Palatine continues:—'Ο δ' οὖν Ἡρακλῆς, ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν εὐνοίαν τῶν τῷ Παλάτιον οἰκούντων, προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι, μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετástασιν εἰς θεοὺς, τοῖς εὐξαμένοις ἐδεκατεύσειν Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν οὐσίαν συμβήσεται τὸν βίον εὐδαιμονέστερον ἔξειν. ὁ καὶ συνέβη κατὰ τοὺς ὑστέρον χρόνους διαμεῖναι μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. πολλοὺς γὰρ, ὁ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν Ῥωμαίων σχεδὸν τι πλουσιώτατος ὢν, διατιμησαμένος τὴν ἰδίαν οὐσίαν, κατέθυσεν τῷ θεῷ πᾶσαν τὴν δεκάτην, εὐχίας ποῶν συνεχεῖς καὶ πολυδαπάνους. κατεσκεύασαν δὲ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τοῦτω τῷ θεῷ παρα τὸν Τίβεριον ἱερὸν ἀξιόλογον, ἐν ᾧ νομίζουσι συντελεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης θυσίας. The same author states that Lucullus consecrated a tithe of his whole fortune to Hercules and expended the amount in costly banquets; Plutarch tells the same of him and of Crassus c. 12: Ἡρακλεῖ μεγάλην θυσίαν ποιησάμενος εἰστίασε τὸν δῆμον ἀπὸ μυρίων τραπέζων καὶ σίτον ἐμέτρησεν εἰς τρίμηνον. The appropriate Latin term for this kind of feast, which, it has been suggested, may have reference to the proverbial gluttony of Heracles was *polluctura*; see my note on Cic. de off. 11 § 58 l. 10. In Plautus we find frequent references to the practice of offering tithes to Hercules: Bacch. 4, 4, 15 (665):—

*st frugist, Hérculem fécit ex patre;  
decumam partem ei dedit, tibi novem abstulit.*

Stich. 1, 3, 79 (232):—

*haec venivisse iam opus est quantum potest,  
ut decumam partem inde Hérculi polluceam.*

2, 2, 62 (386):—

*Hércules, decumam esse adauctam, tibi quam vovi, gratulor.*

Trucul. 2, 7, 11 (562):—

*quinq̄ue nummos mihi detraxi, pax, partem Hérculéneam.*

Mostell. 4, 2, 68 (984):—

*is vel Hérculi contérrere quaestum póssiet.*

Hercules was also regarded as the god of finds, Hor. Sat. 2, 6, 10, Pers. Sat. 2, 10.

3. τοσοῦτον περιττὴ τῆς χρείας, 'so much above what was required': περιττός takes the genitive on account of the comparative idea contained in it, cf. Xen. Cyr. 8, 2, 21 ἐπειδὴν τῶν ἀρκούντων περισσὰ κτήσονται.

6. οἶνον ἑτῶν τεσσαράκοντα, 'wine forty years old': gen. of measure, G. § 167, 5, II A. § 729 d.

§ 2. 1. 6. διὰ μέσου τῆς θόλης, 'in the midst of the entertainment'.

7. ἀπέθνησκειν, 'was dying of an illness', not, as all translators render it, 'died'.

8. οὐκ ἐώντων, 16, 5; 30, 5. Sulla was Pontifex and therefore could not allow a person to die in his house.

10. γραψάμενος διάλυσιν τοῦ γάμου, *libello repudii misso*.

14. νόμον: 'extravagance in funerals, which this sumptuary law of Sulla was intended to restrain, had been forbidden even in the XII Tables (Cic. de leg. III c. 23—c. 25). It was probably the same law which determined how much might be spent upon monuments (Cic. ad Att. XII 35, 36)'. *Dict. of Antiqq.* p. 1077 b ed. 2.

15. μηδένος, 1, 2.

§ 3. 1. 15. παρέβαινε τὰ—τεταγμένα, 'he transgressed his own laws for diminishing the cost of entertainments'. Aul. Gell. N. A. 2, 24, 11: *postea L. Sulla dictator, cum, legibus istis (Fannia 161/593, Licinia 103/651 (?)) situ atque senio oblitteratis, plerique in patrimoniis amplis elluarentur et familiam pecuniamque suam [cenarum] prandiorumque gurgitibus proluissent, legem ad populum tulit, qua cautum est, ut Kalendis Idibus Nonis diebusque ludorum et feriis quibusdam sollempnibus sestertios tricenis[ten]os in cenam insumere ius potestasque esset, ceteris autem diebus omnibus non amplius tricenos*. Macrobius Saturnal. 3, 17, 11 (ed. Ianus): *has (Fanniam, Didiam, Liciniam) sequitur lex Cornelia et ipsa sumptuaria, quam tulit Cornelius Sulla dictator: in qua non conviviorum magnificentia prohibita est nec gulae modus factus, verum minora pretia rebus inposita, et quibus rebus, di boni, quamque exquisitis et faene incognitis generibus deliciarum! quos illic pisces, quasque offulas nominat, et tamen pretia illis minora constituit! Ausim dicere, ut vilitas edulium animos hominum ad parandas obsoniorum copias incitaret, et gulae servire etiam qui parvis essent facultatibus possent... Tanto hoc seculum ad omnem continentiam promptius, ut pleraque harum rerum quae Sullana lege ut vulgo nota comprehenduntur nemo nostrum vel fando compererit.*

17. πότοις, 2, 3; 13, 3. συνδέπνοις, *conviviis*.

21. συμμιγούς, 'promiscuous'. Men and women had not separate seats assigned to them in the theatres until the time of Augustus, Sueton. Octav. c. 44.

23. γένους λαμπροῦ, predicate genitive, οὔσα being understood, see HA. § 732 a.

§ 4. 1. 23. Μεσσίαλα: Valeria was the daughter of M. Valerius Messala. 'Ορτησίου ἀδελφή: She could not have been the sister of Hortensius, for in that case her name would have

been Hortensia. Plutarch's mistake probably arose from the fact that the sister of Hortensius was married to a Valerius Messala, whose son Hortensius defended on a charge of *ambitus*, Valer. Max. 5, 9, 2.

26. παρά τὸν Σύλλαν ἐξόπισθεν παραπρεομένη κτλ. 'as she passed along by Sulla from behind, she leaned on him with her hand and, after plucking the nap of his mantle, proceeded to her own seat'. 23. σπάσασα: cf. Soph. Trach. 687 σπάσασα κτησίου βοτοῦ λάχνην.

§ 5. 1. 33. ὑποκεκνισμένος, 'tickled in his fancy', Xen. Mem. 3, 11, 3 ἄπιμεν (a Theodota) ὑποκνιζόμενοι. 37. μειδιαμάτων διαδόσεις, 'interchanges of smiles'. 39. εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα σῶφρονα καὶ γενναίαν, ἀλλὰ κτλ., 'if she was ever so chaste and reputable, still it was not from a respectable or worthy motive that he married her, since he was led to act rashly and impulsively, like a young man, by looks and wanton airs'.

παραβληθεῖς is usually translated 'deceived' but I have not been able to find any undoubted instance of such a meaning; the passages of Herodotus, Thucydides and Euripides given in the Paris *Stephani Thesaurus* and repeated in Liddell-Scott's *Lex.* are to be interpreted otherwise. The remaining passage, a quotation by the Scholiast on Arist. Av. 1648 of a fragment from a comedy of Alcaeos, παραβάλλεται ἰσι is probably a false reading for διαβάλλεται.

41. ὑφ' ὧν, 21, 3; 27, 8. 42. κινεῖσθαι πέφυκε, 'have a natural tendency to be excited'. Cf. Thuc. 2, 64, 3 πάντα πέφυκεν ἐλασσοῦσθαι, 4, 61, 4 πέφυκε τὸ ἀνθρώπειον διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν τοῦ εἶκοντος.

## CHAPTER XXXVI

*After his marriage with Valeria, Sulla still continued his dissolute course of life and spent his time with women and actors and in drinking. Among his chosen companions were the famous actor Q. Roscius, Sorix and Metrobius. Sulla's way of living soon brought on disease. His flesh became so corrupt that his body swarmed with lice, and it was impossible by any care to keep him free from vermin. Akastos, son of Pelias, Alkman the lyric poet, Pherkydes of Syros, Kallisthenes of Olynthos, Mucius Scaevola and Eunus, the leader of the insurrection of Sicilian slaves, are said to have died of the same disease, phthiriasis.*

§ 1. 1. 1. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, 3, 3; 20, 3. 2. μέμοις γυναιξί, 'actresses', 2, 2; 33, 2. 3. θυμηλικοῖς, 2, 2. 4. ἀφ' ἡμέρας, a *matutino inde tempore*. 5. Ῥώσκιος, the famous actor Q. Roscius, so often mentioned by Cicero and in defence of whom he made a speech which is extant. He was so perfect a master of his art, that, according to Cicero, his name became proverbial among the Romans to express a perfect master of any art, de orat. 1, 28, 130 *hoc iam diu est consecutus, ut, in quo quisque artificio excelleret, is in suo genere Roscius diceretur*. 7. λυσιψδός, 'one who played women's characters in

male attire'. Aristoxenos ap. Athen. 14, 3 p. 620 E: 'Ἀριστόξενός φησι τὸν μὲν ἀνδρεία καὶ γυναικεία πρόσωπα ὑποκρινόμενον μαγῶδόν καλεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ γυναικεία ἀνδρείοις λυσιφθόν.

§ 2. 1. 8. ὅθεν τὴν νόσον ἐξέθρεψε, 'by which mode of life he fostered, aggravated, his disease'. 10. τήγνοι—γεγονῶς ἔμπυος, G. § 280. 11. ὑφ' ἧς sc. νόσου. 13. ἀφαιρούντων sc. τοὺς φθεῖρας. μηδὲν εἶναι μέρος, 'was as nothing in comparison', see n. on 31, 5 l. 38. 15. ἀναπίμπλασθαι, 'were filled', with the collateral notion of impurity, 'were infected', like Lat. *impleri*, Liv. 4, 30. τοσοῦτον ἐξήγηθαι, 'with such violence did it discharge', 2, 1. The subject is probably ἡ φθορά.

§ 3. 1. 18. τὴν οὐδὲν ὄφελος, sc. ἀπορρῦπτεσθαι: see my note to Xen. Oecon. 14, 2 l. 8. 19. ἐκράτει ἡ μεταβολὴ κτλ. 'the change gained upon him too rapidly and the swarm (of vermin) was too great for any attempt to clear it away'.

Plin. N. H. 26, 14, 86: *phthiriasi Sulla dictator consumptus est nascenturque in sanguine ipso hominis animalia exesura corpus*. 'It may be considered' says Ihne *H. R.* v p. 449 'as evidence of the malignity with which the memory of Sulla was disfigured by subsequent writers, that the illness of which he died is stated to have been phthiriasis, a disease supposed to consist in a spontaneous decay of the body, in which decomposition and vermin begin their work before the vital breath has departed. It has been charitably suggested that this was a divine judgment that visited Sulla and other equally detestable tyrants (such as Herod and Philip II of Spain). Reflections of this kind are the more absurd, as it is now generally admitted by scientific men that the disease phthiriasis exists only in the brains of credulous writers. It is certain that Sulla died in consequence of the rupture of a bloodvessel brought on by the irritation he felt at the dishonesty of Granius'. So Mommsen *H. R.* 3, 410 n. says 'such a disease is entirely imaginary'.

21. Ἀκαστον τὸν Πελίου: Akastos, son of Pelias, king of Iolkos, belongs to the mythic period. He was one of the Argonauts and took part in the Calydonian Hunt. 22.

Ἀλκμᾶνα: Alcman, the famous lyric poet (μελοποιός), fl. B.C. 671—B.C. 631. He was by birth a Lydian of Sardis, whence he was taken, when very young, as a slave to Sparta, and there manumitted by his master on his genius being discovered. See the ἐπιτύμβιον on him by Alexander Aetolos ap. Plut. *de exilio* 2 (Jacobs *Anthol. Gr.* VII 709):—

Σάρδιες, ἀρχαῖος πατέρων νομῆς, εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν  
 ἔτρεφόμαν, χέρνας ἦν τις ἂν ἦν βακέλας  
 χρυσοφόρος, ῥήσων καλὰ τύπανα· νῦν δέ μοι Ἀλκμᾶν  
 οὔνομα, καὶ Σπάρτας εἰμι πολυτρίποδος,  
 καὶ Μούσας ἐδάην Ἑλικωνίδας, αἶ με τυράννων  
 θῆκαν Δασκύλεω μείζονα καὶ Γύγω.

23. Φερεκύδην: Pherekydes, of Syros, one of the Kyklades, flourished about B.C. 544. He is said to have been the teacher of Pythagoras. He is called θεολόγος because of his speculation on cosmogony and the nature of the gods. The most important subject

of his work 'Επιτάμυχος was his doctrine of Metempsychosis or the Immortality of the Soul. The same cause is assigned for his death also by Pausanias 1, 20, 7 Σύλλα δὲ ὕστερον τούτων ἐνέπεσεν ἢ νόσος ἢ καὶ τὸν Σύριον Φερεκίδην ἀλῶναι πυνθάνομαι, and by Aelian Var. Hist. 4, 28 Φερεκίδης ὁ Σύριος τὸν βίον ἀλγεινότατα ἀνθρώπων κατέστρεψε, τοῦ παντὸς αὐτῷ σώματος ὑπὸ τῶν φθειρῶν ἀναλωθέντος· καὶ γενομένης αὐτῷ αἰσχροῦς τῆς ὄψεως τὴν ἐκ τῶν συνήθων ἐξέκλινε συνοσίαν. ὅποτε δὲ τις προσελθὼν ἐπυνθάνετο ὅπως διάγοι, διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν θύραν διείρας τὸν δάκτυλον, ψιλὸν γεγονότα τῆς σαρκός, ἐπέλεγεν οὕτω διακείσθαι καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοῦ σῶμα. λέγουσι δὲ Δηλίων παῖδες τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ, μηνίσαντα αὐτῷ, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. καθήμενον γὰρ ἐν Δήλῳ μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν ἄλλα τε πολλὰ φασὶ περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σοφίας εἰπεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο, μηδενὶ τῶν θεῶν θύσαι, καὶ ὕμῳ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἡδέως βεβιωκέναι καὶ ἀλύπως, οὐ μείον τῶν ἐκατόμβας καταθούοντων. ὑπὲρ ταύτης οὖν τῆς κουφολογίας βαρυστάτην ζημίαν ἐξέτισεν.

**Καλλισθένη τὸν Ὀλύθιον:** Kallisthenes of Olynthos was born about B. C. 360. He was Aristotle's kinsman, had been educated by him, and, during his residence in Macedonia, had been probably the fellow-student of Alexander. He hung about his court as a literary idler and accompanied him in his expedition to Asia. By his extravagant conceit, bluntness of deportment and affectation of independence, he so alienated the king, that he was accused of being privy to the conspiracy of Hermolaos to assassinate him. The fate of Kallisthenes excited great indignation and sympathy in Greece and furnished a subject for a variety of conflicting anecdotes. Ptolemy (Arrian Anab. 4, 14) related that he was put to the torture and afterwards crucified, Diogenes Laert. 5, 5 that he was carried about in an iron cage, φθειρῶν καὶ ἀκόμιστος, and then given as a prey to a lion, Aristobulos that he was carried about in chains and at last died of disease. Chares (ap. Plut. Alex. c. 55) adds that the purpose for which he was kept in confinement was that he might be finally tried in Aristotle's presence, and that he died seven months after in India of a loathsome disease, produced by imprisonment in his corpulent frame (ἀποθανεῖν ὑπερπαχύν γεγόμενον καὶ φθειριάσαντα). Theophrastos wrote a book on his death entitled Καλλισθένης ἢ περὶ πένθους (Diog. Laert. 5, 44, Cic. Tusc. Disp. 3, 10, 21; 5, 9, 25). Kallisthenes wrote a History of Greece in ten books from B. C. 387 to B. C. 357, and an unfinished history of Alexander. Cic. de orat. 2, 14, 58: *post ab Aristotele Callisthenes comes Alexandri scripsit historiam et is quidem rhetorico paene more*, Ovid Ibis 519:—

*inclususque necem cavea patiaris, ut ille  
non profecturae conditor historiae.*

A few fragments of his works have been collected by C. Müller *Script. Alex. M. p. 7*. Cf. Mure *H. Gr. Lit. v* 553—568, Thirlwall *H. Gr. vi* 378—386, Grote *H. Gr. xii p. 302*.

29. Μούκιον τὸν νομικόν: P. Mucius Scaevola, the *iuris-consultus*, who was consul in 133/621, the year in which Ti. Gracchus lost his life. See my n. on Cic. or. p. Planc. § 88.

§ 4. l. 31. γνωρίμων δ' ἄλλως for ἄλλως δὲ γνωρίμων.

32. περὶ Σικελίαν, 'in Sicily', 8, 3; 11, 1; 22, 1. 33.

Εὔνου: Eunus, a native of Apamea in Syria, was the leader of the Sicilian insurrection in the servile war (δουλικὸς πόλεμος), which broke out about 137/617. He adopted the insignia of royalty and assumed the name of Antiochos. After defying the efforts of the Romans to put him down by military force for three successive years, he was at last beaten by the consul Rupilius in 132/622, when Enna, one of the two strongholds of the insurgents, fell into the hands of the enemy. Eunus tried to escape, but was taken and cast into prison, where he died (παραδοθεὶς εἰς φυλακὴν, καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ διαλυθέντος εἰς φθειρῶν πλήθος ολκείως τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ῥῥοιδιουργίας κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ἐν τῇ Μοργαντίνῃ. Diod. Sic. 34, 2).

## CHAPTER XXXVII

*Sulla was warned, as he has himself told us in his Memoirs, the twenty-second book of which he finished only two days before his death, that his end was near. In this part of his work he said that the Chaldaeans once foretold him that he should have a happy life and die at the height of his prosperity. One of his sons, who died a short time before his mother, appeared to him in a dream and entreated his father to rest from his troubles and go with him to Metella and live with her in tranquillity. Ten days before his death he settled some disputes among the people of the neighbouring town of Puteoli and gave them a constitution. The very day before he died he sent for Granius, one of the leading men of Puteoli, who kept in his hands some of the public money, waiting for Sulla's death. He was in a violent passion, when Granius came, and ordered his attendants to strangle him. Owing to his excitement and shouting he burst an abscess and lost a quantity of blood, which so prostrated him that he died in the night. He left two children by Metella. Valeria gave birth to a daughter after his death, who was appropriately named Postuma.*

§ 1. l. 2. τρόπον τινά, G. § 160, 2. 4. πρὸ δυεῖν ἡμερῶν ἢ ἔτελεύτα, 'two days before he died', a phrase evidently imitated from the Latin *ante biduo quam decessit*. Cf. below § 3 l. 16, Alciphron Epist. 3, 4, 4 οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τῇ γαστρὶ πρὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης ἢ ἐμπίπασθαι, Aelian H. A. 5, 52 πρὸ τριάκοντά που ἡμερῶν μετοικίζοντα, ib. 11, 19 πρὸ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἀφανισθῆναι τὴν Ἑλίκην, Lucian πρὸ μᾶς δὲ τοῦ τοῦτο θεσπίζεω ἐγίγνετο, ib. Cronosol. 14 πρὸ πολλοῦ τῆς ἑορτῆς. 5. τοὺς Χалδαίους, 5, 5. 7. καταστρέψαι, *vitam finire*, Them. 31, 4; Ti. Gr. 21, 3.

§ 2. l. 9. κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους, 9, 4; 28, 4. ἐν ἐσθῆτι φαύλῃ, 'in mean apparel'. Cf. Herod. 2, 159, Soph. Trach. 610 θυγῆρα καινῶ καινὸν ἐν πεπλώματι, Ti. Gr. 19, 4 φεύγων ἐν τοῖς χιτῶσιν, C. Gr. 15, 1 ἐν τηβέννῳ. Appian follows a different authority in the version which he gives, *B. C.* 1, 105 Σύλλας δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἐνύπνιον ἔδοξεν ἰδεῖν, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων ἤδη καλοῖη· καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα μεθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς φίλοις τὸ θναρ' ἐξείπων, διαθήκας συνέγραφεν ἐπειγόμενος καὶ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας συνετέλει, σφραγισαμένῳ δ' αὐτὰς περὶ ἐσπέραν πυρετὸς ἐμπίπτει· καὶ νυκτὸς ἐτελεύτησεν.

§ 3. l. 15. Δικαιαρχεῖα: Dikaearchia was the original name of Puteoli (*Pozzuoli*), the famous seaport of Campania on the E. side of the *sinus Baianus*. A *colonia civium* was settled there in 194/560. See my n. on Cic. or. p. Planc. § 65 l. 28. Aurelius Victor *de vir. ill.* 1, 75 says that Sulla died at Dikae-archia, Appian, at his house near Cumae. 16. πρὸ μίας ἡμέρας, 'one day before his death', above § 1 l. 4. 17. τὸν ἀρχοντα Γράνιον: Valerius Maximus 9, 3, 8 gives the following account of the circumstances: *quid Sulla, dum huic vitio (sc. irae) obtemperat, nonne multo alieno sanguine profuso ad ultimum et suum erogavit? Putcolis enim ardens indignatione, quod Granus, princeps eius coloniae, pecuniam a decurionibus ad refectioem Capitolii promissam cunctantius daret, animi concitatione nimia atque immoderato vocis impetu convulso pectore, spiritum cruore ac minis mixtum evomuit, nec senio iam prolapsus, utpote sexagesimum ingrediens annum, sed alia miseris reipublicae inpotentia furens. igitur in dubio est Sullane prior an iracundia Sullae sit extincta.*

19. τὸν ἄνθρωπον, 27, 6; 32, 2. 20. τῇ κραυγῇ καὶ τῷ σπαραγμῶ, 'by reason of the straining of his voice and body'. 21. ἀποστήμα, 'abscess'.

§ 4. l. 23. μοχθηρῶς, 21, 3.

24. δύο παῖδας, 34, 2.

'Sulla had the following children: Cornelia, by Ilia: she married Q. Pompeius Rufus who was murdered in 83/66 and she may have died before her father; Cornelius Sulla, a son by Metella, who died, as Plutarch has said, before his father; Faustus Cornelius Sulla and Fausta Cornelia, of whom the former lost his life in Africa, when he was fighting on the Pompeian side. Fausta's first husband was Gaius Memmius, from whom she was divorced. She then married T. Annius Milo 55/699, by whom she was caught in the act of adultery with the historian Sallustius.' *Long.*

26. Πόστουμαν: Festus p. 238 ed. Müller: *Postumus cognominatur post patris mortem natus.* Plautus in *Aulularia* (II 1, 40):—

*post mediam aetatē qui media dūcit uxorem domum,  
si eam senex animū praegnantem sōrtuito fecerit,  
quid dubitas, quin sit paratum nōmen puero Pōstumus?*

Hence it appears that although the usual meaning of the word is 'a son born after his father's death', sometimes even sons born when their father was very old were so called. See also Verg. *Aen.* 6, 763;

*Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles  
quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia coniunx  
educet silvis.*

On which passage A. Gellius N. A. 2, 16 quotes the note of an ancient grammarian Caesellius, *'postuma proles non eum significat qui patre mortuo, sed qui postremo loco natus est: sicuti Silvius qui, Aenea iam sene, tardo seroque partu est editus'*.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

When the news of Sulla's death reached Rome, there was great excitement. His friends wished to bring the body to the city and give it a public funeral. Lepidus and his faction resisted the proposal, but in vain. Even Pompeius, though he was the only friend whom Sulla had not mentioned in his will, raised his voice against such an attempt to deprive the deceased dictator of the honour. To show the grandeur of the funeral solemnity, it is said that the matrons were so lavish in their contribution of aromatics that without reckoning what was conveyed in two hundred and ten litters, there was sufficient to make a large effigy of Sulla and another also of a lictor out of costly frankincense and cinnamon. The day was cloudy and threatened rain; so the body was not brought to the pile until three o'clock in the afternoon. Then a strong wind came down and raised a great flame; when the pile was subsiding and the flame going out, there was just time to collect the ashes before the rain descended in torrents. So Sulla's good fortune seemed to follow him to his funeral, and to stay with him to the last. His monument in the Campus Martius bears an inscription written by himself, to the effect that none of his friends ever did him a kindness, and none of his enemies ever did him a wrong, without being fully repaid.

§ 1. 1. 1. **συνέστησαν πρὸς**, 'leagued themselves with'. Cf. Thuc. 1, 1 τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὄρων ξυνηστᾶμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, 1, 15, 3 οὐ γὰρ ξυνηστήκεσαν πρὸς τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις, 6, 85, 3 ἦν ξυστήτε πρὸς αὐτοῦς. 2. **Λέπιδον**, 34, 4. ὡς **ἔρξοντες**, G. § 277, 3. **κηδείας τῆς νενομισμένης**, 'the usual honours of burial'. Dion. Hal. 3, 21 **κηδείας** καὶ περιστολῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων μεταλαβεῖν. Appian B. C. 1 c. 105 has the same story: γίγνεται δ' εὐθὺς ἐν ἄστει στάσις ἐπ' αὐτῷ, τῶν μὲν ἄγειν ἀξιούντων τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ πομπῇ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν ἀγορᾷ προτιθέναι καὶ ταφῆς δημοσίας ἀξιούν'. Λεπίδου δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄμφι Λέπιδον ἐνισταμένων. ἔξενίκα δ' ὁ Κᾶτλος καὶ οἱ Συλλεῖοι, καὶ ἐφέρετο ὁ νέκυσ ὁ τοῦ Σύλλα διὰ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπὶ κλίνης χρυσηλάτου καὶ κόσμου βασιλικοῦ, σαλπικταὶ τε πολλοὶ καὶ ἵππεῖς καὶ ἄλλος ὄμιλος ἐκ ποδῶς ὠπλισμένοι εἶπετο. 5. **μόνον αὐτὸν—παρέλιπε**, because of the support he had given Lepidus, when a candidate for the consulship, 34, 4; Pomp. c. 15 ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα Σύλλας, ὅτι πρὸς Πομπήιον οὐκ εὐμενῶς εἶχε ταῖς διαθήκαις ἃς ἔγραψεν. ἐτέροις γὰρ φίλοις δωρεὰς ἀπολιπῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποδείξας ἐπιτρόπους τὸν Πομπήιον ὄλωσ παρήλαθεν. ἤνεγκε μέντοι τοῦτο μετρίως πάνου καὶ πολιτικῶς ἐκέεινος, ὥστε, Λεπίδου καὶ τυνῶν ἄλλων ἐνισταμένων μὴ ταφῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ μηδὲ

δημοσίᾳ τὴν ἐκφορὰν γενέσθαι, βοηθῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν δόξαν ἅμα ταῖς ταφαῖς καὶ ἀσφάλειαν. 4. μόνον αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις παρέλιπε :

'It was considered a mark of intentional disrespect or disapprobation, when a Roman made no mention of his nearest kin or friends in his will; and in certain cases, the person who was passed over could by legal process vindicate the imputation thus thrown on him (see the article 'Testamentum' in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiqq.*, under the head *Querela inofficiosi*). Sulla did not like Cn. Pompeius. The only reason for keeping on terms with him was that he saw his talents and so wished to ally him to his family. For the same reason Sulla wished to put C. Julius Caesar to death (Caes. c. 1); he predicted that he would be the ruin of the aristocratic party. Sulla made his friend Lucius Lucullus the guardian of his children and intrusted him with the final correction of his *Memoirs*, Lucull. c. 1.' LONG

7. ταῖς ταφαῖς—πάρεισχε, 'secured it an honourable as well as safe interment'. Appian *B. C.* 1 c. 106 gives a striking description of the more than regal pomp with which the body was brought into the city. More than two thousand golden chaplets made hastily for the occasion, besides a number of other costly decorations, awaited the procession, the last honorary gifts of the cities, of the faithful legions and his more intimate friends. All the priests and priestesses and the whole senate joined in the procession, and the magistrates in their official robes. Then followed the Equites and all the legions which had fought under Sulla, each in its proper order, carrying gilded standards and wearing armour plated with silver. The number of those who played on wind instruments in notes alternately soft and plaintive was past counting. The enormous multitude responded to the music, first the Senate, then the Equites, then the army, and the people last. Some felt real regret for Sulla; others feigned it for fear of the army, and these looked with terror even on the corpse. The body was placed in front of the Rostra, where the funeral oration was delivered by the best orator of the day, Faustus, Sulla's son, being too young to perform this pious duty. Thence the bier was borne on the shoulders of senators to the Campus Martius, where the funeral pile was erected. Around the blazing flames the Equites and soldiers held their race of honour, the ashes of the deceased dictator were deposited beside the tombs of the old kings; and the Roman women mourned him for a year.

Mommsen (*H. R.* 3, 411) says 'Sulla, faithful to the usage of the Cornelian House, had ordered that his body should be buried without being burnt; but others were more mindful than he was of what past days had done and future days might do; by command of the Senate the corpse of the man who had disturbed the bones of Marius from their rest in the grave was committed to the flames'. This statement does not altogether agree with that of Cicero de legg. 2, 22, 56—7, where, speaking of the most ancient mode of disposing of the dead by interment, the writer says: *gentem Cornelianam usque ad memoriam nostram hac sepultura scimus esse usam. C. Marii sitas reliquias apud Anienem dissipari iussit Sulla victor, acerbior odio incitatus, quam si tam sapiens fuisset quam fuit vehemens. Quod haud scio an timens ne suo corpori posset accidere, primus e patriciis Corneliis igni voluit cremari.*

§ 2. 1. 9. ἀνευ, 'without including', 14, 4. 11. πλασθῆναι μὲν—πλασθῆναι δέ, an example of an *anaphora*, which turns upon

the repetition of some prominent (generally initial) word of those that precede, 9, 10; 12, 2.

§ 3. l. 15. λαμπροῦ, 'brisk', 'strong': cf. Herod. 2, 96, Arist. Eq. 430.

16. καταϊσαντος, 'rushing down with the force of a hurricane', a poetical word.

17. ἔφθη τὸ σῶμα συγκομισθὲν ὅσον κτλ., 'the bones were collected just in time to complete the burial, before', etc. Συγκομίξειν occurs in Soph. Aiac. 1048 in the sense of συνεκφέρειν; cf. Eur. Andr. 1264. According to Reiske, it refers to collecting the charred bones, when the pile was consumed.

18. τῆς πυρᾶς μαραινομένης, 'as the pyre was smouldering'. Cf. Hom. Il. 9, 212 κατὰ πῦρ ἐκάη καὶ φλόξ ἐμαράνθη, 23, 228 τῆμος πυρκαϊῆ ἐμαραίνεται, παύσατο δὲ φλόξ.

19. κατασχεῖν, 'prevailed', 'lasted'.

20. τὸ σῶμα συνθάπτειν, 'to assist at his funeral rites'. See lex. to Plut. Gracch. s. v. θάπτειν p. 222 a.

§ 4. l. 21. ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος, 'in the Campus Martius', called τὸ πεδῖον simply in C. Gr. c. 8.



CRITICAL APPENDIX





## APPENDIX ON THE TEXT

### A. GENERAL REMARKS

The *Life of Sulla* is one of those contained in the Codex Sangermanensis, information concerning which and the other principal mss of Plutarch, is given in my edition of the *Life of the Gracchi* (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 157, 158 and that of the *Life of Themistokles* (2d Edition, London, Macmillan, 1884), p. 189—p. 191.

The text of the present Edition is mainly that of Bekker (Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1855-7), although in some passages I have discarded his reading in favour of that of the older Editor, Sintenis, to whom the text of Plutarch owes so much. I have also adopted Bekker's division into sections. Of the annotated editions of Plutarch's *Lives*, I have consulted those by Henri Estienne (Stephanus), Bryan and Du Soul (Solanus), Schaefer, Reiske and Koraes, but the edition which I have found of most service is that of E. H. G. Leopold with Latin notes (Lipsiae, C. Fritsch, 1795), containing the Lives of Marius, Sulla, Lucullus and Sertorius.

### B. CRITICAL NOTES

#### *Abbreviations*

Be = Bekker	Sch = Schaefer
Br = Bryan	Si <sup>1</sup> = Sintenis ed. ma. Lipsiae, 1839—1846
Co = Cobet	Si <sup>2</sup> = Sintenis ed. mi. Teubner, 1877
Ko = Koraes	St = Stephanus
Le = Leopold	i = editio Iuntina
Rk = Reiske	x = script. anonymi

#### CAP. I

§ 1. l. 4. καὶ τοῦτω δέ Sintenisius: καὶ delet Bekkerus auctore Schaefero, sed cf. infra c. 7, 3; c. 28, 8.

§ 2. l. 16. μηδὲν καταλιπόντος S<sup>s</sup> Rk Si<sup>2</sup> Be: μηδὲν ἐγκαταλιπόντος (sc. ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ) Leopoldus, vulgo. Sed apud Plutarchum ἐγκαταλείπειν plerumque *derelinquendi* notionem habet: vide quae annotavi ad Plut. *Gracch.* p. 144.

§ 4. l. 26. διητῶντο cum S<sup>s</sup> Si<sup>2</sup> Be: vulgo συνδιητῶντο.

## CAP. II

§ 4. l. 31. **συνήντησεν** edd. post Stephanum: *συνήνθησεν* codd.; *συνήνεγκεν* frustra coni. Solanus. Vulgatum in priore sententia locum Μητροβίου δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς τινὸς ἐρῶν διετέλεσεν ἔτι νέος ὢν ut ex c. 36 illatum delevi.

## CAP. III

§ 1. l. 10. **δῶρα**: perperam δώροις Koraes.

§ 2. l. 16. **ἢ δι' αὐτοῦ** delenda suspicatur Si<sup>2</sup>.

## CAP. IV

§ 1. l. 2. **ἐλάττονα τοῦ** edd. auctore Petavio ad Themistii orat. XXI p. 526: *ἐλαττον αὐτοῦ* libri.

§ 3. l. 21. **αὐτός** post Solanum Be Si<sup>2</sup>: *αὐτόν* v. || **ἀνιάσαι** vulgo; *ἀνιάσθαι* (imperfecto tempore *ἠνιάτο*) Madvigius *Adv.* I, 588 praeter necessitatem.

## CAP. V

§ 1. l. 4. **τὴν τοῦ δήμου πράξιν** *civilia negotia* vulgo Le Si Be: *τὴν τῶν τοῦ δήμου πράξιν* coni. Reiskius. || 6. **τοῖς ὄχλοις** v.; frustra Reiskius ex coniectura edidit *τοῖς λόχοις* i.e. *centuriis* pro *suffragiis centuriarum*. || 7. **τὴν φιλίαν** v.: *τὴν φιλίαν αὐτοῦ* i.e. *Sullae* mavult Reiskius probante Le.

