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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

Translated from the Greek

WITH

NOTES AND A LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

BY

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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LIFE OF NIKIAS.

As it appears to me that the life of Nikias forms a good parallel to that of Crassus, and that the misfortunes of the former in Sicily may be well compared with those of the latter in Parthia, I must beg of my readers to believe that in writing upon a subject which has been described by Thucydides with inimitable grace, clearness, and pathos, I have no ambition to imitate Timæus, who, when writing his history, hoped to surpass Thucydides himself in eloquence, and to show that Philistius was but an ignorant bungler, and so plunges into an account of the speeches and battles of his heroes, proving himself not merely one

> "Who toils on foot afar
> Behind the Lydian car,"

as Pindar has it, but altogether unfit for the office of historian, and, in the words of Diphilus,

> "Dull-witted, with Sicilian fat for brains."

He often seeks to shelter himself behind the opinions of Xenarchus, as when he tells us that the Athenians thought it a bad omen that the general whose name was Victory refused to command the expedition to Sicily; and when he says that by the mutilation of the Hennas the gods signified that the Athenians would suffer their chief disasters at the hands of Hermokrates the son of Hermon; or, again, when he observes that Herakles might be expected to take the side of the Syracusans because of Proserpine, the daughter of Demeter, who gave him the dog Kerberus, and to be angry with the Athenians because they protected the people of Egesta, who were [Pg 2] descended from the Trojans, whereas he had been wronged by Laomedon, king of Troy, and had destroyed that city. Timæus was probably led to write this sort of nonsense by the same critical literary spirit which led him to correct the style of Philistius, and to find fault with that of Aristotle and Plato. My own opinion is that to pay too much attention to mere style and to endeavour to surpass that of other writers, is both trifling and pedantic, while any attempt to reproduce that of the unapproachable masterpieces of antiquity springs from a want of power to appreciate their real value. With regard, then, to the actions of Nikias described by Thucydides and Philistius, more especially those which illustrate his true character, having been performed under the stress of terrible disasters, I shall briefly recapitulate them, lest I be thought a careless biographer, adding to them whatever scattered notices I have been able to collect from the writings of other historians and from public documents and inscriptions; and of these latter I shall quote only those which enable us to judge what manner of man he was.

II. The first thing to be noted in describing Nikias is the saying of Aristotle, that there had been in Athens three citizens of great ability and patriotism, namely, Nikias, the son of Nikeratus, Thucydides, the son of Melesias, and Theramenes, the son of Hagnon; though the latter was not equal to the two former, but was reproached with being a foreigner from the island of Keos; and, also, because he was not a stable politician but always inclined to change sides, he was nicknamed Kothornos, which means a large boot which will fit either leg. Of these three statesmen the eldest was Thucydides, who was the leader of the conservative opposition to Perikles; while Nikias, who was a younger man, rose to a certain eminence during the life of Perikles, as he acted as his colleague in the command of a military force, and also filled the office of archon. On the death of Perikles, Nikias at once became the foremost man in Athens, chiefly by the favour of the rich and noble, who wished to make use of him to check the plebeian insolence of Kleon; yet Nikias had the good-will of the common people, and they were eager to further his [Pg 3] interests. Kleon, indeed, became very powerful by caressing the people and giving them opportunities for earning money from the State, but in spite of this, many of the lower classes whose favour he especially strove to obtain, became disgusted with, his greed and insolence, and preferred to attach themselves to Nikias. Indeed, there was nothing harsh or overbearing in the pride of Nikias, which arose chiefly from his fear of being thought to be currying favour with the people. By nature he was downhearted and prone to despair, but in war these qualities were concealed by his invariable success in whatever enterprise he undertook; while in political life his retiring manner and his dread of the vulgar demagogues, by whom he was easily put out of countenance, added to his popularity; for the people fear those who treat them with haughtiness, and favour those who respect and fear them. The reason of this is that the greatest honour which the populace can receive from a great man is not to be treated with contempt by him.

III. Perikles, indeed, used to govern Athens by sheer force of character and eloquence, and required no tricks of manner or plausible speeches to gain him credit with the populace; but

Nikias had no natural gifts of this sort, and owed his position merely to his wealth. As he could not vie with Kleon in the versatile and humorous power of speech by which the latter swayed the Athenian masses, he endeavoured to gain the favour of the people by supplying choruses for the public dramatic performances and instituting athletic sports on a scale of lavish expenditure which never before had been equalled by any citizen. The statue of Pallas, erected by him in the Acropolis, is standing at this day, although it has lost the gold with which it was formerly adorned, and also the building which supports the choragic tripods in the temple of Dionysus, for he often gained a victory when choragus, and never was vanquished.

It is said that once during the performance of a play at his expense, a slave of his appeared upon the stage habited as Dionysus; a tall and handsome youth, and still beardless. The Athenians were charmed with his appearance, and applauded for a long time, at the end of which Nikias [Pg 4] rose and said that he did not think it right that one whose body was thus consecrated to a god should be a slave; and consequently he gave him his freedom. Tradition also tells us how magnificently and decorously he arranged the procession at Delos. In former times the choruses sent by the cities of Ionia to sing to the glory of the god used to sail up to the island in a disorderly fashion, and were at once met by a rude mob, who called upon, them to sing, so that they disembarked in a hurry, huddling on their garlands and robes with unseemly haste and confusion. Nikias disembarked with his chorus upon the little island of Rhenea close by, with all their vestments and holy things, and then during the night bridged the strait—which is very narrow—with a bridge of boats which he had had made at Athens expressly, which was beautifully ornamented with gilding and rich tapestry. Next morning at daybreak, he led the procession to the god over this bridge, with his chorus very richly dressed, and singing as they passed over the strait. After the sacrifice, the public games, and the banquet, he set up the brazen palm-tree as an offering to the god, and also set apart an estate which he had bought for ten thousand drachmas, as sacred to the god. With the revenues of this land the people of Delos were to offer sacrifice and to provide themselves with a feast, and were to pray the gods to bestow blessings on Nikias. All these injunctions to the people of Delos were inscribed upon a pillar which he left there to guard his bequest. The palm-tree was afterwards overturned by a high wind, and in its fall destroyed the great statue which had been set up by the people of Naxos.

IV. These acts of Nikias may have been prompted by ambition and desire for display, but when viewed in connection with his superstitious character they seem more probably to have been the outcome of his devotional feelings; for we are told by Thucydides that he was one who stood greatly in awe of the gods, and was wholly devoted to religion. In one of the dialogues of Pasiphon, we read that he offered sacrifice daily, and that he kept a soothsayer in his house, whom he pretended to consult upon affairs of state, but really sought his advice about his own [Pg 5] private concerns, especially about his silver mines. He had extensive mines at Laurium, the working of which afforded him very large profits, but yet was attended with great risks. He maintained a large body of slaves at the works; and most of his property consisted of the silver produced by them. For this reason he was surrounded by hangers-on, and persons who endeavoured to obtain a share of his wealth, and he gave money to all alike, both to those who might do him harm, and to those who really deserved his liberality, for he gave to bad men through fear, and to good men through good nature. We may find proof of this in the writings of the comic poets. Telekleides, speaking of some informer, says:

> "Charikles a mina gave him, fearing he might say
> Charikles himself was born in a suspicious way;
> And Nikias five minas gave. Now, what his reasons were
> I know full well, but will not tell, for he's a trusty fere."

Eupolis, too, in his comedy of Marikas has a scene where an informer meets with a poor man who is no politician, and says:

> "A. Say where you last with Nikias did meet.
> B. Never. Save once I saw him in the street.
> A. He owns he saw him. Wherefore should he say
> He saw him, if he meant not to betray
> His crimes?
> C. My friends, you all perceive the fact,
> That Nikias is taken in the act.
> B. Think you, O fools, that such a man as he
> In any wicked act would taken be."

Just so does Kleon threaten him in Aristophanes's play:

> "The orators I'll silence, and make Nikias afraid."

Phrynichus, too, sneers at his cowardice and fear of the popular demagogues, when he says:

> "An honest citizen indeed he was,
> And not a coward like to Nikias."

V. Nikias feared so much to give the mob orators grounds for accusation against him, that he dared not so much as dine with his follow citizens, and pass his time in their society. Nor did he have any leisure at all for such amusements, but when general, he used to spend the whole day in [Pg 6]

the War office, and when the Senate met he would be the first to come to the house and the last to leave it. When there was no public business to be transacted, he was hard to meet with, as he shut himself up in his house and seldom stirred abroad. His friends used to tell those who came to his door that they must pardon him for not receiving them, as he was not at leisure, being engaged on public business of great importance. One Hieron, whom he had brought up in his house and educated, assisted him greatly in throwing this air of mystery and haughty exclusiveness over his life. This man gave out that he was the son of Dionysius, called Chalkus, whose poems are still extant, and who was the leader of the expedition to Italy to found the city of Thurii. Hiero used to keep Nikias supplied with prophetic responses from the soothsayers, and gave out to the Athenians that Nikias was toiling night and day on their behalf, saying that when he was in his bath or at his dinner he was constantly being interrupted by some important public business or other, so that, said he, "His night's rest is broken by his labours, and his private affairs are neglected through his devotion to those of the public. He has injured his health, and besides losing his fortune, has been deserted by many of his friends on account of his not being able to entertain them and make himself agreeable to them; while other men find in politics a means of obtaining both friends and fortune, at the expense of the state." In very truth the life of Nikias was such that he might well apply to himself the words of Agamemnon.

> "In outward show and stately pomp all others I exceed,
> And yet the people's underling I am in very deed."

VI. Perceiving that the Athenian people were willing enough to make use of the talents of men of ability, and yet ever viewed them with suspicion and checked them when in full career, as we may learn from their condemnation of Perikles, their banishment of Damon by ostracism, and their mistrust of Antiphon the Rhamnusian, and especially in their treatment of Paches the conqueror of Lesbos, who while his conduct as general was being enquired into, stabbed himself [Pg 7] in the open court—perceiving this, Nikias always avoided, as far as he could, taking the command in any important military expedition. Whenever he was employed as general, he acted with extreme caution, and was usually successful. He was careful to attribute his success, not to any skill or courage of his own, but to fortune, being willing to lessen his glory to avoid the ill-will of mankind. His good fortune was indeed shown in many remarkable instances: for example, he never was present at any of the great defeats sustained by the Athenians at that time, as in Thrace they were defeated by the Greeks of Chalkidike, but on that occasion Kalliades and Xenophon were acting as generals, while the defeat in Ætolia took place when Demosthenes was in command, and at Delium, where a thousand men were slain, they were led by Hippokrates. For the pestilence Perikles was chiefly blamed, because he shut up the country people in the city, where the change of habits and unusual diet produced disease among them. In all these disasters Nikias alone escaped censure: while he achieved several military successes, such as the capture of Kythera, an island conveniently situated off the coast of Laconia, and inhabited by settlers from that country. He also captured several of the revolted cities in Thrace, and induced others to return to their allegiance. He shut up the people of Megara in their city, and thereby at once made himself master of the island of Minoa, by means of which he shortly afterwards captured the port of Nisæa, while he also landed his troops in the Corinthian territory, and beat a Corinthian army which marched against him, killing many of them, and amongst others Lykophron their general. On this occasion he accidentally neglected to bury the corpses of two of his own men who had fallen. As soon as he discovered this omission, he at once halted his army, and sent a herald to the enemy to demand the bodies for burial, notwithstanding that by Greek custom the party which after a battle demand a truce for the burial of the dead, are understood thereby to admit that they have been defeated, and it is not thought light for them to erect a trophy in commemoration of their victory; for the victors remain in possession of the field of [Pg 8] battle, and of the bodies of the dead, and the vanquished ask for their dead because they are not able to come and take them. Nevertheless, Nikias thought it right to forego all the credit of his victory rather than leave two of his countrymen unburied. He also laid waste the seaboard of Laconia, defeated a Lacedæmonian force which opposed him,and took Thyrea, which was garrisoned by Æginetans, whom he brought prisoners to Athens.

VII. Now when Demosthenes threw up a fortification at Pylos, and after the Peloponnesians had attacked him by sea and by land, some four hundred Spartans wore left on the island of Sphakteria, the Athenians thought that it was a matter of great importance, as indeed it was, to take them prisoners. Yet, as it proved laborious and difficult to blockade them on the island, because the place was desert and waterless, so that provisions had to be brought from a great distance by sea, which was troublesome enough in summer, and would be quite impossible in winter, they began to be weary of the enterprise, and were sorry that they had rejected the proposals for peace which had shortly before been made by the Tasmanians. These proposals were rejected chiefly because Kleon opposed them. Kleon's opposition was due to his personal dislike to Nikias; and when he saw him enthusiastically exerting himself on behalf of the Lacedæmonians, he at once took the other side, and persuaded the people to reject the proffered peace. Now as the blockade dragged on for a long time, and the Athenians learned to what straits their army was reduced, they became angry with Kleon. He threw the blame upon Nikias, asserting that it was through his remissness and want of enterprise that the Spartans still held out, and declaring that, were he himself in chief command they would soon be captured. Upon this the Athenians turned round upon him and said, "Why, then, do not you yourself proceed thither and capture them?" Nikias at once offered to transfer his command to Kleon, and bade him take what troops he thought necessary, and, instead of swaggering at home where there was no danger, go and perform some notable service to the state. At first Kleon was confused by this [Pg 9]

unexpected turn of the debate, and declined the command; but as the Athenians insisted upon it, and Nikias urged him to do so, he plucked up spirit, accepted the office of general, and even went so far as to pledge himself within twenty days either to kill the Spartans on the island or to bring them prisoners to Athens. The Athenians were more inclined to laugh at this boast than to believe it; for they were well acquainted with the vainglorious character of the man, and had often amused themselves at his expense. It is said that once the public assembly met early and sat for a long time waiting for Kleon, who came at last very late with a garland on his head, and begged them to put off their debate till the next day. "To-day," said he, "I am not at leisure, as I have just offered a sacrifice, and am about to entertain some strangers at dinner." The Athenians laughed at his assurance, and broke up the assembly.

VIII. However, on this occasion, by good fortune and good generalship, with the help of Demosthenes, he brought home prisoners all those Spartans who had not fallen in the battle, within the time which he had appointed. This was a great reproach to Nikias. It seemed worse even than losing his shield in battle that he should through sheer cowardice and fear of failure give up his office of general, and give his personal enemy such an opportunity of exalting himself at his expense, depriving himself voluntarily of his honourable charge. Aristophanes sneers at him in his play of the 'Birds,' where he says:

> "We must not now, like Nikias, delay,
> And see the time for action pass away."

And again in the play of the 'Farmers,' where this dialogue occurs:

> "A. I want to till my farm.
> B. And wherefore no?
> A. 'Tis you Athenians will not let me go;
> A thousand drachmas I would give, to be
> From office in the state for ever free.
> B. Your offer we accept. The state will have
> Two thousand, with what Nikias just gave."

Moreover, Nikias did Athens much harm by permitting Kleon to attain to such a height of power and reputation, which gave him such exaggerated confidence in himself that he grew quite unmanageable, and caused many terrible disasters, by which Nikias suffered as much as any man. Kleon also was the first to break through the decorum observed by former public speakers, by shouting, throwing back his cloak, slapping his thigh, and walking up and down while speaking, which led to the total disregard of decency and good manners among public speakers, and eventually was the ruin of the state. [Pg 10]

IX. About this time Alkibiades began to gain credit in Athens as a public speaker, less licentious than Kleon, and like the soil of Egypt described by Homer, which bears

> "A mingled crop of good and bad alike."

Thus Alkibiades, with immense powers both for good and evil, produced great changes in the affairs of Athens. Nikias, even if he had been freed from the opposition of Kleon, could not now have quietly consolidated the power of the state, for as soon as he had arranged matters in a fair way to produce peace and quiet, Alkibiades, to satisfy his own furious ambition, threw them again into confusion and war. This was brought about by the following circumstances. The two chief hindrances to peace were Kleon and Brasidas; as war concealed the baseness of the former, and added to the glory of the latter. Kleon was able to commit many crimes undetected, and Brasidas performed many great exploits while the war lasted; wherefore, when both of these men fell before the walls of Amphipolis, Nikias, perceiving that the Spartans had long been desirous of peace, and that the Athenians no longer hoped to gain anything by continuing the war, and that both parties were weary of it, began to consider how he might reconcile them, and also pacify all the other states of Greece, so as to establish peace upon a durable and prosperous basis. At Athens, the richer classes, the older men, and the country farmers all wished for peace. By constantly arguing with the others he gradually made them less eager for war, and at length was [Pg 11] able to intimate to the Spartans that there were good hopes of coming to terms. They willingly believed him because of his high character for probity, and more especially because he had shown great kindness to the Spartan prisoners taken at Pylos. A truce for one year had already been arranged between them, and during this they conversed freely with one another, and, enjoying a life of leisure and freedom from the restraints and alarms of war, began to long for an unbroken period of peace, and to sing:

> "My spear the spider's home shall be,"

remembering with pleasure the proverb that in time of peace men are awakened, not by trumpets, but by crowing cocks. They railed at those who said that it was fated that the war should last thrice nine years, and, having thus accustomed themselves to discuss the whole question, they proceeded to make peace, and thought that now they were indeed free from all their troubles. The name of Nikias was now in every man's mouth, and he was called the favourite of heaven, and the man chosen by the gods for his piety to confer the greatest of blessings upon the Greeks. For they regarded the peace as the work of Nikias, just as the war had been the work of Perikles. The latter, they thought, for no adequate reasons, had involved the Greeks in the greatest miseries, while the former had relieved them of their troubles by

persuading them to become friends. For this reason this peace is to this day called the peace of Nikias.

X. The terms of the peace were that each party should restore the cities and territory which it had taken, and that it should be determined by lot which side should restore its conquests first. We are told by Theophrastus that Nikias, by means of bribery, arranged that the lot should fall upon the Lacedæmonians to make restitution first. When, however, the Corinthians and Bœotians, dissatisfied with the whole transaction, seemed likely by their complaints and menaces to rekindle the war, Nikias induced Athens and Sparta to confirm the peace by entering upon an alliance, which enabled them to deal with the malcontents with more authority, and give them more confidence in one another. [Pg 12]

All these transactions greatly displeased Alkibiades, who was naturally disinclined to peace, and who hated the Lacedæmonians because they paid their court to Nikias and disregarded him. For this reason, Alkibiades from the very outset opposed the peace, but ineffectually at first. When, however, he observed that the Lacedæmonians were no longer regarded with favour by the Athenians, and were thought to have wronged them by forming an alliance with the Bœotians, and not restoring to Athens up the cities of Panaktus and Amphipolis, he seized the opportunity of exciting the people by exaggerated accounts of the misdeeds of the Lacedæmonians. Moreover he prevailed upon the people of Argos to send ambassadors to Athens to conclude an alliance. As, however, at the same time ambassadors, with full powers to settle all matters in dispute, came from Lacedæmon, and in a preliminary conference with the Senate were thought to have made very reasonable and just proposals, Alkibiades, fearing that they might create an equally favourable impression when they spoke before the popular assembly, deceived them by solemnly declaring with an oath that he would assist them in every way that he could, provided that they would deny that they came with full powers to decide, saying that by this means alone they would effect their purpose. The ambassadors were deceived by his protestations, and, forsaking Nikias, relied entirely upon him. Upon this Alkibiades brought them into the public assembly, and there asked them if they came with full powers to treat. When they said that they did not, he unexpectedly turned round upon them, and calling both the Senate and the people to witness their words, urged them to pay no attention to men who were such evident liars, and who said one thing in one+ assembly and the opposite in another. The ambassadors, as Alkibiades expected, were thunderstruck, and Nikias could say nothing on their behalf. The people at once called for the ambassadors from Argos to be brought before them, in order to contract an alliance with that city, but an earthquake which was felt at this moment greatly served Nikias's purpose [Pg 13] by causing the assembly to break up. With great difficulty, when the debate was resumed on the following day, he prevailed upon the people to break off the negotiations with Argos, and to send him as ambassador to Sparta, promising that he would bring matters to a prosperous issue. Accordingly he proceeded to Sparta, where he was treated with great respect as a man of eminence and a friend of the Lacedæmonians, but could effect nothing because of the preponderance of the party which inclined to the Bœotian alliance. He was therefore forced to return ingloriously, in great fear of the anger of the Athenians, who had been persuaded by him to deliver up so many and such important prisoners to the Lacedæmonians without receiving any equivalent. For the prisoners taken at Pylos were men of the first families in Sparta, and related to the most powerful statesmen there. The Athenians, however, did not show their dissatisfaction with Nikias by any harsh measures, but they elected Alkibiades general, and they entered into a treaty of alliance with the Argives, and also with the states of Elis and Mantinea, which had revolted from the Lacedæmonians, while they sent out privateers to Pylos to plunder the Lacedæmonian coasts in the neighbourhood of that fortress. These measures soon produced a renewal of the war.

XI. As the quarrel between Nikias and Alkibiades had now reached such a pitch, it was decided that the remedy of ostracism must be applied to them. By this from time to time the people of Athens were wont to banish for ten years any citizen whose renown or wealth rendered him dangerous to the state. Great excitement was caused by this measure, as one or the other must be utterly ruined by its application. The Athenians were disgusted by the licentiousness of Alkibiades, and feared his reckless daring, as has been explained at greater length in his Life, while Nikias was disliked because of his great wealth and his reserved and unpopular mode of life. Moreover he had frequently offended the people by acting in direct opposition to their wishes, forcing them in spite of themselves to do what was best for them. On the one side were arrayed the young men and those who wished for war, and on the other the older men and the [Pg 14] party of peace, who would be sure to vote respectively, one for the banishment of Nikias, the other for that of Alkibiades. Now

> "In revolutions bad men rise to fame,"

and it appears that the violence of these factions at Athens gave an opportunity for the lowest and basest citizens to gain reputation. Amongst these was one Hyperbolus, of the township of Peirithois, a man of no ability or power, but who owed his elevation to sheer audacity, and whose influence was felt to be a disgrace to Athens. This man, who never dreamed that ostracism would be applied to him, as the pillory would have been more suitable to his deserts, openly showed his delight at the discord between Nikias and Alkibiades, and excited the people to deal severely with them, because he hoped that if one of them were to be banished, he might succeed to his place, and become a match for the one who was left behind. But the parties which supported Nikias and Alkibiades respectively made a secret compact with one another to suppress this villain, and so arranged matters that neither of their leaders, but Hyperbolus himself was

banished by ostracism for ten years. This transaction delighted and amused the people for the moment, but they were afterwards grieved that they had abused this safeguard of their constitution by applying it to an unworthy object, as there was a kind of dignity about the punishment which they had inflicted. Ostracism in the case of men like Thucydides and Aristeides, was a punishment, but when applied to men like Hyperbolus, it became an honour and mark of distinction, as though his crimes had put him on a par with the leading spirits of the age. Plato, the comic poet, wrote of him

> "Full worthy to be punished though he be,
> Yet ostracism's not for such as he."

The result was that no one was ever again ostracised at Athens, but Hyperbolus was the last, as Hipparchus of Cholargus, who was some relation to the despot of that name, was the first. Thus the ways of fortune are inscrutable, and beyond our finding out. If Nikias had undergone the trial [Pg 15] of ostracism with Alkibiades, he would either have driven him into banishment, and governed Athens well and wisely during his absence, or he would himself have left the city, and avoided the terrible disaster which ended his life, and would have continued to enjoy the reputation of being an excellent general. I am well aware that Theophrastus says that Hyperbolus was ostracised in consequence of a quarrel of Alkibiades with Phæax and not with Nikias; but my account agrees with that given by the best historians.

XII. When ambassadors came to Athens from Egesta and Leontini, inviting the Athenians to commence a campaign in Sicily, Nikias opposed the project, but was overruled by Alkibiades and the war party. Before the assembly met to discuss the matter, men's heads were completely turned with vague hopes of conquest, so that the youths in the gymnasia, and the older men in their places of business or of recreation, did nothing but sketch the outline of the island of Sicily and of the adjacent seas and continents. They regarded Sicily not so much as a prize to be won, but as a stepping-stone to greater conquests, meaning from it to attack Carthage, and make themselves masters of the Mediterranean sea as far as the Columns of Herakles. Public opinion being thus biassed, Nikias could find few to help him in opposing the scheme. The rich feared lest they should be thought to wish to avoid the burden of fitting out ships and the other expensive duties which they would be called upon to fulfil, and disappointed him by remaining silent. Yet Nikias did not relax his exertions, but even after the Athenian people had given their vote for the war, and had elected him to the chief command, with Alkibiades and Lamachus for his colleagues —even then, on the next meeting of the assembly, he made a solemn appeal to them to desist, and at last accused Alkibiades of involving the city in a terrible war in a remote country merely to serve his own ambition and rapacity. However, he gained nothing by this speech, for the Athenians thought that he would be the best man to command the expedition because of his experience in war, and that his caution would serve as a salutary check upon the rashness of Alkibiades and the easy temper of Lamachus; so that, instead of dissuading them his words [Pg 16] rather confirmed them in their intention. For Demostratus, who of all the popular orators was the most eager promoter of the expedition, rose, and said that he would put an end to these excuses of Nikias: and he prevailed upon the people to pass a decree that the generals, both at home and in the field, should be invested with absolute irresponsible power.

XIII. Yet it is said that the expedition met with great opposition from the priests; but Alkibiades found certain soothsayers devoted to his own interests, and quoted an ancient oracle which foretold that the Athenians should one day win great glory in Sicily. Special messengers also came from the shrine of Ammon,[1] bringing an oracular response to the effect that the Athenians would take all the Syracusans. Those oracles which made against the project, people dared not mention, for fear of saying words of ill-omen. Yet even the most obvious portents would not turn them from their purpose, such as the mutilation of all the Hermæ, or statues of Hermes, in Athens, in a single night, except only one, which is called the Hermes of Andokides, which was erected by the tribe Ægeis, and stands before the house in which Andokides lived at that time. A man likewise leaped upon the altar of the Twelve Gods, sat astride upon it, and in that posture mutilated himself with a sharp stone. At Delphi too there is a golden statue of Pallas Athene standing upon a brazen palm tree, an offering made by the city of Athens from the spoils taken in the Persian war. This was for many days pecked at by crows, who at last pecked off and cast upon the ground the golden fruit of the palm tree. This was said to be merely a fable invented by the people of Delphi, who were bribed by the Syracusans. Another oracle bade the Athenians bring to Athens the priestess of Athena at Klazomenae, and accordingly they sent for her. Her name happened to be Hesychia, signifying Repose; and this is probably what the oracle meant that the Athenians had better remain quiet. The astronomer, Meton, who was appointed to some office in the army, either because of these adverse omens and prophecies, or because he was [Pg 17] convinced that the expedition would miscarry, pretended to be mad and to set fire to his house. Some historians relate that he did not feign madness, but that he burned down his house one night, and next morning appeared in the market-place in a miserable plight, and besought his countrymen that, in consideration of the misfortune which had befallen him, they would allow his son, who was about to sail for Sicily in command of a trireme, to remain at home. We are told that Sokrates the philosopher was warned by one of the signs from heaven which he so often received that the expedition would be the ruin of the city. And many were filled with consternation at the time fixed for the departure of the armament. It was during the celebration of the Adonia, or mourning for the death of Adonis, and in all parts of the city were to be seen images of Adonis carried along with funeral rites, and women beating their breasts, so that those who were superstitious enough to notice such matters became alarmed for the fate of the

armament, and foretold that it would start forth gloriously, but would wither untimely away.

XIV. The conduct of Nikias in opposing the war when it was being deliberated upon, and his steadfastness of mind in not being dazzled by the hopes which were entertained of its success, or by the splendid position which it offered himself, deserves the utmost praise; but when, in spite of his exertions, he could not persuade the people to desist from the war, or to remove him from the office of general, into which he was as it were driven by main force, his excessive caution and slowness became very much out of place. His childish regrets, his looking back towards Athens, and his unreasonable delays disheartened his colleagues, and spoiled the effect of the expedition, which ought at once to have proceeded to act with vigour, and put its fortune to the test. But although Lamachus begged him to sail at once to Syracuse and fight a battle as near as possible to the city walls, while Alkibiades urged him to detach the other Sicilian states from their alliance with Syracuse, and then attack that place, he dispirited his men by refusing to adopt either plan, and proposed to sail quietly along the coast, displaying the fleet and army to the Sicilians, and [Pg 18] then, after affording some slight assistance to the people of Egesta, to return home to Athens. Shortly after this, the Athenians sent for Alkibiades to return home for his trial on a charge of treason, and Nikias, who was nominally Lamachus's colleague, but really absolute, proceeded to waste time in idle negotiations and languid manœuvres, until his troops had quite lost the high spirits and hopes with which they had arrived at Sicily; while the enemy, who were at first terrified, began to recover their spirits, and despise the Athenians. While Alkibiades was still with them they had sailed to Syracuse with sixty ships, and while the rest remained in line of battle outside, ten of these had entered the harbour to reconnoitre. These ships, approaching the city, made a proclamation by a herald that they were come to restore the people of Leontini to their city, and they also captured a Syracusan vessel, in which they found tables on which were written the names of all the inhabitants of Syracuse, according to their tribes and houses. These tables were kept far away from the city, in the temple of the Olympian Zeus, but at that time the Syracusans had sent for them in order to discover the number of men able to bear arms. These tables were now taken by the Athenians, and carried to their general. When the soothsayers saw this roll of names, they were much alarmed, fearing that this was the fulfilment of the prophecy that the Athenians should capture all the Syracusans. However, some declare that the prophecy was really fulfilled when the Athenian Kallippus slew Dion, and captured Syracuse.

XV. Shortly after this, Alkibiades left Sicily, and the supreme command devolved upon Nikias. For Lamachus, though a brave and honest man, and one who always freely risked his life in battle, was but a plain simple man, and was so excessively poor, that whenever he was appointed general he was forced to ask the Athenians to advance him a small sum of money to provide him with clothes and shoes. Now Nikias was excessively haughty, both on account of his great wealth, and his military renown. It is said that once when the generals were debating some question together, Nikias bade Sophokles the poet give his opinion first, because he was the eldest man [Pg 19] present, to which Sophokles answered, "I am the eldest, but you are the chief." Thus when in Sicily he domineered over Lamachus, although the latter was a far abler soldier, and by sailing about the coast at the point furthest removed from the enemy, gave them confidence, which was turned into contempt, when he was repulsed from Hybla, a little fort in the interior. At last he returned to Katana, without having effected anything, except the reduction of Hykkara, a town of the aborigines, not of the Greeks, from which it is said the celebrated courtezan Lais, then a very young girl, was carried away captive and sent to Peloponnesus.

XVI. As the summer advanced, and Nikias remained inactive, the Syracusans gained so much confidence that they called upon their generals to lead them to the attack of the Athenian position at Katana, since the Athenians did not dare approach Syracuse; while Syracusan horsemen even went so far as to insult the Athenians in their camp, riding up to ask if they were come to settle as peaceful citizens in Katana, instead of restoring the Leontines. This unexpected humiliation at length forced Nikias to proceed to Syracuse, and he devised a stratagem by which he was able to approach that city and pitch his camp before it unmolested.

He despatched to Syracuse a citizen of Katana, who informed the Syracusans that if they desired to seize the camp and arms of the Athenians, they would only have to appoint a day and to march in force to Katana. Many of the Athenians, he said, spent all their time within the walls of Katana, and it would be easy for the Syracusan party there to close the gates, assail the Athenians within, and set fire to their ships. A numerous body of Kataneans, he added, were eager to co-operate in the plan now proposed.

This was by far the ablest piece of strategy accomplished by Nikias during all the time that he remained in Sicily. The Syracusans were induced to march out their entire force, leaving their city with scarcely any defenders. Meanwhile, Nikias sailed round from Katana, took possession of the harbour, and encamped his forces on the mainland in a position where he could not be attacked by the enemy's cavalry. When the Syracusan army returned from Katana, he marched [Pg 20] out the Athenians and defeated them, but with little loss on their side, as their cavalry covered their retreat. Nikias now broke down the bridges over the river Anapus, which gave occasion to Hermokrates to say, when he was making a speech to encourage the Syracusans, that it was a ridiculous thing for Nikias to try to avoid fighting, as though it were not for the express purpose of fighting that he had been sent thither. But in spite of all that Hermokrates could say, the Syracusans were very much cast down and disheartened. Instead of the fifteen generals who usually commanded their troops they chose three, upon whom they conferred absolute powers, and swore a solemn oath that they would leave them unfettered in the exercise of those powers.

The Athenians were very anxious to occupy the temple of Olympian Zeus, which was near their

camp, and full of offerings of gold and silver. Nikias, however, purposely delayed the attack until a force was sent from Syracuse to defend the temple. He thought that if the soldiers did succeed in plundering it, the state would be none the better for it, and he himself would have to bear all the blame of sacrilege.

Nikias made no use of his boasted victory, and after a short time drew off his forces to Naxos, where he passed the winter, expending an enormous sum of money for the maintenance of so large a force, and effecting little or nothing except the reduction of a few disorderly tribes in the interior. The Syracusans now took heart again, marched into the Katanean territory and laid it waste, and attempted to burn the camp of the Athenians. Upon this all men blamed Nikias for deliberating and taking precautions until the time for action was gone by. No one could find any fault with him when he was actually fighting; but though a bold and energetic man in action, he was slow to form plans and begin an enterprise.

XVII. Thus when he did at length return to Syracuse, he managed the operation so swiftly and so skilfully that he disembarked his troops at Thapsus before the enemy were aware of his approach, took Epipolæ by surprise, took prisoners three hundred of the force of picked men who [Pg 21] endeavoured to recapture that fort, and routed the Syracusan cavalry, which had hitherto been supposed to be invincible. Moreover, what chiefly terrified the Sicilians, and seemed wonderful to all Greeks, was the speed with which he built a wall round Syracuse, a city quite as large as Athens itself, but one which is much more difficult to invest completely, because of the sea being so near to it, and the rough ground and marshes by which it is surrounded on the land side. Yet he all but succeeded in accomplishing this feat, although he was not in a condition of body to superintend such works personally, for he suffered greatly from a disease of the kidneys, to which we must attribute whatever was left undone by his army. For my own part I feel great admiration for the diligence and skill of the general, and for the bravery of the soldiers, which enabled them to gain such successes. The poet Euripides, after their defeat and utter overthrow wrote this elegy upon them:

> "Eight times they beat the Syracusan host,
> Before the gods themselves declared them lost."

Indeed, they beat the Syracusans far more than eight times, before the gods turned against the Athenians and dashed them to the ground when at the height of their pride.

XVIII. Nikias was present, in spite of his sufferings, at most of these actions; but when his disease grew worse, he was forced to stay in the camp with a small guard, while Lamachus took the command of the army, and fought a battle with the Syracusans, who were endeavouring to build a counter-wall which would obstruct the Athenians in building their wall of circumvallation. The Athenians were victorious, but followed up their success in such a disorderly manner that Lamachus was left alone and exposed to the attacks of the Syracusan cavalry. He at once challenged their leader, a brave man named Kallimachus, to single combat, and both received and inflicted a mortal wound. His dead body and arms fell into the hands of the Syracusans, who at once charged up to the Athenian walls, where Nikias lay helpless. The extremity of the danger roused him, and he ordered his attendants to set fire to a quantity of timber which had been brought thither to construct military engines, and to some of the engines themselves. This [Pg 22] desperate expedient checked the Syracusans, and saved Nikias and the Athenians; for the rest of the Syracusan forces on perceiving so great a body of flame returned in haste to their city.

This affair left Nikias in sole command, and he had great hopes of taking the place; for many cities in Sicily had formed alliances with him, ships laden with corn kept arriving to supply his camp, and all began to be eager to be on his side, and to share in the fruits of his success. The Syracusans themselves sent to propose terms of peace, for they despaired of being able to defend their city any longer against him. At this time Gylippus too, a Lacedæmonian who was sent to assist them, heard during his voyage that they were completely enclosed and reduced to great straits, but held on his voyage notwithstanding, in order that even if, as he imagined, all Sicily had fallen into the hands of the Athenians, he might at any rate defend the Greek cities in Italy from sharing its fate. The air indeed was full of rumours that the Athenians were carrying all before them, and that the good fortune and skill of their general rendered him invincible. Even Nikias himself was so elated by his apparent good fortune, that he forgot his wonted prudence, and imagining from the secret intelligence which he had from his friends within Syracuse that it was on the point of surrender, neglected Gylippus altogether, and kept so bad a watch at the straits of Messina with his fleet, that Gylippus managed to cross there and land in Sicily. Here he at once proceeded to gather an army together, but in a quarter of the island far away from Syracuse, so that the people of Syracuse knew nothing of his arrival. They even appointed a day for the public assembly to meet and discuss terms of surrender with Nikias, and were about to attend it, as they thought that it would be best for them to come to terms before the city was quite surrounded by the wall of the Athenians. There was now only a very small portion of this left to be finished, and all the materials for building it were collected on the spot.

XIX. At this crisis there arrived at Syracuse Gongylus, a Corinthian, in one trireme. All crowded round him, to hear what news he brought. He informed them that Gylippus would soon come to [Pg 23] their aid by land, and that other triremes besides his own were on their way by sea. This intelligence was scarcely believed, until it was confirmed by a message from Gylippus himself, bidding them march out and meet him. They now took courage and prepared for battle. Gylippus marched into the town, and at once led the Syracusans out to attack the Athenians. When Nikias had likewise brought his army out of their camp, Gylippus halted his men, and sent a herald to

offer them an armistice for five days, on condition that they would collect their effects and withdraw from Sicily. Nikias disdained to answer this insulting message; but some of his soldiers jeeringly enquired whether the presence of one Spartan cloak and staff had all at once made the Syracusans so strong that they could despise the Athenians, who used to keep three hundred such men, stronger than Gylippus and with longer hair, locked up in prison, and feared them so little that they delivered them up to the Lacedæmonians again. Timæus says that the Sicilian Greeks despised Gylippus for his avaricious and contemptible character, and that when they first saw him, they ridiculed his long hair and Spartan cloak. Afterwards, however, he tells us that as soon as Gylippus appeared they flocked round him as small birds flock round an owl, and were eager to take service under him. This indeed is the more probable story; for they rallied round him, regarding his cloak and staff to be the symbols of the authority of Sparta. And not only Thucydides, but Philistus, a Syracusan citizen by birth, who was an eye-witness of the whole campaign, tells us that nothing could have been done without Gylippus. In the first battle after his arrival, the Athenians were victorious, and slew some few Syracusans, amongst whom was the Corinthian Gongylus, but on the following day Gylippus displayed the qualities of a true general. He used the same arms, horses, and ground as before, but he dealt with them so differently that he defeated the Athenians. Checking the Syracusans, who wished to chase them back to their camp, he ordered them to use the stones and timber which had been collected by the Athenians, to build a counter-wall, reaching beyond the line of circumvallation, so that the [Pg 24] Athenians could no longer hope to surround the city. And now the Syracusans, taking fresh courage, began to man their ships of war, and to cut off the stragglers with their cavalry. Gylippus personally visited many of the Greek cities in Sicily, all of whom eagerly promised their aid, and furnished him with troops; so that Nikias, perceiving that he was losing ground, relapsed into his former desponding condition, and wrote a despatch to Athens, bidding the people either send out another armament, or let the one now in Sicily return to Athens, and especially beseeching them to relieve him from his command, for which he was incapacitated by disease.

XX. The Athenians had long before proposed to send out a reinforcement to the army in Sicily, but as all had gone on prosperously, the enemies of Nikias had contrived to put it off. Now, however, they were eager to send him assistance. It was arranged that Demosthenes should employ himself actively in getting ready a large force, to go to reinforce Nikias in the early spring, while Eurymedon, although it was winter, started immediately with a supply of money, and with a decree naming Euthydemus and Menander, officers already serving in his army, to be joint commanders along with him. Meanwhile, Nikias was suddenly attacked by the Syracusans both by sea and land. His ships were at first thrown into confusion, but rallied and sank many of the enemy, or forced them to run on shore; but on land Gylippus managed at the same time to surprise the fort of Plemmyrium, where there was a magazine of naval stores and war material of all kinds. A considerable number of the garrison, also, were either slain or taken prisoners; but the most serious result was the stoppage of Nikias's supplies, which heretofore had been easily and quickly brought through the Great Harbour, while it remained in the hands of the Athenians, but which now could not reach his camp by sea without a convoy and a battle.[2] Moreover, the Syracusan fleet had not been defeated by any superiority of force of the Athenians, but by the [Pg 25] disorder into which it had been thrown by pursuing the enemy. They therefore determined to renew the conflict with better success.

Nikias, on his part, was unwilling to fight a second time, thinking it was folly to fight with a diminished and disheartened force when he knew that Demosthenes was hurrying to his aid with a large and unbroken armament. However, Menander and Euthydemus, the newly-elected generals, were eager to distinguish themselves by performing some brilliant action before the arrival of Demosthenes, and to eclipse the fame of Nikias himself. The pretext they used was the glory of Athens, which they said would be dishonoured for ever if they should now appear afraid to accept the Syracusans' offer of battle. The battle was fought: and the Athenian left wing, we are told by Thucydides, was utterly defeated by the skilful tactics of the Corinthian steersman Aristion. Many Athenians perished, and Nikias was greatly disheartened, for he had now proved unfortunate both when sole commander and when acting with colleagues.

XXI. Matters were in this posture when Demosthenes was descried in the offing, approaching with a splendid armament which struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. His fleet consisted of seventy-three ships, on board of which were five thousand heavy-armed troops, and three thousand javelin men, archers, and slingers. The glittering arms of the troops, the flaunting banners of the ships of war, and the music of the flutes to which the rowers kept time with their oars, made a gallant display, which delighted the Athenians as much as it depressed the Syracusans. These latter, indeed, were struck with dismay, and thought that their last victory had been won in vain, and that they were labouring to no purpose against a foe whose ranks were continually reinforced.

Nikias was not long allowed to feast his eyes on this welcome spectacle undisturbed. Demosthenes, as soon as he landed, insisted on the necessity of instantly attacking Syracuse, and putting an end to the siege, either by capturing the place, or by returning at once to Athens in case of failure. Against this Nikias, who was alarmed at the idea of such vigorous action, urged that it would be unwise to run such a risk. Delay, he argued, favoured the besiegers more than [Pg 26] the besieged, as their resources must soon fail, in which case their allies would desert them and they would again be brought to the necessity of capitulating. Nikias adopted this view because of what he heard from his secret correspondents within the city, who urged him to continue the siege, telling him that already the Syracusans began to feel the war too great a burden for them to support, and that Gylippus was very unpopular among them, so that in a short time they would

utterly refuse to hold out any longer, and would come to terms with the Athenians. Nikias could only hint at these secret sources of information, and so his counsels were thought by his colleagues to be mere cowardice. They declared loudly that the original mistake was about to be repeated, and the first terror-stricken impression of the armament frittered away, until familiarity with the sight of it had bred contempt in the breasts of their enemies. They therefore eagerly seconded the proposal of Demosthenes, and forced Nikias, though sorely against his will, to yield to their representations. Accordingly, Demosthenes with the land force assaulted the outlying fort on the high ground of Epipolæ by night, and took it by surprise, killing part of its garrison and putting the remainder to flight. He did not halt there, but followed up his success by marching further on towards the city, until he was met by some Bœotian heavy-armed troops, who had been the first to rally, and now in a compact mass met the Athenians with their spears levelled, and with loud shouts forced them to give way with severe loss. The whole Athenian army was by this thrown into confusion and panic, as the fugitives broke the formation of those troops who were still marching to the front, so that in some cases they actually fought with one another, each believing the others to be enemies. Thus the Athenians fell into sad disorder and ruin; for they were unable to distinguish friends from foes in the uncertain light, as the moon, now nearly setting, glanced upon spear-points and armour without showing them clearly enough to enable men to see with whom they had to deal. The moon was behind the backs of the Athenians: and this circumstance was greatly against them, for it made it hard for them to see the numbers of [Pg 27] their own friends, but shone plainly on the glittering shields of their antagonists, making them look taller and more terrible than they were. Finally, attacked as they were on every side, they gave way and fled. Some were slain by the enemy, some by their own countrymen, and some were dashed to pieces by falling down the precipices; while the rest, as they straggled about the country, were cut off by the Syracusan cavalry. Two thousand men perished, and of the survivors few brought back their arms.

XXII. Nikias, who had expected this reverse, now cast the blame of it upon Demosthenes; and he, admitting his error, besought Nikias to embark his army and sail away as quickly as possible, pointing out that no further reinforcement could be hoped for, and that they could not hope for success with the force now at their disposal. Even had they been victorious, he argued, they had intended to leave their present camp, which was unhealthy at all times, and was now in the hot season becoming pestilential. The time was the beginning of autumn, and many of the Athenians were sick, while all were disheartened. Nikias, however, opposed the idea of retreat, not because he did not fear the Syracusans, but because he feared the Athenians more, and the treatment which as an unsuccessful general he would probably meet with. He declared that he saw no reason for alarm, and that even if there was, that he would rather perish by the hands of the enemy than those of his countrymen. A very different sentiment to that which was afterwards uttered by Leon the Byzantine, who said, "My countrymen, I had rather be put to death by you than to be put to death together with you."

With regard to the place to which it would be best for them to remove their camp, that, Nikias said, was a question which they might take time to discuss.

Demosthenes, seeing that Nikias was thus obstinate, and conscious that his own project, when adopted, had led to a frightful disaster, ceased pressing him to raise the siege, and gave the other generals to understand that Nikias must have secret reasons, from his correspondents within the city, which led him to persevere thus obstinately in remaining where he was. This [Pg 28] caused them also to withdraw their objections to remaining; but when another army came to assist the Syracusans, and the Athenians began to perish from malaria, even Nikias himself agreed that it was time to retreat, and issued orders to his men to hold themselves in readiness to embark.

XXIII. When all was ready, and the enemy off their guard, as they did not expect the Athenians to retreat, an eclipse of the moon took place, which greatly terrified Nikias and some others who, from ignorance or superstition, were in the habit of taking account of such phenomena. That the sun should be sometimes eclipsed even the vulgar understood to be in some way due to the moon intercepting its light: but what body could intercept the moon's light, so that suddenly the full moon should pale its light and alter its colour, they could not explain, but thought that it was a sinister omen and portended some great calamity.

The treatise of Anaxagoras, the first writer who has clearly and boldly explained the phases and eclipses of the moon, was then known only to a few, and had not the credit of antiquity, while even those who understood it were afraid to mention it to their most trusted friends. Men at that time could not endure natural philosophers and those whom they called in derision stargazers, but accused them of degrading the movements of the heavenly bodies by attributing them to necessary physical causes. They drove Protagoras into exile, and cast Anaxagoras into prison, from whence he was with difficulty rescued by Perikles; while Sokrates, who never took any part in these speculations, was nevertheless put to death because he was a philosopher. It was not until after the period of which I am writing that the glorious works of Plato shed their light upon mankind, proving that Nature obeys a higher and divine law, and removing the reproach of impiety which used to attach to those who study these matters, so that all men might thereafter investigate natural phenomena unreproved. Indeed, Plato's companion Dion, although the moon was eclipsed when he was starting from the island of Zakynthus to attack the despot Dionysius, was not in the least disturbed by the omen, but sailed to Syracuse and drove out the despot. [Pg 29] Nikias at this time was without a competent soothsayer, for his intimate friend, Stilbides, who used to check a great deal of his superstition, died shortly before this. Indeed, the omen, if rightly

explained, as Philochorus points out, is not a bad one but a very good one for men who are meditating a retreat; for what men are forced to do by fear, requires darkness to conceal it, and light is inimical to them. Moreover men were only wont to wait three days after an eclipse of the moon, or of the sun, as we learn from Autokleides in his book on divination; but Nikias persuaded them to wait for another complete circuit of the moon, because its face would not shine upon them propitiously before that time after its defilement with the gross earthy particles which had intercepted its rays.[3]

XXIV. Nikias now put all business aside, and kept offering sacrifices and taking omens, until the enemy attacked him. Their infantry assailed the camp and siege works, while their fleet surrounded the harbour, not in ships of war; but the very boys and children embarked in what boats they could find and jeered at the Athenians, challenging them to come out and fight. One of these boys, named Herakleides, the son of noble parents, ventured too far, and was captured by an Athenian ship. His uncle Pollichus, fearing for his safety, at once advanced with ten triremes which were under his command; and this movement brought forward the rest of the Syracusan fleet to support him. An obstinate battle now took place, in which the Syracusans were victorious, and many of the Athenians perished, amongst whom was their admiral Eurymedon. And now the Athenians refused to remain before Syracuse any longer, and called upon their generals to lead them away by land, for the Syracusans after their victory had at once blockaded the entrance to the harbour, so that no passage was left. Nikias and the other generals refused to agree to this proposal, as they thought it would be a pity to abandon a fleet of so many transports, and nearly two hundred ships of war. They placed the flower of the land force on board the ships, with the best of the slingers and darters, and manned one hundred and ten triremes, for they had not sufficient oars for a larger number. Nikias now abandoned the great camp and walls of [Pg 30] investment, which reached as far as the temple of Herakles, and drew the army up on the beach as spectators of the battle. Thus the Syracusan priests and generals were able for the first time since the siege began to sacrifice to Herakles, as they were wont to do, while the people were manning their fleet.

XXV. The Syracusan soothsayers promised them the victory if they awaited attack and did not begin the attack: for Herakles himself never struck the first blow, but always waited for his enemies to attack him. The sea-fight which now took place was the fiercest and most obstinately contested of all those which took place throughout the war, and its varying fortunes were shared with agonizing interest by the Athenian army and the citizens on the walls of Syracuse, who were able from their respective positions to overlook the whole battle and watch the manœuvres of each ship. The Athenians were placed at a great disadvantage by having all their ships collected into one mass, where they were attacked from all sides by the lighter and more manageable vessels of the enemy. The Syracusans also used stones as missiles, which strike with equal effect, however they are thrown, while the Athenians replied with volleys of arrows and javelins, whose aim was often spoiled by the motion of the vessels, and which are useless unless they fly with the point foremost. All these details had been foreseen and taught to the Syracusans by Aristion the Corinthian steersman, who fell in the moment of victory. The Athenians were finally routed and driven ashore with great slaughter, and their retreat by sea completely cut off. Knowing how difficult it would be to make their way to any place of safety by land, they allowed themselves to be so paralyzed by despair, that they let the Syracusans tow away their ships as prizes, without making an effort to save them, and actually neglected to ask for a truce for the burial of their dead. They seemed to think that the case of the sick and wounded whom they saw amongst them, and whom they must perforce abandon when they left their camp, was even more pitiable than that of the floating corpses, and they actually envied the lot of the slain, knowing well that after a few more days of suffering they themselves were all destined to share their fate. [Pg 31]

XXVI. They were all eager to depart during the night which followed this disastrous day; but Gylippus, perceiving that the people of Syracuse were so given up to feasting and merry-making, celebrating both their victory and the festival of their national hero Herakles, to whom the day was sacred, that they could not be either forced or persuaded into attempting to harass the enemy's retreat, sent some of those men who had formerly been in correspondence with Nikias to tell him not to attempt to retreat that night, as all the roads were occupied by Syracusans lying in wait to attack him. Deceived by this intelligence, Nikias waited to find what he feared in the night turned into a reality on the following day. At daybreak the passes were occupied by the Syracusans, who also threw up entrenchments at all the places where rivers had to be forded, and broke all the bridges, stationing their cavalry upon the level ground, so that the Athenians could not advance a step without fighting. The Athenians remained for all that day and the following night in their camp, and then set out, with such weeping and lamentation that it seemed rather as if they were leaving their native country than a hostile one, so distressed were they to see the miseries of their friends and relatives, and of the sick and wounded who were unable to accompany their march and had to be left to their fate, while they themselves had a presentiment that their present sufferings were nothing in comparison with those which awaited them. Among all these piteous sights, Nikias himself offered a glorious example. Worn out by disease, compelled by the exigencies of the retreat to forego the medicines and treatment which his condition required, he nevertheless, weak as he was, did more than many strong men could do, while all his men knew well that he made those efforts, not from any wish or hope to save his own life, but that it was solely on their behalf that he did not give way to despair. The tears and lamentations of the rest were prompted by their own private sorrows and fears, but the only grief shown by Nikias was that so splendid an expedition should have ended in such miserable failure. Those who watched his noble bearing and remembered how earnestly he had opposed the whole [Pg 32]

scheme, were filled with compassion for his undeserved sufferings. They began to despair of the favour of Heaven being shown to themselves, when they reflected that this man, careful as he had always been to perform every religious duty, was now no better off than the humblest or the most wicked soldier in his army.

XXVII. Nikias made heroic efforts by cheerful looks, encouraging speeches, and personal appeals to his followers, to show himself superior to fortune. Throughout the retreat, although for eight days in succession he was constantly harassed by the attacks of the enemy, he nevertheless kept the division under his command unbroken and undefeated, until the other part of the army under Demosthenes was forced to surrender, being completely surrounded in an enclosed olive-ground, the property of Polyzelus, brother of the despot Gelon. Demosthenes himself drew his sword and stabbed himself, but not mortally, for the Syracusans quickly interposed and forced him to desist. When the Syracusans told Nikias of this disaster, and allowed him to send horsemen to convince him of its truth, he proposed terms to Gylippus, which were that the Athenians should be allowed to leave Sicily, on condition of the repayment of the whole expenses of the war, for which he offered to give hostages. These terms were refused, and the enemy with insulting cries and threats proceeded to shoot with missiles of all kinds at the Athenians, who were now completely without food or drink. Yet Nikias prevailed upon them to hold out during that night, and on the following day he led them, still under fire from the enemy, across the plain leading to the river Asinarus. There some were forced into the stream by the enemy, while others cast themselves in to quench their thirst. A most dreadful slaughter now took place, the Athenians being wild with thirst, and the Syracusans killing them as they drank, until Nikias surrendered himself to Gylippus, saying, "I beseech you, now that you are victorious, to show some mercy, not to me, but to the Athenian troops. Consider how changeful is the fortune of war, and how gently the Athenians dealt with your men in their hour of victory."

Gylippus was visibly affected by the words, and by the sight of Nikias; for he knew how well the Spartan prisoners had been treated by him, when the peace was made with Athens; moreover, he thought that it would be a great honour to him if he could carry home the enemy's commander-in-chief as a prisoner. He received Nikias with kindness, and gave orders to take the rest of the Athenians alive. It was long, however, before these orders were understood and obeyed, so that more Athenians were slain than survived, although many were spared by the Syracusans in order that they might be sold for slaves. [Pg 33]

The prisoners were now assembled together, and their arms and armour hung upon the trees by the river side, as a trophy of the victory. The victors next crowned themselves with garlands, decorated their horses, cut off the manes and tails of the captured horses, and marched back into their own city, having by their courage and skill won the most complete victory ever gained by one Greek state over another.

XXVIII. At a public assembly of the Syracusans and their allies which was shortly afterwards held, the orator Eurykles proposed that the day on which Nikias was taken should be kept as a festival for ever, upon which no work should be done, and sacrifice should be offered to the gods, and that the feast should be called the Asinaria, from the name of the river where the victory was won. The day was the twenty-sixth of the Dorian month Karneius, which the Athenians call Metageitnion (September 21st). Furthermore, he proposed that the Athenian slaves and allies should be sold, that the Athenians themselves, with what native Sicilians had joined them, should be confined in the stone quarries within the city of Syracuse, and that their generals should be put to death.

These propositions wore accepted by the Syracusans, who treated Hermokrates with contempt when he urged that to be merciful in victory would be more honourable to them than the victory itself. Gylippus too, when he begged that he might carry the Athenian generals alive to Sparta, was shamefully insulted by the excited Syracusans, who had long disliked the irritating Spartan airs of superiority natural to Gylippus, and now, flushed with victory, no longer cared to conceal their feelings. Timæus tells us that they accused him of avarice and peculation, a hereditary vice, it appears, in his family since his father Kleandrides was banished from Sparta for taking bribes, while he himself afterwards stole thirty of the hundred talents which Lysander sent home to Sparta, and hid them under the roof of his house, but was informed against, and exiled in disgrace. This will be found described at greater length in the Life of Lysander. [Pg 34]

In his account of the death of Nikias and Demosthenes, Timæus does not exactly follow the narrative of Thucydides and Philistus, as he informs us that while the assembly was still sitting, Hermokrates sent to their prison to inform them that they were condemned to death, and to afford them the means of dying by their own hands, while the other historians state that the Syracusans put them to death.[4] Be this as it may, their dead bodies were exposed before the gates of Syracuse as a spectacle for the citizens. I have heard also that at the present day a shield is shown in one of the temples at Syracuse, which is said to be that of Nikias, and which is beautifully adorned with woven coverings of purple and gold.

XXIX. Of the Athenians, the most part perished in the stone quarries of disease and insufficient food, for they received only a pint of barley-meal and half-a-pint of water each day. Not a few, however, were sold into slavery, being stolen for that purpose by Syracusans, or having escaped disguised as slaves. The rest were at length branded upon their foreheads with the figure of a horse, and sold into slavery. Yet even in this extremity their well-bred and dignified behaviour came to their aid; for they soon either obtained their freedom, or gained the confidence and respect of their masters. Some gained their freedom by their knowledge of Euripides. It appears

that the dramas of Euripides were especially popular in Sicily, but that only a few fragments of his works had hitherto reached the Greek cities in that island. We are told that many of these captives on their return to Athens affectionately embraced Euripides, and told him how some of [Pg 35] them had been sold into slavery, but had been set free after they had taught their masters as much of his poetry as they could remember, while others, when wandering about the country as fugitives after the battle, had obtained food and drink by reciting passages from his plays. We need not then wonder at the tale of the people of Kaunus, who, when a ship pursued by pirates was making for their harbour at first refused to admit it, but afterwards enquired whether any on board knew the plays of Euripides; and on hearing that they did, allowed them to enter the harbour and save themselves.

XXX. At Athens the news of the catastrophe was at first disbelieved, because of the unsatisfactory way in which it reached the city. A stranger, it is said, disembarked at Peiræus, went into a barber's shop, and began to converse about what had happened as upon a theme which must be uppermost in every man's mind. The astonished barber, hearing for the first time such fearful tidings, ran up to Athens to communicate it to the archons, and to the public in the market-place. All were shocked and astonished at hearing this, and the archons immediately convoked the public assembly, and brought the barber before it. When he was asked to explain from whom he had heard this intelligence, as he could give no satisfactory account, he was regarded as a disturber of the public tranquillity by fabricating idle tales, and was even put to the torture. Soon, however, men arrived who confirmed his tale, and described all the details of the catastrophe as far as they had witnessed them. Then at last the countrymen of Nikias believed, after his death, what he had so often foretold to them during his life.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] In North Africa, the modern oasis of Siwah.

[2] Plemmyrium on one side, and the city of Syracuse on the other, command the entrance of the gulf known as the Great Harbour, inside of which lay the Athenian fleet and camp.

[3] Grote.

[4] Grote, Part II. ch. lx, points out that there is no real contradiction between the statement cited from Timæus, and the accounts gives of the transaction by Thucydides and Philistus.

LIFE OF CRASSUS.

[Pg 36]

I. Marcus Crassus[5] was the son of a father who had been censor, and enjoyed a triumph; but he was brought up with his two brothers in a small house. His brothers were married in the lifetime of their parents, and all had a common table, which seems to have been the chief reason that Crassus was a temperate and moderate man in his way of living. Upon the death of one of his brothers, Crassus married the widow,[6] and she became the mother of his children; for in these matters also he lived as regular a life as any Roman. However, as he grew older, he was charged with criminal intercourse with Licinia,[7] one of the Vestal Virgins, who was brought to trial; the [Pg 37] prosecutor was one Plotinus. Licinia had a pleasant estate in the suburbs, which Crassus wished to get at a small price, and with this view he was continually about the woman and paying his court to her, which brought on him the suspicion of a criminal intercourse; but he was acquitted by the judices, being indebted in some degree to his love of money for his acquittal from the charge of debauching the vestal. But he never remitted his attentions to Licinia till he got possession of the property.

II. Now, the Romans say that the many good qualities of Crassus were obscured by one vice, avarice; but the fact appears to be that one vice, which was more predominant in his character than all the rest hid his other vices. They allege, as the chief proof of his avarice, the mode in which he got his money and the amount of his property. Though he did not at first possess above three hundred talents, and during his first consulship he dedicated the tenth part of his property to Hercules,[8] and feasted the people, and gave every Roman out of his own means enough to maintain him for three months; yet, before the Parthian expedition, upon making an estimate of his property, he found it amount to seven thousand one hundred talents. The greatest part of this, if one must tell the truth, though it be a scandalous story, he got together out of the fire and the war, making the public misfortunes the source of his wealth; for, when Sulla took the city, and sold the property of those whom he put to death, considering it and calling it spoil, and wishing to attach the infamy of the deed to as many of the most powerful men as he could, Crassus was never tired of receiving or buying. Besides this, observing the accidents that were indigenous and familiar at Rome, conflagrations, and tumbling down of houses owing to their weight and [Pg 38] crowded state, he bought slaves, who were architects and builders. Having got these slaves to the number of more than five hundred, it was his practice to buy up houses on fire, and the houses which were adjoining to those on fire; for the owners, owing to fear and uncertainty, would sell them at a low price; and thus the greatest part of Rome fell into the hands of Crassus: but, though he had so many artizans, he built no house except his own; for he used to say that

those who were fond of building were ruined by themselves, without the aid of any opponent. Though he had many silver mines, and much valuable land, and many labourers on it, still one would suppose that all this was of little value, compared with the value of his slaves: so many excellent slaves he possessed,—readers, clerks, assayers of silver,[9] house-managers, and table-servants; and he himself superintended their education, and paid attention to it and taught them, and, in short, he considered that a master was mainly concerned in looking after his slaves, who were the living implements of domestic economy. And here Crassus was right, if, as he used to say, it was his opinion that he ought to effect everything by the instrumentality of slaves, and that he himself should direct the slaves; for, we observe, that what is economical with respect to things lifeless is political with respect to men. But he was not right in thinking and saying that nobody was rich who could not maintain an army out of his substance; for war feeds not by a fixed allowance, according to Archidamus;[10] and, consequently, the wealth that is required for war is unlimited; and this opinion of Crassus was very different from the opinion of Marius; for when Marius, after giving to each man fourteen jugera of land, found that they wanted more, he said, "May there never be a Roman who thinks that too little which is enough to maintain him."

III. Besides this, Crassus was hospitable to strangers, for his house was open to all, and he used [Pg 39] to lend money to his friends without interest; but he would demand it back immediately on the expiration of the time of the borrower, which made the gratuitous loan more burdensome than heavy interest. In his entertainments the invitation was usually to persons of the plebeian class, and general: and the frugality of the banquet, which was accompanied with neatness and a friendly welcome, made it more agreeable than a sumptuous feast. In his literary pursuits he mainly studied oratory,[11] and that kind which was of practical use; and, having attained an ability in speaking equal to the first among the Romans, he surpassed in care and labour those who had the greatest talents; for they say, there was no case, however mean and contemptible, which he approached without preparation; and often, when Pompeius, and Cæsar, and Cicero, were unwilling to get up to speak, he would perform all the duties of an advocate: and for this reason he became more popular, being considered a careful man, and always ready to give his help. He pleased people, also, by his friendly and affable manner in taking them by the hand, and addressing them; for Crassus never met a Roman, however low and humble his condition might be, without returning his salute,[12] and addressing him by his name. He is also said to have been well versed in history, and to have paid some attention to philosophy by studying the writings of [Pg 40] Aristoteles, in which he had for his teacher Alexander, a man who gave a proof of his moderation and easy temper in his intercourse with Crassus; for it was not easy to say whether he was poorer when he became acquainted with Crassus, or after the acquaintance was made. He was, indeed, the only friend of Crassus, who always accompanied him when he travelled abroad; and he used to wear a cloak,[13] lent him for the purpose, which on his return he was asked to give back. Oh, the submission[14] of the man! for the poor fellow did not consider poverty among the things that are indifferent. But this belongs to a later period.

IV. When Marius and Cinna had got the upper hand, and it was soon apparent that they would reinstate themselves in Rome, not for the benefit of their country, but plainly for the destruction and ruin of the nobles, those who were caught in the city were put to death: among whom were the father and brother of Crassus. Crassus, being very young, escaped immediate danger; but, seeing that he was hemmed in on all sides, and hunted by the tyrants, he took with him three friends and ten slaves; and, using wonderful expedition, made his escape to Iberia, having been there before, when his father was Prætor,[15] and having made himself friends. Finding all in great alarm and trembling at the cruelty of Marius, as if he were close at hand, he did not [Pg 41] venture to make himself known, but sought refuge in a tract bordering on the sea, belonging to Vibius Pacianus,[16] where he hid himself in a large cave. He sent a slave to Vibius to sound his disposition; for the provisions that Crassus brought with him were now exhausted. On hearing the news, Vibius was pleased that Crassus had escaped; and inquiring about the number of persons with him, and where the place was, he did not go himself to see them, but he took his villicus near the spot, and ordered him to have food daily prepared, and to carry it and place it near the rock, and to go away without speaking a word, and not to be curious about the matter, or make any inquiries; and he gave him notice, that if he did meddle at all he should be put to death, but if he faithfully helped in the matter he should have his freedom. The cave is not far from the sea, and the precipices which shut it in leave a small and hardly perceptible path[17] which leads into the cave; but when you have entered, it opens to a wonderful height, and spreads out wide, with recesses which open into one another, and are of a large circuit. It is also neither without water nor light: for a spring of the purest water oozes out at the base of the precipice; and there are natural clefts about that part where the rock closes, by which the [Pg 42] external light is admitted, and in the daytime the spot is fully illuminated. The air within is free from all moisture caused by dropping, and is quite pure, owing to the compactness of the rock, which diverts all the wet and droppings to the spring.

V. While Crassus stayed in the cave, the slave came daily to bring provisions; but he did not see the persons who were concealed, or know who they were; though he was seen by them, inasmuch as they knew, and watched the times of his coming. Now, the provision that was made for their meals was ample enough even for luxury, and not merely sufficient for their necessities. But Vibius determined to show Crassus every kind of friendly attention; and it occurred to him to consider the youth of Crassus, that he was a very young man, and that provision should be made in some degree also for the pleasures suitable to his age, and that merely to supply his wants would argue that he was serving Crassus as little as he could, rather than with hearty zeal; accordingly, he took with him two handsome female slaves, and went down to the sea-coast.

When he came to the place, he pointed to the road that led up to it, and told them to go in boldly. Crassus, seeing them approach, was afraid that the spot was known, and had been discovered; and, accordingly, he asked them what they wanted, and who they were. The women replied, as they had been instructed, that they were looking for their master, who was concealed there; on which Crassus perceived the joke which Vibius was playing off upon him, and his kind attentions, and received the women; and they stayed with him for the rest of the time, telling and reporting to Vibius what he requested them. Fenestella[18] says, that he saw one of these slaves when she was an old woman, and that he had often heard her mention this, and tell the story with pleasure.

VI. In this way Crassus spent eight months in concealment; but as soon as he heard of Cinna's [Pg 43] end, he showed himself, and out of the numbers that flocked to him he selected two thousand five hundred, with whom he went round to the cities; and one city, Malaca,[19] he plundered, according to the testimony of many authors, though they say that he denied the fact, and contradicted those who affirmed it. After this he got together some vessels, and crossed over to Libya, to Metellus Pius,[20] a man of reputation who had collected a force by no means contemptible. But he stayed no long time there; for he quarrelled with Metellus, and then set out to join Sulla, by whom he was treated with particular respect. When Sulla had passed over the sea to Italy, he wished all the young men who were with him to aid him actively, and he appointed them to different duties. Crassus, on being sent into the country of the Marsi to raise troops, asked for a guard, because the road lay through a tract which was occupied by the enemy; Sulla replied to him in passion and with vehemence, "I give thee as guards thy father, thy brother, thy friends, thy kinsmen, who were cut off illegally and wrongfully, and whose murderers I am now pursuing." Stung by these words, and pricked on to the undertaking, Crassus immediately set out, and, vigorously making his way through the enemy, he got together a strong force, and showed himself active in the battles of Sulla. The events of that war, it is said, first excited him to rivalry and competition with Pompeius for distinction. Pompeius was younger than Crassus, and his father had a bad repute at Rome, and had been bitterly hated by the citizens; but still Pompeius shone conspicuous in the events of that period and proved himself to be a great man, so that Sulla showed him marks of respect which he did not very often show to others of more advanced years and of his own rank, by rising from his seat when Pompeius [Pg 44] approached, and uncovering his head, and addressing him by the title of Imperator. All this set Crassus in a flame, and goaded him, inasmuch as he was thus slighted in comparison with Pompeius; and with good reason; Crassus was deficient in experience, and the credit that he got by his military exploits was lost by his innate vices,—love of gain and meanness; for, upon taking Tudertia,[21] a city of the Umbri, it was suspected that he appropriated to himself most of the spoil, and this was made a matter of charge against him to Sulla. However, in the battle near Rome,[22] which was the greatest in all the war, and the last, Sulla was defeated, the soldiers under his command being put to flight, and some of them trampled down in the pursuit: Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was victorious, and, after continuing the pursuit till nightfall, he sent to Sulla to ask for something for his soldiers to eat, and to report his success. But, during the proscriptions and confiscations, on the other hand, he got a bad name, by buying at low prices large properties, and asking for grants. It is said that, in the country of the Bruttii, he also proscribed a person, not pursuant to Sulla's orders, but merely to enrich himself thereby, and that, on this account, Sulla, who disapproved of his conduct, never employed him again in any public business. However, Crassus was most expert in gaining over everybody by flattery; and, on the other hand, he was easily taken in by flattery from any person. It is further mentioned as a peculiarity in his character, that, though very greedy of gain,[23] he hated and abused those most who were like himself.

VII. But Crassus was most annoyed at the military success of Pompeius, and his enjoying a triumph before he became a senator, and being called by the citizens Magnus, which means Great. On one occasion, when somebody observed that Pompeius the Great was approaching, [Pg 45] Crassus smiled, and asked, How great he was? But, as Crassus despaired of equalling Pompeius in military reputation, he entered upon a political career, and, by his activity, by pleading in the courts, and lending money, and by canvassing for candidates, and subjecting himself to all kinds of scrutiny in conjunction with those who wanted anything of the people, he acquired a power and reputation equal to what Pompeius had got by his many and great military services. And the result to each of them was something unusual; for, when Pompeius was absent from Rome, his name and his influence in the State, by reason of his military exploits, was superior to that of Crassus; but when Pompeius was at Rome, he often fell short of Crassus in influence, for his haughty temper and habitual pride made him avoid crowds and retire from the Forum, and seldom give his aid to those who sought it, and then not readily; his object being to keep his power at a higher pitch, by exercising it only on his own behalf. But Crassus was always ready to make himself useful, and he did not keep himself retired, nor was he difficult of access, but he was always busy in everything that was going on, and by the general kindness of his behaviour he got the advantage over the proud bearing of Pompeius. In personal dignity, in persuasive speech, and attractive expression of countenance it is said they were both equally fortunate. However, this rivalry did not hurry Crassus into any personal enmity or ill-will, and though, he was annoyed at Pompeius and Cæsar receiving greater honour than himself, he never allowed this jealous feeling to be associated with any hostility or ill disposition. It is true that when Cæsar was taken and detained by the pirates, he cried out, "What pleasure you will have, Crassus, when you hear of my capture!" But afterwards, at least, they were on friendly terms, and, when Cæsar was going to Iberia, as prætor,[24] and had no money in consequence of his creditors having come upon him and seizing all his outfit, Crassus did not leave him in this difficulty, but got him released, by

becoming security for him to the amount of eight hundred and thirty talents. When all Rome became divided into three parties,—that of Pompeius, Cæsar and Crassus,—(for Cato[25] had more [Pg 46] reputation than power, and was more admired than followed), the sober and conservative part of the citizens adhered to Pompeius; the violent and those who were lightly moved, were led by the hopes that they had from Cæsar; Crassus, by keeping a middle position, used both parties for his purposes, and, as he very often changed in his political views, he was neither a firm friend nor an irreconcilable enemy, but he would readily give up either his friendship or his enmity on calculation of interest; so that within a short interval, he often came forward to speak both for and against the same men and the same measures. He had also great influence, both because he was liked and feared, but mainly because he was feared. Accordingly Sicinius,[26] who was the most violent in his attacks on the magistrates and popular leaders of the day, in reply to one who asked, "Why Crassus was the only person whom he did not worry, and why he let him alone?" said, "That he had hay on his horn:" now, the Romans were accustomed to tie some hay round the horn of an ox that butted, as a warning to those who might meet it.

VIII. The insurrection of the gladiators and their devastation of Italy, which is generally called the war of Spartacus,[27] originated as follows:—One Lentulus Batiates kept gladiators in Capua, of whom the majority, who were Gauls and Thracians, had been closely confined, not for any [Pg 47] misbehaviour on their part, but through the villainy of their purchaser, for the purpose of fighting in the games. Two hundred of these resolved to make their escape; but their design being betrayed, those who had notice of the discovery, and succeeded in getting away, to the number of seventy-eight, took knives and spits out of a cook's shop, and sallied out. Meeting on the way with some waggons that were conveying gladiators' arms to another city, they plundered the waggons, and armed themselves. Seizing on a strong position, they chose three leaders, of whom the first was Spartacus, a Thracian of nomadic race, a man not only of great courage and strength, but, in judgment and mildness of character, superior to his condition, and more like a Greek than one would expect from his nation. They say that when Spartacus was first taken to Rome to be sold, a snake was seen folded over his face while he was sleeping, and a woman, of the same tribe with Spartacus, who was skilled in divination, and possessed by the mysterious rites of Dionysus, declared that this was a sign of a great and formidable power which would attend him to a happy termination. This woman was at that time cohabiting with Spartacus, and she made her escape with him.

IX. The gladiators began by repelling those who came against them from Capua and getting a stock of military weapons, for which they gladly exchanged their gladiators' arms, which they threw away as a badge of dishonour, and as barbaric. Clodius[28] the prætor was next sent against them from Rome, with three thousand men, and he blockaded them on a mountain which had only one ascent, and that was difficult and narrow, and Clodius had possession of it; on all other sides there were steep smooth-faced precipices. On the top of the hill there grew a great quantity of wild vines, and the men of Spartacus cutting off all the shoots that were adapted to their purpose, and, intertwining them, made strong and long ladders, so that when fastened [Pg 48] above, they reached along the face of the precipice to the level ground, and they all safely descended by them except one man, who stayed to take care of the arms; and, when all the rest had descended, he let the arms down, and, having done this, he got down safe himself. The Romans did not know what was going on; and accordingly, when the gladiators surrounded them, they were put in alarm by the surprise, and fled, on which the enemy took their camp. Many of the herdsmen and shepherds in those parts also joined the gladiators, men ever ready for a quarrel, and light of foot, some of whom the gladiators armed, and others they employed as scouts and light troops. Publius Barinus[29] the prætor was next sent against them, whose legatus, one Furius, at the head of two thousand soldiers, the gladiators engaged and put to flight. Cossinus was then despatched, with a large force, to advise with Barinus, and to be associated in the command; but Spartacus, watching his opportunity, while Cossinus was bathing at Salenæ,[30] was very near seizing him. Cossinus made his escape with great difficulty, and Spartacus, seizing the baggage, closely followed up the pursuit, with great slaughter of the Romans, and he took the camp. Cossinus also fell. Spartacus, after defeating the prætor himself in many other battles, and at last seizing his lictors and his horse, now became great and formidable: but still he formed a just judgment of the state of affairs and, not expecting to get the advantage over the power of the Romans, he designed to lead his forces to the Alps; thinking that it was advisable for them to cross the mountains and to go to their several homes, some to Thrace and some to Gaul. But the gladiators being strong in numbers, and confident, would not listen to him, and they went about ravaging Italy. The Senate were now no longer troubled merely at the humiliation and disgrace that they suffered by the revolt; but, moved by fear and the danger, they sent out both the [Pg 49] consuls[31] as to a war of the utmost difficulty and importance. Gellius, suddenly falling on the Germans, who, by reason of their arrogance and self-confidence, had separated from the troops of Spartacus, destroyed the whole body; and after Lentulus had hemmed in Spartacus with large armies, Spartacus, rushing upon them and joining battle, defeated the legates and got all the baggage. Spartacus now attempted to force his way towards the Alps; and Cassius[32] who "was the governor of Gaul upon the Padus, met him with ten thousand men, and a battle was fought, in which Cassius was defeated with great lose, and with difficulty made his escape.

X. The Senate, on receiving this news, angrily bade the consuls keep quiet, and they appointed Crassus to the command of the war, whose reputation and popularity induced many of the nobles to serve under him. Crassus took his station on the frontiers of Picenum, with the view of waiting for Spartacus, who was moving in that direction; and he sent Mummius, his legatus, at the head of two legions, to make a circuit, and with orders to follow the enemy, but not to engage with

them, nor come to close quarters. But Mummius, as soon as he got what he thought a favourable opportunity, fought a battle, and was defeated; many of his men fell, and many, flying without their arms, made their escape. Crassus received Mummius himself roughly, and arming the soldiers again, he required of them security for their arms, that they would keep them; and five hundred, who had been the first to run, and had shown most cowardice, he distributed into fifty [Pg 50] decades,[33] and out of each decade he took one man, by lot, and put him to death; thus inflicting on the soldiers this ancient mode of punishment which had long fallen into disuse; for disgrace also is added to the manner of death, and many things horrible and dreadful to see accompany the punishment, in the presence of all the spectators. After inflicting this punishment, he made his men again face about and march against the enemy. Spartacus, however, avoided Crassus, and made his way through Lucania to the sea, and, falling in with some Cilician piratical vessels, in the Straits, he formed a design to seize Sicily, and by throwing two thousand men into the island, to kindle again the servile war there, the flames of which had not long since been quenched, and required only a few sparks to set it again in a blaze. The Cilicians[34] came to terms with Spartacus, and received his presents; but they deceived him, and sailed off. Under these circumstances, he marched back from the coast, and fixed his army in the peninsula of the Rhegine territory. Crassus now came up, and observing that the nature of the ground suggested what was to be done, he resolved to build a wall across the isthmus, for the purpose of keeping his soldiers employed, and cutting off the supplies of the enemy. Though the undertaking was great and difficult, he accomplished it, and completed the work, contrary to all expectation, in a short time, by digging a ditch[35] from sea to sea, through the neck of land, three hundred stadia in length, fifteen feet deep, and as many wide; and above the ditch he raised a rampart of surprising height and strength. At first Spartacus paid no attention to what was going on, and [Pg 51] treated it with contempt; but when forage began to fail, and he wanted to advance further into the interior, he discovered the lines of Crassus; and as there was nothing to be got in the peninsula, taking advantage of a night when there was a fall of snow and a wintry storm, he filled up a small part of the ditch with earth, and wood, and the branches of trees, and so carried over a third part of his army.

XI. Now Crassus was afraid that Spartacus might form a design to march against Rome; but he was encouraged by many of the followers of Spartacus quitting their leader, in consequence of some disputes, and encamping by themselves upon the banks of the lake Lucanis,[36] which they say is subject to changes, at certain intervals becoming sweet, and then again salt, and not potable. Crassus coming upon this band, drove them from the lake; but he was prevented from cutting them to pieces and pursuing them, by the sudden appearance of Spartacus, who checked the flight. Crassus had, before this, written to the Senate, to say that they ought to summon Lucullus[37] from Thrace, and Pompeius from Iberia; but he now changed his mind, and made every effort to put an end to the war before they arrived, knowing that the success would be [Pg 52] attributed to him who came last, and brought help, and not to himself. Accordingly, he determined to attack first those who had separated from the main body, and were carrying on the campaign by themselves, under the command of Caius Cannicius and Castus; and he dispatched six thousand men, with orders to occupy a certain hill, and keep themselves concealed. The men of Crassus endeavoured to escape notice by covering their helmets; but, being seen by two women, who were sacrificing for the enemy, they would have been in danger, if Crassus had not quickly appeared, and fought a battle, the most severely contested of all in this war, in which he destroyed twelve thousand three hundred men, of whom he found only two wounded in the back: all the rest died in the ranks, fighting against the Romans. After the defeat of this body, Spartacus retired to the mountains of Petilia,[38] followed by Quintius,[39] one of the generals of Crassus, and Scrofas, his quæstor, who hung close on his rear. But, upon Spartacus facing about, the Romans were thrown into disorderly flight, and made their escape, after having with difficulty rescued their quæstor, who was wounded. This success was the ruin of Spartacus, in consequence of the self-confidence which it infused into the slaves: they would not now consent to avoid a battle, nor yet would they obey their commanders, whom they surrounded, with arms in their hands, on the march, and compelled to lead them back through Lucania against the Romans, wherein they did the very thing that Crassus desired; for it was reported that Pompeius was now approaching, and there were not a few who openly said that the victory in this war belonged to him; for he would fight as soon as he arrived, and put an end to the campaign. While Crassus, therefore, who was eager to decide the affair by a battle, and to fix his camp near the enemy, was engaged in digging his trenches, the slaves came up to them and attacked the men [Pg 53] who were at work. As fresh men from both sides kept coming up to help their comrades, Spartacus, seeing that he must fight, arranged all his army in order of battle. When his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword and said, that if he won the battle he should have plenty of fine horses from the enemy, and if he was defeated he should not want one; upon which he killed his horse, and then he made his way towards Crassus himself, through many men, and inflicting many wounds; but he did not succeed in reaching Crassus, though he engaged with and killed two centurions. At last, after those about him had fled, he kept his ground, and, being surrounded by a great number, he fought till he was cut down. But, though Crassus had been successful, and had displayed the skill of a great general, and had exposed his person to danger, yet the credit of the victory did not escape being appropriated to Pompeius; for those who fled from the battle were destroyed by him, and Pompeius wrote to the Senate that Crassus had defeated the slaves in the open field, but he had cut up the war by the roots.[40] Now Pompeius had a splendid triumph for his victory over Sertorius and his exploits in Iberia; but Crassus did not venture to ask for the greater triumph; and even as to the foot triumph called the ovation, which he did enjoy, it was considered but a mean thing, and below his dignity that he had a triumph for a

servile war. But how the ovation differs from the other triumph, and about the name, I have spoken in the 'Life of Marcellus.'[41]

XII. After these events, Pompeius was forthwith invited to the consulship,[42] and, though Crassus had hopes of becoming his colleague, still he did not hesitate to solicit the assistance of Pompeius. Pompeius gladly listened to his proposal, for he was desirous in any way always to have Crassus his debtor for some obligation, and he actively exerted himself on behalf of Crassus; and finally he said, in his address to the public assembly, that he should feel no less grateful for the return of Crassus as his colleague than for his own election. They did not, however, continue in this harmony after entering on their office, but they differed on almost every subject, and quarrelled about everything, and by their disputes rendered their consulship unfruitful in all political measures, and ineffectual: however, Crassus made a great festival in honour of Hercules, and feasted the people at ten thousand tables, and gave them an allowance of corn for three months. It was at the close of their consulship, when Pompeius and Crassus happened to be addressing the public assembly, that a man, not of any distinction, a Roman eques, a rustic in his mode of life, and one who did not meddle with public affairs, Onatius Aurelius,[43] got up on the rostra, and, coming forward, told a dream which he had had. "Jupiter," he said, "appeared to me, and bade me tell the citizens not to let the consuls lay down their office before they have become friends." Upon the man saying this, and the assembly bidding the consuls be reconciled, Pompeius stood silent; but Crassus offering his right hand first, said, "Citizens, I do not consider that I am humbling myself or doing anything unworthy of me when I make the advance towards good-will and friendship to Pompeius, to whom you gave the name of Magnus before he had a beard, and voted a triumph before he was a senator." [Pg 54]

XIII. These were the things worthy of commemoration in the consulship of Crassus. But his censorship[44] passed over altogether without results, and without any active measures; for he neither revised the senate, nor inspected the equites, nor made a census of the citizens, though he had for his colleague Lutatius Catulus, the mildest of the Romans. But it is said that Crassus designed a shameful and violent measure, to make Egypt tributary to the Romans, and that Catulus opposed him vigorously, on which a difference arising between them, they voluntarily laid down their office. In the affair of Catiline,[45] which was a serious matter, and one that came near overthrowing Rome, some suspicion, it is true, attached to Crassus, and a man came forward to name him as implicated in the conspiracy, but nobody believed him. However, Cicero, in one of his orations, evidently imputed to Crassus and Cæsar participation in the plot; but this oration was not published till after the death of both of them. But in the oration on his consulship, Cicero says that Crassus came to him by night and brought a letter[46] which contained information on the affair of Catiline, as if his object was to establish the truth of the conspiracy. Now Crassus always hated Cicero for this, but his son stood in the way of his doing Cicero any open injury. For Publius,[47] who was fond of oratory and of improving himself, was much attached to Cicero, and went so far as to change his dress when Cicero did at the time of his trial, and he induced the other young men to do the same. At last he prevailed upon his father, and reconciled him to Cicero. [Pg 55] [Pg 56]

XIV. When Cæsar returned from his province,[48] he made preparations to be a candidate for the consulship; but, observing that Crassus and Pompeius were again at enmity, he did not choose by applying to one of them for his help to have the other for his enemy, and he did not think that he could succeed if neither of them assisted him. Accordingly, he set about reconciling them, by continually urging upon them, and showing that by their attempts to ruin one another they would increase the power of the Ciceros, and Catuli, and Catos, who would lose all their influence if they would unite their friends and adherents, and so direct the administration with combined strength, and one purpose. By persuasion and effecting a reconciliation, he brought them together, and he formed out of the union of all three an irresistible power by which he put down the Roman senate and the people, though he did not make Pompeius and Crassus more powerful, one through the other, but by means of the two he made himself most powerful; for immediately on being supported by Pompeius and Crassus, he was elected consul by a great majority. While Cæsar was ably discharging the business of the consulship, Crassus and Pompeius, by procuring for him the command of armies, and by delivering Gaul into his hands, fixed him in a kind of acropolis, thinking that they should administer the rest of the State as they mutually agreed, after securing to Cæsar the authority which the lot had given him. Now Pompeius did all this through unbounded love of power; but to the old vice of Crassus, his avarice, there was now added a new passion, ambition for trophies and triumphs excited by the great exploits of Cæsar, since it was in this alone that he was Cæsar's inferior; for he had the superiority in everything else; and his passion remitted not nor diminished till it resulted in an inglorious death and public misfortunes. Cæsar had come down from Gaul to the city of Luca, and many of the Romans went to him there, and Pompeius and Crassus had private conferences with him, in which they agreed to take affairs in hand more vigorously, and to hold the whole power of the State at their disposal, to which end Cæsar was to remain in his military command, and Pompeius and Crassus were to have other provinces and armies. To this object there was only one road, which was to ask for a second consulship, and Cæsar was to assist them in their canvass by writing to his friends and sending many of his soldiers to support them at the comitia. [Pg 57]

XV. As soon as Crassus and Pompeius[49] returned to Rome, suspicion was excited, and there was much talk through the whole city that their meeting had been held for no good. In the Senate Marcellinus and Domitius asked Pompeius if he intended to be a candidate for the consulship, to which Pompeius replied that perhaps he should, and perhaps he should not; being asked again,

he said that he was a candidate for the votes of the good citizens, but not a candidate for the votes of the bad. It was considered that Pompeius had made a haughty and arrogant answer; but Crassus said, in a more modest tone, that he would be a candidate, if it was for the interest of the State; if it was not, he would decline. This encouraged certain persons to become candidates, among whom was Domitius. However, when Pompeius and Crassus had openly declared [Pg 58] themselves candidates, the rest were afraid and withdrew; but Domitius was encouraged by Cato, who was his kinsman and friend, and stimulated and urged him to stick to his hopes, with the view of defending the common liberties; he said "it was not the consulship that Pompeius and Crassus wanted, but a tyranny; that their conduct showed they were not asking for the consulship, but aiming to seize on the provinces and the armies." By such arguments, which were also his real opinions, Cato, all but by force, brought Domitius to the Forum, and many sided with them. And those who were surprised at the canvassing of Pompeius and Crassus were no small number. "Why then do they want a second consulship? And why do they wish to be colleagues again? And why will they not have the consulship with other colleagues? There are many men among us who are surely not unworthy to be colleagues with Crassus and Pompeius." This alarmed the partizans of Pompeius, who now abstained from no proceeding, however disorderly and violent; but, in addition to all the rest, they placed a body of men to lie in wait and attack Domitius as he was going down to the Forum, while it was still dark, with his partizans, and they killed the man that held the light, and wounded many, among whom was Cato. After putting the party of Domitius to flight, and driving them back to the house,[50] Pompeius and Crassus were proclaimed consuls. Shortly after, they again surrounded the Senate-house with armed men, and, after driving Cato out of the Forum, and killing some persons who opposed them, they procured another five years[51] of administration to be added to Cæsar's term, and the two provinces of [Pg 59] Syria and Iberia to be given to them. When the lots were cast, Crassus got Syria, and Pompeius had Iberia.

XVI. The result of the lot was not universally disliked; for the majority wished Pompeius not to be far from the city, and Pompeius, who was much attached to his wife,[52] intended to spend his time chiefly in Rome. Crassus showed by his joy, immediately on the falling out of the lot, that he considered no greater good fortune had ever befallen him, and he could scarcely keep quiet before strangers and in public; to his friends he uttered many foolish and puerile expressions quite inconsistent with his years and temper, for he had never before shown himself in the least degree a braggart or arrogant. But now, being mightily elated, and his head completely turned, he was not for making Syria or Palestine the limit of his victories; but, designing to make the exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompeius against Mithridates appear mere child's play, he extended his hopes as far as to the Bactrians, and the Indians, and the external sea. And yet there was no mention of a Parthian war in the law[53] that was drawn up on this occasion. But everybody knew that Crassus was passionately bent on a Parthian war, and Cæsar [Pg 60] wrote to him from Gaul, approving of his design, and urging him to it. When it was known that Ateius,[54] the tribune, intended to offer some opposition to his leaving the city, and many persons joined him who complained that Crassus was going to make war upon a people who were doing the Romans no wrong, and had a treaty with them, Crassus in alarm prayed Pompeius to accompany him, and escort him out of the city. Now, the reputation of Pompeius with the multitude was great, and, by showing himself in front of Crassus, with cheerful looks and countenance, he tranquillized a numerous body of people who were prepared to obstruct Crassus, and to raise a shout against him, so that they made way and let him pass through them quietly. But Ateius met Crassus, and, first of all, endeavoured to stop him by words, and he protested against his marching out: in the next place, he ordered his attendant to lay hold of Crassus, and to detain him; but, as the rest of the tribunes would not allow this, the attendant quitted his hold of Crassus, and Ateius running to the gate, placed there a burning brazier, and, as soon as Crassus arrived, he threw incense and poured libations upon it, and, at the same time, he denounced against Crassus curses, in themselves dreadful and terrific, and, in addition thereto, he uttered the names of certain awful and inauspicious deities. The Romans say that these mysterious and ancient curses have great efficacy, that no man can escape upon whom they are laid, and that he who utters them also has an unlucky end, and, accordingly, they are not denounced either on ordinary occasions, or by many persons. Ateius was blamed for letting loose such imprecations and religious fears upon a State, on behalf of which he was hostile to Crassus.

XVII. When Crassus arrived at Brundisium, though the sea was still rough owing to the wintry [Pg 61] weather, he would not wait, but he set sail, and so lost many of his vessels. After getting together the remnant of his forces, he marched through Galatia.[55] Finding King Deiotarus, who was now a very old man, founding a new city, Crassus said sarcastically, "King, you are beginning to build at the twelfth hour." The Galatian, with a smile, replied, "You, too, Imperator, I observe, are not very early with your Parthian expedition." Now Crassus was past sixty, and he looked older than he was. On his arrival, matters at first turned out fully equal to his expectation; for he easily threw a bridge over the Euphrates, and got his army across safely, and he also obtained possession of many cities in Mesopotamia which surrendered. Before one of them, of which Apollonius was tyrant, he lost a hundred men, upon which he brought his force against the place, and, having got possession of it, he made plunder of all the property, and sold the people: the Greeks called the city Zenodotia.[56] On the capture of the city, Crassus allowed his soldiers to proclaim him Imperator, wherein he greatly disgraced himself, and showed the meanness of his spirit, and that he had no good hopes of greater things, as he was content with so slight a success. Having put garrisons in the cities that had surrendered, to the amount of seven thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, he retired to winter in Syria, and there to await his

son,[57] who was coming from Cæsar in Gaul, with the decorations that he had gained by his valour, and with a thousand picked horsemen. This seemed to be the first blunder of Crassus, or [Pg 62] at least, it was the greatest blunder that he committed next to the expedition itself; for he ought to have advanced and to have secured Babylon and Seleukeia,[58] two cities which were always hostile to the Parthians; instead of which, he gave his enemies time to make preparation. The next thing the people blamed was his waste of time in Syria, which was employed more for purposes of money profit than for military purposes; for he did not occupy himself in reviewing the numbers of his troops, nor establishing games to keep the soldiers in exercise, but he busied himself about estimating the revenues of cities, and he was for many days with weights and scales in his hands among the treasures of the goddess in Hierapolis,[59] and, after requiring from the towns and princes contingents of men, he would remit his requisitions for a sum of money; by all which he lost his reputation, and fell into contempt. The first sign that happened to him proceeded from this goddess herself, whom some consider to be Aphrodite (Venus); and others Hera (Juno); others again believe her to be the cause that has supplied from moisture the seeds for all things, and nature, and the power that has pointed out the source of all good things for men; for, as they were going out of the temple, young Crassus first stumbled at the gate, and then his father fell upon him.

XVIII. While Crassus was getting together his forces out of the winter quarter, there came ambassadors from Arsakes[60] with a short message. They said, if the army was sent by the [Pg 63] Romans, there was nothing but war without truce, and without any terms; but if Crassus, contrary to the wish of his country, as they heard, had brought arms against the Parthians and occupied territory for his private profit, Arsakes would act with moderation, and would take pity on the old age of Crassus, and give up to the Romans the men whom he had in his power, and who were rather under guard themselves than keeping guard over others. Crassus haughtily replied, that he would give an answer in Seleukeia; on which Vagises, the oldest of the ambassadors, smiled, and, showing the palm of his hand, said, "From here, Crassus, hair will grow before you see Seleukeia." The ambassadors now returned to Hyrodes, to inform him that he must be ready for war. From the cities of Mesopotamia, in which there were Roman garrisons, some soldiers, who made their escape at great hazard, brought reports that caused much anxiety, having been eye-witnesses of the numbers of the enemy, and of their mode of attacking the cities; and, as is usual, they magnified everything which they reported. "When the enemy pursued," they said, "no man could escape from them, and when they fled, they could not be overtaken; that strange missiles preceded the appearance of the enemy, and before one could see who sent them, they pierced through everything that they struck; and as to the arms of the mailed[61] soldiers, [Pg 64] some were made to push through every obstacle, and others to give way to nothing." When the soldiers heard this their courage sank; for they had been led to believe that the Parthians did not differ at all from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus plundered and robbed till he was weary, and they thought that the hardest part of the war would be a long march, and the pursuit of men who would not come to close quarters; but now, contrary to their hopes, they were in expectation of a contest and great danger, so that some of the officers thought that Crassus ought to stop, and again submit to their deliberation the general state of affairs. Among these was Cassius[62] the quæstor. The seers, also, in gentle terms showed that bad and unfavourable signs were always prognosticated to Crassus by the victims. But Crassus paid no attention to them, nor to those who advised anything else except to move on.

XIX. But Crassus was in no small degree encouraged by Artabazes[63] the king of the Armenians, who came to the camp with six thousand horsemen. These were said to be the guards and attendants of the king; and he promised ten thousand men clothed in mail and thirty thousand infantry, who were to be maintained at his own cost. He attempted to persuade Crassus to invade Parthia through Armenia; for, he said, the army would not only have abundance of provision in its march through the country by reason of him supplying them, but would also advance safely, having in their front many mountains and continuous hills, and ground unfavourable for cavalry, in which alone lay the strength of the Parthians. Crassus was well enough satisfied with the zeal of the king and the splendour of the proffered aid; but he said he would march through Mesopotamia, where he had left many brave Romans; upon this the Armenian went away. As Crassus was taking his army over at the Zeugma,[64] many extraordinary claps of thunder broke [Pg 65] around, and many flashes of lightning came right in front of the army; and a wind, mingled with cloud and hurricane,[65] falling on the raft, broke up and crushed to pieces a large part of it. The spot also, on which Crassus intended to encamp, was struck with two thunderbolts.[66] [Pg 66] A horse, belonging to the general, which was caparisoned in splendid style, violently dragged along the man who held the reins, and plunging into the stream, disappeared. It is said also, that the first eagle which was raised, turned round spontaneously. Added to this, it happened that, as they were giving out the rations to the soldiers after crossing the river, lentils and salt were given first, which the Romans consider to be symbols of lamentation, and are accustomed to place before the dead; and, as Crassus was haranguing the soldiers, an expression escaped him which greatly alarmed the army. He said he would destroy the raft over the river, that no one among them might return; and though he ought, upon seeing the imprudence of his words, to have recalled what he had said and explained it to the soldiers, he neglected to do so, through his arrogant temper. Finally, when he was offering the usual expiatory sacrifice, and the priest had put the viscera into his hands, he threw them away, on which, observing that the standers-by were greatly disturbed, he said with a smile, "Such is old age; but no arms at least shall drop from its hands."

XX. After this he advanced along the river, with seven legions and nearly four thousand

horsemen, and almost as many light-armed troops as horsemen. Some of the scouts now returned from their exploration and reported that the country was clear of men, and that they had fallen in with the tracks of many horses, which indicated that they had turned about and were retreating. [Pg 67] This gave Crassus still better hopes, and made the soldiers completely despise the Parthians, who, as they supposed, would not come to close quarters. However, Cassius again had some conversation with Crassus, and advised him at least to give his troops rest in some of the garrisoned cities, till he should get some certain information about the enemy; but if he would not do this, to advance towards Seleukeia along the river. He urged that the boats which carried the provisions would furnish them with supplies by stopping at the places of encampment, and that, by having the river as a protection against being hemmed in by the enemy, they would always be able to fight them on fair terms.

XXI. While Crassus was considering and reflecting on these matters, there comes an Arab chieftain, Ariamnes[67] by name, a cunning and faithless man, and of all the misfortunes that were by chance combined to ruin the Romans the chief and crowning mischief. Some of them who had served with Pompeius knew him as one who had received favours from Pompeius, and was supposed to be a friend to the Romans; but he now came to Crassus with a treacherous intent, and with the privity of the royal generals, to try if he could draw him far away from the river and the foot of the hills, into a boundless plain, where he might be surrounded by the enemy; for nothing was further from the intentions of the Parthians than to attack the Romans right in front. Accordingly, the barbarian coming to Crassus (and he was a plausible talker), spake in high terms of Pompeius as his benefactor, and praised the force of Crassus; but he blamed him for his tardiness, inasmuch as he was delaying and making preparation, as if he would have occasion to employ arms instead of hands and the most active feet, against an enemy who had long been trying to get together, as quick as they could, their most valuable property and their best slaves, and to move off to the Scythians or Hyrkanians. "And yet," he said, "if you intend to fight, you ought to press on before the king recovers his courage and all his forces are concentrated; for [Pg 68] now Surena and Sillakes have been thrown in your way to stand the attack, and the king is no where to be seen." But all this was false. For Hyrodes had at first divided his forces into two parts, and he was himself ravaging Armenia to take vengeance on Artavasdes; but he sent Surena against the Romans, not because he despised them, as some say, for it was not consistent for him to disdain Crassus as an antagonist, the first of the Romans, and to war against Artavasdes and take the villages of Armenia; but it seems that he really feared the danger, and that he was on the watch to await the result, and that he put Surena in the front to try the fortune of a battle, and so to divert the enemy. For Surena was no person of mean estate: in wealth, birth, and consideration, he was next to the king; but, in courage and ability, the first of the Parthians of his time; and, besides all this, in stature and beauty of person he had no equal. He used always to travel, when he was on his own business, with a thousand camels to carry his baggage, and he had following him two hundred carriages for concubines; and a thousand mailed horsemen, with a larger number of light cavalry, escorted him; and he had in all, horsemen, clients,[68] and slaves, no less than ten thousand. Now by hereditary right he had the privilege of first placing the diadem on the head of him who became king of the Parthians;[69] and this very Hyrodes, who had been driven out, he restored to the Parthian empire, and took for him Seleukeia the Great, being the first to mount the wall and to put to flight with his own hand those who opposed him. Though [Pg 69] he was not yet thirty years of age at that time, he had the first reputation for prudent counsel and judgment, by which qualities particularly he caused the ruin of Crassus, who through his confidence and pride in the first place, and next through his fears and his misfortunes, became a most easy victim to fraud.

XXII. The barbarian, after persuading Crassus, drew him away from the river, and led him through the plains by a track at first convenient and easy, but which soon became toilsome; for it was succeeded by deep sand, and plains treeless and waterless, not bounded in any direction by any object that the eye could reach, so that, not only through thirst and the difficulty of the march, was the army exhausted, but even the aspect of all around caused the soldiers to despond past all comfort, seeing neither plant, nor stream, nor top of sloping hill, nor blade of grass sprouting or rising through the earth, but a bare sea-like wave of desert heaps of sand environing the army. Now this of itself made the Romans suspect treachery. Messengers also came from Artavasdes the Armenian, with a message that he was engaged in a heavy struggle since Hyrodes had fallen upon him, and that he could not send Crassus aid; but he advised Crassus above all things to change his route immediately, and, by joining the Armenians, to bring the contest with Hyrodes to a close: but, if he would not do this, he recommended him to advance, and always to avoid encamping in such places as were adapted for the movements of cavalry, and to keep close to the mountainous parts: to all which Crassus sent no written answer, but, under the influence of passion and perverse disposition, he answered, that he had no leisure at present to deal with the Armenians, but he would come at another time to punish Artavasdes for his treachery. Cassius was again much dissatisfied: but he gave over advising Crassus, who was out of humour with him, though Cassius himself abused the barbarian. "What evil dæmon," he said, "vilest of men, brought you to us, and by what drugs and witchcraft have you persuaded Crassus to plunge his army into a boundless wilderness and an abyss, and to pursue a path more fit for a nomadic chief of robbers than for a Roman Imperator?" But the barbarian, who was a cunning follow, with [Pg 70] abject servility, prayed him to endure a little longer; and, while running along with the soldiers and giving them his help, he would jeer at them in a laughing mood, and say, "I suppose you think that you are marching through Campania, and you long for the fountains, and streams, and shades, and baths, and taverns? Have you forgotten that you are crossing the confines of the Arabs and Assyrians?" Thus the barbarian amused the Romans, and before his treachery was

discovered he rode off, not, however, without the knowledge of Crassus, after making him believe that he would serve the Roman army, and put the affairs of the enemy in confusion.

XXIII. It is said that on that day Crassus did not appear, as is the custom of Roman generals, in a purple dress, but in black, which he immediately changed on observing what he had done: and it is also said that the men who carried the standards had much difficulty in raising some of them up, for they stuck in the ground as if they were firmly rooted there. Crassus ridiculed all these omens, and quickened his march, urging the infantry to follow after the cavalry, till at last a few of those who had been sent forward as scouts came up, and reported that the rest of them had been cut off by the enemy, and they had escaped with difficulty, and that the Parthians were advancing with a large force, and full of confidence. This threw all the army into confusion, and Crassus was completely confounded, and began to put his men in order hastily, and with no great presence of mind: at first, as Cassius recommended, he extended the line of the legionary soldiers as far as possible in the plain, and making it of small depth, in order to prevent the enemy from attacking them on the flank, he distributed the cavalry on the wings; but he changed his plan and, drawing his men together, formed them into a deep square of four fronts, with twelve cohorts on each side. By the side of each cohort he placed a body of horse, in order that no part of the army might be without the aid of the cavalry, but might make the attack equally protected on all sides. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, and the other to young Crassus; he himself took his station in the centre. Thus advancing, they came to a stream called Balissus,[70] [Pg 71] which was neither large nor copious; but it was a joyful sight to the soldiers in the midst of the drought and heat, and by comparison with the rest of their laborious march through a country without water. Now most of the commanders thought that they ought to encamp and spend the night there, and learn what was the number of the enemy, and the nature and disposition of their force, and so advance against them at daybreak; but Crassus, being prevailed upon by the importunity of his son, and the cavalry with him, to advance immediately, and engage with the enemy, gave orders for the men who required it to eat and drink in their ranks. And before this could be well accomplished all through the ranks, he led on his men, not slowly, nor halting at intervals, as is usual when men are marching to battle, but he kept them up to a quick, unbroken pace, until the enemy were in sight, who, contrary to expectation, did not appear to the Romans to be either numerous or formidable; for Surena disguised his numbers by placing the mass of his force behind the front ranks, and he prevented their bright armour from being seen by ordering his men to cover themselves with cloaks and skins. But when they were near the Romans, and the standard was raised by the general, first of all they filled the plain with a deep sound and a terrific noise; for the Parthians do not excite themselves to battle with horns or trumpets, but they have hollow instruments,[71] made of skin, and furnished with brass bells, on which they strike at the same time in various parts; and these instruments produce a kind of deep and dismal sound, compounded of the roaring of wild beasts and the harsh crash of thunder; for the [Pg 72] Parthians rightly judge that of all the senses the hearing is that which causes the greatest alarm in the mind, and that, when this sense is affected, there is the speediest and greatest disturbance in the judgment.

XXIV. The Romans were startled at the noise, when all of a sudden throwing off the covering of their armour the Parthians appeared, with their helmets and breastplates flashing like flame, the Margian steel[72] glittering sharp and bright, and the horses equipped in mail of brass and iron; but Surena was most conspicuous of all, being the tallest and handsomest man among them, though his personal appearance, owing to his feminine beauty, did not correspond to his reputation for courage, for he was dressed more in the Median fashion, with his face painted[73] and his hair parted, while the rest of the Parthians, still keeping to the Scythian fashion, wore their hair long and bushy to make themselves more formidable. At first the Parthians intended to fall upon them with their long spears, and to drive the front ranks from their ground; but when they saw the depth of their close-locked ranks, and the firmness and stability of the men, they drew back; and while they seemed to be at the same time dispersing themselves and breaking their ranks, they threw themselves around the square before the Romans were aware of it. Crassus ordered the light-armed troops to spring forward; but they had not advanced far before they were met by a shower of arrows, which galled them, and they ran back for shelter among the legionary soldiers, and caused the beginning of disorder and alarm among the Romans, who saw the vigour with which the arrows were discharged and their strength, for they tore the armour and made their way through everything alike, whether hard or soft defence. The [Pg 73] Parthians, dispersing themselves at considerable distances from one another, began to discharge their arrows from all points at once, not taking any very exact aim (for the close and compact ranks of the Romans did not give a man the opportunity of missing if he wished it), but sending their arrows with vigorous and forcible effect from bows which were strong and large, and, owing to their great degree of bending, discharged the missiles with violence. Now the condition of the Romans was pitiable from the beginning: for, if they kept their position, they were exposed to be wounded, and if they attempted to close with the enemy, they were just as far from doing the enemy any harm, and they suffered just as much; for the Parthians while retreating[74] still discharged their arrows, and they do this most effectually next to the Scythians: and it is a most subtle device to make their escape from danger while they are still fighting, and to take away the disgrace of flight.

XXV.[75] The Romans endured so long as they had hopes that the Parthians would withdraw from the contest when they had discharged their arrows, or would come to close quarters; but when they perceived that there were many camels standing there, loaded with arrows, and that the Parthians who had first shot all their arrows, turned round to the camels for a fresh supply,

Crassus, seeing no end to this, began to lose heart, and he sent messengers to his son with orders to force the enemy to engage before he was surrounded, for the Parthians were mainly attacking and surrounding with their cavalry the wing commanded by young Crassus, with the view of getting in his rear. Accordingly, the young man taking thirteen hundred horsemen,—a thousand of whom he had brought from Cæsar,—and five hundred archers, and eight cohorts of [Pg 74] the legionary soldiers, who were nearest to him, wheeled about to attack the Parthians. But the Parthians, who were manœuvring about Crassus, either because they fell in with some marshes, [76] as some say, or because it was their design to attack Crassus when they had drawn him as far as they could from his father, turned round and fled. On this Crassus, calling out that the Parthians did not stand their ground, advanced with Censorinus and Megabacchus,[77] of whom Megabacchus was distinguished for courage and strength, and Censorinus[78] was a senator and a powerful speaker, both of them companions of Crassus, and about the same age. The cavalry pursued the enemy, nor did the infantry allow themselves to be left behind, being full of alacrity and hope of victory; for they thought that they were victorious and in pursuit: but they had not gone far before they perceived the stratagem; for the Parthians, who were supposed to be flying, began to face about, and others, in greater numbers, joined them. Upon this the Romans halted, thinking that the enemy would come to close quarters with them, as they were only few in number. But the Parthians placing their mailed horsemen in the front, to oppose the Romans, rode about them with the rest of the cavalry dispersed, and, by trampling the ground, they raised from the bottom heaps of sand, which threw up such an immense cloud of dust that the Romans could neither see clearly nor speak; and, being driven into a narrow compass, and falling one on another, they were wounded and died no easy nor yet a speedy death, for tortured with violent convulsions and pain, and writhing with the arrows in them, they broke them in the wounds, and, [Pg 75] by trying to pull out by force the barbed points, which had pierced through their veins and nerves, they increased the evil by breaking the arrows, and thus injured themselves. Many thus fell, and the survivors also were unable to fight; for, when Publius encouraged them to attack the mailed horsemen, they showed him that their hands were nailed to their shields, and their feet fastened right through to the ground, so that they were unable either to fly or to defend themselves. However, Publius cheering the cavalry, made a vigorous attack with them, and closed with the enemy; but the Romans were under a disadvantage, both as to attack and defence, striking with small and feeble spears against breastplates of raw hide and iron, and receiving the blows of long spears on the lightly-equipped and bare bodies of the Gauls, for Crassus trusted most to them, and with them indeed he did wonderful feats; for the Gauls, laying hold of the long spears, and closing with the Parthians, pushed them from their horses, the men, owing to the weight of their armour, being unable to stir themselves; and many of the Gauls, quitting their own horses, and slipping under those of the enemy, wounded them in the belly, and the horses springing up through pain, and, at the same time, trampling on their riders and the enemy, fell dead. The Gauls were most oppressed by the heat and thirst, being unaccustomed to both, and they had lost most of their horses by driving them against the long spears. They were, therefore, compelled to retreat to the legionary soldiers, taking with them Publius, who was badly wounded. Seeing a sandy eminence near, they retreated to it, and fastened their horses in the middle, and closing in their front by close-locking their shields, they thought they could thus more easily repel the enemy: but it turned out just the other way; for, while they were on the level ground, the front ranks did, in some sort, give relief to those who were behind; but on this spot, which raised the men one above another, by reason of the inequality of the ground, and placed every one who was in the rear above the man in front of him, there was no one who could escape, and they were all alike exposed to the missiles, lamenting their inglorious and unresisting [Pg 76] death. There were with Publius two Greeks, who belonged to the dwellers in those parts in Carrhæ,[79] Hieronymus and Nikomachus, both of whom attempted to persuade Publius to retire with them, and to make his escape to Ichnæ[80] a city which had taken the side of the Romans, and was not far off. But he replied that no death was so dreadful as to make Publius, through fear of it, desert those who were losing their lives for his sake, and bade them save themselves, and taking leave of them, he allowed them to go: himself being unable to use his hand effectually, for it was pierced by an arrow, presented his side to his shield-bearer[81] and ordered him to despatch him with his sword. They say that Censorinus perished in the same way, and that Megabacchus killed himself, and all the rest of the most distinguished men. The Parthians, ascending the hill, transfixed with their spears the survivors; and it is said that not more than five hundred were taken prisoners. The Parthians, cutting off the head of Publius, immediately rode off to attack Crassus.

XXVI. With Crassus matters were thus. After ordering his son to make an attack on the Parthians, and receiving intelligence that they were routed to a great distance, and were hotly pursued; seeing also that the enemy in front were no longer pressing on him so much as before, for most of them had crowded to the place where young Crassus was, he recovered his courage a little, and drawing his forces together, posted them on a sloping ground, being in immediate expectation that his son would return from the pursuit. Of those who were sent by Publius to his father, when he began to be in danger, the first fell into the hands of the enemy and were killed; [Pg 77] and the next, after escaping with great difficulty, reported that Publius was lost, if he did not receive speedy and sufficient aid from his father. Now, Crassus was affected by many contending feelings at once, and he no longer viewed anything with sober judgment. Distracted by alarm for the whole army, and love of his son at the same time, he was urged by one motive to go to his aid, and by the other not to go: but finally he began to move in advance. In the mean time the enemy came up, making themselves more formidable by their shouts and pæans, and many of the drums again bellowed around the Romans, who were in expectation of a second attack. The Parthians,

carrying the head of Publius fixed on a spear, rode close up to the Romans, and, displaying it insultingly, asked who were his parents and family, for it was not decent to suppose that so noble and brave a youth was the son of so cowardly and mean a man as Crassus. The sight of this broke and unstrung the spirit of the Romans more than all the rest of their dangers; and it did not fill them with a spirit for revenge, as one might have supposed, but with shuddering and trembling. Yet they say that the courage of Crassus on that dreadful occasion shone forth more brightly than ever before; for he went along the ranks, crying out, "Mine alone, Romans, is this misfortune: but the great fortune and glory of Rome abide in you, if your lives are saved, unbroken and unvanquishcd: and, if you have any pity on me, who have been deprived of the noblest of sons, show this in your fury against the enemy. Take from them their rejoicing, avenge their cruelty: be not cast down at what has happened, for it is the law that those who aim at great things must also endure. Neither did Lucullus vanquish Tigranes without loss of blood, nor Scipio Antiochus; and our ancestors of old lost a thousand ships on the coast of Sicily, and in Italy many Imperatores and generals, not one of whom, by being first vanquished, prevented them from vanquishing the victors; for it is not by good fortune that the Roman state has advanced to such a height of power, but by the endurance and courage of those who meet danger."

XXVII. Though Crassus used such words to encourage them, he did not see many eager to follow his exhortations: but, by ordering them to shout the battle cry, he discovered the dispirited condition of his men, so weak, and feeble, and irregular a shout they made; while the cries on the side of the enemy were clear and bold. When the Parthians began the attack, their slaves and clients, riding about on the flanks of the Romans, galled them with their arrows: and the horsemen in front, using their long spears, kept driving the Romans into a narrow compass, except those who, to avoid death from the arrows, made a desperate attempt to rush upon the Parthians; wherein they did the enemy little damage, but met with a speedy death by great and mortal wounds; for the Parthians drove their spears, heavy with iron, against the horsemen; and, from the force of the blow, they often went even through two men. After thus fighting, as dark came on the Parthians retired, saying, that they allowed Crassus a single night to lament his son, unless he should take better counsel for himself, and choose rather to come to King Arsakes than to be taken. The Parthians encamped near the Romans, in high hopes. A painful night followed to the Romans, who neither paid any attention to the interment of the dead, nor care to the wounded, and those who were in the agonies of death; but every man was severally lamenting his own fate; for it appeared that they could not escape, either if they waited there till daybreak, or if they plunged by night into a boundless plain. And the wounded caused a great difficulty; for they would be an obstacle to the quickness of their flight if they attempted to carry them off: and, if they should leave them, their shouts would betray the attempt to escape unobserved. Though they considered Crassus to be the cause of all their sufferings, the soldiers still wished to see him and hear his voice. But Crassus, wrapping himself up in his cloak, lay concealed in the dark, an example to the many of fortune's reverses, and to the wise of want of judgment and of ambition, which made him dissatisfied unless he was the first and greatest among so many thousands, and think that he lacked everything because he was judged to be inferior to two men only. However, [Pg 78] [Pg 79] Octavius the legate, and Cassius, endeavoured to rouse and comfort him; but, finding that he had entirely given himself up to despair, they called together the centurions and tribunes, and, after deliberating, they resolved not to stay on the ground, and they made an attempt at first to put the army in motion without the sound of the trumpet, and in silence. But when the soldiers who were disabled, perceived that they were going to be deserted, terrible disorder and confusion, mingled with groans and shouts, filled the camp; and this was followed by disorder and panic as they began to advance, for they thought that the enemy was coming upon them. After frequently turning from their route, and frequently putting themselves in order of battle, and taking up the wounded who followed, and then laying them down again, they lost much time on the march, with the exception of three hundred horsemen, with Ignatius[82] at their head, who reached Carrhæ about midnight. Ignatius, calling out in the Roman language to the watch upon the walls, and making them hear, told them to tell Coponius, the commander, that there had been a great battle between Crassus and the Parthians; and, without saying more or who he was, he rode off to the Zeugma, and saved all his men; but he got a bad name for deserting his general. However, the information thus conveyed to Coponius was some advantage to Crassus; for Coponius concluded that this hasty and confused message indicated that he who brought it had no good news to report: and, accordingly, he immediately ordered the soldiers to arm; and, as soon as he learned that Crassus was on his march, he went out to meet him, and, taking charge of him and his army, conducted them into the city.

XXVIII. Though the Parthians during the night discovered that the Romans were making their escape, they did not pursue, but at daybreak they came upon those who were left in the camp, to the number of four thousand, and massacred them; and they rode about the plain and overtook many who were there rambling about. Four complete cohorts, while it was still dark, under the command of Varguntinus the legate, got separated from the rest and lost their way, and, being [Pg 80] surrounded by the Parthians on an eminence, they fought till they were all killed, with the exception of twenty men. The Parthians, admiring the courage of these twenty men, who were endeavouring to push through them with their bare swords, made way and allowed them a passage through their ranks, and to march slowly to Carrhæ. A false report reached Surena, that Crassus and all the men of rank had made their escape, and that those who had fled to Carrhæ were a mingled rabble not worth notice. Thinking, then, that he had lost the end of his victory, but being still doubtful and wishing to know the truth, in order that he might either stay there and besiege the town, or leave the people of Carrhæ behind and pursue Crassus, he sends one of the men with him, who could speak both languages, with instructions to approach the walls, and

in the Roman language to call out for Crassus himself or Cassius, and to say that Surena wished to have a conference with them. The man did as he was ordered; and when it was reported to Crassus, he accepted the invitation, and soon after there came from the barbarians some Arabs who well knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, having been in the camp before the battle. The Arabs, observing Cassius on the wall, said that Surena proposed a truce, and offered, if they would become friends to the king, to let them go safe, if they would leave Mesopotamia; for he considered this proposal advantageous to both sides, rather than to let matters come to extremities. Cassius accepted the proposal, and asked for a place and time to be fixed where Surena and Crassus should meet: the men replied that this should be done, and rode off.

XXIX. Now Surena was delighted at the Romans being besieged, and at daybreak he led the Parthians against the city, who, with many insulting expressions, bade the Romans, if they wished to have a truce, deliver up to them Crassus and Cassius[83] in chains. The Romans were vexed at being deceived; and, telling Crassus to give up all hopes of aid from the Armenians as [Pg 81] too remote and groundless, they prepared to make their escape by stealth; and none of the people of Carrhæ were to know this before the time came. But Andromachus, that most faithless wretch, heard of it from Crassus, who confided to him the secret, and also the guidance on the route. Accordingly, all was known to the Parthians; for Andromachus reported to them every particular. But as it is not the custom of the Parthians to fight in the dark, and indeed they cannot easily do it, and Crassus had left the city by night, Andromachus contrived that the Parthians should not be far behind in the pursuit, by leading the Romans first by one route and then by another, till at last he brought them out of their course into deep marshes and ground full of ditches, and thus made the march difficult and circuitous to all who followed him; for there were some who suspected that Andromachus had no honest object in turning and twisting about, and therefore did not follow. Cassius, indeed, returned to Carrhæ; and when the guides, who were Arabs, advised him to wait till the moon had passed the Scorpion, he replied, "I fear the Archer more than the Scorpion," and, saying this, he rode off to Syria, with five hundred horsemen. Others, who had faithful guides, got into a mountainous country, called Sinnaca,[84] and were in a safe position before daybreak: they were about five thousand in number, and were commanded by a brave man, Octavius. But daybreak found Crassus exposed to the treachery of Andromachus in the unfavourable ground and the marshes. Crassus had with him four cohorts of the legionary soldiers, and a very few horsemen, and five lictors, with whom he got upon the road with great difficulty just as the enemy was falling upon him; and now being about twelve stadia short of joining Octavius, he fled to another hill not so difficult for cavalry nor yet so strong, but one that [Pg 82] lay below Sinnaca, and was connected with it by a long ridge, which stretched through the middle of the plain. His danger was apparent to Octavius, who ran before any one else with a few men, from the higher ground to aid Crassus, upon which the rest of the men, abusing themselves for cowards, rushed forward, and, falling on the enemy, and repulsing them from the hill, put Crassus in the midst of them, and threw their shields before him, proudly exclaiming that there was no Parthian missile which should strike the Imperator until all of them had fallen in defence of him.

XXX. Surena observing that the spirit of the Parthians was somewhat dulled towards the contest, and, if the night should come on and the Romans get among the mountains, they could not by any means be overtaken, employed the following stratagem against Crassus. Some of the captives were let loose, who, in the Parthian camp, had heard the barbarians saying to one another, in pursuance of a concerted plan, that the king did not wish the war with the Romans to be carried to extremities, but desired to have their friendship again, by doing them the favour of treating Crassus kindly. Accordingly the barbarians stopped fighting; and Surena, with his chief officers, riding gently up to the hill, unstrung his bow, and holding out his right hand, invited Crassus to come to terms, saying, that Crassus had put the king's courage and power to the test, though the king did not wish it, and yet the king of his own free will made the Romans an offer of mercy and friendship by being ready to make a truce with them if they would retire, and by giving them the opportunity of a safe retreat. Upon Surena saying this the Romans eagerly accepted his proposal, and were overjoyed; though Crassus, having been always over-reached by their fraud, and considering the suddenness of the change to be inexplicable, would not listen to them and hesitated. But the soldiers began to call out and urge him to accept the terms, and they fell to abusing and reproaching him, for wishing to expose them to the risk of fighting with those whom he did not venture to go to a conference with, even when they laid aside their arms. Crassus at first attempted to prevail on them by entreaty, and he said that, if they would hold out for the [Pg 83] rest of the day, they would be able to march by night through the rough and mountain country, and he pointed out to them the route, and entreated them not to throw away their hopes when safety was so near; but, as the soldiers began to be exasperated and to clatter their arms and threaten him, he was alarmed, and advanced towards Surena, after first turning round and merely saying, "Octavius and Petronius, and you Roman officers who are here, you see that I go under compulsion, and you are witnesses that I am treated in a shameful way and am under constraint; but, if you get safe home, tell all the world, that Crassus lost his life through the treachery of the enemy, and was not surrendered by his fellow-citizens."

XXXI. Yet Octavius and those about him did not stay behind, but descended the hill with Crassus. However, Crassus made the lictors who were following him turn back. The first who met them, on the part of the barbarians, were two Greeks of half-breed, who, leaping down from their horses, made their obeisance to Crassus, and, addressing him in the Greek language, urged him to send forward some persons, who, as they said, would see that Surena himself and those about him were advancing without armour and without their weapons. Crassus replied, that if he had the

least concern about his life, he should not have put himself into their hands; however, he sent two Roscii, brothers, to inquire upon what terms they should meet, and how many of them. Surena immediately seized and detained the two brothers, and he himself advanced on horseback with the chief officers, and said, "What is this? the Roman Imperator on foot while we are riding!" and he ordered them to bring a horse to Crassus. Crassus observed that neither himself nor Surena was acting wrong in coming to the conference according to the fashion of their respective countries; on which Surena said that from that moment there was a truce and peace between king Hyrodes and the Romans; but that it was requisite to advance to the river,[85] and there have the agreement put in writing; "for you Romans," he said, "have not a very good memory about contracts;" and he held out his right hand to Crassus. When Crassus was going to send for a [Pg 84] horse, Surena said there was no occasion; "for the king gives you this." At the same time a horse with golden bits stood close by Crassus, and the grooms raised him up and mounted him, and then followed, quickening the horse's pace with blows. Octavius first laid hold of the bridle of the horse, and, after him, Petronius, one of the tribunes, and then the rest got round the horse of Crassus, endeavouring to stop it, and dragging away those who pressed close upon Crassus on each side. This led to a struggle and tumult, and finally to blows; Octavius drew his sword and killed the groom of one of the barbarians, and another struck Octavius from behind and killed him. Petronius had no weapon, and, being struck on the breastplate, he leapt down from the horse unwounded; and a Parthian, named Pomaxathres, killed Crassus.[86] Some say that it was not Pomaxathres, but another, who killed Crassus, and that Pomaxathres cut off the head and right hand when Crassus was lying on the ground. But these are rather matters of conjecture than of certain knowledge; for of those who were present some fell there fighting about Crassus, and the rest immediately fled back to the hill. Upon this the Parthians came and said, that Crassus had been punished as he deserved, but Surena invited the rest to come down and fear nothing: whereupon, some of the Romans came down and surrendered, and the rest dispersed themselves under cover of night, of whom a very few escaped; the rest the Arabs hunted out, and put to death when they caught them. It is said that twenty thousand perished in all, and ten thousand were taken alive.

XXXII. Surena sent the head[87] and hand of Crassus to Hyrodes in Armenia; and, causing a [Pg 85] report to be carried by messengers to Seleukeia that he was bringing Crassus alive, he got ready a kind of ridiculous procession which, in mockery, he called a triumph. One of the Roman prisoners who bore the greatest resemblance to Crassus, Caius Paccianus, putting on a barbarian female dress, and being instructed to answer as Crassus and Imperator to those who addressed him, was conducted, seated on a horse, and in front of him trumpeters, and some lictors rode upon camels; and there were purses[88] suspended from the fasces, and, by the side of the axes, heads of Romans newly cut off. Behind these followed courtesans of Seleukeia, singing girls, who chanted many obscene and ridiculous things about the effeminacy and cowardice of Crassus. All this was public. But Surena assembling the Senate of Seleukeia,[89] laid before them certain licentious books of the Milesiaca of Aristeides,[90] and, in this matter, at least, there was no invention on his part; for they were found among the baggage of Rustius,[91] and they gave Surena the opportunity of greatly insulting and ridiculing the Romans, because they could not, even when going to war, abstain from such things and such books. To the Senate of Seleukeia, however, Æsopus[92] appeared to be a wise man, when they saw Surena with the wallet of [Pg 86] Milesian obscenities in front of him, and dragging behind him a Parthian Sybaris in so many waggons full of concubines, in a manner forming a counterpart to those vipers and skytalæ[93] so much talked of, by presenting the visible and the front parts formidable and terrific, with spears, and bows, and horses, but in the rear of the phalanx, terminating in harlots, and rattling cymbals, and lute-playing, and nocturnal revels with women. Rustius, indeed, merits blame, but the Parthians were shameless in finding fault with the Milesian stories; for many of the kings who have reigned over them, as Arsakidæ, have been the sons of Milesian and Ionian concubines.

XXXIII. While this was going on, Hyrodes happened to have been reconciled to Artavasdes the Armenian, and had agreed to receive the sister of Artavasdes as wife to his son Pacorus: and there were banquets and drinking-parties between them, and representations of many Greek plays; for Hyrodes was not a stranger either to the Greek language or the literature of the Greeks: and Artavasdes used to write tragedies, and speeches, and histories, some of which are preserved. When the head of Crassus was brought to the door, the tables were taken away, and a tragedy actor Jason,[94] by name, a native of Tralles, chanted that part of the Bacchæ[95] of Euripides which relates to Agave. While he was receiving applause. Sillakes, standing by the door [Pg 87] of the apartment, and making a reverence, threw the head of Crassus before the company. The Parthians clapped their hands with shouts of joy and the attendants, at the command of the king, seated Sillakes, while Jason handed over to one of the members of the chorus the dress of Pentheus, and, laying hold of the head of Crassus, and, putting on the air of a bacchant, he sung these verses with great enthusiasm:—

> We bring from a mountain
> A young one new killed to the house,
> A fortunate prey.

This delighted all the company; and, while the following verses were being chanted, which are a dialogue with the chorus,

> *A*. Who killed him?
> *B*. Mine is the honour,

Pomaxathres, springing up (for he happened to be at the banquet), laid hold of the head, as if it was more appropriate for him to say this than for Jason. The king was pleased, and made Pomaxathres a present, according to the fashion of the country, and he gave Jason a talent. In such a farce[96] as this, it is said, that the expedition of Crassus terminated just like a tragedy. However, just punishment overtook Hyrodes for his cruelty, and Surena for his treachery. Not long after, Hyrodes put Surena to death, being jealous of his reputation. Hyrodes also lost his son Pacorus,[97] who was defeated by the Romans in a battle; and having fallen into an illness which turned out to be dropsy, his son, Phraates,[98] who had a design on his life, gave him aconite.[99] But the poison only operated on the disease, which was thrown off together with it, and Hyrodes thereby relieved; whereupon Phraates took the shortest course and strangled his father.

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FOOTNOTES:

[5] Crassus belonged to the Licinia Gens. His name was M. Licinius Crassus Dives. He was the son of P. Licinius Crassus Dives, who was consul B.C. 97, and afterwards governor of the nearer Spain. In B.C. 93 P. Crassus had a triumph. He was afterwards employed in the Marsic war; and in B.C. 89 he was censor with L. Julius Cæsar, who had been consul in B.C. 90.

M. Licinius Crassus, whose life Plutarch has written, was the youngest son of the Censor. The year of his birth is uncertain; but as he was above sixty when he left Rome for his Parthian campaign B.C. 55, he must have been born before B.C. 115. Meyer (*Orator. Roman. Fragment.*) places the birth of Crassus in B.C. 114.

[6] Kaltwasser makes this passage mean that Crassus merely took his brother's wife and her children to live with him; which is contrary to the usual sense of the Greek words and readers the following sentence unmeaning.

Kaltwasser observes that we do not know that such marriages were in use among the Romans. I know no rule by which they were forbidden. (Gaius, i. 58, &c.)

[7] The punishment of a Vestal Virgin for incontinence was death. She was placed alive in a subterranean vault with a light and some food. (Dionysius, ix. 40: Liv. 8. c. 15; Juvenal, Sat. iv. 8.) The man who debauched a Vestal was also put to death. The Vestal Virgins had full power of disposing of their property; they were emancipated from the paternal power by the fact of being selected to be Vestal Virgins (Gaius, i. 130); and they were not under the same legal disabilities as other women (Gaius, i. 145; according to Dion Cassius, 49. c. 38, Octavia and Livia received privileges like those of the Vestals).

Another Licinia, a Vestal, had broken her vow, and was punished B.C. 113.

[8] See the Life of Crassus, c. 12; and the Life of Sulla, c. 35.

[9] This may hardly be a correct translation of ἀργυρογνωμόνας: but it is something like the meaning.

[10] King Archidamus of Sparta, the second of the name, who commanded the Peloponnesian war, B.C. 431. Plutarch (Life of Demosthenes, c. 17) puts this saying in the mouth of one Krobylus, a demagogue.

[11] Cicero (*Brutus,* c. 66) speaks of the oratory of Crassus, and commends his care and diligence; but he speaks of his natural parts as not striking. Crassus spoke on the same side as Cicero in the defence of Murena, of Caelius, and of Balbus (Meyer, *Orator. Roman. Fragmenta,* p. 382).