§ 5. l. 43. **Χαλδαῖος** Ruhnkenius, Ko cum Amioto ('un devin Chaldaeen') Si Be coll. c. 37, 1: vulgo *Χαλκιδεύς Chalcide oriundus*.

§ 6. l. 51. **συνειλοχότι** Sch Si Be: *συνειληχότι* libri.

## CAP. VI

§ 1. l. 5. **ἀνέθηκε Νίκας** Si<sup>2</sup> praeunte Cobeto var. lect. p. 86, coll. Mar. c. 32: *ἀνέθηκεν εἰκόνας* Be Si<sup>1</sup> v. || 6. **παρ' αὐτάς** Be; *παρ' αὐταῖς* Si coll. Mar. c. 32: *παρ' αὐτούς* S<sup>5</sup>; *παρ' αὐτοῖς* vulgo.

§ 4. l. 35. **συνεπιθειάζων** Si-Be v.; *συνεκθειάζων* requirit Leopoldus.

§ 6. l. 54. **στηρίσαι** Si Be v.; *στηρίξει* Reiskius duce Bryano.

§ 7. l. 54. **καὶ** ut supervacuum delet Reiskius. || 61. **ὄσι-ότητος** Cobetus var. lect. p. 8: *θειότητος* vulgo.

§ 9. l. 78. **παρήλθε** vulgo Be Si: *παρεῖδε* coni. Si<sup>2</sup>. || 79. **τοσοῦτον**: *an τοσοῦτον ὄν?* || 80. **χρήσοιτο** Be Si<sup>2</sup> duce Schaefero: *χρήσαιτο* vulgo.

§ 11. l. 98. **ἐντίμως** vulgo: *ἐντίμως δέ* Reiskius.

## CAP. VII

§ 2. l. 11. **πόλεμοι** Ko Be Si: vulgo *πολέμιοι*. || **ἀπεργασαμένην** cum Be Sintenisius: idem adnotat '*ἀπειργασαμένην* S<sup>5</sup>, ut fortasse scribendum sit *ἀπειργασμένην*'. || 16. **προ-**

**αγαγόντες** cum e nido extractos in medium protulissent Rk Be Si: προσαγαγόντες vulgo.

§ 4. l. 28. ἦθεσιν Ko Si Be: ἦθεσι δι' v. || 31. αὐτή Be Si<sup>2</sup> auctore Reiskio: αὐτή c. codd. Si<sup>1</sup>. || κινείσθαι Si Be v.: γενέσθαι con. Emperius.

§ 5. l. 40. προπέμποντος Si Be v.: προσπέμποντος Le cum Reiskio.

§ 6. l. 51. φωνάεντα Si Be v.; φωνήεντα Schaeferus. || 52. ἀρουραίους Si Be cum S<sup>5</sup>: ἀγοραίους vulgo: 'nimium a librorum scriptura recedit x καθάπερ στρουθόν, τοὺς δὲ χωρίτας ἀρουραίους καθάπερ τέττιγας nec probo sententiam. Schaeferus φωνήεντα γὰρ τοῦτον εἶναι καθάπερ τέττιγα, τοὺς δὲ χωρίτας (s. ἀρουραίους) καθάπερ στρουθόν. Ego sic malim φωνήεντα γὰρ τοῦτον εἶναι καθάπερ τέττιγα στρουθόν δὲ χωρίτας vel στρουθόν δὲ ἀρουραίους delete vel ἀρουραίους vel χωρίτας. Possis etiam facilius sic: τέττιγα, τοὺς δὲ χωρίτας, quamquam propter opposita ἀστικὸν ἄχλον καὶ ἀγοραῖον utrumque servandum putat Emperius, cui sufficere videtur τοὺς δὲ χωρίτας καὶ ἀρουραίους'. SINTENIS.

## CAP. VIII

§ 1. l. 1. προσλαμβάνει Be Si cum S<sup>5</sup>: παραλαμβάνει v.

|| 4. πρὸς τί: Sintenisius conicit πῶς τί coll. Phoc. 23, Caes. 44. || 8. ἠρίθμει v.; ἠριθμεῖτο numerari sibi curavit temptat Leopoldus.

§ 2. l. 14. ὀφλήματος v.; ὀφειλήματος temere Schaeferus, v. Anton. 2, Galb. 21.

§ 4. l. 26. ἐπάρχοντα παύσας x Si Be: vulgo ἐπάρχοντα ποιήσας; sed ἐπάρχοντα num accipi possit de consulari v. proconsulari potestate dubium: hinc ἀπάρχοντα ποιήσας deiectione magistratu Xylander, ἄπαρχον ποιήσας magistratu defunctum Reiskius: item Madvigius Adv. 1, 588 coll. [Dem.] in Aristogeit. § 149 p. 669, 7 ἀποστράτηγον ἐποιήσατε τὸν Ἰφικράτην, Plut. Marcell. c. 22, Xen. Hell. 6, 2, 16 ἀπομίσθους αὐτοὺς ἐπεποιήκει. ἀρχῆς ἀποπαύσας probabilius con. Leopoldus: ἄρχοντα ἀποπαύσας Sintenisius; παύσας sine ἐπάρχοντα Schaeferus.

## CAP. IX

§ 2. l. 16. post κατήφειαν Reiskio deesse videtur ἐπιφέροντας, secum afferentes atrocem tristitiam, utpote qui multati practoriis insignibus conspicerentur.

§ 3. l. 23. pro ἐνδοιάζων τῇ γνώμῃ παρ' ἐαυτῶ Reiskius sine causa conicit ἐνδοιάζων τῇ αὐτοῦ γνώμῃ πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ut sensus sit dubitans de illius (exercitus) erga se voluntate.

§ 5. l. 37. Πικτάς cum Lubino secundum Strabonem 5, 3, 9 nuperi: Πικῆνας S<sup>5</sup>. || 46. σπουδῇ vulgo: δυνάμει C quod Sintenisio valde blanditur.

§ 6. l. 49. τεγῶν Rk Be Si post Amiotum qui reddit 'couvertures des maisons': τευχῶν libri. || 55. ἄνω τῶν στεγασμάτων vulgo: mutato ordine τῶν ἄνω στεγασμάτων (contignationes superiores) mavult Reiskius.

## CAP. XI

- § 1. 1. 7. ἐκπεσόντα reposuit Reiskius ex i pro v. πεσόντα.  
 § 2. 1. 17. ἀοικήτων cum Mureto Be Si: ἀοίκητον vulgo. ||  
 19. ἐπήει *peragrabat*, Si Be auctore Reiskio; ἐπί v.

## CAP. XII

- § 1. 1. 5. βασιλεύεσθαι ἡναγκασμέναις corrupta esse censet Si<sup>2</sup>.  
 § 4. 1. 34. παρόντων vulgo: λιπαρούντων coni. Reiskius.  
 § 5. 1. 38. ἀντέγραψε cum Schaefero Si Be: ἀντέγραφε v.  
 § 6. 1. 42. γε Br Si Be; τε vulgo.  
 § 9. 1. 74. ὑφ' αὐτῶ εἰς vulgo: ὑφ' αὐτὸν εἰς malit Si<sup>2</sup>.

## CAP. XIII

- § 2. 1. 14. ἐπιτιθέμενος Si Be v.; ἐπιτιθέμενον sc. νόσημα Rk.  
 § 4. 1. 31. οὐ φιλομαθῶν non quo studiis litterarum operam darem de suo dedit Reiskius pro v. οὐ φιλομαθῆς ὧν, probantibus Le Si Be.

## CAP. XIV

- § 1. 1. 6. τοὺς πολεμίους Si Be v.; τοῖς πολεμοῖς dativum ut planiorem malit Rk.  
 § 2. 1. 10. Ἀτήιον Br Si Be: v. Τήιον.  
 § 3. 1. 21. τῶν addidit Koraes probante Bekkero, Sintenisio non item: v. not. exeg. ad 9, 1 et cf. l. 27 διὰ πωλῶν ubi διὰ τῶν πωλῶν malit Reiskius.  
 § 5. 1. 39. πολλοῖς μὲν ὀλίγους Si<sup>2</sup> Be cum Dion. fragm. 1 p. 93 Bekk.; πολλοὺς μὲν ὀλίγοις Si<sup>1</sup> vulgo.  
 § 6. 1. 42. ἐν ᾧ vulgo; ἐν ἧ Emperius.  
 § 7. 1. 54. εἶλε Be post Emperium: εἶχε Si v.

## CAP. XV

- § 1. 1. 8. χρονοτριβεῖν Si<sup>2</sup> auctore Bekkero: χρόνω τριβεῖν v.  
 § 2. 1. 12. καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς v.; καίτοι πολλοῖς Leopoldus auctore Reiskio.  
 § 4. 1. 27. περικοπτόμενον v.; περικρυπτόμενον aut περικαλυπτόμενον *occultatum, absconditum* temptat Reiskius. || 31. ταῖς δυσχωρίαις Be Si: διὰ τῆς δυσχωρίας Emperius.

## CAP. XVI

- § 4. 1. 29. ὧστ' ὀλίγοι Be de suo: καὶ ὀλίγοι malit Si auctore Schaefero: ὀλίγοι μὲν γάρ temptat Reiskius probante Leopoldo.  
 § 5. 1. 38. προσάγων v.: προάγων sc. e castris, *producens in campum*, malit Reiskius. Sed bene habet vulgatum προσάγων sc. πρὸς τὸν Κηφισόν.

§ 6. 1. 46. τὸν λόγον Si Be duce Mureto: τὸν πόλεμον libri, 'quod tolerabile reddas οὐ quod est ante μάχεσθαι transposito post μῆ' *Sintenis*.

§ 7. 1. 53. ante νν. καὶ συνεκτραχυνόμενος Reiskius φ̄ addidit de suo.

§ 8. 1. 66. Ἐρρίκιον post Stephanum Si Be: Ἐρκιον ν.

## CAP. XVII

§ 1. 1. 9. προσημάλναι Si Be ν.; προσημήνειεν Sch.

§ 3. 1. 23. παραταττομένοις *dum in aciem constituerentur* Si Be praeunte Reiskio: ταταττομένοις ν.

§ 4. 1. 29. Reisk. coni. καὶ στροβιλώδης (in fem.) ὄρους (in genetivo), ut Thurium sit nomen apicis, ipsius autem collis Ὀρθόπαγον.

§ 5. 1. 35. ἀπ' αὐτῆς vulgo: ἐπ' αὐτῆς e Iuntina et Aldina revocavit Reiskius probante Leopoldo.

§ 7. 1. 57. εὐκαμπές *flexile* Si Be duce Reiskio pro vulgari ἀκαμπές. Reddit Amiotus 'les pointes de leur bataille plus aisées à se courber et estendre pour enceindre les Romains'.

## CAP. XVIII

§ 2. 1. 10. καθεστώς ν.: καθεστῶτας malit Reiskius quod et Leopoldo placet. || 13. ἀνέπλησαν ν.; ἐνέπλησαν Koraes.

§ 5. 1. 35. πόλεων post Muretum Si Be: πολεμίων libri.

## CAP. XIX

§ 1. 1. 2. ἀνάγοντος ν.; συνάγοντος malit Reiskius. || ἐφῆκε ν.; ἀφῆκε Ko. || 3. προσφερομένας Si Be ν.: προσφερομέναις malit Reiskius. || ἐμβάλων Si Be post Koraen: ἐμβαλών ν.

§ 2. 1. 12. ὠρμησεν ὄθεν post Koraen Si Be: ὄθεν ὠρμησεν libri: ἦ γεν ὄθεν ὠρμησε temptat Si<sup>2</sup>.

§ 5. 1. 38. ἐνέκλιναν de suo Reiskius quem sequuntur Si Be pro ν. ἀνέκλιναν. || μέχρι παρά Si ν.: μέχρι uncinis inclusit Be monente Emperio.

§ 6. 1. 43. Οἰδιπόδειον Si coll. Lobeckio ad Soph. Aiac. 108 p. 115: Οἰδιπόδιον ν. Οἰδιποδία ν.

## CAP. XX

§ 1. 1. 4. ἐπ' ἐκείνον αὐτόν ν.: ἐπ' ἐκείνον (*adversus eum*, Sullam puta) αὐτός, (*ipse*, sc. Sulla) distinguendum et legendum censet Reiskius.

§ 3. 1. 19. pro vulgato φρόνιμον—ἐμπειρότατον Reiskius aut φρόνιμον—ἐμπειρον aut φρονιμώτατον—ἐμπειρον legendum censet. ||

21. ἐμπεσόντα ν.: συμπεσόντα malit Reiskius.

§ 4. l. 28. ὁμαλόν auctore Reiskio (qui et ψιλόν coniecit) Si Be: μόνον vulgo Si<sup>1</sup>. || 31. ἐν πηγαῖς Be v.; ἐκ πηγῆς malit Si<sup>1</sup> cl. Pelop. 16.

§ 5. l. 36. ἐλώδεις post Bryanum Le Si<sup>2</sup> Be: vulgatum ὑλώδεις iure ut opinor tuetur Reiskius Si<sup>1</sup>.

## CAP. XXI

§ 2. l. 11. φευγόντων Bryanus cum Polyaeo 8, 9, 2, Si Be; libri φονευόντων quod defendit Reiskius. || 14. μνησθέντες v. Rk Si Be: μέμνησθε Muretus x.

§ 3. l. 26. φόβου Be duce Reiskio: vulgatum φόβου tuentur Rk Si.

## CAP. XXIII

§ 2. l. 6. διέβαλλε S<sup>5</sup> Be Si<sup>2</sup>: vulgo διέβαλε. || 8. Μιθριδάτου Be duce Ursino: Μιθριδάτη Si v.

§ 4. l. 25. διαστρατηγεί libri in Ursinianis Sch Be Si<sup>2</sup>: vulgo διαστρατηγείτω pro quo Reiskius coni. διαστρατηγεί τῷ λόγῳ πόλεμον i.e. *verbis, non gladio, domi in lecto et bisellio suo, non in acie gerit bellum, tamquam imperator.* || 29. ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτός Be Si<sup>1</sup> praeunte Emperio: ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτοῦς pars librorum; ἀποσταλῆναι αὐτόν v.: ἀποσταλῆναι Si<sup>2</sup> post Ursinum. || 30. διαπράξεσθαι cum Ursino Stephanus Be Si<sup>2</sup>: διαπράξασθαι vulgo S<sup>1</sup>. || 31. πείθοι v.; πείσαι Sch.

§ 5. l. 32. Μαιδικήν Leopoldo duce Si Be: Μηδικήν libri.

## CAP. XXIV

§ 2. l. 18. ἠπόρηκεν Solanus auctore Stephano: ἠπόρηκας v.

§ 3. l. 22. περιλαβών Si Be v.: temere περιβαλῶν Schaefer quem sequitur Koraes: περιβαλῶν item cum codice C Bernardakis *ymb. cr. et palaeogr.* p. 22 coll. Fab. 13 περιβαλῶν ἠσπάζετο, ib. 24 περιβαλῶν καὶ ἄσπασάμενος, Aem. Paul. 10 περιβαλοῦσαν καὶ καταφιλοῦσαν, Brut. 10 περιβαλῶν—ἠσπάζετο, Alex. 67 περιβαλῶν κατεφίλησε, Tib. Gr. 11 περιέβαλλον—καὶ κατησπάζετο, Dion. 43, Eumen. 10 περιβαλόντες ἠσπασάντο, Anton. 10 περιβαλῶν κατεφίλησε. Ceterum Reiskius adnotat: 'significat, Mithridati dextram porrigenti Sullam non item suam porrexisset statim, sed prius interrogasse, num probaret atque ratas haberet condiciones pacis. Quod cum Mithridates post multas tergiversationes affirmasset, Sulla tum tandem est eum amplexus.'

## CAP. XXV

§ 2. l. 11. ἐξέτριψεν Si Be v.: ἐπέτριψεν legendum censet Rk. || 12. πολιορκία Si Be v.: πλεονεξία mg codicis A idque voluerat Solanus. || 17. οἰκουρῶν—προερχόμενος: deesse videtur ἐλάμβανεν aut simile quid; alias legendum οἰκουροῦντα et προερχόμενον sc. ἐτέτακτο λαμβάνειν.

## CAP. XXVI

§ 1. 1. 8. ἐνσκευάσασθαι *intervertisse, compilasse* v.; ἐπιδιασκευάσασθαι *retractasse, cognovisse* Leopoldus suasore Solano.

§ 2. 1. 14. τὸ τὸν—κλήρον—περιγενέσθαι Si<sup>2</sup> Be auctore Reiskio: τὸν—κληρονομον—παραγενέσθαι Si vulgo.

§ 3. 1. 26. Ἄλῶν Be: Ἄλαιῶν (ab Ἄλαιαι) post Koraen Si: vulgo Ἄλαιῶν.

§ 4. 1. 32. παραιτητῶν Br Be Si cum Amioto 'pource qu'ils estoient venus avec des intercesseurs qui n'estoient point petits': libri ἀπαιρητῶν.

## CAP. XXVII

§ 4. 1. 29. Τίφατον Si<sup>2</sup> Be cum Bocharto *Hierozoic.* II 46 p. 527 coll. Livii 7, 29, 26, 2: Ἡφαιον Si vulgo.

§ 5. 1. 36. Νωρβανού Be: Νορβανού v.

§ 6. 1. 43. φησί Si Be: φασί Vulcob. quod Bryanus praefert, tum quia mox φησί de ipso Sulla dicatur, tum quod putat Sullam, si haec scripsisset, maculam militibus inussisse, nullo tempore eluendam. H. Stephanus quoque φασί praefert (*Leopold*). || 48. ἐμπεπρήσσεσθαι Si<sup>2</sup> auctore Reiskio: ἐμπεπρήσθαι Be Si.

## CAP. XXVIII

§ 1. 1. 3. ἠπέγετο δυνάμει καὶ δι' ἀπάτης ipse dedi de meo ut δυνάμει valeat *cum coriis*: ἠπτετο δ. κ. δι' ἀ. Si<sup>2</sup> Be v.: locum, ut corruptum, corrigebat Reiskius ἠπτετο πρὸς τῇ δυνάμει καὶ δὴ ἀπάτης *practer vim periculum quoque imposturae faciebat* s. *violentiae fraudem adiungebat*: ἐνήπτε δυνάμει καὶ δὴ ἀπάτην Schaeferus; ἠπίσσει τῇ δυνάμει delete δ' post δεξαμένου temptat Si<sup>1</sup>; ἀπαντᾶν δεῖν ἠγεῖτο δυνάμει καὶ δι' ἀπάτης *fortiter atque astu hostibus obviam sibi eundum existimabat* Bernardakis *ymb. cr.* p. 23.

§ 5. 1. 40. κεκλιμένοις ex aldina et i. restituit Reiskius, quem sequuntur Si Be; κεκλιμένους vulgo Stephaniana, quod stare potest si intellegas *scutis innixos* ad Homericum illud II. 3, 135 ἀσπίσι κεκλιμένοι.

§ 7. 1. 52. κεκλειμένας Si cum S<sup>5</sup>: κεκλεισμένας Be v.

## CAP. XXIX

§ 1. 1. 2. ἀθλητῆ Si Be cum Reiskio: ἀθλητῆς v.

§ 3. 1. 21. διαδρομῶν vulgo: διαδρομῆς S<sup>5</sup> Ko.

§ 4. 1. 32. πολεμικώτατα Si Be cum Amioto et Reiskio, quod differant πολέμιοι *hostes* et πολεμικοί *bellicosi*.

§ 6. 1. 50. θύραις vulgo: θύρας Madvigius *Adv.* I, 589. || 57. προελθόντες cum Stephano Be Si<sup>2</sup>: προσελθόντες Si<sup>1</sup> vulgo.

## CAP. XXX

§ 2. l. 16. ἐνήρχετο S<sup>5</sup> Ko Si: v. ἀνήρχετο.

## CAP. XXXI

§ 4. l. 23. τυγχάνοι post Koraen Si<sup>2</sup> Be: τυγχάνει Si<sup>1</sup> vulgo.

## CAP. XXXIII

§ 1. l. 8. φ̄ Si v.: καὶ φ̄ Be auctore Reiskio: φ̄ βούλοιο καὶ χαρῖσασθαι Madvigius *Adv.* 1, 589.

§ 2. l. 15. γάμους v. Be Si<sup>2</sup>: γάμοις malit Si<sup>1</sup> temere.

## CAP. XXXV

§ 2. l. 14. παρεισηνοχώς v. Be: εἰσηνηνοχώς Si<sup>2</sup>: προεισηνηνοχώς Koraes.

§ 4. l. 25. Οὐαλερία cum Stephano Be: Οὐαλλερία Si v.

§ 5. l. 41. παραβληθείς vulgatum tuentur Si<sup>2</sup> Be: παρακληθείς Koraes: περιβληθείς *irretitus*, velut περιβλήστρον *reti captus* Reiskius: παλευθείς Madvigius *l. c.* coll. c. 28; παρακινηθείς Bernardakis *symb. crit. et palaeogr.* p. 24.

## CAP. XXXVII

§ 2. l. 9. φαύλη v.; φαιᾶ *pulla* Madvigius quod nihil ad rem pertineat φαυλότης vestis.

§ 3. l. 21. ῥήξας Ko Si Be cum Solano: ῥίψας v.

## CAP. XXXVIII

§ 4. l. 22. Ἄρεος ἔστι Be: Ἄρεώς ἐστι Si. || 23. ὑπογραψάμενον vulgo: ἐπιγραψάμενον Koraes.



# INDICES

I MATTERS

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Lebadeia was chiefly celebrated for the oracle of Trophonios, king of Orchomenos, who, at a time when the Greeks were chiefly indebted to Phoenicia for artists, obtained with the aid of his brother Agamedes, such celebrity as a constructor of temples, treasuries, palaces and other works (Pausan. *Boeot.* 9, 37), that by a consequence natural in a superstitious age of the admiration in which his talents were held, he was believed after his death to predict futurity and to have been the son not of Erginus but of Apollo. The extensive reputation, which his oracle had acquired at a remote period, is proved by its having been consulted by Croesos and Mardonios; and more than six centuries afterwards its administrators were still successful in maintaining the popular delusion. Pausanias, who himself consulted the oracle, has left us an accurate description of the process, omitting only what he saw or heard in the sacred adyton, which it was not lawful to reveal. W. M. LEAKE, *Travels in Northern Greece*, II p. 121 f.

- LEPIDUS, MARCUS AEMILIUS, a candidate for the consulship in 78/676, with the support of Cn. Pompeius, 34 4; his vain attempt to deprive Sulla of the honour of a solemn public funeral, 38 1

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Sulla in Greece 11—21. Surra, who had been sent by Sentius, the governor of Macedonia, to make head against Archelaos, is warned of Sulla's landing in Greece by Lucullus and retires from Boeotia, 11 4, 5; Sulla receives the submission of the cities of Greece except Athens, which was defended by Aristion: he commences two sieges that of Athens and Peiraeus, 12 1; after an unsuccessful attempt to storm the walls, he sets to work constructing engines of war and for that purpose cuts down the trees of the Akademeia and the Lykeion, 12 2, 3; he is forced also to plunder the temples of Epidauros,

Olympia and Delphi; *ib.*; his saying upon Kaphis' scruples to touch the treasures of Delphi, 12 4; Sulla's conduct in this respect contrasted with that of former Roman generals in Greece, who, so far from robbing the temples, even sent presents to them, 12 6, 7; Sulla's conduct to be accounted for by his profuse expenditure on his own men and his corruption of those of other commanders, whereby he made the Roman state a thing for bargain and sale, 12 8, 9; his different motives for desiring to capture Athens, 13 1; provocation of Aristion, *ib.*; blockade of Athens and consequent famine, 13 2, 3; Sulla's answer to the pompous speech of the deputation from Aristion, 13 4; Sulla scales the walls near the Heptachalkon, and levelling the part between the Peiraic and Sacred gates enters the town at midnight on the 1st of March amid the blast of trumpets, 14 3; a general massacre ensues, which Sulla at last stops, 14 4; what he said on that occasion, 14 5; Aristion fled to the Akropolis where he is blockaded by Curio and forced by hunger at last to capitulate, 14 7; Sulla meanwhile forces on the siege of Peiraeus, and, after driving Archelaos into Munychia, burnt the greater part of it, including the noble arsenal of Philo, *ib.*; Archelaos sails away in obedience to a summons from Taxiles, whom Mithridates had sent with an army of 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse and 90 scythed chariots into Greece, 15 1; Sulla also leaves Attica for want

of provisions, and marching into Boeotia effects a junction with Q. Hortensius, 15 2, 4; the combined armies consisting of only 15,000 foot and 1500 horse occupy Philoboeotos, an eminence in the plain of Elateia, 16 1; Sulla's soldiers at first alarmed by the numbers and splendour of the enemy, 16 3; but Sulla tries whether the drudgery of dike-making will not make his troops more willing to fight and it has its effect, 16 5, 6; he orders them to seize sword in hand a strong position called the Akropolis of Parapotamioi, 16 7; the enemy's plan frustrated, 16 8; Archelaos then makes an attempt on Chaironeia, but Sulla is again beforehand with him and garrisons the place with one legion, *ib.*; Sulla crosses the Assos and takes up a position under Mt Hedylion, 17 3; here he encamps opposite Archelaos, who was strongly entrenched at Assia, *ib.*; Archelaos seizes a hill called Thurion; Sulla crosses the Kephissos with the rest of his troops to join the legion in Chaironeia and dislodge the enemy from Thurion, 17 4; disposition of his forces, 17 7; manoeuvres of Archelaos, 19 1, 2; great battle in the plain of Chaironeia and victory of Sulla with the loss of only twelve men, 19 4; the barbarians flee pell-mell to the Kephissos and only 10,000 reach Chalkis in Euboea, *ib.*; Sulla erects two trophies inscribed to Ares, Nike and Aphrodite, 19 5; celebrates at Thebes a festival for his victory and has a dramatic re-

presentation, the judges being invited from other cities of Hellas, as he could not pardon the Thebans for having once joined Archelaos; he confiscates half their land, the proceeds of which he applies to reimbursing the sacred funds, 19 6; marches to Thessaly to oppose the consul Flaccus, who was on his march from the Adriatic coast for Asia, but returns upon the intelligence that Dorylaos, another of Mithridates' generals, had been sent with reinforcements, 20 1, 2; disposition of the combined armies, 20 3, 4; Sulla's arrangements, 21 1, 2; at one time the contest was doubtful, but it ended in a complete defeat of the enemy at Orchomenos, 21 4; Sulla winters in Thessaly, where Metella with her children comes to him from Rome with an account that Cinna and Carbo, besides other outrages, had burnt Sulla's houses and entreating him to go to the aid of his friends, but Sulla could not make up his mind to leave the war with Mithridates unfinished, 22 1, 2; he confers with Archelaos at Delion, 22 3; the terms of peace offered, *ib.*; each urges the other to turn traitor, *ib.*; terms on which Sulla and Archelaos finally agree, 22 5; Sulla's friendly behaviour to Archelaos, who accompanies him into Asia, gives rise to unworthy suspicions, 23 2; Sulla's apology in his *Memoirs*, 23 3; is indignant at the objection of Mithridates to ratify certain articles of the proposed peace, *ib.*; whereupon Archelaos offers to go in person

to Mithridates to persuade him to accept the terms unreservedly, 23 4; Sulla is at Philippi when Archelaos returns from Mithridates, 23 5; he crosses the Hellespont and in a conference with Mithridates at Dardanos they come to terms, 24 1, 2; reconciliation of the kings Ariobarzanes and Nikomedes to Mithridates and termination of the first Mithridatic war, 24 3; Sulla's soldiers, baulked of their desire to avenge the great massacre, murmur at the settlement; Sulla's apology to them, 24 4; he at once leads them against Fimbria who was near Thyateira in Lydia, 25 1; Fimbria's men desert to him and Fimbria commits suicide, *ib.*; Sulla proceeds to regulate the affairs of Asia and levies a fine of 20,000 talents (£4,800,000) on the province and compels the people to quarter his soldiers at a great expense, 25 2; he sails from Ephesos to Athens where he is initiated in the mysteries; carries thence the library of Apellikon in which were the works of Aristotle and Theophrastos, 26 1; being threatened with an attack of gout he visits the mineral springs of Aedepsus, 26 3; story of Sulla and some fishermen of Halae, whom he encourages to rebuild their city, which he had destroyed after the battle of Orchomenos, *ib.*; from Euboea he crosses to Thessalia and Macedonia to meet his fleet on the coast of the Hadriatic, 27 1; while he is at Dyrrhachion, a satyr which had been caught asleep near Apollonia is brought to him, 27 2; his fear

lest his men when they landed in Italy should disperse; but they swear to stand by him to the last and not to ravage the country, 27 3; he refuses their offer of money, *ib.*; he lands near Tarentum, 27 4; has to cope with fifteen generals in Italy having under them 25 legions, *ib.*; several presages of victory, 27 4; battle of Mount Tiphata and defeat of the younger Marius and the consul Norbanus with the loss of 7,000 men, 27 5; Norbanus fled to Capua, where he is blockaded, *ib.*; this victory strengthens the determination of Sulla's men not to disperse, *ib.*; other predictions and presages:—at Silvium he is met by a slave of Pontius bringing assurance of victory from Bellona, but adding that the Capitol would be burned, if he did not make haste, 27 6; M. Lucullus, one of his lieutenants, defeats the enemy with a very inferior force (at Fidentia), 27 7; Sulla (crosses the Vulturinus and, marching along the Appian road, meets the other consul, Scipio, at Teanum with whom he) opens negotiations, in the course of which Scipio's troops desert to Sulla; on hearing of this Carbo said that he had to contend with a lion and a fox in Sulla and that the fox gave him most trouble, 28 3; Marius with 85 cohorts offers Sulla battle near Signia, 28 4; Sulla's dream made him anxious to engage at once, *ib.*; he defeats young Marius with the loss, as he himself states in his *Memoirs*, of only 23 men, 28 8; 8,000 Samnites taken prisoners, *ib.*; Sulla

presses so hard on the fugitives, that the gates of Praeneste are shut to hinder him getting in with them, *ib.*; Marius had to be hoisted over the walls by ropes, *ib.*; similar successes of Sulla's lieutenants Pompeius, Crassus, Metellus, Servilius, *ib.*; Sulla's last conflict is with Pontius Telesinus the Samnite, who was hastening to the relief of Praeneste when he found that Sulla was in his way and Pompeius in his rear, so he made a desperate attempt to surprise the City, 29 1, 2; Sulla followed him, but when he got to Rome a few hours afterwards, fighting had already taken place and some Roman cavalry had been beaten under the city walls, 29 3, 4; desperate conflict before the Colline gate, in which Sulla himself was nearly slain, 29 5; Sulla wore in his bosom a small golden figure of Apollo, brought from Delphi, which he now kissed with devotion and prayed aloud to the god not to allow him to fall ingloriously with his fellow-citizens, 29 6; but neither courage nor superstition availed against the fury of the Samnite onset; the left wing under Sulla was broken by it, 29 7; on the right wing, however, Crassus gained the day, 29 5; and chased the enemy to Antemnae and halting there sent to Sulla for a supply of food, whereupon Sulla hastened to join Crassus, 30 1; three thousand of the enemy offered to surrender, and Sulla swore to spare them if they turned on their own comrades. They did so and Sulla taking them to Rome with as

many other prisoners placed them in the Circus Flaminius and had them all slain, 30 2; he was haranguing the senate in the neighbouring Temple of Bellona when the cries of the victims alarmed his audience; but Sulla told them with great nonchalance that the noise they heard was only made by some malefactors whom he had ordered to be chastised, 30 3; reflexion on the contrast between Sulla's conduct before and after his supremacy, 30 4, 5; reign of terror in Rome, proscriptions and confiscations, 31; Sulla's answer to a young noble who asked him in the senate when there would be an end of them, 31 2, 3; they went on not in Rome only but in every Italian town, 31 4; story illustrative of the time, 31 6; the people of Praeneste are massacred and the town given up to pillage, 32 1; noble behaviour of one of Sulla's friends in that city, *ib.*; L. Catilina having murdered his own brother, Sulla at his request legalises the murder by including this brother's name in the list of the proscribed; Catiline requites him by a horrible act of cruelty to Marcus Marius Gratidianus, 32 2; Sulla is invested with the dictatorship, 33 1; bill of indemnity passed in his favour, *ib.*; extent of the authority conferred on him, *ib.*; Sulla's favourites enriched with the spoils of their master's enemies, *ib.*; he makes Cn. Pompeius divorce his wife Antistia and marry Aemilia, his step-daughter, 33 3; his triumphal procession graced by the presence of the exiles whom

he had restored, who loudly proclaimed him as their saviour, 34 1; in a speech delivered before the popular assembly he attributes his successes to the favour of the deity more than to his own merit and assumes the designation of Felix as a formal surname; also in letters to Greek cities and in the inscription on the trophy of Chaironeia he signs himself Epaphroditos, as being the special favourite of Aphrodite the goddess of fortune, 34 2; the twins born to him by Metella he names Faustus and Fausta in reference to his own good fortune, 34 3; he resigns the dictatorship and becomes a private citizen, *ib.*; does not interfere in the consular elections; his remark on the election of M. Aemilius Lepidus, 34 5; Sulla dedicates the tenth of his property to Hercules, and gives a banquet to the people on so profuse a scale that great quantities of food were daily thrown into the Tiber, 35 1; in the middle of the banquet his wife Caecilia Metella sickened, and in order that, as Pontifex, his house might not be polluted by death he divorced her and removed her while still alive to another house, 35 2; he gives her a magnificent funeral *ib.*; a few months later he is captivated at a gladiatorial show by a coquettish young married woman Valeria and marries her, 35 4; even after this marriage he continued the tastes of his early youth, and chose his companions among actors and actresses and musicians, and practised

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 with verbs of depriving (HA. § 748 a) 8 4  
 of caring for (*φροντίζειν*) 6 9; 19 4  
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object (*ἄλλως ἐαυτὸν τοῦ δαίμονος ποιεῖν*) 6 5

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Imperfect, dramatic, painting a scene, where the aorist states a fact, in narrative 14 3

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## O

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## P

Participle with article used attributively=verb preceded by relative pronoun: *ὁ θριαμβεύων* 3 3; *οἱ κρίνοντες* 19 6; *τῶ ἀποκτείναντι* 31 4

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 ,, with τυγχάνειν 3 2; 28 4; 30 3; 31 4  
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## S

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§ 942) 8 1; 29 8; 32 1  
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A  
LEXICAL INDEX

TO

PLUTARCH'S *LIFE OF SULLA*

The Numbers affixed to words denote respectively :—

- 1 words or forms of words peculiar to Plutarch and later  
Greek writers and not used by the best classical authors
- 2 words used by Plutarch in a sense other than classical
- 3 Greek equivalents to Latin words
- 4 Latin words graecized
- 5 poetical words
- 6 Ionic words



**A**

**ἀγαλμάτιον**, τό, *imaguncula*, 29 6

**ἀγαπάν** c. acc. *probare*, τὸ πρᾶγμα ἠγάπησε 22 2; see my n. on vit. Them. 26, 1. PASS. *amari*, ἀγαπηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς 2 4

**ἀγήρατος**, ον (*γηράσκειν*), *nutriquam senescens, perpetuus*: δοξομανίας καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀγηράτων παθῶν 7 1. [Cf. Thuc.

2, 44, 3 τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων μόνον, Plat. Phil. 15 D ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρων πάθος]

**ἀγορά**, ἡ, *forum*: ἐν ἀγορᾷ 8 1; 32 2; ἐπὶ τῆς ἀ. 8 3; εἰς ἀγορὰν 31 6. *commeatus*, ἀπνοια: ἐπιλιπούσης τῆς ἀγ. 4 3

**ἀγοραῖος**, ον, *forensis*: τὸν ἀ. ἔχλον 7 8. [Aristot. Pol. 4, 4, 10 τὸ ἀγοραῖον πλῆθος... τὸ περὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς ὠνάς καὶ τὰς ἐμπορίας καὶ τὰς καπηλείας διατρίβον.]

**ἀγορανομεῖν**<sup>3</sup> = ἀγορανόμον εἶναι, *aedilem esse*: 5 1

**ἀγροικίεσθαι** 6 3

**ἀγωνίζεσθαι**, *decertare*. PASS. ἐργὸν οὐ καθαρῶς ἀγωνισθῆν (*pugnatum*) 23 1

**ἀγωνιστικῶς ἔχειν** 'to be disposed to fight': 16 6

**ἄδενδρος**<sup>1</sup>, ον, *arboribus nudus*: 20 4

**ἀδιάλλακτος**, ον, *implacabilis*, 'unforgiving': 25 1

**ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν**, *implacabilem esse*: 19 6

**Ἀθήνησι**: 2 1 (HA. § 220)

**ἄθροος**, α, ον, *confertus, coniunctus*, 'all at once': ἀθρόαν μεταβολὴν 2 2; ἀθρόοις τοῖς οἰστοῖς παλοντες 21 3.

**ἄθρους**, *omnibus copiis* (of an individual) 12 1.

**ἄθρώως**, *confertim* 32 1

**αἶμα**, τό, *caedes*: αἵματος ἐμφυλίου 4 4

**αἶρεν**, *tolle, elevare, efferre*: ἤραν τὸν νεκρὸν 38 2; ἄρας λαμπρόν 29 6. PASS. φάσμα αἰρόμενον ἀπὸ γῆς 27 4. INTRANS. *signa, castra movere*: ἄρας 29 2

**ἄκαρπος**, ον, (de plantis) *infecundus*, 'without fruit': 20 4

**ἀκινδύνως**, *tuto, impune*: 12 2

**ἀκμή**, ἡ, *vigor, flos*: 6 2; ἐν ἀκμῇ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων 37 1

**ἀκούειν**, *audire, accipere*: c. gen. pers., ἐτέρων ἀκούειν ('to hear from others') 24 2

**ἄκρος**, α, ον, of degree, *summus, praestantissimus*: ἐν ταῖς ἄκραις κακίαις 8 1. See my lex. to Plut. Gracch. s. v.

**ἄκων**, ἄκ-ουσα, ἄκ-ον (ἀ-έκων), *invitus*: 28 6

**ἀλαλαγμός**<sup>5</sup>, ὁ, *strepitus*, 'a loud noise': 14 3; 16 2

**ἄλφιτον**, τό, *polenta, farina*, 'barley-meal', 'any kind of meal': 2 1

**ἀλώσιμος**, *ον*, *qui capi* (*expugnari*) *potest*: θεασάμενος τὸν τόπον ἀλώσιμον 14 2

**ἄλωσις**, ἡ, 'arrest', 'capture': μετὰ τὴν ἄλ. 36 4

**ἄμαυρός**, ἄ, *όν*, *obscurus*, 'dim': εἰδῶλοις ἀμαυροῖς 27 4

**ἀμυδρός**, ἄ, *όν*, 'faint', 'imperfect': δι' ἀμυδρῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν ὀργάνων τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποτομήν 7 5

**ἀμφιβολία**<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, *dubitatio*: 31 2

**ἀμφιλαφής**, ἐς: βουνὸν ἀμφιλαφῆ 16 1 *ubi v. n.*

**ἄν**, postpositive, with optative where protasis is not expressed, 1 1; with participle, 24 4

**ἀνά κράτος**, 'up to the full strength', 'vigorously': 29 3. Cf. Xen. Cyr. 4, 2, 30 ἔφευγον ἀνά κρ., 5, 3, 12 ἀπομάχοιτο ἀνά κρ.

**ἀναβλύζειν**<sup>1</sup>, *scaturire*: ἐκ δὲ τούτου (τοῦ χάσματος) πῦρ ἀναβλύσαι πολύ (de igne ex terra fontis instar prorumpente) 6 6

**ἀνάγειν**<sup>2</sup>, *agmen porrigere* 17 7; 19 1. *referre pedem, ex acie abducere exercitum* 21 3. MED. *solvere* (navem), *proficisci mari*: ἀναχθεῖς 26 1

**ἀναγορεύειν**, *renuntiare*: ἑαυτὸν Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἀνηγόρευε 34 2; δικτάτορα ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε 33 1; ἀναγορεῦσαι Λέπιδον 34 5

**ἀναγράφειν**, *perscribere*: ἀναγράψαι πίνακας ('to draw up tables' or 'indexes') 26 1. PASS. ἐν τοῖς τροπαλοῖς ἀναγέγραπται 34 2. *recenseri*: σύμμαχον ἀναγραφήναι 23 2

**ἀναξενγύνναι**, *proficisci* )( *καταξενγύνναι* 15 2, 3; 29 8

**ἀνάθημα**, τό, 12 3, the technical word by which all such costly offerings as were presented to the gods and then suspended or otherwise exposed to view in their temples, all by the Romans termed *donaria* as tri-

ods, crowns, silver and golden vases and the like, were so called; these being in this way separated for ever from all common and profane uses, and 'openly dedicated to the honour of that deity, to whom they were presented (Xen. Anab. 5, 3, 5; Pausanias 10, 9). TRENCH, *Synonymis of the N. T.* p. 19 ed. 3.

**ἀνακείσθαι** (used as perf. pass. of ἀνατιθέναι), *consecratum esse*: ἐν ἱερῷ χρυσοῦ ἀνακείμενον 7 3

**ἀνακόπτειν**, *retundere, repellere*, 'to beat back': 21 3

**ἀνάκτορον**<sup>5</sup>, τό, *fanum*: ἐν τοῖς ἀνακτόροις 12 5

**ἀναλαμβάνειν**, 1. *capere, in se colligere*: εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἀνειληφῶς τὰ χεῖριστα τῶν παθῶν 13 2. 2.

*sumere secum*: τὸν πίθον διὰ βάρος οὐ δυνάμενος ἀναλαβεῖν 12 6; ἄπιτε τοὺς λόγους τοῦτους ἀναλαμβάνοντες 13 4; ἀναληψόμενος τὴν στρατιάν 17 4.

II *recuperare*: ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ('to resume his own position') 19 3; 33 1. PASS. *recipi, in altum tolli*: ἀνελήφθη<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος 28 7

**ἀναμιγνύναι**, *miscere*. PASS. ἀναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς στρατιώταις 28 2; ἀναμιχθέντα τοῖς φεύγουσιν 29 7; ἀναμιχθεῖς συγκατεκόπη τοῖς πολίταις 32 1

**ἀναπετανύναι**, *expandere*. PASS. ἀναπεπταμέναις (*aperitis*) χώραις 15 2; ὁμαλὸν ἀναπέπταται (de planitie) 20 4

**ἀναπιμπλάναι**, *implere*: ἀνέπλησαν (τὴν φάλαγγα) θεοὺς καὶ παραχῆς 18 2. PASS. *impleri* (Liv. 4, 30) 'to be infected': 36 2

**ἀναρριπίζειν**<sup>1</sup> (*rupis, flabellum*), *rursus excitare, suscitare*. PASS. ἡ στάσις ἀνερριπίζετο 6 1

**ἀνασκευάζεσθαι** (MED.) *vasa colligere*: ἀνεσκευάσαντο 15 4

**ἀναστροφή**, ἡ, *conversio* sive *ad fugam* sive *ad pugnam*: 21 3

ἀνατιθέναι, *imputare alicui aliquid*: τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς ὄχλοις ἀνατίθησιν 5 1. *statuere in honorem dei, dedicare*: ἀνέθηκεν εἰκόνας 6 1. PASS. ἐν ἱερῷ χρυσὸν ἀνακείμενον 7 3. 'to dedicate' (a book); τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐκείνῳ ἀνατέθεικε 6 5.

ἀναυξής<sup>1</sup>, *es, qui non augetur, humilis*, 'not growing to any size': 20 4

ἀνδραγαθία, ἡ, *virtus, fortitudo*; 6 9. PL. τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας (*fortiter facta*) 34 2

ἀνευ, *praeter*, 'without counting': 14 4; 38 2

ἀνέφελος<sup>5</sup>, *on, innubilus, serenus*: 7 3

ἀνηγόρευσε<sup>1</sup> (ἀναγορεύειν), 33 1

ἀνήκεστος, *on, insanabilis*, 'desperate': στάσεων ἀν. 4 4, τὴν στάσιν οὐκέτι καθεκτὴν ἀλλ' ἀν. 9 2, διαλλαττομένου ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις (sc. προσκρούσμασιν) 6 8

ἀνὴρ, ὁ, 1. *vir*, 'a husband': παρὰ γυναῖξι γαμεταῖς ἄνδρες ἐσφάπτοντο 31 5. 2. joined with an appositive, denoting condition or profession (H.A. § 625 a), πολεμιστὴς ἀνὴρ 29 2; ἀ. ἀπράγμων 31 6, στρατηγικὸς ἀνὴρ 15 3; 6 9. 3. ὁ ἀνὴρ for demonstrative pronoun: 33 4

4. ἀνὴρ for *tis quidam*: 17 2

Ἄνθεστηριών, ὁ, the eighth month of the Attic year, corresponding to the end of February and beginning of March: 14 6

ἄνθρωπος, ὁ, ἡ, 1. in repetitione subiecti for demonstrative pronoun: 27 6; 32 2; 37 3. τῆς ἀνθρώπου 2 4. 2. as an appositive joined with words denoting status in society, class, condition, generally with signification of contempt, 'a fellow', (H.A. § 625 a): ἀπε-

λευθερικὸς ἄνθρωπος 1 4; 8 1; 13 1. PL. οἱ ἄνθρωποι, 'the public' 33 1

ἀνταποδιδόναι<sup>2</sup>, *reddere* (sonum): τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνταποδιδόντων τὴν περιήχησιν 19 2

ἀντασπάζεσθαι, *vicissim salutare*: ἀντασπασάμενοι 28 3

ἀντί, *praep. c. gen. loco alicuius*: 22 3

ἀντίγραφον, τό, *exemplum libri*: 26 1

ἀντιμεπρακιεύεσθαι<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τινα *vicissim erga aliquem iuueniliter se gerere*: 6 4

ἀντισύγκλητος<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *senatus adversariae factionis*: 8 1

ἄνω, *supra*: τὴν ἄνω πόλιν (*superiorem urbis partem*) 12 2; τῶν ἄνω 'the upper floor' 1 4

ἀξιοῦν, *postulare*: 13 4; 22 3; 23 3. οὐκ ἀξιοῦν, *nolle, indignum iudicare* 20 3

ἀπαγορεύειν: *v. s. ἀπειπεῖν*

ἀπαίρειν, *abire, proficisci*: ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτην ἀπήρην 10 4

ἀπαλλάττειν, *depellere*: ἀπαλλάξει τῇ πόλει τὰς ταραχάς 6 7 *v. n.*

ἀπάνθρωπος, *on, inhumanus*: τὰ ἤθη ποιούσους ἀ. 30 5

ἀπαντάν, *obviam venire*: ὤρμησεν ὡς ἀπαντήσων 20 1; ἀπήνητησε 11 4; 17 5; ἀπαντήσαντος 24 2; ἀπαντήσαντι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως 15 4. 2. *se sistere, praesto esse*: οὐκ ἀπήνητησεν ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν 5 6. II.

*de rebus obv venire, in eo in quod incidimus, quod nobis accidit*: ἡ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου νέμεσις αὐτῷ φανερά ἀπήνητα 10 2; δ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀπήνητα 18 3

ἀπαραίτητος, *on, of persons, obstinatus, inexorabilis*: 16 5 of things: ἀ. ἔρως 13 1

ἀπάρχεσθαι<sup>2</sup>, *donare tamquam primitias, de militibus qui de suo peculio aliquid delibatum Sullae dono offerebant*: 27 3

ἀπαρχή, ἡ, *frimittiae, donum*: 27 3

ἅπας, ἅπασα, ἅπαν, *unusquisque*: πρὸς ἅπαν (*nihil non*) ἐποίμων 8 2; ἀπάση σπουδῇ 9 5; κύριος ἀπάντων 2 2

ἀπειπεῖν v. ἀπαγορεύειν, *interdicere, vetare*: ἀπαγορεύοντας (unclassical) 9 2. *faticiscere et inde abstinere ab aliqua re*, 'to give up', 'fail', 'fall short in': ἀπαγορεύσαντες (unclassical) πρὸς τὰ ἔργα 16 5. c. dat. rei, ἀπειρηκῶς ταῖς στρατείαις 7 3

ἀπειρηκῶς: v. s. ἀπειπεῖν ἀπελευθερικός<sup>1</sup>, *libertinus*, 'in the condition of a freedman': 1 4

ἀπεργάζεσθαι, *efficere*: στάσις ἀπεργασαμένην ὅσα σύμπαντες οἱ πόλεμοι οὐκ ἔβλαψαν 7 1

ἀπερείδεσθαι (MED.) *inclinare*: τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπηρείστατο 35 4

ἀπερίσκεπτος, ον, *inconsideratus*, c. gen. rei: ἀ. ἀσχροῦ 8 1

ἀπήρην (ἀπαίρειν) 10 4

ἀπήρχοντο (ἀπάρχεσθαι) 27 3

ἀπό, I of place: in partitive sense: μυριάων μόνους ἀπὸ τοσούτων μυριάδων 19 4; ὀλιγοστὸς ἀπὸ μυριάδων δυοκαίδεκα 22 4. [Cf. Thuc. 7, 87, 5 ὀλίγοι ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἀπενόστησαν.] II of

time: ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας (*post militiam peractam*) 5 1; ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης 21 4; ἀφ' ἡμέρας 36 1.

III of origin, cause: ἀπ' αἰτίας ἐλαφρᾶς ἀρξαμένην 36 2.

1. of connexion with the founder or leader of a sect (unclassical): ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως 10 3; 20 1; 23 6; τοὺς ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ θεάτρον 2 1. 2. of the means, occasion, 'in consequence of': χάριν ἣν ἀφ' ὧρας εἶχεν 2 3; ἀπὸ τούτων εὐπόρησεν 2 3; ἀφ' οὗ (sc. ἔππου) γνωρίσαντες αὐτόν 29 5; ἀφ' αὐτῶν (*sua sponte*) 27 3; ἀπ' οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ γνωρίμων 36 3;

ἀπ' ἐκείνου καλεῖται 'is called after him' 17 3

ἀπογιγνώσκειν 14 4 v. n.

ἀπογράφεσθαι, *nomen edere, inter candidatos referri*: ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν πολιτικὴν ἀπεγράψατο 5 1

ἀποδακρύνειν, *deflare, deplorare*: ἀπεδάκρυνσε τὴν ἀνάγκην 12 4

ἀποδεικνύειν, 1. *praestare, efficere*: οὐδὲν ἀποδείξει μέγα δυναθῆς 5 2. 2. c. dupl. acc.

'to prove one so and so': ἀπέδειξε τὸν Εὐριπίδην σοφὸν ἄνδρα 4 4; ἀπέδειξε τῷ Δορυλάῳ τὸν Ἄρχέλαον ἄνδρα φρόνιμον 20 3

3. *creare* 'to appoint': Ἄριον βαρζάνην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα 5 3; ἐτέρους ἀποδείξει στρατηγούς 5 1. PASS. ὑπατος ἀποδεικνύται 6 10; ἀποδειχθῆναι στρατηγός 6 9; ἀποδειχθεὶς ταμίης 3 1

ἀποδιδόναι, *reddere*: ἀποδώσειν τὰ χρήματα 12 4; (τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους) ἀποδοῦς 23 2; χρέος οὐκ ἀποδίδωσιν (*exsolvit*) 37 3. PASS. κελεύσας ἀποδίδοσθαι τὰ χρήματα 19 6. *attribuere*: τὸ εὐώνυμον (κέρας) ἀποδοῦς τῷ Μουρῆνᾳ 17 7; οὕτε τάξιν ἀποδοῦς 27 5

ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι<sup>2</sup>, *monstri instar amandare*: ἀποδιοπομπεήσασθαι 27 2

ἀποθεσπίζειν, *vaticinari*: ἀπεθέσπισε 34 5

ἀποθύειν, i. q. θυσίαν ἀποδιδόναι, *sacra (ex voto) debita facere*: 35 1

ἀποκαλεῖν, *adpellare*: σωτήρα καὶ πατέρα τὸν Σύλλαν ἀποκαλοῦντες 34 1 v. n.

ἀποκαλύψις<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *patrefactio, detectio*: 30 5

ἀποκρίνειν, *secernere*. PASS. τὸ ἀποκρινόμενον 36 2

ἀποκρούειν: MED. *arcere, depellere*: ἀπεκρούσατο τοὺς πολεμίους 15 4. PASS. ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἐκεθεν 16 8

ἀποκுவεῖν<sup>1</sup>, *parere*: θυγάτριον ἀπεκύησεν 37 4

ἀπολείπειν, 1. *relinquere aliquem* ut maneat in loco: σπειρας δὸσ ἀπέλιπε 17 3, *usitatus* hoc sensu κατέλιπε. with pred. adj. ἄβᾶτον τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπολείποιώς 22 4.

2. *heredem relinquere*: PASS. ἀπελείφθη κληρόνομος ὑπ' αὐτῆς 2 4

ἀπολογισμός, ὁ, *expositio*: 34 2

ἀπόνυμμα<sup>2</sup>, i. q. ἀπόνυπτρον, 'water for washing': 36 2

ἀπονίπτεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας, *abluere manus* 32 2

ἀπορεῖν, *indigere, carere*: λόγων οὐκ ἠπόρηκεν 24 2. ἀπορεῖσθαι, *incertum esse, nescire quid consilii sit capiendum*: ἀπορουμένῳ 22 2

ἀπορρύπτεσθαι<sup>2</sup> (MED.) *sordibus se expurgare*: 36 3

ἀπορρώξ, ὁ, ἢ, *praeruptus*: ἀπορρώγι κρημνῷ 15 4

ἀποσημαίνειν<sup>2</sup>, 'to betoken': 7 3

ἀπόστημα, τό, *vomica*: 37 3

ἀποταφρεύειν, *fossa ducta aditum intercludere*: ἀπετάφρευε (τὸν χάρακα) 21 3

ἀποτέλειν φθόγγον, *producere sonum*: 7 3

ἀποτέμεσθαι (MED.) *intercludere, intercipere hostem ut seiungatur a suis*: 18 2. c. gen. τῶν στερεῶν ἀποτεμόμενος τοὺς πολεμίους 21 1: *desecare partem regionis et praeripere iusto possessori*: 19 6

ἀποτεύξις, ἢ, *repulsa*: 5 2

ἀποτολμᾶν, *fortuna se committere, audere*. PASS. αἰ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀποτολμώμεναι πράξεις, 6 5

ἀποτυγχάνειν, *excidere ausis*) (κατορθοῦν c. dat. rei: 6 4

ἀποτυμπανίζειν, 6 8 η.

ἀποφαίνεσθαι (MED.) *portendere*: ἀπεφαίνοντο 7 3

ἀποφράττειν, *intersepere, ob-*

*struere*: ἀποφραττόντων (τὰς ὁδοὺς) 28 5

ἀποχρησθαι, *multum et libere uti*: φορᾶ τόλμης ἀποχρησάμενοι 27 5. *in suum usum convertere*: 27 4

ἀποψηφίζεσθαι, *candidatum in honorum petitione repellere*: ἀποψηφισάμενοι 10 3

ἀπραγμόνως ζῆν 37 2

ἀπράγμων, ὁ, ἢ, *a negotiis abhorrens, rerum suarum satagens*: ἀνὴρ ἂ. 31 6

ἄπρακτος, ον, *inefficax*: 18 3

ἀπραξία<sup>2</sup>, ἢ, PL. *feriae, iustitium*: 8 3

ἄπτειν. MED. ἄπτεσθαι, *am- plecti* 'to lay hold on': ἀπτόμενος τῆς δεξιᾶς 23 4; ἠπτετο vulgo 28 1 (ubi legendum puto ἠπέιγετο). *attingere, perspicere*: τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπτομένην 7 5

ἄρα, cum imperfecto iunctum eam habet vim ut, aliquid praeter opinionem accidisse significet: ἦν ἄρα φάσμα 27 4. [cf. Arist. Eq. 382 ἦν ἄρα πυρός γ' ἔτερα θερμώτερα, Vesp. 664, Pac. 22, 566, 676, Av. 19]

γὰρ ἄρα 13 1

ἄρας (αἶρειν): 29 2

ἄργός, ον: 16 2

ἄργυριον, τό, *argentum*: ἀργυρίου κόλλου 1 1; τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίῳ προσήγοντο 28 2

ἀριθμεῖν, *numerare*, 'to count out and receive': ἠρίθμει τιμὴν 8 1

ἀρχαιρέσια<sup>3</sup>, τά, *comitia*: 34 3. See lex. to Ti. Gracch. s. v.

ἄρχειν, *incipere* c. gen. τὸν ἄρξαντα τοῦ δουλικοῦ πολέμου 36 4. *praeesse*: ἄρξας (cum summum imperium cepisset) 6 6;

τὸν ἄρχοντα 37 3; τοῖς ἄρχουσι, *ducibus* 12 7. MED.

ἄρχεσθαι *incipere*: c. gen. ἀρξάμενος τῆς ἀπολογίας 24 2; ἀπ' αἰτίας ἐλαφρᾶς ἀρξάμενην 36 2

ἀρχιμῆμος<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, 36 1  
 ἀρωγός, ὁ, *adiutor*: c. dat.  
 19 3 (H.A. § 765).

ἄρωμα, τό, 'spice': πλήθος  
 ἀρωμάτων 38 2

ἀσκεῖν, *componere cum arte ac studio*. PASS. ὄπλων ἡσκημένων  
 χρυσῶ 16 2. II. *exercere*,

'to train'. PASS. μυριάδας  
 ἡσκημένους (de militibus) 20 2;  
 ἡσκημένοις πρὸς ἀπάτην 28 2

ἄσυλος, ον, *sacrosanctus, in-*  
*violatus*: 12 3

ἄτρεπτος<sup>1</sup>, ον, *firmus, immo-*  
*tus*: ἀτρέπτω τῷ προσώπῳ 30 3

αὐλητικός, ἡ, ὄν, *tibialis*: τὸν  
 αὐ. κάλαμον 20 5

αὐτόθεν, ἰ. q. ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
 πράγματος 9 2 *ubi v. n.*

αὐτόθι, ἰ. q. αὐτοῦ *ibi*: 17 1,  
 4; 24 1

αὐτοκράτωρ<sup>3</sup>, ὁ, *imperator*  
 21 2; αὐτόκρατορ 35 4

αὐτός, *intensive, ipse*: 5 3; 9  
 4; 14 6; 23 3; αὐτὸς ὁ ἡγεμών 28  
 2; αὐτὸ τὸ ρέυμα 17 4; ἐν αὐτῇ  
 τῇ πάγῃ 7 3; ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῷ  
 πολέμῳ 6 9; ἐπ' ἐκείνον αὐτὸν  
 20 1; τὴν Εὐβοίαν αὐτὴν 11 3;  
 αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν Μετέλλαν 13 1;

ὁ αὐτὸς *idem*, εἰς ταὐτὸ πάντας  
 συναγαγὼν 37 1; ταὐτά 17 2.

c. dat. οὐκ ἔπαθε ταὐτὸ Τιμοθέω  
 6 3

αὐτοσχέδιος, ον, *extemporalis,*  
*non elaboratus*: de arte vaticinandi  
 quae nullis certis rationibus  
 aut principiis nititur, sed  
 signa obscura sequitur, ex  
 quibus futura conicit, 7 5

αὐτοῦ, *eo ipso loco*: 9 5; 7 5  
*ubi v. n.*

αὐτόχειρ, ὁ, *qui sua manu cae-*  
*dem patrat, homicida*: αὐτόχει-  
 ρας 12 8

ἀφαιρεῖν, *adimere*: τὸ θάμβος  
 αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖν 16 3. MED.  
 ἀφελέσθαι πολλά 6 7; ἀφεί-  
 λετο τὴν τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐνεργείαν  
 18 2; ἀφελέσθαι βασι-

λείαν καὶ ᾧ βούλοιο χαρίσασθαι  
 33 1; τὰς περιπορφύρους ἀφεί-  
 λοντο 9 2. c. gen. pers.

τὰς εὐπορίας αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖν 15  
 1; Ἀσίαν Ῥωμαίων ἀφηρημένον  
 11 2; οὐκ ἀφείλετο τοῦ Σύλλα  
 τὴν ὑπατείαν 8 4. PASS. c. acc.  
 obi. 'to have a thing taken from  
 you': Παφλαγονίαν ἀφαιρεθῆ-  
 ναι 23 3

ἀφανίζεῖν. PASS. ἀφανίσε-  
 θαι, *e medio clabi*: τὸ φασμα  
 ἡφανίσθη 27 4; *condi* (de fluvio  
 qui in paludem cadit) 20 5

ἄφεσις, ἡ, *missio* (pr. equo-  
 rum e carceribus): αἱ ἐκ βρα-  
 χέος ἀφέσεις 18 3

ἄφθονος, ον, *largus, copiosus*:  
 ἐν οὐκ ἀφθόνοις ἐτράφη τοῖς  
 πατράσι 1 1; ἐν ἀφθόνοις δια-  
 γόντων 4 3

ἀφιέναι, *emittere* (de missili-  
 bus): διεισίνοντο τὰς λόγχας ὡς  
 ἀφήσοντες 29 5. (de vocibus)  
 ἐτέρας φωνὰς ἀφήσει 23 4; 27 2.

II *dimittere* 'to let loose',  
 'free from restraint': 16 8; 33 4;  
 (uxorem) 33 3. PASS. εἰς τὸν  
 δῆμον ἀφεθείς 8 2; καλωδίου  
 ἄνωθεν ἀφεθέντος 28 7; ἀσφα-  
 λῶς ἀφείθη 10 1; ληφθεὶς ἡφεί-  
 θη (late form) ἐφ' ἄρπαγὴν 28 3;  
 ἀφειμένους 14 3; ὡς ἀφείθησαν  
 ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν (sc. ad pug-  
 nam) 21 1.

*cedere* 'to give  
 up': ἀφέντα τὴν Ἀσίαν 22 3, 5

ἀφορίζεῖν, *praefinire*: ἀφω-  
 ρίσθαι χρόνων ἀριθμὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ 7 4

ἀφορμή, ἡ, *occasio*, 'something  
 to start with', 'opportunity':  
 προϊέμενον ἀφορμὰς τῶν πράξεων  
 4 2

ἀφοσιοῦσθαι. 1. *religionis*  
*causa aliquid facere*. 2. *repu-*  
*diare aliquid ut impium sive*  
*aversari ut molestum* 22 4

ἄχρι, prep. c. gen. of time,  
 'until': ἄχρι νυκτός 38 3. of  
 space, *usque ad*: ἄχρι τῶν ἐλῶν

20 4. ἄχρι νῦν (unclassical)  
for ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν, 17 3

ἄωρος, *on, intempestivus*: ἄω-  
ρότερα τοῦ γήρως πρᾶττειν 2 2

B

βαδίζειν, *procedere*: 9 2; ἐβά-  
διζε 23 1, 6; βαδίζειν ἐξ ἐφό-  
δου (*signa infesta ferre*) 9 5

βάθος, τό, *altitudo*, 'depth'  
of a line of battle: 18 6

βαθός, εἶα, υἱ, of time: νυκτός  
βαθείας 30 1

βαίνειν, *incedere, βεβηκέναι*  
*incedendo constitisse, versari*: ἐτέ-  
ρον (τρόπαιον) ἐστὶ βεβηκός 19 5

βάλλειν, *iaculari*: 9 4. τὸν  
χάρακα βάλλειν *vallum iacere*  
28 6. MED. 'to put for one-  
self', 'lay': *eis μήμηγν ἐβάλον-  
το (in memoriam revocarunt)* 12

6. *iacere (ut fundamentum)*,  
*hinc figere*: βεβλημένω χάρακα  
17 3. PASS. *feriri*: βαλλομέ-

νους (sc. κεραυνῶ) 9 4

βαρυθυμείν: MED. βαρυθυ-  
μουμένου 6 2

βασιλεύειν, *regnare*: 22 3.

PASS. βασιλεύεσθαι<sup>2</sup> *in*  
*regis partibus manere, a rege*  
*stare*: 12 1

βασιλικός, ἡ, ὄν, *regius*: 12 6;

στρατιᾷ β. 20 1; τοῦ β. Ἀρχε-  
λάου 22 2; τῶν β. λαφύρων 34 2;

ταῖς ψυχαῖς βασιλικοί 12 7

βελοςφενδόνη<sup>3</sup>, ἡ, *falarica*, 'a  
sort of missile wrapped with  
pitch and tow, set on fire and  
thrown by the catapult' (Liv.  
21, 8, 10), or by the hand (Verg.  
Aen. 9, 705; Liv. 34, 14, 11):

18 6

βέλτιόν (ἐστὶ) *sine vi com-*  
*parativa conducit*: 12 4

βίος, ὁ, *vita*, 'mode of life':

PL. τῶν βίων οὐκ ἔτι ἐν ἡθεσιν  
ὀρθίοις μενόντων 1 3; διαφέροντα  
τοῖς β. 7 4

βρίθος, τό, *pondus*: ἔργα περι-

κλώμενα τοῖς αὐτῶν βριθεσιν  
12 3

βωμολοχία, ἡ, *dicacitas scurri-*  
*lis*: 13 1. PL. βωμολοχίας

καὶ τρυφάς 35 5

Γ

γαμείν, with two accusatives,  
cognate and objective, *γαμεῖ*  
*γάμον ἐνδοξότατον—Καικιλίαν* 6

10. [Cf. vit. Mar. c. 6, 2 *γάμον*  
*γῆμαι λαμπρὸν Ἰουλιαν*]

γαμετή, ἡ, *uxor*: 33 3.

c. *γυνή, uxor*: παρά γυναιξὶ  
*γαμεταῖς* 31 5

γάρ, merely prefacing state-  
ment: 2 4; 31 4. καὶ γάρ,  
'for also': 6 5. γάρ ἄρα, 13 1

γε, emphasizing words with-  
out intensifying their meaning:  
πρὸς γε Θηβαίους 19 6. γέ  
τοι 33 3; ὅς γε (causal) *quippe*  
*qui* 10 1; 12 2

γελωτοποιεῖν, *risum excitare,*  
*irridere*: *γελωτοποιῶν* πρὸς  
τοὺς πολεμίους 13 3

γελωτοποιός, ὁ, *scurra*: 2 2

γένος<sup>2</sup>, τό, *genus*, 'class', 'sort'  
(post-classical): τοῦτο τὸ γένος  
τῆς ἀρχῆς 33 4

γεφυρίζειν<sup>1</sup>, *capillari, perstrin-*  
*gere*: 6 12; 13 1

γεφυριστής<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, (γέφυρα) *ca-*  
*villator* 'a jeerer': 2 1. [He-  
sych. γεφυρισταί: οἱ σκῶπται,  
ἐπεὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύ-  
ρας τοῖς μυστηρίοις καθεζόμενοι  
ἔσκωπτον τοὺς παρόντας. Cf.