[12] A Roman who aspired to the highest offices of the State, prepared his way by the magnificence of his public entertainments during his curule ædileship, and by his affable manners. An humble individual is always gratified when a great man addresses him by name, and a shake of the hand secures his devotion. Ovidius (*Ars Amat.* ii. 253) alludes to this way of winning popular favour, and judiciously observes that it costs nothing, which would certainly recommend it to Crassus. If a man's memory was not so good as that of Crassus, he had only to buy a slave, as Horatius (1 *Epist.* i. 50) recommends, who could tell him the name of every man whom he met. Such a slave was called Nomenclator. If the nomenclator's memory ever failed him, he would not let his master know it: he gave a person any name that came into his head.

[13] The Greek is στέγαστρου, 'something that covers;' but whether cloak or hat, or covered couch, or sedan, the learned have not yet determined.

[14] These words may not be Plutarch's, and several critics have marked them as spurious. The Peripatetics, of whom Alexander was one, did not consider wealth as one of the things that are indifferent to a philosopher; the Stoics did.

[15] This is Plutarch's word; but the father of Crassus was Proconsul in Spain. When Cinna and Marius returned to Rome, B.C. 87, Crassus and his sons were proscribed. Crassus and one of his sons lost their lives: the circumstances are stated somewhat differently by different writers. (Florius, iii. 21; Appian, *Civil Wars*, i. 72.)

Drumann correctly remarks that Plutarch and other Greek writers often use the word στρατηγός simply to signify one who has command, and that στρατηγός is incorrectly rendered 'Prætor' by those who write in Latin, when they make use of the Greek historians of Rome. But Plutarch's στρατηγός sometimes means prætor, and it is the word by which he denotes that office; he probably does sometimes mean to say 'prætor,' when the man of whom he speaks was not prætor. Whether στρατηγός in

Plutarch is always translated prætor or always Commander, there will be error. To translate it correctly in all cases, a man must know whether the person spoken of was prætor or not; and that cannot always be ascertained. But besides this, the word 'Commander' will not do, for Plutarch sometimes calls a Proconsul στρατηγός, and a Proconsul had not merely a command: he had a government also.

[16] So the name is written by Sintenis, who writes it Paccianus in the Life of Sertorius, c. 9. Some editions read Paciacus; but the termination in Paciacus is hardly Roman, and the termination in Pacianus is common. But the form Paciacus is adopted by Drumann, where he is speaking of L. Junius Paciacus (*Geshichte Roms*, iv. p. 52).

Drumann observes that the flight of Crassus to Spain must have taken place B.C. 85, for he remained eight months in Spain and returned to Rome on the news of Cinna's death, B.C. 84.

[17] The MSS. have αὖραν, 'breeze,' which Coræs ingeniously corrected to λαύπαν, 'path,' which is undoubtedly right.

[18] If Fenestella died in A.D. 19 at the age of seventy, as it is said, he would be born in B.C. 51, and he might have had this story from the old woman. (Clinton, *Fasti*, A.D. 14.) See Life of Sulla, c. 28.

[19] Malaca, which still retains its name Malaga, was an old Phœnician settlement on the south coast of Spain. Much fish was salted and cured there; but I know not on what ground Kaltwasser concludes that the word 'Malach' means Salt. It is sometimes asserted that the name is from the Aramaic word Malek, 'King;' but W. Humboldt (*Prüfung der Untersuchungen über die Urbewohner Hispaniens)* says that it is a Basque word.

[20] The son of Metellus Numidicus. See the Lives of Marius and Sertorius. Sulla lauded in Italy B.C. 83. See the Life of Sulla, c. 27.

[21] This is the town which the Romans called Tuder. It was situated in Umbria on a hill near the Tiber, and is represented by the modern Todi.

[22] See the Life of Sulla, c. 29.

[23] There is nothing peculiar in this. It is common enough for a man to blame in others the faults that he has himself.

[24] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 1. 2. and 11.

[25] M. Porcius Cato, whose Life Plutarch has written.

[26] Cn. Sicinius was Tribunus Plebis B.C. 76. He is mentioned by Cicero (*Brutus,* c. 60) as a man who had no other oratorical qualification except that of making people laugh. The Roman proverb to which Plutarch alludes occurs in Horatius, 1 Sat. 4. 34:—

"Foenum habet in cornu, longe fuge."

[27] The insurrection of the gladiators commenced B.C. 73, in the consulship of M. Terentius Varo Lucullus, the brother of Lucius Lucullus, and of C. Cassius Longinus Verus. The names of two other leaders, Crixus and Oenomaus, are recorded by Floras (iii. 20) and by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 116). The devastation caused by these marauders was long remembered. The allusion of Horatius (*Carm.* ii. 14) to their drinking all the wine that they could find,is characteristic.

[28] This Clodius is called Appius CloDius Glaber by Florus (iii. 20). Compare the account of Appian (i. 116). Spartacus commenced the campaign by flying to Mount Vesuvius, which was the scene of the stratagem that is told in this chapter (Frontinus, *Stratagem*, i. 5) Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, iv. 74. M. Licinius Crassus, N. 37) has given a sketch of the campaign with Spartacus.

[29] P. Varinius Glaber who was prætor; and Clodius was his legatus. He seems to be the same person whom Frontinus (*Stratagem*, i. 5) mentions under the name of L. Varinus Proconsul.

[30] The place is unknown. Probably the true reading is Salinæ, and the place may be the Salinæ Herculeæ, in the neighbourhood of Herculaneum. But this is only a guess.

[31] The consuls were L. Gellius Publicola and Cn. Lentulus Clodianus B.C. 72.

[32] This was C. Cassius Longinus Verus, proconsul of Gaul upon the Po (see c. 8). Plutarch calls him στρατηγός. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 117) says that one of the consuls defeated Crixus, who was at the head of 30,000 men, near Garganus, that Spartacus afterwards defeated both the consuls, and meditated advancing upon Rome with 120,000 foot soldiers. Spartacus sacrificed three hundred Roman captives to the manes of Crixus, who had fallen in the battle in which he was defeated; 20,000 of his men had perished with Crixus.

Cassius was defeated in the neighbourhood of Mutina (Modena) as we learn from Florus (iii. 20).

[33] Appian (i. 118) gives two accounts of the decimation, neither of which agrees with the account of Plutarch. This punishment which the Romans called Decimatio, is occasionally mentioned by the Roman writers (Liv. ii. 59).

[34] Kaltwasser with the help of a false reading has mistranslated this passage. He says that Spartacus sent over ten thousand men into Sicily. Drumann has understood the passage as I have translated it.

[35] If the length is rightly given, the ditch was about 38 Roman miles in length. There are no data for determining its position. The circumstance is briefly mentioned by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 118). Frontinus (*Stratagem.*, i. 5) states that Spartacus filled up the ditch, where he crossed it, with the dead bodies of his prisoners and of the beasts which were killed for that purpose.

[36] This lake, which Plutarch spells Leukanis, is placed by Kaltwasser in the vicinity of Paestum or Poseidonia, but on what grounds I do not know. Strabo indeed (p. 251) states that the river makes marshes there, but that will not enable us to identify them. Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, ii. 366) places here the Stagnum Lucanum, where Plutarch "mentions that Crassus defeated a considerable body of rebels under the command of Spartacus (Plut. Vit. Crass.)": but nothing is given to prove the assertion. He adds, "In this district we must also place the Mons Calamatius and Mons Cathena of which Frontinus speaks in reference to the same event (*Stratagem*, ii. 4); they are the mountains of Capaccio." This is founded on Cluverius, but Cluverius concludes that the Calamatius of Frontinus (ii. 4, 7), or Calamarcus as the MSS. seem to have it, is the same as the Cathena of Frontinus (ii. 5, 34); for in fact Frontinus tells the same story twice, as he sometimes does. It is a mistake to say that Frontinus is speaking "of the same event," that is, the defeat of the gladiators on the lake. He is speaking of another event, which is described farther on in this chapter, when Crassus attacks Cannicius and Crixus, and "sent," as Frontinus says (ii. 4, 7), " twelve cohorts round behind a mountain."

[37] This was Marcus Lucullus, the brother of Lucius.

[38] 'To the Peteline mountains' in the original. Strabo speaks of a Petelia in Lucania (p. 254), which some critics suppose that he has confounded with the Petilia in the country of the Bruttii. The reasons for this opinion are stated by Cramer (*Ancient Italy*, ii. 367, 390).

[39] 'Quintus' in the text of Plutarch, which is a common error. 'L. Quintius' in Frontinus (ii. 5, 34).

[40] The same thing is told in the Life of Pompeius, c. 21.

[41] In the Life of Marcellus, c. 22, Plutarch describes the minor triumph, called the Ovatio, which name is from the word 'ovis' a sheep; for a sheep only was sacrificed by the general who had the minor triumph; he who had the greater triumph, sacrificed an ox. In an ovatio the general walked in the procession, instead of riding in a chariot drawn by four horses, as in the Triumphus Curulis; and he wore a crown of myrtle, instead of a crown of bay which was worn on the occasion of the greater triumph. But Plinius (*Hist. Nat.* xv. 29) says that Crassus wore a crown of bay on the occasion of this ovation.

[42] The first consulship of M. Licinius Crassus and Cn. Pompeius Magnus belongs to B.C. 70.

[43] The story is told again in the Life of Pompeius, c. 23, where Aurelius is called Caius Aurelius, which is probably the true name.

[44] Crassus was censor with Lutatius Catulus in B.C. 65. The duties of the censors are here briefly alluded to by Plutarch. One of the most important was the numbering of the people and the registration of property for the purposes of taxation. This quarrel of the censors is mentioned by Dion Cassius (37. c. 9).

[45] The conspiracy of Catiline was in B.C. 63, the year when Cicero was consul. See the Life of Cicero.

There seems to be no evidence that Crassus was implicated in the affair of Catiline. Dion Cassius (37. c. 31) speaks of anonymous letters about the conspiracy being brought to Crassus and other nobles; and Plutarch states on the authority of Cicero that Crassus communicated the letters to Cicero. Dion Cassius in another passage (37. c. 35) mentions the suspicion against Crassus, and that one of the prisoners informed against him, "but there were not many to believe it." If Dion did not believe it, we need not; for he generally believes anything that is to a man's discredit. Sallustius (*Bellum Catilin.* c. 48) has given us a statement of the affair, but his own opinion can scarcely be collected from it. He says, however, that he had heard Crassus declare that Cicero was the instigator of this charge. The orations of Cicero which Plutarch refers to are not extant.

[46] The text is corrupt, though the general meaning is plain. See the note of Sintonis.

[47] The son of Crassus, who is introduced abruptly in Plutarch's fashion.

[48] After Cæsar had been prætor in Spain he was elected consul B.C. 59, with M. Calpurnius Bibulus (see the Life of Cæsar, c. 14). After his consulship Cæsar had the Gauls as his province. The meeting at Luca (Lucca), which was on the southern limits of Cæsar's province, took place B.C. 56; and here was formed the coalition which is sometimes, though improperly, called the first Triumvirate.

[49] The second consulship of Pompeius and Crassus was B.C. 55. Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus was one of the consuls of the year B.C. 56, during which the elections for the year 55 took place. This Domitius, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, was consul B.C. 54. In the quarrel between Pompeius and Cæsar, he joined Pompeius, and after various adventures finally he lost his life in the battle of Pharsalus B.C. 48.

[50] The first 'house' (οἰκία) is evidently the house of Domitius. The second house (οἴκημα), which may be more properly rendered 'chamber,' may, as Sintenis says, mean the Senate-house, if the reading is right. Kaltwasser takes the second house to be the same as the first house; and he refers to the Life of Pompeius, c. 51, 52, where the same story is told.

In place of οἴκημα some critics have read βῆμα the Rostra.

[51] Appian (*Civil Wars*, ii. 18) says that Pompeius received Iberia and Libya. The Romans had now two provinces in the Spanish peninsula, Hispania Citerior or Tarraconensis, and Ulterior or Bætica. This arrangement, by which the whole power of the state was distributed among Pompeius, Crassus and Cæsar, was in effect a revolution, and the immediate cause of the wars which followed.

Appian (*Civil Wars*, ii. 18) after speaking of Crassus going on his Parthian expedition in which he lost his life, adds, "but the Parthian History will show forth the calamity of Crassus." Appian wrote a Parthian History; but that which is now extant under the name is merely an extract from Plutarch's Life of Crassus, beginning with the sixteenth chapter: which extract is followed by another from Plutarch's Life of Antonius. The compiler of this Parthian History has put at the head of it a few words of introduction. The extract from Crassus is sometimes useful for the various readings which it offers.

[52] This wife was Cæsar's daughter Julia, whom Pompeius married in Cæsar's consulship (Vell. Paterc. ii. 44). She was nearly twenty-three years younger than Pompeius. Julia died B.C. 54, after giving birth to a son, who died soon after her. She possessed beauty and a good disposition. The people, with whom she was a favourite, had her buried in the Field of Mars. See the Lives of Pompeius and Cæsar.

[53] That is the Lex which prolonged Cæsar's government for five years and gave Iberia (Spain) and Syria to Pompeius and Crassus for the same period. The Lex was proposed by the Tribune Titus Trebonius (Livius, *Epitome*, 105; Dion Cassius, 39. c. 33).

[54] C. Ateius Capito Gallus and his brother tribune P. Aquillius Gallius were strong opponents of Pompeius and Crassus at this critical time. Crassus left Rome for his Parthian campaign at the close of B.C. 55, before the expiration of his consulship (Clinton, *Fasti*, B.C. 54).

[55] We learn that Crassus sailed from Brundisium (Brindisi), the usual place of embarkation for Asia, but we are told nothing more of his course till we find him in Galatia, talking to old Deiotarus.

[56] Zenodotia or Zenodotium, a city of the district Osrhoene, and near the town of Nikephorium. These were Greek cities founded by the Macedonians. I have mistranslated the first part of this passage of Plutarch from not referring at the time to Dion Cassius (40. c. 13) who tells the story thus:—"The inhabitants of Zenodotium sent for some of the Romans, pretending that they intended to join them like the rest; but when the men were within the city, they cut off their retreat and killed them; and this was the reason why their city was destroyed." The literal version of Plutarch's text will be the true one. "But in one of them, of which Apollonius was tyrant, a hundred of his soldiers were put to death, upon," &c.

[57] This was his son Publius, who is often mentioned in Cæsar's Gallic War.

[58] See Life of Lucullus, c. 22.

[59] Hierapolis or the 'Holy City' was also called Bambyke and Edessa. Strabo places it four schoeni from the west bank of the Euphrates. The goddess who was worshipped here was called Atargatis or Astarte. Lucian speaks of the goddess and her temple and ceremonial in his treatise 'On the Syrian Goddess' (iii. p. 451, ed. Hemsterhuis). Lucian had visited the place. Josephus adds (*Jewish Antiq.* xiv. 7) that Crassus stripped the temple of Jerusalem of all its valuables to the amount of ten thousand talents. The winter occupation of the Roman general was more profitable than his campaign the following year turned out.

[60] This was a general name of the Parthian kings, and probably was used as a kind of title. The dynasty was called the Arsakidæ. The name Arsakes occurs among the Persian names in the Persæ of Aeschylus. Pott (*Etymologische Forschungen*, ii. 272) conjectures that the word means 'King of the Arii,' or 'the noble King.' The prefix *Ar* or *Ari* is very common in Persian names, as Ariamnes, Ariomardus, and others.

Plutarch in other passages of the Life of Crassus calls this Arsakes, Hyrodes, and other authorities call him Orodes. He is classed as Arsakes XIV. Orodes I. of Parthia, by those who have attempted to form a regular series of the Parthian kings.

Crassus replied that he would give his answer in Seleukeia, the large city on the Tigris, which was nearly pure Greek. The later Parthian capital was Ktesiphon, in the neighbourhood of Seleukeia, on the east bank of the Tigris and about twenty miles from Bagdad. The foundation of Ktesiphon is attributed by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 6, ed. Gronov.) to Bardanes, who was a contemporary of the Roman emperor Nero, if he is the Arsakes Bardanes who appears in the list of Parthian kings. But Ktesiphon is mentioned by Polybius in his fifth book, in the wars of Antiochus and Molon, and consequently it existed in the time of Crassus, though it is not mentioned in his Life. Ktesiphon is mentioned by Dion Cassius (40. c. 14) in his history of the campaign of Crassus, but this alone would not prove that Ktesiphon existed at that time.

[61] The Greek word here and at the beginning of ch. xix., translated 'mailed' by Mr. Long, always refers to cuirassed cavalry soldiers.

[62] C. Cassius Longinus, the friend of M. Junius Brutus, and afterwards one of the assassins of the Dictator Cæsar.

[63] He is afterwards called Artavasdes. He was a son of the Tigranes whom Lucullus defeated, and is called Artavasdes I. by Saint-Martin. He is mentioned again in Plutarch's Life of M. Antonius. c. 39, 50.

[64] Zeugma means the Bridge. Seleukus Nikator is said to have established a bridge of boats here, in order to connect the opposite bank with Apameia, a city which he built on the

east side of the Euphrates (Plinius, *Hist. Nat.* v. 24). Zeugma afterwards was a usual place for crossing the river; but a bridge of boats could hardly be permanently kept there, and it appears that Crassus had to construct a raft. Zeugma is either upon or near the site of Bir, which is in about 37° N. Lat.

[65] Probably these great hurricanes are not uncommon on the Euphrates. In the year 1831 a gale sent Colonel Chesney's "little vessel to the bottom of the river;" but a still greater calamity befel the Tigris steamer in the Euphrates expedition which was under the command of Colonel Chesney, in May 1836. A little after one P.M. a storm appeared bringing with it clouds of sand from the west-north-west. The two steam-boats the Tigris and the Euphrates were then passing over the rocks of Es-Geria, which were deeply covered with water. The Euphrates was safely secured; but the Tigris, being directed against the bank, struck with great violence; the wind suddenly veered round and drove her bow off; "this rendered it quite impossible to secure the vessel to the bank, along which she was blown rapidly by the heavy gusts; her head falling off into the stream as she passed close to the Euphrates, which vessel had been backed opportunely to avoid the concussion." The Tigris perished in this violent hurricane and twenty men were lost in her. The storm lasted about eight minutes. Colonel Chesney escaped by swimming to the shore just before the vessel went down: he was fortunate "to take a direction which brought him to the land, without having seen anything whatever to guide him through the darkness worse than that of night."—"For an instant," says Colonel Chesney after getting to land, "I saw the keel of the Tigris uppermost (near the stern); she went down bow foremost, and having struck the bottom in that position, she probably turned round on the bow as a pivot, and thus showed part of her keel for an instant at the other extremity; but her paddle beams, floats, and parts of the sides were already broken up, and actually floated ashore, so speedy and terrific had been the work of destruction." (Letter from Colonel Chesney to Sir J. Hobhouse, 28th May, 1836; Euphrates Expedition Papers printed by order of the House of Commons, 17th July, 1837.)

Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiv. 1) speaks of a violent storm at Anatha (Annah) on the Euphrates, during the expedition of the Emperor Julian. It blew down the tents and stretched the soldiers on the ground.

[66] A place struck with lightning was considered religious (religiosus), that is, it could no longer be used for common purposes. "The deity," says Festus (v. *Fulguritum*), "was supposed to have appropriated it to himself."

Dion Cassius (40. c. 17, &c.) gives the story of the passage of the river. The eagle, according to him, was very obstinate. It stuck fast in the ground, as if it was planted there; and when it was forced up by the soldiers, it went along very unwillingly.

The Roman eagle was fixed at one end of a long shaft of wood, which had a sharp point at the other end for the purpose of fixing it in the ground. The eagle was gold, or gilded metal; and, according to Dion Cassius, it was kept in a small moveable case or consecrated chapel. The eagle was not moved from the winter encampment, unless the whole army was put in motion. The Vexilla (σημεῖα of the Greek writers) were what we call the colours.

(See the note of Reimarus on Dion Cassius, 40. c. 18.)

[67] Dion Cassius (40. c. 20), who tells the story, names the man Augarus. See the note of Reimarus.

[68] This is the translation of Plutarch's word πελάτης, which word πελάτης is used by the Greek writers on Roman history to express the Latin Cliens. It is not here supposed that Parthian clients were the same as Roman clients; but as Plutarch uses the word to express a certain condition among the Parthians, which was not that of slavery, it is proper to retain his word in the translation.

[69] This "very Hyrodes" and his brother Mithridates are said to have murdered their father Arsakes XII. Phraates III., who is spoken of in the Life of Lucullus. The two brothers quarrelled. Mithridates is mentioned by some authorities as the immediate successor of his father under the title of Arsakes XIII. Mithridates III. Mithridates was besieged in Babylon by Hyrodes; and Mithridates, after surrendering to his brother, was put to death. (Dion Cassius, 39. c. 56; Appian, *On the Affairs of Syria*, c. 51; Justinus, xlii. 4.)

[70] This river is probably the same as the Bilecha, now the Belejik, a small stream which joins the Euphrates on the left bank at Racca, the old Nikephorium. This river is mentioned by Isidorus of Charax and by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. c. 3), who calls it Belias.

[71] Plutarch seems to mean something like drums furnished with bells or rattles; but his description is not very clear, and the passage may be rendered somewhat differently from what I have rendered it: "but they have instruments to beat upon (ῥόπτρα), made of skin, and hollow, which they stretch round brass sounders" (ἠχείοις, whatever the word may mean here). The word ῥόπτρον properly means a thing to strike with; but it seems to have another meaning here. (See Passow's *Greek Lexicon*.) The context seems to show that a drum is meant.

[72] Margiana was a country east of the Caspian, the position of which seems to be determined by the Murg-aub river, the ancient Margus. Hyrcania joined it on the west. Strabo (p. 516) describes Margiana as a fertile plain surrounded by deserts. He says nothing of its iron. Plinius (*Hist. Nat.* vi. 16) says that Orodes carried off the Romans who were captured at the time of the defeat of Crassus, to Antiochia, in Margiana.

[73] So Xenophon (*Cyropædia*, i. 3. 2) represents King Astyages. The king also wore a wig or false locks.

[74] The peculiarity of the Parthian warfare made a lasting impression on the Romans; and it is often alluded to by the Latin writers:—

> Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis.
>
> Virgil, *Georgic* iii. 31.

[75] In reading the chapter, it must be remembered that Publius is young Crassus. If there is any apparent confusion between the father and son, it will be removed by reading carefully. I have chosen to translate Plutarch, not to mend him.

[76] The reading of this passage in Appian (*Parthica*, c. 29) is τέλμασιν ἐντυχόντες, which Sintenis has adopted. The common reading is συντάγμασιν ἐντυχόντες, which various critics variously explain.

[77] In the old Latin translation of Guarini, the name Cn. Plancus occurs in place of Megabacchus. Kaltwasser conjectures that Megabacchus was a Greek, but the context implies that he was a Roman. Orelli (*Onomastic.* C. Megaboccus) takes him to be the person mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Attic.* ii. 7), which Gronovius had already observed, and again by Cicero, *Pro Scauro*, c. 2.

[78] Censorinus was a cognomen of the Marcia Gens, and several of the name are mentioned in the history of Rome; but this Censorinus does not appear to be otherwise known.

[79] Carrhæ was a Mesopotamian town, south of Orfa or Edessa, and about 37° N. lat. It is supposed to be the Haran of Genesis (xi. 31).

[80] Ichnæ was a town on the Bilecha, south of Carrhæ. Dion Cassias (40. c. 12) calls it Ichniæ, and adds that Crassus before taking Nikephorium had been defeated by Talymenus Eilakes. Eilakes is probably a blunder in the copies of Dion; and it is conjectured that he is the Sillakes mentioned by Plutarch (c. 21), Appian, and Orosius (vi. 3).

[81] The death of young Crassus, and the subsequent misfortunes of the Romans, are described by Dion Cassius, 40. c. 21, &c.

[82] Or Egnatius. He is called Gnatius by Appian.

[83] Cassius escaped to Syria, which he successfully defended against the invading Parthians, who lost their commander, Osakes. (Dion Cassius. 40. c. 28, 29; Cicero, *Ad Attic.* v. 20; Orosius, vi. 13.)

Cicero was proconsul of Cilicia during the Parthian invasion of Syria B.C. 51.

[84] Sinnaca is mentioned by Strabo p. 747, but he says nothing which enables us to fix its position. If Plutarch's narrative is correct; it was not far from Carrhæ; and Carrhæ was considered by the Romans to be the scene of the death of Crassus, probably because it was the nearest known place to the spot where he fell.

[85] 'The river' is the Euphrates.

[86] The stories about the death of Crassus varied, as we might suppose. Dion Cassius (40. c. 27) remarks that, according to one version of the story, Crassus was badly wounded, and was killed by one of his own people to prevent him from being taken alive. He adds that the chief part of the army of Crassus made their escape.

[87] The story of molten gold being poured into the mouth of the head of Crassus is given by Dion Cassius as a report. Floras (iii. 11) has the same story; and he says that it was the right hand of Crassus which was sent to the king, as we might conjecture it would be, if only one was sent.

[88] Kaltwasser asks, "Was this perchance intended as an allusion to the avarice of Crassus, as the female dress was intended to refer to his cowardice?" The probable answer is Yes.

[89] As this was a Greek town, it had a Greek constitution, and was governed by a body which the Romans called a Senate. The Senate of Seleukeia is mentioned by Tacitus (*Annal.* vi. 42): "Trecenti opibus, aut sapientia delecti, ut Senatus: sua populo vis; et quoties concordes agunt, spernitur Parthus."

[90] This Aristeides wrote lewd stories called Milesiaca, of which there were several books. They were translated into Latin by the historian L. Cornelius Sisenna, a contemporary of Sulla. It is not said whether the original or the translation formed a part of the camp furniture of this unworthy Roman soldier. The work of Aristeides was known to Ovidius (*Tristia,* ii. 413, 443), who attempts to defend his own amatory poetry by the example of Sisenna, who translated an obscene book.

[91] Probably there is an error in the name: Roscius has been proposed as the probable reading.

[92] Plutarch is alluding to the fable of the two wallets, which every man carries, one in front with his neighbours' faults in it, and the other behind containing his own. Phædrus (iv. 10, ed. Orelli) has pithily told the apologue:—

> Peras imposuit Iuppiter nobis duas:
> Propriis repletam vitiis post tergum dedit,
> Alienis ante pectus suspendit gravem.
> Hac re videre nostra mala non possumus:
> Alii simul delinquunt, censores sumus.
> Two wallets Juppiter has placed upon us:
> Our own faults fill the bag we bear behind,
> Our neighbour's heavy wallet hangs in front.

And so we cannot see our own ill deeds;
But if another trips, forthwith we censure.

[93] This word means a thick stick; and a snake of like form.

[94] Greek adventurers were always making their way to the courts of these barbarous Asiatic kings to serve in the capacity of physicians, mountebanks, or impostors of some kind. Several instances are mentioned by Herodotus. Tralles was a considerable town near the west coast of Asia Minor, from which this actor came.

[95] Pentheus, king of Thebes, son of Agave; would not recognise the divinity of Bacchus, whereupon Bacchus infuriated the women, and among them Agave, who killed her own son. She is introduced in the Bacchæ with his head in her hand, exulting over the slaughter of the supposed wild beast.

The passage which is cited is from the Bacchæ of Euripides, v. 1168, ed. Elmsley. The exact meaning of the word ἔλικα in the passage is uncertain. See Elmsley's note.

[96] The word is Exodium (ἐξόδιον), a kind of entertainment common among the Romans, though it is a Greek word. Plutarch means that this exhibition before the kings was like the farce which is acted after a tragedy. It seems as if Jason was first playing the part of Agave, and was then going to play that of Pentheus; but on seeing the head he put aside the mask and dress of Pentheus, and recited the words of the frantic mother. Plutarch sometimes leaves things in a kind of mist: he gives his reader opportunity for conjecture.

[97] Pacorus was completely defeated B.C. 38 near the Euphrates by P. Ventidius Bassus, who was the legatus of M. Antonius. Pacorus lost his life in the battle (Dion Cassius, 49. c. 20; Plutarch, *Life of Antonius*, c. 34). It is said that Pacorus fell on the same day on which Crassus lost his life fifteen years before, the 9th of June (Dion Cassius, 49. c. 21, and the note of Reimarus).

[98] He began his reign under the name of Arsakes XV. Phraates IV., according to some authorities, B.C. 37. He was not satisfied with murdering his father: he murdered his brothers, and many distinguished Parthians. His name occurs again in Plutarch's Life of Antonius. Phraates delivered up to Augustus, B.C. 20, the Roman soldiers, eagles, and standards which had been taken by Crassus; an event which is commemorated by extant medals, and was recorded by Augustus among his other exploits in the Monumentum Ancyranum.

[99] This is the Greek word (ἀκόνιτον): the same name is now given to Monkshood or Wolfsbane, a genus of Ranunculaceae. Aconite is now used as a medicine; "The best forms are either an alcoholic extract of the leaves, or an alcoholic tincture of the root made by displacement." It is a poisonous plant, and death has followed from the careless use of it ("Aconite," *Penny Cyclopædia* and *Supplement* to the *P. Cyc.*).

With this farce, as Plutarch remarks, the history of Crassus terminates. If Plutarch designed to make Crassus contemptible, he has certainly succeeded. And there is nothing in other authorities to induce us to think that he has done Crassus injustice. With some good qualities and his moderate abilities, he might have been a respectable man in a private station. But insatiable avarice, and that curse of many men, ambition without the ability that can ensure success and command respect, made Crassus a fool in his old age, and brought him to an ignominious end.

COMPARISON OF NIKIAS AND CRASSUS.

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I. In the first place, the wealth of Nikias was much more honestly and creditably obtained than that of Crassus. Generally speaking, one cannot approve of men who make their money from mines, which are as a rule worked by criminals, or savages, labouring in chains in unhealthy subterranean dungeons; but yet this method of amassing a fortune seems much the more honourable, when compared with Crassus's purchase of confiscated lands and his habit of bidding for houses that were on fire. Crassus too used to practise these openly, like a trade: while he was also accused of taking bribes for his speeches in the Senate, of defrauding the allies of Rome, of currying favour with great ladies and assisting them to shield offenders from justice. Nothing of this sort was ever laid to the charge of Nikias, who, however, was ridiculed for giving money to common informers because he feared their tongues. Yet this action of his, though it would have been a disgrace to Perikles, or Aristeides, was a necessity for Nikias, who was naturally of a timid disposition. Thus Lykurgus the orator excused himself when accused of having bought off some informers who threatened him. "I am glad," said he, "that after so long a public life as mine I should have been at last convicted of giving bribes rather than of receiving them."

The expenditure of Nikias was all calculated to increase his popularity in the state, being devoted to offerings to the gods, gymnastic contests and public dramatic performances. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he possessed was but a small part of what Crassus bestowed upon a public feast at Rome for some tens of thousands of guests, whom he even maintained at his own cost for some time after. So true it is that wickedness and vice argue a want of due balance and [Pg 90] proportion in a man's mind, which leads him to acquire wealth dishonestly, and then to squander it uselessly.

II. So much for their riches. Now in their political life, Nikias never did anything bold, daring or unjust, for he was outwitted by Alkibiades, and always stood in fear of the popular assembly. Crassus, on the other hand, is accused of great inconsistency, in lightly changing from one party to another, and he himself never denied that he once obtained the consulship by hiring men to assassinate Cato and Domitius. And in the assembly held for the dividing for the provinces, many were wounded and four men slain in the Forum, while Crassus himself (which I have forgotten to mention in his Life) struck one Lucius Annalius, a speaker on the other side, so violent a blow with his fist that his face was covered with blood. But though Crassus was overbearing and tyrannical in his public life, yet we cannot deny that the shrinking timidity and cowardice of Nikias deserve equally severe censure; and it must be remembered that when Crassus was carrying matters with so high a hand, it was no Kleon or Hyperbolus that he had for an antagonist, but the great Julius Cæsar himself, and Pompeius who had triumphed three several times, and that he gave way to neither of them, but became their equal in power, and even excelled Pompeius in dignity by obtaining the office of censor. A great politician should not try to avoid unpopularity, but to gain such power and reputation as will enable him to rise above it.

Yet if it were true that Nikias preferred quiet and security to anything else, and that he stood in fear of Alkibiades in the assembly, of the Spartans at Pylus, and of Perdikkas in Thrace, he had every opportunity to repose himself in Athens and to "weave the garland of a peaceful life," as some philosopher calls it. He had indeed a true and divine love of peace, and his attempt to bring the Peloponnesian war to an end, was an act of real Hellenic patriotism. In this respect Crassus cannot be compared with Nikias, not though he had carried the frontier of the Roman empire as far as the Caspian and the Indian seas.

III. Yet a statesman, in a country which appreciates his merits, ought not when at the height of his power to make way for worthless men, and place in office those who have no claim to it, as Nikias did when he laid down his own office of commander-in-chief and gave it to Kleon, a man who possessed no qualification whatever for the post except his brazen effrontery. Neither can I praise Crassus for having so rashly and hurriedly brought the war with Spartacus to a crisis, although he was actuated by an honourable ambition in fearing that Pompeius would arrive and take from him the glory of having completed the war, as Mummius took from Marcellus the glory of winning Corinth. But on the other hand the conduct of Nikias was altogether monstrous and inexcusable. He did not give up his honourable post to his enemy at a time when there was hope of success and little peril. He saw that great danger was likely to be incurred by the general in command at Pylus, and yet he was content to place himself in safety, and let the state run the risk of ruin, by entrusting an incompetent person with the sole management of affairs. Yet Themistokles, rather than allow an ignorant commander to mismanage the war against Persia, bribed him to lay down his office. So also Cato at a most dangerous crisis became a candidate for the office of tribune of the people in order to serve his country. But Nikias, reserving himself to play the general at the expense of the village of Minoa, the island of Kythera, and the miserable inhabitants of Melos,[100] when it came to fighting the Lacedæmonians eagerly stripped off his general's cloak, and entrusted to an inexperienced and reckless man like Kleon, the conduct of an enterprise involving the safety of a large Athenian fleet and army, showing himself no less neglectful of his own honour than he was of the interests of his country. After this he was forced against his will into the war with Syracuse, in which he seems to have imagined that his army would capture the city by remaining before it doing nothing, and not by vigorous attacks. No doubt it is a great testimony to the esteem in which he was held by his countrymen, that he was always opposed to war and unwilling to act as general, and was nevertheless always forced by them to undertake that office: whereas Crassus, who always wished for an independent command, never obtained one except in the servile war, and then only because all the other generals, Pompeius, Metellus, and Lucullus, were absent. Yet at that time Crassus was at the height of his power and reputation: but his friends seem to have thought him, as the comic poet has it,

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> "Most excellent, save in the battle-field."

And in his case also, the Romans gained no advantage from his ambitious desire of command. The Athenians sent Nikias to Sicily against his will, and Crassus led the Romans to Parthia against their will. Nikias suffered by the actions of the Athenians, while Rome suffered by the actions of Crassus.

IV. However, in their last moments we incline rather to praise Nikias than to blame Crassus. Nikias, a skilful and experienced commander, did not share the rash hopes of his countrymen, but never thought that Sicily could be conquered, and dissuaded them from making the attempt. Crassus, on the other hand, urged the Romans to undertake the war with Parthia, representing the conquest of that country as an easy operation, which he nevertheless failed to effect. His ambition was vast. Cæsar had conquered the Gauls, Germans, Britons, and all the west of Europe, and Crassus wished in his turn to march eastward as far as the Indian Ocean, and to conquer all those regions of Asia which Pompeius and Lucullus, two great men and actuated by a like desire for conquest, had previously aspired to subdue. Yet they also met with a like opposition. When Pompeius was given an unlimited command in the East, the appointment was opposed by the Senate, and when Cæsar routed thirty thousand Germans, Cato proposed that he should be delivered up to the vanquished, and that thus the anger of the gods should be turned away from the city upon the author of so great a crime as he had committed by breaking his word. Yet the Romans slighted Cato's proposals and held a solemn thanksgiving for fifteen days to show their joy at the news. How many days then must we imagine they would have spent in

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rejoicing if Crassus had sent despatches announcing the capture of Babylon, and then had reduced Media, Persia, Hyrkania, Susa, and Bactria to the condition of Roman provinces. "If a man must do wrong," as Euripides says of those who cannot live in peace, and be contented when they are well off, they should do it on a grand scale like this, not capture contemptible places like Skandeia or Mende, or chase the people of Ægina, like birds who have been turned out of their nests. If we are to do an injustice, let us not do it in a miserable pettifogging way, but imitate such great examples as Crassus and Alexander the Great. Those who praise the one of these great men, and blame the other, do so only because they are unable to see any other distinction between them except that the one failed and the other succeeded.

V. When acting as general, Nikias did many great exploits, for he was many times victorious, all but took Syracuse, and ought not justly to bear the blame of the whole Sicilian disaster, because of his disease, and the ill will which some bore him at Athens. Crassus on the other hand committed so many mistakes as to put it out of the power of fortune to aid him, so that one wonders not so much that his folly was overcome by the Parthians as that it could overcome the good fortune of the Romans. Now as the one never disregarded religious observances and omens, the other despised them all, and yet both alike perished, it is hard to say what inference we ought to draw, as to which acted most wisely, yet we must incline rather to the side of him who followed the established rule in such matters rather than that of him who insolently discarded all such observances. In his death Crassus is more to be commended, because he yielded himself against his will in consequence of the entreaties of his friends, and was most treacherously deceived by the enemy, while Nikias delivered himself up to his enemies through a base and cowardly desire to save his life, and thus made his end more infamous.

FOOTNOTES:

[100] I cannot find that Nikias took any part in the massacre of the people of Melos in 416 B.C.

LIFE OF SERTORIUS.

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I. It is perhaps not a matter of surprise, if in the lapse of time, which is unlimited, while fortune[101] is continually changing her course, spontaneity should often result in the same incidents; for, if the number of elemental things is not limited, fortune has in the abundance of material a bountiful supply of sameness of results; and, if things are implicated in a dependence upon definite numbers, it is of necessity that the same things must often happen, being effected by the same means. Now, as some are pleased to collect, by inquiry and hearsay, from among the [Pg 95] things which accidentally happen, such as bear some likeness to the works of calculation and forethought: such, for instance, as that there were two celebrated Atteis,[102] the one a Syrian and the other an Arcadian, and that both were killed by a wild boar; that there were two Actæons, one of whom was torn in pieces by his dogs and the other by his lovers; that there were two Scipios,[103] by one of whom the Carthaginians were first conquered, and by the other were cut up root and branch; that Troy was taken by Hercules, on account of the horses of Laomedon, and by Agamemnon by means of the wooden horse, as it is called, and was taken a third time by Charidemus, by reason of the Ilians not being able to close the gates quick enough, owing to a horse having got between them; that there are two cities which have the same name with the most fragrant of plants, Ios[104] and Smyrna, and that Homer was born in one of them and died in the other: I may be allowed to add to these instances, that the most warlike of commanders and those who have accomplished most by a union of daring and cunning, have been one-eyed men, Philippus,[105] Antigonus, Annibal, and the subject of this Life—Sertorius; he whom one may [Pg 96] affirm to have been more continent as to women than Philip, more true to his friends than Antigonus, more merciful to his enemies than Annibal,[106] inferior in understanding to none of them, but in fortune inferior to all; and, though he always found Fortune more hard to deal with than his open enemies, yet he proved himself her equal by opposing the experience of Metellus, the daring of Pompeius, the fortune of Sulla, and the power of the whole Roman state; a fugitive and a stranger putting himself at the head of barbarians. Of all the Greeks, Eumenes[107] of Kardia presents the nearest resemblance to him. Both of them were men qualified to command; both were warlike, and yet full of stratagem; both became exiles from their native land and the commanders of foreign troops; and both had the same violent and unjust fortune in their end, for both of them were the objects of conspiracy, and were cut off by the hands of those with whom they were victorious over their enemies.

II. Quintus Sertorius belonged to a family not among the meanest in Nussa,[108] a Sabine city. He was carefully brought up by a widowed mother, for he had lost his father, and he appears to have [Pg 97] been exceedingly attached to her. His mother's name, they say, was Rhea. He had a competent practical education in the courts of justice, and, as a young man, he attained some influence in the city by his eloquence. But his reputation and success in war diverted all his ambition in that direction.

III. Now, first of all, after the Cimbri and Teutones had invaded Gaul, he was serving under Cæpio[109] at the time when the Romans were defeated and put to flight; and, though he lost his

horse and was wounded in the body, he crossed the Rhone swimming in his cuirass and with his shield against the powerful stream—so strong was his body and disciplined by exercise. On a second occasion, when the same barbarians were advancing with many thousand men and dreadful threats, so that for a Roman to stand to his ranks at such a time, and to obey his general, was a great matter, Marius had the command, and Sertorius undertook to be a spy upon the enemy. Putting on a Celtic dress, and making himself master of the most ordinary expressions of the language, for the purpose of conversation when occasion might offer, he mingled with the barbarians, and, either by his own eyes or by inquiry, learning all that was important to know, he returned to Marius. For this he obtained the prize of merit; and in the rest of the campaign, having given many proofs of his judgment and daring, he was honoured and trusted by his general. After the close of the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent as tribune by Didius[110] the prætor to Iberia, and he wintered in Castlo,[111] a city of the Celtiberi. The soldiers, [Pg 98] being in the midst of abundance, lost all discipline, and were generally drunk, which brought them into contempt with the barbarians, who, by night, sent for aid from their neighbours the Gyrisœni, and, coming on the soldiers in their lodgings, began to slaughter them. Sertorius with a few others stole out, and, collecting the soldiers who made their escape, surrounded the city. Finding the gates open through which the barbarians had secretly entered, he did not make the same mistake that they did, but he set a watch there, and, hemming in the city on all sides, he massacred every man who was of age to bear arms. When the massacre was over, he ordered all his soldiers to lay down their own armour and dress, and, putting on those of the barbarians, to follow him to the city from which the men came who had fallen on them in the night. The barbarians were deceived by the armour, and he found the gates open, and a number of men expecting to meet friends and fellow-citizens, returning from a successful expedition. Accordingly, most of them were killed by the Romans near the gates, and the rest surrendered and were sold as slaves.

IV. This made the name of Sertorius known in Iberia; and as soon as he returned to Rome he was appointed quæstor in Gaul upon the Padus at a critical time; for the Marsic[112] war was threatening. Being commissioned to levy troops and procure arms, he applied so much zeal and expedition to the work, compared with the tardiness and indolence of the other young men, that he got the reputation of being a man likely to run an active career. Yet he remitted nothing of the daring of a soldier after he was promoted to the rank of commander; but he exhibited wonderful feats of courage, and exposed himself without any reserve to danger, whereby he lost one of his eyes through a wound. But he always prided himself on this. He used to say that others did not [Pg 99] always carry about with them the proofs of their valour, but put them aside, at times, as chains and spears, and crowns, while the proofs of his valour always abided with him, and those who saw what he had lost saw at the same time the evidences of his courage. The people also showed him appropriate marks of respect; for, on his entering the theatre, they received him with clapping of hands and expressions of their good wishes—testimonials which even those who were far advanced in age, and high in rank, could with difficulty obtain. However, when he was a candidate for the tribuneship, Sulla raised a party against him, and he failed; and this was, apparently, the reason why he hated Sulla. But when Marius was overpowered by Sulla and fled from Rome, and Sulla had set out to fight with Mithridates, and the consul Octavius adhered to the party of Sulla, while his colleague Cinna, who aimed at a revolution, revived the drooping faction of Marius, Sertorius attached himself to Cinna, especially as he saw that Octavius was deficient in activity, and he distrusted the friends of Marius. A great battle was fought in the Forum between the consuls, in which Octavius got the victory, and Cinna and Sertorius took to flight, having lost nearly ten thousand men. However, they persuaded most of the troops, which were still scattered about Italy, to come over to their side, and they were soon a match for Octavius.

V. When Marius had returned from Libya, and was proposing to join Cinna, himself in a mere private capacity and Cinna as consul, all the rest thought it politic to receive him; but Sertorius was against it: whether it was because he thought that Cinna would pay less respect to him when a general of higher reputation was present, or because he feared the ferocious temper of Marius, and that he would put all in confusion in his passion, which knew no bounds, transgressing the limits of justice in the midst of victory. However this may be, Sertorius observed that there remained little for them to do, as they were now triumphant; but if they received the proposal of Marius, he would appropriate to himself all the glory and all the troops, being a man who could endure no partner in power, and who was devoid of good faith. Cinna replied that what Sertorius [Pg 100] suggested was true, but he felt ashamed and had a difficulty about refusing to receive Marius, after having invited him to join their party; whereupon Sertorius rejoined: "For my part, I thought that Marius had come to Italy on his own adventure, and I was merely considering what was best; but it was not honourable in you to make the thing a matter of deliberation at all after the arrival of the man whom you had thought proper to invite, but you ought to have employed him and received him; for a promise leaves no room for any further consideration." Accordingly Cinna sent for Marius, and the forces being distributed among them, the three had the command. The war being finished, Cinna and Marius were filled with violence and bitterness, so that they made the evils of war as precious gold to the Romans, compared with the new state of affairs. Sertorius alone is said to have put no person to death to gratify his vengeance, nor to have abused his power; but he was much annoyed at the conduct of Marius, and he moderated Cinna by private interviews and entreaties. At last, the slaves whom Marius had used as allies in war, and kept as guards to protect his tyranny, becoming formidable and wealthy, partly from the grants of Marius and his direct permission; partly from their violent and outrageous treatment of their masters, whom they butchered, and then lay with their masters' wives, and violated their children,

Sertorius unable to endure any longer, speared the whole of them in their camp, to the number of four thousand.[113]

VI. But when Marius[114] had died, and Cinna shortly after was cut off, and the younger Marius, [Pg 101] contrary to the wish of Sertorius, and by illegal means, obtained the consulship, and the Carbos and the Norbani and Scipios were unsuccessfully contending against Sulla on his march to Rome, and affairs were being ruined, partly through the cowardice and laziness of the commanders, and partly through treachery; and there was no use in his staying to see things still go on badly, owing to the want of judgment in those who had more power than himself; and finally, when Sulla, after encamping near Scipio, and holding out friendly proposals, as if peace was going to be made, had corrupted the army, though Sertorius had warned Scipio of this, and given his advice, but without effect—altogether despairing about the city, Sertorius set out for Iberia, in order that if he should anticipate his enemies in strengthening his power there, he might offer protection to such of his friends as were unfortunate at Rome. Sertorius, having fallen in with bad weather in the mountainous parts, was required by the barbarians to pay them a tribute, and to purchase a free passage. His companions were much incensed at this, and declared it to be a great degradation for a Roman proconsul[115] to pay a tribute to wretched barbarians; but Sertorius cared little for what they considered disgrace, and he said that he was buying time, the rarest of things for a man who was aiming at great objects: and so he pacified the barbarians with money, and hurrying into Iberia, got possession of the country. He there found nations strong in numbers and fighting men, but owing to the greediness and tyranny of the governors who had from time to time been sent among them, ill-disposed to the Roman administration in general; however, he regained the good will of the chiefs by his personal intercourse with them, and the favour of the mass by remission of taxes. But he got most popularity by relieving the people from having soldiers quartered on them; for he compelled the soldiers to fix their winter [Pg 102] tents in the suburbs of the towns, and he was the first to set the example. However, Sertorius did not depend altogether on the attachment of the barbarians, but he armed all the Roman settlers in Iberia who were able to bear arms, and by commencing the construction of all kinds of military engines and building ships he kept the cities in check; showing himself mild in all the affairs of civil administration, but formidable by his preparations against the enemy.

VII. Hearing that Sulla was master of Rome,[116] and that the party of Marius and Carbo was on the wane, and being in immediate expectation of an army coming to fight against him under some commander, he sent Julius Salinator to occupy the passes of the Pyrenees, with six thousand heavy armed soldiers. Shortly after this, Caius Annius[117] was sent from Rome by Sulla; but, seeing that the position of Julius could not be attacked, he was perplexed, and seated himself at the base of the mountains. But one Calpurnius, named Lanarius, assassinated Julius, on which the soldiers left the summits of the Pyrenees, and Annius, crossing the mountains, advanced with a large force and drove all before him. Sertorius, being unable to oppose him, fled with three thousand men to New Carthage,[118] and there embarking and crossing the sea, landed in Mauritania, in Libya. His soldiers, while getting water without due precautions, were fallen upon by the barbarians, and many of them were killed, upon which Sertorius sailed again for Iberia. He was, however, driven off the coast, and, being joined by some Cilician piratical vessels,[119] he [Pg 103] attacked the island of Pityussa,[120] and landing there drove out the garrison of Annius. Annius soon arrived with a large fleet and five thousand heavy armed men, and Sertorius ventured on a naval battle with him, though his vessels were light and built for quick sailing and not for fighting; but the sea was disturbed by a strong west wind, which drove most of the vessels of Sertorius upon the reefs, owing to their lightness, and Sertorius, with a few ships, could not get out to sea by reason of the wind, nor land on account of the enemy, and being tossed about for ten days, with the wind and a violent sea against him, he held out with great difficulty.

VIII. As the wind abated he set sail, and put in at some scattered islands, which had no water. Leaving them, and passing through the Straits of Gades,[121] he touched at those parts of Iberia on the right which lie out of the strait, a little beyond the mouths of the Bætis,[122] which flows into the Atlantic Sea,[123] and has given name to those parts of Iberia which lie about it. There he fell in with some sailors, who had returned from a voyage to the Atlantic[124] Islands, which are two in number, separated by a very narrow channel, and ten thousand stadia from the coast of [Pg 104] Libya, and are called the islands of the Happy. These islands have only moderate rains, but generally they enjoy gentle breezes, which bring dews; they have a rich and fertile soil, adapted for arable cultivation and planting; they also produce fruit spontaneously, sufficient in quantity and quality to maintain, without labour and trouble, a population at their ease. The air of the island is agreeable, owing to the temperature of the seasons, and the slightness of the changes; for the winds which blow from our part of the world from the north and east, owing to the great distance, fall upon a boundless space, and are dispersed and fail before they reach these islands; but the winds which blow round them from the ocean, the south and west, bring soft rains at intervals, from the sea, but in general they gently cool the island with moist clear weather, and nourish the plants; so that a firm persuasion has reached the barbarians that here are the Elysian Plains and the abode of the Happy which Homer[125] has celebrated in song.

IX. Sertorius, hearing this description, was seized with a strong desire to dwell in the islands, [Pg 105] and to live in quiet, free from tyranny and never-ending wars. The Cilicians, who did not want peace and leisure, but wealth and spoil, observing this inclination, sailed off to Africa, to restore Ascalis, the son of Iphtha, to the Moorish kingdom.[126] Sertorius, however, did not despond, but he determined to help those who were fighting against Ascalis, in order that his companions, by

getting some renewal of hope and opportunity for other deeds, might not disperse through their difficulties. The Moors were well pleased at his arrival, and Sertorius setting himself to work defeated Ascalis, and besieged him. Sulla sent Paccianus to help Ascalis, but Sertorius engaging him with his forces killed Paccianus, and after his victory brought over the army and took Tigennis, to which Ascalis and his brother had fled. It is here that the Libyans say Antæus[127] is buried. Sertorius dug into the mound, as he did not believe what the barbarians said, so enormous was the size. But, finding the body there, sixty cubits in length, as they say, he was confounded, and, after making a sacrifice, he piled up the earth, and added to the repute and fame of the monument. The people of Tigennis have a mythus, that, on the death of Antæus his wife Tinge cohabited with Hercules, that Sophax was the issue of their connexion, and became king of the country, and named a city after his mother; they further say that Sophax had a son, Diodorus, whom many of the Libyan nations submitted to, as he had a Greek army of Olbiani and [Pg 106] Mycenæi, who were settled in those parts by Hercules. But this may be considered as so much flattery to Juba,[128] of all kings the most devoted to historical inquiry; for they say that Juba's ancestors were the descendants of Diodorus and Sophax. Sertorius, now completely victorious, did no wrong to those who were his suppliants and trusted to him, but he restored to them both property and cities and the administration, receiving only what was fair and just for them to offer.

X. While Sertorius was considering where he should betake himself to, the Lusitani sent ambassadors to invite him to be their leader; for they were much in want of a commander of great reputation and experience, to oppose the formidable power of the Romans, and Sertorius was the only man whom they would trust, as they knew his character from those who had been about him. Now it is said that Sertorius was a man who never yielded either to pleasure or to fear, and while he was naturally unmoved by danger, he could bear prosperity with moderation; in the open field he was equal to any general of his time in enterprise, and as to all military matters that required stealthy manœuvres, the taking advantage of strong positions and rapid movements, and also craft and deception, he was in the moment of need most cunning in device. In rewarding courage he was bountiful, and in punishing for offences he was merciful. And yet, in the last part of his life, his cruel and vindictive treatment of the hostages may be alleged as a proof that his temper was not naturally humane, but that he put on the appearance of mildness through calculation and as a matter of necessity, But it is my opinion that no fortune can ever change to the opposite character a virtue which is genuine and founded on principle; still it is not impossible that good intentions and good natural dispositions, when impaired by great misfortunes[129] contrary to desert, may together with the dæmon change their habit; and this I [Pg 107] think was the case with Sertorius when fortune began to fail him; for as his circumstances became unfavourable, he became harsh to those who had done him wrong.

XI. However, he then set sail from Libya, at the invitation of the Lusitanians,[130] and got them into fighting condition, being immediately made commander with full powers, and he subjected the neighbouring parts of Iberia, most of which, indeed, voluntarily joined him, chiefly by reason of his mild treatment and his activity; but in some cases he availed himself of cunning to beguile and win over the people, the chief of which was in the affair of the deer, which was after this fashion:

Spanos, a native, and one of those who lived on their lands, fell in with a deer[131] which had just brought forth a young one and was flying from the hunters; he missed taking the deer, but he followed the fawn, being struck with its unusual colour (it was completely white), and caught it. It happened that Sertorius was staying in those parts, and when people brought him as presents anything that they had got in hunting, or from their farms, he would readily receive it and make a liberal return to those who showed him such attentions. Accordingly the man brought the fawn and gave it to Sertorius, who accepted the present. At first he took no particular pleasure in the animal, but in course of time, when he had made it so tame and familiar that it would come to him when he called it, accompany him in his walks, and cared not for a crowd and all the noise of the army, by degrees he began to give the thing a supernatural character, saying that the fawn was a gift from Artemis (Diana), and he gave out as a token of this that the fawn showed him many hidden things; for he knew that it is the nature of barbarians to be easily accessible to [Pg 108] superstition. He also resorted to such tricks as these: whenever he had got secret information that the enemy had invaded any part of the country, or were attempting to draw any city away from him, he would pretend that the deer had spoken to him in his sleep, and bid him keep his troops in readiness; and, on the other hand, when he heard that his generals had got a victory, he would keep the messenger concealed, and bring forward the deer crowned with chaplets, as is usual on the occasion of good news, and tell his men to rejoice and sacrifice to the gods, as they would hear of some good luck.

XII. By these means he tamed the people, and had them more manageable for all purposes, as they believed they were led, not by the counsels of a foreigner, but by a deity, and facts also confirmed them in this opinion, inasmuch as the power of Sertorius increased beyond all expectation; for with the two thousand six hundred men whom he called Romans, and four thousand Lusitanian targetiers, and seven hundred horsemen, whom he joined to a motley band of seven hundred Libyans, who crossed over with him to Lusitania, he fought with four Roman generals, who had under them one hundred and twenty thousand foot soldiers, six thousand horsemen, two thousand bowmen and slingers, and cities innumerable, while he had only twenty cities in all under him. But though so feeble and insignificant at first, he not only subdued great nations, and took many cities, but of the generals who were opposed to him he defeated Cotta[132]

in a naval engagement in the channel near Mellaria;[133] he put to flight Fufidius,[134] the governor of Bætica, on the banks of the Bætis, with the slaughter of two thousand of his Roman soldiers; Lucius Domitius,[135] proconsul of the other Iberia,[136] was defeated by his quæstor; Thoranius, [Pg 109] another of the commanders of Metellus, who was sent with a force, he destroyed; and on Metellus[137] himself, the greatest man among the Romans in his day, and of the highest repute, he inflicted several discomfitures, and brought him to such straits, that Lucius Manlius[138] came from Narbo,[139] in Gaul, to his relief, and Pompeius Magnus[140] was hastily despatched from Rome with an army; for Metellus was perplexed at having to deal with a daring man, who evaded all fighting in the open field, and could adapt himself to any circumstances by reason of the light and easy equipment and activity of his Iberian army; he who had been disciplined in regular battles fought by men in full armour and commanded a heavy immovable mass of men, who were excellently trained to thrust against their enemies, when they came to close quarters, and to strike them down, but unable to traverse mountains, to be kept always on the alert by the continual pursuing and retreating of light active men, and to endure hunger like them, and to live under the open sky without fire or tent.

XIII. Besides this, Metellus was now growing old, and after so many great battles was somewhat inclined to an easy and luxurious mode of life; and he was opposed to Sertorius, a man full of the vigour of mature age, whose body was wonderfully furnished with strength, activity, and power [Pg 110] of endurance. He was never intoxicated with drink, even in his seasons of relaxation, and he was accustomed to bear great toil, long marches, and continued watchfulness, content with a little food of the meanest quality; and, inasmuch as he was always rambling about and hunting, when he had leisure, he became intimately acquainted with all the spots, both impracticable and practicable, which gave chance of escape if he had to fly, or opportunity of hemming in an enemy if he was in pursuit. Consequently, it happened that Metellus, being prevented from fighting, was damaged as much as men who are beaten in battle, and Sertorius by flying had all the advantage of the pursuer. He used to cut off the supplies of water, and check the foraging; and when Metellus was advancing Sertorius would get out of his way, and when he was encamped he would not let him rest; when Metellus was occupied with a siege, Sertorius would all at once show himself, and put Metellus in his turn in a state of blockade, owing to the want of the necessary supplies, so that the soldiers were quite wearied; and when Sertorius challenged Metellus to a single combat, the men cried out and bid him fight, as it would be a match between a general and a general, and a Roman and a Roman; and when Metellus declined, they jeered him. But he laughed at them, and he did right; for a general, as Theophrastus[141] said, should die the death of a general, not that of a common targetier. Metellus perceiving that the Langobritæ[142] assisted Sertorius in no small degree, and that their town could easily be taken, as it was ill supplied with water, for they had only one well in the city, and any one who blockaded the place would be master of the streams in the suburbs and near the walls, he advanced against the city, expecting to finish the siege in two days, as there was no water; and accordingly his soldiers received [Pg 111] orders to take provisions with them for five days only. But Sertorius quickly coming to their aid, gave orders to fill two thousand skins with water, and he offered for each skin a considerable sum of money. Many Iberians and Moors volunteered for the service, and, selecting the men who were strong and light-footed, he sent them through the mountain parts, with orders, when they had delivered the skins to the people in the city, to bring out of the town all the useless people, that the water might last the longer for those who defended the place. When the news reached Metellus he was much annoyed, for his soldiers had already consumed their provisions; but he sent Aquinius,[143] at the head of six thousand men, to forage. Sertorius got notice of this, and laid an ambush on the road of three thousand men who starting up out of a bushy ravine, fell on Aquinius as he was returning. Sertorius attacked in front and put the Romans to flight, killing some and taking others prisoners. Aquinius returned with the loss of both his armour and horse, and Metellus made a disgraceful retreat amidst the jeers of the Iberians.

XIV. By such acts as these Sertorius gained the admiration and love of the barbarians; and, by introducing among them the Roman armour, and discipline, and signals, he took away the frantic and brutal part of their courage, and transformed them from a huge band of robbers into an efficient regular army. Besides, he employed gold and silver unsparingly for the decoration of their helmets, and he ornamented their shields, and accustomed them to the use of flowered cloaks and tunics, and, by supplying them with money for such purposes, and entering into a kind of honourable rivalry with them, he made himself popular. But they were most gained by what he did for their children. The youths of noblest birth he collected from the several nations at Osca, [144] a large city, and set over them teachers of Greek and Roman learning; and thus he really had [Pg 112] them as hostages under the show of educating them, as if he intended to give them a share in the government and the administration when they attained to man's estate. The fathers were wonderfully pleased at seeing their children dressed in robes with purple borders, and going so orderly to the schools of Sertorius, who paid for their education, and often had examinations into their proficiency, and gave rewards to the deserving, and presented them with golden ornaments for the neck, which the Romans call "bullæ."[145] It was an Iberian usage for those whose station was about the commander to die with him when he fell in battle, which the barbarians in those parts express by a term equivalent to the Greek "devotion."[146] Now only a few shield-bearers and companions followed the rest of the commanders; but many thousands followed Sertorius, and were devoted to die with him. It is said that, when the army of Sertorius was routed near a certain city and the enemy was pressing on them, the Iberians, careless about themselves, saved Sertorius, and, raising him on their shoulders, every one vying with the rest helped him to the walls; and when their general was secure they then betook themselves to flight, each as well as

he could.

XV. Sertorius was not beloved by the Iberians only, but also by the soldiers of Italy, who served with him. When Perpenna Vento,[147] who belonged to the same party as Sertorius, had arrived in [Pg 113] Iberia with much money and a large force, and had determined to carry on war against Metellus on his own account, his soldiers were dissatisfied, and there was much talk in the camp about Sertorius, to the great annoyance of Perpenna, who was proud of his noble family and his wealth. However, when the soldiers heard that Pompeius was crossing the Pyrenees, taking their arms and pulling up the standards, they assailed Perpenna with loud cries, and bade him lead them to Sertorius; if he did not, they threatened to leave him, and go of themselves to a man who was able to take care of himself and others too. Perpenna yielded, and led them to join the troops of Sertorius, to the number of fifty-three cohorts.

XVI. All the nations within the Iber river[148] were now joining Sertorius at once, and he was powerful in numbers; for they were continually flocking and crowding to him from all quarters. But he was troubled by the loose discipline and self-confidence of the barbarians, who called on him to attack the enemy, and were impatient of delay, and he attempted to pacify them with reasons. Seeing, however, that they were discontented, and were unwisely pressing him with their demands, he let them have their way, and winked at their engaging with the enemy, in so far as not to be completely crushed, but to get some hard knocks, which he hoped would render them more tractable for the future. Things turning out as he expected, Sertorius came to their aid when they were flying, and brought them back safe to the camp. However, as he wished also to cheer their spirits, a few days after this adventure he had all the army assembled, and introduced before them two horses,[149] one very weak and rather old, the other of a large size [Pg 114] and strong, with a tail remarkable for the thickness and beauty of the hair. There stood by the side of the weak horse a tall strong man, and by the side of the strong horse a little man of mean appearance. On a signal given to them, the strong man began to pull the tail of the horse with all his might towards him, as if he would tear it off; the weak man began to pluck out the hairs from the tail of the strong horse one by one. Now the strong man, after no small labour to himself to no purpose, and causing much mirth to the spectators, at last gave up; but the weak man in a trice, and with no trouble, bared the tail of all its hairs. On which Sertorius getting up, said, "You see, fellow allies, that perseverance will do more than strength, and that many things which cannot be compassed all at once, yield to continued efforts; for endurance is invincible, and it is thus that time in its course assails and vanquishes every power, being a favourable helper to those who with consideration watch the opportunities that it offers, but the greatest of enemies to those who hurry out of season." By contriving from time to time such means as these for pacifying the barbarians, he managed his opportunities as he chose.

XVII. His adventure with the people called Charicatani[150] was not less admired than any of his military exploits. The Charicatani are a people who live beyond the river Tagonius: they do not dwell in cities or villages; but there is a large lofty hill, which contains caves and hollows in the rocks, looking to the north. The whole of the country at the foot of the hill consists of a clayey mud and of light earth, easily broken in pieces, which is not strong enough to bear a man's tread; and if it is only slightly touched will spread all about, like unslaked lime or ashes. Whenever the barbarians through fear of war hid themselves in their caves, and, collecting all their plunder there kept quiet, they could not be taken by any force; and now, seeing that Sertorius had retired [Pg 115] before Metellus, and had encamped near the hill, they despised him as being beaten, on which Sertorius, whether in passion or not wishing to appear to be flying from the enemy, at daybreak rode up to the place and examined it. But he found the mountain unassailable on all sides; and while he was perplexing himself to no purpose and uttering idle threats, he saw a great quantity of dust from this light earth carried by the wind against the barbarians; for the caves are turned, as I have said, to the north, and the wind which blows from that quarter (some call it "caecias") prevails most, and is the strongest of all the winds in those parts, being generated in wet plains and snow-covered mountains; and at that time particularly, it being the height of summer, it was strong, and maintained by the melting of the ice in the sub-arctic regions, and it blew most pleasantly both on the barbarians and their flocks, and refreshed them. Now, Sertorius, thinking on all these things, and also getting information from the country people, ordered his soldiers to take up some of the light ashy earth, and bringing it right opposite to the hill to make a heap of it there; which the barbarians thought to be intended as a mound for the purpose of getting at them, and they mocked him. Sertorius kept his soldiers thus employed till nightfall, when he led them away. At daybreak a gentle breeze at first began to blow, which stirred up the lightest part of the earth that had been heaped together, and scattered it about like chaff; but when the caecias began to blow strong, as the sun got higher, and the hills were all covered with dust, the soldiers got on the heap of earth and stirred it up to the bottom, and broke the clods; and some also rode their horses up and down through the earth, kicking up the light particles and raising them so as to be caught by the wind, which receiving all the earth that was broken and stirred up, drove it against the dwellings of the barbarians, whose doors were open to the caecias. The barbarians, having only the single opening to breathe through, upon which the wind fell, had their vision quickly obscured, and they were speedily overpowered by a suffocating difficulty of breathing, by reason of respiring a thick atmosphere filled with dust. Accordingly, after holding [Pg 116] out with difficulty for two days, they surrendered on the third, and thus added not so much to the power as to the reputation of Sertorius, who had taken by stratagem a place that was impregnable to arms.

XVIII. Now, as long as Sertorius had to oppose Metellus, he was generally considered to owe his success to the old age and natural tardiness of Metellus, who was no match for a daring man, at

the head of a force more like a band of robbers than a regular army. But when Pompeius had crossed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius had met him in the field, and he and Pompeius had mutually offered one another every opportunity for a display of generalship, and Sertorius had the advantage in stratagem and caution, his fame was noised abroad as far as Rome, and he was considered the most able general of his age in the conduct of a war: for the reputation of Pompeius was no small one; but at that time particularly he was enjoying the highest repute by reason of his distinguished exploits in the cause of Sulla, for which Sulla gave him the name of Magnus, which means Great, and Pompeius obtained triumphal honours before he had a beard. All this made many of the cities which were subject to Sertorius turn their eyes towards Pompeius, and feel inclined to pass over to him; but their intentions were checked by the loss at Lauron,[151] which happened contrary to all expectation. Sertorius was besieging this town, when Pompeius came with all his force to relieve it. There was a hill, well situated for enabling an enemy to act against the place, which Sertorius made an effort to seize, and Pompeius to prevent its being occupied. Sertorius succeeded in getting possession of the hill, on which Pompeius made his troops stop, and was well pleased at what had happened, thinking that Sertorius was [Pg 117] hemmed in between the city and his own army; and he sent a message to the people in Lauron, bidding them be of good cheer, and to keep to their walls and look on while Sertorius was blockaded. Sertorius smiled when he heard of this, and said he would teach Sulla's pupil (for so he contemptuously called Pompeius) that a general should look behind him rather than before. As he said this he pointed out to his men, who were thus blockaded, that there were six thousand heavy armed soldiers, whom he had left in the encampment, which he had quitted before he seized the hill, in order that if Pompeius should turn against them, the soldiers in camp might attack him in the rear. And Pompeius too saw this when it was too late, and he did not venture to attack Sertorius for fear of being surrounded; and though he could not for shame leave the citizens in their danger, he was obliged to sit there and see them ruined before his eyes; for the barbarians in despair surrendered. Sertorius spared their lives, and let them all go; but he burnt the city, not for revenge or because he was cruel, for of all commanders Sertorius appears to have least given way to passion; but he did it to shame and humble the admirers of Pompeius, and that the barbarians might say that Pompeius did not help his allies, though he was close at hand, and all but warmed with the flames of their city.

XIX. However, Sertorius was now sustaining several defeats, though he always saved himself and those with him from defeat; but his losses were occasioned by the other generals. Yet he gained more credit from the means by which he repaired his defeats than the generals on the other side who won the victories; an instance of which occurred in the battle against Pompeius, on the Sucro, and another in the battle near Tuttia,[152] against Pompeius[153] and Metellus together. [Pg 118] Now the battle on the Sucro is said to have been brought about by the eagerness of Pompeius, who wished Metellus to have no share in the victory. Sertorius, on his part, also wished to engage Pompeius before Metellus arrived; and, drawing out his forces when the evening was coming on, he commenced the battle, thinking that, as the enemy were strangers and unacquainted with the ground, the darkness would be a disadvantage to them, whether they were the pursued or the pursuers. When the battle began, it happened that Sertorius was not engaged with Pompeius, but with Afranius at first, who commanded the left wing of the enemy, while Sertorius commanded his own right. But, hearing that those who were opposed to Pompeius were giving way before his attack and being defeated, Sertorius left the right wing to the care of other generals, and hastened to the support of the wing that was giving way. Bringing together the soldiers who were already flying, and those who were still keeping their ranks, he encouraged them and made a fresh charge upon Pompeius, who was pursuing, and put his men to the rout; on which occasion Pompeius himself nearly lost his life, and had a wonderful escape after being wounded. The Libyans of Sertorius seized the horse of Pompeius, which was decked with golden ornaments and loaded with trappings; but while they were dividing the booty and quarrelling about it, they neglected the pursuit. As soon as Sertorius quitted the right wing to relieve the other part of the army, Afranius[154] put to flight his opponents and drove them to their camp, which, he entered [Pg 119] with the captives, it being now dark, and began to plunder, knowing nothing of the defeat of Pompeius, and being unable to stop his soldiers from seizing the booty. In the mean time Sertorius returned, after defeating the enemy who were opposed to him, and falling on the soldiers of Afranius, who were all in disorder and consequently panic-stricken, he slaughtered many of them. In the morning he again armed his troops and came out to fight; but observing that Metellus was near, he broke up his order of battle, and marched off saying, "If that old woman had not come up, I would have given this boy a good drubbing by way of lesson, and have sent him back to Rome."

XX. About this time Sertorius was much dispirited, because that deer[155] of his could nowhere be found; for he was thus deprived of a great means of cheering the barbarians, who then particularly required consolation. It happened that some men, who were rambling about at night for other purposes, fell in with the deer and caught it, for they knew it by the colour. Sertorius hearing of this, promised to give them a large sum of money if they would mention it to nobody; and, concealing the deer for several days, he came forward with a joyful countenance to the tribunal, and told the barbarian chiefs that the deity prognosticated to him in his sleep some great good fortune. He then ascended the tribunal, and transacted business with those who applied to him. The deer being let loose by those who had charge of it close by, and, seeing Sertorius, bounded joyfully up to the tribunal, and, standing by him, placed its head on his knees, and touched his right hand with its mouth, having been accustomed to do this before. Sertorius cordially returned the caresses of the animal, and even shed tears. The spectators were at first [Pg 120] surprised; then clapping their hands and shouting, they conducted Sertorius to his residence,

considering him to be a man superior to other mortals and beloved by the gods; and they were full of good hopes.

XXI. Sertorius, who had reduced the enemy to the greatest straits in the plains about Seguntum[156] was compelled to fight a battle with them when they came down to plunder and forage. The battle was well contested on both sides. Memmius, one of the most skillful of the commanders under Pompeius, fell in the thick of the fight, and Sertorius, who was victorious, and making a great slaughter of those who opposed him, attempted to get at Metellus, who stood his ground with a resolution above his years, and, while fighting bravely, was struck by a spear. This made the Romans who were on the spot, as well as those who heard of it, ashamed to desert their leader, and inspired them with courage against their enemies. After covering Metellus with their shields and rescuing him from danger, by making a vigorous onset they drove the Iberians from their ground; and, as the victory now changed sides, Sertorius, with a view of securing a safe retreat for his men, and contriving the means of getting together another army without any interruption, retired to a strong city in the mountains, and began to repair the walls and strengthen the gates, though his object was anything rather than to stand a siege: but his design [Pg 121] was to deceive the enemy, in which he succeeded; for they sat down before the place, thinking they should take it without difficulty, and in the mean time they let the defeated barbarians escape, and allowed Sertorius to collect a fresh army. It was got together by Sertorius sending officers to the cities, and giving orders that when they had collected a good body of men, they should dispatch a messenger to him. When the messenger came, he broke through the besiegers without any difficulty and joined his troops; and now he again advanced against the enemy in great force, and began to cut off their land supplies by ambuscades, and hemming them in, and showing himself at every point, inasmuch as his attacks were made with great expedition; and he cut off all their maritime supplies by occupying the coast with his piratical vessels, so that the generals opposed to him were obliged to separate, one to march off into Gaul, and Pompeius to winter among the Vaccæi[157] in great distress for want of supplies, and to write to the Senate, that he would lead his army out of Iberia, if they did not send him money, for he had spent all his own in defence of Italy. There was great talk in Rome that Sertorius would come to Italy before Pompeius[158] to such difficulties did Sertorius, by his military abilities, reduce the first and ablest of the generals of that age.

XXII. Metellus also showed, that he feared the man and thought he was powerful; for he made proclamation, that if any Roman killed Sertorius he would give him a hundred talents of silver and twenty thousand jugera of land; and, if he was an exile, permission to return, to Rome: thus declaring that he despaired of being able to defeat Sertorius in the field, and therefore would purchase his life by treachery. Besides this, Metellus was so elated by a victory which on one [Pg 122] occasion he gained over Sertorius, and so well pleased with his success, that he was proclaimed Imperator[159] and the cities received him in his visits to them with sacrifices and altars. It is also said, that he allowed chaplets to be placed on his head, and accepted invitations to sumptuous feasts, at which he wore a triumphal vest; and Victories[160] which were contrived to move by machinery, descended and distributed golden trophies and crowns, and companies of youths and women sang epinician hymns in honour of him. For this he was with good reason ridiculed, for that after calling Sertorius a runaway slave of Sulla, and a remnant of the routed party of Carbo, he was so puffed up and transported with delight because he had gained an advantage over Sertorius, who had been compelled to retire. But it was a proof of the magnanimous character of Sertorius, first, that he gave the name of Senate to the Senators who fled from Rome and joined him, and that he appointed quæstors and generals from among them, and arranged everything of this kind according to Roman usage; and next, that though he availed himself of the arms, the money and the cities of the Iberians, he never yielded to them one *tittle of the Roman supremacy, but he appointed Romans to be their generals and commanders, considering that he was recovering freedom for the Romans, and was not strengthening the Iberians against the Romans; for Sertorius loved his country and had a great desire to return home. Notwithstanding this, in his reverses he behaved like a brave man, and never humbled himself before his enemies; and after his victories he would send to Metellus and to Pompeius, and declare that he was ready to lay down his arms and to live in a private station, if he might be allowed to return home; for, he said, he would rather be the obscurest citizen in Rome than an exile from his country, though he were proclaimed supreme ruler of all other countries in the world. It is said, that he longed to return home chiefly on account of his mother, who brought him up after his father's death, and to [Pg 123] whom he was completely devoted. At the time when his friends in Iberia invited him to take the command, he heard of the death of his mother, and he was near dying of grief. He lay in his tent for seven days without giving the watchword, or being seen by any of his friends; and it was with difficulty that his fellow-generals and those of like rank with himself, who had assembled about his tent, prevailed on him to come out to the soldiers, and take a share in the administration of affairs, which were going on well. This made many people think that Sertorius was naturally a man of mild temper, and well disposed to a quiet life; but that, owing to uncontrollable causes, and contrary to his wishes, he entered on the career of a commander, and then, when he could not ensure his safety, and was driven to arms by his enemies, he had recourse to war as the only means by which he could protect his life.

XXIII. His negociations with Mithridates also were a proof of his magnanimity; for now that Mithridates, rising from the fall that he had from Sulla, as it were, to a second contest, had again attacked Asia, and the fame of Sertorius was great, and had gone abroad to all parts, and those who sailed from the West had filled the Pontus with the reports about him, as if with so many foreign wares, Mithridates was moved to send an embassy to him, being urged thereto mainly by

the fulsome exaggerations of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and said that if the Romans were attacked on both sides, they could not hold out against such great abilities and powers combined, when the most expert of commanders had joined the greatest of kings. Accordingly, Mithridates sent ambassadors to Iberia, with letters to Sertorius and proposals. On his part he offered to supply money and ships for the war, and he asked from Sertorius a confirmation of his title to the whole of Asia, which he had given up to the Romans pursuant to the treaty made with Sulla. Sertorius assembled a council, which he called a senate, and all the members advised to accept the king's proposal, and to be well content with it; they said the king only asked of them a name and an empty answer touching things that were not [Pg 124] in their power, in return for which they were to receive what they happened to stand most in need of. But Sertorius would not listen to this; he said he did not grudge Mithridates having Bithynia and Cappadocia; these were nations that were accustomed to a king, and the Romans had nothing to do with them; but the province which belonged to the Romans by the justest of titles, which Mithridates took from them and kept, from which, after a contest, he was driven out by Fimbria, and which he gave up by treaty with Sulla,[161] -that province he would never allow to fall again into the power of Mithridates; for it was fit that the Roman state should be extended by his success, not that his success should be owing to her humiliation. To a generous mind, victory by honest means was a thing to desire, but life itself was not worth having with dishonour.

XXIV. When this was reported to Mithridates he was amazed, and it is said that he remarked to his friends—what terms, then, will Sertorius impose when he is seated on the Palatium,[162] if now, when he is driven to the shores of the Atlantic, he fixes limits to our kingdom, and threatens us with war if we make any attempt upon Asia? However, a treaty was made, and ratified by oath, on the following terms: Mithridates[163] was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius was to send him a general and soldiers; and Sertorius was to receive from Mithridates three thousand talents, and forty ships. Sertorius sent as general to Asia Marcus Marius, one of the Senators who had fled to him; and Mithridates, after assisting him to take some of the Asiatic cities,[164] followed Marius as he entered them with the fasces and axes, voluntarily taking the second place [Pg 125] and the character of an inferior. Marius restored some of the cities to liberty, and he wrote to others to announce to them their freedom from taxation through the power of Sertorius; so that Asia, which was much troubled by the Publicani,[165] and oppressed by the rapacity and insolence of the soldiers quartered there, was again raised on the wings of hope, and longed for the expected change of masters.

XXV. In Iberia, the senators and nobles about Sertorius, as soon as they were put into a condition to hope that they were a match for the opposite party, and their fears were over, began to feel envious, and had a foolish jealousy of the power of Sertorius. Perpenna encouraged this feeling, being urged by the empty pride of high birth to aspire to the supreme command, and he secretly held treasonable language to those who were favourable to his designs. "What evil dæmon," he would say, "has got hold of us, and carried us from bad to worse—us who did not brook to stay at home and do the bidding of Sulla, though in a manner he was lord of all the earth and sea at once, but coming here with ill luck, in order to live free, have voluntarily become slaves by making ourselves the guards of Sertorius in his exile, and while we are called a senate, a name jeered at by all who hear it, we submit to insults, and orders, and sufferings as great as the Iberians and Lusitanians endure." Their minds filled with such suggestions as these, the majority did not, indeed, openly desert Sertorius, for they feared his power, but they secretly damaged all his measures, and they oppressed the barbarians by severe treatment and exactions, on the pretext that it was by the order of Sertorius. This caused revolts and disturbances in the cities; and those who were sent to settle and pacify these outbreaks returned after causing more wars, and increasing the existing insubordination; so that Sertorius, contrary to his former moderation [Pg 126] and mildness, did a grievous wrong to the sons of the Iberians, who were educating at Osca,[166] by putting some to death, and selling others as slaves.

XXVI. Now Perpenna, having got several to join him in his conspiracy, gained over Manlius, one of those who were in command. This Manlius was much attached to a beautiful boy, and to give the youth a proof of his attachment he told him of the design, and urged him not to care for his other lovers; but to give his affections to him alone, as he would be a great man in a few days. The youth reported what Manlius said to Aufidius, another of his lovers, to whom he was more attached. On hearing this, Aufidius was startled, for he was engaged in the conspiracy against Sertorius, but he did not know that Manlius was a party to it. But when the youth named Perpenna and Graecinus,[167] and some others whom Aufidius knew to be in the conspiracy, he was confounded, yet he made light of the story to the youth, and told him to despise Manlius for a lying braggart; but he went to Perpenna, and, showing him the critical state of affairs, and the danger, urged him to the deed. The conspirators followed his advice, and having engaged a man to bring letters they introduced him to Sertorius. The letters gave information of a victory gained by one of the generals, and a great slaughter of the enemy. Upon this Sertorius was overjoyed, and offered a sacrifice for the happy tidings; and Perpenna proposed to feast him and his friends (and they were of the number of the conspirators), and after much entreaty he prevailed on Sertorius to come. Now whenever Sertorius was present, an entertainment was conducted with great propriety and decorum; for he would not tolerate any indecent act or expression, but accustomed his companions to enjoy mirth and merriment with orderly behaviour, and without [Pg 127] any excess; but, on this occasion, in the midst of the feast, seeking to begin a quarrel, they openly used obscene language, and, pretending to be drunk, behaved indecently, for the purpose of irritating Sertorius. Whether it was that he was vexed at this disorderly conduct, or had now suspected their design by the flagging of the conversation[168] and their unusual contemptuous

manner towards him, he changed his posture on the couch by throwing himself on his back, as if he was paying no attention to them, and not listening. On Perpenna taking a cup of wine, and in the middle of the draught throwing it from him and so making a noise, which was the signal agreed on, Antonius, who lay next to Sertorius, struck him with his sword. On receiving the blow, Sertorius turned himself, and at the same time attempted to rise, but Antonius, throwing himself upon his chest, held his hands, and he was despatched by blows from many of the conspirators, without even making any resistance.

XXVII.[169] Now most of the Iberians immediately sent ambassadors to Pompeius and Metellus, to [Pg 128] make their submission; those who remained Perpenna took under his command, and attempted to do something. After employing the means that Sertorius had got together, just so far as to disgrace himself, and show that he was not suited either to command or to obey, he engaged with Pompeius. Being quickly crushed by him and taken prisoner, he did not behave himself even in this extremity as a commander should do; but having got possession of the papers of Sertorius, he offered to Pompeius to show him autograph letters from consular men and persons of the highest influence at Rome, in which Sertorius was invited to Italy, and was assured that there [Pg 129] were many who were desirous to change the present settlement of affairs, and to alter the constitution. Now Pompeius, by behaving on this occasion, not like a young man, but one whose understanding was well formed and disciplined, relieved Rome from great dangers and revolutions. He got together all those letters, and all the papers of Sertorius, and burnt them, without either reading them himself or letting any one else read them; and he immediately put Perpenna to death, through fear that there might be defection and disturbance if the names were communicated to others. Of the fellow-conspirators of Perpenna, some were brought to Pompeius, and put to death; and others, who fled to Libya, were pierced by the Moorish spears. Not one escaped, except Aufidius, the rival of Manlius, and this happened, either because he escaped notice, or nobody took any trouble about him, and he lived to old age, in some barbarian village, in poverty and contempt.

FOOTNOTES:

[101] If this is obscure, the fault is Plutarch's. His word for Fortune is τύχη which he has often used in the Life of Sulla. The word for Spontaneity is τὸ αὐτόματον, the Self-moved. The word for Elemental things is τὰ ὑποκειμένα. The word ὑποκειμένον is used by Aristotle to signify both the thing of which something is predicated, the Subject of grammarians, and for the Substance, which is as it were the substratum on which actions operate. Aristotle (*Metaphys.* vi. vii. 3) says "Essence (οὐσία) or Being is predicated, if not in many ways, in four at least; for the formal cause (τὸ τὶ ἦν εἶναι), and the universal, and genus appear to be the essence of everything; and the fourth of these is the Substance (τὸ ὑποκειμένον). And the Substance is that of which the rest are predicated, but it is not predicated of any other thing. And Essence seems to be especially the first Substance; and such, in a manner, matter (ὕλη) is said to be; and in another manner, form; and in a third, that which is from these. And I mean by matter (ὕλη), copper, for instance; and by form, the figure of the idea; and by that which is from them, the statue in the whole," &c. I have translated τὸ τὶ ἦν εἶναι by "formal cause," as Thomas Taylor has done, and according to the explanation of Trendelenburg, in his edition of Aristotle *On the Soul*, i. 1, § 2. It is not my business to explain Aristotle, but to give some clue to the meaning of Plutarch.

The word "accidentally" (κατὰ τύχην) is opposed to "forethought" (προνοία), "design," "providence." How Plutarch conceived Fortune, I do not know; nor do I know what Fortune and Chance mean in any language. But the nature of the contrast which he intends is sufficiently clear for his purpose.

[102] As to Attes, as Pausanias (vii. 17) names him, his history is given by Pausanias. There appears to be some confusion in his story. Herodotus (i. 36) has a story of an Atys, a son of Crœsus, who was killed while hunting a wild boar; and Adonis, the favourite of Venus, was killed by a wild boar. It is not known who this Arcadian Atteus was.

Actæon saw Diana naked while she was bathing, and was turned by her into a deer and devoured by his dogs. (Apollodorus, *Biblioth.* iii. 4; Ovidius, *Metamorph.* iii. 155.) The story of the other Actæon is told by Plutarch (*Amator. Narrationes*, c. 2).

[103] The elder Africanus, P. Cornelius Scipio, who defeated Hannibal B.C. 202, and the younger Africanus, the adopted son of the son of the elder Africanus, who took Carthage B.C. 146. See Life of Tib. Gracchus, c. 1, Notes.

[104] Ios, a small island of the Grecian Archipelago, now Nio, is mentioned among the places where Homer was buried. The name Ios resembles that of the Greek word for violet, (ἴον). Smyrna, one of the members of the Ionian confederation, is mentioned among the birth places of Homer. It was an accident that the name of the town Smyrna was the same as the name for myrrh, *Smyrna* (σμύρνη),x which was not a Greek word. Herodotus (iii. 112) says that it was the Arabians who procured myrrh.

[105] This Philippus was the father of Alexander the Great. He is said to have lost an eye from a wound by an arrow at the siege of Pydna Antigonus, one of the generals of Alexander, was named Cyclops, or the one-eyed. He accompanied Alexander in his Asiatic expedition, and in the division of the empire after Alexander's death he obtained a share and by his vigour and abilities he made himself the most powerful of the successors of Alexander. It is said that Apelles, who painted the portrait of Antigonus, placed him in

profile in order to hide the defect of the one eye. Antigonus closed his long career at the battle of Ipsus B.C. 301, where he was defeated and killed. He was then eighty-one years of age.

[106] Plutarch's form is Annibas. I may have sometimes written it Hannibal. Thus we have Anno and Hanno. I don't know which is the true form. [I prefer to write it Hannibal.—A.S.]

[107] Plutarch has written the Life of Eumenes, whom he contrasts with Sertorius. Eumenes was one of the generals of Alexander who accompanied him to Asia. After Alexander's death, he obtained for his government a part of Asia Minor bordering on the Euxine, and extending as far east as Trapezus. The rest of his life is full of adventure. He fell into the hands of Antigonus B.C. 315, who put him to death.

[108] Nursia was in the country of the Sabini among the Apennines, and near the source of the Nar. It is now Norcia. The MSS. of Plutarch have Nussa.

[109] The date is B.C. 105. See the Life of Marius, c. 10, and Notes.

[110] Titus Didius and Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos were consuls B.C. 98. In B.C. 97 Didius was in Spain as Proconsul, and fought against the Celtiberi. Gellius (ii. 27) quotes a passage from the Historiæ of Sallustius, in which mention is made of Sertorius serving under Didius in Spain, and the character of Sertorius is given pretty nearly in the terms of Plutarch, who may have used Sallustius as one of his authorities. Didius is mentioned by Cicero, *Pro Cn. Plancio*, c. 25; and by Frontinus, i. 8. 5; ii. 10. 1; and by Appian (*Iberica*, c. 99). The passage in the text should be translated, "he was sent out under Didius as commander, and wintered in Iberia, in Castlo," &c. Plutarch has used the word στρατηγός, which means prætor; but to make the statement correct, we must translate it Proconsul, or commander. See Life of Crassus, c. 4, Notes.

[111] Castlo, Castalo, or Castulo, is placed on the north bank of the Bætis, the Guadalquivir.

[112] See the Life of Marius, c. 32, Notes. The events that are briefly alluded to at the end of this chapter are described in the Lives of Marius and Sulla. The battle in the Forum is spoken of in the Life of Marius, c. 41.

[113] The same story is told in the Life of Marius, c. 44, where it is stated that Cinna and Sertorius combined to put these scoundrels out of the way; but the number that were massacred is not stated there.

[114] Compare the Life of Marius, c. 45, and of Sulla, c. 28, &c. Cinna was murdered by his soldiers two years after the death of Marius, and in his fourth consulship, B.C. 84. The younger Marius was Consul in B.C. 82, with Cn. Papirius Carbo for his colleague. This was Carbo's third consulship. According to Plutarch, Sertorius left Italy after the younger Marius was consul, and therefore not earlier than B.C. 82, unless we understand the passage in Plutarch as referring to the election of Marius, and not to the commencement of his consulship. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 86) places the departure of Sertorius in the year B.C. 83.

[115] Sertorius had not been Consul, and therefore he was not now Proconsul. It is true that a man, who had not been Consul, might receive the government of a Province with the title of Proconsul. (See c. 7.) Sertorius may have assumed the title.

[116] If Sertorius stayed at Rome till the younger Marius was elected Consul, as Plutarch states in the sixth chapter, he probably saw what he is here represented as hearing.

[117] This Annius, surnamed Luscus, served under Q. Metellus in the Jugurthine War B.C. 107. (Sallust, *Jug. War*, c. 77.) Sulla gave him the command in Spain with the title of Proconsul B.C. 81. An extant medal seems to have been struck in honour of his Proconsulship. (Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.* v. 134.)

[118] This town, which the Romans called Nova Carthago, was built by the Carthaginians at the close of the first Punic War B.C. 235, and so long as they kept possession of Spain it was their chief city. Livius (26. c. 42), describes the situation of New Carthage, now Cartagena, and one of the best harbours in Spain. Its position on the S.E. coast is favourable for communication with Africa.

[119] The maritime towns of Cilicia were for a long time the resort of a bold set of seamen and adventurers who scoured the Mediterranean and were as formidable to the people of Italy as the Barbary Corsairs were in the middle ages. It was one of the great merits of Cn. Pompeius Magnus that he cleared the seas of these scoundrels. See Lucullus, c. 37.

[120] The two islands of Yviça or Ibiça and Formentera, which belong to the Balearic group, were sometimes comprehended under the name of the Pityussæ or the Pine Islands (Strabo, 167, ed. Casaub.). The Greeks and Romans called Yviça, Ebusus. Iviça is hilly, and the high tracts are well covered with pine and fir.

[121] This is the old name of the Straits of Gibraltar, which is still retained in the modern form Cadiz. Gadeira, which the Romans called Gades, was an old Phœnician town, on the island of Leon, where Cadiz now stands. Strabo (p. 168, ed. Casaub.) says that Gades in his time (the beginning of the reign of Tiberius) was not inferior in population to any city except Rome, and was a place of great trade, as it is now.

[122] This river, now the Guadalquivir, gave the name of Bætica to one of the three provinces into which the Spanish Peninsula was ultimately divided by the Romans for the purposes of administration.

[123] This was the name for so much of the ocean that washes the west coast of Europe and Africa as the Greeks and Romans were acquainted with. The Greeks and Romans had no name for the Mediterranean.

[124] The only islands in the Atlantic that correspond to this description are Madeira and Porto Santo, but Porto Santo is forty miles north-east of Madeira. The distance of Madeira from the coast of Africa is about 400 miles or about 4000 stadia. The climate of Madeira is very temperate: the thermometer seldom sinks below 60°, though it sometimes rises as high as 90° of Fahrenheit. On the high and mountainous parts there are heavy dews, and rain falls at all seasons. Owing to the variety of surface and elevation the island produces both tropical products and those of temperate countries. The fame of this happy region had spread to all parts of the ancient world, though we cannot safely conclude that the islands were known by report to Homer. Horace in his 16th *Epode* is probably alluding to these islands when he is speaking of the Civil Wars and of flying from their horrors in those beautiful lines:

> Nos manet Oceanus circumvagus; arva beata
> Petamus arva divites et insulas, &c.

[125] The passage is in the fourth book of the 'Odyssey,' v. 563, and is quoted by Strabo (p. 31):

> And there in sooth man's life is easiest;
> Nor snow, nor raging storm, nor rain is there,
> But ever gently breathing gales of zephyr
> Oceanus sends up.

Strabo in another passage expresses an opinion that the Elysian fields were in the southern parts of Spain. That would at least be a good place for them.

[126] This region is the Mauritania of the Roman Geographers, the modern Marocco, and the town of Tigennis is the Roman Tingis, the modern Tangier, which is on the Atlantic coast of Africa, south-south-east of Gades. The circumstance of Tingis being attacked shows that the African campaign of Sertorius was in the north-western part of Marocco. Strabo mentions Tinga (p. 825). See also Plin. *H.N.* v. 1.

[127] The story of this giant is in the mythographers. Tumuli are found in many parts of the old and new world, and it seems probable that they were all memorials to the dead. The only surprising thing in this story is the size of the body; which each man may explain in his own way. There are various records in antient writers of enormous bones being found. Those found at Tegea under a smithy, which were supposed to be the bones of Orestes, were seven cubits long (Herodotus, i. 68), little more than the ninth part of the dimensions of Antæus: but Antæus was a giant and Orestes was not. See Strabo's remarks on this story (p. 829).

[128] See Life of Sulla, c. 17. I am not sure that I have given the right meaning of this passage. Plutarch may mean to say that he has said so much on this matter in honour of Juba.

[129] I have translated this passage literally and kept the word dæmon, which is the best way of enabling the reader to judge of the meaning; of the text. If the word "dæmon" is here translated "fortune," it may mislead. A like construction to the words τῷ δαιμόνι συμμεταβαλεῖν τὸ ἦθος occurs in the Life of Lucullus, c. 39. The meaning of the whole passage must be considered with reference to the sense of dæmon, which is explained in the notes of the Life of Sulla, c. 6.

[130] The Lusitani occupied a part of the modern kingdom of Portugal.

[131] This story of the deer is told by Frontinus (*Stratagem,* i. 11, 13), and by Gellius (xv. 22).

[132] He was of the Aurelia Gens.

[133] Is a small town on the coast, east of the mouth of the Bætis (Guadalquivir) and near the Straits of Gibraltar. The channel must be the Straits of Gibraltar.

[134] This is undoubtedly the right name, though it is corrupted in the MSS. See the various readings in Sintenis, and *Sulla* (c. 31), to which he refers. However, the corrupt readings of some MSS. clearly show what the true reading is.

[135] Sintenis reads Domitius Calvisius. But it should be Calvinus: Calvinus was a cognomen of the Domitii. (See Livius, *Epitome*, lib. 90.) The person who is meant is L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. He fell in this battle on the Guadiana, where he was defeated by Hirtuleius. (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Ahenobarbi, 19.)

[136] That is the province which the Romans called Tarraconensis, from the town of Tarraco, Tarragona. The Tarraconensis was the north-eastern part of the Spanish peninsula. The true name of Thoranius is Thorius.

[137] This was Q. Metellus Pius, the son of Numidicus, who was banished through the artifices of C. Marius. (Life of Marius, c. 7, &c.) He was Proconsul in Spain from B.C. 78 to 72, and was sent there in consequence of the success of Sertorius against Cotta and Fufidius.

[138] Some critics read Lucius Lollius. See the various readings in Sintenis: his name was L. Manilius.

[139] I should rather have translated it "Gaul about Narbo." Plutarch means the Roman Province in Gaul, which was called Narbonensis, from the town of Narbo Martius.

[140] Commonly called Pompey the Great, whose name occurs in the Lives of Sulla, Lucullus, and Crassus. Plutarch has written his Life at length.

[141] Probably the philosopher and pupil of Aristotle.

[142] Some writers would connect this name of a people with Langobriga, the name of a place.

There were two places of the name, it is said, and one is placed near the mouth of the Douro. It is useless to attempt to fix the position of the Langobritæ from what Plutarch has said.

[143] Or Aquinus or Aquilius. Cornelius Aquinus was his name.

[144] Osca was a town in the north-east of Spain, probably Huesca in Aragon. Mannert observes that this school must have greatly contributed to fix the Latin language in Spain. Spain however already contained Roman settlers, and at a later period it contained numerous Roman colonies: in fact the Peninsula was completely Romanized, of which the Spanish language and the establishment of the Roman Law in Spain are the still existing evidence. The short-lived school of Sertorius could not have done much towards fixing the Latin language in Spain.

[145] The Bulla was of a round form. See the copy of one from the British Museum in Smith's 'Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities.' Kaltwasser refers to Plutarch's Life of Romulus, c. 20, and his 'Roman Questions,' Part 3, in which he explains what the Bulla is.

[146] The Greek word κατάσπεισις signifies a "pouring out." Kaltwasser refers to a passage in Cæsar's 'Gallic War,' iii. 22, in which he speaks of the "devoted" (devoti), whom the Aquitani called Soldurii. As the Aquitani bordered on the Pyrenees, it is not surprising that the like usage prevailed among them and the Iberians.

[147] The orthography is Perperna, as is proved by inscriptions. M. Perperna, the grandfather of this Perperna, was consul B.C. 130. (see Life of Tib. Gracchus, c. 20, Notes.) The son of M. Perperna also was consul B.C. 92: he did not die till B.C. 49, and consequently survived his son, this Perperna of Plutarch. Perperna Vento had been prætor. He associated himself with Lepidus after the death of Sulla, and was like M. Lepidus driven from Rome (Life of Sulla, c. 34, Notes).

[148] This is the Ebro, which the Romans called Iberus, the large river which flows in a south-east direction and enters the Mediterranean.

It seems that Plutarch here means the nations between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, or the modern Aragon, Navarre, and Catalonia.

[149] The story is told by Frontinus, *Stratagemata*, i. 10, as Kaltwasser observes, and again, in iv. 7, in the very same words. It has been often remarked that Horatius probably alludes to this story (ii. *Epist.* I, 45).

[150] The Tagonius is either the Tagus (Tajo), or a branch of that large river, on the banks of which the Carpetani are placed by geographers, who also mark Caraca, a position on the Henares, a branch of the Tagus. If Caraca represents the country of the Charicatani, the Tagonius is the Nares or Henares, on which stood Complutum, the modern Alcalá de Henarea. But all this is merely conjecture.

[151] Lauron is placed near the coast, and near the outlet of the Sucro river, the modern Xucar. There was also a town Sucro near the mouth of the Sucro. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 109) says that when the city was captured, a soldier attempted violence on a woman (παρὰ φύσιν), who tore out his eyes with her fingers. Sertorius, who knew that the whole cohort was addicted to infamous practices, put them all to death though they were Romans. Frontinus (*Stratagem.* ii. 5) has a long account of this affair at Lauron, for which he quotes Livius, who says that Pompeius lost ten thousand men and all his baggage.

Pompeius began his Spanish campaign B.C. 76.

[152] These names are very uncertain in Plutarch. Tuttia may be the Turia, now the Guadalaviar, the river of Valencia, the outlet of which is about twenty-five miles north of the outlet of the Sucro. Other readings are Duria and Dusia (see the notes of Sintenis). If these rivers are properly identified, this campaign was carried on in the plains of the kingdom of Valencia. Tutia is mentioned by Florus (iii. 22) as one of the Spanish towns which surrendered to Pompeius after the death of Sertorius and Perperna.

Kaltwasser refers to Frontinus, who speaks of one Hirtuleius, or Herculeius in some editions, as a general of Sertorius who was defeated by Metellus (*Stratagem*, ii. 1). In another passage (ii. 7) Frontinus states that Sertorius during a battle being informed by a native that Hirtuleius hod fallen, stabbed the man that he might not carry the news to others, and so dispirit his soldiers. Plutarch (Life of Pompeius c. 18) states that Pompeius defeated Herennius and Perperna near Valentia, and killed above ten thousand of their men. This is apparently the same battle that Plutarch is here speaking of.

[153] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 19; and Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 110), who states that the battle took place near the town of Suero (which would be the more correct translation of the text of Plutarch), and that the wing which Perperna commanded was defeated by Metellus.

[154] This L. Afranius is the man whom Cicero calls "Auli filius" (*Ad Attic,* i. 16), by which he meant that he was of obscure origin. He was consul with Q. Metellus Celer B.C. 60. Afranius and Petreius commanded for Pompeius in Spain B.C. 49, but C. Julius Cæsar compelled them to surrender, and pardoned them on the condition that they should not again serve against him. Afranius broke his promise and again joined Pompeius. He was in the battle of Thapsus in Africa B.C. 46, and after the defeat he attempted to escape into Mauritania, but was caught and given up to Cæsar, and shortly afterwards put to death by the soldiers.

[155] Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 110) has the same story about the dear being found.

[156] Seguntum, or Saguntia, as it is written in Appian (i. 110). It is not certain what place is

meant. Some critics would read "in the plains of the Saguntini," by which might be meant the neighbourhood of Saguntum, a town on the east coast between the mouths of the Ebro and the Xucar, which was taken by Hannibal in the second Punic War (Liv. 21, c. 15). The maps place a Segontia on the Tagonius, another on the Salo (Xalon), a branch of the Ebro, and a Saguntia in the country of the Vaccæi on the northern branch of the Douro. Pompeius in his letter to the Senate speaks of the capture of the camp of Sertorius near Sucro, his defeat on the Durius, and the capture of Valentia. If the Durius be the Douro, this Segontia may be one of the towns called Segontia in the north-west of Spain. But the Durius may be the Turia, the river of Valentia, and Segontia may be Saguntum. The fact of Pompeius wintering among the Vaccæi is perhaps in favour of a north-west Segontia; but still I think that Saguntum was the battle-field. This battle is mentioned by Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 110), who says that Pompeius lost six thousand men, but that Metellus defeated Perperua, who lost about five thousand men.

[157] The Vaccæi occupied part of the country immediately north of the Durius (Douro); but the limits cannot be accurately defined.

[158] Compare the Life of Lucullus, c. 5, and the Life of Crassus, c. 11. The letter of Pompeius to the Senate is in the third book of the Fragments of the Roman History of Sallustius. The letter concludes with the following words, which Plutarch had apparently read: "Ego non rem familiarem modo, verum etiam fidem consumpsi. Reliqui vos estis, qui nisi subvenitis, invito et praedicente me, exercitus hinc et cum eo omne bellum Hispaniae in Italiam transgredientur."

[159] This appears to be the event which is described in the fragment of the Second Book of the History of Sallustius, which is preserved by Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, ii. 9, in the chapter "De Luxu."

[160] Compare the Life of Sulla, c. 11.

[161] See the Life of Sulla, c. 24.

[162] Kaltwasser quotes Reiske, who observes that Plutarch, who wrote under the Empire, expresses himself after the fashion of his age, when the Roman Cæsars lived on the Palatine.

[163] The treaty with Mithridates was made B.C. 75. This Marius is mentioned in the Life of Lucullus, c. 8. Appian (*Mithridatic War*, c. 68) calls him Marcus Varius, and also states that Sertorius agreed to give Mithridates, Asia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and Galatia. In the matter of Asia the narratives of Plutarch and Appian are directly opposed to one another.

[164] This may be literally rendered "Marcus Marius together with whom Mithridates having captured some of the Asiatic cities;" Kaltwasser renders it, "in connection with him (Marcus Marius) Mithrdates conquered some towns in Asia." But the context shows that Marcus Marius was to be considered the principal, and that the towns were not conquered in order to be given to Mithridates.

[165] Compare the Life of Lucullus, c. 20.

[166] Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 112) does not mention this massacre of the Iberian boys; but he states that Sertorius had become odious to the Romans whom he now distrusted, and that he employed Iberians instead of the Romans as his body-guard. He also adds that the character of Sertorius was changed, that he gave himself up to wine and women, and was continually sustaining defeats. These circumstances and fear for his own life, according to Appian, led Perperna to conspire against Sertorius (i. 113).

[167] Perhaps Octavius Gracimus, as the name appears in Frontinus (*Stratagem.* ii. 5, 31).

[168] τῇ βραδυτῆτι τῆς λαλιᾶς The meaning of these words may be doubtful; but what I have given is perhaps consistent with the Greek and with the circumstances. There was some hesitation about beginning the attack, and the flagging of the conversation was a natural consequence.

Sertorius was murdered B.C. 72, in the consulship of L. Gellius Publicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, in the eighth year of his command in Spain. (Livius, *Epitom.* 96.) Accordingly this places the commencement of his command in B.C. 80; but he went to Spain in B.C. 82, or at the end of B.C. 83. See Notes on c. 6. Appian (*Civil Wars*, i. 114) states that when the will of Sertorius was opened it was discovered that he had placed Perperna among his heredes, a circumstance which throws doubt on the assertion of Appian that Perperna was afraid that Sertorius intended to take his life. Appian adds that when this was known, it created great enmity against Perperna among his followers.

Plutarch's estimate of Sertorius may be a favourable one; yet he does not omit to mention that act of his life which was most blamable, the massacre of the youths at Osca. From the slight indications in Frontinus, who found some material for his work on Military Stratagems in the campaigns of Sertorius, and from other passages, we may collect that, however mild the temper of Sertorius was, circumstances must often have compelled him to acts of severity and even cruelty. The difficulties of his position can only be estimated when we reflect on the nature of a campaign in many parts of Spain and the kind of soldiers he had under him. Promptitude and decision were among his characteristics; and in such a warfare promptitude and decision cannot be exercised at the time when alone they are of any use, if a man is swayed by any other considerations than those of prudence and necessity in the hour of danger. A general who could stab one of his own men in the heat of battle, to prevent him dispiriting the army by news of a loss, proved that his judgment was as clear as his determination was resolved.

Plutarch's narrative is of no value as a campaign, and his apology must be that he was

not writing a campaign, but delineating a man's character. Drumann *Geschichte Roms*, Pompeius, p. 350, &c.) has attempted to give a connected history of this campaign against Sertorius, and he has probably done it as well as it can be done with such materials as we possess. The map of Antient Spain and Portugal published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, will be useful for reading the sketch in Drumann. Plutarch had no good map, and, as already observed, he was not writing a campaign. Some modern historical writers, who have maps, seem to have made very little use of them; and their narrative of military transactions is often us confused as Plutarch's.

The nature of Guerilla warfare in Spain may be learned from the history of the Peninsular War. The difficulties of a campaign in Navarre and the Basque provinces are well shown in the campaigns of Zumalacarregui, the Carlist chief, a modern Sertorius, whose extraordinary career was cut short by a chance ball before the walls of Bilbao, in 1835. (Henningsen, *The most striking Events of a Twelve-month's Campaign with Zumalacarregui*, London, 1836.)

[169] Metellus marched to another part of Spain, and left Pompeius to deal with Perperna. According to Appian's narrative the decisive action between Pompeius and Perperna took place "on the tenth day," probably the tenth from the death of Sertorius. Pompeius would not see Perperna after he was taken, and prudently put him to death. "The death of Sertorius," says Appian, "was the end of the Spanish war, and it is probable that if Sertorius had lived, it would not have been terminated so soon, or so easily."

LIFE OF EUMENES.

[Pg 130]

I. The historian Douris tells us that the father of Eumenes of Kardia was so poor that he was obliged to act as a waggoner; yet he gave his son a liberal education both in mental and bodily exercises. While Eumenes was yet a lad, Philip, King of Macedon, happened to come to the city of Kardia, where he amused his leisure time by witnessing the gymnastic exercises of the young men. Perceiving that Eumenes was one of the most athletic, and that he was a manly and clever boy, Philip took him away and attached him to his own person. A more probable story is that Philip gave the boy this advancement out of regard for his father, whose friend and guest he was. After the death of Philip, Eumenes continued in the service of his son Alexander, and was thought to be as wise and as faithful as any of that prince's servants. His position was nominally that of chief secretary, but he was treated with as much honour and respect as the king's most intimate friends, and was entrusted with an independent command during the Indian campaign. On the death of Hephæstion, Perdikkas was appointed to succeed him, and Eumenes was given the post of commander of the cavalry, vacated by Perdikkas. Upon this Neoptolemus, the chief of the men-at-arms, sneered at Eumenes, saying that he himself bore a spear and shield in Alexander's service, but that Eumenes bore a pen and writing-tablets. However the Macedonian chiefs laughed him to scorn, as they well knew the worth of Eumenes, and that he was so highly esteemed that Alexander himself had done him the honour to make him his kinsman by marriage. He bestowed upon him Barsine, the sister of that daughter of Artabazus by whom he himself had a son named Herakles, and gave her other sister Apame to Ptolemæus at the time when he [Pg 131] distributed the other Persian ladies among his followers.

II. Eumenes however was often in danger of incurring the displeasure of Alexander, because of his favourite Hephæstion. On one occasion a house was assigned to Evion, Hephæstion's flute-player, which the servants of Eumenes had previously claimed for their master's lodging. Hearing this, Eumenes went to Alexander in a rage, and complained that it was better to be a flute-player than a soldier. At first Alexander agreed with him, and blamed Hephæstion for his conduct. But afterwards he changed his mind, and attributed what Eumenes had done to a desire to insult himself, rather than to vindicate his rights against Hephæstion. At another time, when Alexander was about to despatch Nearchus with a fleet to explore the Atlantic, he asked his friends to subscribe some money, as he had none in his treasury. The sum for which Eumenes was asked was three hundred talents, of which he only paid one hundred, and said that he had had great difficulty in collecting even that amount. Alexander did not reproach him, nor take the money from him; but he ordered his slaves secretly to set the tent of Eumenes on fire, hoping when his property was brought out of it to prove him to have lied in saying that he possessed so little money. However the tent burned quicker than was expected, and Alexander was sorry that he had destroyed all the papers and writings which it contained. There was found in the ruins more than a thousand talents' worth of gold and silver, melted by the heat of the fire. Of this Alexander refused to take any, but sent orders to all the officers of his kingdom to replace the accounts and writings which had been destroyed. Once again too he quarrelled with Hephæstion about some present to which each laid claim. They each abused the other roundly, but Eumenes came off the victor. Shortly afterwards, however, Hephæstion died, to the great grief of Alexander, who was enraged with all those who had disliked Hephæstion when alive, and were pleased at his death. He regarded Eumenes with especial hatred, and frequently referred to his quarrels with Hephæstion. Eumenes, however, being a shrewd man, determined that what seemed likely to [Pg 132] become his ruin should prove his salvation. He won Alexander's favour by inventing new and extravagant modes of showing honour to his friend, and spent money profusely in providing him with a splendid funeral.

III. When Alexander himself died, and the Macedonian army quarrelled with its chiefs, he in

reality espoused the cause of the latter, although he declared that he belonged to neither party, modestly observing that it was not for him, a stranger, to interfere in the quarrels of Macedonians with one another. In the general division of Alexander's conquests which then took place, Eumenes obtained Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the coast of the Euxine sea as far as Trapezus.[170] This country was not yet conquered by the Macedonians, but was ruled by Ariarathes, and Leonnatus and Antigonus were requested by Perdikkas to come with a large army to put Eumenes in possession of his principality. Antigonus took no heed of this command, as he was already revolving immense schemes of conquest, and beginning to despise his colleagues. Leonnatus, however, did begin to march an army towards Phrygia, intending to help Eumenes, but on the way he was met by Hekatæus the despot of Kardia, who besought him to assist the Macedonians under Antipater, who were being besieged in the city of Lamia. Leonnatus on hearing this became eager to cross his army over the straits into Europe; and consequently he sent for Eumenes and reconciled him with Hekatæus. These two men had always been at enmity with one another on political grounds. Eumenes had often endeavoured to use his influence with Alexander to crush Hekatæus, and restore liberty to the oppressed citizens of Kardia, and never ceased accusing him of tyranny and injustice. On this occasion Eumenes refused to take part in the expedition into Europe, stating that he feared Antipater, who had always been his enemy, and who would be very likely to assassinate him to please Hekatæus. In answer to these objections Leonnatus unfolded to him his secret plans. His march to relieve Antipater was merely intended as a pretence to cover his real object, which was to attempt to make himself master of Macedonia. He also showed Eumenes several letters which he had received from Pella, in which [Pg 133] Kleopatra offered to marry him if he would march thither. However Eumenes, either because he feared Antipater, or because he thought Leonnatus to be embarked upon a rash and crazy enterprise, left him by night, taking with him all his property. He was attended by three hundred horsemen, and two hundred armed slaves, and had with him treasure to the amount of five thousand talents. He fled at once to Perdikkas, and betrayed all Leonnatus's plans to him, by which treachery he gained great favour with Perdikkas, and soon afterwards was established in his government of Cappadocia by an army led by Perdikkas himself. Ariarathes was taken prisoner, the country subdued and Eumenes proclaimed satrap over it. He distributed the government of the various cities amongst his friends, established garrisons, courts of justice, and receivers of revenue, as an absolute ruler, without any interference from Perdikkas. But when Perdikkas left the country Eumenes followed him, as he did not wish to be away from the court of that prince.

IV. However, Perdikkas considered that he was well able to carry out his own designs abroad, but required an active and faithful lieutenant to guard what he already possessed at home. Consequently when he reached Cilicia he sent Eumenes back, nominally to his own government, but really to observe Armenia where Neoptolemus was endeavouring to raise a revolt. Eumenes had frequent interviews with this man, who was of a flighty and vainglorious character, and tried to restrain him from any act of open rebellion. Perceiving also that the Macedonian phalanx was grown very strong, and gave itself most insolent airs, he determined to raise up some counterpoise to it, in the shape of a force of cavalry.

He set free from all taxes and state payments whatever those men of his province who were able to serve as horse soldiers, and bestowed fine horses, purchased by himself, upon their officers and those whom he especially trusted. He divided them into regiments, frequently bestowed upon them honours and rewards, and constantly exercised them in the performance of military manœuvres. Some of the Macedonians were alarmed, but others were delighted to see in how [Pg 134] short a time he had raised a force of no less than six thousand three hundred cavalry soldiers.

V. When Kraterus and Antipater, having made themselves masters of Greece, crossed over into Asia to destroy the kingdom of Perdikkas, and were about to invade Cappadocia, Eumenes was appointed by Perdikkas, who was absent on a campaign against Ptolemy, to be commander-in-chief of the forces in Cappadocia and Armenia. He also sent letters, ordering Neoptolemus and Alketas to place themselves under the orders of Eumenes. Alketas at once refused to serve under him, alleging that the Macedonian troops which he commanded would be ashamed to fight against Antipater, and were willing to receive Kraterus as their king. Neoptolemus also no longer concealed the treachery which he had so long meditated, and when summoned by Eumenes to join him, answered by drawing up his men in order of battle. Now did Eumenes reap the fruits of his prudence and foresight; for though his infantry was vanquished, yet his cavalry completely overthrew Neoptolemus, and captured all his baggage. He also caught the phalanx of the enemy when disordered by its victory, and forced it to surrender at discretion, and swear allegiance to himself. Neoptolemus fled with a few followers and joined Kraterus and Antipater, by whom an embassy had been sent to Eumenes to offer him the peaceful enjoyment of his government if he would join them, and likewise a large accession of territory and force, on condition that he would cease to regard Antipater with dislike and would not become an enemy to his friend Kraterus. To these overtures Eumenes answered that he had long hated Antipater, and was not likely to begin to love him now, when he saw him making war against his own friends, but that he was willing to act as mediator between Kraterus and Perdikkas, if they wished to arrange a fair and honourable peace. He declared that as long as he had breath in his body he would resist all unjust schemes of spoliation, and would rather lose his life than betray the confidence bestowed upon him by Perdikkas.

VI. When Eumenes returned this answer to Antipater, he was deliberating what was the next [Pg 135] step to take, when suddenly Neoptolemus arrived bringing the news of his defeat, and begging for immediate assistance. He wished one of the chiefs to accompany him, but especially Kraterus,

declaring that he was so popular with the Macedonians that if they so much as caught sight of his broad-brimmed Macedonian hat, and heard his voice, they would go over to him in a body. Indeed the name of Kraterus had great influence with the Macedonians, and he was their favourite general now that Alexander was dead, for they remembered how steadfast a friend Kraterus had proved to them, and how he had often incurred the anger of Alexander by opposing his adoption of Persian habits, and standing by his countrymen when they were in danger of being neglected and despised by a corrupt and effeminate court. Kraterus accordingly sent Antipater into Cilicia, and himself with the greater part of the army marched with Neoptolemus to fight Eumenes, whom he imagined he should catch unawares, engaged in feasting and celebrating his late victory. It did not argue any very great skill in Eumenes, that he soon became aware of the march of Kraterus to attack him; but to conceal his own weak points, not only from the enemy, but also from his own troops, and actually to force them to attack Kraterus without knowing against whom they fought, appears to me to have been the act of a consummate general. He gave out that Neoptolemus and Pigres were about to attack him a second time, with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian cavalry. On the night when he intended to start he fell asleep and dreamed a strange dream. He seemed to see two Alexanders, each at the head of a phalanx, preparing to fight one another. Then Athena came to help the one, and Demeter the other. After a hard fight, that championed by Athena was overcome, and then Demeter gathered ears of corn, and crowned the victorious phalanx with them. He at once conceived that this dream referred to himself because he was about to fight for a most fertile land and one that abounded in corn; for at that time the whole country was sown with wheat, as if it were time of peace, and the fields promised an abundant harvest. He was confirmed in his idea of the meaning of his dream when he heard [Pg 136] that the watchword of the enemy was 'Athena,' with the countersign 'Alexander.' Hearing this, he himself gave the word 'Demeter,' with the countersign 'Alexander,' and ordered all his soldiers to crown themselves and adorn their arms with ears of wheat. He was often tempted to explain to his officers who it was against whom they were about to fight; but in spite of the inconvenience of such a secret, he decided finally to keep it to himself.

VII. He was careful not to send any Macedonians to attack Kraterus, but entrusted this duty to two divisions of cavalry, which he placed under the command respectively of Pharnabazus the son of Artabazus and Phœnix of Tenedos. These he ordered, as soon as they saw the enemy, to charge at full speed, and not to give them time for any parley, or to send a herald; for he was grievously afraid that if the Macedonians recognized Kraterus they would desert to him. He himself formed three hundred of the best of his cavalry into a compact mass with which he proceeded towards the right, to engage the detachment under Neoptolemus. The main body, as soon as it had passed a small hill, came in sight of the enemy and at once charged at full gallop. Kraterus at this broke out into violent abuse of Neoptolemus, saying that he had been deceived by him about the Macedonians who were to have deserted. However, he called upon those about him to quit them like men, and advanced to meet the horsemen.

The shock was terrible. Their spears were soon broken, and the fight was continued with swords. Kraterus proved no unworthy successor of Alexander, for he slew many and often rallied his troops, until a Thracian rode at him sideways and struck him from his horse. No one recognized him as he lay on the ground except Gorgias, one of the generals of Eumenes, who at once dismounted and kept guard over him, although he was grievously hurt and almost in the death-agony.

Meanwhile Eumenes encountered Neoptolemus. Each had a long-standing grudge against the other; but it chanced that in the first two charges which took place they did not see one another. The third time they recognized one another, and at once drew their daggers and rode together [Pg 137] with loud shouts of defiance. With their reins flowing loose they drove their horses against one another like two triremes, and each clutched at the other as he passed, so that each tore the helmet from the other's head, and burst the fastenings of the corslet upon his shoulder. Both fell from their horses, and wrestled together in deadly strife on the ground. As Neoptolemus strove to rise, Eumenes struck him behind the knee, and leaped upon his own feet, but Neoptolemus rested upon his other knee, and continued the fight until he received a mortal stab in the neck. Eumenes through the mortal hate which he bore him at once fell to stripping him of his armour and abusing him, forgetting that he was still alive. He received a slight stab in the groin, but the wound frightened Eumenes more than it hurt him, as the hand that dealt it was almost powerless. Yet when Eumenes had finished despoiling the corpse he found that he was severely cut about the arms and thighs, in spite of which he remounted his horse, and rode to the other side of the battle-field, where he thought the enemy might still be offering resistance. Here he heard of the death of Kraterus, and rode up to where he lay. Finding that he was still alive and conscious, Eumenes dismounted, and with tears and protestations of friendship cursed Neoptolemus and lamented his hard fate, which had forced him either to kill his old friend and comrade or to perish at his hands.

VIII. This victory was won by Eumenes about ten days after his former one. He gained great glory from this double achievement, as he appeared to have won one battle by courage and the other by generalship. Yet he was bitterly disliked and hated both by his own men and by the enemy, because he, a stranger and a foreigner, had vanquished the most renowned of the Macedonians in fair fight. Now if Perdikkas had lived to hear of the death of Kraterus, he would have been the chief Macedonian of the age; but the news of his death reached the camp of Perdikkas two days after that prince had fallen in a skirmish with the Egyptians, and the enraged Macedonian soldiery vowed vengeance against Eumenes. Antigonus and Antipater at once [Pg 138] declared war against him: and when they heard that Eumenes, passing by Mount Ida where the

king[171] used to keep a breed of horses, took as many as he required and sent an account of his doing so to the Masters of the Horse, Antipater is said to have laughed and declared that he admired the wariness of Eumenes, who seemed to expect that he would be called upon to give an account of what he had done with the king's property. Eumenes had intended to fight a battle on the plains of Lydia near Sardis, because his chief strength lay in his cavalry, and also to let Kleopatra[172] see how powerful he was; but at her particular request, for she was afraid to give umbrage to Antipater, he marched into Upper Phrygia, and passed the winter in the city of Kelainæ. While here, Alketas, Polemon, and Dokimus caballed against him, claiming the supreme command for themselves. Hereupon Eumenes quoted the proverb, "No one reflects that he who rules must die."

He now promised his soldiers that in three days he would give them their pay, and accomplished this by selling the various fortified villages and castles in the neighbourhood to them, all of which were full of human beings to sell for slaves, and of cattle. The officers who bought these places from Eumenes were supplied by him with siege-artillery to take them, and the proceeds of the plunder were set off against the arrears of pay due to the soldiers. This proceeding made Eumenes very popular with his army, indeed, when a proclamation was distributed in his camp by contrivance of the enemy, in which a reward of a hundred talents and special honours were offered to the man who would kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were greatly enraged, and determined that a body-guard of one thousand men, of the best families in Macedonia, should watch over his safety day and night. The soldiers obeyed him with alacrity and were proud to receive from his hands the same marks of favour which kings are wont to bestow upon their favourites. Eumenes even took upon himself to give away purple hats and cloaks, which is accounted the most royal present of all by the Macedonians. [Pg 139]

IX. Success exalts even mean minds, and men always appear to have a certain dignity when in high station and power; but the truly great man proves his greatness more by the way in which he bears up against misfortunes and endures evil days, as did Eumenes. He was defeated by Antigonus in Southern Cappadocia by treachery, but when forced to retreat he did not allow the traitor who had betrayed him to make good his escape to Antigonus, but took him and hanged him on the spot. He managed to retreat by a different road to that on which the enemy were pursuing, and then suddenly turning about, encamped on the battle-field of the day before. Here he collected the dead bodies, burned them with the timber of the houses in the neighbouring villages, and raised separate barrows over the remains of the officers and the men—monuments of his hardihood and presence of mind which excited the admiration of Antigonus himself when he again passed that way. The two armies were still sometimes so near each other, that Eumenes once had an opportunity of making himself master of the whole of the enemy's baggage, which would have enriched his troops with an immense booty. He feared that the possession of such wealth would render them eager to quit his toilsome and perilous service, and sent secret warning under the pretext of private friendship to Menander, the general who had been left in charge of the baggage, and enabled him to withdraw into an unassailable position. This seemingly generous action excited the gratitude of the Macedonians, whose wives and children it had saved from slavery and dishonour, till Antigonus pointed out to them that Eumenes had spared them only that he might not encumber himself.[173]

X. After this, Eumenes, who was being constantly pursued by a superior force, recommended the greater part of his men to return to their homes. This he did either because he was anxious for their safety, or because he did not wish to drag about with him a force which was too small to fight, and too large to move with swiftness and secrecy. He himself took refuge in the impregnable fortress of Nora, on the borders of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, with five hundred horse and two hundred foot soldiers, and dismissed from thence with kind speeches and embraces, all of his friends who wished to leave the fortress, dismayed by the prospect of the dreary imprisonment which awaited them during a long siege in such a place. Antigonus when he arrived summoned Eumenes to a conference before beginning the siege, to which he answered, that Antigonus had many friends and officers, while he had none remaining with him, so that unless Antigonus would give him hostages for his safety, he would not trust himself with him. Upon this Antigonus bade him remember that he was speaking to his superior. "While I can hold my sword," retorted Eumenes, "I acknowledge no man as my superior." However, after Antigonus had sent his cousin Ptolemæus into the fortress, as Eumenes had demanded, he came down to meet Antigonus, whom he embraced in a friendly manner, as became men who had once been intimate friends and comrades. They talked for a long time, and Eumenes astonished all the assembly by his courage and spirit; for he did not ask for his life, and for peace, as they expected, but demanded to be reinstated in his government, and to have all the grants which he had received from Perdikkas restored to him. The Macedonians meanwhile flocked round him, eager to see what sort of man this Eumenes was, of whom they had heard so much; for since the death of Kraterus no one had been talked of so much as Eumenes in the Macedonian camp. Antigonus began to fear for his safety; he ordered them to keep at a distance, and at last throwing his arms round the waist of Eumenes conducted him back through a passage formed by his guards to the foot of the fortress. [Pg 140]

XI. After this Antigonus invested the place with a double wall of circumvallation, left a force sufficient to guard it, and marched away. Eumenes was now closely besieged. There was plenty of water, corn, and salt in the fortress, but nothing else to eat or to drink. Yet he managed to render life cheerful, inviting all the garrison in turn to his own table, and entertaining his guests with agreeable and lively conversation. He himself was no sturdy warrior, worn with toil and hardships, but a figure of the most delicate symmetry, seemingly in all the freshness of youth, [Pg 141]

with a gentle and engaging aspect. He was no orator, but yet was fascinating in conversation, as we may partly learn from his letters. During this siege, as he perceived that the men, cooped up in such narrow limits and eating their food without exercise, would lose health, and also that the horses would lose condition if they never used their limbs, while it was most important that, if they were required for a sudden emergency, they should be able to gallop, he arranged the largest room in the fort, fourteen cubits in length, as a place of exercise for the men, and ordered them to walk there, gradually quickening their pace, so as to combine exercise with amusement. For the horses, he caused their necks to be hoisted by pulleys fastened in the roof of their stable, until their fore feet barely touched the ground. In this uneasy position they were excited by their grooms with blows and shouts until the struggle produced the effect of a hard ride, as they sprung about and stood almost erect upon their hind legs till the sweat poured off them, so that this exercise proved no bad training either for strength or speed. They were fed with bruised barley, as being more quickly and easily digested.

XII. After this siege had lasted for some time, Antigonus learned that Antipater had died in Macedonia, and that Kassander and Polysperchon were fighting for his inheritance. He now conceived great hopes of gaining the supreme power for himself, and desired to have Eumenes as his friend and assistant in effecting this great design. He sent Hieronymus of Kardia, a friend of Eumenes, to make terms with him. Hieronymus proffered a written agreement to Eumenes, which Eumenes amended, and thus appealed to the Macedonians who were besieging him to decide between the two forms, as to which was the most just. Antigonus for decency's sake had mentioned the names of the royal family of Macedonia in the beginning of his agreement, but at the end of it demanded that Eumenes should swear fealty to himself. Eumenes corrected this by inserting the names of Queen Olympias and all the royal family, and then took a solemn oath of [Pg 142] fealty, not to Antigonus alone, but to Olympias and all the royal house of Macedonia. This form was thought more reasonable by the Macedonians, who swore Eumenes according to it, raised the siege, and sent to Antigonus that he also might swear in the same form as Eumenes. After this Eumenes delivered up all the Cappadocian hostages in Nora, soon collected a force of little less than a thousand men, from his old soldiers who were still roaming about that country, and rode off with them, as he very rightly distrusted Antigonus, who as soon as he heard of what had happened, sent orders to the Macedonians to continue the siege, and bitterly reproached them for allowing Eumenes to amend the form of oath tendered to him.

XIII. While Eumenes was retreating he received letters from the party in Macedonia opposed to Antigonus, in which Olympias begged him to come and take the son of Alexander, whose life was threatened, under his protection; while Polysperchon and Philip, the king, bade him take the command of the army in Cappadocia and make war against Antigonus, empowering him out of the treasure at Quinda to take five hundred talents, as compensation for his own losses, and to make what use he pleased of the remainder for the expenses of the war. He was also informed that orders had been sent to Antigenes and Teutamus the commanders of the Argyraspides, the celebrated Macedonian regiment with the silver shields, to put him in possession of the treasure which they had brought from Susa, and to place themselves with their troops under his command.

Antigenes and Teutamus, on receiving these orders, received Eumenes with all outward manifestations of friendship, but were really full of concealed rage at being superseded by him. He, however, judiciously allayed their wrath by refusing to take the money, which he said he did not need, while as they wore both unwilling to obey and unable to command, he called in the aid of superstition, and declared that Alexander himself had appeared to him in a dream, as when alive, arrayed in the ensigns of royalty, seated in his tent, and despatching affairs of state, and he proposed that they should erect a magnificent tent, should place a golden throne in the centre, [Pg 143] on which should be laid a diadem, sceptre and royal apparel, and that there they should transact business as in the presence of the king. Antigenes and Teutamus willingly agreed to this proposal, which flattered their self-love by seeming to place them on an equality with Eumenes.

As they marched up the country they were met by Peukestas, a friend of Eumenes, and by several other satraps, or provincial governors, who came accompanied by considerable bodies of troops, whose numbers and excellent equipment and discipline gave great encouragement to the Macedonian soldiery.

But these satraps, since the death of Alexander, had become dissolute, licentious, and effeminate princes, with all the vices of Eastern despots. They perpetually intrigued and quarrelled with one another, while they courted the Macedonians by profuse liberality, providing them with magnificent banquets and unlimited wine, until they entirely ruined the discipline of their camp, and led them to meditate choosing their leaders by a popular vote, as is done in republican cities. Eumenes, perceiving that the satraps mistrusted one another, but that they all agreed in hating and fearing himself, and only wanted an opportunity for having him assassinated, pretended to be in want of money, and borrowed large sums from those whom he chiefly suspected of designs against his person, so that he secured the safety of his person by taking other men's money, an object which most people are glad to attain by giving their own.

XIV. While the peace lasted, the Macedonian soldiery willingly listened to the flattering promises of the satraps, each of whom wished to raise a force and make war upon the others; but when Antigonus moved to attack them with a large army, and a real general was imperatively demanded to meet him, then not only the soldiers implicitly obeyed Eumenes, but even those princes who during the peace had affected such airs of independence lowered their tone and each without a murmur proceeded to his appointed duty. When Antigonus was endeavouring to

cross the river Pasitigris, none of the confederates except Eumenes perceived his design, but he boldly withstood him, and in a pitched battle slew many men, filled the stream with corpses, and [Pg 144] took four thousand prisoners. And also, when Eumenes fell sick, the Macedonians clearly proved that they knew that the others could give them banquets and fair promises, but that he alone could lead them to victory.