Bentley *Diss. upon Phalaris* 1 p.  
335 ed. Dyce]

γηράσκειν, *senescere*: οὐδὲ γή-  
ρας (ne *senex quidem factus*)  
2 3

γίγνεσθαι, *praestare se ipsum*,  
'to manifest oneself': ἀνώμαλός  
τις γεγονέναι 6 7

γιγνώσκειν, *cognoscere, com-*  
*pertum habere*, in past tenses,  
*nosse*: ἐγνωκέναι 24 2. de-

*cernere, statuere*: οὐς σὺ ἔγνω-  
κας ἀναερεῖν—σώζειν 31 2

**γλαυκότης**<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *glaucus color*,  
'grayness': τὴν τῶν ὀμμάτων  
γλαυκότητα 2 1

**γλισχροός**, ἄ, ὄν, *malignus*,  
'niggardly': χωρῶν γ. 15 2

**γλύφειν**, *sculperere*. MED. *sculp-  
endum curare*: γλυψάμενος  
ἐν δακτυλίῳ εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως  
3 4

**γνώμη**, ἡ, *voluntas*: ἐπτόητο  
τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον 7 1;  
ἐνδοιάζων τῇ γνώμῃ 9 3; κατὰ γνώ-  
μην (*consulto*) (πρὸς καιρὸν 6 5;  
παρὰ γνώμην 34 4

**γνωρίζειν**: 'to make known'  
(rare). PASS. γνωριζόμενα  
τοῖς πολλοῖς (*in vulgus nota*) 26 1.

*cognoscere*: ἀφ' οὗ γνωρί-  
σαντες αὐτόν 29 5

**γοητεία**, ἡ, *praestigiae, fallacia*,  
'cheatery': 28 2

**γράμμα**, τό, *litera*. PL. γράμ-  
μασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς 19 5. II  
*litterae, scriptum, liber*: 26 2

**γράφειν**, *scribere*: τοῖς Ἑλλησι  
γράφων 34 2. *praescribere*,  
*praecipere*: νόμον ἔγραψε 37 3.

MED. γραψάμενος διάλυ-  
σιν γάμου 35 2

**γραφῆ**, ἡ, i. q. γλυφή 3 4.  
*scriptura*: τὴν γραφὴν τῶν  
ὑπομνημάτων 6 6

**γρόσφος**<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *hasta velitaris*:  
18 6

**γυμνός**, ἡ, ὄν, *nudus*, τὰ γυμ-  
νά (*clypeo non tectae corporis  
partes*) 18 1

## Δ

δ' οὖν, resumptive after digres-  
sion 31 3

**δεῖν**, *opus esse*: χρημάτων ἔδει  
12 3. *abesse*: μικροῦ ἐδέησεν  
ἐμπροσθεῖν 29 2

**δεῖν**, *conicere in vincula*. PASS.  
δεθῆναι 9 3

**δεινός**, ἡ, ὄν, *periculosus*: οὐ-

δὲν δεινόν 35 4. *indignus*:  
δεινὸν ἡγοῦντο (*indignum exis-  
timabant*) ὄραν 24 4. *peritus*:  
δεινότατον ῥητορεύειν 24 2

**δεινότης**, ἡ, *consilium*: 19 5

**δεινός**, c. adj. *vehementer, ad-  
modum*, 'strikingly', 'exceed-  
ingly': δεινὸς πικρὰν 2 1. [Cf.  
Herod. 2, 76 μέλαινα δεινός, 3,  
5 ἄνδρος δεινός, Metagen. Αὐ-  
ραι 3 (Mein. Fr. Com. gr. 2, 752)  
δεινός πῶς εἰμ' ἐπιλήσμων]

**δεῖσθαι** 1. *indigere, deside-  
rare*: 'to be in need of', 're-  
quire': c. gen. θεραπεύειν ὦν  
δέοιτο 6 7; πολλὰ τῶν δ. ἐπι-  
μελείας 2 1, 2; ἤλεγχε τὴν πο-  
λεμικὴν ἀρετὴν ἀκμῆς καὶ ῥώμης  
δεομένην 6 2; 27 3; ἐπ' ἀλλή-  
λους δεόμενοι τῶν ὄπλων 12 8.  
c. infin. τῶν σωθῆναι δεομένων  
16 8; 23 5. 2. *orare, rogare*:

c. gen. pers. ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Σύλ-  
λα 23 4; ἐδέηθη τοῦ Σύλλα προ-  
γράψαι 32 2: cum gen. rei συμ-  
μαχίας καὶ φίλιας δεομένων  
5 1. absol. 24 1; 28 5; 27 4

**δεκαπέντε**<sup>1</sup>, *quindecim*: 24 4

**δεκάτη**, (sc. μερῆς), 'tithe'; ἀπο-  
θύων δεκάτην 35 1

**δενδροφόρος**<sup>1</sup>, ὄν, *arborum fe-  
rax*: δενδροφοροτάτην 12 3

**δεύτερος**, α, ὄν, *secundus*: c. gen.,  
in comparative sense, οὐδενός  
δ. 8 1. [Cf. vit. Demosth. c. 13  
ἐν δευτέρῳ τάξει τοῦ καλοῦ]. τὸ  
δεύτερον ὑπατεύων 4 1

**δέχσθαι**, *accipere, non sper-  
nere* (proposita): 22 5; 23 3;  
28 2

**δή**, 'in fact', strengthening,  
superlatives ἀριστα δὴ 20 2;  
pronominal words and other  
particles οὕτω δὴ ('just so') 29 6;  
διὸ δὴ 5 2; ἔνθα δὴ 21 2. in  
continuing a narrative 'so', 'so  
then': 6 6; 8 1

**δημαγωγεῖν**, 12 8

**δημαρχεῖν**<sup>3</sup>, *tribunum esse ple-  
bis*: 8 1

δήμαρχος<sup>3</sup>, ὁ, *tribunus plebis*:  
ἐνα τῶν δημάρχων 10 4

δημεύειν, *publicare*: τὰ χρή-  
ματα πάντων ἐδήμευσε 31 4.

PASS. τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκων  
33 2

δήμευσις, ἡ, *publicatio bono-  
rum*: ἐξουσία δημεύσεως 33 1;  
δημεύσεσιν οὐσιῶν 6 8

δημωφελής, ἐς, *populo* (i.e. *om-  
nibus*) *salutaris*: 30 4

διά, **A.** c. gen. *per*: διὰ τῆς  
χειρὸς ἐξέπεσεν ὁ λίθος 10 4.

**II** temporal: **1.** of duration  
'throughout', 'during': δι' ἡμέ-  
ρας καὶ νυκτός 36 2. **2.** of

the interval between two points  
of time: δι' ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι  
33 1. **III** causal: *per* 'by

means of', 'by the agency of':  
3 2; 4 1; 6 9; 8 1; 9 5; ἐκάλε

διὰ κηρύγματος 9 7; κρίνεσθαι  
διὰ μάχης 20 3; ἀνείλε διὰ φαρ-

μάκων 23 2; χεῖρα δι' ἧς ἀνείλε  
23 3; τὰ συγκείμενα δι' Ἀρχε-

λάου 24 3. of the manner  
in which a thing is done: with

adj. διὰ ταχέων for ταχέως 29 3.

**IV** διὰ λόγων ἐλθεῖν, 'to  
come to open speech' 5 4.

**B.** c. acc. *per*: **1.** of persons,  
'through', 'by aid of', δι' ἐκεῖ-

νον κατιόντες 34 1; δι' αὐτόν  
(*beneficio suo*) 10 3; 11 5; ἀπο-

λαύοντος τῆς ἐλευθερίας δι' ἑαυ-  
τόν ('for his own merits') 34 4.

**2.** of things: *propter*, 'because  
of', 'for the sake of': διὰ ταῦτα

('for these reasons'). 15 3; διὰ  
τοῦτο 28 4; οἱ δι' ὄργην ἀπολλύ-

μενοι 31 5; τῶν διὰ χρήματα  
σφαττομένων 31 5

διαβαίνειν, *transire* (flumen):  
17 3; διεβη (mare) 27 4; δια-

βάστος εἰς Ἀσίαν 23 4; 27 3

διαβάλλειν, *traicere*: ἀπὸ Δυρ-  
ραχίου δ. εἰς Βρεντέσιον 27 1.

*obtrectioni causam dare*: 23 2

διαγίγνεσθαι, *intercedere*, 'to  
intervene': ἐτῶν διακοσίων δια-

γεγονότων 21 4; ὀλίγων μηνῶν  
διαγενομένων 35 3.

διαγωνοσις, ἡ, *discrimen*: 9 7

διαγωνίεσθαι, *signa conferre*:  
διαγωνίσασθαι 28 4

διαδιδόναι λόγον, *rumorem*  
*dissipare*: 6 9; 20 2

διαδρομή<sup>1,5</sup>, ἡ, *discursus*. PL.  
διαδρομῶν 29 3

διαθήκη, ἡ, *testamentum*. PL.  
ἐν ταῖς δ. παρέλιπε 38 1

διαθρύπτειν<sup>1</sup>, *frangere, in frus-  
ta diminuire*. PASS. διαθρυπ-  
τόμενον 11 1

δαιαθρος<sup>1</sup>, ον, *serenus, sūdus*:  
7 3

δαιτᾶν<sup>2</sup>, *componere litem*,  
hence generally 'to reconcile',  
'settle a difference' or 'question':

τὴν ἐν ταῖς τιμωρίαις ἀνωμαλίαν  
—οὔτως ἂν τις δαιαιτήσειεν

6 8

Cf. Plut. Rom. 35 οὐ περιμένω ταύ-  
την μοι δαιαιτῆσαι τὴν τύχην ζώσῃ τὸν

πόλεμον, Pomp. 12 διήτησε τὰ τῶν  
βασιλέων, 39 πόλεων καὶ βασιλέων

ἀμφισβητήματα δαιαιτῶν, Dion. 51  
πῶς αὐτῇ δαιαιτῆς ἐκείνην τὴν ἀνάγ-  
κην, Appian Lib. c. 17 ἐπεχειρεῖ δαιαι-

τᾶν διαλύσεις i.e. *conciliare pacem*,  
Dionys. Halic. 7, 52 τὰ νείκη δαιαιτᾶν.

Hence it comes to mean metaphorically,  
'to pacify', 'soften', as in

Heliod. Aethiop. 2, 24 συμφορᾶς τὸ  
προεγνωσμένον ἢ συνήθεια τῷ λογισμῷ

διήτησε, ib. 4, 6 ἐνδιδοῦς τῇ κόρῃ  
δαιαιτῆσαι ἐν τῷ μεταξύ τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ

αἰδούμενον (=τὴν αἰδῶ), 4 Macc. 2, 17  
λογισμῷ τὸν θυμὸν διήτησε i.e. *miti-*

*gavit*. We find it also with the acc.  
of the pers. in [Dem.] p. 1142, 26:

οἱ τὴν Οἰνήδα καὶ τὴν Ἐρεχθίδα δαιαι-  
τῶντες ἐνταῦθα (sc. ἐν τῇ ἡλισίῳ)

κάθηται, and several times in Strabo,  
as 1, 2, 1 τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς εἶαν, ἐκεί-

νους δὲ δαιαιτᾶν, οὓς ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις  
κατωρθωκότας ἴσμεν, ib. 40 οὐκ ἄξιον

ἡγοῦμαι δαιαιτᾶν οὐτ' ἐκείνους...οὔτε  
τὸν Ἰππαρχον, ib. 2, 1 οὐκ ἄποπον οὐδ'

ἐνια καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τούτου λεγομένων  
δαιαιτῆσαι; and lastly with a relative

clause; Plut. vit. Dem. 20 ταῦτα ὅπως  
εἴχει δαιαιτῆσαι χαλεπὸν.

δαιαιτᾶσθαι, *vivere, habitare*:  
ἐν μιᾷ συνοικίᾳ διητῶντο 1 2;  
μετὰ μιμῶν δ. 6 2

διακαίεσθαι<sup>2</sup>, *inflammarī, excitari*: τῆς πόλεως διακεκαυμένης ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν 6 2

διακλέπτειν, *surripere periculo, furtim conservare*: μόλις διακλέψασα ἑαυτὴν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας 22 1

διακρίνειν, *discernere, dirimere*. PASS. οὐπω τῶν τόπων διακεκριμένων 35 3

διακρούεσθαι, *summovere, amoliri*, 'to get rid of': τοὺς δ' ἀπειλῆ διακρουσάμενος 38 1

διαλανθάνειν, *delitescere*: τοὺς νῦν διαλανθάνοντας προγράψειν αὐθις 31 4 c. acc. et partic. *latere, ignorari*: τὰ ἄλλα διέλαθε τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐκπεμπόμενα 12 6

διαλέγεσθαι (DEP.) *colloqui cum* dat. 22 4; Σύλλα διαλεχθέντας 9 2. c. πρὸς et acc. 14 1

διαλείπειν, *de tempore intermittere*: διαλιπὼν μίαν ἡμέραν (*uno die intericcto*) 17 3; 31 3; διαλιπὼν ὅσον ἀναψῆσαι τὸν ἰδρωτά τῶν ἵππων (*tantisper dato spatium ut sudor equorum exsiccaretur*) 29 3

διαλύειν: MED. διαλύσασθαι πρὸς Σύλλαν ('to come to terms with S.') 18 3. PASS. *dispergi, dilabi*: τοῦ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας κατὰ πόλεις 27 6

διάλυσις, ἢ, *disiunctio*, δ. γάμου 35 2. (πολέμου) *confectio*: 24 4. PL. διαλύσεις *conditiones pacis* 28 1

διανυκτερεύειν<sup>1</sup>, *pernoctare*: μοχθηρῶς διενυκτέρευσαν 21 3

διαπεραιούειν<sup>1</sup>, *transvohere*: 27 3  
διαπίπτειν<sup>1</sup>, *effugere, elabi*: διαπεσεῖν 19 4

διαπληκτίζεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τοῖς σκώμασι, *dicteriis inter se digladiari*: 2 2

διαπόντιος, *on, transmarinus*: δ. πολέμων 7 1. [Cf. Thuc. 1, 141, 3 χρονίων πολέμων καὶ δια-

ποντίων ἄπειροι, Polyb. 1, 71, 7 ξενικὸς καὶ δ. πόλεμος]

διαπορθεῖν, *vastare*: τὰ πολλὰ (τῆς Μαιδικῆς) διαπορθήσας 23 5

διάπρασις<sup>1</sup>, ἢ, *distractio*: τὰς δ. τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκῶν 33 2

διαπράττεσθαι (MED.) *conficere*: διαπράξεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην 23 4. PASS. *confici*: διαπεπράχθαι<sup>5</sup> τὴν πόλιν (*actum esse de civitate*) 29 8

διαρρεῖν<sup>2</sup>, *dilabi* (of soldiers): διαρρυῶσι 27 3

διάστασις, ἢ, *dissidium*: πρὸς ἄνδρα δ. 35 4

διαστρατηγεῖν<sup>1</sup>: 23 4

διατείνεσθαι: (MED.) *intentum aliquid tenere, intentare*: διετείνοντο τὰς λόγχας 29 5

διατηρεῖν<sup>2</sup>, *integrum conservare*: τὴν φάλαγγα δ. ἐν τάξει 18 4

διαφέρειν: PASS. *iactari* 'to be swayed about': 16 3. *differri, fluctuare animo*, πολλὰ διενεχθεῖς<sup>2</sup> τῇ γνώμῃ 3 3. [Cf. Mor. p. 133 F τὰς ψυχὰς διαφέρειν μῆτε πράγμασι μῆτε φροντίσι, Mar. 10, 2 ἡμέρας συχνὰς διηρέχθη τῷ λογισμῷ, βουλευόμενος ἢ παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἰογόρθαν ἢ μηδὲ τὸν Σύλλαν ἀφείναι]. INTRANS. *differre, discrepare*: γένη διαφέροντα τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι 7 2. c. gen. διαφέροντα ἀλλήλων 7 4. *praestare* 11 4

διαφθείρειν, *interimere, occidere*: 18 2. δ. ἑαυτὸν *manus sibi inferre* 14 4; 25 1; 32 1. PASS. *διαφθερεῖν* 20 2. (in moral sense) *corrumpere*: τοὺς ὑφ' αὐτῷ εἰς ἀσωτίαν διαφείρων 12 9; 28 2

διαφοιτᾶν<sup>1</sup>, *transire*: 9 1

διάφορος, *on, discrepans*; διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν (*sibi inconstans*) 6 7 *adversarius* 'at variance with': Ἀρχελάφ διάφορον ὄντα 23 2; with gen. it

means 'different from'. *praestans, insignis* ὄψει διάφορος 67

**διαφυλάσσειν**<sup>2</sup>, *retinere, integrum servare*: τοὺς πέναν πατρίων μὴ διαφυλάξαντας 12

**διαχρησθαι**, *conficere, trucidare*: διαχρησαμένων Ἀλβινον ξύλοις καὶ λίθοις 69

**διδόναι**, *dare*: πρόσταγμα δόντος (unclassical) 164; 286; δόντα πληγὴν 142. **PASS.** τοῦ συνθήματος δοθέντος (*signo dato*) 287. *concedere*, 'to allow': τοῦ νόμου μὴ δίδοντος 11; ἀνάπαυλαν οὐδενὶ διδούς 165; διδούς ἄδειαν 321. *in usum alicuius, ut ei aut offerat aliquid aut arceat, se suamque operam dare*: δούς ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου πρᾶξιν 51

**διεξέλασις**<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *ferruptio*: 183

**διέναι**, *transitum permittere*: μὴ διέντι Σύλλαν 102

**δίκη**, ἡ; αὐτῷ δίκην ἔλαχε δώρων (*repetundarum cum postulavit*) 56. **δίκην**, adv. accus. c. gen. (HA. § 719), *instar*: 114

**δικτάτωρ**<sup>4</sup>, ὁ: δικτάτορα ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε 331

**δίχα**, *fracter*: δ. τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς, 192

**διχόθεν**, *duobus ex locis*: 192

**διώκειν**, *persequi, insequi*: διώκει με τὸ ἐν Ἀλβανῷ χωρίον 316; ἐδίωκε 264; ἐδίωκον—φεύγοντας 193; διώκειν κίνδυνον 153. **INTR.** *properare, citato cursu advehī*: ἐδίωκε βουθηθῶν 192

**δίωξις**, ἡ, *persecutio*: τῆς δ. μετέσχε 194

**δοκεῖν**, I *putare* (de somniorum visis), 94; 284. II *videri*, impers. δόξαν (= ὅτε ἔδοξεν) 193. III *putari, existimari*: 14; 22; 75; 314

**δοξομανία**<sup>1</sup>, ἡ: 71

**δόρυ**, τό, *pertica*, 'the pole' of a standard: 72

**δραχμή**, ἡ, a Greek coin = nearly Roman *denarius*, 93d.: χιλίους νούμους, οἱ πενήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμὰς δύνανται 14; 82

**δρεπανηφόρος**, *falcatus*: 151; 112 τῶν δ. (sc. ἀρμάτων); 241

**δύναμις**, ἡ, *vis, virtus*: 195. *corbiae* 'a force' for war: 54; 66; 143; 155; 201; 223; PL. δυνάμεις 93; 112; 275

**δύνασθαι**, *pollere*: παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι μέγιστον 361. *valere*, 'to be worth': χιλίους νούμους, οἱ πενήκοντα καὶ διακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς δύνανται 14. [Cf. Xen. Anab. 1, 5, 6 ὁ δὲ σίγλος δύνανται ἑπτὰ ὀβολοῦς καὶ ἡμιοβόλιον Ἀττικῶς, Dem. adv. Phorm. § 23 ὁ δὲ Κυζικηνὸς ἐδύνατο ἐκεῖ εἴκοσι καὶ ὀκτῶ δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς.]

**δυναστεία**, ἡ. PL. *δυναστείας* καὶ τυραννίδας 112

**δυσοκαίδεκα**, *duodecim*: 224

**δυσανασχετεῖν**, *aegre ferre*: 163

**δύσιππος**<sup>2</sup>, ον, 152

**δυσχωρία**, ἡ: *locus confragossus*. PL. ταῖς δυσχωρίαις (*per iniquitates locorum*) 154

**δωμάτιον**, τό, *cubiculum*: 373

**δωρέα**, ἡ, *condonatio*: 332

**δώρον**, τό, *donum*: 611; 126; 263; δώρων δίκη (*actio repetundarum*) 56

## E

**εἶαν**, *sinere*: 115. c. neg. οὐκ εἶα (*vetabat*) 165; οὐκ ἐώσαις 305; 352. *χαίρειν εἶαν missum facere, non curare*: δν χαίρειν εἶασας 104; Ὀρτήσιον εἶα χαίρειν 192. [Cf. vit. Luc. c. 21 ἐρρώσθαι φράσας πολλὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις, Mar. c. 29 μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας τοῖς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ.]

**ἐγγύς**, *prope*: ἐγγύς ἦλθε τοῦ σφῆλαι 291

**ἐγκαρτερεῖν**<sup>2</sup>, *tolerare* (obsidio-

nem): χρόνον ἐγκαρτερήσας  
συχρόν 14 7

ἐγκλίνειν<sup>2</sup>, *inclinare*, 'to decline'; τῶν βίων, ἐγκεκλικότων 1 3. *terga vertere* (de acie) 19 5

ἐγκαλινοῦν<sup>1</sup>, *frenum iniicere*: ἐγκάλινώσας (τοὺς ἵππους) 28 3 εἶ, 'that', introducing a statement of fact after a verb of wonder: θαυμάζειν εἰ μὴ συνίησιν 12 5. in indirect questions 'whether': ἠρώτησεν εἰ καταλύσεται τὸν πόλεμον 24 1

εἰδέναι χάριν *gratiam habere*: οὐδέποτε σωτηρίας χάριν εἴσεται 34 1

εἰκοσιτρεῖς<sup>1</sup>, -τρια, *tres et viginti*: 28 8

εἶργειν, *excludere, prohibere*: c. gen. εἶρξοντες κηδείας 38 1.

PASS. εἶργόμενος τοῦ πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω (*nec progressum nec receptum habens*) 29 2

εἰς I to express measure or limit. 1. with numerals, εἰς ἐξακισχιλίου 30 2. 2. an end or purpose: διαφθείρων τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς προδοσίαν 12 9. II 'in regard to': 'on': ἐπέσκηψέ τις εἰς τοῦτο ποιήσας 2 1; 6 10. with *δᾶπανᾶν*, *καταχορηγεῖν*: 12 9

εἰς, μία, ἓν, *quidam*: ὡς ἐνὸς τῶν προγεγραμμένων (*unum e proscriptis*) 1 2; τῶν νέων εἰς 31 1; ἓνα τῶν δημάρχων 10 4; τῶν χιλιάρχων ἓνα 16 8

εἰσφέρειν: νόμον εἰσενηνοχῶς (*lege rogata*) 35 2

εἶτα, *deinde*: 9 5; 19 4; 29 3; 31 3. *increpantis*, 'and so?' 'what, then?' 22 4

εἴτε — εἴτε — εἴτε *sive — seu — seu*: 9 4; 30 5

ἐκ I of time ἐκ τοῦτου (*post hoc*) 22 5; 26 4; 28 4; ἐκ τοῦτων 35 5; ἐκ τῆς τροπῆς 29 8.

after a former state: ἐξ ἀγρυπνιῶν καὶ κόπων 28 7; ἐξ αἰθρίας 14 7. of particular points of

time: ἐκ νέου 30 5. II of the cause, instrument or means by which a thing is done: ἐκ τοῦτου 37 4; ἐκ τουτων (*propter haec*) 4 2

ἐκατοντάρχης<sup>3</sup>, ὁ, *centurio*: 18 5; 33 4

ἐκδηλος, *on, manifestus*. ADV. ἐκδηλότατα *apertissime* 27 3

ἐκείνος, used for reflexive pronoun 9 4

ἐκθλίβειν, *elidere*. PASS. ἐκθλίβεσθαι, *loco suo extrudi* 19 1

ἐκκόπτειν, *excindere*: τὴν πόλιν ἐκκόψει 16 4. *depellere* (*praesidium*) 'to cut off': 16 6

ἐκκρούειν, *repellere*: ἐκκρούσαντες (τὰ ἄρματα) 18 3

ἐκπίπτειν, *eici*: τῆς βουλῆς ἐξέπεσεν 1 1; ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς πόλεως 6 4; 9 7

ἐκπλεῖν, *navi elabi*: εἰς Λιβύην ἐκπλεῦσαι 28 8

ἐκτρέφειν, *alere*: τὴν νόσον ἐξέθρεψε 36 2

ἐκτρίβειν, *funditus perdere et delere*: ἰδίᾳ τοὺς οἴκους ἐξέτριψεν 25 2

ἐκφέρειν, *ferre* (*fructus*): 20 5. ἔλασις, *impetus equestris*: τῷ κονιορτῷ τῆς ἐλάσεως 19 2. [Cf. Dion. Hal. 6, 12 ἀθρόας γενομένης καὶ καταπληκτικῆς τῆς ἐλάσεως]

ἔλος, τό, *palus*: τὰ ἔλη 21 1; ἔλεσιν 11 4

[ἐλώδης, *palustris*, 'swampy': v. l. pro ὑλώδεις 20 5]

ἐμβαλνειν, *ingredi*: εἰς ὕδωρ ἐνέβαινε 26 3

ἐμβαπτίζειν<sup>1</sup>, i. q. ἐμβάπτειν *immergere*. PASS. *μαχαίρας ἐμβεβαπτισμένας τοῖς τέλμασιν* 21 4

ἐμπαθής<sup>1</sup>, ἐς, *affectu commotus, perturbatus*, 'in a fit of anger': 9 7. It is also used by Plut. of the excitement of grief as in Alex. 21 ταῖς ἐκείνων τύχαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἐμπαθῆς γενόμενος.

ἐμπίπτειν, *irrumperē*: 9 6.  
*incidere* (in hostes) μικρὰ τῷ  
 Σύλλα ἐμπεσόντα 20 3; ἐμ-  
 πεσεῖν εἰς ἀφύλακτον πόλιν 28 2.  
 transl. *incidere* (de morbo): ἀλ-  
 γημα ἐνέπεσε εἰς τοὺς πόδας 26 3  
 ἐμπληκτος, *on, inconstans, le-*  
*tis*: ἤθη ἐμπληκτα 30 5; ἐμ-  
 πληκτότατον 31 5  
 ἐμποιεῖν τι, *efficere in ali-*  
*quo*: 18 2  
 ἐμπροσθε, adv. *antea*: 10 1.  
 prepos. c. gen. τεθνηκότα  
 μικρὸν ἔ. τῆς Μετέλλης 37 2: ἔ.  
 τῆς τελευτῆς 27 3  
 ἐμπυος<sup>1</sup>, *on, exulceratus*: 36 2  
 ἐμφανής, *es, manifestus*: ἐμ-  
 φανῆς λόγος *titulus speciosus* (ἰ)  
 αἰτία ἀληθῆς 5 3  
 ἐμφύλιος, *on, gentilis*: αἵμα-  
 τος ἐμφυλίου 4 4  
 ἐν I. of place: 1. ἐν ἐσ-  
 θῆτι φαύλῃ 37 2. 2. 'in the  
 number of' 10 1. *penes*: ὀρών  
 ἐν ἄρμασιν τὴν ἀλκὴν οὖσαν 15 2.  
 II. of state, condition,  
 ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ζῆν 37 2; ἐν τινι λόγῳ  
 γεγωνῶς 3 4; ἐν πᾶσι (*in omni-*  
*re*) 6 12; ἐν ὁμμασιν αὐτοῦ (*coram*  
*eo*) 16 5; δημαγωγεῖν ἐν τῷ στρα-  
 τηγεῖν 12 8. III. of time:  
 ἐν τούτῳ *interea*: 9 6; τὰς ἡμέρας  
 ἐκείνας ἐν αἰς 11 1. in com-  
 position with verbs followed by  
 the dative: ἐνστρατοπεδεῦσαι  
 16 7; ἐνεποίησαν 18 2; ἐνα-  
 γωνίσασθαι 20 3; ἐνζώσας 28 7  
 ἐναγωνίζεσθαι, *decertare in*  
*loco*: 20 3  
 ἐνάρχεσθαι<sup>2</sup>, i. q. ἀρχεσθαι  
*incipere*: c. inf. λέγειν ἐνήρξατο  
 20 2  
 ἐνδελεχῶς, *adsidue, perpetuo*:  
 13 3; 27 1  
 ἐνδιδόναι = παρέχειν, *afferre,*  
*praebere*: ὦν ἐνέδωκεν ἀρχάς  
 (*quorum occasionem praebuit*) 12  
 9. *elanguescere* 'to give in',  
 'flag': 16 5  
 ἐνδοιάζειν<sup>1</sup>, *fluctuare animo*

'to waver': ἐνδοιάζων τῇ γνώμῃ  
 παρ' ἑαυτῷ 9 3  
 ἐνεργος, *on, in opere faciendō*  
*occupatus* 'at work': καθ' ἡμέ-  
 ραν ἐνεργοῖς οὖσι πρὸς τὴν ὑ-  
 πηρεσίαν 12 2. *strenuus, gna-*  
*vus* 'business-like', 'active': 2 2  
 ἐνζωνύνα<sup>1</sup>: ἐνζώσας ἑαυτὸν  
 (καλωδίῳ) 28 7  
 ἐνήρης<sup>1</sup>, *es, remis instructus*:  
 24 1  
 ἐνιαυτός, *o, annus*: ἔ. μέγας  
 (*sacculum*): 7 4  
 ἐνίστάναι, *PASS. ἐνίστασθαι*  
*imminere*, 'to be at hand': ἐτέ-  
 ρας ἐνισταμένης 7 4. 2. c.  
 dat. *obsistere* 'to resist': ἐνι-  
 στάμενον τῇ ἀυξήσει 4 2  
 ἐνοίκιον, τό, *aedium pensio an-*  
*nuua*, 'house-rent': 1 2  
 ἐντεῦθεν: τοῦντεῦθεν 18 4  
 ἐντευξίς, ἡ, *aditus*: 2 2  
 ἐντροφᾶν<sup>2</sup>, c. dat. *contemnerē,*  
*ludibrio habere*: 5 5. (Cf. Lu-  
 cian dial. m. I ἐλευθέρους ἀνδρά-  
 σιν ἐντροφῶντες)  
 ἐντυγχάνειν, *convenire*: 5 4;  
 9 5; 17 6; 27 6. *scriptum le-*  
*gere* 'to read': τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλους  
 γράμμασιν ἐντετυχηκότες 26 2  
 ἐξαιρεῖν, *sorti excipere, sepo-*  
*nere, eximere*: ἐξεῖλεν ἑαυτῷ  
 τὴν βιβλιοθήκην 26 1. (Cf. vit.  
 Cic. 13 θέαν ἐξαιρετον 'a re-  
 served seat')  
 ἐξαιτεῖσθαι τινα, *precibus eri-*  
*pere aliquem*: 14 5  
 ἐξανθεῖν 1, 5, *efflorescere*: 2 1;  
 36 2  
 ἐξάπτειν τι τῆς τύχης, *fortu-*  
*nae acceptum referre*, 6 4.  
 MED. *invadere, carpere*: ἐξήπ-  
 τετο τῶν πολεμίων 29 3  
 ἐξαρπάζειν, *eripere*: ἐξαρπα-  
 σόμενος τῆς πολιορκίας τὸν Μά-  
 ριον 29 1  
 ἐξαρτᾶσθαι<sup>2</sup> (*PASS.*), *adhaerere*  
 (*de planitie quae urbis adiacet*):  
 τῆς Ὀρχομενίων ἐξηρητημένον  
 πόλεως 20 4

ἐξελευθερικός<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *libertinus*: 8 1; 33 2

ἐξιππάρεσθαι<sup>1</sup>, *equo provehī* 'to ride out': 29 3

ἔξω, *praep. c. gen. praeter*: ἔξω τῶν φονικῶν 33 1

ἐπάγειν, *immittere, ducere ad-versus hostes*: 19 2; 21 2; 27 5.

absol. *ταρασσομένοις ἐπα-γαγῶν*<sup>2</sup> (*impressione facta*): 18 2.

MED. ἐπάγεσθαι, *secum adducere*: 5 3

ἐπαινεῖν, *laudare*: 5 5. *re-cusare* 'to decline with thanks': 27 3

ἐπάρχειν, *praefectum esse*: ἐ-πάρχοντα παύσας (*sed dubia lectio: v. n.*) 8 4

ἐπαυλιζεσθαι: ἐπηυλίσατο<sup>2</sup> τῇ πόλει (*stationem ad urbem habuit*) 29 2

ἐπαυλις<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *praedium, villa*: τὰς ἐπαύλεις 22 1

ἐπειγεσθαι, *properare*: ἐπει-γόμενος εἰς Ῥώμην 12 2; ἡπει-γετο 19 3; 28 1 (*ex mea em. pro vulgato ἡπτετο*)

ἔπειτα *for* ἔπειτα δέ *after* πρῶτον μὲν 27 3

ἐπέχειν, *inhibere, retinere*: *c. acc.* τὴν στάσιμ ἐπεσχεν 6 1.

*c. particip.* Μιθριδάτην ἐπισχεῖν πολυπραγμονοῦντα 5 3.

*c. infin.* ἐπεσχεον αὐτοῦς τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν 9 6. *in-*

*trans.* *aliquantum subsistere*: ἐπισχεῖν 29 4. *occurpare spa-*

*tium quoddam* 'to reach, extend over a space': ὁ φόνος ἐπεσχε

πάντα τὸν Κεραμεικόν 14 4; ὅσον ὁ Ἄσπος ἐπέχει ἐρέων 16 7

ἐπί, *A. c. gen. local* 'in': ἐπ' οἰκίας (*domi*) 36 1; ἐπὶ στρα-

τοπέδου γενόμενος 3 1; ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ 21 3; μένειν ἐπὶ ('to abide by') τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τρόπων 30 5.

of motion towards: ὤρμησεν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας 20 1. *B. c. dat.*

1) *prope* 'at' or 'near': ἐπὶ θα-λάττῃ 22 2; 29 1; ἐπὶ θύραις 29 6.

2) *praeter* 'in addition to', 'over and above': ὀκτακισχιλίων ἐπὶ μυρίοις (= 18,000) 27 8; ἐπὶ τούτοις 31 4. 3) to denote (a)

the circumstances in which: 23 4; 24 2; διαλλαττομένον ἐπὶ

τοῖς ἀνηκέστοις (*προσροῦσμασιν*) 6 8. (b) the occasion or

cause (*obiectum movens*): ἐπὶ τούτῳ 1 1; 14 7; θριαμβεύων ἐπὶ

τούτῳ 3 3; τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι δόξης 6 3; ἐφ' ᾧ 4 3; 5 5; 6 2;

9 10; 19 5; 34 2; ἐφ' οἷς 10 2.

(c) end or purpose: ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν βελτιόνων ἀρχεῖν 12 8; ἐπὶ

τῶ διαφθεῖρειν 12 9; Κουρίωνος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένου 14 7.

(d) the condition upon which: ἐφ' οἷς βούλεται 23 4; 24 1.

(e) 'the price for which': ἐπὶ τηλικούτοις ἀγαθοῖς 22 4.

(f) of persons in authority: Κου-ρίωνος ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένου;

τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τεταγμένου 29 8. *C. c. acc. I.* of place,

'upon', 'to', with verb of mo- tion: συνέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατ-ταν 11 4; 27 1; ἐβάδιζε ἐπὶ

τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον 23 1; παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς χώραν 35 4.

2) 'up to', 'as far as': with neut. adj. ἐπὶ πλείστον 11 4.

3) in hostile sense 'against': ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλαύνειν 9 2; χωρεῖν

ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν 9 3; ἐπ' ἀλλήλους δεόμενοι τῶν ὀπλων 12 8; Μάριον

ἐπὶ Σύλλαν κατήγε *ib.*; ὀρμήσας ἐπὶ Φιμβρίαν 25 1; 29 2.

*II.* of cause, 'for the pur- pose of': ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πολε-μον πλείον 22 3; ἐπὶ θεῶν ('to

look on') προσελθόντες 29 7.

In composition ἐπί denotes some- times reciprocity: ἀλλήλοισ ἐπιμεμιγμένων 5 4

ἐπιβαίνειν τείχους *murum con-*scendere: 14 2. [Cf. Herod. 9,

70; Polyb. 4, 71, 11; 9, 8, 12]

ἐπίδοξος, *on*, 'expected', *cum* infinit. fut.: 6 5; 34 4

ἐπιέναι, *accedere*: de re quae in mentem venit: ἐπήει 31 5.

aggredi, adoriri, invadere: 15 4. obire 11 3. sequi: τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν (*diem posterum*) 28 4

ἐπιζητεῖν<sup>2</sup>, *desiderare*, 'to miss': ἐπιζητῆσαι 19 4

ἐπίθετος<sup>2</sup>, *on*, *adiectus*: ὄνομα τῆς χράσας ἐπίθετον (*cognomen*) 2 1

ἐπικηρύττειν τι ἀργύριον 10 1

ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι (MED.), *prehendere*, 'to lay hold of': 29 7. *attingere*, 'to reach': τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιλαμβάνομενοι 27 3

ἐπιλιπής<sup>1</sup>, *es*, i. q. ἐπίλοιπος (ἔλλιπής Schaefer), *reliquus*: ὀρμήσαντος πρὸς τὰς ἐπιλιπεῖς πράξεις (*ad conficiendas reliquias belli*) 7 2

ἐπιμίγνυσθαι, *mutuo inter se uti commercio*: ἐπιμεμιγμένων ἀλλήλοις 5 4

ἐπινίκια (sc. ἀγωνίσματα), *ludi in honorem victoriae* (post-classical): 19 6

ἐπιπροσβέυσθαι<sup>1</sup>, *legatos ad aliquem mittere*: τὰς πόλεις εἶχεν ἐπιπροσβευομένας 12 1

ἐπισκήπτειν, 11 1 v. n.