When the army was in Persia, Peukestas magnificently entertained all the soldiers, giving each man a victim for sacrifice, and thought that by this liberality he had quite won their hearts; but a few days afterwards, when they came into the presence of the enemy, Eumenes happened to be ill, and was being carried in a litter apart from the noise of the march in order to obtain rest. As the army gained the crest of some low hills they suddenly saw the enemy's troops marching down into the plain below. As soon as they saw the head of the column, with its gilded arms flashing in the sun, and the elephants with their towers and purple trappings, ready for instant attack, the Macedonians halted, grounded their arms, and refused to proceed until Eumenes should put himself at their head, plainly telling their officers that they dared not risk a battle without him for their leader. Eumenes at once came to the front at full speed in his litter, of which he caused the curtains on both sides to be drawn back, while he waved his hand to them in delight. They, in return, greeted him in the Macedonian fashion by shouts and the clash of their arms, and at once took up their shields and levelled their lances with a loud cry, challenging the enemy to come and fight them, for they now had a general to lead them on.

XV. Antigonus, who had learned from prisoners that Eumenes was sick and travelling in a litter, imagined that it would not be difficult to overcome the others, and therefore hastened his march, hoping to bring on a battle while Eumenes was still unable to command. When, however, as he rode along the enemy's line he observed their admirable order and arrangement, he hesitated to attack. At last he perceived the litter proceeding from one wing to the other. Then, with a loud laugh, as was his habit when joking with his friends, he exclaimed, "It is that litter, it seems, that is manœuvring against us." Saying this, he at once withdrew his forces and encamped at some [Pg 145] little distance. The army of Eumenes, however, soon afterwards, needing refreshment and repose, forced their generals to place them in cantonments for the winter in the district of Gabiene. These were so scattered, that the whole army was spread over a distance of a thousand stades (or a hundred and twenty-five English miles). Antigonus, hearing this, marched suddenly to attack them by a very difficult road, on which no water was to be found, but which nevertheless was very short and direct. He hoped to fall upon the enemy while scattered in their winter quarters, and defeat them before their generals could rally them into a compact mass. But as he marched through a desert region his army met with strong winds and bitter cold, so that the men were forced to light large fires to warm themselves, and these gave notice of their arrival to the enemy; for the natives who inhabited the mountains near the line of Antigonus's march, when they saw the numerous fires lighted by his troops, sent messengers on swift camels to tell Peukestas what they had observed. He was much alarmed at the news, and, noticing that the rest of the satraps shared his fears, proposed to retreat to the opposite extremity of the province, where they might at least reassemble a part of their force before the enemy came up. Eumenes, however, calmed their fears by promising that he would stop the progress of Antigonus, and prevent his coming to attack them until three days after they expected him. His counsels prevailed, and he at once despatched messengers to call the troops together out of their winter quarters, and collect all the available force, while he himself with the other generals rode to the front, and selecting a spot which was plainly visible to those crossing the desert, ordered fires to be lighted at intervals, as though an army were encamped along the frontier awaiting the attack of Antigonus. The latter, observing the heights covered with watch-fires, was filled with rage and mortification, imagining that the enemy must long ago have known his plans. Fearing to fight with his wearied troops against men who were fresh and had been living in comfort, he turned aside from the desert, and refreshed his army among some neighbouring villages. When, [Pg 146] however, he saw no enemy, or any signs of a hostile army being near, and learned from the natives that no troops had been seen by them, but only a large number of fires, he perceived that he had been out-manœuvred by Eumenes, and marched forward in anger, determined to settle their disputes by a pitched battle.

XVI. Meanwhile the greater part of the army of Eumenes had assembled, and, admiring his stratagem, declared that he alone was fit to be their leader. This so vexed the officers in command of the Argyraspids, Antigenes, and Teutamus, that they determined to make away with him, and they held a council with most of the satraps and officers of the army to determine how best they might rid themselves of him. They all agreed that it would be wisest to make use of his talents in the approaching battle, and immediately after the battle to assassinate him. This result of their deliberations was at once betrayed to Eumenes by Eudamus, the officer in command of the elephants, and Phædimus, not from any love they bore to him, but through fear of losing the money which they had lent him. Eumenes thanked them for their kindness, and afterwards observed to the few friends whom he could trust, that he was living amongst a herd of savage beasts. He withdrew to his tent, made his will, and destroyed all his private papers, not wishing after his death to involve any one in danger. After having made these arrangements, he thought of allowing the enemy to win the victory, or of escaping through Armenia and Media into Cappadocia. He came to no decided resolution while his friends were present, but merely discussed the various chances which presented themselves to his versatile intellect, and then proceeded to array his troops in order of battle, uttering words of encouragement to them all, whether Greek or barbarian, while he himself was received with cheerful and confident shouts by the Argyraspids, who bade him be of good cheer, as the enemy never could abide their onset. These men were the oldest of the soldiers of Philip and Alexander, and had remained

unconquered in battle up to that time, although many of them were seventy and none of them were less than sixty years old. They now called out, as they moved to attack the troops of [Pg 147] Antigonus, "Ye are fighting against your fathers, ye unnatural children." Charging with fury, they broke down all opposition, for no one could stand before them, though most of the enemy died where they stood. On this side Antigonus was utterly defeated, but his cavalry were victorious; and through the base and unsoldierly conduct of Peukestas the whole of the baggage fell into his hands, by his own great presence of mind and the nature of the ground. This was a vast plain, not dusty, and yet not hard, but like a sea-beach, composed of a light loose sand, covered with a salt crust. Upon this the trampling of so many horses and men soon raised a cloud of dust through which no object could be seen, as it whitened the whole air and dazzled the eyes. Through this Antigonus dashed unnoticed, and made himself master of the baggage, together with the wives and children of the army of Eumenes.

XVII. When the battle was over, Teutamus at once sent to offer terms for the recovery of the baggage. As Antigonus promised that he would deliver everything up to the Argyraspids, and that their wives and children should be kindly treated, if Eumenes were placed in his hands, the Macedonians were treacherous and wicked enough to resolve to deliver him alive into the hands of his enemies. With this intent they drew near to him, on various pretexts, some lamenting their loss, some encouraging him because of the victory he had won, and some preferring charges against the other generals. Suddenly they fell upon him, snatched away his sword, and bound his hands. When Nikanor was sent to conduct him to Antigonus, he asked, while he was passing through the ranks of the Macedonians, to be permitted to address them, not with any intention of begging his own life, but that he might clearly point out to them what was to their own advantage. Silence was enforced, and Eumenes, standing on a hillock, held forth his fettered hands, and spoke as follows:—"Basest of Macedonians, could Antigonus ever have erected such a monument of your disgrace as you have set up yourselves by surrendering your general to him? Is it not shameful for you, who have conquered in the battle, to acknowledge yourselves defeated [Pg 148] because of your baggage, as though victory lay more in money than in arms, so that you should ransom your baggage by delivering up your general? I indeed am now being carried off captive, an unconquered man, who has overcome his foes, but has been ruined by his friends; but I beseech you in the name of the Zeus that protects armies, and the gods who watch over the true keeping of oaths, kill me here with your own hands; for I shall be slain by you no less when I am put to death in the enemy's camp. Antigonus cannot complain of this action of yours, for he wishes to receive Eumenes dead, and not alive. If you are chary of your own hands to do the deed, one of mine will suffice if you will loose it from its bonds. Or if you will not trust me with a sword, then cast me, bound as I am, to be trampled on by the elephants. If you will act thus I will acquit you of all blame, and will declare that you have dealt with your general as became honourable men."

XVIII. When Eumenes had spoken thus, all the army was grieved and lamented his fate, but the Argyraspids called out that he must be carried away, and no attention paid to his talk; for, they said, it mattered little what fate befel a pestilent fellow from the Chersonese, who had involved the Macedonians in endless wars and troubles, but that it was not to be borne that the bravest of the soldiers of Philip and Alexander, after their unheard-of exploits, should in their old age be deprived of the fruits of their toils and be forced to depend upon charity, or that their wives should pass a third night in the enemy's camp. They at once hurried him away. When he reached the enemy's quarters, Antigonus, fearing that he would be crushed to death by the crowd (for not a man remained in the camp), sent ten of the strongest elephants, and many Medes and Parthians, armed with spears, to keep off the press from him. He himself could not bear to see Eumenes, because they had once been friends and comrades; and when he was asked by those who had charge of his person how they were to treat him, answered, "Like an elephant, or a lion!" After a while he felt compassion for his sufferings, and ordered his heavy chains to be removed, appointed an attendant to anoint his person, and allowed his friends to have free access [Pg 149] to him and supply him with provisions. A long debate took place for several days about the fate of Eumenes, in which Nearchus, a Cretan, and the young Demetrius, pleaded earnestly for him, while the other generals all opposed them and pressed for his execution. It is said that Eumenes himself inquired of his jailer, Onomarchus, what the reason was that Antigonus, having got his enemy into his power, did not put him to death quickly or else set him free honourably. When Onomarchus insultingly answered that it was not then, but in the battle-field that he ought to have shown how little he feared death, Eumenes retorted, "I proved it there also; ask those whom I encountered; but I never met a stronger man than myself." "Since then you have now met with a stronger man than yourself," said Onomarchus; "why cannot you patiently await his pleasure?"

XIX. When, therefore, Antigonus made up his mind to put Eumenes to death, he ordered him to be kept without food. He lingered thus for two or three days; but as the camp was suddenly broken up, men were sent to despatch him. Antigonus restored his body to his friends, and permitted them to burn it and collect the ashes in a silver urn to be carried to his wife and children. The death of Eumenes was quickly avenged by Heaven, which stirred up Antigonus to regard the Argyraspids with abhorrence, as wicked and faithless villains. He placed them under the command of Sibystius, the governor of Arachosia, and gave him orders to employ them, by small parties at a time, upon services which would ensure their destruction, so that not one of them should ever return to Macedonia, or behold the Grecian sea.

FOOTNOTES:

[170] Trebisond.

[171] Alexander.

[172] Plutarch tells us nothing of how Kleopatra came to Sardis. See Thirlwall's 'History of Greece,' chap. lvii.

[173] Thirlwall's 'History,' chap. lvii.

COMPARISON OF SERTORIUS AND EUMENES.

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The above are all the particulars of the lives of Eumenes and Sertorius which have come down to us, and which appear worth recording. When we come to compare them, we find that each was an exile from his native country, and commanded a numerous army of foreign troops, although Sertorius enjoyed the great advantage of an undisputed command, while Eumenes always had to contend with many competitors for the first place, which nevertheless he always obtained by his brilliant exploits. Sertorius was eagerly followed by men who were proud to obey him, but Eumenes was only obeyed out of self-interest, by men who were incompetent to lead. The Roman ruled the tribes of Lusitania and Iberia, who had been long before conquered by the Romans, while the Kardian led the Macedonians, when fresh from the conquest of the world. Yet Sertorius was always looked up to as a wise man and a consummate captain, whereas Eumenes was despised as a mere quill-driver before he fought his way to the rank of general; so that Eumenes not only started with less advantages, but met with much greater difficulties, before he attained to distinction. Moreover, Eumenes throughout his whole career was constantly opposed by open enemies, and constantly had to make head against secret plots and intrigues; whereas Sertorius was at first opposed by none of the officers under his command, and at the very last only by a few. The one had for his object merely to conquer his enemies, while the other, after winning a victory, was obliged to defend himself against the jealousy of his friends.

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II. Their military achievements are pretty equally balanced; although Eumenes was naturally fond of war and tumults, while Sertorius was of a quiet and peaceful disposition. Thus it happened that Eumenes, rather than dwell in comfortable and honourable retirement, passed his whole life in war, because he could not be satisfied with anything short of a throne; while Sertorius, who hated war, was forced to fight for his own safety against foes who would not allow him to live in peace. Antigonus would have made use of Eumenes as an officer with pleasure, if the latter would have laid aside his designs upon the throne of Macedonia; but Pompeius and his party would not so much as allow Sertorius to live, although his only wish was to be at rest.

From this it resulted that the one of his own free will went to war to obtain power, while the other was forced against his will to obtain power in order to repel attacks.

The one died by an unexpected stroke, while the other long looked for death, and at last even wished for it. In the first this shows a noble and generous spirit, not to distrust his friends; while the latter seems rather to argue weakness of purpose, for though Eumenes had long intended to fly, yet he did not, and was taken. The death of Sertorius did not disgrace his life, for he met at the hands of his friends with that fate which none of his enemies could inflict upon him; but Eumenes, who could not escape before he was taken prisoner, and yet was willing to live after his capture, made a discreditable end; for by his entreaties to be spared, he proved that his enemy had conquered not merely his body but also his spirit.

LIFE OF AGESILAUS.

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Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, king of Lacedæmon, after a glorious reign, left one son, Agis, by a noble lady named Lampito, and a much younger one, named Agesilaus, by Eupolia, the daughter of Melesippides. As by the Spartan law Agis was the next heir, and succeeded to the throne, Agesilaus was prepared for the life of a private man, in that severe Spartan school by which obedience is instilled into the youth of that country. For that reason it is said that the epithet of 'man-subduing' is applied to Sparta by the poet Simonides, because the Spartan customs render the citizens well behaved, and amenable to discipline, like horses who are broken to harness early in life. The direct heirs to the throne are not subjected to this training; but in the case of Agesilaus it happened that when he began to rule he had previously been taught to obey. This rendered him by far the most popular of the kings of Sparta, because, in addition to the haughty spirit that became a king, he had learned to sympathize with the people over whom he ruled.

II. Agesilaus was an early and intimate friend of Lysander, as they were both placed as boys in the same herd or troop for the purposes of discipline. It was then that Lysander learned to admire the moderation and self-restraint of Agesilaus, who, although he was ambitious and high-spirited, with a most vehement and passionate desire to be first in every kind of competition, was yet of a manageable and easily ruled disposition, very sensitive to reproach, and far more afraid of blame than of toils or dangers. The misfortune of his lame leg was almost unnoticed, partly

from the robust vigour of his frame, and also from his own cheerful acknowledgment of this defect, being always the first to joke about it. He sought by these means to remedy his lameness, [Pg 153] while his daring spirit never allowed it to prevent his undertaking the most dangerous and laborious adventures. We have no record of his appearance, for he himself never would consent to have his portrait taken, and even when dying begged that no statue or painting of him should be taken. We are, however, told that he was of small and mean stature, but that his lively and cheerful temper, even in the most trying situations, and the absence of anything harsh and overbearing in his manners, made him more popular than many younger and handsomer men even in extreme old age. The historian Theophrastus informs us that the mother of Agesilaus was a very small woman, and that the Ephors had fined Archidamus, on that special ground, for marrying her. "She will not bring forth kings to rule us," said they, "but kinglets."

III. During the reign of Agis, Alkibiades arrived in Lacedæmon as an exile, having made his escape from the army in Sicily, and, after a short sojourn, was universally believed to be carrying on an intrigue with the king's wife, Timaea, insomuch that Agis refused to recognize her child as his own, but declared that Alkibiades was its father. The historian Douris tells us that Timaea was not altogether displeased at this imputation, and that when nursing the child among her attendants she was wont to call it Alkibiades instead of Leotychides. The same authority states that Alkibiades himself declared that he seduced Timaea, not out of wantonness, but with the ambitious design of placing his own family upon the throne of Sparta. In consequence of this, Alkibiades, fearing the wrath of Agis, left Sparta, and the child was always viewed with suspicion by Agis, and never treated as his own son, until in his last illness the boy by tears and entreaties prevailed upon him to bear public witness to his legitimacy. But after the death of Agis, Lysander, the conqueror of Athens, who was the most important man in Sparta, began to urge the claims of Agesilaus to the throne, on the ground that Leotychides was a bastard, and therefore excluded from the succession. Many of the other citizens eagerly espoused the cause of Agesilaus, because they had been brought up in his company, and had become his intimate friends. There was, [Pg 154] however, one Diopeithes, a soothsayer, who was learned in prophetic lore, and enjoyed a great reputation for wisdom and sanctity. This man declared that it was wrong for a lame man to become king of Lacedæmon, and quoted the following oracle:—

> "Proud Sparta, resting on two equal feet,
> Beware lest lameness on thy kings alight;
> Lest wars unnumbered toss thee to and fro,
> And thou thyself be ruined in the fight."

In answer to this, Lysander argued that the oracle really warned the Spartans against making Leotychides king; for the god was not likely to allude to actual lameness, which might not even be congenital, but might arise from some accidental hurt, as disqualifying any one for the office of king, but rather meant by a "lame reign," the reign of one who was not legitimate, and not truly descended from Herakles. Agesilaus also said that Poseidon bore witness to the illegitimacy of Leotychides; for Agis was said to have been cast out of his bed-chamber by an earthquake, after which he abstained from approaching his wife, on religious grounds, for a period of more than ten months, at the end of which Leotychides was born.

IV. Having been raised to the throne on those grounds, Agesilaus at the same time acquired the large property left by the late king Agis, as Leotychides was declared illegitimate and driven into exile. As his own mother's family were respectable, but very poor, he distributed half this property among them, thus making sure of their good will and favour, and removing any jealousy which they might feel at his elevation. Moreover, as Xenophon tells us, he gained the greatest influence by always deferring to the wishes of his country, and thus was really enabled to act exactly as he pleased. The whole power of the state was at that time vested in the Ephors and the Senate of Elders, of whom the Ephors are elected every year, while the Elders sit for life. These two bodies were intended as a check upon the power of the kings, who would otherwise have been absolute, as has been explained in the Life of Lykurgus. Between these magistrates and the [Pg 155] kings there was generally a bad understanding; but Agesilaus adopted an opposite line of conduct. He never attempted to oppose or thwart the Ephors or the Senate, and even showed a marked deference to them, referring the initiative of all state affairs to them, hurrying into their presence when summoned, and rising from his royal throne whenever they appeared, while he presented each senator, on his election, with a cloak and an ox, to congratulate him on joining the Senate. Thus he appeared to exalt the power of the Ephors and to court their favour, but he himself was by far the greatest gainer, as his own personal influence was greatly increased, and the power of the crown much strengthened by the general good will which he inspired.

V. In his dealings with his fellow-citizens he is more to be praised as an enemy than as a friend; for he would not act unjustly to injure his enemies, but he sometimes disregarded justice in the interests of his friends. He was of too generous a nature to refrain from applauding even his enemies when they deserved it, but could not bear to reproach his friends for their faults, which he delighted to share with them, and to extricate them from the consequences, for he thought nothing disgraceful if done to serve a friend.[174] He was also ever ready to forgive and assist [Pg 156] those with whom he had been at variance, and thus won all hearts, and attained to a true popularity. The Ephors indeed, perceiving this, imposed a fine upon him, alleging as a reason for it that he was attaching the Spartans to his own person instead of to the State. For just as physical philosophers tell us that if the principle of strife and opposition were removed, the heavenly bodies would stand still, and all the productive power of nature would be at an end, so did the Laconian lawgiver endeavour to quicken the virtue of his citizens by constructing a

constitution out of opposing elements, deeming that success is barren when there is none to resist, and that the harmonious working of a political system is valueless if purchased by the suppression of any important element. Some have thought that the germ of this idea can be traced in Homer,[175] for he would not have represented Agamemnon as rejoicing when Achilles and Odysseus quarrel 'with savage words,' had he not thought that some great public benefit would arise from this opposition and rivalry of the bravest. But to this one cannot altogether agree; for party strife, if carried to excess, proves most dangerous and ruinous to all communities.

VI. Shortly after Agesilaus had been raised to the throne he received news from Asia that the Persian king was preparing a large army with which he intended to drive the Lacedæmonians into the sea. Upon hearing this, Lysander was very eager to be sent out again to conduct affairs in Asia, in order that he might be able to assist his own friends and partizans, whom he had appointed as governors to many of the cities in that country, but who had mostly been forcibly expelled by the citizens for their insolent and tyrannical conduct. He therefore urged Agesilaus to undertake a campaign in Asia as the champion of Greece, and advised him to land upon some distant part of the coast, so as to establish himself securely before the arrival of the Persian army. At the same time he despatched instructions to his friends in Asia, to send to Lacedæmon, and demand Agesilaus as their general. In a public debate upon the subject, Agesilaus agreed to [Pg 157] conduct the war if he were furnished with thirty Spartans to act as generals, and to form a council of war. He also demanded a force of ten thousand picked men of the Neodamodes, or enfranchised Helots, and six thousand hoplites, or heavy armed troops, from the allied cities in Greece. By the active co-operation of Lysander all this was quickly agreed upon, and Agesilaus was sent out with a council of thirty Spartans, in which Lysander at once took the lead, not merely by his own great name and influence, but by reason of his intimacy with Agesilaus, through which it was supposed that this campaign would raise him to more than kingly power. While the army was being assembled at Geræstus, Agesilaus himself proceeded to Aulis with his friends, and while sleeping there, he appeared in a dream to hear a voice saying: "O king of the Lacedæmonians, since no one has ever been commander-in-chief of all the Greeks, save you and Agamemnon alone, it is fitting that you, since you command the same troops, start from the same place, and are about to attack the same enemy, should offer sacrifice to the same goddess to whom he sacrificed here before setting out." Upon this there, at once, occurred to the mind of Agesilaus the legend of the maiden who was put to death on that occasion by her own father, in obedience to the soothsayers; but he did not allow himself to be disturbed by this omen, but arose and told the whole dream to his friends, observing that it was his intention to pay all due honour to the goddess Artemis, but not to imitate the barbarous conduct of Agamemnon. He now proceeded to hang garlands upon a hind, and ordered his own soothsayer to offer it as a sacrifice, disregarding the claims of the local Bœotian priest to do so. The Bœotarchs, however, heard of this, and were greatly incensed at what they considered an insult. They at once despatched a body of armed men to the spot, who forbade Agesilaus to offer sacrifice there, contrary to the ancestral customs of the Bœotians, and cast off the victim from the altar where it lay. After this Agesilaus sailed away in great trouble of mind, both from the anger he felt towards the Thebans, [Pg 158] and from the evil omen which had befallen him, as he feared that it portended the failure of his Asiatic campaign.

VII. On his arrival at Ephesus, he was much offended by the great power and influence possessed by Lysander, whose ante-chamber was always crowded, and who was always surrounded by persons desirous of paying their court to him. They evidently thought that although Agesilaus might be nominally in command of the expedition, yet that all real power and direction of affairs was enjoyed by Lysander, who had made himself feared and respected throughout Asia, beyond any other Greek commander, and had been able to benefit his friends and crush his enemies more effectually than any one had previously done. As all this was still fresh in the memory of all men, and especially as they perceived the extreme simplicity and courteousness of Agesilaus's manners and conversation, and observed, too, that Lysander was still as harsh, rude, and imperious as before, they all looked up to him alone as the virtual commander.

The other Spartan members of the council were deeply dissatisfied at finding that Lysander treated them rather as though he were king and they were merely there to ratify his decrees, than as their colleague with powers no more extensive than their own; while Agesilaus himself, who though he was above feeling any jealousy of the honours paid to Lysander, yet was ambitious and covetous of honour, began to fear that if any brilliant success should be achieved, the credit of it would be given to Lysander alone. He therefore proceeded to oppose all Lysander's plans, and if he knew that Lysander was interested in any enterprise, he took care to put it off and neglect it, while he successively rejected the petitions of every person in whom he knew Lysander to take an interest. In judicial decisions also he invariably acquitted those whom Lysander wished to punish, and condemned to pay heavy fines those whom he endeavoured to serve. As this took place so frequently that it could not be attributed to chance, but to a systematic purpose, Lysander was forced to warn his partizans that his intervention was an injury and not a benefit to them, and that they must desist from their obsequious attentions to him, and [Pg 159] address themselves directly to the king.

VIII. As these remarks seemed intended to place the king's policy in an invidious light, Agesilaus determined to humble him still further, and appointed him his carver. He then said aloud in the hearing of many persons, "Let them now go and pay their court to my carver." Vexed at this insult, Lysander remonstrated with him, saying, "Truly, Agesilaus, you know how to degrade your friends." "Ay, to be sure," answered he, "those among them who want to appear greater than I

am."[176] "Perhaps," replied Lysander, "you have spoken the truth, and I have not acted rightly. Bestow on me, however, some post in which I may be usefully employed without wounding your feelings."

Upon this, Lysander was despatched on a mission to the Hellespont, where he found means to gain over a Persian noble named Spithridates, who had received some offence from Pharnabazus, the satrap of that province. Lysander induced this man to join Agesilaus with all his property, and with a regiment of two hundred horse; yet he himself did not forget his quarrel, and for the rest of his life assiduously plotted to remove the succession to the throne of Sparta from the two royal families, and to throw it open to all Spartans alike. It is indeed probable that he would have raised an important commotion in Sparta, had he not been slain in an expedition in Bœotia. Thus do ambitious men do more harm than good in a state, unless they have an unusual power of self-restraint. Lysander no doubt acted very offensively, and made a very unreasonable display of his pride; yet Agesilaus might have discovered some better method of correcting the faults of so great a man. Indeed, in my opinion they were both equally blinded by the same passion for personal aggrandizement, so that the one forgot the power of his prince, and the other could not bear with the shortcomings of his friend.

IX. Tissaphernes was at first afraid of Agesilaus, and began to treat with him about setting free the Greek cities on the Ionian coast from the power of the king of Persia. Afterwards, however, [Pg 160] he imagined that the force at his disposal justified him in breaking off these negotiations, and he declared war, to the great delight of Agesilaus. Great expectations had indeed been formed in Greece of the army of Agesilaus, and it was thought a strange thing that ten thousand Greeks under Xenophon should march through Persia to the sea, and defeat the king of Persia's troops as often as they pleased, while Agesilaus, the commander of the Lacedæmonians, the leading people in Greece, who were all-powerful both by sea and land, should accomplish nothing. He now revenged himself on the faithless Tissaphernes for his perjury by an equal piece of deceit, and gave out that he was about to march into Karia. When, however, the Persian army was assembled there, he proceeded north-wards to Phrygia, where he took many cities, and gained much plunder, pointing out to his friends that although to solemnly plight one's word and then to break it is wrong, yet that to out-manœuvre one's enemies is not only lawful, but profitable and glorious. Being, however, deficient in cavalry, and warned by the omen of a victim being found with an imperfect liver, he retired to Ephesus, and there collected a cavalry force, giving rich men the alternative of either serving themselves in his army, or of furnishing a horse soldier instead. Many preferred to do so, and Agesilaus soon possessed a force of warlike cavalry in the place of worthless foot soldiers; for those who did not wish to serve personally hired men who were willing to fight, and those who could not ride hired those who could. Just so did Agamemnon act very wisely in receiving a valuable mare, and thereby allowing a rich man to purchase his discharge from military service. Agesilaus now gave orders that the heralds who conducted the sale of captives by auction, should strip them of their clothes, and put them up for sale in a state of perfect nudity. Their clothes were sold separately, and the Greek soldiers laughed heartily at the white and soft skins, which never had felt the sun or wind, displayed by these Asiatics, and began to feel contempt for such effeminate adversaries. Agesilaus himself, pointing first to the [Pg 161] captives themselves, and then to their clothes and other property, observed, "These are the men with whom you have to fight, and these are the things you fight for."

X. When the season for active operations returned he announced his intention of marching into Lydia, not meaning thereby to deceive Tissaphernes; but Tissaphernes deceived himself, for he distrusted Agesilaus on account of his former stratagem. He therefore concluded that it was Agesilaus's real intention to invade Karia, especially as he was weak in cavalry, which could not act in that province. When, however, Agesilaus, as he had announced, marched into the level country near Sardis, Tissaphernes was obliged to hurry thither with all speed; and by means of his cavalry he cut off many stragglers from the Greek army. Agesilaus now perceived that the enemy's infantry had not come up, while he had all his troops in hand. He at once determined to fight, and having formed his cavalry and light-armed troops into one mixed body he ordered them to advance at once and attack the enemy, while he led on the heavy infantry in person. The Persians were routed, and the Greeks, following up their victory, took the enemy's camp with great slaughter. This victory not only enabled them to plunder the king's territories undisturbed, but also gave them the satisfaction of hearing that Tissaphernes, a bad man, and one for whom all the Greeks felt an especial hatred, had at length met with his deserts. Immediately after the battle the king of Persia sent Tithraustes to him, who caused him to be beheaded. Tithraustes now begged Agesilaus to make peace and leave the country, and offered him money if he would do so. Agesilaus answered that he had no power to make peace or war, but that such propositions must be referred to the authorities at home; while as to money he said that he preferred enriching his soldiers to enriching himself, and that among the Greeks it was not considered honourable to receive bribes, but rather to take plunder from their enemies. Nevertheless, wishing to oblige Tithraustes, because he had avenged Greece upon that common enemy of all, Tissaphernes, he removed his army into Phrygia, receiving a sum of thirty talents from [Pg 162] Tithraustes for the maintenance of his soldiery.

During his march he received a despatch from the government of Sparta, appointing him to the command of the naval as well as of the military forces in Asia. He was now at the zenith of his fame and the greatest man of his age, as Theopompus truly observes; yet he had more reason to be proud of his virtue than of his power. He was thought, however, to have committed an error in placing Peisander in command of the fleet, disregarding the claims of older and more experienced men, and preferring the advancement of his wife's brother to the interests of his

country.

XI. Having established his army in the province ruled by Pharnabazus, he not only found abundance of provisions, but also was able to amass much booty. He marched as far as the borders of Paphlagonia, and gained the alliance of Kotys,[177] the king of that country.

Spithridatos, ever since he had revolted from Pharnabazus, had constantly accompanied Agesilaus, together with his very handsome son, named Megabates, of whom Agesilaus was greatly enamoured, and a fair daughter. Agesilaus persuaded King Kotys to marry this girl, and received from him a force of one thousand horsemen, and two thousand light troops, called peltasts. With these he returned into Phrygia, and laid waste the country of Pharnabazus, who dared not meet him in the field, and feared to trust himself in any of his fortresses, but hovered about the country, taking his valuable property with him, and keeping his place of encampment as secret as he could. The watchful Spithridates, however, at last found an opportunity to attack him, and, with Herippidas the Spartan, took his camp and all his property. On this occasion Herippidas acted with great harshness in ordering all the plunder to be given up to be sold by auction, according to Greek usage. He forced the barbarian allies to disgorge their booty, and [Pg 163] searched for all that had been captured in so offensive a manner that Spithridates, in disgust at his conduct, at once went off to Sardis, taking with him the entire Paphlagonian force.

We are told that Agesilaus was terribly chagrined at this. He felt vexed at losing a good friend in Spithridates, and losing, too, a large force with him, while he was ashamed of the character for meanness and avarice which this miserable squabble would gain for Sparta, especially as he had always prided himself on showing a contempt for money both in politics and in private life.

XII. After this, Pharnabazus was desirous of conferring with him, and a meeting was arranged between them by a friend of both, Apollophanes of Kyzikus. Agesilaus arrived first, and sitting down upon some thick grass under the shade of a tree, awaited the coming of Pharnabazus. Presently Pharnabazus arrived, with soft rugs and curiously-wrought carpets, but on seeing Agesilaus simply seated on the ground, he felt ashamed to use them, and sat down on the ground beside him, although he was dressed in a magnificent robe of many colours. They now greeted one another, and Pharnabazus stated his case very fairly, pointing out that he had done much good service to the Lacedæmonians during their war with Athens, and yet that his province was now being laid waste by them. Seeing all the Spartans round him hanging down their heads with shame, and not knowing what to answer because they knew that what Pharnabazus said was true, Agesilaus said: "We Spartans, Pharnabazus, were formerly at peace with your king, and then we respected his territory as that of a friend. Now we are at war with him, and regard all his property as that of an enemy. Now as we see that you still wish to belong to the king, we very naturally endeavour by injuring you to injure him. But from the day on which you shall declare that you will be a friend and ally of the Greeks rather than a slave of the king of Persia, you may regard this fleet and army and all of us, as the guardians of your property, of your liberty, and of all that makes life honourable and enjoyable." In answer to this, Pharnabazus said: "If the king shall send any other general, and put me under him, I will join you. But if he places me in [Pg 164] command, I will cheerfully obey him, and will fight you and do you all the mischief in my power."

Agesilaus was struck by the high-minded tone of this reply, and at once rose and took him by the hand, saying, "Would to God, Pharnabazus, that such a man as you might become our friend rather than our enemy."

XIII. As Pharnabazus was retiring with his friends, his son stayed behind, and running up to Agesilaus said with a smile, "Agesilaus, I make you my guest,"[178] and gave him a fine javelin which he carried in his hand.

Agesilaus gladly accepted this offer, and, delighted with the engaging manners and evident friendship of the young man, looked round for some suitable present, and seeing that the horse of his secretary Idæus was adorned with fine trappings, took them off and gave them to the boy. Agesilaus never forgot the connection thus formed between them, but in after days, when the son of Pharnabazus was impoverished and driven into exile by his brother, he welcomed him to the Peloponnese, and provided him with protection and a home. He even went so far as to employ his influence in favour of an Athenian youth to whom the son of Pharnabazus was attached. This boy had outgrown the age and size of the boy-runners in the Olympic stadium, and was consequently refused leave to compete in that race. Upon this the Persian made a special application to Agesilaus on his behalf; and Agesilaus, willing to do anything to please his protégé, with great difficulty and management induced the judges to admit the boy as a competitor. This, indeed, was the character of Agesilaus, disinterested and just in all matters except in furthering the interests of his friends, in which case he seems to have hesitated at nothing. A letter of his to Idrilus, the Karian, runs as follows: "If Nikias be innocent, acquit him; if he be guilty, acquit him for my sake; but in any case acquit him." Such was Agesilaus in most cases where his friends were concerned; although in some few instances he allowed expediency to prevail over affection, and sacrificed his [Pg 165] personal friend to the general advantage, as, for example, once, when owing to a sudden alarm the camp was being hurriedly broken up, he left a sick friend behind in spite of his passionate entreaties, observing as he did so, that it is hard to be wise and compassionate at the same time. This anecdote has been preserved by the philosopher Hieronymus.

XIV. Agesilaus was now in the second year of his command in Asia, and had become one of the foremost men of his time, being greatly admired and esteemed for his remarkable sobriety and frugality of life. When away from his headquarters he used to pitch his tent within the precincts

of the most sacred temples, thus making the gods witnesses of the most private details of his life. Among thousands of soldiers, moreover, there was scarcely one that used a worse mattress than Agesilaus. With regard to extremes of heat and cold, he seemed so constituted as to be able to enjoy whatever weather the gods might send. It was a pleasant and enjoyable spectacle for the Greek inhabitants of Asia to see their former tyrants, the deputy governors of cities and generals of provinces, who used to be so offensively proud, insolent, and profusely luxurious, now trembling before a man who walked about in a plain cloak, and altering their whole conduct in obedience to his curt Laconian sayings. Many used to quote the proverb of Timotheus, that "Ares alone is king, and Hellas fears not the power of gold."

XV. The whole of Asia Minor was now excited, and ripe for revolt. Agesilaus established order[179] in the cities on the coast by mild measures, without either banishing or putting to death any of the citizens, and next determined to advance farther, and transfer the theatre of war from the Ionic coast to the interior. He hoped thus to force the Persian king to fight for his very existence, and for his pleasant palaces at Susa and Ecbatana, and at any rate to keep him fully employed, so [Pg 166] that from henceforth he might have no leisure or means to act as arbitrator between the Greek states in their disputes, and to corrupt their statesmen by bribes. At this crisis, however, there arrived the Spartan Epikydides. He announced that Sparta was involved in an important war with Thebes and other Greek states, and brought an imperative summons from the ephors to Agesilaus to return at once and assist his countrymen at home.

> "O Greeks, that will upon yourselves impose
> Such miserable, more than Persian woes."

It is pitiable to think of the malevolence and ill-will which produced this war, and arrayed the states of Greece against one another, putting a stop to such a glorious career of conquest at its very outset, exchanging a foreign for a civil war, and recalling the arms which were being used against the Persians to point them at Grecian breasts. I cannot agree with the Corinthian, Demaratus, when he says that those Greeks who did not see Alexander seated upon the throne of Darius lost one of the most delightful spectacles in the world. I think they would have been more likely to weep when they reflected that this conquest was left for Alexander and the Macedonians to effect, by those Greek generals who wasted the resources of their country in the battles of Leuktra and Koronea, Corinth and Mantinea. Still, nothing is more honourable to Agesilaus than the promptitude with which he withdrew from Asia, nor can we easily find another example of straightforward obedience and self-sacrifice in a general. Hannibal was in great difficulties and straits in Italy, and yet yielded a very unwilling obedience when summoned home to protect Carthage, while Alexander merely sneered at the news of the battle between Agis and Antipater, observing, "It appears, my friends, that while we have been conquering Darius here, there has been a battle of mice in Arcadia."

Well then does Sparta deserve to be congratulated on the love for her and the respect for her laws which Agesilaus showed on this occasion, when, as soon as the despatch reached him, he at once stopped his prosperous and victorious career, gave up his soaring hopes of conquest, and [Pg 167] marched home, leaving his work unfinished, regretted greatly by all his allies, and having signally confuted the saying of Phæax the son of Erasistratus, that the Lacedæmonians act best as a state, and the Athenians as individuals. He proved himself indeed to be a good king and a good general, but those who know him most intimately prized him more as a friend and companion than as either a king or a soldier.

The Persian gold coins bore the device of an archer: and Agesilaus as he broke up his camp observed that he was being driven out of Asia by ten thousand archers, meaning that so many of these coins had been distributed among the statesmen of Athens and Thebes, to bribe them into forcing those countries to go to war with Sparta.

XVI. He now crossed the Hellespont and proceeded through Thrace. Here he did not ask leave of any of the barbarian tribes to traverse their country, but merely inquired whether they would prefer him to treat them as friends or as enemies during his passage. All the tribes received him in a friendly manner and escorted him through their land, except the Trallians,[180] to whom it is said that Xerxes himself gave presents, who demanded from Agesilaus a hundred talents of silver and a hundred female slaves for his passage. He answered, "Why did they not come at once and take them;" and immediately marched into their country, where he found them strongly posted, and routed them with great slaughter.

He made the same enquiry, about peace or war, of the King of Macedonia, and on receiving the answer that he would consider the question, "Let him consider," said he, "but let us march in the meanwhile." Struck with admiration and fear at his daring, the king bade him pass through as a friend. On reaching the country of Thessaly, he found the Thessalians in alliance with the enemies of Sparta, and laid waste their lands. He sent however Xenokles and Skythes to Larissa, [Pg 168] the chief town in Thessaly, to arrange terms of peace. These men were seized upon by the Thessalians and cast into prison, at which the army was greatly excited, thinking that Agesilaus could do no less than besiege and take Larissa. He, on the other hand, said that he valued the lives of either of these two men more than all Thessaly, and obtained their release by negotiation. This ought not to surprise us in Agesilaus, for when he heard of the great battle at Corinth where so many distinguished men fell, and where though many of the enemy perished the Spartan loss was very small, he showed no signs of exultation, but sighed heavily, and said, "Alas for Greece, that she should by her own fault have lost so many men, who if they were alive could conquer all

the barbarians in the world."

The Thessalian tribe of the Pharsalians[181] now attacked his army, upon which he charged them with five hundred horse, and having routed them erected a trophy near Mount Narthakius. Agesilaus took great pride in this victory, because in it he had defeated the Thessalian horsemen, supposed to be the best in Greece, with cavalry disciplined by himself in Asia.

XVII. He was here met by Diphridas the Ephor, who brought him orders to invade Bœotia immediately. Although he had intended to make more extensive preparations, he thought it right at once to obey, and informed his friends that the day for which they had marched all the way from Asia would soon be at hand. He also sent for a reinforcement of two moras[182] from the army at Corinth. The Lacedæmonium government at home, also, wishing to do him honour, made proclamation that whosoever would might enrol himself to serve the King. All eagerly gave in their names, and from them the ephors selected fifty of the strongest, whom they sent to Agesilaus as a body-guard. He now marched through Thermopylæ, crossed the friendly country [Pg 169] of Phokis, and entered Bœotia near Chæronea. While encamped there, he observed that the sun was eclipsed and became crescent-shaped, and at the same time came the news of the defeat and death of Peisander in a great sea-fight off Knidus, against Pharnabazus and Konon the Athenian. Agesilaus was naturally grieved both at his brother-in-law's death and at the disaster which had befallen Sparta, but as he feared to damp the courage of his soldiers on the eve of battle, he ordered the messengers to spread the contrary intelligence, that the Spartans had been victorious in the sea-fight, and he himself appeared with a garland on his head, offered sacrifice as though he had heard good news, and distributed portions of the meat to his friends, as presents of congratulation.

XVIII. Proceeding on his march through Bœotia he reached Koroneia, where he came into the presence of the enemy, and arrayed his forces for battle, placing the men of Orchomenos[183] on the left wing, while he led the right in person. In the army of the allies the Thebans formed the right, and the Argives the left wing. Xenophon informs us that this battle was the most furiously contested one that ever was known. He himself was an eye-witness of it, as he had served with Agesilaus during his Asiatic campaign, and had accompanied him on his return to Europe. The first shock was not very severe, as the Thebans easily overthrew the Orchomenians, while Agesilaus with equal ease routed the Argives. When, however, each of these victorious bodies heard that their left was hard pressed and retiring, they at once ceased from following up their success and halted where they stood. Agesilaus might now easily have won a partial victory, by allowing the Thebans to pass back again through his own lines and attacking them as they did so. Instead of this, his fierce spirit led him to form his troops in close order and attack them front to front. The Thebans fought with no less courage, and a terrible battle raged all along the line, but most fiercely at the point where the chosen body-guard of fifty men fought round the Spartan [Pg 170] king. The courage of these men saved the life of Agesilaus, for they recklessly exposed themselves in his defence, and by their exertions, although they could not prevent his being severely wounded, yet by receiving on their bodies through their shields and armour many blows which were intended for him, they succeeded in dragging him from where he had fallen among the enemy, and formed a bulwark around him, slaying many of the enemy, but with great loss to themselves.

The Lacedæmonians, unable to force back the Thebans, were at length compelled to open their ranks, and let them pass through, which at first they had scorned to do. They then assailed them on the flanks and rear as they passed. Yet they could not boast of having conquered the Thebans, who drew off and rejoined their comrades on Mount Helikon, with the proud conviction that in the battle they at any rate had not been defeated.

XIX. Agesilaus, although suffering from many wounds, refused to go to his tent before he had been carried on men's shoulders round the army, and had seen all the dead brought off the field of battle. He gave orders that some Thebans who had taken refuge in a neighbouring temple should be dismissed unharmed. This was the temple of Athena Itonia, and before it stands a trophy, erected by the Bœotians under Sparton, many years before, in memory of a victory which they had won over the Athenians under Tolmides, who fell in that battle.

Next morning Agesilaus, wishing to discover whether the Thebans would renew the contest, ordered his soldiers to crown themselves with garlands, and the flute-players to play martial music while a trophy was erected in honour of the victory. When the enemy sent to ask for a truce for the burial of their dead, he granted it, and having thus confirmed his victory, caused himself to be carried to Delphi. Here the Pythian games were being celebrated, and Agesilaus not only took part in the procession in honour of the god, but also dedicated to him the tithe of the spoils of his Asiatic campaign, which amounted to one hundred talents.

On his return home, he was loved and admired by all his fellow-countrymen for his simple habits of life; for he did not, like so many generals, return quite a different man, corrupted by foreign [Pg 171] manners, and dissatisfied with those of his own country, but, just like those who had never crossed the Eurotas, he loved and respected the old Spartan fashions, and would not alter his dining at the public table, his bath, his domestic life with his wife, his care of his arms, or the furniture of his house, the doors of which we are told by Xenophon, were so old that it was thought that they must be the original ones put up by Aristodemus. Xenophon also tells us that the *kanathrum* of his daughter was not at all finer than that of other children.

A *kanathrum* is a fantastic wooden car, shaped like a griffin or an antelope, in which children are

carried in sacred processions. Xenophon does not mention the name of Agesilaus's daughter, and Dikæarchus is much grieved at this, observing that we do not know the name either of the daughter of Agesilaus or of the mother of Epameinondas; I, however, have discovered, by consulting Lacedæmonium records, that the wife of Agesilaus was named Kleora, and that she had two daughters, named Eupolia and Prolyta. His spear also may be seen at the present day in Sparta, and differs in no respect from that of any other Lacedæmonium.

XX. Perceiving that many of his countrymen bred horses, and gave themselves great airs in consequence, he induced his sister Kyniske to enter a four-horse chariot for the race at Olympia, to prove to them that the winning of this prize depends not upon a man's courage, but upon his wealth, and the amount of money which he spends upon it. As Xenophon the philosopher was still with him, he advised him to send for his sons and educate them in Lacedæmon, that they might learn the most important of all lessons, to command and to obey.

Lysander was now dead, but Agesilaus found still existing an important conspiracy against himself, which Lysander had set on foot when he returned from Asia. Agesilaus now eagerly undertook to prove what Lysander's true character had been; and having read amongst the papers of the deceased that speech which Kleon of Halikarnassus wrote for him, treating of reforms and alterations of the constitution, which Lysander meant some day to address to the [Pg 172] people of Sparta, he wished to make it public. However, one of the senators, after reading the speech, was alarmed at the plausible nature of the argument which it contained, and advised Agesilaus not to dig Lysander out of his grave, but rather to bury the speech with him. This advice caused Agesilaus to desist from his project. He never openly attacked his political enemies, but contrived to get them appointed generals and governors of cities. When they displayed their bad qualities in these posts and were recalled to take their trial he used to come forward as their friend and by his exertions on their behalf make them his active partisans instead of his enemies, so that before long he succeeded in breaking up the party which was opposed to him, and reigned alone without any rival; for the other king, Agesipolis, whose father had been an exile, and who was himself very young, and of a mild and unassuming temper, counted for nothing in the state. Agesilaus won over this man also, and made a friend of him; for the two kings dine at the same *phiditium*, or public table, when they are at Sparta. Knowing Agesipolis, like himself, to be prone to form attachments to young men, he always led the conversation to this subject, and encouraged the young king in doing so; for these love affairs among Lacedæmonians have in them nothing disgraceful, but produce much modest emulation and desire for glory, as has been explained in the Life of Lykurgus.

XXI. Being now the most powerful man in Sparta, Agesilaus obtained the appointment of admiral of the fleet for Teleutias, his half-brother; and thereupon making an expedition against Corinth, he made himself master of the long walls by land, through the assistance of his brother at sea. Coming thus upon the Argives, who then held Corinth, in the midst of their Isthmian festival, he made them fly just as they had finished the customary sacrifice, and leave all their festive provision behind them. Upon this the Corinthian exiles[184] who were with him begged him to [Pg 173] preside over the games, but this he refused to do, ordering them to celebrate the festival, while he took care that they did so without interruption. After he was gone the Argives returned, and celebrated the Isthmian games over again. Some of the winners on the former occasion now won the prize again, while others were defeated. Agesilaus observed that the Argives by this act confessed themselves to be cowards, if they set so high a value on presiding at the games, and yet did not dare to fight for it. With regard to such matters he used to think that a middle course was best, and he always was present at the choruses and games at Sparta, taking great interest in their management, and not even neglecting the races for boys and for girls; but of some other matters in which most men were interested he seemed to be entirely ignorant. For instance Kallipides, who was esteemed the finest tragic actor in Greece, once met him and spoke to him, after which he swaggered along amongst his train, but finding that no notice was taken of him, he at length asked, "Do you not know me, O king?" Agesilaus at this looked carefully at him, and enquired, "Are you not Kallipides the player?" for so the Lacedæmonians name actors. Again, when he was invited to hear some one imitate the nightingale he answered, "I have heard the original."

Menekrates the physician, after having succeeded in curing some cases of sickness which were thought to be desperate, was given the title of Zeus, and used to use this appellation on all occasions in a foolish manner. He even went so far as to write to Agesilaus in the following terms, "Menekrates Zeus wishes King Agesilaus health." To this he answered, "King Agesilaus wishes Menekrates more sense."

XXII. While he was encamped in the temple of Hera, near Corinth, watching the soldiers disposing of the captives which they had taken, ambassadors came from Thebes to treat for peace with him. He always had borne a grudge against that city, and thinking that this would be a good opportunity to indulge his hatred, he pretended neither to see nor to hear them when they [Pg 174] addressed him. But he soon paid the penalty of his insolence; for before the Thebans left him news was brought that an entire mora had been cut to pieces by Iphikrates. This was the greatest disaster which had befallen the Spartans for many years; for they lost a large number of brave and well-equipped citizens, all heavy-armed hoplites, and that too at the hands of mere mercenary light troops and peltasts. On hearing this Agesilaus at first leaped up to go to their assistance; but when he heard that they were completely destroyed, he returned to the temple of Hera, and recalling the Bœotian ambassadors, bade them deliver their message. But they now in their turn assumed a haughty demeanour, and made no mention of peace, but merely demanded

leave to proceed to Corinth. At this, Agesilaus in a rage answered, "If you wish to go there to see your friends rejoicing over their success, you will be able to do so in safety to-morrow." On the next day he took the ambassadors with him, and marched, laying waste the country as he went, up to the gates of Corinth, where, having thus proved that the Corinthians dared not come out and resent his conduct, he sent the ambassadors into the city. As for himself, he collected the survivors of the mora, and marched back to Lacedæmon, always starting before daybreak, and encamping after sunset, that he might not be insulted by the Arcadians, who bitterly hated the Lacedæmonians and enjoyed their discomfiture. After this at the instance of the Achæans he crossed over into Akarnania with them, where he obtained much plunder, and defeated the Akarnanians in battle. The Achæans now begged him to remain, and so prevent the enemy from sowing their fields in the winter; but he answered that he should do exactly the reverse, because, if the enemy next year had a good prospect of a harvest, they would be much more inclined to keep the peace than if their fields lay fallow. And this opinion of his was justified by the result; for as soon as the Akarnanians heard that another campaign was threatened, they made peace with the Achæans.

XXIII. Konon and Pharnabazus, after their victory in the sea-fight at Knidus, had obtained command of the seas and began to plunder the coast of Laconia, while the Athenian walls likewise were restored, with money supplied by Pharnabazus for that purpose. [Pg 175]

These circumstances disposed the Lacedæmonians to make peace with the king of Persia. They consequently sent Antalkidas to Tiribazus to arrange terms, and most basely and wickedly gave up to the king those Greek cities in Asia on behalf of which Agesilaus had fought. Antalkidas, indeed, was his enemy, and his great reason for concluding a peace on any terms was, that war was certain to increase the reputation and glory of Agesilaus. Yet when some one reproached Agesilaus, saying that the Lacedæmonians were Medising,[185] he answered, "Nay, say, rather, the Medes (Persians) are Laconising."

By threats of war he compelled those Greek states who were unwilling to do so to accept the terms of the peace, especially the Thebans; for one of the articles of the peace was, that the Thebans should leave the rest of Bœotia independent, by which of course they were greatly weakened. This was proved by subsequent events. When Phœbidas, in defiance of law and decency, seized the Kadmeia, or citadel of Thebes, in time of peace, all Greeks cried shame on him, and the Spartans felt especial annoyance at it. The enemies of Agesilaus now angrily enquired of Phœbidas who ordered him to do so, and as his answers hinted at Agesilaus as having suggested the deed, Agesilaus openly declared himself to be on Phœbidas's side, and said that the only thing to be considered was, whether it was advantageous to Sparta or not; for it was always lawful to render good service to the state, even impromptu and without previous orders. Yet in his talk Agesilaus always set a high value upon justice, calling it the first of all virtues; for he argued that courage would be useless without justice; while if all men were just, there would be no need of courage. When he was informed, "The pleasure of the great king is so-and-so," he [Pg 176] was wont to answer, "How can he be greater than I, unless he be juster?"—thus truly pointing out that justice is the real measure of the greatness of kings. When the king of Persia sent him a letter during the peace, offering to become his guest[186] and friend, he refused to open it, saying that he was satisfied with the friendship existing between the two states, and that while that lasted he required no private bond of union with the king of Persia. However, in his actions he was far from carrying out these professions, but was frequently led into unjust acts by his ambition. In this instance he not only shielded Phœbidas from punishment for what he had done at Thebes, but persuaded Sparta to adopt his crime as its own, and continue to hold the Kadmeia, appointing as the chiefs of the garrison Archias and Leontidas,[187] by whose means Phœbidas made his way into the citadel.

XXIV. This at once gave rise to a suspicion that Phœbidas was merely an agent, and that the whole plot originated with Agesilaus himself, and subsequent events confirmed this view; for as soon as the Thebans drove out the garrison and set free their city, Agesilaus made war upon them to avenge the murder of Archias and Leontidas, who had been nominally polemarchs, but in reality despots of Thebes. At this period Agesipolis was dead, and his successor Kleombrotus was despatched into Bœotia with an army; for Agesilaus excused himself from serving in that campaign on the ground of age, as it was forty years since he had first borne arms, and he was consequently exempt by law. The real reason was that he was ashamed, having so lately been engaged in a war to restore the exiled popular party at Phlius, to be seen now attacking the Thebans in the cause of despotism.

There was a Lacedæmonium named Sphodrias, one of the faction opposed to Agesilaus, who was established as Spartan governor of the town of Thespiæ, a daring and ambitious man, but hot-headed, and prone to act without due calculation. This man, who longed to achieve distinction, and who perceived that Phœbidas had made a name throughout Greece by his exploit at Thebes, [Pg 177] persuaded himself that it would be a much more glorious deed if he were to make himself master of the Peiræus, and so by a sudden attack cut off the Athenians from the sea. It is said that this attempt originated with the Bœotarchs, Pelopidas and Mellon, who sent emissaries to Sphodrias to praise and flatter him, and point out that he alone was capable of conducting so bold an adventure. By this language, and an affectation of sympathy with Lacedæmon, these men at length prevailed on him to attempt a most unrighteous deed, and one which required considerable boldness and good fortune to ensure its success. Daylight, however, overtook Sphodrias before he had crossed the Thriasian plain, near Eleusis. All hope of surprising Peiræus by a night attack was now gone, and it is said, also, that the soldiers were alarmed and terror-

stricken by certain lights which gleamed from the temples at Eleusis. Sphodrias himself, now that his enterprise had so manifestly failed, lost heart, and after hurriedly seizing some unimportant plunder, led his men back to Thespiæ. Upon this an embassy was sent from Athens to Sparta to complain of the acts of Sphodrias; but on the arrival of the ambassadors at Sparta they found that the government there were in no need of encouragement from without to proceed against Sphodrias, for they had already summoned him home to be tried for his life. Sphodrias durst not venture to return to Sparta, for he saw that his fellow-countrymen were angry with him and ashamed of his conduct towards the Athenians, and that they wished rather to be thought fellow-sufferers by his crime than accomplices in it.

XXV. Sphodrias had a son, named Kleonymus, who was still quite a youth, and who was beloved by Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus. He now assisted this youth, who was pleading his father's cause as best he might, but he could not do so openly, because Sphodrias belonged to the party which was opposed to Agesilaus. When, however, Kleonymus came to him, and besought him with tears and piteous entreaties to appease Agesilaus, because the party of Sphodrias dreaded him more than any one else, the young man, after two or three days' hesitation, at length, as the [Pg 178] day fixed for the trial approached, mustered up courage to speak to his father on the subject, telling him that Kleonymus had begged him to intercede for his father.

Agesilaus was well aware of his son's intimacy with Kleonymus, which he had never discouraged; for Kleonymus promised to become as distinguished a man as any in Sparta. He did not on this occasion, however, hold out to his son any hopes of a satisfactory termination of the affair, but said that he would consider what would be the most fitting and honourable course to pursue. After this reply, Archidamus had not the heart to meet Kleonymus, although he had before been accustomed to see him several times daily. This conduct of his plunged the friends of Sphodrias into yet deeper despair of his cause, until Etymokles, one of the friends of Agesilaus, in a conference with them, explained that what Agesilaus really thought about the matter was, that the action itself deserved the greatest censure; but yet that Sphodrias was a brave energetic man, whom Sparta could not afford to lose.

Agesilaus used this language out of a desire to gratify his son, and from it Kleonymus soon perceived that Archidamus had been true to him in using his interest with his father; while the friends of Sphodrias became much more forward in his defence. Indeed Agesilaus was remarkably fond of children, and an anecdote is related of him, that when his children were very little he was fond of playing with them, and would bestride a reed as if it were a horse for their amusement. When one of his friends found him at this sport, he bade him mention it to no one before he himself became the father of a family.

XXVI. Sphodrias was acquitted by the court; and the Athenians, as soon as they learned this, prepared for war. Agesilaus was now greatly blamed, and was charged with having obstructed the course of justice, and having made Sparta responsible for an outrage upon a friendly Greek state, merely in order to gratify the childish caprice of his son. As he perceived that Kleombrotus was unwilling to attack the Thebans, he himself invaded Bœotia, disregarding the law under which on a former occasion he had pleaded exemption from military service on account of his age. Here he fought the Thebans with varying success; for once, when he was being borne out of [Pg 179] action wounded, Antalkidas observed to him, "A fine return you are getting from the Thebans for having taught them how to fight against their will." Indeed, the military power of the Thebans at that time was at its height, having as it were been exercised and practised by the many campaigns undertaken against them by the Lacedæmonians. This was why Lykurgus of old, in his three celebrated *rhetras*, forbade the Lacedæmonians to fight often with the same people, lest by constant practice they should teach them how to fight. Agesilaus was also disliked by the allies of the Lacedæmonians, because of his hatred of Thebes and his desire to destroy that state, not on any public grounds, but merely on account of his own bitter personal dislike to the Thebans. The allies complained grievously that they, who composed the greater part of the Lacedæmonium force, should every year be led hither and thither, and exposed to great risks and dangers, merely to satisfy one man's personal pique. Hereupon we are told that Agesilaus, desiring to prove that this argument about their composing so large a part of the army was not founded on fact, made use of the following device:—He ordered all the allies to sit down in one body, and made the Lacedæmonians sit down separately. Next he gave orders, first that all the potters should stand up; and when they had risen, he ordered the smiths, carpenters, masons, and all the other tradesmen successively to do so. When then nearly all the allies had risen to their feet, the Spartans all remained seated, for they were forbidden to learn or to practise any mechanical art. At this Agesilaus smiled, and said, "You see, my men, how many more soldiers we send out than you do."

XXVII. On his return from his campaign against the Thebans, Agesilaus, while passing through Megara, was seized with violent pain in his sound leg, just as he was entering the town-hall in the Acropolis of that city. After this it became greatly swelled and full of blood, and seemed to be dangerously inflamed. A Syracusan physician opened a vein near the ankle, which relieved the pain, but the flow of blood was excessive, and could not be checked, so that he fainted away from [Pg 180] weakness, and was in a very dangerous condition. At length the bleeding stopped, and he was conveyed home to Lacedæmon, but he remained ill, and unable to serve in the wars for a long time.

During his illness many disasters befel the Spartans both by land and by sea. Of these, the most important was the defeat at Tegyra, where for the first time they wore beaten in a fair fight by the Thebans. The Lacedæmonians were now eager to make peace with all the Greek cities, and

ambassadors from all parts of Greece met at Sparta to arrange terms. Among them was Epameinondas, a man who was renowned for his culture and learning, but who had not hitherto given any proof of his great military genius. This man, perceiving that all the other ambassadors were sedulously paying their court to Agesilaus, assumed an independent attitude, and in a speech delivered before the congress declared that nothing kept the war alive except the unjust pretensions of Sparta, who gained strength from the sufferings of the other states, and that no peace could be durable unless such pretensions were laid aside, and Sparta reduced to the equality with the rest of the cities of Greece.

XXVIII. Agesilaus, observing that all the representatives of the Greek states were filled with admiration at this language, and manifested strong sympathy with the speaker, enquired whether he thought it right and just that the cities of Bœotia[188] should be left independent.

Epameinondas quickly and boldly enquired in answer, whether he thought it right to leave each [Pg 181] of the towns in Laconia independent. At this Agesilaus leaped to his feet in a rage, and asked him to state clearly whether he meant to leave Bœotia independent. As Epameinondas in reply merely repeated his question, as to whether Agesilaus meant to leave Laconia independent, Agesilaus became furious, eagerly seized the opportunity to strike the name of Thebes out of the roll of cities with whom peace was being made, and declared war against it. He ratified a treaty of peace with the other Greek cities, and bade their representatives begone, with the remark, that such of their disputes as admitted of settlement must be arranged by peaceful negotiation, and such as could not must be decided by war; but that it was too much trouble for him to act as arbitrator between them in their manifold quarrels and disagreements.

Kleombrotus, the other Spartan king, was at this time in the Phokian territory at the head of an army. The Ephors now at once sent orders to him to cross the Theban frontier, while they assembled a force from all the allied cities, who were most reluctant to serve, and objected strongly to the war, yet dared not express their discontent or disobey the Lacedæmonians. Many sinister omens were observed, which we have spoken of in the life of Epameinondas, and Prothous the Laconian openly opposed the whole campaign; yet Agesilaus would not desist, but urged on the war against Thebes, imagining that now, when all the other states were standing aloof, and Thebes was entirely isolated, he had a more favourable opportunity than might ever [Pg 182] occur again for destroying that city. The dates of this war seem to prove that it was begun more out of ill-temper than as a consequent of any definite plan; for the peace was ratified in Lacedæmon with the other cities on the fourteenth of the month Skirophorion; and on the fifth of the next month, Hekatombæon, only twenty days afterwards, the Spartans were defeated at Leuktra. A thousand Lacedæmonians perished, among them Kleombrotus the king, and with him the flower of the best families in Sparta. There fell also the handsome son of Sphodrias, Kleonymus, who fought before the king, and was thrice struck to the ground and rose again before he was slain by the Thebans.

XXIX. In spite of the unparalleled disaster which had befallen the Lacedæmonians, for the Theban victory was the most complete ever won by one Greek state over another, the courage of the vanquished is nevertheless as much to be admired as that of the victors. Xenophon remarks that the conversation of good and brave men, even when jesting or sitting at table, is always worth remembering, and it is much more valuable to observe how nobly all really brave and worthy men bear themselves when in sorrow and misfortune. When the news of the defeat at Leuktra arrived at Sparta, the city was celebrating the festival of the Gymnopædia, and the chorus of grown men was going through its usual solemnity in the theatre. The Ephors, although the news clearly proved that all was lost and the state utterly ruined, yet would not permit the chorus to abridge its performance, and forbade the city to throw off its festal appearance. They privately communicated the names of the slain to their relatives, but they themselves calmly continued to preside over the contest of the choruses in the theatre, and brought the festival to a close as though nothing unusual had occurred. Next morning, when all men knew who had fallen and who had survived, one might see those whose relations had been slain, walking about in public with bright and cheerful countenances: but of those whose relatives survived, scarce one showed himself in public, but they sat at home with the women, as if mourning for the dead; or if any one of them was forced to come forth, he looked mournful and humbled, and walked with [Pg 183] cast-down eyes. Yet more admirable was the conduct of the women, for one might see mothers receiving their sons who had survived the battle with silence and sorrow, while those whose children had fallen proceeded to the temples to return thanks to the gods, and walked about the city with a proud and cheerful demeanour.

XXX. Yet, when their allies deserted them, and when the victorious Epameinondas, excited by his success, was expected to invade Peloponnesus, many Spartans remembered the oracle about the lameness of Agesilaus, and were greatly disheartened and cast down, fearing that they had incurred the anger of Heaven, and that the misfortunes of the city were due to their own conduct in having excluded the sound man from the throne, and chosen the lame one; the very thing which the oracle had bidden them beware of doing. Nevertheless, Agesilaus was so powerful in the state, and so renowned for wisdom and courage, that they gladly made use of him as their leader in the war, and also employed him to settle a certain constitutional difficulty which arose about the political rights of the survivors of the battle. They were unwilling to disfranchise all these men, who were so numerous and powerful, because they feared that if so they would raise a revolution in the city. For the usual rule at Sparta about those who survive a defeat is, that they are incapable of holding any office in the state; nor will any one give them his daughter in marriage; but all who meet them strike them, and treat them with contempt. They hang about the

city in a squalid and degraded condition, wearing a cloak patched with pieces of a different colour, and they shave one half of their beards, and let the other half grow. Now, at the present crisis it was thought that to reduce so many citizens to this condition, especially when the state sorely required soldiers, would be an absurd proceeding; and consequently, Agesilaus was appointed lawgiver, to decide upon what was to be done. He neither altered the laws, nor proposed any new ones, but laid down his office of lawgiver at once, with the remark, that the laws must be allowed to sleep for that one day, and afterwards resume their force. By this means [Pg 184] he both preserved the laws, retained the services of the citizens for the state, and saved them from infamy. With the intention of cheering up the young men, and enabling them to shake off their excessive despondency, he led an army into Arcadia. He was careful to avoid a battle, but captured a small fort belonging to the people of Mantinea, and overran their territory; thus greatly raising the spirits of the Spartans, who began to pluck up courage, and regard their city as not altogether ruined.

XXXI. After this, Epameinondas invaded Laconia with the army of the Thebans and their allies, amounting in all to no less than forty thousand heavy-armed soldiers. Many light troops and marauders accompanied this body, so that the whole force which entered Laconia amounted in all to seventy thousand men. This took place not less than six hundred years after the Dorians had settled in Lacedæmon; and through all that time these were the first enemies which the country had seen; for no one before this had dared to invade it. Now, however, the Thebans ravaged the whole district with fire and sword, and no one came out to resist them, for Agesilaus would not allow the Lacedæmonians to fight against what Theopompus calls 'such a heady torrent of war,' but contented himself with guarding the most important parts of the city itself, disregarding the boastful threats of the Thebans, who called upon him by name to come out and fight for his country, since he was the cause of all its misfortunes, because he had begun the war.

Agesilaus was also distracted by the disorderly and excited state of the city itself, for the old men were in an agony of grief, resentment, and wounded honour, while the women could not be kept quiet, but were wrought to frenzy, by hearing the cries of the enemy, and seeing the fires which they lighted. He also suffered much at the thought of his own dishonour; for when he had ascended the throne, Sparta was the greatest and most powerful city in Greece, and now he beheld her shorn of all her glories, and his favourite boast, that no Laconian woman had ever seen the smoke of an enemy's fire rendered signally untrue. We are told that when some [Pg 185] Athenian was disputing with Antalkidas about the bravery of their respective nations, and saying, "We have often chased you away from the Kephissus," Antalkidas answered, "Yes, but we have never had to chase you away from the Eurotas." This is like the answer made by some Spartan of less distinction to an Argive, who said, "Many of you Spartans lie buried in Argive soil," to which he replied, "But none of you are buried in Laconia."

XXXII. We are told at this time Antalkidas was one of the Ephors, and became so much alarmed that he sent his family away to the island of Kythera. Agesilaus, when the enemy attempted to cross the river and force their way into the city, abandoned most part of it, and drew up his forces on the high hills in the centre. At that time the river Eurotas was in high flood, as much snow had fallen, and the excessive cold of the water, as well as the strength of the stream, rendered it hard for the Thebans to cross. Epameinondas marched first, in the front rank of the phalanx; and some of those who were present pointed him out to Agesilaus, who is said to have gazed long at him, saying merely, "O thou man of great deeds."

Epameinondas was eager to assault the city itself, and to place a trophy of victory in its streets; but as he could not draw Agesilaus into a battle, he drew off his forces, and again laid waste the country. Meanwhile, in Lacedæmon itself, a body of two hundred men, of doubtful fidelity, seized the Issorium, where the temple of Artemis stands, which is a strong and easily defensible post. The Lacedæmonians at once wished to attack them, but Agesilaus, fearing that some deep-laid conspiracy might break out, ordered them to remain quiet. He himself, dressed simply in his cloak, unarmed, and attended only by one slave, went up to the two hundred, and, in a loud voice, told them that they had mistaken their orders; that they had not been ordered to go thither, nor yet to go all together in a body, but that some were to be posted *there*, pointing to some other place, and the rest elsewhere in the city. They, hearing his commands, were delighted, imagining [Pg 186] that their treason was undiscovered, and immediately marched to the places which he indicated. Agesilaus at once occupied the Issorium with troops which he could trust, and in the ensuing night seized and put to death fifteen of the leaders of the two hundred. Another more important conspiracy was betrayed to him, whose members, full Spartan citizens, were met together in one house to arrange revolutionary schemes. At such a crisis it was equally impossible to bring these men to a regular trial, and to allow them to carry on their intrigues. Agesilaus therefore, after taking the Ephors into his confidence, put them all to death untried, though before that time no Spartan had ever been executed without a trial.

As many of the Periœki and helots who had been entrusted with arms escaped out of the city and deserted to the enemy, which greatly disheartened the Spartans, he ordered his servants to visit the quarters of these soldiers at daybreak every morning, and wherever any one was gone, to hide his arms, so that the number of deserters might not be known.

We are told by some historians that the Thebans left Laconia because the weather became stormy, and their Arcadian allies began to melt away from them. Others say that they spent three entire months in the country, and laid nearly all of it waste. Theopompus relates that when the Bœotarchs had decided to leave the country, Phrixus, a Spartan, came from Agesilaus and offered them ten talents to be gone, thus paying them for doing what they had long before

determined to do of their own accord.

XXXIII. I cannot tell, however, how it was that Theopompus discovered this fact, and that no other historian mentions it. All writers agree, nevertheless, in declaring that at this crisis Sparta was saved by Agesilaus, who proved himself superior to party-spirit and desire of personal distinction, and steadily refused to risk an engagement. Yet he never was able to restore the city to the glorious and powerful condition which it had previously held, for Sparta, like an athlete who has been carefully trained throughout his life, suddenly broke down, and never recovered [Pg 187] her former strength and prosperity. It is very natural that this should have happened, for the Spartan constitution was an excellent one for promoting courage, good order, and peace within the city itself; but when Sparta became the head of a great empire to be maintained by the sword, which Lykurgus would have thought a totally useless appendage to a well-governed and prosperous city, it utterly failed.

Agesilaus was now too old for active service in the field, but his son, Archidamus, with some Sicilian mercenary troops which had been sent to the aid of the Spartans by the despot Dionysius, defeated the Arcadians in what was known as the 'Tearless Battle,' where he did not lose one of his own men, but slew many of the enemy. This battle strikingly proved the weakness of the city, for in former times the Spartans used to regard it as such a natural and commonplace event for them to conquer their enemies, that they only sacrificed a cock to the gods, while those who had won a victory never boasted of it, and those who heard of it expressed no extravagant delight at the news. When the Ephors heard of the battle at Mantinea, which is mentioned by Thucydides in his history, they gave the messenger who brought the tidings a piece of meat from the public dining-table, as a present for his good news, and nothing more. But now, when the news of this battle reached Sparta, and Archidamus marched triumphantly into the town, all their accustomed reserve broke down. His father was the first to meet him, weeping for joy. After him came the senate, and the elders and women flocked down to the river side, holding up their hands to heaven and giving thanks to the gods for having put away the undeserved reproach of Sparta, and having once more allowed her to raise her head. It is said, indeed, that the Spartans before this battle were so much ashamed of themselves, that they dared not even look their wives in the face.

XXXIV. The independence of Messenia had been restored by Epameinondas, and its former citizens collected together from all quarters of Greece. The Lacedæmonians dared not openly attack these men, but they felt angry with Agesilaus, because during his reign they had lost so [Pg 188] fine a country, as large as Laconia itself, and as fertile as any part of Greece, after having enjoyed the possession of it for so many years. For this reason Agesilaus refused to accept the terms of peace offered by the Thebans. He was so unwilling to give up his nominal claim to Messenia, although he had practically lost that country, that instead of recovering it he very nearly lost Sparta as well, as he was out-manœuvred by Epameinondas. This happened in the following manner. The people of Mantinea revolted from the Thebans, and solicited aid from the Lacedæmonians. When Epameinondas heard that Agesilaus was marching thither at the head of an army, he eluded the Mantineans by a night march from Tegea, invaded the Lacedæmonium territory, and very nearly succeeded in avoiding the army of Agesilaus and catching Sparta defenceless. However, Euthynus of Thespiæ, according to Kallisthenes, or, according to Xenophon, a certain Cretan warned Agesilaus of his danger, upon which he at once sent a mounted messenger to the city with the news, and shortly afterwards marched thither himself. Soon the Thebans appeared, crossed the Eurotas, and assaulted the city with great fury, while Agesilaus, old as he was, defended it with all the spirit and energy of youth. He did not, as on the former occasion, consider that caution would be of any service, but perceived that reckless daring alone could save Sparta. And by incredible daring he did then snatch the city from the grasp of Epameinondas, and set up a trophy of victory, having afforded to the women and children the glorious spectacle of the men of Lacedæmon doing their duty on behalf of the country which reared them. There, too, might Archidamus be seen in the thick of the fight, displaying the courage of a man, and the swiftness of a youth, as he ran to each point where the Spartans seemed likely to give way, and everywhere with a few followers resisted a multitude of the enemy. I think, however, that Isidas, the son of Phœbidas, must have been most admired both by his own countrymen and even by the enemy. He was remarkably tall and handsome, and was just of the age when boyhood merges into manhood. Naked, without either clothes or armour, having just been anointing himself at home, he rushed out of his house, with a sword in one hand [Pg 189] and a spear in the other, ran through the front ranks, and plunged among the enemy, striking down all who opposed him. He received not a single wound, either because the gods admired his bravery and protected him, or else because he appeared to his foes to be something more than man. After this exploit we are told that the Ephors crowned him for his bravery, and fined him a thousand drachmas for having fought without his shield.

XXXV. A few days afterwards was fought the battle of Mantinea, where, just as Epameinondas was carrying all before him and urging his troops to pursue, Antikrates the Lacedæmonium met him and wounded him, according to Dioskorides with a spear, while the Lacedæmonians to this day call the descendants of Antikrates Machairones, that is, children of the sword, as though he struck him with a sword. Indeed, they regarded Antikrates with such a love and admiration, because of the terror which Epameinondas had struck into their hearts while he was alive, that they decreed especial honours and presents to be bestowed upon him, and granted to his descendants an immunity from taxes and public burdens which is enjoyed at the present day by Kallikrates, one of the descendants of Antikrates.

After this battle and the death of Epameinondas the Greek states made peace between one another. When, however, all the other states were swearing to observe the peace, Agesilaus objected to the Messenians, men, he said, without a city, swearing any such oath. The rest, however, raised no objections to the oath of the Messenians, and the Lacedæmonians upon this refused to take any part in the proceedings, so that they alone remained at war, because they hoped to recover the territory of Messenia. Agesilaus was thought an obstinate and headlong man, and insatiable of war, because he took such pains to undermine the general peace, and to keep Sparta at war at a time when he was in such distress for money to carry it on, that he was obliged to borrow from his personal friends and to get up subscriptions among the citizens, and when he had much better have allowed the state some repose and watched for a suitable [Pg 190] opportunity to regain the country; instead of which, although he had lost so great an empire by sea and land, he yet insisted on continuing his frantic and fruitless efforts to reconquer the paltry territory of Messenia.

XXXVI. He still further tarnished his glory by taking service under the Egyptian Tachos. It was thought unworthy of a man who had proved himself the bravest and best soldier in Greece, and who had filled all the inhabited world with his fame, to hire himself out to a barbarian rebel, and make a profit of his great name and military reputation, just like any vulgar captain of mercenaries. If, when more than eighty years old, and almost crippled by honourable wounds, he had again placed himself at the head of a glorious crusade against the Persian on behalf of the liberties of Greece, all men would have admired his spirit, but even then would not entirely have approved of the undertaking; for to make an action noble, time and place must be fitting, since it is this alone that decides whether an action be good or bad. Agesilaus, however, cared nothing for his reputation, and considered that no service undertaken for the good of his country would be dishonourable or unworthy of him, but thought it much more unworthy and dishonourable to sit uselessly waiting for death at home. He raised a body of mercenary troops with the money furnished by Tachos, and set sail, accompanied, as in his former expedition, by thirty Spartan counsellors.

When he landed in Egypt, the chief generals and ministers of King Tachos at once came to pay their court to him. The other Egyptians also eagerly crowded to see Agesilaus, of whom they had heard so much. When, however, they saw only a little deformed old man, in mean attire, sitting on the grass, they began to ridicule him, and contemptuously to allude to the proverb of the mountain in labour, which brought forth a mouse. They were even more astonished when, of the presents offered to him, he accepted flour, calves, and geese, but refused to receive dried fruits, pastry, and perfumes. When greatly pressed to accept of these things, he ordered them to be given to the helots. Yet we are told by Theophrastes that he was much pleased with the flowering [Pg 191] papyrus, of which garlands are made, because of its neat and clean appearance, and he begged for and received some of this plant from the king when he left Egypt.

XXXVII. When he joined Tachos, who was engaged in preparing his forces for a campaign, he was disappointed in not receiving the chief command, but being merely appointed to lead the mercenary troops, while Chabrias the Athenian was in command of the fleet, Tachos himself acting as commander-in-chief. This was the first vexatious circumstance which occurred to Agesilaus; and soon he began to feel great annoyance at the vainglorious swaggering tone of the Egyptian king, which nevertheless he was obliged to endure throughout the whole of a naval expedition which they undertook against the Phœnicians, during which he suppressed his feelings of disgust as well as he could until at last he had an opportunity of showing them. Nektanebis, the cousin of Tachos, and the commander of a large portion of his force, revolted, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of Egypt. He at once sent to Agesilaus begging for his assistance, and he also made the same proposals to Chabrias, offering them great rewards if they would join him.

Tachos, hearing of this, also began to supplicate them to stand by him, and Chabrias besought Agesilaus to remain in the service of Tachos, and to act as his friend. To this, however, Agesilaus answered, "You, Chabrias, have come here on your own responsibility, and are able to act as you please. I was given by Sparta to the Egyptians as their general. It would not become me, therefore, to make war against those whom I was sent to aid, unless my country orders me to do so." After expressing himself thus, he sent messengers to Sparta, with instructions to depreciate Tachos, and to praise Nektanebis. Both these princes also sent embassies to the Lacedæmonians, the one begging for aid as their old friend and ally, the other making large promises of future good-will towards them. After hearing both sides, the Spartans publicly answered the Egyptians, that Agesilaus would decide between them, and they sent him a private despatch, bidding him to [Pg 192] do what was best for Sparta. Hereupon Agesilaus and the mercenaries left Tachos, and joined Nektanebis, making the interests of his country the pretext for his extraordinary conduct, which we can hardly call anything better than treachery. However, the Lacedæmonians regard that course as the most honourable which is the most advantageous to their country, and know nothing of right or wrong, but only how to make Sparta great.

XXXVIII. Tachos, deserted by the mercenaries, now fled for his life; but another claimant of the throne arose in the district of Mendes, and made war against Nektanebis with an army of one hundred thousand men. Nektanebis, in his talk with Agesilaus, spoke very confidently about this force, saying that they were indeed very numerous, but a mere mixed multitude of rustic recruits, whom he could afford to despise. To these remarks Agesilaus answered, "It is not their numbers, but their ignorance which I fear, lest we should be unable to deceive them. Stratagems in war consist in unexpectedly falling upon men who are expecting an attack from some other quarter,

but a man who expects nothing gives his enemy no opportunity to take him unawares, just as in wrestling one cannot throw one's adversary if he stands still."

The Mendesian soon began to intrigue with Agesilaus, and Nektanebis feared much that he might succeed in detaching him from himself. Consequently, when Agesilaus advised him to fight as soon as possible, and not prolong the war against men who were indeed inexperienced in battle, but who were able, from their enormous numbers, to raise vast entrenchments and surround him on every side, he took the exactly opposite course, and retired to a strongly fortified city, of great extent, viewing Agesilaus with suspicion and fear. Agesilaus was grieved at this, but, feeling ashamed to change sides a second time and so completely fail in his mission, he followed Nektanebis into his fortress.

XXXIX. When the enemy advanced and began to build a wall round the city, Nektanebis, fearing the consequences of a siege, was eager to fight, as were also the Greeks, for they were very short of provisions. Agesilaus, however, opposed this design, for which he was heartily abused by the Egyptians, who called him a traitor and the betrayer of their king. He paid but little attention to their slanders, but watched for an opportunity to effect the project which he had conceived. This was as follows:—The enemy were digging a trench round the city, with the intention of completely isolating the garrison and starving it out. When then the two ends of this trench, which was to surround the city, had nearly met, Agesilaus towards evening ordered the Greeks to get under arms, and, proceeding to Nektanebis, said, "Young man, this is our opportunity. I would not say anything about it before, lest the secret should be divulged. But now the enemy themselves have secured our position by digging this enormous trench; for the part of it which is completed will keep off their superior numbers from us, while upon the ground which still remains unbroken we can fight them on equal terms. Come now, prove yourself a man of courage, charge bravely with us, and save both yourself and your army. Those of the enemy whom we first attack will not be able to resist our onset, and the rest will not be able to reach us because of the trench." [Pg 193]

Nektanebis was surprised at the ingenuity of Agesilaus, placed himself in the midst of the Greeks, and charging with them gained an easy victory. Having once established an ascendancy over the mind of Nektanebis, Agesilaus now proceeded to use the same trick again with the enemy. By alternately retreating and advancing he led them on until he had enticed them into a place between two deep canals. Here he at once formed his troops on a front equal to the space between the canals, and charged the enemy, who were unable to use their numbers to outflank and surround him. After a short resistance they fled. Many were slain, and the rest completely dispersed.

XL. This victory secured the throne of Egypt for Nektanebis. He now showed great esteem for Agesilaus, and begged him to remain in Egypt during the winter. Agesilaus, however, was anxious to return home and assist in the war which was going on there, as he knew that Sparta was in great want of money, and was paying a force of mercenary troops. Nektanebis escorted him out of the country with great honour, giving him many presents, and the sum of two hundred and thirty talents of silver to be used in meeting the expenses of the war. As it was winter, and stormy weather, Agesilaus did not venture to cross the open sea, but coasted along the shores of Libya, as far as a desert spot known as the Harbour of Menelaus, where he died, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and having been king of Sparta for forty-one years, during thirty of which he was the greatest and most powerful man in Greece, having been looked upon as all but the king of the whole country, up to the time of the battle of Leuktra. [Pg 194]

It was the Spartan custom, in the case of citizens who died in foreign countries, to pay them the last rites wherever they might be, but to take home the remains of their kings. Consequently the Spartan counsellors enveloped the body in melted wax, as they could not obtain honey, and took it home to Lacedæmon.

Archidamus, the son of Agesilaus, succeeded him on the throne, and his posterity continued to reign until Agis, the fifth in descent from Agesilaus, was murdered by Leonidas, because he endeavoured to restore the ancient discipline of Sparta.

FOOTNOTES:

[174] This passage has been admirably paraphrased by Grote, 'History of Greece,' Part II. ch. lxxiii.:—

> "Combined with that ability and energy in which he was never deficient, this conciliatory policy ensured him more real power than had ever fallen to the lot of any king of Sparta —power, not merely over the military operations abroad, which usually fell to the kings, but also over the policy of the state at home. On the increase and maintenance of that real power, his chief thoughts were concentrated; new dispositions generated by kingship, which had never shown themselves in him before. Despising, like Lysander, both money, luxury, and all the outward show of power, he exhibited, as a king, an ultra-Spartan simplicity, carried almost to affectation in diet, clothing, and general habits. But like Lysander, also, he delighted in the exercise of dominion through the medium of knots or factions of devoted partizans, whom he rarely scrupled to uphold in all their career of injustice and oppression. Though an amiable man, with no disposition to tyranny and still less to plunder, for his own benefit—Agesilaus thus made himself the willing instrument of both, for the benefit of his various coadjutors and friends, whose power and consequence he identified with his own." See also infra, ch. xiii. et al.

[175] We see here the beginning of that tendency of the Neoplatonic school to find a sanction for all their theories in some perversion of the plain meaning of Homer's words.

[176] Compare Life of Lysander, ch. xxiii.

[177] In Sintenis's text of Plutarch this prince's name is spelt as above. Xenophon, however, in his Life of Agesilaus, spells it Otys; and this reading has been adopted by Grote. It must be remembered that Xenophon was probably an eye-witness of the proceedings which he records, and that Plutarch lived several centuries later.

[178] The Greek word here translated "guest" is explained by Liddell and Scott, s.v., to mean "any person in a foreign city with whom one has a treaty of hospitality for self and heirs, confirmed by mutual presents and an appeal to Ζεὺς ξένιος."

[179] He sought to compose the dissensions and misrule which had arisen out of the Lysandrian Dekarchies, or governments of ten, in the Greco-Asiatic cities, avoiding as much as possible the infliction of death or exile.—Grote, part ii. ch. lxxiii.

[180] Nothing is known of this tribe. There is a city, Tralles, in Asia Minor, which Clough conjectures may possibly have been connected with them. Liddell and Scott speak of "Trallians" as "Thracian barbarians employed in Asia as mercenaries, torturers, and executioners."

[181] The people living about Pharsalia.

[182] Mora, a Spartan regiment of infantry. The number of men in each varied from 400 to 900, according as the men above 45, 50, &c., years were called out.

[183] The most aristocratic city in Bœotia, now allied with the Spartans. During the Theban supremacy it was utterly destroyed.

[184] That is, the aristocratic or pro-Laconian party, who had been driven out by the other side.

[185] To Medise was a phrase originally used during the great Persian invasion of Greece under Xerxes, B.C. 480, when those Greek cities who sided with the Persians, were said to Medise, that is, to take the side of the Medes. See Life of Artaxerxes, vol. iv. ch. 22, and Grote's 'History of Greece,' part ii. ch. lxxvi.

[186] See *ante*, ch. xiii., *note*.

[187] This name is spelt Leontiades by most writers.

[188] I extract the following note from Grote's 'History of Greece.' "Plutarch gives this interchange of brief questions, between Agesilaus and Epameinondas, which is in substance the same as that given by Pausanias, and has every appearance of being true. But he introduces it in a very bold and abrupt way, such as cannot be conformable to the reality. To raise a question about the right of Sparta to govern Laconia was a most daring novelty. A courageous and patriotic Theban might venture upon it as a retort against those Spartans who questioned the right of Thebes to her presidency of Bœotia; but he would never do so without assigning his reasons to justify an assertion so startling to a large portion of his hearers. The reasons which I here ascribe to Epameinondas are such as we know to have formed the Theban creed, in reference to the Bœotian cities; such as were actually urged by the Theban orator in 427 B.C., when the fate of the Platæan captives was under discussion. After Epameinondas had once laid out the reasons in support of his assertion, he might then, if the same brief question were angrily put to him a second time, meet it with another equally brief counter-question or retort. It is this final interchange of thrusts which Plutarch has given, omitting the arguments previously stated by Epameinondas, and necessary to warrant the seeming paradox which he advances. We must recollect that Epameinondas does not contend that Thebes was entitled to *as much power* in Bœotia as Sparta in Laconia. He only contends that Bœotia, under the presidency of Thebes, was as much an integral political aggregate, as Laconia under Sparta—in reference to the Grecian world."—Grote's 'History of Greece,' part ii. ch. lxvii.

LIFE OF POMPEIUS.

[Pg 195]

I. Towards Pompeius the Roman people seem to have been disposed from the very first, just as the Prometheus of Aeschylus[189] was towards his deliverer Hercules, when he says:—

"Though hateful is the sire, most dear to me the son."

For neither did the Romans ever display hatred so violent and savage towards any commander as towards Strabo[190] the father of Pompeius, whom they dreaded, when he was alive, for his military talent, for he was a man most expert in arms; and when he was killed by lightning and his body was carried out to interment they pulled it from the bier on which it was lying and treated it with indignity: nor, on the other hand, did any other Roman besides Pompeius ever receive from the people tokens of affection so strong, or so early, or which grew so rapidly with his good fortune, or abided with him so firmly in his reverses. The cause of their hatred to the [Pg 196] father was his insatiable avarice: the causes of their affection to the son were many; his temperate life, his practice in arms, the persuasiveness of his speech, the integrity of his character, and his affability to every man who came in his way, so that there was no man from

whom another could ask a favour with so little pain, and no man whose requests another would more willingly labour to satisfy. For in addition to his other endearing qualities, Pompeius could give without seeming to confer a favour, and he could receive with dignity.

II. At the beginning also his countenance contributed in no small degree to win the good-will of the people and to secure a favourable reception before he opened his mouth. For the sweetness of his expression was mingled with dignity and kindness, and while he was yet in the very bloom of youth his noble and kingly nature clearly showed itself. There was also a slight falling back of the hair and softness in the expression of his eyes, which produced a resemblance to the likenesses of Alexander, though indeed the resemblance was more talked of than real. Accordingly many at first gave him the name, which Pompeius did not object to, whence some in derision called him Alexander. It was in allusion to this that Lucius Philippus,[191] a consular man, when he was speaking in favour of Pompeius, said it was nothing strange if he who was Philippus loved Alexander. They used to report that Flora the courtesan, when she was now advanced in years, always spoke with pleasure of her intimacy with Pompeius, and said that she could never leave the embrace of Pompeius without bearing marks[192] of the ardour of his passion. Besides this, Flora used to tell that Geminius, one of the companions of Pompeius, conceived a passion for [Pg 197] her, and plagued her much with his solicitations, and when she said that for the sake of Pompeius she could not consent, Geminius applied to Pompeius. Now Pompeius, as she told the story, gave Geminius permission, but he never after touched Flora or had a meeting with her, though it was believed that he was attached to her; and Flora did not take this as most courtesans do, but was ill for a long time through grief and regret for the loss of her lover. And indeed it is said that Flora enjoyed such reputation and was so much talked of, that Cæcilius Metellus, when he was ornamenting the temple of the Dioscuri with statues and paintings, had the portrait of Flora painted and placed in the temple on account of her beauty. The wife of his freedman Demetrius also, who had the greatest influence with Pompeius and left a property of four thousand talents, contrary to his habit he did not treat kindly nor in a manner befitting her free condition: but it was through fear of her beauty, which was irresistible and much talked about, and that he might not appear to be captivated by her. Though he was so exceedingly cautious in such matters and so much on his guard, yet he did not escape the imputations of his enemies on the ground of amours, but he was slanderously accused of commerce with married women and of betraying many of the public interests to gratify them. Of his temperance and simplicity in his way of living the following anecdote is told. On one occasion when he was ill and indisposed to his ordinary food, the physician prescribed a thrush for him. After search had been made and none found, for the season was past, some one observed that one might be found at the house of Lucullus, for he kept them all the year round: "Well then," said Pompeius, "I suppose if Lucullus were not luxurious, Pompeius could not live;" and without regarding the physician's advice he took something that was ready at hand. This, however, belongs to a later period.

III. When he was still quite a youth and was serving under his father, who was opposed to Cinna, he had one Lucius Terentius[193] for his companion and tent-mate. This Lucius being bribed by [Pg 198] Cinna, designed to kill Pompeius, and others were to fire the general's tent. Information of this came to Pompeius while he was at supper, at which, nothing disturbed, he went on drinking more gaily, and showing great signs of affection towards Terentius; but when they were turning in to rest he slipped unobserved from under the tent, and after placing a guard about his father, kept quiet. When Terentius thought the time was come, drawing his sword he got up, and approaching the bed of Pompeius, he struck many blows upon the bed-covering, supposing that Pompeius was lying there. Upon this there was a great commotion owing to the soldiers' hatred of their general, and there was a movement made towards mutiny by the men beginning to pull down the tents and take their arms. The general, fearing the tumult, did not come near; but Pompeius, going about in the midst of the soldiers, implored them with tears in his eyes, and finally throwing himself on his face before the gate of the camp right in their way, he lay there weeping, and told those who were going out to trample on him, so that every man drew back for very shame, and thus the whole army, with the exception of eight hundred men, changed their design and were reconciled to their commander.

IV. Upon the death of Strabo, Pompeius had to defend a prosecution in respect of a charge of peculation against his father. He detected one of his freedmen in having appropriated most of the property, and proved it to the magistrates; but he was himself accused of having in his possession hunting nets and books which were taken among the plunder at Asculum.[194] He received these things from his father when he took Asculum, but he lost them after his return to Rome, when the [Pg 199] guards of Cinna broke into his house and plundered it. He had many preliminary contests with the accuser before the trial commenced, in which, by showing himself to possess an acuteness and firmness above his years, he got great reputation and popularity, so that Antistius,[195] who was prætor and presided at that trial, conceived a great affection for Pompeius, and offered him his daughter to wife, and spoke about it to his friends. Pompeius accepted the proposal, and an agreement was secretly made between them; but yet the matter did not fail to be generally known by reason of the partizanship of Antistius. When at last Antistius declared the votes of the judices to be for his acquittal, the people, as if a signal had been concerted, called out the name Talasius,[196] which, pursuant to an old custom, they are used to utter on the occasion of a marriage. This ancient custom, they say, had the following origin: When the daughters of the Sabines had come to Rome to see the games, and the noblest among the Romans were carrying them off to be their wives, some goatherds and herdsmen of mean condition took upon their shoulders a tall handsome maid and were carrying her off. In order, however, that none of the better sort who might fall in with them should attempt to take the maid from them, they called

out as they ran along that she was for Talasius (now Talasius was a man of rank and much beloved), so that those who heard the cry clapped their hands and shouted as being pleased at what the men were doing and commending them for it. From this time forth, as the story goes, inasmuch as the marriage of Talasius turned out to be a happy one, it is usual to utter the same expression by way of merriment at the occasion of a marriage. This is the most probable story among those which are told about the name Talasius. However, a few days after the trial Pompeius married Antistia.

V. Having gone to Cinna[197] to the camp, Pompeius became alarmed in consequence of some [Pg 200] charge and false accusation, and he quickly stole out of the way. On his disappearing, a rumour went through the camp and a report that Cinna had murdered the young man, whereupon the soldiers, who had long been weary of him and hated their general, made an assault upon him. Cinna attempted to escape, but he was overtaken by a centurion, who pursued him with his naked sword. Cinna fell down at the knees of the centurion, and offered him his seal ring, which was of great price; but the centurion with great contempt replied: "I am not going to seal a contract, but to punish an abominable and unjust tyrant," and so killed him. Cinna thus perished, but he was succeeded in the direction of affairs by Carbo, a still more furious tyrant than himself, who kept the power in his hands till Sulla advanced against him, to the great joy of the most part, who in their present sufferings thought even a change of masters no small profit. To such a condition had calamities brought the state, that men despairing of freedom sought a more moderate slavery.

VI. Now about this time Pompeius was tarrying in Picenum in Italy, for he had estates[198] there, but mainly because he liked the cities, which were well disposed and friendly towards him by reason of their ancient connection with his father. Seeing that the most distinguished and chief of the citizens were leaving their property and flocking from all sides to Sulla's camp as to a harbour of refuge, Pompeius did not think it becoming in him to steal away to Sulla like a fugitive, nor without bringing some contribution, nor yet as if he wanted help, but he thought that he should begin by doing Sulla some service and so approach with credit and a force. Accordingly he attempted to rouse the people of Picenum, who readily listened to his proposals, and paid no attention to those who came from Carbo. A certain Vindius having remarked that Pompeius had just quitted school to start up among them as a popular leader, the people were so infuriated that they forthwith fell on Vindius and killed him. Upon this Pompeius, who was now [Pg 201] three and twenty years of age, without being appointed general by any one, but himself assuming the command in Auximum,[199] a large city, placing a tribunal in the forum and by edict ordering two brothers Ventidii who were among the chief persons in the place and were opposing him on behalf of Carbo, to quit the city, began to enlist soldiers, and to appoint centurions and officers over them, and he went to all the surrounding cities and did the same. All who were of Carbo's party got up and quitted the cities, but the rest gladly put themselves in the hands of Pompeius, who thus in a short time raised three complete legions, and having supplied himself with provisions and beasts of burden and waggons and everything else that an army requires, advanced towards Sulla, neither hurrying nor yet content with passing along unobserved, but lingering by the way to harass the enemy, and endeavouring to detach from Carbo every part of Italy that he visited.

VII. Now there rose up against him three hostile generals at once, Carinna,[200] and Clœlius and Brutus, not all in front, nor yet all from the same quarter, but they surrounded him with three armies, with the view of completely destroying him. Pompeius was not alarmed, but getting all his force together he attacked one of the armies, that of Brutus, placing in the front his cavalry, among whom he himself was. From the side of the enemy the Celtæ rode out to meet him, when Pompeius with spear in hand struck the first and strongest of them and brought him down; on which the rest fled and put the infantry also into confusion, so that there was a general rout. Hereupon the generals quarrelled among themselves and retired, as each best could, and the cities took the part of Pompeius, seeing that the enemy had dispersed in alarm. Next came Scipio[201] the consul against him, but before the lines had come close enough to discharge their [Pg 202] javelins, the soldiers of Scipio saluted those of Pompeius and changed sides, and Scipio made his escape. Finally, near the river Arsis,[202] Carbo himself attacked Pompeius with several troops of horse, but Pompeius bravely stood the attack, and putting them to flight pursued and drove all of them upon difficult ground where no cavalry could act; and the men, seeing that there was no hope of saving themselves, surrendered with their arms and horses.

VIII. Sulla had not yet received intelligence of these events, but upon the first news and reports about Pompeius, being alarmed at his being among so many hostile generals of such reputation, he made haste to relieve him. Pompeius being informed that Sulla was near, ordered his officers to arm the forces and to display them in such manner that they might make the most gallant and splendid appearance to the Imperator, for he expected to receive great honours from him; and he got more than he expected. For when Sulla saw him approaching and his army standing by, admirable for the brave appearance of the men and elated and rejoicing in their success, he leapt down from his horse, and being addressed, according to custom, by the title of Imperator, he addressed Pompeius in return by the title of Imperator, though nobody would have expected that Sulla would give to a young man who was not yet a member of the Senate, the title for which he was fighting against the Scipios and the Marii. And indeed everything else was in accordance with the first greeting, for Sulla used to rise from his seat as Pompeius approached and take his vest from his head, which he was not observed to do generally to any other person, though there were many distinguished men about him. Pompeius, however, was not made vain by these marks

of distinction, but on being immediately sent into Gaul by Sulla, where Metellus[203] commanded and appeared to be doing nothing correspondent to his means, Pompeius said it was not right to take the command from a man who was his senior and superior in reputation; however he said he was ready to carry on the war in conjunction with Metellus, if he had no objection, in obedience to his orders and to give him his assistance. Metellus accepted the proposal and wrote to him to come, on which Pompeius entering Gaul, performed noble exploits, and he also fanned into a flame again and warmed the warlike and courageous temper of Metellus, which was now near becoming extinct through old age, as the liquid, heated stream of copper by flowing about the hard, cold metal is said to soften and to liquefy it into its own mass better than the fire. But as in the case of an athlete[204] who has obtained the first place among men and has gloriously vanquished in every contest, his boyish victories are made of no account and are not registered; so the deeds which Pompeius then accomplished, though of themselves extraordinary, yet as they were buried under the number and magnitude of his subsequent struggles and wars, I have been afraid to disturb them, lest if we should dwell too long on his first exploits, we should miss the acts and events which are the most important and best show the character of the man. [Pg 203]

IX.[205] Now when Sulla was master of Italy and was proclaimed Dictator, he rewarded the other officers and generals by making them rich and promoting them to magistracies and by granting them without stint and with readiness what they asked for. But as he admired Pompeius for his superior merit and thought that he would be a great support to his own interests, he was anxious in some way to attach him by family relations. Metella, the wife of Sulla, had also the same wish, and they persuaded Pompeius to put away Antistia and to take to wife Aemilia, the step-daughter of Sulla, the child of Metella by Scaurus, who was then living with her husband and was pregnant. This matter of the marriage was of a tyrannical character, and more suited to the interests of Sulla than conformable to the character of Pompeius, for Aemilia, who was pregnant, was taken from another to be married to him, and Antistia was put away with dishonour and under lamentable circumstances, inasmuch as she had just lost her father also, and that, too, on her husband's account; for Antistius was murdered in the Senate-house because he was considered to be an adherent of Sulla for the sake of Pompeius; and the mother of Antistia having witnessed all this put an end to her life, so that this misfortune was added to the tragedy of the marriage; and in sooth another besides, for Aemilia herself died immediately afterwards in child-birth in the house of Pompeius. [Pg 204]

X. After this, news arrived that Perpenna[206] was securing Sicily for himself, and that the island was supplying to those who remained of the opposite faction a point for concentrating their forces; for Carbo[207] was afloat in those parts with a navy, and Domitius had fallen upon Libya, and many other fugitives of note were crowding there, who had escaped from the proscriptions. Against these Pompeius was sent with a large force: and Perpenna immediately evacuated Sicily upon his arrival. Pompeius relieved the cities which had been harshly treated, and behaved kindly to them all except to the Mamertini in Messene. For when the Mamertini protested against the tribunal and the Roman administration of justice, on the ground that there was an old Roman enactment which forbade their introduction, "Won't you stop," said he, "citing laws to us who have our swords by our sides?" It was considered also that Pompeius triumphed over the misfortunes of Carbo in an inhuman manner. For if it was necessary to put Carbo to death, as perhaps it was, he ought to have been put to death as soon as he was taken, and then the act might have been imputed to him who gave the order. But Pompeius produced in chains a Roman who had three times been Consul, and making him stand in front of the tribunal while he was sitting, sat in judgment on him, to the annoyance and vexation of those who were present; after which he ordered him to be removed and put to death. They say that when Carbo had been dragged off, seeing the sword already bared, he begged them to allow him to retire for a short time as his bowels were disordered. Caius Oppius,[208] the friend of Cæsar, says that Pompeius behaved inhumanly to Quintus Valerius also; for Pompeius, who knew that Valerius was a learned man and a particular lover of learning, embraced him, and after walking about with him and questioning him about what he wanted to know, and getting his answer, he ordered his attendants to take Valerius away and immediately put him to death. But when Oppius is speaking of the enemies or friends of Cæsar, it is necessary to be very cautious in believing what he says. Now as to those enemies of Sulla who were of the greatest note and were openly taken, Pompeius of necessity punished them; but as to the rest he allowed as many as he could to escape detection, and he even aided some in getting away. Pompeius had determined to punish the inhabitants of Himera which had sided with the enemy; but Sthenis the popular leader having asked for a conference with him, told Pompeius that he would not do right, if he let the guilty escape and punished the innocent. On Pompeius asking who the guilty man was, Sthenis replied, it was himself, for he had persuaded those citizens who were his friends, and forced those who were his enemies. Pompeius admiring the bold speech and spirit of the man pardoned him first and then all the rest. Hearing that his soldiers were committing excesses on the march, he put a seal on their swords, and he who broke the seal was punished. [Pg 205] [Pg 206]

XI. While he was thus engaged in Sicily and settling the civil administration, he received a decree of the Senate and letters from Sulla which contained an order for him to sail to Libya and vigorously oppose Domitius,[209] who had got together a power much larger than that with which Marius no long time back had passed over from Libya to Italy and put all affairs at Rome in confusion by making himself a tyrant after having been a fugitive. Accordingly making his preparations with all haste Pompeius left in command in Sicily Memmius,[210] his sister's husband, and himself set sail with a hundred and twenty large ships, and eight hundred transports which conveyed corn, missiles, money, and engines. On his landing with part of his

vessels at Utica and the rest at Carthage, seven thousand men deserted from the enemy and came over to him; he had himself six complete legions. It is said that a ludicrous thing occurred here. Some soldiers having fallen in with a treasure, as it seems, got a large sum of money. The matter becoming known, all the rest of the soldiers got a notion that the place was full of money, which they supposed to have been hid during the misfortunes of the Carthaginians. The consequence was that Pompeius could do nothing with the soldiers for many days while they were busy with looking after treasure, but he went about laughing and looking on so many thousands all at one time digging and turning up the ground, till at last the men were tired and told their commander to lead them were he pleased, as they had been punished enough for their folly. [Pg 207]

XII. Domitius had posted himself to oppose Pompeius, with a ravine in his front which was difficult to pass and rough; but a violent rain accompanied with wind commenced in the morning and continued, so that Domitius giving up his intention of fighting on that day ordered a retreat. Pompeius taking advantage of this opportunity advanced rapidly and began to cross the ravine. But the soldiers of Domitius were in disorder and confusion, and what resistance they offered was neither made by the whole body nor yet in any regular manner: the wind also veered round and blew the storm right in their faces. However the storm confused the Romans also, for they did not see one another clearly, and Pompeius himself had a narrow escape with his life, not being recognised by a soldier to whom he was somewhat slow in giving the word on being asked for it. Having repulsed the enemy with great slaughter (for it is said that out of twenty thousand only three thousand escaped) they saluted Pompeius with the title of Imperator. But Pompeius said that he would not accept the honour, so long as the enemy's encampment was standing, and if they thought him worthy of this title they must first destroy the camp, upon which they forthwith rushed against the rampart, and Pompeius fought without a helmet for fear of what just had happened. The camp was taken and Domitius fell. Some of the cities immediately submitted, and others were taken by storm. Pompeius also made a prisoner of Iarbas,[211] one of the kings, who had sided with Domitius, and he gave his kingdom to Hiempsal. Availing himself of his success and the strength of his army he invaded Numidia. After advancing many days' march and subduing all whom he met with, and firmly establishing the dread of the Romans among the barbarians which had now somewhat subsided, he said that he ought not to leave even the wild beasts of Libya, without letting them have some experience of the strength and courage of the Romans. Accordingly he spent a few days in hunting lions and elephants;[212] and in forty days in all, as it is said, he defeated his enemies, subdued Libya, and settled all the affairs of the kings, being then in his four and twentieth year. [Pg 208]

XIII. On his return to Utica he received letters from Sulla, with orders to disband the rest of the army, and to wait there with one legion for his successor in the command. Pompeius was annoyed at this and took it ill, though he did not show it; but the army openly expressed their dissatisfaction, and when Pompeius requested them to advance, they abused Sulla, and they said they would not let Pompeius be exposed to danger without them, and they advised him not to trust the tyrant. At first Pompeius endeavoured to mollify and quiet them, but finding that he could not prevail, he descended from the tribunal and went to his tent weeping. But the soldiers laid hold of him and again placed him on the tribunal, and a great part of the day was spent in the soldiers urging him to stay and be their leader, and in Pompeius entreating the soldiers to be obedient and not to mutiny, till at last, as they still urged him and drowned his voice with their cries, he swore he would kill himself, if they forced him; and so at last with great difficulty they were induced to stop. Sulla at first received intelligence that Pompeius had revolted, on which he said to his friends, it was his fate now that he was old to fight with boys, alluding to the fact that Marius, who was very young, gave him most trouble, and brought him into the extremest danger; but on hearing the true state of affairs, and perceiving that everybody with right good will was eager to receive Pompeius and to escort him, he made haste to outdo them. Accordingly he advanced and met Pompeius, and receiving him with all possible expressions of good-will, he saluted him with a loud voice by the name of Magnus,[213] and he bade those who were present to address him in the same way. The word Magnus means Great. Others say that it was in Libya first that the whole army with acclamation pronounced the name, and that it obtained strength and currency by being confirmed by Sulla. But Pompeius himself, after everybody else, and some time later when he was sent into Iberia as proconsul against Sertorius, began to call himself in his letters and edicts Magnus Pompeius; for the name was no longer invidious when people had been made familiar with it. And here one may justly admire and respect the old Romans, who requited with such appellations and titles not success in war and battles only, but honoured therewith political services and merits also. Two men accordingly the people proclaimed Maximi, which means the Greatest; Valerius,[214] because he reconciled the senate to the people when there was a misunderstanding between them; and Fabius Rullus,[215] because he ejected from the senate certain rich persons the children of freedmen who had been enrolled in the list of senators. [Pg 209]

XIV. After this Pompeius asked for a triumph, but Sulla opposed his claim: for the law gives a triumph to a consul or to a prætor[216] only, but to no one else. And this is the reason why the first Scipio, after defeating the Carthaginians in greater and more important contests in Iberia, did not ask for a triumph, for he was not consul, nor yet prætor. Sulla considered that if Pompeius, who was not yet well bearded, should enter the city in triumph, he who, by reason of his age, was not yet a member of the senate, both his own office and the honour given to Pompeius would be exposed to much obloquy. Sulla made these remarks to Pompeius, to show that he did not intend to let him have a triumph, but would resist him and check his ambition, if he would not listen to [Pg 210]

reason. Pompeius, however, was not cowed, but he told Sulla to reflect, that more men worship the rising than the setting sun, intending him to understand that his own power was on the increase, but that the power of Sulla was diminishing and fading away. Sulla did not distinctly hear these words, but observing that those who did hear them, by looks and gestures expressed their astonishment, he asked what it was that Pompeius had said. When he heard what it was, he was confounded at the boldness of Pompeius, and called out twice, "Let him triumph!" Now many persons were annoyed, and expressed their dissatisfaction at the triumph, on which Pompeius, wishing to annoy them still more, it is said, made preparation for entering the city in a car drawn by four elephants,[217] for he brought from Libya many of the king's elephants that he had taken; but as the gate was too narrow, he gave up his project and contented himself with horses. The soldiers, who had not obtained as much as they expected, were ready to make a disturbance and [Pg 211] impede the triumph, but Pompeius said that he cared not for it, and would rather give up the triumph than humour them; whereupon Servilius,[218] a man of distinction, who had made most opposition to the triumph of Pompeius, said, Now he perceived that Pompeius was really Great and was worthy of the triumph. It is also certain that he might then have been easily admitted into the senate, if he had chosen; but he showed no eagerness for it, seeking, as they say, reputation from what was unusual. For it was nothing surprising if Pompeius were a senator before the age, but it was a most distinguished honour for him to triumph before he was a senator. Another thing also gained him the good-will of the many in no small degree, for the people were delighted at his being reviewed among the Equites after the triumph.

XV. Sulla[219] was annoyed to see to what a height of reputation and power Pompeius was advancing, but as he was ashamed to attempt to check his career he kept quiet. However, when Pompeius had brought about the election of Lepidus as consul in spite of Sulla and against his wish, by canvassing for Lepidus, and by employing the affection of the people towards himself to induce them to favour Lepidus, Sulla seeing Pompeius retiring with the crowd through the Forum, said, "I see, young man, that you are pleased with your victory: and indeed how can it be otherwise than generous and noble, for Lepidus, the vilest of men, to be declared consul before Catulus the best, through your management of the people? However, it is time for you not to slumber, but to attend to affairs, for you have strengthened your rival against yourself." Sulla showed mainly by his testament that he was not well disposed to Pompeius, for he left legacies to his other friends, and made them his son's guardians, but he passed over Pompeius altogether. [Pg 212] But Pompeius took this very quietly, and behaved on the occasion as a citizen should do; and accordingly, when Lepidus and some others were putting impediments in the way of the body being interred in the Field of Mars, and were not for allowing the funeral to be public, Pompeius brought his aid, and gave to the interment both splendour and security.

XVI. As soon as Sulla's death made his prophetic warnings manifest, and Lepidus was attempting to put himself in Sulla's place, not by any circuitous movement or contrivance, but by taking up arms forthwith, and again stirring up and gathering round him the remnants of the factions which had long been enfeebled and had escaped from Sulla; and his colleague Catulus, to whom the most honest and soundest part of the Senate and the people attached themselves, was the first of the Romans of the day for reputation of temperance and integrity, but was considered to be better adapted for the conduct of civil than of military affairs, and circumstances themselves were calling for Pompeius, he did not hesitate what course to take, but attaching himself to the optimates,[220] he was appointed commander of a force to oppose Lepidus, who had already stirred up a large part of Italy and held with an army under the command of Brutus, Gaul within the Alps. Now Pompeius easily defeated the rest whom he attacked, but at Mutina[221] in Gaul he sat down for some time opposite to Brutus, while Lepidus having hurried on to Rome and posted himself before the walls was demanding a second consulship and terrifying the citizens with a numerous army. But the alarm was ended by a letter from Pompeius, who had brought the war to a fortunate issue without a battle. For Brutus, whether it was that he gave up his force himself or was betrayed by his army changing sides, surrendered his person to Pompeius and with some [Pg 213] horsemen as an escort retired to one of the small towns near the Padus, where after the interval of a single day he was put to death by Geminius, whom Pompeius sent to him; and Pompeius was much blamed for this. For at the very commencement of the affair of the army changing sides, he wrote to the Senate that Brutus[222] had voluntarily surrendered, and he then sent another letter in which he criminated the man after he was put to death. This Brutus was the father of the Brutus who together with Cassius killed Cæsar, a man who neither fought nor died like his father, as is told in his Life. As soon as Lepidus was driven from Italy, he made his escape into Sardinia, where he fell sick and died of vexation, not at the state of affairs, as they say, but from finding some writing by which he discovered that his wife had committed adultery.

XVII. But a general, Sertorius,[223] who in no respect resembled Lepidus, was in possession of Iberia and was hovering over the other Romans, a formidable adversary; for the civil wars had concentrated themselves as in a final disease in this one man, who had already destroyed many of the inferior commanders, and was then engaged with Metellus Pius, who was indeed a distinguished soldier and of great military ability, but owing to old age was considered to be following up the opportunities of war somewhat tardily, and was anticipated in his plans by the quickness and rapidity of Sertorius, who attacked him at all hazards and somewhat in robber fashion, and by his ambuscades and circuitous movements confounded a man well practised in regular battles and used to command a force of heavy-armed soldiers trained to close fighting. Upon this Pompeius, who had an army under his command, bestirred himself to be sent out to support Metellus; and though Catulus ordered him to disband his force he would not obey, but kept under arms in the neighbourhood of the city continually inventing excuses, until the

command was given to him on the proposal of Lucius Philippus. It was on this occasion, as it is said, that some one in the Senate asked Philippus with some surprise, if he thought that [Pg 214] Pompeius ought to be sent out as Proconsul,[224] and Philippus replied, "Not as Proconsul, as I think, but in place of the Consuls," meaning that both the consuls of that year were good for nothing. I

XVIII. When Pompeius arrived in Iberia, as it usually happens with the reputation of a new commander, he gave the people great hopes, and the nations which were not firmly attached to the party of Sertorius began to stir themselves and change sides; whereupon Sertorius gave vent to arrogant expressions against Pompeius, and scoffingly said, he should only need a cane and a whip for this youth, if he were not afraid of that old woman, meaning Metellus. However he conducted his military operations with more caution, as in fact he kept a close watch on Pompeius and was afraid of him. For contrary to what one would have expected, Metellus had become very luxurious in his mode of life and had completely given himself up to pleasure, and there had been all at once a great change in him to habits of pride and extravagance, so that this also brought Pompeius a surpassing good-will and reputation, inasmuch as he maintained a frugal mode of living, a thing that cost him no great pains, for he was naturally temperate and well regulated in his desires. Though there were many vicissitudes in the war, the capture of Lauron by Sertorius gave Pompeius most annoyance; for while he supposed that Sertorius was surrounded, and had uttered certain boasting expressions, all at once it appeared that he himself was completely hemmed in, and as for this reason he was afraid to stir, he saw the city burnt before his face. But he defeated, near Valentia, Herennius and Perpenna, who were men of military talent, and among others had fled to Sertorius and served under him; and he slaughtered above ten thousand of their men.

XIX. Elated by this success, and full of great designs, he hastened to attack Sertorius himself, in [Pg 215] order that Metellus might not share the victory. They engaged on the banks of the Sucro, though it was near the close of day, both parties fearing the arrival of Metellus, one wishing to fight by himself, and the other wishing to have only one opponent. The issue of the battle was doubtful, for one wing was victorious on each side; but of the two commanders-in-chief Sertorius got the more honour, for he put to flight the enemy who were opposed to him. A man of tall stature, an infantry soldier, attacked Pompeius, who was on horseback; and as they closed and came to a struggle, the blows of the swords fell on the hands of both, but not with the same effect; for Pompeius was only wounded, but he cut off the man's hand. Now, as many men rushed upon Pompeius, and the rout had already begun, he escaped, contrary to all expectation, by quitting his horse, which had trappings of gold and decorations of great value; for while the enemy were dividing the booty and fighting about it with one another, they were left behind in the pursuit. At daybreak both commanders again placed their forces in order of battle, with the intention of securing the victory, but when Metellus approached, Sertorius retreated and his army dispersed. For the fashion of his men was to disperse and again to come together, so that Sertorius often wandered about alone, and often appeared again at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, like a winter-torrent suddenly swollen. Now, when Pompeius went to meet Metellus after the battle, and they were near one another, he ordered his lictors to lower their fasces out of respect to Metellus as the superior in rank. But Metellus would not allow this, and in all other respects he behaved with consideration to Pompeius, not assuming any superiority on the ground of being a consular and the elder, except that when the two armies encamped together the watchword for both armies was given out by Metellus; but the two armies generally encamped apart. For the enemy used to cut off their communications and separate them, being fertile in stratagems, and skilful in showing himself in many quarters in a short time, and in leading from one combat to another. Finally, by cutting off their supplies, plundering the country, and getting [Pg 216] the command of the sea, he drove both Pompeius and Metellus from that part of Iberia which was under him, and they were compelled to fly to other provinces through want of provisions.

XX. Pompeius having spent most of his own property and applied it to the purposes of the war, demanded money of the senate, and said that he would come to Italy with his army if they did not send it. Lucullus, who was then consul, being at variance with Pompeius, and intriguing to get the command in the Mithridatic war for himself, bestirred himself to get money sent for fear of letting Pompeius have a reason for leaving Sertorius, and attacking Mithridates, which he wished to do, for Mithridates was considered to be an opponent whom it would be an honour to oppose and easy to vanquish. In the meantime, Sertorius[225] was assassinated by his friends, of whom Perpenna was the chief leader, and he attempted to do what Sertorius had done, having indeed the same troops and means, but not equal judgment for the management of them. Now Pompeius immediately advanced against Perpenna, and perceiving that he was floundering in his affairs, he sent down ten cohorts into the plain, as a bait, and gave them orders to disperse as if they were flying. When Perpenna had attacked the cohorts, and was engaged in the pursuit, Pompeius appeared in full force, and joining battle, gave the enemy a complete defeat. Most of the officers fell in the battle; but Perpenna was brought to Pompeius, who ordered him to be put to death, in which he did not show any ingratitude, nor that he had forgotten what had happened in Sicily, as some say, but he displayed great prudence and a judgment that was advantageous to the commonweal. For Perpenna, who had got possession of the writings of Sertorins, offered to produce letters from the most powerful men in Rome, who being desirous to disturb the present [Pg 217] settlement and to change the constitution, invited Sertorius to Italy. Now Pompeius, apprehending that this might give rise to greater wars than those which were just ended, put Perpenna to death, and burnt the letters without even reading them.

XXI. After staying[226] long enough to extinguish the chief disturbances, and to quiet and settle

those affairs which were in the most inflammatory state, he led his army back to Italy, and happened to arrive at the time when the servile war[227] was at its height. This was the reason why Crassus the commander urged on the hazard of a battle, which he gained, with the slaughter of twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Fortune, however, in a manner adopted Pompeius into this success also, for five thousand men who escaped from the battle fell in his way, all of whom he destroyed, and he took the opportunity of writing first to the senate, to say that Crassus indeed had conquered the gladiators in a pitched battle, but he had pulled up the war by the roots. And this was agreeable to the Romans to hear, owing to their good-will towards Pompeius, and also to speak of. As to Iberia and Sertorius, no one even in jest would have said that the conquest was due to any one else than Pompeius. But though the man was in such repute, and such expectations were entertained of him, there was still some suspicion and fear that he would not disband his army, but would make his way by arms and sovereign power straight to the polity of Sulla. Accordingly, those who through fear ran to greet him on the way, were as many as those who did it from good-will. But when Pompeius had removed this suspicion also by declaring that he would disband his army after the triumph, there still remained one subject of reproach for those who envied him, that he attached himself more to the people than to [Pg 218] the senate, and that he had determined to restore the authority of the tribunate, which Sulla had destroyed, and to court the favour of the many, which was true. For there was nothing for which the people were more madly passionate, and nothing which they more desired, than to see that magistracy again, so that Pompeius considered the opportunity for this political measure a great good fortune, as he could not have found any other favour by which to requite the good-will of the citizens, if another had anticipated him in this.

XXII. Now after a second triumph[228] and the consulship were voted to him, Pompeius was not for this reason considered an object of admiration and a great man; but the people considered it a proof of his distinction, that Crassus, though the richest of all who were engaged in public life, and the most powerful speaker and the greatest man, and though he despised Pompeius and everybody else, did not venture to become a candidate for the consulship till he had applied to Pompeius. Pompeius indeed was well pleased with this, as he had long wished to have the opportunity of doing some service and friendly act to Crassus. According he readily accepted the advances of Crassus, and in his address to the people he declared that he should be as grateful to them for his colleague as for the consulship. However, when they were elected consuls, they differed about everything, and came into collision: in the senate Crassus had more weight, but among the people the influence of Pompeius was great. For Pompeius restored the tribunate[229] to the people, and he allowed the judicia to be again transferred to the Equites by a law. But the most agreeable of all spectacles was that which Pompeius exhibited to the people when he personally solicited his discharge from service. It is the custom among the Roman Equites[230] [Pg 219] when they have served the time fixed by law, to lead their horse into the Forum before the two men whom they call Censors, and after mentioning each general and Imperator under whom they have served, and giving an account of their service, they receive their dismissal. Honours also and infamy are awarded according to each man's conduct. Now on this occasion the Censors Gellius and Lentulus were sitting in all their official dignity, and the Equites who were to be inspected were passing by, when Pompeius was seen descending from the higher ground to the Forum, bearing the other insignia of his office, but leading his horse by the hand. When he came near and was full in sight, he bade the lictors make way for him, and he led his horse to the tribunal. The people admired, and kept profound silence; the censors were both awed and delighted at the sight. Then the elder said: "I ask you, Pompeius Magnus, if you have performed all the military services that the law requires?" Pompeius replied with a loud voice, "I have performed all, and all under my own command as Imperator." On hearing this the people broke out into loud shouts, and it was impossible to repress the acclamations, so great was their delight; but the censors rising, conducted Pompeius home to please the citizens, who followed with loud expressions of applause.

XXIII. Now when the term of office was near expiring for Pompeius, and the differences with Crassus wore increasing, one Caius Aurelius,[231] who though a man of equestrian rank did not [Pg 220] meddle with public affairs, on the occasion of an assembly of the people ascended the Rostra, and coming forward said, that Jupiter had appeared to him in his sleep and had bid him tell the consuls not to lay down their office before they were reconciled. On this being said, Pompeius stood still, without saying a word, but Crassus making the first advance to take his hand and address him, said, "I think I am doing nothing ignoble or mean, fellow citizens, in being first to give way to Pompeius, whom you considered worthy of the name of Magnus before he had a beard, and decreed to him two triumphs before he was a senator." Upon this they were reconciled and laid down their office. Now Crassus continued the kind of life which he had originally adopted; but Pompeius withdrew himself from his numerous engagements as advocate, and gradually quitted the forum, and seldom went into public, and always with a large crowd of people. For it was no longer easy to meet with him or see him without a train; but he took most pleasure in showing himself with a numerous company close around him, and by these means he threw a dignity and importance about his presence, and thought that he ought to keep his high rank from contact or familiarity with the many. For life in the garment of peace is a hazardous thing towards loss of reputation for those who have gained distinction in arms and are ill suited for civil equality; for such men claim the first place in peace also, as in war, while those who get less honour in war cannot submit to have no advantage in peace at least. Wherefore when they moot in the Forum with the man who has been distinguished in camps and triumphs, they humble him and cast him down; but if a man renounces all pretensions to civil distinction and withdraws, they maintain his military honours and power untouched by envy. Facts soon showed this.

XXIV. Now the power of the pirates[232] had its beginning in Cilicia, and at first its adventure was [Pg 221] attended with hazard and sought concealment, but it gained confidence and daring in the Mithridatic war by lending itself to aid the king. Then, the Romans being engaged in the civil wars about the gates of Rome, the sea was left destitute of all protection, and this by degrees drew them on, and encouraged them not to confine their attacks to those who navigated the sea, but to ravage islands and maritime cities. And now men who wore powerful by wealth and of distinguished birth, and who claimed superior education, began to embark on board piratical vessels and to share in their undertakings as if the occupation was attended with a certain reputation and was an object of ambition. There were also piratical posts established in many places and fortified beacons, at which armaments put in, which were fitted out for this peculiar occupation not only with bold vigorous crews and skilful helmsmen and the speed and lightness of the ships, but more annoying than their formidable appearance was their arrogant and pompous equipment, with their golden streamers[233] and purple sails and silvered oars, as if they rioted in their evil practices and prided themselves on them. And flutes and playing on stringed [Pg 222] instruments and drinking along the whole coast, and capture of persons high in office, and ransomings of captured cities, were a disgrace to the Roman supremacy. Now the piratical ships had increased to above a thousand, and the cities captured by them were four hundred. They attacked and plundered the asyla and sacred places which had hitherto been unapproached, such as those of Claros,[234] Didyma, Samothrace, the temple of Chthonia in Hermione, the temple of Æsculapius in Epidaurus, and those of Neptune at the Isthmus and Tænaros and Kalauria, and those of Apollo at Actium and Leucas, and that of Juno in Samos, and in Argos, and Lacinium. They also performed strange rites on Olympus[235] and celebrated certain mysterious ceremonies, among which were those of Mithras[236] and they are continued to the present time, having been first introduced by them. But they did most insult to the Romans, and going up from the sea they robbed on their roads and plundered the neighbouring villas. They once seized two prætors Sextilius and Bellinus in their purple dress, and they carried off with them their attendants and lictors. They also took the daughter of Antonius, a man who had enjoyed a triumph, as she was going into the country, and she was ransomed at great cost. But their most insulting behaviour [Pg 223] was in the following fashion. Whenever a man who was taken called out that he was a Roman and mentioned his name, they would pretend to be terror-struck and to be alarmed, and would strike their thighs and fall down at his knees praying him to pardon them; and their captive would believe all this to be real, seeing that they were humble and suppliant. Then some would put Roman shoes on his feet, and others would throw over him a toga, pretending it was done that there might be no mistake about him again. When they had for some time mocked the man in this way and had their fill of amusement, at last they would put a ladder down into the sea, and bid him step out and go away with their best wishes for a good journey; and if a man would not go, then they shoved him into the water.

XXV. The power of the pirates extended over the whole of our sea[237] at once in a measure, so that it could not be navigated and was closed against all trade. It was this which mainly induced the Romans, who were hard pressed for provisions and were expecting great scarcity, to send out Pompeius to clear the sea of the pirates. Gabinius,[238] one of the friends of Pompeius, drew up a law which gave Pompeius, not a naval command, but palpably sole dominion and power over all men without any responsibility. For the law gave him authority over the sea within the columns of Hercules and all the main land to the distance of four hundred stadia from the sea. There were not many places within the Roman dominions which lay beyond those limits, but the chief nations and the most powerful of the kings were comprised within them. Besides this, Pompeius was empowered to choose fifteen legati from the Senate who should command in particular parts, to take from the treasuries and from the Publicani as much money as he pleased, and two hundred ships, with full authority as to the number and levying of the armed force and of the rowers for [Pg 224] the vessels. When these provisions of the law were read, the people received them with exceeding great satisfaction, but the chief of the Senate and the most powerful citizens considered that this unlimited and indefinite power was indeed too great to be an object of envy, but was a matter for alarm. Accordingly with the exception of Cæsar they opposed the law; but Cæsar spoke in favour of it, though indeed he cared very little for Pompeius, but from the beginning it was his plan to insinuate himself into the popular favour and to gain over the people. But the rest vehemently assailed Pompeius. One of the consuls who had observed to him that if he emulated Romulus he would not escape the end of Romulus, was near being killed by the people. When Catulus came forward to speak against the law, the people out of respect were silent for some time; but after he had spoken at length with honourable mention of Pompeius and without any invidious remark, and then advised the people to spare him and not to expose such a man to repeated dangers and wars, "What other man," he continued, "will you have, if you lose him?" when with one accord all the people replied, "Yourself." Now as Catulus could produce no effect, he retired from the Rostra; when Roscius[239] came forward, nobody listened, but he made signs with his fingers that they should not appoint Pompeius to the sole command, but should give him a colleague. At this it is said that the people being irritated sent forth such a shout, that a crow[240] which was flying over the Forum was stunned and fell down into the crowd. Whence it appears, that birds which fall, do not tumble into a great vacuum in the air caused by its rending and separation, but that they are struck by the blow of the voice, which, when it is carried along with great mass and strength, causes an agitation and a wave in the air.

XXVI. Now for the time the assembly was dissolved. But on the day on which they were going to [Pg 225] put the law to the vote, Pompeius privately retired to the country, but on hearing that the law had passed, he entered the city by night, considering that he should make himself an object of

jealousy if the people met him and crowded about him. At daybreak he came into public and sacrificed; and an assembly being summoned he contrived to get many other things in addition to what had been voted, and nearly doubled his armament. For he manned five hundred ships, and one hundred and twenty thousand heavy-armed soldiers and five thousand horse were raised. He chose out of the senate twenty-four men who had held command and served the office of prætor; and there were two quæstors. As the prices of provisions immediately fell, it gave the people, who were well pleased to have it, opportunity to say that the very name of Pompeius had put an end to the war. However, by dividing the waters and the whole space of the internal sea into thirteen parts and appointing a certain number of ships and a commander for each, with his force, which was thus dispersed in all directions, he surrounded the piratical vessels that fell in his way in a body, and forthwith hunted them down and brought them into port; but those who separated from one another before they were taken and effected their escape, crowded from all parts and made their way to Cilicia as to a hive; and against them Pompeius himself went with sixty of the best ships. But he did not sail against them till he had completely cleared of the piratical vessels the Tyrrhenian sea, the Libyan, and the seas around Sardinia, and Corsica, and Sicily, in forty days in all, by his own unwearied exertions and the active co-operation of his commanders.

XXVII. In Rome the consul Piso, through passion and envy, was damaging the preparations for the war, and disbanding the seamen who were to man the ships, but Pompeius sent round his navy to Brundisium and himself advanced through Tyrrhenia to Rome. On hearing this all the people poured forth out of the city upon the road, just as if they had not only a few days before conducted him out of the city. And the rejoicing was caused by the speediness of the change, which was contrary to expectation, for the Forum had a superabundance of provisions. The [Pg 226] consequence was that Piso ran the risk of being deprived of the consulship, for Gabinius had already a law drawn up. But Pompeius prevented this, and having managed everything else with moderation and got what he wanted, he went down to Brundisium and set sail. But though he was pressed by the urgency of the business and sailed past the cities in his haste, still he did not pass by Athens but he went up to it. After sacrifices to the gods and addressing the people, just as he was quitting the place he read two inscriptions, each of a single verse, addressed to him, the one within the gate,

> "As thou own'st thyself a mortal, so thou art in truth a God."

and that on the outside:

> "Expected, welcomed, seen, we now conduct thee forth."

Now as he treated mercifully some of the piratical crews which still held together and were cruising about the seas upon their preferring entreaties to him, and after receiving a surrender of their vessels and persons did them no harm, the rest entertaining good hopes attempted to get out of the way of the other officers, and coming to Pompeius they put themselves into his hands with their children and wives. But he spared all, and it was chiefly through their assistance that he tracked out and caught[241] those who still lurked in concealment, as being conscious that they had committed unpardonable crimes.

XXVIII. The greater part and the most powerful of the pirates had deposited their families and wealth, and their useless people, in garrisons and strong forts among the heights of the Taurus; but manning their ships the pirates themselves awaited the approach of Pompeius near Coracesium[242] in Cilicia, and a battle was fought in which they were defeated and afterwards blockaded. At last sending a suppliant message they surrendered themselves and their cities and [Pg 227] the islands of which they had possession and in which they had built forts that were difficult to force and hard to approach. Accordingly the war was ended, and all the pirates were driven from the sea in no more than three months. Pompeius received by surrender many ships, and among them ninety with brazen beaks. The pirates, who amounted to more than twenty thousand, he never thought of putting to death, but he considered that it would not be prudent to let them go and to allow them to be dispersed or to unite again, being poor, and warlike and many in number. Reflecting then that by nature man neither is made nor is a wild animal nor unsocial, and that he changes his character by the practice of vice which is contrary to his nature, but that he is tamed by habits and change of place and life, and that wild beasts by being accustomed to a gentler mode of living put off their wildness and savageness, he determined to transfer the men to the land from the sea and to let them taste a quiet life by being accustomed to live in cities and to cultivate the ground. The small and somewhat depopulated cities of Cilicia received some of the pirates whom they associated with themselves, and the cities received some additional tracts of land; and the city of Soli,[243] which had lately been deprived of its inhabitants by Tigranes[244] the Armenian king, he restored and settled many of them in it. To the greater part he gave as their residence Dyme[245] in Achæa, which was then without inhabitants and had much good land.

XXIX. Now those who envied Pompeius found fault with these measures; but as to his conduct [Pg 228] towards Metellus[246] in Crete, even his best friends were not pleased with it. Metellus, who was a kinsman of the Metellus who had the command in Iberia jointly with Pompeius, was sent as commander to Crete before Pompeius was chosen. For Crete was a kind of second source of pirates and next to Cilicia; and Metellus having caught many of them in the island took them prisoners and put them to death. Those who still survived and were blockaded, sent a suppliant message and invited Pompeius to the island, as being a part of his government and falling entirely within the limits reckoned from the coast. Pompeius accepted the invitation and wrote to

Metellus to forbid him continuing the war. He also wrote to the cities not to pay any attention to Metellus, and he sent as commander one of his own officers, Lucius Octavius, who entering into the forts of the besieged pirates and fighting on their side made Pompeius not only odious and intolerable, but ridiculous also, inasmuch as he lent his name to accursed and godless men and threw around them his reputation as a kind of amulet, through envy and jealousy of Metellus. Neither did Achilles,[247] it was argued, act like a man, but like a youth all full of violence and passionately pursuing glory, when he made a sign to the rest of the Greeks and would not let them strike Hector,

> "For fear another gave the blow and won
> The fame, and he should second only come;"

but Pompeius even protected and fought in behalf of the common enemy, that he might deprive of a triumph a general who had endured so much toil. Metellus however did not give in, but he took and punished the pirates, and after insulting and abusing Octavius in his camp he let him go.

XXX. When news reached Rome that the Pirates' war was at an end and that Pompeius being now at leisure was visiting the cities, Manlius,[248] one of the tribunes, proposed a law, that Pompeius should take all the country and force which Lucullus commanded, with the addition of Bithynia, which Glabrio[249] had, and should carry on the war against the kings Mithridates and Tigranes, with both the naval force and the dominion of the sea on the terms on which he received it originally. This was in short for the Roman dominion to be placed at the disposal of one man. For the provinces which alone he could not touch under the former law, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the upper Colchis, Armenia, these he now had together with the armies and resources with which Lucullus defeated Mithridates and Tigranes. But though Lucullus was thus deprived of the glory of his achievements and was receiving a successor in a triumph rather than in a war, the aristocratical party thought less of this, though they considered that the man was treated unjustly and ungratefully, but they were much dissatisfied with the power of Pompeius which they viewed as the setting up of a tyranny, and they severally exhorted and encouraged one another to oppose the law and not to give up their freedom. But when the time came, the rest kept back through fear of the people and were silent, except Catulus, who after finding much fault with the law and the tribune, yet without persuading any one, urged the Senate from the Rostra, repeating it many times, to seek for a mountain,[250] like their ancestors, and a rock, to which they might fly for refuge and preserve their liberty. Accordingly the law was ratified, as they say, by all the tribes[251] and Pompeius in his absence [Pg 229] was put in possession of nearly everything which Sulla got after he had made himself master of [Pg 230] the city by arms and war. On receiving the letters and reading the decrees in the presence of his friends who were congratulating him, Pompeius is said to have contracted his eyebrows and to have struck his thigh, and to have spoken like a man who was already tired and averse to command, "Oh, the endless toils, how much better it were to have been one unknown to fame, if there shall never be an end to my military service and I shall never elude this envy and live quietly in the country with my wife."[252] On hearing these expressions not even his intimate friends could endure his hypocritical pretences, as they knew that he was the more delighted, inasmuch as his difference with Lucullus gave additional fire to his innate ambition and love of command.

XXXI. And in truth his acts soon discovered his real temper: for he issued counter-edicts in all directions by which he required the presence of the soldiers and summoned to him the subject rulers and kings. And as he traversed the country, he let nothing that Lucullus had done remain undisturbed, but he both remitted the punishments of many, and took away what had been given, and in short he left nothing undone in his eagerness to prove to the admirers of Lucullus[253] that he was entirely without power. Lucullus through his friends complained to Pompeius, and it was agreed that they should have a meeting. They met in Galatia: and as they were most distinguished generals and had won the greatest victories, their lictors met with the fasces wreathed with bay; but Lucullus advanced from green and shady parts, and Pompeius happened to have crossed an extensive tract without trees and parched. Accordingly the lictors of Lucullus seeing that the bays of Pompeius were faded and completely withered, gave them some of their own which were fresh, and so decorated and wreathed the fasces of Pompeius with them. This was considered a sign that Pompeius was coming to carry off the prizes of victory and the glory [Pg 231] that was due to Lucullus. As to the order of his consulship and in age also Lucullus had the priority, but the reputation of Pompeius was more exalted on account of his two triumphs. However they managed their first interview with as much civility and friendliness as they could, magnifying the exploits of each other, and congratulating one another on their victories: in their conferences however they came to no reasonable or fair settlement, but even fell to mutual abuse, Pompeius charging Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus charging Pompeius with love of power; and they were with difficulty separated by their friends. Lucullus being in Galatia assigned portions of the captured land and gave other presents to whom he chose; while Pompeius, who was encamped at a short distance, prevented any attention being paid to the orders of Lucullus, and took from him all his soldiers except sixteen hundred, whose mutinous disposition he thought would make them useless to himself, but hostile to Lucullus. Besides this, Pompeius disparaged the exploits of Lucullus and openly said that Lucullus had warred against tragedies and mere shadows of kings, while to himself was reserved the contest against a genuine power and one that had grown wiser by losses, for Mithridates was now having recourse to shields, and swords and horses. Lucullus retorting said, that Pompeius was going to fight with

a phantom and a shadow of war, being accustomed, like a lazy bird, to descend upon the bodies that others had slaughtered and to tear the remnants of wars; for so had he appropriated to himself the victories over Sertorius, Lepidus and Spartacus, though Crassus, Metellus and Catulus had respectively gained these victories: it was no wonder then, if Pompeius was surreptitiously trying to get the credit of the Armenian and Pontic wars, he who had in some way or other contrived to intrude himself into a triumph over runaway slaves.

XXXII. Lucullus[254] now retired, and Pompeius after distributing his whole naval force over the sea between Phœnicia and the Bosporus to keep guard, himself marched against Mithridates, [Pg 232] who had thirty thousand foot soldiers of the phalanx and two thousand horsemen, but did not venture to fight. First of all, Mithridates left a strong mountain which was difficult to assault, whereon he happened to be encamped, because he supposed there was no water there; but Pompeius, after occupying the same mountain, conjectured from the nature of the vegetation upon it and the hollows formed by the slopes of the ground that the place contained springs, and he ordered wells to be dug in all parts: and immediately the whole army had abundance of water, so that it was a matter of surprise that Mithridates had all along been ignorant of this. Pompeius then surrounded Mithridates with his troops and hemmed him in with his lines. After being blockaded forty-five days Mithridates succeeded in stealing away with the strongest part of his army, after having first massacred those who were unfit for service and were sick. Next, Pompeius overtook him on the Euphrates and pitched his camp near him; and fearing lest Mithridates should frustrate his design by crossing the river, he led his army against him in battle order at midnight, at which very hour it is said that Mithridates had a vision in his sleep which forewarned him of what was going to happen. He dreamed that he was sailing on the Pontic sea with a fair wind, and was already in sight of the Bosporus, and congratulating his fellow voyagers, as a man naturally would do in his joy at a manifest and sure deliverance; but all at once he saw himself abandoned by everybody and drifting about upon a small piece of wreck. While he was suffering under this anguish and these visions, his friends came to his bed-side and roused him with the news that Pompeius was attacking them. The enemy accordingly must of necessity fight in defence of their camp, and the generals leading their forces out put them in order of battle. Pompeius, seeing the preparations to oppose him, hesitated about running any risk in the dark, and thought that he ought only to surround the enemy, to prevent their escape, and attack them when it was daylight, inasmuch as their numbers were greater. But the oldest centurions by their entreaties and exhortations urged him on; for it was not quite dark, but the [Pg 233] moon which was descending in the horizon still allowed them to see objects clear enough. And it was this which most damaged the king's troops. For the Romans advanced with the moon on their backs, and as the light was much depressed towards the horizon, the shadows were projected a long way in front of the soldiers and fell upon the enemy, by reason of which they could not accurately estimate the distance between them and the Romans, but supposing that they were already at close quarters they threw their javelins without effect and struck nobody. The Romans perceiving this rushed upon the enemy with shouts, and as they did not venture to stand their ground, but were terror-struck and took to flight, the Romans slaughtered them to the number of much more than ten thousand, and took their camp. Mithridates at the commencement with eight hundred horsemen cut his way through the Romans, but the rest were soon dispersed and he was left alone with three persons, one of whom was his concubine Hypsikratia,[255] who on all occasions showed the spirit of a man and desperate courage; and accordingly the king used to call her Hypsikrates. On this occasion, armed like a Persian and mounted on horseback, she was neither exhausted by the long journeys nor ever wearied of attending to the King's person and his horse, till they came to a place called Inora,[256] which was filled with the King's property and valuables. Here Mithridates took costly garments and distributed among those who had flocked to him after the battle. He also gave to each of his friends a deadly poison to carry about with them, that none of them might fall into the hands of the Romans against his will. Thence he set out towards Armenia to Tigranes, but Tigranes forbade him to come and set a price of a hundred talents upon him, on which Mithridates passed [Pg 234] by the sources of the Euphrates and continued his flight through Colchis.[257]

XXXIII. Pompeius invaded Armenia at the invitation of young Tigranes,[258] who had now revolted from his father, and he met Pompeius near the river Araxes,[259] which rises in the same parts with the Euphrates, but turns to the east and enters the Caspian Sea. Pompeius and Tigranes received the submission of the cities as they advanced: but King Tigranes, who had been lately crushed by Lucullus, and heard that Pompeius was of a mild and gentle disposition, admitted a Roman garrison into his palace,[260] and taking with him his friends and kinsmen advanced to surrender himself. As he approached the camp on horseback, two lictors of Pompeius came up to him and ordered him to dismount from his horse and to enter on foot: they told him that no man on horseback had ever been seen in a Roman camp. Tigranes obeyed their orders, and taking off his sword presented it to them; and finally, when Pompeius came towards him, pulling off his cittaris,[261] he hastened to lay it before his feet, and what was most humiliating of all, to throw himself down at his knees. But Pompeius prevented this by laying hold of his right hand and drawing the king towards him; he also seated Tigranes by his side, and his son on the other side, and said that Tigranes ought so far to blame Lucullus only, who had taken from him Syria, [Pg 235] Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene,[262] but that what he had kept up to that time, he should still have, if he paid as a compensation to the Romans for his wrongful deeds six thousand talents, and his son should be King of Sophene. Tigranes assented to these terms, and being overjoyed by the Romans saluting him as king, he promised to give every soldier half a mina of silver,[263] to a centurion ten minæ, and to a tribune a talent. But his son took this ill, and on

being invited to supper he said that he was not in want of Pompeius to show such honour as this, for he would find another Roman.[264] In consequence of this he was put in chains and kept for the triumph. No long time after Phraates the Parthian sent to demand the young man, as his son-in-law, and to propose that the Euphrates should be the boundary of the two powers. Pompeius replied that Tigranes belonged to his father rather than to his father-in-law, and that as to a boundary he should determine that on the principles of justice.

XXXIV. Leaving Afranius in care of Armenia, Pompeius advanced through the nations that dwell about the Caucasus,[265] as of necessity he must do, in pursuit of Mithridates. The greatest of these nations are Albani and Iberians, of whom the Iberians extend to the Moschic mountains and the Pontus, and the Albani extend to the east and the Caspian Sea. The Albani at first allowed a free passage to Pompeius at his request; but as winter overtook the Romans in the country and they were occupied with the festival of the Saturnalia,[266] mustering to the number of forty [Pg 236] thousand they attacked the Romans, after crossing the Cyrnus[267] river, which rising in the Iberian mountains and receiving the Araxes which comes down from Armenia, empties itself by twelve mouths into the Caspian. Others say that the Araxes does not join this stream, but that it has a separate outlet, though near to the other, into the same sea. Pompeius, though he could have opposed the enemy while they were crossing the river, let them cross quietly, and then he attacked and put them to flight and destroyed a great number. As the King begged for pardon, and sent ambassadors, Pompeius excused him for the wrong that he had done, and making a treaty with him, advanced against the Iberians, who were as numerous as the Albani and more warlike, and had a strong wish to please Mithridates and to repel Pompeius. For the Iberians had never submitted either to the Medes or the Persians,[268] and they had escaped the dominion of the Macedonians also, inasmuch as Alexander soon quitted Hyrkania. However Pompeius routed the Iberians also in a great battle, in which nine thousand of them were killed and above ten thousand taken prisoners, and he entered Colchis; and on the Phasis[269] he was met by Servilius with the vessels with which he was guarding the Pontus.

XXXV. The pursuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties, as he had plunged among the nations around the Bosporus and the Mæotis; and intelligence reached Pompeius that the [Pg 237] Albani had again revolted. Moved by passion and desire of revenge, Pompeius turned against the Albani. He again crossed the Cyrnus with difficulty and danger, for the river had been fenced off with stakes to a great extent by the barbarians; and as the passage of the river was succeeded by a long waterless and difficult march, he had ten thousand skins filled with water and then advanced against the enemy, whom he found posted on the river Abas[270] to the number of sixty thousand foot and twelve thousand cavalry, but poorly armed, and for the most part only with the skins of beasts. They were commanded by a brother of the king, named Kosis, who, when the two armies had come to close quarters, rushed against Pompeius and struck him with a javelin on the fold[271] of his breastplate, but Pompeius with his javelin in his hand pierced him through and killed him. In this battle it is said that Amazons[272] also fought on the side of the barbarians, and [Pg 238] that they had come down hither from the mountains about the river Thermodon. For after the battle, when the Romans were stripping the barbarians, they found Amazonian shields and boots, but no body of a woman was seen. The Amazons inhabit those parts of the Caucasus which extend towards the Hyrcanian sea, but they do not border on the Albani, for Gelæ and Leges dwell between; and they cohabit with these people every year for two months, meeting them on the river Thermodon, after which they depart and live by themselves.

XXXVI. After the battle Pompeius set out to advance to the Hyrkanian[273] and Caspian sea, but he was turned from his route by the number of deadly reptiles, when he was three days' march from it. He retired to the Less Armenia; and he returned a friendly answer to the Kings of the Elymæi[274] and Medes who sent ambassadors, but against the Parthian king who had invaded Gordyene and was plundering the people of Tigranes, he sent Afranius with a force who drove him out and pursued him as far as the territory of Arbela. Of all the concubines of Mithridates who were brought to him, he knew not one, but sent all back to their parents and kin; for the greater part were the daughters and wives of generals and princes. Stratonike,[275] who was in the greatest repute and guarded the richest of the forts, was, it is said, the daughter of a harp- [Pg 239] player, who was not rich and was an old man; and she made so sudden a conquest of Mithridates over his wine by her playing, that he kept the woman and went to bed with her, but sent away the old man much annoyed at not having been even civilly spoken to by the king. In the morning, however, when he got up and saw in his house tables loaded with silver and golden cups, and a great train of attendants, with eunuchs and boys bringing to him costly garments, and a horse standing before the door equipped like those that carried the king's friends, thinking that this was all mockery and a joke he made an attempt to escape through the door. But when the slaves laid hold of him and told him that the king had made him a present of the large substance of a rich man who had just died, and that this was but a small foretaste and sample of other valuables and possessions that were to come, after this explanation hardly convinced he took the purple dress, and leaping on the horse rode through the city exclaiming, "All this is mine." To those who laughed at him he said, this was nothing strange, but it was rather strange that he did not pelt with stones those who came in his way, being mad with delight. Of this stock and blood was Stratonike. But she gave up this place to Pompeius, and also brought him many presents, of which he took only such as seemed suitable to decorate the temples and add splendour to his triumph, and he told her she was welcome to keep the rest. In like manner when the King of the Iberians sent him a couch and a table and a seat all of gold, and begged him to accept them, he delivered them also to the quæstors for the treasury.

XXXVII. In the fort Kænum[276] Pompeius found also private writings of Mithridates, which he read through with some pleasure as they gave him a good opportunity of learning the man's character. They were memoirs,[277] from which it was discovered that he had taken off by poison[278] among many others his son Ariarathes and Alkæus of Sardis because he got the advantage over the King in riding racehorses. There were registered also interpretations of dreams,[279] some of which he had seen himself, and others had been seen by some of his women; and there were lewd letters of Monime[280] to him and his answers to her. Theophanes says that there was also found an address of Rutilius[281] in which he urged the King to the massacre of the Romans in Asia. But most persons with good reason suppose this to be a malicious story of Theophanes, perhaps invented through hatred to Rutilius, who was a man totally unlike himself, or perchance to please Pompeius, whose father Rutilius in his historical writings had shown to be a thoroughly unprincipled fellow. [Pg 240] [Pg 241]

XXXVIII. Thence Pompeius went to Amisus,[282] where his ambition led him to reprehensible measures. For though he had abused Lucullus greatly, because while the enemy was still alive, he published edicts for the settlement of the countries and distributed gifts and honours, things which victors are accustomed to do when a war is brought to a close and is ended, he himself, while Mithridates was still ruling in the Bosporus[283] and had got together a force sufficient to enable him to take the field again, just as if everything was finished, began to do the very things that Lucullus had done, settling the provinces, and distributing gifts, many commanders and princes, and twelve barbarous kings having come to him. Accordingly he did not even deign when writing in reply to the Parthian,[284] as other persons did, to address him by the title of King of Kings, and he neglected to do this to please the other kings. He was also seized with a desire and a passion to get possession of Syria and to advance through Arabia to the Erythræan sea,[285] that in his victorious career he might reach the ocean that encompasses the world on all sides; for in Libya he was the first who advanced victoriously as far as the external sea, and again in Iberia he made the Atlantic sea the boundary of the Roman dominion; and thirdly, in his recent pursuit of the Albani he came very near to reaching the Hyrkanian sea. Accordingly he now put his army in motion that he might connect the circuit of his military expeditions with the Erythræan sea; and besides, he saw that Mithridates was difficult to be caught by an armed force, and was a harder enemy to deal with when flying than when fighting. [Pg 242]

XXXIX. Wherefore, remarking that he would leave behind him for Mithridates an enemy stronger than himself, famine, he set vessels to keep a guard on the merchants who sailed to the Bosporus; and death was the penalty for those who were caught. Taking the great bulk of his army he advanced on his march, and falling in with the bodies still unburied of those who with Triarius[286] had fought unsuccessfully against Mithridates and fallen in battle, he buried all with splendid ceremonial and due honours. It was the neglect of this which is considered to have been the chief cause of the hatred to Lucullus. After subduing by his legate Afranius the Arabs in the neighbourhood of the Amanus,[287] he descended into Syria, which he made a province and a possession of the Roman people on the ground that it had no legitimate kings; and he subdued Judæa[288] and took King Aristobulus prisoner. He built some cities, and he gave others their liberty and punished the tyrants in them. But he spent most time in judicial business, settling the disputes of cities and kings, and in those cases for which he had no leisure, sending his friends; as for instance to the Armenians and Parthians, who referred to him the decision as to the country[289] in dispute between them, he sent three judges and conciliators. For great was the fame of his power, and no less was the fame of his virtue and mildness; by reason of which he was enabled to veil most of the faults of his friends and intimates, for he did not possess the art of checking or punishing evil doers, but he so behaved towards those who had anything to do with him, that they patiently endured both the extortion and oppression of the others. [Pg 243]

XL. The person who had most influence with Pompeius was Demetrius, a freedman, a youth not without understanding, but who abused his good fortune. The following story is told of him. Cato the philosopher, who was still a young man, but had a great reputation and already showed a lofty spirit, went up to Antioch,[290] when Pompeius was not there, wishing to examine the city. Now Cato, as was his custom, walked on foot, but his friends who were journeying with him were on horseback. Observing before the gate a crowd of men in white vestments, and along the road, on one side the ephebi, and on the other the boys, in separate bodies, he was out of humour, supposing that this was done out of honour and respect to him who wanted nothing of the kind. However he bade his friends dismount and walk with him. As they came near, the man who was arranging and settling all this ceremony, with a crown on his head and a wand in his hand, met them and asked where they had left Demetrius and when he would arrive. Now the friends of Cato fell a-laughing, but Cato exclaimed, "O wretched city," and passed by without making further answer. However Pompeius himself made Demetrius less an object of odium to others by submitting to his caprices without complaint. For it is said that frequently when Pompeius at entertainments was waiting for and receiving his guests, Demetrius would already have taken his place at the table, reclining with haughty air, and with his vest[291] over his ears hanging down. Before he had returned to Rome, Demetrius had got possession of the most agreeable places in the suburbs, and the finest pleasure-grounds and costly gardens were called Demetrian; and yet up to his third triumph Pompeius was lodged in a moderate and simple manner. But afterwards when he was erecting for the Romans that beautiful and far-famed theatre,[292] he built, what may be compared to the small boat that is towed after a big vessel, close by a house more magnificent than he had before; and yet even this was so far from being such a building as to excite any jealousy that the person who became the owner of it after Pompeius, was surprised when he [Pg 244]

entered it, and he asked where Pompeius Magnus used to sup. Such is the story about these matters.

XLI. The King of the Arabians in the neighbourhood of Petra[293] hitherto had not troubled himself at all about the Romans, but now being much alarmed he wrote to say that he was ready [Pg 245] to submit and to do anything. Pompeius wishing to confirm him in this disposition made an expedition against Petra, wherein he did not altogether escape censure from most people. For they considered that this was evading the pursuit of Mithridates, and they urged him to turn against him who was his old antagonist and was fanning his flame and preparing according to report to lead an army through the country of the Scythians and Pæonians[294] against Italy. But Pompeius thinking it would be easier to crush the forces of Mithridates in the field than to overtake him when he was flying, did not choose to exhaust himself to no purpose in a pursuit, and he contrived to find other occupations in the interval of the war and he protracted the time. Fortune, however, settled the difficulty; for when he was at no great distance from Petra, and had already pitched his camp for that day and was exercising himself with his horse around the camp, letter-bearers rode up from Pontus with good tidings. This was manifest at once by the points of their spears, for they were wreathed with bay. Pompeius at first wished to finish his exercises, but as the men called out and entreated him, he leapt from his horse and taking the letters advanced into the camp. But as there was no tribunal[295] and there had not been time to make [Pg 246] even the kind of tribunal that is used in the camp, which they are accustomed to form by digging out large lumps of earth and putting them together upon one another, in their then zeal and eagerness they piled together the loadings of the beasts of burden and raised an elevated place. Pompeius ascending this announced to the soldiers, that Mithridates was dead, having put an end to his own life because his son Pharnakes[296] rebelled against him, and Pharnakes had taken possession of everything in those parts, and put all under his own dominion and that of the Romans, as he said in his letter.

XLII. Upon this the soldiers being delighted, as was natural, occupied themselves with sacrifices and entertainments, considering that in the person of Mithridates ten thousand enemies had expired. Pompeius having brought his own undertakings and expeditions to a termination, which he had not anticipated could be so easily done, immediately retired from Arabia; and quickly traversing the intermediate provinces he arrived at Amisus, where he found that many presents had been sent by Pharnakes and many corpses of members of the royal family, and the corpse of Mithridates also, which could not well be recognised by the face (for those who had embalmed the body had neglected to destroy the brain); but those who wished to see the body, recognised it by the scars. Pompeius himself would not see the body, but fearing divine retribution[297] he sent it off to Sinope.[298] He was amazed at the dress and armour of Mithridates, both at the size and [Pg 247] splendour of what he saw; though the sword belt, which cost four hundred talents, Publius stole and sold to Ariarathes, and the cittaris, a piece of wonderful workmanship, Gaius the foster-brother of Mithridates himself gave to Faustus the son of Sulla who asked for it. Pompeius did not know this at the time; but Pharnakes who afterwards discovered it punished the thieves. After Pompeius had arranged and settled affairs in those parts, he continued his march with more pomp. On arriving at Mitylene[299] he gave the city its freedom for the sake of Theophanes, and he witnessed the usual contest there among the poets, the sole subject being his own exploits. Being pleased with the theatre he had a sketch taken of it and a plan made, with the intention of making one like it in Rome, but larger and more splendid. When he was in Rhodes, he heard all the sophists and made each a present of a talent. Poseidonius[300] put in writing the discourse which he read before Pompeius in opposition to the rhetorician Hermagoras on the doctrine of general invention. In Athens Pompeius behaved in like manner to the philosophers, and after giving also to the city fifty talents towards its restoration, he was in hopes to set foot in Italy with a reputation above that of any man and to be received by his family with the same eagerness that he had to see them. But the Dæmon[301] who takes care always to mix some portion of ill with the great and glorious good things which come from Fortune, had long been lurking on the watch and preparing to make his return more painful to him. For during the absence of Pompeius his wife Mucia[302] had been incontinent. Indeed while Pompeius was at a distance he treated the [Pg 248] report with contempt, but when he had come near to Italy, and had examined the charge with more deliberation, as it seems, he sent her notice of divorce, though neither then nor afterwards did he say for what reason he put her away: but the reason is mentioned in Cicero's letters.

XLIII. All kinds of reports about Pompeius preceded his arrival at Rome, and there was great alarm, as it was supposed that he would forthwith lead his army against the city and that a monarchy[303] would be firmly established. Crassus taking his sons and his money secretly got away from Rome, whether it was that he really was afraid, or, what is more probable, he wished to give credibility to the calumny and to strengthen the odium against Pompeius. As soon, however, as Pompeius landed[304] in Italy, he summoned his soldiers to an assembly,and after saying what was suitable to the occasion and expressing his affectionate thanks to them, he bade them disperse among their several cities and each go to his home, remembering to meet again for his triumph. The army being thus dispersed, and the fact being generally known, a wonderful circumstance happened. For the cities seeing Pompeius Magnus unarmed and advancing with a few friends, as if he were returning from an ordinary journey, pouring forth through good will [Pg 249] and forming an escort brought him into Rome with a larger force, so that if he had designed to make any change and revolution at that time he would not have wanted the army which he had disbanded.

XLIV. As the law did not allow a general to enter the city before his triumph, Pompeius sent to

the Senate to request they would put off the consular elections and to grant him this favour, that he might in his own person assist Piso in his canvass. As Cato opposed his request, he did not attain his object. But Pompeius admiring Cato's boldness of speech and the vigour which he alone openly displayed in behalf of the law, desired in some way or other to gain the man; and as Cato had two nieces, Pompeius wished to take one of them to wife and to marry the other to his son. Cato saw his object, which he viewed as a way of corrupting him and in a manner bribing him by a matrimonial alliance; but his sister and wife took it ill that he should reject an alliance with Pompeius Magnus. In the mean time Pompeius wishing to get Afranius[305] made consul, expended money on his behalf among the tribes, and the voters came down to the gardens of Pompeius where they received the money, so that the thing became notorious and Pompeius had an ill name for making that office which was the highest of all and which he obtained for his services, venal for those who were unable to attain to it by merit. "These reproaches however," said Cato to the women, "we must take our share of, if we become allied to Pompeius." On hearing this the women agreed that he formed a better judgment than themselves as to what was proper.

XLV. Though the triumph[306] was distributed over two days, such was its magnitude that the time was not sufficient, but much of the preparation was excluded from the spectacle, and enough for the splendour and ornament of another procession. The nations over which Pompeius triumphed were designated by titles placed in front. The nations were the following, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, the Iberians, Albani, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, the parts about Phœnice and Palestine, Judæa, Arabia, and the whole body of pirates by sea and land who had been subdued. Among these nations fortified places not fewer than a thousand were taken, and cities not far short of nine hundred, and eight hundred piratical ships; and cities forty save one were founded. Besides this it was shown on written tablets that 5000 myriads (fifty millions) were the produce of the taxes, while from the additions that he had made to the state they received 8500 myriads (eighty-five millions), and there were brought into the public treasury in coined money and vessels of gold and silver twenty thousand talents, not including what had been given to the soldiers, of whom he who received the least according to his proportion received fifteen hundred drachmæ. The captives who appeared in the procession, besides the chief pirates, were the son of Tigranes the Armenian with his wife and daughter, and Zosime a wife of King Tigranes, and Aristobulus King of the Jews, and a wife and five children of Mithridates, and Scythian women, and also hostages of the Albani and Iberians and of the King of Commagene, and numerous trophies, equal in number to all the battles, which Pompeius had won himself or by his legati. But it was the chief thing towards his glory, and what had never happened before to any Roman, that he celebrated his third triumph over the third continent. For though others before him had triumphed three times, Pompeius by having gained his first triumph over Libya, his second over Europe, and this the last over Asia, seemed in a manner to have brought the whole world into his three triumphs. [Pg 250]

XLVI. At this time Pompeius was under four-and-thirty[307] years of age, as those affirm who in all respects compare him with Alexander and force a parallel, but in fact he was near forty. How happy would it have been if he had died at the time up to which he had the fortune of Alexander; but the period that followed brought to him good fortune accompanied with odium, and ill fortune that was past all cure. For the power which he got in the city by fair means, he employed on the behalf of others illegally; and as much strength as he gave to them, so much he took from his own reputation, and so he was overthrown by the strength and magnitude of his own power before he was aware of it. And as the strongest parts and places in cities, when the enemies have got possession of them, give to them their own strength, so Cæsar being raised up through the power of Pompeius against the State, overthrew and cast down the man by whose help he became strong against others. And it was brought about thus. Immediately upon Lucullus returning from Asia, where he had been treated with great contumely by Pompeius, the Senate gave him a splendid reception, and when Pompeius had arrived they urged Lucullus still more to take a part in public affairs, for the purpose of limiting the credit of Pompeius. Though Lucullus was in other matters now dull and chilled for all active life, having given himself up to the pleasures of ease and the enjoyment of wealth, yet he forthwith sprang up against Pompeius, and by a vigorous attack got a victory over him with respect to the arrangements of Lucullus that he had annulled, and had the advantage in the Senate with the co-operation of Cato. Pompeius, defeated and pressed on all sides, was compelled to fly to tribunes and to attach himself to young men, of whom the most scandalous and the most daring, Clodius, took up his cause, but threw him completely under the feet of the people; and by making him inconsistently with his station constantly frequent the Forum and carrying him about, he used him for the purpose of confirming everything that was said or proposed to please and flatter the people. Further, he asked of Pompeius for his reward, just as if he were not degrading him but were doing him a service, and he afterwards got what he asked, the betrayal of Cicero,[308] who was a friend of Pompeius and had served him in public matters more than any one else. For when Cicero was in danger and prayed for his aid, Pompeius would not even see him, but shut the front door upon those who came on Cicero's part and went out by another door. Cicero fearing the trial retired from Rome. [Pg 251] [Pg 252]

XLVII. At this time Cæsar[309] returned from his government and undertook a political measure, which brought him the greatest popularity for the present and power for the future, but did the greatest damage to Pompeius and the State. For he became a candidate for his first consulship; but seeing that while Crassus was at variance with Pompeius, if he attached himself to one of them he would have the other for his enemy, he applied himself to effect a reconciliation between them, a thing which in other respects was fair and useful to the State, but was managed by him

for a bad reason and with a dexterity full of treacherous design. For the strength which kept the State, just as in the case of a vessel, in a condition of equilibrium and prevented it falling over to this side or that, when brought together and united caused it to incline to one side with an irresistible force that overpowered and beat down everything. Accordingly Cato said that they were mistaken who affirmed that the State was overturned by the quarrel which afterwards broke out between Cæsar and Pompeius, for they laid the blame on the last events; for it was not their disunion nor yet their enmity, but their union and concord which was the first and greatest misfortune that befel the State. Cæsar was elected consul, and forthwith he courted the needy and poor by proposing measures for the establishment of cities, and the division of lands, wherein he stepped beyond the proprieties of his office and in a manner made his consulship into a tribunate. When his colleague Bibulus opposed him and Cato was prepared to support Bibulus most vigorously, Cæsar brought forward Pompeius on the Rostra, and put the question to him, "If [Pg 253] he approved of the proposed laws;" upon Pompeius saying that he did, "Will you not then," said Cæsar, "if any one makes resistance to the laws, come forward before the people to maintain them?" "Certainly," said Pompeius, "I will come against those who threaten swords, with sword and shield." It was the general opinion that Pompeius up to that day had never said or done anything more arrogant, so that even his friends in his defence said that the words had escaped him at the moment. But yet it was clear from what followed that he had completely given himself up to Cæsar to do what he pleased with him: for contrary to all expectation Pompeius married Cæsar's daughter Julia, who had been betrothed to Cæpio and was going to be married to him within a few days; and to pacify Cæpio, Pompeius gave him his own daughter who was already promised to Faustus the son of Sulla. Cæsar himself married Calpurnia the daughter of Piso.

XLVIII. After this Pompeius filled the city with soldiers and managed everything by force. For the soldiers suddenly fell on the consul Bibulus as he was going down to the Forum with Lucullus and Cato, and broke the fasces; and some one bedaubed Bibulus by throwing a basket of ordure over his head, and two of the tribunes who were conducting him were wounded. By these means they cleared the Forum of their opponents and then carried the law about the distribution of lands. The people being taken with this bait were now become tame and ready to support any project of theirs, giving no trouble at all, but silently voting for what was proposed to them. Accordingly the regulations of Pompeius as to which he was at variance with Lucullus were confirmed, and Cæsar received Gaul within and without the Alps and the province of Illyricum for five years with four complete legions; and it was settled that the consuls for the next year should be Piso[310] the father-in-law of Cæsar, and Gabinius, who was the most extravagant of the flatterers of Pompeius. While this was going on, Bibulus shut himself up in his house and never [Pg 254] went out for eight months, the remainder of the period of his consulship, but he sent out counter-edicts full of abuse and charges against both: Cato as if inspired and under divine influence foretold in the Senate what would happen to the city and to Pompeius; and Lucullus[311] renouncing public life kept quiet, on the ground that his age disqualified him for political concerns, on which Pompeius observed that for an old man luxury was more unsuitable to his age than to mingle in affairs of state. However Pompeius himself also was soon rendered inactive through passion for his young wife, with whom he passed the chief part of his time, and lived in the country and his gardens, and he paid no attention to what was going on in the Forum, so that even Clodius, who was then tribune, despised Pompeius and engaged in the most daring measures. For after Clodius had ejected Cicero and sent off Cato to Cyprus[312] under colour of giving him a command, and Cæsar was gone to Gaul, and Clodius saw that the people were devoted to him as he was doing everything and framing all his measures to please them, he immediately attempted to repeal some of the regulations of Pompeius, and seizing the person of the captive Tigranes he kept him in his own house, and he instituted prosecutions against the friends of Pompeius, and so made trial of the power of Pompeius by attacking his friends. At last when Pompeius came forward upon the occasion of a certain trial, Clodius having with him a body of men filled with insolence and arrogance took his station in a conspicuous place and put to them the following questions: "Who is Imperator unlimited? what man seeks another man? who scratches his head[313] with one finger?" The people like a Chorus trained to chant corresponding parts, while Clodius was shaking his toga,[314] at every question with loud shouts replied, "Pompeius."

XLIX. Now this also annoyed Pompeius, who was unaccustomed to be abused and had no [Pg 255] practice in this kind of warfare; but he was still more vexed when he perceived that the Senate were pleased at the insults offered to him and at his paying the penalty for his treachery to Cicero. But when it happened that they came to blows in the Forum and even proceeded so far as to wound one another, and a slave of Clodius was detected in the crowd stealing through the bystanders up to Pomipeius with a dagger in his hand, Pompeius alleging these proceedings as his excuse, and besides that, being afraid of the insolence and abuse of Clodius, came no more into the Forum so long as Clodius was in office, but kept to his house and was planning with his friends how he could pacify the resentment of the Senate and the nobles towards him. However he would not listen to Culleo,[315] who advised him to put away Julia and giving up the friendship of Cæsar to pass over to the Senate, but he followed the advice of those who recommended that Cicero[316] should be restored, who was the greatest enemy of Clodius and most beloved by the Senate. Pompeius with a strong party accompanied Cicero's brother who was going to make his entreaty to the people, and after some wounds had been inflicted in the Forum and some persons were killed, they got the advantage over Clodius. Cicero returning to the city in pursuance of a law immediately reconciled Pompeius to the Senate, and, by speaking in favour of the law relating to grain,[317] in a manner again made Pompeius master of all the land and sea that the [Pg 256]

Romans possessed. For under his control were placed harbours, places of trade, the disposal of produce, in a word, all the affairs of those who navigated the sea and cultivated the land. But Clodius complained that the law had not been made on account of the scarcity of grain, but that the scarcity of grain was caused in order that the law might be passed, and that Pompeius might again fan into a flame and recover his power, which was as it were wasting away through his want of spirit. Others explained this to have been a device of the consul Spinther, whose object was to engage Pompeius in a higher official employment, that himself might be sent out to support king Ptolemæus.[318] However Canidius the tribune proposed a measure to the effect that Pompeius without an army and with two lictors should go to bring about a reconciliation between the Alexandrians and the king. And indeed it was supposed that Pompeius was not displeased at the measure, but the Senate rejected it on the specious pretext that they feared for the safety of Pompeius. There were writings to be found scattered about the Forum and near the Senate-house, to the effect that Ptolemæus wished Pompeius to be given to him as general instead of Spinther. And Timagenes[319] says that Ptolemæus without any reason and without necessity had quitted Egypt and left it at the advice of Theophanes who was planning profitable occupation for [Pg 257] Pompeius and a subject for a fresh command. But the villainy of Theophanes does not make this so probable, as the character of Pompeius makes it improbable, for he had no ambition of so mean and illiberal a kind.

L. Pompeius being appointed to look after the management and the supply of corn, sent his deputies and friends to many places, and he himself sailed to Sicily and Sardinia and Libya and collected grain. When he was about to set sail, there was a violent wind on the sea, and the masters of the ships were unwilling to put out, but Pompeius embarking first and bidding them raise the anchor, cried, "It is necessary to sail; there is no necessity to live." By such boldness and zeal, and the help of good fortune, Pompeius filled the markets with grain and the sea with ships, so that the superfluity of what he got together sufficed even for those who were without, and there was as from a spring an abundant overflowing for all.

LI. During this time the Celtic wars[320] raised Cæsar to great distinction; and though he was considered to be a very long way from Rome, and to be occupied with Belgæ and Suevi and Britanni, he contrived, by his skilful management, without being perceived, in the midst of the popular assemblies, and in the most important matters, to frustrate the political measures of Pompeius. For Cæsar's military force was like a body that invested him, and he was training it to toil, and making it invincible and formidable, not to oppose the barbarians, but he was disciplining his men in these contests just as if it were merely hunting wild beasts and pursuing them with dogs; and in the meantime he was sending to Rome gold and silver, and the rest of the spoil and wealth which he got in abundance from so many enemies, and by tempting people there with gifts, and assisting ædiles in their expenses, and generals and consuls and their wives, he was gaining over many of them; so that when he had crossed the Alps and was wintering in Luca, [Pg 258] there was a great crowd of men and women who vied with one another in their eagerness to visit him, besides two hundred of the Senatorian class, among whom were Pompeius and Crassus; and one hundred and twenty fasces of proconsuls and prætors were seen at Cæsar's doors. Now, after filling all the rest with hopes and money, he sent them off; but a compact was made between him and Crassus and Pompeius, that they should be candidates for the consulship, and that Cæsar should help them by sending many of his soldiers to vote, and that as soon as they were elected, they should secure for themselves the command of provinces and armies, and should confirm Cæsar's provinces to him for another five years. Upon this being publicly known, the first men in the State were displeased, and Marcellinus coming forward before the popular assembly, asked both Crassus and Pompeius to their faces, if they would be candidates for the consulship. The assembly bade them give him an answer, on which Pompeius spoke first, and said, that perhaps he should and perhaps he should not. Crassus replied in a manner more befitting a citizen,[321] for he said that he would act either way, as he should think it best for the common weal. But when Marcellinus stuck close to Pompeius, and was considered to be speaking in violent terms, Pompeius said that Marcellinus, of all men, showed the least regard to fair dealing, because he was not grateful to him in that he was the means of Marcellinus becoming eloquent, though he was formerly mute, and of now being so full as to vomit, though formerly he was starving of hunger.

LII. However, though everybody else declined to become candidates for the consulship, Cato persuaded Lucius Domitius,[322] and encouraged him not to give up, for he said the contest with the tyrants was not for power, but for liberty. But Pompeius and his partisans fearing the vigour of Cato, and lest, as he had all the Senate on his side, he should draw away and change the minds [Pg 259] of the sounder part of the people, would not allow Domitius to come down into the Forum, but they sent armed men and killed the linkbearer, who was advancing in front, and put the rest to flight. Cato was the last to retreat, after being wounded in the right arm while he was fighting in front of Domitius. By such means they attained the consulship, nor did they conduct themselves in it with more decency. First of all, while the people were electing Cato prætor and giving their votes, Pompeius broke up the assembly, alleging that the omens were not favourable; and they had Vatinius[323] proclaimed in place of Cato by bribing the tribes. In the next place they introduced measures by means of Trebonius,[324] which gave to Cæsar, pursuant to the agreement, a second five years, to Crassus[325] Syria and the Parthian expedition, but to Pompeius all Libya, and both the provinces of Iberia and four legions, of which he lent two to Cæsar at his request for the war in Gaul. Now Crassus went out to his province, after giving up his consular functions; and Pompeius opened his theatre,[326] and gave gymnastic and musical contests at the dedication of it, and fights of wild beasts, in which five hundred lions were killed;

and at the end he exhibited an elephant-fight, a most astonishing spectacle.

LIII. For all this Pompeius got admiration and love; but on the other hand he brought on himself [Pg 260] no less odium by giving up the forces and the provinces to legati who were his friends, while himself in the places of amusement in Italy going about from one to another spent his time with his wife, either because he loved her, or because he could not bear to leave his wife who was attached to him; for this also is said. And the love of the young woman for her husband was much talked about, for her affection towards Pompeius was not what might have been expected considering his age; but the reason appears to have been the chaste conduct of her husband who knew only his married wife, and the dignity of his manners which were not austere but agreeable and particularly attractive to women, if we must not disbelieve the testimony even of Flora the courtezan. It happened that at the election of ædiles some men came to blows and no small number were killed near Pompeius, and as his garments were drenched with blood, he changed them. There was great confusion and hurrying to the house of the slaves who were carrying the vests; and it happened that Julia,[327] who was with child, saw the bloody toga, upon which she [Pg 261] fainted and with difficulty recovered, and in consequence of that alarm and the excitement, she miscarried. Even those who found most fault with the alliance of Cæsar and Pompeius, could not blame the woman for her affection. She became pregnant a second time and brought forth a female child, but she died of the pains of labour and the child did not survive her many days. Pompeius made preparations to bury her in his Alban villa, but the people by force took the body and carried it down into the Field of Mars, more from pity for the young woman than to please Pompeius and Cæsar. But of the two, it was considered that the people gave a larger portion of the honour to Cæsar who was absent than to Pompeius who was present. But in the city the waves forthwith began to move and everything was tossed to and fro, and was the subject of conversation tending to a complete split, now that the marriage connection was ended which hitherto rather veiled than checked the ambition of the two men. After no long time news also arrived that Crassus had lost his life among the Parthians; and that which had been a great hindrance to the civil war breaking out was now removed, for both Cæsar and Pompeius feared Crassus, and accordingly to some extent confined themselves within limits in their behaviour towards one another. But when fortune had cut off the man who was keeping a watch over the struggle, forthwith the words of the comic poet became applicable:

> "Now each against the other smears his limbs,
> And strews his hands with dust."

So small a thing is fortune in comparison with men's nature. For fortune cannot satisfy men's desires, since so great an amount of command and extent of wide-stretched territory put no check on the desires of two men, but though they heard and read that "all things[328] were divided into three portions for the gods and each got his share of dominion," they thought the Roman empire was not enough for them who were only two.

LIV. Yet Pompeius once said when he was addressing the people, that he had obtained every [Pg 262] office sooner than he expected, and laid it down sooner than was expected. And in truth he had the disbandings of his forces a perpetual testimony of the truth of what he said. But now being convinced that Cæsar would not give up his power, he sought by means of the functionaries of the state to strengthen himself against him, but he attempted no change of any kind and did not wish to be considered to distrust Cæsar, but to disregard him rather and to despise him. However when he saw that the officers were not disposed of according to his judgment, the citizens being bribed, he allowed anarchy to spring up in the state; and forthwith there was much talk about a dictator, whom Lucilius the tribune first ventured to mention by advising the people to choose Pompeius dictator. Cato attacked him for this, and Lucilius ran the risk of losing his tribunate, and many of the friends of Pompeius came forward to exculpate him and said that he did not seek that office or wish for it. Upon this Cato commended Pompeius and exhorted him to turn his attention to the establishment of order, and Pompeius then out of shame did turn his attention to it, and Domitius[329] and Messala were made consuls; but afterwards there was again anarchy, and a greater number of persons now began to agitate the question of a dictator more boldly, and Cato and his partisans fearing that they should be forced to yield, determined to let Pompeius have a certain legalized authority for the purpose of diverting him from that pure tyrannical office. Bibulus, who was an enemy of Pompeius, was the first to propose in the Senate to choose Pompeius sole consul[330] and he said that the city would thus either be relieved from [Pg 263] the present disorder, or they would be slaves to the best man among them. This opinion appeared strange from such a person, when Cato rising for the purpose as it was expected of speaking against Bibulus, as soon as there was silence, said that for his part he would not have introduced the proposed measure, but as it was introduced by another he advised that it should be adopted, for he preferred any government to no government, and he thought that nobody would administer affairs better than Pompeius at a time of such disorder. The Senate accepted the proposal and passed a decree that Pompeius if elected should be solo consul, and that if he wanted a colleague, he might choose any person whom he approved of, but not before two months had elapsed; and Pompeius being made consul on these terms and declared by Sulpicius the Interrex, addressed Cato in a friendly manner, admitting his great obligations to him and urging him to give him his advice as a private man in the discharge of his office. But Cato would not admit that Pompeius was under any obligations to him, for he had said nothing that he did say out of regard to him, but out of regard to the state: he added that he would give him his advice if he were privately applied to; and if Pompeius did not invite him, he would publicly tell him his opinion. Such was Cato in everything.

LV. After entering the city, Pompeius married Cornelia,[331] a daughter of Metellus Scipio, who was not a virgin, but had lately been left a widow by Publius, the son of Crassus, who had lost his life among the Parthians, and whose virgin bride she was. The young woman possessed many charms besides her youthful beauty, for she was well instructed in letters, in playing on the lyre, [Pg 264] and in geometry, and she had been accustomed to listen to philosophical discourses with profit. In addition to this she had a disposition free from all affectation and pedantic display, faults which such acquirements generally breed in women: her father also, both in respect to family and reputation, was above all imputation. Still the marriage did not please some people on account of the disparity of years; for the youth of Cornelia made her a fitter match for a son of Pompeius. But those who were more judicious considered that Pompeius had overlooked the state, which was in an unfortunate condition, to cure which the state had selected him for her physician, and put herself solely in his hands; and he was wearing chaplets and celebrating a marriage, when he ought to have considered his consulship a calamity, as it would not have been conferred on him so contrary to all constitutional practice, if his country were in a prosperous condition. However, he presided at the trials for corruption and bribery,[332] and drew up laws, pursuant to which the trials were conducted, and with the exception presently to be mentioned, he conducted all the proceedings with dignity and fairness, and he secured to the courts safety, order, and quiet, by taking his own place there with armed men; but when his father-in-law Scipio was under trial, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judices to his house and obtained their support for him, and the accuser gave up the prosecution when he saw Scipio conducted from the Forum by the judices.[333] This brought Pompeius again into bad report, which was still further increased when he came forward to speak in praise of Plancus,[334] [Pg 265] though he had by special law put an end to encomiums on persons under trial. Cato, who happened to be one of the judices, stopped his ears with his hands, saying it was not right in him to listen to the encomiums which were contrary to law. In consequence of this Cato was rejected before the votes were given, but Plancus was convicted by the votes of the rest and to the shame of Pompeius. Now, a few days after, Hypsæus,[335] a consular man, who was under prosecution, watched for Pompeius as he was going to sup after taking the bath, and clasping his knees, suppliantly entreated him; but Pompeius passed by contemptuously, saying that Hypsæus was spoiling his supper, and doing nothing more. By showing himself thus partial he got blame. However, in every other respect he established good order, and took his father-in-law as his colleague for the remaining five months. A decree also was made that he should hold the provinces for another four years, and should receive yearly a thousand talents, out of which he was to feed and maintain his troops.

LVI. Cæsar's friends taking advantage of this, claimed some notice for Cæsar also, who was fighting so many battles for the supremacy of Rome; they said that he deserved either another consulship, or to have a fresh period added to his command, during which no other should supersede him and carry off the glory due to his labours, but that he who had accomplished those things should hold the command and quietly enjoy the honour. A debate arose on those subjects, on which Pompeius, affecting to deprecate the odium against Cæsar out of regard to him, said that he had letters of Cæsar, who was willing to have a successor and to be relieved from service, [Pg 266] but still Cæsar thought it fair that he should be allowed to be a candidate for the consulship though he was not at Rome. To this Cato made opposition, and said that Cæsar ought to become a private person and lay down his arms, and then get any favour that he could from the citizens; and when Pompeius did not prosecute the debate, but submitted as if he were worsted, his real opinions about Cæsar became more suspected. He also sent to Cæsar and demanded back the troops[336] which he had lent him, pretending that he wanted them for the Parthian war. But Cæsar, though he knew why he was required to give up the troops, sent them back after handsomely rewarding them.

LVII. After this Pompeius had a dangerous illness at Neapolis, from which he recovered. Upon the suggestion of Praxagoras, the people of Neapolis offered sacrifices for his restoration to health. The neighbouring people followed their example, and the thing thus going the round of Italy, every city, small and great, celebrated a festival for several days. No place was large enough to contain the people, who flocked together from all parts, but the roads were filled and the villages and ports with the people rejoicing and sacrificing. Many persons also with chaplets on their heads and lighted torches received Pompeius, and accompanied him throwing flowers over him, so that his journey and progress was a most beautiful sight and very splendid. However, it is said that this circumstance contributed to bring about the war as much as anything else. For an arrogant feeling entered the mind of Pompeius, and, with the greatness of [Pg 267] the rejoicing, carried off all reflection on the present state of affairs; and throwing away the caution which had always secured his good fortune and his measures, he fell into a state of such unmingled confidence and contempt of Cæsar's power, as to suppose that he would require neither arms to oppose him nor any troublesome preparation, but that he could put him down much easier than he had raised him. Besides this, Appius came from Gaul with the troops which Pompeius had lent to Cæsar; and he greatly disparaged Cæsar's exploits there, and uttered much abuse against Cæsar; and he said that Pompeius did not know his own power and reputation, if he intended to strengthen himself against Cæsar by other troops, for that he could put down Cæsar with Cæsar's own troops, as soon as he made his appearance; so great, as he said, was their hatred of Cæsar and their affection towards Pompeius. Accordingly Pompeius was so much elated, and through his confidence filled with such contempt, that he even ridiculed those who were afraid of the war; and to those who said that, if Cæsar advanced against the city, they saw no troops sufficient to repulse him, with smiling countenance and tranquil mien he bade them give themselves no trouble about that, "for in whatever part of Italy," he said, "I stamp the earth with my foot, there will spring up forces both men and horse."

LVIII. And now Cæsar also stuck to public affairs more vigorously, himself keeping at no great distance from Italy, and continually sending his soldiers to the city to attend the elections, and with money insinuating himself into the favour of many of the magistrates and corrupting them; among whom was Paulus[337] the consul who changed sides for fifteen hundred talents, and [Pg 268] Curio[338] the tribune who was released by Cæsar from countless debts, and Marcus Antonius who through friendship for Curio was involved in his obligations. Now it was said that one of the centurions who had come from Cæsar, while standing near the Senate-house and hearing that the Senate were refusing to allow Cæsar a prolongation of his term of government, said as he struck his hand on his sword, "But this will give it." And all that was doing and preparing had this design in view. Yet the claims and reasons urged by Curio in favour of Cæsar were of a more constitutional character. For he asked one of two things, either that they should require Pompeius also to give up his force, or they should not take Cæsar's troops from him: he said, "Whether they become private persons on fair terms or continued a match for one another by each keeping what he had, they would remain quiet; but he who proposed to weaken one of them would double the power which he feared." Upon this Marcellus the consul called Cæsar a robber, and urged the Senate to vote him an enemy, if he should not lay down his arms. Yet Curio with the assistance of Antonius and Piso, prevailed so far as to have it put to a regular vote. Accordingly he proposed that those senators should move off to one side who were in favour of Cæsar alone laying down his arms and Pompeius remaining in command; and the majority went over to that side. Again, upon his proposing that all should withdraw who were of opinion that both should lay down their arms and that neither should hold a command, only two-and-twenty were in favour of Pompeius, and all the rest were on the side of Curio. Curio considering that he had gained his point, rushed forth to the people exulting with delight, and the people received him with clapping of hands and threw on him chaplets and flowers. Pompeius was not in the [Pg 269] Senate, for those who are in command of an army do not enter the city. But Marcellus rose up and said that he would not sit still to listen to words, but that as he spied ten legions already appearing in sight above the Alps and on their march, he also would dispatch a man to oppose them and to defend their country.

LIX. Upon this they changed their garments as was usual in a public calamity. Marcellus[339] advanced to Pompeius through the Forum with the Senate following him, and standing in front of him said, "I bid you, Pompeius, defend your country and employ the forces that are in readiness and raise others." Lentulus also said the same, who was one of the consuls elect for the coming year. But when Pompeius began to raise recruits, some refused and a few came together tardily and without any readiness, but the greater part cried out that some terms should be come to. For Antonius in spite of the Senate had read a letter of Cæsar to the people which contained proposals likely to conciliate the mass; for Cæsar proposed that both he and Pompeius should give up their provinces and dismiss their troops, and so put themselves in the hande of the people and render an account of what they had done. Lentulus who was now consul would not assemble the Senate; but Cicero who had just returned from Cilicia[340] attempted an amicable settlement on the terms, that Cæsar should quit Gaul and give up all his army except two legions with which he should hold Illyricum and wait for his second consulship. As Pompeius was dissatisfied with this, the friends of Cæsar so far yielded as to agree that Cæsar should dismiss one of these two [Pg 270] legions; but as Lentulus made opposition and Cato called out that Pompeius was blundering again if he allowed himself to be deceived, the attempt at a settlement came to no conclusion.

LX. In the mean time intelligence arrived that Cæsar had taken Ariminum,[341] a large city of Italy, and was marching straight upon Rome with all his force. But this was false; for he was advancing with only three hundred horsemen and five thousand legionary soldiers, and he did not wait for the rest of his force which was beyond the Alps, choosing to fall upon his enemies when they were in confusion and did not expect him, rather than to give them time to prepare to fight with him. Upon reaching the river Rubico, which was the boundary of his province, he stood in silence and lingered, reflecting, as we may presume, on the magnitude of the risk. Then, like those who throw themselves into a huge abyss from a precipice, closing the eyes of calculation and wrapping himself up to meet the danger, he called out in Greek to those who were present these words only, "Let the die be cast," and took his army over. As soon as the report reached Rome, and tumult and fear, such as were never known before, together with consternation filled the city, the Senate immediately hurried in a body to visit Pompeius, and the magistrates with them; but upon Tullus[342] asking about an army and force, and Pompeius after some delay saying in a tone of no great confidence, that he had the men in readiness who had come from Cæsar, and he thought he should soon be able to get together those who had been before enrolled to the number of thirty thousand, Tullus cried aloud, "You have deceived us, Pompeius," and he advised to send commissioners to Cæsar. One Favonius,[343] in other respects no bad man, but who with his self-will and insolence often supposed that he was imitating the bold language of Cato, bade Pompeius strike the ground with his foot and call up the troops which he promised. Pompeius [Pg 271] mildly submitted to this ill-timed sarcasm; and when Cato reminded him of what he had originally predicted to him about Cæsar, Pompeius replied that what Cato had said was in truth more prophetic, but what he had done was of a more friendly character.

LXI. Cato advised that Pompeius should be appointed general Imperator, adding, that it was the business of those who caused great mischief to put an end to it. Cato immediately left the city for Sicily, for he had obtained that island as his province; and of the rest each went to the province which had been assigned to him by lot. But as nearly all Italy was in commotion, the events that happened caused much perplexity; for those who were out of Rome hurried from all parts and crowded into the city, and the inhabitants of Rome hastened to leave the city, which in such

tempest and confusion was weak in available means, but strong in insubordination and the difficulty that it caused to the magistrates. For it was not possible to allay the fear, nor did any one allow Pompeius to follow his own judgment, but in whatever way a man was affected, whether by fear, grief or perplexity, he carried it to Pompeius and filled him with it; and opposite measures prevailed in the same day, and it was impossible for Pompeius to get any true intelligence about the enemy, because there were many who reported anything that they chanced to hear, and were vexed if he did not believe them. Under these circumstances after declaring by an edict that he saw nothing but confusion, and bidding all the senators follow him, and giving notice that he should consider all who stayed behind as partisans of Cæsar, he left the city late in the evening; and the consuls fled without even making the sacrifices which were usual before wars. But even in the midst of danger Pompeius was fortunate in the general affection of the people, for though many blamed the generalship, there was not one who hated the general, but one might have found that those who were not willing to leave Pompeius were more numerous than those who left the city for the cause of liberty.

LXII. A few davs after, Cæsar entered and took possession of Rome.[344] He behaved with moderation to all and pacified everybody, except Metellus[345] one of the tribunes who attempted to hinder him from taking money out of the treasury, on which Cæsar threatened him with death and added to his threat still harsher words, for he said, That to say this was harder for him than to do it. Having thus put Metellus to flight and taken what he wanted, Cæsar pursued Pompeius, being anxious to drive him out of Italy before his troops from Iberia arrived. Pompeius who had got possession of Brundisium and had plenty of ships, immediately put on board the consuls and with them thirty cohorts and sent them over before him to Dyrrachium: Scipio his father-in-law and his own son Cneius he sent to Syria to get a fleet ready. After barricading the gates and placing on the walls the soldiers who were most lightly armed, he ordered the people of Brundisium[346] to keep quiet in their houses, and he then broke up all the ground in the city and intersected it with ditches, and filled up all the streets with stakes except two through which he went down to the sea. On the third day he had already embarked at his leisure all the troops with the exception of those who were guarding the walls, to whom he suddenly gave a signal, upon which they all ran down quickly and being taken on board got out to sea. When Cæsar saw the walls deserted, he concluded that the enemy were making off, and in his pursuit of them he narrowly escaped getting involved among the stakes and trenches; but as the people of Brundisium gave him warning, he avoided the city and, making a circuit round it, he found that all had got under sail, except two vessels which contained only a few soldiers.

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LXIII. Now everybody else reckons the sailing away of Pompeius among the best military stratagems, but Cæsar[347] wondered that Pompeius, who was in possession of a strong city and was expecting his troops from Iberia and was master of the sea, should desert and abandon Italy. Cicero[348] also blames Pompeius for imitating the generalship of Themistokles rather than that of Perikles, the circumstances being like those of Perikles and not those of Themistokles. And Cæsar showed by what he did that he was greatly afraid of time:[349] for when he had taken prisoner Numerius, a friend of Pompeius, he sent him to Brundisium with instructions to bring about a reconciliation on fair terms; but Numerius sailed off with Pompeius. Upon this Cæsar, who in sixty days had become master of Italy without shedding any blood, was desirous of pursuing Pompeius immediately, but as he had no vessels, he turned about and marched to Iberia with the design of gaining over the troops there.

LXIV. During this time Pompeius got together a great force: his naval power was completely irresistible, for the fighting ships were five hundred, and the number of Liburnian vessels[350] and other small craft was immense; the cavalry, the flower of the Romans and Italians, was seven thousand, distinguished by family, and wealth and courage; his infantry, which was a mixed body and required discipline, he exercised in Berœa,[351] not sitting still lazily, but practising himself in gymnastic exercises[352] as if he were still in the vigour of his age. And it was a great motive to confidence, when men saw Pompeius Magnus, who was now sixty years of age save two, exercising himself among the infantry under arms, then mounting his horse and drawing his sword without any trouble while his horse was galloping and easily sheathing it again; and in the throwing of his spear showing not only an exactness of aim, but a strength of arm in the distance to which he sent it, which many of the young men could not surpass. Both kings of nations and governors came to him; and of the men of rank about him from Rome there were sufficient to make up a complete Senate.[353] There came also Labeo,[354] who left Cæsar though he had been his friend and had served with him in Gaul; and Brutus,[355] son of the Brutus who was put to death in Gaul, a man of noble spirit who had never yet spoken to Pompeius or saluted him because Pompeius had put his father to death, but now he took service under him as the liberator of Rome. Cicero,[356] though he had both in his writings and his speeches in the Senate recommended other measures, was ashamed not to join those who were fighting in defence of their country. There came also to Macedonia Tidius Sextius,[357] a man of extreme old age, lame of one leg; and while others were laughing and jeering, Pompeius on seeing him rose up and ran to meet him, for he considered it a great testimony for men of advanced age and feeble strength to choose danger with him in preference to safety.

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LXV. A Senate being formed, upon the proposition of Cato they came to a resolution to put no Roman to death except in battle, and not to plunder any city that was subject to the Romans, which increased still further the popularity of the party of Pompeius; for those who were unconcerned about the war by reason of being far removed from it or who were disregarded on account of their weakness, gave Pompeius the benefit of their good wishes at least, and as far as

words could go contended on his behalf in favour of the right, considering every man an enemy to gods and to men who did not wish Pompeius to be victorious. Cæsar also showed much [Pg 276] moderation in his success, for after he had captured and defeated the forces of Pompeius in Iberia,[358] he let the generals go and employed the troops. After crossing the Alps again and hurrying through Italy, he arrived at Brundisium about the winter solstice. He then crossed the sea and putting in at Oricum sent Jubius,[359] a friend of Pompeius, who was his prisoner, to Pompeius[360] to propose that they should both meet together on the third day, disband all their forces, and after being reconciled and confirming their union by oath, return to Italy. Pompeius again considered this to be an ambuscade, and hastily going down to the sea he took possession of the posts and places which presented very strong positions for an army; he also seized the naval stations and landing places which were favourable for those who came by sea, so that every wind which blew brought to Pompeius corn or troops or money; but Cæsar being confined in straits both on the sea and land side was of necessity glad to fight, and he attacked the lines of Pompeius and continually provoked him to battle, in which Cæsar had generally the advantage and the superiority in the skirmishing. But on one occasion he narrowly escaped being completely crushed and losing his army, for Pompeius fought with great courage and routed all [Pg 277] the enemy, who lost two thousand men; but he was either unable or was afraid to force his way into Cæsar's camp and to enter with the fugitives, which made Cæsar say to his friends, "To-day the victory would have been with the enemy, if they had had a commander who knew how to conquer."

LXVI. The partisans of Pompeius being greatly elated at this success were eager to have a decisive battle. Pompeius wrote to the distant kings and generals and cities to inform them that he was victorious, but he feared the risk of a battle, thinking that by delay and reducing the enemy to straits he should finally vanquish men who were invincible in arms and had long been accustomed to conquer together, but as to the other military duties, and marches, and change of position, and digging of trenches and building of walls, were not efficient by reason of age and on this account were eager to come to close fighting and to engage hand to hand. However, previous to the last contest Pompeius had been able in some degree to draw his men from their purpose by persuading them to keep quiet; but when Cæsar after the battle was compelled by want of provisions to break up his camp, and began his march into Thessaly through the country of the Athamanes,[361] the confidence of the soldiers of Pompeius could no longer be kept in check, and calling out that Cæsar was flying, some were for following and pursuing him, and others for crossing over into Italy, and others were sending to Rome their slaves and friends to get possession of houses near the Forum, with the intention of forthwith becoming candidates for office. Many of their own accord sailed to Cornelia who was in Lesbos bearing the good tidings of the war being at an end; for Pompeius had sent her there out of the way of danger. The Senate being assembled, Afranius gave his opinion that they should stick to Italy, for Italy was the chief prize of the war, and would bring to those who were masters of it the possession of Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Iberia, and all Gaul; and as to that which was the greatest concern to [Pg 278] Pompeius, his native country who was stretching out her hands only at a short distance from them, it was not honourable to leave her to be insulted and enslaved by slaves and flatterers of tyrants. But Pompeius did not consider it to be consistent with his reputation to run away from Cæsar a second time and to be pursued, when fortune gave him the opportunity of being the pursuer, nor did he think it consistent with his duty to desert Scipio[362] and the consular men in Hellas and Thessaly who would immediately fall into Cæsar's hands with their military chests and large forces; he thought also that Rome was best cared for by fighting in her defence as far from her as possible, that she might wait for the conqueror without feeling or hearing of any misfortunes.

LXVII. Having come to this decision, Pompeius pursued Cæsar, resolved to avoid a battle, but by following close up to hem him in and wear him out by privation. He had other reasons for thinking this to be the best plan, and it also reached his ears that it was a subject of common conversation among the cavalry that they ought to defeat Cæsar as soon as they could and then put down Pompeius also. Some say that this was also the reason why Pompeius employed Cato[363] in no matter of importance, but even when he was marching against Cæsar left him on the coast to look after the stores, through fear that if Cæsar were destroyed, Cato might forthwith compel him also to lay down his command. Accordingly as he followed the enemy leisurely he was much censured and there was a clamour against him, that his object was not to defeat Cæsar by his generalship, but his native country and the Senate, that he might always keep the command and never give over having as his attendants and guards those who considered themselves the masters of the world. Domitius Ahenobarbus also by always calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings made him odious. Favonius too made himself no less [Pg 279] disagreeable by his scoffing manner than others by the unseasonable freedom of their language, calling out, "Men, we shall not eat figs in Tusculum[364] even this year!" Lucius Afranius who had lost his forces in Iberia and on that account had fallen under the imputation of treachery, now seeing that Pompeius avoided a battle, said he was surprised that those who accused him did not advance and fight against the trafficker in provinces. By these and like expressions often repeated they at last prevailed over Pompeius, a man who was a slave to public fame and the opinion of his friends, and drew him on to follow their own hopes and impetuosity and to give up the best considered plans, a thing which would have been unbefitting even in the master of a vessel, to say nothing of the commander-in-chief of so many nations and forces. Pompeius approved of the physician who never gratifies the desires of his patients, and yet he yielded to military advisers who were in a diseased state, through fear of offending if he adopted healing

measures. And how can one say those men were in a healthy state, some of whom were going about among the troops and already canvassing for consulships and prætorships, and Spinther and Domitius[365] and Scipio were disputing and quarrelling about the priesthood of Cæsar and canvassing, just as if Tigranes the Armenian were encamped by them or the King of the Nabathæans, and not that Cæsar and that force with which he had taken a thousand cities by storm, and subdued above three hundred nations, and had fought with Germans and Gauls unvanquished in more battles than could be counted, and had taken a hundred times ten thousand prisoners, and had slaughtered as many after routing them in pitched battles. [Pg 280]

LXVIII. However, by importunity and agitation, after the army had descended into the plain of Pharsalus,[366] they compelled Pompeius to hold a council of war, in which Labienus, who was commander of the cavalry, got up first, and swore that he would not leave the battle till he had routed the enemy; and they all swore to the same effect. In the night Pompeius dreamed that as he was entering the theatre, the people clapped, and that he was decorating a temple of Venus the Victorious[367] with many spoils. And in some respects he was encouraged, but in others rather depressed by the dream, lest fame and glory should accrue from him to the race of Cæsar, which traced its descent from Venus; and certain panic alarms which were rushing through the camp aroused him. In the morning-watch a bright light[368] shone forth above the camp of Cæsar, which was in a state of profound tranquillity, and a flame-like torch springing from this light descended upon the camp of Pompeius; and Cæsar himself says that he witnessed this as he was visiting the watches. At daybreak, as Cæsar was going to move to Scotussa,[369] and the soldiers were engaged in taking down the tents and sending forward the beasts and camp-followers, the scouts came with intelligence that they spied many arms in the enemy's encampment moving backwards and forwards, and that there was a movement and noise as of men coming out to battle. After them others came announcing that the vanguard was already putting itself in battle order. Upon this, Cæsar observing that the expected day had arrived on which they would have to fight against men, and not against hunger and poverty, quickly gave orders to hang out in [Pg 281] front of his tent the purple colours,[370] which is the signal for battle among the Romans. The soldiers at the sight of it left their tents with loud shouts and rejoicing and hurried to arms; as the centurions led them to their several ranks, every man, just as if he belonged to a chorus, without confusion, being well trained, quietly took his place.

LXIX. Pompeius commanded the right wing, intending to oppose Antonius; in the centre he placed his father-in-law Scipio against Calvinus Lucius;[371] and the left was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and strengthened with the main body of the cavalry. For nearly all the horsemen had crowded to that point, with the design of overpowering Cæsar and cutting to pieces the tenth legion, which had a very great reputation for courage, and Cæsar was accustomed to take his station in this legion when he fought a battle. But Cæsar, observing that the enemy's left wing was strengthened by so large a body of cavalry, and fearing their brilliant equipment, summoned six cohorts from the reserve, and placed them in the rear of the tenth legion, with orders to keep quiet and not let the enemy see them; but as soon as the cavalry advanced, they had orders to run forwards through the first ranks, and not to throw their [Pg 282] javelins, as the bravest soldiers are used to do in their eagerness to get to fighting with the sword, but to push upwards and to wound the eyes and faces of the enemy, for those handsome, blooming pyrrichists would not keep their ground for fear of their beauty being spoiled, nor would they venture to look at the iron that was pushed right into their faces. Now Cæsar was thus employed. But Pompeius, who was examining the order of battle from his horse, observing that the enemy were quietly awaiting in their ranks the moment of attack, and the greater part of his own army was not still, but was in wavelike motion through want of experience and in confusion, was alarmed lest his troops should be completely separated at the beginning of the battle, and he commanded the front ranks to stand with their spears presented, and keeping their ground in compact order to receive the enemy's attack. But Cæsar finds fault[372] with this generalship of Pompeius; for he says that he thus weakened the force of the blows which a rapid assault produces; and the rush to meet the advancing ranks, which more than anything else fills the mass of the soldiers with enthusiasm and impetuosity in closing with the enemy, and combined with the shouts and running increases the courage—Pompeius, by depriving his men of this, fixed them to the ground and damped them. On Cæsar's side the numbers were twenty-two thousand; on the side of Pompeius the numbers[373] were somewhat more than double.

LXX.[374] And now, when the signal was given on both sides, and the trumpet was beginning to urge them on to the conflict, every man of this great mass was busy in looking after himself; but a few of the Romans, the best, and some Greeks who were present, and not engaged in the battle, as the conflict drew near, began to reflect to what a condition ambition and rivalry had brought [Pg 283] the Roman State. For kindred arms and brotherly battalions and common standards,[375] and the manhood and the might of a single state in such numbers, were closing in battle, self-matched against self, an example of the blindness of human nature and its madness, under the influence of passion. For if they had now been satisfied quietly to govern and enjoy what they had got, there was the largest and the best portion of the earth and of the sea subject to them; and if they still wished to gratify their love of trophies and of triumphs, and their thirst for them, they might have their fill of Parthian or German wars. Scythia, too, and the Indians were a labour in reserve, and ambition had a reasonable pretext for such undertaking, the civilization of barbaric nations. And what Scythian horse, or Parthian arrows, or Indian wealth could have checked seventy thousand Romans advancing in arms under Pompeius and Cæsar, whose name these nations heard of long before they heard of the name of Rome? Such unsociable, and various, and savage nations had

they invaded and conquered. But now they engaged with one another in battle, without even feeling any compunction about their own glory, for which they spared not their native country, up to this day having always borne the name of invincible. For the relationship that had been made between them, and the charms of Julia, and that marriage, were from the very first only deceitful and suspected pledges of an alliance formed from interested motives, in which there was not a particle of true friendship.

LXXI. Now when the plain of Pharsalus was filled with men and horses and arms, and the signal for battle was raised on both sides, the first to spring forward from the line of Cæsar was Caius Crassianus[376] a centurion who had the command of one hundred and twenty men, and was now fulfilling a great promise to Cæsar. For as Cæsar observed him to be the first that was quitting the camp, he spoke to him and asked what he thought of the battle; and Crassianus stretching out his right hand replied with a loud voice, "You shall have a splendid victory, Cæsar; and as to [Pg 284] me, you shall praise me whether I survive the day or die." Remembering what he had said, he rushed forward and carrying many along with him fell on the centre of the enemy. The struggle was forthwith with the sword and many fell; but while Crassianus was pushing forwards and cutting down those who were in the front ranks, a soldier made a stand against him and drove his sword through his mouth so that the point came out at the back of the neck. When Crassianus had fallen, the battle was equally contested in this part of the field. Now Pompeius did not quickly lead on the right wing, but was looking at the opposite wing and lost time in waiting for the cavalry to get into action. The cavalry were now extending their companies with the view of surrounding Cæsar, and they drove Cæsar's cavalry who were few in number upon the line in front of which they were stationed. But upon Cæsar giving the signal, the cavalry retired, and the cohorts which had been reserved to meet the enemy's attempt to outflank them, rushed forward, three thousand in number, and met the enemy; then fixing themselves by the side of the horsemen, they pushed their spears upwards, as they had been instructed, against the horses, aiming at the faces of the riders. The horsemen, who were altogether inexperienced in fighting, and had never expected or heard of such a mode of attack, did not venture to stand or endure the blows aimed at their eyes and mouths, but turning their backs and holding their hands before their faces they ingloriously took to flight. The soldiers of Cæsar leaving these fugitives to escape advanced against the infantry, and they made their attack at that point where the wing having lost the protection of the cavalry gave them the opportunity of outflanking and surrounding them. These men falling on the enemy in the flank and the tenth legion attacking them in front, the enemy did not stand their ground nor keep together, for they saw that while they were expecting to surround the enemy, they were themselves surrounded.

LXXII. After the infantry were routed, and Pompeius seeing the dust conjectured what had befallen the cavalry, what reflections passed in his mind, it is difficult to say; but like a madman [Pg 285] more than anything else and one whose reason was affected, without considering that he was Magnus Pompeius, without speaking a word to any one, he walked slowly back to his camp, so that one may properly apply to him the verses[377]

> "But lofty father Zeus struck fear in Ajax;
> He stood confounded, and behind him threw
> His shield of seven-ox-hide, and trembling look'd
> Towards the crowd."

In this state Pompeius came to his tent and sat down without speaking, until many of the pursuers rushed into the camp with the fugitives; and then merely uttering these words, "What, even to the camp!" and nothing more, he rose and taking a dress suitable to his present condition made his way out. The rest of the legions also fled, and there was great slaughter in the camp of those who were left to guard the tents and of the slaves; but Asinius Pollio[378] says that only six thousand soldiers fell, and Pollio fought in that battle on Cæsar's side. When Cæsar's men took the camp, they saw evidence of the folly and frivolity of the enemy. For every tent was crowned with myrtle and furnished with flowered coverings to the couches and tables loaded with cups; and bowls of wine were laid out, and there was the preparation and decoration of persons who had performed a sacrifice and were celebrating a festival,[379] rather than of men who were arming for battle. So blinded by their hopes, and so full of foolish confidence did they come out to war.

LXXIII. Pompeius having proceeded a little way from the camp let his horse go, and with very few persons about him, went on slowly as no one pursued him, and with such thoughts, as would [Pg 286] naturally arise in the mind of a man who for four-and-thirty years had been accustomed to conquer and to have the mastery in everything, and now for the first time in his old age experienced what defeat and flight were; reflecting also that in a single battle he had lost the reputation and the power which were the fruit of so many struggles and wars, and while a little before he was protected by so many armed men and horses, and armaments, now he was retreating and had become so weak and humbled, as easily to escape the notice of his enemies who were looking for him. After passing Larissa[380] and arriving at Tempe, being thirsty he threw himself down on his face and drank of the river, and then rising up he proceeded through Tempe till he reached the sea. There he rested for the remainder of the night in a fisherman's hut, and at daybreak embarking on board of one of the river-boats and taking with him those of his followers who were freemen, and bidding his slaves go to Cæsar without any apprehension for their safety, he rowed along the coast till he saw a large merchant-ship preparing to set sail, the master of which was a Roman, who had no intimacy with Pompeius, but knew him by sight: his name was

Peticius. It happened the night before that Peticius saw Pompeius in a dream, not as he had often seen him, but humble and downcast, speaking to him. And it happened that he was telling his dream to his shipmates, as is usual with men in such weighty matters, who have nothing to do; when all at once one of the sailors called out that he spied a river-boat rowing from the land with men in it who were making signals with their clothes and stretching out their hands to them. Accordingly Peticius turning his eyes in that direction recognised Pompeius just as he had seen him in the dream, and striking his forehead he ordered the sailors to put the boat alongside, and he stretched out his right hand and called to Pompeius, already conjecturing from his appearance [Pg 287] the fortune and the reverses of the man. Upon which the master, without waiting to be entreated or addressed, took on board with him, all whom Pompeius chose (and these were the two Lentuli[381] and Favonius), and set sail; and shortly after seeing King Deiotarus making his way from the land as fast as he could they took him in also. When it was supper time and the master had made the best preparation that he could, Favonius observing that Pompeius had no domestics and was beginning to take off his shoes, ran up to him and loosed his shoes and helped him to anoint himself. And henceforward Favonius continued to wait on Pompeius and serve him, just as slaves do their master, even to the washing of his feet and preparing his meals, so that a witness of the free will of that service and the simplicity and absence of all affectation might have exclaimed

"To generous minds how noble every task."[382]

LXXIV. In such wise Pompeius coasted to Amphipolis,[383] and thence crossed over to Mitylene, wishing to take up Cornelia and her son. Upon reaching the shore of the island he sent a message to the city, not such as Cornelia expected, for the pleasing intelligence that she had received both by report and by letter led her to hope that the war was terminated near Dyrrachium, and that all that remained for Pompeius was to pursue Cæsar. The messenger, who found her in this state of expectation, did not venture to salute her, but indicating by tears more than words the chief and greatest of her misfortunes, he bade her hasten, if she wished to see Pompeius in a single vessel [Pg 288] and that not his own. Cornelia, on hearing these words, threw herself on the ground, and lay there a long time without sense or speech, and with difficulty recovering herself, and seeing that it was not a time for tears and lamentations, she ran through the city to the sea. Pompeius met and caught her in his arms as she was just ready to sink down and fall upon him, when Cornelia said, "I see you, husband, not through your own fortune but mine, reduced to a single vessel, you who before your marriage with Cornelia sailed along this sea with five hundred ships. Why have you come to see me, and why did you not leave to her evil dæmon one who has loaded you also with so much misfortune? How happy a woman should I have been had I died before I heard that Publius, whose virgin bride I was, had perished by the Parthians; and how wise, if even after he died I had put an end to my own life, as I attempted to do; but forsooth I have been kept alive to be the ruin of Pompeius Magnus also."

LXXV. So it is said Cornelia spoke, and thus Pompeius replied: "It is true, Cornelia, you have hitherto known only one fortune, and that the better; and perhaps it has deceived you too, in that it has abided with me longer than is wont. But as we are mortals, we must bear this change, and still try fortune; for it is not hopeless for a man to attempt from this condition to recover his former state who has come to this after being in that other." Accordingly Cornelia sent for her property and slaves from the city; and though the Mitylenæans came to pay their respects to Pompeius, and invited him to enter the city, he would not, but he exhorted them also to yield to the conqueror and to be of good heart, for Cæsar was merciful and of a humane disposition. But turning to Kratippus[384] the philosopher, for he had come down from the city to see him, [Pg 289] Pompeius found fault with and in a few words expressed some doubts about Providence, Kratippus rather giving way to him and trying to lead him to better hopes, that he might not give him pain at so unseasonable a time by arguing against him; for Pompeius might have questioned him about Providence, and Kratippus might have shown that the state of affairs at Rome required a monarchy on account of the political disorder; and he might have asked Pompeius, "How, Pompeius, and by what evidence shall we be persuaded that you would have used your fortune better than Cæsar, if you had been victorious?" But these matters that concern the gods we must leave as they are.

LXXVI. Taking on board his wife and friends, Pompeius continued his voyage, only putting in at such ports as of necessity he must for water or provisions. The first city that he came to was Attaleia[385] of Pamphylia; and there some galleys from Cilicia met him, and some soldiers were collecting, and there were again about sixty senators about him. Hearing that his navy still kept together, and that Cato had recruited many soldiers and was passing over to Libya, he lamented to his friends and blamed himself for being forced to engage with his army only, and for not making any use of the force which was beyond all dispute superior to that of the enemy; and that his navy was not so stationed that if he were defeated by land he might forthwith have had what would have made him a match for the enemy, a strength and power so great by sea close at hand. Indeed Pompeius committed no greater fault, nor did Cæsar show any greater generalship, than in withdrawing the field of battle so far beyond the reach of assistance from the navy. However, being compelled in the present state of affairs to decide and do something, he sent round to the cities, and himself sailing about to some, asked them for money, and began to man ships. But fearing the rapid movements and speed of his enemy, lest he should come upon him and take him before he was prepared, he looked about for a place of refuge for the present and a retreat. Now [Pg 290] there appeared to them upon consideration to be no province to which they could safely fly; and as to the kingdoms, Pompeius gave it as his opinion that the Parthian[386] at the present was the

best able to receive and protect them in their present weakness, and to strengthen them again and to send them forth with the largest force; of the rest, some turned their thoughts towards Libya and Juba,[387] but Theophanes of Lesbos pronounced it madness to leave Egypt, which was only three days' sail distant, and Ptolemæus,[388] who was still a youth, and indebted to Pompeius for the friendship and favour which his father had received from him, and to put himself in the hands of the Parthians, a most treacherous nation; and to be the first of all persons who did not choose to submit to a Roman who had been connected with him by marriage, nor to make trial of his moderation, and to put himself in the power of Arsakes,[389] who was not able to take even Crassus so long as he was alive; and to carry a young wife of the family of Scipio among barbarians, who measured their power by their insolence and unbridled temper; and if no harm should befall Cornelia, and it should only be apprehended that she might suffer injury, it would be a sad thing for her to be in the power of those who were able to do it. This alone, it is said diverted Pompeius from proceeding to the Euphrates; if indeed any reflection still guided Pompeius, and he was not rather directed by a dæmon to the way that he took.

LXXVII. Accordingly when the proposal to fly to Egypt prevailed, Pompeius setting sail from [Pg 291] Cyprus in a galley of Seleukeia[390] with his wife (and of the rest some accompanied him also in ships of war, and others in merchant vessels), crossed the sea safely; and hearing that Ptolemæus[391] was seated before Pelusium with his army, being engaged in war against his sister, he came to that part of the coast and sent forward a person to announce his arrival to the king and to pray for his protection. Now Ptolemæus was very young, and Potheinus who managed everything, summoned a council of the chief persons; and the chief persons were those whom he chose to make so, and he bade each man give his opinion. It was indeed a sad thing that such men should deliberate about Pompeius Magnus, as Potheinus the eunuch and Theodotus of Chios who was hired as a teacher of rhetoric and the Egyptian Achillas: for these were the chief advisers of the king among the eunuchs and others who had the care of his person; and such was the court whose decision Pompeius was waiting for at anchor some distance from the shore and tossed by the waves, he who thought it beneath him to be indebted to Cæsar for his life. Now opinions among the rest were so far divided that some advised they should drive away Pompeius, and others, that they should invite and receive him: but Theodotus displaying his power in speech and his rhetorical art proved that neither of these courses was safe, but that if they received Pompeius, they would have Cæsar for an enemy and Pompeius for their master, and if they drove him away, they would incur the displeasure of Pompeius for ejecting him and of Cæsar for the [Pg 292] trouble of the pursuit; it was therefore best to send for the man and kill him, for thus they would please Cæsar and have nothing to fear from Pompeius. And he concluded with a smile, as it is said, A dead man does not bite.

LXXVIII. Having determined on this they intrust the execution to Achillas, who taking with him one Septimius who had a long time ago served under Pompeius as a centurion and Salvius another centurion and three or four slaves, put out towards the ship of Pompeius. It happened that all the most distinguished persons who accompanied Pompeius had come on board his ship to see what was going on. Accordingly when they saw a reception which was neither royal nor splendid nor corresponding to the expectations of Theophanes, but a few men in a fishing-boat sailing towards them, this want of respect made them suspect treachery and they advised Pompeius to row back into the open sea, while they were still out of reach of missiles. In the mean time as the boat was nearing, Septimius was the first to rise and he addressed Pompeius as Imperator in the Roman language and Achillas saluting him in Greek invited him to enter the boat, because, as he said, the shallows were of great extent and the sea being rather sandy had not depth enough to float a trireme. At the same time it was observed that some of the king's ships were getting their men on board, and soldiers occupied the shore, so that it appeared impossible to escape even if they changed their minds and made the attempt; and besides, this want of confidence would give the murderers some excuse for their crime. Accordingly, after embracing Cornelia who was anticipating and bewailing his fate, he ordered two centurions to step into the boat before him, and Philippus one of his freedmen and a slave called Scythes, and while Achillas was offering him his hand out of the boat, he turned round to his wife and son and repeated the iambics of Sophocles,

> "Whoever to a tyrant bends his way,
> Is made his slave, e'en if he goes a freeman."

LXXIX.[392] These were the last words that he spoke to his friends before he entered the boat: [Pg 293] and as it was a considerable distance to the land from the galley, and none of those in the boat addressed any friendly conversation to him, looking at Septimius he said, "I am not mistaken I think in recognising you as an old comrade of mine;" and Septimius nodded without making any reply or friendly acknowledgment. As there was again a profound silence, Pompeius who had a small roll on which he had written a speech in Greek that he intended to address to Ptolemæus, began reading it. As they neared the land, Cornelia with her friends in great anxiety was watching the result from the galley, and she began to have good hopes when she saw some of the king's people collecting together at the landing as if to honor Pompeius and give him a reception. In the mean time, while Pompeius was taking the hand of Philippus that he might rise more easily, Septimius from behind was the first to transfix him with his sword; and Salvius, and after him Achillas drew their swords. Pompeius drawing his toga close with both hands over his face, without saying or doing anything unworthy of himself, but giving a groan only, submitted to the blows, being sixty years of age save one, and ending his life just one day after his birthday.

LXXX. Those in the ships seeing the murder uttered a shriek which could be heard even to the land, and quickly raising their anchors, took to flight: and a strong breeze aided them in their escape to the open sea, so that the Egyptians, though desirous of pursuing, turned back. They cut off the head of Pompeius, and throwing the body naked out of the boat, left it for those to gaze at who felt any curiosity. Philippus stayed by the body, till the people wore satisfied with looking at it, and then washing it with sea-water he wrapped it up in a tunic of his own; and as he had no other means, he looked about till he found the wreck of a small fishing-boat, which was decayed indeed, but enough to make a funeral pile in case of need for a naked body, and that not an entire corpse. As he was collecting these fragments and putting them together, a Roman, now an old [Pg 294] man[393] who had served his first campaigns in his youth under Pompeius, stood by him and said: "Who are you, my friend, that are preparing to perform the funeral rites to Pompeius Magnus?" Philippus replying that he was a freedman, the man said: "But you shall not have this honour to yourself: allow me too to share in this pious piece of good fortune, that I may not altogether have to complain of being in a strange land, if in requital for many sufferings I get this honour at least, to touch and to tend with my hands the greatest of the Roman generals." Such were the obsequies of Pompeius. On the next day Lucius Lentulus who was on his voyage from Cyprus, not knowing what had happened, was coasting along the shore, when he saw the pile and Philippus standing by it before he was seen himself and said, "Who is resting here after closing his career?" and after a slight interval, with a groan, he added, "perhaps it is you, Pompeius Magnus." Presently he landed, and being seized was put to death. This was the end of Pompeius. Not long after Cæsar arriving in Egypt, which was filled with this horrid deed, turned away from the man who brought him the head of Pompeius, as from a murderer, and when he received the seal of Pompeius, he shed tears; the device was a lion holding a sword. He put to death Achillas and Potheinus, and the king himself being defeated in battle was lost somewhere near the river. Theodotus the sophist escaped the vengeance of Cæsar, for he fled from Egypt and wandered about in a miserable state, the object of detestation; but Brutus Marcus, after he had killed Cæsar and got the power in his hands, finding Theodotus in Asia, put him to death with every circumstance of contumely. Cornelia obtained the remains of Pompeius and had them carried to his Alban villa and interred there.

FOOTNOTES:

[189] This line is from the Prometheus Loosed (λυόμενος) of Aeschylus which is lost. Prometheus Bound (δεσμώτης) is extant. Hermann is of opinion that the Prometheus Loosed did not belong to the same Tetralogy as the Prometheus Bound.

[190] The Gens to which Pompeius belonged was Plebeian. Cn. Pompeius Strabo, the father of Pompeius Magnus, was consul B.C. 89. Strabo, a name derived like many other Roman names from some personal peculiarity, signifies one who squints, and it was borne by members of other Roman Gentes also, as the Julia, and Fannia. It is said that the father of Pompeius Magnus had a cook Menogenes, who was called Strabo, and that the name was given to Cn. Pompeius because he resembled his cook. However this may be, Cn. Pompeius adopted the name, and it appears on his coins and in the Fasti. He had a bad character and appears to have deserved it. (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 306.) Compare the Life of Sulla, c. 6. Notes.

The latter part of this chapter is somewhat obscure in the original. See the note of Coræs.

[191] L. Marcius Philippus, Consul B.C. 91 with Sextus Julius Cæsar, was a distinguished orator.

[192] Some of the commentators have had strange opinions about the meaning of this passage, which Kaltwasser has mistranslated. It is rightly explained in Schaefer's note, and the learned Lambinus has fully expounded it in a note on Horatius (*Od.* i. 13): but in place of ἀδήκτος he has a wrong reading ἀδήκτο. Flora was not the only courtesan who received the distinction mentioned in the text. The gilded statue of Phryne, the work of Praxiteles, was placed in the temple at Delphi, presented by the lady herself. (Pausanias, x. 15).

[193] Pompeius Magnus was born B.C. 106. He was younger than Marcus Crassus, of the same age as Cicero, and six years older than the Dictator Cæsar. The event mentioned in the chapter belongs to the year B.C 87, in which his father fought against L. Cinna. Pompeius Strabo died in this year.

[194] This town, now Ascoli on the Tronto, in Picenum, was taken by Pompeius Strabo B.C. 89 in the Marsic war, and burnt. The inhabitants, who had killed the proconsul P. Servilius and other Romans, were severely handled; and Pompeius Strabo had a triumph (December 89) for his success against the Asculani and other inhabitants of Picenum. (Velleius, ii. 21.)

[195] P. Antistius was prætor B.C. 86, the year after the death of Pompeius Strabo.

[196] Compare the Life of Romulus, c. 14.

[197] Cinna was killed in his fourth consulate, B.C. 84. Appianus (*Civil Wars*, i. 78) states that he was massacred by his soldiers, but his account may be true and that of Plutarch also, which is more particular, (See also Livius, *Epit.* 83.)

[198] The father of Pompeius had enriched himself during the Social wars.

[199] Now Osimo, was one of the cities of Picenum, south of Ancona. It was a Roman colony.

[200] The three commanders were C. Albius Carinnas, C. Cœlius Caldus and M. Junius Brutus. The word Clœlius in Plutarch may be a mistake of the copyists. Brutus was the father of M. Brutus, one of Cæsar's assassins.

[201] L. Cornelius Scipio, consul B.C. 83. Plutarch speaks of the same event in the Life of Sulla, c. 28, where he states that the soldiers of Scipio came over to Sulla. The two statements are contradictory, Appianus (*Civil Wars*, i. 85) tells the story of Scipio's army going over to Sulla.

[202] A mistake for Æsis (Esino, or Finmesino), a river which formed the boundary between Umbria and Picenum, and enters the sea north of Ancona. Appianus (*Civil Wars*, i. 87) states that Metellus defeated Carinnas, the legatus of Carbo, on the Æsis (B.C. 82).

[203] This was Q. Metellus Pius who afterwards commanded in Iberia against Sertorius. See the Life of Sertorius.

[204] The Greek writers often employ similes and metaphors derived from the athletic contests. There were contests both for boys and full-grown men. Compare the Life of Agesilaus, c. 13.

[205] The marriage arrangements mentioned in this chapter took place after the capture of Præneste, B.C. 82. See the Life of Sulla, c. 33. Sulla attempted to make Cæsar also part with his wife (Cæsar, c. 1): but Cæsar would not. Sulla, who was a cunning man, wished to gain over to his side all the young men of promise.

Antistius had been murdered in the Senate-house, by the order of the consul, the younger Marius, who was then blockaded in Præneste. Q. Mucius Scævola, the Pontifex, was murdered at the same time. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, i. 88.)

[206] His true name is Perperna. See the Life of Sertorius.

[207] Cn. Papirius Carbo was put to death, B.C. 82, in his third consulship. Compare Appianus, *Civil Wars*, i. 96, and Life of Sulla, c. 28, Notes. Valerius Maximus, ix. c. 13, gives the story of his begging for a short respite, with some other particulars.

[208] Caius Oppius, an intimate friend of Cæsar. Some persons believed that he was the author of the Books on the Alexandrine, African, and Spanish campaigns, which are printed with the Gallic War of Cæsar. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 56.) Hs wrote various biographies. Oppius is often mentioned by Cicero. There is extant a letter of Cicero to him *Ad Diversos*, xi. 29); but it is entitled in some editions of Cicero 'To Appius.'

[209] This was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the father-in-law of Cinna. He had been consul B.C. 96 with C. Cassius Longinus.

[210] C. Memmius, according to Drumann, the same who afterwards fell in the war against Sertorius. (Life of Sertorius, c. 21.)

[211] The expedition of Pompeius to Africa was in B.C. 81. Iarbas is said to have been a descendant of Massinissa. He escaped from the battle. The scene of the battle and the subsequent movements of Pompeius cannot be collected from Plutarch's narrative, which here, as in the case of military operations generally, is of no value. As to the age of Pompeius, see the note in Clinton's Fasti B.C. 81.

[212] The lion is a native of North Africa, but it is doubtful if the elephant is. The Carthaginians employed many elephants in their armies, which they probably got from the countries south of the great desert. Plutarch evidently considers the elephant as a native of North Africa, or he would not speak of hunting it; yet in chapter 14 he speaks of the elephants as the King's, or the King's elephants, as if the elephants that Pompeius took were merely some that belonged to Iarbas or some of the African kings, and had got loose. Plinius (*N.H.* viii. 1) speaks of elephants in the forests of Mauritania. They are enumerated by Herodotus (iv. 191) among the beasts of North Africa.

[213] Drumann discusses at some length the question as to the time and occasion on which Pompeius received the appellation: those who are curious may consult his work, *Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 335.

[214] M. Valerius Maximus, a brother of Publicola. The allusion is to the secession of the Plebs to the Mons Sacer, B.C. 494, which was followed by the institution of the Tribunitian office. Cicero (Brutus, 14) mentions this Valerius, and the secession to the Mons Sacer. See Livius, ii. 30.

[215] Q. Fabius Maximus Rullus, who was five times consul, and for the last time in B.C. 295. (Livius, x. 22.) He was afterwards Dictator and Censor. It was in his capacity of Censor that he ejected these persons from the Senate, B.C. 304. Compare the Life of Fabius Maximus, c. 1.

[216] Kaltwasser observes that it was not so much a law (lex) as a usage: but Plutarch's words by no means imply that he thought there was a Lex to this effect. Livius (xxxi. c. 20) states that only a dictator, consul, or prætor could have a triumph. The claim of Pompeius was an impudent demand: but he felt his power. The 'first Scipio' is the elder Africanus. See Life of Tiberius Gracchus, c. 1, Notes.

[217] Plutarch may mean that Pompeius really attempted to enter the gate in a chariot drawn by elephants, and finding that he could not do it, he got out and mounted a chariot drawn by horses. This is perhaps nearer the literal version of the passage, and agrees better with Plinius (*N. H.* viii. 1).

[218] P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus, consul for B.C. 79. Pompeius triumphed B.C. 81, or in the beginning of 80 B.C., the first of the class of Equites who ever had this honour. The review of the Equites, which is spoken of at the end of this chapter, is explained by c. 22.

[219] Compare the Life of Sulla, c. 31, &c. Sulla died in the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and Q. Lutatius Catulus, B.C. 78.

[220] This is the Roman expression, which Plutarch has rendered by οἱ ἄριστοι. Compare Life of Tib. Gracchus, c. 10.

[221] On the site of Modena. The events of the consulship of Lepidus are very confused. Drumann observes (Pompeii, p. 345) that Plutarch incorrectly tells the story as if Pompeius was not present at the attack of Lepidus on Rome (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, i. 107; Floras, iii. 23): but Plutarch's narrative does not of necessity imply that Pompeius was not there.

[222] See the Life of Brutus.

[223] See the Life of Sertorius, and as to the conduct of Pompeius in the war more particularly, chapter 12, &c.

[224] Pro Consule was the title of a Roman general who was sent to a province with consular authority. It was not unusual to appoint a man Pro Consule who had not been 'consul.' The point of the reply lies in the form of the expression 'Pro Consule,' which was a title, as contrasted with 'Pro Consulibus,' which means 'instead of the consuls, to displace the consuls.' The expression of L. Philippus is recorded by Cicero (*Pro Lege Manilia*, c. 21). Pompeius went to Iberia B.C. 76.

[225] The death of Sertorius took place B.C. 72. As to the death of Perperna, see the Life of Sertorius, c. 26. The allusion to Sicily will be explained by referring to c. 10; but there is nothing there stated for which Pompeius needed to show any gratitude to Perperna. We may assume that Perperna left the island, because he could not safely stay.

[226] The war in Spain was not quite settled by the death of Perperna. There was still some work left to do. Several towns held out, particularly in the country of the warlike Arevaci, who were on the east coast of Spain. Pompeius burnt Uxama; and L. Afranius conducted the war with unsparing severity against the Calaguritani who made a desperate resistance. (Floras, iii. 22.) The capture of their town ended the war. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 376.

[227] The history of the Servile war is in the Life of Crassus, c. 11, &c.

[228] This was in B.C. 71. In B.C. 70 Pompeius was consul for the first time with M. Licinius Crassus.

[229] Sulla had not abolished the tribunitian office, but he had deprived the tribunes of the chief part of their power. It does not seem exactly certain what Sulla did. Appianus (*Civil Wars*, i. 100) says 'that he weakened it very much and carried a law by which no man after being tribune could hold any other office.' Cicero (*De Legibus*, iii. 9) considers the extension of the tribunitian power as unavoidable, and as effected with the least mischief by being the work of Pompeius.

[230] A Cornelia Lex, passed in the time of Sulla, made the Judices in the Judicia Publica eligible only out of the body of Senators. That the Senators had acted corruptly in the administration of justice, we have the authority of Cicero in one of his Verrine orations (*In Verr.* A 1, 13 and 16). The measure for restoring the Equites to a share in the judicial functions was proposed by the prætor L. Aurelius Cotta, the uncle of C. Julius Cæsar, with the approbation of Pompeius and Cæsar, who were now acting in concert. The charges of corruption which Cotta made against the Senate are recorded by Cicero (*In Verr.* iii. 96). The proposed law (rogatio), which was carried, made the Judices eligible out of the Senators, Equites, and Tribuni Ærarii, which three classes are mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Atticum*, i. 16) as represented by the Judices who sat on the trial of Clodius. The purity of the administration of justice was not hereby improved. Cicero, on the occasion of the trial of Clodius, speaks of all these classes having their dishonest representatives among the judices.

[231] Compare the Life of Crassus, c. 12.

The remarks at the end of the chapter may be useful to some men who would meddle with matters political, when their only training has been in camps. Pompeius was merely a soldier, and had no capacity for civil affairs.

[232] The history of piracy in the Mediterranean goes as far back as the history of navigation. The numerous creeks and islands of this inland sea offer favourable opportunities for piratical posts, and accordingly we read of pirates as early as we read of commerce by sea. (Thucydides, i. 5.) The disturbances in the Roman State had encouraged these freebooters in their depredations. Cæsar, when a young man, fell into their hands (Life of Cæsar, c. 1); and also P. Clodius. The insecure state of Italy is shown by the fact of the pirates even landing on the Italian coast, and seizing the Roman magistrates, Sextilius and Bellienus. Cicero in his oration in favour of the Lex Manilia (c. 12, c. 17, &c.) gives some particulars of the excesses of the pirates. Antonia, whom they carried off, was the daughter of the distinguished orator, Marcus Antonius (Life of Marius, c. 44), who had been sent against the Cilician pirates B.C. 102, and had a triumph for his victory over them. If Cicero alludes (*Pro Lege Manilia*) to the capture of the daughter of Antonius, that probably took place before B.C. 87, for in that year Antonius was put to death. But Cicero speaks of the daughter of 'a prætor' being carried off from Misenum, and it is not improbable that he alludes to M. Antonius Creticus, prætor B.C. 75. If this explanation is correct, the Antonia was the grand-daughter of the orator Antonius.

[233] στυλίδες. The meaning of this word is uncertain. Στυλίς is a diminutive of στῦλος, and signifies a small pillar, or pole. It may be that which carried the colours. But I do not profess to have translated the word, for I do not know what is meant.

[234] From the places enumerated it appears that the pirates had carried their ravages from the coast of Asia Minor to the shores of Greece and up the Ionian Sea as far as the entrance of the Gulf of Ambracia, now the Gulf of Arta, near the entrance of which Actium was situated on the southern coast, and even to the Italian shores. The temple of Juno Lacinia was on the south-eastern coast of Italy on a promontory, now called Capo delle Colonne, from the ruins of the ancient temple. The noted temples of antiquity were filled with works of art and rich offerings, the gifts of pious devotees. Cicero (*Pro Lege Manilia*), c. 18) speaks of the pirates as infesting even the Via Appia.

[235] Not the mountain of that name, Kaltwasser remarks, but a town of Lycia in Asia Minor, one of the headquarters of the pirates. Strabo (p. 671) places Olympus in Cilicia. There was both a city and a mountain named Olympus there; and I have accordingly translated 'on Olympus.' (Beaufort, *Karamania*, p. 46.)

[236] Mithras was a Persian deity, as it appears. The name occurs in many Persian compounds as Mithridates, Ithamitres, and others. *Mitra* is a Sanscrit name for the Sun. (Wilson, *Sanscrit Dictionary*.)

[237] The Mediterranean. See the Life of Sertorius, c. 8, note. As to the limits of the command of Pompeius, compare Velleius Paterculus, ii. 31.

[238] Aulus Gabinius, one of the tribunes for the year B.C. 67, proposed the measure. The consuls of this year were C. Calpurnius Piso and M. Acilius Glabrio.

[239] L. Roscius Otho, one of the tribunes, and the proposer of the unpopular law (B.C. 67) which gave the Equites fourteen separate seats at the theatre. (Velleius, ii. 32; Dion Cassius, 36, c. 25.)

[240] Compare the Life of Flaminiaus, c. 10.

[241] ἐκόμιζεν in the text. The reading is perhaps wrong, and the sense is doubtful. Reiske conjectured that it should be ἐκόλαζε.

[242] This place is on the coast of the Rough or Mountainous Cilicia, on a steep rock near the sea. (Strabo, p. 668; Beaufort's *Karamania*, p. 174.)

[243] Soli was an Achæan and Rhodian colony. After being settled by Pompeius, it received the name of Pompeiopolis, or the city of Pompeius. It is on the coast of the Level Cilicia, twenty miles west of the mouth of the river Cydnus, on which Tarsus stood. Soli was the birthplace of the Stoic Chrysippus, and of Philemon the comic writer. (Strabo, p. 671; Beaufort's *Kar.*, p. 259.)

[244] Compare the Life of Lucullus, c. 26.

[245] One of the towns of Achæa in the Peloponnesus, near the borders of Elis. Pausanias (vii. 17).

As to the number of the pirates who surrendered, see Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 96).

[246] Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus is stated by some modern writers to have been a son of Metellus Dalmaticus; but it is unknown who his father and grandfather were. (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*.) He had been consul B.C. 69. (Compare Velleius Paterculus, ii. 32.)

[247] The passage is in the Iliad, xxii. 207.

[248] Or as Plutarch writes it Mallius. The tribune C. Manilius is meant, who carried the Lex Manilia, B.C. 66, which gave Pompeius the command in the Mithridatic war. Cicero supported the law in the speech which is extant, Pro Lege Manilia. It has been proposed to alter Mallius in Plutarch's text into Manilius, but Sintenis refers to Dion Cassius (36. c. 25, 26, 27).

[249] This was Glabrio the consul of B.C. 67 (see note on c. 25), who had been appointed to supersede Lucullus. (Life of Lucullus, c. 34, notes.)

[250] The allusion is to the secession of the Plebs to the Mons Sacer, which is recorded in Livius (2. c. 32).

[251] See the Life of Tib. Gracchus, c. 12, and the note.

[252] Pompeius was appointed to the command in the Mithridatic war B.C. 66, when he was in Cilicia. (Appianus, *Mithridatic War*, c. 97.)

[253] Compare the Life of Lucullus, c. 35, &c.

[254] As to the events in this chapter, compare Appianus, *Mithridatic War*, c. 98, &c.

[255] Probably a Greek woman, as we may infer from the name. The king seems to have had a liking for Greek women.

[256] This is probably a corrupted name. It is Sinorega in Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 101). Coræs proposes Sinora. (Strabo, p. 555.) The place is mentioned by Ammianus (quoted by Sintenis) under the name of Sinhorium or Synorium. Strabo places Sinoria (as it is written in Casaubon's text) on the borders of the Greater Armenia.

[257] Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 101) describes the course which Mithridates took in his flight. He spent the winter in Dioscuri, as Appianus calls it, or Dioscurias on the east coast of the Euxine; and afterwards entered the countries bordering on the Mæotis or sea of Azoff. (Compare Strabo, p. 555.)

[258] He was the third son of Tigranes by the daughter of Mithridates. The other two had been put to death by their father. The young Tigranes appeared in the triumph of Pompeius at Rome and then was put to death. (Appianus, *Mithridatic War*, c. 104, 5.)

[259] See the Life of Lucullus, c. 26, notes.

[260] Probably Artaxata is meant, for Appianus (c. 104) says that Pompeius had advanced to the neighbourhood of Artaxata.

Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 104) places these transactions with Tigranes after the battle with the Iberians which Plutarch describes in c. 34.

[261] Probably a Persian word, with the same meaning as Tiara, the head-dress of the Persians and some other Oriental nations. The kings wore it upright to distinguish them from other people. (Herodotus, vii. 61.)

[262] A part of Armenia between the Antitaurus and the mountain range of Masius. (Strabo, p. 527.)

[263] Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 104) states that Pompeius received 6000 talents (of silver?) from Tigranes; and he seems to understand it as if the money was for Pompeius. In the other sums he agrees with Plutarch, except as to the tribunes, who received 10,000 drachmæ, or one talent and 4000 drachmæ, or 40 minæ.

On the value of the drachma, see Life of Tib. Gracchus, c. 2.

[264] ***I.e.***, to sup with.

[265] This great mountain system lies between the Euxine and the Caspian, and was now entered for the first time by the Roman troops. Colchis was on the west side of the mountains.

[266] The Saturnalia were celebrated in Rome on the 19th of December at this time. (Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 10; and the Life of Sulla, c. 18.) It was accordingly in the winter of B.C. 66 that Pompeius was in the mountains of the Caucasus. (Dion Cassius, 36. c. 36, 37.)

[267] I have kept the name Cyrnus, as it stands in the text of Plutarch, though it is probably, an error of the transcribers. The real name Cyrus could not be unknown to Plutarch. In the text of Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 103) the name is erroneously written Cyrtus; in Dion Cassius, it is Cyrnus. The Cyrus, now the Cur, flows from the higher regions of the Caucasus through Iberia and Albania, and is joined by the Araxes, Aras, above the point where the united stream enters the Caspian on the west coast. The twelve mouths are mentioned by Appianus (c. 103). Compare Strabo, p. 491.

[268] In fact the Persians never subdued any of the mountain tribes within the nominal limits of their dominions; and the Caucasus was indeed not even within the nominal limits.

It is true that Alexander soon quitted Hyrkania, which lies on the south-east coast of the Caspian; but when he was in Hyrkania he was still a considerable distance from the Iberians. (Arrianus, iii. 23, &c.)

[269] This is the Faz, or Reone, which enters the south-east angle of the Euxine in the country of the Colchi.

[270] The Abas river is conjectured by some writers to be the Alazonius, which was the boundary between Iberia and Albania, The Abas is mentioned by Dion Cassius, 37. c. 3.

[271] ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θώρακος ἐπιπτυχήν Apparently some part of the coat of mail where there was a fold to allow of the motion of the body. As to the battle see Dion Cassius, 37. c. 3, &c.

[272] Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 103) says "Among the hostages and the captives were found many women, who were wounded as much as the men; and they were supposed to be Amazons, whether it is that some nation called Amazons borders on them, and they were then invited to give aid, or that the barbarians in those parts call any warlike women by the name of Amazons." The explanation of Appianus is probably the true explanation. Instances of women serving as soldiers are not uncommon even in modern warfare. The story of a race of fighting women occurs in many ancient writers. The Amazons are first mentioned by Herodotus (iv. 110-116). There is a story of a hundred armed women being presented to Alexander (Arrian, vii. 13, &c., who gives his opinion about them). Strabo (p. 503) says that Theophanes, who accompanied Pompeius in this campaign, places the Gelæ and Legæ between the Albanians and the Amazons. It is probable that the women of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus sometimes served in the field, and this at least may explain the story here told by Plutarch. The chief residence of the Amazons is placed in the plains of Themiscyra on the Thermodon in Cappadocia. Plutarch in his confused notions of geography appears to consider the Thermodon as a Caucasian river. He also places them near the Leges, a name which resembles that of the Lesghians, one of the present warlike tribes of the Caucasus. On antient medals the Amazons are represented with a short vest reaching to the knee, and one breast bare. Their arms were a crescent shield, the bow and arrow, and the double axe, whence the name Amazonia was used as a distinctive appellation for that weapon (Amazonia securis, Horat. *Od.* iv. 4).

[273] The Caspian sea or lake was also called the Hyrkanian, from the province of Hyrkania which bordered on the south-east coast. The first notice of this great lake is in Herodotus (i. 203).

[274] The Elymæi were mountaineers who occupied the mountainous region between Susiana and Media. Gordyene was in the most south-eastern part of Armenia. Tigranocerta was in Gordyene. Appianus says that in his time Sophene and Gordyene composed the Less Armenia (*Mithridatic War*, c. 105). In the territory of Arbela, where the town of Arbil now is, Alexander had defeated Darius, the last king of Persia.

[275] Another Greek woman, as we may infer from the name. The story of the surrender of the fort by Stratonike is told by Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 107) with some additional particulars. Dion Cassius (37. c. 7) names this fort Symphorium.

The narrative of Plutarch omits many circumstances in the campaigns of Pompeius, which Appianus has described (c. 105, 106) a happening between the arrangement with Tigranes and the surrender of the fort by Stratonike. Among these events was the war in Judæa and the capture of Jerusalem. Pompeius entered the Holy of Holies in the Temple, into which only the high priest could enter, and that on certain occasions. Jerusalem was taken B.C. 63 in the consulship of Cicero. The events of this campaign are too confused to be reduced into chronological order. Drumann has attempted it (*Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 451, &c.)

[276] Plutarch means the fort which he has mentioned in the preceding chapter without there giving it a name; the Symphorium of Dion. It was on the river Lycus, not quite 200 stadia from Cabira (Strabo, 556), and was an impregnable place.

[277] Ὑπομνήματα: probably written in Greek, with which Mithridates was well acquainted. These valuable memoirs were used by Theophanes in his history of the campaigns of Pompeius. Theophanes was a native of Mitylene in Lesbos and accompanied Pompeius in several of his campaigns. He is often mentioned by Cicero (Cicero, *Ad Attic.*, ii. 4, and the notes in the Variorum edition).

[278] The character of Mithridates is only known to us from his enemies. But his own memoirs, if the truth is here stated, prove his cruel and vindictive character. He spared neither his friends nor his own children. Among others he put to death his son Xiphares by Stratonike to revenge himself on the mother for giving up the fort Kænum.

[279] See the Life of Sulla, c. 6. The registration of dreams and their interpretation, that is the events which followed and were supposed to explain them, were usual among the Greeks. There is still extant one of these curious collections by Artemidorus Daldianus in five books, entitled Oneirocritica, or The Interpretation of Dreams. The fifth book of 'Results' contains ninety-five dreams of individuals and the events which happened.

[280] See the Life of Lucullus, c. 18.

[281] Publius Rutilius Rufus was consul B.C. 105. He was exiled in consequence of being unjustly convicted B.C. 92 at the time when the Judices were chosen from the body of the Equites. He was accused of Repetundæ and convicted and exiled. He retired to Smyrna, where he wrote the history of his own times in Greek. All the authorities state that he was an honest man and was unjustly condemned. (Velleius Paterculus, ii. 13; Tacitus, *Agricola*, c. 1: and the various passages in Orelli, *Onomasticon*, P. Rutilius Rufus.)

[282] See the Life of Lucullus, c. 14.

[283] The strait that unites the Euxine to the Mæotis or Sea of Azoff, was called the Bosporus, which name was also given to the country on the European side of the strait, which is included in the peninsula of the Crimea.

[284] See Dion Cassius, 37. c. 5.

[285] This is the Indian Ocean. The name first occurs in Herodotus. It is generally translated the Red Sea, and so it is translated by Kaltwasser. But the Red Sea was called the Arabian Gulf by Herodotus. However, the term Erythræan Sea was sometimes used with no great accuracy, and appears to have comprehended the Red Sea, which is a translation of the term Erythræan, as the Greeks understood that word (ἐρυθρός, Red).

[286] Triarius, the legatus of Lucullus, had been defeated three years before by Mithridates. See the Life of Lucullus, c. 35; and Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 89).

[287] This mountain range is connected with the Taurus and runs down to the coast of the Mediterranean, which it reaches at the angle formed by the Gulf of Scanderoon.

[288] This campaign, as already observed in the notes to c. 36, is placed earlier by Appianus, but his chronology is confused and incorrect. The siege of Jerusalem, which was accompanied with great difficulty, is described by Dion Cassius (37. c. 15, &c.), and by Josephus (*Jewish Wars*, xiv. 4). There was a great slaughter of the Jews when the city was stormed.

[289] This country was Gordyene. (Dion Cassius, 37. c. 5.)

[290] This city, the capital of Syria, was built by Seleucus Nicator and called Antiocheia after his father Antiochus. It is situated in 36° 12' N. lat. on the south bank of the Orontes, a river which enters the sea south of the Gulf of Scanderoon.

[291] The meaning of the original is obscure. The word is τὸ ιμάτιον, which ought to signify his vest or toga. Some critics take it to mean a kind of handkerchief used by sick persons and those of effeminate habits; and they say it was also used by persons when travelling, as a cover for the head, which the Greeks called Theristerium. The same word is used in the passage (c. 7), where it is said that "Sulla used to rise from his seat as Pompeius approached and take his vest from his head." Whatever may be the meaning of the word here, Plutarch seems to say that this impudent fellow would take his seat at the table before the guests had arrived and leave his master to receive them.

[292] Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 53) observes that "Plutarch does not say that Pompeius built his house near his theatre, but that he built it in addition to his theatre and at the same time, as Donatus had perceived, De Urbe Roma, 3, 8, in Græv. Thes. T. 3, p. 695." But Drumann is probably mistaken. There is no great propriety in the word

ἐφόλκιον unless the house was near the theatre, and the word παρετεκτήνατο rather implies 'proximity,' than 'in addition to.'

This was the first permanent theatre that Rome had. It was built partly on the model of that of Mitylene and it was opened in the year B.C. 55. This magnificent theatre, which would accommodate 40,000 people, stood in the Campus Martius. It was built of stone with the exception of the scena, and ornamented with statues, which were placed there under the direction of Atticus, who was a man of taste. Augustus embellished the theatre, and he removed thither the statue of Pompeius, which up to that time had stood in the Curia where Cæsar was murdered. The scena was burnt down in the time of Tiberius, who began to rebuild it; but it was not finished till the reign of Claudius. Nero gilded the interior. The scena was again burnt in the beginning of the reign of Titus, who restored it again. The scena was again burnt in the reign of Philippus and a third time restored. (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 521; Dion Cassius 39. c. 88, and the notes of Reimarus.)

[293] Petra, the capital of the Nabathæi, is about half way between the southern extremity of the Dead Sea and the northern extremity of the Ælanitic Gulf, the more eastern of the two northern branches of the Red Sea. The ruins of Petra exist in the Wady Musa, and have been visited by Burckhardt, Irby and Mangles, and last by Laborde, who has given the most complete description of them in his 'Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée,' Paris, 1830. The place is in the midst of a desert, but has abundance of water. Its position made it an important place of commerce in the caravan trade of the East; and it was such in the time of Strabo, who states on the authority of his friend Athonodorus that many Romans were settled there (p. 779). It contains numerous tombs and a magnificent temple cut in the rock, a theatre and the remains of houses.

The king against whom Pompeius was marching is named Aretas by Dion Cassius (37. c. 15).

[294] The Pæonians were a Thracian people on the Strymon. (Herodotus, v. 1.) It appears from Dion Cassius (49. c. 36) that the Greeks often called the Pannonians by the name of Pæonians, which Sintenis considers a reason for not altering the reading here into Pannonians. Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 102) uses the name Pæonians, though he means Pannonians.

[295] This is the Roman word. Compare Tacitus (*Annal.* i. 18): "congerunt cespites, exstruunt tribunal."

[296] The circumstances of the rebellion of Pharnakes and the death of Mithridates are told by Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 110) and Dion Cassius (37. c. 11). Mithridates died B.C. 63, in the year in which Cicero was consul.

The text of the last sentence in this chapter is corrupt; and the meaning is uncertain.

[297] τὸ νεμέσητον.

[298] The body of Mithridates was interred at Sinope. Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 113) says that Pharnakes sent the dead body of his father in a galley to Pompeius to Sinope, and also those who had killed Manius Aquilius, and many hostages Greeks and barbarians. There might be some doubt about the meaning of the words 'many corpses of members of the royal family' πολλα σώματα τῶν βασιλικῶν but Plutarch appears from the context to mean dead bodies. Two of the daughters of Mithridates who were with him when he died, are mentioned by Appianus (c. 111) as having taken poison at the same time with their father. The poison worked on them, but had no effect on the old man, who therefore prevailed on a Gallic officer who was in his service to kill him. (Compare Dion Cassius, 39. c. 13, 14.)

[299] He made it what the Romans called Libera Civitas, a city which had its own jurisdiction and was free from taxes. Compare the Life of Cæsar, c. 48.

[300] He was a native of Apamea in Syria, a Stoic, and a pupil of Panætius. He was one of the masters of Cicero, who often speaks of him and occasionally corresponded with him (Cicero, *Ad Attic.* ii. 1). Cicero also mentions Hermagoras in his treatise De Inventione (i. 6, and 9), and in the Brutus (c. 79).

[301] See the Life of Sulla, c. 6.

[302] She was the daughter of Q. Mucius Scævola, consul B.C. 95, and the third wife of Pompeius, who had three children by her. She was not the sister of Q. Metellus Nepos and Q. Metellus Celer, as Kaltwasser says, but a kinswoman. Cn. Pompeius and Sextus Pompeius were the sons of Mucia. Cicero (*Ad Attic.* i. 12) speaks of the divorce of Mucia and says that it was approved of; but he does not assign the reason. C. Julius Cæsar (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 50) is named as the adulterer or one of them, and Pompeius called him his Ægisthus. After her divorce in the year B.C. 62 Mucia married M. Æmilius Scaurus, the brother of the second wife of Pompeius. Mucia survived the battle of Actium (B.C. 31), and she was treated with respect by Octavianus Cæsar (Dion Cassius, 51. c. 2; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 557).

[303] Here and elsewhere I have used Plutarch's word μοναρχία, 'The government of one man,' by which he means the Dictatorship, in some passages at least.

[304] He landed in Italy B.C. 62, during the consulship of D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena. The request mentioned at the beginning of c. 44 is also noticed in Plutarch's Life of Cato (c. 30). M. Pupius Piso was one of the consuls for B.C. 61.

[305] This was L. Afranius, one of the legati of Pompeius, who has often been mentioned. He was consul with Q. Metellus Celer B.C. 60 (compare Dion Cassius, 37. c. 49). Cicero, who

was writing to Atticus at the time (*Ad Attic.* i. 17), speaks of the bribery at the election of Afranius, and accuses Pompeius of being active on the occasion. From this consulship Horatius (*Od.* ii. 1) dates the commencement of the civil wars, for in this year was formed the coalition between Cæsar, Pompeius, and Crassus. See the remark of Cato, c. 47.

[306] Compare Appianus (*Mithridatic War*, c. 116) and Dramann, *Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 485. When particular measures of money are not mentioned, Plutarch, as usual with him, means Attic drachmæ.

[307] The triumph of Pompeius was in B.C. 61 on his birthday (Plinius 37. c. 2). Pompeius was born B.C. 106, and consequently he was now entering on his forty-sixth year—Xylander (Holzmann) preferred to read 'fifty' instead of 'forty.'

[308] Cicero went into exile B.C. 58, and after the events mentioned in chapter 47. Cæsar returned from his province of Iberia in B.C. 60.

[309] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 14, as to the events mentioned in this chapter and the following. Cæsar was consul B.C. 59.

[310] L. Calpurnius Piso and A. Gabinius were consuls B.C. 58, in the year in which Clodius was tribune and Cicero was exiled.

[311] As to this remark of Pompeius, compare the Life of Lucullus, c. 38.

[312] Compare the Life of Cato, c. 34.

[313] A mark of an effeminate person. Compare the Life of Cæsar, c. 4, which explains this passage.

[314] This event is told by Dion Cassius (39. c. 19), but as Kaltwasser remarks he places it in B.C. 56, when Clodius was ædile and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus and M. Marcius Philippus were consuls. The trial was that of Milo De Vi, B.C. 56. Compare Cicero (Ad Quintum Fratrem, ii. 3) and Rein (*Criminalrecht der Römer*, p. 758, note).

[315] Q. Terentius Culleo was a tribunus plebis B.C. 58. He is mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Attic.* iii. 15) and elsewhere.

[316] Cicero returned to Rome B.C. 57 in the consulship of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos. See the Life of Cicero, c. 33. He had returned to Rome before the trial mentioned at the end of c. 48.

[317] Pompeius was made Præfectus Annonæ for five years. There was a great scarcity at Rome, which was nothing unusual, and dangerous riots (see the article CORN TRADE, ROMAN, 'Political Dictionary,' by the author of this note). The appointment of Pompeius is mentioned by Dion Cassius (39. c. 9, and the notes of Reimarus). Cicero (*Ad Atticum*, iv. 1) speaks of the appointment of Pompeius.

[318] Ptolemæus Auletes had given large bribes to several Romans to purchase their influence and to get himself declared a friend and ally of the Romans; which was in fact to put himself under their protection. His subjects were dissatisfied with him for various reasons, and among others for the heavy taxes which he laid on them to raise the bribe money. He made his escape from Egypt and was now in Rome. The story is told at some length in Dion Cassius (39. c. 12, &c.), and the matter of the king's restoration is discussed by Cicero in several letters (*Ad Diversos*, i. 1-7) to this Spinther. The king for the present did not get the aid which he wanted, and he retired to Ephesus, where he lodged within the precincts of the temple of Artemis, which was an ASYLUM. (See 'Political Dictionary,' art. Asylum; and Strabo, p. 641.)

[319] A Greek historian of the time of Augustus. He was originally a captive slave, but he was manumitted and admitted to the intimacy of Augustus Cæsar. He was very free with his tongue, which at last caused him to be forbidden the house of Augustus. (Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 23.) He burnt some of his historical writings, but not all of them, for Plutarch here refers to his authority. Horatius (1 *Ep.* 19. v. 15) alludes to Timagenes. (See Suidas, Τιμαγένης.)

[320] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 15, and as to the conference at Luca, c. 21. The conference took place B.C. 56, when Marcellinus (c. 48, notes) was one of the consuls. Compare also the Life of Crassus (c. 14, 15), and Dion Cassius, 39. c. 30, as to the trouble at Rome at this time, and Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 17).

[321] This is the meaning of the word πολιτικώτερον, which is generally mistranslated here and in other parts of Plutarch. It is the translation of the Roman term 'civiliter.' (Tacitus, *Annal.* i 33, iii 76.)

[322] Life of Crassus, c. 15, notes.

[323] P. Vatinius, often mentioned by Cicero. (See Orelli, *Onomasticon*, Vatinius.) Cicero's extant oration In Vatinium was delivered B.C. 56.

[324] C. Trebonius, a friend of Cicero, several of whose letters to him are extant. (Cicero, *Ad Divers.* x. 28; xii. 16; xv. 20, 21.) He was one of the conspirators against Cæsar; and Cicero tells him (x. 28) that he was somewhat vexed with him that he saved Antonius from the same fate. Trebonius was treacherously put to death at Smyrna by Dolabella with circumstances of great cruelty B.C. 43. (Dion Cassius, 47. c. 29.) In the notes to the life of Crassus, c. 16, I have incorrectly called this Tribune Titus.

[325] Plutarch must mean that Crassus left Rome before the expiration of his consulship B.C. 55; but the words ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς ὑπατείας are in themselves doubtful. (Life of Crassus, c. 16.)

[326] Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, Pompeii, p. 524) has diligently collected all the circumstances of this magnificent exhibition. (See also Dion Cassius, 39. c. 38, and the references in the notes of Reimarus.) The elephant-fight (ἐλφαντομαχία) was a fight between the elephants and armed Gætulians. There were eighteen elephants. The cries of the animals when they were wounded moved the pity of the spectators. The elephants would not enter the vessels when they were leaving Africa, till they received a promise from their leaders that they should not he injured; the treacherous treatment of them at the games was the cause of their loud lamentations, in which they appealed to the deity against the violation of the solemn promise. (Dion Cassius.) Cicero, who was not fond of exhibitions of the kind, speaks with disgust of the whole affair (*Ad Diversos*, vii. 1). The letter of Cicero, written at the time, is valuable contemporary evidence. Various facts on the exhibition of elephants at Rome are collected in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, *Menageries*, Elephant.

A rhinoceros was also exhibited at the games of Pompeius; and an actress was brought on the stage, who had made her first appearance in the consulship of C. Marius the younger, and Cn. Carbo B.C. 82, but she made her appearance again in the time of Augustus, A.D. 9, in the consulship of Poppæus, when she was 103 years old, 91 years after her first appearance. (Plinius, *H.N.* vii. 49.) Drumann says, when speaking of the games of Pompeius, "a woman of unusually advanced age was brought forward;" but the words of Plinius "anus pro miraculo reducta," apply to her last appearance. A woman of one-and-forty was no uncommon thing then, nor is it now. The pointing in the common texts is simply the cause of the blunder.

[327] See the Life of Crassus, c. 16, notes, Julia died B.C. 54, in the consulship of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Ap. Claudius Pulcher (See the Life of Cæsar. c. 23.) Crassus lost his life B.C. 53.

[328] A quotation from the Iliad, xv. 189.

[329] Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messala, the consuls of B.C. 53, were not elected till seven months after the proper time, so that there was during this time an anarchy ἀναρχία, which is Plutarch's word). This term 'anarchy' must be taken in its literal and primary sense of a time when there were no magistrates, which would be accompanied with anarchy in the modern sense of the term. Dion Cassius (40. c. 45) describes this period of confusion. The translation in the text may lead to a misunderstanding of Plutarch's meaning; it should be, "he allowed an anarchy to take place." Kaltwasser's translation: "so liess er es zu einer Anarchie kommen," is perfectly exact.

[330] In the year B.C. 52 in which year Clodius was killed.

[331] She was the daughter of Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, who was the son of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and of Licinia, the daughter of the orator L. Crassus. He was adopted (B.C. 64 or 63) by the testament of Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius, who fought in Spain ngainst Sertorius; but his daughter must have been born before this, as she bore the name Cornelia. Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, Cæcilii, p. 49) thinks that the story of her attempting to destroy herself when she heard of the death of her husband (Life of Pompeius, c. 74) is suspicious, because she married Pompeius the year after. If Cornelia were the only woman that was ever said to have done so, we might doubt the story; but as she is not, we need not suspect it on that account.

[332] Corruption is δοροδοκία in Plutarch, 'gift receiving,' and it ought to correspond to the Roman Peculatus. But δοροδοκία also means corruption by bribes. Bribery is δεκασμός in Plutarch, which is expressed generally by the Roman Ambitus, and specially by the verb 'decuriare.' (See Cicero's Oration Pro Cn. Plancio, Ed. Wunder.) The offence of Scipio was Ambitus. (Dion Cassius, 40. c. 51, &c.; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 24.) As to Roman Bribery, see the article BRIBERY, 'Political Dictionary,' by the author of this note, whose contribution begins p. 416.

[333] These 360 Judices appear to have been chosen for the occasion of these trials. (Velleius Pater. ii. 76; Goettling, *Roemische Staatsverfassung*, p. 482.)

[334] T. Munatius Plancus Bursa, a tribune of the Plebs. In B.C. 52 Milo and Clodius with their followers had an encounter in which Clodius was killed. Tho people, with whom he was a favourite, burnt his body in the Curia Hostilia, and the Curia with it. (Dion Cassius, 40, c. 48.) Plancus was charged with encouraging this disorder, and he was brought to trial. Cicero was his accuser; he was condemned and exiled. (Cicero, *Ad Diversos*, vii. 2.)

[335] Plautius Hypsæus was not a consular. He had been the quæstor of Pompeius. He and Scipio had been candidates for the consulship this year, and were both charged with bribery. (Dion Cassius, 40, c. 53.) Hypsæus was convicted.

[336] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 29. Pompeius had lent Cæsar two legions (c. 52). Compare Dion Cassius, 40. c. 65, and Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 29. The illness of Pompeius and the return of the legions from Gaul took place in the year B.C. 50. Appius Claudius (c. 57) was sent by the Senate to conduct the legions from Gaul. Dion Cassius (40. c. 65) says that Pompeius had lent Cæsar only one legion, but that Cæsar had to give up another also, inasmuch as Pompeius obtained an order of the Senate that both he and Cæsar should give a legion to Bibulus, who was in Syria, for the Parthian war. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 29; *Bell. Gall.* viii. 54.) Thus Pompeius in effect gave up nothing, but Cæsar parted with two legions. The legions were not sent to Syria, but both wintered in Capua. The consul C. Claudius Marcellus (B.C. 50) gave both these legions to Pompeius.

[337] L. Æmilius Paulus was consul B.C. 50, with C. Claudius Marcellus a violent opponent of Cæsar. He built the Basilica Pauli (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 26). Basilica is a Greek word (βασιλική); a basilica was used as a court of law, and a place of business for

merchants. The form of a Roman basilica is known from the description of Vitruvius (v. 1), the ground-plan of two Basilicæ at Rome, and that of Pompeii which is in better preservation. Some of the great Roman churches are called Basilicæ, and in their construction bear some resemblance to the antient Basilicæ. ('Penny Cyclopædia,' *Basilica*.)