ἐπισπᾶσθαι (MED.), *adducere, allicere*, 'to lure on': εἰς μάχην ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὸν Σύλλαν 20 2

ἐπισταθμεῖν<sup>1</sup>, *diversari*, 'to be billeted upon another': 25 2

ἐπιστρέφειν, 1. a. trans. *convertere*, 'to wheel round' (a military term): ἐπιστρέψαντος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέας 19 1.

b. intrans. 'to turn round or about': ἐπιστρέψας ὤρμησεν 19 2. 2. *errantem in veram viam reducere*, 'to convert', 'cause to repent' (post-classical): τούτους τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐπέστρεψε 21 2. [Cf. Plut. Luc. 7 τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπέστρεψε, Alc. 16 ἐνίους καὶ πάνυ τὸ λεχθὲν ἐπέστρεψε]

ἐπιστροφή<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, *conversio*, ubi confertim quoddam corpus mi-

litum simul, in modum navis, sese ita convertit, ut quadrantem circuli describat ea conversio (Schweighaeuser ad Polyb. 10, 21, 2): 17 7

ἐπισφαλῶς (*periculose*): νοσήσαντος ἐπ. 23 1

ἐπίτακτος, *on*, 'drawn up behind': οἱ ἐπίτακτοι, *subsidia*, 'the reserve of an army': 17 7

ἐπιτείνειν, *intendere, augere*: ἐπέτειενεν, οὐ μετέβαλε τὴν φύσιν 30 4

ἐπιφαίνεσθαι (PASS.), *subito in conspectum venire, advenire praeter opinionem*: 18 1; 19 3

ἐπιχειρεῖν, *adoriri, aggredi*: absol. 17 7. c. dat. ἐπέχειρῆσε τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἄλσεσιν (*manus lucis sacris iniecit*) 12 3

ἐπομβρία<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, *diluvium*: 14 5

ἔργον, τό, *opus*: 21 1. 1. *proelium*: τὸ περὶ Χαϊρώνειαν ἔργον 23 2. 2. *factum, res ipsa*: ἔργω) (λόγῳ 20 1

ἔρως, ὁ, *amor, cupido*: εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐ. ἐλεῖν τὰς Ἀθήνας 13 1.

PL. *amores*, 'amorous pleasures': εὐχέρεια πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτας 2 3

ἕτερος, α, *on*, *alteruter*, 'one or the other': 3 2

ἔτι, *adhuc*: 4 1; ὑπόλοιπος ἔτι 12 6: ἔτι νῦν 14 3. ἔτι δέ, 'and besides': 6 5; 15 3; 27 7; 34 3

εὐγεω<sup>1</sup>, ὦν, *fertilis*: 16 1

εὐγλωμόνως<sup>2</sup>, 'generously': 10 1

εὐδαιμονισμός<sup>1</sup>, ὁ: 6 4

εὐπορεῖν, *copiam habere*: c. gen. εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντιγράφων 26 1. Cf. Them. 10, 5, l. 10 n.

εὐπορία, ἡ, *copia*: τοὺς ὑπάρχουσαν εὐπορίαν ἀπολέσαντας 1 4; 27 3. PL. τὰς εὐπορίας ἀφαιρεῖν (*conmeatum interciperi*) 15 1

εὐτελής<sup>2</sup>, ἔς, *parcus*: 12 7

εὐτυχεῖν, *secunda fortuna uti*:

παρ' ἄξιαν εὐτυχεῖν 1 2.

PASS. τὰλλα εὐτυχεῖτο (*prosperare gesta sunt*) διὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν 28 8

εὐτυχία, ἡ, *secunda fortuna*: εὐτυχία θεία ('a piece of luck due to the favour of the gods') 6 5; εὐτυχία κατορθώσας 19 4.

PL. τὰς εὐτυχίας 27 3; 34 2

εὐφημία, ἡ, *bona fama*: μετ' ὑφημίας (*honeste*) 6 11

εὐφυής<sup>2</sup>, ἐς, *opportunus*: τόπος εὐφύεστατος ἐναγωνίσασθαι 20 3

εὐχέρεια, ἡ, *proclivitas*: ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτας εὐ. 2 3

ἔφεδρος, *suppositivus* (Martial Epigr. 5, 24, 8): 29 1

ἐφίεναι, *immittere*: ἐφῆκε τὰς σπείρας 19 1. *concedere, permittere*: ἐφιέντος καὶ χαριζομένου τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν 31 1. MED. ἐφλεσθαι<sup>2</sup>, 'to aim at': τῶν στεγασμάτων ἐφιεμένους 9 6

ἐφιστάναι, **A.** *praescicere*, 'to appoint to': c. infin. κατηγορεῖν ἐπέστησεν Οὐεργίνιον 10 4.

**2.** *admoovere, orphore*: πᾶσαν μηχανὴν ἐφιστάς 12 1. **3.**

*animum advertere* (post-classical): c. dat. ταῖς κινήσεσι τῆς διανοίας...ἐπιστήσας 5 5.

**4.** *inhibere*: ἐπιστήσας τὴν πορείαν 23 1. absol. *subsistere*: ἐπιστήσαντα 19 2

**B.** MED. et PASS. *insistere*: ἐφισταμένων ταῖς ὁδοῖς 28 5; τῶν ἐνδιδόντων ἐφεστῶς κολαστής 16 5. **2.** *subito adesse, supervenire* (de specie per somnum oblata): ἐπιστάσαν 9 4.

sensu hostili, 'to advance against', 'surprise': ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἄθροως ἐπέστη 12 1

ἔχειν, *habere*: **A.** trans. **1.** μεῖζονα κόσμον ἔσχε 34 2. PASS. *occupari*: ὡς τῆς Πώμης ἐχομένης ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων 29 8. **2.** *in matrimonio habere* 6 11; 33 3.

**3.** pres. part. with verb,

'with': 7 5; 17 3; ἔχοντα τέσσαρας σπείρας 19 3; 27 3; παρεβοῆθει λευκὸν ἵππον ἔχων 29 5.

**4.** of habits, states, conditions, bodily or mental: 'to have in itself', 'to admit of': ἔχειν τέλος 6 9; λόγους ἔχοντας εὐπρέπειαν 24 2; φόνων οὐτ' ἀριθμὸν οὐθ' ὄρον ἔχόντων 31 1

**B.** intrans. 'to hold oneself', 'to be' with modal adverbs: οὕτως ἔχων τῇ δόξῃ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον 6 4; ἔχειν οἰκείως πρὸς τι 11 5; ἔ. ἀγωνιστικῶς 16 6; πρὸς Θεβαίους ἀδιαλλάκτως εἶχε 19 6; καλῶς ἔχειν 23 5; ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχεν εὐπορίας 27 3; κακῶς ἔχοντι 29 5

**C.** MED. ἔχεσθαι τινος, *adgredi, agere, capessere*: εἶχετο τοῦ ἔργου (*instabat operi*) 14 2

## Z

ζάκορος, ὁ, *aditivus*: 7 3

ζευγνύναι, *copulare*: PASS. *conubio iungi*: ἀκουσίως ζευγνυμένων γυναικῶν 33 2

ζεύγος, τό, *par*: 12 2

ζῆλος, ὁ, **1.** 'rivalry', 'the desire of equalling or excelling another', 'emulous desire', cum gen. rei: τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας ζῆλον 1 3. cum πρός et acc. rei: 13 1. **2.** 'the object of emulation', 'honor': 6 4

## H

ἡγεῖσθαι, *ducem esse*: c. gen. ἀνδρῶν σωφρόνων ἡγούμενοι 12 7. *ducere, putare*: 4 1; 12 7

ἡγεμονία, ἡ, *imperium*: τοῦ Μιθριδατικοῦ πολέμου τὴν ἡ. 8 2; τῷ θυμῷ παραδεδωκῶς τὴν τῶν πρασσομένων ἡγεμονίαν 9 7

ἡμέρα, ἡ, *dies*: ἡμέρας *interdiu* 15 4; 21 3; 27 4; τῆς ἡμέρας *cotidie* 25 2; ἀφ' ἡμέρας 36 1; ἅμα ἡμέρα ('at day-break') 29 3; δι' ἡμέρας 36 2; μεθ' ἡμέραν *prostridie* 9 4; ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πολλῶν 16 4

ἡμέτερος, α, ον, *nostras*: 15 3  
ἡμέλεκτον, τό, a half-έκτεύς=  
Roman *hemina* or the 16th part  
of a *modius*: 13 3

ἡμισυς, εια, υ, *dimidius*: τῆς  
χώρας τὴν ἡμισεῖαν 19 6

ἡσυχή = κρύφα, *clam, occulte*:  
3 3

ἡφέθη (ἀφιέναι), late form for  
ἀφέιθη, 28 3

ἡχέιν<sup>5</sup>, *sonare*: 7 3

Θ

θαυμάζειν, *admirari*, followed  
by εἰ, 12 5. PASS. *in magna*  
*admiratione esse*: θαυμαζό-  
μενον ἔργον 14 7

θέατρον, τό, *artificium sceni-*  
*corum*: τῶν ἀπὸ θεάτρου 2 2

θεῖος, α, ον, *divinus*: τὸ θεῖον  
(*numen*) 6 4

θειότης<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, [?] 'religiousness',  
the vulgar reading in 6 7. Here  
however, as in a passage from  
the *Moralia* p. 857 A, Cobet has  
restored ὁσιότητος, as in Isocr.  
p. 226 D ὁσιότητος has been  
restored from the Codex Urbi-  
nus.

θεοκλυτεῖν<sup>5</sup>, *deum invocare*:  
τοιαῦτα θεοκλυτοῦντα 29 7

θεοφόρητος, ον, *numine per-*  
*cutus, fanaticus*: 27 6

θεραπεύειν, *lenire, mitigare*:  
θεραπεύων τὸ τῶν πολλῶν μί-  
σος 10 3

θῆλυς, θήλεια, θῆλυ, *facmi-*  
*neus*: μίαν (τῶν μῶν) θῆλειαν  
7 3; τὸ θῆλυ (sc. παιδίον) 34 3

θορυβεῖν, *tumultuari*: τοὺς θο-  
ρυβοῦντας 33 4. PASS.

τεθορυβημένουσ *turbatos* 28 6

θριαμβεύειν<sup>1</sup>, *triumphare*: ὁ  
θριαμβεύων ἐπὶ τούτῳ 3 3. Cf.  
C. Gr. 17 5

θρίαμβος<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *triumphus*: 34 1

θρύπτειν, *deliciis frangere*.  
MED. *delicias facere, fastidiosum*  
*esse*, 'to give oneself airs': θρύπ-  
τεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους 6 7

θυμέλη, ἡ, *scena*, 'a stage':  
19 6

θυμελικός, ἡ, ὄν, *scenicus*: θυ-  
μελικοῖς ἀνθρώποις 36 1

θυρεός<sup>2</sup>, ὁ, *scutum*: ἀσπίδων,  
θυρεῶν 16 2; 27 7

I

ἰασθαι, *mederi*: de quovis re-  
medio, quo damnum vel incom-  
modum aliquod levatur aut tol-  
litur: ἰωμένοις τὸ ἀμάρτημα 6 9

ἴδιος, α, ον, *proprius*, 'one's  
own': ἰδίαν δύναμιν 5 3. 2.  
'peculiar', 'eccentric': 6 7.

ἰδία 32 1

ἰδιώτης, *rudis, indoctus*: 26 2

ἰδρύνειν, *collocare*: perf. pass.  
ἰδρύνται (*siti sunt*) 11 3

ἰεροφάντης<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *antistes*: 13 3

ἰππασίμος, η, ον, *ad equitan-*  
*dum idoneus, equitabilis*: 21 1

ἰππικός<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, ὄν, *equester*: πλῆ-  
θος ἰ. νεανίσκων 8 2

ἰπποδρομία, ἡ: ἐν ταῖς ἰ. θεα-  
τρικαῖς (*ludis Circensibus*) 18 3

ἰπποκόμος, ὁ, *equiso*: 29 5

ἰπποκρατεῖν, *equitatu supe-*  
*riorem esse*: ἰπποκρατοῦσιν  
(partic.) 20 3

ἰσότημος<sup>1</sup>, ον, *paris dignitatis*:  
6 5

ἰστάναι, *statuere*: ἔστηκε  
(*stat*) 19 5

ἰστορεῖν<sup>2</sup>, *narrare, tradere*:  
1 4; 6 6; 17 4. PASS. ἰστο-  
ρεῖται 5 5

ἰσχυρῶς, *vehementer, valde*:  
c. verb. ἰ. ἀνιάσαι 4 3

K

καθαίρειν, *detrahere, dcicere*:  
6 2. Cf. Them. 22 2 n.

κάθαρμα, τό, *purgamentum*:  
καθάρμασιν ἐξελευθερκοῖς 33 2

καθαρός, ἄ, ὄν, *liquidus*, 'clear'  
'evident': καθαρά σημεῖα 7 5.

2. *purus* in moral sense ἤθεσι

καθαροῖς 1 3. c. gen. καθαρὸς φονευομένων 31 5

καθαρῶς, *bona fide*: 23 2

καθεύδειν, *sedere*, 'to sit still': 34 5

καθηγεμών<sup>6</sup>, ὁ, *dux viae*: 17 5  
καθιέναι, *demittere*, 'to let down', 'lower'. PASS. καθιεμένην 11 1

καθιστάναι, *constituere*: ἐτέρους κατέστησαν ἄρχοντας 10 3; καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀναγκήν 3 3; εἰς τάξιν καθίστη 29 4.

PASS. ἐθνῶν τοσοῦτων ἅμα καθισταμένων εἰς τάξιν 16 2; 18 2; εἰς πόλεμον κατέστη τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον 34 2; εἰς τάξιν καθεστώς 18 2; τὰ καθεστῶτα κινεῖν 10 4; ἀτρέπτω καὶ καθεστηκότι τῷ προσώπῳ 30 1

καί: **A.** copulative: καί—γε, *et certe, atque adeo*: 3 4.

καί—δέ, *et vero* (in which, according to some, the proper connective is δέ, while καί means 'also'; while others consider καί as the conjunction and δέ as equal to 'besides'): 1 1; 7 3; 28 8;

**B.** adverbial, *etiam, adeo, vel*: 31 1; καὶ νῦν 5 6; καὶ πάνυ πρόθυμος ἦν 28 4. prefixed to interrogatives in urgent questions καὶ πῶς; 1 2

καλεῖν, *incendere*: PASS. δᾶδα κεκαυμένην 9 6

καινοτομία, ἡ, *novatio*, 'alteration': 7 5; 34 3. [Hesychius: καινοτομεῖν (i.e. καινήν ὁδὸν τέμνειν, v. Stallb. *ad Platon. Euthyphr.* p. 15): τὰ καθεστηκότα κινεῖν]

καιρός, ὁ, 1. *occasio*: καιρῷ παραπεσόντι χρησάμενος 3 1; πρὸς καιρὸν (*ex tempore, prout tempus ferebat, raptim*): 6 5.

2. *tempus grave et periculosum*: τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν 12 2; εἰς τοὺς ἔσχατους καιροὺς 13 2. (Cf. Polyb. 20, 11, 12 πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν ἐλθόντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν

Ἀλεξάνδρειαν—παρὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὀρθωθῆναι)

κακίζειν, *vitiuferare*: 14 1

κακοῦν, *affligere, laedere*, 'to distress': δμβρος ἐκάκωσεν αὐτοὺς 28 5. PASS. τῆς πατρίδος ἀμελεῖν κακονμένην 22 2

κάλαμος, ὁ, *arundo*: τὸν αὐλητικὸν κ. (*calamum tibiale*): 20 5

κάλανδαι<sup>4</sup>, αἱ, *calendae*: 14 5

κάμνειν<sup>5</sup>, *laborando defatigari*, c. partic. 'to be weary of': 28 5

κᾶν—κᾶν, *etiamsi—etiamsi*: 31 4

κατά, **A.** c. gen. *adversus*: εἰ συνέστησεν κατ' αὐτοῦ.

**B.** c. accus. 1. 'on', 'in': κατὰ κορυφήν 19 5; κατὰ στόμα—κατ' οὐρανὸν 29 2; κατὰ τὰς μάχας 29 6; κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους 9 4; 28 4; 37 2. 2. distributively: κατὰ πόλεις 27 3, 6;

κατὰ μικρὸν, 'little by little': 19 1; 37 4; κατ' ἄνδρα (*viritum*) κρίνων 22 1; καθ' ἑαυτὸ (*per se ipsum*) 19 3; καθ' ἑαυτοῦς (*per se ipsos*) 26 2. 3. *secundum*, 'according to': νόμον καθ' ὃν πολιτεύονται 37 3; κατ' ('because of') ἰδίας ἐχθράς 13 1.

4. c. subst. periph. κατὰ κράτος 'perforce' 21 4; κατὰ τάχος 29 8. 5. of time, 'during': κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν 28 4

καταβαίνειν, *e regione editiore in pressiore iter facere*: ἐκ Θράκης καταβεβηκώς 15 1; 15 4; καταβάς ἐπὶ θάλατταν 27 1; τῶν μετὰ Ὀροβάξου καταβεβηκότων 5 5

καταβάλλειν, *deicere*, 'to throw away', 'let fall': κατέβαλε χαμᾶζε τὸν λίθον 10 4; τοὺς ὑσσοὺς καταβαλόντων 18 4. *prosternere*: σφῆλαι καὶ καταβαλεῖν αὐτὸν 29 1. *caedere*: 29 3. καταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τι, 'to throw himself away upon', 'give himself up to': 2 3.

*deponere* i.e. *pendere*, 'to pay down': καταβαλεῖν Ῥωμαίους δισχίλια τάλαντα 22 5

κατάγειν, *deducere* 14 7; *reducere in patriam* (de exule) 5 3; 6 12; 12 8. PASS. *ex alto terram repetere, appellere*, 'to land' (ἀνάγεσθαι: eis Χαλκίδα καταχθεῖς 20 2

καταξυγγύλαι<sup>1</sup>, *considerare cum exercitu*: καταξεύξας 25 1

κατάξυξις, ἢ, *castrametatio*: 28 6

καταιγίζειν<sup>5</sup>, *turbinis instar irruere*: καταιγίσαντος ἀνέμου 38 3

καταισχύνειν, *non tueri, dedecorare*: κ. τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς 2 2

κατάκοπος<sup>1</sup>, ον, *lassus*: 29 4

καταλαμβάνειν, *occupare*: καταλαβῶν τὸν τόπον 16 7.

MED. καταλαμβάνονται βουβὸν 16 1. PASS. *occupari*: κατελήφθη ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖθεν 14 3.

καταλαμβάνειν ὄρκω, *iurciendo adstringere*: 10 3

καταλείπειν, *posteris tradere, legare*, 'to leave as a heritage': 1 2; 26 2. 2. 'to leave remaining': 23 3; 37 4; 38 4

καταλοχίζειν<sup>1</sup>, κατὰ λόχους, *distribuere, inter ordines centuriare*, 'to organise in companies': 18 5

καταλύειν, *evertere*, c. acc. pers.: καταλύσαι Μάριον 6 9.

MED. *finire*: εἰ καταλύσεται τὸν πόλεμον (*utrum belli exitum facturum sit*) 24 1

καταλύτης<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *qui deversatur*: 25 2

καταμιγνύμαι, *commiscere*.

PASS. καταμεμιγμένον (*interfusum*) τῇ λευκότητι 2 1

καταναλίσκειν<sup>2</sup>, *absumere*: κατανάλωσε τὰ τρία 7 3.

PASS. καταναλίσκεται (de fluvio) 20 4

κατάπονός<sup>1</sup>, ον, *labore confectus*: 29 1

καταριθμείσθαι (MED.), *enumerare, τὰς εὐτυχίας καταριθμείτω* 34 2

καταρρήγνυσθαι (PASS.), *cum impetu decidere* (de pluvia): πλήθος ὕμβρου καταρραγέν 14 7

κατασκευάζειν, *reddere, officere*: κατασκευάζοντες τὸ κέρας εὐκαμπές 17 7. *parare, instruere*: κατασκευάσας θυμέλην 19 6

καταστρατηγεῖν<sup>1</sup>, *solertia vincere*: τοσοῦτος ἡγεμόνας κατεστρατηγηκώς 29 2

καταστρατοπεδεύειν<sup>2</sup>, *castra ponere, metari*: 9 5; 15 4; 20 3; 21 1; 30 1

καταστρέφειν, *vergere, inclinare*: τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ὠραν δεκάτην καταστρεφούσης 29 4.

*vitam finire*: 37 1. MED.

καταστρέφεισθαι, *subigere, in potestatem redigere*: 13 4

κατατυγχάνειν<sup>2</sup> i. q. ἐπιτυγχάνειν, *successum habere*: κατατυγχάνειν ταῖς προαγορεύσει 7 3

καταφέρεισθαι, *deferri, deveneri*: ὡσπερ εἰς λιμένα κατεφέροντο 22 1

καταφορά, ἢ: πληγὴν ἐκ κ. (*caesim*) 14 2

καταχορηγεῖν: 12 9 v. n.

κατέχειν, *occupare*: κατεῖχε τὴν χώραν 20 2; τοὺς τὸ Θούριον κατασχόντας 17 6. II. intrans. *obtinere, praevalere*: ὄμβρον κατασχεῖν ἀχρι νυκτός 38 3

κατήφεια, ἢ, = λυπὴ κάτω βλέπειν ποιούσα, *rudor* v. *maeror*: 9 2

κατόπιν, *a tergo*: τὰ κατόπιν 20 1; οἱ κ. στρατιῶται (*secunda acies*) 18 6. 2. temporal, *post*: ἐνιαυτῷ κ. αἰνω

*posteriore* 5 2. [Cf. Polyb. 1, 46, 7 τὴν κατόπιν *postridie eius diei* ubi praecesserat τῇ κατὰ πόδας ἡμέρα, Plut. Cam. 43, 1 ἐν τῷ κ. ἐνιαυτῷ, Flamin. c. 21]

κατορθοῦν, *rem bene gerere*:

c. acc. κατορθώσας τὸν πόλεμον 19 5. PASS. πολλὰ δι' ἐκείνου κατωρθοῦτο 4 1

κατόρθωμα<sup>1</sup>, τό, *res bene ac feliciter gesta*, 'a success' following on right judgment) (εὐτύχημα 3 3

[Substantivum κατόρθωμα apud Dionysium antiqq. v 44, ix 14, Diodorum v 20, Plutarchum Alcib. c. 9 (Fab. max. 17, 1; 27, 3, comp. Pericl. et Fab. 2, Coriol. 10, 1, Timol. 21, 4, Aem. Paul. 4, Pelop. 2, Arist. 1, 5, Mar. 10, 1, Luc. 3, Nic. 8, 1, Crass. 6, Anton. 33, Arat. 28, 1), Polybium, Strabonem, Lucianum et qui hos gradatim sequuntur, tritissimum, veteribus intactum est. Itaque hactenus a Phrynicho iuste damnatur, licet multos habeat affines indubiae auctoritatis: διόρθωμα Hipp. de artic. p. 345 A et 360 A, ἐπανόρθωμα Plato Theaet. p. 183 A, Protag. p. 340 A, Dem. c. Aristog. i 774, 20, de Halon. p. 84 (both doubtful speeches), κατόρθωσις Aesch. de f. leg. § 171 p. 334, Demad. π. Δωδεκ. 268 p. 179, 28. Pro illo passim antiqui ὀνδραγαθήματα, ἀριστεύματα, τὰ κατορθούμενα, Thucydides etiam τὸ ὀρθούμενον dixit, qui hunc simplicis verbi usum cum Tragiciis communem habet. LOBECK *ad Phrynichum* p. 251.]

κατορχεῖσθαι<sup>6</sup>, *insultare*: 13 1  
κείρειν, *arboribus nudare*:  
ἐκείρει 12 3

κέραμος, *tegula*: collective  
subject 9 6 (HA. § 609)

κέρας, τό, *cornu*, 'a horn for blowing': 14 3. 'the wing' of an army: ἐπὶ κέρως ἐκατέρου 17 7; τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῦ κέρως σπειρῶν 21 2

κηδεία<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *funus*: 38 1

κῆδος, τό, *funus, exsequiae*:  
35 2

κινεῖν, *movere loco*: ἐκίνει τὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄσυλα 12 3; ἐκίνει τὸν στόλον 11 1. absol. ἐκίνει (sc. τὸ στρατόπεδον) 9 3.

κινεῖν, *κινεῖν τὰ καθεστῶτα*  
10 4. PASS. κινεῖν 7 4; *existari* 35 5

κίνησις, ἡ, *motus*: ταῖς κινή-

σεσι τῆς διανοίας καὶ τοῦ σώματος 5 5. *mutatio*: κίνησις καὶ μεταβολὴ φύσεως 30 5

κληρονομεῖν<sup>2</sup>, c. acc. *heredem esse alicuius*: ἐκληρονόμησε τὴν μητρικαίαν 2 3

κληρονομός, ὁ, *heres*: 2 3

κλήρος, ὁ, *bona hereditaria*:  
26 2

κληρουχία, ἡ, *colonia*: ἐξουσία κληρουχιῶν 33 1

κλίνεισθαι (PASS.), *inclinari*: τοῖς θυρεοῖς κεκλιμένοις 28 5

κοῖλος, η, *ov, canis*: ἀργυρίου κοίλου 1 1, *argenti cani* i.e. *elaborati* s. *in vasa redacti* ('silver plate') (ἀργύριον κεχωνευμένον i.e. *infectum* (vit. Lucull. 37, 4) et νόμισμα quod alioquin est ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον (*Leopold*)

κοινολογία, ἡ, 28 2

κοινός, ἡ, *ov, κοινῆς γυναικός (meretricis, not 'of mean condition', as Long)* 2 3; γενόμενοι κοινῇ 16 1; κοινῇ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημίωσε 25 2

κόλαξ, ὁ, ) (ὑπερόπτης: 6 7

κομίζεσθαι, *advehi* (PASS.): κομισθείσης (τῆς βιβλιοθήκης) εἰς Ῥώμην 26 1. MED. *recipere*, 'to get back': κομιζόμενοι παῖδας καὶ γυναικάς 34 1

κομπασμός<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *iactantia, verborum insolentia*: 16 3

κόρη, ἡ, *mulier iuvenili et vegeta aetate*: ἀπέθανεν ἡ κ. τίκτουσα 33 3

κράτος, τό: ἀνὰ κράτος (*celeritate, effuso cursu*) 29 3; κατὰ κράτος (*vi, impetu*) 21 4; 29 3.

2. *vis superior, victoria*, 'superiority': κράτος πολέμου 27 6

κρίνειν, *iudicare*: ἰδίᾳ κατ' ἄνδρα κρίνων ἐκόλαξε 32 1.

*existimare*: ὄν ἄξιον ὑπατείας ἐκρίναν. MED. κρίνεσθαι διὰ μάχης 20 3. PASS. οὐπω τῶν πραγμάτων κεκριμένων (*rebus nondum decisis*) 32 2

κροκὺς, ἡ, *floccus*: 35 4

Κρόνιος, α, ον: τὰ Κρόνια<sup>3</sup>  
*Saturnalia*: 18 5

κτηματικός<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, ὄν, *dives*: οἱ  
κτηματικοὶ *possessores* 7 5

κυροῦν, *confirmare*: ἐκύρωσε  
τὴν πρώτην προδοσίαν ('carried  
into effect his original per-  
fidious design') 3 3. *sancire*  
*legem*: κυρώσας νόμον 8 2

## Λ

λαβή, ἡ, *ausa, occasio*: τὴν  
αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρασχών 10 2

λαγχάνειν δίκην, c. dat. *litam*  
*intendere alicui*: 5 6

λαμβάνειν, *caferē*: πάγη μίαν  
τῶν μνῶν λαμβάνουσι 7 3;  
λαβεῖν ζῶντας 28 8; τὰ χρή-  
ματα ἄπερ εἰλήφει 19 6.

PASS. ληφθεῖς ξρημος ἐν τῇ  
σκήνῃ 23 3. as a mere periphras-  
is for a verb: ἀθρόαν ἐλάμβανε  
μεταβολὴν 2 2; λ. μεγάλας καινο-  
τομίας 7 5; βελῶν τάσιν οὐ λα-  
βόντων 18 3

λαμπρός, ἄ, ὄν, *splendidus*,  
'bright', 'brilliant': φλόγα λαμ-  
πρὰν 6 6. *insignis*: γένους  
λαμπροῦ 35 4; ἄρας λαμπρόν  
29 6; τῶν λαμπροτάτων νέων  
29 3; μηδὲν πρᾶξαι λαμπρόν 6 4;  
κυνηγεσία λαμπρά 5 1; ταῦτα  
λαμπρότατα (ἦν) τῶν πεπραγ-  
μένων 12 1. *vehemens*: ἀνέμου  
λαμπροῦ 38 3. λαμπρῶς  
ἐνίκα ('won a decisive victory')  
29 5

λαμυρία<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *protēritas*: 35 5  
λημνίσκος<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *lemniscus, tae-  
nia, infula*, a pendent ribbon  
fastened to a victor's crown,  
made at first of linden-bark or  
wool, afterwards of gold. A  
crown adorned with such a  
ribbon was the highest reward  
of a victor: 27 4

ληστήριον, τό, *latrocinium*,  
*manus praedonum*: 3 1

λίθος, ὁ, *lapis*: 10 4; κεράμω

καὶ λίθω (collective) βάλλοντες  
9 6

λίτρα<sup>1</sup>, ἡ: 1 1

λοβός, οὔ, ὁ, *ima pars iccoris*,  
*fibra*: 27 4

λόγιος, ἰα, ον, *doctus*: Τυρρή-  
νων οἱ λόγιοι (*Etrusci harus-  
pices*) 7 3, 5. V. Liv. 5, 15

λογισμός, ὁ: 9 7; 15 2

λόγος, ὁ, *dictum, verbum*: λό-  
γῳ (*dicto*) (ἔργῳ (*facto*)) 20 1.

PL. *colloquium*: ἐκείνῳ διὰ  
λόγων ἐλθεῖν 5 4; εἰς λόγους  
τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ συνελθεῖν 22 2; 23

5. *ratio*, 'account', 'con-  
sideration', 'regard': ἐν τινι  
λόγῳ γεγωνός 3 4; εἰς οὐδένα  
λόγον θέμενος 9 7; πολλὰ ἄξια  
λόγου 6 2

λουτρόν, τό, 'water for bath-  
ing': 36 2

λόφος, ὁ, *collis*: 9 6; 16 7

λοχιζειν<sup>6</sup>, *in manipulos s. co-  
hortes distribuere*: οὐ λοχίσαα  
τὸ στράτευμα 27 5. (λοχαγός is  
the Greek equivalent of the Ro-  
man *centurio*)

λυρωδός<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, 33 2

λυσιψδός<sup>1</sup>, ὁ: 36 1

## Μ

μακάριος, ἰα, ἰον, *beatus*: ᾧ  
μακάριοι ('my good sirs')  
13 4

μάλα: μάλιστα πάντων,  
'most of all', 16 4, see my n. to  
Xen. Oecon. 19, 13 l. 83

μάντευμα<sup>5</sup>, τό, *oraculi respon-  
sum*, PL. 17 1

μαραίνεσθαι, *tabescere* (de rogo  
qui paulatim exstinguitur) 38 3

μαρμαρυγή<sup>5</sup>, ἡ, *fulgor*: 16 2

Μάρτιος<sup>4</sup>, ὁ, *Martius* (men-  
sis): 14 4

μαρτυρεῖν, c. dat. pers. ἀρε-  
τὴν μαρτυρεῖν ἑαυτῷ 6 7;

cum dat. pers. et acc. rei:  
τοῦ Γαβινίου τοῖς ἀνδράσι μαρ-  
τυρήσαντος ἀνδρείαν 17 7

μεγάλαυχος, *ov*, *iactabundus*: 3 4  
 μεγαληγορεῖν, *magnifice de se loqui*: 1 2  
 μεγαλοφρονεῖν, *animo audaci et confidenti esse*: 29 2  
 μέγεθος, τό, *magnitudo*: μ. τοῦ φθόγγου (*de sono*) 7 3; μ. τῶν πύλων 12 6  
 μέδιμνος, ὁ, a dry measure = six Roman *modii*, rather less than 12 English gallons: 13 2  
 μέν, without δέ expressed: πρῶτον μέν—ἔπειτα 27 3. μέν—γε, *certe quidem*: 10 2. μέν δῆ (continuative) 28 4  
 μέν οὖν, where οὖν is merely continuative and μέν is answered by δέ: 4 1, 3; 14 3; 19 4; 22 1; 29 5; 30 4; 38 3. μέν answered by ἀλλά: αἰ μέν—ἀλλὰ καί τότε 29 6; by μήν (rare) 16 8  
 μένειν, *loco manere*: 18 6; 21 4  
 μέρος, τό, *pars*: πολὺ μέρος τῶν βασιβάρων 4 3; ἦσαν οὐδέν μέρος ('were as nothing in comparison with') τῶν διὰ χρήματα σφαττομένων 31 5; ὥστε...μηδὲν εἶναι μέρος τοῦ ἐπιγινόμενου τὸ ἀποκρινόμενον 36 2  
 μέσος, ἡ, *ov*, *medius*: c. gen. μέσος ἀμφοῖν (*medius inter duos*) 5 4; ἐν μέσῳ 17 3; εἰς μέσον θείναι (*in lucem edere*) 26 1. [Them. 10, 5 l. 10 n.]  
 μεστός, ἡ, ὄν, *taedio alicuius rei captus, satur*: μεστός τιμωρίας 14 5  
 μετά, *A. c. gen. una cum*, 'together with', 'along with': 2 2; 5 5; 28 3; ἐκπέμπει Γαβρίων μετά τάγματος ἐνός 16 7; μετά λαφύρων ἐκπλέοντα 24 4; μετά τῶν ὄπλων ἐλθεῖν 16 6; ναῦς μετά τῆς οἰκείας παρασκευῆς 22 5; μετά πλοῦτου καὶ λαφύρων ἐκπλέοντα τῆς Ἀσίας 24 4; ἦκοντας μετά παραιτητῶν 26 4; 28 3; ἔχων μεθ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον ἐν τιμῇ 23 1. to indicate

community of action: ἀλληγῆμα ναρκῶδες μετὰ βάρους for καὶ βάρους 26 3. 2. causal, to denote the union of persons with circumstances and so mode and manner or as a periphrasis for Adverb; ἐδέοντο μετὰ κραυγῆς 16 6; μετ' ὄργῆς 5 2; μετ' εὐκολίας 6 8; ἐντίμως καὶ μετ' εὐφημίας 6 11; μετὰ κραυγῆς ἐδέοντο 16 6; μετὰ κρότου καὶ γέλωτος ἄλλα ἦτουν 18 3. *B. c. accus. post*: οἱ μετ' ἐκείνων (*eius posterii*) 1 1; μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ στρατείαν 1 2; 5 3; 6 7; μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην 8 2; μεθ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας 10 2; μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον 27 4; μετὰ πράξεις καλὰς οὕτω καὶ μεγάλας 6 7  
 μεταβάλλειν, *mutare*: construction of, 7 3; οὐ μετέβαλε τὴν φύσιν 30 4. *intrans. μεταβαλῶν (mutato consilio)* 22 5  
 μεταβολή, ἡ, *mutatio, conversio*: 25 1; μ. φύσεως ὑπὸ τύχης 30 5; 34 3; (de morbo) 36 3; ἀθρόαν ἐλάμβανε μεταβολὴν ἰ. q. μετεβάλλετο 2 2; μεταβολὴν ('change to') ἐτέρου γένους 7 3  
 μετακαλεῖν<sup>2</sup>, *avocare, ad transitionem pellicere*: 12 9  
 μετακόσμησις<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, *transformatio*: 7 3  
 μεταξύ, of place: τὸ μεταξύ τῆς Πειραικῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς 14 3. of degree (post-classical): τὸ μεταξύ τῆς τύχης αὐτῶν (*discrimen inter utriusque facultates*) 1 4  
 μετὰστας, ἡ, *migratio*: 9 1  
 μεταφέρειν, *transferre*: τὴν—στρατείαν εἰς Μάριον μετήνεγκε 8 4  
 μετεῖναι, *participem esse*: *impers. c. gen. rei et dat. pers. ταύτης τῆς στρατείας οὐδὲν τῇ τύχῃ μέτεστι* 6 3; τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ μετεῖναι τῶν κακῶν 31 6

μετέχειν, *interesse*: τῆς διώξεως  
μετείχε 19 4

μετιέναι, *petere*: 30 1. *ul-*  
*cisci*: τὰ μικρὰ προσκρούματα σφα-  
γαῖς μετιόντος 68 *am-*  
*bire* (magistratum, post-classical):  
μετιόντος ὑπατείαν 33 3; ἀρ-  
χὰς μετιόντας 10 3. Cf. C.  
Gr. 8, 3; Cic. 1.