[338] C. Scribonius Curio. Compare the Life of M. Antonius, c. 2. He was a man of ability, but extravagant in his habits (Dion Cassius, 40. c. 60):—

> "Momentumque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
> Gallorum captus spoliis et Cæsaris auro."—
> Lucanus, *Pharsalia*, iv. 819

As to the vote on the proposition of Curio, Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 30) agrees with Plutarch. Dion Cassius (40. c. 64: and 41. c. 2) gives a different account of this transaction.

[339] C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus were consuls for the year B.C. 49, in which the war broke out, This Marcellus was the cousin of the consul Marcellus of the year B.C. 50, who (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 30) presented Pompeius with a sword when he commissioned him to fight against Cæsar. Plutarch appears (c. 58, 59) to mean the same Marcellus; but he has confounded them. The Marcellus of c. 58 is the consul of B.C. 49; and the Marcellus of c. 59 is the consul of B.C. 50, according to Dion Cassius (40. c. 66 41. c. 1, &c.) and Appianus.

[340] Cicero returned from his government of Cilicia B.C. 50.

[341] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 32.

[342] L. Volcatius Tullus who had been consul B.C. 66 ('Consule Tullo'), Horatius (*Od.* iii. 8).

[343] The reply of Pompeius is given by Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 37). As to the confusion in Rome see Dion Cassius (42. c. 6-9); and the references in Clinton, *Fasti*, B.C. 49.

[344] Plutarch here omits the capture of Corfinium, which took place before Cæsar entered Rome. See Dion Cassius (41. c. 10), and the Life of Cæsar, c. 34.

[345] L. Metullus, of whom little is known. Kaltwasser makes Cæsar say to Metellus, "It was not harder for him to say it than to do it;" which has no sense in it. What Cæsar did say appears from the Life of Cæsar, c. 35. Cæsar did not mean to say that it was as easy for him to do it as to say it. He meant that it was hard for him to be reduced to say such a thing; as to doing it, when he had said it, that would be a light matter. Sintenis suspects that the text is not quite right here. See the various readings and his proposed alteration; also Cicero, *Ad Attic.* x. 4.

[346] Cæsar (*Civil War*, i. 25, &c.) describes the operations at Brundisium and the escape ot Pompeius. Compare also Dion Cassius (41. c. 12); Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 39). The usual passage from Italy to Greece was from Brundisium to Dyrrachium (Durazzo), which in former times was called Epidamnus (Thucydides, i. 24; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 39).

[347] This does not appear in Cæsar's Civil War.

[348] This opinion of Cicero is contained in a letter to Atticus (vii. 11). When Xerxes invaded Attica (B.C. 480), Themistokles advised the Athenians to quit their city and trust to their ships. The naval victory of Salamis justified his advice. In the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 431) Perikles advised the Athenians to keep within their walls and wait for the Cæsar invaders to retire from Attica for want of supplies; in which also the result justified the advice of Perikles. Cicero in his letters often complains of the want of resolution which Pompeius displayed at this crisis.

[349] Plutarch means that Cæsar feared that Pompeius had everything to gain if the war was prolonged.

In his Civil War (i. 24) Numerius is called Cneius Magius, 'Præfectus fabrorum,' or head of the engineer department. Sintenis observes that Oudendorp might have used this passage for the purpose of restoring the true prænomen in Cæsar's text, 'Numerius' in place of 'Cneius.'

[350] These vessels took their name from the Liburni, on the coast of Illyricum. They were generally biremes, and well adapted for sea manœuvres.

[351] A town in Macedonia west of the Thermaic Gulf or Bay of Saloniki. It appears from this that Pompeius led his troops from the coast of the Adriatic nearly to the opposite coast of Macedonia (Dion Cassius, 41. c. 43). His object apparently was to form a junction with the forces that Scipio and his son were sent to raise in the East (c. 62).

[352] The Romans were accustomed to such exercises as these in the Campus Martius.

> ———"cur apricum
> Oderit campum patiens pulveris atque solis?
>
> ———sæpe disco
> Sæpe trans finem jaculo nobilis expedito."—Horatius, *Od*. i. 8.

Compare the Life of Marius (34).

The Romans maintained their bodily vigour by athletic and military exercises to a late period of life. The bath, swimming, riding, and the throwing of the javelin were the means by which they maintained their health and strength. A Roman commander at the age of sixty was a more vigorous man than modern commanders at the like age generally

are.

[353] Pompeius passed the winter at Thessalonica (Saloniki) on the Thermaic Gulf and on the Via Egnatia, which ran from Dyrrachium to Thessalonica, and thence eastward. He had with him two hundred senators. The consuls, prætors, and quæstors of the year B.C. 49 were continued by the Senate at Thessalonica for the year B.C. 48 under the names of Proconsuls, Proprætors, Proquæstors. Cæsar and P. Servillus Isauricus were elected consuls at Rome for the year B.C. 48 (Life of Cæsar, c. 37). The party of Pompeius could not appoint new magistrates for want of the ceremony of a Lex Curiata (Dion Cassius, 41. c. 43).

[354] His name is Titus Labienus (Life of Cæsar, c. 34). 'Labeo' is a mere blunder of the copyists. Dion Cassius (41. c. 4) gives the reasons for Labienus passing over to Pompeius. Labienus had served Cæsar well in Gaul, and he is often mentioned in Cæsar's Book on the Gallic War. He fell at the battle of Munda in Spain B.C. 45. (See the Life of Cæsar, c. 34, 56.)

[355] M. Junius Brutus. See the Life of Brutus.

[356] Cicero was not in the Senate at Thessalonica, though he had come over to Macedonia. (See the Life of Cicero, c. 38.)

[357] Tidius is not a Roman name. It should be Didius.

[358] The defeats of Afranius and Petreius in Iberia, in the summer of B.C. 49, are told by Cæsar in his Civil War, i. 41-81.

Cæsar reached Brundisium at the close of the year B.C. 49. See the remarks on the time in Clinton, *Fasti*, B.C. 49. Oricum or Oricus was a town on the coast of Epirus, south of Apollonia.

[359] L. Vibillius Rufus appears to be the person intended. He is often mentioned by Cæsar (*Civil War*, i. 15, 23, &c.); but as the readings in Cæsar's text are very uncertain (Jubellius, Jubilius, Jubulus) Sintenis has not thought it proper to alter the text of Plutarch here.

'On the third day.' Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 10) says 'triduo proximo," and the correction of Moses du Soul, ἡμέρα ῥητῇ, is therefore unnecessary. Pompeius had moved westward from Thessalonica at the time when Rufus was sent to him, and was in Candavia on his road to Apollonia and Dyrrachium (Cæsar, *Civil War*, iii. 11).

[360] Pompeius returned to Dyrrachium, which it had been the object of Cæsar to seize. As he had not accomplished this, Cæsar posted himself on the River Apsus between Apollonia and Dyrrachium. The fights in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium are described by Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 34, &c.).

[361] The Athamanes were on the borders of Epirus and Thessalia. In place of the Athamanes the MSS. of Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 78) have Acarnania, which, as Drumann says, must be a mistake in the text of Cæsar.

[362] Q. Metellus Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, who had been appointed to the government of Syria by the Senate. Scipio had now come to Thesaalia (Cæsar, *Civil War*, iii. 33, and 80).

[363] Cato was left with fifteen cohorts in Dyrrachium. See the Life of Cato, c. 55; Dion Cassius (12. c. 10).

[364] Or Tusculanum, as Plutarch calls it, now Frascati, about 12 miles S.E. of Rome, where Cicero had a villa.

[365] Lentulus Spinther, consul of B.C. 57, and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul B.C. 54. This affair is mentioned by Cæsar himself (*Civil War*, iii. 83, &c.). We have the best evidence of the bloody use that the party of Pompeius would have made of their victory is the letters of Cicero himself (*Ad Atticum*, xi. 6). There was to be a general proscription, and Rome was to see the times of Sulla revived. But the courage and wisdom of one man defeated the designs of these senseless nobles. Cæsar (c. 83) mentions their schemes with a contemptuous brevity.

[366] The town of Pharsalus was situated near the Enipeus, in one of the great plains of Thessalia, called Pharsalia. Cæsar (iii. 88) does not mention the place where the battle was fought. See Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 75.

[367] Pompeius had dedicated a temple at Rome to Venus Victrix. The Julia (Iulia) Gens, to which Cæsar belonged, traced their deecent from Venus through Iulus, the son of Æneas. (See the Life of Cæsar, c. 42.)

[368] Cæsar does not mention this meteor in his Civil War. See Life of Cæsar, c. 43, and Dion Cassius, 41. c. 61.

[369] A place in Thessalia north of Pharsalus where Titus Quinctius Flaminius defeated King Philip of Macedonia, B.C. 197.

[370] τὸν φοινικοῦν χιτῶνα. Shakspere has employed this in his Julius Cæsar, Act V. Sc. 1:

> "Their bloody sign of battle is hung out."

Plutarch means the Vexillum. He has expressed by his word (προθεῖναι) the 'propono' of Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* ii. 20; *Bell. Hispan.* c. 28, *Bell. Alexandr.* c. 45). The 'hung out' is a better translation than 'unfurled.'

[371] Plutarch in this as in some other instances places the Prænomen last, instead of first which he ought to do; but immediately after he writes Lucius Domitius correctly. The error may be owing to the copyists.

The order of the battle is described by Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 89). Plutarch here and in the Life of Cæsar (c. 44) says that Pompeius commanded the right, but Cæsar says that he was on the left. Domitius, that is, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (Consul B.C. 54), may have commanded under him. Cn. Domitius Calvinus (Consul B.C. 53), whom Plutarch calls Calvinus Lucius, commanded Cæsar's centre. The account of Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 76) does not agree with Cæsar's.

[372] See Cæsar B.C. (iii. 88), and Appianus (ii. 79), who quotes Cæsar's letters.

[373] The whole number of Italian troops on both sides was about 70,000, as Plutarch says in the next chapter. There were also other troops on both sides (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 70). The battle was fought on the ninth of August, B.C. 48, according to the uncorrected calendar.

[374] Dion Cassius has some like reflections (41. c. 53-58); and Appianus (ii. 77), who says that both the commanders-in-chief shed tears; which we need not believe.

[375] Lucan, i. 6.

[376] Crassinius, in the Life of Cæsar, c. 44. Cæsar (iii. 91, 99) names him Crastinus. Compare Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 82). Crastinus received an honourable interment after the battle.

[377] The passage is from the Iliad, xi. 544.

[378] C. Asinius Pollio was a soldier, a poet, and an historical writer. His history of the Civil Wars was comprised in seventeen books. Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 79) quotes this circumstance from Pollio. Horatius (*Od.* ii. 1) addresses this Pollio, and Virgilius in his fourth Eclogue. The first part of the ode of Horatius contains an allusion to Pollio's historical work.

[379] Cæsar (iii. 96) describes the appearance of the camp of Pompeius, and adds that his hungry soldiers found an entertainment which their enemies had prepared for themselves.

[380] Pompeius passed by Larissa, the chief town of Thessalia, on his road to the vale of Tempe, in which the river Peneius flows between the mountain range of Olympus and Ossa. In saying that Pompeius "let his horse go," I have used an expression that may be misunderstood. Cæsar(iii. 96) will explain it—"protinusque equo citato Larissam contendit," and he continued his flight at the same rate.

[381] These were L. Lentulus Spinther, Consul B.C. 57, and Lentulus Crus, Consul B.C. 49. Deiotarus was king or tetrarch of Galatia in Asia Minor, and had come to the assistance of Pompeius with a considerable force. Pompeius had given him Armenia the Less, and the title of King. Cæsar after the battle of Pharsalus took Armenia from him, but allowed him to retain the title of King.

[382] The verse is from Euripides. It is placed among the Fragmenta Incerta CXIX. ed. Matthiæ.

[383] This town was near the mouth of the Strymon, a river of Thrace, and out of the direct route to Lesbos. The reason of Pompeius going there is explained by Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 102). Cornelia was at Mitylene in Lesbos with Sextus, the younger son of Pompeius.

[384] Kratippus was a Peripatetic, and at this time the chief of that sect. Cicero's son Marcus afterwards heard his lectures at Athens (Cicero, *De Officiis*, i. 1), B.C. 44.

The last sentence of this chapter is somewhat obscure, and the opinions of the critics vary as to the reading. See the note of Sintenis.

[385] This city was on the coast of Pamphylia. It took its name from Attalus Philadelphus, the king of Pergamum of that name, who built it.

Lucanus (viii. 251) makes Pompeius first land at Phaselis in Lycia.

[386] Dion Cassius (43. c. 2) discusses this matter. He thinks that Pompeius could never have thought of going to Parthia. Compare Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 83).

[387] This is the King Juba mentioned in the Life of Cæsar, c. 52.

[388] This is Ptolemæus Dionysius, the last of his race, and the son of the Ptolemæus Auletes mentioned in c. 49. Auletes had been restored to his kingdom through the influence of Pompeius by A. Gabinius B.C. 55.

[389] This Arsakes is called Hyrodes or Orodes in the Life of Crassus (c. 18). Arsakes seems to have been a name common to the Parthian kings, as the representatives of Arsakes, the founder of the dynasty. Orodes had already refused his aid to Pompeius in the beginning of the war, and put in chains Hirrus, who had been sent to him. The Parthian demanded the cession of Syria, which Pompeius would not consent to.

[390] Probably Seleukeia in Syria at the mouth of the Orontes.

[391] He was now thirteen years of age, and according to his father's testament, he and his sister Kleopatra were to be joint kings and to intermarry after the fashion of the Greek kings of Egypt. The advisers of Ptolemæus had driven Kleopatra out of Egypt, and on the news of her advancing against the eastern frontiers with an army, they went out to meet her. Pelusium, on the eastern branch of the Nile, had for many centuries been the strong point on this frontier. (Cæsar, *Civil War*, iii. 103; Dion Cassius, 42. c. 3, &c.) Pompeius

approached the shore of Egypt with several vessels and about 2000 soldiers.

As to the circumstances in this chapter, compare Dion Cassius (42. c. 3), Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 84), and Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 104). Cæsar simply mentions the assassination of Pompeius. He says no more about it.

[392] The death of Pompeius is mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Atticum*, xi. 6). As to his age, Drumann observes, "He was born B.C. 106, and was consequently 58 years old when he was killed, on the 29th of September, or on the day before his birthday, about the time of the autumnal equinox according to the unreformed calendar." (Lucanus, viii 467.)

[393] He is called Cordus by Lucanus (viii. 715), and had formerly been a quæstor of Pompeius.

COMPARISON OF AGESILAUS AND POMPEIUS.

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I. As both these men's lives are now before us, let us briefly recapitulate them, observing as we do so the points in which they differ from one another. These are as follows:—First, Pompeius obtained his power and renown by the most strictly legitimate means, chiefly by his own exertions when assisting Sulla in the liberation of Italy; while Agesilaus obtained the throne in defiance of both human and divine laws, for he declared Leotychides to be a bastard, although his brother had publicly recognised him as his own son, and he also by a quibble evaded the oracle about a lame reign.

Secondly, Pompeius both respected Sulla while he lived, gave his body an honourable burial, in spite of Lepidus, when he died, and married Sulla's daughter to his own son Faustus; while Agesilaus, on a trifling pretext, disgraced and ruined Lysander. Yet Sulla gave Pompeius nothing more than he possessed himself, whereas Lysander made Agesilaus king of Sparta, and leader of the united armies of Greece.

Thirdly, the political wrong-doings of Pompeius were chiefly committed to serve his relatives, Cæsar and Scipio; while Agesilaus saved Sphodrias from the death which he deserved for his outrage upon the Athenians merely to please his son, and vigorously supported Phœbidas when he committed a similar breach of the peace against the Thebans. And generally, we may say that while Pompeius only injured the Romans through inability to refuse the demands of friends, or through ignorance, Agesilaus ruined the Lacedæmonians by plunging them into war with Thebes, to gratify his own angry and quarrelsome temper.

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II. If it be right to attribute the disasters which befel either of those men to some special ill-luck which attended them, the Romans had no reason whatever to suspect any such thing of Pompeius; but Agesilaus, although the Lacedæmonians well knew the words of the oracle, yet would not allow them to avoid "a lame reign." Even if Leotychides had been proved a thousand times to be a bastard, the family of Eurypon could have supplied Sparta with a legitimate and sound king, had not Lysander, for the sake of Agesilaus, deceived them as to the true meaning of the oracle. On the other hand, we have no specimen of the political ingenuity of Pompeius which can be compared with that admirable device of Agesilaus, when he readmitted the survivors of the battle of Leuktra to the privileges of Spartan citizens, by permitting the laws to sleep for one day. Pompeius did not even think it his duty to abide by the laws which he had himself enacted, but broke them to prove his great power to his friends. Agesilaus, when forced either to abolish the laws or to ruin his friends, discovered an expedient by which the laws did his friends no hurt, and yet had not to be abolished in order to save them. I also place to the credit of Agesilaus that unparalleled act of obedience, when on receiving a despatch from Sparta he abandoned the whole of his Asian enterprise. For Agesilaus did not, like Pompeius, enrich the state by his own exploits, but looking solely to the interests of his country, he gave up a position of greater glory and power than any Greek before or since ever held, with the single exception of Alexander.

III. Looking at them from another point of view, I suppose that even Xenophon himself would not think of comparing the number of the victories won by Pompeius, the size of the armies which he commanded, and that of those which he defeated, with any of the victories of Agesilaus; although Xenophon has written so admirably upon other subjects, that he seems to think himself privileged to say whatever he pleases about the life of his favourite hero. I think also that the two men differ much in their treatment of their enemies. The Greek wished to sell the Thebans for slaves, and to drive the Messenians from their country, although Thebes was the mother city of Sparta, and the [Pg 297] Messenians sprang from the same stock as the Lacedæmonians. In his attempts to effect this, he all but lost Sparta herself, and did lose the Spartan empire; while Pompeius even gave cities to be inhabited by such of the Mediterranean pirates as abandoned that mode of life; and when Tigranes the king of Armenia was in his power, he did not lead him in his triumph, but chose rather to make him an ally of Rome; observing, that he preferred an advantage which would last for all time to the glory which only endured for a single day.

If, however, we place the chief glory of a general in feats of arms and strategy, the Laconian will be found greatly to excel the Roman. Agesilaus did not abandon Sparta even when it was attacked by seventy thousand men, when he had but few troops with which to defend it, and those too all disheartened by their recent defeat at Leuktra. Pompeius, on hearing that Cæsar, with only five thousand three hundred men, had taken a town in Italy, left Rome in terror, either

yielding to this small force like a coward, or else falsely supposing it to be more numerous than it was. He carefully carried off his own wife and children, but left the families of his partizans unprotected in Rome, when he ought either to have fought for the city against Cæsar, or else to have acknowledged him as his superior and submitted to him, for Cæsar was both his fellow-countryman and his relative. Yet, after having violently objected to the prorogation of Cæsar's term of office as consul, he put it in his power to capture Rome itself, and to say to Metellus that he regarded him and all the rest of the citizens as prisoners of war.

IV. Agesilaus, when he was the stronger, always forced his enemy to fight, and when weaker, always avoided a battle. By always practising this, the highest art of a general, he passed through his life without a single defeat; whereas Pompeius was unable to make use of his superiority to Cæsar by sea, and was forced by him to hazard everything on the event of a land battle; for as soon as Cæsar had defeated him, he at once obtained possession of all Pompeius's treasure, supplies, and command of the sea, without gaining which he must inevitably have been defeated, even without a battle. Pompeius's excuse for his conduct is, in truth, his severest condemnation. [Pg 298] It is very natural and pardonable for a young general to be influenced by clamours and accusations of remissness and cowardice, so as to abandon the course which he had previously decided upon as the safest; but that the great Pompeius, of whom the Romans used to say that the camp was his home, and that he only made an occasional campaign in the senate house, at a time when his followers called the consuls and generals of Rome traitors and rebels, and when they knew that he was in possession of absolute uncontrolled power, and had already conducted so many campaigns with such brilliant success as commander-in-chief—that he should be moved by the scoffs of a Favonius or a Domitius, and hazard his army and his life lest they should call him Agamemnon, is a most discreditable supposition. If he were so sensitive on the point of honour, he ought to have made a stand at the very beginning, and fought a battle in defence of Rome, not first to have retreated, giving out that he was acting with a subtlety worthy of Themistokles himself, and then to have regarded every day spent in Thessaly without fighting as a disgrace. The plain of Pharsalia was not specially appointed by heaven as the arena in which he was to contend with Cæsar for the empire of the world, nor was he summoned by the voice of a herald either to fight or to avow himself vanquished. There were many plains, and innumerable cities and countries which his command of the sea would have enabled him to reach, if he had wished to imitate Fabius Maximus, Marius, Lucullus, or Agesilaus himself, who resisted the same kind of clamour at Sparta, when his countrymen wished to fight the Thebans and protect their native land; while in Egypt he endured endless reproaches, abuse, and suspicion from Nektanebis because he forbade him to fight, and by consistently carrying out his own judicious policy saved the Egyptians against their will. He not only guided Sparta safely through that terrible crisis, but was enabled to win a victory over the Thebans in the city itself, which he never could have done had he yielded to the entreaties of the Lacedæmonians to fight when their country was first invaded. Thus it happened that Agesilaus was warmly praised by those whose opinions he had [Pg 299] overruled, while Pompeius made mistakes to please his friends, and afterwards was reproached by them for what he had done. Some historians tell us, however, that he was deceived by his father-in-law, Scipio, who with the intention of embezzling and converting to his own use the greater part of the treasure which Pompeius brought from Asia, urged him to fight as soon as possible, as though there was likely to be a scarcity of money. In these respects, then, we have reviewed their respective characters.

V. Pompeius went to Egypt of necessity, fleeing for his life; but Agesilaus went there with the dishonourable purpose of acting as general for the barbarians, in order that he might employ the money which he earned by that means in making war upon the Greeks. We blame the Egyptians for their conduct to Pompeius; but the Egyptians have equal reason to complain of the conduct of Agesilaus towards themselves; for though Pompeius trusted them and was betrayed, yet Agesilaus deserted the man who trusted him, and joined the enemies of those whom he went out to assist.

LIFE OF ALEXANDER. [Pg 300]

I. In writing the Lives of Alexander the Great and of Cæsar the conqueror of Pompeius, which are contained in this book, I have before me such an abundance of materials, that I shall make no other preface than to beg the reader, if he finds any of their famous exploits recorded imperfectly, and with large excisions, not to regard this as a fault. I am writing biography, not history; and often a man's most brilliant actions prove nothing as to his true character, while some trifling incident, some casual remark or jest, will throw more light upon what manner of man he was than the bloodiest battle, the greatest array of armies, or the most important siege. Therefore, just as portrait painters pay most attention to those peculiarities of the face and eyes, in which the likeness consists, and care but little for the rest of the figure, so it is my duty to dwell especially upon those actions which reveal the workings of my heroes' minds, and from these to construct the portraits of their respective lives, leaving their battles and their great deeds to be recorded by others.

II. All are agreed that Alexander was descended on his father's side from Herakles through Karanus, and on his mother's from Æakus through Neoptolemus.

We are told that Philip and Olympias first met during their initiation into the sacred mysteries at

Samothrace, and that he, while yet a boy, fell in love with the orphan girl, and persuaded her brother Arymbas to consent to their marriage. The bride, before she consorted with her husband, dreamed that she had been struck by a thunderbolt, from which a sheet of flame sprang out in every direction, and then suddenly died away. Philip himself some time after his marriage dreamed that he set a seal upon his wife's body, on which was engraved the figure of a lion. [Pg 301] When he consulted the soothsayers as to what this meant, most of them declared the meaning to be, that his wife required more careful watching; but Aristander of Telmessus declared that she must be pregnant, because men do not seal up what is empty, and that she would bear a son of a spirited and lion-like disposition. Once Philip found his wife asleep, with a large tame snake stretched beside her; and this, it is said, quite put an end to his passion for her, and made him avoid her society, either because he feared the magic arts of his wife, or else from a religious scruple, because his place was more worthily filled. Another version of this story is that the women of Macedonia have been from very ancient times subject to the Orphic and Bacchic frenzy (whence they were called Clodones and Mimallones), and perform the same rites as do the Edonians and the Thracian women about Mount Haemus, from which the word "threskeuein" has come to mean "to be over-superstitious." Olympias, it is said, celebrated these rites with exceeding fervour, and in imitation of the Orientals, and to introduce into the festal procession large tame serpents,[394] which struck terror into the men as they glided through the ivy wreaths and mystic baskets which the women carried on their heads.

III. We are told that Philip after this portent sent Chairon of Megalopolis to Delphi, to consult the god there, and that he delivered an oracular response bidding him sacrifice to Zeus Ammon, and to pay especial reverence to that god: warning him, moreover, that he would some day lose the sight of that eye with which, through the chink of the half-opened door, he had seen the god consorting with his wife in the form of a serpent. The historian Eratosthenes informs us that when Alexander was about to set out on his great expedition, Olympias told him the secret of his birth, and bade him act worthily of his divine parentage. Other writers say that she scrupled to mention the subject, and was heard to say "Why does Alexander make Hera jealous of me?"

Alexander was born on the sixth day of the month Hekatombæon,[395] which the Macedonians call [Pg 302] Lous, the same day on which the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burned. This coincidence inspired Hegesias of Magnesia to construct a ponderous joke, dull enough to have put out the fire, which was, that it was no wonder that the temple of Artemis was burned, since she was away from, it, attending to the birth of Alexander.[396] All the Persian magi who were in Ephesus at the time imagined that the destruction of the temple was but the forerunner of a greater disaster, and ran through the city beating their faces and shouting that on that day was born the destroyer of Asia. Philip, who had just captured the city of Potidæa, received at that time three messengers. The first announced that the Illyrians had been severely defeated by Parmenio; the second that his racehorse had won a victory at Olympia, and the third, that Alexander was born. As one may well believe, he was delighted at such good news and was yet more overjoyed when the soothsayers told him that his son, whose birth coincided with three victories, would surely prove invincible.

IV. His personal appearance is best shown by the statues of Lysippus, the only artist whom he allowed to represent him; in whose works we can clearly trace that slight droop of his head towards the left, and that keen glance of his eyes which formed his chief characteristics, and which were afterwards imitated by his friends and successors.

Apelles, in his celebrated picture of Alexander wielding a thunderbolt, has not exactly copied the fresh tint of his flesh, but has made it darker and swarthier than it was, for we are told that his skin was remarkably fair, inclining to red about the face and breast. We learn from the memoirs of Aristoxenes, that his body diffused a rich perfume, which scented his clothes, and that his breath was remarkably sweet. This was possibly caused by the hot and fiery constitution of his body; for sweet scents are produced, according to Theophrastus, by heat acting upon moisture. For this reason the hottest and driest regions of the earth produce the most aromatic perfumes, [Pg 303] because the sun dries up that moisture which causes most substances to decay.

Alexander's warm temperament of body seems to have rendered him fond of drinking, and fiery in disposition. As a youth he showed great power of self-control, by abstaining from all sensual pleasures in spite of his vehement and passionate nature; while his intense desire for fame rendered him serious and high-minded beyond his years.

For many kinds of glory, however, Alexander cared little; unlike his father Philip, who prided himself on his oratorical powers, and used to record his victories in the chariot races at Olympia upon his coins. Indeed, when Alexander's friends, to try him, asked him whether he would contend in the foot race at Olympia, for he was a remarkably swift runner, he answered, "Yes, if I have kings to contend with." He seems to have been altogether indifferent to athletic exercises; for though he gave more prizes than any one else to be contended for by dramatists, flute players, harp players, and even by rhapsodists,[397] and though he delighted in all manner of hunting and cudgel playing, he never seems to have taken any interest in the contests of boxing or the pankratium.[398] When ambassadors from the King of Persia arrived in Macedonia, Philip was absent, and Alexander entertained them. His engaging manners greatly charmed them, and he became their intimate friend. He never put any childish questions to them, but made many enquiries about the length of the journey from the sea coast to the interior of Persia, about the roads which led thither, about the king, whether he was experienced in war or not, and about the resources and military strength of the Persian empire, so that the ambassadors were filled with

admiration, and declared that the boasted subtlety of Philip was nothing in comparison with the intellectual vigour and enlarged views of his son. Whenever he heard of Philip's having taken some city or won some famous victory, he used to look unhappy at the news, and would say to his friends, "Boys, my father will forestall us in everything; he will leave no great exploits for you and me to achieve." Indeed, he cared nothing for pleasure or wealth, but only for honour and glory; and he imagined that the more territory he inherited from his father, the less would be left for him to conquer. He feared that his father's conquests would be so complete, as to leave him no more battles to fight, and he wished to succeed, not to a wealthy and luxurious, but to a military empire, at the head of which he might gratify his desire for war and adventure. [Pg 304]

His education was superintended by many nurses, pedagogues, and teachers, the chief of whom was Leonidas, a harsh-tempered man, who was nearly related to Olympias. He did not object to the title of pedagogue,[399] thinking that his duties are most valuable and honourable, but, on account of his high character and relationship to Alexander, was generally given the title of tutor by the others. The name and office of pedagogue was claimed by one Lysimachus, an Akarnanian by birth, and a dull man, but who gained the favour of Alexander by addressing him as Achilles, calling himself Phœnix, and Philip, Peleus.

VI. When Philoneikus the Thessalian brought the horse Boukephalus[400] and offered it to Philip for the sum of thirteen talents, the king and his friends proceeded to some level ground to try the horse's paces. They found that he was very savage and unmanageable, for he allowed no one to mount him, and paid no attention to any man's voice, but refused to allow any one to approach him. On this Philip became angry, and bade them take the vicious intractable brute away. [Pg 305] Alexander, who was present, said, "What a fine horse they are ruining because they are too ignorant and cowardly to manage him." Philip at first was silent, but when Alexander repeated this remark several times, and seemed greatly distressed, he said, "Do you blame your elders, as if you knew more than they, or were better able to manage a horse?" "This horse, at any rate," answered Alexander, "I could manage better than any one else." "And if you cannot manage him," retorted his father, "what penalty will you pay for your forwardness?" "I will pay," said Alexander, "the price of the horse."

While the others were laughing and settling the terms of the wager, Alexander ran straight up to the horse, took him by the bridle, and turned him to the sun; as it seems he had noticed that the horse's shadow dancing before his eyes alarmed him and made him restive. He then spoke gently to the horse, and patted him on the back with his hand, until he perceived that he no longer snorted so wildly, when, dropping his cloak, he lightly leaped upon his back. He now steadily reined him in, without violence or blows, and as he saw that the horse was no longer ill-tempered, but only eager to gallop, he let him go, boldly urging him to full speed with his voice and heel.

Philip and his friends were at first silent with terror; but when he wheeled the horse round, and rode up to them exulting in his success, they burst into a loud shout. It is said that his father wept for joy, and, when he dismounted, kissed him, saying, "My son, seek for a kingdom worthy of yourself: for Macedonia will not hold you."

VII. Philip, seeing that his son was easily led, but could not be made to do anything by force, used always to manage him by persuasion, and never gave him orders. As he did not altogether care to entrust his education to the teachers whom he had obtained, but thought that it would be too difficult a task for them, since Alexander required, as Sophokles says of a ship:

> "Stout ropes to check him, and stout oars to guide."

he sent for Aristotle, the most renowned philosopher of the age, to be his son's tutor, and paid [Pg 306] him a handsome reward for doing so. He had captured and destroyed Aristotle's native city of Stageira; but now he rebuilt it, and repeopled it, ransoming the citizens, who had been, sold for slaves, and bringing back those who were living in exile. For Alexander and Aristotle he appointed the temple and grove of the nymphs, near the city of Mieza, as a school-house and dwelling; and there to this day are shown the stone seat where Aristotle sat, and the shady avenues where he used to walk. It is thought that Alexander was taught by him not only his doctrines of Morals and Politics, but also those more abstruse mysteries which are only communicated orally and are kept concealed from the vulgar: for after he had invaded Asia, hearing that Aristotle had published some treatises on these subjects, he wrote him a letter in which he defended the practice of keeping these speculations secret in the following words:—

"Alexander to Aristotle wishes health. You have not done well in publishing abroad those sciences which should only be taught by word of mouth. For how shall we be distinguished from other men, if the knowledge which we have acquired be made the common property of all? I myself had rather excel others in excellency of learning than in greatness of power. Farewell."

To pacify him, Aristotle wrote in reply that these doctrines were published, and yet not published: meaning that his treatise on Metaphysics was only written for those who had been instructed in philosophy by himself, and would be quite useless in other hands.

VIII. I think also that Aristotle more than any one else implanted a love of medicine in Alexander, who was not only fond of discussing the theory, but used to prescribe for his friends when they were sick, and order them to follow special courses of treatment and diet, as we gather from his letters. He was likewise fond of literature and of reading, and we are told by Onesikritus that he was wont to call the Iliad a complete manual of the military art, and that he always carried with

him Aristotle's recension of Homer's poems, which is called 'the casket copy,' and placed it under his pillow together with his dagger. Being without books when in the interior of Asia, he ordered Harpalus to send him some. Harpalus sent him the histories of Philistus, several plays of Euripides, Sophokles, and Æschylus, and the dithyrambic hymns of Telestus and Philoxenus. [Pg 307]

Alexander when a youth used to love and admire Aristotle more even than his father, for he said that the latter had enabled him to live, but that the former had taught him to live well. He afterwards suspected him somewhat; yet he never did him any injury, but only was not so friendly with him as he had been, whereby it was observed that he no longer bore him the good-will he was wont to do. Notwithstanding this, he never lost that interest in philosophical speculation which he had acquired in his youth, as it proved by the honours which he paid to Anaxarchus, the fifty talents which he sent as a present to Xenokrates, and the protection and encouragement which he gave to Dandamris and Kalanus.

IX. When Philip was besieging Byzantium he left to Alexander, who was then only sixteen years old, the sole charge of the administration of the kingdom of Macedonia, confirming his authority by entrusting to him his own signet.[401] He defeated and subdued the Mædian[402] rebels, took their city, ejected its barbarian inhabitants, and reconstituted it as a Grecian colony, to which he gave the name of Alexandropolis.

He was present at the battle against the Greeks at Chæronea, and it is said to have been the first to charge the Sacred Band of the Thebans. Even in my own time, an old oak tree used to be pointed out, near the river Kephissus,[403] which was called Alexander's oak, because his tent was pitched beside it. It stands not far from the place where the Macedonian corpses were buried after the battle. Philip, as we may imagine, was overjoyed at these proofs of his son's courage and skill, and nothing pleased him more than to hear the Macedonians call Alexander their king, and himself their general. Soon, however, the domestic dissensions produced by Philip's amours and marriages caused an estrangement between them, and the breach was widened by Olympias, a jealous and revengeful woman, who incensed Alexander against his father. But what especially moved Alexander was the conduct of Attalus at the marriage feast of his niece Kleopatra. Philip, who was now too old for marriage, had become enamoured of this girl, and after the wedding, Attalus in his cups called upon the Macedonians to pray to the gods that from the union of Philip and Kleopatra might be born a legitimate heir to the throne. [Pg 308]

Enraged at these words, Alexander exclaimed, "You villain, am I then a bastard?" and threw a drinking cup at him. Philip, seeing this, rose and drew his sword to attack Alexander; but fortunately for both he was so excited by drink and rage that he missed his footing and fell headlong to the ground. Hereupon Alexander mocking him observed, "This is the man who was preparing to cross from Europe to Asia, and has been overthrown in passing from one couch[404] to another."

After this disgraceful scene, Alexander, with his mother Olympias, retired into Epirus, where he left her, and proceeded to the country of the Illyrians. About the same time Demaratus of Corinth, an old friend of the family, and privileged to speak his mind freely, came on a visit to Philip. After the first greetings were over, Philip enquired whether the states of Greece agreed well together. "Truly, King Philip," answered Demaratus, "it well becomes you to show an interest in the agreement of the Greeks, after you have raised such violent quarrels in your own family."

These words had such an effect upon Philip that Demaratus was able to prevail upon him to make his peace with Alexander and to induce him to return.

X. Yet when Pixodarus, the satrap of Karia, hoping to connect himself with Philip, and so to obtain him as an ally, offered his eldest daughter in marriage to Arrhidæus, Philip's natural son, and sent Aristokrites to Macedonia to conduct the negotiations, Olympias and her friends again exasperated Alexander against his father by pointing out to him that Philip, by arranging this splendid marriage for Arrhidæus, and treating him as a person of such great importance, was endeavouring to accustom the Macedonians to regard him as the heir to the throne. Alexander yielded to these representations so far as to send Thessalus, the tragic actor, on a special mission to Pixodarus in Karia, to assure him that he ought to disregard Arrhidæus, who was illegitimate, and foolish to boot, and that it was to Alexander that he ought to offer the hand of his daughter. [Pg 309]

Pixodarus was much more eager to accept this proposal than the former, but Philip one day hearing that Alexander was alone in his chamber, went thither with Philotas, the son of Parmenio, an intimate friend, and bitterly reproached him, pointing out how unworthy it was of his high birth and glorious position to stoop to marry the daughter of a mere Karian,[405] and of a barbarian who was a subject of the King of Persia.

Upon this he wrote to the Corinthians to send him Thessalus in chains, and also banished out of his kingdom Harpalus, Nearchus, Erigyius, and Ptolemæus, all of whom Alexander afterwards brought back and promoted to great honours.

Shortly after this, Pausanias was grossly insulted by the contrivance of Attalus and Kleopatra, and, as he could not obtain amends for what he suffered, assassinated Philip. We are told that most men laid the blame of this murder upon Queen Olympias, who found the young man smarting from the outrage which had been committed upon him, and urged him to avenge himself, while some accused Alexander himself. It is said that when Pausanias came to him and complained of his treatment, Alexander answered him by quoting the line from the Medea of Euripides, in which she declares that she will be revenged upon [Pg 310]

"The guardian, and the bridegroom, and the bride,"

alluding to Attalus, Philip, and Kleopatra.

However this may be, it is certain that he sought out and punished all who were concerned in the plot, and he expressed his sorrow on discovering that during his own absence from the kingdom, Kleopatra had been cruelly tortured and put to death by his mother Olympias.

XI. At the age of twenty he succeeded to the throne of Macedonia, a perilous and unenviable inheritance: for the neighbouring barbarian tribes chafed at being held in bondage, and longed for the rule of their own native kings; while Philip, although he had conquered Greece by force of arms, yet had not had time to settle its government and accustom it to its new position. He had overthrown all constituted authority in that country, and had left men's minds in an excited condition, eager for fresh changes and revolutions. The Macedonians were very sensible of the dangerous crisis through which they were passing, and hoped that Alexander would refrain as far as possible from interfering in the affairs of Greece, deal gently with the insurgent chiefs of his barbarian subjects, and carefully guard against revolutionary outbreaks. He, however, took quite a different view of the situation, conceiving it to be best to win safety by audacity, and carrying things with a high hand, thinking that if he showed the least sign of weakness, his enemies would all set upon him at once. He crushed the risings of the barbarians by promptly marching through their country as far as the river Danube, and by winning a signal victory over Syrmus, the King of the Triballi. After this, as he heard that the Thebans had revolted, and that the Athenians sympathised with them, he marched his army straight through Thermopylæ, with the remark that Demosthenes, who had called him a boy while he was fighting the Illyrians and Triballi, and a youth while he was marching through Thessaly, should find him a man when he saw him before the gates of Athens. When he reached Thebes, he gave the citizens an opportunity to repent of [Pg 311] their conduct, only demanding Phœnix and Prothytes to be given up to him, and offering the rest a free pardon if they would join him. When, however, the Thebans in answer to this, demanded that he should give up Philotas and Antipater to them, and called upon all who were willing to assist in the liberation of Greece to come and join them, he bade his Macedonians prepare for battle.

The Thebans, although greatly outnumbered, fought with superhuman valour; but they were taken in the rear by the Macedonian garrison, who suddenly made a sally from the Kadmeia, and the greater part of them were surrounded and fell fighting. The city was captured, plundered and destroyed. Alexander hoped by this terrible example to strike terror into the other Grecian states, although he put forward the specious pretext that he was avenging the wrongs of his allies; for the Platæans and Phokians had made some complaints of the conduct of the Thebans towards them. With the exception of the priests, the personal friends and guests of the Macedonians, the descendants of the poet Pindar, and those who had opposed the revolt, he sold for slaves all the rest of the inhabitants, thirty thousand in number. More than six thousand men perished in the battle.

XII. Amidst the fearful scene of misery and disorder which followed the capture of the city, certain Thracians broke into the house of one Timoklea, a lady of noble birth and irreproachable character. Their leader forcibly violated her, and then demanded whether she had any gold or silver concealed. She said that she had, led him alone into the garden, and, pointing to a well, told him that when the city was taken she threw her most valuable jewels into it. While the Thracian was stooping over the well trying to see down to the bottom, she came behind, pushed him in, and threw large stones upon him until he died. The Thracians seized her, and took her to Alexander, where she proved herself a woman of courage by her noble and fearless carriage, as she walked in the midst of her savage captors. The king enquired who she was, to which she replied she was the sister of Theagenes, who fought against Philip to protect the liberty of Greece, and who fell leading on the Thebans at Chæronea. Alexander, struck by her answer, and [Pg 312] admiring her exploit, gave orders that she and her children should be set at liberty.

XIII. Alexander came to terms with the Athenians, although they had expressed the warmest sympathy for the Thebans, omitting the performance of the festival of Demeter, out of respect for their misfortunes, and giving a kindly welcome to all the fugitives who reached Athens. Either he had had his fill of anger, like a sated lion, or possibly he wished to perform some signal act of mercy by way of contrast to his savage treatment of Thebes. Be this as it may, he not only informed the Athenians that he had no grounds of quarrel with them, but even went so far as to advise them to watch the course of events with care, since, if anything should happen to him, they might again become the ruling state in Greece. In after times, Alexander often grieved over his harsh treatment of the Thebans, and the recollection of what he had done made him much less severe to others. Indeed, he always referred his unfortunate drunken quarrel with Kleitus, and the refusal of the Macedonian soldiers to invade India, by which they rendered the glory of his great expedition incomplete, to the anger of Dionysius,[406] who desired to avenge the fate of his favourite city. Moreover, of the Thebans who survived the ruin of their city, no one ever asked any favour of Alexander without its being granted. This was the manner in which Alexander dealt with Thebes.

XIV. The Greeks after this assembled at Corinth and agreed to invade Persia with Alexander for their leader. Many of their chief statesmen and philosophers paid him visits of congratulation, and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who was at that time living at Corinth, would do so. As he, however, paid no attention whatever to Alexander and remained quietly in the suburb called Kraneium, Alexander himself went to visit him. He found him lying at full length, basking in the

sun. At the approach of so many people, he sat up, and looked at Alexander. Alexander greeted him, and enquired whether he could do anything for him. "Yes," answered Diogenes, "you can [Pg 313] stand a little on one side, and not keep the sun off me." This answer is said to have so greatly surprised Alexander, and to have filled him with such a feeling of admiration for the greatness of mind of a man who could treat him with such insolent superiority, that when he went away, while all around were jeering and scoffing he said, "Say what you will; if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes."

Desiring to consult the oracle of Apollo concerning his campaign, he now proceeded to Delphi. It chanced that he arrived there on one of the days which are called unfortunate, on which no oracular responses can be obtained. In spite of this he at once sent for the chief priestess, and as she refused to officiate and urged that she was forbidden to do so by the law, he entered the temple by force and dragged her to the prophetic tripod. She, yielding to his persistence, said, "You are irresistible, my son." Alexander, at once, on hearing this, declared that he did not wish for any further prophecy, but that he had obtained from her the response which he wished for. While he was preparing for his expedition, among many other portents, the statue of Orpheus at Loibethra, which is made of cypress-wood, was observed to be covered with sweat. All were alarmed at this omen, but Aristander bade them take courage, as it portended that Alexander should perform many famous acts, which would cause poets much trouble to record.

XV. The number of his army is variously stated by different authorities, some saying that it amounted to thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse, while others put the whole amount so high as forty-three thousand foot and five thousand horse. To provide for this multitude, Aristobulus relates that he possessed only seventy talents, while Douris informs us that he had only provisions for thirty days, and Onesikritus declares that he was in debt to the amount of two hundred talents. Yet although he started with such slender resources, before he embarked he carefully enquired into the affairs of his friends, and made them all ample presents, assigning to some of them large tracts of land, and to others villages, the rents of houses, or the right of levying harbour dues. When he had almost expended the whole of the revenues of the crown in [Pg 314] this fashion, Perdikkas enquired of him, "My king, what have you reserved for yourself?" "My hopes," replied Alexander. "Then," said Perdikkas, "are we who go with you not to share them?" and he at once refused to accept the present which had been offered to him, as did several others. Those, however, who would receive his gifts, or who asked for anything, were rewarded with a lavish hand, so that he distributed among them nearly all the revenues of Macedonia; so confident of success was he when he set out. When he had crossed the Hellespont he proceeded to Troy, offered sacrifice to Athena, and poured libations to the heroes who fell there. He anointed the column which marks the tomb of Achilles with fresh oil, and after running round it naked with his friends, as is customary, placed a garland upon it, observing that Achilles was fortunate in having a faithful friend while he lived, and a glorious poet to sing of his deeds after his death. While he was walking through the city and looking at all the notable things, he was asked whether he wished to see the harp which had once belonged to Paris. He answered, that he cared nothing for it, but that he wished to find that upon which Achilles used to play when he sang of the deeds of heroes.

XVI. Meanwhile the generals of Darius had collected a large army, and posted it at the passage of the river Granikus, so that it was necessary for Alexander to fight a battle in order to effect so much as an entrance into Asia. Most of the Greek generals were alarmed at the depth and uneven bed of the river, and at the rugged and broken ground on the farther bank, which they would have to mount in the face of the enemy. Some also raised a religious scruple, averring that the Macedonian kings never made war during the month Daisius. Alexander said that this could be easily remedied, and ordered that the second month in the Macedonian calendar should henceforth be called Artemisium. When Parmenio besought him not to risk a battle, as the season was far advanced, he said that the Hellespont would blush for shame if he crossed it, and then feared to cross the Granikus, and at once plunged into the stream with thirteen squadrons of [Pg 315] cavalry. It seemed the act of a desperate madman rather than of a general to ride thus through a rapid river, under a storm of missiles, towards a steep bank where every position of advantage was occupied by armed men. He, however, gained the farther shore, and made good his footing there, although with great difficulty on account of the slippery mud. As soon as he had crossed, and driven away those who had opposed his passage, he was charged by a mass of the enemy, and forced to fight, pell-mell, man to man, before he could put those who had followed him over into battle array. The enemy came on with a shout, and rode straight up to the horses of the Macedonians, thrusting at them with spears, and using swords when their spears were broken. Many of them pressed round Alexander himself, who was made a conspicuous figure by his shield and the long white plume which hung down on each side of his helmet. He was struck by a javelin in the joint of his corslet, but received no hurt. Rhœsakes and Spithridates, two of the Persian generals, now attacked him at once. He avoided the charge of the latter, but broke his spear against the breastplate of Rhœsakes, and was forced to betake him to his sword. No sooner had they closed together than Spithridates rode up beside him, and, standing up in his stirrups, dealt him such a blow with a battle-axe, as cut off one side of his plume, and pierced his helmet just so far as to reach his hair with the edge of the axe. While Spithridates was preparing for another blow, he was run through by black Kleitus with a lance, and at the same moment Alexander with his sword laid Rhœsakes dead at his feet. During this fierce and perilous cavalry battle, the Macedonian phalanx[407] crossed the river, and engaged the enemy's infantry force, none of which offered much resistance except a body of mercenary Greeks in the pay of Persia. These troops retired to a small rising ground, and begged for quarter. Alexander, however, furiously

attacked them by riding up to them by himself, in front of his men.

He lost his horse, which was killed by a sword-thrust, and it is said that more of the Macedonians perished in that fight, and that more wounds were given and received, than in all the rest of the battle, as they were attacking desperate men accustomed to war. [Pg 316]

The Persians are said to have lost twenty thousand infantry, and two thousand five hundred cavalry. In the army of Alexander, Aristobulus states the total loss to have been thirty-four men, nine of whom were foot soldiers. Alexander ordered that each of these men should have his statue made in bronze by Lysippus; and wishing to make the Greeks generally partakers of his victory, he sent the Athenians three hundred captured shields, and on the other spoils placed the following vainglorious inscription:[408] "Alexander, the son of Philip, and the Greeks, all but the Lacedæmonians, won these spoils from the barbarians of Asia." As for the golden drinking-cups, purple hangings, and other plunder of that sort, he sent it nearly all to his mother, reserving only a few things for himself.

XVII. This victory wrought a great change in Alexander's position. Several of the neighbouring states came and made their submission to him, and even Sardis itself, the chief town in Lydia, and the main station of the Persians in Asia Minor, submitted without a blow. The only cities which still resisted him, Halikarnassus and Miletus, he took by storm, and conquered all the adjacent territory, after which he remained in doubt as to what to attempt next; whether to attack Darius at once and risk all that he had won upon the issue of a single battle, or to consolidate and organise his conquests on the coast of Asia Minor, and to gather new strength for the final struggle. It is said that at this time a spring in the country of Lykia, near the city of Xanthus, overflowed, and threw up from its depths a brazen tablet, upon which, in ancient characters, was inscribed a prophecy that the Persian empire should be destroyed by the Greeks. Encouraged by this portent, he extended his conquests along the sea coast as far as Phœnicia and Kilikia. Many historians dwelt with admiration on the good fortune of Alexander, in meeting with such fair weather and such a smooth sea during his passage along the stormy shore of Pamphylia, and say that it was a miracle that the furious sea, which usually dashed against the highest rocks upon the cliffs, fell calm for him. Menander alludes to this in one of his plays. [Pg 317]

> "Like Alexander, if I wish to meet
> A man, at once I find him in the street;
> And, were I forced to journey o'er the sea,
> The sea itself would calm its waves for me."

Alexander himself, however, in his letters, speaks of no such miracle, but merely tells us that he started from Phaselis, and passed along the difficult road called Klimax, or the Ladder.[409] He spent some time in Phaselis, and while he was there, observing in the market-place a statue of Theodektes, a philosopher, who had recently died, he made a procession to it one day after dinner, and crowned it with flowers, as a sportive recognition of what he owed to Theodektes, with whose philosophical writings Aristotle had made him familiar.

XVIII. After this he put down a revolt among the Pisidians, and conquered the whole of Phrygia. On his arrival at Gordium, which is said to have been the capital of King Midas of old, he was shown the celebrated chariot there, tied up with a knot of cornel-tree bark. Here he was told the legend, which all the natives believed, that whoever untied that knot was destined to become lord of all the world. Most historians say that as the knot was tied with a strap whose ends could not be found, and was very complicated and intricate, Alexander, despairing of untying it, drew his sword and cut through the knot, thus making many ends appear. But Aristobulus tells us that he easily undid it by pulling out of the pole the pin to which the strap was fastened, and then drawing off the yoke itself from the pole. [Pg 318]

He now prevailed upon the people of Paphlagonia and Kappadokia to join him, and also was encouraged in his design of proceeding farther into the interior by receiving intelligence of the death of Memnon, the general to whom Darius had entrusted the defence of the sea coast, who had already caused him much trouble, and had offered a most stubborn resistance to him. Darius, too, came from Susa, confident in the numbers of his army, for he was at the head of six hundred thousand men, and greatly encouraged by a dream upon which the Magi had put rather a strained interpretation in order to please him. He dreamed that he saw the Macedonian phalanx begirt with flame, and that Alexander, dressed in a courier's cloak like that which he himself had worn before he became king, was acting as his servant. Afterwards, Alexander went into the temple of Belus, and disappeared. By this vision the gods probably meant to foretell that the deeds of the Macedonians would be brilliant and glorious, and that Alexander after conquering Asia, just as Darius had conquered it when from a mere courier he rose to be a king, would die young and famous.

XIX. Darius was also much encouraged by the long inaction of Alexander in Kilikia. This was caused by an illness, which some say arose from the hardships which he had undergone, and others tell us was the result of bathing in the icy waters of the Kydnus. No physician dared to attend him, for they all thought that he was past the reach of medicine, and dreaded the anger of the Macedonians if they proved unsuccessful. At last Philip, an Akarnanian, seeing that he was dangerously ill, determined to run the risk, as he was his true friend, and thought it his duty to share all his dangers. He compounded a draught for him, and persuaded him to drink it, by telling him that it would give him strength and enable him to take the field. At this time Parmenio sent him a letter from the camp, bidding him beware of Philip, who had been bribed to poison

him by Darius with rich presents, and the offer of his own daughter in marriage. Alexander read the letter, and showed it to no one, but placed it under his pillow. At the appointed hour, Philip [Pg 319] and his friends entered the room, bringing the medicine in a cup. Alexander took the cup from him, and gave him the letter to read, while he firmly and cheerfully drank it off. It was a strange and theatrical scene. When the one had read, and the other had drunk, they stared into each other's faces, Alexander with a cheerful expression of trust and kindly feeling towards Philip, while Philip, enraged at the calumny, first raised his hands to heaven, protesting his innocence, and then, casting himself upon his knees at the bed-side, besought Alexander to be of good cheer and follow his advice. The effect of the drug at first was to produce extreme weakness, for he became speechless and almost insensible. In a short time, however, by Philip's care, he recovered his strength, and showed himself publicly to the Macedonians, who were very anxious about him, and would not believe that he was better until they saw him.

XX. There was in the camp of Darius a Macedonian refugee, named Amyntas, who was well acquainted with Alexander's character. This man, when he found that Darius wished to enter the hilly country to fight Alexander amongst its narrow valleys, besought him to remain where he was, upon the flat open plains, where the enormous numbers of his troops could be advantageously used against the small Macedonian army. When Darius answered that he feared Alexander and his men would escape unless he attacked, Amyntas said, "O king, have no fears on that score; for he will come and fight you, and I warrant he is not far off now." However, Amyntas made no impression on Darius, who marched forward into Kilikia, while at the same time Alexander marched into Syria to meet him. During the night they missed one another, and each turned back, Alexander rejoicing at this incident, and hurrying to catch Darius in the narrow defile leading into Kilikia, while Darius was glad of the opportunity of recovering his former ground, and of disentangling his army from the narrow passes through the mountains. He already had perceived the mistake which he had committed in entering a country where the sea, the mountains, and the river Pyramus which ran between them, made it impossible for his army to [Pg 320] act, while on the other hand it afforded great advantages to his enemies, who were mostly foot soldiers, and whose numbers were not so great as to encumber their movements.

Fortune, no doubt, greatly favoured Alexander, but yet he owed much of his success to his excellent generalship; for although enormously outnumbered by the enemy, he not only avoided being surrounded by them, but was able to outflank their left with his own right wing, and by this manœuvre completely defeated the Persians. He himself fought among the foremost, and, according to Chares, was wounded in the thigh by Darius himself. Alexander in the account of the battle which he despatched to Antipater, does not mention the name of the man who wounded him, but states that he received a stab in the thigh with a dagger, and that the wound was not a dangerous one.

He won a most decisive victory, and slew more than a hundred thousand of the enemy, but could not come up with Darius himself, as he gained a start of nearly a mile. He captured his chariot, however, and his bow and arrows, and on his return found the Macedonians revelling in the rich plunder which they had won, although the Persians had been in light marching order, and had left most of their heavy baggage at Damascus. The royal pavilion of Darius himself, full of beautiful slaves, and rich furniture of every description, had been left unplundered, and was reserved for Alexander himself, who as soon as he had taken off his armour, proceeded to the bath, saying "Let me wash off the sweat of the battle in the bath of Darius." " Nay," answered one of his companions, "in that of Alexander; for the goods of the vanquished become the property of the victor." When he entered the bath and saw that all the vessels for water, the bath itself, and the boxes of unguents were of pure gold, and smelt the delicious scent of the rich perfumes with which the whole pavilion was filled; and when he passed from the bath into a magnificent and lofty saloon where a splendid banquet was prepared, he looked at his friends and said "This, then, it is to be a king indeed."

XXI. While he was dining it was told him that the mother and wife of Darius, and his two [Pg 321] daughters, who were among the captives, had seen the chariot and bow of Darius, and were mourning for him, imagining him to be dead. Alexander when he heard this paused for a long time, being more affected by the grief of these ladies, than by the victory which he had won. Hie sent Leonnatus to inform them, that they need neither mourn for Darius, nor fear Alexander; for he was fighting for the empire of Asia, not as a personal enemy of Darius, and would take care that they were treated with the same honour and respect as before. This generous message to the captive princesses was followed by acts of still greater kindness; for he permitted then to bury whomsoever of the slain Persians they wished, and to use all their own apparel and furniture, which had been seized by the soldiers as plunder. He also allowed them to retain the regal title and state, and even increased their revenues. But the noblest and most truly royal part of his treatment of these captive ladies was that he never permitted them to hear any coarse language, or imagine for a moment that they were likely to suffer violence or outrage; so that they lived unseen and unmolested, more as though they were in some sacred retreat of holy virgins than in a camp. Yet the wife of Darius is said to have been the most beautiful princess of her age, just as Darius himself was the tallest and handsomest man in Asia, and their daughters are said to have resembled their parents in beauty. Alexander, it seems, thought it more kingly to restrain himself than to conquer the enemy, and never touched any of them, nor did he know any other before his marriage, except Barsine. This lady, after the death of her husband Memnon, remained at Damascus. She had received a Greek education, was naturally attractive, and was of royal descent, as her father was Artabazus, who married one of the king's daughters; which, added to the solicitations of Parmenio, as we are told by Aristobulus, made Alexander the more

willing to attach himself to so beautiful and well-born a lady. When Alexander saw the beauty of the other captives, he said in jest, that the Persian ladies make men's eyes sore to behold them. [Pg 322] Yet, in spite of their attractions, he was determined that his self-restraint should be as much admired as their beauty, and passed by them as if they had been images cut out of stone.

XXII. Indeed, when Philoxenus, the commander of his fleet, wrote to inform him that a slave merchant of Tarentum, named Theodorus, had two beautiful slaves for sale, and desired to know whether he would buy them, Alexander was greatly incensed, and angrily demanded of his friends what signs of baseness Philoxenus could have observed in him that he should venture to make such disgraceful proposals to him. He sent a severe reprimand to Philoxenus, and ordered him to send Theodorus and his merchandise to the devil. He also severely rebuked a young man named Hagnon for a similar offence.

On another occasion, when he heard that two Macedonians of Parmenio's regiment, named Damon and Timotheus, had violently outraged the wives of some of the mercenary soldiers, he wrote to Parmenio, ordering him, if the charge were proved, to put them to death like mere brute beasts that prey upon mankind. And in that letter he wrote thus of himself. "I have never seen, or desired to see the wife of Darius, and have not even allowed her beauty to be spoken of in my presence."

He was wont to say that he was chiefly reminded that he was mortal by these two weaknesses, sleep and lust; thinking weariness and sensuality alike to be bodily weaknesses. He was also most temperate in eating, as was signally proved by his answer to the princess Ada, whom he adopted as his mother, and made Queen of Karia. She, in order to show her fondness for him, sent him every day many dainty dishes and sweetmeats, and at last presented him with her best cooks. He answered her that he needed them not, since he had been provided with much better relishes for his food by his tutor Leonidas, who had taught him to earn his breakfast by a night-march, and to obtain an appetite for his dinner by eating sparingly at breakfast. "My tutor," he said, "would often look into my chests of clothes, and of bedding, to make sure that my mother had not hidden any delicacies for me in them."

XXIII. He was less given to wine than he was commonly supposed to be. He was thought to be a [Pg 323] great drinker because of the length of time which he would pass over each cup, in talking more than in drinking it, for he always held a long conversation while drinking, provided he was at leisure to do so. If anything had to be done, no wine, or desire of rest, no amusement, marriage, or spectacle could restrain him, as they did other generals. This is clearly shown by the shortness of his life, and the wonderful number of great deeds which he performed during the little time that he lived. When he was at leisure, he used to sacrifice to the gods immediately after rising in the morning, and then sit down to his breakfast. After breakfast, he would pass the day in hunting, deciding disputes between his subjects, devising military manœuvres, or reading. When on a journey, if he was not in any great hurry, he used, while on the road, to practice archery, or to dismount from a chariot which was being driven at full speed, and then again mount it. Frequently also he hunted foxes and shot birds for amusement, as we learn from his diaries. On arriving at the place where he intended to pass the night, he always bathed and anointed himself, and then asked his cooks what was being prepared for his dinner.

He always dined late, just as it began to grow dark, and was very careful to have his table well provided, and to give each of his guests an equal share. He sat long over his wine, as we have said, because of his love of conversation. And although at all other times his society was most charming, and his manners gracious and pleasant beyond any other prince of his age, yet when he was drinking, his talk ran entirely upon military topics, and became offensively boastful, partly from his own natural disposition, and partly from the encouragement which he received from his flatterers. This often greatly embarrassed honest men, as they neither wished to vie with the flatterers in praising him to his face, nor yet to appear to grudge him his due share of admiration. To bestow such excessive praise seemed shameful, while to withhold it was dangerous. After a drinking bout, he would take a bath, and often slept until late in the following day; and sometimes he passed the whole day asleep. He cared but little for delicate food, and often when [Pg 324] the rarest fruits and fish were sent to him from the sea-coast, he would distribute them so lavishly amongst his friends as to leave none for himself; yet his table was always magnificently served, and as his revenues became increased by his conquests, its expense rose to ten thousand drachmas a day. To this it was finally limited, and those who entertained Alexander were told that they must not expend more than that sum.

XXIV. After the battle of Issus, he sent troops to Damascus, and captured all the treasure, the baggage, and the women and children of the Persian army. Those who chiefly benefited by this were the Thessalian cavalry, who had distinguished themselves in the battle, and had been purposely chosen for this service by Alexander as a reward for their bravery; yet all the camp was filled with riches, so great was the mass of plunder. Then did the Macedonians get their first taste of gold and silver, of Persian luxury and of Persian women; and after this, like hounds opening upon a scent, they eagerly pressed forward on the track of the wealthy Persians. Alexander, however, thought it best, before proceeding further, to complete the conquest of the sea-coast. Cyprus was at once surrendered to him by its local kings, as was all Phœnicia, except Tyre. He besieged Tyre for seven months, with great mounds and siege artillery on the land side, while a fleet of two hundred triremes watched it by sea. During the seventh month of the siege he dreamed that Herakles greeted him in a friendly manner from the walls of Tyre, and called upon him to come in. Many of the Tyrians also dreamed that Apollo appeared to them, and said that he was going to Alexander, since what was being done in the city of Tyre did not please him. The

Tyrians, upon this, treated the god as though he were a man caught in the act of deserting to Alexander, for they tied cords round his statue, nailed it down to its base, and called him Alexandristes, or follower of Alexander. Alexander now dreamed another dream, that a satyr appeared to him at a distance, and sported with him, but when he endeavoured to catch him, ran away, and that, at length, after much trouble, he caught him. This was very plausibly explained [Pg 325] by the prophets to mean "Sa Tyros"—"Tyre shall be thine," dividing the Greek word Satyros into two parts. A well is shown at the present day near which Alexander saw the satyr in his dream.

During the siege, Alexander made an expedition against the neighbouring Arab tribes, in which he fell into great danger through his old tutor Lysimachus, who insisted on accompanying him, declaring that he was no older and no less brave than Phœnix when he followed Achilles to Troy. When they reached the mountains, they were forced to leave their horses and march on foot. The rest proceeded on their way, but Lysimachus could not keep up, although night was coming on and the enemy were near. Alexander would not leave him, but encouraged him and helped him along until he became separated from his army, and found himself almost alone. It was now dark, and bitterly cold. The country where they were was very rugged and mountainous, and in the distance appeared many scattered watch-fires of the enemy.

Alexander, accustomed to rouse the disheartened Macedonians by his own personal exertions, and trusting to his swiftness of foot, ran up to the nearest fire, struck down with his sword two men who wore watching beside it, and brought a burning firebrand back to his own party. They now made up an enormous fire, which terrified some of the enemy so much that they retreated, while others who had intended to attack them, halted and forbore to do so, thus enabling them to pass the night in safety.

XXV. The siege of Tyre came to an end in the following manner. The greater part of Alexander's troops were resting from their labours, but in order to occupy the attention of the enemy, he led a few men up to the city walls, while Aristander, the soothsayer, offered sacrifice. When he saw the victims, he boldly informed all who were present that during the current month, Tyre would be taken. All who heard him laughed him to scorn, as that day was the last of the month, but Alexander seeing him at his wits' end, being always eager to support the credit of prophecies, gave orders that that day should not be reckoned as the thirtieth of the month, but as the twenty- [Pg 326] third. After this he bade the trumpets sound, and assaulted the walls much more vigorously than he had originally intended. The attack succeeded, and as the rest of the army would no longer stay behind in the camp, but rushed to take their share in the assault, the Tyrians were overpowered, and their city taken on that very day.

Afterwards, while Alexander was besieging Gaza, the largest city in Syria, a clod of earth was dropped upon his shoulder by a bird, which afterwards alighted upon one of the military engines, and became entangled in the network of ropes by which it was worked. This portent also was truly explained by Aristander; for the place was taken, and Alexander was wounded in the shoulder.

He sent many of the spoils to Olympias, Kleopatra, and others of his friends, and sent his tutor Leonidas five hundred talents weight of frankincense, and a hundred talents of myrrh, to remind him of what he had said when a child. Leonidas once, when sacrificing, reproved Alexander for taking incense by handfuls to throw upon the victim when it was burning on the altar. "When," he said, "you have conquered the country from which incense comes, Alexander, then you may make such rich offerings as these; but at present you must use what we have sparingly." Alexander now wrote to him, "We have sent you abundance of frankincense and myrrh, that you may no longer treat the gods so stingily."

XXVI. When a certain casket was brought to him, which appeared to be the most valuable of all the treasures taken from Darius, he asked his friends what they thought he ought to keep in it as his own most precious possession. After they had suggested various different things, he said that he intended to keep his copy of the Iliad in it. This fact is mentioned by many historians; and if the legend which is current among the people of Alexandria; on the authority of Herakleides, be true, the poems of Homer were far from idle or useless companions to him, even when on a campaign. The story goes that after conquering Egypt, he desired to found a great and populous Grecian city, to be called after his own name, and that after he had fixed upon an excellent site, [Pg 327] where in the opinion of the best architects, a city surpassing anything previously existing could be built, he dreamed that a man with long hair and venerable aspect appeared to him, and recited the following verses:

> "Hard by, an island in the stormy main
> Lies close to Egypt, Pharos is its name."

As soon as he woke, he proceeded to Pharos, which then was an island near the Canopic mouth of the Nile, though at the present day so much earth has been deposited by the river that it is joined to the mainland. When he saw the great advantages possessed by this place, which is a long strip of land, stretching between the sea and a large inland lake, with a large harbour at the end of it, he at once said that Homer, besides his other admirable qualities, was a splendid architect, and gave orders to his workmen to mark out a site for a city suitable to such a situation. There was no chalk or white earth, with which it is usual to mark the course of the walls, but they took barley-groats, and marked out a semicircular line with them upon the black earth, dividing it into equal segments by lines radiating from the centre, so that it looked like a Macedonian cloak, of which the walls formed the outer fringe. While the king was looking with satisfaction at the plan of the

new city, suddenly from the lake and the river, innumerable aquatic birds of every kind flew like great clouds to the spot, and devoured all the barley. This omen greatly disturbed Alexander; however, the soothsayers bade him take courage, and interpreted it to mean that the place would become a very rich and populous city. Upon this he ordered the workmen at once to begin to build, while he himself started to visit the shrine and oracle of Zeus Ammon. This journey is tedious and difficult, and dangerous also, because the way lies over a waterless desert, where the traveller is exposed to violent storms of sand whenever the south wind blows. It was here that fifty thousand men of the army of Cambyses are said to have been overwhelmed by the sand, which rolled upon them in huge billows until they were completely ingulfed. All these perils were present to all men's minds, but it was hard to turn Alexander away from any project upon which [Pg 328] he had once set his heart. The invariable good fortune which he had enjoyed confirmed his self-will, and his pride would not allow him to confess himself vanquished either by human enemies or natural obstacles.

XXVII. During his journey, the signal assistance which he received from the gods in all his difficulties was more remarkable and more generally believed than the oracular response which he is said to have received, although these portents made men more inclined to believe in the oracle. In the first place, plentiful showers were sent, which quite dissipated any fears which the expedition had entertained about suffering from thirst, while the rain cooled the sand and thus tempered the hot air of the desert to a pleasant warmth. Next, when the guides lost their way, and all were wandering helplessly, birds appeared who guided them on the right path, flying before them and encouraging them to march, and waiting for those of them who fell behind wearied. "We are even assured by Kallisthones that, at night, the birds by their cries recalled stragglers, and kept all on the direct road.

When Alexander had crossed the desert, and arrived at the temple, the priest of Ammon greeted him as the son of the god. He inquired whether anyone of his father's murderers had escaped, to which the priest answered that he must not ask such questions, for his father was more than man. Alexander now altered the form of his inquiry and asked whether he had punished all the murderers of Philip: and then he asked another question, about his empire, whether he was fated to conquer all mankind. On receiving as an answer that this would be granted to him and that Philip had been amply avenged, he made splendid presents to the god, and amply rewarded the priests.

This is the account which most historians give about the response of the oracle; but in a letter to his mother, Alexander says that he received certain secret prophecies, which upon his return he would communicate to her alone. Some narrate that the priest, wishing to give him a friendly greeting in the Greek language, said "My son," but being a foreigner, mispronounced the words [Pg 329] so as to say "Son of Zeus," a mistake which delighted Alexander and caused men to say that the god himself had addressed him as "Son of Zeus." We are told that while in Egypt, he attended the lectures of the philosopher Psammon, and was especially pleased when he pointed out that God is King over all men, because that which rules and conquers must be king. He himself thought that he had improved upon this by saying that although God is the common father of all men, yet that he makes the best men more peculiarly his own.

XXVIII. In his dealings with Asiatics, he always acted and spoke with the greatest arrogance, and seemed firmly convinced of his own divine parentage, but he was careful not to make the same boast when among Greeks. On one occasion, indeed, he wrote to the Athenians the following letter about their possession of Samos. "I," he said, "should not have presented you with that free and glorious city; but it was presented to you by its former master, my reputed father Philip."

Yet afterwards when he was wounded by an arrow and in great pain he said "This, my friends, is blood that runs from my wound, and not

> "Ichor, that courses through the veins of gods."

Once when a great thunderstorm terrified every one, Anaxarchus the sophist, who was with him, said "Son of Zeus, canst thou do as much?" To this, Alexander answered with a smile, "Nay, I love not to frighten my friends, as you would have me do, when you complained of my table, because fish was served upon it instead of princes' heads." Indeed we are told that once, when Alexander had sent some small fish to Hephæstion, Anaxarchus used this expression ironically disparaging those who undergo great toils and run great risks to obtain magnificent results which, after all, make them no happier or able to enjoy themselves than other men. From these anecdotes we see that Alexander himself did not put any belief in the story of his divine parentage, but that he used it as a means of imposing upon others.

XXIX. From Egypt he returned to Phœnicia, and there offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, [Pg 330] with grand processions, cyclic choruses, and performances of tragic dramas. These last were especially remarkable, for the local kings of Cyprus acted as choragi, that is, supplied the chorus and paid all the expenses of putting the drama upon the stage, just as is done every year at Athens by the representatives of the tribes, and they exhibited wonderful emulation, desiring to outdo each other in the splendour of their shows. The contest between Nikokreon, King of Salamis, and Pasikrates, King of Soli, is especially memorable. These two had obtained by lot the two most celebrated actors of the day, who were named Athenodorus and Thessalus, to act in their plays. Of these, Athenodorus was assigned to Nikokreon, and Thessalus, in whose success Alexander himself was personally interested, to Pasikrates. Alexander, however, never allowed any word to escape him denoting his preference for one over the other until after the votes had

been given, and Athenodorus had been proclaimed the winner, when, as he was going home, he said that he would willingly have given up a province of his kingdom to save Thessalus from being vanquished. As Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians for being absent from their Dionysian festival, in which he ought to have taken part, he begged Alexander to write them a letter to excuse him. Alexander refused to do this, but paid his fine himself. And when Lykon, of Skarphia, an excellent actor who had pleased Alexander well, inserted a verse into the comedy which he was acting, in which he begged to be given ten talents, Alexander laughed and gave them to him.

Darius now sent an embassy to Alexander, bearing a letter, in which he offered to pay ten thousand talents as a ransom for his wife and children, and proposed that Alexander should receive all the territory west of the Euphrates, and become his ally and son-in-law. Alexander laid this proposal before his friends, and when Parmenio said, "I should accept it, if I were Alexander." "So would I," replied Alexander, "if I were Parmenio." He wrote, however, a letter in answer to Darius, informing him that if he would come to him, and submit himself, he should be used with courtesy; but that if not, he should presently march against him. [Pg 331]

XXX. Soon after this the wife of Darius died in child-bed, which greatly grieved Alexander, as he thereby lost a great opportunity of displaying his magnanimity: nevertheless he granted her a magnificent funeral. We are told that one of the eunuchs attached to the royal harem, named Teireus, who had been captured with the ladies, made his escape shortly after the queen's death, rode straight to Darius, and informed him of what had happened. Darius, at this, beat his face and wept aloud, saying, "Alas for the fortune of Persia! that the wife and sister of the king should not only have been taken captive while she lived, but also have been buried unworthily of her rank when she died." To this the eunuch answered, "You have no cause to lament the evil fortune of Persia on account of your wife's burial, or of any want of due respect to her. Our lady Statira, your children, and your mother, when alive wanted for nothing except the light of your countenance, which our lord Oromasdes will some day restore to them, nor was she treated without honour when she died, for her funeral was even graced by the tears of her enemies. Alexander is as gracious a conqueror as he is a terrible enemy."

These words roused other suspicions in the mind of Darius: and, leading the eunuch into an inner chamber in his tent, he said to him, "If you have not, like the good luck of Persia, gone over to Alexander and the Macedonians, and if I am still your master Darius, tell me, I conjure you by the name of great Mithras our lord, and by the right hand of a king, which I give thee, do I lament over the least of Statira's misfortunes when I weep for her death, and did she not in her life make us more miserable by her dishonour, than if she had fallen into the hands of a cruel enemy? For what honest communication can a young conqueror have with the wife of his enemy, and what can be the meaning of his showing such excessive honour to her after her death?" While Darius was yet speaking, Teireus threw himself at his feet, and besought him to be silent, and not to dishonour Alexander and his dead wife and sister by such suspicions, nor yet to take away from himself that thought which ought to be his greatest consolation in his misfortunes, which was that he had been conquered by one who was more than man. Rather ought he to admire Alexander, whose honourable treatment of the Persian women proved him to be even greater than did his bravery in vanquishing their men. Those words the eunuch assured him, with many protestations and oaths, were perfectly true. Darius, when he heard this, came out of his tent to his friends, and, raising his hands to heaven, said, "Ye parent gods, who watch over the Persian throne, grant that I may again restore the fortune of Persia to its former state, in order that I may have an opportunity of repaying Alexander in person the kindness which he has shown to those whom I hold dearest; but if indeed the fated hour has arrived, and the Persian empire is doomed to perish, may no other conqueror than Alexander mount the throne of Cyrus." The above is the account given by most historians of what took place on this occasion. [Pg 332]

XXXI. Alexander, after conquering all the country on the higher bank of the Euphrates, marched to attack Darius, who was advancing to meet him with an army of a million fighting men.

During this march, one of Alexander's friends told him as a joke, that the camp-followers had divided themselves into two bodies in sport, each of which was led by a general, the one called Alexander, and the other Darius; and that after beginning to skirmish with one another by throwing clods of earth, they had come to blows of the fist, and had at length become so excited that they fought with sticks and stones, and that it was hard to part them. On hearing this, Alexander ordered the two leaders to fight in single combat: and he himself armed the one called Alexander, while Philotas armed the representative of Darius. The whole army looked on, thinking that the result would be ominous of their own success or failure. After a severe fight, the one called Alexander conquered, and was rewarded with twelve villages and the right of wearing the Persian garb. This we are told by Eratosthenes the historian.

The decisive battle with Darius was fought at Gaugamela, not at Arbela, as most writers tell us. It is said that this word signifies "the house of the camel," and that one of the ancient Kings of Persia, whose life had been saved by the swiftness with which a camel bore him away from his enemies, lodged the animal there for the rest of its life, and assigned to it the revenues of several villages for its maintenance. [Pg 333]

During the month Bœdromion, at the beginning of the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, there was an eclipse, of the moon: and on the eleventh day after the eclipse the two armies came within sight of one another. Darius kept his troops under arms, and inspected their ranks by torch-light, while Alexander allowed the Macedonians to take their rest, but himself with the

soothsayer Aristander performed some mystical ceremonies in front of his tent, and offered sacrifice to Phœbus.

When Parmenio and the elder officers of Alexander saw the entire plain between Mount Niphates and the confines of Gordyene covered with the watch fires of the Persians, and heard the vague, confused murmur of their army like the distant roar of the sea, they were astonished, and said to one another that it would indeed be a prodigious effort to fight such a mass of enemies by daylight in a pitched battle.

As soon as Alexander had finished his sacrifice they went to him, and tried to persuade him to fall upon the Persians by night, as the darkness would prevent his troops from seeing the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. It was then that he made that memorable answer, "I will not steal a victory," which some thought to show an over-boastful spirit, which could jest in the presence of such fearful danger; while others thought that it showed a steady confidence and true knowledge of what would happen on the morrow, and meant that he did not intend to give Darius, when vanquished, the consolation of attributing his defeat to the confusion of a night attack; for Darius had already explained his defeat at Issus to have been owing to the confined nature of the ground, and to his forces having been penned up between the mountains and the sea. It was not any want of men or of arms which would make Darius yield, when he had so vast a [Pg 334] country and such great resources at his disposal: it was necessary to make pride and hope alike die within him, by inflicting upon him a crushing defeat in a fair field and in open daylight.

XXXII. After his officers had retired, Alexander retired to his tent and is said to have slept more soundly than was his wont, which surprised the generals who came to wait upon him early in the morning. On their own responsibility they gave orders to the soldiers to prepare their breakfast; and then, as time pressed, Parmenio entered his tent, and standing by his bed-side, twice or thrice called him loudly by name. When he was awake, Parmenio asked him why he slept so soundly, as if he had already won the victory instead of being just about to fight the most important of all his battles. Alexander answered with a smile; "Do you not think we have already won the victory, now that we are no longer obliged to chase Darius over an enormous tract of wasted country?"

Alexander both before the battle, and in the most dangerous crisis of the day proved himself truly great, always taking judicious measures, with a cheerful confidence of success. His left wing was terribly shaken by a tumultuous charge of the Bactrian cavalry, who broke into the ranks of the Macedonians, while Mazæus sent some horsemen completely round the left wing, who fell upon the troops left to guard the baggage. Parmenio, finding his men thrown into confusion by these attacks, sent a message to Alexander, that his fortified camp and baggage would be lost, if he did not at once despatch a strong reinforcement to the rear. At the time when Alexander received this message, he was in the act of giving his own troops orders to attack, and he answered that Parmenio must, in his confusion, have forgotten that the victors win all the property of the vanquished, and that men who are defeated must not think about treasure or prisoners, but how to fight and die with honour. After sending back this answer to Parmenio, he put on his helmet; for he had left his tent fully armed at all other points, wearing a tunic of Sicilian manufacture closely girt round his waist, and over that a double-woven linen corslet, which had been among [Pg 335] the spoils taken at Issus. His helmet was of steel, polished as bright as silver, and was wrought by Theophilus, while round his neck he wore a steel gorget, inlaid with precious stones. His sword, his favourite weapon, was a miracle of lightness and tempering, and had been presented to him by the King of Kitium in Cyprus. The cloak which hung from his shoulders was by far the most gorgeous of all his garments, and was the work of the ancient artist Helikon,[410] presented to Alexander by the city of Rhodes, and was worn by him in all his battles. While he was arraying his troops in order of battle, and giving final directions to his officers, he rode another horse to spare Boukephalus, who was now somewhat old. As soon as he was ready to begin the attack, he mounted Boukephalus and led on his army.

XXXIII. Upon this occasion, after addressing the Thessalians and other Greek troops at considerable length, as they confidently shouted to him to lead them against the barbarians, we are told by Kallisthenes that he shifted his lance into his left hand, and raising his right hand to heaven, prayed to the gods that, if he really were the son of Zeus, they would assist and encourage the Greeks. The prophet Aristander, who rode by his side, dressed in a white robe, and with a crown of gold upon his head, now pointed out to him an eagle which rose over his head and directed its flight straight towards the enemy. This so greatly encouraged all who beheld it, that all the cavalry of Alexander's army at once set spurs to their horses and dashed forwards, followed by the phalanx. Before the first of them came to actual blows, the Persian line gave way, and terrible confusion took place, as Alexander drove the beaten troops before him, struggling to fight his way to the centre, where was Darius himself.

Alexander had already noted the conspicuous figure of this tall, handsome prince, as he stood in his lofty chariot, surrounded by the royal body guard, a glittering mass of well-armed horsemen, behind the deep ranks of the Persian army. The onslaught of Alexander was so terrific that none [Pg 336] could withstand him, and those whom he drove before him, in headlong flight, disordered the ranks which were yet unbroken, and caused a general rout. Yet the noblest and bravest of the Persians fought and died manfully in defence of their king, and, even when lying on the ground at their last gasp, seized the men and horses by the legs to prevent their pursuing him. Darius himself, seeing all these frightful disasters, when his first line was hurled back in ruin, would fain have turned his chariot and fled, but this was difficult, for the wheels were encumbered by the heaps of corpses, and the horses were so excited and restive that the charioteer was unable to

manage them. Darius, we are told, left his chariot and his arms, mounted a mare which had recently foaled, and rode away. He would not have escaped even thus, had not mounted messengers just then arrived from Parmenio, begging Alexander to come to his aid, as he was engaged with a large body of the enemy upon which he could make no impression. Indeed, throughout this battle, Parmenio is said to have displayed great remissness and self-will, either because his courage was damped by age, or because, as we are told by Kallisthenes, he envied Alexander's greatness and prosperity. Alexander was much vexed at the message, but without explaining to the soldiers what his real reasons were, ordered the trumpets to sound the recall, as though he were tired of slaughter, or because night was now coming on. He himself at once rode to the scene of danger, but on his way thither heard that the enemy had been completely defeated and put to flight.

XXXIV. The result of this battle was the complete destruction of the Persian empire. Alexander was at once saluted King of Asia, and after a splendid sacrifice to the gods, distributed the treasures and provinces of that country among his friends. In the pride of his heart he now wrote to Greece, saying that all the despots must be driven out, and each city left independent with a constitutional government, and gave orders for the rebuilding of the city of Platæa, because the ancestors of the citizens of Platæa gave their territory to be consecrated to the gods on behalf of [Pg 337] the liberties of Greece. He also sent some part of the spoils to the citizens of Kroton, in Italy, to show his respect for the memory of Phaÿllus the athlete, who, during the Persian invasion, when all the other Greek cities in Italy deserted the cause of their countrymen in Greece, fitted out a ship of war at his own expense, and sailed to Salamis to take part in the battle there, and share in the dangers of the Greeks. Such honour did Alexander pay to personal prowess, for he loved to reward and to commemorate noble deeds.

XXXV. Alexander now marched into the country of Babylonia, which at once yielded to him. As he drew near to Ekbatana he marvelled much at an opening in the earth, out of which poured fire, as if from a well. Close by, the naphtha which was poured out formed a large lake. This substance is like bitumen, and is so easy to set on fire, that without touching it with any flame, it will catch light from the rays which are sent forth from a fire, burning the air which is between both. The natives, in order to show Alexander the qualities of naphtha, lightly sprinkled with it the street which led to his quarters, and when it became dark applied a match to one end of the track which had been sprinkled with it. As soon as it was alight in one place, the fire ran all along, and as quick as thought the whole street was in flames. At this time Alexander was in his bath, and was waited upon by Stephanus, a hard-favoured page-boy, who had, however, a fine voice. Athenophanes, an Athenian, who always anointed and bathed King Alexander, now asked him if he would like to see the power of the naphtha tried upon Stephanus, saying that if it burned upon his body and did not go out, the force of it must indeed be marvellous. The boy himself was eager to make the trial, and was anointed with it and set on fire. He was at once enveloped in flame, and Alexander was terrified for him, fearing that he would be burned to death. Indeed, had it not chanced that several attendants with pitchers of water in their hands had just arrived, all help would have been too late. They poured water over the boy and extinguished the flames, but not before he had been badly burned, so that he was ill for some time after. Some writers, who are [Pg 338] eager to prove the truth of ancient legends, say that this naphtha was truly the deadly drug used by Medea, with which she anointed the crown and robe spoken of in the tragedies: for flame could not be produced by them, nor of its own accord, but if fire were brought near to clothes steeped in naphtha they would at once burst into flame. The reason of this is that the rays which fire sends forth fall harmlessly upon all other bodies, merely imparting to them light and heat; but when they meet with such as have an oily, dry humour, and thereby have a sympathy with the nature of fire, they easily cause them to catch fire. It is a disputed question, however, how the naphtha is produced, though most writers conceive its combustible principle to be supplied by the greasy and fiery nature of the soil; for all the district of Babylonia is fiery hot, so that often barley is cast up out of the ground in which it is sown, as if the earth throbbed and vibrated with the heat, and during the hottest part of summer the inhabitants are wont to sleep upon leathern bags filled with water for the sake of coolness. Harpalus, who was appointed governor of the district, took an especial delight in adorning the palace and the public walks with Greek flowers and shrubs; but although he found no difficulty with most of them, he was unable to induce ivy to grow, because ivy loves a cold soil, and the earth there is too hot for it. These digressions, provided they be not too lengthy, we hope will not be thought tedious by our readers.

XXXVI. When Alexander made himself master of Susa, he found in the palace forty thousand talents worth of coined money, besides an immense mass of other valuable treasure. Here we are told was found five thousand talents weight of cloth dyed with Hermionic[411] purple cloth, which had been stored up there for a space of two hundred years save ten, and which nevertheless still kept its colour as brilliantly as ever. The reason of this is said to be that honey was originally used in dyeing the cloth purple, and white olive oil for such of it as was dyed-white: for cloth of [Pg 339] these two colours will preserve its lustre without fading for an equal period of time. Demon also informs us that amongst other things the Kings of Persia had water brought from the Nile and the Danube, and laid up in their treasury, as a confirmation of the greatness of their empire, and to prove that they were lords of all the world.

XXXVII. As the district of Persis[412] was very hard to invade, both because of its being mountainous, and because it was defended by the noblest of the Persians (for Darius had fled thither for refuge), Alexander forced his way into it by a circuitous path, which was shown him by a native of the country, the son of a Lykian captive, by a Persian mother, who was able to speak both the Greek and the Persian language. It is said that while Alexander was yet a child, the

prophetess at the temple of Apollo at Delphi foretold that a wolf[413] should some day serve him for a guide when he went to attack the Persians. When Persis was taken, a terrible slaughter was made of all the prisoners. A letter written by Alexander himself is still extant, in which he orders that they should all be put to the sword, thinking this to be the safest course. He is said to have found as much coined money here[414] as in Susa, and so much other treasure that it required ten thousand carts, each drawn by a pair of mules, and five thousand camels, to carry it away.

Alexander, observing a large statue of Xerxes which had been thrown down and was being carelessly trampled upon by the soldiers as they pressed into the royal palace, stopped, and addressed it as though it were alive. "Shall we," said he, "leave thee lying there, because of thy invasion of Greece, or shall we set thee up again because of thy magnificence and greatness of soul?" He then stood musing for a long time, till at length he roused himself from his reverie and went his way. Being desirous of giving his soldiers some rest, as it was now winter, he remained in that country for four months. It is related that when he first took his seat upon the royal throne [Pg 340] of Persia, under the golden canopy, Demaratus, an old friend and companion of Alexander, burst into tears, and exclaimed that the Greeks who had died before that day had lost the greatest of pleasures, because they had not seen Alexander seated on the throne of Darius.

XXXVIII. After this, while he was engaged in preparing to march in pursuit of Darius, he chanced to be present at a banquet where his friends had brought their mistresses. Of these ladies the chief was the celebrated Thais, who afterwards became the mistress of King Ptolemy of Egypt, and who was of Attic parentage.

She at first amused Alexander by her conversation, then adroitly flattered him, and at last, after he had been drinking for some time, began to speak in a lofty strain of patriotism which scarcely became such a person. She declared, that she was fully repaid for all the hardships which she had undergone while travelling through Asia with the army, now that she was able to revel in the palace of the haughty Kings of Persia; but that it would be yet sweeter to her to burn the house of Xerxes, who burned her native Athens, and to apply the torch with her own hand in the presence of Alexander, that it might be told among men that a woman who followed Alexander's camp had taken a more noble revenge upon the Persians for the wrongs of Greece, than all the admirals and generals of former times had been able to do. This speech of hers was enthusiastically applauded, and all Alexander's friends pressed him to execute the design. Alexander leaped from his seat, and led the way, with a garland upon his head and a torch in his hand. The rest of the revellers followed, and surrounded the palace, while the remainder of the Macedonians, hearing what was going on, brought them torches. They did so the more readily because they thought that the destruction of the palace indicated an intention on Alexander's part to return home, and not to remain in Persia. Some historians say that this was how he came to burn the palace, while others say that he did it after mature deliberation: but all agree that he repented of what he had done, and gave orders to have the fire extinguished.

XXXIX. His liberality and love of making presents increased with his conquests: and his gifts [Pg 341] were always bestowed in so gracious a manner as to double their value. I will now mention a few instances of this. Ariston, the leader of the Pæonians, having slain an enemy, brought his head and showed it to Alexander, saying, "O king, in my country such a present as this is always rewarded with a gold cup." Alexander smiled, and said, "Yes, with an empty cup: but I pledge you in this gold cup, full of good wine, and give you the cup besides." One of the common Macedonian soldiers was driving a mule laden with gold belonging to Alexander; but as the animal became too weary to carry it, he unloaded it, and carried the gold himself. When Alexander saw him toiling under his burden, and learned his story, he said, "Be not weary yet, but carry it a little way farther, as far as your own tent; for I give it to you." He seemed to be more vexed with those who did not ask him for presents than with those who did so. He wrote a letter to Phokion, in which he declared that he would not any longer remain his friend, if Phokion refused all his presents. Serapion, a boy who served the ball to the players at tennis, had been given nothing by Alexander because he had never asked for anything. One day when Serapion was throwing the ball to the players as usual, he omitted to do so to the king, and when Alexander asked why he did not give him the ball, answered "You do not ask me for it." At this, Alexander laughed and gave him many presents. Once he appeared to be seriously angry with one Proteus, a professed jester. The man's friends interceded for him, and he himself begged for pardon with tears in his eyes, until Alexander said that he forgave him. "My king," said he "will you not give me something by way of earnest, to assure me that I am in your favour." Upon this the king at once ordered him to be given five talents. The amount of money which he bestowed upon his friends and his body guard appears from a letter which his mother Olympias wrote to him, in which she said, "It is right to benefit your friends and to show your esteem for them; but you are making them all as great as kings, so that they get many friends, and leave you alone without any." Olympias often wrote to [Pg 342] him to this effect, but he kept all her letters secret, except one which Hephæstion, who was accustomed to read Alexander's letters, opened and read. Alexander did not prevent him, but took his own ring from his finger, and pressed the seal upon Hephæstion's mouth. The son of Mazæus, who had been the chief man in the kingdom under Darius, was governor of a province, and Alexander added another larger one to it. The young nobleman refused to accept the gift, and said, "My king, formerly there was only one Darius, but you now have made many Alexanders."

He presented Parmenio with the house of Bagoas, in which it is said that property worth a thousand talents was found which had belonged to the people of Susa. He also sent word to Antipater, warning him to keep a guard always about his person, as a plot had been formed

against his life. He sent many presents to his mother, but forbade her to interfere with the management of the kingdom. When she stormed at this decision of his, he patiently endured her anger; and once when Antipater wrote a long letter to him full of abuse of Olympias, he observed, after reading it, that Antipater did not know that one tear of his mother's eye would outweigh ten thousand such letters.

XL. Alexander now observed that his friends were living in great luxury and extravagance; as for instance, Hagnon of Teos had his shoes fastened with silver nails; Leonnatus took about with him many camels, laden with dust,[415] from Egypt, to sprinkle his body with when he wrestled; Philotas had more than twelve miles of nets for hunting; and that all of them used richly perfumed unguents to anoint themselves with instead of plain oil, and were attended by a host of bathmen and chamberlains. He gently reproved them for this, saying that he was surprised that men who had fought so often and in such great battles, did not remember that the victors always sleep more sweetly than the vanquished, and that they did not perceive, when they imitated the luxury of the Persians, that indulgence is for slaves, but labour for princes. "How," he asked, "can [Pg 343] a man attend to his horse, or clean his own lance and helmet, if he disdains to rub his own precious body with his hands? And do you not know, that our career of conquest will come to an end on the day when we learn to live like those whom we have vanquished?" He himself, by way of setting an example, now exposed himself to greater fatigues and hardships than ever in his campaigns and hunting expeditions, so that old Lakon, who was with him when he slew a great lion, said, "Alexander, you fought well with the lion for his kingdom." This hunting scene was afterwards represented by Kraterus at Delphi. He had figures made in bronze of Alexander and the hounds fighting with the lion, and of himself running to help him. Some of the figures were executed by the sculptor Lysippus, and some by Leochares.

XLI. Thus did Alexander risk his life in the vain endeavour to teach his friends to live with simplicity and hardihood; but they, now that they had become rich and important personages, desired to enjoy themselves, and no longer cared for long marches and hard campaigns, so that at last they began to murmur against him, and speak ill of him. He bore this with great gentleness at first, saying that it was the part of a king to do his subjects good and to be ill-spoken of by them in return. Indeed, he used to take advantage of the most trifling incidents to show the esteem he had for his intimate friends, of which I will now give a few examples.

Peukestas once was bitten by a bear, while hunting. He wrote and told his friends of his mishap, but kept it secret from Alexander. He, when he heard of it, wrote to Peukestas, blaming him for having concealed his hurt. "But now," he writes, "let me know how you are, and tell me if those who were hunting the bear with you deserted you, that I may punish them." When Hephæstion was absent on some business, he wrote to him to say that Kraterus had been struck in the thighs with Perdikkas's spear, while they were amusing themselves by baiting an ichneumon.

When Peukestas recovered from some illness, he wrote to the physician Alexippus, congratulating him on the cure which he had effected. When Kraterus was ill, Alexander had a [Pg 344] dream about him, in consequence of which he offered sacrifice to certain gods, and bade him also sacrifice to them: and when Pausanias the physician wished to give Kraterus a draught of hellebore, Alexander wrote to him, advising him to take the drug, but expressing the greatest anxiety about the result.

He imprisoned Ephialtes and Kissus, who were the first to bring him the news that Harpalus had absconded, because he thought that they wrongfully accused him.

When he was on the point of sending home all his invalided and superannuated soldiers, Eurylochus of Ægæ was found to have placed his name upon the list, although he was in perfect health. When questioned, he confessed that he was in love with a lady named Telesippa, who was returning to the sea-coast, and that he had acted thus in order to be able to follow her. Alexander on hearing this, enquired who this lady was. Being told that she was a free-born Greek courtezan, he answered, "I sympathise with your affection, Eurylochus; but since Telesippa is a free-born woman, let us try if we cannot, either by presents or arguments, persuade her to remain with us."

XLII. It is wonderful how many letters and about what trifling matters he found time to write to his friends. For instance, he sent a letter to Kilikia ordering search to be made for a slave boy belonging to Seleukus, who had run away, and praising Peukestas because he had captured Nikon, the runaway slave of Kraterus. He wrote also to Megabazus about a slave who had taken sanctuary in a temple, ordering him to catch him when outside of the temple, if possible, but not to lay hands on him within its precincts.

We are told that when he was sitting as judge to hear men tried for their lives, he was wont to close one ear with his hand, while the prosecutor was speaking, in order that he might keep it unbiassed and impartial to listen to what the accused had to say in his defence. But later in his life, so many persons were accused before him, and so many of them truly, that his temper became soured and he inclined to believe them to be all alike guilty. And he was especially [Pg 345] transported with rage, and made completely pitiless if any one spoke ill of him, for he valued his reputation more than his life or his crown.

He now set out again in pursuit of Darius, with the intention of fighting another battle with him: but on hearing that Darius had been taken by the satrap Bessus, he dismissed all his Thessalian cavalry and sent them home, giving them a largess of two thousand talents over and above the pay which was due to them. He now set out on a long and toilsome journey in pursuit of Darius, for in eleven days he rode more than five hundred miles, so that his men were terribly distressed,

especially by want of water. One day he met some Macedonians who were carrying water from a river in skins on the backs of mules. Seeing Alexander faint with thirst, as it was the hottest time of the day, they quickly filled a helmet with water and gave it to him to drink. He asked them to whom they were carrying the water, to which they answered, "To our own sons; but provided that you live, even if they should die, we can beget other children." On hearing this he took the helmet into his hands; but seeing all the horsemen around him eagerly watching him and coveting the water, he gave it back without tasting it. He thanked the men for offering it to him, but said, "If I alone drink it, all these soldiers will be discontented." The soldiers, when they saw the noble courage and self-denial of Alexander, bade him lead them on boldly, and urged forward their horses, saying that they felt neither hunger nor thirst, and did not think themselves to be mortal men, so long as they had such a king as Alexander to lead them.

XLIII. The whole of his army was equally enthusiastic; yet the fatigues of the march were so great, that when Alexander burst into the enemy's camp, only sixty men are said to have followed him. Here they passed over great heaps of gold and silver, and pursued a long line of waggons, full of women and children, which were proceeding along without any drivers, until they had reached the foremost of them, because they imagined that Darius might be hidden in them. At last he was found, lying in his chariot, pierced with innumerable javelins, and just breathing his last. He was able to ask for drink, and when given some cold water by Polystratus, he said to him, "My good sir, this is the worst of all my misfortunes that I am unable to recompense you for your kindness to me; but Alexander will reward you, and the gods will reward Alexander for his courteous treatment of my mother and wife and daughters. Wherefore I pray thee, embrace him, as I embrace thee." With these words he took Polystratus by the hand and died. When Alexander came up, he showed great grief at the sight, and covered the body with his own cloak. He afterwards captured Bessus and tore him asunder, by bending down the tops of trees and tying different parts of his body to each, and then letting them spring up again so that each tore off the limb to which it was attached. Alexander now had the corpse of Darius adorned as became a prince, and sent it to his mother, while he received his brother Exathres into the number of his intimate friends. [Pg 346]

XLIV. He himself, with a few picked troops, now invaded Hyrkania, where he discovered an arm of the sea, which appeared to be as large as the Euxine, or Black Sea, but not so salt. He was unable to obtain any certain information about it, but conjectured it to be a branch of the Mæotic lake.[416] Yet geographers, many years before Alexander, knew well that this, which is entitled the Hyrkanian or Caspian Sea, is the northernmost of four gulfs proceeding from the exterior ocean. Here some of the natives surprised the grooms in charge of his horse Boukephalus, and captured the animal. Alexander was much distressed at this, and sent a herald to make proclamation that unless his horse were restored to him, he would massacre the whole tribe with their wives and children. When, however, they brought back his horse, and offered to place their chief cities in his hands as a pledge for their good behaviour, he treated them all with kindness, and paid a ransom for the horse to those who had captured it.

XLV. From hence he passed into Parthia, where, being at leisure, he first began to wear the Persian dress, either because he thought that he should more easily win the hearts of the natives by conforming to their fashion, or else in order to try the obedience of his Macedonian soldiers and see whether they might not, by degrees, be brought to pay him the same respect and observance which the kings of Persia used to exact from their subjects. He did not, however, completely adopt the Persian costume, which would have been utterly repugnant to Grecian ideas, and wore neither the trousers, the coat with long sleeves, nor the tiara, but his dress, though less simple than the Macedonian, was still far from being so magnificent or so effeminate as that of the Persians. He at first only wore this dress when giving audiences to the natives of the country, or when alone with his more intimate friends, but afterwards he frequently both drove out publicly and transacted business in the Persian dress. The sight greatly offended the Macedonians, but yet they were so filled with admiration for his courage, that they felt he must be indulged in his fancies about dress; for besides all his other honourable wounds, he had only a short time before this been struck by an arrow in the calf of his leg, so that splinters of the bone came out, and also received such a blow upon his neck from a stone, that his eyesight was affected for a considerable time afterwards. Yet he did not cease to expose himself to danger, but crossed the river Orexartes, which he himself thought to be the Tanais or Don, and, although suffering from an attack of dysentery, defeated the Scythians and chased them for many miles. [Pg 347]

XLVI. Most historians, amongst whom are Kleitarchus, Polykleitus, Onesikritus, Antigenes, and Istrus, say that while in this country he met an Amazon: while Aristobulus, Chares the court-usher, Ptolemy, Antikleides, Philon of Thebes, and Philippus the herald of festivals, besides Hekatæus of Eretria, Philip of Chalkis, and Douris of Samos, say that this is a mere fiction. And this opinion seems to be corroborated by Alexander himself: for he wrote to Antipater an exact account of his Scythian campaign, and mentioned that the King of the Scythians offered him his daughter in marriage, but says nothing about Amazons. It is said that many years afterwards, when Lysimachus had made himself king, Onesikritus was reading aloud to him the fourth book of his History of Alexander, in which mention is made of the Amazon. Lysimachus asked him with a quiet smile, "And where was I all the time?" However, Alexander's fame is not impaired if we disbelieve this story, nor is it increased if we regard it as true. [Pg 348]

XLVII. As he feared that the Macedonians would refuse to follow him any farther, he allowed the great mass of his army to repose itself, and advanced through Hyrkania with a force of twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, all picked men. In a speech addressed to these

select regiments, he declared that the natives of Asia had only seen them hitherto as if in a dream; and that, if they merely threw the whole country into disorder and then retired from it, the Asiatics would attack them as boldly as if they were so many women. Yet he said, that he permitted those who desired it to leave his service and return home, merely protesting against being left, with only his personal friends and a few volunteers, to carry on the noble enterprise of making Macedonia mistress of the whole world. These are almost the exact words which he uses in a letter to Antipater, and he further says that when he had spoken thus, the soldiers burst into a universal shout, bidding him lead them whithersoever he would. After this experiment had succeeded with the select troops, it was no difficult matter to induce the remainder to follow him, but they came almost of their own accord. He now began to imitate the Asiatic habits more closely, and endeavoured to assimilate the Macedonian and Asiatic customs and manners, hoping that by this means his empire, during his absence, would rest upon a foundation of good will rather than of force. To further this object he selected thirty thousand native youths, whom he ordered to be taught to speak the Greek language and to use the same arms as the Macedonians; and appointed a numerous body of instructors for them. His marriage with Roxana was due to a genuine passion, for he was struck by her great beauty when he saw her dance in a chorus after a feast, but nevertheless the alliance was a very politic one; for the natives were pleased to see [Pg 349] him take a wife from among themselves, and were charmed with the courteous and honourable conduct of Alexander, who, although Roxana was the only woman whom he had ever loved, yet would not approach her until he was lawfully married to her.

As Alexander perceived that, among his most intimate friends, Hephæstion encouraged him and furthered his designs, while Kraterus steadfastly adhered to the Macedonian customs, he made use of the latter in all transactions with Asiatics, and of the former when dealing with Greeks and Macedonians. He loved Hephæstion, and respected Kraterus above all the rest of his friends, and was wont to say that Hephæstion loved Alexander, but that Kraterus loved the king. His favour caused constant jealousies between them, so that once in India they actually drew their swords and fought with one another. Their friends began to take part in the quarrel on either side, when Alexander rode up, and bitterly reproached Hephæstion before them all, saying that he must be a fool and a madman if he did not see, that without Alexander's favour he would be nobody. Privately also he sharply rebuked Kraterus; and calling them both before him, made them be friends again, swearing by Zeus Ammon, and all the gods, that they were the two men whom he loved best in the world; but that if he heard of any more quarrelling between them he would put them both to death, or at least him who began the quarrel. In consequence of this, it is said that there never again, even in sport, was any dispute between them.

XLVIII. Philotas, the son of Parmenio, was a man of much importance among the Macedonians; for he was courageous and hardy, and the most liberal man, and the most devoted to his friends in all the army except Alexander himself. We are told of him that once a friend of his came to him to borrow money, and he at once commanded one of his servants to let him have it. His purse-bearer answered that he had no money, upon which Philotas exclaimed, "What! Have I no plate or furniture upon which you can raise money for my friend?"

His lofty carriage, his immense wealth, and the splendour in which he lived, caused him to appear too great for a private station, while his pride and vulgar ostentation made him generally [Pg 350] disliked. His own father, Parmenio, once said to him: "My son, I pray you show a little more humility." He had long been an object of suspicion to Alexander, who was kept constantly informed about him by the following means:—After the battle of Issus, when the baggage of Darius was captured at Damascus, there was taken among the captives a beautiful Greek girl, named Antigone. She fell to the lot of Philotas, and became his mistress; and the young man, who was much enamoured of her, used to boast to her over his wine that all the conquests of the Macedonians were really due to the prowess of his father and himself, and that Alexander was merely a foolish boy, who owed his crown and his empire to their exertions. Antigone repeated these expressions to one of her friends, who, as was natural, did not keep them secret, so that at last they reached the ears of Kraterus. Kraterus privately introduced the woman to Alexander; and he, after he had heard her repeat what she had been told, ordered her to take secret note of the confidential expressions of Philotas, and to report them, from time to time, to himself.

XLIX. Philotas had no idea that he was being spied upon in this manner, and in his conversation with Antigone frequently spoke insolently and slightingly of his sovereign. Alexander, although he had accumulated terrible proofs of treason against Philotas, nevertheless remained silent, either because he felt assured of the loyalty of Parmenio, or because he feared to attack a man of such power and importance. At length, however, a Macedonian of Chalastra, named Simnus, formed a plot against Alexander's life, and invited a young man, named Nikomachus, his own intimate friend, to join him. Nikomachus refused compliance, and told the whole story of the plot to his brother, Kebalinus, who at once had an interview with Philotas, and bade him bring them at once to Alexander, as persons who had a most important communication to make to him. Philotas, however, for some reason or other, did not bring them before Alexander, but said that the king was not at leisure to hear them, as he was engaged in more important business. This he repeated on a second occasion, and as his behaviour made the two brothers suspect his loyalty, they [Pg 351] communicated with another officer, and by his means obtained an audience. They now told Alexander about the design of Limnus, and also said that Philotas had acted very luke-warmly in the matter, as they had twice told him that there was a plot against Alexander, and yet he had, on each occasion, disregarded their warning.

This greatly enraged Alexander: and as when Limnus was arrested he defended himself

desperately and was killed in the scuffle, he was yet more disturbed, as he feared he had now lost all clue to the plot. He now openly showed his displeasure with Philotas, and encouraged all his enemies to say boldly that it was folly of the king to imagine that an obscure man like Limnus would have ventured to form a conspiracy against his life, but that Limnus was merely a tool in the hands of some more powerful person; and that if he wished to discover the real authors of the plot, he must seek for them among those who would have been most benefited by its success. Finding that the king lent a ready ear to suggestions of this kind, they soon furnished him with an overwhelming mass of evidence of the treasonable designs of Philotas. Philotas was at once arrested, and put to the torture in the presence of the chief officers of the Macedonian army, while Alexander himself sat behind a curtain to hear what he would say. It is said that when Alexander heard Philotas piteously beg Hephæstion for mercy, he exclaimed aloud, "Are you such a coward as this, Philotas, and yet contrive such daring plots?" To be brief, Philotas was put to death, and immediately afterwards Alexander sent to Media and caused Parmenio to be assassinated, although he was a man who had performed the most important services for Philip, had, more than any other of the older Macedonians, encouraged Alexander to invade Asia, and had seen two of his three sons die in battle before he perished with the third. This cruelty made many of the friends of Alexander fear him, and especially Antipater,[417] who now formed a secret league with the Ætolians, who also feared Alexander because when he heard of the destruction of [Pg 352] the people of Œneadæ, he said that he himself, and not the sons of the people of Œneadæ, would be revenged upon the Ætolians.

L. Not long after this followed the murder of Kleitus, which, if simply told, seems more cruel than that of Philotas; but if we consider the circumstances under which it took place, and the provocation which was given, we shall treat it rather as a misfortune which befel Alexander during a fit of drunken passion than as a deliberate act. It happened as follows. Some men came from the sea-coast, bringing Greek grapes as a present to Alexander. He admired their bloom and ripeness, and invited Kleitus to see them, meaning to present him with some of them. Kleitus was engaged in offering sacrifice, but on receiving this summons left his sacrifice and went to the king: upon which, three of the sheep which he was about to offer up as victims, followed him. When Alexander heard of this, he consulted his soothsayers, Aristander, and Kleomantes the Laconian. As they reported that this was an evil omen, he bade them at once offer an expiatory sacrifice on behalf of Kleitus; for he himself, three days before, had dreamed a strange dream about Kleitus, that he had seen him sitting dressed in black amongst the sons of Parmenio, who were all of them dead. Before, however, the sacrifices on behalf of Kleitus had been performed, he came to the banquet, before which Alexander himself had offered sacrifice to the Dioskuri.

After all had drunk heavily, a song was sung which had been composed by one Pranichus, or Pierion according to some writers, in which the generals who had recently been defeated by the barbarians were held up to public shame and ridicule. The elder Macedonians were vexed at this, and blamed both the writer of the song and the man who sung it, but Alexander and his associates were much pleased with it, and bade the singer go on. Kleitus, who was now very much excited by drink and who was naturally of a fierce and independent temper, was especially annoyed, and said that it was not right for Macedonians to be thus insulted in the presence of enemies and barbarians, for that, in spite of their misfortune, they were far braver men than those who ridiculed them. Alexander answered that Kleitus, when he called cowardice a [Pg 353] misfortune, was no doubt pleading his own cause: at which reproach Kleitus sprang to his feet, and exclaimed, "my cowardice at any rate saved the life of the son of the gods, when he turned his back to the sword of Spithridates; so that now, by the blood and wounds of the Macedonians, you have become so great a man that you pretend to be the child of Ammon, and disown your father Philip."

LI. Alexander, stung to the quick by these words, said, "Villain, do you suppose that you will be allowed to spread these calumnies against me, rendering the Macedonians disaffected, and yet go unpunished?" "Too much are we punished," answered Kleitus, "when we see such a reward as this given us for all our hard service, but we congratulate those of us who are dead, because they died before they saw Macedonians beaten with Median rods, and begging Persian attendants to procure them an audience of their king." When Kleitus spoke his mind thus boldly, Alexander's intimate friends answered with bitter reproaches, but the older men endeavoured to pacify them. Alexander now turning to Xenodochus of Kardia and Astenius of Kolophon, asked, "Do not the Greeks seem to you to treat the Macedonians as if they were beasts, and they themselves were more than mortal men? "Kleitus, however, would not hold his peace, but went on to say that if Alexander could not bear to hear men speak their mind, he had better not invite free-born people to his table, and ought to confine himself to the society of barbarians and slaves who would pay respect to his Persian girdle and striped[418] tunic. At this speech Alexander could no longer restrain his passion, but seized an apple from the table, hurled it at Kleitus, and began to feel for his dagger. Aristophanes, one of his body-guard, had already secreted it, and the rest now pressed round him imploring him to be quiet. He however leaped to his feet, and, as if in a great emergency, ehouted in the Macedonian tongue to the foot-guards to turn out. He bade the [Pg 354] trumpeter sound an alarm, and as the man hesitated and refused, struck him with his fist. This man afterwards gained great credit for his conduct, as it was thought that by it he had saved the whole camp from being thrown into an uproar. As Kleitus would not retract what he had said, his friends seized him and forced him out of the room. But he re-entered by another door, and in an offensive and insolent tone began to recite the passage from the Andromache of Euripides, which begins,

"Ah me! in Greece an evil custom reigns," &c.

Upon this Alexander snatched a lance from one of his guards, and ran Kleitus through the body with it, just as he was drawing aside the curtain and preparing to enter the room. Kleitus fell with a loud groan, and died on the spot. Alexander, when he came to himself, and saw his friends all standing round in mute reproach, snatched the spear out of the corpse, and would have thrust it into his own neck, but was forcibly witheld by his guards, who laid hold of him and carried him into his bed-chamber.

LII. Alexander spent the whole night in tears, and on the next day was so exhausted by his agony of grief as to be speechless, and only able to sigh heavily. At length his friends, alarmed at his silence, broke into the room. He took no notice of any of their attempts at consolation, except that he seemed to make signs of assent when Aristander the soothsayer told him that all this had been preordained to take place, and reminded him of his dream about Kleitus. His friends now brought to him Kallisthenes the philosopher, who was a nephew of Aristotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. Kallisthenes endeavoured to soothe his grief, by kind and gentle consolation, but Anaxarchus, a man who had always pursued an original method of his own in philosophical speculations, and who was thought to be overbearing and harsh-tempered by his friends, as soon as he entered the room exclaimed, "This is that Great Alexander, upon whom the eyes of the world are fixed: there he lies like a slave, fearing what men will say of him, although he ought rather to dictate to them what they should think right, as becomes the master of the world, and [Pg 355] not to be influenced by their foolish opinions. Know you not," asked he "that Law and Justice sit beside the throne of Zeus, and make everything which is done by those in power to be lawful and right?" By such discourse as this Anaxarchus assuaged Alexander's sorrow, but encouraged his savage and lawless disposition. He gained great favour for himself, and was able to influence Alexander against Kallisthenes, who was already no favourite with him on account of his upright, uncompromising spirit. It is related that once at table, when the conversation turned upon the seasons, and upon the climate of Asia, Kallisthenes argued that it was colder in the country where they were than in Greece; and when Anaxarchus vehemently contradicted this, he said, "Why, you must admit that this country is the colder of the two; for in Greece you used to wear only one cloak all through the winter, whereas here you sit down to dinner wrapped in three Persian rugs." This reply made Anaxarchus more his enemy than before.

LIII. Kallisthenes made all the sophists and flatterers of Alexander jealous of him because he was much sought after by the young men for his learning, and was liked by the elder men on account of his sober, dignified, and austere life, which confirmed the common report, that he had come to the court of Alexander with the intention of prevailing upon him to refound his native city, and collect together its scattered citizens. His high moral character gained him many enemies, but he himself gave some colour to their accusations by his conduct in constantly refusing all invitations, and by behaving himself with gravity and silence when in society, as if he were displeased with his company. His manner had caused Alexander himself to say of him, "I hate a philosopher who is not wise in his own interest." It is related that once at a great banquet, when sitting over their wine, Kallisthenes was asked to speak in praise of the Macedonians, and that he at once poured forth such a fluent and splendid eulogy that all the company rose, vehemently applauding, and threw their garlands to him. At this Alexander remarked that, as Euripides says,

> "On noble subjects, all men can speak well."

"Now," said he, "show us your ability by blaming the Macedonians, in order that they may be [Pg 356] made better men by having their shortcomings pointed out." Kallisthenes hereupon began to speak in a depreciatory strain, and told many home-truths about the Macedonians, pointing out that Philip had become strong only because Greece was weakened by faction, and quoting the line,

> "In times of trouble, bad men rise to fame."

This speech caused the Macedonians to hate him most bitterly, and provoked Alexander to say that Kallisthenes had made a display, not of his own abilities, but of his dislike to the Macedonians.

LIV. This is the account which Strœbus, Kallisthenes's reader, is said by Hermippus to have given to Aristotle about the quarrel between Kallisthenes and Alexander; and he added that Kallisthenes was well aware that he was out of favour with the king, and twice or thrice when setting out to wait on him would repeat the line from the Iliad,

> "Patroklus, too, hath died, a better man than thou."

On hearing this Aristotle acutely remarked, that Kallisthenes had great ability and power of speech, but no common sense. He, like a true philosopher, refused to kneel and do homage to Alexander, and alone had the spirit to express in public what all the oldest and best Macedonians privately felt. By his refusal he relieved the Greeks and Alexander from a great disgrace, but ruined himself, because he seemed to use force rather than persuasion to attain his object. We are told by Charon of Mitylene that once when at table, Alexander, after drinking, passed the cup to one of his friends; and that he after receiving it, rose, stood by the hearth, and after drinking knelt before Alexander: after which he kissed him and resumed his seat. All the guests did this in turn until the cup came to Kallisthenes. The king, who was conversing to Hephæstion, did not take any notice of what he did, and after drinking he also came forward to kiss him, when Demetrius, who was surnamed Pheidon, said, "My king, do not kiss him, for he alone has not done homage to you." Upon this Alexander avoided kissing Kallisthenes, who said in a loud voice, [Pg 357] "Then I will go away with the loss of a kiss."

LV. The breach thus formed was widened by Hephæstion, who declared that Kallisthenes had agreed with him to kneel before Alexander, and then had broken his compact; and this story was believed by Alexander. After this came Lysimachus and Hagnon, and many others, who accused Kallisthenes of giving himself great airs, as though he were a queller of despots, and said that he had a large following among the younger men, who looked up to him as being the only free man among so many myriads of people. These accusations were more easily believed to be true because at this time the plot of Hermolaus was discovered; and it was said that when Hermolaus enquired of Kallisthenes how one might become the most famous man in the world, he answered, "By killing the most famous man in the world." He was even said to have encouraged Hermolaus to make the attempt, bidding him have no fear of Alexander's golden throne, and reminding him that he would have to deal with a man who was both wounded and in ill-health. Yet none of those concerned in Hermolaus's conspiracy mentioned the name of Kallisthenes, even under the most exquisite tortures. Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote to Kraterus, Attalus, and Alketas immediately after the discovery of the plot, states that the royal pages, when put to the torture, declared that they alone had conspired, and that they had no accomplices. "The pages," Alexander goes on to say, "were stoned to death by the Macedonians, but I will myself punish the sophist, and those who sent him hither, and those who receive into their cities men that plot against me." In these words he evidently alludes to Aristotle: for Kallisthenes was brought up in his house, being the son of Hero, Aristotle's first cousin. Some writers tell us that Kallisthenes was hanged by the orders of Alexander; others that he was thrown into chains and died of sickness. Chares informs us that he was kept in confinement for seven months, in order that he might be tried in the presence of Aristotle himself, but that during the time when Alexander was [Pg 358] wounded in India, he died of excessive corpulence, covered with vermin.

LVI. This, however, took place after the period of which we write. At this time Demaratus of Corinth, although an elderly man, was induced to travel as far as the court of Alexander: and when he beheld him, said that the Greeks who had died before they saw Alexander sitting upon the throne of Darius, had lost one of the greatest pleasures in the world.

Demaratus by this speech gained great favour with the king, but lived but a short time to enjoy it, as he was soon carried off by sickness. His funeral was conducted with the greatest magnificence, for the whole army was employed to raise a mound of great extent, and eighty cubits high, as a memorial of him; while his remains were placed in a splendidly equipped four-horse chariot and sent back to the sea-coast.

LVII. As Alexander was now about to invade India, and observed that his army had become unwieldy and difficult to move in consequence of the mass of plunder with which the soldiers were encumbered, he collected all the baggage-waggons together one morning at daybreak, and first burned his own and those of his companions, after which he ordered those of the Macedonians to be set on fire. This measure appears to have been more energetic than the occasion really required; and yet it proved more ruinous in the design than in the execution: for although some of the soldiers were vexed at the order, most of them with enthusiastic shouts distributed their most useful property among those who were in want, burning and destroying all the rest with a cheerful alacrity which raised Alexander's spirits to the highest pitch. Yet Alexander was terrible and pitiless in all cases of dereliction of duty. He put to death Menander, one of his personal friends, because he did not remain in a fort, where he had been appointed to command the garrison; and he shot dead with his own hand Orsodates, a native chief who had revolted from him. At this time it happened that a ewe brought forth a lamb, upon whose head was a tiara in shape and colour like that of the King of Persia, with stones hanging on each side of it.

Alexander, much disturbed at this portent, was purified by the priests at Babylon, whom he was [Pg 359] accustomed to make use of for this purpose, but told his friends that he was alarmed for their sake, and not for his own, as he feared that if he fell, heaven might transfer his crown to some unworthy and feeble successor. However, he was soon cheered by a better omen. The chief of Alexander's household servants, a Macedonian named Proxenus, while digging a place to pitch the royal tent near the river Oxus, discovered a well, full of a smooth, fatty liquid. When the upper layer was removed, there spouted forth a clear oil, exactly like olive oil in smell and taste, and incomparably bright and clear: and that, too, in a country where no olive trees grew. It is said that the water of the Oxus itself is very soft and pleasant, and that it causes the skin of those who bathe in it to become sleek and glossy. Alexander was greatly delighted with this discovery, as we learn from a letter which he wrote to Antipater, in which he speaks of this as being one of the most important and manifest signs of the divine favour which had ever been vouchsafed to him. The soothsayers held that the omen portended, that the campaign would be glorious, but laborious and difficult: for oil has been given by the gods to men to refresh them after labour.

LVIII. Alexander when on this expedition ran terrible risks in battle, and was several times grievously wounded. His greatest losses were caused, however, by the want of provisions, and by the severity of the climate. He himself, striving to overcome fortune by valour, thought nothing impossible to a brave man, and believed that, while daring could surmount all obstacles, cowardice could not be safe behind any defences. We are told that when he was besieging the fortress of Sisymithres, which was placed upon a steep and inaccessible rock, his soldiers despaired of being able to take it. He asked Oxyartes what sort of a man Sisymithres himself was in respect of courage. When Oxyartes answered that he was the greatest coward in the world, Alexander said 'You tell me, that the fortress can be taken; for its spirit is weak." And indeed he did take it, by playing upon the fears of Sisymithres. Once he was attacking another fortress, also [Pg 360]

situated upon the top of a lofty rock. While he was addressing words of encouragement to the younger Macedonians, finding that one of them was named Alexander, he said "You must this day prove yourself a brave man, if but for your name's sake." The youth fought most bravely, but fell, to the great grief of Alexander. When he reached the city named Nysa,[419] the Macedonians were unwilling to attack it, because a very deep river ran past its walls. "Unlucky that I am," exclaimed Alexander, "why did I never learn to swim?" Saying thus, he prepared to cross the river just as he was, with his shield upon his left arm. After an unsuccessful assault, ambassadors were sent by the besieged, who were surprised to find Alexander dressed in his armour, covered with dust and blood. A cushion was now brought to him, and he bade the eldest of the ambassadors seat himself upon it. This man was named Akouphis: and he was so much struck with the splendid courtesy of Alexander, that he asked him what his countrymen must do, in order to make him their friend. Alexander replied that they must make Akouphis their chief, and send a hundred of their best men to him. Upon this Akouphis laughed, and answered: "I shall rule them better, O King, if I send the worst men to you and not the best."

LIX. There was one Taxiles,[420] who was said to be king of a part of India as large as Egypt, with a rich and fertile soil. He was also a shrewd man, and came and embraced Alexander, saying, "Why should we two fight one another, Alexander, since you have not come to take away from us the water which we drink nor the food which we eat; and these are the only things about which it is worth while for sensible men to fight? As for all other kinds of property, if I have more than you, I am willing to bestow it upon you, or, if you are the richer, I would willingly be placed in your debt by receiving some from you." Alexander was delighted with these words, and giving [Pg 361] him his right hand as a pledge of his friendship exclaimed, "Perhaps you suppose that by this arrangement we shall become friends without a contest; but you are mistaken, for I will contend with you in good offices, and will take care that you do not overcome me." Saying thus, they exchanged presents, amongst which Alexander gave Taxiles a thousand talents of coined money. This conduct of his greatly vexed his friends; but caused him to be much more favourably regarded by many of the natives.

After this, Alexander, who had suffered great losses from the Indian mercenary troops who flocked to defend the cities which he attacked, made a treaty of alliance with them in a certain town, and afterwards, as they were going away set upon them while they were on the road and killed them all. This is the greatest blot upon his fame; for in all the rest of his wars, he always acted with good faith as became a king. He was also much troubled by the philosophers who attended him, because they reproached those native princes who joined him, and encouraged the free states to revolt and regain their independence. For this reason, he caused not a few of them to be hanged.

LX. His campaign against king Porus is described at length in his own letters. He tells us that the river Hydaspes[421] ran between the two camps, and that Porus with his elephants watched the further bank, and prevented his crossing. Alexander himself every day caused a great noise and disturbance to be made in his camp, in order that the enemy might be led to disregard his movements: and at last upon a dark and stormy night he took a division of infantry and the best of the cavalry, marched to a considerable distance from the enemy, and crossed over into an island of no great extent. Here he was exposed to a terrible storm of rain, with thunder and lightning; but, although several of his men were struck dead, he pressed on, crossed the island, and gained the furthermost bank of the river. The Hydaspes was flooded by the rain, and the stream ran fiercely down this second branch, while the Macedonians could with difficulty keep their footing upon this slippery and uneven bottom Here it was that Alexander is said to have [Pg 362] exclaimed, "O ye Athenians, what toils do I undergo to obtain your praise."

This, however, rests only on the authority of the historian Oneskritus, for Alexander himself relates that they abandoned their rafts, and waded through this second torrent under arms, with the water up to their breasts. After crossing, he himself rode on some twenty furlongs in advance of the infantry, thinking that if the enemy met him with their cavalry alone, he would be able to rout them easily, and that, if they advanced their entire force, before a battle could be begun, he would be joined by his own infantry. And indeed he soon fell in with a thousand horse and sixty war chariots of the enemy, which he routed, capturing all the chariots, and slaying four hundred of the horsemen. Porus now perceived that Alexander himself had crossed the river, and advanced to attack him with all his army, except only a detachment which he left to prevent the Macedonians from crossing the river at their camp. Alexander, alarmed at the great numbers of the enemy, and at their elephants, did not attack their centre, but charged them on the left wing, ordering Koinus to attack them on the right. The enemy on each wing were routed, but retired towards their main body, where the elephants stood. Here an obstinate and bloody contest took place, insomuch that it was the eighth hour of the day before the Indians were finally overcome. These particulars we are told by the chief actor in the battle himself, in his letters. Most historians are agreed that Porus stood four cubits[422] and a span high, and was so big a man that when mounted on his elephant, although it was a very large one, he seemed as well proportioned to the animal as an ordinary man is to a horse. This elephant showed wonderful sagacity and care for its king, as while he was still vigorous it charged the enemy and overthrew them, but when it perceived that he was fainting from his wounds, fearing that he might fall, it quietly knelt on the [Pg 363] ground, and then gently drew the spears out of his body with its trunk. When Porus was captured, Alexander asked him how he wished to be treated. "Like a king," answered Porus. Alexander then enquired if he had nothing else to ask about his treatment. "Everything," answered Porus, "is comprised in these words, like a king." Alexander now replaced Porus in his kingdom, with the title of satrap, and also added a large province to it, subduing the independent

inhabitants. This country was said to have contained fifteen separate tribes, five thousand considerable cities and innumerable villages; besides another district three times as large, over which he appointed Philippus, one of his personal friends, to be satrap.

LXI. After this battle with Porus, Alexander's horse Boukephalus died, not immediately, but some time afterwards. Most historians say that he died of wounds received in the battle, but Onesikritus tells us that he died of old age and overwork, for he had reached his thirtieth year. Alexander was greatly grieved at his loss, and sorrowed for him as much as if he had lost one of his most intimate friends. He founded a city as a memorial of him upon the banks of the Hydaspes, which he named Boukephalia. It is also recorded that when he lost a favourite dog called Peritas, which he had brought up from a whelp, and of which he was very fond, he founded a city and called it by the dog's name. The historian Sotion tells us that he heard this from Potamon of Lesbos.

LXII. The battle with King Porus made the Macedonians very unwilling to advance farther into India. They had overcome Porus with the greatest difficulty, as he brought against them a force of twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and now offered the most violent opposition to Alexander, who wished to cross the river Ganges. This river, they heard, was thirty-two furlongs wide and a hundred cubits deep, while its further banks were completely covered with armed men, horses and elephants, for it was said that the kings of the Gandaritæ and Præsiæ were awaiting his attack with an army of eighty thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand foot soldiers, eight thousand war chariots, and six thousand elephants; nor was this any exaggeration, for not long afterwards Androkottus, the king of this country, presented five [Pg 364] hundred elephants to Seleukus, and overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of six hundred thousand men.

Alexander at first retired to his tent in a rage, and shut himself up there, not feeling any gratitude to those who had prevented his crossing the Ganges, but regarding a retreat as an acknowledgment of defeat. However, after his friends had argued with him, and his soldiers had come to the door of his tent, begging him with tears in their eyes to go no farther, he relented, and gave orders for a retreat. He now contrived many ingenious devices to impress the natives, as, for instance, he caused arms, and bridles and mangers for horses to be made of much more than the usual size, and left them scattered about. He also set up altars, which even to the present day are reverenced by the kings of the Præsiæ, who cross the river to them, and offer sacrifice upon them in the Greek fashion. Androkottus himself, who was then a lad, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander might easily have conquered the whole country, as the then king was hated by his subjects on account of his mean and wicked disposition.

LXIII. After this, Alexander wishing to see the outer ocean,[423] caused many rafts and vessels managed with oars to be built, and proceeded in a leisurely manner down the Indus. His voyage, however, was not an idle one, nor was it unaccompanied with danger, for as he passed down the river, he disembarked, attacked the tribes on the banks, and subdued them all. When he was among the Malli, who are said to be the most warlike tribe in India, he very nearly lost his life. He was besieging their chief city, and after the garrison had been driven from the walls by volleys of missiles, he was the first man to ascend a scaling ladder and mount the walls. The ladder now broke, so that no more could mount, and as the enemy began to assemble inside at the foot of the wall and shoot up at him from below, Alexander, alone against a host, leaped down amongst them, and by good luck, alighted on his feet. His armour rattled loudly as he leaped, and [Pg 365] made the natives think that a bright light was emitted from his body; so that at first they gave way and fled from him. But when they saw that he was attended by only two followers, some of them attacked him at close quarters with swords and spears, while one standing a little way off shot an arrow at him with such force and with such good aim, that it passed through his corslet and imbedded itself in the bones of his breast. As he shrank back when the arrow struck him, the man who had shot it ran up to him with a drawn sword in his hand. Peukestas and Limnæus now stood before Alexander to protect him. Both were wounded, Limnæus mortally; but Peukestas managed to stand firm, while Alexander despatched the Indian with his own hand. Alexander was wounded in many places, and at last received a blow on the neck with a club, which forced him to lean his back against the wall, still facing the enemy. The Macedonians now swarmed round him, snatched him up just as he fainted away, and carried him insensible to his tent. A rumour now ran through the camp that he was dead, and his attendants with great difficulty sawed through the wooden shaft of the arrow, and so got off his corslet. They next had to pluck out the barbed head of the arrow, which was firmly fixed in one of his ribs. This arrow-head is said to have measured four fingers-breadths[424] in length, and three in width. When it was pulled out, he swooned away, so that he nearly died, but at length recovered his strength. When he was out of danger, though still very weak, as he had to keep himself under careful treatment for a long time, he heard a disturbance without, and learning that the Macedonians were anxious to see him, took his cloak and went out to them. After sacrificing to the gods for the recovery of his health, he started again on his journey, and passed through a great extent of country and past many considerable cities, all of which he subdued.