μετρίως, *modice, moderate*: μ.  
ὀμιλήσας τῇ τύχῃ 30 4. 2.  
*satis*: 2 3

μέχρι, 1. *adv. usque*: before  
*adv. of time*: μέχρι νῦν 21 4  
(post-classical). 2. *prepos.*  
*c. gen.* 'till', 'up to', of Time:  
μέχρι τῆς μάχης 9 3; μέχρι  
παντός 36 1

μή, for οὐ, with participles not  
expressing condition: 1 1; 15 1;  
22 2; with participle after  
ἀνέχεσθαι 5 5

μηδέ, *ne—quidem*, 15 2

μηδεῖς for οὐδεῖς with par-  
ticiple not expressing condition:  
1 2; 16 3; 35 2. μηδέν as an  
*adverb, nihil*, 'not at all': 27 3

μηδέπω, *nondum*, for οὐδέπω:  
ἀποκριναμένου μ. γινώσκειν 31 2  
μηκασμός, ὁ, *balatus*: τράγου  
μηκασμῶ 27 2

μήν (see my n. to Xen. *Hier.*  
1 § 31 l. 179): οὐ μήν 14 2;  
16 8; 19 4; 37 3. οὐ μήν  
ἀλλά, 3 3; 20 3; 30 2; 36 1

μήπω for οὐπω 19 2

μήτε—μήτε for οὔτε—οὔτε  
24 2

μηχάνημα, τό, *PL. opera, ma-*  
*chinae obfusinatoriae*: 12 2

μικρός, ἄ, ὄν: μικροῦ ἐδέ-  
ησεν sq. *infin. parum absuit quin*:  
29 2. *ADV.* μικρόν, 'a little':  
μ. ἔμπροσθεν 10 1; μικρὰ ἔμπε-  
σόντα (*post leve quoddam proe-*  
*lium commissum*) 20 3. κατὰ  
μικρόν, *paulatim*, 'gradually':  
19 1

μονόμαχος<sup>2</sup>, ὁ, *gladiator*: θέα  
μονομάχων 35 3

μονοχίτων<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *simplici tunica*  
*indutus*: 25 1

μοχθηρός, ἄ, ὄν, *improbus*:  
μοχθηρότατος ἑαυτοῦ 8 1; μο-  
χθηροῦς νόμους 8 2. μοχθη-  
ρῶς διενυκτέρευσαν (*acerbam noc-*  
*tem transegerunt*) 21 3; 37 4

N

ναρκώδης, ὠδες, *torpidus*: 26 3  
νέμειν, *tribuere*: τῇ τύχῃ πλέον  
ν. 6 5

νεμεσᾶν, *indignari*: ἐνεμέ-  
σων 6 10

νέμεσις, ἡ, *indignatio*: 10 2  
νέος, ἄ, ὄν, *iuvenis*: ἐκ νέου  
(*'from a youth'*) 30 5; νέον  
ὄντα 2 2

νομίζεῖν, with predicate accu-  
sative: 5 2. *PASS.* de eo  
quod consuetudine sanc-  
tum est: κηδείας τῆς νενο-  
μισμένης 38 1

νόσημα, τό, *morbus*, in univ.  
*malum, vitium*, 'a distemper':  
2 3; πολιτικῶν νοσημάτων 4 4;  
τῶν Μιθριδατικῶν ν. 13 2

νουθετεῖσθαι (*PASS.*), *castigari*:  
30 3

νοῦμμος<sup>4</sup>, ὁ, *nummus, sester-*  
*tius*: δισχιλίους νοῦμμους 1 4.  
[It usually meant a coin used by  
the Dorians of Greek Italy and  
Sicily = 1½ Attic oboli]

νύξ, ἡ, *PL. περὶ μέσας νύκτας*  
(*horas noctis*) 14 3. [Xenophon  
also omits the article *περὶ μέσας*  
*νύκτας* and *ἀμφὶ μέσας νύκτας*,  
An. 1, 7, 1; 7, 8, 12; 2, 2, 8; 7,  
3, 40; Cyr. 4, 5, 13]

νωθρῶς<sup>2</sup>, *ignave*: 18 3

νώναι<sup>4</sup>, αἰ, *nonae*: πρὸ μιᾶς  
νωνῶν Κυντιλίων 27 6

O

ὁ, ἡ, τό: the substantival  
Article, as a demonstrative:  
ὁ δέ 10 3; 16 6; ἡ δέ 7 3; ὁ μὲν  
—'Ἀραράθης δέ 11 2; τὸν μὲν

(δίφρον)—τὸν δέ—τὸν δέ 5 4 ;  
οἱ μὲν—οἱ δέ 5 5 ; οἱ δέ alone  
without οἱ μὲν preceding 17 5 ;  
τῶν μὲν—τῶν δέ 9 1 ; τὰ μὲν  
—τὰ δέ (*partim—partim*) 24 2 ;  
τοὺς μὲν—τοῖς δέ—τῶν δέ 29 7  
ὄδοποιεῖν, *viam munire*: ὄδοι-  
ποιοῦντες ἕκαμνον 28 5  
ὄθεν, *unde*, 'wherefore': 16 2 ;  
36 2  
ὀλεσθαι, *opinari*: c. infin.  
praes. φῶντο λυπεῖν ἐκέλευν 10 3  
οἰκειοῦν, *conciliare*. MED. οἰ-  
κειώσασθαι Πομπήιον 33 3  
οἰκετικός<sup>2</sup>, *servilis*: τὸ οἰκετι-  
κόν (*servitium*) 9 7  
οἰκία, ἡ, *domicilium*: 31 5  
οἶκος, ὁ, *domus*: οἶκος πα-  
τρῶος 31 5. *res familiaris*:  
τῶν δεδημευμένων οἰκῶν 33 2  
οἰκουρεῖν, *domi se continere*,  
*domi esse* )( *eis ἀγορὰν προιέναι*  
7 2 ; 25 2  
ὀλιγοστός<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, ὄν, 'one out of  
few': 22 4  
ὀμαλός, ἡ, ὄν, *planus*: 20 4  
ὀμβρος, *imber*: 14 7 ; 28 5 ; 38 3  
ὀμιλεῖν, *versari, adsuescere*:  
ὀμιλήσας τῇ τύχῃ (*fortuna*  
*usus*) 30 4 ; τῶν πρὸς χάριν ὀμι-  
λοῦντων τῷ Σύλλῃ 31 3  
ὀμοιος, οἶα, οἶον: τὸ ὀμοιον  
*par* ; οὐκ ἔτυχε τῶν ὀμοίων 10 2  
ὀμολογεῖν, *pacisci, promittere*:  
ὀμολόγησε 9 5 ; 24 1. PASS.  
τούτων ὀμολογηθέντων 23 1 ;  
τὰς ναῦς (φασκόντων) οὐδ' ἔλως  
ὀμολογηθῆναι, *promissas esse*:  
23 3. [Cf. Thuc. 8, 29, 2 πλέσιν  
ἀνδρὶ ἐκάστῳ ἢ τρεῖς ὀβολοὶ ὀμο-  
λογήθησαν]  
ὀμοῦ, *simul*: 13 1 ; ὀμοῦ τι,  
*circiter, prope modum*: 11 3  
ὀπίσω, *retro*: εἰργόμενος τοῦ  
πρόσω καὶ ὀ. 29 2  
ὀπλοθήκη, ἡ, *armamentarium*:  
14 7  
ὀποτέρωσσε, *utram in partem*:  
19 2  
ὀπως: A. as modal adverb:

c. fut. ind. μήτε ὅπως ἄπεισιν  
...ἐπινοοῦντι 22 2. B. as final  
conjunction: c. subj. 16 5  
ὄργανον, τό, *instrumentum*:  
11 1 ; δι' ἀμυδρῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν  
ὄρ. 7 5  
ὄρθιος<sup>2</sup>, ἰα, ἰον, *erectus*: me-  
taph. ἐν ἤθεσιν ὀρθίοις 1 3  
ὄρικός (ὄρεῦς), ἡ, ὄν, *mularis*:  
ζεύγεσιν ὄρικοίς, 'pairs of mules',  
12 2  
ὄς γε, *quippe qui*: 8 1 ; 9 7 ;  
10 1 ; 12 2  
ὄσιότης, ἡ, *sanctimonia*: 6 7  
(ex. emend. Cobeti)  
ὄσος, ἡ, ὄν, *quantus*  
ὄσον οὐπω, 6 2 ; 11 1 ; τοσοῦ-  
τον ὄσον 29 5 ; 31 6 ; διαλιπῶν  
(τοσοῦτον) ὄσον ἀποψύξαι 29 3  
ὄστις περ: neutr. ὅτι περ  
20 4  
ὄτε, 'on which occasion':  
5 4 ; 28 3  
οὐ μὴν, 14 2 ; βουληθέντας μὲν,  
οὐ μὴν δυνηθέντας 16 8 ;  
οὐ μὴν—γε: 19 4 ; 37 3 ;  
οὐ μὴν ἀλλά, an elliptical ex-  
pression: 3 3 ; 20 3 ; 30 2 ; 36 1.  
[For an example of the full con-  
struction see Timol. 34, 4 οὐ  
μὴν ἔτυχέ γε ταύτης τῆς τελευ-  
τῆς ἀλλ' ἔτι ζῶν ἀπαχθεῖς ἦν περ  
οἱ λησται δίκην ἔδωκε]  
οὐδέ, *ne—quidem*: οὐδέ γε-  
ράσας 2 3 ; οὐδ' ἄλλως 16 4 ; οὐδ'  
ἔλως 23 3  
οὐπω, *nondum*: 32 2 ; ὄσον  
οὐπω 6 2 ; 11 1  
οὐρά, ἡ, *cauda*: περὶ τὴν οὐ-  
ρὰν τοῦ ἵππου 29 5. *tergum*:  
κατ' οὐρὰν (*a tergo*) 29 2  
οὐτος, αὐτή, τοῦτο: τοῦτο μὲν  
—τοῦτο δέ, *partim—partim*, 'on  
the one hand'—'on the other  
hand': 12 3, 6 ; 14 5. ἐν τοῦ-  
τῳ, *interca*: 9 6 ; 14 1 ; 29 4  
οὕτως after participles, *ita de-*  
*num*: 24 3 ; 27 4  
ὄφλημα<sup>2</sup>, τό, *debitum*: 8 2.  
[Cf. [Dem.] adv. Phaenipp. § 28

νῦν ἤκουσι δανεισταὶ καὶ ὀφλήματα πλέον ἢ τριῶν ταλάντων, Plut. Dem. 15, 1 εἶλε τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦ ὀφλήματος, Cic. 41 ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ὀφλήμασι καὶ μεγάλοις, Anton. 2 ὀφλημα βαρὺ συνήχθη, Brut. 10 δ. πατρικόν, Galb. 21 πολυτελῆ καὶ πεντακισχίλιων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον. Its usual meaning is 'a fine', the proper Attic word for 'debt' being ὀφείλημα. See Sintenis Themist. *Epist. ad God. Hermann* p. LVII]

ὄψέ, *aliquando*: 13 4

ὄψις, ἡ, *species oris*, 'looks': ὄψει διάφορος 6 7; τὴν δ. εὐπρεπῆς 35 3. ἰ. q. θέαμα, *spectaculum*: ὄψιν προσέβαλον 16 3.

*visum*, 'apparition': 9 4; 28 4

ὄψον, τό, *obsonium*: ὄψα 35 1

## II

πάγη, ἡ, *muscipula*, 'a mousetrap': 7 3

πάγκαλος, ον, *perbonus*: ἰχθῦς παγκάλους 26 3

πάθος, τό, *affectus, perturbationis*: 13 2; τὰ αἰσχίστα καὶ ἀναιδέστατα πάθη 35 5

πάλαι, *dudum*, c. praes. sens. perf. ἔτυχε παλαι μισῶν 3 1

παλεύειν, *illicere*: 28 3

παμπληθής, ἐς, *permultus*: 35 1

πάμπολυς, -πόλλη, -πολυ. Pl. *permulti*: παμπόλλων ἀνηρημένων 34 3

παρά: (Skr. *parā retro*, de eo quod est retro a re): **A.** c. gen. *inde a*, a cuius latere, e propinquo, ita ut motus fiat hominis ab homine: ἡ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δυσμένεια 10 3. **2.** παρὰ Καππαδοκῶν μαθόντες 9 4. **B.** c. dat. *apud*: ὤκει παρ' ἐτέρου 1 2; ἀπέθανε π. τῷ Πομπηίῳ 33 3; ἐν τινι λόγῳ γεγωνῶς παρὰ τοῖς πολί-

ταις 3 4; δόξαν ἔσχεν ἡγεμόνος μεγάλου παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις 6 2; παρ' αὐτῷ δυνάμενοι μέγιστον 36 1; ἐνδοιάζων τῇ γνώμῃ παρ' ἑαυτῷ 9 3. *contra*: παρὰ γυναιξὶ γαμεταῖς ἐσφάττοντο 31 5.

**C.** c. accus. **I.** 1. local: *iuxta*, *prope*, ita ut absit causae significatione sed fiat motus: τοῦτους ἀθροίσας παρὰ τὸν ἵππόδρομον 30 2.

quando non fit motus: *iuxta*, *secundum*: 5 4; 6 1; παρὰ τὴν ῥίζαν (montis) 16 1. **2.**

*contra*: παρ' ἀξίαν εὐτυχεῖν 1 2; παρὰ φύσιν 18 6; παρὰ τὸν νόμον 5 6. **3.** *praeter*: παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον ('so narrowly did it escape the danger')

16 8; παρ' ὀλίγον, 'within a little', 'all but' 29 8.

**II.** temporal, 'during': παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον 2 2

παραβάλλεσθαι (PASS.), *obicere*: ὄψει καὶ λαμυρία μειρακίου δίκην παραβλήθεις 35 5. Sed incerta lectio; *v. n. cr.*

παραβοηθεῖν, *auxilio esse*: παρεβοῆθει 29 5

παραγίγνεσθαι, *praesto esse*: παραγίγνεται 22 2; παραγενέσθαι (*adfuisse*) 19 4; παραγιγνομένων 23 3

παραγωγή<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, *mora, cunctatio*: 28 2

παραδέχεσθαι, *recipere, admittere*: παραδεδεγμένον τρυφῆς ζῆλον 1 2

παραδόσις, ἡ, *traditio*, 'surrender': 3 2

παραιτέισθαι, c. acc. pers. et gen. rei, *deprecari aliquid pro aliquo*, 'to intercede in behalf of another', 'to beg him off from': *παραιτούμεθα αὐτοῦς τῆς τιμωρίας* 30 2

παραιτητής<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *deprecator*: 26 4

παράλειπειν, *praeterire, omittere*: ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις αὐτὸν παρέλιπε 38 1

παραλόγως<sup>2</sup>, *temere*: τιμῆσαι π., π. ἐφυβρίσαι 6 7

παραπέμπειν, *prosequi, efficere ut quis incolumis praetereat*; 38 1

παραπίπτειν, *incidere*: καιρῷ παραπεσόντι χρησάμενος εὖ 3 1

παραπορεύεσθαι<sup>1</sup>, 'to go past', 'pass by': 35 4

παράσημον<sup>1</sup>, τό, *insigne*: τῶν στρατηγικῶν π. 9 2

παρασκευάζειν, *efficere*, 'to cause': c. infin. δεκαπέντε μυριάδας κατασφαγήναι παρασκευάσαντα 24 4. MED. *parare se*, 'to get ready': 27 1

παρασκευή, ἡ, 'a getting ready': εἶναι ἐν π. (*in apparatu esse*) 9 3. (Cf. Thuc. 2, 17; 2, 101; 6, 26.) II. concr. *apparatus*, 'equipment', 'an armament': 12 2; ναὺς μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας π. 23 5; π. νεῶν πολλῇ 20 2

παρασπονδεῖν<sup>1</sup>, c. acc. *fidem violare erga aliquem*: ἀναγκὴν τοῦ παρασπονδῆσαι τὸν ἕτερον 3 3

παρατρέπειν, *derivare*: 16 5

παραφέρεσθαι (PASS.), *praetervehī*, 'to be carried beyond': παρενεχθεῖς 29 5

παρεμβάλλειν<sup>2</sup>, *aciem instruere*: 17 7

παρενοχλεῖν<sup>1</sup> (παρά, ἐν, ὄχλος), *negotium facessere, incommodare*: 11 2

παρεξίεναί<sup>5</sup>, *praeterire*, 'to pass alongside of': παρεξιώντος 16 6

παρεπιστροφή<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *conversio*: παρεπιστροφῶν προσώπων 35 5

παρέργως, *leviter, neglegenter*, 'cursorily'), (ἀκριβῶς 5 5

παρέρχεσθαι, *transire*: παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἔδραν 35 4. *proficisci agmine facto, castra movere*: 17 3. *praeterire, inultum sinere*: 6 9

παρέχειν, *suppeditare, tribuere*:

δῶρα καὶ πομπὴν ἀσφαλῆ παρασχῶν 3 1; παρέχειν δείπνον αὐτῷ καὶ φίλοις 25 2; 38 1.

2. *praebere*, to present or offer for a purpose: παρέχειν τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς ἀρχουσι 12 7. 3. of incorporeal things, *afferre, excitare*: δόξαν ἀριστοκρατικὸν ἡγεμόνος παρασχῶν 30 4; π. φρίκην—ἀθυμίαν 11 1; βαρυντάτους παρασχόντι κινδύνους 6 2.

4. with reflexive pronoun and a predicate: *se ipsum praestare*, 'to shew oneself so and so': παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν εὐδύκιμον 3 1

παρηγορεῖν, *lenire, solari*, c. acc. rei (post-classical): ποτοῖς παρηγορῶν τὸ πένθος 35 3

παρθένιον, τό, 13 3

παριστάναι, *statuere iuxta*, *improprīe in mentem inicere*: τοῦτο τῷ βραδυνάτῳ Ῥωμαίων νοῆσαι παρέστησεν 30 4.

MED. *adstare, adesse*: παρεστῶτα 37 2; ὀργῇ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρῶστη 28 6

παρωθεῖσθαι, *dimovere, rationes (alicuius) non audire*: παρωσάμενος αὐτοῦς 29 4

πάσσειν<sup>5</sup>, 'to sprinkle': PASS. ἀλφίτῳ πεπασμένον 2 1

πατρίκιος<sup>4</sup>, ὁ, *patricius*: 1 1

πεδιάς<sup>5</sup>, ἡ, *planus, campetris*: πεδιάσι χώραις 15 2; τῆς πεδιάδος μάχης 19 5

περί, c. gen. *de*, 'about', 'concerning': περὶ τῶν νεῶν ἔξαρνός ἐστι 23 3; τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐτελείας τῶν δείπνων τεταγμένα 35 3; συνθέσεις περὶ γάμων 35 5.

c. acc. *circa*: περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἵππικὸς νεανίσκος 8 2; οἱ περὶ Μάριον, 'the Marian party', 9 1; οἱ περὶ Κίνναν, periphrasis for 'Cinna', 12 8; οἱ περὶ Ἀρχέλαον 19 5; οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔργα 21 1; περὶ δείπνον ὄντι, *cenanti*, 2 3. (Cf. Mar. 44 1.) 'at', 'in' or 'near':

8 3; 11 1, 3; 19 6; 20 1; 22 1; 23 5; 26 3; 27 4, 6; 28 4; 36 4.  
c. acc. pers. 'in': ὠμότης  
καὶ τόλμα περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν 8 1

περιβάλλειν, *circumdare*: δικ-  
τύφ τὰς πόλεις περιβάλλουσαν  
6 3; c. dat. rei: ταφρὸν τῷ  
στρατοπέδῳ περιέβαλε 25 1;  
περιβαλὼν v. l. for περιλαβῶν  
(*amplexus*) 24 3. MED. *affec-  
tare, acquirere*: 5 3

περιγίνεσθαι, *recidere*: 26 2  
(ex em. Reiskii). *salvum eva-  
dere*: τοὺς περιγενομένους  
(‘the survivors’) 30 2. c.  
gen. *superiorem esse*: περιεγέ-  
νετο παντὸς καθαροῦ 36 3

περιέρχεσθαι, *circumire*: πε-  
ριελθόντων τὸ Θούριον 18 1.  
*mutata vice transire ad aliquem,  
recidere*, ‘to come round to’,  
‘end in’: εἰς ἐρωμένου σχῆμα  
περιελθῶν 2 2

περιέχειν, *ambire*: ὁ περι-  
έχων, *aër caelumque omnia am-  
bitens et complectens*, ‘the atmo-  
sphere’ (post-classical): 7 3

περιτήχῃσι<sup>1</sup>, ἢ, *strepitus*: 19 2  
περιστάναι, *circumicere, cir-  
cumdare*: περιστήσας τοὺς  
ὑπηρέτας 37 3

περικλᾶν<sup>1</sup>, *confringere*: περικ-  
λάσαι 14 2. PASS. περι-  
κλόμενα 12 3

περικόπτειν<sup>2</sup>, *circumcidere*:  
PASS. φρούριον περικοπτόμε-  
νον 15 4

περίκρημος<sup>1</sup>, ὄν, *undique  
praeeruptus*: 16 7

περιλαμβάνειν<sup>2</sup>, *cingere, in-  
cludere, circumcidere*: τὸν Πει-  
ραιᾶ περιλαβῶν ἐπολιόρκει 12 1.  
PASS. περιλαμβάνόμενος ὑπὸ  
τῶν πολεμίων 19 1

περίοδος, ἢ, *ambitus*: ἐνιαυτοῦ  
μεγάλου περιοδῶ 7 4

περιόπτως<sup>1</sup>, *conspicue*: 21 3  
περιπόρφυρος<sup>1, 3</sup> (τήβεννος), ἢ,  
*toga praelecta*: 9 2

περιρραντήριον, τό, *vas lus-*

*trale*: τῷ π. τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος 32 2  
περιττός, ἢ, ὄν, *exuberans*: c.  
gen. περιττῆ ἦν ἢ παρασκευῆ  
τῆς χρεῖας 35 1; *insignis*: ὄψει  
περιττός 6 7

περιυβρίζειν, *insigni contume-  
lia afficere*. PASS. πολλὰ περι-  
υβρισμένους 9 2

περιχέειν, *circumfundere*. PASS.  
περικεχυμένους αὐτῷ τοὺς πο-  
λεμίους πανταχόθεν 28 1

πικρός, ἄ, ὄν, *acutus, pene-  
trans, acer*: πικρὰν τῶν ὀμμά-  
των γλαυκότητα 1 2

πίναξ, ὁ, *tabula*: γραφόντων  
ἐν πίναξι 6 3; τοὺς πίνακας  
(*indices*, ‘tables of contents’)  
ἀναγράψαι 26 1

πίπτειν, *occidere in proelio*:  
18 1; περιόπτως ἔπεσε 21 3.  
‘to fall’, ‘turn out’: αἱ πράξεις  
ἔπιπτον εἰς ἄμεινον 6 5

πιστεύειν, *PASS. πιστεύεσθαι*  
τί, *de eo cuius fide aliquid com-  
mittitur*: ὑφ’ οὗ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ  
μέγιστα πιστευόμενος 4 2

πλάσσειν, *ingere*. PASS. πλα-  
σθῆναι 38 2

πλάστης, ὁ, *factor*: 27 2

πλήθρον, τό, *ingerum*: 23 2

πλείστος, ἦ, ὄν, *plurimus*:  
ὁ πλ. ὄχλος 16 4; ἐπὶ πλείστον  
ἀντιστάς 11 4

πλήθος, τό, *vis, copia*: 14 3;  
π. ὄμβρον 14 7; νεκρῶν πλήθους  
22 4; π. τῆς φθορᾶς 36 3; π. αἵ-  
ματος 37 3; π. ἀρωμάτων 38 2

πλοῦτος, ὁ, *divitiae*. PL.  
πλούτους 11 2

πλώμιος<sup>2</sup>, ὄν, *navigabilis*: 20 4

ποιεῖν, I. c. infin. *efficere ut*:  
14 4. 2. with Adj. as predic.  
*reddere aliquem aliquid*, ‘to  
make so and so’, 2 1; ὄχρῶν τὴν  
ἄκραν ποιεῖ 16 7. MED.

φίλον ἐποίησατο Βόκχον 3 1.

3. *facere*: ‘to make’, i. e.  
‘compose’, ‘write’: εἰς τοῦτο  
ποίησας ‘συκάμινόν ἔσθ’ ὁ κ.τ.λ.’  
2 1. II. 1. c. dupl. acc. *affi-*

*cere, tractare*: αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῶν—  
κακῶς 38 4.

2. vicariously  
for other verbs, to spare the re-  
petition of them, like Lat. *facere*,  
'to do so', 'to act according to  
what is said before': 6 3; 31 2

ποικίλος, ἡ, ον, *varius*: πο-  
λέμῳ ποικιλωτάτῳ 6 2

πολεμῆειν, *bello adgredi*: c. a. cc.  
πολεμήσων Ἰουγύρθαν (post-  
classical) 31. On the tendency  
of the later language to substi-  
tute the accusative for other  
cases, see a note by Bp Lightfoot  
on *Galatians* 5, 7, 26

πολιορκία, ἡ, *obsidio*: 29 1.

*vexatio* (post-classical): 25 2

πολιτεία, ἡ, *ius civitatis*: 8 1

πολιτεύεσθαι, *civem se gerere*,  
*vivere*: 37 3

πολίτευμα, τό, *institutum*: 34

5

πολιτικός, ἡ, ὄν, *civilis*: π.  
νοσημάτων 4 4; τὰς π. πράξεις  
5 1

πολιτικῶς, *civiliter*: 30 4

πολλαπλάσιος, α, ον, *multo  
maior*: 27 6

πολλαχοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος 27 4 (G.  
§ 182, 2; HA. § 757)

πολυάνθρωπος, ον, *viris abun-  
dans*: πολυάνθρωπον ἔθνος 4 1  
πολυαρχία, ἡ, *multorum im-  
perium*: 16 4

πολυήμερος<sup>1</sup>, ον, *qui est mul-  
torum dierum*: θόλης π. 35 2

πολυπραγμονεῖν, *rebus alienis  
se immiscere, res novas moliri*:  
Μιθριδάτην ἐπισχεῖν πολυπραγ-  
μονοῦντα 5 3. c. accus. 'to  
be curious about': τὰ ἔξω γενό-  
μενα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν 30 3

πολυτελής, ἐς, *sumptuosus*: τὰ  
πολυτελέστατα τῶν ἀναθή-  
ματων 12 3; ἐστίασεις πολυτε-  
λεῖς 35 3; λιβανωτοῦ π. 38 2

πονεῖν, *premi de exercitu*: τῷ  
εὐνύμῳ πονοῦντι 29 5

πόρθημα<sup>1</sup>, τό, *direptio*: ἀρπα-  
γαῖς καὶ ποροθήμασι 16 4

πόρθησις, ἡ, *vastatio*: 33 1

πότος, ὁ (πίνειν), *potatio*: 'a  
drinking-bout': συνουσίαν καὶ π.  
23; π. μεθημερινοῖς 13 3; πότοις  
καὶ συνδείπνοις 35 3

που, *alicubi, usquam*: 13 4;  
ἐνταῦθά που 21 2

πού, *ubi*, in indirect question:  
21 2

πράγμα, τό, *negotium*: οἷς  
οὐδὲν ἦν π. πρὸς Σύλλαν 31 1;  
πράγματα παρέχειν, *negotia fa-  
cessere*, 6 5

πραγματεία, ἡ, *occupatio* (se-  
dula): ἡ περὶ τὰ μηχανήματα π.  
12 2. *commentatio*, 'treatise'  
(post-classical), 30 5

πραγματεύεσθαι, *negotiarum*: 17  
1

πρανής, ἐς, *praeceps, declivis*:  
κατὰ πρανοῦς 18 1

πράξις, ἡ, *res gesta*: 6 5; π.  
καλὰς καὶ μεγάλας 6 7; ἀποτυγχά-  
νοντα ταῖς π. 6 4; π. πονηραῖς καὶ  
παρانونοῖς 24 2; τῶν π. ἀπολο-  
γισμὸν ποιούμενος 34 2; τὰς πο-  
λιτικὰς π. (*civilia negotia*) 5 1;  
τὴν τοῦ δήμου π. (*rei civilis ad-  
ministrationem*) 5 1

πράττειν (from the root *Prāk*  
'to accomplish': πράσσειν=*πρακ-  
σειν* is connected with *πέρα* 'further',  
as if *περακ-σειν*, whence *περαίνειν*)

*facere, perficere, exsequi*: μη-  
δὲν ἔτι λαμπρὸν πράξαι 6 4.

PASS. τὰ πραττόμενα 6 4.

de rerum statu in quo quis  
versatur, 'to do', 'fare so and  
so': with neut. adj. ταπεινὰ  
πράττειν 'to be in a low con-  
dition' (de vaticinandi arte) 7 5.  
See lex. to Xen. *Oecon.* p. 132\* b,  
and cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 324 σκοτεινὰ  
πράττουσαι πόλεις

πρεσβεία, ἡ, *legatio, legati*:  
9 5

πρεσβεύειν, *legatum esse*: 4 1

πρεσβευτής, ὁ, *legatus*, 5 4;  
πρεσβευτὰς for πρέσβεις 3 1; 23  
3. *legatus* (post-classical), one

of the 'lieutenant generals', three at least in number, who were nominated by the consul under whom they served with the sanction of the senate, and whose duty it was to advise and assist their superior in all his undertakings and to act in his stead both in civil and in military affairs. In the absence of the consul or proconsul, one of his *legati* took his place and then had the insignia as well as the power of his superior, 4 1; 6 9; 11 4; 17 7

**πρέσβυς**, ὁ, *senex*. SUPERL. *πρεσβύτατοι* (*antiquissimi*): 14 3

**προάγειν**, *producere*: προαγαγόντες 7 2

**προαγορεύειν**, *praedicere*: προηγόρευσε<sup>1</sup> (post-classical) 27 6

**προαγόρευσις**<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *praesagium*: 7 5

**προαστείον**, τό, *suburbium*: 12 3; 14 4

**προβάλλεσθαι** (MED.) *praetendere*: προβαλλομένων τὰς σαρίσας 18 4

**προγιγνώσκειν**, *praevidere*: προγιγνώ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτήν 37 1

**πρόγονος**, ὁ. PL. *maiores*: 1 1

**προγράφειν**<sup>3</sup>, *proscribere*, 'to outlaw': προγράψειν 31 4; ὀδοῦκοντα προέγραψεν 31 3; προγράψαι 32 2. PASS. τὸν προγεγραμμένον 31 4; ἕνα τῶν προγεγραμμένων 1 2: ἀνεγίνωσκε τοὺς π. 31 6; προεγράφη 32 2

**προέρχασθαι**, *progredi*: βραχὺ προελθὼν 31 6; εἰς τοῦτο φιλοτιμίας προῆλθεν 3 4. *egredi*, *prodire*: 8 3; εἰς ἀγορὰν προερχόμενος 25 2; προελθὼν 8 3; ἐπὶ θεὰν προελθόντες 29 7; ποὶ προελθόντος 31 1

**πρόθυμος**, ον, *alacer*: 16 7;

**πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον** 6 9; **προθυμότερος εἰς τὸ σῶσαι** 16 8; **προθυμότεροι** 27 8. seq. infin. 9 3; 28 4

**προϊέναι** (*πρόειμι*), *progredi*, *procedere*: πόρρω οὐ πρόεισιν 2 5; ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προϊόντες 25 1; εἰς δύναμιν ἅμα δόξῃ προῆει 4 2

**προϊέναι** (*προῖημι*). MED. *προῖεσθαι*, 1. *in potestatem tradere*, 'to give up' to an enemy: 10 2; 16 8. 2. *largiri*: προϊέμενον πράξεων ἀφορμάς 4 2. 3. *neglegere*: τὰ δεόμενα προϊέμενον 2 2

**προιπτεύειν**<sup>1</sup>, *equo fraevahi*: 28 6

**προκαλεῖσθαι** (MED.) *lacescere*, *provocare*: προὐκαλεῖτο Σύλλαν 28 4. *invitare*: προκαλοῦμενος εἰς διαλύσεις Σκηπίωνα 28 1

**προκαταλαμβάνειν**, *prius occupare*. PASS. ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προκατειλημμένον 17 4

**πρόκλησις**, ἡ, *conditio proposita*: 22 5

**προκυλινδέσθαι** τινος, *genibus alicuius advolvi*: 14 5

**πρός**, A. c. dat. *prope*: πρὸς Ὀρχομενῶ 22 1; 26 4; πρὸς Θυατείροις 25 1; 27 1. 'in addition to': πρὸς τῷ καταισχύνειν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀρχῆς 2 2.

B. c. accus. *versus*, ad; c. verbis motum significantibus; I de loco: περιπατούντος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν 26 3; κοιμισθῆναι πρὸς αὐτόν 12 4; εἰ ἔλθοιεν πρὸς αὐτόν 30 1; τὸ στρατεύμα πρὸς τὸν Μάριον ἄξοντας 8 4; πρὸς τὸ σφάττειν τραπομένον 31 1.

2. of all sorts of personal intercourse: τῆς πρὸς Μέτελλον ὁμοιοίας 6 5; θρῦπτεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους 6 8; χαλεπαίνων πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα ποιούντας 6 3; διαφορὰν τῶν κτηματικῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀστικὸν ὄχλον 7 6; τὴν

πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοίαν 10 4; οἷς οὐδὲν ἦν πρᾶγμα πρὸς Σύλλαν 31 1; διαλλαγῆναι π. τὸν Μιθριδάτην 22 4; 30 1; 35 2; πρὸς ἀνδρὰ διάστασις 35 4

II de tempore: πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν 19 4; πρὸς καιρὸν 6 5; πρὸς τὸ μέλλον 33 1

III of relation between two objects: 1. 'in reference to', 'in respect of': ἡ πρὸς τοὺς ἔρωτας εὐχέρεια 2 3; πρὸς τύχην εὖ πεφυκέναι 6 4; οὕτως ἔχων δόξῃ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον 6 4; 8 1; πρὸς οἰκτον ὑγρός 30 5. 2. 'in reference to', 'because of': πρὸς ὄ 2 1; 21 4; πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον 6 8; ἀπαγορεύσαντες πρὸς τὰ ἔργα 16 5. 3. 'in reference to' or 'for a purpose': ἐχρήτο αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰς στρατείας 4 1; ἀμβλυτέρῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας 4 2; πρὸς ἅπαν ἐτοίμων 8 2; ἐνέργοις οὐσι πρὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας 12 2; χρημάτων δεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐκείνην 12 9; χρημάτων ἔδει πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον 12 3; τῶν πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλούντων τῷ Σύλλᾳ 31 3. 4. 'in comparison of': διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν 6 7; πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα μικρόν 7 1. 5. *secundum*, 'according to': πρὸς τὰς τῆς τέχνης ὑποθέσεις τὴν φύσιν ἐπισκεψάμενος 5 6.

in compos. with a verb 'additionally': δῶρα προσθεῖς 6 11; προσπαρασχεῖν 4 3

προσάγειν, *adducere*: 16 5; τῷ χάρακι τοὺς στρατιώτας προσαγαγῶν 21 3; 24 3; προσαγαγόντων αὐτὸν τῷ βήματι 33 4.

MED. προσάγεσθαι τινα, *ad suas partes aliquem perducere, sibi conciliare*: τὸν δῆμον χρήμασι καὶ θεραπείᾳ προσαγαγόμενος 5 2; 11 3; τοὺς δὲ κολακεύοντες προσήγοντο 28 2

προσαιτεῖν, *mendicare*: 13 3

προσβάλλειν, *obicere*: φοβερὰν προσέβαλον ὄψιν: 16 3

προσβοθηεῖν, *auxilio venire*: 5 3

προσβολή, ἡ, *pars qua adgredi hostis potest*: 14 1

προσγίγνεσθαι, *accedere, adiungi*: ὁποτέρωσε χρή προσγενέσθαι 19 2

προσελαύνειν, *equo advehi*: 29 3

προσέχειν, c. dat. *advertere, attendere*: 20 2; 30 3

προσιέναι (πρόσειμι), *accedere*: προσιόντος 17 5; 28 3; προσιόντες 28 5. MED. *accipere, comprobare*: ἡδέως προσιέμενος τὸν εὐδαιμονισμόν 6 4

προσκρούειν, *offendere*, 'to stumble', 'fail': μικρὰ προσκρούσας 11 3; οὐδὲν ἢ μικρὰ προσκρούσαντες 28 8. c. dat. *infensum se reddere*, 'to give offence to': 6 4

προσκυνεῖν, *adorare*: προσκυνῆσειν 22 5; *se prosternere*: (absol.) προσκυνήσας 23 3

προσμιγνύναι, c. dat. *congregi* (cum hoste): ὡς τάχιστα προσμίξειαν αὐτοῖς 18 4

προσνέμειν ἑαυτὸν τι, *partibus alicuius se adiungere* (unclassical): Κάτῳ προσένειμεν ἑαυτὸν 4 2

πρόσοδος, ἡ. PL. *reditus, proventus*: 19 6; πόλεων προσόδους 33 2

προσπαρέχειν, *insuper praebere*: προσπαρασχεῖν 4 3

προσπίπτειν, *incidere, incurvere*: 18 3

προσστέλλειν<sup>2</sup>, *aptare*. PASS. *adhaerere*: προσεστέλλετο τοῖς ὀρειοῖς 19 1

πρόσταγμα, τό, *iussum*: π. δόντος (unclassical) 16 4; π. ἔδωκεν 28 6; τοῖς προστάγμασι 9 2

προστάσσειν, *iubere, mandare*: 6 6; 33 3

προστιθέναι, *addere*: δῶρα προσθεῖς 6 11; σεμνότητα προσέθεσαν 12 6. II *ali-*

*quid alicui attribuire*: δόξαν Σύλλα προσετίθει 3 3

**προστρίβεσθαι**<sup>2</sup>, *affricare*: διαβολὴν προσετρίψατο 30 5

**προσφέρειν**, *afferre*: τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ Σύλλα προσήνεγκε 32 2; ἰχθὺς αὐτῷ προσήνεγκαν 26 3. *PASS. congregari, ad manum venire*: προσφερομένους δρόμῳ σπείρας 19 1; 21 3; ἔφεδρος ἀθλητῆ προσενεχθεὶς 29 1.

*accurrere*: τῷ χάρακι προσφερόμενοι 19 4. προσφείρεσθαι τι, *erga aliquem se gerere*: τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσενεχθῆναι τραχύτερον 6 12

**προσχωρεῖν**, *ad partes alterius concedere*: προσεχώρησαν 28 3

**πρόσω**: π. χωρεῖν 9 6; εἰργόμενος τοῦ π. καὶ ὀπίσω 29 2

**πρόσωπον**, τό, *vultus*: παρεπιστροφὰι προσώπων 35 5

**προτάσσειν**, *a fronte collocare*.

*PASS. proteragmenous* τῶν πολεμίων 18 5

**προτείνειν**, *porrigere, protendere*: τὰς χεῖρας προτείνας 9 3; τὴν δεξιὰν προτείναντος 24 1

**πρότερον**, *prius*: τῆς πρότερον (*prioris*) 20 1

**προτίθεσθαι** (*MED.*) *afferendum curare*: τρεῖς δίφρους προθέμενος 5 4

**προτροπάδην**<sup>5</sup>, *effuse, concitato cursu*, 'head foremost': 19 3

**προχωρεῖν**, *procedere*: τῶν πραγμάτων ἐλπίδος πέρα προχωροῦντων 11 1, 5

**πρωτεῖον**, τό, *principatus*: 12 8

**πρῶτος**, η, ον, *primus*: 1. of place: τοὺς πρώτους, 'the advanced ranks': 29 4. of rank or dignity: πῶς ἀνέχεται μὴ πρῶτος ὢν ἀπάντων 5 6; πολλοὶ τῶν πρώτων (*primorum*).

**τὰ πρῶτα**, *primium*: 30 4; πρῶτον μὲν—εἶτα 6 11; 32 1

**πτοεῖσθαι**<sup>5</sup> (*PASS.*) *insano fere studio ad aliquid ferri*: ἐπτὸ-

ητο τὴν γνώμην πρὸς τὸν Μιθριδατικὸν πόλεμον 7 1

**πυκνότης**, ἡ, *densitas*, 'close order', 'solid array': 18 6

**πυνθάνεσθαι**, *cognoscere, resciscere*: πυθόμενος 26 3; ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα 9 1. *seq. inf.* πυθομένη τὸν Σύλλαν ἐλαύνειν 9 2. *seiscitari, quaerere*: c. gen. et rel. claus., τοῦ Σύλλα πυθέσθαι τί πέρας ἔσται τῶν κακῶν 31 1

**πυροβόλος**<sup>1</sup>, ον, *telum ignitum, malleolus*: τὰ πυροβόλα 9 7

**πυρός**, ὁ, *triticum*: 13 2, 3

**πυρπολεῖσθαι** (*PASS.*) *igne vastari*: 12 3

**πυρριχίζειν**<sup>1</sup>, *saltare*: 13 3

**πωλεῖν**, *venale habere, vendere*: τὴν πολιτείαν πωλῶν 8 1

P

**ράβδος**, ἡ, *virga*. PL. **ράβδοι**<sup>3</sup>, *fascies*: 9 2

**ράβδοῦχος**<sup>3</sup>, ὁ, *lictor*: 38 2

**ράθυμειν**<sup>2</sup>, *feriari, otuari*: 26 3

**ρέυμα**, τό, *flumen*: 11 4; *profluvium*: 36 2

**ρήγνῦναι**, *rumpere*: τὸ ἀπόστημα ῥήξας 37 3

**ρήτορευεῖν**, *orare*, 'to practise oratory': 24 2

**ρίζα**, ἡ, *radix* (de infima parte montis): 16 1, 7

**ρίπτειν**, *proicere*: ῥίψεις 29 6. *PASS.* ῥίπτεισθαι 35 1

**ρίψις**, ἡ, *iactus*: ῥίψεις ὀμμάτων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους 35 5

**ῥύδην** (ῥεῖν), *effuse*: ῥ. ἐλαυνόντων 21 1

**ῥυέντος** (ῥεῖν, G. § 108, 2): 14 3

**ῥύμη**, ἡ, *impetus*: 18 3

**ῥύσις**<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, *fluxus, effusio*: 2 3

**ῥώμη**, ἡ, *robur*: 6 2; ῥώμη προθυμίας κοινῆς 27 5

**ῥώννυσθαι** (*PASS.*) *confirmari, vim accipere*: perf. ἔρρωται 18 3

## Σ

σαλεύεσθαι (PASS.) *iactari*:  
16 3

σάρισσα, ἡ, the sarissa or 'long pike' used in the Macedonian phalanx: 18 4

The great superiority of the army of Philip at the battle of Chaironeia B.C. 338 was in the length of the pike or sarissa—in the number of the weapons which projected in front of the foremost soldiers—and the long practice of the men to manage this impenetrable array of pikes in an efficient manner. Grote *Hist. Gr.* xi 691.

σάτυρος, ὁ, 27 2

σαφώς, *plane, accurate*: 26 1

σεμνολογέσθαι (DEP.) c. acc., *gloriarī, iactare*, 'to vapour about': 13 4.

σεμνότης, ἡ, *reverentia*: σεμνότητα πολλὴν τοῖς ἱεροῖς προσέθεσαν 12 6

σεμνύνεσθαι, *gloriarī*, 'to assume airs of importance': 1 2; 6 9

σημαίνειν (de tubis) 'to give the signal for' c. acc.: 29 4

σημεῖον, τό, 1. *signum, ostentum*: 7 4; καθαρά καὶ φανερά σ. 7 5; καταμαθὼν τὰ σημεῖα (*signa ex extis*) 9 3. 2. *vexillum*, 'an ensign', 'standard': 7 2; 21 2

σιτεῖσθαι, *vesci*: 13 2

σιτίον, τό, *cibus*: 36 2

σκηνή, ἡ, *tabernaculum*, 'a tent': 27 3. *scena, theatrum*, 'the stage': οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς 2 2

σκιαμαχεῖν: 13 1

σκοτεινός, ἡ, ὄν, *obscurus*: δι' ἀμυδρῶν καὶ σ. ὀργάνων 7 5

σκυθρωπός, ὄν, *tristis*: 2 2

σκῶμμα, τό, *dicterium*: 2 2; 13 1

σοβαρός<sup>2</sup>, ἄ, ὄν, of things, *grandis, splendidus*: 34 1. of persons, *superbus*: 16 2

σοβαρῶς, *ferociter*: 28 6

σπᾶν, *vellere*: κροκύδα τοῦ

ἱματίου σπάσασα 35 4. MED. σπᾶσθαι, *stringere*: σπασαμένων τὰς μαχαίρας 18 4; σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη 28 6. PASS. ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσιν, *strictis ensibus*: 14 3

σπαραγμός, ὁ, 37 3

σπάσμα<sup>1</sup>, τό, *fragmentum*: θωράκων σπάσματα σιδηρῶν 21 4

σπεῖρα<sup>3</sup>, ἡ, *manipulus, cohors*: 17 3; 19 1; 21 2; 24 1; 27 3, 7

σπεύδειν, *properare*: 27 6; 29 1. c. inf. 'to be eager to':

σπεῦσαι συνελθεῖν 22 2

σπλάγχνον, τό, PL. σπλάγχνα, *viscera*: 36 2

σποράδην, *sparsim*: 2 1

σποράς, ὁ, ἡ. PL. πηγὰς σποράδας (*sparsas*) 27 1

σπουδάζειν, *favere, studere alicui*: 34 4. PASS. σπουδαζόμενος ὑπὸ πολλῶν 33 4

σπουδαῖος, α, ον, *serius*: 2 2

σπουδή, ἡ, *festinatio*: ἀπάση σπουδῇ 9 5. *studium, contentio*: οὐκ ἐλάσσονι σ. 34 2

σταθμός, ὁ (ἰστᾶνα), *pondus*: σταθμῶ παραλαβεῖν ἕκαστον 12 4

στάσις, ἡ, *dissensio*: ἡ πρὸς Μάριον αὐτῷ στάσις 6 1; στάσεων ἀνηκέστων 4 4; 9 2.

*factio*: ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως 20 1; 32 2; τὸν τὴν ἐναντίαν σ. συνέχοντα 28 8

στέγασμα, τό, *tectum*: 9 6

στέγειν<sup>2</sup>, *sustinere*: τὴν κραυγὴν οὐκ ἔστεγεν ὁ ἀῆρ 16 2. [Cf. Polyb. 3, 53, 2 οὐκ ἔστεξαν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν βαρβάρων, 18, 8 (25 ed. Hulstsch), 4 στέγειν τὴν τῆς φάλαγγος ἔφοδον, Dion Cass. 76, 5 μὴ δυναμένην τιμὰς ὑπερόγκους στέγειν]

στείρος, fem. στείρα<sup>1</sup>, *sterilis*: 6 11

στενός, ἡ, ὄν, *angustus*: ἐν τοῖς σ. 15 3. [Cf. Them. 8 1; 12 1; 14 2]

στενωπός<sup>5</sup>, ἢ, *angiportus*, 14 3  
στερεός, ἄ, ὄν, *firmus, solidus*:  
τῶν στερεῶν) (τῶν ἑλῶν 21 1

στεφανηφόρος, ὄν, *coronifer*,  
*coronatus*: 11 1

στέφανος, ὄ, *corona*: 17 5;  
δάφνης στεφάνου 27 4

στεφανοῦν. PASS. ἐστεφανω-  
μένοι 27 7; 34 1

στηρίζειν, INTRANS. *fulcire*  
*se, erigere se, tolli*: στηρίσαι  
6 6

στιβάς, ἡ, (στείβειν), *culcita*,  
*lectus*: 36 1

στόλος, ὄ, *exercitus missus*,  
'an armament': ἐκίνει τὸν στό-  
λον 11 1

στόμα, τό, *os*: κατὰ στόμα (*a*  
*fronte*) 29 2

στρατεία, ἡ, *expeditio*: μετὰ  
τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ σ. 1 3; τὸν ἐμφανῆ  
λόγον ἔχων πρὸς τὴν σ. 5 3; ἀπὸ  
τῆς σ. (*post militiam*) 5 1; ἐπα-  
νήκων ἐκ σ. 6 3; τὴν ἐπὶ Μιθρι-  
δάτην σ. εἰς Μάριον μετήνεγκε 8 4

στρατεύεσθαι, *militare*: τοῖς  
σ. 12 8; 17 2

στράτευμα, τό, *exercitus*: 8 4;  
27 5

στρατηγεῖν, *exercitui prae-*  
*esse*: ἐν τῷ σ. (*in imperio*) 12 8;  
27 7

στρατηγία<sup>3</sup>, ἡ, *praetura*: ἐπὶ  
σ. πολιτικὴν ἀπεγράψατο 5 1;  
πρὸ τῆς σ. ib.; ἔτυχε τῆς στρα-  
τηγίας 5 2

στρατηγικός<sup>3</sup>, ἡ, ὄν, *praeto-*  
*rius*: στρατηγικὸν ἄνδρα 6 9;  
τῶν σ. παρασήμων 9 2. *belli*  
*peritus*: 15 3

στρατηγός<sup>3</sup>, ὄ, *praetor*: 9 2.  
*dux exercitus*: 23 1

στρατοπεδεία, ἡ, *locus castro-*  
*rum*: 28 6

στρατοπεδεύειν, *castra po-*  
*nere*: ἄπωθεν στρατοπεδεύον-  
τα 28 4; στρατοπεδεύσαντες  
16 1

στρατόπεδον, τό, *castra*: 9 5;  
εἰς πῶλον ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου.

[Cf. Arrian Anab. 3, 18, 4 Κρά-  
κερον καταλείπει ἐπὶ στρατοπέ-  
δου, 5, 10, 4 ἐπὶ στ. ἔμενε, ib. 5,  
11, 3.] *exercitus*: ἐχώρει  
παντὶ τῷ σ. 29 2

στροβιλώδης<sup>1</sup>, *es, fastigiatus*,  
'conical-shaped': 17 4

συγκατακόπτειν<sup>1</sup>, *una cum*  
*aliis trucidare*. PASS. συγκατε-  
κόπη τοῖς πολίταις 32 1

συγκέισθαι (serves as perfect  
pass. of συντιθέσθαι), *constare*,  
*conflatum esse*: 13 1

συγ-  
κείμενον, *factum et compositum*:  
τὰ συγκείμενα δι' Ἀρχελάου  
24 3

συγκλητικός<sup>3</sup>, ὄ, *senator*: 8 2;  
14 5; 30 3

συγκλητός<sup>3</sup>, ἡ (sc. ἐκκλησία),  
'the Roman senate': 7 5; 9 2;  
30 2

συγκομίζειν. PASS. *componi*:  
ἔφθη τὸ σῶμα συγκομισθὲν 38 3

συγχεῖν<sup>2</sup>, *confundere* (ordines).  
PASS. συνεχύθη 21 1

σύγχυσις<sup>2</sup>, ἡ (συγχεῖν), *confu-*  
*sio, perturbatio*: σύγχυσις ἐν ἀπάν-  
των πραγμάτων 4 4

συγχωρεῖν, absol. *postulatis*  
*alicuius cedere, assentiri*: ἄκων  
συνεχώρησεν 28 6

συκκάμινον, τό, *morum*: 2 1

σουλάν, *spoliare*: συλησάι τὸ  
μαντεῖον 16 4

σულλαμβάνειν, *comprehendere*:  
τὸν ἑκατοντάρχησιν συλλαβόντων  
33 4. *simul cum aliquo ca-*  
*pressere rem, opitulari*: συνελάμ-  
βανον αὐτοῖς τῶν ἔργων 25 1.

[Cf. Eur. Med. 946 συλλήψο-  
μαι δὲ τοῦδὲ σοὶ καγὼ πόνον,  
Arist. Vesp. 734 σοὶ τις θεῶν  
ξυλλαμβάνει τοῦ πράγματος]

συλλέγειν, *colligere*: πολλὰ  
χρήματα συνειλοχότι 5 6

σύλληψις, ἡ, *comprehensio*, 'a  
capture', 'arrest': 3 2

σύλλογος, ὄ, *congressus*: 28 2

συμβάλλειν INTRANS. *congrēdi*,  
*proelium committere*: 21 4; τοὺς

πολλοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ μάχην ἐξελθόντας  
συμβαλῶν τρέπεται 27 8

**συμμαχικός**, ἡ, ὄν, *socialis*:  
σ. πόλεμος (= ὁ πρὸς τοὺς συμ-  
μαχοὺς πόλεμος 6 9) 6 2, 6, 9

**συμμένειν**, *una manere, co-  
haerere*: 27 6

**συμμιγής**, ἔς, *promiscuus*: τοῦ  
θεάτρου συμμιγούς ἀνδράσι καὶ  
γυναῖξιν ὄντος 35 3

**συμμιγνύναι** τι, *se cum ali-  
quo iungere*: 15 4. PASS. τῷ  
Κηφισῷ συμμιγνυται 20 5

**συμπεράλνεσθαι** (PASS.): χρό-  
νον ἀριθμὸν συμπεραινόμενον  
(determined') ἐνιαυτοῦ μεγάλου  
περιόδῳ 7 4

**συμπίπτειν**, *congruere, conve-  
nire*: 14 5. *concurrere, ma-  
nus conserere*: 14 6; συμπεπτω-  
κότος εἰς μάχην 19 2. *una*

*cadere*: συμπεσοῦσας (τὰς  
λόγχας) εἰς τὴν γῆν παγῆναι 29 5.

*incidere, de fluvio qui in  
alium influit, συμπίπτων τῷ*

Κηφισῷ 16 7  
**συμπλέεσθαι**<sup>2</sup>, PASS. *manus  
conserere, confligere cum hoste*:  
15 1

**συμφέρειν**, *conferre, prodesse*,  
unde τὸ συμφέρον *commodum*  
6 8. PASS. *congradi*: δύο τρά-  
γοι μεγάλοι συμφερόμενοι 27 4;  
29 4

**συνάγειν**, *congregare, colligere*:  
συναγαγόντα τῶν ἀπὸ θεάτρου  
τοὺς ἰταμωτάτους 2 2; τὴν βουλήν  
συναγαγών 10 1; πάντας εἰς  
ταῦτὸ συναγαγών 32 1.

PASS. *synagēsthai*<sup>2</sup>, *in arcum  
contrahi*; translate *premi, urgeri,  
redigi*: ὑπὸ λιμοῦ συνηγμένην  
εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν 12 2

**συναίρειν**<sup>2</sup>, *conficere*. PASS.  
συνηρημένων ἀπάντων 34 2 v. n.

**συνακολασταίνειν**, *cum aliis  
proterve agere, socium se praebere  
in libidine*: 2 2

**συναλαλάζειν**, *clamorem simul  
tollere*: 28 6

**συναλγεῖν**, *una dolere*: σ. ἄλ-  
λοις ἀτυχοῦσι 31 6

**συναντᾶν**<sup>2</sup>, *accidere*, 'to hap-  
pen': 2 3

**συναπόλλυσθαι**, *una perire*:  
ἀσχιστα συναπολούμενον τοῖς  
πολίταις 29 6

**συνάπτειν**<sup>1</sup>, *attingere, statim  
sequi*: συνῆπτε 9 5

**συνάρχων**, ὁ, *collega*: 4 2; 9 3

**συνασπισμός**<sup>1</sup>, ὁ, *conferta acies,  
cum ita conferti milites stant, ut  
vir virum, clypeus clypeum tan-  
gat, neque quisquam versus dex-  
tram aut sinistram se movere  
possit*, 18 4

**συναύξειν**<sup>2</sup>, *una amplificare*:  
6 4

**σύνδειπνον**, τό, *convivium*:  
πτόις καὶ σ. 35 3

**συνδιημερεύειν** τι, *tempus  
cum aliquo traducere*: 26 3

**συνδιώκειν**, *persequi*. PASS.  
συνδιωχθεῖς 8 3

**συνειλοχότι** (συλλέγειν): 5 6

**συνεισφέρειν**<sup>2</sup>, *una conferre*,  
'to join in contributing': 27 3

**συνεκπλεῖν**, *simul e portu sol-  
vere*: συνεξέπλευσεν 3 1

**συνεκτραχύνεσθαι**<sup>1</sup>, *una ra-  
pidiorem, torrentiorem reddi*: 16

7  
**συνεπιθειάζειν**<sup>1</sup>, *una cum aliis  
divinitatis fidem adiungere*: 6 4

**συνερράγησαν** (συρρήγυσθαι),  
18 4

**συνερρηκότα** (συρρεῖν), 13 2  
(G. § 108, 2)

**συνέρχεσθαι**, *convenire*: συν-  
ῆλθον 24 1; 27 1; εἰς λόγους  
συνελθεῖν τι ('to have a con-  
ference with') 22 2. Cf. Herod.  
1, 82, 3 ἐνταῦθα συνέβησαν ἐς  
λόγους συνελθόντες

**συνετῶς**, 'intelligibly': 27 2

**συνέχειν**, *continere*: τὸν τὴν  
ἐναντίαν στάσιν μάλιστα συνέ-  
χοντα 28 8

**συνεχής**, ἔς, *assiduus*: 35 5

**συνεχύθη** (συγχεῖν) 21 1

συνεχῶς, *continue*: 12 3  
 συνηγμένην (συνάγειν) 12 2  
 συνηθία, ἡ, *consuetudo*, 'familiar intercourse', 'intimacy': 2 4  
 συνθάπτειν, *in funere adesse*: 38 3  
 σύνθεσις<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, *factum*, 'covenant', 'contract'. PL. συνθέσεις περὶ γάμων 35 5  
 συνθήκη, ἡ, *foedus*. PL. 22 5  
 σύνθημα, τό, *signum*, 'a signal': τοῦ συνθήματος δοθέντος 28 7 (unclassical)  
 συνιέναι, *intellegere*: συνίησιν 12 5  
 συνίστασθαι (MED.), *contendere*: ἀξιωμαχὸς συνεστηκότος τῷ Ἀρχελάῳ 19 3. *consociare se, coire* 'to combine': συνέστησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ 24 4; συνέστησαν πρὸς Λέπιδον 38 1  
 συννεφής<sup>2</sup>, ἐς, *nubilus*: τῆς ἡμέρας συννεφούς οὐσης 38 2  
 συνοικία, ἡ, *insula*: 14. [Aesch. c. Timarch. § 124: ὅπου μὲν πολλοὶ μισθωσάμενοι μίαν οἴκησιν διελόμενοι ἔχουσι, συνοικίαν καλοῦμεν, ὅπου δ' εἰς ἐνοικεῖ, οἴκιαν.]  
 συνοικίζεω, *una habitare facere, coniugare*: Αἰμιλίαν ἐγκύμονα συνώκισεν αὐτῷ 33 3  
 συνομαλύνειν<sup>1</sup>, *solo aequare*: 14 3  
 συνορᾶν, *animadvertere*: 9 6; 15 2  
 συνοουσία, ἡ, 'good fellowship', 'a party': 2 2  
 συντελεῖν, *perficere, peragere*, 'to fulfil': τὴν φωνὴν συνετέλει ὁ δαίμων ('made good the words') 28 6. PASS. εἰ μὴ πάντα ταχὺ καὶ καλῶς συντελεσθεῖν 9 3  
 συντρέχειν, *concurrere*: νεφῶν ἐξ αἰθρίας συνδραμόντων 14 7  
 συντριβεῖν<sup>2</sup>, *caedere hostem, vires alicuius ac potentiam conterere*: μεγάλας συνέτριψαν

δυνάμεις 28 8. PASS. *diffringi*, 'to be broken to pieces': συντριβῆναι 11 1; τοῦ εὐωνύμου (sc. κέρατος) συντριβέντος 29 7  
 συνωθεῖν, *contrudere, cogere*: συνώσειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πεδῖον 17 6  
 συρρεῖν, *confluere*: συρρηνηκότα 13 2  
 συρρήγνυσθαι<sup>2</sup> (PASS.), *inter se confligere et frugnare*, αἱ πεζαὶ δυνάμεις συρρηγάγησαν 18 4. [Cf. Caes. c. 45 τῶν πεζῶν κατὰ τὸ μέσον συρραγέντων, Mor. p. 944 D ὠθούνται γὰρ αἰθῆς ἐπὶ γῆν (daemones) συρρηγνύμενοι σώμασιν ἀνθρωπίνοις, Mar. c. 26 τῷ Κάτλῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τύχης συρραγῆναι, Dion Cass. 40, 17 πρὸς τοὺς Πάρθους συρρῶγασαν, 45, 11 Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος οὐ φανερώς πω συρρῶγασαν]  
 συστέλλειν, *coercere*, 'to coop up': συνέστειλαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ τεῖχος 9 6; συνέστειλεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν 11 4; ὑπὸ τὸν χάρακα συστέλλειν ἑαυτοῦς (*intra vallum se contrahere*) 16 3  
 συστρατεύειν τινί, *cum aliquo militare*: 14 5. MED. 16 8  
 συχνός, ἡ, ὄν. 1. of time: *longus*: χρόνον σ. 14 7. 2. of number, *multus*: συχνὰ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων 24 1  
 σφαγιάζεσθαι, *sacra facere victimas mactando*: 17 4  
 σφάλλειν i. q. ὑποσκελίζειν, *supplantare*: 29 1. PASS. σφάλλεσθαι τὸν λογισμὸν (*opinionem falli*) 15 2  
 σχῆμα, τό, *habitus, species*: ἐρωμένου σ. 2 4; σ. βουλῆς 22 1  
 σχολάζειν, *otiosum esse*: 16 5. c. dat. pers. *vacare, operam dare*: τῆς συγκλήτου τοῖς μάντεσιν σχολάζούσης 7 6  
 σωτήρ, ὁ, *servator*: 34 1  
 σωτηρία, ἡ, *salus*: σωτηρίας χάριν εἴσεται 32 1

σωτήριος, *ων*, *salutaris*: 13 4  
 σώφρων, *ον*, *castus*: 35 5

## T

τάγμα<sup>3</sup>, τό, *legio*: 9 3; 16 8;  
 17 3

τάλαντον, τό, *talentum*: 22 5

ταμίης<sup>3</sup>, ὁ, *quaestor*: 3 1

ταξίαρχος<sup>2</sup>, ὁ, *centurio*: 25 2;  
 28 5

τάξις, ἡ, *acies*: 16 2; 17 1; 18  
 2, 3; 21 3; τάξιν ἀποδοῦς 27 5;  
 εἰς τάξιν καθίστη τοὺς πρώτους  
 29 4; τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν ἀναλαμ-  
 βάνειν 19 3

ταπεινός, ἡ, ὄν: βίον τ. καὶ ἀγ-  
 νώτος 3 4; ταπεινὰ πράττοντες 1  
 1; ταπεινὰ πράττειν) (ἀΐζεσθαι  
 τῇ τιμῇ 7 5. [Cf. vit. Dem. c. 24  
 μεγάλοι μὲν ἦσαν οὗτοι ταπεινὰ  
 δ' ἔπραττεν ὁ Δημοσθένης, Eur.  
*Suppl.* 324 αἰ σκοτεινὰ πράσ-  
 σουσαι πόλεις]

ταραχή, ἡ, *turba, tumultus*:  
 18 2. PL. 'tumults', 'trou-  
 bles': ἀπαλλάξει τῇ πόλει τὰς τ.  
 6 7

τάσις<sup>2</sup>, ἡ (τείνειν), *vis quam ic-  
 tus a libramento accipit*, 'spring',  
 Fr. 'élan': βελῶν τὰσιν οὐ λα-  
 βόντων 18 3

τάπτεσθαι (PASS.), τὸ δεξιὸν  
 ἐν ᾧ ἐτέτακτο Κράσσος 29 4;  
 τοὺς ὑπ' ἄλλοις ταπτομένους  
 12 9; τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τε-  
 ταγμένον 29 8; οἱ τεταγμέ-  
 νοι 30 2; τεταγμένοις ἀναλώ-  
 μασι 12 7; ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγ-  
 μένου 14 7. *constitui, man-  
 datum habere*: impers. ἐτέ-  
 τακτο τῷ καταλύτῃ τὸν ξένον  
 διδόναι 25 2. [Cf. Thuc. 3, 22, 5 οἷς  
 ἐτέτακτο (ἐπετέτακτο Krü-  
 ger) παραβουθεῖν, Soph. Phil.  
 1180 ἴωμεν, ἢ ἡμῖν τέτακται  
 sc. ἰέναι, Ajax 527 τὸ ταχθέν  
 i. q. τὸ προσταχθέν]

ταφή, ἡ, *sepultura*: 35 2. PL.  
*exequiae*; 38 1

ταφρός, ἡ, *fossa*: 16 5; 21 1;  
 25 1; 28 6

τάχος, τό, *celeritas*: τῷ τάχει  
 36 3; κατὰ τάχος, 'in all haste',  
 29 8

ταχύς, εἶα, ὅ, *celer*: διὰ τα-  
 χέων (*propere*) 29 3

τε—τε, 16 3

τέγος, τό, *tectum*, 'roof': ἀπό  
 τῶν τ. 9 6

τέθριππον (ἄρμα), τό, *quad-  
 riga*: 15 1

τεκμαίρεσθαι, *coniecturam fa-  
 cere*: ὅπερ ἦν τεκμηράμενος 19 2

τεκταίνεσθαι<sup>5</sup>, *struere, machi-  
 nari*: ἐτεκταίνετο τὴν ὀλεθριω-  
 τάτην στάσιν 7 2

τελείν, *solvere, pendere*: ἐνοί-  
 κιον τ. 1 2

τέλειος, α, ὄν, *integer*: τάγ-  
 ματα τ. 9 3

τελευταῖος, αἶα, αἶον, *ultimus,  
 postremus*: 29 1; τὸ τ. 31 3

τελευτᾶν, *vitam finire*: 2 4;  
 21 2

τελευτή, ἡ, *finis, mors*: 37  
 1, 3

τέλμα, τό, *palus*: 21 4

τέλος, τό, 1. *finis*: τέλους ἔχειν  
 6 9; 7 4; 17 2. 2. *magis-  
 tratus*: οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει 31 3.

adv. *tandem*, 'ultimately':  
 6 4; 23 4; 28 2; 35 5

τερατοσκόπος, ὁ, *hariolus*: 7 5

τετράδραχμον, τό, *quattuor  
 drachmarum nummus*: 25 2

τέχνη, ἡ, *ars*: τὰς τῆς τ. ὑπο-  
 θέσεις 5 5

τεχνίτης, ὁ, *artifex*: τοῖς περὶ  
 τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίταις (*arti-  
 ficibus scenicis*) 26 3