LXIV. He captured ten of the Indian philosophers called Gymnosophistæ;[425] who had been [Pg 366] instrumental in causing Sabbas to revolt, and had done much mischief to the Macedonians. These men are renowned for their short, pithy answers, and Alexander put difficult questions to all of them, telling them that he would first put to death the man who answered him worst, and so the rest in order. The first was asked, whether he thought the living or the dead to be the more

numerous. He answered, "The living, for the dead are not."

The second was asked, which breeds the largest animals, the sea or the land. He answered, "The land, for the sea is only a part of it."

The third was asked, which is the cleverest of beasts. He answered, "That which man has not yet discovered."

The fourth was asked why he made Sabbas rebel. He answered, "Because I wished him either to live or to die with honour."

The fifth was asked, which he thought was first, the day or the night. He answered, "The day was first, by one day." As he saw that the king was surprised at this answer, he added, "impossible questions require impossible answers."

Alexander now asked the sixth how a man could make himself most beloved. He answered, "By being very powerful, and yet not feared by his subjects."

Of the remaining three, the first one was asked, how a man could become a god. He answered, "By doing that which is impossible for a man to do."

The next was asked, which was the stronger, life or death. He answered, "Life, because it endures such terrible suffering."

The last, being asked how long it was honourable for a man to live, answered, "As long as he thinks it better for him to live than to die."

Upon this Alexander turned to the judge and asked him to pronounce his decision. He said that they had answered each one worse than the other. "Then," said Alexander, "you shall yourself be put to death for having given such a verdict." "Not so," said he, "O king, unless you mean to belie your own words, for you said at the beginning that you would put to death him who gave the worst answer." [Pg 367]

LXV. Alexander now gave them presents and dismissed them unhurt. He also sent Onesikritus to the most renowned of them, who lived a life of serene contemplation, desiring that they would come to him. This Onesikritus was a philosopher of the school of Diogenes the cynic. One of the Indians, named Kalanus, is said to have received him very rudely, and to have proudly bidden him to take off his clothes and speak to him naked, as otherwise he would not hold any conversation with him, even if he came from Zeus himself. Dandamis, another of the Gymnosophists, was of a milder mood, and when he had been told of Sokrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, said that they appeared to him to have been wise men, but to have lived in too great bondage to the laws. Other writers say that Dandamis said nothing more than "For what purpose has Alexander come all the way hither?" However, Taxiles persuaded Kalanus to visit Alexander. His real name was Sphines: but as in the Indian tongue he saluted all he met with the word 'Kale,' the Greeks named him Kalanus. This man is said to have shown to Alexander a figure representing his empire, in the following manner. He flung on the ground a dry, shrunken hide, and then trod upon the outside of it, but when he trod it down in one place, it rose up in all the others. He walked all round the edge of it, and showed that this kept taking place until at length he stepped into the middle, and so made it all lie flat. This image was intended to signify that Alexander ought to keep his strength concentrated in the middle of his empire, and not wander about on distant journeys.

LXVI. Alexander's voyage down the Indus and its tributaries, to the sea-coast, took seven months. On reaching the ocean he sailed to an island which he himself called Skillustis, but which was generally known as Psiltukis. Here he landed and sacrificed to the gods, after which he explored the sea and the coast as far as he could reach. Having done this, he turned back, after praying to the gods that no conqueror might ever transcend this, the extreme limit of his conquests. He ordered his fleet to follow the line of the coast, keeping India on their right hand: and he gave Nearchus the supreme command, with Onesikritus as chief pilot. He, himself, marched through the country of the Oreitæ, where he endured terrible sufferings from scarcity of provisions, and lost so many men that he scarcely brought back home from India the fourth part of his army, which originally amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse. Most of the men perished from sickness, bad food, and the excessive heat of the sun, and many from sheer hunger, as they had to march through an uncultivated region, inhabited only by a few miserable savages, with a stunted breed of cattle whose flesh had acquired a rank and disagreeable taste through their habit of feeding on sea-fish. [Pg 368]

After a terrible march of sixty days, the army passed through this desert region, and reached Gedrosia, where the men at once received abundant supplies of food, which were furnished by the chiefs of the provinces which they entered.

LXVII. After he had refreshed his troops here for a little, Alexander led them in a joyous revel for seven days through Karmania.[426] He, himself, feasted continually, night and day, with his companions, who sat at table with him upon a lofty stage drawn by eight horses, so that all men could see them. After the king's equipage followed numberless other waggons, some with hangings of purple and embroidered work, and others with canopies of green boughs, which were constantly renewed, containing the rest of Alexander's friends and officers, all crowned with flowers and drinking wine. There was not a shield, a helmet, or a pike, to be seen, but all along the road the soldiers were dipping cups, and horns, and earthenware vessels into great jars of liquor and drinking one another's healths, some drinking as they marched along, while others [Pg 369]

sat by the roadside. Everywhere might be heard the sound of flutes and pipes, and women singing and dancing; while with all this dissolute march the soldiers mingled rough jokes, as if the god Dionysus himself were amongst them and attended on their merry procession. At the capital of Gedrosia, Alexander again halted his army, and refreshed them with feasting and revelry. It is said that he himself, after having drunk hard, was watching a contest between several choruses, and that his favourite Bagoas won the prize, and then came across the theatre and seated himself beside him, dressed as he was and wearing his crown as victor. The Macedonians, when they saw this, applauded vehemently, and cried out to Alexander to kiss him, until at length he threw his arms round him and kissed him.

LXVIII. He was now much pleased at being joined by Nearchus and his officers, and took so much interest in their accounts of their voyage, that he wished to sail down the Euphrates himself with a great fleet, and then to coast round Arabia and Libya, and so enter the Mediterranean sea through the pillars of Herakles.[427] He even began to build many ships at Thapsakus, and to collect sailors and pilots from all parts of the world, but the severe campaigns which he had just completed in India, the wound which he had received among the Malli, and the great losses which his army had sustained in crossing the desert, had made many of his subjects doubt whether he was ever likely to return alive, and had encouraged them to revolt, while his absence had led many of his satraps and viceroys to act in an extremely arbitrary and despotic manner, so that his whole empire was in a most critical condition, and full of conspiracies and seditious risings. Olympias and Kleopatra[428] had attacked and driven out Antipater, and had divided the kingdom between themselves, Olympias taking Epirus, and Kleopatra Macedonia. [Pg 370] When Alexander heard this, he said that his mother had proved herself the wiser of the two; for the Macedonians never would endure to be ruled by a woman. He now sent Nearchus back to the sea, determining to make war all along the coast, and coming down in person to punish the most guilty of his officers. He killed Oxyartes, one of the sons of Abouletes (the satrap of Susiana) with his own hands, with a sarissa or Macedonian pike. Abouletes had made no preparations to receive Alexander, but offered him three thousand talents of silver. Alexander ordered the money to be thrown down for the horses; and as they could not eat it, he said "What is the use of your having prepared this for me?" and ordered Abouletes to be cast into prison.

LXIX. While Alexander was in Persis[429] he first renewed the old custom that whenever the king came there he should give every woman a gold piece. On account of this custom we are told that many of the Persian kings came but seldom to Persis, and that Ochus never came at all, but exiled himself from his native country through his niggardliness. Shortly afterwards Alexander discovered that the sepulchre of Cyrus had been broken into, and put the criminal to death, although he was a citizen of Pella[430] of some distinction, named Polemarchus. When he had read the inscription upon the tomb, he ordered it to be cut in Greek letters also. The inscription ran as follows: "O man, whosoever thou art, and whencesoever thou comest—for I know that thou shalt come—I am Cyrus, who won the empire for the Persians. I pray thee, do not grudge me this little earth that covereth my body." These words made a deep impression upon Alexander, and caused him to meditate upon the uncertainty and changefulness of human affairs. About this time, Kalanus, who had for some days been suffering from some internal disorder, begged that a funeral pile might be erected for him. He rode up to it on horseback, said a prayer, poured a [Pg 371] libation for himself and cut off a lock of his own hair, as is usual at a sacrifice, and then, mounting the pile, shook hands with those Macedonians who were present, bidding them be of good cheer that day, and drink deep at the king's table. He added, that he himself should shortly see the king at Babylon. Having spoken thus he lay down and covered himself over. He did not move when the fire reached him, but remained in the same posture until he was consumed, thus sacrificing himself to the gods after the manner of the Indian philosophers. Many years afterwards another Indian, a friend of Cæsar, did the like in the city of Athens; and at the present day his sepulchre is shown under the name of "the Indian's tomb."

LXX. After Alexander left the funeral pyre, he invited many of his friends and chief officers to dinner, and offered a prize to the man who could drink most unmixed wine. Promachus, who won it, drank as much as four choes.[431] He was presented with a golden crown worth a talent, and lived only three days afterwards. Of the others, Chares, the historian, tells us that forty-one died of an extreme cold that came upon them in their drunkenness.

Alexander now celebrated the marriage of many of his companions at Susa. He himself married Statira, the daughter of Darius, and bestowed the noblest of the Persian ladies upon the bravest of his men. He gave a splendid banquet on the occasion of his marriage, inviting to it not only all the newly married couples, but all those Macedonians who were already married to Persian wives. It is said that nine thousand guests were present at this feast, and that each of them was presented with a golden cup to drink his wine in. Alexander entertained them in all other respects with the greatest magnificence, and even paid all the debts of his guests, so that the whole expense amounted to nine thousand eight hundred and seventy talents. On this occasion, Antigenes the one-eyed got his name inscribed on the roll as a debtor, and produced a man who said that he was his creditor. He received the amount of his alleged debt, but his deceit was [Pg 372] afterwards discovered by Alexander, who was much enraged, banished him from his court, and took away his command. This Antigenes was a very distinguished soldier. When Philip, was besieging Perinthus, Antigenes, who was then very young, was struck in the eye with a dart, and would not allow his friends to pull it out, nor leave the fight, before he had driven back the enemy into the city. He now was terribly cast down at his disgrace, and made no secret of his intention of making away with himself. The king, fearing that he would carry out his threat, pardoned him,

and permitted him to keep the money.

LXXI. Alexander was much pleased with the appearance of the three thousand youths whom he had left to be trained in the Greek manner, who had now grown into strong and handsome men, and showed great skill and activity in the performance of military exercises; but the Macedonians were very discontented, and feared that their king would now have less need for them. When Alexander sent those of them who were sick or maimed back to the sea coast, they said that it was disgraceful treatment that he should send these poor men home to their country and their parents in disgrace, and in worse case than when they set out, after he had had all the benefit of their services. They bade him send them all home, and regard them all as unserviceable, since he had such a fine troop of young gallants at his disposal to go and conquer the world with. Alexander was much vexed at this. He savagely reproached the soldiers, dismissed all his guards, and replaced them with Persians, whom he appointed as his body-guards and chamberlains. When the Macedonians saw him attended by these men, and found themselves shut out from his presence, they were greatly humbled, and after discussing the matter together they became nearly mad with rage and jealousy. At last they agreed to go to his tent without their arms, dressed only in their tunics, and there with weeping and lamentation offered themselves to him and bade him deal with them as with ungrateful and wicked men. Alexander, although he was now inclined to leniency, refused to receive them, but they would not go away, and remained for [Pg 373] two days and nights at the door of his tent lamenting and calling him their sovereign. On the third day he came out, and when he saw them in such a pitiable state of abasement, he wept for some time. He then gently blamed them for their conduct, and spoke kindly to them. He gave splendid presents to all the invalids, and dismissed them, writing at the same time to Antipater with orders, that in every public spectacle these men should sit in the best places in the theatre or the circus with garlands on their heads. The orphan children of those who had fallen he took into his own service.

LXXII. After Alexander was come to the city of Ekbatana in Media, and had despatched the most weighty part of his business there, he gave himself up entirely to devising magnificent spectacles and entertainments, with the aid of three thousand workmen, whom he had sent for from Greece. During this time, Hephæstion fell sick of a fever, and being a young man, and accustomed to a soldier's life, did not put himself upon a strict diet and remain quiet as he ought to have done. As soon as Glaukus, his physician, left him to go to the theatre, he ate a boiled fowl for his breakfast, and drank a large jar of cooled wine. Upon this he was immediately taken worse, and very shortly afterwards died.

Alexander's grief for him exceeded all reasonable measure. He ordered the manes of all the horses and mules to be cut off in sign of mourning, he struck off the battlements of all the neighbouring cities, crucified the unhappy physician, and would not permit the flute or any other musical instrument to be played throughout his camp, until a response came from the oracle of Ammon bidding him honour Hephæstion and offer sacrifice to him as to a hero.[432] To assuage his grief he took to war, and found consolation in fighting and man-hunting. He conquered the tribe called Kossæi, and slew their entire male population, which passed for an acceptable offering to the manes of Hephæstion. He now determined to spend ten thousand talents[433] on the funeral and tomb of Hephæstion; and as he wished to exceed the cost by the ingenuity and [Pg 374] brilliancy of invention shown in this spectacle, he chose Stasikrates out of all his mechanicians to arrange it, as he was thought to be able both to devise with grandeur and to execute with skill.

He on one occasion before this, when conversing with Alexander, told him that of all mountains in the world Mount Athos in Thrace was that which could most easily be carved into the figure of a man; and that, if Alexander would give him the order, he would form Athos into the most magnificent and durable monument of him that the world had ever seen, as he would represent him as holding in his left hand the city of Myriandrus, and with his right pouring, as a libation, a copious river into the sea. Alexander would not, indeed, adopt this suggestion, but was fond of discussing much more wonderful and costly designs than this with his engineers.

LXXIII. Just as Alexander was on the point of starting for Babylon, Nearchus, who had returned with his fleet up the Euphrates, met him, and informed him that some Chaldæans had warned Alexander to avoid Babylon. He took no heed of this warning, but went his way. When he drew near the walls he saw many crows flying about and pecking at one another, some of whom fell to the ground close beside him. After this, as he heard that Apollodorus, the governor of Babylon, had sacrificed to the gods to know what would happen to Alexander, he sent for Pythagoras, the soothsayer, who had conducted the sacrifice, to know if this were true. The soothsayer admitted that it was, on which Alexander inquired what signs he had observed in the sacrifice. Pythagoras answered that the victim's liver wanted one lobe. "Indeed!" exclaimed Alexander, "that is a terrible omen." He did Pythagoras no hurt, but regretted that he had not listened to the warning of Nearchus, and spent most of his time in his camp outside the walls of Babylon, or in boats on the river Euphrates. Many unfavourable omens now depressed his spirit. A tame ass attacked and kicked to death the finest and largest lion that he kept; and one day, as he stripped to play at [Pg 375] tennis, the young man with whom he played, when it was time to dress again, saw a man sitting on the king's throne, wearing his diadem and royal robe. For a long time this man refused to speak, but at length said that he was a citizen of Messene, named Dionysius, who had been brought to Babylon and imprisoned on some charge or other, and that now the god Serapis had appeared to him, loosed his chains, and had brought him thither, where he had bidden him to put on the king's diadem and robe, seat himself on his throne, and remain silent.

LXXIV. When Alexander heard this, he caused the man to be put to death, according to the advice of his soothsayers; but he himself was much cast down, and feared that the gods had forsaken him: he also grew suspicious of his friends. Above all he feared Antipater and his sons, one of whom, Iolas, was his chief cup-bearer, while the other, Kassander, had but recently arrived from Greece, and as he had been trained in the Greek fashion, and had never seen any Oriental customs before, he burst into a loud, insolent laugh, when he saw some of the natives doing homage to Alexander. Alexander was very angry, and seizing him by the hair with both hands, beat his head against the wall. Another time he stopped Kassander, when he was about to say something to some men who were accusing his father, Antipater. "Do you imagine" said he, "that these men would have journeyed so far merely in order to accuse a man falsely, if they had not been wronged by him?" When Kassander answered, that it looked very like a false accusation for a man to journey far from the place where his proofs lay, Alexander said with a laugh, "This is how Aristotle teaches his disciples to argue on either side of the question; but if any of you be proved to have wronged these men ever so little, you shall smart for it." It is related that after this, terror of Alexander became so rooted in the mind of Kassander, that many years afterwards, when Kassander was king of Macedonia, and lord of all Greece, he was walking about in Delphi looking at the statues, and that when he saw that of Alexander he was seized with a violent shuddering; his hair stood upright on his head, and his body quaked with fear, so that it was long [Pg 376] before he regained his composure.

LXXV. After Alexander had once lost his confidence and become suspicious and easily alarmed, there was no circumstance so trivial that he did not make an omen of it, and the palace was full of sacrifices, lustrations, and soothsayers. So terrible a thing is disbelief in the gods and contempt for them on the one hand, while superstition and excessive reverence for them presses on men's guilty consciences like a torrent of water[434] poured upon them. Thus was Alexander's mind filled with base and cowardly alarms. However when the oracular responses of the gods about Hephæstion were reported to him, he laid aside his grief somewhat, and again indulged in feasts and drinking bouts. He entertained Nearchus and his friends magnificently, after which he took a bath, and then, just as he was going to sleep, Medius invited him to a revel at his house. He drank there the whole of the following day, when he began to feel feverish: though he did not drink up the cup of Herakles at a draught, or suddenly feel a pain as of a spear piercing his body, as some historians have thought it necessary to write, in order to give a dramatic fitness and dignity to the end of so important a personage. Aristobulus tells us that he became delirious through fever, and drank wine to quench his thirst, after which he became raving mad, and died on the thirtieth day of the month Daisius.

LXXVI. In his own diary his last illness is described thus: "On the eighteenth day of Daisius he slept in the bath-room, because he was feverish. On the following day after bathing he came into his chamber and spent the day playing at dice with Medius. After this he bathed late in the evening, offered sacrifice to the gods, dined, and suffered from fever during the night. On the twentieth he bathed and sacrificed as usual, and while reclining in his bath-room he conversed with Nearchus and his friends, listening to their account of their voyage, and of the Great Ocean. On the twenty-first he did the same, but his fever grew much worse, so that he suffered much during the night, and next day was very ill. On rising from his bed he lay beside the great plunge- [Pg 377] bath, and conversed with his generals about certain posts which were vacant in his army, bidding them choose suitable persons to fill them. On the twenty-fourth, although very ill, he rose and offered sacrifice; and he ordered his chief officers to remain near him, and the commanders of brigades and regiments to pass the night at his gate. On the twenty-fifth he was carried over the river to the other palace, and slept a little, but the fever did not leave him. When his generals came to see him he was speechless, and remained so during the twenty-fifth, so that the Macedonians thought that he was dead. They clamoured at his palace gates, and threatened the attendants until they forced their way in. When the gates were thrown open they all filed past his bed one by one, dressed only in their tunics. On this day Python and Seleukus, who had been to the temple of Serapis, enquired whether they should bring Alexander thither. The god answered that they must leave him alone. The eight and twentieth day of the month, towards evening, Alexander died."

LXXVII. Most of the above is copied, word for word, from Alexander's household diary. No one had any suspicion of poison at the time; but it is said that six years after there appeared clear proof that he was poisoned, and that Olympias put many men to death, and caused the ashes of Iolas, who had died in the mean time, to be cast to the winds, as though he had administered the poison to Alexander.

Some writers say that Antipater was advised by Aristotle to poison Alexander, and inform us that one Hagnothemis declared that he had been told as much by Antipater; and that the poison was as cold as ice, and was gathered like dew, from a certain rock near the city of Nonakris, and preserved in the hoof of an ass: for no other vessel could contain it, because it is so exceedingly cold and piercing. Most historians, however, think that the whole story of Alexander's being poisoned was a fiction; and this view is strongly supported by the fact, that as Alexander's generals began to fight one another immediately after his death, his body lay for many days unheeded, in hot and close rooms, and yet showed no signs of decay, but remained sweet and [Pg 378] fresh. Roxana, who was pregnant, was regarded with great respect by the Macedonians, and being jealous of Statira, she sent her a forged letter, purporting to come from Alexander and asking her to come to him. When Statira came, Roxana killed both her and her sister, cast their bodies down a well, and filled up the well with earth. Her accomplice in this crime was Perdikkas, who on the death of Alexander at once became a very powerful man. He sheltered his authority

under the name of Arrhidæus, who became the nominal, while Perdikkas was the virtual king of Macedonia. This Arrhidæus was the son of Philip by a low and disreputable woman named Philinna, and was half-witted in consequence of some bodily disorder with which he was afflicted. This disease was not congenital nor produced by natural causes, for he had been a fine boy and showed considerable ability, but Olympias endeavoured to poison him, and destroyed his intellect by her drugs.

FOOTNOTES:

[394] On the subject of serpent worship, see in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' art.: 'Serpent,' and 'Brazen Serpent.'

[395] The Greek month Hekatombæon answers to the last half of our July and the first half of August.

[396] Cf. Horace, *Carm.* iii. 22.

[397] Reciters of epic poems, the cantos of which were called 'rhapsodies.'

[398] The same indifference to athletic sports, as practised in Greece, is mentioned in the Life of Philopœmen. The pankratium is sometimes called the pentathlum, and consisted of five contests, the foot-race, leaping, throwing the quoit, hurling the javelin, and wrestling. No one received the prize unless he was winner in all. In earlier times boxing was part of the pentathlum, but hurling the javelin was afterwards substituted for it.

[399] In Greek, this word is properly applied to the slave whose duty it was to attend a boy to and from school, and generally to keep him out of mischief. He was not supposed to teach him.

[400] The literal meaning of this word is "bull's head." It is conjectured that this refers to the mark with which the horse was branded, not to his appearance.

[401] I believe that the seal here mentioned was Philip's own, and in no sense the "great seal of the kingdom," although Strabo speaks of the public seal of a state.

[402] A tribe in the eastern part of Macedonia.

[403] Near Chæronea.

[404] It must be remembered that the ancients, although they possessed chairs, always ate and drank reclining upon couches.

[405] The Karians, ever since the siege of Troy, were regarded by the Greeks with the greatest contempt Cf. Il. ix. 378.

[406] Bacchus. Compare the Bacchæ of Euripides, passim.

[407] For a description of the Macedonian phalanx, see life of Titus Flaminius, ch. viii., note.

[408] This inscription was no doubt written over such spoils as were placed in the Greek temples. Compare Virgil's "Æneas hæc de Danais victoribus arma."

[409] When the wind blew from the south, this road was covered by such a depth of water as to be impracticable: for some time before he reached the spot the wind had blown strong from the south—but as he came near, the special providence of the gods (so he and his friends conceived it) brought on a change of wind to the north, so that the sea receded and left an available passage, though his soldiers had the water up to their waists. Grote's History of Greece, Part II. ch. xcii.

[410] See Smith's 'Biographical Dictionary' s.v.

[411] This dye was probably made from the murex or purple fish, caught in the Hermionic gulf, in Argolis, which produced a dye only second to that of Tyre.

[412] "No certainty is attainable about the ancient geography of these regions. Mr. Long's Map of Ancient Persia shows how little can be made out." (Grote's 'History of Greece,' part ii. chap. cxiii., note.)

[413] Lykus in Greek signifies a wolf.

[414] In Persepolis, the capital of the district called Persis.

[415] The ancients, whose bodies were anointed with oil or unguents, used dust when wrestling, to enable them to hold one another.

[416] The Sea of Azof.

[417] Antipater had been left by Alexander as his viceroy in Macedonia.

[418] The word which I have translated 'striped' is mentioned by Xenophon in the *Cyropædia* as one of the ensigns of royalty assumed by Cyrus.

[419] Probably Cabul or Ghuznee. The whole geography of Alexander's Asiatic campaigns will be found most exhaustively discussed in Grote's 'History of Greece,' part ii. ch. xcii., s. 99.

[420] The same name occurs in the Life of Sulla, c. 15, and Life of Lucullus, c. 26.

[421] The river Jhelum in the Punjaub.

[422] A cubit is the space from the point of the elbow to that of the little finger: a span is the space one can stretch over with the thumb and the little finger.

[423] As distinguished from the Mediterranean. The ancients gave the name of ocean to the sea by which they believed that their world was surrounded.

[424] δάκτυλος, the shortest Greek measure, a finger's breadth, about 7/20 of an inch. The modern Greek seamen measure the distance of the sun from the horizon by fingers' breadths. Newton's 'Halicarnassus.' (Liddell & Scott, s.v.)

[425] So called from their habit of going entirely naked. One of them is said by Arrian to have said to Alexander. "You are a man like all of us, Alexander—except that you abandon your home like a meddlesome destroyer, to invade the most distant regions; enduring hardships yourself, and inflicting hardships on others." (Arrian, vii, 1, 8.)

[426] To recompense his soldiers for their recent distress, the king conducted them for seven days in drunken bacchanalian procession through Karmania, himself and all his friends taking part in the revelry; an imitation of the jovial festivity and triumph with which the god Dionysus had marched back from the conquest of India. (Grote's 'History of Greece,' part ii. ch. xciv.)

[427] The straits of Gibraltar.

[428] Her daughter, Alexander's sister.

[429] The district known to the ancients as Persis or Persia proper, corresponds roughly to the modern province of Fars. Its capital city was Persepolis, near the modern city of Schiraz.

[430] The capital of Macedonia, Alexander's native city.

[431] χοῦς a liquid measure containing 12 κοτύλαι of 5.46 pints apiece.

[432] The Greek word hero means a semi-divine personage, who was worshipped, though with less elaborate ritual than a god.

[433] £2,300,000. Grote, following Diodorus, raises the total even higher, to twelve thousand talents, or £2,760,000. "History of Greece," part ii. ch. xciv.

[434] The Greek text here is corrupt. I have endeavoured to give what appears to have been Plutarch's meaning.

LIFE OF C. CÆSAR.

[Pg 379]

I.[435] When Sulla got possession of the supreme power, he confiscated the marriage portion of Cornelia[436] the daughter of Cinna[437] who had once enjoyed the supremacy in Rome, because he could not either by promises or threats induce Cæsar to part with her. The cause of the enmity between Cæsar and Sulla was Cæsar's relationship to Marius; for the elder Marius was the husband of Julia the sister of Cæsar's father, and Julia was the mother of the younger Marius, who was consequently Cæsar's cousin. Cæsar was not content with being let alone by Sulla, who was at first fully occupied with the proscriptions and other matters, but he presented himself to [Pg 380] the people as a candidate for a priesthood,[438] though he had hardly arrived at man's estate. But Sulla by his opposition contrived to exclude him from this office, and even thought of putting him to death; and when some observed that there was no reason in putting to death such a youth, Sulla observed, that they had no sense if they did not see many Marii in this boy. These words were conveyed to Cæsar, who thereupon concealed himself by wandering about for some time in the Sabine country. On one occasion when he was changing his place of abode on account of sickness, he fell in by night with the soldiers of Sulla who were scouring those parts and seizing on those who were concealed. But Cæsar got away by giving Cornelius,[439] who was in command of the soldiers, two talents, and going straightway down to the coast he took ship and sailed to Bithynia to King Nicomedes,[440] with whom he stayed no long time. On his voyage from Bithynia, he was captured near the island Pharmacusa[441] by pirates,[442] who at that time were in possession of the seas with a powerful force and numerous ships.

II. The pirates asked Cæsar twenty talents for his ransom, on which he laughed at them for not knowing who their prize was, and he promised to give them fifty talents. While he dispatched those about him to various cities to raise the money, he was left with one friend and two [Pg 381] attendants among these Cilician pirates, who were notorious for their cruelty, yet he treated them with such contempt that whenever he was lying down to rest, he would send to them and order them to be quiet. He spent eight and thirty days among them, not so much like a prisoner as a prince surrounded by his guards, and he joined in their sports and exercises with perfect unconcern. He also wrote poems and some speeches which he read to them, and those who did not approve of his compositions he would call to their faces illiterate fellows and barbarians, and he would often tell them with a laugh that he would hang them all. The pirates were pleased with his manners, and attributed this freedom of speech to simplicity and a mirthful disposition. As soon as the ransom came from Miletus and Cæsar had paid it and was set at liberty, he manned some vessels in the port of Miletus and went after the pirates, whom he found still on the island, and he secured most of them. All their property he made his booty; but the pirates, he lodged in prison at Pergamum, and then went to Junius,[443] who, as governor of the provinces of Asia, was the proper person to punish the captives. But as the governor was casting a longing eye on the booty, which was valuable, and said he would take time to consider about the captives, Cæsar without more ado, left him and going straight to Pergamum took all the pirates out of prison and

crucified them, as he had often told them he would do in the island when they thought he was merely jesting.

III. Sulla's power was now declining, and Cæsar's friends in Rome recommended him to return. However, he first made a voyage to Rhodus in order to have the instruction of Apollonius the son of Molon,[444] of whom Cicero also was a hearer. This Apollonius was a distinguished rhetorician, [Pg 382] and had the reputation of being a man of a good disposition. Cæsar is said to have had a great talent for the composition of discourses on political matters, and to have cultivated it most diligently, so as to obtain beyond dispute the second rank; his ambition to be first in power and arms, made him from want of leisure give up the first rank, to which his natural talents invited him, and consequently his attention to military matters and political affairs by which he got the supreme power, did not allow him to attain perfection in oratory. Accordingly at a later period, in his reply to Cicero about Cato,[445] he deprecates all comparison between the composition of a soldier and the eloquence of an accomplished orator who had plenty of leisure to prosecute his studies.

IV. On his return to Rome he impeached[446] Dolabella[447] for maladministration in his province, and many of the cities of Greece gave evidence in support of the charge. Dolabella, indeed, was acquitted; but to make some return to the Greeks for their zeal in his behalf, Cæsar assisted them in their prosecution of Publius Antonius[448] for corruption before Marcus Lucullus, the governor of Macedonia; and his aid was so effectual that Antonius appealed to the tribunes, alleging that he had not a fair trial in Greece with the Greeks for his accusers. At Rome Cæsar got a brilliant popularity by aiding at trials with his eloquence; and he gained also much good will by his agreeable mode of saluting people and his pleasant manners, for he was more attentive to please than persons usually are at that age. He was also gradually acquiring political influence by the splendour of his entertainments and his table and of his general mode of living. At first those [Pg 383] who envied him, thinking that when his resources failed his influence would soon go, did not concern themselves about his flourishing popularity: but at last when his political power had acquired strength and had become difficult to overthrow and was manifestly tending to bring about a complete revolution, they perceived that no beginnings should be considered too small to be capable of quickly becoming great by uninterrupted endurance and having no obstacle to their growth by reason of being despised. Cicero, who is considered to have been the first to suspect and to fear the smiling surface[449] of Cæsar's policy, as a man would the smiling smoothness of a sea, and who observed the bold and determined character which was concealed under a friendly and joyous exterior, said that in all his designs and public measures he perceived a tyrannical purpose; "but on the other hand," said he, "when I look at his hair, which is arranged with so much care, and see him scratching his head with one finger,[450] I cannot think that such a wicked purpose will ever enter into this man's mind as the overthrow of the Roman State." This, however, belongs to a later period.

V. He received the first proof of the good will of the people towards him when he was a competitor against Caius Popilius for a military tribuneship,[451] and was proclaimed before him. He received a second and more conspicuous evidence of popular favour on the occasion of the death of Julia[452] the wife of Marius, when Cæsar, who was her nephew, pronounced over her a splendid funeral oration in the Forum, and at the funeral ventured to exhibit the images[453] of Marius, which were then seen for the first time since the administration of Sulla, for Marius and [Pg 384] his son had been adjudged enemies. Some voices were raised against Cæsar on account of this display, but the people responded by loud shouts, and received him with clapping of hands, and admiration, that he was bringing back as from the regions of Hades, after so long an interval, the glories of Marius to the city. Now it was an ancient Roman usage to pronounce funeral orations[454] over elderly women, but it was not customary to do it in the case of young women, and Cæsar set the first example by pronouncing a funeral oration over his deceased wife, which brought him some popularity and won the many by sympathy to consider him a man of a kind disposition and full of feeling. After the funeral of his wife he went to Iberia as quæstor to the Prætor Vetus,[455] for whom he always showed great respect, and whose son he made his own quæstor when he filled the office of Prætor. After his quæstorship he married for his third wife Pompeia[456] he had by his wife Cornelia a daughter, who afterwards married Pompeius Magnus. Owing to his profuse expenditure (and indeed men generally supposed that he was buying at a great cost a short-lived popularity, though in fact he was purchasing things of the highest value at a low price) it is said that before he attained any public office he was in debt to the amount of thirteen hundred talents. Upon being appointed curator of the Appian Road,[457] he laid out upon it a large sum of his own; and during his ædileship[458] he exhibited three hundred and twenty [Pg 385] pair of gladiators, and by his liberality and expenditure on the theatrical exhibitions, the processions, and the public entertainments, he completely drowned all previous displays, and put the people in such a humour, that every man was seeking for new offices and new honours to requite him with.

VI. There were at this time two parties in the State, that of Sulla, which was all-powerful, and that of Marius, which was cowed and divided and very feeble. It was Cæsar's object to strengthen and gain over the party of Marius, and accordingly, when the ambitious splendour of his ædileship was at its height, he had images of Marius secretly made, and triumphal Victories, which he took by night and set up on the Capitol. At daybreak the people seeing the images glittering with gold, and exquisitely laboured by art (and there were inscriptions also which declared the Cimbrian victories of Marius), were in admiration at the boldness of him who had

placed them there, for it was no secret who it was, and the report quickly circulating through the city, brought everybody to the spot to see. Some exclaimed that Cæsar had a design to make himself tyrant, which appeared by his reviving those testimonials of honour which had been buried in the earth by laws and decrees of the senate, and that it was done to try if the people, who were already tampered with, were tamed to his purpose by his splendid exhibitions, and would allow him to venture on such tricks and innovations. But the partisans of Marius, encouraging one another, soon collected in surprising numbers, and filled the Capitol with their noise. Many also shed tears of joy at seeing the likeness of Marius, and Cæsar was highly extolled as the only man worthy to be a kinsman of Marius. The senate being assembled about these matters, Catulus Lutatius, who had at that time the greatest name of any man in Rome, got up, and charging Cæsar, uttered that memorable expression: "Cæsar, no longer are you taking the [Pg 386] state by underground approaches, but by storming engines." Cæsar spoke in reply to this charge, and satisfied the senate, on which his admirers were still more elated, and urged him not to abate of his pretensions for any one: with the favour of the people, they said, he would soon get the better of all, and be the first man in the State.

VII. About this time Metellus,[459] the Pontifex Maximus, died, and though Isauricus and Catulus were candidates for the priesthood, which was a great object of ambition, and were men of the highest rank and greatest influence in the senate, Cæsar would not give way to them, but he presented himself to the people as a competitor. The favour of the people appearing equally divided, Catulus, as the more distinguished candidate, being more afraid of the uncertainty of the event, sent and offered Cæsar a large sum of money if he would retire from his canvass; but Cæsar replied that he would stand it out even if he had to borrow still more. On the day of the election, his mother, with tears, accompanied him to the door, when Cæsar embracing her, said, "Mother, to-day you shall see your son either Pontifex Maximus, or an exile." After the voting was over, which was conducted with great spirit, Cæsar prevailed, a circumstance which alarmed the senate and the nobles, who feared that he would lead on the people to the boldest measures. Accordingly, Piso and Catulus blamed Cicero for having spared Cæsar, who, in the matter of Catiline's[460] conspiracy, had given him a handle. Now Catiline designed not only to alter the [Pg 387] form of government, but to subvert the whole Commonwealth, and throw all into confusion, but he was ejected from the city on being convicted of some minor charges, and before the extent of his designs was discovered. He left behind him in the city Lentulus and Cethegus, to carry his plans into execution. It is uncertain if Cæsar secretly lent them any countenance and aid, but when they were completely convicted in the senate, and Cicero the consul put it to each senator to give his opinion on their punishment, all who spoke declared for death till it came to Cæsar's turn to speak. Cæsar rose and delivered a studied oration, to the effect that it was not consistent with the constitution, nor was it just to put to death without a trial men distinguished for their high character and their family, unless there was the most urgent necessity; and he added that, if they were imprisoned in the Italian cities which Cicero himself might choose, until the war against Catiline was brought to an end, the senate might have time to deliberate on the case of each prisoner when peace was restored.

VIII. This proposal appeared so humane, and was supported by so powerful a speech, that not only those who rose after Cæsar sided with, him, but many of those who had already spoken changed their opinions and went over to that of Cæsar, till it came to the turn of Cato and Catulus to speak. After they had made a vigorous opposition, and Cato in his speech had also urged suspicious matter against Cæsar and strongly argued against him, the conspirators were handed over to the executioner, and as Cæsar was leaving the Senate many of the young men who then acted as a guard to Cicero, crowded together and threatened Cæsar with their naked swords.[461] But Curio[462] is said to have thrown his toga round Cæsar, and to have carried him [Pg 388] off; and Cicero also, when the young men looked to him, is said to have checked them by a motion, either through fear of the people or because he thought that the death of Cæsar would be most unjust and a violation of law. If this is true, I cannot conceive why Cicero said nothing about it in the book on his Consulship;[463] but Cicero was blamed afterwards for not having taken advantage of so favourable an opportunity to get rid of Cæsar, and for having feared the people, who were extravagantly attached to Cæsar. And indeed a few days after, when Cæsar had gone to the Senate and defended himself in a speech against the imputations that had been cast on him, and his speech was received with loud marks of disapprobation and the sitting of the Senate was lasting longer than usual, the people came with loud cries and surrounded the Senate-house calling for Cæsar and bidding the Senate let him go. Accordingly, Cato apprehending danger mainly from some movement of the needy part of the people, who were like a firebrand among the rest of the citizens, as they had all their hopes in Cæsar, prevailed on the Senate to give them a monthly allowance of corn, which produced an addition to the rest of the expenditure of seven millions[464] five hundred thousands. However, the immediate alarm was manifestly quenched by this measure, which snapped off the best part of Cæsar's influence and scattered it, at a time when he was going to enter on his office of Prætor which made him more formidable. [Pg 389]

IX. No tumults occurred in Cæsar's Prætorship,[465] but a disagreeable incident happened in his family. Publius Clodius,[466] a man of Patrician rank, was distinguished both by wealth and eloquence, but in arrogance and impudence he was not inferior to the most notorious scoundrels in Rome. Clodius was in love with Pompeia, Cæsar's wife, and Pompeia was in no way averse to him. But a strict watch was kept over the woman's apartment, and Aurelia, Cæsar's mother, who was a prudent woman, by always observing Pompeia, made it difficult and hazardous for the lovers to have an interview. Now the Romans have a goddess whom they call Bona, as the Greeks have a Gynæceia. The Phrygians, who claim this goddess, say she was the mother of King Midas;

the Romans say she was a Dryad and the wife of Faunus; but the Greeks say she is one of the mothers of Dionysus, whose name must not be uttered; and this is the reason why they cover the tents with vine-leaves during the celebration of her festival, and a sacred serpent sits by the goddess according to the mythus. No man is allowed to approach the festival, nor to be in the house during the celebration of the rites; but the women by themselves are said to perform many rites similar to the Orphic in the celebration. Accordingly when the season of the festival is come, the husband, if he be consul or prætor, leaves the house and every male also quits it; and the wife taking possession of the house makes all arrangements, and the chief ceremonies are [Pg 390] celebrated by night, the evening festival being accompanied with mirth and much music.

X. While Pompeia[467] was now celebrating this festival, Clodius, who was not yet bearded, and for this reason thought that he should not be discovered, assumed the dress and equipment of a female lute-player and went to the house looking just like a young woman. Finding the door open, he was safely let in by a female slave who was in the secret, and who forthwith ran off to tell Pompeia. As there was some delay and Clodius was too impatient to wait where the woman had left him, but was rambling about the house, which was large, and trying to avoid the lights, Aurelia's waiting-woman, as was natural for one woman with another, challenged him to a little mirthful sport, and as he declined the invitations, she pulled him forward and asked who he was and where he came from. Clodius replied that he was waiting for Abra the maid of Pompeia, for that was the woman's name, but his voice betrayed him, and the waiting-woman ran with a loud cry to the lights and the rest of the company, calling out that she had discovered a man. All the women were in the greatest alarm, and Aurelia stopped the celebration of the rites and covered up the sacred things: she also ordered the doors to be closed and went about the house with the lights to look for Clodius. He was discovered lurking in the chamber of the girl who had let him in, and on being recognised by the women was turned out of doors. The women went straightway, though it was night, to their husbands to tell them what had happened; and as soon as it was day, the talk went through Rome of the desecration of the sacred rites by Clodius, and how he ought to be punished for his behaviour, not only to the persons whom he had insulted, but to the city and the gods. Accordingly one of the tribunes instituted a prosecution against Clodius for an offence against religion, and the most powerful of the senators combined against him, charging him, among other abominations, with adultery with his sister, who was the wife of Lucullus. The people set themselves in opposition to their exertions and supported Clodius, and [Pg 391] were of great service to him with the judices, who were terror-struck and afraid of the people. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia, and when he was summoned as a witness on the trial, he said he knew nothing about the matters that Clodius was charged with. This answer appearing strange, the accuser asked him, "Why have you put away your wife?" to which Cæsar replied, "Because I considered that my wife ought not even to be suspected." Some say that this was the real expression of Cæsar's opinion, but others affirm that it was done to please the people who were bent on saving Clodius. However this may be, Clodius was acquitted, for the majority of the judices gave in their votes[468] written confusedly, that they might run no risk from the populace by convicting Clodius nor lose the good opinion of the better sort by acquitting him.

XI. On the expiration of his Prætorship, Cæsar received Iberia[469] for his province, but as he had a difficulty about arranging matters with his creditors, who put obstructions in the way of his leaving Rome, and were clamorous, he applied to Crassus, then the richest man in Rome, who stood in need of the vigour and impetuosity of Cæsar to support him in his political hostility to Pompeius. Crassus undertook to satisfy the most importunate and unrelenting of the creditors, and having become security for Cæsar to the amount of eight hundred and thirty talents, thus enabled him to set out for his province. There is a story that as Cæsar was crossing the Alps, he passed by a small barbarian town which had very few inhabitants and was a miserable place, on which his companions jocosely observed, "They did not suppose there were any contests for [Pg 392] honors in such a place as that, and struggles for the first rank and mutual jealousy of the chief persons:" on which Cæsar earnestly remarked, "I would rather be the first man here than the second at Rome." Again in Spain, when he had some leisure and was reading the history of Alexander,[470] he was for a long time in deep thought, and at last burst into tears; and on his friends asking the reason of this, he said, "Don't you think it is a matter for sorrow, that Alexander was king of so many nations at such an early age, and I have as yet done nothing of note?"

XII. However, as soon as he entered Iberia, he commenced active operations and in a few days raised ten cohorts in addition to the twenty which were already there, and with this force marching against the Calaici[471] and Lusitani he defeated them, and advanced to the shores of the external sea, subduing the nations which hitherto had paid no obedience to Rome. After his military success, he was equally fortunate in settling the civil administration by establishing friendly relations among the different states, and particularly by healing the differences between debtors and creditors;[472] for which purpose he determined that the creditor should annually take two-thirds of the debtor's income, and that the owner should take the other third, which arrangement was to continue till the debt was paid. By these measures he gained a good reputation, and he retired from the province with the acquisition of a large fortune, having enriched his soldiers also by his campaigns and been saluted by them Imperator.

XIII. As it was the law at Rome that those who were soliciting a triumph should stay outside the [Pg 393] city, and that those who were candidates for the consulship should be present in the city, Cæsar finding himself in this difficulty, and having reached Rome just at the time of the consular elections, sent to the senate to request permission to offer himself to the consulship in his

absence through the intervention of his friends. Cato at first urged the law in opposition to Cæsar's request, but seeing that many of the senators had been gained over by Cæsar, he attempted to elude the question by taking advantage of time and wasting the day in talking, till at last Cæsar determined to give up the triumph and to secure the consulship. As soon as he entered the city, he adopted a policy which deceived everybody except Cato; and this was the bringing about of a reconciliation between Pompeius and Crassus, the two most powerful men in Rone, whom Cæsar reconciled from their differences, and centering in himself the united strength of the two by an act that had a friendly appearance, changed the form of government without its being observed. For it was not, as most people suppose, the enmity of Cæsar and Pompeius which produced the civil wars, but their friendship rather, inasmuch as they first combined to depress the nobility and then quarrelled with one another. Cato, who often predicted what would happen, at the time only got by it the character of being a morose, meddling fellow, though afterwards he was considered to be a wise, but not a fortunate adviser.

XIV. Cæsar,[473] however, supported on both sides by the friendship of Crassus and Pompeius, was raised to the consulship and proclaimed triumphantly with Calpurnius Bibulus for his colleague. Immediately upon entering on his office he proposed enactments more suitable to the most turbulent tribune than a consul, for in order to please the populace he introduced measures for certain allotments and divisions of land.[474] But he met with opposition in the Senate from the [Pg 394]
good and honourable among them, and as he had long been looking for a pretext, he exclaimed with solemn adjurations, that he was driven against his will to court the favour of the people by the arrogance and obstinacy of the Senate, and accordingly he hurried to the popular assembly and placing Crassus on one side of him and Pompeius on the other, he asked them if they approved of his legislative measures. Upon their expressing their approbation, he entreated them to give him their aid against those who threatened to oppose him with their swords. Pompeius and Crassus promised their assistance, and Pompeius added, that he would oppose swords with sword and shield. The nobility were annoyed at hearing such mad, inconsiderate words drop from Pompeius, which were unbecoming his own character and the respect that he owed to the Senate; but the people were delighted. Cæsar, whose secret design it was to secure the influence of Pompeius still more, gave him to wife his daughter Julia,[475] who was already betrothed to Servilius Cæpio; and he promised Cæpio that he should have the daughter of Pompeius, though she also was not disengaged, being betrothed to Faustus, the son of Sulla. Shortly after Cæsar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piso, and got Piso named consul for the next year, though Cato in this matter also strongly protested and exclaimed that it was an intolerable thing for the chief power to be prostituted by marriage bargains and that they should help one another by [Pg 395]
means of women, to provinces and armies and political power. Bibulus, Cæsar's colleague, found it useless to oppose Cæsar's measures, and he and Cato several times narrowly escaped with their lives in the Forum, whereupon Bibulus shut himself up at home for the remainder of his consulship. Immediately after his marriage Pompeius filled the Forum with armed men, and supported the people in passing Cæsar's laws and in giving him for five years Gaul on both sides of the Alps with the addition of Illyricum and four legions. Upon Cato's venturing to speak against these measures, Cæsar ordered him to be carried off to prison, thinking that he would appeal to the tribunes. But Cato went off without speaking a word; and Cæsar observing that the nobles were much annoyed at this, and the people also through respect for Cato's virtue were following him in silence and with downcast eyes, secretly asked one of the tribunes to release Cato. Very few of the senators used to accompany Cæsar to the Senate, but the majority not liking his measures stayed away. Considius,[476] who was a very old man, observed that the senators did not come because they were afraid of the arms and the soldiers. "Why don't you then stay at home for the same reason?" replied Cæsar, to which Considius rejoined, "My age makes me fearless, for the little of life that remains for me is not worth much thought." The most scandalous public measure in Cæsar's consulship was the election as tribune of that[477] Clodius who had dishonoured Cæsar's wife and violated the mysterious nocturnal rites. But he was elected in order to ruin Cicero, and Cæsar did not set out for his province till with the aid of Clodius he had [Pg 396]
put down Cicero by his cabals and driven him out of Italy.

XV. Such is said to have been the course of Cæsar's life before his Gallic campaigns.[478] But the period of his wars which he afterwards fought and his expedition by which he subdued Gaul, is just like a new beginning in his career and the commencement of a new course of life and action, in which he showed himself as a soldier and a general inferior to none who have gained admiration as leaders and been the greatest men: for whether we compare Cæsar's exploits with those of the Fabii, Scipios, and Metelli, or with those of his contemporaries or immediate predecessors, Sulla and Marius and both the Luculli or even Pompeius himself, whose fame, high as the heavens, was blossoming at that time in every kind of military virtue, Cæsar will be found to surpass them all—his superiority over one appearing in the difficulties of the country in which he carried on his campaigns, over another in the extent of country subdued, over a third in the number and courage of the enemy whom he defeated, over another again in the savage manners and treacherous character of the nations that he brought to civility, over a fourth in his clemency and mildness to the conquered, over another again in his donations and liberality to his soldiers; and in fine his superiority over all other generals appears by the numbers of battles that he fought and of enemies that he slew. For in somewhat less than ten years during which he carried on his campaign in Gaul he took by storm above eight hundred cities, and subdued three hundred nations, and fought with three millions of men at different times, of whom he destroyed one million in battle and took as many prisoners.

XVI.[479] So great were the good-will and devotion of Cæsar's soldiers to him, that those who [Pg 397]

under other generals were in no way superior to ordinary soldiers, were invincible and irresistible and ready to meet any danger for Cæsar's glory. An instance of this is Acilius, who in the sea-fight of Massalia[480] boarded one of the enemy's ships and had his right hand cut off with a sword, but he still kept hold of his shield with the left hand and striking at the faces of the enemy drove all to flight and got possession of the vessel. Another instance was Cassius Scæva, [481] who in the fight at Dyrrachium had one eye destroyed by an arrow, his shoulder transfixed with one javelin and his thigh with another, and on his shield he had received the blows of one hundred and thirty missiles. In this plight he called to the enemy as if he designed to surrender himself, and two of them accordingly approached him, but with his sword he lopped off one man's shoulder and wounding the other in the face, put him to flight, and finally he escaped himself with the aid of his friends. In Britannia on one occasion the natives had attacked the foremost centurions who had got into a marshy spot full of water, upon which, in the presence of Cæsar who was viewing the contest, a soldier rushed into the midst of the enemy, and after performing many conspicuous acts of valour, rescued the centurions from the barbarians, who took to flight. The soldier, with difficulty attempting to cross after all the rest, plunged into the muddy stream, and with great trouble and the loss of his shield, sometimes swimming, sometimes walking, he got safe over. While those who were about Cæsar were admiring his conduct and coming to receive him with congratulations and shouts, the soldier, with the greatest marks of dejection and tears in his eyes, fell down at Cæsar's feet and begged pardon for the loss of his shield. Again, in Libya, Scipio's party having taken one of Cæsar's ships in which was Granius Petro, who [Pg 398] had been appointed quæstor, made booty of all the rest, but offered to give the quæstor his life; but he replying that it was the fashion with Cæsar's soldiers to give and not to accept mercy, killed himself with his own sword.

XVII. This courage and emulation Cæsar cherished and created, in the first place by distributing rewards and honours without stint, and thus showing that he did not get wealth from the enemy for his own enjoyment and pleasure, but that it was treasured up with him as the common reward of courage, and that he was rich only in proportion as he rewarded deserving soldiers; and in the next place by readily undergoing every danger and never shrinking from any toil. Now they did not so much admire Cæsar's courage, knowing his love of glory; but his endurance of labour beyond his body's apparent power of sustaining it, was a matter of astonishment, for he was of a spare habit, and had a white and soft skin, and was subject to complaints in the head and to epileptic fits, which, as it is said, first attacked him at Corduba;[482] notwithstanding all this, he did not make his feeble health an excuse for indulgence, but he made military service the means of his cure, by unwearied journeying, frugal diet, and by constantly keeping in the open air and enduring fatigue, struggling with his malady and keeping his body proof against its attacks. He generally slept in chariots or in litters, making even his repose a kind of action; and in the daytime he used to ride in a vehicle to the garrisons, cities and camps, with a slave by his side, one of those who were expert at taking down what was dictated on a journey, and a single soldier behind him armed with a sword. He used to travel so quick that on his first journey from Rome he reached the Rhodanus[483] in eight days. From his boyhood he was a good horseman, for he had [Pg 399] been accustomed to place his hands behind him and, holding them close together on his back, to put the horse to his full speed. In that campaign he also practised himself in dictating letters as he was riding and thus giving employment to two scribes, and as Oppius[484] says, to more. He is said also to have introduced the practice of communicating with his friends by letters, as there was no time for personal interviews on urgent affairs, owing to the amount of business and the size of the city. This anecdote also is cited as a proof of his indifference as to diet. On one occasion when he was entertained at supper by his host Valerius Leo[485] in Mediolanum, asparagus was served up with myrum poured on it instead of oil, which Cæsar ate without taking any notice of it, and reproved his friends who were out of humour on the occasion. "You should be content," he said, "not to eat what you don't like; but to find fault with your host's ill-breeding is to be as ill-bred as himself." Once upon a journey he was compelled by a storm to take shelter in a poor man's hut, which contained only a single chamber and that hardly large enough for one person, on which he observed to his friends that the post of honour must be given to the worthiest and the place of safety to the weakest; and he bade Oppius lie down while he and the rest slept in the porch.

XVIII. Cæsar's first Gallic campaign was against the Helvetii[486] and Tigurini, who had burnt their cities, twelve in number, and their villages, of which there were four hundred, and were [Pg 400] advancing through that part of Gaul which was subject to the Romans, like the Cimbri and Teutones of old, to whom they were considered to be not inferior in courage and in numbers equal, being in all three hundred thousand, of whom one hundred and ninety thousand were fighting men. The Tigurini were not opposed by Cæsar in person, but by Labienus, who was sent against them by Cæsar and totally defeated them near the Arar. The Helvetii fell on Cæsar unexpectedly as he was leading his forces to a friendly city, but he succeeded in making his way to a strong position, where he rallied his army and prepared for battle. A horse being brought to him, he said, "I shall want this for the pursuit after I have defeated the enemy; but let us now move on against them;" and accordingly he made the charge on foot. After a long and difficult contest, the Helvetian warriors were driven back, but the hardest struggle was about the chariots and the camp, for the Helvetians made a stand there and a desperate resistance, and also their wives and children, who fought till they were cut to pieces, and the battle was hardly over at midnight. This glorious deed of victory Cæsar followed up by one still better, for he brought together those who had escaped from the battle and compelled them to re-occupy the tract which they had left and to rebuild the cities which they had destroyed; and the number of these was above one hundred thousand. His object in this measure was to prevent the Germans from

crossing the Rhenus and occupying the vacant country.

XIX. His next contest was with the Germans and for the immediate defence of the Gauls, although he had before this made an alliance with their king Ariovistus[487] in Rome. But the [Pg 401] Germans were intolerable neighbours to Cæsar's subjects, and if opportunity offered, it was supposed that they would not remain satisfied with what they had, but would invade and occupy Gaul. Cæsar observing his officers afraid of the approaching contest, and particularly the men of rank and the youths who had joined him in the expectation of finding a campaign with Cæsar a matter of pleasure and profit, called them to a public assembly and bade them leave him and not fight against their inclination since they were so cowardly and effeminate: as for himself he said he would take the tenth legion by itself and lead it against the enemy, knowing that he should not have to deal with a braver enemy than the Cimbri, and that he was not a worse general than Marius. Upon this the tenth legion sent a deputation of their body to thank him, but the rest of the legions abused their own officers, and the whole army, full of impetuosity and eagerness, all followed Cæsar, marching for many days, till they encamped within two hundred stadia of the enemy. The courage of Ariovistus was somewhat broken by the bare approach of the Romans; for as he had supposed that the Romans would not stand the attack of the Germans, and he never expected that they would turn assailants, he was amazed at Cæsar's daring and he also saw that his own army was disturbed. The spirit of the Germans was still more blunted by the predictions of their wise women, who observing the eddies in the rivers and drawing signs from the whirlings and noise of the waters, foreboded the future and declared that the army ought not to fight before it was new moon. Cæsar hearing of this and perceiving that the Germans were inactive, thought it a good opportunity for engaging with them, while they were out of spirits instead of sitting still and waiting for their time. By attacking their fortifications and the hills on which they were encamped, he irritated the Germans and provoked them to come down in passion and fight. The Germans were completely routed and pursued to the Rhenus a distance of four hundred [Pg 402] stadia, and the whole of this space was strewed with dead bodies and arms. Ariovistus with a few escaped across the river. The dead are said to have been eighty thousand in number.

XX. After these exploits he left his forces among the Sequani[488] to winter, and with the view of attending to what was going on at Rome, came down to Gaul about the Padus, which was a part of his province; for the river Rubico separates the rest of Italy from Gaul beneath the Alps. Fixing his residence there, he carried on his political intrigues, and many persons came to visit him to whom he gave what they asked for; and he dismissed all either with their wishes satisfied, or with hopes. During the whole period of his government in Gaul, he conducted his operations without attracting any attention from Pompeius, though at one time he was subduing the enemy by the arms of the citizens, and at another capturing and subjecting the citizens by the money which he got from the enemy. Hearing that the Belgæ[489] had risen in arms, who were the most powerful nation of the Gauls and in possession of a third part of all Gaul, and that they had assembled many ten thousands of armed men, he immediately turned about and went against them with all possible expedition; and falling upon the enemy while they were plundering the Gauls who were in alliance with the Romans, he put to flight and destroyed those who were collected in greatest numbers and the chief part of them after an unsuccessful resistance, and such was the slaughter that the Romans crossed the lakes and deep rivers over the dead bodies. Of the rebels all who [Pg 403] dwelt near the ocean surrendered without resistance; but against the fiercest and most warlike of those in these parts, the Nervii,[490] Cæsar led his forces. The Nervii, who inhabited the dense thickets and had placed their families and property in a deep recess of the forest as far as possible from the enemy, suddenly, to the number of sixty thousand, attacked Cæsar while he was fortifying his camp and not expecting a battle, and they put the Roman cavalry to flight, and surrounding the twelfth and seventh legions, killed all the centurions. If Cæsar had not seized a shield and, making his way through the first ranks, charged the barbarians, and if the tenth legion had not run down from the heights to support him when he was in danger of being overpowered, and broken the ranks of the enemy, it is supposed that not a single Roman would have escaped. Encouraged by Cæsar's intrepidity, the Romans fought, as the saying is, beyond their strength, but yet they could not put the Nervii to flight, who defended themselves till they were cut to pieces. Out of sixty thousand only five hundred are said to have escaped; and three senators out of four hundred.

XXI. The Senate on receiving intelligence of this victory, decreed that for fifteen days[491] there should be sacrifices to the gods and cessation from all business, with feasting, which had never been done before, for so long a time. For the danger was considered to have been great, so many nations having broken out at once; and because Cæsar was the conqueror, the good will of the many towards him made the victory more splendid. And accordingly, having settled affairs in Gaul, he again spent the winter in the plain of the Padus, and employed himself in intriguing at Rome. Not only the candidates for the offices of the State carried their election by Cæsar [Pg 404] supplying them with money which they spent in bribing the people, and directed all their measures to the increase of Cæsar's power, but the greater part of the Romans most distinguished for rank and political power, came to see him at Luca,[492] Pompeius and Crassus, and Appius, the governor of Sardinia, and Nepos, proconsul of Iberia, so that there were a hundred and twenty lictors there, and more than two hundred senators. Their deliberations resulted in this: it was agreed that Pompeius and Crassus should be made consuls, and that Cæsar should have an allowance of money and five additional years in his province, which to all reflecting people seemed the most extravagant thing of all. For those who were receiving so much from Cæsar, urged the Senate to grant him money as if he had none, or rather compelled the Senate to do it, groaning as it were over its own decrees. Cato, indeed, was not present, for

he had been purposely sent out of the way on a mission to Cyprus; and Favonius, who affected to imitate Cato, finding he could do nothing by his opposition, hastily left the Senate and began to clamour to the people. But nobody attended to him, some from fear of displeasing Pompeius and Crassus, but the greater part kept quiet to please Cæsar, living on hopes from him.

XXII. Cæsar again returned to his troops in Gaul where he found much war in the country, for two great German nations had just crossed the Rhenus for the purpose of getting land; the one nation was called Usipes,[493] and the other Tenteritæ. Respecting the battle with them, Cæsar says in his Commentaries,[494] that the barbarians, while they were treating with him during a [Pg 405] truce, attacked on their march and so put to flight his own cavalry to the number of five thousand with eight hundred of their own, for his men were not expecting an attack; that they then sent other ambassadors to him intending to deceive him again, whom he detained, and then led his army against the barbarians, considering all faith towards such faithless men and violators of truces to be folly. But Tanusius[495] says that while the senate were decreeing festivals and sacrifices for the victory, Cato delivered it as his opinion, that they ought to give up Cæsar to the barbarians, and so purge themselves of the violation of the truce on behalf of the city, and turn the curse on the guilty man. Of those who had crossed the river there were slaughtered to the number of four hundred thousand, and the few who recrossed the river were received by the Sugambri[496] a German tribe. Cæsar laying hold of this ground of complaint against the Germans, and being also greedy of glory and desirous to be the first man to cross the Rhenus with an army, began to build a bridge over the river, which was very broad, and in this part of the bed spread out widest, and was rough, and ran with a strong current so as to drive the trunks of trees that were carried down and logs of wood against the supports of the bridge,[497] and tear them asunder. But Cæsar planted large timbers across the bed of the river above the bridge to [Pg 406] receive the trees that floated down, and thus bridling the descending current, beyond all expectation he accomplished the completion of the bridge in ten days.

XXIII. Cæsar now led his troops over the river, no one venturing to oppose him, and even the Suevi, the most valiant of the Germans, retired with their property into deep woody valleys. After devastating with fire the enemy's country and encouraging all those who favoured the Romans, he returned into Gaul after spending eighteen days in Germany. His expedition against the Britanni[498] was notorious for its daring: for he was the first who entered the western Ocean with [Pg 407] an armament and sailed through the Atlantic sea, leading an army to war; and by attempting to occupy an island of incredible magnitude, which furnished matter for much dispute to numerous writers, who affirmed that the name and the accounts about it were pure inventions, for it never had existed and did not then exist, he extended the Roman supremacy beyond the inhabited world. After twice crossing over to the island from the opposite coast of Gaul, and worsting the enemy in many battles rather than advantaging his own men, for there was nothing worth taking from men who lived so wretched a life and were so poor, he brought the war to a close not such as he wished, but taking hostages from the king and imposing a tribute, he retired from the island. On his return he found letters which were just going to cross over to him from his friends [Pg 408] in Rome, informing him of his daughter's death, who died in child-birth in the house of her husband Pompeius. Great was the grief of Pompeius, and great was the grief of Cæsar; and their friends were also troubled, as the relationship was now dissolved which maintained peace and concord in the State, which but for this alliance was threatened with disturbance. The child also died after surviving the mother only a few days. Now the people, in spite of the tribunes, carried Julia[499] to the Field of Mars, where her obsequies were celebrated; and there she lies.

XXIV. As the force of Cæsar was now large, he was obliged to distribute it in many winter encampments. But while he was on his road to Italy, according to his custom, there was another general rising of the Gauls, and powerful armies scouring the country attempted to destroy the winter camps, and attacked the Roman entrenchments. The most numerous and bravest of the revolted Gauls under Abriorix destroyed Cotta[500] and Titurius with their army; and the legion under Cicero[501] they surrounded with sixty thousand men and blockaded, and they came very near taking the camp by storm, for all the Romans had been wounded and were courageously defending themselves above their strength. When this intelligence reached Cæsar, who was at a distance, he quickly turned about, and getting together seven thousand men in all, he hurried to [Pg 409] release Cicero from the blockade. The besiegers were aware of his approach and met him with the intention of cutting him off at once, for they despised the fewness of his numbers. But Cæsar, deceiving the enemy, avoided them continually, and having occupied a position which was advantageous to one who had to contend against many with a small force, he fortified his camp, and kept his men altogether from fighting; and he made them increase the height of the ramparts and build up the gates as if they were afraid, his manœuvre being to make the enemy despise him, till at last when they made their assault in scattered bodies, urged by self-confidence, sallying out he put them to flight and killed many of them.

XXV.[502] The frequent defections of the Gauls in those parts were thus quieted, and also by Cæsar during the winter moving about in all directions and carefully watching disturbances. For there had come to him from Italy three legions to replace those that had perished, Pompeius having lent him two of those which were under his command, and one legion having been newly raised in Gaul upon the Padus. But in the course of time there showed themselves, what had long in secret been planted and spread abroad by the most powerful men among the most warlike tribes, the elements of the greatest and the most dangerous of all the wars in Gaul, strengthened by a numerous body of young men armed and collected from all quarters, and by great stores brought together, and fortified cities, and countries difficult of access. And at that time, during

the winter, frozen rivers and forests buried in snow, and plains overflowed by winter torrents, and in some parts paths that could not be discovered for the depth of the snow, and in other parts the great uncertainty of a march through marshes and streams diverted from their course, seemed to place the proceedings of the insurgents altogether beyond any attempt on the part of Cæsar. Accordingly many tribes had revolted, but the leaders of the revolt were the Arvenni and the Carnuntini; Vergentorix was elected to the supreme direction of the war, he whose father the [Pg 410] Gauls had put to death on the ground of aiming at a tyranny.

XXVI. Vergentorix,[503] dividing his force into many parts, and placing over them many commanders, began to gain over all the surrounding country as far as those who bordered on the Arar, it being his design, as Cæsar's enemies in Rome were combining against him, to rouse all Gaul to war. If he had attempted this a little later, when Cæsar was engaged in the civil war, alarms no less than those from the invasion of the Cimbri would have seized on Italy. But now Cæsar, who appears to have had the talent for making the best use of all opportunities in war, and particularly critical seasons, as soon as he heard of the rising, set out on his march, by the very roads[504] that he traversed, and the impetuosity and rapidity of his march in so severe a winter letting the barbarians see that an invincible and unvanquished army was coming against them. For where no one believed that a messenger or a letter-carrier from him could make his way in a long time, there was Cæsar seen with all his army, at once ravaging their lands, and destroying the forts, taking cities, and receiving those who changed sides and came over to him, till at last even the nation of the Edui[505] declared against him, who up to this time had called themselves brothers of the Romans, and had received signal distinction, but now by joining the insurgents they greatly dispirited Cæsar's troops. In consequence of this, Cæsar moved from [Pg 411] those parts, and passed over the territory of the Lingones,[506] wishing to join the Sequani, who were friends, and formed a bulwark in front of Italy against the rest of Gaul. There the enemy fell upon him and hemmed him in with many ten thousands, upon which Cæsar resolved to fight a decisive battle against the combined forces, and after a great contest, he gained a victory at last, and with great slaughter, routed the barbarians; but at first it appears that he sustained some loss, and the Aruveni show a dagger[507] suspended in a temple, which they say was taken from Cæsar. Cæsar himself afterwards saw it, and smiled; and when his friends urged him to take it down, he would not, because he considered it consecrated.

XXVII. However, the chief part of those who then escaped, fled with the king to the city of Alesia. [508] And while Cæsar was besieging this city, which was considered to be impregnable by reason [Pg 412] of the strength of the walls and the number of the defenders, there fell upon him from without a danger great beyond all expectation. For the strength of all the nations in Gaul assembling in arms came against Alesia, to the number of three hundred thousand; and the fighting men in the city were not fewer than one hundred and seventy thousand; so that Cæsar being caught between two such forces and blockaded, was compelled to form two walls for his protection, the one towards the city, and the other opposite those who had come upon him, since, if these forces should unite, his affairs would be entirely ruined. On many accounts then, and with good reason, the hazard before the walls of Alesia was famed abroad, as having produced deeds of daring and skill such as no other struggle had done; but it is most worthy of admiration that Cæsar engaged with so many thousands outside of the town and defeated them without it being known to those in the city; and still more admirable, that this was also unknown to the Romans who were guarding the wall towards the city. For they knew nothing of the victory till they heard the weeping of the men in Alesia and the wailing of the women, when they saw on the other side many shields adorned with silver and gold, and many breastplates smeared with blood, and also cups and Gallic tents conveyed by the Romans to their camp. So quickly did so mighty a force, like a phantom or a dream, vanish out of sight and disperse, the greater part of the men having fallen in battle. But those who held Alesia, after giving no small trouble to themselves and to Cæsar, at last surrendered; and the leader of the whole war, Vergentorix, putting on his best armour, and equipping his horse, came out through the gates, and riding round Cæsar who was seated, and then leaping down from his horse, he threw off his complete armour, and seating himself at Cæsar's feet, he remained there till he was delivered up to be kept for the triumph. [Pg 413]

XXVIII.[509] Cæsar had long ago resolved to put down Pompeius, as Pompeius also had fully resolved to do towards him. For now that Crassus had lost his life among the Parthians, who kept a watch over both of them, it remained for one of them, in order to be the chief, to put down him who was, and to him who was the chief, to take off the man whom he feared, in order that this might not befall him. But it had only recently occurred to Pompeius to take alarm, and hitherto he had despised Cæsar, thinking it would be no difficult thing for the man whom he had elevated to be again depressed by him; but Cæsar, who had formed his design from the beginning, like an athlete, removed himself to a distance from his antagonists, and exercised himself in the Celtic wars, and thus disciplined his troops and increased his reputation, being elevated by his exploits to an equality with the victories of Pompeius; also laying hold of pretexts, some furnished by the conduct of Pompeius himself, and others by the times and the disordered state of the administration at Rome, owing to which, those who were candidates for magistracies placed tables in public and shamelessly bribed the masses, and the people being hired went down to show their partisanship not with votes on behalf of their briber, but with bows and swords and slings. And after polluting the Rostra with blood and dead bodies, they separated, leaving the city to anarchy, like a ship carried along without a pilot, so that sensible men were well content if matters should result in nothing worse than a monarchy after such madness and such tempest. And there were many who even ventured to say publicly that the state of affairs could only be remedied by a monarchy, and that they ought to submit to this remedy when applied by the

mildest of physicians, hinting at Pompeius. But when Pompeius in what he said affected to decline the honour, though in fact he was more than anything else labouring to bring about his appointment as dictator, Cato, who saw through his intention, persuaded the Senate to appoint him sole consul, that he might not by violent means get himself made dictator, and might be [Pg 414] contented with a mere constitutional monarchy. They also decreed an additional period for his provinces: and he had two, Iberia[510] and all Libya, which he administered by sending Legati and maintaining armies, for which he received out of the public treasury a thousand talents every year.

XXIX. Upon this, Cæsar began to canvass for a consulship by sending persons to Rome, and also for a prorogation of the government of his provinces. At first Pompeius kept silent, but Marcellus[511] and Lentulus opposed his claim, for they hated Cæsar on other grounds, and they added to what was necessary what was not necessary, to dishonour and insult him. For they deprived of the citizenship the inhabitants of Novum Comum[512] a colony lately settled by Cæsar in Gaul; and Marcellus, who was consul, punished with stripes one of the Senators of Novum Comum who had come to Rome, and added too this insult, "That he put these marks upon him to show that he was not a Roman," and he told him to go and show them to Cæsar. After the consulship of Marcellus, when Cæsar had now profusely poured forth his Gallic wealth for all those engaged in public life to draw from, and had released Curio[513] the tribune from many debts, and given to Paulus the consul fifteen hundred talents, out of which he decorated the Forum with the Basilica, a famous monument which he built in place of the old one called Fulvia; —under these circumstances, Pompeius, fearing cabal, both openly himself and by means of his friends exerted himself to have a successor[514] appointed to Cæsar in his government, and he sent and demanded back of him the soldiers[515] which he had lent to Cæsar for the Gallic wars. Cæsar sent the men back after giving each of them a present of two hundred and fifty drachmæ. [Pg 415] The officers who led these troops to Pompeius, spread abroad among the people reports about Cæsar which were neither decent nor honest; and they misled Pompeius by ill-founded hopes, telling him that the army of Cæsar longed to see him, and that while he with difficulty directed affairs at Rome owing to the odium produced by secret intrigues, the force with Cæsar was all ready for him, and that if Cæsar's soldiers should only cross over to Italy, they would forthwith be on his side: so hateful, they said, had Cæsar become to them on account of his numerous campaigns, and so suspected owing to their fear of monarchy. With all this Pompeius was inflated, and he neglected to get soldiers in readiness, as if he were under no apprehension; but by words and resolution he was overpowering Cæsar, as he supposed, by carrying decrees against him, which Cæsar cared not for at all. It is even said that one of the centurions who had been sent by him to Rome, while standing in front of the Senate-house, on hearing that the Senate would not give Cæsar a longer term in his government. "But this," he said, "shall give it," striking the hilt of his sword with his hand.

XXX. However, the claim of Cæsar at least had a striking show of equity. For he proposed that he should lay down his arms and that when Pompeius had done the same and both had become private persons, they should get what favours they could from the citizens; and he argued that if they took from him his power and confirmed to Pompeius what he had, they would be stigmatizing one as a tyrant and making the other a tyrant in fact. When Curio made this proposal before the people on behalf of Cæsar, he was loudly applauded; and some even threw chaplets of flowers upon him as on a victorious athlete. Antonius, who was tribune, produced to the people a letter[516] of Cæsar's on this subject which he had received, and he read it in spite of [Pg 416] the consuls. But in the Senate, Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, made a motion, that if Cæsar did not lay down his arms on a certain day, he should be declared an enemy. Upon the consuls putting the question, whether they were of opinion that Pompeius should dismiss his troops, and again, whether Cæsar should, very few voted in favour of the former question, and all but a few voted in favour of the latter; but when Antonius[517] on his side moved that both should dismiss their troops, all unanimously were in favour of that opinion. Scipio made a violent opposition, and Lentulus, the consul, called out that they needed arms to oppose a robber, and not votes, on which the Senate broke up and the Senators changed their dress as a sign of lamentation on account of the dissension.

XXXI. But when letters had come from Cæsar by which he appeared to moderate his demands, for he proposed to surrender everything else except Gaul within the Alps and Illyricum with two legions, which should be given to him to hold till he was a candidate for a second consulship, and Cicero the orator, who had just returned from Cilicia and was labouring at a reconciliation, was inducing Pompeius to relent, and Pompeius was ready to yield in everything else except as to the soldiers, whom he still insisted on taking from Cæsar, Cicero urged the friends of Cæsar to give in and to come to a settlement on the terms of the above-mentioned provinces and the allowance of six thousand soldiers, only to Cæsar. Pompeius was ready to yield and to give way; but the consul Lentulus would not let him, and he went so far as to insult and drive with dishonour from the Senate both Curio and Antonius, thus himself contriving for Cæsar the most specious of all pretexts, by the aid of which indeed Cæsar mainly excited the passions of his men, pointing out to them that men of distinction and magistrates had made their escape in hired vehicles in the dress [Pg 417] of slaves. For, putting on this guise through fear, they had stolen out of Rome.

XXXII. Now Cæsar had about him no more than three hundred horse and five thousand legionary soldiers; for the rest of his army, which had been left beyond the Alps, was to be conducted by those whom he sent for that purpose. Seeing that the commencement of his undertaking and the onset did not so much require a large force at the present, but were to be effected by the alarm

which a bold stroke would create and by quickly seizing his opportunity, for he concluded that he should strike terror by his unexpected movement more easily than he could overpower his enemies by attacking them with all his force, he ordered his superior officers and centurions with their swords alone and without any other weapons to take Ariminum, a large city of Gaul, avoiding all bloodshed and confusion as much as possible; and he intrusted the force to Hortensius.[518] Cæsar himself passed the day in public, standing by some gladiators who were exercising, and looking on; and a little before evening after attending to his person and going into the mess-room and staying awhile with those who were invited to supper, just as it was growing dark he rose, and courteously addressing the guests, told them to wait for his return, but he had previously given notice to a few of his friends to follow him, not all by the same route, but by different directions. Mounting one of the hired vehicles, he drove at first along another road, and then turning towards Ariminium, when he came to the stream which divides Gaul within the Alps from the rest of Italy (it is called Rubico[519] , and he began to calculate as he approached nearer [Pg 418] to the danger, and was agitated by the magnitude of the hazard, he checked his speed; and halting he considered about many things with himself in silence, his mind moving from one side to the other, and his will then underwent many changes; and he also discussed at length with his friends who were present, of whom Pollio Asinius[520] was one, all the difficulties, and enumerated the evils which would ensue to all mankind from his passage of the river, and how great a report of it they would leave to posterity. At last, with a kind of passion, as if he were throwing himself out of reflection into the future, and uttering what is the usual expression with which men preface their entry upon desperate enterprises and daring, "Let the die be cast," he hurried to cross the river; and thence advancing at full speed, he attacked Ariminum before daybreak and took it. It is said that on the night before the passage of the river, he had an impure dream,[521] for he dreamed that he was in unlawful commerce with his mother.

XXXIII. But when Ariminum was taken, as if the war had been let loose through wide gates over all the earth and sea at once, and the laws of the state were confounded together with the limits of the province, one would not have supposed that men and women only, as on other occasions, in alarm were hurrying through Italy, but that the cities themselves, rising from their foundations, were rushing in flight one through another; and Rome herself, as if she were [Pg 419] deluged by torrents, owing to the crowding of the people from the neighbouring towns and their removal, could neither easily be pacified by magistrate nor kept in order by words, and in the midst of the mighty swell and the tossing of the tempest, narrowly escaped being overturned by her own agitation. For contending emotions and violent movements occupied every place. Neither did those who rejoiced keep quiet, but in many places, as one might expect in a large city, coming into collision with those who were alarmed and sorrowing, and being full of confidence as to the future, they fell to wrangling with them; and people from various quarters assailed Pompeius, who was terror-struck and had to endure the censure of one party for strengthening Cæsar against himself and the supremacy of Rome, while others charged him with inciting Lentulus to insult Cæsar who was ready to give way and was proposing fair terms of accommodation. Favonius bade him stamp on the ground with his foot; for Pompeius on one occasion in an arrogant address to the Senate, told them not to be concerned or trouble themselves about preparations for war; when Cæsar advanced, he would stamp upon the earth with his foot and fill Italy with armies. However, even then Pompeius had the advantage over Cæsar in amount of forces: but nobody would let the man follow his own judgment: and giving way to the many false reports and alarms, that the war was now close at hand and the enemy in possession of everything, and carried away by the general movement, he declared by an edict that he saw there was tumult, and he left the city after giving his commands to the Senate to follow, and that no one should stay who preferred his country and freedom to tyranny.

XXXIV.[522] Accordingly the consuls fled without even making the sacrifices which it was usual to make before quitting the city; and most of the senators also took to flight, in a manner as if they were robbing, each snatching of his own what first came to hand as if it belonged to another. [Pg 420] There were some also who, though they had hitherto vehemently supported the party of Cæsar, through alarm at that time lost their presence of mind, and without any necessity for it were carried along with the current of that great movement. A most piteous sight was the city, when so great a storm was coming on, left like a ship whose helmsman had given her up, to be carried along and dashed against anything that lay in her way. But though this desertion of the city was so piteous a thing, men for the sake of Pompeius considered the flight to be their country, and they were quitting Rome as if it were the camp of Cæsar; for even Labienus,[523] one of Cæsar's greatest friends, who had been his legatus and had fought with him most gallantly in all the Gallic wars, then fled away from Cæsar and came to Pompeius. But Cæsar sent to Labienus both his property and his baggage; and advancing he pitched his camp close by Domitius, who with thirty cohorts held Corfinium.[524] Domitius despairing of himself asked his physician, who was a slave, for poison, and taking what was given, he drank it, intending to die. Shortly after, hearing that Cæsar showed wonderful clemency towards his prisoners, he bewailed his fate and blamed the rashness of his resolution. But on the physician assuring him that what he had taken was only a sleeping potion and not deadly, he sprung up overjoyed, and going to Cæsar, received his right hand, and yet he afterwards went over again to Pompeius. This intelligence being carried to [Pg 421] Rome made people more tranquil, and some who had fled, returned.

XXXV. Cæsar took the troops of Domitius into his service, as well as the soldiers that were raising for Pompeius whom he surprised in the cities; and having now got a numerous and formidable army, he advanced against Pompeius. Pompeius did not await his approach, but fled to Brundisium, and sending the consuls over before him with a force to Dyrrachium,[525] himself

shortly after sailed from Brundisium upon the approach of Cæsar, as will be told more particularly in the Life of Pompeius.[526] Though Cæsar wished to pursue immediately, he was prevented by want of ships, and he turned back to Rome, having in sixty days without bloodshed become master of Italy. Finding the city more tranquil than he expected and many of the Senators in it, he addressed them in moderate and constitutional language,[527] urging them to send persons to Pompeius with suitable terms of accommodation; but no one listened to his proposal, either because they feared Pompeius, whom they had deserted, or supposed that Cæsar did not really mean what he said, and merely used specious words. When the tribune Metellus[528] attempted to prevent him from taking money from the reserved treasure[529] and alleged certain laws, Cæsar replied, "That the same circumstances did not suit arms and laws: but do you, if you [Pg 422] don't like what is doing, get out of the way, for war needs not bold words; when we have laid down our arms after coming to terms, then you may come forward and make your speeches to the people." "And in saying this," he continued, "I waive part of my rights, for you are mine, and all are mine, who have combined against me, now that I have caught them." Having thus spoken to Metellus he walked to the doors of the treasury; but as the keys were not found, he sent for smiths and ordered them to break the locks. Metellus again opposed him, and some commended him for it, but Cæsar, raising his voice, threatened to kill him, if he did not stop his opposition, "And this," said he, "young man, you well know, is more painful for me to have said than to do." These words alarmed Metellus and made him retire, and also caused everything else to be supplied to Cæsar for the war without further trouble, and with speed.

XXXVI. He marched against Iberia,[530] having first determined to drive out Afranius and Varro, [Pg 423] the legati of Pompeius, and having got into his power the forces and the provinces in those parts, then to advance against Pompeius without leaving any enemy in his rear. After having often been exposed to risk in his own person from ambuscades, and with his army chiefly from want of provisions, he never gave up pursuing, challenging to battle and hemming in the enemy with his lines, till he had made himself master of their camps and forces. The generals escaped to Pompeius.

XXXVII. On his return to Rome, Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, advised that they should send commissioners to Pompeius to treat of terms, but Isauricus opposed the measure to please Cæsar. Being chosen Dictator by the Senate, he restored the exiles, and the children of those who had suffered in the times of Sulla,[531] he reinstated in their civil rights, and he relieved the debtors by a certain abatement of the interest, and took in hand other measures of the like kind, not many in number; but in eleven days, he abdicated the monarchy, and declaring himself and Servilius Isauricus consuls[532] set out on his expedition. The rest of his forces he passed by on his hurried march, and with six hundred picked horsemen and five legions, the time being the winter solstice and the commencement of January (and this pretty nearly corresponds to the Poseideon of the Athenians), he put to sea, and crossing the Ionian gulf he took Oricum and Apollonia; but he sent back his ships to Brundisium for the soldiers whom he had left behind on his march. But while the men were still on the road, as they were already passed the vigour of their age and worn out by the number of their campaigns, they murmured against Cæsar, "Whither now will he lead us and where will this man at last carry us to, hurrying us about and treating us as if we [Pg 424] could never be worn out and as if we were inanimate things? even the sword is at last exhausted by blows, and shield and breastplate need to be spared a little after so long use. Even our wounds do not make Cæsar consider that he commands perishable bodies, and that we are but mortal towards endurance and pain; and the winter season and the storms of the sea even a god cannot command; but this man runs all risks, as if he were not pursuing his enemies, but flying from them." With such words as these they marched slowly towards Brundisium. But when they found that Cæsar had embarked, then quickly changing their temper, they reproached themselves as traitors to their Imperator; and they abused their officers also for not hastening the march. Sitting on the heights, they looked towards the sea and towards Epirus for the ships which were to carry them over to their commander.

XXXVIII. At Apollonia, as Cæsar had not a force sufficient to oppose the enemy, and the delay of the troops from Italy put him in perplexity and much uneasiness, he formed a desperate design, without communicating it to any one, to embark in a twelve-oared boat and go over to Brundisium, though the sea was commanded by so many ships of the enemy.[533] Accordingly, disguising himself in a slave's dress, he went on board by night, and throwing himself down as a person of no importance, he lay quiet. While the river Anius[534] was carrying down the boat towards the sea, the morning breeze, which at that time generally made the water smooth at the outlet of the river by driving the waves before it, was beaten down by a strong wind which blew [Pg 425] all night over the sea; and the river, chafing at the swell of the sea and the opposition of the waves, was becoming rough, being driven back by the huge blows and violent eddies, so that it was impossible for the master of the boat to make head against it; on which he ordered the men to change about, intending to turn the boat round. Cæsar perceiving this, discovered himself, and taking the master by the hand, who was alarmed at the sight of him, said, "Come, my good man, have courage and fear nothing; you carry Cæsar and the fortune of Cæsar in your boat." The sailors now forgot the storm, and sticking to their oars, worked with all their force to get out of the river. But as it was impossible to get on, after taking in much water and running great risk at the mouth of the river, Cæsar very unwillingly consented that the master should put back. On his return, the soldiers met him in crowds, and blamed him much and complained that he did not feel confident of victory even with them alone, but was vexed and exposed himself to risk on account of the absent, as if he distrusted those who were present.

XXXIX. Shortly after Antonius arrived from Brundisium with the troops; and Cæsar, being now confident, offered battle to Pompeius, who was well posted and had sufficient supplies both from land and sea, while Cæsar at first had no abundance, and afterwards was hard pressed for want of provisions: but the soldiers cut up a certain root[535] and mixing it with milk, ate it. And once, having made loaves of it, they ran up to the enemies' outposts, threw the bread into the camp, and pitched it about, adding, that so long as the earth produces such roots, they will never stop besieging Pompeius. Pompeius, however, would not let either the matter of the loaves or these words be made known to the mass of the army; for his soldiers were dispirited and dreaded the savage temper and endurance of the enemy as if they were wild beasts. There were continually skirmishes about the fortifications of Pompeius, and Cæsar had the advantage in all except one, [Pg 426] in which there was a great rout of his troops and he was in danger of losing his camp. For when Pompeius made an onset, no one stood the attack, but the trenches were filled with the dying, and Cæsar's men were falling about their own ramparts and bulwarks, being driven in disorderly flight. Though Cæsar met the fugitives and endeavoured to turn them, he had no success, and when he laid hold of the colours, those who were carrying them threw them down, so that the enemy took two and thirty, and Cæsar himself had a narrow escape with his life. A tall, strong man was running away past by Cæsar, who putting his hand upon him, ordered him to stand and face the enemy; but the man, who was completely confounded by the danger, raised his sword to strike him, on which Cæsar's shield-bearer struck the man first and cut off his shoulder. Cæsar had so completely given up his cause as lost, that when Pompeius either through caution or from some accident did not put the finishing stroke to his great success, but retreated after shutting up the fugitives within their ramparts, Cæsar said to his friends as he was retiring, To-day the victory would be with the enemy, if they had a commander who knew how to conquer. Going into his tent and lying down, Cæsar spent that night of all nights in the greatest agony and perplexity, considering that his generalship had been bad, in that while a fertile country lay near him and the rich cities of Macedonia and Thessaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and was now stationed on the sea which the enemy commanded with his ships, and that he was rather held in siege by want of supplies than holding the enemy in siege by his arms. Accordingly, after passing a restless night, full of uneasiness at the difficulty and danger of his present position, he broke up his camp with the determination of leading his troops into Macedonia to oppose Scipio, for he concluded that either he should draw Pompeius after him to a country where he would fight without the advantage of having the same supplies from the sea, or that he would defeat Scipio if he were left to himself.

XL. This encouraged the army of Pompeius and the officers about him to stick close to Cæsar, [Pg 427] whom they considered to have been defeated and to be making his escape; though Pompeius himself was cautious about hazarding a battle for so great a stake, and, as he was excellently furnished with everything for prolonging the war, he thought it best to wear out and weaken the vigour of the enemy, which could not be long sustained. For the best fighting men in Cæsar's army possessed experience and irresistible courage in battle; but in marchings and making encampments and assaulting fortifications and watching by night, they gave way by reason of their age, and their bodies were unwieldy for labour, and owing to weakness, had lost their alacrity. It was also reported that a pestilential disease was prevalent in Cæsar's army, which had originated in the want of proper food; and, what was chief of all, as Cæsar was neither well supplied with money nor provisions, it might be expected that in a short time his army would be broken up of itself.

XLI. For these reasons Pompeius did not wish to fight, and Cato alone commended his design, because he wished to spare the citizens; for after seeing those who had fallen in the battle to the number of a thousand, he wrapped up his face and went away with tears in his eyes. But all the rest abused Pompeius for avoiding a battle, and tried to urge him on by calling him Agamemnon and King of Kings, by which they implied that he was unwilling to lay down the sole command, and was proud at having so many officers under his orders and coming to his tent, Favonius, who aped Cato's freedom of speech, raved because they should not be able even that year to enjoy the figs of Tusculum owing to Pompeius being so fond of command; and Afranius (for he had just arrived from Iberia, where he had shown himself a bad general), being charged with betraying his army for a bribe, asked why they did not fight with the merchant who had bought the provinces of him. Pressed by all this importunity, Pompeius pursued Cæsar with the intention of fighting, though contrary to his wish. Cæsar accomplished his march with difficulty, as no one would supply him with provisions and he was universally despised on account of his recent [Pg 428] defeat; however, after taking Gomphi,[536] a Thessalian city, he had not only provisions for his army, but his men were unexpectedly relieved from their disease. For they fell in with abundance of wine, of which they drank plentifully, and revelling and rioting on their march, by means of their drunkenness, they threw off and got rid of their complaint in consequence of their bodies being brought into a different habit.

XLII. When the two armies had entered the plain of Pharsalus and pitched their camps, Pompeius again fell back into his former opinion, and there were also unlucky appearances and a vision in his sleep.[537] He dreamed that he saw himself in the theatre, applauded by the Romans. But those about him were so confident, and so fully anticipated a victory, that Domitius and Scipio and Spinther were disputing and bestirring themselves against one another about the priesthood of Cæsar, and many persons sent to Rome to hire and get possession of houses that were suitable for consuls and prætors, expecting to be elected to magistracies immediately after the war. But the cavalry showed most impatience for the battle, being sumptuously equipped with splendid armour, and priding themselves on their well-fed horses and fine persons, and on

their numbers also, for they were seven thousand against Cæsar's thousand. The number of the infantry also was unequal, there being forty-five thousand matched against twenty-two thousand.

XLIII. Cæsar, calling his soldiers together and telling them that Corfinius[538] was close at hand with two legions, and that other cohorts to the number of fifteen under Calenus were encamped [Pg 429] near Megara and Athens, asked if they would wait for them or hazard a battle by themselves. The soldiers cried out aloud that they did not wish him to wait, but rather to contrive and so manage his operations that they might soonest come to a battle with their enemies. While he was performing a lustration of the army, as soon as he had sacrificed the first victim, the soothsayer said that within three days there would be a decisive battle with the enemy. Upon Cæsar asking him, if he saw any favourable sign in the victims as to the result of the battle also, he replied, "You can answer this better for yourself: the gods indicate a great change and revolution of the actual state of things to a contrary state, so that if you think yourself prosperous in your present condition, expect the worst fortune; but if you do not, expect the better." As Cæsar was taking his round to inspect the watches the night before the battle about midnight, there was seen in the heavens a fiery torch, which seemed to pass over Cæsar's camp and assuming a bright and flame-like appearance to fall down upon the camp of Pompeius. In the morning watch they perceived that there was also a panic confusion among the enemy. However, as Cæsar did not expect that the enemy would fight on that day, he began to break up his camp with the intention of marching to Scotussa.

XLIV. The tents were already taken down when the scouts rode up to him with intelligence that the enemy were coming down to battle, whereupon Cæsar was overjoyed, and after praying to the gods he arranged his battle in three divisions. He placed Domitius Calvinus in command of the centre, Antonius had the left wing, and he commanded the right, intending to fight in the tenth legion. Observing that the cavalry of the enemy were posting themselves opposite to this wing and fearing their splendid appearance and their numbers, he ordered six cohorts to come round to him from the last line without being observed and he placed them in the rear of the [Pg 430] right wing with orders what to do when the enemy's cavalry made their attack. Pompeius commanded his own right, and Domitius the left, and the centre was under Scipio, his father-in-law. But all the cavalry crowded to the left, intending to surround the right wing of the enemy and to make a complete rout of the men who were stationed about the general; for they believed that no legionary phalanx, however deep, could resist, but that their opponents would be completely crushed and broken to pieces by an attack of so many cavalry at once. When the signal for attack was going to be given on both sides, Pompeius ordered the legionary soldiers to stand with their spears presented and in close order to wait the attack of the enemy till they were within a spear's throw. But Cæsar says that here also Pompeius made a mistake, not knowing that the first onset, accompanied with running and impetuosity, gives force to the blows, and at the same time fires the courage, which is thus fanned in every way. As Cæsar was about to move his phalanx and was going into action, the first centurion that he spied was a man who was faithful to him and experienced in war, and was encouraging those under his command and urging them to vigorous exertion. Cæsar addressing him by name said, "What hopes have we Caius Crassinius,[539] and how are our men as to courage?" Crassinius stretching out his right hand and calling out aloud, said, "We shall have a splendid victory, Cæsar; and you shall praise me whether I survive the day or die." Saying this, he was the first to fall on the enemy at his full speed and carrying with him the hundred and twenty soldiers who were under his command. Having cut through the first rank, he was advancing with great slaughter of the enemy and was driving them from their ground, when he was stopped by a blow from a sword through the mouth, and the point came out at the back of his neck.

XLV. The infantry having thus rushed together in the centre and being engaged in the struggle, the cavalry of Pompeius proudly advanced from the wing, extending their companies to enclose Cæsar's right; but before they fell upon the enemy, the cohorts sprang forward from among [Pg 431] Cæsar's troops, not, according to the usual fashion of war, throwing their spears nor yet holding them in their hands and aiming at the thighs and legs of the enemy, but pushing them against their eyes and wounding them in the face; and they had been instructed to do this by Cæsar, who was confident that men who had no great familiarity with battles or wounds, and were young and very proud of their beauty and youth, would dread such wounds and would not keep their ground both through fear of the present danger and the future disfigurement. And it turned out so; for they could not stand the spears being pushed up at them nor did they venture to look at the iron that was presented against their eyes, but they turned away and covered their faces to save them; and at last, having thus thrown themselves into confusion, they turned to flight most disgracefully and ruined the whole cause. For those who had defeated the cavalry, immediately surrounded the infantry and falling on them in the rear began to cut them down. But when Pompeius saw from the other wing the cavalry dispersed in flight, he was no longer the same, nor did he recollect that he was Pompeius Magnus, but more like a man who was deprived of his understanding by the god than anything else,[540] he retired without speaking a word to his tent, and sitting down awaited the result, until the rout becoming general the enemy were assailing the ramparts, and fighting with those who defended them. Then, as if he had recovered his senses and uttering only these words, as it is reported, "What even to the ramparts!" he put off his military and general's dress, and taking one suited for a fugitive, stole away. But what fortunes he afterwards had, and how he gave himself up to the Egyptians and was murdered, I shall tell in the Life of Pompeius.

XLVI. When Cæsar entered the camp of Pompeius and saw the bodies of those who were already killed, and the slaughter still going on among the living, he said with a groan: They would have it

so; they brought me into such a critical position that I, Caius Cæsar, who have been successful in the greatest wars, should have been condemned, if I had disbanded my troops. Asinius Pollio[541] says that Cæsar uttered these words on that occasion in Latin, and that he wrote them down in Greek. He also says that the chief part of those who were killed were slaves, and they were killed when the camp was taken; and that not more than six thousand soldiers fell. Of those who were taken prisoners, Cæsar drafted most into his legions; and he pardoned many men of distinction, among whom was Brutus, who afterwards murdered him. Cæsar is said to have been very much troubled at his not being found, but when Brutus, who had escaped unhurt, presented himself to Cæsar, he was greatly pleased. [Pg 432]

XLVII. There were many prognostics of the victory, but the most remarkable is that which is reported as having appeared at Tralles.[542] In the temple of Victory there stood a statue of Cæsar, and the ground about it was naturally firm and the surface was also paved with hard stone; from this, they say, there sprung up a palm-tree by the pedestal of the statue. In Patavium, Caius Cornelius, a man who had reputation for his skill in divination, a fellow-citizen and acquaintance of Livius the historian, happened to be sitting that day to watch the birds. And first of all, as Livius says, he discovered the time of the battle, and he said to those who were present that the affair was now deciding and the men were going into action. Looking again and observing the signs, he sprang up with enthusiasm and called out, "You conquer, Cæsar." The bystanders being surprised, he took the chaplet from his head and said with an oath, that he would not put it on again till facts had confirmed his art. Livius affirms that these things were so. [Pg 433]

XLVIII. Cæsar after giving the Thessalians their liberty[543] in consideration of his victory, pursued Pompeius. On reaching Asia[544] he made the Cnidians free to please Theopompus,[545] the collector of mythi, and he remitted to all the inhabitants of Asia the third of their taxes. Arriving at Alexandria[546] after the death of Pompeius, he turned away from Theodotus who brought him the head of Pompeius, but he received his seal ring[547] and shed tears over it. All the companions and intimate friends of Pompeius who were rambling about the country and had been taken by the King, he treated well and gained over to himself. He wrote to his friends in Rome, that the chief and the sweetest pleasure that he derived from his victory, was to be able to pardon any of those citizens who had fought against him. As to the war[548] there, some say that it might have been avoided and that it broke out in consequence of his passion for Kleopatra and was discreditable to him and hazardous; but others blame the King's party and chiefly the eunuch Potheinus,who possessed the chief power, and having lately cut off Pompeius and driven out Kleopatra, was now secretly plotting against Cæsar; and on this account they say that Cæsar from that time passed the nights in drinking in order to protect himself. But in his public conduct Pothinus was unbearable, for he both said and did many things to bring odium on Cæsar and to insult him. While measuring out to the soldiers the worst and oldest corn he told them they must be satisfied with it and be thankful, as they were eating what belonged to others; and at the meals he used only wooden and earthen vessels, alleging that Cæsar had got all the gold and silver vessels in payment for a debt.[549] For the father of the then King owed Cæsar one thousand seven hundred and fifty times ten thousand, of which Cæsar had remitted the seven hundred and fifty to the King's sons before, but he now claimed the one thousand to maintain his army with. Upon Pothinus now bidding him take his departure and attend to his important affairs and that he should afterwards receive his money back with thanks, Cæsar said, that least of all people did he want the Egyptians as advisers, and he secretly sent for Kleopatra from the country. [Pg 434]

XLIX. Kleopatra,[550] taking Apollodorus the Sicilian alone of all her friends with her, and getting into a small boat, approached the palace as it was growing dark; and as it was impossible for her to escape notice in any other way, she got into a bed sack and laid herself out at full length, and Apollodorus, tying the sack together with a cord, carried her through the doors to Cæsar. Cæsar is said to have been first captivated by this device of Kleopatra, which showed a daring temper, and being completely enslaved by his intercourse with her and her attractions, he brought about an accommodation between Kleopatra and her brother on the terms of her being associated with him in the kingdom. A feast was held to celebrate the reconciliation, during which a slave of Cæsar, his barber, owing to his timidity in which he had no equal, leaving nothing unscrutinized, and listening and making himself very busy, found out that a plot against Cæsar was forming by Achillas the general and Potheinus the eunuch. Cæsar being made acquainted with their design, placed a guard around the apartment, and put Potheinus to death. Achillas escaped to the camp, and raised about Cæsar a dangerous and difficult war for one who with so few troops had to resist so large a city and force. In this contest the first danger that he had to encounter was being excluded from water, for the canals[551] were dammed up by the enemy; and, in the second place, an attempt being made to cut off his fleet, he was compelled to repel the danger with fire, which spreading from the arsenals to the large library[552] destroyed it; and, in the third place, in the battle near the Pharos[553] he leaped down from the mound into a small boat and went to aid the combatants; but as the Egyptians were coming against him from all quarters, he threw himself into the sea and swam away with great difficulty. On this occasion it is said that he had many papers in his hands, and that he did not let them go, though the enemy were throwing missiles at him and he had to dive under the water, but holding the papers above the water with one hand, he swam with the other; but the boat was sunk immediately. At last, when the King had gone over to the enemy, Cæsar attacked and defeated them in a battle in which many fell and the King[554] himself disappeared. Leaving Kleopatra[555] Queen of Egypt, who shortly after gave birth to a child that she had by Cæsar, which the Alexandrines named Cæsarion, he marched to Syria. [Pg 435] [Pg 436]

L. From Syria continuing his march through Asia he heard that Domitius had been defeated by

Pharnakes[556] son of Mithridates, and had fled from Pontus with a few men; and that Pharnakes, [Pg 437] who used his victory without any moderation, and was in possession of Bithynia and Cappadocia, also coveted Armenia, called the Little, and was stirring up all the kings and tetrarchs in this part. Accordingly Cæsar forthwith advanced against the man with three legions and fighting a great battle near Zela drove Pharnakes in flight from Pontus, and completely destroyed his army. In reporting to one of his friends at Rome, Amantius,[557] the celerity and rapidity of this battle, he wrote only three words: "I came, I saw, I conquered." In the Roman language the three words ending in the like form of verb, have a brevity which is not without its effect.

LI. After this, passing over to Italy he went up to Rome at the close of the year for which he had been chosen Dictator[558] the second time, though that office had never before been for a whole year; and he was elected consul for the following year. He was much blamed about a mutiny[559] that broke out among the soldiers in which they killed two men of prætorian rank, Cosconius and [Pg 438] Galba, because he reproved his men no further than by calling them citizens instead of soldiers, and he gave to each of them a thousand drachmæ, and allotted to them much land in Italy. He also bore the blame of the madness of Dolabella,[560] the covetousness of Amantius, and the drunkenness of Antonius, and the greedy tricks of Corfinius in getting the house of Pompeius, and his building it over again as if it were not fit for him; for the Romans were annoyed at these things. But Cæsar, in the present state of affairs, though he was not ignorant of these things, and did not approve of them, was compelled to employ such men in his service.

LII. As Cato[561] and Scipio, after the battle near Pharsalus, had fled to Libya, and there, with the assistance of King Juba, got together a considerable force, Cæsar determined to go against them; and about the winter solstice passing over to Sicily and wishing to cut off from the officers about him all hopes of delay and tarrying there, he placed his own tent on the margin of the waves,[562] and as soon as there was a wind he went on board and set sail with three thousand foot-soldiers and a few horsemen. Having landed them unobserved he embarked again, for he was under some apprehension about the larger part of his force; and having fallen in with it on the sea, he conducted all to the camp. Now there was with him in the army a man in other respects contemptible enough and of no note, but of the family of the Africani, and his name was Scipio [Pg 439] Sallutio;[563] and as Cæsar heard that the enemy relied on a certain old oracular answer, that it was always the privilege of the family of the Scipios to conquer in Libya, either to show his contempt of Scipio as a general by a kind of joke, or because he really wished to have the benefit of the omen himself (it is difficult to say which), he used to place this Sallutio in the front of the battles as if he were the leader of the army; for Cæsar was often compelled to engage with the enemy and to seek a battle, there being neither sufficient supply of corn for the men nor fodder for the animals, but they were compelled to take the sea-weed after washing off the salt and mixing a little grass with it by way of sweetening it, and so to feed their horses. For the Numidians, by continually showing themselves in great numbers and suddenly appearing, kept possession of the country; and on one occasion while the horsemen of Cæsar were amusing themselves with a Libyan, who was exhibiting to them his skill in dancing and playing on a flute at the same time in a surprising manner, and the men, pleased with the sight, were sitting on the ground and the boys holding their horses, the enemy suddenly coming round and falling upon them killed some, and entered the camp together with the rest, who fled in disorderly haste. And if Cæsar himself and Asinius Pollio had not come out of the camp to help the men, and checked the pursuit, the war would have been at an end. In another battle, also, the enemy had the advantage in the encounter, on which occasion it is said that Cæsar, seizing by the neck the man who bore the eagle and was running away, turned him round, and said, "There is the enemy!"

LIII. However Scipio[564] was encouraged by these advantages to hazard a decisive battle; and leaving Afranius and Juba[565] encamped each separately at a short distance, he commenced [Pg 440] making a fortified camp above a lake near the city Thapsus, intending it as a place for the whole army to sally forth from to battle and a place of refuge also. While he was thus employed, Cæsar with incredible speed making his way through woody grounds which contained certain approaches that had not been observed, surrounded part of the enemy and attacked others in front. Having put these to flight he availed himself of the critical moment and the career of fortune, by means of which he captured the camp of Afranius on the first assault, and at the first assault also he broke into the camp of the Numidians from which Juba fled; and in a small part of a single day he made himself master of three camps and destroyed fifty thousand of the enemy without losing as many as fifty of his own men. This is the account that some writers give of that battle; but others say that Cæsar was not in the action himself, but that as he was marshalling and arranging his forces, he was attacked by his usual complaint, and that perceiving it as soon as it came on, and before his senses were completely confounded and overpowered by the malady, just as he was beginning to be convulsed, he was carried to one of the neighbouring towers and stayed there quietly. Of the men of consular and prætorian rank who escaped from the battle, some killed themselves when they were being taken, and Cæsar put many to death who were captured.

LIV. Being ambitious to take Cato[566] alive, Cæsar hastened to Utica, for Cato was guarding that city and was not in the battle. Hearing that Cato had put an end to himself, Cæsar was evidently [Pg 441] annoyed, but for what reason is uncertain. However, he said, "Cato, I grudge you your death, for you also have grudged me the preservation of your life." But the work which be wrote against Cato after his death cannot be considered an indication that he was mercifully disposed towards him or in a mood to be easily reconciled. For how can we suppose that he would have spared Cato living, when he poured out against him after he was dead so much indignation? However,

some persons infer from his mild treatment of Cicero and Brutus and ten thousand others of his enemies that this discourse also was composed not from any enmity, but from political ambition, for the following reason. Cicero wrote a panegyric on Cato and gave the composition the title "Cato"; and the discourse was eagerly read by many, as one may suppose, being written by the most accomplished of orators on the noblest subject. This annoyed Cæsar, who considered the panegyric on a man whose death he had caused to be an attack upon himself. Accordingly in his treatise he got together many charges against Cato; and the work is entitled "Anticato."[567] Both compositions have many admirers, as well on account of Cæsar as of Cato.

LV. However, on his return[568] to Rome from Libya, in the first place Cæsar made a pompous harangue to the people about his victory, in which he said that he had conquered a country large enough to supply annually to the treasury two hundred thousand Attic medimni of corn, and three million litræ of oil. In the next place he celebrated triumphs,[569] the Egyptian, the Pontic, and the Libyan, not of course for his victory over Scipio, but over Juba.[570] On that occasion Juba also, the son of King Juba, who was still an infant, was led in the triumphal procession, most fortunate in his capture, for from being a barbarian and a Numidian he became numbered among the most learned of the Greek writers. After the triumphs Cæsar made large presents to the soldiers, and entertained the people with banquets and spectacles, feasting the whole population at once at twenty-two thousand triclina,[571] and exhibiting also shows of gladiators and naval combats in honour of his daughter Julia who had been dead for some time. After the shows a census[572] was taken, in which instead of the three hundred and twenty thousand of former enumerations, there were enrolled only one hundred and fifty thousand. So much desolation had the civil wars produced and so large a proportion of the people had been destroyed in them, not to reckon the miseries that had befallen the rest of Italy and the provinces. [Pg 442]

LVI. All this being completed, Cæsar was made consul[573] for the fourth time, and set out to Iberia to attack the sons of Pompeius, who were still young, but had got together a force of amazing amount and displayed a boldness that showed they were worthy to command, so that they put Cæsar in the greatest danger. The great battle was fought near the city of Munda,[574] in which Cæsar, seeing that his men were being driven from their ground and making a feeble resistance, ran through the arms and the ranks calling out, "If they had no sense of shame, to take and deliver him up to the boys." With difficulty and after great exertion he put the enemy to flight and slaughtered above thirty thousand of them, but he lost a thousand of his own best soldiers. On retiring after the battle he said to his friends, that he had often fought for victory, but now for the first time he had fought for existence. He gained this victory on the day of the festival of Bacchus, on which day it is said that Pompeius Magnus also went out to battle; the interval was four years. The younger of the sons[575] of Pompeius escaped, but after a few days Didius[576] brought the head of the elder. This was the last war that Cæsar was engaged in; but the triumph[577] that was celebrated for this victory vexed the Romans more than anything else. For this was no victory over foreign leaders nor yet over barbarian kings, but Cæsar had destroyed the children of the bravest of the Romans, who had been unfortunate, and had completely ruined his family, and it was not seemly to celebrate a triumph over the calamities of his country, exulting in these things, for which the only apology both before gods and men was that they had been done of necessity; and that too when he had never before sent either messenger or public letters to announce a victory gained in the civil wars, but had from motives of delicacy rejected all glory on that account. [Pg 443] [Pg 444]

LVII. However, the Romans, gave way before the fortune of the man and received the bit, and considering the monarchy to be a respite from the civil wars and miseries they appointed him dictator[578] for life. This was confessedly a tyranny, for the monarchy received in addition to its irresponsibility the character of permanency; and when Cicero[579] in the Senate had proposed the highest honours[580] to him, which though great were still such as were befitting a human being, others by adding still further honours and vying with one another made Cæsar odious and an object of dislike even to those who were of the most moderate temper, by reason of the extravagant and unusual character of what was decreed; and it is supposed that those who hated Cæsar cooperated in these measures no less than those who were his flatterers, that they might have as many pretexts as possible against him and might be considered to make their attempt upon him with the best ground of complaint. For in all other respects, after the close of the civil wars, he showed himself blameless; and it was not without good reason that the Romans voted a temple to Clemency to commemorate his moderate measures. For he pardoned many of those who had fought against him, and to some he even gave offices and honours, as to Brutus and Cassius, both of whom were Prætors. He also did not allow the statues of Pompeius to remain thrown down, but he set them up again, on which Cicero said that by erecting the statues of Pompeius, Cæsar had firmly fixed his own. When his friends urged him to have guards and many offered their services for this purpose, he would not consent, and he said, that it was better to die at once than to be always expecting death. But for the purpose of surrounding himself with the affection of the Romans as the noblest and also the securest protection, he again courted the people with banquets and distribution of corn, and the soldiers with the foundation of colonies, of which the most conspicuous were Carthage[581] and Corinth, to both of which it happened that their former capture and their present restoration occurred at once and at the same time. [Pg 445] [Pg 446]

LVIII. To some of the nobles he promised consulships and prætorships for the future, and others he pacified with certain other offices and honours, and he gave hopes to all, seeking to make it appear that he ruled over them with their own consent, so that when Maximus[582] the consul

died, he appointed Caninius Revilius consul for the one day that still remained of the term of office. When many persons were going, as was usual, to salute the new consul and to form part of his train Cicero said, "We must make haste, or the man will have gone out of office." Cæsar's great success did not divert his natural inclination for great deeds and his ambition to the enjoyment of that for which he had laboured, but serving as fuel and incentives to the future bred in him designs of greater things and love of new glory, as if he had used up what he had already acquired; and the passion was nothing else than emulation of himself as if he were another person, and a kind of rivalry between what he intended and what he had accomplished; and his propositions and designs were to march against the Parthians,[583] and after subduing them and marching through Hyrkania and along the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus, and so encompassing [Pg 447] the Euxine, to invade Scythia, and after having overrun the countries bordering on the Germans and Germany itself to return through Gaul to Italy, and so to complete his circle of the empire which would be bounded on all sides by the ocean. During this expedition he intended also to dig through the Corinthian Isthmus,[584] and he had already commissioned Anienus to superintend the work; and to receive the Tiber[585] immediately below the city in a deep cut, and giving it a bend towards Circæum to make it enter the sea by Tarracina, with the view of giving security and facility to those who came to Rome for the purpose of trade: besides this he designed to draw off the water from the marshes about Pomentium and Setia,[586] and to make them solid ground, which would employ many thousands of men in the cultivation; and where the sea was nearest to [Pg 448] Rome he designed to place barriers to it by means of moles, and after clearing away the hidden rocks and dangerous places on the shore of Ostia[587] to make harbours and naval stations which should give security to the extensive shipping. And all these things were in preparation.

LIX. But the arrangement of the Kalendar[588] and the correction of the irregularity in the [Pg 449] reckoning of time were handled by him skilfully, and being completed were of the most varied utility. For it was not only in very ancient times that the Romans had the periods of the moon in confusion with respect to the year, so that the feasts and festivals gradually changing at last fell out in opposite seasons of the year, but even with respect to the solar year at that time nobody kept any reckoning except the priests, who, as they alone knew the proper time, all of a sudden and when nobody expected it, would insert the intercalary month named Mercedonius, which King Numa is said to have been the first to intercalate, thereby devising a remedy, which was slight and would extend to no great period, for the irregularity in the recurrence of the times, as I have explained in the Life of Numa. But Cæsar laying the problem before the ablest philosophers and mathematicians, from the methods that were laid before him compounded a correction of his own which was more exact, which the Romans use to the present time, and are considered to be in less error than other nations as to the inequality. However, even this furnished matter for complaint to those who envied him and disliked his power; for Cicero, the orator, as it is said, when some observed that Lyra would rise to-morrow, "Yes," he replied, "pursuant to the Edict," meaning that men admitted even this by compulsion.

LX. But the most manifest and deadly hatred towards him was produced by his desire of kingly power, which to the many was the first, and to those who had long nourished a secret hatred of him the most specious, cause. And indeed those who were contriving this honour for Cæsar [Pg 450] spread about a certain report among the people, that according to the Sibylline writings[589] it appeared that Parthia could be conquered by the Romans if they advanced against it with a king, but otherwise could not he assailed. And as Cæsar was going down from Alba to the city, they ventured to salute him as King, but as the people showed their dissatisfaction, Cæsar was disturbed and said that he was not called King but Cæsar; and as hereupon there was a general silence, he passed along with no great cheerfulness nor good humour on his countenance. When some extravagant honours had been decreed to him in the Senate, it happened that he was sitting above the Rostra,[590] and when the consuls and prætors approached with all the Senate behind them, without rising from his seat, but just as if he were transacting business with private persons, he answered that the honours required rather to be contracted than enlarged. This annoyed not the Senate only, but the people also, who considered that the State was insulted in the persons of the Senate; and those who were not obliged to stay went away forthwith with countenance greatly downcast, so that Cæsar perceiving it forthwith went home, and as he threw his cloak from his shoulders he called out to his friends, that he was ready to offer his throat to anyone who wished to kill him; but afterwards he alleged his disease as an excuse for his behaviour, saying that persons who are so affected cannot usually keep their senses steady when they address a multitude standing, but that the senses being speedily convulsed and whirling about bring on giddiness and are overpowered. However, the fact was not so, for it is said that he was very desirous to rise up when the Senate came, but was checked by one of his friends, or rather one of his flatterers, Cornelius Balbus,[591] who said, "Will you not remember that you are [Pg 451] Cæsar, and will you not allow yourself to be honoured as a superior?"

LXI. There was added to these causes of offence the insult offered to the tribunes. It was the festival of the Lupercalia,[592] about which many writers say that it was originally a festival of the shepherds and had also some relationship to the Arcadian Lykæa. On this occasion many of the young nobles and magistrates run through the city without their toga, and for sport and to make laughter strike those whom they meet with strips of hide that have the hair on; many women of rank also purposely put themselves in the way and present their hands to be struck like children at school, being persuaded that this is favourable to easy parturition for those who are pregnant, and to conception for those who are barren. Cæsar was a spectator, being seated at the Rostra on a golden chair in a triumphal robe; and Antonius was one of those who ran in the sacred race, for he was consul. Accordingly, when he entered the Forum and the crowd made way for him, he

presented to Cæsar a diadem[593] which he carried surrounded with a crown of bay; and there was a clapping of hands, not loud, but slight, which had been already concerted. When Cæsar put [Pg 452] away the diadem from him all the people clapped their hands, and when Antonius presented it again, only a few clapped; but when Cæsar declined to receive it, again all the people applauded. The experiment having thus failed, Cæsar rose and ordered the crown to be carried to the Capitol. But as Cæsar's statues were seen crowned with royal diadems, two of the tribunes, Flavius and Marullus, went up to them and pulled off the diadems, and having discovered those who had been the first to salute Cæsar as king they led them off to prison. The people followed clapping their hands and calling the tribunes Bruti, because it was Brutus who put down the kingly power and placed the sovereignty in the Senate and people instead of its being in the hands of one man. Cæsar being irritated at this deprived Flavius and Marullus of their office, and while rating them he also insulted the people by frequently calling the tribunes Bruti and Cumæi. [594]

LXII. In this state of affairs the many turned to Marcus Brutus,[595] who on his father's side was considered to be a descendant of the ancient Brutus, and on his mother's side belonged to the Servilii, another distinguished house, and he was the son-in-law and nephew of Cato. The honours and favours which Brutus had received from Cæsar dulled him towards attempting of his own proper motion the overthrow of the monarchical power; for not only was his life saved at the battle of Pharsalus after the rout of Pompeius, and many of his friends also at his entreaty, but besides this he had great credit with Cæsar. He had also received among those who then held the prætorship[596] the chief office, and he was to be consul in the fourth year from that time, having [Pg 453] been preferred to Cassius who was a rival candidate. For it is said that Cæsar observed that Cassius urged better grounds of preference, but that he could not pass over Brutus. And on one occasion when some persons were calumniating Brutus to him, at a time when the conspiracy was really forming, he would not listen to them, but touching his body with his hand he said to the accusers, "Brutus waits[597] for this dry skin," by which he intended to signify that Brutus was worthy of the power for his merits, but for the sake of the power would not be ungrateful and a villain. Now, those who were eager for the change and who looked up to him alone, or him as the chief person, did not venture to speak with him on the subject, but by night they used to fill the tribunal and the seat on which he sat when discharging his functions as prætor with writings, most of which were to this purport, "You are asleep, Brutus," and "You are not Brutus." By which Cassius,[598] perceiving that his ambition was somewhat stirred, urged him more than he had done before, and pricked him on; and Cassius himself had also a private grudge against Cæsar for the reasons which I have mentioned in the Life of Brutus. Indeed Cæsar suspected Cassius, and he once said to his friends, "What think ye is Cassius aiming at? for my part, I like him not over much, for he is over pale." On the other hand it is said that when a rumour reached him, that Antonius and Dolabella were plotting, he said, "I am not much afraid of these well-fed,[599] long-haired fellows, but I rather fear those others, the pale and thin," meaning Cassius and [Pg 454] Brutus.

LXIII. But it appears that destiny is not so much a thing that gives no warning as a thing that cannot be avoided, for they say that wondrous signs and appearances presented themselves. Now, as to lights in the skies and sounds by night moving in various directions and solitary birds descending into the Forum, it is perhaps not worth while recording these with reference to so important an event: but Strabo[600] the Philosopher relates that many men all of fire were seen contending against one another, and that a soldier's slave emitted a great flame from his hand and appeared to the spectators to be burning, but when the flame went out, the man had sustained no harm; and while Cæsar himself was sacrificing the heart of the victim could not be found, and this was considered a bad omen, for naturally an animal without a heart cannot exist. The following stories also are told by many; that a certain seer warned him to be on his guard against great danger on that day of the month of March, which the Romans call the Ides;[601] and when the day had arrived, as Cæsar was going to the Senate-house, he saluted the seer and jeered him saying, "Well, the Ides of March are come;" but the seer mildly replied, "Yes, they are come, but they are not yet over." The day before, when Marcus Lepidus was entertaining him, he chanced to be signing some letters, according to his habit, while he was reclining at table; and the conversation having turned on what kind of death was the best, before any one could give an opinion he called out, "That which is unexpected!" After this, while he was sleeping, as he was accustomed to do, by the side of his wife, all the doors and windows in the house flew open at once, and being startled by the noise and the brightness of the moon which was shining down upon him, he observed that Calpurnia[602] was in a deep slumber, but was uttering indistinct [Pg 455] words and inarticulate groans in the midst of her sleep; and indeed she was dreaming that she held her murdered husband in her arms and was weeping over him. Others say this was not the vision that Calpurnia had, but the following: there was attached to Cæsar's house by way of ornament and distinction pursuant to a vote of the Senate an acroterium,[603] as Livius says, and Calpurnia in her dream seeing this tumbling down lamented and wept. When day came accordingly she entreated Cæsar, if it were possible, not to go out, and to put off the meeting of the Senate; but if he paid no regard to her dreams, she urged him to inquire by other modes of divination and by sacrifices about the future. Cæsar also, as it seems, had some suspicion and fear; for he had never before detected in Calpurnia any womanish superstition, and now he saw that she was much disturbed. And when the seers also after sacrificing many victims reported to him that the omens were unfavourable, he determined to send Antonius to dismiss the Senate.

LXIV. In the mean time Decimus Brutus,[604] surnamed Albinus, who was in such favour with [Pg 456]

Cæsar that he was made in his will his second heir,[605] but was engaged in the conspiracy with the other Brutus and Cassius, being afraid that if Cæsar escaped that day, the affair might become known, ridiculed the seers and chided Cæsar for giving cause for blame and censure to the Senate who would consider themselves insulted: he said, "That the Senate had met at his bidding and that they were all ready to pass a decree, that he should be proclaimed King of the provinces out of Italy and should wear a diadem whenever he visited the rest of the earth and sea; but if any one shall tell them when they are taking their seats, to be gone now and to come again, when Calpurnia shall have had better dreams, what may we not expect to be said by those who envy you? or who will listen to your friends when they say that this is not slavery and tyranny; but if," he continued, "you are fully resolved to consider the day inauspicious, it is better for you to go yourself and address the Senate and then to adjourn the business." As he said this, Brutus took Cæsar by the hand and began to lead him forth: and he had gone but a little way from the door, when a slave belonging to another person, who was eager to get at Cæsar but was prevented by the press and numbers about him, rushing into the house delivered himself up to Calpurnia and told her to keep him till Cæsar returned, for he had important things to communicate to him.

LXV. Artemidorus,[606] a Knidian by birth, and a professor of Greek philosophy, which had brought him into the familiarity of some of those who belonged to the party of Brutus, so that he [Pg 457] knew the greater part of what was going on, came and brought in a small roll the information which he intended to communicate; but observing that Cæsar gave each roll as he received it to the attendants about him, he came very near, and said, "This you alone should read, Cæsar, and read it soon; for it is about weighty matters which concern you." Accordingly Cæsar received the roll, but he was prevented from reading it by the number of people who came in his way, though he made several attempts, and he entered the Senate holding that roll in his hand and retaining that alone among all that had been presented to him. Some say that it was another person who gave him this roll, and that Artemidorus did not even approach him, but was kept from him all the way by the pressure of the crowd.

LXVI. Now these things perchance may be brought about by mere spontaneity; but the spot that was the scene of that murder and struggle, wherein the Senate was then assembled, which contained the statue of Pompeius[607] and was a dedication by Pompeius and one of the ornaments that he added to his theatre, completely proved that it was the work of some dæmon to guide and call the execution of the deed to that place. It is said also that Cassius[608] looked towards the statue of Pompeius before the deed was begun and silently invoked it, though he was not averse to the philosophy of Epikurus; but the critical moment for the bold attempt which was now come probably produced in him enthusiasm and feeling in place of his former principles. Now Antonius,[609] who was faithful to Cæsar and a robust man, was kept on the outside by [Pg 458] Brutus Albinus, who purposely engaged him in a long conversation. When Cæsar entered, the Senate rose to do him honour, and some of the party of Brutus stood around his chair at the back, and others presented themselves before him, as if their purpose was to support the prayer of Tillius Cimber[610] on behalf of his exiled brother, and they all joined in entreaty, following Cæsar as far as his seat. When he had taken his seat and was rejecting their entreaties, and, as they urged them still more strongly, began to show displeasure towards them individually, Tillius taking hold of his toga with both his hands pulled it downwards from the neck, which was the signal for the attack. Casca[611] was the first to strike him on the neck with his sword, a blow neither mortal nor severe, for as was natural at the beginning of so bold a deed he was confused, and Cæsar turning round seized the dagger and held it fast. And it happened that at the same moment he who was struck cried out in the Roman language, "You villain, Casca, what are you doing?" and he who had given the blow cried out to his brother in Greek, "Brother, help." Such being the beginning, those who were not privy to the conspiracy were prevented by consternation and horror at what was going on either from flying or going to aid, and they did not even venture to utter a word. And now each of the conspirators bared his sword, and Cæsar, being hemmed in all round, in whatever direction he turned meeting blows and swords aimed against his eyes and face, driven about like a wild beast, was caught in the hands of his enemies; for it was arranged that all of them should take a part in and taste of the deed of blood. Accordingly Brutus[612] also gave him one blow in the groin. It is said by some authorities, that he [Pg 459] defended himself against the rest, moving about his body hither and thither and calling out, till he saw that Brutus had drawn his sword, when he pulled his toga over his face and offered no further resistance, having been driven either by chance or by the conspirators to the base on which the statue of Pompeius stood. And the base was drenched with blood, as if Pompeius was directing the vengeance upon his enemy who was stretched beneath his feet and writhing under his many wounds; for he is said to have received three and twenty wounds. Many of the conspirators were wounded by one another, while they were aiming so many blows against one body.

LXVII. After Cæsar was killed, though Brutus came forward as if he was going to say something about the deed, the Senators,[613] without waiting to listen, rushed through the door and making their escape filled the people with confusion and indescribable alarm, so that some closed their houses, and others left their tables and places of business, and while some ran to the place to see what had happened, others who had seen it ran away. But Antonius and Lepidus,[614] who were the chief friends of Cæsar, stole away and fled for refuge to the houses of other persons. The [Pg 460] partizans of Brutus, just as they were, warm from the slaughter, and showing their bare swords, advanced all in a body from the Senate-house to the Capitol, not like men who were flying, but exultant and confident, calling the people to liberty and joined by the nobles who met them. Some

even went up to the Capitol with them and mingled with them as if they had participated in the deed, and claimed the credit of it, among whom were Caius Octavius and Lentulus Spinther.[615] But they afterwards paid the penalty of their vanity, for they were put to death by Antonius and the young Cæsar, without having enjoyed even the reputation of that for which they lost their lives, for nobody believed that they had a share in the deed. For neither did those who put them to death, punish them for what they did, but for what they wished to do. On the next day Brutus came down and addressed the people, who listened without expressing disapprobation or approbation of what had been done, but they indicated by their deep silence that they pitied Cæsar and respected Brutus. The Senate, with the view of making an amnesty and conciliating all parties, decreed that Cæsar should be honoured as a god and that not the smallest thing should be disturbed which he had settled while he was in power; and they distributed among the [Pg 461] partisans of Brutus provinces and suitable honours, so that all people supposed that affairs were quieted and had been settled in the best way.

LXVIII. But when the will[616] of Cæsar was opened and it was discovered that he had given to every Roman a handsome present, and they saw the body, as it was carried through the Forum, disfigured with the wounds, the multitude, no longer kept within the bounds of propriety and order, but heaping about the corpse benches, lattices and tables taken from the Forum, they set fire to it on the spot and burnt it; then taking the flaming pieces of wood they ran to the houses of the conspirators to fire them, and others ran about the city in all directions seeking for the men to seize and tear them in pieces. But none of the conspirators came in their way, and they were all well protected. One Cinna,[617] however, a friend of Cæsar, happened, as it is said, to have had [Pg 462] a strange dream the night before; for he dreamed that he was invited by Cæsar to sup with him, and when he excused himself, he was dragged along by Cæsar by the hand, against his will and making resistance the while. Now, when he heard that the body of Cæsar was burning in the Forum, he got up and went there out of respect, though he was somewhat alarmed at his dream and had a fever on him. One of the multitude who saw Cinna told his name to another who was inquiring of him, and he again told it to a third, and immediately it spread through the crowd that this man was one of those who had killed Cæsar; and indeed there was one of the conspirators who was named Cinna: and taking this man to be him the people forthwith rushed upon him and tore him in pieces on the spot. It was principally through alarm at this that the partisans of Brutus and Cassius after a few days left the city. But what they did and suffered before they died is told in the Life of Brutus.[618]

LXIX. At the time of his death Cæsar was full fifty-six years old, having survived Pompeius not much more than four years, and of the power and dominion which all through his life he pursued at so great risk and barely got at last, having reaped the fruit in name only, and with the glory of it the odium of the citizens. Yet his great dæmon,[619] which accompanied him through life, followed him even when he was dead, the avenger of his murder, through every land and sea hunting and tracking out his murderers till not one of them was left, and pursuing even those who in any way whatever had either put their hand to the deed or been participators in the plot. Among human events the strangest was that which befell Cassius, for after his defeat at Philippi he killed himself with the same dagger that he had employed against Cæsar; and among signs [Pg 463] from heaven, there was the great comet, which appeared conspicuous for seven nights after Cæsar's assassination and then disappeared, and the obscuration of the splendour of the sun. For during all that year the circle of the sun rose pale and without rays, and the warmth that came down from it was weak and feeble, so that the air as it moved was dark and heavy owing to the feebleness of the warmth which penetrated it, and the fruits withered and fell off when they were half ripened and imperfect on account of the coldness of the atmosphere. But chief of all, the phantom that appeared to Brutus showed that Cæsar's murder was not pleasing to the gods; and it was after this manner. When Brutus was going to take his army over from Abydus[620] to the other continent, he was lying down by night, as his wont was, in his tent, not asleep, but thinking about the future; for it is said that Brutus of all generals was least given to sleep, and had naturally the power of keeping awake longer than any other person. Thinking that he heard a noise near the door, he looked towards the light of the lamp which was already sinking down, and saw a frightful vision of a man of unusual size and savage countenance. At first he was startled, but observing that the figure neither moved nor spoke, but was standing silent by the bed, he asked him who he was. The phantom replied, "Thy bad dæmon, Brutus; and thou shalt see me at Philippi." Upon which Brutus boldly replied, "I shall see;" and the dæmon immediately disappeared. In course of time having engaged with Antonius and Cæsar at Philippi, in the first battle he was victorious, and after routing that part of the army which was opposed to him he followed up his success and plundered Cæsar's camp. As he was preparing to fight the second battle, the same phantom appeared again by night, without speaking to him, but Brutus, who perceived what his fate was, threw himself headlong into the midst of the danger. However he did not fall in the battle, but when the rout took place, he fled to a precipitous spot, and throwing [Pg 464] himself with his breast on his bare sword, a friend also, as it is said, giving strength to the blow, he died.[621]

FOOTNOTES:

[435] It has been remarked by Niebuhr (*Lectures on the History of Rome*, ii. 33) that the beginning of the Life of Cæsar is lost. He says, "Plutarch could not have passed over the ancestors, the father, and the whole family, together with the history of Cæsar's youth, &c." But the reasons for this opinion are not conclusive. The same reason would make us

consider other lives imperfect, which are also deficient in such matters. Plutarch, after his fashion, gives incidental information about Cæsar's youth and his family. I conceive that he purposely avoided a formal beginning; and according to his plan of biography, he was right. Niebuhr also observes that the beginning of the Life of Cæsar in Suetonius is imperfect; "a fact well known, but it is only since the year 1812, that we know that the part which is wanting contained a dedication to the præfectus prætorio of the time, a fact which has not yet found its way into any history of Roman Literature." It is an old opinion that the Life of Cæsar in Suetonius is imperfect. The fact that the dedication alone is wanting, for so Niebuhr appears to mean, shows that the Life is not incomplete, and there is no reason for thinking that it is.

C. Julius Cæsar, the son of C. Julius Cæsar and Aurelia, was born on the twelfth of July, B.C. 100, in the sixth consulship of his uncle C. Marius. His father, who had been prætor, died suddenly at Pisa when his son was in his sixteenth year.

[436] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 9, and notes.

[437] Cæsar was first betrothed to Cossutia, the daughter of a rich Roman Eques, but he broke off the marriage contract, and married Cornelia, B.C. 83.

[438] A different story is told by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, c. 1), and Velleius Paterculus (ii. 43).

[439] Cornelius Phagita (Suetonius, c. 1, 74.) The words of Sulla are also reported by Suetonius (c. 1).

[440] Nicomedes III. Cæsar was sent to him by Thermus to get ships for the siege of Mitylene. Suetonius, a lover of scandal, has preserved a grievous imputation against Cæsar, which is connected with this visit to Nicomedes (*Cæsar*, c. 2, 49). Cæsar in a speech for the Bithynians (Gellius, v. 13) calls Nicomedes his friend. He felt the reproach keenly, and tried to clear himself (Dion Cassius, 43, c. 20). But it is easier to make such charges than to confute them.