τηλικούτος, αὐτή, οὗτον, *talis  
 et tantus*: ἐπὶ τ. ἀγαθοῖς 22 4;  
 29 2

τηρεῖν, *servare*: νόμιμον ἐτή-  
 ρησε 35 2

τιθασός<sup>2</sup>, ὄν, de hominibus  
*mansuetus, tractabilis*: 2 2. [Cf.  
 Mor. 611 D ἂν γένηται (ἢ ψυχῇ)  
 τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ τιθασὸς ὑπὸ παραγ-

μάτων πολλῶν καὶ πολλῆς σννη-  
θείας, ib. p. 51 F]

**τιθέναί**, *ponere*: eis μέσον θεῖ-  
ναι 26 I. MED. τίθεσθαι,

**1. statuere**, 'to reckon': c. prae-  
pos. eis ἴσον ὄνειδος ἐτίθεντο  
(*pari ducebant dedecori*) 1 2; eis  
τὴν τύχην αὐτοῦ τὰ κατορθώματα  
τιθεμένων 6 3; φίλους εἰς οὐ-  
δένα λόγον θέμενος οὐδ' οἶκτον  
9 7

**τιμῆ**, ἡ, **1. honor**: 1 I; 12 6;  
38 I; ἐν τιμῇ 23 I. **2. pretium**:  
8 I

**τιμωρητικός**, ἡ, ὄν, *ad ulti-  
onem propensus*: 6 8

**τις**, restrictive use of: 6 7

**τιοῦσδε**, **τοιάδε**, **τιούνδε**, *talis*,  
*huiusmodi*: ὄψω τοιάνδε 28 4

**τοιούτος**, **αὐτη**, **οὔτο**, *talis*:  
τοῖς τοιούτοις ('such as the  
above mentioned') τῶν τεκμη-  
ρίων 2 2

**τόπος**, ὁ, *regio*: ὁ πρὸς Ὀρχο-  
μενῶ τ. 20 3. 'place', 'po-  
sition': τῶν τόπων οὐπω δια-  
κεκριμένων 35 3

**τοσοῦτος**, **αὐτη**, **οὔτο**: ἀδικημα  
τοσοῦτον 6 9. adv. 36 3;  
τοσοῦτον ὅσον *tantum quantum*  
29 5; 31 6; τοσοῦτον—ὥστε  
35 I. PL. τοσοῦτους  
(*tot*): 29 2, 6

**τραπέζα**, ἡ, *mensa nummulari-  
rii*, 'a counter': ἠρίθμει τιμὴν  
διὰ τραπέζης 8 I

**τραχύς**, εἶα, ὅ, *asper*: τὸ ἐρύ-  
θημα ἐξήνθει τραχύ 2 I. de  
regione: 15 2; κορυφή τ. 17 4.

de voce: **τραχεῖαν** φωνήν  
27 2. adv. **τραχύτερον** 6 I 2

**τρέπειν**, *vertere*: **τρέπειν** τὸν  
πόλεμον εἰς θεούς (*ad deos referre*)  
24 2. MED. *in fugam ver-  
tere*: **τρέπεται** τοὺς πολεμίους  
21 2, 4; 27 5. *convertere se*,

'to betake oneself': ἐτρέποντο  
πρὸς ἀταξίαν 16 4. *terga dare*,  
*in fugam se dare*: αὐτῶν τρα-  
πέντων 28 7

**τρίβειν**, *terere*: χρόνῳ τρίβειν  
τὸν πόλεμον 20 3

**τριταῖος** (*tertio die a quo pro-  
fectus est*) ἐν Πειραιεὶ καθωρμίση  
26 I

**τρόπαιον**, τό, *trophaeum*: 34 2;  
τοῖς τ. ἐπέγραψε 19 5

**τροπαιοφόρος**<sup>1</sup>, ὄν, *trophaeum  
gestans*: εἰκόνας τροπαιοφό-  
ρους 6 I

**τροπή**, ἡ, *conversio*: τροπαί-  
θεριναί (*solstitium*) 20 4

**τρόπος**, ὁ, *modus*: **τρόπον**  
τινά (*aliqua tenus*) 37 I; τὸν  
ἄλλον τ. ('as to his general cha-  
racter') 6 7. PL. *mores*: τῶν  
ἐξ ἀρχῆς τρόπων ('their origi-  
nal habits') 30 5

**τρυφή**, ἡ, *luxus*: τρυφῆς ζῆ-  
λον 1 3. PL. τρυφάς 35 3

**τυγχάνειν**, *accidere*: impers.  
ἐξ ὧν ἔτυχεν αἰτιῶν 6 8.

c. particip. **ἐτύγχανε** ὄψω ἐω-  
ρακῶς ('he had just then seen a  
vision') 28 4; ὥσπερ **ἐτύγχανε**  
λέγων 30 3; 31 4; 35 3

**τύπος**, ὁ, *figura, forma*: 27 4

**τυφλός**, ἡ, ὄν, *caecus*, 'without  
any outlet': λιμένας τυφλὰς καὶ  
ὕλωδες 20 5. [Cf. Pyrrh. c. 15  
χωρία τυφλά, *loca caeca*, ubi  
vada, syrtes scopulive haud cog-  
noscuntur, inde periculosa navi-  
gantibus, Lucull. c. 13 ἐν τυ-  
φλῶ κύματι]

**τυφόμενος** (τύφασθαι), 6 2 η.

**τύχη**, ἡ, *fortuna*: τῆς παλαιᾶς  
τύχης 1 4; ὀμιλήσας τῇ τύχῃ  
μετρίως 30 4. adverbial phrase:  
κατὰ τύχην (*forte fortuna*) 14 5.

*conditio*: τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς τύ-  
χης (*discrimen inter utriusque  
facultates*) 1 4

## Υ

**ύγρός**<sup>2</sup>, ἄ, ὄν, *mollis, proclivis*:  
ύγρὸς πρὸς οἶκτον 30 5

**ύϊωνός**<sup>3</sup>, ὁ, *ueros*: **ύϊωνούς**  
31 4

ῦλη, ἡ, *materia*: 12 3  
 ῦλώδης: λίμνας ῦλώδεις 20 5.  
 [Cf. Pyrrh. c. 21 ποταμὸν ῦλώδη  
 καὶ τραχύν, Brut. c. 51 διαβάς  
 τὴν ῦλθρον ῦλώδες.]  
 ῦπαντιάζειν, *occurrere*: 18 2  
 ῦπάρχειν, *esse ab initio*: δύνα-  
 μιν οὐκ ἐλάττονα τῆς ῦπαρχού-  
 σης ('existing') 5 3; τοὺς ῦπάρ-  
 χουσαν εὐπορίαν ἀπολέσαντας  
 1 3. *impers. suppletit*, 'it  
 is possible': Μαρίῳ ῦπῆρχεν  
 κρατεῖν 10 2  
 ῦπατεία<sup>3</sup>, ἡ, *consulatus*: 3 1;  
 8 4; 9 10; 33 3  
 ῦπατεῖν<sup>3</sup>, *consulem esse*: ῦπα-  
 τεύων 4 1; ῦπατεῦοντι τὴν  
 πρώτην ῦπατείαν 3 1; ῦπα-  
 τεῦσαι 1 1  
 ῦπατος<sup>3</sup>, ὁ, *consul*: 8 3; 20 1  
 ῦπειπεῖν, *praefari*: 14 5  
 ῦπεξαιρεῖσθαι, *eximere*: ῦπε-  
 ξεῖσθαι 31 4  
 ῦπέρ, *A. c. gen. pro*, 'for the  
 purpose of', 'with a view to':  
 3 2; 13 4. *B. c. acc. of*  
*measure*: *super*, 'over', 'be-  
 yond': ῦπὲρ δέκα λίτρας 1 1;  
 ῦπὲρ δισχιλίας δραχμὰς ὀφείλειν  
 8 2  
 ῦπερβαίνειν, *transcendere*: ῦ-  
 περβῆναι 14 1  
 ῦπερβάλλειν: *MED. ῦπερβα-*  
*λέσθαι, vincere*: 38 4  
 ῦπερηφάνως<sup>1</sup>, *superbe*: 33 2  
 ῦπερόπτης, ὁ, *fastidiosus* )(  
 κόβλαξ 6 7  
 ῦπέσχετο (ῦπισχεῖσθαι) 30 1  
 ῦπεύθυνος, *on, obnoxius*: 34 3  
 ῦπέχειν, *subire*: τὴν ἐσχάτην  
 δίκην ῦποσχεῖν 9 3  
 ῦπηρεσία, ἡ, *ministerium*: 12 2  
 ῦπνος, ὁ, *somnus*: κατὰ τοὺς  
 ῦπνους 9 4; 28 4; 37 2. [Cf.  
 Them. 28 3 note]  
 ῦπό, *A. c. gen.* 'by', of agency  
 with passive verb: ἐκθλιβόμενος  
 ῦπὸ πλήθους 19 1; ἔρριμμένοι  
 ῦπὸ κόπου 28 5. with neuter  
 verb: μοχθηρῶς ῦπὸ τραυμάτων

καὶ φόβου διενυκτέρευσαν 21 3;  
 γενόμενοι ῦπὸ τούτου προθυμοτε-  
 ροι 27 8; 35 5; 36 4. with  
 verbal substantive: φόνος ῦπ'  
 ἀλλήλων 18 1; μεταβολὴ φύσεως  
 ῦπὸ τύχης 30 5. with verbal  
 adjective: 22 4. *B. c. dat.*  
*sub*: τοὺς ῦπ' ἄλλοις ταπτομένους  
 12 9; τοὺς ῦφ' αὐτῷ *ib.*; ῦπὸ  
 σάλπιγγι (more commonly ῦπὸ  
 σαλπίγγων) 14 3. *C. c. acc.*  
*I of place, sub*: 'close to',  
 with the idea of subadjacency,  
 which sometimes disappears, 15  
 3; 16 7; 17 3; ῦπὸ αὐτὸ τὸ ρέυ-  
 μα τοῦ Μόλου καὶ Θουρίου νεῶς  
 Ἀπόλλωνος 17 4; 20 4. *II of*  
*time*: 'just about': ῦπὸ τὰς  
 ἡμέρας ἐκείνας 11 1; ῦπὸ τροπὰς  
 θερινὰς 20 4  
 ῦπογράφεσθαι (*MED.*): τὸ ἐπι-  
 γραμμα ῦπογραψάμενον 38 4  
 ῦποδέχεσθαι, *excipere, hospitio*  
*vel urbe recipere*: ῦποδεξάμε-  
 νος καὶ φιλοφρονηθεὶς 3 1; 31 4  
 ῦποδύεσθαι, *subire*: τὸν μέγι-  
 στον ῦπέδῳ κίνδυνον 3 2  
 ῦπόθεσις, ἡ, *materia, occasio*,  
 'ground', 'occasion': ἐχθρὰ βρα-  
 χεῖαν λαβοῦσα τὴν πρώτην ῦπό-  
 θεσιν καὶ ἀρχὴν 4 4; στάσις και-  
 νὴν ῦπόθεσιν λαβοῦσα 6 1; πρὸς  
 τὰς τῆς τέχνης ῦποθέσεις (*se-*  
*cundum artis suae instituta*) 5 6  
 ῦποκάτω, *infra*: τῶν ῦποκά-  
 τω ('the lower rooms') 1 4  
 ῦποκεισθαι<sup>2</sup>, *de eo quod*  
*praesens est: ῦποκειμένης*  
*(insitae) ἀποκάλυψις κακίας* 30 5  
 [Wytenb. ad Eunap. Vol. 2 p. 168  
 sq. —'Dicuntur τὰ ῦποκείμενα *res*  
*praesentes, quas iam habuimus et*  
*nunc habemus, nec aliuunde modo ac-*  
*cepimus. Huc pertinet Polybii con-*  
*suetudo in hoc vocabulo, de qua mo-*  
*nuit Casaubonus ad 1 19 (f. p. 841). Cf.*  
*Plut. Philop. comp. c. Tit. c. 2 Τίτος*  
*ἐξ ῦποκειμένων ἐνίκα, de aud. poet.*  
*p. 20 B παιδεύοντες ἐξ ῦπ., de san.*  
*tuend. p. 134 c τὰ ῦποκείμενα ea*  
*quae adsunt, de Pyth. orac. p. 406 B*  
*χρηται τῇ ῦποκειμένη δυνάμει (uti-*  
*tur propria facultate), reip. ger.*

praec. p. 799 B τοῖς ὑπ. ἤθεσιν εὐάρμοστον εἶναι (*se ad mores praesentes civium accommodare*); vit. Alex. I διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑ. πράξεων, comp. Sol. et Public. c. 4 δεῖ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς τὰς πράξεις θεωρεῖν]

ὑποκεκνισμένος (ὑποκνίζεσθαι *titillari*): 35 5

ὑπολαμβάνειν, *respondere*: ὑπολαβῶν 22 3; 24 2; 31 2

ὑπομένειν, abs. *subsistere, manere, non decedere*, 'to stand one's ground': 18 1. c. acc. rei, *subire*: οὐχ ὑπομένεις τὸ ἀσχρόν 22 4. c. infin. *posse, sustinere*, 'to submit', 'bear' to do a thing: μήτε τῆς πατρίδος ἀμελεῖν ὑπομένοντι 22 2

ὑπόμνημα, τό, 1. *monumentum*: PL. ὑπομνήματα τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ὀλέθρου πολλὰ δρῶσιν 14 8. 2. *commentarii rerum gestarum*: 6 6; 14 2, 6; 17 1; 23 3

ὑπόνομος, ὁ, *cuniculus, via subterranea et occulta*: 32 1

ὑποπέμπειν, *clam mittere*: 35 5

ὑποστρέφειν, *reverti*: ὑποστρέψας 20 3

ὑπόσχεσις, ἡ, *promissio*: 28 2

ὑποφέρειν, *ferre, sustinere*: τῶν τὰ σημεῖα δοράτων ὑποφερόντων 7 2

ὑποχείριος, ἰα, ἰον, *qui sui copiam facit, qui in alicuius potestate est*: πρὸς πᾶσαν ἔντευξιν ὑποχείριος 2 3; ᾧ ὑποχείριον δοὺς ἑαυτὸν 10 1

ὑποχωρεῖν, *cedere*: 11 4

ὑσσός<sup>3</sup>, ὁ, *pilum*: 18 4; 28 6.

[This is the word which Camerarius would substitute for ὑσώπη in St John's Gospel xix 29. See Cobet *Collectanea critica*, p. 586.]

ὑστερος, α, ον, *posterior*: τῶν ὑ. 36 3. ὑστερον, *post, posthac*: 1 4. c. gen. ὑ. τῆς τῶν πατέρων τελευτῆς γενομένους 37 4

ὑφιέναι: MED. ὑφιέσθαι τινί

τινος πρὸς τι (*alicui in aliqua re cedere*): ὑφιέμενον τῆς πικρίας λογισμῶ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον 6 8; ὑφέσθαι τῆς χώρας (*loco cedere*) 14 2

ὑφίστασθαι (MED.) *suscipere, promittere*: ὑφιστάμενοι ἐκκόψειν 17 6. *stare et sustinere impetum*: ὑπέστησαν 28 7

ὑφοράσθαι, *metuere, suspirari*: 7 5

Φ

φάλαγξ, ἡ, *acies, de legionibus Romanorum*: συνέταττε τὴν φ. 17 7; ἀπορηγνύμενος τῆς φ. 19 1; τῇ φ. φύρδην ἐμπεσόντες 18 2; τὴν φ. διατηρεῖν ἐν τάξει 18 4

φάσαι: τί φατε; 23 3; ἔφησεν 16 6; φήσας 32 1; φήσαντος 24 3

φαῦστος<sup>4</sup>, *faustus*: 34 3

φείδεσθαι, *parcere*: ἐφείσατο (sub. αὐτοῦ), ('he spared his life') 10 2; μηδενὸς ἀναλώματος φεισάμενος 35 2

φέρειν: μεγάλην δυστυχίαν φέρονσαν 28 4; πρῶτος φέροντος τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀδικημάτων 6 8. intrans. φέρειν βαρέως (*graviter ferre*) 16 3. *pendere,olvere*, 'to pay': φέροντες ἐνοίκιον 1 2.

PASS. φέρεσθαι χαμάζε (*in terram delabi*) 11 1; τῆς κραυγῆς διχόθεν φερομένης 19 2; 30 3. *ruere*: δίκην ῥέματος φερόμεν ἡ 14 4; 18 1. 'to pass current': πίνακας τοὺς νῦν φερόμενους 26 1

φήλιξ<sup>4</sup>, *felix*: 34 2

φήμη, ἡ, *vox audita*: φῆμαι (*sortes oraculi*) 17 1

φθάνειν, *occipere, praevenire*, 'to be beforehand': c. acc. pers. φθῆναι τὸν Γαββίον 16 8.

c. partic. φθῆναι καταλαβὼν τὸν τόπον 16 7; ἔφθη παρενεχθεῖς 29 5. ἔφθη τὸ σῶμα συγκομισθέν 38 3. c. inf.:

φθάσαντος διαφυγῆν (rare) 9 1.  
[Cf. Brut. c. 15 παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸ  
δωμάτιον οὐκ ἔφθη, c. 41 ὀλίγοι  
ἔφθασαν ἀκούσαι]

φθέγγεσθαι, *vocem emittere,*  
*sonum edere*: ἀκούσαι φθεγγο-  
μένης κιθάρας 12 5; φθεγγαμέ-  
νου οὐδὲν συντεῶς 27 2

φθείρ, ὁ, *pediculus*: τὴν σάρκα  
εἰς φθεῖρας μετέβαλε πᾶσαν 36 2

φθειριάν, *morbo pediculari la-*  
*borare*: φθειριάσαντα τελευ-  
τῆσαι 36 3

φθειρίασις, ἡ, *morbus pedicu-*  
*laris*: 36 4

φθῆναι (φθάνειν): 6 7

φθόγγος, ὁ, *sonus*: 7 3

φθονεῖσθαι, *invidiam sibi con-*  
*flare*: 4 1

φθορά, ἡ, *clades*: 14 5. *ta-*  
*bles*: 36 2

φιλανθρωπία, ἡ, *humanitas*:  
31 4

φιλάνθρωπος, ον, *humanus,*  
*benignus*: 14 4

φιληδονία<sup>1</sup>, ἡ, *propensio ad*  
*voluptates*: 2 3

φιλόγελως, ὁ, ἡ, *ad risum pro-*  
*pensus*: 30 5

φιλόλογος<sup>2</sup>, ον, *doctus, erudi-*  
*tus, studiosus*, 'literary': 26 2

φιλομαθεῖν, *discendi studiosum*  
*esse*: φιλομαθῆσων 13 4

φιλόνεικος, ον (al. φιλόνικος:  
v. Liddell-Scott s.v.), 'ambitious':  
15 3

φιλοσκώμμων, ὁ, ἡ, *dicax*: 2 2

φιλοτιμία, ἡ, 'ostentation':  
6 1

φιλότιμος, ον, *gloriae cupidus*:  
5 5; 6 3

φιλοφρονεῖσθαι: ὑποδεξάμενος  
τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ φιλοφρονη-  
θεῖς 3 1

φοβερός, ἄ, ὄν, *terribilis*: φο-  
βερωτέραν προσιδεῖν 2 1

φονεύς, ὁ, *percussor, homicida*:  
τῷ φ. τῆς πατρίδος 32 1

φονικός, ἡ, ὄν: τὰ φονικά  
33 1

φόνος, ὁ, *sanguis*: 14 4.

*caedes*: 18 1; 28 7. PL. φόνων  
οὐτ' ἀριθμὸν οὐθ' ὄρον ἐχόντων  
31 1

φορά<sup>2</sup>, ἡ, *impetus, vehementia*:  
27 5

φόρημα, τό, *ferculum*: 38 2  
φορολογεῖν<sup>1</sup> τινα, *tributum*  
*exigere ab aliquo*: 24 4

φορτικός, ἡ, ὄν, *arrogans*: 5 5  
φροντίζειν: c. gen. pers. *ra-*  
*tionem alicuius habere*: τῶν ἐγκα-

λούντων οὐδὲν ἐφρόντιζεν 6 9.

c. acc. rei *scrutari, inves-*  
*tigare, studiose curare*: 7 4

φρούριον, τό, *castellum*: 15 4

φύειν, *gignere*. PASS. *pro-*  
*venire, nasci*: τὸ περὶ τὴν ἀκρό-

πολιὸν φυόμενον παρθένιον 13 2;  
τὰ φύόμενα 20 4. *natura*

*comparatum esse*: 'to be so and  
so by nature': πρὸς τύχην εὖ

πεφυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς πόλε-

μον 6 5; ὑφ' ὧν τὰ ἀναδέστατα  
πάθη κινεῖσθαι πέφυκε 35 5

φυλάττειν, *custodire*: τὰ χρή-

ματα φυλάξιν ἀσφαλέστερον  
12 4. met. *lueri, integrum*

*servare*: φυλάττοντι τὴν πρὸς  
ἐκείνον εὐνοίαν 10 3. MED.

*cavere, declinare*: 4 4; φυλάξ-

ασθαι τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν 28 4.

PASS. φυλάττεσθαι *in*  
*custodia haberi*: 9 3

φύρδην, *promiscue*, 'pell-

mell': 18 2

φύσις, ἡ, *natura*, 'natural po-

sition': 16 1. *indoles*, 'natu-

ral disposition': 30 4, 5; φύσει

φιλοσκώμμονα γεγόνενα 2 2

φωναίσις, εσσα, εν, *vocalis*: 7 5

φωνή, ἡ, *vox*: τὴν φ. συνε-  
τέλει 28 6; ἑτέρας φ. ἀφήσει 23 4

## X

χαιρείν, *gaudere*: χαιρόντος  
) (χαλεπαίνοντος 12 6; ἀπιέναι  
χαιρόντας 26 4. χαιρείν εἶν,

*missum facere, non iam curare:*  
10 4

Cf. Mar. 29 μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας τοῖς νεανειυθείσιν, Luc. 21 ἐρρωσθαι φράσας πολλὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις.

**χαλεπαίνειν**, *succensere:* 12 5; χαλεπήνας 23 3; χαλεπαίνων πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας 6 3. Cf. Xen. Mem. 2, 2, 1 πρὸς τὴν μητέρα χαλεπαίνοντα.

**χαλεπός**, ἡ, ὄν, *difficilis, acerbis:* ἀπ' ἀρχῆς χ. ὦν 30 4; χ. ὀργὴν (*iracundus*) 6 8

**χάλκασπις**, ὁ, ἡ, *acneo scuto armatus.* PL. οἱ χαλκασπίδες, a corps in the army of Mithridates, 16 7; 19 2

**χαλκήρης**, *es, rostro aeneo armatus:* 22 5

**χαμάζει**, *in terram:* 10 4; 11 1

**χαμαί**, *humi:* 28 7

**χάραξ**<sup>2</sup>, ὁ, *castra munita*, 'a palisaded camp': 16 3; 21 3; 28 2; τὸν χάρακα βάλλειν 28 6

**χαρίεις**, *εσσα, εν, elegans, lepidus:* οἱ χαρίεντες, 'men of culture', 'men of education': 26 2

**χαρίζεσθαι**, *gratificari:* τῶ Σύλλα χαρίζόμενος 6 1; ἐφιέντος καὶ χαρίζομένου τοῖς περὶ αὐτόν 31 1; 34 4; ἀφελέσθαι πολλά, χαρίσασθαι πλείονα 6 7; 33 1

**χάρις**, ἡ, *gratia:* χάριτι καὶ δεήσει 38 1; χάριν εἶδέναι σωτηρίας 32 1; τούτου χάριν ἐκτίνων 32 2

**χάσμα** (χαίνειν), τό, *hiatus:* χ. τῆς γῆς μέγα 6 6

**χαύνος**, ἡ, ὄν, *inflatus, arrogans:* 30 5

**χείρ**, ἡ, *manus:* ἐκ χειρός, *cominus* 21 3; ἐν χερσὶν ἦσαν τῶν πολεμίων 28 6. *manus, vis*, 'a band', esp. of soldiers: χεῖρα πολλὴν ἀθροίσας 29 1. See lex. to Xen. Oecon. s. v. p. 165<sup>b</sup>

**χειροῦσθαι**, *subigere:* 11 3

**χιλιαρχεῖν**<sup>3</sup>, *tribunum esse militum:* 4 1

**χιλιάρχος**<sup>3</sup>, ου, *tribunus militum:* 4 1; 8 4

**χορηγεῖν**. PASS. ἐχορηγεῖτο 12 2 v. n.

**χρεμετισμός**, ὁ, *hiuuitus:* 27 2

**χρήμα**, τό, *res quam quis habet sibi utilem:* in magnitudine v. vehementia dictum: τὸ χρήμα τυραννίδος 30 4. PL.

**χρήματα**, 'property': 19 6; 22 3; 27 3; 31 4. *largitiones:* 5 2

**χρηματίζειν**<sup>2</sup>, *intromittere quem audiendum, audientiam facere, respondere legatis v. consulentibus:* 5 4; 34 2

Cf. Plut. Erot. c. 9 de Semiramide ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ καθεζομένην, ἔχουσαν τὸ διαδῆμα καὶ χρηματίζουσαν: Wyttenbach ad Plut. p. 125 B.

**χρηῖσθαι**, *uti:* ἐχρηῖτο (αὐτῶ) πρὸς τὰς στρατείας 4 1; καιρῶ παραπεσόντι χρησάμενος εὖ 3 1; κόμπῳ χρώμενος 6 4; τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἀνδράσι χρωμένων παρανόμως 22 1; ἐχρηῖτο τοῖς θερμοῖς ὕδασι 26 3. *experiri:*

χρησάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμοις 5 3; ὡς προθυμότεροι χρήσοιτο αὐτοῖς 6 9; 16 7. **χρηῖσθαι** τινι τι: 'to employ one for any purpose': 2 3 v. n.

**χρηστός**, ἡ, ὄν, *probus:* 1 2; ἀπ' οὐδενὸς χρηστοῦ γνῶριμον 36 4. *boni ominis:* 17 1

**χρόα**, ἡ, *color*, 'the complexion': ἡ χ. (τοῦ προσώπου) 2 1

**χρόνος**, ὁ, *tempus:* ὀλίγου χ. 22 1 (G. § 179, 1)

**χρονοτριβεῖν**<sup>1</sup>, c. acc. *prodicere*, 'to prolong': χ. τὸν πόλεμον 15 1 (ubi v. χρόνῳ τρίβειν)

**χρυσούς**, ᾶ, οὖν, *aureus:* χρυσοῦν ἀγαλμάτιον 29 6

**χρυσωπός**, ὄν<sup>2</sup>, *auri colorem habens:* τὸ περὶ τὴν κόμην χ. 6 7

**χώρα**, ἡ, *ager.* PL. ἐθνῶν χῶ-

pas 33 2. *sedes* (in spectaculis): 35 4

χωρεῖν, *ire, peregrare*, 'to advance': χ. ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν 9 5; ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τοῦ πρόσω χωρεῖν 9 6; ἐχώρει ἐπὶ Ῥώμην 29 2. *procedere*, 'to go on and on', 'to continue': ἐχθρὰ χωροῦσα δι' αἵματος ἐμφυλίου 4 4.

*cedere*, 'to turn out', 'come to a certain issue': στρατείας εὐ κεχωρηκέναι δοκοῦσης 6 3

χωρίον, τό, *locus*: 30 3. *ager, praedium*: 31 6

χωρίτης<sup>5</sup>, ὁ, *rusticanus*: 7 6

## Ψ

ψέλλισμός, ὁ, *balbuties*: ποδάγρας ψέλλισμόν 26 3

ψεύδσθαι, *illudere*: 15 3

ψηφίζεσθαι, *decernere*: τῆς βουλῆς ψηφισαμένης 9 5. c. dupl. acc. ἐκείνον σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίων ψηφίζεσθαι 22 5. PASS. τὸν ἐψηφισμένον ἐκείνω πόλεμον 11 5; ἐψηφίσθη αὐτῷ ἄδεια 33 1

ψιλός, ἡ, ὄν, *nudus*: οἱ ψιλοὶ *militēs levis armaturae*: 17 7

ψυχή, ἡ, *ingenium*: τὰς ψ. βασιλικοὶ 12 7

## Ω

ώθειν, *trudere*: ὠθοῦντες ἀλλήλους 18 1; ὦσειεν 21 1. PASS. *rueere ita ut alter alterum irgeat*: ὠθουμένοις ἐπ' αὐτῆν sc. τὴν ἄκραν 16 7; ὠθεῖτο διὰ τῶν φυγόντων εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους 21 2; ὠσάμενοι πρὸς τὸ φίλιον στρατόπεδον 18 2; πολλῶν ὠσαμένων ἐκεῖ 29 8

[The syllabic augment is not often omitted in Attic Greek; more frequently in later Greek. Thucydides, however, 2, 84, 2 has διωθοῦντο.]

ὠμότης, ἡ, *crudelitas*: 8 1; 13 1 ὠνεῖσθαι, *emere*: ὠνούμενοι τοὺς πόνους 12 8

ὠνησε (ὄνινάναι) 16 4

ὠνιος, ια, ιων, *venalis*: 12 8; 13 2

ὠρα, ἡ, *A. de diei tempore*: τῆς αὐτῆς ὥρας 14 7; ἐνάτης ὥρας 38 2; ὠραν δεκάτην 29 4. *B. ὠρα (ἔστιν) c. inf.* 'tis time': ὠρα μὴ καθεῦδειν 34 5

ὠς, *A. as relative*: *ut*, 'as', preceded by demonstrative adverb as correlative, οὕτως—ὠς 6 8; without correlative, 23 1; 34 3; with genitive, ὠς ἕκαστος εἶχεν εὐπορίας 27 3. οὐχ (οὕτως)—ὠς, 'not so much—as', 34 3. consecutive for ὥστε 7 4. *B. as conjunction*:—

*I* declarative in objective sentences = *ἵτι* quod: εἰπόντος ὠς χρήσεται 5 2, 6; πυθόμενος ὠς ἐξ' Ἀλῶν εἶεν 26 3; νοῆσαι ὠς γέγονεν 30 4. *C.* (1) with participles to mark the mental attitude of the subject or object of the sentence: 5 1; 6 3; 9 4; 12 5; 14 1, 4; 21 4; 23 2; 25 1; 28 4; 29 2, 3, 8; 30 5; 32 1.

c. partic. fut. 5 1; 10 2; 16 3; 17 6; 19 1, 2; 20 1; 28 6; 29 5. without participle, 4 4

(2) in connexion with prepositions: ἐξελθόντας ὠς ἐπὶ μάχην (= ὠς μαχομένους) 23 4.

as preposit. itself, where the object is a person: ἀχθέντα ὠς Σύλλαν 27 2. (3) temporal;

*ut* 'when'; ὠς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα 9 1; ὠς ἐνίκησε τοὺς πολεμίους 30 1; 32 4

ὠσειεν (ὠθεῖν): 21 1

ὠσπερ, 'as': 34 3; 'as if' c. partic. 22 4; 'as it were': 34 5

ὥστε, *A. as subordinate conjunction with infinitive to express result, effect*: preceded by οὕτως 22 2; 33 2; without correlative 30 5. *B. coordinate conj. with indic.* 'and so': 16 4

ὥφθη (ὄρᾶν): 27 4; 29 3

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*Athenaeum*, Oct. 3, 1885.

## Notices of the Press

“Dr Holden’s edition of *Plutarch’s Gracchi* has all the excellences that mark the work of this unwearied scholar. He has chosen these two lives because of the momentous problems involved, and because Plutarch, as he thinks, is seen here at his best. An elaborate introduction enables the student to understand the movement of the times, and the commentary and lexical index provide everything that can be reasonably desired for the elucidation of the text and the guidance of the young Grecian through the peculiarities of Plutarch’s grammar and vocabulary. Goodwin is the standard of reference, but Hadley-Allen is also cited at times with advantage. The mechanical execution is beautiful as is to be expected of the Pitt Press.”

*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. vi. p. 265, July 1885.

After speaking of the Edition of *Plutarch’s Life of Themistocles* thus:—“Das sehr schön ausgestattete Buch bietet . . . manches, was die sachliche Erklärung und was den Sprachgebrauch des Plutarch betrifft. Die grammatischen Noten sind für Schüler von sehr geringen Vorkenntnissen berechnet und machen, wie die häufig beigefügte Uebersetzung, alles möglichst mundgerecht. Die syntaktische Erklärung steht vielfach auf einem veralteten Standpunkt. Damit glauben wir den Werth dieser Ausgabe hinreichend gekennzeichnet zu haben. In ganz gleicher Weise hat H. A. Holden die Biographien der Gracchen bearbeitet: *Plutarch’s Lives of the Gracchi* Cambridge University Press 1885, kl. 8, S. 260. Diese Ausgabe enthält eine ausführliche Einleitung, in welcher das Leben und die Zeit der Gracchen behandelt sind, und dann einen vollständigen Wortindex, der wie ein Wörterbuch und zwar recht genau bearbeitet ist.”

*Philologische Zeitschriften*, Aug. 1885.

“The fertility of Dr Holden’s scholarship is very far removed from the self-advertising efforts of ordinary book-making schoolmasters. The frequent appearance of his classical editions is only due to his laudable anxiety that the accumulated fruits of a life well spent in critical research shall not be allowed to waste or perish. His edition of *Plutarch’s Lives of the Gracchi* is distinguished by the same high merits, as those which have been noticed in his other recent work (*Xenophon’s Oeconomicus*). The scholarship is as sound as ever and the archaeology as exhaustive. . . . In the note on *γαγανωμένος* he tracks out the course of usage in different authors, and on *ἀπογυγνώσκειν* he writes a little essay which is so well arranged and digested that it makes easy reading, in spite of (or perhaps by virtue of) the compact mass of information which it contains. Dr Holden’s facility of imparting a living interest to the dry bones of scholarship is even better illustrated in his treatment of the difficult word *λάμυρος*. One secret of his success is that he quotes the always skilfully selected passages at sufficient length for the reader to retain in his mind the associated ideas. On the constitutional points involved in the history of the Gracchan period he states his views with commendable perspicacity. . . . His examination of the principal sources of information upon the Gracchan period leaves nothing to be desired. . . . He is careful to note any divergence which has been detected between Plutarch and other writers. . . . Upon the minor points of archaeology which present themselves Dr Holden gives us full information.”

*Saturday Review*, Feb. 13, 1886.

“Dr Holden has done before now a great deal of first-class work as an Editor, both in Latin and Greek; but we feel ourselves quite safe in saying that the present volume ranks with the best of its predecessors.”

*Dublin Evening Mail*.

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