M. Minucius Thermus, Proprætor. Cæsar served his first campaign under him at the siege and capture of Mitylene B.C. 80. Cæsar gained a civic crown. See the note in Burmaun's edition of Suetonius.

[441] This island was near Miletus. Stephan. Byzant., Φαρμακοῦσσα.

[442] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 26. Cæsar served a short time against the Cilician pirates under P. Servilius Isauricus (Sueton. *Cæsar*, 2) B.C. 77, or perhaps later.

[443] He was now in Bithynia according to Vell. Paterculus (ii. 42). This affair of the pirates happened according to Drumann in B.C. 76. Plutarch places it five years earlier.

[444] Plutarch should probably have called him only Molo. He was a native of Alabanda in Caria. Cicero often mentions his old master, but always by the name of Molo only. He calls the rhetorician, who was the master of Q. Mucius Scævola, consul B.C. 117. Apollonius, who was also a native of Alabanda.

[445] See c. 54.

[446] See the first chapter of the Life of Lucullus.

[447] Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, consul B.C. 81, afterwards was governor of Macedonia as proconsul, in which office he was charged with maladministration. Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 71, 92) mentions this trial. Drumann places it in B.C. 77. Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 72) gives his opinion of the eloquence of Cæsar. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 4; Vell. Paterculus, ii. 42.)

[448] His name was Caius. He was consul B.C. 63 with Cicero. The trial, which was in B.C. 76, of course related to misconduct prior to that date. The trial was not held in Greece. M. Lucullus was the brother of L. Lucullus, and was Prætor in Rome at the time of the trial.

[449] Some amplification is necessary here in order to preserve Plutarch's metaphor. He was fond of such poetical turns.

> Nec poterat quemquam placidi pellacia ponti
> Subdola pellicere in fraudem ridentibus undis.

Lucretius, v. 1002.

[450] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 48.

[451] The military tribunes, it appears, were now elected by the people, or part of them at least. Comp. Liv. 43, c. 14.

[452] His aunt Julia and his wife Cornelia died during his quæstorship, probably B.C. 68.

[453] The Roman word is Imagines. There is a curious passage about the Roman Imagines in Polybius (vi. 53, ed. Bekker)—"Viginti clarissimarum familiarum imagines antelatæ sunt." Tacit. *Annal.* iii. 76.

[454] The origin of this custom with respect to women is told by Livius (5. c. 50). It was introduced after the capture of the city by the Gauls, as a reward to the women for contributing to the ransom demanded by the enemy.

[455] Antistius Vetus (Vell. Paterculus, ii. 18) was Prætor of the division of Iberia which was called Bætica. His son C. Antistius Veius was Quæstor B.C. 61 under Cæsar in Iberia.

[456] She was a daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, the son-in-law of Sulla, who lost his life B.C. 88, during the consulship of his father. See the Life of Sulla, c. 6 notes. The daughter who is here mentioned was Julia, Cæsar's only child.

[457] This was the road from Rome to Capua, which was begun by the Censor Appius Claudius Cæcus B.C. 312, and afterwards continued to Brundisium. It commenced at Rome and ran in nearly a direct line to Terracina across the Pomptine marshes.

The appointment as commissioner (curator) for repairing and making roads was an office of honour, and one that gave a man the opportunity of gaining popular favour.

[458] Cæsar was Curule Ædile B.C. 65.

[459] Q. Metellus Pius, Consul B.C. 80. Cæsar's competitors were P. Servilius Isauricus, consul B.C. 79, under whom Cæsar had fought against the pirates, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul B.C. 78, the son of the Catulus whom Marius put to death. Cæsar was already a Pontifex, but the acquisition of the post of Pontifex Maximus, which places him at the head of religion, was an object of ambition to him in his present position. The office was for life, it brought him an official residence in the Via Sacra, and increased political influence.

[460] The conspiracy of Catiline happened B.C. 63, when Cicero was consul. See the Life of Cicero, c. 10, &c. Sallustius (*Catilina*, c. 51, &c.) has given the speeches of Cæsar and Cato in the debate upon the fate of the conspirators who had been seized. If we have not the words of Cæsar, there is no reason for supposing that we have not the substance of his speech. Whatever might be Cæsar's object, his proposal was consistent with law and a fair trial. The execution of the conspirators was a violent and illegal measure.

[461] This circumstance is mentioned by Sallustius (*Catilina*, 49), apparently as having happened when Cæsar was leaving the Senate, after one of the debates previous to that on which it was determined to put the conspirators to death. Sallustius mentions Catulus and C. Piso as the instigators. He also observes that they had tried to prevail on Cicero to criminate Cæsar by false testimony. (See Drumann, *Tullii*, § 40, p. 531.)

[462] C. Scribonius Curio, consul B.C. 76, father of the Curio mentioned in the Life of Pompeius, c. 58, who was a tribune B.C. 50.

[463] Cicero wrote his book on his Consulship B.C. 60, in which year Cæsar was elected consul, and it was published at that time. Cæsar was then rising in power, and Cicero was humbled. It would be as well for him to say nothing on this matter which Plutarch alludes to (*Ad Attic.* ii. 1).

Cicero wrote first a prose work on his consulship in Greek (*Ad Attic.* i. 19), and also a poem in three books in Latin hexameters (*Ad Attic.* ii. 3).

[464] Attic drachmæ, as usual with Plutarch, when he omits the denomination of the money. In his Life of Cato (c. 26) Plutarch estimates the sum at 1250 talents. This impolitic measure of Cato tended to increase an evil that had long been growing in Rome, the existence of a large body of poor who looked to the public treasury for part of their maintenance. (See the note on the Life of Caius Gracchus, c. 5.)

[465] Cæsar was Prætor B.C. 62. He was Prætor designatus in December B.C. 63, when he delivered his speech on the punishment of Catiline's associates.

[466] Some notice of this man is contained in the Life of Lucullus, c. 34, 38, and the Life of Cicero, c. 29. The affair of the Bona Dea, which made a great noise in Rome, is told very fully in Cicero's letters to Atticus (i. 12, &c.), which were written at the time.

The feast of the Bona Dea was celebrated on the first of May, in the house of the Consul or of the Prætor Urbanus. There is some further information about it in Plutarch's Romanæ Quæstiones (ed. Wyttenbach, vol. ii.). According to Cicero (*De Haruspicum Responsis*, c. 17), the real name of the goddess was unknown to the men; and Dacier considers it much to the credit of the Roman ladies that they kept the secret so well. For this ingenious remark I am indebted to Kaltwasser's citation of Dacier; I have not had curiosity enough to look at Dacier's notes.

[467] The divorce of Pompeia is mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Attic.* i. 13).

[468] Clodius was tried B.C. 61, and acquitted by a corrupt jury (judices). (See Cicero, *Ad Attic.* i. 16.) Kaltwasser appears to me to have mistaken this passage. The judices voted by ballot, which had been the practice in Rome in such trials since the passing of the Lex Cassia B.C. 137. Drumanu remarks (*Geschichte Roms*, Claudii, p. 214, note) that Plutarch has confounded the various parts of the procedure at the trial; and it may be so. See the Life of Cicero, c. 29. There is a dispute as to the meaning of the term Judicia Populi, to which kind of Judicia the Lex Cassia applied. (Orelli, *Onomasticon*, Index Legum, p. 279.)

[469] Cæsar was Prætor (B.C. 60) of Hispania Ulterior or Bætica, which included Lusitania.

[470] A similar story is told by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 7) and Dion Cassius (37. c. 52), but they assign it to the time of Cæsar's quæstorship in Spain.

[471] The Calaici, or Callaici, or Gallæci, occupied that part of the Spanish peninsula which extended from the Douro north and north-west to the Atlantic. (Strabo, p. 152.) The name still exists in the modern term Gallica. D. Junius Brutus, consul B.C. 138, and the grandfather of one of Cæsar's murderers, triumphed over the Callaici and Lusitani, and obtained the name Callaicus. The transactions of Cæsar in Lusitania are recorded by Dion Cassius (37. c. 52).

[472] Many of the creditors were probably Romans. (Velleius Pat. ii 43, and the Life of Lucullus, c. 7.)

[473] Cæsar was consul B.C. 59.

[474] The measure was for the distribution of Public land (Dion Cassius, 38. c. 1, &c. &c.) and

it was an Agrarian Law. The law comprehended also the land about Capua (Campanus ager). Twenty thousand Roman citizens were settled on the allotted lands (Vell. Pater, ii. 44; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 10). Cicero, who was writing to Atticus at the time, mentions this division of the lands as an impolitic measure. It left the Romans without any source of public income in Italy except the Vicesimæ (*Ad Attic.* ii. 16, 18).

The Romans, who were fond of jokes and pasquinades against those who were in power, used to call the consulship of Cæsar, the consulship of Caius Cæsar and Julius Cæsar, in allusion to the inactivity of Bibulus, who could not resist his bolder colleague's measures. (Dion Cassius, 38. c. 8.)

[475] The marriage with Pompeius took place in Cæsar's consulship. *Life of Crassus*, c. 16.

This Servilius Cæpio appears to be Q. Servilius Cæpio, the brother of Servilia, the mother of M. Junius Brutus, one of Cæsar's assassins. Servilius Cæpio adopted Brutus, who is accordingly sometimes called Q. Cæpio Brutus. (Cicero, *Ad Divers.* vii. 21; *Ad Attic.* ii. 24.) Piso was L. Calpurnius Piso, who with Aulus Gabinius was consul B.C. 58.

[476] Q. Considius Gallus. He is mentioned by Cicero several times in honourable terms (*Ad Attic.* ii. 24).

[477] Cicero went into exile B.C. 58. See the Life of Cicero, c. 30.

Dion Cassius (38. c. 17) states that Cæsar was outside of the city with his army, ready to march to his province, at the time when Clodius proposed the bill of penalties against him. Cicero says the same (*Pro Sestio*, c. 18). Cæsar, according to Dion, was not in favour of the penalties contained in the bill; but he probably did not exert himself to save Cicero. Pompeius, who had presided at the comitia in which Clodius was adrogated into a Plebeian family, in order to qualify him to be a tribune, treated Cicero with neglect (Life of Pompeius, c. 46). Cæsar owed Cicero nothing. Pompeius owed him much. And Cicero deserved his punishment.

[478] Cæsar's Gallic campaign began B.C. 58.

He carried on the war actively for eight years, till the close of B.C. 51. But he was still proconsul of Gallia in the year B.C. 50. Plutarch has not attempted a regular narrative of Cæsar's campaigns, which would have been foreign to his purpose (see the Life of Alexander, c. 1); nor can it be attempted in these notes. The great commander has left in his Commentary on the Gallic War an imperishable record of his subjugation of Gaul.

[479] Plutarch here, after his fashion, throws in a few anecdotes without any regard to the chronological order.

[480] Massalia, an ancient Greek settlement, now Marseilles, was called Massilia by the Romans. The siege of Massalia is told by Cæsar (*Civil War*, ii. 1, &c.). It took place after Pompeius had fled from Brundisium.

[481] The story of Scæva is told by Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 53). The missiles were arrows. As to the exact number of arrows that the brave centurion Scæva received in his shield, see the note in Oudendorp's Cæsar. Scæva was promoted to the first class of centurions (Suetonius. *Cæsar*, 68).

[482] Cordoba or Cordova in Hispania Bætica. Cæsar must therefore have been subject to these attacks during his quæstorship, or at least his prætorship in Spain.

Of Cæsar's endurance and activity, Suetonius also (*Cæsar*, 57) has preserved several notices.

[483] Kaltwasser translates this: "He travelled with such speed that he did not require more than eight days to reach the Rhone after leaving Rome;" as if this was his habit. But Kaltwasser is mistaken.

[484] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 10.

In the time of Gellius (xvii. 9) there was extant a collection of Cæsar's letters to C. Oppius and Cornelius Balbus, written in a kind of cipher. (See Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 56.) Two letters of Cæsar to Oppius and Balbus are extant in the collection of Cicero's letters (*Ad Atticum*, ix. 8, 16), both expressed with admirable brevity and clearness. One of them also shows his good sense and his humanity.

[485] The story is also told by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 54). Instead of using plain oil, Leo thought he should please his guests by mixing it with a fragrant oil (conditum oleum pro viridi). He was an ill-bred fellow for his pains; but a well-bred man would affect not to notice his blunder.

[486] This campaign belongs to B.C. 58. The Helvetii occupied the country between the Rhine, the Jura, the Rhone, and the Rhætian Alps. The history of the campaign is given by Cæsar (*Gallic War*, i. 2-29; Dion Cassius, 38, c. 31). The Arar is the Saone, which joins the Rhone at Lyons.

[487] This German chief had been acknowledged as king and ally (rex et amicus) during Cæsar's consulship, B.C. 59. What territory the Romans considered as belonging to his kingdom does not appear. The campaign with Ariovistus and the circumstances which preceded it are told by Cæsar (*Gallic War*, i. 31, &c.).

The speech of Cæsar in which he rated the men for their cowardice is reported by himself (*Gallic War*, i. 40). The pursuit of the Germans was continued for five miles according to the MSS. of Cæsar; but some editors in place of 'five' have put 'fifty.' Plutarch's 400 stadia are equal to 50 Roman miles.

[488] Cæsar (*Gallic War*, i. 54). The army wintered in the country between the Jura, the Rhone

and Saone, and the Rhine; which was the country of the Sequani. Cæsar says that he went into Citerior Gallia, that is, North Italy, 'ad conventus agendos,' to make his circuits for the administration of justice and other civil business. He may be excused for not saying anything of his political intrigues.

[489] The rising of the Belgæ is the subject of Cæsar's Second Book. This campaign was in B.C. 57. It was not a rebellion of the Belgæ, for they had not been conquered, but they feared that the Romans would attack them after completing the subjugation of the Galli. The Belgæ were defeated on the Axona, the Aisne, a branch of the Seine (*Gallic War*, ii. 9-11). There is no mention in Cæsar of lakes and rivers being filled with dead bodies.

[490] The Nervii considered themselves of German origin. They occupied Hainault in Belgium, and the modern cities of Cambray and Tournay in France were within their limits. The Nervii were on the Sabis, the Sambre. Cæsar (ii. 25) speaks of seizing a shield and restoring the battle. Plutarch has taken from Cæsar (c. 29) the amount of the enemy's loss. See Dion Cassius (39. c. 1, &c.)

[491] "Ob easque res ex litteris Cæsaris dies xv subplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus accidit nulli." (Cæsar, *Gallic War*, ii. 35.)

[492] See the Life of Crassus, c. 14; Life of Pompeius, c. 51. The meeting at Luca was at the end of B.C. 56, and Plutarch has omitted the campaign of that year, which is contained in Cæsar's Third Book of the Gallic War.

[493] Csasar (iv. 1) names them Usipetes and Tenetheri. The events in this chapter belong to B.C. 55, when Cn. Pompeius Magnus and M. Licinius Crassus were consuls for the second time.

[494] Cæsar, iv. c. 12. Plutarch here calls the Commentaries ἐφημερίδες, which means a Diary or Day-book. The proper Greek word would be ὑπομνήματα. Kaltwasser accordingly concludes that Plutarah appears to have confounded the Ephemerides and the Commentarii, or at least to have used the word ἐφημερίδες improperly instead of ὑπομνήματα. There is no proof that Cæsar kept a diary. That kind of labour is suited to men of a different stamp from him. Plutarch means the Commentarii. It is true that Servius (*Ad Æneid.* xi. 743) speaks of a diary (Ephemeris) of Cæsar, which records his being once captured by the Gauls. But see the note of Davis on this passage (Cæsar, ed. Oudendorp, ii. 999). Suetonius, who enumerates Cæsar's writings (Cæsar, 55, 56), mentions no Ephemeris. There were abundant sources for anecdotes about Cæsar. The Roman himself wrote as an historian: he was not a diary keeper.

[495] Tanusius Geminus wrote a history which is mentioned by Suetonius (Cæsar, 9). Cato's opinion on this occasion was merely dictated by party hostility and personal hatred. His proposal was unjust and absurd. Cæsar had good reason for writing his Anticato.

[496] Or Sigambri, a German tribe on the east bank of the Lower Rhine. They bordered on the Ubii, and were north of them. The name probably remains in the Sieg, a small stream which enters the Rhine on the east bank, nearly opposite to Bonn.

[497] Cæsar describes the construction of this bridge (iv. 17) without giving any particulars as to the place where it was made. The situation can only be inferred from a careful examination of the previous part of his history, and it has been subject of much discussion, in which opinions are greatly divided. The narratives of Dion Cassius (39. c. 48) and Florus (iii. 10) give some assistance towards the solution of the question. Professor Müller, in an excellent article in the 'Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande' (vii. 1845), has proved that the bridge must have been built near Coblenz. Cæsar defeated the Germans in the angle between the Moselle and the Rhine. He must have crossed the Moselle in order to find a convenient place for his bridge, which he would find near Neuwied. The bridge abutted on the east bank on the territory of the Ubii, who were his friends. The narrative of Cæsar, when carefully examined, admits of no other construction than that which Müller has put upon it; and if there were any doubt, it is removed by Cæsar himself in another passage (*Gallic War*, vi. 9) where he speaks of his second bridge, which gave him a passage from the territory of the Treviri into that of the Ubii, and he adds that the site of the second bridge was near that of the first.

In the Gallic War (iv. 15) Cæsar speaks of the junction (ad confluentem Mosæ et Rheni) of the Mosa and the Rhine, where Müller assumes that he means the Moselle, as he undoubtedly does. Either the reading Mosa is wrong, or, what is not improbable, both the Moselle and the Maas had the same name, Mosa. Mosella or Mosula is merely the diminution of Mosa. At this confluence of the Moselle and Rhine the town of Coblenz was afterwards built, which retains the ancient name. Cæsar indicates which Mosa he means clearly enough by the words 'ad confluentem.' There was no 'confluens' of the Great Mosa and the Rhenus.

[498] The first expedition of Cæsar to Britain was in the autumn of B.C. 55, and is described in his fourth book of the Gallic War, c. 20, &c. He landed on the coast of Kent, either at Deal or between Sandgate and Hythe. His second expedition was in the following year B.C. 54, which is described in the fifth book, c. 8 &c. He crossed the Thamesis (Thames) in face of the forces of Cassivelaunus, whose territories were bounded on the south by the Thames.

There has been some discussion on the place where Cæsar crossed the Thames. Camden (p. 882, ed. Gibson) fixes the place at Cowey Stakes near Oatlands on the Thames, opposite to the place where the Wey joins the Thames. Bede, who wrote at the beginning of the eighth century, speaks of stakes in the bed of the river at that place, which so far corresponds to Cæsar's description, who says that the enemy had protected the ford with stakes on the banks and across the bed of the river. Certain stakes still exist there,

which are the subject of a paper in the Archæologia, 1735, by Mr. Samuel Gale. The stakes are as hard as ebony; and it is evident from the exterior grain that the stakes were the entire bodies of young oak trees. Cæsar places the ford eighty miles from the coast of Kent where he landed, which distance agrees very well with the position of Oatlands, as Camden remarks.

Cassivelaunus had been appointed Commander-in-chief of all the British forces. This is the king whom Plutarch means. He agreed to pay an annual tribute to the Romans (*Gallic War*, v. 22), and gave them hostages. Compare Cicero, *Ad Attic.* iv. 17.

Cæsar wrote two letters to Cicero while he was in Britain. He wrote one letter on the 1st of September, which Cicero received on the 28th of September (*Ad Quintum Fratrem,* iii. 1). Cicero here alludes to Cæsar's sorrow for his daughter's death, of which Cæsar had not received intelligence when he wrote to Cicero; but Cicero knew that the news had gone to him. On the 24th of October, Cicero received another letter written from the British coast from Cæsar, and one from his brother Quintus who was with Cæsar. This letter was written on the 26th of September. Cæsar states (*Gallic War*, v. 23) that it was near the time of the equinox when he was leaving Britain.

[499] See the Life of Crassus, c. 16, and the Life of Pompeius, c. 53.

[500] L. Aurunculeius Cotta and Q. Titurius Sabinus were sent into the country of the Eburones, the chief part of which was between the Maas and the Rhine, in the parallels of Namur and Liege. This king, who is called Abriorix, is named Ambiorix by Cæsar (*Gallic War*, 24, &c.) The Gauls, after an unsuccessful attempt on the camp, persuaded the Romans to leave it under a promise that they should have a safe passage through the country of the Eburones. Ambiorix made them believe that there was going to be a general rising of the Gauls, and that their best plan was to make their way to the camp of Q. Cicero or Labienus. When they had left their camp, the Gauls fell upon them in a convenient spot and massacred most of them.

[501] Quintus Cicero was encamped in the country of the Nervii in Hainault. The attack on his camp is described by Cæsar (*Gallic War*, v. 39, &c.) Cæsar says, when he is speaking of his own camp (v. 50), 'Jubet ... ex omnibus partibus castra altiore vallo muniri portasque obstrui, &c.... cum simulatione terroris;' of which Plutarch has given the meaning.

[502] Kaltwasser remarks that Plutarch passes over the events in Cæsar's Sixth Book of the Gallic War, as containing matters of less importance for his purpose.

[503] Cæsar (vii. 4) calls him Vercingetorix. He was of the nation of the Arverni, whom Plutarch (as his text stands) calls Arvenni in c. 25, and Aruveni in c. 26. The Arverni were on the Upper Loire in Auvergne. The Carnunteni, whom Cæsar calls Carnutes, were partly in the middle basin of the same river. Orleans (Genapum) and Chartres (Autricum) were their headquarters.

[504] ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁδοῖς in the MSS., which gives no sense. I have adopted Reiske's alteration αὐταῖς ταῖς ὁδοῖς. Cæsar (vii. 8) describes his march over the Cevenna, the Cevennes, in winter. He had to cut his road through snow six feet deep. The enemy, who considered the Cevennes as good a protection as a wall, were surprised by his sudden appearance.

[505] So Plutarch writes it. It is Ædui in Cæsar's text, or Hædui. The Ædui, one of the most powerful of the Gallic tribes, were situated between the Upper Loire and the Saone, and possessed the chief part of Burgundy. The Saone separated them from the Sequani on the east.

[506] The Lingones were on the Vosges, which contain the sources of the Marne and the Moselle. The Saone separated them from the Sequani on the south-east. The account of this campaign is unintelligible in Plutarch. It is contained in Cæsar's Seventh Book.

[507] A small matter in itself; but if true, a trait in Cæsar's character. Schaefer has the following note: "Aliter facturus erat Cyrneus, omnino inferior ille Romano." The Corsican is Napoleon. Cæsar was the magnanimous man, whom Aristotle describes (*Eth. Nicom.* iv. 7); Napoleon was not.

[508] Alise, or rather the summit of Mont Auxois, west of Dijon in Burgundy, represents the Alesia of Cæsar. A stream flowed along each of two sides of the city. Alesia belonged to the Mandubii, who were dependants of the Ædui. The siege and capture of Alesia, B.C. 52, are told by Cæsar (*Gallic War*, vii. 68, &c.)

The assembling of the Gallic nations was a last great effort to throw off the yoke.

Dion Cassius (40. c. 41) says Vercingetorix was put in chains. Seven years after he appeared in Cæsar's triumph, after which he was put to death.

Cæsar passed the winter of B.C. 51 at Nemetocenna, Arras, in Belgium. The final pacification of Gaul is mentioned (viii. 48). Cæsar left Gaul for North Italy in the early part of B.C. 50, and having visited all the cities in his province on the Italian side of the Alps, he again returned to Nemetocenna in Belgium, and after finally settling affairs in those parts, he returned to North Italy, where he learned that the two legions, which had been taken from him for the Parthian war, had been given by the consul C. Marcellus to Pompeius, and were kept in Italy.

In nine years Cæsar completed the subjugation of all that part of Gaul which is bounded by the Saltus Pyrenæus, the Alps and the Cevennes, the Rhine and the Rhone; and it was reduced to the form of a province. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 25.) With the capture of Alesia the Seventh book of the Gallic War ends. The Eighth book is not by Cæsar.

[509] As to the disturbances at Rome mentioned in this chapter, see the Life of Pompeius, c.

54, &c., notes.

[510] Life of Pompeius, c. 52.

[511] M. Claudius Marcellus, consul B.C. 51, with S. Sulpicius Rufus.

[512] Novum Comum or Novocomum; north of the Padus, had been settled as a Colonia Latina by Cæsar. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 26.)

The government of the colonia was formed on a Roman model: there was a body of Decuriones or Senators.

[513] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 58; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii, 26; Dion Cassius, 40. c. 59.

[514] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, whom Cæsar took in Corfinium, c. 34.

[515] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 52.

[516] Cæsar (*Civil War*, i. 1) mentions this letter; but it was read in the Senate after great opposition. The consuls of the year B.C. 49 were L. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus.

Cæsar, in the first few chapters of the Civil War, has clearly stated all the matters that are referred to in c. 30 and 31. The "letters" mentioned in c. 31 as coming before Curio and Antonius left Rome, are not mentioned by Cæsar. Plutarch might have confounded this with another matter. (*Civil War*, i. 3.)

[517] Cæsar was at Ravenna when the tribunes fled from Rome, and he first saw them at Ariminum, Rimini, which was not within the limits of Cæsar's province. (*Civil War*, i. 6; Dion Cassius, 41. c. 3.)

[518] Q. Hortensius Hortalus, a son of the orator Hortensius. He was an unprincipled fellow.

[519] Cæsar says nothing of the passage of the Rubico, but his silence does not disprove the truth of the story as told by Plutarch. The passage of the Rubico was a common topic (locus communis) for rhetoricians. Lucanus (*Pharsalia,* i. 213) has embellished it:—

> "Fonte cadit modico parvisque impellitur undis
> Puniceus Rubicon, cum fervida canduit æstas—
> Tunc vires præbebat hiems."

This small stream does not appear to be identified with certainty. Some writers make it the Fiumicino.

Ariminum was not in Cæsar's province, and Plutarch must have known that, as appears from his narrative. Kaltwasser thinks that he may mean that it was originally a Gallic town, which was true.

[520] In Plutarch's time the system of naming the Romans was greatly confused, and he extended the confusion to earlier times. C. Asinius Pollio, who was with Cæsar at the Rubico and at the battle of Pharsalia, wrote a history of the Civil Wars. He was also a poet. (Horatius, *Od.* ii. 1.) His work, as we may collect from c. 46, furnished materials for anecdotes about Cæsar.

[521] This dream according to Suetonius (*Cæsar*, c. 7) and Dion Cassius (41. c. 24) he had at Cades (Cadiz) in Spain during his quæstorship. The time of the dream is not unimportant, if the interpretation of it was that he was destined to have the dominion of the world. Cæsar has not recorded his dream. Sulla recorded his dreams. He was superstitious and cruel. Cæsar was not cruel, and there is no proof that he was superstitious.

[522] Pompeius went to Capua, where he thought of making a stand, but he soon moved on to Brundisium. On the confusion in the city see Dion Cassius (41. c. 5-9).

[523] The author of the Eighth book of the Gallic War (c. 52) speaks of Labienus being solicited by Cæsar's enemies. Cæsar had put him over Gaul south of the Alps. In the Civil War, Book 1, he is merely mentioned as having fortified Cingulum at his own cost. Cicero (*Ad Attic.* vii. 7) says that he was indebted to Cæsar for his wealth. His defection is mentioned by Cicero several times, and it gave a temporary encouragement to the party of Pompeius. (*Ad Attic.* vi. 12, 13.) Labienus joined Pompeius and the Consuls at Teanum in Campania on the 23rd of January.

[524] Corfinium three miles from the river Aternus. Cæsar (*Civil War*, i. 16-23) describes the siege of Corfinium. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was treated kindly by Cæsar. He afterwards went to Massalia and defended it against Cæsar. This most excellent citizen, as Cicero calls him, met the death he so well deserved at the battle of Pharsalia, and as Cicero says (*Phillipp.* ii. 29), at the hand of M. Antonius.

[525] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 62.

[526] From this it appears that the Life of Pompeius was written after the Life of Cæsar.

[527] Cæsar (*Civil War*, i, 32) has reported his own speech.

[528] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 62.

[529] This was the "sanctius ærarium" (Cæsar, *Civil War*, i. 13), which Lentulus had left open; in such alarm had he left the city. This money, which was kept in the temple of Saturn, was never touched except in cases of great emergency. Vossius remarks that to save his own character, Cæsar says that he found this treasury open. But Cæsar does not say that he found it open. He says that Lentulus left it open. There was time enough for Metellus to lock the door after Lentulus ran away. Cæsar would have been a fool not to take the

money; and if he wanted it, he would of course break the door open, if he found it shut. But whether the door was open or shut was unimportant; the wrongful act, if there was any, consisted in taking the money, and he would not have been excused for taking it simply because the door was unlocked. I believe Cæsar broke it open (Cicero *Ad Attic.* x. 4; Dion Cassius, 41. c. 17; and the authorities quoted by Reimarus). I also believe Cæsar when he says that Lentulus left the door unlocked. The Senate had supplied Pompeius with money for the war out of the ordinary treasury. When Cæsar took Corfinium, he gave to Domitius all the money that he found there, which was to a large amount, though this was public money and had been given to Domitius by Pompeius to pay his soldiers with. (Appianus, ii. 28; Cæsar, *Civil War*, i. 23.) When "that man of greatest purity and integrity," as Cicero calls him, M. Terentius Varro, commanded for Pompeius in Spain (B.C. 48), he carried off the treasure from the temple of Hercules at Cadiz. That man, on whom Cicero vents every term of abuse that his fear and hatred could supply, restored the stolen money to the god. (Cæsar, *Civil War*, ii. 18, 21.)

[530] The Spanish campaign against Afranius is contained in the *Civil War*, 34, &c. The legati of Pompeius in Spain were L. Afranius, consul B.C. 60, M. Petreius, and M. Terentius Varro, better known for his learning and his numerous works than for his military talents. After the surrender of Afranius and Petreius, Cæsar marched to the south of Spain, for Varro, who was in Lusitania, was making preparations for war. Varro, after some feeble efforts, surrendered to the conqueror at Cordova. Varro was treated kindly like all the rest who fell into Cæsar's hands, and he had the opportunity of placing himself against Cæsar at Dyrrachium.

On his return from the successful close of his Spanish campaign, Massalia surrendered to Cæsar after an obstinate resistance. (Cæsar, *Civil War*, ii. 22.)

It was on his return to Massalia from the south of Spain that Cæsar heard of his appointment as Dictator (*Civil War*, ii. 21).

[531] (Cæsar, *Civil War*, iii. 1; Dion Cassius, 41. c. 37.) Cæsar does not speak of those who had suffered in Sulla's time; nor does Dion.

[532] Cæsar and P. Servilius Isauricus (son of the consul Isauricus, B.C. 79) were elected Consuls for B.C. 48. See the Life of Pompeius, c. 54, notes; and of Cæsar, c. 57, *Dictator*.

When Cæsar had left Rome, the boys formed themselves into two parties, Pompeians and Cæsarians, and had a battle without arms, in which the Cæsarians were victorious. (Dion Cassius, 41, c. 39.)

As to Cæsar's forces, see *Civil War*, iii. 2.

[533] Dion Cassius (41. c. 45) tells this story of the boat adventure; and (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 57) Cæsar was uneasy at the delay of M. Antonius and his legions, and he feared that Antonius might desert him. Cæsar says nothing of this attempt to cross the sea. He very seldom mentions his personal risks. He left this to the anecdote collectors.

[534] The river appears to be the Anas of Dion (41. c. 45) which is near Apollonia, though he does not mention the river in his account of Cæsar's attempted voyage. This is the river which Strabo calls Æas, and Hekatæus calls Aous (Strabo, p. 316).

For the events in these three chapters see the Life of Pompeius, c. 65, &c., and the references in the notes.

[535] Cæsar calls the root Chara (*Civil War*, iii. 48. Comp. Plinius, *N.H.* 19, c. 8). These facts are mentioned in Cæsar. The events in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium and Apollonia must be studied in Cæsar, Dion Cassius, Book 41, and Appianus, Book ii.

[536] Cæsar mentions the capture of Gomphi (*Civil War*, iii. 80), but he says nothing of the wine. Cæsar let his men plunder Gomphi. The town had offered him all its means and prayed him for a garrison, but on hearing of his loss at Dyrrachinm the people shut their gates against him and sent to Pompeius for aid. The town was stormed on the first day that it was attacked.

[537] As Kaltwasser observes, there was no bad omen in the dream, as it is here reported. We must look to the Life of Pompeius, c. 68, for the complete dream. Perhaps something has dropped out of the text here. Dacier, as Kaltwasser says, has inserted the whole passage out of the Life of Pompeius.

[538] This is an error. The name is Q. Cornificus. See the note of Sintenis. He was a quæstor of Cæsar. Calenus is Fulvus Calenus, who had been sent by Cæsar into Achaia, and had received the submission of Delphi, Thebæ, and Orchomenus, and was then engaged in taking other cities and trying to gain over other cities. (Cæsar, *Civil War*, iii. 55.)

[539] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 71.

[540] I have omitted the unmeaning words ἢ διὰ θείας ἥττης τεθαμβημένος. See the note of Sintenis.

[541] These words of Cæsar are also reported by Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 30), on the authority of Pollio. They are: Hoc voluerunt: tantis rebus gestis C. Cæsar condemnatus essem, nisi ab exercitu auxilium petissem. These words are more emphatic with the omission of 'they brought me into such a critical position,' and Casaubon proposes to erase them in Plutarch's text, that is, to alter and improve the text.

[542] A rich town of Lydia in Asia Minor on the north side of the Mæander. This miracle at Tralles and others are enumerated by Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 105; Dion Cassius, 41. c. 61). The book of Livius, in which this affair of Patavium (Padua) was mentioned (the 111th), is lost. See the Supplement of Freinsheim, c. 72.

[543] See life of Pompeius, c. 42, notes; and Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 88).

[544] Cæsar crossed the Hellespont, where he met with C. Cassius Longinus going with a fleet to aid Pharnakes in Pontus. Cassius surrendered and was kindly treated, in consideration of which he afterwards assisted to murder Cæsar. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 88.)

[545] Of Knidus. The same who is mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Attic.* xiii. 7) as a friend of Cæsar, and by Strabo, p. 48, &c.

Asia is the Roman province of Asia.

[546] Cæsar (*Civil War*, iii. 106) speaks of his arrival on the coast of Egypt. The Egyptians were offended to see the Roman fasces carried before him.

[547] Cæsar had the head of Pompeius burnt with due honours, and he built a temple to Nemesis over the ashes. The temple was pulled down by the Jews in their rising in Egypt during the time of Trajanus. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 90.)

As to the seal ring see the Life of Pompeius, c. 80, and Dion Cassias (42. c. 18).

[548] The Alexandrine war, which is confusedly told here, is recorded in a single book entitled De Bello Alexandrino and in Dion Cassius (42. c. 34-44). The origin of it is told by Cæsar at the end of the third Book of the Civil War. The history of the Alexandrine war by Appianus was in his Ægyptiaca, which is lost. Dion Cassius, a lover of scandal, mentions that Cæsar's attachment to Kleopatra was the cause of the Alexandrine war (42. c. 44). But it could not be the sole cause. Cæsar landed with the insignia of his office, as if he were entering a Roman province, and it might be reasonably suspected by the Egyptians that he had a design on the country. Instead of thanking them for ridding him of his rival, he fixed himself and his soldiers in one of the quarters of Alexandria. Cæsar went to get money (Dion, 42. c. 9). Kleopatra kept him there longer than he at first intended to stay.

[549] Ptolemæus Auletes through Cæsar's influence had been declared a friend and ally of the Romans in Cæsar's consulship B.C. 59. (Cic. *Ad Attic.* ii. 16.) Ptolemæus had to spend money for this: he both gave and promised. It does not appear that this money was promised to Cæsar: it is more probable that it was promised to the Roman State and Cæsar came to get it.

[550] The story of Kleopatra coming to Cæsar is also told by Dion Cassius (42. c. 34). Cæsar mentions his putting Pothinus to death (*Civil War*, iii. 112). Cæsar had at first only 3200 foot soldiers and 800 cavalry to oppose to the 20,000 men of Achillas, who were not bad soldiers. Besides these 20,000 men Achillas had a great number of vagabonds collected from all parts of Cilicia and Syria.

[551] Alexandria had no springs, and it was supplied from the Nile, the water of which was received into cisterns under the houses. This supply was (*Bell. Alex.* 5, &c.) damaged by Ganymedes the Egyptian drawing up salt water from the sea and sending it into the cisterns. Cæsar supplied himself by digging wells in the sand.

[552] As to the destruction of the library see Dion Cassius (42. c. 38) and the notes of Reimarus. The destruction is not mentioned by Cæsar or the author of the Alexandrine war. Kleopatra afterwards restored it, and the library was famed for a long time after. Lipsius (Opera iii. 1124, Vesal 1675) has collected all that is known of this and other ancient libraries.

[553] The Pharos is a small island in the bay of Alexandria, which was connected with the mainland by a mole, and so divided the harbour into two parts. The story of the battle of the Pharos is told by Dion Cassius (42. c. 40), with the particulars about Cæsar's escape. See the notes of Reimarus.

The modern city of Alexandria is chiefly built on the mole which joined the old city to the mainland. (Article *Alexandria*, 'Penny Cyclopædia,' by the author of this note.)

[554] The King, the elder brother of Kleopatra, was drowned in the Nile. (Dion Cassius, 42. c. 43, and the notes of Reimarus.) His body was found. (Florus, ii. 60.)

[555] Cæsar did not add Egypt to the Roman Empire. He married Kleopatra to her younger brother, who was a boy. Dion says that he still continued his commerce with Kleopatra. Cæsar was nine months in Egypt, from October 48 to July 47 of the unreformed Kalendar.

Cæsarion, a Greek form from the word Cæsar, may have been Cæsar's son, for there is no doubt that Cæsar cohabited with Kleopatra in Egypt. There is more about this Cæsarion in Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 52, where the reading is doubtful; *Cæsar Octavian*. c. 17. When Cæsar Octavianus took Egypt he put Cæsarion to death.

[556] He had been acknowledged by Pompeius as king of the Bosporus after the death of his father. He was now in Asia Minor, where he had taken Amisus and had castrated all the male children. Cæsar after hearing of the defeat of Domitius Calvinus, his legatus, by Pharnakos, advanced against him and routed his army. Zela is eight hours south of Amasia, the birthplace of Strabo, and about 40° 15' N. lat. Pharnakes was afterwards murdered by Asander, one of his generals. (Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 91; Dion Cassius, 42, 46; *Bell. Alexandria*, c. 72.)

The modern town of Zilleh, which contains 2000 houses, stands on the site of Zela. A hill rises abruptly above the plain near the centre of the present town, and occupies a commanding position. The appearance of the place corresponds very well with Strabo's description (p. 561), in whose time it was the capital of Zelitis. (Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, i. 361.)

[557] This is the best MS. reading, not Amintius; the true name is probably C. Matius. He was an intimate friend of Cæsar, and he is well spoken of by Cicero. He remained faithful to the cause of Cæsar after his death, and he attached himself to Octavianus. There is a letter of Cicero to Matius, with the answer of Matius (Cicero, *Ad Diversos*, xi. 27, 28) written after Cæsar's death, which shows him to have been a man of honour and courage, and worthy of the name of Cæsar's friend.

This letter of Cæsar's is probably a forgery of the anecdote-makers. Davis (note to Oudendorp's Cæsar, ii. 992) has indicated the probable source of this supposed letter. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 37.) The battle was a smart affair of several hours, and was not won without some loss.

[558] He was named Dictator for B.C. 47 by the Senate in Rome immediately after the battle of Pharsalia: he was at Alexandria when he received this news. He appointed M. Antonius his Master of the Horse and sent him to Rome. (Dion Cassius, 42. c. 21-33.)

[559] It broke out during his dictatorship. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 70; Dion Cassius, 42. c. 52.) The story is told very circumstantially by Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 92). The soldiers demanded of Cæsar release from service (missio), and he granted it to them in a single word, Mitto. The soldiers having got what they asked for were no longer soldiers, but citizens; and Cæsar in the subsequent part of the conference properly addressed them as Quirites, just as Cicero addresses the Roman people by this name in one of his orations against Rullus. The soldiers at last prevailed on him to restore them to their former condition; and he set out with them for his African war. This affair is alluded to by Tacitus. (*Annal*. ii. 42; Lucanus, v. 357.)

[560] P. Cornelius Dolabella, a devoted adherent of Cæsar. His turbulent tribunate is recorded by Dion Cassius (42. c. 29, &c.). He was consul with M. Antonius B.C. 44. The name Amantius occurs here again. It is Amintius in some editions of Plutarch. Kaltwasser observes that nothing is known of Amintius and Corfinius. But Corfinius should be Cornificius; and Amantius should probably be C. Matius.

[561] Cato was not in the battle of Pharsalus. After the battle Cato, Scipio, Afranius, and Labienus went to Corcyra, whence they sailed to Africa to join Juba. (Life of Cato, c. 55; Dion Cassius, 42. c. 10; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 95, &c.)

The history of the African War is contained in one book, and is printed in the editions with the Gallic War of Cæsar. Cæsar landed at Hadrumetum, because Utica was strongly guarded. (Dion Cassius, 42. c. 58.)

[562] Comp. the *African War*, c. 1.

[563] Dion Cassius (42. c. 58) calls him Salatto. Suetonius (*Cæsar*, c. 59) also tells the same story. The African campaign is told by Dion Cassius, 43. c. 1, &c.

[564] Scipio avoided fighting as long as he could. Thapsus was situated on a kind of peninsula, south of Hadrumetum, as Dion Cassius states. But his description is not clear. There were salt-pans near it, which were separated from the sea by a very narrow tract. Cæsar occupied this approach to Thapsus, and then formed his lines about the town in the form of a crescent. Scipio came to relieve Thapsus, and this brought on a battle. (*African War*, 80.) Cæsar could not stop the slaughter after the battle was won.

[565] Petreius, Cæsar's former opponent in Spain, fled with Juba to Zama, where Juba had his family and his treasures. But the people would not receive Juba into the place. On which, after rambling about for some time with Petreius, in despair they determined to fight with one another that they might die like soldiers. Juba, who was strong, easily killed Petreius, and then with the help of a slave he killed himself. (*African War*, 94; Dion Cassius, 43, c. 8.)

Scipio attempted to escape to Spain on ship-board. Near Hippo Regius (Bona) he was in danger of falling into the hands of P. Silius, on which he stabbed himself. Afranius and Faustus Sulla, the son of the dictator, were taken prisoners and murdered by the soldiers in Cæsar's camp.

[566] As to the death of Cato, see the Life of Cato, c. 65.

[567] The work was in two books, and was written about the time of the battle of Munda, B.C. 45. (Suetonius, c. 56; Cicero, *Ad Attic*, xii. 40; Dion Cassius, 43. c. 13, and the notes of Reimarus about the "Anticato.")

[568] Cæsar made the kingdom of Juba a Roman province, of which he appointed C. Sallustius, the historian, proconsul. He laid heavy impositions on the towns of Thapsus and Hadrumetum. He imposed on the people of Leptis an annual tax of 3,000,000 pounds weight of oil (pondo olei), which Plutarch translates by the Greek word litræ. On his voyage to Rome he stayed at Carales (Cagliari) in Sardinia. He reached Rome at the end of July, B.C. 46. (*African War*, 97, &c.)

Dion Cassius (43. c. 15, &c.) gives us a speech of Cæsar before the Senate on his return to Rome.

[569] As Kaltwasser remarks, Plutarch has omitted the triumph over Gaul. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 19; Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 101.) After the triumph Vercingetorix was put to death. Arsinœ, the sister of Kleopatra, appeared in the Egyptian triumph in chains.

[570] See the Life of Sulla, c. 16 notes; and Dion Cassius, 51. c. 15.

[571] Plutarch has the word τρίκλινος. The Latin form is triclinium, a couch which would accomodate three persons at table. The word is of Greek origin, and simply means a place which will allow three persons to recline upon it. As triclinia were placed in eating-rooms, such a room is sometimes called triclinium. It is sometimes incorrectly stated

that triclinium means three couches, and that a dining-room had the name of triclinium because it contained three couches; which is absurd. Vitruvius describes œci(dining-rooms) square and large enough to contain four triclinia, and leave room also for the servants (vi. 10). It may be true that three couches was a common number in a room.

[572] There was no census this year, as Rualdus quoted by Kaltwasser shows. Augustus had a census made in his sixth consulship, B.C. 28; and there had then been none for twenty-four years. That of B.C. 42 was in the consulship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and Munatius Plancus. It has been remarked that Plutarch gives the exact numbers that are given in Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 41), when he is speaking of the number of poor citizens who received an allowance of corn from the state, which number Cæsar reduced from 320,000 to 150,000. This passage, compared with Dion Cassius (43. c. 21), seems to explain the origin of Plutarch's statement. Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 102) also supposed that it was a census. See Clinton, *Fasti*, Lustra Romana, B.C. 50. (See the Life of Caius Gracchus, c. 5, notes.)

[573] Cæsar was sole consul in the year B.C. 45. He was still dictator.

[574] Munda was in Bætica, west of Malaca (Malaga). The battle was fought on the day of the Liberalia, the feast of Liber or Bacchus, the 17th of March. Pompeius, B.C. 49, left Brundisium on the Ides of March, the 15th.

The Spanish campaign is contained in a book entitled "De Bello Hispaniensi," which is printed with the "Commentaries of Cæsar:" thirty thousand men fell on the side of Pompeius, and three thousand equites (c. 31). See also Dion Cassius, 43, c. 36; and Appianus, *Civil Wars*, ii. 104.

[575] Cneius Pompeius, the elder of the two sons of Pompeius Magnus, was overtaken after he had for some time eluded the pursuit of the enemy. His head was carried to Hispalis (Seville) and exhibited in public. Cæsar, who was then at Gades (Cadiz), came shortly after to Hispalis, and addressed the people in a speech. Sextus Pompeius was at Corduba during the battle, and he made his escape on hearing the news of his brother's defeat.

[576] C. Didius. According to Dion, Cn. Pompeius was killed by another set of pursuers, not by Didius. The author of the Spanish War (c. 40) does not mention Didius as having carried the head of Pompeius to Hispalis. After the death of Pompeius, Didius fell in a battle with some Lusitani who had escaped from Munda.

[577] Cæsar celebrated his Spanish triumph in October, B.C. 45.

[578] Cæsar was appointed Dictator for Life, and consul for ten years, (Appianus, ii. 106.)

Dictatorship was properly only a temporary office, and created in some great emergency, or for a particular purpose. The first dictator was T. Lartius, who was appoined, B.C. 501. The original period of office was only six months (Livius, ix. 34), and many dictators abdicated, that is, voluntarily resigned the dictatorship before the end of the six months. The Dictator had that authority within the city which the consuls, when in office, only had without. During his term of office there were no consuls. Under the Dictator there was a Magister Equitum, who was sometimes appointed probably by the Dictator. The whole question of the dictatorship is one of considerable difficulty. No dictator had been appointed for one hundred and twenty years before the time when Sulla was appointed; and his dictatorship and that of Cæsar must not be considered as the genuine office. Cæsar was the last Roman who had the title of Dictator. The subject of the Dictatorship is discussed by Niebuhr, *Roman History*, vol. i. 552, *English Transl.*

[579] The honours decreed to Cæsar in the year before are mentioned by Dion Cassius (43. c. 14). Among other things a large statue of him was made which was supported on a figure of the earth (probably a sphere); and there was the inscription—"Semideus, Half-God." The further honours conferred on Cæsar in this year are recorded by Dion Cassius (43. c. 44, &c.). A statue of the Dictator was to be placed in the temple of Quirinus (Romulus), which was equivalent to calling Cæsar a second founder of Rome. Cicero (*Ad Attic.* xii. 45, and xiii. 28)

Jokes Atticus on the new neighbour that he was going to have: Atticus lived on the Quirinal Hill, where the temple of Quirinus stood.

The Senate also decreed that Cæsar should use the word Imperator as a title prefixed to his name—Imperator Caius Julius Cæsar. The old practice was to put it after the name, as M. Tullius Cicero Imperator. The title Imperator prefixed to the name does not occur on the medals of Cæsar. But this decree of the Senate was the origin of the term Imperator being used as a title by the Roman Emperors. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 44.)

[580] I do not find what particular honours Cicero proposed. His correspondence with Atticus during this period shows that he was dissatisfied with the state of affairs, and very uneasy about himself, though, as far as concerned Cæsar, he had nothing to fear.

[581] Carthage was destroyed B.C. 146; and Corinth in the same year by L. Mummius. Colonies were sent to both places in B.C. 44. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 50.) Many Romans were sent to settle in both places. (Strabo, p. 833; Pausanias, ii. 1.) The colonization of Carthage had been attempted by Caius Gracchus. (Life of C. Gracchus, c. 11, notes.)

[582] In B.C. 45 Cæsar was consul for the fourth time and without a colleague. But he laid down the office before the end of the year, and Quintus Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius were appointed consuls; the first instance of consuls being appointed for a part of the year, which afterwards became a common practice. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 46.) The appointment of C. Caninius is mentioned by Cicero (*Ad Diversos*, vii. 30), who remarks that nobody dined in that consulship, and that the consul was so vigilant that he did not sleep during his term of office: in fact he was consul for only part of a day. An inscription records the consulships of this year. (Note to Cicero in the Variorum edition.)

[583] On the intended Parthian expedition of Cæsar, see Dion Cassius, 43. c. 51.

[584] This design of Cæsar is mentioned by Dion Cassius (44. c. 5), Suetonius (*Cæsar*, 441), and Plinius (*H.N.* iv. 4).

[585] This scheme is not mentioned by any other author that I can find. Circæum, or Circeii, as the Romans called it, is the mountain promontory, now Circello or Circeo, between which and Tarracina lies the southern part of the Pomptine marshes. The intended cut must therefore run nearly in the direction of the Via Appia and to the west of it. But considerable cuttings would be required on that more elevated part of the Campagna which lies between the mountains of Alba and the nearest part of the coast. The basin of the Pomptine marshes is bounded by the offsets of the Alban mountains, the Volscian mountains, and the sea. In the central part it is only a few feet above the sea-level, and in some parts it is below it. When a violent south-west wind raises the sea on the coast between Tarracina and Circeo, the water would be driven into the basin of the Pomptine marshes instead of flowing out. There would therefore be no sufficient fall of water to keep the channel clear, even if the head of the cut, where it originated in the Tiber, were high enough; and that is doubtful. The scheme was probably a canal, which with some locks might be practicable; but if the work could be accomplished, it would probably have no commercial advantages.

[586] Pometia is the common Roman form, from which comes the name of the Pometinæ, or Pomptinæ Paludes, now the Pontine Paludi; the site of Pometia is uncertain. That Cæsar intended to accomplish the drainage of this tract is mentioned by Dion Cassius and Suetonius.

Setia (Sezza), noted for its wine, is on the Volscian hills (the Monti Lepini), and on the eastern margin of the marshes. The physical condition of this tract is described by Prony, in his "Description Hydrographique et Historique des Marais Pontins," 4to. Paris, 1822; the work is accompanied by a volume of plans and sections and a map of the district. A sketch of the physical character of this district, and of the various attempts to drain it, is also given in the 'Penny Cyclopædia,'—art. *Pomptine Marshes*. See also Westphal's two valuable maps of the Campagna di Roma, and his accompanying Memoir, Berlin and Stettin, 1829.

[587] Ostia, the old port of Rome, on the east bank of the Tiber near the mouth of the river. The present Ostia is somewhat farther inland, and was built in the ninth century by Pope Gregory the Fourth. There are extensive remains of the old town, but they are in a very decayed condition. "Numerous shafts of columns, which are scattered about in all directions, remains of the walls of extensive buildings, and large heaps of rubbish covered with earth and overgrown with grass, give some, though a faint, idea of the splendour, of the ancient city, which at the time of its greatest splendour, at the beginning of our era, had eighty thousand inhabitants." (Westphal, *Die Römische Kampagne*, p. 7.)

[588] The reformation of the Kalendar was effected in B.C. 46. Dion Cassius (43. c. 26) says that Cæsar was instructed on this subject during his residence at Alexandria in Egypt. The Egyptians had a year of 365 days from a very early date (Herodotus, ii. 4). In this year (B.C. 46) Cæsar intercalated two months of 67 days between November and December, and as this was the year in which, according to the old fashion, the intercalary month of 23 days had been inserted in February, the whole intercalation in this year was 90 days. Cæsar made the reformed year consist of 365 days, and he directed one day to be intercalated in every fourth year (quarto quoque anno) in order that the civil year, which began on the 1st of January, might agree with the solar year. The old practice of intercalating a month was of course dropped. The year B.C. 46 was a year of 445 days. By this reformation, says Dion Cassius, all error was avoided except a very small one, and he adds, that to correct the accumulations of this error, it would only be necessary to intercalate one day in 1461 years. But this is a mistake; for in 1460 years there would be an error of nearly eleven days too much. Ten days were actually dropped between the 4th and 15th of October, 1582, by Gregory XIII., with the sanction of the Council of Trent.

A curious mistake was soon made at Rome by the Pontifices who had the regulation of the Kalendar. The rule was to intercalate a day in every fourth year (quarto quoque anno). Now such expressions are ambiguous in Latin, as is shown by numerous examples. (Savigny, *System des heut. Röm. Rechts*, iv. 329.) The expression might mean that both the year one and the year four were to be included in the interpretation of this rule; and the Pontifices interpreted it accordingly. Thus, after intercalating in year one, they intercalated again in year four, instead of in year five. In the time of Augustus, B.C. 8. the error was corrected, and the civil year was set right by dropping the three intercalary days which came next after that year, three being the number of days in excess that had been intercalated. For the future the rule of Cæsar was correctly interpreted. Dion Cassius in expressing the rule as to intercalation uses the phrase, διὰ πέντε ἐτῶν.

The subject of Cæsar's reformation is explained in the notes to Dion Cassius (43. c. 26), ed. Reimarus, and in the article Calendar (Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities) by Professor Key.

[589] The Romans had a large collection of these writings (libri Sibyllini) which were kept in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus under the care of particular functionaries (duumviri sacrorum). On this curious subject the reader will find sufficient information in the Penny Cyclopædia,—art. *Sibyl*.

[590] Dion Cassius (44. c. 8), who tells the story, says that he was seated in the vestibule of the Temple of Venus; and he mentions another excuse that Cæsar had for not rising.

[591] L. Cornelius Balbus was a native of Gades. Pompeius Magnus gave him the Roman citizenship for his services in Spain against Sertorius, which was confirmed by a lex passed B.C. 72, in the consulship of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Probably to show his gratitude to the consul, Balbus assumed the Roman name Cornelius. Balbus is often mentioned in Cicero's correspondence. After Cæsar's death he attached himself to Cæsar Octavianus, and he was consul B.C. 40. He left a journal of the events of his own and Cæsar's life. He also urged Hirtius (Pansa) to write the Eighth Book of the Gallic War (Preface addressed to Balbus), Suetonius, Cæsar, 81.

[592] The Lupercalia are described in the Life of Romulus, c. 21. The festival was celebrated on the 15th of February. It was apparently an old shepherd celebration; and the name of the deity Lupercus appears to be connected with the name Lupus (wolf), the nurturer of the twins Romulus and Remus. Shakspere, who has literally transferred into his play of Julius Cæsar many passages from North's Plutarch, makes Cæsar say to the consul Antonius—

> Forget not, in your speed, Antonius,
> To touch Calphurnia; for our elders say,
> The barren, touched in this holy chase,
> Shake off their sterile curse.

Act i. Sc. 2.

[593] Dion Cassius (44. c. 9) speaks of the honours conferred on Cæsar and his supposed ambitious designs.

[594] The Latin word "brutus" means "senseless," "stupid." The Cumæi, the inhabitants of Cume in Æolis, were reckoned very stupid. Strabo (p. 622) gives two reasons why this opinion obtained; one of which was, that it was not till three hundred years after the foundation of the city that they thought of making some profit by the customs duties, though they had a port.

[595] Compare the Life of Brutus, c. 1, Dion Cassius (44. c. 12), and Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Junii, p. 2. This Brutus was not a descendant of him who expelled the last king.

[596] Plutarch means the office of Prætor Urbanus, the highest of the offices called prætorships. There was originally only one prætor, the Prætor Urbanus. There were now sixteen. The Prætor Urbanus was the chief person engaged in the administration of justice in Rome; and hence the allusion to the "tribunal" (βῆμα) where the Prætor sat when he did business.

[597] I have translated this according to the reading of Sintenis. Compare the Life of Brutus, c. 8. Cæsar was very lean. As to the writings compare Dion Cassius (44, c. 12).

[598] See the Life of Brutus, c. 89.

[599]

> *Cæsar*. Let me have men about me that are fat;
> Sleek-headed men, and such as sleep o' nights:
> Yond' Cassius has a lean and hungry look;
> He thinks too much: such men are dangerous.

Shakspere, *Julius Cæsar*, Act i. Sc. 2.

[600] The passage was in the Historical Memoirs. See the Life of Sulla, c. 26; and the Life of Lucullus, c. 28. Notes.

[601] The Ides of March were the 15th, on which day Cæsar was murdered.

[602] Compare Dion Cassius (44. c. 17). Cæsar also had a dream.

[603] I have kept Plutarch's word, which is Greek. Suetonius (Cæsar, c. 81) expresses it by the Latin word "fastigium," and also Florus (iv. 2), Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 43), and Julius Obsequens (c. 127), who enumerates the omens mentioned by Plutarch. The passage of Livius must have been in the 116th Book, which is lost. See the Epitome. The word here probably means a pediment. But it also signifies an ornament, such as a statue placed on the summit of a pediment.

[604] Decimus Junius Brutus Albinus was the son of Decimus Junius Brutus, Consul B.C. 77, and grandson of Decimus Junius Brutus Callaicus, Consul B.C. 138. He was adopted by Aulus Postumius Albinus, Consul, B.C. 99, whence he took the name Albinus. He served under Cæsar in Gaul, during which campaign he destroyed the fleet of the Veneti. (*Gallic War*, iii. 12, &c.) Decimus Brutus was a great favourite with Cæsar, who by his will placed him in the second degree of succession; he also gave him the province of Cisalpine Gaul, which Brutus held after Cæsar's death, and appointed him to be consul for B.C. 42. In the year B.C. 43, after M. Antonius had united himself with M. Lepidus, the governor of Gallia Narbonensis, and L. Munatius Plancus and Asinius Pollio had also joined M. Antonius, Decimus Brutus attempted to make his escape into Macedonia to Marcus Brutus; but he was overtaken in the Alps by the cavalry of Antonius, and put to death after abjectly praying for mercy. This was the just punishment of a treacherous friend who helped Cæsar to the supreme power and then betrayed him (Vell. Paterculus, ii. 61). Like many other men, he did well enough when he was directed by others, but when he was put in command, he lost his head and threw away the opportunities that he had. There are extant several of his letters to Ciecro and letters of Cicero to him. (Dion Cassius, 43. c. 53, and the references in the notes; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Junii.)

[605] It was usual for the Romans in their wills to substitute an heres, one or more (in the Roman sense), to take the property in case the person who was first named in the will for any reason did not take it. Cæsar's first heres was his great nephew, C. Octavius, afterwards Augustus.

[606] It was the general opinion that some roll or writing was put into Cæsar's hands, which informed him of the conspiracy; but, as is usual in such cases, there were different statements current about the particulars of this circumstance. Compare Dion Cassius, 44. c. 18.

[607] According to Dion Cassius (41. c. 52) the Senate was assembled in the curia (συνέδριον), which Pompeius had built.

[608] The two sects of Greek philosophy that had most adherents among the Romans were those of the Epicureans and the Stoics. Cassius, as an Epicurean, would have no faith in any superhuman powers; but in the moments of danger a man's speculative principles give way to the common feelings of all mankind. I have kept Plutarch's word "enthusiasm," which is here to be understood not in our sense, but in the Greek sense of a person under some superhuman influence.

[609] This is a mistake of Plutarch, who has stated the fact correctly in his Life of Brutus (c. 17). It was Caius Trebonius who kept Antonius engaged in talk, as we learn from Dion Cassius (44. c. 10), Appianus (*Civil War*, ii. 117), and Cicero, who in a Letter to Trebonius (*Ad Diversos*, x. 28) complains that Trebonius had taken Antonius aside, and so saved his life.

[610] Some would write Tullius Cimber. See the note of Sintenis. Atilius may be the true name.

[611] P. Servilius Casca was at this time a tribune of the Plebs (Dion Cassius, 44. c. 52).

[612] Dion Cassius adds (44. c. 19) that Cæsar said to M. Brutus, "And you too, my son." Probably the story of Cæsar's death received many embellishments. Of his three and twenty wounds, only one was mortal according to the physician Antistius (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, 82): but though the wounds severally might not have been mortal, the loss of blood from all might have caused death. Suetonius (c. 82) adds, that Cæsar pierced the arm of Cassius (he mentions two Cassii among the conspirators) with his graphium (stylus). See the notes in Burmann's edition of Suetonius.

The circumstances of the death of Cæsar are minutely stated by Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Julii, p. 728, &c. The reflections of Dion Cassius (44. c. 1, 2) on the death of Cæsar are worth reading. He could not see that any public good was accomplished by this murder; nor can anybody else.

[613] Cicero was among them. He saw, as he says himself (*Ad Attic.* xiv. 10), the tyrant fall, and he rejoiced. In his letters he speaks with exultation of the murder, and commends the murderers. But he was not let into the secret. They were afraid to trust him. If he had been in the conspiracy, he says (*Philipp.* ii. 14) he would have made clean work; he would have assassinated all the enemies of liberty; in other words, all the chief men of Cæsar's party. He had abjectly humbled himself before Cæsar, who treated him with kind respect. Like all genuine cowards he was cruel when he had power.

[614] M. Æmilius Lepidus, son of M. Lepidus, consul B.C. 78. He afterwards formed one of the Triumviri with M. Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar. This was the Lepidus with whom Cæsar supped the day before he was murdered. He was a feeble man, though something of a soldier. Shakspere has painted him in a few words:

> *Antony*. This is a slight unmeritable man,
> Meet to be sent on errands.

Julius Cæsar, Act iv. Sc. 1.

There is more of him in the Lives of Brutus and Antonius.

[615] I do not know who this Caius Octavius is. There is probably some mistake in the name. Lentulus was the son of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul B.C. 57. He had, like many others, experienced Cæsar's clemency. Plutarch is mistaken in saying that this Spinther was put to death, though he was probably included in the proscription. (See Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Lentuli, p. 545.) The Lentulus who is mentioned as having been put to death in Egypt (Life of Pompeius, c. 80) was L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, consul B.C. 49.

The disturbances which followed Cæsar's death are more particularly described in the Lives of Brutus and Antonius.

[616] Cæsar made Caius Octavius, his sister's grandson, his first heres. He left a legacy to every Roman citizen, the amount of which is variously stated. He also left to the public his gardens on the Tiber. (Suetonius, *Cæsar*, c. 83); Dion Cassius (44. c. 35).

Shakspere has made a noble scene of the speech of Antonius over Cæsar's body on the opening of the will:

> *Ant*. Here is the will, and under Cæsar's seal;
> To every Roman citizen he gives,
> To every several man, seventy-five drachmas:
> Moreover he hath left you all his walks,
> His private arbours and new planted orchards,
> On this side Tiber; he hath left them you
> And to your heirs for ever; common pleasures,
> To walk abroad, and recreate yourselves.
> Here was a Cæsar. When comes such another?

Julius Cæsar, Act iii. Sc. 2.

Antonius, according to Roman fashion, made a funeral speech over the body of Cæsar

(Life of Antonius, c. 14; of Brutus, c. 20). Dion Cassius (44. c. 36-49) has put a long speech in the mouth of Antonius, mere empty declamation. Appianus (*Civil Wars*, ii. 144-6) gives one which is well enough suited to the character of Antonius. (*Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, ed. Mayer, p. 455.) It is probable that the speech of Antonius was preserved, and was used as materials by the historians.

[617] This man, who unluckily bore the name of Cinna, was C. Helvius Cinna, a tribune of the plebs, a poet, and a friend of Cæsar. (Dion Cassius, 44. c. 50, and the notes of Reimarus.) The conspirator Cinna was the son of L. Cornelius Cinna, who was a partisan of Marius, and was murdered in his fourth consulship (Life of Pompeius, c. 5). Cæsar's wife Cornelia, the mother of his only child Julia, was the sister of the conspirator Cinna, as Plutarch names him. But probably he was not one of the conspirators, though he approved of the deed after it was done. (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, Cinnæ, p. 591, notes, and also as to Helvius Cinna.)

[618] And also in the Life of Antonius.

[619] Suetonius (*Cæsar*, c. 89) observes that scarce any of his assasins survived him three years; and they all came to a violent end.

[620] This town was on the Asiatic side of the Hellespont. Compare the Life of Brutus, c. 36. 48, and Appianus (*Civil Wars*, iv. 134). Dion Cassius does not mention the ghost story.

[621] It has been already remarked that Niebuhr is of opinion that the introduction to the Life of Cæsar is lost. This opinion will not appear well founded to those who have got a right conception of the dramatic form in which Plutarch has cast most of his Lives, and more particularly this of Cæsar. He begins by representing him as resisting the tyrant Sulla when others yielded, and then making his way through a long series of events to the supreme power, which he had no sooner attained than he lost it. But his fortune survived him, and the faithless men, his murderers, most of whom owed to him their lives or their fortunes, were pursued by the avenging dæmon till they were all hunted down.

A just estimate of the first of all the Romans is not a difficult task. We know him from the evidence of his contemporaries, both friends and enemies. The devoted attachment of his true friends is beyond doubt; and his enemies could not deny his exalted talents. Cicero, who has in various places heaped on him every term of abuse that his copious storehouse contained, does not refuse his testimony to the great abilities and generous character of Cæsar. Drumann (*Geschichte Roms*, Julii) has given an elaborate examination of Cæsar's character. His faults and his vices belonged to his age, and he had them in common with nearly all his contemporaries. His most striking virtues, his magnanimity, his generosity, his mercy to the vanquished, distinguished him among all the Romans of his period. Cæsar was a combination of bodily activity, intellectual power, of literary acquirements, and administrative talent that has seldom appeared. As a soldier he was not inferior in courage and endurance to the hardiest veteran of his legions; and his military ability places him in the first rank of commanders who have contended with and overcome almost insurmountable obstacles. Cicero ranks him in the first class of orators; and his own immortal work, his History of the Gallic Campaign and the Civil War, is a literary monument which distinguishes him among all other commanders. As a speaker and a writer he had no superior among his contemporaries. His varied talents are further shown by his numerous literary labours, of which some small notices remain. His views were large and enlightened, his schemes were vast and boundless. His genius deserved a better sphere than the degenerate republic in which he lived. But the power which he acquired did not die with him. A youth of tender age succeeded to the name and the inheritance of Cæsar, and by his great talents and a long career of wonderful success consolidated that Monarchy which we call the Roman Empire.

Shakspere has founded his play of Julius Cæsar on Plutarch's Life of Cæsar and the Lives of Brutus and Antonius. The passages in North's version which he has more particularly turned to his purpose are collected in Mr. Knight's edition of Shakspere (8vo. edition). Shakspere has three Roman plays, Coriolanus, Julius Cæsar, and Antony and Cleopatra. As a drama the first is the best. The play of Julius Cæsar has been estimated very differently by different critics. Mr. Knight has many valuable remarks on these Roman plays (vol. xi.), and he has shown the way, as he conceives, in which they should be viewed. The Julius Cæsar is so constructed as to show the usurpation and death of Cæsar, and the fall of Brutus, the chief of the assassins, at the battle of Philippi. With Brutus the hopes of his party fell. The play should therefore rather be entitled Marcus Brutus than Julius Cæsar; and it is deficient in that unity without which no great dramatic effect can be produced. The name and the fame of Cæsar,

> the noblest man,
> That ever lived in the tide of time,

obscure the meaner talents of Brutus; and that death which in Plutarch forms a truly tragical catastrophe, here occurs in the middle of the action, which would appropriately terminate with it. But we have to follow the historical course of events; we follow Brutus to his fate at the battle of Philippi, and witness the vengeance of which Cæsar's ghost forewarns the false friends. Shakspere may have meant to represent Brutus as the last of the Romans, and the Republic as dying with him; but he also represents him as haunted by the ghost of his murdered benefactor, and losing heart before the final contest. The "great dæmon" of Cæsar avenged him on his enemies; and in this point of view the play has a unity. Brutus dies like a Roman, and that murder to which he was led by the instigation of others, only renders the Monarchy inevitable and necessary. But if the play is faulty in construction, as I venture to think it is, it has other merits of the highest order, which place it in some respects among the best works of the great master of dramatic art.

LIFE OF PHOKION.

[Pg 465]

I. The orator Demades, who became one of the chief men in Athens by his subservience to the Macedonians and Antipater, and who was forced to say and to write much that was derogatory to the glory and contrary to the traditional policy of Athens, used to excuse himself by pleading that he did not come to the helm before the vessel of the State was an utter wreck. This expression, which seems a bold one when used by Demades, might with great truth have been applied to the policy of Phokion. Indeed Demades himself wrecked Athens by his licentious life and policy, and when he was an old man Antipater said of him that he was like a victim which has been cut up for sacrifice, for there was nothing left of him but his tongue and his paunch; while the true virtue of Phokion was obscured by the evil days for Greece during which he lived, which prevented his obtaining the distinction which he deserved. We must not believe Sophokles, when he says that virtue is feeble and dies out in men:

> "Why, not the very mind that's born with man,
> When he's unfortunate, remains the same."

Yet we must admit that fortune has so much power even over good men, that it has sometimes withheld from them their due meed of esteem and praise, has sullied their reputations with unworthy calumnies, and made it difficult for the world to believe in their virtue.

II. It would seem that democracies, when elated by success, are especially prone to break out into wanton maltreatment of their greatest men; and this is also true in the opposite case: for misfortunes render popular assemblies harsh, irritable, and uncertain in temper, so that it [Pg 467] becomes a dangerous matter to address them, because they take offence at any speaker who gives them wholesome counsel. When he blames them for their mistakes, they think that he is reproaching them with their misfortunes, and when he speaks his mind freely about their condition, they imagine that he is insulting them. Just as honey irritates wounds and sores, so does true and sensible advice exasperate the unfortunate, if it be not of a gentle and soothing nature: exactly as the poet calls sweet things agreeable, because they agree with the taste, and do not oppose or fight against it. An inflamed eye prefers the shade, and shuns strong lights: and a city, when involved in misfortunes, becomes timid and weak through its inability to endure plain speaking at a time when it especially needs it, as otherwise its mistakes cannot be repaired. For this reason the position of a statesman in a democracy must always be full of peril; for if he tries merely to please the people he will share their ruin, while if he thwarts them he will be destroyed by them.

Astronomers teach us that the sun does not move in exactly the same course as the stars, and yet not in one which is opposed to them, but by revolving in an inclined and oblique orbit performs an easy and excellent circuit through them all, by which means everything is kept in its place, and its elements combined in the most admirable manner. So too in political matters, the man who takes too high a tone, and opposes the popular will in all cases, must be thought harsh and morose, while on the other hand he who always follows the people and shares in all their mistakes pursues a dangerous and ruinous policy. The art of government by which states are made great consists in sometimes making concessions to the people, and gratifying them when they are obedient to authority, and at the same time insisting upon salutary measures. Men willingly obey and support such a ruler if he does not act in a harsh and tyrannical fashion: but he has a very difficult and laborious part to play, and it is hard for him to combine the sternness of a sovereign with the gentleness of a popular leader, If, however, he succeed in combining these qualities, they produce the truest and noblest harmony, like that by which God is said to regulate [Pg 468] the universe, as everything is brought about by gentle persuasion, and not by violence.

III. All this was exemplified in the case of the younger Cato: for he had not the art of persuasion and was unacceptable to the people, nor did he rise to eminence by the popular favour, but Cicero[622] says that he lost his consulship because he acted as if he were living in the Republic of Plato, and not in the dregs of Romulus. Such men seem to me to resemble fruits which grow out of season: for men gaze upon them with wonder, but do not eat them: and the stern antique virtue of Cato, displayed as it was in a corrupt and dissolute age, long after the season for it had gone by, gained him great glory and renown, but proved totally useless, as it was of too exalted a type to suit the political exigencies of the day. When Cato began his career, his country was not already ruined, as was that of Phokion. The ship of the state was indeed labouring heavily in the storm, but Cato, although he was not permitted to take the helm and guide the vessel, exerted himself so manfully, and gave so much assistance to those who were more powerful than himself, that he all but triumphed over fortune. The constitution was, no doubt, finally overthrown; but its ruin was due to others, and only took place after a long and severe struggle, during which Cato very nearly succeeded in saving it. I have chosen Phokion to compare with him, not because of the general resemblance of their characters as good and statesmanlike men, for a man may possess the same quality in various forms, as, for example, the courage of Alkibiades was of a different kind to that of Epameinondas; the ability of Themistokles was different to that of [Pg 469] Aristeides; and the justice of Numa Pompilius was different to that of Agesilaus. But in the case of Phokion and Cato, their virtues bore the same stamp, form, and ethical complexion down to the most minute particulars. Both alike possessed the same mixture of kindness and severity, of caution and daring: both alike cared for the safety of others and neglected their own: both alike

shrank from baseness, and were zealous for the right; so that one would have to use a very nice discrimination to discover the points of difference between their respective dispositions.

IV. Cato is admitted by all writers to have been a man of noble descent, as will be explained in his life: and I imagine that the family of Phokion was not altogether mean and contemptible. If his father had really been a pestle maker, as we are told by Idomeneus, who may be sure that Glaukippus, the son of Hypereides, who collected and flung at him such a mass of abuse, would not have omitted to mention his low birth, nor would he have been so well brought up as to have been a scholar of Plato while a lad, and afterwards to have studied under Xenokrates in the Academy; while from his youth up he always took an interest in liberal branches of learning. We are told by the historian Douris that scarcely any Athenian ever saw Phokion laughing or weeping, or bathing in the public baths, or with his hand outside of his cloak, when he wore one. Indeed when he was in the country or on a campaign he always went barefooted and wore only his tunic, unless the cold was excessively severe; so that the soldiers used to say in jest that it was a sign of wintry weather to see Phokion wearing his cloak.

V. Though one of the kindest and most affable of men, he was of a forbidding and severe countenance, so that men who did not know him well feared to address him when alone. Once when Chares in a speech mentioned Phokion's gloomy brow, the Athenians began to laugh. "Yet," said he, "his brow has never harmed you: but the laughter of these men has brought great sorrow upon the state." In like manner also the oratory of Phokion was most valuable, as it incited his countrymen to win brilliant successes, and to form lofty aspirations. He spoke in a brief, harsh, [Pg 470] commanding style, without any attempt to flatter or please his audience. Just as Zeno says that a philosopher ought to steep his words in meaning, so Phokion's speeches conveyed the greatest possible amount of meaning in the smallest compass. It is probably in allusion to this that Polyeuktus[623] of Sphettus said that Demosthenes was the best orator, but that Phokion was the most powerful speaker. As the smallest coins are those which have the greatest intrinsic value, so Phokion in his speeches seemed to say much with few words. We are told that once while the people were flocking into the theatre Phokion was walking up and down near the stage, plunged in thought. "You seem meditative, Phokion," said one of his friends. "Yes, by Zeus," answered he, "I am considering whether I can shorten the speech which I am going to make to the Athenians." Demosthenes himself, who despised the other orators, when Phokion rose used to whisper to his friends, "Here comes the cleaver of my harangues." Much of his influence, however, must be ascribed to his personal character; since a word or a gesture of a truly good man carries more weight than ten thousand eloquently argued speeches.

VI. While yet a youth Phokion especially attached himself to the general Chabrias, and followed him in his campaigns, in which he gained considerable military experience, and in some instances was able to correct the strange inequalities of his commander's temperament. Chabrias, usually sluggish and hard to rouse, when in action became vehemently excited, and tried to outdo the boldest of his followers in acts of daring: indeed he lost his life at Chios by being the first to run his ship on shore and to try to effect a landing in the face of the enemy. Phokion, who was a man of action, and cautious nevertheless, proved most useful in stirring up Chabrias when sluggish, and again in moderating his eagerness when roused. In consequence of this, Chabrias, who was of a kindly and noble disposition, loved Phokion and promoted him to many responsible posts, so that his name became well known throughout Greece, as Chabrias entrusted him with the [Pg 471] management of the most important military operations. At the battle of Naxos he enabled Phokion to win great glory, by placing him in command of the left wing, where the most important struggle took place, and where the victory was finally decided. As this was the first sea fight, since the capture and ruin of Athens, which the Athenians won by themselves, without allies, over other Greeks, they were greatly pleased with Chabrias, and Phokion was henceforth spoken of as a man of military genius. The battle was won during the performance of the Great Mysteries at Eleusis; and every year afterwards, on the sixteenth day of the month Böedromion, Chabrias used to entertain the Athenians, and offer libations of wine to the gods.

VII. After this Chabrias sent Phokion to visit the islands and exact tribute from them, giving him an escort of twenty ships of war: upon which Phokion is said to have remarked, that if he was sent to fight the islanders, he should require a larger force, but that if he was going to the allies of Athens, one ship would suffice for him. He sailed in his own trireme, visited all the states, simply and unassumingly explained the objects of his mission to their leading men, and returned home with a large fleet, which the allies despatched to convey their tribute safe to Athens.

He not only esteemed and looked up to Chabrias while he lived, but after his death he took care of his family, and endeavoured to make a good man of his son Ktesippus; and though he found this youth stupid and unmanageable, he never ceased his efforts to amend his character and to conceal his faults. Once only we are told that when on some campaign the young man was tormenting him with unreasonable questions, and offering him advice as though he were appointed assistant-general, Phokion exclaimed, "O Chabrias, Chabrias, I do indeed prove myself grateful for your friendship for me, by enduring this from your son!" Observing that the public men of the day had, as if by lot, divided the duties of the war-office and of the public assembly amongst themselves, so that Eubulus, Aristophon, Demosthenes, Lykurgus, and Hypereides did [Pg 472] nothing except make speeches to the people and bring forward bills, while Diopeithes, Menestheus, Leosthenes, and Chares rose entirely by acting as generals and by making war, Phokion wished to restore the era of Perikles, Aristeides, and Solon, statesmen who were able to manage both of these branches of the administration with equal success. Each one of those great men seemed to him, in the words of Archilochus, to have been

"A man, who served the grisly god of arms,
Yet well could comprehend the Muses's charms."

The tutelary goddess of Athens herself, he remarked, presided equally over war and over domestic administration, and was worshipped under both attributes.

VIII. With this object in view Phokion invariably used his political influence in favour of peace, but nevertheless was elected general[624] more times not only than any of his contemporaries, but also than any of his predecessors: yet he never canvassed his countrymen or made any effort to obtain the office, though he did not refuse to fill it at his country's bidding. All historians admit that he was elected general five-and-forty times, and never once missed being elected, since even when he was absent the Athenians used to send for him to come home and be elected; so that his enemies used to wonder that Phokion, who always thwarted the Athenians and never flattered them either by word or deed, should be favoured by them, and were wont to say that the Athenians in their hours of relaxation used to amuse themselves by listening to the speeches of their more lively and brilliant orators, just as royal personages are said to amuse themselves with their favourites after dinner, but that they made their appointments to public offices in a sober and earnest spirit, choosing for that purpose the most severe and sensible man in Athens, and the one too, who alone, or at any rate more than any one else, was in the habit of opposing their impulses and wishes. When an oracle was brought from Delphi and read before the assembly, [Pg 473] which said that when all the Athenians were of one mind, one man would be opposed to the state, Phokion rose and said that he was the man in question, for he disapproved of the whole of their policy. And once when he made some remark in a speech which was vociferously applauded, and he saw the whole assembly unanimous in its approval of his words, he turned to some of his friends and said, "Have I inadvertently said something bad?"

IX. Once when the Athenians were asking for subscriptions for some festival, and all the others had paid their subscriptions, Phokion, after he had been frequently asked to subscribe, answered, "Ask these rich men: for my part I should be ashamed of myself if I were to give money to you, and not pay what I owe to this man here," pointing to Kallikles the money-lender. As the people did not cease shouting and abusing him, he told them a fable: "A cowardly man went to the wars, and when he heard the cawing of the crows, he laid down his arms and sat still. Then he took up his arms and marched on, and they again began to caw, so he halted again. At last he said, 'You may caw as loud as you please, but you shall never make a meal of me.'" On another occasion when the Athenians wished to send him to meet the enemy, and when he refused, called him a coward, he said, "You are not able to make me brave, nor am I able to make you cowards. However, we understand one another." At some dangerous crisis the people were greatly enraged with him, and demanded an account of his conduct as general. "I hope," said he, "my good friends, that you will save yourselves first." As the Athenians, when at war, were humble-spirited, and full of fears, but after peace was made became bold, and reproached Phokion for having lost them their chance of victory, he said, "You are fortunate in having a general who understands you; for if you had not, you would long ago have been ruined." When the Athenians wished to decide some dispute about territory by arms instead of by arbitration, Phokion advised them to fight the Bœotians with words, in which they were superior, not with arms, in which they [Pg 474] were inferior to them. Once when they would not attend to his words, or listen to him, he said, "You are able to force me to do what I do not wish, but you shall never force me to counsel what I do not approve." When Demosthenes, one of the orators of the opposite party, said to him, "Phokion, the Athenians will kill you, if they lose their senses." He answered, "Yes, but they will kill you, if they regain them." When he saw Polyeuktus of Sphettus in a great heat urging the Athenians to go to war with Philip, panting and sweating profusely, as he was a very fat man, and drinking great draughts of water, he said, "Ought you to believe what this man says, and vote for war? What sort of a figure will he make in a suit of armour and with a shield to carry, when the enemy are at hand, if he cannot explain his thoughts to you without nearly choking himself?" When Lykurgus abused him freely in the public assembly and above all, reproached him with having advised the people to deliver up ten citizens to Alexander when he demanded them, he said, "I have often given the people good advice, but they will not obey me."

X. There was one Archibiades, who was surnamed the Laconizer, who grew a great beard, wore a Spartan cloak, and affected a stern demeanour like a Spartan. Once when Phokion was being violently attacked in the assembly he called upon this man to bear witness to the truth of what he said, and to assist him. Archibiades now rose and said what he thought would please the Athenians, upon which Phokion, seizing him by the beard, exclaimed, "Why then, Archibiades, do you not shave?"[625] When Aristogeiton, the informer, who made warlike speeches in the public assembly, and urged the people to action, came to be enrolled on the list for active service leaning on a stick, with his legs bandaged, Phokion, catching sight of him from the tribune where he stood, called out "Write down Aristogeiton, a cripple and a villain." From this it appears strange that so harsh and ungenial a man should have been named "The Good."

It is difficult, I imagine, but not impossible, for the same man to be like wine, both sweet and [Pg 475] harsh: just as other men and other wines seem at first to be pleasant, but prove in the end both disagreeable and injurious to those who use them. We are told that Hypereides once said to the Athenians, "Men of Athens, do not think whether I am harsh or not, but whether I am harsh for nothing;" as if it was only covetousness that made men hated, and as if those persons were not much more generally disliked who used their power to gratify their insolence, their private grudges, their anger, or their ambition. Phokion never harmed any Athenian because he disliked him, and never accounted any man his enemy, but merely showed himself stern and inexorable to

those who opposed his efforts to save his country, while in the rest of his life he was so kind and amiable to all men, that he often helped his opponents, and came to the aid of his political antagonists when they were in difficulties. Once when his friends reproached him for having interceded in court for some worthless man who was being tried, he answered that good men do not need any intercessor. When Aristogeiton, after he had been condemned, sent for Phokion, and begged him to visit him, he at once started to go to the prison; and when his friends tried to prevent him, he said, "My good sirs, let me go; for where would one wish to meet Aristogeiton rather than in prison?"

XI. Indeed, if any other generals were sent out to the allies and people of the islands, they always treated them as enemies, fortified their walls, blocked up their harbours, and sent their slaves and cattle, their women and children, into their cities for shelter; but when Phokion was in command they came out a long way to meet him with their own ships, crowned with flowers, and led him rejoicing into their cities.

XII. When Philip stealthily seized Eubœa,[626] landed a Macedonian army there, and began to win [Pg 476] over the cities by means of their despots, Plutarchus of Eretria sent to Athens and begged the Athenians to rescue the island from the Macedonians. Phokion was now sent thither in command of a small force, as it was expected that the people of the country would rally round him. He found, however, nothing but treachery and corruption, as all patriotism had been undermined by the bribes of Philip, and soon was brought into great danger. He established himself upon a hill which was cut off by a ravine from the plain near the city of Tamynæ, and there collected the most trustworthy part of his forces, bidding his officers take no heed of the undisciplined mass of talkers and cowards who deserted from his camp and made their way home, observing that they were useless in action because they would not obey orders, and only hindered the fighting men, while at Athens the consciousness of their baseness would prevent their bringing false accusations against him.

XIII. When the enemy[627] drew near, he ordered his troops to remain quiet under arms until he had finished offering sacrifice. Either the sacrifices were unfavourable, or else he designedly wasted time, wishing to bring the enemy as close as possible. The result was that Plutarchus,[628] imagining that the Athenians were terror-stricken and hanging back, rushed to attack the enemy at the head of the Eubœans. Seeing this, the Athenian cavalry could no longer endure to remain idle, but charged at once, pouring out of their camp in scattered bodies and with much confusion. These first troops were defeated, and Plutarchus himself took to flight. Some of the enemy now came close up to the rampart of the Athenian camp, and began to tear down the stakes of which [Pg 477] it was formed as though they were already completely victorious.

At this crisis the sacrifices proved favourable, and the Athenian infantry, sallying out of their camp, routed and overthrew all whom they found near their ramparts. Phokion now ordered his main body to remain in reserve, in order to give those who had been scattered in the former skirmish a point to rally on, while he himself, with some picked men, charged the enemy. A severe battle now took place, in which all exerted themselves with the most reckless bravery. Thallus, the son of Kineas, and Glaukus, the son of Polymedes, who fought by the side of the general himself, were especially distinguished. Kleophanes also did most excellent service on this occasion, for he rallied the scattered horsemen, called upon them to help their general in his utmost need, and prevailed upon them to return and complete the victory which the infantry had gained. After this, Phokion banished Plutarchus from Eretria, and captured a fort named Zaretra, which commanded the narrowest part of the island. He set free all the Greek captives, because he feared that the Athenian orators might urge the people in their anger to treat them with undue severity.

XIV. After Phokion had accomplished this, he sailed away to Athens; and the allies soon found cause to wish for his goodness and justice, while the Athenians soon learned to value his courage and military skill. Molossus, his successor, managed the war so unsuccessfully that he himself was made a prisoner by the enemy. Shortly afterwards Philip, full of great designs, proceeded with all his army to the Hellespont, in order to take Perinthus, Byzantium, and the Chersonese at one blow. The Athenians were eager to help these cities, and the orators succeeded in getting Chares sent thither in command of an army. However, when he arrived he effected nothing of importance, for the cities would not admit his troops within their walls, and viewed him with suspicion, so that he was reduced to roaming about the country, exacting contributions of money from the allies of Athens, and regarded with contempt by the enemy. Upon this the people, [Pg 478] exasperated by the speeches of the orators, became much enraged, and regretted that they had sent any assistance to the people of Byzantium: but Phokion rose, and said that they ought not be angry with their allies for not trusting them, but with their generals for not being trustworthy. "These men," he remarked, "make you feared even by those who cannot be saved without your assistance."

The Athenians were much moved by these words. They repented of their anger, and ordered Phokion himself to take a second armament and proceed to the assistance of their allies on the Hellespont. The reputation of Phokion had been very great even before this, but now, since Leon, the leading man in Byzantium, who had been a fellow-student in the Academy with Phokion, made himself answerable for his good faith, the Byzantines would not permit him to carry out his intention of encamping outside their walls, but opened their gates and received the Athenians into their houses. Phokion's men proved not only irreproachable in their conduct, but repaid the confidence which had been shown them by fighting on all occasions with the utmost bravery.

Thus was Philip this time driven from the Hellespont, and regarded with contempt as a coward and a runaway, while Phokion took several of his ships, recovered some towns which had received Macedonian garrisons, and landed at various points on the coast to ravage and overrun the country, until at last he was wounded by the enemy and forced to return home.

XV. Once when the people of Megara secretly invited Phokion to come to their aid, as he was afraid that the Bœotians might hear of his intentions and cut off the proposed reinforcements, he called a meeting of the Assembly at daybreak, laid the Megarian proposals before the Athenians, and as soon as a decree had been passed to aid them, ordered the trumpet to sound, bade his troops leave the Assembly and get under arms at once, and led them straightway to Megara. The people of Megara gladly welcomed him, and he not only fortified Nisæa, but built two long walls from the city to its seaport, thus joining Megara to the sea in such a fashion that the city no longer feared its enemies by land, and cheerfully threw in its lot with the Athenians. [Pg 479]

XVI. When Philip was viewed with hostility by every state in Greece, and other generals had been elected in Phokion's absence to make war against him, Phokion, when he returned from his tour among the islands, advised them to make peace, and come to terms with Philip, who on his part was quite willing to do so, and feared to go to war. On this occasion a pettifogging Athenian, who spent all his time in the law courts, opposed Phokion, and said, "Do you dare, Phokion, to advise the Athenians to turn back when they have arms already in their hands?" "Yes, I do," answered he, "and that too although I know that in time of war I shall be your master, and in time of peace you will be mine." As Phokion did not succeed, but Demosthenes carried his point, and counselled the Athenians to fight as far as possible from Attica, he said to him: "My good sir, let us not consider where we are to fight, but how we can win the victory. If we are victorious, the war will be kept at a distance, but all the horrors of war always press closely upon the vanquished." After the defeat,[629] the noisy revolutionary party dragged Charidemus to the tribune, and bade him act as general. All the more respectable citizens were much alarmed at this. They appealed to the council of the Areopagus to aid them, addressed the people with tears and entreaties, and prevailed upon them to place the city under the charge of Phokion. Phokion now considered it necessary to submit with a good grace to the pleasure of Philip, and when Demades moved that Athens should share the general peace and take part in the congress of the Greek states, Phokion objected to the motion before it was known what Philip wished the Greeks to do. His opposition was fruitless, because of the critical state of affairs; but when afterwards he saw the Athenians bitterly repenting of what they had done, because they were obliged to furnish Philip with ships of war and cavalry, he said: "It was because I feared this that I opposed the motion of Demades: but now that you have passed that motion you must not be grieved and downcast, but remember that your ancestors were sometimes independent and sometimes subject to others, but that they acted honourably in either case, and saved both their city and the whole of Greece." On the death of Philip he opposed the wish of the Athenians to hold a festival[630] because of the good news: for he said that it was an unworthy thing for them to rejoice, because the army which had defeated them at Chæronea had been weakened by the loss of only one man. [Pg 480]

XVII. When Demosthenes spoke abusively of Alexander, who was even then at the gates of Thebes, Phokion said to him, in the words of Homer,

> "'Rash man, forbear to rouse the angry chief,'

who is also a man of unbounded ambition. When he has kindled such a terrible conflagration close by, why do you wish our city to fan the flame? I, however, will not permit these men to ruin us, even though they wish it, for that is why I have undertaken the office of general."

After Thebes was destroyed, Alexander demanded Demosthenes and his party, with Lykurgus, Hypereides, and Charidenus to be delivered up to him. The whole assembly, on hearing this proposal, cast its eyes upon Phokion, and, after calling upon him repeatedly by name, induced him to rise. Placing by his side his most beloved and trusted friend, he said:[631] "These men have brought the city to such a pass, that if any one were to demand that Nikokles here should be delivered up to him, I should advise you to give him up. For my own part, I should account it a happy thing to die on behalf of all of you. I feel pity also, men of Athens," said he, "for those Thebans who have fled hither for refuge; but it is enough that Greece should have to mourn for the loss of Thebes. It is better then, on behalf of both the Thebans and ourselves, to deprecate the wrath of our conqueror rather than to oppose him." [Pg 481]

We are told that when the decree refusing to give up the persons demanded was presented to Alexander, he flung it from him and refused to listen to the envoys; but he received a second embassy headed by Phokion, because he was told by the older Macedonians that his father had always treated him with great respect. He not only conversed with Phokion, and heard his petition, but even asked his advice. Phokion advised him, if he desired quiet, to give up war; and if he wished for glory, to turn his arms against the Persians, and leave the Greeks unmolested. Phokion conversed much with Alexander, and, as he had formed a shrewd estimate of his character, was so happy in his remarks that he entirely appeased his anger, and even led him to say that the Athenians must watch the progress of events with care, since, if anything were to happen to him, it would be their duty to take the lead in Greece. Alexander singled out Phokion in a special manner as his guest and friend, and treated him with a degree of respect which he showed to few even of his own companions. The historian Douris tells us in confirmation of this that after Alexander had conquered Darius, and had become a great man, he omitted the usual words of greeting from all his letters, except from those which he wrote to Phokion, addressing him alone as he addressed Antipater (his viceroy), with the word 'Hail.' This is also recorded by

the historian Chares.

XVIII. With regard to money matters, all writers agree in saying that Alexander sent Phokion a hundred talents as a present. When this money arrived at Athens Phokion enquired of those who brought it why Alexander should give all this money to him alone, when there were so many other citizens in Athens? They answered, "Because he thinks that you alone are a good and honourable man." "Then," said Phokion, "let him allow me still to be thought so, and to remain so." When the men who brought the treasure followed him into his house, and saw its frugal arrangements, and [Pg 482] his wife making bread, while Phokion with his own hands drew water from the well and washed their feet, they pressed the money upon him yet more earnestly, and expressed their disappointment at his refusal, saying that it was a shameful thing for a friend of King Alexander to live so poorly. Phokion, seeing a poor old man walk by clad in a ragged cloak, asked them whether they thought him to be a worse man than that. They begged him not to say such things, but he answered. "And yet that man lives on slenderer means than mine, and finds that they suffice him. Moreover," he continued, "if I received such a mass of gold and did not use it, I should reap no advantage from it, while, if I did use it, I should destroy both my own character and that of the giver." So the treasure was sent back from Athens, and proved that the man who did not need such a sum was richer than he who offered it. As Alexander was displeased, and wrote to Phokion saying that he did not regard as his friends those who asked him for nothing, Phokion did not even then ask for money, but begged for the release of Echekrates the sophist, Athenodorus of Imbros, and of two Rhodians, Demaratus and Sparton, who had been arrested, and were imprisoned at Sardis. Alexander immediately set these men at liberty, and sending Kraterus to Macedonia bade him hand over to Phokion whichever he might choose of the Asiatic cities of Kius, Gergithus, Mylassa, and Elæa; showing all the more eagerness to make him a present because he was angry at his former refusal. Phokion however would not take them, and Alexander shortly afterwards died. The house of Phokion may be seen at the present day in Melite.[632] It is adorned with plates of copper, but otherwise is very plain and simple.

XIX. We have no information about Phokion's first wife, except that she was the sister of Kephisodotus the modeller in clay. His second wife was no less renowned in Athens for her simplicity of life then was Phokion himself for his goodness. Once when the Athenians were witnessing a new play, the actor who was to play the part of the king demanded from the [Pg 483] choragus a large troop of richly-attired attendants, and, as he did not obtain them, refused to appear upon the stage, and kept the audience waiting: At last Melanthius, the choragus, shoved him on to the stage, exclaiming. "Do you not see the wife of Phokion there, who always goes about with only one maidservant to wait upon her, and are you going to give yourself ridiculous airs and lead our wives into extravagance?" These words were heard by the audience, and were received with great cheering and applause. Once, when an Ionian lady was displaying a coronet and necklace of gold and precious stones to her, she said, "My only ornament is that this is the twentieth year that Phokion has been elected general by the Athenians."

XX. As his son Phokus wished to contend in the games at the Panathenaic Festival, he entered him for the horse race,[633] not because he cared about his winning the prize, but because he thought that the youth, who was addicted to wine and of licentious life, would be benefited by the strict training and exercise which he would have to undergo. The young man won the race, and was invited by many of his friends to dine with them to celebrate his victory. Phokion excused him to all but one, with whom he permitted him to dine in honour of his success. When, however, he came to the dinner and saw footpans filled with wine and aromatic herbs offered to the guests as they entered to wash their feet in, he turned to his son, and said, "Phokus, why do you not prevent your friend from spoiling your victory." As he wished to remove his son altogether from the influence of Athenian life he took him to Lacedæmon, and placed him with the young men who were undergoing the Spartan training there. The Athenians were vexed at this, because Phokion appeared to despise and undervalue the institutions of his own country. Once Demades said to him "Phokion, why should we not advise the Athenians to adopt the Spartan constitution; if you bid me, I am quite willing to make a speech and bring forward a motion in the assembly for [Pg 484] doing so." "Indeed," answered Phokion "it would suit a man who is scented like you, and wears so rich a robe, to talk about plain Spartan fare and Lykurgus to the Athenians!"

XXI. When Alexander wrote to the Athenians ordering them to send ships of war to him, some of the orators were against doing so, and the senate asked Phokion to speak. "I say," remarked he, "that we ought either to conquer, or else to keep on good terms with our conqueror." "When Pytheas first began to make speeches, as he was even then fluent and impudent, Phokion said, "Will you not be silent, and remember that you are only a newly-bought servant of the people." When Harpalus fled from Asia with a large amount of treasure and came to Athens, where all the venal politicians paid great court to him, he gave them but a very small part of his hoard, but sent a present of seven hundred talents to Phokion, placing all his other property and his person in his hands. Phokion returned a rough answer, telling Harpalus that if he continued corrupting the Athenians he would sorely repent of it. For the moment Harpalus desisted from his offers, but shortly afterwards when the Athenians were met together in the assembly he observed that those who had received his bribes all turned against him and spoke ill of him, that they might not be suspected, while Phokion, who had taken nothing from him, nevertheless showed some interest in his safety as well as in the welfare of Athens. Harpalus now was induced to pay his court to him a second time, but after assailing him on all sides found that he was impregnable by bribes. However Harpalus made a friend and companion of his son-in-law Charikles, who entirely lost his reputation in consequence, as Harpalus entrusted him with the entire management of his affairs.

XXII. Moreover, upon the death of Pythionike, the courtezan, whose lover Harpalus had been, and who had borne him a daughter, as he desired to erect a very costly monument to her memory, he appointed Charikles[634] to superintend the building of it. Charikles was mean enough [Pg 485] to accept this commission; and he incurred even more disgrace from the appearance of the tomb when it was completed. It stands at the present day in the precinct of Hermes, on the road from Athens to Eleusis, and cannot have cost anything like thirty talents, which sum is said to have been paid to Charikles by Harpalus for its construction. Besides this, after his death, his daughter was adopted by Charikles and Phokion, and received every attention from them. When, however, Charikles was prosecuted for having taken a share of the treasure of Harpalus,[635] and begged Phokion to come into court and speak in his favour, Phokion refused, saying "Charikles, I chose you to be my son-in-law in all honesty."

When Asklepiades, the son of Hipparchus, first brought the news of Alexander's death to Athens, Demades advised the people not to believe it. Such a corpse, he declared, must have been smelt throughout the world. Phokion, seeing that the people were excited at the report, endeavoured to soothe and pacify them. Upon this many rushed to the tribune, and loudly declared that Asklepiades had brought true tidings, and that Alexander was really dead. "If," replied Phokion, "he is dead to-day, he will be dead to-morrow and the day after, so that we may quietly, and with all the greater safety, take counsel as to what we are to do."

XXIII. When Leosthenes plunged the city into the war[636] for the liberation of Greece, as Phokion opposed him, he sneeringly asked him what good he had done the city during the many years that he had been general. "No small good," retorted Phokion, "I have caused the Athenians to be buried at home in their own sepulchres." As Leosthenes spoke in a boastful and confident manner [Pg 486] before the public assembly, Phokion said, "Your speeches, young man, are like cypress trees; they are tall and stately, but they bear no fruit." When Hypereides rose and asked Phokion when he would advise the Athenians to go to war; "When," answered he, "I see young men willing to observe discipline, the rich subscribing to the expenses, and the orators leaving off embezzling the public funds." As many admired the force which Leosthenes got together, and inquired of Phokion whether he thought that sufficient preparations had been made, he answered, "Enough for the short course; but I fear for Athens if the race of war is to be a long one, since she has no reserves, either of money, ships, or men." The events of the war bore out the justice of his remark; for at first Leosthenes was elated by his great success, as he defeated the Bœotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. The Athenians were now full of hope, and did nothing but hold high festival to welcome the good news, and offer sacrifices of thanksgiving to the gods. Phokion, however, when asked whether he did not wish that he had done all this, answered, "Certainly I do; but I wish that quite the contrary policy had been adopted." Again, when despatch after despatch kept arriving from the camp, announcing fresh successes, he said, "I wonder when we shall leave off being victorious."

XXIV. After the death of Leosthenes, those who feared that, if Phokion were made commander-in-chief, he would put an end to the war, suborned an obscure person to rise in the assembly and say that, as a friend and associate of Phokion, he should advise them to spare him, and keep him safe, since they had no one else like him in Athens, and to send Antiphilus to command the army. The Athenians approved of this advice, but Phokion came forward and declared that he had never associated with the man, or had any acquaintance with him. "From this day forth, however," said he, "I regard you as my friend and companion, for you have given advice which suits me." When the Athenians were eager to invade Bœotia, he at first opposed them; and when some of his friends told him that he would be put to death if he always thwarted the Athenians, he answered, [Pg 487] "I shall suffer death unjustly, if I tell them what is to their advantage, but justly if I do wrong." When he saw that they would not give up the project, but excitedly insisted on it, he bade the herald proclaim that all Athenians who had arrived at manhood[637] from sixty years and under, should take provisions for five days and follow him to Bœotia at once. Upon this a great disturbance took place, as the older citizens leaped to their feet, and clamoured loudly. "There is nothing strange in the proclamation," said Phokion, "for I, who am eighty years of age, shall be with you as your general." Thus he managed to quiet them, and induced them to give up their intention."

XXV. As the seaboard of Attica was being plundered by Mikion, who had landed at Rhamnus[638] with a large force of Macedonians and mercenary soldiers, and was overrunning the country, Phokion led out the Athenians to attack him. As men kept running up to him and pestering him with advice, to seize this hill, to despatch his cavalry in that direction, to make his attack in this other place, he said "Herakles, how many generals I see, and how few soldiers." While he was arraying his hoplites in line, one of them advanced a long way in front, and then, fearing one of the enemy, retired. "Young man," said Phokion, "are you not ashamed of having deserted two posts, that in which you were placed by your general and that in which you placed yourself?" He now charged the enemy and overthrew them, slaying Mikion himself and many others. Meanwhile the Greek army in Thessaly fought a battle with Leonnatus, who was coming[639] to join Antipater with a Macedonian army from Asia. Antiphilus led the infantry and Menon, a [Pg 488] Thessalian, the cavalry. In the battle Leonnatus himself was slain, and his troops defeated.

XXVI. Shortly afterwards Kraterus crossed over from Asia with a large force, and a second battle took place at Krannon.[640] The Greeks were defeated, but not in a crushing manner or with much loss. Yet, as the Greek commanders were young men, unable to maintain discipline, and, as at the same time, Antipater was tampering with the loyalty of the cities from which the army came, the whole force broke up, and most disgracefully betrayed the cause of Grecian liberty. Antipater at

once marched upon Athens with his army. Demosthenes and Hypereides at once fled from Athens, but Demades, who had not been able to pay any part of the money which he had been condemned to pay to the state (for he had been convicted of making illegal proposals[641] on seven separate occasions, and had become disfranchised and disqualified from addressing the people), now set the laws at defiance, and proposed that ambassadors, with full powers, should be sent to Antipater to sue for peace. The people were greatly alarmed, and called upon Phokion, saying that they could trust no one else. "If I had always been trusted," said he, "we should not now be discussing such matters as these." The motion was carried, and Phokion was sent to Antipater, who was encamped in the Kadmeia of Thebes, and preparing to invade Attica. Phokion's first request was that he would stay where he was and arrange terms. Upon hearing this Kraterus said, "Phokion advises us to do what is unjust, when he bids us remain here, doing evil to the country of our friends and allies, while we might do ourselves good in that of our [Pg 489] enemies." Antipater, however, seized him by the hand and said, "We must yield to Phokion in this." With regard to terms, he said that he required the same terms from the Athenians which Leosthenes had demanded from himself at Lamia.

XXVII. When Phokion returned to Athens, as the people had no choice but to submit to these terms, he went back again to Thebes with the other ambassadors;[642] for the Athenians had appointed the philosopher Xenokrates[643] as an additional ambassador, because his virtue, wisdom, and intellectual power was so renowned that they imagined that no man's heart could be so arrogant, cruel, and savage as not to be touched by some feeling of reverence and awe at the sight of Xenokrates.

However, their expectations were entirely disappointed by the ignorance and hatred of good men displayed by Antipater. In the first place, though he shook hands with the others, he bestowed no greeting upon Xenokrates; upon which Xenokrates is said to have remarked that Antipater did well in showing that he felt shame before him for the treatment which he was about to inflict upon the city. After this Xenokrates began to make him a speech, but Antipater would not suffer him to proceed, and by rude interruptions reduced him to silence. After Phokion and Demades had spoken, Antipater stated his willingness to make peace and become an ally of the Athenians, if they would deliver up Demosthenes, Hypereides, and some other orators to him,[644] re-establish their original government, in which the magistrates were chosen according to property, receive a garrison in Munychia, and pay the whole expenses of the war, besides a fine. The ambassadors thought that they ought to be contented and thankful for these terms, with the exception of Xenokrates, who said, "If Antipater looks upon us as slaves, the terms are moderate; [Pg 490] if as free men, they are severe."[645] When Phokion earnestly begged Antipater not to send a garrison to Athens, he is said to have said in reply, "Phokion, I am willing to grant you any request you please, unless it be one which would be fatal both to you and to myself." Some say that this is not the true version of the incident, but that Antipater enquired of Phokion whether, if he did not place a garrison in Athens, Phokion would guarantee that the city would abide by the terms of the peace, and not intrigue with a view of regaining its independence: and as Phokion was silent and hesitated how to reply, Kallimedon, surnamed 'the crab' a man of a fierce and anti-democratical temper, exclaimed: "If, Antipater, this man should talk nonsense, will you believe him, and not do what you have decided upon?"

XXVIII. Thus it came to pass that the Athenians received into their city a Macedonian garrison, whose commander was Menyllus, an amiable man and a friend of Phokion himself. It was thought that the sending of the garrison was a mere piece of arrogance on Antipater's part, and to be more due to an insolent desire to show the extent of his power than to any real necessity. The time, too, at which it was sent, rendered its arrival especially galling to the Athenians: for it was during the celebration of the mysteries, on the twentieth day of the month Bœdromion, that the garrison entered the city. On that day, Iacchus used to be carried in procession from Athens to Eleusis, but now the whole ritual was marred, and the Athenians sadly contrasted this celebration of the mysteries with those of former years. In earlier times,[646] when the city was powerful and flourishing, the splendid spectacle of the celebration of the mysteries used to strike awe and terror into the hearts of the enemies of Athens, but now at these same rites the gods seemed to look on unmoved at the disasters of Greece, while the most sacred season was desecrated, and that which had been the pleasantest time of the year now served merely to remind them of their greatest misfortunes. A few years before this, the priestesses of Dodona had sent an oracular warning to Athens, bidding the Athenians guard the extremities of Artemis. In [Pg 491] those days the fillets which are wound round the couches of the gods which are carried in the mysteries were dyed of a yellow instead of a crimson colour, and presented a corpse-like appearance, and, what was more remarkable, the fillets dyed by private persons at the same time, all were of the same colour. One of the initiated also, while washing a little pig in the harbour of Kantharus,[647] was seized by a shark, who swallowed all the lower part of his body. By this portent, Heaven clearly intimated to the Athenians that they were to lose the lower part of their city, and their command of the sea, but to keep the upper part. As for the Macedonian garrison, Menyllus took care that the Athenians suffered no inconvenience from it; but more than twelve thousand of the citizens were disfranchised under the new constitution, on account of their poverty. Of these men, those who remained in Athens were thought to have been shamefully ill treated, while those who left the city in consequence of this measure and proceeded to Thrace, where Antipater provided them with a city and with territory, looked like the inhabitants of a town which has been taken by storm.

XXIX. The deaths of Demosthenes at Kalauria, and of Hypereides at Kleonæ, which I have

recounted elsewhere, very nearly led the Athenians to look back with regret upon the days of Alexander and Philip. In later times, after Antigonus had been assassinated, and his murderers had begun a career of violence and extortion, some one seeing a countryman in Phrygia digging in the ground, asked him what he was doing, the man replied with a sigh, "I am seeking for Antigonus." Just so at this time it recurred to many to reflect on the noble and placable character of those princes, and to contrast them with Antipater, who, although he pretended to be only a private citizen, wore shabby clothes, and lived on humble fare, really tyrannized over the Athenians in their distress more grievously than either of them.

Phokion, however, managed to save many from exile, by supplicating Antipater on their behalf, and in the case of the exiles he obtained this much favour, that they were not transported quite out of Greece, beyond the Keraunian mountains and Cape Tænarus, as were the exiles from the other Greek cities, but were settled in Peloponnesus. Among these was Hagnonides, the informer. Phokion now devoted his attention to the management of the internal politics of Athens in a quiet and law-abiding fashion. He contrived to have good and sensible men always appointed as magistrates, and by excluding the noisy and revolutionary party from the public offices, made them less inclined to create a disturbance, and taught them to be content with their country as it was, and to turn their minds to agricultural pursuits. When he saw Xenokrates paying his tax as a resident alien, he wished to enrol him as a citizen; but Xenokrates refused, saying that he would not put himself under the new constitution after he had gone on an embassy to prevent its being established. [Pg 492]

XXX. When Menyllus offered him presents, Phokion replied that he did not consider him to be a better man than Alexander, and saw no greater reason why he should accept a present now than when Alexander offered it to him. As Menyllus begged his son Phokus to accept it, Phokion said, "If Phokus alters his nature, and becomes frugal, his father's property will be enough for him; but, as it is, nothing will satisfy him."

He gave a sharp reply to Antipater, who asked him to perform some disgraceful service for him. "I cannot," said he, "be Antipater's friend and his toady at the same time."

Antipater himself is said to have remarked that he had two friends at Athens, Phokion and Demades, the one of whom he could not persuade to take a bribe, while the other took bribes and never was satisfied. Phokion indeed considered it a great proof of his virtue that he had grown old in poverty, after having so many times been elected general of the Athenians, and having been the friend of kings; while Demades openly prided himself both upon his wealth and his contempt for the laws. Although there was a law in force at Athens at that period, which forbade foreigners to appear in a chorus, and imposed a fine of one thousand drachmas upon the choragus who allowed them to do so, Demades exhibited a chorus of one hundred foreigners, and publicly paid in the theatre a fine of a thousand drachmas for each of them. On the occasion of the marriage of his son Demeas, he said, "My boy, when I married your mother, our next-door neighbours heard nothing of it; but kings and potentates shall attend your nuptials." [Pg 493]

Although the Athenians tormented Phokion with requests that he would use his influence with Antipater to get the Macedonian garrison withdrawn, he always contrived to postpone making this application, either because he knew that it would not be granted, or because he thought that the fear of the Macedonian troops compelled the Athenians to live in a quiet and orderly fashion; but, on the other hand, he induced Antipater to postpone indefinitely his demand for money from the city. The Athenians now betook themselves to Demades, who eagerly promised his services, and, together with his son, started for Macedonia, to which country it seems as if he was brought by the direct agency of the gods at a time when Antipater was on a sick bed, and Kassander, who was now at the head of affairs, had discovered a letter addressed by Demades to Antigonus in Asia, inviting him to cross over into Greece and Macedonia, and free them from their dependence on an old and rotten warp[648] -by which expression he meant to sneer at Antipater. As soon as Kassander saw Demades arrive in Macedonia he had him arrested, and first led his son close to him and then stabbed him, so that his robe was covered with his son's blood, and then, after bitterly upbraiding him with his ingratitude and treason, killed him also.

XXXI. Antipater on his death-bed appointed Polysperchon to the supreme command, and gave Kassander the post of chiliarch, or general of the body guard. Kassander, however, instantly began to plot against Polysperchon, and taking time by the forelock, sent Nikanor in haste to supersede Menyllus, before the news of the death of Antipater became publicly known, with orders to make himself master of Munychia. This was done, and when after a few days the Athenians heard that Antipater was dead they blamed Phokion, insinuating that he had been told of the death of Antipater, but said nothing about it, and so encouraged the designs of Nikanor. Phokion took no notice of this scandalous talk, but put himself in communication with Nikanor, and prevailed upon him to treat the Athenians with mildness, and even induced him to act as president of the games, in the performance of which office he took considerable pride and incurred some expense. [Pg 494]

XXXII. Meanwhile Polysperchon, who was now regent of the Macedonian empire, and had put down Kassander, sent a letter to the Athenians to the effect that "the king restored the democracy at Athens, and bade the Athenians govern themselves according to the customs of their fathers." This was merely a trick to ruin Phokion, for Polysperchon, whose design, as his acts shortly afterwards proved, was to gain over the city of Athens to his side, had no hopes of succeeding in this unless Phokion were driven out of Athens; while he expected that Phokion would be driven out when all the exiled citizens returned, and when the informers and mob

orators again occupied the bema. As the Athenians were excited at this intelligence, Nikanor desired to discuss the matter with them, and appeared at a conference held in Peiræus, having received from Phokion a pledge for his personal safety. Derkyllus, the local commander, tried to seize him, but Nikanor escaped, and at once began to take measures for the defence of Peiræus against the Athenians. Phokion, when blamed for having permitted Nikanor to escape, answered that he felt confidence in Nikanor, and did not expect that he would do any harm; and even if he did, he preferred suffering wrong to doing it. This was no doubt a most magnanimous sentiment; but when a man on such grounds risks the freedom of his country, especially when he is acting as general, I am inclined to think that he breaks an older and more important law, that, namely, of his duty to his fellow-citizens. We cannot argue that Phokion refrained from seizing Nikanor because he feared to involve his country in war, and it was absurd of him to plead that good faith [Pg 495] and justice demanded that Nikanor should be left alone, on the understanding that he would feel bound to abstain from any acts of violence. The real truth seems to have been that Phokion had a firm belief in Nikanor's honesty, since he refused to believe those who told him that Nikanor was plotting the capture of Peiræus, and had sent Macedonian soldiers into Salamis, and had even corrupted some of the inhabitants in Peiræus itself. Even when Philomelus of Lamptra moved a resolution that all Athenians should get under arms and be ready to follow their general Phokion, he refused to act, until Nikanor marched his troops out of Munychia and fortified Peiræus with a trench and palisade.

XXXIII. When this took place Phokion, who was now quite willing to lead the Athenians to attack Nikanor, was insulted and treated with contempt; and now Alexander the son of Polysperchon arrived with a military force, nominally with the intention of assisting the citizens against Nikanor, but really meaning if possible to make himself master of the city while it was divided against itself. The exiled Athenians who accompanied him at once entered the city, and as the disfranchised inhabitants joined them, a disorderly and informal assembly was held, in which Phokion was removed from his office, and other men were appointed generals. Had it not been that Alexander and Nikanor were observed to hold frequent conferences together alone outside the walls, the city could not have been saved. Hagnonides the informer now at once began to accuse Phokion and his party of treason; upon which Charikles and Kallimedon left the city in terror, while Phokion and those of his friends who stood by him proceeded to Polysperchon himself. They were accompanied, out of regard for Phokion, by Solon of Platæa and Deinarchus of Corinth, who were thought to be intimate friends of Polysperchon. As Deinarchus was sick, they waited for some days at Elatea, and in the meantime, at the instigation of Hagnonides, although Archestratus brought forward the motion for it in the assembly, the Athenians sent an embassy to the court of Macedonia to accuse Phokion of treason. Both met Polysperchon at the [Pg 496] same time, as he with the king[649] was passing through a village of Phokis named Pharyges, which lies at the foot of the Akrousian mountain, now called Galate. Here Polysperchon set up the throne with the gilt ceiling, under which he placed the king and his friends. He ordered Deinarchus at once to be seized, tortured, and put to death, but he allowed the Athenians to plead their cause before him. They however made a great disturbance by contradicting and abusing one another, so that Hagnonides said, "Pack us all into one cage and send us back to Athens to be tried." At this the king laughed, but the Macedonians and others who were present wished to hear what each side had to say, and bade the two embassies state their case. They were not, however, fairly treated, for Polysperchon several times interrupted Phokion during his speech, until at last he struck the ground with his staff in a rage and held his peace. When Hegemon[650] too said that Polysperchon himself knew him to be a friend to the people of Athens, Polysperchon angrily exclaimed "Do not slander me to the king." At this the king himself leaped to his feet, and would have struck Hegemon with a spear, but was quickly seized by Polysperchon, upon which the court broke up.

XXXIV. Phokion and his companions were now taken into custody: upon which such of his friends as saw this from a distance covered their faces with their cloaks and made their escape. Kleitus conducted the prisoners back to Athens, nominally to be tried there, but really already under sentence of death. The procession was a sad one, as they were brought in carts through the Kerameikus to the theatre, where Kleitus kept them until the archons had convened the assembly. From this assembly neither slaves, foreigners, nor disfranchised citizens were excluded, but every one, men and women alike, were allowed to be present and to address the people. After the king's letter was read, in which he said that he was convinced that these men were traitors, but sent them to Athens for trial because that city was free and independent, Kleitus brought in the prisoners. At the sight of Phokion the better class of citizens covered their faces and silently wept, and one of them had the courage to rise and say that, as the king had [Pg 497] allowed the Athenian people to conduct so important a trial, all slaves and foreigners ought to leave the assembly. The populace, however, would not hear of this, but cried, "Down with the oligarchs who hate the people." As no other friend of Phokion dared to speak, he himself, after obtaining a hearing with difficulty, asked "Do you wish to condemn us to death justly or unjustly?" As some answered "justly," he said, "How can you be sure of this, if you will not hear us?" As however the people paid no more attention to him, he came nearer to them and said, "For my own part, I admit that I have done wrong, and I consider that my political acts deserve to be punished with death; but, men of Athens, why will you kill these others, who have done no wrong?" When many voices answered, "Because they are your friends," Phokion retired and held his peace. Hagnonides now read the motion which he was about to put to the meeting which called upon the people to decide by a show of hands whether the men were guilty or not; and in case they were found guilty, to put them to death.

XXXV. When this decree was read some wished to add to it that they should be put to death with torture, and bade Hagnonides send for the rack and the executioners; but Hagnonides, seeing that even the Macedonian Kleitus was disgusted at this proposal, and thought it a savage and wicked action, said, "Men of Athens, when we catch the villain Kallimedon, we will put him to the torture; but I will make no such proposal in the case of Phokion." Upon this one of the better class cried out, "And quite right too; for if we torture Phokion, what shall we do to you?" When the decree was passed by show of hands, no one sat still, but the whole people, many of them wearing garlands of flowers, rose and voted for the death of the accused. These, besides Phokion, consisted of Nikokles, Thodippus, Hegemon, and Pythokles: while sentence of death in their absence was passed against Demetrius Phalereus, Kallimedon, Charikles, and some others.

XXXVI. When after the assembly broke up the condemned men were being taken to prison, the others threw themselves into the arms of their friends and relations, and walked along with tears and lamentations; but when they saw that the countenance of Phokion was as calm as when he used as general to be conducted in state out of the assembly, they wondered at his composure and greatness of soul. His enemies accompanied him and abused him, and one even came up to him and spat in his face. At this outrage it is said that Phokion looked towards the archons, and said, "Will no one make this fellow behave himself?" As Thodippus in prison, when he saw the hemlock being prepared, bewailed his fate, and said that he did not deserve to perish with Phokion, Phokion said, "Are you not satisfied then to die in Phokion's company?" When one of his friends asked him if he had any message for his son Phokus, he answered, "Yes, tell him not to bear any malice against the Athenians." When Nikokles, the most trusty of his friends, begged to be allowed to drink the poison before him, he answered, "Your request is one which it grieves me to grant; but, as I have never refused you anything in your life, I agree even to this." When all his friends had drunk, the poison ran short, and the executioner refused to prepare any more unless he were paid twelve drachmas, the price of that weight of hemlock. After a long delay, Phokion called one of his friends to him, and, saying that it was hard if a man could not even die gratis at Athens, bade him give the man the money he wanted. [Pg 498]

XXXVII. The day of Phokion's death was the nineteenth of the month Munychion,[651] and the knights rode past the prison in solemn procession to the temple of Zeus. Some of them took off their garlands from their heads, while others came in tears to the gates of the prison and looked in. All whose better feelings were not utterly overpowered by passion and hatred agreed in thinking it a very indecent proceeding not to have waited one day for the execution, and so to have avoided the pollution of the festival by the death of the prisoners. Moreover, the enemies of Phokion, as if they had not even yet satisfied their spite, passed a decree excluding his body from burial, and forbidding any Athenian to furnish fire to burn it. In consequence of this, no one of his friends dared to touch the body, but one Konopion, a man who was accustomed to deal with such cases for hire, conveyed the body beyond Eleusis, obtained fire from Megara over the Attic frontier, and burned it. Phokion's wife, who was present with her maids, raised an empty tomb[652] on the spot, placed the bones in her bosom, and carried them by night into her own house, where she buried them beside the hearth, saying, "To thee, dear hearth, I entrust these remains of a good man; do you restore them to his fathers' tomb when the Athenians recover their senses." [Pg 499]

XXXVIII. After a short time, however, when circumstances had taught them what a protector and guardian of virtue they had lost, the Athenians set up a brazen statue of Phokion, and gave his remains a public burial. They themselves condemned and executed Hagnonides, while Phokion's son followed Epikurus and Demophilus, who fled the country, discovered their place of refuge, and avenged himself upon them. He is said to have been far from respectable in character; and once, when attached to a common prostitute, who was the slave of a brothel-keeper, he happened to attend one of the lectures of Theodorus, who was surnamed "the atheist," in the Lyceum. As he heard him say that "if it be noble to ransom one's male friends from captivity, it must be equally so to ransom one's female friends; and that, if it be right for a man to set free the man whom he loves, it must be his duty to do likewise to the woman whom he loves," he determined to use this argument for the gratification of his own passion, and to conclude that the philosopher bade him purchase the freedom of his mistress.

The treatment of Phokion reminded the Greeks of that of Sokrates, as both the crime and the misfortune of the city in both cases was almost exactly the same.

FOOTNOTES:

[622] Cic. ad Att. ii. 1. Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ non tanquam in fæce Romuli sententiam. I have translated Plutarch literally, though I have no doubt that the occasion to which he alludes (which is not mentioned by Cicero, l.c.) is that of the election to the prætorship, B.C. 55, when the worthless adventurer Vatinius was preferred to Cato. M. Cato in petitione præturæ, prælato Vatinio, repulsam tulit. Liv. Epit. cv. See also Val. Max. vii. 5, and Merivale's 'History of the Romans,' vol. i. ch. ix.

The word ὑπατεία is always used by Plutarch as the Greek equivalent for the Roman title of consul.

[623] This saying of his is mentioned in the 'Life of Demosthenes," c. 10.

[624] He was elected no less than forty-five times to the annual office of Strategus or General of the city—that is, one of the Board of Ten so denominated, the greatest executive

function at Athens.—Grote, 'Hist. of Greece,' Part ii. ch. lxxxvii.

[625] Meaning, why do you affect to be a Spartan, and yet speak like an Athenian? See vol. iii. 'Life of Kleomenes,' ch. ix.

[626] Grote observes, in commenting on this passage, that "Plutarch has no clear idea of the different contests carried on in Eubœa. He passes on, without a note of transition, from this war in the island (in 349-348 B.C.) to the subsequent war in 341 B.C. Nothing indeed can be more obscure and difficult to disentangle than the sequence of Eubœan transactions."—'Hist. of Greece,' Part ii., ch. lxxxviii.

[627] From Plutarch's narrative one would imagine that the "enemy" must mean the Macedonians: but we find that they really were the native Eubœans, led by Kallias of Chalkis, with only a detachment of Macedonians and some Phokian mercenary troops.

[628] Disregarding Phokion's order, and acting with a deliberate treason which was accounted at Athens unparalleled, Plutarchus advanced out of the camp to meet them; but presently fled, drawing along in his flight the Athenian horse, who had also advanced in some disorder. —Grote, l.c.

[629] The battle of Chæronea, which took place in August, B.C. 338.

[630] The Greek is "to offer sacrifice," with the implied idea of feasting on the animal offered. In the first chapter of this Life we learn that it was only the less eatable parts of the victim which were burned. Thus the idea of offering sacrifice always suggested merry-making and feasting to the Greek mind. Grote says, "We cannot doubt that the public of Athens, as well as Demosthenes, felt great joy at an event which seemed to open to them fresh chances of freedom, and that the motion for a sacrifice of thanksgiving, in spite of Phokion's opposition, was readily adopted."

[631] This speech of Phokion is given at greater length by Diodorus, xvii. 15.

[632] A quarter of Athens, probably south of the Acropolis. See Lieut.-Col. Leake's 'Topography of Athens,' sect. iv.

[633] The original is ἀποβάτης, which corresponds to the Latin desultor, meaning one who rode several horses, leaping from one to the other.

[634] Plutarch's narrative here is misleading, as it seems to imply that Harpalus gave this money to Charikles *after* his arrival in Athens. We know from Theopompus (Fr. 277) that the monument had been finished some time before Harpalus quitted Asia. Plutarch treats it as a mean structure, unworthy of the sum expended on it; but both Dikæarchus and Pausanias describe it as stately and magnificent. Grote's 'History of Greece,' Part II. ch. xcv., note.

[635] See Life of Demosthenes, ch. xxv.; and Grote, Hist. of Greece, Part II., ch. xcv.

[636] The Lamian war, so called from the siege of Lamia, in which Leosthenes perished.

[637] Ἥβη, the word here used, means the time just before manhood, from about fourteen to twenty years of age; at Sparta it was fixed at eighteen, so that of οἱ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης were men of twenty-eight, οἱ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης men of fifty-eight, &c. Xen. Hell. 3. 4, 23. Liddell and Scott. Here, therefore, οἱ ἄχρι ἑκσήκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης must mean all citizens under about seventy-five years of age.

[638] Rhamnus was a demus of Attica, situated on a small rocky peninsula on the east coast of Attica, sixty stadia from Marathon.

[639] In Thessaly. The action was fought B.C. 322. Menon with his Thessalian horse defeated the Macedonian cavalry, but the Greek infantry were beaten back by the phalanx, with a loss of 120 men.

[640] Plutarch speaks as if Leonnatus had effected his junction with Antipater before the action was fought. But the real truth was that Leonnatus advanced to raise the siege of Lamia, and that Antiphilus, who was not strong enough to continue the blockade and fight the relieving force, raised the blockade and moved by rapid marches to attack Leonnatus apart from Antipater. Through the superior efficiency of the Thessalian cavalry under Menon, he gained an important advantage in a cavalry battle over Leonnatus, who was himself slain. On the very next day Antipater came up, bringing the troops from Lamia, and took command of the defeated army.

[641] See Smith's Dict. of Antiquities, s.v. Graphé Paranomon.

[642] Demades, although Plutarch does not mention it, accompanied Phokion on his first visit to Antipater.

[643] The successor of Plato and Speusippus as presiding teacher in the school of the Academy.

[644] The expression in the text is vague, but we learn from other sources that the surrender of at least two other anti-Macedonian orators was demanded.

[645] Grote.

[646] See vol. i., Life of Alkibiades, ch. 34.

[647] The three sub-divisions of Port Peiræus were named Kantharus, Aphredisium and Zea. See Leake, 'Topography of Athens,' and Schol. in Ar. Pac. 144.

[648] The upright threads of the loom are meant, not a large rope.

[649] Philip Arrhidæus.

[650] Another of the accused.

[651] May.

[652] These words, which I borrow from Clough, express the meaning to English ears, though the Greek merely is "piled up a mound."

LIFE OF CATO.

[Pg 500]

I. Cato's family derived the origin of its splendour and reputation from his great-grandfather[653] Cato, a man who had reputation and power chief among the Romans by reason of his merit, as it has been written in his Life. Cato was left an orphan with his brother Cæpio and a sister Porcia. Servilia also was a sister of Cato by the same mother. All of them were brought up and lived with Livius Drusus,[654] their mother's uncle, who was then the chief political leader; for he was a most powerful speaker, and also a man of the best regulated habits, and in lofty bearing inferior to no Roman. It is said that Cato from his childhood both in his voice and the expression of his countenance and even in his amusements gave indication of a character immovable and impassive and firm in everything. His purposes displayed a strength in accomplishing his ends [Pg 501] which was above his age: and while he was rough and stubborn towards those who attempted to flatter him, still more did he show his mastery over all who would try to terrify him by threats. He was also difficult to move to laughter, and his countenance was seldom relaxed even into a smile; he was not quick nor prone to anger, but when he had been moved to anger, he was hard to pacify. Accordingly when he began to learn, he was dull and slow to conceive, but when he had conceived, he held fast and remembered well. And it is generally the case that those who have a good natural capacity are more ready at recollection,[655] but those have a strong memory who learn with labour and trouble; for all learning is in a manner a branding on the mind. It appears too that Cato's difficulty of persuasion made learning a matter of more labour to him; for learning is in truth a kind of passive condition, and to be easily persuaded is incident to those who have less power of resistance. It is for this reason that young men are more easily persuaded than old men, and sick persons than those who are whole; and generally, with those in whom the doubting faculty is weakest, that which is proposed meets the readiest acceptance. However, they say that Cato was obedient to his pædagogus and did everything that he was bid, but he would ask for the reason of everything, and inquire the Why. His pædagogus also was a good-tempered man, and was readier at a reason than a blow: his name was Sarpedon.

II. While Cato was still a boy, the Allies[656] of the Romans were agitating to obtain the Roman franchise; and a certain Pompædius Sillo,[657] a man of military talent and of the highest repute, and a friend of Drusus, lodged with him several days, during which he became familiar with the youths, and he said, "Come now, pray your uncle on our behalf to exert himself to get the franchise for us." Now, Cæpio with a smile nodded assent, but as Cato made no answer and [Pg 502] looked on the strangers steadily and sternly, Pompædius said, "But you, young man, what reply have you for us? Can you not help the strangers with your uncle, like your brother?" As Cato still would not speak, but by his silence and his expression showed that he rejected their entreaty, Pompædius took him up and holding him through the window as if he intended to drop him down, told him either to assent or he would let him fall, and at the same time he assumed an angry tone and several times he swung the boy backwards and forwards as he held him in his hands. Now, when Cato had borne this for some time, unmoved and fearless, Pompædius gently putting him down said to his friends, "What a blessing[658] to Italy that he is a child; for if he were a man, I do not think we should have a single vote among the people." On another occasion when a kinsman on his birthday invited to supper other boys and Cato with them, in order to pass the time they played in a part of the house by themselves, younger and older mixed together; and the game consisted of trials, and accusations, and carrying off those who were convicted. Now, one of the boys convicted, who was of a handsome presence, being dragged off by an older boy to a chamber and shut up, called on Cato for aid. Cato soon perceiving what was going on came to the door, and pushing through those who were standing before it and endeavouring to stop him, took the boy out; and in a passion he went off home with him and other boys accompanied him.

III. Cato was so much talked off that when Sulla was preparing for exhibition the sacred horse race called Troja,[659] in which youths are the actors, and had got together the boys of noble birth and appointed two captains, the boys submitted to the one for his mother's sake, for he was a son [Pg 503] of Metella, Sulla's wife; but the other, who was a nephew of Pompeius and named Sextus, they would not have, nor would they go through their exercise nor follow him; and on Sulla asking whom they would have, they all called out "Cato," and Sextus himself gave way and yielded the honour to Cato as his better. It happened that Sulla was an old friend of Cato's family, and sometimes he had the children brought to him and talked with them, a kind of friendship which he showed to few, by reason of the weight and state of the office and power that he held. Sarpedon considering this a great matter both as regarded the honour and security of the youth, constantly took Cato to pay his respects to Sulla at his house, which at that time to all outward appearance differed not from a place of torture for criminals,[660] so great was the number of those who were dragged there and put to the rack. Cato was at this time in his fourteenth year, and seeing the heads of persons who were said to be men of distinction brought out, and those

who were present lamenting inwardly, he asked his pædagogus why nobody killed this man. Sarpedon replied, "Because they fear him, child, more than they hate him." "Why, then," said Cato, "do you not give me a sword that I might kill him, and so free my country from slavery?" Hearing these words and at the same time observing his eyes and countenance to be filled with passion and resolve, Sarpedon was so afraid that henceforward he kept a close look and watch upon him, that he should not venture on any desperate measure. Now when he was still a little boy, and some persons asked him whom he loved most, he replied his brother; when he was asked whom he loved next, he gave the same answer, his brother; and so on to the third question, until the questioner was tired out by always getting the same answer. When he arrived at man's estate, he strengthened still more his affection to his brother; for when he was twenty years of age he never supped, he never went abroad, never came into the Forum without Cæpio. When Cæpio used perfumes, Cato would not have them; and in all other respects he was strict and [Pg 504] frugal in his way of living. Accordingly Cæpio, who was admired for his temperance and moderation, admitted that he was indeed temperate and moderate when contrasted with others, "but," said he, "when I compare my life with Cato's, I seem to myself to differ not at all from Sippius;" which was the name of a man notorious at that time for luxury and effeminacy.

IV. After Cato obtained the priesthood[661] of Apollo, he changed his residence, and taking his portion of his paternal property, which portion was a hundred and twenty talents, he contracted his style of living still further, and making his companion of Antipater[662] of Tyrus, a Stoic, he attached himself mainly to Ethical and Political studies, occupying himself with every virtue as if he were possessed by some divine influence; but above all that part of the beautiful which consists in steady adherence to justice and in inflexibility towards partiality or favour was his great delight. He disciplined himself also in the kind of speaking which works upon numbers, considering that, as in a great state, so in political philosophy, there should be nurtured with it something of the contentious quality. Yet he did not practise his exercises in company with others, nor did any one hear him when he was declaiming; but to one of his companions who observed, "Men find fault, Cato, with your silence," he replied, "I only hope they may not find fault with my life. But I will begin to speak, when I am not going to say something that were better unsaid."

V. The Basilica[663] called Porcia was a censorial dedication of the old Cato. Now, as the tribunes were accustomed to transact business here, and there was a pillar which was considered to be in [Pg 505] the way of their seats, they resolved to take it away or to remove it to another spot. This was the first occasion that brought Cato into the Forum, and against his will; for he opposed the tribunes, and he gained admiration by this sample of his eloquence and elevated character. His speech contained nothing juvenile or artificial, but it was straightforward, full to overflowing, and rough. However there was diffused over the roughness of the sentiments a charm which led the ear, and his own character intermingled with it gave to the dignity of his address a certain pleasingness and placidity, that were not ill calculated to win men's favour. His voice was loud and powerful enough to reach to so large a multitude, and it had a strength and tone which could neither be broken nor tired; for he often spoke for a whole day without being wearied. On this occasion he got the better in the matter in dispute, and then again wrapped himself up in silence and his discipline. He used to harden his body by vigorous exercises, training himself to endure both heat and snow with uncovered head, and to walk along the roads in all seasons without a vehicle. His friends who used to accompany him on his journeys employed horses, and Cato would often go side by side with each of them in turns, and talk to them, himself walking while they rode. He showed in his complaints also wonderful endurance and self-denial; for when he had a fever, he would spend the day quite alone without permitting any person to approach him, until he felt certain relief, and that the disease was going away.

VI. At entertainments he used to cast lots for the parts, and if he failed, and his friends urged him to begin first, he would say that it was not right to do so against the will of Venus.[664] And at first he would get up from supper after drinking once, but in course of time he stuck to drinking more [Pg 506] than anybody, so that he often continued over his wine till daybreak. His friends said that the cause of this was the administration and public affairs, in which Cato being engaged all day and hindered from literary pursuits, associated with philosophers during the night and over his cups. Accordingly when one Memmius[665] observed in company that Cato was intoxicated all night long, Cicero rejoined, "But you do not say that he also plays at dice all day long." Altogether Cato thought that he ought to walk a course the opposite to the then modes of life and usages, which he considered to be bad and to require a great change, and observing that a purple dress of a deep bright was much in fashion, he himself wore the dark. He would go into public without shoes and tunic after dinner, not seeking for reputation by the strangeness of the practice, but habituating himself to be ashamed only of what was shameful, and to despise everything else as indifferent. The inheritance of his cousin Cato of the value of a hundred talents having been added to his property, he turned it into money and let any of his friends make use of it who needed, without paying interest. Some also pledged to the treasury both lands and slaves of his, which Cato himself offered for this purpose and confirmed the pledge.

VII. When he considered that he was ripe for marriage, without ever having had to do with any woman, he betrothed Lepida, who had before been promised in marriage to Scipio Metellus,[666] but at that time was disengaged, for Scipio had repudiated her, and the betrothment was cancelled. However before the marriage Scipio again changed his mind, and by using every [Pg 507] exertion got the maid. Cato, who was greatly irritated and stung, made preparation to prosecute the matter in legal form, but on his friends preventing him, in his passion and youthful fervour he

betook himself to iambic verses and vented much injurious language upon Scipio, employing the bitterness of Archilochus,[667] but dropping his ungoverned licence and childish manner. He married Atilia,[668] the daughter of Soranus, and this was the first woman with whom he came together, but not the only woman, like Lælius[669] the companion of Scipio; for Lælius was more fortunate in having known during his long life only one woman and that his wife.

VIII. When the Servile War[670] was on foot, which they called the war of Spartacus, Gellius was commander, but Cato joined the service as a volunteer for his brother's sake, for his brother Cæpio was a tribune. He had not indeed the opportunity of displaying as much as he wished his zeal and his discipline in virtue owing to the war being ill conducted; but notwithstanding this, by showing, in contrast to the great effeminacy and luxury of those who were engaged in that campaign, orderly behaviour and bravery when it was required, and courage and prudence in all things, he was considered in no degree to fall short of the old Cato. Gellius assigned to him special distinctions and honours, which Cato would not take nor allow, saying that he had done nothing worthy of honour. In consequence of this he was considered a strange kind of fellow; and when a law was made, that those who were candidates for an office should not be accompanied by nomenclators,[671] he was the only person when a candidate for a tribuneship who observed [Pg 508] the law; and having himself made it his business to salute and address those whom he met with, he did not escape censure even from those who praised him, for the more they perceived the honourable nature of his conduct, the more they were annoyed at the difficulty of imitating it.

IX. Upon being appointed a tribune he was sent to Macedonia to Rubrius the Prætor. On that occasion it is told that his wife being troubled and shedding tears, one of the friends of Cato, Munatius, said, "Atilia, be of good cheer; I will take care of him for you." "It shall be so," replied Cato; and after they had advanced one day's journey, he said immediately after supper, "Come, Munatius, and keep your promise to Atilia by not separating yourself from me either by day or by night." Upon this he ordered two beds to be placed in the same chamber and Munatius always slept thus, being watched in jest by Cato. There accompanied him fifteen slaves, and two freedmen and four friends, and while they rode on horseback, Cato himself always went on foot, keeping by the side of each of them in turns and talking with them. When he arrived at the camp, [Pg 509] where there were several legions, being appointed to the command of one legion by the general, he considered the display of his own merit, being only one thing, as a small matter and nothing kingly, but being chiefly ambitious to make those who were under him like himself, he did not deprive his power of its terrors, but he added to it reason, by means of which persuading and instructing his men about every thing—honour and punishment following; whether he made his soldiers more peaceable or warlike or more full of zeal or just, it is difficult to say, so formidable did they become to the enemy, and gentle to the allies, and so little disposed to wrong, and so ambitious of praise. But that which Cato cared least for, he had most of, both good opinion, and popularity, and honour above measure, and affection from the soldiers. For by voluntarily labouring at that which he imposed on others, and in his dress and way of living and marching on foot making himself like them rather than the commander, and in his morals and in his noble bearing, and in eloquence surpassing all who were intitled Imperators and generals, by such means he imperceptibly produced in the men at the same time good will towards himself. For no true emulation after virtue is bred except from perfect good will and respect towards him who commends it: but those who having no love, praise the brave, respect their character, though they admire not their virtue, nor do they imitate it.

X. Hearing that Athenodorus[672] named Kordylion, who had great skill in the Stoic philosophy, was living at Pergamus, being now an old man, and having most resolutely resisted all intimacy and friendship with governors and kings, Cato thought that he should get nothing by sending and writing to him, but as he had a furlough of two months allowed by the law, he made a voyage to Asia to the man, in the confidence that through his own merits he should not fail in the chase. After discoursing with Athenodorus and getting the victory over him and drawing him from his [Pg 510] settled purpose, he returned with him to the camp, overjoyed and greatly elated at having made the noblest capture and got a more splendid booty than the nations and kingdoms which Pompeius at that time and Lucullus were subduing in their campaigns.

XI. While Cato was still engaged in the service, his brother, who was on his road to Asia, fell sick at Ænus,[673] in Thrace; and a letter immediately came to Cato, and though the sea was very stormy, and there was no vessel at hand of sufficient size, taking only two friends with him and three slaves, he set sail from Thessalonike in a small trading ship. After narrowly escaping being drowned at sea, he was saved by unexpected good luck, but he found Cæpio already dead. He was considered to have borne the misfortune with more of passion than philosophy, not only in his lamentations and his embracings of the dead body and the heaviness of his grief, but also in his expenditure about the interment, and the trouble that he took about fragrant spices and costly vests which were burnt with the body, and a monument of polished Thasian stone of the cost of eight talents which was constructed in the Agora of Ænus. These things there were some who found fault with by comparison with Cato's freedom from all display in other matters, not seeing how much mildness and affection there was in the man who was inflexible and firm against pleasures and fears and shameless entreaties. For the celebration of the funeral both cities and princes offered to send him many things to do honour to the dead, from none of whom however would he receive valuables, but he accepted fragrant spices and vests, paying the price to those who sent the things. Though the succession came to him and the young daughter of Cæpio, he did not claim back in the division of the property any thing that he had expended about the funeral. And though he did such things as these and continued to do such, there was one[674] [Pg 511]

who wrote, that he passed the ashes of the dead through a sieve and sifted them to search for the gold that was burnt. So far did the writer allow, not to his sword only, but also to his stilus, irresponsibility and exemption from all account.

XII. When the time of Cato's service was at an end, he was attended on his departure, not with good wishes, which is usual, nor yet with praises, but with tears and never-satisfied embraces, the soldiers placing their garments under his feet on the way by which he went and kissing his hands, which the Romans of that day hardly ever did to any of their Imperators. As he wished, before engaging in public affairs, at the same time to travel about to make himself acquainted with Asia, and to see with his own eyes the customs and mode of living and power of each province, and at the same time not to give any offence to the Galatian Deiotarus,[675] who prayed Cato to come to him on account of the ancient ties of hospitality and friendship that subsisted between him and Cato's family, he made his sojourning after this fashion. At daybreak he used to send forward his bread-maker and cook to the place where he intended to lodge; and it was their practice to enter the city with great decorum and no stir, and if there happened to be no ancient friend of Cato's family there or no acquaintance, they would prepare for his reception in an inn without troubling anybody; and if there was no inn, they would in that case apply to the magistrates and gladly accept what accommodation was offered. And oftentimes getting no credit, and being neglected because they did not apply to the magistrates about these matters with noise or threats, Cato came upon them before they had accomplished their business, and [Pg 512] when he was seen, he was still more despised; and because he would sit silently on the baggage, he gave them the notion of being a person of mean condition and a very timid man. However Cato would call them to him, and would say, "Ye miserable wretches, lay aside this inhospitable practice. All those who come to you will not be Catos. Dull by your kind reception the power of those who only want a pretext to take by force what they cannot get from you with your consent."

XIII. In Syria[676] a laughable incident is said to have happened to him. For as he was walking to Antiocheia, he saw near the gates on the outside a number of men arranged on each side of the road, among whom young men by themselves in cloaks and boys on the other side stood in orderly wise, and some had white vests and crowns, and these were priests of the gods or magistrates. Now Cato, being quite sure that some honourable reception was preparing for him by the city, was angry with those of his own people who had been sent on, for not having prevented this, and he bade his friends get off their horses and he proceeded with them on foot. But when they came near, he who was arranging all this ceremony and setting the folk in order, a man somewhat advanced in years, holding a rod in his hand and a chaplet, advanced in front of the rest, and meeting Cato, without even saluting him, asked where they had left Demetrius and when he would be there. Demetrius had been a slave of Pompeius, but at this time, as all the world, so to speak, had their eyes on Pompeius, Demetrius was courted above his merits on account of his great influence with Pompeius. Now the friends of Cato were seized with such a fit of laughter that they could not contain themselves as they walked through the crowd, but Cato, who at the time was vehemently disconcerted, uttered the words, "O ill-fated city," and nothing more; afterwards however he was accustomed to laugh at the matter himself both when he told [Pg 513] the story and when he thought of it.

XIV. However Pompeius himself reproved those who thus misbehaved themselves towards Cato in their ignorance. For when Cato on his arrival at Ephesus went to pay his respects to Pompeius as his elder, and much his superior in reputation and then at the head of the greatest armies, Pompeius observing him did not wait or allow Cato to approach him as he was seated, but springing up as to a man of superior rank, he met him and gave him his right hand. And Pompeius passed many encomiums on the merit of Cato while treating him as a friend and showing him attention during his stay, and still more when he had departed, so that all persons being admonished and now directing their observation to Cato admired him for the things for which he was despised, and studied his mildness and magnanimity. Yet it did not escape notice that the great attention of Pompeius to him proceeded more from respect than from love, and people discerned that Pompeius honoured him while he was present, and was glad when he went away. For the other young men who came to him, he was ambitious to keep with him, and he wished them to stay, but he asked of Cato nothing of the kind, and as if he were not commander with irresponsible power while Cato was there, he was glad to get rid of him; and yet he was almost the only person among those who were sailing to Rome to whom Pompeius commended his children and wife, who however were connected with Cato by kinship. In consequence of this there was high regard and great exertion and emulation in the cities towards Cato, and suppers and invitations, wherein Cato bade his friends keep a watch upon him, lest he should unawares make good what Curio[677] had said. For Curio, who was annoyed at the austerity of Cato, who was his friend and intimate, asked him if he should like to visit Asia after he had served his time in the army. And on Cato saying that he should like it very much, "You say well," replied Curio, [Pg 514] "for you will be more agreeable when you return thence, and tamer," using some such words as these.

XV. Deiotarus the Galatian, who was now an old man, sent for Cato, wishing to intrust to him his children and his family; and on his arrival he offered him all manner of presents, and tried and entreated him in every way till he so irritated Cato, that after arriving in the evening and staying all night, he set off on the following day about the third hour. However when he had advanced one day's journey, he found in Possinus[678] more presents than before awaiting him there, and letters from the Galatian begging him to receive them; and if he should not be disposed to take them, to let his friends at least receive favours on his account, as they well deserved it, and Cato

had not much of his own. But Cato did not give in even to these arguments, though he saw that some of his friends were beginning to be softened and were inclined to blame him; but observing that all receiving of gifts might find a good excuse, and his friends should share in all that he got honourably and justly, he sent back the presents to Deiotarus. As he was about to set sail to Brundisium, his friends thought that they ought to put the ashes of Cæpio in another vessel, but Cato, saying that he would rather part with his life than the ashes of his brother, set sail. And indeed it is said that it chanced that he had a very dangerous passage, though the rest got to Brundisium with little difficulty.

XVI. On his return to Rome he spent his time either at home in the company of Athenodorus, or in the Forum assisting his friends. Though the office of Quæstor[679] was now open to him, he did not become a candidate for it till he had read the laws relating to the quæstorship, and had learned all particulars from the experienced, and had comprehended the powers of the office in a certain shape. Accordingly as soon as he was established in the office, he made a great change in the servants and clerks about the treasury, for as they constantly had in hand the public accounts and the laws, and had young superiors who, by reason of their inexperience and ignorance, in fact required others to teach and direct them, they did not allow their superiors to have any [Pg 515] power, but were the superior officers themselves, until Cato vigorously applied himself to the business, not having the name only and the honour of a magistrate, but understanding and judgment and apt expression; and he resolved to make the clerks into servants as they really were, in some things detecting their evil doings, and in others correcting their errors which arose from inexperience. But as the clerks were insolent, and attempted to ingratiate themselves with and to flatter the other quæstors, and resisted him, he expelled from the treasury the first among them whom he had detected in knavish dealings in a matter of trust concerning an inheritance, and he brought another to trial for dishonesty. This second person Catulus Lutatius[680] the censor came forward to defend, a man who had great dignity from his office, and the greatest from his merit, being considered superior to all the Romans in integrity and temperance; and he was also an admirer and intimate friend of Cato all through his life. Now, when Catulus found that the justice of the case was against him and openly asked to have the man acquitted for his sake, Cato would not allow him to act so: and when he still continued to urge his request, Cato said, "It were a scandalous thing, Catulus, for you, who are the censor, and whose duty it is to examine into our lives, to be turned out[681] by our officers." When Cato had uttered these words, Catulus looked at him as if he were going to reply, but he said nothing, and either being angry or ashamed he went away in silence and perplexed. However the man was not convicted, for when the votes for condemnation had exceeded those for acquittal by a single vote, and Lollius Marcus, one of the colleagues of Cato, owing to sickness had not attended at the trial, Catulus sent to him [Pg 516] and prayed him to give his support to the man; and he was carried thither in a litter after the trial and gave the vote which acquitted. However Cato did not employ the clerk nor give him his pay, nor did he take any reckoning at all of the vote of Lollius.

XVII. Having thus humbled the clerks and reduced them to obedience, by managing the accounts in his own way, he made the treasury in a short time more respected than the Senate, so that every body said and considered that Cato had surrounded the quæstorship with the dignity of the consulship. For in the first place finding that many persons owed old debts to the state and that the state was indebted to many, he at the same time put an end to the state being wronged and wronging others, by demanding the money from those who owed it vigorously and without relenting at all, and paying the creditors speedily and readily, so that the people respected him when they saw those pay who expected to defraud the state, and those recover who never expected it. In the next place, it was the general practice to bring in writings without observing the proper forms, and previous quæstors used to receive false decrees to please persons, and at their request. Cato however let nothing of this kind escape his notice, and on one occasion being in doubt about a decree, whether it was really ratified, though many persons testified to the fact, he would not trust them, nor did he allow it to be deposited until the consuls came and by oath confirmed its genuineness. Now there were many whom Sulla had rewarded for killing proscribed persons at the rate of twelve thousand drachmæ apiece, and though all detested them as accursed and abominable wretches, no one ventured to bring them to punishment; but Cato, calling to account every man who had public money by unfair means, made him give it up and at the same time upbraided him for his unholy and illegal acts with passion and argument. Those whom this befel were immediately charged with murder and were brought before the judices in a manner prejudged, and were punished, to the joy of all who considered that the tyranny of those former times was at the same time blotted out and that they witnessed Sulla himself punished. [Pg 517]

XVIII. The many were captivated by his persevering and unwearied industry: for none of his colleagues went up earlier to the treasury or came away after him. He never omitted attending any meeting of the people and of the Senate, for he feared and kept a watch on those who were ready to vote for remissions of debts and taxes and for gifts in favour of any body. By proving that the treasury was inaccessible and free from intrigues, and full of money, he showed that they could be rich without doing wrong. Though at first he appeared to be disliked by and odious to some of his colleagues, he afterwards gained their good-will by subjecting himself on behalf of them all to the hatred that was incurred by not giving away the public money and by not deciding dishonestly, and by furnishing them with an answer to those who preferred their requests and urged them, that nothing could be done if Cato did not consent. On the last day of his office when he had been accompanied to his house by almost all the citizens, he heard that many who were intimate with Marcellus,[682] and men of influence, had fallen upon him at the treasury and having got round him were forcing him to sign a certain payment of money that was due. Marcellus from

his boyhood had been a friend of Cato and together with him had been a most excellent magistrate, but by himself he was easily led by others through false shame, and was ready to oblige any body. Accordingly Cato immediately returned to the treasury, and finding that Marcellus had been prevailed upon to sign the payment asked for the tablets and erased what was written, while Marcellus stood by and said not a word. Having done this Cato conducted him down from the treasury and put him in his house; and Marcellus neither then nor afterwards found fault with Cato, but continued on intimate terms with him all along. Nor did Cato when he had quitted the treasury leave it destitute of protection, but slaves of his were there daily who copied out the transactions, and he himself purchased for five talents books which contained the [Pg 518] public accounts from the times of Sulla to his own quæstorship, and he always had them in his hands.

XIX. He used to go into the Senate house the first, and he was the last to come away; and often while the rest were slowly assembling, he would sit and read quietly, holding his toga before the book. He never went abroad when there was to be a meeting of the Senate; but afterwards when Pompeius saw that Cato could not be prevailed upon, and could never be brought to comply with the unjust measures on which he was intent, he used to contrive to engage him in giving his aid to some friend in a matter before the courts, or in arbitrations, or in discharging some business. But Cato quickly perceiving his design, refused all such engagements and made it a rule to do nothing else while the Senate was assembled. For it was neither for the sake of reputation, nor self-aggrandisement, nor by a kind of spontaneous movement, nor by chance, like some others, that he was thrown into the management of state affairs, but he selected a public career as the proper labour of a good man, and thought that he ought to attend to public concerns more than the bee to its cells, inasmuch as he made it his business to have the affairs of the provinces and decrees and trials and the most important measures communicated to him by his connections and friends in every place. On one occasion by opposing Clodius the demagogue, who was making a disturbance and laying the foundation for great charges, and calumniating to the people the priests and priestesses, among whom was also Fabia,[683] the sister of Terentia, Cicero's wife, he [Pg 519] was in great danger, but he involved Clodius in disgrace and compelled him to withdraw from the city; and when Cicero thanked him, Cato said that he ought to reserve his gratitude for the state, as it was for the sake of the state that he did every thing and directed his political measures. In consequence of this there was a high opinion of him, so that an orator said to the judices on a certain trial when the evidence of a single person was produced, that it was not right to believe a single witness even if he was Cato; and many persons now were used to say when speaking of things incredible and contrary to all probability, as by way of proverb, that this could not be believed even if Cato said it. And when a man of bad character and great expense delivered a discourse in the senate in favour of frugality and temperance, Amnæus[684] rose up and said, "My man, who will endure you, you who sup like Crassus, and build like Lucullus, and harangue us like Cato." Others also who were people of bad character and intemperate, but in their language dignified and severe, they used to call by way of mockery, Catos.

XX. Though many invited him to the tribuneship, he did not think it well to expend the power of a great office and magistracy, no more than that of a strong medicine, on matters wherein it was not required. At the same time as he had leisure from public affairs, he took books and philosophers with him and set out for Lucania, for he had lands there on which there was no unseemly residence. On the road he met with many beasts of burden and baggage and slaves, and learning that Nepos Metellus[685] was returning to Rome for the purpose of being a candidate for the tribuneship, he halted without speaking, and after a short interval ordered his people to turn back. His friends wondering at this, he said, "Don't you know that even of himself Metellus is a formidable man by reason of his violence; and now that he has come upon the motion of Pompeius, he will fall upon the state like a thunderbolt and put all in confusion? It is therefore [Pg 520] not a time for leisure or going from home, but we must get the better of the man or die nobly in defence of liberty." However at the urgency of his friends he went first to visit his estates, and after staying no long time he returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and as soon as day dawned, he went down into the Forum to be a candidate for the tribuneship and to oppose Metellus. For this magistracy gives more power to check than to act; and even if all the rest of the tribunes save one should assent to a measure, the power lies with him who does not consent or permit.

XXI. At first there were few of Cato's friends about him, but when his views became public, in a short time all the people of character and distinction crowded together and cheered and encouraged him, for they said it was no favour that he was receiving, but he was conferring the greatest favour on his country and the most honest of the citizens, for that when it was often in his power to hold a magistracy without any trouble, he now came down to contend on behalf of freedom and the constitution, not without danger. It is said that owing to many persons through zeal and friendly disposition crowding towards him he was in some danger, and with difficulty on account of the crowd he made his way to the Forum. Being elected tribune with others and with Metellus, and observing that the consular comitia were accompanied with bribery, he rated the people, and at the close of his speech he swore that he would prosecute the briber, whoever he might be, with the exception of Silanus,[686] on account of his connection with him; for Silanus had to wife Servilia, a sister of Cato. For this reason he passed over Silanus, but he prosecuted Lucius Murena,[687] on the charge of having secured his election with Silanus by bribery. There was a law according to which the accused had always the power to appoint a person to watch the [Pg 521] accuser, in order that it might not be unknown what he was getting together and preparing to support the prosecution. Now he who was appointed by Murena to watch Cato used to

accompany him and observe his conduct, and when he saw that Cato was doing nothing with unfair design or contrary to equity, but honourably and in a kindly spirit was going a simple and straightforward course towards the prosecution, he had such admiration of his noble bearing and morality that he would come up to Cato in the Forum, or go to his door and ask, whether he intended that day to attend to any matters that concerned the prosecution, and if he said that he did not, he would take his word and go away. When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then consul and one of the advocates of Murena, on account of Cato's connection with the Stoics, ridiculed and mocked these philosophers and their so-called paradoxes, and thus made the judices laugh. On which it is said that Cato, with a smile, observed to those who were present, "My friends, what a ridiculous consul we have." Murena, who was acquitted, did not display towards Cato the temper of a bad or a foolish man, for in his consulship he used to ask his advice in the most important affairs, and all along in every other matter showed him respect and confidence. Cato's own conduct was the cause of this, for while he was severe and terrible on the judgment seat and in the Senate on behalf of justice, he was benevolent and friendly in all his social intercourse.

XXII. Before Cato entered on the tribuneship, during Cicero's consulship he supported his administration in many other difficulties, and he put the finishing stroke to the measures relating to Catiline,[688] which were the most important and glorious of all. Catiline himself, who was designing to effect a pernicious and complete change in the Roman state, and was at the same time stirring up insurrection and war, being convicted by Cicero, fled from the city; but Lentulus and Cethegus and many others with them, who had taken up the conspiracy, upbraiding Catiline with cowardice and want of spirit in his designs, were plotting to destroy the city with fire, and to [Pg 522] subvert the supremacy of Rome by the revolt of nations and by foreign wars. Their schemes having been discovered in the manner told in the Life of Cicero, he laid the matter before the Senate for their deliberation, whereupon Silanus, who spoke first, gave his opinion that the men ought to suffer the extreme punishment, and those who followed him spoke to the same effect, till it came to Cæsar's turn. Cæsar now rose, and as he was a powerful speaker and wished rather to increase all change and disturbance in the state than to allow it to be quenched, considering it as the stuff for his own designs to work upon, he urged many arguments of a persuasive and humane kind to the effect that the men ought not to be put to death without trial, and he advised that they should be confined in prison: and he wrought so great a change in the opinion of the Senate, who were afraid of the people, that even Silanus retracted what he had said, and affirmed that neither had he recommended that they should be put to death, but that they should be imprisoned; for to a Roman this was the extreme of punishment.

XXIII. Such had been the change, and all the Senators in a body had gone over to the milder and more humane proposal, when Cato rising to deliver his opinion, commenced his speech in anger and passion, abusing Silanus for changing his mind, and attacking Cæsar, whom he charged with a design to overturn the State under a popular guise and pretext of humanity, and with making the Senate alarmed at things at which he himself ought to be alarmed, and therewith well content, if he escaped unharmed on account of what had passed and without suspicion, when he was so openly and audaciously endeavouring to rescue the common enemies of all, and admitting that he had no pity for the state, such and so great though it was, and though it had so narrowly escaped destruction, but was shedding tears and lamenting because those who ought never to have existed or been born would by their death release the state from great bloodshed and danger. They say that this is the only speech of Cato which is preserved, and that it was owing to Cicero the consul, who had previously instructed those clerks who surpassed the rest in quick [Pg 523] writing in the use of certain signs which comprehended in their small and brief marks the force of many characters and had placed them in different parts of the Senate house. For the Romans at this time were not used to employ nor did they possess what are called note-writers,[689] but it was on this occasion, as they say, that they were first established in a certain form. However, Cato prevailed and changed the opinion of the Senate, who condemned the men to death.

XXIV. Now as we perhaps ought not to omit even the slight tokens of character when we are delineating as it were a likeness of the soul, it is reported that on this occasion when Cæsar was making much exertion and a great struggle against Cato, and the attention of the Senate was fixed on both of them, a small letter was brought in for Cæsar from the outside. Cato attempted to fix suspicion on this matter, and alleged that some of the senators were disturbed at it and he bade him read the writing, on which Cæsar handed the letter to Cato who was standing near him. Cato read the letter, which was an amatory epistle addressed to Cæsar by his sister Servilia[690] who was enamoured of Cæsar and had been debauched by him, and throwing it at Cæsar he said, "Take it, drunkard," and so resumed his speech. Indeed in the female part of his family Cato appears to have always been unlucky. For this sister had a bad report in respect of Cæsar; and the conduct of the other Servilia, also a sister of Cato, was still more unseemly. For though she was married to Lucullus, a man who was among the first of the Romans in reputation, and bore him a child, she was driven from his house for incontinence. And what was most scandalous of [Pg 524] all, even Cato's wife Atilia was not free from such vices, for though he had two children by her, he was compelled to put her away for her unseemly behaviour.

XXV. Cato then married Marcia, a daughter of Philippus,[691] who had the character of being an honest woman, and about whom a good deal is said; but just as in a drama, this part of Cato's life is a difficult and perplexed matter. However it was after the following manner, as Thrasea[692] writes, who refers as his authority to Munatius, a companion and intimate associate of Cato. Among the numerous friends and admirers of Cato there were some more conspicuous and

distinguished than others, of whom one was Quintus Hortensius,[693] a man of splendid reputation and honest morals. Now as Hortensius was desirous to be not merely an intimate friend and companion of Cato, but in a manner to unite in kinship and community the whole family and [Pg 525] stock, he endeavoured to persuade Cato, whose daughter Porcia was the wife of Bibulus and had born him two sons, to give her in turn to him as a fertile soil to beget children in. He said that according to men's opinion such a thing was strange, but that according to nature it was good and for the advantage of states, that a woman who was in her youth and perfection should neither lie idle and check her procreative power, nor yet should by breeding more children than enough cause trouble to her husband and impoverish him when he wanted no more children; but that if there was a community of offspring among worthy men, it would make virtue abundant and widely diffused among families, and would mingle the state with itself by these family relationships. If Bibulus, he said, was greatly attached to his wife, he would return her as soon as she had born a child, and he had become more closely united both with Bibulus and Cato by a community of children. Cato replied that he loved Hortensius and valued his kinship, but he considered it strange for Hortensius to speak about the marriage of his daughter who had been given to another; on which Hortensius changing his proposal and disclosing himself did not hesitate to ask the wife of Cato, who was still young enough to bear children, while Cato himself had children enough. And it cannot be said that Hortensius did this because he knew that Cato paid no attention to Marcia, for they say that she happened to be with child at the time. Accordingly Cato seeing the earnestness and eagerness of Hortensius did not refuse, but he said that Philippus the father of Marcia must also approve of it. When they had seen Philippus and informed him of the agreement, he did not give Marcia in marriage, except in the presence of Cato, and Cato joined in giving her away. Though this took place later, it seemed convenient to me to anticipate the time as I had made mention of the female part of Cato's family.

XXVI. When Lentulus and his associates had been executed, and Cæsar, on account of the charges and insinuations made against him before the Senate, betook himself to the people for protection and was stirring up the numerous diseased and corrupted members of the state and [Pg 526] collecting them about him, Cato, being alarmed, persuaded the Senate to relieve the crowd of poor who had no property by an allowance of grain, the expenditure for which purpose was to the amount of twelve hundred and fifty talents[694] annually; and the threats of Cæsar were manifestly rendered futile by this liberality and bounty. After this, Metellus, as soon as he had entered on the tribuneship, got together tumultuous meetings and proposed a law that Pompeius Magnus[695] should hasten to Italy with his forces and should undertake the protection of the city, which it was alleged was in danger from Catiline. This was in appearance a specious proposal, but the real object and end of the law was to put affairs in the hands of Pompeius and to surrender to him the supremacy. When the Senate was assembled and Cato did not in his usual way fall violently on Metellus, but advised him with much forbearance and moderation, and at last even betook himself to entreaty and praised the family of the Metelli for having always been aristocratic, Metellus becoming much emboldened and despising Cato, whom he supposed to be giving way and cowering, broke out in extravagant threats and arrogant expressions, as if he would accomplish every thing in spite of the Senate. On this Cato, changing his attitude and tone and language, and concluding all that he said with a vehement affirmation that so long as he lived Pompeius should not come into the city with his soldiers, brought the Senate to this opinion, that neither he nor Metellus was in a sober mind and that neither of them was guided by sound considerations, but that the measures of Metellus were madness which from excess of depravity was loading to the destruction and confusion of every thing, and those of Cato an enthusiasm of virtue struggling in behalf of honour and justice.

XXVII. But when the people were going to vote on the law, and armed strangers and gladiators and slaves had come to the Forum arrayed to support Metellus, and that part of the people which longed for Pompeius from desire of change was not small, and there was also great support from [Pg 527] Cæsar who was then prætor, and the first men of the citizens rather shared in the indignation and wrongs of Cato than joined him in making resistance, and great depression and alarm prevailed in his family, so that some of his friends taking no food watched all night with one another in perplexed deliberation on his behalf, and his wife and sisters also were lamenting and weeping, Cato himself displayed a fearless and confident behaviour to all, and cheered them, and he took his supper, as usual, and after resting all night was roused from a deep sleep by Minucius Thermus one of his colleagues; and they went down to the Forum with a few persons accompanying them, though many met them and urged them to be on their guard. When Cato stopped and saw the temple of the Dioscuri[696] surrounded by armed men and the steps guarded by gladiators, and Metellus himself with Cæsar sitting above, he turned to his friends and said, "O the daring and cowardly men, to collect such a force of soldiery against a single man unarmed and defenceless." Saying this he advanced straight forwards with Thermus; and those who occupied the steps made way for them but they let nobody else pass, except that Cato with difficulty pulled Munatius by the hand and got him up, and then advancing right onwards, he flung himself between Metellus and Cæsar and there took his seat, and so cut off their communications. Cæsar and Metellus were disconcerted, but the better part of the people seeing and admiring the noble bearing and spirit of Cato came nearer, and with shouts encouraged Cato to be of good heart, and they urged one another to stay and keep close together and not to betray their liberty and the man who was contending in defence of it.

XXVIII. The clerk now produced the law, but Cato would not let him read it, and when Metellus took it and began to read, Cato snatched the writing from him; and when Metellus who knew the law by heart was beginning to declare it orally, Thermus held his mouth with his hand and

stopped his voice, till at last Metellus seeing that the men were making an opposition which he could not resist and that the people were beginning to give way to what was best and to change, he ordered armed men to hurry thither from his house[697] with threats and shouts. This being done, and all having been dispersed except Cato, who stood there, though he was pelted with stones and pieces of wood from above, Murena, who had been brought to trial and prosecuted by Cato, did not remain indifferent, but holding his toga in front of him and calling out to those who were throwing missiles, to stop, and finally persuading Cato himself and taking him in his arms, led him off to the temple of the Dioscuri. Now when Metellus saw that all was clear about the Rostra, and that his opponents were flying through the Forum, being quite confident that he had got the victory, he ordered the armed men to go away, and coming forward in an orderly manner he attempted to conduct the proceedings about the law. But his opponents quickly recovering themselves from their rout again advanced with loud and confident shouts, so that the partizans of Metellus were seized with confusion and fear, for they thought that their opponents were falling on them with arms which they had provided themselves with from some place or other, and not one of them stood his ground, but all ran away from the Rostra. When they were thus dispersed, and Cato coming forward partly commended and partly encouraged the people, the people prepared themselves to put down Metellus by every means, and the Senate assembling declared anew that they would support Cato and resist the law, which they considered to be introducing discord and civil war into Rome. [Pg 528]

XXIX. Metellus himsalf was unmoved from his purpose and still bold, but seeing that his partizans were struck with great terror at Cato, and considered him invincible and that it was impossible to overpower him, he suddenly hurried out to the Forum, and assembling the people he said many things calculated to bring odium on Cato, and crying out that he was flying from his tyranny and the conspiracy against Pompeius, for which the city would speedily repent and for their disgracing so great a man, he forthwith set out to Asia to lay all these charges before Pompeius. Now the fame of Cato was great inasmuch as he had eased the state of the no small burden of the tribuneship, and in a manner had put down the power of Pompeius in the person of Metellus; but he got still more credit by not consenting that the Senate, who were minded to do it, should degrade Metellus, and by opposing the measure and praying them not to pass it. For the majority considered it a token of a humane and moderate temper not to trample on his enemy nor insult him after he had got the victory; and to the prudent it appeared wise and politic in him not to irritate Pompeius. After this, Lucullus,[698] who had returned from his campaign, the conclusion and the glory of which Pompeius was considered to have snatched from him, ran the risk of not having a triumph, owing to Caius Memmius stirring up the people and bringing charges against him, rather to please Pompeius than out of any private ill-will. But Cato, being connected with Lucullus by Lucullus having married Cato's sister Servilia, and also thinking it a scandalous affair, resisted Memmius and exposed himself to much calumny and many imputations. Finally an attempt being made to eject Cato from his office, on the ground that he was exercising tyrannical power, he so far prevailed as to compel Memmius himself to desist from his prosecution and to give up the contest. Lucullus accordingly had a triumph, in consideration of which he stuck still more closely to the friendship of Cato, which was to him a protection and bulwark against the power of Pompeius. [Pg 529]

XXX. Pompeius[699] returning from his military command with great reputation, and relying on the splendour and heartiness of his reception for getting everything from the citizens that he asked for, sent a message to the Senate before his arrival at Rome, to ask them to put off the Comitia, that he might be present to assist Piso at his canvass. The majority were ready to give way, but Cato who did not consider the putting off the Comitia as the chief matter, and wished to cut short the attempts and the hopes of Pompeius, opposed the request and induced the Senate to change their mind and reject it. This gave Pompeius no little uneasiness, and considering that he should find no slight obstacle in Cato, if he did not make him his friend, he sent for Munatius, [700] an intimate of Cato, and as Cato had two marriageable nieces, he asked for the elder for his own wife, and the younger for his son. Some say that the suit was not for the nieces, but the daughters of Cato. When Munatius made the proposal to Cato and his wife and sisters, the women were delighted above measure at the prospect of the alliance by reason of the greatness and reputation of the man; but Cato, without pause or deliberation, with passion forthwith replied, "Go, Munatius, go, and tell Pompeius, that Cato is not to be caught by approaching him through the women's chamber, but that he is well content to have the friendship of Pompeius, and if Pompeius will act rightly, Cato will show him a friendship more sure than any marriage connection, but he will not give up hostages to the reputation of Pompeius contrary to the interests of his country." The women were vexed at these words, and Cato's friends blamed his answer as both rude and insolent. The next thing, however, was that Pompeius while trying to secure the consulship for one of his friends, sent money for the tribes, and the bribery[701] was notorious, the money being counted out in his gardens. Accordingly when Cato observed to the women, that he who was connected with Pompeius by marriage, must of necessity participate in such measures and be loaded with the disgrace of them, they admitted that he had judged better in rejecting the alliance of Pompeius. But if we may judge by the result, Cato appears to have made a complete mistake in not accepting the proposed alliance with Pompeius, and allowing him to turn to Cæsar and to contract a marriage, which, by uniting the power of Pompeius and Cæsar, nearly overthrew the Roman state and did destroy the constitution, nothing of which probably would have happened if Cato had not, through fear of the small errors of Pompeius, overlooked the greatest, which was the allowing him to increase the power of another. [Pg 530] [Pg 531]

XXXI. These things, however, were still in the future. Now when Lucullus was engaged in a

contest with Pompeius respecting the arrangements made in Pontus, for each of them wished his own arrangements to be confirmed, and Cato gave his aid to Lucullus, who was manifestly wronged, Pompeius being worsted in the Senate and seeking to make himself popular, proposed a division of lands among the soldiery. But when Cato opposed him in this measure also and frustrated the law, Pompeius next attached himself to Clodius, the boldest of the demagogues at that time, and gained over Cæsar,[702] to which Cato in a manner gave occasion. For Cæsar, who had returned from his prætorship in Iberia, at the same time wished to be a candidate for the consulship and asked for a triumph. But as it was the law that those who were candidates for a magistracy should be present, and those who were going to have a triumph should stay outside the walls, Cæsar asked permission of the Senate to solicit the office through means of others. Many were willing to consent, but Cato spoke against it, and when he saw that the Senators were ready to oblige Cæsar, he took up the whole day in talking, and thus frustrated the designs, of the Senate. Cæsar accordingly giving up his hopes of a triumph, entered the city, and immediately attached himself to Pompeius, and sought the consulship. Being elected consul, [Pg 532] Cæsar gave Julia in marriage to Pompeius, and the two now coalescing against the state, the one introduced laws for giving to the poor allotments and a distribution of land, and the other assisted in supporting these measures. But Lucullus and Cicero siding with Bibulus, the other consul, opposed the measures, and Cato most of all, who already suspected that the friendship and combination of Cæsar and Pompeius had no just object, and said that he was not afraid of the distribution of the land, but of the reward for it which those would claim who were gratifying the multitude, and alluring them by this bait.

XXXII. By these arguments Cato brought the Senate to an unanimous opinion; and of those without the Senate no small number supported the senators, being annoyed at the unusual measures of Cæsar: for what the boldest and most reckless tribunes were used to propose for popularity's sake, these very measures Cæsar in the possession of consular power adopted, basely and meanly endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the people. Cæsar's party, therefore, being alarmed, had recourse to violence, and first of all a basket of ordure was thrown upon Bibulus as he was going down to the Forum, and then the people fell on his lictors and broke the fasces; finally missiles being thrown about, and many being wounded, all the rest ran away from the Forum except Cato, who walked away slowly, every now and then turning round and cursing the citizens. Accordingly Cæsar's partisans not only passed the law for the distribution of land, [703] but they added to it a clause to compel all the Senate to swear that they would maintain the law, and give their aid against any one who should act contrary to it, and they enacted heavy penalties against those who did not swear. All swore to maintain the law under compulsion, bearing in mind what befell Metellus of old, whom the people allowed to be driven from[704] Italy because he would not swear to observe a like enactment. For this reason the women of Cato's [Pg 533] family with tears earnestly entreated him to yield and take the oath, and also his friends and intimate acquaintance. But the person who most persuaded and induced Cato to take the oath was Cicero the orator, who argued and urged that perhaps it was not even right for him to think that he was the only man who ought to refuse obedience to what had been determined by the common voice; and when it was impossible to undo what had been done, it was altogether senseless and mad to have no regard for himself; and of all evils, he argued, it was the greatest to give up and surrender the state, to the interests of which all his actions were directed, to those who were plotting against it, as if he were glad to be released from all struggles in its behalf; for if Cato did not stand in need of Rome, Rome stood in need of Cato, and all his friends also did; and among them Cicero said that he was the first, being the object of the designs of Clodius, who was clearly proceeding to attack him by means of the tribunitian office. By these and the like arguments and entreaties, both at home and in the Forum, it is said that Cato was induced to relent, and was prevailed upon with difficulty, and that he came forward to take the oath last of all, except Favonius, one of his friends and intimates.

XXXIII. Cæsar being encouraged, introduced another law for the division of nearly the whole of Campania among the poor and needy. Nobody spoke against it except Cato; and him Cæsar caused to be dragged from the Rostra to prison, Cato the while remitting nothing of his freedom of speech, but as he went along, at the same time speaking about the law and advising them to cease attempting such political measures. The Senate followed with downcast countenances, and the best part of the people, much annoyed and troubled, though they said nothing, so that Cæsar did not fail to see that they were displeased; but out of self-will and expectation that Cato would appeal and have recourse to entreaties, he continued leading him to prison. But when it was plain that Cato intended to do nothing at all, Cæsar, overcome by shame and the ill opinion of the thing, privately persuaded one of the tribunes to rescue Cato. By these laws, however, and these [Pg 534] grants of land, they so cajoled the people, that they voted to Cæsar the government of Illyricum and all Gaul with four legions for five years, though Cato warned them that they would by their own votes plant the tyrant in the Acropolis; and they transferred by illegal means Publius Clodius from the patrician order to the plebeians, and made the man a tribune, who was willing to do anything in his public capacity to serve them, on condition that they would let Cicero be driven out; and they made consuls Piso[705] Calpurnius, the father of Cæsar's wife, and Gabinius Aulus, a man from the lap of Pompeius, as those say who were acquainted with his habits and life.

XXXIV. But though Cæsar and his party had thus violently got possession of the power, and had one part of the citizens at their command through their grants, and another part through fear, they still dreaded Cato. For even when they did get the advantage over him, the fact that it was with difficulty and labour, and not without shame and exposure that they hardly forced their purpose, was annoying and vexatious. Clodius, indeed, did not expect to be able to put down

Cicero so long as Cato was at home, and as he was contriving how to effect this, he sent for Cato as soon as he was in his office, and addressed him to the effect that he considered Cato to be the purest man of all the Romans, and he was ready to prove the sincerity of his opinion by his acts, and he said that though many persons were soliciting the commission to Cyprus and Ptolemæus, [706] and asking to be sent, he thought Cato alone worthy of it, and that he gladly offered him the [Pg 535] favour. On Cato crying out that the thing was a snare and insult and not a favour, Clodius replied in an insolent and contemptuous manner, "Well, if you don't like it, you shall make the voyage against your liking;" and immediately going before the people he got the mission of Cato confirmed by a law. When Cato was leaving Rome, Clodius allowed him neither ship nor soldier nor attendant except two clerks, one of whom was a thief and a thorough knave, and the other was a client of Clodius. And as if he had given him but small occupations with the affairs of Cyprus and Ptolemæus, Clodius commissioned him also to restore the Byzantine fugitives, his wish being that Cato should be as long as possible from Rome during his tribuneship.

XXXV. Being under such compulsion, Cato advised Cicero, who was pressed by his enemies, not to raise any commotion nor to involve the city in a contest and bloodshed, but by yielding to the times to be again the saviour of his country; and sending forward to Cyprus Canidius,[707] one of his friends, he prevailed on Ptolemæus[708] to yield without a struggle, assuring him that he should want neither money nor respect, for that the people would give him the priesthood of the goddess at Paphos.[709] Cato himself stayed in Rhodes making preparation and waiting for the answers. In the meantime Ptolemæus,[710] King of Egypt, left Alexandria in anger after quarrelling with the citizens, and set sail for Rome in the hope that Cæsar and Pompeius would restore him with a military force; and as he wished to see Cato he sent a message, expecting that [Pg 536] Cato would come to him. Cato happened to be then undergoing a purging,[711] and he answered that Ptolemæus must come, if he wished to see him; and when the king did come, Cato neither advanced to meet him nor rose, but saluted him as one of his ordinary visitors and bade him be seated; and by this behaviour the king was at first disturbed, and was amazed at the contrast between Cato's haughty behaviour and rough manners, and the meanness and simplicity of the man's attire. But when he had begun to talk with him about his own affairs, and listened to words full of wisdom and plain-speaking, for Cato reproved him and showed what a happy condition he had left and to what servitude and toils and corruption and love of aggrandisement in the chief men of the Romans he was subjecting himself, whom scarcely Egypt would satisfy if it were all turned into silver, and Cato advised the king to return and be reconciled to his people, and said that he was ready to sail with him and assist in bringing about an accommodation, the king, as if he had been brought to his senses from some madness or delirium by the words of Cato, and perceiving the integrity and judgment of the man, was resolved to follow his advice. However, the king was again turned by his friends to his original design, but as soon as he was in Rome and was approaching the door of one of the magistrates, he groaned over his ill resolve, as if he had rejected, not the advice of a good man, but the prophetic warning of a deity.

XXXVI. The Ptolemæus in Cyprus, to Cato's good luck, poisoned himself; and as it was said that he had left a large sum of money, Cato determined to go to Byzantium himself, and he sent his nephew Brutus[712] to Cyprus, because he did not altogether trust Canidius. After bringing the [Pg 537] exiles to terms with their fellow-citizens and leaving Byzantium at peace with itself, he sailed to Cyprus. Now as there was a great quantity of movables, such as suited a royal household, consisting of cups, tables, precious stones and purple, all which was to be sold and turned into money, Cato being desirous to do everything with the greatest exactness and to bring up everything to the highest price, and to be present everywhere and to apply the strictest reckoning, would not trust even to the usages of the market, but suspecting all alike, assistants, criers, purchasers and friends, in fine, by talking to the purchasers singly and urging them to bid, he in this way got most of the things sold that were put up for sale. Cato thus offended the rest of his friends by showing that he did not trust them, and Munatius, the most intimate of all, he put into a state of resentment that was well nigh past cure; so that when Cæsar was writing his book against Cato, this passage in the charges against him furnished matter for the most bitter invective.

XXXVII. Munatius, however, states that his anger against Cato arose not by reason of Cato's distrust of him, but his contemptuous behaviour, and a certain jealousy of his own in regard to Canidius; for Munatius also published a book about Cato, which Thrasea chiefly followed. He says that he arrived after the rest in Cyprus and found very poor accommodation prepared for him; and that on going to Cato's door he was repulsed, because Cato was engaged about some matters in the house with Canidius, and when he complained of this in reasonable terms, he got an answer which was not reasonable and to the effect: That excessive affection, as Theophrastus says, is in danger of often becoming the cause of hatred, "for," continued Cato, "you, by reason of your very great affection for me, are vexed when you suppose that you receive less respect than is your due. But I employ Canidius because I have made trial of him and trust him more than others, for he came at the first and has shown himself to be an honest man." This, says Munatius, Cato said to him, when they two were alone, but that Cato afterwards told it to Canidius; and accordingly when Munatius heard of it, as he says, he did not go to Cato's table nor to his [Pg 538] counsels when he was invited; and when Cato threatened that he would take pledges[713] from him, which the Romans do in the case of those who refuse to obey a command, that without caring for Cato's threats he sailed away from Cyprus and for a long time continued to be angry with him. That afterwards Marcia, for she was still the wife of Cato, having spoken with Cato, both Cato and he happened to be invited to supper by Barcas;[714] and Cato, who came in after the guests were seated, asked where he should recline. Upon Barcas answering, "Where he

pleased," Cato looking about him said he would take his place near Munatius; and going round he did take his place near him, but showed him no other sign of friendly feeling during the supper. However, upon Marcia preferring a second request, Cato wrote to him to say that he wished to see him on some matter, and that he went early in the morning to the house and was detained by Marcia till all the rest went way, when Cato came in and throwing both his arms round him saluted and received him with all signs of friendship. Now I have told this at some length, because I consider such things to contain a certain evidence for the exhibition and perception of character no less than public and great acts.

XXXVIII. Cato[715] got together nearly seven thousand talents of silver, and being afraid of the length of the voyage, he had many vessels made, each of which contained two talents and five hundred drachmæ, and he fastened to each vessel a long rope, to the end of which was attached a very large piece of cork, with the view, that if the ship were wrecked, the cork holding the [Pg 539] vessels suspended in the deep sea might indicate the place. Now the money, with the exception of a small part, was safely conveyed; but though he had accounts of all his administration carefully drawn up in two books, he saved neither of them. One of them was in the care of his freedman Philargyros, who set sail from Kenchreæ,[716] but was wrecked, and lost the book and all the cargo with it: the other he had safely carried as far as Corcyra, where he pitched his tent in the Agora; but the sailors on account of the cold having lighted many fires, the tents were burnt in the night, and the book was destroyed. The king's managers who were present were ready to stop the mouths of the enemies and detractors of Cato; but the matter gave him annoyance for other reasons. For it was not to prove his own integrity, but to set an example of exact dealing to others that he was ambitious to produce his accounts, and this was the cause of his vexation.

XXXIX. Cato's arrival with the ships did not pass unobserved by the Romans, for all the magistrates and priests, and all the Senate and a great part of the people met him at the river, so that both the banks were covered, and Cato's voyage upwards was not inferior to a triumph in show and splendour. Yet it seemed to some to be a perverse and stubborn thing, that though the consuls and prætors were present, Cato neither landed to meet them nor stopped his course, but sweeping along the shore in a royal galley of six banks, he never stopped till he had moored his ships in the dockyard. However, when the money was carried along through the Forum, the people were amazed[717] at the quantity, and the Senate assembling voted together with suitable thanks that an extraordinary prætorship[718] should be given to Cato, and that he should wear a [Pg 540] dress with a purple border when he was present at the public spectacles. Cato protested against both these distinctions, but he recommended the Senate to emancipate Nikias, the king's steward, to whose care and integrity he bore testimony. At that time Philippus, the father of Marcia, was consul, and in a manner the dignity and power of the office were transferred to Cato, for the colleague of Philippus[719] paid no less respect to Cato on account of his merit than on account of his relationship to Philippus.

XL. When Cicero[720] had returned from the exile into which he was driven by Clodius, and was now a powerful man, he forcibly pulled down and destroyed in the absence of Clodius, the tribunitian tablets which Clodius had recorded and placed in the Capitol; and the Senate having been assembled about this business, and Clodius making it a matter of accusation, Cicero said that inasmuch as Clodius had been made tribune in an illegal manner, all that had been done during his tribunate and recorded ought to be ineffectual and invalid. But Cato took exception to what Cicero said, and at length he rose and declared, that he was of opinion that there was nothing sound or good in any degree in the administration of Clodius, but that if any man was for rescinding all that Clodius had done in his tribunate, all his own measures relating to Cyprus were thereby rescinded, and his mission had not been legal, having been proposed by a man who was not legally tribune: he maintained that Clodius had not been illegally elected tribune by virtue of being adopted out of the patrician body into a plebeian family, for the law allowed this; but if he had been a bad magistrate, like others, it was fitting to call to account the man who had done wrong, and not to annul the office which had been wronged also. In consequence of this, Cicero was angry with Cato, and for a long time ceased all friendly intercourse with him: [Pg 541] however, they were afterwards reconciled.

XLI. After this Pompeius and Crassus[721] had a meeting with Cæsar, who had come across the Alps, in which they agreed that they should seek a second consulship; and when they were established in it, they should cause another period in Cæsar's government as long as the first to be given him by the vote of the people, and to themselves the chief of the provinces and money and military forces: the which was a conspiracy for the division of the supreme power and the destruction of the constitution. Now though many honest men were at this time preparing to be candidates for the consulship, they were deterred by seeing Pompeius and Crassus canvassing; but Lucius Domitius alone, the husband of Porcia, the sister of Cato, was induced by Cato not to give way or to yield, as the contest was not for office but for the liberty of Rome. And indeed it was currently said among that part of the citizens who were still of sober thoughts, that they ought not to allow the consular office to become completely overbearing and oppressive by permitting the power of Crassus and Pompeius to be combined, but that they should deprive one of them of the office. And they ranged themselves on the side of Domitius, urging and encouraging him to keep to his purpose; for many, they argued, even of those who said nothing by reason of fear, would help him with their votes. The party of Pompeius and Crassus fearing this, laid an ambuscade for Domitius as he was going down to the Campus Martius early in the morning, by torch-light. First of all the man who was lighting Domitius and standing close by him

was struck and fell down dead; and after him others also being wounded, there was a general flight of all except Cato and Domitius; for Cato held Domitius though he himself was wounded in the arm, and urged him to stay and so long as there was breath in them, not to give up the struggle for liberty against the tyrants who showed how they would use their power, by making their way to it through such acts of wrong. [Pg 542]

XLII. Domitius, however, did not face the danger, but fled to his house, upon which Pompeius and Crassus,[722] were elected. Yet Cato did not give up the contest, but came forward as a candidate for a prætorship, because he wished to have a strong position in his struggles with them and not to be himself a private man while he was opposing those who were in office. Pompeius and Crassus being afraid of this, and considering that the prætorship by reason of Cato would become a match for the consulship, in the first place on a sudden and without the knowledge of many of the body, summoned the Senate, and got a vote passed that those who were elected prætors should enter on office forthwith and should not let the time fixed by law intervene, during which time prosecutions were allowed of those who had bribed the people. In the next place, now that they had by the vote of the Senate made bribery free from all responsibility, they brought forward their own tools and friends as candidates for the prætorship, themselves giving the bribe-money, and themselves standing by while the voting was going on. But when the merit and good name of Cato were getting the superiority even over all this, the many for very shame considering it a great crime by their votes to sell Cato, whom it were even honourable to purchase for the state as prætor, and the tribe which was first called voted for him, Pompeius all at once, falsely saying he had heard thunder, dissolved the assembly, for it was the custom of the Romans to view such tokens as inauspicious, and not to ratify anything when there had been signs from heaven. Thereafter, by employing excessive bribery and driving all the honest folks from the Campus they brought about by violence that Vatinius should be elected prætor instead of Cato. Upon this it is said that those who had given their votes thus illegally and dishonestly, forthwith skulked away; and a certain tribune forming on the spot a meeting of those who were assembling together and expressing their dissatisfaction, Cato came before them, and as if inspired by the gods, foretold everything that would happen to the state, and urged the citizens to oppose Pompeius and Crassus as being privy to such measures and engaging in a course of policy, on account of which they feared Cato lest, if he were prætor, he should get the advantage over them. And finally as he went home, he was attended by such a crowd as not even all the prætors together, who were elected, had to accompany them. [Pg 543]

XLIII. When Caius Trebonius[723] drew up a law for the division of the provinces between the consuls, to the effect that one of them should have the government of Iberia and Libya, and the other Syria and Egypt, to attack and carry on war against whom they pleased with naval and military forces, the rest despairing of all opposition and hindrance even desisted from speaking against the measure, and when Cato got up on the Rostra before the question was put to the vote, and expressed a wish to speak, he with difficulty obtained leave to speak for two hours.[724] After Cato had occupied this time with much speaking, and alleging of arguments and prophetic warnings, they would not let him speak longer, but an officer went up and pulled him down while he was still keeping his place on the Rostra. But inasmuch as he continued to cry out from the place where he was standing below, and had persons to listen to him and join in his dissatisfaction, the officer again laid hold of him and taking him away, put him out of the Forum. But scarcely was he let loose when he returned and made his way to the Rostra with loud shouts, urging the citizens to aid him. This being repeated several times, Trebonius in a passion ordered him to be led to prison, and the crowd followed listening to him talking as he went along, so that Trebonius was afraid and let him go. In this manner Cato took up all that day: but on the following days by terrifying some of the citizens and gaining over others by favours and by bribes, and with armed men preventing Aquilius[725] one of the tribunes from coming out of the senate house, and by ejecting from the Forum Cato himself, who called out that there had been thunder, and by wounding no small number, and even killing some, they forcibly carried the law, in consequence of which many persons in passion crowded together and pelted the statues of Pompeius. Cato, however, who came up to them stopped this; and further, when a law was proposed respecting the provinces and armies of Cæsar, Cato no longer addressed himself to the people, but turning to Pompeius himself he adjured and forewarned him, that he did not see that he was now taking up Cæsar on his shoulders, but that when he began to feel the weight of his burden and to be mastered by it, having neither power to rid himself of it nor strength to bear it, he would fall with it upon the state, and then he would remember Cato's advice and see that it concerned no less the interests of Pompeius than honour and justice. Though Pompeius heard this often, he cared not for it and let it pass, not believing there would be any change in Cæsar, because he trusted in his own good fortune and power. [Pg 544]

XLIV. For the following year Cato was chosen prætor,[726] but he was considered not to add so much dignity and honour to the office by his good administration, as to detract from it and bring it into disrepute by often going to the Rostra without his shoes and his tunic, and in this attire presiding at trials of men of rank in matters of life and death. Some also say that even after dinner, when he had drunk wine, he would transact business; but this at least is untruly said. The people being now corrupted by the bribery of those who were ambitious of office, and the majority being accustomed to receive money for their votes as if in the way of a regular trade, Cato wishing to eradicate completely this disease in the state, persuaded the Senate to make a decree, that if those who were elected magistrates should have none ready to accuse them, they should themselves be compelled to come forward before a sworn court and give an account of their election. The candidates for magistracies were vexed at this, and still more vexed were the [Pg 545]

mass who received the bribe-money. Accordingly in the morning when Cato had gone to the tribunal, the people in a body pressing upon him, cried out, abused him, and pelted him so that every person fled from the tribunal, and Cato himself being shoved from his place by the crowd and carried along with it, with difficulty laid hold of the Rostra. Thereupon getting up, by the boldness and firmness of his demeanour, Cato forthwith mastered the tumult, and stopped the shouting, and after saying what was suitable to the occasion and being listened to with perfect quiet, he put an end to the disturbance. When the Senate were bestowing praise upon him, he said, "But I cannot praise you, who left a prætor in danger and did not come to his help." But of the candidates for magistracies every man felt himself in a difficult position, being afraid to give bribes himself, and being afraid that he should lose the office if another did it. Accordingly it was agreed among them that they should come together to one place, and each lay down one hundred and twenty-five thousand drachmæ of silver, and all should then seek the office in a right and just way, and that he who broke the terms and employed bribery, should lose his money. Having [Pg 546] agreed to these terms they chose Cato as depositary and umpire and witness, and bringing the money, they offered to place it with him; and they had the terms of the agreement drawn up before him, but Cato took sureties instead of the money, and would not receive the money itself. When the day for the election came, Cato taking his place by the presiding tribune and watching the vote, discovered that one of those who had entered into the engagement, was playing foul, and he ordered him to pay the money to the rest. But they, commending his uprightness and admiring it, waived the penalty, considering that they had sufficient satisfaction from the wrong-doer; but Cato offended all the rest and got very great odium from this, it being as if he assumed to himself the power of the Senate and of the courts of justice and of the magistrates. For the opinion and the credit of no one virtue makes people more envious than that of justice,[727] because both æpower and credit among the many follow it chiefly. For people do not merely [Pg 547] honour the just, as they do the brave, nor do they admire them, as they do the wise, but they even love the just, and have confidence in them and give them credit. But as to the brave and wise, they fear the one, and give no credit to the other; and besides this, they think that the brave and the wise excel by nature rather than by their own will; and with respect to courage and wisdom, they consider the one to be a certain sharpness, and the other a firmness of soul; but inasmuch as any man who chooses, has it in his power to be just, they have most abhorrence of injustice as badness that is without excuse.

XLV. Wherefore all the great were enemies of Cato, as being reproved by his conduct: and as Pompeius viewed Cato's reputation even as a nullification of his own power, he was continually setting persons on to abuse him, among whom Clodius also was one, the demagogue, who had again insensibly attached himself to Pompeius, and was crying out against Cato on the ground that he had appropriated to his own purposes much money in Cyprus, and was hostile to Pompeius because Pompeius had rejected a marriage with Cato's daughter. Cato replied that he had brought to the city from Cyprus, without the aid of a single horse or soldier, more money than Pompeius had brought back from so many wars and triumphs after disturbing the habitable world, and that he never chose Pompeius to make a marriage alliance with, not because he considered Pompeius unworthy, but because he saw the difference between his polity and that of Pompeius. "For my part," continued Cato, "I declined a province when it was offered to me after my prætorship, but Pompeius has got some provinces, and he also offers some to others; and [Pg 548] now, last of all, he has lent to Cæsar a force of six thousand legionary soldiers for Gaul, which neither did Cæsar ask of you, nor did Pompeius give with your assent; but forces to such an amount and arms and horses are gifts from private persons and things of mutual exchange. And being called Imperator and governor he has given up to others the armies and the provinces, and he himself sits down close to the city raising commotions at the elections and contriving disturbances, from which it is manifest that he is intriguing to get by means of anarchy a monarchy for himself."

XLVI. In this fashion Cato defended himself against Pompeius. But Marcus Favonius, an intimate friend and admirer of Cato, just as Apollodorus[728] of Phalerum is said to have been of Socrates of old, being a passionate man and one who was violently moved by his principles, did not with any temper or moderation, but intemperately attack Pompeius, like a man under the influence of drink and somewhat mad. Favonius was a candidate for the ædileship and was losing his election, when Cato, who was present, observed that the voting tablets were written in one hand, and so proved the knavery, and by appealing to the tribunes stopped the return. Afterwards when Favonius was made ædile, Cato both administered the other duties of the ædileship, and superintended the exhibitions in the theatre, giving to the actors not crowns of gold, but as is the fashion of Olympia, crowns of wild olive, and instead of costly presents, giving to the Greeks, turnips and lettuces and radishes and parsley;[729] and to the Romans, earthen jars of wine, and hogs' flesh, and figs and gourds, and bundles of wood, at the thrift of which gifts some laughed, but others treated the matter in a respectful way, seeing the austere and serious countenance of [Pg 549] Cato imperceptibly assuming a pleasant expression. Finally, Favonius, mingling with, the crowd and sitting among the spectators, applauded Cato, and called out to him to give to those who were distinguishing themselves, and to honour them, and he urged the spectators to the same effect, inasmuch as he had surrendered all his authority to Cato. Now in the other theatre, Curio, the colleague of Favonius, was conducting the celebration in splendid style, but still the people left him to go to the other place, and they readily joined in the amusement of Favonius playing a private part and Cato the part of the superintendent of the exhibitions. And Cato did this to disparage the thing and to show that when a man is in sport he should use sportive ways, and accompany it with unpretending kindness rather than with much preparation and great cost, bestowing great care and trouble on things of no value.

XLVII. Now when Scipio and Hypsæus and Milo[730] were candidates for the consulship, and were employing not merely those wrongful ways that were now familiar and had become usual in matters political, the giving of gifts and bribery, but were plainly pushing on through arms and slaughter to civil war, in their daring and madness, and some persons were urging Pompeius to preside over the comitia, Cato at first opposed this and said, that the laws should not owe their maintenance to Pompeius, but that Pompeius should owe his security to the laws. However, when there had been an anarchy for some time, and three armies were occupying the Forum daily, and the mischief had well nigh become past checking, he determined in favour of putting affairs in the hands of Pompeius before the extreme necessity arrived, by the voluntary favour of the Senate, and by employing the most moderate of unconstitutional means as a healing measure for the settlement of what was most important, to bring on the monarchy rather than to let the civil dissensions result in a monarchy. Accordingly Bibulus, who was a friend of Cato, proposed that [Pg 550] they ought to elect Pompeius sole consul, for that either matters would be put into a good condition by his settlement of them, or that the state would be enslaved by the best man in it. Cato rose and spoke in favour of the proposal, which nobody could have expected, and recommended any government as better than no government; and he added, that he expected that Pompeius would manage present affairs best, and would protect the state with which he was intrusted.

XLVIII. Pompeius[731] being thus declared consul prayed Cato to come to him to the suburbs: and on his arrival Pompeius received him in a friendly manner with salutations and pressing of hands, and after acknowledging his obligations he entreated Cato to be his adviser and his assessor in the consulship. But Cato replied, that neither had he said what he first said out of evil disposition towards Pompeius, nor had he said what he last said in order to win his favour, but everything for the interest of the state; accordingly he observed that he would give Pompeius his advice when he was privately invited, but that in public, even if he should not be invited, he would certainly say what he thought. And he did as he said. In the first place, when Pompeius was proposing laws with new penalties and severe proceedings against those who had already bribed the people, Cato advised him not to care about the past, but to attend to the future, for he said, it was not easy to determine at what point the inquiry into past offences should stop, and if penalties be imposed after the offences, those would be hardly dealt with who were punished by a law which they were not breaking at the time of their wrong-doing. In the next place, when many men of rank were under trial, some of whom were friends and relations of Pompeius, Cato observing that Pompeius was giving way to the greater part of them and yielding, rebuked him firmly and roused him up. Though Pompeius himself had caused a law to be passed which did not allow the panegyrics which used to be pronounced on those who were under trial, he wrote a panegyric on [Pg 551] Munatius Plancus[732] on the occasion of his trial and handed it in, but Cato by stopping his ears with his hands, for he happened to be one of the judices, prevented the testimonial from being read. Plancus challenged Cato as one of the judices after the speeches, but nevertheless he was convicted. And altogether Cato was a kind of thing difficult and unmanageable for persons accused, as they were neither willing to have him to be a judex, nor could they venture to challenge him. For not a few were convicted because, by being unwilling to have Cato for one of their judices, they were considered to show that they had no confidence in the justice of their cause; and their revilers even charged it upon some as matter of great reproach that they would not have Cato as one of their judices when he was proposed.

XLIX. Now when Cæsar, though he kept close to his armies in Gaul and stuck to arms, was still employing gifts and money and friends to secure his power in the city, Cato's admonitions roused Pompeius from his former long continued state of incredulity, and he began to be afraid of the danger; but as he was somewhat hesitating and spiritlessly procrastinating all attempts at prevention, Cato resolved to be a candidate for the consulship with the view of either forthwith wresting Cæsar's arms from him or demonstrating his designs. But the rival candidates were both popular men: and Sulpicius[733] had already derived much advantage from Cato's reputation in the state and his influence. He therefore seemed to be doing what was neither just nor grateful, but yet Cato found no fault with him. "What is it strange," said he, "if a man does not [Pg 552] give up to another the thing which he thinks to be the greatest of goods?" But Cato by persuading the Senate to pass a Consultum that those who were candidates for the office should canvass the people themselves, and should not solicit through any other person, not even by such person going about to see the citizens on their behalf, still more irritated the citizens, in that by depriving them not only of the opportunity of receiving money, but even of conferring a favour, he rendered the people at once poor and dishonoured. In addition to this, as Cato had neither any persuasive manners in canvassing for himself, but wished to maintain the dignity of his life in his character rather than to add to it that of the consulship by shaking hands with the electors, and as he would not allow his friends to do the things by which the mass are taken and gained over, he lost the office.

L. Though the matter caused not only to those who failed, but to their friends and kin a certain degree of shame and depression and sorrow for many days, Cato bore what had happened with so little concern, that after anointing himself in the Campus he exercised at ball, and again after dinner, according to his wont, he went down into the Forum without his shoes and tunic, and walked about with his intimates. But Cicero blames him, that when the times required such a magistrate, he used no exertion nor tried to gain the favour of the people by friendly intercourse with them, but for the future ceased to make any effort and gave up the contest, though he was again a candidate for the prætorship. Cato, however, said, that he lost the prætorship not by the real will of the majority, but because they were forced or corrupted; whereas in the voting for the

consulship, in which there was no foul play, he further perceived that he had displeased the people by his manners, which it was not the part of a man of sense to change in order to please others, nor, if he still kept to the like manners, to subject himself to the like treatment.

LI. When Cæsar had attacked warlike nations and had conquered them with great hazard, and when it was the opinion that he had fallen upon the Germans even after a truce had been made, [Pg 553] and had destroyed three hundred thousand[734] of them, the rest indeed were promising to the people to offer sacrifices for the victory, but Cato urged that they should give up Cæsar to those who had been wronged, and should not turn the guilt upon themselves nor allow it to fall on the state. "However," said he, "let us still sacrifice to the gods, that they do not turn their vengeance for the madness and desperation of the commander upon the soldiers, and that they spare the city." Upon this Cæsar wrote and sent a letter to the Senate; and when the letter had been read, which contained much abuse of Cato and many charges against him, Cato got up, and not under the influence of passion or personal animosity, but as if it were on good consideration and due preparation, showed that the charges against him were in the nature of abuse and insult, and were pure trifling and mockery on Cæsar's part. Then taking hold of all Cæsar's measures from the first, and unveiling all his plans, not as if he were an enemy, but a fellow conspirator and participator, he proved to them that they had no reason to fear the sons of the Britons nor yet the Celts, but Cæsar himself, if they were prudent; and he so worked on and excited them that the friends of Cæsar repented of having read the letter in the Senate, and so given Cato an opportunity of making a fair statement and true charges. Nothing, however, was done, but it was merely said that it would be well for a successor to Cæsar to be appointed. But when Cæsar's friends required that Pompeius also should lay down his arms and give up his provinces, or that Cæsar should not, Cato cried out, that now what he foretold them had come to pass, and that the man was having recourse to force and was openly employing the power which he had got by deceiving and gulling the state; yet Cato could do nothing out of doors, because the people all along wished Cæsar to have the chief power, and he found the Senate ready to assent to his measures, but afraid of the people.

LII. But when Ariminum[735] was captured, and news came that Cæsar with his army was [Pg 554] advancing against the city, then indeed all men turned their eyes on Cato, both the people and Pompeius, as the only man who from the first had foreseen and who had first clearly shown the designs of Cæsar. Accordingly Cato said, "Men, if any among you had listened to what I had all along been foretelling and advising, you would neither have to fear a single man now, nor would you have to rest all your hopes on a single man." Upon Pompeius saying that Cato had indeed spoken more like a prophet, but that he had acted more like a friend, Cato advised the Senate to place affairs in the hands of Pompeius alone, for it was the business of those who caused great evils to put an end to them. Now as Pompeius had not a force in readiness, and he saw that the troops which he was then levying had no zeal, he left Rome. Cato having determined to follow Pompeius in his flight, sent his younger son into the country of the Bruttii[736] to Munatius for safe keeping, but the elder he took with him. And as his household and daughters required some one to look after them, he took again Marcia, who was now a widow with a large estate, for Hortensius at his death had made her his heir. It was with reference to this that Cæsar[737] vented most abuse on Cato, and charged him with covetousness and making a traffic of his marriage; for why should he give up his wife, said Cæsar, if he still wanted one, or why should he take her back, if he did not want one? if it was not that from the first[738] the woman was put as a [Pg 555] bait in the way of Hortensius, and Cato gave her up when she was young that he might have her back when she was rich. Now, in reply to these charges, this from Euripides suffices:—

> "First then what can't be said, for of this kind
> I deem thy so call'd cowardice, O Hercules."

For to accuse Cato of filthy lucre is like upbraiding Hercules with cowardice. But whether the matter of the marriage was not well in other respects is a thing for inquiry. However, Cato did espouse Marcia, and intrusting to her his family and daughters, hurried after Pompeius.

LIII. From that day it is said that Cato never cut the hair of his head or beard, nor put on a chaplet, but maintained till his death the same outward signs of sorrow and depression of spirits and grief over the misfortunes of his country, just the same when his party was victorious and when it was vanquished. At that time having got by lot Sicily as his province, he crossed over to Syracuse, and on hearing that Asinius Pollio[739] had arrived from the enemy with a large force at Messene, he sent to him to demand the reason of his coming. But Cato in turn being asked for the reason of the change in affairs, and having heard that Pompeius had completely deserted Italy and was encamped in Dyrrachium, he said that there was great perplexity and uncertainty in matters appertaining to the gods. Pompeius, who had always been invincible while he was doing what was not honest or just, now when he wished to save his country and fight in defence of liberty, was deserted by his good fortune. As to Asinius, he said that he was able to drive him out of Sicily, but as another greater force was coming against him, he did not choose to ruin the island by a war; and after advising the Syracusans to join the victorious party and to take care of themselves, he sailed away. When he came to Pompeius, he kept steadily to one opinion, to [Pg 556] prolong the war, for he expected some terms of reconciliation and did not wish that the state should be worsted in a battle and suffer from itself the extreme of sufferings by having its fate determined by the sword. And he persuaded Pompeius and his council to other determinations akin to these, neither to plunder any city that was subject to the Romans, nor to put to death any Roman except on the field of battle; and he gained good opinion and brought over many to the

side of Pompeius, who were pleased with his moderation and mildness.

LIV. Being sent to Asia to help those there who were collecting vessels and an army, he took with him his sister Servilia and her young child by Lucullus. For Servilia, who was now a widow, followed Cato, and she removed much of the evil report about her licentious conduct by voluntarily subjecting herself to the guardianship of Cato and his wanderings and mode of life. But Cæsar[740] did not spare his abuse of Cato even with respect to Servilia. However as it seems the generals of Pompeius did not want the assistance of Cato at all; and after persuading the Rhodians to join the side of Pompeius and leaving Servilia and the child there, he returned to Pompeius, who had already a splendid military force and a naval power with him. Here indeed Pompeius appeared most clearly to show his mind; for at first he intended to give to Cato the command of the ships, and the fighting vessels were not fewer than five hundred, and the Liburnian and spy ships and open boats were very numerous: but having soon perceived, or it having been hinted to him by his friends, that it was the one chief thing in all the policy of Cato to liberate his country, and that if he should have the command of so great a force, the very day on which they should defeat Cæsar, Cato would require Pompeius also to lay down his arms and to follow the laws, he changed his mind though he had already spoken with him, and he appointed Bibulus commander of the ships. Yet he found not Cato's zeal dulled by this; for it is told that [Pg 557] when Pompeius was urging his troops to a battle before Dyrrachium and bidding each of the commanders say something and to encourage the men, the soldiers heard them with listlessness and silence; but when Cato, after the rest, had gone through all the topics derived from philosophy that were suitable to the occasion to be said about liberty and virtue, and death and good fame, with great emotion on his part, and finally addressed himself to invoke the gods as being there present and watching over the struggle on behalf of their country, there was so loud an acclamation and so great a movement in the whole army thus excited, that all the commanders hastened to the contest full of hopes. The soldiers of Pompeius routed and defeated the enemy, but the dæmon of Cæsar prevented the completion of the victory by taking advantage of the caution of Pompeius and his want of confidence in his success. Now this is told in the Life of Pompeius.[741] But while all were rejoicing and magnifying the victory, Cato wept for his country and bewailed the love of power that brought destruction and misfortune with it, when he saw that many brave citizens had fallen by the hands of one another.

LV. When Pompeius in order to pursue Cæsar broke up his camp to march into Thessaly, he left at Dyrrachium a great quantity of arms and stores, and many kinsmen and friends, and he appointed Cato commander and guardian over all with fifteen cohorts, both because he trusted and feared the man. For if he were defeated, he considered that Cato would be his surest support; but that if he were victorious, Cato would not, if he were present, let him manage matters as he chose. Many men of rank also were left behind in Dyrrachium with Cato. When the defeat at Pharsalus took place, Cato resolved that if Pompeius were dead, he would take over to Italy those who were with him, and himself would live an exile as far from the tyranny as possible; but if Pompeius were alive, that he would by all means keep together the force for him. Accordingly having crossed over to Cercyra, where the navy was, he proposed to give up the command to Cicero, who was a consular, while he was only of prætorian rank; but when Cicero [Pg 558] would not accept the command and set off for Italy, Cato observing that Pompeius[742] through his stubborn self-will and unreasonable temper was desirous of punishing those who were sailing away, privately admonished and pacified him, by which Cato manifestly saved Cicero from death and secured the safety of the rest.

LVI. Conjecturing that Pompeius Magnus would make his escape to Egypt or to Libya, and being in haste to join him, Cato with all whom he had about him weighed anchor and set sail after permitting all those to go away or stay behind who were not ready to accompany him. He reached Libya, and coasting along he fell in with Sextus,[743] the younger son of Pompeius, who reported to him his father's death in Egypt. Now they were all much troubled, and no one after the death of Pompeius would obey any other commander while Cato was present. Wherefore Cato, out of respect to those who were with him, and because he had not heart to desert and leave in difficulties the brave men who had given proof of their fidelity, undertook the command and went along the coast till he came to Cyrene; for the people received him though a few days before they had shut out Labienus. Upon hearing that Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, had been well received by King Juba, and that Varus Attius, who had been appointed governor of Libya by Pompeius, was with them with a force, he set out by land in the winter season, having got together a number of asses to carry water, and driving along with him a quantity of cattle, and also taking chariots and the people called Psylli,[744] who cure the bites of serpents by sucking out the poison with their mouths, and deaden and soothe the serpents themselves by [Pg 559] charming them with music. Though the march was seven days in succession, Cato led at the head of his men without using horse or beast of burden. And he continued to sup in a sitting posture from the day that he heard of the defeat at Pharsalus, and he added this further sign of his sorrow, never to lie down except when he was sleeping. Having spent the winter in Libya[745] he led forth his army; and the men were near ten thousand.

LVII. Matters were in bad plight between Scipio and Varus, for in consequence of their disagreement and disunion they were secretly trying to win the favour of Juba,[746] who was intolerable for the arrogance of his temper and his haughtiness by reason of his wealth and power. When he was going to have his first interview with Cato, Juba placed his seat between the seats of Scipio and Cato. However, when Cato observed it, he took up his seat and moved it to the other side so as to leave Scipio in the middle, though Scipio was his enemy, and had published a

certain writing which contained abuse of Cato. This, indeed, people make no account of; but they blame Cato that in Sicily he placed Philostratus[747] in the middle, as he was walking about with him, to do honour to philosophy. On this occasion, however, he checked Juba, who had all but made Scipio and Varus his satraps, and he reconciled them. Though all invited Cato to the command, and Scipio and Varus were the first to surrender and give it up to him, he said that he would not break the laws in defence of which they were fighting against him who broke them, nor would he place himself, who was a proprætor, before a proconsul who was present. For Scipio had been appointed proconsul, and the majority, on account of the name, had confidence that they should be successful, if a Scipio commanded in Libya. [Pg 560]

LVIII. However when Scipio[748] immediately on receiving the command, wished to please Juba by putting to death all the people of Utica who were capable of bearing arms, and to dig down the city, because it favoured Cæsar, Cato would not endure this, but with adjurations and loud cries in the council and by appealing to the gods he with difficulty rescued the people from their cruelty; and partly at the request of the citizens of Utica[749] and partly at the instance of Scipio, he undertook to keep guard in the city, that it should not either involuntarily or voluntarily join Cæsar. For the place was in all respects advantageous, and defensible by those who held it; and it was strengthened still more by Cato. For he brought abundance of corn into the city, and he strengthened the walls by raising towers, and making strong ditches and palisado-work in front of the city. To the people of Utica who were able to bear arms he assigned the palisado-work as their quarter, and made them give up their arms to him; but he kept the rest in the city, and took great care that they should not be wronged and should suffer no harm from the Romans. He also sent out a great quantity of arms, supplies and grain to those in camp, and altogether he made the city the storehouse for the war. But the advice which he gave Pompeius before, and gave Scipio then, not to fight with a man of a warlike turn and great ability, but to take advantage of time which wastes all the vigour wherein the strength of tyranny lies, Scipio through self-will despised; and on one occasion he wrote to Cato upbraiding him with cowardice, in that he was not content to sit down within a city and walls, but would not even let others boldly use their own judgment as opportunity offered. To this Cato replied, that he was ready to take the legionary soldiers and horsemen whom he had brought into Libya, and carry them over to Italy, and so make Cæsar change his place and to turn him from them to himself. And when Scipio mocked at this also, it was clear that Cato was much annoyed that he had declined the command, for he saw that Scipio would neither conduct the war well, nor, if he should succeed contrary to expectation, would he behave with moderation to the citizens in his victory. Accordingly Cato formed the opinion and mentioned it to some of his friends, that he had no good hopes of the war on account of the inexperience and confidence of the commanders, but if there should be any good fortune, and Cæsar should be worsted, he would not stay in Rome, and would fly from the harshness and cruelty of Scipio, who was even then uttering dreadful and extravagant threats against many. But it turned out worse than he expected; and late in the evening there arrived a messenger from the camp who had been three days on the road, with the news that a great battle had been fought at Thapsus[750] in which their affairs were entirely ruined, that Cæsar was in possession of the camps, Scipio and Juba had escaped with a few men, and the rest of the army was destroyed. [Pg 561]

LIX. On the arrival of this intelligence, the city, as was natural on the receipt of such news by night and in time of war, nearly lost its reason, and hardly contained itself within the walls; but Cato coming forward, whenever he met with any one running about and calling out, laid hold of him, and cheering him took away the excessive fright and confusion of his alarm, by saying that matters perchance were not so bad as they had been reported, but were magnified by rumour; and so he stayed the tumult. At daybreak he made proclamation that the three hundred, whom he had as a Senate, and these were Romans, and were carrying on business in Libya as merchants and money-lenders, should assemble at the temple of Jupiter, and also all the Roman senators who were present and their sons. While they were still assembling, Cato advanced, without hurry and with a tranquil countenance, as if nothing new had happened, holding a book in his hand, which he was reading; and this was a register of the military engines, arms, corn, bows, and legionary soldiers. When they had come together, beginning with the three hundred, and commending at some length the zeal and fidelity which they had displayed in aiding with their means and persons and advice, he exhorted them not to let their hopes be destroyed, and not severally to provide for their flight or escape. For, he said, that if they would keep together, Cæsar would despise them less if they made resistance, and would spare them more if they asked his mercy. And he urged them to deliberate about themselves, and that he would not find fault with their deciding either way, and if they should be disposed to turn to the fortunate side, he should attribute the change to necessity; but if they preferred to oppose the danger and to undertake the hazard in defence of liberty, he should not only commend them, but admire their virtue, and make himself their commander and fellow-combatant, till they had tried the last fortune of their country, which was not Utica or Adrumetum only, but Rome, that had often by her might recovered from greater falls. And they had many grounds for safety and security; and chief of all, that they were warring against a man who was pulled in many directions by the circumstances of the times, for Iberia had gone over to Pompeius the young, and Rome herself had not yet altogether received the bit for want of being used to it, but was impatient of suffering and ready to rise up collected upon every change, and danger was not a thing to fly from, but they should take as a pattern the enemy, who was not sparing of his life for accomplishing the greatest wrongs, and for whom the uncertainty of the war had not the same result as for them, to whom it would bring the happiest life, if they were successful, and the most glorious death if they failed. However, he said they ought to deliberate by themselves, and he joined them in praying that in consideration of their former virtue and zeal what they resolved might be for the best. [Pg 562] [Pg 563]

LX. When Cato had spoken to this effect, some of them indeed were brought to confidence by his words; but the greater part seeing his fearlessness and noble and generous temper, nearly forgot present circumstances, and considering him alone as an invincible leader and superior to all fortune, prayed him to use their persons and property and arms as he judged best, for they said it was better to die in obedience to him than to save their lives by betraying such virtue. On a certain person observing that they should declare freedom to the slaves, and most of them assenting to this, Cato said he would not do so, for it was not lawful nor yet right; but if the masters were ready to give up their slaves, they should receive those who were of military age. Many offers were made, and Cato, after telling them to enrol every man who was willing, retired. Shortly after there came to him letters from Juba and Scipio; from Juba, who was hid in a mountain with a few men, asking him what he had resolved to do; and that if Cato left Utica he would wait for him, and if he stood a siege he would come to aid him with an army; from Scipio, who was in a vessel off a certain point not far from Utica, and waiting with the same views.

LXI. Accordingly Cato determined to detain the letter-carriers till he had confirmed the resolution of the three hundred. For the senators were zealous, and immediately manumitted their slaves, and set about arming them. But with respect to the three hundred, inasmuch as they were men engaged in maritime affairs and money lending, and had the chief part of their substance in slaves, the words of Cato stood no long time in them, but oozed out, just as bodies [Pg 564] which have a great degree of rarity easily receive heat and again part with it, being cooled when the fire is removed; in like manner Cato, while they saw him, fanned the flame and warmed those men; but when they began to reflect by themselves, the fear of Cæsar drove out of them all regard to Cato and to honour. "Who are we," said they, "and who is the man whose commands we are refusing to obey? Is not this Cæsar, to whom the whole power of the Romans has been transferred? and not one of us is a Scipio, nor a Pompeius, nor a Cato. But at a time when all men by reason of fear are humbled in mind more than is fitting, at such a time shall we fight in defence of the liberty of the Romans, and contend in Utica against a man before whom Cato with Pompeius Magnus fled and gave up Italy; and shall we manumit our slaves to oppose Cæsar, we who have only as much freedom as he shall choose to give? No, even yet, miserable wretches, let us know our own weakness, and deprecate the conqueror, and send persons to supplicate him." This was what the most moderate among the three hundred recommended; but the majority were forming a design on the senatorial class, with the hope that, if they seized them, they would pacify Cæsar's rage against themselves.

LXII. Though Cato suspected the change, he took no notice of it. However he wrote to Scipio and Juba to tell them to keep away from Utica, because he distrusted the three hundred, and he sent off the letter-carriers. But the horsemen who had escaped from the battle, no contemptible number, riding up to Utica, sent to Cato three men, who did not bring the same message from all; for one party was bent on going to Juba, another wished to join Cato, and a third was afraid of entering Utica. Cato on hearing this ordered Marcus Rubrius to observe the three hundred and quietly to receive the registrations of those who manumitted their slaves without forcing any one; and himself taking the senatorial men went out of Utica, and meeting with the commanders of the cavalry he besought them not to betray so many Roman senators, nor to choose Juba for their commander in place of Cato but to secure their own safety and that of the rest by coming into a city which could not be taken by storm, and contained both corn and other resources for many [Pg 565] years. The senatorial men joined in this prayer and wept; and the commanders conferred with the cavalry, while Cato sat down on a mound with the senatorial men and waited for the answer.

LXIII. In the meantime Rubrius came in a passion, charging the three hundred with great disorder and tumult, inasmuch, as they were falling off and disturbing the city. On which the rest, altogether despairing, fell to weeping and lamentation, but Cato attempted to cheer them, and sent to the three hundred and bade them wait. But the representatives on the part of the horsemen came with no reasonable requisitions: for they said that they neither wanted Juba for their pay-master, nor were they afraid of Cæsar if they had Cato to command them, but it was a dangerous thing to shut themselves up with the citizens of Utica, who were Phœnicians and an inconstant people; and if they should keep quiet now, they would set upon them and betray them, when Cæsar came. If then any man wanted their aid in war and their presence, he must eject or kill all the people of Utica, and then invite them into a city free from enemies and barbarians. Cato considered this to be an excessively savage and barbarous proposal, but he answered mildly and said that he would consult with the three hundred. When he had returned into the city he found the men no longer making pretexts or evasions out of respect to him, but openly complaining that any one should force them to fight with Cæsar when they were neither able nor willing. Some even whispered with respect to the senatorial men, that they ought to keep them in the city, since Cæsar was near. Cato let this pass as if he did not hear it, and indeed he was somewhat deaf; but when one came up to him and reported that the horsemen were going away, Cato, fearing that the three hundred might do something desperate to the senatorial men, got up with his friends and set out walking; but observing that they had already advanced some distance, he seized a horse and rode to them. The horsemen were glad to see him approach, and received him and urged him to save himself with them. Then it is said that Cato even shed tears, beseeching on behalf of the senatorial men and holding forth his hands, and turning back the [Pg 566] horses of some and laying hold of their arms, until he prevailed on them to abide there for that day at least, and secure the senatorial men in their flight.

LXIV. When Cato arrived with the horsemen, and had posted some at the gates, and had delivered the citadel to others to watch, the three hundred, who were afraid that they should be punished for their change, sent to Cato and prayed him by all means to come to them. But the

senatorial men crowding round him would not let him go, and they declared that they would not give up their guardian and saviour to faithless men and traitors. For a most lively perception, as it appears, and affection and admiration of Cato's virtue had been implanted in all alike who were in Utica, inasmuch as nothing spurious or deceitful was mingled with what he did. And as the man had long resolved to kill himself, he laboured with prodigious toil, and had care and pain on behalf of others, in order that after placing all in safety he might be released from life. For his resolution to die was no secret, though he said nothing. Accordingly he complied with the wish of the three hundred after comforting the senatorial men, and he went alone to the three hundred, who thanked him, and prayed him to employ them and trust them in everything else, and if they are not Catos, and not capable of the lofty mind of Cato, he should have pity on their weakness; and as they had determined to supplicate Cæsar and to send to him, on Cato's behalf chiefly and for him first of all they would prefer their prayer; and if they could not prevail on Cæsar, neither would they receive the grace if it were offered to themselves, but so long as they breathed would fight for him. In reply to this Cato commended their good intentions, but said that they ought for their own safety's sake to send quickly, and not to offer any petition on his behalf, for entreaty belonged to the vanquished, and deprecation of vengeance to those who were wrongdoers; that he had not only been unvanquished all through life, but that he was victorious as far as he chose to be, and had the superiority over Cæsar in things honourable and just, and that Cæsar was the [Pg 567] party who was captured and conquered; for what he used to deny that he was doing against his country long ago, he was now convicted of and detected therein.

LXV. Having thus spoken to the three hundred he went away, and hearing that Cæsar at the head of all his army was already on his march, "Ha!" said he, "he considers that he has to deal with men;" and turning to the senators he urged them not to delay, but to make their escape while the horsemen were still staying there. He also closed the gates, except one that led to the sea, where he assigned vessels to those under his command and preserved order by stopping wrong-doing and settling disturbances, and supplying with stores those who were ill provided. And when Marcus Octavius[751] with two legions had encamped near, and had sent a message to Cato, in which he called on Cato to come to some terms with him about the command, Cato gave him no answer, but he said to his friends, "Do we wonder why our affairs are ruined, when we see that love of power abides among us even when we are in the midst of ruin?" In the mean time hearing that the horsemen, as they were leaving the city, were pillaging and plundering the people of Utica, as if their property was booty, Cato hurried to them as fast as he could run, and took the plunder from the first that he met with, and the rest made haste to throw it away or set it down on the ground, and all of them for very shame retired in silence and with downcast looks. Cato having called together the people of Utica in the city, entreated them not to irritate Cæsar against the three hundred, but to unite altogether to secure their safety. Then again betaking himself to the sea he inspected the persons who were embarking, and all his friends and acquaintance whom he could persuade to go away, he embraced and accompanied to the shore. But he did not recommend his son to take shipping, nor did he think it his duty to turn him from his purpose of sticking to his father. There was one Statyllius, in years a young man, but one who aimed at being resolute in character and an imitator of the indifference of Cato. This man Cato [Pg 568] entreated to embark, for he was notoriously a hater of Cæsar; and-when he would not go, Cato looking on Apollonides the Stoic and Demetrius the Peripatetic said—"It is your business to soften this stubborn man and to fashion him to his own interests." But Cato himself was busied all the night and the greatest part of the following day in assisting the rest in making their escape and helping those who wanted his aid.

LXVI. When Lucius Caæsar,[752] who was a kinsman of Cæsar, and about to go to him as ambassador on behalf of the three hundred, urged Cato to help him in devising some plausible speech which he should employ on behalf of the three hundred, "for on thy behalf," he continued, "it is becoming for me to touch the hands and to fall down at the knees of Cæsar," Cato would not allow him to do this, and said, "For my part, if I wished to save my life by Cæsar's favour, I ought to go to him myself. But I do not choose to thank a tyrant for his illegal acts; and he acts illegally in sparing as master those whom he has no right to lord it over. However, if you please, let us consider how you shall get pardon for the three hundred." After talking with Lucius on this matter he presented his son and his friends to him as he was departing, and after accompanying him some distance and taking leave of him he returned home, and then calling together his son and his friends he spoke on many subjects, among which he forbade his son to meddle in political matters, for, he said, circumstances no longer allowed him to act as befitted a Cato, and to act otherwise was base. At evening he went to the bath. While he was bathing, he remembered Statyllius, and calling out aloud he said, "Apollonides, have you sent Statyllius away, and brought him down from his stubborn temper, and has the man gone without even taking leave of us?" "By [Pg 569] no means," replied Apollonides, "though we said much to him, but he is lofty and immovable and says he will stay and do whatever you do." On this they say that Cato smiled and replied, "Well, this will soon be shown."

LXVII. After taking the bath he supped in much company, still sitting as his fashion had been since the battle, for he never reclined except when he was sleeping; and there were at supper with him all his friends and the magistrates of Utica. After supper the drinking went on with much gaiety and enjoyment, one philosophical subject after another taking its turn, till at last the enquiry came round to the so-called paradoxes of the Stoics, that the good man alone is free, and that all the bad are slaves. Hereupon the Peripatetic making objections, as one might expect, Cato broke in with great vehemence, and with a loud tone and harsh voice maintained his discourse at great length, and displayed wonderful energy, so that no one failed to observe that

he had resolved to end his life and relieve himself from present troubles. Wherefore as there was silence and depression of spirits among all the company, after he had done speaking, with the view of cheering them up and diverting their suspicions, Cato again begun to put questions and to express anxiety about the state of affairs, and his fears for those who had sailed away, and also for those who were going through a waterless and barbarian desert.

LXVIII. At the end of the entertainment he took his usual walk with his friends after supper, and after giving the officers of the watch the proper orders, he retired to his chamber, but he first embraced his son and his friends with more than his usual expression of kindness, which again made them suspect what was going to happen. On entering his chamber and lying down he took Plato's dialogue on the Soul,[753] and when he had gone through the greater part of it, he looked up over his head, and not seeing his sword hanging there, for his son had caused it to be taken [Pg 570] away while he was at supper, he called a slave and asked who had taken his sword. The slave made no answer and Cato was again at the book, but after a short interval, as if he were in no haste or hurry, and was merely looking for his sword, he bade the slave bring it. As there was some delay and nobody brought it, after having read the dialogue through he again called his slaves one by one, and raising his voice demanded his sword; and striking the mouth of one of them with his fist he bruised his hand, being in a great passion and calling out aloud that he was surrendered defenceless to the enemy by his son and his slaves, till at last his son ran in weeping with his friends, and embracing him fell to lamentations and entreaties. But Cato rising up looked sternly and said, "When and where have I been proved, and without knowing it, to have lost my reason, that no one instructs me or teaches me in the matters wherein I am judged to have determined ill, but I am hindered from using my own reasonings and am deprived of my weapons? Why don't you put your father in chains also, generous son, and his hands behind his back, till Cæsar shall come and find me unable even to defend myself? For I need not a sword to kill myself, when it is in my power to die by holding my breath for a short time and giving my head a single blow against the wall."

LXIX. As he said this the youth went out weeping, and all the rest, except Demetrius and Apollonides, to whom when they were left by themselves Cato begun to speak in milder terms, and said, "I suppose you too have resolved by force to keep alive a man of my age and to sit here in silence and to watch him, or are you come to prove that it is neither a shocking nor a shameful thing for Cato, when he has no other way to save his life, to wait for mercy from his enemy? Why then do you not speak and convince me of this and teach me a new doctrine, that we may cast away those former opinions and reasons in which we lived together, and being made wiser through Cæsar owe him the greater thanks for it? And yet for my part I have come to no resolve about myself, but it is necessary that when I have resolved I have power to do what I have determined. And I will deliberate in a manner together with you, deliberating with the reasons [Pg 571] which even you in your philosophy follow. Go away then in good heart and tell my son not to force his father when he cannot persuade him."

LXX. Upon this Demetrius and Apollonides without making any reply retired weeping. The sword was sent in by a child, and when Cato received it he drew it and looked at it. Seeing that the point was entire and the edge preserved, he said, "Now I am my own master," and laying the sword down, he began reading the book again, and he is said to have read it through twice.[754] He then fell into so sound a sleep that those who were outside the chamber were aware of it, and about midnight he called his freedmen Cleanthes the physician and Butas whom he employed chief of all in public matters. He sent Butas to the sea to examine if all had set sail and to report to him, and he presented his hand to the physician to tie it up, as it was inflamed from the blow which he gave the slave. And this made them all more cheerful, for they thought that Cato was inclined to live. In a little time Butas came and reported that all had set sail except Crassus,[755] who was detained by some business, and that even he was now all but on board, and that a violent storm and wind prevailed at sea. Cato hearing this groaned for pity of those who were at sea and he sent Butas again to the sea, to learn if any one were driven back and waited any [Pg 572] necessaries, and to let him know. And now the birds were beginning to sing,[756] and he sank asleep again for a while. When Butas had returned and reported that all was quiet about the ports, Cato, bidding him close the door, threw himself on the bed as if he were going to sleep for the rest of the night. When Butas had gone out, he drew the sword and thrust it beneath his chest, but as he used his hand with less effect owing to the inflammation, he did not immediately despatch himself, and having some difficulty in dying he fell from the bed and made a noise by overturning a little abacus of the geometrical kind that stood by, which his attendants perceiving called out and his son and his friends immediately ran in. Seeing him smeared with blood and the greater part of his bowels protruding, though he was still alive and his eyes were open, they were all dreadfully alarmed, and the physician going up to him attempted to replace his bowels, which remained uninjured, and to sew up the wound. But when Cato recovered and saw this, he pushed the physician away, and tearing the bowels with his hands and at the same time rending the wound he died.[757]

LXXI. In a space of time which one would not have thought enough for all in the house to have heard of the event, there were present at the door the three hundred, and soon after the people of Utica were assembled, with one voice calling Cato benefactor and saviour and the only free [Pg 573] man, the only unvanquished. And this they did though it was told that Cæsar was advancing; but neither fear nor subserviency towards the conqueror nor their mutual differences and quarrels dulled them towards doing honour to Cato. They decorated the body in splendid style, and made a pompous procession and interred him near the sea, where a statue of him now stands with a

sword in his hand, and then they began to think how they should save themselves and their city.

LXXII. Cæsar hearing from those who came to him that Cato was staying in Utica and not flying away, and that he was sending off the rest, while himself and his companions and his son were fearlessly going about, thought it difficult to ascertain the intentions of the man, but as he made most account of him he advanced with his force by quick marches. When he heard of his death, it is reported that he said this, "Cato, I grudge thee thy death, for thou hast grudged me thy safety." For in fact if Cato had submitted to receive his life from Cæsar, he would not have been considered to have lowered his own fame so much as to have added to the splendour of Cæsar's. What would have been done is uncertain, but with respect to Cæsar the milder measures are more probable.

LXXIII. When Cato died he was fifty[758] years of age save two. His son[759] received no harm from Cæsar, but he is said to have been fond of pleasure and not free from blame with regard to women. In Cappadocia he had as his host Marphadates, one of the royal family, who possessed a handsome wife, and as Cato stayed longer with them than was decent, he was satirized in such terms as these: [Pg 574]

"To-morrow Cato goes away, to-morrow thirty days."

And:

"Porcius and Marphadates, friends are two, but Psyche one."

For the wife of Marphadates was named Psyche (Soul). And again:

"Of noble blood and splendid fame, Cato has a royal Soul."

But he blotted out and destroyed all such ill report by his death; for while fighting at Philippi against Cæsar and Antonius in defence of liberty, and the line was giving way, not deigning either to fly or to secrete himself, but challenging the enemy and showing himself in front of them and cheering on those who kept the ground with him he fell after exhibiting to his adversaries prodigies of valour. And still more, the daughter of Cato being inferior neither in virtue nor courage (for she was the wife of Brutus who killed Cæsar) was both privy to the conspiracy and parted with life in a manner worthy of her noble birth and merit, as is told in the Life of Brutus. Statyllius, who said that he would follow Cato's example, was prevented indeed at the time by the philosophers, though he wished to kill himself, but afterwards he showed himself most faithful to Brutus and most serviceable at Philippi, and there he died.

FOOTNOTES:

[653] Cato was a cognomen of the Porcia Gens, which was Plebeian. The name Cato was first given to M. Porcius Cato Censorius, who was consul B.C. 195 and censor B.C. 184. The father of the Cato whose life is here written was M. Porcius Cato, a Tribunus Plebis, who married Livia, a sister of the tribune M. Livius Drusus. This Cato, the tribune, was the son of M. Porcius Cato Salonianus, who was the son of Cato the Censor. Cato the Censor was therefore the great-grandfather of the Cato whose life is here written. See the *Life of Cato the Censor* by Plutarch, c. 24. 97. This Cato was born B.C. 95.

[654] The text of Plutarch says that Livius Drusus was the uncle of Cato's mother, but this is a mistake, and accordingly Xylander proposed to read θείο μὲν ὄντι πρὸς τῆς μητρός. But Sintenis supposes that Plutarch may have misunderstood the Roman expression "avunculus maternus." Cato's father had by his wife Livia a daughter Porcia, who married J. Domitius Ahenobarbus. Livia's second husband was Q. Servilius Cæpio, by whom she had a son Q. Servilius Cæpio, whom Plutarch calls Cato's brother, and two daughters, named Servilia, one of whom married M. Junius Brutus, the father of the Brutus who was one of Cæsar's assassins, and the other married L. Licinius Lucullus (Life of Lucullus. c. 38).

[655] The word is ἀναμνηστικούς. The meaning of Plutarch is perhaps not quite clear. See the note in Schaefer's edition.

[656] These were the Roman Socii, or Italian states, which were in a kind of alliance with and subordination to Rome. They had to furnish troops for the wars, and to share the burdens of the Roman State in return for which they claimed the citizenship (Life of Marius, c. 32).

[657] Or Silo (Life of Marius, c. 33).

[658] There is obviously an error here in Plutarch's text, as Sintenis observes. The real meaning of what Pompædius said appears from the context, and from a passage of Valerius Maximus (3. 1, 2), who tells the same story.

[659] This sham fight was according to an old tradition established by Æneas. It is described by Virgil, *Æneid*, v. 553, &c. See Tacitus, *Annal.* xi. 11; and Dion Cassius, 43. c. 23, and 49. c. 43. These games (ludi) were also celebrated under the early Emperors.

[660] The text is literally "a place for the impious," not *the* place. But Plutarch may allude to the tortures of the wicked in the regions below, according to the popular notions.

[661] The possession of a priestly office by a person who also discharged the functions of civil life was common among the Romans. The effect of this political institution was more extensive than at first sight may appear, but the examination of such a question belongs,

as Plutarch sometimes observes, to another place.

[662] He is mentioned by Cicero (*De Offic.* ii. 24), but some suppose that there were two Tyrian philosophers of that name.

[663] See Plutarch's Life of Cato the Censor, c. 19. This, the first Roman Basilica, was erected B.C. 182 (Livy, 39. c. 44). A basilica was a place for law business and the meeting of traders and the like.

[664] The highest cast with four dice of six sides was twenty-four points, and it was called Venus. The lowest cast was four points, and it was called Canis. This is one explanation. But the Venus is also explained to be the throw which resulted in all the dice turning up with different faces. See the notes in Burmann's edition of Suetonius, *Octav. Augustus*, c. 71. It is said that sometimes they played with four-sided dice, sometimes with six-sided. The subject is somewhat obscure, and the investigation not suited to all people.

[665] Probably C. Memmius Gemellus, tribune of the Plebs, B.C. 66. See the Life of Lucullus, c. 37.

[666] This was Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius Scipio, the son of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, prætor B.C. 94. He was the adopted son of Q. Metellus Pius, consul B.C. 80, who is mentioned in the Life of Sulla, c. 28. This rival of Cato was the Metellus who was defeated by Cæsar at the battle of Thapsus, and is often mentioned in this Life. It is not said what legal process Cato could have instituted for the loss of his promised marriage.

[667] This Greek poet, who was probably born about the close of the eighth century B.C. at Paros, was noted for his biting Iambics, which became proverbial.

> "Archilochum proprio rabies armavit iambo."
>
> HORAT. *Ars Poet.*, v. 79.

[668] This was of course a gentile name. The name Soranus should be Seranus or Serranus.

[669] C. Lælius, the friend of the elder Scipio Africanus, is probably meant.

[670] The history of this insurrection of Spartacus is told in the Life of Crassus, c. 8, &c. As to Gellius, see the Life of Crassus, c. 9.

[671] Nomenclators, literally, "persons who called or addressed others by name," were slaves and sometimes perhaps other persons, whose business it was to know every man's name, to attend a candidate in his canvass, and to inform him of the names of those whom he was going to address, in order that he might appear to be acquainted with them; for in accordance with a feeling, which all men have in some degree, a desire to be known, a voter was pleased to find himself addressed by a candidate as if his face and name were familiar. This kind of notice from people who are above another in rank and station is peculiarly gratifying to those who are conscious that they have no real merit, and the pleasure which such attention gives to those who receive it is the exact measure of their own real opinion of their insignificance. I say their real opinion, for such persons have a true opinion of themselves, though they attempt to conceal it from themselves, and also to conceal it from others, in neither of which attempts are they quite successful. It makes no difference if a man knows that the great man who affects to know him really does not know him, for he knows that the great man does not know everybody and cares for very few; but the mere pretence of knowing, the mere show of knowing and recognising, which the great man assumes, he is willing to take for what he knows that it is not, a mark of respect; and mainly, that others, as he hopes, may be deceived by the false appearance, and take him to be what he knows that he is not.

Cato's tribuneship was a military tribuneship (tribunus militum).

[672] He was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, and at the time of Cato's visit to him he had the care of the library at Pergamus. Strabo (p. 674, ed. Casaub.) says that he died in Cato's house at Rome.

[673] Ænus was a small town at the mouth of the river Hebrus, now the Maritza. The island of Thasos, now Thaso, contains marble. The monument was a costly memorial, if the Attic talent was meant, which we must presume. Talents of silver are of course intended.

[674] The allusion is to the Anticato of Cæsar (Life of Cæsar, c. 54). How the matter really was, no one can tell; but such a story is not likely to be a pure invention.

[675] He is mentioned as being an old man in B.C. 54 (Life of Crassus c. 17). Deiotarus was a friend of the Romans in their Asiatic wars against Mithridates, and the senate conferred on him the title of king. He knew what kind of people he had to deal with when he showed such attention to Cato's train (c. 15). His history is closely connected with that of Cæsar, and of Cicero, who made a speech in his defence before Cæsar at Rome B.C. 45 (Pro Rege Deiotaro).

[676] The story about Demetrius, the contemptible favourite of Pompeius, is told by Plutarch in his Life of Pompeius, c. 40. Plutarch makes the visit to Asia precede Cato's quæstorship, upon which see the remarks of Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, v. 157. The narration of Plutarch is evidently confused as will appear from the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters.

[677] Either C. Scribonius Curio who was consul B.C. 76, or his son the tribune, an adherent of Cæsar; but probably the father is meant.

[678] See the Life of Marius, c. 17.

[679] Cato's quæstorship was in the year B.C. 65.

[680] Lutatius Catulus, censor B.C. 65, was the son of Catulus who with Marius defeated the

Cimbri at Vercellæ B.C. 101. (Life of Marius, c. 25.)

[681] This pasange, which has been supposed by some translators to mean that Catulus ran the risk of being degraded from his office, is correctly translated and explained by Kaltwasser. Cato hinted that the officers of the Court would turn Catulus out, if he continued to act as he did. Plutarch has told the same story in his treatise περὶ δυσοπίας, *De Vitioso Pudore* c. 13, to which Kaltwasser refers.

[682] He may be C. Claudius Marcellus afterwards consul B.C. 50, or his cousin of the same name who was consul B.C. 49.

[683] The parentage of Terentia, Cicero's wife, is unknown. The mother of Terentia must have married a Fabius, by whom she had this Fabia, the half sister of Terentia. Fabia was a woman of rank. Though a vestal virgin, she did not escape scandal, for she was tried B.C. 73 for sexual intercourse with Catilina: Fabia was acquitted (Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, v. 392).

There is a mistake in the text: "charges" (p. 25) is a misprint, and should be "changes;" in place of "Cicero's wide, he was in great danger, but he involved Clodius," it should be "Cicero's wife, and she was in great danger, he involved Clodius."

Therefore in place of "he was," line 10 from bottom, read "and she was;" and in the same line omit "but." In line 13 from the bottom read "changes" for "charges."

[684] Probably the name is corrupted. The expression is attributed to Cato, in the Life of Lucullus, c. 40.

[685] Q. Metellus Nepos was serving under Pompeius in Asia in B.C. 64. He came to Rome in B.C. 63 to be a candidate for the tribuneship.

[686] D. Junius Silanus, who was consul with Licinius Murena, B.C. 62, was now the husbaud of Servilia, who had been the wife of D. Junius Brutus.

[687] He was the son of L. Licinius Murena, who served under Sulla in Greece. The son served under his father in B.C. 83 against Mithridates. After the consular election in B.C. 63 he was prosecuted for bribery (ambitus). Cicero's speech in defence of Murena is extant.

[688] The affair of Catiline is spoken of in the Life of Cæsar, c. 17, and in the Life of Cicero, c. 10, &c.

[689] This Servilia was now the wife of Silanus the consul. Lucullus the husband of the other Servilia had his triumph in the year of Cicero's consulship B.C. 63 (Life of Lucullus, c. 37). He was probably the husband of Servilia at this time.

[690] Short-hand writers were called by the Romans "actuarii" and "notarii," of which last word Plutarch's word (σημειόγραφοι) is a translation. It is not likely that short-hand writing was invented for the occasion, as Plutarch says. Under the empire short-hand writers are often mentioned.

[691] L. Marcius Philippus, consul in B.C. 56 with Cn. Cornelius Lentulus.

[692] L. Thrasea Pætus, a Latin writer, a native of Padua, who was put to death by Nero (Tacitus, *Annal.* xvi. 34, 25). His authority for the Life of Cato was, as it appears, Munatius Rufus, who accompanied Cato to Cyprus (c. 37).

[693] Quintus Hortensius was consul B.C. 69, a distinguished orator and a man of refined and luxurious habits. Bibulus is M. Calpurnius Bibulus, the colleague of Cæsar in his consulship B.C. 59. He had three sons by Porcia, Cato's daughter by Atilia.

This transfer of Marcia is oddly told by Plutarch. It was not a mere case of lending the woman for the purpose of procreation, for the child of Hortensius could not be his legal child, unless Marcia became his legal wife. Cato must accordingly have divorced his wife, which was done at Rome without any trouble. The only thing then that is peculiar in the affair is, that Cato did not divorce his wife because he was dissatisfied with her on good grounds, nor for such grounds as Cicero divorced his wife, but for the reason mentioned in the text. Marcia continued to be the wife of Hortensius till his death. The marriage with Hortensius probably took place about B.C. 56.

This affair has caused the critics much difficulty. But as we may assume that Hortensius wished to have a child that would be his own, which is in fact Plutarch's statement, and one that would be in his paternal power, he must have married Marcia, and Cato must have divorced her in proper form. The fact of Philippus giving his daughter away shows that she was then at his disposal. Cato married her again, and his conduct proved that he trusted her. The notion of Cato lending his wife would have been as inconsistent with legal principle and morality in Rome as such a transaction would be in England.

[694] Compare the Life of Cæsar, c. 8.

[695] Pompeius was now in Asia. See the Life of Pompeius, c. 42, 43.

[696] Castor and Pollux. See the Life of Tiberius Gracchus, c. 2. The temple was on the south side of the Forum Romanum. The steps are those which led to the Rostra.

[697] This is the translation of the reading οἰκοθεν, which is probably incorrect. Solanus proposes αὐτόθεν, and Kaltwasser proposes ἀπόθεν, "from a distance," which he has adopted in his version, "und liess die bewaffneten, die *von fern* standen, mit furchbarem Geschre* anrücken."

[698] Lucullus returned B.C. 66. He triumphed B.C. 63. See the Life of Lucullus, c. 37. Plutarch has here confused the order of events. Kaltwasser translates this passage as if

Lucullus had returned to Rome after Metellus left it in B.C. 62.

[699] He returned B.C. 62. The consuls who were elected for the year B.C. 61, were M. Pupius Piso, who had been a legatus of Pompeius in Asia, and M. Valerius Messalla. See the Life of Pompeius, c. 44.

[700] Probably Munatius Rufus, who is mentioned again in c. 36. Drumann (*Porcii*, p. 162) says it was Munatius Plancus.

[701] This was in B.C. 61, at the election of the consuls L. Afranius and Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, the consuls of B.C. 60. See the Life of Pompeius, c. 44.

[702] Cæsar returned B.C. 60, and was consul B.C. 59. See the Life of Cæsar, c. 13, 14, for the events alluded to in this 31st chapter; and the Life of Pompeius, c. 47.

[703] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 14.

[704] Numidicus. The story is told in the Life of Marius, c. 29. The matters referred to in this and the following chapter are told circumstantially by Dion Cassius (38, c. 1-7). See Life of Cæsar, c. 14.

[705] L. Calpurnius Piso, the father of Calpurnia the wife of Cæsar, and Aulus Gabinius were consuls B.C. 58. Aulus Gabinius, when Tribunus Plebis B.C. 67, proposed the law which gave Pompeius the command against the pirates. The meaning of the obscure allusion at the end of the chapter, which is literally rendered, may be collected from the context; and still more plainly from the abuse which Cicero heaps on Gabinius for his dissolute life after he had been banished in the consulship of Gabinius (Drumann, *Gabinii*, p. 60).

[706] This Ptolemæus, the brother of Ptolemæus Auletes, King of Egypt, was now in possession of Cyprus, and the mission of Cato, which could not be to his taste, was to take possession of the island for the Romans. When Clodius had been made prisoner by the pirates nine years before, Ptolemæus was asked to contribute to his ransom but he only sent two talents, for which ill-timed saving he was mulcted in his whole kingdom by this unprincipled tribune (Drumann, *Claudii*, p. 263).

[707] He is called Caninius in the Life of Brutus, c. 3.

[708] The feeble king had not spirit to attempt a resistance, which indeed would have been useless. He put an end to himself by poison (c. 36), and the Romans took the island. A more unjustifiable act of aggression than the occupation of Cyprus, hardly occurs even in the history of Rome.

[709] The priesthood of such temples as Paphos was a valuable thing. These temples had lands and slaves.

[710] This was Auletes, the father of Cleopatra. He was restored to his kingdom by A. Gabinius B.C. 55, while he was governor of Syria.

[711] This is the meaning of the passage. The interview was ludicrous enough, but Dacier makes it still more so, by seating Cato on a close-stool; and Kind and Schirach, two German translators, make him receive the king in the same way (Kaltwasser's note).

[712] This was M. Junius Brutus, afterwards Cæsar's friend and assassin. Cato could not have found a better man for his purpose; at least for laying his hands on all that came in his way. Brutus took the opportunity of helping himself to some of the plunder in his uncle's absence. At a later time he had large sums out at interest in Cyprus and partly in other persons' names. He was a merciless usurer. (Cicero, *Ad Attic.*, v. 18 and 21; vi. 21; and the Life of Cicero, c. 36, notes.)

[713] Plutarch explains in a general way what is meant. The Roman word "pignus," which Plutarch translates by ἐνέχυρα, means a thing pawned and delivered as a security to the pawnee. To take pledges, "pignora capere," was to seize something that belonged to a man in order to compel the discharge of a duty. It was like a distress for a service. Instances occur in Livy (3. c. 38, 37. c. 51; Cicero, *De Oratore*, 3. c. 1).

[714] The Greek nominative would be Barcas. The name does not appear to be Roman and is probably corrupted. Bursa is a Roman name. See c. 48.

[715] There is no suspicion that Cato got anything for himself. He was above that. He honestly discharged his dishonest mission.

[716] This was a port of Corinth on the east side of the Isthmus.

[717] The amazement of the people at the quantity of the plunder, and the thanks of the Senate for the faithful discharge of their order to pillage, might seem regular enough if it had been booty gotten in war. But the robbery was not gilded with this false show. It was pure, simple robbery without the accessories of war.

[718] This means a prætorship before the age at which a man could regularly hold the office. Cato returned from Cyprus in B.C. 56. He was now thirty-eight years of age, for he died B.C. 46, when he was forty-eight.

[719] The order of the words in the original makes the meaning appear somewhat ambiguous. The passage might be translated, as it is by Dacier, "for the colleague of Philippus paid no less respect to Cato on account of his merit, than Philippus did on account of his relationship."

[720] Cicero returned from exile B.C. 57, in the month of September of the unreformed calendar.

[721] This was the meeting at Luca in B.C. 56. See the Life of Pompeius, c. 51; and the Life of Cæsar, c. 21.

[722] This was the second consulship of each, and was in B.C. 55. Cato lost the prætorship, and Vatinius was elected instead of him (Dion Cassius (39, c. 32).

[723] As to Caius Trebonius, see the Life of Pompeius, c. 52.

[724] One would suppose that a less time would have been more than enough, though not for Cato. Dion Cassius (39. c. 31) says that Favonius spoke for an hour before Cato did, and took up all the time in complaining of the shortness of his allowance. It would be a fair inference that he had little to say against the measure itself.

[725] Dion Cassius (39. c. 35) tells us more particularly how it happened that P. Aquilius Gallus was in the senate house. Gallus was afraid that he should be excluded from the Forum the next day, and accordingly he passed the night in the senate house, both for safety's sake and to be ready on the spot in the morning. But Trebonius, who found it out, kept him shut up for that night and the greater part of the following day.

[726] Cato was prætor in B.C. 54. It does not appear that he ever was prætor before, and it is not therefore clear what is meant by the "extraordinary prætorship" (c. 39). In place of the word "Rostra," in the fifth line of this chapter, read "tribunal." Plutarch uses the same word (βῆμα) for both, which circumstance is calculated occasionally to cause a translator to make a slip, even when he knows better. The "tribunal" was the seat of the prætor, when he was doing justice. But lower down (line 8 from the bottom) Rostra is the proper translation of Plutarch's word (ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῶν ἐμβόλου) and it was the place from which Cato spoke, after he had got up. In c. 43, when Cato gets up to speak, Plutarch makes him mount the Bema (βῆμα), by which he means the place when the orators stood at the Rostra. The Rostra were the beaks of the Antiate galleys, with which, it is said, this place was ornamented at the close of the Latin war (Livy, 8, c. 14).

[727] The reason according to Plutarch why people envy the man who has a high reputation for integrity, is because of the power and credit which it gives. Whatever then gives power and credit should be also an object of envy, as wealth; and so it is. The notion of envy implies a desire to see the person who is the object of it humbled and cast down. The Greeks attributed this feeling to their gods, who looked with an evil eye on great prosperity, and loved to humble it. But the feeling of envy, if that is the right term, towards him who has power and credit by reason of his high character for integrity, is not the same feeling as envy of the wealthy man. The envious of wealth desire to have the wealth both for itself and for its uses. The envious of character desire to have the opinion of the character, because of the profit that is from it, but they may not desire to have that which is the foundation of the character. If they did, their desire would be for virtue, and the envious feeling would not exist. Courage and wisdom are less objects of envy than good character or wealth, and perhaps, because most men feel that they are not capable of having the one or the other. The notion of envy implies that the person has, or thinks he has, the same capability as another who has something which he has not. A man who is not a painter does not envy a great painter; a man who is a painter may envy a great painter. The mass may admire the honest man who is of higher rank than themselves, even if they have no regard for honesty; but they do not envy; they wonder as at something which is above them. But if the honest man is of their own station in life, and has a character of integrity, they may envy him for his superiority. It appears that if there is a number of people who are generally on a footing of equality, any superiority which one may acquire over the rest, makes him an object of envy. If high character for integrity brings power and credit with it, there must be some persons with whom the power and the credit prevail, but these are the persons who are farthest removed from rivalry with him who has the credit. Those who are nearer to him are the persons who envy, who feel that the superiority of one man makes their inferiority. Plutarch assumes the existence of a class who love the just and give them credit, and of a class who envy them; but the two classes of persons are not the same.

[728] This name recurs in the Symposium and Phædon of Plato. The second sentence in this chapter is very corrupt in the original, and the translation is merely a guess at the meaning. Favonius was ædile in B.C. 53 (Dion Cassius, 40. c. 45).

[729] Some apology is necessary for translating "pears " (ἀπίους, in the original said to mean "pears") into "parsley." The context shows clearly enough that pears are not meant. Kaltwasser has made the "pears" into "celery," and there is just as good reason for making "parsley" of them. Plutarch may have misunderstood the Roman word "apium" or confounded it with the Greek.

[730] Scipio was the father-in-law of Cornelia, the last wife of Pompeius (Life of Pompeius, c. 55). As to P. Plautus Hypsæus, see the Life of Pompeius, c. 55. Titus Annius Milo afterwards killed Clodius, and Cicero defended him on his trial (Life of Cicero, c. 35).

[731] Pompeius was sole consul B.C. 53, for seven months, after which he had his father-in-law Scipio as his colleague.

[732] T. Munatius Plancus Bursa was a tribune in B.C. 52. When Clodius was killed by Milo, the populace, who loved Clodius, took the dead body into the Curia Hostilia, at the instigation of Bursa and his colleague Rufus, and making a pile of the benches, burnt the body and the Curia with it (Dion Cassius, 40. c. 49, 55). Bursa was tried for his share in this matter and convicted, to the great joy of Cicero, who was his accuser. Cicero speaks of this affair in a letter to Marius (*Ad Diversos*, vii. 2).

[733] Servius Sulpicius Rufus, a friend of Cicero, who has recorded his great talents, and a distinguished Jurist. He was consul in B.C. 51 with M. Claudius Marcellus.

[734] Kaltwasser refers to the Life of Cæsar, c. 22, for an explanation of the first part of this chapter; and to the Life of Cæsar, c. 29, and to that of Pompeius, c. 58, for the transactions which are mentioned in the latter part of this chapter.

[735] Cæsar took Ariminum (Rimini) in B.C. 49. See the Life of Cæsar, c. 33, and the Life of Pompeius, c. 60.

[736] In South Italy, now Calabria Ultra. This Munatius was probably Munatius Rufus.

[737] In Cæsar's Anticato, which has often been mentioned. It seems that Cæsar raked up all that he could in Cato's life that was against him, and this affair of Marcia furnished him with plausible matter. Hortensius died B.C. 50. Drumann remarks (*Porcii*, p. 198), "that she lived, after the year 56, in which she reconciled Cato with Munatius Rufus, with the consent of Cato, with Hortensius, after whose death in the year 50 she returned into her former relation," that is, she became again the wife of Cato. If so, Cato must have married her again (see note, c. 25), as Plutarch says that he did. Drumann speaks as if Cato had a reversion of her, which became an estate in possession after the estate of Hortensius was determined by her death.

[738] The quotation is from the Hercules Ἡρακλῆς μαινόμενος of Euripides (v. 173), one of the extant plays.

[739] See Life of Cæsar, c. 72.

[740] Another allusion to the Anticato. It is difficult to see what probable charge Cæsar could make of this circumstance. The meaning of Plutarch may easily be conjectured (Drumann, *Porcii*, p. 192).

[741] See the Life of Pompeius, c. 65; and the Life of Cæsar, c. 39.

[742] Cn. Pompeius, the elder son of Pompeius Magnus is meant. It is conjectured that the word "young" (νέον) has fallen out of the text (compare c. 58). He had been sent by his father to get ships, and he arrived with an Egyptian fleet on the coast of Epirus shortly before the battle of Pharsalus. On the news of the defeat of Pompeius Magnus, the Egyptians left him (Dion Cassius, 42. c. 12).

[743] He must also have seen Cornelia, for Sextus was with her. Life of Pompeius, c. 78.

[744] These people are described by Herodotus (iv. 173) as having been all destroyed by the sands of the deserts, and their country, which was on the Syrtis, being occupied by the Nasamones.

Lucan (*Pharsalia*, ix. 891) has made the Psylli occupy a conspicuous place in the march of Cato.

> "Gens unica terras
> Incolit a sævo serpentum innoxia morsu,
> Marmaridæ Psylli: par lingua potentibus herbis,
> Ipse cruor tutus, nullumque admittere virus
> Vel cantu cessante potest."

Seven days is much too little for the march from Cyrene to the Carthaginian territory, and there is either an error in Plutarch's text or a great error in his geography.

[745] The name Libya occurs four times in this chapter. Libya was the general name for the continent, but the term did not include Egypt. In the first two instances in which the name occurs in this chapter, the word is used in the general sense. In the other two instances it means the Roman province of Africa. Kaltwasser has used the term Africa in all the four instances. It is immaterial which is used, if rightly understood in both cases.

[746] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 53, 54, 55, and the references in the notes.

[747] See the Life of Antonius, c. 81.

[748] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 52, and Dion Cassius, 42, c. 57. This Scipio was unworthy of the name and unequal to the times.

[749] The Greek writers represent the name in different ways. Plutarch writes Ἰτύκη. Dion Cassius writes it Οὐτική. This old Phœnician city was on the coast near the mouth of the river Bagradas; but its supposed remains are some distance inland. (Shaw's *Travels in Barbary*, &c., p. 79, 4to. edition.)

[750] See the Life of Cæsar, c. 53, and Dion Cassius, 43, c. 7. The battle was fought in B.C. 46.

[751] The son of Cn. Octavius, who was consul B.C. 76. Marcus was Curule Ædile B.C. 50. (Drumann, *Octavii*, p. 225.)

[752] He was the son of L. Julius Cæsar, consul B.C. 64. The son was pardoned by Cæsar (*Bell. Afric.* c. 88, 89). Dion Cassius (43, c. 12) says that Cæsar first brought him to trial, but as he was unwilling to condemn him by his own authority, he privately got him put to death. The statement of Dion is deficient in precision, incredible by reason of Cæsar's well-known clemency, and the insignificance of Lucius as an enemy, and not altogether reconcilable with other authorities. (Drumann, *Julii*, p. 125.)

[753] The Phædon which contains the last conversation of Socrates, and his death. The incident of the reading of the Dialogue, and the reflections which it suggested, have been used by Addison in his frigid and bombastic tragedy of Cato.

[754] Kaltwasser quotes a note of Dacier who cannot conceive how Cato could read so long a Dialogue through twice in so short a time. It is equally a matter of wonder how any body could know that he read it through once. The fact that he had the book and was reading it is all that could be known. Another difficulty that is suggested by Dacier is, that the Dialogue contains the strongest arguments against suicide; but perhaps this difficulty is removed by the suggestion that in one passage it is said that a man should not kill

himself till the deity has sent a kind of necessity; and Cato might conceive, as he did conceive, that the necessity had come to him.

The suicide of Cato was a peculiar case and hardly belongs to the more general cases of suicide. His position, if he had lived under the domination of Cæsar, would have been intolerable to a man of his principles; for that he might have lived by Cæsar's grace, if he had chosen, can hardly be doubted notwithstanding Cæsar wrote his Anticatones.

[755] This was P. Licinius Crassus Junianus, a Junius who had been adopted by a Crassus, as the name shows.

[756] ἡδη δ' ὄρνιθες ηδον. The translators do not agree about these words. Dacier and others translate them literally, as I have done. Kaltwasser translated them, "and already the cocks crowed." He adds that the other translation is wrong, because it is said immediately after, that it was still night. But what follows as to the night does not prove that it was dark; it rather implies that there was not much sleeping time that remained before morning. Cocks sometimes crow in the night, it is true, but Plutarch evidently means to show by the expression that the morning was dawning, and so the birds might be singing, if there were any birds in Utica. The matter is appropriate for a dissertation, which would be as instructive as many other dissertations on matters of antiquity.

[757] Appian (*Civil Wars*, ii. 98, &c.) tells the story of his death differently. He says that the wound was sewed up, and that being left alone, he tore his bowels out. But it is improbable that, if the wound had been sewed up, he would have been left alone. The story of Dion Cassius (43, c. 11) is the same. See Florus, iv. 2, 71, who says that he killed himself "circa primam vigiliam."

[758] As he died in B.C. 46, he was in the forty-ninth year of his age. His chatacter requires no comment; it has been fully delineated by Plutarch. A single letter of Cato to Cicero is extant (*Ad Diversos*, xv. 5); and a letter of such a man is worth reading, though it be short. His speech against the conspirators, which Sallust has given, may contain the matter, but not the words of Cato.

[759] He had his father's property. After Cæsar's death he joined M. Brutus, the husband of his sister Portia, and fell at Philippi B.C. 42. This son of Cato had a younger brother (c. 52), whose mother was Marcia, but nothing more is known of him. The death of the wife of Brutus is told in the Life of Brutus, c. 13, 53.

END OF VOL. III.

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